Continuity and Change in the British-Roman Lifescape of East Dorset

*c*AD 350 – AD 650

Submitted by

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SUMMARY

The study was devised to consider archaeological remains for an understanding of continuity and change in the late Roman and early medieval period in Dorset. Conventional thinking has dismissed this period as archaeologically invisible. Yet, there are increasing opportunities to reconsider the evidence for interpreting social developments in this period from recent discoveries, more radiocarbon dating and a changing paradigm

An area of investigation around the Badbury Rings hillfort was chosen to include an original study site in the village of Witchampton. A time limit was placed from the last half of the 4th century to the annexation of Dorset into Saxon Wessex, around the mid-7th century. The study argues for an inclusive descriptor for this period, the 'British-Roman' period, as it is argued that the foundations for the 'post-Roman' period were already evident in the Roman archaeology.

The study considers the lived landscape. The term 'Lifescape' was adopted to signify landscape and lifeways are intricately linked. It is argued that Lifescape cannot be generalised and are intrinsically related to the local circumstances of regions, or 'small worlds'.

The evidence for Lifescape needs to be characterised for analysis. The concept of *imageability* was the means of achieving this. The lived landscape is understood as a mental image which is formed of Elements. Although, with time, places will change form - an Elemental quality, and therefore meaning, which structures Lifescape will endure. These Elements are Nodes, Landmarks, Paths, Districts and Edges. Late Roman Nodes and Landmarks are assessed for evidence of Elemental change through 'activity'. The primary evidence for this is the archaeological record and landscape of the study area with comparative data from sites in Dorset. This is then suggested as enabling an understanding of continuity and change in Lifescape for the British-Roman period.

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"In a vivid insight, a flash of black lightening, he saw that all life was parallel: that evolution was not vertical, ascending to perfection, but horizontal. Time was the great fallacy: existence was without history, was always now, was always this being caught up in the fiendish machine."

John Fowles: The French Lieutenant's Woman *1969*

ABBREVIATIONS

BACAS: Bath and Camerton (now Counties) Archaeological Society

BMC: British Museum Collection

CEMC: Corpus of Early Medieval Coins at the Fitzwilliam Museum

GPR: Ground Penetrating Radar

HER: Historic Environment Record

JoRS: Journal of Roman Studies

MDO: Monument Number from Dorset HER

PAS: Portable Antiquities Scheme

RCHME: Royal Commission for Historic Monuments (England)

SEDOWW: South East Dorset Orange Wiped Ware

ft: feet

h: hectares

in: inches

km: Kilometres

m: metres

mi: miles

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Witchampton: The research setting

This thesis examines continuity and change in the Lifescape of the communities of late Roman and post-Roman east Dorset, through a study inspired by the significant, but unrecognised, site of Abbey House, Witchampton (Figs 1:1; 1:2).

The excavation in the 1920s, instigated by the Abbey House tenant, Mrs Eliza McGeagh, concentrated on a mound in an adjacent field which showed signs of buried remains. This is situated close to a ruined flint and ashlar barn, originally a 13th century manor house (RCHME 1975, 105-106). Over five years the excavation revealed a sequence of activity from the Roman through to medieval periods and including an apparent post-Roman cemetery (Fig 1:5). This site clearly is potentially significant to demonstrate Roman to medieval continuity with rare indications for post-Roman activity in Dorset.

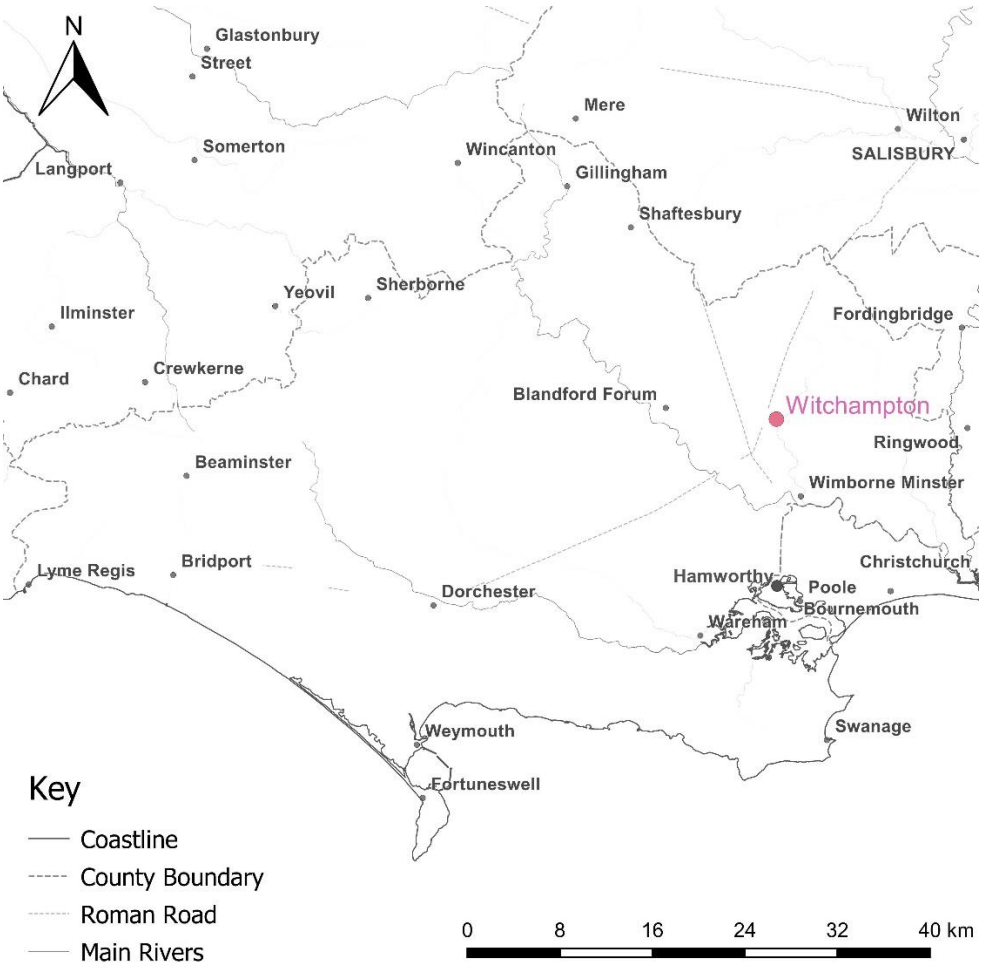

Fig 1:1: Regional Area Map for Witchampton.

By David Etheridge from Open Source Data

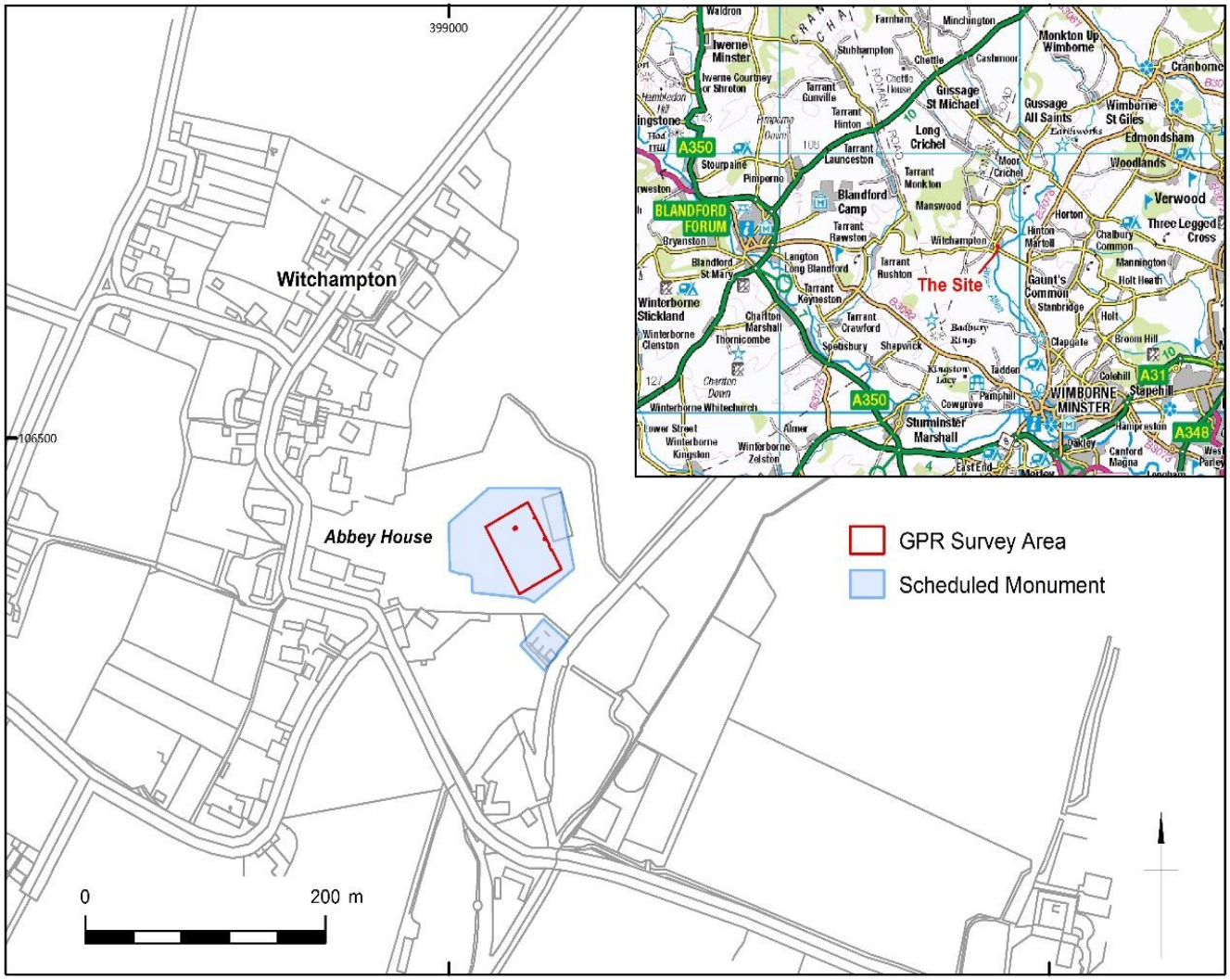

Fig 1:1: The site of Abbey House excavations in the 1920s.

This and the ruined medieval building to the south are now scheduled monuments. Prepared by and reproduced with permission of Nicholas Crabb from Crabb and Vickery (forthcoming). Digital data reproduction.

The remains included an enigmatic solid circular flint structure with a flimsier annex (Fig 1:3), close to which was a small west/east orientated unfurnished cemetery. There were also indications of Roman domestic and agricultural activity. A nearby rectangular flint building and deep pit contained coin and artefactual evidence of high-status 12th century occupation. Fuller accounts of the structures, finds and interpretation are in the Appendix and in Chapters 5,6 and 7.

The author's original research, for an under-graduate project in 2009, focussed on the medieval whale bone chess pieces found with other medieval artefacts (Fig 1:4). Medieval chess pieces are unusual archaeological finds for Dorset. Nationally the Witchampton pieces are unique for their material, size and as a partial set within a datable archaeological context. They are now in the British Museum. Research suggested that the site had been poorly recorded, Heywood Sumner reported only on the Roman context of the early excavation for the Journal of Roman Studies 1924. This reflected the predominant interest of the early 20th century, encouraged by recent Roman interest at Silchester and Chedworth (JoRS 1924).

Following the author's initial chess piece research (Vickery 2015), new evidence was found in three separate depositories. The Crichel estate was sold from 2011, the owners of Abbey House which also includes the Roman site, purchased the adjacent ruined medieval building, and instigated a programme of conservation. Their enthusiasm led eventually to supporting geophysical and GPR surveys at the site in 2017 and 2018 (Fig 1:2; Vickery 2017; Wessex Archaeology 2018).

The archaeology at Abbey House inspired this study a summary of which is presented here. More comprehensive reflections on the site are given where appropriate in the study,.

- An Iron Age brooch and a sherd of Bronze Age decorated pottery.
- A small robbed domestic building with coin evidence for 3rd century occupation. The building footprint could not be ascertained from the rubble and its form is not understood.
- A heathstone oven in the domestic building was utilised into the late 4th century.
- A well-built circular flint structure around 17ft (5m) in diameter with deep foundations and a stone slab floor. There were indications of painted plaster, opus signinum and tesserae.
- A, possibly later, attached flimsier annex, 38ft (11.5m) long with a shallow gravel floor and apparent subdivisions. Only the partial foundations remain but they appear, in photos, to show alterations not included in the plan. This suggests multi-phase use.
- A partial apsidal building possibly associated with the domestic building, found only by the GPR survey; it appears to underlie the annex floor.
- A Roman T-shaped grain dryer, undisturbed and covered by a collapsed imbrex and tegula roof.

- A small, disturbed cemetery with one flint or stone lined grave. The burials appear ordered, west/east, with no grave goods. It was stratigraphically above the Roman oven.
- A rectangular flint building around 23 ft (7m) long, perhaps timbered, with a chalk floor. 12th century high status artefacts, including chess pieces, were found in the fill.
- A deep pit filled with fine mortar, surrounded by a flint wall. A 4th century coin and high status medieval finds were found in this area.

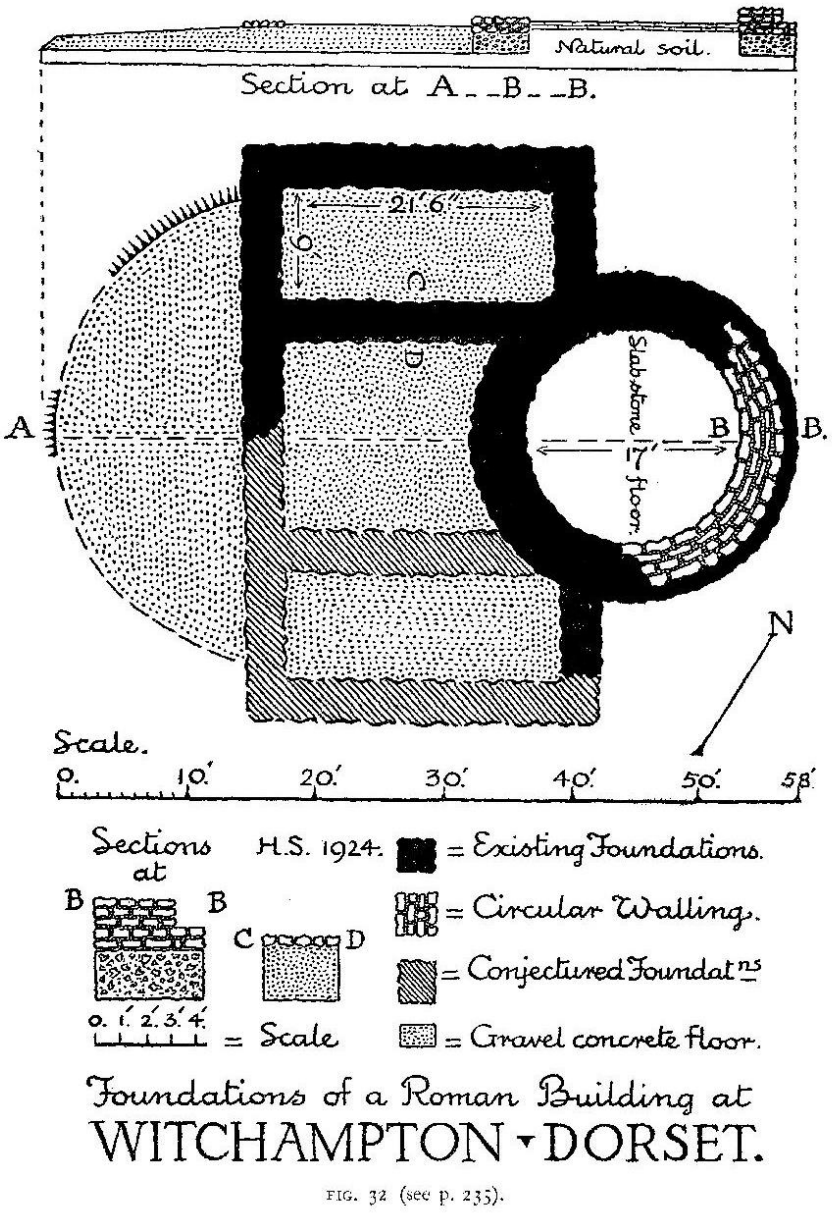

Fig 1:3: Heywood Sumner's interpretation of the Roman circular structure at Witchampton.

From the Journal of Roman Studies, 1924, 14, p 236

The archaeology at the Abbey House site clearly raised further questions which it was anticipated could be incorporated into a wider landscape study for contextualisation. As the thesis needed to be limited in extent, research concentrated around the late and post-Roman evidence and within a geographically contained area (Chapter 4). Themes from the site were:

- What was the function of the Roman structures in the late 4th century when the circular building and annex appear to be in use? Their function and sequence is ambiguous. Could this be explained by comparative archaeology and integrating the site into the wider Roman landscape?
- Could comparative evidence potentially expand our understanding of the post-Roman cemetery in terms of date, faith, and organisation? Were there direct connections between the Roman structures and the cemetery? Are there other examples of such cemeteries and this relationship in Dorset?
- Can we interpret social change or continuity from the Abbey House Roman and later usage and from wider examples?
- Potentially, does the inheritance of this site influence later activity? The medieval high-status artefacts and the 13th century manor house seem to indicate this was the case, is this focus comparable on other sites?

Fig 1:4: Plaster casts of some of the chess pieces in Dorset County Museum.

Photo by author 2009, with permission of Dorset County Museum.

Fig 1:5: The first human remains, found in 1923.

From Dorset County Museum collection. Witchampton file. Reference number is on the photo.

Aims and framework of the study

The aims of the study are stated, with a brief context for their inclusion and where they are addressed within the framework of the thesis.

1. To use comparative data to identify archaeological evidence from the late and post-Roman period.

The study is limited to the late Roman and post-Roman period, and a contained comparative area. The period AD 350 to AD 650 was chosen to exclude the influence of Saxon Wessex, considered around AD 658, following the battle of *Peonnum* (Yorke 1995, 52-54). Generally, post-Roman Britain is associated with distinctly different eastern and western cultural materials. For Dorset, there is less evidence for either: from the 5th century, there is little indication in excavation or historical sources to identify the nature of social organisation (Hinton 1998, 7-11). More 5th to 7th century sites are now being recognised in Dorset, the thesis will compare the properties of these sites. A fuller exploration of the methodology is considered in Chapter 2 while sites analyses are in Chapters 5 to 8, where appropriate.

2. To attempt an understanding of 'continuity' and 'change' in the Lifescape through examining the data as 'indicators', and to offer a model for these findings.

Arguments for continuity or collapse have dominated studies of this period, and the Witchampton and study area evidence needs to be understood within current theoretical and methodological paradigms. A background to this debate is discussed at Chapter 3. In Chapter 2 the author's adoption of the term 'Lifescape' is explored as an extension of accepted and inadequate academic approaches to the interrelation of life and land, community individuality, and the difficulties of evaluating these from our perspective. 'Lifescape' is cultural, social, and economic interactions influenced by regional landscapes (Howarth 1999, 17). As the project progressed it became clearer that archaeological evidence from the local study area was limited and comparative evidence was extended across Dorset, introducing the intuitive 'indicators' approach, clarified in Chapter 2.

3. To use and assess the Landscape Element approach for analysing the evidence of Nodes and Landmarks in the Lifescape.

To access past Lifescape, landscape activity and perception is explained as Elements of the Landscape in Chapter 2. This Trialectic approach is adapted from the foundation of urban planning (Lynch 1960), which objectifies intrinsic human references to place and movement as Nodes, Landmarks, Paths, Districts and Edges [1] . Such sites are understood through *imageability.* Archaeological type sites as Nodes are considered in Chapters 5 and 6, Landmarks in Chapters 7 and 8 and evidence for their *imageability* is identified through comparative sites. For this shorter study, Paths, Districts and Edges are excluded and suggested as future projects.

4. To apply the evidence to the Badbury study area.

The restrictions on the study has limited the geographic area of study to a portion of the smaller Badbury Hundred. Although the attributes of the study area underly the resources and methodology, Badbury study area is not presented until Chapter 4 since it is associated with the 'small worlds' concept of localised political and economic units. To argue this it is necessary to draw on theoretical and methodological terminology applied to this study and explained in Chapter 2. This also includes the term 'British-Roman' adopted here because of the difficulty in distinguishing cultural differences from the later Roman period and post-Roman era to AD 650 in Dorset. The argument for this is given in Chapter 3.

[1] *Denoted with a capital letter for recognition*

5. Consider whether the approach has broadened our understanding of the Abbey House site.

Interpretations of the function and sequence of the Abbey House archaeological features are given in Chapters 6 and 7 where their significance to the wider religious, ritual, and funerary landscapes is discussed, and concluded in Chapter 9.

6. To consider the applicability of this approach for studying other archaeological periods and sites.

Further applications of the study's approach are offered in Chapter 9. The original purpose of the study was to assess the significance of the Abbey House site from *circa* AD 350 to AD 650. This needed comparative evidence and a wider archaeological context. The limited nature of evidence within this geographic area required additional evidence and a framework for a meaningful comparative exercise. This evidence has been used to interpret a humanistic landscape concept of Lifescape. Conclusions around the adaptability of Lifescape for archaeological research, with the Trialectic approach is offered in Chapter 9. The adoption of a Trialectic approach overcame some difficulties with evidence and in consequence is also analysed for its usefulness and applicability to further archaeological landscape study.

CHAPTER 2. APPROACHES, THEORIES AND METHODOLOGY

This study uses a combination of techniques and evidence, principally archaeological reports, field survey and historical and physical geography. This approach is understood as Landscape Archaeology: (Kluiving & Guttman-Bond 2012a, 14). The basis of Landscape Archaeology rests on fieldwork and empirical evidence, and practitioners need to be aware of the biases and preconceptions of the evidence and the interpretation (Johnson 2012). The approach requires interpretation within the human experience. Whether or how to embrace a humanist approach from scientific and field data has been an ongoing topic for academic argument which ultimately, could render the discipline untenable (Johnson 2007; 2012). For this study, a workable and definable Trialectic approach is used which allows the evidence to be analysed as Elements of the Landscape, in turn this will offer an insight into a humanist landscape - Lifescape.

Initially a very brief overview of the development of Landscape Archaeology is provided and a consideration of two theoretical approaches which are relevant but rejected, before the Trialectic approach is considered.

The Foundation of Landscape Archaeology

The technique of Landscape Archaeology has come a long way from early 20th century landscape archaeology studies by enthusiasts, such as Allcroft (1908), Heywood Sumner (1913) and Grinsell (Ainsworth, Field & Patterson 1999a, 1-2; Lewis 2007. 2). During the latter half of the 20th century, the techniques and applications of historic landscape survey became structured through the publication of fieldwork manuals (for example Hoskins 1955, 1967; Taylor 1974; Aston and Rowley 1974). Aston and Rowley's *Landscape Archaeology* manual (1974) was born out of popular extra-mural courses which influenced survey practice by encouraging non-academic multi- and inter-disciplinary resources, standard procedures, and recording (Rowley 2007, x; Fleming 2017, 29). In turn this rigour required induction and training and was therefore adopted academically through further and higher education (Roberts 1987, 78; Fleming 2017, 28-9). The multi-disciplinary approaches encouraged a diversity of scholars deploying a greater range of methodologies and techniques and advancing more nuanced approaches in understanding human-environment interactions (for example Bradley 2001; Chadwick & Pollard 2004; Jervis et al 2016).

Currently Landscape Archaeology, in its pragmatic sense defined above, includes wide-ranging resources and expertise: an "interdisciplinary discipline" (Corcos 2002, 1; Muir 2000, 20; Kluiving & Guttman-Bond 2012b; Fleming 2017). These increasingly encompass non-invasive geophysics, satellite imagery, LiDAR and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) (Kluiving & Guttman-Bond

2012a, 15). The strength of this approach for archaeological research is that it evolves with developing techniques and specialisms integrated with cartographic, historical, and toponymic resources. Potentially, this exchange of information benefits and engages all disciplines and is less prone to be restricted by theoretical stances (Muir 2000, 20). Johnson (2012, 523) questions this: the accumulation of data does not necessarily add to the quality of the evidence. He questions the supposition that scientific and empirical data on which the discipline is based is value free, or "speaks for itself".

Johnson (2007) voices dissatisfaction with empirical landscape research which did not contribute to comparative theoretical, humanist approaches. From the late 20th century, emphasis shifted to concepts of bodies inhabiting and understanding the world (Ingold 2017, 21). Post-processual interpretation began to perceive Landscape Archaeology through humanist-centred approaches, seeking meanings through their inhabitants and the way landscapes channelled activity (Trigger 2006, 473). These approaches encouraged inter-disciplinary dialogues and were attractive to university-led, theoretical, post-processual criticism (Wagstaff 1987, 27; Fleming 2017, 29; Johnson 2007). Taskscape and Phenomenology are discussed as popular stances which influence current archaeological thought, although neither is considered apt for this study.

Ingold and Taskscape

Ingold published the idea of 'Taskscape' in 1993 as human relationship with the landscape: "through living in it, the landscape becomes a part of us, just as we are part of it." (Ingold 1993, 154). Taskscape – a socially constructed space of human activity -acknowledges a landscape defined and changed by life-processes: activity, perceptions, memories, and movements which perpetually transform landscape across time (Rajala and Mills 2017a, 2-6).

Rather than Ingold's (1993) envisioned whole landscape approach, Taskscape has become associated with specific archaeological place and process (for examples Rajala and Mills 2017b). This evolves from Ingold's (1993, 158) identification of Taskscape as: "an array of related activities" which justifies a focus on observable and measurable human activity in archaeology as "task" that is, process (Thomas 2017, 271-3). Although Taskscape has been influential in language and framework of landscape study (for example Green & Cresswell 2021, 23), it has not been applied widely by direct association, Ingold offered no methodological procedure for Taskscape. Instead, discrete Taskscape studies have utilised more creative approaches. The examples in Rajala and Mills (2017b) vary in their effectiveness: some results are unimpressive and vague (for example Gardner et al 2017) or very particular (Hamari 2017). However, two studies devised methodologies which have inspired this study: Drageset (2017) who utilised a Trialectic approach and Rajala and

Mills (2017c) who incorporated and adapted Lynch's (1960) urban elements. These approaches are adapted for the study of Lifescape as more appropriate than Taskscape and discussed later.

Tilley and Phenomenology of Landscape

Personal, immersive experience of the landscape was a wide-ranging response to objective landscape study models (Johnson 2007, 270; Fleming 2017). Tilley's *A Phenomenology of Landscape* (1994) was influential in proposing a new 'imaginative' approach to landscape archaeology. Practicing phenomenology requires movement and habitation within the landscape, to conceptualise multiplicity of understandings derived from experience (Tilley 2010, 25-27). The positive application is that conventional concepts are disregarded for the revelation of personal body experience (Johnson 2007, 118). Scientific approaches are regarded as inapplicable within Husserl's original concept of phenomenology (Tilley 2010, 25-27; Nakhnikian 1970, ix-x). Thus, there is no clear methodology since phenomenology attempts to examine phenomena without preconceptions of the 'how', although Tilley later suggested stages which he found useful (Seamon 1982; Tilley 2010, 30). The subjective experience does require tools: cartographic resources and precise measured alignments which Tilley (1994, 143-201) used, for example, along the Dorset Cursus.

Phenomenological approaches have attracted wide critical reviews. 'Imaginative', 'provocative', 'inaccessible' and 'story-telling' were some criticisms (Fleming 2007; Brück 2005, 45; Johnson 2007). Johnson (2012, 521; 2012b) criticised the assumption that our senses and experiences are empathetic with those from the past, the philosophy should be questioning this subjectivity. Instead of an overt phenomenological approach, Johnson (2012) argues we are all natural phenomenologists, inherently influenced by our own immersive experience. Phenomenological thought does not direct this study, although moving across the study area was surprisingly enlightening for considering landscape relationships; and the author's lifetime association with Dorset landscapes influenced some Lifescape conclusions.

Landscapes, terminology and Lifescape

For Ingold, Taskscape is the human relationship with the landscape. This is not a new concept, indeed Lynch's 1966 guide to urban planning implies the same interconnectedness, this is discussed later. However, as Ingold (2017, 21) said, new keywords "rearrange terms of enquiry". Rearrangement can adjust perception and offer continuing critique and adaption of established approaches, something which Johnson (2007, 193-202) acclaimed as the way forward for archaeological study. By 2017, Ingold, an anthropologist, had moved away from Taskscape. He

suggested the word 'Landscape' would be just as useful "so long as we bring it back to life" (Ingold 2017, 23). 'Landscape' will not do because the very word has a multiplicity of disciplinary implications embedded within it (Johnson 2007, 2-4). Lived experiences cannot be described as just 'landscape' but must be qualified (Johnson 2007, 119-161), for example "cultural landscapes" (Fleming 2017, 39), thus our lived landscape then appears as disconnected 'scapes' or tasks (see the examples in Rajala and Mills 2017b). Ingold's original definition of Taskscape has been subsumed within a mosaic of types of tasks, suggested by its original name.

Thus, a more apposite term for this landscape study has been sought. One which reflects the centrality of the human experience, but its very name reflects its meaning and can be understood as such, which is not the case with Taskscape. Instead, the term 'Lifescape' is deemed more relevant. Like Ingold's approach to Taskscape, this is not a methodology but appropriate terminology for encompassing human experience in landscape.

Lifescape

The term Lifescape was adopted by economic geographers in the 1990s and used to explain the differing characteristics of local West African communities; their social, cultural, and economic interactions (Howorth 1999, 17; 149). This led to an appreciation of distinct regional relationships in which people and place influence each other. Concern had been expressed that Western scientific logic which directed aid and agricultural improvement schemes failed to understand the diversity of localised production systems; the desired economic and social outcomes of such community farming management; and the futility of imposing systems based on Western expectations of profit and enrichment (Howorth 1999, 17;149). This dichotomy can be associated with archaeologists' attempts to identify with past human subjectivity. Hodder has suggested that such an understanding of archaeological landscape requires access to community social beliefs (Johnson 2010, 103-104). Just as Western thought does not always find African attitudes reasonable or understandable then neither should we expect past activity to be so. "The world does not look the same from down among the millet stalks as it does from a Boeing 707." (Hart 1982. [Cited in Howorth 1999, 149]).

For contemporary societies collaboration between researchers and residents can aid "the understanding of local understanding" (Nazarea et al 1998). This localness is important. Research in Burkina Faso by Howorth (1999) concluded community decisions are the result of highly localised stimuli. In archaeological terms, Lifescape activity may result in distinctive patterns of physical remains which remain as testimony to this individuality, but the unrecorded and singular reason influencing these patterns may be unobtainable. These patterns may be misleading: an observable

archaeological feature may not necessarily have been the goal of a process, instead, it may be the consequence of a tradition or activity more significant than the resulting physical remains (Ingold 2013, 78). This hidden agenda is theorised by Chadwick (2016) for the construction of large linear earthworks. The continual communal reconstruction and the relationship between the experiences of the creator and the emergent monument were more significant than the earthwork system itself (Chadwick 2016, 264).

Applying the term 'Lifescape' rearranges the terms of enquiry to analyse the landscape from the life view of participants. Using the image of Bruegel's painting of a harvest scene, Ingold (1993) picks out aspects of the landscape which contribute to the total physical and human 'scapes', but these are very specific to the scene, for example the corn, the tree, and the church. These may not be identifiable in archaeological landscapes (Fig 2.1a). The picture does not, as Ingold suggests, enable us to become involved in the human scene, in fact the painting is looking in from outside and above: from the Boeing 707. Compare this scene to Corot's view of the Sevres Road (Fig 2.1b) where we have the impression we are in the scene with the travellers by the dusty road. Our view is their view, here we are down among the millet stalks. Their immediate experience is conveyed by the limited view: the road, the here and now. In archaeological interpretation one must be aware of the tendency to see the landscape as The Harvesters scene: the wider picture idealised, multi-place and multi-time within which the group of people are tucked, as one element. The whole of life is explicitly viewable: work, play, worship, and travel. The Harvesters scene is entirely inappropriate, it is 'landscape', not life, Ingold primarily considers the landscape, not the people. It is romanticised, painted to decorate the wall of someone who in another time would fly in a Boeing 707 (Ingold 1993). Conversely Corot's painting suggests we ourselves can only be in one place and one 'now' (Acknowledgements page). Our view is always restricted physically but also by our experience, expectations, and time, we have no overview. Bruegel describes Taskscape, Corot offers Lifescape.

Corot's painting illustrates movement and wayfinding as integral to Lifescape (Ingold 2000a, 219-242). This is discussed in Chapter 7. Corot's travellers, of necessity, have slow-time travelling. For the time spent, there is a relationship between the road and the travellers. In this sense, the road is a 'place' as much as the journey's beginning or destination. It emphasises the likely disparity in Lifescape attitudes of today when functional travel is not 'place' but 'space' between places. Slow progress offers an alternative experience of being and time: intimate knowledge of pathways and landmarks and understanding relationships to the world. Paths pattern people's movement and respond to shifting destinations or Nodes. The Corot painting tells us more than anything that there is a gulf of lifeways and human experience between us and the past people.

Fig 2.1a: Peter Bruegel the Elder: The Harvesters: 1565.

Image in Wikimedia Creative Commons domain: Provided by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Fig 2.1b: Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot: Le Chemin de Serves: Vue de Paris: 1855-1865

Image in the Wikimedia Creative Commons domain: Supplied by The Yorck Project (2002).

Lifescape is an adaptable concept, it has practical applications. At one level it is understood as a society's interaction with its environment for its own desired economic and social outcomes (Somé & McSweeney 1996). While this recognises recoverable data from the archaeology it also reflects "lineages and communities, with their own sense of continuity/discontinuity, values, spirituality, meanings and implied shared culture" (Convery 2006, 462). Lifescape therefore is best measured at a local group or community level; the concept of Lifescape was originally based at "watershed level", smaller catchment areas which highlighted distinct communities (Somé & McSweeney 1996). As with other theoretical approaches, Lifescape requires a means of accessing the understanding of local community. However, as discussed, we cannot personally associate with the society. To overcome this problem, a Trialectic approach is suggested for this study

Trialectic Approach

The "dialectic" approach to landscape was fostered by human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan who argued that opposite approaches and understandings of landscape are not in conflict, landscape cannot be abstract when people are physically and emotionally involved (Ley 2001, 3). This is the basis of Lifescape. However, there still seems a dichotomy between data and theory which Johnson (2012, 516-520) suggests can be overcome by rigorous processes of inference and deduction inter-related between empirical data and theoretical stances. Despite this demand, few methodologies are produced to achieve this. For this study the Elements of the Landscape approach is introduced to provide a structure. This approach sits within the data/theory spectrum by adopting a Trialectic approach.

Trialectic approaches are based on the thinking of Lefebvre (Cresswell 2015, 69-70). Soja (1999, 262-264) adapted this to allow historians, social scientists, and human geographers to combine their disciplines in a mutual and complimentary methodology in which none are privileged over the others. Soja's (1999, 264-267) "ontological triad" are three areas of inter-related study:

- Firstspace: Actual space: perceivable, measurable, and mappable real space. These are natural human reactions to the world and studied as patterning and distribution.
- Secondspace: Conceived space: the imagined and subjective space of cognitive and symbolic worlds. This space is dominant as it controls our experiences and practices, "making" our spaces. Soja saw Firstspace and Secondspace as dualistically opposed and proposed another space which represents both.
- Thirdspace: Lived Space: inhabited space realised through constant and repeated practice. We can identify this with the concept of place which is socially constructed through movement and memory (Soja 1999, 264-267).

This study sees this triad as: The data as Firstspace; Lifescape as Secondspace and it is through: Elements of the Landscape as Thirdspace that the two are interpreted.

A similar triad has been utilised by Jacobs (2006) who recognized the three phenomena as:

- Matterscape: physical reality.
- Mindscape: inner reality.
- Powerscape. Social reality: that which bridged the gap. In this sense 'power' is defined as social norms and objectives sometimes clearly formulated as laws and rules, but also embodied in customs and traditions. Powerscape is therefore a system of norms that regulate how members of a particular society are required to behave with respect to the landscape (Jacobs 2006).

The Elements of the Landscape approach is used as the Thirdspace or Powerscape framework to explain the relationship between the tangible and intangible spaces: archaeological evidence as Lifescape.

Elements of the Landscape

Rajala and Mills (2017c) considered Ingold had de-constructed the landscape of The Harvesters painting into elements of matter which have cognitive associations. They compared this with Kevin Lynch's (1960) Elements of the Landscape approach to urban planning. The concept of Elements of the Landscape takes observable matter and recognises it as intrinsic understanding of our landscape by reference to points and places. The Elemental quality of a physical feature is innately understood and defines behaviour through activity, habitation, and movement. This approach is appropriate even though Lynch's analysis utilises urban settings. Elemental quality is implicit in all human lived environments; therefore, it can never be anachronistic. For formal urban planning purposes, it was necessary for Lynch to detail how Elements are implicit within movement and perception. But Element quality is innate and observable across all societies, both geographically and temporally. Therefore, Lynch's Elements are appropriate to analyse past societies' relationship with the landscape: Lifescape.

Lynch, as an urban planner was concerned with the perception of the city environment by its inhabitants, and how physical objects can evoke a strong image in observers: this he termed *imageability* (Lynch 1960, 9). In city planning an image is created through identity, structure and meaning. That is: an object must be identifiable as an individual entity; have a recognisable spatial or pattern structure; and have a practical or emotional meaning for the observer (Lynch 1960, 8-9). These elements are classified in five forms.

- Paths: A linear form of channelling movement through the landscape. Paths allow access, observation, and relational perceptions of the environment.
- Edges: Linear forms which are boundaries between elements. They may or may not be barriers but give people a notion of place. Edges evoke varying emotions: they can fragment or unite and can also be Nodes of activity, Landmarks or even Paths.
- Districts: Districts are two dimensional areas which display a unity of features. These can be envisaged as entities in which one is 'inside' or 'outside'. Districts can be subtly personal or major dominant elements.
- Nodes: Nodes are foci of intensity and activity which are always associated with paths. Nodes are usually highly visual, but not necessarily in an overt physical sense. They are a place of heightened attention which can be entered and where a journey can be reassessed.
- Landmarks: These are external reference points which are easily definable by their singularity of shape or impression and have high *imageability*. They can be natural or constructed, locally small or widely viewed, but visually prominent and symbolising a direction, they are therefore intrinsic to movement across the landscape. (all from Lynch 1960)

For the purposes of this study, and to allow a detailed examination of some elements, Nodes and Landmarks are discussed in detail, but Paths, Edges and Districts are considered more lightly. Paths are alluded to in connection with Nodes and Landmarks. Edges and Districts have been less accessible to study in the archaeological record, discussed in Chapter 4 in relation to 'small worlds'. This is not ideal, an understanding of Lifescape requires all Elements to be considered together, but a detailed study of all is beyond this limited study. The analysis of results can suggest future work and improvements to methodology. Another restriction in using this approach is the limited definition of the elements of Nodes and Landmarks to allow for comparability of archaeological evidence. This was not intended at the outset, but this is a first attempt and improvements could be made.

The study does not look exclusively at one point in time, instead it identifies changes or continuity from the evidence across the period AD 350 to 650. The notion of 'time' and its centrality in influencing changing community Lifescape is considered briefly.

Lifescape and Time

A Landscape Element is not only a geographical place, but also understood through its social meaning and its story: how it came to be (Coones 1992, 28). For Ingold (1993, 161-164), it is

temporality, the flow of time, which bridges the dichotomy of landscape and Taskscape. But this can be argued. Time is a fallacy: human existence is always in the 'now', as John Fowles allowed Charles Smithson to understand so dramatically (Acknowledgements page). Corot's travellers are living the 'now'. Moreover, as Smithson starkly realised, life is not predictably advancing. De Landa (2000) has argued more thoroughly than can be accommodated here, that actions create feedback and therefore heterogeneity. It has been argued already that the outcomes of human action are observable, but the motivation may be incomprehensible. It is not possible to clearly understand how past motivation influences present actions or indeed how future expectations influence present motivation. There are then, exciting challenges in attempting to interpret Lifescape as change through time, from archaeological evidence.

A pragmatic approach to change and continuity was proposed by Rahtz and Watts for Roman temple buildings (1989, 184-185). Site trajectories may continue but with other influences and understandings.

- Continuity of Roman-influenced sites.
- Continuity in sites more influenced by British values.
- Creation of new sites.
- The transformation of sites into something different.
- The ways in which sites influence land-use.

Using the Elements of the Landscape approach, it is possible to use the evidence of activity to suggest whether sites changed Elemental status. For example, whether the Roman shrine site at Witchampton influenced later agrarian activity and a cemetery. This is possibly a transformation of a site, and one with possible different values which may have influenced/been influenced by change in surrounding land use. These changes can be identified with a shift in Elemental quality and in changing Lifescape perception.

Materials and methodology

The focus of this study rested with archaeological and archival material for the Abbey House site, supported by the geophysical surveys carried out in 2017 and 2018 by the author and Wessex Archaeology (Appendix 1). The archival material, mainly correspondence and photographs as well as the artefactual collection, was accessed at Poole Museum, Dorset County Museum and the Sackler Library, Oxford.

The wider Badbury area includes the Bankes estate, centred on Kingston Lacy House and including the Badbury Rings environs, which was bequeathed to the National Trust in 1981. This estate

includes most of Pamphill and Shapwick parishes. Although excavation opportunities have been limited through National Trust and government policy, the Trust has sustained archaeological and architectural investigation and reports regularly in the DNHAS Proceedings. Heritage Reports are on the National Trust website (https://heritagerecords.nationaltrust.org.uk/home). Relevant material for Badbury Rings and Crab Farm sites is discussed in Chapters 5 to 8. The grey literature reports (https://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/) did not provide any new data for the Badbury area.

For both Badbury and the wider analysis, the Dorset's HER was consulted; the key dataset underlying this is the Royal Commission for Historic Monuments (RCHME) survey. The 1975 volume for East Dorset is one of the fuller surveys. After identifying recorded sites, the site reports were obtained. These are often in the form of interim reports from the DNHAS Proceedings, grey literature, and as archival material. The Proceedings are the main resource for Norman Field's extensive work on Roman sites and in the Badbury area. Some major sites have more complete publications, for example Maiden Castle and Hod Hill. Key villa excavation reports include Halstock (Lucas 1993); Bucknowle (Ellis & Light 2009); and Tarrant Hinton (Graham 2006). These were primarily local archaeological society projects. All provide essential comparative material. The author has been involved in work at the Druce villa site, and interim report evidence is included.

Key unpublished archival materials relate to the 1920s excavation at Witchampton. Little information is recorded from the important villa site at Hemsworth (Engleheart 1909). Archival materials for Roman Dorset are also related to the work of the late Bill Putnam. Bournemouth University has undertaken ongoing publication of his sites, the report on Dewlish villa being crucial to this study (Hewitt et al 2021). Other important work is being carried out by Bournemouth University, this includes High Lea cemetery and the Roman villa at Winterborne Kingston which are presently published as interim reports. There is little development related work within the rural study area, but a significant contribution has been made by excavation ahead of infrastructure projects, for example, the Dorchester bypass and A35 improvements and the cross-landscape National Grid South Dorset VIP project (Boothroyd 2022).

While the Abbey House site was the focus of the study, it was essential to examine it within the wider landscape setting. An area within the *parochia* of Wimborne minster was chosen which was historically associated with Witchampton and focused around Badbury Rings hillfort. This is discussed in Chapter 4. The study covers the late Roman and post-Roman period. A survey, using the source material mentioned above, identified archaeological sites which could be argued as a physical presence in the later 4th century in comparison with the later period. The archaeology of the late Roman period was chosen, as it far outweighs that of the 5th and 6th centuries. This

exercise identified distinct physical site types in the study area: a small town, a villa, settlements, a hillfort, temples or shrines, funerary sites, and an early network of routes. Research suggested there was a lack of comparative sites within the Badbury area and little archaeological information. Thus, a wider search for comparative sites was undertaken, again using the materials mentioned. Sites were chosen generally where they could be identified as belonging to a particular site type, had an archaeological report or there was evidence for a particular activity. Further details are provided in the relevant chapters.

The empirical evidence from the materials needs to be interpreted within the human landscape approach, Lifescape. To assess Lifescape, the Trialectic methodology used in the study requires identification of Elements of the Landscape which represent social customs and norms, linking physical and conceptual landscapes. The identified sites were grouped as Nodes or Landmarks Elements, for this study a detailed analysis of the other Elements was not achievable. Nodes and Landmarks are understood as innate universal concepts, so while their physical form may persist, Elemental quality may change and *vice versa*. Rather than evaluate the form in archaeology, this analysis assesses "elements of the archaeological record in which the activities and beliefs central to …. social and political practice … find expression." (Moreland 2011, 190).

The analysis therefore compared physical visibility of sites but also the quality of activity. For Lynch (1960), Nodes attract intense activity, whereas Landmarks do not. The relevant chapters explain the concepts of visibility applied to sites, and the categorisation of activity type and intensity. The comparative evidence is presented within a table format. The sites were thoroughly appraised for *imageability*: physical presence, and conceptual *imageability* represented by activity type. Sequence was assessed where dating evidence was available. The initial Elemental quality was evaluated; the sequence of *imageability* reflected whether this quality persisted or modified over the period. This would indicate endurance or change in Lifescape.

Because the late and post-Roman dating evidence is limited, the concept of 'indicators' has been applied. Beresford (1967, 379) identified medieval town plantations using a conjunction of symptoms rather than empirical evidence. Blake (2020, 8) also used this approach, called "fuzzy logic": the use of partial truths. The, often, limited evidence from sites is complicated by divergent approaches to archaeological material in publication. Evaluation across sites is therefore problematic. Instead, a more subjective approach is adopted to interpret variants in activity evidence; and to infer 'social or political practice'. When this more nuanced approach is used in this study, the term 'indicators' is employed.

Summary

This chapter has laid the theoretical and methodological approaches to the study. It has examined the influence of practice and theory in human landscapes and has introduced the concept of Lifescape. Empirical evidence and abstract notions of landscape are bridged by a Trialectic approach, Elements of the Landscape. Identifying places as concepts rather than form, through *imageability*, is argued as offering a method of understanding their Elemental quality which tangibly and conceptually structures landscape as Lifescape.

CHAPTER 3. THE POST-ROMAN PERIOD: PERCEPTIONS AND PROBLEMS

This study attempts to understand the nature of Lifescape from the late 4th century to the mid-7th century in a study area in east Dorset. Analysis of this period, particularly in western Britain has been limited by the invisibility of archaeological evidence, confidence in historical sources and the failure to think beyond a classic 'Roman' state. This study allows only a brief overview of these themes with a focus on western Britain. The presence of eastern ('Saxon') cultural material in Dorset is unusual at this time, eastern kingship did not prevail until the later 7th century.

Overview

It is generally agreed that from around AD 410 Britain rebelled and severed its official links with the Roman empire (Yorke 1995, 10-11; Mattingly 2006, 530-531; Russell & Laycock 2019, 238-239). The subsequent period witnessed an unprecedented collapse for visible archaeological remains signifying a period of disruption with the end of Roman state and economic influence (Gerrard 2013*;* Esmonde Cleary 2011, 14-15; 2013, 45; Fleming 2021). While the archaeology of the Romanised 4th century is evident, the subsequent period has been particularly difficult to study from its indiscernible comparative material remains (Esmonde Cleary 2013, 45; Faulkner 2000, 174). For the period beyond the 4th century, the archaeological evidence shifts from evidence of a full lifestyle of domestic, industrial, and ritual activity to a subsequent 'deathstyle': cemetery sites and, in some areas, grave goods. The contrasting evidence therefore is difficult to compare, and requires a separate approach (Gerrard 2013, 9-10). The archaeological invisibility of the 5th century and theories devised from textual sources has led to a wealth of narratives for Lifescape during the post-Roman centuries. From catastrophic collapse of Roman society to a longer chronology of adaption, absorption, or reversion (for example Russell & Laycock 2019; Gerrard 2013; Esmonde Cleary 2013; White 2007; Faulkner & Reece 2002; Faulkner 2000).

There are also various interpretations for Rome's decision to withdraw from Britain which led to the unique ex-empirical circumstances of the island (Guest 2013). Mortimer Wheeler (1943, 71) had argued an economic collapse: the perpetuation of locally based agricultural practices could never support the demands of the Roman empire and an urban middle class. Other hypotheses include peasant revolt, warfare, and Christian fundamentalism as well as the traditional view of marauding Germanic invaders (for example Gerrard 2013, 17; Faulkner 2000, 174-178). Theoretical models for the reasons and consequences of the end of Roman rule and the subsequent developments have shifted with prevailing paradigms but continue to be influenced by textual

sources. However, Continental texts were not focused on Britain at that time while the limited British texts had a purpose other than to objectively relate British history (Esmonde Cleary 1989; Faulkner 2000, 174-178; Gerrard 2013, 13-21).

Contemporary chroniclers included Patrick, a British cleric based in Ireland sometime in the 5th century; Gildas' in his *De Excidio Britanniae,* written around AD 530-545, which has a zealous religious message and historical errors; the 9th century Nennius whose British history has been described as fairy tales; Bede, his 8th century history is based on sources such as Gildas (Esmonde Cleary 1989, 166-168). Nevertheless, these are deeply imbedded into our thinking, and they cannot, and should not, be disregarded. Instead, they are understood within their contextual time and intent. Within the texts, subtle messages and opinions are illuminatory and reflect a reality, for example, the often-cited comment that Christianity prevailed in western Britain since Gildas failed to accuse the western British of pagan practices, although other vices are censured (Gerrard 2013, 161; 273).

Whatever narrative is argued it must be constructed from the trajectory of the 4th century when the increasing insular modification of "Roman-ness" is recognised and influences our concept of 'Romanisation' (Gerrard 2013 168; Faulkner & Reece 2002). To an extent, divisive contemporary perceptions are based on differing interpretations of 'Roman'. While Henig (2004) argues for a continuation of the influence of *Romanitas* through the evidence of cultural objects; Faulkner & Reece (2002) argue 5th century society cannot be considered 'Roman' if no longer within the empire. More nuanced approaches suggest a regional adaption of Roman culture which persisted in modifications; and the continuation of an affiliated Roman-type lifestyle outside the empire. Ongoing excavation is producing cultural and scientific dating evidence for continuing Roman influences, for example the late classical mosaics in Rutland (Blair 2022) and 5th century radiocarbon dated mosaics at Chedworth (Papworth 2020). From this evidence Faulkner & Reece (2002) are astute in suggesting an appraisal of why and how Roman material culture is utilised and comprehended within later contexts. Although they conclude the 5th century must be regarded as a distinctly different culture, there is still the problem raised in Chapter 2, of the inherent past. Empirical control for over sixteen generations would intrinsically impact society, the extent to which this could be abruptly severed culutrally is questionable.

Whether 5th century aspirations continued an emerging insular type of Roman culture or abruptly decided on something quite different is pertinent within the late and post-Roman period. Neither 'collapse' not 'continuity' would appear to be relevant terms to use. 5th century Britain was living the 'now', 'ends' and 'beginnings' are more nuanced. Instead, Gerrard (2013, 168) suggests that

the 5th century did not fossilise or ignore the cultural past but instead selected it in a dynamic and innovative manner.

Challenges for dating the 5th and 6th centuries

The archaeological evidence from the 5th and 6th centuries is limited and there is a problem for scientific dating from a plateau in the radiocarbon calibration curve for the late 4th and 5th century (Gerrard 2015, 567). The evidence for dating sites from this period often rests with pottery, brooch typology and coins, and particularly so for antiquarian and early excavation reports (Boehmer 2020, 395). While brooches and pottery depend on typology sequence, coins have dates and are seen as reliable indicators for dating contexts. For this period, they are used to indicate the cessation of imported Roman coin and thus Roman administration (Moorhead & Walton 2014). After the first years of the 5th century, only high value coinage appears in the archaeological record; context dating then becomes more complicated, although the practice of clipping silver *siliquae* is pertinent to this period (Hinton 1998, 7; Guest 2013).

Boehmer (2020) has highlighted the problems associated with using datable objects even in secure stratigraphy and suggests that in many examples the context is much later than the coin evidence, although Gerrard (2013, 168) would qualify this as around fifty years. Rahtz and Watts (1979) had already emphasised open-mindedness around coin evidence when dating abandonment of Roman temples. The question remains as to whether coin was residual or in use at the time of its deposition, and whether this can be ascertained from its context (Boehmer 2020).

Arguments around coin use illustrate the contrasting interpretations which surround this period. Guest (2014) has suggested that "late Roman" hoards, and specifically those with clipped *siliquae* and *Hacksilber* and found predominantly to the east, are arguably later 5th century and reminiscent of Scandinavian, rather than Roman practice. Guest (2014) has also contended that the method of clipping of *siliquae* indicated a continuing monetary value and coin imitation production. This could be viewed as an example of innovation, suggested by Gerrard, for the period. Coins continued to have some form of relevance within society, for example at West Stow early medieval settlement, over a hundred Roman coins had been accumulated, although the significance is unknown (West 1969). It could be argued that coinage use was not intrinsic across the late Roman rural population in Dorset. Henry's (2021, 197) analysis of Dorset coin loss and hoard distribution suggests that coin use related to markets and official business and was less used, or at least lost, in rural areas.

While the lacuna in visible archaeological remains from the 5th century is a difficulty, the influence of the dominant and persistent structures and artefacts from the Roman past is not always

appreciated (Gerrard 2013, 12). These remains may have later taken on mutable roles, but their continuing presence would indicate that 5th century Lifescape developed within existing material, and by inference, conceptual, social structures, guiding the trajectories of the 6th and 7th centuries. Gerrard (2014, 2010) has argued for the continued curation and use of Roman ceramic vessels into this period. Fleming (2021) has many examples of Roman and Roman-influenced artefacts deliberately incorporated into 5th century contexts. The disappearance of familiar material resources would be unwelcome but could also lead to innovation. The apparent cessation of industrial scale pottery production in 5th century Dorset and the change in emphasis in vessel form and distribution indicates a different emphasis of Lifescape to the earlier "mobilised" economy (Gerrard 2010). This may provide an insight into a more localised demand based on retaining agricultural surplus and a less complex society with a modified culture, which may be masked by sustainable Roman structures (Gerrard 2010; Esmond Cleary 2011, 14-15). The difficulties of dating in the British-Roman period are therefore ongoing and more subtle than direct coinage and artefactual evidence reveals, This should be acknowledged, as should the disparity of cultural evidence across the country.

Regional variation and identity

There is a growing tendency for arguing for cultural diversity in the Roman period: this diversity could have a significant influence on the events of the following centuries (Gerrard 2013; Russell & Laycock 2019, May Montana 2021). Regional cultural and economic diversity has long been recognised for western provincial Britain (for example Branigan & Fowler 1976; Dark & Dark 1998; White 2007; Russell and Laycock 2019). These analyses tend towards describing contrasting and divided geographies and cultures, which Mattingly criticised (2006, 14-17). He stressed the agency of British elites in the adoption of attributes of Roman civilisation; the dilution of these through society; and the inability and obliviousness of some elements to adopt Roman culture. Russell and Laycock (2019) go further contending that Rome's influence over much of the western population was negligible and the Celtic culture flourished again in the 5th century. Nevertheless, these peoples existed within a complex Romanised system which dictated politics and jurisdiction, agrarian strategy, market systems, and architectural developments all directly influencing the population socially, economically, and politically (Esmonde Cleary 2011, 15-16). From the artefactual evidence, Gerrard (2013, 226-229) argues regionally diverse reactions to Roman culture which continued to self-create beyond AD 410.

Davey (2005, 4) argues that material evidence cannot reveal the extent to which British inhabitants themselves identified as Roman. Identity is defined by our social belonging and "naturalness": this,

arguably, was also the case for past societies (Díaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005, 11). Díaz-Andreu et al (2005) argue that group identity holds alliances together but does not necessarily rest in one aspect of life. Self-identification includes ethnicity, religion, gender, and status and these are not static. The band of *Durotriges* masons, possibly militiamen, from *Lindinis,* Ilchester, were proud to carve their identity in a stone inscription on Hadrian's Wall as members of a distinct geographic group (Russell & Laycock 2019, 216-217). They were working on a markedly non-*Durotrigian* construction, far from their home, and operating within the strictures and culture of the Roman army. How can we assess the meaning they attached to their identification as *Durotrigian* or to the identity of their descendants? Identity is mutable in understanding, but also adapts and transforms across time and place (Díaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005, 11-12). It has been observed that a national identity modifies with the gaining of independence through political reformation and the devolvement of government (Díaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005, 11). One can understand that the imposition of, and withdrawal of, Roman imperial control would modify and allow understandings of identity in Britain.

Dorset and early medieval ethnicity

It has been noted that cemetery archaeology dominates the 5th and 6th centuries. Furnished burial and cremation cemeteries, with 'Germanic style', 'Saxon', grave goods are emphasised for the insight they may provide into otherwise invisible ethnic and social identity (for example Lucy 2000). The idea of specific Germanic and Scandinavian groups invading, settling, and eventually dominating the eastern and thereafter whole country of Britain is based on the distribution of cultural styles to support historical sources, like Gildas. Textual sources often had an agenda: entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, for example, sought to legitimise King Alfred's authority through ethnic lineage (Esmonde Cleary 1989, 170-171).

As suggested, the concept of ethnicity is fraught with ethical, racial, and interpretative problems as well as changing conceptions. Mees (2014, 34-38) has synthesised some of the debate, and a rehearsal is outside the constraints of this short study particularly so because early Germanic impact has not been regarded as a major theme for Dorset. The Dorset area is not thought incorporated into Wessex until Saxon Cenwalh won the battle at *Peonnum* in AD 658 (Yorke 1995, 52-54; Hinton 1998, 38). The argument is supported from the survival of evenly distributed Brittonic place-names in Dorset, more than Wiltshire and Hampshire but fewer than Somerset, indicating a western advance (Coates & Breeze 2000, 376-39). Bruce Eagles' (2018, 129-142) research on Wessex sites and finds has determined there is little consistent eastern influence in Dorset until the 7th century, and this is noted in the Badbury study area. This 7th century culture is

something quite different to that of the 5th century Germanic groups. These early groups created their own myths and genealogies along the way (Gerrard 2013, 266). Significantly, by the mid-7th century, the southern *Gewisse* group culturally reflected 'British' influences. Their kings had British names, for example Cerdic and Caedwalla; they kept extensive allegiances with royal British houses; and were overtly Christian. Collectively groups adopted the label 'Saxon' creating the kingdom of Wessex largely within the 7th and 8th centuries (Yorke 1995, 6, 48-60; Hinton 1998, 38).

However, there appears to be noticeable material cultural boundaries west and east of Dorset during the 'British' 5th and 6th centuries. Between Dorset and Wiltshire/Hampshire this is marked by 'Germanic' items east of the river Avon (Eagles 2018), while into Somerset the elite material culture begins to reflect Mediterranean and Christian influence, for example at Tintagel, Carhampton, Cadbury Castle and Glastonbury Tor (see Burrow 1981; Alcock 1995; Gerrard 2013, 8; Somerset HER Monuments 23603, 33449). The western culture is generally understood as British and marginalised as 'other' in Saxon texts, while the eastern peoples were considered by Gildas, a British clerk, as barbaric (Gerrard 2013, 156-157; Russell & Laycock 2019, 262-263). While much space has been taken up by the exploration of 'Anglo-Saxon' identity (for example Gerrard 2013, 262-269), the challenge of the western culture has been to establish an appellation based on little archaeological evidence.

Terminology: Late Antique or British-Roman?

There is ongoing discussion about the 'label' we apply to the period from AD 400 to around AD 700 in western Britain. The eastern side, simplistically, is regarded as 'Anglo-Saxon', although Mees (2014) has generally used this term for burials of any type in the heartland of Wessex, including Dorset, which is erroneous and confusing. The debate is brought about by three issues:

- This period does not fall within a historically identifiable political control, sandwiched between the Roman state and Saxon overlordship.
- The nature of control at this time continues an academic argument.
- It seems likely that there was no overall political allegiance to enable a 'shorthand'.

As a result, conflicting names are associated with this period. Dark (2004) has identified fourteen labels, to this can be added Faulkner's (2004) and Carver's (2019) triad approaches. The problem is ongoing: Rahtz and Fowler had pointed out eight labels in 1972, which to complicate matters, they suggested applying each specifically to sites and assemblages and a sub-division in time (Rahtz & Fowler 1972). Clearly this situation is untenable for - to use an arguably recognisable term - Dark Age study. It is fair to say that the need to apply a general term to this period is an anachronistic

challenge for current academia. Arguably, Dark Age Lifescape, as any Lifescape, arises as a "sequence of events" (Faulkner 2004 x) in the 'now'. Contemporary period labels are a modern construct. In this case, the term used should, like the term 'Dark Age', have a meaning to our contemporary society, as it is only of importance for our current understanding. In the case of Dark Age, 21st century archaeology is revealing that the Age was far from Dark, now the label is inappropriate. Another term, 'early medieval', is equally inappropriate: it presumes the period realised a 'medieval'; denies the Roman heritage; and has already been used to describe that period after the Norman Conquest.

One label that reappears is 'Late Antique' (Collins & Gerrard 2004a). Ken Dark (2004, 2014) is an advocate for this term. There are arguments against and for, the use of 'Late Antique' for this study and for the Dorset area in general.

- Dark (2014) has suggested that 'Late Antique' should be applied to western Britain because the area had strong influences and associations with eastern Mediterranean, Late Antique culture. However, his argument is based on the western seaboard and *Dumnonia*. There is little evidence to show a direct association between the Dorset area and the Mediterranean. Culturally, Dorset seems to rather adapt late Roman traditions, and external influences tend towards Gaul and (in east Dorset) eastern Britain. This argument is expanded later. This being the case, the term 'Late Antique' is an anatopism for Dark Age Dorset culture, since there is no evidence the population at that time had a direct connection to the 'Late Antique' world.
- The words 'Late Antique' do not convey a contemporary understanding of the period. This study has argued that terminology needs to be appropriate to that which it labels, hence the term 'Lifescape' not 'Taskscape'. 'Late Antique' is meaningless unless one is familiar with late Roman continental archaeology. 'Antique' is not employed for Roman Britain.

However, both British and continental Late Antiquity cultures have similar trends.

- From the late Roman period they expressed their inherited identity while adopting Roman cultural and political allegiance (Dark 2014). This hybrid culture is argued for late and post-Roman Dorset.
- Dark (2014) noted Christian authority as an adhesive for British communities, just as it was on the continent. This is discussed in Chapter 7.

Faulkner (2004) also argued for a Late Antique cultural mix in Britain from AD 350 to 450, but thought it was less Antique than 'Anarchic'. For a self-confessed Romanist, this would be

understandable. From the British perspective this might not be the case. Outside of the state machine, local elites could reinvigorate society with economic, religious, and political opportunities; these had long been in formulation. Disruption and disorder could be expected, but the ensuing social order, if indeed it was less complex (Faulkner 2004), was still functioning and sequencing.

This study uses the term 'British-Roman'. From the Roman period and into the 'Late Antique', the island was known as Britannia, and described thus by Gildas in the 5th century, while fleeing Britons influenced the renaming of Amorica (Cunliffe 2021, 201-234). After four hundred years of Roman occupation, it is expected that an affinity with Roman values was maintained. Patrick and later Gildas both associated with Roman inheritance and culture. The term 'Romano-British' is employed extensively in academia, associated traditions and identities continued and re-formed society in Britain over the next centuries. For these reasons, the term 'British-Roman' is applied to the AD 350-650 period. The terms 'early' and 'late' are used for 'fuzzy' identification of either late or post-Roman periods. This expression does not seek to justify a tangible 'British' identity, but it does say what this study argues: that the period was influenced by inherent and external influences adapted geographically and temporally forming western British culture across this period.

Summary

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the study of the late Roman and post-Roman period called here the British-Roman period. It has examined the conceptual influences and empirical challenges which have shaped our understandings and has argued overarching labels and their implications are not necessarily helpful. It has indicated that there is no one narrative for the period, and that it should be seen as dynamic and evolving at localised or regional levels. Dating sites requires a more intuitive approach to direct evidence. Concepts of identity and ethnicity are complex and should not be accepted from specific remains, instead these represent communities establishing identities through adoption and adaption of cultural traditions in new circumstances. There is difficulty in identifying temporal changes for these developing groups: how, and for how long, society continued to be influenced by the Roman inheritance has been a major theme of the period. Lifescape for the British-Roman period is suggested as being based on regional topographical and community influences, this is explored using James Gerrard (2013) interpretation of 'Small world' society.

CHAPTER 4. 'SMALL WORLDS', TERRITORY AND THE BADBURY STUDY AREA

The Argument for Localisation

Localised projects require meticulous detailed study of uniqueness. Local researchers are increasing able to investigate and interpret using accessible specialists and scientific techniques through online open access. One village-based but exemplary work is the Chewton Mendip Community Archaeology on the Mendip Plateau project (http://www.camplat.btck.co.uk/ accessed 12.01.2022) which from excavation and specialist study, has identified early medieval pottery, in a county considered aceramic at this time. Delimited empirical research has also been criticised, for example, Stewart and Russell's 2017 Dorset hillforts geophysical survey which could be accused of particularisation, unconsciously theorised, and assigned to empirical evidence by data collection (Johnson 2007, 45: 2010, 97). However, it has a valuable place in wider study of Dorset Iron Age society. It complements Papworth's (2008) thesis on regionally distinct Iron Age communities; Bournemouth University's Durotriges Project; and on a national level, the Hillforts Atlas database (https://hillforts.arch.ox.ac.uk/). A defined area study of medieval settlement origins and form within the forest of Whittlewood (Jones & Page 2006) has revealed unexpected variability which would have been overlooked in a broader approach. Boehmer (2020) has argued that dating evidence at small sites is particularly insightful and can be applied on a wider scale. The emphasis in academia on more over-reaching topics such as Smith et al's (2016, 2018) overview of Roman settlement and funerary landscapes has directed research funding away from localised projects (James Gerrard, pers. comm.). The study considers a limited territory, a 'small world', for examining late and post-Roman archaeology. It uses wider comparative evidence but only from within Dorset. It is argued this regional study will help to access Lifescape, which aids understanding of locally distinct communities (Somé & McSweeney 1996).

Attempting to recognise British-Roman territorial 'small worlds' is not straightforward. There is a lack of direct evidence for the period. Local worlds are as much constructed from concepts as from physical boundaries, and they are modified by time in area and perception (Everitt 1977, 1). For Lifescape there are cultural, economic, political, and physical worlds which nestle within and around each other. Attempts to recover territorial boundaries are considered, but it is suggested that our concepts of land ownership and physical demarcation may be anachronistic for that period, when land rights and attachment may have meant something quite different to Lifescape.

‘Small Worlds’

Gerrard’s 2013 overview of the late 4th and 5th century has been influential in this study for interpretation of British-Roman developments. It is one of a few more recent attempts to focus on that period and pragmatically contextualises acknowledged opinions on events using archaeological and historical evidence. In this study’s original wider temporal analysis of the Badbury study area, the British-Roman period played a lesser role, and Gerrard’s ‘small world’ approach was used to contain an argument that Lifescape is influenced by locality. For a more focused approach, Gerrard’s theme is still relevant but requires some justification.

Identifying territorial extents at this time is challenging since there is no direct evidence for land holding arrangements in the 5th and 6th centuries. Map regression and place-name studies are used as indicators, but these resources have a bias towards eastern British, ‘Saxon’ territorial arrangements (for example Bassett (1989a and 1989b); Faith 1999; Williamson (2012)). These studies suggest Roman or post-Roman territorial divisions influenced Saxon holdings, but with no significant continuity evidence. Bassett (1989b) discusses the boundary evidence for early family territories or *regios*, from historic field patterns, but no evidence for dating their early formation. There are, then, assumptions around the post-Roman territorial arrangements in the east. Clearly for British-Roman Dorset, outside of the Saxon kingdom until the mid-7th century, western influences are more appropriate. Arguably, the geographical divide is not absolute, origins of eastern, Anglo-Saxon society could also be derived from Roman arrangements but there is a noticeable continental cultural influence which may not have similarly stimulated western land patterns and use. However, for the west, Wendy Davies’ (1978) study of early Welsh land grants is suggested as appropriate, and her research argues estate boundaries changed significantly between the 5th and 11th centuries, which argues for later fossilisation of holdings in the landscape. Davies’ research with land grant documentation must no doubt have influenced Gerrard’s ‘small world’ concept. Her publications analysed early medieval localised territorial arrangements in Wales (1978) and village communities in Brittany (1988). For this study, Davies’ research has two possible applications: direct evidence and methodological approaches.

Direct evidence from 9th century Breton community arrangements has limited relevance to this study the of post-Roman Dorset. The land grant evidence for southeast Wales is more appropriate, although there is caution for directly referencing the results to Dorset. Welsh territories and politics may have evolved quite differently to southern Britain; the charters are derived exclusively from ecclesiastical land holdings and moreover the source material is acknowledged as corrupt (Davies 1978, 160). However, there are positive comparisons for Dorset British-Roman study. Like

Dorset, southeast Wales is fertile agricultural country and was thus culturally and economically Romanised; the source material begins in the 5th and 6th century; Saxon overlordship is confined to the eastern fringes of the study area, the documentation therefore reflects the "devolution of Roman society" and the development of a 'British' society (Davies 1978, 1; 25-26).

Significantly Davies' work is widely applicable to other early medieval and indeed prehistoric and historic territorial and social studies, even without the documentation. Territorial arrangements and land use are not directly demonstrated from the sparse written record (Davies 1978). Davies (1978, 24) emphasises the importance of accessing the workings of the economy to understand social organisation and development within microcosms, or 'small worlds'. This methodology can, to an extent, be replicated in the Badbury area study using Lifescape. The original concept of Lifescape (Howorth 1999, 17) is also based on economic decisions of local communities which affect and impact cultural and social developments. In both cases, it is the highly influential community decisions which underly activities implied in either land grants or for Badbury, archaeological remains. The cruciality of local stimuli is therefore applicable across societies, providing there is evidence to be found. The Whittlewood study (Jones & Page 2006) has been already mentioned in this context.

Davies (1978, 1; 24) does not attempt obvious research themes associated with ecclesiastical land documentation: for example, absolute quantification or church organisation. These themes were unrecoverable from the source material. Instead, she lets the evidence guide her research themes and found these sources contained clues to aspects of social organisation. Again, this approach is adaptable to evidence-based research, including archaeology. To an extent this method is used in this study, by first compiling the evidence and then suggesting what themes can be identified for Landscape Elements. This is relevant in the villa material, for example, when it became evident that control of food production was central to Lifescape.

Davies (1978, 24; 160) has acknowledged the need for making assumptions when examining such limited and corrupted material, statements are made from inferences. From the inferences, she interprets social and economic change and the transformation of church and political power in the early medieval period (Davies 1978, 163). She needs to employ the indicators suggested for this study and a similar "fuzzy" approach. This is an approach which is suggested as allowing a more intuitive interpretation of evidence. There are then two aspects to Davies' 'small world' research which is applicable to this study: the ability to find community influences in decision-making, and the approach and interpretation of source material. The latter has already been discussed in Chapter 3. The evidence for locally derived social organisation has been developed by Gerrard.

Gerrard (2013) argues that social organisation in late Roman Britain was fundamentally based on the power of local elite households. Outwardly, authority was derived from the Roman empire by adopting Roman administrative roles, values, and lifestyle, but topographical and customary influences in regions resulted in more nuanced adoption of *Romanitas*. Overtly, estate owners expressed imperial authority, but also acquired personal power (Esmonde Cleary 2011, 15-17; Hinton 1998, 15). Snyder (1998, 228) proposes that by the 4th century, local bureaucratic landed elites were in personal control of *civitates* with a self-interest in protecting their own estates. As Roman involvement in Britain became less tangible but more financially demanding, there was an increasing reluctance for magnates to maintain affiliation through taxation. The political and economic directions of the late 4th century therefore allowed for the emergence of local elites controlling 'small worlds', setting the basis for later land ownership developments (Gerrard 2013, 14).

'Small worlds' centred on communities associated with a territory, a patchwork of self-governing groups within the rural landscape. This juxtaposition could result in group rivalry, but self-appointed leaders also needed to convey authority over their community. Roman official identity and dress was adopted in a military style retinue (Gerrard 2013). There is no positive evidence for the extent of the territorial control by these elites, although Gerrard (2013, 233) uses Ilchester as an example of an accessible 'small world' estate area of 8 miles (13km) around the town. Roman Shepton Mallet was a trading and supply post also with a suggested hinterland over 8-10 miles (Leach 1991, 26). Late Roman 'small worlds' may have reflected urban hinterlands, but later continuity needs a 'fuzzy' approach. For example, from tentative evidence, Davey (2005, 127) argues for long-term tenure and the retention of an Ilchester land unit, its focus removed to South Cadbury hillfort. Bassett (1989b, 24-26) argues for territorial constancy around the Roman town at Great Chesterford, Essex, although settlement focus moved in the Saxon period. This is derived from parish patterns, but again these boundaries are not always coextensive. Germanic influence in this area was earlier and could be more integrated into Roman arrangements than in the west.

However, as Davies found, the situation was highly volatile and constantly changing. Comparisons with Roman settlement patterns could not identify Roman estate boundary continuity in Wales from the 6th century charter evidence (Davies 1978, 62). Early land grants made no reference to settlement but merely identified land measurements (Davies 1978, 32). Davies (1978, 63) noted that territorial patterns of ownership and ownership rights were significantly disrupted in the 8th century. She concluded that later Welsh hundred and parish systems rarely directly referenced earlier boundaries. Parishes reflected later fragmentation and a more proprietorial attitude of lay ownership.

In this period, territorial boundaries may not necessarily be defined and were applied independently for distinct purposes. Davies (1978, 26) noted that detailed boundaries were only added later to earlier land grants. The 7th century land grant to Abbot Bectun at Fontmell Magna was "thirty hides north of the stream Fontmell" (Murphy 1992, 23). The hundredal system changed earlier boundaries as it was imposed for tax rather than the earlier render collection; historical hundredal boundaries are not stated, not relevant, in Domesday; and land measurements excluded areas considered as 'waste' (Williamson 2012, 86-94; Bassett 1989b 21; Thorn 1991, 27). Hundred boundaries themselves were not static, being reformed through the Saxon and later periods, Badbury hundred was subdivided on more than one occasion (Thorn 1991).

Gerrard (2013) has suggested late Roman estate owners were becoming more akin to territorial warrior chiefs who could survive the Roman withdrawal, transferring Roman tax demands to render or soke, in the form of food and products (Barrow 1973, 10). Subsequently this led to "tribal ownership" administered by "patriarchs" (Bassett 1989b, 20). The Llandaff land charters demonstrate the development of recognised and legitimised territorial ownership. Land was acknowledged as in the possession of aristocrats with the ability and wealth to alienate land units. The size of these units varied, gradually decreased in size with further subdivision, and could later become a discrete estate (Davies 1978). More ambitious elites expanded territorial control, and from their power base could be considered 'kings' (Bassett 1989b, 20). Welsh documentation indicated kingship, but its nature at this time is not straightforward. There were multiple kingships whose numbers and lineages fluctuated (Davies 1978, 93). Power was preserved by kingly companions, both family and military, and tenant render.

Attitudes to land ownership was also appreciably different to Roman law (Bassett 1989). Kings and elites may not have owned land, but rather the rights over it. Perhaps this type of privilege continued as royal hunting rights across privately owned land on the Cranborne Chase (Chafin 1818). It was not land but land rights, the collection of dues and services, which could be given away by early kings, initially to churches and later, laymen. While the ideas of 6th century kingship and rights need to be re-evaluated, so does the perception of people's attachment to their territory. The land was worked by both servile hereditary and non-hereditary tenants and slaves (Davies 1978, 43). Tenants and slaves existed inseparably with the land they worked. They could be given to or bought in land grants. This was an accepted practice, not necessarily derogatory since documentary evidence suggests tenants could still have wealth and retained rights (Davies 1978, 43-45). This tradition supports the notion of Lifescape as an apt concept for people who understood themselves as interconnected and identifiable through their home territory. This is a

fundamental difference in how we perceive identity. 'Belonging' may have rested within a 'small world'.

There is also the ambiguity of kingship roles: kings had no responsibility to govern. Welsh kingship was based solely on territorial interests and often obtained by violence in what was, effectively, a lawless state. This interpretation suggests Gildas' description of kings as tyrants, preying on the innocent, has some basis (Giles 1848, 314). Governance was delivered at 'small world', community level and this raises questions over the organisation of agricultural resources. Both Williamson (2012) and Bassett (1989b) have argued against Jones' Welsh multiple-estate model as too formulaic for an early period and for England. The idea of early land holdings as an integrated organised unit is anachronistic. Estates became a reality when land units were granted to laymen and church bodies who adopted a proprietorial approach, and developed a manorial system (Bassett 1989, 20-21). Davies (1978, 37; 57-59) found no evidence for integrated agricultural production, although units were worked sufficiently well to produce the surplus required as render, presumably through community agreements and organisation. This would also be the case in Dorset by the 7th century, when established monastic territories, for example at Fontmell Magna, Sherborne and Iwerne Minster, were being re-granted by Saxon kings. This is expanded in Chapter 6.

Gerrard's (2013) suggestion for the development of 'small worlds' seems to be borne out by Davies' interpretation of 6th century Welsh land holding. Conceptions of land ownership, attachment and responsibility need to be re-evaluated The late Roman political situation contributed to the establishment of a localised governing elite. Physical regions may have been associated with early extended families, but land holdings were redefined through unstable political change although each unit would need to encompass topographies and flora to cover their needs (Bassett 1989b, 19-24). A form of kingship developed, and Gildas appears to accurately portray kings as tyrants, property and dues were gained through violence without civic responsibilities. Eventually, kingship allowed for the alienation of land rights to church establishments and laymen and the development of manorial systems.

Are Districts and Edges achievable?

The concept of 'small worlds' is relevant to the Landscape Elements of Districts and Edges. Earlier, it was suggested British-Roman Districts, as recognisable social entities, are difficult to judge. Davies' microcosms or small worlds of governance could be the basis for a District study, but to what extent can Districts and Edges be assessed from archaeology? While there may have been an inherent *imageability* to Districts, it has been suggested that it is impossible and possibly

anachronistic to find defined and retained landscape boundaries. Outside of Roman administration, aristocrats could accumulate District control, but this appears to relate to the right to claim dues from the land. Meanwhile tenants may have understood their District in another form, as they were tied in body and identity to their community by their hereditary rights. Communities carried out their own social governance. Common grazing, woodland and areas of 'waste' may have been considered as unowned community assets. By the 6th century in Wales, and certainly the 7th century in Dorset, a system of land holding had been established which allowed kingly persons to grant areas of territory, more likely land dues, to support ecclesiastical organisations. How these related to earlier land units is unknown, but Edges were unstable and later parochial boundaries do not necessarily represent an earlier extent.

For these reasons, Districts and Edges have not been examined thoroughly in this study. Any evidence is complicated by later arrangements as well as the conceptual differences discussed. Territories did not necessarily conform to *physical imageability,* instead they could be considered for their *cognitive imageability.* Districts and Edges may not appear directly in archaeology, but it might be possible to understand territory as Lifescape: integrated action within a topographic, economic, and social unit. Identifying, or at least, suggesting, Districts representing communities rather than 'areas' could be understood through the relationship of Elements. Hall (2000) has used this approach to an extent, for minster *parochiae* but, with justification, bases this on old parish boundaries. Without known boundaries a District needs to be assessed individually using site archaeology and the presence of Landmarks and Nodes, as in this study. Portesham is one parish which has occupation and funerary evidence for Roman and British-Roman periods within the current village. There is also a large 7th century cemetery and a hundred meeting place along its Saxon boundary and close to routeways. Some of these themes for Portesham could be transferred to the Badbury area.

The Badbury Study Area

The difficulty of interpreting early territorial boundaries and the limitations of this study has defined the base and extent for selecting a study area. It has been argued, and Everitt (1977) has shown that the reconstruction and understanding of actual boundaries is impossible to recreate as social, topographical, and political boundaries cannot be considered comparable. The study area chosen is based within a portion of the 8th century *parochia* of Wimborne Minster, as defined by Hall (2000: Fig 4:1). It excludes the eastern heaths and woodlands for lack of pre-medieval archaeological evidence, although a wider perspective could discuss the opposing patterns.

Estates of early Saxon minsters were carved from the territory of royal *vills.* By the end of the 7th century King Ine held extensive lands across eastern Dorset and founded a double monastery for his sister Cuthburh around AD 718 at *Wimburnan,* Wimborne (Hall 2000, 1-9). Monastic foundations were an expression of kingly wealth, stability, beliefs, and retained family lands (Blair 2005, 84-91). As abbess, Cuthburh had religious and secular authority, Wimborne was likely the location of a royal palace and market. It remained politically important until the mid-10th century, when it had gained borough status (Blair 2005, 85; Keen 1984, 227; Hall 2000, 8; Everitt 1977, 6).

The original Wimborne *parochia* and estate is estimated at around 21000 acres (8500 h) (Everitt 1977). This is judged from settlement names associated with an early riverine estate along the *Wimburn* (Allen river)*:* Wimborne St Giles and Monkton. Other such estates extended along river corridors and downland (Everitt 1977; Taylor 2004, 49-59). Later, when estates were broken up, parish names retained the attachment, for example, along the Tarrant and Piddle valleys. These land holdings also existed along the Crichel and Gussage valleys, these were subsequently split in ownership and hundreds (Thorn 1991, 32). The Wimborne monastic estate extended the length of the Allen and south to the coast (Everitt 1977, 5; Lavelle 2007, 32). Davies (1978, 61) noted the importance of lucrative landing rights in Chepstow, the Wimborne estate could have held such rights at Poole harbour; the Stour was navigable to Wimborne (Harrington & Welch 2014, 53-54). The monastic establishment was still in existence in AD 900 but disbanded or destroyed and a secular establishment was founded in the 11th century (Coulstock 1993, 97). Monastic lands would have reverted to the King, but Dorset royal estates and associated hundreds were reorganised through the 11th century. The later, compact Wimborne *parochia* was partially retained as the minster parish into the 19th century (Fig 4:1; Lavelle 2007, 36; Bourne 2017, 50; Keen 1984, 226-227; DOR: T/WM).

Wimborne estate benefitted from a wide range of natural resources, encompassing zones of topographical and ecological disparity which enabled it to run cohesively. This is apparent in the Landscape Character Areas (Fig 4:2; Fig 4:3) which describe diverse environmental conditions and resource opportunities (Everitt 1977; Burden & Le Pard 1996). The Badbury area falls predominantly within Chalk Uplands with a small western spur of Dorset Heaths in Pamphill (Darby 1967, 127-129).

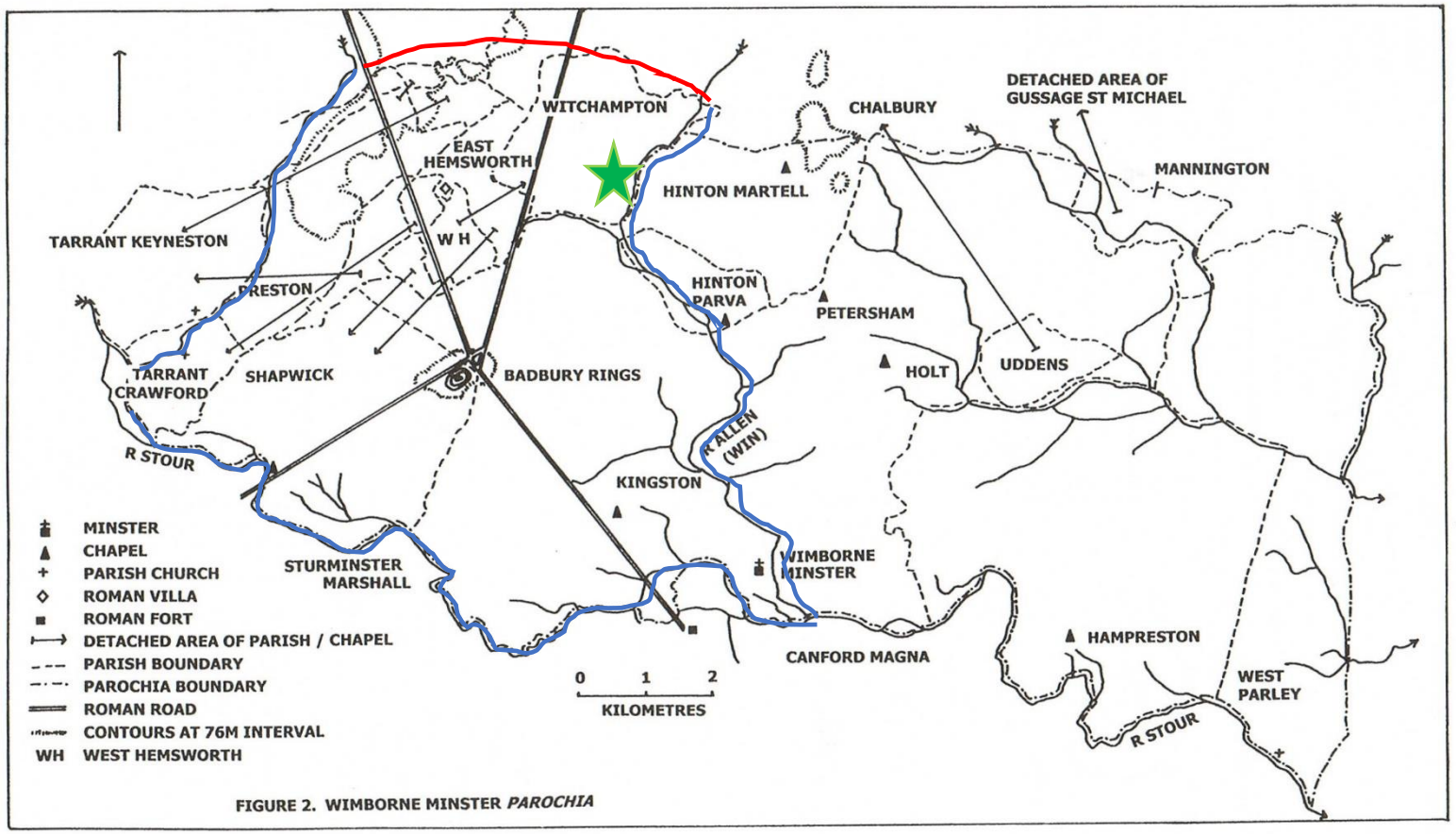

Fig 4:1: The suggested parochia of Wimborne minster.

From Hall 2000: Annotated with study area boundaries: river boundaries (blue); notional territorial (red); Witchampton marked with star.

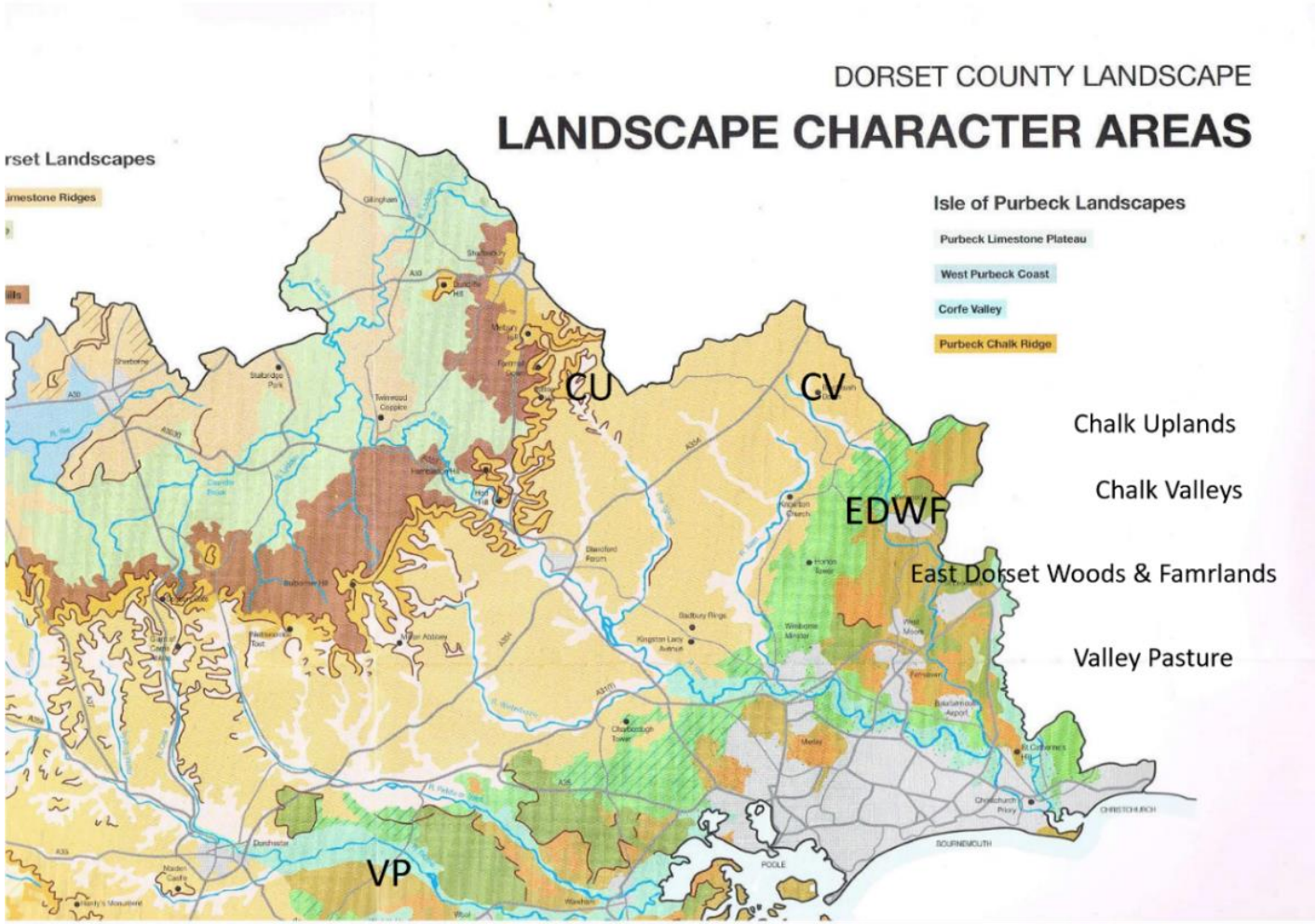

Fig 4:2 The Character Areas of east Dorset:

Annotated from Burden & Le Pard 1996. VP Valley Pasture; EDWF East Dorset Woods and farmlands; CV Chalk valleys; CU Chalk Uplands

Fig 4:3: The Landscape Character Areas of Badbury study area

Top: Chalk Downlands at Bradford Down. Middle: The Stour Valley Pasture against the backdrop of East Dorset Woods and Farmland at Pamphill. Bottom: The Stour Chalk Valley at Tarrant Crawford. Photos by author 2019.

At Domesday, the eastern Badbury *parochia* supported a large hectarage of woodland, while the western chalk downlands supported arable and open pasture, with meadow on the wide river floodplains (Fig 4:3; Michael Costen email). The Allen has a wide floodplain known as the 'moor', valuable for fodder and grazing. Witchampton is situated on the eastern edge of the chalk downland beside the river Allen and here the chalk gives way to a different landscape of clays and sandy gravels of the Dorset Heathlands which influences its character and also supports woods. Clay deposits in Witchampton were worked in the 19th century for brick making when the 19th census also indicated a variety of occupations associated with wood products.

The Badbury study area (Fig 4:1) is an element of a wider and diverse physical and social landscape, a 'small world' which was incorporated from the 8th century into the Wimborne estate. Given the nuanced nature of boundaries and the interaction with outside areas, for example routeways across the rivers Tarrant and Stour, there is some degree of in-exactitude in defining the boundary of this study. There is limited evidence in Badbury, wider considerations and sites are also included to support or indicate understandings. A more detailed consideration of the Badbury study area archaeology is considered as Nodes and Landmarks.

CHAPTER 5. NODES IN THE EARLIER BRITISH-ROMAN PERIOD

What are Nodes?

For Lynch (1960) a Node has characteristic qualities. It is a strategic place of activity on routeways and can be entered; there is a sense of arrival and is therefore a place of heightened attention where we can reassess our purpose or route. This in turn increases our awareness and recognition of place through personal experience, "a conceptual anchor point" (Lynch 1960, 72-78; 102). Nodes are not necessarily highly visible although their impact is elevated by overt visibility and increased activities (Lynch 1960, 76-78). Defining Nodes from archaeology is potentially tricky. From Lynch's definition a Node can be any size, shape or function, from a crossroads to a settlement. However, for a Lifescape understanding, the emphasis must concentrate on Nodes at a community level. Nodes need to be identified by visible archaeological remains which exhibit intensive social activity as an anchor point. This approach therefore is limited to visible archaeological sites. It is also subjective and depends on attempting to impose an interpretation of Nodes onto a past society from the outcomes of archaeological activity.

While archaeological evidence is always partial, a guiding principle of Lynch's assessment is that the qualities of the Elements conjure a mental image and identity, this is *imageability* (Lynch 1960, 9). This is not necessarily connected to physical visibility, but to experience and therefore are a product of interaction. For this study, Nodal sites can be identified from the archaeology as having intense activity and social interaction; can be entered and suggest Nodal *imageability*.

For these reasons, the study will use settlements as typifying a Node. Settlements, of various types, can be argued as:

- physically knowable
- have imageability from personal understanding and emotions
- involve a range of activity
- they can be entered
- and can result in a reassessment of purpose.
- They would be understood as Nodes by the wider community.

The types of settlement found in the rural landscape at the beginning of the British-Roman period will now be discussed and the criteria for inclusion in the study

Defining rural settlements

Roman settlement studies have recently been concerned with generally categorising settlements into types through the ability to collate, evaluate, and present huge amounts of data from published material and grey literature. Whereas Taylor's Roman Atlas (2007) identified rural settlements as functional types: farmstead, villa or town, the Rural Settlement of Roman Britain project opted for settlement morphology and apparent function (Allen et al 2016, 17-18). This approach enabled larger quantities of cropmark and earthwork surveys data to be included and recorded (Allen et al 2016, 18).

Understandably this approach, although using the same principles as Nodal quality, is not refined enough for a localised study. Wider settlement studies divide England into generalised zones of settlement type. The Rural Settlement project (2016) places Dorset in the South zone. Unfortunately, in this zone the number of sites which can be meaningfully categorised is far outweighed by those which cannot from lack of evidence. Those with a classification are sometimes misinterpreted in the archaeology for example, 'villa' sites are problematic from the many antiquarian excavations when evidence from the hinterland has been ignored, Hemsworth villa, Witchampton is an example (Table 5.1; Allen et al 2016, 18-22). Recent exceptions to this generalisation offer more nuanced interpretation, for example at Kingscote, Gloucestershire (Timby 1998). The wider study is not particularly helpful although comparative site details are useful.

By the later Roman period the Dorset countryside was busy with settlements in a variety of forms representing a large population chiefly dependent on agriculture (Putnam 2007, 78-83). The variety of form and function, their *imageability*, reflected the user's experience. This Nodal study focuses on whether the Elemental approach to the British-Roman Badbury area allows an understanding of continuity and change in settlement sites from the evidence of Elemental qualities.

The study will concentrate on apparent estate villa and farmstead sites. They have archaeological visibility in the Badbury area and on comparative sites in Dorset. There is a more cursory analysis of 'small towns', represented by the sites at Crab Farm and Myncen Farm, Minchington, both have little supportive evidence. The Nodal study precludes the vast number of hamlets and rural settlements with multiple domestic foci. Within the study area there is little or no analytical evidence for these site types within the period. In Dorset, such sites are identified by earthworks on higher downland spurs if unaffected by modern arable farming (for examples see Papworth 2011, 119). The compilation of data for the Roman Rural Settlement Project and recent large scale archaeological projects, for example the A14, has revealed the density of these rural settlement

sites which are otherwise invisible or misinterpreted (Smith 2022). Dorset sites have been recovered by extensive infrastructure excavations, this has been particularly apt on road improvements, for example at Fordington Bottom, along the route of the Dorchester bypass (Barnes 1997), and Tolpuddle Ball on the A35 upgrade (Hearne & Birbeck 1999). Further District research could widen to include more settlement sites; their relationship with their landscape; their known distribution and evidence for longevity and understanding of Elemental quality.

Late Roman Nodes

Before studying Badbury Nodes, a background for Nodal centres, that is villas and small towns in late Roman rural Britain are considered to aid understanding of the archaeological evidence in Dorset. Generally, the southern and western fertile farmlands and mineral deposits encouraged growth in individual wealth, despite tighter state control and increased taxes (Corney 2012, 106). Increased amounts of coinage reached Britain from AD 360s, and the pattern of loss suggests that east Dorset elites were enjoying a comfortable lifestyle (Henry 2021, 196-197). Following Constantine's baptism, the state was legally Christian (Corney 2012, 106). In Dorset there is no direct evidence of reprisals following the rebellion by Magnentius in the 350s which resulted in confiscation of land; neither does the Barbarian Conspiracy overtly appear to have affected Dorset during the 360s (Corney 2012, 106-107).

It has been argued that the wealth and power of the landowning elite depended on state patronage and displaying affiliation to Rome through their lifestyle: dress; civic buildings; and the architectural style of the domestic complex (Gerrard 2013, 142-145). Ornate and extensive villa complexes were usually intended as more than domestic arrangements. The classical iconography of mosaics and murals indicated wealth and *Romanitas*, and an association with heroes (Gerrard 2013, 142). In rural villa bases, the architecture allowed the owner to entertain associates and publicly exhibit his wealth and status while exemplifying legal control over the population through audiences in his public chambers (Gerrard 2013, 132-133). While this villa-based state control also allowed for increasing individual 'emperor' type power over a 'small world' (Gerrard 2013).

By the late Roman period, villa-type complexes were being built within town walls, serving a similar role (Trevarthen 2008, 31). This was at the expense of investment into civic buildings and may represent dissatisfaction with Rome in favour of personal authority (Gerrard 2013, 130-133). Reece (1980) has suggested that the nature of the Roman urban space shifted dramatically during the 4th century and by the British-Roman period official functions had collapsed. However, change in towns at this time is not a straightforward subject and again may reflect local circumstances (Esmonde Cleary 1989, 64-85).

Gildas seems to suggest that following the barbarian incursions there had been a period of wealth and plenty which had encouraged an upsurge of local autocrats (Giles 1868, 309). 4th century Dorchester, for example, does not appear to have necessarily declined, but rather shifted from state and public emphasis to private advantage ownership with the villa-type farming establishments; this is indicated in the archaeology by the accumulation of arable soils below dark earths (Trevarthen 2008, 42). This sequence is indicated at other urban sites such as Verulamium, but also, of relevance to Crab Farm, at a roadside settlement at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire (Eagles, 2018, 31; Reece 1980; Lawrence & Smith 2009). Lewit (2005, xvi) calls this "de-urbanisation". Since funding for public buildings and amenities by wealthy civic leaders was no longer relevant, they invested in power displays of private establishments and in some cases, the superstructure of Christianity which was increasingly influential (Lewit 2005). It is possible that state officials owned both town and country estates which operated as dependent units (Trevarthen 2008, 42). Gildas, writing around the middle of the 6th century, described urban ruin, but he was witnessing the ruin of Roman civic structures which arguably had no purpose in the British-Roman period (Giles 1868, 311; Trevarthen 2008, 43).

During the latter decades of the 4th century, villa complexes change in their emphasis - although this a generalisation which will be explored later. When Roman administration was withdrawn, around the beginning of the 5th century, a British elite without state authority would perhaps consider expressions of Roman lifestyle as inappropriate. The elite needed to retain or gain authority through military dress, personal force and retinues signifying a 'small world' group identity (Petts 1997; White, 2007, 197; Gerrard 2013, 152-155). Official dress is witnessed in finds across the Cranborne Chase and into Wiltshire (Corney 1997, 349). In the 5th century a volatile situation was developing, and state authority was replaced by warring local British warlords: the late 4th century election of British-Roman military emperors being a precursor to the defiance of central Roman authority (Snyder 1998, 90-108). The advantage of identifying with such an overtly military style leadership was the prospect of security and food supply.

However, this again is a generalisation and despite instability, the cultural background had long been influenced to degrees by Roman traditions. Identity was still associated with *Romanitas*. At Hucclecote villa, a fine mosaic sealed a Theodosian coin (Clifford 1933). Radiocarbon dating indicates a post AD 420s date for refurbishing rooms with a new wall and mosaic at Chedworth villa (Hilts 2021). A Rutland villa boasts a fine mosaic based on the mythological tale of Achilles and dated stylistically to the late 4th or early 5th centuries (Blair 2022). Patrick in the early 5th century, declared himself a Roman citizen of some standing: the son of a small estate owner who held responsibilities as a decurion and a deacon (Snyder 1998, 40).

In the west of Britain, the Christian faith appears to have been adopted by some elites. Ecclesiastical organisation is also suggested by the 6th century: clergy were associated with *parochiae,* diocesan areas and church buildings (Snyder 1998, 121-123). Christian practice was fundamentally Roman in origin but developed on insular lines through contacts with the eastern Mediterranean, Ireland, and Gaul (Blair 2006, 18-19; Petts 2014). The clergy could, like Patrick's father, combine religious and secular authority (Snyder 1998, 122-124). There are references to evolving and diverse monastic communities, and Gildas himself bears witness to the intellectual tradition which spawned "learned men" (Blair 2006, 15).

While civic buildings were neglected, churches and monasteries were in the ascendancy, and this altered the focus and intention of life within and without towns (Lewit 2005, xvi). Overtaken by elites, the central functioning role for a town would no longer be necessarily relevant. Population, economic and religious control could be carried out from Nodal points across the territory, for example the religious and grain processing centre at Poundbury (Sparey Green 1987). Town and country estates might grow up around local leaders. Gerrard (2013, 248-249) has outlined how the elite could control tenants and peasants with violence inflicted by a retinue of 'enforcers' who were themselves given roles of authority. This mutual support could create powerful 'small world' leaders.

Evidence from Fosse Lane, Shepton Mallet (Leach 2001, 93-95) seems to indicate that within the roadside settlement, 'small world' Nodes developed. In one area masonry buildings were reused for manufacturing, timber buildings were constructed and during the 5th century a small cemetery was established (Leach 2001, 91-93). Leach (2001, 97-98) suggests that activity continued into the 7th century: a small post-Roman community is argued here from the archaeological, boundary and historical evidence (Leach 2001, 312-313). This community may have been linked with activity in a wider area of the Roman town and its hinterland. Similarly at Higham Ferrers, new buildings were constructed in 'private' gated compounds, old buildings demolished or used for industry. Although the coin evidence would have the settlement abandoned by the 5th century, later burials were placed in the compound (Lawrence and Smith 2009, 318-322).

The general overview suggests an emerging British-Roman culture which, while influenced by the Roman legacy, had no official institution to emulate, and forged identities based on control over local territories and people (Gerrard 2013, White 2007, Davies 1978). In some areas Roman identity and lifestyle was still a requirement. The ecumenical tradition may also have expressed Roman values while locally acting as a mechanism for subjugation. Minor elites were answerable

only to their retinue. How this transpired in the 'small world' of the Badbury study area is now discussed.

Badbury study area 'Small World' archaeology

The proposed 'small world' of Badbury centres around the Badbury Rings hillfort. This area has few excavated or known later Roman settlement sites (Table 5:1). Comparative examples are from around the fringe of the territory: for example, Tarrant Hinton, Iwerne Minster and Winterborne Kingston. These sites may have been Nodes of estates. The extent of an estate depends on resources.as Drew (1948) argued for the Iwerne valley and Taylor (2004, 49-59) for the North Winterborne and Piddle valleys. The Badbury estate resources are discussed in Chapter 4.

Badbury Rings is a 7ha multi-vallate Iron Age hillfort, a visually prominent Landmark with Nodal indicators from the prehistoric Lifescape (Fig 5:1; Papworth 2019). The hillfort lies on the higher ground, at 95m aOD within an area defined by three rivers: the Stour to the south, the Tarrant to the west and the Allen to the east (Fig 5:1). Badbury's associated 'stock enclosure', High Wood, on a hill to the east, was an element of the Bronze and Iron Age pastoral and settled landscape. Of the three large Iron Age settlements within 2km (Papworth 2019), some continued into the Roman period, changing status and structure within an evolving Lifescape.

Badbury hillfort Elemental status is discussed as a Landmark (Chapter 8). The adjacent Romano-British temple is again discussed as a Landmark (Chapter 7), this was a ritual site from the Iron Age into the 5th century (Papworth 2014). The Roman centre of occupation and trading appears to have been at Crab Farm (Fig 5.1) on the road to a crossing of the Stour. This was established on an extensive Iron Age settlement (Papworth 2000).

Nodes are found on routeways. The imposed Roman road system dictated the route for official traffic and would have resulted in new and thriving rural settlements along the way (RCHME 1975, xxxi). Two major Roman roads from the north, another to the port at Hamworthy and a military road to Hod Hill met in a triangular arrangement to the north of the Badbury Rings (Fig 5:1). A full consideration of the role of these and other routes would be a matter for a future Paths Element assessment. River transport may also have been important: an early Roman fort had been built at the junction of the Stour and Allen, 4km downstream (Putnam 2007, 22). The Iron Age trading centre at Hengistbury Head overlooking the mouth of the river Stour continued to attract activity into the 4th century thus the river corridor could have been a navigable routeway to central Dorset.

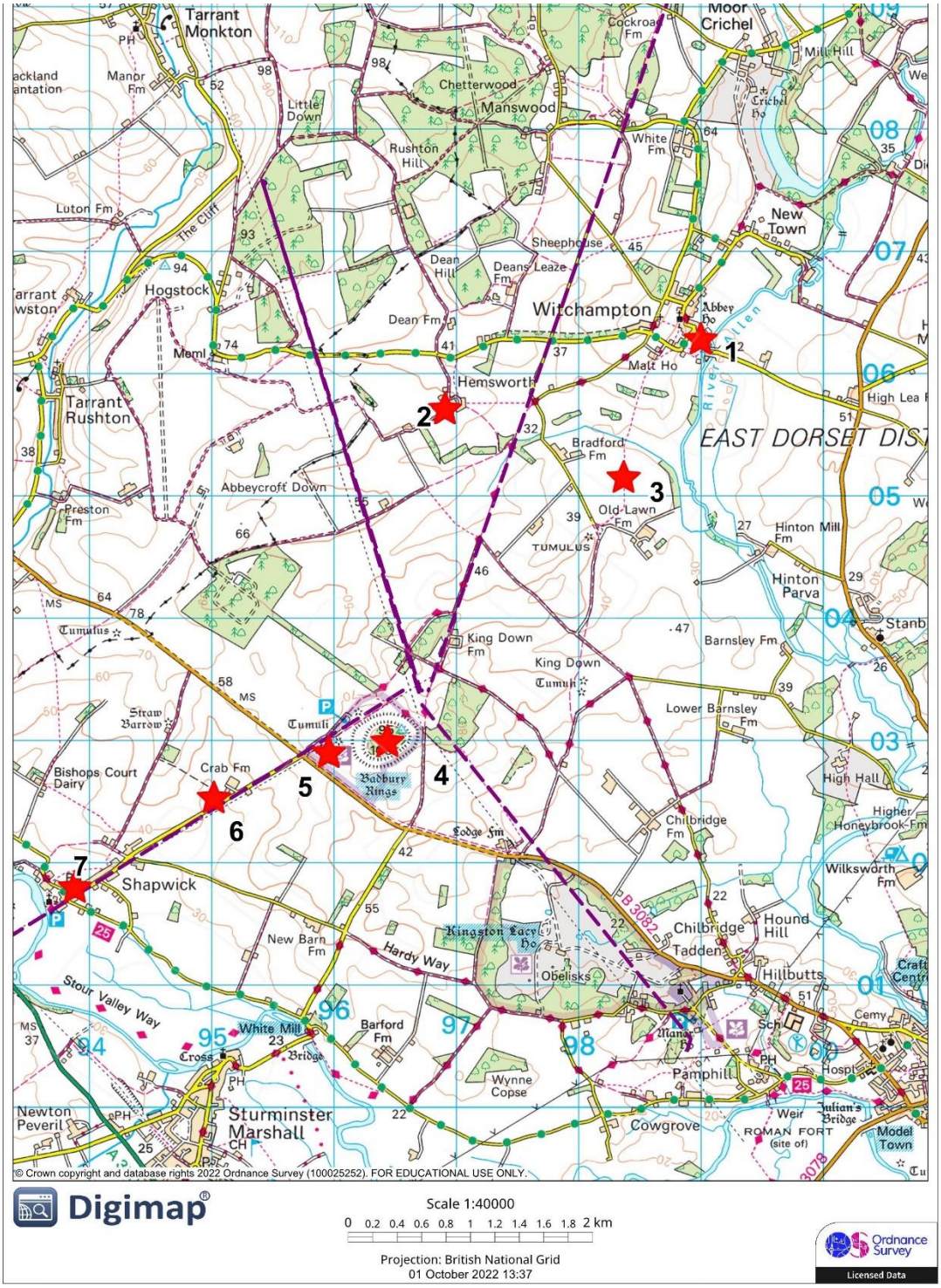

Fig 5:1: The Badbury environs and main sites discussed.

1: Abbey House; 2: Hemsworth; 3 Bradford Down; 4: Badbury Rings; 5: Badbury Romano-Celtic temple; 6: Crab Farm; 7: Shapwick. Purple lines are the courses of the Roman roads. Edina Digimap

If roads were designated to be used by the Imperial Post, then *mutationes* and *mansios* were provided at twelve Roman mile intervals for changing horses and travellers' rest, these were maintained by local communities and could grow into 'small towns' (Bugler & Drew 1974, 63). These settlements marked progress to the *civitas* centre but were also a destination in themselves. In the *Durotrigian civitas*, the central Node was at *Durnovaria,* Dorchester. Within the surrounding countryside Nodes also provided community and imperial functions at a *pagus* level. The Crab Farm site is thought to be *Vindocladia,* a small town on the arterial road system (Papworth 1996, 135). It might have been the administrative centre of the *pagus*, but *pagus* boundaries are not known. The Badbury 'small world' is therefore not known and here presented as 'fuzzy' and perhaps not entirely consistent depending on uses. Another site at Myncen Farm, Minchington is also considered as a 'small town' of a different character, and an estate centre. For comparison of indicators, Woodyates, perhaps a market, garrison, and religious centre controlling the *civitas* boundary is considered.

Hemsworth villa is the only known and excavated high-status building within this study area and is considered as a Node (Table 5.1). It is 2.7km north of the hillfort on a gentle slope looking towards the Old Sarum to Badbury Roman road (Fig 5:1). The archaeological evidence is very limited from an early 20th century exploration and no formal report. It suggests the building found was a mid-4th century complex with wings and a bath suite. Other Dorset villa sites which have full reports are used for comparative indicators.

The archaeological evidence suggests a string of settlements along the downland on the western side of the River Allen and the east of Badbury Rings (Fig 5:1; Table 5.1). At present, no evidence has been found for such settlements to the west of Badbury Rings before the Tarrant valley, if other sites lie within the Badbury study area this makes spatial comparisons difficult. Norman Field excavated a settlement site on Bradford Down (Table 5:1). Spreads of masonry seem to indicate other sites for which there is no excavated evidence: these are not included specifically in this assessment. The Abbey House site at Witchampton is considered as a Landmark (Chapter 7).

Table 5:1: Badbury Nodal Places				
Parish/OS reference	Name	Landscape	Evidence for Latest Date	Excavated? Reference
Pamphill ST 9875 0390	King Down	Facing NE chalk slope 50m aod. Looking over the Allen valley.	Roofing tiles, plaster, New Forest ware "perforated frilled rim storage jar" "Humbler native type" farm	Not excavated. Chancellor 1939; Field 1967 Papworth 2008
Pamphill ST 9785 0430	Bradford Down	Spur crest, NNW facing chalk slope towards Allen valley 60m aod Extensive remains, facing a Roman road	LIA – 4th c domestic Wall plaster, roofing tiles, Samian, NF ware. 2 buildings: 1: 12ft x 37ft. 2: bath house? 3/4th C coins 4th C villa close by?	Partial excavation Field 1967, 1969, 1970 Chancellor 1939 Papworth (geophysics) 2008 291-7
Pamphill ST 9910 0280 ST 9880 0390	Barnsley & Lower Barnsley	Crest spur, Allen valley slope	Occupational debris to end of Roman period. Multiphase settlement enclosures.	Field 1967 116 Papworth 2008, 297 geophysics 1997 132
Shapwick ST 9445 0231 ST 9459 0222	Blacklands/Wall Furlong Crab farm	South facing slope to Stour	Footings, wall plaster, coins to 4th C. Fort & Market town: *Vindocladia?* Roof, box flue tiles, pottery across the period	1990s National Trust Papworth 2008 2004 etc 1990/1 National Trust
Shapwick ST 9420 0190	High Street		Pits 1st 2nd C pottery Settlement	1950s Papworth 2008
Tarrant Crawford ST 9230 0347 Debatable	Church	*Tarrant river valley*	*Pottery tiles, brooch* *Under the floor of church*	*1918 Proc 109* *RCHME 1972* *88*
Tarrant Crawford ST 9260 0280	Near bridge	Tarrant valley slope	Occupation finds	HER Papworth 2008
Tarrant Rushton ST 9394 1050	Preston Farm	Dry chalk combe slope facing west Tarrant valley	Finds	HER
Witchampton ST 9905 0642	Abbey House gardens	Low hillock on valley terrace. Appears to face south.	Robbed walls, oven, domestic remains, box flue, coloured plaster NF ware, coin mid 3rd C	1923/4 excavation See Chapter 2
Witchampton ST 9632 0587	Hemsworth	N slope low chalk spur	Walls, rich mosaics; baths Mid – Late 4th C burnt	Partial excavation 1908 Engleheart 1909

To identify Nodal archaeological sites in the Badbury area at the beginning of the British-Roman period (late 4th century AD), and assess their elemental nature through the period, it is necessary to recognise and compare the qualities of a Node that would be evident or interpreted from the physical remains. The qualities examined here are:

- a highly visual and/or meaningful place, or *imageability*
- a place that can be entered and to reassess a journey
- and a place of intense activity.

Crab Farm and Myncen Farm: Roman 'small towns'?

'Small towns' is modern terminology for wide-ranging types of Roman nucleated settlement which grew up or were planted in the countryside as part of an emerging settlement hierarchy (Timby 1998,3). British Roman minor towns were wide-ranging in origin, function, and form, and academically, did not receive much attention until the 1990s, due to some extent to the lack of archaeological evidence (Rogers 2011, 179-180; Timby 1998 3-4; Burnham & Wacher 1990; Todd 1970). Evidence suggests these sites are often complex and there is limited understanding of their trajectory into the 5th century, although they seem to have lost urban qualities (Wacher 1974, 411-422; Lewit 2005, xvi; Fitzpatrick-Matthews 2014). The lack of evidence for such settlements in Dorset is a striking difference from Somerset and Wiltshire. Dorchester, the *civitas* centre, Crab Farm and possibly Woodyates are the only examples, although the qualities of Myncen Farm site will be considered. Crab and Myncen Farm sites have different archaeological representation and perceived function but are considered together for their Nodal qualities. Woodyates, geographically the closest settlement is also used for comparison, from a limited excavation record (Hawkes 1947). Todd (1970, 116-117) considered Woodyates and Badbury as "humble" staging-posts heavily dependent on agriculture. Morphologically Crab Farm appears to be a small, official, defended town known as a *burgi*. Examples include Ancaster, Chesterton-on-Fosse and Mancetter (Burnham & Wacher 1990, 235-278).

The site at Crab Farm was revealed by geophysical survey in the 1990s (Fig 5:2), and thereafter considered to be *Vindocladia,* a defended station on the Antonine Itinerary and the Ravenna Cosmography (Field 1983, 31; Papworth 1996). The survey suggests a busy area of occupied enclosures which appear to represent Iron Age and Romano-British settlement. An Iron Age settlement enclosure was interpreted to the east of the Roman ditches (Fig 5:2; Papworth 1996, 133-135). As with other *burgi,* such as Ancaster, defensive works were imposed upon an existing settlement at a locally strategic position along a routeway, Crab Farm is typical of the *burgi* card-shaped enclosure (Fig 5:2; Burnham & Watcher 1990, 5-6).

Fig 5:2: The interpretation of the geophysics plot at Crab Farm and excavation sites.

Curvilinear enclosures particularly to the east suggest Iron Age settlements while the ditched enclosure is surrounded by occupational remains. The Roman town space was later enhanced by a large bank and ditch system The trench sites are mapped and marked TR. From Papworth 2011, 161 Fig 58.

Although this resembles a fort plan Papworth (1996, 135) has dismissed this theory from the lack of military evidence. Neither is there any suggestion of military function in the geophysics which is evident at Lake Farm (Russell 2020, 8-9). The three-ditch defences enclosed 25ha and were crossed by Margary 4c Roman road. Occupation continued both within and outside of the enclosure along the road towards the river Stour (Papworth 2019).

The site at Myncen Farm (Figs 5:3; 5:4; 5:5) while described as a villa, has been argued by Sparey Green (1997) as a nucleated settlement from its excavated components and landscape setting. Again, this site has too little evidence to come to any real conclusion (Sparey Green 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2007). The interest lies in the later activity which suggested it as a Node across the British-Roman period. With its ambiguous status, it segues between a nucleated settlement and villa and demonstrates the difficulties of preconceived settlement definitions. Sparey Green (1997) argues that the Myncen Farm buildings (Fig 5:4) do not appear to conform to villa proportions or layout. He suggests these large, adorned buildings within the archaeological landscape might indicate elements of a religious complex, a *viereckeschanzen*. This site type would include public buildings within an enclosure based around a spring, and a hilltop temple. Jointly it may also have acted as an estate centre and a small town, which Sparey Green (1997, 171-172) compared to Kingscote, Gloucestershire. The site possibly continued in use or within the landscape: Roman tile was incorporated in the 12th century when St Andrew's church was built, to the south (Green 1990, 117).

Imageability and entrances

Neither site was particularly prominent in the wider landscape but dominated their local, strategic position. Myncen Farm site was centred on a slight terrace on the southwest side of the Gussage valley, with limited views across the stream to the hills but a wider aspect to the south-east to a spring and along the valley routes (Fig 5:3). However, its *imageability* may have related to its conceptual image as a dominating Lifescape centre as well as the imposing buildings and wider estate setting, close to a spring and temple (Sparey Green 2007; Table 5:2).

Table 5:2: Iron Age and Roman remains within a kilometre of Myncen Farm Roman site

Goldfield Farm MDO 23794	ST 9690 1391 650m south-west	Iron Age & Roman 'farmstead'. Estate farm? Burials
MDO 6123	ST 977 141 330m south	Finds of Roman flue tiles. Estate settlement?
Oak Hill MDO 6066	ST 97 15 725m north-west	Roman building: walls, wall plaster, coins, stone roofing tiles (1868) A temple?
MDO 40112	ST 967 143	Iron Age enclosure? Or Roman complex enclosure?

Fig 5:3: The Myncen Farm villa site with Other sites mentioned

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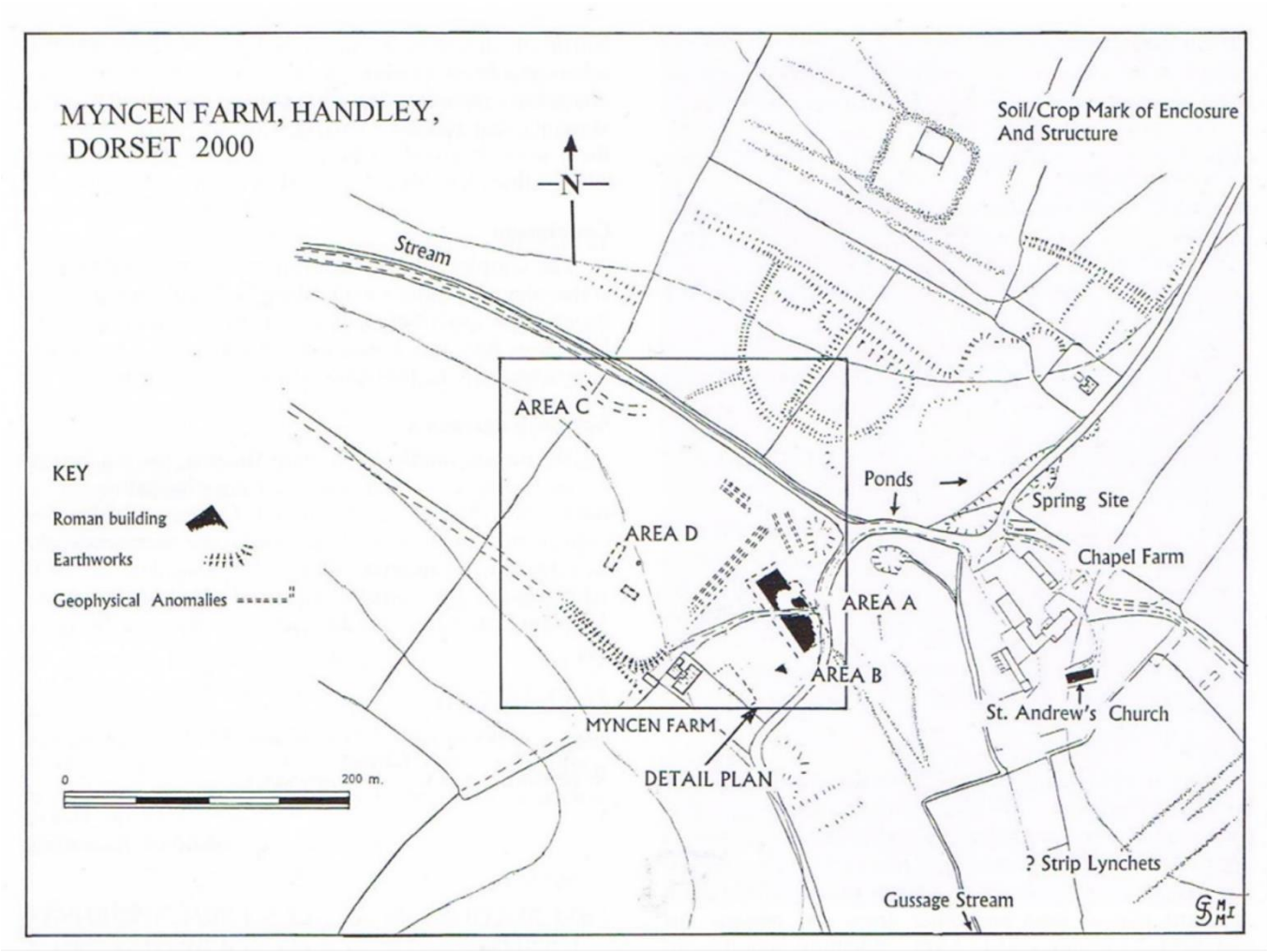

Fig 5:4: The site of excavation at Myncen Farm carried out in the 1990s.

The Areas are the areas of excavation. To the north-east the earthworks and soil marks suggest a temple complex, springs are still in existence to the south-east. From Sparey Green 2000, 154, Fig 5.

Fig 5:5: The site of the building complex at Myncen Farm.

The excavation sire arrowed. Geophysical survey suggested the complex continued up to the farmhouse to left. The photo was taken from south of the spring, looking west, by author 2022.

Crab Farm was on a valley slope to the Stour (Fig 5:6) but still strategically important. The site was perhaps influenced by the proximity of Badbury Rings, the pre-existing temple and a possible Iron Age settlement Node. The road to the Stour appears to have been constructed later in the 2nd century although it may have formalised an existing route (Fig 5:6; Papworth 2011, 160-163). Crab Farm was a Node on an extensive route system from the arterial road hub north of Badbury Rings; the Stour valley routes and river crossing; and routes along the western Allen valley. This growth of sites at junctions was a regular occurrence reflecting the importance of journeying and trade for the economy, for example Stratford-sub-Castle and *Cunetio* both in Wiltshire (Corney 1997, 338).

Both Crab Farm and Myncen Farm had physical enclosure features which expressed their Nodal quality. At Crab Farm the triple ditched enclosure was a shape adopted to which was understood to represent the dominance of Rome. The ditches were mighty and defensive in their construction, the inner ditch 3.2m deep, the outer ditches 1.4m (Papworth 1995, 135). The inner ditch was of a different character, which could suggest a different date for construction.

Walls, and in some cases, bastions were later routinely added to ditched nucleated settlements, as at Dorchester *civitas* centre but also smaller towns, Gatcombe for example, Mancetter, Ancaster

and *Cunetio* after a similar ditched phase to Crab Farm (Gerrard 2013, 43-47; Burnham & Wacher 1990; Corney 1997; Todd 1970).

Although no walls are indicated along the Crab Farm ditches, large shallow scoops in the bedrock between the inner ditches suggest some form a defensive structure perhaps of chalk and stone lumps which lay in a layer at the bottom of the inner trench (Papworth 1995, 135). Inner masonry walls were a regular form for small towns, such as Ancaster, Chesterton on Fosse and Mancetter (Burnham & Wacher 1990). The road running through the enclosure appeared to have exaggerated entrances which would emphasise the *imageability* of a Node, the entrance to controlled official space. Papworth (2005, 184- 185) noted the periodic rearrangement of these gateways, this is apparent in the north-west and south-east corners across the ditches (Fig 5:2). This could suggest a change of Nodal quality and a shift in perception and meaning for the enclosure.

At Myncen Farm, an Iron Age enclosure (Table 5:2; MDO 40112) was recognised from aerial photography in 2010 (Wickstead & Barber 2010). A small rescue excavation over a ditch found no dating evidence, but on typology was suggested as Iron Age. The survey did not consider the curve of the road to the north (Fig 5:3) which seems to continue the line, and this could be suggested as an enclosure connected with the villa complex site, retained in the east-west road. An entrance is indicated in the north curve which would suggest a change in route pattern. A further study of Paths could provide a better understanding of the routeway arrangement.

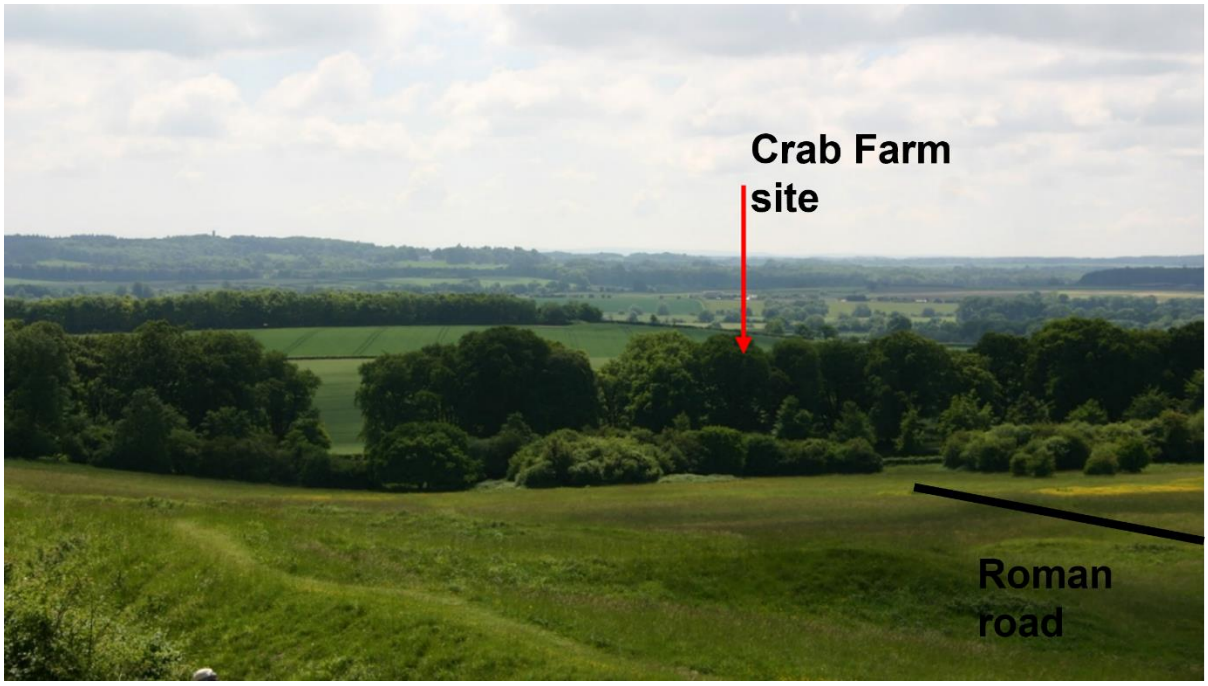

Fig 5:6: Crab Farm south of Badbury Rings.

Photo by author 13.08.2019.

Imageability and activity

An understanding of function and activity at the Crab Farm settlement is limited by lack of excavation. Trenches to the interior revealed late Roman ovens and smithing activity (Papworth 1996, 133-135). There is no evidence for large-scale industrial manufacturing, but there are no local sources of minerals, unlike Camerton for example, where pewter was manufactured (Burnham & Wacher 1990, 295). Its economy probably rested with products of the surrounding agricultural land and associated supporting manufacture and trade. Kingscote, Gloucestershire might provide a comparative example. Animal-based manufacture of utilitarian and personal adornment and reworking of metal tools has been indicated (Timby 1998, 290-292).

Similarly, there is no evidence of ritual activity. Small towns often had a religious focus although these structures are not always identifiable (Todd 1970,123). A shrine was interpreted at Higham Ferrers (Lawrence & Smith 2009) and indicated at Woodyates through votive finds (RCHME 1975, 55). Remains of statues at Ancaster suggest shrines or a temple (Burnham & Wacher 1990, 239). The temple at Badbury Rings lies close to the Crab Farm site and described in Landmarks. It was highly visible along the major routeway and would provide a religious focus for the town, this situation is found at Harlow (Burnham & Wacher 1990, 183).

There is also no excavated evidence of a cemetery at Crab Farm. The extensive late Roman extramural cemeteries around Dorchester appear to conform to the Roman stipulation of burial outside town walls, but it is not known whether this requirement applied to smaller settlements (Timby 1998, 349). At Ancaster a large extramural ordered cemetery of west/east burials from the later Roman period may have served the surrounding population (Burnham & Wacher 1990, 241). However, there is little funerary evidence at *Cunetio* (Corney 1997, 346) and this is also noted at Woodyates which, within the excavated area had only a small, enclosed cemetery of west/east inhumations and some isolated ditch burials (Hawkes 1947). Papworth (2000) suggests a square enclosure outside of the ditches at Crab Farm as a cemetery on morphological evidence (see Chapter 7).

The presence of quantities of Roman building materials found in fieldwalking in the south-east corner of the walled area, indicated a high status decorated and heated building. *Mansiones* provided official hospitality for officials and the state communications system, its presence would imply a central administrative function. However, the nature of such sites is not entirely straightforward, and such a building could, and perhaps also, have been the private dwelling of a local governor (Gerrard 2013, 130-131). A market function was essential for the farming population since they were required to pay monetary tax, obtained from marketing their produce (Gerrard

2013, 75-76). Woodyates, on the frontier boundary at Bokerley Dyke, is regarded as having a market from the coin loss which increased in the late 3rd century to the mid-4th, stimulated by a growth in economy and road trade (Hawkes 1947).

The argument for Crab Farm's Nodal *imageability* is from its arguable role as a *pagus* centre which hosted official business and agricultural marketplace control (Gerrard 2013, 43; Todd 170, 120). It could also serve as a defensive and recruiting centre (Burnham & Wacher 1990, 35). The possible *mansio* enclosure would have provided supplies and accommodation for state officials and perhaps storage facilities and security for tax collection. That there appears to be restricted Romanised enclosures within the ditches may indicate that, as at other sites, these buildings were modest in construction. The slighter defences and lack of military finds would suggest that the settlement did not develop into a highly defended, prestigious, military town as at *Cunetio* (Corney 1997).

Myncen Farm cannot be argued as a Roman small town, from the evidence. It is suggested as an estate centre for the tentative connection to the Goldfields farmstead site 600m southwest, which was occupied into the late Roman period (Table 5:2; Hewitt & Rumsey 2000). A ditch containing sealed Roman pottery appears to continue as the boundary ditch for Myncen Farm complex, suggesting an estate relationship (Roberts 1999). There are other local examples of extensive Roman estates, for example the Iron Age and Romano-British banjo complex on Gussage Cow Down,1.5 km west which was within extensive field systems, enclosures and multiple bank and ditch systems and has evidence of Roman style buildings (Barrett et al 1991, 232-236; RCHME 1975, 24).

Sparey Green (1997) has suggested that Myncen Farm was also a religious complex from the proximity of the spring and the possible Roman building at Oak Hill, perhaps a hilltop temple (Fig 5:5; Table 5:2). While the villa buildings were difficult to interpret from the limited excavation and the unusual design, they appear to not follow a common villa layout. One rectangular building was at least 56m by 25m; and appears to have been an aggrandised aisled building, like Shillingstone villa with an extensive range on the northern end and an embellished southern aspect perhaps with towers. The two bath suites, hypocausts, *Durnovaria* school mosaics, coloured glass windows and painted figurative wall plaster are comparable with other larger villas of a mid-4th century date. Unusually there seemed to be three buildings in alignment of a similar size (Fig 5:5). The suggestion that this is perhaps more than an estate centre, from the unusual footprint of the buildings, is supported by finds of more exotic coloured glass tesserae which may have decorated a fountain or ornate wall (Sparey Green 1997). The Time Team report (Wessex Archaeology 2004) significantly

declined to comment on the later insertion of a bath into the middle of a building. This unusual position could indicate a baptistry. There is no known cemetery attached to the site.

For the earlier British-Roman period, Crab Farm appears Nodal from its Romanised function and physical presence but seems to retain a Romano-British style of occupation at least across some areas, with indications of internal streets to the south (Fig 5:2). There are suggestions from the finds, entrances, and open spaces of multi-activity and market functions. It is associated with a ritual site at Badbury temple. Myncen Farm also appears as a Node, for its complexity of buildings, hints at religious and associated hinterland activity. Whether it would be described any differently from a multi-functional villa complex, is debatable.

Later British-Roman activity

For the later British-Roman period, Myncen Farm has evidence for substantial un-Roman type building adaption and reconstruction which ignores the cultural association of the decoration, for example the mosaics. Twenty-four post holes were pushed through the mosaics and floors; a substantial wooden buttress supported an external wall and what may have been wooden porches or doorways were inserted through walls, leading to rough work surfaces with industrial activity (Sparey Green 2007, 58). The amount of work involved would suggest it continued to be considered a place of activity including manufacturing. The timing of this work is not dated, but Price (2000, 118) has estimated that for Frocester, the Roman masonry and tiled building would last for around a hundred years before it became uninhabitable. The post-Roman structure E just outside the Frocester Roman villa was identified only by a rubble surface (Price 2000, 113-114). A more detailed look at the record of the work surface recorded at Myncen Farm would help assess whether this feature was a comparable building.

Evidence of occupation into the later British-Roman period has been indicated along the Gussage valley. Martin Green has collected a large sample of Roman and Saxon pottery and metalwork, including a 5th century military-style belt fitting (Green 2000, 138). A suggestion of Myncen Farm as an early monastic centre is discussed later. The apparent enclosures around the site and the spring should be born in mind. It could be that this valley continued to attract scattered occupation with a 'small world' centre continuing at the Myncen Farm site. Further study of Paths might suggest it was possibly close to a hub of roads including the valley roads and the *herepath* now turnpiked as the A354, on Week Street Down, 700m south (Mills 1998, 151). Conjectural evidence for routes directly to the Tarrant valley are found in a 10th century charter which lists a *herepath* (Grundy 1938, 84). Extended east it passes Minchington and west directly past the Tarrant Hinton villa. The

continued importance of this highway into the Saxon period might indicate a continuing connection between Tarrant Hinton and Myncen Farm sites.

This site raises awareness of individual site narratives, from their functions and existence into the later British-Roman period. Myncen Farm could represent a Node of a 'small world' estate that continued to have significance, perhaps encompassing wide-ranging activities and therefore *imageability* across the period. A wider exploration of the estate area could aid understanding of the site's significance. However, presently, its elemental qualities are ambiguous and could be considered more aligned to villas, explored later in this chapter.

How should Crab Farm be considered in the later British-Roman Lifescape? Like Myncen Farm, the answer requires more excavation evidence, so this hypothesis incorporates a wider elemental study. The limited excavations at Crab Farm concentrated on its earlier origins (Papworth 1996), evidence for later activity would require a specific research agenda. This may be limited by the shallow archaeology, although a medieval plough soil has been identified around the site (Papworth 1996, 135). The basis of interpretation rests on the widening and realignment of the main road, over-riding earlier features both inter and extramural and realigning the earlier restricted entrances. This occurred in the later 4th century at the earliest, as it sealed 4th century pottery outside of the main enclosure. If Crab Farm was established as a *burgi*, its function as such did not outlast the Roman period. With no evidence for military activity, intensive industrial activity, religious foci or cemeteries, its function as a town could have been restricted. Neither was there apparently evidence of a rearrangement of the interior into *insula,* although possible side streets may be indicated in a blank area to the south. It seems apparent that these small, defended towns served local functions as well as travel stops, depending on their position, hinterland and political or economic transformation (Burnham & Wacher 1990, 35-36). 'Urban' spaces may have had an *imageability* unrecoverable to us, and more so that their role changed with a shift in emphasis (Corney 1997).

Papworth (2004, 185) has argued that widening the Badbury road did away with control points at the town defence; this might indicate that the Nodal quality of the ditched interior was swept aside. With the withdrawal of Imperial administration across the British-Roman period its official function would have been transformed, a guarded civic central space was no longer required. The new road took away the area understood as a marketplace. If so, this may be a result of the withdrawal of Roman administration. Coinage gradually lost its relevance; its existence in Britain had supported the bullion base for state payment, and thus no longer required institutionally

(Gerrard 2013, 75-76). Although Guest (2013) argues the possible continuation of silver as currency into the 5th century.

There was perhaps, more concern to open up the route between the Stour and Badbury Rings. This would have been a local arrangement as official road maintenance had given way to local obligation, and maintenance varied. This is evident at Woodyates, the road was still used and maintained but encroached upon by pits and dumps from the settlement (Hawkes 1947). The removal of milestones reused at Rockbourne villa might also be associated with local priorities (Morley Hewitt 1969, 6). The opening up of the town defences suggests this Romanised fortification was no longer relevant, but in a period of general instability, protection could be required. It could be that there were increased defences in the vicinity of Badbury hillfort as a place of refuge. It is suggested that a new control was established by expanding the outer rampart of the hillfort to the road to directly oversee traffic through the western, Roman, entrance (Papworth 2004, 186). Papworth (2004, 186; 2019, 142) has also speculated that the quarry feature known as Devil's Footprint either side of the road to the northwest was reinstated in the late 4th century, again suggesting a shift in control of trade and travel. It will be suggested in Chapter 8 that there was increased emphasis on activity at the hillfort in the British-Roman period, while the temple continued to be visited in the 5th century. It could be argued that the *burgi* Nodal point widened to encompass poly-activity between the hillfort and the Stour.

The Crab Farm site may then have been abandoned, or in private defended ownership, as in other urban areas. Some occupation may have continued towards the river (Fig 5:1; Leighton 1956, 138-139). Occupation seems to have coalesced at Shapwick by the Saxon period, known for its connection with the surrounding pastureland, supporting possibly large flocks of sheep. In AD 1247, 12000 two-toothed ewes were taken from the Kingston estate in retribution for an injured deer on the Cranborne Chase (Wake Smart 1841, 168-170), which gives some indication of the stock numbers which could be supported across the downland. It is conceivable small settlements supporting the pastoral routine were dispersed across the territory. This may be the role of Bradford Down, discussed later.

The need for a central Node may no longer have been relevant, since community functions could be carried out at the appropriate place across a territorial arrangement: Badbury Rings used for trade and stock control, periodic fairs, and fortified protection; Shapwick for river route trade, fodder from the Stour meadows, and perhaps a Christian centre, discussed later. The surrounding downland would support flocks of pasturing animals and settlements. Central authority rested with the leader, rather than at a place and this would require his presence across his 'small world' (Petts

1997). Perhaps this is also relevant for Myncen Farm where an earlier estate has been theorised. Finding Nodal places for society in this scenario would be difficult, and would depend on understanding the nature of localised, dispersed 'small world' Lifescapes which were emerging from and influencing the Nodal qualities of persistent Roman Nodal points.

Villas and farmsteads

In the Badbury study area, Hemsworth is the only known villa site, once again, the paucity of evidence requires a comparison to other such sites for indicators of elemental quality in the British-Roman Lifescape. The centrality of villa complexes during the earlier British-Roman period is discussed, but, as it has been suggested at Myncen Farm, the Nodal nature and thus *imageability* of later sites needs to be considered.

Villa definition

The Roman understanding of *villa* was a building, or a complex associated with a rural estate (Brannigan 1976, 9). From archaeology, Roman rural life appears to be focused on these sites which we assume had a high visual and conceptual *imageability* from a recognisable form and intense activity. For this study, villa sites are considered for their Nodal qualities: they were often conspicuous and lavishly decorated domestic houses, frequently two storied with winged additions, a bath suite and a large courtyard enclosed by working buildings (Richmond 1969, 51; Fig 5:7).

However, many antiquarian and constrained excavations have focussed on the highly discernible building remains, whereas these sites are the architectural pinnacle within a surrounding, less recoverable, settlement pattern (Smith et al 20160. More recently extensive excavations are uncovering a densely populated countryside of small farms and homesteads (Smith et al 2016, 17-19). Rural settlement sites in the Badbury study area are mainly known from scatters of pottery or building material and are difficult to analyse, spatially, the data is less complete (Table 5:1). The inherent relationship between villa complexes and settlements is noted.

'Villa' is a problematic term (Gerrard 2011, 70). The overall application – and thus our perception, tends to suggest rural Roman life required an architecturally intricate domestic building representing an extravagant lifestyle. For the British-Roman period, this study will show that the Dorset examples, while often large and lavish, in terms of Lifescape follow a less pretentious trend (Gerrard 2011, 70). The villa, and 'farmstead' sites referred to in the study are listed at Table 5:3 and Fig 5:8.

Fig 5:7: A reconstruction of the final architecture at Dewlish villa.

From Putnam 2007, Fig 23, although the 2021 report may disagree with some of the representation, this gives one impression of how the visibility of a villa complex. Recent work indicates the likelihood of another set of buildings which suggest a more extensive site.

There is a vast amount of variability in villa sites and function. Iwerne Minster architecturally resembled a 'native' farmstead, while Rockbourne villa at its most extensive was forty or more rooms (Hawkes 1947; Morley Hewitt 1969). The extended villa complex was often a late arrival in the Romano-British landscape. Faulkner's analysis (2002, 68-71) found that nationally most sites were being constructed only from the late third century. Villa complexes in Dorset were later, at their most extravagant during the mid-4th century and thus 'fleetingly' villa-like (Putnam 2007 84, 94-96; Faulkner 2002; Smith 1969, 113). This apparent late adoption of the high-Roman architecture often incorporated an entrenched role of a farm, to produce food. This study will show that food storage and processing were essential functions which were retained on site throughout British-Roman period. Thus, the conceptual *imageability* of such a site is argued as retained across the period.

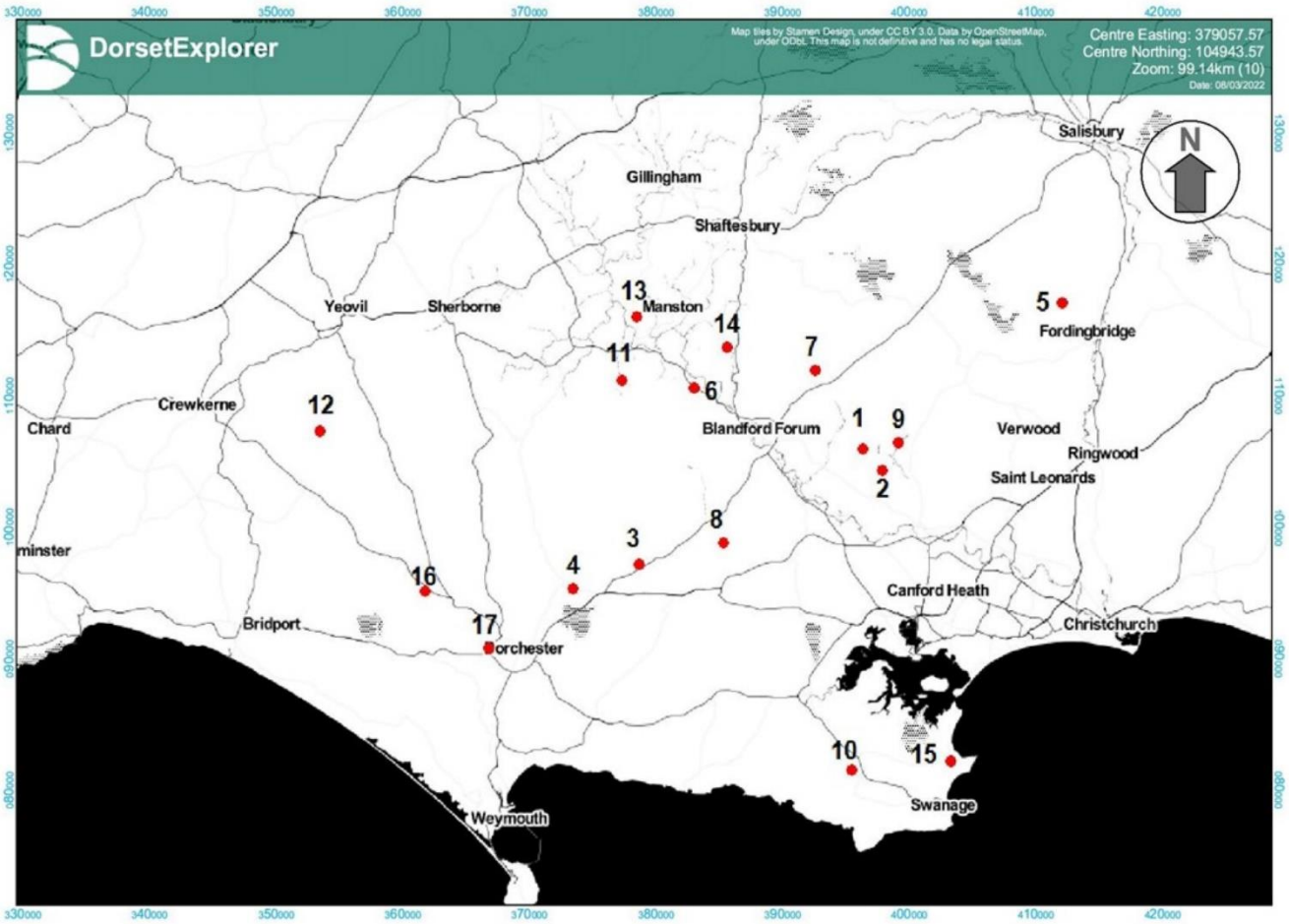

Fig 5:8: A map of comparative Dorset villas and Rockbourne

Numbers refer to Table 5:3. Grey areas:woodland. Reproduced from DorsetExplorer (c) Dorset Council

Table 5:3: Dorset and Rockbourne villa and settlement sites mentioned in the text. Numbers refer to the site on the map Fig 5:8

Site	*Grid Reference*	*Landscape*	*Excavation*	*Report*
		Chalk Downland		
1 Hemsworth Witchampton	ST 9632 0601	Chalk downland spur	Engleheart 1908	Engleheart 1909 Le Jeune 1909
2 Bradford Down Pamphill	ST 9785 0430	Chalk downland spur	Field	Field 1983
3 Dewlish Dewlish Park	SY 7860 9720	Chalk spur, fine views. Clay with flints	Putnam and students 1969-1979	Hewitt et al 2021
4 Druce Puddletown	SY 7333 9540	Chalk above river terrace, clay with flints	EDAS 2010 -2016	Ladle and Morgan 2014 -2018 interims
5 Rockbourne West Park	SU 1200 1705	Chalk, on marshy river terrace	Morley Hewitt Horsey	Morley Hewitt 1969 RCHME 1983
6 Shillingstone White Pit Farm	ST 8295 1065	Chalk, above river terrace with clay		Corney & Robinson 2007
7 Tarrant Hinton Barton Field	ST 9260 1190	Chalk downland shoulder by warm spring	Wimborne group 1968-1983	Graham 2006
8 Winterborne Kingston	SY 853 989	Chalk downland	Bournemouth University 2009-2018	Russell et al 2015, 2017
		Other Geology		
9 Abbey House Witchampton	ST 9908 0646	River terrace gravels on chalk/clay	Amateurs & others 1923-7	Sumner 1924 Appendix 1
10 Bucknowle	SY 954 815	Wealden clay below chalk ridge near river	Field & Jeff DNHAS 1975 - 1991	Light & Ellis 2009
11 Fifehead Neville	ST 7730 1122	Limestone on river	1880 1903	RCHME 3.1 1970 PDNHAS 1928
12 Halstock	ST 5339 0757	Broad clay vale off the chalk downs	DNHAS volunteers 1967-1985	Lucas 1993
13 Hinton St Mary	ST 7845 1602	Limestone ridge	British Museum 1963	PDNHAS various dates 1963-1982
14 Iwerne Minster	ST 8560 1370	Greensand shelf	Pitt Rivers 1897	Hawkes 1947
15 Studland Woodhouse Hill	SZ 0313 2199	Bagshot beds	Poole Grammar School 1950s	Field 1966
		Other sites mentioned		
16 Frampton	SY 6160 9530	River colluvium on chalk	1794-96 Lysons Bournemouth University	RCHME 1 (Maiden Newton)
17 Fordington Bottom	SY 6668 9096	River colluvium dry valley on chalk	Wessex Archaeology 1988	Barnes 1997

While some villas could indeed have been a farming estate "somewhat Romanised in manners". (Rivet 1969, 176), there are others which are being increasingly understood as representing places with more nuanced meanings, multi-functional and an element of a wider integrated estate (Mattingly 2007, 370). Walters (2009) argues that many sites should be regarded as temple or shrine complexes as well as agricultural and imperial centres. The sites suggested as ritual complexes, such as Woodchester and Durley Hill, Keynsham appear structurally problematic for domestic accommodation. Corney (2012) proposed that the scale of the villa range at Box, Wiltshire, indicated more than an a political and estate centre. It could also have provided a religious, healing complex. Indicators included the proximity to springs; the apparent lack of agricultural buildings; the grandeur of the public room and fragments of statuary (Corney 2012). It has been noted that Myncen Farm might fit in this category.

Other sites are even less easy to categorise, the villa at Lufton is unusual for an architecturally impressive bath-house, but few domestic rooms. It has been interpreted variously as a baptistry, a 'leisure centre', and more recently as a summer residence (Gerrard & Agate 2021). Large villa-like structures are often associated with settlements, Gatcombe, Somerset with its massive walls, spread of workshops and utilitarian building style looks like a small town but has an unresolved high-status building, possibly a villa (Branigan 1976, 78; Cunliffe 1967; Leach 2001, 118). Recent geophysical survey would indicate an enclosure of 14ha (Smisson & Groves 2014). Kingscote, Gloucestershire also appears as a small town of around 30ha, with a large villa type structure in its north-east corner (Timby 1998). Settlement along the Nene valley, Northamptonshire includes a sequence of both villa and non-villa settlements, such as Higham Ferrers, Stanwick and Ringstead. The relationship of villas to settlement is not understood despite their proximity (Lawrence & Smith 2009, 338-340). Villas appear as one element within a more extensive settlement pattern and therefore it is appropriate to keep an open mind about their function.

The villa label also includes more basic rural house forms which have some Romanised features. The example at Park Farm, Iwerne Minster has been mentioned (Hawkes 1947). Perceived by Romans as *villa rustica* (Mattingly 2007, 370) these also have evidence for exhibitionist expenditure, for example, painted plaster and shale floor tiles at Iwerne Minster (Hawkes 1947). Terminology is argued but is here referred to as a 'longhouse' (Putnam 2007, 81-82; Smith 1993, 141). Where appropriate these are considered with the larger Dorset villa complexes, listed in Tables 5:3 and 5:4.

Villa research and Dorset

The highly developed villa complex and its associated Roman lifestyle has been argued by Faulkner (2002, 71) as "a fleeting passage in the moment of time". It has been noted that emphasising this one architectural form, a small percentage of rural settlement, distorts the interpretation of British-Roman Lifescape (Smith et al 2016, 48). However, it is precisely the archaeological visibility which enables villas to be studied. In Dorset these complexes are at their most extensive when the study begins at that fleeting moment in the mid-4th century and anything after that will rest on this basis. At this time villas were the centre of an economic and social unit and would have had actual and conceptual *imageability* for a 'small world' community. As with the examination of small towns, the attempt to distinguish the Nodal quality depends on three qualities: physical and conceptual *imageability*; a place one can enter and reassess one's journey; and a place of intense activity. The Nodal qualities will therefore be examined within these headings.

There have been few attempts to consider the late Dorset villa complex as a phenomenon, rather that site specific. Information has rested for some time on inadequate reports of antiquarian excavation, for example at Hemsworth and Frampton (Table 5:8). Putnam's Roman Dorset (2007) included a chapter on the presence and function of villas. This overview was of necessity sketchy but included work on Dewlish villa. The full report is now published (Hewitt et al 2021). Bournemouth University has taken up the mantle of villa studies for example at Frampton (Russell et al, 2021, 8-9) and a new site at Winterborne Kingston (Table 5:8). Other fuller excavation reports, for example Tarrant Hinton and Bucknowle have also been published this century (Graham 2006; Light & Ellis, 2009). New sites have been excavated such as Shillingstone (Corney & Robinson 2007) and Druce (Ladle & Morgan 2015 and other dates). However, often reports are limited to interims, for example Druce and Winterborne Kingston. Not all known or implied villa sites in Dorset are included in this comparison mainly for inadequate reporting.

Table 5:4: The villa sites, landscape and evidence of type and period						
Site	Grid Ref	Landscape	Occupation period	Complex Style	Excavation	Report
			Chalk Downland			
Hemsworth Witchampton	ST 963058	Chalk downland spur, commanding views	? coins from 3rd – late 4th C	Long main block winged, triclinium to west. North functional??	Engleheart 1908	Engleheart 1909 Le Jeune 1909
Bradford Down Pamphill	ST 9785 0430	High chalk downland, spur, wide views	Iron Age occupation 2nd to 4th C, possibly non-domestic	Early farmstead, bath house? Later farm buildings in wider complex?	Field 1968 to 1972	Field 1983 Papworth 2008
Dewlish Dewlish Park	SY 7860 9720	Chalk spur, fine combe views. Clay with flints	? Iron Age 2nd C – 4th C and beyond?	Early rectangular multi-function. Developed courtyard style	Putnam and students 1969-1979	Hewitt et al 2021
Druce Puddletown	SY 7333 9540	Chalk above river terrace, close to spring, clay with flints, enclosed but distant views	Iron Age artefacts Earlier Roman structures 6th C	Courtyard within a ditched system, buildings 3 sides. aisled hall Wider area working enclosures	EDAS 2010 -2016	Ladle and Morgan 2014 -2018 interims
Rockbourne West Park	SU 1200 1705	Chalk, on marshy river terrace. Wide landscape	Iron Age occupation Continued, early villa; 3rd C apogee, 4th C.	Courtyard, double accommodation,	Morley Hewitt Horsey	Morley Hewitt 1969 RCHME 1983
Shillingstone White Pit Farm	ST 8295 1065	Chalk slope, above river terrace. Wide views to Hambledon	Coins 3rd – 4th c No Iron Age?	Aggrandised aisled hall with tower approaches	AC Archaeology 2004 Development led	Corney & Robinson 2007
Tarrant Hinton Barton Field	ST 9260 1190	Chalk downland shoulder by warm spring, wide views	Extensive Iron Age occupation. Roman visible 2nd c to 4th c.	Three-sided courtyard	Wimborne amateur group 1968-1983	Graham 2006
Winterborne Kingston	SY 853 989	Chalk downland, wide views	Iron Age occupation. RB settlement close To 5th c.	Rectangular villa with additional rooms	Bournemouth University 2009-2018 (2013)	Russell et al various

Other Geology						
Bucknowle	SY 954 815	Wealden clay below chalk ridge near river, "island" in steep sloped restricted access but wide views	Iron Age occupation To 4th C	Double building, 3 sides.	Field & Jeff DNHAS 1975 - 1991	Light & Ellis 2009
Fifehead Neville	ST 7730 1122	Limestone on narrow river corridor slope	? to 4th C	Winged? Not fully excavated	1880 1903	RCHME 3.1 1970 PDNHAS 1928
Halstock	ST 5339 0757	Broad clay vale off the chalk downs, prominently viewed from ridge and overlooking vale	Iron Age occupation 5 Roman phases from AD 140	Courtyard villa, extensive ranges, double building	DNHAS volunteers 1967-1985	Lucas 1993
Hinton St Mary	ST 7845 1602	Limestone ridge terrace and sloping. Stour 1/2m	? to 4th c.	Uncertain, possibly a villa type, Guest (2021) suggests long/narrow	British Museum 1963	PDNHAS various dates 1963-1982
Iwerne Minster Park Farm	ST 8560 1370	Upper Greensand, low lying above river. Overlooked	Iron Age occupation 3 house sites to AD 360	Single block farmhouse	Pitt-Rivers 1897	Hawkes 1947. RCHME 1974
Studland Woodhouse Hill	SZ 029 820	Bagshot Beds, prominent, views across southern vale	Iron Age to 4th C	Single block subdivided, 2 foci excavated	Field, school children 1952-8	Field 1966

Badbury Nodal villa sites and comparatives

In current understanding there is only one villa site within the Badbury area at Hemsworth, with limited reports and finds from a rapid, targeted excavation in the early 20th century (Fig 5:8; Table 5:3 & 5:4). Other sites, arguably farmsteads at Bradford Down and Abbey House, Witchampton are also considered for Nodal qualities. Comparative villa sites mentioned above are discussed for comparative evidence (Fig 5:8; Table 5:4 & 5:5)

Hemsworth Villa

The site of the villa at Hemsworth, between Witchampton and Badbury is situated on a gentle north slope of a chalk spur. South-facing, it had commanding views across the gently unfolding downland and was dominant within the surrounding landscape (Fig 5:9; Engleheart 1909, 3). In 1867, Austen suggested Hemsworth as the site of *Vindocladia* close to a river crossing at Bradford, and an important junction of roads at Badbury.

Fig 5:9: West Hemsworth from the Margary 4c road.

See also Fig 5:10. Looking north. The villa site is arrowed. Note the extensive woodland to the north. Photo by author .2019

Fig 5:10: Hemsworth villa and proximity to Roman roads.

Edina Digimap.

While the site of *Vindocladia* is now considered to be at Crab Farm, Hemsworth seems to be positioned to benefit from the Roman arterial road system (Fig 5:10): its presence would have been recognised from both roads. Close to the villa site are earthworks of the deserted medieval village of Hemsworth; a small cemetery had been disturbed before 1860 in an adjoining field (Engleheart 1909, 2; Austen 1867, 167).

The field has been known as 'The Walls' "immemorably", the name appears on the estate map from around 1770 (DOR D-CRI/1/1; Engleheart 1909, 2). The site was previously dug by the tenant in 1831 when six "pavements" were found (Hutchins 1863, 478). It was backfilled and visible remains disappeared through agricultural activity and stone quarrying (Engleheart 1909, 2). Le Jeune (1909) excavated the site with Engleheart in 1908 by which time the visible remains had been obliterated. He reported that the foundations and floors were very shallow and plough damage had destroyed much of the evidence, but a slightly longer account was left to Engleheart (1909) for the Dorset Field Club, the sketchy site diagram has been reinterpreted by Cosh and Neal (Fig 5:11).

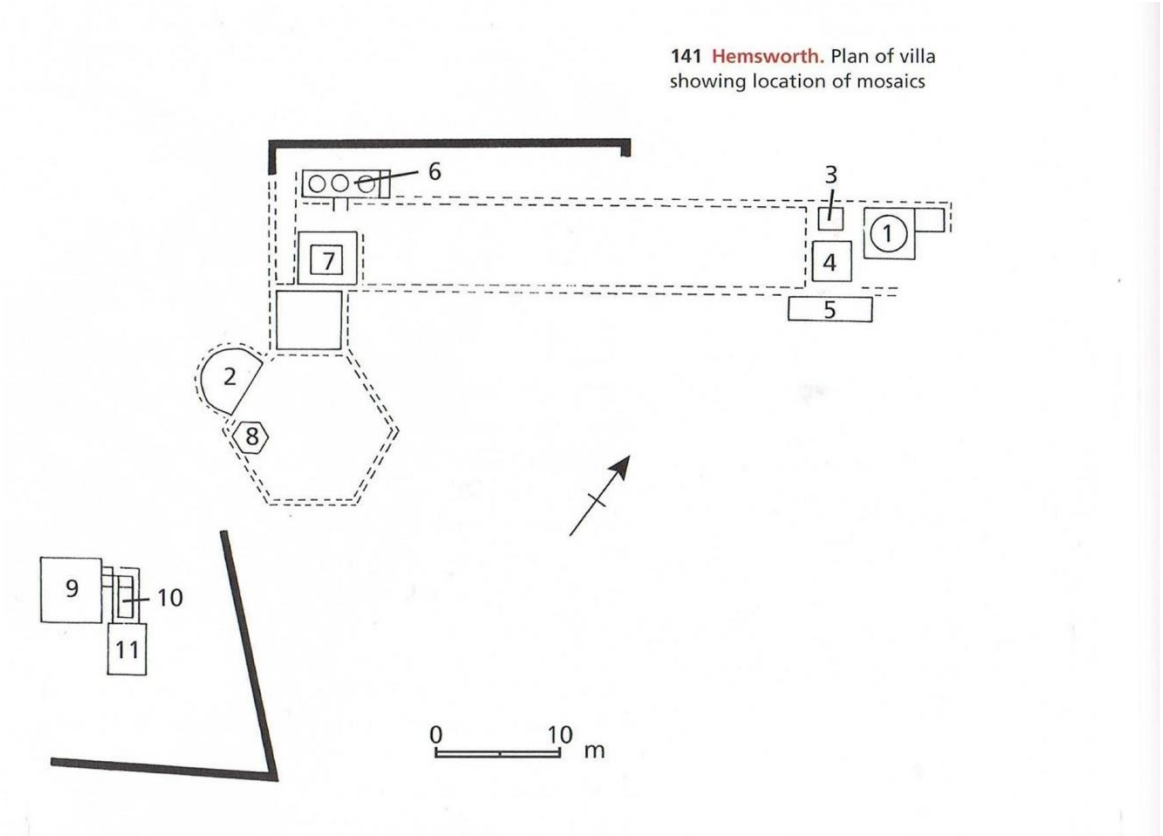

Fig 5:11: An interpretation of the 1909 Hemsworth plan.

The numbers are the mosaics. 2: the Venus mosaic. The plunge bath is 3. From Cosh & Neal 2006.

Fig 5:12: The Venus mosaic at Hemsworth.

Interpreted by Neal: from Cosh & Neal 2006, 152.

The main building material was flint but all or any stone had been thoroughly robbed (Engleheart 1909, 4). The footprint is therefore difficult to recreate, but the main block excavated was around 77m long facing south-west (Fig 5:11). There was perhaps a corridor to the north, Engleheart noted a pavement, projections and recesses. Fragmentary remains suggest that wings projected southwards at either end of this narrow block with a bath-suite at the eastern end and a triclinium and hexagonal room to the west. This was separated from the main block by a workroom with a pebble floor. Further buildings with some fine mosaics were evident to the west perhaps indicating a continuation of living area.

The significance of the site was derived from the partial remains of mosaic pavements, of which fourteen were suggested (Engleheart 1909). This includes the depiction of the birth of Venus (Fig 5:12) which Cosh (2021) has suggested was the product of the *Lindinis Officina* mosaic group. Their mosaics are found at Fifehead Neville, Low Ham, Somerset and Hurcot, Ilchester Mead. At the latter, a worn coin of Valentinian I suggested the mosaic was laid in the last two decades of the 4th century (Cosh 2021: Cosh & Neal 2006, 29-30).

The mosaics at Hemsworth were of a high standard, from a regionally popular workshop, the subject matter selected was designed to exhibit the owners' education and cultural superiority (Perring 2003, 97). The building was a high-status Romanised structure; fittings included Kimmeridge shale floor tiles, scenic murals, a bath-suite and hypocausts (Engleheart 1909, 9). This indicates a site of physical and cognitive *imageability* certainly during the very late 4th century when it had significant Nodal qualities. Thereafter its fate is uncertain, from the brief report and lack of curated finds. The structure appeared to show few signs of use from the lack of wear on the floors and limited burning in the hypocaust flues. At some point the building suffered fire damage. This was evident to the excavators in the apsidal room and bath-suite. However, the lack of building stone, window glass and lead fittings presume a systematic plundering before destruction (Fig 5:13; Engleheart 1909, 10-11). There is no evidence of the date for this destruction, Engleheart assumed the building had a brief occupation and was subsequently pillaged and burnt by the local population.

This initial overview of the site at Hemsworth has little to offer for evidence of continued Elemental qualities across the British-Roman period. Taking the Nodal qualities against the evidence from other Dorset villa sites, it may be possible to provide a 'fuzzy' narrative for the site. Before that analysis, the other excavated Roman sites within the area at Bradford Down and Witchampton are analysed to assess their elemental quality during the earlier British-Roman period.

Fig 5:13: The mosaic floor of the plunge bath.

An original photo from the 1909 Hemsworth excavation. At the base of the far wall, the lead piping had been removed prior to backfill. Photo courtesy of Dorset County Museum.

Bradford Down: A farmstead

Bradford Down site is 60m aOD above a gentle south-east facing slope, looking across to the Allen valley, Norman Field (1983) excavated this site during the 1960s and 1970s (Fig 5:14). The evidence was hampered by severe plough damage and the lack of stratified dating evidence. Of interest was the possible late 2nd and early 3rd century house structure, 24.4m by 8.2m (Building 2, Fig 5:15). The remains were badly denuded, but it appeared to be an example of an early 'longhouse' corridor fronted farmstead; it pre-dated the British-Roman period (Field 1983, 82). By the late 4th century, the site had been converted to a grain processing area with inserted ovens and work floors of reused building materials (Field 1983). Across the foundations of this building another smaller rectangular building, interpreted as a byre, was later constructed, again with reused building materials (Field 1983, 75-76).

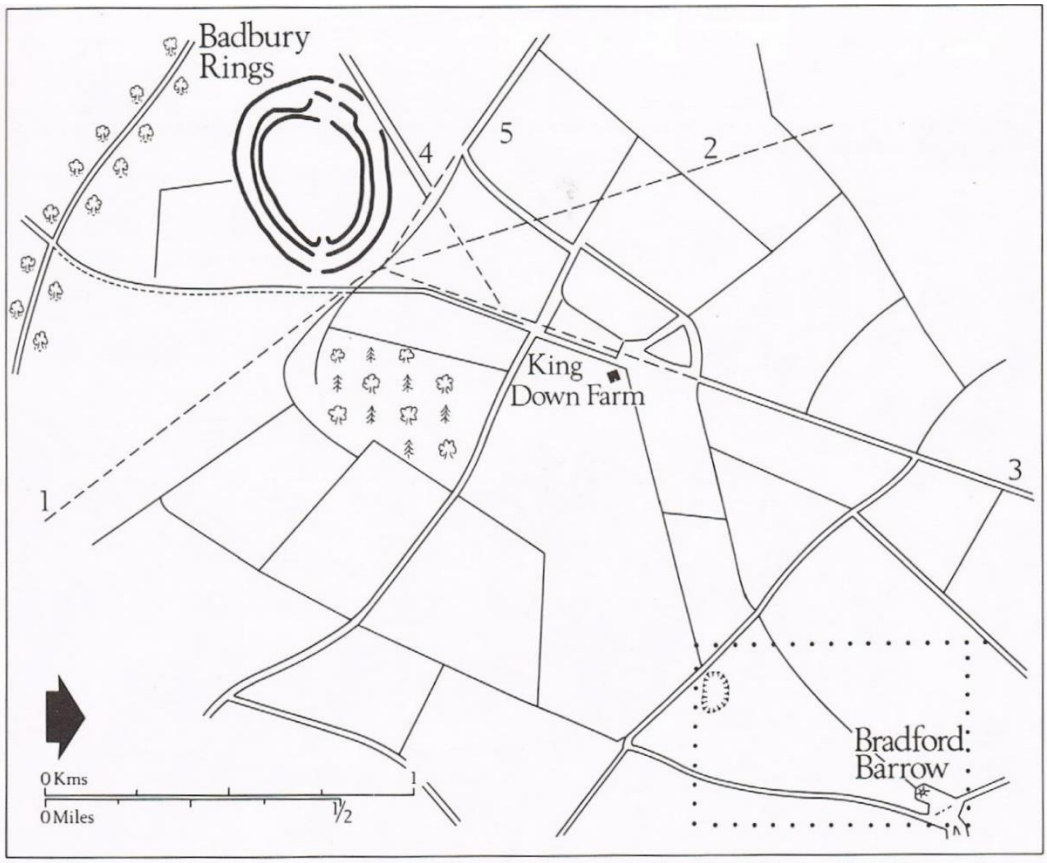

Figure 1. Bradford Down site in relation to Badbury Rings and Roman roads (key to roads: 1 – from Poole Harbour; 2 – from Bath; 3 – from Old Sarum; 4 – from Dorchester; 5 – from Hod Hill). Dotted area of Figure 2 enclosed.

Fig 5:14. The site of the Bradford Down Iron Age and Roman occupation. From Field 1983, 71

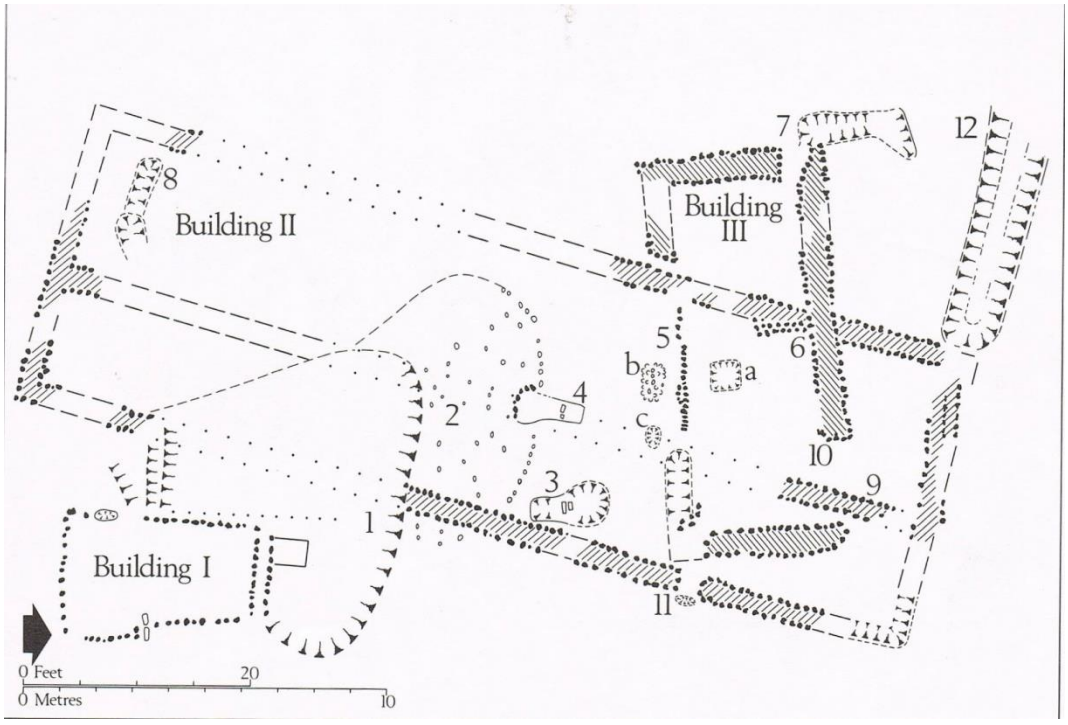

Fig 5:15: Building sequence at Bradford Down, with multi-phased use. From Field 1983, 75

Building 1 (Fig 5:15) was in use over a longer period, possibly 3rd and 4th century, which Field (1983, 73-75) proposed had a series of changes of use, but initially may have been a small bath-house. This is highly subjective, even as Field admits, but is concluded from the presence of an underground 'store', a drainage gully, hard standing possibly for a water tank, and the fragmentary remains of *opus signinum.* A 2nd/3rd century building of similar size at Tarrant Hinton was also recognised as a bath-house (Graham 2006, 37-40: Building 6). When in a partially collapsed state, Building 1 was somewhat maintained in an un-Roman fashion, using dry flint masonry and wooden supports. 12th to 14th century pottery sherds were recovered – the only medieval pottery on the excavation site, suggesting the possibility it was still utilised in some manner into that period (Field 1983, 74).

Field thought a farm or villa complex located to the east had succeeded Building 2, this seems to be corroborated by Roman building material and an enclosure evident in geophysics (Papworth 2008, 29). There is no excavated evidence for this and the abandonment of one need not indicate the construction of another. Geophysical survey indicated the two sites were connected by a track and were perhaps elements of a larger estate complex. It is apparent from this information that by the late 4th century, the Bradford Down farmstead building was no longer a Node in the sense theorised previously. This area was functionally utilised during the later period, perhaps like Winterborne Kingston site (Table 5:4) and perhaps one element of a larger poly-focal Nodal area.

The Abbey House domestic site seems similarly to have been abandoned, demolished, and robbed, a few coins from the 3rd century suggest perhaps early in the 4th century. If the subsequent burials over the site are 5th to 7th century, then prior to that. The archive contains some substantial pieces of large New Forest greyware storage jars, and it could be surmised that these were associated with food storage and preparation. Other utility buildings may have been associated with agricultural processes and the grain dryer. Coin evidence suggests the circular building and annex was active in the AD 360s with a lack of domestic evidence. The annex appears to decommission part of an earlier building. While acknowledging there are arguments against a restricted dating from coin evidence, it seems likely that occupation and a Nodal quality cannot be argued for the site in the earlier British-Roman period. This may parallel the change of use on Bradford Down and again suggest it was one element of an estate. The British-Roman site is discussed more completely in the Chapter 7.

Villa Imageability within the landscape

Table 5:5: Villa and farmstead sites within their landscape.
Iron Age antecedents and visibility. N/E not known from excavation

Site	Iron Age	Landscape
		Chalk Downland
Hemsworth Witchampton	N/E	Chalk downland spur, commanding views, visible from Roman roads
Abbey House Witchampton	Yes	Low-lying river terrace mound. Views along valley, viewed from around.
Dewlish Dewlish Park	Yes?	Chalk spur, fine combe views and viewed. Clay with flints
Druce Puddletown	Yes	Chalk above river terrace, clay with flints, enclosed but distant views, prominent in valley
Bradford Down Pamphill	N/E	High chalk downland spur, wide views
Rockbourne West Park	Yes	Chalk, on marshy river terrace. Wide landscape
Shillingstone White Pit Farm	N/E	Chalk slope, above river terrace. Wide views to Hambledon Hill
Tarrant Hinton Barton Field	Yes	Chalk downland shoulder, wide views to Roman road
Winterborne Kingston	Yes	Chalk downland, wide views
		Other Geology
Bucknowle Corfe Castle	Yes	Wealden clay below chalk ridge, "island" in steep sloped restricted access but wide views and viewed from ridge
Fifehead Neville	N/E	Limestone on narrow river corridor slope
Halstock	Yes	Broad clay vale off the chalk downs, prominently viewed from ridge and overlooking vale
Hinton St Mary	N/E	Limestone ridge terrace and sloping. Stour 1/2m
Iwerne Minster Park Farm	Yes	Upper Greensand, low lying above river. Viewed from around
Studland Woodhouse Hill		Bagshot Beds, prominent, views across southern vale

Villa complexes in Italy developed as Nodes within a poly-focal estate, they were designed to express the owner's social prestige (Taylor 2011, 182). This would have been achieved through physical presence and focal activity. The villa position, while influenced by such

elements as communication channels, economic zones, and ancestral precedents, ultimately used visual prominence for status: views into the villa complex appear to have been important (Taylor 2011). Hemsworth has been noted as landscape dominant, and other Dorset villas have a highly visible presence (Table 5:5). Bucknowle, Halstock and Dewlish are visible from surrounding hills and ridges and associated routeways (Fig 5:16; Ellis & Light 2009, back cover; Lucas 1993, 2-3; Hewitt et al 2021, 238). Dewlish would also have been prominent from the long valley below (Hewitt et al 2021, 1). The strategic visibility varies according to landscape elements, and most villas appear sited for their visibility from Roman routes, for example Hemsworth and Tarrant Hinton villa which was visible across the valley from the Roman road (Graham 2006, 1-3).

While Druce villa seems to be more enclosed within the Piddle valley, it clearly dominated a river routeway and would have been visible from the ancient ridgeway to Dorchester (Fig 5:17). Visibility must have been crucial in a mobile society for long distance travellers on state and merchandised business, as well as interaction across extensive estates (Taylor 2011, 183).

Fig 5:16. Dewlish House

This villa site is to the fore and clearly visible from the eastern ridge. From Churchill 2019.

Fig 5:17: Druce villa excavation Open Day 2015, looking south-west.

The Ridgeway to Dorchester lies across the horizon. The Saxon manor of Waterston is now represented by the 17th century house and a deserted medieval village. Photo by Val Moore, Copyright EDAS 2022.http://www.dorset-archaeology.org.uk/druce_open_day_2015.html. Downloaded 10.02.2022

Locations close to ancient routes argue for a longer period of occupation which is indicated by the number of villas which continued to occupy Iron Age sites (Table 5:5). This proximity has been more widely noted (Smith et al 2016, 34; Taylor 2011, 182-183). For some sites this would seem to override other considerations, for example at Rockbourne which grew from an existing round house and yet the area was prone to flooding (Morley Hewitt 1969, 1-2). These long-lived sites, prominent within their own landscape and function seem to reflect the importance of the continuity of Node, community and inherited *imageability* for the Lifescape.

Pliny the Younger advocated that a homesite should be visibly central to a diverse and full range of activities appropriate to the activities of an agricultural estate (Taylor 2011, 184). The range of activities was influenced by environmental factors; research on villa distribution in Surrey has suggested that villas are attracted to boundaries of geology (Taylor 2011, 184). In this way, Hemsworth is ideally situated. The land around the site is now extensively cultivated for arable crops, the chalk soil being shallow and light. To the north, are tracts of ancient woodland at Chetterwood (Mills 1980, 141). To the west, open pasture downlands were retained into the 19th century (DOR: D-CRI/A/1/7). It is possible that, if Hemsworth maintained a large estate, then the claylands, springs, river terraces and wide hay meadoows

along the Allen river would have also been essential to the estate. Further research on the Districts and Edges elements could attempt to identify estate boundaries from land use.

An emphasis on location close to mixed land usage may then have been the incentive for long term Nodal activity seen at or close to villa sites. These Nodal points were not only deeply imbued with ancestral and social meaning and therefore *imageability* but contained practical working and living importance, this would have been an accepted continuation of a Lifescape deeply rooted within farming traditions. These vital places may have then continued as such into the later British-Roman period. The theme of Nodal continuation will now be explored through the architecture of Roman villa and farmstead sites. While villas were constructed to show adoption of new cultural *Romanitas*, the space within them can be argued as maintaining an ancestral commitment to food production.

Outward villa architecture

Within the late Roman Lifescape, villa complexes appear to have been highly graphic and exotic architectural centres, recognisable for their characteristic plan, architectural style and strong *imageability*, which exemplified Roman state authority. While there were no upstanding architectural remains at Hemsworth, this presence is inferred from the architectural decoration. A comparison with other villa sites will enable an impression of their physical and implicit *imageability.*

Three aspects of villa architecture are considered: size, form, and architectural embellishments. For the latter, some skill was required for the ostentatious appearance of architectural adornment and would seem to require a professional building industry. At Dewlish and Druce widely sourced building materials, and exterior embellishments like finials and columns were visibly indulgent (Ladle 2014, 209; Hayward 2021). However, while external villa architecture could feign Roman style it also represented the centrality of a functioning estate, for example the twin buildings at Bradford in Avon, one a working space (Corney 2003). At Halstock, workshops were fronted by a *porticus* and a monumental entrance (Lucas 1993, 146). At Iwerne and Shillingstone granary towers were prominently attached to the buildings (Hawkes 1947; Corney & Robinson 2007). These features ensured the foundation of life and wealth were highly visible to the community.

A powerful sense of entering a Node was achieved by the scale and design of the complexes. Hemsworth was over 75m in length (Engleheart 1909): the 'barns' at Fifehead Neville were over 30m in length (RCHME 1970b, 94) while the Rockbourne complex, at its fullest, extended across an area 90m square (Morley Hewitt 1969). The late complex at Bucknowle

was around 50m by 75m with other associated ancillary buildings (Light & Ellis 2009, 24). These complexes involved substantial buildings, both domestic and work-based, around a courtyard, adopting a typical Roman style for prestige and exhibitionism, but also to emphasis the owner's full control of the estate and production.

While these exotic buildings suggest a scale and appearance which would be alien and superimposed in an ancestral landscape, this does not seem the case. In many cases, as noted previously, sites had grown from Iron Age precedents, through a sequence of house extensions and alterations (Table 5:4). At Shillingstone, the aisled building was elaborated in at least three phases (Corney & Robinson 2007). Each modification represented shifting priorities of the Lifescape and the adoption of more Romanised culture. The early British-Roman rectangular, multi-functional living and workshop building at Iwerne Minster had been a feature of earlier villa sites (Table 5:7). At Dewlish such a building existed from the 2nd century before it was demolished for two larger structures (Hewitt et al 2021, 229). The site was then extended around a courtyard and a bath-suite added. The process indicates a gradual enhancement which would be more acceptable across generations. The later 4th century establishment reflected the owners outward identification with Rome, and, as importantly, their inherited right to ownership.

In the early British-Roman period, estates Nodes were understood from their *imageability* to reflect being 'Roman' and inherited rights. Hemsworth, from its suggested size, mosaics and bath-house would appear to rival the other villa sites for visibility and Roman style. Hemsworth displayed the owner's power through architectural "conspicuous consumption" implied in highly decorated public rooms (Gerrard 2013, 133-143). The inheritance continued with the reuse of material from the building after its demolition and the attraction of medieval occupation to maintain 'place'. Neither the Abbey House nor Bradford Down domestic sites can be regarded as later Nodes.

Activities

By the early British-Roman period, villas were Romanised Nodal points, individual in their emphasis and roles (Table 5:6). An overview of activities suggested at villas in the earlier British-Roman period, argues for a primary function as producers of grain and commodities from the estate. This was a long tradition which continued into the later British-Roman period. This will be explored through architecture space and usage.

Table 5:6: A selection of evidence for 4th c activity types at some Dorset villas. Comparison is not straightforward from the variability of reports.

Site	4th C Coins (market?)	Food processing and storage	Manufacturing	Cultural centre
Hemsworth	few			Triclinium Fine mosaics Bath-suite
Bucknowle	Consistent but AD 300-348 93%	grain dryers butchery	Shale working, leather and wool working, smithy	Large room 4.5 public reception? Fine glass Ritual deposits Bath-house,
Dewlish	AD 330-348: 30 AD 388-402: 20 More than other sites, fewer earlier	Building 5 storage/processing? Opus signinum floor, ovens extending on site	Crucible Shale Cloth	Large central room, mosaics, painted plaster Large bath-suite Temple/shrine? Baptistry?
Druce	Coin distribution like Dewlish (M Corney pers comm)	Grain dryer in separate compound: decommissioned AD 380. Storage facility wooden floor, butchery	West range: ovens, smithing and tesserae and glass production	Mosaics, painted plaster Slate roof tiles Military style fittings Amphorae, Imported glass
Halstock	Oddly few in ratio to earlier 89. higher % 2nd half	Butchery Quern stones Grain dryers B4/5 aisled hall working areas	Iron working Shale? Lead	Fine mosaics, painted plaster, columns, glass Bath house
Iwerne Minster	27 4th Century	Querns Tower Granary? Byre	wool clothing crucible	Wall plaster, shale floor
Rockbourne	Mainly from mid 300s	Re-use bath-suite for food processing? Grain dryers Butchery	Domestic iron working Crucibles; shale working	AD 400 belt fittings Mosaics, glass Stone table Baptistry? Bath house
Shillingstone	2nd/ 4th centuries	Tower blocks as storage/granaries, ovens inside aisles		Grand bath suite, tower wings, window glass, plaster
Tarrant Hinton	Consistent 300-348 89% 222, rather more than other sites	Querns, large number. storage jars Ovens in barn B5 Large storage range 2.3? concrete floor over 'hypocaust'	Many spindle whorls Many bone pins Crucible & hearth tesserae	Styli, Mosaics Painted plaster Glass, Bronze busts bath-house

The basis of British villa economy rested on grain production. Land was extensively cultivated for subsistence, urban consumption and increasing state taxation demands - the *annona militaris* (Rivet 1969, 189-192; Gerrard 2013, 97-99). Maintaining productivity required manufacturing and/or maintaining buildings, tools, seed, and animals. The villa's centrality to production could also act in a wider role as a marketplace with monetary exchange, this is suggested particularly for those sites with a high recorded late 4th century coin loss, such as Bancroft, Buckinghamshire, and Tarrant Hinton (Table 5:6; Taylor 2013, 423). The large number of storage jars and querns at Tarrant Hinton might support this interpretation (Table 5:6). Dewlish and Druce both have unusual amounts of very late coins suggesting they were thriving into the 5th century (Mark Corney pers. comm.).

The villa was also domestic, the type of occupation varied between establishments. Some estate owners were absentees or owned multiple local estates; some owners were principally townsmen, senators and businessmen (Gerrard 2013, 236; Mattingly 2006, 372-2373; Percival 1976, 145-147). Imperial estates, run by state officials, may have existed which would have precluded private investment in villa complexes. For this reason, the Cranborne Chase has been suggested as such, although there is no evidence for this hypothesis and Myncen Farm is one example of hitherto unrecorded sites (Hawkes 1947, Percival 1976, 132-133; Mattingly 2006, 372). Villa complexes may have included accommodation for an extended family or workers (Petts 1997). Regulation of agricultural production and therefore the peasant population was essential, for which administrators and central managers could be well rewarded (Faulkner 2002, 64; Fleming 2021, 10). This could result in domestic building investment: Dewlish, for example, had a late ambitious bath-suite as did the later extension at Shillingstone (Corney & Robinson 2007). This might indicate the growing importance of Roman ideas of cleanliness and bathing as a communal activity perhaps for an extended family or work force. Cultural and religious roles were significant and will be discussed later. These activities suggest villas as Nodes of intense functional, cultural, and state activity. Hemsworth could have been no exception.

The activities noted in Table 5:6 influenced the use and form of villa space. Whether this was adapted could indicate whether the Nodal quality and innate *imageability* of the villa altered across the period. The emphases on food production, and cultural and religious activity is discussed for later comparison.

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Table 5:7: A comparison of building development on Dorset villa and farmstead sites.			
Site	*Evidence for duration*	*Earlier "longhouse"*	*Developed villa complex*
1 Hemsworth Witchampton	Coins 3rd – late 4th C. Gratian coin	No evidence	Courtyard Complex? Triclinium bath suite
2 Bradford Down Pamphill	Iron Age to 4th C	1st – 2nd C modest with veranda	Demolished
3 Dewlish Dewlish Park	Iron Age possible, 2nd C Roman. SEDOWW coins AD 388-402	Several stages of build. Multi-function long house with 3 domestic division, early 3rd C, aisled hall	Courtyard complex, Ornate bath suite
4 Druce Puddletown	Iron Age items, SEDOWW, Bii amphora	Aisled hall, earlier structure was not excavated	Courtyard within a wider system. aisled hall, workshops.
5 Rockbourne West Park	Iron Age house Coin AD 408, 423	1st C rectangular building, 3rd C developed villa	Many stages to 4th c courtyard complex, double accommodation?
6 Shillingstone White Pit Farm	Coins 3rd – 4th c	Aisled hall	Aggrandised wings and bath house other buildings in area?
7 Tarrant Hinton Barton Field	Iron Age "village". Coins AD 378-388	Roman visible 2nd C. Rectangular divided structure(s)	Courtyard complex. Bath suite workshops other buildings in association
8 Winterborne Kingston	Iron Age to 4th C	3-roomed longhouse circa AD 320	Additional rooms to structure circa AD 350
9 Abbey House Witchampton	IA brooch; early Roman pottery 4th C coins,	? Possibly an earlier small long house, (or bath house)	Demolished
10 Bucknowle	Iron Age occupation. Coins to AD 378	1st c – 3rd c aisled hall 4th B1: 3 s rectangular rooms & corridor	Courtyard and other buildings, Mirror buildings
11 Fifehead Neville	4th C. coins to AD 400	Not fully excavated	Winged? Corridor divided in 3, living block, bath-house
12 Halstock	Iron Age Coins AD 388-402	Roman phases from AD 140, rectangular with internal room divisions, bath house,	Courtyard, extensive ranges, "mirror" buildings
13 Hinton St Mary	Chi Rho mosaic post mid 4th C.	? Not fully excavated.	Uncertain, possibly a villa type, Guest suggests long/narrow building
14 Iwerne Minster	Iron Age occupation to AD 360	2 sequence long house sites 3rd C like Dewlish 1 and Shillingstone. Aisled? Long house to AD 360?	No, long house 3 partitions, granary
15 Studland Woodhouse Hill	Iron Age to 4th C. 2 foci excavated	Single block subdivided,	No
16 Frampton	Chi Rho mosaic post mid 4th C	Not excavated	Yes, form unsure, complex
17 Fordington Bottom	1st C AD graves SEDOWW in colluvium	Settlement, sunken floor building 1st C	No, settlement evidence higher on terraces, 3-5th c locally

Activities and architecture – the earlier British-Roman period

Developed villas were often the product of a series of additions and rebuilding. Some of the early Roman buildings conform to a pattern, being long and divided into three compartments, sometimes with other subdivision, for multi-functionality. Examples include Brixworth, Northamptonshire; Lockleys Welwyn, Hertfordshire and Frocester Court, Gloucestershire (Percival 1976, 91-105). For simplicity, these building types are called longhouses. Comparative examples from Table 5:5 with Frampton and Fordington Bottom are in Table 5:7

The longhouse style was evident at earlier Dorset villa sites but also survived on 4th century farmstead sites, Iwerne Minster for example (Table 5:7). Frocester Court is a useful site for comparison of style and multi-functionality (Fig 5:18; Price 2000). A new longhouse was built on an undeveloped site in the 3rd century. The with substantial stone foundations indicated this building was likely of two or three storeys with a clerestory, and thus a remarkable visual structure (Price 2000, 93-94). At ground level the building incorporated manufacturing and agricultural activities: a forge, a domestic kitchen, and an office/storage area (Price 2000, 89-94). Following this phase, rooms was gradually added and occupied into the 4th century, including a bath suite and a mosaic floor corridor publicly emphasising the cultural affinities of the owner (Fig 5:18). While this 4th century building appears high status to accommodate a rich, leisurely lifestyle, in fact, the emphasis was on working areas with, it was argued, accommodation over, and this, it seems, remained through the earlier British-Roman period (Price 2000). For the later period, from AD 400, it is suggested the structure was already in decline, the corridor pavement repaired unskilfully, and the emphasis changed again as animals appear to have been stabled in the original core rooms, fires built on concrete floors and then the house destroyed by fire (Price 2000, 111-113). Later occupation still will be discussed later.

These functional activities remained evident at villas through the earlier British-Roman period (Petts 1997, 104-105). Despite the Romanisation of architecture, the values of the working establishment remain implicit within a multi-purpose building sheltering family, food, and stock (Hewitt et al 2021, 224). This Lifescape was bound up in supportive and overlapping activities: at Halstock, the oven structure is suggested as providing warmth and cooking as well as a grain drying or malting facility (Lucas 1993, 142). This Lifescape is suggested as a continuation of shared space and multifunctionality of the round house, however the rectangular layout allows more readily for diverse activity (Smith et al 2016, 16, 56-57). Villas maintained, although often disguised, that multi-purpose working function which was integral to the British-Roman Lifescape.

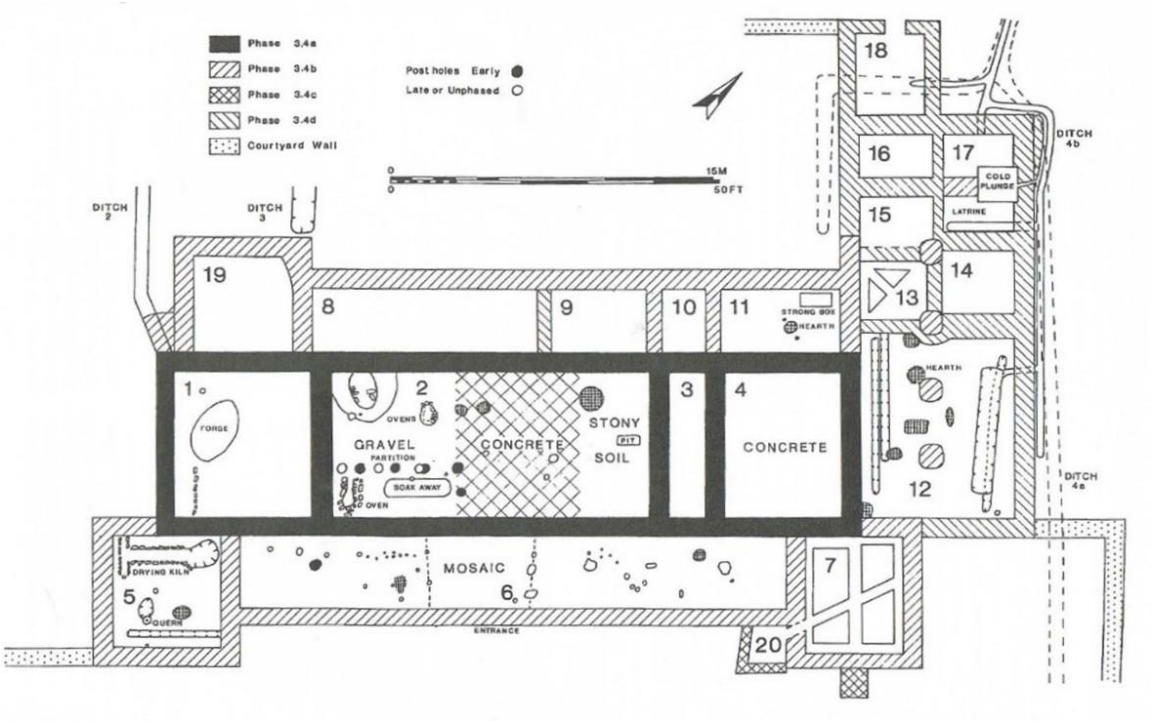

Fig 5:18: Building A at Frocester in its later phase.

This is interpreted as longhouse habitation in the previous corridor. From Price 2000, 90

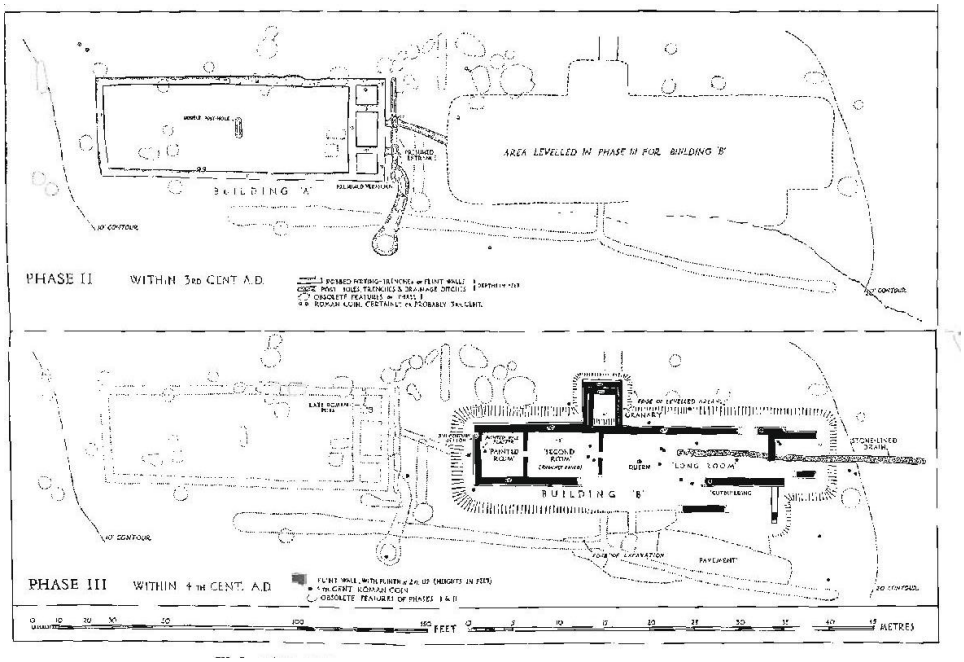

Fig 5:19: The farmstead at Iwerne Minster, its development from 3rd century to 4th century AD.

The aisled building and longhouse styles are used. From Hawkes 1947, Fig 7.

Despite fashionable extensive development of villa complexes, these houses still maintained the traditional Romano-British practices. From the evidence (Table 5:7), longhouse forms were persistent on 'villa' sites throughout the Roman period. At Dewlish villa the complexity of the archaeology was attributed to its multi-phase architecture (Hewitt et al 2021, 219). The earliest building was compared to the 4th century longhouse at Iwerne Minster (Fig 5:19; Hewitt et al 2021, 219-220). This house had a small defined living area with Roman adornments but also a central work area, grain storage, and an end byre (Hawkes 1947, 58-59).

The Dewlish longhouse was functioning until the early 4th century and divided for separate purposes of grain drying, byre but also decorated domestic offices (Hewitt et al 2021, 223-226). This building was later adapted to include an aisled hall. Aisled halls at Shillingstone and Tarrant Hinton also evidence the gradual ornamentation of a simpler building, and yet retain the shared use of space with multiple activities by the end of the 4th century (Table 5:7). At Tarrant Hinton, there was evidence for bronze work, hearths, and food processing activities (Graham 2006, 59). At Shillingstone prominent tower granaries, ovens and an extended bath-suite were added to the simpler existing hall (Corney & Robinson 2007). There was still a need to continue to accommodate food storage and production with living quarters. Bradford on Avon villa's 'twin' high status structures are an example of the integration of the domestic and working spheres (Corney 2003). The Nodal role of villas is apparent, while they were visibly paying lip-service to Rome, the persistence of occupation activity acted as a mnemonic aid for the traditions of the ancestral past. The integral activities were understood as representing Lifescape for the occupants and workforce, the Node reinforced daily routines, annual cycles, and traditions across the estate, interweaving activities within new and changing architectural forms.

The duality of buildings often witnessed on villa sites, is then, suggested as emphasising the dual home and work routines. Consideration must be given to the amount of space, time and effort was required to produce food, clothing and supporting goods and the ensuing priority for this activity in the building design. This consideration could also explain less recognisable archaeological features. Some arrangements have been taken as representing accommodation for two families which may have been the case: at Bucknowle, the demise of one building was thought as a cessation of this arrangement (Light & Ellis 2008). Other sites suggest this was not the case. At Halstock, there were twin adjacent buildings, but the internal arrangements of both were difficult to explain as domestic (Lucas 1993, 19-26). One had *opus signinum* and stone floors, an oven and one simple hypocaust. The other was similar with a small stone configuration: a similar one at Frocester was described as a manger (Price 2000). Despite the problematic nature of these buildings, the Halstock report suggests this as double accommodation, however, they should perhaps be considered as storage

and processing areas, and the suggested bath-house could have been a malting floor (Lucas 1993, 25-26). The possibility of a second storey connecting the two would offer accommodation and explain the buildings' apparent prestigious position facing the courtyard entrance (Lucas 1993, 144).

At Tarrant Hinton, a small added block was proposed as residential, primarily because of the hypocaust and painted plaster (Graham 2006, 56). The excavator insisted the floor was natural chalk, but this was over-ridden in the report which speculated the flooring had been removed by earlier excavations. However, a more convoluted explanation was required to explain the natural floor sealed by fallen painted plaster fallen (Graham 2006, 56). Meanwhile the flue in the star-shaped hypocaust was followed into an adjacent room but no stoke hole recorded (Graham 2006, 56). This could suggest a raised granary or drying floor and work rooms. Granaries are typified by raised wooden, cement or stone floors, the latter Fleming (2021, 22) suggests are only known from military settings. However, these granaries may be overlooked on villa sites where they are misinterpreted, as perhaps when the late 4th century octagonal plunge bath at Rockbourne was tiled over with roofing slabs (Fig 5:22; RCHME 1983).

Malting floors are suggested interpretations for the 'tanks', originally described as baths at Dewlish which were inserted into the end of a residential building by the mid-4th century (Hewitt et al 2021, 73). These tanks were faced with a thin layer of *opus signinum* with no drainage and 'aired' by hypocausts, the activity continued throughout the 4th century (Hewitt et al 2021, 73-74). A similar tank was found in a Roman 'barn' at Somerleigh Court, Dorchester (Trevarthen 2008, 33), and is suggested at Myncen Farm (Sparey Green 1998, 170-171). The room containing it was narrow and the container was not deep enough to hold water, neither was the lining sufficiently thick to support weight. There could possibly be an argument for later cement malting floors in the western 'bath suite' at Rockbourne (Morley Hewitt 1969; RCHME 1983). This working function could also apply to Hemsworth where the excavations found a pebble work surface between the apsidal room and the northern wing. This wing had been substantially destroyed but with a corridor and long stretch, it might reflect the barn wing at Fifehead Neville and the working wing at Halstock (RCHME 1970b, 93-94; Lucas 1993).

This analysis has argued that the Nodal activities of a functioning early British-Roman villa complex had altered little in emphasis over the Roman period. Lifescape activities were contiguous, continuous, and inseparable. Despite the attraction of a visibly Romanised complex, working space and facilities were a high priority. The operationality of such sites could suggest that when architectural refinements were abandoned in the later British-Roman period, activities and

memories could remain in a place with long-standing Lifescape functionality and meaning including cultural and ritual activity.

Cultural and ritual activity

The villa image was important as a symbol of the owner's understanding of Roman culture and mores. Displays of wealth and discernment reflected the family's economic and political power which was legitimised and publicly demonstrable through entertaining (Gerrard 2013, 141-142). Equally, the villa can be seen as a stage on which the owner played out the role of patron, interceding and manipulating legal processes on behalf of clients, who in return had allegiance and protection which heightened his authority, and material gain (Gerrard 2013, 142). Such activity was carried out in spectacular rooms sometimes with apsidal extensions, opening publicly from a main entrance through an impressive doorway. Hemsworth appears to have such a room, possibly hexagonal, with the Venus mosaic. Hinton St Mary had a bipartite room: this was a common arrangement, but of unknown function (Cosh & Neal 2005, 156). Room 11 at Dewlish villa, constructed in the earlier 4th century is described as a hall-like structure, perhaps lit from a glazed clerestory and with ancillary rooms (Hewitt et al 2021, 79-80; Cosh & Neal 2005, 80).

Bath-suites also seemed to have been prominent and more than functional. At Halstock and Dewlish the suites were extended, decorated, and reorganised with separate cubicles (Lucas 1993; Hewitt et al 2021). This seems to suggest bathing for wider participation. At Lufton, the plunge bath was housed in a commanding octagonal tower-like structure with exaggerated buttresses and seems excessive for the small scale of the rest of the complex (Cosh & Neal 2005, 264). Gerrard and Agate (2021) suggest this as a summer villa, perhaps for a townsman from nearby Ilchester, bathing must have featured as a prominent leisure activity. There will be further discussion on the significance of bath-houses when considering evidence for villas as Christian Nodes.

The interior decoration of villas included ornate furnishings, decorated walls and floors. The mosaic evidence is one of the more endurable means of witnessing the display of Roman culture (Table 5:7). Mythical subjects demonstrated the owner's appreciation of art and design and classical iconography. Some of these depictions also demonstrate the influence of the wider imperial world, with suggestions of North African influence for the Venus panel at Rudstone villa, and Spanish at Boxford (Fleming 2021, 32; Beeson 2019, 25).

By the mid-4th century, when the Dorset mosaics were executed, the legal state religion was Christianity (Petts 2016, 660-661). It has been argued by Rees (2020, 5-11) that mosaic imagery could reflect the role of the later villas as Christian house churches. The most compelling house church is at Lullingstone villa, Kent where preserved wall decoration includes Christian symbolism.

Petts (2016, 668-66) would consider these as private chapels rather than for public worship. At Lullingstone, however, the house access was blocked in favour of an outside door (Rees 2020, 21).

Table 5:8: Mosaics with cultural significance in Dorset villas

Reception rooms and bath-houses were often highly decorated. Alternative Christian symbolism is known or suggested for such images as the cantharus (Eucharist cup); dolphins and Neptune (journey of the soul to Paradise); Bellerophon and the chimera (St George; good V evil); the winds (the gospels); hunting (Paradise).

Mosaics with Cultural significance in Dorset. From Cosh & Neal 2005				Cultural Rooms
Site	Mythical/Religious	Other symbolic fancies	Date?	
Hemsworth	Neptune Venus	Dolphins	*Lindinis* Mid Late 4th c	Bath-house Triclinium Painted plaster
Dewlish		Aquatic pavement Dolphins with cantharus Hunting	Mid and Late 4th C	Enhanced bath-house Large ornate reception room and porch, painted plaster
Dorchester	Neptune Seasons	Dolphins Canthari	Various sites	various
Fifehead Neville	Bacchus? Christ?	Dolphins cantharus Herons, swans	*Lindinis* group Mid to L 4th c	Double room
Frampton	Bacchus, Achilles, Neptune & Winds & dolphins Venus/Adonis, Perseus/Anromeda Bellerophon/Chimera Cadmus/Mars Silene/Endymion Chi Rho (facing out)	Dolphins Hunting Cantharus?	*Durnovarian* Mid/L4th C	Triclinium and reception rooms Fine mosaics
Halstock	Medusa & Winds?	cantharus	After AD 350 and repaired Saltire group	Enhanced bath-house with mosaic Painted plaster
Hinton St Mary	Christ?/ chi rho/Winds? Disciples?/pomegranates Bellerophon/Chimera	Hunting Canthari Tree of life?	Villa 4th c *Durnovarian* AD 350 at earliest	Bipartite room with fine mosaics
Sherborne/Lenthay Green	Marsyas/Apollo		? much restored	

A spread of material evidence puts Dorset within an apparent middle Britain nucleus for late Roman Christianity (Thomas 1981, Map 16). Material evidence comes in the Chi Rho emblems at Frampton and Hinton St Mary, the latter over the head of a man, assumed, but see later, as Christ. Two rings from a hoard at Fifehead Neville also indicate Christian symbolisms (Fig 5:20). A British-Roman Christian community is suggested in Dorchester from the late Roman engraved spoons and *ligula* in a hoard with *siliquae* at Somerleigh Court (Dalton 1922). The large cemetery outside the walls at Poundbury is argued as Christian at this period from the iconography of murals in mausoleums, and a burial arranged as we would conceive a Christian bishop (Sparey Green 2004, 105).

The images portrayed on mosaic pavements in high status rooms, while overtly classical in their identity, have also been argued as representing Gnostic Christian values (Table 5:8; Perring 2003). The philosophy of Christianity was developing from classical beliefs and reused familiar classical images (Wickham 2005, 159; Perring 2003, 97). Perring (2003) argues that classical tales and images such as Bellerophon and the chimera would have been appropriate to Christian values and adorn spaces used for the Eucharist, there is abundant mythical imagery and a Chi Rho at Frampton (Table 5:8). Fourth century Christian writers such as Ausonius used pagan imagery while Eusibius directly compared Christ to Orpheus (Cosh & Neal 2016, 70; Brannigan 1976, 28). This interpretation is given at Boxford, Buckinghamshire where mosaics with heroic scenes and a cantharus may be read either way (Beeson 2021). It is therefore conceivable that such imagery was more nuanced than we recognise.

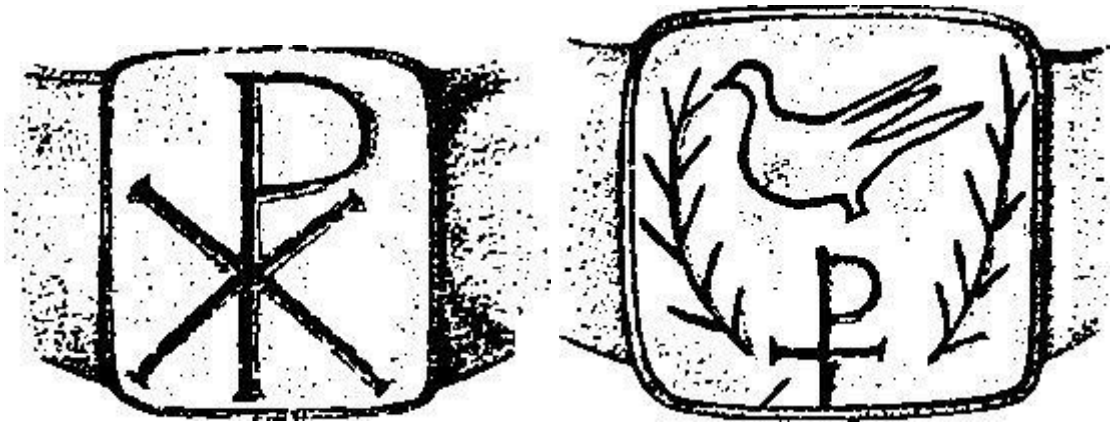

Fig 5:20: Rings from a hoard of jewellery and Roman coins at Fifehead Neville villa.

Iconography is also evident in other, arguable, early Christian contexts: the Chi Rho, the dove and fonds. From RCHME 1970b, 94

Attempting to discover whether the subject reflects one religion or another, or whether the Hinton St Mary bust is Constantine, Magnentius or Christ (Henig 1995, 156) may be anachronistic if, as Perring (2003) suggests, early Christianity was heterodoxic, or in some cases, nominal (Cosh & Neal 2016, 70). The mosaic imagery at Hemsworth can be seen in either way.

Hemsworth mosaics

The mosaic pavements at Hemsworth appear to suggest a site of some local economic and ritual significance and dominance in the Lifescape. The high quality of workmanship, the presence of status materials such as Kimmeridge shale and painted plaster; the hypocausts and indeed its size suggest a rich and influential owner. The images included in the mosaics, by reference to the overtly Christian topics at Hinton St Mary and Frampton villas, could also be considered as reflecting the nondualism between pagan and Christian beliefs (Scott 2000, 155-159). The apsidal mosaic of Venus against a scallop shell is unusual, there is no other known representation of Venus's birth in Britain on a mosaic (Fig 5:12).

Hemsworth could be considered as a house church and baptistry for Christian practice. Adult baptism was received in a naked state symbolic of rebirth. Venus arising naked from the sea, surrounded by dolphins and fish, could also represent the rite of baptism. Immersion or affusion of water acted as purification and rebirth as a Christian, therefore images of fish and Neptune could metaphorically represent this watery rebirth (Thomas 1981, 202-203; Scott 2000, 157-159; Rees 2020, 6-7).). The Hemsworth Venus may be comparable to the naked figure surrounded by water on the plaster interior of a mausoleum at the late Roman cemetery at Poundbury (Sparey Green 2004, 105).

Baptism required a receptacle which was placed in a baptistry. The numbers six and eight held Christian symbolism; hexagonal and octagonal villa plunge baths have been suggested as baptistries, for example at Lufton and Holcombe (Thomas 1981, 207; Perring 2003), although this has been questioned (Henig 2006). A hexagonal font is known from Richborough, (Petts 2016). Baptismal tanks are indicated by the circular lead tanks with Christian imagery which have been found, mainly in eastern England, for example, at Icklingham, where there were also apparent cisterns (Petts 2016). The Hemsworth Venus mosaic appears to have been in one part of a bipartite room, the other section possibly hexagonal and floored with hexagonal mosaic cartouches (Cosh & Neal 2005, 152). A tank could have been accommodated in the apsidal room. At Dinnington villa, a mosaic with a marine theme around an octagonal centre was destroyed by later grain storage requirements (King 2015). Rockbourne villa had an octagonal plunge bath, built into a 4th century mosaic and utilised over a long period (Fig 5:21; RCHME 1983). At Chedworth, an octagonal pool

was constructed as a *nymphaeum*, and appears Christianised with Chi Rho symbols (Rees 2020, 11-12). A baptistry is argued at Bradford on Avon, where a circular 'structure' with stone surround had been dug into the tessellated floor of the 'hall': a bipartite room with a semi-hexagonal apse (Corney 2003; Rees 2020, 15). Collapsed wall plaster surrounded this feature, indicating a post-Roman date and comparable to baptistry fonts of 5th century Continental sites (Corney 2003).

Elaborate bath-houses and suites may also have had baptismal or Christian cleansing roles. Dewlish and Rockbourne are two of many villas in southern Britain which demonstrate extended and elaborated bath-houses during the later 4th century, shifting architectural emphasis from the living areas (Cosh & Neal 2006, 9). The Dewlish bathing complex was extended around AD 350, to include an octagonal cold plunge pool and, later, an *apodyterium* considered a dressing room. Hewitt et al (2021, 232) do not consider this octagonal structure to be a baptistry even though they do consider that extensive damage to the mosaic pavement in the apsidal hall was possible deliberate scouring by the anti-Gnostic movement. They also suggest a theoretical positioning of a sunken baptistry pool there, as at Bradford-on-Avon. However, the Dewlish octagonal pool alterations seem curious: the space around the pool had been modified twice so that the southern side, accessed from the *apodyterium*, was wider, and the pool area decreased in size (Hewitt et al 2021, 65-66). This could indicate the need for more space in the doorway, but less space for bathing. This might suggest a smaller baptismal pool but a more ceremonial position for a bishop and witnesses within a prescribed space, like the proposed baptistry at Bradford on Avon. The bath building had an additional buttress added in the late 4th or early 5th century, perhaps to support a structure of clerestory height and therefore highly visible and so a Landmark to the surrounding population (Hewitt et al 2021, 232-233). This would seem to suggest a more public use of the pool building perhaps with a separate entrance. These may be indicators for an adapted early house church. The presence at the villa of an unusually high number of late 4th and early 5th century coins, might suggest that like Bradford on Avon, Dewlish continued as a public Node of intense multi-activity into the 5th century.

At Dewlish, at the same time as the bath's refurbishment, a small, square, classical building with a porch was also constructed. Originally designated as a temple, and an indicator of a late religious complex, this was not confirmed by the latest report for lack of votive evidence (Hewitt et al 2021, 233-236). As it is aligned east/west, a Christian use might be more appropriate for this building. Early churches will be discussed in Landmarks. Contemporary to this building, a long barn-like structure was suggested in the report as a 'tithe barn', the site thus operating under a patronage system, as argued by Gerrard (2013, 142) and a forerunner of a medieval manorial establishment (Hewitt et al 2021, 236).

Fig 5:21: The plunge pool at Rockbourne, cut into a 4th century mosaic.

The pool was subsequently tiled over. Photo by author 2017.

This attempt to find Christian-like uses for the late Roman villa is important to the study and the evidence for continued religious practices argued in the Landmarks chapter. Thomas (1981, 347-349) believed that 5th and 6th century British Christianity, evident in the writings of Gildas and Patrick, stemmed directly from late Roman Christianity. Frend (2014) would disagree: He argues that Roman Christianity in England was not a major force by the British-Roman period and was reinvigorated from abroad in the 6th century. However, Christianity in archaeological remains is not always overt, and current refutation is influenced by science-based life approaches and the expectation of empirical evidence (Petts 1999). If, as it has been argued, the culture of the late 4th century was already British-Roman, and adapted by 'small worlds', then localised and evolving belief practices could be expected (Petts 1999; Thomas et al 2017, 304). Religious or sacred beliefs of this period were essential to and integrated into daily life and actions. Thus, our preconceived ideas of a 'religion' of Christianity or paganism are problematic (Thomas et al 2017). Religion, in the

form of Christianity, may have been fundamental to developing the principle of British-Roman governance and Lifescape (Petts 1999).

How this religion was expressed and lived is impossible to define. In the British-Roman period, a regional or group-led belief system and accompanying behaviours could be suggested as a means of self-defining and control within a turbulent time. Perhaps this is what Gildas was raging against. The obsession with and veneration of local martyrs and parochial saints could indicate customised 'small world' Christian practice. While archaeologically, Christian governance is more apparent in western Britain, for example at Dynas Powys and Cadbury Congresbury, British-Roman Christian practice in Dorset is based on a unique display of imagery which is argued either way. Its presence though cannot be ignored and would appear to suggest early British-Roman Christianity, and this could be argued with indictors at Hemsworth. It is argued that religion continued to be a major influence in Lifescape into the later period.

Villa summary

For Dorset, that 'fleeting moment' for villa architecture is evident, the underlying Lifescape values lasted much longer. Early British-Roman villa Lifescape reflected the influence of the Roman state, but also retained life practices with "developments and accommodations to circumstances" (Light & Ellis 2009, 179). This study does not go so far as Russell and Laycock (2019) to suggest Britain was never Roman, but to suggest that the combination of intrinsic Lifescape values and Roman state opportunities allowed a British-Roman Lifescape which was the basis for adaption to circumstances into the 5th century and beyond.

CHAPTER 6. NODES IN THE LATER BRITISH-ROMAN PERIOD

Identifying Nodal activity at later British-Roman villa sites is a particular problem from the lack of archaeological evidence and therefore requires 'indicators'. A short overview of the period is offered. Recent dating evidence for continuity of activity at villa Nodes is discussed. Archaeological evidence for specific activities and structures will be examined; the emphasis on the continuation of multi-functional domestic buildings argued. The study will then look at the evidence for early religious communities in Dorset as Nodes through the later British-Roman period.

Dorset in the later British-Roman period

Dorset in the later British-Roman period, the 5th to 7th centuries, is traditionally regarded as invisible archaeologically, with an immediate decline in population and wealth following the withdrawal of Roman control (Groube & Bowden 1982, 51). Instead, the argument suggested here is that the 'invisibility' is in fact, masked activity. The extensive and resilient Roman-style rural structures which are thought irrelevant beyond the early 5th century, were still in use into the later British-Roman period. Lifescape was continually adapting to circumstances, as were the villa complexes. Our perceptions of invisibility have also rested on the failure to find new forms of archaeologically visible artefacts, pottery and metalwork. However, Ladle's (2018) report on the Bestwall pottery industry and Gerrard's (2010; 2014) study of later pottery types has shown that ceramic production continued into the 5th century. The Dorset economy had been and continued to be based around less visible agricultural production both pastoral and arable, the latter continued to be associated with grain processing and storage facilities in villas. This argues for a prolonged Nodal *imageability* of Roman sites.

Britain, at the end of the 4th century, is generally understood as a declining state (Esmonde Cleary 1989, 135-137). However, this is arguably a Continental point of view. Certain areas of Britain were already displaying an independence of spirit and identity. A growing lack of interest in Roman cultural display in towns and the ambiguity of villa sites may not have been driven solely by economics, but by evolving insular identity when affiliation with Rome became increasingly distant from British affairs (Esmonde Cleary 1989, 137). The growing independence and influence of local Roman elites has been discussed. These 'small world' leaders identified in divergent ways, combining Roman and/or insular influences. Roman affiliation was still important from Patrick's Roman citizenship to the late 4th or possibly 5th mosaics at Chedworth, Hucclecote and Rutland suggest a continued attachment to Roman culture (Petts 1999; Papworth 2020; Clifford 1933, 329; Blair 2021).

While this suggests these villa owners continued Roman-style life into the 5th century, in Dorset owners adapted their premises and there seems to have been a general movement towards a more restrained lifestyle. The cessation of tax and the market economy would altered farming practices, with a return to less intense mixed and pastoral farming (Gerrard 2013, 114). At villas and Poundbury, the emphasis on grain processing perhaps suggests centralised control of food production (Gerrard 2013, 72-73). As discussed, this tighter personal management may have been expressed through the *imageability* of a dress style which was recognisable as officialdom but adapted locally for 'small world' authority (Esmonde Cleary 2017, 189-195; Esmonde Cleary 1989, 192). A strap end from the Gussage valley is paralleled in a late 5th century grave from Winterborne Gunner (Green 2000, 138; Eagles 2018, 104). The decoration is influenced by late Roman design and considered to have been made in southern Britain, however the Winterborne Gunner burial also contained a Continental *francisca,* suggesting mixed cultural influences (Eagles 2018, 104). The ensuing apparent divide between east and west politics and cultures may be less evident in eastern Dorset and is discussed in this Chapter.

Architectural and activity evidence for later British-Roman Nodes

What is the evidence?

The theorised decline of villa elite lifestyle is based on evidence of abandoned and decaying villa sites in the early 5th century. Buildings were no longer maintained; principal rooms were no longer in use, strewn with occupational rubbish and given over to "messy and crude activities" such as metal working and hearths destroying the fine mosaic floors (Fig 6:1; Esmonde Cleary 1989, 134-135). The building industry had declined and local attempts at internal repairs are indicated from post holes driven through mosaic floors. This has been described as 'squatter occupation', and indicative of an economic and social collapse. A compilation of this evidence for the Dorset sites is listed at Table 6:1. Certain themes arising from this data are discussed to understand the difference between how this period is perceived, and what the evidence implies for interpretation. The main problem is the shortage of archaeological evidence.

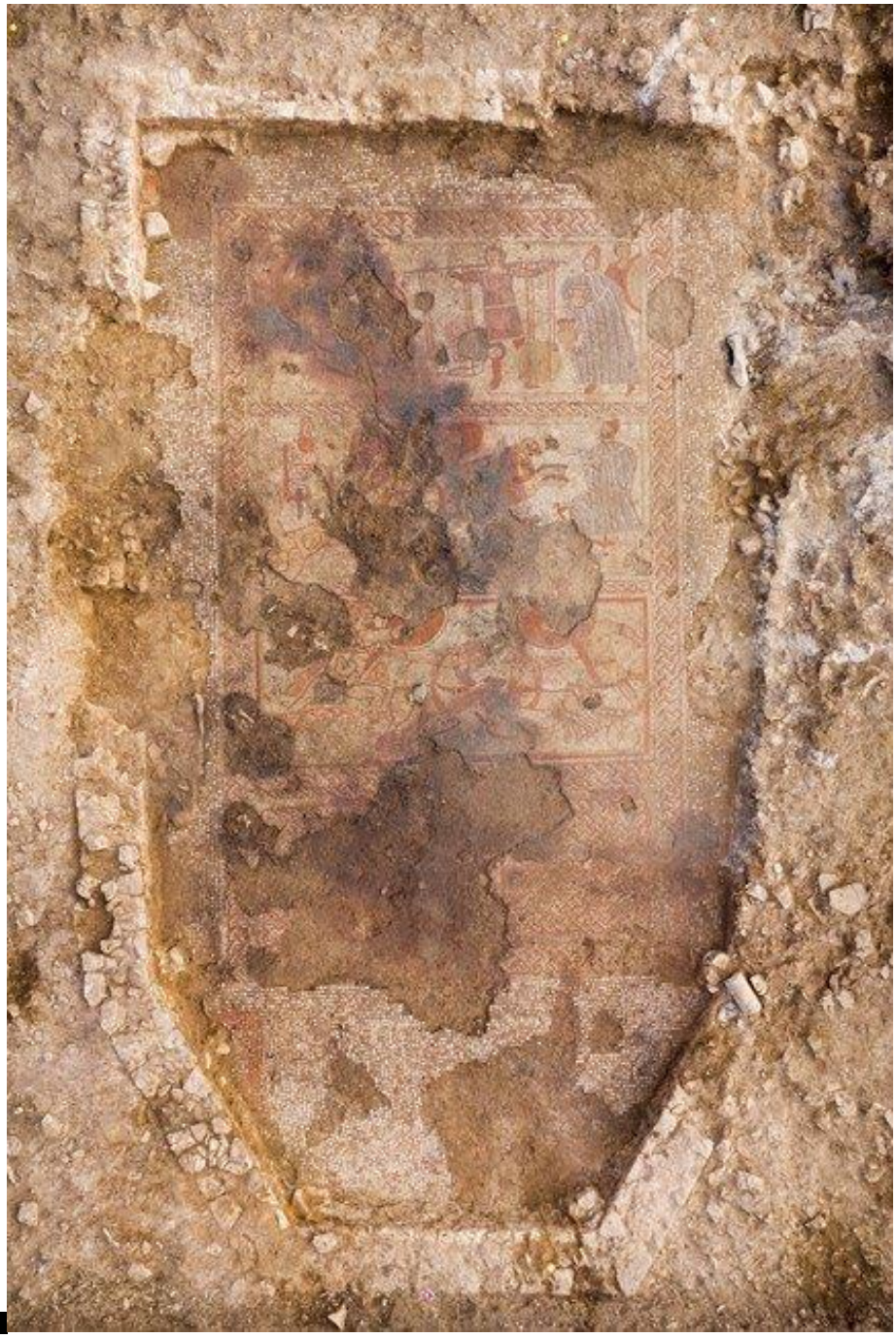

Fig 6:1: The damaged late 4th or early 5th century mosaic at Rutland villa, excavated in 2020.

Clearly the door to the left has been widened to access hearth space, suggesting the walls were still in place. There seem to be three separate areas of burning facing this access and they appear to have been demarked by flimsier wooden structures evidenced from small post-holes. Burials were found in the rubble above the room, no dates available at the time of writing. From https://historicengland.org.uk/whats-new/news/rutland-roman-villa-mosaic-protected/ © English Heritage DP264287 accessed 01.03..2022

Table 6:1: A synthesis of evidence for later British-Roman activity on Dorset villa sites.

B: Building

Villa Site	Mosaic/construction dates 4thC and latest	Collapse repairs evident	Burning/ hearths/ovens on floors	Later levels occupation	Timber structures
Hemsworth	Late 4th C mosaics, major fire		Burning in middle of apsidal mosaic	Demolished	
Bradford Down	2/3rd C long-house		Ovens in demolished building	Byre built over	
Bucknowle Light & Ellis 2009	AD 370 coins mainly from B 1 & 13. NF pottery 340-380 from one oven Lack of good quality mosaics and plaster	Building 1: 2 post bases, square in stone lining B4: post support stone	B1 Remodelled rooms, hearths, burnt limestone supports. 2 ovens inserted in floor/ bath-house Poorly constructed T shaped grain dryer in doorway B4 ovens inserted P47 shale, iron, plant etc remains	1.5 Rough flooring blocks of reused wall stone, chamfered, rammed chalk floor 13.2 later building, post holes stone sockets drainage channels; 13.3 replaced smaller open ended: stone post sockets	
Dewlish Hewitt et al 2021	Mosaics possibly *Lindinis* (mid to L 4th c) Much SEDOWW, pottery and substantial coin AD 388-402, especially late construction	Substantial post holes Rooms 6 1, 4 etc beyond AD 530	Hearths, burning R 24 chalk floor. B 2 demolished, ovens, one against post, one in doorway	Rhomboid, sub-divided rooms 5-8, not bonded in, with heavy wear. One room Romanised. Thick occupation layers in later corridor 10, sealed by roof collapse, perforated SEDOWW in mortar (oven?) L4/E5th C	
Druce Ladle & Morgan various	4th C mosaics. SEDOWW, Bii amphora sherds AD 380 burial/cow in grain dryer. AD 390s owl pellets	Post holes in demolition material floor	No, oven in aisled hall continues into 5th C. West wing workshop continues? Much iron and burning	Occupation on demolition building debris in R3 over steps with Bii amphora sherds 6thc Pit digging oven area 5th C	
Fifehead Neville PDNHAS 24 RCHME	Many minimi Mid L 4th C *Lindinis* mosaic				
Halstock Lucas 1993	Saltire Group: mid 4th C. patched mosaics			Saxon pottery in channel over filled in pond	
Hinton St Mary	Mid 4th mosaic			Stone repairs to mosaic? Toynbee JRS	

Table 6:1 continued: A synthesis of evidence for later British-Roman activity on Dorset villa sites

B: Building

Villa Site	Mosaic coin dates 4thC and latest	Collapse/repairs	Burnt/ hearths/ovens on work surfaces	Later levels occupation	Timber Structures
Iwerne Minster	AD 360s coin				
Myncen Farm SG 2007 Wessex A 2004	3/4th century	24 posts in mosaics, wooden buttress support of wall	Mortar surface over filled in pool containing ash & slag, hammer-scale.	Wooden door support for access to rough working surfaces, internal divisions	
Rockbourne Morley Hewitt RCHME	Major fire AD 360s Belt fittings/ worn L4th c coins, jet pendant		Saxon-type industrial ovens in courtyard?	Later occupation. 4/5th c later kitchen block Smithy R 11, retaining contents? Later burial	
Shillingstone C&R 2007	4th c pottery AD 270-400?	Later evidence destroyed by robbing			
Somerleigh Court House B 13 with ailsed barn B 12 (Trevarthen 2008) B 1 (Cooke, 2007) Greene 2015	Bs:(13) Mosaics after AD 340 (12) Late coin hoard in oven fill AD 388-402 SEDOWW, LR belt fittings		13 Scorching on floor, porticus Ovens	Succession of ovens in 12. Barn, Latest post- AD 402 (hoard) 13 argued as stabling for heavy wear. Mid 4th C rubble yard resurfaced with stone roof tiles	
Studland	Up to 4th c				
Tarrant Hinton Graham 2006.	B1 construction date M/L 4th and later additions	Post hole supports along one wall B5	Hearth and work surface in Corridor 9	B 1&2&3&4 mainly workrooms/storage industrial grain drying later?	3rd & 4th century
Winterborne Kingston Russell et al 2007	AD 320, with later AD 360 additions		Ovens in demolished villa and areas around constructed from building materials	Sunken feature terraced buildings associated with SEDOWW	Yes, see previous box.

Table 6:2: Comparative dating evidence from villas in south-west Britain and Dorset	
Dating evidence	Activity
Dinnington, Somerset: King 2015	
Late 4th C from pottery/coins	West wing converted to grain storage. Corridor floor mortared over, used as a smithy Fine mosaic in Room F mutilated for storage, earthen floors across site. Wall roughly replastered/painted "Well organised and zoned"
RC date AD 410-570	West wing destroyed by fire, charred grain associated dates. Burnt roof collapse, rubble over site of ruined villa
5th/6th centuries?	Bath-house cleared and used for butchery (cattle and horse), dark earths L 4th C Substantial tower building ruined, robbed, dark earth deposits
Chedworth, Gloucs. Papworth 2015, Papworth 2020, Papworth National Trust Heritage Records https://heritagerecords.nationaltrust.org.uk/	
Late 4th c	Renovated bath suite. Blocked doorway with many repairs to mosaic, subsequent hard surfacing (grog ware inclusions) replacing it.
RC date mid- 5th C	Burnt grain in dryer cut into south range corridor
RC date AD 424-544; AD 337-432	North range, sub divided. Room 28 intricate mosaic laid, foundation trench of partition wall RC bone
5th C onwards	Many finds of Late Shelly ware, Mediterranean amphorae & Saxon pottery, mainly North range
RC hearth 12/14th	R28, reused Roman materials in hearth in mosaic floor
Frocester: Price 2000	
Late 4th C/ 5th coins	Ditches filled with rubbish. Limited use of building to workrooms (wings) with hearths, one for livestock Rough pavement repairs and grouting. Destroyed by fire?
5th c	Graves in courtyard
RC date AD 534-632	Building E, earlier floor bone. Adjacent to settlement. Rectangular platform covered with rubble building material. 3 bays 7m wide, 10-12m long? Secondary stone floor much worn. Metal piece from hanging bowl?
5th/8th C chaff tempered pottery	Reoccupation of main corridor. Sub-divided into 3, main entrance roofless. Oxstalls, store and domestic
5th/8th C chaff tempered pottery	Structure 20 in courtyard, clipped coin Gratian. Gravel spread 10x3m Structure 21. Overlay courtyard wall. Irregular trench with post holes. Bow -sided 13mx 6.7m? coins House of Valentinian

Table 6:2 continued: Comparative dating evidence from villas in south-west Britain and Dorset continued	
Dating Evidence	Activity
Druce: Ladle & Morgan various	
Radiocarbon dates	Owl pellets: i. 1719 BP plus/minus 30: 249 (95.4%) 391 cal AD ii. 1768 BP plus/minus 30: 208 (87.1%) 346 cal AD Grain dryer cow: 1740 BP plus/minus 20 : 240 (95.4%) 381 cal AD (A Morgan pers comm)
Coins	AD 368-388 coin in burnt area removed from mosaic below owl layer. wall and roof collapse Coin hoard in western workroom AD 380 latest
Pottery	SEDOWW top of pit in aisled barn & in flue infill ditto SEDOWW in western room SEDOWW present in badly eroded domestic room SEDOWW in top of eastern ditch Bii amphorae sherds in R3: rubble/demolition layer above steps. Sub-Roman/Saxon/Saxo-Norman fabrics in pit in east range
Stratigraphic evidence	Occupation in collapsed wall? mortar level above R3: ritual deposit of cow skull/iron/shell. Infant burial Occupation in collapsed roof layer R3 (SEDOWW) East Range long sequence, last Saxon
Circumstantial	Iron items/slag still in workrooms east range. Mosaic repairs in R8, with stone roof tiles. R10 burning on floor
Winterborne Kingston: Russell et al 2015	
Coins	No evidence given
Pottery	SEDOWW, significant quantities in sunken floor features
Stratigraphic (No absolute dating evidence given)	AD 350 rooms added to rectangular building, earliest building subdivided, timber partitions. Painted plaster, shale limestone tiles AD 390s 3 ovens, furnace, kiln in main block from villa building material, structure 'no longer viable' Sunken feature buildings associated with SEDOWW. One internally divided 13m x 5.5m wall slots, hearth? L R metal work and SEDOWW communal? 3 grain dryers in vicinity. H-shaped from villa materials
Dewlish: Hewitt et al 2021	
Coins	High number of coins Reece XXI: 20 (2nd highest after Period XVII) spread hoard?
Pottery	SEDOWW pits; in later rhomboid room extension, perforated SEDOWW in mortar (oven?) L4/E5. Theodosian coins
Stratigraphic/architectural	Mid 4th C: new drying/malting facilities expanded into main block. Expanded bath house and home Annex of rhomboid, sub-divided rooms not bonded in, 5-8, with heavy wear. One room Romanised. Much sealed SEDOWW, pottery and coin for 5th c. Thick occupation layers in later corridor 10, sealed by roof collapse.

Attitudes to the evidence

There has been little datable evidence to suggest 5th century or later villa occupation in Dorset creating a preconception. The reliance on and limitations of dating from coin evidence has been discussed but led to assumptions for a cessation of 'civilised' activity during the 4th century, for example at Hemsworth. Later activity recognised in the archaeology (Table 6:1) has been preconceived as reflecting a debased lifestyle when it could be argued as adaption and development of previous Lifescape motivation and practice (Gerrard 2011). These assumptions have needed to be made through an apparent lack of evidence for any other narrative. Fortunately, radiocarbon dating is now demonstrating that villa/settlement occupation and/or activity continued into the later British-Roman period. Examples with dating evidence for Dorset villa sites and other comparative sites are in Table 6:2. At Dinnington, Chedworth and Frocester villa it is noticeable that activity continued longer than the conventional coin sequence allows.

Lack of evidence

A major problem with excavated evidence is disparity in quality of excavation and reporting, these results can argue for a rapid decline at settlement sites. The Hemsworth excavation is an extreme example of a rapid excavation with a minimal report and no known surviving artefactual evidence, other than mosaic pavements, from a severely denuded site (Engleheart 1909). Conversely, the Dewlish excavation report is substantial and benefits from recent interpretation and scientific analysis. However, it is based on an excavation, albeit extensive, from over forty years ago. In the meantime, the artefactual record had degraded, and the site record was not thorough: it has proven difficult to interpret (Hewitt et al 2021, 10-18). This applies also for Tarrant Hinton which was excavated periodically, the excavation and recording appear not particularly robust, the subsequent delayed report is therefore restricted (Graham 2006). Myncen Farm, and Druce Farms are only Interim reports so far, as is Winterborne Kingston, these are recent research-led projects and valuable for this study.

Like Dewlish, site archives and reports need to be reassessed in the light of new comparative knowledge. For example, at Rockbourne a sequence of pits for ovens was noted in the courtyard and dated post demolition of the eastern bath-house (Morley Hewitt 1969, Plate XXXII(A)). These bottle-shape and double-oval ovens surrounded by other cut pits are reminiscent of the medieval grain dryers found at Repton Manor, Ashford and 5th to 6th century dryers at Poundbury (Atkins & Webster 2012; Sparey Green 1987, 87). A wider landscape review of villa sites, for example the suggested Dewlish and Rockbourne estates would also be useful for Hemsworth, and a theme for the Districts and Edges study.

Inevitably, later activity and ephemeral features are missing or unrecognised. Remains can be lost by the breadth, detail, and quality of the excavation. The later timber structures at Frocester were recognised from platforms of gravel and building material rubble (Price 2000, 113-117), while Structure 10 at Bestwall Quarry was only recognised from post-hole patterning in the post-excavation process (Ladle 2012, 75). Perhaps the more pervasive problem continues to be the destruction of later stratigraphy through stone robbing and agricultural practices, often in shallow overburden. This has been noted at most of the Dorset sites discussed here. Hemsworth, like Frocester and Rockbourne, was reported to have suffered a major fire, and it seems certain materials were robbed. It is conceivable that, like the other sites, reoccupation occurred, and there is no date for the fire incident. At Frocester, occupation was in the corridor, this limited re-occupation was also associated with a 6th century timber building (Price 2000, 118). Such partial and ephemeral occupation could have carried on at Hemsworth perhaps in the denuded northern wing.

It is now generally considered that the later settlement opportunities continued to involve inherited Roman structures, and villa sites were utilised into the 5th century (Hamerow 2012, 10). The evidence from Tables 6:1 and 6:2, national and local sites, reflects the argument that many villa sites retained, overall, a Nodal quality well into the later British-Roman period. For Dorset, the identification of late Purbeck-based pottery production: Type 18 vessels and South East Dorset Orange Wiped Ware (SEDOWW), has been important for interpreting 5th century occupation (Gerrard 2010, 2012). These large storage jars with perforations, have been found reused as ovens, for example, in the late 'kitchen' annex at Dewlish (Table 6:1). At Bradford Down, medieval pottery was found within a Roman building, again indicating a longer period of use.

Broader perspectives on the evidence

Other material evidence could be used to extend this argument, for example, the survival of structures. At Witchampton, the ruined medieval hall is thought to have 13th century origins, however, there is an unusual band of pitched flintwork, which could suggest as earlier date. Occupation seems to have continued into the 15th century from the fireplace evidence. As a structure the building survived, mutilated, into the 19th century as a barn. With its desertion it was quarried and neglected. It is argued that a building in use will be maintained and survive longer, Iwerne Minster farmstead could have continued in use since the walls in places survived to 2m; one episode of stone robbing is suggested in the sixteenth century from a jetton find (Hawkes 1950, 58-59). A jetton was also in the Abbey House archive.

The end gable of the aisled hall at Druce had fallen in entirety, indicating a standing structure in which Saxon pottery was found in a pit (Table 6:2). It is also noted that, unlike other sites, no later industrial activity within domestic rooms was evident, instead the workshop kilns and ovens appear to have been well used and retained iron objects. The domestic oven in the aisled hall also continued for food preparation associated with SEDOWW, while Bii amphorae sherds in villa rubble point to a functioning domestic establishment through the British-Roman period. The manor of Waterston, in which Druce lies, was listed in Domesday, the 16th century manor house just below in the meadows. A District analysis could support this suggestion of a long sequence of activity. Paths could also supply conjectural evidence for longer occupation if routeways respond to Nodes. This has been discussed for the *herepath* connecting Tarrant Hinton and Minchington (Grundy 1938, 84).

This study speculates that villa buildings were adapted and adaptable. Using a fuzzier approach and comparative indicators, these sites could have been Nodal for longer than the dating evidence allows. For this period, 'small world' Lifescapes are more appropriate than generalised overviews with a diversity of narrative from regional, local, and specific influences. The study has suggested that in Dorset villas there was a continuation of a long-held tradition of a rectangular space divided for functions although often subsumed into more extensive architecture. This is notable in the aggrandised Dewlish north wing, Halstock west wing, and the north wing at Tarrant Hinton. Later British-Roman occupation in the corridor at Frocester also reflects this tradition. This study also suggests that Roman archaeology has focused on stone and tile structures. When masonry was no longer relevant, traditional wooden construction is more prominent in the archaeological record. These modest farmsteads have tended to be overlooked in archaeology (Smith et al 2016, 64).

Timber building tradition

It could be argued that continuity in space usage at villas would also be evident in British-Roman timber structures. Examples of late Roman wooden structures in Dorset are given at Table 6:3. While there is variety in size and arrangement, these structures exhibit consistency in stone foundations and low walls terraced into hills or with sunken floors. Some buildings, like Poundbury and Alington Avenue conform to a two square build (James et al 1985). This seems to be an enduring tradition across Britain and the Continent (Hamerow 2012, 20-21). Its design was perhaps optimum for building materials, technique, and purpose. These buildings are not always found in archaeology since stone foundations could be robbed or scattered. Wall and timber construction is also considered only to be earlier, found in Romano-British contexts, for example at Woodhouse Hill, Studland, and therefore overlooked for continued occupation (Sparey Green 1997, 151).

Table 6:3: Some Dorset British Roman timber construction sites and Frocester

Site	Construction (B: Building)	Associations	Date
Alington Avenue, Dorchester Davies et al 2002	B1737: semi-subterranean stone foundation under timber/cob. 9.2x5m. aisled, 2 square model. sloping ramp entrance N/E, possible doorway opposite. Extended with pit, new door N short side. Ovens, roof supports	Earlier occupation and work areas	Not domestic, granary? Later grain drying Stratigraphy suggests post-Roman
Bestwall Quarry Ladle 2012	Structure 10: 8mx6m? aisled postholes only Structure 11 sub-oval 2.6mx1.3m posts on 2 sides	Pits, industrial work	RCD: AD 680-950 AD 670-950; RCD: AD 540-650 AD 430-640
Fordington Bottom R Smith et al 1997	Structure 5197 terraced. 9m? x7m low masonry walls, timber-frame, earth-fast posts. Pit cut oven, SEDOWW in features, hearths, 7 sheep, quern stone. Other timber/stone-based structures with SEDOWW 5198 6x4.8m stone-base, post pads timber. Hearth SEDOWW chalk floor 977: 3x2x0.12m terraced 5200 rectangular timber 4.7x3m postholes	Settlement along combe and holloway	SEDOWW in rubble fill of cistern and working area and in pit in 5197 SEDOWW in some structures
Poundbury settlement Sparey Green 1987	Gullies and post holes, sub rectangular flat bottom pit Va: 7 structures beam-slot, post-built? 7.6x4.7m – 13.4x4.8m, PR2, internal partitioning; open side? Cob? Drystone walling associated Vb: 8 structures, earth-fast post, 4.5x7.9m terraced. 4 sunken features, cut into bedrock 3.3x2.7m – 6.1x6.6m. Stake holes,	Roman mausolea reused. grain dryers Animal bones in enclosures, loom weights	SEDOWW Period Va: RCD dryers AD 500, AD 460 Period Vb: none later than Va Amphorae sherds, 5/6th c pottery Huts burnt, articulated cattle in rubble.
Tarrant Hinton Graham 2006	Terraces 4 & 5. Post holes and beam slots aligned, many nails, timber structures. Much activity: iron, bones copper alloy etc. Large storage jars	Villa. extensive settlement?	L3/4th century pottery
Tolpuddle Ball Hearne & Birbeck 1999	Structure 702 Terraced over whole surface 0.24, metalled floor, 6x3m, flint/stone foundations, postholes along/close to walls, N end curved.	Occupation and work areas	1 to 4th c
Winterborne Kingston Russell et al 2015	(see Fig 6:2). Sub-rectangular oval terraces. Sunken features 1: N/S 13x5.5m internal postholes timber wall-slots, partitioning 1 end, central hearth, SEDOWW 10mx7m little evidence for construction.	Dark earth other sunken features, grain dryers	4 of 10 structures with significant quantities SEDOWW
Frocester Price 2000	B E: 3 bay 7x10/12m. post built. sill doorway halfway long side, stake holes, stepped, stone floors, B4Corridor reuse as a 'long house' 3 areas (Saxon bead) Structure 21 in trench, rectangular bow-sided, stake holes, reused stone floor burning. 6 postholes door north?	Replacement for villa (burnt) Cattle skulls/long bones/articulated vertebrae in ditch	Bone on earlier floor RCD AD 540-650 After Build E L4th pottery residue

One such at Fordington Bottom was associated with SEDOWW (Table 6:3). Ephemeral structures typically understood as post-Roman *grubenhäuser,* have been found at Winterborne Kingston, Poundbury, Alington Avenue and Bestwall Quarry (Table 6:3). These are associated with other buildings and may have had specialised craft or manufacturing functions (Hamerow 2012, 53). Weaving equipment was found with those at Poundbury (Sparey Green 1997, 153). At Bestwall, a late 4th century structure appeared domestic but could have been used in the pottery industry (Ladle 2012). The structures here dated from the 2nd to the 5th century and Ladle (2012, 310) suggested the Black Burnished Ware Continental trade influenced an early introduction of this building. It seems likely that if this is the case, the adoption of these sunken pit-like structures was already apparent nationally early in the 5th century: *grubenhäuser* have been discovered at Barton Court Farm, Oxfordshire and Orton Hall Farm, Peterborough, the latter with late Roman pottery and a Continental comb (Hamerow 2012, 12-13). The features at Poundbury and Bestwall appear less well-defined than the eastern examples, but again these vary (Hamerow 2012, 54-66). Ladle has pointed out the difficulties in interpreting these amorphous and varied features from archaeology and particularly so when they are unexpected (Ladle 2012, 61).

Fig 6:2: The partitioned hall-like sunken-floor building at Winterborne Kingston.

Photo by author 2013.

The later occupation at Winterborne Kingston is an example of the benefits of a wide-area research excavation. The sunken 'hall' (Fig 6:2) had no evidence for construction except a one-third post-hole partition. This might have been missed or misinterpreted on a more restricted excavation. The wide landscape exploration in the Vale of Pickering and particularly at West Heslerton has identified dense 5th century occupation in large, planned settlements (Hamerow 2012, 15-16). This is apparently exceptional but justifies wider study areas and anticipation of activity from this period. Excavations on the outskirts of Dorchester have also identified 'post-Roman' timber structures, but with some difficulty from the lack of datable artefacts and mainly by comparison with sites such as Poundbury (Bellamy 2022).

The small rectangular building at Witchampton may be explained as a similar stone foundation and timber terraced building. Photographs suggest it had been remodelled at one end while the neat wall remains do not suggest robbing. Rectangular timber and earth-fast structures had been a tradition of the Roman period. There does not seem to have been a standard construction form although most timber farmsteads were one room, as at Fordington Bottom and Winterborne Kingston (Smith et al 2016, 64). Traditional stone and timber buildings could continue to have been built and maintained with fewer resources as a standard construction in the wider landscape. From the lack of evidence for the 7th century adoption of the standard 'Anglo-Saxon' house in the west of Britain, Hamerow (2012, 33) argues that this earlier tradition continued, since the buildings listed (Table 6:2) do not appear to replicate the longhouse type of structure suggested within some villa arrangements. This longhouse is known on the Continent and Hamerow (2012, 21-22) has proposed that it required substantial amounts of timber and social obligation which could have been a difficulty in Britain at this time. These resources appear to have existed for the substantial 'hall' at South Cadbury. The strengthening of the hillfort ramparts at this time would also have required ample natural and labour resources, and a community involvement (Tabor 2008, 169).

The Theoretical model for later British-Roman Nodes

The invisibility of settlement in the later British-Roman period is a circular argument resulting from archaeological methods and assumptions about declining lifestyles. The later use of villa rooms and mosaic pavements for hearths and ovens is highly observable and definable. It also seems anachronistic and destructive to our sensibilities and reinforces the idea of a disregard for civilised, Roman, lifestyle. This collapse is inflated in significance from graphic images of destruction (Fig 6:1).

Gerrard (2011; 2013, 255-258) has suggested an unsettled political climate led to personal rather than market control. Individuals could gain authority and wealth through food surplus and

distribution. These food producing activities were therefore of utmost importance for Lifescape values, and their visibility would, like mosaics had in the past, reflect wealth and therefore status and security. Food processing is a continuation of normal practice, moved centrally when previously it could have been zoned on the outlying estate (Gerrard 2011). This might be the case for the grain dryer at Abbey House, Witchampton. These places are not so archaeologically visible, found through wider excavations, as at Poundbury and on the South Dorset Ridgeway where a specialist grain processing settlement was abandoned, it seems, in the late Roman period (Boothroyd 2022). The overall impression is the centrality of food storage and production in the villa throughout the British-Roman period. Food production was not dichotomous with Roman-style living, for example, at Dewlish when in the later 4th century an extension of larger storage facilities coincided with the aggrandisement of public rooms and baths within the same wing (Hewitt et al 2021, 238). Food processing was a vital Lifescape activity at villa sites, and this may have been evident over a longer period than is assumed.

Gerrard (2011, 73-74) argues villas as Nodal for a warrior elite, the military belt fittings have been mentioned as relevant, and found at Rockbourne; along the Gussage valley; and at Druce (RCHME 1983; Green 2000, 138; Mark Corney pers. comm.). In this scenario, bands of armed retainers worked together to produce food, tools and weapons and enjoyed periodic feasting. Imported food stuffs were found in the later occupation layers at Lufton while grain dryers and malting floors were needed for quantities of beer (Gerrard 2011). This behaviour, Gerrard suggests, influenced later medieval regimes of authority. Feasting was not restricted to villa sites. A terraced 9m by 7m timber building at Fordington Bottom contained, in the latest occupation layer, an irregular hearth scoop with late Black Burnished ware and the remains of seven sheep (Barnes 1997, 218). Once again, our idea of conceptual Nodal *imageability* needs to be reconsidered as does our understanding of how these apparent elite sites interacted within their area of influence. Petts (1997) has suggested the 'small world' leader roamed his 'estate' in much the same way as later Saxon kings, with settlements providing sustenance as an obligation. This tradition may well have influenced later Wessex royal tax arrangements. "The farm of one night" was still rendered by Wimborne St Giles, Moor Crichel and Shapwick to the Wimborne royal estate centre at Domesday (Lavelle 2007, 18). This is elaborated later.

Lifescape considerations require a full and integrated consideration of all influences. Politics and economic theoretical explanations need to include belief and ritual practice. The influence of Christianity needs to be considered: its practices and its role in establishing authority (Petts 1999). There is an argument for Christian influenced practices at Druce villa. The available evidence indicates a continuation of habitation into the 6th century. As expected over a passage of two

hundred years, room function changed and Lifescape focus altered. Later British-Roman occupation is suggested in a room where wall plaster was used as a floor surface (Ladle & Morgan 2016). However, Bii amphorae and SEDOWW storage jar sherds also imply that the occupiers were of some means importing and storing food stuffs. A plaster 'floor' could be argued around the 'baptistry' in Bradford on Avon villa (Corney 2003). One interpretation could see these plain white floors as the evidence for an architecturally austere Christian villa life, which has been attested in 5th century Gaul (Bell 1998, 8). It is possible that the removal and dumping of wall plaster at Lufton villa reflects a more ascetic lifestyle (Petts 1999, 107). Perring (2003, 123) has argued for the purposeful destruction of Gnostic 'Christian' mosaic images at Frampton as did Hewitt et al (2021, 230) in Room 11 at Dewlish. Perhaps this purposeful destruction could be argued for the Venus mosaic at Hemsworth. House churches are known from across the Roman Christian world. Lullingstone villa house church with blatant Christian symbolism is regarded as such an establishment and indicated in use into the 5th century even after the villa had been destroyed by fire (Morris 1989, 97; Rees 2020, 21-22). Such an establishment might also be argued for Bradford on Avon villa. The concept of a Christian centre may have influenced the development and continuity of Nodal activity into the 7th century.

British-Roman Christian Nodes

So far, the study has considered the qualities of Nodal places already in the British-Roman landscape. Those considered are archaeological sites and thus, during or since that period, ceased to be Nodes. This argument therefore precludes any that are still Nodal. It is not always feasible to investigate these, Frocester is an example of a continuity of a Node across two thousand years from Roman, medieval, and modern occupation (Price 2000, Fig 2.1). Portesham is another continuing Node (Valentin 2004). In the Badbury area, it has been suggested already that Shapwick village continues the Iron Age and Roman settlement at Badbury and Crab Farm although the evidence for the British-Roman period is based on indicators. Roman Nodes, like Bucknowle, Iwerne Minster and Tarrant Hinton are close to village settlements but again the Nodal centre has shifted or may reflect a separate Node.

A comprehensive Nodal survey is beyond this study, so a selected type of site is considered, that is early medieval Christian community Nodes. For the Badbury area, Wimborne is such an establishment. All extant versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle state that King Ine founded the monastery there in AD 718 (Coulstock 1993, 7). The documented evidence for such a female establishment is unusual (Coulstock 1993, 8). As a known Nodal Christian site it can be examined against the British-Roman background. For Dorset, there is also the bonus of a thoroughly

researched examination of early minsters by Teresa Hall (2000). Before looking at Wimborne, the arguments for British-Roman Christian communities are given.

Arguing Christian communities

Christian doctrine, with its monotheistic male dominance was appealing to the hierarchy of late Roman Britain and spread through centralised urban administrative classes (Higham 1992, 64; Petts 1997). It could allow for routes of advancement outside of state administrative roles and had an advantage of tax exemption (Wickham 2005, 159). It has been noted that these elites also owned villa estates, the basis for 'small world' authority. Converted noble men and women built or transformed their homes in the later 4th and 5th centuries, emerging as leaders of ascetic communities of family and followers, equating aristocracy with Christianity (Morris 1989. 97-98: Wickham 2005, 159). Melania, a Roman noble, sold her vast landholdings in the late 4th century to established monasteries for herself and her husband on the Mount of Olives (Morris 1989, 97). Egeria, a late 4th century Christian pilgrim possibly from Iberia, wrote to her "reverend lady sisters", assumed as fellow monastics (Thomas 1981, 52). These communities were not centrally regulated but probably existed as economic and social units and by the mid-5th century, attracted financial gifts to become affluent estates directed by influential bishops (Wickham 2005, 159; Rees 2020, 20-21).

At this time the Continental monastic tradition, founded by Martin of Tours, reached Britain and evangelising communities were being founded in rural areas (Hase 1994, 49). An early monastic site is known from timber buildings at Glastonbury Tor (Somerset HER: 23603) and Beckery where a cemetery, predominantly male, was in association with three phases of timber chapel, although the radiocarbon dating is widely Saxon (Somerset HER: 23570). Although it is possible to argue for emerging Christian communities on Roman villa sites (Morris 1989, 100-101; Blair 2006, 11). Unless there is direct Christian symbolism present, as at Lullingstone villa, and arguably at Poundbury, they would appear as a nucleated settlement in the archaeological evidence. However, any other religious adherence is equally difficult to interpret. There is also the problem of continuity, the monastery recorded at Llandough has not been categorically associated with the villa despite the 7th century cemeteries and church adjacent to the site (Blair 2006, 12).

In Dorset two sites are suggested as early Christian Nodes, at Poundbury and Portesham. So far, this study has argued that early British-Roman villa sites continued as Nodes attracting activity and exhibiting *imageability* into the later period. Later British-Roman Poundbury, as a Node does not follow this trend but seems to have been established on a Landmark, an enduring Roman extramural cemetery (Sparey Green 1987; 1997; 2004).

Poundbury

The Roman cemetery at Poundbury was one of the extramural cemeteries surrounding the *civitas* centre *Durnovaria.* Burials continued into the later 4th century, and considered to represent Christian burial practice (Woodward 1993, 237-239; Sparey Green 2004). Standing structures were a major feature, interpreted as mausolea. Some were decorated internally, scenes comparable to those on a tomb in the Holy City has led Sparey Green (2004, 105) to suggest one was used for worship. The 'countryfied' nature from the late 4th century of *Durnovaria* walled town has been discussed. With fewer residents, it is suggested that the cemeteries around urban centres were also used by the rural population and discretely accommodated different spiritual beliefs, for example at Fordington where in the late 4th century grave goods were still accompanying the dead (Fig 6:3; Woodward 1993).

It has been argued that into the 5th century *Durnovaria,* and other towns, continued as social and religious centres; the late 4th or early 5th century silver hoard with Christian iconography, uncovered at Somerleigh Court, Dorchester, and perhaps the unusually large Roman bath complex might indicate this (Dalton 1922; Putnam 2008). The settlement that succeeded part of Poundbury cemetery (Fig 6:4) has been dated by association with grain dryers, with 5th and 6th century activity (Table 6:3: Sparey Green 1987, 87). Sparey Green (1987, 151-153) argued the site had gone through overlapping phases of activity which included food processing and burial, amongst occupation and manufacturing timber structures. From the 7th century, textual and topographic evidence indicates that an enclosure around a Christian centre or minster was significant to the community (Keen 1984, 210; Blair 2006, 196-198). Such sites would have been contained within square, but more often circular or oval enclosures marked by banks and ditches and perhaps hedges. In the earliest phase at Poundbury an enduring oval ditched enclosure was accessed through a large entrance and associated with late 4th century pottery and *grubenhäuser* (Sparey Green 1987, 151-153). Within the enclosure, Sparey Green (2004, 108) argued that timber buildings formed a winged villa-like arrangement. Later structures of timber, cob and dry stone appear to have been planned in a similar manner to create a courtyard.

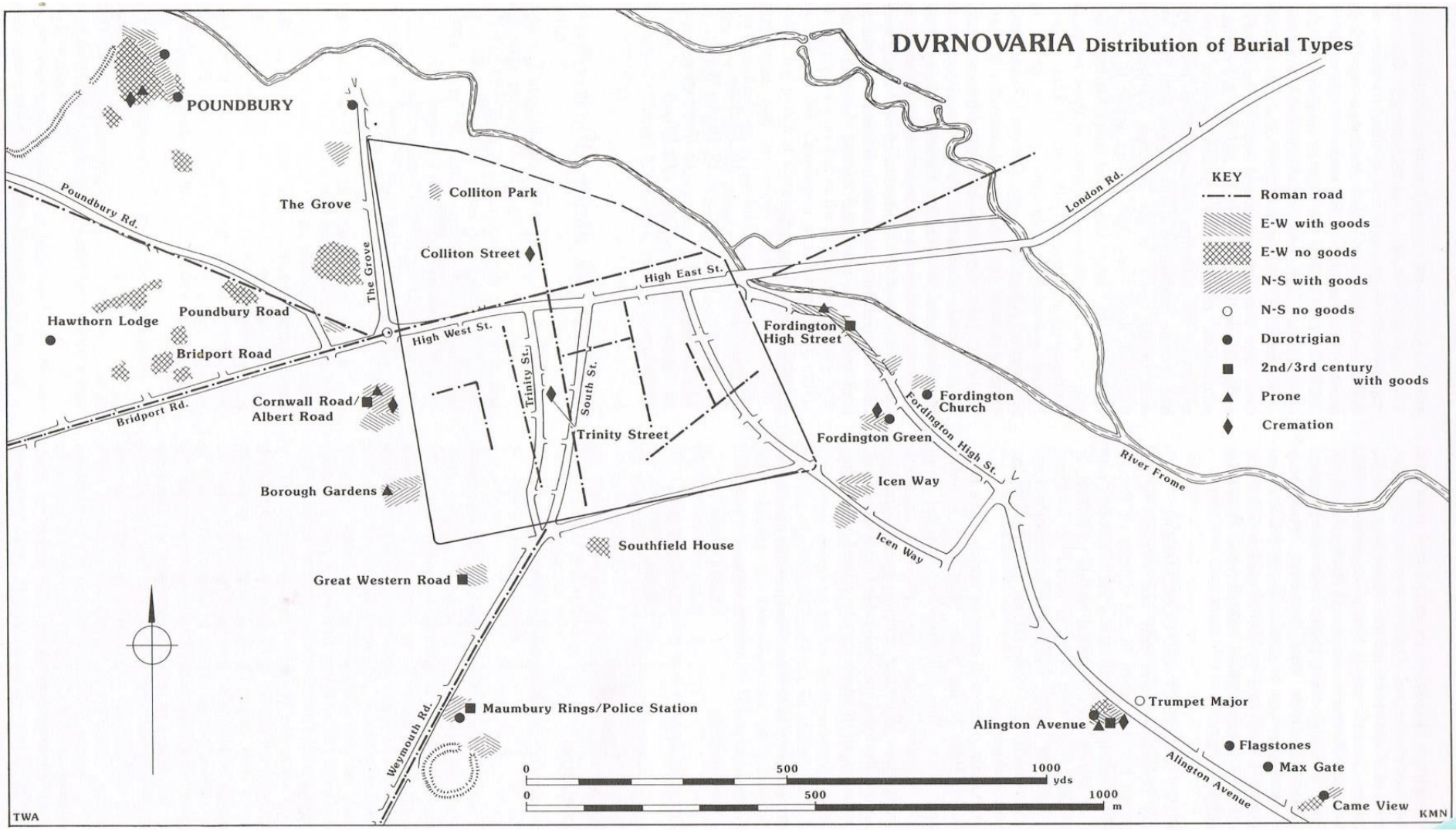

Fig 6:3: The late Roman cemeteries around Durnovaria as known in 1993.

Another cemetery at Little Keep has been excavated, with a number of deviant burials (McKinley & Egging Dinwiddy 2009). From Woodward 1993, 238. Fig 139.

While the Poundbury settlement appears as an agricultural settlement like Winterborne Kingston, Sparey Green (1987, 151-152; 2004) suggests that there are indicators for a female Christian 'monastic' community.

- The settlement was within an oval enclosure, the later one with substantial ditches (Fig 6:4).
- It was a planned settlement around significant pre-existing mausolea, decorated with Christian symbolism, possibly used as church. A perforated chi rho coin (a pendant?) was found there.
- An apsidal structure was built close by.
- There was an apparent prominently positioned focal Roman burial (Burial 2) possibly a bishop.
- The pattern of disturbance of stone sarcophagi and contents appears to be for bone removal, suggested as retrieval for holy relics.
- The austere nature of the site, when another occupation site close to the cemetery appears to have been wealthier.
- An unusually high number of female and elderly female burials.
- The suggested Christian burial rite of uncoffined and stone cist graves. These are discussed in Landmarks.
- The *grubenhäus* type features are within their own enclosures and at Burgh Castle are interpreted as monastic cells (Fig 6:4; Sparey Green 1987, 91).

These indicators can be argued from a wider perspective. It is generally agreed later British-Roman Christianity was influenced by Roman antecedents and modified by changes in lifestyle (Thomas 1981, 347-349; Petts 1999; Blair 2006, 10-11). Roman cemeteries by law were extramural and became an important focus for Christian faith adopting the Roman tradition of venerating graves and mausolea of martyrs (Blair 2006, 10-13) which. By the 6th century, martyrs and their tombs may have represented the founding fathers of British Christianity (Thomas 1981, 42-43). The cult of St Alban, based on his tomb in an extramural cemetery at *Verulanium* was recognised in the 5th century (Thomas 1981, 42). The 'bishop' grave at Poundbury may also have had cult status. The monastic site at Beckery, Somerset might be comparable to Poundbury, the earliest wattle and timber structure was associated with a male burial (Somerset HER: 23570). Beckery however, remained a chapel site and attracted medieval burials, while the Poundbury site was burnt and abandoned around the mid-7th century, sometime around the Battle of *Peonnum*, AD 658 and the Wessex advance (Sparey Green 1987, 153).

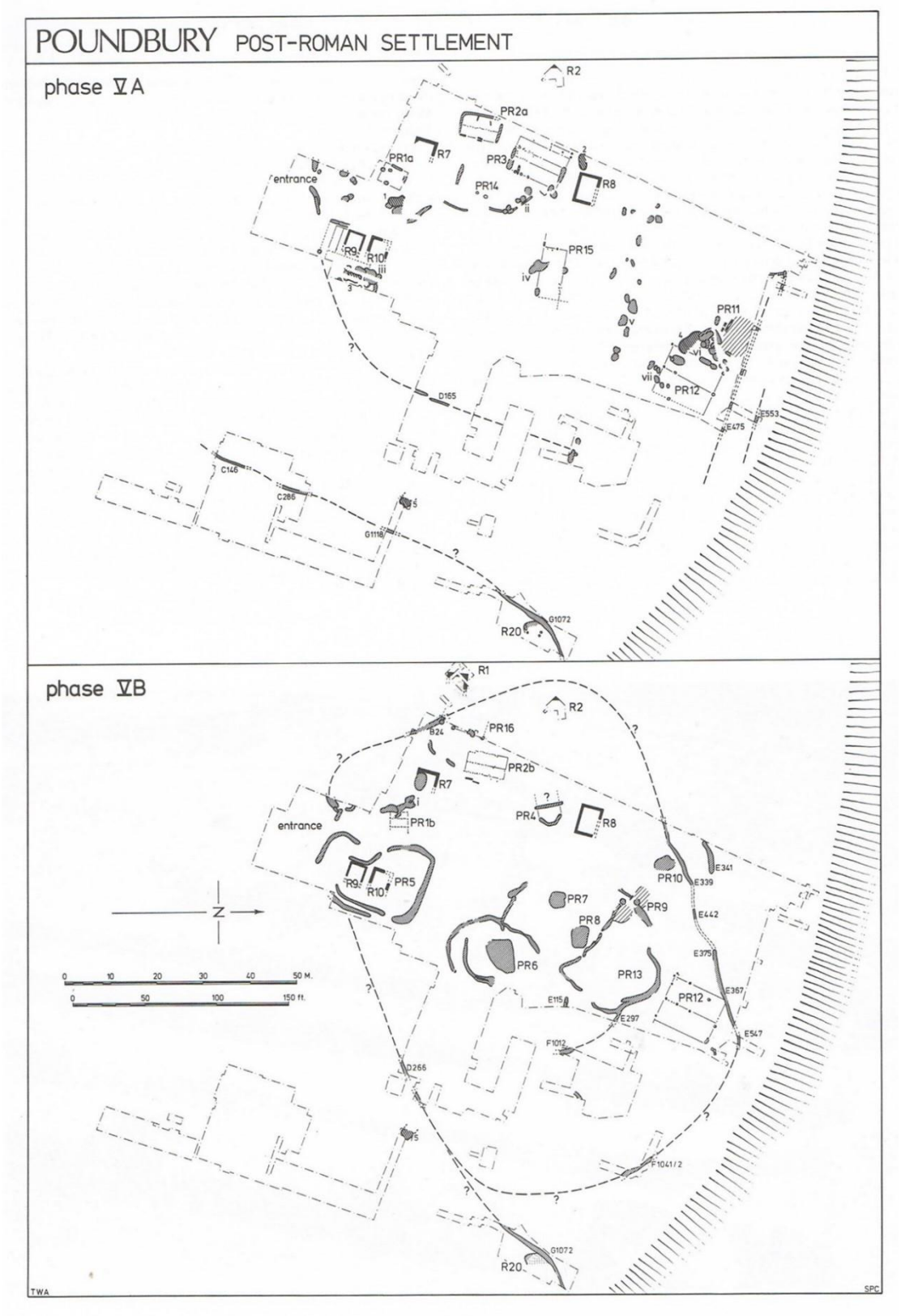

Fig 6:4: The 5th and 6th century settlement at Poundbury.

From Sparey Green 1987, 72.

Portesham

Limited excavation ahead of development was carried out within the precinct of the Manor Farm Portesham (Fig 6:5). It is a rare example of a Roman site with later British-Roman, Saxon, and medieval occupation, which continues to the present day. This site was interpreted as an early female monastic community continuing a Roman site (Valentin 2004). The indicators from Poundbury can be compared to evidence this interpretation. The Portesham site may, like Poundbury, have been a self-supporting enclosed community with an accompanying estate.

Portesham is at the base of the steep southern escarpment of the Ridgeway, at a natural break and routeway through the downland. The site lies close to a spring (Fig 6:5); springs have been regarded as liminal, a means of divination and healing and were often later associated with saints and baptism (Morris 1989, 86-88). Gelling (1977) has suggested that the place-name, *funta,* was the recognition of Roman sacred springs, associated with extant buildings. In the case of Portesham, a circular structure associated with *Durotrigian* type burials and in use throughout the Roman period was found just to the south of the spring (Valentin 2004). Although this structure may have been domestic from the occupational evidence stratigraphically above it, the interior arrangement seems to indicate otherwise with two large post-holes occupying much of the interior along with, perhaps, wattle screens limiting interior sight and access (Valentin 2004, 36, Fig 7). In a central pit, a 1st century BC pot from Brittany suggested a deliberate deposit and an ancestral mnemonic (Valentin 2004, 47). This then appears as an enduring site of some significance, perhaps with an earlier Continental influence. *Durotrigian* burial rites are now associated with similar traditions in France (Paul Cheetham pers. comm.).

In the same area, the partial excavation of a cemetery revealed at least nine unaccompanied inhumations, four within a pit. Two were radiocarbon dated to AD 580-660 and 640-770 suggesting a revisited crypt-type feature although there was no indication of a structure (Valentin 2004, 51). The inhumations were predominantly children and women, the latter with signs of a hard manual life. Unlike Poundbury, there is no Christian symbolism, however the later development of the site might indicate a continuing religious significance. Hall (2000, 19-20) had already discussed Portesham as a likely early Saxon minster and Saxo-Norman pottery and a large ditch were found during excavation, the latter suggested as the *vallum* of the minster, the enclosure is reflected in the curvature of the street layout (Figs 6:5 and 6:6; Valentin 2004, 60-61).

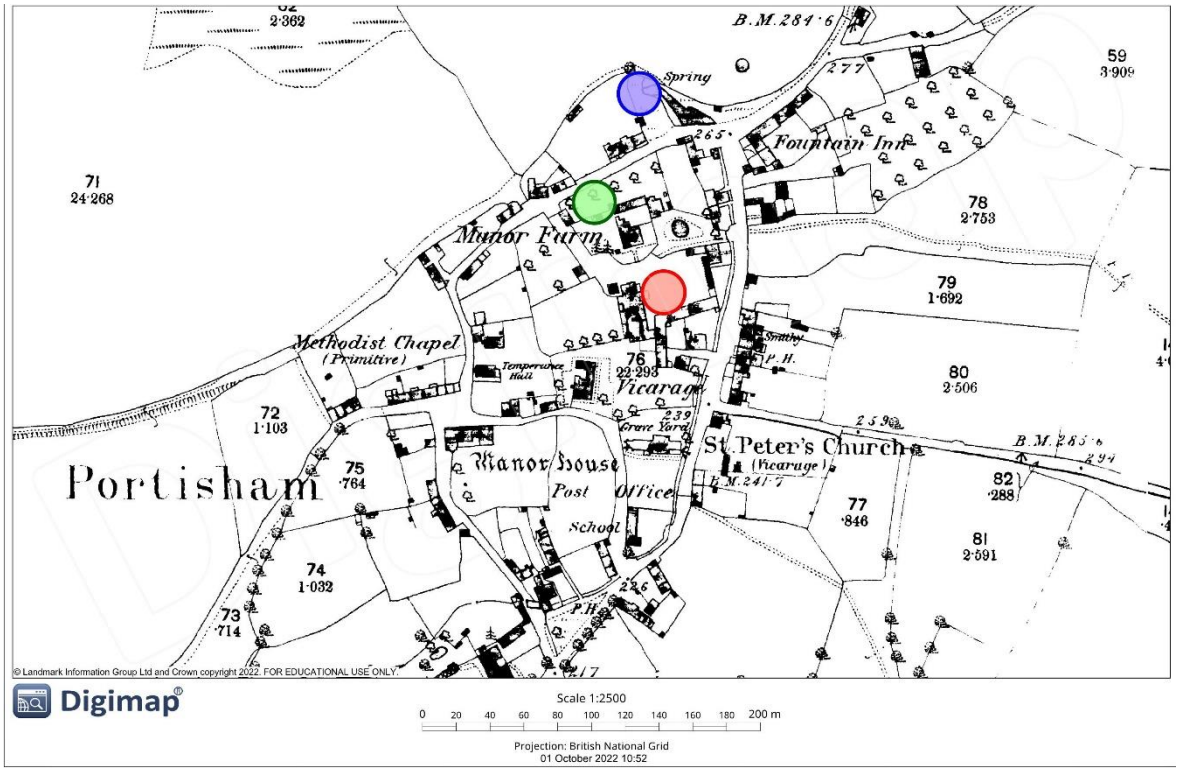

Fig 6:5: Portesham. The curved boundary of the manorial and church precinct.

This is seen in the road arrangement. Circles: Blue is the spring; green is a circular Roman structure; red is the site of the pit with burials. Edina Digimap. OS Second Edition 1900

Fig 6:6: The curvilinear nature of the roads at Portesham.

Walking south-east. Photo by author 2014.

Witchampton

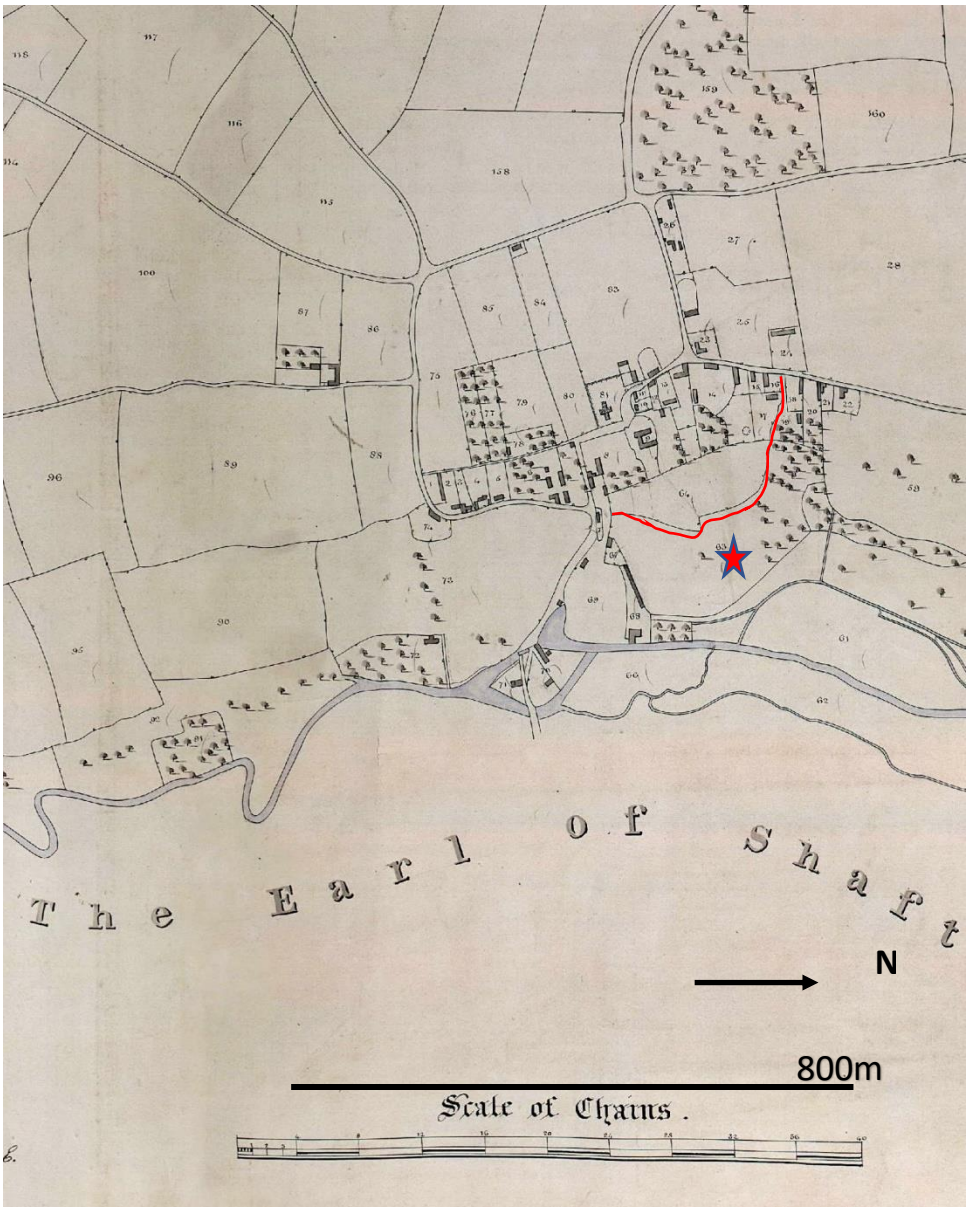

Fig 6:7: Witchampton curvilinear enclosure

The Roman site is marked as a star. The remains of a curvilinear boundary, the field area inside owned by the church. From Witchampton Tithe map, DOR T/WIT

Witchampton compares to Portesham in many ways. Hall and Warmington (1983) suggest that the rectangular enclosure fossilized in the road layout and boundaries of Witchampton could also be an early monastic site, established in the 7th century (Fig 6:7). They argue this as the holding of Hubert in 1086, on which he did not pay tax. Untaxed land in the Dorset Domesday is almost entirely owned by the church (Hall and Warmington 1983).

A closer look at the Tithe Map, however, suggests that the regularity of the enclosure has been imposed on an earlier curvilinear arrangement (Figs 6:7). Close to the site of the Roman settlement is a curving field boundary which continues to the south of the church to suggest the remains of a small enclosure. In the 19th century this enclosure was primarily church land, and there is still a yew tree around eight hundred years old (Stephen Hodges pers. comm.). Like Portesham, this site also has Roman antecedents and surrounds a spring line. Portesham is on a route through the downland scarp, Witchampton is on a river crossing with routes leading in from the west. Broader curved enclosures may be indicated from the more sinuous northern road, the parish boundary and field boundaries indicating a circular form (Fig 6:7). Witchampton also had a post-Roman cemetery. Unlike Portesham and Poundbury, it represents a mixed population, although a female stone-lined grave on a slightly different alignment may be significant.

Other early Dorset Christian sites

The case for early monastic settlements can be argued from other Dorset sites. Documentary evidence from Sherborne Abbey foundation indicates that a British-Roman Christian community existed here prior to Sherborne's designation as the seat of the newly formed bishopric of West Selwood in AD 705 (Keen 1984, 208-209). The site may have been carefully considered for its geographical position in relation to the diocese, but also the existing *imageability* as a religious centre with the economic appeal of a supporting estate. The earlier establishment *Llanprobus* was taken into Saxon royal patronage in AD 671 (Keen 1984, 209). The Probus community was supported by a grant of a hundred hides which Keen (1984, 211-212) argues was centred at a chapel now in the vicinity of Sherborne castle, an indication of a cemetery earlier than the castle has been found here.

A charter for Shaftesbury Abbey from AD 670s also indicates an earlier monastic establishment which Murphy (1992) has argued was based at Iwerne Minster. A later abbot, the British named Catwali sold it (Keen 1984, 213). Within the Iwerne Minster parish there are two pre-English river names: Iwerne and Humber, indicating continued British occupation (Mills 2020, 14; Mills 1989, 127). Is there a connection between this early Christian site and the suggestion that the river Iwerne was named for the British goddess Iwerna (Mills 2020,14)? An alternative hypothesis that the monastery was founded by Leuthere in an early Saxon advance across Dorset seems also to imply an existing Node (Hall 2000, 17). To draw out this idea beyond anything other than speculation is to consider its proximity to Hod Hill where activity continued across the British-Roman period, this is discussed in Landmarks. Iwerne Minster has a curvilinear road around its centre and other positive indicators of later minster status (Hall 2000, 17).

A British-Roman monastic site is argued at Wareham, where the most eastern examples of inscribed memorial stones with Celtic names, from the 7th to the 9th century, were found in the building's fabric (Keen 1984, 213; Hinton 1993; Hall 2000, 13-14). The parish of the early dedication to St Martin at Wareham was originally much larger with a river boundary, perhaps indicating an extensive estate attached to an early establishment (Keen 1984, 220). Wareham had cross-Channel links with the Continent in the early 8th century when Aldhelm waited there for a boat crossing (Keen 1984, 213). Petts (2014) has argued the influence of Gaul on evolving British Christian practice.

The suggestion that later minster sites were somehow associated with earlier Christian and Roman sites, indicating continuity of Nodal qualities is not born out in Dorset (Blair 2018, 133; Hall 2000, 21).). Hall's 2000 survey found ambiguous evidence for Roman remains in the fabric and under churches and not necessarily indicating direct association. A full analysis is outside of this study, but of interest is the Roman material in Gussage St Andrew chapel, which is close to Myncen Farm site. The St Andrew dedication, if original, is early and may suggest a connection with an existing Christian centre (Jones 2007, 104). The site was in the ownership of Shaftesbury Abbey. The small remaining portion of a tessellated pavement under Wimborne Minster church has been ascribed to the Saxon minster, but Cosh and Neal (2005, 172) more certainly see it as Roman. There is little other evidence for Roman occupation in Wimborne, a few small find sites around the town, but Coulstock (1993, 19) argued the possibility of a *lan,* like Sherborne to the east of the town, and indicated in the Tithe map field boundaries (Fig 6:8 & 6:9).

While the Wimborne monastery may have been on Roman occupation, siting of minsters required geographical, cosmological, and environmental considerations (Blair 2006, 191). It seems likely that the strategic placing at the confluence of two rivers, an ancient routeway with navigation to the sea, may have influenced a new Nodal site (Blair 2006, 193). The Node at Poundbury also shifted, the early Christian settlement did not develop into a minster, but like Sherborne, a mother church was constructed close by at Charminster (Hall 2000, 93).

The new evidence for Portesham is therefore important in reinterpreting how continuity is envisaged. The excavated site would appear to be just one element of broader occupation, the area developing as a Node based around the spring. Within this was a continuing tradition of occupation, ritual and burial activity, a site of conceptual *imageability* from the early Roman period into the 7th century (Valentin 2004). The settlement needs to be understood within its wider landscape.

An indicator of a minster is often the large hectarage of the present parish which might represent the original bequest of lands to support the monastery (Hall 2000, 5). Wimborne is an example of such an arrangement, as is Portesham and Sherborne. It seems possible that some early Christian communities had a parochial role over this estate, including baptism and burial rites (Morris 1989, 130). The presence of large 7th century cemeteries on the Portesham boundaries at Corton and Tatton, discussed in Chapter 7, suggest associated settlement sites across the territory. There are still dispersed farms and hamlets across the parish and close to the cemetery sites. Further analysis of the grain processing site on the Ridgeway found in the National Grid excavations (Boothroyd 2022) might assist in understanding whether this site continued after the late 4th century and, on a parish boundary, associated with Portesham

Similarly, the British-Roman settlement at Winterborne Kingston also suggests a grain processing site, this is on the proposed Bere Regis minster boundary (Hall 2000, 14). At Poundbury, it can be argued that the site excavated was also one element of a district. Despite the seeming impoverishment of the site, more affluent early British-Roman and perhaps later occupation is indicated close by (Sparey Green 1987, 150-151). Petts (1997) has suggested these large estates were dotted with small settlements, and power-expressed as Nodes was replaced by power in a leader's personality and the retinue. In this case, monastic or minster sites would be the principal Node for a territory and attract multi-activity.

Dorchester, as a Christian centre, may have retained Nodal qualities. If farmsteads dominated the interior, these may very well have continued into the British Roman period (Eagles 2018, 31). The Christian style decoration on spoons in a 5th century hoard has been discussed. Dalton (1922) thought the spoons were made in the Vermand, north France and found there in Christian contexts. Coulstock (1993), Petts (2014) and Costen & Costen (2016) have argued for religious, cultural, and trading links with Gaul. Coin loss and imports indicate Dorchester, a later Saxon royal centre, continued as a commercially active Node for the surrounding area into the 8th century, trading through the port at Weymouth (Costen & Costen 2016; Eagles 2018, 31-32). The associated parish of Fordington was large, surrounding Dorchester; sites of significance, for example the minster at Charminster were dispersed (Keen 1984, 206). The Poundbury site may therefore have been one element of an estate run by a Christian and political leader based perhaps within the walls of the Roman town or Fordington. Grain processing from a wider estate is evident, and controls over imports and trade through Weymouth, and perhaps controlled by Maiden Castle would indicate status and wealth.

The granting of large estates to monasteries in the 7th centuries would indicate their influence and over wide areas. This might be applied to the Wimborne minster estate which included the Badbury study area.

Wimborne, Badbury and later Nodes

A multi-focal estate from the British-Roman period might account for the lack of Roman occupation evidence at Wimborne. Excavations ahead of development on the north side of the town have offered little in the way of Roman or Saxon activity (Orkzewski 2018). If an earlier site existed it may have been abandoned and the centre shifted west with a new name attached (Figs 6:8 & 6:9; Coulstock 1993, 19). It might be that Wimborne follows a tradition of ecclesiastical sites, like Sherborne, based on earlier territorial claims but moving the Nodal emphasis to establish a new authority or cosmological position (Coulstock 1993, 20). The Saxon kings, who by the 8th century were ruling across Dorset, were itinerant, and the founding of a minster in a precinct as a Node was significant in modifying the Lifescape (Blair 2018, 109). Monastics were static and were supported by their estate, over which clerics performed parochial duties (Coulstock 1993). The minster itself would play a role in politics and it is suggested that the power of Saxon kings rested on a combination of Christian ideology and control and management of agricultural production (Hall 2000, 8; Wright 2015). This has also been suggested for the earlier British-Roman elite warlords, who Gildas acknowledged as Christian, albeit not particularly nice ones.

There is very little evidence for a continuity of Nodal points across the Badbury area. The Hemsworth site seems to have been abandoned, although comparison with other villa sites could hypothesise continued activity. The presence of building remains into the historical period might suggest there was some form of activity later at the site. This is also suggested by the 'worth' element of the name. It is argued by English (2002), that the concept of a '*worthig*' was already in place by the late 7th century when included in Ine's laws. It is implied as a protected enclosure within common grazing areas. English suggests these were newly enclosed arable lands which in some cases became Nodes. It is possible therefore that Hemsworth manor continued or re-established a Roman estate centre.

The early buildings at Bradford Down had become an outlying grain processing site, this must have been attached to a settlement and again suggests dispersed function across an estate. The proposed villa site associated with Bradford Down is based on little evidence and cannot be included reliably. Badbury Rings is discussed as a Landmark, as is Abbey House, Witchampton. Crab Farm site's focus may have shifted to Shapwick.

While the centre of Christian power remained constant at minsters, kings and their retinue needed to travel over their estates to maintain support through tribute, the *Firma Unis Noctis,* the 'farm of one night' (Bourne 2017, 49; Lavelle 2007, 13-16). The form of tribute is arguable but possibly consisted of payment in kind, which might have been an ancient and wide-spread practice

Fig 6:8: The possible early enclosure marked by field boundaries.

See Fig 6:9 Wimborne Tithe Map DOR T/WM

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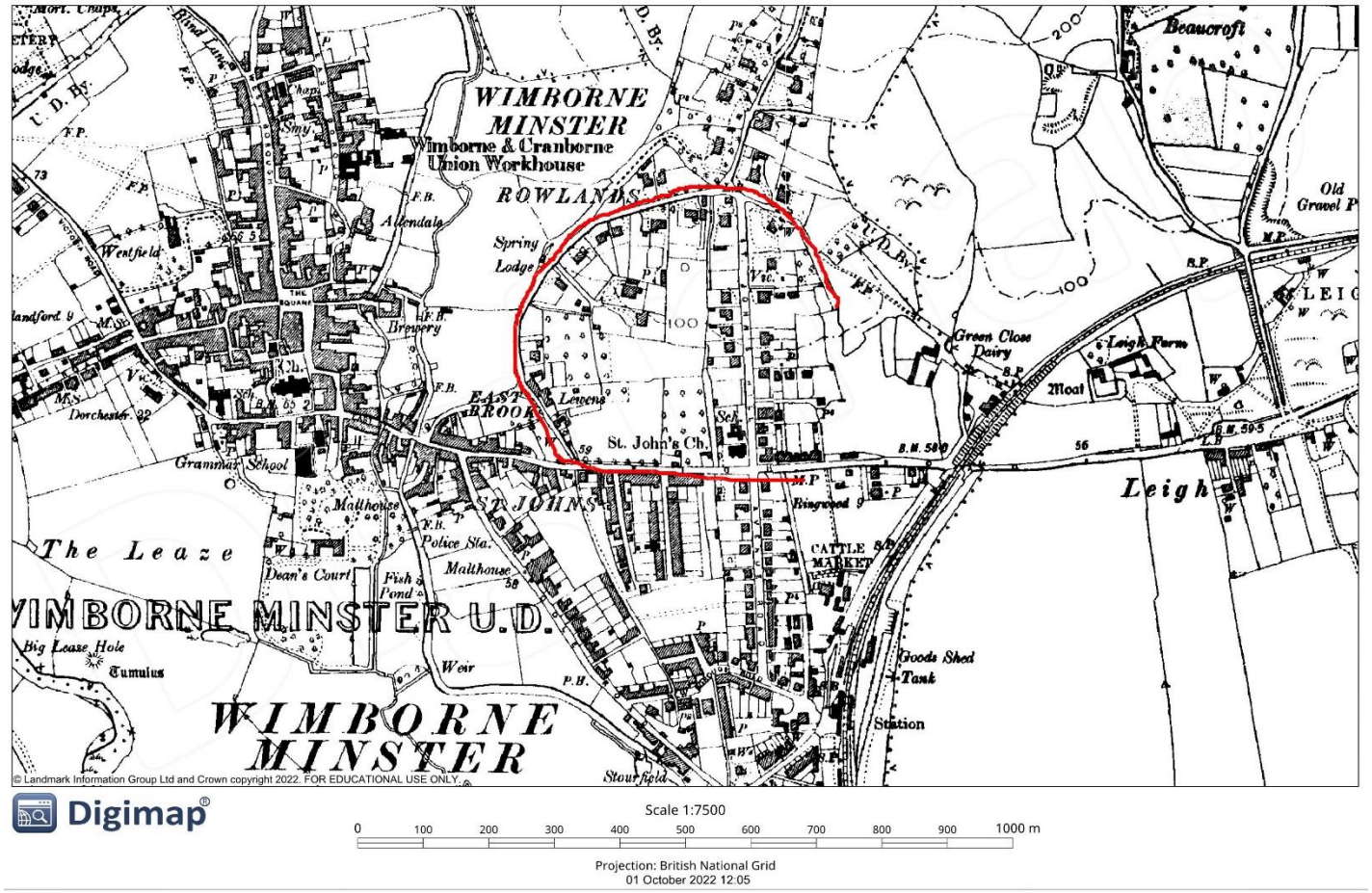

Fig 6:9 The enclosure is evident in later road boundaries.

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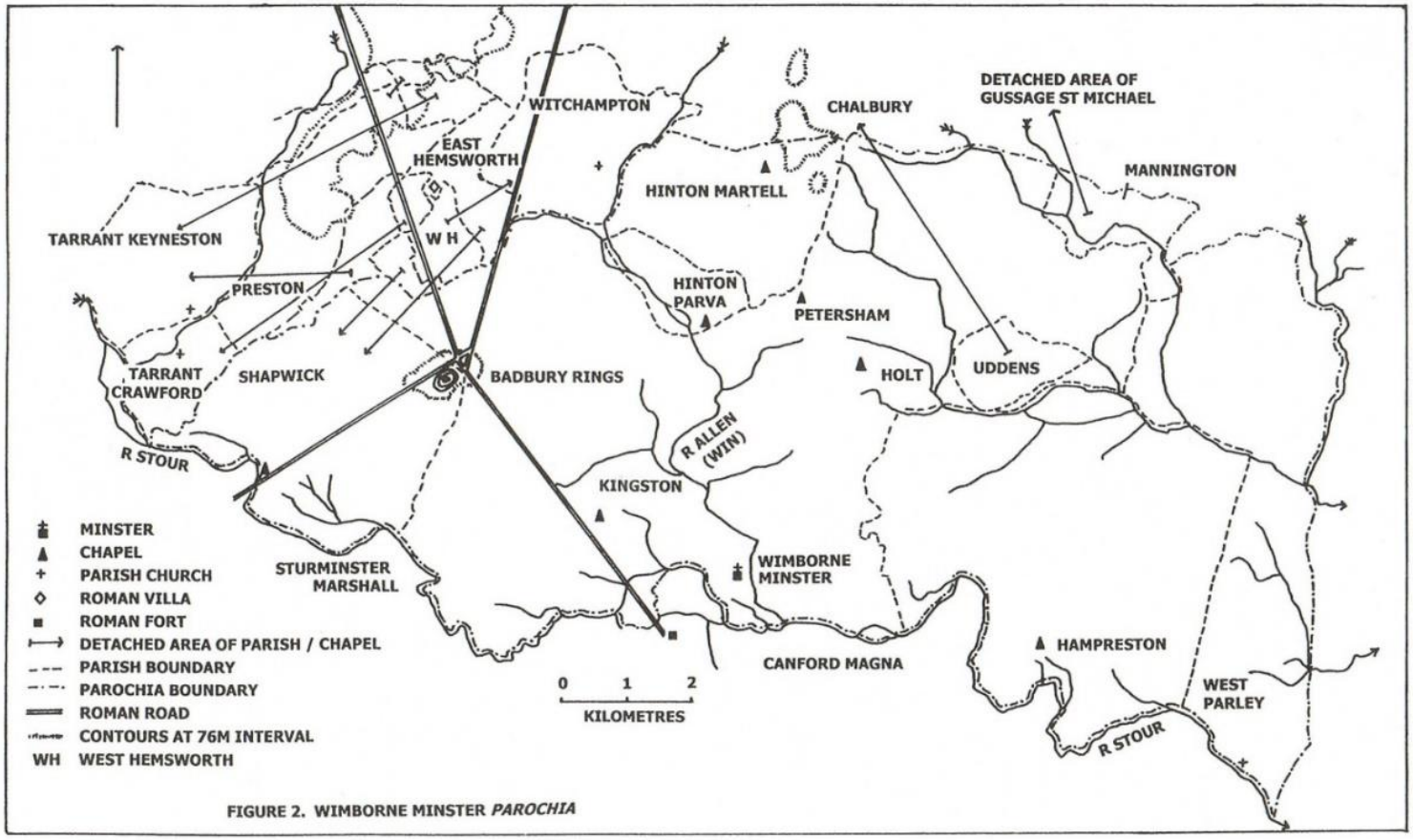

Fig 6:10: The parochia of Wimborne Minster.

Controlling the Stour riverine resources, woodlands, and heath. The later parishes maintained an interest in discrete detached areas of downland. From Hall, 2000, 6

established by estate owners (Stafford 1980; Lavelle 2007, 15-16). At Domesday, manors in the Wimborne *parochia* were still supplying this render (Lavelle 2007, 18-19). The extent of the Wimborne Minster estates could be further analysed in Districts and Edges; the extent of the later Wimborne parish may not reflect its earlier fullest extent (Fig 6:10; Lavelle 2007, 32; Thorn 1991). The later *parochia* evidently enabled the Minster to have a range of commodities from the heathlands to the east, the woodlands at Holt and the downlands around Badbury, where the later detached parish areas demonstrate the essential nature of downland for pasture (Fig 6:10). The extensive meadow lands along the Stour would also have been important sources of grazing and hay, later in the Saxon period meadows were divided for individual use (Hooke 1998, 115). This practice was still in evidence historically at Witchampton.

Two Nodes could be suggested for the Badbury study area at the time of the minster founding: Kingston Lacy and Shapwick (Fig 6:10). Kingston, as a place-name and a function has been considered by Bourne (2017) and Hough (1997). Bourne allows that 'Kingstons' were in use from the 7th century, and some appear to have related to Roman roads, thus they represent administration, tax collection and/or trade control, but not necessarily a royal centre. Kingston Lacy was later the Node of a large estate which has been principally in the Duchy of Lancaster with Cranborne Chase since the 13th century (Papworth 1999). The medieval settlement was on the old road between Blandford and Wimborne, now turnpiked (Good 1966, 111). There is no evidence for Roman structures in the park from the Dorset HER. Since Saxon kingship is later in Dorset, there is the possibility that this Kingston was later and derived from King Ine's ownership (Bourne 2017, 78). Papworth (1999, 46) states that a 12th century change of title indicated a shift in estate centre to Kingston from somewhere else on the estate. It is difficult then to see Kingston Lacy, if already a place during the British-Roman period, as anything other than a Landmark, a place along the road with a specific purpose of movement control.

There is an argument for Shapwick as a British-Roman Nodal centre, although this is a fuzzy argument. The Roman settlement at Crab Farm has been noted as looking decidedly less Nodal with the widening of the road across the diches in the 4th century. The emphasis then seems to have been on opening the route to the Stour at Shapwick. Routeways to Poole harbour would have been important for transporting goods to the Continent from the interior (Costen & Costen 2016, 11). If the Roman roads were still usable, then this might suggest an increase in trade along this route and the Stour corridor. Roman settlement outside of Crab Farm continued in this direction and may lie beneath the current village (Papworth 2019).

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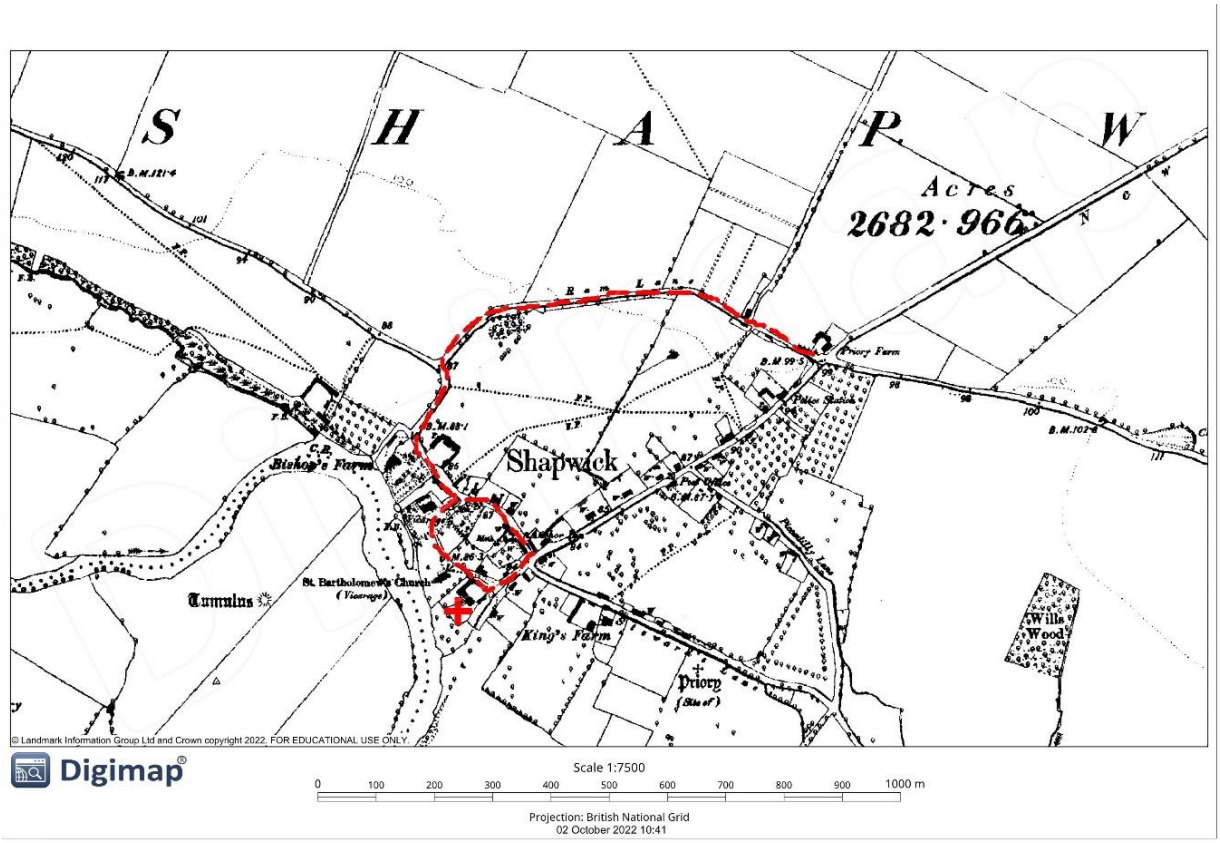

Fig 6:11: Shapwick curvilinear boundaries.

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Fig 6:11: Shapwick church.

The long nave at Shapwick church, perhaps indicating an early minster. Photo by author 2020.

The road arrangement at Shapwick could suggest an early oval enclosure, similar to Portesham, and the long nave of St Bartholomew's church has been proposed to indicate minster status (Fig 6:11; Hall 2000, 11). Medieval records indicate Shapwick had a wealthy chapel but appears originally to have been part of the Wimborne *parochia* (Hall 2000, 11). Wealth may have been based on its position in relation to the Stour routeways and the downland supporting large flocks of sheep. From the Roman period, the chalk soils of Wessex provided for a mixed economy, extensive arable cultivation was supported by sheep essential for manuring the light soils (Allen et al 2016, 162-166). Towards the later Roman period, evidence for an increase in pastoralism with more intensive livestock management is indicated through bone assemblages where sheep were retained for wool production (Allen et al 2016, 164-165). By the 7th century abundant evidence for cloth production, including spindle whorls and loom weights, is found at settlement sites (Maddicott 2002).

The post-Roman animal bone assemblage from Portesham was sparse and undiagnostic, but the substantial contribution to the economy from sheep is evident at Tarrant Hinton where faunal remains indicate a preponderance of sheep over cattle (Valentin 2004, 55; Allen et al 2016, 88-89). At Tolpuddle Ball the mixed economy continued with an increased emphasis on specialist sheep rearing and more intensive meat and wool production (Hearne & Birbeck 1999, 221-226). The lack of 6th and 7th century coins generally in Dorset and southern Wiltshire might suggest limited cross-Channel trade (Costen & Costen 2016). This may be explained by a lack of focal settlements for organised trade, coupled with a non-monetary economy, so trading activity would be difficult to find in archaeological evidence (Costen & Costen 2016). Minster communities provided a centralised Lifescape role, and as "conspicuous consumers of imports" had an interest in the management of cross-channel trade (Blair 2006, 256). From the coin loss, the entry point on Poole harbour suggests that Wimborne, an intertwined royal and monastic establishment, was involved in the cloth trade, and Shapwick, the 'sheep farm' would have played a major role in their source of income (Costen & Costen 2016, 15; Mills 1980, 176).

Summary

While archaeological evidence for Nodes in the Badbury study area is sparse, the indicators from comparative sites imply a general trend of activity which provide some insight into Lifescape across the British-Roman period. It is emphasised that Lifescape is not necessarily understood from the archaeological remains, instead one must seek to recognise the local priorities and decisions which result in visible activity, the outcomes.

Crab Farm small town appears to have been 'Romanised' from a preceding Iron Age nucleated settlement, an inherited Node with a long-standing conceptual *imageability*: its transformed Roman physical appearance is arguably irrelevant. However, from the available evidence, this significant place did not appear to continue as Nodal. It can be inferred that this abandonment could involve a whole-scale economic or population reorganisation, but this activity may already have begun to disperse, when the road was upgraded. The same argument applies to some villa sites included here. Many had been a focus of Nodal activity immemorially. This continuity legitimised ownership through retained or applied ancestral understanding and traditional Lifescape values. Abandonment then disrupts or displaces a need for an ancestral claim. It is argued that villa sites continued Nodal much later than coin evidence has allowed, and this is now becoming accepted through recent Roman site excavations.

The cliché of 'abandonment' anticipated for Roman sites is now being questioned. While it seems unequivocal that Hemsworth villa succumbed to fire, at least in part, there is no clear evidence when this occurred. Portesham is an example of the continuation of a Roman Nodal place. Druce villa also represents this continuity. There is still an estate and a Nodal centre at Hemsworth. It is suggested that the role of the villa site as a Christian community or centre may have played a part in allowing for a longer period of Nodal status. The systematic plundering at Hemsworth and the apparent un-Roman adaption of villa buildings may not have necessarily represented a change of Elemental status, but instead a shift in occupational priorities. Abandonment might be illusory. Archaeological research has tended away from less durable sites around villas and across rural areas which wider infrastructure explorations are revealing. The nuclear Nodal idea may be a contemporary notion influenced by our dense urban conglomerations. Conceptually, Nodal activity may have been more widespread and fluid. This is suggested at Roman sites that are hard to define in our terms and in association with surrounding activity: Gatcombe, Kingscote and Tarrant Hinton, for example.

The Poundbury settlement may have been too anachronistic to feature in the new religious and royal order of the Wessex kings. The abandonment may represent the Saxon dislocation of the preceding Lifescape, erasing, shifting, and establishing new Nodes like Sherborne and Wimborne. Some existing Nodes were retained, perhaps as trade centres: Dorchester hinterland, Portesham and Wareham. Shapwick may have attracted such activity. These Nodes still had *imageability* as places of activity that may be entered and where one's journey is reconsidered. This rearrangement reflected the changing Lifescape priorities and yet retained the significant ancestral focus. The Badbury Rings hinterland could be seen in this way, shifting foci, fluctuating activity but nevertheless a persistent Nodal area.

CHAPTER 7 LANDMARKS

Landmarks, way-markers, and paths

As a landscape element, a Landmark is defined as an external presence, with recognisable physical *imageability* and symbolising a direction, they are intrinsic to movement across the landscape (Lynch 1960, 48). Any visible structure, natural or constructed, can be used as a Landmark (Fig 7:2; Lynch 1960, 11-12). While they are markable by travellers, Landmarks may also contain alternative messages and purposes for the local community but are not primarily destinations.

For Ingold (2000, 219-242) movement regulates our understanding of the landscape: a journey is a continual flow from one experience to the next using subtle environment shifts to guide senses along the way. Ingold (2000, 229, 237) theorised that familiarity allows us to know the landscape from places within it, we "know as we go" from previously travelling the route and from our perspective (Fig 7:1). Lynch (1960, 49) found that urban residents knew their surroundings from the perspective of pathways while visitors visualised the city more generally. Paths and Landmarks can therefore be a channel to understanding Lifescape as well as identifying shifting Nodes. Dorset historian Ronald Good (1966, 35) argued for the human experience as initiating a direction of travel which evolved with social changes: routes "grew up to meet a need". For the early medieval period, there were both political and ecclesiastical travellers as kings' retinues journeyed to dispersed estates and clerics from minster centres administered across their *parochia* (Langlands 2013, 45). By the end of the 7th century, the laws of King Ine make clear there was legal protection on specified highways; this act may have formalised existing expectations (Langlands 2013, 56; Hindle 2015, 41). While the metalling and directional intent of newly constructed Roman roads made wayfaring unnecessary, for other less formal roads localised way-marking was essential. This was still the situation in the mid-19th century, when the coach route across the downs from Blandford to Bloxworth was marked only by heaps of white chalk "five or six yards apart" (Higginson 1936, 93-94).

For this study, Landmarks are considered as having a significant presence for a community and are recoverable from archaeology. Natural and smaller scale and personal way markers are excluded (Fig 7:1). Natural features such as beacon sites could be another study (Baker & Brookes 2015). Examples of long-known natural Landmarks in the Badbury area may be found from older place-names like Chetterwood'; or Crichel Down: Old Welsh 'crug', mound or hill (Mills 1980, 140, 275).

Fig 7:1: A personal and localised way-marker.

This is on a track to the north-east of Badbury Rings, evident on the horizon. This is a memorial to a local farmer which has become a way marker for travellers who have marked it with chalk nodules. Photo by author 2019

Fig 7:2: The Horton tower, a highly visible Landmark which draws the eye.

It is 3.5 km from the road near Gussage All Saints. Looking east. Photo by author 2022.

Paths and Landmarks therefore may significantly have had a long-standing influence on Lifescape. Good (1966, 16-17) proposed enduring routes on high dry ground such as the ridgeways, as they offer easier walking, good visibility, and access to valuable resources of land and sea. These ridgeway paths were not necessarily a clear feature but instead should be considered as zones of movement, perhaps kilometres wide with branching paths (Langlands 2013, 14-15). This seems the case for the ridgeway route from Cranborne to Wimborne (Table 7:1).

In relation to this long-distance wider network of routes across southern and western England, Good (1966) argued that Bronze Age barrows were used as way-markers. Tilley (2010b, 99-186) explored this idea as he recreated the experience of the ridgeway north of the Cranborne Chase. Like Good, he observed that barrows act as significant Landmarks: the precise placing of these monuments created a coherent landscape through a network of identifiable places, giving them *imageability* (Tilley 2010b, 180-181). There are reservations, Landmarks may have disappeared or to modern sensibilities be unnoticed. The 10th century charter for Tarrant Hinton lists *Burnstowe* as a Landmark, a holy place on a river, there is now no physical evidence of this place (Grundy 1938, 86). The usual limitation of archaeological remains is therefore once again acknowledged.

The role of barrows as Landmarks for major routeways is convincing and this can be argued for the eastern Badbury study area where the current B3078 runs along the ridgeway to the east of the Allen river from Cranborne to Wimborne (Table 7:1; Fig 7:3). Two large barrow cemeteries were placed at Knowlton henge complex and at High Lea Farm (Fig 7:3; Gale et al 2004, 160-161). Gale et al (2004, 160-161) have noted that along the upper Allen valley, barrows and barrow cemeteries appear to be located solely on the eastern ridge, this distribution was hypothesised as territorial markers or a result of "belief systems". They could also as positioned to be Landmarks, constructed on existing routeways, for longer distance travel from the interior to the coast. The Dorset HER has noted an historic path through the High Lea barrow cemetery (MDO 40377; Fig 7:3), the present road is standardised from the wider zone of movement. It is conceivable that henge monuments and barrow groups conveyed other signals to travellers, such as places of refuge or access to water – the High Lea barrow group is east of the springs at Witchampton. These messages and *imageability* in Landmarks could have persisted over many generations, and this is evident in the reuse of barrows in the British-Roman period for funerary monuments and funerary foci, for example at Knowlton and High Lea. This Landmark theme is discussed later.

As the study is restricted, three archaeological site types will be argued as Landmarks in the British-Roman period. Temples or shrines; funerary sites and hillforts, the latter appear to have only

occasional or specific activity at the beginning of the period. They may be regarded as 'outside' in the sense that distinct activities were enacted there. These sites are evident in the Badbury study area and will be compared with other Dorset sites to assess consistent or fluctuating Landmark qualities across the period.

- A Romano-Celtic temple at Badbury Rings and the possible shrine or mausoleum at Abbey House, Witchampton.
- Cemeteries and burials of the British-Roman period, including Witchampton and High Lea.
- Hillforts: Badbury Rings and Spettisbury Rings.

Landmark analysis includes ritual structures, a brief consideration of belief systems for the British-Roman period is offered to explain position and practices and Lifescape significance.

Table 7:1: Some monuments and finds from the B3078 route, suggesting a persistent routeway

See also Fig 7:3.

Period	Name	Location or PAS number	Reference
Prehistoric	Knowlton henges Knowlton barrow group High Lea barrow cemetery Barrows	SU 0241 1016 SU 024 101 and around SU 0025 0638 SU 0014 0556	HER Many barrows recorded on HER Over 20 on HER MDO 40118
Iron Age	Great Higher settlement *La Tene bow brooch*	SU 0014 0556 PAS SOMDOR 505E27	HER PAS
Roman	Settlement Great Higher settlement Stanbridge villa Knowlton Square Barrows *Votive axe head* *Harness* *Various coins/brooches*	Around SU 015 099 SU 0014 0556 SU 0040 0385 SU 024 102 DOR 806006 PAS DOR 81300E	M Green 2000, 134 HER HER MDO: 40061, 40062, 40035, 40044 PAS PAS PAS
British-Roman	High Lea cemetery Great Barrow cemetery? *chip-carved zoomorphic brooch*	SU 0025 0638 SU 025 101 PAS DOR CD2B42	HER Field 1963 PAS

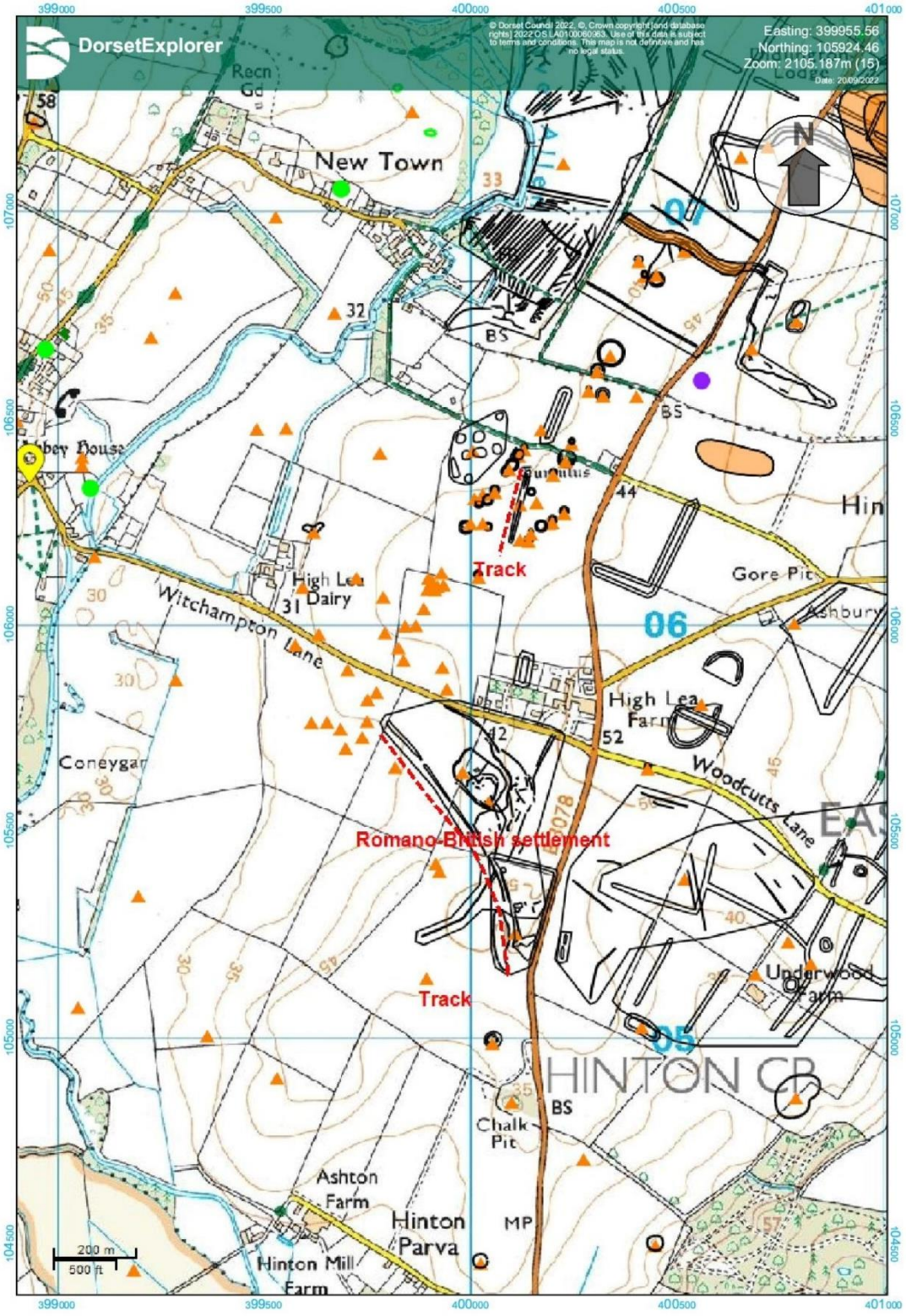

Fig 7:3: Dorset HER records along the B3078 at High Lea Farm.

The extensive barrow group and prehistoric archaeology north of High Lea Farm (orange triangles). This is the site of a 9th century cemetery. A prehistoric track runs north south through towards a Romano-British settlement. A track runs from the settlement to Witchampton and towards the ridgeway. Reproduced from Dorset HER on DorsetExplorer (c) Dorset Council accessed 10.03.2022.

British-Roman religion

While Christianity was the official religion of the Roman empire for most of the fourth century, the zeal and means by which it was adopted was mutable (Thomas et al 2017). Belief patterns were perhaps more complex and localised. It has been noted that Christian commitment had apparent career and financial advantages for Roman officials, but the extent to which Christian practice permeated late Roman society in Britain is arguable (Hutton 2014, 276-287).

Pagan practice was banned officially in AD 391-2 and at that time official urban and rural temples may have been rededicated (Hase 1994, 49). Chedworth octagonal reservoir may, for example, have originated as a *nymphaeum* but then Christianised from chi-rho carvings and possibly later readopted for pagan practice (Thomas 1985, 219-220). At Lullingstone, Kent, Hutton (2014, 277-278) has suggested that a room with pagan emphasis may have been in use at the same time as a room with blatant Christian symbolism. It is obvious from the Bath curse tablet that both practices were acceptable, and both used the pagan-based baths (Cunliffe 2000, 64). Pagan practice saw a revival during the earlier British-Roman period, concentrated in an area from the Thames to the Severn into present day Somerset, with major centres at Uley, Lydney and Bath, and possibly Keynsham and Box villas (Thomas 1985, 266; Walters 2009; Corney 2012, 70-73).

Overt pagan practices succumbed to Christianity. There is evidence for an organised British church in the early 5th century when the Gaulish bishop Germanus was requested by British church authorities to assist them with heretical Pelagianism (Hutton 2014, 285). Gildas does not accuse the 6th century 'tyrant' kings and priests with pagan practices, but with neglecting their Christian beliefs for more worldly pursuits (Giles 1868, 314-315). Gildas also commented that the worship of natural places and pagan icons had ceased even though the remains were still evident in the countryside (Hutton 2014, 286). By the end of the 6th century when Augustine arrived in Kent, British Christianity had developed into an ecclesiastical movement in western Britain (Wickham 2005, 159). The eastern Germanic areas had not been uniformly converted, this may have been a deliberate strategy of Western leaders to exclude eastern markets from collaboration and trade with Christian Mediterranean empires (Blair 2006, 13; Petts 1999, 94-95).

Temples

In the earlier British-Roman period, the worship of a pantheon of non-Christian gods was still widespread: shrines, temples and mausoleums were familiar Landmarks for the community and the traveller (Blagg 1986, 16; Woodward 1992, 19). The siting of these structures appears to have

been influenced by the natural location: high places such as Brean Down, Lamyatt Beacon and Henley Wood in Somerset, watery places and sites with previous ritual activity, as at Hayling Island (Blagg 1986, 16; Woodward 1992). They may also have marked territorial boundaries on routeways, as suggested for Cold Kitchen Hill and Woodyates (Eagles 2018, 5; Rahtz & Watts 1979, Fig 10; 186). Their presence along routeways would have acted as an opportunity for travellers to halt their journey and perform a ritualised ceremony (Blagg 1986 16; Woodward 1992).

Temples had characteristic *imageability* in their structure. The term 'Romano-Celtic' temple was introduced by Mortimer Wheeler in 1928 (Wilson 1980, 5). It refers to a distinct architectural arrangement found across Britain and the Continent which varied in detail but always included a central *cella* as a significant focus (Woodward 1992, 37-39). This space was usually rectangular, in rural areas it could be octagonal and occasionally circular and usually surrounded by an ambulatory, sometimes with symmetrical annexes and a porch. There are many examples from Britain with individual forms and narratives, often rebuilt episodically (Woodward 1992). Archaeologically they are almost always associated with large assemblages of coins and other votive objects (Woodward 1992). Some are within 'villa' type complexes, at Chedworth, Uley and Springhead, but also more remote locations such as Pagans Hill, Lamyatt Beacon and Bream Down (Woodward 1992). For this study in Dorset, Badbury Rings is compared with Maiden Castle and Jordan Hill temples as excavated examples to study their *imageability* and their persistence in the British-Roman Lifescape. The site at Witchampton is then considered.

Badbury Temple

The temple at Badbury Rings stood close to barrows and an Iron Age site outside the western ramparts of the hillfort, suggesting an enduring Landmark with both cognitive and physical *imageability* (Fig 7:4). The temple was positioned directly beside the Roman road, an ancient routeway and close to a transport hub, in this position it perhaps might have had broader periodic Lifescape functions such as a market (Leech 1980, 336). The site was strategically placed by the hillfort entrance and highly visible from the south across the Iron Age and Roman settlement at Crab Farm. This position reflects the Maiden Castle temple site which is against the northern hillfort rampart and seems to be positioned to be seen from Dorchester (Fig 7:6). Both temples would be highly visible if the *cella* was a tower, which is the usual interpretation from the foundations (Woodward 1992, 37-40). The *cella* at Jordan Hill is also interpreted as a tower and is angled to be seen from the sea, in this case it may have had a dual purpose as a signal station for shipping (Fig 7:7; RCHME 1970a, 215-216). Like Badbury temple, Maiden Castle and Jordan Hill sites were associated with Iron Age sites. Maiden Castle temple was on the hillfort, close to a large

round house approached directly by a path, suggesting a persistent important site (RCHME 1970a, 500-501). A large Iron Age and Roman cemetery was close to the Jordan Hill enclosure and an earlier votive shaft within the temple site (Putnam 2007, 123). Badbury temple has been surveyed (Fig 7:5) and the most recently excavated site, although the extent was limited (Fig 7:5). The site had historically been heavily robbed, ploughed and illegally metal detected (Papworth 2014). The evidence from two earlier small investigations was also considered with the excavation results. The plot indicates an octagonal *temenos*, enclosure, with a south-east entrance around a rectangular *cella* and ambulatory, with perhaps some additions (Fig 7:5).

Fig 7:4: Badbury Rings temple site.

The temenos wall and central tower would have been highly visible from the southern Roman road, on which the beasts are standing. Photo by author. 2020

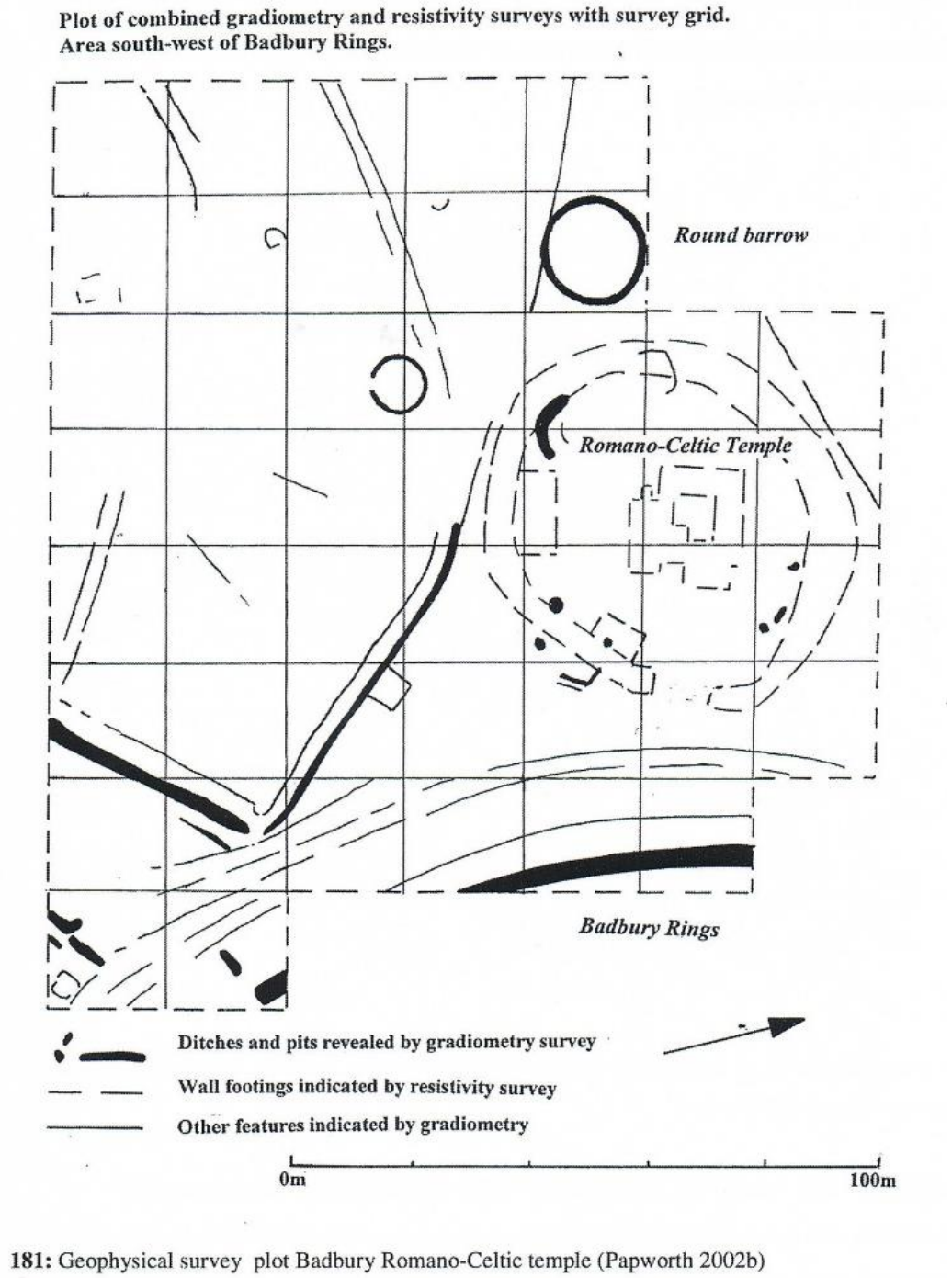

Fig 7:5: The geophysics plot across the Romano-British temple at Badbury Rings.

From Papworth 2008, 315.

Papworth (2014, 265) considered the structure had been rebuilt in the earlier British-Roman period from the concentration of coins, AD 360s and 370s, earlier foundations and Iron Age coins were evident. There was also a rectangular "outhouse" against the *temenos* wall, argued as a priest's

house or a shop for votive items (Papworth 2014, 255). The temple building remains were protected by rubble where over 300 coins were found, with a particularly high level of activity towards the end of the 4th century and into the 5th, SEDOWW was also present (Papworth 2014, 253). Papworth suggested the site was demolished in the 5th century from the hiatus in finds, but, as it has been suggested for villa sites, activity may very well have continued, whether pagan or indeed ritual. Further later activity may be conjectured from the evidence at Badbury Rings hillfort, to be discussed, and the argued continuity at Shapwick.

Fig 7:6: Maiden Castle temple, looking towards the Roman town at Dorchester.

By Linden Milner, CC BY-SA 2.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=7116346. Downloaded 11.02.2021. Looking north west.

Maiden Castle site also has evidence of late activity and alternative ritual practices. The latest floor sealed coins from AD 380s; a small hoard of late 4th or early 5th century coins was buried outside the entrance (Wheeler 1943, 133; 334). Close to the temple a 4th century small circular 'shrine' was constructed of dry-stone walling, cult objects of classical gods were present, this shrine is considered "sub-Roman" (Woodward 1992, 115-116). The shrine was directly over the large Iron Age circular structure (RCHME 1970a, 500-501). A rectangular building with domestic function, it contained 4th century domestic pottery was also within the complex, like Badbury, this building was described as the priest's house. A small 4th century west/east aligned cemetery was close by.

Fig 7:7: Jordan Hill temple cella, visible from the sea and along the coast.

Looking east. Photo by author 2017

The evidence for later use at Jordan Hill is not so comprehensive, it was poorly excavated by antiquarians, but the presence of a hoard of over 4000 coins, ranging into the first quarter of the 5th century would suggest the building continued as a Landmark into the later British-Roman period (RCHME 1970a, 215- 216). Hewitt and Jones (2015) published Putnam's excavation of a stone building eroding from the cliff to the south-east of the temple. Putnam noted the poor quality of building which was not terraced but built across the contours and concluded it was an element of the late or sub-Roman temple complex.

It can be suggested from this comparison that these Dorset temples continued to attract attention, and votive offerings into later British-Roman period. If new coins were not available, older ones with no financial may still have been offered even later than can be proven. This suggests there was a persistent or a revived, from the Maiden Castle evidence, active pagan element within the population, although Christians may also have carried on this tradition. There is also the possibility these sites continued to be used for other purposes, such as ceremonies or as a shipping Landmark for Jordan Hill.

Abbey House, Witchampton: a shrine?

The overview of excavation evidence and survey evidence is given in Appendix 1 and suggests the site as an ongoing Landmark for the British-Roman period.

A substantial circular building had been constructed on the highest part of a slight mound, possibly surrounded by spring water, sometime before the late 4th century (Fig 7:8). The GPR survey (Wessex Archaeology 2018) indicated 2m foundations on the north side perhaps to support a tower structure. Attached to the south was a partitioned annex of flimsier build with a gravel 'concrete' floor. Very few metal finds were evident, two brooches and a later 4th century coin, and no sign of domestic activity. Building remains suggested a masonry, painted plastered building with a stone roof. A few tesserae were found, the floor consisting of slab stone layers which may have supported a mosaic floor. The GPR survey has indicated that there were other earlier buildings. These could have represented a bath-house, however it may have been an element of an earlier temple complex comparative to that at Friar's Wash, Hertfordshire or Rutland Water (Wessex Archaeology 2009; Carlyle 2010). At Friars Wash three temple buildings, two square ones with ambulatories and a circular one similar to Witchampton, were in a similar valley location close to a road. Coin evidence suggests the period of use as predominantly mid-3rd to late 4th century.

The Witchampton circular structure conforms to the pattern of a temple, with a *cella* and attached annexes, the watery place is a similar position to the circular stone shrine at Rutland Water, perhaps a rural cult centre (Carlyle 2011). Unlike Rutland Water, there was no apparent ambulatory at Witchampton. However, the site is obviously multi-period, and an earlier ambulatory may have been of a flimsier build. Temples were usually set within a precinct with an outer wall or ditch, a *temenos,* for example at Badbury Rings. There is a slight indication in the Abbey House magnetometer survey of such a ditch, this may have attracted the later burials (Fig 7:9; Appendix 1). Dating evidence from Rutland Water again indicates a 3rd to 4th century use but this was succeeded by a square structure close by. Like Witchampton, this site appears to be a continuing Landmark place, rather than a structure, developed to accommodate changes in belief and practice.

Fig 7:8: The Roman structure at Witchampton, as excavated.

Photo reproduced by permission of Dorset County Museum

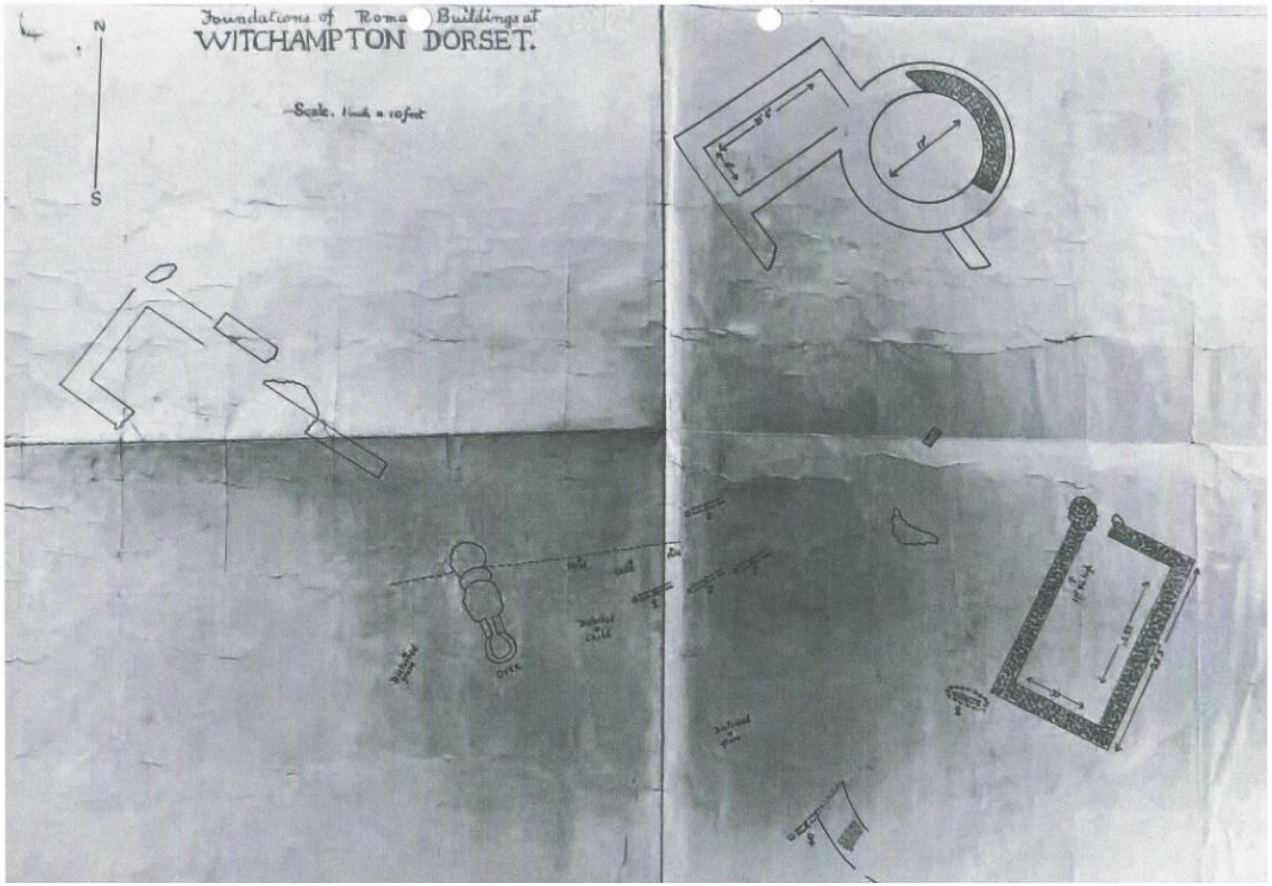

Fig 7:9: The Witchampton site plan by Heywood Sumner 1924.

Reproduced with permission of Dorset County Museum

Toynbee (1996, 180) has suggested that the Witchampton mound was an example of a Roman earthen funerary monument which became a masonry mausoleum, like that in the North Cemetery at Keston, Kent and Joy Wood, Kent (Philp et al 1999; Page 1932). The Keston circular tower mausoleum, assigned to AD 200-300, was 30m north of a villa complex and within a larger cemetery which contained a variety of funerary structures and infant burials. The 9m diameter circular structure was outstanding: outwardly plastered with *opus signinum,* and painted red. However, the core was earthen, and the retaining walls supported by buttresses (Philp et al 1999, 192-193). Joy Wood, Lockham, Kent was excavated in 1842 (Page 1932, 158-159). The circular building here was smaller, highly decorated and, unlike Keston, but like Abbey House, open inside, but with a child burial under the floor. At Cannington cemetery on a mound, possibly deliberately constructed, a stone circular building was built within a trench 6m in diameter which contained a central grave. This was suggested as a mausoleum attracting later burials (Rahtz et al 2000, 48-50).

Mausolea at Keston, Joy Wood, Witchampton and Poundbury suggest highly decorated external or internal walls of painted plaster and *opus signinum* (Page 1932; Sparey Green 1987, 135-140). The Witchampton annex building may be a later adaption, sealing other smaller funerary structures. At Bancroft, a square, elaborate temple/mausoleum within a sunken chamber and *temenos* was built on a hill visible from the villa and Watling Street. Remains of *opus signinum* and painted plaster indicate a decorated building such as Witchampton, the small porch at Bancroft could be paralleled with the annex at Witchampton. Unlike Witchampton, the site had been demolished by the 4th century and a simple circular shrine built close by (Williams & Zeevpat 1999, 89-106).

For Witchampton, it could be suggested that this site originated as a temple complex possibly with a *temenos*, in a prominent valley position, close to a ford. Substantial foundations may indicate a tower *cella,* highly decorated and tiled. The annex may have been added as a portico and flanking rooms. Domestic activity to the south could represent ancillary buildings. However, there is no suggestion of ritual activity or coin and votive offerings that would be expected and are found at Rutland Water and other such sites: Henley Wood, Lamyatt Beacon, Harlow, and Uley (Woodward 1992). Both Badbury and Maiden Castle produced evidence for coin offerings. Large quantities of pig bones were found at Friars Wash and a shaft with layered deposits including bird remains at Jordan Hill. This lacuna could be explained by the shallow archaeology, later stone robbing may have removed some evidence. Offerings may have been organic and therefore lost (Woodward 1992, 78). The site could then have been a mausoleum complex with a later adaption.

The later adaption should not rule out an early Christian church, suggested by Sumner (1924). Early churches were not of a standard design (Woodward 1992, 116). The 5th century church at Uley is interpreted as a wooden construction (Woodward 1992, 101). The slighter Witchampton annex foundations may have carried such a building. At Uley, the altar was placed in a small apsidal attachment to the north of the main building, this could be paralleled with the circular building at Witchampton (Fig 7:9). Any previous ritual offering may have been swept away at this time. The sub-rectangular walled pit or shaft to the east of the site could be interpreted as a detached baptistry, found on such sites as Icklingham, Witham and Uley (Woodward 1992, 105). This structure was thought to have been plastered and had a deep mortar floor possibly for a mosaic pavement with an integral drain. This would have supported a baptismal tank.

However, as witnessed at Maiden Castle, there is evidence for a late revival of pagan activity. This is paralleled at Cannington cemetery, Pagan's Hill, and Cadbury Congresbury, and it has been suggested that circular shrines, like Maiden Castle were still being constructed into the 5th and 6th centuries (Rahtz et al 2000; Rahtz et al 1989, 237; Rahtz & Watts 1979, 199). There is, therefore, ambiguity around the possible later use of the Abbey House structure. From the comparative evidence the site was an enduring Landmark on a route and sacred place into the later British-Roman period. Later use as a cemetery is considered further as a funerary landscape.

Funerary landscapes

Funerary landscapes are considered as Landmarks as they represent a periodic specialised activity. It is acknowledged this is a generalisation, some sites may have encompassed a range of activities and experiences (Williams 2006, 192-194). Funerary sites may not have the high physically imageability associated with temples, for example, but for the local observer they have high Landmark *imageability* through their localised ancestral meaning (Lynch 1960, 81). Physical and conceptual *imageability* is also gained by association with other antecedent monuments.

Funerary rural landscapes are examined as two types: contained sites of a few events; and larger areas which attracted more burials and/or cremations: rural cemeteries. As there is a lack of excavated evidence for funerary places in the strict Badbury study area, other sites across Dorset need to be considered (Tables 7:2 & 7:3). For this discussion the extra-mural cemeteries around Dorchester are not included in the analysis. These cemeteries were urban based although they could have attracted inhumations from the rural hinterland (Woodward 1993, 239). They are large, complex and there are several sites around the town, which would require collating many reports.

The Poundbury cemetery characteristics can be used for comparative indicators although there are no radiocarbon dates for the graves (Farwell & Mollinson 1993).

A comprehensive study of burials in Wessex dating from AD 450 -850 has been undertaken by Mees (2014). Since this study, other cemetery sites in Dorset have been excavated, for example Charminster, Friar Waddon and Lillington, which have radiocarbon dates although Bloxworth cemetery still has no formal publication (Table 7:2). This study also considers other sites, not analysed by Mees, which are suggested as comparative for later British-Roman cemeteries but have very sparse evidence. The focus of Mees' study was to place funerary sites within the antecedent and natural landscape (Mees 2014, 20). This study uses similar data to establish whether Landmark funerary places continued throughout the British-Roman period, and whether other Landscape Elements were associated with them. In the case of temples and shrines, discussed above, it has been argued that such places continued to attract Landmark status late into the British-Roman period. Whether this is the same with funerary landscapes, and their role in Lifescape is considered.

Western British-Roman cemeteries, an overview

Cemetery sites referred to in this study are listed in Tables 7:2 and 7:3 and mapped on Fig 7:10. While some sites have been dated scientifically or by grave goods, Table 7:3 offers examples of other undated Dorset cemeteries which are suggested as earlier and/or later British-Roman, from comparative qualities.

Dating western cemeteries without radiocarbon sampling is difficult as there is no apparent change in visible burial tradition across the British-Roman period (Gerrard 2013, 177). They are typified by west/east orientation in an ordered manner and no grave goods. This applies overwhelmingly to the cemeteries found across western Britain which Rahtz (1977) attempted to classify with difficulty. The excavation of such a cemetery at Cannington, Somerset was unusual at the time (Rahtz & Wright 2000). This quarry site has revealed the complexity and longevity of a rural community cemetery. These types of cemeteries have received less scientific attention than furnished burials. Rahtz (1977) has suggested that unfurnished burials have been considered less significant and dismissed in both archaeology and literature and have been 'cleared' through quarrying or ploughing (Table 7:3). Piddlehinton cemetery was briefly reported after a rescue excavation in the 1960s followed a clearance for development (Table 7:3). This site was within an army transit camp previously farmland and developed during WW2. A larger area of cemetery may already have been lost (author's own knowledge).

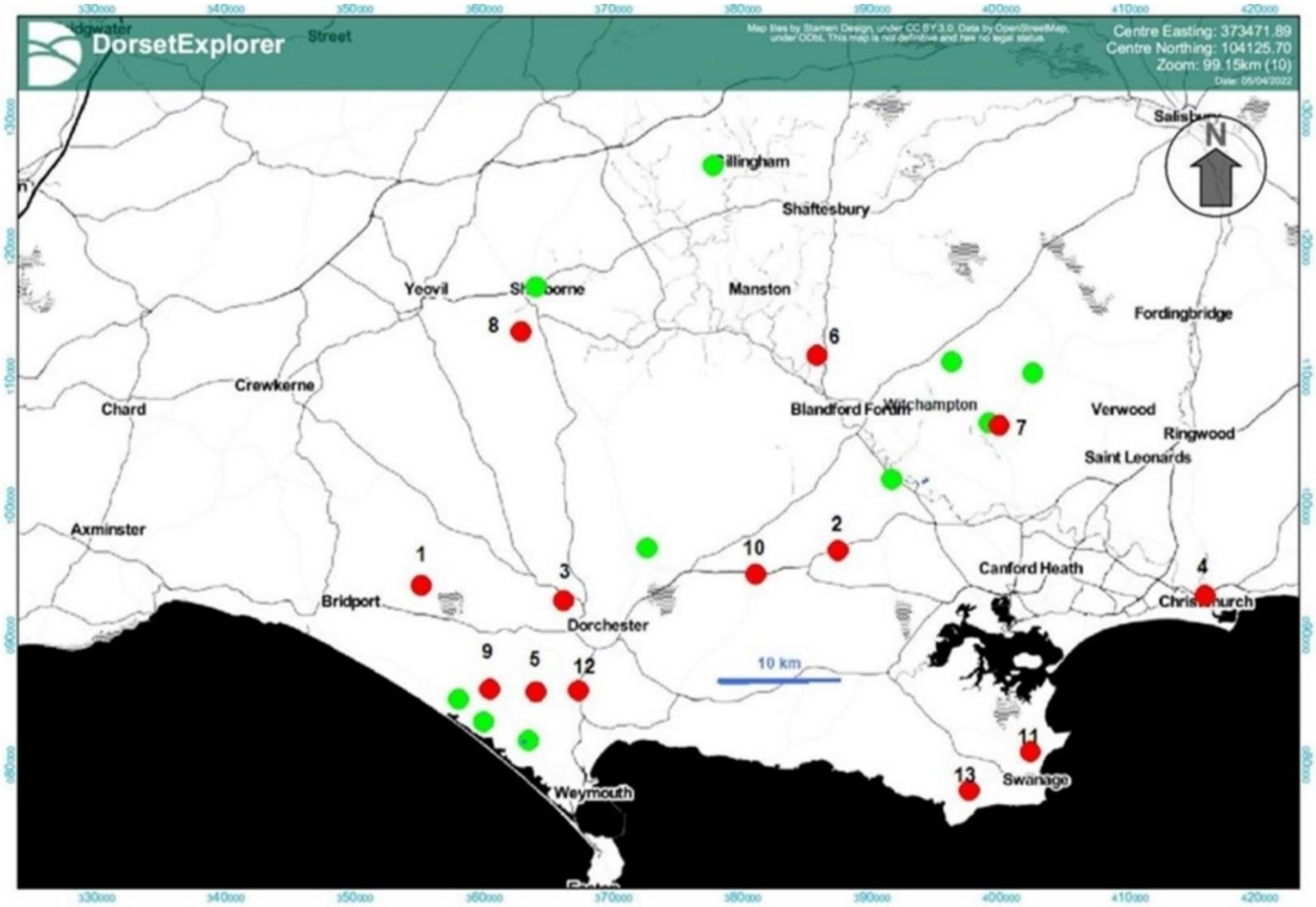

Fig 7:10: A map of Dorset British-Roman cemeteries.

Dated (Red and numbered), possible cemeteries (Green). Numbering is detailed in Table 7:2. Annotated from DorsetExplorer (c) Dorset Council

There are some significant cemetery sites which are supplying more information. Poundbury cemetery, already disturbed by development, has indicated a long sequence with convincing indications for Christian belief (Farwell & Molleson 1993). Wider landscape infrastructure projects, such as Hinkley Point and the VIP project for the National Grid in south Dorset, are now uncovering more examples which are enabling firmer dating and understanding of the size, structure, and practices in British-Roman cemeteries (Boothroyd 2022).

As Gerrard (2015) has shown at Bradley Hill, Somerset radiocarbon dating is indicating that cemeteries continued to be used later than has previously been accepted. The original report indicated the cemetery was late Roman, one inhumation with a coin AD 388-398, had probability dating of 5th or 6th century. While the cemetery originated in the Roman period, within Roman masonry buildings, burial tradition continued (Gerrard 2011a). Long usage is also witnessed at Tolpuddle Ball cemetery (Table 7:2). The dates here indicate both broadly Roman burial and burials from the 6th and 7th century (Hearne & Birbeck 1999,227). No graves were intercutting, so it may have originated at a later Roman date with undated activity in the 5th century. This might also be the case at Portesham, with a 6th century cemetery close to a Roman shrine (Valentin 2004). These examples may evidence the longevity of memory and meaning and thus *imageability* within a community. Comparatively, the cemetery at Witchampton, close to Roman buildings, could also be a continuation of such a site. As it is, Dorset cemeteries witness the general lack of evidence for burial in the 5th century, with only Worth Matravers having a broad date from this period (Table 7:2). This problem may be connected to the plateau in the radiocarbon calibration curve for the late 4th and 5th century (Gerrard 2015, 567). There are other indicators for 5th century burials. The worn late New Forest bowl in a grave at Winterborne Kingston may indicate a continuity of burial tradition into the 5th century (Russell et al 2015). Radiocarbon dates from the grain dryers within the settlement area across Poundbury cemetery give 5th to 6th century dates (Sparey Green 1987, 87; confirmed in Jordan et al 1994). At Shepton Mallet, archaeomagnetic dating on hearths in ruined buildings, associated with plots reused for burials, also gave 5th and 6th century dates (Webster 2008, 173). The dating techniques for burials at Worth Matravers are particularly illuminating. Bayesian Modelling and marine reservoir corrections provided two separate sequences. One for activity beginning around AD 540 for two hundred years, the other from AD 450 and lasting 250 years at 95% probability (Krus 2018, 216-220). Either way activity ends at the end of the 7th century. Given these dating ambiguities along with the, often, poor excavation record and a past tendency to describe all these cemeteries as Roman, 5th century burials should not be ruled out.

Apart from the small Dorset cemeteries such as Portesham and Tolpuddle Ball, dating evidence suggests that most larger cemeteries were later British-Roman creations, for example Lillington, Ulwell, and Bloxworth, although Friar Waddon has only one radiocarbon date so far (Table 7:2). The continuity of community burial at Bradley Hill around and in buildings may indicate a different tradition for such small community sites (Gerrard 2015). This might apply to Witchampton cemetery. This could indicate that, from the 6th century, communities were beginning to combine resources, ideologies, and identities, leaving the Roman past. This might signal the beginning of 'British'. Can cemetery evidence offer an idea of what constitutes new 'British'?

British or Saxon – Christian or Pagan?

Two themes have dominated discussion of early medieval cemeteries: religious affiliation and its associated identification of ethnicity (Woodward 1993; Lucy 2005). This study has argued against attempting to identify ethnicity (Chapter 3). Tabor (2008, 170) has highlighted this conundrum at South Cadbury in the 6th century hillfort assemblage, with both western imported and eastern influenced luxury goods. In this context they are interpreted as traded items.

There is also the problem of dating the advance of Wessex and official exposure to the Saxon culture in Dorset. The expansion of Wessex into Dorset and Somerset is considered generally to be a result of the battle at *Peonnum* in AD 658 (Yorke 1995, 52-54). *Peonnum* is suggested as Penselwood, on a route through the southern narrow arm of the Selwood Forest (McGarvie 1978). The Cranborne Chase lay east of this, and this area may well have been influenced and interacting from an earlier date, this is argued by Eagles (2018, 132-134), and considered later. Small groups of secondary burials within barrows at Eggardon Hill, Long Crichel and Hambledon Hill have all been labelled 'Anglo-Saxon'. Some are unfurnished or containing a single utilitarian item and orientated around west/east (Table 7:5). It is suggested these are 'hybrid', and 'final phase' (Mees 2014, 406; Williams 2006, 44). However, such utilitarian and common knives seem hardly to imply any more than a separate tradition for including a personal item. Knives are found in 'western' unfurnished cemeteries. The deposition of one personal item suggests a quite different practice from richly furnished burials, indeed the richly furnished burial at Bradford Peverell was accompanied by other graves with one knife (Table 7:2).

Table 7:2: 5th to 8th century rural cemeteries with dating evidence in Dorset (excludes extramural Dorchester cemeteries)
(All mixed population unless stated. Supine unless stated. Earth graves unless stated. No grave goods (GGS) unless stated.)
RCD Radiocarbon date (cal) ME: More extensive cemetery indicated No: Number of burials/cremations

Site	Date	No.	Orientation, Grave goods Slab/coffin etc	Physical landscape	Political landscape	Historic landscape	Road proximity	Source
1 Askerswell, SY 55 94 general	RCD 680-980	3	W/E No	Top of ridge, highest point 800m	Parish boundary	Bronze Age barrow with earlier cremations Close to hillfort	Close to Roman road Dorchester to Eggardon	Cherryson 2005
2 Bloxworth Down SY 8730 9650	RCD 659-679/ 605-644	?	2 separate cemeteries W/E No	High. Flat open downland, swallet holes	Parish boundary	Bronze age barrow cemetery	Wimborne/ Dorchester Blandford /Bloxworth	P Cox (lecture) 2019
3. Bradford Peverell SY 6607 9282	7th c from grave goods	16 7W/E	11X grave-goods, including knives, buckles, a spearhead. 1 exceptional: silvered bronze 'purse-mount', necklace with glass, biconical gold bead, triangular cabochon and silver disc pendants, bone combs and a hanging bowl (contd)	Above spring, abrupt edge looking across valley (contd) Reused Roman items Post-holes and large flints, grave markers?	Just outside manor	Roman aqueduct	Roman road Dorchester to Stratton	Keen and Hawthorn PDNHAS 101. 102. 111 Geake 1995: 503.
3a. Charminster SY 663 959	7th c grave goods	1	Pendant and other metal, bead, comb.	Valley setting	Parish boundary	700m Roman finds (MDO788)	Adjacent to valley road	PAS (28.09.22)
4. Christchurch, Bargates ST 1575 9305	GGs 6/7th c Males from GGS	30 / 4 cremations	Mixed orientation 1x penannular gully 5x spear, shield boss 23 x knife. 1 x Plank	West bank of Stour valley, looking east	Boundary along river Stour to east?	BA barrow cemetery; outskirts of burh, priory, castle	Medieval high street	Jarvis 1993

Table 7:2:contiued 5th to 8th century Dorset rural cemeteries with dating evidence continued 1								
Site	**Date**	**Size**	**Orientation, Grave goods, Slab/coffin etc**	**Physical landscape**	**Political landscape**	**Historic landscape**	**Road proximity**	**Source**
5. Friar Waddon SY 6390 8560	RCD 660-770 (1)	136	W/E in rows Stone slab linings 36 All infants in cists Double burials One deviant	Hogs back hill bank running along peak Clear views	1km inside parish boundary Corton holding	Barrow cemetery	Natural coll close to crossroads	Boothroyd & Stafford 2019 Boothroyd 2022
6. Hambledon Hill ST 8582 1155	GGs 7th C	11/12	W/E: N/S row influenced by bank. M founder grave? 2 x Böhner's Type C knives, disturbed iron	E facing slope of spur overlooking the Iwerne valley, Hod Hill	Parish boundary	Prehistoric enclosure, long sequence of use	Above valley Road	Mercer & Healy 2008 Vol 1
7. High Lea Farm Hinton Martell ST 9993 0612	RCD 723-740x 2 excavate	80 ME Double burials	W/E (also some N/S?) densely packed, oak panel? No GGs? Unstratified spear, knife Cremations? Enclosure?	Below crest of ridge, facing west towards River Allen	0.7km above parish boundary	Extensive barrows, cemetery around one barrow (already gone)	Prehistoric road	Gale et al 2008; Mees 2014
8. Lillington, Whithill Quarry ST 6300 1350	RCD 560-646; 585-681	20 + ME?	SW/NE in rows Long use? No GGs	slight SE incline on high point	0.3km parish boundary	Long use?	Local road	Falys & Paszkiewicz 2018
9. Portesham Manor Farm SY 6025 8595	RCD 580-660, 640-770	8 ME Fs & infant	W/E Multiple in pit revisited Fragment of saw	Spring, gentle slope sarsens	Manor enclosure	Roman burials/shrine	Road hub	Valentin 2004
10. Tolpuddle Ball ST 8100 9475	RCD 250-450; 3 x 550-650, 1 x 600-690	50	W/E & WSW/ ENE Long use Irregular rows No GGs	Prominent hill, gentle south facing slope of a chalk spur, abrupt edge	Parish boundary	Reused Roman cemetery Settlement close	0.5km from Roman road Badbury to Dorchester.	Hearne & Birbeck 1999

Table 7:2 continued: 5th to 8th century Dorset rural cemeteries with dating evidence continued 2								
Site	Date	Size	Orientation, Grave goods, Slab/coffin etc	Physical Landscape	Political Landscape	Historic Landscape	Road Proximity	Source
11. Ulwell, Shepherds Farm SZ 0226 8092	RCD 657-770; 655-685	60 ME?	Mainly W/E. multiple graves Cyst, rubble, earth, rows No GGs	Steeply sloping, south facing stony slope	350m from parish boundary	350m from barrow, close to settlement	Route through gap in Ballard Down	Cox 1989
12. Weymouth Ridgeway Hill SY 6720 8590	RCD 650-780	3 ME?	W/E reuse	On ridge, high ground looking SW	Parish boundary	Barrow group	Roman road and Ridgeway	Brown, L., C. Hayden & D. Score. 2014
13. Worth Matravers SY 9750 7784	RCD1 x 420-590 6x 600-680	26 ME?	W/E short rows. Irregular later, stone lined. triple/double graves	South facing slope towards village		Reuse Roman burials with neonates etc.	N/S road to sea	Ladle 2018

Table 7:3 Possible Rural Later British-Roman cemeteries in Dorset with no dating evidence
(All mixed population unless stated. Supine unless stated. Earth graves unless stated. No grave goods (GGS) unless stated. RDC Radiocarbon date (cal)
ME: More extensive cemetery indicated)

Site	Size	Dating?	Orientation/GGs/stone	Physical landscape	Political landscape	Historic landscape	Road	Source
14. Abbotsbury Church SY 5773 8517	Numerous	Stratigraphic: precedes monastic water pipe	Stone lined (not coffins)	South facing slope surrounded by springs	Within abbey precinct	Abbey grounds	Local roads	Penny 1877
15. Abbotsbury New Barn SY 597 834	Numerous, multi period with cremations	GGs iron knife, arrow, ladies' accessories	Slab lined, superimposed or close	Ridge on downs looking north		Barrow with cremations, *Walls*, *Chesters* names	Local road	Mees 2014 Penny 1877
16. Gillingham Langham ST 7780 2620	100		W/E in rows. **2ft intervals,** 2 brooches, rough pottery	Low level ridge facing west brook. **Limestone quarry**	1km east parish boundary	DMV Langham to west	Gillingham to N/S road	RCHME North 1972
17. Knowlton Great Barrow SU 0253 1027	3 groups 6, ME? limited		W/E thereabouts, triple grave,	Flat open ground	0.4km from parish boundary	Henges, barrow cemeteries	Cranborne to Wimborne Prehistoric	Field 1963
18. Long Crichel ST 9617 1111	3 more distrubed	Multi-period 1 x iron objects awl, plate	SW/NE 2 flint-lined and chalk rubble pillow	Downland sloping east to valley	0.3km west, parish boundary	Inserted barrow cemetery	0.3 km east, valley road	Sparey Green et al. DNHAS Proceedings 104 1982
19. Portesham/Chickerell Tatton Hill SY 6318 8192 Also on "downlands"	Numerous 2 sites 3 + child and another unrecorded	"Saxon wheel made pot	W/E thin upright slabs sides, not at the ends, several slabs forming the cover, fits body. burning, charcoal	Edge steep south-facing slope	Parish boundary		Visible from road 0.5km east/south?	PDNHAS 1928 Colley March 1903, xlv

Table7:3: *Possible Rural Later British-Roman cemeteries in Dorset with no dating evidence continued.*								
Site	Size	Dating?	Orientation/GGs/stone	Physical landscape	Political landscape	Historic landscape	Road	Source
20. Piddlehinton Army Camp SY 7254 9678	20 at least ME		W/E	Gentle slope to valley, DMV	Detached estate from Puddletown parish, boundary		Visible from valley road	Farrar PDNHAS 1966, 110
21. Sherborne Various sites	Groups 9 - 15		W/E Rows, mixed population	? built up area		Saxon abbey AD 705, earlier chapel?	Roads into the abbey centre	Penn 1980 Webster & Cherry 1975. 221
22. Spetisbury Spettisbury Rings ST 9150 0200	?	Multi-period?	Two spearheads 6/7th c in mixed pit with earlier burials	On hilltop		Hillfort ramparts	Above road and ford	RCHME 1970b, 246: Eagles 2018, 134.
23 Witchampton ST 9905 0642	13 ME		SW/NE irregular rows	Mound in valley gravels	Parish boundary	Roman shrine and above Roman robbed structure	Valley roads river crossing	Notes in Poole Museum

The sharp contrast between Dorset funerary practices and the cemeteries around Salisbury and the Avon valley has long been noted (Eagles 2018). However, some of the early cemeteries east of the Avon are curious and do not appear to necessarily represent community cemeteries. This area was controlled by the Gewisse, the earlier identity of the Saxons, from the end of the 6th century (Mees 2014, 66). Some of the earliest furnished burials are found in this area including Winterbourne Gunner, Breamore, Petersfinger and Charlton with radiocarbon dating to the 5th century (Eagles 2018, 103-105). This is earlier than the most dated cemeteries in Dorset and comparisons should be cautious. The Avon valley cemeteries contain many examples of burials with weapons and imported items: a Byzantine bucket at Breamore, a 'Frankish' sword at Petersfinger, and a *francisca* at Winterbourne Gunner (Eagles 2018, 104). Charlton cemetery had Frankish/Kentish connections (Eagles 2018, 104). At Breamore there was an absence of female adornment items, which is also the case at Bargates, Christchurch (Mees 2014, 260-261).

Very little skeletal material survived at Bargates, half the graves had weapons and no infant graves were present (Jarvis 1983, 128-129). Bargates and Breamore appear as Continental mercenary cemeteries, however, Brownlee (2022) suggests that isotopic evidence from warrior type cemeteries indicate males were often local to their place of death rather than migrants. This would suggest Bargates as a status warrior cemetery perhaps from a 'small world' based around Christchurch. If this is the case, the tradition of specified cemeteries for warriors may explain the lower ratio of males in Dorset community cemeteries (Randall 2018, 230). A warrior retinue role in protecting trade routes across the Channel to the Avon and the Stour corridors would have been vital in life and continued spiritually in death. This interpretation would also indicate that cemetery *imageability* was not consistent, warrior cemeteries as Landmarks may have held an altogether different association than community sites. This might be the case for the intrusive long barrow 'warrior cemetery' at Chettle which gave the later hundred its name (Mees 2014, 330-331). The 5th and 6th century weapons found in a barrow as far west on the coast at Whitchurch Canonicorum are perhaps also indicative of a significant 'protected' place, or a sea-borne eastern culture, although as the circumstances of their excavation are not readily understood, this can only be conjectural (Mees 2014, 358-360). Rich male-dominated warrior cemeteries must be considered as separately understood Landmarks from the mixed sex, unfurnished cemeteries in Dorset (Table 7:2).

A large cemetery to the east of Witchampton at High Lea Farm has been revealed more recently. Limited excavation produced a radiocarbon date from one grave indicating an 8th century deposit (Gale et al 2008). By this time Wessex was Christian. However, the cemetery was extensive and

possibly used over a longer period, particularly as there is evidence of zones of varying orientation (Fig 7:11). The apparent (Fig 7:11), although unreported, rectangular sunken enclosure with grave slots might suggest a focus for the original cemetery. Like Bargates cemetery, the burials are in proximity to a barrow ditch, and although the site is described as east/west in regular rows, there is clearly an area away from the camera which suggests a different alignment, again like Bargates. Another similarity was the presence of cremation pits, not found elsewhere in this survey of Dorset cemeteries (Gale et al 2008). However, child burials are indicated, and a metal detector survey found no evidence for grave goods. . Aspects of the site could also be comparable to the late Roman cemetery at Poundbury (Sparey Green 2004). Excavation at High Lea was very limited, this is potentially a significant site for understanding cemetery development

Fig. 7.1.22 Aerial view, looking northwest, of some of the probable post-Roman graves at High Lea Farm, centred on the small MBA ring-ditch. The main EBA barrow is above. The burial radiocarbon dated to the eighth century AD is located to the right of the area under excavation here, beneath the spoil heap (re-covered following excavation in previous seasons). Photo: © Bournemouth University and AerialCam, courtesy of John Gale.

Fig 7:11. Some of the excavated cemetery at High Lea Farm, looking north-east.

Details with the photo. From Mees 2014, 336

The Dorchester area has more evidence for an early eastern influence, burials with grave goods are found around the Roman town. Overall, again, they suggest the single knife tradition. Knives were found at Mount Pleasant (MDO 2893), Bradford Peverell (Table 7:2) and the Trumpet Major site (Sparey Green 1985, 149-150). These knives date the burials to the late 6th or 7th century, as does a comb and jewellery in associated graves. Combs of a similar style were found in the post-Roman settlement at Poundbury (Sparey Green 1996, 140). Again, a specific cultural identity cannot be specified. Bradford Peverell cemetery, 3.3km north-west (Table 7:2) has one exceptional female grave with jewellery, a hanging bowl, and some reused Roman items (Table 7:2). This was unique for Dorchester accompanied burials, although a single burial with 7th century jewellery has been found at Charminster (PAS: DOR-1B7E81). These burials might represent eastern trading influences through Weymouth which is suggested as an early medieval port, 'Portland' (Costen & Costen 2016; Eagles 2018). The coin evidence from the CEMC indicates some of the earliest 7th century activity at Dorchester and Weymouth in the county. This could represent migrating cultural trends rather than population moves, and DNA or isotopic analysis would assist in identification.

Funerary practice and its representation of Christian belief has been discussed and reappraised over many years (for example Rahtz 1978; Thomas 1981, 229-239; Philpott 1991; Woodward 1993; O'Brien 1999, Sparey Green 2005; Petts 2011; Carver 2019). Throughout this study, an emphasis has been placed on the influence of Christianity continuing in Dorset through the British-Roman period. It has argued that Christianity as a religion was evolving with political power, and both would have been transformed by the time Dorset became part of Wessex. This could be what is being witnessed in 6th and 7th century Dorset community cemeteries. Religion may have been an instrument of control and advancement by local leaders and the church; a justification for community austerity; a constant authority and belief system in a time of uncertainty and violence, and a channel for contacts with the Continent, particularly Gaul (Petts 2014). Witnessing Christianity, or its absence, in the archaeological record at this time is not straightforward. Belief systems permeated all aspects of life while practice varied with regional cults and between British and Augustine traditions (Pluskowski & Patrick 2005). In Chapter 6, sites of early and later British-Roman house churches, baptistries and monastic communities have suggested Christian communities was active in Dorset, whether this can also be established by the funerary archaeology is now explored.

Funerary practice should be understood as representing fundamental lifeways, its signals would have reflected Lifescape. Obvious iconography in funerary contexts may not have been relevant in early Christian practice: the chi rho pendant from Shepton Mallet remains unexplained (Leach

2001, 259). Woodward (1993, 236) has listed indicators for late Roman Christian burial tradition, these are considered for dated Dorset cemeteries (Table 7:4). This list covers over two hundred years and therefore the similarity in burial practice is interesting, particularly as the latest are from the Saxon Christian period. There is a correlation between cemeteries with grave goods which are less orderly in orientation or planning although High Lea cemetery may have been in use longer.

Some indicators are entirely missing, for example the inscribed memorial stones, which are seen as directly Christian. These are limited to western Britain, and usually associated with western sea routes, although Petts (2014) argues the tradition may have been influenced by the church in Gaul and imported across the Channel. The early inscribing tradition seems to have missed Dorset, despite the argument already given for cross-Channel links with Christchurch and Weymouth. The inscribed stones at Wareham are arguably 7th century or later (Hinton 1998, 25). They may be indications for an earlier Christian burial ground and their incorporation into the church fabric could indicate a 'sanctifying' of the site. This may suggest the fate of other stones in Saxon church contexts. Plaster burials are also missing, but plaster is made from gypsum, cement, or lime, and this would relate to masonry building, which would not be appropriate to rural British-Roman communities in timber houses.

Stone and slab-lined graves are common at dated cemeteries: Friar Waddon, Ulwell and Worth Matravers for example, but the practice appears to be influenced by local stone availability. A flint or stone grave surround was indicated at Witchampton (Fig 7:9). The burials excavated at Tatton were noted as the common form for the area: the slabs being positioned in the grave against the body and covered with a stone lid, suggestive of a coffin (Colley March 1903). This practice was seen at the 7th century cemetery at Friar Waddon (Boothroyd 2022, 53). Slab-lined graves were found at Abbotsbury in a churchyard extension (Penny 1877). This cemetery is interesting: it is close to Abbotsbury church and next to a later monastic foundation which by tradition was an earlier British establishment (Hall 2000, 19-20).

Table 7:4: Indications for a Christian cemetery (Woodward 1993) applied to Dorset sites.
RC dating: Radiocarbon dating (cal) Goods Date: Grave dated from grave goods only.

Site	RC date *Goods date*	Inscribed stones	W/E	Neonatal	Organised	Focal grave	Mausolea or enclosure	Plaster burial	No grave goods	Stone cists/linings
Bloxworth	7th C		✓		✓				✓	
Bradford Peverell	*7th C*		Mixed		✓	?			Grave goods	
Charminster	*7th C*								Jewellery	
Christchurch	*6/7th C*		Mixed			?			Grave goods	
Friar Waddon	7th/8th C		✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
Hambledon Hill	*7th C*				✓	✓			Grave goods	
High Lea	8th C		Most		Mainly		?		?	
Lillington	7th C		✓	✓	✓				✓	
Portesham	6th/7th C		✓		?	?	?		?	
Tolpuddle	6th/7th C		✓	✓					✓	
Ulwell	7th C		✓						✓	X
Worth Matravers	5/7th C		✓	✓	✓				✓	✓
Abbotsbury New Barn			?		?				Grave Goods	✓
Knowlton			✓		?				✓	
Abbey House Witchampton			✓	✓	✓	?	?		✓	1
Trumpet Major	*7th C*		✓		?				Grave goods	

A general rite seems to have been adopted and maintained across the county. This trend is also witnessed in Somerset, notably at Cannington, and is regarded as a British tradition derived from late Roman practice (Rahtz et al 2000; Blair 2006: 26). Despite 'small worlds' and the arguable emergence of a British identity, there is a general similarity in practice across the county and over time. This general trend of burial across British-Roman Dorset and Somerset might indicate a continuing overarching Christian authority or tradition. This is despite other arguments, for example Pluskowski & Patrick (2003), Petts (2011), Hutton (2014, 267-286) and Carver (2019); that no one defined Christian practice is discernible in the British-Roman period. While power struggles led to social instability, the perpetuity of structured Christian belief could authorise new leaders, demand allegiance and encourage acceptance of a controlled lifestyle. Local leaders themselves may have been required to identify with the church in complex and shifting relationships with overlords. These alliances are apparent in Wessex kingships: King Oswald, stood as godfather at Cynegil's baptism in AD 635, enhancing his status and facilitating family and political bonds (Yorke 1995, 64-66). Such hierarchies and alliances could also equally apply to British rule and be derived from embryonic British-Roman governing relationships. It could be argued that by the 6th and 7th centuries, communities were adopting a more standard practice and communal burial places, and this might be connected to more extensive and stable territorial boundaries and accepted community governance (Davies 1978). Examining cemetery place in relation to other Landscape Elements could also lead to understanding emerging Lifescape.

Cemeteries and Landscape Elements

Cemeteries represent a material signal for occupation in Dorset for the British-Roman period. Their sustained position could reflect the continuity of other less tangible Landscape Elements. This analysis is prone to difficulties since it can become a circular argument when using modern or 19th century roads and boundaries. Visibility is a difficult concept. While a computer generated viewshed could give the definitive visibility, the eye is more selective and what it sees may very well be influenced by cultural and personal considerations (see Fig 7:14). Field study for some sites has been carried out and could be extended. When there is a relationship, it is arguable which Element first attracted the others, or whether they were merely positioned for economic land use (Bullough 1983, 184). Generally, however, British-Roman cemeteries were particularly associated with routes, boundaries and antecedent Landmarks. They could also be linked visibly to Nodes (see Tables 7:2 and 7:3). For Dorset cemeteries it is apparent that there is a relationship with other Elements, and present parish boundaries seem to be relevant (Tables 7:2 & 7:3).

Later Dorset cemeteries appear to eschew Roman sites, and instead be attracted to earlier barrow cemeteries or ceremonial sites such as at Friar Waddon, High Lea and perhaps Knowlton (Fig 7:12). Williams (2006, 185-187) and Mees (2014) have analysed these landscape elements for both western and eastern types of burial sites and concluded there was a high correlation. That these sites were chosen may reflect a dysconnectivity from the immediate Roman past and attempts to forge new identities through ancestral links to appropriate land and resources (Williams 2006, 183). This might be the case at Knowlton, where a conjectured British-Roman cemetery is in proximity to a rich antecedent ritual landscape of henge and barrow monuments (Table 7:3; Fig 7:12). Such places as Landmarks could have been associated with periodic kinship activities and funeral celebrations with degrees of jollity (Williams 2006, 183-185; Bullough 1983, 194-199). Bullough (1983, 194-195) argues that King Ine's law associated marked graves as a focus for oath swearing. Cemeteries therefore may have been considered appropriate neutral spaces for legal transactions. The cemetery should perhaps be seen as legitimising community structure through distinct landmark activities. This could be retained into the later Saxon period: Hall (2000, 45-47) argues Knowlton as the centre of a royal hundred.

High Lea cemetery could also be argued as a community focus. High Lea is on the ridgeway, prehistoric tracks through the barrow cemetery have been mentioned. Other routes converge from east and west. This site is intervisible with the Abbey House site at Witchampton. The rectangular enclosure (Fig 7:11) might suggest a square barrow or perhaps a fence. In Francia, 'central' burials, are seen as founding family grave enclosures (Bullough 1983, 193). High Lea perhaps was a focus for types of public affiliation or land dealings of a community.

The site at Whithill Quarry, Lillington (Fig 7:13) sits on a modern parish boundary. On the 1843 Tithe apportionment (DOR T/LIL) the field is called 'Back Door' which could refer to its boundary location, or perhaps its non-productivity, it is now a quarry. This may be an example of use of marginal land (Bullough 1983, 192). This site is not connected with an antecedent landscape and not visible from the valley so the boundary position might be important. Bloxworth cemetery is also on a boundary and a Landmark on the downland road. It appears to represent two communities who may have had distinct community practices (Dan Carter, email; Williams 2006, 188). This placing is important for this study, as it seems to indicate that central cemetery sites were used by small communities dispersed across the area. Such cemetery sites could then be argued as central burial places for dispersed Nodes in a large territory or landownership.

Fig 7:12: The site of a cemetery discovered in a pipeline trench (indicated) at Knowlton.

The site is close to the prehistoric route from Cranborne to Wimborne, surrounded by barrows and henge monuments. Photo is taken from Church henge. Great Barrow is on the left. Looking south. Photo by author 2022

Fig 7:13: Whithill Quarry, Lillington looking to Lillington

The view from just below the cemetery looking south-west towards the village. There is a localised shelf of limited visibility on a road and parish boundary. Photo by author 2021.

Fig 7:14: Views to the cemetery on Friar Waddon hill.

From the Hardy monument the white scar marks the cemetery, 3.5kms southeast. The Channel is visible in the background as is Portland and Weymouth, a harbour for trade across the Channel. Photo by author 2021.

Fig 7:15: The cemetery site on the steep and highly visible hogsback of Waddon hill.

It is above the west/east road along the ridge between Upwey and Portesham. There are wide views. Photo by author 2021.

The Friar Waddon site displays relationships to several landscape elements (Figs 7:14 and 7:15). The cemetery is next to a barrow group and a crossroads for ridgeway and valley routes and a natural break in the ridge at Corton. The 13th century chapel at Corton has an early dedication to St Bartholomew (Jones 2007, 31). This might be a persistent early settlement site. The site is on a Saxon land boundary, there are also other undated burials around the perimeter of Portesham and in Abbotsbury parish (Table 7:3). Hall (2000 19) suggests these were within the same *parochia.* The site is also in a dramatic location and highly visible locally and across the landscape.

Abbey House, Witchampton

The cemetery site at Witchampton (Figs 7:9; 7:16) was not included in Mees (2014) analysis of early medieval cemeteries. Although it is distinct from most other cemetery sites it has affinities with Portesham, and possibly Maiden Castle. Like Portesham and the small cemetery at Maiden Castle it is on a Roman ritual site. The structure is on a mound, at Cannington there was also a conjectured temple or mausoleum and a grave constructed on a natural mound (Rahtz et al 2000, 50-51). Other antecedent sites are indicated in Witchampton, Deverell Rimbury urns were rescued from a development north of the Abbey House site (Hall 1988).

Fig 7:16. The Abbey House cemetery site, looking north-east.

The mound stands below a spring line, evident in the field to right and the tree line channels spring water. Photo by J Oswin 2018.

Like Portesham, Abbey House site is close to springs, routeways and a ford. The old river course, 600m to the east, is designated the parish boundary. It is also highly visible, locally and from the surrounding hills, and would have had *imageability* as a Landmark with a distinctive circular tower rising from the watery levels. Witchampton exhibits the attachments to Landscape Elements, but also to the Roman inheritance. This would suggest a date from the 5th or early 6th century before the transfer to larger cemeteries away from Roman sites. Clearly these cemeteries can be associated with present day routeways, boundaries and the antecedent landscape, which would argue for some continuity of these landscape elements.

It has been proposed that cemetery sites may have been the focus for legal or social activities which it is argued, are associated with Landmarks not with the everyday living activity associated with Nodes. The cemetery at Cannington, was, in the post-Roman period, a place for fine metal-working, this may be seen as an activity primarily associated with funerary ritual, but there was also a spread of material interpreted as a settlement either across the area or in the immediate vicinity (Rahtz et al 2000, 397-400). This community would seem to have been attracted by the ongoing cemetery and perhaps this is reflected at Poundbury and Portesham early medieval settlements, both suggested as sites of British-Roman Christian communities (Sparey Green 1996; Valentin 2004). This may suggest these settlements were validated by the longevity of cemetery and religious associations. This antecedent association has also been noted for the diocesan centre at Sherborne.

The early church was evangelical, encouraging baptism, but did not attempt to formalise Christian burial locations. Burials continued at ancestral sites, which were distinctly separate from settlements or an early church (Bullough 1983; Zadora-Rio 2003, 2). This is evident at Abbey House cemetery siting. It is not exceptional that the High Lea cemetery attracted burials in the 9th century, even after the establishment of the West Saxon see and the founding of Wimborne monastery. The High Lea site may, in its final form, have been related to the religious community at Hinton Martell attached to Wimborne (Keen 1984, 227). The later reference to priests residing at Hinton and at Tarrant Crawford within the Wimborne *parochia* has led Coulstock (1993, 67) to suggest the minster distributed teams of priests throughout its extensive parish.

The burials at Abbotsbury might also be in association with an early clerical presence as an outlier of Portesham community. This type of outlying small religious community might also be represented at Lillington, within the Sherborne *parochia.* The cemetery is on the present road to Sherborne from Lillington where the church is dedicated to St Martin which, if original, is a very

early dedication (Jones 20007, 106-109). It is also on a slight spur above the river, and has a circular churchyard indicating, perhaps, an early church site; (Hall, 2000, 103).

Burial mounds

Eagles (2018, 133-136) has suggested a 6th century 'Anglo-Saxon' presence in the Cranborne Chase, bounded by the Bokerley Dyke and Coombs Ditch. From the finds evidence this is noticeably an area of incursion from the east, surrounded by 'British' sites (Eagles 2018, Figure 10). Finds from the PAS and the funerary tradition of furnished burials reusing barrows is suggested as evidence for this (Table 7:5). However, Roman cremations and burials in mounds had already been a tradition; mounds were constructed rather than reused. Roman mounds are found regularly in Britain and Gaul and may represent a persistent local culture from earlier Bronze Age barrows (Toynbee 1996, 180-181). The dating of such mounds has presented some difficulties. Fowler (1965) reassessed the examples of Grinsell to theorise that there are few in Dorset – but generally found in the east of the county. Two excavated examples at Woodlands (Knobs Crook) and Wimborne St Giles are both close to a Roman road, and this proximity has been suggested as the indication of being of Roman origin (Fowler 1965, 50).

Despite this interpretation, there is very little evidence for funerary practice in these mounds, except at Knobs Crook, Woodlands where cremated remains were accompanied by Roman artefacts. Bradford Barrow is inferred as Roman from a small exploratory trench (Table 7:5), but the central area was not explored. It stands close to the large settlement on King Down and it is also next to a north/south footpath. The examples excavated by Pitt Rivers at Woodyates were either devoid of human remains or early Roman (Table 7:5). There is no indication from the archaeology that any were reused or built during the later Roman, the early British-Roman period, nor is there evidence that all such mounds were used for funerary practices. However, Mees (2014, 333-335) considered the crouched cist burial in a barrow near the Roman road at Crab Farm to be 7th century. There are few crouched burials from this period in this area, and cist burials are known from the Roman period. The accompanying comb tool is paralleled on Roman sites, such as Worth Matravers (Ladle 2018, 213-214). Its proximity to a Roman site and road suggests this might be a rare Roman example. Neither it, nor Knobs Crook appears to have attracted later burials.

Funerary evidence for Eagles' (2018, 132-134) early Anglo-Saxon influenced territory on the Cranborne Chase is difficult to assess. The funerary sites include community, war, and execution cemeteries as well as exceptional single burials (Tables 7:5 & 7:6; Mees 2014).

Table 7:5: Roman burial earthworks in the east Dorset area

Parish Grid ref	Name/Place	Description	References
Gussage St Michael No grid ref	Lower Farm Near Roman road	Rectangular grave cut 1.4m deep. Surrounded by square ditched enclosure 10m diameter of narrow 'v' shape with postholes regularly set within. Primary burial: adolescent female; double sided bone comb & shale spindle whorl Second burial of disintegrated individual at base of plough soil (no grave cut) with shale spindle whorl. Judging by analogy with other sites e.g. Poundbury mid-late 4th century	Martin Green excavated 2003, not published (email 2022)
Pamphill ST 9768 0420	Bradford Down RB settlement	Square enclosure (s) seen in geophysics. One 12m wide with entrance to north facing central track of settlement. 2nd enclosure? To east	Papworth 2008 296
Shapwick ST 9443 0238 ?	Crab Farm settlement	Square enclosure in geophysics 200m N of Roman road, 100m east of track seen in geophysics, 12m long sides entrance to east	Papworth 2008 317
Pamphill ST 9810 0465	Bradford Barrow east of settlement 1 km east road	Bradford Barrow, a bowl barrow consisting of a large conical mound, 118ft in diameter and 20ft high, with traces of a surrounding ditch. According to Grinsell the profile of the mound suggests the possibility of a Roman date.	White PDNHAS 95 - 1973 30-33
Shapwick ST 950025	Ploughed out barrow Crab Farm	Cist, crouched burial, deer antler weaving comb (excavated 1839).	Mees 2014, 334-5
Witchampton ST 8864 0653 ?	OS recorder notes, in gravel pit	Single burial is in this position to west of a medieval track, with a NF bottle. Drawing of bottle in DCM found 1883	RCHME 1975. 110
Witchampton	West Hemsworth	Burials disturbed 19th c	Engleheart 1909
Wimborne St Giles SU 0207 1372	Oakley Down settlement	Enclosure 70ft across 10ft banks 1ft high inner ditch possible entrance to west i.e. road side 20m	RCHME 1975 104
Wimborne St Giles SU 0208 1768	Next to Ackling Dyke	mound Flavian	Excavated Colt Hoare Fowler 1965
Woodlands SU 0522 0733	Knobs Crook	Small mound no ditch. Cremation with many burnt/broken objects bronze vessel, Samian, early RB, excavated	RCHME 1975 113 MDO6414
Woodyates	Settlement site N Fore Dyke 2000m west road	Enclosure with 5 burials. 2 mounds excavated RB pottery no human remains. Another with cremated remains, early Roman, Many extended burials in ditches of settlement.	Pitt Rivers Hawkes 1947

There are ten such sites listed by Mees (2014, 320) for the Cranborne Chase although these include events later than the 7th century. The data do not point to a general tradition. Two rich female mound burials were on the boundary against the Bokerley Dyke and may represent a very limited adoption of a tradition from the east. Woodyates example is comparable to a rich bed burial at Swallowcliffe, the latter dated as late 7th century at a time when women of some status were buried with a rich adornment of goods, some with Christian symbolism (Carver 2019, 407-409). The Woodyates burial then belongs to a period when Saxon Wessex had conquered Dorset. We cannot determine the occupant's religion, but this burial may be a statement of newly acquired land ownership (Carver 2019, 408-409).

The evidence from Thickthorn Barrow and Spettisbury Rings (Table 7:6) suggests a 7th century military campaign which would be expected at that time, with the battle at *Peonnum* in 658. The knives in a small cemetery at Hambledon Hill are also 7th century. This is near Hod Hill, in Chapter 8 this will be argued as a British-Roman market centre. A reused barrow at Long Crichel had only one furnished grave, with a knife and an awl and presumably buckles on clothing (Sparey Green 1982, 48). The graves here were lined with stones, a practice noted in western unfurnished cemeteries. The presence of knives in graves has been discussed.

Table 7:6: Barrow burials with grave goods in east Dorset

Grid reference	Place/ excavator	Dating evidence	Type	Reference
SU 03901950	Woodyates Inn Pentridge Close Bokerley Dyke Hoare 19th c	6/7th	Long barrow F Richly furnished bed burial, like Swallowcliffe	Mees 321
SU 04131189	Pentridge; Grims Ditch Hoare saw	Late 5th – 8th	Intrusive BA barrow, close to another Lance head, knives very few items	Mees 322
SU 02171174	Oakley Down Cunnington Hoare Other larger barrows close	Later 6th c	Bowl barrow: F glass amber beads plenty, brooch etc	Mees 325
ST 96171111	Long Crichel Near linear and ridge by cursus; multiple dyke	4 phases Deverell Rimbury 7th c	Group of bowl barrows 3 burials SW/NE bronze buckle, iron plate awl in 1 burial only 1 x flint-lined chalk rubble pillows	PDNHAS 104 1982 Sparey Green
ST 95071128	Thickthorn Long Barrow Chettle Around 1727 Joseph Bankes *Langburgh* hundred (long barrow)	Early/middle Saxon	Mass burial spear heads etc Single female later	Mees 330

The British-Roman reuse of prehistoric barrows on Cranborne Chase for singular or limited number of burials into the later British-Roman period was an unusual practice and, from the evidence, when Dorset was within Wessex. Few such burials are found in barrows on the Wiltshire border, but more often with barrows in central Wiltshire, where there have been more excavations (Mees 2014, 188-189). The sparse evidence from the Cranborne Chase might indicate a general trend around and beyond the Bokerley Dyke. Burials at mounds may have reinforced other qualities, for example Thickthorn Barrow was a Saxon meeting place *Langburgh* and the mass grave here could be understood as a community memory, a mythical ancestry, and the justification of political and resource control (Table 7:6). Meeting places as Landmarks is a theme which could be explored in a more substantial study.

Ditched enclosures

More appropriate to the British-Roman period are the small, ditched enclosures which contained single or a few burials. The most defined example was excavated by Martin Green (email) in Gussage St Michael in 2003 (Table 7:5). The 10m square enclosure was situated close to the Roman road and enclosed by a V-shaped ditch with post holes, suggesting a fenced enclosure. The primary burial was in a cut grave accompanied by a bone comb and spindle whorl. In this case the site was subsequently reused, a burial was higher in the stratigraphy with no grave cut, also accompanied by a spindle whorl. Using the analogy of the ditched enclosures at Poundbury, the site was dated to the mid to late 4th century, although the later interment would be later British-Roman and reflect the return to an ancestral Landmark.

There are three similar ditched enclosures with post-holes at Poundbury cemetery, dated to the late and post Roman periods each containing one male burial with no grave goods (Farwell & Mollinson 1993, 235). A similar enclosure, 12.5m wide, was excavated on the edge of a Roman settlement beside a trackway at the base of Maiden Castle and contained one burial. This inhumation was crouched following a tradition of crouched or semi-crouched burials in an adjacent 3rd and 4th century cemetery (Woodward & Smith 1987, 88). By analogy with Poundbury the singular burial here was dated to the later Roman period. There may be a circular argument posed by relating such burials to the ditched enclosures at Poundbury. These latter were beyond the Roman cemetery limits and thus could have been a separate, later funerary area (Woodward & Smith 1987, 88; Farwell & Mollinson 1975, 235).

In the Badbury area at Crab Farm and King Down, enclosures associated with settlements in the geophysics were interpreted as cemeteries (Table 7:5). These seem to have an entrance onto a

trackway, and close to a major road. One such was excavated at the 4th century Woodyates settlement by Pitt Rivers (Hawkes 1947, 72-73). Situated around 100m north of the Roman road it contained five east/west burials while many other inhumations were found in the ditches surrounding the settlement. There is no date for this cemetery, the burial rites may not be contemporary.

Another ditched enclosure was excavated at Winterborne Kingston on a "cottage style villa" site by Bournemouth University (Russell et al. 2015. 157-161). No details of road proximity were given. This enclosure was comparable in size to the hypothesised enclosures at King Down and Crab Farm settlements and the ditches compared with those at Poundbury, V-shape with a flat bottom. There were five west/east burials of adults and evidence of the burial practice suggested there had been wooden coffins and grave goods (Russell et al 2015, 159-160). Hobnail boots and spindle whorls suggest a late Roman date, but one female was accompanied by a heavily abraded New Forest bowl from the latter half of the 4th century. This then suggests that this burial was very late 4th century, possibly 5th century and a time when such bowls were rare and valued (Russell 2015, 160-161).

There is wider evidence that the enclosure tradition carried on across the British-Roman period and may in some cases have become a focus for later burials. At Kenn, Devon, three such enclosures were within a larger cemetery dating from the 4th, possibly to the 8th centuries (Weddell 2000). A burial in square-ditched enclosures within a cemetery at Stoneage Barton, Somerset was radiocarbon dated to the 7th century (Webster & Brunning 2004). These were thought influenced by 5th century Welsh and northern British practices, but an earlier British-Roman tradition in the south seems likely from Poundbury and Lankhills cemetery, Winchester (Webster & Brunning 2004, 72). These burials would seem to reflect a tradition which continued, in some cases, into the 7th century. For High Lea cemetery, the interim report does not comment on the apparent square enclosure of possibly two west-east burials which were positioned over a ring ditch, but this may be a founding enclosure example as already discussed (Fig 7:11).

Ditched enclosures for communities, as at Woodyates, Winterborne Kingston and possibly those at Crab Farm and Bradford Down suggest these are Landmarks with *imageability*, enclosed and fenced, on routeways, for communal remembrance of the 'special' dead and imbuing the individual location with meaning (Härke 2001, 19-20). They may have acted as a focus for religious belief, veneration, and healing (Bullough 1983, 185). It seems likely that this local tradition phased out in the later British-Roman period and was replaced by the territorial community cemeteries.

Temples and cemeteries summary

While the variability of the narrative of ritual sites is apparent in the analysis, some general conclusions can be made. Lavish furnished burial is limited and seemingly after Saxon incursion. Formally or informally. Burials with knives are suggested as separate development, and hardly can be described as 'furnished'.

Temples and shrines from the earlier British-Roman period remained as visible and meaningful Landmarks and suggest continued Lifescape values into the 5th century. This may be the case at Abbey House, Witchampton and at Portesham. These examples could indicate that other such ritual sites were more common and continued to attract activity, there is medieval settlement at Portesham (Valentin 2004) and for Witchampton, Saxo-Norman pottery sherds are in the Poole archive and also collected from the site in 2017. These Landmarks may have influenced the creation of Nodes. For Portesham a continuity is argued through the early Christian community. At Witchampton, the attached annex could also suggest Christian use. The circular structure is argued to have had visual longevity attracting a small settlement cemetery, by analogy, 5th or 6th century.

British-Roman cemeteries at Roman sites seems to have been an earlier tradition. 6th and 7th cemeteries were apparently distant from settlement, highly visible on routes and boundaries. This might signify use by more than one group, who cooperated in community affairs, religious and political. The recent radiocarbon dates from Lillington would suggest longevity, rather than a newly established boundary site, and this might also be the case at High Lea. Tolpuddle cemetery and the modelled dating evidence from Worth Matravers (Krus 2018; Table 7:5) would indicate that cemetery sites continued in use close to settlements. For Dorset this implies localised, community decisions. The evidence cautions against applying a consistent model for social and religious organisation in this period. The application of the Worth Matravers modelling to other coastal cemetery sites, for example at Ulwell, could aid understanding of apparent heterogeneity. The 9th century date from High Lea cemetery also cautions against assumptions of reorganisation of the political and religious landscape following annexation into Wessex, continuity of site may suggest Christianity had been a cohesive force which continued as a territorial tradition into the mid-9th century.

Larger cemetery sites may suggest a change in Lifescape values to a wider community base. Further radiocarbon dating would support or refute this claim. It has been suggested this is the beginning of a social or political coalescence. Separate communities may have shared political governorship, religious values and practices, this is indicated for Bloxworth, possibly also High Lea.

This would mean a grouping or allegiance of communities perhaps within territorial control by an overlordship but retaining economic and social dependency. Longevity of cemetery site use suggests an ongoing attachment to place and community as well as religion

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CHAPTER 8 HILLFORTS AS LANDMARKS

Hillforts are considered as Landmarks. It is acknowledged that across time, their Elemental qualities may be fluid and embrace a range of activity, but there is little evidence to suggest Badbury Rings was Nodal in the late Roman Lifescape (Papworth 2011, 155-158). However, it was highly visible, close to major routeways and its size and structure could provoke strong *imageability* as a Landmark (Lynch 1960, 9-10). Whether this changed over the British-Roman period is discussed.

Hillforts as Landmarks are considered separately from ritual landscapes as it is suggested they had a different type of Landmark quality. This appraisal seeks to find the Elemental quality of Badbury Rings, as a hillfort, throughout the British-Roman Lifescape. Post Roman activity and re-occupation on hillforts has been attested in the west country, and particularly in Somerset and Dinas Powys, south Wales (for example Burrow 1981; Rahtz et al 1992; Dark 1994; Seaman 2013). Currently, however there seems to be no artefactual evidence for a post-Roman presence on hillforts east of Dorset, for example, on the western borders of Wiltshire (a negative result in Eagles 2018). This seems to corroborate Gildas' claim that local elites were driven westwards and established bases at easily fortified sites (Snyder 1998, 230-231; Gerrard 2013, 160). It is proposed that Badbury Rings could also have been reoccupied. It was a Landmark during the earlier British-Roman period but displays Nodal qualities later.

A brief overview of evidence for Badbury Rings is given, comparative evidence from other hillforts is then presented for a range of activities which will be compared finally with that at Badbury.

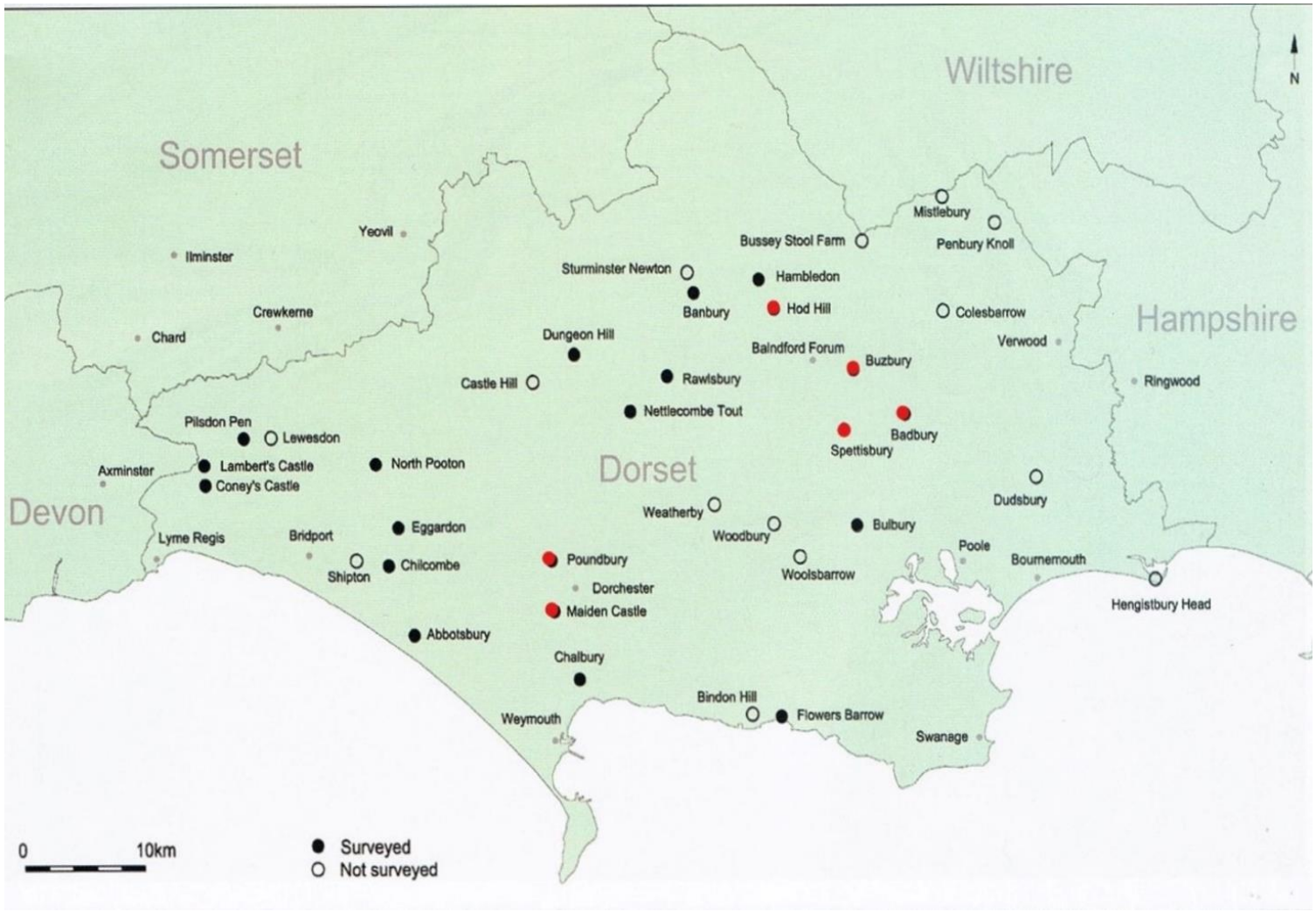
Badbury Rings and comparative evidence

There is direct evidence and indicators for British-Roman period activity from Badbury Rings, although the hillfort itself has been the subject of very little excavation (Papworth 2019). The activity is discussed in more detail later but include:

- A purported unprovenanced 5th century spearhead
- A hearth, radiocarbon dated to 5th to 6th centuries
- 5th century activity at the Romano- Celtic temple
- Argued 5th century activity at Crab Farm
- Arguable British-Roman activity on local defences and roads
- Suggestion of Badbury Rings as the site of *Mons Badonicus*, the British defeat of the Saxon armies around and before AD 500.

The limited evidence is therefore considered as indicators with comparatives from other selected hillforts in eastern Dorset, those included have been surveyed with geophysics by Stewart and Russell (2017) (Table 8:1; Fig 8:1). This comparison is by necessity limited and does not include all Dorset hilltop settlements. In east Dorset, hillforts were sited along river courses. Badbury Rings is adjacent to the river Stour as are comparative hillforts, of these Hod Hill has been excavated (Richmond 1968). To balance this, Maiden Castle is included for its excavation evidence (Wheeler 1943; Sharples 1991). Poundbury, also close to Dorchester, has seen little excavation, but, as discussed, British-Roman occupation has been testified at its base (Stewart & Russell 2017, 127-128). The evidence from Dorset hillforts is then compared against Cadbury Castle, South Cadbury with known and excavated 5th century occupation and the nearest example of such a site from Somerset (Burrow 1981; Alcock 1995). Alcock (1995, 171) warned against using South Cadbury as a generalisation for other post-Roman hillfort sites, seeing it as atypical but Burrow's (1981) survey of Somerset sites indicates that hilltop settlement all appear as individually distinctive, 'small worlds'. Common indicators can be detected in varying degrees (Table 8:1).

A brief overview of Roman activity at hillforts will conclude that these sites had Landmark qualities in the earlier British-Roman period. For the later British-Roman period, the perception of hillfort spaces changed although the types of activity varied between sites. There is little evidence to suggest the sort of Nodal activity witnessed at South Cadbury and other Somerset hillforts, but there are indicators that some of these places became significant in specific community, defensive, economic and/or ritual senses. These categories are suggested by Burrow (1981) for the late and post-Roman Somerset sites. These categories will be used for a comparison of Badbury Rings and Hod Hill evidence. Hod Hill is specifically chosen for its similarities to Badbury and an argument for its status during the later period. Its indicators could be used to focus future research at Badbury.



8:1: The hillforts of Dorset.

Those in red are considered in this comparison of Badbury. The open circle sites were not surveyed and are not included in the comparison even though some are close to Badbury Rings. These sites have either been compromised or not investigated (Papworth 2011; Stewart & Russell 2017, 153.). Image from Stewart & Russell 2018, 29, with author's emphasis.

Table 8:1: Evidence to suggest British Roman occupation of hill forts.
The categories of occupation from Burrow (1981). CEMC: S&R: Stewart & Russell 2017; CEMC: Fitzwilliam Museum Corpus of Early Medieval Coins; BMC: British Museum Collection

Site *References*	Grid Ref	Communal	Defensive	Economic	Ritual	Environs
South Cadbury *Alcock 1995* *Tabor 2008*	ST 62912509	6thC 19x10m post-built hall. Feasting evidence 5/6^{thC} amphora, glass vessels, pottery, jewellery, 6th sword	Late 5th C substantial reinforcements to ramparts and gates Axe hammer deposit	Imported Mediterranean and Continental vessels, beads etc	R-C temple?	Ilchester abandoned? 7thC cemetery "pagan"/local Hicknoll Slait~
Badbury *S&R 2017* *Eagles 2018* *Papworth lots*	ST 96420303	L Roman pottery RC dated 420-610.	Mons Badonicus? Outerwork L/P Roman Swanton 1 spear-head with leaf-shaped blade	Hearth	R-C temple 5th C coins	Crab Farm "town"
Spettisbury Rings *Eagles 2018*	ST 91500196	Later occupation? S&R	5-7thC spears and shield in mass grave?		R-C temples?	
Buzbury Rings *HER*	ST 91870591	4th c pottery*	Considered non-defensive			Roman finds to east (HER)
Hod Hill *S&R 2017* *Eagles 2018* *CEMC, BMC*	ST 85701048		Spearhead Swanton H1 5t/6thC			EM Roman building equal arm brooch, cruciform mid 5thC. Sceatta Imported coin from late 6th- 7th Hanford. 6 7thC coins
Maiden Castle *S&R 2017* *Wheeler 1943* *Rahtz & Watts 1989*	SY 66818843		Refiguring of east gate Road surface		Late R temple , late repair to floor. Shrine late *4th C PR cemetery?* 2 7/8thC burials	Dorchester coins 8thC Poundbury
Poundbury *S&R 2017*	SY 65169113	4th c pottery*			Roman shrines? Hoard AD 350s*	EM occupation Late Cemetery at base

Roman occupation

There is a general lack of evidence for Roman occupation on Dorset hillforts, apart from the early military fort at Hod Hill, abandoned by the end of the 1st century ((Brailsford 1962; MDO 4810). Stewart and Russell's (2017) geophysical survey of Dorset hillforts and re-assessment of the archaeological evidence, indicates a revised chronology for Dorset hillfort occupation. By the Roman conquest they were no longer occupied or Nodal, but more likely ceremonial centres with the population residing in extramural nucleated settlements, although sometimes associated with hillforts, such as at Maiden Castle and Badbury (Cunliffe, 2005, 184-187; Russell & Laycock 2019, 36-37; Stewart & Russell 2017).

For Badbury Rings, the evidence for Roman occupation is limited, as is excavation history. As we have seen, the attribution of Badbury Rings as *Vindocladia* has been revised and now considered at Crab Farm. Antiquarian reports of Roman swords and pottery are circumstantial (Papworth 2019, 2011). While the Romano-Celtic temple, as discussed, was a constant Landmark throughout Roman and into the British-Roman periods, the gap in pottery typology on the hillfort itself, from current evidence indicates limited activity and none in the late 4th century (Papworth 2011, 154-6).

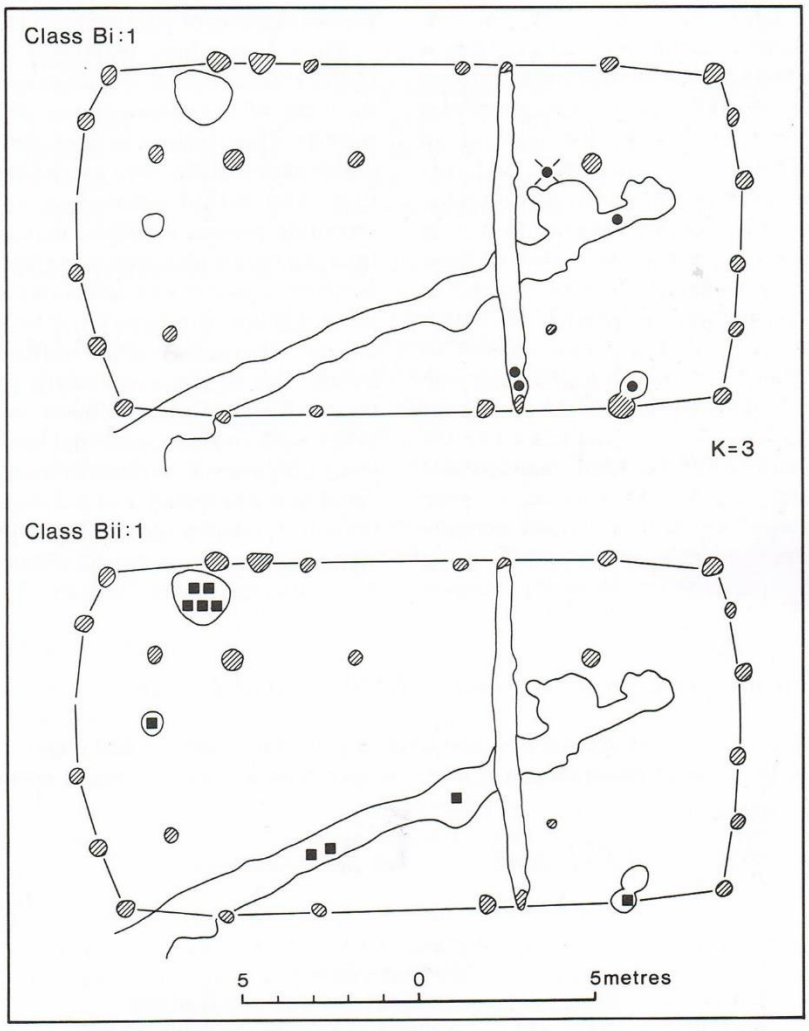
This is paralleled at Old Sarum, where there is no evidence for *Sorviodunum* within the ramparts, although two settlements are known from around the hillfort (National Heritage List No. 1015675). At South Cadbury this move away took place later: Alcock (1995, 140-141) considers there to have been activity on the hillfort in the first two centuries AD, but thereafter occupation moved to the foot of the hill. The evidence for a later 4th century temple at Cadbury is speculative. Maiden Castle was also marginalised, the late 4th century temple was, apparently, the first significant Roman building, while the administrative centre for the *civitas* was 3km northeast at *Durnovaria* (Wheeler 1943; Sharples, 1991, 125-130). At Poundbury where some 4th century pottery has been found, the extensive cemetery and associated settlements at the southern base of the hillfort and in *Durnovaria* would indicate a more marginal use during this period. At Hod Hill there is later Roman activity at a villa site at Great Bournes on the eastern base of the hillfort (RCHME 1970b, 104) and Roman coins (for example MDO 4829).

In contrast, Buzbury Rings appears to have been settled in the Roman period from pottery evidence. Stewart and Russell's survey indicated a busy internal area. Although it is described as a hillfort, it is less defensive in its construction and seems to be nearer in morphology to southwestern hill-slope forts, with wider non-concentric rings, more like a compartmentalised village site (Stewart & Russell 2017, 43). This could suggest that while hillforts in this comparison

were neglected during the Roman period, settlement sites from the Iron Age could and did continue to function throughout.

Indicators of activity

To assess whether these hillforts were Nodes or Landmarks, a range of activities will be considered. If these are all apparent, then the site could be argued as Nodal, if the hillfort only displays limited activity, this suggests a restricted specific use and therefore a Landmark. The categories are from Burrow (1981): communal, defensive, economic, and ritual.



Illus 2.24. Distribution of amphora sherds attributed to vessels Bi/1 and Bii/1 (see chapter 6b) in and around structure L1. Note also three sherds of Bi/1 from K

Fig 8:2: The hall structure at South Cadbury and the evidence of amphora sherds.

From Alcock 1995, 39

Communal

The evidence for a 5th century hall structure within the ramparts of South Cadbury was difficult to establish from the ephemeral archaeology. It was justified by pottery finds within a pattern of post-holes representing significant timber structures (Fig 8:2; Alcock 1995). One structure, 19m by 10m with an internal division, bowed ends and apparent opposing doorways was interpreted as a high-status hall (Alcock 1995, 36-39). Amphorae Bi/1 and Bii/1 sherds datable to the 5th century were found within the structure. Alcock (1995, 132-139) argued for dating from comparable structures at other 5th century and later sites, noting the difference in building methods from eastern Britain, for example Cowdery's Down. Elite 'feasting' paraphernalia included imported 5th and 6th century glass and amphorae. This assemblage is found predominantly in western Britain and is a good indication of British-Roman high-status domestic function and wide trading contacts (Alcock 1995). The structure at Badbury Rings revealed within the geophysics is mentioned later but does not appear to resemble the South Cadbury hall. There is no communal activity like the Cadbury Castle evidence on other hillfort sites considered here (Table 8:1).

Defensive

Fig 8:3: Spettisbury Rings.

Hidden by trees centre horizon, overlooking the Stour river and the ford from the east. Photo by author 2019

Spettisbury Rings has not been excavated; archaeological evidence is from demolition work of the eastern ramparts for a railway cutting in the 19th century, but this may provide evidence for a defended site in the British-Roman period. A 'cemetery' found there appears to have been Iron Age, although the circumstances of recovery were unfortunate, even for the time (RCHME 1970b, 246). More recent re-examination of the finds suggests an alternative understanding. Although the cemetery was described as a jumble of bodies with Iron Age metal work and evidence of violence, Stewart and Russell (2017, 162-166) suggest anecdotal accounts of destruction mask an organised Iron Age style cemetery with non-military grave goods. As a memorised, perhaps commemorated cemetery it could have been reused later, and the reinterpretation of four spears as 5th to 7th century and a shield binding as 5th century would suggest this (Papworth 2011, 154; Semple 2014, 249), although Eagles (2018, 134) has cast doubt on this date.

Other eastern style spearheads and *seaexs* and a Continental shield mount have been found around the hillfort (Eagles 2018, 134). These finds are eastern-influenced weapons, perhaps this is a similar site to Bargates 'warrior' cemetery. The finds suggest 6th and 7th century military action or burials. Other associated PAS finds for the later British-Roman period include a nummus (AD 388-402: DEV-F67DBE) and an AD 475-550 eastern Britain cruciform brooch in Tarrant Crawford (DOR-5BE5E2), once again suggesting trade or migration.

The Spettisbury Rings hillfort is in a significantly strategic position overlooking the Stour (Fig 8:3). The ford, now with a fine medieval bridge, may have been the main Stour crossing to the west before the construction of the Roman road, significantly the Shapwick crossing has been lost. The routeway over the Craw-ford continued west towards Combs Ditch. This great British-Roman defensive earthwork is similar in construction to Bokerley Dyke (RCHME 1975, 313-314). It is possible the earthwork was originally longer, which would have blocked the routeway from the Rings. The hillfort position and the weaponry give some suggestion that it was an important defensive Landmark in the British-Roman period, and perhaps the western limit of eastern Britain influences.

The defensive aspect of South Cadbury hillfort at this period was evident in the archaeology (Table 8:1; Alcock 1995). A succession of rampart construction included an early medieval stone bank using demolished Roman building material, in association with an amphora sherd from the late 5th to early 6th century AD (Alcock 1995, 14-15). A substantial timber gate at the south-west entrance was associated with a metalled road, an axe hammer, and a 6th century Germanic brooch/buckle (Alcock 1995, 26-27). From the evidence the site was abandoned soon after AD 600 (Tabor 2008,

173). Poundbury's limited excavation across the ramparts also revealed a rebuilding of the rampart, this reconstruction appears similar to the 5th/6th century stony wall at South Cadbury (Hinton 1998, 15). Poundbury shares a similar strategic landscape location with Spettisbury Rings, above the Frome River and with long views to the east (Fig 8:4; Stewart & Russell 2017, 126).

Further evidence for defensive rebuilding at a hillfort entrance was reported by Wheeler at the east entrance of Maiden Castle (1943, 119-122). During the latter 4th century one entrance was blocked and a substantial stone gateway constructed in the other, the route marked by something with a stone base, perhaps a shrine (Sharples 1991, 130). The road surface through the gate showed later heavy use - carting away demolition material from the temple was suggested by Wheeler (1943, 121). This restriction of access to the hillfort was interpreted as protecting the Romano-Celtic temple, however the need for this is not clear, given it had a *temenos* and access could more easily be restricted there. Although Christianity was the official religion, the temple would have been highly visible, the gate would not secrete it. This gateway restriction and heavy usage may then suggest a more extensive, perhaps economic, use of the hillfort which is not evident in the archaeology.

Figure 4.19.1. Poundbury hillfort looking south-east (Jo and Sue Crane)

Fig 8:4: Poundbury hillfort.

The steep cliff to the River Frome lies to the left. From Stewart & Russell 2017, 127

Economic

From Cadbury Congresbury hillfort, artefactual evidence indicates both manufacture of subsistence and elite goods which reflect a community producing every day and marketable equipment from its own resources: jewellery; recycling glass; and processing animal products (Rahtz et al 1992, 237-242). Exotic items were imported for consumption, display, use and reuse. This economy is paralleled at Dinas Powys and South Cadbury. At South Cadbury long distance trade from the Mediterranean and continent is apparent, oil and wine amphorae, glass vessels and fine table wares are present and required some form of payment. The latest Roman coins at South Cadbury predate AD 402, and there are only two, the export trade occurred through *emporia* such as Tintagel (Rahtz et al 1992). The collection of imported goods at South Cadbury is noticeably smaller than for the coastal sites (Alcock 1995, 141). There is no evidence for manufacturing export goods, but with internal trade the type of goods exchanged may be less visible archaeologically, such as slaves, food, and clothing products.

There is no evidence of such economic activity from the Dorset hillforts included in this survey, but perhaps a consideration could be given to the areas of magnetic scatters in the magnetometer survey at Hod Hill, sampled as hammer scale and slag; a smithy site was excavated by Richmond with an atypical sub-rectangular hut (Stewart & Russell 2017, 99-100). Could this be a *grubenhäus* similar to those described earlier, found in this period at Bestwall potteries and Poundbury settlement?

Ritual

This has previously been discussed in relation to temples. The temples at Badbury and Maiden Castle are the explicit examples of late and post-Roman ritual use of a hillfort in Dorset. At Maiden Castle, the 7th century isolated burials, one mutilated, might indicate the temple as a more liminal place by that time. At South Cadbury, Alcock (1995, 18) could only speculate on a late Roman temple, a cross-shaped building foundation is considered later Saxon (Alcock 1995, 160). However, there was a 5th to 6th century sherd of Phoenician red slip ware stamped with a cross motif (Alcock 1995, 85). This may indicate the presence of an early Christian church or celebrant. Similar evidence is also found at Cadbury Congresbury (Rahtz et al 1992, 244). Unlike Maiden Castle, pagan worship may have been dedicated at discrete sites away from Cadbury Castle, witnessed at the temple structure at Henley Hill, 140m from Cadbury Congresbury although later ritual practices at the hillfort itself included an apparent “skull cult” in the 4th and 6th centuries (Rahtz et al 1992, 228). This seems to have been associated with a tower-like structure, while other penannular

structures bear a similarity to the late or post-Roman shrine at Maiden Castle (Rahtz et al 1992, 242-244).

Without excavation such temple structures are difficult to identify. The geophysical survey at Poundbury indicated that a feature reminiscent of a Romano-Celtic temple is probably not, but could have been one of several rectangular structures argued as possible Roman mausoleums (Stewart & Russell 2017, 132). This is highly speculative. The temple complex at Badbury, outside the ramparts and highly visible on the routeway, testifies to a sequence of use into the 5th century from coin evidence (Papworth 2019), and may have continued later, without coin offerings.

From the evidence it can be argued that British-Roman ritual practices were introduced or continued around some hillforts, and the evidence from Maiden Castle and Badbury suggest a recognition or continued use of earlier sites, and perhaps earlier practices. Evidence for Christianity seen at the Somerset hillforts is not indicated for the Dorset hillforts discussed here.

So far, the comparative evidence suggests that Dorset hillforts were not Nodal during the British-Roman period but retained high visual *imageability* and attracted specific types of activity, particularly defensive. However, these sites may have been one Landmark element of a wider Nodal area, with inter-related activities in their hinterland. Hod Hill is considered such a contender for Nodal British-Roman activity from excavation and metal detecting finds in the vicinity. It is used here as an 'indicator' of activity which could be present at Badbury Rings.

Hod Hill environs: a Node?

The archaeological and landscape evidence seems to indicate Hod Hill environs were Nodal from the Iron Age and attracted economic activity in and around the ramparts into the 7th century. Stewart and Russell (2017, 101, 168-169) argue that the hillfort and eastern slopes to the River Iwerne were a densely populated Iron Age *oppidum* and was the political and economic centre of the *Durotriges,* rather than Maiden Castle (Fig 8:5). This Nodal position could be argued to carry on into the British-Roman period (Fig 8:6).

Limited excavations and a subsequent geophysical survey indicate predominantly pre- and immediate post-Roman conquest occupation (Papworth 2011, 112-117). From the hillfort itself a 5th century spearhead is recorded (Eagles 2018, 330). However, the slopes to the east exhibit more evidence for later activity. The hillfort sits between the Stour and Iwerne valleys, providing routeways along the river corridors and potentially to the Iron Age Hengistbury Head *emporium.* Smugglers Lane runs from the east directly to the hill (Fig 8:5).

Fig 8:5: Hod Hill from the southwest.

The Roman fort edge is evident in the northwest corner. The Stour is below the western rampart. The River Iwerne is east; the site of a Roman settlement and early medieval finds. The eastern road is obvious in the landscape. Photo by author 2012

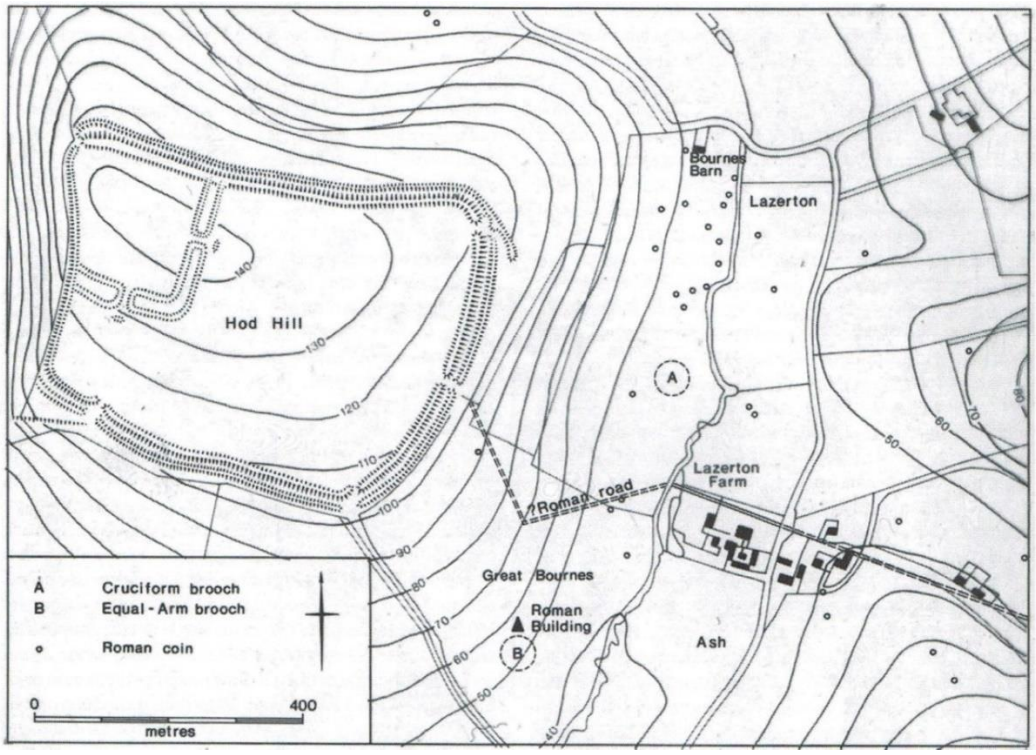


Fig 8:6: The Roman and early medieval finds from the Iwerne valley, east of Hod Hill.

From Eagles 2018, 34

At the base of the hill to the east is a villa in Great Bournes, and coin finds indicate Roman activity (Fig 8:6). Excavations and geophysical survey revealed Iron Age activity overlain by Roman buildings for 2kms along a routeway on the River Iwerne (Papworth 2011, 117-118). Papworth suggests these as villa sites, but the frequency along a routeway might indicate a market town, similar perhaps to that which grew up at *Sorvidonium* and the extended version of *Vindocladia* towards the Stour. Metal detection has indicated that activity continued here into the British-Roman period. Unusually for Dorset, more than one item of eastern-influenced dress ornament has been found (Eagles 2018, 31-33). These are two 5th century brooches: a cruciform brooch and an equal arm brooch, the former at the Great Bournes Roman building site (Eagles & Mortimer 1993; Fig 8:6). Saxon coins are also present (for example MDO 3928). To the southwest of the fort a chip-carved zoomorphic button brooch (PAS: DOR-8022C1) datable to the 5th and 6th centuries is a rare find for Dorset, one other recorded on the Dorset PAS (DOR CD2B42; Hayward Trevarthen 2016, 165-166). The CEMC records an unusually early Continental penny, AD 580- 750, at Hanford, the associated parish, (Catalogue No. EMC 0103).

There is no evidence of when or how the finds were deposited but the unusual clustering from a variety of sources does suggest an early eastern presence or influence in the 5th and 6th centuries. This argues for either a British-Roman Landmark or a Node. The brooches are commonly attributed to female dress and could suggest trading contacts or integrated occupation of settlers from the east. Eagles and Mortimer (1993, 139) hypothesise the women were the partners of mercenaries working for a British warlord, based at Hod Hill and this might be supported by the 5th to 6th centuries Swanton's Type H1 spearhead (Eagles and Mortimer 1993). However, western British male burials with weapons have been discussed and is relevant to this place, eastern influence could also extend to British female dress. Of importance is the discovery of one brooch close to the 'villa' building which could indicate its continued Nodal presence and possible occupation in the 5th century. Costen & Costen (2016, 13; 20) suggest a British-Roman seasonal market site which continued into the 8th century.

The indicators therefore suggest varied activity around the hillfort, and a Nodal area in which the hillfort acted as a Landmark. Its empty interior and ramparts could have provided a safe base for manufacturing and defence. Its presence was evocative of an ancestral past, venerated at Maiden Castle shrine, and was also a defensive, highly visible, and evocative Landmark within the Lifescape. This *imageability* in both cognitive and physical landscapes may have made it central to Lifescape, an accessible and outstanding place for a trading connection for both west and east communities. Eagles (2018 132-134) has argued for an early eastern settler occupied territory. Hod Hill, and

Hambledon Hill with its 7th century furnished cemetery may be the boundary, along the Stour. However, the Cranborne Chase could also be argued as a western 'small world' influenced by trade from the east with Nodal settlement and markets in the western edge hillforts environs. It may be possible to use this evidence from Hod Hill and other hillforts for British-Roman activity at Badbury Rings.

Badbury Rings a British-Roman Node?

The limited excavation opportunity at Badbury Rings has little to offer for British-Roman activity (Papworth 2019). Unlike the Hod Hill environs, there are fewer reported metal detection finds since the practice is banned, although widespread illegal detection has occurred, and much valuable data lost (Papworth 2019). The geophysical survey by Stewart and Russell (2017) realised that earlier activity is masked by modern disturbance (Fig 8:7).

Somerset hillfort sites have been argued as later British-Roman Nodes, although this occupation did not necessarily follow directly from Roman activity (Brunning 1981, 150). At Cadbury Congresbury the later 5th and 6th centuries are witnessed by imported ceramics and glass; and industrial activity associated with metalwork (Rahtz et al 1992, 218-220). Structures were built, altered, and abandoned across three centuries. The Lifescape focus may have been fluid, but the site appears by the end of this period to have been central for occupation, trade, economy, and ritual activity. Dinas Powys, southeast Wales, has similar cultural material imports. It is argued to represent a Node, a fortified base for a local war lord wealthy enough to access exotic Mediterranean items (Seaman 2013). None of this evidence has been found at the Dorset hillforts described here (Table 8:1). This straightforward comparison seems to imply Somerset and Dorset hillforts have little in common in the British-Roman period, but the nature of targeted research also has been quite different. South Cadbury and Cadbury Congresbury were the subject of extensive excavation with a 'Dark Age' agenda (Burrow 1981, 91-93). Papworth (2019) has interpreted Badbury with a prehistoric focus. The main restraint for British-Roman activity evidence at Dorset hillforts is the lack of focussed research projects.

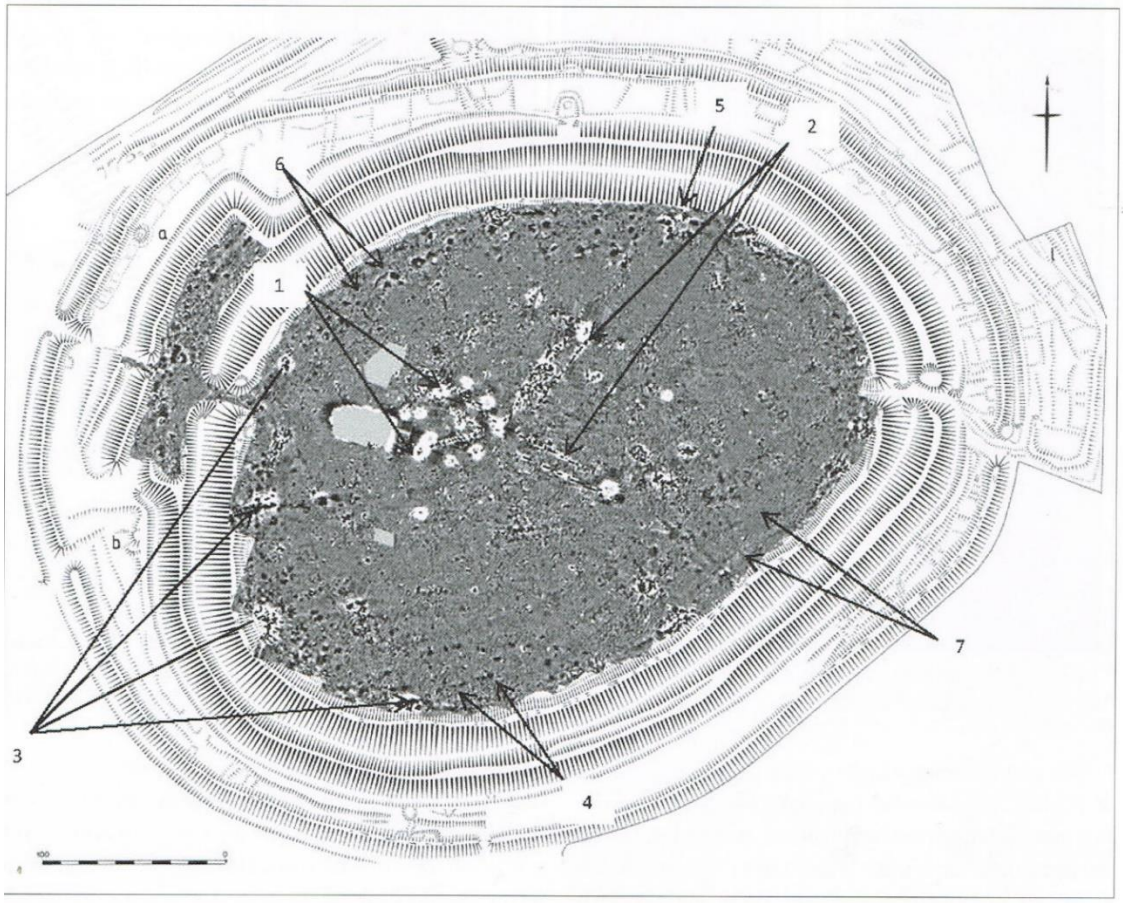


Figure 4: Magnetometry Survey with numbered anomalies described in text

Fig 8:7: Magnetometer survey of Badbury by Stewart and Russell.

The significant features are numbered from Papworth 2019, 135.

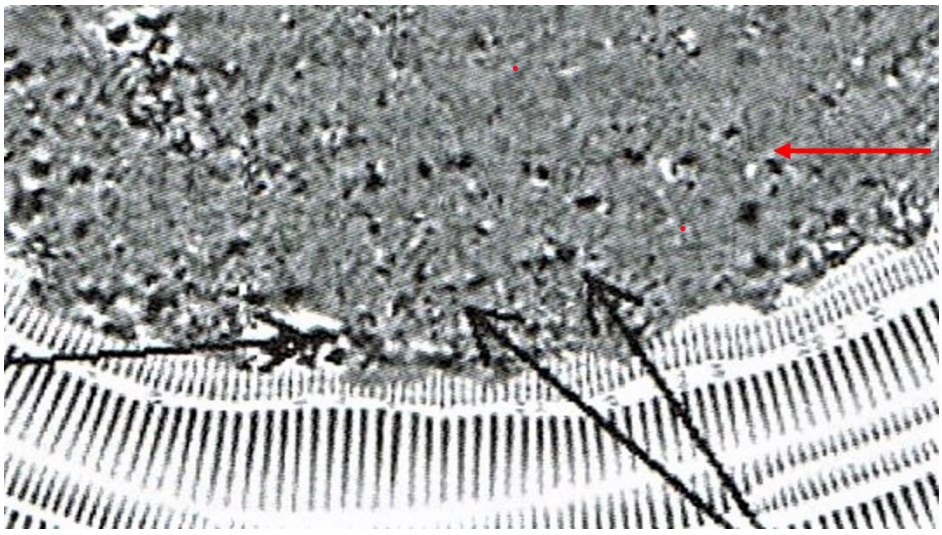


Fig 8:8: A detail of the postholes suggested as a structure by Papworth (2019).

To the right is another array of four or possibly six postholes. Arrowed red.

Evidence from other sites has also been limited by excavation techniques and targets. Smaller trench foci, such as the box trenches used by Wheeler (1943) at Maiden Castle do not help distinguish the array and extent of post-holes of ephemeral structures, witnessed at the Cadburys. Wheeler's excavations reflected an interest in Iron Age and Neolithic features. The 1980s English Heritage initiative concentrated on revisiting the earlier excavations in a more scientific manner (Sharples 1991, 17-19). However, the late and possibly post-Roman temple complex and burials as well as restrictions on the gateway suppose more widespread activity on the site in the British-Roman period.

Papworth (2019) has analysed the extensive geophysical survey of Badbury Rings for targeting further excavation (Fig 8:7), but the surveys themselves are, justifiably, concerned with Iron Age occupation. Given the ephemeral nature of British-Roman archaeology, tree coverage and modern interference, a later focus would require more extensive excavation and limited excavations at Badbury suggest the possibility of 5th century activity. Roman mortared stone was reused in rampart defences, presumably in the later, British-Roman period (Papworth 2019, 147). This activity would suggest a place of occupation and/or defence. Occupation seems to be confirmed by an excavated hearth and working surface close to the western entrance, radiocarbon dated between AD 420-610 and AD 400-570 (95% probability) and associated with abraded late Roman pottery (Papworth 2019, 146). The constraint on dating sites using pottery and coinage has already been discussed and here is evidence that Roman pottery continued in active use into that apparently 'invisible' 5th century. At Cadbury Congresbury, it is argued that 4th century pots were still is use in the 6th century (Burrow 1981, 133; Rahtz et al 1992, 148). A more detailed study could assess late Roman pottery assemblages from Dorset hillfort excavations with the consideration of prolonged usage and should be considered on future excavations.

The comparative evidence indicates the importance of a defensible and strategic position for a territory and a settlement within a hillfort and this is apparent at Badbury (Fig 8:9). Gildas and Bede described the aggressive character of petty rulership in this period and the need for defendable fortresses (Alcock 1995, 144; 149). A possible indication that the fort was the base for a warlord comes from a Swanton E1 spearhead, datable to the 5th or possibly the 6th century (BMC No.1892,0901.1564). Interestingly, this type and the ones at Spettisbury Rings are the most westerly examples of these spearheads outside of proven funerary contexts (Semple 2014, 249-252). This suggests trade or battle from the east.More tentatively supporting the indicator of fortification is the proposition that Badbury was the site of the first Battle of Mount Badon, *Mons Badonicus,* described by Gildas as the triumph of British kings over the advancing Saxon armies,

which delayed western advance for a hundred years (Chancellor 1945). The date is speculative around and before AD 500, Gildas' references are difficult to interpret (see for example Ashe 1960; Yorke 1995, 14; Hinton 1998, 19; Halsall 2013, 16-17). Woods (2010) contends that Gildas' *De Excidio Britonum* was written in AD 536-7, as a response to a climatic catastrophe. The unusual cloud coverage and weather deterioration were noted in other sources across the continent (Woods 2010). The weather event seems to be confirmed as volcanic or comet activity and securely dated in northern hemisphere ice cores (Moreland 2010). The reference to Gildas' birth, in the year of the battle forty-four years before could then date the battle to the last decade of the 5th century.

The site of *Mons Badonicus* cannot be verified and is contested, Myers (1986, 159-160) favoured Liddington Castle strategically placed on the Wiltshire Downs ridgeway. Cooper (2018) suggests several factors could place the battle at Badbury, particularly the significance of the River Avon in Hampshire, 17km east, as an early Saxon/British territorial boundary. Badbury Rings is at a strategic communication hub on Roman routes and close to the north/south Ridgeway along the Cranborne Chase. Roman roads seem to have continued as major routes generally beyond the British-Roman period (Harrington & Welch 2014, 65). Clipped *siliquae* coin distribution from the PAS indicates Roman roads were still in use for access to Dorset and Wiltshire chalklands, the road between Badbury and Salisbury and the Stour valley both have high levels of loss in comparison to other areas (Henry 2021).

The Stour, like the Avon, discharges into Christchurch harbour. The Stour corridor has been already noted as a routeway into the chalklands. Badbury was very much on a landscape boundary position in the 6th century, its southern and eastern routeways dominated by wood and heathland, Leland still found this area wet, wooded, and difficult to travel in the 16th century (Fig 8:9; Chancellor 1945, 26). An early Roman military camp was established in the river terraces at Lake Farm and a confluence with the Allen. This point was chosen, presumably, to control and use the river corridor for communication and transporting goods and personnel into the territory. Costen and Costen (2016) have noted the importance of the Stour corridor for trading into the heart of Dorset: early and rare 5th century coin evidence indicates the Stour as the western edge of early trade from the east.

Fig 8:9: Sightline to the northeast from Badbury Rings, towards Chalbury.

The landmark marks the line of the ridgeway from Cranborne to Wimborne. This is a direction of advancement from the interior to the coast. Photo by author 2021.

There seems to be evidence for pre-Saxon military action from the Avon to the Stour, the finds of spearheads at Spettisbury, Hod Hill and Badbury Rings are rare in the west. Badbury dominates the landscape to the east (Fig 8:9). A victory at Badbury would have gained early control of trading routes, trade was vital for emerging kingdoms (Yorke 2018). Mount Badon battle held this back until an advance in the 7th century from the north (Chancellor 1945). Bokerley Dyke and the apparent block of the Roman road at Badbury would be relevant to this advance. It has already been noted that the outer rampart of the Badbury hillfort is morphologically different and has been suggested as of British-Roman construction and designed to block the northern road. Excavation across this outer rampart might give an indication of any later refortification and construction date.

Clearly there are strategic arguments for Badbury Rings as a fortified warlord's residence, and a Node. The dated hearth evidence points, at least, to periodic occupation in the British-Roman period. Coins from the 5th century at the temple site to the west of the ramparts witnessed early British-Roman activity and the pottery sequence may be projected to have lasted longer, disguised within the Roman archaeology. This might also be the case at the market town of Crab Farm just to the south of the Rings. The evidence from the eastern slopes of Hod Hill may provide an indication

that British-Roman settlement and trade more likely occurred outside hillforts around pre-existing Roman settlements. Badbury and environs is sited on north/south routes to the interior and could have been integrated into the trade networks.

Further evidence might be obtained from excavation or metal detection. Papworth (2019) has identified some features as of likely interest from the geophysics (Fig 8:7). The ferrous concentrations marked as 3 (Fig 8:7) may be modern clearances but Papworth compares responses at Hod Hill described as iron workings. Papworth has also suggested a large post-built structure (Fig 8:8), although its dimensions (30m x 20m) are rather larger than the timber hall at South Cadbury and comparative sites (Alcock 1995, 132-138). Alcock (1995, 38) emphasised the position of the South Cadbury hall as dominating the interior, which would not apply to this structure against the rampart. However, to the east of this pattern (Fig 8:8) are a series of regularly spaced posthole-like responses which may indicate a timber structure.

One might expect highly recognisable imported Mediterranean material to be recorded in Dorset hillfort excavations, but as far as this study goes, that evidence is lacking. This is not so much of a problem since Tintagel appears to be the main *entrepot* for the trade, more abundant finds occur in western coastal sites (Gerrard 2013, 169). South Cadbury imported material was considerably less than Tintagel and Cadbury Congresbury, and therefore on the edge of that western identity and/or trade influence. There are several reasons why this could have been the case, not necessarily exclusive. Post-Roman 'British' material on hillforts in Wiltshire is limited to one pot (Eagles 2018, 43). This western phenomenon is then diluted across Dorset. The emphasis on eastern trade in the Badbury area has been demonstrated, and Petts (2014) considers the Channel trading route as a cultural highway. There is evidence for Mediterranean imports at Druce villa and the extra-mural settlement at Poundbury. Although neither are so productive as western sites, this does indicate that elite residents may have continued at such sites, but western imports were perhaps purposefully excluded from longer distance exchange across Somerset and Dorset. Neither is the evidence for centralised feasting evidenced on Dorset hillforts, this may have carried on a villa sites (Gerrard 2013, 176), if it occurred at all.

Evidence suggests that east Dorset hillfort occupation followed a different trajectory to Somerset. Identity was expressed through material culture (Gerrard 2013, 245) rather than feasting or warrior display. There was a more subdued preference for personal appearance in a more austere lifestyle, which has been discussed as Christian influenced. It is suggested that, following the battle at *Mons Badonnicus*, localised agreements could allow eastern and Channel trade and

travel across the Cranborne Chase. If identity was expressed as appearance this may have been fine woollen garments. Costen and Costen (2016) have argued King Ine's laws witness the high status of wool production and manufacture for the economy in the 7th century. Extensive pastoral farming has been argued in the Badbury region.

Hillforts summary

Despite the lack of evidence, it is possible to envisage the significance of Badbury Rings conceptually and physically for the British-Roman Lifescape on strategic grounds. Although it is considered a Landmark through the Roman period, its *imageability* as a physical presence and an ancestral linkage is likely to have been retained, and particularly so with the argument of a maintained Lifescape emphasis throughout this time for control of food production. If Badbury had been the site of a great victory, then for the later British-Roman period, it could have held symbolic meaning for identity in a 'small world' and beyond, Gildas mentions the battle as directly turning the course of eastern advance.

It's position could argue for an important Landmark controlling trading routes, the territorial owner could possibly have formed regional alliances across the Bokerley Dyke for mutual benefit. There may not have been pressure on eastern landholding to sustain a combative, or other, advance into Dorset until the 7th century. It is suggested that Hod Hill environs was Nodal for occupation, manufacture and markets and it seems possible that Badbury Rings could also have become such a central place, with occupation and trade along the Stour corridor. It is possible that Shapwick had a Christian community which transferred to Wimborne, the latter controlling the area through territorial gifts.

A 'British' period is argued, with an evolving Lifescape of political, religious, and social values, Activity in this period was dispersed over a 'small world' with outside alliances to the east. As the 7th century Saxon advances came closer, the amount of interactivity may have increased before the formal annexation of Dorset into Wessex. 'Nodes', as defined would cover wider areas of activity, east Dorset hillforts including Badbury Rings could have been an element of a Nodal area with shifting roles and activities for some occupation, industrial activity, defence, stock rearing or trade, and market control.

CHAPTER 9 CONCLUSION

The initial aims of this study were identified in the first chapter. Whether and how these have been achieved is considered. Suggestions for further work and improved methodologies are offered.

1. To use comparative data to identify archaeological evidence from the British-Roman period.

The paucity of excavated evidence from the Badbury study is unfortunate: Badbury Rings, Crab Farm and Hemsworth have a lot to offer for further study of this period. However, this lacuna initiated the 'indicator' method, and required a more nuanced approach to comparative sites. Potentially, there are a good number of Dorset sites for comparison, villas and cemetery sites are particularly well represented. Presenting the data within tables brought together and compared activities, for example, the development of architecture at villas, and the attributes of cemetery organisation. It has been valuable for analysing trends and reaching generalised conclusions. This comparison does not appear to have been used before for Roman and early medieval sites in Dorset. On the whole, late Roman and post-Roman sites have been presented individually without overall analysis. Notable exceptions such as Eagles (2018) assessment of Germanic influence; Mees' 2014 funerary landscapes discussion and Cosh and Neal's (2006) gazetteer of mosaics are major but broader publications which cannot be reasonably updated and published. This study's comparison is concentrated on Dorset and the tabular form is adaptable to accommodate most archaeological evidence for subsequently revision. In fact another 7th century burial was added in revision.

As discussed, there have been reservations on comparative archaeological data, but the study has benefitted from recent publications which have allowed more generous interpretations: Worth Matravers and Dewlish reports, for example. One major challenge for excavating British-Roman sites is the assumption of an 'end of Roman Britain' and the failure to consider continued activity which often lacks scientific dating evidence. Revisiting site archives, where available, as with the Dewlish villa material, could result in other, more informed, interpretations. The comparative approach used here was deliberately limited to sites in Dorset. This was partially to allow a 'small world' approach and to interpret Lifescape without other wider and more general agendas. This study could be used within a broader comparison to establish whether activity patterns were conditional on local landscape opportunities or other stimuli.

Overall, the study has been able to identify and table trends of activity in the archaeology from comparative evidence. This has enabled interpretation of sites as Landscape Elements.

2. To use and assess the Landscape Element approach for analysing the evidence of Nodes and Landmarks in the Lifescape.

For this study, the Landscape Elements approach has been a practical and accessible method of analysing evidence to interpret Lifescape. Over time and place our life structure of Nodes, Landmarks, Paths, Districts and Edges always remains as 'universal truths'. The key to the Landscape Elements approach is to understand that Elements are not necessarily defined as one monument type but are "elements of the archaeological record in which the activities and beliefs central to …. social and political practice … find expression." (Moreland 2011, 190). This is a Thirdspace of social rules and controls, formed from constant and repeated practice. Landscape Elements are considered as mediums for analysing material remains as practice in an accountable manner.

There were some reservations over the application of this method to the study. Initially, there was concern that identifying Landscape Elements prior to assessment could be considered subjective and based on anachronistic assumptions. Upon reflection, it was decided that we do not consciously negotiate our life as Nodes, Landmarks, and other Elements. It is the customs, repeated actions and associations with the Elements which structure our Lifescape, and which are examined here. The activity evidence suggests that through time, places may attract differing activities, but the elemental quality may be retained. This is suggested for villa complexes retaining Nodal qualities into the 5th century, and Abbey House activity as a continuity of a Landmark. Equally, assumptions that one type of monument retained its elemental quality can be questioned through a change in activity intensity, Badbury hillfort is an example. This approach enables a reconsideration of movement, emphasis, and social structure and a revaluation of Lifescape. Potentially, this study suggests this is a valid and insightful approach which combines evidence with interpretation based on rules.

The study concentrated on Nodes and Landmarks to explore how the Landscape Element approach could be used. One difficulty in taking Nodes or Landmarks as individual topics is the need to cross-reference sites, which is cumbersome and complicated interpretation. Instead, an evaluation of all evidence from a study area with no preconceived Elemental quality. This would overcome subjectivity to an extent. Other approaches include:

- One period, one study area, total Elemental assessment
- Two or more periods, one study area, total Elemental assessment
- Comparative study areas, one or more periods
- One specific site over one or more periods

Initially the study was designed to carry out a total Elemental assessment of one study area over several periods. That it was subsequently limited has hindered some evaluation. For example, in the Badbury study area Paths are integral to understanding the relationship shifts in other Elemental qualities. An extended study into the Saxon period could incorporate the evidence of *herepaths* and existing Roman routes in relation to, for example, Nodes, royal *tuns*, and Landmarks, meeting places, identified through place-names.

The study is not complete without Districts and Edges research. The author had difficulties in identifying these elements for the British-Roman period, not only from the archaeology but in understanding their *imageability* for the Lifescape. At what level could Districts be both relevant and observable? The problem was, as others have found (for example Davey 2005, 30-34) and discussed in Chapter 4, that Districts from this period are not archaeologically identifiable. For the assumed post-Roman 'estate' around South Cadbury, Davey (2005) concluded that despite shifting Nodes, the underlying agrarian organisation changed very little during the British-Roman period and beyond. This conclusion was based on fieldwork and cartographic back projecting of field systems and boundary patterns, the equivalent of identifying Districts and Edges. Without this research, there was little to suggest continuity of a territory, but it required making considered assumptions from later archaeological and textual evidence. For the British-Roman Badbury study, it is not considered applicable.

It has been suggested (Chapter 4) that *cognitive Districts* could be assessed by identifying the Elements from which they are composed. The cognitive District would be recognised by interactive places, rather than by physical boundary, and may well encompass differing topographic, economic, and social areas. One approach for Badbury would be to assess the Element distribution against the suggested larger minster territory defined by its resources: water, tillable land, woodland, meadow and pasture, and waste (Everitt 1977, Williamson 2012). This could be also applied to Portesham and Dorchester and their hinterlands. They both have excavated evidence for Roman, post-Roman, Saxon and continuing activity and appear as central places with shifting emphasis. The use of techniques such as viewsheds and LiDAR could map other places with no material record nut nevertheless, relevant to Lifescape.

Potentially, the approach has real possibilities for assessing archaeological evidence as practices rather than sites, and to understanding Lifescape transformation. It is useful for 'small world' studies and can be applied to archaeological periods which are not well understood such as prehistoric or early medieval periods to suggest a cohesive landscape of practices. However, this obviously works better when there is sufficient and longevity of evidence.

3. To attempt an understanding, through indicators, whether the data implies continuity or change in the Lifescape and to offer a model for these findings.

Landscape Elements are one method of accessing Lifescape. Lifescape signifies that landscape, locality and lifeways are intricately linked: it emphasises life encompassing environmental influences. Using a more intuitive approach has suggested interpretation for the 'invisible' British-Roman period in Dorset and how Lifescape was affected by the withdrawal of Rome from Britain, and subsequent developments. It is acknowledged that Lifescape interpretations may be 'fuzzy'. The suggested interpretations are offered as ideas for discussion and further research.

The late 4th century is reasonably well understood with evidence from villa and farmstead sites. For Dorset, this evidence has not been collated for analysis until this study, and only some aspects have been considered. The comparative evidence suggests that from around the mid-4th century, arable production and villa prosperity were at their height and this was expressed in Romanised architecture and, presumably, acceptable Roman conduct. However, Dorset estate owners (or tenants) also retained traditional Lifescape values focusing on the centrality of food production and control, using architectural arrangements. This control with official administrative duties could allow such persons authority over property and people, thus they could assume themselves as local commanding elites. These elites retained a connection to the inherited landscape, generally maintaining and adapting Elemental landscapes and customary lifestyles. While villas appear as individual and defined establishments, they often developed, and presumably interacted, with a 'village' type settlement. There is a distinctly individual approach to adapting and reacting to ongoing Roman trends such as bathing and heating arrangements. This suggests a localised Lifescape continued, influenced by emerging Roman and British stimuli.

Direct Roman state influence decreased and then withdrew. This affected trading and food production priorities, as well as Roman lifestyle imports and influences. Local pottery production continued for a while, but as Papworth (2008) has shown, the Purbeck industry had dominated the market since the Iron Age, and local production skills would need to be rediscovered. This may also be the case for other industries. The ensuing period on a Lifescape scale, seems to have been a transforming British-Roman response to opportunities and restrictions. Evolving Lifescapes would gradually readapt or reject Roman culture, although this has been shown to vary regionally and individually. Rome was still inherent in the psyche; it underlay some evolving cultural changes. However, certain aspects of Roman culture was not adopted or displayed. The adaption of Roman sites for more relevant Lifescape activities is clearly visible in the archaeology of villas and in the 'countrification' of urban spaces. Opulent homes were no longer relevant, more pragmatic house alterations witness or influence the demise of a professional building industry, while traditional

timber structures continued as the main housing construction. Villa sites are argued as still Nodal, the priorities of food production are evident from hearths and dryers. Other activities are not necessarily visible or can be misinterpreted in excavation. While villas epitomise the Roman Node, other less discernible settlement sites were also important, and this distribution may have continued in the surrounding countryside. It is suggested that defendable sites such as hillforts became Nodal through internecine conflict and power struggles between rival territorial leaders, the more successful as over kings. With stability came a flourishing of community activity, trade and religion.

There are indications this was a challenging period in which to live. Gildas has stressed lawlessness, and Davies's (1978) examination of land grants seems to justify his statement. There are suggestions of climatic changes, and famine and plague could be expected to follow. Multiple graves at Worth Matravers and Friar Waddon might indicate turbulent times and an uneasy adaption to emerging Lifescapes. The fragility of society would require a strong belief system, this is evident in the reinvigorated late Roman pagan shrines, as at Maiden Castle. Christianity was proving to be strategic for advancement and community control. In some cases, villas and Roman structures might retain Nodal qualities as house churches or monastic establishments, Portesham and Sherborne for example. A canonical church based on bishoprics was established, apparently across the country and may indicate the complimentary role of the warrior-bishop over sacred and secular communities.

In western Britain, hillforts and other defended sites signify a prosperous elite who traded widely and appear to hold a Christian faith. While these developments are archaeologically visible in the west there is no such evidence for Dorset. No hillfort has produced unequivocal evidence for post-Roman occupation. While late Roman Christian practice is argued as widespread in Dorset, 5th and 6th century sites such as Portesham and Poundbury are argued but not proven. Burial traditions in Dorset have no direct religious affiliation. There is no evidence for high status religious sites: both Poundbury and Portesham post-Roman sites indicate unprivileged working communities argued as monastic, but which could reflect the conditions across the population. Druce villa does have imported 6th century amphora sherds, perhaps for communion wine, and argues for a continuing Christian presence at a villa site. This study has stressed that continuity in activity into the 5th century is disguised by earlier persistent architecture and the limitations of dating evidence. Later Nodal elite occupation has been lost or overlooked for its simplicity. Timber structures and industrialised grain processing at Winterborne Kingston and Poundbury reuse Roman sites.

It is suggested that Dorset became, fairly, stable following *Mons Badonicus,* when, for perhaps a complicity of reasons, the pressure from the east subsided. The ability of the western forces to retain independence for a century seems to imply strong elites particularly in the border areas of Somerset and Dorset. In Dorset, there may have been cooperating elites who practiced a restrained lifestyle, based on agricultural production, trade and Christian values. Sites of kingship might be witnessed by continued later activity, for example at Dorchester. Petts (1997) has suggested leaders were peripatetic, a more dispersed settlement pattern would be difficult to find in the archaeological record. An evangelical church could have played a vital role in the cohesiveness of scattered communities. That these communities had some shared territorial unity is indicated by the collective use of burial grounds at enduring Landmarks and boundaries and these may have played a role in community governance and tradition. This would have allowed consolidation of land units and leadership which may have led to integration rather than invasion from the east, mid-7th century.

4. To apply this to the Badbury study area.

The lack of empirical evidence within the Badbury study area has been a problem but also an opportunity to use other comparative evidence as 'indicators' of possibilities for this area and a 'fuzzy' interpretation. Sites are discussed individually.

Hemsworth villa is a difficult site to assess. Reported as destroyed by fire, a late Roman date for this is an assumption. Partial reoccupation after fire at Frocester and Rockbourne may also have occurred at Hemsworth. There was no suggestion of later industrial grain processing in the limited excavations, but this was paralleled at Druce and Dewlish which both continued into the 5th century and beyond, and like Hemsworth attracted historic estate centres. At Hemsworth, in the adjacent deserted medieval settlement, one close is described by RCHME (1975, 109-110) as a sunken area, 23m by 12m with a well-preserved internal division. This might represent an early medieval hall. The three villa sites are all suggested as later Christian centres.

A cemetery was disturbed in the vicinity of Hemsworth (Engleheart 1909). This presumably was associated in some way to the villa or later settlement. The earlier Roman shrine or mausoleum site at Abbey House could be within the estate curtilage, but whether the later cemetery related to Hemsworth would depend on continuity of the territorial extent. High Lea cemetery, across a wide marshy riverplain, may represent the population of the eastern communities and later the eastern Wimborne *parochia.*

Crab Farm is also difficult to define, there is a lack of comparable evidence for Roman towns except at Dorchester. Its status is based on the triple card-shaped ditch enclosure, but otherwise as a Roman Node it does not appear to have been reorganised or defended. It could have lost its official purpose and perhaps been 'privatised' from the 5th century when its function as a market and route control seems to have been lost in the British-Roman period. An authority, presumably locally motivated, carried out road widening, and this suggests a change of Nodal focus. The Nodal focus may have diluted across a wider landscape separating functions. This may have included defensive areas and route control at Badbury Rings. This was arguably an important established cloth trade route from the central downlands to the river Stour and to Poole. The implication is that Badbury Rings continued as a place of strategic and folk importance, particularly if the site of a strategic battle resisting eastern expansion at the end of the 5th century. That Dorset was not officially in Wessex until the mid-7th century could suggest strong, united, leaders.

The check to external threat could have resulted in an increasingly organised society: an emerging Lifescape based on local communities within a wider territorial unity. External trade from east and across the Channel would suggest it was productive and settled, and this stability may have been aided by religious control. Several early occupation sites within enclosures have been suggested, including Shapwick and Wimborne, with strategic positions on the Stour and Allen rivers. Hod Hill may have been a recognised market site for trade for eastern Dorset and across the Bokerley Dyke, this is in the vicinity of a minster centre at Iwerne Minster and perhaps within its control.

This study has been carried out within certain constraints and has argued that Roman Lifescape was fundamentally rooted in traditional values and practices and called British-Roman. This inevitably would evolve as Roman economic, social, and cultural influences redefined and priorities changed. From the 6th century, a settled 'British' Lifescape was forming. East Dorset maintained a British culture, but with economic influences from the east, which eventually overcame the restrained and archaeologically invisible 'Dorset British' identity.

5. To consider whether the approach has broadened our understanding of the Abbey House site.

The site at Witchampton is potentially of immense importance for the study of the late Roman and post-Roman period. Its significance has not been appreciated and this is the first attempt at recognising a rare example of continuity of activity. Even so, the type of continuity which can be argued in tenuous. Fortunately, there is a comparable site at Portesham which might aid understanding (Table 9:1).

Table 9:1: A comparison of the Roman and early medieval sites at Portesham and Witchampton	
Portesham, Manor Farm (Valentin 2004)	Witchampton (Appendix 1)
At the base of a route to higher ground through a natural break in the downland escarpment.	Current ford and route across the river floodplain to higher ground
Close to springs	Close to springs
Pre-Roman activity evidence	Pre-Roman activity evidence
Persistent Roman occupation	Persistent Roman occupation
Roman sacred site?	Roman sacred site?
Roman burials	Roman burials? Listed in the HER, in the vicinity
Post-Roman cemetery	Post-Roman? cemetery
Minster/enclosed settlement?	Adjacent to a medieval enclosed settlement?
Medieval church 125m	Medieval church 200m
Medieval manorial complex	Manor/high status medieval house
Village growth	Village growth

Without repeating detail of the Witchampton site (see Appendix 1) it seems likely that this small area did indeed continue to attract activity periodically from prehistoric through to medieval times. It seems likely that for the British-Roman period this activity was ritualistic and there was perhaps no sacrilege in manufacturing activity at the same place, using the natural resources. Both Portesham and Witchampton sites were chosen for their unique landscape positions, close to springs and guarding crossings: to the open downs or across the wide floodplain. The likely tower structure at Witchampton could have had the combined significance of sacred, way and freshwater marker. How this relates to a late Roman residence and estate is not retrievable. After the early domestic residence was abandoned, settlement may have moved within an estate reconfiguration. Perhaps, like Bradford Down, suggesting the development of a villa complex or the amalgamation of smaller estates by a local elite.

From comparative evidence the cemetery likely reflects a 5th century attachment to Rome. Although there is no knowing how these standing buildings were understood, perhaps, like Portesham, there was a folk memory of the ancestral significance of the site. The cemetery may have been abandoned as fragmented land units were incorporated into larger territorial units. Territorial cemetery sites were adopted on routeways and boundaries, acknowledging the deep past of the earlier barrows. These sites may have played a role in community governance and regulation, authorised by ancestral claims. Witchampton may have continued significant on a river crossing, a gateway to the ancestors and trade routes. It may have developed as an early monastic site, drawn by the natural resources, route control, and significant Roman structures.

6. To consider the applicability of this approach for studying other archaeological periods and sites.

The study has used a trialectic approach and there are three aspects to consider for the relevance of this study to other archaeological projects: Lifescape, Landscape Elements and the archaeological evidence. Lifescape is a humanist approach to landscape. Like others such, for example Taskscape and Phenomenology, it seeks to understand the lived experience. Unlike the other examples, it is argued that Lifescape is 'life' centred rather than 'landscape' centred. It attempts to explain archaeological remains as products of everyday actions instinctively formed from local experiences. Like any theoretical approach, this is impossible to fully access. However, Lifescape has another layer of meaning which can be retrieved more readily: the "cultural, social, and economic interactions influenced by regional landscapes" (Howarth 1999, 17). These can be assessed from empirical evidence, and evaluated using a Thirdspace, in this case Landscape Elements: social controls and customs through repeated activity. The applicability and adaptability of Elements to other projects has been discussed above. Lifescape then can be accessed in a measurable way but is interpreted through innate human experience: interactions, beliefs, practices rather than through monumental form.

- Lifescape offers insight into human experience without jargon, using the trialectic method to infer human experience from empirical evidence.

For the archaeological evidence of the British-Roman period there are suggestions for furthering awareness of this 'invisible' period.

- Archaeological evidence for the 5th and 6th centuries is increasingly being realised in rural locations. The evidence requires a wider landscape and Lifescape approach. Research could target sites associated with natural resources, such as springs, the antecedent landscape, and with medieval settlement patterns.
- Post-Roman evidence should be sought and prioritised on Roman sites.
- Archaeological work within deserted and surviving village settlements should anticipate post-Roman activity.
- There is a need to reassess our attitude to 'Roman' and 'the end of Roman Britain'. This late Roman and post-Roman period were inextricably linked and at a Lifescape level, better described as British-Roman. This requires a more nuanced approach to material evidence. Despite political change, there are suggestions for continuing and developing inherent social customs and controls. A more relevant title for this study would be "Continuity and adaption to change in the LIfescape of British-Roman east Dorset."

APPENDIX 1

THE WITCHAMPTON SITE

Witchampton Landscape and Historical Setting

Witchampton village is on the west bank of the river Allen in east Dorset, approximately 6kms north of Wimborne Minster at the confluence of the Allen and the Dorset Stour (Fig 1.2). There is a mixed geology along the river corridor, influenced by superficial deposits of the river terraces, clay with flints and the chalk bedrock. This has resulted in a line of springs which run to the Allen. Aerial photographs and historic mapping indicate that these are now much depleted and both they and the river course have been canalised, the latter for a mill leet. There was a ford, and now a bridge over the Allen, one of few along the upper river course (Fig A:1).

Witchampton is a relatively undeveloped settlement which cartographically retains neat and pronounced rectangular property boundaries defined by roads and lanes (Fig A:1). This has been suggested as an early monastic foundation (Hall & Warmington 1987). The manor at Witchampton was tenanted by two thanes prior to Domesday when it was granted to Queen Matilda (Thorn & Thorn 1983, 75). The river meadows and pasture were valuable commodities as was the mill paying 10 shillings. Extensive woodland was also a feature in the parish, it is on the outer bounds of the Cranborne Chase hunting grounds. Before its disenfranchisement in 1830, the Chase had been granted away from Norman royal control to the Lord of the Chase (Hawkins 1991). Its existence as a royal hunting ground may have Saxon origins: Chetterwood, on the boundary of Witchampton, is an ancient woodland, the first element of its name derives from the early Welsh *ced,* 'a wood', and this was subsequently one of the 'walks' within the Cranborne Chase (Mills 1980, 141).

A medieval hall was built next to the Roman remains surveyed by the author (Fig A:2). This building is considered to have been the manor house of the Matravers and Arundel family who owned the estate from the 13th to the 16th century (PDNHAFC 1914, xxix). There is no known connection to an Abbey, referred to in the name. The Crichel estate who owned most of the parish until recently, used the hall as a barn until the early 20th century. It is now within the curtilage of Abbey House and has been conserved as a folly (Fig A:3). Although limited excavations were carried out during this work, the report is not in the public domain. The Roman site is also within the grounds and planted with ornamental trees (and a bronze life-size statue of a bull) (Fig A:3).

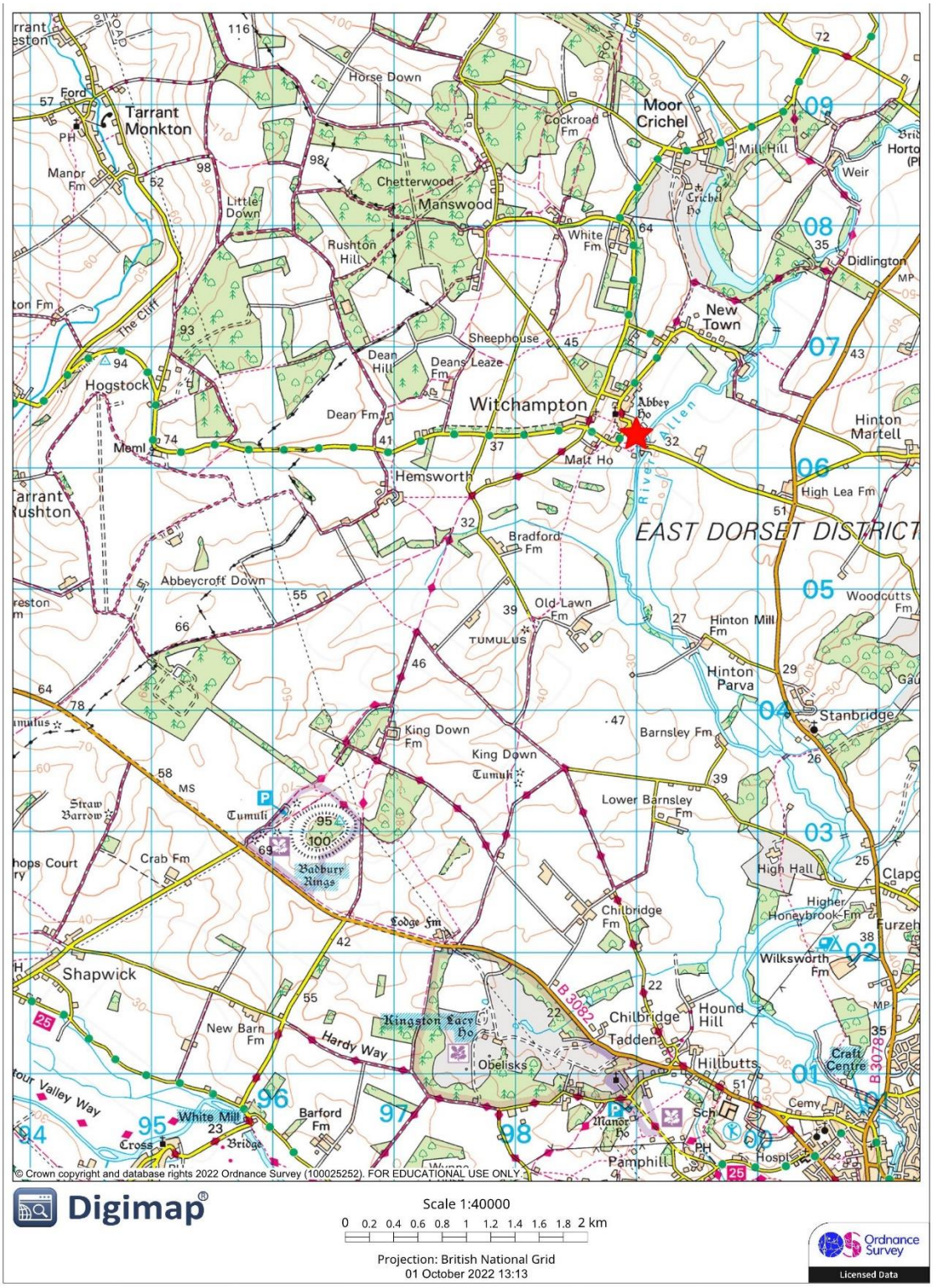


Figure A:1: Witchampton and the Allen Valley.

The Abbey House site is starred. Edina Digimap

Abbey House Excavations

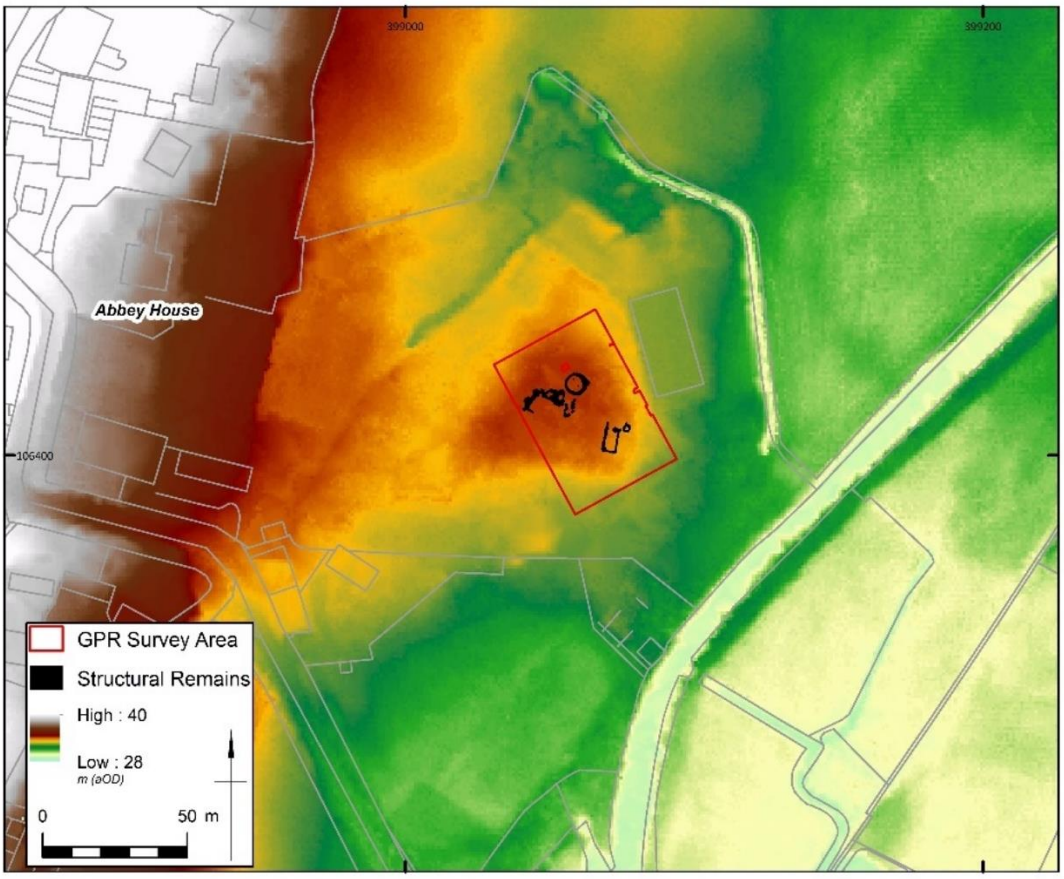


Fig A:2: Lidar image of the GPR survey site.

The white lines are water courses. Reproduced with permission of Wessex Archaeology. Digital data reproduced from Ordnance Survey data © Crown Copyright (2018) All rights reserved. Reference Number: 100022432. ©Environment Agency for the Lidar data

At present the site of the excavation stands on a slight hillock at 35m aOD unique within the river terraces (Figs: A:2 & A:3). It is not known whether this is a natural or constructed feature. The 19th century estate map indicates an unusual, curved field boundary, recognising this hillock (DOR: D-CRI/A/46/2/17). The GPR survey, historic maps and local knowledge testify to constant and periodic streams and springs which historically surrounded the hillock. Some are still active and have been channelled for fishponds and a mill stream (Fig: A:2). Historically this was a small field of pasture (DOR: D-CRI/A/46/2/17) which in 1923 was included in a long-term rental of Manor House (now Abbey House and referred to as such in the study). In that year Mrs Eliza McGeagh initiated an excavation of the field which exhibited earthworks and masonry remains. The first year of excavation was carried out by the gardener and McGeagh's family and revealed Roman masonry foundations and the first remains from a small cemetery.

Fig A:3: The site of excavation adjacent to the hall, within the grounds of Manor House.

The Allen runs from the top right. Looking east. Photo by J Oswin 2018

From then the Dorset Field Club guided her, Heywood Sumner (1924) wrote a report for the Journal of Roman Studies. The fuller draft has been used for this study (DCM collection). As the excavation revealed more Roman and high-status medieval artefacts, the site became locally renowned and visited by several specialists. The initial report is the only published account. Other sources include correspondence and photographs in Poole Museum, The Sackler Library, Oxford, and Dorset County Museum. The artefacts from the excavation were deposited in 1935 at Poole Museum, but their curation has been neglected, possibly contaminated, and possibly collected by Mrs McGeagh from a wider area. No subsequent research has been carried out on this site, except an unreported survey as an educational project (Paul Cheetham pers comm). Both Roman and medieval sites are scheduled (MDO9665; MDO6408).

The excavation and contemporary records

There are reservations about the amount and quality of the archaeological and textual evidence from the site at Witchampton, primarily because the excavations were undertaken in the 1920s and, overall, by the family. Mrs McGeagh sought advice from local archaeologists and specialists and the human remains were excavated by Leonard Dudley Buxton, an Oxford University anthropologist. While tiny glass fragments and fragmentary infant burials suggest some

competency, the excavation was carried out within the paradigm of the period reflecting the concern with Roman masonry structures. The cemetery was ignored in the reports, the remains taken to Oxford University and later discarded (Mark Carnall email).

The excavation site photographs suggest deep holes and narrow trenches which would have lost information and stratigraphy. However, a measured plan was kept at least for four years, from which initially Sumner produced a plan for the Journal of Roman Studies in 1924 (Fig A:4). Photographs were taken but not annotated: they suggest the plan has 'tidied up' the archaeology to represent idealised structures. However, at that time there were limited reported excavations for comparative evidence. Sumner (1924 draft) believed the Roman structure was a pagan shrine converted to a Christian basilica. He based his interpretation on the excavations at Silchester, one of the, then, more recent projects undertaken by The Society of Antiquaries. However, Mrs McGeagh did much investigative work to interpret the evidence at a time when information gathering was laborious. She also kept artefacts, which were deposited at her death at Poole Museum, however, the author's research on the artefactual archive at Poole Museum has been superficial. Access to the archive was very restricted from staffing issues and Covid. The archive should be considered somewhat unreliable.

However, the limitation of archaeological evidence and reports are factors on many sites, even in contemporary excavations. For example, the interpretation of a terraced structure 702 at Tolpuddle Ball was hindered by poor recording (Hearne & Birbeck 1999, 41). In this case the authors were interpreting the excavator's notes. The Tarrant Hinton villa report was based on an excavation by the local archaeological society up to forty years earlier. No stratigraphic position of finds had been recorded (Graham 2006, 6). The authors of the 2021 Dewlish villa report also had difficulties with the archive material which had degraded over fifty years (Hewitt et al 2021, xxvi).

Archaeological interpretation is defined by its social setting. Current political and social issues, ideological and ethnic background all introduce unconscious and conscious subjectivity which despite the application of more rigorous scientific processes, cannot be easily eradicated for an objective interpretation (Trigger 2006, 540-545). Hawkes (1947) suggested that Pitt Rivers' records were still relevant for re-examination after fifty years. Fifty years later, Bowen (1990, 5) with the same objective, was not so magnanimous. Excavation technique and observation had by then changed radically and become more accountable.

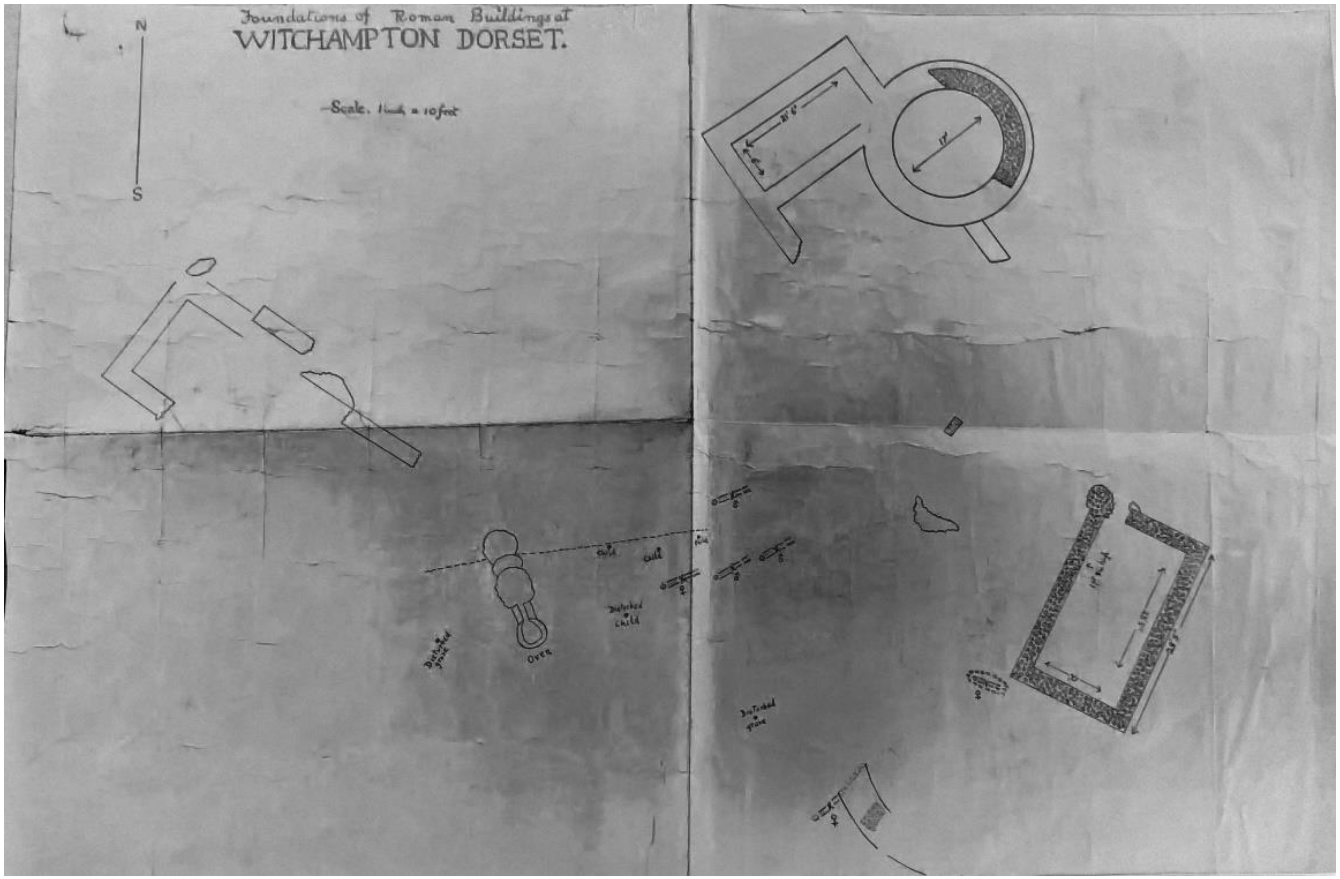


Fig A:4: Heywood Sumner's Plan, a blueprint, September 1924.

Photographed by author. Reproduced with permission of Dorset County Museum

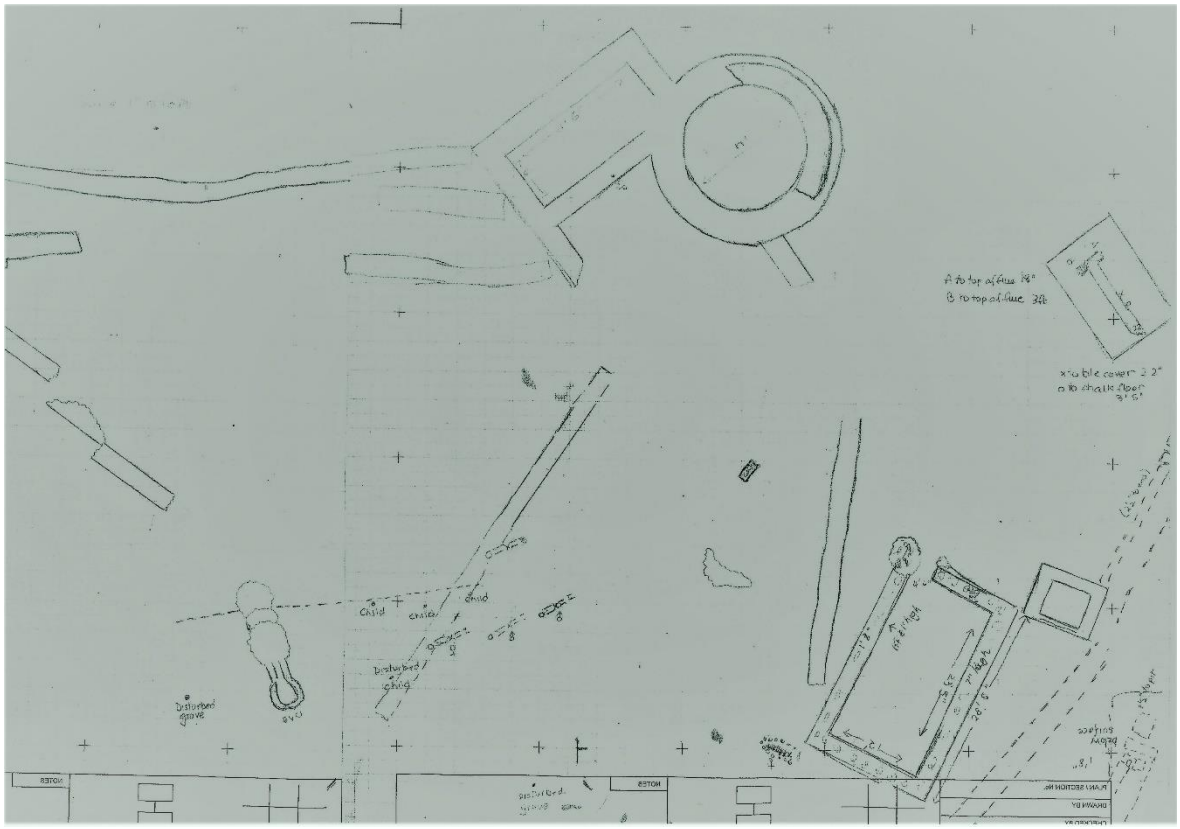


Fig 2:5: A traced copy of the plan held at Poole Museum.

Permission to trace was not granted readily and only with due concern for the original. Photocopying was not allowed. Unfortunately, the author miscalculated the extent, but photographs were allowed for comparison. Scale was given as 10 feet to 1 inch. Reproduced with permission of Poole Museum.

An assessment of the Abbey House archive record did result in supportive evidence, particularly from correspondence but also a plan of the excavations including remains not previously described: a walled pit and associated drains, and a grain dryer (Fig: A:5; PM Witchampton file). With this new evidence, along with the support of the owner, Stephen Hodges and the use of non-invasive geophysical survey agreed by English Heritage, the site had value in revisiting the archaeology.

The geophysical survey

The Witchampton site was surveyed by the author and members of BACAS with magnetometer, resistivity, and resistivity profiling. An interim report was prepared for English Heritage (Vickery 2017). Subsequently a ground penetrating radar survey was carried out by Wessex Archaeology (2018). Some plots from these surveys are included at the end of the Appendix.

The exceptionally dry weather of spring and summer 2017 reflected on both the magnetometer and resistivity results. The latter were masked by tree roots and stone overburden, the archaeology did not respond readily to magnetometry. For geophysical survey, the results can be complicated

by geology and historic interference, these may influence interpretation. A more comprehensive overview of geophysical survey techniques, their drawbacks and advantages can be found in Oswin, 2009.

The geophysical survey results did not accurately reflect the original 1920s plan. This was resolved, to an extent, by realigning to reflect the shift in magnetic north (https://www.ncei.noaa.gov/maps/historical_declination/, re-accessed 05.05.22, following a move from previous internet site). Both magnetometer and resistivity interpretations were assisted by the GPR survey results, which also found discrepancies with the original plan. These may be a result of the extended time over which the plan was drawn. The structures found in both excavation and geophysical surveys and identified on the plans are briefly described. Those which are relevant to Nodes and Landmarks are analysed in those chapters in more detail. Reference should be made to Figs A:4 & A.5 and Figs A:11- A:13.

Conclusions and Interpretations

The Circular Structure

This is described in more detail in the Landmarks chapter. It was suggested by Heywood Sumner as a temple/basilica (Figs A:4; A:6). It might have been surrounded on the mound by an oval ditched enclosure (Fig A:11). The circular mortared flint foundations appear deep and could have supported a tower. The annex was on a gravel concrete raft which had been destroyed to the east with no indication of its outline there. The annex foundations were not so substantial, and this perhaps was a timber structure on low walls. The building rubble and finds suggested a high-status building in use until the later 4th century, there were no domestic finds. The site photograph seems to show lighter internal divisions and blocked entrances. This suggests modification of the building structure, and perhaps a change of use or emphasis.

Both the resistivity plot and the GPR survey (Figs A:12-13) indicate another building, perhaps an apsidal structure to the south-west. This seems to have been partially covered by the later annex which presumably deliberately decommissioned it. This suggests another modification of the site. However, the rest of the building was not recorded in the excavation, but this area was described as a jumble of masonry and foundation robbing, while the hard 'portico' floor interpreted by Sumner may have been a surface over the hidden archaeology. This suggests a multi-period site, difficult to interpret.

Fig A:6: The circular structure and attached annex, from the south-west.

Photo reproduced with permission of Dorset County Museum: reference bottom left of photograph.

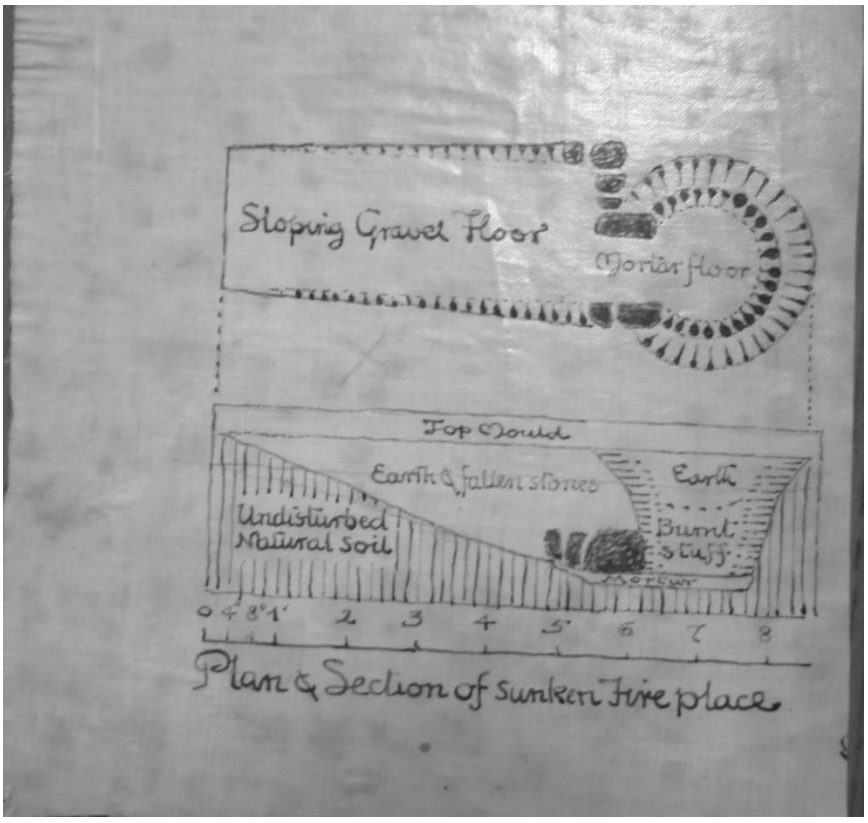


Fig A.7: A plan of the excavated oven, drawn by Heywood Sumner.

Poole Museum; Witchampton file.

The Demolished Building

There is little to be said about this structure as it was described as almost completely robbed away down to the foundations. The plan (Fig A:4) does however show a narrow building, this was associated with domestic occupation and a 3rd century coin. It may have been destroyed with the apsidal building described above. An oven structure did survive (Fig A:7). This was thought to have survived into the 4th century as it was associated with New Forest pottery.

The Rectangular Building and a walled 'pit'

The well-built flint walls of a 7m long rectangular building were closely associated with a walled 'pit' around 2m by 1.5m (Figs A:5; A:8). The building contained quantities of 13th century pottery and some of the chess pieces and is assumed to be medieval. It must have been demolished shortly after the 13th century as the finds all date to this period. It seems to be well-built for a medieval building. The 13th century medieval flint house reconstructed at The Weald and Downland Museum was based on structures at Hangleton, Sussex (Holden 1963). Although a similar size, these houses displayed a much rougher and less regular wall construction with an entrance in the longer side, and a corner hearth or oven (One example is at Fig A:9). The Witchampton building would appear to be Roman, terraced into the side of the mound, the neat wall remains and possibility of post-holes along the walls could suggest a timber frame on a low wall. A stone or flint-lined burial, possibly post-Roman, was in alignment at one corner (Fig A:3). However, unlike other Roman buildings, it does not appear to have hearths or industrial/agricultural activity associated with prolonged use. It has been remodelled as the end wall, the wall construction, doorway and buttress seem irregular and might be medieval alterations (Figs A:5; A:8).

The function of the small sub-rectangular pit close to Building C, is also debatable. It was around 10ft by 8ft (3m by 2.4m) and surrounded by a flint wall, the floor around 1.4m below the remaining walls, and this was excavated to a depth of 4ft 6in (1.4m) without meeting the natural. Similar structures are commonly found on Roman domestic sites and have been interpreted as latrines or cess pits, for example at Tarrant Hinton, (Graham 2006, 59-60). However, the Witchampton example was filled with a crumbly white mortar, analysed and confirmed by the Royal Geological Society. It seems unlikely that a latrine would be infilled with large quantities of mortar. Hewitt et al (2021, 241-243) have argued that such shafts could be considered as lime slaking pits or lime putty stores for the extensive building and repair projects required in a villa complex. Lime was, and is, used in lime wash, lime plaster and lime mortar (Schofield 2019).

Fig A:8: The small rectangular building (Building C) and the flint "pit" or shaft.

Reproduced with permission of Dorset County Museum

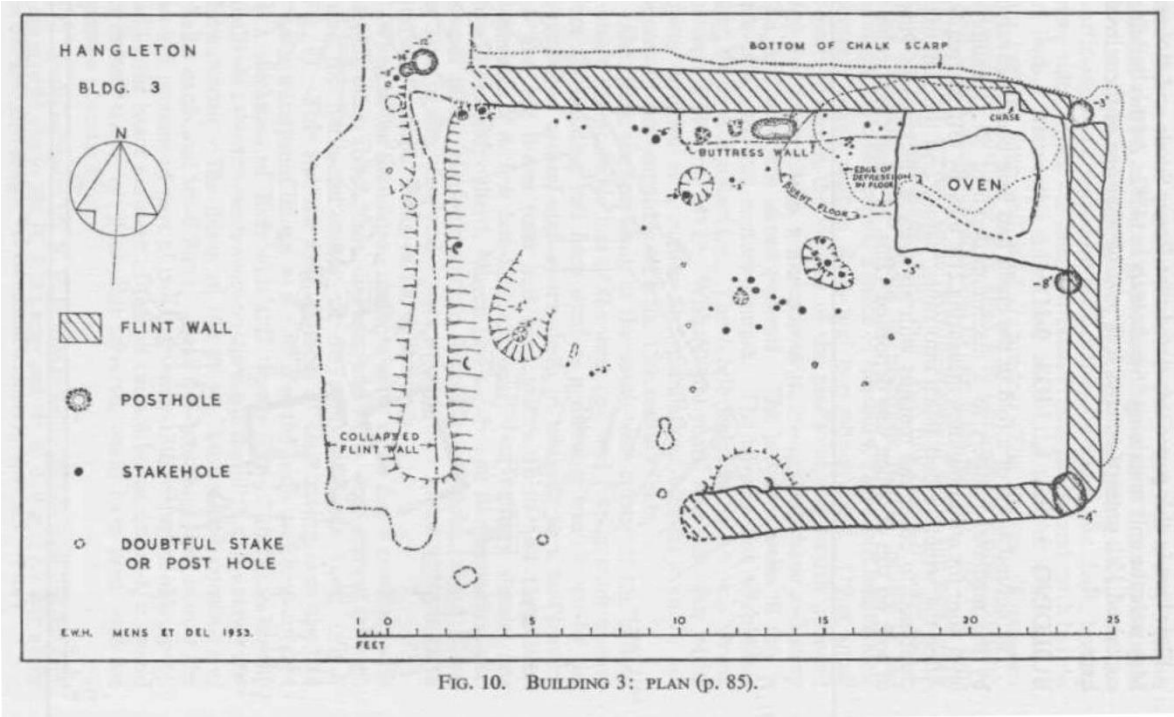


FIG. 10. BUILDING 3: PLAN (p. 85).

Fig A.9: A 13th century flint house at Hangleton, Sussex.

From Holden (1963)

The pit at Witchampton contained mortar: lime mixed with local aggregates. This pit would seem to be a supply of 'coarse stuff', a mixture of lime and aggregate which could be stored indefinitely in certain conditions before being 'knocked up' (English Heritage n/d). The longer the coarse stuff is stored, the better its building qualities, and with no apparent lime burning on site, it might be that a larger quantity was brought in. The drains associated with the pit may reflect the need to keep the coarse stuff wet to aid slaking and inhibit carbonation (English Heritage n/d 77). The Roman building industry favoured a long period of storage, up to ten years, for lime mortar (Andrew Ziminiski pers comm).

The Grain Dryer

Other structures on the site would support a hypothesis for a working courtyard or area. The grain dryer was excavated in 1926/7 and not officially reported (Fig A.5). These are generally considered as structures for drying corn or malting barley (Morris 1979). At Druce villa, the structure was referred to as a malting floor (Ladle 2017, 125). The T-shaped dryer at Witchampton appears of a similar design to that at Druce. The correspondence records a Roman working surface, imported clay surfaces covered in ash and a collapsed ceramic roof of imbrex and tegula. Sumner considered it had been destroyed by fire from a dark layer of organic material beneath the tiles, although this might simply be the remains of rotting wood. T-shaped dryers are evidenced on later Roman sites, that at Druce was decommissioned by a cow deposit and human burial, the former radiocarbon dated to AD 380s (Morris 1979, 146; Andrew Morgan email). The T-shaped dryer at Winterborne Kingston was suggested as late or even sub-Roman and thought to be associated with sunken features and threshing floors (Russell et al 2017, 110).

The Cemetery

This is analysed in the Landmarks section. Sumner described the burials only as above the Roman horizon, they were stratigraphically above the 4th century oven. Others appear to overlie a robbed wall-line or a ditch (Fig A:4) which might be one part of a ditch surrounding the mound mentioned earlier. The graves have been backfilled and do not appear on the geophysical surveys, although the ditch does in the magnetometer survey (Fig A:11). The cemetery seems to conform to a late Roman or early medieval tradition. The graves were unfurnished, mixed sex, and including infants. The burials were head to south-west, supine with hands crossed at the pelvis. Some order was maintained possibly in rows, and it seems most likely that the cemetery was much larger. The stone/flint burial is not specifically mentioned anywhere and differs from the main cemetery in construction and slightly, orientation, and may be a different date. (Fig: A:10).

Fig A:10: The first excavated human remains at Abbey House 1923.

There was probably no grave cut as the soil is sandy/clay gravel. Photograph from Dorset County Museum (Witchampton file).

Overview

The site at Witchampton is potentially of immense importance for the study of the late Roman and post-Roman period in Dorset. It's significance has not been appreciated and this is the first attempt at recognising continuity of activity. The circular structure, in use in the later 4th century seems to have attracted a later cemetery, and as the structure's remains were only a few centimetres below the surface it could have been a presence in the landscape over a long period. Heywood Sumner (1924) suggested the flint 13th century hall was built from the robbed stone. Know only from the original publication, its cemetery has been overlooked. This study has indicated its place early medieval cemetery analysis. The presence of a Roman grain dryer has not been appreciated, neither has the implication of the mortar pit or the multi-phased activity of the rectangular buildings.

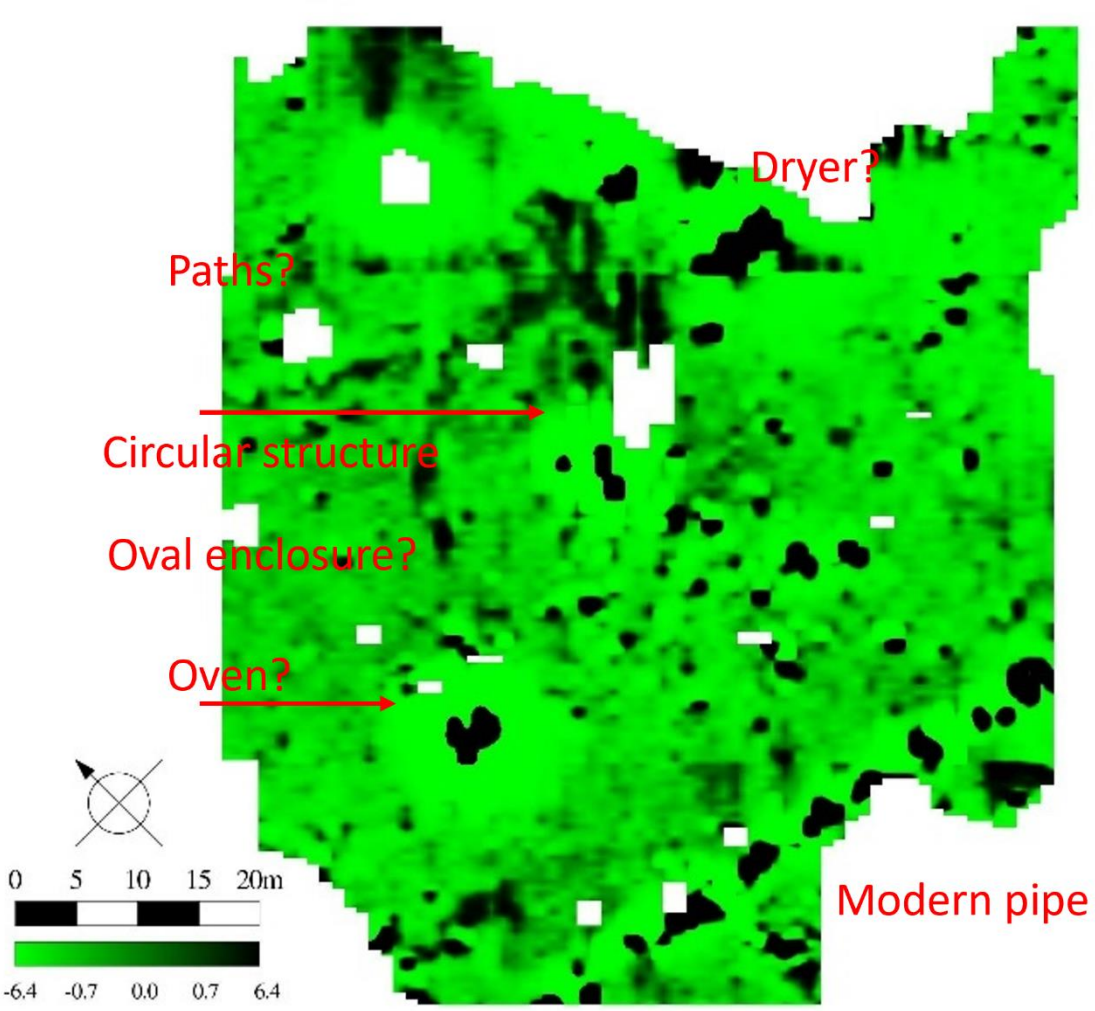


Fig A:11: The Abbey House magnetometer survey 2017.

This appears to show a northern ditch around a mound which was topped with a circular Roman building. A ditch to the east and south may have been obscured by archaeology. There is a pathway from the east. Darker features are more responsive and include a pipeline to the south, the oven to west and possible stoke hole to middle. White squares could not be surveyed. Image by John Oswin for BACAS.

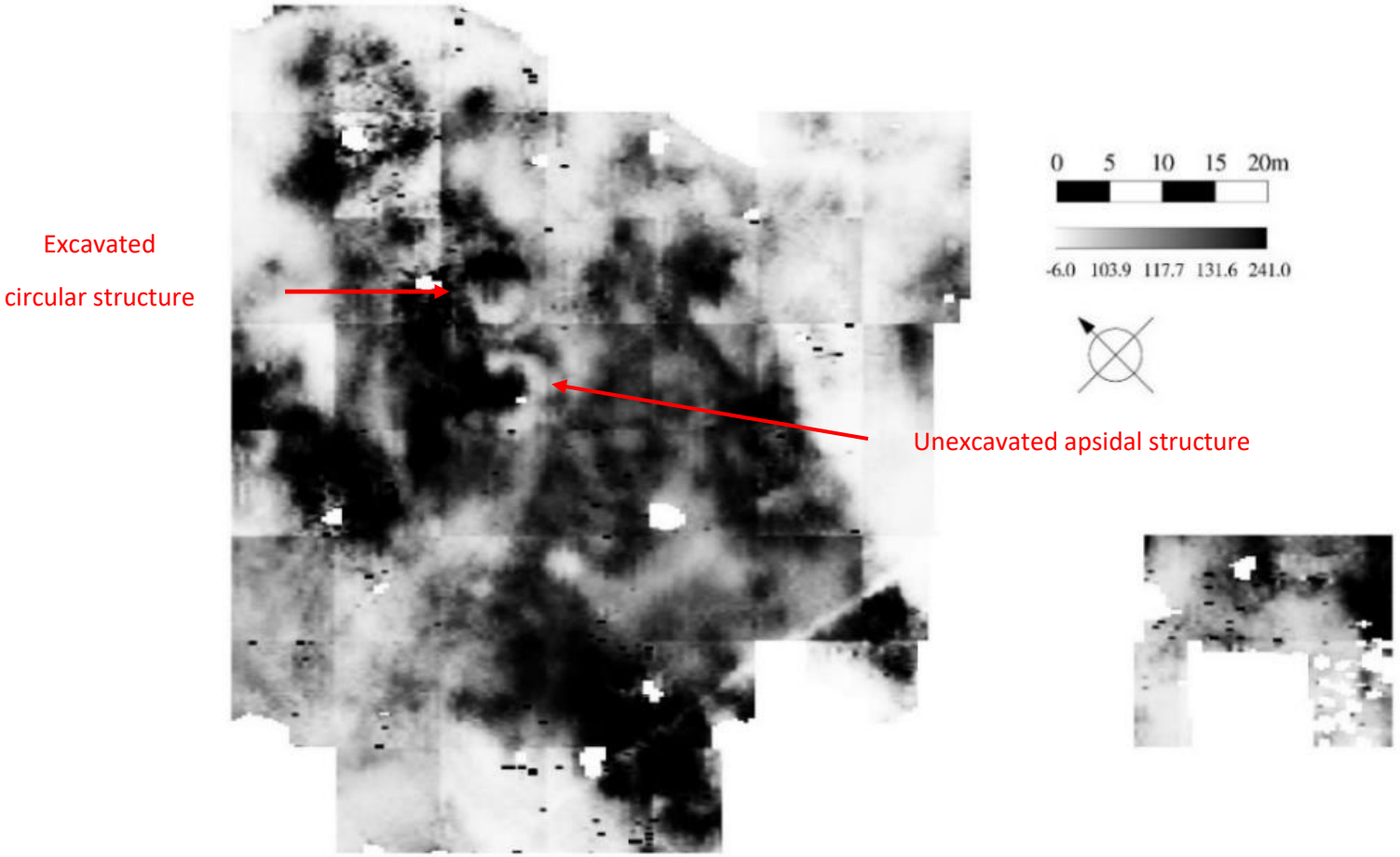


Fig A:12: The Abbey House resistance survey 2017.

The position of the 'new' circular feature, unknown in the excavation. This is comparable with the GPR survey (Fig 2.9). Image supplied courtesy of John Oswin and BACAS

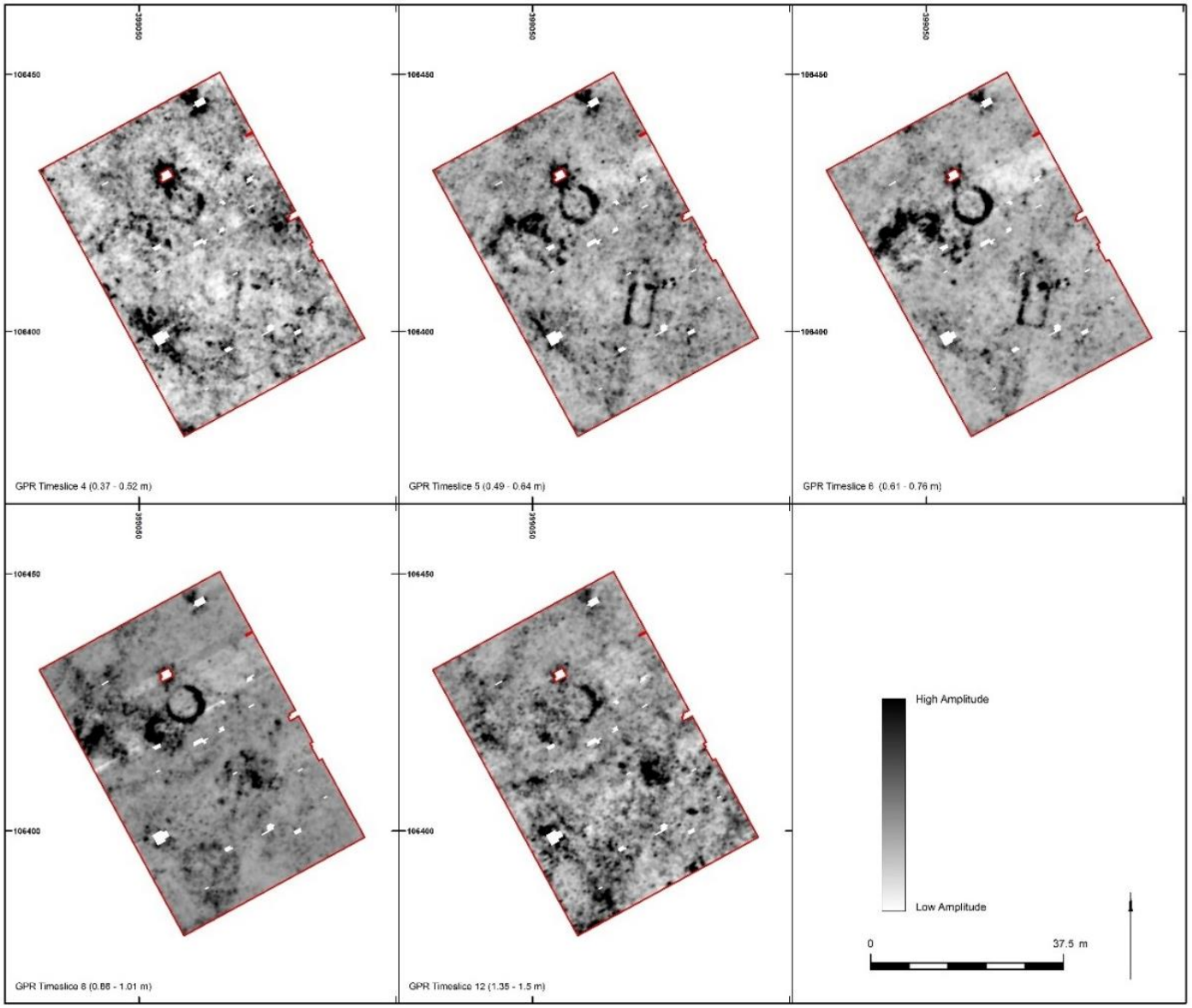


Fig A.13. GPR time slices exhibiting the sequence of structures.

North to top. From Wessex Archaeology 2018

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Abbreviations

DCM: Dorset County Museum

DNHAS: Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society

DOR: Dorset History Centre

PDNHAFC: Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Field Club.

PM: Poole Museum

Repositories

Dorset County Museum: Local Places: Witchampton

Poole Museum: Witchampton File. Archive PM18

Sackler Library: Uncatalogued 1925 file for Journal of Roman Studies

Primary Sources

DCM: Sumner, H. 1924. Report and Letter for Mrs McGeagh

DOR: D-CRI/A/46/2/17: Estate map of Witchampton Farm 1836

DOR: D-CRI/E/1/1: H Sturt estate maps: 1770-1775.

DOR: T/SPK: Shapwick Tithe Map

DOR: T/LIL: Lillington Tithe Map

DOR: T/WIT: Witchampton Tithe Map

DOR: T/WM: Wimborne Minster Tithe Map

PM: Witchampton File: Correspondence

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Note: Christopher Sparey Green changed the emphasis on his name during the 1990s. I have maintained the name as Sparey Green, however in earlier publications he was listed as Green, C.S.

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