Foundations: An integrated landscape analysis of Romano-Celtic temple locations in South-West Roman Britain

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Applied Landscape Archaeology

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September 2023

Candidate number: 1145199

Word count: 14,988

Abstract

Research into rural Romano-Celtic temples in Britain has been predominantly site-based, with consideration of their landscape context generally confined to descriptive observations. This dissertation pilots a landscape archaeology methodology to explore the selection of temple locations by their 'builders', with a particular focus on case studies of Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon. The methodology draws on the academic and grey literature, modern and historic mapping, aerial photography and LiDAR data, supplemented by field visits. The use of GIS, including visibility analysis, is also central to the project, which is underpinned by relevant theory.

The results provide new evidence for roads, villas and field systems, whilst viewshed analysis offers insights into the visual relationships between the temple locations and the surrounding landscape. An interpretation of the synthesised evidence suggests that the Cold Kitchen Hill location is likely to have been selected by the native elite based at Brixton Deverill villa for its pre-existing and potentially sacred significance dating to the Iron Age, together with its strategic importance at the convergence of three roads and on the boundary of three *civitates*. Whilst Lamyatt Beacon is likely to have been connected to the villa at Ditcheat, its accessibility and visual prominence are likely to have been key factors in the selection of its location. These attributes coupled with the adoption of same cult as Cold Kitchen Hill are likely to have combined to attract pilgrims, including people from the *civitas* capital at Ilchester and its prosperous environs. The success of this 'new' temple at Lamyatt Beacon is illustrated by its connections with the later temple at Brean Down.

The wider implications include further evidence for close connections between temples and villas, and that notions of elite social display might be usefully extended to Romano-Celtic temples. Furthermore, that binary interpretations in the literature, particularly those relating to concepts such as 'estate temples' or 'cult centres', and 'sacred' or 'secular', risk masking the complexity of decision making regarding the selection of temple locations. Additionally, rural temples may not have been as isolated as previously suggested, and notions of local pilgrimage offer much potential for future research. Finally, the dissertation is significant in demonstrating that a landscape archaeology methodology can make an important contribution to the interpretation of Romano-Celtic temples.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Dr Alison MacDonald for her expert guidance, support and encouragement throughout this project.

I am also very grateful to Professor David Griffiths for leading an outstanding MSc programme, as well as all the tutors that contributed during the course.

Thank you also to Sally Taylor for her advice on GIS visibility analysis, as well as the administrators of the Somerset and Wiltshire Historic Environment Records, who were very helpful.

Many thanks are due to my fellow students, with whom I had many fruitful archaeological conversations and were wonderful companions on our shared journey. Especially to Karen Kelly, who shared my interest in Roman Britain and is very sadly missed.

Finally, I am very grateful to my mum for encouraging my studies, and Helen, Rowan and Martha for their ongoing support and understanding as I worked on this dissertation.

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Unless otherwise stated:
All photographs are © the Author.
LiDAR images were processed using the traditional hill shade function in ArcGIS Pro, and all maps were created using ArcGIS Pro (3.02) by the author.

In addition to the data sources listed in Chapter 2 and the bibliography, the ArcGIS Pro service layer credits are: Aerial photography - EarthStar Geographics, Modern maps - Open Street Map contributors, Microsoft, Facebook, Inc. and its affiliates, ESRI Community Maps Contributors, Map Layer by Esri. Light grey canvas reference map – Esri, HERE, Garmin, Foursquare, GeoTechnologies Inc., METI/NASA, USGS.

List of abbreviations not defined in text:
CE: Common Era
NGR: National Grid Reference
km: kilometre
m: metre

1 – Introduction

1.1 Romano-Celtic Temples in Britain

Romano-Celtic temples, which are also found in France and Germany (Woodward 1992, 37), were in use in Britain from the mid 1st century to the early 5th century CE. None of the British temples survive to their original height and very few above foundation level (Blagg 1986, 15). Furthermore, in the almost complete absence of contemporary written accounts, archaeological evidence is the main source of our understanding of ritual practice at these sites (Smith et al 2018, 201). In contrast to the wider geographical distribution of other forms of Romano-British sacred sites, and apart from a few in mainly urban and military contexts, most excavated Romano-Celtic temples are found south of a line from the Wash to the Severn Estuary (Smith et al 2018, 133; Figure 1).

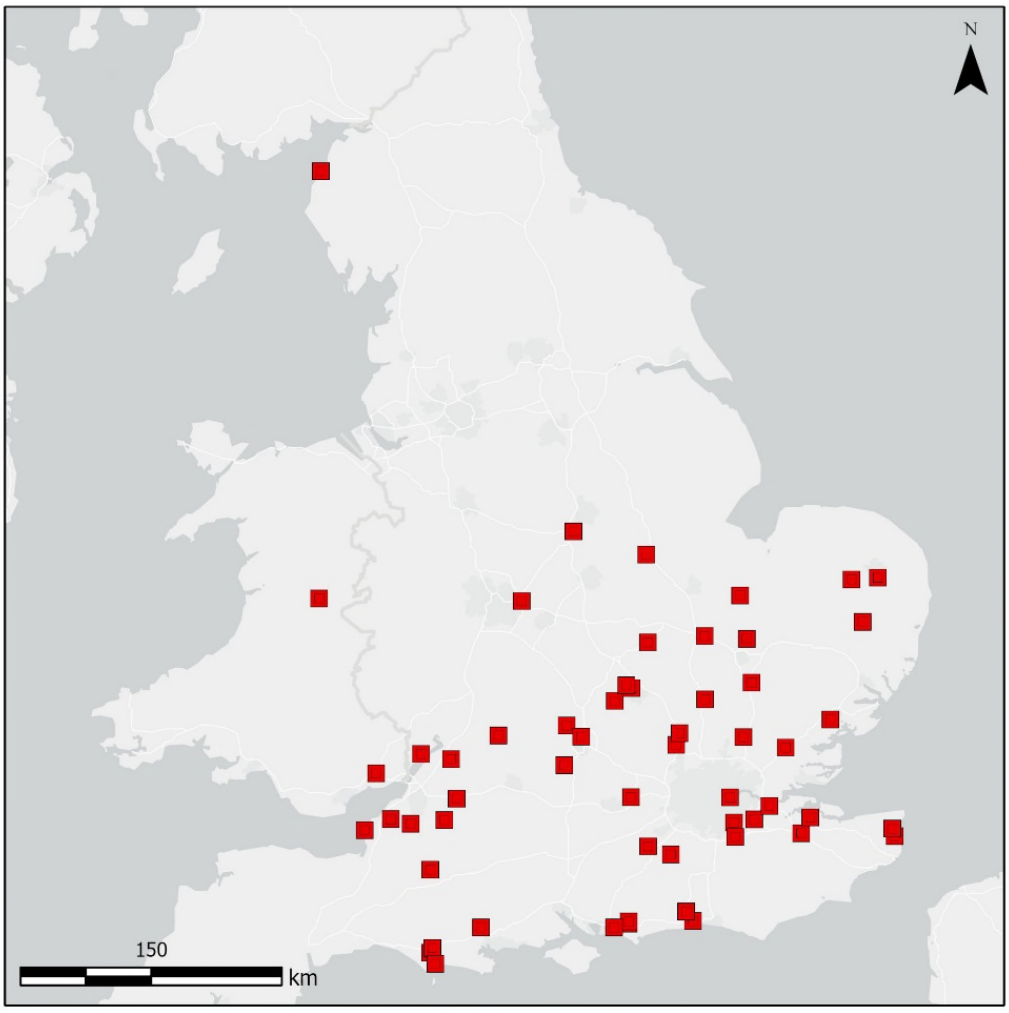

Figure 1: Excavated Romano-Celtic temples (Adapted from Allen et al, 2015)

Commonly rectangular, but occasionally circular or polygonal (Rodwell 1980, 7), their defining characteristics are an internal *cella,* and a concentric ambulatory. Additionally, at some sites, a square or rectangular *temenos* ditch or wall enclosed the temple precinct (Lewis 1966, 131-132). Whilst not precluding their likely public character (Smith 2000, 338), Romano-Celtic temples were closely associated with the Romanized native elite (Mattingley 2006, 485), which had the resources to secure the labour required for construction (Kamash 2014, 690). Nonetheless, their decision making in relation to temples would have taken place within the broader context of the Roman Empire as a colonising force (Mattingly 2006, 12-13).

1.2 Research Context

In addition to excavation reports (e.g., Ap Simon, 1965; Leech et al, 1986; Watts and Leach, 1996), Lewis (1966) remains a key source (Historic England 2018a, 10), and Smith et al (2018) have provided an analysis of the excavation evidence. Whilst Romano-Celtic temples have been emphasised at the expense of less monumental forms of sacred space (Smith et al 2018, 132), their research is considered to be of national importance (Historic England, 2023a). However, despite the priority afforded to an understanding of the landscape context of Roman sites (Historic England 2012, 14), rural Romano-Celtic temple research has been predominantly site-based; with consideration of the landscape context generally confined to descriptive observations. This contrasts with scholarly interest in ‘sacred landscapes’ (Häussler and Chiai 2020, 1-17) spanning a range of locations and periods (e.g., Bradley 2000, 3-18; Olivieri 2020, 333-345), which addresses themes such as the intentions of ‘builders’ and the experiences of ritual participants (Häussler and Chiai 2020, 1). Nonetheless, the observations made are sufficient to suggest that the association of Romano-British sacred sites with the surrounding landscape is likely to have been significant (Smith et al 2018, 168). The themes emerging from the literature include the extent to which Romano-Celtic temples were discrete sacred spaces (Ghey 2005, 109), monument re-use or continuity (Smith et al 2018, 135) and associations with prehistoric landscape features (Kamash 2014, 681-696; Williams 1998, 72-73). Additionally, relationships between temples, settlements and villas (King 2020, 147), as well as connections with roads (Kiernan 2012, 83; Leech et al 1986, 272), have been noted. Some of these themes have informed ideas relating to the societal role of temples, for example as estate temples, local cult centres (Rodwell 1980, 233) or pilgrimage destinations (Hutton 2011, 16; Kiernan 2012, 78).

Furthermore, their natural locations, such as a close proximity to water or in elevated positions (Ghey 2005, 113; Smith et al 2018, 161), is another common theme. Finally, visibility is consistently emphasised, as it has been suggested that the positioning of temples may be connected to an intention to secure prominence within the surrounding landscape (e.g., Ghey 2003, 39; Woodward 1992, 24), including visibility to and from rivers (Ghey 2005, 114), roads (Kiernan 2012, 89) and other temples (Smith 2000, 150).

1.3 Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

Studies of sacred landscapes often operate within a 'place' oriented paradigm (Häussler and Chiai, 2020, 1-17). Notwithstanding criticisms of such approaches (Fleming 1999, 119-125), theoretically informed methodologies that enable landscapes to be approached at the 'lived scale' (Lock and Pouncett 2017, 13) are commonly used (e.g., Alberti 2020, 97-11). However, 'spatial' approaches such as aerial photography, Light Detection and Ranging (LiDAR) and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) also have much to offer. Indeed, Ghey (2003, 244) has suggested that GIS can improve on the standard 'site plan' to represent Romano-Celtic temples more accurately in their landscape contexts. Furthermore, whilst GIS based visibility analysis has occasionally been used (e.g., Garland 2013, 185-186), its full potential is yet to be realised (Roberts 2014, 17). However, GIS struggles to overcome its positivist foundations (Thomas 2004, 198) and correspond to subjective human experiences (Gillings 2012, 601). Affordance theory has been proposed as a means of providing a theoretical basis to 'humanise' GIS visibility analysis in particular (Gillings, 2009; Llobera, 1996). In contrast to indirect theories of perception which posit that animals exclusively create and store meaning internally, the 'direct' theory of affordance suggests that the environment in which an animal is embedded has inherent meanings encoded within it (Gibson, 1979, 129). Furthermore, whilst perception may be 'direct', the relational nature of affordances means that their manifestation and recognition is bound up with selective attention. Therefore, 'knowledge in the head' - an individual's knowledge, memories, cultural constraints, situational contexts and experiences - (Gillings 2012, 605-607; Webster 1999, 917) accompanies 'information in the world', in the recognition of affordances in the environment (Norman 1988, 54–80).

1.4 Study Areas

Given the limitations associated with an MSc dissertation and the intention to conduct a detailed landscape analysis to explore the themes summarised in the preceding sections,

two study areas comprising 3.5 km radii of the Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon temple locations are used (Figure 2; Appendix A).

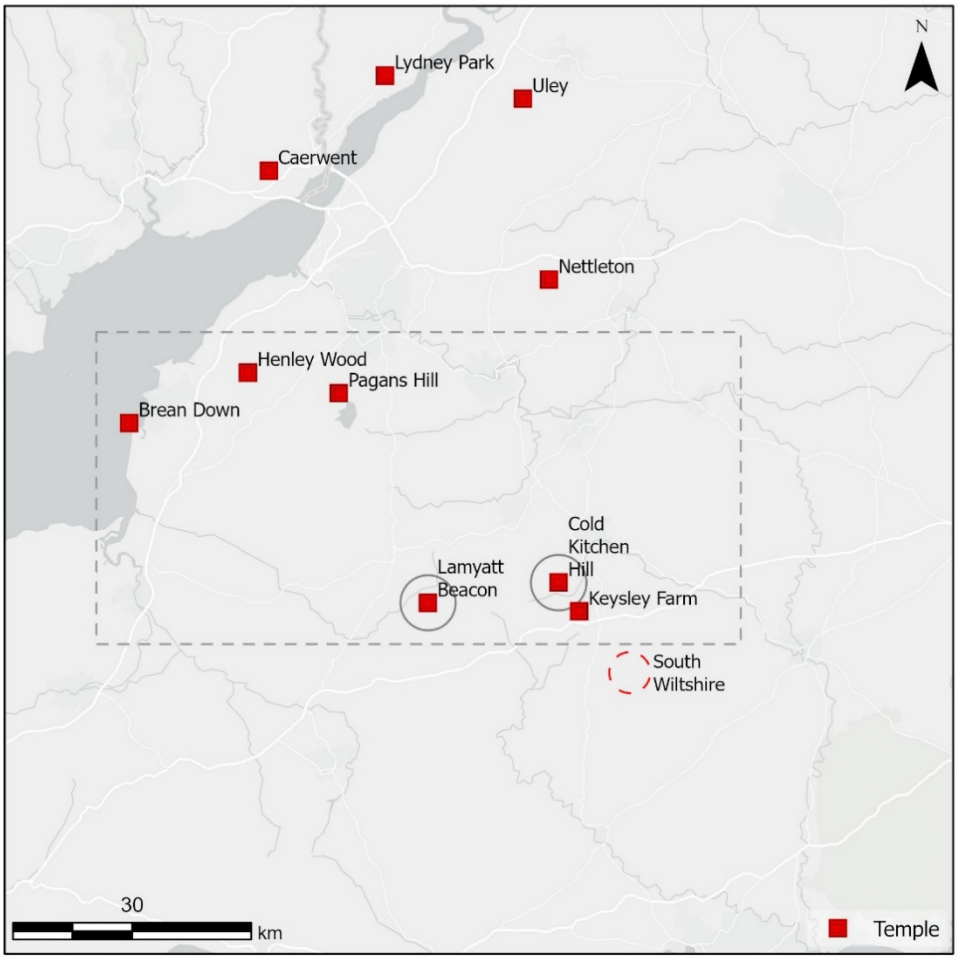

Figure 2: Cold Kitchen Hill, Lamyatt Beacon and regional study areas[1]

These temples are in relatively close proximity (17 km), benefit from good public access and have been the subject of some, albeit limited discussion regarding the themes emerging from the literature. The 3.5 km study areas are primarily used to establish parameters for the use of Historic Environment Record (HER) data. However, to fully explore visual affordances and to examine the temples within their wider geographical context, the evidence relating to villas, roads, field systems and other temples extends beyond these study areas where appropriate. More broadly, the case study temples are also considered within the context of a more loosely defined regional study area covering modern day Somerset, North Somerset, Bath and East Somerset, and South-West Wiltshire (Figure 2).

[1] An approximate location is provided for the South-Wiltshire temple at the request of the landowner (Henry et al 2021, 79).

This area was invaded by the Roman army in either 43 or 44 CE (Leach 2001, 9) and was subsequently part of *Britannia Superior* and *Britannia Prima* (Mattingly 2006, 229). It contains a relatively high concentration of Romano-Celtic temple sites, and further work on visibility in particular, has been recommended for the region (South-West England Research Framework, 2023).

1.5 Research Questions

This dissertation aims to pilot an integrated landscape archaeology methodology to explore the selection of Romano-Celtic temple locations. Whilst the core focus is on Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon (the 'temple locations'), comparative references are also made to other temples in the regional study area.

1. What relationships can be identified between the temple locations and the natural landscape, and to what extent might these have been significant in the selection of the temple locations?
2. To what extent was there continuity with earlier activity, or associations between prehistoric monuments and the temple locations, and what might be the implications for the positioning of the temples?
3. What were the chronological, geographical and visual relationships between the temples and the Roman road network, and how might they have influenced the selection of the temple locations?
4. What is the evidence for towns, administrative boundaries, villas, field systems and other Romano-British activity in the landscape, and what are the implications for the choice of temple locations?
5. What visual and other connections existed between the temple locations and other known Romano-Celtic temples in the region, and what are the potential implications for the selection of temple locations?
6. What can a synthesis of the findings add to our existing understanding of the temples and inform us about the possible reasons for the selection of their locations?
7. Has the methodology been successful in answering the research questions, how might it be improved for future research, and could it be applied elsewhere in Roman Britain?

Following a discussion of the methodology in Chapter 2, Section 3.1 underpins the response to the research questions by introducing the regional and case study temples. The subsequent sections in Chapter 3 sequentially present the results and analysis relating to research questions 1-5. Chapter 4 completes the response to questions 1-5 and addresses research questions 6-7, before the conclusions and recommendations for further research are outlined in Chapter 5.

2 – Methodology

2.1 Overview

Following the literature review, which is summarised in Chapter 1, a range of data sets (Table 1) were obtained to inform an understanding of the landscape evidence up to and including the Romano-British period. All the evidence was collated in an ArcGIS Pro (version 3.02) project, with the outputs used to analyse and present the data. Additionally, field visits took place on 11-12th September and 18th November 2022, as well as the 12th February, 10th April and 10th August 2023. Whilst line of sight analysis was considered for the visibility analysis, because the project considers a wide range of landscape features, viewsheds were preferred as they offer insights into the entire visible area from a specific location. Therefore, viewsheds of the landscape to (reflective) and from (projective) the Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon temple locations were generated; as well as for Fox Covert hillfort and Ditcheat Roman villa. However, as binary viewsheds do not take account of the reduction in the visual clarity of features as the distance from an observer increases, distance banded viewsheds (Wheatley and Gillings 2000, 14) were produced from the binary viewsheds, with a field-of-view calculation structured around a number of quantifiable view-distance classes. Affordance theory was used as an underlying theory to aid interpretation of the visibility analysis; which together with the other data sets, was also analysed and interpreted within the context of the literature.

2.2 Data Acquisition and Processing

Data was obtained from the HER for a 3.5 km radius of each temple in shapefile format. Once imported into ArcGIS Pro, the data in the attribute tables was checked and de-duplicated, before a project code was allocated to each item[2], which is denoted in the text by the # symbol. The list of HER entries, the corresponding project codes and a link to the relevant HER or scheduled monument record are included in the supplementary information section. Roman road data was very limited in the HER datasets, and therefore together with Margary's (1973) definitive text, they were used alongside the Ordnance Survey Archaeological Division's (OSAD) archive records, which are included within the supplementary information section. Detailed analysis of new evidence acquired for this dissertation was possible for some road sections, whilst others were reconstructed by

[2] Excludes field systems - references to relevant HER records are within the bibliography.

synthesising secondary sources. The numbering convention used by Margary (1973) is used for the roads he recorded (prefixed 'RR'), whilst roads subsequently identified by the OSAD are prefixed 'RRX'.

Dataset	Source
Elevation	OS 5, 5m² DTM (Digimap, 2023a).
Geology	1:250 000 BGS Geological map data (Digimap, 2023b).
Hydrology	OS Open Rivers (Digimap, 2023c).
LiDAR	1 m National Mapping Programme LiDAR tiles (DEFRA, 2023).
Modern Maps	ArcGIS Pro Open Street Map (ArcGIS Pro, 2023a).
Historic Maps	1:2500 County Series (1853-1904) (Digimap, 2023d,e).
Aerial Photography	Google Earth (Various), ArcGIS Pro Imagery (ArcGIS Pro, 2023b).
Modern Boundaries	Boundary Line (OS Open Data, 2023).
Prehistoric & Romano-British evidence	Somerset Historic Environment Record (2023), Wiltshire Historic Environment Record (2023), Rural Settlement of Roman Britain: an online resource (Allen et al, 2015), Atlas of Hillforts (Lock and Ralston, 2017).

Table 1: Principal data sources

Viewsheds were created using the 'Visibility' tool in ArcGIS Pro to model the areas of landscape visible from the Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon temple locations. An observer offset of 1.75 m was applied to account for a human being standing at the centre of the area that each of the two temples would subsequently be constructed, and a projective viewshed analysis was conducted. To model the visibility of temple locations from the surrounding landscape, a reflective viewshed analysis was performed by removing the observer offset and adding a surface offset of 1.75 m to represent a human being in each cell, or position in the landscape. The binary viewshed rasters were subsequently processed to create distance banded viewsheds, using the method presented in Figure 3[3].

[3] The same method was used for Fox Covert hillfort and Ditcheat villa.

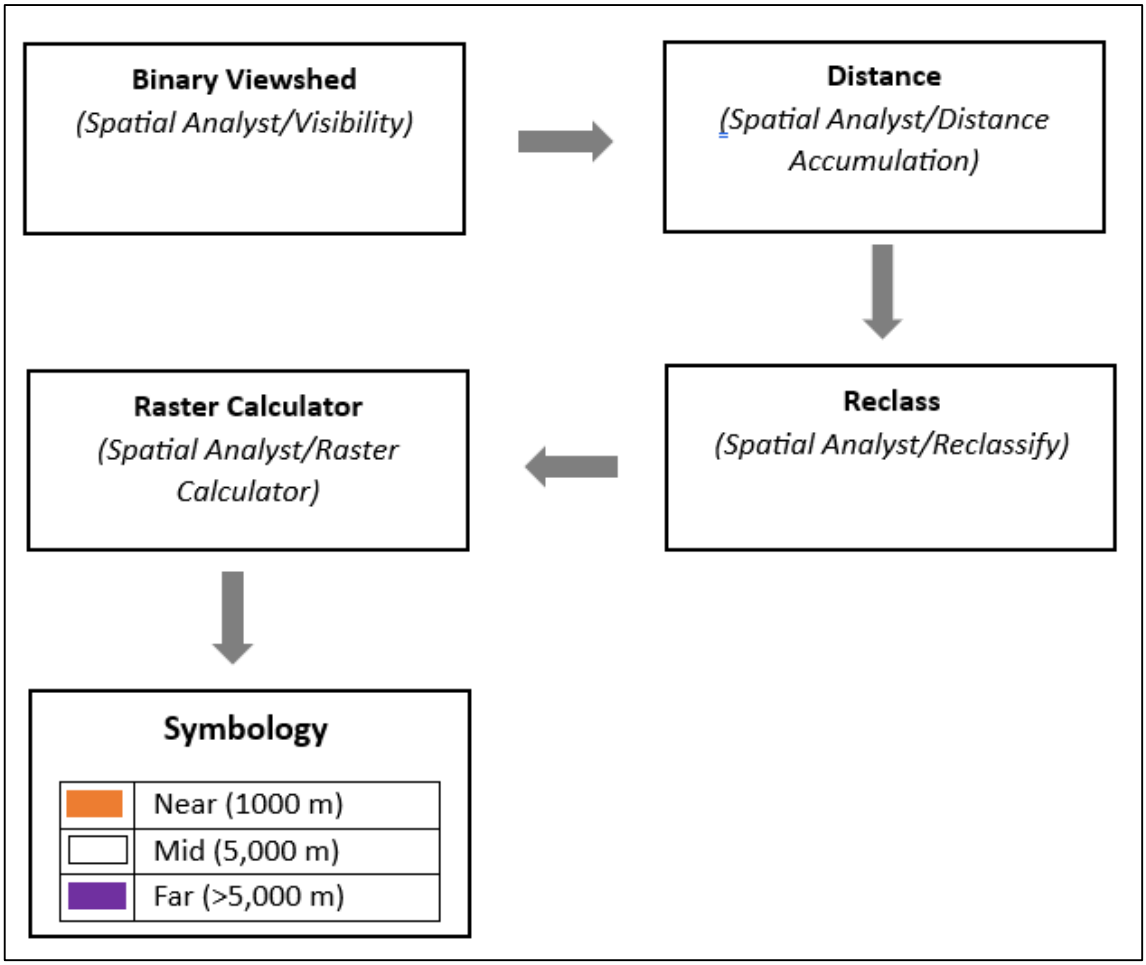

Figure 3: Process used to create distance banded viewsheds

Finally, with the caveat that they can be distorted by undiscovered sites or the differing size, wealth and power of villas (Eckhardt et al 2009, 79), Thiessen polygons were created using the 'Create Thiessen Polygons (Analysis)' tool in ArcGIS Pro to generate a theoretical representation of villa estates in the Lamyatt Beacon landscape. Thiessen polygons divide an area into distinct territories, each of which focus on a separate site, with straight lines drawn between neighbouring sites and a second series of lines drawn at the midpoint along each of the first series of lines at right angles (Dytchowskyj 2005, 2).

2.3 Limitations

Given the range of environmental variables for which we have limited data, GIS visibility analysis is most effective at showing which areas would definitively not be visible due to the landscape topography. Notably the effect that vegetation has on visibility is a major challenge (Eckhardt et al 2009, 74), as there is not detailed environmental data to reconstruct the woodland in the Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon study areas, and

even if if there were, the precise location and impact of vegetation would remain unknown. Nonetheless, given that by the Romano-British period the landscape was largely cleared of woodland (Rippon 2012, 7), the elevated position of the temple locations, and that roads were clear of vegetation, it is likely that the viewsheds offer fairly accurate representations of visibility. Secondly, whilst a range of data sets are used, a notable omission is the inclusion of Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) data, which was beyond the scope of this dissertation. Thirdly, whilst some limited identification of field systems from LiDAR images supplements the HER data, a comprehensive analysis was beyond the scope of this study. Finally, whilst the field visits did attempt to capture the full sensory experience of the landscape, it must be acknowledged that this dissertation emphasises the visual senses.

3 - Results & Analysis

3.1 Romano-Celtic Temples in the Study Areas

This section introduces the temples in the regional study area, with a particular focus on Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon.

3.1.1 Regional Temples

Six Romano-Celtic temples are definitively recognised within the regional study area. Figure 4 outlines their approximate periods of use, apart from Keysley Farm (#96), for which there is no dating evidence. All were single phase structures, apart from Henley Wood.

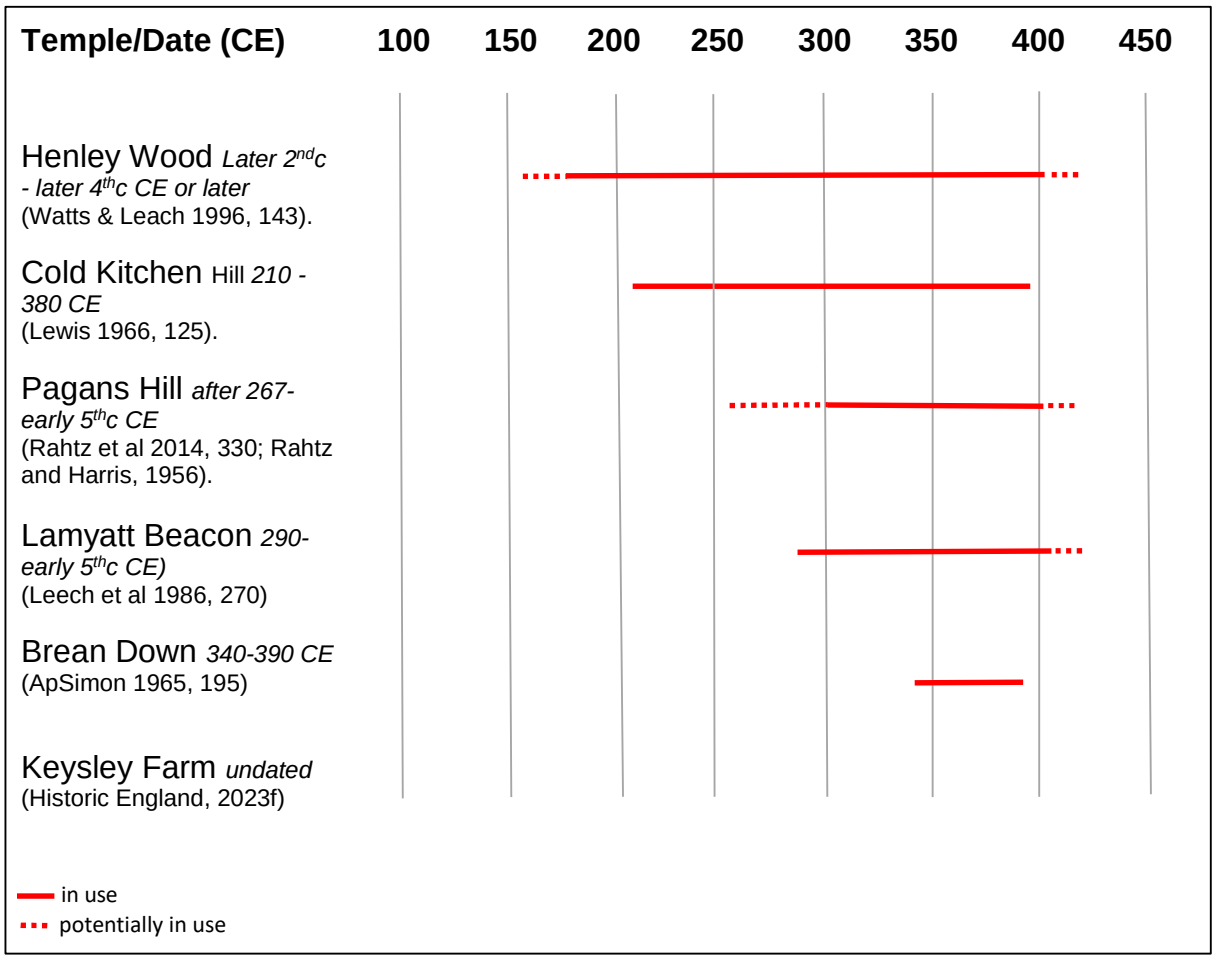

Figure 4: Romano-Celtic temples in the regional study area

3.1.2 Cold Kitchen Hill

The Cold Kitchen Hill temple was located at NGR: ST 83416 38735[4], close to the summit of Whitecliff Down, on the northern edge of the Deverill valley (Historic England, 2023a), 1.8 km north-west of Kingston Deverill, Wiltshire (#94; Figure 5).

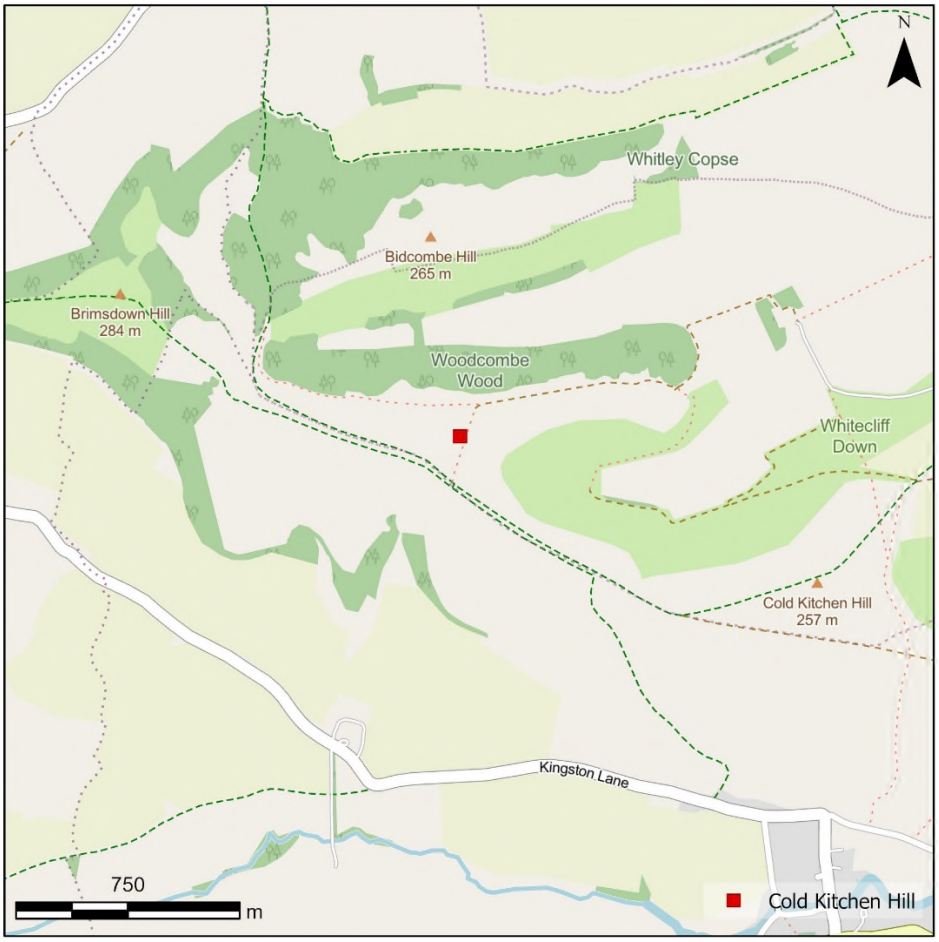

Figure 5: Location of Cold Kitchen Hill temple[5]

Whilst Cunnington observed the foundations of the building as low earthworks in 1803 (Historic England, 2023a), and the general area was subsequently excavated in 1803, 1893 and between 1924-1926, by Kivell (1927, 327-332), there was no recording of find contexts (Robinson 2001, 147). The temple is now only visible on aerial photographs as soil marks measuring 50 m by 50 m (Figure 6), which have been interpreted as the outline of the

[4] Historic England's (2023a) grid reference (NGR: ST 83202 38773) is for the broader scheduled area. Aerial photographs (e.g., Figure 6) show the centre of the temple to be located at NGR: ST 83416 38735.
[5] Unless stated 'Cold Kitchen Hill' refers to the temple site on Whitecliff Down, rather than the area located to the south-east.

temenos (Historic England, 2023a). Other aerial photographs suggest a simple structure with the main building set towards the back of the enclosure, opposite the entrance. A second smaller rectangular enclosure, with a separate entrance, has also been observed attached along one side of the first enclosure (Robinson 2001, 158). Together with the quantity of votive offerings in the immediate locale, the aerial photographic evidence suggests a temple site 'some importance' (Historic England, 2023a). An excavated low oval mound 40 m long and 28 m wide, located 55 m to the north-west of the temple site, has been interpreted as a midden. It is included within the scheduling and is considered integral to the temple complex (Robinson 2001, 158).

Figure 6: Cold Kitchen Hill site centred at NGR: ST 83416 38735 (Google Earth, 12/2005)

Finds from the midden and the surrounding area include 190 coins predominantly dated to 210-380 CE, suggesting that the temple was in use from the early 3rd to the late 4th century (Lewis 1966, 125; Figures 7 & 8). Whilst no structural remains were identified in the 1924-26 excavations, roof and flue tiles were found, together with painted plaster, window glass and nails (Lewis 1966, 125).

Figure 7: View from the midden, south-east towards the temple site (18.11.22)

Figure 8: View from the temple site, north-west towards the midden (18.11.22)

3.1.3 Lamyatt Beacon

The temple at Lamyatt Beacon was located 17 km to the west of Cold Kitchen Hill, centred at NGR: ST 66950 36180 (#95; Heritage Gateway, 2023a). The site was totally excavated in 1958-60 and 1973 (Leech et al 1986, 259) and no visible remains survive today. Situated 1.5 km north-east of the village of Lamyatt in Somerset, Lamyatt Beacon is the now wooded, narrow ridged hilltop summit of Creech Hill (Figures 9 & 10). Coin evidence dates construction to 290 CE, and it remained in use until the early 5th century CE (Leech et al 1986, 270).

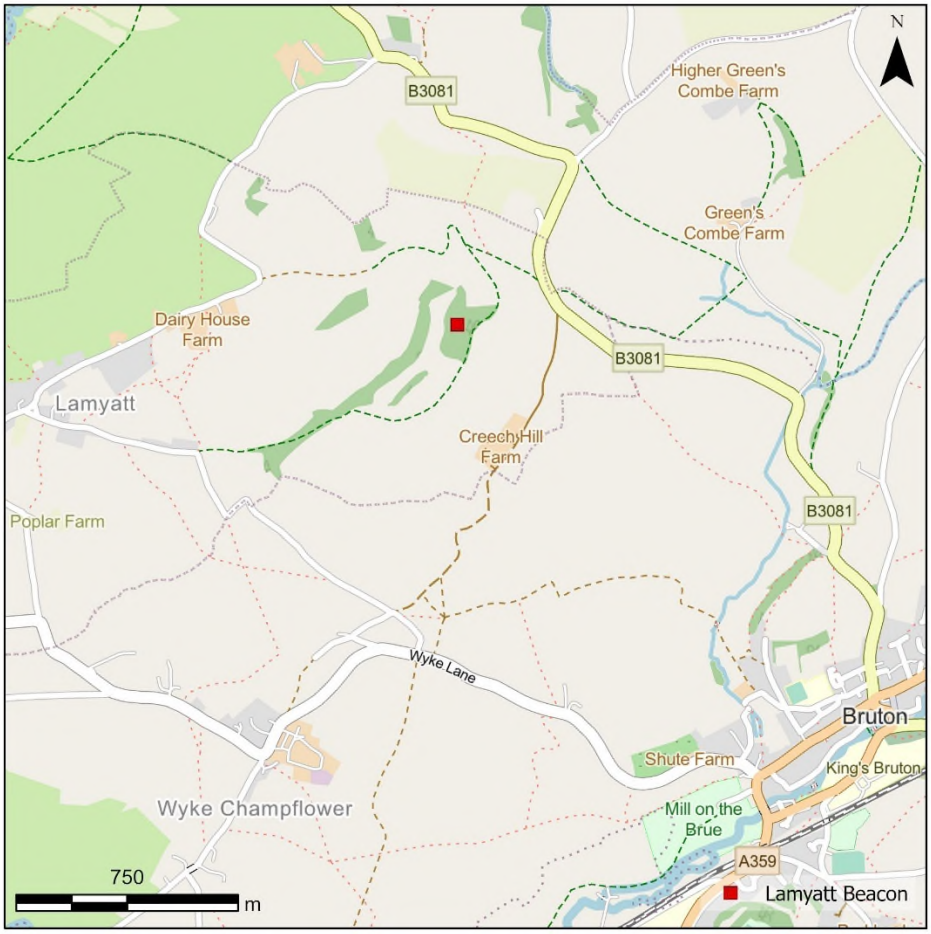

Figure 9: Location of Lamyatt Beacon temple

The temple measured 11 m square, consisting of a central *cella* enclosed by an ambulatory. Symmetrically positioned on the east side were two square annexes, and on the south side was a small sunken room, which could only be accessed from the ambulatory (Leech et al 1986, 262; Figure 11).

Figure 10: Lamyatt Beacon viewed from the ridge, looking north-east (11.09.22)

A small east-west building to the north of the main structure was constructed after 300 CE and a cemetery developed to the north of the temple between the 6th and 8th centuries CE (Figure 11).

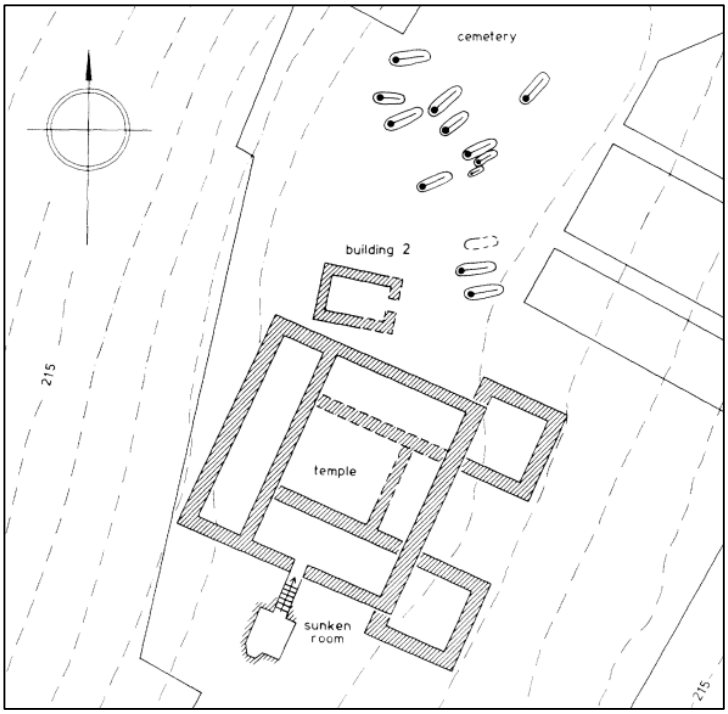

Figure 11: Lamyatt Beacon temple plan (Leech et al 1986, 263)[6]

[6] See Figure 99 for a full version with scale.

3.2 Natural Landscape

Given the relative stability of natural features such as hills and rivers over time (Tilley 2004, 11-14), this section explores the relationships between the temple locations and the natural landscape.

3.2.1 Overview

Lamyatt Beacon forms part of an Oolitic Limestone escarpment, with the summit of the hill located 220 m above sea level, whilst Whitecliff Down is located on a ridge of Upper Chalk, 250 m above sea level (Figures 12 & 13).

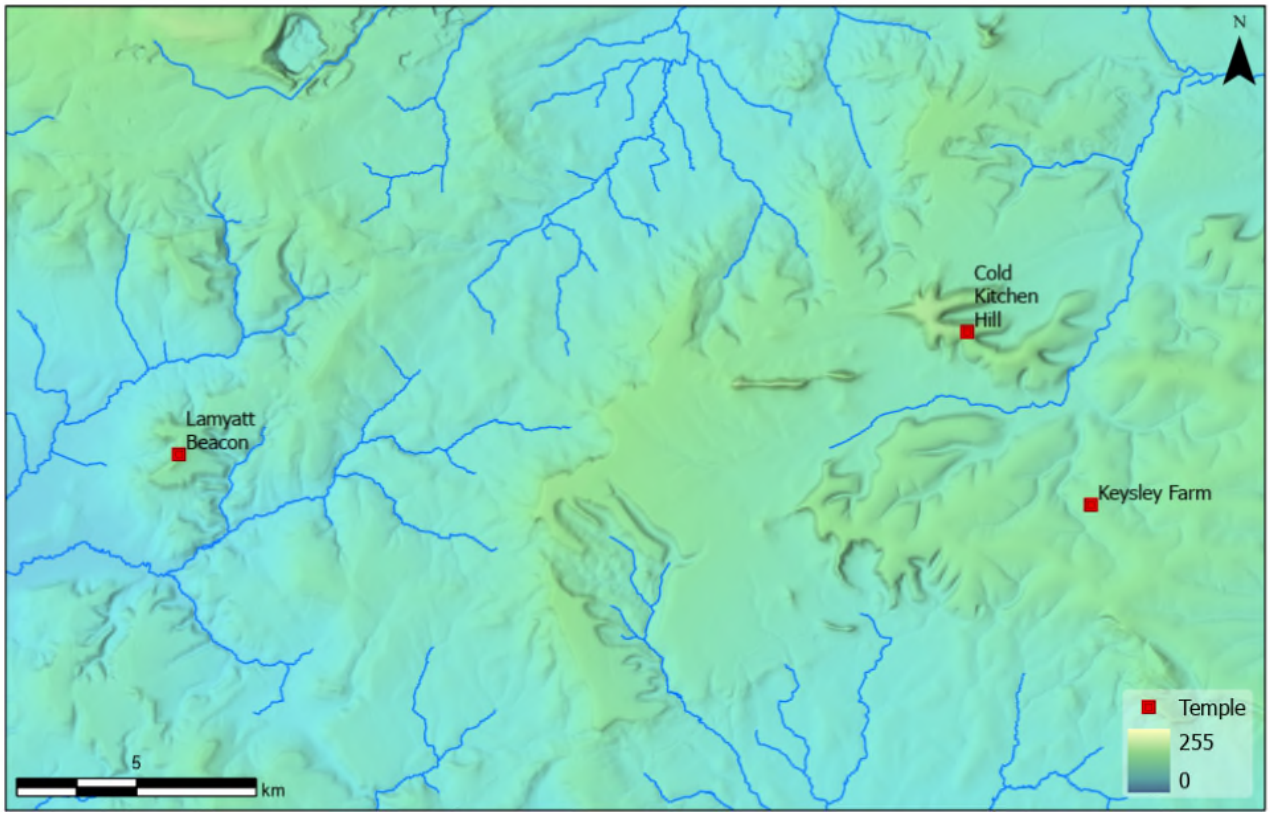

Figure 12: Temple study areas: elevation and hydrology

3.2.2 Practical Factors

Decisions concerning where to construct a temple in antiquity were influenced by practical factors, such as accessibility and cost (Walsh 2016, 17). However, notwithstanding the road network, discussed in section 3.4, the elevated position of both temple sites necessitates steep climbs, suggesting that ease of access was not the foremost consideration in the selection of either location.

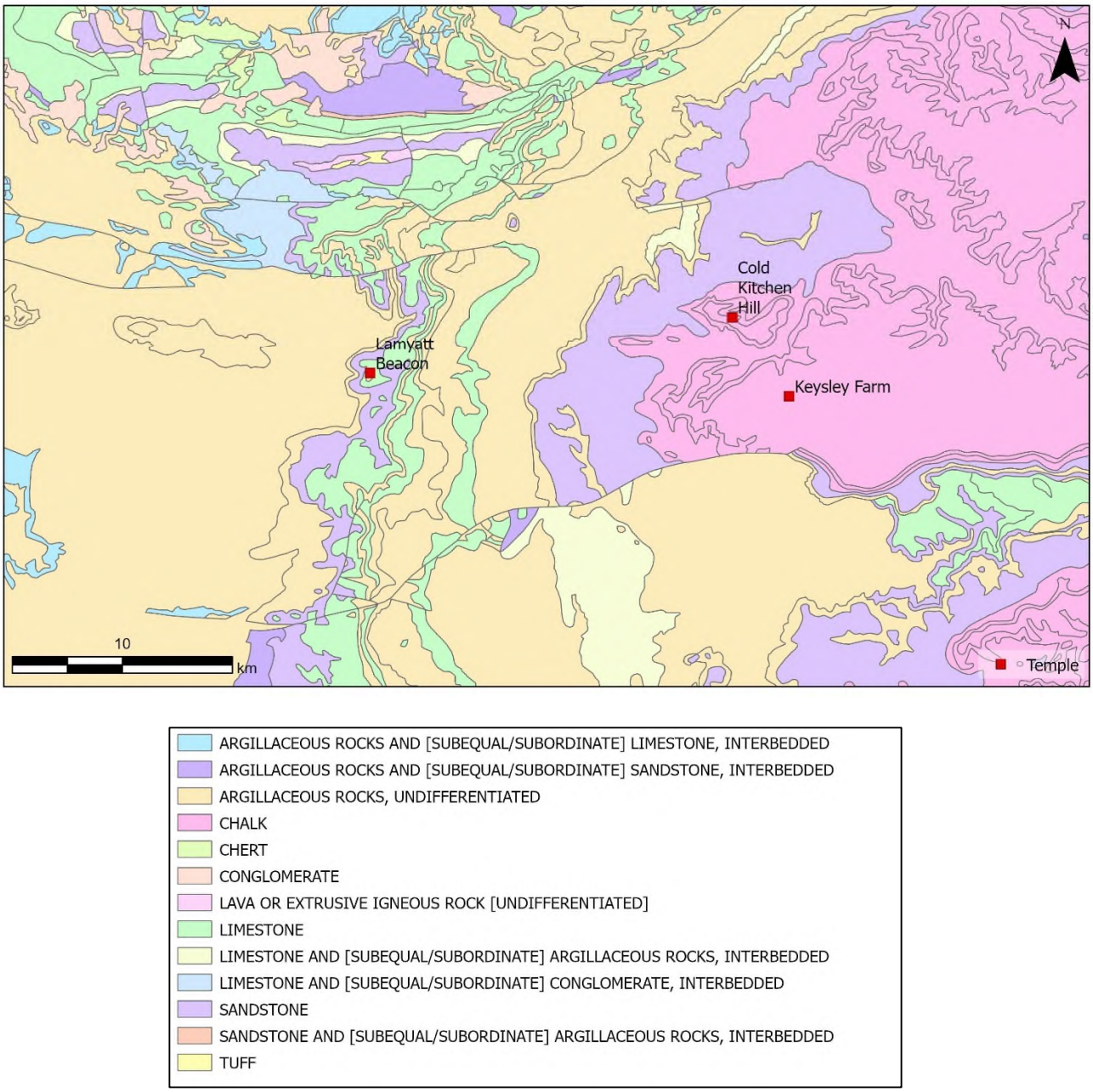

Figure 13: Geology of the temple study areas

Furthermore, whilst access to water for ritual and functional purposes was often a priority when constructing temples in the Romano-British period (Ingate 2014, 261), there is no evidence for springs or other water sources in close proximity to Lamyatt Beacon, with Combe Brook 1 km away at its nearest point (Figure 14). Similarly, whilst the River Wylye runs to the north-east, east, south-east and south of Cold Kitchen Hill, it passes 1.3 km to the south at its nearest point (Figure 17); and there are no springs close to the temple site.

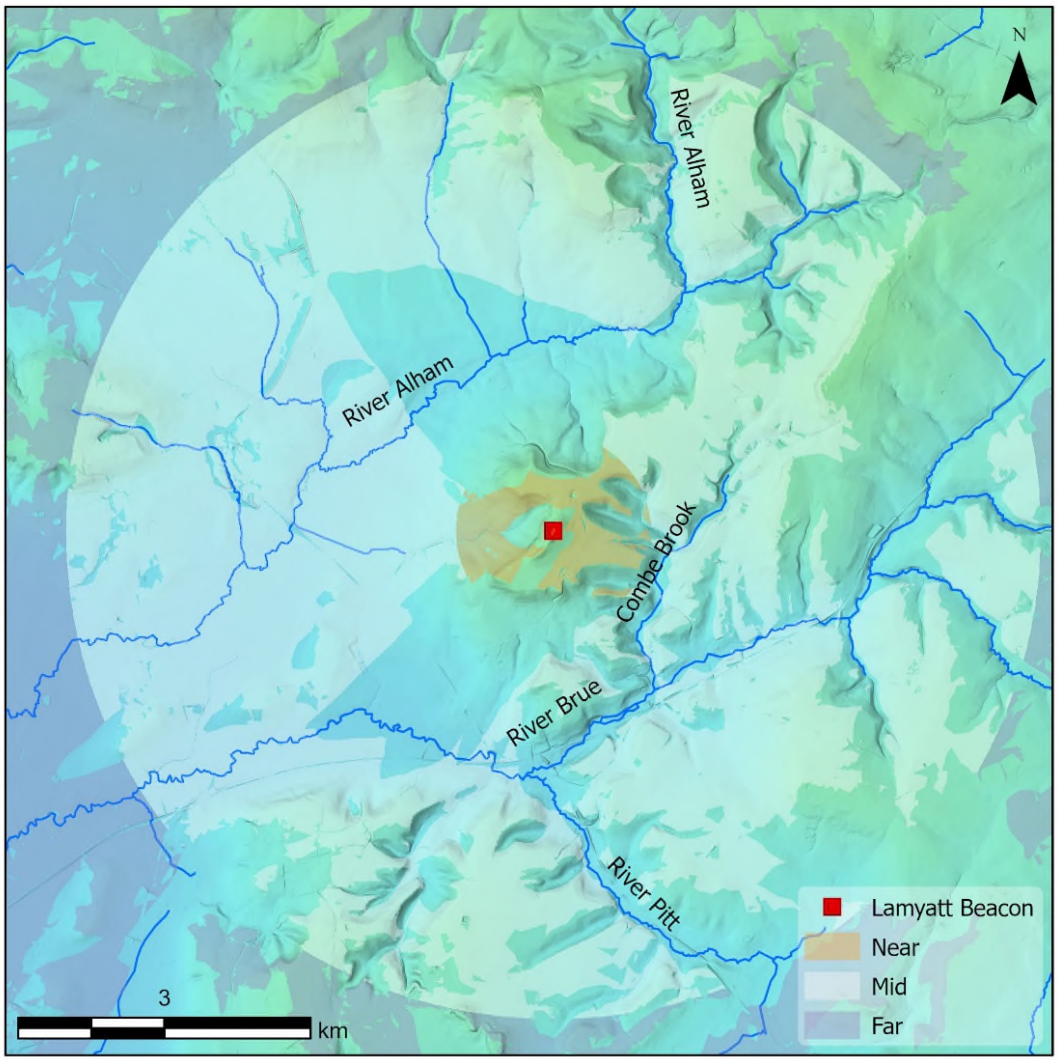

Figure 14: Projective viewshed from Lamyatt Beacon

3.2.3 Symbolic Factors

However, the elevated locations of both temple locations and the visibility this afforded of the natural landscape, may have been symbolically significant. Burkert and Raffan (1985) emphasise that elevated locations for cult sites are found in many different cultures and that this probably represented a distinction from the profane world and proximity to celestial entities; whilst Jost (1994, 220) emphasises a desire to secure divine protection over the landscape. Indeed, it has been suggested that visibility in ritual practice within the Roman Empire was significant, as illustrated by the importance of the priest's view of the surrounding landscape, during the rite of *inauguratio* (Livy I.18 cited in Ghey 2005, 144). The most extensive view from Lamyatt Beacon is across the Somerset Levels; with visibility

in the mid range of rivers and their floodplains (Figure 14). Furthermore, isolated hills and ridges, particularly Glastonbury Tor and Brent Knoll are visible even at far distances (Figure 15). Despite the implementation of drainage projects by the 3rd and 4th centuries (Leach 2001, 95), flooding may have periodically emphasised these hills as 'islands' in the landscape.

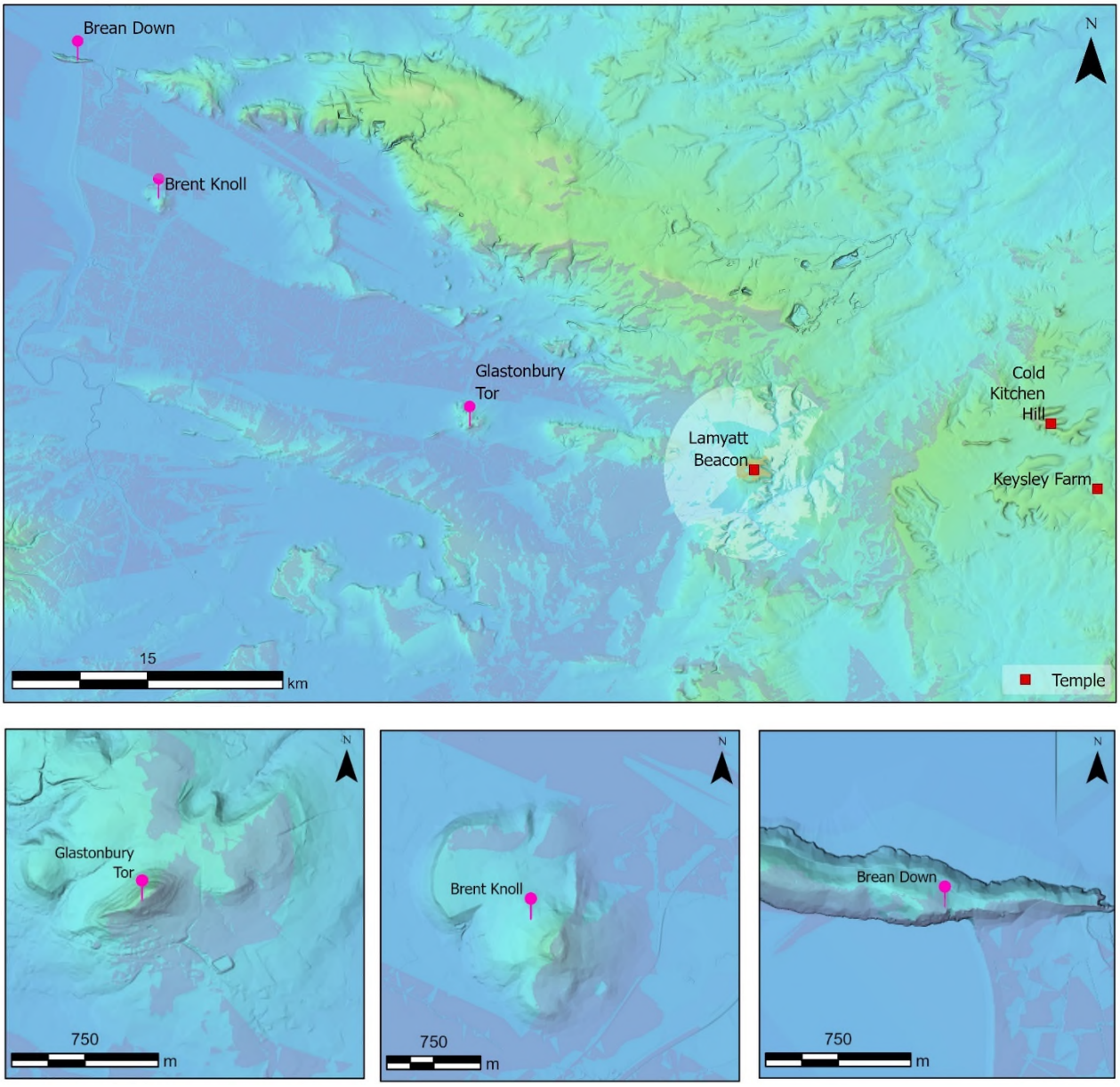

Figure 15: Projective viewshed from Lamyatt Beacon: westerly orientation

Whilst the viewsheds (Figures 15 & 97) confirm Leech et al's (1986, 271) suggestion that Lamyatt Beacon and the future temple site of Brean Down, 45 km away, may have been

inter-visible on a clear day; Glastonbury Tor and Brent Knoll were most prominent from Lamyatt Beacon when the site was visited (Figure 16).

Figure 16: North-west view from Lamyatt Beacon (10.08.23)

Whilst much of the River Wylye is obscured from view at Cold Kitchen Hill, Little Knoll and Long Knoll are prominent to the south-west (Figures 17 & 18). The significance of these ridges and the prominent natural locations visible from Lamyatt Beacon, is suggested by the presence of monuments and finds. There are two bowl barrows at Long Knoll, and pottery and coins indicating Roman activity have also been recovered (Historic England, 2023b). Brent Knoll was the location of a hillfort, with evidence for re-use in Roman period (Somerset HER, 2023a); whilst Brean Down was a focus of activity from the Neolithic until the Romano-British period (Leach 2001, 100). There is a lack of evidence for any pre-medieval structures on Glastonbury Tor, including the suggestion that a Romano-Celtic temple was situated there. Nonetheless, excavations in 1964-66 found prehistoric flint tools, suggesting that it had long been visited (Somerset HER, 2023b). Finally, as various images (e.g., Figures 40,69,70) demonstrate, the chalk ridge on which Cold Kitchen Hill was located and the summit of Lamyatt Beacon, would both have been prominent features in the landscape. The implications of which are further considered in later sections, within the context of the broader evidence base.

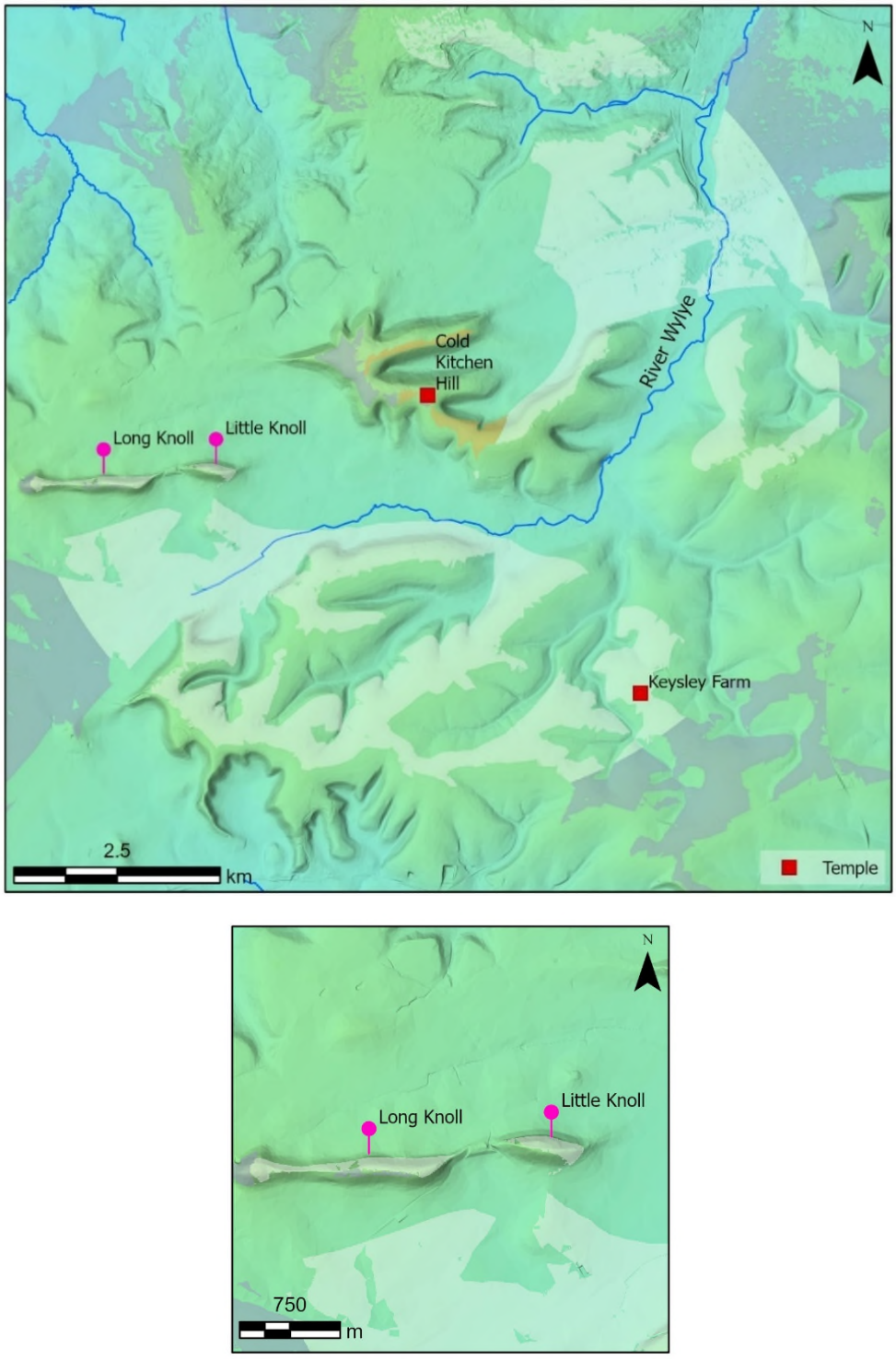

Figure 17: Projective viewshed from Cold Kitchen Hill

Figure 18: View of Little Knoll from Cold Kitchen Hill temple site (10.04.23)

3.3 The Prehistoric Legacy: Re-use, Continuity and Memory

This section explores re-use and continuity at the Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon temple locations, together with their possible connections with earlier observable monuments.

3.3.1 Re-use and Continuity

The excavation evidence suggests that it is unlikely that there were any structures constructed prior to the temple on the Lamyatt Beacon hilltop, with a small quantity excavated early Iron Age pottery providing the only evidence for pre-Roman use (Leech et al 1986, 308). At Cold Kitchen Hill, Neolithic stone tools (#55) and a Bronze Age palstave axe (#56) (Figure 19) were found close to the temple location. Furthermore, the excavation evidence suggests that use of this area extended from the Iron Age to at least the early fifth century CE (Leech et al 1986, 271).

Whilst the midden 55 m to the north-west, contained mainly Roman finds, it also contained material of late Iron Age date (Historic England, 2023a), and Kivell's (1927, 180) excavation south and west of the midden recovered further evidence - including brooches and pottery -

that the area was a focus of Iron Age activity. More broadly, aerial photography has also revealed that the temple site is at the eastern end of a complex of distinct archaeological deposits, represented by darker soil, occupying an area 500 m east to west and up to 250 m from north to south, contained within the scheduled area (Figure 19). Fieldwork in the 19th and 20th centuries revealed the presence of shallow earthworks in this area, interpreted as hut sites, together with pottery of Iron Age and Romano-British date (Historic England, 2023a; Wiltshire HER, 2023a; Wiltshire HER, 2023b).

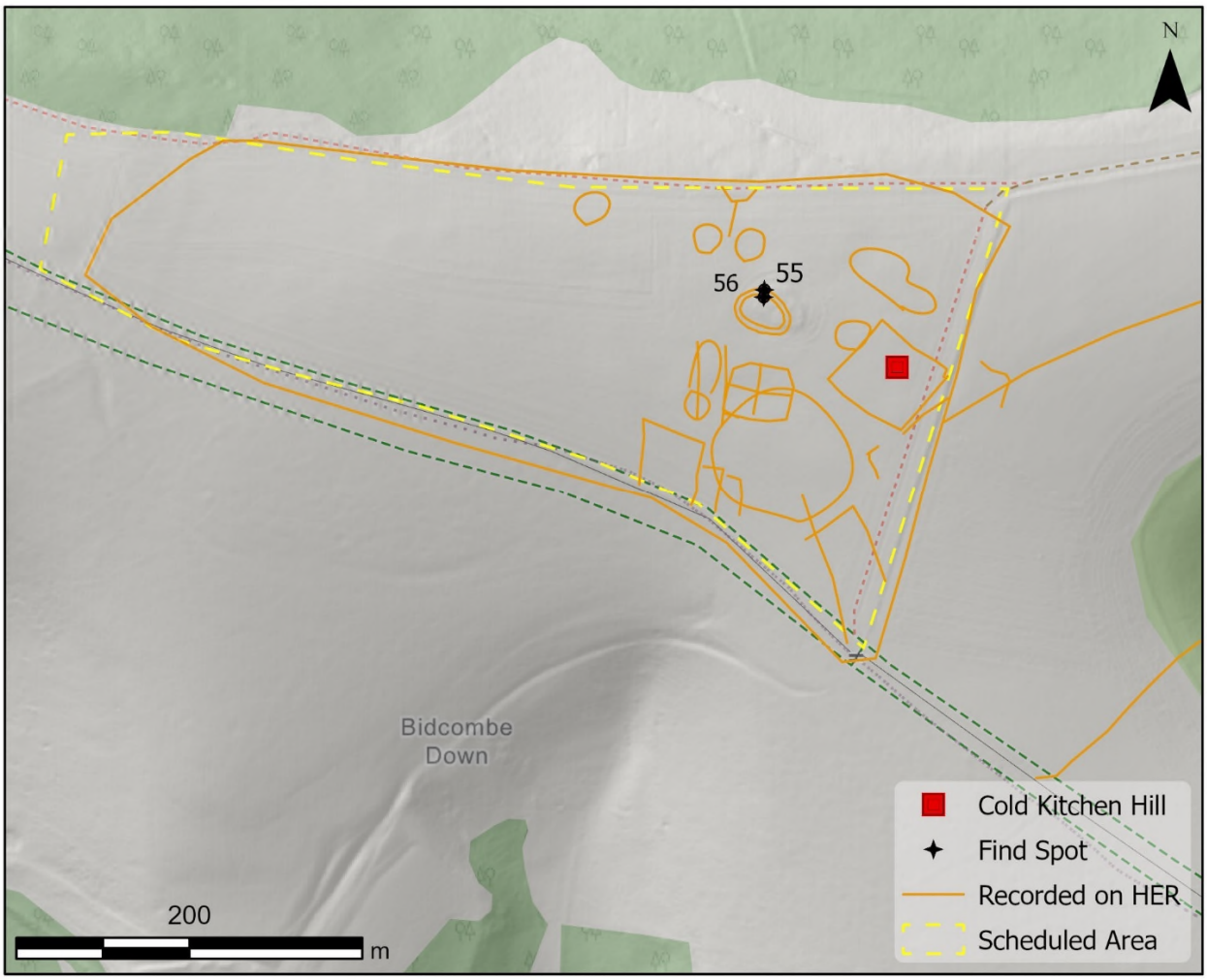

Figure 19: Cold Kitchen Hill temple: map of scheduled area

Furthermore, there was an Iron Age settlement 1.1 km to the east (#69) and Romano-British field systems to the south-east and north-east (Wiltshire HER 2023c), with further evidence for the latter revealed by LiDAR (Figure 20).

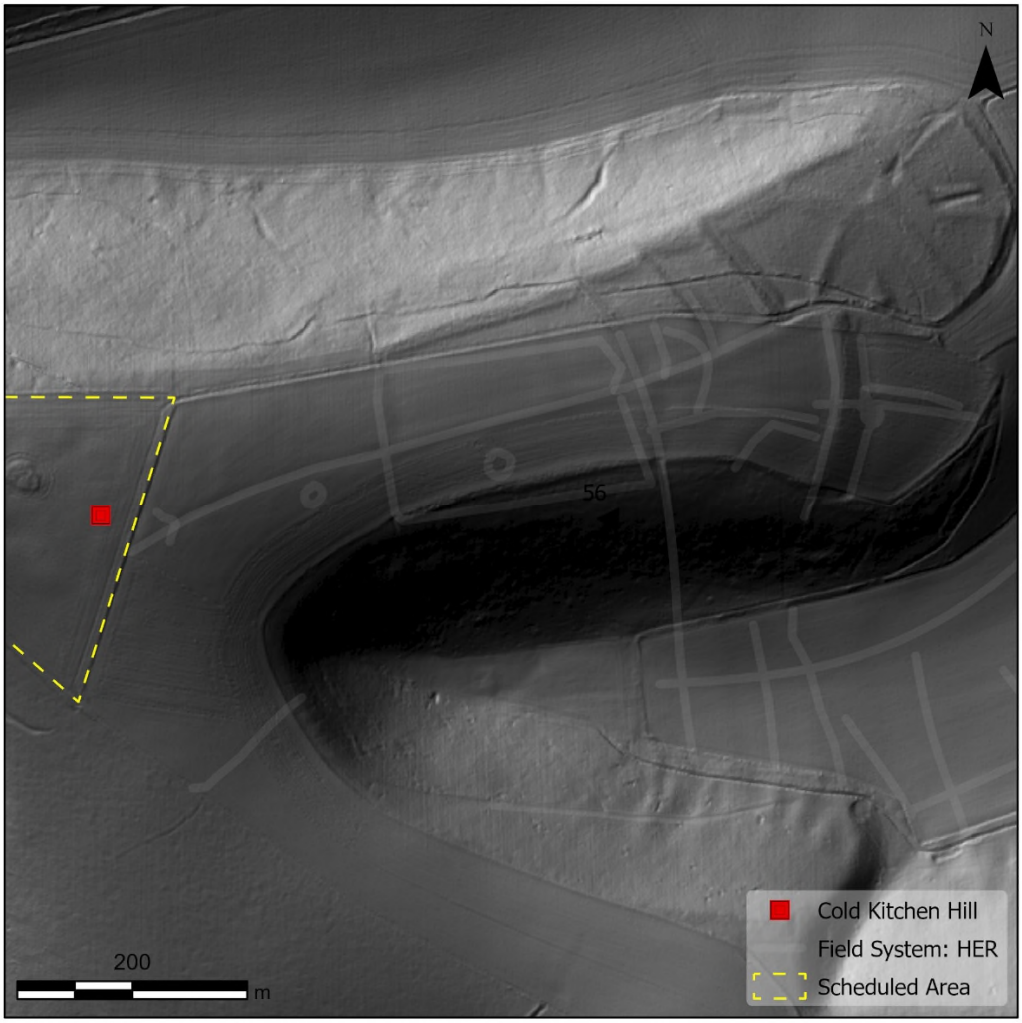

Figure 20: LiDAR image: extensions to HER field system data

The extent to which there were Iron Age precursors to Romano-Celtic temples is a key theme in the literature (e.g., Henig, 1984; Smith 2000, 13-16; Woodward 1992, 31-33). However, despite claims that the Romano-Celtic temple form originated in Britain (Wilson, 1975, 15) and is derived from earlier Iron Age shrines, it was most likely imported from northern Gaul alongside domestic architectural forms, such as Roman villas (Smith et al 2018, 135). Notwithstanding Hayling Island and Uley (Woodward 1992, 21), there are few examples where excavation has demonstrated the construction of a Romano-Celtic temple directly over an Iron Age shrine. Nonetheless, almost 60% of excavated early Romano-Celtic temple sites in Britain had some evidence of previous ritual activity, and Romano-Celtic temples do appear to be connected to underlying traditions of constructed sacred space from the late Iron Age (Smith et al 2018, 135-136). There is insufficient evidence to prove that the temple at Cold Kitchen Hill was constructed directly on the site of an Iron Age

shrine, as Robinson (2001, 150) suggests. However, the number of Iron Age brooches found in the 1924-1926 excavations, which Robinson (2001, 150) interprets as votive offerings, suggests, when considered together with the likelihood of Iron Age occupation, that the area may have been a centre for ritual activity in the pre-Roman period.

3.3.2 Relationships to Prehistoric Landscape Features

However, rather than being confined to the re-use of monuments or construction directly over pre-existing sacred sites, Eckhardt (2004, 37) argues for a more heterogeneous response to the material remains of the past in the Roman period. Indeed, Smith et al (2018, 160) identify 35 examples of Romano-Celtic temples associated with prehistoric monuments, whilst Williams (1998, 73) offers numerous examples. Furthermore, the significance of Neolithic and Bronze Age barrows in the Romano-British period is demonstrated by those yielding Romano-British pottery, coins or burials (Robinson 2001, 161).

Figure 21: Round barrow viewed from the Brean Down temple site (11.09.22)

Associations between temples and prehistoric monuments can also be considered in terms of their proximity, such as the round barrow located within 10 m of the temple at Brean Down (ApSimon 1965, 198; Figure 21), and the bowl barrow located 45 m to the south-east of the Kelsey Farm temple (Wiltshire HER, 2023d; Figure 22).

Figure 22: View of the bowl barrow from the Keysley Farm temple site (12.02.23)

However, whilst there are four bowl barrows north-west of the Cold Kitchen Hill temple site, the nearest (#16; Figure 24) is 700 m away, and there are no prehistoric monuments at Lamyatt Beacon. Nonetheless, the national evidence indicates a widespread interest in the more impressive prehistoric structures in the Romano-British period (Eckardt et al 2009, 85; Hutton 2011, 14-16), suggesting that their broader visibility from temple locations should also be considered. Lamyatt Beacon's visual associations with pre-Iron Age monuments are confined to the potentially partially visible bowl barrow (#1) 600 m to the north-west (Figure 23).

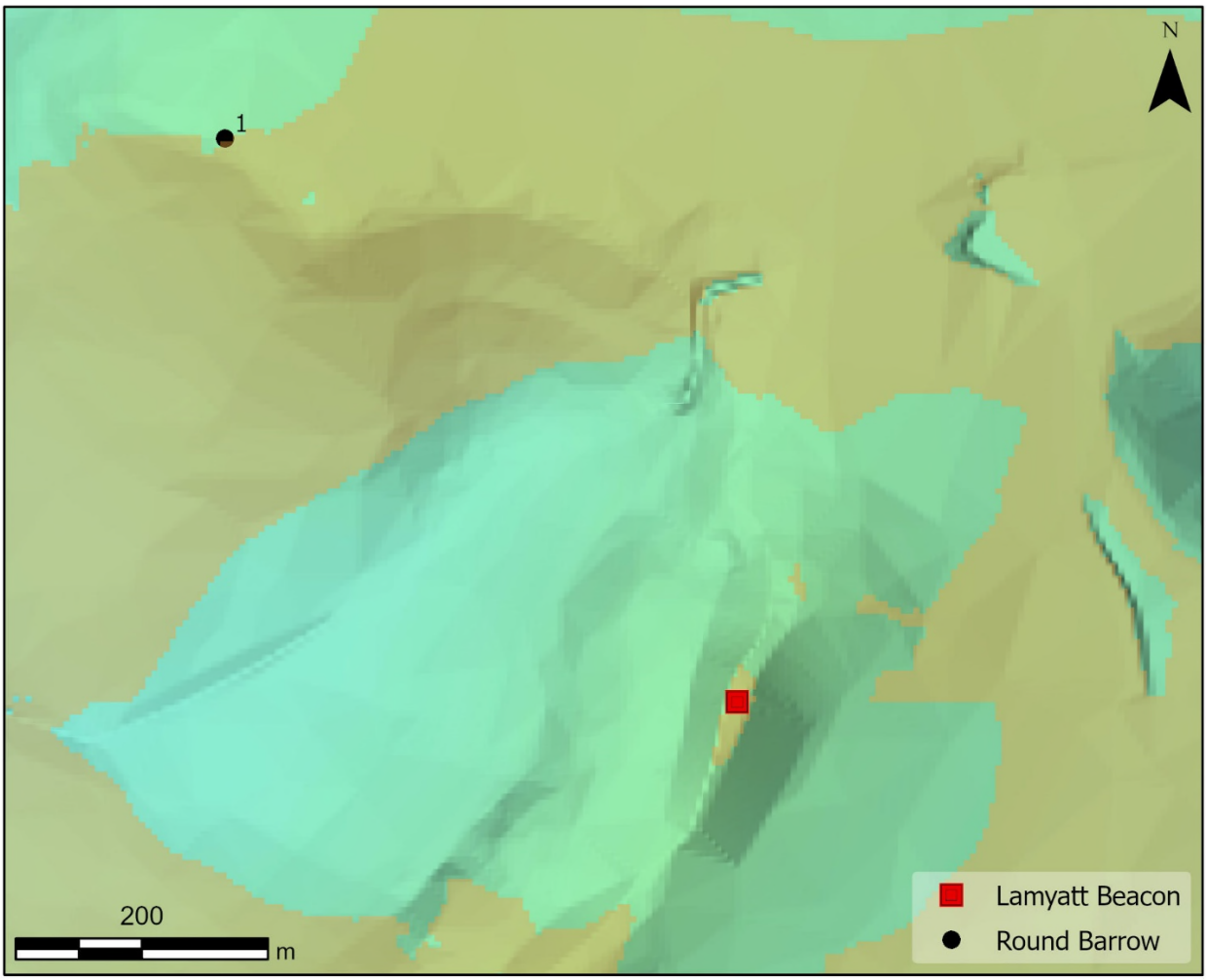

Figure 23: Projective viewshed from Lamyatt Beacon: Round Barrow

In contrast, in addition to pre-Iron Age finds (Appendix B) the Cold Kitchen Hill landscape is notable for its concentration of Bronze Age bowl, saucer, round and disc Barrows[7]. The viewshed analysis suggests that up to 12 may have been visible from the temple location, along with two Neolithic long barrows (#29,30; Figure 24). A number are located on the ridge across the valley to the south, which is one of the dominant views when visiting the site (Figure 25). Whilst many of these barrows have been ploughed out and are not visible today, burial mounds in the region were often capped with chalk, ensuring that that they stood out in the landscape (Historic England 2018b, 5)

[7] All summarised as 'round barrows' on maps.

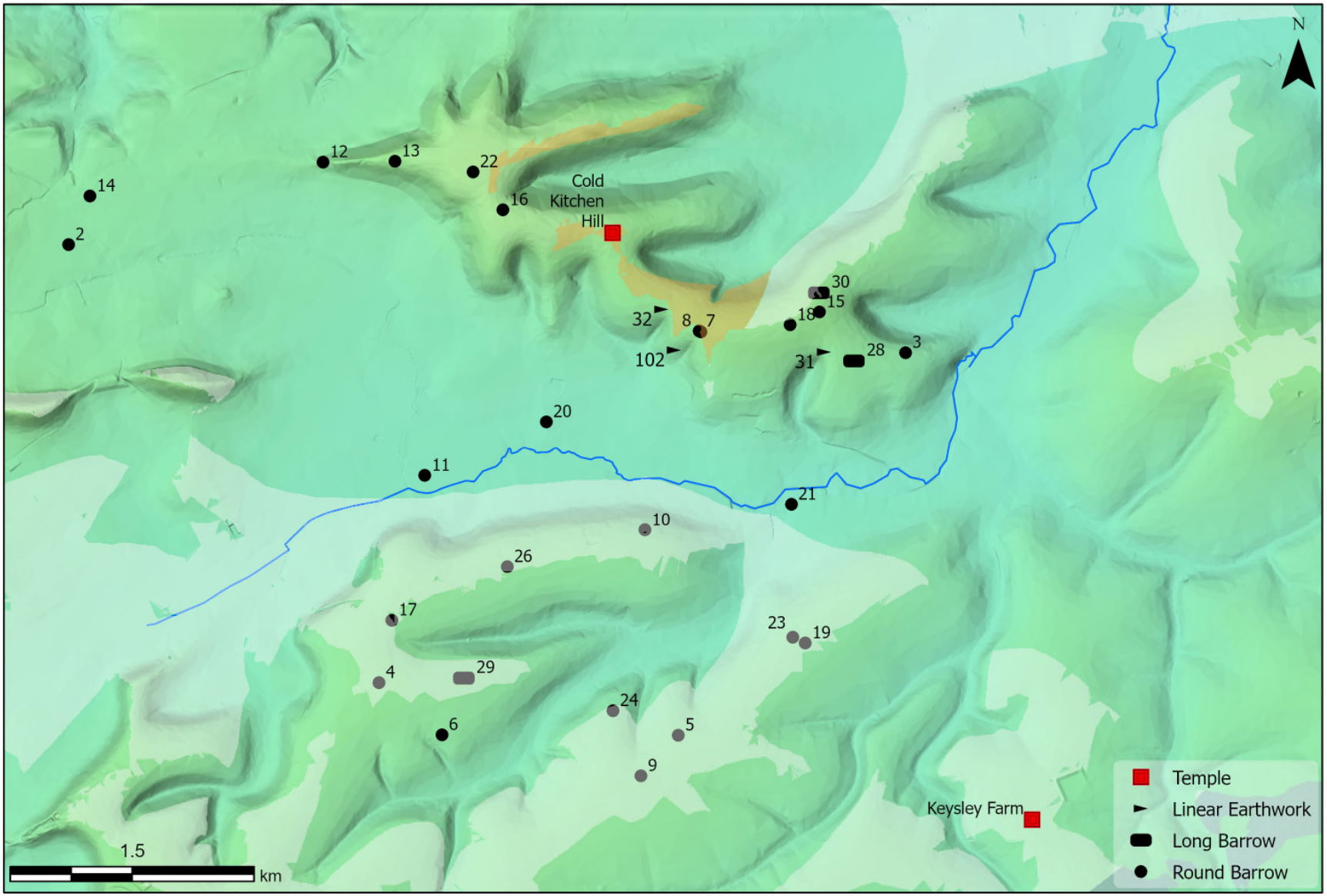

Figure 24: Pre-Iron Age landscape features, overlaid with a projective viewshed

In seeking to understand why locations that afforded visibility of past monuments might have been significant to the ‘builders’ of Romano-Celtic temples, theoretical perspectives addressing landscape and memory are useful. As with objects (Kopytoff 1986, 64-91), prehistoric monuments may have had lengthy ‘biographies’ and even once the original memory or meaning of a place was lost, the creation of ‘legendary topographies’ (Kamash 2014, 683) or ‘mythical histories’ (Gosden and Lock 1998, 2-12) may have emerged. For Hutton (2011, 16), Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments may have been perceived as offering strengthened relationships with the spirit world. However, such potential ‘religious’ motivations cannot be separated from the notion that how people relate to the past and its material remains is governed by the agendas of the individuals involved and the power they gain from controlling perceptions of the past (Holtorf and Williams 2006, 254).

Figure 25: View from Cold Kitchen Hill temple site, looking south (10.04.23)

This involved processes of selective remembering and forgetting to construct meanings associated with monuments, which served to reproduce and manipulate the social memories of communities in the Roman period (Eckhardt 2004, 36-37). Kamash (2014, 691) has suggested that Romano-Celtic temples may have been positioned to physically direct collective memories to an ‘idealised’ Bronze Age and Neolithic past, perhaps to avoid the more recent and controversial Iron Age past, with features from this period left deliberately

unused. Alternatively, not building directly over the Iron Age past may have been a form of protest that left a physical reminder of the ancestral memory and historic identity of native British inhabitants. However, despite its location affording a potential view of prehistoric barrows, the evidence for activity at Cold Kitchen Hill does not suggest a location left unused to either 'forget' or to 'preserve' memories of the Iron Age past. Therefore, if the view of the barrows was significant, it might reflect a return to a faith in the native spirits of the countryside in the later Roman period (Darvill 2004, 228) or an influence on earlier decisions to use this space in the Iron Age. However, when discussing leaving spaces unused, Kamash (2014, 691) particularly focuses on the failure to utilise the emblematic Iron Age hillforts as temple locations. Indeed, notwithstanding examples such as Maiden Castle and Lydney, the verified presence of Romano-Celtic temples in hillforts is very limited (Woodward 1992,12). Whilst both temple locations afforded views of hillforts in the mid and far visible ranges (Appendix D), the most significant is Fox Covert (#33), an undated and unexcavated slight univallate hill fort, located 650 m to the north-west of Lamyatt Beacon (Lock and Ralston, 2017). Here, as at Brean Down (ApSimon, 1965) and Henley Wood (Watts and Leach, 1996), a temple was constructed close to, but outside a hillfort. Furthermore, a sizeable proportion of Fox Covert is in near visible range from the Lamyatt Beacon temple site (Figures 26 & 27).

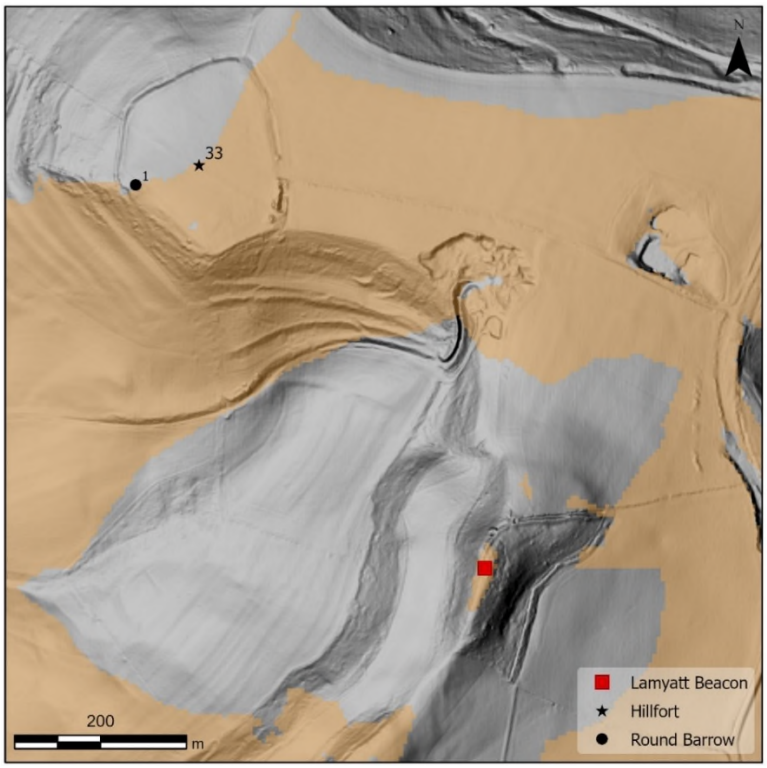

Figure 26: Projective viewshed from Lamyatt Beacon on a multi-directional LiDAR image

Furthermore, the summit of Lamyatt Beacon is slightly higher than the hillfort, perhaps affording the feeling that the temple location 'looks over' it. Nonetheless, any interpretation of the significance of the findings that Fox Covert was left apparently unused, yet clearly visible from the temple location, requires consideration alongside a range of other factors, which are discussed in subsequent sections.

Figure 27: View of Fox Covert from the ridge to the north of Lamyatt Beacon (10.08.23)

3.4 Roman Roads

This section synthesises new and existing evidence to map the routes of RR45B, RR46, RR52 and RRX37, before exploring their relationships with the temple locations.

3.4.1 Roman Road 45B

RR45B was established soon after the Roman invasion (Fradley 2009, 54-55), to transport lead mined in the Mendips via Charterhouse to Old Sarum (Leach 2001, 22). However, evidence for the route is conjectural as it passes Cold Kitchen Hill between Stockton Wood and Maiden Bradley. Apart from a short, scheduled part of the route (Heritage Gateway, 2023b), the OSAD's records offer the most detail. Therefore, their combined conjectural and 'certain' route is used as a baseline, supplemented by the HER (OSAD, 1983a; Figure 28).

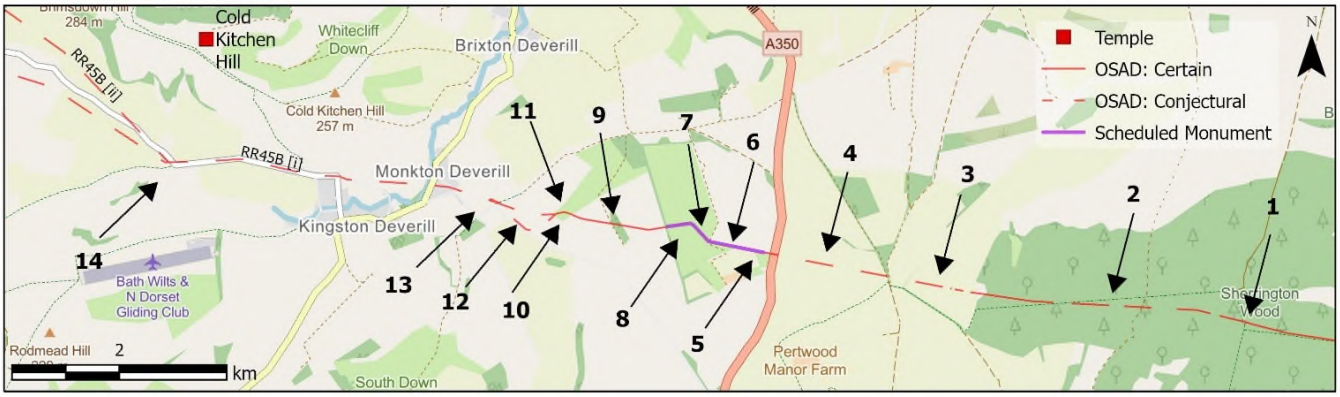

Figure 28: Locations of RR45B discussed in this section

From Sherington Wood until Point Point Wood the OSAD (1983a) are certain about the route, which is confirmed by LiDAR revealing the ditches and agger beneath the tree canopy (Figure 29).

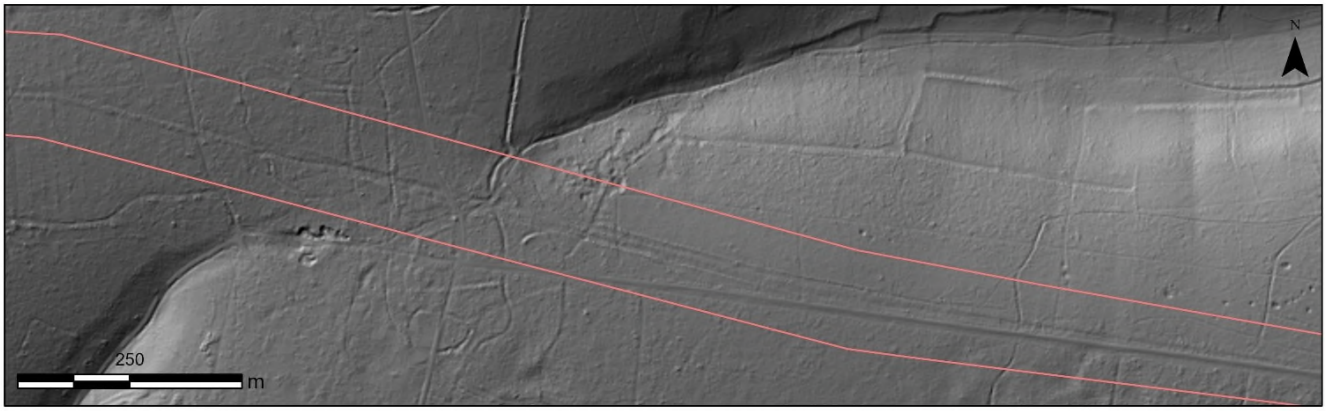

Figure 29: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 93294 36035 (1)

Whilst the OSAD (1983a) only offer a conjectural route from Scrubbed Oak to Pound Copse, LiDAR appears to show the continuation of the agger (Figure 30).

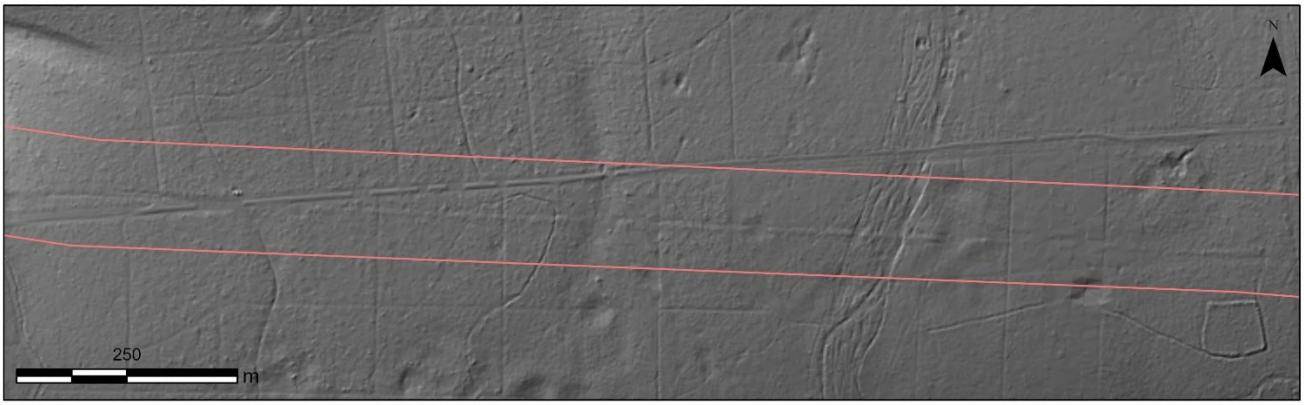

Figure 30: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 91843 36212 (2)

The OSAD (1983a) have confidence about a short stretch of the route as it exits the woodland and crosses fields, and this appears to be confirmed by LiDAR (Figure 31).

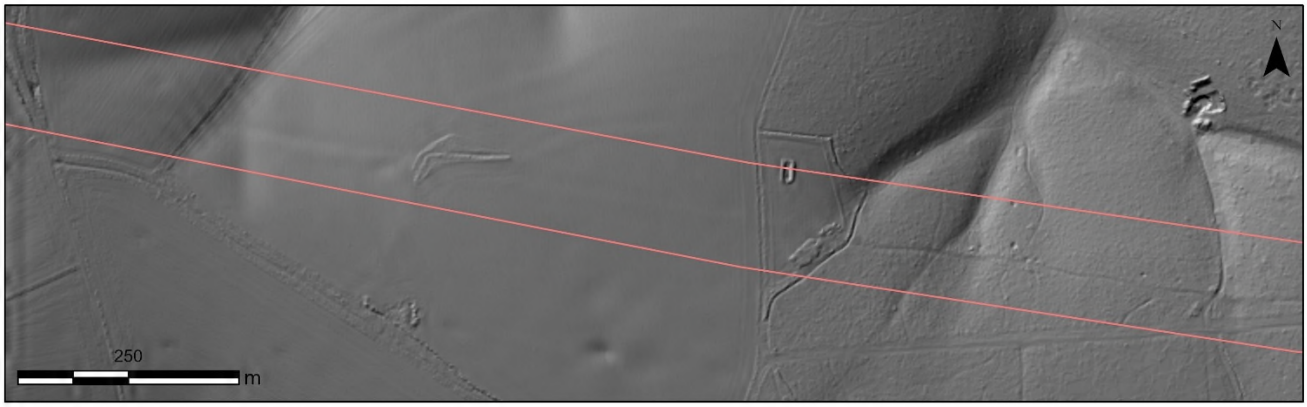

Figure 31: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 90342 36408 (3)

The OSAD (1983a) route is then conjectural until Lower Pertwood. However, the road can be confirmed by an aerial photograph as it approaches the A350 (Figure 32).

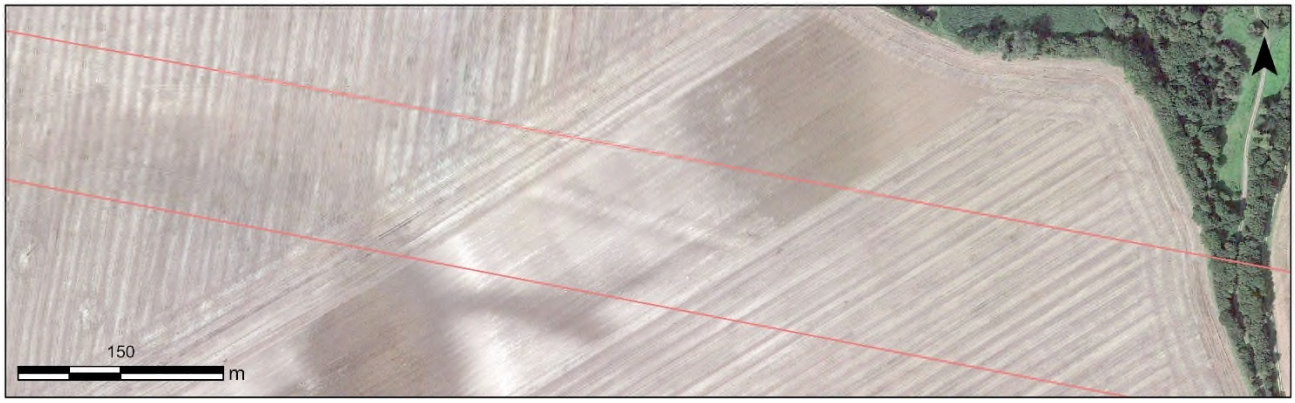

Figure 32: Aerial photo centred at NGR: ST 89172 36626 (Google Earth 9/2020) (4)

After it crosses the A350, a restricted byway preserves the route and the agger is clearly visible in the woodland (Figure 33). From this point the route is known with confidence by the OSAD (1983a) and is recorded as a scheduled monument for 1060 m (Heritage Gateway, 2023b).

Figure 33: Agger in woodland at NGR: ST 88432 36791 (10.04.23) (5)

After it exits the woodland, it is visible on the ground and on LiDAR (Figures 34 & 36), with the Knoll's and Cold Kitchen Hill visible in the distance.

Figure 34: Agger at NGR: ST 88210 36845 (10.04.23) (6)

Figure 35: Agger at NGR: ST 88036 36935 (10.04.23) (7)

As noted by the OSAD (1983a) the road then descends with the agger partly visible on the ground (Figure 35), and on LiDAR (Figure 36), as it skirts the base of a hill.

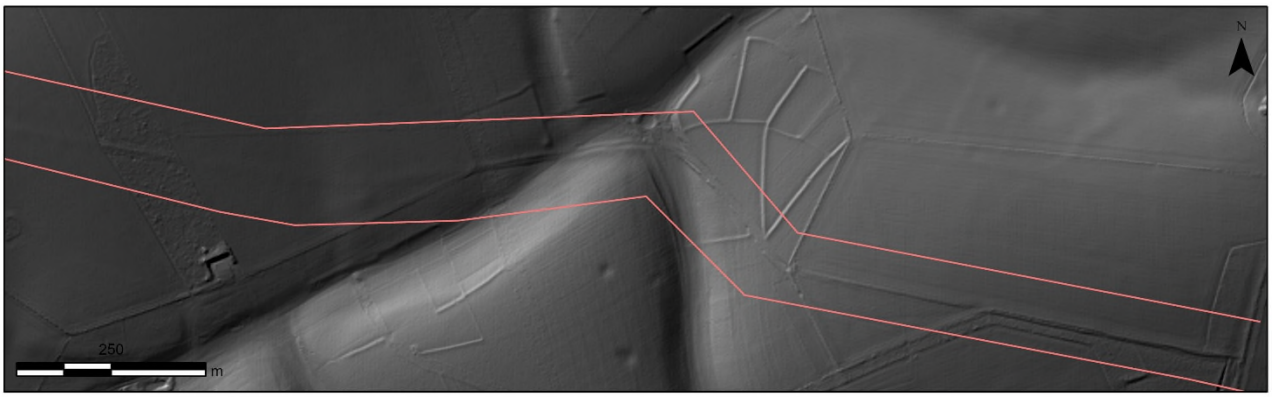

Figure 36: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 87893 37037 (8)

Here, the road appears to cut across a ‘celtic’ field system, which is discussed further in section 3.5.2 (Figure 37).

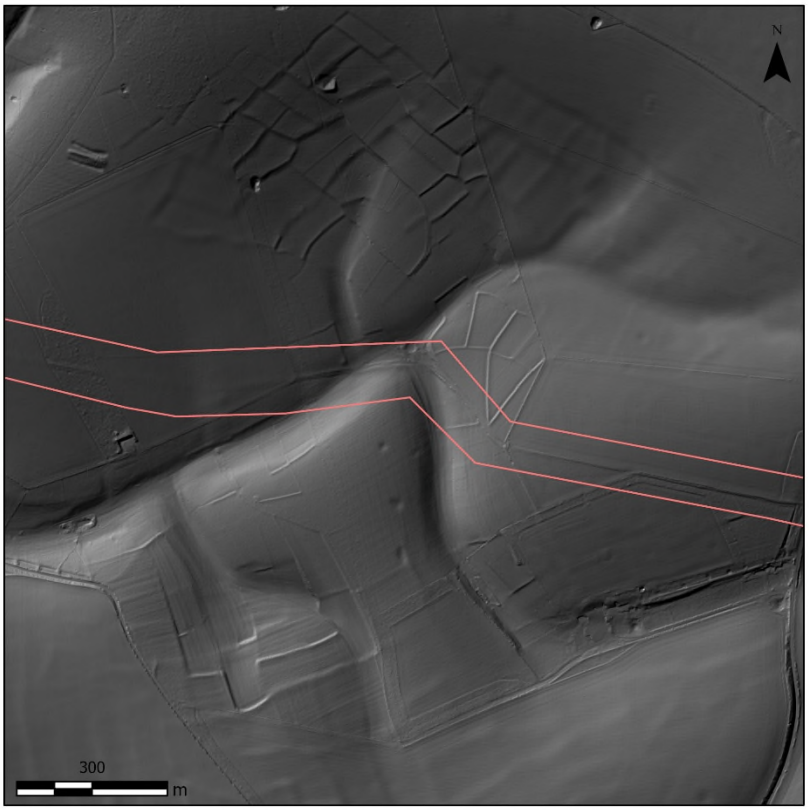

Figure 37: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 87893 37037 (8)

From the end of the scheduled section, the OSAD (1983a) confirm the route as running through some woodland, north-east of Pen Hill Barn. The road here is clearly visible on LiDAR (Figure 38).

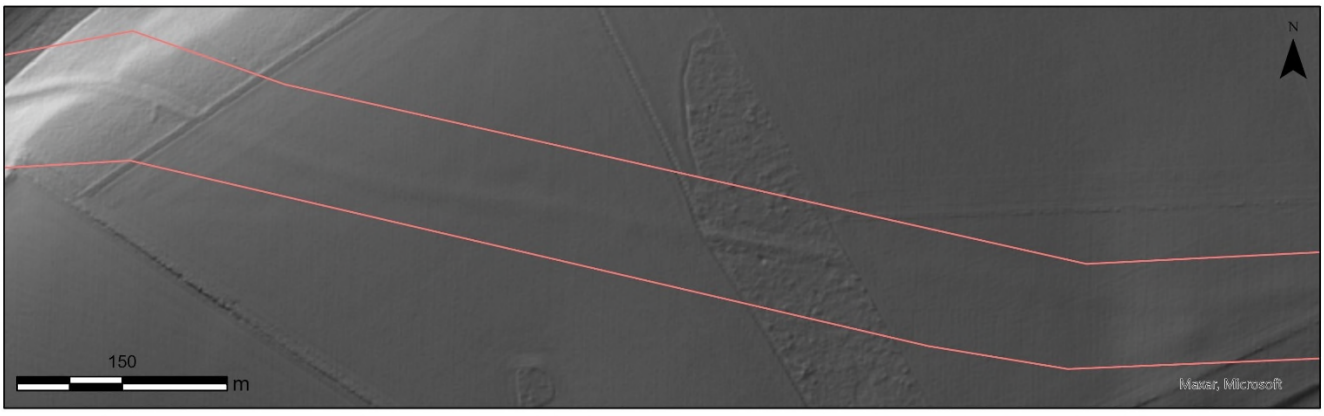

Figure 38: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 87078 37042 (9)

This section is also visible on an aerial photograph, as it exits the woodland and descends a steep hill (Figure 39).

Figure 39: Aerial photo centred at NGR: ST 87078 37042 (Google Earth 4/2001) (10)

Whilst the road is not visible on the ground, the broader chalk ridge of Cold Kitchen Hill is prominent in the distance (Figure 40).

Figure 40: RR45B at NGR: ST 86973 37027 (10.04.23) (10)

As it descends the steep hill towards Monkton Deverill, the agger is also observable on the ground (Figure 41).

Figure 41: Agger at NGR: ST 86796 37126 (10.04.23) (11)

Beyond this point the OSAD (1983a) state that the route is lost, but suggest that the road may have continued west, passing just above the New Inn, crossing the river and joining the present day Kingston Lane; whilst Margary (1973, 102) suggests a route slightly to the south of the Church. However, a section of road interpreted as RR45B was revealed in 1990 during pipeline works at NGR: ST 858372 (Rawlings, 1990). This suggests that the route is likely to have skirted the base of a hill and continued to cross the River Wylye at the ford close to Kingston Lane, before joining the OSAD's (1983a) conjectural route along the modern road (Figures 42 & 43).

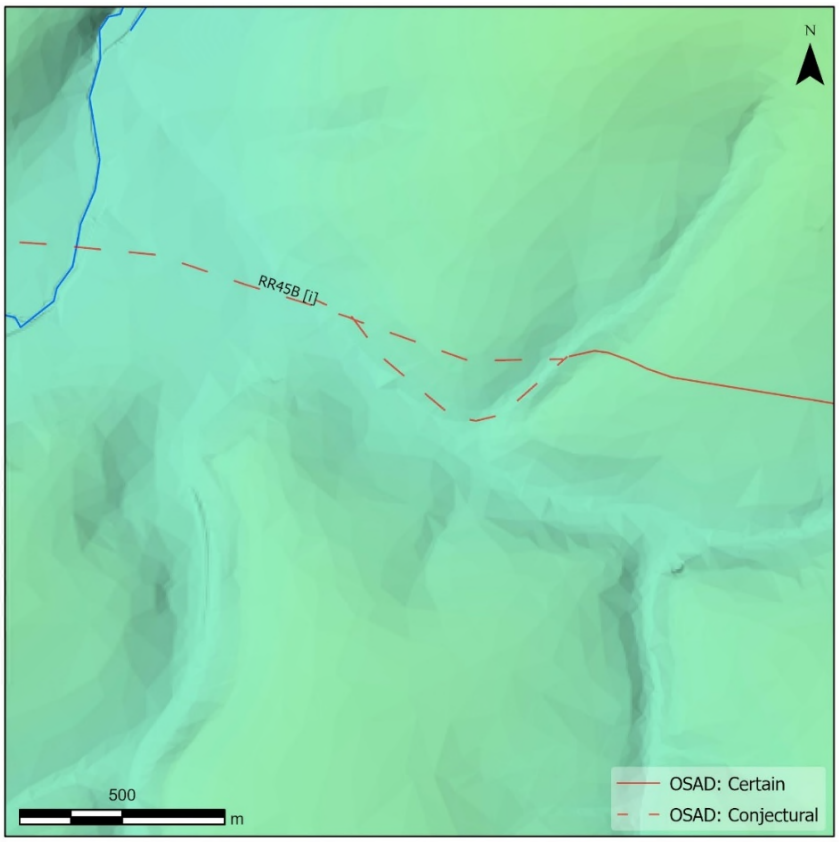

Figure 42: RR45B route options, centred at NGR: ST 86484 36919 (12)

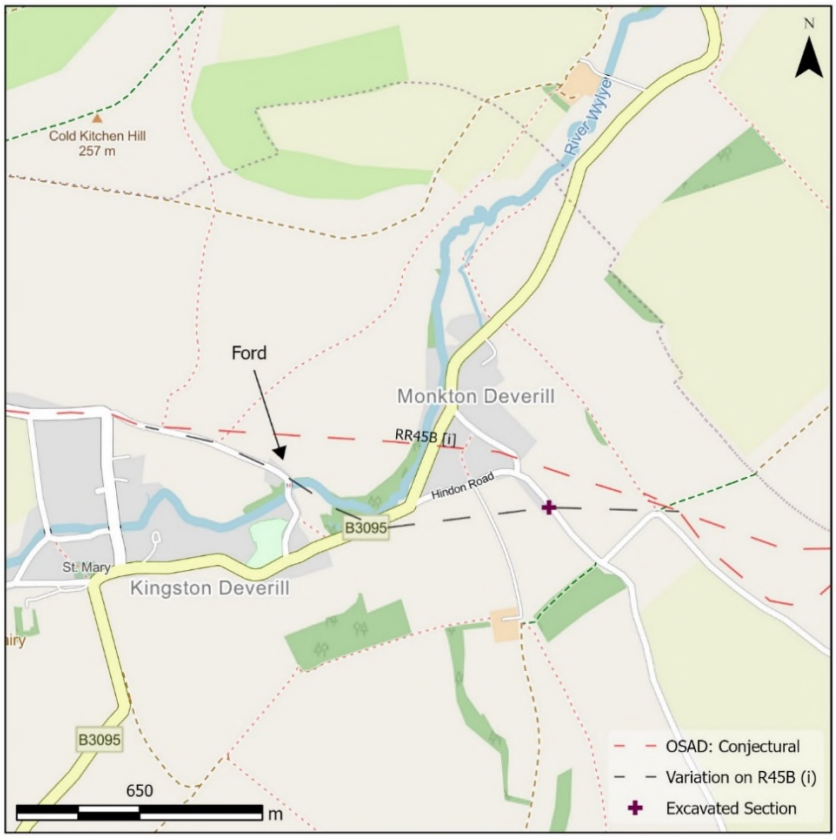

Figure 43: RR45B: excavation and route variation (13)

In the absence of further evidence, the OSAD's route RR45Bi is adopted from this point, bearing north-west towards and through Maiden Bradley (Figure 44). Whilst the OSAD (1983c) also suggest that the road (RR45Bii) may have taken a route bearing north-west of Maiden Bradley, the reasons for the rejection of this route are outlined in the context of the discussion of RR52, below.

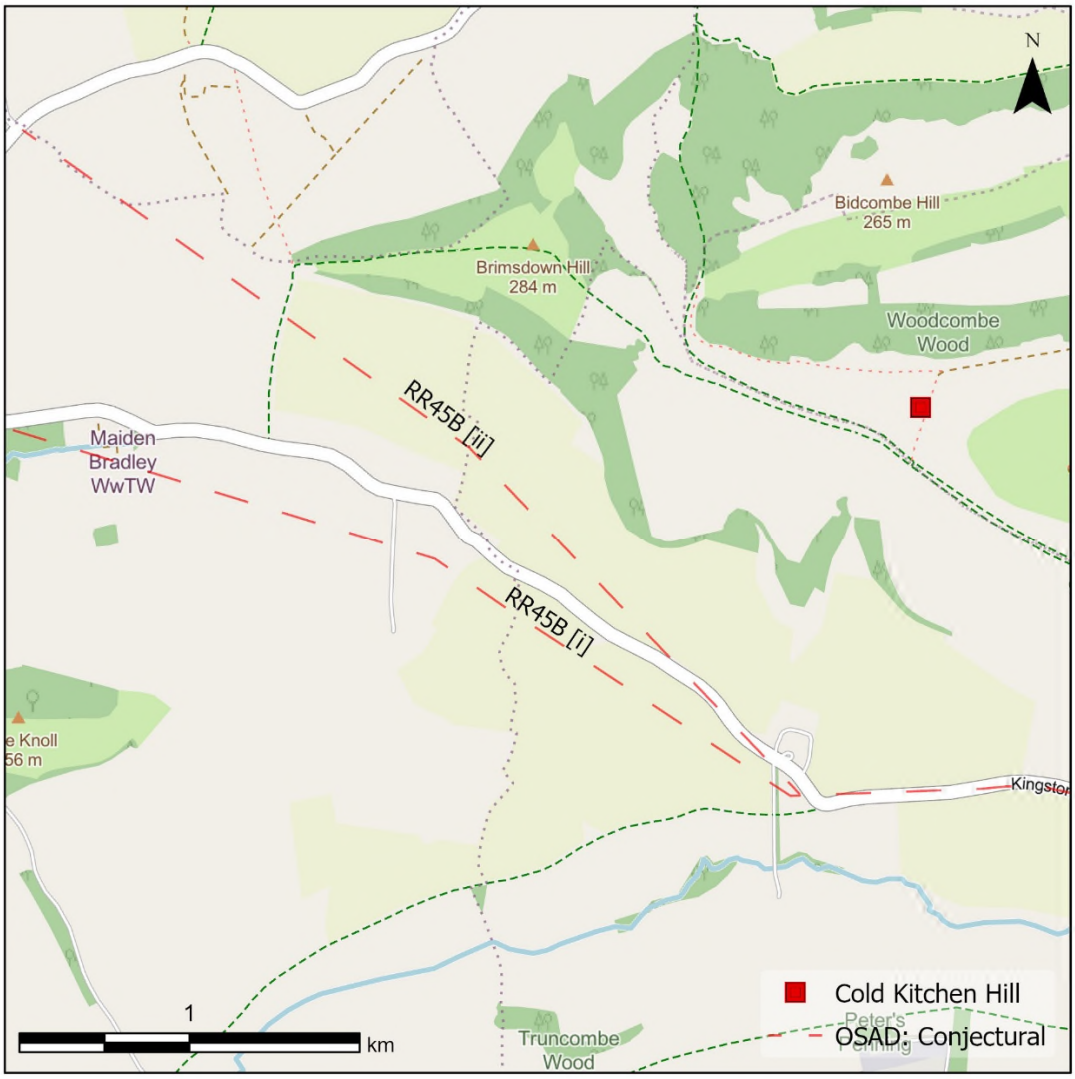

Figure 44: R45B i and ii (14)

3.4.2 Roman Road 46

RR46 connected Badbury Rings with the RR45B at Kingston Deverill and continued to Bath via the RR52 (Margary 1973, 107; OSAD, 1983b). However, whilst well authenticated from Badbury Rings to the East Knoyle gap, from this point to its junction with RR45B, the route is conjectural (OSAD, 1983b; Henry et al 2021, 79-105). The OSAD (1983b) suggests that

the most likely route utilised a ridge over Keysley Down or alternatively followed the bottom of a dry valley; with both routes passing the temple site at Keysley Farm (Figure 45). Whilst Margary (1973, 107) claims that the road is likely to have met RR45B at the ford over the River Wylye close to Kingston Deverell, the OSAD (1983b) suggests that the junction was more likely to be close to Monkton Deverill church, where another ford crosses the river. However, the section of RR45B reported in 1990 (Figure 43) suggests that this was the maximum northerly limit of the junction by which RR46 joined RR45B (Figure 45).

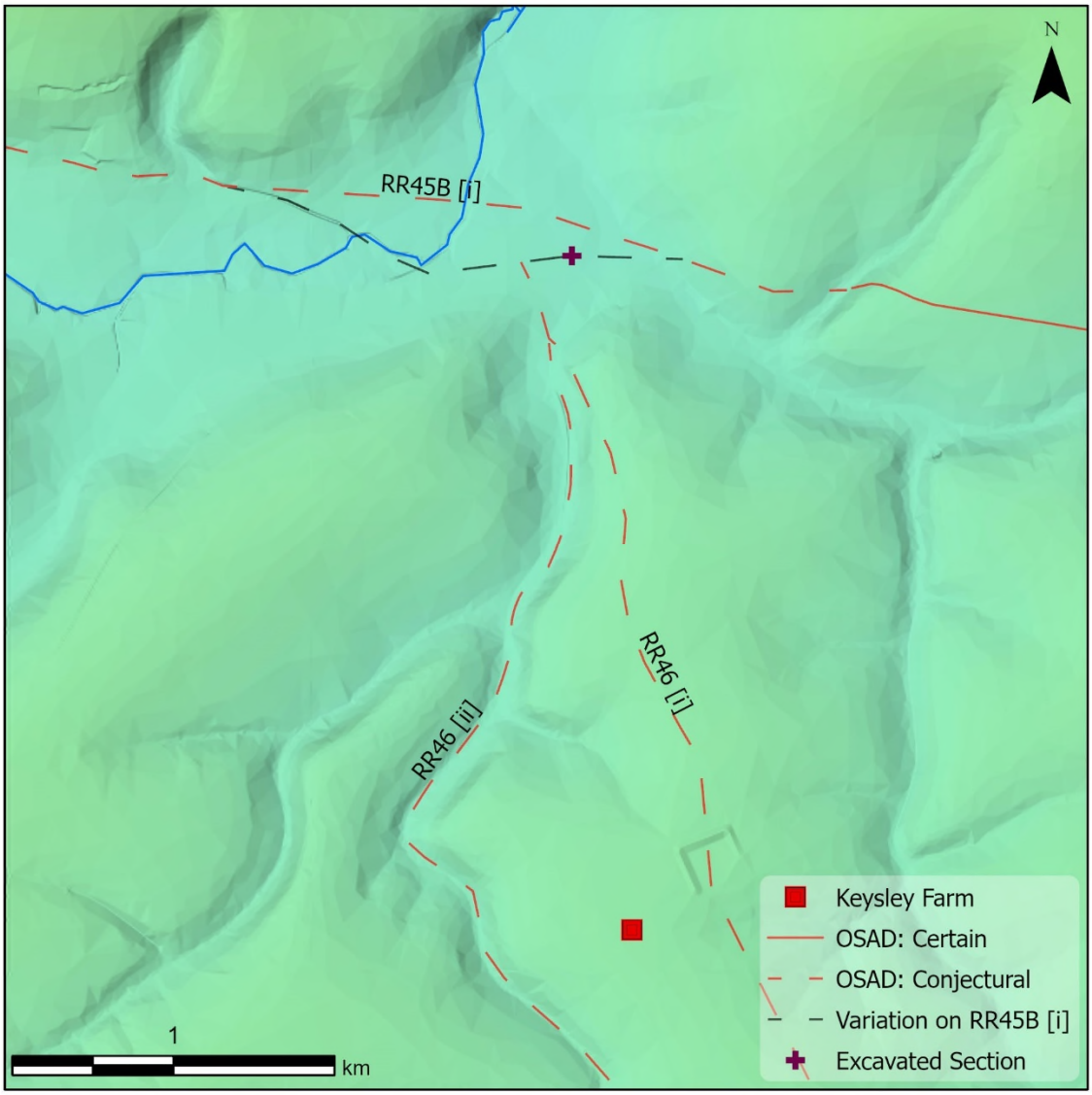

Figure 45: RR46 i and ii, centred at NGR: ST 85779 36668

3.4.3 Roman Road 52

Whilst RR52 can be traced from Bath as far as Woolverton (Margary 1973, 127), much of the route to the south of this is uncertain, including the junction with the RR45B (OSAD, 1983c). The OSAD (1983c) proposes two routes, the first of which (RR52i), joins RR45B a mile west of Monkton Deverill, at the start of a bridleway that traverses the southern slopes of Cold Kitchen Hill via a spur. However, they state that this route would involve an unnecessary climb, unless it was intended to serve the 'Romano-British settlement on Whitecliff Down' (Figure 46).

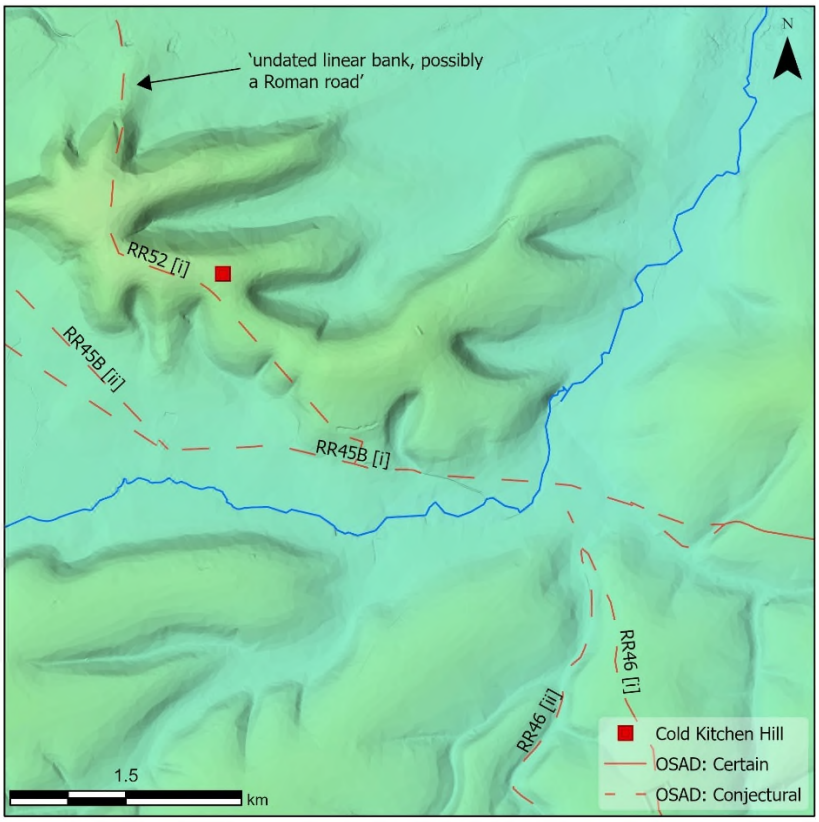

Figure 46: OSAD conjectural RR52i route centred at NGR: ST 84589 38373

However, the Wiltshire HER (2023e) records an 'undated linear bank, possibly a Roman road' at Charlock, immediately after the steep descent from Brimsdown Hill (Figure 46). An additional note on the record (Wiltshire HER 2023e) suggests that is a road agger, running north-south for a length of approximately 350 m, curving slightly as it rises to cross Brimsdown Hill; represented by a cambered surface located upon an agger or bank 14 m wide by 1.5 m high. To the north the road is cut by a post-medieval quarry, whilst to the south at the top of the slope a later cart track has deepened the road to a holloway disturbing

the earlier Roman remains. LiDAR clearly shows this feature, alongside a square second world war searchlight encampment (Wiltshire HER 2023f; Figure 47).

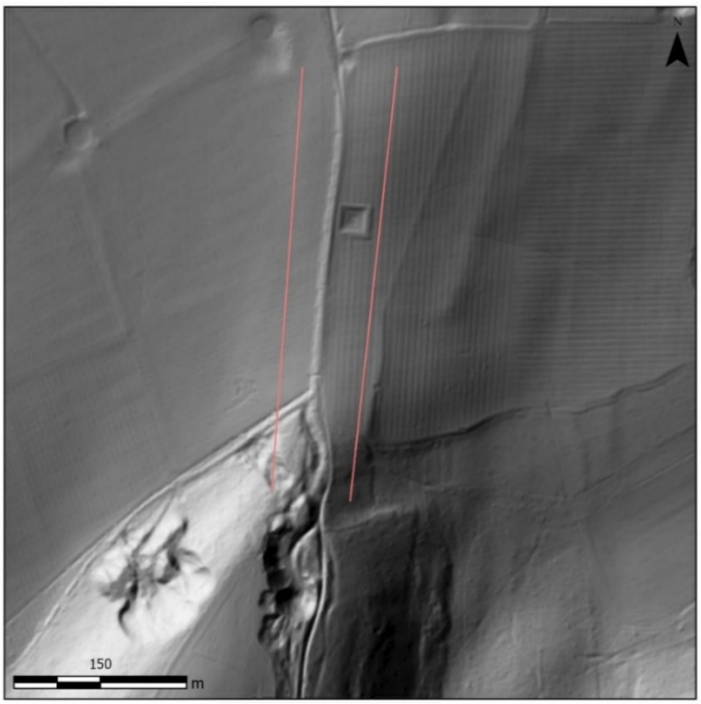

Figure 47: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 82773 40024

The possible agger is also visible on the ground (Figure 48):

Figure 48: Possible agger of RR52i at NGR: ST 82773 40024 (10.04.23)

The second potential route proposed by the OSAD (1983c) suggests that the road headed north from a junction with RR45Bii, 2.75 km north-north-west of Monkton Deverill, skirting the high ground of Cold Kitchen Hill; without incurring extra distance due to the north-westerly direction of RR45Bii; although four separate routes are proposed (Figure 49).

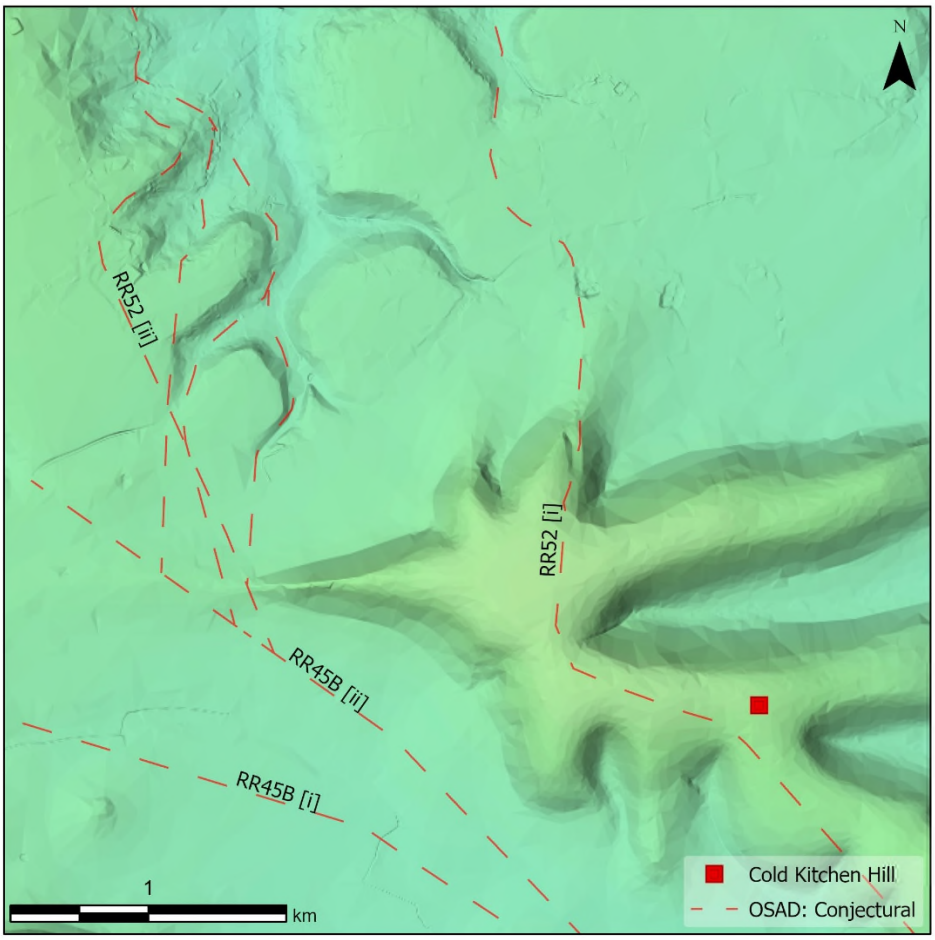

Figure 49: RR52ii conjectural routes centred at NGR: ST 82116 39519

However, the Wiltshire HER (2023g) suggests that an undated trackway, where a linear feature was identified on an aerial photograph directly south of RR45Bii at NGR: ST 81514 38976 is potentially a Roman road. Whilst the Wiltshire HER (1983g) suggests that this may be a section of RR45B, and not RR52; given the northerly alignment, the reverse is more likely to be the case (Figure 50). This would extend the junction with RR52 south of RR45Bii, for which the OSAD (1983b) only refer to as far as Maiden Bradley in their discussion of RR52. Therefore, RR45Bi would become the most likely route and given that the trackway aligns with one of the routes skirting the high ground to the west, suggests that this would be the most likely option of RR52ii (Figure 51).

Figure 50: Trackway at NGR: ST 81514 38976 (10.04.23)

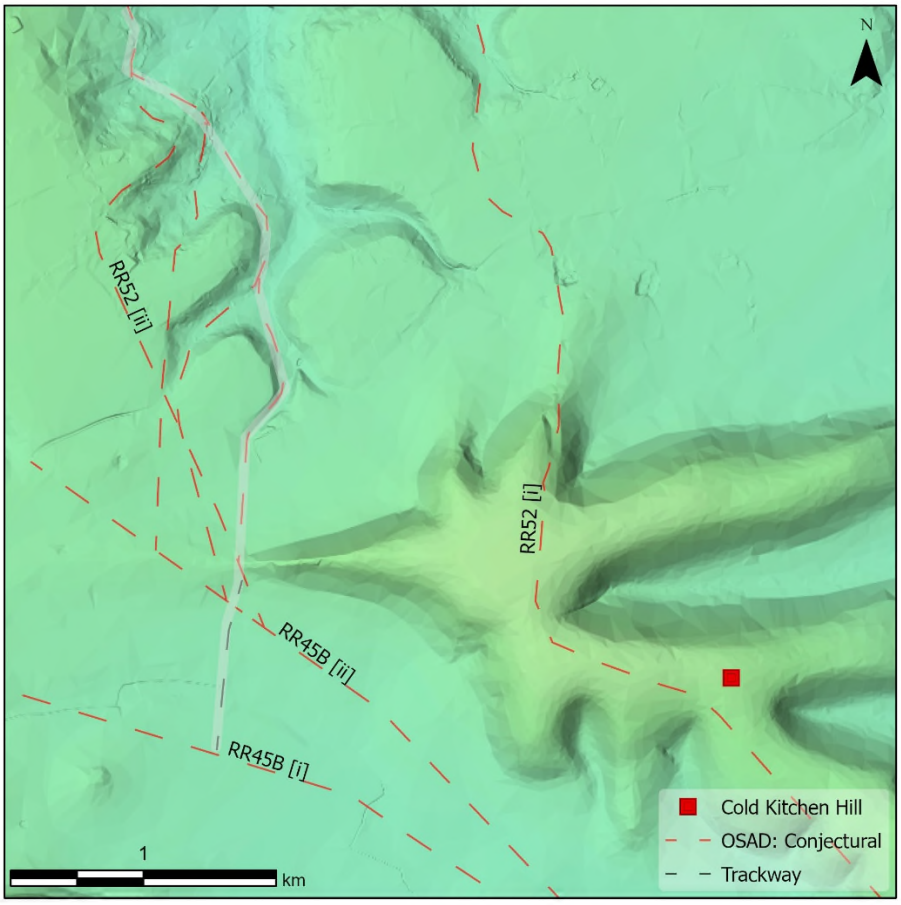

Figure 51: RR52ii likely route centred at NGR: ST 81467 40850

3.4.4 Roman Roads: Cold Kitchen Hill

Following the preceding discussion, Figure 52 outlines the revised understanding of Roman roads in the vicinity of Cold Kitchen Hill, with a wider perspective of their place within the regional road network provided in Figure 65. Given the uncertainty around the options associated with RR46 and RR52, both options for each are retained.

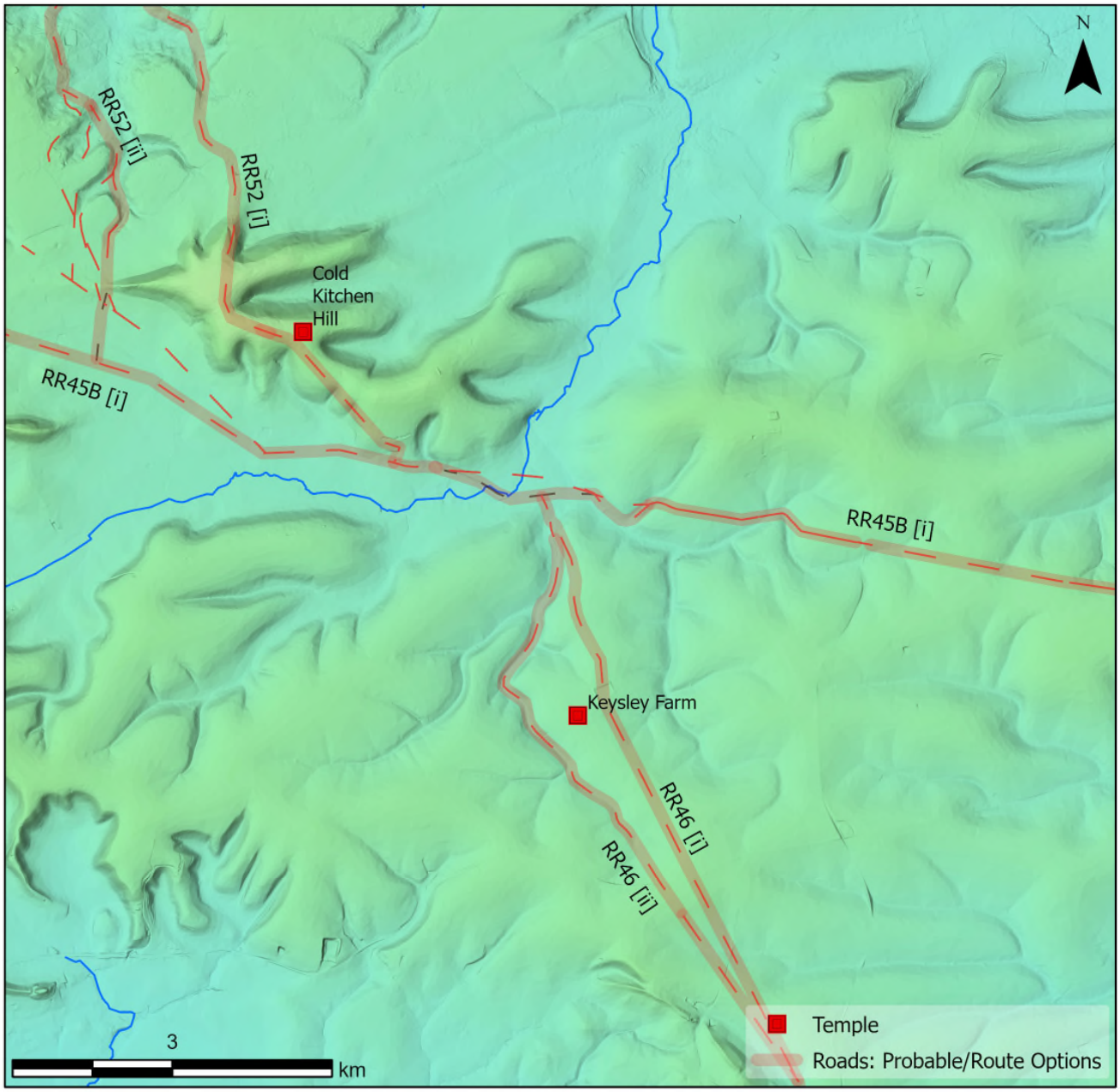

Figure 52: Roman road evidence: Cold Kitchen Hill

3.4.5 RRX37

Whilst Margary (1973) does not refer to RRX37, the OSAD (1983d) subsequently suggested a possible route (Figure 53).

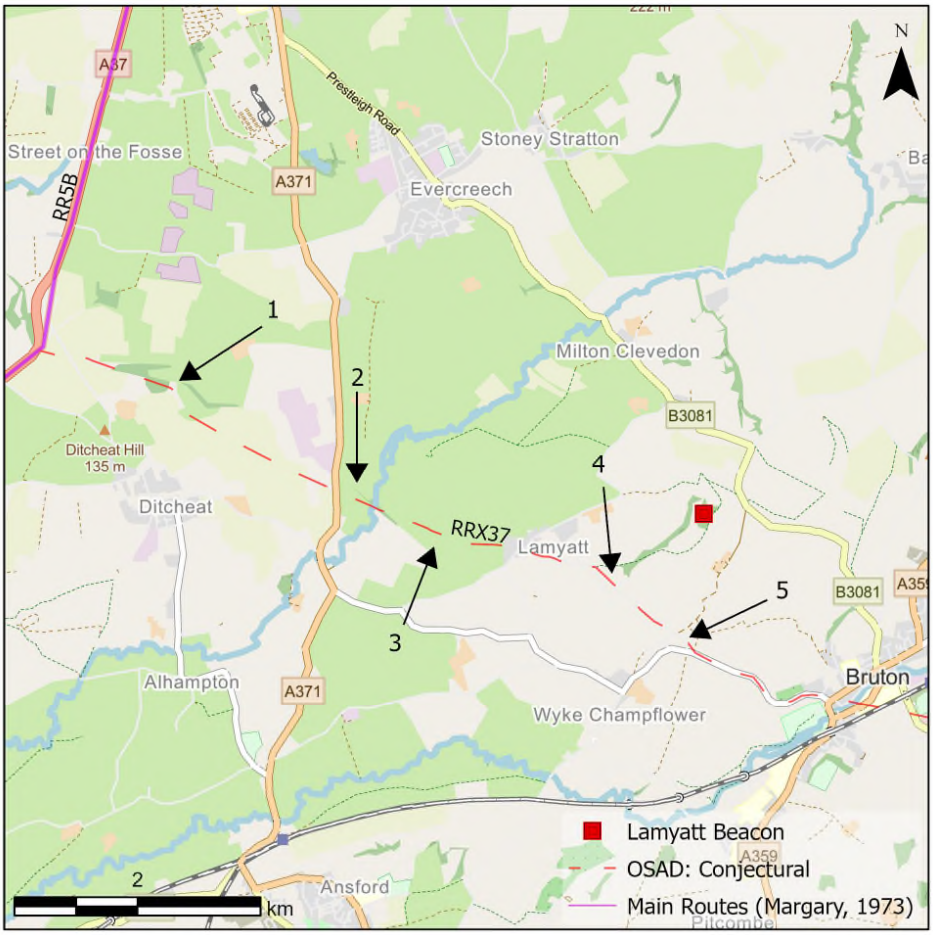

Figure 53: Locations of RRX37 discussed in this section

Parish and field boundaries can preserve Roman road routes (Bagshawe 1979,19), and just as the Fosse Way (RR5B) is indicated by the existing parish boundary between Ditcheat and East Pennard, Aston and Burrow (1982, 64) suggest that RRX37 can be traced from the junction with the Fosse Way at Pylle Hill by the straight line of parish and field boundaries continuing to Lamyatt (Somerset HER 2023c; Figure 54). The first visible evidence of RRX37 may be preserved by the holloway noted by the OSAD (1983d), immediately preceding and joining the commencement of the straight line of field and parish boundaries. Indeed, the LiDAR evidence reveals that the feature is preserved in woodland as well as in the field beyond, as suggested by the OSAD (1983d) (Figure 55).

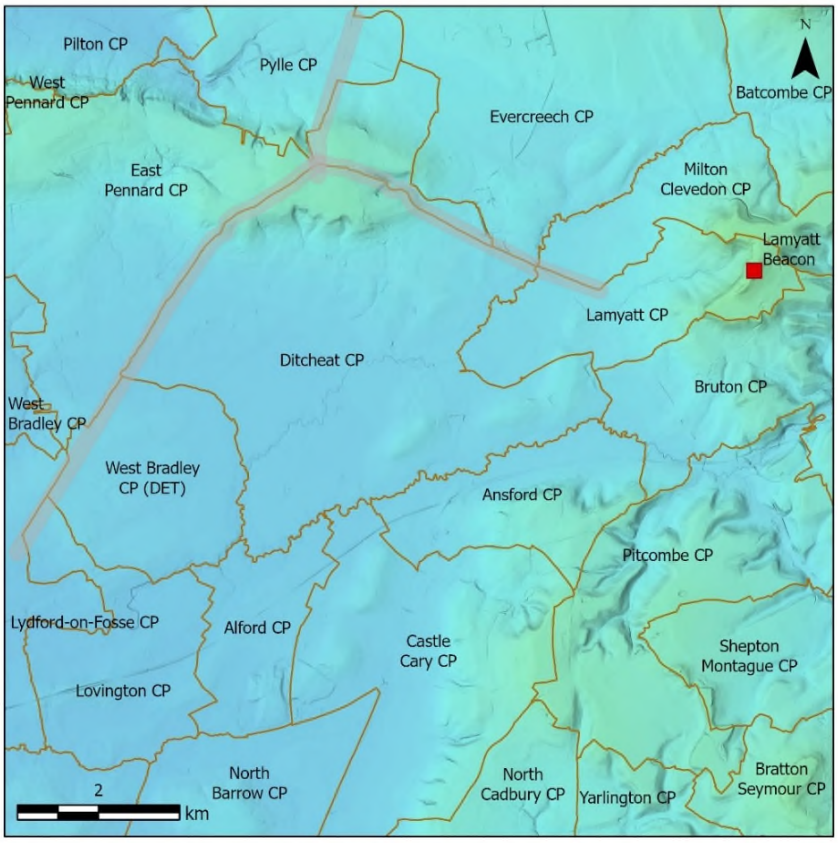

Figure 54: Parish boundaries and (shaded) routes of RR5b and RRX37

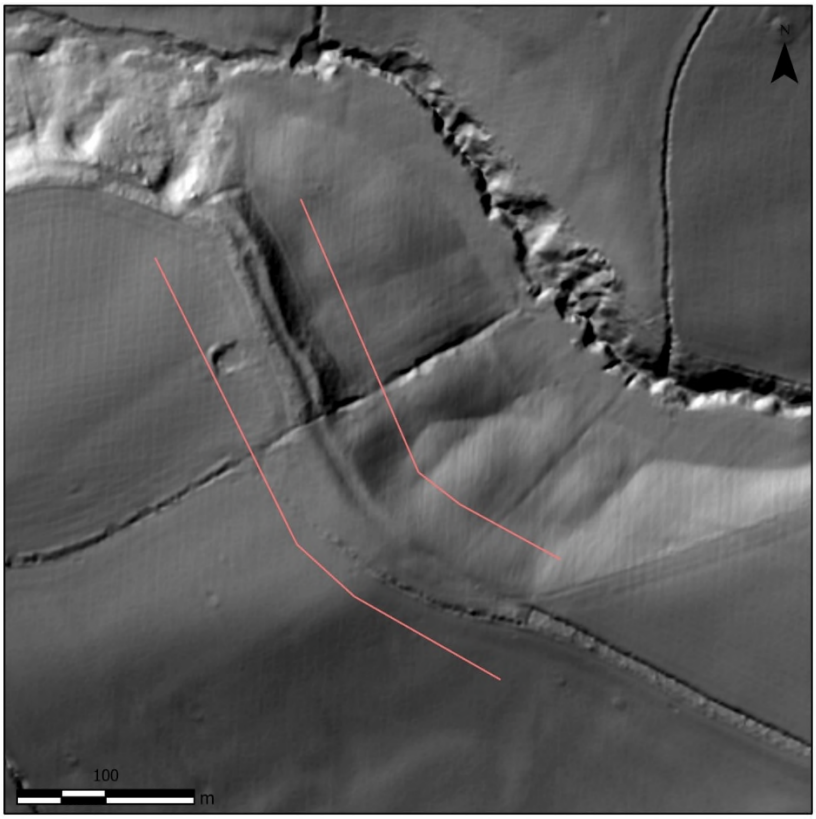

Figure 55: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 62751 36998 (1)

Much of the route from this point has been overlain with hedgerow since at least the 19th century. However, there is a break in the hedge line, immediately east of the modern A371 where historic mapping indicates that there was previously a field boundary continuing the conjectured line of RRX37 in both directions (Figure 56, 57 & 58).

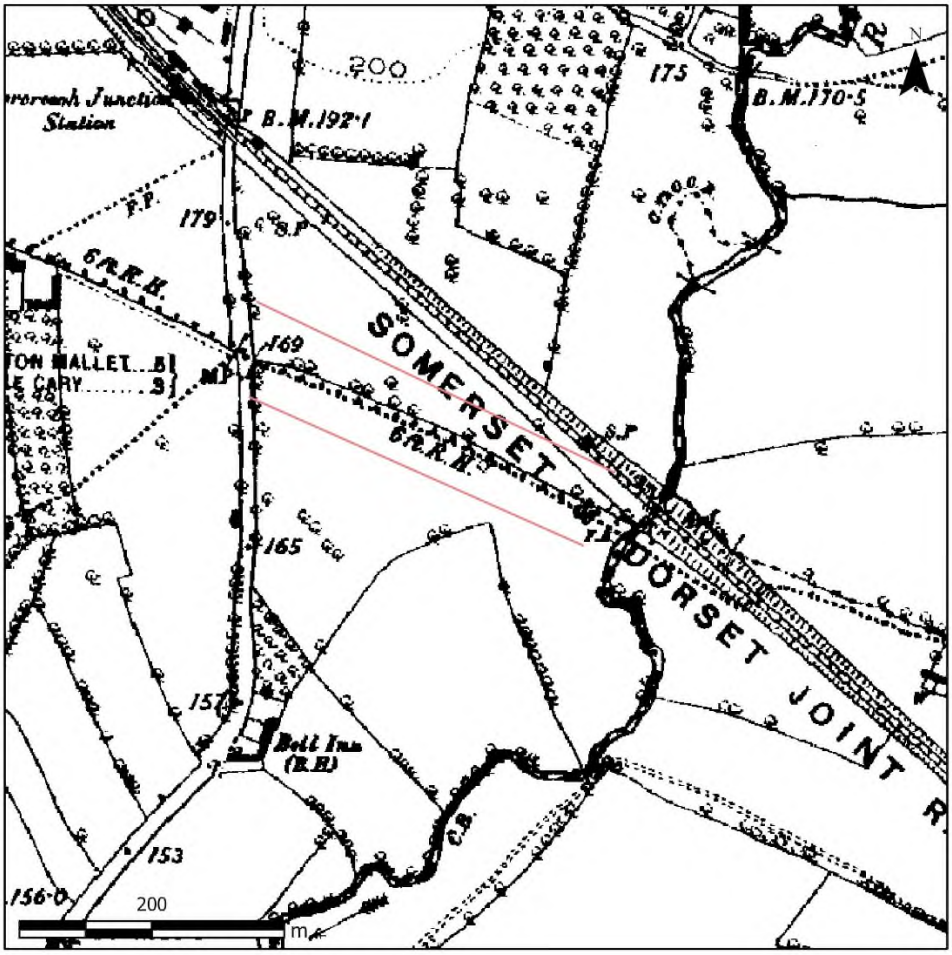

Figure 56: Historic OS Map centred at NGR: ST 64111 36301 (Digimap 2023a) (2)

Furthermore, traces of what may be the ditches and agger of RRX37 are very faintly visible on LiDAR here (Figure 58). This feature aligns with the field and parish boundaries and suggests that the road crossed the River Alham at this point. It is also notable that Broomhead (1988, 1-2) records a concentrated scatter of over 300 sherds of mid 2nd-4th centuries CE Romano British pottery, recovered from a newly ploughed field here; which he suggests almost certainly represents an occupation site.

Figure 57: Lamyatt Beacon from NGR: ST 64111 36302 (10.08.23) (2)

Figure 58: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 64111 36301 (2)

It may also be significant that from Evercreech, a public footpath follows the parish boundary line. As it approaches Lamyatt where the field boundaries end, the route appears to form the east-west axis for the subsequent formation of a now shrunken medieval village, with 15 house platforms fronting the road (Somerset HER 2023d) (Figure 59).

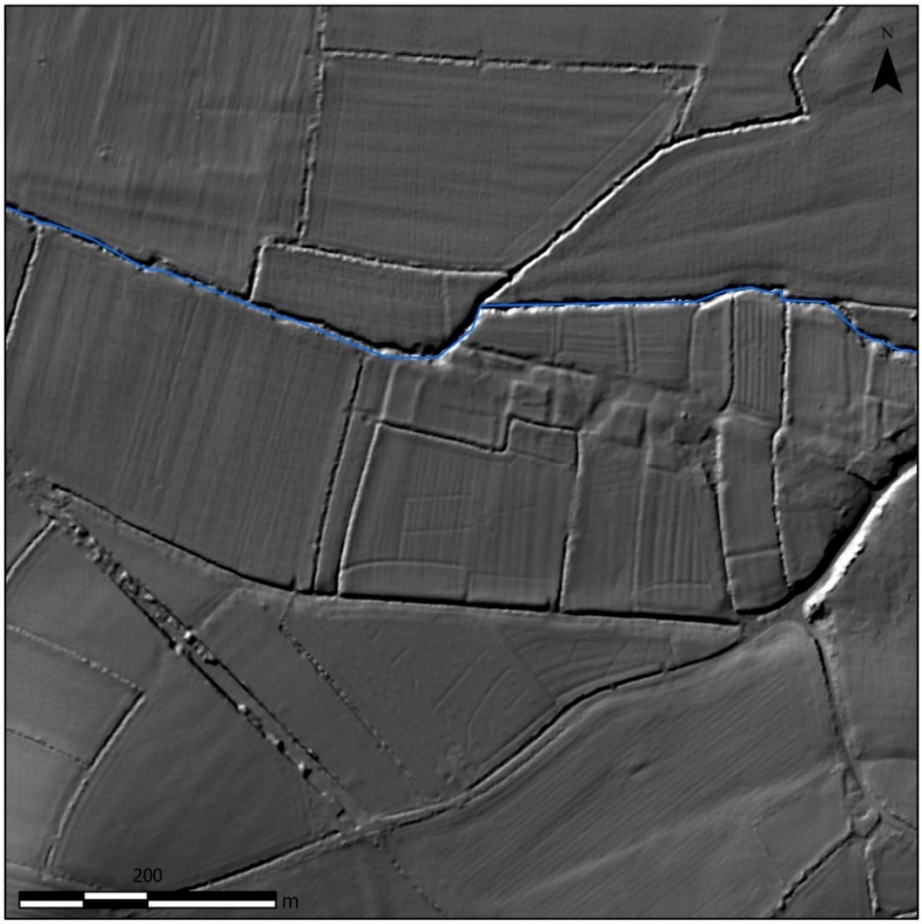

Figure 59: LiDAR image centred at ST 65151 35931 (3)

Aston and Burrow (1982, 64) suggest that the route terminates at Lamyatt and the Somerset HER (2023c) state that it is uncertain from here. Leech et al (1986, 272) speculate that RRX37 may have been constructed around 300 CE, to serve and lead directly to the Lamyatt Beacon temple. However, whilst it is possible that the modern high street represents a section that branched off towards the temple, there is evidence, briefly discussed below, to suggest that it continued to meet RR46 at Semley and is thus likely to pre-date the temple. Furthermore, the OSAD (1983d) noted markings on an aerial photograph after the shrunken village and aligned with the road running through it, suggesting that the route follows Portway Hill (Figure 60) until it reaches Crabtree Lane.

Figure 60: Portway Hill at NGR: ST 65559 35863 (12.02.23) (4)

At Crabtree Lane, the OSAD (1983d) note a possible crop/soil marking of RRX37 which can also be seen on LiDAR and is aligned with the modern road to the north-west, which marks the conjectural route of RRX37 (Figure 61).

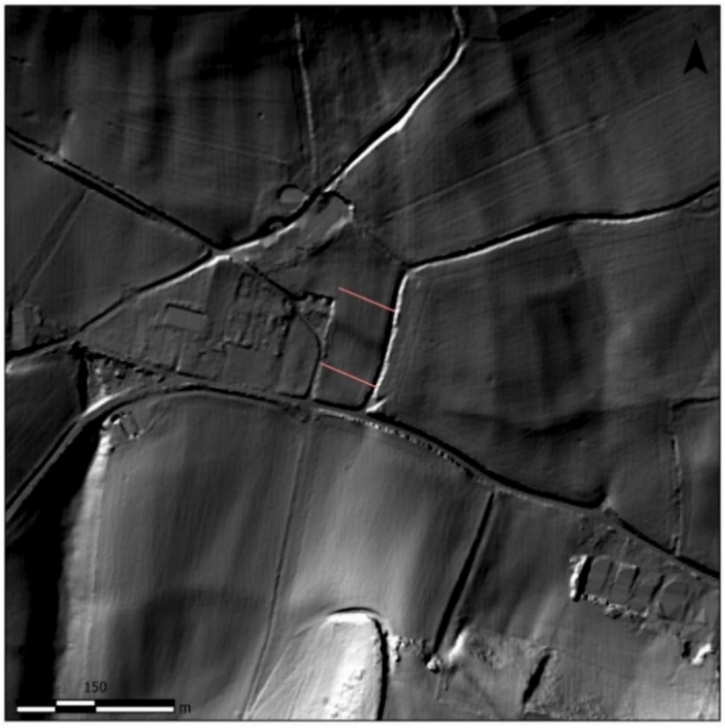

Figure 61: LiDAR image centred at NGR: ST 66842 35120 (5)

From this point RRX37 is likely to have followed the course of the present day Wyke Road into Bruton. Indeed, the elevation model shows it taking the topographically functional route around the base of Creech Hill and passing through the valley before crossing the river (Figure 62).

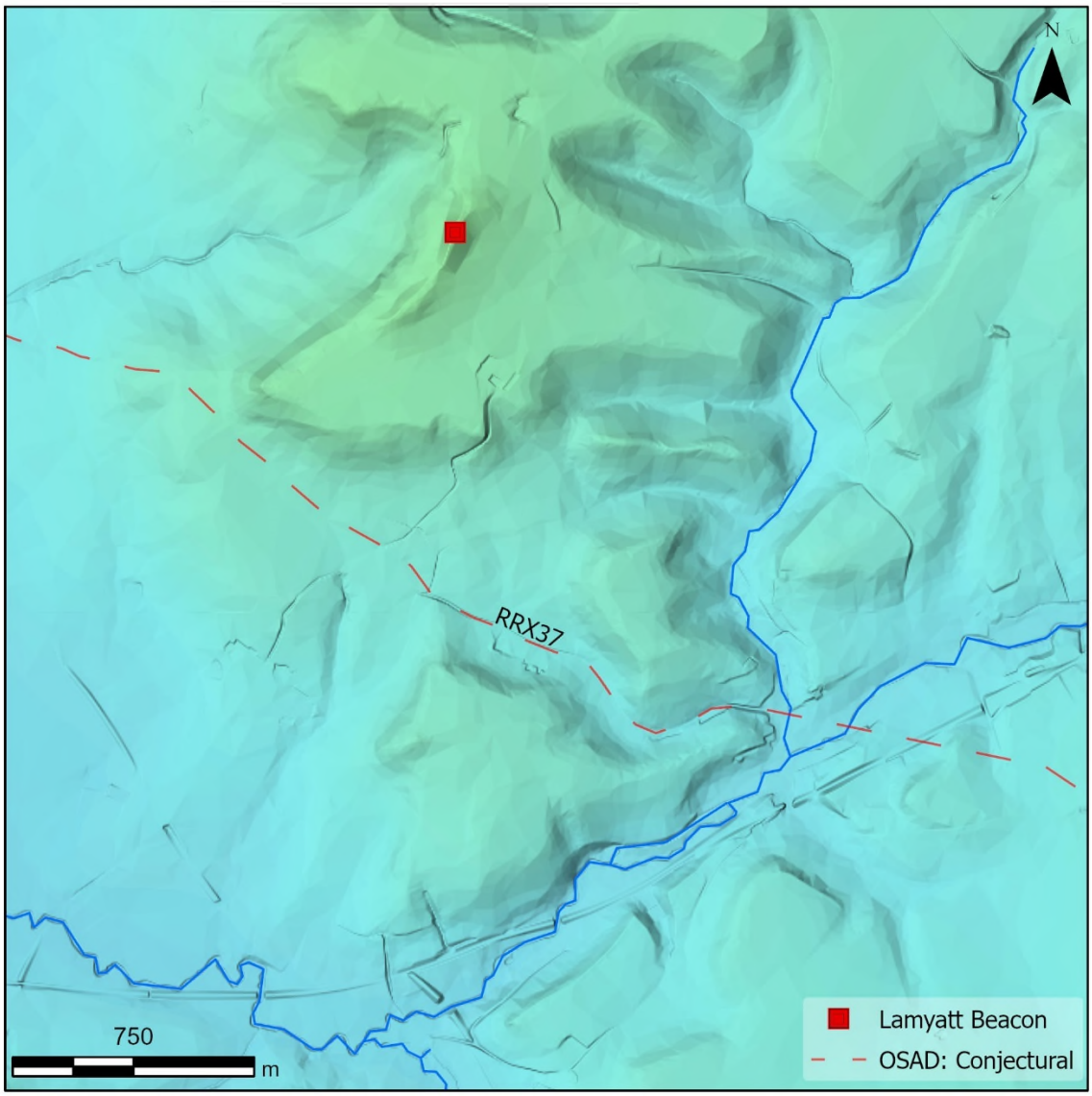

Figure 62: RRX37 conjectural route centred at NGR: ST 66478 35362

It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to assess all the evidence for the continuation of RRX37 from Bruton to a possible junction with RR46. However, it may significant that the route would have provided access to Pens Pits - where greensand, used predominantly for items including quern-stones, mortars and whetstones - was quarried from the Iron Age and continued throughout the Roman period (Historic England, 2023c; Figure 63).

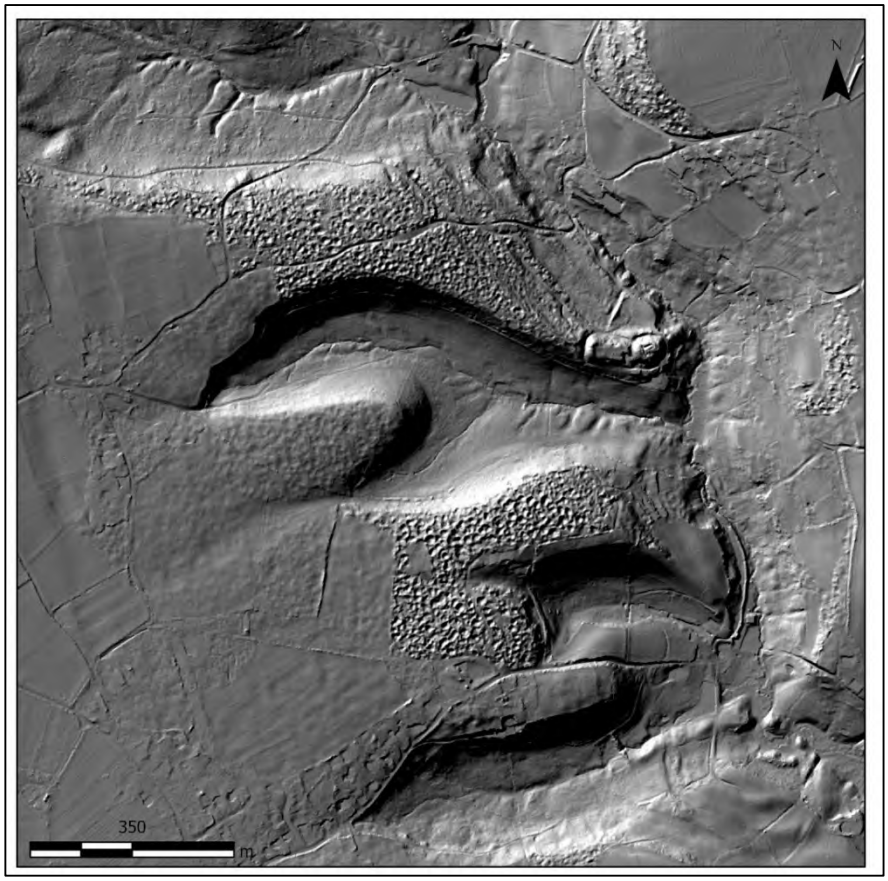

Figure 63: LiDAR image revealing quarry pits under tree cover at NGR: ST 76701 31530

Furthermore, whilst the route is unknown in the area around Pen Pits, Woodhouse (1964) found crop, soil and relief markings on aerial photographs between Pens Pits and Knapp Hill to suggest that RRX37 joined RR46 at Semley (Figure 64).

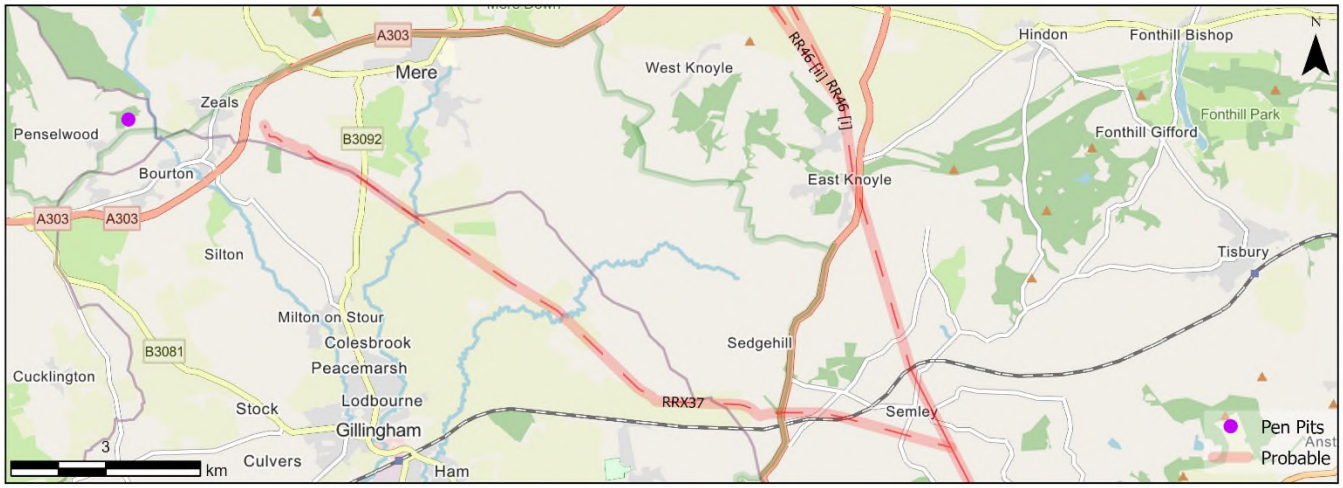

Figure 64: RRX37 conjectural route to RR46

3.4.6 Regional Road Network

The findings can now be presented within the context of the current understanding of the regional road network (Figure 65). Military Requirements influenced the layout of main roads, with many branch roads added later to meet commercial and local requirements (Margary 1973, 496). The Fosse Way (RR5B) was constructed by 49 CE (Leech and Leach 1982, 63), and by the end of the 1st century CE, it is highly likely that much of the road network in the regional study area was established, and that RR45B, RR52, RR46 and RRX37 were almost certainly constructed before the two temples. Furthermore, given that the route from Badbury Rings to Bath via the RR46 and RR52 relies on RR45B to connect these two roads, it appears that RR45B preceded both; just as RRX37 connects RR5B and RR46, and post-dated them.

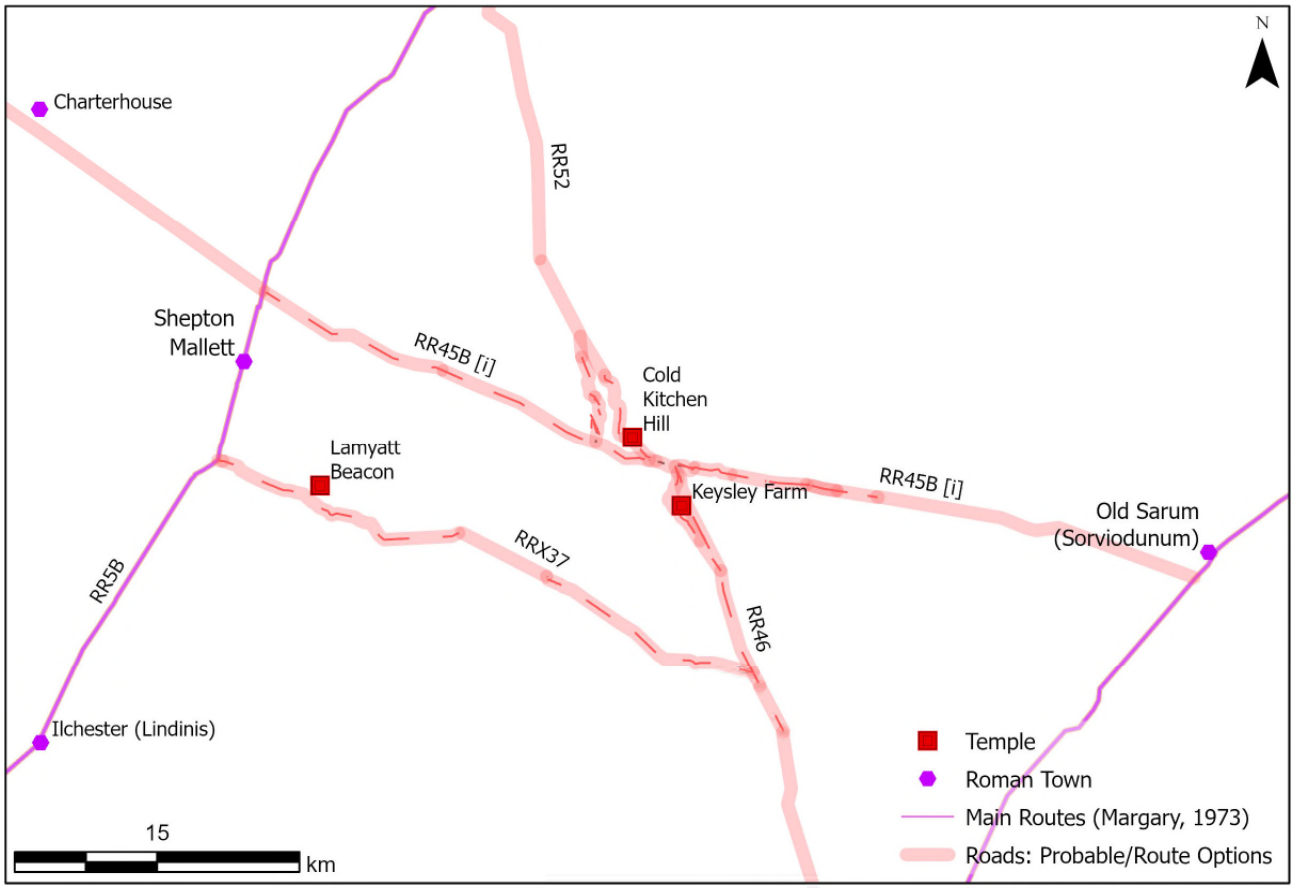

Figure 65: Roman road network

3.4.7 Accessibility, Visibility, Pilgrimage and Elite Display

Whilst predated by the nearby roads, the possibility remains that the selection of Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon as temple locations, may have been influenced by their

proximity to them. Indeed, the relationship between roads and temples is integral to the notion that some Romano-Celtic temples may have been pilgrimage destinations (Kiernan 2012, 83), including in south-west England (Hutton 2011, 16). Whilst ancient pilgrimage is challenging to define (Elsner and Rutherford 2007, 1-38), given that the potentially transformative nature of the journey itself leaves no archaeological trace, the most tangible material evidence for ancient pilgrimage consists of its destinations. Thus, Kiernan (2012, 80) argues that ancient pilgrimage can be defined as 'some kind of travel involving ritual destinations, even if the travel involves other non-religious purposes as well'. This might incorporate the notion that rural temple sites may also have been the base for religious fairs and markets (Leach 2001, 103), which Lewis (1966, 124) suggests may have been the case at Cold Kitchen Hill. Whilst not discussing the notion of pilgrimage specifically, Leech et al (1986, 272) suggest that Lamyatt Beacon was potentially a 'local cult centre', rather than an 'estate temple', as proposed by Rodwell (1980, 232-234). Indeed, it may be significant that whilst other deities are represented, the statuary, and votive objects suggest that a primary deity was worshipped there. This was likely to be Mars, of whom a larger than life size statue is likely to have stood within the temple or upon a podium on its eastern side (Leech et al 1986, 270).

Furthermore, the horseman-brooches and model weapons recovered at Lamyatt Beacon could be associated with a native war god, perhaps equated with Mars (Robinson 2001, 156). Indeed, Mars is known to be assimilated with different native gods in the west of England, where he possibly served more in his guise as a god of agriculture, rather than war (Robinson 2001, 155). Moreover, nine antler burials to the north of the temple (Leech et al 1986, 267) could be linked to the worship of a horned god, perhaps Cernunnos, who is likely to have had Iron Age origins (Robinson 2001, 149), and was often conflated with Mars (Leach 2001, 100). It is also notable that some of the brooches were poor copies (Figure 66), including one that could only have had symbolic value, which reinforces the suggestion that these brooches were made for visitors to a cult centre; intended either as votives or as souvenirs (Butcher 1981, 316). It is significant that the Lamyatt Beacon assemblage is remarkably similar to that at Cold Kitchen Hill, with both including miniature axes, horseman-brooches and antlers, suggesting that the same deity was worshipped at both locations (Leech et al 1986, 272-319).

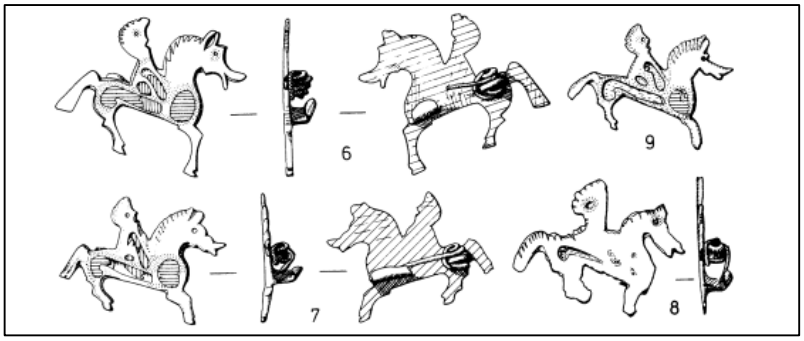

Figure 66: Horseman brooches, including poor copies (6 & 8) (Leech et al 1986, 318)

Figure 67: View of Lamyatt Beacon ridge, looking south (12.09.22)

Guest accommodation can also be an indicator of pilgrimage destinations (Kiernan 2012, 91-92), as at the Pagans Hill complex (Rahtz et al 1989, 332). Whilst possible at Cold Kitchen Hill given the indications of possible occupation discussed in section 3.3, the excavators of Lamyatt Beacon found no evidence (Leech et al 1986, 272) of additional buildings on the hilltop or ridge to the south (Figure 67). Nonetheless, it is possible that pilgrims may have slept in the open or in tents (Derks 1998, 194). Moreover, Kiernan (2012, 88) draws on Brown's (1982, 42-43) model that suggests that pilgrimage entails movement of communities outside their normal environments to draw out and emphasise their shared social identity. The implication is that pilgrimage destinations might be removed sufficiently from settlements to provide a different context for ritual practice, yet close enough to be reached in a short period of time. Whilst rural areas would have had a developed network of trackways (Chadwick 2013, 13-32), these are unknown for both study areas. However, notwithstanding the additional time required to ascend their respective hills, the understanding of the Roman road network outlined in this section, enables travel times to the temples from major settlements and junctions of major roads to be estimated. These estimates suggest that Lamyatt Beacon in particular was very accessible from nearby population centres and the junction with RR5B (Figure 68).

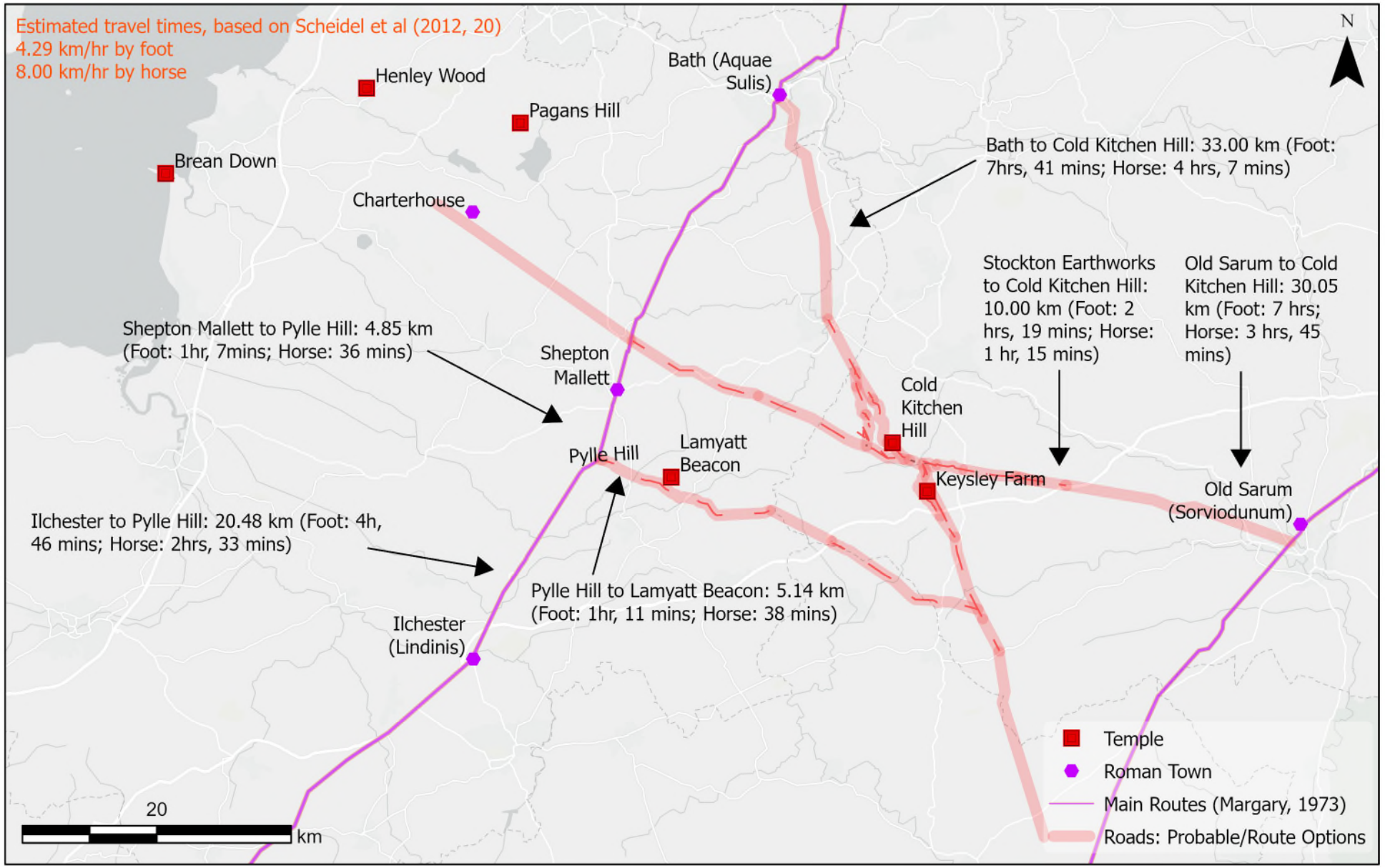

Figure 68: Estimated travel times to Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon

It has been suggested that rural temples in Gaul were intentionally located where they could be seen from roads (Ghey 2005, 114), and the reflective viewshed analysis confirms Smith's (2000, 280) suggestion that travellers on long sections of RR5B, and RRX37 as it approached the temple, were likely to have been afforded visibility of Lamyatt Beacon and probably the temple itself (Figure 69).

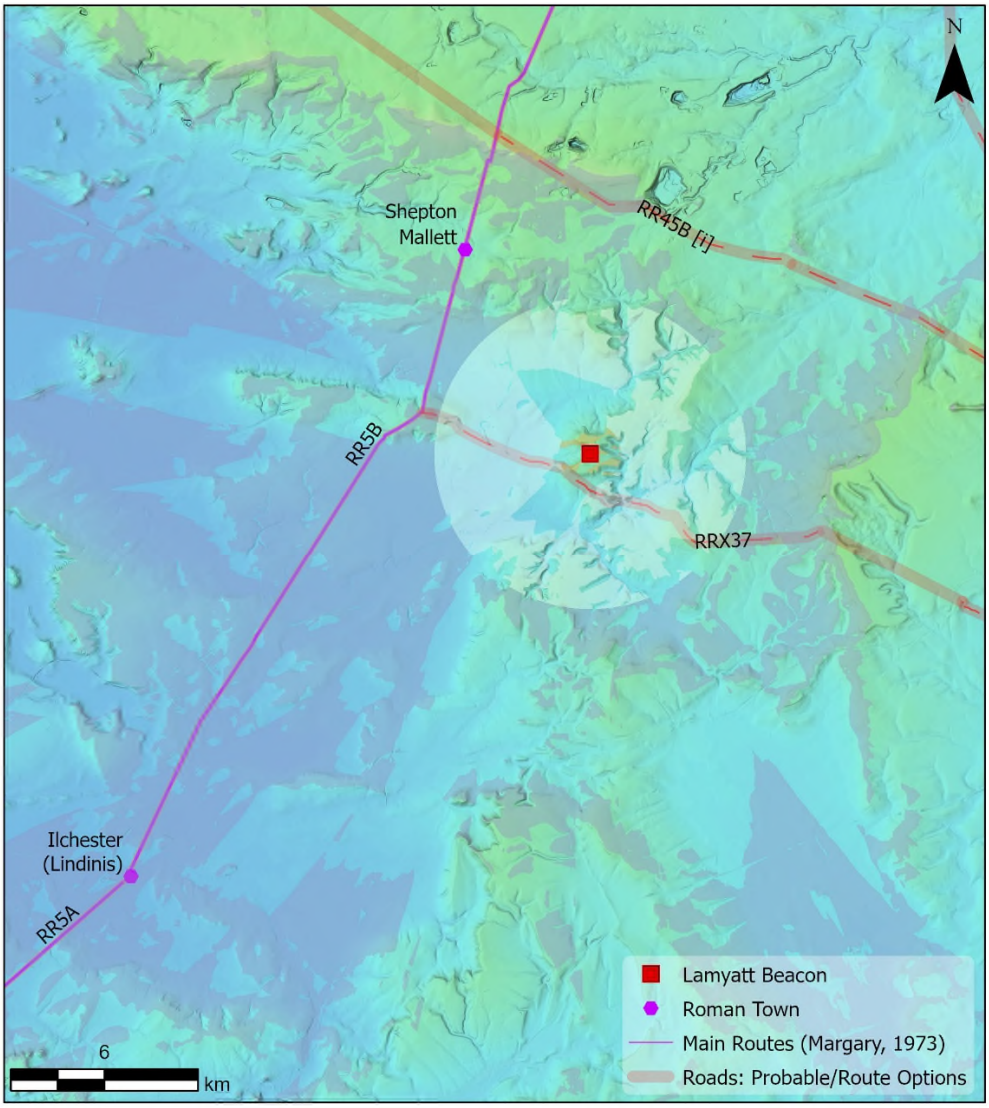

Figure 69: Lamyatt Beacon reflective viewshed: Roman roads

The view afforded from RR5B may be very significant as it would have hosted a large volume of religiously oriented traffic heading towards Bath (Smith 2000, 312). Indeed, the Lamyatt Beacon hilltop is visible from Pylle Hill (Figure 70), and despite present day tree cover in places, is also visible as one walks the route of RRX37 from Evercreech to Lamyatt (Figure 71).

Figure 70: View of Lamyatt Beacon from Pylle Hill at NGR: ST 61853 37363 (10.08.23)

Figure 71: View of Lamyatt Beacon from NGR: ST 64704 36113 (12.02.23)

Furthermore, in the context of the previous discussion relating to the decision not to construct the temple at Fox Covert hillfort, it is notable that the reflective viewshed demonstrates that it afforded relatively less visibility from RR5B, RRX37 and the surrounding landscape, than Lamyatt Beacon (Figure 72).

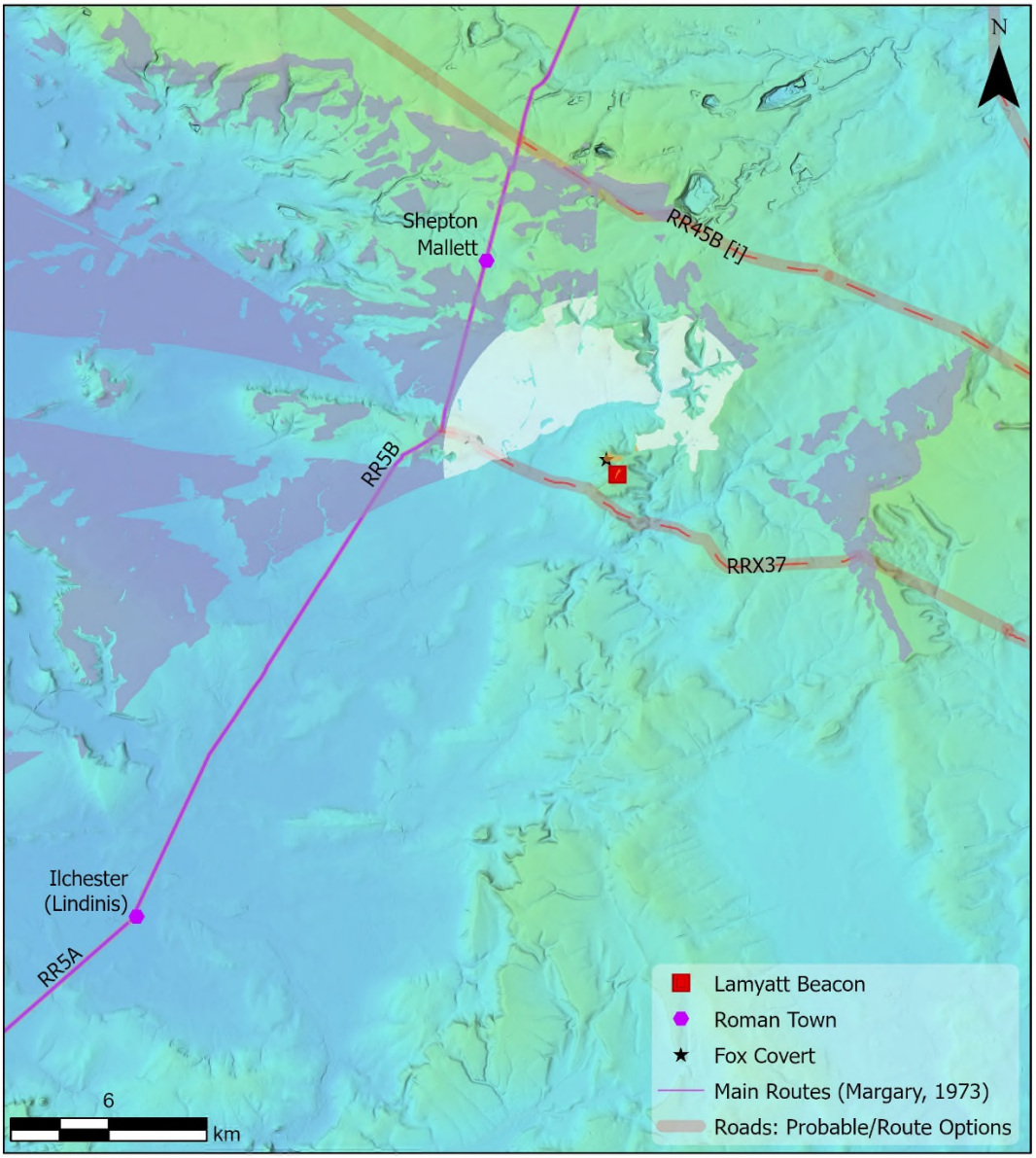

Figure 72: Fox Covert reflective viewshed: Roman roads

Notwithstanding the possibility of the RR52i route over Whitecliff Down, and that the broader ridge on which the temple is located is prominent in the surrounding landscape as shown in Figure 40, visibility of the actual Cold Kitchen Hill temple location from the surrounding road network is limited to a section of RR46, and R45B at a distance of 7 km away (Figure 73).

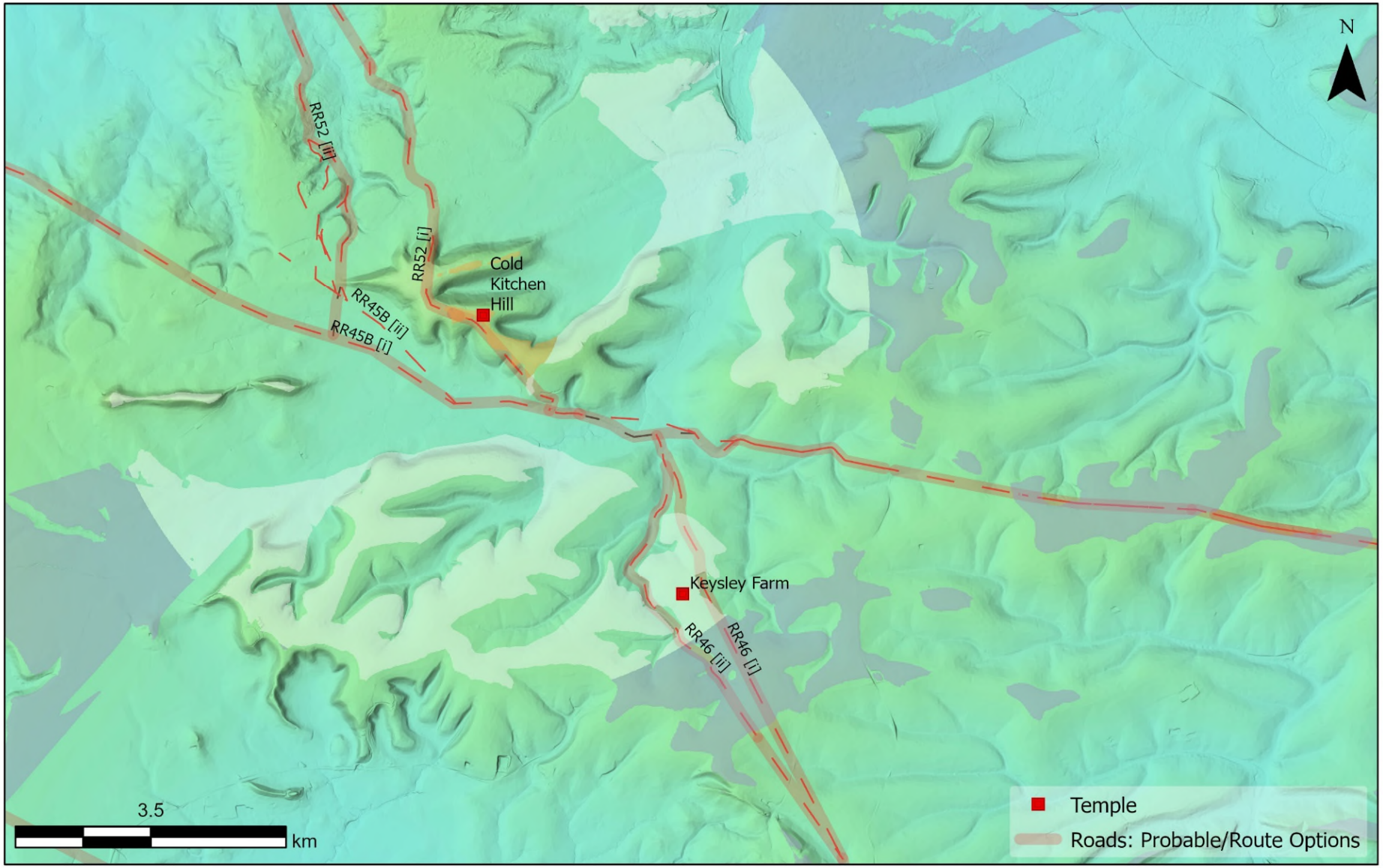

Figure 73: Cold Kitchen Hill reflective viewshed: Roman roads

Whilst the extensive visibility afforded to travellers on RR5B and RRX37 by the location of the Lamyatt Beacon temple, might suggest an intention to signpost the temple for religiously motivated visitors in particular, the desire to visually connect temples and roads may not have been exclusively religious. Indeed, an elevated position affording visibility from roads may reflect the desire of an elite group for a social display to the transient population. Indeed, whilst most discussion of elite social display in the rural landscape has focused on villa architecture, mosaics and furnishings (White 2023, 86), studies of Roman barrows and their association with Roman villas (Eckhardt et al 2009, 76), suggests the possibility that Romano-Celtic temples may have represented a form of 'extended' elite display. This notion is closely connected to the discussion of villas in the landscape, which explored is explored section 3.5.

3.5 Towns, *Civitates*, Villas and Rural Settlements

This section complements the discussion of the road network, with an analysis of the evidence for other features in Romano-British landscape, as well as field systems and linear earthworks dating to earlier periods that may be significant.[8]

3.5.1 Towns and *Civitates*

After 43 CE the Roman authorities created a framework of regional government based upon *civitates*, each focused on an urban centre (South-West England Research Framework, 2023) and divided into *pagi* (Eagles 2018, 1- 2). Each *civitas* was overseen by the *ordo*, or council, whose members (*curiales/decuriones*), belonged to the principal land owning and native-born aristocracy (Leach 2001, 32). Despite various attempts to reconstruct *civitas* boundaries, very little is known of their precise organisation (Smith et al 2016, 403). However, this dissertation draws on Eagles (2018, 8) and the South-West England Research Framework (2023) as the basis for outlining *civitas* boundaries in the study areas.

It appears that by the 3rd century CE the Durotriges had been split into a southern part centred on Dorchester, and a northern part centred on Ilchester (South-West England Research Framework, 2023). This suggests that the Brean Down and Lamyatt Beacon temples were both within the *civitas* of the Northern Durotriges. Given that a significant number of temples are known to have been sited close to pre-Roman boundaries in Roman

[8] Iron Age features and find spots are mapped in Appendix C.

Gaul (Rivet 1964, 134) and Britain (Woodward 1992 20), it may be significant that Cold Kitchen Hill is likely to have been located at the junction of three *civitates* (Figure 74).

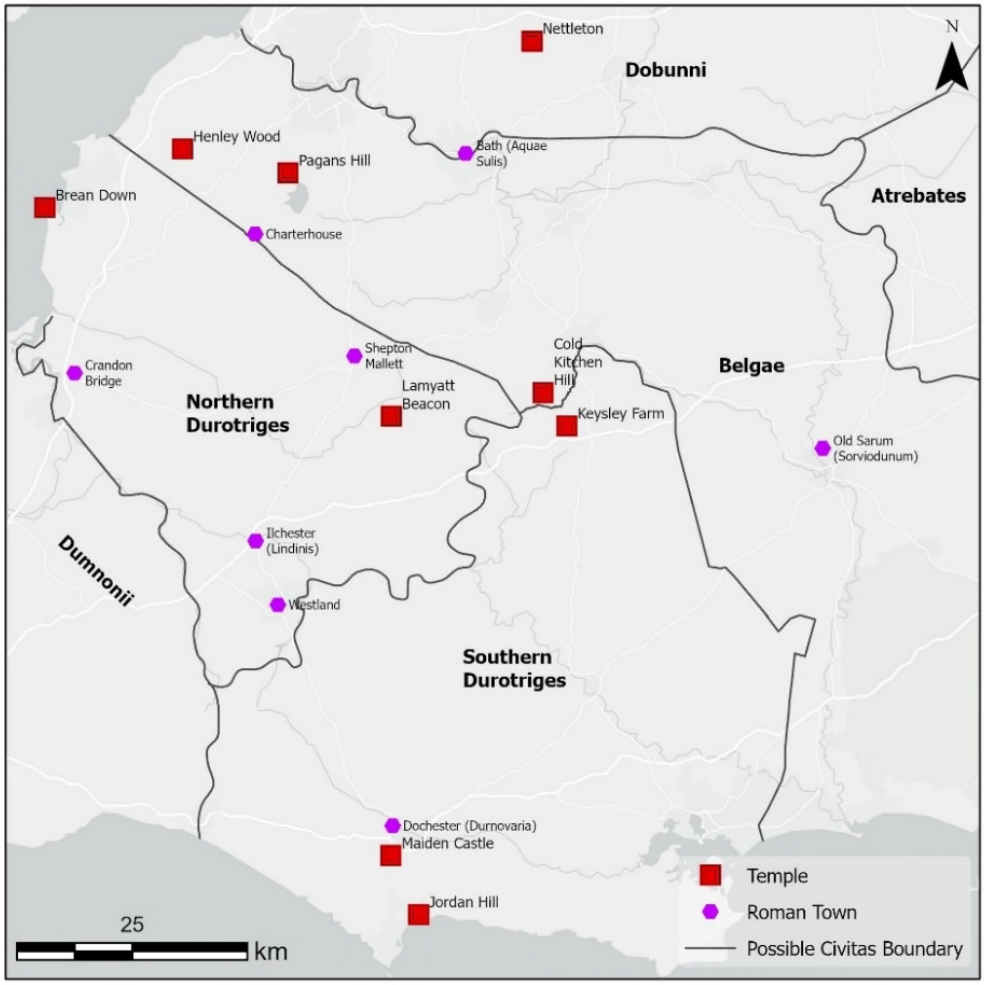

Figure 74: *Civitas* Boundaries (Adapted from Eagles 2018, 3)

Smith (2000, 313) suggests that the notion of the boundary as a place of sacred liminality was significant and may have influenced the location of sacred sites and their development. Whilst Eagles (2018, 3) argues that the River Wylye may have formed the boundary near Cold Kitchen Hill, and RR45B must also be a possibility; it is notable that in addition to others in the area (#31 & #32) a scheduled (#102) length of linear boundary earthwork, close to the current parish boundary, is situated on the south facing slope of the ridge encompassing Cold Kitchen Hill and Whitecliff Down (Figure 75). The construction of such earthworks spanned the millennium from the middle Bronze Age, although they may have been re-used later. It is thought that they were constructed by large social groups and used to mark important boundaries in the landscape (Historic England, 2023d).

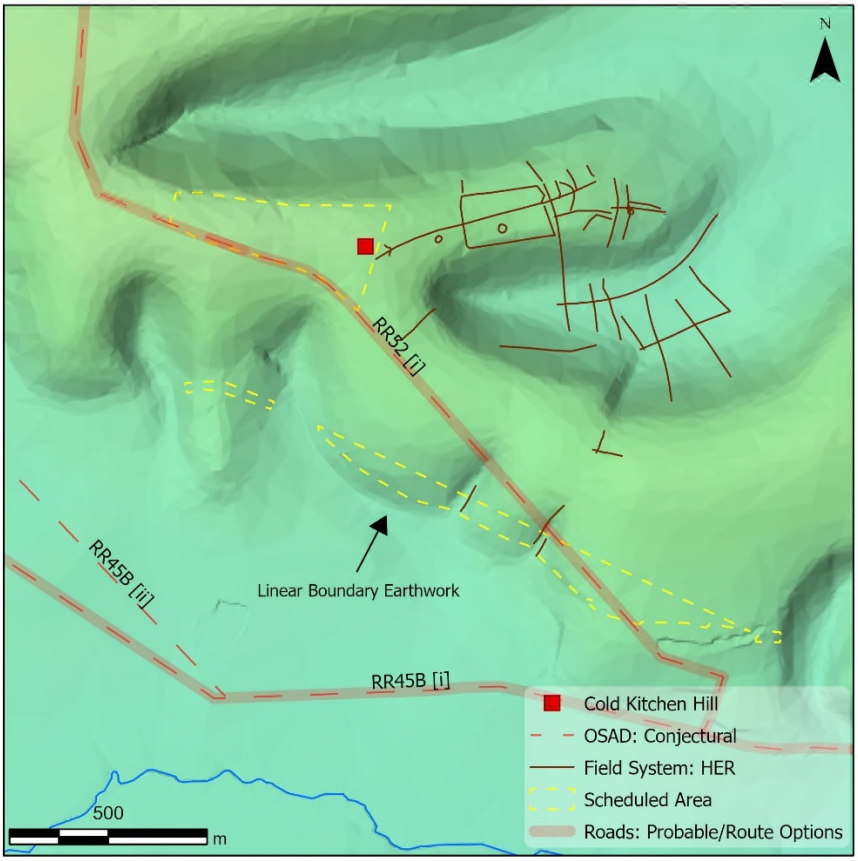

Figure 75: Linear boundary earthwork centred at NGR: ST 83356 38257

3.5.2 Field Systems

Rural settlements in the Romano-British period were immersed in a landscape of field systems used for crops and animal husbandry (Smith et al 2016, 17). The HER data for field systems near Cold Kitchen Hill is mainly derived from aerial photography (Henry 2018, 234) and is mostly undated. Nonetheless, the area appears to be densely populated with evidence for fields likely to date to the Roman period and before, including 'Celtic' field systems[9] (Roberts 2014, 330) (Figure 76). Roberts (2014) LiDAR analysis beyond the eastern edge of the study area, reveals extensive field systems on the western side of Great Ridge. Furthermore, the necessarily limited LiDAR analysis produced for this dissertation, suggests that a more comprehensive study would reveal further new and confirmatory evidence for field systems in this landscape (Figure 76).

[9] 'Celtic' field systems may be earlier or later than the Iron Age (Rackham 1986, 159). Even if some pre-date the Iron Age, a late Iron Age resurgence of activity continued into the Romano-British period (Fowler 2000, cited in Henry (2018, 234).

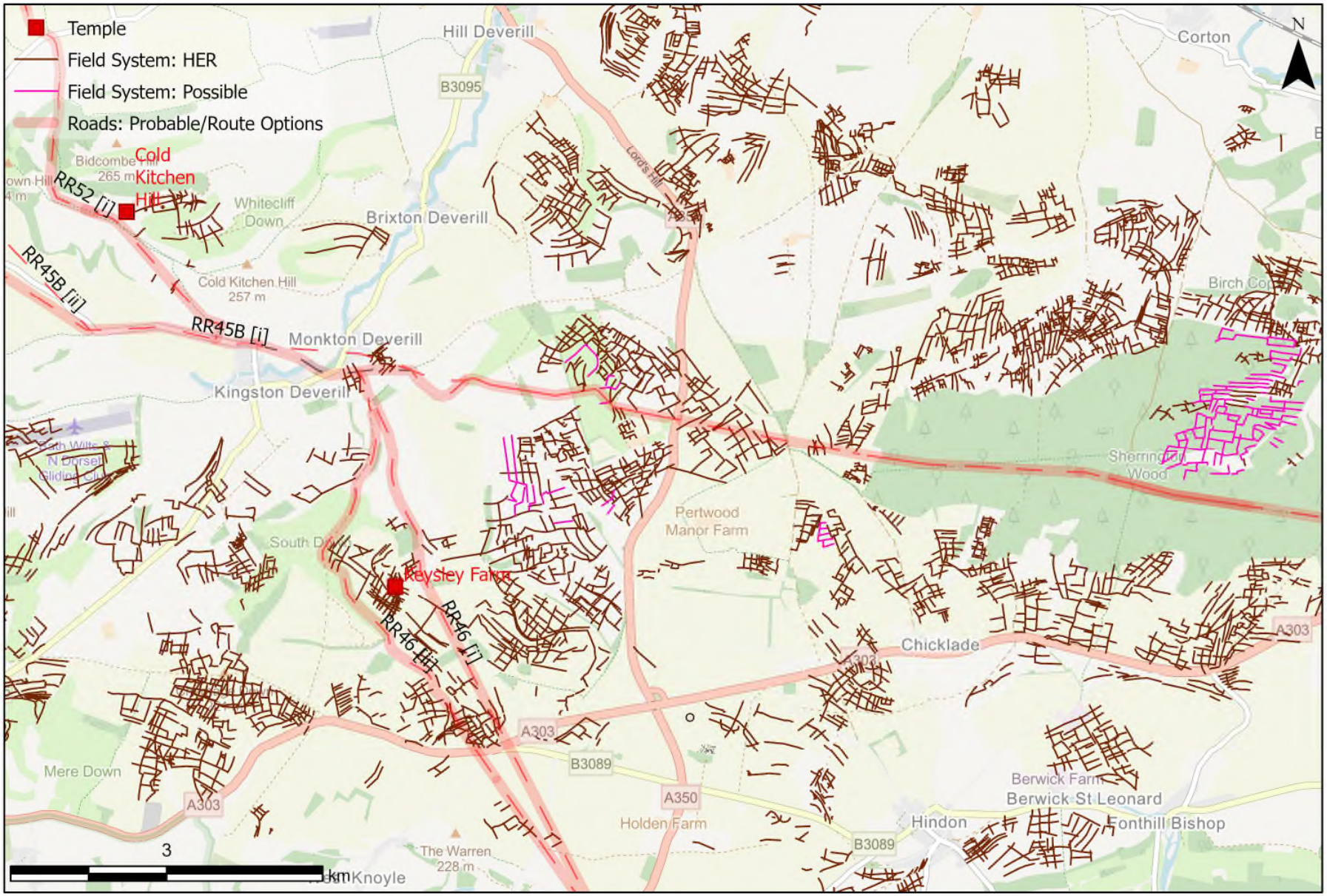

Figure 76: Cold Kitchen Hill field systems (Author 2023; Wiltshire HER 2023c)

For example, the LiDAR evidence confirms that RR45B cuts across a field system on Pertwood Down (Figure 77), suggesting that in addition to reflecting the imposition of the conquest on the rural population, that some of the fields were pre-Roman in origin.

Figure 77: Field system on Pertwood Down, centred at: NGR: ST 88703 36760

Furthermore, analysis of LiDAR imagery has identified a previously unrecorded section of field system beneath the tree canopy of Sherington Wood (Figure 78), which may be connected with Stockton Earthworks, discussed below.

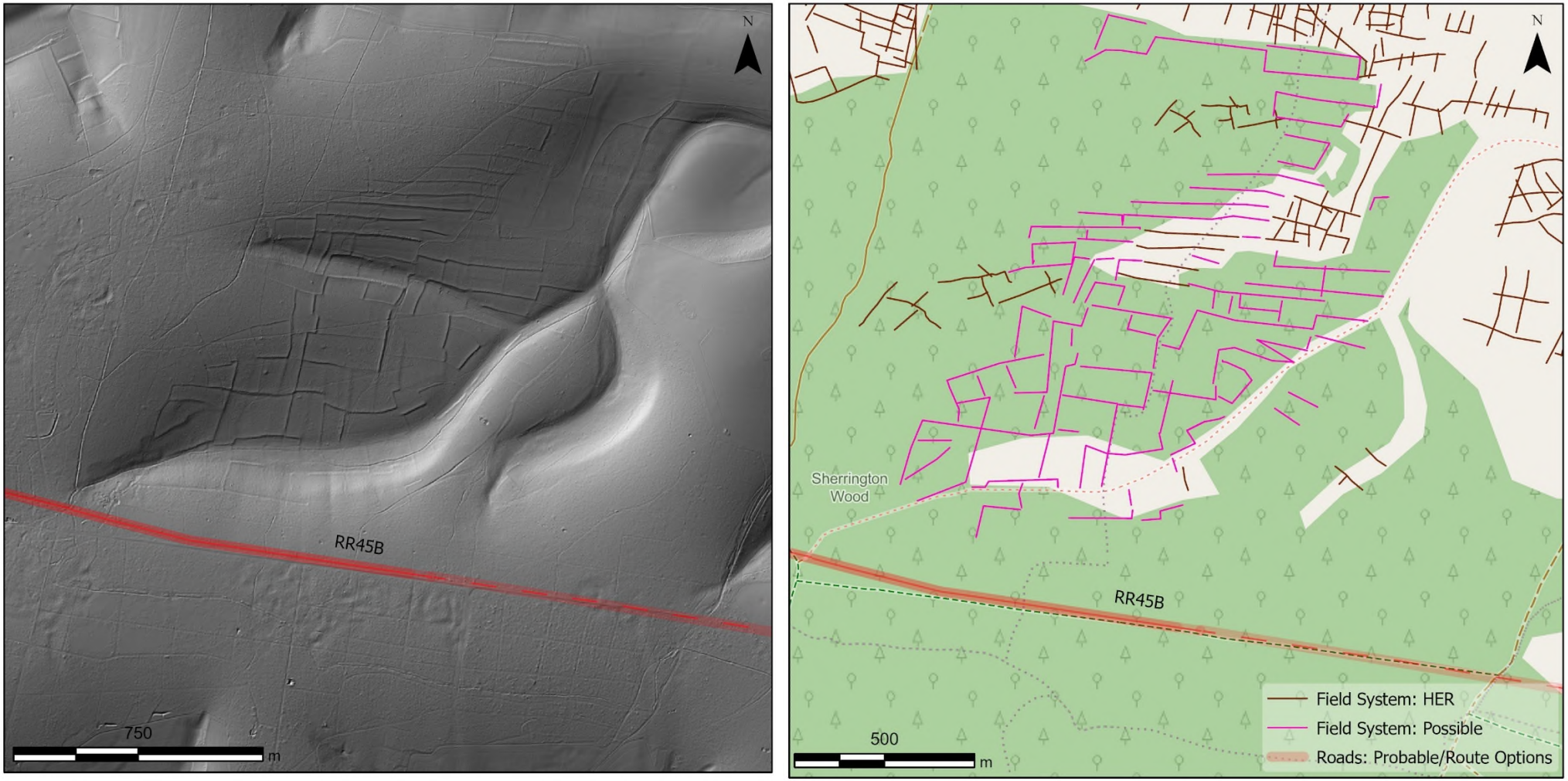

Figure 78: Field system at Great Ridge, centred at: NGR: ST 93917 36532

In contrast, whilst likely to reflect the impact of modern agriculture and absences in the archaeological record, and notwithstanding scope for further LiDAR and aerial photographic analysis, there is far less evidence for prehistoric and Romano-British field systems in the Lamyatt Beacon landscape (Figure 79).

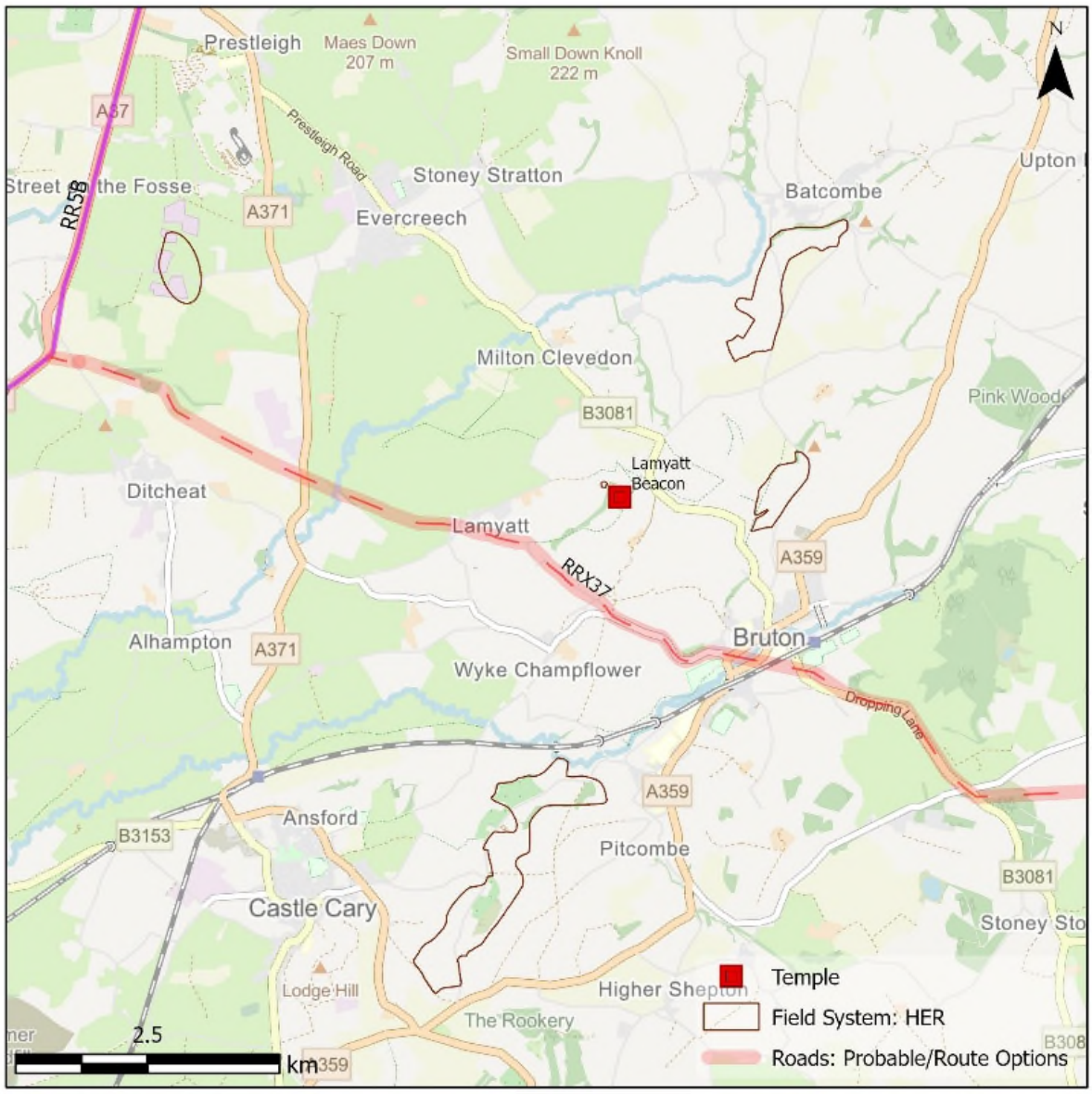

Figure 79: Field systems recorded in the Somerset HER (2023l)

3.5.3 Settlements and Finds

Figure 80 demonstrates that there are few recorded Romano-British settlements in the Cold Kitchen Hill study area, and that finds cluster around the River Wylye. However, Roberts (2014, 330) found eight circular or subcircular enclosures, and one large rectilinear

enclosure on the western side of Great Ridge, 8 km to the east of the temple site. Furthermore, to the north-east of Great Ridge, Stockton Earthworks (Heritage Gateway, 2023c) is a 62 hectare nucleated Iron Age and Romano-British settlement, where surface finds suggest occupation extended into the late 4th century CE (Roberts 2014, 330; Figure 80).

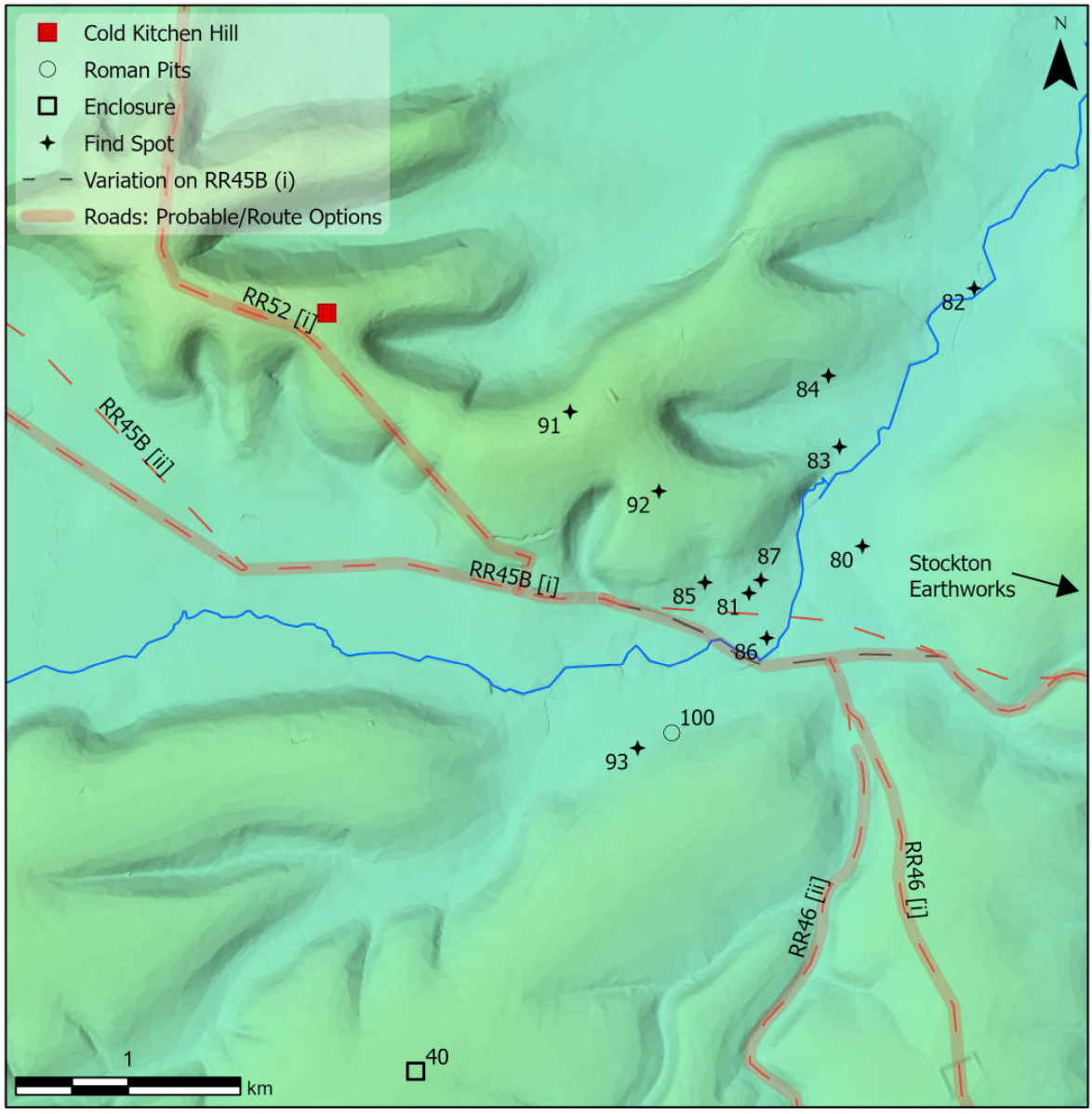

Figure 80: Cold Kitchen Hill Romano-British settlements and finds

In the Lamyatt Beacon study area, in addition to the roadside Romano-British occupation site at Evercreech (#35), discussed in section 3.4.5, there are two other possible Romano-British sites (Figure 81).

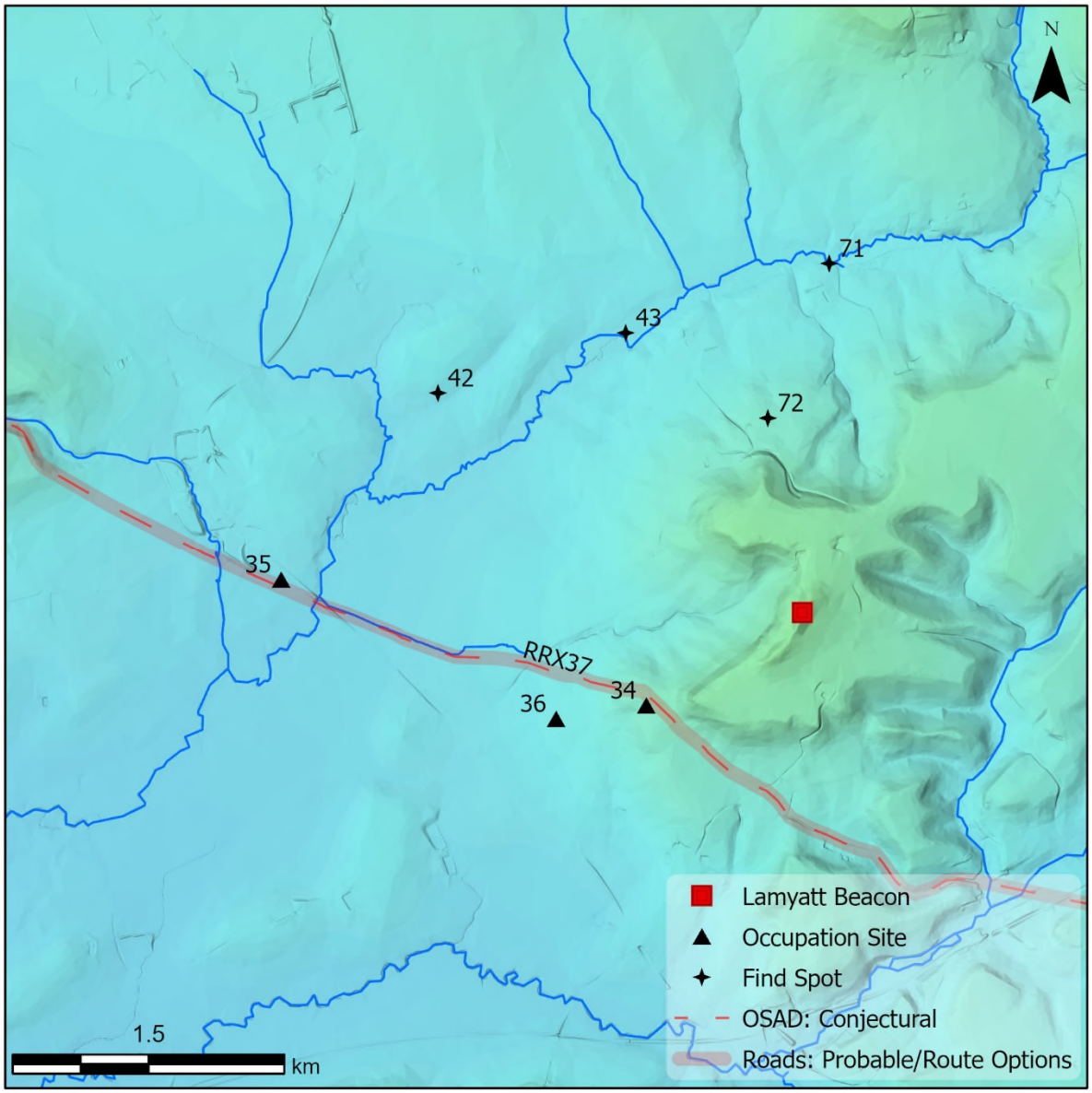

Figure 81: Lamyatt Beacon Romano-British settlements and finds

3.5.4 Villas and Estates

Rural occupation sites should be considered with villas, as many villages in the region were likely to have been tenurially linked with them (McOmish et al 2002, 88). Whilst the precise definition of a villa is a source of debate, and notwithstanding recent scholarship suggesting that some villas may have incorporated sanctuaries (Henig et al 2022, 1), they are broadly accepted to be domestic buildings in rural areas that indicate status or wealth (Hingley 1989, 31). Furthermore, whilst an agricultural role was significant (Smith et al 2018, 354), they also expressed status (Eckhardt et al 2009, 89), which is likely to be connected to the desire to demonstrate 'membership of the empire wide, educated civilian elite' (James 2013, 143).

Smith et al (2018, 161) found that 15 of 54 excavated Romano-Celtic temples in Britain were constructed in the near vicinity of a villa. However, the HER contains relatively few villas in south-west Wiltshire, compared to the rest of the county. Indeed, apart from a possible villa indicated by soil marks northeast of the settlement at Stockton Earthworks, 12 km to the east of Cold Kitchen Hill (Draper 2004, 20), the only definitively identified villa in the area is located 2.6 km to the west, at Brixton Deverill (#68, Figures 82 & 89). Nonetheless, it is significant as it was discovered in 2015 and has not been included in prior assessments of the Cold Kitchen Hill temple. Indeed, its construction, between 175 and 220 CE (Historic England 2023e), suggests that it was built contemporaneously with the temple.

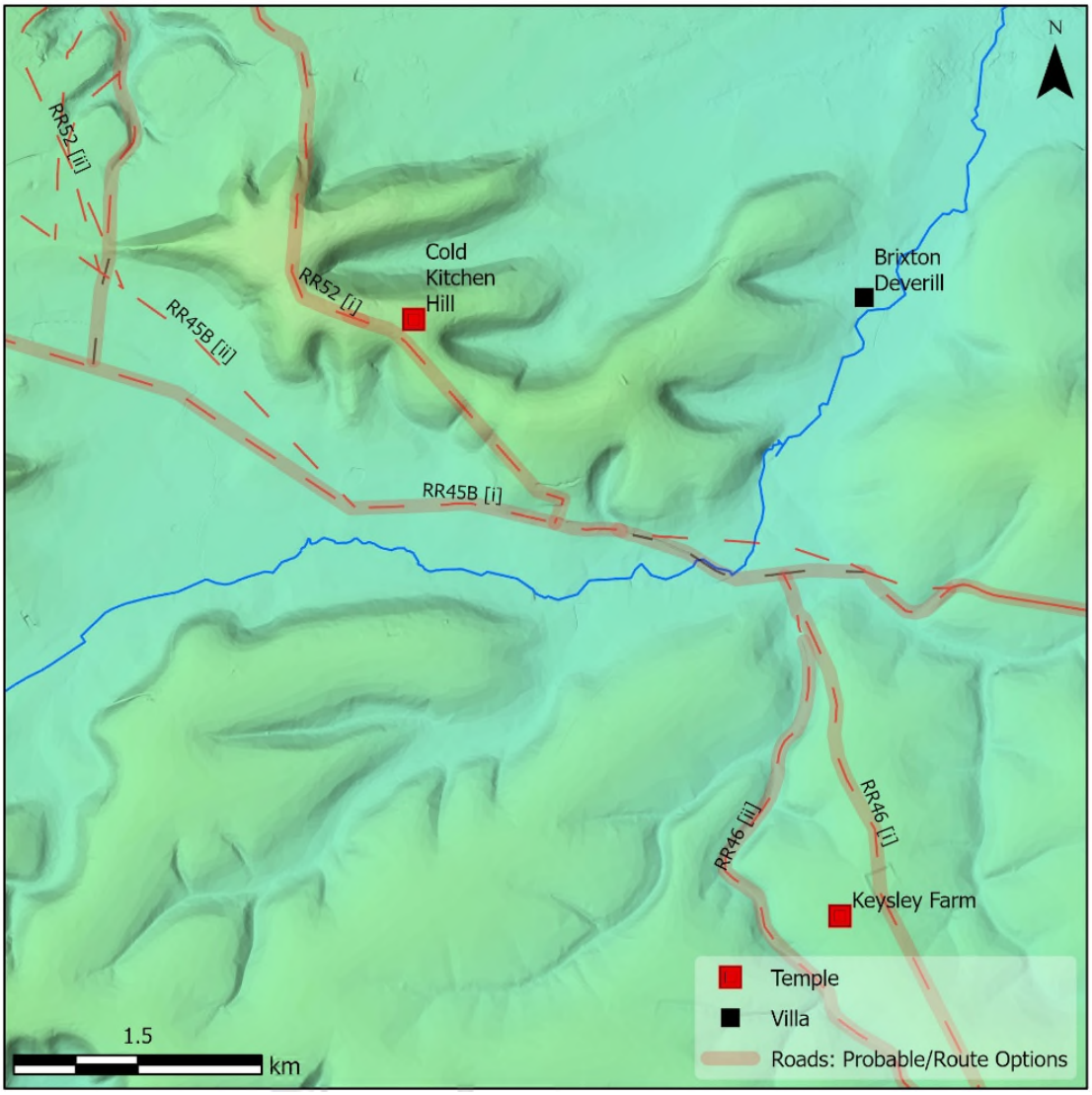

Figure 82: Location of Brixton Deverill villa

Located on the western bank of the River Wylye, it has been interpreted as a particularly high-status site: either a large, winged corridor villa with outbuildings or a double courtyard villa (Historic England, 2023e).

Whilst a recent study King (2022, 224) shows that approximately 50 villas of mainly 3rd and 4th century date (Leech & Leach 1982, 62-81) were clustered around Ilchester; the area closer to Lamyatt Beacon to the north of Blackmoor Vale, is more sparsely populated (Figure 83). Nonetheless, the construction and use of the Lamyatt Beacon temple coincided with what was a prosperous and populous *civitas* centred on Ilchester (Leech and Leach 1982, 78).

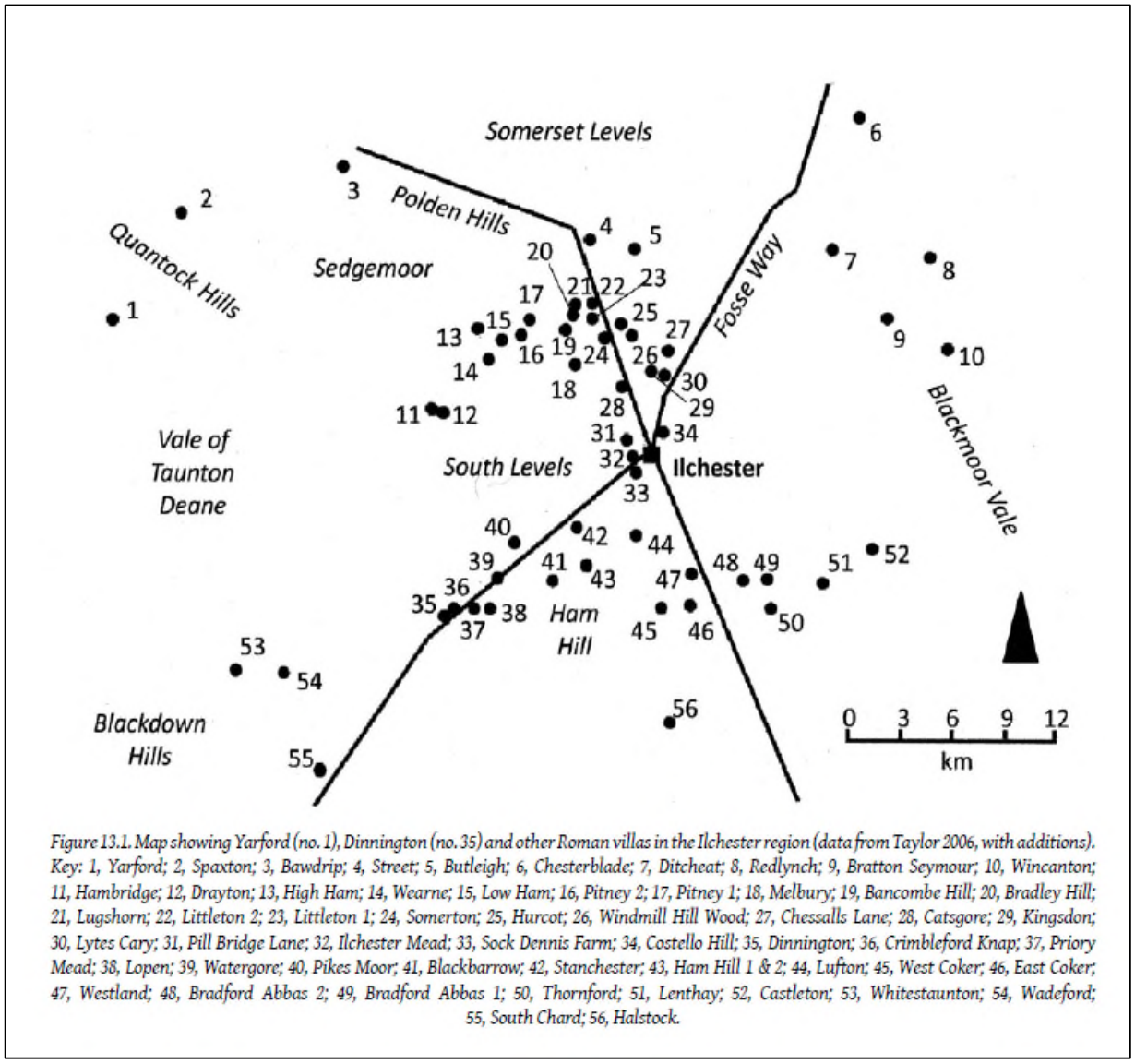

Figure 13.1. Map showing Yarford (no. 1), Dinnington (no. 35) and other Roman villas in the Ilchester region (data from Taylor 2006, with additions). Key: 1, Yarford; 2, Spaxton; 3, Bawdrip; 4, Street; 5, Butleigh; 6, Chesterblade; 7, Ditcheat; 8, Redlynch; 9, Bratton Seymour; 10, Wincanton; 11, Hambridge; 12, Drayton; 13, High Ham; 14, Wearne; 15, Low Ham; 16, Pitney 2; 17, Pitney 1; 18, Melbury; 19, Bancombe Hill; 20, Bradley Hill; 21, Lugshorn; 22, Littleton 2; 23, Littleton 1; 24, Somerton; 25, Hurcot; 26, Windmill Hill Wood; 27, Chessalls Lane; 28, Catsgore; 29, Kingsdon; 30, Lytes Cary; 31, Pill Bridge Lane; 32, Ilchester Mead; 33, Sock Dennis Farm; 34, Costello Hill; 35, Dinnington; 36, Crimbleford Knap; 37, Priory Mead; 38, Lopen; 39, Watergore; 40, Pikes Moor; 41, Blackbarrow; 42, Stanchester; 43, Ham Hill 1 & 2; 44, Lufton; 45, West Coker; 46, East Coker; 47, Westland; 48, Bradford Abbas 2; 49, Bradford Abbas 1; 50, Thornford; 51, Lenthay; 52, Castleton; 53, Whitestaunton; 54, Wadeford; 55, South Chard; 56, Halstock.

Figure 83: Roman villas in the Ilchester region (King 2022, 224)

Furthermore, the Somerset HER suggests that of these villas (numbered by King (2022, 224) as 6,7,8,9 and 10 only Bratton Seymour (9) and Wincanton (10) are currently considered definitive, with the rest ‘probable’ or ‘possible’. Therefore, together with another at East Pennard that is missing from King’s (2022, 224) map, these villas were investigated for this dissertation (Figure 84).

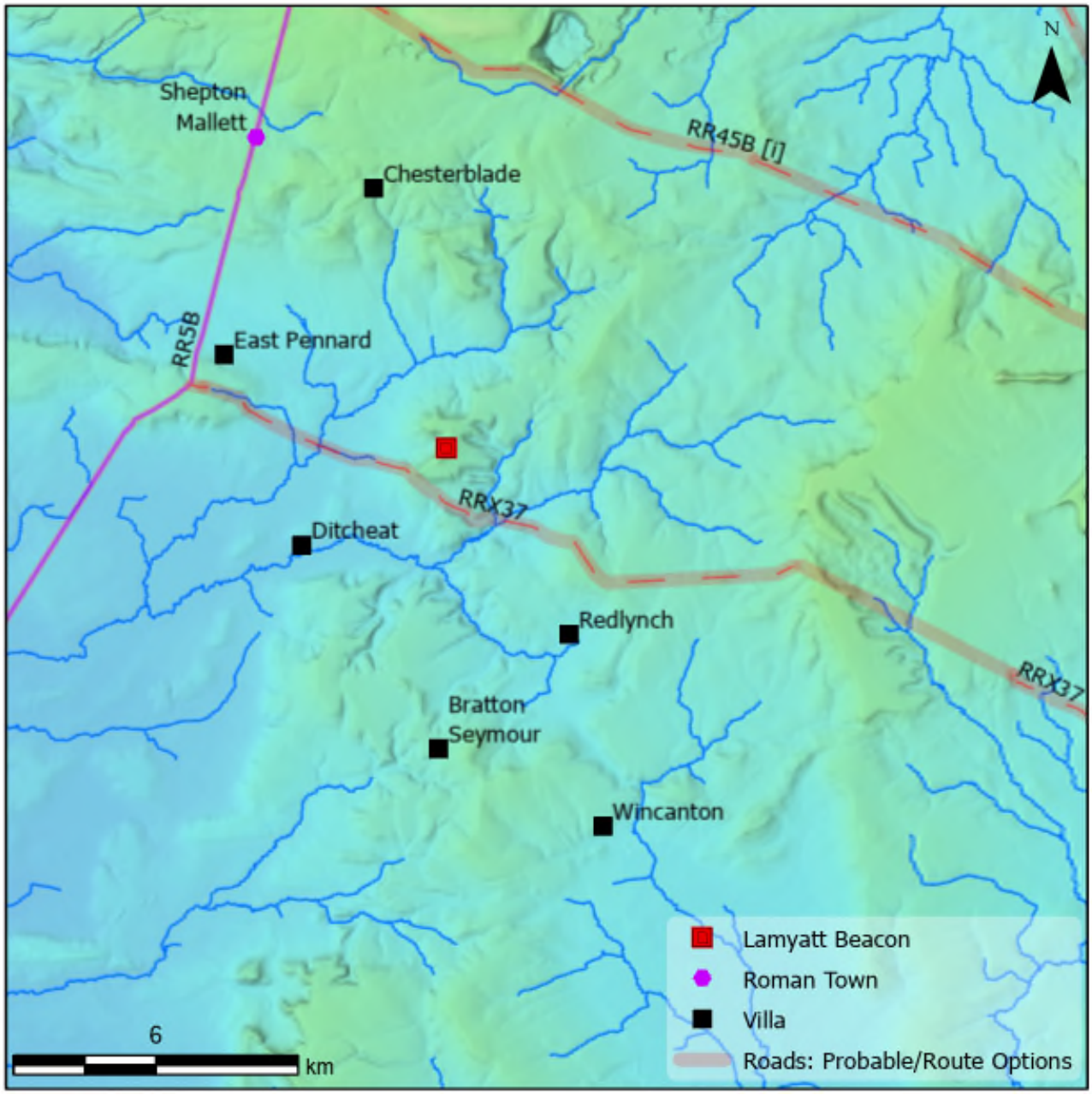

Figure 84: Roman villas near Lamyatt Beacon

The Somerset HER (2023e&f) records two entries for probable (#67) and possible (#41) villa sites in close proximity at Ditcheat, 3.5 km to the south-west of Lamyatt Beacon. Whilst there are no proper records, a Roman villa was excavated in this location around 1820. Besides extensive foundations, a silver coin of Constantius II (317-361 CE), six or more bronze coins including one or two of Tetricus (271-274 CE), red and white tesserae, pot sherds and tiles were found (Haverfield 1906, 320); with more Roman pottery found in 1956 (Somerset HER, 2023e). A parch mark of a large square feature was observed on the ground in 1995 that may indicate the location of the villa at NGR: ST6365 3402 (Somerset HER, 2023e). In relation to the possible villa, the Somerset HER (2022f) notes a series of narrow parallel compartments on aerial photography (Figure 85), and Scott (1993) may be referring to this in suggesting that a ‘rectangular enclosure in the area’ could indicate a corridor villa.

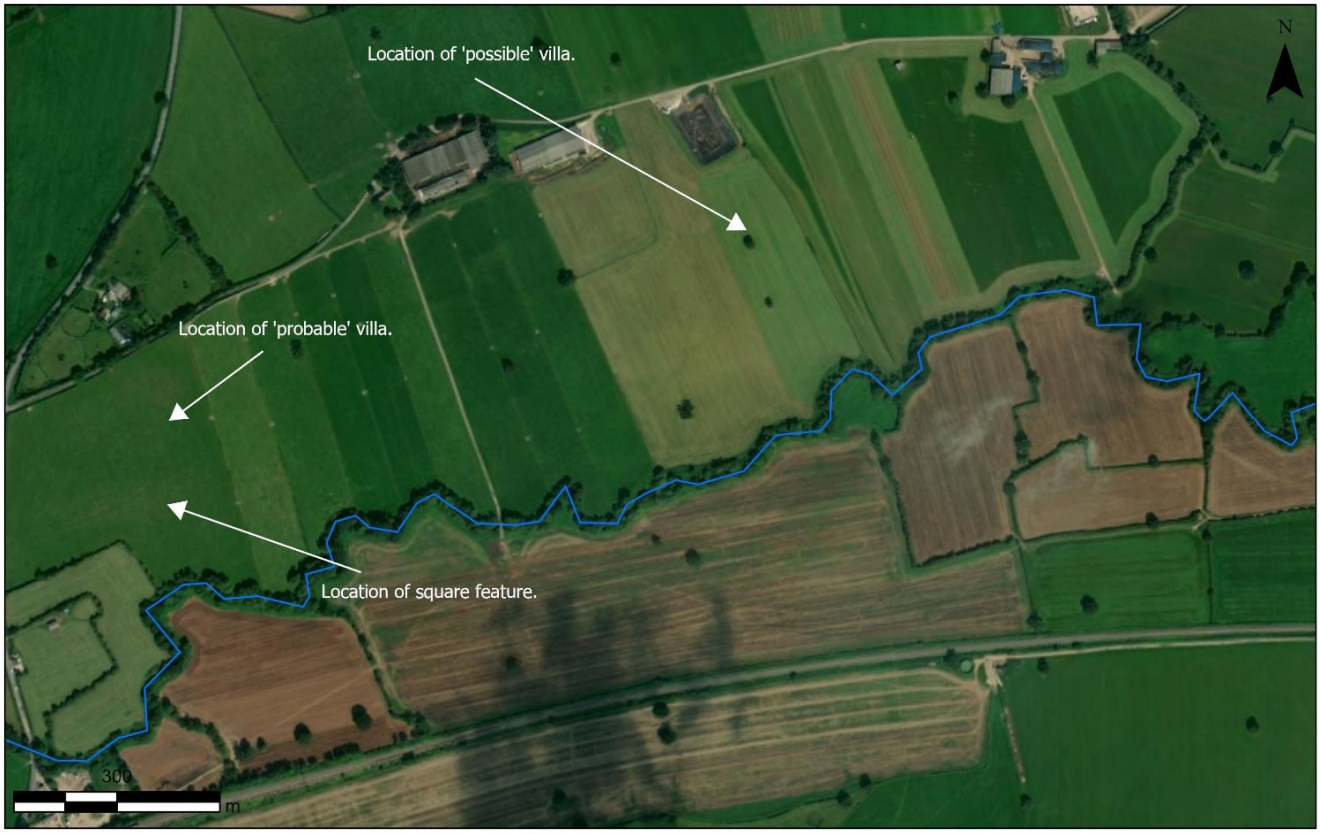

Figure 85: Existing interpretation of Ditcheat villa site, centred at NGR: ST 64145 34304

Whilst the Somerset HER (2023e&f) suggests no surface features, LiDAR suggests that further investigation may be productive as it reveals features to the right of the ‘possible villa’ (A), between the probable and possible villas (B) and at the location of the square feature (C) (Figure 86).

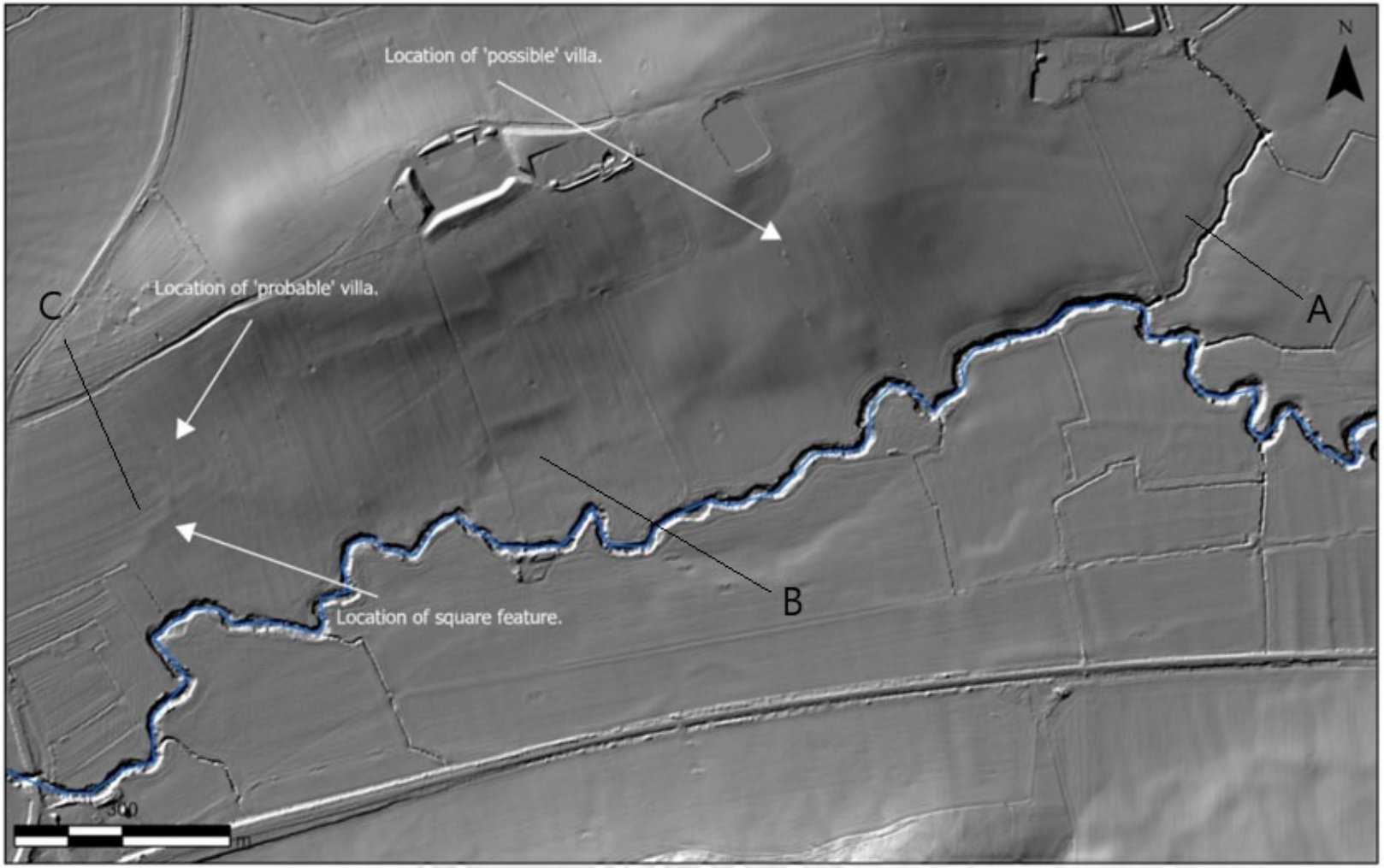

Figure 86: LiDAR image of Ditcheat villa location

Many field boundaries have been removed in this area and historic mapping shows that some of them correspond to the features visible on LiDAR (Figure 87):

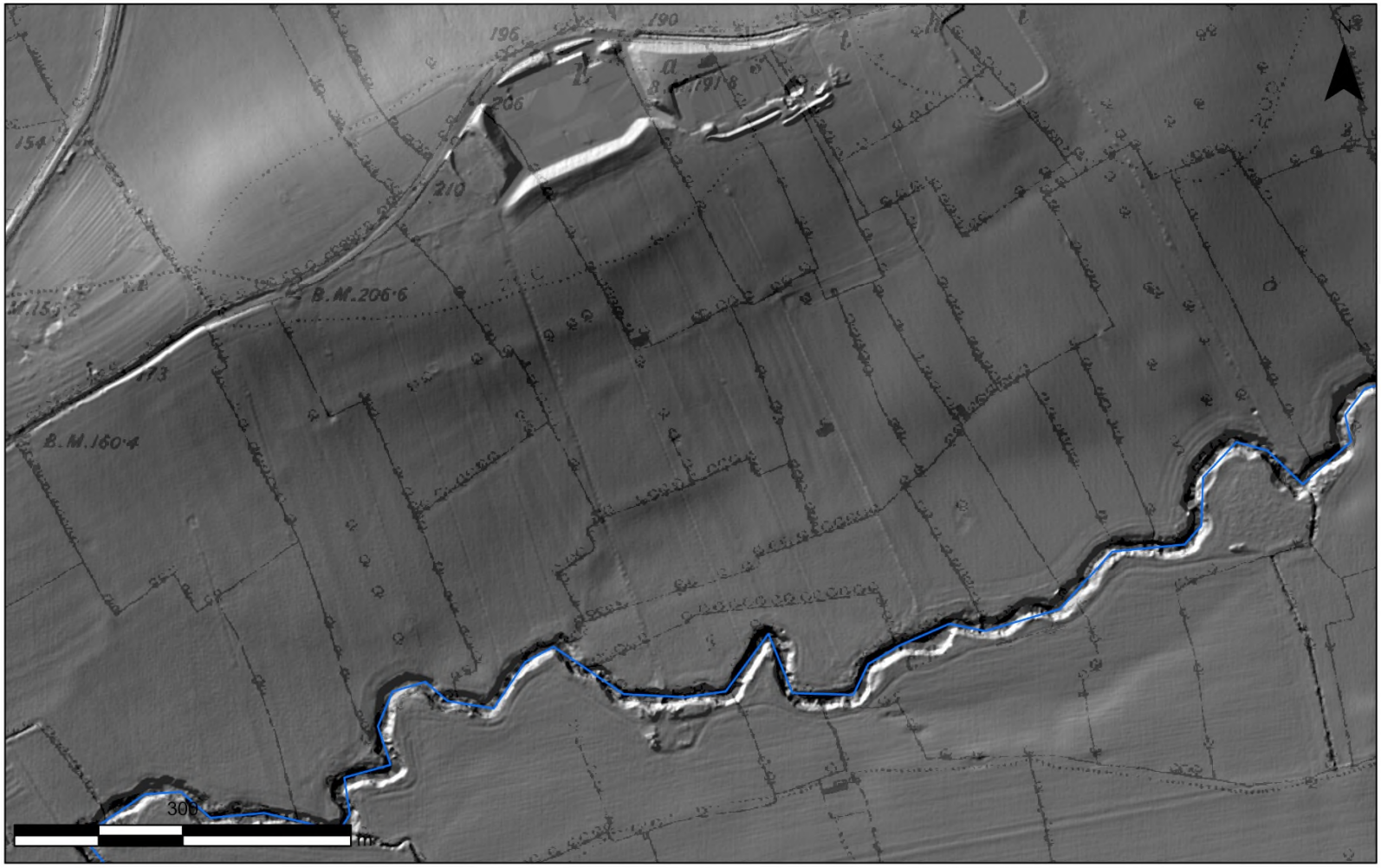

Figure 87: Historic map (Digimap, 2023e) overlaying LiDAR image

Another possible villa (#66; Somerset HER 2023g) is located 4.7 km south-west of Lamyatt Beacon, at Redlynch, north of the River Pitt. Aerial photographs appear to show an L-shaped building with small rooms of similar appearance to a Roman villa (Figure 88).

Figure 88: Aerial photograph centred at: NGR: ST 69559 32282 (Google Earth 6/2022)

The Somerset HER (2023h) also records a villa at Manor Farm, Chesterblade (#65), where foundations, pot sherds, a lamp and coins dating to 270-400 CE, were found in a field at NGR: ST 65400 41700, in the early 20th century. Whilst now untraceable, Roman coins were also found in the farmyard and given to Taunton Museum in the early 1960's. The field is now under pasture, with no features visible on aerial photography or LiDAR. Finally, fieldwalking located a high status Roman site in the early 1990's at East Pennard (#62, Somerset HER 2023i; Stokes, 1995): NGR: ST 62257 38135. Although there was a low density of Roman pottery a large amount of building material was recovered, including many pieces of combed hypocaust tile, Roman bricks, lias roof slates with nail holes, blue lias mosaic chessils, and one piece of worked tufa; together with some large pieces of Ham or Doulting stone masonry (Stokes 1995, 21).

3.5.5 Villas, Estates and Temples

In contrast to notions of ‘cult centres’, discussed in section 3.4.7, it has been suggested that ‘isolated’ rural temples were actually ‘estate temples’ (Rodwell 1980, 233). Indeed, Rodwell (1980, 233) infers Lamyatt Beacon’s status as an estate temple, from its ‘isolation’ in the landscape. However, the evidence presented in this dissertation supports Smith’s (2000, 14) general point that rather than being isolated, rural temples were often in close proximity to roads, field systems, settlements and villas. Furthermore, it provides further supporting evidence for Smith’s (2000, 280) observation that Lamyatt Beacon in particular, was far from an isolated temple. Nonetheless, this need not preclude the possibility that Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon were ‘estate temples’. Whilst located away from a parent villa, such temples would have been within its estate boundary, and are likely to have been used communally; perhaps shared by more than one estate or farmstead (Rodwell 1980, 232-234). Furthermore, Smith et al (2018, 16) observed the contemporary chronology, geographical proximity and similar construction methods of rural temples and villas in the south-central region. Whilst the paucity of available evidence from the Cold Kitchen Hill temple precludes any comparison of construction methods; its distance from the Brixton Deverill villa and their broadly similar construction dates, suggests that they were connected, and perhaps associated with the same estate. However, this did not extend to inter-visibility between the temple and villa, as the viewshed analysis demonstrates that the Brixton Deverill villa (Figure 89) was not intervisible with the temple (e.g., Figure 90).

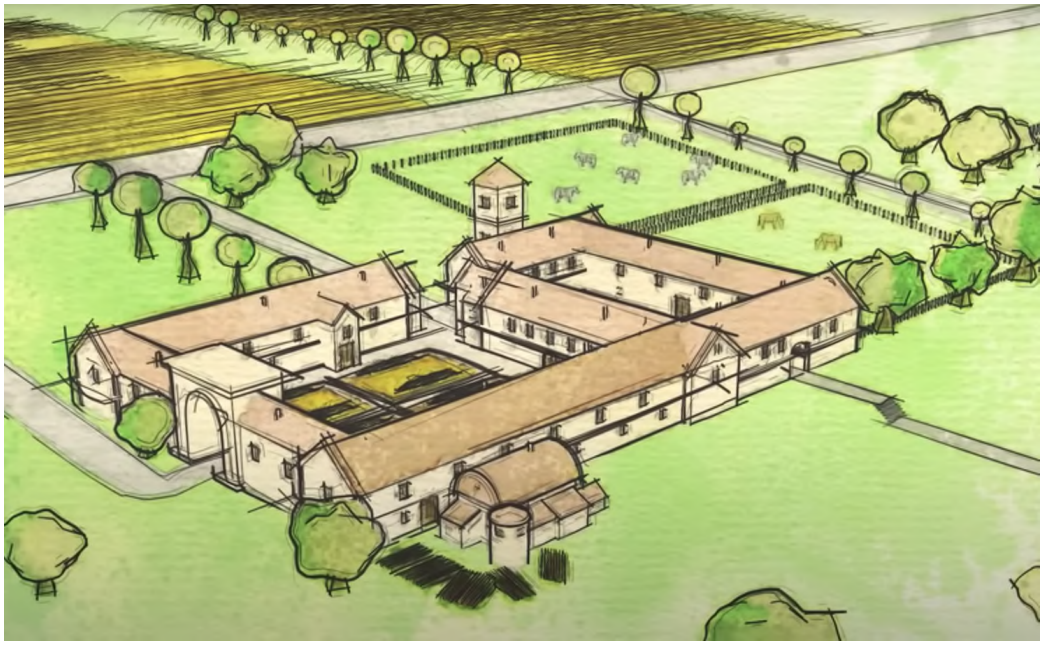

Figure 89: Artist’s impression of the Brixton Deverill villa (Luke Irwin, 2023)

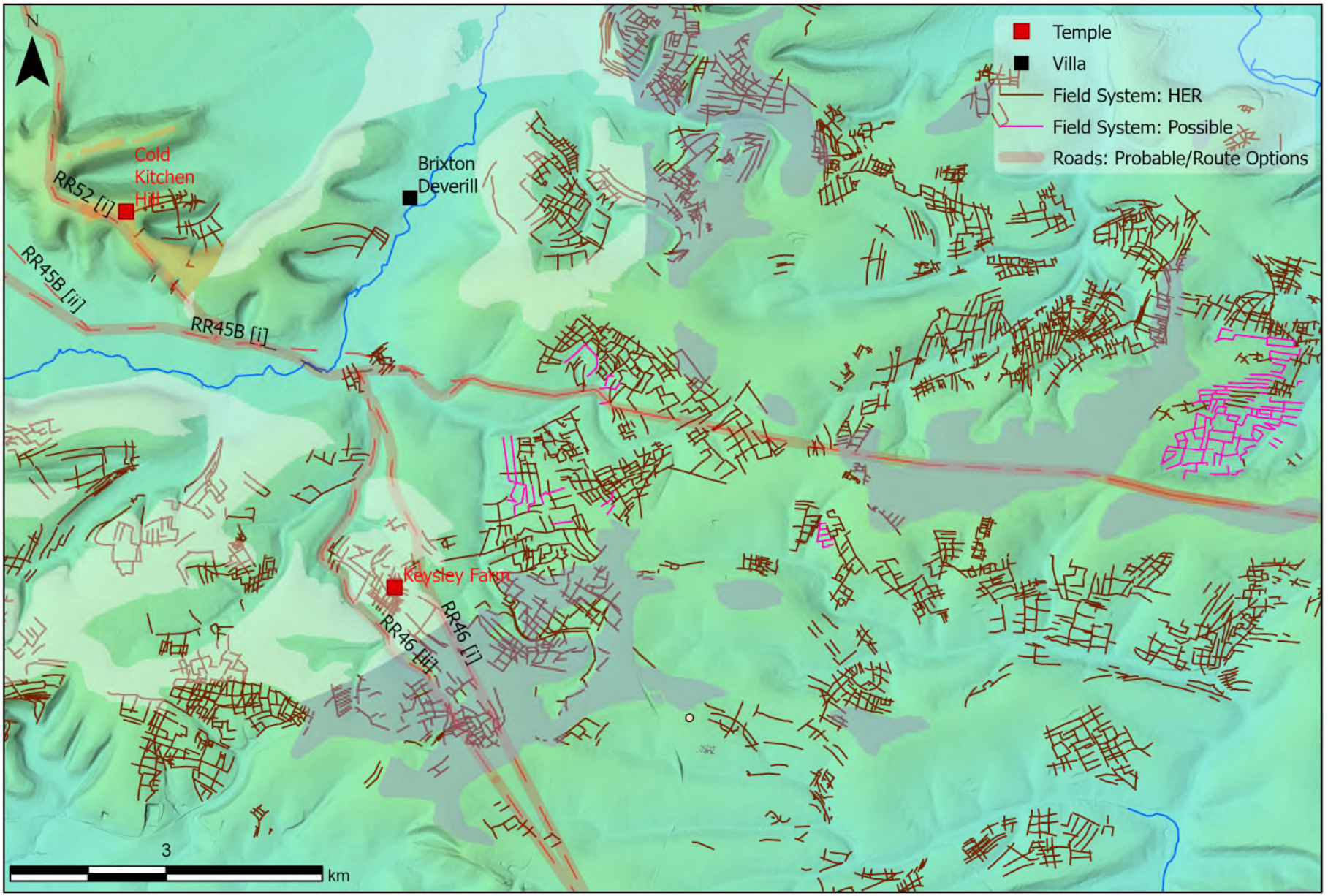

Figure 90: Cold Kitchen Hill reflective viewshed: villa and landscape

As there is more evidence for villas in the Lamyatt Beacon landscape and given that there were probably no unoccupied areas between estates in southern England (Hingley 1989, 105), Thiessen polygons offer an estimate of potential villa estate territories in the area, which when combined with a reflective viewshed also estimate the visibility of the Lamyatt Beacon temple location from the surrounding landscape (Figure 91).

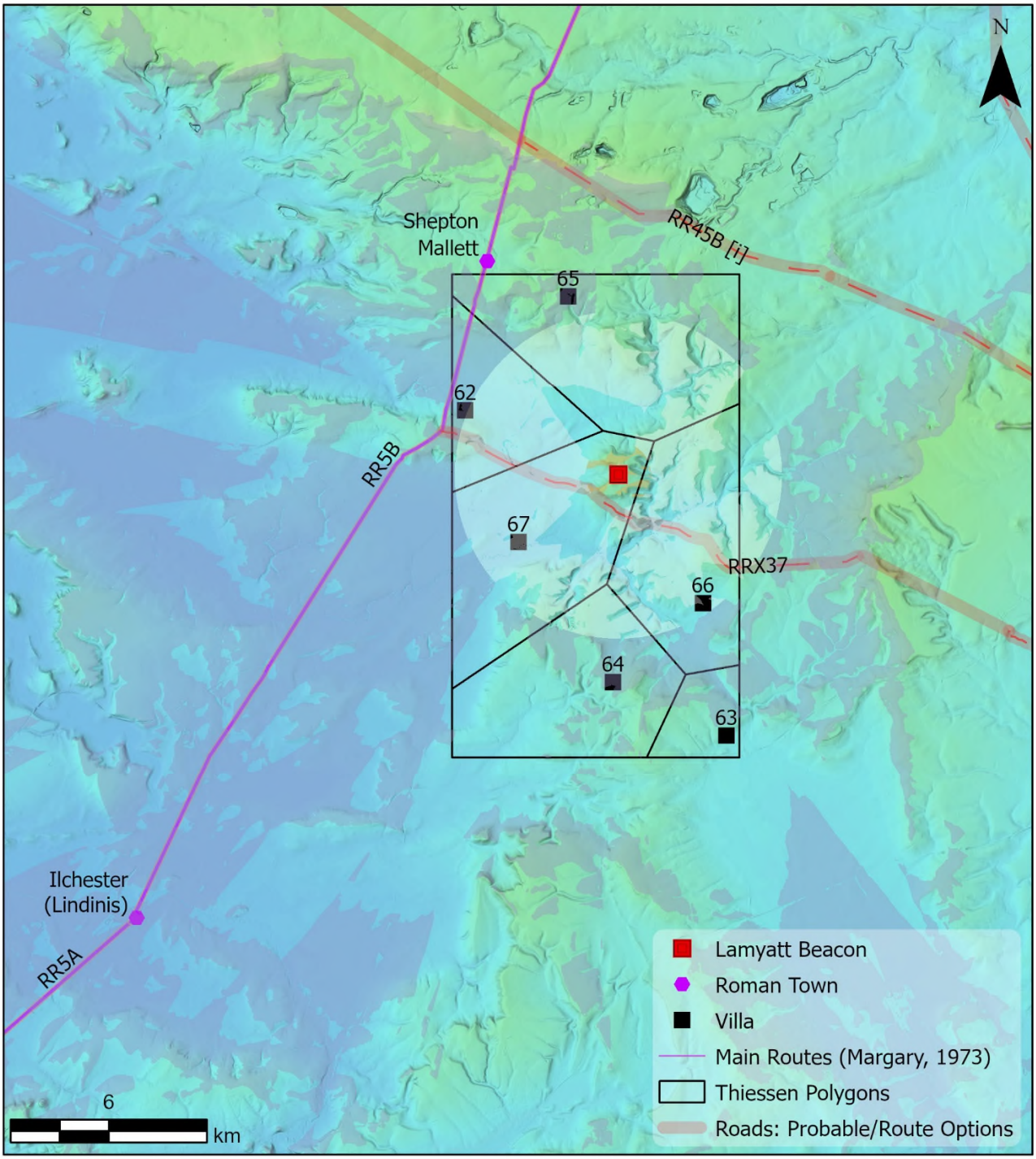

Figure 91: Hypothetical villa estate boundaries/reflective viewshed

It is noticeable that the hypothetical Ditcheat (#67) estate contains Lamyatt Beacon and a significant section of RRX37 as it travels south-east from RR5B. Furthermore, the temple location afforded visibility from a significant proportion of the hypothetical Ditcheat estate territory, including the villa; and also other nearby villa estates. Thus, in addition to affording visibility to travellers on RR5B and RRX37 and possibly RR45B, Lamyatt Beacon was also prominently visible to the local population. Furthermore, whilst the East Pennard villa (#62) was close to RR5B and RRX37, the Ditcheat villa was further away and afforded limited visibility from either road (Figure 92). Therefore, if Lamyatt Beacon was primarily associated with the Ditcheat villa, it is notable that its location afforded the opportunity to secure widespread visibility by the settled and transient population; as well as from Ilchester, perhaps compensating for the lack of visual display afforded by the villa location.

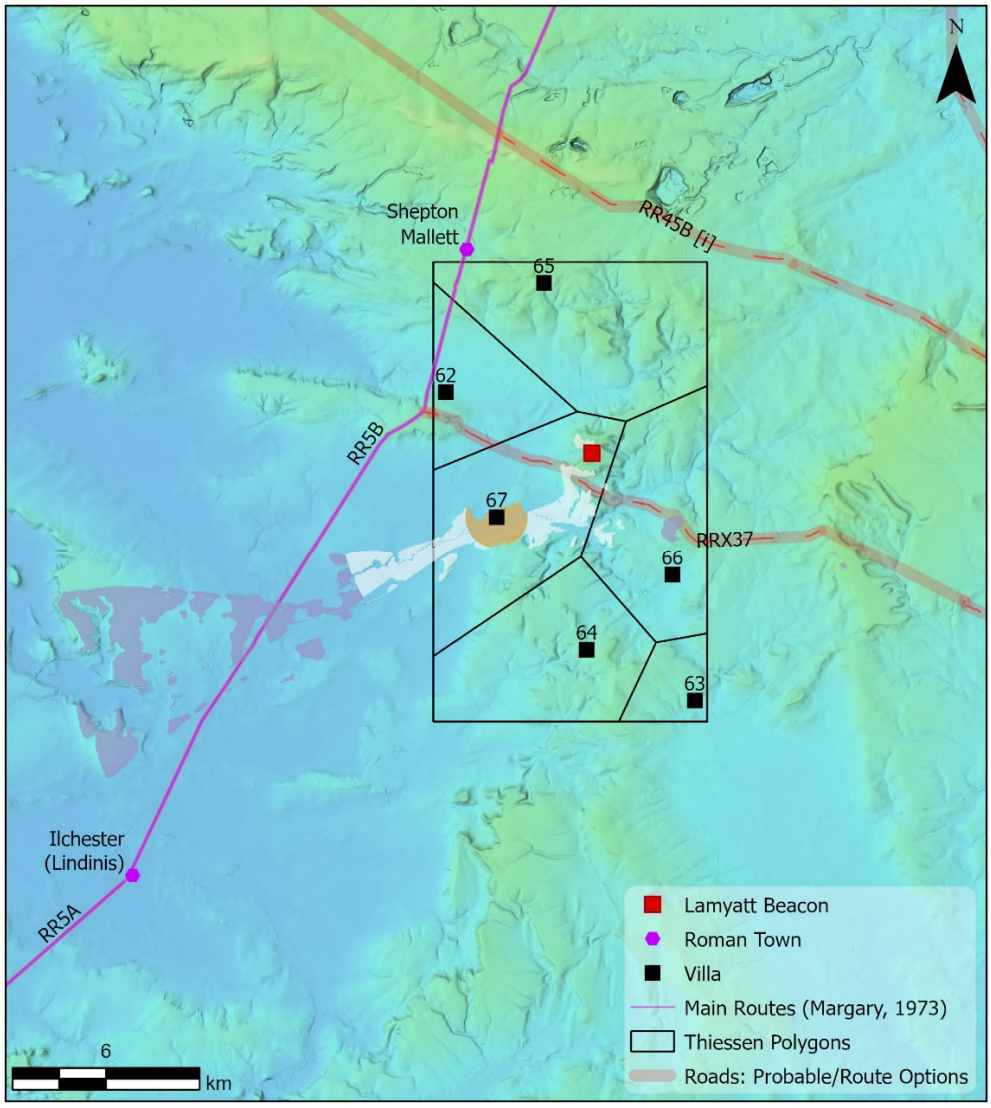

Figure 92: Ditcheat villa: reflective viewshed

3.6 Visibility of Temples and Orientation

Previous studies have suggested that a number of Romano-Celtic temples may have been intervisible. Notably, Smith (2001, 345-46) proposed the inter-visibility of temple sites in the south-west on the basis of visits, literature and detailed topographical maps, whilst Leech et al (1986, 271) proposed the inter-visibility of Lamyatt Beacon with Cold Kitchen Hill and Brean Down, based on personal observations. The viewshed results demonstrate that Henley Wood, the only temple that is likely to have preceded it in the regional study area, was not visible from the Cold Kitchen Hill (Figure 93).

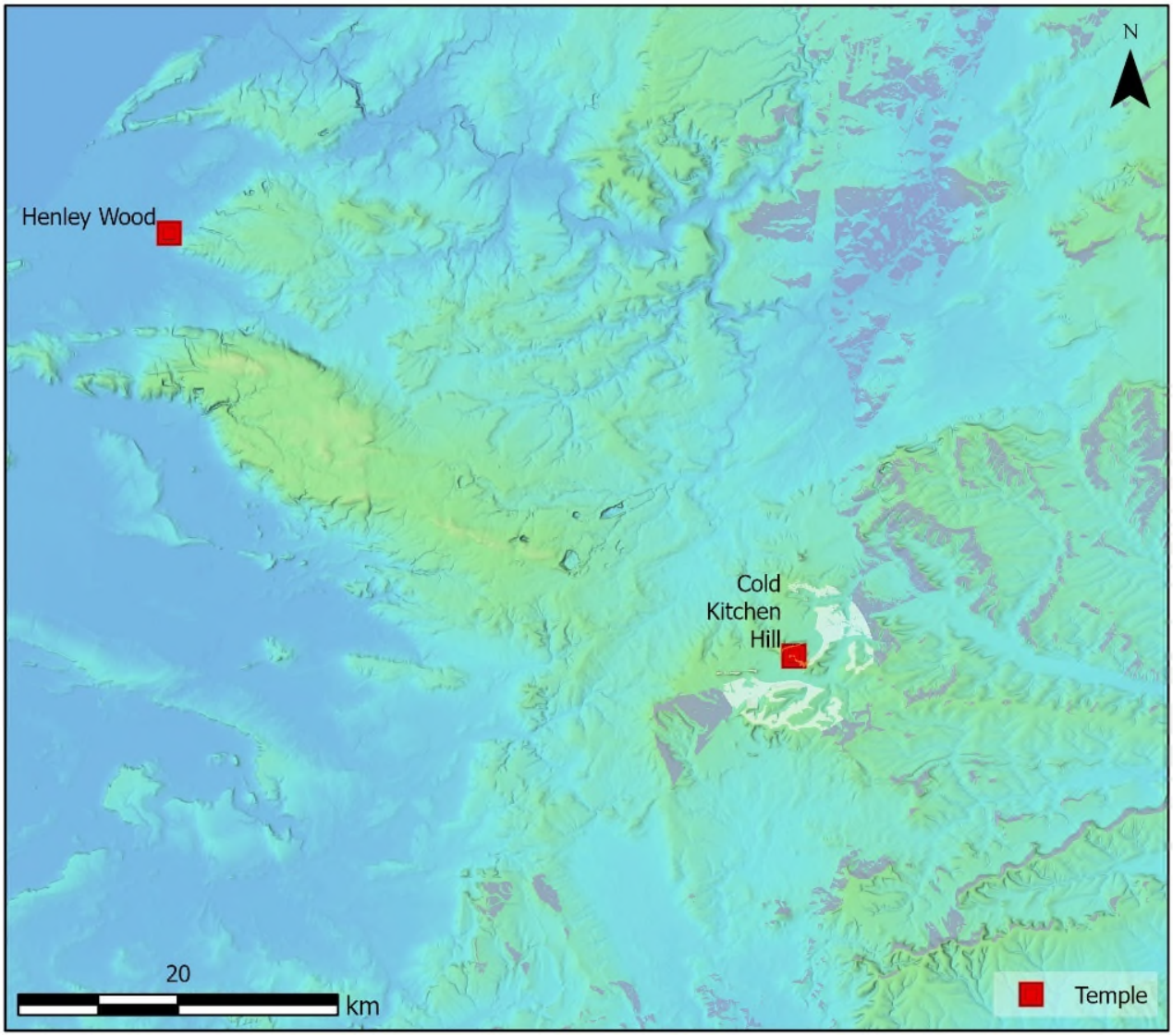

Figure 93: Projective viewshed from Cold Kitchen Hill: Henley Wood

Whilst there is no dating evidence for the Keysley Farm temple, figures 94 and 95 demonstrate intervisibility between the site and the Cold Kitchen Hill temple location.

Figure 94: View from Keysley Farm temple site (18.11.22)

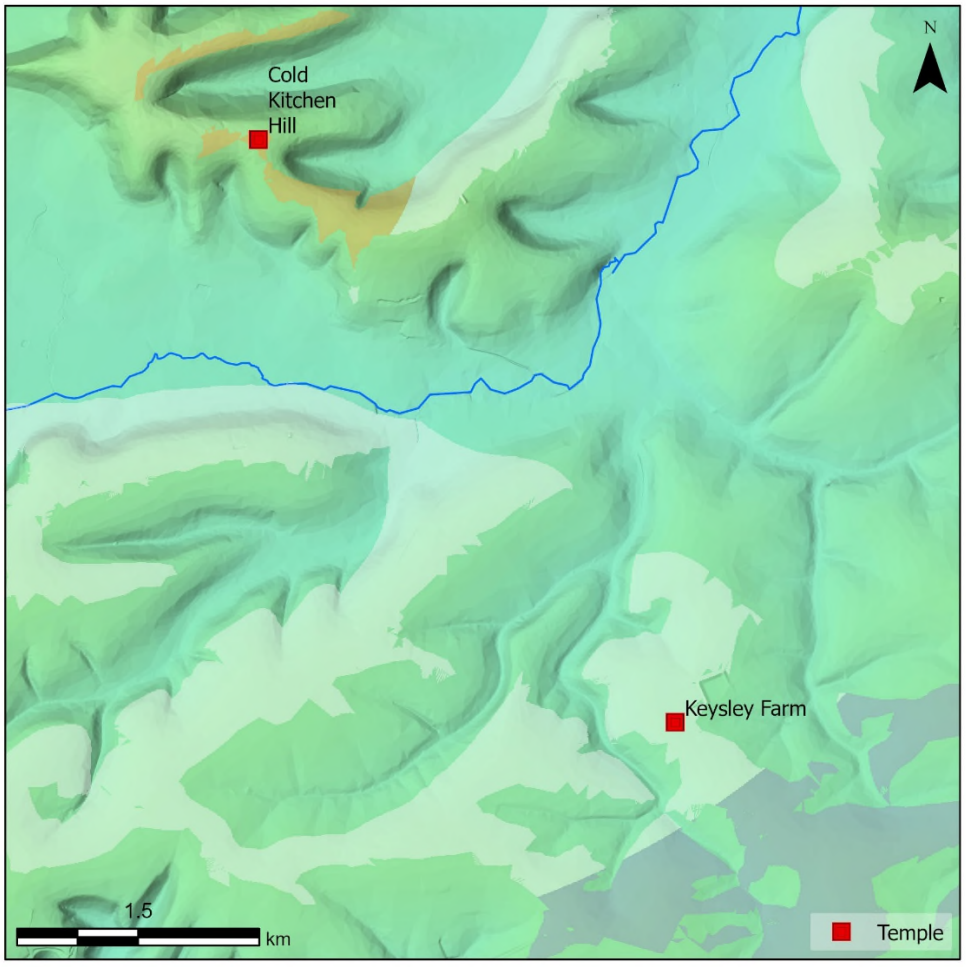

Figure 95: Projective viewshed from Cold Kitchen Hill: Keysley Farm

The summit of Lamyatt Beacon did not afford visibility of Henley Wood or Pagans Hill, both of which preceded Lamyatt Beacon's construction. Furthermore, the analysis confirms Leech et al's (1986, 271) suggestion that whilst the visibility afforded by Lamyatt Beacon is overwhelmingly to the west and south-west, that once the building is taken into account the Cold Kitchen Hill temple location may have been visible from Lamyatt Beacon (Figure 96).

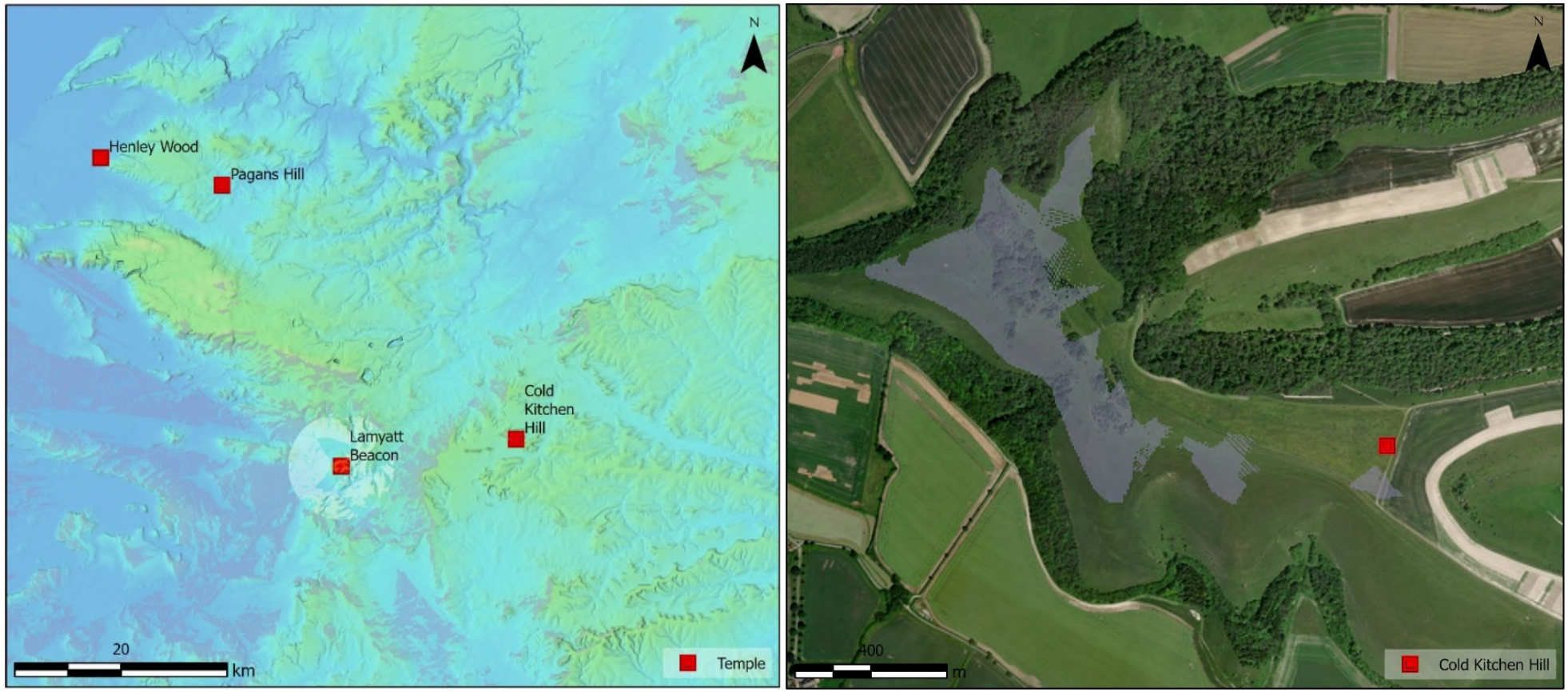

Figure 96: Projective viewshed from Lamyatt Beacon: Cold Kitchen Hill

Furthermore, the viewshed analysis confirms Leech et al's (1986, 271) suggestion that the Lamyatt Beacon temple, constructed 40 years earlier, was potentially visible from the site of the future Brean Down temple location (Figure 97).

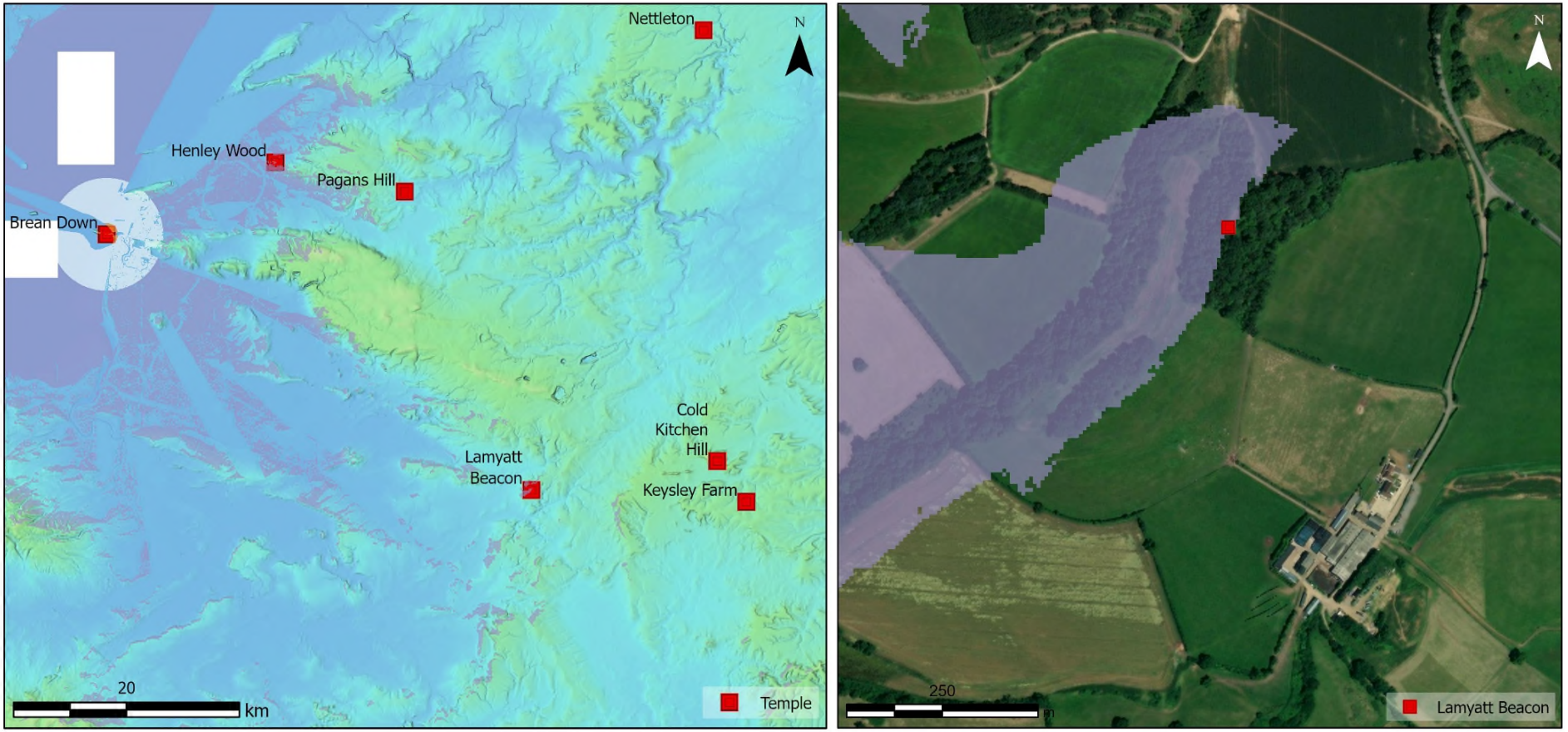

Figure 97: Projective viewshed from Brean Down

It is also notable that the plan of the Brean Down temple was very similar to Lamyatt Beacon (Figures 98 & 99).

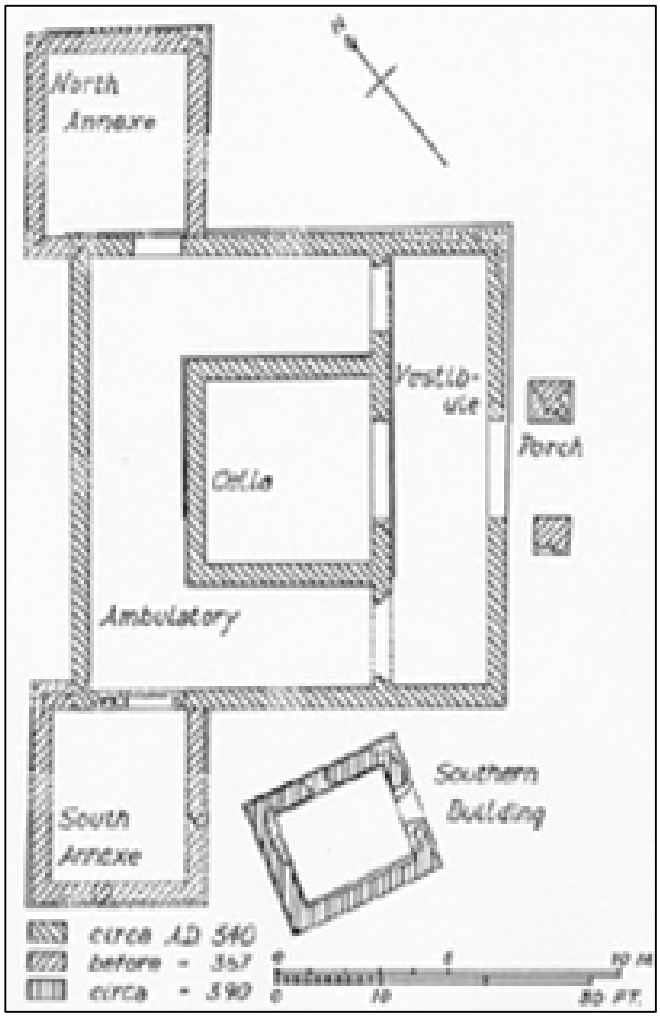

Figure 98: Brean Down plan (ApSimon 1965, 200)

Indeed, notwithstanding the different position of the annexes, both temples shared very similar symmetry (Leech et al 1986, 270). Whilst the excavations at Brean Down produced almost no votive objects, as most of the temple contents were removed (ApSimon, 1965); as at Lamyatt Beacon and Cold Kitchen Hill, deer antlers were recovered. Despite being interpreted by the excavator as stone robbers tools, the wider evidence in the region suggests that they may justifiably be regarded as cult objects (Leech et al 1986, 272). Additionally, whilst Romano-Celtic temple entrances are generally oriented in an easterly direction, it is notable that Cold Kitchen Hill (Figure 6), Lamyatt Beacon (Figure 99) and Brean Down (Figure 98) are all oriented in a similarly south-easterly direction.

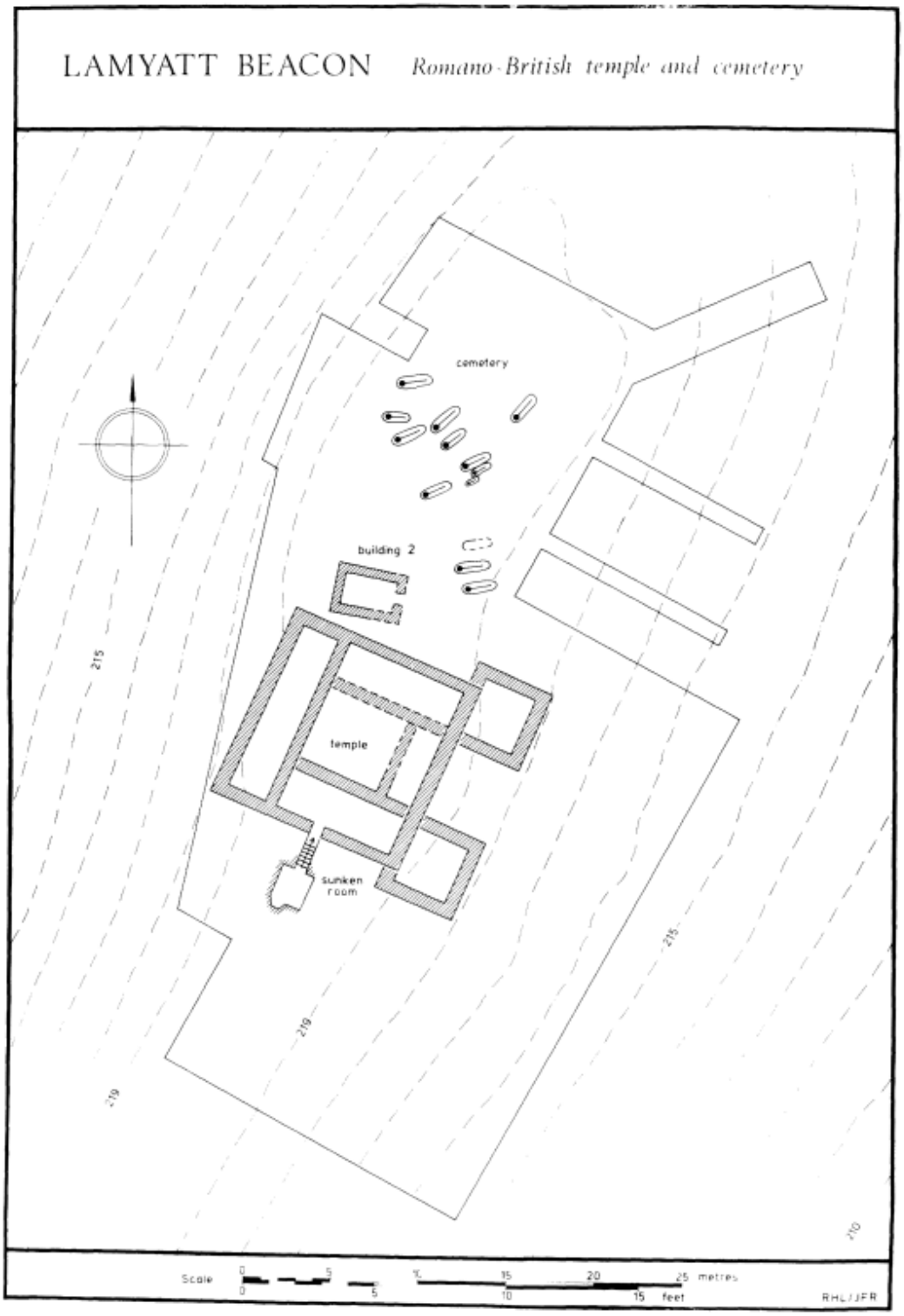

Figure 99: Lamyatt Beacon plan (Leech et al 1986, 263)

Furthermore, whilst not previously observed in the literature, the Brean Down temple appears to be aligned so that its entrance is facing Lamyatt Beacon (Figure 100). Thus, despite the lack of votive evidence at Brean Down (ApSimon, 1965), the visual connections and architectural similarities, together with the orientation and antler deposits, suggests an

association between this temple and Lamyatt Beacon. It might suggest the same cult was worshipped at both, but certainly appears to indicate that Lamyatt Beacon achieved significance beyond its immediate locality, albeit within the same *civitas.* Indeed, the chronology of both temples in relation to Cold Kitchen Hill, together with the similarity of finds - particularly at Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon - suggests a shared cult that originated at Cold Kitchen Hill and was subsequently expressed via visual connections and orientation in the landscape.

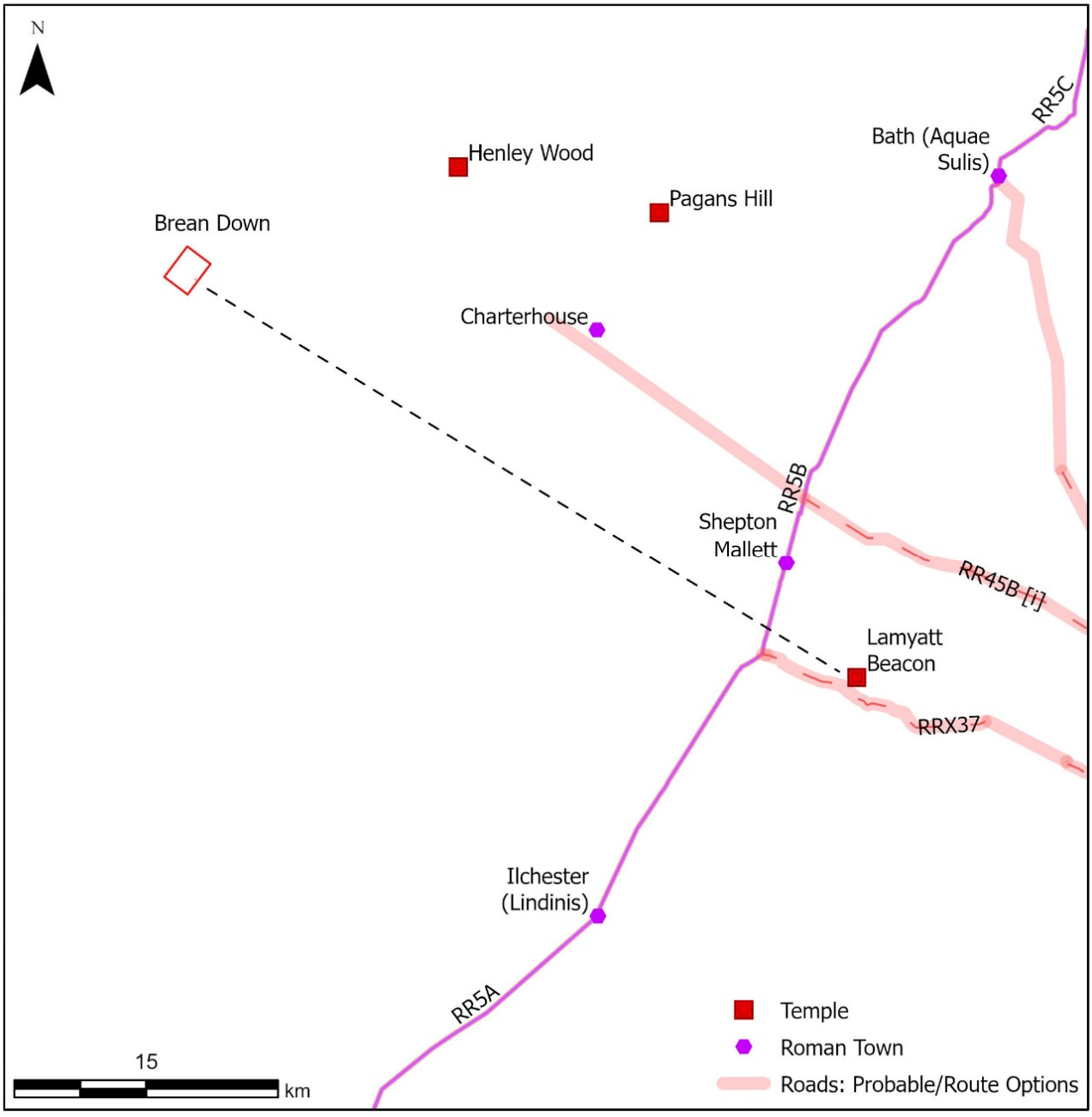

Figure 100: Brean Down orientation

4 – General Synthesis & Reflection on the Methodology

Whilst research questions 1-5 have been partially addressed in the preceding sections, Chapter 4 synthesises the analysis to complete this process and to respond to questions 6 and 7.

4.1 General Synthesis

Given the lack of water sources close to the Cold Kitchen Hill temple site, its elevation together with the visibility this afforded, is its most significant natural characteristic. However, Henley Wood, the only temple in the regional study area that preceded its construction, could not have been visible from the site. Whilst there is no structural evidence for an Iron Age shrine on Whitecliff Down, the area was occupied during the period (Wiltshire HER, 2023a); which together with the likely votive offerings dating to this period (Robinson 2001, 150), suggest this is a possibility. Consequently, any influence that constructed or natural landscape features, such as the visibility of the round barrows across the valley or ritual symbolism associated with elevated locations (Burkert and Raffan, 1985), had on its selection as a 'sacred' site, may have occurred before the Roman conquest. Nonetheless, these factors may also have been significant when the temple was constructed in the early 3rd century CE. Indeed, the view of prehistoric barrows may have held significance for religious reasons in the Romano-British period (Darvill 2004, 228; Hutton 2011, 16) or served to direct social memories to the deeper past. However, given the likely Iron Age occupation, the temple does not appear to have been sited here to 'forget' the past (Kamash 2014, 691). It is also notable that Whitecliff Down is likely to have been close to the boundary of three *civitates*, and whilst it cannot be assumed that *civitates* always reflect pre-conquest 'tribal' boundaries, this may have been a factor in the area being significant in the Iron Age. Furthermore, many of the field systems in the landscape to the south and east of the temple location are likely to have been established in this period, suggesting that the landscape was intensely occupied; a situation which is likely to have continued into the Romano-British period, when some of these field systems are likely to have been associated with the Brixton Deverill villa. Indeed, given that this is the only villa discovered in the area, and that it was constructed contemporaneously with the temple, it seems likely that the elite group connected with it were influential in the construction of what Rodwell (1980, 233) might term an 'estate temple'.

It has been suggested that temple locations were selected to afford visibility from roads in order to signpost their presence to pilgrims (Kiernan, 2012, 89). Additionally, there may also

have been broader social benefits for elite groups to use temples to project visual prominence to travellers on the road network, as well as the settled population. However, whilst the chalk ridge on which it is located is prominent and may have acted as a visual proxy for the temple, the visibility analysis demonstrates that whilst there is good visibility of the Cold Kitchen temple site from the field systems to the south and north-east; visibility to and from the River Wylye, the road network or the Brixton Deverill villa could not have been a priority. Therefore, the value of the temple location for the 'builders' was more likely to be related, at least in in part, to its historic and potentially pre-existing sacred significance. The large Romano-British settlement at Stockton Earthworks, together with the importance of the area on the border of three *civitates* and the convergence of three major roads that pre-dated the temple, further enhanced this location in the Romano-British period. Indeed, these factors may also have been important for the selection of the Brixton Deverill villa location.

Whilst the Keysley Farm temple, which is intervisible with that at Cold Kitchen Hill, must be significant for this narrative, the lack of evidence restricts its inclusion in the interpretation. Similarly, further evidence is required to confirm the route of RR52. However, given that as with RR45B and RR46, the road is likely to have predated the temple and that there are topographically easier options associated with RR52ii; if RR52i can be confirmed it might provide further evidence that Whitecliff Down was significant before the temple was constructed, as well as indicating a desire for the temple to be in close proximity to the road. This would also align with Lewis' (1966, 124) suggestion that the area may have been the site of a religious market.

Whilst the patronage of a Romano-Celtic temple by the native elite at an accessible, strategically important and historically resonant location would have offered the opportunity to assert status within local and wider communities, this need not discount the notion of the temple as a cult centre and pilgrimage location. Indeed, this is consistent with the finds evidence (Robinson 2001, 150), and may even have preceded the construction of the temple. Indeed, in addition to the religious dimension, a cult centre may have been a useful vehicle for achieving social benefits. Finally, a prominent sacred site with Iron Age origins is likely to have been well known, and despite the longer distances from major towns compared to Lamyatt Beacon, the road network would have served to aid its accessibility for pilgrims; including those travelling from Stockton Earthworks.

As at Cold Kitchen Hill, there are a lack of water sources close to Lamyatt Beacon and its most notable natural characteristic is its elevation, which offers wide ranging views

particularly to the west and south and ensures the prominence of the hilltop from these areas. Indeed, whilst difficult to prove, it is possible that the view across the watery Somerset Levels was valued for symbolically religious reasons. The surrounding landscape was certainly populated with Roman villas, which together with the evidence for roads, suggests that the notion that it was 'seemingly isolated' (Rodwell 1980, 233), can be revised. Nonetheless, Rodwell's (1980, 233) claim that Lamyatt Beacon must have been an 'estate temple' appears to be well founded. Thiessen polygon analysis suggests that it may have been situated within the boundary of the Ditcheat villa estate. Indeed, whilst further investigation is required at Ditcheat, this villa may have been broadly contemporaneous with the temple. However, Leech et al (1986, 272) suggest that Lamyatt Beacon was a 'local cult centre', and whilst the evidence does not support the claim (Leech et al 1986, 272) that RRX37 was specifically constructed to terminate at Lamyatt, but rather that it is very likely to pre-date the temple and continued to join RR46; the finds do suggest that a primary deity was venerated here. Furthermore, whilst Leech et al (1986) do not discuss pilgrimage specifically, the discovery of portable votive objects at Lamyatt Beacon (Leech et al 1986, 318), together with its proximity to RR5B and RRX37 suggests that it was positioned to take advantage of the road network and therefore to facilitate visitors. Indeed, the temple was readily accessible from both Ilchester, and the junction with RR5B at Pylle Hill. Furthermore, the distinctive Lamyatt Beacon hilltop is likely to have been visible from long sections of RR5B and the RRX37; which might suggest an intention to capitalise on the location to provide a visual focus for pilgrims travelling to a cult centre.

However, Lamyatt Beacon's accessibility and visual prominence may also have been valued for 'secular' reasons, such as the desire for social display. Indeed, the visibility of Lamyatt Beacon from the surrounding landscape and road network in particular, is far more extensive than that of the Ditcheat villa. Therefore, Lamyatt Beacon may have provided a means of projecting a much more prominent social display within the surrounding landscape, including the *civitas* capital at Ilchester, and to travellers on RRX37 and RR5B. Furthermore, visual prominence and accessibility may have also been important attributes in aiding the establishment a completely 'new' sacred site without pre-existing historic significance. Indeed, it may be that because they were not 'tied' to a particular location conferring the benefits of a historic legacy as at Cold Kitchen Hill, that the 'builders' of the temple were able to select a location that offered these advantages.

Additionally, whilst Kamash (2014, 691) has observed that hillforts were often avoided as temple locations which may have been connected to the intention to 'forget' or 'preserve'

the Iron Age past; Lamyatt Beacon was likely to have been more visible from the surrounding landscape than Fox Covert hillfort. Nonetheless, it may have been symbolically significant that this 'new' sacred location overlooked the presumably empty hillfort, alongside extensive views of the Roman roads: which embodied imperial ideology, power and identity (Witcher 1998, 60). However, complexities in how social memories may have been manipulated are suggested by the likelihood that the same cult as Cold Kitchen Hill, which may have been visible from the temple, is likely to have been venerated at Lamyatt Beacon (Leech et al 1986, 271). Thus, the patrons of the Lamyatt Beacon temple were able to combine the attributes of visual prominence and accessibility with a pre-existing cult, to attract pilgrims. Consequently, social benefits could be realised in an area that was on the outer margin of the more densely settled and prosperous villa landscape around Ilchester. Evidence for the success of the 'new' temple and indeed the legacy of the sacred site at Cold Kitchen Hill, is provided by the Brean Down temple, which was constructed approximately 40 years after Lamyatt Beacon. It is possible that the same cult may have been worshipped here and it was of a very similar design. It was also orientated directly towards Lamyatt Beacon and located within the same *civitas*. Indeed, whilst at a distance of 45 km it is not clear if the Lamyatt Beacon temple itself would have been visible, the hilltop is very likely to have been: acting as a physical proxy for the temple that sat upon it.

4.2 Reflection on the Methodology

The analysis of aerial photography and LiDAR proved to be effective for providing new evidence for conjectural sections of Roman roads, as well as confirming known sections with new evidence; particularly on the chalk download of south-west Wiltshire. Furthermore, these techniques revealed new information relating to field systems and villas. The integration of a range of data sets within a GIS project proved to be a useful means of analysing and presenting temporal and spatial relationships between temples and their landscapes. However, further research is required into field systems and occupation sites in each study area, as well as the precise routes of some sections of roads, villas and their estate boundaries.

Whilst the GIS visibility analysis was effective at definitively demonstrating locations that could not have been inter-visible with the temples, the lack of detailed environmental data to reconstruct vegetation means that positive claims for visibility must be treated as probable rather than certain. Furthermore, whilst it appears very likely that the native elite were closely connected to the construction of temples, assumptions were necessarily made in exploring

potential meanings that they may have ascribed to the natural and constructed environment and therefore the contribution that their thought processes made to their realisation of visual affordances. Nonetheless, affordance theory proved to be a useful means of interpreting the GIS visibility data; especially when combined with field visits and theoretical perspectives, which were also effective in mitigating the risk of an overly positivist interpretation. Additionally, whilst the specific techniques used would need to be adapted for different landscape contexts, the methodology could be used to explore less monumental forms of Romano-British sacred space, as well as Iron Age sacred sites, in northern as well as southern Britain. Finally, it appears to be adaptable enough to suggest that a similar approach may be useful in interpreting other types of Romano-British site; for example, those associated with pottery production.

5 - Conclusions & Recommendations for Further Research

5.1 Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon

This dissertation makes an important contribution to the current understanding of the Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon temples, within the context of south-west Roman Britain. The Cold Kitchen Hill location appears to have been selected, at least in part due to its historical and potentially sacred significance, dating to the Iron Age. This decision is likely to have been associated with the native elite group based at nearby Brixton Deverill villa. Indeed, this dissertation is significant as it is the first to provide a detailed interpretation of the temple location within the context of the discovery of the villa in 2015. The temple location had been further enhanced by the early 3rd century CE, as it was well located in relation to the road network, the boundary between three *civitates* and a major settlement at Stockton Earthworks. Indeed, this dissertation has contributed new evidence for field systems that may be associated with this settlement, as well as the road network in the area. Whilst the viewshed analysis demonstrates that the temple site did not afford extensive visual prominence from the road network, given the votive offerings recovered and its close proximity to the convergence of the three roads that pre-dated it, it may have been a pilgrimage location, perhaps incorporating a religious market in the Romano-British period. However, important gaps in the evidence base remain, notably the route of RR52 and the relationship between the Cold Kitchen Hill temple and that at Keysley Farm.

Lamyatt Beacon is also likely to have been connected to a villa, probably that at Ditcheat; for which this dissertation has contributed new evidence. However, Lamyatt Beacon did not have a pre-existing occupation history, and the possible absence of a sacred location of historical significance in the area, together with the hilltop's accessibility and visual prominence, may have influenced its selection as a temple location. In this regard, it is significant that the findings suggest that it is highly likely that RRX37 did not post-date the temple and terminate at Lamyatt as previously claimed. Furthermore, Lamyatt Beacon is likely to have been visible from long sections of RRX37 and RR5B. By combining accessibility and visual prominence with the likely veneration of the same cult previously established at Cold Kitchen Hill, the patrons of the Lamyatt Beacon temple maximised the opportunity for it to become established and to attract pilgrims.

Given their probable connections with nearby villas, both temples might be considered 'estate temples'. However, their respective locations close to the road network, together with

the votive evidence recovered, also suggests that they were ‘cult centres’ intended as pilgrimage destinations. Nonetheless, whilst undoubtedly significant, it seems unlikely, particularly given the role of the villa as a status symbol in Romano-British society, that the decisions to select the temple locations were exclusively religious in nature. Indeed, these decisions are likely to been connected to potential social benefits; which in turn, are likely to have involved the manipulation of social memories. At Cold Kitchen Hill, the social benefits of constructing a temple at a historically significant site are likely to have outweighed achieving visual prominence from the road network. In contrast, at Lamyatt Beacon social benefits appear to have been realised by constructing a temple in close proximity to the road network and the projection of an ‘extended’ visual display; that was not achievable from the Ditcheat villa, or indeed Fox Covert hillfort. Together with the adoption of the same cult as at Cold Kitchen Hill, these attributes maximised the attraction and connectivity of the temple with local and transient populations, including those in the densely populated villa landscape around Ilchester. Finally, the success of the establishment of the new temple at Lamyatt Beacon, and indeed the indirect legacy of Cold Kitchen Hill, is suggested by the plan, orientation and antler finds associated with the Brean Down temple, constructed 40 years later.

5.2 Wider Implications for Romano-Celtic Temple Research

This dissertation is significant for Romano-Celtic temple research more broadly as it demonstrates that an integrated landscape archaeology methodology can make an important contribution to what has been a predominantly site-focused area of study. In particular, it suggests that the observations and themes emerging from the literature can be usefully explored in more detail at the level of individual temples, to inform interpretations of the potential reasons for the selection of their locations. It also suggests that given the connections between Iron Age and Romano-British ritual practice in particular, that consideration of both prehistoric and Romano-British evidence is key to this approach. Moreover, tendencies towards binary interpretations in the literature, particularly those relating to concepts such as ‘estate temples’, or ‘cult centres’, and ‘sacred’ or ‘secular’, risk masking the complexity of decision making involved in selecting temple locations. Furthermore, that connections between temples and villas are important, and notions of elite social display that have been applied to Roman villas might also be usefully extended to Romano-Celtic temples. Finally, it provides further evidence that rural temples may not have been as isolated as previously suggested and that connections between temples, villas, and

the road network, together with notions of local pilgrimage, offer great potential for future research; as do the potential connections between temples.

5.3 Recommendations for Further Research

Notwithstanding the preceding discussion relating to the application of the methodology to different types of site and other geographical areas, it is suggested that future research into Cold Kitchen Hill and Lamyatt Beacon incorporates data from the PAS, to further enrich the evidence base. A more comprehensive analysis of the aerial photographic and LiDAR evidence for field systems and settlements in the study areas would also be beneficial. The speed and ability of magnetometer survey to reveal a wide range of archaeological features (Schmidt et al 2015, 59) would be an effective first geophysical prospection technique, prior to earth resistance survey (Gaffney and Gater 2003, 145), to characterise the buried remains of the Cold Kitchen Hill and Keysley Farm temples, together with the Ditcheat villa. Furthermore, understanding of the archaeology on Whitecliff Down and the potential route of RR52i would be aided by an initial magnetometer survey of the scheduled area. Additionally, a geophysical survey at the site identified by Broomhead (1988, 1-2) at Evercreech may yield evidence for RRX37 as it approaches Lamyatt. The methodology could also extend to other known temples, such as Pagans Hill and Henley Wood, to further inform understanding of Romano-Celtic temples in the region. Finally, the proposed temple locations in the region could be investigated using geophysical survey e.g., Pedwell Hill (Somerset HER, 2023j) and Holton (Somerset HER, 2023k).

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Appendices

Appendix A – Temple Study Areas

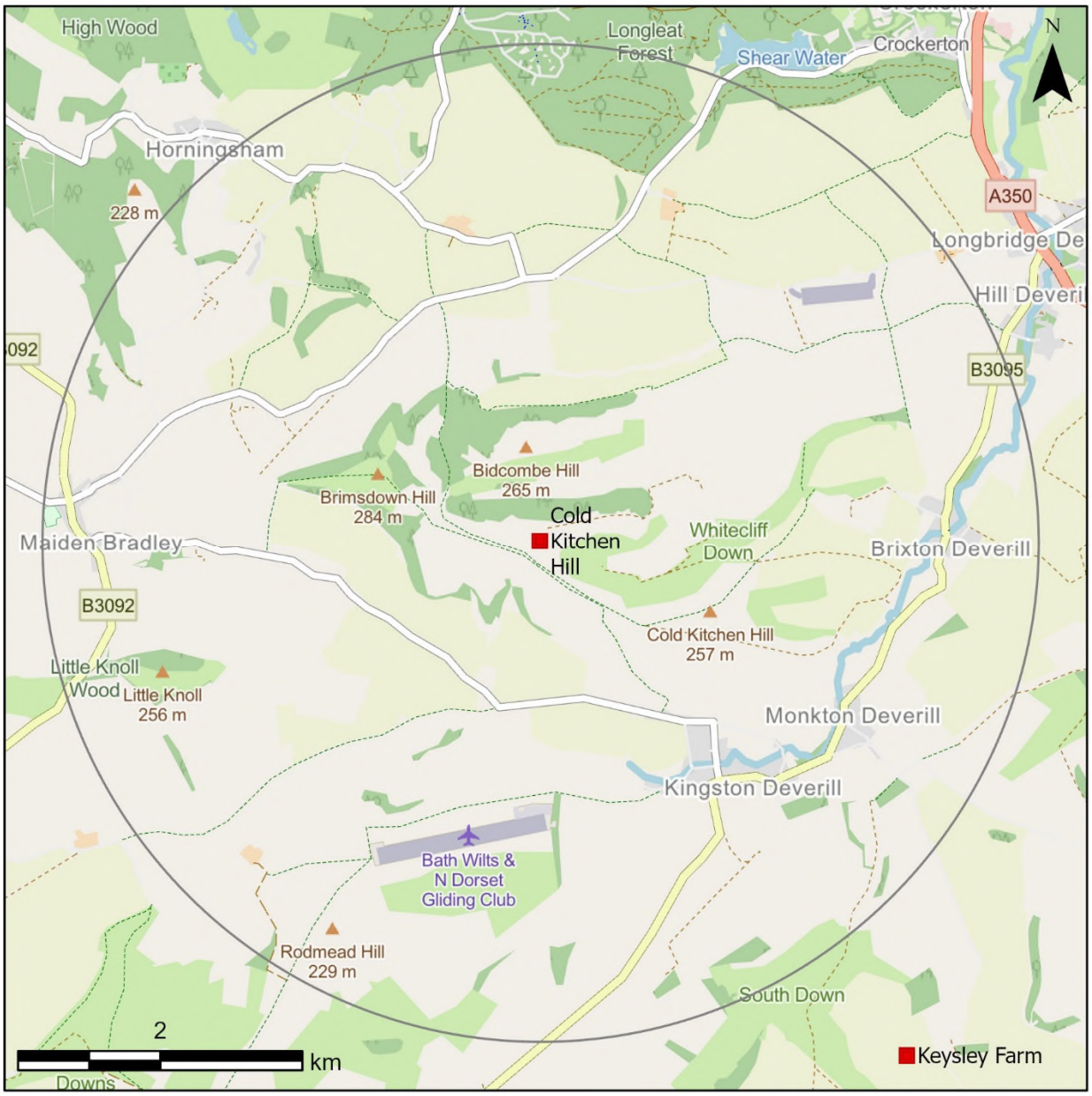


Figure 101: Cold Kitchen Hill study area: detail

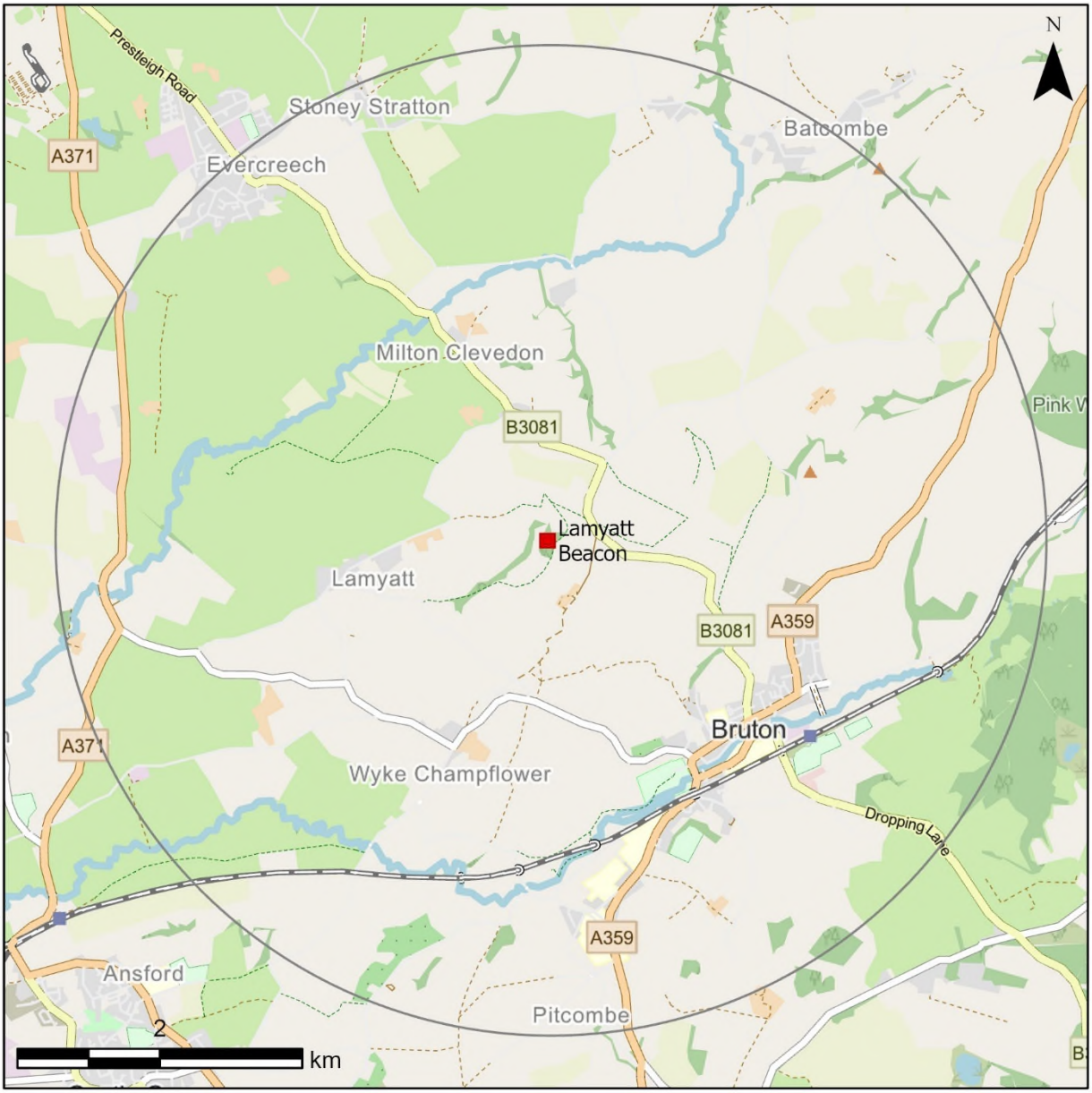


Figure 102: Lamyatt Beacon study area: detail

Appendix B – Pre-Iron Age Finds

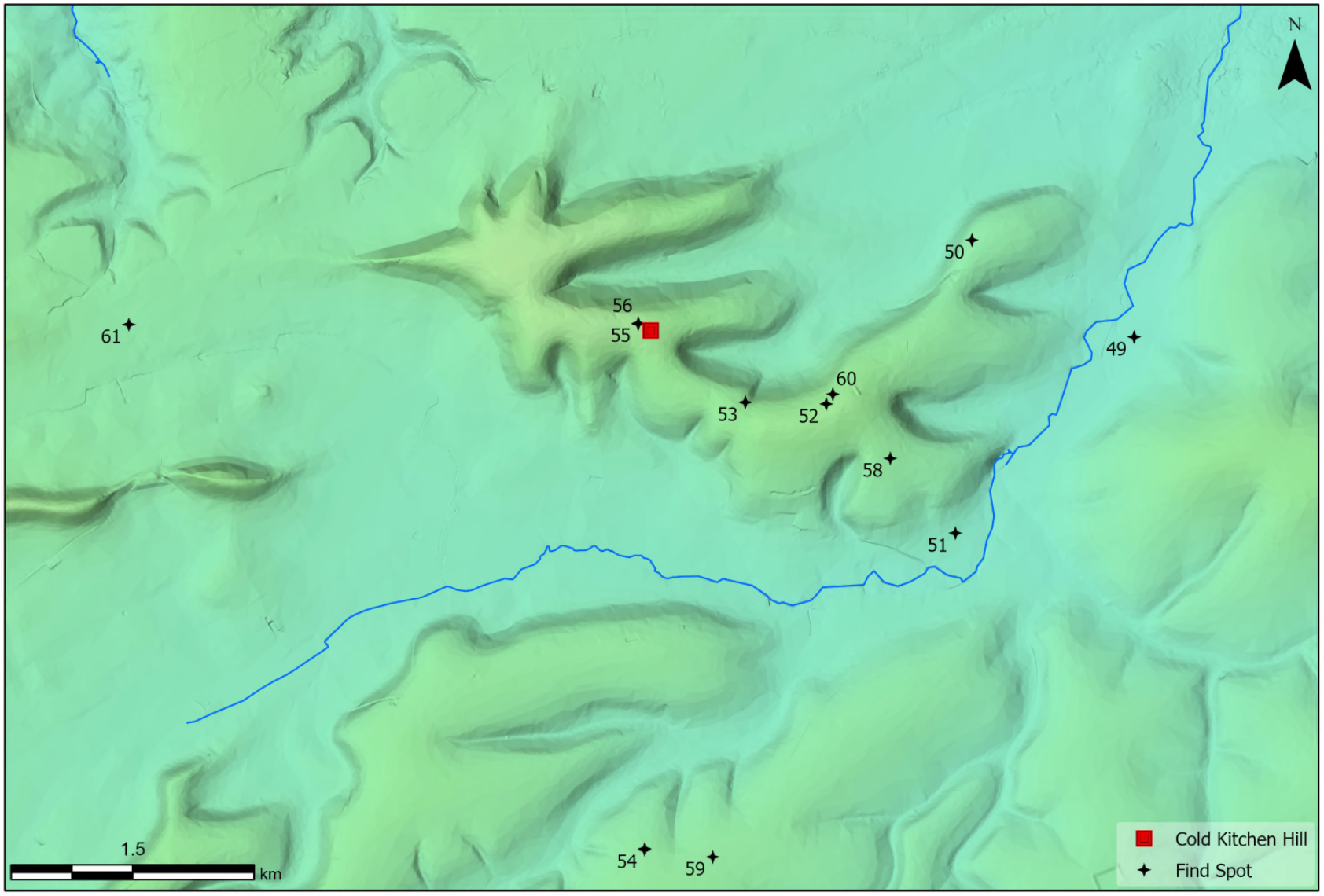


Figure 103: Cold Kitchen Hill: pre-Iron Age finds

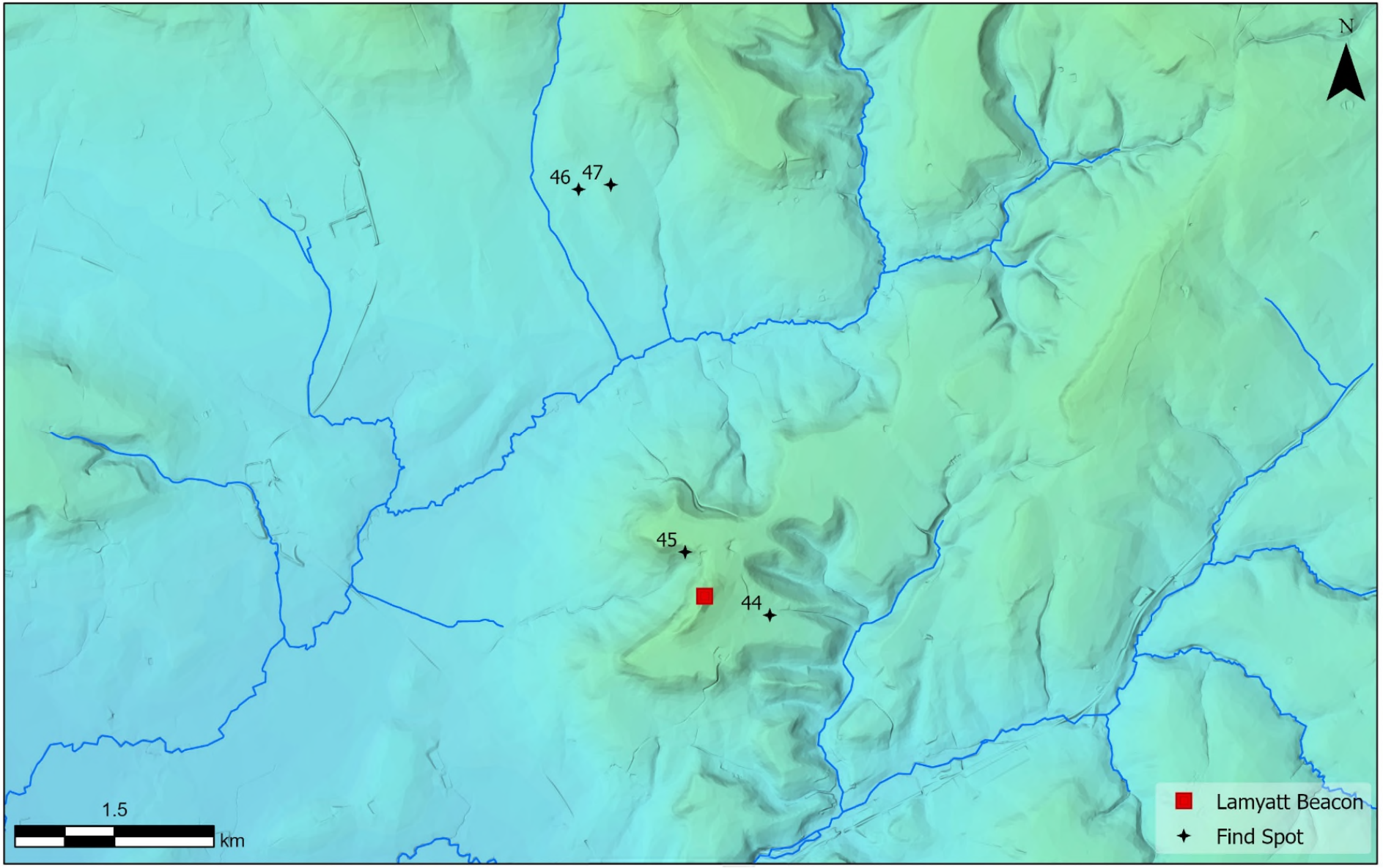


Figure 104: Lamyatt Beacon: pre-Iron Age finds

Appendix C: Iron Age Features and Finds

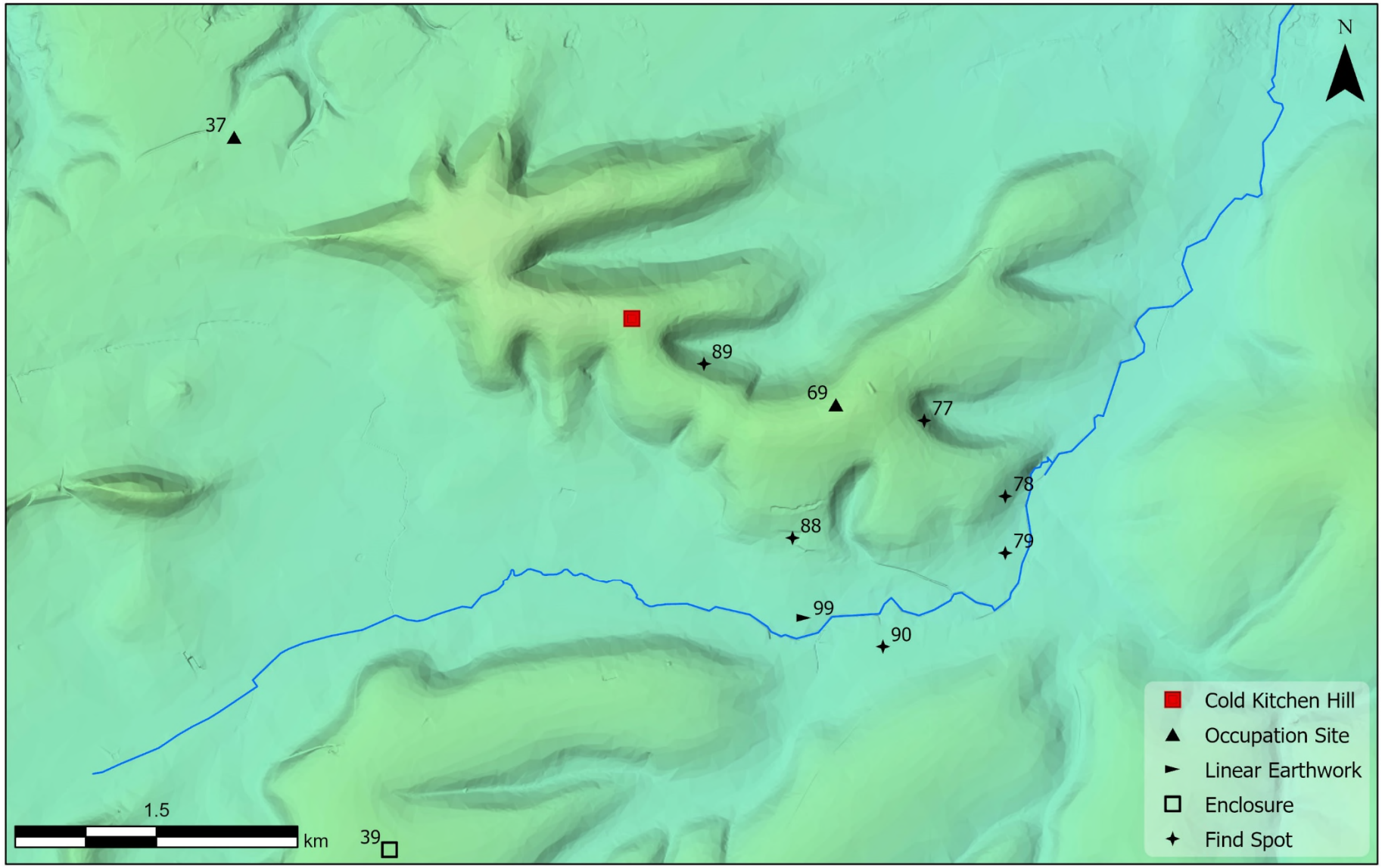


Figure 105: Cold Kitchen Hill: Iron Age features and finds

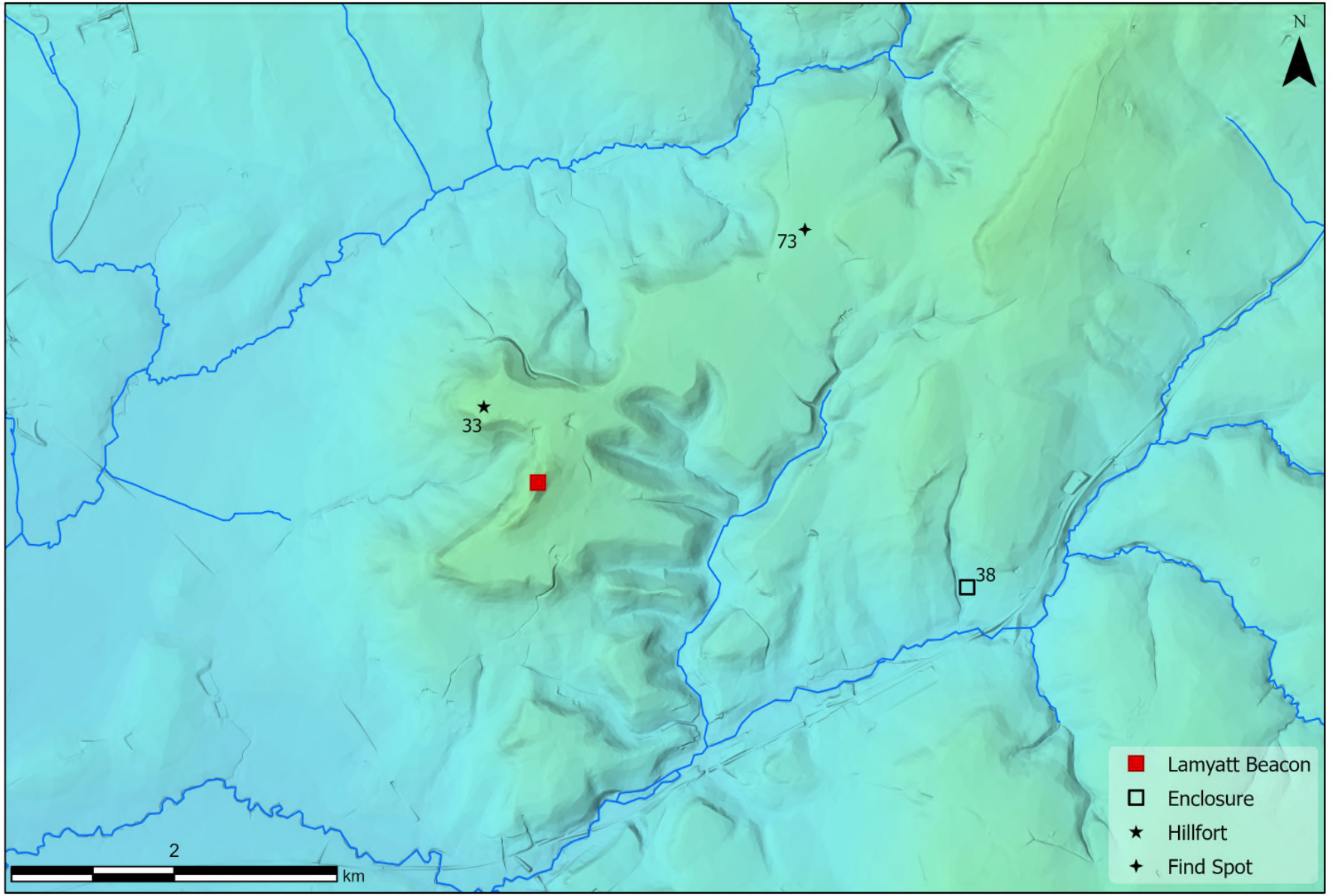


Figure 106: Lamyatt Beacon: Iron Age features and finds

Appendix D: Projective viewsheds: Hillforts

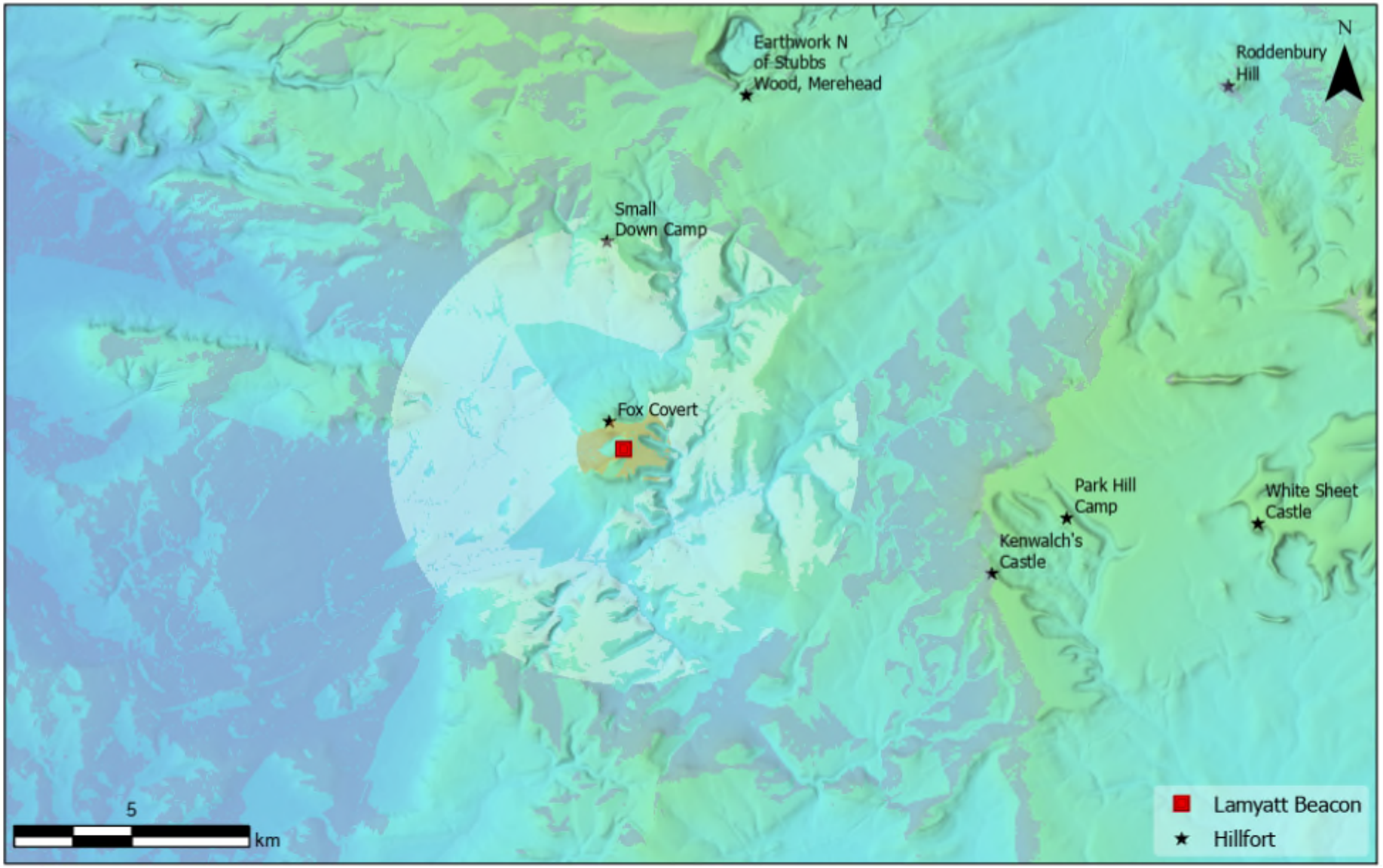


Figure 107: Projective viewshed from Lamyatt Beacon: hillforts

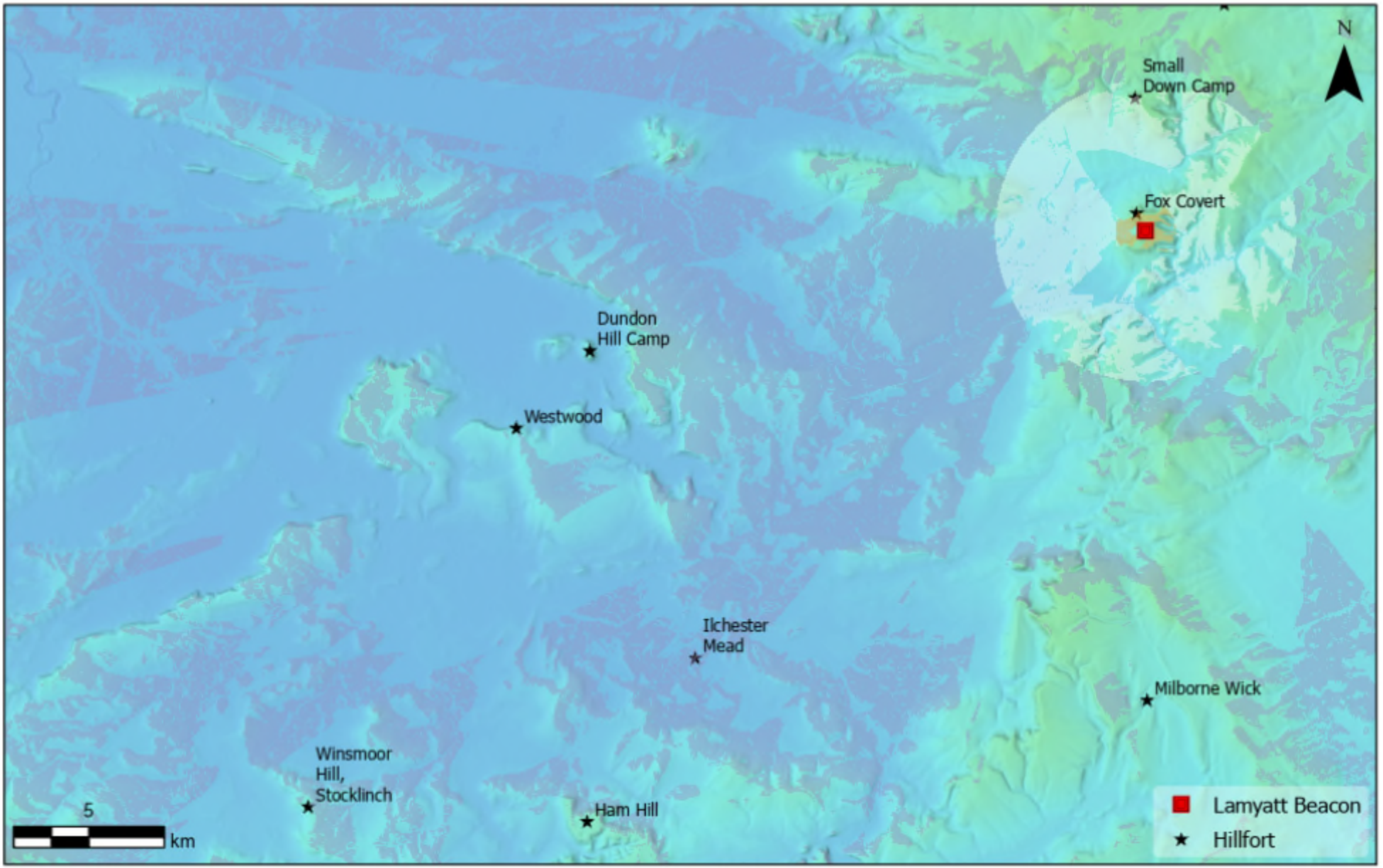


Figure 108: Projective viewshed from Lamyatt Beacon: hillforts

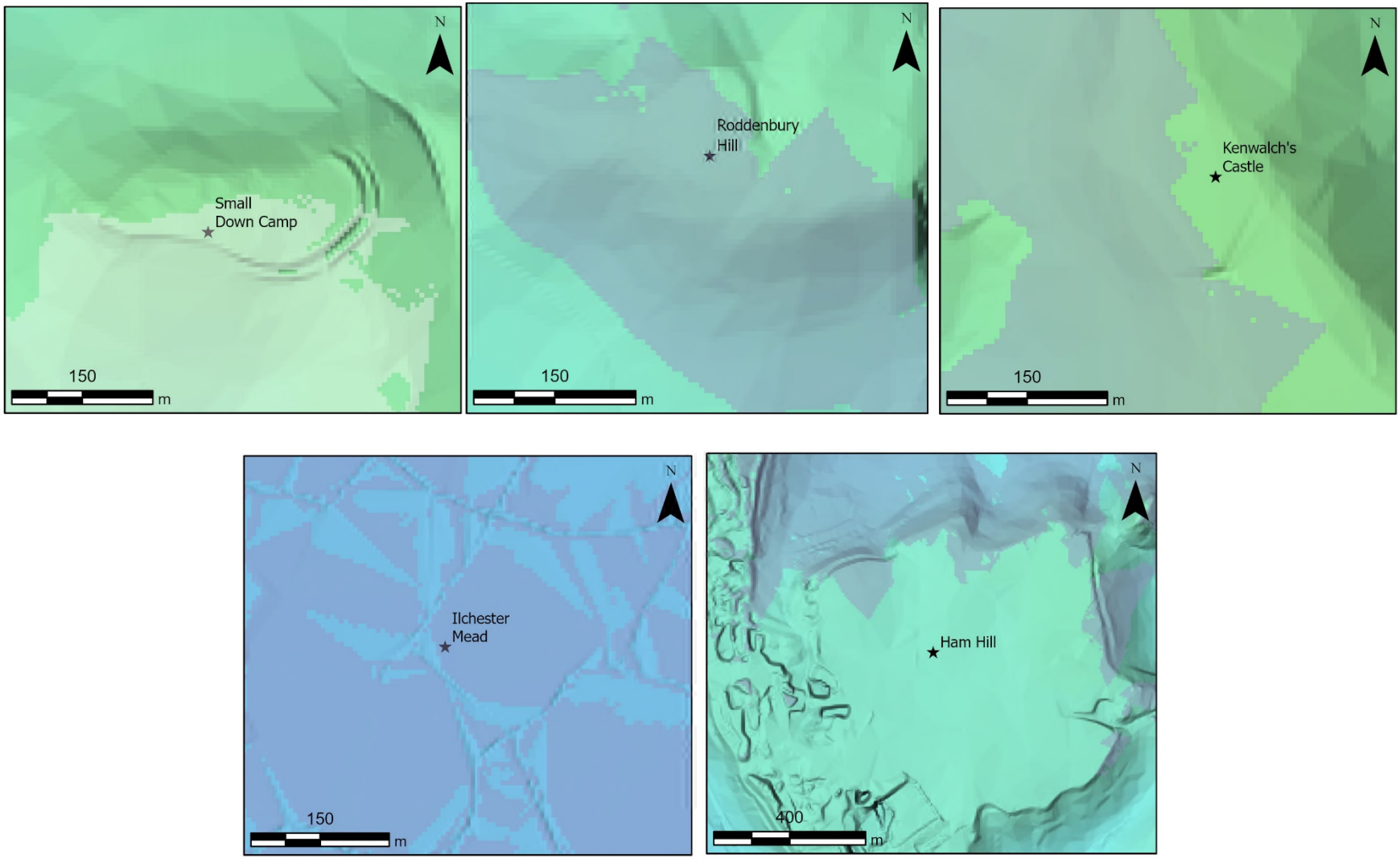


Figure 109: Projective viewshed from Lamyatt Beacon: hillforts detail

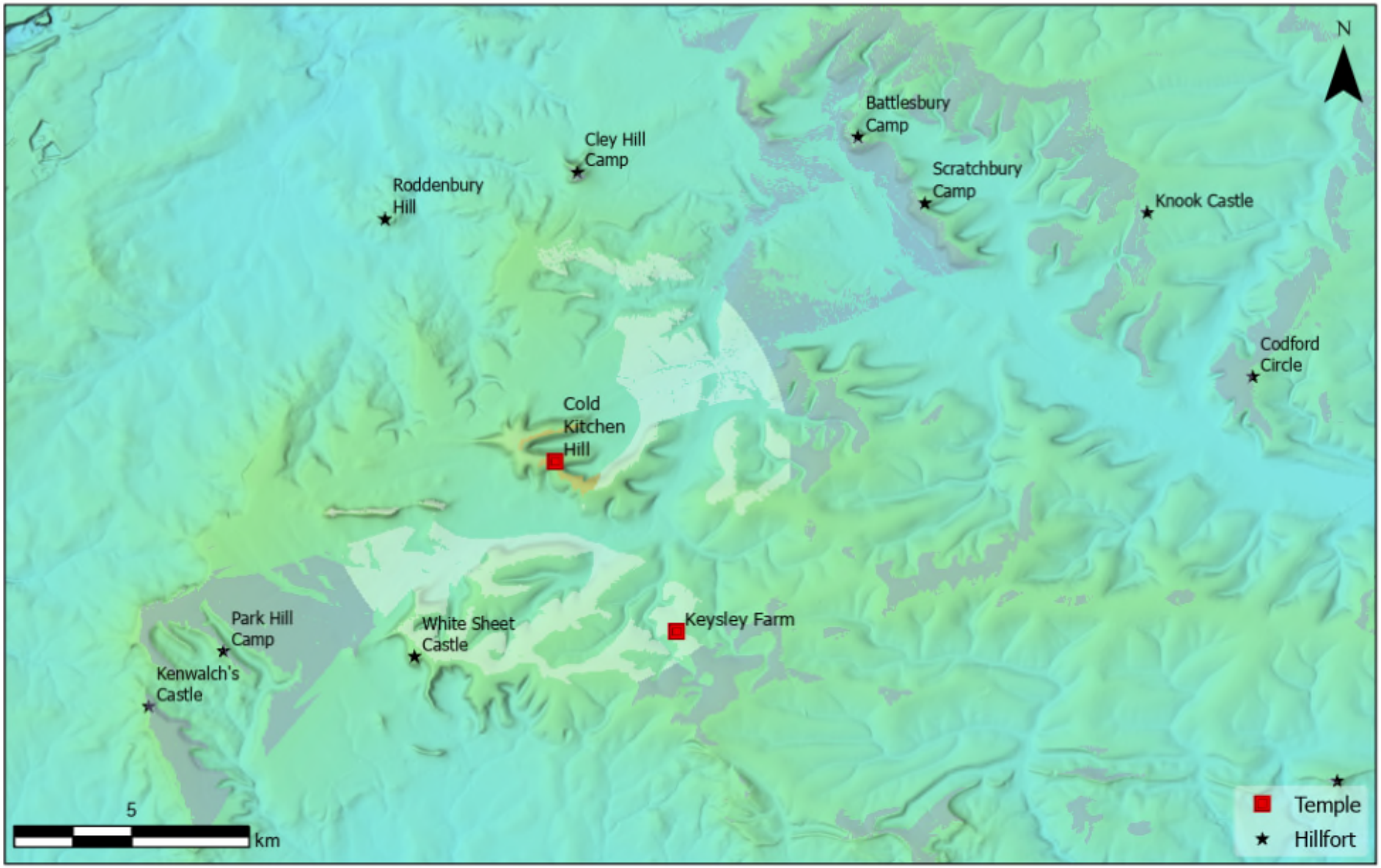


Figure 110: Projective viewshed from Cold Kitchen Hill: hillforts

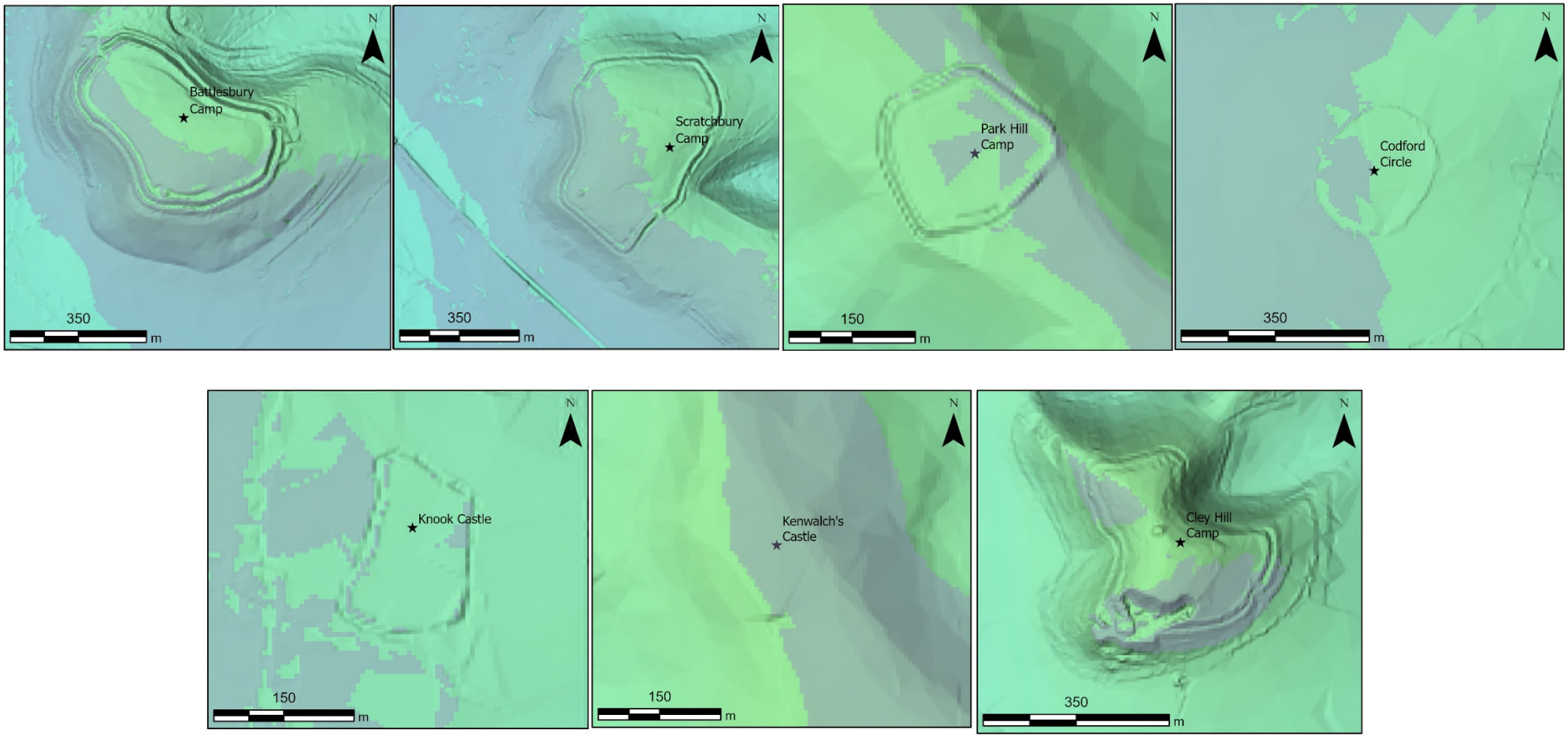


Figure 111: Projective viewshed from Cold Kitchen Hill: hillforts detail

Supplementary Information

Project Codes: *HE: Historic England, WHER: Wiltshire Historic Environment Record, SHER: Somerset Historic Environment Record.

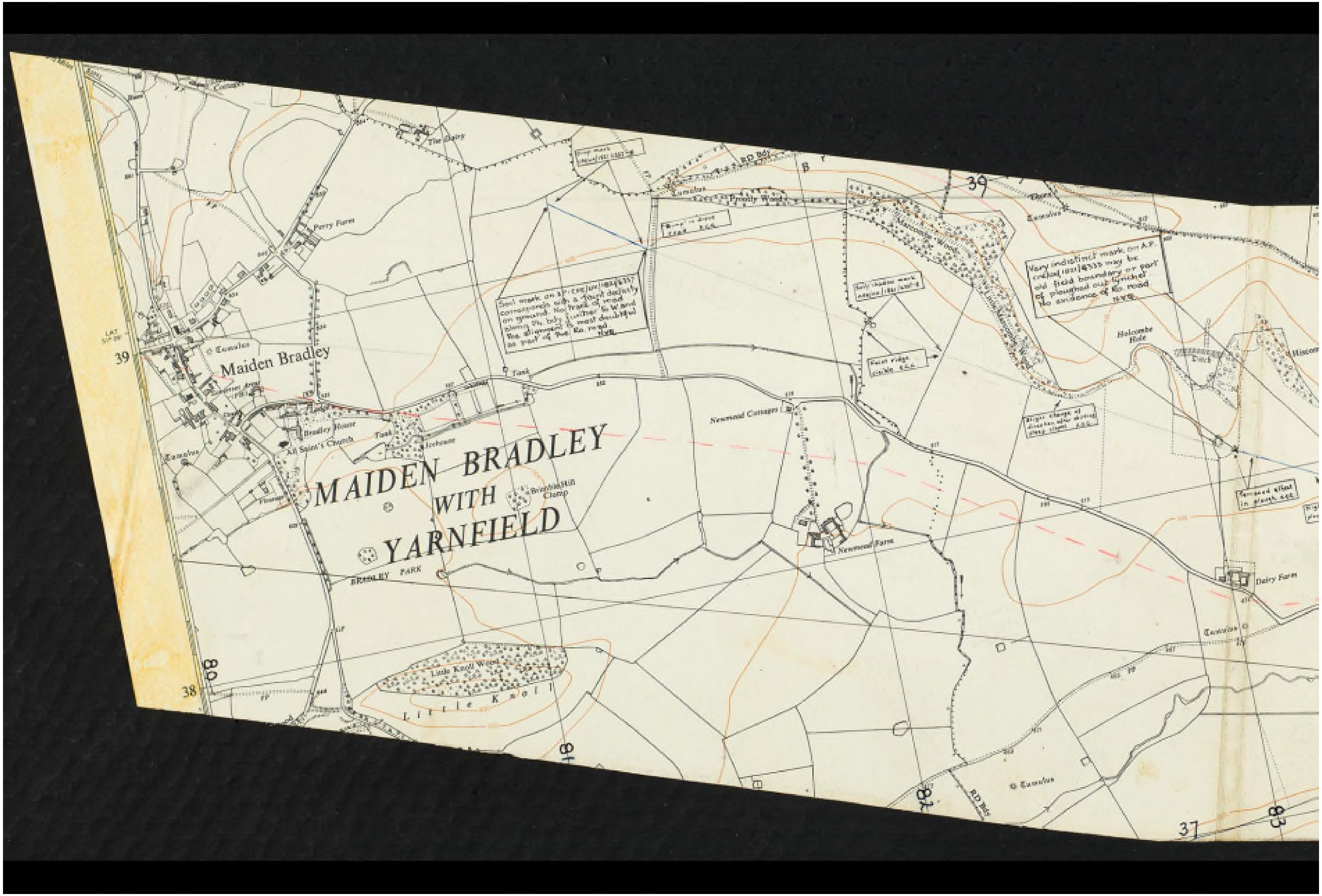
Source*	Record No.	Code	Period	Type	Name/Link to Record
SHER	23859	1	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Possible barrow, E of Lamyatt Lodge, Milton Clevedon
HE	1015939	2	Bronze Age	Bell Barrow	Bell barrow 70m north of Church Farm House
WHER	MWI17	3	Bronze Age	Saucer Barrow	Bronze Age Saucer Barrow, Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI551	4	Bronze Age	Saucer Barrow	Saucer Barrow, Rodmead Hill
WHER	MWI536	5	Bronze Age	Disc Barrow	Bronze Age Disc Barrow, Middle Hill
HE	1010422	6	Bronze Age	Disc Barrow	Disc barrow 350m west of Dee Barn
WHER	MWI519	7	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bronze Age Bowl Barrow, Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI523	8	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bronze Age Bowl Barrow, Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI530	9	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bronze Age Bowl Barrow, Middle Hill
WHER	MWI531	10	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow east of Court Hill Plantation
WHER	MWI534	11	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl Barrow, 250m North of Truncombe Wood
HE	1017696	12	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow 650m south east of Baycliffe Farm
HE	1017701	13	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow 750m north east of Newmead Cottages
HE	1015940	14	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow 110m south east of crossroads, Maiden Bradley
HE	1016909	15	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow on Cold Kitchen Hill, 910m north east of Seagram's Barn
WHER	MWI519	16	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bronze Age Bowl Barrow
HE	1017700	17	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Two bowl barrows 560m and 670m east of Rodmead Farm
HE	1016908	18	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow on Cold Kitchen Hill, 740m north east of Seagram's Barn
HE	1015940	19	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow 110m south east of crossroads, Maiden Bradley
HE	1016903	20	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow 125m south of Dairy Farm
HE	1010404	21	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow 50m west of St Mary's Church
HE	1010421	22	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow on Brimsdown Hill, 100m south of Duke's Clump
HE	1016903	23	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow 670m SSE of Kingston Dairy
HE	1015805	24	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow 140m west of Cleeve
HE	1010405	25	Bronze Age	Bowl Barrow	Bowl barrow 200m south-west of Keysley Farm
HE	1005595	26	Bronze Age	Round Barrow	The Park round barrow
SHER	31996	27	Neolithic	Long Barrow	Neolithic long barrow cropmark, N of Higher Green's Combe Farm, Batcombe
WHER	MWI470	28	Neolithic	Long Barrow	Neolithic Long Barrow, Eastern End of Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI473	29	Neolithic	Long Barrow	Long Barrow near Rodmead Penning
WHER	MWI471	30	Neolithic	Long Barrow	Long barrow on Cold Kitchen Hill
HE	1019197	31	Bronze Age	Linear Earthwork	Cross dyke 870m north west of Burton Farm
HE	1016905	32	Bronze Age	Linear Earthwork	Cross dyke 920m north east of Dairy Farm
HE	1016303	33	Iron Age	Hillfort	Hillfort at Fox Covert, 550m north east of Lamyatt Lodge

SHER	55480	34	Romano-British	Occupation Site	Oldsborough fieldnames, E of Lamyatt
SHER	25731	35	Romano-British	Occupation Site	Romano-British occupation site, S of Cutterne Mill Farm, Evercreech
SHER	23730	36	Romano-British	Occupation Site	Roman occupation, N of Poplar Farm, Lamyatt
WHER	MWI487	37	Iron Age	Occupation Site	Possible Iron Age Settlement, South of Baycliffe Farm
SHER	32325	38	Iron Age	Occupation Site	Later prehistoric settlement enclosures, NW of Sheephouse Farm, Bruton
HE	1017704	39	Iron Age	Occupation Site	Enclosure on the summit of Rodmead Hill
WHER	MWI490	40	Romano-British	Occupation Site	Roman Enclosure, North East of Mere Down Farm
SHER	23379	41	Romano-British	Roman Villa	Possible Roman villa site, S side of East Hill, Ditcheat
SHER	25733	42	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano British pottery scatter, SW of Rodmore Farm, Evercreech
SHER	44974	43	Romano-British	Find Spot	Albion Mill site, Chesterblade
SHER	23725	44	Neolithic	Find Spot	Neolithic axe and flint finds, Creech Hill, Lamyatt
SHER	23724	45	Neolithic	Find Spot	Flint scatter, Creech Hill, Lamyatt
SHER	25734	46	Bronze Age	Find Spot	Bronze Age flint scatter, N of Heaven Farm, Stoney Stratton
SHER	25737	47	Bronze Age	Find Spot	Bronze Age flint scatter, N of Westcombe Road, Stoney Stratton
WHER	MWI478	48	Bronze Age	Find Spot	Bronze Age Palstave, Horningsham
WHER	MWI231	49	Neolithic	Find Spot	Neolithic Stone Axe, Garden of Long Mead
WHER	MWI232	50	Neolithic	Find Spot	Neolithic Flint Axe, West of Fir Clump
WHER	MWI233	51	Bronze Age	Find Spot	Bronze Age Awl, West of Monkton Deverill
WHER	MWI472	52	Neolithic	Find Spot	Neolithic Arrowhead, Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI475	53	Neolithic	Find Spot	Neolithic Flints, Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI476	54	Neolithic	Find Spot	Neolithic/Bronze Age Pottery, South of Danes' Bottom
WHER	MWI477	55	Neolithic	Find Spot	Neolithic Implements, Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI478	56	Bronze Age	Find Spot	Bronze Age Palstave, Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI479	57	Neolithic	Find Spot	Neolithic/Bronze Age Pottery, Middle Hill
WHER	MWI480	58	Bronze Age	Find Spot	Bronze Age Pottery, East End of Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI481	59	Bronze Age	Find Spot	Bronze Age/Iron Age Quern, Middle Hill
WHER	MWI482	60	Bronze Age	Find Spot	Bronze Age Find, Whitecliff Farm
WHER	MWI483	61	Bronze Age	Find Spot	Bronze Age Scraper, Church Street
SHER	15053	62	Romano-British	Roman Villa	Roman villa, S of Lower Easton Farm, East Pennard
SHER	54698	63	Romano-British	Roman Villa	Roman villa site, New Barns Farm, Wincanton
SHER	53569	64	Romano-British	Roman Villa	Roman villa, Cattle Hill, Bratton Seymour
SHER	23485	65	Romano-British	Roman Villa	Possible Roman villa site, Manor Farm, Chesterblade
SHER	47477	66	Romano-British	Roman Villa	Possible Roman villa, SE of Redlynch Pond, Bruton
SHER	23386	67	Romano-British	Roman Villa	Roman villa, Brook House Inn, Ditcheat
HE	1448408	68	Romano-British	Roman Villa	Brixton Deverill Villa

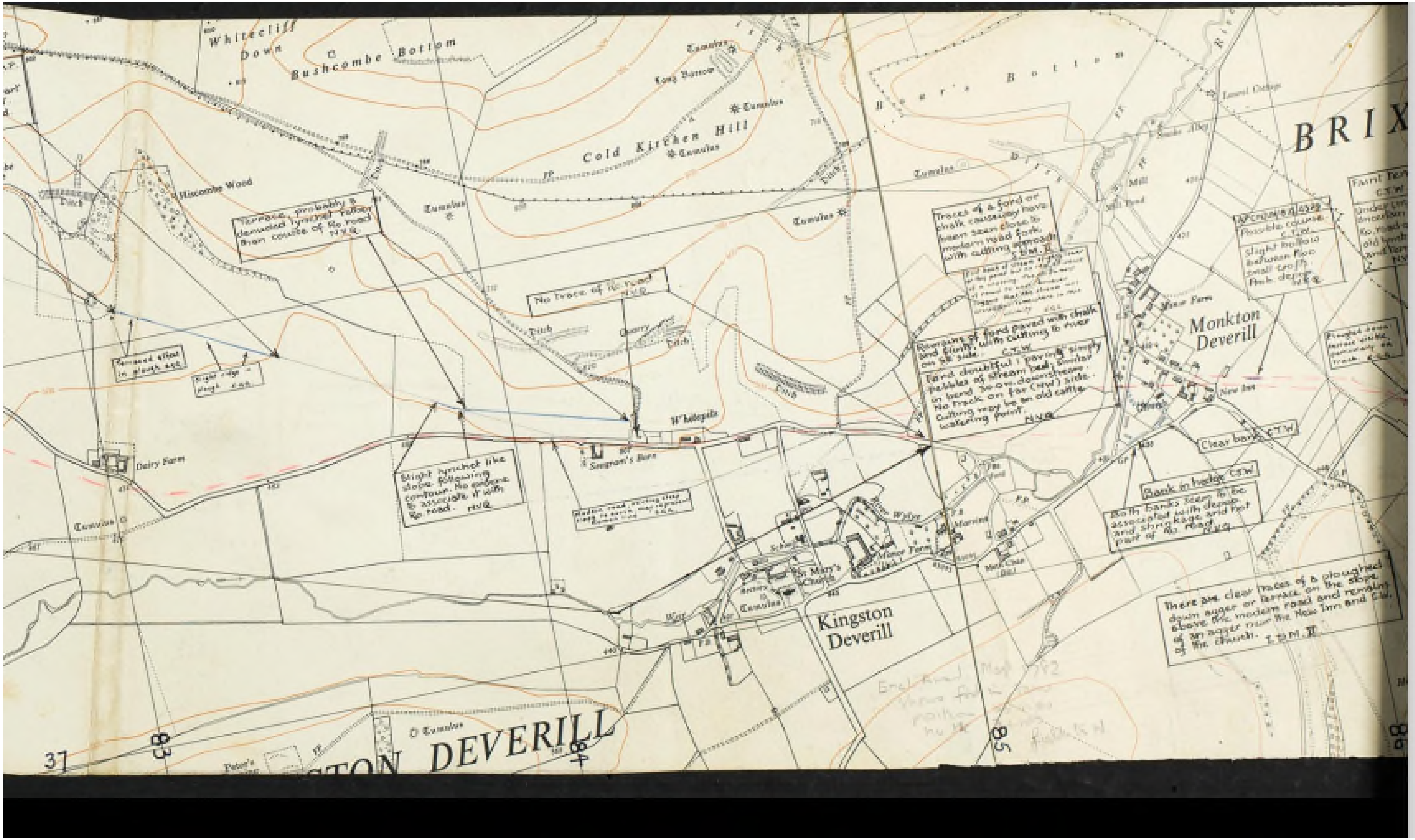
WHER	MWI484	69	Iron Age	Occupation Site	Iron Age Settlement, Cold Kitchen Hill, Black Earth Field
SHER	53607	70	Unspecified Prehistoric	Find Spot	Flint scatter, Holywater Copse, Bruton
SHER	23101	71	Romano-British	Find Spot	Roman pottery finds, N of Spargrove, Batcombe
SHER	25515	72	Romano-British	Find Spot	Medieval and Roman pottery finds, N of Milton Clevedon
SHER	25387	73	Iron Age	Find Spot	Iron Age Pottery finds, Portway Hill, Batcombe
SHER	14780	74	Unspecified Prehistoric	Find Spot	Prehistoric Finds, North of West Combe Road, Evercreech
SHER	25732	75	Unspecified Prehistoric	Find Spot	Prehistoric and ?Post-Roman finds, S of Cuttern Lane, Evercreech
WHER	MWI1118	76	Romano-British	Find Spot	Roman Pottery, Hill Deverill
WHER	MWI249	77	Iron Age	Find Spot	Iron Age Bracelet, South West of Monkton Deverill
WHER	MWI250	78	Iron Age	Find Spot	Iron Age Coin, Monkton Deverill
WHER	MWI251	79	Iron Age	Find Spot	Iron Age Coin, Monkton Deverill
WHER	MWI253	80	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano-British Pottery, North East of Monkton Deverill
WHER	MWI256	81	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano-British Finds, West of Monkton Deverill
WHER	MWI257	82	Romano-British	Find Spot	Roman Cup, Manor Farm
WHER	MWI258	83	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano-British Pottery, South West of Whitecliff Farm
WHER	MWI261	84	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano-British Finds, Whitecliff Farm
WHER	MWI265	85	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano-British Brooch, North West of Monkton Deverill
WHER	MWI266	86	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano-British Strip Binding, West of Monkton Deverill
WHER	MWI267	87	Romano-British	Find Spot	Roman Fragment, West of Monkton Deverill
WHER	MWI486	88	Iron Age	Find Spot	Iron Age Scabbard, Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI488	89	Iron Age	Find Spot	Iron Age Coin, Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI489	90	Iron Age	Find Spot	Iron Age Finds, Kingston Deverill
WHER	MWI493	91	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano-British Pottery, Cold Kitchen Hill, Black Earth Field
WHER	MWI495	92	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano-British Pottery, East End of Cold Kitchen Hill
WHER	MWI497	93	Romano-British	Find Spot	Romano-British Pottery, South of Kingston Deverill
HE	23728	94	Romano-British	Temple	Romano-Celtic temple and late prehistoric midden
SHER	MWI724	95	Romano-British	Temple	Roman temple, Lamyatt Beacon, Lamyatt
HE	1016907	96	Romano-British	Temple	Romano-Celtic temple 300m south west of Keysley Farm
SHER	14767	97	Unspecified Prehistoric	Find Spot	Prehistoric Finds, east of Southwood Common Farm, Evercreech
WHER	MWI498	98	Romano-British	Linear Earthwork	Romano-British Ditch, South of Kingston Deverill
WHER	MWI76001	99	Iron Age	Linear Earthwork	Late Iron Age/Early Roman Ditches, West of Kingston Deverill
WHER	MWI496	100	Romano-British	Roman Pits	Probable Roman Pits, South East of Kingston Deverill
SHER	28575	101	Bronze Age	Cremation	Bronze age cremation, Evercreech Junction, Evercreech
HE	1016904	102	Bronze Age	Linear Earthwork	Linear boundary on Bidcombe Down and Whitepits Down

RR45B: Selection from OSAD Archive File (OSAD, 1983a)

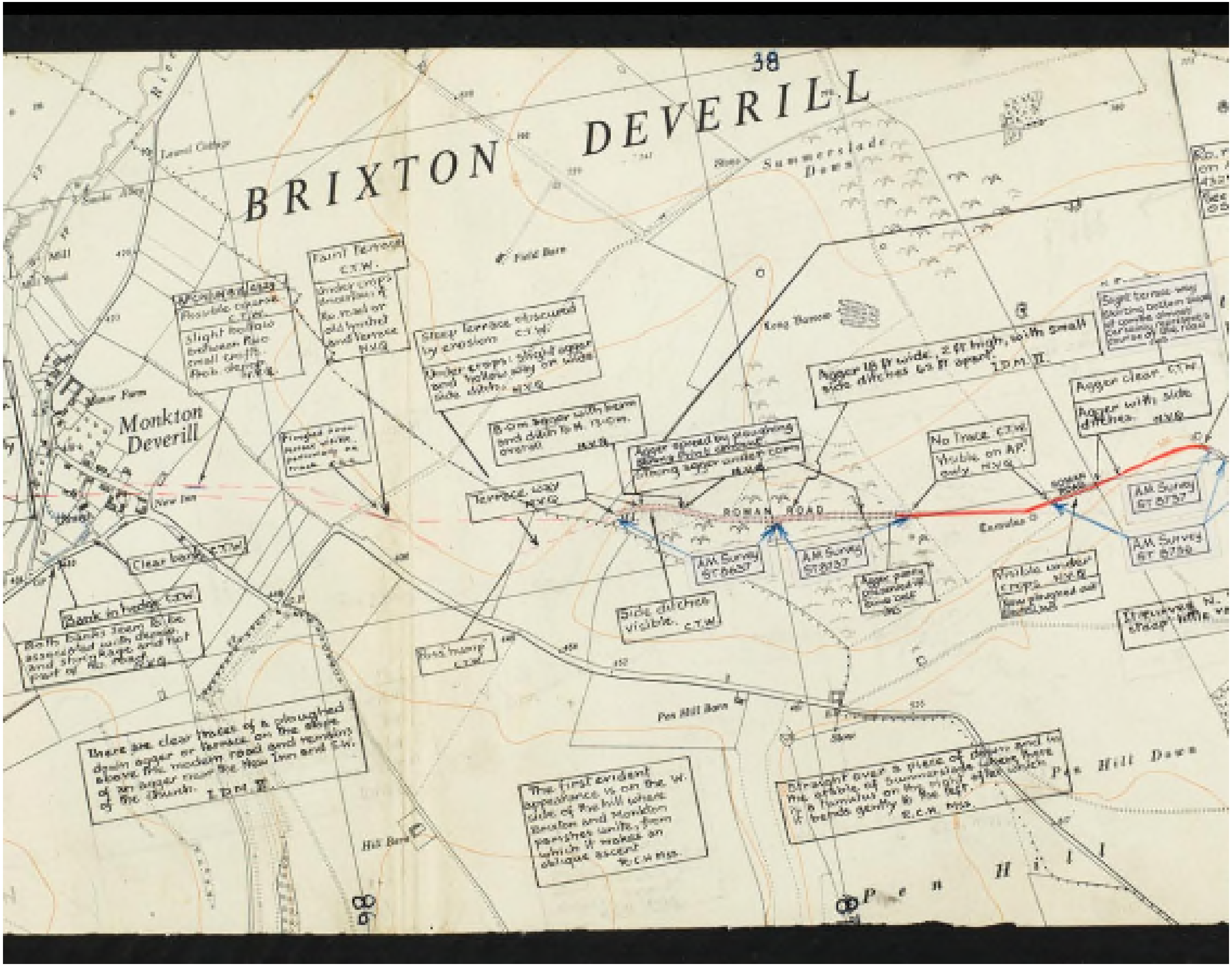
Summary/Evidence		Authorities	Authority abbreviations on strip maps
Road communication between the lead-mining settlement at Charterhouse and Old Sarum (and Winchester) would be logical, and RR 45b is well established by old surveys and accounts, extant remains, excavation and air-photo evidence. There are some unproved stretches, including the last 3½ miles into Old Sarum.	1	Roman Roads MSS 1802-5 R Colt Hoare (in Devizes Mus)	RCHMSS
	2	Ancient Wilts, Roman Aera 1821 Pl I/III Iter II 38-43 R Colt Hoare	RCH
	3	B&GAS 29 1906 303-10 J McMurfrie	JMcM
	4	Roman roads in Britain 1919 249 T Codrington	COD
	5	Rec 6" OGS Crawford 10/3/24	OGSCRec
	6	Antiquity 2 1928 184-5, Map. OGS Crawford	OGSC
	7	F1. D Gamble 1950	DG
	8	Pte 6" P W Ewence c 1951	PWE
	9	Roman roads in Britain 1955 93-5 I D Margary	IDM1
	10	Pte 6" C T Witherby c 1955	CTW
	11	Roman roads in Britain 1957 260 I D Margary	IDM2
	12	WAM 57 1958-60 30 ff (Musty, Davies, Hunter and Morgan).	WAM 57
	13	F2. G H Pitcher 1964	GHP
	14	F3. N V Quinnell 1966	NVQ
	15	F4. E G Geary 1966	EGG
	16	P Jebb letter & plan 1971	PJ
	17	Roman roads in Britain 1973 101 I D Margary	IDM3
	18	F5. M J Fletcher 1974	MJF
	19	F6. M H Buckley 1974	MHB
	20	F7. C Chaplin 1978	CC
	21	F8. J W Stone 1979	JWS
	22	Somerset & Dorset N&Q 30 1977 255 M McGarvie	MMG

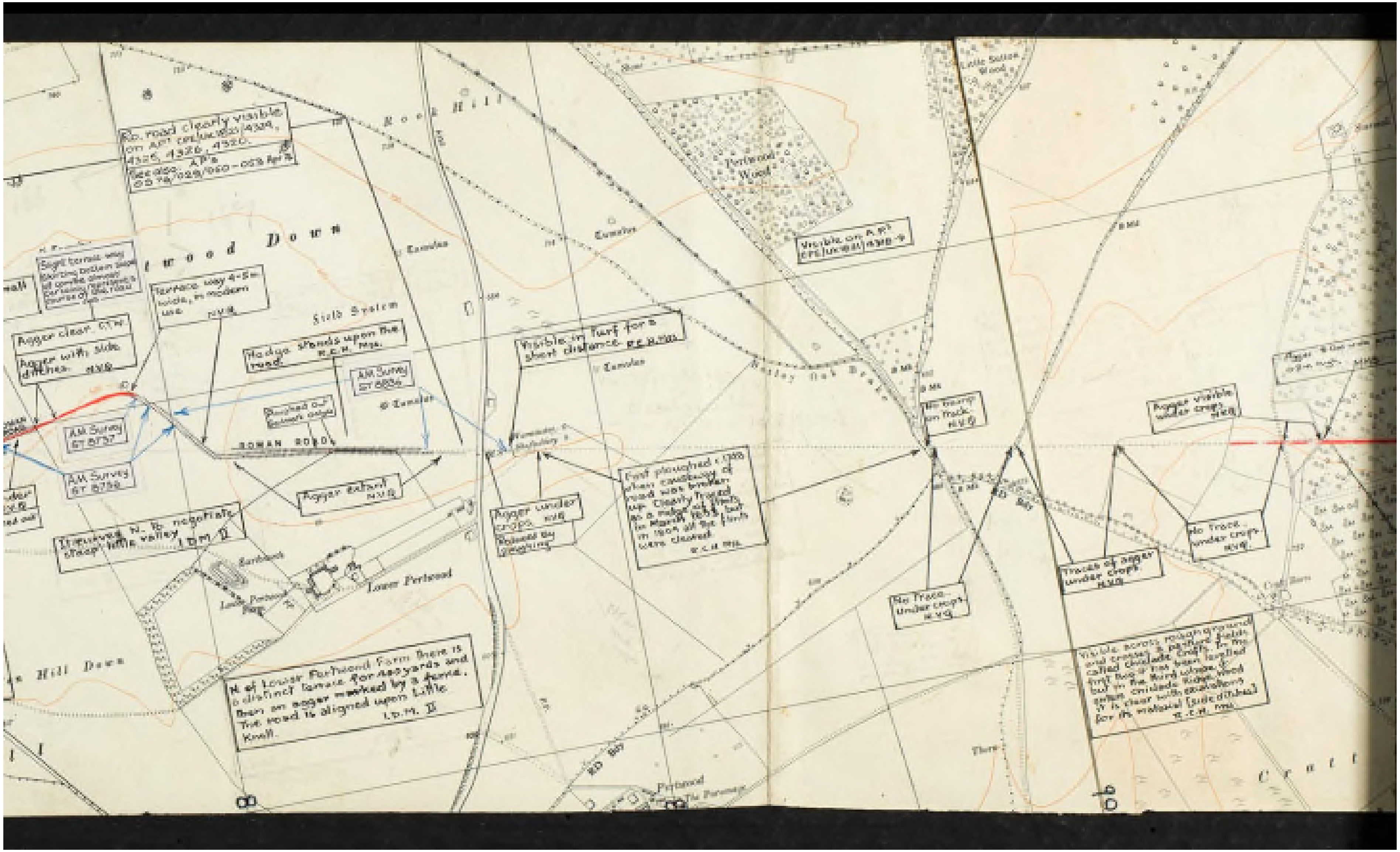


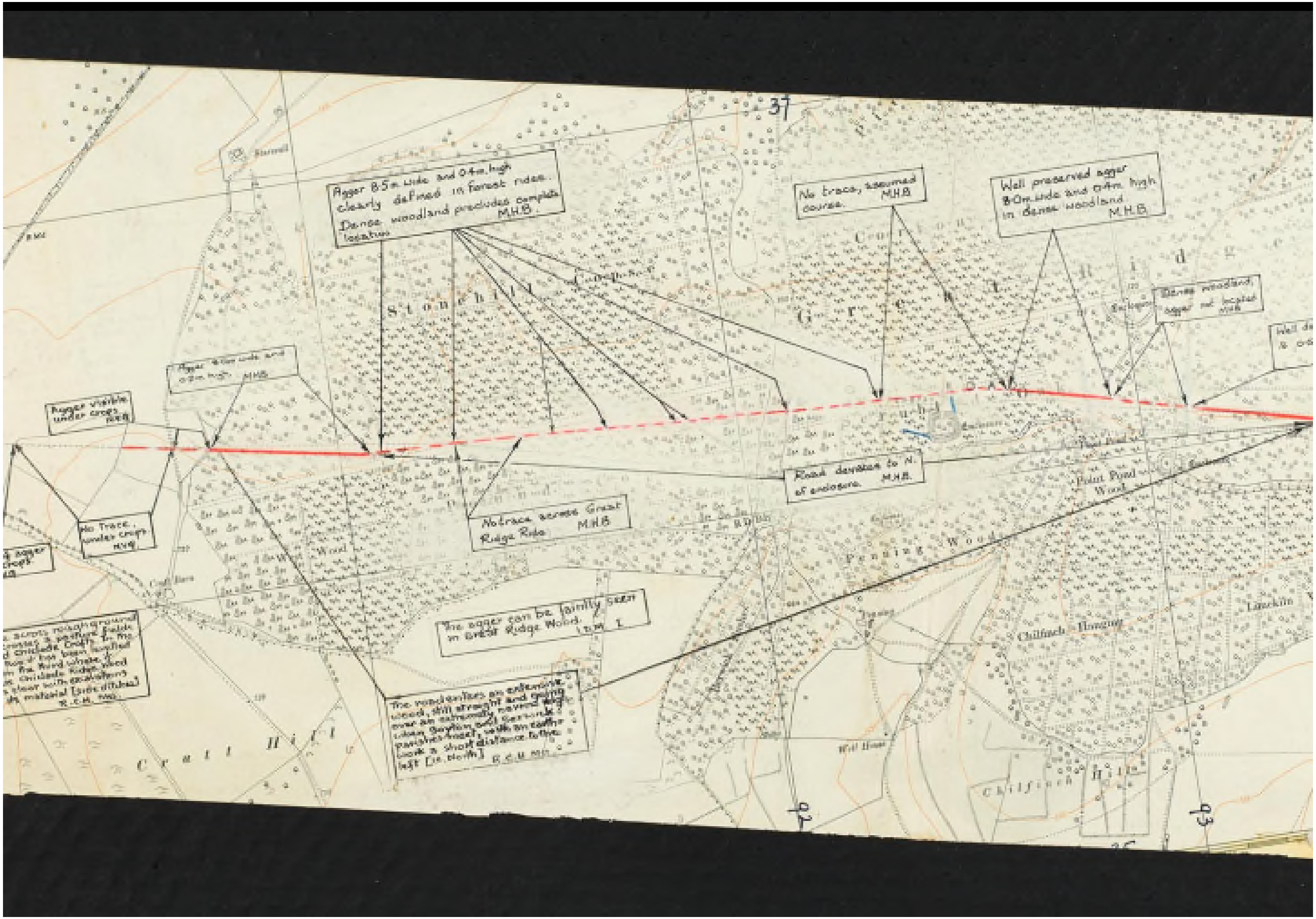
Maiden Bradley
MAIDEN BRADLEY
WITH
YARNFIELD
The Dairy
Perry Farm
Tumulus
Bradley House
All Saint's Church
Icehouse
Tank
Newmead Cottages
Newmead Farm
Dairy Farm
Holcombe Hole
BRADLEY PARK
Little Knoll Wood
Little Knoll
R.D. Bdy
39
38
37
80
81
82
83



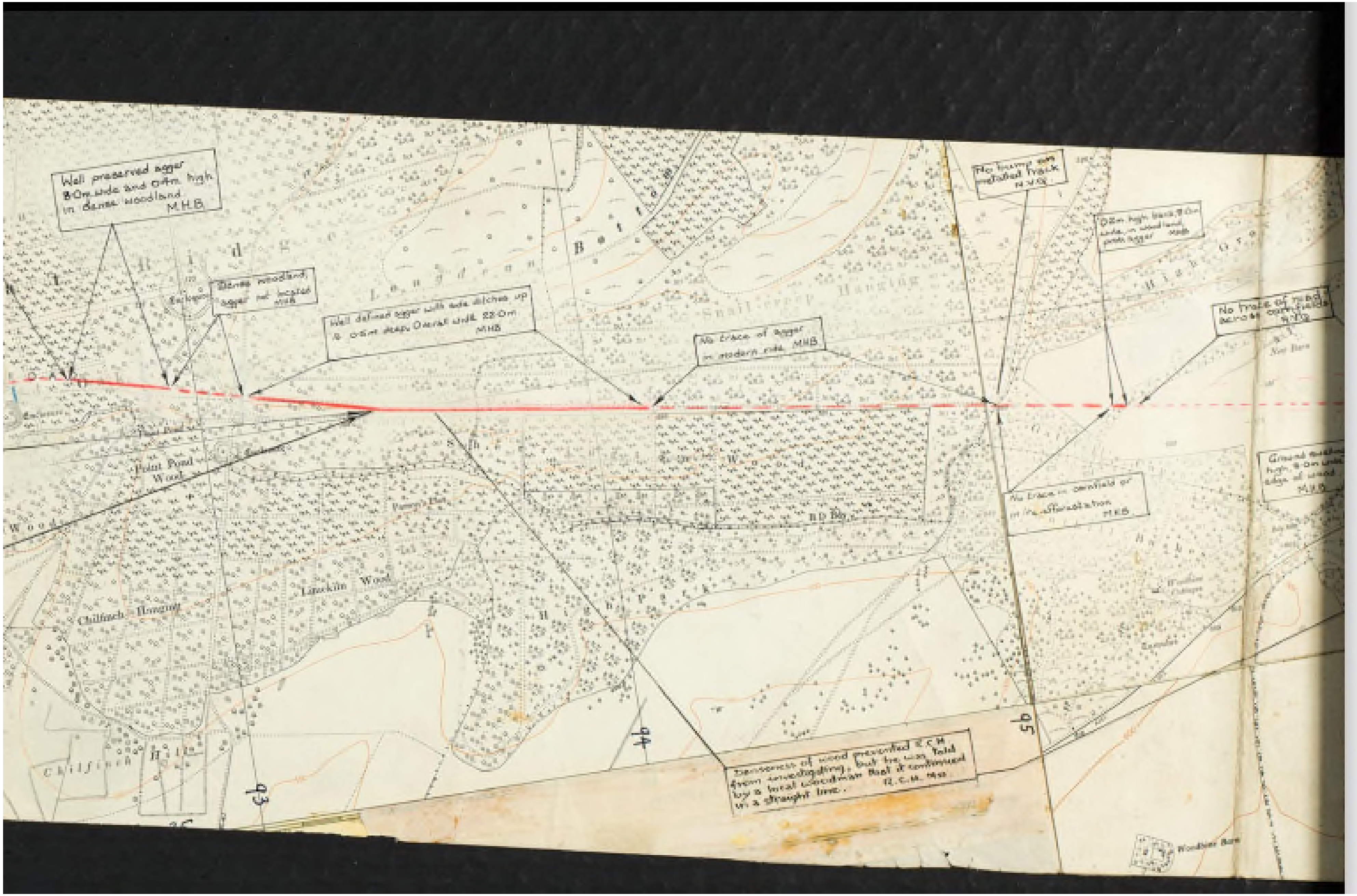
Whitecliff Down
Bushcombe Bottom
Long Barrow
Cold Kitchen Hill
Tumulus
Hiscombe Wood
Terrace, probably a denuded lynchet rather than course of Ro. road N.V.Q.
No trace of Ro. road N.V.Q.
Ditch
Quarry
Whitepits
Seagram's Barn
Dairy Farm
Slight lynchet like slope following contour. No evidence to associate it with Ro. road. N.V.Q.
Traces of a ford or chalk causeway have been seen close to modern road fork with cutting approach. T.D.M. IV
Remains of ford paved with chalk and flints, with cutting to river on SE side. C.T.W.
Ford doubtful; paving simply pebbles of stream bed. Similar in bend 30 yds downstream. No track on far (NW) side. Cutting may be an old cattle watering point. N.V.Q.
Monkton Deverill
Manor Farm
New Inn
Clear bank C.T.W.
Bank in hedge C.T.W.
Both banks seem to be associated with drainage and shrinkage and not part of the road. N.V.Q.
St Mary's Church
Kingston Deverill
There are clear traces of a ploughed down agger or terrace on the slope above the modern road and remains of an agger near the New Inn and E. of the church. T.D.M. IV
BRIX
Mill
Laurel Cottage
Possible course C.T.W.
Slight hollow between two small crofts. Prob. deep N.V.Q.
37
83
84
85
86
DEVERILL


38
BRIXTON DEVERILL
Summerslade Down
Field Barn
Long Barrow
Monkton Deverill
Manor Farm
New Inn
Mill
Faint Terrace C.T.W.
Possible course C.T.W.
Slight hollow between two small crofts
Steep terrace obscured by erosion C.T.W.
Terrace way N.V.Q.
Clear bank C.T.W.
Bank in hedge C.T.W.
Side ditches visible. C.T.W.
ROMAN ROAD
Agger 18 ft wide, 2 ft high, with small side ditches 65 ft apart. I.D.M. II
Agger clear C.T.W.
Agger with side ditches N.V.Q.
No Trace C.T.W.
Visible on A.P. only N.V.Q.
A.M. Survey ST 8637
A.M. Survey ST 8737
A.M. Survey ST 8737
A.M. Survey ST 8736
Visible under crops N.V.Q.
Pen Hill Barn
Hill Barn
There are clear traces of a ploughed down agger or terrace on the slope above the modern road and remains of an agger near the New Inn and S.W. of the Church. I.D.M. II
The first evident appearance is on the W. side of the hill where Brixton and Monkton parishes unite, from which it makes an oblique ascent R.C.H. MSS.
Straight over a piece of down and to the stable of Summerslade where there is a tumulus on the right after which it bends gently to the left. R.C.H. MSS.
Pen Hill Down
Pen Hill

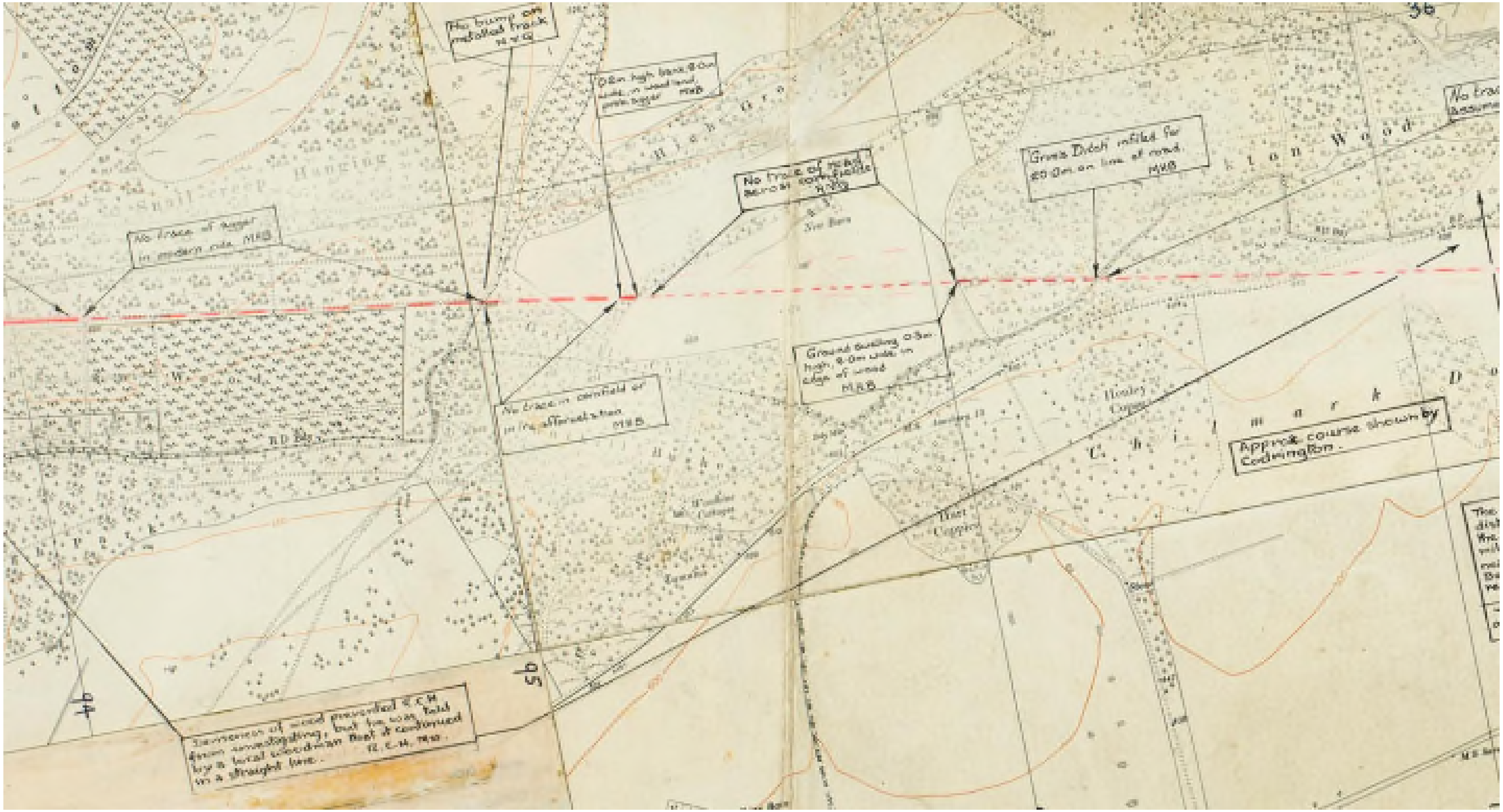

Rd. road clearly visible
Rook Hill
Portwood Wood
Field System
Terrace way 4-5m wide, in modern use N.V.B
Agger clear C.T.W.
Agger with side ditches. N.V.B
Hedge stands upon the road
AM Survey ST 8737
AM Survey ST 8736
ROMAN ROAD
Agger extant N.V.B
Visible in turf for a short distance
Agger under crops N.V.B
No Trace under crops N.V.B
Traces of agger under crops N.V.B
Agger visible under crops
No Trace under crops N.V.B
Lower Portwood
N of Lower Portwood Farm there is a distinct terrace for 250 yards and then an agger marked by a fence. The road is aligned upon Little Knoll. I.D.M. II
Hill Down

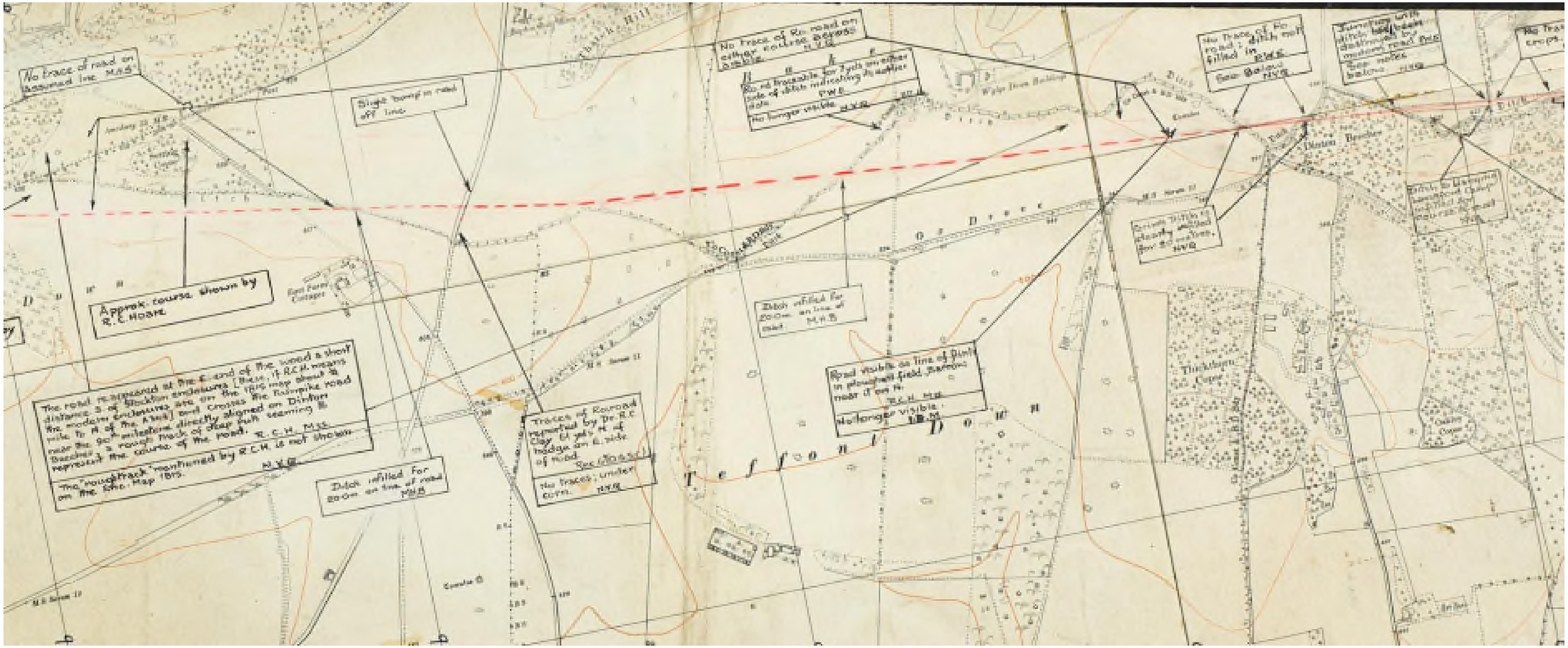


37
Agger 8.5m wide and 0.4m high clearly defined in forest rides. Dense woodland precludes complete location. M.H.B.
No trace, assumed course. M.H.B.
Well preserved agger 8.0m wide and 0.4m high in dense woodland M.H.B.
Dense woodland agger not located M.H.B.
Agger visible under crops M.H.B.
No trace across Great Ridge Ride M.H.B.
Road deviates to N. of enclosure. M.H.B.
The agger can be faintly seen in Great Ridge Wood. I.D.M. I
Stonehill
Great Ridge
Penning Wood
Chilfinch Hanging
Chilfinch Hill
92
93



Well preserved agger 8.0m wide and 0.4m high in dense woodland M.H.B
Dense woodland, agger not located MHB
Well defined agger with side ditches up to 0.6m deep. Overall width 22.0m MHB
No trace of agger in modern ride MHB
No bump on metalled track N.V.Q
0.2m high bank, 8.0m wide, in woodland, prob. agger MHB
No trace of road across cornfields N.V.Q
Ground swelling high 8.0m wide edge of wood M.H.B
No trace in cornfield or in the afforestation MHB
Denseness of wood prevented E.C.H from investigating, but he was told by a local woodman that it continued in a straight line. R.C.H. M.
Point Pond Wood
Limekiln Wood
Chilfinch Hanging
Chilfinch Hill
Snailcreep Hanging
93
94
95


No bump on metalled track
No trace of agger in modern ride
No trace in cornfield or in the afforestation
Ground swelling 0.3m high, 8.0m wide in edge of wood
on line of road.
Approx course shown by Codrington.
Denseness of wood prevented R.C.H. from investigating, but he was told by a local woodman that it continued in a straight line.
Hanging
Wood
95
94
36


No trace of road on assumed line M.A.B.
Slight bump in road off line.
Approx. course shown by R.C. Hoare
The road re-appeared at the E. end of the wood a short distance S. of Stockton enclosures [these, if R.C.H. means the modern enclosures are on the 1815 map about ½ mile to N of the A303] and crosses the Turnpike road near the 90th milestone directly aligned on Dinton Beeches a rough track of Map path seeming to represent the course of the road. R.C.H. Mss.
The "rough track" mentioned by R.C.H. is not shown on the Enc. Map 1815. N.V.Q.
Ditch infilled for 20.0 m on line of road M.A.B.
Traces of Ro road reported by Dr. R.C. Clay 61 yds N of hedge on E. side of road
No traces: under corn. N.V.Q.
No trace of Ro road on either course across arable
Road traceable for 7 yds on either side of ditch indicating its agger. P.W.S.
No longer visible N.V.Q.
Ditch infilled for 20.0 m on line of road M.A.B.
Road visible as line of flints in ploughed field. Barrow near it on N. R.C.H. Mss.
No longer visible
Teffont Down
Dinton Beeches
Thickthorn Copse
No trace of Ro road: ditch not filled in. P.W.S.
See Below N.V.Q.
Ditch nearly infilled for 8.0 metres. N.V.Q.
See notes below. N.V.Q.
No trace crops.
Fore Farm Cottages
Wylye Down Buildings

RR46: Selection from OSAD Archive File (OSAD, 1983b)

O.S. 108

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish	Subordinate Record Unit
RR 46.1			S 40

Latest Correct Description

Badbury Rings - ~~Ch~~ Kingston Deverill-
Badbury Rings - Charlton Down portion

Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks

~~Roman Road, Badbury Rings - Kingston Deverill.~~

The first section of this road north westwards from Badbury Rings is about 11 miles. The first 10 miles of this section, a single alignment to the north-east of Ashmore ~~was~~ field investigated by O.S. Arch. Div. staff in 1954, and the course is well authenticated. The remaining mile in this section deviates from this alignment to cross Ashmore Down before the descent into the Nadder valley.

Authorities

1. M.S. Gordon, 1.2.61.

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No. R.R.46: 2	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish SUBORDINATE RECORD UNIT

Latest Correct Description

Badbury Rings - Kingston Deverill
Charlton Down - Kingston Deverill portion

Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities
~~Roman Road, Badbury Rings-Kingston Deverill.~~	1. M.S. Gordon, 1.2.61
The greater part of the course of the road in this section is not known with any degree of certainty. The section is about 11 miles extending from Donhead Hollow, to the south of Ludwell, to the junction with R.R.45b near Kingston Deverill. The road is known at Donhead and Semley, but until recently, when Mr. Berry (a) claimed to have discovered much of the route, nothing was known of its direction from Semley.	a. Letter & 1" Sheet 166 (G.B. Berry, 9.1.61)
The modern road descending from Ashmore Down to Donhead Hollow is accompanied on its west side by a series of parallel hollow ways and traffic ruts. These probably represent the Roman line rather than the modern road which cuts through a spur.	2. E. Geary, F.I. 24.5.61
From Donhead Hollow to Ludwell (ST912[?]2) (1" 166) the modern road, with minor deviations, represents the Roman course. A continuation of this alignment is proved by short stretch of agger west of Lower Berry Court Farm and it is reasonable to assume that this line extended to the spur of high ground on which stands Donhead St. Mary.	
Between Donhead St. Mary (ST9024) and Semley (ST8926) there is a rather difficult area of country but the course is reasonably well established as far as the railway a little to the N.E. of Semley. From this point there is evidence from the Tithe Map and local informants that road headed for East Knoyle (ST8830). At East Knoyle a gap between Haddon Hill to the west and a chalk ridge to the east is the obvious place for any north-south road to pass.	
From the East Knoyle gap to the Deverill valley, a distance of 4½ miles, no trace of the road was found. The most likely route would utilize a ridge over Keysley Down but an alternative route following the bottom of a dry valley is a possibility. The	

O.S. 108

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish
R.R.46 : 2		

Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities
northern termination of the road, where it joins an east-west Roman road (RR 45b), was not discovered. The junction was possibly near Monkton Deverill (ST 8537) church, a little to the east of where the east-west road probably crossed the River Wylie. The northern point of the course described differs considerably from that described by G.B. Berry. No traces of the road were found on his route which encounters much more difficult country, including an unnecessary climb over the steep-sided Haddon Hill.	

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish
R.R.46 : 2		

Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities
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N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No. R.R.46	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish MAIN RECORD UNIT

O.S. 108

Latest Correct Description

Badbury Rings – Kingston Deverill

Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks

~~Roman Road, Badbury Rings – Kingston Deverill.~~

This road is the southern part of a road from Badbury Rings to Bath. It leaves the road to Poole Harbour (R.R.4d) on the north-east side of Badbury Rings and immediately crosses the Salisbury-Dorchester road (R.R.4c and 4e.) A single north-westerly alignment takes it to north of Wiltshire Coppice to the east of Ashmore. The modern road then follows the line to Ludwell. There are indications of the road at Donhead St. Mary, but beyond the railway to the north of Semley the line of the road was lost.

A recent investigator now claims to have traced the whole of the central portion of the road to Bath. From Semley it continues in a north-westerly direction through East Knoyle to Kingston Deverill, where it crosses the Salisbury-Mendip Road (R.R.45b). From this crossing, it continues to Bath as R.R.52.

Authorities

1. M.S.Gordon 1.2.61

a. "Roman Roads in Britain" Vol.1, 1955 pp 98-9 (I.D. Margary)

b. Letter & 1" Sheet 166 (G.B. Berry, 9.1.61)

O.S. 108

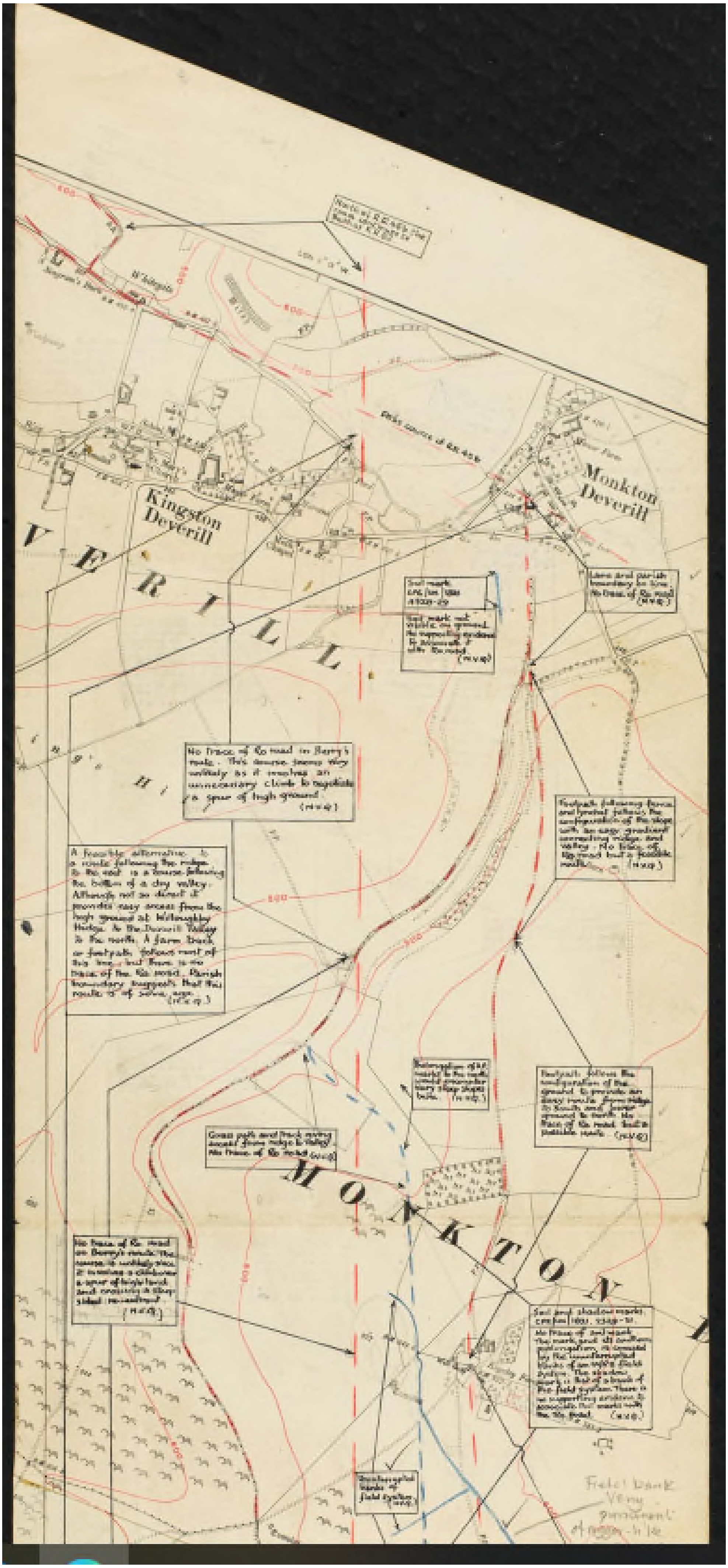
N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish
R.R.46 :		AUTHORITIES

Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference
FULL TITLE OF AUTHORITY	ABBREVIATIONS ON MAP STRIPS

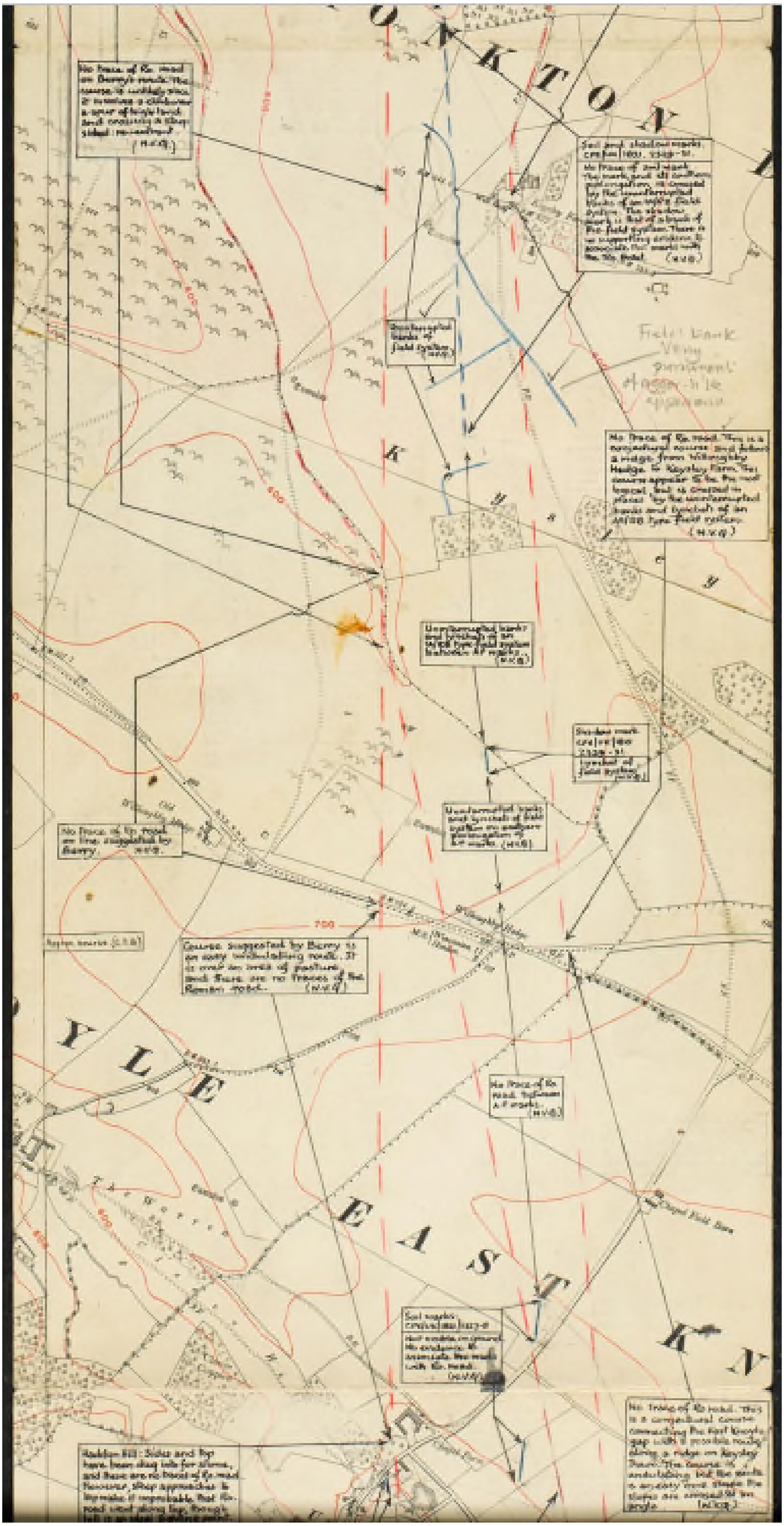
Remarks	Authorities
Revision O.N.B.	O.N.B.
Record 6" (I.D. Margary, 1.7.53)	I.D.M.
W.A.N. vol. 49, 1940-2, p.238 (E.H. Goddard)	E.H.G.
Record 6" (Col. Bennett-Stanford, undated)	B.S.
Tithe Map, Tisbury, 1846	T.M.
Record 6" (O.G.S. Crawford, c.1931)	O.G.S.C.
Arch. J. vol.21, 1867, p.166 (J.H. Austen)	J.H.A.
"Roman Roads in Britain" vol. 1, 1955, p.99 (I.D. Margary)	R.R. (and I.D.M. on RR 46-1)
1" Sheet 166 supplied by G.B. Berry, 9.1.61	G.B.B.
N. V. Quinnell, F.I. 5/61, 3&4/54	N.V.Q.
G.H. Pitcher, F.I., 5/61	G.H.P.
R. Work F.I. 19.3.54	R.W
A. Clarke F.I. 1-4-54	A.C.
G. Snelgar F.I. 5 4 54	G.S.
J. Rigg F.I. 12.1.56	J.R.
D Edwards F.I. 12.1.56	D.E
J.W. Stone F.I. Feb. 78.	J.W.S.
G. Barratt F.I. Feb. 78.	G.B.
The Southern Feeder: The Archaeology of a gas pipeline, 1984, 192 (eds. P.D. Cackerall, M. Barnett, A. McClean)	SF
Britannia 15, 1984, 320, 322 (D.E. Johnston)	Brit 15


B
A
ST91
ST90
M.S. Strip


ST83
ST82
M.S.Strg 2
E
D
C
B



Kingston Deverill
Monkton Deverill
No trace of Ro road in Barry's route. This course seems very unlikely as it involves an unnecessary climb to negotiate a spur of high ground.
MONKTON



Course suggested by Berry is on easy undulating road. It is over an area of pasture and there are no traces of the Roman road. (H.V.B.)
No trace of Ro. road on line suggested by Berry. H.V.B.
700

RR52: Selection from OSAD Archive File (OSAD, 1983c)

1

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish
R.R.52		MAIN RECORD UNIT

O.S. 108

Latest Correct Description

Roman Road - Bath - Kingston Deverill

Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities
ROMAN ROAD, BATH - KINGSTON DEVERILL	1. M.S.Gordon 14.2.61
This Roman Road is the northern part of one extending from Bath to Badbury Rings, the southern part being R.R.46. Comparatively little is known of the course, and much of this is open to question.	a. Letter, Notes & Tracings (A.T.Wicks, 13.5.50) b. Somer A. & N.H.S., Proc. Bath & Dist.Branch, 1934, pp. 35-40 (A.T.Wicks) c. "Roman Roads in Britain" vol.1, 1955, pp.116-17 (I.D.Margary) d. Letter & 1" Sheet 166 (G.B.Berry, 9.1.61)
The road probably left Bath by the modern Prior Park Road /Roman burials and metalling have been found in close proximity to Prior Park Road/. O.G.S. Crawford found a stretch of about 100 yards between Midford and Hayes Wood and Wicks notes a stretch in front of Midford Castle. Wicks contends that the road must have turned at right angles at the northern end of Crawford's stretch in order to cross the brook at Midford and link up with the length at Midford Castle.	
Further south, there is a stretch of agger to the north of Hinton Charterhouse and a lane leading to Henham Bridge is reputed to be on line. South of Henhambridge Brook nothing was known of the course	

128418) Wt. 37206. 30M(P). 2/63. S(P&D) L.

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish	2
R.R.52		MAIN RECORD UNIT	

Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities
when Margery compiled his work on Roman Roads. However, Berry has claimed to have discovered recently the course of the road between Henham Bridge and its meeting with the east-west road (R.R.45b) near Kingston Deverill. The meeting point of the two roads is the southern terminal of R.R.52.	
The southern part of the section of the route described by G.B.Berry is most unlikely, crossing very difficult country, including some quite impractical slopes. Only at the north end of the section, for a distance of two miles, was there any evidence for his course. The two sections described by O.G.S. Crawford and A.T.Wicks are also unlikely, both leading to steep and unnecessary climbs. The southern terminal of the road (i.e. its junction with the east-west Roman road - R.R.45b) was not discovered, but there are three alternatives to be considered.	2. E. Geary F.I. 31.5.61

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No. R.R.52	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish	3

Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities
The first alternative, suggested by Berry, that the road was a prolongation of the road from Badbury Rings (R.R.46) is out of the question as this route heads directly over the steepest part of Cold Kitchen Hill. The obvious route for a north-south road from Badbury Rings to Bath is to utilize part of the east-west road (R.R.45b) until a reasonable course over the hills to the north could be used. A second alternative for the junction is a mile west of Monkton Deverill where there is the start of a bridle way which traverses the southern slopes of Cold Kitchen Hill diagonally and descends the northern side of Bidcombe Hill by way of a spur. Although the gradients are easy this alternative still seems to involve an unnecessary climb, unless the road was also intended to serve the Romano - British settlement on Whitecliff Down (Wilts 57 NW 6). A logical continuation of this route would pass through the hamlet of White Street, along the east side of the	

O.S. 108

(28418) Wt. 37206, 30M (P1, 2/63. S(P&D) L.

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish	4
R.R.52			

Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities
Longleat valley and, then, after changing direction slightly to avoid low ground to the east, would join the ridge on which Friggle Street runs.	
The third alternative, considered the most likely, is that the junction with the east-west roadwas some 2¾ miles W N W of Monkton Deverill, thus skirting completely the high ground, and, because of the northerly trend of the east-west road, not incurring much extra distance. From this possible junction an easy route northwards is available, passing through the hamlet of Pottle Street, along the west side of the Longleat valley and on to the Friggle Street ridge. A route up the west side of the Longleat valley has no streams to cross and is therefore easier than a course on the eastern side, which to joint the Friggle Street ridge has to cross two streams.	
Apart from the significance of the name the ridge on which Friggle Street runs is ideally situated to be used for the Roman road. It is a long ridge with	

Remarks	Authorities
gentle approach slopes, heads in the required direction, and commands a good view to the north. From Friggle Street northwards no traces were found over pasture and arable land, except for a possible crossing point of the Rodden Brook. Friggle Street and a crossing of the River Frome at Oldford are intervisible and there is no obstacle for a direct alignment between the two places. From Oldford northwards there are no traces for 1½ miles but a little to the north of Lullington the probable course of the road is established by stones in the sides of a ditch, the alignment being continued northwards for 1½ miles along an old lane and parish boundary. This route was probably continued to a slight rise west of Chatley Farm. From here northwards, for 3½ miles the course is reasonably well established, keeping to a ridge until Midford Lane is reached. From this point there is a fragmentary terrace way deviating from the main alignment to	

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish	6
R.R.52			

Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities

descend the steep slopes on the south side of the Midford Brook valley.

No trace could be found of a crossing of the Midford Brook but to the north the obvious route up a steep slope would utilize a re-entrant. On the east side of the latter are traces of a terrace, partly destroyed by a railway embankment. North of this the slopes are very steep and a deviation almost certainly necessary until the line of a footpath is reached. This footpath crosses the east-west ridge of Combe Down at its lowest point. The descent of the north side of the ridge into Bath is almost certainly represented by the modern road which follows the easiest route down a very steep slope.

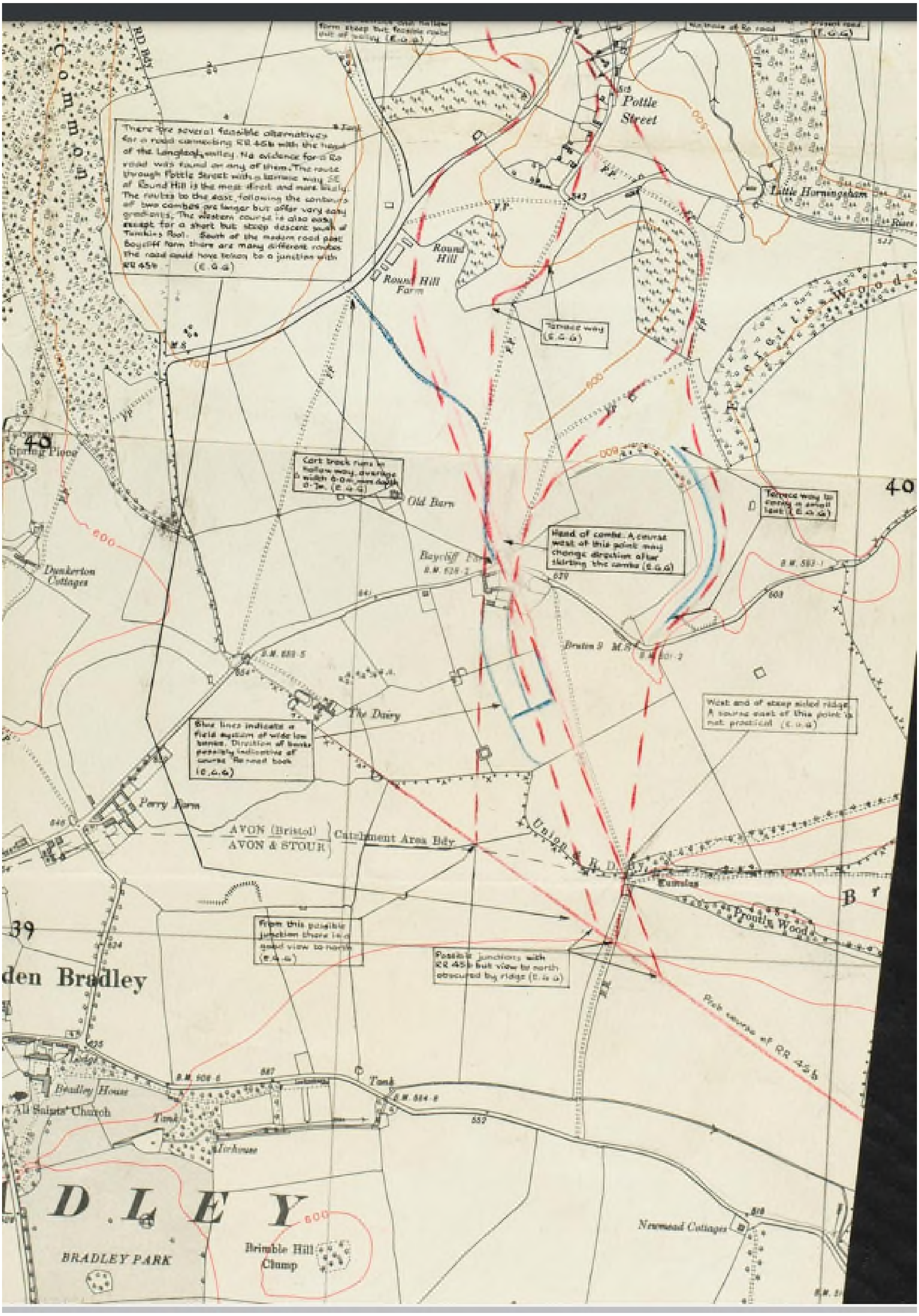
Between the east-west road (R.R.45b) and Bath the distance is approximately 18 miles. Of this only the northern part, for about eight miles, can be said to be reasonably well established, as the course of the Roman

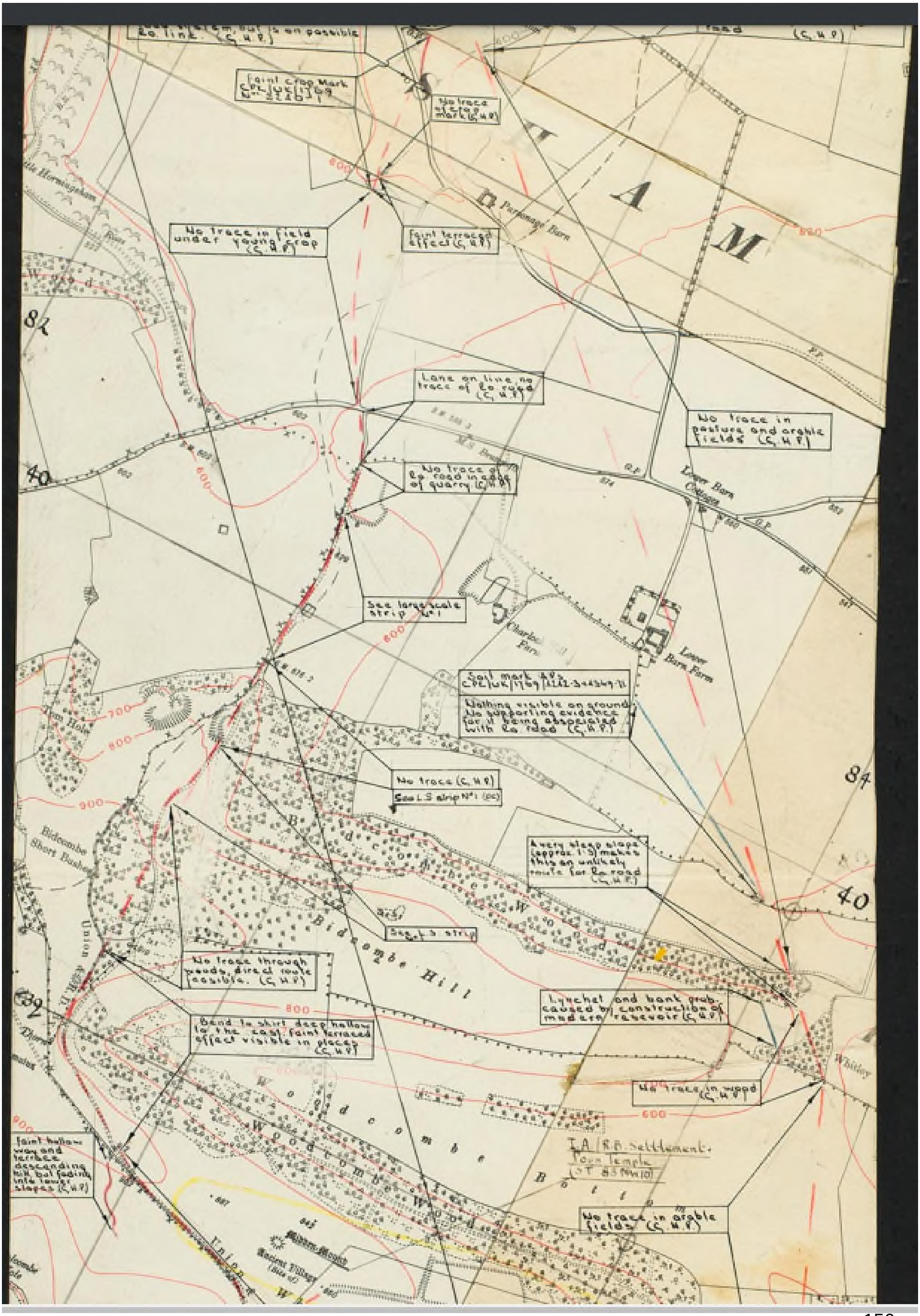
Antiquity No. R.R.52	Antiquity No.	AUTHORITIES	

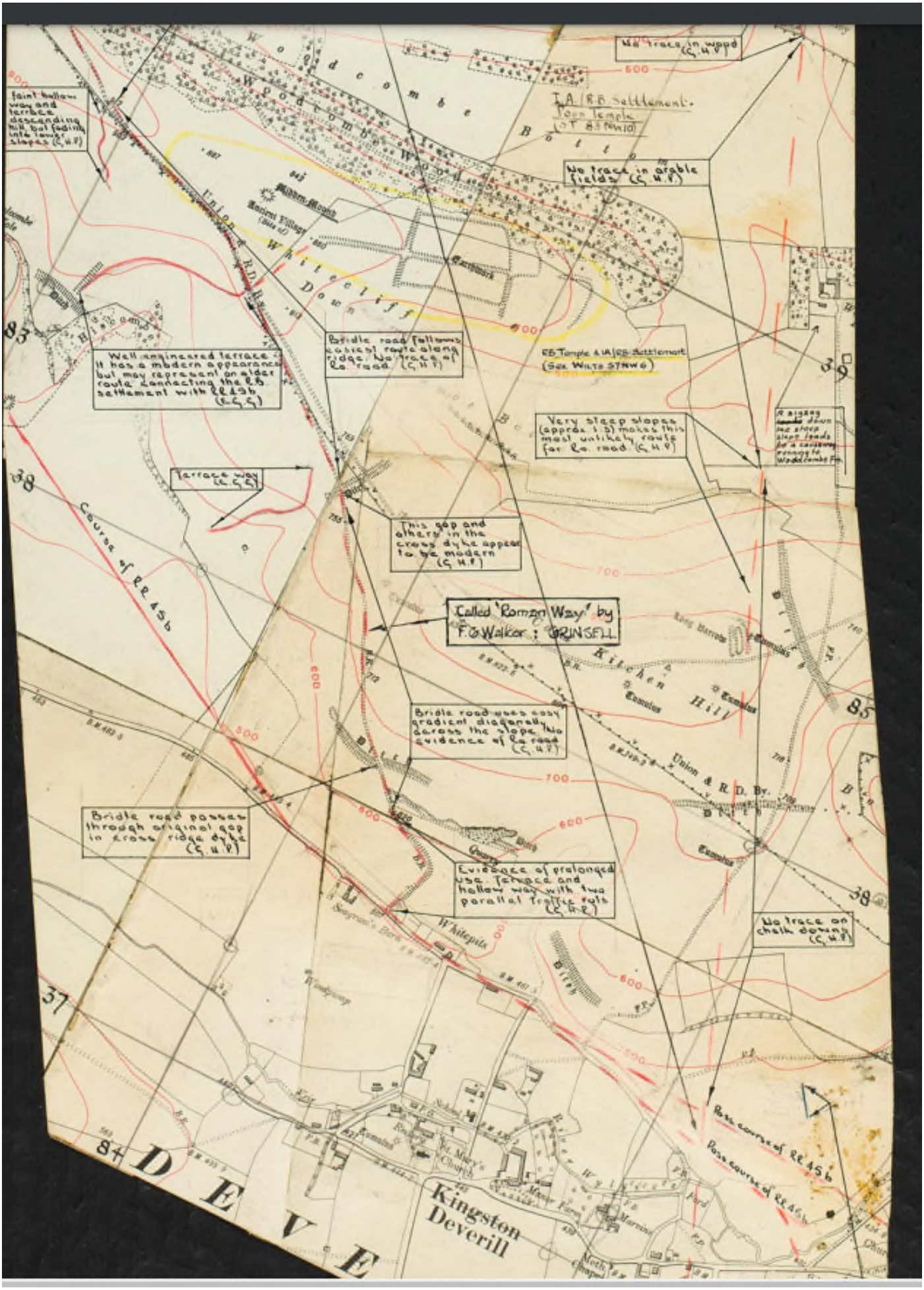
O.S. 108

Latest Correct Description FULL TITLE OF AUTHORITY	Latest Correct Map Reference ABBREVIATION ON M.S. STRIP
Remarks	**Authorities**
"Roman Roads in Britain" vol. 1, 1955, pp. 116-17	
(I.D. Margary)	I.D.M.
Somer A. & N.H.S., Proc. Bath & Dist. Branch, 1934,	
pp. 35-40 (A. T. Wicks).	A.T.W.
Letter, Notes & Tracings (A.T. Wicks, 13. 5.50)	A.T.W.I.
O.S. Small Scales Reviser, 4. 7.51	S.S.R.
Letter & 1" Sheet 166 (G.B. Berry, 9.1.61)	G.B.B.
N. V. Quinnell F.I. 5/61	N.V.Q.
G. H. Pitcher, F.I. 5/61	G.H.P.
E. G. Geary F.I. 5/61	E.G.G.
MS Plan (6" to 1 mile) by G.B. Berry, dated 1960, in possession of Mr. P. H. Weeks, Lullington Court Farm, Lullington.	G.B.B.(P)
"Ancient Monuments in England and Wales" 1958, p.67 (M.O.W.)	A.M.
Spec. 6" (Wilts, VCH L.V. Grinsell, 1950-1)	Grinsell.
C Chaplin F.I. 7'78.	C.C.

(38418)1 Wt. 37266. 30M(P). 2/63. S(P&D)L.


Pottle Street
Little Horningsham
Round Hill
Round Hill Farm
There are several feasible alternatives for a road connecting RR 45b with the head of the Longleat valley. No evidence for a Ro road was found on any of them. The route through Pottle Street with a terrace way SE of Round Hill is the most direct and more likely. The routes to the east, following the contours of two combes are longer but offer very easy gradients. The western course is also easy except for a short but steep descent south of Tomkins Pool. South of the modern road past Baycliff farm there are many different routes the road could have taken to a junction with RR 45b (E.G.G)
Terrace way (E.G.G)
Spring Piece
Cart track runs in hollow way, average width 6.0m, max depth 0.7m. (E.G.G)
Old Barn
Terrace way to combe in small lane (E.G.G)
Head of combe. A course west of this point may change direction after skirting the combe (E.G.G)
Dunkerton Cottages
Baycliff Fm
Bruton 9 M.S.
The Dairy
Blue lines indicate a field system of wide low banks. Direction of banks possibly indicative of course Ro road book (E.G.G)
West end of steep sided ridge. A course east of this point is not practical (E.G.G)
Perry Farm
AVON (Bristol)
AVON & STOUR
Catchment Area Bdy
Union R.D. Bdy
Tumulus
Prontis Wood
From this possible junction there is a good view to north (E.G.G)
Possible junctions with RR 45b but view to north obscured by ridge (E.G.G)
Prob course of RR 45b
den Bradley
Bradley House
All Saints' Church
Tank
Birchouse
D L E Y
BRADLEY PARK
Brimble Hill Clump
Newmead Cottages


Faint crop mark
No trace of crop mark (C.H.P.)
No trace in field under young crop (C.H.P.)
Faint terraced effect (C.H.P.)
Parsonage Barn
Lane on line no trace of Ro. road (C.H.P.)
No trace in pasture and arable fields (C.H.P.)
Lower Barn Cottages
See large scale strip No 1
Lower Barn Farm
Nothing visible on ground. No supporting evidence for it being associated with Ro. road (C.H.P.)
No trace (C.H.P.)
See L.S strip No 1 (CC)
A very steep slope (approx. 1:3) makes this an unlikely route for Ro. road (C.H.P.)
Bidcombe Short Bushes
See L.S strip
Bidcombe Hill
No trace through woods, direct route possible. (C.H.P.)
Lynchet and bank grub. caused by construction of modern reservoir (C.H.P.)
Bend to skirt deep hollow to the east. Faint terraced effect visible in places (C.H.P.)
No trace in wood (C.H.P.)
Faint hollow-way and terrace descending hill but fading into lower slopes (C.H.P.)
Woodcombe Wood
I.A./R.B. settlement + Poss Temple
No trace in arable fields (C.H.P.)
Ancient Village (Site of)
Whitley
600
700
800
900


No trace in wood (C.H.F.)
Faint hollow-way and terrace descending hill but fading into lower slopes (C.H.F.)
IA/RB Settlement. Poor Temple
No trace in arable fields (C.H.F.)
Bridle road follows easiest route along ridge. No trace of Ro. road. (C.H.F.)
RB Temple & IA/RB Settlement (See Wilts ST NW 6)
Well engineered terrace. It has a modern appearance but may represent an older route connecting the RB settlement with RR 45b (C.C.C.)
Very steep slopes (approx 1:3) makes this most unlikely route for Ro. road. (C.H.F.)
Terrace way (C.C.C.)
This gap and others in the cross dyke appear to be modern (C.H.F.)
Course of RR 45b
Called 'Roman Way' by F.G. Walker : GRINSELL
Bridle road uses easy gradient diagonally across the slope. No evidence of Ro. road (C.H.F.)
Bridle road passes through original gap in cross ridge dyke (C.H.F.)
Evidence of prolonged use. Terrace and hollow way with two parallel traffic ruts (C.H.F.)
No trace on chalk downs (C.H.F.)
Poss. course of RR 45b
Poss. course of RR 45b
Kingston Deverill
DEVE

RRX37: Selection from OSAD Archive File (OSAD, 1983d)

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish
RRX 37	LINEAR	MASTER RECORD UNIT

Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference
POSSIBLE ROMAN ROAD – SEMLEY – PEN PITS – THE FOSSE AT PYLLE – NOT SUBSTANTIATED	

O.S. 108

Remarks	Authorities
RRx 37 Possible Roman Road; Semley ~~to~~ – Pen Pits – The Foss at Pylle	1. W. C. Woodhouse 4.12.64
Routine examination of air-photographs indicates the probable course of a Roman road visible as soil/crop and relief-markings in the area between Knap Hill, Dorset (ST 8527), and Pen Pits, Zeals, Wilts (ST 7631). These markings can be prolonged to suggest a connection on the east with the Roman road from Dorchester – RR 46.	a. Archaeology in the Field, 1953, 100, (O.G.S. Crawford)
To the west of Pen Pits an 18th c (?) coach road of singular straightness may possibly occupy the course of the Roman road. From Bruton where the significant find of a Roman lead ingot is recorded – ST 6834 – traces of a road can be ~~traced~~ seen on air-photographs passing immediately south of ~~Lamyatt~~ Lamyatt Beacon (the probable site of a temple – ST 6636) and joining the Fosse (RR 5b) at Pylle. This western termination had been suggested to be a Roman approach road to the Beacon area by Tratman. The existence of a through-route in the	b. Corr 6" (E. K. Tratman, August, 1957)

(Cont'd)

12941813 Wt. 37206. 30M Pt. 2/63. S(P&D)Ltd.

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish

Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities
region of Pen Pits is postulated by Crawford(2) on the evidences of DA battles fought in the area and the geological factors which make it a natural bridge through the clay forest belt at the end of the chalk downland. Crawford identifies the route as the Hardway, a named MS route in use as a modern road — at ST 7234. A number of motte-and-bailey earthworks further indicate the MS importance of the route. It seems probable that the Roman road was earlier aligned to pass through this natural 'gate of Wessex', at a point where the pre-Norman quern quarries, as Crawford suggests, owe their origin to the presence of a road. Wiltshire tithe-maps yielded little of value in tracing the road.	

O.S. 108

N.S.L. 6" and Antiquity No.	County and Old 6" and Antiquity No.	Parish
ØØX 37	LINEAR	MS STRIP ABBREVIATIONS

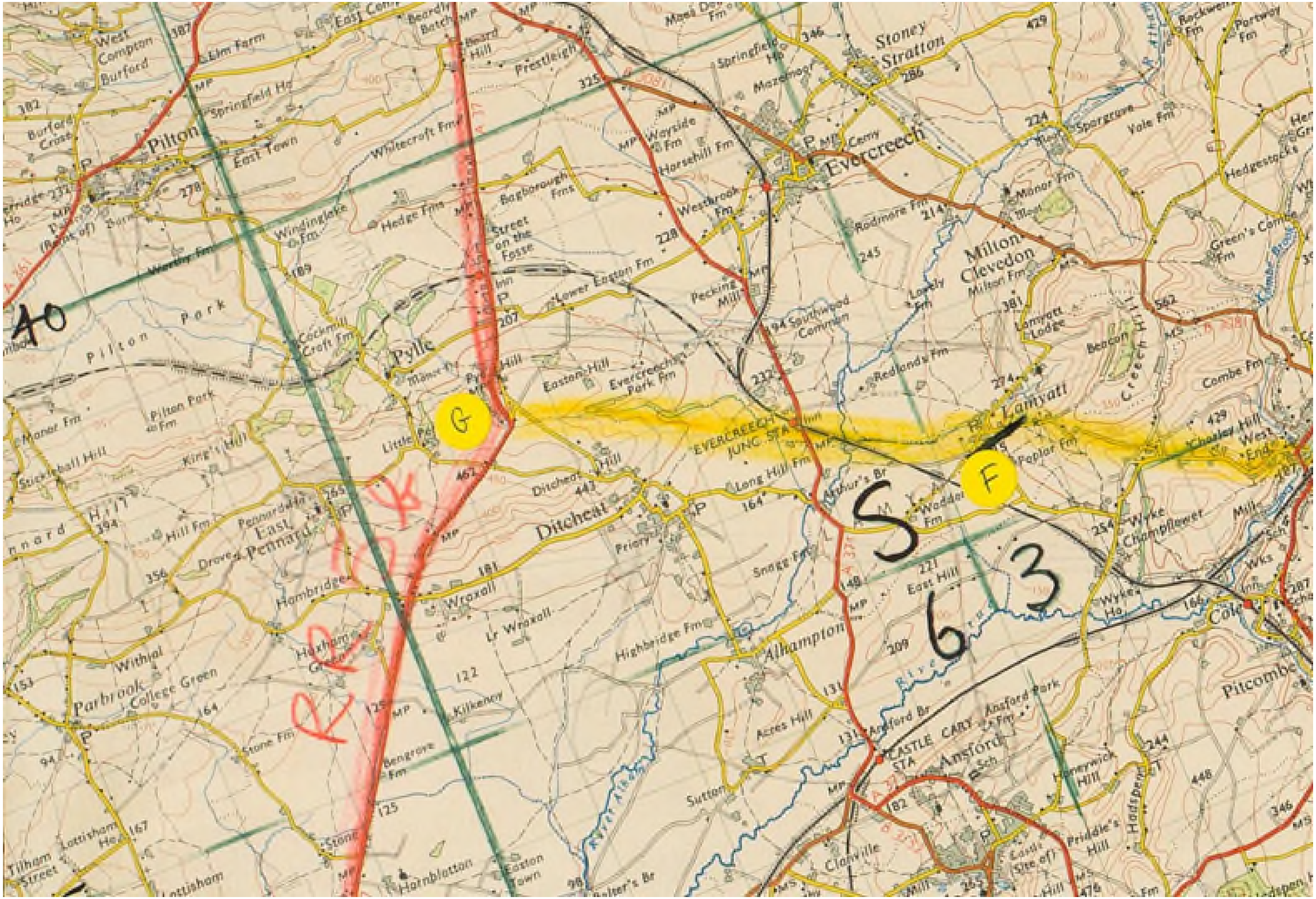
Latest Correct Description	Latest Correct Map Reference

Remarks	Authorities
FULL TITLE OF AUTHORITY	ABBREVIATIONS ON MS STRIP
W.C.Woodhouse 5.12.64	W.C.W
Tithe Map, Stourton, 1839	TM
Tithe Map Mere, 1848	TM I
Tithe Map, Sedgehill, 1838	TM II
Corr 6' (E.K. Tratman, August, 1957)	EKT
F I John Palmer 7.67	J P
F2 G. Barratt 8.77	G.B.
F3. J.W. Stone 17-11-77	JWS.

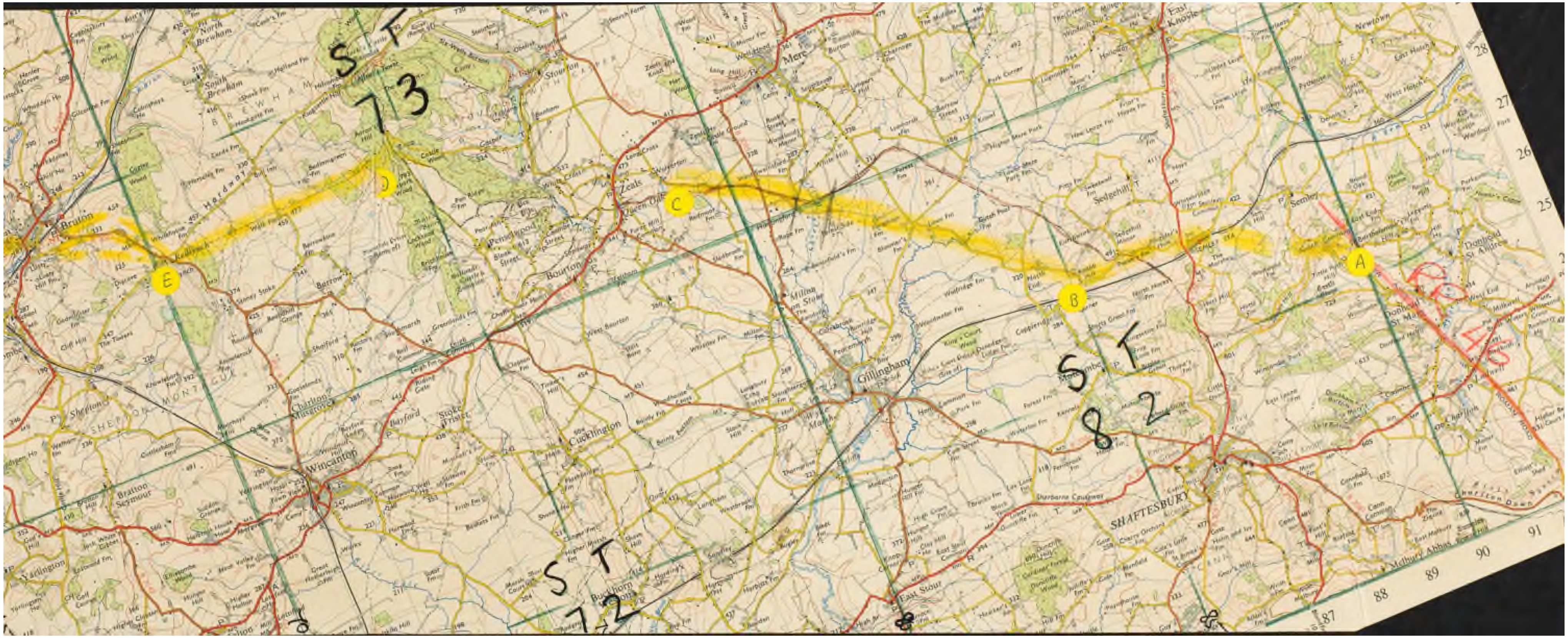
St. 37306. 30M(P). 2/63. S1P401L.

1:10,000 quarter sheet RRX 37	O.S. No	New / Old COUNTY	TYPE SUBORDINATE UNIT.	Page
NGR	Qualifier	DIST / PAR	FORM	
Definitive Record & Ref.		STATUS D.o.E. / Other	CONDITION	
			PERIOD Pa Me Ne BA IA Ro Uncertain EM M PM U	Mth. / Year A.O.R.
SITE NAME AND MAIN FEATURES			O.S. use only	

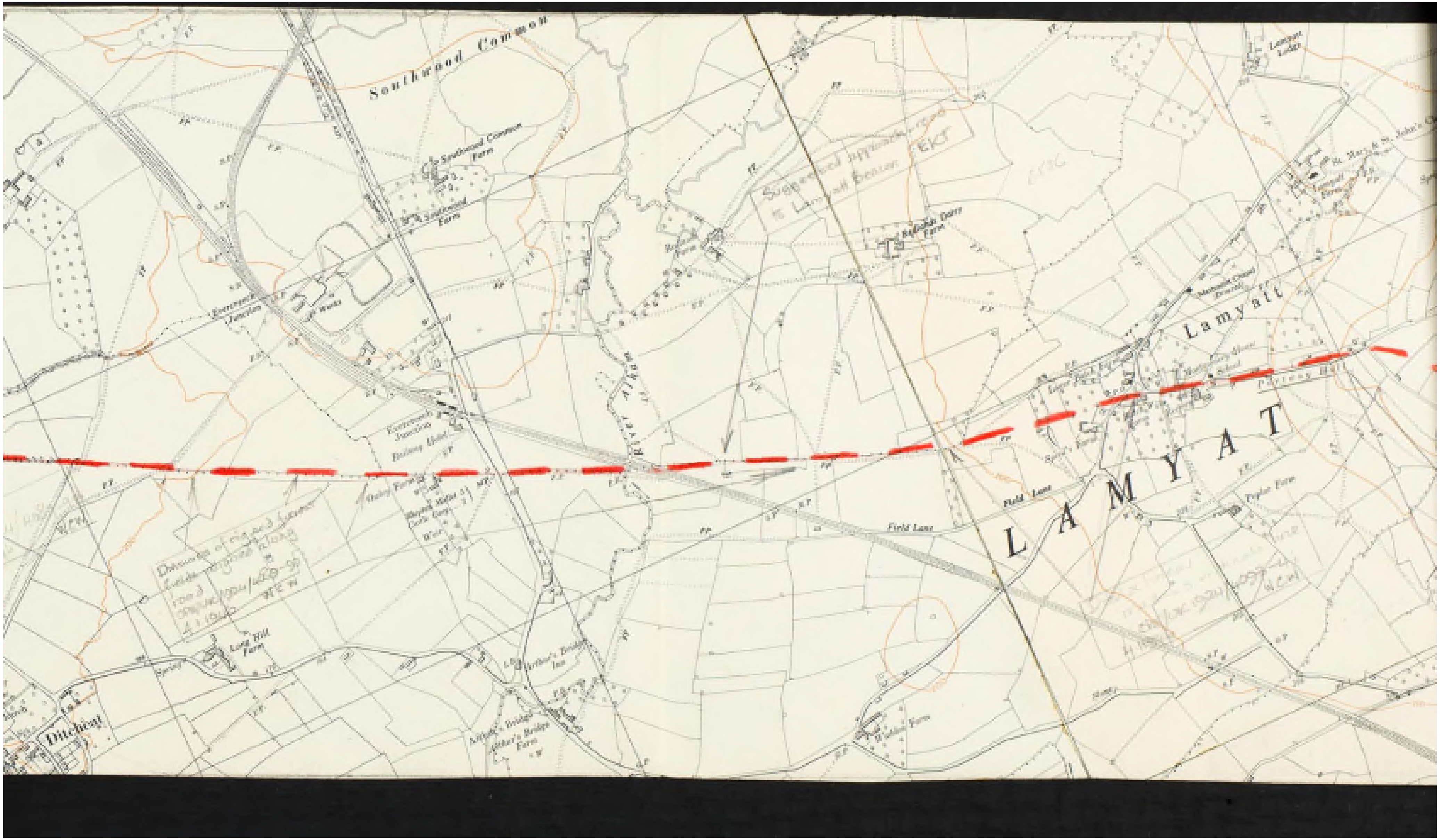
Perambulation along the probable	1	F3 J.W.S. 17-11-77.
course of RRX 37 from ST 82002945,		
eastwards to its suggested connection		
with RR46 at ST 89772630 (within		
F.S. Block DORSET C1-S33), produced no		
ground evidence to substantiate the		
route postulated by Woodhouse. (1)		
O.S. photography not available at time		
of field investigation.		

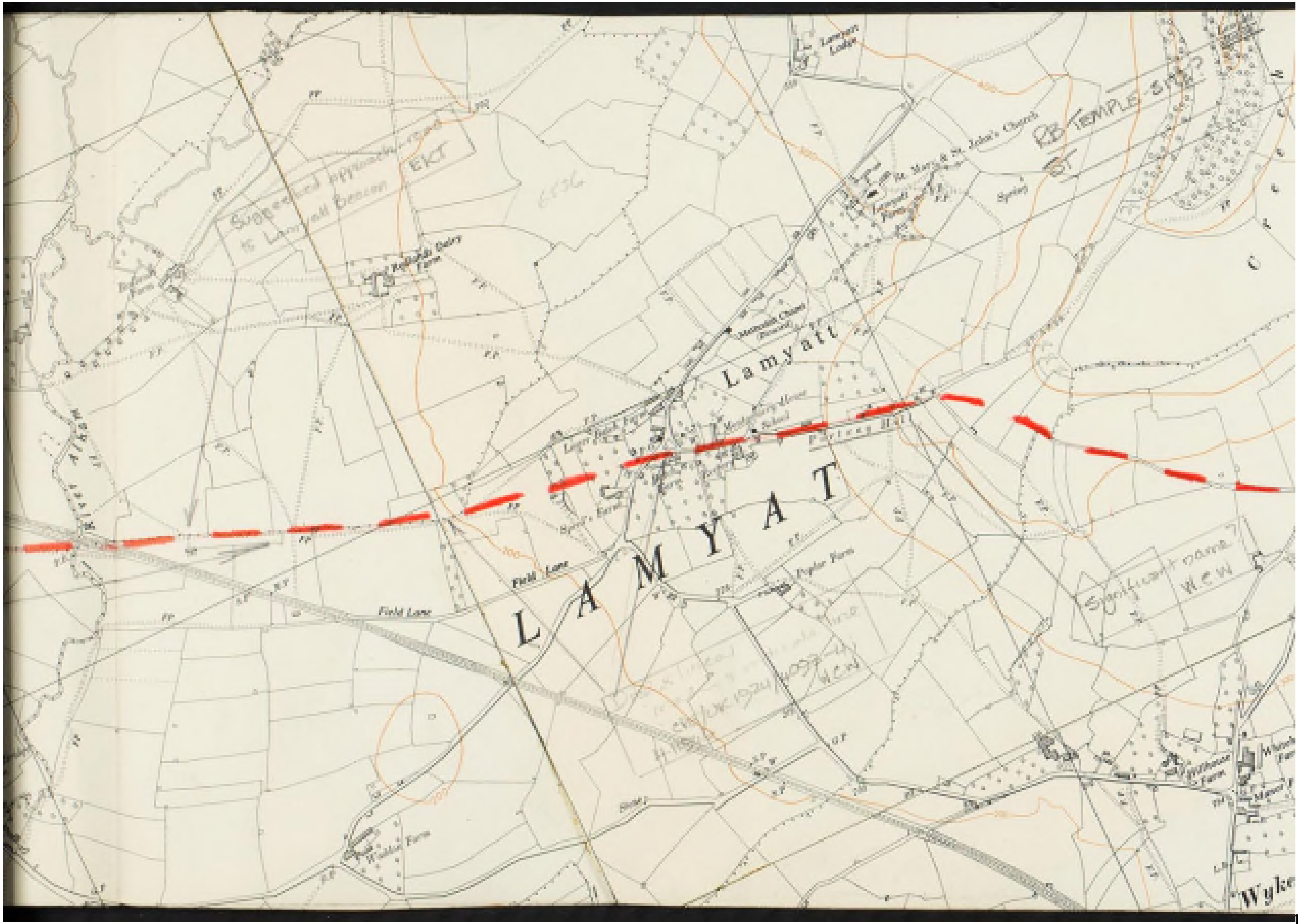


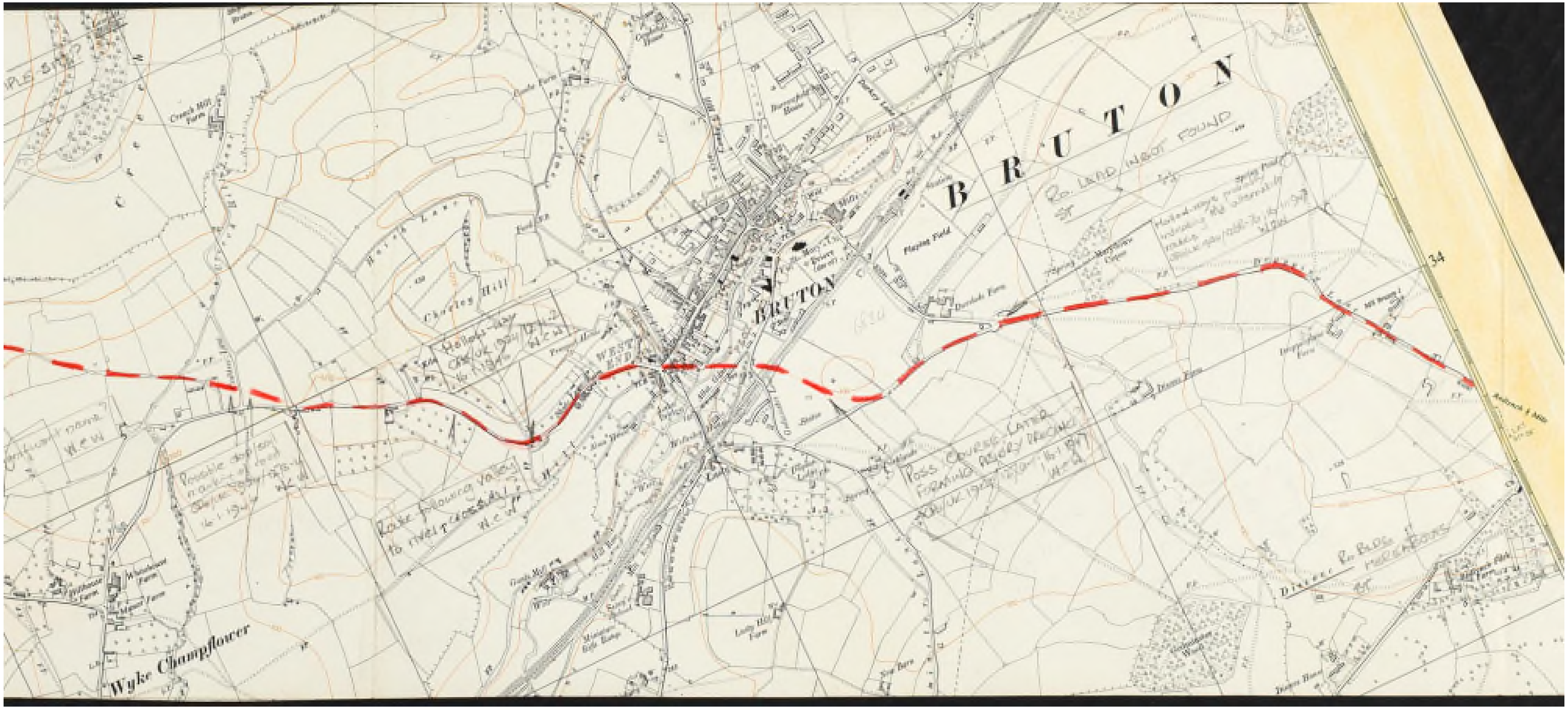
40
G
F
S
6
3
West Compton
Burford
Elm Farm
Springfield Ho
Pilton
East Town
Whitecroft Fm
Bagborough Fms
Hedge Fm
Windinglake Fm
Worthy Fm
Street on the Fosse
Prestleigh
Stoney Stratton
Evercreech
Westbrook Fm
Pecking Mill
Southwood Common
Lower Easton Fm
Pylle
Pilton Park
Cockmill
Croft Fm
Easton Hill
Evercreech Park Fm
Redlands Fm
Milton Clevedon
Milton Fm
Lamyatt Lodge
Lamyatt
Beacon
Creech Hill
Combe Fm
Chesley Hill
West End
Poplar Fm
Wadden Fm
Long Hill Fm
EVERCREECH JUNC STA
Ditcheat
Ditcheat Hill
Priory
Snags Fm
East Hill
Wyke Champflower
Wyke Ho
Pitcombe
Manor Fm
Stickleball Hill
King's Hill
Hill Fm
East Pennard
Hambridge
Wraxall
Lr Wraxall
Highbridge Fm
Alhampton
Withial
Parbrook
College Green
Stone Fm
Kilkenny
Bengrove Fm
Acres Hill
Ansford Br
CASTLE CARY STA
Ansford
Ansford Park
Honeywick Hill
Sutton
Clanville
Castle (Site of)
Priddle's Hill
Lottisham
Tilham Street
Stone
Hornblotton
Easton Town
Spargrove
Vale Fm
Hedgestocks
Green's Combe Fm
Manor Fm
Rodmore Fm
Lovely Fm


ST 73
ST 82
ST 72
A
B
C
D
E
Bruton
Wincanton
Gillingham
Mere
SHAFTESBURY
Zeals
Cucklington
East Stour
Sedgehill
Semley
Bourton
Penselwood
Stourton
East Knoyle


Pylle
St Thomas à Becket's Church
Little Pennard
Little Pennard Farm
Foxhole Gully
Foxhole Plantation
Wyld Farm
Easton Hill
Easton Hill Farm
Ditcheat Hill
Ditcheat Hill Farm
Ditcheat Reservoir
Manor Farm
Fosse Way
Ditcheat


Southwood Common
Southwood Common Farm
Southwood Farm
Evercreech Junction
Railway Hotel
Lamyatt
L A M Y A T
Field Lane
Poplar Farm
Long Hill Farm
Ditcheat
Arthur's Bridge
Arthur's Bridge Farm


LAMYAT
Lamyatt
Field Lane
Field Lane
St. Mary & St. John's Church
Methodist Chapel
Poplar Farm
Lamyatt Lodge
Spring
Wyke
RB TEMPLE SITE?
ST
EKT
WCW


BRUTON
Wyke Champflower
Creech Hill Farm
Chorley Hill
Playing Field
Ro. LAND N.BOT FOUND
Roke flowing valley to river crossing?
Poss. Course Later Forming Rory Parochial
Diverge Ro. BLDG. HEREABOUTS