

Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures
in Anglo-Saxon England

Tyler W Bell

The Queen's College
and
The Institute of Archaeology
University of Oxford

Hilary Term 2001



A hypocausted structure, probably part of a large villa complex, underlying Castor church (Artis 1823, plate V).

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Abstract

This thesis examines the post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon religious reuse of Roman structures in an attempt to establish a framework around which the study of sites involving the coincidence of Roman buildings and early-medieval religious activity may be pursued. In particular, the study examines burials associated with Roman structures, and churches on or near Roman buildings, to demonstrate that the physical remains of Roman structures had a significant impact on the religious landscape of Anglo-Saxon England despite the apparent discontinuity between many Roman and early-medieval landscapes.

The thesis introduces a great number of sites that are otherwise obscure, and re-examines the subject based on an expanded corpus of evidence. It attempts to embrace and re-assess the corpus of sites showing the Anglo-Saxon religious reuse of Roman buildings as a whole, rather than reinforce traditional interpretations through a comparative study of the new material against the traditional canon. For this reason, those sites which have tended to feature prominently in discussions of continuity and/or the religious reuse of Roman structures – such as Rivenhall, Winchester, and Barton Court Farm – are accorded an equiparant place within the study, rather than being held as the standard against which other sites of this nature must be measured. The study embraces the reuse of all types of Roman structure, such as villas, mausolea, towns and forts, but concentrates primarily on the evidence that exists in the countryside, outside urban Roman Britain. It is not the aim of this thesis to reassess exclusively the earliest reuse of Roman towns, but rather examine towns within the context of the study as a whole.

The study first examines the non-archaeological evidence for the existence of Roman structures in Anglo-Saxon England. Place-name elements including *ceastre*, *stān*, and *hwit* demonstrate the Anglo-Saxon awareness of their Roman physical heritage. The relationship of *The Ruin* to the site at Bath is closely examined, and the use of *enta geweorc* ('the work of giants'), an Anglo-Saxon phrase commonly used to convey antiquity and describe Roman remains, is discussed. Archaeological parallels in Gaul and Rome are explored, and written accounts, particularly the writings of Sidonius Apollinaris and Constantius of Lyons' *The Life of St Germanus of Auxerre*, are studied to present a complete framework into which the evidence in the subsequent chapters is placed.

The study shows that the practice of interring the dead into Roman structures occurred between the fifth and eighth centuries, but peaked at the beginning of the seventh, with comparatively few sites at the extreme end of the date range. The discussion is based on the evidence of 116 sites associated with Roman structures, but it is very apparent that this number is only a fragment of the whole because many inhumations are often mistakenly identified as Roman, even when the stratigraphy demonstrates that burial occurred after the ruin of the villa, as is often the case. The placement of the bodies shows a conscious reuse of the ruinous architecture, rather than suggesting interment was made haphazardly on the site: frequently the body is placed either centrally within a room, or is in contact with some part of the Roman fabric. Some examples suggest that there may have been a preference for apsidal rooms for this purpose.

The examination of churches associated with Roman buildings reveals that Roman structures were chosen for the sites of churches from the earliest Christian period into the tenth century, and probably even later. There is no indication that specifically high-status churches reused Roman buildings, as the status of those within the corpus varies widely from small chapels to royal minsters. Several models are suggested for the origin and development of these sites, including a refinement of the so-called 'proprietary model'. Placing the data into a wider landscape context introduces potential avenues of further exploration of the subject using GIS (Geographic Information Systems). All types of Roman buildings were used as the site of churches, although there appears to be a tendency *not* to reuse Roman temples.

The study concludes that there are a number of diverse causes underlying the religious reuse of Roman buildings, each not necessarily exclusive of the other, and that the study of these sites can further any investigation into the development of the ecclesiastical topography of England, and the eventual development of the parochial landscape.

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I. Introduction

"There is hardly a case in England in which a Saxon object of early date has been found in a Roman villa, nor are there even any known examples of the use of a ruined villa as a Teutonic burial ground of which the occasional instances in Gaul seem to indicate a sort of inverted continuity..."

- Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1949), 440-1

1.1 Overview

The intervening years since J. N. L. Myres wrote these words in 1947 have produced an expanding corpus of sites reflecting an indirect interaction between the Anglo-Saxons and Roman structures, a growing body of evidence which reveals more so-called 'inverted continuity' than Myres ever suspected.¹ The nature of the reuse is more subtle and less tangible than similar examples on the continent – most of the Roman secular buildings had crumbled to ruins before the sites were reused as churches and cemeteries, unlike patterns of 'true' continuity shown in Gaul and Italy – but even from an early stage, the relationship between Roman buildings and early-medieval religious sites was apparent enough to raise the eyebrows of some antiquaries: in 1713, Pointer, in an aside during his discourse on the discovery of several mosaic pavements in the parish of Stonesfield in Oxfordshire, noted that 'There have likewise been such sort of pavements found in places where Religious Houses have been built, as particularly Woodchester, in Gloucestershire, where in the church-yard, in digging the graves, they us'd to find such tesseraik work of painted beasts and flowers 2 or 3 foot deep ...'² This association between Roman mosaics and churches had been known for some time: John Morton in his *Natural History of Northamptonshire* (1712) reported the grave diggers at Castor church 'frequently met with small square bricks, or tiles, such as the Romans were wont to make their chequered pavements of... in digging into that part of the hill, which the church stands upon, they find the little bricks almost everywhere; sometimes single and sometimes loose; sometimes set together and fixed, or inlaid in a very hard cement or mortar.'³ Nearly 150 years later, Beesley, in his description of the antiquities of Oxfordshire, had seen enough of such sites to note that 'spots [locations] having the word 'church' as part of their names, have also frequently furnished Roman antiquities'⁴; he further adds that 'human skeletons, too, are generally found near the sites of even insignificant Roman buildings; but never accompanied by weapons, which are distinctive marks of Anglo-Saxon or Danish interment.'⁵ Views similar to Myres' prevailed throughout the Victorian period and through the twentieth century, and it was only in 1980 that the first work addressing churches associated with Roman buildings was published,⁶ and to date no single work has focused specifically on the relationship of post-Roman burials to Roman structures. This thesis attempts to address this lacuna in the archaeology of the early-medieval period by

¹ By 1955 Myres was already beginning to qualify this statement with the observation of 'hybrid' pottery in final phase villa contexts: Myres 1955, 42.

² Pointer 1713, 36.

³ Morton 1712, 509.

⁴ Beesley 1855, 19-20.

⁵ Beesley 1855, 19.

⁶ Morris and Roxan's 'Churches on Roman Buildings' (1980), which is discussed in detail in Section 3.1.2.1, page 101.

examining the post-Roman and Anglo-Saxon religious reuse of Roman structures, particularly burials in Roman structures, and churches associated with Roman buildings. Although it is known that the Anglo-Saxons existed in and interacted with the vestigial landscape of Roman Britain, the specific nature and result of this interaction has not been completely understood. The focus of scholarship to date has been on the reuse and rebirth of Roman towns as economic and political centres in the early Middle Ages,⁷ with more recent attention being placed on their rebirth as ecclesiastical centres.⁸ The present study examines the Anglo-Saxon religious reuse of Roman structures in an attempt to understand the Anglo-Saxon perception of Roman structures and the impact they had on the developing ecclesiastical landscape. In particular, the study reveals how we may better understand the structural coincidence of Roman buildings and early-medieval religious activity in the light of the apparent discontinuity between many Roman and early-medieval landscapes in Britain. At its most basic level, the thesis catalogues and analyses the occurrence of these two phenomena to draw several conclusions regarding the development of an early ecclesiastical landscape:

1. The reuse of Roman structures is not a question of continuity in the traditional sense – nearly all of the Roman structures in question were deserted and largely in ruins before they were reused in a religious fashion sometime in the Anglo-Saxon period.
2. Churches were built on Roman buildings throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, from Augustine's arrival into the eleventh century.
3. Churches that have been built on Roman buildings probably occur more frequently than the archaeological record currently reveals: the comparatively limited archaeological investigation of churches in Britain has allowed for little thorough examination of their origins.
4. All manner of Roman buildings were reused for religious purposes. Indeed, the underlying Roman building is more likely to have served a secular or domestic function in the Roman period, such as a villa or *mansio*, rather than a religious purpose, such as a temple or Roman church.
5. Burials in Roman structures occur from the fifth century into the eighth, but tend to centre upon the late sixth and early seventh century. These too are likely to be more common than is at first visible: burials found in Roman structures during excavation are commonly assigned to the Roman period, even though many suggest interment into the remains of the building after its ruin.
6. Stone construction, in particular the remains of Roman buildings, appears to have been associated specifically with the Christian Church.
7. Several factors suggest that particular traits were looked for in the ruins of a Roman building: apsidal bath-houses and exotic architecture appear to have been specifically chosen for reuse as churches and as burial sites, perhaps in response to their resemblance to church architecture.

After a brief discussion of methodology, the introduction establishes a context for these phenomena, noting in particular the amount of Roman remains that would have been visible during the Anglo-Saxon period, citing the longevity of masonry structures, and place-name evidence referring to Roman masonry, including *-stan*, *-wit*, and *-castre* based place-names. It addresses other possible causes behind the reuse of Roman sites,

⁷ e.g. Pirenne 1925; Frere 1966; Hodges and Hobley 1988.

⁸ Biddle 1976b; Blair 1992.

including their ubiquitous proximity to springs or streams. Contemporary references are addressed, notably Bede's account of Roman Britain and the remains which were still visible in his day, Cuthbert's tour of the functioning fountain at Carlisle, Cumbria, as well as *The Ruin*, an Old English poem loosely dated to the eighth century which employs Roman remains as a metaphorical device for the ephemeron of mortal life. *The Ruin* appears to be describing post-Roman Bath, so the archaeological and documentary evidence for this site is examined. The poem is perhaps best known for its describing the remains as the work of giants, and this perception is also discussed and placed in context.

The perception of the City, Church and Empire of Rome – as both a political reality and a conceptual ideal – is central to the thesis, in particular the retrospective association between the Roman Church and the Roman Empire, as well as the Anglo-Saxon emulation of Imperial traits. As such, the introduction addresses the evidence of pre-Augustine contact between the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and Rome, and identifies the conspicuous emulation of Roman material culture in objects associated with Anglo-Saxon kingship, and Anglo-Saxon art and artefacts. The thesis argues that Augustine's arrival began Rome's second conquest of Britain, and that the papal Rome in the time of Gregory the Great did conceive of itself as the successor to the Roman Imperial state – the life of Gregory the Great is examined briefly in an attempt to come to grips with the underlying disposition of the English Mission. Further discussion is made of the role of Latin in the conversion process, as well as Gregory's and Bede's idea of an English Nation. Examples of the reuse of Roman structures in Gaul and the city of Rome are described to provide a contemporary parallel to the activities in Britain, and also to show that the conversion of existing domestic structures into centres of religious activity is not simply a Germanic trait. The conclusions are that Gregory, Augustine, and the individuals involved in the English mission were not simply missionaries driven by a Christian purpose, but Romans returning to a lost province. The section finishes with a look at churches in Roman towns, which sets the context for the study of the reuse of more rural sites in Britain.

Chapter two presents the archaeological evidence for burials in Roman structures. It first addresses general trends in the body of evidence, noting that the size of these cemeteries is usually small, under 10 individuals. There is undoubtedly a bias in the evidence, as so few of these sites have been excavated in their entirety or recorded completely. Even when excavated under professional conditions, the paucity of information associated with these graves, and their late position in the stratigraphic sequence, often leads them to be divorced from the previous phases. Their distribution throughout the country is of course dependent on the existence of Roman structures, but interestingly one does not find more of these sites in places where the density of Roman buildings is greater. These observations are of course made with the usual caveats regarding distribution biases based on intensity of fieldwork, etc. The dates of these burials are central to the study, although a great deal do not have specific dating evidence. A table of all sites and their dates is given, and the general trends of the burial rite are considered, particularly the tendency of the graves to be aligned to the Roman structure.

Chapter three presents the archaeological evidence for churches associated with Roman buildings, sections of which have been published in Bell (1999b). Much of the chapter is devoted to introducing a broader spectrum of evidence: too often, when the subject is discussed in publications (if it is discussed at all), authors resort to citing what has become a canon of churches associated with Roman buildings: Rivenhall (Essex), Canterbury St Martin's (Kent), Cheddar (Somerset), Flawford (Notts) and Frocester

(Gloucs), with the occasional variation for regional emphasis. Previous research in the subject is examined and criticised, and the general trends of the archaeological evidence are presented. The evidence is then examined in greater detail, sites being discussed in the context of their underlying Roman buildings, including temples, villas, settlements and intra-mural sites. The results of a case-study of Whitby and Scarborough and their relationship to the Roman landscape of the North Yorkshire coast, particularly the Roman signal stations, is presented, parts of which have been published in Bell (1999a), but the section does contain some new material. The chapter concludes with an examination of Canterbury and Kent, and what role the Roman mission may have played in the reuse of Roman sites there.

Chapter four concludes the thesis by attempting to answer (as best as one can with the available evidence) the questions of continuity posed by Martin Biddle in 1976. It begins by discussing the idea of 'continuity' and examining how and when a ruined, Roman secular structure came to be the architectural focus of Christian activity. The standard, accepted model of the 'proprietary church', in which a manor house or royal vill develops near a Roman building before an estate church is built on the ruins themselves, is examined, and alternatives are proposed. One alternative which is discussed in detail is the development of the 'cult site', in which a Roman site obtains (or possibly maintains) a special, religious meaning in the post-Roman period, which is later formalised by the construction of a Christian church. Some of these may have been so-called 'central sites', and lie on parish boundaries. Sites within the corpus which also fall on parish boundaries are examined as being possible candidates for additional 'central places', in an attempt to introduce the subject of the thesis into the framework of a wider landscape.

The appendices include gazetteers of churches associated with Roman buildings (5.1) and burials on Roman structures (5.2). Furthermore, those sites from James' (1977) 'Gazetteer of Burials in South-West Gaul' that are associated with Roman structures are provided to allow an at-a-glance comparison between the evidence of similar sites in Britain and on the Continent, as well as to provide references for specific sites (5.3). Given the comparative lack of absolute dating evidence from the majority of sites within the corpus, the few radiocarbon dates that are available assume a greater significance, and therefore the calibrated dates and calibration curves are provided in the penultimate appendix (5.4). Lastly, over 100 site plans have been produced for this study, and many have not found their way into the body of the text; the final appendix (5.5) contains those plans omitted from the main body of the text, and is intended to complement the site gazetteer.

1.2 Methodology

1.2.1 Approach and Resources

The primary goal of this work has been the compilation of a gazetteer of all Roman structures in Britain that appear to have been put to some religious use in the post-Roman period: churches with an underlying or associated Roman building or villa, or inhumations and cemeteries placed within or adjacent to the walls of a ruined Roman structure.

The corpus has attempted to be as inclusive as possible, and in this regard the starting-points are obvious: the study of burials in Roman structures began with Audrey Meaney's *Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites* (1964), which was combed for references to

Roman structures associated with these sites, and Betty O'Brien's database was searched for references to Roman sites before she submitted it as part of her DPhil thesis: *Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: the burial evidence reviewed* (University of Oxford: 1996).⁹ O'Brien's text is essential to the understanding of post-Roman burials in Britain. Helen Geake's *The Use of Grave Goods in Conversion Period Cemeteries* (1997) is a more recent addition to the canon. Although these works formed the starting-point, they provided only a portion of the sites that were eventually included in the corpus: 24% of the sites in this gazetteer are included in Meaney, and 16% in Geake; this is almost certainly in part due to the date range these works encompass. The majority of burial sites included in this study have been obtained from the excavation reports of Roman villas and outbuildings, many dating to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, which reveal that burials have been inserted into the ruins of the structure after its demise, or in the final phases of its use.

The starting-point for research on churches associated with Roman buildings is Morris and Roxan's 'Churches on Roman Buildings' (1980) which, although it did not address instances of churches in Roman towns, settlements or forts, was the first work to study the phenomenon on a national level. Warwick Rodwell's 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning' (1984) filled this lacuna by examining in particular the processes behind the selection of former Roman sites for churches in towns, in fora, and on Roman civic buildings. More recently, John Blair's 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review' (1992) has examined minsters on Roman buildings, and raised issue with the interpretations that both Rodwell, and Morris and Roxan, offer for their origins. These interpretations, and the origins of these sites, are discussed in greater detail in Section 3.1.2.1.

In addition to these core works, the relevant sections on the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods of the *Victoria County History (VCH)* were examined for all counties, as also were available county volumes of the *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England* (RCHME). Eleanor Scott's *A Gazetteer of Roman Villas in Britain* (1993) also proved useful in discovering sites in both categories.¹⁰

In a final attempt to be as inclusive as possible, the NMR *Monarch* database was interrogated in 1996 for sites showing some sort of post-Roman religious reuse; this approach produced a long list of many potential sites, but the detailed examination of these to assess their relevance was unfortunately cut short in 1998 when further first-hand access to the *Monarch* database was denied due to a change in NMR policy. In an attempt to circumvent a reliance on the NMR, the SMR officers of 41 counties were contacted in 1998 and asked to provide information on the sites that had been discovered in the NMR search, as well as any additional sites which may show the Anglo-Saxon religious reuse of Roman structures. The quality and thoroughness of the replies and the SMR data varied greatly, and the usual caveats apply to the use of data within both the NMR and the SMRs: one cannot assume that further relevant sites do not exist simply because they are not included in the regional or national monument record.

Specific regional studies have also been used, such as Susan Pearce's *The Kingdom of Dumnonia* (1978) and Rodwell and Rodwell's *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*

⁹ Now published as a BAR: O'Brien 1999.

¹⁰ Scott only provides 4 figure grid references, many of which were not correct: of 50 sites cross-checked against the OS 1:2500 maps in this study, 7 had incorrect grid references.

(1977). Where material has not been published the excavators have been contacted directly, particularly in the cases of Llandough (Glam), Whitby, Much Wenlock (Shrops), Box (Wilts) and Piddington (Northants). All sources cited in the main body of the text are included in the bibliography, but each site listed in the gazetteer also has its own bibliography which is usually more inclusive and specific.

These 'trawls' through the national and county records have proved particularly fruitful, and combined with the information from the other county references listed above, give reason to hope that this study is as exhaustive as possible. The archaeology suggests that additional sites will, of course, come to light in due time, and it is hoped that the database will continue to grow in the coming years, as further data are uncovered through ongoing research and excavation.

1.2.2 Plans and Illustrations

The precise relationship between the underlying Roman structures and their subsequent religious use (in the form of either burials or a church building) is a central focus of this study; site plans and diagrams are particularly important in recording the data, and offering a coherent interpretation. Within this thesis plans have been re-drawn for all sites which have enough evidence to present or illustrate the relationship between the Roman and post-Roman features: only 105 of the total 340+ sites within the corpus. This figure, showing that only 30 % of the sites have been investigated or recorded well enough to comment upon the spatial relationship of the Roman building and its overlying archaeology, is perhaps one of the best illustrations of the paucity of archaeological evidence. Between the church corpus and burial corpus, the proportion of plans to sites is equal: 83 of 250+ churches (33%), and 38 of 115 burials (33%). In this instance, the number of available plans simply provides a rough indication of the quality of the evidence, which is discussed in greater detail in the relevant chapters.

All plans and diagrams in the thesis have been redrawn to clarify the relationship between the Roman and later phases, and most are the result of the combined information from several original figures. Because the alignment between the Roman and medieval phases, and their orientation to liturgical east, are particularly important, all illustrations are presented with North to the top of the page; it may at first appear awkward when this format is compared to other layouts in which the building plan is aligned square to the page, but this is more than compensated by its stressing the alignment of the church or burials to the underlying Roman archaeology, and highlighting alignments that deviate from the points of the compass.

Because this thesis aims to show the relationship between Roman and later phases of archaeological sites, the 'phased' approach to site illustration – in which the phases of the site's history are shown in separate, sequential panels – has not been employed. Plans for each site are cited in the gazetteer entry: most plans are provided in the relevant discussion in the body of the text, and additional plans are provided in Appendix 5.5.

1.2.3 The Database and Gazetteer

This section is included as a 'data dictionary', a documentation of the data that have been recorded in this study. It is provided to further illustrate the methodology used in the research process.

The following data have been recorded for all sites:

<u>Field</u>	<u>Description</u>
<i>Site</i>	Site Name. Usually, but not always, the parish name.
<i>County</i>	Pre-1974 County.
<i>Grid</i>	OS Grid Reference: 6 characters minimum.
<i>Comp-X</i>	Calculated X coordinate (Easting), in km.
<i>Comp-Y</i>	Calculated Y coordinate (Northing), in km. This and the above field convert the two-letter prefix back into the thousand-kilometre block, and add it to the grid reference.
<i>Type</i>	The type of Roman building (villa, bath-house, fort, town, etc.).
<i>Topo</i>	A brief description of local topography where relevant.
<i>NMR</i>	The NMR Reference number (if referenced).
<i>SMR</i>	The SMR Reference number (if referenced).
<i>SMRloc</i>	The name of the SMR in which the site can be found (the data of many post-1974 counties are still divided into pre-1974 SMRs).
<i>Map1</i>	1 : 50,000 Map Sheet.
<i>Map2</i>	1 : 10,000 Map Sheet.
<i>Map3</i>	1 : 2,500 Map Sheet.
<i>Summary</i>	A brief, one-sentence summary of the site.
<i>Reference</i>	The original source in which the site was first identified.
<i>Bibliography</i>	A relevant bibliography for the site.
<i>Notes</i>	Notes and description.
<i>Meta</i>	Meta-data: commentary on the data contained in each record.
<i>Stan/chester</i>	'Tick' boxes to indicate presence or absence of a <i>–stan</i> or <i>–caestre</i> place-name element.
<i>Fieldname</i>	The fieldname in which the site is found, when provided

Table 1 – The database: a list of recorded fields for all sites.

Most of these fields are self-explanatory. The *Type* field is used to classify as best possible the original function of the Roman structure. Towns and forts are the simplest types to classify because many preserve clearly delineated walls to this day. More difficult are the numerous Roman structures which have been only partially excavated, or else were excavated long ago when archaeologically recording was perhaps less rigorous. Commonly, it is difficult to determine the precise function of such structures, and the term 'masonry structure' is used within the thesis to refer to these (usually rural) Roman buildings which do not demonstrate enough evidence to clearly identify it as a villa. Where the structure has been reasonably identified as a villa, the term 'villa' is used in its most general sense, and is not intended to discriminate between the various types of rural masonry dwelling or farm which will have undoubtedly existed in the Roman period, but would have held little or no significance to the early Anglo-Saxons.

The database of sites includes a *Reference* field that lists the first source in which this author found the site, and also includes all SMR and NMR numbers where they have been referenced. One underlying concept in the design of the database is that, because records have the potential to be retrieved individually (from either a database, or online interface), they should stand as independently as possible. Full references are therefore provided in the site bibliographies, and abbreviations are used for the most frequently cited entries, and when the abbreviated title is self apparent (e.g. *VCH* for *Victoria County History*). A list of abbreviations is found on page 233.

The following additional fields are recorded for sites that contain burials on Roman structures:

<u>Field</u>	<u>Description</u>
<i>Class</i>	'Within structure', 'near structure', or both.
<i>Grave Date</i>	Date or date-range of burials.
<i>Distance</i>	Distance (if any) between the burials and the Roman building.
<i>Number</i>	The count (number) of burials.
<i>Artefacts</i>	Distinct artefacts associated with the burials, particularly those used for dating purposes.
<i>Authority</i>	On what authority is the date provided.
<i>Males, females, children, inhumations, cremations</i>	Various 'tick' boxes indicating the presence or absence of these aspects.

Table 2 – The database: additional fields for burials on Roman structures.

Many cemeteries are associated with a Roman structure but do not specifically use the buildings for burials; the *class* field attempts to classify this phenomenon. Identifying the number of burials is particularly problematic, and, as so many cemeteries are only partially excavated, will show an artificial bias towards smaller-sized cemeteries, especially for earlier excavations.

Other distinct fields are recorded for churches associated with Roman buildings:

<u>Field</u>	<u>Description</u>
<i>Distance</i>	Distance between the church and the Roman building.
<i>Finds</i>	Finds suggesting a Roman structure: usually masonry or building materials.
<i>Church Date</i>	The earliest known date of the church.
<i>Dedication</i>	The earliest known dedication of the church.
<i>Certainty</i>	An attempt to quantify the degree of certainty regarding the existence of the underlying Roman building:
<i>Demolished</i>	Is the church demolished or no longer extant?
<i>Status</i>	The ancient status of the church if known.

Table 3 – The database: additional fields for churches on Roman structures.

Particular fields in Table 3 are included in an attempt to quantify the nature of the relationship between the Roman building and later church. It should be stressed that the significance of a church does not necessarily diminish proportionally to its distance from the underlying Roman building: some examples within this study note the existence of villas and Roman buildings in fields called 'church field' or 'chapel field' which may be one or two kilometres from the church; these are nonetheless significant (see Section 3.2.5), and therefore the *Distance* field is necessary to quantify rather than qualify the spatial relationship between the two.

The *Status* field is provided to note whether the site was known to have been, or is likely to have been, a minster. The term 'minster' is used within this thesis to refer to places where communities are recorded in either pre-conquest sources, such as charter evidence, or in Domesday or late eleventh-century sources which refer to an existing group of priests or canons on the site. Churches with large parochial rights but no recorded community are termed 'mother churches'. The precise use of the term 'minster' is the subject of an ongoing debate, but one that is not central to this thesis. A few structures within the gazetteer that are immediately near or adjacent to a known minster (*i.e.*

Folkestone (Kent) and Huntingdon (Hunts)) are marked as 'minsters', with the caveat that the exact status of the specific structure and its relationship to the known minster is unknown.

The *certainty* field addresses the overall degree of confidence that a particular site is indeed a church on a Roman building: this rating is not based on a specific formula, but rather is based on a combination of available evidence, notably the nature, type and persistence of Roman finds within the area. Sites are given one of five ratings, in descending order of certainty: *certain*, *probable*, *possible*, *uncertain*, and *unknown*:

Table 4 – Count of churches classified as to their certainty of overlying a Roman structure

<u>Rating</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>%</u>
Certain	165	64.4
Probable	28	10.9
Possible	38	14.8
Uncertain	14	5.4
Unknown	11	4.2

The content of the database is presented in a summary form in the gazetteers: Burials associated with Roman structures in Appendix 5.1 and Churches associated with Roman Buildings in Appendix 5.2; the sites are arranged alphabetically, and a description of the layout of each gazetteer is given at the heading of each appendix. A cross-reference of sites catalogued by county is presented at the end of each section.

1.2.4 The GIS, Ordnance Survey Grid References, and Spatial Recording

It became apparent from a very early stage that a database was required to store and analyse the data properly in this study, and that a GIS (Geographic Information System) was the best tool to present the spatial aspects, primarily site distributions, and regional densities of specific types of site.

The specific location of each site is therefore particularly important, primarily so that the site can be accurately located within the national and regional landscapes, and, where necessary, used to avoid confusion between different sites in the same parish. In this regard, the standard convention of a four-digit grid reference – which only places the site within a 1-kilometre grid square – is inadequate. The use of four digits is commonly believed to safeguard archaeological sites, 'to protect [them] from unscrupulous treasure hunters'.¹¹ However, many of the sites are marked on Ordnance Survey maps and are available in publications that are otherwise accessible to any would-be vandal. The four figure grid reference is also the name of the 1:2500 map sheet, which in many cases marks the site of the antiquities with precision. This author feels that the advantages gained through detailed spatial analysis using detailed grid references far outweigh the admittedly questionable 'protection' that the use of four-digit grid references may offer.

Grid references in this thesis have therefore been recorded to a minimum of six digits (a +/- 100m error) wherever possible, although in many cases this is refined to eight digits (a +/- 10m error). Where the post-Roman and Roman sites (such as a church and its nearby villa) are significantly far apart, a second grid reference is provided. For further

¹¹ Scott 1993, vii. Scott notes in her preface that the staff at the Norfolk SMR requested that only a 2 digit grid reference was published for sites in Norfolk (an error of +/- 10km).

reference, the gazetteer also includes the name of the 1:10,000 and the 1:2,500 scale OS maps on which the site can be found.¹²

A GIS has been used to display the geographic distribution of sites with varying degrees of quantification (bigger or smaller dots based on certainty, size of cemetery, etc.). All density and distribution maps in this thesis were generated using a GIS which reads data directly from the database; it is a 'live' link between the spatial and tabular data that (at its most elementary level) adds a new 'dot' on the distribution map whenever a new site is entered in the database.

A GIS can also be used to determine spatial relationships, for instance the average distance of a site from a Roman road, or calculate the density of known Roman buildings per 25 km (Figure 1). In this manner GIS is a very powerful analytical tool,¹³ but – primarily for reasons of scale – particularly complex spatial analysis is better applied on a regional than on a national level. As a result, this thesis – which attempts a study of these sites on a national level – contains little 'hard-core' GIS analysis outside its use for determining some simple spatial relationships, and the introductory analysis of sites within the corpus that fall on parish boundaries (Section 4.3.5.2). Some of the following figures, primarily distribution maps, use as their backgrounds a map showing the density of Roman buildings per km². For this GIS analysis, the map is divided into cells of 1 km²; the kernel density is then calculated for each cell by counting the number of villas and rural buildings within a 25km radius, and dividing the figure by the area of the circle. The data are generated from the *Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain*, 4th ed. (Southampton: 1978), supplemented by additional sites taken from Jones and Mattingly (1990). The 1978 Ordnance Survey map is the latest edition, and only lists 611 villas and rural masonry buildings. It is clearly out of date, but is the best source outside the NMR, which (currently) will only provide a print-out of sites rather than a database list which can be used in a GIS to produce a similar image. For concerns regarding the OS classification of Roman structures see Rivett (1955), and Scott (1993). Eleanor Scott's *A Gazetteer of Roman Villas in Britain* (1993) includes an uncritical list of c.2500 sites, of which she regards about 1500 to be valid candidates for villas. Unfortunately, she does not quantify the degree of certainty for each site, and provides only four-figure grid references; the gazetteer is therefore unhelpful for the purposes of spatial analysis.

1.3 Visible Remains and The Role of Roman Structures in the Landscape

Many masonry structures in Britain were already over a hundred years old by the late Roman period. Higgitt and Greenhalgh show that enough Roman architecture survived to influence the art and architecture of the Middle Ages,¹⁴ and a handful of sites exist which demonstrate the maintenance of Roman structures into the fifth century, but on the whole

¹² The database has been programmed by the author to convert OS grid references into x and y coordinates for use in distribution maps, and automatically writes the 1:10,000 and 1:2,500 map sheets onto the database. Because determining the distance between sites is particularly important, the author has also written a program which performs the above spatial functions as well as calculating the distance between two sites given only their OS grid references.

¹³ For example Bell 1999a, Bell 1999b, Bell and Lock 2000.

¹⁴ For general overviews see Higgitt 1973 (Britain); Greenhalgh 1989 (Gaul and Italy). For the impact of a single monument, Hadrian's Wall, see Whitworth 2000. For a local study, Strickland 1988 provides a detailed examination of the effect that Roman masonry buildings had on the development of intra-mural Chester, and Norton 1998 does the same for York with special reference to the development of the ecclesiastical topography.

Roman masonry buildings by AD 450 are best understood as a class of aged structures that had been subject to over a century of weathered neglect. Yet these ruined structures were reused for burial and church-building, in many cases centuries after the structures' desertion. Acknowledging this period of abandonment, we must ask what possible aspects of the Roman site or structure could have attracted the attention of those who buried their dead in them, and those who built their churches on them in the following centuries.

In the early stages of settlement, the Anglo-Saxons were faced with a dominating physical, largely masonry, presence in what had become the former Roman province: as the new inhabitants moved inland they encountered the material remains of Britain's Roman past. It is almost certain that the landscape of Roman Britain was still largely intact, though not pristine, during the sub-Roman period. But how much physical evidence of Romano-British heritage was visible to the early Anglo-Saxon eye? From Higgitt's collection of references to antique influences, both physical and literary, in the early and high Middle Ages,¹⁵ it is clear that a very respectable quantity of Roman remains lasted well into the medieval period and beyond (Figure 1). Archaeology tells a similar story: in the immediate century following the withdrawal of the Romano-British populace, towns and their associated suburbs, necropoli and arterial roads would have remained prominent visible features, perhaps even, as Higgitt suggests, reminders of 'a greater technological skill and organisation'.¹⁶

In the second half of the fifth century Roman sites were, on the whole, largely intact, if in a state of disrepair. There is not a great deal of evidence for mass destruction by the early Germanic settlers, and most demolition of Roman buildings is ascribed to the late Roman period. Stone was not a common building material until the tenth century, and it therefore seems unlikely that any sort of nation-wide demolition or scavenging for raw materials occurred before then. It is safe to say that we may attribute the greatest destruction of ancient sites to medieval stone robbing, and to the deep ploughing of the last 100 years. In fact it is not until relatively recently that Roman monuments have faded from the landscape: within the Iron Age hillfort at Alfred's Castle (Berks), for instance, the collapsed remains of the Roman villa were still visible above ground in 1806, although not identified as such until confirmed by excavation in 1998.¹⁷ The remains of Hadrian's Wall perhaps best demonstrate that the rate of survival of Roman masonry fabric was inversely proportional to the proximity of medieval civilisation: where towns and farms grew, Roman structures were razed for their materials.

¹⁵ Higgitt 1973.

¹⁶ Higgitt 1973. Higgitt's comment implies an Anglo-Saxon awareness of a Roman past, or at least their conceptualisation of a previous culture whose merits lay in the qualities of a civilisation. These ideas begin to touch upon the more abstract concept of the Anglo-Saxon perceptions of their Roman past, a subject which is addressed later in this chapter.

¹⁷ Lysons and Lysons 1806, 214: 'within the area there is an appearance very like the traces of a building'. Recent (1998-2000) excavation by the author as part of the ongoing Hillforts of the Ridgeway Project has revealed the villa. The interim reports are online at <http://www.arch.ox.ac.uk/projects/ridgeway/index.htm>.

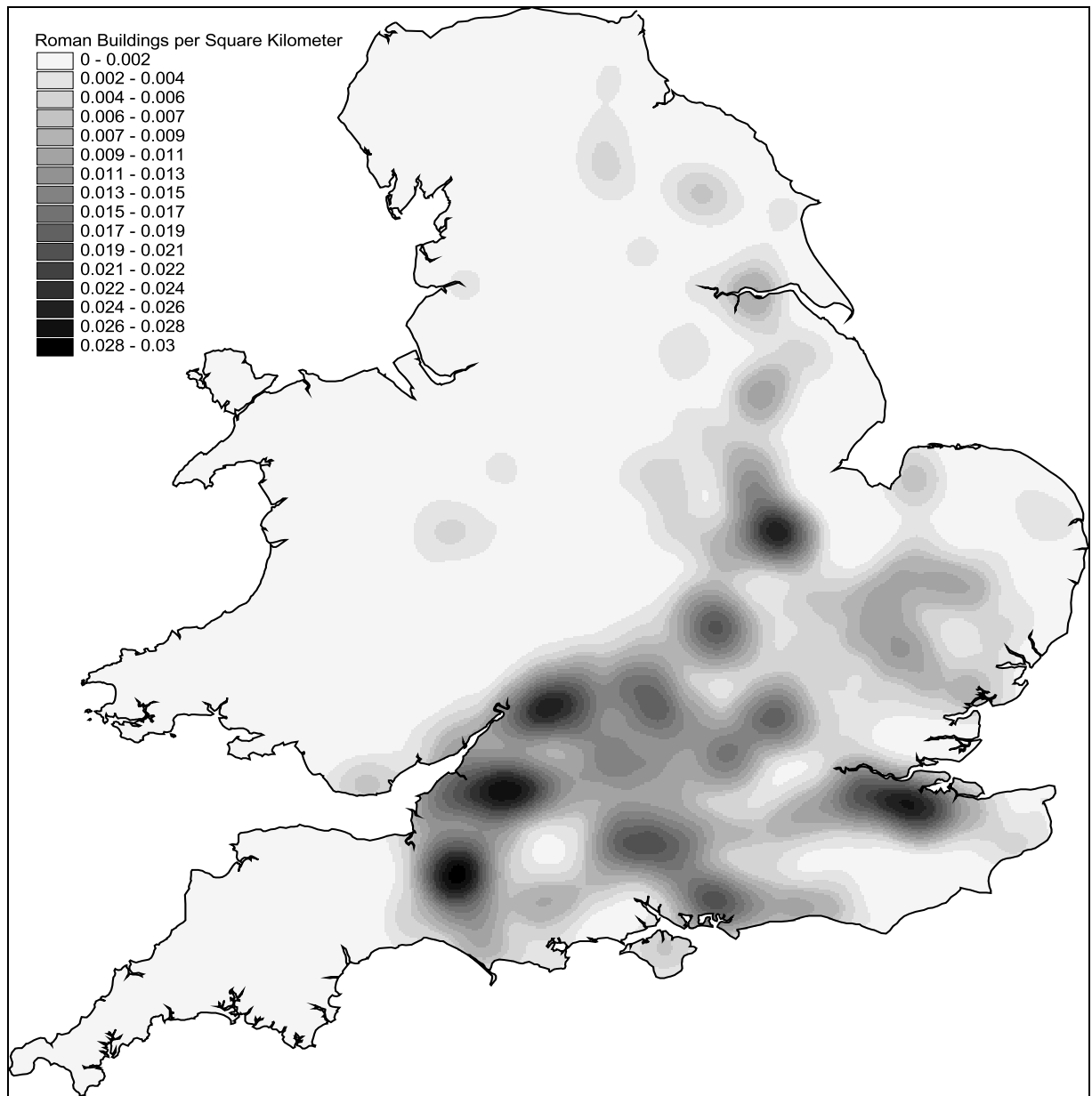


Figure 1 – A density map of Roman villas and rural masonry structures (per km²).

1.3.1 Perceived Continuity

Simple geographical factors may have contributed to the reuse of some sites, but one must explore alternative explanations that go beyond the conceptually static relationship of Roman structure to early-medieval church, and address a range of possibilities in which the site of a ruined Roman structure could have retained some presence in the Anglo-Saxon landscape. This includes identifying, or at least suggesting, any possible non-material causes behind a structure's reuse. Certainly topographical factors were at work; an advantageous or commanding position within the natural landscape can be an attractive location for a church. Many such reused Roman structures command similarly prominent positions (Dover (Kent), Scarborough, Nether Denton (Cumbria), etc.), and the mausoleum at Lullingstone (Kent) is located on the rise of a hill, which may be one factor which influenced the church's specific placement on the earlier monument. Most churches on Roman villas are near a water source such as a spring or well – this in itself should not be surprising, but the eastern church at Wells (Somerset), for instance, is

surrounded by the three springs that apparently give the town its name.¹⁸ The church of St Bride's outside the walls of Roman and medieval London is also aligned with a Roman building: here, although there is no direct tie between the Roman building and the earliest church (believed to be Late Saxon),¹⁹ it remains possible that the Late Saxon church was built to monumentalise the well of 'Bride' or 'St Bride', believed to be in existence before the Phase I church was built; this was remembered in the early twentieth century to be the focus of a formal procession, reflecting perhaps the tradition of a water-oriented ceremony.²⁰ Other alternative, more linear, explanations behind the St Bride's Roman/Christian coincidence are conceivable – such as the possibility of an earlier timber mortuary chapel on the site which may have been associated with a late Roman cemetery there – but these must remain speculative. The first Christians at Bath were probably drawn as much or more to the hot spring as to the ruins of the Roman town and temple.²¹ wells and springs are commonly known to be associated with churches, and it is not unlikely that some instances of what appear to be churches associated with Roman buildings are in fact two distinct phases focusing upon a third, common element, such as St Bride's well.²² With this in mind, it is important to realise the potential existence of peripheral factors which can contribute to the *apparent* continuity of a site, many of which are unlikely to be uncovered in a small-scale excavation.

Clearly, without human activity sites cease to serve a functional purpose and are therefore unable to play economic or political roles in the landscape after their abandonment. Could some, however, have maintained an ephemeral, passive presence in the landscape – that is a non-material continuity in the community which could possibly exist for several generations, even after the structure had become either ruined, or disappeared from the landscape altogether? The evidence seems to suggest that these non-material associations did exist and were demonstrated in a developing early-medieval association of Christianity with Roman structures. Richard Morris, for example, proposes that 'a sense of history' could have made some contribution to the development of York as an ecclesiastical centre, the baptism of Edwin there being perhaps an attempt to parallel the rule of Constantine, the first Christian king.²³ The limited nature of the evidence in this type of investigation allows only speculative examination, but this important yet elusive aspect of the study deserves exploration as far as we may sensibly go. No type of conjecture can suggest a 'standard' form of evolution from Roman building to church; each site must be studied in context with its surroundings to determine the developments of the early-medieval period. The progression from Roman ruin to religious centre is a key element in the study of this phenomenon.

1.3.2 The Place-Name Evidence

The tenor of Old English geographic toponyms suggests that the Anglo-Saxons' first introduction to and association with their landscape was conditioned largely by physical observation. In addition to the multitude of natural features that gave rise to the topographically descriptive place-names we know today, many artificial prehistoric and Roman features made their mark. Margaret Gelling's work remains an excellent reference for place-name studies in archaeology, particularly 'Latin Loan-words in Old

¹⁸ Rodwell 1982.

¹⁹ Milne 1997.

²⁰ Milne 1997, 110.

²¹ Cunliffe and Davenport 1985-1988.

²² For further churches with associated wells see Morris 1989, 87-9.

²³ Morris and Roxan 1980, 182.

English Place-Names' (1977), 'English Place-Names Derived from the Compound Wicham' (1967), and Chapter 6, 'Place-names and the Archaeologist', of *Signposts to the Past* (1978), and most recently *The Landscape of Place-Names* (2000). Della Hooke has also pursued a detailed examination of the role of place-names in the Anglo-Saxon landscape (*The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*, 1998). The following sections provide a brief overview of place-names that are associated with, or suggest the presence of, a Roman structure.

1.3.2.1 *ceastre*

Although Gelling concludes that 'there is no place-name element which has been shown to refer consistently to a Roman building, such as a villa or bath-house',²⁴ the remnants of a dilapidated Roman structure with its artificial shape and right-angles clearly made a distinct impression upon the Anglo-Saxons, illustrated specifically by place-names which include the word *ceastre*, an element of the language which describes some form of masonry construction and is most often used in the context of Roman towns and forts (Wroxeter (Shrops), Doncaster (W Yorks), Winchester (Hants), Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxon), etc.), but it is also found within the names of Woodchester (Gloucs) and Frocester (Gloucs), Roman villas within the corpus which are also associated with later churches.²⁵ Gelling notes its application to a variety of Roman sites, at times combined with a personal name, including towns, villas, small sites with 'modest' remains, and occasionally fortified sites with no known Roman antecedent.²⁶ However, she reminds us that 'no systematic study has been made of English place-names containing *ceaster*, *cæster*, and such a study might bring out a more consistent pattern than has hitherto been observed'.²⁷ This thesis does not attempt such a comprehensive study, but a brief investigation can show the further potential of such work, particularly when combined with a GIS.²⁸

Given the association between Roman masonry and the *-chester* place-name it appears that stone buildings were viewed by the Anglo-Saxons as a distinctive class of structures which played a central role in their conception and definition of the landscape. It is difficult to say for certain when this ascription first took hold, as it is possible that the *castra* Latin loan word found its way into Old English in the late or immediate post-Roman period, but one would think that it instead dates from the seventh century, when the Anglo-Saxons were coming into increasing contact with Latin ecclesiastics who would be able to identify a fortified Roman centre for what it was. Assuming that the word was borrowed into Old English in the seventh century, one might suggest that sometime later, perhaps in the late seventh century or early eighth, *ceastre* took on a slightly different meaning that was used to describe what these places had become – namely minsters and Christian centres – and the terminology was applied to such sites as Frocester and Woodchester, and perhaps some of the sites listed in Table 5. Morris and Roxan suggest that one distinction might entail the possibility that 'to the English *ceastre* denoted a type of place which was not only of Roman origin and generally had masonry

²⁴ Gelling 1978, 153.

²⁵ Gelling 1978, 150-3; Smith 1956; Ekwall 1960.

²⁶ Gelling 1978, 151-2.

²⁷ Gelling 1978, 152-3.

²⁸ This is provided to introduce the means to such a study, rather than offering the final word on the subject. The OS 1:50,000 *Placename Gazetteer* is the single source referenced for these place-names, and a more detailed study of the English Place-Name Society volumes would certainly find further sites – especially field-names and minor place-names – and probably invalidate some shown in Figure 2.

fortifications, but that it also possessed some contemporary attribute(s), such as an administrative status, which would render it appropriate for the site for a church'.²⁹ While the idea of an 'authority' on these sites is valid, one cannot assume that there was any kind of continuation of a vestigial later Roman authority – civic or martial – on these sites. Indeed, this authority has always been assumed to have been secular, but the body of evidence points towards these former Roman centres being first occupied by the Church.³⁰

Figure 2 shows the distribution of modern place-names from the Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 placename gazetteer that incorporate derivatives of the *chester* element – chester, cester, castor and its various spellings. The majority are found on Roman walled sites: towns and forts.³¹ However, some are found away from these sites: Woodchester and Frocester are churches on Roman villas, included in the corpus. Figure 3 shows a distribution of *chester* place-names that lie more than 5 kilometres from a Roman town, fort, or settlement – further, detailed investigation of these sites may reveal that some are candidates for an Anglo-Saxon Christian authority; a detailed investigation of minor place-names in particular would reveal further candidates for possible site of early Anglo-Saxon authority, such as the villa in Yarchester field, near Harley in Shropshire, which was excavated between 1956 and 1958 by W. A. Silvester (with the help of local schoolchildren).³²

²⁹ Morris and Roxan 1980, 185. While the authors are suggesting that such status would have taken the form of a developing manorial estate or royal vill, the statement also makes sense if such status were to have taken an ecclesiastical form (see below Section 4.3.2.1).

³⁰ Blair 1992, note 77.

³¹ It is acknowledged that this search of these elements in modern place-names is not inclusive, and will miss sites such as Corbridge, which was known as Colecester to Leland (Harrison 1956, 92). However, the OS Gazetteer resides in a database and is therefore an efficient and worthwhile starting-point.

³² Webster 1975, 84; *Shrops. News Letter* 2 (1957); 4 (1958).

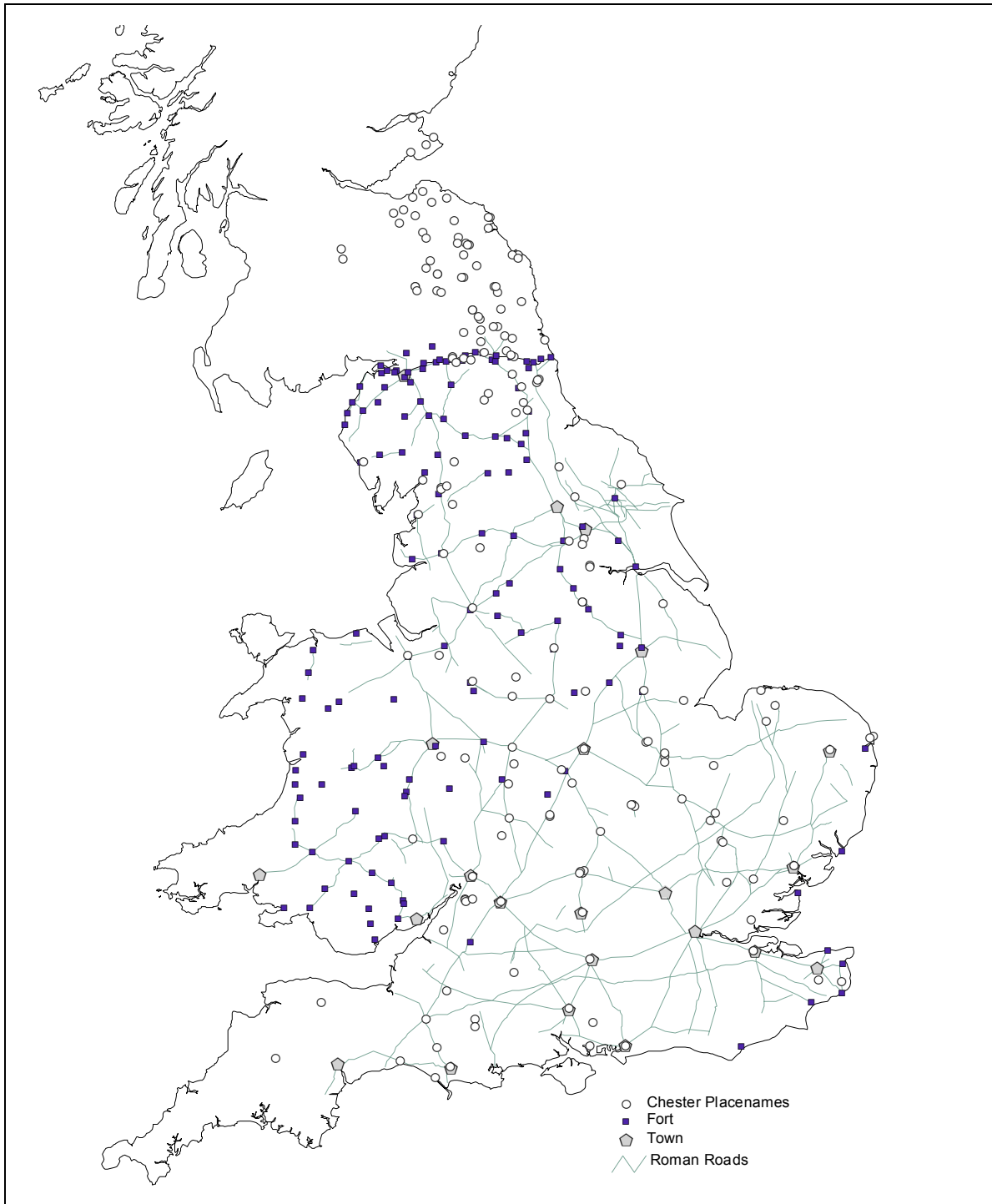


Figure 2 – The distribution of modern place-names with a 'chester' derivative (excluding those containing 'castle'), mapped against Roman towns, roads, and forts in England.³³ Although this study does not address the area north of Hadrian's Wall, the distribution is significant and has been included here.

³³ In this and the following figures, the location of Roman structures, towns, forts and roads are taken from the Ordnance Survey *Map of Roman Britain*; modern place-name data have been extracted from the OS *Gazetteer of Place-Names*. The 1700+ place-names incorporating *castle* have not been included in Figure 2 because the majority will refer to post-Roman or prehistoric fortifications – this will obviously omit some valid Roman sites.

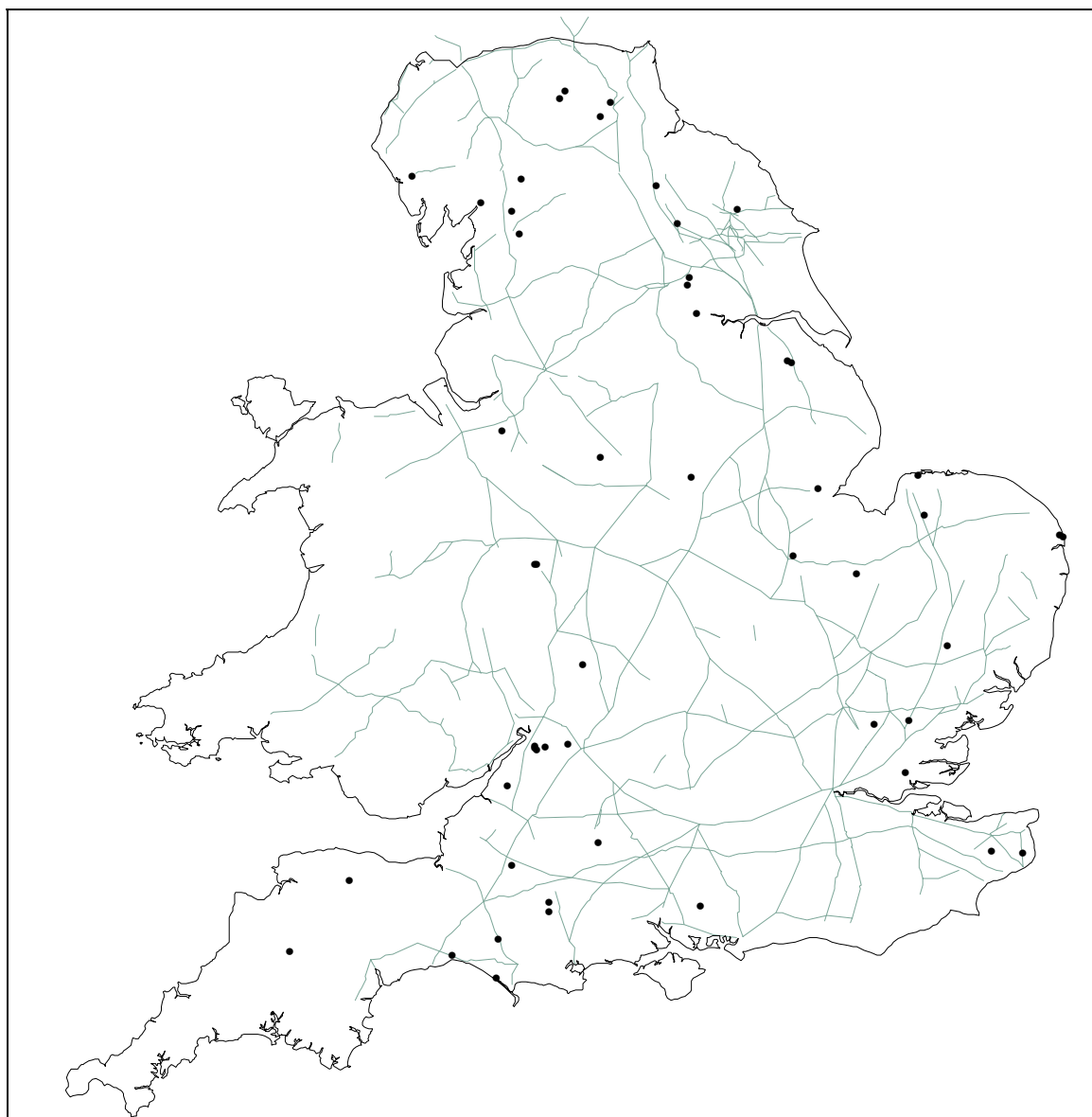


Figure 3 – Distribution of 'chester' place-names from the Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Gazetteer that are *not* within 5 kilometres of a Roman town, fort, or settlement.³⁴

³⁴ Determined using a GIS spatial query, and using data from the Ordnance Survey *Map of Roman Britain*.

Table 5 – List of 'chester' place-names extracted from the Ordnance Survey 1:50,000 Place-name Gazetteer that are not within 5 kilometres of a Roman town, fort, or settlement.

SITE	COUNTY	GRID	SITE	COUNTY	GRID
Acaster Hill	N Yks	SE5273	Chesterton	Shrops	SO7897
Acaster Malbis	York	SE5845	Chesterton Mill Fm	Shrops	SO7997
Acaster Selby	N Yks	SE5741	Colchester Green	Suff	TL9255
Alcester	Dorset	ST8522	Frocester	Glos	SO7803
Ancaster Fm	Cambs	TL4592	Frocester Court	Glos	SO7802
Atchester Wood	Kent	TR1548	Frocester Hill	Glos	SO7901
Bedchester	Dorset	ST8517	Gloucester Beeches	Glos	SO9504
Bluecaster	Cumbr	SD7196	Gloucester Park	Essex	TQ7089
Brancaster	Norf	TF7743	Gloucester Road Fm	S Glos	ST6482
Caister Hall	Norf	TG5012	Hincaster	Cumbr	SD5084
Caister Point	Norf	TG5211	Hogchester	Dorset	SY3594
Caistor	Lincs	TA1101	Horchester	Dorset	ST5903
Caistor Moor	Lincs	TA0902	Lancaster Hole	Cumbr	SD6680
Casterley Camp	Wilts	SU1153	Lancasters	Essex	TL5414
Castern	Staffs	SK1252	Leicester Fm	Norf	TF8022
Casterton Ho	Lincs	TF2536	Leicester Tower	Worces	SP0345
Castor Hanglands	Peterb	TF1201	Muncaster Head	Cumbr	SD1498
Chester Ho	Durham	NY9138	Napchester	Kent	TR3147
Chester Ho	N Yks	SE4193	Old Winchester Hill	Hants	SU6420
Chester Villa	N Yks	SE8381	Porchester	Notts	SK5942
Chesterblade	Somer	ST6641	Porchester's Post	Somer	SS8233
Chestercourt Hall Fm	N Yks	SE6227	Rochester Fm	Essex	TL7216
Chestergarth Ho	Durham	NY9442	Scobchester	Devon	SX5196
Chesterlane Fm	Ches	SJ6166	Stonechester	Durham	NZ1229
Chesters	N Yks	SD7068	Stonechester	Durham	NZ1736
Chesters Hill	Dorset	SY5883	Woodchester	Gloucs	SO 839031

Chester-derived local place-names and field-names commonly betray underlying Roman buildings: The parish of Stonesfield in Oxfordshire contains at least 3 villas, one in a field called 'Cesthill Acres' or 'Cestrenhill'.³⁵ In Somerset alone there are numerous instances of these names in fields that have revealed the remains of Roman buildings: a villa in a field called 'Chessil' at Whatley;³⁶ a villa on 'castle hill' at Bratton;³⁷ two villas in separate fields of the same name 'the chessels': one at East Coker, and the other at nearby West Coker;³⁸ both elements are incorporated in the place-name Stanchester in the parish of Curry Rivel.³⁹ A villa at Great Rissington in Gloucestershire is also in a field called 'chesssels'.⁴⁰ This sample is a very small proportion of those known to exist, but serves to illustrate the frequency with which the place-name element is found in the local landscape.

1.3.2.2 *stān*

In England and Wales there are over 2300 modern place-names that incorporate either 'stan' or 'stone' (Figure 4), and among these, the number of those that indicate a Roman building can be considered in the minority; very often the existence of this place-name element will be associated with the local geology, or, in fewer cases, a prehistoric feature

³⁵ *VCH Oxon* I, 315-16.

³⁶ *VCH Somerset* I, 317.

³⁷ *VCH Somerset* I, 320.

³⁸ *VCH Somerset* I, 330-31.

³⁹ *VCH Somerset* I, 329.

⁴⁰ One must not, of course, assume that such a field name will be immediately indicative of an underlying Roman building, as many will – like the 'stone' element – refer to natural, rather than man-made, stone.

such as 'Enna's Stone' which gave its name to the parish of Enstone (Oxon).⁴¹ However, in regions where there is little exposed bedrock, the 'stone' place-name may be suggestive of a Roman structure in the area.

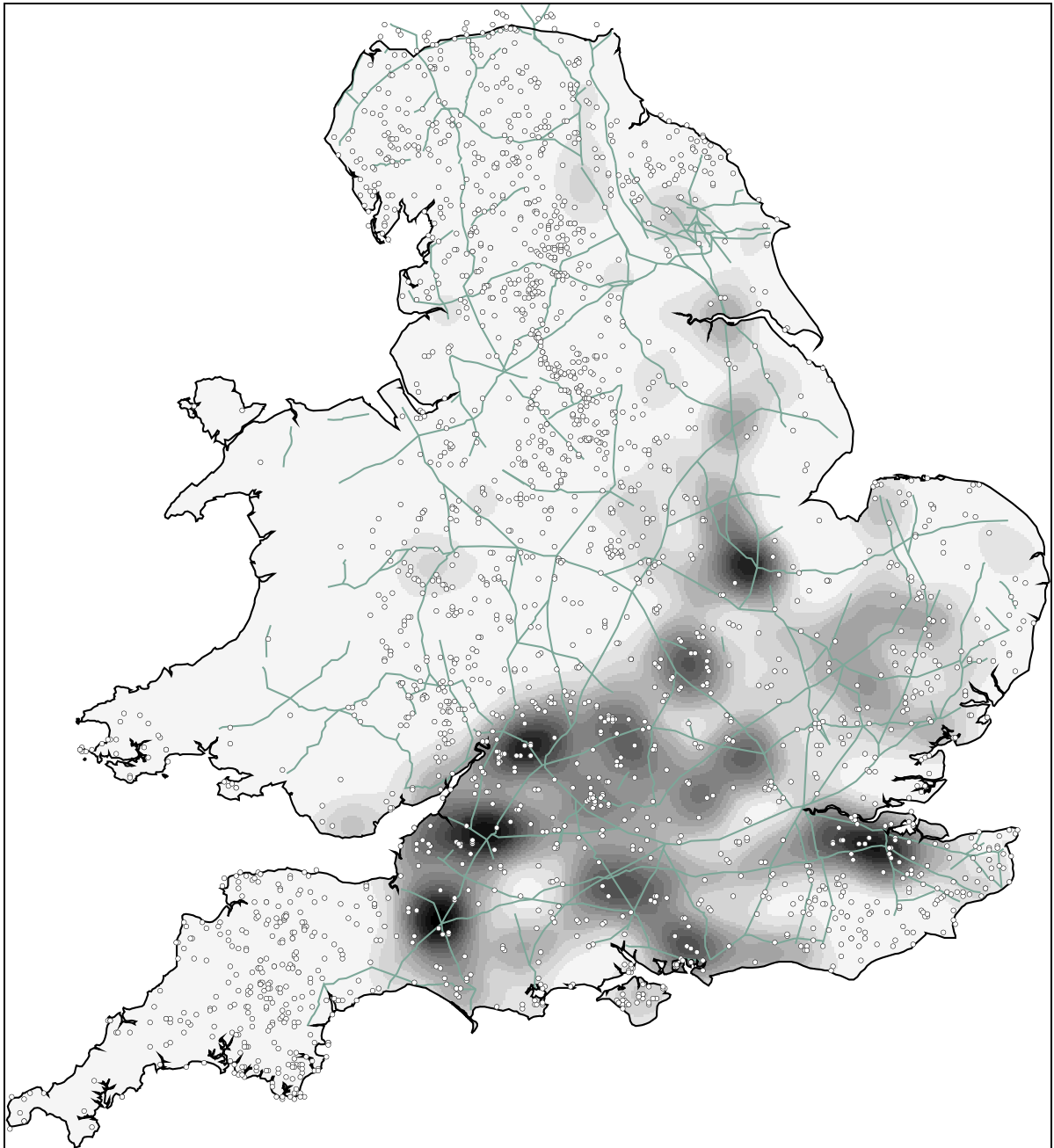


Figure 4 – Modern place-names incorporating 'stan' or 'stone', plotted against a background density of known Roman structures (excluding forts and towns), and Roman roads.⁴²

Many of the place-names shown in Figure 4 probably describe natural outcrops, such as the line of sites running up the centre of the country which may be following a natural scarp along the Pennines. Others seem potentially artificial: the closely-linked arc of sites in southern Kent, the two clusters of sites on the Isle of Wight, the line running north-

⁴¹ Blair 1994, xxiv and fig. 7.

⁴² The density of Roman structures has been calculated on the number of masonry buildings per 25km² in this and subsequent figures.

south through Hadrian's Wall along the Roman road, and the group in Pembrokeshire are all potential candidates for further investigation by a place-name specialist.

Although the *stān* element is a descriptive term that will predominantly refer to geological features, its use is significant in some areas: a number of parish churches overlying Roman buildings in Kent have *stān*-derived place-names: Stone-by-Faversham, Lullingstone, Cuxton, Stone-by-Dartford, and Folkestone.⁴³ Other examples within this thesis of churches associated with Roman buildings incorporating the *stān* place-name element include Stanford-on-Soar (Notts), Stanstead Abbots (Herts), Stansted Mountfitchet (Essex), King's Stanley (Gloucs), Whitestaunton (Somerset), and Stanwix – *stone walls* – Roman fort in Cumbria.

Stān- and *chester*-based local place-names and field-names are not uncommon. A villa near Ipswich in Suffolk showing evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity – sherds, a possible hearth, and wrist clasps discovered by a metal detector – is found in 'chester field' on 'Castle Hill'.⁴⁴ In Buckinghamshire two sites with Roman remains are called 'Stone' and 'Stony Stratford'.⁴⁵ Similar sites with suggestive field-names in the corpus include at Drax in Yorkshire, where a chapel mentioned in a 959 charter is referred to as being on or near '*Stān* Hill', identified with the site near the Roman villa in the field now known as 'The *Stannels*',⁴⁶ and at Frocester Court in Gloucestershire, where several post-Roman inhumations were placed into a villa discovered in a field called 'Big Stanborough'.⁴⁷ It is possible that this may not have been associated simply with structures: east of Sandy in Bedfordshire, a site in a field called 'chesterfields' contains a good number of Romano-British burials, but no known structure.⁴⁸ These are just a small selection of the many examples that exist, but it suffices to demonstrate the frequency with which the existence of Roman villas corresponds with these place-names.

1.3.2.3 *hwit*

Further suggestions of this association between masonry and Roman buildings are demonstrated by places incorporating the *hwit* element, presumably referring to plastered or white-washed stone: Bede tells us that the see at Whithorn (although not a Roman site itself), was called *Candida Casa*, or 'White House', because the church was built of stone.⁴⁹ It is possible that other parishes with churches associated with Roman buildings may have obtained their place-names from similar associations with visible masonry remains: the probable Anglo-Saxon minster site at White Notley (Essex) may well be alluding to the masonry remains of the villa there, and Whitestaunton (Somerset) combines both 'white' and 'stone' elements – probably referring to the white stones of the church, as does Whitchurch Canonorum (Dorset), an apparent reference to the church fabric.⁵⁰ Gelling suggests that the place-name for Much Wenlock may come from the Welsh *gwyn*, meaning white, plus *loch* which may be derived from the Latin *locus*, or 'religious place',⁵¹ a further suggestion of the religious associations of 'white' masonry.

⁴³ Rigold 1972, 38.

⁴⁴ Unpublished excavations in the Basil Brown archive, Suffolk SMR; SMR no's: 9559,12939.

⁴⁵ *VCH Bucks* II, 11.

⁴⁶ Wilson 1966.

⁴⁷ Gracie and Price 1979.

⁴⁸ *VCH Beds* II, 9.

⁴⁹ Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* iii, 4

⁵⁰ Ekwall 1960, 440.

⁵¹ Gelling and Foxall 1990, 304.

This white association may not have been applied strictly to buildings: a Roman road called 'the Whiteway' near Nunney in Somerset runs from near the villa there towards the village;⁵² and a Roman 'White way', in the parish of North Cerney (Gloucs) still has suggestions of a bounding *agger*.⁵³ John Blair suggests that the term 'white church' seems to have implied a more than-local status, and the use of the term into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries suggests that it was still perceived as 'something distinct and special'.⁵⁴

1.3.2.4 *flage flōre*

Of the more descriptive terms, *fāgan flōre* and *flage flōre*, 'variegated floor' and 'flagged floor', are used presumably to describe Roman mosaics and flagged pavements.⁵⁵ Only five instances of this element have been noted; one, Fawler in Berkshire, is discussed in detail in the concluding chapter, page 212. Gelling concludes that the rarity of this element suggests that it refers to something noteworthy. Although it is likely that these paved and tessellated floors are Roman, the royal hall in Beowulf is described as having a *fagne flor*.⁵⁶

1.3.2.5 *wīchām*

Margaret Gelling notes that twenty-four of the twenty-eight *wīchām* place-names fall on or within one mile of a Roman road,⁵⁷ suggesting some kind of association with the Roman landscape. However, it is not the roads themselves to which the element is referring, but rather associated settlements, and Gelling concludes that the use of *wīchām* in the Anglo-Saxon period appears to have been referring to settlements near a Roman *vicus*, which itself was probably identified by the remains of Roman buildings, foundations, or cobbled streets.⁵⁸ Indeed, it appears to derive from the Latin *vicus*, which had, by the late Roman period, come to be generic description similar to the modern 'village'.⁵⁹

The corpus contains only one *wīchām* site: at Wykham, or Wickham Park near Banbury in Oxfordshire, a fragment of a coarse tessellated pavement, a 'beehive stone-vaulted oven', foundations, and a 'a large vault filled with black earth' and 7 or 8 skeletons were found in 1851.⁶⁰ The place also marks the site of a ruined chapel; it is unclear what sort of Roman site this may have been, but the Ordnance Survey *Map of Roman Britain* marks a 'substantial building' here. It is perhaps significant that the other two (and possibly three) *wīchām* place-names in Oxfordshire are associated with sites in the corpus. The site of Wycham in what was South Newington parish was mentioned c.1250, but is now lost; however, the villa at Wigginton, would fall within the parish, and is very possibly the location of the lost place-name. The villa here is only c.190 metres from the church, and a single burial is recorded from within its apsidal bath-house. The last site is associated with Shakenoak, where twenty male inhumations were placed within and aligned to the remains of a Roman villa; not far to the north-west, a Wicham is named in

⁵² *VCH Somerset* I, 317.

⁵³ *RCHME Gloucs*, 85.

⁵⁴ Blair forthcoming, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*.

⁵⁵ Gelling 1978, 153-4.

⁵⁶ lines 724/5.

⁵⁷ Gelling 1967, 87; further examples and discussion in Gelling 1977, 1-5.

⁵⁸ Gelling 1967, 96.

⁵⁹ M. Todd, quoted in Gelling 1977, 4.

⁶⁰ *VCH Oxon* I, 331.

two charter boundaries.⁶¹ The fourth *wīchām* place-name is only a mile from Shakenoak.⁶²

1.3.3 Stone Construction

The above place-name elements show that stone and masonry buildings were visibly distinct in the Anglo-Saxon period; the resilience of many of these masonry features would have assured their existence, in various states of disrepair, into the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. Their durability was noted in more than just place-names: the poet of *The Ruin* portrayed Roman buildings as representing the epitome of longevity in the material world, and contrasted this against the eternity of God's Kingdom (see below, Section 1.4.2.1).

These sites lasted into the Anglo-Saxon period for more reasons than simply the nature of their building material: ancient and Roman sites will have then retained, as they do today, a curious centrality within an Anglo-Saxon local consciousness, one undoubtedly magnified by both mystery and antiquity. Beyond the staying power of stone, local history and superstition could maintain a site's place in this local consciousness even after a large degree of physical deterioration. Roman monuments, towns and villas – largely abandoned by their owners at the end of the fifth century – must have remained places of visible distinction by their simple physical presence and placement. In the Roman period, towns and villas were the administrative, economic and frequently geographic centres of their hinterland. It is possible that these places, while no longer holding the same administrative dominance, maintained their geographical presence as central landmarks into the Anglo-Saxon period.

But was it simply their stoic presence in the landscape that made Roman sites and structures feature so prominently in the development of the ecclesiastic topography of Anglo-Saxon England? To investigate beyond the simple material, physical nature of Roman structures, we should ask whether many of these sites maintained and acquired their apparent significance in the seventh century because of an intrinsic aspect of their location, or because of their permanence in the landscape? Their stone construction undoubtedly contributed to the reuse of these sites, but prehistoric features were also used prominently in this period: many Anglo-Saxon place-names are based on prehistoric monuments such as barrows (OE *beorg*), which gave their names to *trenbergh* in Rollright and *fifburghe* in Hook Norton.⁶³

The distinct nature of Roman stone building, and the possible use of the chester place-name element to describe Christian centres, suggests that structurally and culturally, the term *Roman* could be conceived as synonymous with *Christian* from the mid or late seventh century. This association appears to be one of design rather than coincidence: Gregory's vision of Christian England is clearly influenced by the layout of Roman Britain, and shortly thereafter we see instances of former Roman centres presented as royal gifts to Christian fathers.⁶⁴ Bede records that:

⁶¹ Gelling 1967, 99-100.

⁶² Gelling 1967, 92, 99.

⁶³ Blair 1994, xxiv.

⁶⁴ *H. E.* I. 29; Blair 1992, 237, esp. notes 43-9.

(619) King Æthelbert built a church dedicated to the holy Apostle Paul in the city of London, which he appointed as the episcopal see of Mellitus and his successors. Augustine also consecrated Justus as bishop of a Kentish city which the English call Hrofescaestir [Rochester].⁶⁵

(627) Edwin's baptism took place at York on Easter Day...in the church of Saint Peter the Apostle, which the king had hastily built of timber... Soon after his baptism, at Paulinus' suggestion, he gave orders to build on the same site a larger and more noble basilica of stone.⁶⁶

(633) Fursa set himself with all speed to build a monastery on a site given to him by King Sigbert, and to establish a regular observance in it. This monastery was pleasantly situated in some woods close to the sea, within the area of a fortification [*castro*] that the English call Cnobheresburg [tentatively identified as Burgh Castle, Suffolk]⁶⁷

(635) [Cynigils and Oswald] gave Bishop Birinus the city (*civitas*) of Dorcic [Dorchester] for his episcopal see.⁶⁸ [Whose body was later translated to its successor at Winchester, also dedicated to the patron saints of Rome.]

Further from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle:

(669): In this year Egbert gave Reculver to Bass the priest to build a church there.⁶⁹

Paulinus' suggestion to Edwin in particular indicates that there was a special association between masonry construction and the Church. Bede tells of Benedict Biscop's sending for Gallic masons to construct a church 'in the Roman way', and Gregory of Tours describes the replacement of a ruined wooden church with a stone one as being 'worthy of the Pontiff'.⁷⁰ Both suggest that – first to the Romanized ecclesiastics and then to the laity – stone construction had a particular association with Christianity. This probably continued into the tenth century, when stone construction became more commonplace in Anglo-Saxon secular society, and slowly began to obscure the distinctive aspect of Roman ruins. Within those four centuries, and indeed for a time afterwards, it is not unlikely that Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics were drawn to the ruined remains of Roman structures partly as a result of these retrospectively-applied Christian associations. Gregory of Tours tells of how St Senoch 'found ... old walls on the ruins of which he constructed suitable buildings', suggesting that the Christian reuse of ruined Roman structures has a continental precedent from at least the late fifth/early sixth century.⁷¹ James further interprets a passage describing the monastery of Jumièges (founded on a bend in the Seine c.654-5) from the Life of St Philibert: 'In that place Divine Providence built towered walls in the shape of a square [or rectangle] rising up in a great mass, and enclosure for reception [or 'of wonderful capacity'] convenient for those who came'; the term *Divine Providence* suggesting, continues James, that the walls were already in existence before Philibert founded the monastery. He concludes that the site described in the *Vita* was possibly a Roman fort, although excavation at Jumièges has yet to detect evidence of such a structure.⁷²

⁶⁵ *H. E.* II, 3.

⁶⁶ *H. E.* II, 14.

⁶⁷ *H. E.* III, 19.

⁶⁸ *H. E.* III, 6.

⁶⁹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (ed. and trans. G. N. Garmonsway, 1953).

⁷⁰ Bede *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow* (ed. and trans. J. Webb and S. Farmer (1988); James 1981, 38 and note 17.

⁷¹ James 1981.

⁷² James 1981.

These two recorded instances suggest that we are dealing with a reuse of Roman ruins for their structural elements, particularly the walls or enclosure in the case of Jumièges. It is important to note that there are no references to the site of a church being chosen for the availability of building materials, which of course would have been of little importance during a time when most churches were built of wood.⁷³ Morris argues against this common assumption, concluding that 'Roman materials were far more commonly taken to the site of a church than were the sites of churches taken to the materials'.⁷⁴ The little evidence we have would seem to support this suggestion: the earliest church at Rivenhall and the pre-Conquest chapel on the Roman villa at Drax were both of timber construction. It is not unlikely that we might expect to find many more first-phase timber churches on villa sites which have yet to be excavated.

1.4 Historical References

The writings of Bede remain our most lucid historical account of the vestigial Roman landscape in the Anglo-Saxon period. His introductory description of Britain in the *Historia* attests to the proliferation of Roman remains still visible in the early eighth century: 'the Romans had occupied the country south of the earthwork... as cities, lighthouses, bridges and paved roads bear witness to this day', a remark which demonstrates the survival of civic structures into the Anglo-Saxon period, but also, perhaps more importantly, shows Bede's knowledge of a Roman heritage.⁷⁵ Bede's presentation of the Roman history of the island is particularly significant, as it further illustrates the perceived ties between the early Church and Rome.

1.4.1 Bede's Descriptions

Bede demonstrates a sound knowledge of Roman geography, including the 'twenty-eight cities and innumerable strongholds, which also were guarded by walls, towers and gates', many of which were surely still visible at the time of his writing.⁷⁶ The count is surprisingly accurate, and echoes Gregory's plan of twenty-six sees. Bede also offers physical support to his account of Caesar's invasion in what he believed to be British defensive works in the Thames river, 'traces of which can still be seen, cased in lead and thick as a man's thigh... stuck immovably in the river-bed'.⁷⁷ While it is more likely that these were Roman maritime remains, rather than 800-year-old native Iron Age defences, the observation shows the variety of Roman material that was visible, even in a waterlogged context such as the Thames. Perhaps more importantly, Bede's account suggests the existence of local traditions which explained or questioned the origins of ancient remains: here, Bede's source attributed these unusual and clearly artificial features to a pre-Roman past; undoubtedly other ascriptions of ancient topographical features were derived from a similar marriage of local tradition and 'learned', Latin commentary.

Cuthbert's visit to Carlisle from the Anonymous *Life of Cuthbert* is well known in this context, and is often cited for its reference to what appears to be a small community living within the former Roman walls, whose citizens proudly show the saint a Roman fountain:

⁷³ Thomas 1986.

⁷⁴ Morris 1989, 102.

⁷⁵ *H. E.* I, 11.

⁷⁶ *H. E.* I, 1.

⁷⁷ *H. E.* I, 2.

[Cuthbert] set off therefore to Carlisle, to speak with the queen, who had arranged to stay there in her sister's convent... The day after his arrival, the citizens conducted him round the city walls to see a remarkable Roman fountain that was built into them.⁷⁸

It is worth noting that the fountain is presented with a hint of wonder and may have been something of a tourist attraction, and the pride of the community. It is not unlikely that other Roman structures, monuments and artefacts produced similar reactions in the Anglo-Saxons. Even a ruined villa - which may not have drawn crowds - would have aroused attention on a local, if not regional scale. The anonymous *Life of St Cuthbert* would have been written some time around 700; his visit to Carlisle would have occurred about fifteen years earlier, in 685, the year of Ecgrith's death.

Bede was also the first to give us a description of Hadrian's Wall, which stood within sight of his monastery:

... they built a strong wall of stone directly from sea to sea... This famous and still conspicuous wall was built from public and private resources, with the Britons lending assistance. It is eight feet in breadth, and twelve in height; and, as can be clearly seen to this day, ran straight from east to west.⁷⁹

Once again Bede's figures, if not his ascription, are quite close to the mark. He believed the wall was constructed as a final effort of the Romans on behalf of the Britons to protect them from invasion during the early years of the fifth century - a time when the signal stations of the North Yorkshire coast were built for this very purpose, so it is possible that Bede could be incorporating the tradition of a late Roman building initiative. Bede suggests that the wall was largely intact for most, if not all, of its length, and must have remained a formidable barrier, making a significant impact on the development of the regions which it divided. Hadrian's Wall is a special case, of course, due to its singular size and nature.

1.4.2 'Things Fall Apart...'

One recourse in attempting to visualise the appearance of a Roman town in sixth-century Britain is a walk through the ruins of Pompeii or Herculaneum: the shells of vacant buildings, the absence of roofs, the air of desertion permeated by an imminent fear of structural failure. (Another, less fortunate, parallel is the likelihood of turning a corner and coming face-to-face with thieves or muggers, the likes of whom are recorded to have dwelled within Roman ruins into the Middle Ages). Although the majority of Roman ruins in Britain were likely to have been in an advanced state of disrepair after centuries of neglect, some appear to have been regarded with an air of respect and curiosity, or perhaps trepidation and awe. One became the subject of a poem: composed in Old English, *The Ruin* poetically describes an eroding Roman structure, its lines giving us one of our few insights into the contemporary attitudes on ruinous Roman remains.

1.4.2.1 *The Ruin*

The Ruin is the modern name for an untitled Anglo-Saxon poem which describes what appears to be a Roman ruin, possibly the remains of *Aquae Sulis*, modern Bath. As the

⁷⁸ This passage is from Bede's, *Life of Saint Cuthbert*, 27, which drew on the anonymous work. Both lives are printed in *Two Lives of Cuthbert*, ed. B. Colgrave (1968).

⁷⁹ *H. E.* I, 12.

only contemporary description of Roman ruins in Britain outside Bede, it deserves careful examination within the context of this study.⁸⁰

The poem is a successful importation of a biblical theme into a contemporary *topos*, and uses decrepit Roman structures to demonstrate the tenuous and impermanent nature of the works of man when compared with the kingdom of heaven. The poet, presumably a Christian associated with one of the pre-Conquest foundations at Bath, was certainly familiar with and inspired by Mark 13:1-2, in which Jesus tells the fate of Herod's new temple:

And as he went out of the temple, one of his disciples said unto him, Master, see what manner of stones and what buildings are here! And Jesus answering said unto him, Seest thou these great buildings? There shall not be left one stone upon another, that shall not be thrown down.

Gibbon remarked that Christians are 'animated by a contempt for present existence and by confidence in immortality',⁸¹ and his own commentary on the ruins of Rome are strikingly similar to the poet's own musings upon the Romano-British ruin: '[The ruins] gave ample scope for moralising on the vicissitudes of fortune, which spares neither man nor the proudest of his works, which buries cities and empires in a common grave'.⁸² The theme is popular in both sacred and secular contexts, and is best known today in the form of Shelley's *Ozymandias*.

1.4.2.2 'Work of Giants'

The poem is perhaps best known for its reference to Roman ruins as the works of giants, *enta geweorc*, which has often been taken to assume that the Anglo-Saxons as a whole were unaware of their Roman heritage, ascribing to them a folkloric origin: 'the city buildings fell apart, the work of giants crumble'.⁸³ The reference to the origins of large buildings and cities as works of giants – what can only be Roman structures in an Anglo-Saxon context – occurs elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon poetry:⁸⁴ 'Cities from afar are seen the skilful work of giants, those which are on this earth, splendid works of wall-stones',⁸⁵ and 'Just so in days long past, mankind's creator destroyed this earth, till lacking the gay sounds of citizens, the ancient works of giants stood desolate'.⁸⁶ A further passage from Andreas applies the term to stone-paved roads:

They dragged the bold-hearted man along the hill-passages[?], the strong souled hero round the hillocks of stone, right as far as the roads extended, the ancient works of giants, the stone-adorned streets within the cities...⁸⁷

Enta geweorc is used in some instances – particularly in *Beowulf* – to imply simply great antiquity. In most instances, however, it is used almost exclusively to refer to Roman

⁸⁰ See Section 1.6.1.2, p. 45 for commentary on the description of a decrepit Late Roman villa in Gaul.

⁸¹ Gibbon i, 402.

⁸² Gibbon, Chapter LXXI.

⁸³ *The Ruin*, 2. Trans. Hamer, 1970.

⁸⁴ It occurs nine times in Anglo-Saxon poetry: *Beowulf*: 1679, 2717, 2774; *The Ruin*: 2; *Andreas*: 1235, 1495; *Gnomic Verses*: 2 (see Frankis 1973 for an inclusive study of the term).

⁸⁵ *Gnomic Verses* I, 1-3.

⁸⁶ *The Wanderer*, lines 86-88. See Frankis 1973.

⁸⁷ *Andreas*, lines 1232-7 (ed. Alexander 1991) It would seem that the hero is being taken on a tour of ancient Britain, through the Bronze Age barrows, the Neolithic henge monuments, and over Roman roads.

remains, and specifically Roman remains made of stone. Furthermore, in *The Ruin* and *Andreas*, the term is applied to structures that use Latin loan words: city, (*ceastre*), military road (*herestrate*), wall (*wealle*), towers (*torras*), and prison (*carcerne*).⁸⁸ As a literary device, Roman masonry remains are used in Anglo-Saxon poetry as a symbol of durability when standing, yet also as a symbol of 'mutability and transience' when in ruins.⁸⁹

From these passages it is commonly inferred that the Anglo-Saxons harboured the folkloric belief that giants built what we understand to be Roman structures. However, it is more probable that the giants of Anglo-Saxon literature are largely metaphorical creations exemplifying antiquity and wonders of a materially distinct culture. The *Beowulf* poet employs giants to express extreme antiquity, such as that of the sword found in the mere hoard: 'He saw... a sword in her armoury, an ancient heirloom from the days of giants...' ⁹⁰ The carving on its hilt further stresses its age to hint at an otherworldly, near-antediluvian origin: '[the hilt] was engraved all over and showed how war first came into the world, and the flood destroyed the tribe of giants. They suffered a terrible severance from the Lord.'⁹¹ The use of giants does have a biblical precedent, notably Genesis 6:4 'And there were giants in the earth in those days...', in which they are used to describe a distant past, with an entirely different concept of scale; also from Numbers 13:33: 'And there we saw the giants...and we were in our own sight as grasshoppers'.

Despite its use as a metaphorical device, a belief in giants appears to have held a kind of folkloric longevity: when Leland came to Corbridge, Northumberland (Roman *Corstopitum*) on the Stanegate in the sixteenth century, he notes that 'among the ruins of the old town is a place called Colecester, where hath been a fortress or castle. The people say that there dwelled in it one *Yoton* [OE for 'monster'] whom they fable to have been a giant.'⁹² Higden, a monk at Chester, wrote sometime before the middle of the fourteenth century that 'when I behold the ground-work of buildings in the streets, laid with main strong huge stones, it seemeth that [Chester] hath been founded by tha painful labour of Romans or Giants...' ⁹³ We cannot immediately assume that the Anglo-Saxon country dwellers and writers maintained a similar perception of Roman ruins as their medieval and later descendants, but the indelible mark made by the size and scale of these places must have remained in popular belief until quite recently. It is most likely that such references to giants are simply playful hyperbole.

Whatever the authors' figurative use of 'giants' in Anglo-Saxon poetry, the poems, *The Ruin* in particular, betray a knowledge of the Roman origin, character and function of these buildings. The remarkably descriptive text reveals a knowledge of Roman stone craft and construction: 'Resolute masons, skilled in rounded building/ wondrously linked the framework with iron bonds'; 'the dead-departed master-builders'.⁹⁴ Other passages refer to bath-houses and barrel vaulting.⁹⁵ The informed account of Roman remains in *The Ruin* suggests that the poet is using giants as a metaphorical, comparative device

⁸⁸ Frankis 1973, 255-7.

⁸⁹ Frankis 1973, 257.

⁹⁰ *Beowulf* lines 1557-58 (trans. Heaney 1999).

⁹¹ *Beowulf* lines 1687-91 (trans. Heaney 1999).

⁹² Harrison 1956, 92.

⁹³ Cited in Strickland 1988, 109.

⁹⁴ *The Ruin*, lines 16, 17, 8 (ed. Alexander 1991).

⁹⁵ *The Ruin*, lines 19, 27.

used to contrast the immensity and antiquity of a Roman material and conceptual past against the size and scale of a contemporary Anglo-Saxon culture and disposition. The poet was also undoubtedly picking up on a deeply rooted folk belief, as accounted by Leland, that was concurrent with his own poetic and Christian theme.

1.4.2.3 Bath: *Aquae Sulis*

The poem has particular importance to this thesis beyond its use of giants. Its detail describes more than an abstract conceptualisation of a ruinous Roman structure: it can be convincingly argued that the poem describes the temple and bathing complex of Bath, Roman *Aquae Sulis*.⁹⁶ Although *Aquae Sulis* is not the only candidate, it remains the most likely one. Bede mentions Britain's hot and cold baths, 'Nennius' gives an account of a hot and cold spring enclosed by stonework, and of course Cuthbert's well-known visit to the Carlisle fountain suggests there could have been other examples of Roman waterworks functioning into the post-Roman period.

The Roman remains at Bath must have been in an advanced state of decay in the post-Roman period. The temple precinct enclosing the water source would have remained largely intact; the spring, clogged with the fallen roof, flooded the area, creating a scene not unlike that described by the poet:

hot streams cast forth
wide sprays of water, which a wall enclosed
in its bright compass, where convenient stood
the hot baths...

stream hate wearp
widan wylme; weal eall befeng
beorhtan bosme, þær þa baþu wæron,
hat on hrepre.⁹⁷

Was the poet aware that this site was a former Roman temple and not simply a civic bath? The tone is respectful, the author impressed: 'Splendid is this masonry'.⁹⁸ The Roman religious use of the site is not mentioned, but the supposition of the structure's pagan function would be entirely consistent with the poet's biblical and poetic themes: in which case, not only is the physical structure of the temple inadequate when compared with the timelessness of God, but so are the philosophies and theology which it once embodied.

An apposite, contemporary parallel is the Irish Féilire Oengusso, which contrasts the ruin of monumental secular structures (and pagan sacred monuments) against the eternity of God:

The fort of Emain Machae has melted
away, all but its stones;
Thronged Glendalough is the
sanctuary of the western world

Old cities of the pagans to which
length of occupation has been
refused are deserts without worship
like Lugaid's place...⁹⁹

It would be tempting to see *The Ruin* created in response to an early Christian presence at Bath; this type of investigation is largely speculative – we cannot deny that the poet may well have guessed, from the surrounding water, that the structure was a bath – but it

⁹⁶ Cunliffe 1983.

⁹⁷ *The Ruin*, lines 35-8.

⁹⁸ *The Ruin*, line 1.

⁹⁹ Aitchison 1994.

deserves pursuit, especially in light of the paucity of the archaeological evidence dating from the early Anglo-Saxon period.

We are fortunate that the site of the Roman baths have undergone recent excavation.¹⁰⁰ The inner temple precinct has a well-phased and curious late- and post-Roman history, which is worth detailing here because it is one of the few instances where we have such detailed stratigraphic information on a site of this nature. The archaeological evidence for the early Anglo-Saxon period, however, remains frustratingly elusive. The deterioration of the temple began sometime after the middle of the fourth century. In this period (5a) the low-lying part of the temple precinct became covered with 10-20 cm of mud and occupational rubbish which soon required a coarse cobbling to consolidate the surface. Five subsequent re-paving periods followed after similar accumulations of debris and mud: the first two of these incorporated building material, which suggests that the structure had already begun to decay by this time. The next surface (5c) consisted largely of stone blocks from what appears to have been the entablature of the attic of the north wall of the reservoir enclosure and 'thus must demonstrate a phase of deliberate demolition and reuse.'¹⁰¹ The penultimate pavement experienced great wear, while the final surface (5f) incorporated at least one slab of the temple pediment, indicating that by this time the temple, or part of it, had been pulled down or collapsed. However, an absolute chronology is lacking. The excavators suggest that the entire sequence could not have ended much before *c.*470, but perhaps even extended into the early sixth century.¹⁰²

Even less is known about the archaeology of the first Anglo-Saxon presence. Period 6 is troublesome; the excavators acknowledge from the start that to suggest a date for this period would be 'pure guesswork.'¹⁰³ This phase saw great masonry failure, including the collapse of the roofed vaults into the reservoir, undoubtedly clogging it and resulting in the overflow of water into the temple precinct. There is no archaeologically discernible hiatus between periods 5f and 6. Despite this, the excavators are inclined to place period 6 more towards the end of period 5f than at the start of period 7, to which we can assign an absolute date of the tenth century.¹⁰⁴

Thus even with such a thorough investigation we are left with little evidence for habitation, let alone religious reuse, during the sixth through ninth centuries. The archaeological evidence of the first Christian presence is elusive: a rubble 'raft' to the east of the temple precinct - found by an earlier investigator - was not phased, and may have been associated with the early abbey. Its alignment to the Roman precinct could be very significant. Still further, the remains of a Christian cemetery to the south of the church have been assigned to period 8, suggesting a late tenth-century date for the excavated burials. Contrary to this, a plank from grave 43 returned a radiocarbon date published as 580 +/-70 (recalibrated to AD600-720 at 1σ).¹⁰⁵ The excavators do not place much faith in this single date but concede that 'the possibility that burial began earlier [than the late-

¹⁰⁰ Cunliffe and Davenport 1985. The following is a summary of pages 74-77; 184-188.

¹⁰¹ Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 185.

¹⁰² Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 185.

¹⁰³ Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 75.

¹⁰⁴ Based on pottery evidence. Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 75.

¹⁰⁵ (HAR 4321); Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 78. See the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent calibration.

tenth century], beyond the limits of the present excavation cannot be ruled out'.¹⁰⁶ This possibility fits comfortably with the documentary evidence, which is more certain.

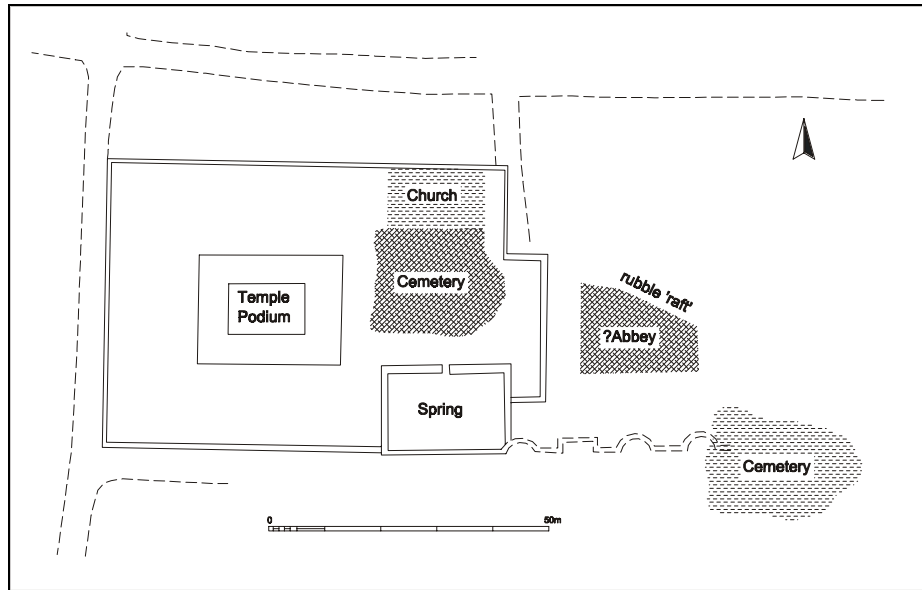


Figure 5 – Saxon Bath. The excavators tentatively suggest that the Roman precinct walls dominated the development of Saxon Bath, and the remains of a tenth-century cemetery may point towards the late-Saxon predecessor of the medieval church of St Mary de Stall, aligned to and situated within the north-east corner of the inner precinct.

The Chronicle states that Bath was taken from the British in '577',¹⁰⁷ and c.675 a grant by sub-King Osric was made to an abbess (with a Frankish name) to found a nunnery at Bath; further references to a Christian community there date from 758, the 770s and 796.¹⁰⁸ The remaining Roman structures probably dictated the development of the Anglo-Saxon Christian topography; the abbey and early church appear to have respected the temple walls and alignment, while the medieval roads did the same. It is unfortunate that so much of the archaeology was destroyed by Victorian development and early excavations, but the general picture is one of a seventh-century Anglo-Saxon Christian presence respecting Roman structures and their alignment; it is more than possible that the excavations revealed the foundations of the early church and the tantalising periphery of an earlier burial ground.

In 973 King Edgar had his ceremonial coronation at Bath minster, and in this light it appears as though we are seeing a tenth-century continuation of an eighth-century (and probably earlier) tradition associating royalty with either baths or Roman remains. John Blair suggests that this probably dates from the 790s, and that the royal assembly held there in 796 shows an attempt to parallel Charlemagne's own new palace and baths at Aachen.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, 78.

¹⁰⁷ 577: 'In this year Cuthwine and Ceawlin fought against the Britons and slew three kings, Coinmail, Condidan, and Farinmail, at the place which is called Dyrham; and then captured three cities, Gloucester, Cirencester and Bath'. The date should not be taken as historical fact.

¹⁰⁸ Edwards 1998, 209-27; Sims-Williams 1990, 204-9.

¹⁰⁹ pers. comm. John Blair.

1.5 Rome: Church and Empire

Although Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England have traditionally been studied as distinct chronological and cultural periods within the history and archaeology of the British Isles, Roman influence on the island did not terminate in 410 with the three-day sack of Rome by Alaric; nor did the influence of the Christian church commence immediately with the first tread of Augustine's foot upon the Isle of Thanet. The manner in which Rome (in its broadest definition) influenced the developing Anglo-Saxon kingdoms and cultures is subtle and curious, yet almost paradoxical in the extremes that are represented. On one hand so many of the basic Roman technologies were lost, the language changed as did the entire socio-economic system. This is primarily why the rapid recovery of certain Roman aspects is so surprising: by 700 the educated were writing and conversing in Latin, the deserted Roman towns and forts were once again becoming prosperous, and the exchange of goods and ideas was re-established with the continent, notably Rome and Constantinople. Anglo-Saxon England evolved during a brief window of Roman remission in which the vestigial elements of the former Empire were still present, yet the beginnings of a new wave of Roman influence were about to take hold.

Archaeology and history suggest that a small vanguard of Roman and Christian ideas were already in place in England by 597 which must have contributed to Æthelbert's ready acceptance of Christianity: it is clear archaeologically that at this time Kent had strong ties with Christian Francia, political and cultural bonds in the persons of Bertha, Æthelbert's Christian wife, and bishop Luidhard.¹¹⁰ The nature of the contact between the Christian Church and the fledgling Anglo-Saxon kingdoms is particularly important to this study, as it contributes to the overall understanding of the rebirth of Roman sites and structures as Christian centres.

1.5.1 The Material Emulation of Rome

The particulars of pre-Augustine Christian England are elusive, but archaeology and Bede's few accounts give some clue to the island's Christian condition in the late sixth century.¹¹¹ There was of course direct influence from the British Church, but from the continental side the picture is less clear: the artefactual evidence suggests that there was a degree of cultural influence, if not direct 'pump-priming', from the papacy, and perhaps even from the Empire's political successor in Constantinople as well: Procopius records that '[Justinian] lost no opportunity of lavishing vast sums of money – on those to the East, West, North and South, as far as the inhabitants of Britain...'¹¹² Instances of Mediterranean artefacts (in general) and Christian goods (in particular) represent England's first re-introduction to continental material links, probably some time before an 'official' spiritual presence in England was even attempted. The large tumulus in the churchyard at Taplow, for instance, marks the burial of a wealthy and undoubtedly influential Anglo-Saxon: despite suffering from a poorly executed excavation, the burial revealed rich goods of Mediterranean and Kentish origin including a bronze bowl and wine gear.¹¹³ The burial in Sutton Hoo, Mound 1, contained a similar degree of Christian largesse, including a healthy amount of Byzantine silver plate. Helen Geake's

¹¹⁰ *H. E. I*, 25.

¹¹¹ The most recent examination of this material is Gameson 1999.

¹¹² *The Secret History*, I, 19. Here there is the very real possibility that Procopius is using Britain as a literary hyperbole to stress the geographical distance.

¹¹³ Webster 1992.

examination of the use of grave goods in Conversion-Period England shows that 'the inspiration for the use of contemporary and archaic classically-inspired objects was conspicuously present in conversion period England, either from imports (perhaps promoted by Theodore, Hadrian *et al.*), or from surviving antiques,' and by the mid-seventh century, 'a larger part of the material culture of England [was] based on contemporary Byzantine models'.¹¹⁴ This influence is seen in the form of personal artefacts and jewellery, such as the pendentive decorations on the Desborough and Brassington necklaces, reflecting a contemporary Byzantine fashion best portrayed in the apsidal mosaic of the Emperress Theodora in San Vitale, Ravenna.¹¹⁵ Many bracteates in Hauck's corpus are clearly attempting to imitate Roman coins, showing stylised pictures of Emperor-figures and a form of imitated Latin script (Figure 6).¹¹⁶ Anglo-Saxon coinage itself copied its imperial predecessors: the *Pada* sceattas imitated the helmeted bust and legend from a bronze of Crispus, originally minted c.319, while those such as the 'London' group show the influence of another imperial coin from c.348-50;¹¹⁷ most tended to imitate the Christian Emperors of the fourth century.¹¹⁸ The emulation continued into the eighth century: the reverse of a penny of Æthelbert of East Anglia (c.790) depicts Romulus and Remus suckled by the wolf, and Offa's 'Gold Penny' bears close resemblance to a *Lugdunum aureus* of Augustus.¹¹⁹ It is not unlikely that the political undertones of many Roman coins would have in part inspired some of the Anglo-Saxon copies.



Figure 6 – Two bracteates with an Emperor-figure and imitation Latin (Hauck *et al.* 1985: 1,1 figs. 29-2,e & 29-1,b).

Such emulation also incorporated Imperial overtones. The Sutton Hoo shoulder clasps – without parallel in the Anglo-Saxon world – strongly resemble those used to fashion a leather cuirass of the Imperial period (the best example is the 'Prima Porta Augustus' now in the Vatican museum). The mounted figures on the Sutton Hoo helmet are also paralleled with the carvings common on many tombstones of the Roman cavalry; could the craftsman have used one of these distinctly Roman tombstones as the basis for his

¹¹⁴ Geake 1997, 129, 134.

¹¹⁵ Geake 1997, figs. 5.4 and 5.5.

¹¹⁶ Hauck *et al.* 1985, Vol. I, 1. figs. 29,1-2, etc.

¹¹⁷ Hunter 1974, 38.

¹¹⁸ Hunter 1974, 44.

¹¹⁹ Hunter 1974, 38.

template?¹²⁰ Furthermore, Bede tells us that Edwin had a standard carried before him, a mark of Roman rather than Germanic authority, and of course a candidate for such a standard exists from Sutton Hoo; however, there is the possibility that this was a romantic notion, conceived as part of Bede's Romanised retrospection.¹²¹ Architecturally the well-known 'grandstand' at Yeavering is nearly identical to a single *cuneus* of a Roman theatre; the fact that this structure pre-dates Paulinus' mission suggests a degree of previous exposure to the civic architecture of Roman Britain. Michael Hunter writes that this Anglo-Saxon awareness of a Roman past fitted hand-in-hand with their Germanic heritage, and that 'all the strands of the past, Roman, Germanic, biblical or native, were knitted into a single, comprehensive fabric'.¹²² Geake lists similar Roman influences in law, sculpture, manuscript art and numismatics, each showing the subtle yet often unrealised degree to which Imperial and Christian Rome had influenced the developing cultures of Anglo-Saxon England.¹²³ The point of this brief overview is to acknowledge that some conception of Rome, usually associated with elite objects or icons of Imperial power, existed in an abstract or altered form from the early seventh century into the eighth, when Anglo-Saxon England was politically, economically, and religiously re-integrating itself into the rest of the post-Roman, Mediterranean world.

1.5.2 The Church as Successor to Empire

How did Rome view its own interaction with Anglo-Saxon England? Nearly two centuries after Honorius' unhelpful reply to the plea of the Britains, the Empire formally returned in the guise of the Augustinian mission; yet what has traditionally been viewed as a new chapter (or a new volume, for that matter) in the History of England was in fact a re-writing of the old. That the idea of 'A Roman Empire' remained a political and religious reality only thirty years before the Augustinian mission is clear in Justinian's Gothic Wars (533-554), the (albeit short-lived) Christian re-conquest of much of Italy and North Africa, in what was to be the last military effort to reunite the Empire. Britain itself may not have been on the political map at this time, but nonetheless the province still remained within the mindset of the rulers, generals and citizens of the early Byzantine Empire, who still called themselves 'Roman'.¹²⁴

In the mid sixth century a still-Imperial Rome was embroiled within the Gothic wars, but by the time of Gregory the Great the papacy considered itself the Imperial successor to the Roman civil state, and it is to Gregory that we should look for some idea of how Rome perceived her role in the Christianisation of England. In the city of Rome the ecclesiastical inheritance of an Imperial and civic tradition was not simply an abstract conception. The clergy wore a distinct dress that was directly descended from that of the Imperial senate: the *mappula*, a white, fringed saddlecloth; the *campagi*, flat, black

¹²⁰ Campbell 1986, 66. This style of grave monument is common in areas of Roman military activity. See for example, the tombstone of Flavinius, a Roman standard bearer, now in the Abbey at Hexham near Hadrian's Wall. Also the distance marker erected by the Second Legion Augusta from Bridgeness, on the Antonine Wall near the Firth of Forth, among others. The horseman-trampling-barbarian motif is also evident in a number of imitative gold bractates (Hauck *et al.* 1985).

¹²¹ *H. E.* II, 16. Cramp 1987 addresses these parallels.

¹²² Hunter 1974, 46.

¹²³ Geake 1997, 136.

¹²⁴ In addition to Procopius' reference to Britain in the *Secret History* (note 112), he also recounts in the *Gothic Wars* (VI, vi, 28) that Belisarius offered Britain to the Goths: 'And we on our side permit the Goths to have the whole of Britain, which is much larger than Sicily and was subject to the Romans in early times...'. Belisarius' offer of Britain was in response to the Goth's offer to release Sicily, which they also did not control politically.

slippers; and white stockings called the *udones*.¹²⁵ The language conveyed by Pelagius II, Gregory's predecessor and pope from 579 to 590, reveals familiar Imperial and martial undertones, and, although at first appearing to be anachronistic, in fact acutely conveys the papal mindset of Christian Rome and its role as the heir to the Empire: 'May the Roman sceptre be guided by the divine hand so that under the Empire the true faith may have liberty... May the enemies of the Roman name be vanquished throughout the entire world by the virtue of St Peter...'.¹²⁶ Fifty years later, in the time of Pope Theodore (642-9), the Roman abbot Maximus was put on trial in Constantinople for allegedly urging the Pope to support a Roman patrician (another Gregory) in establishing himself as an independent, orthodox emperor, by recounting a dream in which Angelic choirs were singing the overtly Imperial 'Gregory, Augustus, you will conquer'.¹²⁷ This brief introduction to the Roman mentality serves to underline the fact that there remained a civic identity in sixth- and seventh-century papal Rome that was synonymous with Imperial Rome in language and thought, which was neither misguided nor the result of simple civic hubris. This was the Rome into which Gregory the Great was born and educated, and in which he practised his civic and pastoral duties.

Gregory was born in Rome c.540 to an established Roman family with a tradition of serving in civil and ecclesiastical office.¹²⁸ Bede describes Gregory's lineage as 'noble', and Gregory of Tours offers that his was a 'senatorial' family. His father Gordianus was styled 'Regionaris', probably one of the district notaries of the city charged with the administration of church property, and perhaps a senator. Gregory's grandfather was Pope Felix IV (d. 530), who had converted the temple of Romulus on the Via Sacra into the church of SS Cosmas and Damian, the first Christian building in the heart of the city.¹²⁹ Two of Gregory's aunts lived a monastic way of life in their own house, but did not enter into a nunnery. His father appears later to have become one of the seven deacons of Rome, and his mother adopted a similar lifestyle on her widowhood, retreating to the Cella Nova near St Paul's. As a youth, Gregory received a noble's education and by 573 had become the prefect of the city, the highest civil post in Rome; five years later he entered the monastic world, founding six monasteries on his mother's estates in Sicily and an additional community, the Monastery of St Andrew, at his father's house on the Caelian.¹³⁰ The aristocracy of early seventh-century Rome, including Gregory and his family, were wealthy and cosmopolitan, and very much the direct descendants of their Imperial predecessors in thought and practice. It is within this context that we should attempt to understand the motivations behind the Augustinian mission.

1.5.3 Rome's Second Conquest of Britain

Gregory's Christianisation of England, although certainly undertaken for the evangelical reasons recounted by Bede, was nevertheless a mission spawned by a Roman mind, and

¹²⁵ Llewellyn 1993, 109.

¹²⁶ Llewellyn 1993, 86.

¹²⁷ Llewellyn 1993, 156.

¹²⁸ The following summary of Gregory is taken from Bede *H. E.* II, 1; Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks*, X, I; and Dudden 1905, 3-15; and Llewellyn 1993, 89-93. Paul the Deacon compiled a *vita* between 770-80, and John the Deacon wrote a further *vita* at the request of John VIII (872-882), both printed in Migne 1958.

¹²⁹ Dudden 1905, 5.

¹³⁰ The site is now marked by the medieval church of Gregory the Great, where the remains of a Roman house were seen in 1890, and what is described as a 'Roman edifice' is now visible beneath two of the medieval chapels, probably part of Gordianus' palace. (Macadam 1998, 233; Claridge 1998, 318.)

we should perhaps greet with some caution the playful humour with which Gregory is first 'introduced' to the Angles of this distant land.¹³¹ Gregory's proposed ecclesiastical organisation of England is the clearest indication of his (perhaps subconscious) belief that Britain was never 'lost' – in the eyes of Rome, England was not a new territory to evangelise but rather a former possession to reclaim: his placing the primary bishoprics at London and York with twelve sees appears to have been based on the late Roman *civitates*, and shows his knowledge of the political and geographical layout of the former province;¹³² his policy of reclaiming the country through the capitals of the former *Britannia Prima* and *Secunda* undoubtedly provided the initial impetus for the ensuing ecclesiastical take-over of other former Roman centres,¹³³ a pattern so apparent that it is a wonder that specific instructions to the effect do not occur in Gregory's correspondence.¹³⁴ The appropriation of Roman centres is clearly an aspect of the Roman mission well into the seventh, and perhaps even the eighth century. Bede is perhaps revealing such perceptions of the 'ownership' of former Roman centres in his heading for Book II, Chapter 7 of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*: 'The prayers of Bishop Mellitus put out a fire in his city (*sua civitatis*)'. This could be Bede's own underlying perception of the situation in his own time, or may have been taken from his source from Canterbury. Whatever date one ascribes to his choice of words, it is noticeable that Bede describes Canterbury as Æthelbert's chief city when recounting Augustine's arrival in 597, but when relating the events of 619 he describes Canterbury as Mellitus' city.¹³⁵

Furthermore, like Claudius before him, Gregory believed Britain to be a single political and cultural entity – when in reality it was a mosaic of political and cultural identities;¹³⁶ he did not send Augustine to simply evangelise one kingdom, but to 'preach the word of God to the English nation (*gens Anglorum*)',¹³⁷ a phrase which probably existed in Rome and in the mind of Gregory, but probably not on the island itself. Bede's own use of the term *gens Anglorum* was undoubtedly a distant echo of the Late Antique desire for Christian unity that was so inflexibly championed by Justinian, a concept that was undoubtedly a curious, but very real, element in the multi-cultural, multi-linguistic world of early-medieval Europe. In certain ways it is not unlike the 'one nation under God' declamation in the modern pledge of allegiance to the United States, itself a highly multi-cultural body, unified (in theory) under a higher (in theory) order. It is not by accident that Bede begins his *History of the English Church and People* with an account of Roman Britain, and his further use of the term 'English People' undoubtedly encouraged the development of a English identity, giving to – or perhaps impressing upon – them an early concept of cultural identity.¹³⁸ This tie to a Romano-Christian heritage is expressed in the later lineages of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms: Caesar appears in the East Anglian genealogy and Adam and Noah in the West Saxon.¹³⁹

The introduction and use of Latin further facilitated the Anglo-Saxons' access to Britannia's Roman history and allowed the English to adopt various aspects of Roman

¹³¹ *H. E.* II, 1.

¹³² Morris and Roxan 1980, 180.

¹³³ *H. E.* I, 29.

¹³⁴ Alternatively it could be offered that Gregory had no need to suggest that Augustine take such measures because the ecclesiastical settling of Roman towns was the obvious, if not the only, course to take.

¹³⁵ *H. E.* II, 7.

¹³⁶ Brooks 2000.

¹³⁷ *H. E.* I, 23.

¹³⁸ Brooks 2000, 20-22.

¹³⁹ Wormald 1978, note 125.

religious – and in turn cultural – heritage as their own, so that by 731 Bede could write, that while each nation – English, British, Scots and Picts – had its own language, they were 'united in their study of God's truth by a fifth - Latin'.¹⁴⁰ That such a unity under God was worthy of note is remarked by the author of the *vita* of St Cummian, commenting that during his visit to Rome in c.633 the Irish envoy shared a hostel and celebrated Easter with a Greek, a Hebrew, a Scythian and an Egyptian.¹⁴¹

Latin was probably as strong an influence as Christianity was in bringing England back into the fold: with the advent of the Roman mission Æthelbert could become acquainted with (if he were not so already) the historical figures of Rome, in particular Constantine, the pagan-turned-Christian who led his country out of the spiritual darkness. It is not by accident that Gregory chose Constantine as an exemplar to Æthelbert:

So it was that the devout Emperor Constantine in his day turned the Roman state from its ignorant worship of idols by his own submission to our mighty Lord and God Jesus Christ, and with his subjects accepted him with all his heart. The result is that his glorious reputation has excelled that of all his predecessors, and he has outshone them in reputation as greatly as he has surpassed them in good works.¹⁴²

Here, of course, the parallels that Gregory is drawing between Constantine and Æthelbert are clear and require little further commentary. However, what is particularly interesting, and hardly coincidental, is the tone of Gregory's letter: although he is writing in Latin he is speaking the Anglo-Saxon language; compare Gregory's words to the final lines of *Beowulf*:

They said that he was, of the kings of this world / the kindest to his men, the most courteous man / the best to his people, and most eager for fame¹⁴³

Gregory shows himself the consummate diplomat, speaking to Æthelbert in his own language: although the fame he offers Æthelbert is worldly – the very temporal glory that the poet of *The Ruin* cautioned against – it speaks to the Anglo-Saxon heart, and reminds us that, despite Kent's affiliation with the more Romanised Franks, we are still dealing with the Germanic culture of *Beowulf*.

From the outset Augustine and Gregory established and strengthened specific ties to Rome on all levels, apparent in the dedication of the most important churches – those within these former imperial capitals – which were dedicated to the patron saints of Rome: Paulinus' church of St Peter at York and Mellitus' church of St Paul in London; the churches at Canterbury were dedicated to both saints, probably imitating the continental intramural / extramural polarity of churches.¹⁴⁴ The continued and increasing use of this bond is seen in the cosmopolitan Benedict Biscop's dedicating his two churches at Wearmouth and Jarrow to Peter and Paul three-quarters of a century later. Wilfrid too travelled frequently to Rome, and unsurprisingly, dedicated his church at Ripon (N Yorks) to St Peter.

¹⁴⁰ *H. E. I.*, 1.

¹⁴¹ Llewellyn 1993, 181.

¹⁴² *H. E. I.*, 32.

¹⁴³ *Beowulf*, lines 3180-3182

¹⁴⁴ Cambridge 1999, Blair 1992.

Augustine undoubtedly employed a very conscious choice of words when he first introduced himself to Æthelbert, as coming 'from Rome' (*de Roma*);¹⁴⁵ the imperial overtones of Gregory's reconquest are clear, and it can be said that he was stamping the new mark of Rome upon a former province.¹⁴⁶ Although we cannot attribute all aspects of the reuse of Roman monuments to Roman sentiment, we may suggest that it did play some part in the Christian reinterpretation of these structures: the number of churches within forts and the number of bishops' sees established within former Roman towns suggest such underlying sentiment. This does not mean to imply that such sites were necessarily reused purely for their intrinsic Roman qualities, but we must note that there was a specific cultural association between the periods of Imperial and Christian Roman influence in Britain, which was solidified with the Augustinian mission. The resultant cultural and conceptual bridge cannot be underestimated when investigating the Christian reuse of Roman structures in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries.

1.6 The Religious Reuse of Roman Structures in Gaul and Rome

1.6.1 Gaul

Archaeological evidence of the reuse of Roman structures for funerary and religious purposes in the post-Roman period is extremely common within Gaul, and these sites should be examined first to provide an introduction to the English evidence. However, some caveats apply: although the continental examples of burial and churches associated with Roman buildings at first seem to demonstrate a similar archaeology to the English parallels, the historical, political, and social environment in which these practices were undertaken are notably unlike those of contemporary England. A review of the continental situation will nonetheless illuminate the possible origins of the insular examples, as well as underline the archaeological manifestation of England's singular political, cultural and religious situation.

Whereas the Anglo-Saxon cases of burials in Roman structures and churches associated with Roman buildings are examined here as distinct categories, the study of the Merovingian parallels cannot conceptually divorce these two types of site, primarily because they developed hand-in-hand within a religious and (in many cases) topographical continuum from the late Roman period into the early Middle Ages. Christianity was well-rooted in Gaul from the late Roman period, and by the time that Augustine arrived in England there were already an estimated 4000 churches in Gaul, compared with the two English examples that Bede mentions.¹⁴⁷ The Roman way of life (partly hand-in-hand with Christianity) persisted on the continent, and many villas in the south of Gaul continued in use until the ninth century, when Viking raids abolished the final vestiges of a domestic Roman lifestyle.

The most noticeable difference between the continental and insular evidence is the sheer number of continental sites compared with the relative few recorded in England: James records thirty-one villa cemeteries in south-western Gaul alone (listed here in Appendix 1.3), and Le Maho records 35 sites in Normandy that demonstrate the religious reuse of a

¹⁴⁵ *H. E.* I, 25.

¹⁴⁶ Llewellyn 1993, 174-5; *H. E.* I, 33; II, 3, 14.

¹⁴⁷ James 1988, 150.

Roman structure: twenty-one villa cemeteries (Figure 7), eleven instances of temple reuse, and 4 instances of the religious reuse of public monuments (Figure 8).¹⁴⁸

Furthermore, Percival cites 'hundreds of examples' of villa cemeteries in France and Belgium.¹⁴⁹ at Berthelming (Moselle) 24 burials of the sixth to eighth centuries were placed within the ruins of a once-prosperous villa, against the walls and in corners, using the foundations to form part of a rudimentary coffin,¹⁵⁰ and at Pompogne (Lot-et-Garonne) a similar cemetery of the seventh and eighth centuries overlies mosaic pavements.¹⁵¹ The villa of St-Aubin-sur-Mer (Calvados) was destroyed by fire in perhaps the early fifth century, and shows no evidence of subsequent habitation; sometime thereafter, 50 undated, unaccompanied burials without coffins were scattered in the main complex and bath-house, loosely aligned to the nearest wall (Figure 9).¹⁵²

Two additional figures provided by Le Maho will suffice to illustrate the standard pattern underlying so many of these sites: excavated in the early years of this century, the villa at Boos (Seine-Maritime) is 'saturated' with burials within the structure which appears to have dictated the position of most graves; in a similar fashion a post-Roman cemetery of the fifth to seventh centuries was installed in the bath-house of the villa at Gisay-la-Coudre (Eure) (Figure 10).

¹⁴⁸ James 1977, figure 4; Le Maho 1994, fig. 1.

¹⁴⁹ Percival 1976, 183.

¹⁵⁰ Percival 1976, 184.

¹⁵¹ Percival 1976, 184.

¹⁵² Percival 1976, 185-6.

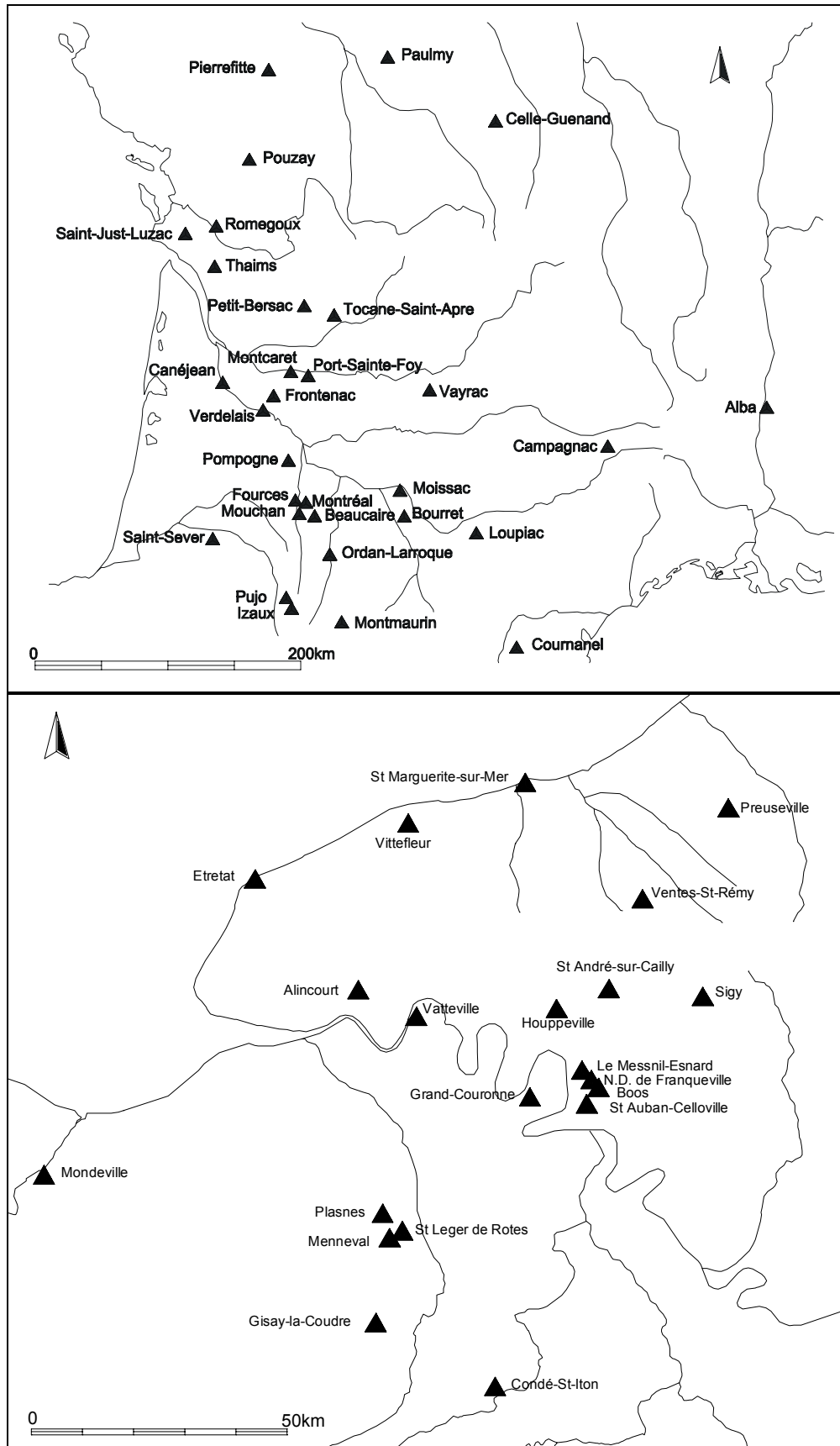


Figure 7 – Merovingian burials within villas in South-western Gaul (after James 1977, fig. 41), and Normandy (after Le Maho 1994, fig.1) .

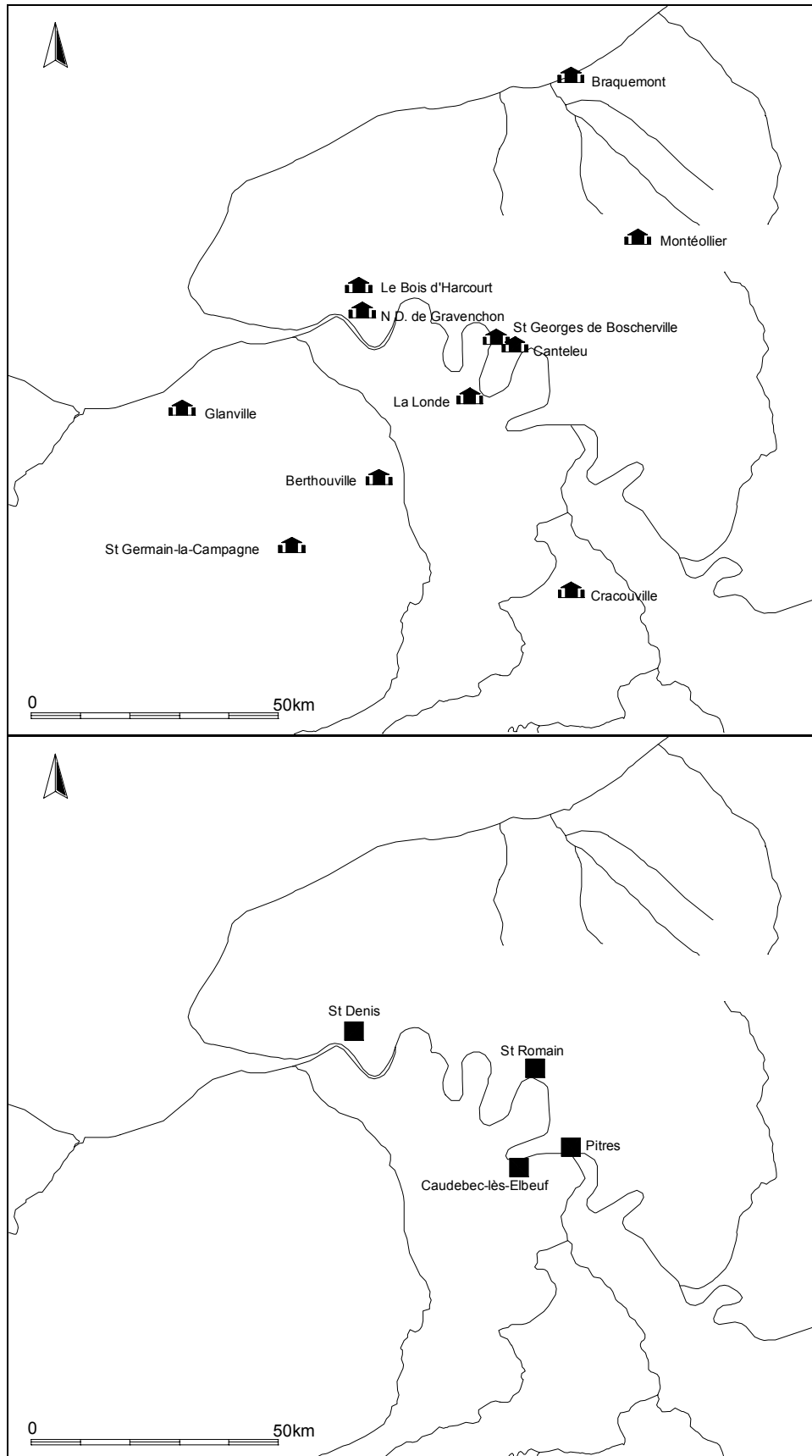


Figure 8 – Religious reuse of Roman temples (above) and public monuments (below) in Normandy (after Le Maho 1994, fig.1) .

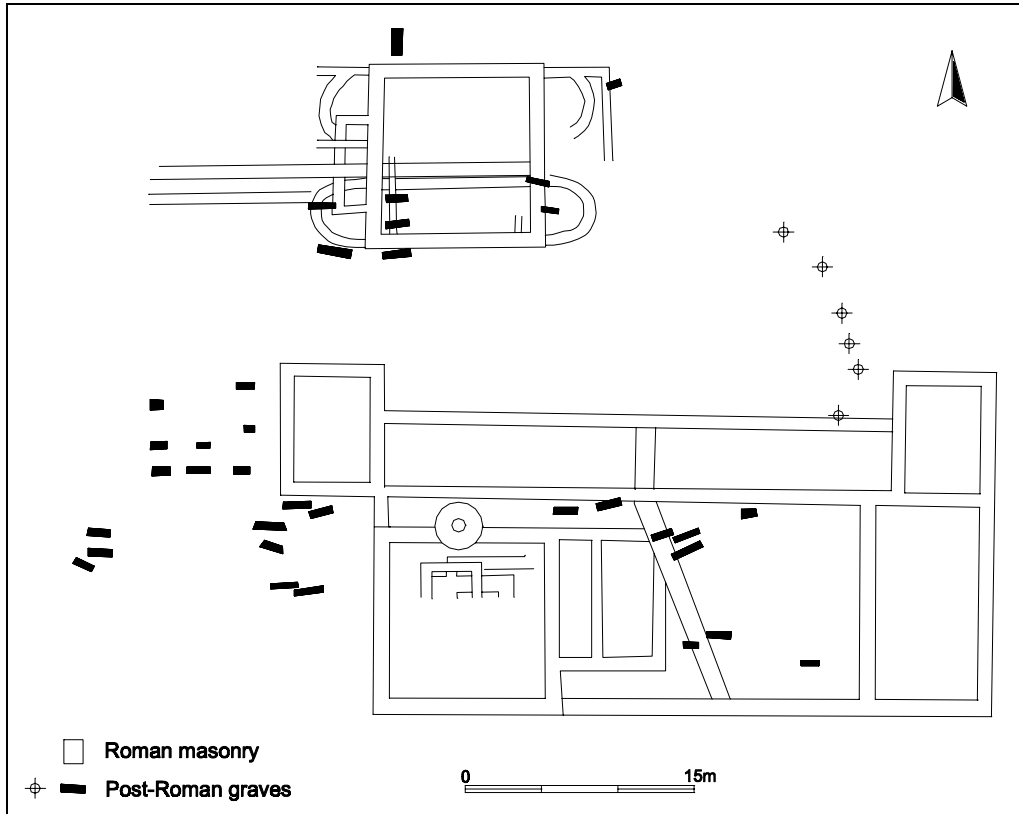


Figure 9 – Post-Roman burials in the villa at St-Aubin-sur-Mer (after Percival 1976, fig. 54).

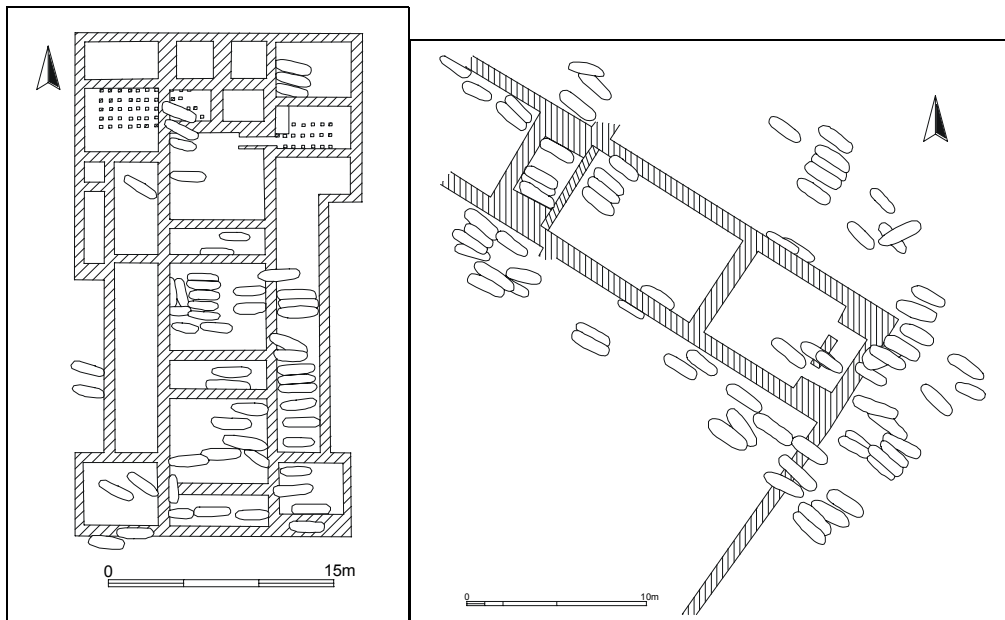


Figure 10 – (Left) Post-Roman burials in the villa at Boos (after Le Maho 1994, fig. 2), and (Right) burials of the fifth to seventh centuries around the bath-house of the villa of Gisay-la-Coudre (after Le Maho 1994, fig. 3).

The 'typical' pattern that so many seem to follow entails a situation in which a site would have begun its post-Roman religious after-life first as a cemetery, in which burials – frequently pre-Christian – were placed in and around the structure as early as the fifth-

century. Perhaps a century later the site would be 'Christianised' by the construction of a church, around which new burials were interred, the entire complex eventually becoming a medieval church and graveyard complex. This is just what happened at Hordain which began its life as a pre-Christian cemetery which included horse burials, cremations and north-south aligned inhumations. A church was built on this site *c.* 600, around which the tradition of furnished burial continued. Later (in the seventh century) the parish church was constructed about 300 metres away, where burial continued.¹⁵³ The practice of furnished burial in Merovingian Gaul occurred under Christianity well into the early eighth century, an amicable relationship perhaps best illustrated by the well-known examples of the early sixth-century furnished burials underneath Cologne Cathedral and the church of St Denis;¹⁵⁴ or the site of Arlon, where a small stone building inside a Roman *castrum*, initially interpreted as a ruined villa, was in fact a small church containing graves with burial goods ranging from the second quarter of the sixth century into the late seventh, probably serving as a family mausoleum of a Frankish aristocrat in the time of Clovis.¹⁵⁵

Percival is quick to stress the almost ubiquitous character of the villa-cemetery-church progression in Gaul. The site at Montcaret (Dordogne) is typical: the villa was destroyed, presumably in the fifth century, although the pottery suggests that it was quickly put back into use (although not necessarily for habitation). The present church dates from the twelfth century and is underlain by an earlier structure, which is in turn underlain by a sixth-century apsidal building which is aligned to the villa. Like so many of these sites, details of the burials are difficult to obtain, but Percival notes that they appear to have been scattered throughout the structure, interred through mosaics and foundations.¹⁵⁶ The villa at Matres-Tolosane (Hte-Garonne) was destroyed in the late fourth or early fifth century, and the first burials occur very soon after, followed by a Merovingian chapel of the mid fifth century, built upon and aligned to the villa structure. This was rebuilt a century later and finally succeeded by the current eleventh-century church. The villa at Erôme (Drôme) tells a similar tale, with 90 post-villa burials and two successive churches underneath the current church, superimposed upon and aligned to the villa structure. Not all sites used for religious purposes will have such clear evidence: inscribed Christian memorial stones, such as those presumably found at the villas at St-Croix-du-Mont (Gironde) and St-Cyr-en-Talmondois (Vendée), remind us that there are probably other small or ephemeral Christian cemeteries which did not mature into early-medieval churches.

It is worth citing Percival's further examples of the villa-church-burial trinity:¹⁵⁷ at Ste-Colombe (Gironde) a villa with Merovingian burials underlies the thirteenth-century church, again aligned and superimposed, but without a (known) intermediate structure. A hypocaust and Merovingian burials were discovered beneath the church of St Martin at Mossiac (Tarn-et-Garonne), and a villa and later burials were also found beneath the church at Noroy-lès-Jussey (Hte-Saône). The villa at Izaux (Htes-Pyrénées) was destroyed at the end of the fourth century and used for burial in the fifth, to be followed again by a chapel shortly thereafter, and a Merovingian religious building also appears to have been associated with contemporary burials on the villa at Puyuségar (Gers). A

¹⁵³ James 1988, 146.

¹⁵⁴ James 1988, 139, 153-7.

¹⁵⁵ James 1988, 145.

¹⁵⁶ This and the following sites are from Percival 1976 189-91.

¹⁵⁷ The following sites are from Percival 1976, 191-2.

hypocaust is associated with the fifth-century burials underneath the chapel at Les Angles (Gard), and both Roman and Frankish burials are associated with the villa below the church of St-Pierre-du-Cimetière in Villecroze (Var). Percival concludes his commentary with a final list: Flayosc and la Roquebrusanne (Var, Prusly-sur-Ource (Côte-d'Or), St-Symphorien (Vannes, Morbihan), Bouxières-aux-Dames (Meurthe-et-Moselle) and Trinquetaille (Arles, Bouches-du-Rhône), to name a few. These burials do not necessarily date to before the mid sixth century, but obtaining dates – or any details of the burials – from these sites is particularly difficult, and it is unlikely that many have been firmly dated by radiocarbon analysis.

The fact that so many Roman villa sites in Gaul have churches *and* early graveyards is the most noticeable deviation from the English evidence. The large number of churches on these sites, and of others with early burials, is in part due to the fact that Christianity did not appear to have an immediate effect on Merovingian burial rite, shown by the number of furnished burials in wholly Christian contexts. This adaptation of pre-Christian burial grounds is by comparison almost wholly unknown in England, where there is a decisive shift away from what might be considered 'traditional' burial rite as shown in the 'final phase' cemeteries; by and large, the locations of 'traditional' cemeteries were not chosen for the sites of churches.

The continental examples of burials within Roman structures are much more prolific in their occurrence, and in the number of burials that comprise the cemeteries. This would suggest, in the case of subsequent villa reuse, the existence of a continuum within the fluctuating cultures and religions of the early Middle Ages. However, before we contrast the continental and English examples with too much enthusiasm, we must remember that individual cases of churches on villas have been more thoroughly excavated (although not necessarily more thoroughly studied) in Gaul than in England, and have been so since the beginning of the century.¹⁵⁸ most of Percival's sites listed in the previous paragraph now exist in areas of little or no modern development, and it is largely due to their current status as 'extinct' sites that they have been excavated.¹⁵⁹

Percival suggests that 'in some cases, the coincidence of church and villa is brought about, not by the survival of the villa, but by its transformation during and after the migration period into a kind of religious site', offering the churches at Ornézan, Penol and St-Romain-de-Jalios, Sion, St-Léon-sous-Vézère, Néoules, Mazères-sur-Salat, and Bernex in Gaul, Bernex in Geneva, and Böckweiler and Konz in Germany.¹⁶⁰ The documentary evidence supports Percival's suggestion. Sulpicius Severus, for instance, was said to have adopted his house for a Christian purpose, which Paulinus refers to as a 'domestic church'.¹⁶¹ Gregory the Great converted his parents' house in Rome into a monastery, a common practice for the period. Yet archaeologically, the adaptation of a villa complex by a Christian community can be difficult to distinguish from simple domestic Christianity; any differences between the two usually hold a very ephemeral relationship to the villa structure itself: even artefacts with Christian symbols, or inscriptions found within the villa, do not in themselves suggest the presence of an organised monastic community. The levelled villa at Ligugé (Vienne) was first reused by a semi-circular martyrium, perhaps over the cell of St Martin. Beneath the ?seventh-

¹⁵⁸ Bonnet 1994; Percival 1997.

¹⁵⁹ Percival 1976, 192.

¹⁶⁰ Percival 1997, 178.

¹⁶¹ Percival 1997, 2, note 4; Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogues II (III)*.

century crypt lie the remains of the succeeding structure, perhaps the monastery of St Martin. Inscriptions dating from the late seventh and early eighth-centuries have also been found, with a monogram that may be that of abbot Ursinus (fl. c.700).¹⁶² The villa at Montcaret (Dordogne) may also have been converted into a monastery after its destruction in the early fifth century: a sixth-century building lies under the current apse, and in the Roman 'apse' of Room I burials from the sixth to twelfth centuries cut into the mosaics and walls. Five capitals found on the site are Merovingian, as are perhaps the mosaics to the north of the church, which are later than those of the villa.¹⁶³

1.6.1.1 *Sidonius Apollinaris*

The best evidence we have of a villa-to-monastery transition outside the archaeological record is revealed in a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris, bishop of Clermont in 469, whose writings provide particular insight into the political and social conditions of late fifth-century Gaul. Here he describes the appearance of Maximus, a professional acquaintance, and his villa:

His dress, his step, his modest air, his colour and his talk, all had a religious suggestion...three-legged stools served as seats, his doorways had hangings of hair cloth, his couch was devoid of down, his table of purple... I quietly asked those standing near which way of life from among the three orders he had suddenly adopted – was he monk or clergyman or penitent? They said he was filling the office of priest...¹⁶⁴

The passage shows the manner in which a late fifth-century villa estate had physically come to reflect the Christian disposition of its owner, instantly recognised as such by Sidonius. Here we are probably seeing a reference to the earliest stages of a villa-to-church transformation, of which only the later and final stages appear within the archaeology.

More importantly, Sidonius' writing introduces an alternative social condition which could fit the archaeological evidence that commonly details the last years of a Roman villa: Sidonius recognized immediately the Christian role that Maximus had adopted, and had only to inquire into the specifics of his position. A less informed viewer, such as an archaeologist, would undoubtedly see Maximus' condition (and perhaps more importantly, that of his villa and estate) as demonstrating a decline into poverty, perhaps associated with a lower standard-of-living and the reuse of once-luxurious rooms for domestic and agricultural purposes. Contrary to this assumption, we are told earlier in the passage that Maximus was a moneylender, clearly not one who had been forced into this position for lack of funds. It is not unlikely that, in addition to the purple linen from his table and the down from his couches, he removed – in his pursuit of Christian temperance and chastity – the fine tableware, the African Red Slip and other potential archaeological indications of wealth and prosperity. This is not to suggest that such was the eventual fate of all – or even most – Roman villas, but rather serves as a reminder that evidence reflecting this type of conscious decision to adopt a spartan lifestyle in the name of Christianity could be hiding within many final-phase villa contexts.

A further aspect of the late Roman situation which may account for the high coincidence of churches on Roman villas in Gaul is the process of bequeathing estates to the Church

¹⁶² James 1977, 438-9.

¹⁶³ James 1977, 445-6; Percival 1976, 188-9.

¹⁶⁴ Sidonius Apollinaris, letter 24, book iv (vol. II) in Anderson 1936. The exact date of this letter is uncertain, but sometime after 469 is suggested (Percival 1997, note 1).

upon the death of the villa's owner: we should not expect that such a transition would have always happened under the auspices of a single estate owner such as Maximus. An inter-generational transition would obviate the need to suggest a single owner's change of faith as the driving force behind the conversion of a villa into a Christian community, and would allow a greater degree of flexibility in our understanding the manner in which the use of a Roman building would change so dramatically: Gregory the Great founded monasteries on his mother's estates in Sicily, and he also converted his parents' house in Rome into a monastery. In the eighth century, upon the death of his mother Honesta, Gregory II (pope 715-31) turned her house into a monastery dedicated to St Agatha.¹⁶⁵

Unlike the English situation, in which we are hard pressed to find more than a handful of medieval churches with their origins in pre-Christian cemeteries, it is clear that within Gaul there was the willingness to sanctify pre-Christian cemeteries on Roman buildings, in fact reflecting a 'true' continuity of religious use from the Late Roman period into the early Middle Ages, and in part explaining the number (if not the origin) of sites demonstrating pre-Christian burials within Roman structures. Furthermore, Sidonius' account reflects the changing nature of villa life in Late Roman Gaul, and we may further ascribe the abundance of early churches on villa sites to the manner in which domestic, rural life could adopt a Christian character. This is not to say that a reuse of Roman sites on the English pattern – in which the villa is used as a cemetery after a period of abandonment – did not occur in Gaul, and we might expect it particularly in the North where villas went out of use at an earlier date than those in the still Romanized core.

1.6.1.2 *The Life of St Germanus of Auxerre*

In fact, there is some documentary evidence that points to an abandoned villa in Gaul being used as a cemetery in the late Roman period. One story in Constantius of Lyons' *Life of St Germanus*¹⁶⁶ provides a contemporary description of a ruined Gallic villa (we do not know exactly where in Gaul), possibly sometime shortly before Germanus' first visit to Britain in 429. Chapter 10 of the *Vita* tells how Germanus and his entourage are forced by encroaching nightfall to take refuge for the night in the ruins of a villa, which is said to be haunted. In the night, a spectre appears before Germanus and his group: after an initial scare the ghost reveals that he and a companion lie unburied in the ruins. Germanus and his companions follow the ghost to the spot where their bodies lie, clear away the rubble and provide a Christian burial, after which the hauntings cease and the villa is re-inhabited. The chapter is short, and is worth quoting here in full:

[Germanus] was once making a journey in winter and had gone fasting and weary all day long. It was put to him that the approach of night made it necessary to make a stop somewhere. There was a house at a little distance, obviously uninhabited, with its roof partly fallen in, and all overgrown owing to the neglect of the neighbours. In fact it almost looked as if it would be better to pass the night in the cold in the open air than to face the dangers and horrors of that place, particularly as two old men declared that it was so terribly haunted as to be quite uninhabitable. But as soon as the man of blessings heard this, he made for the horrible ruin as if it had been a most desirable residence. He found in it, amongst what had once been a great many rooms, one that was still something like one, and there his little party and their slender packs were deposited and a short supper was taken; but the Bishop would eat nothing at all.

Presently, when the night was well advanced, one of the clergy had begun to read aloud, as his duty was, but the Bishop, worn out by fasting and fatigue, had fallen asleep. Suddenly there appeared before the reader's eyes a dreadful spectre, which rose up little by little as he gazed on it, while the walls were pelted with a shower of stones. The terrified reader implored the protection of

¹⁶⁵ Llewellyn 1993, 137.

¹⁶⁶ *The Life of St Germanus*, Chapter 10, ed. and trans. Hoare 1954 (hereafter *Vita Germani*).

the Bishop, who started up and fixed his eyes upon the fearful apparition. Then, invoking the name of Christ, he ordered it to declare who he was and what he was doing there.

At once it lost its terrifying demeanour and, speaking low as a humble suppliant, said that he and a companion after committing many crimes were lying unburied, and that was why they disturbed the living, because they could not rest quietly themselves. It asked the Bishop to pray to the Lord for them that He would take them to Himself and grant them eternal rest.

Moved to pity, the holy man told the apparition to show him where they lay. Then, with a torch carried in front, the ghost proceeded to lead the way and, in spite of great difficulties due to the ruins and the stormy night, pointed out the place where they had been thrown. With the return of day the Bishop persuaded some of the neighbours to come, and himself stood by to urge on the work. Rubble that had accumulated haphazard in the course of time was raked up and cleared away. The bodies were found, thrown down anyhow, the bones still fastened together with iron fetters. A grave was dug in accordance with the Church's law, the limbs were freed from the chains and wrapped in winding sheets, earth was thrown upon them and smoothed down, and the prayers for the dead were recited. There was repose for the dead and quiet for the living. From that day onwards the house lost all its terrors and was restored and regularly occupied.

The passage is particularly interesting in that it provides a physical portrait of an abandoned Roman villa complex in the early fifth century: much of the roof and many of the walls have collapsed and the structure has become overgrown, yet despite this and the piles of rubble that are strewn about the place, one or two rooms are still roughly inhabitable. The description is surprisingly detailed, and unless Constantius' source was part of Germanus' party some 60 years before, it is probable that Constantius is filling in the details of the villa from his own experience; thus we are probably hearing a description of a ruined late fifth-century villa, rather than one of half a century earlier.

We can gather from the passage that some villas were associated with hauntings from even the late Roman period, though it is difficult to say how common this association might have been. Germanus' villa seems to have held its reputation locally, as the party had to be informed of the haunting by 'two old' men, who appear in the tale only to impart that information – they may have been some of the otherwise obscure 'neighbours' on whom Constantius somewhat curiously places blame for the neglect of the site; these same neighbours appear to have provided the manpower for the clearance of the site, and the re-interment of the two bodies. Germanus himself behaves as we would expect any saint to do: rather than being warned off, he confronts the menace and cleanses the property. To this effect his activities are not unlike those of St Guthlac, who inhabited and spiritually cleansed a haunted barrow with his presence.¹⁶⁷

The two bodies, of course, are perhaps the most important aspect of the entire *Vita* as far as this thesis is concerned: from this account we can gather that bodies were interred in ruinous Roman buildings in the late Roman period, but it is difficult to extrapolate just how common this practice was, if indeed it could be considered a 'practice'. It is equally significant that the bodies were those of criminals who, although Constantius does not say it directly, were executed for their crimes, and then apparently dumped in a haphazard fashion ('thrown down anyhow') within the villa, before being covered intentionally or accidentally with a loose scree of rubble from the walls or roof. The bodies had been reduced to the bones, which still had fetters about them.

¹⁶⁷ Felix's *Life of St Guthlac*, Chapter 28 (ed. Colgrave 1956). One tradition ascribes Guthlac's barrow to the site at Anchor Church Hill, at which Stukeley saw the remains of a chapel in 1708. The architectural records suggest that the structure could have been some kind of medieval chapel associated with an earlier chamber (Colgrave 1956, 182-4) and recent interpretation of air photographs may support this conjecture (Stocker, 1993). If this were indeed true we could be seeing the structural continuation of a Christian tradition associated with Guthlac's sanctification of this previously pagan place.

Taking this at face value, one could proceed to look for evidence of these small, late-Roman execution cemeteries in Britain as well. However, none of the examples in the corpus show evidence of execution, and in fact most indicate a concentrated effort to bury the body properly. This tale was included in the saint's *Vita* because it demonstrates Germanus' control over the spirits of the netherworld, and highlights his ability to save lost souls even after death; it is a hagiographical account, and as such requires careful scrutiny. In fact, Constantius' writings bear a curious resemblance to a letter by Pliny the Younger in which he recounts the tale of a haunted house in Athens, complete with the ghost of an old man in shackles.¹⁶⁸ In Pliny's story, the philosopher Athenodorus buys the house and that night encounters the enfettered ghost: he follows the ghost with a lantern to a place where it disappears; the next morning excavations upon the spot of his disappearance uncover a skeleton bound in chains. The body is given a public burial and the haunting ceases. The parallels are striking: a body in chains, a haunting that ceases upon proper burial of the mortal remains, and the command of an eminent man over a spirit of the underworld. Even if we are to assume that Constantius was familiar with Pliny's letters, we should not be too quick to believe that Chapter 10 of the *Vita* is simply a work of fiction, in part because the detail and topographical description of Germanus' visit seem too particular to be pure invention. Furthermore, the chained ghost, the haunted house, and the body buried incorrectly are all literary *topoi* that are still used today. It is more probable that both stories are drawing upon a common convention that was in use in Classical Antiquity and the late Roman periods. As such, we cannot be too quick to dismiss Constantius' account, but nor can we embrace it uncritically; as with many hagiographical studies, one all too easily returns to where one started. However, the topographical description of the villa, and the interment of the bodies within, both add to our understanding of the period, and provide a potential explanation for the villa burials described in this corpus. Furthermore, the tale suggests that Roman masonry remains may have had otherworldly connotations – similar to Guthlac's haunted barrow – and we may begin to entertain the idea that the origins of some of these churches associated with Roman buildings could be based on earlier structures built to commemorate a saint who, like Guthlac and Germanus, moved to rid an ancient place of its demons.

1.6.2 Rome

As we look to Gaul for contemporary examples of burial rite and church development in a merging Germanic and Roman culture, Rome and Italy offer contemporary examples of the disposition of the Roman Church towards Roman monuments, particularly the reuse of domestic and civic structures as Christian churches. With a direct continuity from Classical Empire to Christian Kingdom we can expect a comparatively easy architectural transition, and the evidence supports this: Vaes has identified over 1400 early Christian or Byzantine churches that have been built on or incorporated ancient structures: 600 within Italy itself, and 800 more in the area he terms *orbis Christianus*.¹⁶⁹ A great number of the Roman structures were originally domestic buildings, in part due to the growth of *domus ecclesiae* in the fourth century.¹⁷⁰ A further large proportion of these are villas which have been transformed into churches, in part due to the nature of the architecture, which

¹⁶⁸ Pliny, *Letters* VII, 27, to Licinius Sura. The parallel is noted in Knight 1999, 60.

¹⁶⁹ Vaes 1989, 300.

¹⁷⁰ Vaes 1989, 300.

suited itself to ecclesiastical functions, as well as the development of *latifundia*, or peripheral estate tombs.¹⁷¹

Within Rome, and certainly in Gaul as noted above, estates and houses were given or deeded to the church, a practice that originated in the fourth century and extended well into the eighth. The Lateran, the first Christian basilica in Rome, is certainly one of the first, and a primary example: the name is derived from that of the patrician family of Plautius Lateranus, who was condemned by Nero and had his property confiscated: the estate passed to Constantine as the dowry for his wife Fausta, who presented it and the adjacent barracks of his private horseguards to Pope Melchiades (311-14); the basilica itself was constructed between 314-18.¹⁷² This undoubtedly set the precedent for the donation of imperial estates to the church, a tradition that Ælthelbert, with some suggestion from Augustine, may have knowingly continued.

Throughout Rome domestic structures became focuses of Christian reverence through the association with the life or death of a saint: The church of St Prisca possibly dates from the fourth century, and is said to occupy the site of the house of Aquila and Prisca, friends of St Peter.¹⁷³ Another example is the church of St Cecilia in Trastevere, which is on the site of the house of St Cecilia and her husband St Valerian, whom she converted to Christianity. St Cecilia was martyred under Alexander Severus in 230, when she was locked in her own *calidarium* to be scalded to death, but was subsequently beheaded on emerging miraculously unscathed: the site appears to consist of two houses which were later consolidated for Christian use sometime in the fourth or fifth century. The first recorded church on the site was that built by Paschal I (817-24), although some suggest that the remains of an early Christian basilica also exist.¹⁷⁴ In this example, the site the martyrdom undoubtedly contributed to the sanctity of the house, which was in turn converted into a church.

The site of St Sabina is a candidate for the retrospective application of a Christian association, perhaps closer to what we might be seeing in early Christian Britain: it was built by Peter of Illyria (422-32), a presbyter or bishop from Dalmatia, on the legendary site of the house of the Roman matron Sabina. Beneath the nave, excavations have uncovered the remains of a small temple, and a *domus* of the early Imperial period.¹⁷⁵ More interesting is the intra-mural basilica of SS Giovanni e Paolo, founded in the early fifth century by the senator Pammachius, which stands on the site of a Christian *titulus*, owned by the senator, commemorating the saints John and Paul (of whom little is known, but supposed to be two brothers who were court dignitaries under Constantine II, martyred during the reign of Julian). Decorations in rooms beneath dating from c.300-350 indicate that the occupants were Christians. In the second half of the fourth century the back staircase was converted into a martyrs' tomb: the bodies were interred under it at the east end, the door to it was narrowed and heightened, the stairs were veneered in marble, and a *confessio* and *fenestella* were made on the landing. Decoration within the *confessio* depicts, among other things, a scene showing the arrest and martyrdom of three figures. According to the legend of St John and St Paul, they are presumed to be Crispin, Crispianus and Benedicta, martyred under the reign of Julian (361-4) and buried in the

¹⁷¹ Vaes 1989, 300; see the case of San Vincenzo al Volturno in Samnium for a case-study (Hodges 1997).

¹⁷² Krautheimer 1937 (hereafter *Corpus Basilicarum*), V, 1-92, esp. 24-30.

¹⁷³ *Corpus Basilicarum*, III, 260-276.

¹⁷⁴ *Corpus Basilicarum*, I, 95-112.

¹⁷⁵ *Corpus Basilicarum*, IV, 72-98.

house of a Christian named Byzans.¹⁷⁶ The south-west aisle of the fifth-century church is structurally supported upon the Roman apartment complex beneath. The structure is aligned to the underlying Roman buildings and deviates from true east/west, although such a liturgically correct alignment could have been obtained if the church had taken advantage of the structures of the contiguous building complex which lies to the immediate north-east, which is aligned to the compass points. It is clear that the fifth-century church-builders were intent enough on the specific structure containing the martyrrium to forsake the east-west alignment.

Although these few examples are just a small sample of the early Christian churches in Rome, they do project an idea of the varied evolution of and Christian motivation behind the development of a domestic structure into a place of worship. Just as interesting is the reaction of the early-medieval church to their own public and monumental structures, including temples, baths and civic buildings.

It must first be remembered that, by the late sixth century, many of the public buildings of Rome were no longer put to any civic use. Politically the city had changed greatly. The senate was last recorded historically in 580, but early Christian Rome was topographically little altered from its high Imperial counterpart, and by all accounts it retained much of its architectural splendour. The monuments were respectfully preserved into Late Antiquity, even by the Ostrogothic king Theodoric, who rebuilt the Curia, and repaired the Baths of Caracalla and the palace on the Palatine.¹⁷⁷ However, from the sixth century, many civic buildings were adapted into Christian buildings.

Within the civic heart of the city, the forum, the church of SS Cosmas and Damian occupies a large audience hall (perhaps a library) in the Forum of Vespasian, once part of the Temple of Peace, which St Felix IV adapted in 527; the so-called 'Temple of Romulus' served as the vestibule to the church.¹⁷⁸ The Church and Monastery of St Francesca Romana/St Maria Nova sits upon the *forum antiquarium*, aligned with the Temple of Roma and Venus, which is said to have been the last pagan temple in use at Rome, closed by Theodosius in 391. Although the bronze roof-tiles were removed in 625 by Honorius I for use on the old basilica of St Peter's, by the mid eighth century a church to SS Peter and Paul, patron saints of Rome, was built into the vestibule of the Roma side by Pope Paul I (757-67), which was then replaced in 847 by one in the oratory to the Virgin Mary (called S. Maria Nova to distinguish it from the other 'Antiqua', discussed below), now called St Francesca Romana.¹⁷⁹ This church is particularly significant because it demonstrates how readily a pagan, civic ceremony could be moulded to fit a developing Christian tradition, and the temple's annual festival in celebration of the birthday of Rome (21 April) was still significant among Christians in the fifth century.¹⁸⁰

The Church of St Maria Antiqua was installed in the Domitianic Hall in the forum, sometime in the second half of the sixth century, perhaps during the papacy of Justin II (565-78), and was aligned to the earlier structure, roughly north-east-south-west. The church was abandoned in the mid ninth century, probably because of the earthquake of

¹⁷⁶ Crook 2000, 44-48, esp. figs. 7 & 8; Claridge 1998, 313-317 (plan fig. 154); *Corpus Basilicarum*, I, 265-300.

¹⁷⁷ Llewellyn 1993, 26; Claridge 1998, 321.

¹⁷⁸ *Corpus Basilicarum* I, 137-43; Claridge 1998, 153-4 (fig. 60:18).

¹⁷⁹ Claridge 1998, 115 (fig. 36); *Corpus Basilicarum*, I, 219-241.

¹⁸⁰ Claridge 1998, 115.

847.¹⁸¹ and is considered to be the oldest and most important Christian building in the forum. The very seat of civic government, the *Curia* (Senate House), was converted in 630 by Pope Honorius I (who also added an apse) into the Church of St Hadrian.¹⁸² The *Curial Secretariat* nearby was also converted into the Church of St Martin by the eighth century.¹⁸³ Next to the Curia the church of SS Luca & Martina, probably founded in the seventh century, overlies the *Curia Hostilia* (in the Forum of Caesar), the predecessor of the Imperial Curia visible today.¹⁸⁴ Recent excavations (1999-2000) on the site of the Forum of Caesar have shown that the forum area was first used for burials, and then later became a monastic precinct with a carefully laid-out garden, vineyard and orchard. The evidence would seem to suggest that the curia, and the adjacent forum, were given over to the Church as a distinct unit.¹⁸⁵

Lastly, the Church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda was installed into the *cella* of the Temple of Divus Antonius and Diva Faustina sometime in the seventh or eighth century. The columns show the scars of ropes used in an unsuccessful attempt to topple them, perhaps contemporary with the fourteenth-century destruction of the *cella*, for stone to be used in the rebuilding of the Lateran palace.¹⁸⁶ This particular instance could be the result of sanctity by association, as the trial of St Laurence is said to have taken place in this temple.

From the seventh century all manner of structures dating from the Imperial period were used for churches: on the Corso, next to the Palazzo Doria, the remains of a large Roman building which may have served as an *horreum* were converted into a Christian chapel and welfare centre in the seventh century, and rebuilt and enlarged shortly afterwards, into the Church of S. Maria in Via Lata.¹⁸⁷ In the circus, The Gateway to the Porticus of Octavia was adapted in 755 as the atrium of the church of St Paul, now S. Angelo in Pescheria, which is aligned to the Roman building beneath.¹⁸⁸ In the Piazza Colonna the church of San Silvestro in Capite was built in the eighth century on a Roman building, perhaps Aurelian's Temple of the Sun.¹⁸⁹ By the seventh century the eastern corner of the precinct of the Baths of Caracalla was used as a cemetery, probably associated with the nearby church of SS Nereus and Achilleus. The church replaced the fourth-century oratory of the Fasciola, and is first recorded in 524 when it was enlarged by John I.¹⁹⁰ It is not unusual for open spaces to be put to a Christian use: although animal hunts in the Colosseum went on until at least 523, by the later half of this century a small church had been installed within the structure, and used the arena as a cemetery.¹⁹¹ Other churches were built to exploit specific, prominent structures: the ninth-century church of S. Nicola de Columna in the Forum of Trajan used the column of Trajan as its bell tower, not unlike the reuse of St Mary de Castro in Dover.¹⁹²

¹⁸¹ Claridge 1998, 93-4 (fig. 1:27).

¹⁸² Llewellyn 1993, 197; *Corpus Basilicarum*, I, 1.

¹⁸³ Llewellyn 1993, 197.

¹⁸⁴ Claridge 1998, 147-8; *Corpus Basilicarum*, III, 82-86, esp. 83.

¹⁸⁵ Amanda Claridge pers. comm..

¹⁸⁶ Claridge 1998, 107 (fig. 1:37).

¹⁸⁷ *Corpus Basilicarum*, III, 72-81.

¹⁸⁸ So named because the portico was used as a fish market from the twelfth-century; Claridge 1998, 222 (fig. 104).

¹⁸⁹ *Corpus Basilicarum* IV, 148-62.

¹⁹⁰ Claridge 1998, 321 (fig. 149:8); *Corpus Basilicarum* III, 135-52.

¹⁹¹ Claridge 1998, 277.

¹⁹² Claridge 1998, 165.

What do these activities in Rome have to do with the afterlife of Roman monuments in England? We have already stressed the strong ties that were developing between Britain and Rome from the moment Augustine and his entourage arrived on the island; from that time onwards there was a considerable movement of personnel and cultural exchange.¹⁹³ By the time of Ine's pilgrimage, Bede is affirming that 'many English people vied with one another in following this custom, both noble and simple, layfolk and clergy, men and women alike'.¹⁹⁴ What is immediately noticeable in this chronology, even outside Wilfrid's and Benedict Biscop's commuting, is the sheer amount of high-level exchange between Rome and the English church. Furthermore, the kings of England were involved with the Pope from c.631, and by 667 Egbert of Kent and Osuiu of Northumbria were sending the archbishop elect to Rome, rather than Gaul, for consecration.¹⁹⁵ Of course there also must have been a massive amount of undocumented exchange between Britain and the Mediterranean world, and it is more likely that the craftsmen who were influenced by cultural Mediterranean styles and iconography were handling imported goods, but many must have travelled to Rome, Ravenna and Constantinople as well. These unnamed (and therefore presumably lower-status) individuals undoubtedly contributed to the emulation of Byzantine and Roman artefacts discussed in section 1.5.1. With the evidence of this ongoing personal and cultural exchange between Rome and its westernmost mission, it is not untoward to suggest that the activities of church construction and the reuse of Roman buildings in Rome would not have escaped the devout notice of these English pilgrims, nor of the Roman administrators sent to oversee the growth of the new English church.

This chapter has attempted to place the phenomena of churches and burials associated with Roman buildings within a contemporary cultural and archaeological framework. It aims to introduce the idea that the reuse of Roman structures for religious reasons was not strictly a Germanic trait, but one which was integral to early-medieval cultures' interaction with the physical remains of their Imperial predecessors.

¹⁹³ Levison 1966.

¹⁹⁴ *H. E.* V, 7.

¹⁹⁵ *H. E.* IV, 1.

2 Burials Associated with Roman Structures

2.1 Introduction

Post-Roman burials in Roman ruins remain a largely obscure and little-understood aspect of Anglo-Saxon and post-Roman funerary archaeology, in part because so many of the burials in Roman villas were assumed to be Roman upon their excavation, despite the fact that the majority had been interred through the destruction layer, or had been inserted into the trench of a robbed foundation. Furthermore, Roman law forbade the interment of an adult corpse within city limits, and this practice was extended to all aspects of Roman domestic settlement, including *vici*, forts, villa and smaller settlements.¹⁹⁶ Over 110 Roman structures and buildings reused for mortuary purposes in the Anglo-Saxon period are included in this study (Figure 11). The majority of these sites are small cemeteries with fewer than 10 inhumations, which could suggest an isolated period of use over a relatively short time-span (Table 7). The phasing of these burials is notoriously ambiguous given the lack of grave goods in most cases, but most accompanied or radiocarbon-dated burials suggest dates centred upon the late sixth and seventh centuries (see Table 6, below).

Examples of this burial rite are well distributed throughout the country. Figure 11 shows a cluster in the South Midlands, around the areas showing a high density of rural masonry structures. Another apparent concentration occurs in the south-west, where this type of site seems to cluster on both sides of the Bristol Channel and into central Somerset. Perhaps more revealing is the fact that these the these sites do not appear to occur much more frequently in areas where there are more buildings available to be reused: few burials occur in areas of the highest density of Roman structures: there is some correlation in Kent and in the southern half of the Severn estuary, but little elsewhere, particularly in the north, or in Essex, which shows that the distribution of these sites is not strictly dependent on the availability of Roman buildings.

¹⁹⁶ Toynbee 1971.

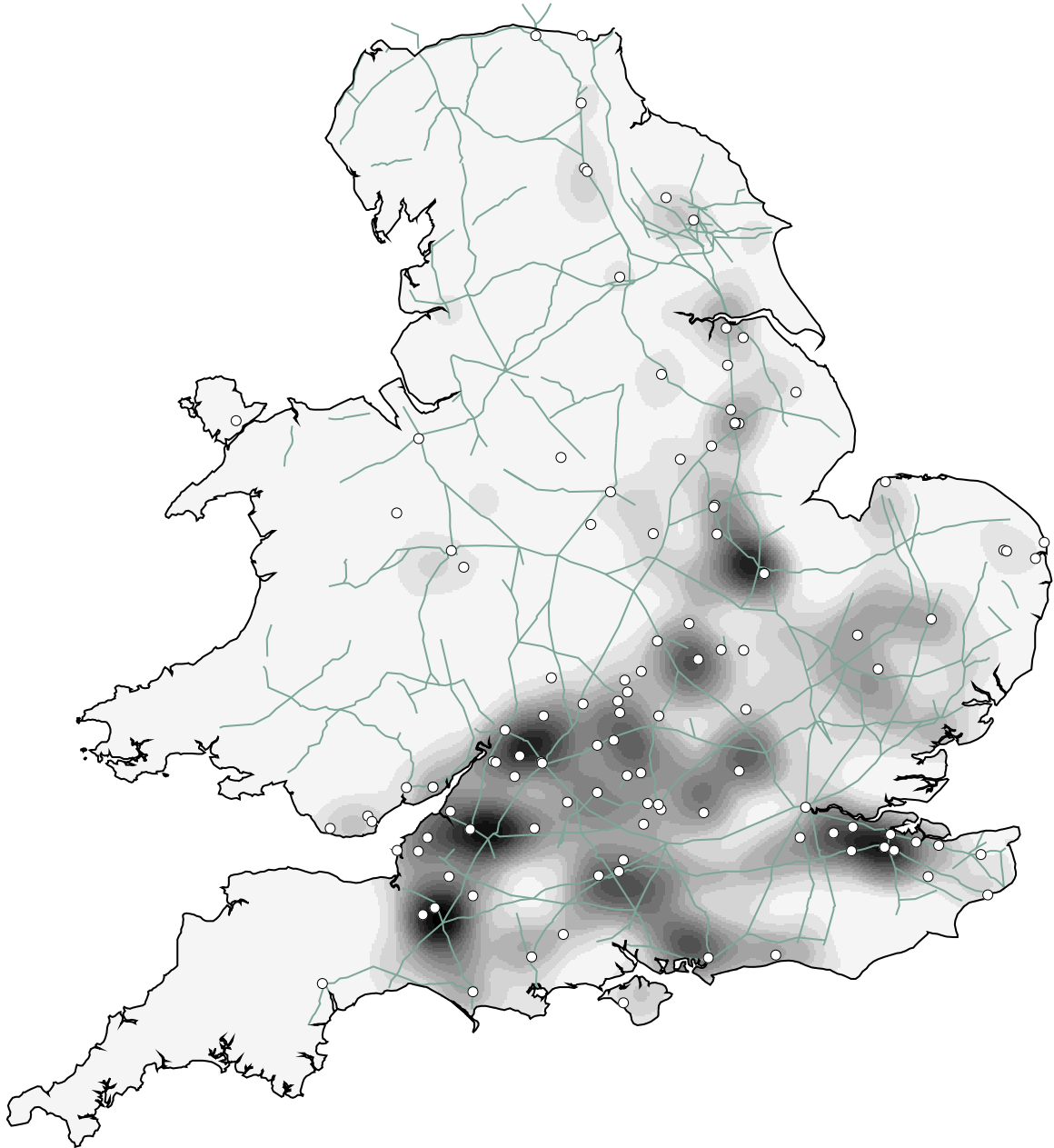


Figure 11 – Burials in Roman structures plotted against a background density of Roman structures (per km²).

The greatest difficulty encountered during the study of these sites is common to all cemetery studies: overcoming the fragmentary nature of the evidence. In almost all cases, the number of graves recorded is often only a fraction of the total number, due to partial excavation, poor preservation of the later stratigraphy, or (in the older excavations) a total lack of interest in the number that were actually found (thus the reports of 'cemetery' on the site, which can contain as few as two inhumations). The largest cemeteries at Eccles (Kent), Burgh Castle (Suffolk) and the Vicarage Orchard at Caerwent (Monm) contain over 160 burials: the large number of burials at Burgh Castle suggest that they were associated with the monastic site of Cnobheresburg, rather than the

Roman remains there.¹⁹⁷ Likewise, the 160+ burials found outside the east gate of Caerwent may have been associated with a community within the fort, rather than the Roman structure outside the gate, or the fort itself. These two sites are discussed later in the chapter, but it is worth noting here that these very large sites fall outside the norm due to their reuse by Christian communities, another point to which we will return shortly. Despite the traditional caveats regarding the limitations of excavated evidence, it is probably significant that the majority of the sites (70%) contain the graves of fewer than ten individuals; 55 of these sites, almost half of the corpus, record five burials or fewer.

It must be acknowledged that the total number of sites on which post-Roman burial has been observed is probably well below the actual number. One cause of this omission, outside those mentioned above, is the lack of interest in unaccompanied corporeal remains in the minds of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquaries. Many of them, notably Lysons, excavated for the aesthetic and antiquarian value of Roman polychrome mosaics, and we can consider ourselves lucky if *any* account of human remains associated with a villa eventually found its way into print. Rescue work in 1896 at 'Oakley Park' (The Barton, a villa complex to the immediate north-west of Cirencester, Gloucs) revealed two young male inhumations with shield boss, metal studs and iron bands – yet they were only recorded because they were cut through the Orpheus mosaic – 'laying side-by-side and facing each other'.¹⁹⁸ We know that other inhumations probably existed here or nearby, because Whatley cites other remains of human skeletons without providing details, and a plate from an earlier volume of antiquities includes two Anglo-Saxon shield-bosses in a collection of Roman finds from Cirencester.¹⁹⁹ The point need not be laboured, but the eighteenth and nineteenth-century antiquarian interest in Roman mosaics certainly obscured the recording of associated post-Roman burials, and this has undoubtedly affected the overall record of human remains found within Roman structures in the earlier excavations.

2.1.1 Example: Fishbourne

However, the advent of the twentieth century did not necessarily bring about a revolution in the recording of post-Roman material in Roman archaeology. Although more recent excavation has begun to treat archaeology as that which lies below the topsoil rather than below the destruction layer, the post-Roman archaeology on Roman sites has never been 'information rich', and this lack of associated data has often confined it to no more than a footnote in the excavation report. An example is the Roman palace at Fishbourne (Sussex), a massive complex excavated between 1961 and 1969. It is certainly deserving of its palatial ascription, featuring over thirty mosaics in four wings surrounding a central courtyard. The villa structure was abandoned after a fire torched the north wing sometime between 280 - 290. No attempt was made to rebuild, and a period of 'systematic stone robbing resulted in the total dismantling of all the standing superstructure'.²⁰⁰ Cunliffe suggests total abandonment by the 320s and describes the site as consisting afterwards of 'heaps of weed-grown rubble'. The site itself became boggy

¹⁹⁷ However, the cemetery does contain women and children. The remains could be those of a lay community and are not therefore inconsistent with a monastic settlement, but could also suggest that the cemetery is part of something different entirely: the fact that some cremations were found on the site (Geake 1997, 178) might suggest that its origins pre-date the Christian community.

¹⁹⁸ Whatley 1897, 395.

¹⁹⁹ Buckman and Newmarch, pl. 7, opp. p. 32.

²⁰⁰ Cunliffe 1971, 192.

from the ponding up of spring water to the north, after which four graves were dug into the site.²⁰¹ Three were extended, supine, and oriented north/south: Grave 1 was cut through the filling of a robber trench, Grave 2 cut ten inches through the mortar flooring, Grave 4 had its knees flexed. Grave 3 did not penetrate the floor and was placed west/east. All were cut through the rubble, unaccompanied, and buried without coffins.²⁰²

Fishbourne is addressed here in an attempt to demonstrate both the typical nature of the archaeology encountered in this thesis, and the problems inherent in investigating the post-Roman use of Roman sites, even in modern excavations. Cunliffe describes each grave in detail, but quite clearly there was still in 1971 a propensity to segregate post-Roman evidence strictly from what came before. This is entirely understandable given the paucity of evidence traditionally associated with these remains, but the prevailing tendency to divorce such burials from the preceding archaeology can be seen in Cunliffe's Figure 50 (Figure 12), a plan of all features from the fifth to the eighteenth centuries, which includes the four burials whose placement Cunliffe describes as 'haphazard'.²⁰³ Although the outline of the North Wing is hatched, one is unable to ascertain immediately the relationship between the post Roman features and the earlier archaeology, particularly the structure of the villa. Cunliffe's Figure 26 (Figure 13) shows in greater detail the ground plan of the North Wing which underlies the features in Figure 12.

The scaling and superimposition of the two plans reveals that the placement of the graves is perhaps less than 'haphazard' (Figure 14). Grave 3 is placed within the threshold of a door into the villa wing; Grave 1 is (as Cunliffe notes) on the line of the villa wall, within a robber trench similar to the graves at Piddington and Shakenoak; Grave 4 is aligned north/south, although its placement in what was the garden would suggest that there were no immediate structural reasons for its alignment; Grave 2 is placed alone in the centre of a single room, exactly like two graves within the Barton Court Farm villa (Figure 24), as well as those continental examples to which Percival refers (but does not name), 'where burials are place in orderly fashion within a villa's rooms...where the building is recognised as a building and allowed in some measure to govern the cemetery's arrangement'.²⁰⁴

It is clear that these graves were intentionally interred within and deliberately aligned to the structure of the Roman building, yet Cunliffe states that no superstructure would have remained after the systematic demolition: either there was a greater amount of structure visible than Cunliffe believes, or the people who buried their dead here were making a concerted effort to locate the remains of these structures and cut the graves in conformity with the plan of the villa. The situation is not unlike that at the mausoleum at Lullingstone, where the excavator is led to believe that 'little, if anything, is likely to have remained above ground when the [medieval] Christian church came to be built', but the church was built on the foundations of the mausoleum, and aligned on it nonetheless.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Cunliffe 1971, 193.

²⁰² Cunliffe 1971, 193-4.

²⁰³ Cunliffe 1971, 193.

²⁰⁴ Percival 1976, 184.

²⁰⁵ Meates 1979, 124.

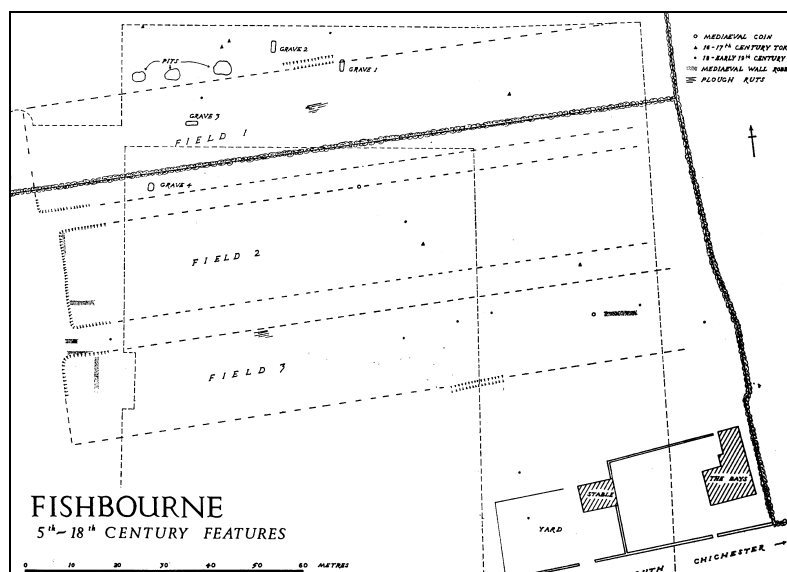


Figure 12 – Fishbourne: Cunliffe's Figure 50, showing fifth- through eighth-century features, including medieval field-systems, extant structures, and the four post-Roman graves (Cunliffe 1971, fig. 50).

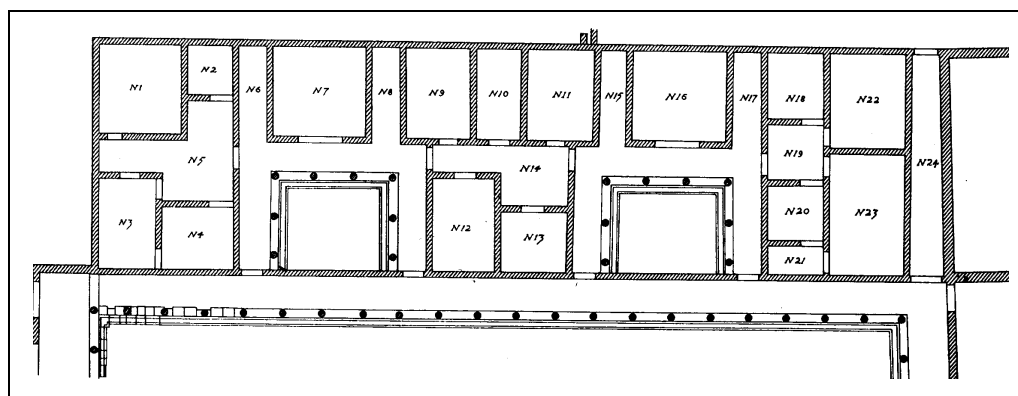


Figure 13 – Fishbourne: Cunliffe's Figure 26, detailing the structure of the north wing of the villa (Cunliffe 1971, fig. 26).

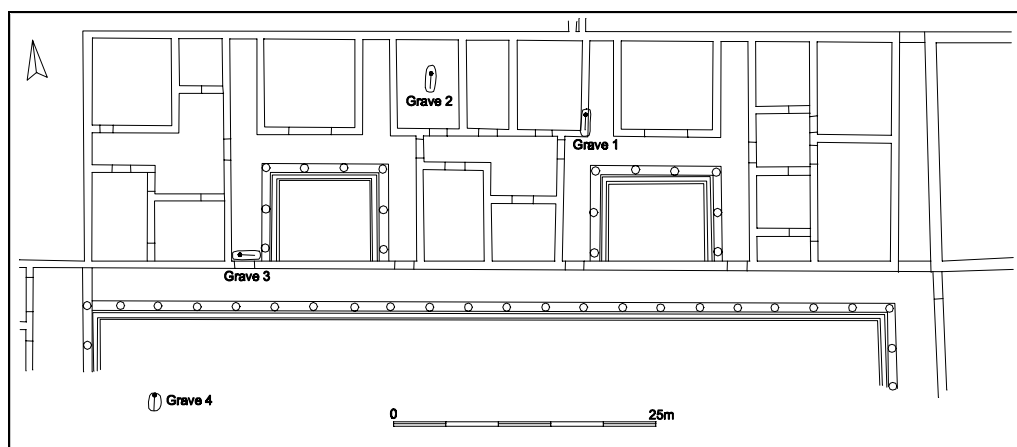


Figure 14 – Fishbourne: the north wing of the villa plotted with the later graves (after Cunliffe 1971, figures 26 and 50).

Archaeology has traditionally and rigidly segregated one chronological phase from the next; recognition of the misconceptions that will result when a site is 'time sliced' into disparate chronological phases is really the first step in identifying the existence of these types of burials and then coming to grips with their origin. Cunliffe was of course aware of the relationship of the skeletons to the villa structure (Grave 2 still lies *in situ* in the centre of Room 9, visible when visiting Fishbourne today), but the potential significance of its placement was not immediately apparent in the written report. Reconciling the plans of the burials and the underlying villa at sites like Fishbourne may not take us any nearer to understanding these later burials, but it does demonstrate that care should be taken when disassociating later archaeology from the monumental ruins that many Roman structures will have become by the early Anglo-Saxon period.

2.1.2 Example: Great Tew

Great Tew in Oxfordshire is a very interesting site, but its potential is frustrated by our lack of knowledge of the specifics of the finds, as well as the fact that most of the objects, artefacts and architecture were destroyed shortly after their discovery. Here, at least 11 inhumations were placed within what appears to be the bath-house of a Roman villa. The only first-hand information regarding the site is a description of its discovery given by the Rev. Nash, minister of Great Tew in 1810. His account is worth recording here in full, not only because the site has undeservedly escaped the literature almost altogether, but also because it exemplifies the standard of recording for the period.²⁰⁶

'On the 22nd of May, 1810, as some workmen were making a ditch for a threshing machine, under the direction of Stenhouse Wood, at Beaconsfield Farm, in the Parish of Great Tew, they found, on advancing up the hill, that the earth in many parts had been disturbed; and occasionally, they met with bones, wood ashes, and black earths like soot. Sometimes these were at the depth of three or four feet beneath the surface; and, in some instances, they came to them more readily. When their work proceeded to the rickyard, they were stopped by a wall of some strength, and an ante-passage with an entrance door walled up. When part of it was taken down, they discovered a Roman burial vault, nearly as perfect as when it was retained in use. It measured where disturbed twenty feet in length, and in width eighteen feet; the height was eight feet from the planking stones. It has a half circle to the north, of rough stone eight feet in diameter, which probably corresponded with a window of the temple that was built over it. The ball which appeared to have finished the top was lying among the rubbish. The human remains were laid in partitions of a dissimilar width, which crossed the vault from east to west, and were built with many Roman tiles, about eight inches and a half square. Many of the bones that had been covered with sand were very perfect; and the teeth of some of them were sound in the jaws. The partitions were two feet and a half deep, and were generally the width of our graves. These sepulchral recesses were covered with plank tiles, which had the same fresh appearance of when first taken from the kiln. Juvenal, in his Fifth satire, has these words: *Exigua feralis cæsna patella*. In illustration of this passage it is observed, that the Romans used to place in their sepulchres, to appease the spirits of the deceased, a little milk, honey, water, and wine; together with olives and flowers. We examined the graves, or recesses, and found some of the small thin basins of black Roman pottery alluded to. Sometimes a Roman red ash urn was discovered among the rubbish. The dimensions of the red planking tiles were various. Some were eleven inches and a half square; others were twenty-three inches and a half square; and some were twenty-one inches by eleven inches. The whole were one inch and a half thick. There were two tiers of sepulchral recesses; and above was a spread of planking tiles, covered with mortar and sand, to the thickness of about two inches, in which was set tessellated work. The squares were of various colours; white, dark red, and blue. Some of the plaster was as white as that made from burned shells. The temple had been covered in with small flat stones, such as are usually found in sand beds, with peg holes on either side. The greater part of the persons buried were *minores igne rogi*. The Roman altar, where the sacrifices were burned, stood in the

²⁰⁶ Recorded in Beesley 1841, 39-41; Geake, Dickinson, O'Brien and Blair only mention the single burial found in a more recent excavation (see gazetteer entry for details).

open air, twenty feet below the temple, to the south, and there were many ashes remaining, in much the same state as originally left. A Roman bath was afterwards found, on the north of the temple, and was abruptly destroyed. Many pieces of large red water-pipe shared the same fate. There were also found several large ornamental red jars, and coins of copper and brass, the copper much defaced, but the brass is a good state of preservation.

Unfortunately, no plan of the site exists. Nash's account is a combination of both description and interpretation, and, as a result, is somewhat confused. We can certainly dismiss all references to this site as a 'temple'; Nash is clearly describing an apsidal bath-house with a hypocaust, into which various inhumations had been inserted, lying east-west. Subsequent discoveries in the area seem to indicate that this building was part of a very sizable courtyard villa complex. The site at Great Tew is in many ways the epitome of sites in this study because it provides an indication of the kind of evidence that once existed, but also shows how poorly so much of it is recorded. In short, it provides a typical example of the kind of primary evidence that is almost standard for those sites in the corpus which were discovered and recorded before c. 1950.

2.1.3 Dates

Due to the limited or antiquarian nature of most of the excavations of these sites, it is difficult to obtain absolute figures regarding the dates of the cemeteries, other than the observation that, with few exceptions, they appear to date strictly from the post-Roman period. However, many of these burials were at the time of their excavation believed to have been contemporary with the final phase of the structure in which they had been found. This is in part due to the fact that the final phases on these sites are always the most disturbed by ploughing and post-depositional activity, and also because very often a grave cut will not be visible in such disturbed stratigraphy, and the skeleton can appear to be within the final phase of the Roman building.

Some of these burials within the gazetteer are Roman, but these are largely the exception. At Frocester Court Villa, at least eleven inhumations and three cremations have been found within or adjacent to the villa complex, of which four or more were noted by the excavators to date from after the fifth century (Figure 15).²⁰⁷ Two of the graves included hobnailed boots, a good indication of a Roman date. Some graves to the north of the church at Llandough, north of the villa, also had hobnailed shoes.²⁰⁸ Little is known of the inhumations in the villa at Tetbury Upton (Gloucs), but Gracie reported to the RCHME that one was in a stone coffin, the other two in wooden coffins.²⁰⁹ The stone coffin could indicate a Roman date, but it is unlikely in this context. At Stone-by-Faversham, the north/south oriented burials found inside and outside the church could be Roman, associated with the original Roman cemetery, over which the post-Roman structure was built.²¹⁰ These are really the best candidates that we have for Roman inhumations within Roman buildings outside the south-west. There, at the borders of the Severn estuary, many Roman villa complexes and temples were used for burial at a comparatively early date, some time in the late fifth and early sixth century. These sites are in a category of their own – in part because these sites may demonstrate a villa-to-church transition based on the continental model – and are discussed more fully in Section 2.1.7.5, page 90ff.

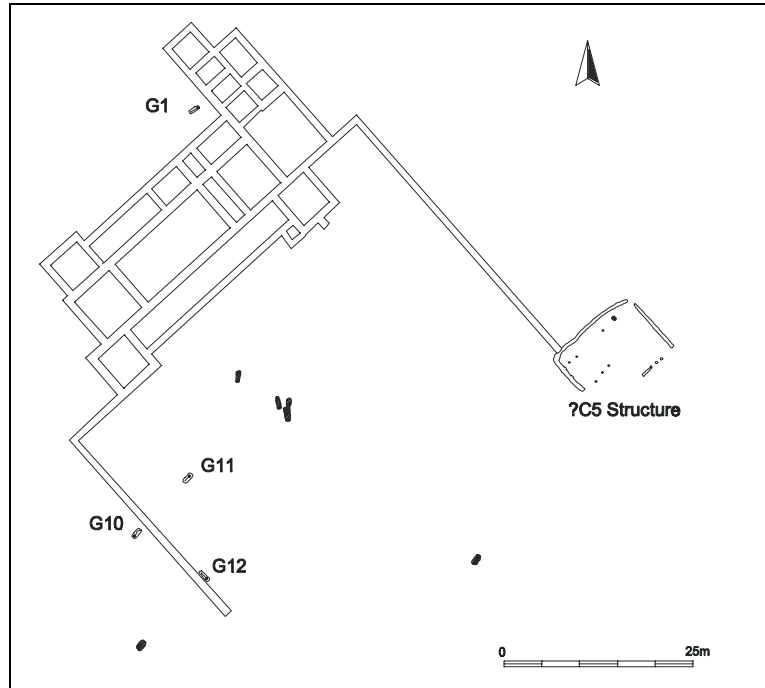
²⁰⁷ Gracie and Price 1979. The final report of the site is expected sometime late in 2000.

²⁰⁸ Selkirk 1996.

²⁰⁹ RCHME *Gloucs*, 119.

²¹⁰ *Med. Arch.* 12 (1968), 15.

Figure 15 – Frocester Court: at least eleven inhumations, some from the Roman period, have been found in the villa courtyard (after Gracie and Price 1979, figs. 3&7, and Price 1980, 25).



Despite the comparatively small proportion of sites that clearly contain Roman graves, excavators up to the 1950s have tended to ascribe Roman dates to the inhumations. Most excavators were keen to attempt a reconstruction of the events which led to the presence of a skeleton in or on a Roman villa, and rarely was it suggested that the interment was intentional; most frequently the body was found to be there as the result of some tragic accident, and rarely was this accident believed to have happened after the Roman period.

At Norton Disney (Lincs), three inhumations lie on and adjacent to the north exterior wall of the Roman villa: in the excavation report of 1937, Oswald, the excavator, firmly believes they date from the Roman period, largely due to the apparent lack of grave cuts (Figure 16). Clearly bending over backwards to explain how they came to die within the villa, he suggests that all three individuals were caught by the collapsing walls of the villa as the building burnt. This suggestion does not stand up to even the most superficial analysis, not only because one body overlies the foundation, but also because the three inhumations are aligned, parallel to the villa wall, each oriented in the same direction. Oswald's interpretation, and his prose, are reminiscent of the perceptions of the 'Dark Age' that were current at that time, shown further in his use of such terms as 'violent ends' and 'troubled times' to describe the final moments of the villa.²¹¹ A notable exception that constructs a tale around the post-Roman period is Hewitt's discovery of a skeleton in the destruction level of the villa at Rockbourne (Hants): here he found an inhumation in the destruction level, amongst the roof tiles, apparently with a broken back, and he concludes that 'it would appear that [the individual] was probably robbing roof tiles and fell through, or was sheltering in a dilapidated building' which presumably suddenly collapsed.²¹²

²¹¹ Oswald 1937.

²¹² Hewitt 1971, 10.

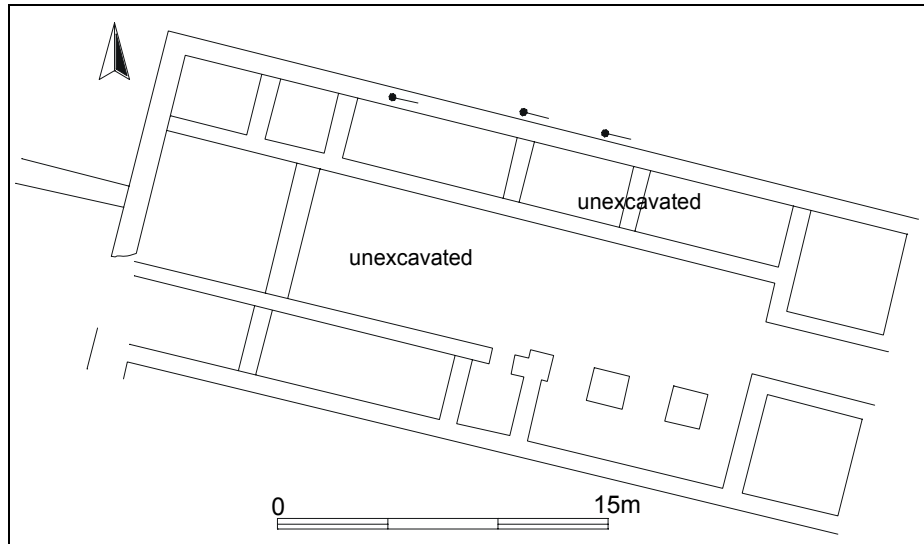


Figure 16 – Norton Disney: three inhumations along the line of the villa wall. The excavator suggests that they were caught under the burning wall as it collapsed upon them (after Oswald 1937, pl. 45 (although his scale is incorrect: corrected here from plan in Stead 1976, fig. 6)).

In a similar vein, preliminary excavations sometime between 1820 and 1830 in a field on Well House Farm (Berks), lying on the south side of a knoll in the valley below the high grounds of Cold Ash, revealed tessellated floors and two skeletons. Further exploration, sometime after 1861, revealed that the structure was part of a larger complex, presumably that of a villa. The site was not completely excavated and unfortunately no plans exist. Two bodies were found within the villa, and the excavator, in explaining their presence, suggests that they were the unsuccessful defenders of the villa, which was subsequently sacked and burnt.²¹³ A battle is also proposed for the explanation of the cemetery at Heronbridge, where more than 19 skeletons were found over an extensive area, mainly south of the 'long wall', a long line of masonry associated with the building.²¹⁴ All were aligned west/east, without grave goods. Some burials were isolated, others were found in two groups: Group I consisted of complete skeletons, closely packed together and lying alternately on back and sides - apparently a single-phase interment. The skeletons of Group II were less packed together; all were laid on their back, but some skeletons were incomplete: one had no legs, another only one; two skeletons of this group were without skulls. A 'heap of detached bones' was also found. The excavators suggest a date of c.160-200 for the 19+ inhumations found on the site, primarily based on small fragments of Roman pottery in the dark, organic deposit that overlies and surrounds the burials. However, one grave actually overlay one of the masonry walls, which clearly must have been robbed or in ruins at that time. Furthermore, the organic deposit sounds suspiciously like 'Black Earth', and there is no reason why the pottery in the grave fills could not be residual. The pathology report describes the sword cuts to the heads as suggestive of a slicing sword; the excavators suggest that a Roman cavalry sword, the *spatha*, may have made the cuts. Nowhere is the idea entertained that the cuts were made by an Anglo-Saxon sword, or a weapon from a later period. There appears to be little reason to assign the graves to the Roman period, and again radiocarbon dates are needed.

²¹³ Palmer 1863.

²¹⁴ Petch 1933.

More recently, at Bradley Court Farm in Somerset, Leech excavated a fourth-century farmstead that consisted of three masonry buildings with 54 associated burials (Figure 17).²¹⁵ Two adult graves and one child grave to the west of building 2 are believed by the excavator to have pre-dated the construction of building 3, a barn or byre.²¹⁶ Later, while the domestic buildings were still in use in the late Roman period, the bodies of 21 infants were placed in cist-graves in building 3, aligned to the building, with covering slabs. The excavator notes that the burial of infants through the floors of buildings that were still in use in the Roman period was standard practice, and it cannot be assumed that this structure had gone out of use, and may still have been used as a general-purpose farm building, or barn.²¹⁷ At a later date, to the south of Building 3, were interred 25, west/east aligned graves, some in cists; one was aligned north/south and had hobnailed boots.²¹⁸ Leech concludes:

Several east-west burials were dated to the fourth century or later by coins. None contained objects identifiably later than the fourth or early fifth centuries. Since the homestead was evidently occupied from c.335-50 into the fifth century, the 24 east-west burials in Building 3, which certainly date from this period, and the cemetery to the south were probably of the homestead. Forty-nine of the 55 burials were aligned east-west with heads to the west. It must therefore be concluded that, for the greater part of the period from c.335-50 into the fifth century, the inhabitants of the homestead were burying their dead with head to the west in east-west graves.²¹⁹

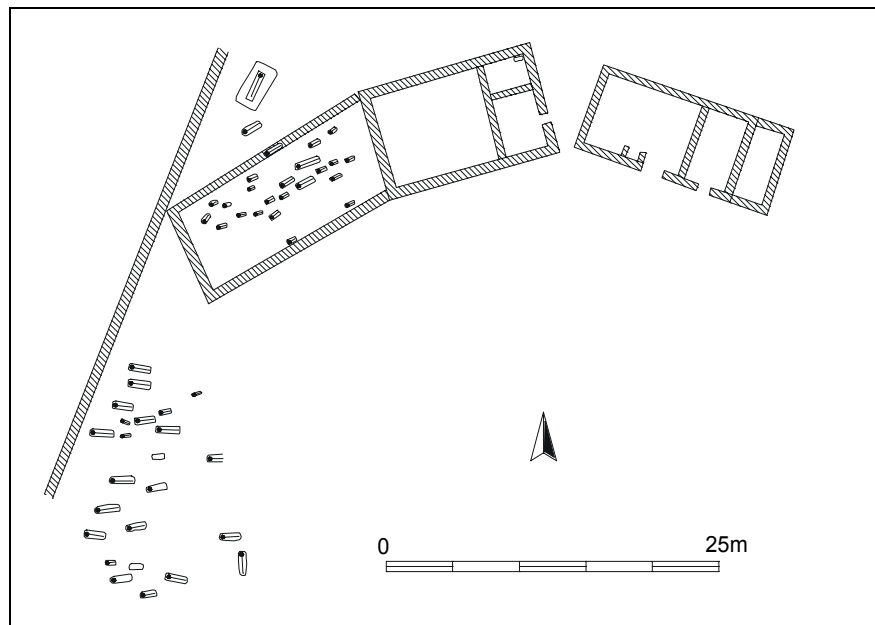


Figure 17 – Bradley Hill: the burials are dated by the excavator to the Roman period on coin evidence, but there are no stratigraphic or radiocarbon dates to confirm this (after Leech 1981, fig. 2).

Here the dating evidence is based on associated coins and the hobnailed boots; while the latter is usually a good indication of a Roman date, the retention of Roman coins (and other Roman objects) well past their use as currency, and their inclusion in a grave with

²¹⁵ Leech 1981 provides a full report, esp. 195-205. 10 adult males, 10 adult females, one child female and 34 infants.

²¹⁶ Leech 1981, 189. The suggestion is based on the lack of construction debris in the grave fill.

²¹⁷ Leech 1981, 192.

²¹⁸ Leech 1981, 195.

²¹⁹ Leech 1981, 201.

potential post-Roman (*i.e.* fifth- and sixth-century) activity, cannot be assumed to place the interment in the Roman period.²²⁰ As will be seen, the archaeology here very closely resembles the (what are believed to be) monastic, Christian cemeteries at Winthill (Somerset), Llandough, and Llantwit Major (Glam) – neighbouring sites showing a very similar archaeology. In short, there is no direct evidence for ascribing a date in the Roman period to the adult burials, and the site of Bradley Hill (Somerset) is therefore included within this corpus.

In the light of this study, all Roman domestic sites that have associated burials should be re-examined, especially if such a site is found in the south-west, and has unaccompanied, west/east aligned burials.

In some instances, the graves associated with a Roman building can be confused with later archaeology, or more often lost within a developing cemetery. The Vicarage Orchard excavation outside the east gate of Caerwent is a singular case in point: The excavation of a Christian burial ground here was undertaken in 1973, and only published in part in 1993; superficial disturbance was excessive, archaeological preservation was poor, and many relationships were obscured by Edwardian-period trenches.²²¹ Underlying the site was a rectangular, Roman building uncovered during excavations in 1910. Although the structure was apparently robbed in antiquity, the report notes existing courses above the foundation, so there must have been some structure apparent when the graves were interred. The 136+ graves recorded in 1973 are aligned slightly north of east/west, at about 10-15° off of the orientation of the structure. Thirty more graves from this cemetery were recorded in 1910; most inhumations were dug in simple or stone-lined graves, and extended supine. In addition to these 166+ inhumations, the cemetery appears to extend to the east and south, leading Campbell and MacDonald to suggest that we could expect several hundred more burials.²²² It is possible that we are dealing with a large cemetery associated primarily with some kind of Christian activity, probably within the town of Caerwent, rather than with this insignificant structure. However, there are a few select burials that appear to be respecting the building (Figure 18), and the pattern of burial (including one lengthwise against the exterior of the building, and another within the centre of a small room) fits well with what we see in other, smaller cemeteries on Roman structures. Interestingly, eleven radiocarbon samples were taken, which produced dates in the sixth and seventh centuries cal.²²³ This site may be an example of a cemetery which originated within or on this Roman building, the core of which was later subsumed into a larger, 'successful' Christian cemetery of the post-Roman period. An extensive, post-Roman cemetery of over 125 inhumations has also been found within the town walls; two radiocarbon samples returned dates at 1σ of Cal AD560-690 and Cal AD650-780.²²⁴

²²⁰ *cf.* Llantwit Major, p. 93.

²²¹ The following summary is from Campbell and MacDonald 1993.

²²² Campbell and MacDonald 1993.

²²³ See Appendix 5.4 for radiocarbon recalibration.

²²⁴ Knight and Lane 1988, fig. 5; Farley 1984. See Appendix 5.4 for radiocarbon recalibration.

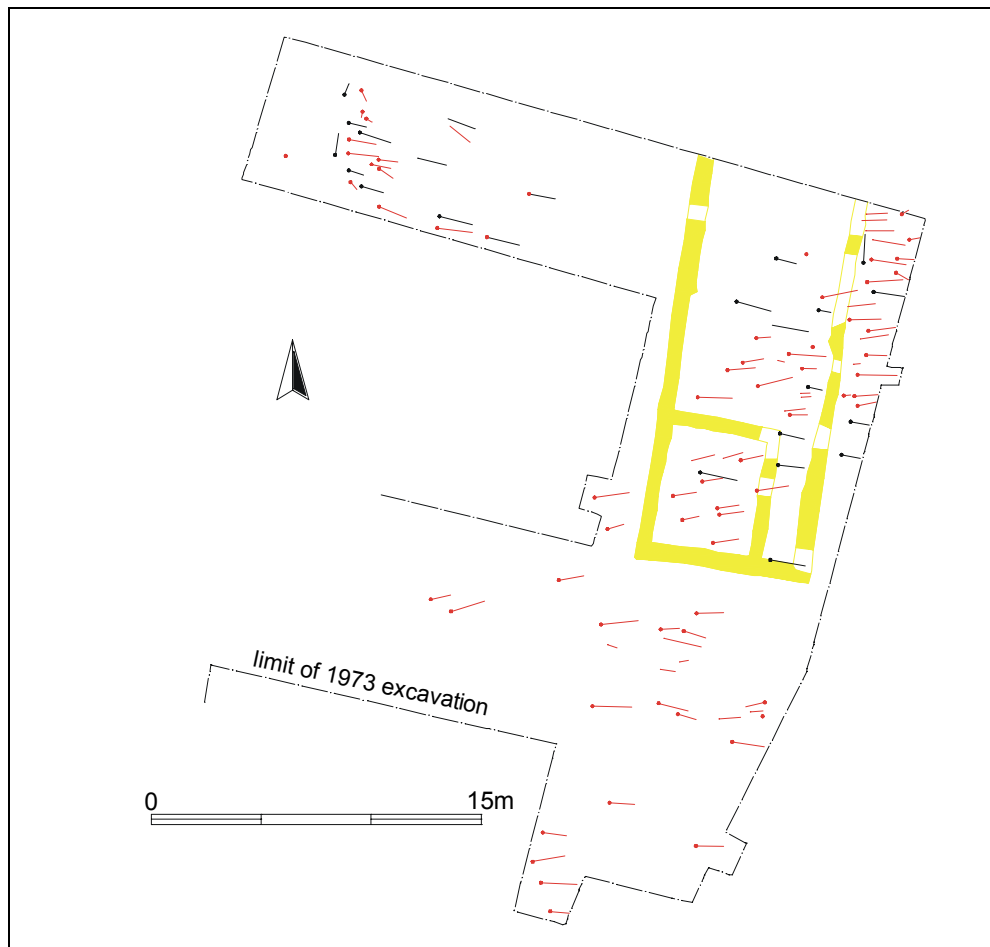


Figure 18 – Caerwent, Vicarage Orchard excavations: a Christian cemetery overlies an extra-mural Roman building, but at least 24 burials seem to be aligned to the building (shown here in solid black), nine of which are within the walls (after Campbell and MacDonald 1993, figures 2 & 3).

Although the majority of burials on these sites remain recorded in the literature as Roman, a very small proportion have subsequently been re-identified as Anglo-Saxon: in 1819 Sir Richard Colt Hoare mentioned some remains on Streatley Farm (Berks) near the village, including the foundations of old buildings, earthen vessels, Roman coins, and some skeletons; all of which he attributed to the Roman period.²²⁵ In a later examination, Akerman believed the cemetery to belong to the Anglo-Saxon period. Such re-assessment is, however, very rare.

There are of course instances in which the 'Roman' structure itself is undated, or unconfirmed: at Howletts in Kent, at least 36 inhumations were found near a masonry structure during gravel-pit digging in 1913.²²⁶ 'Villagers assert that there was once a town on the [site] in question':²²⁷ foundations of a building consisting of mortar, chalk and flint were still visible in 1918. Graves were 'scattered indiscriminately over the whole area, usually east and west', 'arms and armour' of men towards the north end, 'jewellery, beads and glass' mostly of women towards the south end.²²⁸ Only three artefact groups were associated with individual graves; in such a poorly-recorded

²²⁵ Colt Hoare 1810.

²²⁶ Smith 1918.

²²⁷ Smith 1918, 102.

²²⁸ Smith 1918.

excavation it is no wonder that there is no certain evidence that the structure described here is Roman. In fewer instances is the structure assumed to be contemporary with the burials: the well-known antiquarian activities of Douglas at Chatham Lines (Kent) in the late-eighteenth century are a case in point. This site is best known for the barrow cemetery Douglas excavated, illustrated, and described in his 1793 publication. Meaney notes one of the excavated burials may be as early as the late fifth or early sixth century, and Geake adds that some graves contained several conversion-period artefacts, and that the assemblages appear to contain some items which were already antiques in the Anglo-Saxon period.²²⁹ What is less well-known is that Douglas reported additional graves in and around what appears to be a Roman villa, about 200 metres away from the barrow cemetery, which were uncovered in 1779 during the excavations for a redoubt. Although at the time Douglas believed the structure to be a 'Roman sepulchre...a subterraneous ruin' due to the ash and urns found within, his descriptions of the painted plaster and his accompanying plan suggest that it was almost certainly part of a villa complex (Figure 19), probably part of a bath-block as suggested by its protruding from the main building, and the amount of ash he found which may have come from the stoking pit. Further burials were noted 'in the vicinity' of this structure, but no further information on these is available.

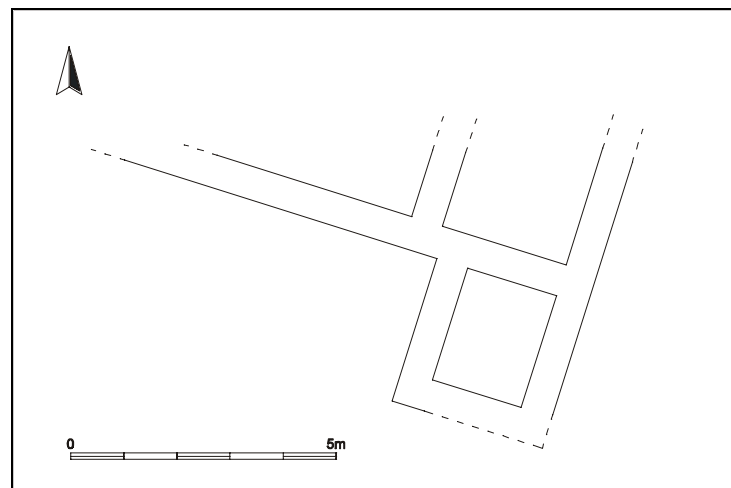


Figure 19 – Chatham Lines: Douglas' drawing of what he believed to be an Anglo-Saxon sepulchre is more likely to be a Roman villa used for inhumations. The inhumations are not indicated in Douglas' original (after Douglas 1793, pl. 28, no. 2, fig. 1, and drawn to his measurements recorded in the text).

In summary, the majority of these sites have been poorly recorded, due to the nature of antiquarian excavation, the lack of grave goods in many of the examples, and the general assumption that many of the inhumations are contemporary with the Roman structure itself. With this in mind we can be thankful, if somewhat surprised, that the burials of only 36 sites remain totally undated; at the other end of the spectrum, radiocarbon dates have been obtained for 18 of them. A glance at the recorded dates below (Table 6) indicates that, on the whole, they appear to hinge upon the middle of the seventh century. A few show evidence of originating in the mid fifth century, and the latest ones appear to stretch from the seventh into the mid eighth century. Many follow the pattern of Eccles, in which the cemetery contains both furnished and unfurnished burials.

²²⁹ Meaney 1964, 114-15; Geake 1997, 162.

Chapter 2: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

Table 6 – List of sites, number of burials, and date. A full listing, and the authority for the date provided, is found in Appendix 5.1.

Site	County	Count	Date	Artefacts Associated w/ Burial
Asthall	Oxon	15	unknown	none
Banwell - Winthill	Somerset	unknown	Early Christian: C7-C8?	none
Barrow on Soar	Leics	1 (?2)	C6, 2nd half	spearhead, knife, boss
Barton Court Farm	Berks	5	C6, second half	knives, brooches, beads
Beadlam	Yorks N	3	C5 or later	none
Beddington	Surrey	24 +	C6, 2nd half	spears, shields, knives, swords and possible bowl
Benwell	Northumb	2 ?+	C6 or C7	cruciform brooch, square-headed brooch, glass vessel
Binchester	Durham	1	C6	none reported
Blaise Castle	Gloucs	unknown	'Sub Roman'?	none
Bletsoe	Beds	unknown	Late Saxon	none
Bowwood (Calne)	Wilts	6	unknown	none recorded
Boxley Hill	Kent	1 +	unknown	none reported
Bozeat	Northants	3	C6	beads and two small, long brooches
Bradley Hill	Somerset	55 (34 infants)	Late/Post-Roman	none
Brean Down	Somerset	Cemetery	Centres on C6-C7	none
Brixworth	Northants	1	unknown	none
Broughton	Yorks N	25	Early C6	urns, pins, rings, armlets, brooches
Brundall I	Norfolk	7 + cremations	Mid C5 - C7	urns, ring brooch
Brundall II	Norfolk	3 +	Undated	'spoon bit and knife'
Burgh Castle	Suffolk	162 +	C7-C9	none
Burwell	Cambs	unknown	'Saxon'	unknown
Caerleon	Monm	unknown	705 +/- 60	none
Caerwent	Monm	unknown	mid C4 to mid C8	none
Caerwent - vicarage orchard	Monm	160 +	C6, C7	none
Caister-on-Sea	Norfolk	147+	Mid Saxon	none
Capel Eithin	Anglesey	120 +	C6-C7	none
Castor - Mill Hill	Northants	1	unknown	none reported
Castor - Water Newton	Hunts	20 +	Post Roman	unknown
Catterick	Yorks N	5	?C6	buckles, cruciform brooch
Catterick - Baines Farm	Yorks N	8	Cal AD340-640/Cal AD410-660	brooch and buckles
Chatham Lines	Kent	7 +	C7 and earlier	necklace, palm cup, triangular buckle, small monochrome glass beads
Chipping Warden	Northants	4	unknown	none
Cirencester - Stratton	Gloucs	1	Early C7	boss and spear
Cirencester - The Barton	Gloucs	2 +	C7	boss, studs
Collingham - Dalton Parlours	Yorks W	4	?C7	urn, brooch, iron pin
Corbridge	Northumb	4 +	Late C5 - early C6	cruciform brooches, beads, urn, sword mount
Darenth	Kent	1	unknown (poss. Roman)	none
Daventry - Borough Hill	Northants	2 -3	C6-C7	spearheads
Denton	Lincs	5 +	C6	none
Eccles	Kent	200	Mid C7	knives, spears, tools, buckles, brooches
Ely	Glam	1	unknown	none
Exeter	Devon	53	Late C7	none
Feltwell - Oulsham Drove	Norfolk	1?	1st half C5	sword
Finkley	Hants	unknown	unknown	unknown
Fishbourne	Sussex	4 (?+)	Undated	none
Folkestone	Kent	5 +	?C7-C8	none
Frilford	Berks	1	C7 or C8	knife and seax
Fringford Lodge	Oxon	2	unknown	unknown

Chapter 2: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

Site	County	Count	Date	Artefacts Associated w/ Burial
Frocester	Gloucs	A 'row' +	Christian (prob. Pre-Conquest)	none
Frocester Court	Gloucs	11	Post C5	none
Gloucester - St Mary de Lode	Gloucs	5 +	C5-C6	unknown
Great Tew	Oxon	Cemetery	C7	iron buckle, angle-backed knife
Greetwell	Lincs	1	Undated	spearhead and pot
Hanwell	Oxon	c. 5	unknown	unknown
Hemsworth	Dorset	unknown	unknown	none recorded
Henley Wood	Somerset	50	Post C5	none
Heronbridge	Cheshire	19 +	unknown	none
Howletts - Littlebourne	Kent	36 +	Late C5, early C6	brooches, beads, buckles, glass, sword, spears and shield boss.
Kemsing	Kent	2	Early C7-C8	spearhead
Keynsham	Somerset	2	unknown	none
Cleatham	Lincs	c.1137	Late C5, C7	annular brooch and hanging bowl with runic inscription
Lamyatt Beacon	Somerset	18	Centres on C7	none
Lancing Down	Sussex	unknown	unknown	spears and knives
Latimer	Bucks	4	unknown	unknown
Lillyhorn	Gloucs	4	unknown	none
Lincoln - Cathedral	Lincs	unknown	C6? Mid to late	sherds, urn, girdle hanger, pin
Lincoln - Saltergate	Lincs	4	780+/-90	none reported
Lincoln - St Paul-in-the-Bail	Lincs	1	C7	hanging bowl
Little Chart	Kent	3 +	Late C6	spearhead, boss, studs, knives, hooks
Little Chester	Derby	17	C6	spears, shields, bowl, brooches, drinking horn
Llandough	Glam	Cemetery	C8 and earlier	none
Llantwit Major	Glam	48 +	unknown	none
London - Southwark	Surrey	1	unknown	none reported
Lowbury Hill	Berks	2	Early C7	sword, knife, bowl shield
Lower Basildon	Berks	2 (poss. 20+)	unknown	sword
Maiden Castle	Dorset	1-10	C7	seax in 1 grave
Market Overton	Rutland	c. 5	unknown	unknown
Much Wenlock	Shrops	3 inhumations	660's (C7)	none
North Stoke	Lincs	2	unknown	none
Norton Disney	Lincs	3 +	unknown	knife
Offenham	Worces	unknown	unknown (poss. Roman)	none recorded
Okus	Wilts	3	unknown	none
Orpington	Kent	82	Mid C5 - mid C6	spears, shields, knives, buckles, brooches
Piddington	Northants	5	'Early Saxon'	knife, staff, spear
Rock	Hants	1 +	unknown	none
Rockbourne	Hants	2-4	unknown	none
Scampton	Lincs	22 +	Anglo-Saxon/Early Christian	1 bronze finger ring on female
Shakenoak	Oxon	20	C6 or C7	spears, shields, swords
Southwell	Notts	30 + (2 N/S)	pre-Christian and later	none
St Mary Bourne	Hants	3 +	unknown	knife
Stancil	Yorks W	72 +	Undated	none
Stanton	Suffolk	1	Undated	none
Stapenhill	Staffs	36 +	C6	spears, brooches, beads, buckles, boss, knives, tweezers, pendants
Stone-by-Faversham	Kent	unknown	C6 (or Roman)	none
Streatley	Berks	'Some'	unknown	unknown
Stretton on Fosse	Oxon	53	unknown	none
Sudeley	Gloucs	1	unknown (poss. Roman)	pottery: vessels or sherds?
Sutton Baron	Kent	1 +	unknown	none
Tetbury Upton	Gloucs	3	unknown (possibly Roman)	none
Thornham	Norfolk	24	C7	hanging bowl escutcheon, knives, buckles, bracelet.

Site	County	Count	Date	Artefacts Associated w/ Burial
				beads
Thruston	Hants	8	unknown	possible seax (described as an axe)
Toddington	Beds	13-16	Early C7	spear, knife, shield, fibulae, ring
Wearne	Somerset	4	poss. Roman	bronze ring; tweezers
Well House	Berks	2	unknown	none
Wells	Somerset	270	Cemetery by C7	none
Welton le Wold	Lincs	"cemetery"	unknown	unknown
Weston	Shrops	unknown	unknown	unknown
Wetton - Borough Fields	Staffs	3	'Conversion period'	spear, knife, annular brooch, ?amethyst beads, awls, animal bones
Weycock Hill	Berks	70 +	unknown	none
Wigginton	Oxon	1	unknown	none reported
Winchester - Lower Brook St	Hants	4	mid C7 - mid C8	necklance, collar, ring
Winterton	Lincs	6	unknown	none
Woolstone	Berks	8 +	Undated	knives
Worlaby	Lincs	12+	C6	beads, pendants, brooches, knives, boss, spear head
Wroxeter	Shrops	1	Cal AD 600-700	none
Wykham	Oxon	7 or 8	unknown	unknown

Most of these dates are provided on the basis of grave-good typology: of the 115 sites, 51 cemeteries are recorded as having no grave goods, and the contents (if any) of the graves of a further 20 are not recorded. The few radiocarbon dates have all been recalibrated, and a summary table and the calibration curves are provided in Appendix 5.4.

2.1.4 Grave Goods

One difficulty in establishing dates for these sites is that about half of them contain unaccompanied burials: 51 sites are recorded as having no grave goods, and the presence of grave goods cannot be certainly claimed in an additional twenty, although if we work on the assumption that artefacts accompanying the graves would have been noted if they existed, the majority of these twenty can probably be included in the total number of sites with unaccompanied graves. There is the possibility that some of these unaccompanied graves may be late Roman – the account in the Life of St Germanus indicated that 'casual' interments in deserted Roman villas happened in that period, although we do not know how common this practice was. Certainly some of the unaccompanied, aligned burials in the south-west are late Roman, or 'Sub-Roman' if we are to use Rahtz's classification,²³⁰ but the body of evidence would appear to push the date range into the sixth and seventh centuries. Eight are probably conversion-period cemeteries, where the only artefact accompanying the bodies was a knife (Figure 20).

²³⁰ Rahtz 1968.

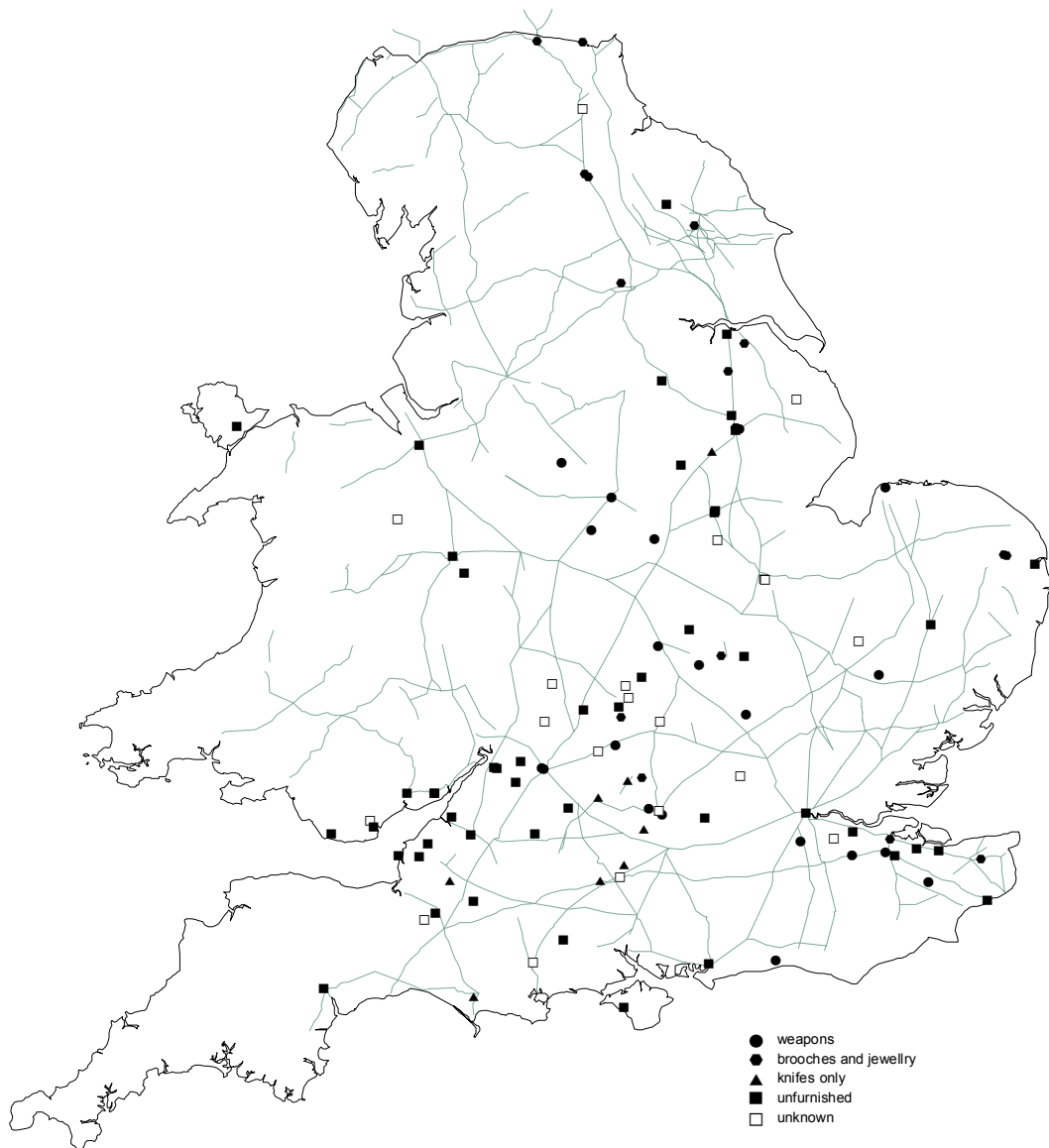


Figure 20 – Site distribution: furnished and unfurnished burials.

2.1.5 Cemetery Size

As noted earlier, any conclusions based on the size of these cemeteries must be treated with caution, as often the fragmentary nature of the excavation will create a false bias towards smaller cemeteries. For instance, most early excavations of Roman villas uncovered only the lines of the foundations, and in some cases left the interior of the rooms unexcavated; this will obviously fail to locate any peripheral burials, or those within the structure that do not lie on or adjacent to the lines of the foundations: the limited excavations at Little Chart (Kent) found 'at least' three Anglo-Saxon inhumations 13 metres away from Roman bath-house; finds included an iron spearhead, a shield boss, three 'shield studs', two knives and three hooks.²³¹ Here, not only had all destruction and post-destruction contexts been removed by ploughing by the time the site was discovered in the 1950s, but only the bath-house and the corner of one other building were

²³¹ Eames 1957.

excavated. Clearly, the potential for further burials here was very high. Unfortunately, the entire site has since been quarried away. Other sites only hint at what may have been found: ploughing over the villa at Finkley brought 'bones and building material' to the surface.²³² At Worlaby (Lincs), C. Knowles excavated the remains of a Roman villa after it had been found in 1965 during the ploughing of an old pasture to the east of the village.²³³ The SMR notes that he uncovered at least six burials of both sexes, two of which were within the villa, but he could not excavate further due to 'interference' by the farmer.²³⁴ The incomplete excavation and the scatters of bone that were revealed after ploughing show that further inhumations, perhaps many, exist.

Other excavations, although perhaps complete or larger in extent, will have failed to identify an Anglo-Saxon burial without the presence of skeletal remains: although only two inhumations are known from The Barton, Cirencester, the British Museum records other Anglo-Saxon finds from this site,²³⁵ and one of the objects shown in a collection of Roman material in Buckman and Newmarsh's *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester: the site of ancient Corinium* (1850), is actually an Anglo-Saxon sugar loaf shield-boss.²³⁶ Even when skeletal material is present, burials are not expected on villa sites and, because they are often disturbed by ploughing and later activity, are frequently not recognised as such until after their excavation: plough damage to the villa at Denton (Lincs) was already apparent in 1727 when Stukeley reported finding human bones (including those of a hand), and undoubtedly more burials were lost when the topsoil and upper Roman occupation levels were removed by machine during more recent excavations. In the end, the remains of about six inhumations were recovered.²³⁷ In 1933 the discovery of a mosaic at Norton Disney prompted further excavations on the villa, which revealed three burials, and potentially more, as the excavator notes that 'human remains were found elsewhere on floor levels of this period'.²³⁸ In fact, the feet of burial 2 were removed during excavation and only recognised retrospectively. Burial 1 was on the wall of the villa, a supine male; burial 2 was next to the foundation, on its side, a female; burial 3 was next to foundations, supine, with a knife high on its right waist. All three were interred within the upper Roman contexts.

As it stands, the limited excavation, the unidentified nature of the burials, and very often their poor preservation produces a very fragmentary database: at thirteen of the sites the number of burials is unknown, while in another eight the number is only given as 'a cemetery', 'a row', or 'several'. However, the table, graph and figure below should give some idea of the general size of the cemeteries, as they have been recovered:

Table 7 – Cemeteries on Roman Buildings: grouped by size

<u>Number of Burials</u>	<u>Count of Sites</u>	<u>~% of total</u>
1-10	70	60.8%
11-25	14	12.2%
26-50	7	6.1%
51-100	6	5.2%
100+	7	6.1%
unknown	13	11.3%

²³² Stevens 1843.

²³³ *E. Midlands Arch. Bull.* 8 (1965), 25; *E. Midlands Arch. Bull.* 9 (1966), 19.

²³⁴ N. Lincs. SMR 2331 & 2327.

²³⁵ Meaney 1964, 90.

²³⁶ Buckman and Newmarch 1850, plate 9.

²³⁷ Smith 1964.

²³⁸ Oswald 1937.

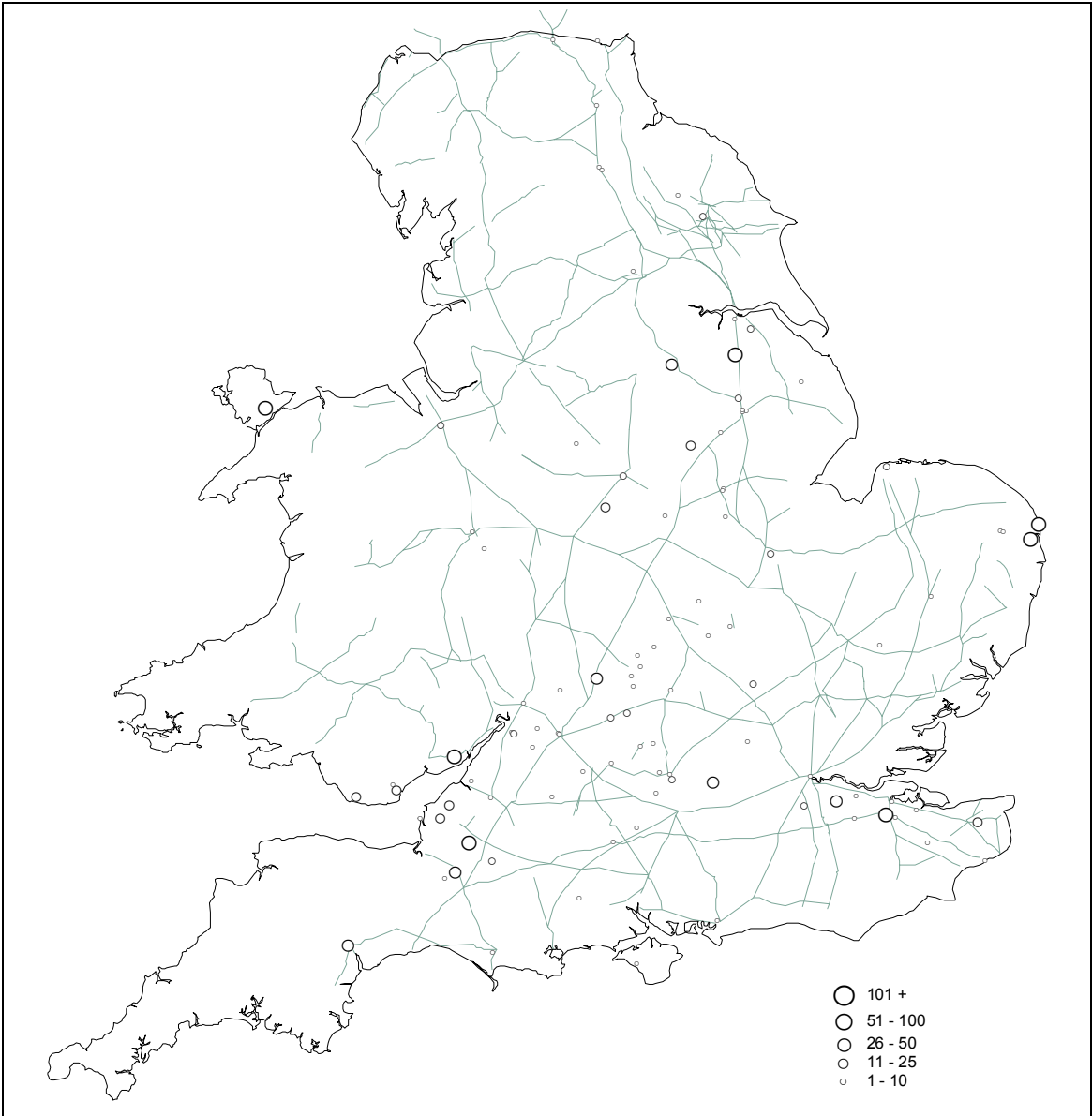


Figure 21 – A distribution of burials on Roman buildings, grouped by cemetery size.

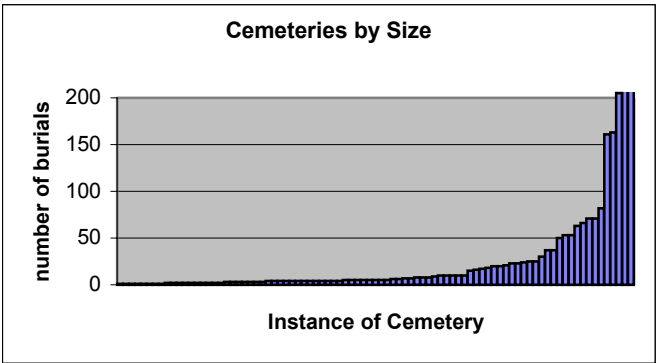


Figure 22 – Cemeteries: sorted by size (number of burials), excluding the 13 sites where the number of burials is unknown.

Not surprisingly, the smaller cemeteries dominate the dataset: of the 70 sites that have less than 10 burials, 55 have five or fewer. Of the larger cemeteries, those at Wells, Burgh Castle, Rivenhall and Caerwent are clearly associated with a Christian community which itself is associated with a Roman structure or complex. The cemetery at Eccles is particularly large, with over 200 burials, and with its suggestive place-name would also seem to fit into this category. However, there we are lacking a church. The largest site recorded, that at Cleatham (Lincs) with over 1014 cremations and 63 inhumations, is unusual in that it originated at a comparatively early date (late fifth century to seventh century), and it appears to be centred upon a ?prehistoric burial mound, which itself is adjacent to a tessellated pavement that was exposed about 60 metres away from the centre of the excavations, presumably that of a Roman villa; the site is still undergoing post-excavation analysis so the details are not fully clear, but there are a number of conversion period graves, one of which contained a hanging-bowl with a runic inscription.²³⁹ The final large site, adjacent to a Roman bath-house at Orpington (Kent), is also a mixed cemetery, with 19 cremations and 63 inhumations.²⁴⁰

2.1.6 Burial rite

The majority of the sites (81) are primarily inhumation cemeteries, although there are an additional 12 sites which have both inhumations and cremations, and in most of these cases the cremations are in the minority (Table 8). Only two sites are strictly cremation cemeteries, and both are somewhat of an unknown quantity: the cremation cemetery underneath Lincoln cathedral is based on various finds of what appear to be cremation urns, and Meaney hesitantly concludes that 'It is considered that there is probably a cremation cemetery under the east end of the Cathedral'.²⁴¹ The other, a cremation cemetery at Brundall (Norfolk), only has a tenuous link with the Roman remains about 390 metres distant, although the account is so confused that it is difficult to be certain of the exact relationship.²⁴²

Table 8 –The division of sites according to burial rite.

Inhumation Cemeteries

Site	County	Site	County
Asthall	Oxon	Brixworth	Northants
Barwell - Winthill	Somerset	Burwell	Cams
Barrow on Soar	Leics	Caerwent	Monm
Barton Court Farm	Berks	Caerwent - vicarage orchard	Monm
Beadlam	Yorks N	Capel Eithin	Anglesey
Benwell	Northumb	Castor - Mill Hill	Northants
Binchester	Durham	Castor - Water Newton	Hunts
Blaise Castle	Gloucs	Catterick - Baines Farm	Yorks N
Bletsoe	Beds	Chatham Lines	Kent
Bowwood (Calne)	Wilts	Chipping Warden	Northants
Boxley Hill	Kent	Cirencester - Stratton	Gloucs
Bozeat	Northants	Cirencester - The Barton	Gloucs
Bradley Hill	Somerset	Corbridge	Northumb
Brean Down	Somerset	Darenth	Kent

²³⁹ Geake 1997, 160.

²⁴⁰ Palmer 1984. Note that this is not the better-known Orpington Villa, but another site 2.2 kilometres distant.

²⁴¹ Meaney 1964, 157.

²⁴² Meaney 1964, 170.

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Site	County
Daventry - Borough Hill	Northants
Denton	Lincs
Eccles	Kent
Ely	Glam
Exeter	Devon
Fishbourne	Sussex
Folkestone	Kent
Fringford Lodge	Oxon
Frocester	Gloucs
Greetwell	Lincs
Hemsworth	Dorset
Henley Wood	Somerset
Heronbridge	Cheshire
Howletts - Littlebourne	Kent
Kemsing	Kent
Keynsham	Somerset
Lamyatt Beacon	Somerset
Latimer	Bucks
Lillyhorn	Gloucs
Lincoln - Saltergate	Lincs
Lincoln - St Paul-in-the-Bail	Lincs
Little Chart	Kent
Little Chester	Derby
Llandough	Glam
Llantwit Major	Glam
London - Southwark	Surrey
Lowbury Hill	Berks

Site	County
Lower Basildon	Berks
Maiden Castle	Dorset
Market Overton	Rutland
North Stoke	Lincs
Offenham	Worces
Okus	Wilts
Piddington	Northants
Rock	Hants
Rockbourne	Hants
Scampton	Lincs
Shakenoak	Oxon
Southwell	Notts
Stancil	Yorks W
Stretton on Fosse	Oxon
Sudeley	Gloucs
Sutton Baron	Kent
Tetbury Upton	Gloucs
Thornham	Norfolk
Thrupton	Hants
Toddington	Beds
Wearne	Somerset
Wells	Somerset
Weston	Shrops
Wetton - Borough Fields	Staffs
Weycock Hill	Berks
Wigginton	Oxon
Winchester – Lower Brook St	Hants

Cremation Cemeteries

Site	County
Brundall I	Norfolk
Lincoln - Cathedral	Lincs

Mixed Cemeteries

Site	County
Beddington	Surrey
Broughton	Yorks N
Brundall II	Norfolk
Burgh Castle	Suffolk
Collingham - Dalton Parlours	Yorks W
Finkley	Hants
Frocester Court	Gloucs
Cleatham	Lincs
Orpington	Kent
St Mary Bourne	Hants
Stapenhill	Staffs
Worlaby	Lincs

The salient feature of these sites is the deliberate choice of a Roman building or building complex for use as the focus for a post-Roman cemetery. Interment into the ruins of these buildings was not undertaken lightly, and very often the grave-cuts reflect a deliberate and determined attempt to inhumate the body in a specific place: at The Barton, an extra-mural villa to the immediate north-west of Cirencester, rescue work in 1824 revealed what was to become known as the 'Orpheus Mosaic', now in the Cirencester museum. Cut through the pavement was a grave in which were placed two inhumations, laying side-by-side and facing each other.²⁴³ The accounts of the discovery are somewhat

²⁴³ Whatley 1897.

confused, but a shield boss, metal studs, and an 'iron band' are also reported to have been found.²⁴⁴ Whatever the precise nature and number of the burials, cutting through a mosaic pavement clearly shows the determination to bury the dead specifically at this place, rather than at another area, perhaps on the periphery of the complex, where the digging would have been easier. Although the grave cut at The Barton is the most dramatic, it is not the only example: a single body was placed through a mosaic pavement at Denton, and grave 2 at Fishbourne cut through rubble and 25 cm of mortar floor.²⁴⁵ Masonry floors were also pierced for the inhumations within the hypocausted structures at Castor Mill Hill (Northants) and Great Tew, and the Denton bath-house.

Not in all instances was the Roman floor pierced: at Piddington villa an eighteenth-century vicar noted that a skeleton, buried with a spear in the north-east corner of the villa, had been found lying on a mosaic which 'looked like a carpet'.²⁴⁶ This of course does not necessarily suggest an aesthetic appreciation for Roman mosaic craft, but rather simply reflects that there may have been enough post-Roman deposition on the site so that the body could be interred at an acceptable depth without digging further: at Toddington (Beds) the grave of a female was simply dug until it reached the concrete floor, and the body was laid on the surface accompanied by two fibulae, a bronze ring, and pieces of iron and bronze.²⁴⁷ A similar situation can also be envisaged at the Winterton (Lincs) villa, where the 'bones of a man' were found on the Orpheus mosaic.²⁴⁸ At Southwell (Notts) several skeletons were also laid carefully over the mosaics.²⁴⁹

Most of the sites are special in that they demonstrate, not simply the reuse of a Roman site, but the specific recognition of a Roman structure as architecture, rather than purely as rubble.²⁵⁰ The relationship of the inhumations to the structures is therefore particularly important: in many instances, the graves have been placed within a room of the villa, usually aligned to its walls. While it is difficult to comment upon the condition of the villa at the time of interment, it is clear that in many cases there was enough masonry upstanding to define a small enclosure in which the body was placed. For instance, the two examples from Oxfordshire, Barton Court Farm and Shakenoak (Figure 23 and Figure 24), are classics of this practice, although only the two westernmost of the graves at Shakenoak appear to have been placed with such deliberation within a room or chamber. Grave 2 at Fishbourne (Figure 14, page 30), and grave 2 at Winterton (Figure 25) also show this deliberate placement of a single body within a single room of the villa. At Wigginton the exact placement of the body is unknown, but it appears to have been oriented lying in the centre of one room of a two-room bath-house, oriented north/south to the structure itself.²⁵¹ And although the human remains were recorded with less precision, a single-room interment would also appear to be the case at Castor Mill Hill, Denton, North Stoke (Lincs), Piddington, and at Thruxton (Hants) where, although not aligned within a small room of the villa like the previous sites, the body was reported to have been interred 'midway between [two] rows of stones', actually the pillar-bases of the basilical hall.²⁵² Another possible instance of the use of villa walls as enclosing

²⁴⁴ Whatley 1897; Sewell and Powell 1910.

²⁴⁵ Cunliffe 1971, pl. 72a.

²⁴⁶ pers. comm. the excavator, R. Friendship-Taylor.

²⁴⁷ Meaney 1964, 40.

²⁴⁸ Stoving 1866.

²⁴⁹ Scott 1993, 156.

²⁵⁰ Blair 1994, 33.

²⁵¹ Beesley 1841, 42.

²⁵² Colt Hoare 1829.

architecture may be seen at Woolstone (Berks), where three graves were found in the hallways of the villa.²⁵³ Unfortunately the excavations were not completed and no plan of the villa or graves exists.

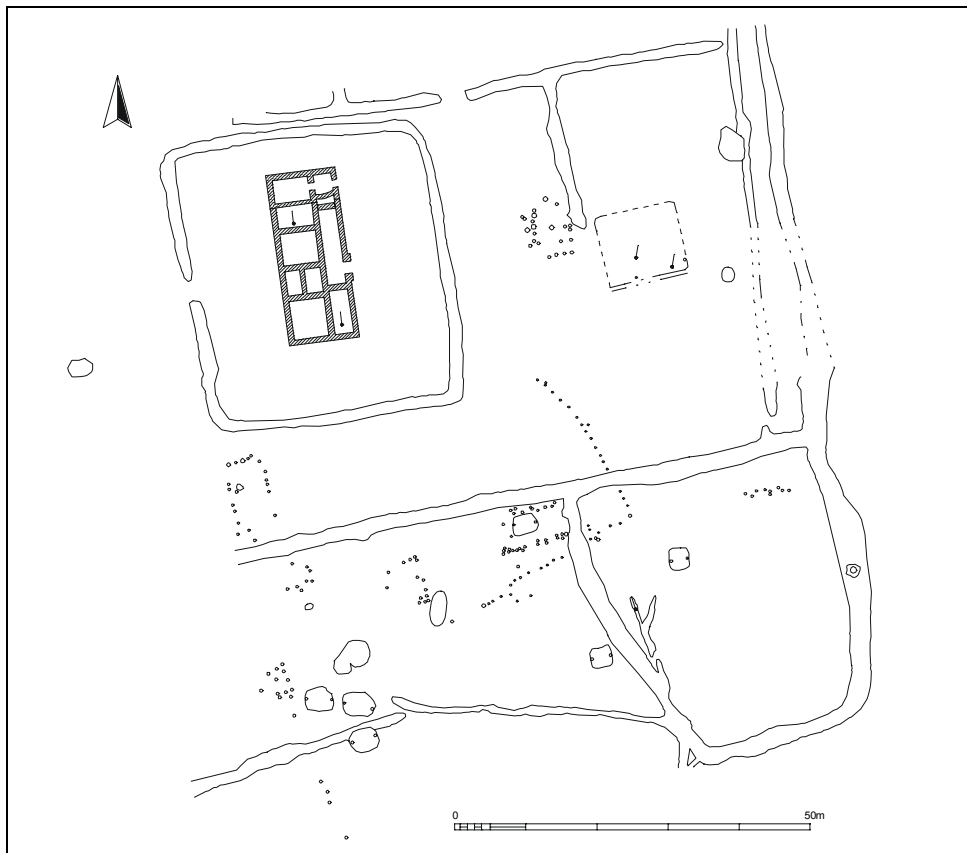


Figure 23 – The villa at Barton Court Farm, Oxfordshire, showing fifth-century settlement outside the villa and later sixth-century burials within: two are in the main villa building, two in the 'outbuilding' to the east, and a fifth, presumably Saxon, burial is inserted into the left 'branch' of the Y-shaped Romano-British period ditch, within the south-east enclosure. All were oriented roughly north/south (after Miles (ed.) 1986, figs. 50, 72, and 67).

²⁵³ *VCH Berks* I, 222.

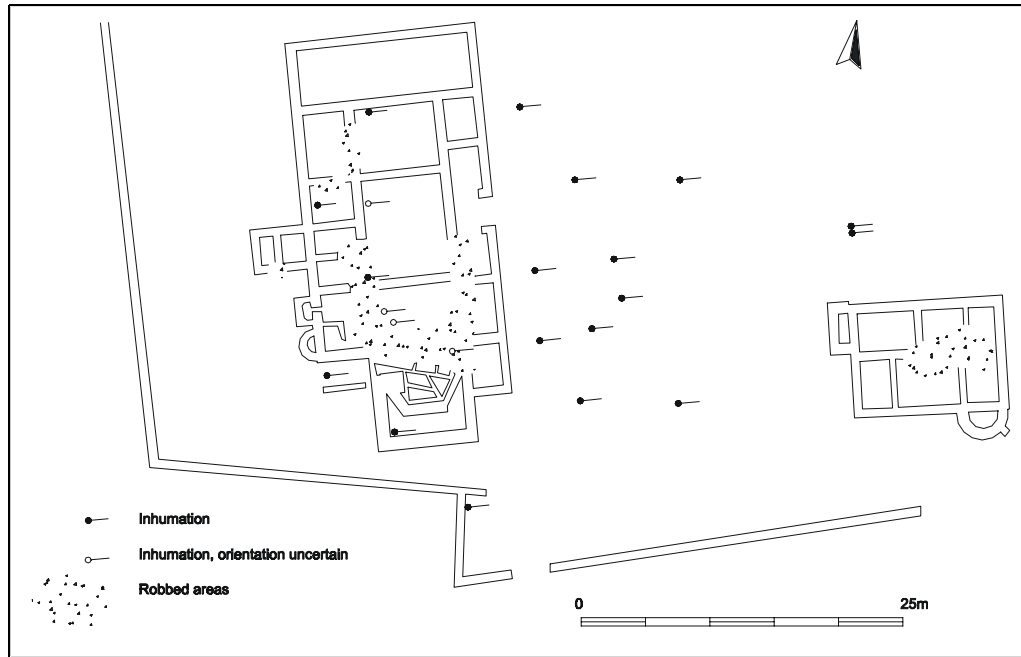


Figure 24 – Inhumations within and aligned to Shakenoak Villa, Oxon (after Blair 1994, fig. 32; Brodrigg *et al.* 1973, figs. 16-17).

Figure 25 – Winterton Roman Villa:
Building D (after Stead 1976, fig. 25).

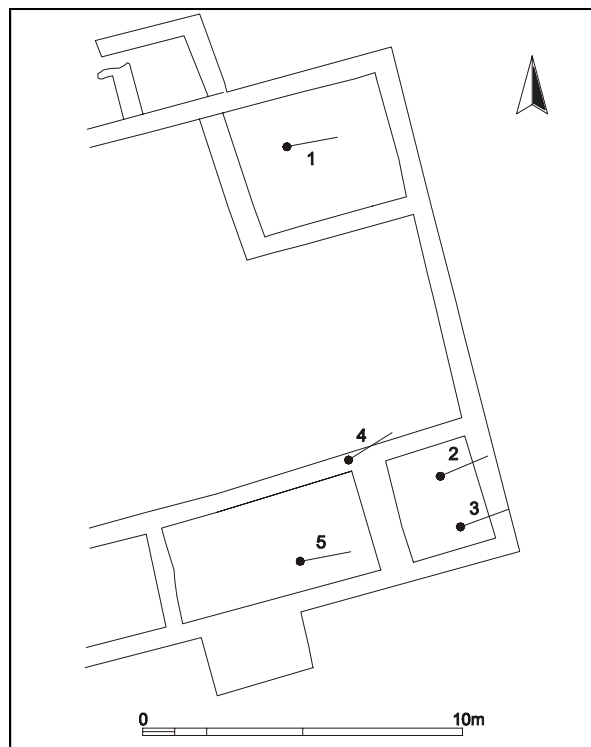
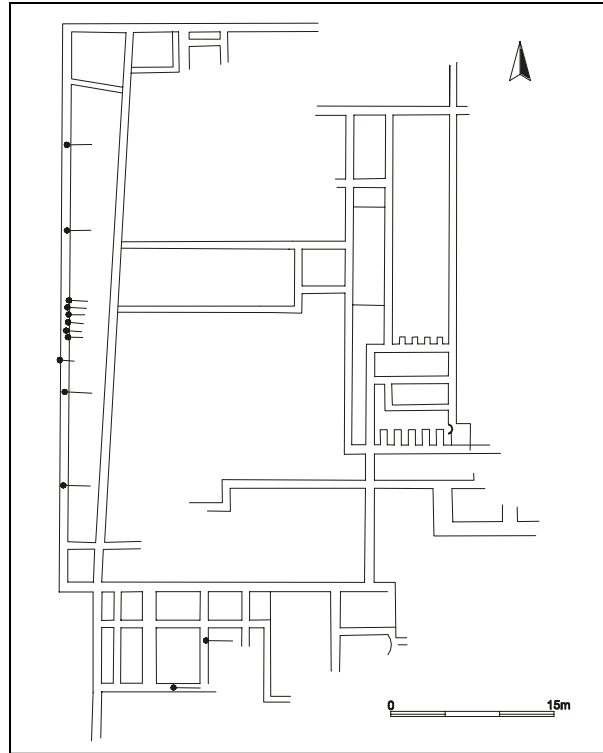


Figure 26 – The villa at Scampton: all graves are oriented west/east, and the head of each body has been placed on part of the villa structure (after Illingworth 1810, pl. 5, fig. 1).



However, in an even greater number of the sites in which the placement of the body is known, many appear to have been laid in either the robber trench of the building, or else strategically placed so that a part of the body was touching the wall. A particularly interesting example is Scampton (Lincs), where a large courtyard villa and small cemetery were excavated in 1795. Illingworth reported an 'incredible number' of skeletons, citing 20 in the western north/south corridor (but only showing thirteen in his plan: Figure 26).²⁵⁴ All skeletons shown by Illingworth have their heads in contact with the foundation walls, of which some are enclosed in stone cists; notably within Room 1, twenty lay in a neat row, all with their heads on the line of the foundations. The Scampton burials are unaccompanied, except for a bronze Roman finger-ring found on one female. Although less consistently, Shakenoak also shows a similar rite, in that the heads of all burials for which the exact placement is known are also in contact with the foundations;²⁵⁵ two of the Piddington inhumations were also laid out along the foundations or robber trenches.

²⁵⁴ Illingworth 1810, pl. 5, fig. 1.

²⁵⁵ Brodribb 1973, figs. 16 & 17.

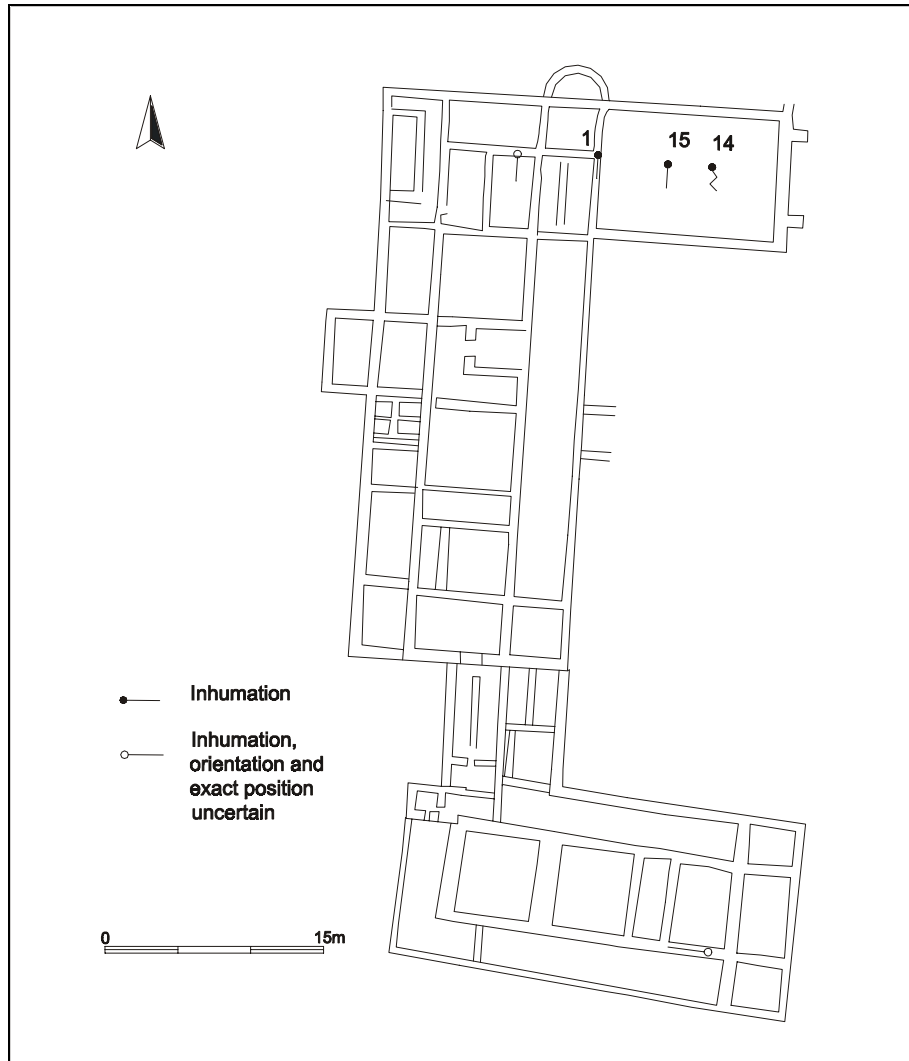


Figure 27 – Piddington Roman villa (after *Britannia* 20 (1989), fig. 18, and Friendship-Taylor pers. comm.): 3 inhumations were found in the recent excavations, in addition to unarticulated human remains in the south wing and a further grave found by the parish priest in the eighteenth century. One skeleton was lying on a mosaic in the north-west part of the structure; all appear to have been interred through the destruction level.

Contrasted against the majority of these sites that show indications of deliberate, careful placement, there are a select few which show a haphazard or careless placement of the body, and could actually reflect a situation closer to what Constantius of Lyons reports in his *Life of St Germanus* (Section 1.6.1.2, page 45). A mound in the centre of the Roman town of Water Newton (Hunts), near Castor, was found to contain 20 bodies interred haphazardly,²⁵⁶ and a similar 'long mound or rubbish dump' was found in 1845 adjacent to the large villa complex at Lillyhorn (Gloucs), in which were found four inhumations: the report mentions the 'hasty' nature of the burials, but they were all aligned north/south, so some care was taken in laying out the bodies.²⁵⁷ The placement of five bodies into a room of the Catterick villa (N Yorks) is also described as 'haphazard', although again the term is difficult to qualify in such an abbreviated context.²⁵⁸ Apart from these potentially curious interments, the best candidates for possible 'deviant' burials are the two skeletons

²⁵⁶ *RCHME Hunts* 52-3, 56.

²⁵⁷ Baker 1846.

²⁵⁸ Hildyard 1954.

found within the villa at Well House, which were buried face down, and one of the two burials outside the villa at Rockbourne which was face downwards with its feet and right forearm amputated.²⁵⁹ This very small proportion of the corpus could date from the later Anglo-Saxon period when prehistoric monuments were being used as the sites of execution cemeteries, but the lack of 'deviant' burials on the whole would argue against Roman sites being normally used in this manner.

2.1.7 Building Type

The structures that have been reused for burial can be broadly classified as villas, mausolea, Roman enceintes (towns and forts), and temples.

Table 9 – Division of Cemeteries on Roman buildings, classified by Building Type.

<u>Building Type</u>	<u>Count</u>	<u>% of Total</u>
Villas and masonry buildings	84	73.0%
Roman Mausolea	4	3.4%
Towns and Forts	19	15.7%
Temples	9	7.8%

2.1.7.1 Mausolea

Burials in or near Roman mausolea are in the minority, and can be addressed quickly: the graves at Stone-by-Faversham have been discussed earlier, and may be Roman in date, while the eighth-century burials next to the presumably Roman mortuary structure at Wells may have been buried *ad sanctum*, adjacent to the presumed Christian occupant(s) of the Roman mausoleum.²⁶⁰ Even less is known of the burials at Folkestone than about the structure itself. This site is particularly interesting for a number of reasons, but the burials are likely to be Christian interments associated with a church on the masonry structure (see page 113 for a further description of the site).

2.1.7.2 Towns and Forts

Comparatively few burials are recorded from within towns, undoubtedly because – if they have not been removed or disturbed by centuries of urban activity – they are more difficult to distinguish from later burials. Some early west/east aligned graves in Caerwent are probably associated with a post-Roman Christian presence there.²⁶¹ The graves in Exeter may also be associated with some kind of late or post-Roman Christian presence. The central grave in the forum at Lincoln is more enigmatic, but could be a 'founder's grave' of an early church there, and there are also reports of a cremation cemetery under the cathedral, which is very unlikely to be Roman.²⁶² Lastly, the burials in a mound at 'The Castles', Roman *Durobrivae*, are likely to post-date any urban function of the town, but are still difficult to explain.²⁶³ Roman forts and camps make the larger proportion of this group: the cemetery at Burgh Castle is attributed to the presumed Christian mission there, but two cremations found in 1756 near the fort, and the inclusion of women and children in the cemetery, muddies this interpretation somewhat. Radiocarbon dates were obtained from 3 graves: AD 660 +/- 70; AD 720 +/- 70; AD 910 +/- 80, suggesting that the cemetery was probably used through until the later half of the ninth century, and Geake lists 56 of the total number of graves as belonging to the

²⁵⁹ Well House: Palmer 1863; Rockbourne: Hewitt 1971, 6.

²⁶⁰ Rodwell 1982.

²⁶¹ Boon 1992; Edwards and Lane 1992, 6.

²⁶² Jones 1994; Meaney 1964, 157.

²⁶³ *RCHME Hunts* 52-3, 56.

Conversion Period.²⁶⁴ Some burials in Roman forts are based on comparatively little evidence, such as the Anglo-Saxon brooches found at Benwell (Northumb) and Birdoswald (Cumbria).²⁶⁵ However, the site of the Roman fort at Corbridge yielded Anglo-Saxon material, including cruciform brooches, an urn, a sword mount, and 32 beads, which alone would hint at one or more burials in the fort, but more concrete evidence is indicated by two skeletons which were excavated between 1947-81, oriented north/south, which have been assigned to the late fifth or early sixth century.²⁶⁶ Although the fortified camp or signal station at Thornham on Beacon Hill (Kent) was systematically destroyed in the mid second century, in the seventh century 24 inhumations were placed within the enclosure, oriented west/east and lying in rows; about half had grave goods including iron knives, a small bronze bracelet, beads, and one or two chatelaines, one which carried a hanging bowl escutcheon.²⁶⁷ At Little Chester (Derby) the *VCH* only notes that 'there are records of human burials within the ramparts' of the fort, apparently sixteen or more furnished graves of which little else is known.²⁶⁸ Even less is known of the single female inhumation which was found to the west of the 'main' hypocaust in the fort at Little Chester.²⁶⁹ With so few examples and such little evidence, it is difficult to obtain a clear picture of the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon burials and Roman forts. However, the picture is clearer in the study of the relationship of churches to Roman forts (Section 3.2.3, page 116). It should be noted, however, that in the above examples, all burials have been found within the walls of the enclosure. There are of course some examples of early cremation and inhumation burials found outside the gates of Roman towns – Dorchester-on-Thames, Rochester (Kent), Caistor-by-Norwich (Norfolk); some burials, such as those found on the periphery of Dorchester-on-Thames, seem to suggest that a Romano-British burial rite is being practiced outside the town from the middle of the fifth century into the sixth century or even later;²⁷⁰ but does this type of activity necessarily qualify as the religious reuse of a site? A 'yes' or 'no' answer would be based in semantics either way, but as they appear to be exhibiting a late-Roman burial rite the sites are not included in the gazetteer.

2.1.7.3 Temples

Burials in temples are not particularly common, and occur largely in the south-west (Figure 28).

²⁶⁴ Geake 1997, 178.

²⁶⁵ Meaney 1964, 198.

²⁶⁶ Tyne and Wear SMR record NY 96 SE 20.

²⁶⁷ Geake 1997, 171.

²⁶⁸ *VCH Derby* I, 218.

²⁶⁹ *Med. Arch.* 23 (1079), 236.

²⁷⁰ Blair 1994, 3.

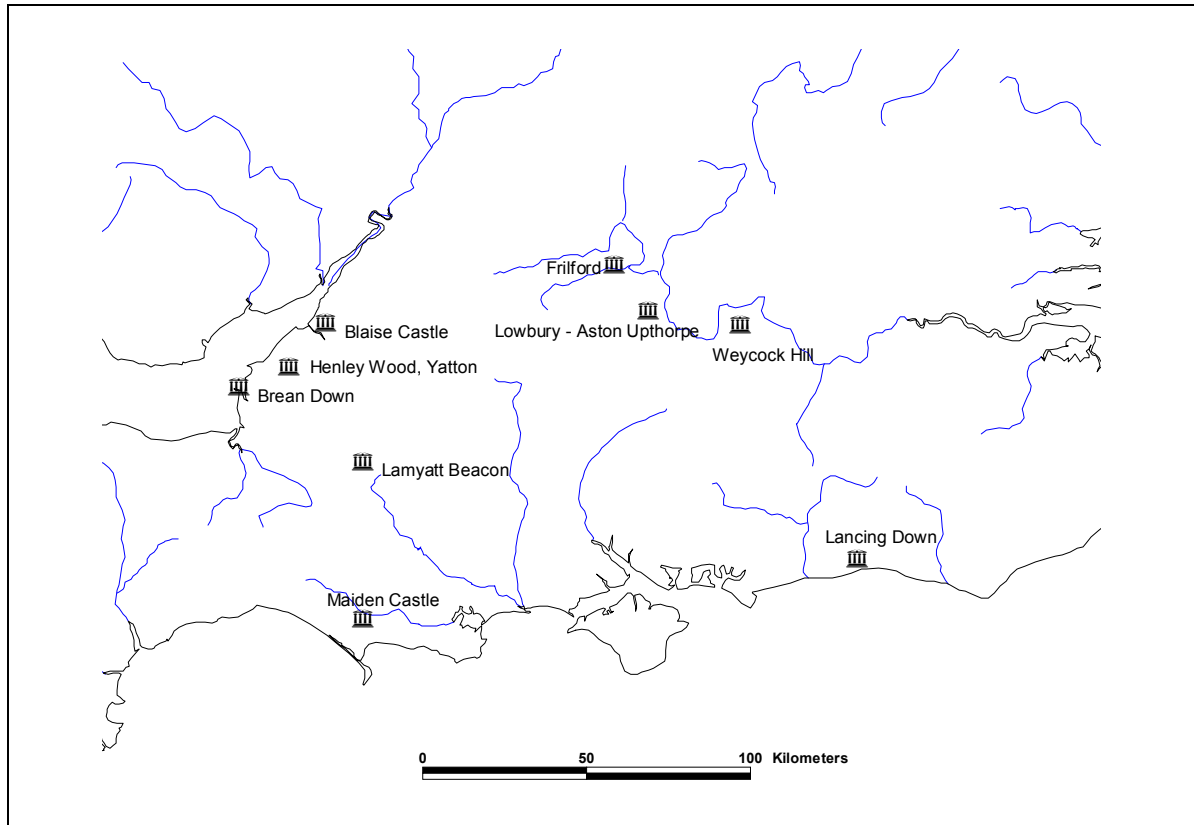


Figure 28 – Burials in Roman temples.

Many temples, particularly in the south-west, clearly maintained some kind of religious focus into the post-Roman period. At Brean Down (Somerset), the Romano-Celtic temple structure with a square cella and veranda appears to have been put into some kind of secular use, which included iron smelting, from *c.*370, and shortly thereafter, another building of uncertain use was erected *c.*400 adjacent to the temple, oriented off its axis and aligned closer to an east/west alignment.²⁷¹ One skeleton was buried outside the north corner of the temple, and nearby there is a cemetery of west/east oriented burials, a selection of which have been published as 650 +/- 80, 520 +/- 70, 650 +/- 80.²⁷² The archaeology of the nearby temple at Lamyatt Beacon (Somerset) is extremely similar (Figure 29): here the square, Romano-Celtic temple also shows evidence of post-Roman activity: after the decline of the temple an east/west aligned structure was built (Building 2), within which at a later date were placed two inhumations. To the immediate north of the temple are sixteen unaccompanied skeletons, oriented roughly south-west/north-east, with heads to the south-west. Radiocarbon samples returned dates of 559 +/- 90, 782 +/- 90. Curiously, the proportion of male to female skeletons here is very high, at about 11:1.²⁷³ The pattern follows closely at Henley Wood (Somerset):²⁷⁴ a similar Romano-Celtic temple here was in use until the close of the fourth century. Sometime after the demise of the temple, the remains of *c.*87 men, women and children were inhumed within and adjacent to it: *c.*75 were excavated, and *c.*12 were lost to earlier quarrying (Figure 30). The excavated graves of the cemetery were cut into the fill of the *temenos* ditch and surrounding bedrock; the graves in the temple itself were oriented randomly, 'possibly relating to the position of temple walls'. Some graves were double, and some lined with

²⁷¹ Bell 1990.

²⁷² ApSimon *et al.* 1961, ApSimon 1965; see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent calibrations.

²⁷³ Leech 1986.

²⁷⁴ The following summary is from Watts and Leach 1996.

limestone slabs. All burials were unaccompanied, aligned west/east, although a small collection of finds on the site – including brooches, pins, and beads – may have accompanied burials. Fifteen radiocarbon samples were taken. The site was originally on a tall spur adjacent to the hillfort of Cadbury/Congresbury, now surrounded by a reservoir, and largely quarried away. The church at Yatton is about 1.25km distant.

Figure 29 – Lamyatt Beacon: the temple and 'sub-Roman' cemetery (after Leech 1986, fig. 3).

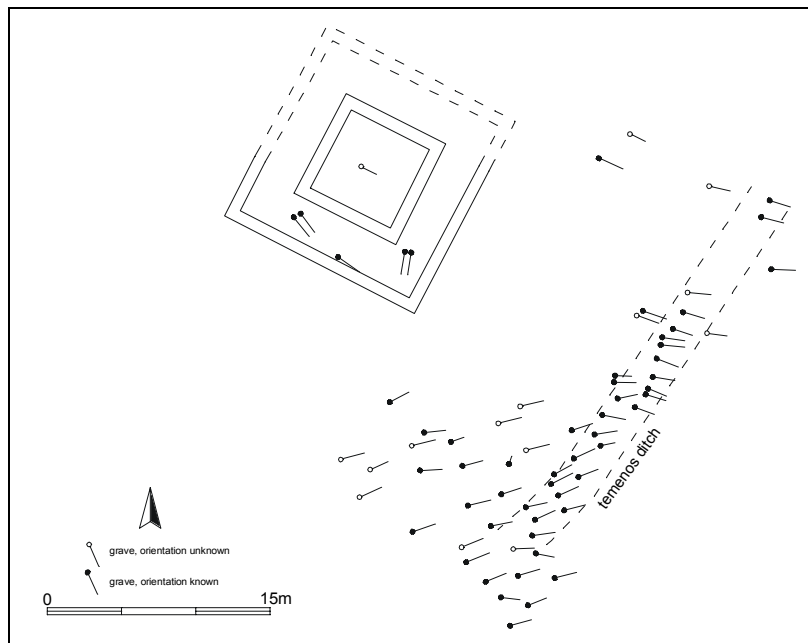
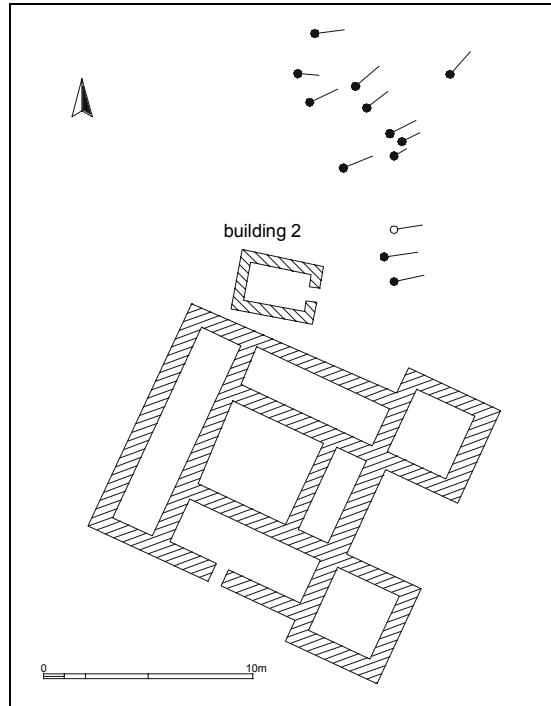


Figure 30 – Henley Wood temple and 'sub-Roman' cemetery (after Watts and Leach 1996, fig. 30).

Blaise Castle, also in the south-west (Gloucs), is another candidate for a Roman temple that saw post-Roman religious reuse. Today, the early eighteenth-century fortification that sits upon a prominent spur overlooking the valley of the River Trym is known as

Blaise Castle.²⁷⁵ However, it has been a stronghold for some time, and was fortified in the Iron Age with earthworks. Remains of dry stone walling are still at times visible today.²⁷⁶ There must have been some kind of structure, or structures, on the site in the Roman period, as suggested by Roman remains – including building material and painted plaster – scattered throughout the site, but mainly concentrated on the north side of the hill, and Rahtz and Brown suggest that the site could be a temple along the lines of that at Lydney.²⁷⁷ Atkyns in 1768 mentions a chapel of St Blaise here, and says that its foundation stones 'were dug up in 1707 [when the recent castle was built], when many modern coins, and also ancient Roman coins and other antiquities were found; and in a vault ten yards long and six yards broad, supposed to have been in the church, many human bodies were discovered, whose skulls were white, entire, and firm', and also mentions the tradition of a Roman fortification on the site.²⁷⁸ More recently, Bartlett describes traditions concerning the chapel of St Blasius on the site, and he excavated in 1918 to search for it.²⁷⁹ He did not find Atkyn's vault (which was probably disturbed, or destroyed, when the 1707 castle was constructed), but he did find some foundations with several adjacent skeletons, about 4-5 feet below the surface – a good candidate for a medieval chapel of St Blasius. They were aligned west/east with heads to west, and were covered by a layer of stones, which were in some instances mortared in place. One skeleton under the altar platform had its head to the east, and near the east end of the north wall were three superimposed interments, the last cutting the foundations of the chapel.²⁸⁰ Rahtz put in a small trench in 1957 in an attempt to determine the truth about the site, and while he did not find Atkyn's structure, he did find further painted plaster, roof tiles, and coins, and suggests the 'vault' may be Roman, given the quantity of Roman material from the site. Late coins and some thirteenth- or fourteenth-century roof tiles suggest that there was a structure here in that time, and it could be either the chapel of St Blasius or that of St Werburga, as there are traditions of both chapels here.²⁸¹ It is difficult to come to any certain conclusions about Blaise Castle: the quantity of Roman material points to a Roman structure or structures here, and the tradition of the chapels on the hill, and the medieval building material, certainly qualify the site as a church on a Roman building. Topographically, the site is an ideal candidate for a Roman temple within an Iron Age hillfort, although it is difficult to conclude whether the west/east aligned burials associated with the site pre-date the medieval chapel here.

The archaeology at Weycock Hill in Berkshire could suggest a similar chronology. A Roman complex of an unknown nature, perhaps a fort or camp, once sat atop Weycock Hill, in an area called 'Castle Acre' or 'Castle Fields'. Since Camden's time the site was known for the number of coins that it produced, and he also reported seeing the foundations of buildings. Hearne too reported seeing broken tiles on the site 'in no small quantity'.²⁸² Within this 'camp' or adjacent to it, Neville uncovered two concentric, octagonal foundations, which he thought at the time to be a tower or signal station, but

²⁷⁵ St Blaise was a late-Roman Armenian, martyred under Diocletian, d. c. 316. The dedication is probably late, and may be associated with the Gloucestershire wool trade; Blasius is the patron saint of wool combers.

²⁷⁶ Rahtz and Brown 1959, 147.

²⁷⁷ Rahtz and Brown 1959, 154.

²⁷⁸ Atkyns 1768, 248.

²⁷⁹ Bartlett 1919.

²⁸⁰ Rahtz and Brown 1959, 149.

²⁸¹ Rahtz and Brown 1959, 154.

²⁸² Neville 1849, 114.

are more likely to have been the foundations of a Romano-Celtic temple.²⁸³ At the same time as Neville's excavations, presumably not too far from this structure at the east end of Weycock Field, near Church Farm, workers found 30 human skeletons, and not long thereafter at a spot 'nearer to the castle', 40 additional skeletons were found which 'seemed to be thrown into a hole without any order'.²⁸⁴ It is difficult to make sense of these tantalisingly incomplete records, but, on the evidence that we have in hand, it would appear that an octagonal Romano-Celtic temple sat atop Weycock Hill sometime in the Roman period, and the quantity of masonry remains would suggest some outlying buildings, perhaps 'support structures' for the temple community, or perhaps the temple was part of a larger ritual complex, such as those at Frilford (Berks), which was also reused for burial in the post-Roman period: here, a Romano-Celtic temple and amphitheatre form the heart of a fairly large, ritual complex. The temple itself was in use until well into the fifth century, and sometime therein or shortly thereafter, a late Roman cemetery that continued in use into the Anglo-Saxon period was established about 225 metres south-east of the temple. It has been excavated on several occasions and reveals a mix of burial rites from at least 123 burials, including unaccompanied west/east aligned burials, furnished Anglo-Saxon graves, and Anglo-Saxon cremation urns, one of which is recorded to stratigraphically post-date an west/east unaligned inhumation.²⁸⁵ Furthermore, a single inhumation was interred supine within the presumably sunken outline of an Iron Age pit, a few metres to the south of the temple itself, in 'Area B'. Close to the left thigh and partly covered by the forearm were the blades of a seax and knife, which Dickinson dates to the seventh century.²⁸⁶ The grave was covered by a 'platform' of stones, and was oriented west-north-west/east-south-east.²⁸⁷ This site is not too dissimilar from the recently re-interpreted Roman temple at Lowbury Hill, Oxon: here, a rich, primary inhumation lay within a barrow, 25m to the east of the entrance of a rectangular enclosure; this has traditionally been believed to be a Roman camp, but has recently been reinterpreted as a Roman temple.²⁸⁸ The barrow contained the remains of a male, 50-60 years old, who lay north/south with his head to south. He was accompanied by a sword, knife, a bowl with escutcheons, a bone comb, and shield. Inserted into the robber trench of the enclosure wall was the skeleton of a female, lying west/east. The skeleton has been radiocarbon dated to AD 591-650.

The interior of Maiden Castle in Dorset was also a focus for similar religious activity in the Anglo-Saxon period. Here there are several topographical features or 'monuments' within the centre of the hillfort: into one, a Neolithic long mound, were inserted four inhumations (one male, three female), oriented west/east with heads to west. Another, interred away from these unfurnished burials, towards the eastern end of the mound, was furnished with a broad seax and knife in a single sheath, and the remains of belt fittings were also found.²⁸⁹ It lies about 40 metres south of the Romano-Celtic temple and about 20 metres south-west of an annular shrine from the late or post-Roman period²⁹⁰ – and in this respect it is not unlike the single inhumation at Frilford. Wheeler believed this to be

²⁸³ Neville 1849, and *VCH Berks* I, 218-219.

²⁸⁴ Neville 1849, 121-2.

²⁸⁵ Burnham and Wachter 1990, 178-183 provide a good summary of the material. The original excavations are recorded in Rolleston 1869, 1880; Dudley Buxton 1921.

²⁸⁶ Dickinson 1976 II, 134.

²⁸⁷ Later OUAS excavations uncovered the temple and single inhumation: Bradford and Goodchild 1939, 37-8.

²⁸⁸ The following summary is from Fulford and Rippon 1994.

²⁸⁹ Geake 1997, 150-1.

²⁹⁰ Rahtz and Watts 1985, 191 (fig. 12).

an isolated burial, unassociated with the others, and concluded that 'it is unlikely to represent more than some band of pioneers or brigands who may have sheltered momentarily in the ruins and there have interred a casualty in a clumsy and shallow grave'.²⁹¹ However, an adjacent burial, whose skull had been cut with a metal tool, has been carbon dated to the Anglo-Saxon period, and Rahtz *et al.* record two crouched burials nearby.²⁹² In total, there could be as many as ten burials on this site that post-date the Roman period; a clear indication that the site, if not the temple or Neolithic mound itself, were witness to some kind of religious activity in the Anglo-Saxon period and earlier.

Although these temple sites went out of use in the Late Roman period, some association may have adhered to the site through local lore and the advantageous topography of the temples themselves. Many temples, such as Brean Down, were placed in prominent, if somewhat isolated, positions in the landscape which must have contributed to their monumentality. It is possible that these particular, small sub-Roman cemeteries, judging by their date and placement within Roman structures, could be related to early-medieval burial practices in the east of England.

2.1.7.4 Villas and Masonry Buildings

Cemeteries on villas and 'masonry buildings' make up the majority of sites within the gazetteer. This study does not discriminate between the various classifications of Roman buildings, and what does or does not constitute 'a villa', simply because such distinctions, referring to a structure's particular use in the Roman period, are irrelevant by the time these structures came to be reused. Although a distinction between 'masonry building' and 'villa' is made in the gazetteer, this simply reflects the excavator's interpretation – which in many cases is wholly arbitrary. Therefore, for the sake of convenience, and because the Anglo-Saxons would have been unable to distinguish between different types of rural Roman farm buildings, all rural, masonry buildings and structural complexes are termed 'villa' in this discussion.

One striking trait is the number of burials that exist on the line of the Roman foundations. Although one would expect that interments would be made where the grave digging was easiest, some were dug directly into the line of the foundations. The villa at Catterick, Baines Farm is a case in point: here, seven burials (and the fragmentary remains of an eighth) cut into the remains of Roman walls and/or footings, and all but one are aligned to the axis of the buildings, roughly NW/SE (Figure 31). Other sites showing a conscious placement on the line of the Roman walls include Heronbridge (Cheshire), Denton, and Scampton.

²⁹¹ Wheeler 1943, 78.

²⁹² Rahtz, Dickinson and Watts 1980, 201.

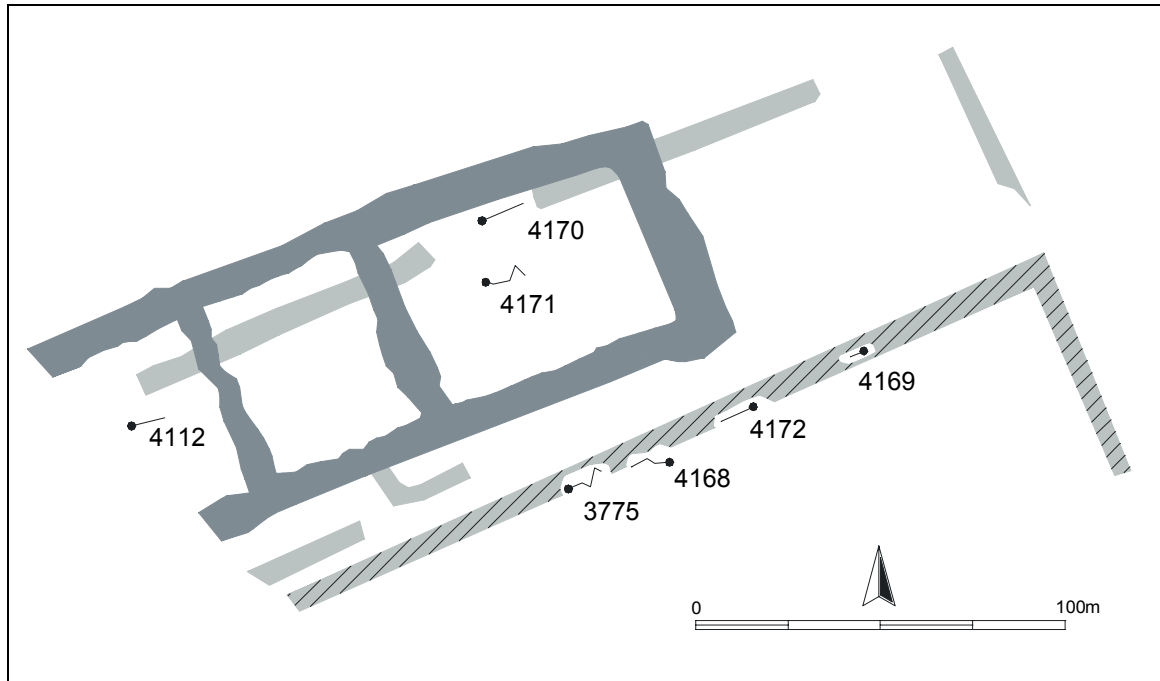


Figure 31 – Catterick, Baines Farm: four of the burials are superimposed on the villa foundation (after Wilson *et al.* 1996, fig. 15.).

The limited nature and fragmentary reports of so many of the excavations makes it difficult to discern whether specific parts of the villa were chosen for burial, and if so why. However, one feature recurs consistently, and may have significant bearing on our interpretation of these sites: of the 84 cemeteries on villas and rural masonry buildings, 22 (26%) are on or adjacent to a hypocausted structure or bath-house.

We must further acknowledge that there is the very real potential for bath-house inhumation at other sites in this corpus in which the Roman structure is not identified, or the inhumations have not been positioned with accuracy. At Orpington, a second season of excavation nearly twenty years after the first located a Roman bath-block adjacent to the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery: in the 1960s, Tester uncovered 19 cremations and 52 inhumations; he did not locate the bath-house but held suspicions of its existence due to the presence of Roman material on the site.²⁹³ In 1983 Palmer found the bath-house and 11 further inhumations.²⁹⁴ Tester believes that the cemetery was in use *c.* mid fifth century to mid sixth century, and Palmer suggests a more general 'early pagan phase'. Here, the majority of the inhumations lie to the east of the building, and are clearly aligned to it even though some are *c.* 35 metres from the structure. Yet no burials are recorded from within the structure (Figure 32). In a similar situation, the ploughing of a field called 'the black grounds' at Chipping Warden (Northants) revealed foundations, building material, and, not surprisingly, dark earth. Drainage work close to the river in 1847 uncovered pottery and four unaccompanied skeletons oriented west/east.²⁹⁵ Subsequent work two years later revealed a bath-house, apparently part of a larger villa complex.²⁹⁶ The exact location of the burials is not recorded.²⁹⁷

²⁹³ Tester 1968.

²⁹⁴ Palmer 1984.

²⁹⁵ *JBAA* 2 (1847), 346.

²⁹⁶ *JBAA* 5 (1850), 82-84.

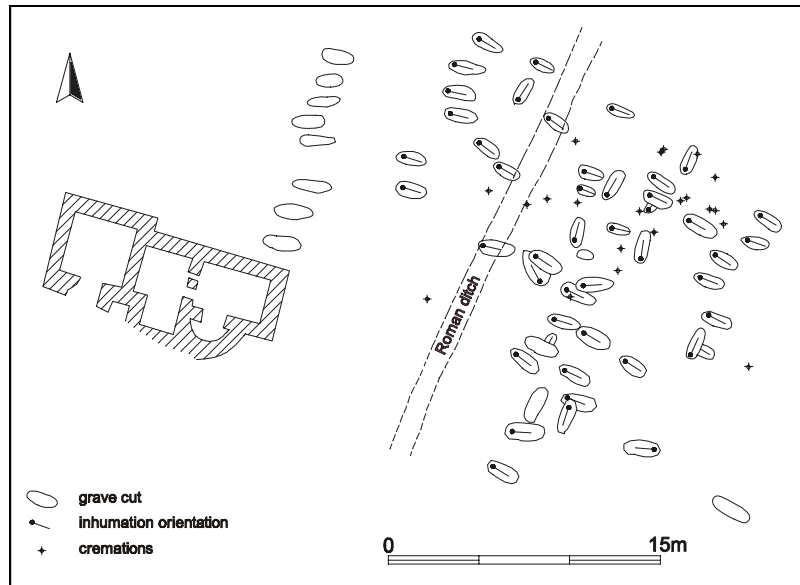


Figure 32 – Orpington, Kent. The burials are aligned to the bath-house, but are not incorporated into the structure itself (after Palmer 1984, fig. 2, and Tester 1968, fig. 1).

In a limited number of cases plans exist that show the relationship between the inhumation(s) and the Roman structure: at the well-known site of Eccles, some 200+ inhumations were found within and adjacent to the south-east bath wing of the Roman villa (Figure 33).²⁹⁷ The burials were laid in what appear to be three distinct levels, and 28 furnished burials are amongst the earliest. The church at the Frocester villa overlies the bath suite (Figure 70, page 155), and, like Eccles, early burials appear to have been inserted into the stoke-hole of the hypocaust.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁷ A plan of the villa exists (*RCHME Northants IV*, 29) but does not show the placement of the inhumations

²⁹⁸ Shaw 1994.

²⁹⁹ Gracie 1958.



Figure 33 – Eccles: cemetery on Roman villa; burials with early grave goods are shaded (after Shaw 1994, fig. 1).

Room 20 at Winterton, within which two burials were placed in the centre, is also part of a bath complex,³⁰⁰ and the building at Chatham Lines within and around which Douglas found burials (Figure 19, page 64) is also probably part of a bath-house. At Denton, human remains of at least three individuals were discovered in the bath-house: at least two were placed into its floor while the building was still intact.³⁰¹ Of these three individuals, one is known to have been a male aged *c.*25 years, while the remains of the other showed signs of osteo-arthritic wear. The burials were apparently disturbed during stone robbing, which is perhaps why their placement within the bath-house is unclear: one is certainly that recorded in the plan of the northern wall of the bath-house, and the location of the second and/or third burial can probably be deduced from either or both of the two holes excavated into the south wall (Figure 34). The plans of the Mill Hill villa at Castor are reproduced in the *VCH*, and several original views and plans of the villa are shown in Artis' 1829 'publication' of the site, which consists of beautifully executed engravings and plates, but without accompanying text.³⁰² One plate shows the slight outline of a skull, and what appears to be the clavicles and some upper ribs within the apsidal room of the bath-house. Labelled No. 11 on the plan, it is simply marked as 'a human cranium and part of a skeleton'.³⁰³ If Artis was accurately reproducing *in situ* material, then we can presume he is depicting the remains of a single skeleton, interred with its head to the north-east, aligned to the structure of the bath-house (Figure 36). At North Stoke, the position of the body is less clear. Here, a single inhumation and one skull were found during the excavation of the bath-house in 1829 (Figure 35): one inhumation lay at an unrecorded orientation within the apse of the bath-house, and the presence of a skull may indicate further burials.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁰ Stead 1976.

³⁰¹ Smith 1964; Greenfield 1971.

³⁰² *VCH Northants* I, 172-4; Artis 1828, plate 20.

³⁰³ Artis 1828, plate 20.

³⁰⁴ Turnor 1829.

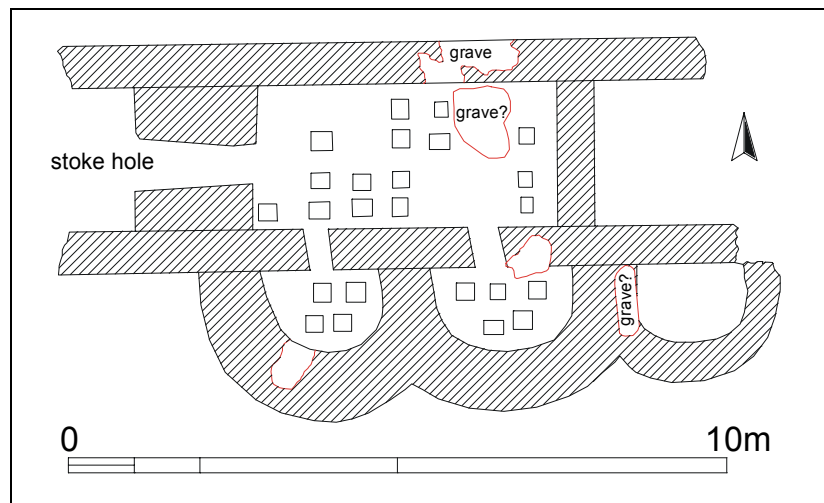


Figure 34 – Denton: the bath-house (after Greenfield 1971, fig. 7).

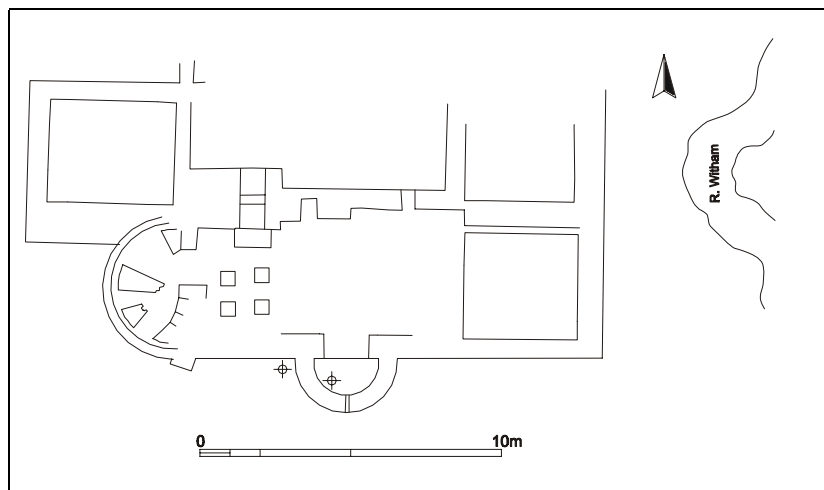


Figure 35 – North Stoke, Lincolnshire: the position of the inhumation is shown in the small apse of the bath-house. The point outside the walls indicates the location of a skull (after Turnor 1829, p. 30).

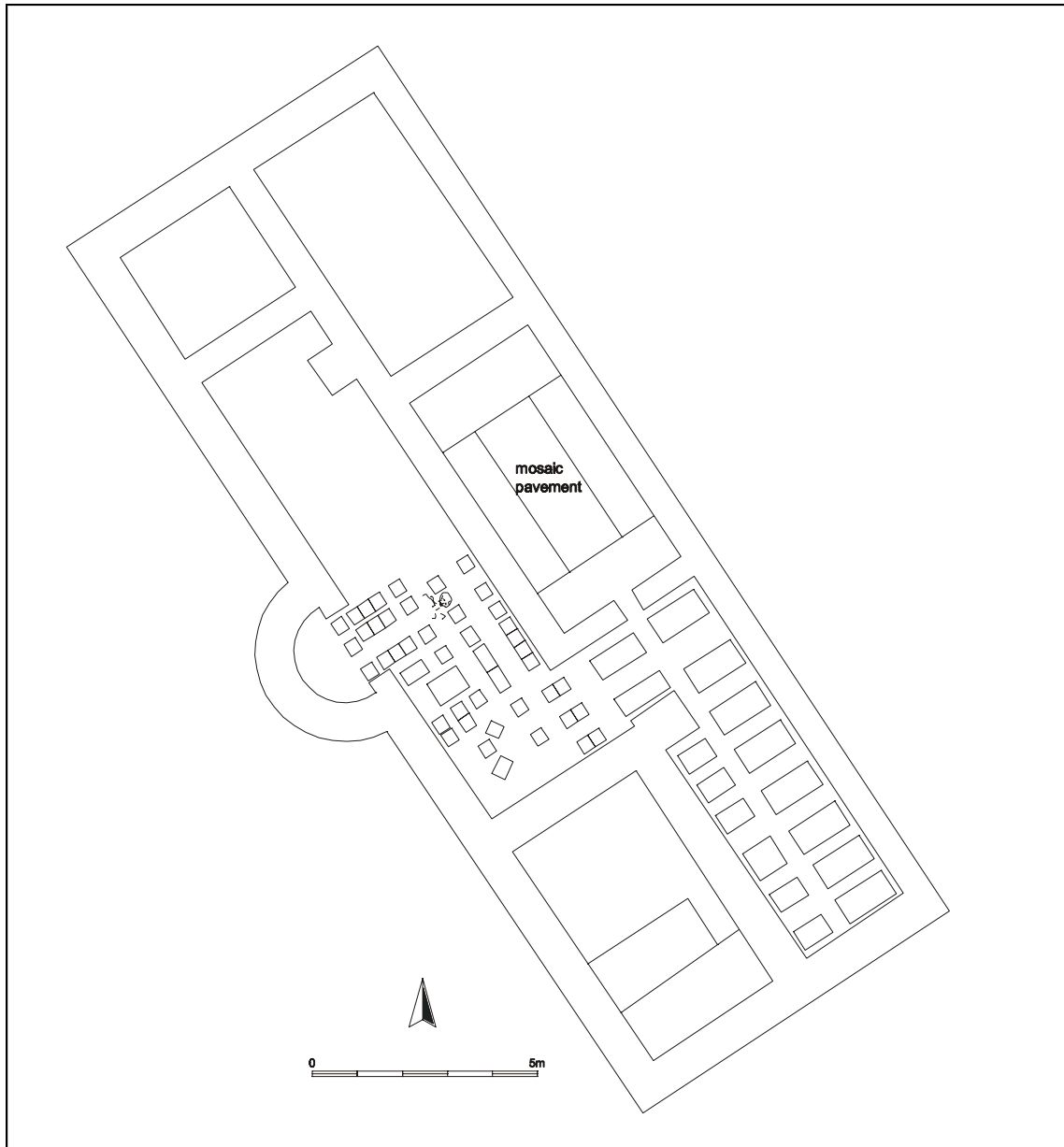


Figure 36 – Castor, Mill Hill: Artis' illustration shows the skull, clavicle and a few ribs of a skeleton that was placed within the bath-house. It is aligned to the structure, with its feet in the apse (after Artis 1828, pl. xx).

At Wigginton, the *VCH* reports that the remains of a bath-house were uncovered in 1824 about 190 metres south-east of the church.³⁰⁵ It consisted of two rooms, one rectangular and the other apsidal: both with tessellated pavements supported on hypocausts. In the centre of the rectangular room, oriented north-south, was a small skeleton, which Mackenzie describes as lying upon the tesserae.³⁰⁶ The plan does not show the position of the burial, but it is included below (Figure 37) to illustrate the architecture into which it was interred. Unfortunately, plans do not exist for the remainder of these bath-house inhumations. At Fringford Lodge (Oxon), two skeletons were found adjacent to or within a tessellated pavement, which was itself next to what was described as an underground

³⁰⁵ *VCH Oxon* I, 309.

³⁰⁶ Mackenzie and Skelton 1823.

chamber with two or three steps leading down to it.³⁰⁷ From the abbreviated account it is clear that we are dealing with a bath-house; the 'underground chamber' is probably the stoking room. At Daventry (Northants), a single skeleton was found lying north/south, aligned to one of the rooms of the bath block, with a spearhead by its side.³⁰⁸ The burials at Great Tew, described above (page 57), were clearly inserted through the floor of the bath-house and into the hypocaust itself, leading Nash to believe that the hypocaust channels were purpose-built 'sepulchral recesses'.³⁰⁹ Three or more inhumations, accompanied by a spearhead, a shield boss, three 'shield studs', two knives and three hooks were discovered 13 metres away from a bath-house at Little Chart, but no plan was made and the bath building itself was only partially excavated.³¹⁰ At Sutton Baron (Kent), in the parish of Borden, within a field called 'Fourteen Acres', the foundations of three Roman buildings were uncovered in 1846 and 1850, including one 'oblong' structure with a hypocaust.³¹¹ In the 14'x16' trench, two walls faced with mortar 3' apart were uncovered: at their end was found a skeleton 'facing east' (lying north/south?) with the remains of a wooden coffin bound with iron. Further disarticulated human bones were also found. No plan exists.

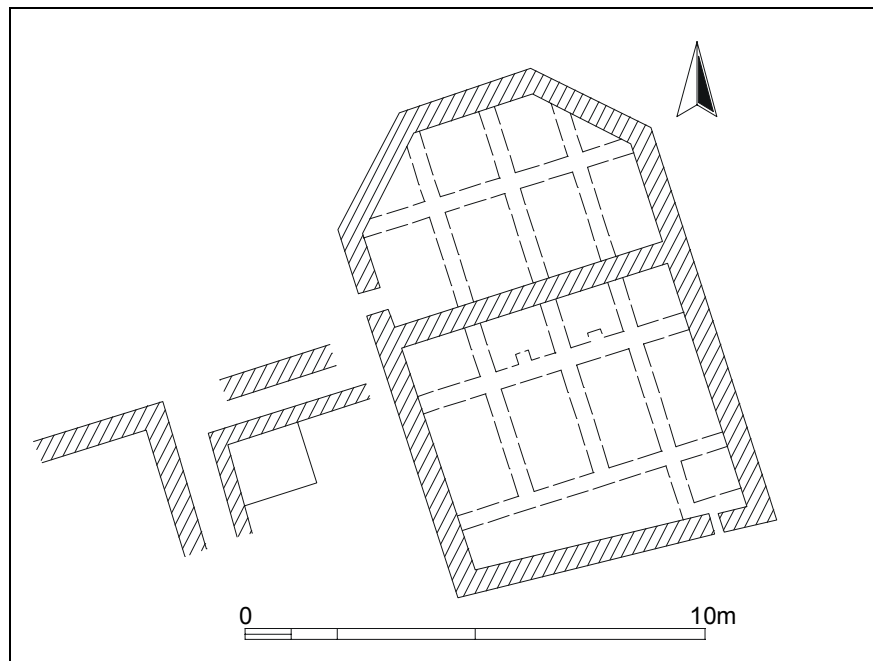


Figure 37 – Wigginton: The skeleton was found within the southern room of this two-chambered bath building, oriented to the structure with the head to north (after *VCH Oxon* I, fig. 28); for a full plan of the villa see Henig and Booth 2000, fig. 4.6.

2.1.7.5 Villas in the South-West

South-western Britain – roughly the area now defined by the counties of Somerset, Cornwall, parts of Devon, Glamorgan and Gwent – is usually considered separately from the rest of Britain in the fifth- to eighth-centuries: the archaeology of the region is particularly distinct (as are its practitioners), most noticeably in the absence of any Anglo-Saxon or Germanic material culture, or its influence, in the fifth or sixth centuries.

³⁰⁷ Blomfield 1882, 17-18.

³⁰⁸ Edgar 1923, 40.

³⁰⁹ Beesley 1841.

³¹⁰ Eames 1957.

³¹¹ *VCH Kent* III, 105.

This isolation from the emerging Anglo-Saxon kingdoms has in part led some to view the south-west in this period as incubating a continuing cultural, although not political, Late Roman tradition.³¹² As such the archaeology of this area does not fall strictly within the 'Anglo-Saxon' cultural aspect defined by the title of this thesis, but any examination of the reuse of Roman sites in post-Roman Britain cannot be complete without the incorporation of several particularly important sites in the south-west that demonstrate comparable archaeological evidence. Most notably, the villas at Llandough and Llantwit Major, which later developed into cemeteries, could be reflecting a late Roman tradition that started in the south-west, as seen by the fourth-century inhumations at the Bradley Hill villa. Temples in this region, in particular, also appear to have played a distinct, continuing role in the religious life of the area well past the physical decline of the temple structure, and presumably its abandonment as a place of Romano-Celtic worship (Section 2.1.7.3).

The villa and cemetery at Llandough is the only one of these sites to have been investigated within the last 25 years: here the church of St Dochwdy (probably a derivation of the fifth-century St Docco) now stands on the site of Roman villa and an adjacent 'sub-Roman' cemetery (Figure 38). Excavation in the late 1980s uncovered the remains of a villa to the immediate south of the church.³¹³ To the immediate north-west of the villa, a group of post-Roman burials was found: one lay approximately west/east; the grave contained animal bones and a disarticulated human leg, and the head of the skeleton was missing, although it remains unclear whether this was the result of a decapitation or a later disturbance. It was radiocarbon dated to 795 \pm 65. Another grave was that of a child buried approximately west/east, with its feet and hands crossed, its head resting on a pillow stone. This was dated to 775 \pm 60. The remains of at least six other individuals were identified and destroyed without record, and the excavators suggest that the total number of graves may have been as high as thirty. A final burial was found interred into and through the soil horizon, roof, and wall of the villa in room M; its legs were doubled-back in an unusual position. This had been dated to 1065 \pm 60.³¹⁴ From this evidence it would appear that a cemetery was situated adjacent to, and in part within, an abandoned villa complex sometime in the eighth century. However, more recent (1994) investigation of the site has revealed a more complex picture that narrows that gap between the secular disuse of the villa in the late Roman period, and the religious use of the site which apparently culminated in the founding of what is now the church of St Dochwdy. A preliminary report in *Current Archaeology* records that a total of 858 burials and 152 groups of disarticulated bone were recovered from an area north of the current church.³¹⁵

³¹² e.g. Dark 1994b.

³¹³ The following summary is from Owen-John 1988, 44-7; Robinson 1988.

³¹⁴ Owen-John 1988, pl. 14, 146.

³¹⁵ Selkirk 1996, 73-7.

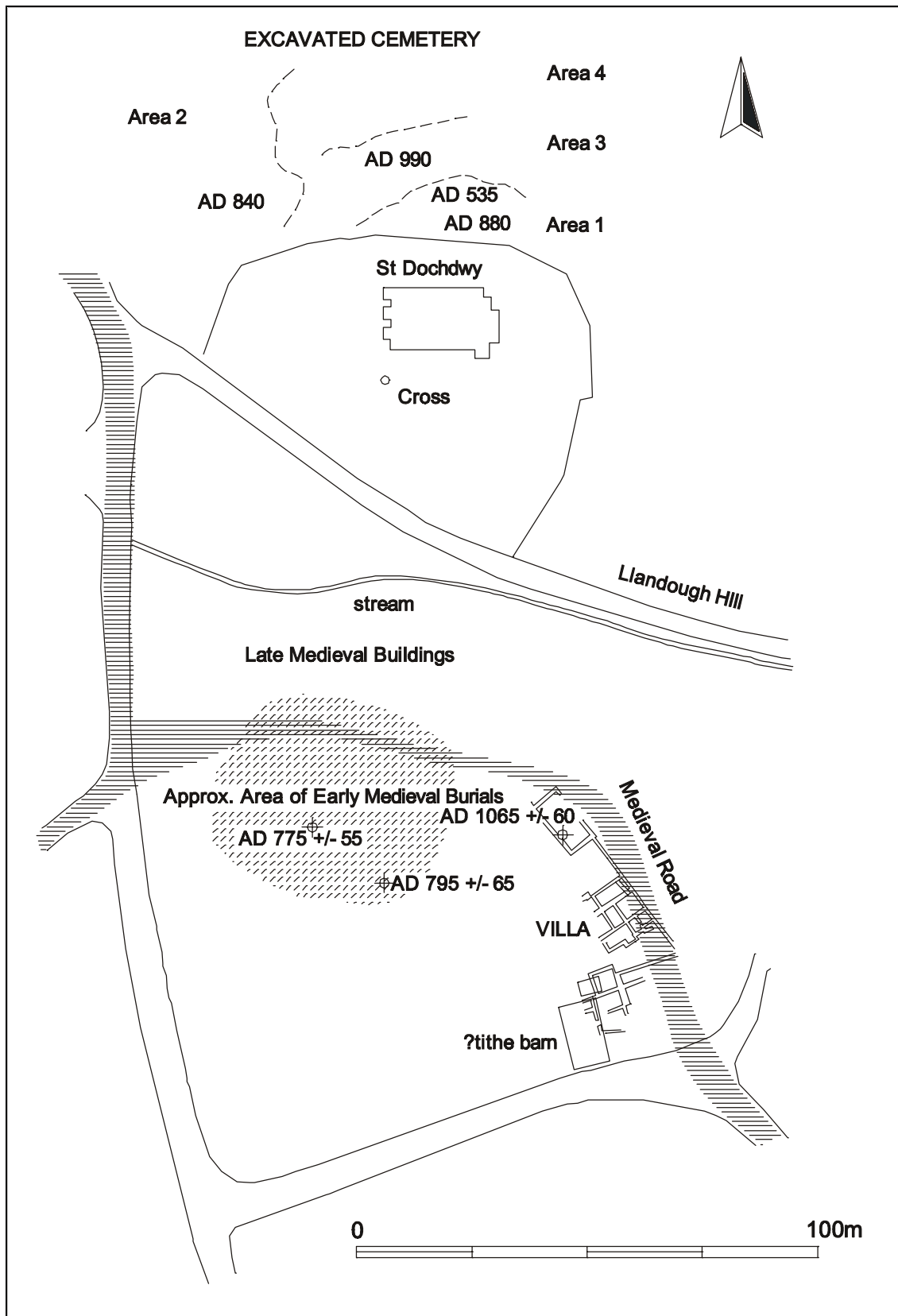


Figure 38 – Llandough: The final report on the recent excavations has not been published: an eighth-century cemetery was found adjacent to the villa complex, which may extend further to the west. Both earlier and later burials have been found to the north of the church of St Dochdwy (after Owen-John 1988, figs. 64, 58 and 59; and Selkirk 1996, 75).

The cemetery was divided into four 'zones'; the earliest skeletons were probably late-Roman, as the graves contained hobnailed boots – their specific location was not published. Radiocarbon analysis returned published dates of Cal AD535, AD880, AD840, AD990 (see the Radiocarbon appendix for current calibrations and ranges). Five sherds of imported Bii pottery were found as well. Burials apparently cease on the site in the early eleventh century, at the time when Llandaff, three miles away, was raised to episcopal status. Charters refer to a church at Llandough between c.650 and 1075, although the earliest material evidence is a tenth- or eleventh-century cross-shaft in the churchyard which has been dated on stylistic grounds. It is hoped that the final report will further elucidate the chronology of the entire site.

There is a very similar site at Llantwit Major, about 20 kilometres from Llandough. This villa was discovered in 1888 by J. C. Storr, who partially excavated two rooms, within which he found many burials that had been laid over the mosaic floor. Part of the site was excavated by Nash-Williams in the 1950s, and again by Hogg and the D.O.E. in 1971, who also re-interpreted the site.³¹⁶ Hogg agrees with Nash-Williams' interpretation of two, distinct phases of burial on the site. The first (Phase III) is indicated by 30 burials, nearly all men, and three horses, which 'lay in all sorts of positions';³¹⁷ Storr and Nash-Williams took this to be evidence of a massacre, with the bodies left to lie amongst the ruins. Whatever the reasons behind their presence here, at least 15cm of humus appears to have accumulated before their deposition, and Hogg conjectures at least several centuries had passed after the ruination of the villa.³¹⁸ Later, when the site was reduced to 'overgrown irregularities', it was used for more 'formal' burials (Phase IV), placed carefully within the villa structure and aligned west/east. Nash-Williams suggested that some of the graves may have been those of the late Roman occupants, but this was based on associated coins, which are likely to be residual, and which Hogg notes cannot be taken as a date for the graves themselves.³¹⁹ Hogg concludes that Nash-Williams' chronology, certainly as far as the villa structure itself goes, is suspect, and his plans are in part diagrammatic, but 'on the published evidence ... there can be practically no doubt that the coincidence of two separate deposits of human bodies must be accepted'.³²⁰ In total, after the three excavations, at least 37 grave were found from Phase III and 11 were found from Phase IV, the 'formal' cemetery. However, it is very difficult to gain a grasp of the site: the extent of the cemetery could be very large, as only about 10% of the total villa structure has been excavated. Furthermore, none of the inhumations has been radiocarbon dated, so it is difficult to know from when exactly these burial phases date.

A further site appears to have almost identical archaeology: the remains of a Roman villa and later cemetery at Winthill, on a spur on the south side of Banwell Hill, south of Banwell itself, were excavated intermittently over a period of 15 years between c.1954 and c.1970.³²¹ The OS 1:2500 shows earthworks which are the remains of some kind of villa complex, into which, at a later date, were cut a great number of graves of men,

³¹⁶ Nash-Williams 1953; Hogg 1974. Hogg provides a good, overall summary of the previous excavations.

³¹⁷ Hogg 1974, 240.

³¹⁸ Hogg 1974, 241.

³¹⁹ Hogg 1974, 235.

³²⁰ Hogg 1974, 241.

³²¹ There is yet no single work which summarises the site; full site bibliography from which the following information is obtained is included in the gazetteer entry. For an overview see Hunt 1963, 1964, and Taylor 1905.

women, and children; the exact number is unknown, but Rahtz suggests the count could be as high as several hundred.³²² A monastery at Banwell is mentioned in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*, c.880, which was given by the king to the author;³²³ while tradition places the monastery at Winthill, the church of St Andrew in Banwell itself, about 700m to the north, is also a candidate. The villa lies in three fields: called 'Chapel Leaze', 'Chapel Field', and 'Chapel Yard'; the site is also traditionally associated with a battle between the Saxons and the Danes, perhaps simply due to the number of skeletons found on the site.³²⁴ Although there are a good number of publications on the sites, the excavations at Winthill have not been written up in their entirety, and no composite plan of the villa, or the position of the graves, has been published. The archaeology here is clearly reminiscent of Llantwit Major and Llandough.

A fourth villa, at Ely near Cardiff, is worth mentioning briefly in this context: the structure sits in low-lying, wet ground, and was excavated in the 1920s by Wheeler, who revealed the plan of a fortified villa complex, within which, at an unknown time after the demise of the villa in the mid fourth century, a single, unaccompanied inhumation was made north of building II: it lay supine, with hands crossed over the pelvis. The body lay east/west with a vertical headstone and footstone in the grave, with two additional stones to each side of the head.³²⁵ Clearly a very carefully-placed interment, but isolated, and possibly Roman.

Despite the fact that there is no certain proof that the post-Roman west/east aligned burials at these sites are Christian, the sympathetic evidence with, and close proximity to, the cemetery at Llandough (the majority of whose occupants are Christian as suggested by the nearby church) would suggest that they are Christian. The prefix *Llan* ('religious site') is particularly suggestive.³²⁶ Llantwit Major, Llandough, and Winthill are excellent candidates for a villa-to-church transition in south-western Britain. Morris has even suggested an historical context: the *Vita* of St Illtud (*fl.* c.500) describes the saint as 'a cultured gentleman of the old school...living a monastic life on his hereditary estate', for which Morris feels that the villa at Llantwit Major is a prime candidate, as he founded Llanillud Fawr, of which the modern name of Llantwit Major is a corruption.³²⁷

2.2 Summary

The burial rite demonstrated at these sites can be summarised as consisting primarily of inhumation, in which the bodies were placed with deliberate care within or adjacent to a Roman structure. The evidence within this chapter shows that many Roman structures were still in a respectable condition, certainly enough so that the architecture of the building appears to have played a significant part in the nature and orientation of the burial. In some cases bodies were placed at the centre of a room where the walls were presumably left standing tall enough to form some kind of mausoleum-like enclosure. If a cement or mosaic floor was encountered, the graves would be cut through it, or the body would be laid on top of it, presumably in response to the depth of post-Roman deposition (or simply the time and energy available to the gravedigger). In the majority

³²² Rahtz and Fowler 1972, 199.

³²³ Asser, ch. 81.

³²⁴ Hunt 1961, 26.

³²⁵ Wheeler 1921, Plate 5, no. 2.

³²⁶ Morris 1966, 386.

³²⁷ Morris 1966, 379.

of cases a concerted effort was made to bury the body with proper care and ceremony. The greater number of burials in villas are in contact with the villa structure itself, at times lying along the foundations. In many cases the head of the body is placed on or adjacent to the masonry of the villa, which suggests, among other things, that the walls of some villas were robbed only to ground level before interment was made. This situation is also suggested by the evidence at those sites where human remains are found disturbed within the trenches of completely robbed foundations, suggesting that bodies were laid on half-robbed foundations before being disturbed during a second phase of robbing. At many of the sites, interments were made within the bath-house of the villa. There is a strong regional bias towards the south-west which demonstrates continuing or re-invented religious activity on these sites. The practice of interring one's dead in Roman structures occurred over a very long period of time – perhaps as long as buildings could still be identified as Roman – and includes what have been traditionally seen as furnished 'pagan' inhumations and later, unfurnished, west/east aligned burials.

3 Churches Associated with Roman Buildings

3.1 Introduction

Hundreds of churches in Britain and Gaul are directly associated with Roman structures: villas and rural buildings, martyria, forts, towns, settlements, camps and signal stations. The superimposition of churches on Roman structures remains a problematic aspect of post-Roman archaeology in Britain, and an explanation for their coincidence is certainly required in the light of the apparent discontinuity between the Roman and early-medieval landscapes. This chapter examines the evidence for churches associated with Roman buildings, and introduces some possible circumstances by which Roman secular structures might have become the foci for Anglo-Saxon churches in the early-medieval period.

Although examples of churches associated with Roman buildings have been surfacing slowly in the archaeological record for some time, it was not until Morris and Roxan's survey in 1980 that a cohesive body of data was compiled and discussed as a singular phenomenon.³²⁸ The delay in recognising the number of churches associated with Roman buildings in Britain, and the lack of a long-term, developed study, is due to a number of factors:

- *Lack of Archaeological Evidence:* The majority of churches associated with Roman buildings have not been satisfactorily excavated, and the association between the Roman and medieval phases of these sites is therefore usually archaeologically tenuous. Frequently the existence of a Roman structure under a church is revealed only by small-scale, sub-surface exploration – grave digging, drainage or heating installation, or less frequently, keyhole excavation.
- *Chronological Divide:* The traditional lack of contiguity between Roman and Anglo-Saxon archaeology (and archaeologists) introduces a bias in the interpretation of many sites; archaeologists into the 1950s regarded post-Roman phases as largely inconsequential, and where Anglo-Saxon activity did exist, the reuse of the site was often explained as coincidental. These biases are largely remedied in more recent excavations and reports.
- *Antiquarian Excavation:* Many of the sites within the gazetteer were excavated in the beginning of this century or earlier, and the ambiguity inherent in the reports of these older excavations prevents a detailed analysis of archaeology undertaken before the mid twentieth century.

3.1.1 The Archaeological Evidence

Many of the Roman buildings under the churches in this corpus are confirmed (or suggested) by only the chance finds of Roman brick, tile or tesserae uncovered during grave digging or informal ground breaking; very few have been properly excavated. As a consequence of such small-scale and often chance discoveries, the 250+ known churches in this corpus may only be a fraction of the total number that are associated with Roman buildings. The lack of full-scale excavation when Roman remains are uncovered in or

³²⁸ Discussed below, Section 3.1.2.1, page 101ff.

adjacent to churchyards, and the want of policies that otherwise might allow a retrospective investigation today, obfuscate our understanding of these sites, both in their individual development and the patterns which together they might reveal. The following discussion of churches associated with Roman buildings is therefore subject to the limitations of the evidence; given the inability to qualify or quantify the data in a formal manner, the import of the data is largely subjective, but a general approach can be outlined here.

At some churches in Britain, the existence of an underlying Roman building is purely hypothetical, based upon Roman building material – bricks, flue and box tiles – built into the church fabric.³²⁹ Frequently such material will only indicate that there was an availability of Roman materials within a convenient distance when the current church fabric was built. Roman bricks, tile and worked stones were reused very heavily from the tenth century onwards, and given the intensity of church building during that period, we can probably assume that Roman material, if handy, was used in the church fabric.³³⁰ In some instances, whole architectural structures were reused, such as the chancel arch of Roman tiles at West Hampnett, Sussex.³³¹ Roman artefacts, such as pottery and coins, and Roman burials, do not necessitate a structure on the site, but rather only suggest that there was some Roman activity.

Roman altars found within the church fabric or within a churchyard have been used to substantiate the existence of an underlying or adjacent Roman building; these discoveries also served to fuel antiquarian interest, leading many, on the evidence of an altar or inscription, to claim the existence of an underlying shrine or temple. Such suggestions must be treated with caution, for some villas will have had their own shrines. Furthermore, from as far back as the Middle Ages, and into the eighteenth century, Roman altars were brought to churches from surrounding areas as curiosities, probably because they are portable objects that attract the attention of vicars and antiquarians (*e.g.* the seven Roman altars currently within the vaulted undercroft at Lanercost Priory, Cumbria, a twelfth-century foundation). In some cases Roman altars had been brought to the church at an earlier, undocumented period, and then destroyed or moved out of the church – in some instances during conservative movements against what was seen to be a pagan symbol: a Roman altar resided in the church of Stone-in-Oxney, Kent for some time before being turned out as a 'pagan relic' and used as a horse block; in 1751 it was repaired and placed within the vicarage.³³² Another altar found during grave digging in the churchyard at Nether Denton, Cumbria, buried upside-down, may have been 'turned out' in a similar fashion. Roman altars were undoubtedly collected and brought to churches from a wide periphery, and the presence of an altar in a church or churchyard suggests only that there was a temple or shrine close enough for the object to be transported there; one cannot take the existence of an altar to suggest that a Roman temple lies beneath.

³²⁹ Sites for which brick and tile in the fabric are the *only* evidence for a Roman structure are not addressed in this thesis.

³³⁰ But not always: the builders of the early church tower at Winterton used none of the masonry from the nearby villa (R. Goodburn, the author of the forthcoming Winterton report, pers. comm.).

³³¹ Hills 1868.

³³² *VCH Kent* III, 169. The altar may have come from Lympe; no Roman building is known from the area, although the *-stone* place-name is suggestive of one.

In the strictest terms, the presence of an underlying Roman building can be certified only by identifying the underlying structure itself, and confirming its date from the fabric, associated artefacts, and/or the nature of the construction. A hypocaust is the most frequently identified Roman construction within the corpus, certainly in part due to its exclusive use in the Roman period. However, instances in which the Roman building is revealed and identified are in the minority, and even the discovery of buried foundations has its share of caveats: Norman re-buildings of the twelfth century left behind a number of pre-Conquest footings in churchyards which are not necessarily Roman, and it is not always easy to distinguish what is, or is not, Roman, especially when one must rely on fragmentary or third-hand reports. Buried foundations may also prove to be an earlier phase of a church, or a separate, medieval building, such as that suggested at King's Cliffe. Later, post-medieval masonry remains have been incorrectly dated: the buried remains of a bath-house near St Mary's church on the Strand, London, were believed to have been Roman until as late as 1975, when they were reassessed as a post-medieval structure which was probably in use as a bathing facility until the nineteenth century.³³³ More frequently there is little opportunity for such reassessment, and we are forced to accept that buried walls and foundations, such as those discovered under a hedge of the churchyard at Belchamp St Paul's, can be only tentatively identified as Roman.³³⁴

Mosaics are a reliable indicator of an underlying Roman building. Even a handful of tesserae can suggest the presence of a nearby mosaic, while the discovery of intact mosaics (often described generically as 'pavements' in antiquarian literature) are helpful in putting a Roman date to underlying masonry. They tend to have been recorded in detail by antiquarians, allowing for a retrospective confirmation of their Roman date, location, and can (at times) give an indication of the building's alignment. Furthermore, mosaics are more-or-less static architecture: until recently there has been no way in which to move one intact, and thus a mosaic is often refreshingly conclusive evidence that can verify the presence and location of a Roman structures. Of course medieval mosaics may be incorrectly identified as Roman: *The Gentleman's Magazine* refers to a Roman pavement taken up at Pughley Farm, Berkshire, which stands on the site of the 'old monastery'. This is marked on the OS 1:2500 as an Augustinian Priory founded in 1160, and the mosaic could possibly be contemporary with this foundation.³³⁵ Most antiquarians judged the period of a mosaic by its quality, but 'coarse' or 'crude' mosaics existed in the Roman period, especially in *villae rusticae*, and we therefore cannot entirely rely on the antiquarian dating of mosaics.

The difficulties presented by the nature of the evidence can be nicely demonstrated in the neighbouring churches of Upper Denton and Nether Denton near Brampton in Cumbria: the churches are only two kilometres apart, and the fabric of the church at Upper Denton is composed almost entirely of stones taken from the nearby Birdoswald fort – including a complete archway from the fort's west gate. However, the church at Upper Denton shows no sign of being placed on a site of Roman significance. Meanwhile, the church of St Cuthbert at Nether Denton is, in its current incarnation, a nineteenth-century construction, but it lies within a Roman fort on the line of the Stanegate. It is likely that the first church on the site was consciously placed within the fort, but the only visible evidence of possible Roman activity on the site is an altar lying under the eaves, next to the south porch.

³³³ Colebear 1975, 249; for the identification as Roman see anon, JBAA 1922.

³³⁴ Rodwell and Rodwell 1977, 96.

³³⁵ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, November 1827 (ii, 448); *VCH Berks* I, 205; OS 1:2500 SU 4175.

With modern recording techniques, a more stratigraphically comprehensive excavation process and the increasingly regional context of archaeology, we can begin to glimpse the degree of influence Roman structures appear to have had on the development of a Christian landscape in Anglo-Saxon England. Nonetheless, when addressing the relationship between a church and an underlying Roman structure, a survey of this nature must regard the chronological concerns with some optimism, yet must be equally critical of the material evidence: one cannot omit from the study a thirteenth-century church where mosaics are uncovered persistently in the churchyard, such as Ab Kettleby (Leics), nor can we discount a church that shows none: the church at Fenny Drayton (Leics), for example, was not believed to have had any Roman origins until 1995, when a visitor, probing the drainage works, found fragments of Roman tile and mortar.³³⁶ In a similar manner, the discovery of Roman finds does not automatically suggest a Roman building (Littlebury, Essex), and Roman burials and cremation urns would usually argue *against* the presence of a domestic structure (Stinstead, Essex).³³⁷

The chronological development of these churches, and particularly their relationship to the underlying Roman structures, is of fundamental importance to this study. Because the majority of standing churches included in this gazetteer are dated on architectural or historical grounds to the twelfth century and later (only 15.2% of the churches within the corpus are included in Taylor and Taylor's *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*), how certain can one be of *any* association with an underlying Roman structure, which at times is found metres below ground? This can only be answered with any certainty through excavation, although the extant remains of Anglo-Saxon fabric, documentary evidence, field survey and landscape analysis all provide further clues to the possible relationship of the church to the underlying Roman building.

Old records, fragmentary evidence and partial excavations have left a very piecemeal account of churches associated with Roman buildings. The documentation of the archaeological evidence underlying this chapter consists of a wide range of sources, from modern excavation reports (Bath, Rivenhall, Lullingstone) to single, isolated citations in early volumes of the *Victoria County History* (East Barming (Kent), Chard (Somerset)), to brief references in early antiquarian or topographic accounts (Hayes (Kent), East Stoke (Notts), Kirkby Warfe (N Yorks)). As a natural result of the variability in the evidence, the reliability of the information varies in both quality and quantity: in only a few instances of the more than 250+ sites included in this study has the relationship between a church and an underlying Roman structure been archaeologically proven. Very few sites have associated stratigraphic or chronological information, and as a result it is impossible to qualify systematically the data.

In most cases the existence of the Roman building is the unknown factor, but in a few select cases the existence of the church remains in question. For example, when visiting Birdoswald fort in 1599, Reginald Baimbridge recorded that 'the inhabitants did shew me the plaice wher the church stode'.³³⁸ No such church has been recognised at Birdoswald, but this is not to say that one did not exist, especially in light of the recent identification

³³⁶ Leicestershire SMR record: 39 NE AB.

³³⁷ 'Roman burials from grounds adjacent'. Rodwell and Rodwell 1977, 119; Morris and Roxan 1980, 202.

³³⁸ Bambrigg 1599.

of what appear to be late Roman churches at Vindolanda and Houseteads.³³⁹ Local tradition or occasionally documentary evidence can also suggest the presence of a long-demolished medieval church or chapel which may or may not have been located on or near the Roman remains in the neighbourhood; the villas at Winthill, Folkestone and Scampton are such cases in which a church or Christian presence is hinted, but nothing is verifiably recorded. At Shapwick (Somerset), there was no certain evidence of a Roman structure in 'Old Church Field', until a combination of field walking, geophysical survey, and excavation confirmed the significance of the field-name, and showed that an early-medieval church was built upon a Roman structure, perhaps a villa or some kind of shrine.³⁴⁰ There are about 15 sites within the corpus where a Roman building or villa lies in 'church field', 'chapel field', or a field of a similar name, but where the church, if any existed, is unknown (see Section 3.2.5, below, page 170).

This chapter is therefore dealing with a class of archaeological site that is defined by the presence of two superimposed or adjacent architectural features – a church and a Roman building – the presence of which is not always proven with certainty. Acknowledging the subsequent limitations of the data, the criteria for the identification of a church on a Roman building in this study are based primarily on the nature and persistence of the archaeological material, which ranges in quality and quantity from the discovery of tiles and tesserae uncovered during grave digging, to the excavated and planned remains of the underlying Roman building. While an investigation with so much inherent ambiguity appears at first to be nearly fruitless, the resultant picture is better than it first may appear, and combined with other sources of information, such as place-name evidence, the study can often reveal a significant amount about the broader aspects of the relationship of churches to Roman buildings. Therefore, although there are a large number of sites for which we know comparatively little, it is hoped that a wide-ranging survey of all the available evidence from throughout England and Wales will reveal the broader patterns that underlie the placement, chronology and topography of churches associated with Roman buildings, and present a more accurate account than many previous investigations which have extrapolated larger, more sweeping conclusions from a localised, regional study.

3.1.2 Previous Research

Recent investigations of these churches in both Gaul and Britain have been undertaken within the framework of research on either churches or villas, but have not explored these sites as a specific typology in their own right. Morris's *Churches in the Landscape* reviews some of these cases but concentrates on the possible monastic development in the south-west.³⁴¹ Other studies examine specific instances of this phenomenon in England or Gaul: in France the occurrence of churches on Roman structures is more common, and excavations of churches, especially those with Roman or early-medieval aspects, have been undertaken on a comparatively large scale since the beginning of this century.³⁴² John Percival's 1997 paper discusses the development of early monasteries in Gaul and

³³⁹ No details of the Vindolanda church have been published, but see *The Times* Sat, 25 Jul 1998 for a brief report; online, see the *Britarch* news archive, Issue no 37, September 1998, at <http://www.britarch.ac.uk/ba/ba37/ba37news.html>. Houseteads: Crow 1995, 95-97. The possible church is an apsidal building in the northern part of the fort, found in the late nineteenth century. It is associated with a slab-lined water tank into which a cist burial was later inserted.

³⁴⁰ Aston *et al.* 1994.

³⁴¹ Morris 1989, 100-2.

³⁴² e.g. L. R. P. de la Croix 1900.

includes an appendix of 22 monasteries demonstrating a Roman structural origin.³⁴³ He also addresses the subject (although with a continental bias) in his chapter on 'Villas, Churches and Monasteries' in *The Roman Villa*.³⁴⁴ His two studies hold particular relevance for any discussion of a continuing Christian community in Britain. Warwick Rodwell's 1984 paper *Churches in the Landscape: aspects of topography and planning* is a notable landmark for the study of churches in towns in Britain, and addresses particularly the reuse of existing Roman masonry. More recently, John Blair has examined the reuse of Roman sites – including towns, forts and other Roman sites – in the context of the placement and development of early minsters.³⁴⁵

3.1.2.1 Morris and Roxan's 'Churches on Roman Buildings':

The single work devoted to studying the national incidence of churches associated with Roman buildings outside towns is Morris and Roxan's 'Churches on Roman Buildings', a paper published in 1980 in Rodwell's *Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain with a Gazetteer of Romano-Celtic Temples in Continental Europe*. The paper examines the Roman background to ecclesiastical developments in the English countryside, and is a good examination of these sites which includes several particularly significant observations which are frequently omitted from archaeological discussions of the subject, including a brief discussion of the incidence of Roman buildings within fields named 'Church Field' or 'Chapel Field' (see Section 3.2.5, page 170), and the curiously high number of these sites which are now abandoned (see Section 4.3.6). The paper, however, is an examination of the phenomenon at its broadest scale: there are, for example, no plans of specific sites outside the sequence showing Rodwell's interpretation of the development of Rivenhall. This is not a criticism of what is a pioneering study – the authors acknowledge the limitations of their abbreviated examination – but rather further differentiates how the specific focus of this thesis differs from previous research: namely in that it addresses the need to examine the archaeological background of these sites, their stratigraphic sequence, and the spatial and structural relationships between the church and the Roman building.

Accompanying Morris and Roxan's paper is a 'Sample List' of 110 churches on Roman buildings, included 'not only as a source of information about individual cases, but also as a guide to their distribution'.³⁴⁶ The list was initially conceived by the authors as a comprehensive gazetteer, but the frequently ambiguous nature of the evidence forced them to adopt a less inclusive approach. Their paper uses the evidence included within the sample list to investigate the 'location of English churches in relation to pre-existing sites and structures', including churches on cemeteries.³⁴⁷

Twenty sites listed in their corpus of 110 sites have been excluded from this study. These sites are listed in Table 10 (below), which also provides a reason for their exclusion: of these twenty, Morris and Roxan include eight in their gazetteer because they show potential of being associated with a Romano-British cemetery, but the quality of evidence varies between excavated cemeteries (Colchester, St John's Abbey) and pottery which might represent cremation urns (East Blatchingdon, Sussex). These eight references

³⁴³ Percival 1997.

³⁴⁴ Percival 1976.

³⁴⁵ Blair 1992.

³⁴⁶ A slightly curious claim given that no distribution maps or grid references are provided in their study (Morris and Roxan 1980, 176).

³⁴⁷ Morris and Roxan 1980, 178.

simply do not belong in a collection of churches on Roman buildings, and have been excluded from this study; the establishment of early Anglo-Saxon churches on Romano-British cemeteries, while an interesting subject, is outside the present scope of this thesis.³⁴⁸

Lastly, churches within Roman forts and areas of former Roman urbanization are not included in Morris and Roxan's paper, in part because almost any church on a former Roman establishment can be said to exist on a Roman building.

Table 10 – Sites listed in Morris and Roxan's 'Churches on Roman Buildings' not included in this study.

<u>Site</u>	<u>Reason for Exclusion</u>
<i>Belchamp Otton</i> , Essex	This site has no Roman origin and has been confused with <i>Belchamp St Peter's</i> , also in Essex. At this latter site can be found the potentially 'Roman wall under the west hedge of churchyard' listed in their entry for Belchamp Otton.
<i>Boreham</i> , Essex	The doorway and windows in the church tower are constructed partly of Roman bricks, which are also seen in the nave. An aumbry made of Romano-British brick was discovered under the tower in 1979. Romano-British pottery was also found in the churchyard, together with a small piece of tile and two sherds of globular amphora. Despite this, there is no evidence of <i>in-situ</i> building material. The amount of secondary material in the fabric suggests a site in the area, but not necessarily under the church or churchyard.
<i>Britwell Salome</i> , Oxon	The entry relates to a cemetery – urns have been found near the church, but no structural evidence or masonry.
<i>Colchester</i> , Gloucs.	The church excavated on the grounds of St John's Abbey was built over a Roman inhumation cemetery. Although the structure was perceived by Thomas and Rodwell as being a church built on a Roman mausoleum, Crummy, the excavator, believes this to be unlikely.
<i>Doddington</i> , Gloucs.	The site is recorded only as a cremation cemetery found near the church of St Mary.
<i>East Blatchingdon</i> , Sussex	Pottery, possibly from urn burials, have been found under the tower of St Peter's church.
<i>East Mersea</i> , Essex	The Rodwells note that 'there are reports of a Roman villa under or near East Mersea church'. The <i>VCH</i> only records the discovery of a coin near the church in 1942 (which does have Roman tile in the fabric). The <i>RCHME</i> does not mention anything Roman, and even the Rodwells conclude that 'nothing is certain' about the suggested underlying Roman building.
<i>Fairstead</i> , Essex	The <i>VCH</i> only mentions bricks in the church fabric, and Roman pottery in garden. No quantity of Roman building material has been found, although the Rodwells conclude: 'the potential for a villa here is very high'.
<i>Great Dunmow</i> , Essex	Coins, burials, and urns have been found to the west of the church. The Rodwells note that the church lies on a Roman site, but there is no evidence of an associated structure.
<i>Great Maplestead</i> , Essex	Another cemetery – 'Roman burials' found under the north aisle and vicarage of St Giles' church.
<i>Helmingham</i> , Suffolk	A large Roman cemetery underneath the rectory garden and extending into the churchyard of St Mary.
<i>Little Canfield</i> , Essex	The Rodwells refer to 'Roman finds from in and around the churchyard'. The nature of these finds is unclear; the <i>VCH</i> does not mention the Little Canfield in its Roman gazetteer, and the <i>RCHME</i> does not mention any Roman finds.
<i>Littlebury</i> , Essex	The <i>VCH</i> records no certain Roman finds near the church (most Roman finds from the area are unlocated); The Rodwells mention only 'Roman finds from around the church' and that 'a villa is to be expected here'.
<i>Long Crendon</i> , Bucks.	Cemetery – 'urns' found in field to the north of St Mary's church.
<i>Maldon</i> , Essex	The <i>VCH</i> only reports discovery of Roman pottery under the church; the NMR records include no reference to a Romano-British structure or any building material.
<i>Poultton</i> , Gloucs.	The church of St Michael is actually a recent church built on a green site in 1873. Roman pottery was found in the excavations for its foundations.
<i>Rothley</i> , Leices.	Morris and Roxan record masonry debris and structure from the 1957 OS <i>Map of Roman Britain</i> . However, this appears to be a red herring: the SMR reports that 'there is no known Roman structure at Rothley parish church. The references to such a structure can be traced to a misleadingly edited transcript of John Nichols' <i>History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester</i> and can be discounted.' (Peter Littler, Keeper of Archaeology, Leicestershire Museums, Arts, and Records Service, pers. comm.).

³⁴⁸ The subject is in need of detailed examination, and the large number of churches with some evidence of underlying or nearby Romano-British funerary practice cannot be represented by eight examples which by themselves add little to the overall discussion.

<i>Stisted</i> , Essex	No structure: fragments of burial urns found during rebuilding of hall near All Saints' church.
<i>Stone-in-Oxney</i> , Kent	A Roman altar resided in the church for some time before being turned out as a 'pagan relic'; it was subsequently repaired in 1751 and placed within the vicarage; its provenance is unknown but Lympe is a possibility. Although the place name is suggestive, no Roman structure is recorded.
<i>Studland</i> , Dorset	A 'Roman inhumation' was found in the rebuilding of St Nicholas' church. There is no Roman building here, or evidence of Roman building materials.

To explain the origins of these churches, Morris and Roxan look to continental models of church development on Roman buildings, particularly cases cited in Percival's *The Roman Villa*. They conclude that, because 'the majority of churches seem to be proprietary in origin...the decisive link, therefore, is likely to have been that which existed between villa and hall, rather than villa and church',³⁴⁹ suggesting that these churches came into being following the secular adaptation or inheritance of Roman secular authority, or the sites of this authority. This view is shared by the Rodwells in their analysis of the Rivenhall sequence, and by Heighway in her discussion of the origins of Anglo-Saxon churches in Gloucestershire.³⁵⁰ A discussion of the origins of these churches and a commentary on Morris and Roxan's model is addressed in Section 4.3.2, page 206.

3.1.3 Distribution

Churches associated with Roman sites are found throughout Britain, wherever Roman structures were built, with somewhat higher concentrations in Essex, Kent and the south-west, although their absence around Leicestershire and the north-west is noticeable. An unusually high proportion of churches within Roman forts is concentrated around Carlisle, on the west of Hadrian's Wall.

³⁴⁹ Morris and Roxan 1980, 191.

³⁵⁰ Rodwell and Rodwell 1985; Heighway 1987.

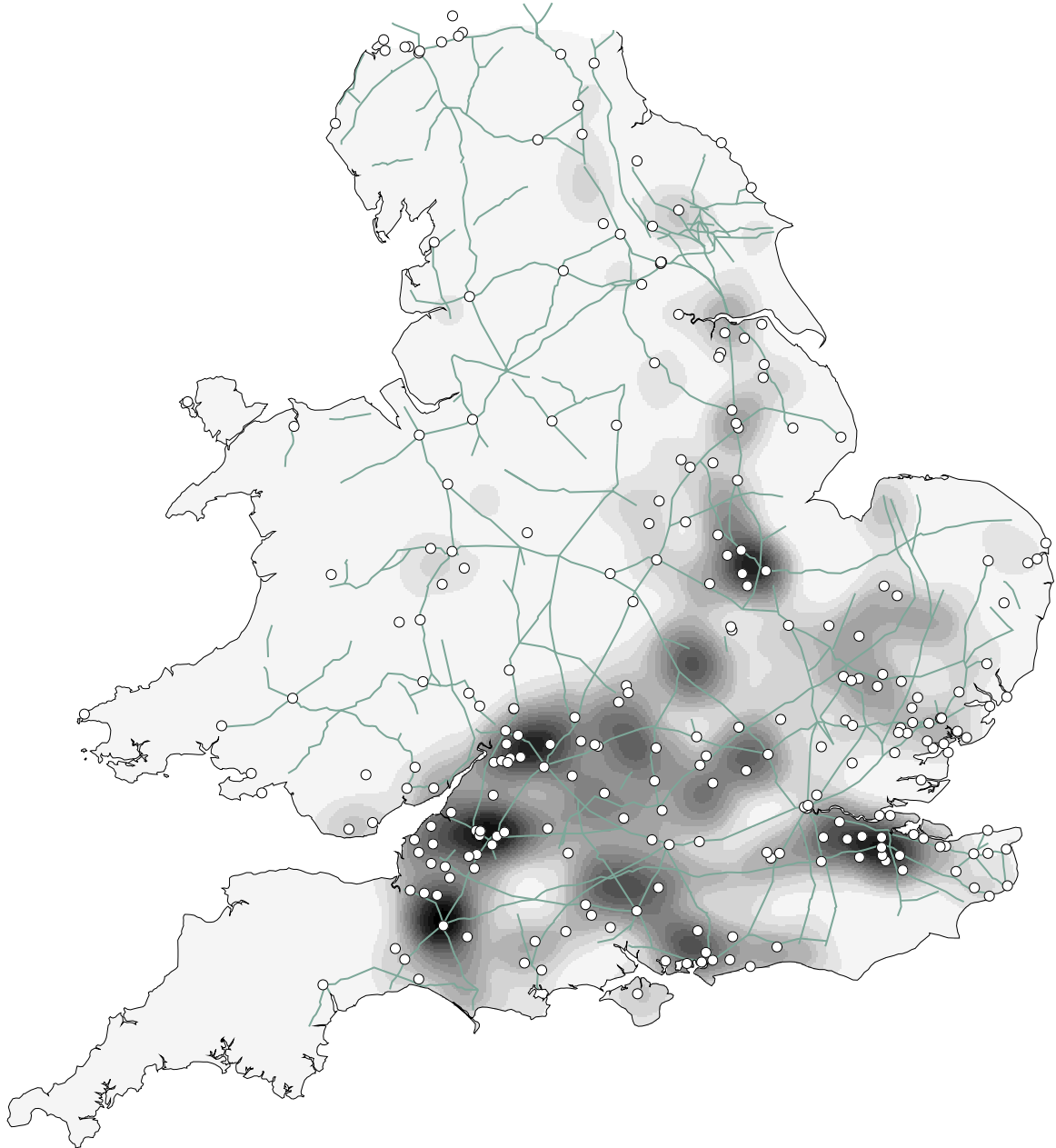


Figure 39 – The distribution of churches associated with Roman buildings against a background density of Roman buildings (per km²) and Roman roads.³⁵¹

The usual caveats of distribution models apply here: classification of these sites is so dependent upon sub-surface remains that any attempt at an examination of their distribution will be biased in proportion to the amount of regional and local research. Clearly every area of the country has not been exposed to the same degree of archaeological observation and recording, so we can first acknowledge the comparatively large amount of research that has gone into examining the early Christian topography of specific areas: Essex, of course, shows a clear concentration of these sites; this relative density may be in part due to the intensity of survey there: four *RCHME* volumes on the county were published between the wars, and Warick and Kristy Rodwell followed in

³⁵¹ The location of villas and significant masonry buildings is derived from the Ordnance Survey *Map of Roman Britain*, Fourth Edition and has been supplemented by additional sites in Jones and Mattingly 1990. The density has been derived with a GIS, and shows the number of structures per km².

1977 with a detailed examination of the churches within the diocese of Chelmsford, an area roughly equal to modern Essex and parts of southern Suffolk and eastern Cambridgeshire.³⁵² To the west, Dumnonia has been the subject of two detailed reports.³⁵³ Stuart Rigold has carried out similar work on the churches in Kent; although less exhaustive, his studies have brought to light many instances of churches with Roman history, and an equal number that exhibit some possibility. Quite simply, the areas that have been subjected to the most scrutiny will reveal the greatest amount of subject matter. However, acknowledging this, we are still able to discern concentrations and patterns of churches on Roman structures, and we are better able to study the manner in which these sites compare with others demonstrating reuse and reinterpretation. We also might hypothetically ask if these areas would reveal a similar proportion of churches associated with Roman buildings if they were subjected to a similar degree of archaeological and historical research? At the least, the above studies show the number of sites which can be found through a detailed regional study and synthesis.

Figure 39, above, shows that, although there are a few areas of correspondence between churches associated with Roman buildings and the availability of Roman buildings, there is not a consistent or direct correlation between the two. For instance, the high number of these churches in Essex does not seem to be in proportion with the comparatively low density of Roman structures, whereas other regions demonstrating higher densities of Roman structures, such as the area around Winchester, contain relatively few instances of reuse. This would suggest that the process behind reinterpretation was not dependent simply on the availability of these structures. It is likely that we are seeing the remnants of local or regional preferences, with concentrations in Kent, the Severn Estuary, Carlisle, Dumnonia and Essex.³⁵⁴ A band of similar sites running up the Fosse Way may be attributed to its being a corridor of Roman activity.

3.1.4 Building Type

These churches are usually found on six distinct classes of Roman site: towns, villas, military installations, temples, and funerary monuments, although in most instances the exact nature of the structure is often not known for certain (Table 11 and Figure 40).

Table 11 – Churches Associated With Roman Buildings: grouped by building type

Type	Count	% of Total
Towns	27	10.6%
Forts and stations	46	18.1%
Villas	89	35.0%
'masonry buildings'	84	33.1%
Mausolea	5	1.9%
Temples	2	0.7%

³⁵² Rodwell and Rodwell 1977.

³⁵³ Pearce 1978.

³⁵⁴ The less certain sites from Rodwell's Essex have not been included here.

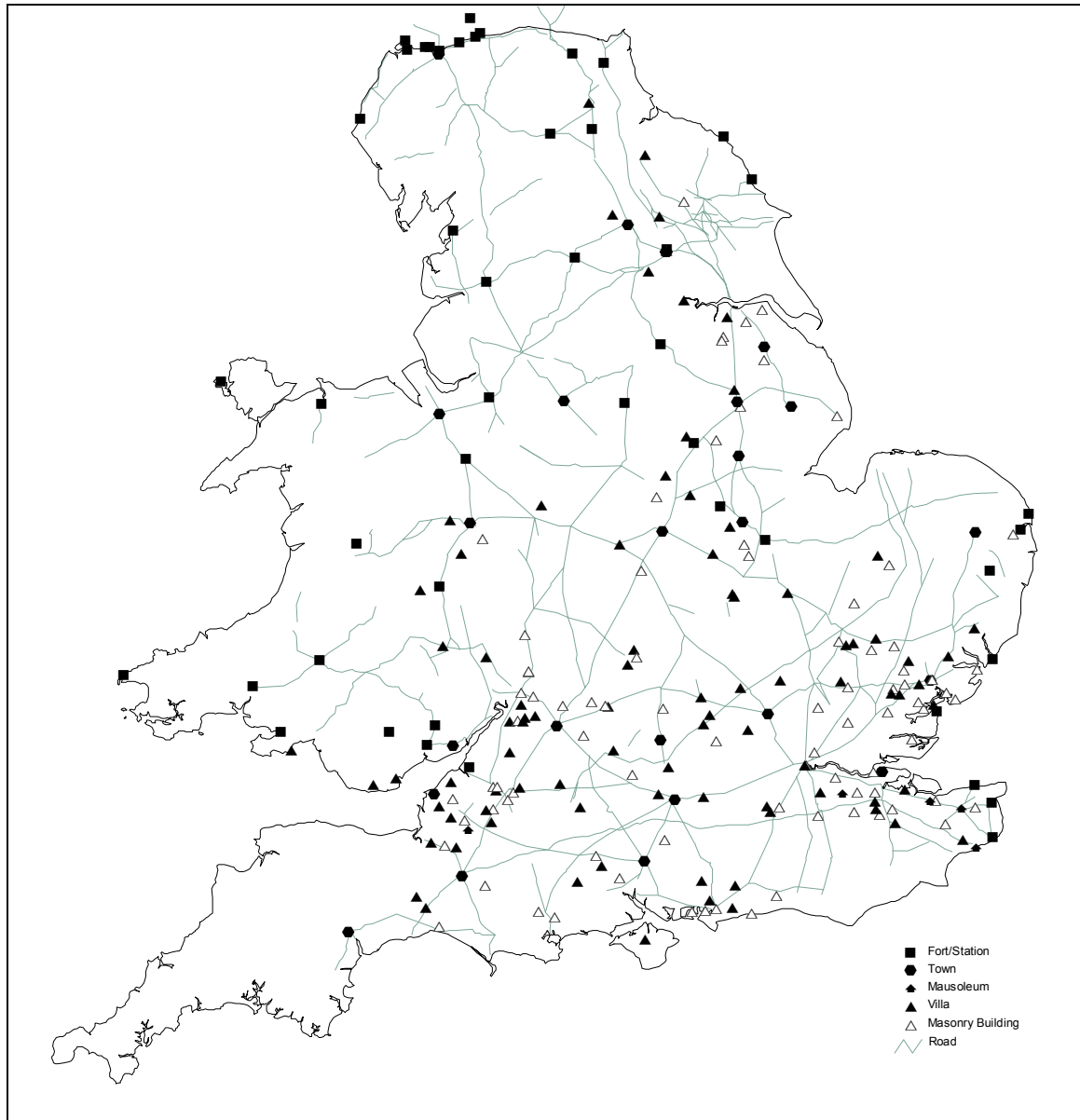


Figure 40 – Churches associated with Roman buildings: classified by building type.

The 'Masonry Buildings' category listed here is simply a count of those sites at which the type of the Roman building is unknown. However, nearly every one of these exists in a rural setting, and it is a safe assumption that the majority can be classified as 'villas' in the broadest sense of the term, in the manner similar to how it has been applied in the preceding chapter (Section 2.1.7.4, above, page 84).

Where the type of underlying building can be determined, the sites appear to occur in specific concentrations according to building type: the few instances of martyrrium reuse seems to be restricted to Kent, with a possible exception at Wells in the south-west of England; churches in military installations occur in Roman military zones, from Anglesey to Essex to South Wales, but a noticeable pattern of reuse can be seen in the Saxon Shore Forts, Stanegate and Hadrian's Wall forts near Carlisle, and the signal stations on the North Yorkshire coast. The reuse of villas is widespread throughout Britain, with

concentrations in the south-west area and Essex, although the latter is due in part to Rodwell and Rodwell's detailed survey there.³⁵⁵

3.2 The Evidence

A great number of churches lie within the boundaries of former Roman walled sites, towns and forts: given the high density of structures within centres of Roman habitation, it would of course be unusual if there were not the remains of some Roman structures beneath intra-mural churches. The origins of intra-mural and other sites demonstrating what may simply be a coincidental association cannot be immediately ascribed to structural, or even religious, reuse, such as at Burgh-le-Marsh (Lincs), where the church of St Mary stood within the Roman settlement but had no relationship with any known Roman structure.³⁵⁶ However, when a church is aligned with the underlying structure, such as at St Mary-de-Lode (Gloucs), we may suggest that this reflects a sequence of successive buildings on more or less the same alignment. Noticeably, the majority of these sites exist outside the dense building occupation of a Roman town – such as the churches associated Roman buildings *outside* the Roman town walls of London, at Southwark, St Bride's and All Hallows. Such structural co-incidence of church and Roman building suggests (and frequently demonstrates) a distinct and purposeful reuse, not only of the site, but often of the Roman structure as well.

Despite the many ambiguities involved, the churches listed in Appendix 5.2 have been given a 'certainty rating' based largely on the persistence and nature of the associated Roman finds. Where the existence of a church is in doubt, such as the possibility of the chapel of St Pancras at Scampton, the certainty rating is adjusted on the known historical and archaeological evidence. This admittedly subjective classification is provided in an attempt to qualify the combined evidence as it pertains to suggesting the existence of an underlying Roman structure: 165 of the sites within the corpus are classified as 'Certain', 28 are 'Probable', 38 are 'Possible', and the remaining 25 fall into the 'Unknown' and 'Uncertain' categories, demonstrating further the variety of quality in much of the data.

3.2.1 Roman Temples

Since the days of the earliest antiquarian speculation, the existence of churches on the site of Roman temples in Britain (and Gaul), have been suspected or assumed, but rarely proven.³⁵⁷ Much of the speculation about the antiquity of suspected churches on temples seems to spring in part from some unconscious desire to ascribe a great antiquity to a sacred site, and is often claimed without substantiation. In France, Knight recognises this same tendency, and suggests that this is due in part to a comment of Sulpicius Severus, taken out of context from the Life of St Martin: where the saint 'destroyed a [pagan] shrine, he straightaway built there either a church (ecclesia) or a monastery'.³⁵⁸ From this statement it is often assumed that Martin ordered churches to be built directly upon the foundations of the former temple; however, Sulpicius Severus is actually recounting Martin's activities in the context of rural evangelism and pastoral care; this interpretation is supported by Sulpicius noting that 'it is certainly a fact that before Martin's time very few, in fact hardly anyone, in those parts acknowledged Christ, but now His Name, thanks to Martin's miracles and example, has gained such a hold that there is no district

³⁵⁵ Rodwell and Rodwell 1977, fig. 30.

³⁵⁶ Morris and Roxan 1980, 195; Lincs. SMR records: 41582, 41583.

³⁵⁷ Montagu Sharpe's *Parish Churches on the Sites of Romano-British Chapels* (1909) is a perfect example.

³⁵⁸ Knight 1999, 199: *Vita Martini* 13 (in Hoare (ed.) 1954).

there not filled with crowded churches or with monasteries.³⁵⁹ In this light it is more likely that Martin was building churches in the region of the temples, rather than directly in their courtyards.

However, there are genuine instances in Gaul where Roman temples have been reused for burial, and the site subsequently became a Christian church: Civaux (Vienne) in Poitou began its life as a rural vicus or a cult centre with a temple, theatre and other buildings in Gallo-Roman times. Later, a cemetery developed on the site, as shown by a series of simple earth-cut graves (similar to those at Chinon, a church founded by Martin's successor Bricius). Shortly thereafter, a massive sarcophagus cemetery developed on the site, and not far from the sarcophagus cemetery is what in time became the parish church: its oldest part is a polygonal apse of reused Roman stonework, perhaps Merovingian in date. In 1960 two concentric circles of Gallo-Roman masonry were found north of the church and identified as a Romano-Celtic temple; in its ambulatory was a baptismal font. The assumed temple may be some form of baptistery. This could indeed be one of Martin's temple conversions, but proof of such sequences are much rarer than the amount of speculation would suggest.

Martin is well-known for his 'hands-on' approach to temple demolition and the conversion of the populace, very often without their consent, and it is worth recounting his activities in light of the Christianisation of England and the missionaries who were undoubtedly familiar with Martin's activities. In one incident, Martin was demolishing a temple in the area of Autun when one of the crowd rushed him with a sword, but froze before he was able to strike a blow.³⁶⁰ Another time, 'in a village named Levroux, when he wished to demolish in the same way a temple which had been made very rich by its superstitious cult, he met with resistance from a crowd of pagans and was driven off with some injuries to himself'.³⁶¹ After recounting a third incident, Sulpicius Severus reflects that 'more often, however, when the rustics were protesting against the destruction of their shrines, he so subdued their pagan hearts by his holy preaching that the light of the truth penetrated to them and they themselves threw down their own temples'.³⁶² This is not unlike the activities that Bede tells of the priest Coifi who, after hearing the truth of the teaching of Paulinus, took up arms, mounted the king's stallion, and profaned his own temple before ordering it to be burnt.³⁶³ Martin died in November, 397, and Sulpicius Severus completed his *Vita* sometime shortly before the Saint's death; although Sulpicius Severus is describing the Christian conversion of Roman temples about two centuries before such activity might have occurred in England, the comparison can be insightful: certainly Bede was aware of Sulpicius' *Vita*, as was Pope Gregory, who advises Mellitus to reuse the temples for Christian purposes if they are 'well-built'.³⁶⁴ Gregory was probably thinking of Roman structures when he gave this advice, although Augustine was probably dealing with wooden structures that, although Blair has shown they appear to be based on Romano-Celtic precedents, were not made of masonry, and therefore probably less structurally sound.³⁶⁵

³⁵⁹ *Vita Martini* 13.

³⁶⁰ *Vita Martini* 15.

³⁶¹ *Vita Martini* 14.

³⁶² *Vita Martini* 15.

³⁶³ *H. E.* II, 14.

³⁶⁴ *H. E.* I, 30.

³⁶⁵ Blair 1995b.

In England, there are only two candidates for temple to church conversions; both are intra-mural, and neither is proven. At Silchester, Hants (Roman *Calleva Atrebatum*), the parish church of St Mary sits within an insula that was devoted to temples in the Roman period, immediately within the town's east gate (Figure 41). Here, although the existence of an underlying temple has long been assumed, it has never been proven, and the only evidence for such an underlying structure is the position of the church within the temple enclosure. Perhaps significantly, Silchester has what appears to be a Roman church situated in the centre of the town, the existence of which was forsaken or, more likely, forgotten.

A similar situation to Silchester's church is that the much smaller defended settlement of Ancaster, Lincs (Roman *Causenna*), where the medieval church of St Martin stands within the walls, aligned to the Roman grid, 13° south of east/west (Figure 42). Here it has been suggested that the church sits upon, or adjacent to, a Roman temple,³⁶⁶ in part because a sexton, digging in 1831, found a sculpture of a triple-mother goddess, apparently *in situ*, on what appeared to be a foundation of two superimposed stones,³⁶⁷ and work on the north-east buttress of the church in 1961 found an altar and a fragment of sculpture with life-size drapery.³⁶⁸ Without more modern excavation it is impossible to verify the reuse of a Roman temple, and such speculation should be treated with caution. A nearby, early Anglo-Saxon (pre c.450) cemetery lies to the south-east of the defences.³⁶⁹

But these remain the only two candidates for a possible urban, temple to church conversion in Britain. It was frequently the wont of the antiquary to propose Roman temples under churches wherever possible, even when the evidence was somewhat lacking. One account should suffice as an example of the need for caution: at Wimborne (Dorset), a tessellated pavement first discovered under the nave in 1857 was again revealed during restoration work in 1961.³⁷⁰ The details of the original discovery are not fully documented, but *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal* on the 3rd of October, 1857 noted that 'during recent excavation of the Minster, under the pillars of the nave, were discovered bases of columns, at regular intervals, at considerable length, a very early and perfect tessellated Roman pavement, and a large stone pediment, clearly indicating the site of a Roman temple, immediately over which the central tower now lifts its head', and that 'the whole of the Norman piers which support the weight of the building, were removed and replaced without damage to any portion of the building. They now rest on the existing Roman walls'. However, contemporary notes of the resident vicar, C. Mayo, record that the fragment of pavement was only a 'small piece... which did not cover more than 2 or 3 square feet'. Less than a square foot of the pavement was visible in 1961, and the investigation could not substantiate the 'Roman walls' or the 'bases of columns' commented upon in the 1857 paper; there is no evidence to substantiate the claim of a temple. There was, however, an early Christian community at Wimborne from about c.705.

There really are no certain churches on Roman temples in Britain, and additional examples of the antiquarian predilection towards the identification of underlying

³⁶⁶ Ambrose 1979.

³⁶⁷ Trollope 1870.

³⁶⁸ Frere 1961, Whitwell 1970, 124-6.

³⁶⁹ Trollope 1870, 3-4.

³⁷⁰ This and the following account are provided in Farrar 1963.

structures as Roman temples comes to light in the gazetteer. The Silchester example remains the most convincing, but even here the co-incidence of church and temple is unproven, and is curiously placed with the same town walls as our most certain example of a Roman basilical church.³⁷¹

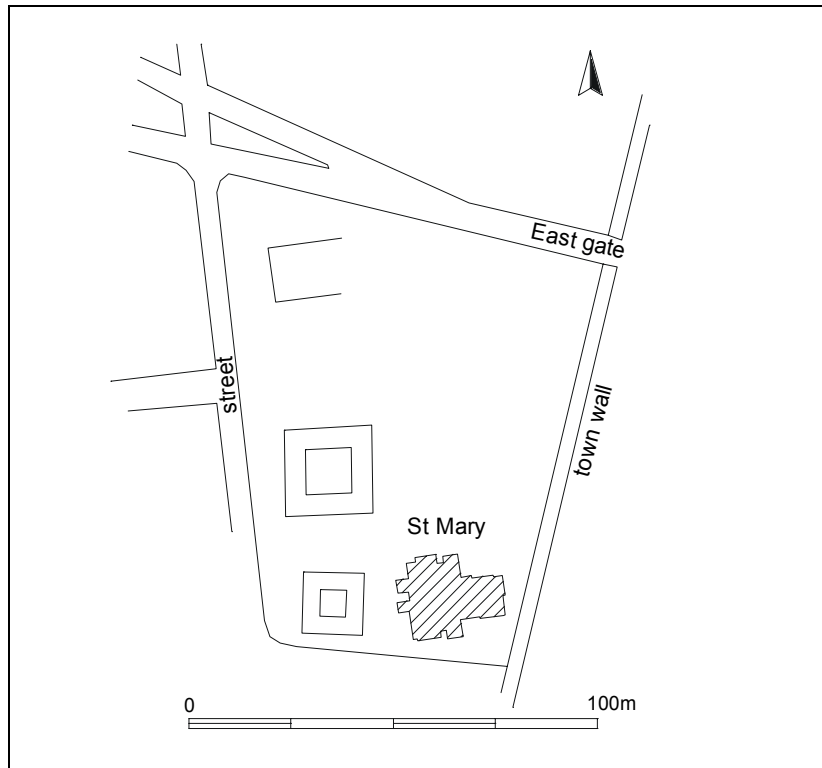
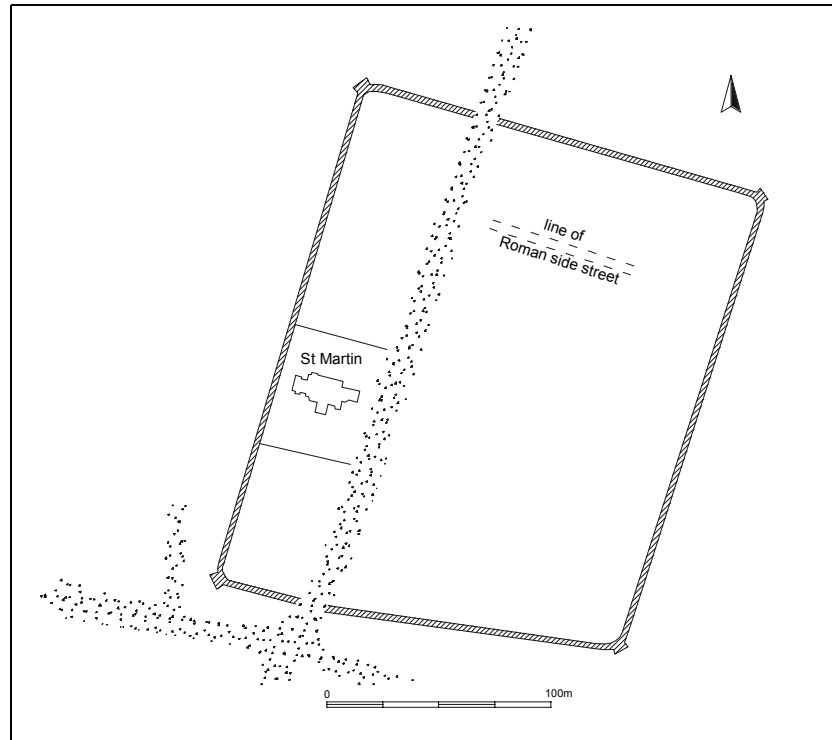


Figure 41 – Roman Silchester: the temple enclosure within the east gate (after Wachter 1974, fig. 60. The scale of the detail of the temple enclosure in Wachter 1974, fig. 63, is incorrect).

³⁷¹ Wachter 1974, 267-71.

Figure 42 – Ancaster: the church of St Martin is aligned to the Roman grid (after Burnham and Wacher 1990, fig. 75).



Before leaving the subject of churches on temples behind altogether, there is one further instance that is worth mentioning in passing, although there is no conclusive proof that the Roman structure was a temple, or that a church ever existed on the site: at Titsey (Surrey) a villa was discovered in 1847, and excavated more thoroughly in 1864. Nearby this site, in Church field, about 500m south of the Pilgrim's Way, the foundations of a square building were discovered, about 6.5m to each side, with buttresses at the north-east and south-west angles.³⁷² The site lies on a knoll, about 500' above sea level. Without a plan it is difficult to know what to make of the building: the excavator believed it to be a watchtower, but his colleague Roach-Smith interpreted it as only part of a larger structure. Morris and Roxan refer to it as a temple, an interpretation which is possible given the plan and setting. The name 'Church Field' may not necessarily be indicative of a church, as the name is at times used to refer to sites with Roman structures (see Section 3.2.5, page 170), and may simply be a retrospective application of a very late date. The excavator was told a story, commonly found in tales of ruined churches, about how attempts were made to build a church on the site, but witches frustrated the attempt by night.³⁷³ Without more modern excavation we cannot be certain of either a temple or a church on this site.

3.2.2 Mausolea

The most convincing instance of Christian continuity in sub-Roman Britain is the cult of St Alban, whose martyrdom existed outside Verulamium by the first half of the fifth century and was visited by St Germanus in 429.³⁷⁴ The Late Roman basilica erected over the grave of the saint continued in use through the early Anglo-Saxon period.³⁷⁵ Bede tells us that a church was built here 'when the peace of Christian times was restored' and 'where frequent miracles take place to this day', implying an active Christian tradition in

³⁷² No plan is provided but a more detailed textual description is given in Levison-Gower 1881.

³⁷³ Levison-Gower 1881, 213.

³⁷⁴ Frere 1983, 24; Bede, *H. E.* I, 18.

³⁷⁵ Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1996, 10-22.

the 730s.³⁷⁶ Undoubtedly the grave and shrine of St Alban served to attach the Christian faith tenaciously to that one particular place in the landscape immediately outside Verulamium, outlasting the cultural and political vicissitudes of the late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods. In contrast to the Continent, Britain offers comparatively few examples of the Christian reuse of Roman martyria.

Although such continuity cannot be demonstrated, Kent holds four examples of what may demonstrate a 'created continuity', in which Roman mausolea were selected for retrospective Christian associations (Figure 43).³⁷⁷ Most noticeable are the almost identical footprints of the structures in Figure 43: in each instance, what appears to be a square monument has been adapted as the chancel or nave of a later Roman church.

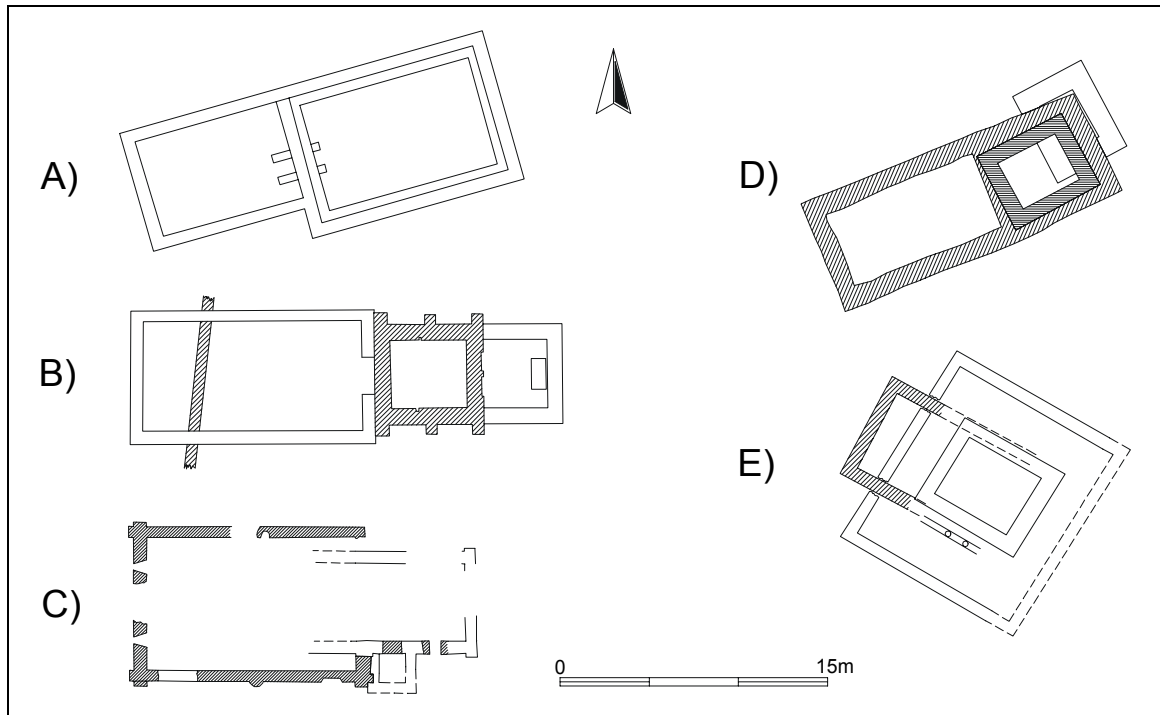


Figure 43 – Churches on Roman mausolea. A) Folkestone (after Jenkins 1876, 174-5); B) Stone-by-Faversham (after Fletcher and Meates 1977, fig. 1); C) St Martin's, Canterbury (after Tatton-Brown 1980, fig. 5); D) Wells (after Rodwell 1982, fig. 5.3); E) Lullingstone (after Meates 1979, fig. 31).³⁷⁸

The sites of St Martin's Canterbury and Stone-by-Faversham are discussed in the section on Kent, page 191, below.

The example from Folkestone is particularly interesting, but unfortunately the record of its excavations is very fragmentary: In 1876 R. C. Jenkins records that 'at Folkestone, on a place near the station called the chapel field, a very remarkable foundation of a church or debased Roman structure was exhumed about a year ago...several skeletons were found buried under the hard masonry of its walls [which were then] broken up for sale of

³⁷⁶ Bede, *H. E.* I, 7.

³⁷⁷ The phrase is from Bradley 1987.

³⁷⁸ A similar structure at St John's Abbey, Colchester, often cited as a further example, is described by its excavator as being 'very unlikely' to fit this category (Crummy *et al.* 1993, 215).

the stone.³⁷⁹ This was either part of a complex of Roman buildings comprising either one very large villa complex or two adjacent ones (Figure 44)

The structure in question, small and oblong, was first found in 1869. The *VCH* notes that it was not properly measured or planned, but was estimated to be 10m long, consisting of two rooms and an underground chamber which the *VCH* describes as a 'crypt with well-faced walls', entered through the two east/west structures between the rooms. A published plan does appear in Jenkins 1876 but the scale is unclear; the dimensions given for the rectangular structure on the immediate south of the reservoir can be used to scale the entire plan, and the result is the double-roomed rectangle very similar to that of the church at Stone-by-Faversham, shown above in Figure 43 and Figure 44. The use of the site as a place for Christian burial is suggested by an unclear number of skeletons that were found associated with, or within, the foundations of this building (they were reported as 'within the walls'). A few feet to the south of this was a smaller, circular chamber, said by one eyewitness to be connected to the above by some sort of underground conduit.

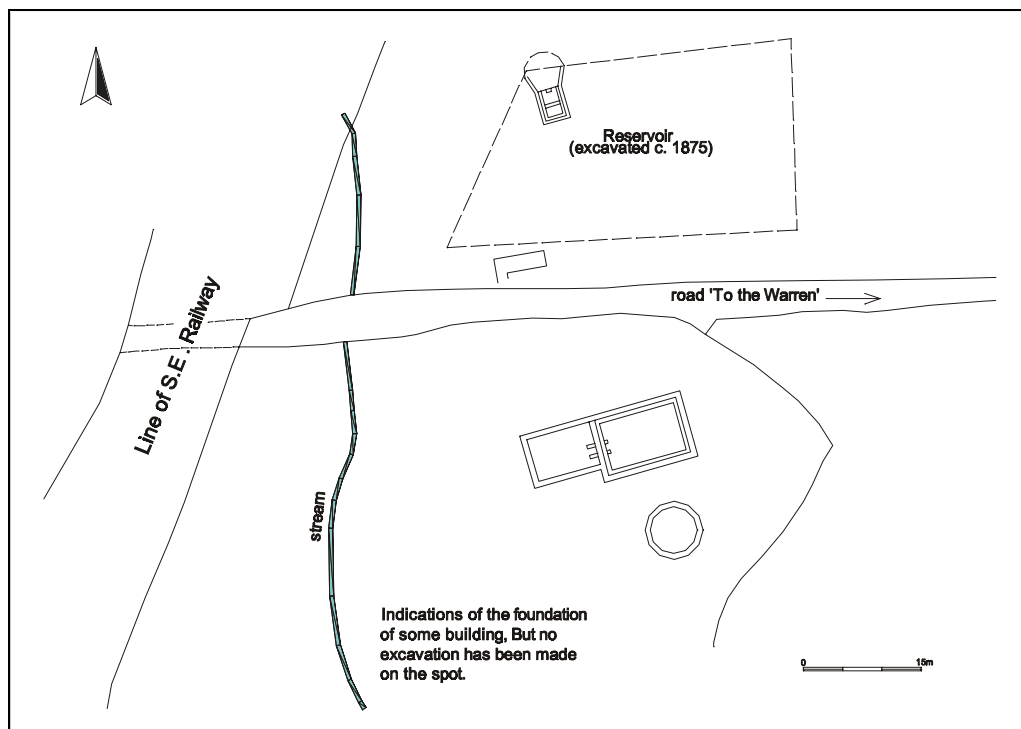


Figure 44 – 'St Botolph's chapel' at Folkestone and surrounding structures (After Jenkins 1876, 174-5).

Although the excavation reports are confusing Rigold considers this to be the Christian re-use of a Roman mausoleum: a re-examination of the site in 1952 by Frank Jenkins, son of R. C. Jenkins (the excavator of Lyminge, Kent), revealed further buildings, and the NMR records that 'the south side [of the building] had been much disturbed by probably late Saxon seventh- to eighth-century grave digging. Of the five burials, at least one had a coffin'.³⁸⁰ This structure is (or is associated with) St Botolph's chapel. Folkestone itself was the site of an important royal minster founded for the daughter of Eanswith, daughter

³⁷⁹ Jenkins 1873, 479.

³⁸⁰ The NMR report (TR 23 NW 6) is based on Jenkins' own reports to the Folkestone museum and related correspondence. It remains unclear from what, if any, information the dates for these burials were obtained.

of King Eadbald, but the relationship between the minster and this 'chapel' remain unclear. Potentially similar examples and the association, and perhaps mis-association, of Roman buildings and medieval chapel is discussed further below, Section 3.2.5, page 170.

An often overlooked fact regarding these martyria is that, unlike Alban, there is no evidence to suggest that the original occupants were Christians, and the pagan nature of the Lullingstone inhumations (Section 3.4.4, page 195) is in clear contradiction to this assumption. As with all churches on Roman structures, one should be cautious of employing the most convenient explanation, based on the straightforward reuse of a structure for reasons compatible with its original purpose. We may instead suggest that the decisions behind the construction of these churches at Lullingstone, Stone-by-Faversham, Canterbury, and probably Wells, were in part influenced by the associations of Christianity with Roman structures that existed in the early-medieval period, associations which may have furthermore been retrospectively applied to the original inhumations within such structures, despite the occupants' original religion.

This seems to make sense in light of the evidence at Wells, in which the Roman martyrium appears to have had an intermediate Saxon burial chapel built upon it before the subsequent construction of St Mary's church, suggesting that the first reuse of the structure was for a place of Christian burial and veneration.³⁸¹ Wells is a particularly interesting site:³⁸² it gets its name (*fontinetum* in the Anglo-Saxon period, possibly a survival from the Roman name) from a series of springs which rise to the east of the present cathedral, one of which was dedicated to St Andrew, by the eighth century. Sometime in the Roman period a mausoleum with a subterranean burial chamber was constructed 50m to the west of this well: primary interments were placed into the chamber, and secondary burials were placed on the floor at ground level. In the eighth century or sometime before, Christian burials were being made to the west of the structure. Later, the mausoleum was dismantled and the primary burials removed, while the secondary burials were placed in the subterranean chamber, and the remains were levelled, over which a chapel was built that contained the graves of three adults and two children cut through the floor. To the west of this structure a nave was added, and the chapel dedicated to St Mary the Virgin. By 776, the Anglo-Saxon minster of St Andrew was built to the immediate west, aligned to the chapel of St Mary, 18° from east/west; the subsequent town took its alignment from this complex. As at Exeter and York, the later Norman rebuilding of the cathedral re-oriented the complex to a liturgically correct, east/west axis.

³⁸¹ Rodwell 1984, 13-14.

³⁸² Rodwell 1984, 13-14, presents a summary of the chronology of the site, from which the following is taken. Further details are included in a series of his publications from 1982, which are listed in the Wells entry in the site gazetteer.

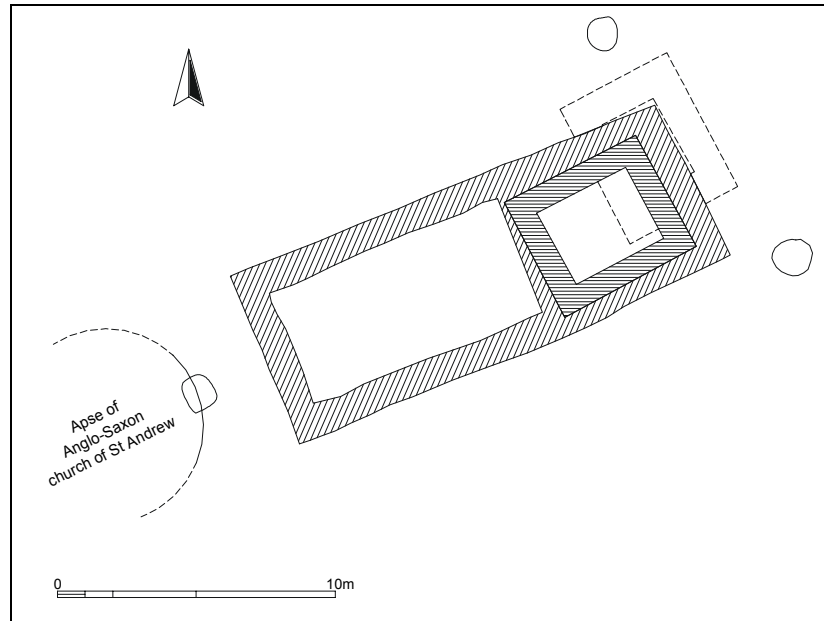


Figure 45 – The early development of the church of Wells (after Rodwell, 1984, fig. 6).

The nature of the Roman settlement at Wells is unknown and not precisely located, but the evidence of masonry, painted wall plaster and glazed windows might suggest a villa. Perhaps more importantly, the details of the original occupants of the Roman-period mausoleum remain unknown: Rodwell suggests that we can expect the occupant to have been 'a local martyr... or an exceptional Christian personage of the late or early post-Roman period'.³⁸³ However, there is absolutely *no* evidence to suggest that the original occupants were Christian; yet this is an entirely different question from whether they were *thought* to have been Christian, and Rodwell's suggestions that the primary graves may have been removed for veneration of their relics remains a possibility, despite the religious orientation of the original occupants.³⁸⁴ One is struck by the similarities with the archaeological sequence at Lullingstone (in which the occupants were clearly not Christian), and also reminded of another of Martin's miracles, recounted by Sulpicius Severus, in which Martin disbands a local cult who was venerating a martyr with an unknown or invented *passio*: when the ghost of the departed was interviewed by Martin, he revealed himself to be an executed criminal.³⁸⁵ If such confusion can happen in Christian Gaul of the late Roman period, imagine the potential for invented continuity in Britain after an extended period of abandonment.

In comparison, a far greater number of Roman martyria became churches in Gaul, such as that at Grand Saconnex (Genève), where a Roman funerary edifice was later enlarged to accompany Christian burials from the sixth and seventh centuries, a situation which we may ascribe partly to the comparative ease with which Christian practices were adopted in Gaul.³⁸⁶ However, the evidence from Britain shows that far fewer funeral monuments from the Roman period were reused in the Christian period, and perhaps more importantly, no examples (outside St Albans) demonstrate continued use from the Roman period, nor can it be demonstrated that the original occupants of the martyrium were Christian.

³⁸³ Rodwell 1984, 14.

³⁸⁴ Rodwell 1984, 13.

³⁸⁵ *Vita Martini*, chapter 11.

³⁸⁶ Bonnet 1994.

We can draw comparisons with Gaul only in that what appears to be occurring in Britain is the importation of continental practices into a culture which could no longer identify the mortal remains of its Romano-Christian predecessors; as a result, sites that appear to have fit a specific topographical locus (Folkestone, Stone and Wells), or may have held whispers of a vestigial Christian tradition (Lullingstone and St Martin's), were adopted to fill this spiritual lacuna. By tying themselves to what they considered to be elements of the Roman Christian topography of Britain, the early Anglo-Saxon Christians (or perhaps the Kentish Franks) could forge stronger bonds with their spiritual and geographic inheritance. Such ties, strengthened with an appropriated inheritance, would hold particular cultural value for the Anglo-Saxons in their claim on the formerly Romano-British landscape, as well as have potential political and religious leverage in any conflict between the Roman and British churches, in effect as if to say 'we never left'. With this in mind it should not be out of line to suggest, for example, that the mausoleum at Wells lay idle and almost forgotten until the Anglo-Saxon settlement of the site, when the structure was appropriated to form the Christian *tholos* of the developing early-medieval site.

3.2.3 Towns, Forts and Walled Settlements

The town represented all things civilised in the Roman period: it functioned as a hub of trade, a centre of administration, and served in most cases as the direct political link into the heart of the Imperial network. The afterlife of the Roman town in early-medieval Britain is therefore seen as holding the key to the transition between the Roman and medieval periods. This section does not attempt to address in detail the afterlife of the Roman town in Britain – which lies outside the current scope of this thesis – but rather aims to provide an overview of the religious reuse of Roman towns as a starting point for contextualising the evidence presented within the thesis as a whole.³⁸⁷

The transition from Roman to Medieval towns throughout the former empire is the subject of a long, on-going debate in history and archaeology, that came to the forefront in 1925 with Henri Pirenne's *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*. Pirenne's thesis suggested that life in Roman towns, though greatly changed by Late Antiquity, was largely uninterrupted, with regional variations, until the disruption of trade routes in the early eighth century by Islamic expansion – a disruption which paradoxically appears to have had a stimulating effect on the economic geography of North-western Europe. This interpretation, particularly the role of trade in urban decline and rebirth, has been challenged and qualified, and more recent interpretations would suggest that the Roman town as a distinct commercial and political entity was already undergoing a process of transformation that would have nonetheless come about with or without the Islamic expansion.³⁸⁸

While much of the traditional discourse on the subject had been based largely on historical evidence, archaeology has recently been contributing its own side of the story. Inevitably, the interpretations of the archaeological evidence have painted a slightly different picture, in part because historical texts tend to give strong, superficial accounts of urban continuity; they also ignore, by their nature, abandoned sites, while archaeology,

³⁸⁷ See Loseby 2000 for the most current assessment of the evidence.

³⁸⁸ cf. Barnish 1989.

particularly on the continent, focuses on abandoned sites.³⁸⁹ It has of course been recognised that one cannot paint the history and archaeology of all of Post-Roman Europe with a single, broad brush, and more recently, detailed, regional analyses of the decline and rebirth of Roman towns have been undertaken throughout the empire, including the Rhine and Rhone frontiers,³⁹⁰ North-western Europe,³⁹¹ Italy³⁹² North Africa³⁹³ and Byzantine Asia and the East.³⁹⁴ Some of the most intense study in recent years of the later years of Roman towns has been in Britain, with excavations at the abandoned Roman towns of Wroxeter³⁹⁵, Verulamium,³⁹⁶ and Silchester,³⁹⁷ as well as ongoing research in those towns which became centres of the Anglo-Saxon urban landscape: Winchester,³⁹⁸ London,³⁹⁹ Canterbury,⁴⁰⁰ Lincoln and York, as a small example. Traditionally the archaeology of these towns will have been conceived as very distinct, separate chronological entities, and often it is published in separate volumes.⁴⁰¹ While this is of course justified in the change of material culture and town planning, it nonetheless tends to separate conceptually, and therefore perpetuate, the 'gap' between the archaeology of the Roman and medieval periods. The traditional excavation methodology only exacerbated the situation: until surprisingly recently, it had been the practice to first strip the topsoil and upper contexts of a major Roman site in order to reveal the Roman deposits beneath (*e.g.* the Society of Antiquaries excavations of Richborough, Kent, in the first decades of this century).⁴⁰² This has undoubtedly affected adversely our understanding of the transition between the Roman and medieval towns of Britain. More recently, however, the nature of this transition is viewed as being particularly important, and the subject of *continuity* has become very prominent within the literature.⁴⁰³

The lifespan of Roman towns in late- and post-Roman Britain varies by region, but they appear to have undergone similar declines from the mid fourth century, and traditionally urban life was thought to have ceased in almost all instances by the mid fifth. However, urban habitation in the south and west, particularly at Wroxeter, has been suggested to have continued in some form into the seventh century.⁴⁰⁴ This has been tied to recent reassessment of what has traditionally been termed 'Late Roman' material culture, particularly pottery and metalwork of the south-west, and attempts have been made to extend its date range into the seventh and perhaps early eighth century.⁴⁰⁵ The near-ubiquitous 'black earth', usually taken as an example of abandonment or intra-mural agriculture, is found at Gloucester, Leicester, Chichester, Canterbury, Winchester, York

³⁸⁹ Ward-Perkins 1997; Russell 1986.

³⁹⁰ For a brief bibliography see Biddle 1976a, note 41.

³⁹¹ Hodges and Hobley (eds.) 1988.

³⁹² Ward-Perkins 1984; Fentress 1994; Christie 1995.

³⁹³ Roskams 1996.

³⁹⁴ Foss 1977; Russell 1986.

³⁹⁵ Barker 1981, Barker 1990, Barker and Armour-Chelu 1997.

³⁹⁶ Frere 1972-1984.

³⁹⁷ Fulford 1989, 1985; Boon 1987.

³⁹⁸ *Winchester Studies* (*e.g.* Biddle 1984, 1990).

³⁹⁹ *The Archaeology of London Series* (*e.g.* Vince 1990).

⁴⁰⁰ *The Archaeology of Canterbury Series* (*e.g.* Blockley *et al.* 1997)

⁴⁰¹ Biddle 1976a is a notable exception, highlighting the development of former Roman centres.

⁴⁰² Bushe-Fox 1928.

⁴⁰³ *e.g.* Brooks 1986, Reece 1989.

⁴⁰⁴ White and Halwood 1996; Dark 1994a, 94.

⁴⁰⁵ Dark 1994a, esp.99-99; Dark 1994b.

and London.⁴⁰⁶ However, only at Wroxeter, Verulamium and Canterbury can there be any evidence for some continuation of urban life beyond this point. In particular, the Verulamium pipeline that was cut across an early fifth-century building⁴⁰⁷ is always called to testify on behalf of continuing intra-mural habitation in the south-east, and while this can attest to habitation extending into the 480s at Verulamium, it does not necessarily vouch for anything that could properly termed 'urban continuity', in this city or elsewhere.⁴⁰⁸

The majority of Anglo-Saxon sites in Britain that are directly associated with a Roman structure or centre of administration seem to have originated in the mid to late sixth century onwards, when a revived form of *Romanitas* was fuelled by the Church which had adopted the mantle which was the former Imperial urban centres. However, a broader picture of the late antique period in Europe reveals a strong connection between Christianity and towns throughout the empire. In Britain, where post-Roman urban decay was fierce, the abandoned towns were frequently granted to missionaries and bishops by royal charter (above, p. 22). The church, with its strong ties to local and imperial aristocracy, drew both money and royal attention to the old Roman urban centres. In some ways what we see in early-medieval England does not differ too greatly from what was happening in Gaul and Italy in the Late Antique period. There, bishoprics in former Roman towns are more the rule than the exception.

Much of the debate surrounding urban continuity and/or the rebirth of Roman centres has focused upon the continuing or transformed development of these site as secular centres, while comparatively little ink is devoted to the suggestion that they may have first adopted a religious function in the early-medieval period.⁴⁰⁹ This attempt to see some kind of secular continuity through the sub-Roman period is undoubtedly influenced in part by the high degree of geographical continuity between the political centres of Imperial and sub-Roman Europe, shown by the existence of sub-Roman palatia on many of the Imperial palaces at Rome, Milan, Trier, Ravenna, Cologne and Arles. Attempts have been made to identify similar centres in post-Roman Britain, but the parallels are few, with fifth-century timber halls being built, and abandoned, at Birdoswald and Wroxeter.⁴¹⁰ Even the archaeological sequence at York does not verify the existence of a post-Roman centre: one interpretation of the post Roman activity (Period 7) suggests that the structure was upstanding until the ninth century;⁴¹¹ alternatively, the whole of Period 7 may have occurred early, within a the late- or immediately post-Roman context, leaving the site largely abandoned in the early-medieval period.⁴¹²

Very slowly we are beginning to build a picture of how former Roman centres were used in the post-Roman period, but admittedly it is a picture with little detail: even the most

⁴⁰⁶ Millett 1990, 134-42; Esmonde Cleary 1989, 64-85; Loseby 2000, 331, note 33. Brooks 1988 concludes that black earth was not used for agricultural purposes.

⁴⁰⁷ Frere 1983, 214-26.

⁴⁰⁸ cf. Hodges and Hobley 1988; Chapter 10 in Wachter 1974: *'Town-Life or Life in Towns?'*.

⁴⁰⁹ See Yorke 1982 for a notable exception.

⁴¹⁰ Wilmott 1997; Barker 1981.

⁴¹¹ Within which it is suggested were held 'intermittent assemblies and industrial activities' (Phillips *et al.* 1995, 188). Also see Norton 1998.

⁴¹² The results of one radiocarbon sample may add weight to this happening earlier rather than later: an animal bone from the mud and silt under the destruction layer returned a published calibrated date of AD 349-354 or AD 376-411 at 1σ (AD343-416 at 2σ), but see the radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibration (York radiocarbon dates: Phillips *et al.* 1995, 220, table 8).

general nature of the earliest post-Roman use is unclear: were the first communities royal centres or minsters? Barbara Yorke has queried the presence of a Royal *locus* at Winchester before the minster there,⁴¹³ and in a forthcoming work John Blair stresses that the evidence behind the entrenched belief that these sites were first used as royal centres must be examined: few are actually named as royal centres before 750: Bede describes Catterick as a *vicus* in the 630s; Paulinus' patron was the 'ruler (*praefectus*) of the city (*civitas*)' of Lincoln, and Carlisle had a reeve (*civitatis praepositus*) in the 680s.⁴¹⁴ Notably, York, Lincoln, Carlisle, Gloucester, and Cirencester were all major minsters, without evidence of royal habitation before c.900.⁴¹⁵ Of Canterbury, Bede only notes that it was the *metropolis* of Æthelburt's *imperium*, and while many have taken this to mean that his palace was within the walls, Bede's information came from Albinus, who may have inflated Canterbury's importance.⁴¹⁶ Bede also calls London a *metropolis*, but here the king's hall mentioned from the 670s is more likely a customs-house lying to the west of the city.⁴¹⁷ In comparison to these examples there are over sixty Roman walled sites with churches within the corpus.

3.2.3.1 Terminology

In this chapter the more generic terms 'walled site' and 'walled settlement' are used to refer to former Roman centres. Their use removes from the discussion such terms as 'civitas capital', 'vicus', 'town', and 'fort', and divorces site descriptions from the functional continuity that their use implies. It is anachronistic to describe the role of Roman sites in the early-medieval period by the function they performed two centuries earlier; such terms would have held little meaning to the Anglo-Saxons.

It is unlikely that even in south-western Britain an individual in the sixth and seventh centuries would have been able to distinguish between types of Roman civic settlements: for example, both the fort at Caerleon (Monm) and the nearby town of Caerwent are rectangular, walled enclosures, built of distinct Roman masonry; although Caerleon is a fort, the area it encloses (20.5 ha) is slightly larger than the town of Caerwent (18 ha) (Figure 46).⁴¹⁸ At both sites, the ruins of the walls and the enclosed structures were probably physically very similar, and it is unlikely that any physical distinction could have been made between the two. In the post-Roman period Caerleon and Caerwent both acquired churches, and that of St Cadoc in Caerleon sits upon, although not aligned with, the Roman *Principia*. What of the situation in Kent and elsewhere in former Roman Britain: would Rochester or Canterbury have been perceived differently than Richborough? The answer is almost unequivocally 'no': this is certainly why the *caestre* place-name element refers to such a wide range of Roman structures, why no place-name element refers to a specific structure,⁴¹⁹ and why Bede described any walled site, including a fort, as a *civitas*.⁴²⁰ The examination of the Christian reuse of Roman walled settlements must therefore not become overly concerned with the role of these structures,

⁴¹³ Yorke 1982.

⁴¹⁴ from Blair forthcoming: Catterick: *H. E.* II, 14, III, 14.; Lincoln: *H. E.* II, 14; II, 16; Carlisle: VCA IV, 8. I am very grateful to John Blair for allowing me to use his manuscript before its publication.

⁴¹⁵ Blair forthcoming.

⁴¹⁶ *H. E.* I, 26.

⁴¹⁷ Blair forthcoming. Blair also notes that when Sebbi, king of the East Saxons (d. c.694) summons to his deathbed the Bishop of London, the city 'in which he then lived', Sebbi had in fact taken the habit, and was probably therefore residing in the cathedral precincts. (*H. E.* IV, 11).

⁴¹⁸ Caerleon: Boon 1987; Caerwent: Knight and Lane 1988.

⁴¹⁹ Gelling 1978, 153.

⁴²⁰ Rigold 1977, 70.

towns and forts in *Roman* Britain, but rather focus upon their rebirth as Christian centres in the post-Roman period. Such examination should rely on the physical aspects that would have been most apparent in the seventh century, namely the existence of masonry walls and their enclosed structures, and it is to these that we must look first.

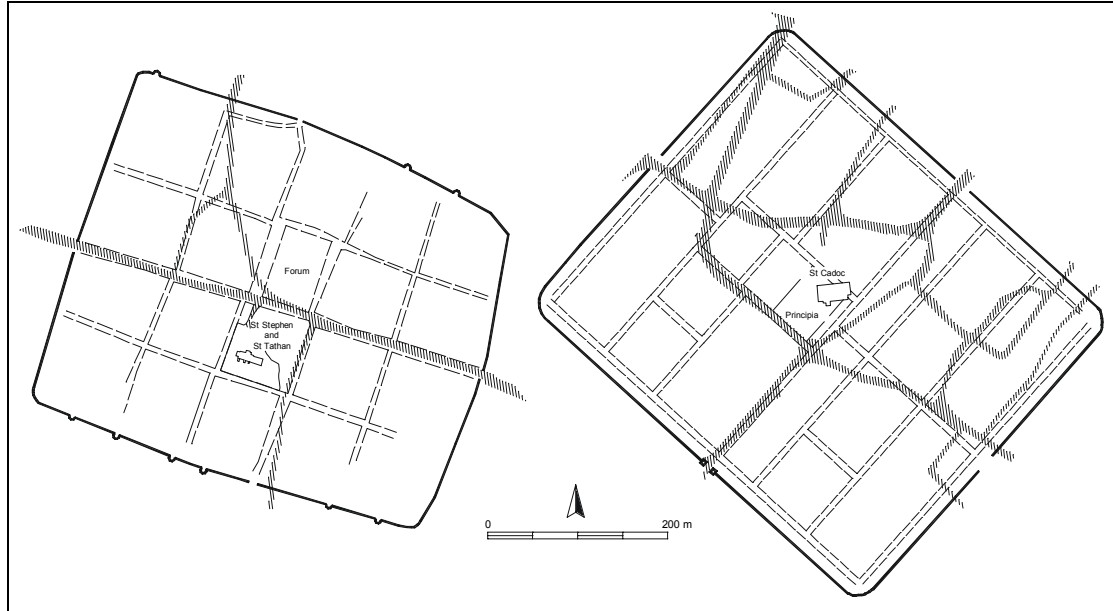


Figure 46 – Caerwent and Caerleon. Post-Roman individuals were unlikely to have differentiated conceptually between the town and the fort (after Wachter 1974, fig. 82; and Knight 1994).

If we acknowledge that there would have been little physical difference between former Roman centres, it may be better to categorise them according to their physical properties, mainly size, and the availability of open space within the walls. This discussion, therefore, conceptually divides intra-mural sites into 'large sites' (most towns and large forts), and 'small sites' (walled settlements, most forts, and some towns) (Figure 47). While this distinction may at first appear overly simplistic, it is both convenient, and bears relevance to the discussion: there is a singular difference between large and small sites, namely that smaller sites, perhaps those with an intra-mural area of less than seven hectares (Great Casterton, Rutland, is one of the largest sites in this category, with almost seven hectares), are probably too small to have been given over to a multiplicity of uses in the post-Roman period, or been able to 'host' more than a single community at one time. The intra-mural space of larger forts and towns, with an area greater than seventy hectares (Canterbury, for example, has an intra-mural area of 57 hectares) could have easily been put to various uses by multiple communities at the same time.

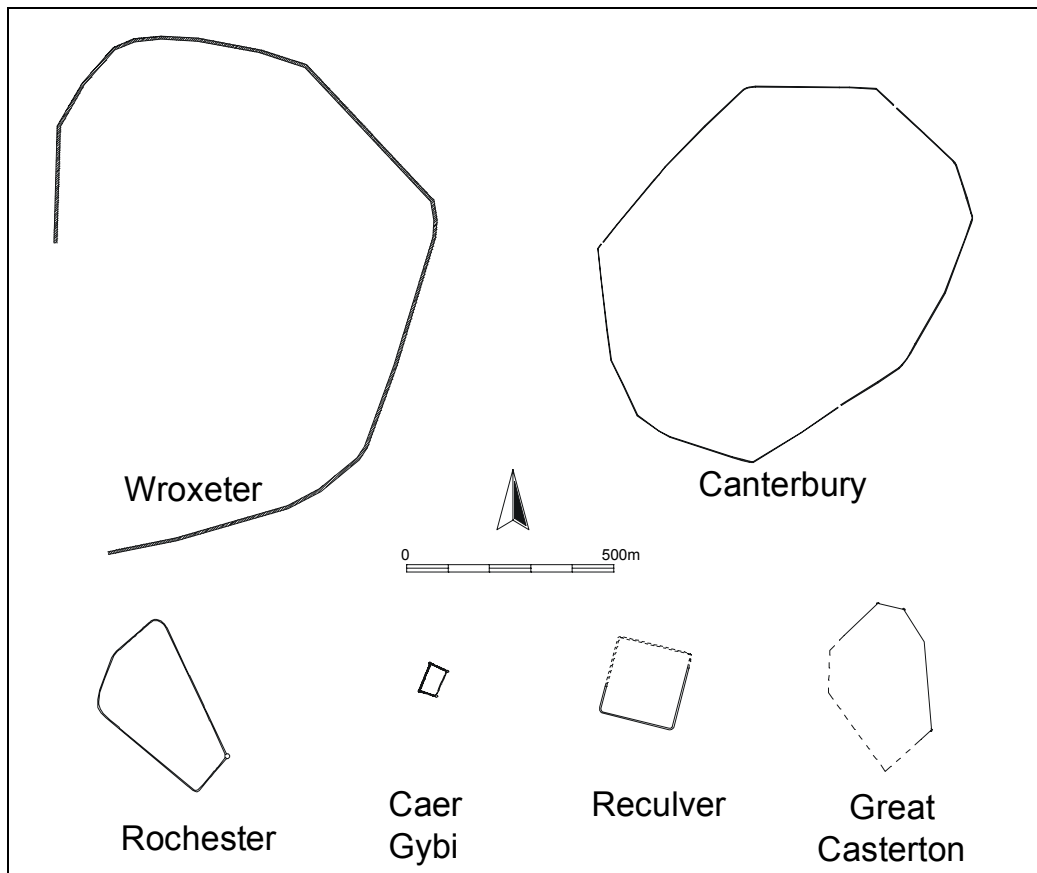


Figure 47 – Comparisons of scale: the walls of Wroxeter and Canterbury, Rochester, Caer Gybi, Reculver, and Great Casterton.⁴²¹

The term 'community', as used here, is a very broad definition employed to describe a group of individuals engaged in distinct social or political activities: obvious examples are monastic communities and 'royal' settlements. Such distinction-by-size also allows us to visualise these spaces more realistically: while it may be acceptable to talk of the reuse of Bewcastle fort (Cumbria) as a single entity, is this conception appropriate for the larger towns of London, Canterbury and Wroxeter?

3.2.3.2 *Walled Sites, Open Spaces*

The placement of the churches within the enclosure is significant, and although the extant church fabric may date from as late as the nineteenth century, the location of the church will perpetuate the placement and at times the orientation of earlier phases. In many of the larger sites the early churches were placed centrally, either within or upon one part of the central civic area.

The church of St-Paul-in-the-Bail at Lincoln is the epitome of the religious use of intramural civic space. The site presents an exciting and somewhat problematic chronology: excavations in the 1970s uncovered the remains of three structures in addition to numerous graves.⁴²² An apsidal building was built over a rectangular structure dating from sometime in the Late-Roman period, and in turn this was replaced by a simpler,

⁴²¹ Canterbury: Wachter 1974, fig. 39; Rochester: after Burnham and Wachter 1990, fig. 16; Wroxeter: after Wachter 1974, fig. 81; Great Casterton: after Burnham and Wachter 1990, fig. 35; Reculver: after Taylor and Taylor 1965 II, fig. 246, and Peers 1928, fig. 4; Caer Gybi: after *RCHMW Anglesey I*.

⁴²² Gilmour 1979. Jones 1994 is the most recent assessment, and provides a summary of the evidence, British and continental parallels, and a table of the calibrated radiocarbon dates.

rectangular structure, which may possibly be a *cella memoria*. At the centre of these buildings was a cist grave; the remains of the original occupant were translated in antiquity, but a seventh-century hanging bowl was left behind (Figure 48). Jones suggests an eighth- to ninth-century date range as most probable for the single-celled structure, as well as the central burial, which, although stratigraphically unrelated, is believed to be contemporary with the structure, despite its containing a seventh-century hanging bowl.⁴²³ The chronology of the site is difficult, but the radiocarbon dates suggest that burials were occurring in the forum here before the apsidal structure was built, and that the cemeteries associated with the later phases of the church filled the forum courtyard.⁴²⁴ The early phases of the structure are aligned to the forum; and, although the plan of the western end was not uncovered, Rodwell's reconstruction places a west porch on the apsidal building, similar to that at Bradwell-on-Sea, so that the church was actually entered through the Roman porticus.⁴²⁵ In the east range of the forum was a well, which remained in use into the medieval period. The excavation revealed some activity in the southern apse on the eastern range of the forum, where Rodwell suggests the existence of a possible baptistery. In this respect – the use of the portico as a porticus, and an adjacent cell as a possible baptistery – the site is not unlike that at Leicester (Roman *Ratae Coritanorum*). Here, the church of St Nicholas marks the site of a short-lived seventh-century cathedral which incorporated the baths complex at Leicester; the church exists within the *palestra* of the bath complex, and is aligned perfectly to its walls (Figure 49).⁴²⁶ The fabric of the bath-house was upstanding through the middle ages, and is still preserved today, under the name of the Jewry Wall (a massive remnant of Roman fabric which undoubtedly owes its preservation to its incorporation within the church fabric). One of the small, Roman baths (*laconica*) to the north may have been preserved in use as a baptistery, and the larger portion of the Roman fabric probably acted as some kind of monumental west entrance to the church. To the immediate east, across the Roman street and on the basilica of the Roman forum, the church of SS Augustine and Columba may have been directly aligned to the church St Nicholas. It will be difficult to investigate this further: in the earlier excavations the Anglo-Saxon remains were largely cleared away in the quest to expose the Roman material beneath, and more recently, the remains of the Jewry Wall have been damaged by the foundations of a factory.

The two sites are similar in that the central, civic area was used for an early church and graveyard, and they both reused extant Roman structures (the church at Lincoln reused one foundation of a late-Roman structure that had been built in the centre of the forum). Many of the intra-mural sites within the corpus used central, usually public, spaces in a similar manner.

⁴²³ Jones 1994, 333.

⁴²⁴ Jones 1994 acknowledges additional literature that has stressed the potential pitfalls of radiocarbon dating human bone.

⁴²⁵ Rodwell 1984, 4.

⁴²⁶ Rodwell 1984, 6; Parsons 1996, 11-13.

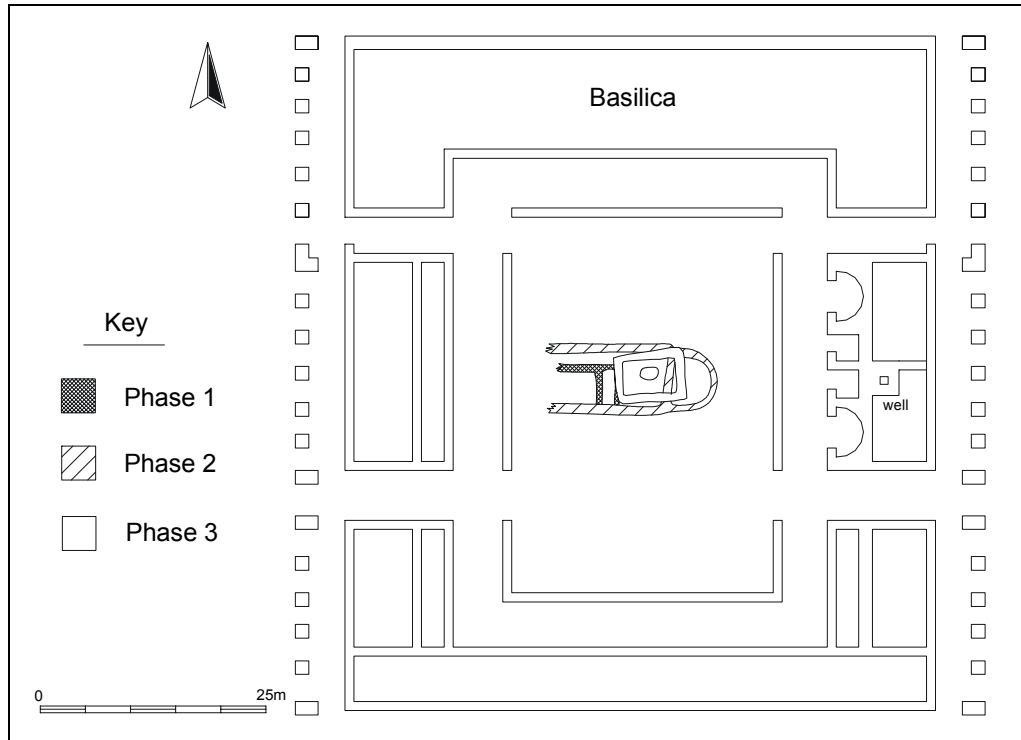


Figure 48 – Lincoln: post-Roman church in forum, showing seventh-century burial with hanging bowl. The phasing of the church remains problematic (after Jones 1994, fig. 1).

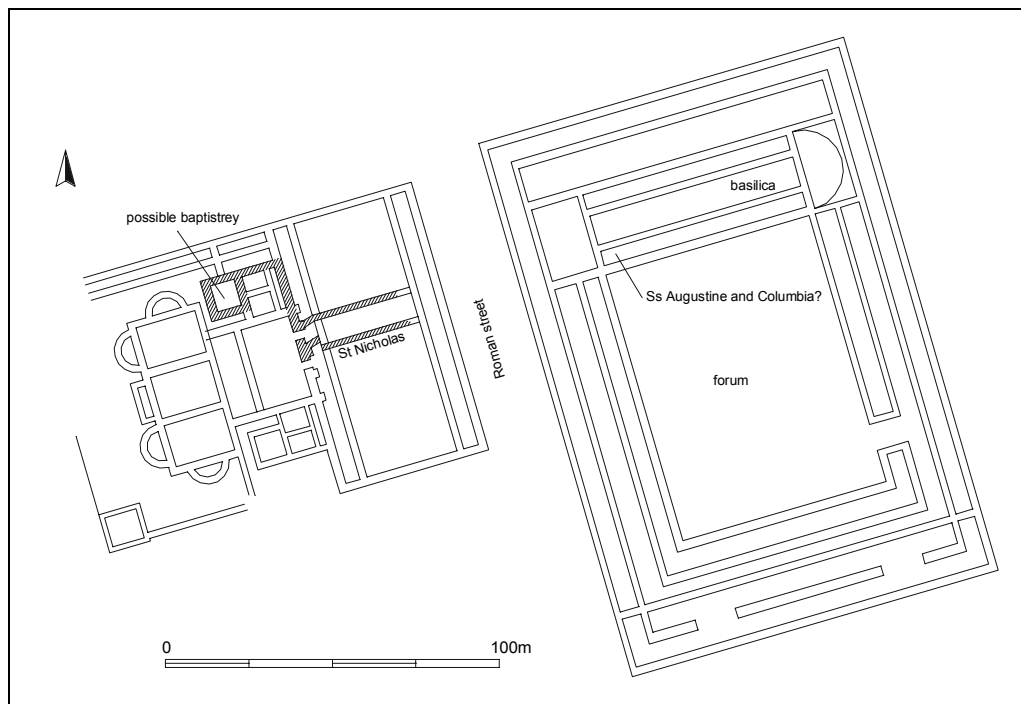


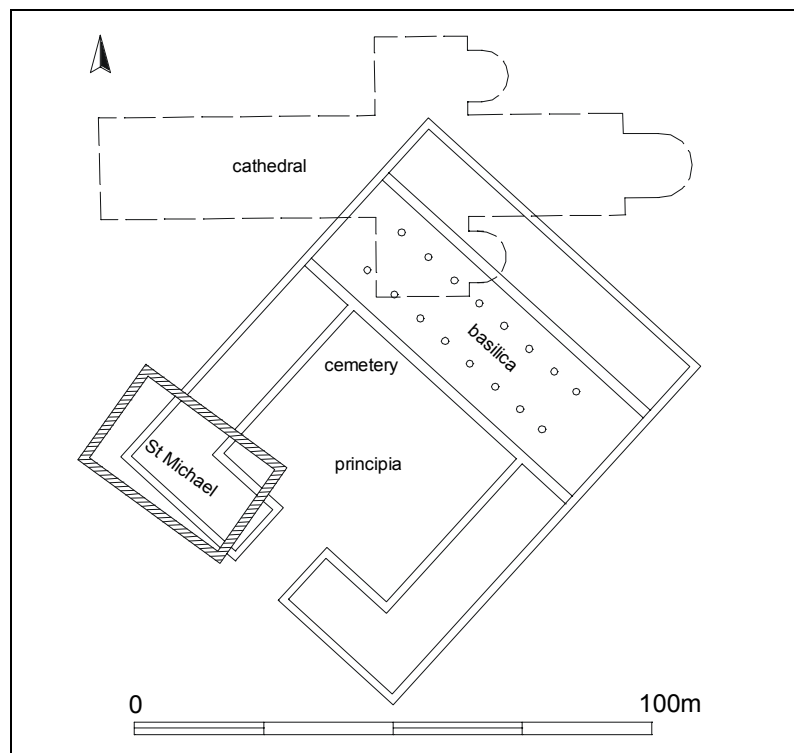
Figure 49 – Leicester: the church of St Nicholas and the Jewry Wall (after Blair 1992, fig. 10.5).

At York, the basilica and principia appear to have been standing in the later Roman period, yet their remaining upstanding into the ninth century is now possibly in doubt.⁴²⁷ The current cathedral of St Peter is oriented east/west, 45° to the alignment of the

⁴²⁷ See page 118, above.

underlying Roman fortress. However, this is a new alignment that has only existed from the Norman period. The Roman buildings are suggested to have stood for some time into the medieval period, and Rodwell makes the safe assumption that the original minster, the earliest burials, and very likely Edwin's church of *c.* 627 respected the Roman alignment (and further speculates that Edwin's church may be located within the *principia* courtyard).⁴²⁸ The church of St Michael-le-Belfrey lies to the south of the Cathedral of St Peter, and overlies the south-western corner of the Roman *principia*. Like many churches associated with Roman buildings, it respects the position of the Roman buildings, but is not directly aligned to the underlying masonry (Figure 50).⁴²⁹ To the south-west, in the *colonia* of York, the church of St Mary Bishophill Junior respects the Roman grid, and may also lie on the site of the forum, if one existed here.⁴³⁰ The church contains Anglo-Saxon fabric: the Taylors assign it to period C3, *c.* 1100, but a group of nearby graves dated to the Conversion Period may place its foundation even earlier.⁴³¹

Figure 50 – York: St Michael-le-Belfrey (after Rodwell 1984, fig. 3a).



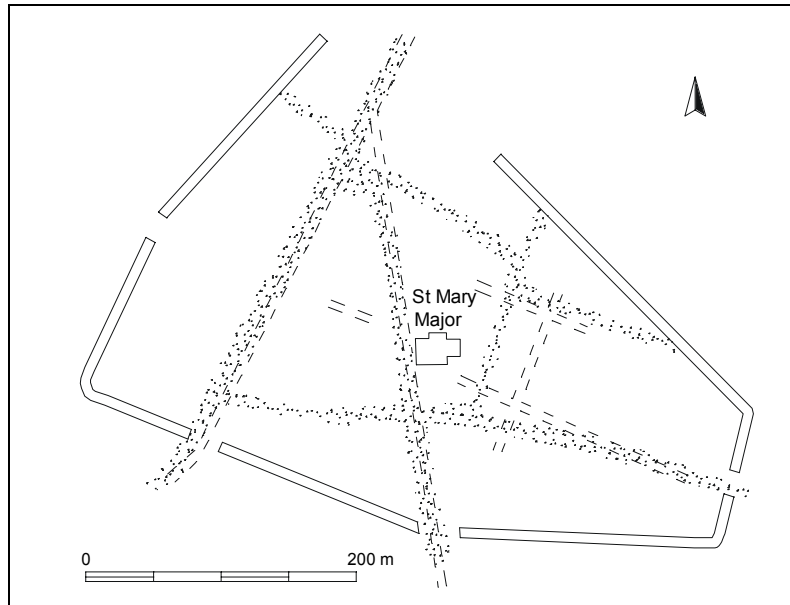
⁴²⁸ Norton 1998; Rodwell 1984, 5;

⁴²⁹ Rodwell 1984, 5.

⁴³⁰ Rodwell 1984, 9.

⁴³¹ Taylor and Taylor II 1965, 697-99.

Figure 51 – Ilchester: the medieval road pattern (stippled) closely follows its Roman predecessor (after Burnham and Wacher 1990, fig. 12).



At Caerleon (Roman *Isca*) the church of St Cardoc stands on the central site of the principia (Figure 46). At Winchester the Old Minster lies to the immediate south of the forum, overlying a Roman street, but on a liturgically correct east/west alignment, similar to that at Reculver (Kent). With an interior area of just over 10 ha, Ilchester (Somerset) falls somewhere between the categories of large and small sites: the medieval church of St Mary Major lies in the centre of the Roman town, on the presumed site of the forum (if one existed: Figure 51). The church is oriented east/west, about 30° from the Roman grid, although Rodwell suggests that it may be aligned to the Roman road running north/south through the town, and as such there may have been no later realignment.⁴³² In Aldborough (W Yorks) too, the late Saxon minster of St Andrew overlies the site of the Roman forum, and the north wall of north aisle stands on stylobite footing of different alignment; the existing church is 10° off the Roman alignment, but not quite directly east/west. However, 'the base of the south-east respond of the nave arcade and the exposed offset plinth of the north aisle wall' show that the church 'has been slewed round on its foundations a few degrees'.⁴³³ Little else is known of the underlying Roman structures of the town.

The reuse of a central public space also occurred at Verulamium, where, despite the growth of adjacent St Albans as a major ecclesiastical centre, the pre-conquest church of St Michael overlies the centre of the Roman basilica, to the immediate north of the forum (Figure 53), aligned about 40° off of the Roman axis. In London, the church of St Michael Cornhill lies in a similar position, centrally over the basilica on the north side of the forum, oriented only about 8.5° off the Roman grid (3.5° south of east/west: Figure 54), and it does not require a stretch of the imagination to suggest that the Roman forum was standing long enough to have dictated the course of Gracechurch Street, leading to the church.⁴³⁴ However, although Rodwell suggests that this may be one instance of the building of a basilican church which reuses part of the original, Roman basilican structure seen so often in other parts of the Empire, the site remains unexcavated and as such, this

⁴³² Rodwell 1984, 7.

⁴³³ Rodwell 1984, 7.

⁴³⁴ Rodwell 1984, 5 and fig. 3c; Rodwell 1993.

speculation must be treated carefully. It is almost certainly older than its current incarnation, as it has the tradition of being the mother church of the City.

Exeter also has an early-medieval religious presence in the forum area: here there are three superimposed cemeteries, about 23 metres west of cathedral. A small cemetery dating from the fifth century has been found within the forum area and basilica courtyard, aligned to the Roman axis.⁴³⁵ Some graves post-dated the removal of some of the larger Roman walls of the complex, which, Rodwell suggests, 'betoken a significant sub-Roman re-planning of the forum-basilica complex'.⁴³⁶ A minster existed here by 680, and fifty-three burials ascribed to a phase II (conversion period) cemetery, on an alignment different from that of the Roman grid or the fifth-century cemetery beneath, which probably date from the foundation of the seventh-century minster.⁴³⁷ A new minster church was built in the tenth century over the north-east corner of the forum, which is now marked by the church of St Mary Major, itself lying directly to the west of the Norman cathedral of St Peter, whose alignment was adjusted to an east/west orientation in its construction.⁴³⁸

Why are these churches located consistently in the centres of these settlements? The position of these churches at the junction of the town roads, themselves dictated by the location of Roman gates, offered a central focus to the derelict Roman town, and formed the spiritual as well as the geographic heart of the walled complex. In this way the conscious placement of the church within a walled site could be more than simply a functional exercise, but rather one proclaiming a reclamation of space, and perhaps the placement of a new, spiritual authority. The specific geography of these central spaces – primarily the forum/basilica complexes – also offered a very practical, geographical solution for a Christian establishment: namely the provision of a walled structure with an adjacent courtyard – the perfect layout for a church and cemetery.

⁴³⁵ Henderson and Bidwell 1982.

⁴³⁶ Rodwell 1984, 5.

⁴³⁷ Blair and Orme 1995; Geake 1997, 150.

⁴³⁸ Rodwell 1984, 5.

Figure 52 – Aldborough (after Wachter 1974, fig. 86).

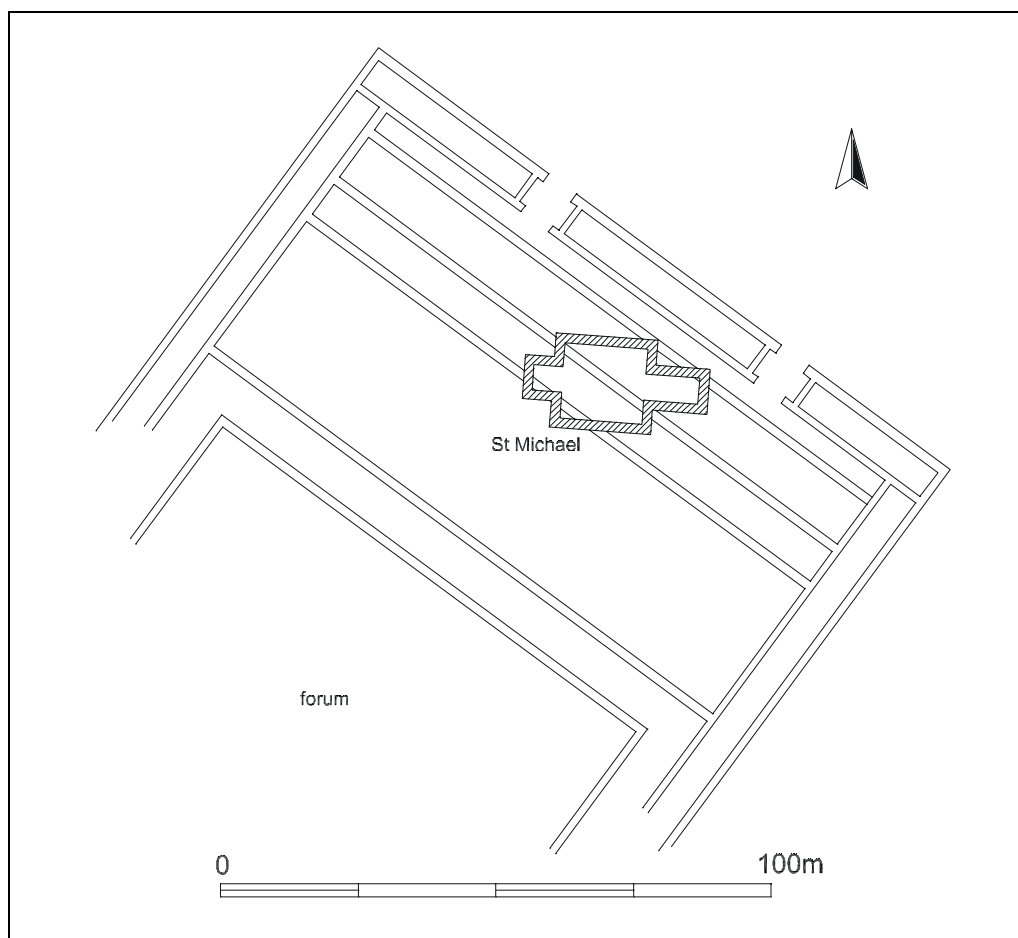
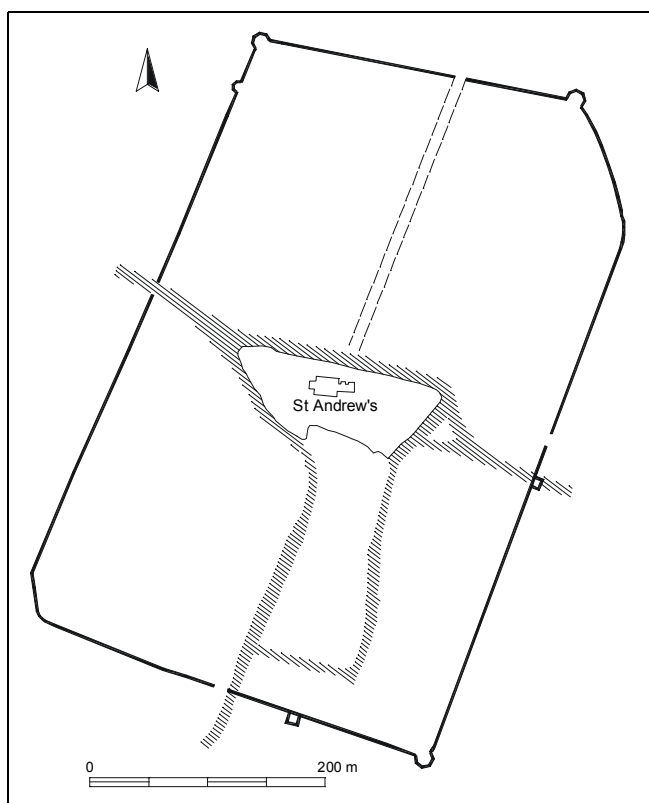


Figure 53 – Verulamium, St Michael (after Rodwell 1984, fig. 3d).

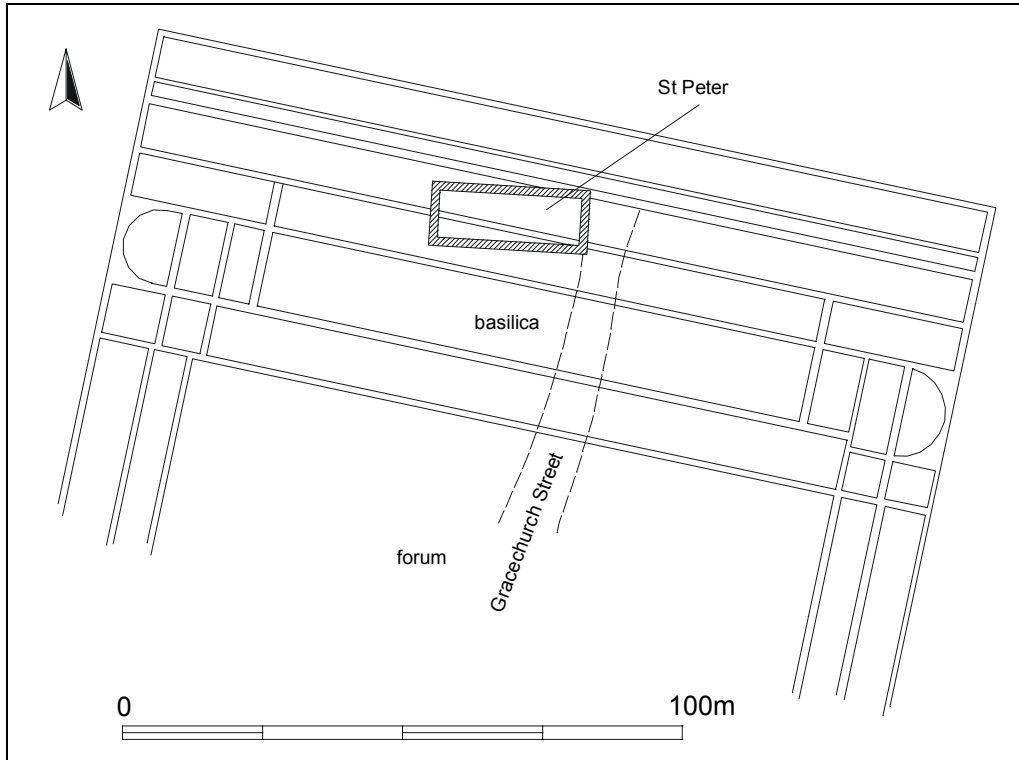


Figure 54 – St Peter Cornhill, London (after Rodwell 1984, fig. 3c).

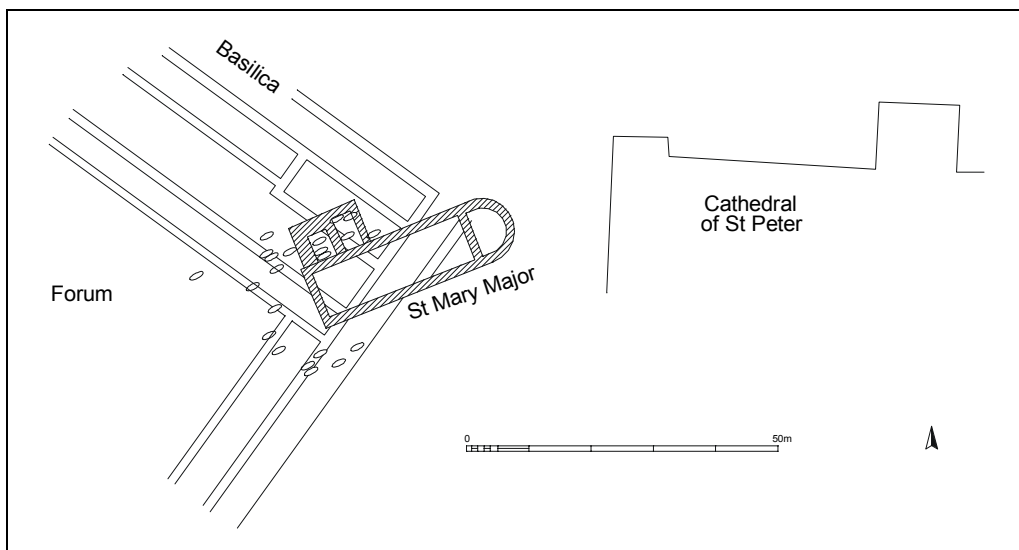


Figure 55 – Exeter: post-Roman graves and the church of St Mary Major overlying the north-east corner of the Roman forum (after Blair 1992, fig. 10.10, and Rodwell 1984, fig. 3b).

However, not all churches lie in the centre of their respective walled enclosures: can the choice of underlying building have affected their position? In most cases it is difficult to know for certain because gravedigging has destroyed the surrounding archaeology, while the graveyard prevents access to what remains, prohibits the development of parch- or cropmarks, and obscures geophysical survey; the truth is that on most maps of Roman sites, the area around the church is a complete blank. This is certainly true at Silchester, which is discussed above (page 110, Figure 41): here the church lies on the periphery of

the town within a precinct with several Roman temples, one which may (it has been suggested) underlie the current parish church; no archaeology has been undertaken to test this hypothesis. At Wroxeter, the placement of the church is very similar: the ninth- or tenth-century fabric of St Andrew's church reuses Roman masonry, and includes fragments of a ninth-century cross-base and shaft; Taylor and Taylor conclude that the period is uncertain, but probably *c.* 600-800.⁴³⁹ A Roman altar was found during restoration of the church in 1885, which in itself cannot be too surprising given its location within the Roman town: it lies in the south-west corner of the town, and is aligned with the town wall, about 15° from east/west. Today, Roman columns can be seen used as gateposts, and a capital as the font. Recent intensive geophysical survey of the entire town has uncovered the plan of a rectangular Roman building, aligned east/west, with an apse at its eastern end; preliminary analysis suggests that it may be a church.⁴⁴⁰ With a comparatively late occupation from the Roman period and such a possibly early (?re-) occupation in the post-Roman period, it is suggested that the town may not have been completely abandoned.⁴⁴¹ The church lies in the southern corner of the town, and is aligned to the Roman wall (Figure 56).

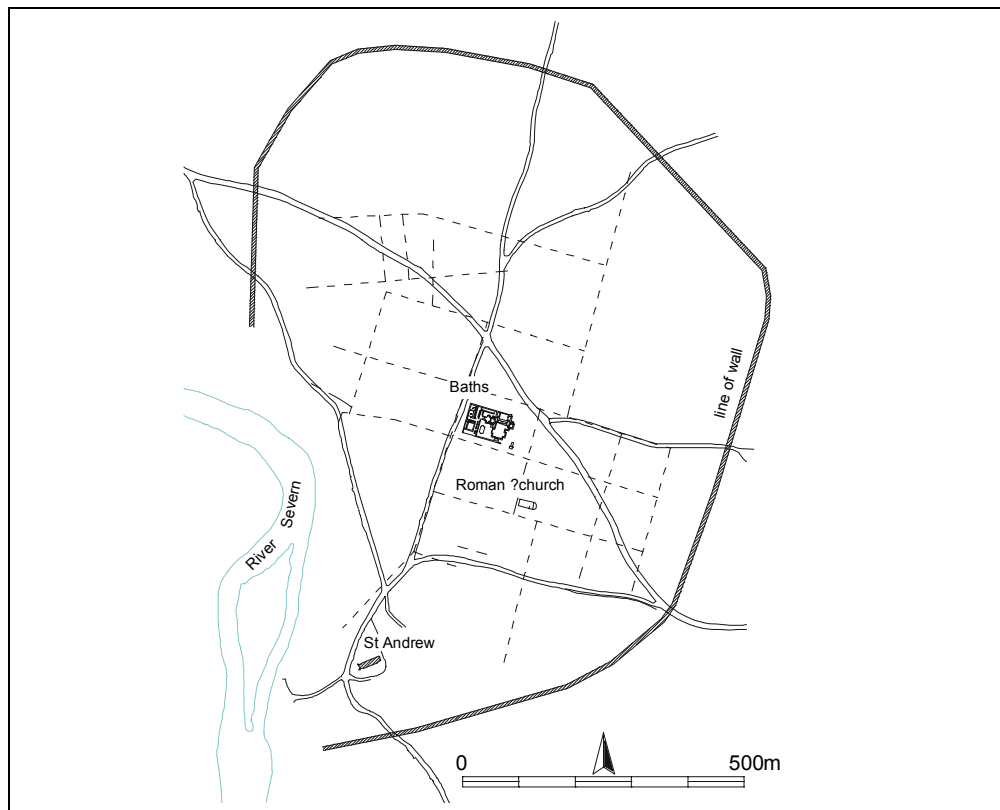


Figure 56 – Wroxeter: the Roman grid is shown as dotted lines; the bath-house and the possible Roman church have been drawn in detail. The church of St Andrew is confined to the southern corner of the town, aligned to the town wall and very possibly a Roman structure beneath (after Wachter 1974, and 1:2500 OS. The Wroxeter Hinterland Project has produced an extremely detailed plan of the town from geophysical survey).⁴⁴²

⁴³⁹ Taylor and Taylor II 1965, 694-5.

⁴⁴⁰ Gaffney and Linford 1999, fig. 3.

⁴⁴¹ White and Halwood 1996, 16.

⁴⁴² A report of the ongoing work has been published in Gaffney and Linford 1999; the project overview is available online at <http://www.bfau.bham.ac.uk/newsite/projects/wh/base.html>

One of the most distinct examples of these churches in the intra-mural periphery is found at Caistor-by-Norwich, also known as Caistor-St-Edmund (or *Venta Icenorum* in the Roman period).⁴⁴³ The church sits perfectly between two Roman insulae, against the south-east wall of the town, aligned comfortably to the Roman grid, which itself only deviates 2° from east/west (Figure 57 and Figure 58). A church stood here at least by the time of Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), who, continuing the tradition of royal patronage, gave the manor and the church of Caistor to the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, which probably accounts for the dedication of the church and the village to St Edmund. The building must certainly sit upon an underlying Roman building or buildings, but the alignment of the town makes it difficult to know to what extent, if at all, the underlying structures were incorporated into the early phases of the church. Suggestions of sub-Roman activity of an unknown quantity is suggested by two cemeteries: first, Atkinson found the remains of 35 men in the remains of building 4, Insula VII: although he ascribes this deposit to the early part of the fifth century, the coin finds suggest that the house was inhabited well into the fifth century,⁴⁴⁴ and there is nothing to suggest that they could not be later, and perhaps fall within the classification of the other burials in Roman structures studied in this thesis. The well-known early Anglo-Saxon cemetery, c.280 metres to the south-east of the town, suggests that there was some kind of Germanic presence here well into the late fifth century.⁴⁴⁵



Figure 57 – Caistor-by-Norwich: an aerial photograph of the town, looking east, showing the church and Roman grid (Wacher 1974, fig. 42).

⁴⁴³ Wacher 1974, 227-38.

⁴⁴⁴ Wacher 1974, 238

⁴⁴⁵ Myres and Green 1973.

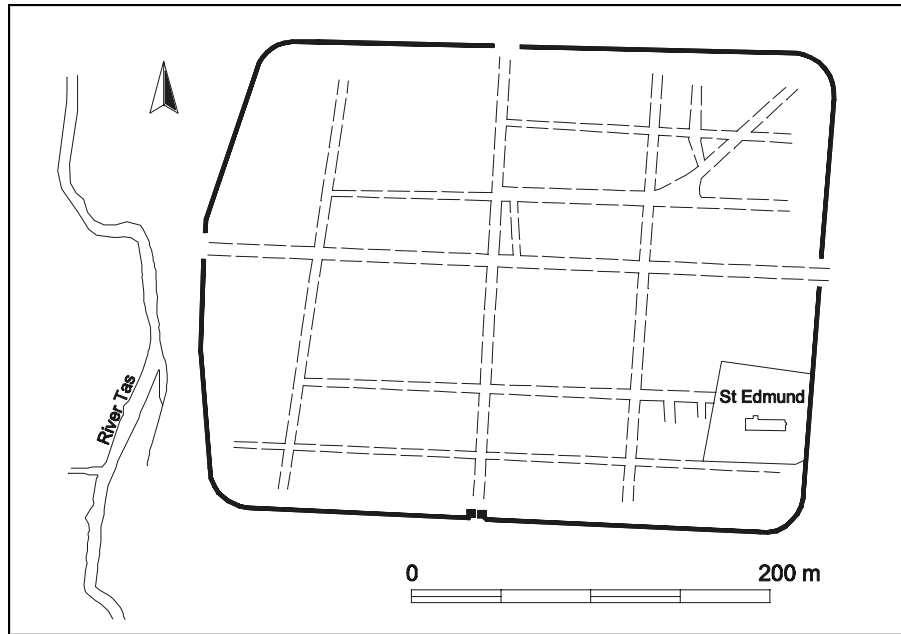


Figure 58 – Caistor-by-Norwich: plan of the town and church (after Wachter 1974, fig. 54).

At London, too, an early church was placed on a Roman building in the corner of the town, close to the water route: the church of All Hallows-by-the-tower was not thought to contain any Anglo-Saxon fabric, until an incendiary bomb destroyed the church in 1940, when an Anglo-Saxon arch made of Roman tiles was revealed in the south wall of the nave, as well as fragments of a cross shaft with figure sculpture, vine scroll, and interlace.⁴⁴⁶ The church is known as Barking church, which suggests that the original church was associated with the Abbey at Barking, founded by Earconwald (d. 694), Bishop of London, for his sister Æthelburh. Underneath the church can be seen the tessellated pavement of a Roman domestic house (Figure 59). Of course, in such a large Roman city there are bound to be underlying buildings.



Figure 59 – London: The Roman pavement underneath All Hallows-by-the-Tower. The bare, rectangular patch of exposed mortar marks the line of a Roman wall (Blewett 1977, 3).

⁴⁴⁶ Taylor and Taylor II (1965), 399-400.

What can we make of these churches placed on the periphery of the town? One logical suggestion is that specific structures were singled out to be built upon; durability could be a factor: a well-built structure could have offered enough physical material for ready church building; conversely, an area of the town which had fallen into severe decay might offer an open space, available for building, burying and cultivation. An alternative possibility is that they developed upon a specific Roman structure, perhaps a domestic building that was believed to have been associated with a Christian personage of the Roman period, in a similar process to those at Rome (Section 1.6.2, above, page 47ff.). Unfortunately the lack of archaeology from these sites does not allow a detailed examination, and we are left with little beyond their placement and orientation.

3.2.3.3 Roman Forts and smaller settlements

Churches are associated with over 46 Roman forts and fortlets (camps, signal stations, etc.) in England and Wales; apart from villas, they are the class of Roman structure to have been most consistently reused for Christian purposes (Figure 60 and Table 12), most probably because of their ubiquity and convenient size.

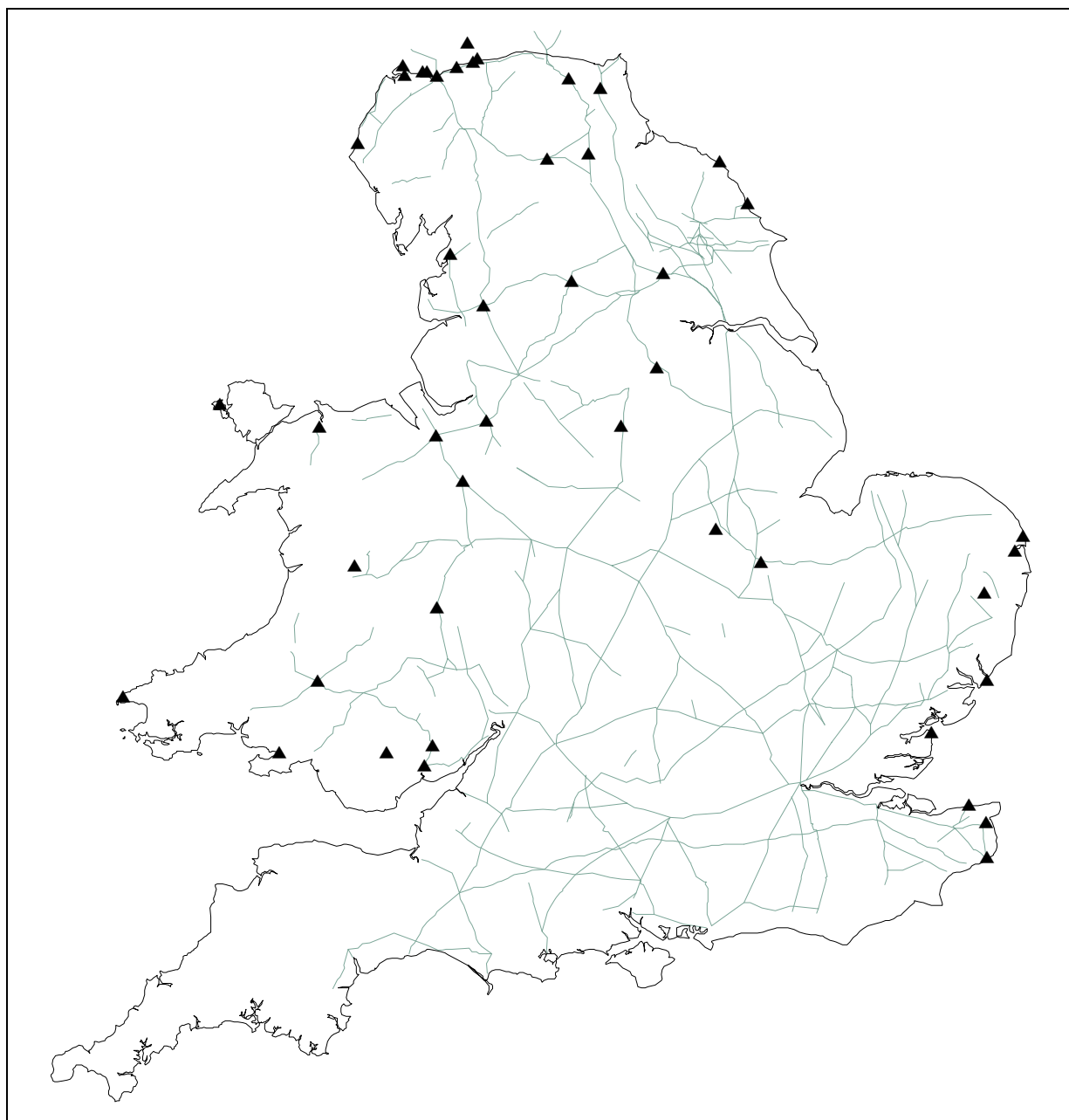


Figure 60 – The distribution of churches associated with Roman forts in England and Wales.

Table 12 – Churches associated with Roman forts in England and Wales

Site	County	Type
Beaumont	Cumberland	fort (milecastle on Wall)
Bewcastle	Cumberland	fort (bath-house)
Birdoswald	Cumberland	fort
Bowes	Yorks N	fort
Bowness-on-Solway	Cumberland	fort
Bradwell-on-Sea	Essex	fort, gate
Brampton Old Church	Cumberland	fort
Burgh Castle	Suffolk	fort
Burgh-by-Sands	Cumberland	fort
Caer Gybi	Anglesey	fort
Caerhun	Caernarvon	fort
Caerleon	Monm	fort
Caister-on-Sea	Norfolk	fort
Carno	Mont	fortlet
Chesterfield	Derby	fort
Chester-le-Street	Durham	fort
Doncaster	Yorks W	fort
Dover	Kent	fort
Dymock	Dorset	settlement / fort
Ebchester	Durham	fort
Felixstowe (Walton Castle)	Suffolk	fort
Gelligaer	Glam	fort
Ilkley	Yorks W	fort
Kirkbride	Cumberland	fort
Lancaster	Lancs	fort
Leintwardine	Herefords	fort / station
Llandovery	Carmarthen	fort
Loughor	Glam	fort
Market Overton	Rutland	fort / station
Moresby	Cumberland	fort
Nether Denton	Cumberland	fort
Northwich	Cheshire	fort
Piercebridge	Durham	fort
Reculver	Kent	fort
Ribchester	Lancs	fort
Richborough	Kent	fort
Scarborough	Yorks N	signal station
South Elmham	Suffolk	fort or camp
Whitesands Bay	Pemb	fort / station
Stanwix	Cumberland	fort
Usk	Monm	fort
Whitby	Yorks N	fort / prob. signal station
Whitchurch	Shrops	fort
York - Minster	Yorks W	fort
York - St Michael-le-Belfry	Yorks N	fort

Churches on Roman forts have not undergone a systematic study as a unique class of structures, in part because little is known of the first Christian activity on these sites outside the placement and orientation of the extant church. In 1976 Biddle noted the number of churches in Roman forts and walled centres, and concluded that such sites 'would be regarded on the Continent . . . as an indicator of continuous settlement', and he stressed the need for further intensive study.⁴⁴⁷ Shortly thereafter, Rigold undertook a study of the 'Saxon Shore' forts, noting that most forts along the Saxon shore are likely to

⁴⁴⁷ Biddle 1976a, 144 and note 100.

have been occupied by a church sometime after the Roman period: in East Anglia, Bradwell became the home of Cedd's church sometime in the 650s and another was built sometime after c.669; Burgh had a church from sometime in the late seventh or early eighth centuries, and Walton Castle (Felixstowe) in Suffolk may have been the see of East Anglia in the mid 630s.⁴⁴⁸ Further south, in Kent, Richborough and Dover probably also held seventh-century churches, and Reculver also received a new lease on life as a royal foundation in 669.

These Saxon Shore forts were either chosen or suggested by direct emissaries of the Roman mission, Augustine, Mellitus, Paulinus and Justus; what we see in Britain is the beginnings of an Insular ecclesiastical association based in the continental Christian tradition. Like other Roman masonry remains, these substantial masonry complexes may also have been associated more with the Roman Church than the Roman Empire from the seventh century. The Christian reuse of Roman forts was not isolated to the Saxon Shore: viewing the reuse of Roman military installations in its entirety, we can also note a similar use of the Roman signal stations at Scarborough, Whitby and perhaps Filey, on the North Yorkshire coast.⁴⁴⁹ More dramatic and enigmatic is the unusually high proportion of Stanegate and Hadrian's Wall forts near Carlisle which have associated churches.⁴⁵⁰ It appears that in the case of walled sites, the area defined by the walls was the focus of reuse rather than any particular structure within. The convenience of standing Roman masonry appears to be an important aspect of reuse in this case, and this is what may have happened at Jumièges. Roman walls would provide a ready boundary that could delineate the area of a bishop's corporeal authority. The walls, even if in a ruined condition, would have provided some degree of defence from natural threats if not against a concentrated attack. This element of security may also have made Roman forts attractive outposts for missionary activity. Rigold suggests that the reoccupation of these sites had little to do with defence, and that the 'popularity' of these sites was based largely on their symbolic rather than practical appeal;⁴⁵¹ it is not unlikely that the Christian missionaries may have simply perceived their reuse and re-occupation as Roman re-habitation, symbolic to them, significant to the Anglo-Saxons, and otherwise in accordance with the ideas of Gregory. There is no immediate reason why Rigold's model cannot apply to the other churches on Roman walled sites in this study, including forts, camps, small towns, and peripheral settlements.

3.2.3.4 *The Archaeology*

Little is known of the archaeology on most of these sites, partly due to the fact that these churches remain in active service, and partly due to the fact that any excavation that occurs focuses strictly upon the Roman phase of the site and the structural chronology of the underlying fort; in no case outside Rigold's study has there been an attempt to marry the association between the Roman and post-Roman use of the site. More significantly perhaps, no research agenda has ever been generated for the purposes of archaeologically investigating the relationship between the latest Roman presence and the earliest Christian activity on the site. As a result, comparatively little is known regarding the first Christian reuse of these forts and the underlying archaeology, and the orientation and placement of the church within the enclosure become particularly important. Plans,

⁴⁴⁸ Rigold discusses each of these forts in turn and their probable roles as Christian centres: Rigold 1977. On the role of Walton Castle as Felix's see of East Anglia see Rigold 1961 and Rigold 1974.

⁴⁴⁹ Bell 1999a.

⁴⁵⁰ Biddle 1976a, note 100.

⁴⁵¹ Rigold 1977, 70.

therefore, are our most informative means of understanding these sites as a class of reused structures, and every attempt has been made to obtain plans of the churches here, and their placement and orientation within the Roman forts

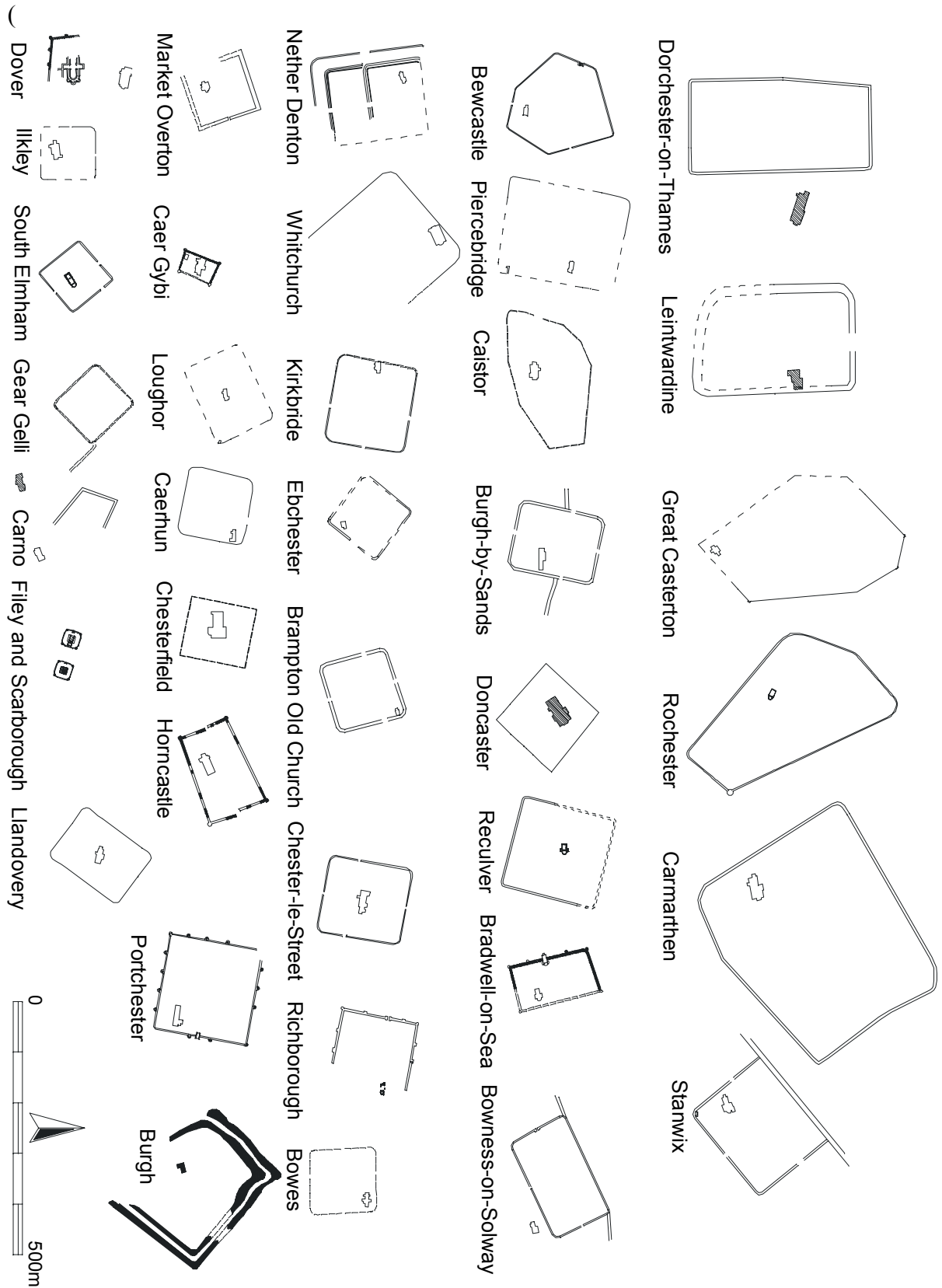


Figure 61).

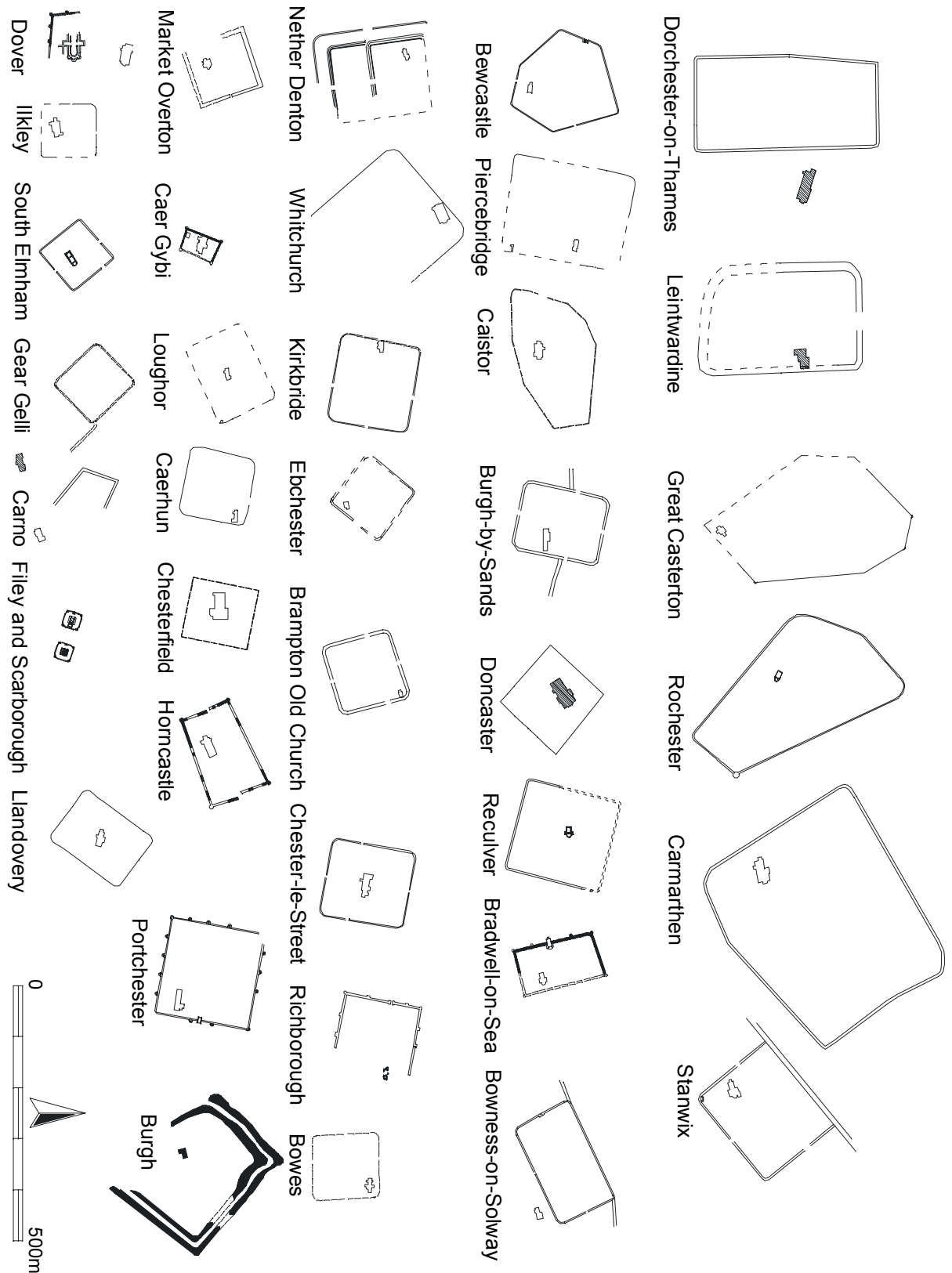


Figure 61 – Comparative plans of churches in Roman forts and smaller walled sites (see individual gazetteer entries for sources).

3.2.3.5 *The Spatial Layout of Forts and Smaller Walled Settlements*

Of the smaller walled sites, only in a small proportion are the churches found in the centre of the fort. The intra-mural architecture is not dissimilar from the larger sites, the *principia* in the centre affording the same building/courtyard combination, but the open space may have been too small to accommodate the needs of a Christian community. The real reasons may be more complex, and may in fact have something to do with the reuse of specific buildings for their structural elements – perhaps along similar lines to the reuse of the granary buildings at Birdoswald, rather than the central *principia*.⁴⁵² Of all

⁴⁵² Wilmott 1997, chapter 10.

the smaller walled sites in

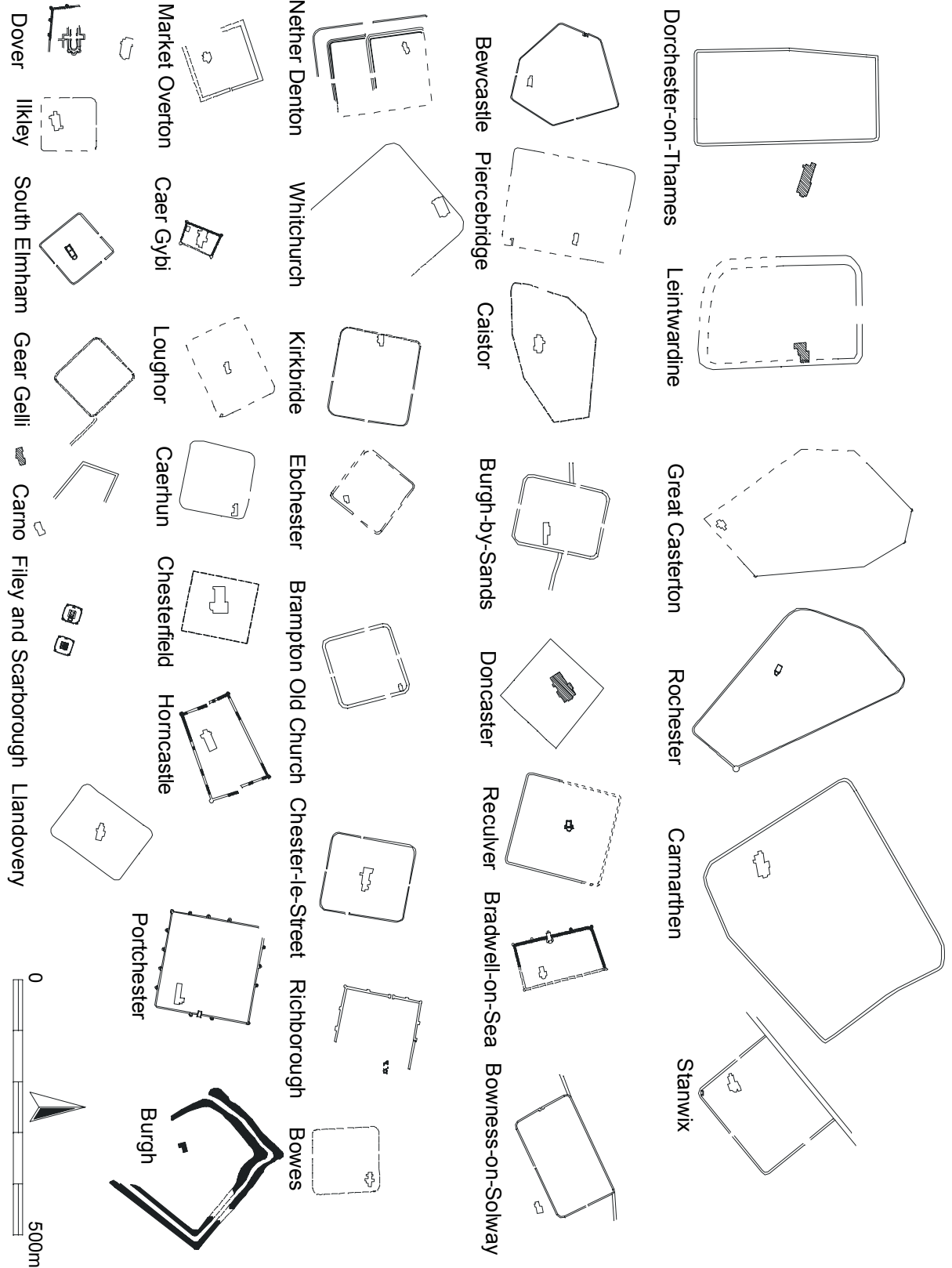


Figure 61, only the forts of Reculver, Chesterfield (Derby), Lloughor, and Chester-le-Street (Durham) have their churches in the centre of the structure, while the churches within Caistor, Lincs (Figure 62), and Horncastle, Lincs (Figure 63) are slightly off-centre. Little is known of these particular Roman sites, let alone their churches: they are

small fortifications with little evidence of internal structures, which could suggest that they were used as fortified strongholds, or perhaps part of a defensive network in the late Roman period.⁴⁵³ Both acquired churches, built on the Roman alignment, roughly in the centre of their *enceintes* at some point. Little else is known of post-Roman Horncastle, but Caistor acquired an Anglian inhumation cemetery sometime in the fifth century.⁴⁵⁴ A lost inscription, found on the site in 1770, is believed to be a dedication or memorial text of the ninth century, and Radford even hazards that this site, comparatively insignificant in the Roman period, became the centre of the episcopal see of Lindsey.⁴⁵⁵

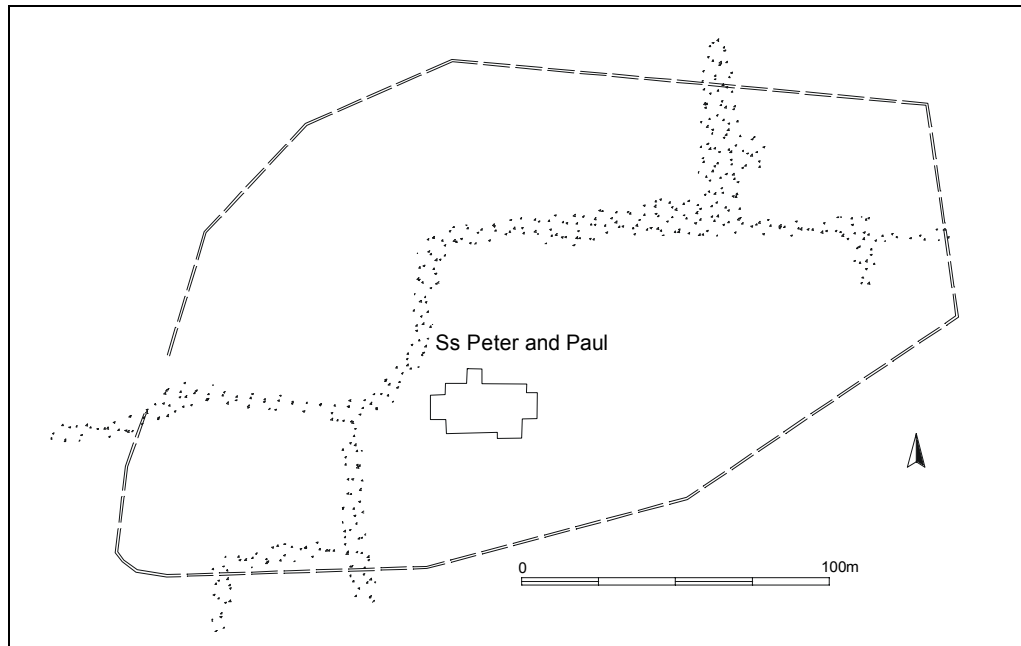


Figure 62 – Caistor: the church of SS Peter and Paul lies near the centre of the town, and the later roads (stippled) largely respect their Roman predecessors (after Burnham and Wachter 1990, fig. 77).

⁴⁵³ Burnham and Wachter 1990, 347.

⁴⁵⁴ Everson & Stocker 1984, 121-5.

⁴⁵⁵ Radford 1946; Okasha is more conservative: 'possibly memorial formula... date uncertain' (Okasha 1971, No. 18).

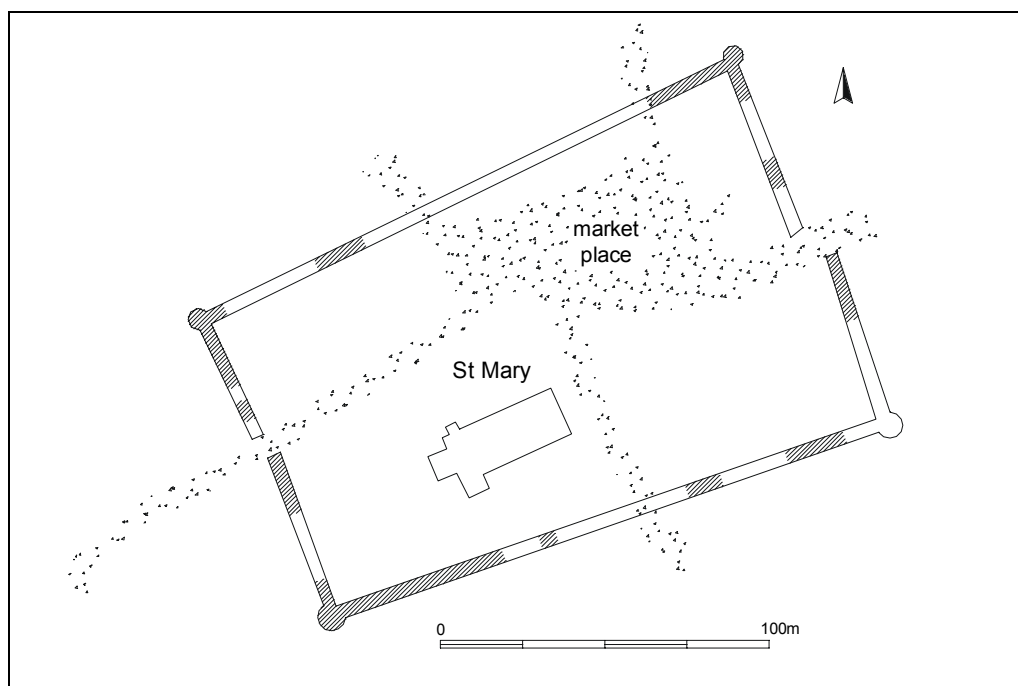


Figure 63 – Horncastle (after Burnham and Wachter 1990, fig. 80).

Also into this category can be placed the churches at South Elmham (Suffolk) and Rochester. The church of South Elmham is enigmatic: the 'Old Minster' stands near the middle of a very small (1.7ha) square enclosure, a Roman camp or fortlet, aligned on the axis of the enceinte, 33° north of east/west. For sometime the church was thought to be early, possibly contemporary with similar Kentish examples of the seventh century.⁴⁵⁶ However, Woodward, on visiting the site in 1857, was told by the warden of the estate that, although the interior of the enclosure had been drained and ploughed, and the interior of the church explored to a depth of five feet, no floor had been found, nor any burials in or around the church.⁴⁵⁷ After more recent excavation, Smedley and Owles conclude that the date of the existing church building cannot have been much earlier than the eleventh century, but this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier, timber church (of which no evidence was found).⁴⁵⁸ The orientation of the church within the structure suggests the reuse of an internal structure, rather than of the central area.

Rochester, though larger, is not too different: here a structure or space near the centre of the town, west of the intersection of the Roman roads, was reused from the earliest period: Bede records that Justus was made bishop of Rochester in 604, so a community must have existed here from shortly before or thereafter.⁴⁵⁹ Late nineteenth-century excavations by Livett discovered a small apsidal church to the west of the current cathedral⁴⁶⁰ and Fairweather notes the possibility of a second, contemporary structure.⁴⁶¹ Although this interpretation is supported by Taylor and Taylor, the size and projected arc of this apsidal structure would suit a Roman building, perhaps a bath. The later apsidal structure seems to forsake the Roman alignment, while the other is aligned to the Roman

⁴⁵⁶ For example, Peers 1901, 410.

⁴⁵⁷ Woodward 1874.

⁴⁵⁸ Smedley and Owles 1971.

⁴⁵⁹ *H. E.* II, 13.

⁴⁶⁰ Livett 1889.

⁴⁶¹ Fairweather 1929, 192; Taylor and Taylor II 1965, 518-9.

grid, as is the current cathedral (Figure 65). Other small enclosures with their churches slightly off-centre include Doncaster, Chesterfield, and Market Overton

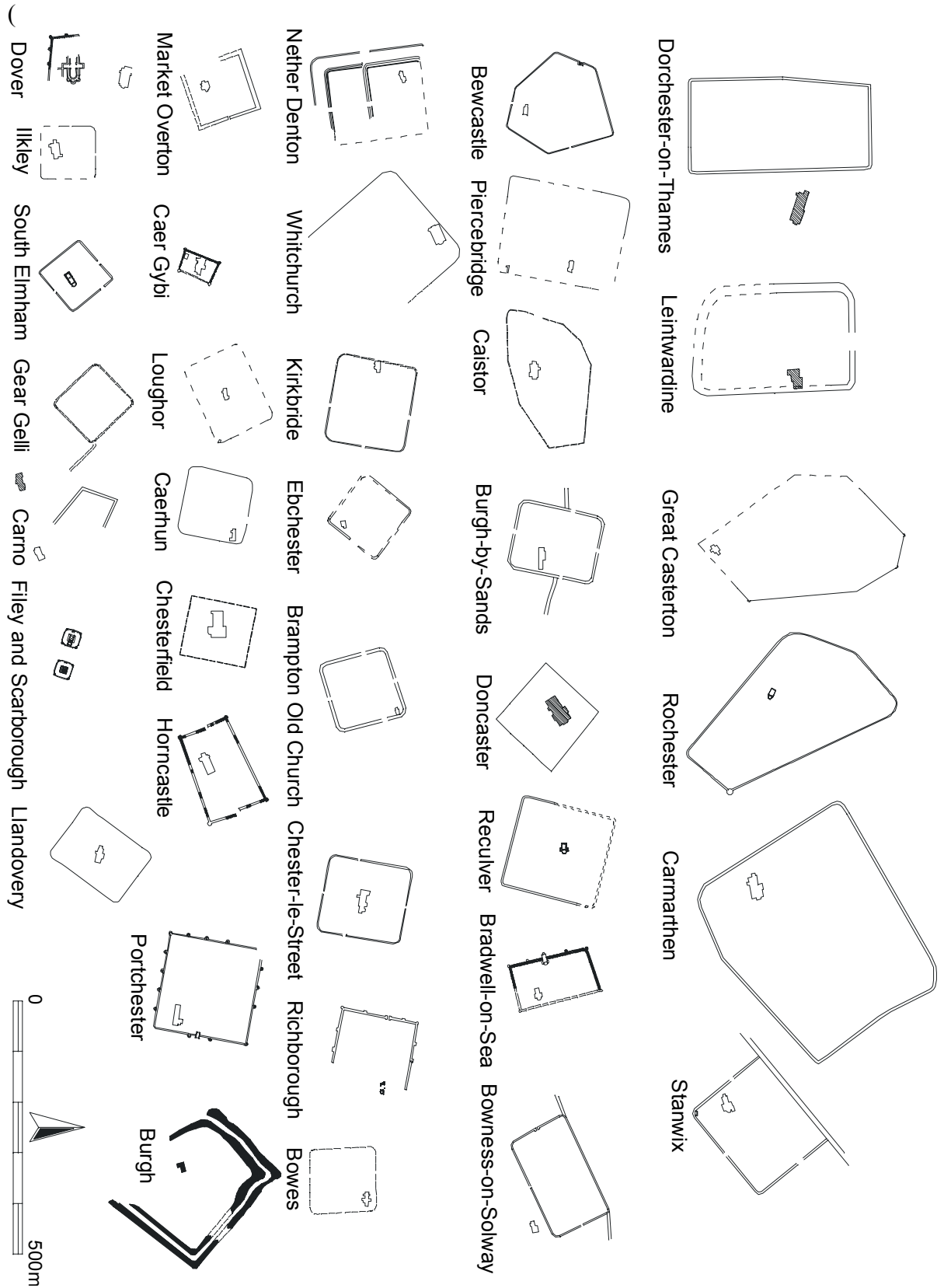


Figure 61).

Figure 64 – South Elmham
(after OS 1:2500, and
Taylor and Taylor I, 1965,
fig. 104).

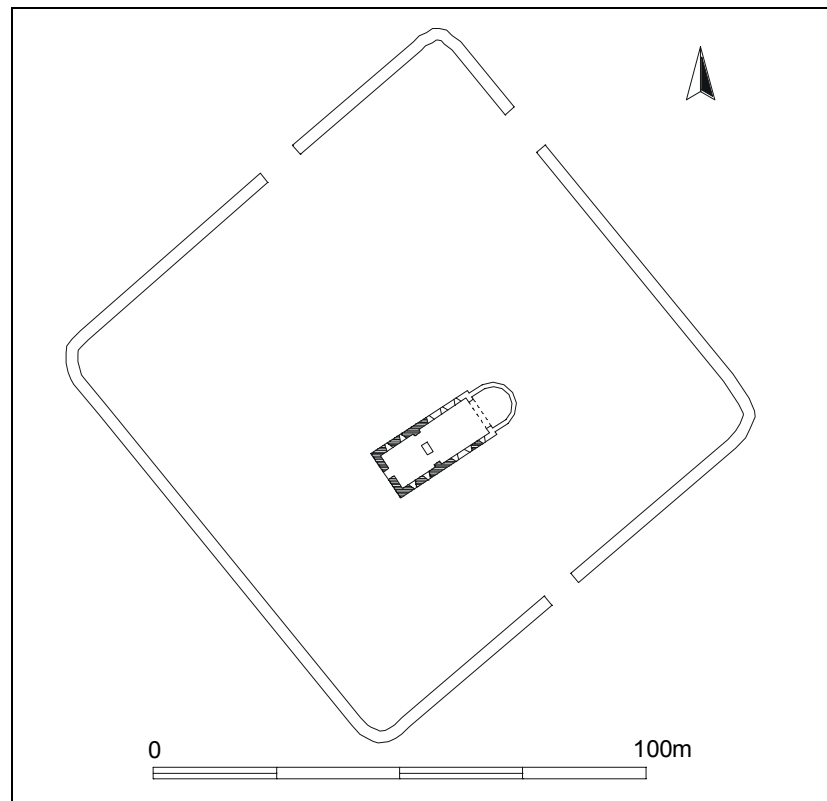
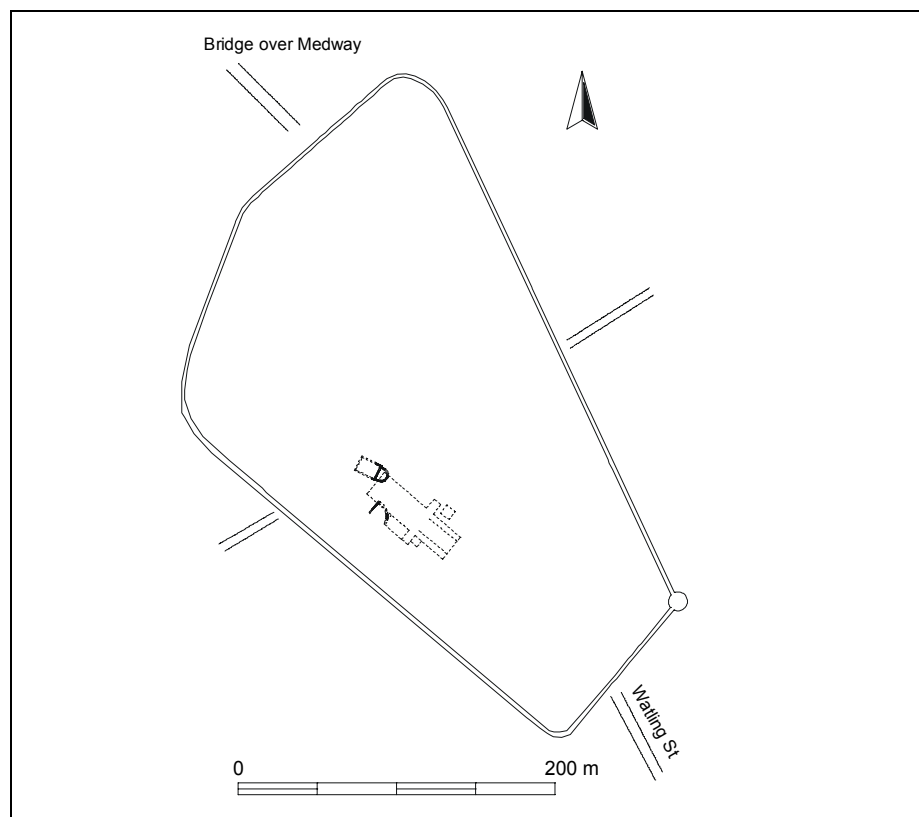


Figure 65 –
Rochester, showing
the early church,
and the possible
apse of a second,
contemporary
structure, or more
probably a Roman
building, south-
west of the current
cathedral (after
VCH Kent III, fig.
14, and Taylor and
Taylor II, fig. 252).



Overall, however, the placement of churches in the smaller enclosures in

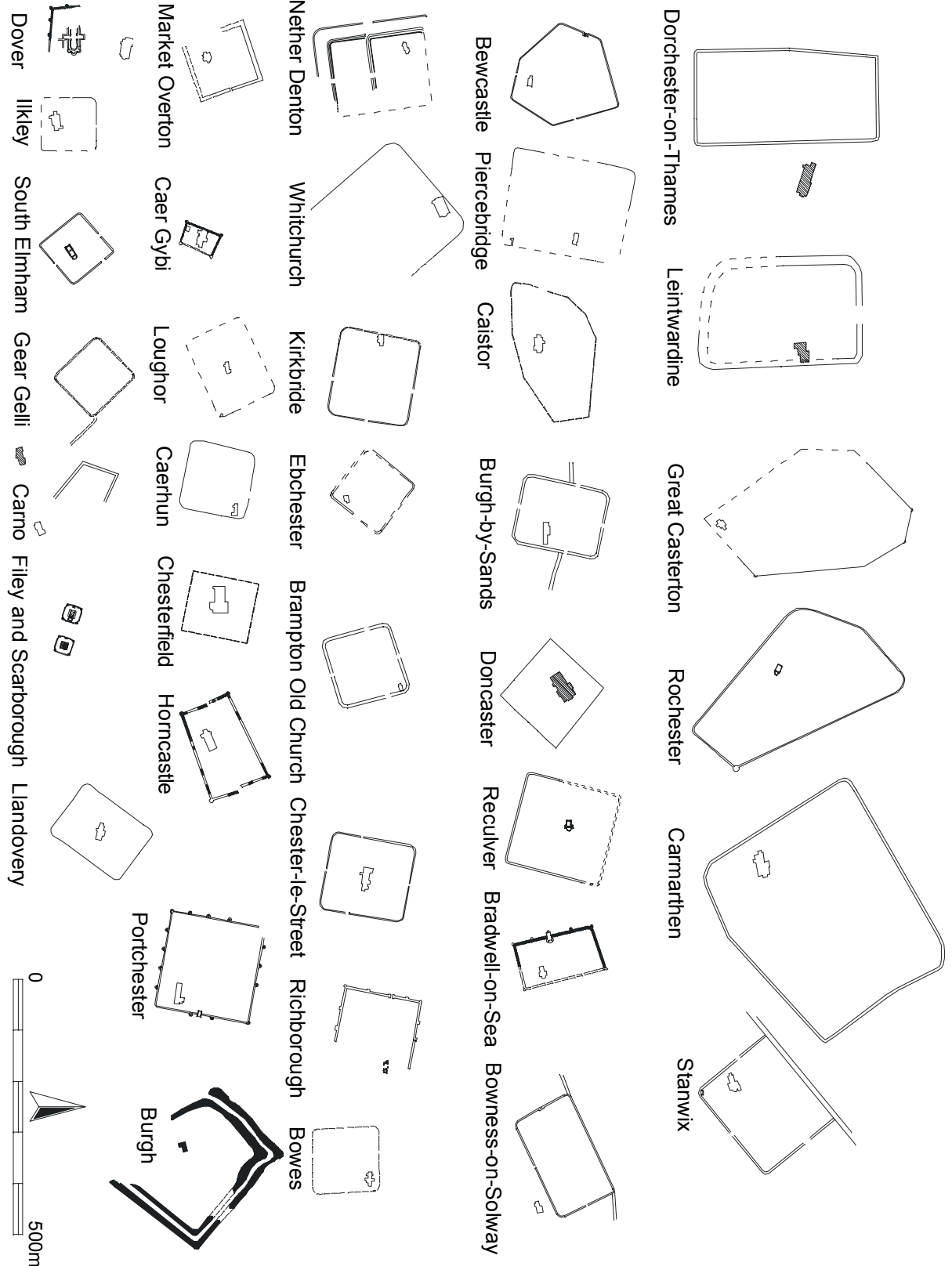


Figure 61 is predominantly on the peripheries of the sites, usually contiguous with the defensive walls. At Great Casterton, the church of St Peter and Paul sits in the south-west corner of the Roman town, aligned to the Roman grid, near the bath-house, 40° north of east/west (Figure 66). The town originated as the vicus of the adjacent Roman fort, and it

obtained proper urban status, and its first defences (in stone), in the second century.⁴⁶² The street pattern has not been fully recovered here, but a road to the north-west of the church suggests that it sits within its own insula.

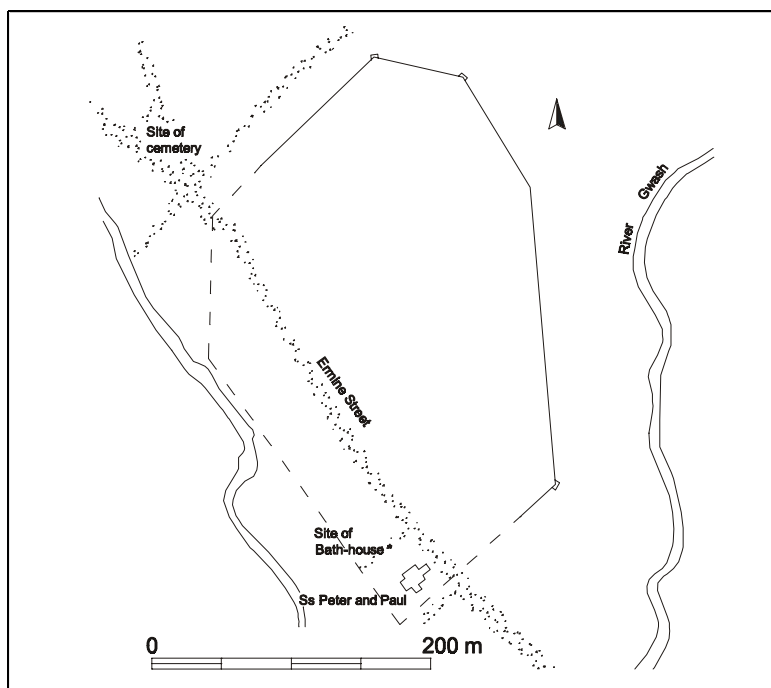


Figure 66 – Great Casterton: the line of the modern road follows Ermine street through the town; the Roman fort lies directly to the north-east (after Burnham and Wachter 1990, fig. 35).

At Brampton Old Church the church of St Martin lies in the north-east corner of the Trajanic Stanegate fort. It was known to have been in existence from c. 1169, and served as the parish church until the late eighteenth century, even though it is 1.6 km from Brampton.⁴⁶³ Here too the church is confined to the very corner of the fort, which raises obvious questions regarding the nature of the interior when the church was built: since the fort was abandoned when the frontier moved to Hadrian's Wall in the 120s, in what condition was the fort in the post-Roman period, and would there have been enough structural material to influence the church's position? The same may be asked of the church at Bewcastle, where the church lies in the south-east quarter of the fort, adjacent to the bath-house. The site is of course best known for its decorated eighth-century Anglo-Saxon cross, which still stands probably *in situ* on the south-east side of the church; such a grand piece of sculpture suggests that the fort was more than a simple preaching station in the Anglo-Saxon period. However, little else is known of the early-medieval religious activity on the site before the erection of the present church in the thirteenth century: a ninth to eleventh-century grave slab was found during the

⁴⁶² Outside the fort, partly cut into the counterscarp of the bank of the town, was a Roman and early Anglo-Saxon cemetery with 36 inhumations and 11 cremations: the earlier burials were laid in rows, with feet to west, some in stone cists with flat covers; associated pottery suggests a late third-century to early fourth-century date (at TL 00100920: Corder 1961, 50). Later inhumations from the late fourth-century were found, in addition to the 11 Anglo-Saxon cremations (Whitwell and Dean 1966, 46). This and other early extra-mural cemeteries (Durobrivae, Rochester, Dorchester-on-Thames, Verulamium and Caerwent) tend to fall into the immediate late- or early post-Roman period, while the town probably maintained some central or urban function, and therefore are not addressed in detail in this thesis.

⁴⁶³ *VCH Cumberland* II, 152.

excavations of the bath-house, but little further information of the post-Roman period has been forthcoming, in part because the site is overlain by the church and rectory, a fourteenth-century castle, and more modern farm buildings, but also due to the exclusive focus on the Roman period during the past excavations.⁴⁶⁴ At Kirkbride (Cumbria) too the church of St Bride lies on the fort wall, and may in fact have been contiguous with, or been built upon, the western gate of the fort; at Caerhun (Caernarvon) the church of St Mary occupies the north-eastern corner of the fort (Figure 67).

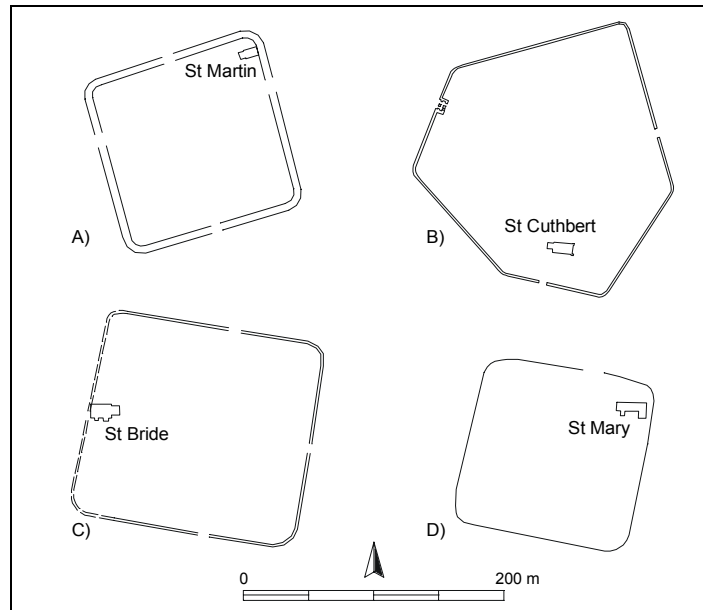


Figure 67 – Four churches located on the edge of the intra-mural space: A) Brampton Old Church, B) Bewcastle, C) Kirkbride, D) Caerhun.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁴ Gillam *et al.* 1993.

⁴⁶⁵ See the gazetteer entries for sources of plans.

The forts and smaller settlements shown here are just a small sample of those within the corpus, but the majority of churches in

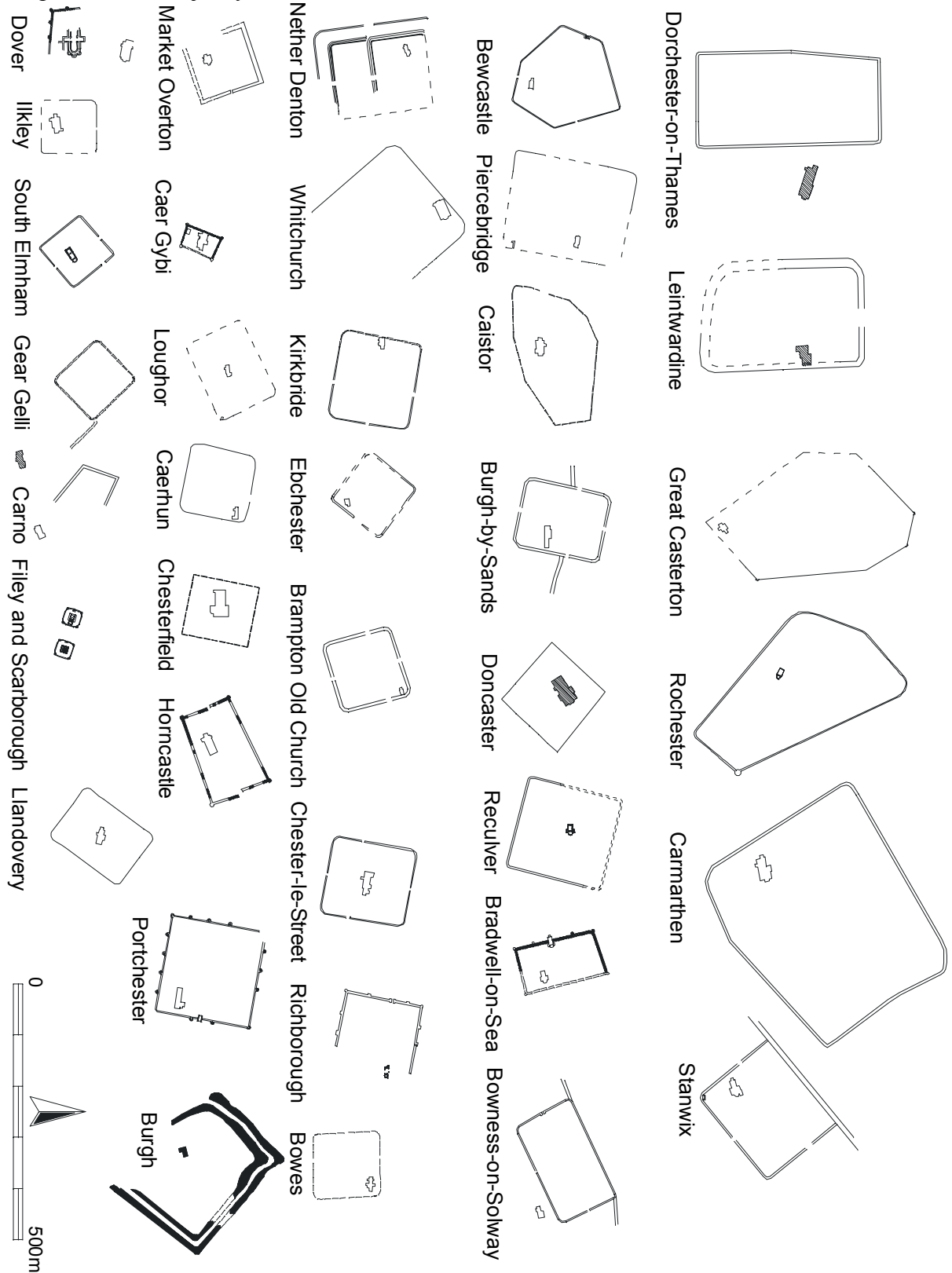


Figure 61 are aligned to the fort within, and probably in their earliest incarnation reused the foundations, or even the standing walls, of the structures within.

3.2.3.6 *Discussion*

It clearly cannot be assumed that these churches in Roman towns and forts must be early in date, but nor can we take the existing fabric as any certain evidence as to the date of the earliest Christian presence on that site; sadly, it is often only with their demolition – such as at St Mary Bishophill Jr (York), and All Hallows-by-the Tower (London) – that their Anglo-Saxon origins are discovered. As such, this study does not omit from consideration a church on a Roman site unless it is shown conclusively that its origins lie in the post-medieval period, or that it neither incorporates nor reuses an underlying Roman structure. Without excavation or demolition we are left little opportunity to examine the physical evidence, and with it obtain some idea of the date of their origin. We may possibly get some hint of their age by studying their orientation: there appears to have been less concern for liturgical adherence in the earlier period, and so many churches were built on the Roman alignment; while later, particularly during the Norman rebuild, new structures were created or rebuilt on an east/west axis.⁴⁶⁶ As such, the churches of which we know little of the underlying Roman structures, but are aligned to the Roman grid – as at Wroxeter, Great Casterton, Ancaster, Horncastle, and Bewcastle, for example – may be assumed to structurally incorporate the underlying Roman remains to an unknown extent, and they may be comparatively early, even in their existing form. At sites where the Roman grid is aligned on the compass-points – Caistor, Kirkbride, Caistor-by-Norwich, and to a certain extent Silchester – it is more difficult to determine the nature of the structural reuse, if any.

Churches lying within the centres of Roman towns and large enclosed settlements are very likely to overlie the forum/basilica complex: this is seen in London, Verulamium, Exeter, York, Aldborough Caerwent and Lincoln, and is suspected at Ilchester, and possibly at Rochester. Others, such as Leicester and Bath, incorporate other open spaces, such as a temple enclosure and palestra. The key distinction here is not specifically their location, but rather whether or not they were placed in an open space within the town. Previous authors have been keen to classify these sites on their perceived use or abandonment in the late Roman period: Rodwell first classifies his discussion of churches in major Roman towns into two groups: 'those built in populous places, either as public buildings or as adjuncts to royal palaces; and those built in desolate or secluded locations, where the complete life could be followed without worldly intrusion'.⁴⁶⁷ He further divides his discussion into *Churches in Fora*, *Churches Over Other Public Buildings*, and *Churches in Deserted Towns*. However, each classification suggests that there was a recognized, or even continued, use of the Roman structure into the early middle ages, and this cannot so quickly be assumed.⁴⁶⁸ Rodwell reminds us that these sites in the seventh century were still 'crammed' with existing Roman buildings,⁴⁶⁹ and it is just as likely that the church/cemetery occupied what open space there was, and frequently this in the forum/basilica complex.

Much of Rodwell's discussion rests on his unproven assumption that these churches came into existence only after some sort of secular power was put in place: 'were not these churches founded as adjuncts, physically and administratively, to the contemporary centres of authority in the towns?'.⁴⁷⁰ However the literature, and Bede in particular,

⁴⁶⁶ Rodwell 1984, 4 ff. Reculver is an exception to this guideline; there are undoubtedly many more.

⁴⁶⁷ Rodwell 1984, 3

⁴⁶⁸ Rodwell 1984, 3-9.

⁴⁶⁹ Rodwell 1984, 3.

⁴⁷⁰ Rodwell 1984, 4.

points to entire Roman sites being given to members of the church: There was a minster in York by 627, Exeter by 680, Winchester by 648, and Bath by 676. The special circumstances at Kent are discussed more fully in Section 3.4, page 191ff. In these cases there is little evidence that secular centres of authority were in place in towns before the arrival of the Church (above, page 118).

3.2.4 Villas and Rural Structures

Rural Roman structures – broadly defined as villas, but including any rural sites with masonry buildings, such as farmsteads – make up the largest class of reused Roman structures. This section introduces the archaeology of these churches.

It should be stressed here that this thesis, and this chapter in particular, examines churches that are *associated* with Roman buildings, rather than churches *on* Roman buildings. The distinction is more than an exercise in semantics: the latter term implies a physical relationship between the church and Roman structure which very often does not exist; many churches within the corpus appear to be as far as 100m away from the villa. However, many are valid inclusions because the linear distance can be a misleading factor, not only because villa estates often contained more than one masonry structure, but also because there are many topographic elements involved which cannot be accommodated by a linear distance. For example, a church and villa that are 200m apart may not appear at first to have any relationship, but when one discovers that they are both isolated, away from the local village, and perhaps on the same orientation, it becomes more likely that they could be associated. This is why the Ordnance Survey 1:2500 maps have been examined for every site within the corpus. In establishing which churches are 'associated' with adjacent or nearby Roman buildings, this author has tried to be as inclusive as possible, using the 100m distance as a rough guideline, and trying to avoid the exclusion of sites where possible. Further criteria for the inclusion of sites within the corpus is found in Section 1.2.1, page 4ff.

Table 13 – Churches on Villas and Rural Masonry Buildings

Site	County	Type	Site	County	Type
Totternhoe	Beds	villa	East Tilbury	Essex	masonry building
Brimpton	Berks	villa	Cressing	Essex	masonry building
Lower Basildon	Berks	villa	Hadstock	Essex	villa
Finchampstead	Berks	villa	Great Coggeshall	Essex	masonry building
Ploughley	Berks	masonry building	Rivenhall	Essex	villa
Wycombe	Bucks	masonry building	Dovercourt	Essex	masonry building
Little Kimble	Bucks	villa	Stansted Mountfitchet	Essex	villa
Saunderton	Bucks	villa	Copford	Essex	villa
Fleet Marston	Bucks	villa	Belchamp St Paul's	Essex	masonry building
Abington Park	Cambs	masonry building	West Mersea	Essex	villa
Burwell	Cambs	masonry building	Alphamstone	Essex	villa
Tarrant Crawford	Dorset	masonry building	Bartlow	Essex	villa
Whitchurch	Dorset	masonry building	Canewdon	Essex	masonry building
Canonicorum			Takeley	Essex	masonry building
Wimborne	Dorset	masonry building	Brightlingsea	Essex	masonry building
Sherborne	Dorset	?masonry building	White Notley	Essex	villa
Escomb	Durham	?villa	Tollesbury	Essex	masonry building
Chipping Ongar	Essex	masonry building	Tolleshunt Knights	Essex	masonry building
St Osyth	Essex	masonry building	Llancarfan	Glam	villa
Colne Engaine	Essex	masonry building	Llandough	Glam	villa
Leyton	Essex	masonry building	Oystermouth	Glam	villa
Little Baddow	Essex	masonry building	Bitton	Gloucs	masonry building

Chapter 3: Churches Associated with Roman Buildings

Site	County	Type	Site	County	Type
Lillyhorn	Gloucs	villa	Irthlingborough	Northants	villa
Frocester	Gloucs	villa	Cotterstock	Northants	masonry building
Hawkesbury	Gloucs	villa	Castor - St Cyneburh	Northants	villa
Woodchester	Gloucs	villa	King's Cliffe	Northants	masonry building
Kings Stanley	Gloucs	masonry building	Higham Ferrers	Northants	villa / bath-house?
Great Barrington	Gloucs	masonry building	Barnby in the Willows	Notts	masonry building
Deerhurst - St Marys	Gloucs	masonry building	Southwell	Notts	villa
Chedworth	Gloucs	masonry building?	Stanford-on-Soar	Notts	masonry building
Brookthorpe	Gloucs	?villa	Flawford	Notts	villa
Deerhurst - Odda's Chapel	Gloucs	masonry building	Asthall	Oxon	villa
Stroud	Gloucs	?villa	Wykham	Oxon	masonry building
Brockworth	Gloucs	masonry building	Fawler	Oxon	villa
Preston Candover	Hants	masonry building	Drayton	Oxon	villa / bath-house?
North Hayling	Hants	masonry building	Widford	Oxon	masonry building
Romsey	Hants	masonry building	Wigginton	Oxon	villa / bath-house
Carisbrooke	Hants	villa	Woodperry	Oxon	masonry building
West Dean	Hants	villa	Whitley	Shrops	villa
Whitsbury	Hants	villa	Much Wenlock	Shrops	masonry building
Bishopstone	Herefords	villa	Stow	Shrops	villa
Putley	Herefords	villa	Rushbury	Shrops	?villa
Sarratt	Herts	villa	Whitestaunton	Somerset	villa
Stanstead Abbots	Herts	masonry building	Banwell - Winthill	Somerset	villa
Langley	Herts	villa	Camerton	Somerset	masonry building
Huntingdon	Hunts	villa	Street	Somerset	villa
Ightham	Kent	masonry building	Bathford	Somerset	masonry building
Hayes	Kent	villa	Cheddar	Somerset	villa
Ickham	Kent	masonry building	Tickenham	Somerset	?villa
Hartley	Kent	masonry building - ?bath-house	Wrington	Somerset	masonry building
Cuxton	Kent	masonry building	Bawdrip	Somerset	villa
Folkestone	Kent	mausoleum / villa	Holcombe	Somerset	Probable villa
Faversham	Kent	masonry building	Kelston	Somerset	?villa
Crundale	Kent	masonry building	Combe Down	Somerset	masonry building
Chart Sutton	Kent	villa	North Stoke	Somerset	masonry building
East Barming	Kent	masonry building	South Chard	Somerset	villa
East Malling	Kent	villa	Priddy	Somerset	masonry building
Bexley	Kent	masonry building	Shapwick	Somerset	masonry building
Thornham	Kent	masonry building	Paulton	Somerset	villa
Lyminge	Kent	villa/bath-house	Acton Trussell	Staffs	villa
Lower Halstow	Kent	villa	Burgh	Suffolk	villa / camp
Milton	Kent	prob. villa	Kedington	Suffolk	villa
Snodland	Kent	villa	Brandon	Suffolk	masonry building
Ab Kettleby	Leics	villa	Capel St Mary	Suffolk	villa
Normanton	Leics	?villa	Fetcham	Surrey	villa
Brighthurst	Leics	villa	Titsey	Surrey	masonry building / ?temple
Fenny Drayton	Leics	villa	Ashtead	Surrey	masonry building
Canwick	Lincs	masonry building	Stoke D'Abernon	Surrey	villa
Scampton	Lincs	villa	London - Southwark	Surrey	villa
Roxby	Lincs	villa	Harting	Sussex	?villa
Burgh-le-Marsh	Lincs	masonry building	Bosham	Sussex	masonry building
Goxhill	Lincs	masonry building	Pulborough	Sussex	masonry building
Worlaby	Lincs	masonry building	Steyning	Sussex	masonry building
Claxby by Normanby	Lincs	masonry building	Duncton	Sussex	villa
Bottesford	Lincs	masonry building	Eastergate	Sussex	possible villa
Messingham	Lincs	masonry building	Chichester	Sussex	masonry building
London - St Bride's	Lond	?villa / mansio	West Stoke	Sussex	possible villa
Feltwell - Glebe Farm	Norfolk	villa / bath-house	Monks Kirby	Warwick	masonry building
Reedham	Norfolk	masonry building	Box	Wilts	villa
			Cherhill	Wilts	villa

Chapter 3: Churches Associated with Roman Buildings

Site	County	Type	Site	County	Type
Winterslow	Wilts	masonry building	Drax	Yorks N	villa
Kempsford	Wilts	masonry building	Crayke	Yorks N	?villa
Manningford Bruce	Wilts	villa	East Ness	Yorks N	masonry building?
Kempsey	Worcest	masonry building	Whorlton	Yorks N	villa
Ripon	Yorks N	?villa	Kirkby Warfe	Yorks N	villa

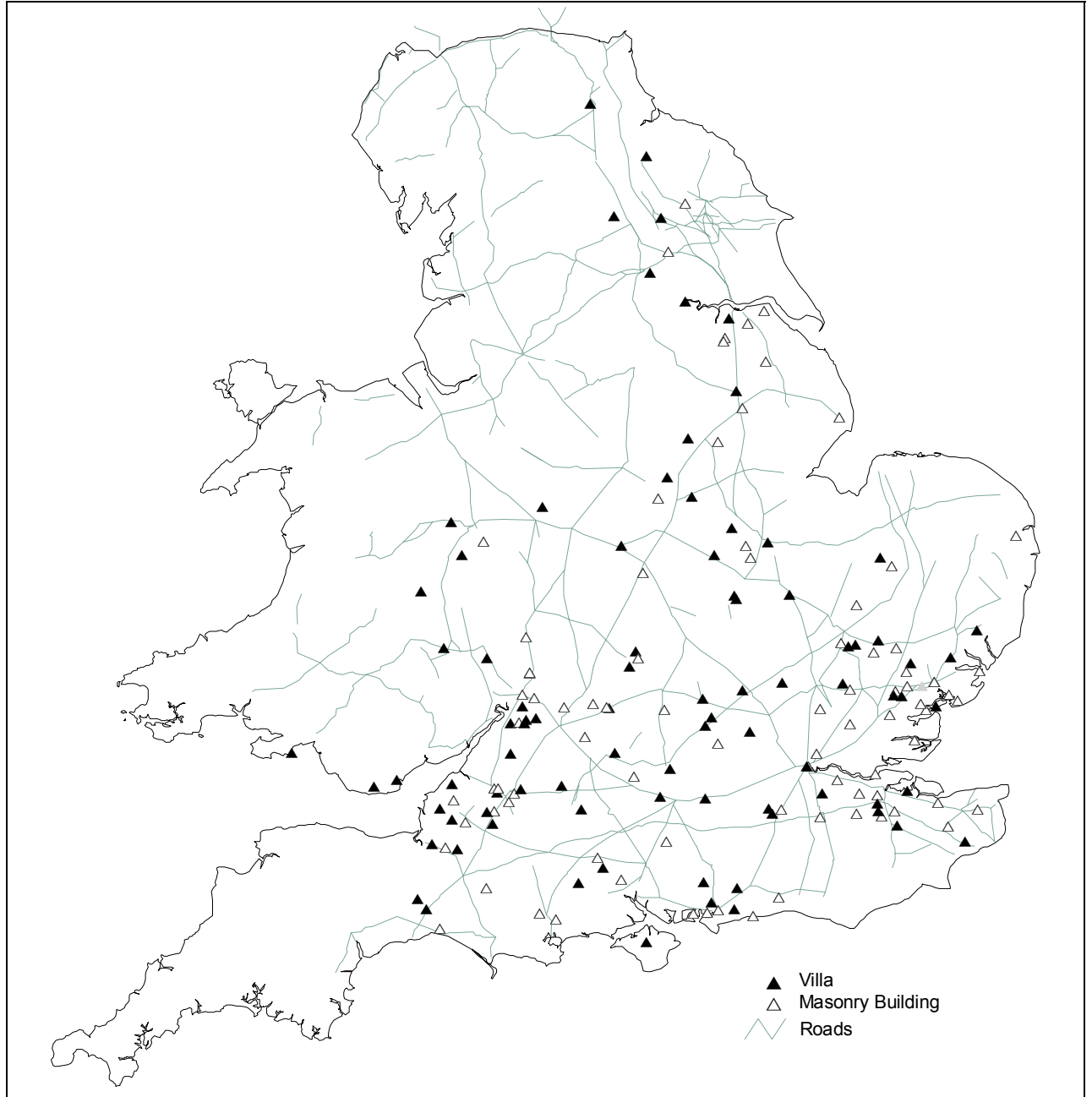


Figure 68 – The distribution of churches associated with Roman villas and masonry buildings.

In previous studies, the conclusions that have been drawn regarding the evolution and relationship of churches to Roman buildings have been based on a very limited number of sites: of the 250+ churches associated with Roman structures in the gazetteer, more than 170 of the Roman sites are classified as being 'villas' or rural masonry structures, and of this number less than 10 have had both the church and Roman structure investigated, and satisfactorily published.

Rivenhall is certainly the best-known of these sites, although Millett would argue that the relationship of the earliest church to the villa structure remains in question.⁴⁷¹ The church on the villa at Frocester has been excavated, but a full publication remains forthcoming.⁴⁷² Flawford shows very similar archaeology – an important church and excavation that remains unpublished beyond several interims in *Medieval Archaeology* in the late 1970s.⁴⁷³ Llandough made archaeological headlines, first with the discovery of a villa south of the church, and later with the discovery of very early graves to the north of the churchyard, revealing the potential for a full sequence from Roman villa to early Christian church; this too remains unpublished apart from two brief interims.⁴⁷⁴ The church at Lyminge lies on a Roman villa that has been thoroughly excavated, but unfortunately this was done in the early 1870s, and the single, brief report leaves many questions unanswered.⁴⁷⁵ At Woodchester, the plan of the Roman building is well-known, including the knowledge that it continues underneath the adjacent church of St Mary's; however, since its excavation in the late eighteenth century the site's mosaics have dominated the literature, and no aspects of the villa's relationship to the church have been addressed.⁴⁷⁶

Other villa sites, such as King's Stanley, Box, and Cherhill (Wilts), have been excavated in part, but in nearly every instance the archaeological relationship to the church remains unexplored. Looking at the numbers involved, it becomes apparent that 6 out of 170 sites (3.5%) have been excavated to the degree that stratigraphy can contribute to the discussion, but only Rivenhall has been fully published. Perhaps as many as 10 (17%) have been investigated to a lesser, but still significant, extent. If these numbers were to form the basis of any scientific study the conclusions would not be regarded as being valid, yet much of what has been written of churches associated with Roman buildings is derived from these figures. These limitations are due largely to the fact that cemeteries overlie the archaeology; most are still active, and almost all have had several hundred years of interments and several phases of church building that have removed the stratigraphy almost entirely. However, these unavoidable aspects aside, we must also recognise that the professional recognition of church archaeology has only come face-to-face with Romano-British archaeology since the 1960s, and only more recently have attempts at a national research agenda been established.⁴⁷⁷

3.2.4.1 *The Archaeology*

Therefore, although there are few sites for which we have detailed archaeological evidence, there remain a large number that have been investigated to a lesser degree, and trends revealed from a broad survey can contribute to the discussion. Yet before proceeding further it is best to examine the few sites that have become the 'canon' of churches associated with Roman villas.

Rivenhall is certainly the best-known and most recently excavated example of a church on a Roman villa, but is not necessarily the best example. Before excavation there was

⁴⁷¹ Millett 1987.

⁴⁷² Brief publications in Gracie 1958, and Gracie 1963.

⁴⁷³ See the gazetteer entry for the list of interims.

⁴⁷⁴ Owen-John 1988, Selkirk 1996.

⁴⁷⁵ Jenkins 1874.

⁴⁷⁶ Lysons 1797; Clarke 1982.

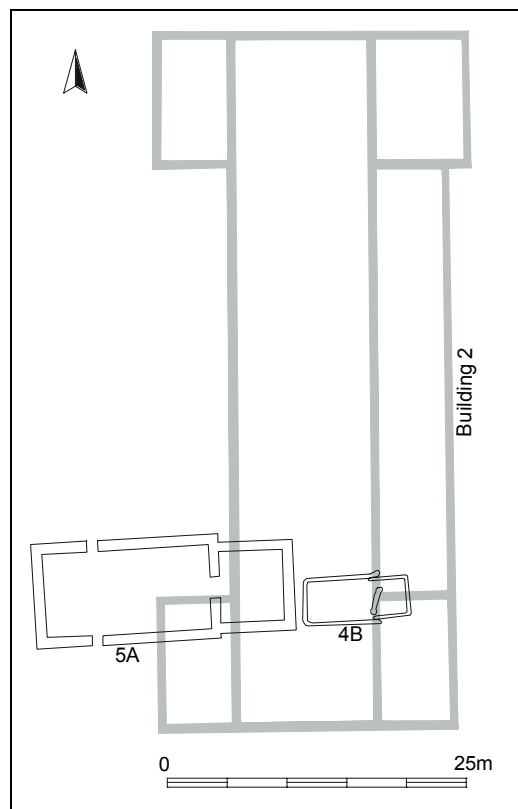
⁴⁷⁷ e.g. Rodwell and Rodwell 1977.

little about the church of St Mary that aroused antiquarian interest, and Pevsner even assigned it a date of 1838-9. The site was excavated between 1971 and 1973, revealing an underlying Roman villa, and Saxon fabric within the existing church. The Rodwells' discussion entails underlying continuity of the site, and their interpretation of the later sequences can briefly be summarised as:

- 1) Sometime in the early C5, a Roman aisled building (Building 4) was built on the site of the villa; sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery (C5) were found on its gravel floor.
- 2) Sometime in C6, a rectangular hall (Building 5) on an east/west alignment with internal partition was built on the villa.
- 3) After the decay of building 5, but probably while it was still in use, a row of six graves (Phase 1 - unfurnished) were interred immediately outside the villa; these were shortly sealed by the construction of a rectangular structure (Building 1) of unknown use.
- 4) After some time, and presumably after the earlier graves had been forgotten, 60 Saxon-period graves were interred in the villa (Cemetery 1 in area C2): four were dug into villa room 2.1a or its E wall. Radiocarbon dates were obtained for burials in this cemetery (published *uncalibrated*, of 810, 950 +/- 70, 980 +/- 70; see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations).
- 5) A timber church (Building 7) of one or two cells was built on the site of the cemetery, aligned about 5° N of E/W. Rodwell reconstructs a square chancel, and suggests a date before the end of C10.

This followed by a stone-built church (Building 8) with a hoggin foundation, which is subsequently followed by several phases of rebuilding into the middle ages, concluding with a final rebuild in the late C18. This sequence is criticised by Martin Millett, who suggests that the evidence does not support the strength of the Rodwells' interpretations; and indeed the calibration of radiocarbon samples from Cemetery 1 show that it did not pre-date the church.⁴⁷⁸

Figure 69 – Rivenhall, showing the Roman building (Building 2), and the earliest churches (after Rodwell and Rodwell 1985, figs. 63 & 74, and Rodwell and Rodwell 1977, fig. 18).



⁴⁷⁸ Millett 1987.

The villa at Frocester provides a better introduction to this class of site: it is frequently cited in discussions of churches associated with Roman buildings, and rightly so as it is one of the few sites for which we have an idea of how the church and the villa relate, and have a published plan. The location of the church, 10 miles south of Gloucester, in an isolated position on the border between Frocester and Coaley parishes, some distance from the village of Frocester itself, suggests that the church may have once served both parishes.⁴⁷⁹ Frocester was later reputed to have been granted to the secular priests at Gloucester Minster by Ravenswat, brother of Beornwulf, king of the Mercians, in the early ninth century.⁴⁸⁰ Leland noted that Frocester was anciently a college of secular priests,⁴⁸¹ and it is called the 'Old Minster' in 1313,⁴⁸² the first historical reference to the church is c.1150.⁴⁸³ The church was rebuilt in 1849, but this was demolished in 1952, leaving only the tower, the medieval southern porch, and some of the wall; the Roman site around the church seems to cover about 4ha, extending to the north and east. The site underwent an undocumented excavation in the nineteenth century, and was examined by Gracie in two seasons in the mid 1950s.⁴⁸⁴ During his excavations, Gracie discovered a row of graves, oriented east-west, dug into the Roman pavement and through the overlying black earth, which contained Saxon pottery, as well as other 'medieval' burials inserted into the stoke hole, within the 'jaws of the Roman furnace' (Figure 70).⁴⁸⁵ According to Heighway, the first church on the site dates from the Late Saxon period, the structure which subsequently formed the core of three successive expansions, a re-build in 1849, and a final demolition in 1952.⁴⁸⁶

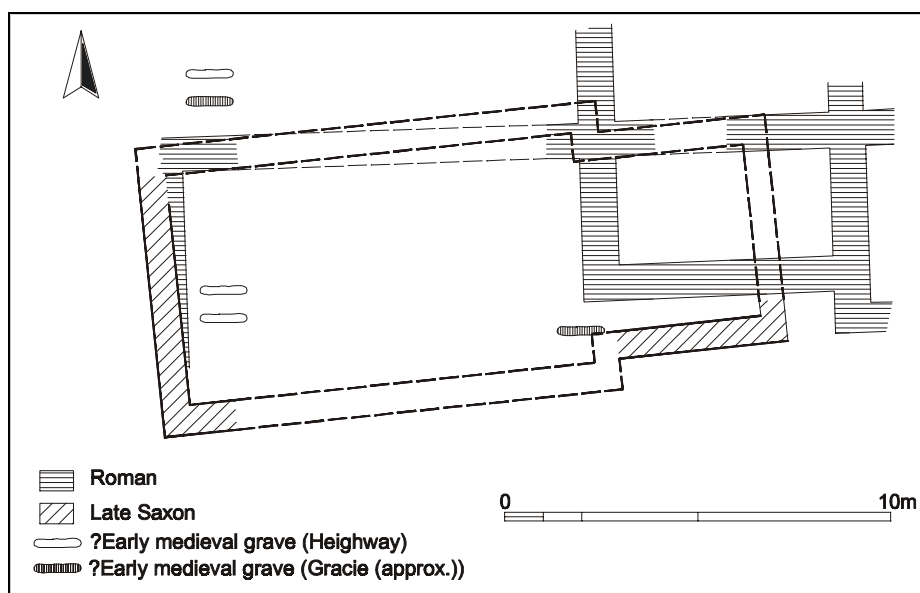


Figure 70 – Frocester: church and villa (after Gracie 1963, figs. 1&3, and Heighway 1987, 125).

Unfortunately, neither the location nor the details of these potentially early burials were published by Gracie, although he does note that the 'Norman' footings cut them at two

⁴⁷⁹ Gray 1963, 145.

⁴⁸⁰ *VCH Gloucs X*, 171.

⁴⁸¹ Leland, *Itinerary*, ii, 62.

⁴⁸² *Hist. & Cart. Gloucs.*, I, 147.

⁴⁸³ *Hist. & Cart. Gloucs.*, II, 42-3.

⁴⁸⁴ Gracie 1958, 1963.

⁴⁸⁵ Gracie 1963, 149. See Eccles and Denton for presumably similar 'stoke hole' burials.

⁴⁸⁶ Heighway 1987, 124-5.

points, probably corresponding (approximately) to the two solid-filled graves in Figure 70. More recently Heighway has re-interpreted Gracie's phasing of the villa to suggest a Late Saxon church on the site, and if the 'Norman' footing that Gracie refers to is the Phase 1 church that Heighway labels as 'Late Saxon', then these burials may pre-date the earliest Christian presence on the site. The church is aligned 4° off the Roman structure, and 6° north of east (Figure 70). We are fortunate to have a plan of Frocester, but the site has not seen full publication, so the precise relationship between the burials, church and villa is not available for examination. In most instances this is more the rule than the exception.

The church of St Peter at Flawford is another type-site, not unlike that at Frocester: here a church is not mentioned in the Domesday Book, and was not recorded until c.1150.⁴⁸⁷ Excavations in the late 1960s and 1970s found five phases of church pre-dating the thirteenth century, including certain evidence of a pre-Conquest church.⁴⁸⁸ The church lies upon and is aligned to a Roman villa, and the nave of the Phase I church appears to have reused the tessellated floor of the villa, upon which a coin of Burgred (852-74) was found. Hadley suggests that the church's omission from the Domesday can possibly be explained in that the church served several manors and therefore was 'supra-manorial'; there is no evidence to suggest that Flawford was ever a separate manor: 'in time, each of the manors served by Flawford received a church or chapel of its own. This left Flawford in an anomalous position isolated in the fields of Ruddington and sitting awkwardly on the parish boundary between two of the churches of which it must have been the mother church'.⁴⁸⁹ Isolated and ruinous, the church of St Peter at Flawford was also demolished, between 1773-9. No plan of this important site is published, and the site, like Frocester, is a perfect example of the archaeology of these sites.

It is perhaps also worth illustrating those sites whose evidence is in the lower range of helpfulness; three sites in Wiltshire suffice to demonstrate this range, and the limitations that such a variation in material entails: Box is located on the southern limit of the Cotswolds, 8km from Bath. The villa was first noted through the discovery of mosaic pavements north of the churchyard shortly before 1831, but there had apparently been a long tradition of Roman remains in the area.⁴⁹⁰ The site was extensively excavated in 1902-3 and published shortly thereafter.⁴⁹¹ The construction of a new village hall in 1968-9 prompted a new period of research, the report of which was published only in 1987.⁴⁹² Most recently the proposed construction of a new vicarage prompted an evaluation by Wiltshire Archaeology; small test trenches located further walls that confirm the continuation of the villa structure into the field north of the present vicarage.⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁷ Hadley 1992, 385.

⁴⁸⁸ Brief references in *Med. Arch.* 12 (1968), 175-7 and subsequent volumes. See the site entry in the gazetteer for a full bibliography.

⁴⁸⁹ Hadley 1992, 386.

⁴⁹⁰ *Gents. Mag.* 1831, i, 595-6; 1833, i, 257-8.

⁴⁹¹ Brakspear 1904, 236-69.

⁴⁹² Hurst 1987.

⁴⁹³ Wessex Archaeology. *Box Roman Villa, Wiltshire 833; Archaeological Evaluation*. Report No. 36922.b. 1994 (unpublished Evaluation Report).

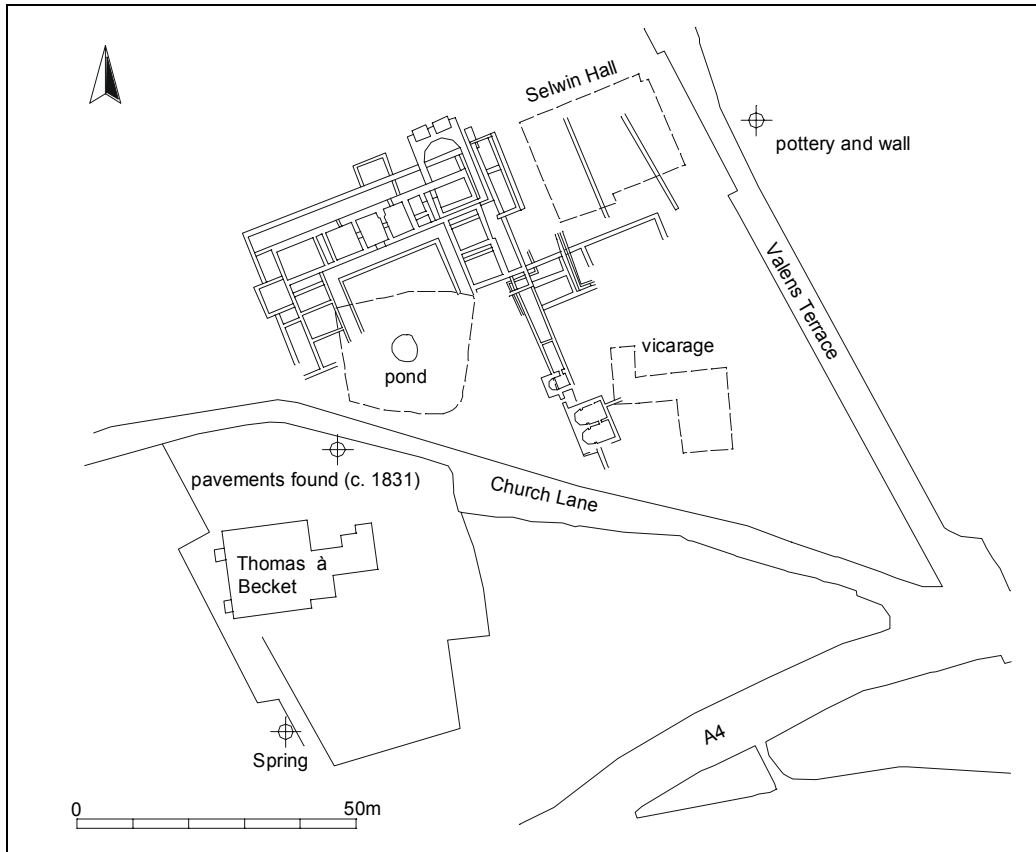


Figure 71 – Box church and Roman villa (after Hurst *et al.* 1987, figs. 1 & 23).

The exposed villa structure lies to the immediate north of the church of St Thomas à Becket, although mosaics found within the churchyard in 1831 suggests that the villa complex could extend underneath the present church (Figure 71). The current church is mostly twelfth-century fabric, but is oriented 7° from the east/west axis, a deviation that may possibly be explained by the existence of an underlying Roman structure. Like so many similar sites, we know a great deal about the Roman phases of the sequence, but little about the relationship to the church. With Richard Hodges, Hurst speculates on the possibility of continuity between the late Roman and medieval settlements at Box, but little is known for certain.⁴⁹⁴

Less is known of Manningford Bruce, but the site is still informative. Here, chalk wall foundations and a tessellated floor were revealed during grave digging in 1958, and subsequently excavated and evaluated in 1985. From these partial excavations we can obtain a plan of some of the villa and its relationship to the church (Figure 72). Here it appears that the villa could extend under the church, or at least into the adjacent field. At Cherhill, also in Wiltshire, we know less: a mosaic pavement was found in 1913 under the path leading to the churchyard gate; this was re-excavated in the 1930s and again in 1984.⁴⁹⁵ The alignment of the mosaic and rooms is north-west/south-east according to the 1984 excavations, a curious orientation both for the manor house and the church (Figure 73), but the villa clearly does extend underneath the churchyard.

⁴⁹⁴ Hurst 1987, 32ff.

⁴⁹⁵ Johnson and Walters 1988.

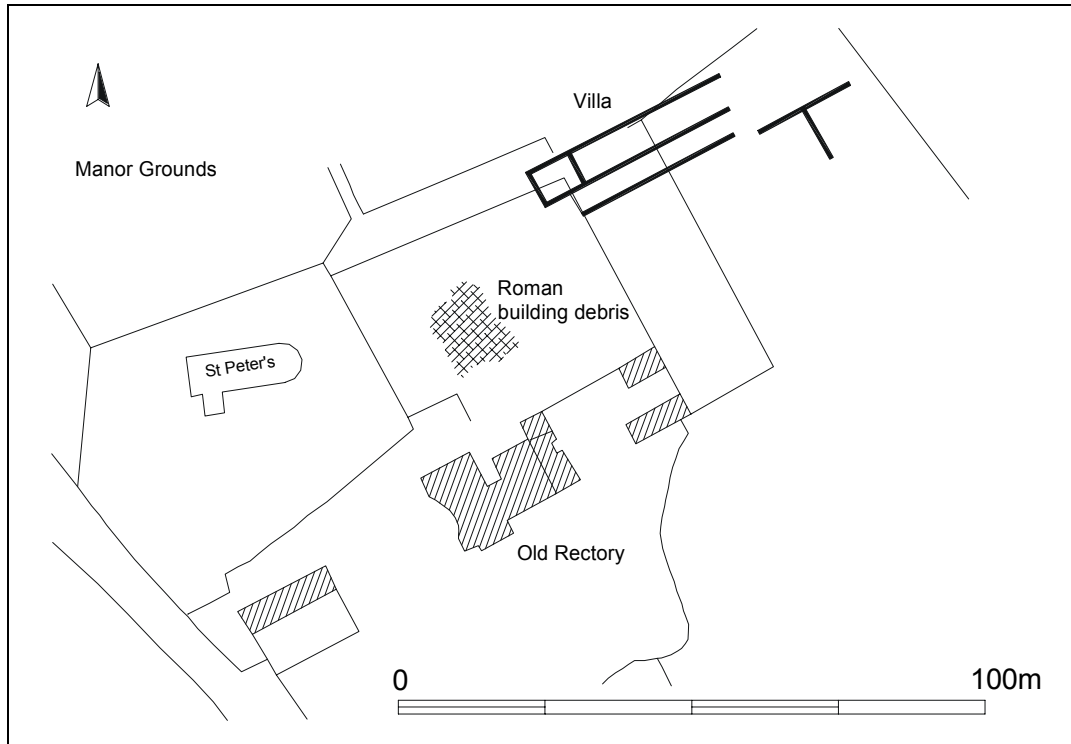


Figure 72 – Manningford Bruce (after Johnson and Walters 1988, fig. 5).

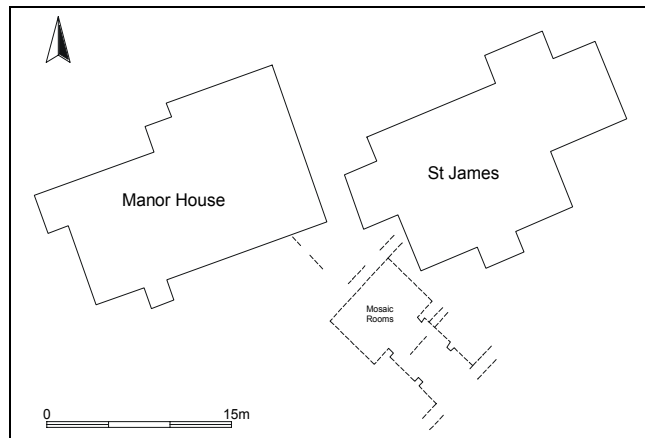


Figure 73 – Cherhill (after Johnson and Walters 1988, fig. 1).

The majority of the catalogue is composed of very fragmentary references, usually indicating the presence of a Roman building, but little else. A few examples will suffice to round off the section, and give a flavour of those sites which make up the remainder of the catalogue:

At Higham Ferrers (Northants) 'a few years before 1838, what were thought to be "hot baths of Roman construction" were found in the castle yard near the church. No proper notice was taken and no account kept'.⁴⁹⁶ The *VCH* believes this identification to be in doubt, as the 'baths' were not seen by an expert and no subsequent remains have been found. However, a Roman capital was later found nearby, somewhere between the R Nene and the fishponds, so the identification may be valid.⁴⁹⁷ At Feltwell (Norfolk) an unpublished bath-house was excavated in 1964 at Glebe Farm immediately north of St

⁴⁹⁶ *VCH Northants* I, 218.

⁴⁹⁷ Woodfield 1978, 79.

Nicholas' church, part of an otherwise unexplored villa suggested by Romano-British debris that are spread out over a c.300m area. A plan of the bath-house has been published, but this is not an area plan, and it does not show the relationship of the bath-house to the church.⁴⁹⁸ At Snodland (Kent), foundations were uncovered in 1884 in two fields called 'church field' and 'stone grave field', adjacent to All Saints church.⁴⁹⁹ A brief mention in *Arch. J.* in 1845 records the foundations of two buildings and Roman building debris on the site, and that the Medway had eroded part of a bank that consisted largely of Roman material.⁵⁰⁰ In 1854 Wright made 'slight excavations' (actually at least several trenches) that uncovered further foundations *in situ*. Wright also records that a bath-house was discovered here c.1814 and reburied shortly thereafter.⁵⁰¹ No plan exists, or any indication of the structures' alignment. In other instances the evidence is even more slight, even less conclusive: at Copford (Essex) Roman finds from the churchyard and foundations of an unknown date have been reported in the grounds of the hall adjacent to the church.⁵⁰² The *VCH* does not mention the villa (unless these are the remains found at Copford Hall at TL 932231), nor is a villa listed in the 4th ed. Map of Roman Britain.⁵⁰³ However, in 1949, tile, pot and brick fragments were found in the grounds of the hall, in land that had been ploughed apparently for the first time in two hundred years – just enough evidence to suggest with confidence that a Roman building is to be found nearby.⁵⁰⁴

This section, introducing the nature of the evidence of churches associated with Roman buildings, has attempted to show the range evidence underlying the 170 churches associated with Roman villas in the corpus. It has aimed to show that the proportion of well-excavated sites is very small, and that much of what has been said previously of churches and Roman villas is based on a very small number of known sites.

3.2.4.2 *Antiquarian Examples: Lyminge, Castor and Woodchester*

A number of villas within the corpus have been explored in previous centuries, and it is worth introducing three of them here for the purposes of illustrating both the archaeological potential of these sites, and the frustration that accompanies the reliance on antiquarian excavations for many of the sites within the gazetteer.

At Lyminge, St Æthelburh founded a church on the remains of a villa, perhaps specifically on its bath-house, soon after the death of Edwin and her return to Kent in 633 (Figure 74). Evidence of further structures is suggested by mounds of ruined masonry that were visible in the meadow to the south of the church until the nineteenth century.⁵⁰⁵ A bath-house is suggested because of the curious circular shape of the Roman building that underlies the apse of the Anglo-Saxon church. It is worth noting that Jenkins also mentions that 'fragments of very early work have been found here from time to time, and a foundation of considerable size, built with a very rude concrete, un-like both the Roman and the later mixtures, was disinterred in the field adjoining the church some years since. It was built in the form of a church, and of rude, unhewn stones; but the concrete was so

⁴⁹⁸ Gregory 1982, fig. 9.

⁴⁹⁹ *VCH Kent* III, 124.

⁵⁰⁰ *Arch. J.* 1 (1845), 164.

⁵⁰¹ Wright 1854, 189.

⁵⁰² *RCHME Essex* III, 76.

⁵⁰³ *VCH Essex* III, 123.

⁵⁰⁴ Rodwell and Rodwell 1977, 104.

⁵⁰⁵ Jenkins 1874.

perishable that the whole building, founded only on blocks of chalk and large fragments of the concrete facing of a Roman building (some of it painted red), fell to pieces by degrees, and has now entirely disappeared'.⁵⁰⁶ It is difficult to speculate upon what this other structure could be: perhaps another part of Æthelburh's monastery, or (if he is describing painted plaster) another building of the Roman complex. See Figure 75, a contemporary sketch of what appears to be the underlying Roman remains.

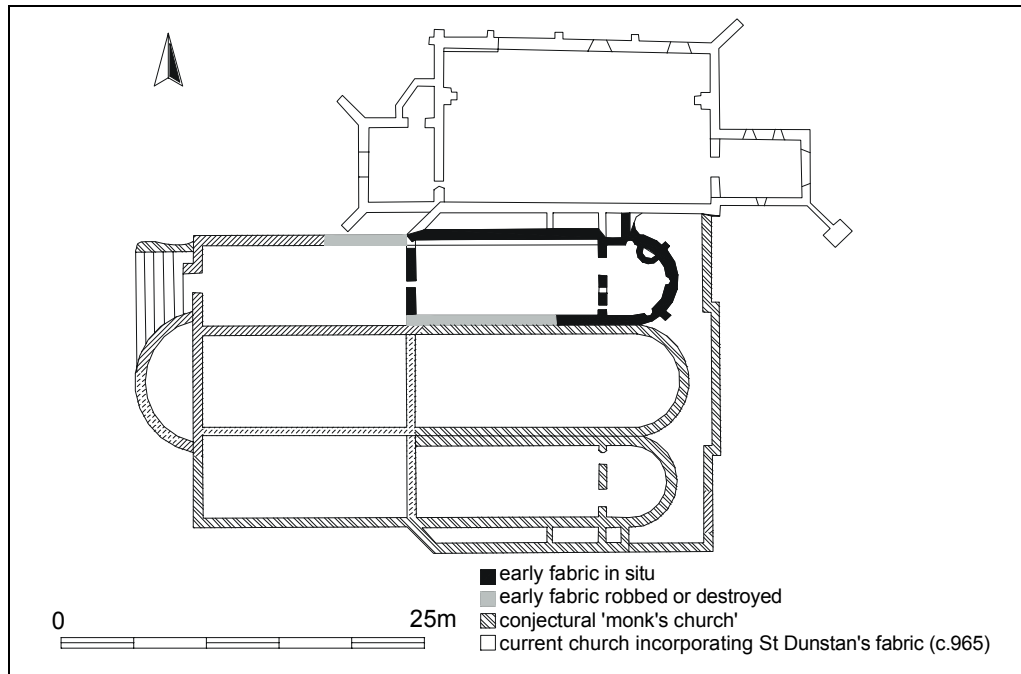


Figure 74 – Lyminge (after Taylor 1969, fig. 26, and Jenkins 1876, opp. cii).

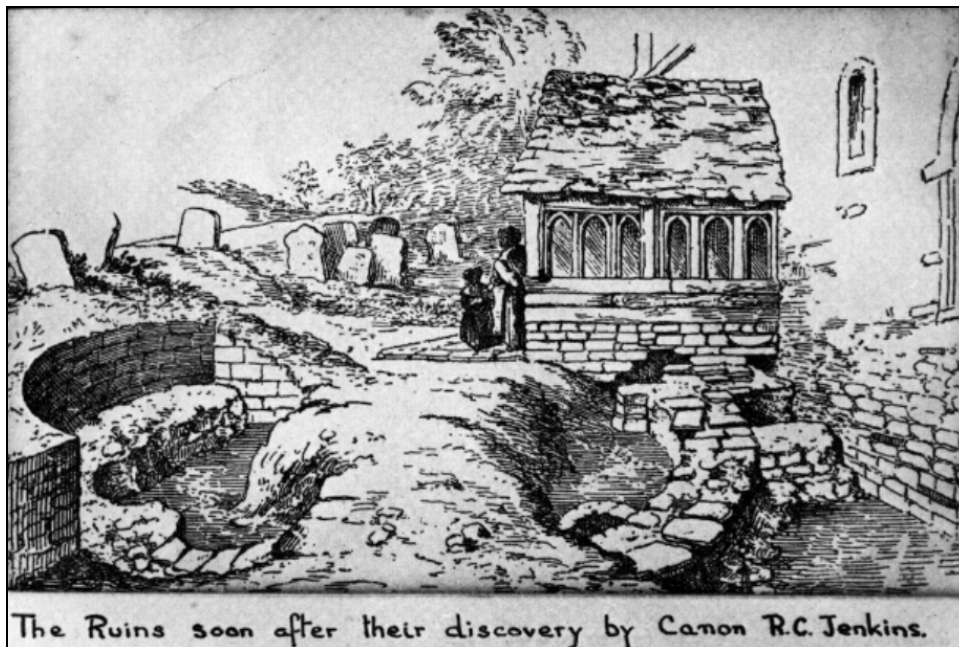


Figure 75 – Lyminge: a contemporary sketch of the underlying ?Roman remains (Taylor 1969, Plate xx).

⁵⁰⁶ Jenkins 1874, 212.

Similar to Lyminge is the site at Castor, north-east of Water Newton, Roman *Durobrivium*, where the church of St Cyneburh overlies a large Roman complex that has been alternatively identified as an official residence, a large villa, or rural sanctuary.⁵⁰⁷ Little is known of the origins of the church: traces of Saxon masonry, and Roman brick and tile are visible within its fabric, which in its current form dates largely from 1124; Pevsner notes the existence of Roman herringbone brickwork just south of the church but provides no further details.⁵⁰⁸ Cyneburh was the third of four daughters of Penda, king of Mercia, and married Alhfrith, King of Northumbria. She came with her sister St Cyneswith to Castor c.650, and subsequently built a nunnery, probably on the site of the current church. The only documentary evidence for the nunnery comes from John of Tynemouth in the fourteenth century: he places the site, called by its inhabitants 'Castre', on the bank of Nene about two miles from Peterborough.

The existence of underlying Roman building is not in doubt: Artis' excavations in the early nineteenth century showed that the area all around the church and under the churchyard is bristling with Roman structures (see the frontispiece to this thesis, and Figure 76). However, Artis only left a pictorial account of his activities in the area;⁵⁰⁹ more recently Charles Green discovered evidence of Middle Saxon settlement over a Roman building in 1957-58, in the south extension of the churchyard.⁵¹⁰ The building showed several signs of post-Roman activity, including a hut and pits of mid-Saxon date. More recent excavation by J. P. Wild and G. B. Dannell in the garden of 'Elmlea' (about 130m north of Green's excavation, north of the church) found two sunken huts cut through Roman flooring, and a pit which contained 80 middle Saxon potsherds, iron knives, a pair of shears, a triangular wrist-strap, and a bone comb with incised decoration.⁵¹¹ The NMR concludes that these fit a date of 655-680. These features may be associated with the foundation of St Cyneburh. Clearly more excavation is needed here, but it is apparent that a large Roman building, or complex of Roman buildings, underlies the entire area enclosed by the road, and at least 100m to the north-east.

⁵⁰⁷ Burnham and Wachter 1990, 87.

⁵⁰⁸ Pevsner Northants, 146.

⁵⁰⁹ See Trollope 1873 for an attempt to 'make sense' of Artis' plans and engravings.

⁵¹⁰ NMR records TL 19 NW 10, TL 19 NW 12.

⁵¹¹ NMR records TL 19 NW 10, TL 19 NW 12.

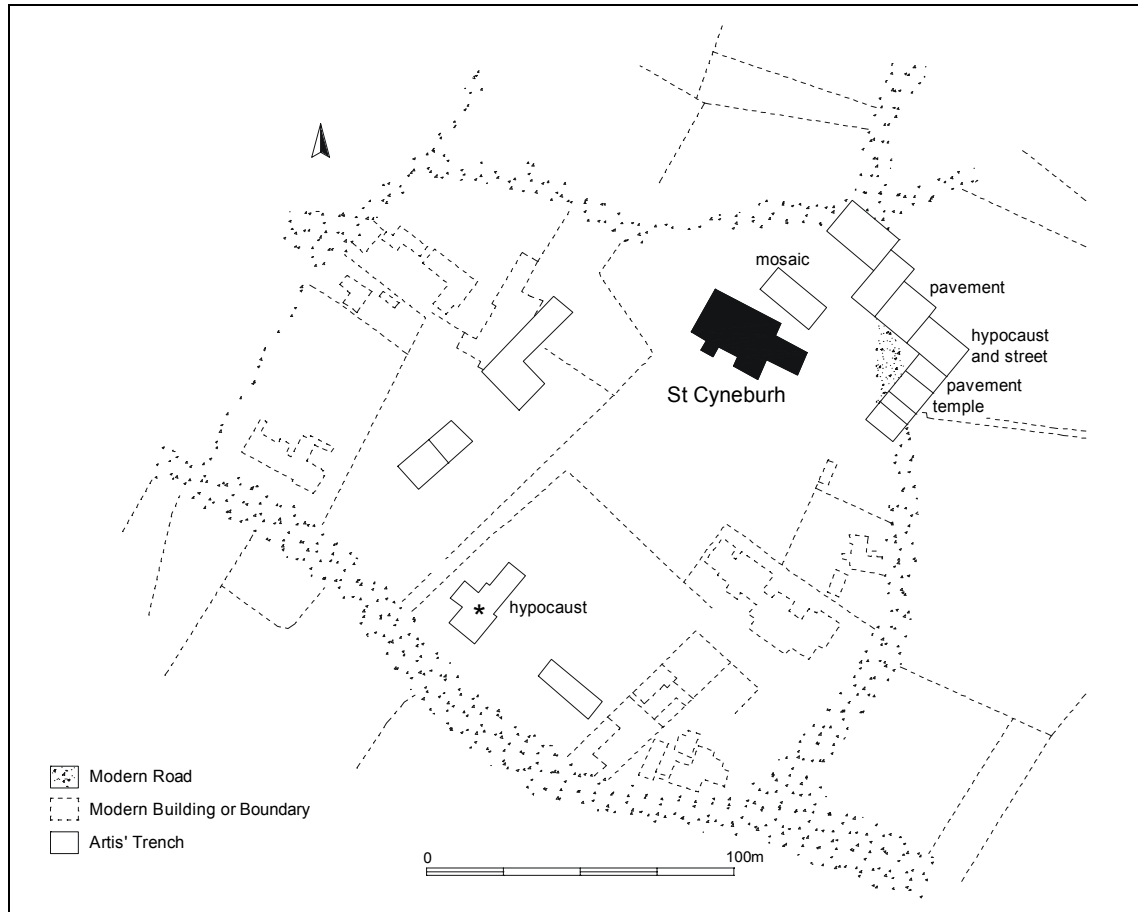


Figure 76 – Castor: a plan showing the areas of Artis' excavations to the north-east and south-west of the church. The plate reproduced in the frontispiece of this thesis illustrates the trench marked with an asterisk (*) on this plan, to the south-west of the church (After Artis 1828, pl. 13, plan 1 and OS 1:2500 TL 1298).

The Roman villa complex at Woodchester may show what could be underlying Castor church and village: at Woodchester, the church of St Mary has been known to lie over a Roman building since the early eighteenth century: Roman pavements were first discovered here in 1712 and 1722 and were excavated by Lysons in 1793; he subsequently illustrated and published these in 1797. The church, demolished in 1832, sat within the north end of the villa complex and was aligned to the buildings beneath; Lysons' plan shows further foundations directly beneath the chancel (Figure 77). Although the foundations under the church remain unexplored, it is clear that the underlying structure continues to the north, perhaps to the northern boundary of the churchyard itself. The site of the famous Orpheus mosaic is visible today as a sunken rectangle within the churchyard. The first historical reference to this site comes from an early eighth-century grant of three hides of wooded land at *Uducestre* to the Bishop of Worcester by Æthelbald of Mercia.⁵¹² Another agreement of 896 confirming this grant records that its boundaries were walked by '*se ceastersetna preost*'⁵¹³ - this could be interpreted as 'the priest of the people settled around [Wood]chester', or simply 'the priest of the people settled around the chester', i.e. Worcester.

⁵¹² Clarke 1982, 223

⁵¹³ Sawyer No. 1441

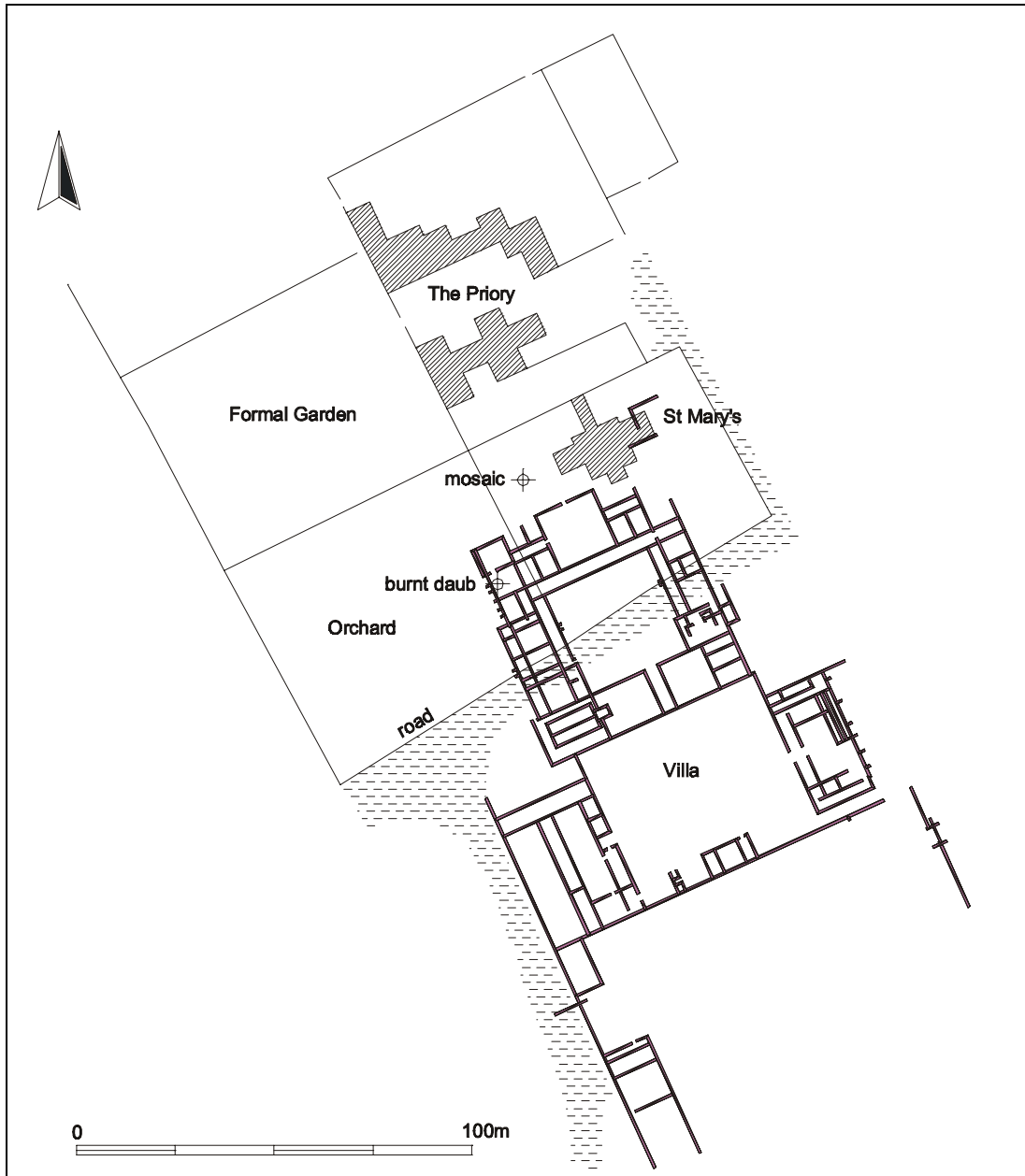


Figure 77 – Woodchester (after Lysons 1797, pl. v; and Clarke 1982 figs. 1 & 6).

The villa was clearly constructed on a palatial scale, built around three distinct courtyards. The church itself is orientated to the villa, apparently built on the lines of the Roman walls themselves. The large, square room to the south-west of the church is the main entrance hall of the villa, and has been reconstructed as a tetrapylon, an example of some of the most exotic Roman architecture in Britain.⁵¹⁴ Excavations in 1973 found possible suggestions of post Roman activity in a layer of burnt daub overlying 30cm of (presumably Roman) debris in Room 9, which the excavator describes as being 'indicative of a structure of some sort'.⁵¹⁵

These three sites, Lyminge, Castor, and Woodchester, demonstrate the richness and variety of the archaeology, and the potential for examining how these Roman villas came

⁵¹⁴ Walters 1996, 153 & fig. 13.4.

⁵¹⁵ Clarke 1974, 17.

to be the sites of medieval churches. The church at Lyminge was investigated thoroughly by the Victorians, although little is known of the underlying structures, even if they are indeed Roman. At Woodchester the situation is reversed: the villa has been thoroughly excavated, but nothing of the church is known. At Castor, the situation is again different, as we know neither the plan nor indeed the nature of the underlying Roman structure(s), nor do we know how the church evolved on the site. At each site great potential for investigation remains, but will probably have to wait until the professional climate is more conducive to the exploration of sites about which it is believed we know a great deal.

3.2.4.3 *Topographic Examples: Much Wenlock and Faversham*

Two further examples are discussed below to present an indication of the scale of these sites, and to demonstrate that the relationship of a church and Roman building is rarely simply an aspect of the distance that separates the two. They further show the impact that Roman remains can have on the subsequent development of an ecclesiastical topography.

The villas at Castor and Woodchester make it quite clear that the size of some of these villa complexes underlying the church can be quite large, and we cannot therefore easily ascribe an arbitrary cut-off distance for the villa and church to be associated, even if it lies two- or even three-hundred metres away. It is known that a number of early Christian sites in England are multi-focal, and even though an existing church may be some distance from a villa, we cannot assume that this will have been the only church or chapel on the site.

Such a multi-focal site was the complex at Much Wenlock in Shropshire, the archaeology of which is particularly controversial. Whatever its specific character, the early Christian presence at Much Wenlock is very exciting. Early charters refer to the site as *Wimnicensis*, where Milburg was sent to govern an existing double religious house in the seventh century.⁵¹⁶ There were at least two churches on the site from a very early date, Holy Trinity and St Milburga. An Italian hagiographer writing in 1101 describes the discovery of the saint's relics during 'restoration work in the monastery of the Holy Trinity which is about a 'stone's throw' from the church of St Milburga',⁵¹⁷ William of Malmesbury also mentions a 'very ancient house of nuns'.⁵¹⁸ The identification of this 'ancient' church with the extant church of the Holy Trinity is still uncertain – c.100 metres is a feasible, but not casual, stone's throw – and the possibility remains that there may have been an additional church or churches associated with the monastic complex.

Other early activity on the site, although not necessarily Christian, is attested by three burials (two female and one male) found 60 metres south of the church of the Holy Trinity (SO 62379990), carbon dated to AD530-760 and AD230-440 at 1σ; AD120-560 and AD960-1220 at 2σ.⁵¹⁹ Although unaccompanied, their south-west/north-east orientation could suggest a pre-Christian origin. Further topographical indications of seventh century activity is suggested by St Owen's well, which lies to the immediate west of Holy Trinity church; Woods suggests that two possible candidates are St Owin (*fl.*

⁵¹⁶ Woods 1987, 36-39 provides a topographical and historical summary. Milburg was preceded by Liobsynde. For the charter evidence see Finberg 1961, 197-216.

⁵¹⁷ Woods 1987, 37: The *Miracula Inventionis Beata Mylburge Virginis* (ed. P. A. Hayward 1999).

⁵¹⁸ *De Gestis Regnum*, ii, 13 in Walcott 1877, 76.

⁵¹⁹ Woods 1987, 38; Staelens 1985, Staelens 1995. See the radiocarbon appendix for the most recent calibrations.

672) or St Owen (*ob.* 684).⁵²⁰ In all, the variety of activity on the site clearly indicates a complex with several religious foci.

The excavations of 1901⁵²¹ and 1962-63⁵²² revealed a first-phase masonry structure under and aligned to the current abbey crossing, which was interpreted as the initial, seventh century Anglo-Saxon church. More recently, selective re-excavation was carried out through the mid 1980s, also on the ruins of the abbey. Woods' report of his excavations, which were undertaken in a keyhole-like manner on a very small scale, concludes that this early structure is in fact of a Roman date, and that one or more of these early walls was standing until being levelled in the eleventh century.⁵²³ However, this interpretation is fiercely questioned by Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle, who argue that the masonry remains are consistent with an Anglo-Saxon fabric, and that the few Roman finds are residual.⁵²⁴

The structure in question is shown below in Figure 78, under the crossing: however far one may wish initially to take Woods' interpretation, it is undeniable that the niched or apsidal building underlying the current chancel and aligned with the Romanesque presbytery directly influenced the position and alignment of the subsequent churches. To the south, the church of the Holy Trinity and the *frater* are on a slightly different alignment.

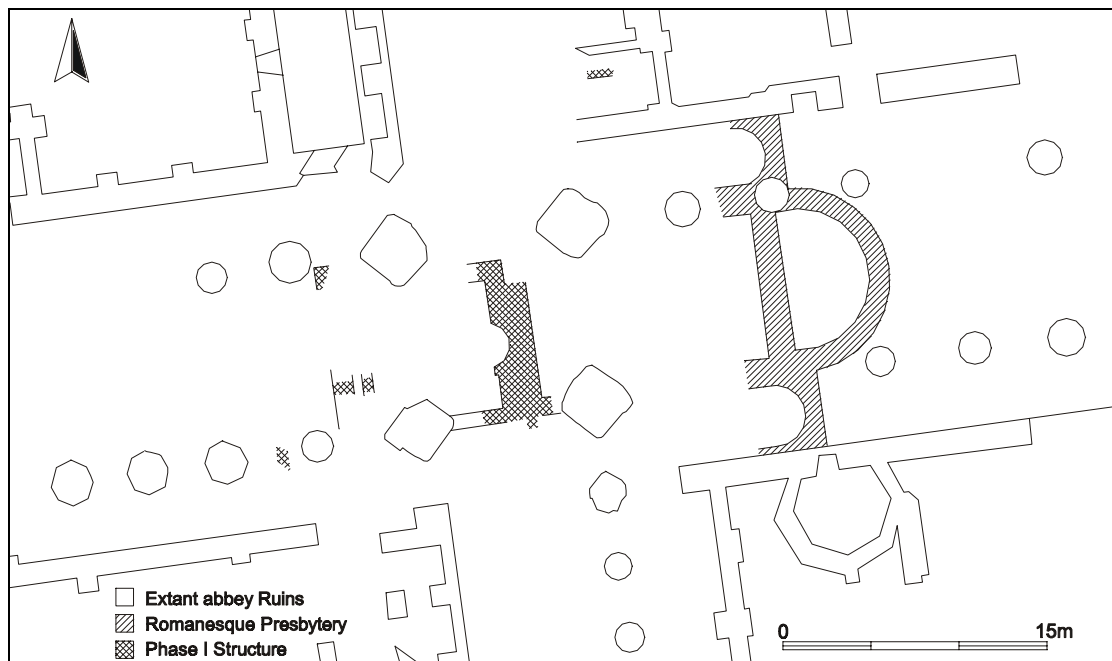


Figure 78 – Much Wenlock: a detail of the apsidal structures found within the Romanesque presbytery (after Woods 1987, fig. 2).

The foundation of Woods' chronology is based on Layer 62A in Trench B, a 'black, clayey midden containing charcoal, mortar, animal bone and four pieces of human bone'; also found within this context were a tessera, three sherds of Roman pottery and a decorative strip of silver, the latter dated (presumably by Woods) to AD 590-730.⁵²⁵

⁵²⁰ Woods 1987, 38.

⁵²¹ Cranage 1922.

⁵²² Dudley *et al.* 1965.

⁵²³ Woods 1987, 58-9.

⁵²⁴ Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1988.

⁵²⁵ Woods 1987, 49, 59.

Woods supports his interpretation with two radiocarbon dates of Cal AD850+/-80 and Cal AD660+/-70; he is inclined to believe the latter date more reliable.⁵²⁶ The masonry wall in Trench B (Wall 52) consists of rendered plaster over 'alternating courses of flat laid stones and small rubble', which Woods describes as being 'characteristic of the Roman period'.⁵²⁷ Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle disagree with this interpretation, noting that the Roman material is largely residual material from later contexts. Furthermore, Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle note that, despite Woods' claim to the contrary, he cites uncalibrated radiocarbon dates, and they provide the calibrated dates of AD880-1010 and AD660-785 at 1σ, and AD 725-1040 and AD630-890 at 2σ.⁵²⁸ These samples have been recalibrated in Appendix 5.4 using the latest calibration tables, and produce a complex result. The Biddles are certainly correct that the artefacts from such an important site should have been analysed and published with greater rigour.

Although the Roman artefacts at Much Wenlock are few and stratigraphically far-between, their presence on the site is in itself suggestive of, at the very least, a Roman structure nearby, if not directly under the current abbey. The idea of a Roman building somewhere at Much Wenlock fits well within this thesis, in part because Woods has shown its plausibility, and such a direct reuse is far from uncommon. The first-phase semi-circular structure of about 2.5 metres in diameter is important, and could be a niche.⁵²⁹ Such inscribed niches are not uncommon architectural features in Romano-British domestic architecture, and the current author cannot cite any single instance of the occurrence of such an inscribed apse in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical architecture. Further possible support of the building's being Roman is suggested in its alignment: the phase I structure and its subsequent churches is aligned 9° off the east/west axis, while the *frater* and Holy Trinity are aligned directly on east/west (Figure 79). This observation can be used to support Woods' hypothesis: the phase I structure is in fact the reuse of a Roman building on the existing alignment, and subsequent Christian structures (Holy Trinity church and the *frater*) built further away from the ?villa complex could adopt a more orthodox east/west alignment. Holy Trinity has long been considered to have an Anglo-Saxon origin, but a recent re-interpretation of the standing architecture has questioned this.⁵³⁰

⁵²⁶ Woods 1987, 50.

⁵²⁷ Woods 1987, 51.

⁵²⁸ Biddle and Kjølbye-Biddle 1988, tables 1&2.

⁵²⁹ Woods 1987, 58.

⁵³⁰ Cox and Watson 1987.

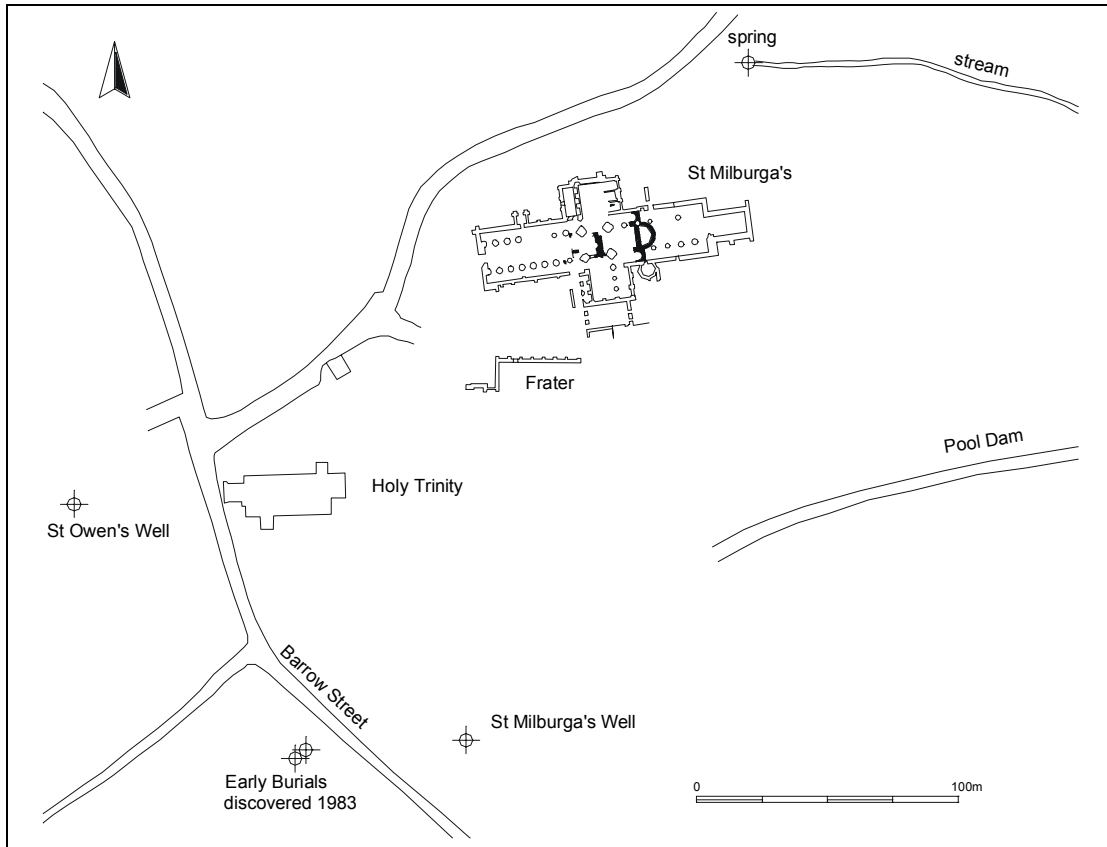


Figure 79 – Much Wenlock: an area plan (after Woods 1987, figs. 1 & 2).

Place-name evidence may shed some light on the post-Roman use of the site. Gelling suggests that the place-name may derive in part from the Welsh *gwyn*, meaning white, plus *loch*, which may be derived from the Latin 'locus', or 'religious place'.⁵³¹ While Gelling also entertains the idea that the *gwyn/wen* element may be referring to the local limestone of Wenlock edge, the *-white* based placename of other sites with both Roman structures and churches cannot be ignored (page 20). Further to this point, Woods' excavation of Wall 52 revealed that it had a 'spread of white-washed wall plaster' which had collapsed face-down onto the ground surface over context 62B. Because it was not found below this level, it appears to have been applied after the development of the (?post-Roman) ground surface.⁵³² Above this lies the 'midden' context of 62A from which the two radiocarbon samples were taken. It therefore seems likely that the plaster was applied to the Roman wall *after* the Roman period and the development of the midden. If so, we could be looking at the possible 'fixing up' of a Roman structure in the post-Roman period. Woods presents the hypothesis that the whitewash on Wall 52 is a remnant of the seventh-century restoration work, a conversion of the Roman building into a church by the monks perhaps contemporary with the construction of new buildings, possibly including the Church of the Holy Trinity, were constructed a short distance away for the nuns.⁵³³ It may be that the use of the white-based placename on these sites is not necessarily referring to the masonry itself, but rather to their appearance following a restorative whitewash.

⁵³¹ Gelling and Foxall 1990, 304.

⁵³² Woods 1987, 59.

⁵³³ Woods 1987, 59.

The keyhole nature of Woods' and previous excavations does not allow the body of evidence needed to settle the matter conclusively, but it has shown that Much Wenlock is a complex, archaeologically rich, multi-focal Christian site, well deserving of a proper research agenda. The archaeological suggestions of the place-name and geographical factors are themselves consistent with other churches associated with Roman buildings seen in this study. Whitby is a particularly close parallel: each currently has an abbey and church within 100 metres, each was re-founded in the eleventh century, each had an abbess with royal connections sent in to govern an existing foundation (although this remains somewhat unclear at Whitby), and each has seventh century burials in association outside the perceived monastic boundary.⁵³⁴

At Faversham (Kent) the situation is different, but here too Roman remains appear to have affected the subsequent development of the church and town. Roman foundations have been found to the north and south of the chancel of the church of St Mary, and a Roman altar and bricks were found on the site in 1755. Faversham is laid out on a planned grid, about 22° from an east/west orientation, with the church of St Mary in the centre. The foundations of a Roman villa on the same alignment were uncovered to the east of the Norman abbey during excavations in 1965.⁵³⁵ The finds within the churchyard and the abbey suggest a complex of Roman structures, probably all on a similar alignment, between Faversham Creek and the stream formed by the spring to the south. The site of Faversham is evidently a minster, though poorly documented, called 'oppidum regis' in 811. Tatton-Brown cites a late Saxon west end to the nave of the church.⁵³⁶ A possible suggestion of an Anglo-Saxon burial nearby is hinted at by the discovery of part of a skull with an Anglo-Saxon green glass cup during grave digging in 1853.⁵³⁷

⁵³⁴ See the English Heritage online interim reports for this recent excavation: <http://www.english.gov.uk/projects/whitby/wahpsae/>.

⁵³⁵ Philp 1968.

⁵³⁶ Tatton-Brown 1988, 110.

⁵³⁷ Meaney 1964, 230.

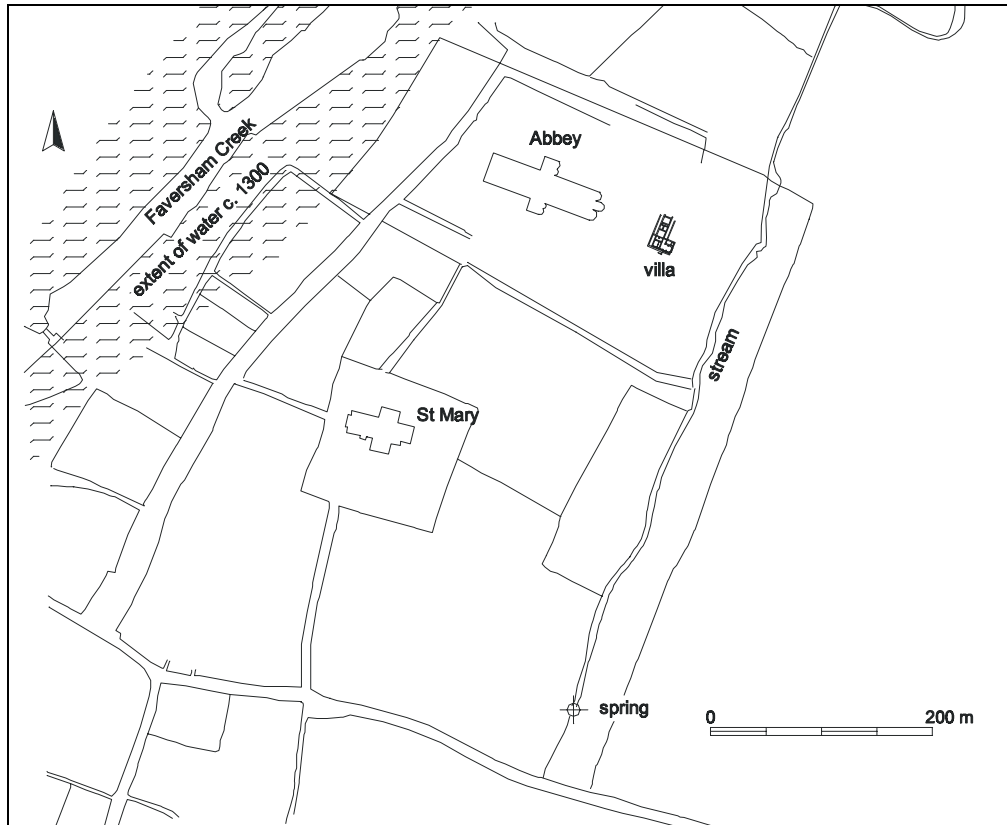


Figure 80 – Faversham (after Philp 1968, fig. 3 (in which the scale is 50% out); Philp 1968, fig. 21; and Edward Jacob: Map of Faversham, 1774 (Bodleian: Gough Maps Kent 38), scaled and redrawn by John Blair (pers. comm.) over the OS 1:2500 TR 0161).

At Faversham we see a topography that is not dissimilar from Much Wenlock: a parish church existing on a separate site from the later, post-Conquest establishment. One of the more interesting observations is that even the Norman abbey with no known Saxon antecedent is aligned to the villa, while the church of St Mary, over 200m from the excavated part of the villa, is nearly on the same alignment as well. Why did the Norman builders forsake a liturgically correct alignment here, when in so many other instances they realigned the post-Conquest churches to true east/west? The answer appears, in part, to have a topographical origin: the area of Faversham is bounded on the west by Faversham Creek, and on the east by a small stream, running almost parallel, issuing from a spring to the north. The area in between is nicely 'framed' by the two, and the villa appears to have been aligned on this NNE/SSW orientation. What we can assume happened thereafter is that the subsequent development of the site took the same alignment: the church, which may be on or adjacent to a Roman building, took the same orientation; the town was then planned around the church, on its orientation. The orientation of the abbey, therefore, was probably not influenced by the Roman building, but rather by the town itself.

3.2.4.4 Evidence Summary

This section of the thesis has introduced the archaeology of churches associated with Roman buildings, and has shown the range of evidence that is available for these sites, primarily for the purpose of highlighting the dangers of establishing conclusions based on a handful of excavated sites. The examples of Faversham and Much Wenlock demonstrate that there are concerns of topography involved, and we can neither assume that a Roman building was standing simply because it and a later church share the same

orientation, nor can we immediately assume that a church is *not* associated with a Roman building because the distance between the two is too great.

The origins and development of these sites are addressed in the concluding chapter, Section 4.3, page 204ff.

3.2.5 Minor Place-names: *Church Field* and *Chapel Field*

In 1855, Beesley was familiar enough with the archaeology of Oxfordshire and the surrounding region to remark that 'spots having the word 'church' as part of their names, have also frequently furnished Roman antiquities'.⁵³⁸ His use of the term 'spots' suggests that he was referring to local place-names and field-names, rather than larger parish place-names. Many of these field-names have been lost, changed, or forgotten in the 150 years since Beesley wrote, and they are rarely recorded or noted today. Older excavation reports usually included a fieldname to locate a site in the days before the Ordnance Survey's ascription of field numbers. Today, grid references are used to locate sites, and, as such, few field-names have found their way into the excavation literature.

Morris and Roxan note that fields called 'Church Field' or 'Glebe Field' are owned by the church, and usually denote portions of land set aside for the support of the church and its incumbent, and as such are perfectly normal components of the local landscape.⁵³⁹ John Blair suggests that 'such names are often clues to lost churches or chapels',⁵⁴⁰ and a small number of Roman sites within this corpus lie in fields whose names contain 'church' or 'chapel' (Table 14). Morris and Roxan suggest that the convenient explanation of a derelict Roman building's forming part of the endowment of a church – as a quarry, or incentive to clear intractable ground – is open to question, especially as several church fields have produced pre-Conquest sculpture, and may indeed have been the site of a church, chapel, or cemetery.⁵⁴¹ In short, these field-names are very significant pointers towards possible churches on Roman sites, especially when such a fieldname lies some distance from the nearest known church or chapel.

No dedicated study of such field-names has been undertaken, and this thesis does not attempt one. It instead confines itself to exploring three possible explanations for this coincidence of Roman structure and church or chapel place-names:

1. A church owns the plot of land in which the villa lies (glebe land), and the field has obtained its name from this relationship. In these cases, the church's ownership of land associated with Roman remains is still significant.
2. No church or chapel ever existed on the site, but the masonry ruins simply evoked the appearance of a ruined church to later generations – a very real possibility that may have occurred in the period after the reformation.
3. A church or chapel once existed on or near the Roman structure, but has since been demolished and/or forgotten.

⁵³⁸ Beesley 1855, 19-20.

⁵³⁹ Morris and Roxan 1980, 185.

⁵⁴⁰ Blair 1986, 66.

⁵⁴¹ Morris and Roxan 1980, 185.

Table 14 – Fieldnames of sites within the corpus containing 'church' or 'chapel'.

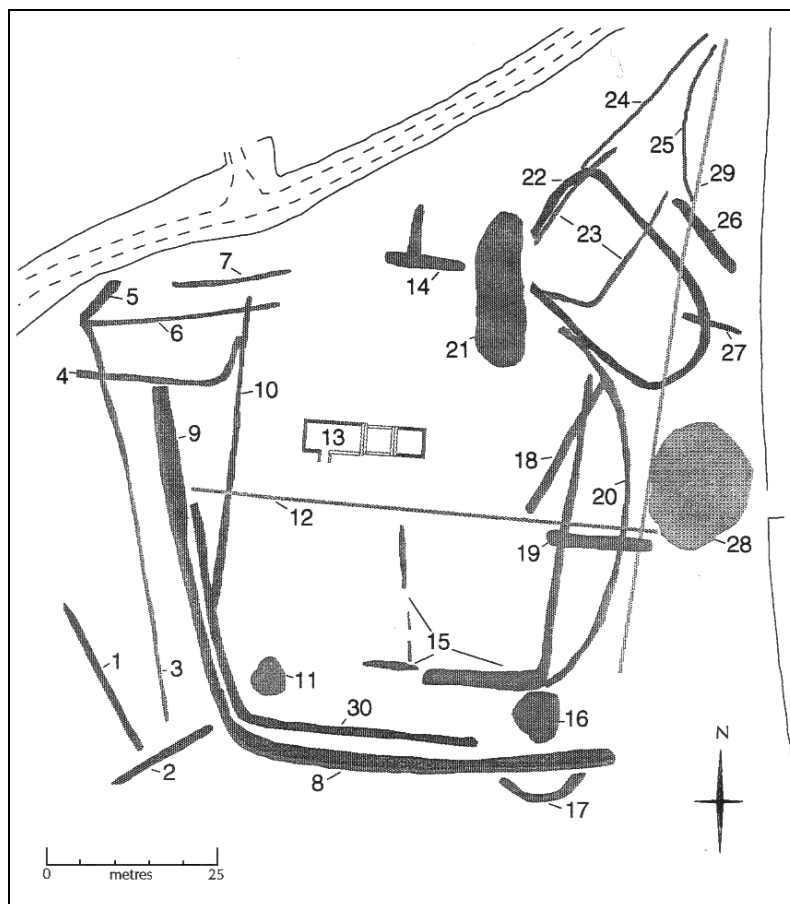
Site	County	fieldname
Abington Park	Cambs	Sunken Church Field
Banwell - Winthill	Somerset	Chapel Leases or Chapel Close (church 700m to N)
Bartlow	Essex	Church Field (near church)
Bawdrip	Somerset	Churchie Bushes (glebe land)
Lillyhorn	Gloucs	Church Piece (church 1.5 miles away)
East Ness	Yorks N	Chapel Field
Folkestone	Kent	Chapel Field (5km NE of nearest church)
Hadstock	Essex	Sunken Church Field (1 mile from church)
Hartley	Kent	Chapel Wood (1.1km to E)
Ickham	Kent	'Church Ure' or 'Church Oare' (church 700m away)
Ightham	Kent	Church Field (near church)
Lillyhorn	Gloucs	Church Piece (church 1.5 miles away)
Loughor	Glam	'Rhandir Eglwys' W of the church in 1828
Lower Basildon	Berks	Church Field (church 400m to E)
Milton	Kent	Church Field (adjacent to church)
Preston Candover	Hants	Chapel Field (church 1.6km to E)
Roxby	Lincs	Church Field (near church)
Sarratt	Herts	Church Field (1.45km from nearest church)
Shapwick	Somerset	Old Church Field
Snodland	Kent	Church Field & stone grave field (near church)
Stow	Shrops	Church Field
Titsey	Surrey	Church Field
Whitley	Shrops	Chapel Field

This is not a complete dataset, as the fieldname is recorded for only 10% of the church sites within the gazetteer, and of course no fieldname is available when Roman remains are discovered below extant churches, or in urban locations. Of the above sites, only three fields are near or adjacent to an extant or known church: Bartlow (Essex), Milton (Kent), Roxby (Lincs), and Shapwick.

With further study, the third explanation may prove to be increasingly common, but only at Shapwick have the architectural elements of the church been found, mainly because we are particularly fortunate that the site has been the subject of an intensive field study by the University of Bristol since the late eighties.⁵⁴² At Shapwick, field 4016 on the Ordnance Survey has been recorded as 'Old Church Field' since at least 1515. Excavation in 1993 and geophysical survey in 1997 confirmed the remains of the Anglo-Saxon church of St Andrew, the predecessor of the current church which was moved from field 4016 to its present site sometime between 1327 and 1331 (Figure 81).

⁵⁴² The following summary is taken from M. Aston *et al.* (eds.), *The Shapwick Project*, (Annual Reports, 1989-present).

Figure 81 – Shapwick: the interpretation of the geophysical results on Old Church Field; the 'old church' is visible as feature 13 (Aston 1998, fig. 8).



Furthermore, under the remains of the church in Old Church Field was found a Roman building, but its nature remains unconfirmed; the most recent season's fieldwork has discovered another site nearby at ST425395, a massive Roman villa, which may suggest (assuming that one would not expect two villas within 1.3km of each other) that the building in Old Church Field is something other than a simple domestic structure.⁵⁴³

Of further interest along these lines is the Roman villa that underlies three fields at Winthill, near Banwell in Somerset: 'Chapel Leaze', 'Chapel Field', and 'Chapel Yard'. The archaeology of Winthill is discussed in detail above on page 93, but it is worth reiterating here that the west/east aligned burials and 'tradition' surrounding the site may well support the identification of Winthill as the site of the documented pre-Conquest minster at 'Banwell'.⁵⁴⁴ The case of St Botolph's Chapel at Folkestone (in chapel field) is detailed elsewhere (page 112), but here there also appears to have been a medieval chapel on the site, which today is unfortunately completely built over by modern development. At East Ness in North Yorkshire, a Roman site of an unknown nature lies in 'chapel field'. Many Roman coins and up to three stone coffins (including R.I.B. 720) have come from the site, but trial trenching in 1929 found nothing. Scott notes that 'it has been suggested that a villa is the most probable type of site to have produced the inscribed stone coffin R.I.B. 720 and the numerous coins found in the locality'.⁵⁴⁵ She also notes (pers. comm. Herman Ramm) that 'in local tradition the site is conflated with finds of medieval coffins

⁵⁴³ pers. comm. Nick Corcos.

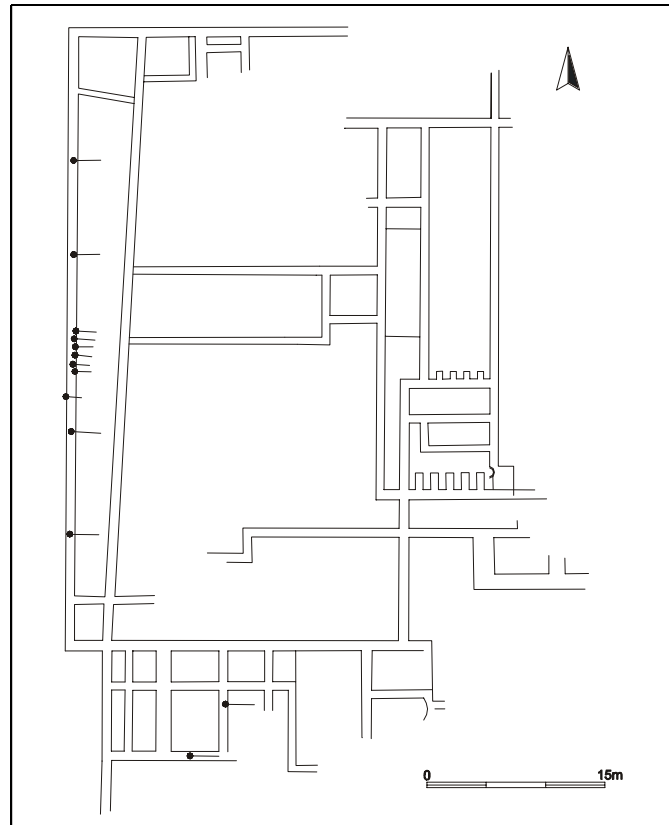
⁵⁴⁴ See the gazetteer entry for Winthill for an extensive bibliography of the site.

⁵⁴⁵ Scott 1993, 150.

by the site of a former chapel'.⁵⁴⁶ Clarke refers to a 'supposed existence of a medieval chapel' here, but it remains unclear whether there is any evidence for a medieval chapel here beyond the place-name.⁵⁴⁷

It is very possible that west/east burials on Roman structures could, like Winthill, be the only remaining evidence of a forgotten church on a Roman building. A very good candidate for such a church or chapel is the large courtyard villa and small cemetery that were excavated at Scampton in Lincolnshire in 1795.⁵⁴⁸ Over 22 inhumations were found on the site (Illingworth's Plate 5, fig. 1 shows eleven inhumations within the long N/S corridor, but his text describes 'upwards of twenty' in this area alone, plus two others in separate rooms).⁵⁴⁹ The NMR and the SMR cite 20 inhumations. All were unaccompanied (apart from a single bronze Roman finger ring found on a female). Some skeletons were found on the foundation walls, others were enclosed in stone cists; all had their heads to the west. The majority of burials were in Room 1; twenty lay with their heads on the line of the foundations (Figure 82).

Figure 82 – Scampton, Lincolnshire: a large number of west/east aligned graves have been interred in the villa, and the site is associated with the medieval chapel of St Pancras (unlocated) and a holy well of the same name, probably that to the immediate west of the villa (after Illingworth 1810, pl. 5, fig. 1).



Illingworth identified the site with the Chapel of St Pancras: the existence of a well of St Pancras and a chapel of the same name is documented in a C12 charter from the Kirkstead Cartulary, recording the transfer of land from Richard Fitz-Robert of Scampton to the monastery of Kirksted.⁵⁵⁰ Illingworth also records that the chalybeate spring across the road from the villa 'has immemorially been called St Pancras' well; at the bottom of

⁵⁴⁶ Scott 1993, 150.

⁵⁴⁷ Clarke 1935, 81.

⁵⁴⁸ Illingworth 1810 is the only report of the excavations.

⁵⁴⁹ Illingworth 1808, 13.

⁵⁵⁰ Illingworth 1808, 8, note 1

this was a strong flooring of oak, taken up several years ago [before 1795]'.⁵⁵¹ The site remains one of the best candidates for a church or chapel that did not survive into the later middle ages. Scampton is worthy of further research, particularly re-excavation, as Illingworth's plan shows that he did not uncover the entire villa plan, nor were the interiors of most of the rooms fully excavated.⁵⁵²

Few sites within the corpus show such firm evidence of a church on the site of a Roman building. In many cases we lack structural, burial, and documentary evidence, and the church is only alluded to by tradition or is recorded in the fieldname. A further tantalising possibility of one of these medieval churches on a Roman building is in Somerset, where sometime in the mid seventeenth century a villa was discovered in a field called 'churchie bushes', on glebe land, about a half mile east of Bawdrip (Somerset).⁵⁵³ The site is now isolated, and lies c.250m south of the Roman road into Bath. Correspondence from 1689 mentions a 'mosaic discovered in a ploughed field at Bawdrip some years ago'. The *VCH* cites an article by E. H. Brice who cites a statement made by Mr Knott (whose father was the vicar of Bawdrip until 1827) regarding a tessellated pavement that had been found in the glebe land of the parish; Brice himself believes the site to be the site of the medieval chapel called Ford Chantry. It is difficult to offer further comment upon Brice's suggestion, but Bawdrip is another candidate for something similar to Scampton, or perhaps Winthill. It is worth noting that in this particular case the site not only had a church-based place-name, but it was also glebe land, which could suggest a relationship other than simple ownership, and one is to suggest that a chantry chapel is one possibility. In a similar manner, the 'glebe marshes' to the north of Burgh Castle in Suffolk may somehow tie the church to the land surrounding the fort, which has tentatively been identified as the minster founded by Fursa at *Cnobheresburg*'.⁵⁵⁴ No contemporary or extant church structure is confirmed, but post-holes and Anglo-Saxon plaster fragments that may point to a wooden structure have been found further south in the fort. Glebe Land is often divorced from the site of the church, and can in many instances be identified by the site of the parish rectory.⁵⁵⁵ For this reason, Roman buildings that are reported under or near the rectory are worth further investigation, as they will in many instances lie on land that has belonged to the church from a very early period.⁵⁵⁶

In the majority of these cases, the 'Church Field' lies some distance from the nearest church. At Lower Basildon in Berkshire, the remains of a villa were found during the cutting of a railway line in a field called 'church field', which lies between the village and the church of St Bartholomew, about 400m from the latter. Two mosaic pavements were found, but later destroyed by workmen.⁵⁵⁷ Interestingly, this site also has burials nearby: at a distance of about 5 metres from the exposed part of the villa, workmen also found two skeletons, one with a sword, and a part of a wall (presumably part of the villa structure); they also uncovered twenty 'pavements' from 6 to 8 feet long and made of

⁵⁵¹ Illingworth 1808, 13.

⁵⁵² The NMR lists a recent (1973) excavation but no further details are listed. The site is now under plough.

⁵⁵³ The following is from *VCH Somerset* I, 329 and *JRS* 1 (1957), 221-2.

⁵⁵⁴ *H. E.* III, 19; see Pestel 1999 for an examination of early East Anglian monasteries, and the identification of *Cnobheresburg*.

⁵⁵⁵ See Blair 1991, 136-138 for clearly-illustrated examples of how glebe land is often divorced from the churchyard.

⁵⁵⁶ The caveat is, of course, that a medieval glebe will acquire additions at a later period (see Blair 1991, 139 for an example).

⁵⁵⁷ *VCH Suffolk* I, 203.

large flints which they thought to be graves, although only a few pieces of bone were found with them.⁵⁵⁸ It is unclear whether these 'pavements' were excavated, or, had they not been graves, what other explanations may be put forward. Without further details it is difficult to know for certain, but it would appear that we are seeing a cemetery within and adjacent to a Roman villa, with the parish church within 500 metres of the villa site.

At Lillyhorn in Gloucestershire, a sizable villa complex (97m x 83.5m with 29 rooms) was excavated in 1845 in a field called 'church piece'.⁵⁵⁹ The nearest church is that of St Mary, about 2.4km from the villa, where two altars, of Mars and Silvanus, were dug up from under the south-west corner of the tower, together with calcined stone and a plain fragment of another altar. The SMR suggests that Roman votive material (it mentions votive objects and plaques) has been found in enough quantity to suggest that the church is built on a Romano-British religious site.⁵⁶⁰ As mentioned earlier in this thesis (page 107), one must treat such interpretations of underlying temples with some scepticism: Lowder suggests that the altars may have come from the villa, and that the calcined stones originally formed part of the villa's hypocaust;⁵⁶¹ this is a realistic suggestion, as the altars are rather small and there is no account of the discovery of foundations or building material at the church. Not without relevance, Hare makes a good case for the Bisley's having a pre-Conquest minster church: late Saxon sculpture is associated with the church, the nearby eighth-century Lypiatt cross may have marked its border, and two priests were recorded here in 1086.⁵⁶² But before we leave Bisley/Lillyhorn it is worth mentioning that, like Lower Basildon, the site is associated with post-Roman burials. Four inhumations were inserted into a 'long mound or rubbish dump' adjacent to the villa in Church Piece Field, oriented north/south: one was crouched, one was an old man, one was in the 'prime of life' and another a female.⁵⁶³ A plan of the villa exists but unfortunately does not record the location of the burials.⁵⁶⁴ In a similar setting at Sarratt, Hertfordshire, a villa exists in 'Church Field', north of Valley Farm, about 1.38 km away from the nearest parish church, that of Cleries, which is in another parish.⁵⁶⁵ Part of the villa was excavated in 1907 by Peter Clutterbuck: his work revealed a rectangular structure 37'x55' with an apsidal end. A geophysical survey in 1975 confirmed further masonry structures and we can assume that this is some kind of villa complex. However, Roman material is also reported to have come from within the Sarratt churchyard: Roman brick and tile is included in the current church fabric, and make up the upper part of the church tower. Further reports suggest that Romano-British urns, a ring or torque, a key, and fibula have also been found within the churchyard. A villa is also known from 'Church Ure' or 'Church Oare' Field, at Ickham in Kent; the nearest church is St John's, 700m distant.⁵⁶⁶

One of course cannot assume that every fieldname containing 'church or 'chapel' will point to a forgotten chapel or chantry, and there is the very real possibility that no church ever existed on the site: the villa at Hadstock (Essex) in 'Sunken Church Field', one mile from the pre-conquest church of St Botolph, may evoke more of a retrospective

⁵⁵⁸ *VCH Berks* I, 203.

⁵⁵⁹ *JBAA* 2 (1847), 324-27; Baker 1846.

⁵⁶⁰ *VCH Gloucs* I 99-100.

⁵⁶¹ Lowder 1883.

⁵⁶² Hare 1990 (in Bryant 1991).

⁵⁶³ *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 60 (1938), 351-2; Baker 1846.

⁵⁶⁴ Baker 1846, 43.

⁵⁶⁵ The following is from *VCH Herts.* 2, 428 and 4, 163 (plan).

⁵⁶⁶ *VCH Kent* III, 119.

application of the church fieldname than most.⁵⁶⁷ At Preston Candover in Hampshire the *VCH* recounts a wonderful local tradition which appears more fanciful than most, but again there is no reason why a church could not have existed here: 'at Chapel Field in the parish of Chilton Candover, about a mile west of the village, roof slates, tiles, oyster shells, and other vestiges of a small house have been noted. Local tradition places here a buried church, the bells of which are audible from underground to passers-by at night'.⁵⁶⁸ Such a colourful, informative tradition lends further support to the association of Roman remains with churches, real or imagined, and offers a glimpse into the potential incarnation that such an association would have assumed in the early-medieval period.

At Snodland in Kent, foundations were uncovered in 1884 in two fields called 'Church Field' and 'Stone Grave Field', adjacent to All Saints church.⁵⁶⁹ A brief mention in the *Archaeological Journal* shortly thereafter records the foundations of two buildings and Roman building debris on the site, and that the River Medway had eroded part of a bank that consisted largely of Roman material.⁵⁷⁰ In 1854 Wright made 'slight excavations' (actually at least several large trenches) that uncovered further foundations *in situ*.⁵⁷¹ Wright also records that a bath-house was discovered here c.1814 and reburied shortly thereafter. Like so many of these sites, no plan exists, no indication of the structures' alignment was given, and the site is no longer accessible: in 1928 what had been Church Field was occupied by the Snodland gas works and allotments.⁵⁷² At Bartlow in Cambridgeshire, excavations in 1852 revealed a large villa in 'Church Field', 200 metres south of St Mary's church and about 100 metres north-west of the Bartlow Roman Tumuli.⁵⁷³ Here the distance from the church is greater: the villa does not underlie the church, but its position in the landscape and the fieldname remain significant.

Sadly, field-names are not recorded with any regularity, and only in the more recent English Place-Name Society volumes has there been an attempt to record and study minor place-names as a whole. A future project with exciting potential could entail a GIS analysis of the spatial relationship of church or chapel field-names and glebe land to the location of known Roman villas and rural buildings.

3.3 Case Study: Whitby and the North Yorkshire Signal Stations

This section presents a case study of the Anglo-Saxon Minster at Whitby and its probable relationship to a no longer extant Roman signal station on Whitby East Cliff. It is a slightly modified version of an article published in *Archaeological Journal* 155.⁵⁷⁴

The possible existence of a Roman signal station at Whitby has a significant impact upon the study of the Roman defensive system of the North Yorkshire coast and the understanding of the Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical topography of the area. Whitby lies at the mouth of the River Esk and its associated harbour on the North Yorkshire coast, amidst an intervisible chain of five known signal stations, but is perhaps best known for its Anglo-Saxon monastery founded by the Northumbrian king Osui in 657. No

⁵⁶⁷ Neville 1851.

⁵⁶⁸ Provided to the VCH by Rev. Sumner Wilson (*VCH Hants* I, 306.).

⁵⁶⁹ *VCH Kent* III, 124.

⁵⁷⁰ *Arch. J.* 1 (1845), 164.

⁵⁷¹ Wright 1854.

⁵⁷² OS 6" 1928.

⁵⁷³ Neville 1853.

⁵⁷⁴ Bell 1999a.

absolute archaeological evidence of a signal station at Whitby exists, but the Anglo-Saxon toponym *Streonæshalch* has been interpreted as Bay of the Lighthouse, suggesting that the site had an association with a signal station or watchtower (See Section 3.3.2, page 182). It is clear that the existing stations were designed to function as a cohesive system, given their similar form and identical dates: communication and intervisibility were therefore essential aspects of this defensive network. Despite this, the stations to the north and south of Whitby – those at Goldsborough and Ravenscar respectively – are not intervisible. A station positioned at Whitby would effectively close this gap in the system.

Attempting to reconcile the near complete absence of archaeological remains with the place-name and geographical evidence, this case study uses geologically determined erosion rates to examine the possibility that such a station existed on the more than three hundred metres of coastal land that has eroded since the Roman period. In doing so it addresses the extent to which archaeologists can reconstruct and work with an ancient coastline on a local scale.

Five Roman signal stations are situated in prominent positions along the North Yorkshire coast at roughly even intervals, forming a chain which stretches from Huntcliff to Filey, a distance of almost sixty kilometres. There were almost certainly additional stations at Flamborough Head and Hartlepool, which together would have covered the entire Yorkshire coastline between the River Tees and Bridlington Bay (Figure 83).⁵⁷⁵

It is possible that additional stations existed amongst these which have since been lost due to accelerated rates of erosion in areas of relatively weak sedimentary rock and perhaps later quarrying. Of the remaining five stations, only Goldsborough and Scarborough retain any structural evidence today, the latter already having lost a portion of its outer ditch and wall to the sea.⁵⁷⁶ Of Huntcliff, only the landward edge of the boundary ditch exists, while at Filey almost the entire projecting spur upon which the station was situated has since been eroded.⁵⁷⁷ The foundations of the Ravenscar station were alleged to have been discovered when Raven Hall, the current hotel, was built in the late eighteenth century, but our only certain evidence is a single inscription, RIB 721, now in the Whitby Museum.⁵⁷⁸

⁵⁷⁵ For evidence of a possible station on the spur just south of Hartlepool (NZ 520314) see Trevelyan 1832 and Middleton 1884. References in Eagles 1979 II, 425 may suggest further stations to the south: 'The site of a Roman building between Bridlington and Sewerby was pointed out to the Rev. C. V. Collier by his father, but Collier noted at the time of writing that the building had long since fallen into the sea (Clark 1935, 69). There is also record of the angle of an earthwork, the rest of which had fallen into the sea, between Sewerby House and the cliff edge (*Trans. E. Riding Arch. Soc.* 7, 1899, 46).

⁵⁷⁶ Goldsborough: Hornsby and Laverick 1932b; Scarborough: Collingwood 1931.

⁵⁷⁷ Huntcliff: Hornsby and Laverick 1932a Ottaway 1995a.

⁵⁷⁸ Charleton 1779; Young 1817, ii, 708; Ottaway 1995b.

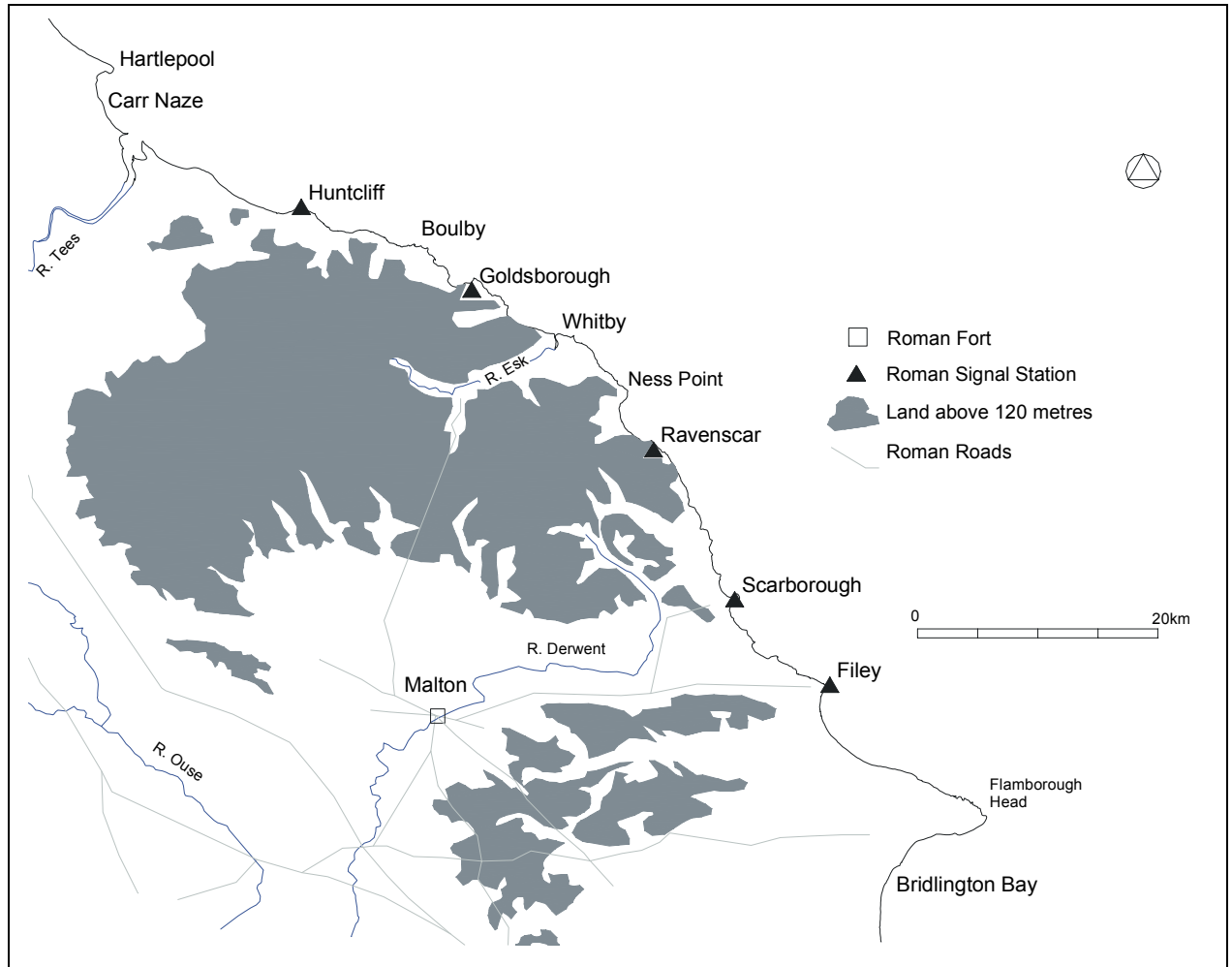


Figure 83 – North Yorkshire coast: places mentioned in the text.

Positioned to observe sea-borne raiders encroaching from across the North Sea, these fortified towers formed the first line of defence against the growing influx of Germanic raiders of the fourth century. Each station is similar in plan: deep, broad foundations suggest sizeable masonry structures, used as a signalling platforms but designed with defence in mind. A central square tower was enclosed within a curtain wall *c.* 50 metres across with small corner turrets, the entire complex in turn encompassed by a defensive ditch. The stations were probably constructed in or around the same time, as they would not have been effective as isolated structures, and their uniform plan suggests their conception as a single defensive work. Numismatic and pottery evidence confirms that the stations were occupied in the last three decades of the Roman period in Britain: AD 369 - *c.* 395.⁵⁷⁹

Although much of the physical evidence from the stations is lost, it is possible to examine the landscape in which they operated and the manner in which each station related to its immediate coastline: they appear to have functioned together as a cohesive chain, each in visual contact with its neighbour. However, two breaks in the chain may indicate the location of 'lost' signal stations, no longer extant: one may have been located between the Goldsborough and Huntcliff stations at Boulby, where later alum workings have eroded

⁵⁷⁹ Craster 1932; Hull 1932.

the cliff top;⁵⁸⁰ the other break between Ravenscar and Goldsborough may have been joined by a signal station at Whitby, or Ness Point. A station on Whitby East Cliff near the Abbey, while of interest to the Roman archaeologist, is of even greater import for the development of the early church in this area. Taken together with the evidence from Scarborough and possibly Filey, a station at Whitby would suggest that these Roman coastal sites played no small part in the development of the earliest ecclesiastical topography of the North Yorkshire coast.

The stations' use did not terminate with the end of the Empire that they had been built to protect: the signal station at Scarborough was reused as a church in the later Anglo-Saxon period.⁵⁸¹ The late nineteenth-century excavations at Filey uncovered an aligned, superimposed structure similar to that at Scarborough, and the headland shows evidence of having been re-fortified in the sub-Roman period (Figure 84).⁵⁸² This type of evidence, although tenuous, at least suggests that these structures did not disappear altogether from the topographical record in the sub-Roman period. The evidence for a signal station at Whitby is rather more suggestive: while there is little physical manifestation of any Roman settlement there today, parallels from other sites suggests that if such a Roman structure did exist, it may have well formed the nucleus of the first Anglo-Saxon Christian presence there. The following discussion examines the geography of the North Yorkshire signal stations for the purpose of providing the topographical background needed for an investigation of their placement during the Roman period. The study proceeds to investigate the manner in which Roman remains appear to have influenced, if not determined, the location of early Christian sites of the North Yorkshire coast. Particular attention is paid to Scarborough, where structural remains of a church built on the station's foundations exist, and Whitby, where a body of indirect evidence makes the existence of a Roman signal station extremely likely.

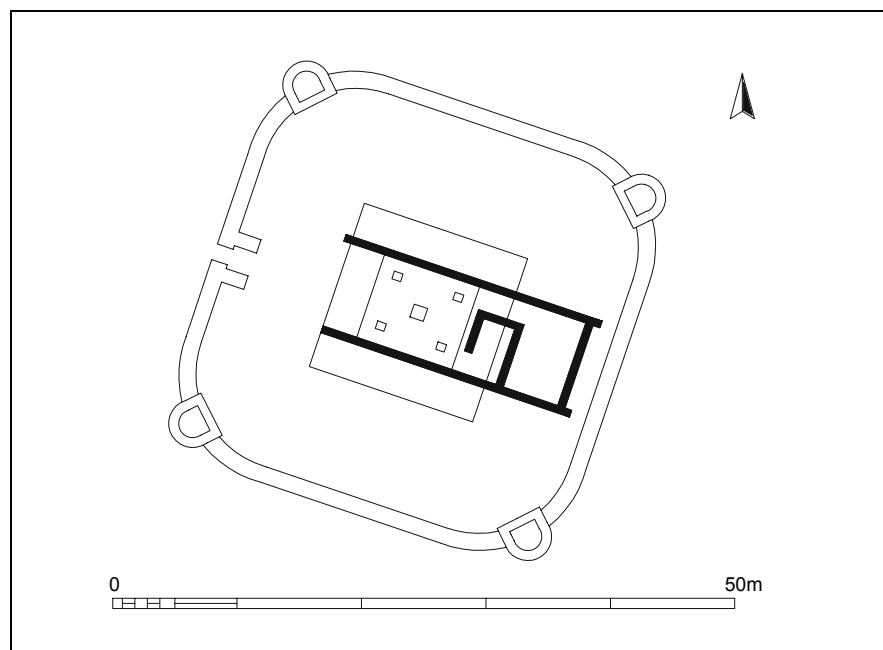


Figure 84 – Filey signal station and superimposed structure (Ottaway 1995b, fig. 1).

⁵⁸⁰ Hornsby and Laverick 1932b, 204.

⁵⁸¹ Thompson 1931.

⁵⁸² Cortis 1858; Reproduced in Haverfield 1912, 211, fig. 32, and in Ottaway 1995b, 8.

3.3.1 The Missing Station at Whitby

The stations' contemporary construction and their operation as a unified system serves to emphasise the importance of intervisibility, as it was the signalling system which welded the communication chain together. Yet the five known sites are not entirely intervisible. Goldsborough is not visible from Ravenscar, nor is Huntcliff visible from Goldsborough. If intervisibility between stations was essential, as seems likely, these apparent gaps would necessitate intermediate signalling points or additional stations. Based on this premise, we may begin to investigate the possible locations of the missing coastal stations.

The coastal topography here largely dictates a signal station's possible position. Before addressing the archaeological evidence, it may be helpful to illustrate first a modern resource which may have particular significance in this context: in the first decade of this century a series of strategically positioned Coast Guard lookouts was established along the North Yorkshire coast for the purpose of observing the entire coastline for unauthorised landing and smugglers, as well as directly monitoring the North Sea (Figure 85).⁵⁸³

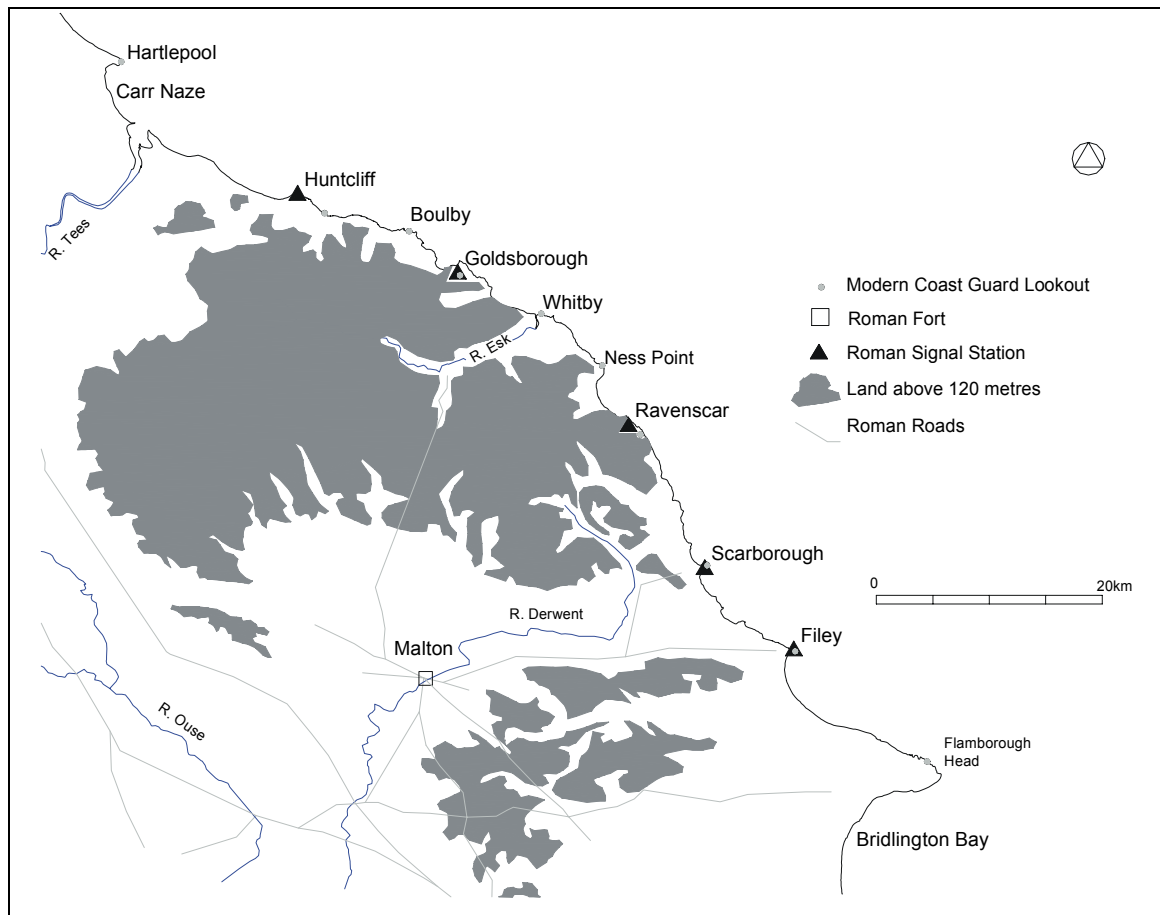


Figure 85 – North Yorkshire coast: Roman and modern coastal stations.

While modern communications remove the need for intervisibility amongst these lookouts, their placement coincides with the locations of the existing Roman signal

⁵⁸³ OS Map Sheets 93, 94, 101. 1:50,000, second series.

stations, erected for the same purpose of coastal observation. The superimposition of these ancient and modern sites shows that modern stations exist at all places along the coast where we know Roman signal stations existed. Interestingly, the additional modern stations are located in the same position as the weak links -- between those stations lacking intervisibility -- in the Roman chain. While this curious alignment is not certain evidence of missing Roman stations, the situation does suggest that the early twentieth-century Coast Guard did not find five stations sufficient to supervise the coastline properly, and their placement may provide clues to the location of additional Roman stations.

There are several candidates for the location of the missing station between Ravenscar and Goldsborough. A tower on Ness Point on the northern side of Robin Hood's Bay would allow easy surveillance of the bay and a distant view of Whitby. A station on Whitby's East Cliff would be visible from Goldsborough and Ravenscar and would also guard a commanding position at the mouth of the Esk, the only navigable river on this region of coastline. Clearly the Esk was a valuable harbour and vulnerable point of access for inland penetration, and it is almost inconceivable that it would be neglected, or even relegated to a secondary position, in the initial planning of a coastal defensive network. A station here might better divide the distance between Goldsborough and Ravenscar to 8km and 10km respectively, increasing the efficacy of communication between signalling points. If we are to use Roman roads as an indication of the importance and the vitality of the locations they served, Wade's Causeway, the only major Roman road in this area running towards Whitby from York via the fort at Malton, could indicate that Whitby was a significant location in the Roman period rather than the site of a smaller intermediate station or a lesser maritime complex which the paucity of Roman finds might otherwise suggest.⁵⁸⁴

There is a local tradition of a signal station at Whitby, preserved in calendars, postcards and guide books to the Abbey, that 'the site of the Abbey was in all probability once occupied by a Roman hillfort'.⁵⁸⁵ The idea is not new: in the fifteenth century Leland remarked that it was a likely setting,⁵⁸⁶ and in 1817 Young suspected a station here when only the one at Ravenscar was known.⁵⁸⁷ In the 1940s F. G. Simpson further refined the idea, suggesting that a station was to be found on the high ground adjacent to the Coast Guard lookout.⁵⁸⁸ The first to proceed beyond speculation, Mary Kitson Clark, discusses the Roman evidence at Whitby and concludes:

We may... assume that, whether it has gone into the sea or no, somewhere close at hand to the Abbey was a Roman site... here was a member, even if not a normal member, of the signal station series.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁴ Clark 1935; Hayes and Rutter 1964.

⁵⁸⁵ Ward 1915.

⁵⁸⁶ Leland 1964, 40.

⁵⁸⁷ Young 1817, 471.

⁵⁸⁸ Letter of H. L. Boyle to F. G. Simpson, 26 August, post-dated as being written during 'wartime'. In a following letter Boyle reveals that Simpson was keen to trench the area, but the project did not come to fruition due to the lack of 'brawn'. (Letter to F. G. Simpson from H. L. Boyle, Oct. 27, during the war.). Letters in possession of Dr Grace Simpson.

⁵⁸⁹ Clark 1935, 139. Clark also anticipates the primary concern of this section: 'Just as a later pre-Conquest chapel was built within the signal station at Scarborough, so might the early pre-Conquest Abbey incorporate ruins of a similar station at Whitby' (Clark 1935, 138).

The main weakness in the case for a signal station at Whitby is the lack of archaeological remains: even if the original site of the signal station has been lost through coastal erosion we might still expect artefactual evidence, even some kind of 'background noise', suggesting a Roman presence. However, these stations apparently left little peripheral evidence: Ottoway's excavations at Filey show how the curtain wall appeared to contain most of the occupational debris,⁵⁹⁰ and it is equally remarkable that the Roman station at Scarborough remained undiscovered even after the construction of a modern Coast Guard station there.

Excavations at Whitby Abbey during 1920-25 under the supervision of C. R. Peers failed to find any occupational or structural evidence of Roman habitation but did find such 'background noise'. Although not published in the subsequent report, it appears that eleven Roman coins and several pieces of Roman pottery were found in the excavation, including Samian and late Roman 'Signal Station Ware' similar to that found in the Huntcliff and Scarborough excavations.⁵⁹¹ Much of the Roman material was lost or ignored, and what was acknowledged received little attention in the original reports. In a telling letter to F. G. Simpson in 1927, Peers remarks:

I don't think that the Roman pottery and coins found at Whitby, among the ruins of the Saxon monastery, constitute any evidence of Roman occupation... What *was* actually found at the site was the remains of the early monastery; certainly more worthy of note than the Roman odds and ends.⁵⁹²

Viewed in the light of the present study, these 'odds and ends' were probably part of the peripheral spread of the signal station, and some random scattering of Roman material.

3.3.2 Place-names: Streonæshalch and Whitby

Place-name studies support what the archaeological evidence hints at. Writing in the early eighth century, Bede refers to Whitby as *Streonæshalch* in his description of the Abbey's foundation there, and the later synod in 664.⁵⁹³ Presumably the Anglo-Saxon word needed some clarification as he further translates the place-name into Latin as *Sinus Fari*. *Fari* derives from *Pharos*, the lighthouse at Alexandria which subsequently gave its name to the architectural genre.⁵⁹⁴ Although the precise meaning of *Streonæshalch* remains obscure today, Bede's Latin has been understood to translate as 'Bay of the Lighthouse' or 'Bay of the Beacon'.⁵⁹⁵ The present author would suggest 'Bay of the Tower' as a more suitable translation, as Bede's earlier reference in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* to *farus* (*fores* or *faros* in other manuscripts)⁵⁹⁶ is rendered as *torras*, or 'towers' in Alfred's Anglo-Saxon translation.⁵⁹⁷ A Latin inscription using a similar derivative records the construction of a *farator* at Bitburg, between Trier and Cologne, in

⁵⁹⁰ Ottoway 1995a, 9.

⁵⁹¹ Clark mentions that Samian was found, as do the foreman's journals (Cramp, 1976 Appendix B; although none has been published. For 'signal station ware' see Hull 1932.

⁵⁹² Letter in possession of Dr. G. Simpson.

⁵⁹³ Bede, *H. E.* III, 25. *Streneshalch*, MS Cotton, Tiber. C. ii; *streonæshalc*, MS Cotton, Tiber. A. xiv.

⁵⁹⁴ *Oxford Classical Dictionary*: 'lighthouse', 861.

⁵⁹⁵ Cramp 1976 and Bede: trans. L. Sherely-Price, respectively. The precise meaning is still under debate. Cramp notes that no translation of *Sinus Fari* is certain, but this is by far the most accepted. Cramp acknowledges the possibility of a signal station: 'In view of the eleven late Roman coins and associated pottery from the site, "the haven of the watchtower" from Bede's Latin is apt' (Cramp 1976, 251 note 68).

⁵⁹⁶ *fores* Cotton, Tiber. A. xiv; *faros* Namur MS.

⁵⁹⁷ Miller 1890, 45; *H. E.* I, 12.

AD 245,⁵⁹⁸ and ancient glossaries define *farator* as *turris speculatoria*: a watch-tower.⁵⁹⁹ Unfortunately, no trace of the structure at Bitburg survives to help us define the term further, but its presence in the ancient glossaries suggests that the word was not in common usage, and may in fact have been a technical or specialist term describing a distinct class of observational and/or signalling structure.

Bede's particular word choice deserves further examination in light of the Anglo-Saxon place-name. It might be that his *Sinus Fari* is a legitimate translation of the Anglo-Saxon toponym (perhaps itself deriving meaning from a word now lost) which described Whitby by its most distinguishing topographical feature, the signal station which presumably still dominated the cliff in the Anglo-Saxon period. A further possibility is that Bede is presenting us with an alternative name, one derived independently of *Streonaeshalch* which may have originated with the ecclesiastic and therefore Romanised community. It is not unlikely that Anglo-Saxon clerics could have recognised a Roman structure for what it was, and in recognising its function, applied a meaningful place-name of their own. The reconciliation of this issue is difficult, but we must conclude that Bede was probably attempting a direct translation. His choice of words leaves little ambiguity:

Streonaeshalch, quod interpretatur *Sinus Fari*
[*Streonaeshalch*, which means The Bay of the Beacon]⁶⁰⁰

It is interesting to note that the Anglo-Saxon translation omits entirely the *quod interpretatur Sinus Fari* appositive, suggesting that further explanation was either unnecessary or redundant.⁶⁰¹ If we accept that 'Bay of the Lighthouse' is a direct translation of *Streonaeshalch*, we must acknowledge that we are dealing with an Anglo-Saxon place-name that appears to describe the specific function of a Roman structure. This is unusual, as Anglo-Saxon place-names which refer to Roman remains are general, and visually rather than functionally descriptive (*-chester*, for instance, is used to describe the masonry fabric of Roman structures, and not their particular type or function). The only likely explanations behind such a functionally descriptive place-name would entail a persistent local tradition of a structure's use, or an actual continued use of the structure in the Anglo-Saxon period for its original purpose. The latter suggestion is perhaps less likely than the former possibility, but cannot be disproved.

However one views it, Bede's translation of the Anglo-Saxon toponym remains one of the most suggestive pieces of evidence for a signal station at Whitby. Yet the place-name evidence for a signal station here goes beyond the Anglo-Saxon account: the modern place-name *Whitby* is of Scandinavian origin, and appears to describe a white farmstead or village, or perhaps that of a man named 'Hvite'.⁶⁰² A second interpretation suggests that this name may have acquired its current form from the Old Scandinavian *Vite*, a beacon kindled as a warning light.⁶⁰³ Although attempts to identify the etymologies of place-names are often far from conclusive, it would seem that a strong argument exists for Whitby's association with a lighthouse from the Roman period – an association that

⁵⁹⁸ *In h(onorem) d(omus) d(ivinae) Num(inum) Augg. fara[to]rem exaedicaverusnt suo in[p]endio juniores vici hic cosistentes loco Dedicatum effectum I[II] idus [Iu]lias imp. d[n] Philippo Aug. et Titano cos. Cur...tio et Secundio Sec[ndino]* CIL XII.4131; Grenier 1931, 470-1 note 4.

⁵⁹⁹ Grenier 1931, 471.

⁶⁰⁰ *H. E.* III, 25.

⁶⁰¹ Miller 1890, 335.

⁶⁰² Mills 1996.

⁶⁰³ Lindkvist 1912, 37.

existed perhaps into the ninth century when the region received the majority of its Scandinavian place-names. It does not require a great leap to associate the beacon of these toponyms with that of an existing Roman signal station.

But where is the signal station, and why has it not yet been found? Recent excavations by English Heritage in advance of a new parking facility for the site have uncovered tantalising traces of what appears to be an early (c. 700) cemetery and possible enclosure, 200 metres to the south of the Abbey.⁶⁰⁴ This discovery, combined with the information gleaned from the 1920s excavations, suggests that Whitby is a multi-focal site, and the early Christian activity does not concentrate solely upon the location of the present Abbey as previously believed. It remains possible that the earliest Christian presence could have been located elsewhere on the East Cliff.

Examining this problem in light of the Scarborough evidence we might suggest that the earliest Christian presence at Whitby could be further to the north, perhaps within the supposed signal station to which the place-name refers. Perhaps this formed part of an earlier Christian presence at Whitby which pre-dated Hilda's arrival in 657; Bede's ambiguous text remarks that 'it happened that she undertook either to found or set in order a monastery at a place called Streonæshalch'.⁶⁰⁵ His choice of words suggests that there may have been an earlier Christian foundation, which could have incorporated the remains of the supposed Roman signal station. Again, it must be acknowledged that we are dealing with speculation, but the suggestion is plausible, particularly so in light of the similar situation at Scarborough. It is equally possible that two or more churches may have existed contemporaneously within this multi-focal religious complex.

3.3.3 The Location of the Station at Whitby

Although it is likely that there was a signal station at Whitby, the fact remains that no physical evidence of a station survives, and no structural evidence of a signal station came to light in the 1920s excavation. The station might be found below the nave of the current abbey ruins: it is uncertain what depth the excavations reached, although we know that they uncovered the Norman foundations. If however the station were below the present abbey, one would expect more Roman material to have been encountered in the 1920s clearance. Figure 86a is one of the few extant photographs of the excavations, showing the 'excavated nave'. However, when compared to the original condition of the site in Figure 86b, it would appear that the excavation was largely a clean-up job. The photograph in Figure 86a was taken in 1922, three years before the end of the excavation which apparently did not find a Roman level. In light of the evidence, it remains unlikely that the Whitby Roman signal station lies below the present abbey ruins, despite its parallels with Scarborough.

⁶⁰⁴ Wilmott 1995, 44-5.

⁶⁰⁵ Bede, iv, 23. Discussed by Cramp 1976, 223.



Figure 86 – a) Whitby Abbey: excavated nave photographed in October, 1922; b) Whitby Abbey: unexcavated nave (Hood 1927 16, 17).

One solution to its location, although one which unfortunately cannot now be tested with certainty, is that the station was further north of the present Abbey, on cliff-land which has since been eroded. Before proceeding any further with this idea it must be acknowledged that there are many problems associated with answering archaeological questions based on the assumption that key evidence has been destroyed. Yet in this case, the local geology and its susceptibility to the advance of marine erosion offer a persuasive explanation for the absence of a station at Whitby today. In 1960 R. Agar published a geological survey of this area, paying particular attention to the rates of coastal erosion.⁶⁰⁶ According to Agar, the erosion of Whitby East Cliff is the most extreme along the entire coastline, primarily due to fractures within the shales which are constantly exploited by wave action. His survey estimates the cliff-top erosion at Whitby Abbey to be roughly 19 metres per century, amounting to more than 300 metres of cliff lost since the Roman period.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁶ Agar, 1960, 409-428.

⁶⁰⁷ As coastal erosion is central to this discussion, it is necessary to address the methods employed by Agar to calculate his rates of erosion. Agar calculates the erosion rates at select localities along the coastline between Huntcliff and Ravenscar by comparing re-surveyed points against the 1892 1:2500 Ordnance Survey maps. At each locality Agar was careful to distinguish the wave-cut notch, a feature indicating the impact of wave activity which separates the cliff from the foreshore, and he uses this observation plus the survey data to produce rates of cliff-foot and cliff-top erosion. Addressing the erosion rates at Whitby East Cliff, Agar concludes that 'the result has been rapid erosion, but reaching the cliff-top perhaps only two centuries ago' (Agar 1960, 420). This is a curious statement which does not fit well with the present argument of massive cliff-side erosion since the Roman period. However, in several instances along the Yorkshire coast a mixed geology complicates the standard pattern of erosion. Agar cites Whitby East Cliff as a locality formed of friable shales at the base and resistant sandstones at the top, which experience severe undercutting due to wave action, accompanied by comparatively minimal cliff-top erosion. In this instance, however, clay intercalated with thin beds of sandstone encourages a rate of cliff-top erosion more-or-less equal to that of the base. This was a point raised by the President of the Yorkshire Geological Society after the conclusion of Agar's lecture: 'How was it that post-glacial erosion had been active at the cliff-foot only? Farther south in Cayton Bay and Gristhorpe Wyke, where the Oxford Clay forms much of the cliff face, there is evidence that the upper slopes are under *more* active, sub-aerial erosion than the cliff foot under marine action. Similarly at Whitby East Cliff the upper slopes, of Middle Jurassic clays and sandstones, are undergoing more active recession than the vertical face of the Upper Lias shale at the cliff foot' (quoted in Agar 1960, 435-6). This reconciles the present argument with Agar's statement, and while explaining the abnormally high rate of degradation, also suggests that the cliff has been eroding as an almost homogeneous body at least since the Roman period.

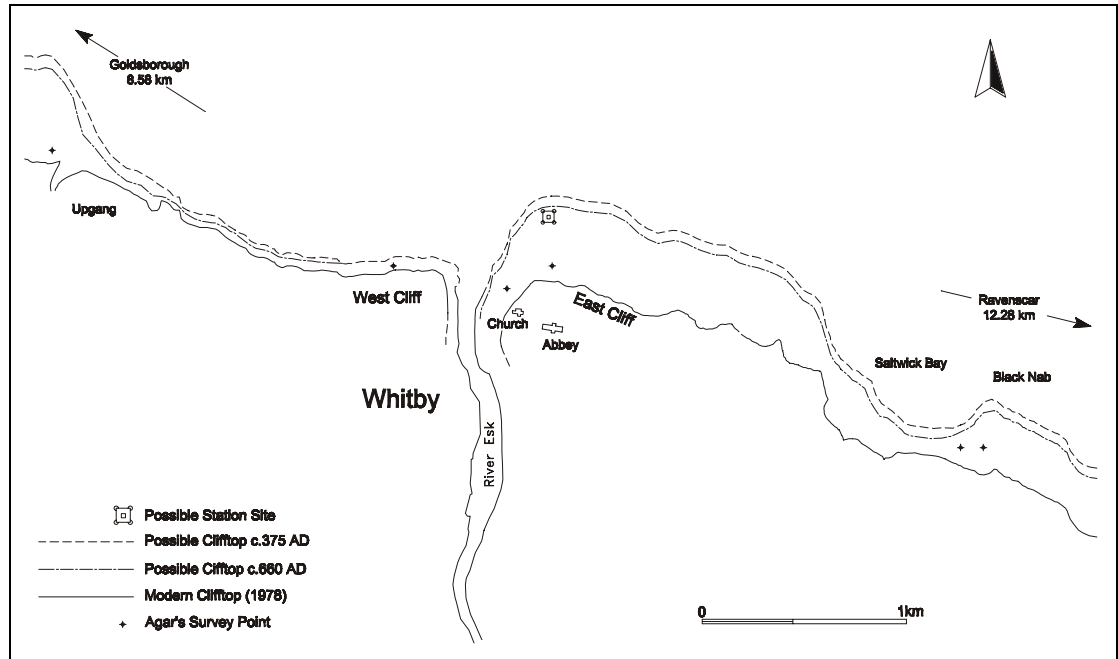


Figure 87 – Possible reconstruction of Whitby's Roman and Anglo-Saxon coastlines based on erosion rates established by Agar, 1960.

These rates of erosion are used here to extrapolate a possible coastline for Whitby during the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods (Figure 87). While the resulting image is unlikely to be an exact plan of the ancient coastline, it does give us a reasonable idea of how much cliff land has been eroded since the Roman period, and raises some interesting questions about the archaeology this 'lost land' took with it during its long slide into the sea.

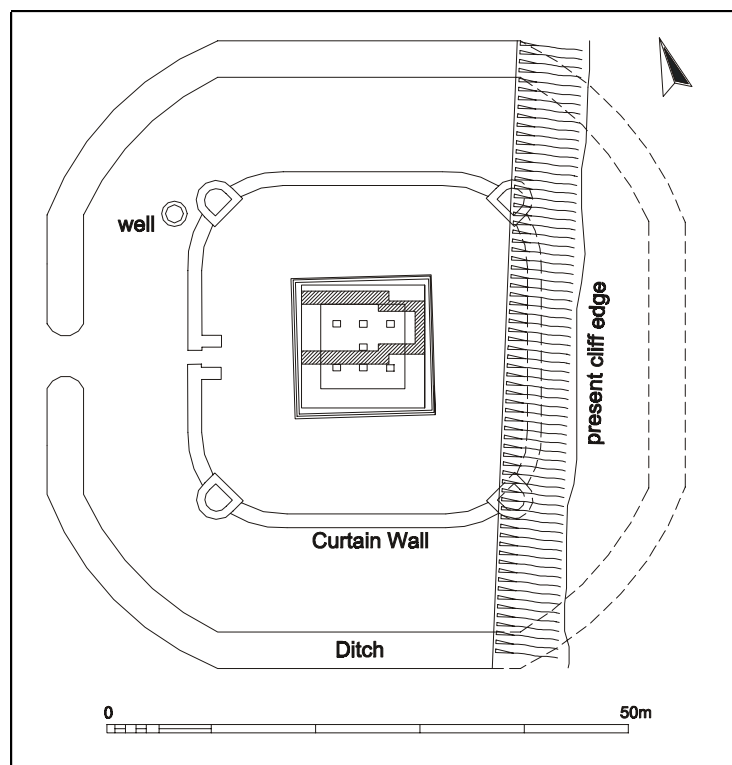
Coastal erosion thus remains the most likely explanation for the paucity of Roman archaeology at Whitby: it is not inconceivable that the place-name and topographical evidence point towards a signal station which eroded into the ocean within a century or two of Hilda's arrival in 657, taking with it all structural remains, and what little peripheral evidence of occupation existed outside its walls. Agar's erosion rates can provide a rough guide to the chronology behind its disappearance. Assuming that the signal station was in existence in the early Anglo-Saxon period to give its name to the bay, it would have to have been constructed approximately 60 metres from the reconstructed Roman cliff edge. Agar's rates suggest that the structure would then have begun to erode *c.* 300 years after being built (*c.* AD 700) and would have disappeared entirely after some 650 years (*c.* AD 1050). Such extrapolation from the Roman period may offer a general indication of the time it might have taken for the entire station to fall into the sea, but of course these absolute dates should be treated with caution because of the inherent assumptions involved in extrapolating the erosion rates and reconstructing the coast from relatively few survey points.

3.3.4 Scarborough: The Roman Station and Pre-Conquest Church

Whitby remains problematic despite the place-name references and the archaeology, and perceiving the larger picture using the little information we have remains difficult. A look at neighbouring Scarborough provides some indication of what we could be seeing at Whitby: several centuries after the abandonment of the Roman station on the Scarborough headland, a small church was built directly on top of its foundations, reusing

them on precisely the same alignment (Figure 88). Around this first church a cemetery developed, and two successive churches were later built on the same alignment, reusing the foundations of the station and the earliest church.⁶⁰⁸ The site presumably continued in use as the Christian centre for the Norman castle, and possibly all of Scarborough until the construction of the current parish church, for which there is no written or architectural evidence before the later twelfth century. The third and final church on the site was damaged during the Civil War and was probably demolished with the rest of the castle soon thereafter. The site lay largely abandoned until about 1885 when a Coast Guard lookout tower was built on the exact site of the Roman station, curiously bringing full-circle the manner in which the site was used. The shelling and destruction of the station by a German flotilla in the First World War allowed a complete excavation by F. G. Simpson between 1921-1926.⁶⁰⁹

Figure 88 – Scarborough station and first-phase church (after Thompson 1931, Figure 32).



The Scarborough signal station communicated with the stations situated at Ravenscar and Filey. It lies on the very edge of the prominent headland which protrudes from the centre of the town of Scarborough. The medieval castle and its grounds now dominate the sixteen-acre headland which is surrounded by steep (100m) cliffs and remains accessible only from the mainland. The headland itself is formed of a resilient cemented limestone that was juxtaposed against softer sandstone and siltstone which has been preferentially eroded, creating shallow, beached bays to the north and south. Like that at Huntcliff, the Scarborough signal station has been the victim of the encroaching sea and has lost its seaward ditch and curtain wall. However, the resilient geology of the headland has limited post-Roman erosion, and today a modern road and sea wall at the foot of the cliff bear the brunt of the tidal forces.

⁶⁰⁸ Simpson 1922, 390; reproduced in Thompson 1931, 53 fig. 32.

⁶⁰⁹ Subsequently written up by Collingwood and published in Rowntree 1931.

Although excavations at Scarborough reveal one of the clearest examples of the Christian reinterpretation of a Roman structure, questions still surround the earliest Christian use of the site. Simpson's excavations revealed a Roman Signal Station with a subsequent complex of three churches, the earliest having been dated to 'the earlier part of the eleventh century' by Thompson.⁶¹⁰ The evidence used to produce this date remains unclear, but it was presumably made on architectural grounds. With this uncertainty and the lack of documented archaeological support for Thompson's observation, the date of the first church should remain uncertain.

The graves themselves do not tell us very much: a total of 129 burials were found aligned east-west within the signal station walls. The proportion of these which are Anglo-Saxon is unclear: Simpson appears to have phased graves by their elevation within the churchyard, associating Anglo-Saxon graves with the 'lowest level' of 'two distinct layers of graves, differing from about 2 feet'.⁶¹¹ Using elevation as a sole means of phasing graves in churchyards is inherently problematic, as later burials are usually interred at a greater depth than those earlier - in churchyards that have seen centuries of use this has the unfortunate effect of disturbing, in most cases entirely removing, earlier archaeological evidence. Simpson's Anglo-Saxon graves may have been sealed by a superior context which allowed such phasing, but this is not certain. He did take advantage of archaeological relationships that allowed phasing with some certainty; a few graves were sealed by the foundations of the later churches,⁶¹² but he also may have used qualifying information that is no longer available to us: of the 44 graves that appear to have been found in the lowest level,⁶¹³ only the remains of 29 Anglo-Saxon (14 male and 15 female) were deemed publishable by the University of Leeds Anatomy Department.⁶¹⁴ The brief remarks included in the skeletal records note that of the 44 "lower level" graves, two are labelled "medieval"; using this limited information we can suggest that there were between 29 and 42 Anglo-Saxon graves, as defined by Simpson, in the excavated area of the signal station. This is not a great number, and we cannot be certain that further burials did not exist outside the excavated station courtyard. It should also be noted that a horse mill placed in the nave in the sixteenth century had the effect of constantly lowering the floor level, probably removing further graves in the process.

Unfortunately, a plan of the excavated burials and their relationship to the Roman and later structures does not apparently exist. Although each grave was numbered and a few are even noted as being planned – presumably individually – these plans have not been found in the excavation records.⁶¹⁵ Lacking artefactual and contextual evidence, it is sometimes possible in these situations to detect earlier graves in a churchyard by their deviation from the west/east alignment - at times only a slight deflection in the case of early Christian burials, or frequently Anglo-Saxon pagan burials are aligned with their associated Roman structures, such as the villas at Shakenoak and Llantwit Major.

⁶¹⁰ Thompson 1931, 51.

⁶¹¹ Skeletal notes in possession of Dr. Grace Simpson. Notes for graves 105 and 118 seem to support this, remarking "level not clearly defined, period uncertain".

⁶¹² While this is not explicitly stated, it is apparent in the photographs of the site kept in the site archive at the Scarborough Museum.

⁶¹³ From skeletal records currently in the possession of Dr. Grace Simpson.

⁶¹⁴ G.I. Boyd, Senior Lecturer in Anatomy, University of Leeds. Research carried out 1953-56. Excavation archive, Scarborough Museum.

⁶¹⁵ This includes the information at the Rotunda and material in the possession of Grace Simpson; the plans of the individual graves may have accompanied the bones to Leeds or London, although they have yet to turn up at these places.

Unfortunately, our search for anomalies at Scarborough is hindered by the fact that the signal station was oriented to the compass points, and any possible early burials oriented on the west/east axis of the station would be indistinguishable from their later Christian neighbours. Simpson records that all burials were aligned east-west and apparently there was nothing unusual in their position or content to alert him.

A coin of Canute found in grave 84 during Simpson's excavations firmly dates the use of the site as a burial ground to at least the mid-eleventh century. Other artefacts found during the excavation add little to the investigation. Two of the most familiar pieces from the site are the jet and bronze crosses, the former being found on the breast of an unidentified skeleton (Figure 89).⁶¹⁶ The jet piece is provisionally dated to the eighth or ninth century while the bronze piece, presumably from a book cover, is dated to the ninth or tenth, although it could be somewhat earlier.⁶¹⁷ The jet cross has parallels at Whitby and York, and the bronze cross is similar in shape to many Anglian crosses of the early period, but there is nothing to suggest that these pieces are much earlier than ascribed.⁶¹⁸ What appears to be a ninth-century strap end was also found in the excavations.⁶¹⁹ Although the evidence for the earliest religious phase at Scarborough is scarce, what we *do* have points to a date earlier than the tenth or eleventh centuries for the first Christian activity on the site as suggested by earlier authors.⁶²⁰

One further find offer a tantalising hint as to the possible post-Roman activity at Scarborough. In a register of material lent to the British Museum for study, Simpson lists under the 'Anglo-Danish Period: 1 spear-head(?) of iron, found in grave fixed in upper-end of humerus'.⁶²¹ His preliminary identification suggests that there was some ambiguity, or the piece does not appear to have fitted his conceptions precisely. Unfortunately the artefact cannot now be located at either the Scarborough Museum or British Museum, where it was held until at least 1930.⁶²² It is difficult to say how such a piece might have been fixed in the bone, although it might have corroded in place. It could suggest some kind of weapon burial, but without the object any speculation must remain inconclusive.

⁶¹⁶ Thompson 1931, 52.

⁶¹⁷ Scarborough Museums Committee 1964, 21.

⁶¹⁸ MacGregor 1978, 41; Peers and Radford 1943, fig. 19;

⁶¹⁹ 11.47.38.4 in Scarborough Museum finds register.

⁶²⁰ Thompson 1931.

⁶²¹ Register within site archive at in Scarborough Museum.

⁶²² A note on the register next to the object, initialled and dated by Simpson: 'still at the B.M., June 6th 1930 FGS.'

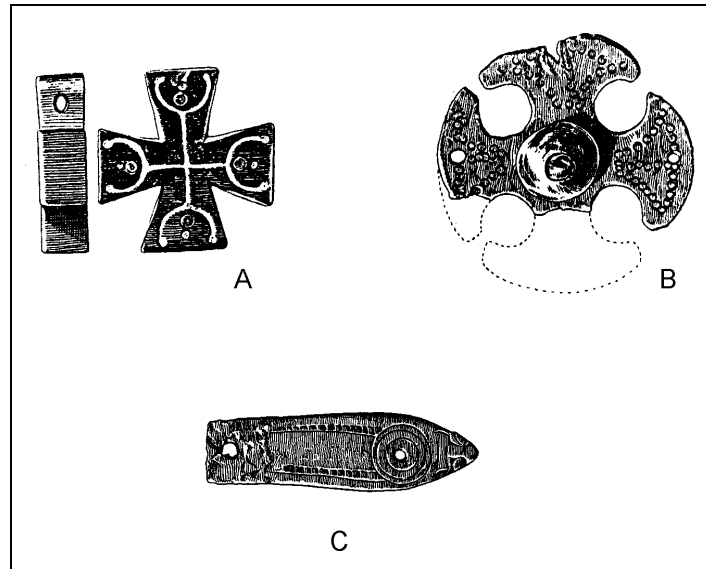


Figure 89 – Finds of the Anglo-Saxon period from Scarborough: a) jet pendant, a) bronze cross, c) strap-end. (The Scarborough Museum, 1964, Figures 42 and 43; Scarborough Museum accessions register: 1147.38.4)

The primary focus of Simpson's excavations was the Roman signal station, but to his credit he thoroughly excavated the later Christian phases and the iron age remains. Despite this, the post-Roman phases of the signal station site have received comparatively little attention. A. H. Thompson addresses the subsequent churches in his chapter of Rowntree's *History of Scarborough*, although his investigation is more historical than archaeological in nature.⁶²³ He appears to ascribe the earliest church to the tenth century, contemporary with the Dane Thorgil 'Skarthi', whose nickname apparently gives Scarborough its name.⁶²⁴ A saga detailing the exploits of Thorgil and his brother Kormak tells us that they 'ravaged in Ireland, Brittany, England and Scotland' and 'first established that fort which is called Scarborough'.⁶²⁵ However, these adventurers were pagans more concerned with looting churches than founding them. Thompson was apparently working on the assumption that the foundation of Scarborough church needed a central, secular initiative, and would have served the purpose of a landmark or perhaps even 'the maintenance of the beacon for which the Roman tower has been formerly intended'.⁶²⁶ This suggestion seems excessive, but it does betray his assumption that the location of the first church was dictated by the same strategic purposes for which the Roman station was built; he apparently believed that the Danish settlement provided the first centralised presence that could initiate and require such a foundation since the Romans. Were this situation true we might ask why there was a necessity for a sacred foundation at all on this site. Thompson appears to address that concern by citing similar examples at Bradwell, Reculver and Dover, but the first two are documented mid-seventh-century foundations, and the church in the castle of Dover was probably founded around the same period.⁶²⁷

⁶²³ Thompson 1931.

⁶²⁴ Thompson 1931, 51-2; Port 1989, 14.

⁶²⁵ Sveinsson 1939.

⁶²⁶ Thompson 1931, 52.

⁶²⁷ Rigold 1977.

3.4 Regional Study: Kent

Returning from the North Yorkshire coast, the following section aims to provide a discussion of the Kentish sites within a regional context, and explores the archaeological evidence in-hand with Bede's historical commentary.

Not surprisingly, the earliest churches of Anglo-Saxon England are in Kent, primarily the sites established by Augustine and the later endowments of Æthelbert and his successors. Bede provides some indication of the structural topography of Canterbury at the turn of the sixth century. Although discussion of Bede's commentary on Canterbury traditionally centres upon the Roman church of St Martin, it is important to note that Bede also refers to functional domestic structures within Canterbury, suggesting that the city was inhabited, or at least inhabitable, to some degree: when Æthelbert first accepts Augustine off the Isle of Thanet, he grants Augustine 'a *mansionem* [house, or plot of land] in the city of Canterbury, which was the chief city in all his realm...'; later, after Æthelbert accepts Augustine's teaching, the king 'granted his teachers in his capital of Canterbury a place (*locum*) appropriate to their station...'.⁶²⁸ It would appear that Augustine, having been accepted into the good graces of the king, is moving from temporary to more permanent accommodation, although the similarity of the two passages could suggest some confusion on the part of Albinus in regard to the particular chronology of Augustine's entrance into the city. Either way, one wonders as to the precise nature of this accommodation: would Augustine and his companions have re-inhabited a derelict *insula* during their time in the city, or would it have been a sub-Roman recreation more along the lines of the timber hall at Birdoswald? If they had in fact taken over a Roman building within the city, presumably they would have required masons, Roman or perhaps Frankish, to mix mortar, repair, and roof the building. That handymen of some sort were either with, or available to, Augustine is attested in Bede's statement that 'the king's own conversion to the Faith gave them greater freedom to preach and to build and restore (*restaurandi*) churches everywhere' – presumably 'everywhere' meaning within the territory of Kent.⁶²⁹

3.4.1 St Martin's

Augustine's structural renaissance may or may not have included the fabric of St Martin's; Bede does not refer to its refurbishment in particular: 'On the east side of the old city stood an old church built in honour of St Martin during the Roman occupation of Britain, where the Christian queen [Bertha] went to pray'. The fabric of both the western end of the chancel and the nave (phases I and II respectively) is composed of reused Roman tile and brick; both phases are built using a salmon-pink mortar that is characteristically Late Roman rather than medieval.⁶³⁰ Tatton-Brown concludes, therefore, that the chancel and nave must date from either the third or fourth century, or 'the half century or so' after 597.⁶³¹ Based on the different construction techniques – the Roman brick of the chancel and the *opus quasi vittatum* of the nave – Tatton-Brown suggests that, like the church at Stone-by-Faversham, St Martin's began life as some kind of mausoleum in the late Roman period and was later converted or expanded by Augustine (Figure 90).⁶³² Another

⁶²⁸ *H. E. I*, 25-6.

⁶²⁹ *H. E. I*, 26.

⁶³⁰ Tatton-Brown 1980, 12.

⁶³¹ Tatton-Brown 1980, 13.

⁶³² Tatton-Brown 1980, 14.

possibility is that the Phase II construction could have been undertaken by Frankish masons at Bertha's request.

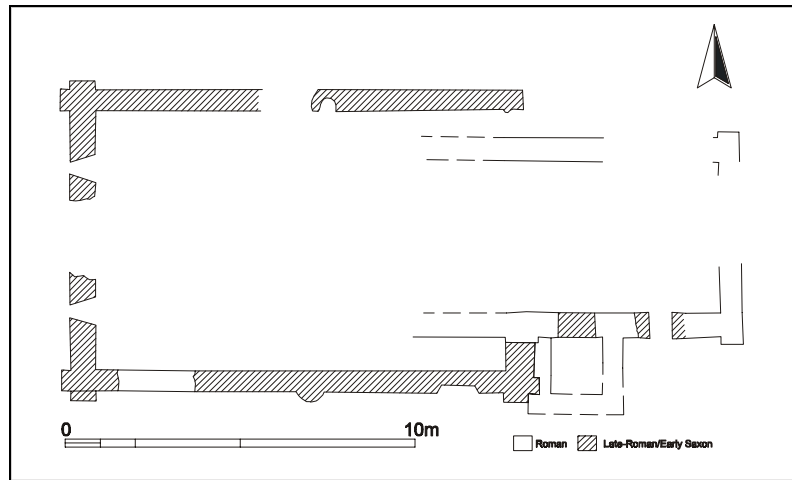


Figure 90 – St Martin's, Canterbury (after Tatton-Brown 1980, fig. 5)

The importance of Bede's reference to St Martin's is not in the fabric of the church itself, but rather in the suggestion that there was some form of Christian tradition within Canterbury which could have readily identified specific structures as places of Christian veneration and worship. Bertha's Frankish bishop Luidhard will have relied on local commentary and tradition to become aware of such sites in and around Canterbury, or alternatively simply identified buildings that looked like churches; did he direct Augustine to some of these sites, or perhaps he even initiated a rebuilding program of his own. This existence of local, Christian tradition in Kent fits in well with the vestigial cult of Sixtus mentioned in the *Obsecratio Augustini* (see page 196); people like the members of this cult may have been those who acted as a sort of a spiritual tour guide for Augustine and his followers, pointing out specific structures of real or invented Christian significance.⁶³³

3.4.2 Christ Church Canterbury

One of these structures, according to Bede, was a Roman church which Augustine made into his episcopal church, the present cathedral:

Having been granted his episcopal see in the royal capital, as already recorded, Augustine proceeded with the king's help to repair (*recuperavit*) a church which he was informed had been built long ago by Roman Christians. This he hallowed in the Name of our Saviour, God, and Lord Jesus Christ, and established there a dwelling (*habitationem*) for himself and his successors.⁶³⁴

With the fabric of St Martin's appearing to agree with the account of Bede, the presence of a Roman church underneath the present cathedral has traditionally been taken as an accepted, if unverified, truth. However, the recent excavation underneath Canterbury Cathedral in advance of the laying of a new floor showed that the nave of the Anglo-Saxon church cuts across a Roman street running north-east/south-west: timber and masonry buildings were found fronting, and aligned to the street, but the excavator concludes that 'none of the Roman structures located in the area can be considered as candidates for a Roman Christian church' with the caveat that 'if such a [Roman] structure

⁶³³ Brooks 1984, 20.

⁶³⁴ *H. E.* I, 33.

existed, then it must lie to the east of the nave'.⁶³⁵ However, the deposit of 'dark earth' into which the foundations of the first Anglo-Saxon church were cut covered the Roman street and the adjacent buildings,⁶³⁶ which would seem to suggest that there was little to be seen on Augustine's arrival.

So we are left with one of the few instances in which Bede can be shown to have been either incorrect or misinformed. In an attempt to reconcile Bede's statement, Blockley suggests that Bede's source at Canterbury, Albinus, may have been mistaken in his own understanding of the age of the church, because the Roman material in the fabric and over a century of weathering lent the structure 'an appearance of antiquity'.⁶³⁷ As an alternative explanation, Blockley suggests that 'Bede used the term *recuperare* in its legal sense of reclaiming lost church property', better translated as 'regain', or even 'recycle', so if it were a ruin, Augustine would have been 'reclaiming the ground upon which the building was believed to have stood'.⁶³⁸ This semantic alternative of explaining Bede's otherwise clear choice of words via a legal interpretation is ambiguous; 'repair' is a poor translation of *recuperare* in any case: a much more acceptable translation is 'restore', 'restore to health', or even 'recycle', which allows for greater flexibility in interpreting what Augustine is actually doing to a Roman structure in the walls of Canterbury.

Although Albinus or his source could have easily been misinformed, there is the chance that Augustine himself was misinformed: note that we have no indication that the structure at the heart of St Martin's was ever a focus of Christian veneration before Bertha. Given the possibility of a non-Christian origin for the church of St Martin and the slightly confused nature of the cult of Sixtus as portrayed in the *Obescriptio Augustini*, we could be looking at an Anglo-Saxon or Frankish individual that is incorrectly identifying places of Roman Christian veneration. In the case of Canterbury cathedral, the building that was identified to Augustine as a Roman church could be one of the masonry structures aligned on the street found under the Cathedral nave. This raises the obvious questions of why it was not included in the structure of the Anglo-Saxon church in the manner of St Martin, and also the culpability of Augustine: surely he, a Christian from Rome, would have been able to identify a Roman Christian structure? Both of these objections can be obviated by the fact that the building, whatever its nature, must have been in an extensively ruinous condition.⁶³⁹ Apparently a proper east-west orientation held enough importance to Augustine and his successors that an existing structure was only reused if it fell within a certain tolerance of an east-west alignment; Augustine may have simply rebuilt over the Roman building on a new alignment. Even if the identified building were still recognisable as a domestic building, there was little distinction between domestic and sacred buildings in Gregorian Rome (page 34). In short, the reason we may not be able to identify a Roman church beneath Canterbury cathedral nave is that there was never one there, but another, secular structure was identified as such to Augustine and his followers.

⁶³⁵ Blockley *et al.* 1997, 99.

⁶³⁶ Blockley *et al.* 1997, 11.

⁶³⁷ Blockley *et al.* 1997, 99.

⁶³⁸ Blockley *et al.* 1997, 99, 100.

⁶³⁹ Blockley *et al.* note that if there were a fit church within Canterbury, surely it would have been used in preference to St Martin's by Bertha (1997, 100). This is based on the assumption that Bertha lived within the city. However, Bede only states that Canterbury was the 'chief city' of his realm, not his royal residence (*H. E.* I, 25), and undoubtedly Albinus was keen to stress the importance of Canterbury.

The fact remains that no certain example of Augustine's programme of church restoration has been identified. Looking at what we might expect, however, it is possible to identify potential candidates: the first criterion is of course the existence of a Roman building, but not necessarily a Roman church, at the core of the rebuilding. The Augustinian phase of the building, judging by the churches of SS Peter and Paul and St Pancras, would have been built of reused Roman material, probably after the 'Roman manner' understood by Bede.⁶⁴⁰ The Anglo-Saxon church would have been small, roughly 20m x 8m and shaped like other seventh-century Kentish churches at Canterbury, Lyminge, Reculver, Rochester, with a curved chancel and side porticus (St Martin's is roughly the same size but with a square chancel and without porticus). The underlying Roman building would in almost all cases be aligned east-west. There remains the alternative that the reuse (recycling?) of these churches pre-dates the Augustinian mission, and is the result of Frankish practice, particularly in light of recent work in Normandy which suggests a similar practice.⁶⁴¹

3.4.3 Stone-by-Faversham

The best candidate for an Augustinian rebuild is the chapel at Stone-by-Faversham: 16 km from Canterbury, the site is well known as the quintessential church on a Roman tomb (Figure 91), and is undoubtedly an early rebuild, assigned to period A1 by Taylor and Taylor.⁶⁴² Like the church of St Martin, it is a two-phase building, the western half of the chancel reusing an earlier structure, most probably a Roman tomb of some kind. Topographically this makes sense, as the ruined chapel is 1km north of the Roman road, now marked by Faversham road, not far from other Roman cemeteries.⁶⁴³

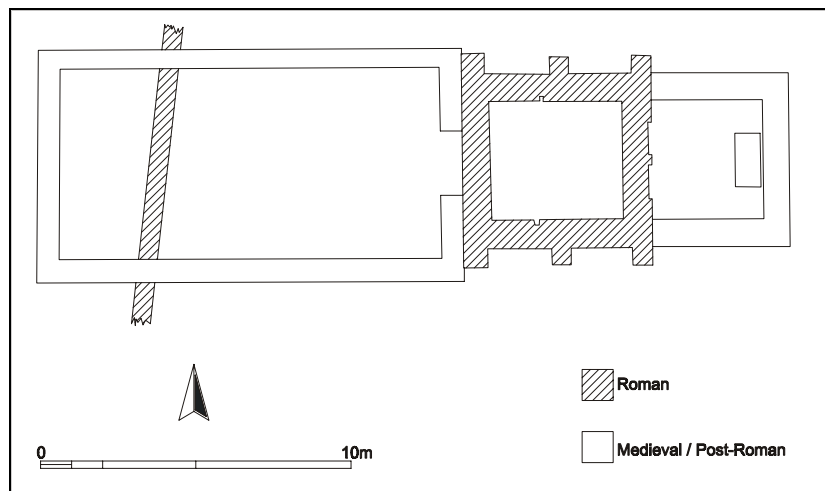


Figure 91 – The ruined chapel at Stone-by-Faversham (after Fletcher and Meates 1977, fig. 1).

There are no other certain candidates dating from the Augustinian rebuilding, in part because of the problematical identification of what is effectively a Late-Roman rebuild of an earlier Roman building: would the structural sequence of St Martin's have been identified without Bede's documentation? It is certainly possible that other small, perhaps ruined, churches with a Roman core could be found in the periphery of Kent.

⁶⁴⁰ Bede *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, v (ed. and trans. J. Webb and S. Farmer (1988)).

⁶⁴¹ Le Maho 1994.

⁶⁴² Taylor and Taylor II, 575-57.

⁶⁴³ OS 1:2500 TQ 9961

3.4.4 Lullingstone

The villa at Lullingstone is perhaps the only certain English example of a Late Roman villa-to-church transition based on the continental model, but one which did not survive into the early-medieval period; it does, however, also demonstrate enigmatic and potentially very interesting activity in the Anglo-Saxon period.

In the mid-fourth century, the site at Lullingstone consisted of a villa complex with a circular shrine and a clearly pagan memorial mausoleum to the NW. Sometime in the third quarter of the fourth century several upper rooms in the main villa building were converted to a Christian chapel, access between the chapel and the interior was blocked, and a new external entrance was probably constructed. Soon thereafter the mausoleum was allowed to decay to such an extent that one of the coffins was exhumed for its lead, and in turn the rest of the structure was robbed or dismantled – all of this occurring while the villa remained in use.⁶⁴⁴ This pagan structure in the back garden apparently proved something of an embarrassment: its neglect and the abandonment of its associated burial rites at a time when the villa was still occupied presents a striking picture of the late-fourth-century owner's attitude to the villa's pagan past.

The suite of Christian rooms was probably in use into the late fourth century but was abandoned along with the entire villa sometime in the early fifth; here at Lullingstone, on the evidence of the physical restructuring of the villa, we are possibly seeing the beginnings of a developing monastic complex along the lines of the continental examples similar to Maximus' transformation of his own villa in Gaul (see page 44 ff).⁶⁴⁵

The Romano-Christian adaptation of Lullingstone villa was a composed, deliberate process that ultimately failed to outlive the political climate of fifth-century Britain. Yet, remarkably, this did not mark the end of Lullingstone's Christian history: sometime in the medieval period, after several centuries of abandonment, a Christian church was constructed upon and even aligned with the remains of the mausoleum's *cella* foundation. The excavator concludes that 'little, if anything, is likely to have remained above ground when the [medieval] Christian church came to be built'.⁶⁴⁶ Its inclusions in the Chrism Rent Roll of the diocese of Rochester in 1115 provides a *terminus ante quem* for its origin; the Taylors suggest a Saxon origin, but it could equally be late eleventh-century.⁶⁴⁷ The church was abandoned by 1412, and was in ruins by 1750.

What association, if any, was there between the Roman and medieval Christian churches at Lullingstone? The strict alignment of the medieval church upon the Roman *cella* seems to rule out simple coincidence, yet if the excavator is correct in his observation that there would have been few physical remains to call attention to the mausoleum: clearly there must have been something remaining for the *cella* to be identified and the church aligned upon it, although not necessarily very much. At the time the church was built it is possible that Lullingstone was believed to have been a Roman site through a continued local tradition supported, perhaps, by the existence of upstanding villa ruins and the remains of the mausoleum. It also remains possible that Lullingstone was known in medieval period to have been a site of Christian significance: the excavator suggests that

⁶⁴⁴ Meates 1979.

⁶⁴⁵ Henig 1997.

⁶⁴⁶ Meates 1979, 124.

⁶⁴⁷ Taylor and Taylor 1965, 402.

'it is likely that the position, at any rate, of the building was still remembered when the church of Lullingstone came to be built over it many centuries later'.⁶⁴⁸

Apart from this explanation it is difficult to account for the intentional and distinct reuse of the mausoleum foundation. The possible Christian associations of Roman ruins suggest that the first explanation should remain a possibility. The second suggestion entails the continuation of a Christian cult or community from the late Roman to the medieval period. This is uncommon in Britain, but not entirely unknown: included in the *Obsecratio Augustini* of the *Responsiones* is a reply from Gregory addressing Augustine's concern that the relics of a local cult of Sixtus may be of dubious origin: no miracles were performed at the shrine, and the elders did not know the circumstances of the saint's martyrdom. To remedy the situation Gregory sent Augustine relics of a proper saint, the martyr Pope Sixtus II, to replace those of the local cult.⁶⁴⁹ This missive has particular relevance to our discussion because it describes what appears to be a native, pre-Augustinian, Christian cult, albeit one that has been somewhat separated from its roots. If this kind of community could exist in the sub-Roman south-east, then perhaps we should entertain the possibility of additional preserved Christian traditions there – these may not entail 'Christian continuity' in the strictest sense, but rather the preservation of small, localized Christian associations. With this in mind, there is a possibility that Lullingstone could have been one of these places. A Christian association could explain the presence of a medieval church which, attempting to monumentalise an earlier Christian location, ironically reused the foundations of a decidedly un-Christian structure.

3.5 Chapter Summary

Churches associated with Roman buildings occur throughout Britain, with specific concentrations in Essex, Kent, and the south-west, mainly around the Severn estuary. The nature of the archaeology – in many instances a cemetery overlies the Roman building – means that very few sites have been excavated to the extent that a stratigraphical relationship has been established between the church and Roman building.

There appears little that archaeologically differentiates the reuse of different types of Roman secular structures: forts, villas, and towns were all used for early, seventh-century minsters, as well as later foundations, very probably into the ninth, tenth, and even eleventh century.

All types of Roman building were reused, but the primary reuse is of Roman structures which held a secular function in the Roman period. Roman religious structures – temples, churches and mausolea – make up a very small proportion of the corpus. Upon discovering Roman artefacts or masonry under a church, antiquarians were particularly inclined to declare the underlying building to be a church, but Silchester and Ancaster remain the only two potential candidates. There are only five probable instances of the religious reuse of Roman mausolea, four of which are in Kent: Canterbury St Martin's, Stone-by-Faversham, Lullingstone, and Folkestone; the fifth is at Wells. In none of these instances is there any evidence that those interred were Christian, and it appears likely that retrospective Christian associations were likely to have been the underlying catalyst of their reuse.

⁶⁴⁸ Meates 1979, 130.

⁶⁴⁹ Brooks 1984, 20; Deanesly and Grosjean 1959, 29-32.

It is unlikely that the Anglo-Saxons were able to distinguish a Roman town from a Roman fort, and in fact churches were established in towns, forts, and walled settlements of all varieties. In some instances the early church was established in the central public area, usually the forum/basilica complex; in others, it was built on the periphery of the site, often against the enclosure wall or even on the gate itself. Other churches appear to be reusing a specific Roman building somewhere within the enclosure. Most churches in Roman walled sites were aligned to the Roman grid; some examples may have been realigned to a more liturgically correct orientation at a later period. On the two sites where there is a candidate for an intra-mural Roman church, Wroxeter and Silchester, the Roman building has been forsaken or forgotten in preference to another, as the parish churches lie elsewhere within the walls. In few intra-mural churches associated with Roman buildings do we have any idea of the type of underlying building.

Like Roman walled sites, villas were reused as the site of minsters from the seventh century; and like forts and some smaller settlements, they also underlie smaller, less significant churches and chapels. There are no instances in Britain where there is evidence of a villa continuing in use to become a church, as is more common on the continent.

The following chapter brings together the evidence of both types of religious reuse, and examines how, when and why Roman sites were reused for religious purposes in the Anglo-Saxon period.

4 Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis has examined the archaeology of sites showing a religious reuse of Roman buildings in Anglo-Saxon England, but are we any closer to answering the questions of continuity that Biddle posed in 1976?⁶⁵⁰ Because the body of evidence remains comparatively small, it is unlikely that we can yet provide unequivocal answers, but it is hoped that the data presented in this thesis and the explanations discussed in this chapter will put us closer to realistic solutions.

It is clear from the range of Roman buildings, and the variety of churches that were built upon them, that no single explanation suffices to explain the origins of the full spectrum of churches associated with Roman buildings. We can, however, suggest some broad explanations of how a Roman (usually secular) structure came to be used for Christian worship in the Anglo-Saxon period.

4.1 Burials and Churches Associated with Roman Buildings

Before concluding it is worth commenting specifically upon the relationship of the two classes of site as they have been defined in this study, and addressing the question of whether these sites were first used for burial, before becoming the sites of Christian churches. The bulk of evidence would seem to suggest not, although this observation is of course subject to the caveats of ecclesiastical archaeology outlined in Chapter 1, particularly:

1. If a site became 'successful', and continued in use, the later, often deeper, inhumations will have destroyed the underlying phases of inhumation, and their associated stratigraphy.
2. Early burials will often be archaeologically indistinguishable from later Christian inhumations.

We might still expect some relic of early- or pre-Christian burials to have survived, but unsurprisingly, there are few indications of such within this study.

A small proportion of Roman buildings within the corpus are associated with both churches and burials (Table 15); in the majority of cases there is too much ambiguity to confirm whether the burials pre-date the church; if the burials are certainly pre-Christian, it is not always certain whether a church existed on the site. The following table lists those sites that are entered within both gazetteers, and demonstrates that there are few cases where the burials and churches can be seen to have been associated directly with the Roman building: most are minsters where the burials are probably associated with the church, and the other cases show that the burials and church are not particularly close together.

⁶⁵⁰ Biddle 1976b.

Table 15 – Roman structures that are associated with a church *and* burials.

Site	County	Brief Description
Asthall	Oxon	Fragmentary foundations and many tesserae were found 130m S of St Nicholas' church. 15 inhumations were also found on the site, but no further details are available.
Banwell - Winthill	Somerset	Small-scale excavations have uncovered the remains of a Roman villa, with an unrecorded number of inhumations within. The site is described above, page 93.
Blaise Castle	Gloucs	Within an Iron Age hillfort, the remains of a Roman structure, possibly a temple, appears to have been used as a chapel. An unspecified number of burials have been found on the site, some, if not all, aligned west/east.
Burgh Castle	Suffolk	Two cremations were found in 1756 close to the fort, and 160 unfurnished, W/E inhumations were found from 1951-68. The site is a candidate for Bede's <i>Cnobheresburg</i> ; no contemporary or extant church structure has been found, but plaster and post-holes may suggest a wooden structure within the fort, to the south.
Burwell	Cambs	The castle here was built on a Roman building, adjacent to the church of St Mary. The SMR records that Roman building material was found beneath a Saxon cemetery, some distance from the building.
Caerleon	Monm	An unspecified number of west/east aligned burials (one radiocarbon dated to 705 +/- 60) have been found within the former Roman fort, which also has a church in its centre.
Caerwent	Monm	Post-Roman burials were cut into the main west/east street of the town, and into adjacent buildings, just west of the church. Radiocarbon dates span the mid-fourth to the mid-eighth centuries.
Caister-on-Sea	Norfolk	A massive mid-Saxon cemetery lies outside the walls to the south of the fort, and two burials are recorded from within an intra-mural Roman building. The site is another contender for Bede's <i>Cnobheresburg</i> ; the current parish church lies 150m east of the fort's south-east corner.
Exeter	Devon	A small cemetery dating from the C5 (phase I) has been found within the forum area and basilica courtyard, aligned to the Roman grid. A minster was extant here by 680, and fifty-three burials are ascribed to the phase II (conversion period) cemetery, presumably associated with the minster.
Folkestone	Kent	A Roman building known as, or associated with, 'St Botolph's Chapel' was excavated in 'Chapel Field'. Several inhumations were reported in association with the structure, but the specifics are unknown.
Frocester	Gloucs	'Early medieval' inhumations aligned to the Roman building are recorded here, but their relationship to the Late Saxon church is unspecified.
Gloucester - St Mary de Lode	Gloucs	A brief reference to the development of the site in Heighway 1987, 128-9 shows that a ?C5 - C6 cemetery on the villa preceeded the first church. A final report by Richard Bryant and Carolyn Heighway is currently in press.
Lillyhorn	Gloucs	Four inhumations had been inserted into a 'long mound or rubbish dump' near the Roman villa. Bisley church, about 1.5 miles from the villa, is suggested to overlie a Roman temple.
Lincoln - St Paul-in-the-Bail	Lincs	The church of St-Paul-in-the-Bail lies within the Roman forum of Lincoln. It is associated with a central burial, and others, in addition to an underlying Roman building, but the relationship between the structures and burials remains unclear.
Llandough	Glam	The church of St Dochwdy now stands on the site of a Roman villa and an adjacent Roman and 'sub Roman' cemetery. The site is discussed on page 91ff.
Lower Basildon	Berks	Two skeletons, and twenty nearby 'pavements' (paved graves?) were found on the site of a Roman building in 'Church Field'. The extant church of St Bartholomew lies 400m to the east.

Site	County	Brief Description
Market Overton	Rutland	The parish church of SS Peter and Paul lies within the earthwork of a Roman camp; 1.25 miles to the east, nineteenth-century excavations in a field called 'kirk hole' found what may be inhumations in a Roman hypocaust.
Much Wenlock	Shrops	A possible Roman building lies below the church of St Milburga; closer to the parish church of the Holy Trinity, two post-Roman, pre-Christian burials were found. The site is discussed on page 164ff.
Scampton	Lincs	What appear to be Christian burials lie in a Roman villa, possibly the site of the chapel of St Pancras. The site is discussed on page 173ff.
Southwell	Notts	Two north/south inhumations were found on a Roman mosaic, just east of the minster. The site is discussed immediately below, page 200.
Stone-by-Faversham	Kent	The 1968 excavation report mentions that 'burials found inside and outside the building, some oriented north/south, indicate a pagan or pre-Christian origin'. These could be Roman (which makes sense given its presumed location in a Roman cemetery), but a recalibrated radiocarbon sample returned a date of AD530-730 at 1 σ .
Wells	Somerset	There was a cemetery associated with the Roman mausoleum at Wells by the seventh century. The site is discussed on page 114.
Wigginton	Oxon	A single north/south inhumation was inserted into the apsidal bath-house at Wigginton; the church of St Giles lies less than 200m to the south-west.
Worlabby	Lincs	At least 12 inhumations were found within a Roman villa during excavations in the 1960s. The church of St Clement lies c.200m to the south-west.
Wroxeter	Shrops	The intra-mural church of St Andrew lies to the south of the Roman town. A single burial was found interred in the bath block; a radiocarbon sample returned a date of AD590-870 at 2 σ .
Wykham	Oxon	What appears to be a Roman structure was found with 7 or 8 inhumations, near a chapel.

The burials on some of these sites, such as Caerleon, Caerwent, Folkestone, Winthill, Scampton, and possibly Flawford and Frocester, may very well be associated with the Christian presence, and not pre-date the church. Others, such as Asthall (Oxon), Lower Basildon (Berks), Wigginton and Worlabby (Lincs), have burials on the villa, while the church is nearby: one sequence of development entails that the Roman structure was first used for burial, followed by a church on a green site, perhaps intentionally avoiding the cemetery. This model could also apply to Winthill and Scampton, where a 'new' church was established on a green site, well after the use of the Roman building for (presumably) worship and inhumation.

However, the evidence confirms that the bulk of Roman sites that were used for burial did not have later churches built upon them. One possible exception is Southwell minster, where the church of St Mary lies to the immediate west of what appears to be a courtyard villa complex, within which north/south oriented burials are recorded.⁶⁵¹ The site is an important minster, but with no significant pre-Conquest documentation, nor is a church recorded on the manor of Southwell in Domesday. There is a reference to Southwell in the ninth-century portion of the *Secgan* as the resting place of an otherwise unknown St Eadburgh.⁶⁵² On occasions in the Middle Ages, Southwell was described as the 'mother church of the county'.⁶⁵³ A grant of 956 to Oskytel, Archbishop of York, at Southwell

⁶⁵¹ Daniels 1966.

⁶⁵² Beaumont 1956, 12; Hadley 1992, 366.

⁶⁵³ Hadley 1992, 365.

has been taken to cite the founding of the minster, but in fact, nothing in the charter suggests it is a foundation document, and the church is not referred to.⁶⁵⁴

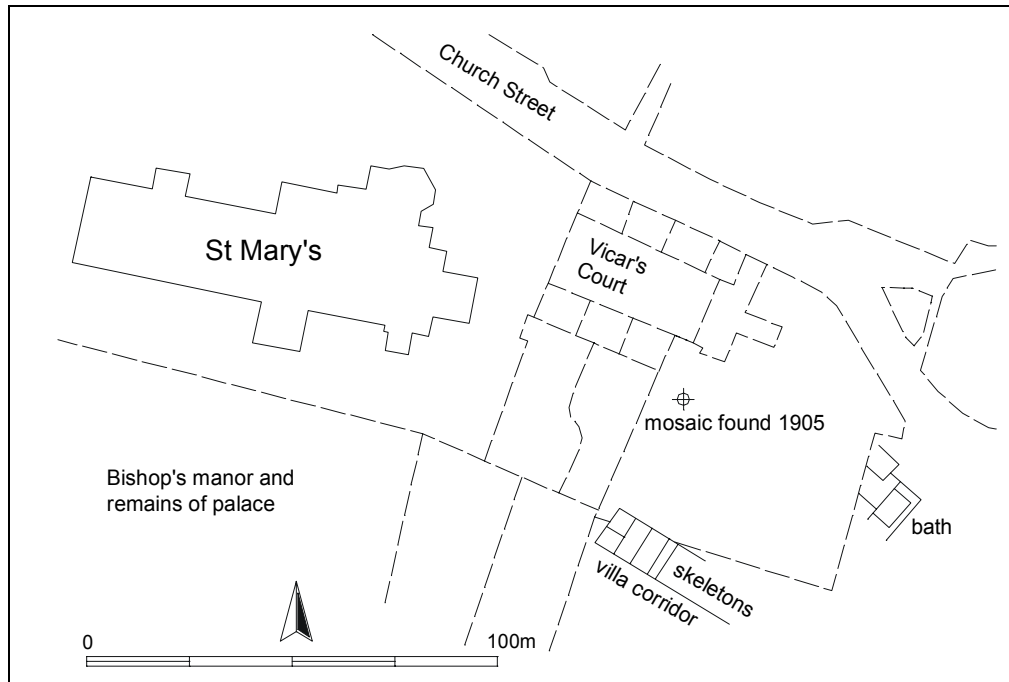


Figure 92 – Southwell: the site of a Roman villa, pre-Conquest minster, and probable pre-Christian burials (after JRS 50 (1960), fig. 25 and OS 1:2500 SK 7053).

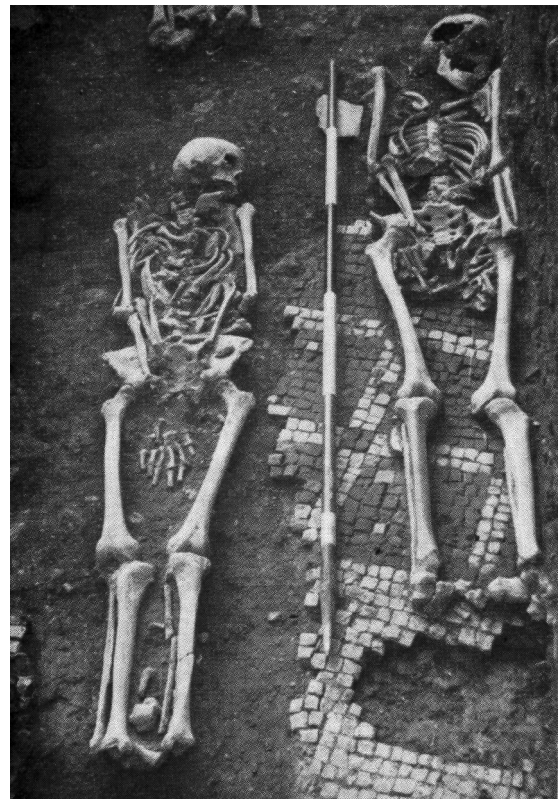


Figure 93 – Southwell: Presumably Christian burials on a Roman pavement found by Daniels in the 1960s (Daniels 1966, plate 4a). The north/south oriented burials were found c.1870.

⁶⁵⁴ Hadley 1992, 367-8.

The first tangible hints of pre-Saxon occupation on the site came in 1789 when a masonry wall and Roman material was discovered about 3 feet below the 'vicar's court residence', just E of St Mary's minster (Figure 92). In 1901, A. Baylay recorded that, about 30 years prior, 'some workmen ... came upon a tessellated pavement ... and two skeletons, lying on the pavement and in a north and south direction'; a hint of pre-Christian mortuary activity on the site.⁶⁵⁵ In the 1959 excavations, Daniels excavated two narrow, diagonal ditches that cut through the Roman levels, and were filled with human bones, 'some dozen groups could be isolated in the filling, comprising, in most cases, moderately complete limbs or other sections of the body, rather than whole skeletons'.⁶⁵⁶ Daniels also uncovered an unspecified number of west/east inhumations, which he does not document (Figure 93). There is evidence of a post-Roman structure: the mosaic in Room 7 was pierced by seven postholes; in Room 3 was found a Saxon pot, dated to c.500-525.⁶⁵⁷ Here at Southwell the juxtaposition of pre-Christian burials and later minster on the Roman villa make it tempting to see the complete villa/cemetery/church sequence here.

Other sites may also fall into this category, but the evidence for the church is lacking. Llantwit Major is known for its relationship to St Illtud (*fl.* c.500) and his tie to the estate of Llanillud Fawr, of which the modern name is believed to be a corruption.⁶⁵⁸ However, the site of the monastery is unknown, although the villa is probably the best candidate. On the opposite side of the island, Eccles demonstrates a similar archaeology: a church can be expected here, and the place-name would certainly suggest one, but none has yet been found. A mass of unanalysed postholes and intercutting features to the west of the main burial area may in time resolve itself into a church or chapel-like structure, but the best candidate is, like the purloined letter, hiding before our eyes: if one were to look at a modified plan of Eccles (Figure 33, page 87), in which the main villa structure is erased so that only the bath-house remained, one would see only a two-celled structure with a squared chancel, oriented roughly east/west, with a series of densely-packed, intercutting, west/east oriented burials to the south. In short, the plan of the bath-house and inhumations is almost identical to an early Anglo-Saxon church and cemetery. It is not unlikely that the bath-house here at Eccles could have been reused as some kind of church or chapel, perhaps after the development of an early cemetery on the site. However, even the Eccles church and cemetery was abandoned for a new site, and in this manner it may be similar to sites such as Scampton and/or Folkestone.

4.2 Continuity

What of continuity: is it 'inherently more likely' on some of these sites, as Biddle suggested in 1976?⁶⁵⁹ The study of these sites has traditionally been undertaken within the context of examining continuity from the Roman period. In attempting to suggest a range of answers, this author has further refined Biddle's ideas of *structural continuity*, *continuity of site use*, and *settlement continuity*.⁶⁶⁰

⁶⁵⁵ Baylay 1901, 59.

⁶⁵⁶ Daniels 1966, 24; Fig 7 in Daniels shows what appear to be ?disturbed burials rather than pure charnel. Daniels suggests that, because of the burial rite, these burials lay outside of the churchyard, but again we may be looking at some kind of activity that pre-dates the minster.

⁶⁵⁷ Mosaic: Daniels 1966, pl. 2 and 3; fig. 9; Pot: Daniels 1966, 47.

⁶⁵⁸ Morris 1966, 379.

⁶⁵⁹ Biddle 1976b, 103.

⁶⁶⁰ Biddle 1976b.

1. True Continuity: Sites where Christian worship, and perhaps burial, began in the Roman period, and continued more or less without interruption into the medieval period. Few sites in England apart from St Albans are likely candidates, although Christian communities in Kent may have struggled through in some form. To the west, some *llans* overlying villas may prove also to be valid candidates, such as Llandough and Llantwit Major, but even here the villa seems to have been abandoned to some degree before being reused for a Christian purpose. These sites will usually entail both Biddle's structural continuity and continuity of site use.
2. Perceived Continuity: Roman sites that, in the Anglo-Saxon period, were believed – correctly or incorrectly – to have been Christian sites in the Roman period. We can suggest that Anglo-Saxon churches may have been built on these sites to 'reaffirm' ties between the Roman mission and Roman, Christian Britain. Sites from the Augustinian rebuild in the first half of the seventh century are probably best grouped in this category, such as St Martins Canterbury, Stone-by-Faversham, and the intention underlying the construction of Canterbury Cathedral.
3. Affirmed Continuity: Roman sites that were consciously reused specifically – or at least in part – for their Roman connotations. Many of the early minster sites in the corpus may entail affirmed continuity, such as those in the Saxon Shore forts.
4. Continuity of Place: Sites that show no conscious reuse of the Roman building; many will be based in a specific topographic situation in which a Roman building is associated with another feature, such as a well, spring, or hilltop, which becomes the focus of post-Roman religious activity. Hilltop temples with post-Roman burials, and some possible Christian cult sites are the best examples of this group, and some of the later churches associated with manor houses will fall into this category.

These categories are by no means exclusive, and many sites will fall into more than one.

The ambiguity surrounding the archaeological evidence on the majority of these sites has allowed room for flexible interpretations of their origins, and many have looked to true continuity as the most likely explanation. Rodwell's survey of the churches in the Diocese of Chelmsford, recorded in Morris and Roxan's *Churches on Roman Buildings*, includes thirty-eight churches on Roman buildings in Essex.⁶⁶¹ Of these, only twelve demonstrate a *certain* or near-certain Roman heritage as categorized by the qualifications of this thesis. Eight more examples here are *probably* on Roman sites, suggested by densities of persistent building material or foundations that are not undoubtedly Roman. Eighteen additional sites which Morris and Roxan list as being on Roman buildings have no proof of being so, outside the suggestions of the occasional sherd or fragment of building material that is found in the churchyard, or the church is 'rumoured' to be on a villa. In one instance, Rodwell concludes that 'a villa is expected here', but there is not much conclusive evidence outside the topography.⁶⁶² These suggestions are certainly valid, and some sites may in time reveal further evidence of underlying Roman villas, but speculation on the matter is simply that.⁶⁶³

⁶⁶¹ Rodwell 1980, 194 -203. This number includes those 'churches for which there is some definite Roman structural background.'

⁶⁶² Littlebury, Essex. Rodwell and Rodwell 1977, 112.

⁶⁶³ A list of sites listed in Morris and Roxan (1980) but excluded from this thesis is shown in Table 10, page 7.

The Rivenhall excavation, of course, was seen as one of the archaeological keystones for the period between Late Roman and Anglo-Saxon England, demonstrating what appears to be a villa, cemetery and church sequence from the Roman into the Anglo-Saxon period.⁶⁶⁴ However, shortly after the Volume I of the excavations was published, Martin Millet very rightly pointed out many inconsistencies in the chronological interpretation of the site, the physical reconstruction of the villa complex, and the stratigraphic relationship between the Roman and medieval phases, and concluded that 'the whole of [the] critical sequence from villa to church is open to considerable doubt'.⁶⁶⁵ His concerns regarding the interpretation were further justified when Volume II of the excavations was published 8 years later and the calibrated radiocarbon dates showed that the cemetery on the villa was unlikely to pre-date the tenth or eleventh-century church.⁶⁶⁶

For archaeologists, continuity remains an elusive beast; so many of the various faces of archaeology as described above entail a perceived or an applied continuity, the origins of which rarely impart material culture to the archaeological record. Much of what we have come to know as 'continuity' is the archaeology of belief, which often belies archaeological investigation. The following section explores how some of these various continuities may have manifested themselves in the Anglo-Saxon landscape.

4.3 From Secular Structure to Sacred Site

Exactly how does the ruin of a Roman domestic structure become a religious focus of the Anglo-Saxons? The processes behind this evolution are perhaps the most intriguing, and yet most elusive, aspect of this study. While we may never know the specific logistics, a rough pattern is beginning to emerge from the data collated in this thesis. The following discussion attempts to investigate the mechanics and perceptions behind this change from a secular ruin to religious centre through the construction and examination of some potential models of church development on Roman structures.

This author suggests five models that attempt to explain the relationship of churches to Roman buildings, in effect placing the above categories of continuity into a framework detailing the progression from Roman structure to Anglo-Saxon sacred site.

- 1) The *Continental Model*: A villa estate evolves into a monastic complex during its 'active life', along the lines of Sidonius' account of his contemporary, Maximus. This model entails 'true continuity', as described above.
- 2) The *Proprietary Model*: In the Anglo-Saxon period a ruined villa estate is taken over, in part or in its entirety. A manor house is built on the estate, and later a church serving the manor house is built on the ruins of the villa. The estate in time becomes a parish, and the manorial church becomes the parish church. This model entails a 'continuity of place', or 'associated continuity'.
- 3) The *Retrospective Model*: A church is built on a Roman site because the site is believed to be a site of some Christian significance. This could be the shrine or even the house of a Roman martyr, or could at a later date be believed to have been associated with the Augustinian mission.

⁶⁶⁴ Rodwell and Rodwell 1985.

⁶⁶⁵ Millet 1987, 438.

⁶⁶⁶ Rodwell and Rodwell 1993.

- 4) The *Structural Suitability Model*: A villa or part of a villa is reused as a church in the Anglo-Saxon period because it is deemed structurally suitable to be a church.
- 5) The *Sacred Site Model*: After the Roman period, a Roman building, villa, or part of a villa – such as a well, spring, or natural feature – retains or obtains some kind of religious significance. Religious activity of an unspecified nature continues here; in time such activity is brought within the bosom of the Church, an assimilation that may be marked by the construction of a Christian church or chapel.

It is probable that churches fitting each model can be found throughout the corpus. The following sections explore these models and their viability in greater detail.

4.3.1 The Continental Model

Examples of the Continental Model are presented in Section 1.6.1, and detailed in the writings of Sidonius Apollinaris in Section 1.6.1.1. Could such a villa evolution have occurred in late-Roman Britain? Most evidence points towards the decline of organised Christianity in Britain after about 480, except perhaps in the south-west and west where it continued in a sub-Roman form.⁶⁶⁷ Elsewhere in Britain the decline of the villa, while varying in date and by region, can largely be placed in the late fourth century. If these villas were undergoing a Christian transformation in the late-Roman period there is no evidence yet that any survived into the early-medieval period. The break in Roman Christianity was almost absolute; it remains a significant fact that there are no certain instances, outside St Albans, of a Roman church or Christian complex that began its life in the Roman period and remained in use into the early-medieval period.

We have no British sources to parallel Sidonius' account of fifth-century Gaul, but at the time of Sidonius' writing the greater majority of British villas were largely defunct, and indeed Imperial Roman Britain had ceased to exist as both a political unit and as a way of life. It remains unlikely that this gradual transformation from villa estate to Christian complex could have occurred in Britain unless it were to do so by the first half of the fourth century. There are a few possible candidates. The villa at Lullingstone has been explored elsewhere (Section 3.4.4), but it is worth stressing that the nature of the late-Roman Christian community there seems to suggest that it was on the road to becoming a 'successful' example of the villa-to-church transition, but one which did not survive beyond a fire on the premises in the early-fifth century. In the south-west, there are some villas which are also very good candidates:⁶⁶⁸ At Llandough the church of St Dochdwy stands upon the site of a Roman villa which is also associated with a late- and post-Roman cemetery. Although earlier excavation reports suggest that the villa was abandoned in the early-fourth century and the earliest suggestions of a Christian community here date from the eighth century, the late-Roman burials and a mid sixth-century radiocarbon date suggest that this remains a viable candidate for a post-Roman Christian community (page 91). At Llantwit Major no church is known, but two phases of interments were placed into the villa after it had fallen into ruins (page 93); none of the inhumations have been radiocarbon dated, so it is difficult to know from when exactly these burial phases date. Morris has suggested that the villa was the home of St Illtud (*fl.*

⁶⁶⁷ Thomas 1981; for the continued Roman and Christian traditions in the south-west and Wales see: Dark 1994b, and more recently: Dark 1998, 8-9, which summarizes previous work and introduces further evidence.

⁶⁶⁸ See Morris 1989, 100.

c.500), founder of Llanillud Fawr, of which the modern name is a corruption.⁶⁶⁹ The site of the monastery is unknown, but the Roman villa is the most likely candidate – only a fraction of the villa was excavated, so it remains possible that at least part of the villa was still in use. It is tempting to see other sites in the region developing under similar processes: at Oystermouth fragments of mosaic paving have been found during grave digging from the seventeenth century onwards, especially on the north side of the church, but unlike Llantwit Major, no early monastery is recorded here.⁶⁷⁰ Could Oystermouth be a 'successful' villa-to-church transition? One may hope that further examples will come to light, and the forthcoming full publication of the excavations at Llandough may set us that much closer to discovering a site development based on the Continental Model, but if there were a continued Christian tradition in Britain, the villas, on the whole, were not able to support it.

4.3.2 The Proprietary Model

Villas associated with later churches are frequently seen as topographical evidence that can help document the development of the medieval manorial estate. The leading theory behind the development of churches on these sites emerged from Morris and Roxan's work, and is based on the existence of a manorial or royal centre on or adjacent to the Roman villa. The proprietary model is so-called because the church is the property of the associated manor house. It is likely that churches developing on the lines of this model can expect to have come into being during the manorial development from the ninth century, and probably into the eleventh.

The key element of the proprietary model is the pre-emptive presence of a manor house on the site: usually presented as a continuation or a revitalisation of some sort of administrative or economic institution, which in turn could facilitate or initiate the development of an associated church. Morris and Roxan conclude that for many churches on Roman buildings, 'the decisive link ... is likely to have been that which existed between villa and hall, rather than villa and church'.⁶⁷¹ Rodwell agrees, adding that such churches were 'founded as adjuncts, physically and administratively, to the contemporary centres of authority ...'.⁶⁷² The Rodwells applied this theory to their Rivenhall sequence, concluding that the least improbable course of events begins with Germanic settlers who were employed on the villa estate sometime in the early fourth century, and remained in control of its 'native proprietor', as the stone-built Roman structures were slowly replaced by timber ones.⁶⁷³ Susan Pearce applies the model to her churches in the south-west, concluding that 'the many churches on Roman villas, some on the villa alignment, suggest there was a correlation between the villa site and the late manor houses, next to which the church was usually built'.⁶⁷⁴

They further suggest that this transition into the Anglo-Saxon period entailed the translation of secular power, and note that 'as the majority of English churches are proprietary in origin, this conjunction of church and villa would appear to serve as a pointer to those Roman villa estates which continued in use as viable economic concerns,

⁶⁶⁹ Morris 1966, 112.

⁶⁷⁰ *RCHMW Glam* 1. 2, 110.

⁶⁷¹ Morris and Roxan 1980, 191.

⁶⁷² Rodwell 1984, 4-5.

⁶⁷³ Rodwell and Rodwell 1993, 75.

⁶⁷⁴ Pearce, 1982.

maintaining the same administrative centre even though ownership might change', and conclude that Rivenhall is indeed one of these successful examples.⁶⁷⁵

Despite Morris' acknowledgement that the proprietary model is simply an outline, offered as a starting point in the investigation of specific cases rather than a general rule, it has often been proclaimed as the universal explanation for all churches associated with Roman buildings, sometimes in the face of a body of evidence that demand another explanation, such as the church on a Roman villa at Flawford (page 228) which was never part of a manor. Such a proprietary model conceptually divorces an ecclesiastical centre from any independent economic or administrative function of its own. This interpretation is merely an enthymeme based on the assertion that churches had to be established as adjuncts to secular power, and that such power will have existed. A growing body of evidence suggests that minster complexes and early Christian centres functioned as their own power, commanding the economic and social power to appropriate land and resources that have traditionally been perceived as being reserved for secular and royal authorities.⁶⁷⁶

One aspect of the model's attraction is that it explains the coincidence of manor, church, and Roman villa, without requiring any archaeological evidence outside the existence and location of the villa. The use of the proprietary model in explaining the relationship of some churches to their underlying Roman buildings is certainly valid, but it cannot be applied unquestionably: in her illustration depicting the evolution of the church, manor house and Roman villa complex at King's Stanley, Heighway shows a possible church developing sometime between the fifth and eleventh centuries, before the possible hall in the twelfth; the caption reads '*King's Stanley, the development of a proprietary church*', begging the question of the manner in which this site can be regarded as a proprietary, if the church did indeed develop here before the manor house.⁶⁷⁷

The proprietary model should not be used as an umbrella explanation, but seems to take precedence in what little literature there is on the subject. The model is convenient, but questions remain, in particular: why was the church placed on the Roman villa? Some have suggested that the site was chosen for its 'convenience', perhaps located at a central place within an early-medieval estate that was accessible. Why, then, was this site not chosen for the manor house itself, where accessibility and convenience would have been undoubtedly more useful? Others have offered the suggestion that villa sites were a convenient source of building stone. At a time when small churches were made of timber, of what use was building on a ruined masonry structure? Even if stone were required, one would expect that the placement of the church would be dictated by stronger factors than an availability of stone; how many churches have been built on contemporary quarries? It is worth repeating Morris' conclusion that 'Roman materials were far more commonly taken to the site of a church than were the sites of churches taken to the materials'.⁶⁷⁸ The coincidence of the relationship of Roman to medieval estates also deserves further scrutiny; can we claim with such ease that the villa would have formed the 'natural' or 'convenient' centre of a medieval estate? Although some have claimed that entire Roman villa estates in particular regions were taken over in their

⁶⁷⁵ Rodwell and Rodwell 1993, 75.

⁶⁷⁶ Blair 1988b; Blair addresses the reuse of Roman centres for ecclesiastical rather than secular purposes, the latter of which is only seen from c.900 onwards; Blair 1992, notes 55, 67, 77; Blair 1995a.

⁶⁷⁷ Heighway 1987, 127.

⁶⁷⁸ Morris 1989, 102.

entirety, there remains not a single instance where the boundaries of a Roman estate are known: in many cases estate boundaries will have been topographically or geographically defined, and any argument for continuity must extend beyond such geographical determinism. Estates, parishes, and estate boundaries are discussed in greater detail in Section 4.3.5.2, below.

The proprietary model, as Morris presents it, is a good starting point for a discussion of the development of these sites, but the lack of explanation for the actual coincidence of a church and Roman villa demands further refinement. One such refinement is suggested by the 'Sacred Site' model, Section 4.3.5, page 212ff. Now that a corpus of sites has been established, future studies can examine the development of manors on these sites, and discover how often the manor house is certain to have pre-dated the church itself. It will also be interesting to discover how many manor houses overlie Roman buildings.

4.3.2.1 *Post-Roman Power-Bases?*

Let us return briefly to Rodwell's suggestion of centres of power. In a recent paper, Simon Loseby notes that the reappearance of several former Roman towns as seventh- or eighth-century bishoprics, and then as significant Middle Saxon centres, has led some to assume that the town's significance 'somehow persisted across this intervening period, and so through the transition from Romano-British to Anglo-Saxon control'.⁶⁷⁹ In their discussion of the development of *ceastre* place-names Morris and Roxan suggest that Roman walled sites might have been perceived by the English to have 'possessed some contemporary attribute(s), such as an administrative status, which would render it appropriate for the site for a church'.⁶⁸⁰ Rodwell suggests that this authority was associated with the site itself, and that a continued authority is 'evidenced by the physical location of domestic and religious centres ... the *location* of local power and authority is the continuous thread'.⁶⁸¹ The possibility of this kind of continuity is usually presented as the most likely explanation: in discussing the church of St John and St Mary in the centre of the Roman fort of Chesterfield, Ellis suggests that its location 'may reflect a continuity of location from some former administrative building of importance, itself successor to the fort's central building'.⁶⁸² Even Rodwell's classification of churches in former Roman towns suggests that there was a recognized, or even continued, use of the Roman structure into the early-middle ages.⁶⁸³ Yet after reassessing the evidence for continuity in late-Roman Britain, Loseby concludes that, while some assertion of power-bases continued from the Roman period may be valid in some local cases, 'in general terms they are outweighed by the sheer scale of the evidence for discontinuity ... this is not altogether surprising if we accept that the social transformations of the period around 400 were on such a scale that the cities had lost their focal role in the extraction of resources from their depended territories, and with it much of their *raison d'être* as centres of power'.⁶⁸⁴ In light of such evidence, can an argument be made for continuing power-bases around Anglo-Saxon towns and villas?

⁶⁷⁹ Loseby 2000, 339.

⁶⁸⁰ Morris and Roxan 1980, 185. While the authors are suggesting that such status would have taken the form of a developing manorial estate or royal vill, the statement also makes sense if such status were to have taken an ecclesiastical form.

⁶⁸¹ Rodwell 1984, 3.

⁶⁸² Ellis 1989, 123.

⁶⁸³ Rodwell 1984, 3-9.

⁶⁸⁴ Loseby 2000, 336.

There are really two concerns here: one issue revolves around the transition of power from the late-Roman into the Anglo-Saxon period; the other centres upon the nature of this power itself. It is very hard to make a case for continuing centres of power associated with a continued place, or a particular civic structure, such as a forum/basilica complex in a town, or a villa in the countryside; one cannot extrapolate an institutional power derived from the control of resources and manpower, from a structure or complex which the weight of evidence suggests existed in an environment that was devoid of both. The Roman town and villa, in other words, was a central *locus* and administrative complex that existed because of the resources they controlled, and could not exist in spite of them.

Until we discover an archaeological sequence that suggests contiguity of people and materials into the early Anglo-Saxon period, true examples of secular or political continuity will only be found on the Continent. But this is not to say that *impressions* of power were not associated with Roman remains in the Anglo-Saxon period (see Sections 1.3 and 1.4, above). It remains possible that Roman ruins would have retained some association of the Imperial might that once ruled the island, and these may have been 'tapped' by the construction of a church or minster on a former Roman site. Proving this archaeologically is, however, a difficult task.

4.3.2.2 *Property and Possession*

There remains another possible factor which is usually neglected: whether any of these sites – villas, intra-mural townhouses, or civic structures – were conceived of as property in the fifth and sixth centuries, and whether the idea of the ownership (if not the legal right) of a site could be passed down a generation, even if there was no activity on the site. There is no documentary evidence pertaining to the holding of property in Roman Britain, let alone the maintenance or the transferral of property in the post-Roman period, so the exercise is largely speculative, but nonetheless worth attempting. Chapter 1 addressed how the physical elements of Roman structures were perceived by the Anglo-Saxons: were the specific Roman structures underlying the extra-mural villas at London Southwark, London St Bride's, Cirencester the Barton, or Gloucester St Mary de Lode perceived as belonging to an individual or a group, or were they part of the royal possession, much as Bede tells us that Canterbury, and presumably everything within, was Æthelbert's metropolis?

Given the social and political discontinuity in late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon England it remains unlikely that land deeds were passed down through generations into the hands of the Germanic settlers. Most Romano-British families abandoned their estates; the large number of fourth-century hoards tell us that they hoped to return, but never did. It is more likely that largely abandoned territory was taken over – probably in land units defined by natural or artificial features rather than by any Roman delineation – and possession of everything within passed to the individual or group who held the land. But did British, and later Roman, bishops or ecclesiastics make any *retrospective* claim to walled sites, or their interiors? Civic centres were presumably public property in the late Roman period, and it could be that a number of churches on Roman civic centres were built on land that Christian personages claimed for themselves. A noticeable parallel is seen in Rome, where the Roman civic centres – the various *fora* – went out of use in the early-medieval period, when ownership was transferred to various bishops and cardinals of the city (see page 47ff., above). The forum temples, courtyards and basilica complexes

were then adapted and converted into the structures and spaces that were needed to support a Christian community.

Could there have been little enough socio-political disruption in the south and west of Britain to allow a similar assimilation of urban civic space and extra-mural property to what we see in Rome? In 'The West' – including the south-west of England, Wales, and perhaps even western Cumbria – there is a greater possibility that claims of ownership – to a villa or *mansio* – will have been perpetuated into the immediate post-Roman period. Could members of former Romano-British families have been returning to the ruined villas of their parents or grand-parents, and there establishing Christian communities? One can be tempted to see Iltud maintaining his claim to the villa at Llantwit Major, even after it had fallen into ruins (see page 93). This is clearly speculation, but it is worth considering these elements, and asking whether ruined villas were just there for the taking, or if there was a legitimate or retrospective claim to the site.

4.3.3 The Retrospective Model

The idea that a church may have been built on a Roman site because it was at the time believed to have held some kind of Christian significance has been detailed earlier in the thesis, particularly in relationship to churches on Roman mausolea (Section 3.2.2, page 111 ff.). The retrospective application of Christian association to Roman townhouses or villas is much less clear; in practice it is conceivable, but there is little evidence for it. One can suggest that Augustine may have been pointed to a ruined domestic structure and been informed that it was the house of a Roman martyr – a shrine or church may have developed on the site, leading eventually to the development of something similar to the church of SS Giovanni e Paolo at Rome (page 48). Until further churches associated with Roman buildings are excavated it will be difficult to ascribe this model to a domestic structure, although it is certainly applicable to Roman mausolea. Churches developing under this model will have been founded in the early Christian period, and possibly some time into the eighth century.

4.3.4 The Structural Suitability Model

Like the Retrospective Model above, the idea that part of a Roman structure was reused as a Christian church due to its structural suitability is certainly plausible, but difficult to prove. Christian architecture evolved directly from Roman architecture: basilicas, apses and domes all borrowed from Roman secular architecture. Is it going too far to suggest that specific parts of a Roman structure were used for their likeliness to Christian architecture? Such activity is documented in Rome as late as 1523, when Michaelangelo converted the Baths of Diocletian into the church of St Maria degli Angeli. At that time the baths would have been in a state not unlike the Roman remains of late-Roman Britain: the bath block was still standing to vault height, although much of the south-western front, including most of the caldarium, had collapsed.⁶⁸⁵ Home to more than one church, the Baths of Diocletian still held the church of St Bernardo in one of the circular pavilions in the north-western corner of the baths block, and the church of St Isidoro in a small room inside the palestra.⁶⁸⁶ In Gaul, the excavator of Montcarat, where a sixth-century building lies under the apse of the current church, itself on a villa, notes that several parts of the villa are very similar in form to Christian basilicas, and that their obvious

⁶⁸⁵ Claridge 1998, 353.

⁶⁸⁶ Claridge 1998, 354.

suitability for a conversion into a church would have made them attractive to the later Christian inhabitants.⁶⁸⁷

Is it possible that, to Roman ecclesiastics, the arches, domes and barrel vaults of Romano-British structures were reminiscent of Christian architecture, and exploited and reused in a fashion that exploited their Roman character? Woodchester is an excellent example (described in detail above, page 162). The church itself lies to the north-east of what is probably the grandest room known from a domestic structure in Roman Britain, the central hall or *aula*. To the immediate west of the church, within the churchyard, is the 'Orpheus Pavement', one of the most sophisticated in the county. Is it coincidence that the church is situated between these two architectural elements, aligned to and probably using the Roman walls themselves? Again, it is difficult to say for certain, because we know so little about the underlying Roman remains, let alone their above-ground architecture, but the suggestion is that there could be, in some instances, a deliberate reuse of the Roman structure. It has been suggested that the building underlying the church is a bath suite, based on artefactual evidence, and the discovery of a segment of a spring-fed water conduit heading towards the church and priory from the hills to the immediate west.⁶⁸⁸ Clearly domes, vaults and apses existed in quantity in this part of the Woodchester villa.

What is termed a 'bipartite room' in Roman architectural parlance is not dissimilar in plan from what Anglo-Saxon archaeologists know as a 'two-celled church'. Like Woodchester, the villa at Cherhill features in Walters' 'Exotic Structures in 4th Century Britain' (1996): here the rooms uncovered adjacent to the church and manor house have been reconstructed as a bipartite, barrel-vaulted structure.⁶⁸⁹ Other rooms have been reconstructed in a similar manner, including those at Frampton and Hinton St Mary, featuring *the* Christian mosaics of Roman Britain. It remains possible that other sites within the corpus featuring two-celled rooms could be reconstructed in a similar manner, including Frocester, Eccles, Wigginton; certainly the martyria at Folkestone, Stone-by-Faversham, Canterbury St Martin's and possibly Wells developed on a similar two-cell pattern. Lastly, the niched or apsidal structure under the church at Much Wenlock gave the later churches its alignment (above, page 164), and if this is indeed Roman it offers the best indication of structural suitability.

With so many villas sporting apsidal bath-houses and even domed rooms, it is difficult to say whether the existence of such a structure will have been the primary factor influencing the building of a church on the site. It is difficult, however, to look at the large apsidal room under the church at Konz and not wonder whether the shape and form of the room played a role in the development of the later church.⁶⁹⁰ The limited nature of the British evidence does not offer much in the way of conclusive supporting evidence: of all of the churches in the corpus, 35 (14%) have been noted to exist on, or be associated with, a Roman bath-house. It is difficult to say for certain whether there is any further relationship between the curiously large number of inhumations in Roman bath buildings (page 85ff) and the possible architectural reuse of vaulted, domed and apsidal structures for church building. The common ingredient could be simply the structural tenacity of Roman concrete, particularly when poured into a barrel vault. It is not irrelevant that the

⁶⁸⁷ Percival 1976 190.

⁶⁸⁸ Clarke 1987, 215 and fig. 7.

⁶⁸⁹ Walters 1996, 158-9.

⁶⁹⁰ Percival 1976, fig. 51.

only Pompeian ceilings that survived the eruption of Vesuvius and the settling of the subsequent millennia were concrete barrel vaults.

We can imagine that structures reused for their specific architectural reasons must have been adopted while the walls and even ceiling of the building was still standing. We can expect this to have happened earlier rather than later, perhaps in the seventh or eighth century; however, enough Roman architecture remained in the middle ages to suggest that such reuse at a later date was at least physically possible.

4.3.5 The Sacred Site Model

The following model is one that has been addressed in this thesis only briefly, largely in part because it requires an examination of large-scale topographical features. This model suggests that some aspects of a Roman building or Roman estate – such as a well or shrine, or particular structure – could have developed or maintained some kind of sacred role in the early-medieval period, which was later formalised by the construction of a Christian church, chapel, or shrine. As well as presenting a model to explain the presence of churches and burials on Roman buildings, the section aims to introduce further avenues of study along these lines.

4.3.5.1 *Cult Sites and Associated Continuity*

In 1987 Della Hooke wrote of two pre-Conquest holy sites that lie on parish boundaries, one of which was probably also the site of a Roman building.⁶⁹¹ Today this second site lies on the boundary between the parishes of Uffington and Kingston Lisle, on the scarp of the downs in south-west Oxfordshire, just north-east of the Uffington White Horse (Figure 94, Figure 95). The site is referred to in tenth-century charters as 'the holy place', and clearly the line of the Uffington parish diverts – along the line of a coombe to the south – to incorporate it into the parish boundary. The site has produced a number of tesserae, associated with a quantity of Romano-British domestic pottery, which suggests a villa site. Furthermore, the nearby place-name of *Fawler* is from the Old English *flage-flōr* (paved floor) which, along with *fāgan flōre* (variegated floor), are two of the few place-names used to describe specifically a single Roman building (see page 21 ff). It would seem, therefore, that here we have a religious site of some kind that also lies upon, or is immediately adjacent to, a probable Roman villa. However, the religious history of the site does not end in the tenth century; a chapel of St James existed here by the sixteenth century, and was demolished in 1733.⁶⁹²

⁶⁹¹ Hooke 1987.

⁶⁹² *VCH Berks* IV, 318.

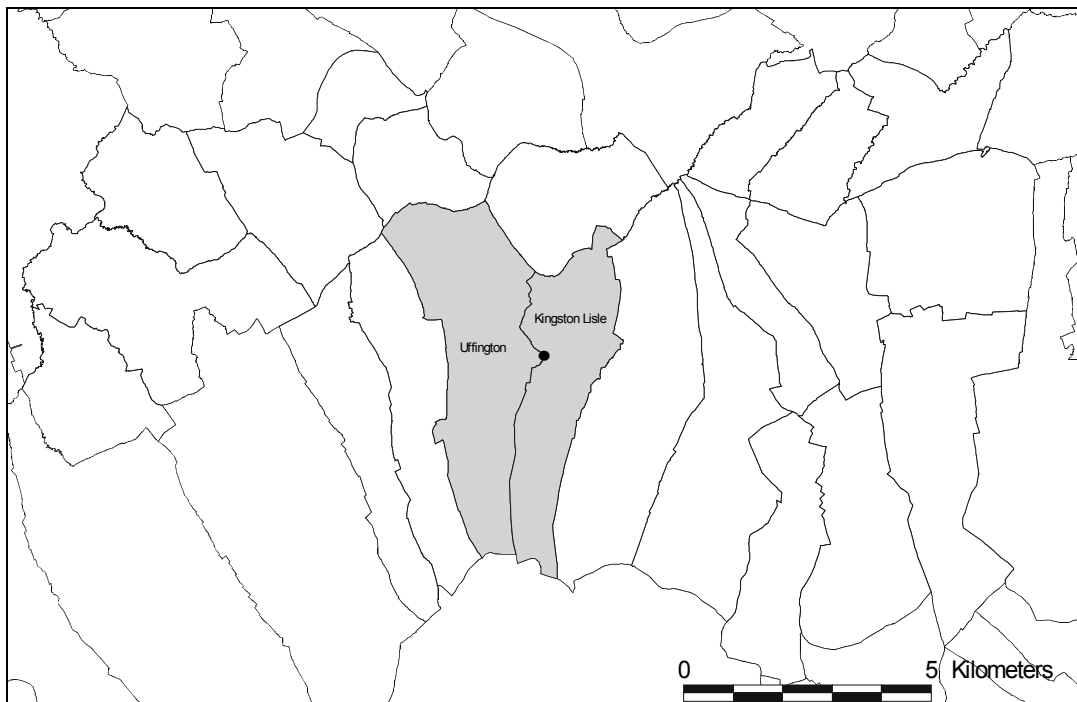


Figure 94 – Fowler: The location on 'the holy place', and surrounding parishes. Note how the parish boundary diverts to include the site in its course (see the sites at Cressing and Howlettes, below, page 172ff for similar examples).

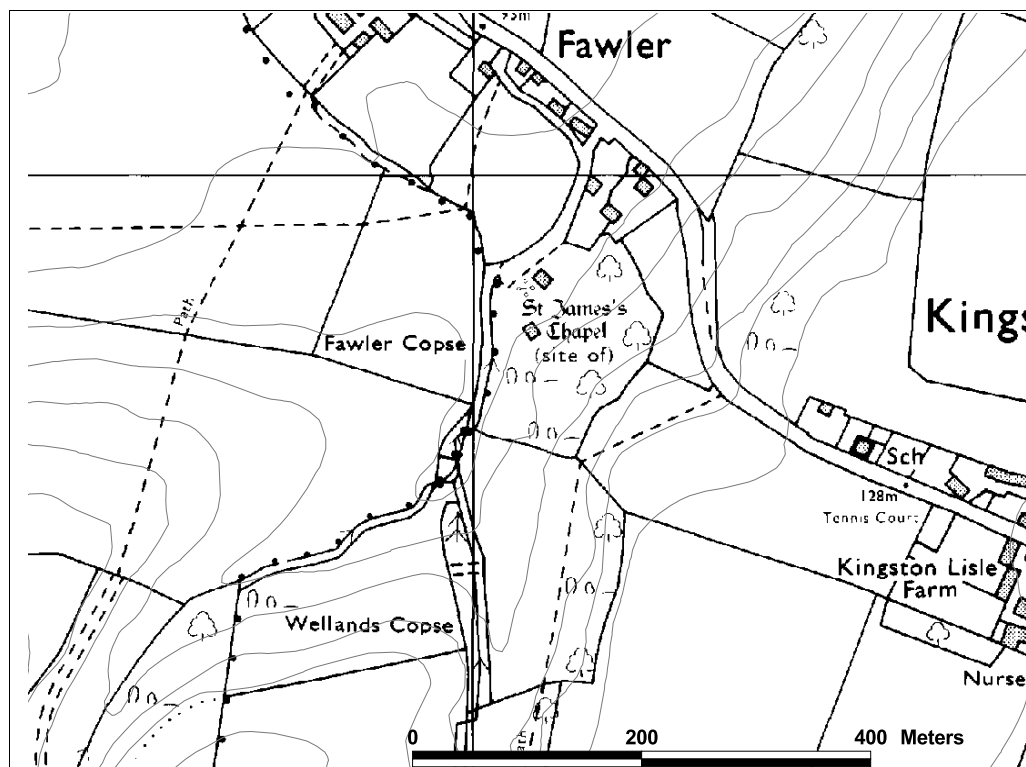


Figure 95 – Fowler: a detail of the Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map and 5m contours, showing the coombe and the site of the chapel of St James.

The particular significance of Hooke's examination of this site within the context of this thesis is that it is a probable Roman site which was identified as holy before a church was built there: the site began its 'life' as a Roman villa, perhaps situated to take advantage of

the arable land at the edge of the chalk scarp, and the water from the spring that emerges from the coombe in the chalk about 900 metres south-west. Sometime in the post-Roman period – we do not know when, but before the charter-bounds were composed – the site obtained a religious significance that was associated with either the villa, the stream, or perhaps something of both. But what of the later Christian church?

Its placement here is certainly not coincidental. We cannot say for certain whether the site of Fawler first held pagan or Christian significance, but such a distinction in a rural location even in the Late Saxon period is not as cut-and-dried as we might first suppose. Karen Jolly has shown that so-called pagan ceremonies, cures, and superstitions were prevalent throughout Late Saxon, Christian England, and such relics of the pre-Christian ritual past were ingrained, rather than simply vestigial, aspects of everyday life:

The animistic character of Germanic belief prior to christianisation, with its emphasis on nature, holistic cures, and worship at wells, trees and stones, meant that it was hard to counteract on an institutional level of organised religion. Small religious sites were everywhere.⁶⁹³

Do these 'small religious sites' exist within the corpus? On top of the added possibility of Roman sites being regarded with some degree of superstition, or even sanctity, many springs, trees, and other natural features were understood to have held religious or cult significance into the Late Saxon period. What evidence we have suggests that the pagan sites could be brought into line with Christian beliefs; pagan wells and springs in particular could be readily transformed into Christian sites, in part because of the role of water in Christian ceremony.⁶⁹⁴ In a forthcoming work, John Blair suggests that it is now possible to recognise in Western Britain a broad category of sites that appears to demonstrate the architectural development of existing religious sites. The evidence of some of these religious foci remain visible within the archaeological record, such as cemeteries or wells, and others are less obvious, such as trees, posts, and standing stones:

The impulse to control and privatise sacred space by re-fashioning it in an architectural form would be consistent with the whole thrust of western European siegneurialisation during the tenth and eleventh centuries, and with the drive by religious corporations (for instance in Brittany) to regulate popular cult activity: was it in fact a phenomenon of the later tenth century and after, alike among the English and their neighbours?⁶⁹⁵

This regulation is seen in the writings of the monk Ælfric, who wrote sermons and commentary on church doctrine at the turn of the millennium, and as such is the primary source behind our understanding of Christian beliefs and practices in Late Anglo-Saxon England. One of his treatises on healing – essentially medicine and magic – has particular relevance:

Let he who is unhealthy pray for his health from the Lord, and patiently endure the strokes ... let him not buy the body's health through any devil's craft with his soul ... No Christian man is allowed to fetch his health from any stone, nor from any tree, unless it is the holy-cross sign, nor from any place, unless it is the holy house of God.⁶⁹⁶

⁶⁹³ Jolly 1996, 45.

⁶⁹⁴ Gribben 1992, 15-20.

⁶⁹⁵ Blair forthcoming, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, Oxford University Press). I am grateful to John Blair for allowing access to his unpublished manuscript.

⁶⁹⁶ Ælfric, Homilies I, 475.

Ælfric's homily does not preclude (and may have unintentionally encouraged) the construction of a Christian church upon an existing cult site. When healing in particular is involved – when one is afflicted with physical suffering – safe money is on the odds that an Anglo-Saxon thegn will have returned to the tried-and-tested methods of his ancestors, rather than 'patiently endure the strokes' as suggested by Ælfric. Many cult sites will have had associations of healing and health, and the construction of a church or chapel on these could have taken advantage of its healing properties without incurring the displeasure of the church.

Is this what happened at Fawler, where the 'holy site' was formalised by the construction of a church, chapel, or shrine? It may also be what we see at nearby 'Dragon Hill', a small, truncated mound below the Uffington hillfort and the White Horse, overlooking the unique, liquid scarpland known as 'The Manger' (Figure 96, Figure 97). The tradition surrounding the site is that this is the hill upon which St George slew the dragon, and no grass grows where the beast's blood fell. The pre-Conquest charter evidence refers to the hill as *æcceles beorh*, or 'church hill';⁶⁹⁷ could this have been another site of local religious significance later formalised by the building of a Christian structure, already in place by the time of the charter? It is not perhaps insignificant that the hill has become associated with the activities of a Christian saint, although its proximity with the White Horse, which may actually represent a dragon, could have influenced this association.

How many other sites within the corpus fit the 'cult centre' model in a similar manner to Fawler, and *æcceles beorh*? Before we leave the Uffington area, it is worth noting an adjacent site in the parish of Woolstone, where three skeletons were found in a corridor villa located in a very similar topographic position to the proposed villa at Fawler.⁶⁹⁸ Unfortunately the villa is unplanned and the excavation was not completed; could this site have been reused for the same reasons as the presumed villa at Fawler?

Elsewhere in England, some abandoned chapels and churches are good candidates for holding possible cult origins, including the probable medieval chapels at Folkestone and Scampton, as are some of the church-based field-name sites, and the ?chapel of Ford Chantry at Bawdrip. Other demolished chapels on Roman sites, such as Lullingstone, are probably valid candidates. It is likely that such cult sites were brought into the Christian mainstream only after the parochial topography of England had been established around early minsters and later manorial estates. As such, these cult sites, without manorial sponsorship, burial rites, or royal endowment, were allowed to fall into decay, and were effectively left behind while the remainder of the Christian landscape evolved into what it has become today.

Today we could be seeing many of the same hills, springs and wells that were extant in Anglo-Saxon England, but undoubtedly some cult sites were associated with natural features that have been lost, including felled trees, or levelled topographic features, lost within urban sprawl. Springs and wells are on the whole long-lived (in part because they serve a functional purpose, but also because they are more difficult to conceal or suppress), and a number of these – in particular documented holy wells – are recorded as being associated with sites within the corpus. John Blair further addresses the subject of cult sites and their development in his forthcoming book.

⁶⁹⁷ Hooke 1998, fig. 41.

⁶⁹⁸ Meaney 1964, 54.



Figure 96 – Dragon Hill at the Uffington White Horse, the *æccles beorh* of a pre-Conquest charter.

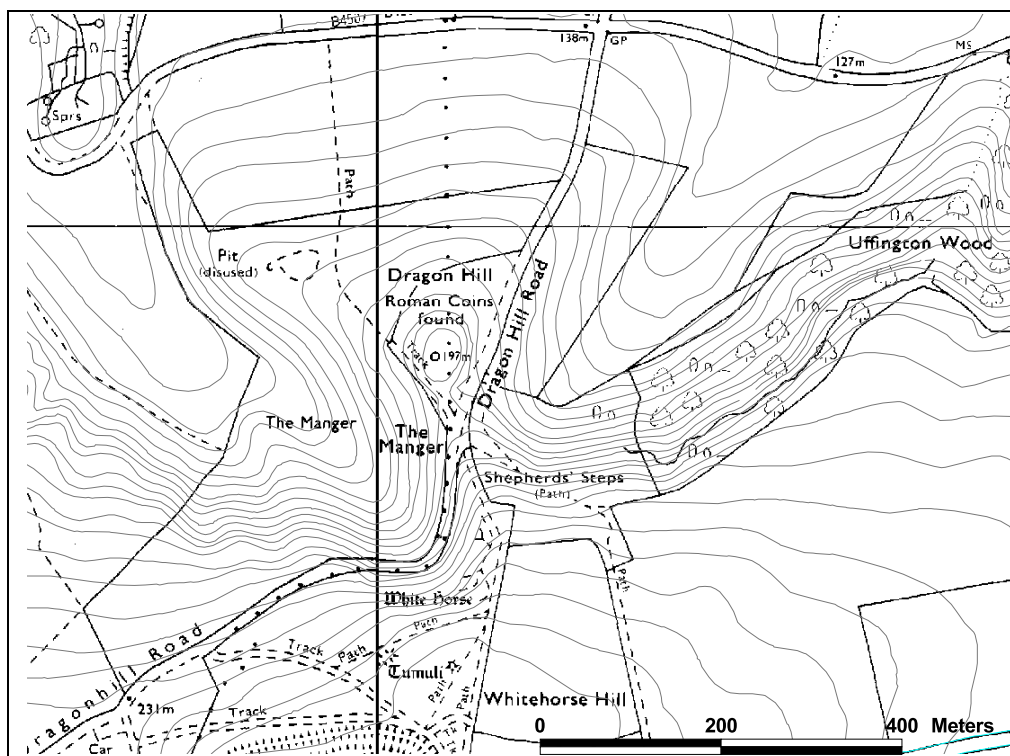


Figure 97 – Dragon Hill: a detail of the Ordnance Survey 1:10,000 map and 5m contours.

Examining the entire corpus to find sites near water sources, however, is a fruitless exercise, as Roman villas were placed near water sources for practical purposes, among others, and the association can be expected. However, in some cases the coincidence of water source, Roman building, and post-Roman religious reuse seems to rise above simple geographic determinism. The site of Scampton has been examined previously (above, page 173), and in addition to the burials and the possible medieval chapel, there

was also a holy well dedicated to St Pancras. Fawler and the demolished chapel of St James are on the course of a stream fed by a nearby spring which emerges from near the base of the chalk downs (above, Figure 95). The site of Wells, of course, has been discussed in the previous chapter; here the religious reuse took place amongst several wells, one of which was dedicated to St Andrew by the eighth century (Figure 45, page 115).⁶⁹⁹ At Much Wenlock early post-Roman burials have been found to the south of the church of the Holy Trinity, near the holy wells of St Owen and St Milburga (page 164ff and Figure 79). A spring runs to the immediate north of the disputed Roman building underneath the Abbey, and recent research has suggested that the site may have been associated with a water-based pagan cult.⁷⁰⁰ Could the church of St Andrew at Whitestaunton have similar origins? The church is about 80 metres from a Roman villa, the adjacent well of St Agnes runs tepid waters known to possess medicinal qualities.⁷⁰¹ Was the water of Woodchester a significant factor in its becoming the site of a medieval church? It has already been suggested that it was the site of a Roman bath suite, fed by a conduit bringing spring water from the hills to the west, did this spring and the one to the immediate east help the site retain a practical, and perhaps religious, element in the early-medieval period?⁷⁰²

Other sites are more ephemeral, but just as tantalising: at Buxton in Derbyshire a holy well dedicated to St Ann was apparently built of Roman masonry; it was demolished in 1709.⁷⁰³ The Roman well outside the signal station at Scarborough (and Whitby and Filey?) was also the holy well of the church. It is worth stressing that these holy wells are associated with burials on Roman buildings, as well as the churches within the corpus: a steined well is associated with a Roman structure, an unnamed chapel, and seven or eight skeletons at Wykham, or Wickham Park, near the Sor Brook, in Oxfordshire.⁷⁰⁴ At Okus, now in urban Swindon, three unaccompanied inhumations were found within a Roman villa: two were crouched, one was under a cairn, and a third, extended west/east inhumation. Significantly, the villa is associated with a healing spring, still in use by the older generation at the turn of the century: 'Within a few yards of the foundations is the well-known spring of beautiful water said to contain medicinal qualities and used by old people in the town for bad eyes'.⁷⁰⁵ Further Roman sites with holy wells must exist, but no systematic survey of this nature has been undertaken.

In conclusion, it is a very real possibility that the explanation behind some instances of the Anglo-Saxon religious reuse of Roman structures can be attributed to the Roman site's holding some special cult significance in the post-Roman period: this may have been some superstition associated with the Roman structure itself, or may in fact have been associated with an adjacent natural feature – a well, spring or hill – that played some part in the original location of the villa. Religious activity of a Christian, pagan, or more likely what we might view as a mixture of both, could have occurred on the site in the early to mid Saxon period, and in the Late Saxon period, perhaps in the ninth or tenth century (or even later), religious activity on the site was formalised with the construction of a church, chapel, or Christian shrine. The possibility that some aspect of the Roman

⁶⁹⁹ Rodwell 1984, 13; Rodwell 1987.

⁷⁰⁰ Buteaux 1996, 4.

⁷⁰¹ Elton 1883; *VCH Somerset* I, 334.

⁷⁰² Woods 1987, 215 and fig. 7.

⁷⁰³ *VCH Derby* I 222-227.

⁷⁰⁴ *VCH Oxon* I, 331.

⁷⁰⁵ Passmore 1899, 220.

villa may have been seen as sacred, in either a Christian or pre-Christian context, also helps refine the 'proprietary model': only a sacred building could be built on a sacred site, which is why churches rather than manors were built on the villas.

But what relevance do these sites hold in relation to the questions of deserted and demolished churches (below, page 230ff)? Some cult sites will have been located in positions that were far from the location of a manor house, and therefore such a holy site may not have been a convenient place for a manorial church. The construction of a church or chapel on the site may have happened at a time when the parochial landscape had matured, and the presence of a local clergy was enough to suppress the more pagan aspects of such practices. We may suggest, therefore, that their formalisation was a later, rather than earlier, process, and thus the nature of their origin may have in fact contributed to their decline, as their position in the ecclesiastical landscape will have caused many of them to exist outside the developing manorial church schema of the ninth and tenth century. Some, however, may have been particularly important cult sites, and the lines of developing estate boundaries may have been placed in order to include such a site within the parish, or as close to the parish bounds as possible. This seems to be the case at Fawler, and the following section examines briefly other sites within the corpus that may have been 'shared' in such a manner.

4.3.5.2 Parish and Estate Boundaries

The study of the antiquity, placement, and continuity of early estate and parish boundaries in England has been undertaken by several researchers since the 1960s. These studies bear relevance to the discussions of continuity in general, and within this thesis specifically. Some of the sites within this corpus are found on parish boundaries, of which it has been suggested that many are ancient. This section provides a brief overview of the study of early medieval boundaries, and examines some sites within the corpus that are found on them today.

Combined with charter evidence, the study of boundaries in the early Anglo-Saxon landscape can potentially add a great deal to our understanding of the organization of Anglo-Saxon England, and the chronology that underlies the formalization of the landscape. The development of early ecclesiastical estates, therefore, has particular relevance to the discussion of cult sites and the abandoned and demolished churches in this corpus.

Many studies have concluded that many Anglo-Saxon estate boundaries owe their existence to an earlier period. In his study of the Dorset landscape, Chris Taylor concludes that 'the basic arrangement of settlements and their estates ... is likely to be Romano-British or Celtic rather than Saxon in origin'.⁷⁰⁶ Taylor argues that the medieval parish boundaries are likely evidence of a relatively static settlement pattern. Using archaeological and geographical detail combined with early charter and Domesday evidence, he suggests that some estates survived through the migration period with their Roman boundaries intact. Bonney has been one of the most vociferous proponents of the antiquity of parish and estate boundaries, concluding that 'these early estates have survived as manors or estates and/or as ecclesiastical parishes or their component chapelries – a survival of a thousand years or more'.⁷⁰⁷ Much of the early examination of

⁷⁰⁶ Taylor 1970, 72.

⁷⁰⁷ Bonney 1972, 168-9.

boundaries was based on their apparent relationship to early pagan burials sites: Bonney's work in Wessex highlighted a similar relationship, using early Anglo-Saxon (fifth- to seventh-century) burial sites that exist close (within 500 feet/152.4 metres) to ecclesiastical boundaries. C. J. Arnold's work on the Isle of Wight suggests a similar pattern,⁷⁰⁸ and the conclusions follow that boundaries in these areas were already established before the interments were made in the early Anglo-Saxon period. A. G. Goodier undertook a statistical analysis of the problem, and determined that 17.9% of pagan Anglo-Saxon burial sites were located in boundary zones.⁷⁰⁹ More recently, Susan Pearce has examined the coincidence of villas and Anglo-Saxon estates in Dorset, and concluded that there is evidence for potential continuity of estate boundaries from the late-Roman period.⁷¹⁰

There are, however, serious concerns regarding these studies and the interpretation of their results, due in part to the subjectivity of the evidence, and errors in the methodology. Six years after Arnold's initial examination, he and P. Wardle reappraised the situation in light of new settlement evidence, and concluded that boundaries were formed in response to the availability of good soils: as settlements shifted from marginal to more fertile soils, they left behind the cemeteries on what were newly created boundaries; the coincidence of cemeteries and boundaries was therefore simply an artefact of the environment.⁷¹¹ In their own analysis, Bonney and Goodier used only the archaeological record, which provides only a partial dataset.⁷¹² More recently, Paul Reilly has examined the theory, methodologies, and datasets of these studies, and was the first to employ computer applications.⁷¹³ In addition to including an overview of previous attempts at boundary studies, Reilly looks very closely at Goodier's analysis and concludes that a serious flaw in the methodology resulted in Goodier's overestimating by 100% the probability of a random point's falling into the boundary zone, effectively invalidating Goodier's conclusions, and leaving Bonney's theory largely unsupported.⁷¹⁴

Based on Arnold and Wardle's work, and Reilly's reappraisal of the methodologies, we therefore cannot assume that estate and parish boundaries were formed at an early period in Anglo-Saxon England, but the placement of sites on these boundaries still bears relevance to the discussion. It is particularly relevant to the conclusion of the thesis, as a number of sites within the corpus – both churches and burials on Roman structures – are found on boundaries.

In light of Fowler's position on a parish boundary which clearly deviates to incorporate the 'holy place' and probable Roman building, it was decided to examine briefly the relationship of sites within the corpus to parish boundaries. Because the process of digitising and analysing ancient estate boundaries for the three-hundred sites within the corpus lies unfortunately outside the scope of this thesis, the approach described below is intended only to introduce a potential aspect of additional study, and does not claim to be an exhaustive examination. Such a preliminary study is made possible because of the

⁷⁰⁸ Arnold 1975.

⁷⁰⁹ Goodier 1984.

⁷¹⁰ Pearce 1982.

⁷¹¹ Arnold and Wardle 1981.

⁷¹² Reilly 1988, 173.

⁷¹³ At the time these were programmed in Fortran, but most functions can now be performed by most desktop GIS.

⁷¹⁴ Reilly 1988, 177.

ready availability of digital data: a complete set of parish boundary data from the 1991 census is available to Higher Education institutions in the UK, and could be imported into the thesis GIS with little difficulty.⁷¹⁵ The results below suggest that the information gained from this admittedly superficial analysis simply suggests that further investigation into the role of these sites on boundaries is well worth examining.

With Fawler in mind, the GIS was queried to discover other sites that rested on parish boundaries. The distance 'buffer' was set at 100 metres to discover all sites that are within 100 metres of a parish boundary.⁷¹⁶ This distance was chosen because most sites have at least a six-figure grid reference, which provides coordinates with a +/- 100 metres error. One hundred metres is a very small buffer, only slightly shorter than a regulation football field, and will therefore return sites that can be considered to lie directly upon parish boundaries.

Again, it must be stressed that this is only a preliminary study, undertaken only to test the methodology. An ideal GIS analysis would first entail the use of a more authentic and refined boundary set, beginning with the dataset of historic parish boundaries that is currently in development by the Great Britain Historical GIS Project at the University of Portsmouth, which could then be supplemented and altered by charter evidence and early surveys.⁷¹⁷ This could then be queried to determine significant sites, and a series of 50-metre buffers could further quantify the number of sites and their distance from a parish boundary. Lastly, a chi-squared analysis could determine the statistical significance of the results. Within such an introductory study, however, this is unnecessary.

The GIS returned nineteen sites that lie on parish boundaries: ten cemeteries and nine churches. The lines of the parish boundaries for these sites were checked against the 1st edition OS County Series 1:10,560, and the Tithe Index Series C17(26B) from 1843-1898. The result revealed that the boundaries on which these sites lay have changed little in the last 100 years: only one site out of the nineteen was located on a 'new' parish boundary.⁷¹⁸

Of the 18 remaining sites, nine are found at or near the junction of three or more parishes. Might these sites bear some significance to this discussion?

Looking first at Fawler, its position between the parishes of Uffington and Kingston Lisle is notable because the boundary clearly diverges to include the site (Figure 94). A very similar divergence is seen at Cressing, where Roman foundations exist under the church (Figure 98),⁷¹⁹ and at Howletts (Littlebourne), where a large cemetery of the late fifth and

⁷¹⁵ The digital data are available from <http://edina.ac.uk/ukborders/>. It must be stressed that the author is fully aware that this is far from an ideal dataset to study Anglo-Saxon estate boundaries, and it is used only to illustrate the potential and methodology of a more in-depth analysis of ancient parish boundaries.

⁷¹⁶ A *buffer* is a zone of a specified distance around a feature; the process of *buffering* is used in proximity analysis.

⁷¹⁷ The aim of the Mark III aspect of the *Historical GIS Project* is to produce a coverage of the 1881 civil parish data. The Project: <http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/gbhgis/>; Mark III: <http://www.geog.port.ac.uk/gbhgis/mark3.htm>. The release of this dataset into the academic domain will be a great step forward in studies of this nature.

⁷¹⁸ The parish boundaries shown in the following figures are from the 1991 dataset. Some of the parishes have been amalgamated and are larger than their late nineteenth-century predecessors, but the 1991 dataset is adequate for our purposes, as the lines of the parishes near the sites remain largely unchanged.

⁷¹⁹ Hope 1974.

sixth centuries was found in 1913, near one or more probable Roman structures.⁷²⁰ The parish boundary also diverts noticeably to include the villa at Latimer, where four inhumations were found in the Roman villa in 1834 (Figure 100).⁷²¹ Here the River Chess ruins roughly east/west to the north of the villa, and affords a perfect geographical division; however, the parish boundary instead cuts west, south of the river, to include the site of the villa.

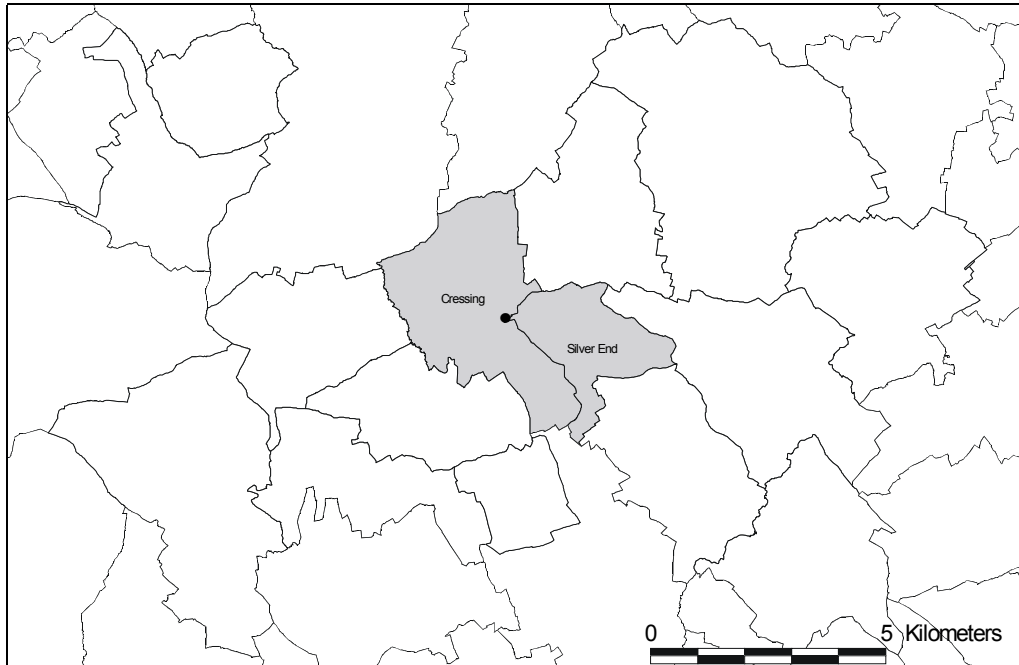


Figure 98 – Cressing: the parish boundary of Silver End diverts to meet the church of All Saints.

⁷²⁰ Smith 1918; Meaney 1964, 125.

⁷²¹ *VCH Bucks* II, 8-9.

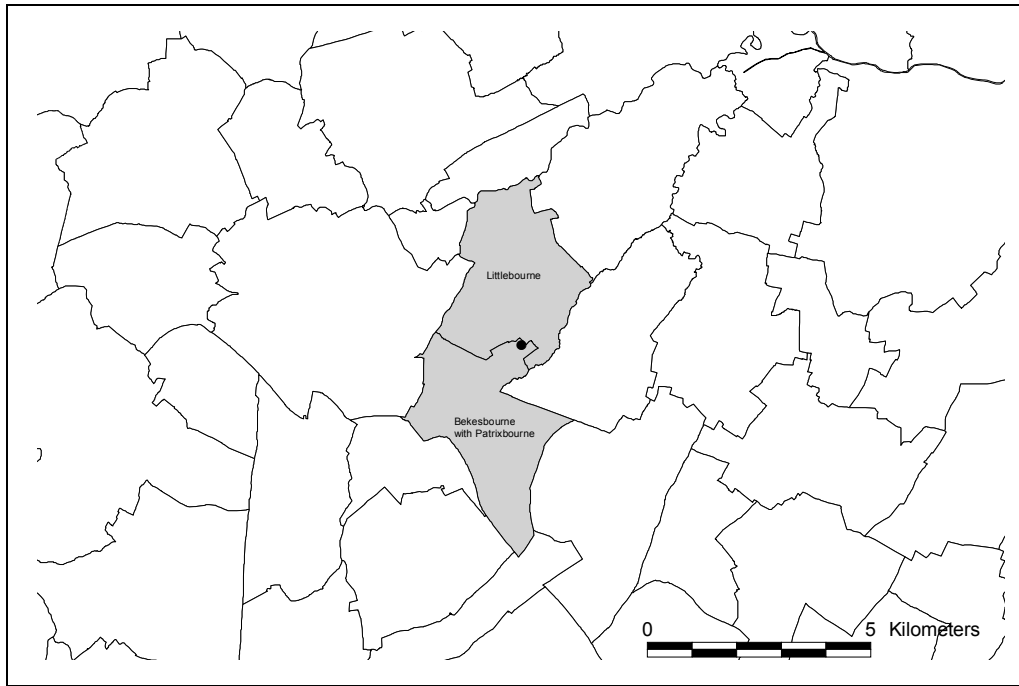


Figure 99 – Howlettes, Littlebourne: an Anglo-Saxon cemetery adjacent to a probable Roman building.

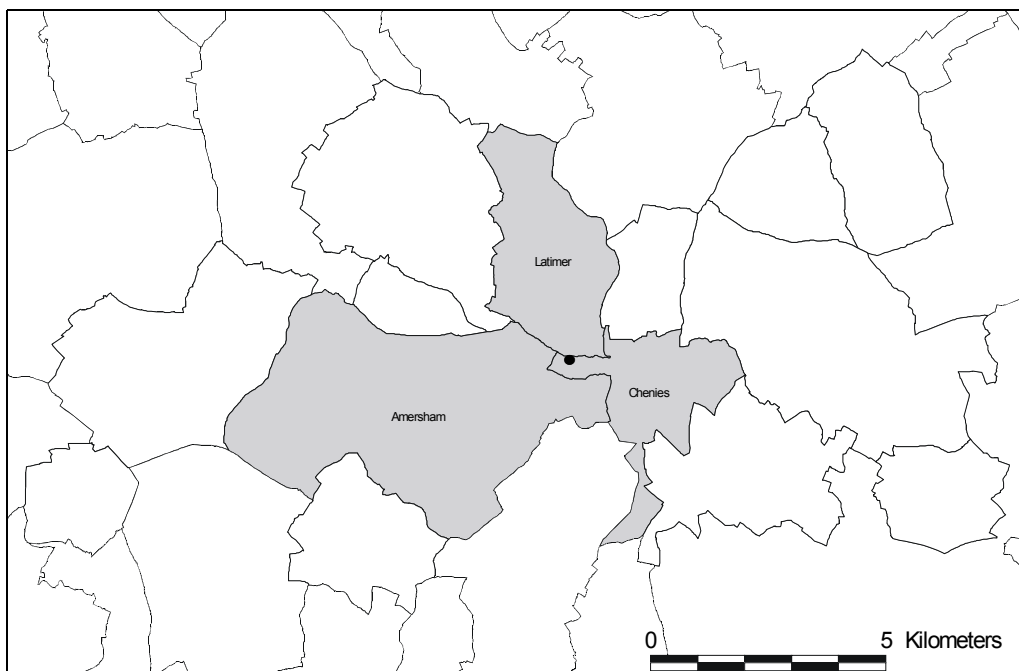


Figure 100 – The villa at Latimer, at the junction of three parish boundaries.

Latimer lies at the junction of not two, but three parish boundaries; this is not uncommon, as there is clearly a trend in these sites being found in 'shared' areas of the landscape, as half of the sites retrieved from the GIS adjacent to parish boundaries are to be found at the conjunction of three or more parishes: at both Lancing Down (Figure 101) and Lowbury Hill (Figure 102), cemeteries on Roman temples distinctly mark the convergence of three parishes.

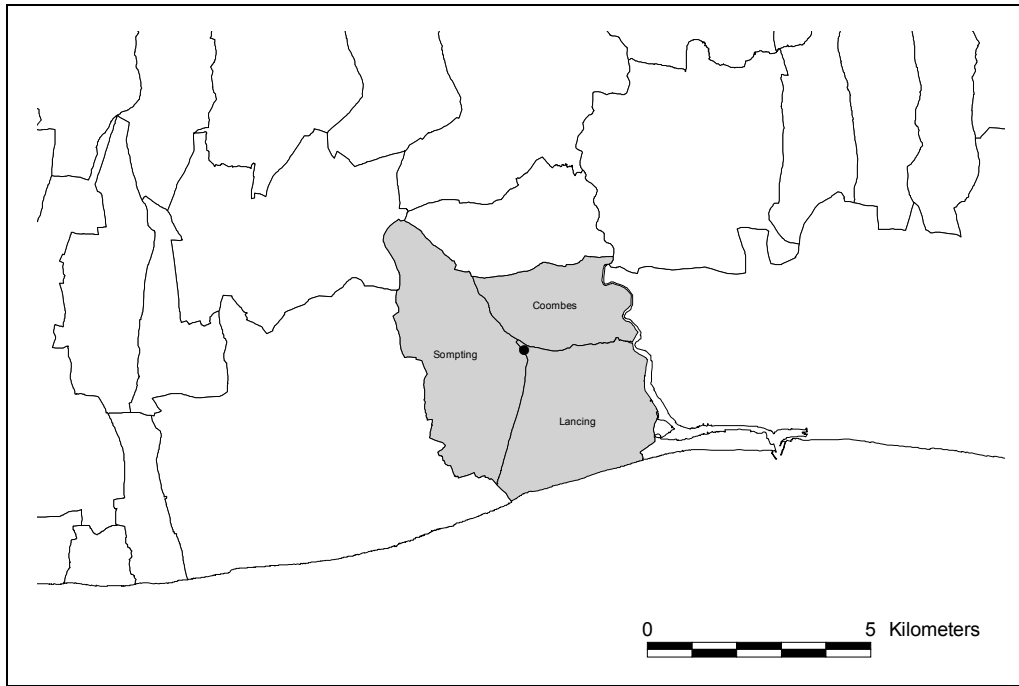


Figure 101 – Lancing Down: the cemetery and temple lie at the conjunction of three parishes.

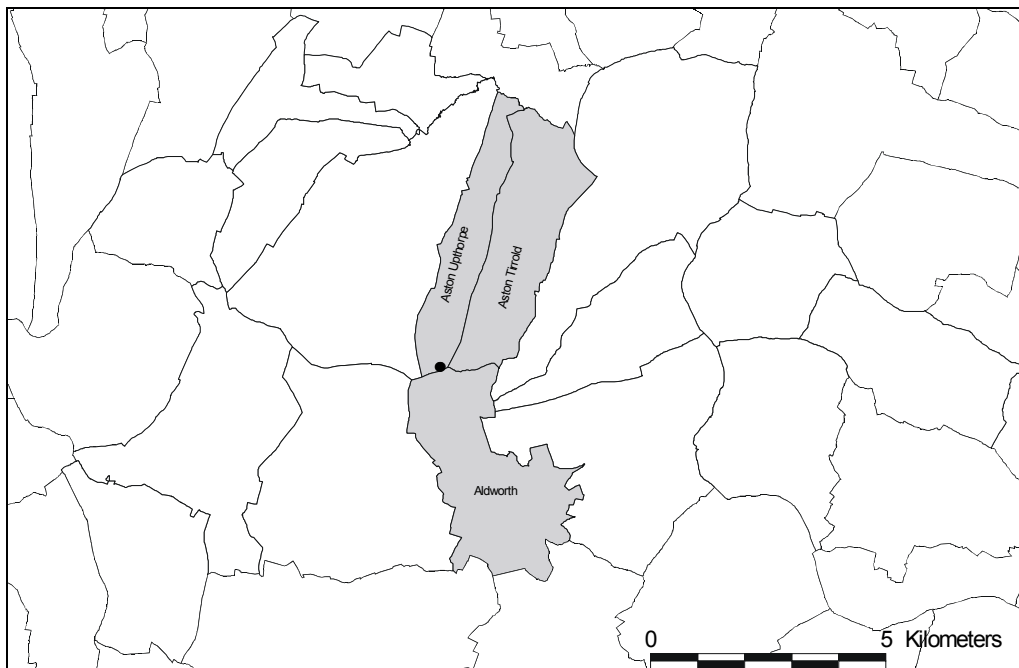


Figure 102 – Lowbury Hill: a rich inhumation lies in a primary barrow adjacent to the temple, and a female skeleton was found in its robber trench, radiocarbon dated to AD 591-650.

At Burgh, the church of St Botolph lies in a quadrilateral, double-valliate enclosure with evidence of Roman occupation debris and buildings – probably a villa – within the churchyard and the surrounding fields.⁷²² It too lies on the boundary of three parishes – Grundisburgh, Clopton, and Burgh (Figure 103) – isolated from the village of Burgh 1km to the SE. The significance of the site may be suggested by the fact that the boundary of Burgh parish diverts to include the entire enclosure. Furthermore, adjacent

⁷²² *VCH Suffolk* I, 281-2, 301, 586-7, 591.

Clopton church lies in a similar topographical position, tucked into the corner of its parish, only 400m NW of the church of Burgh. Similar boundary churches lying within enclosures can be found at the town of Great Casterton (Figure 104), and the fort of Kirkbride in Cumbria (Figure 105).

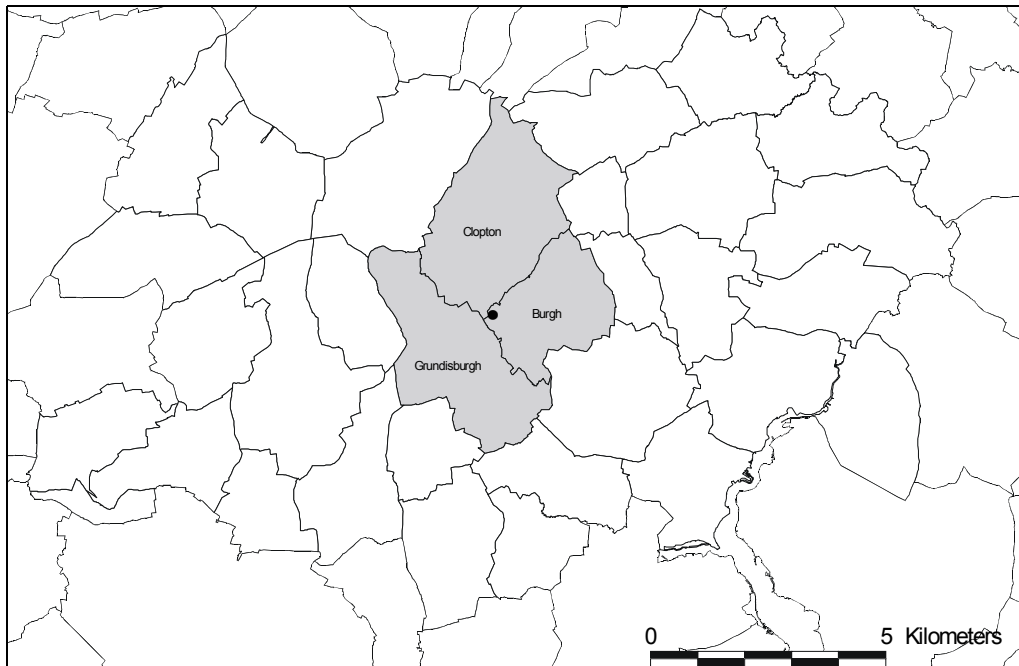


Figure 103 – Burgh: The pre-Conquest church of St Botolph sits within an enclosure associated with Roman buildings, near the junction of three parishes.

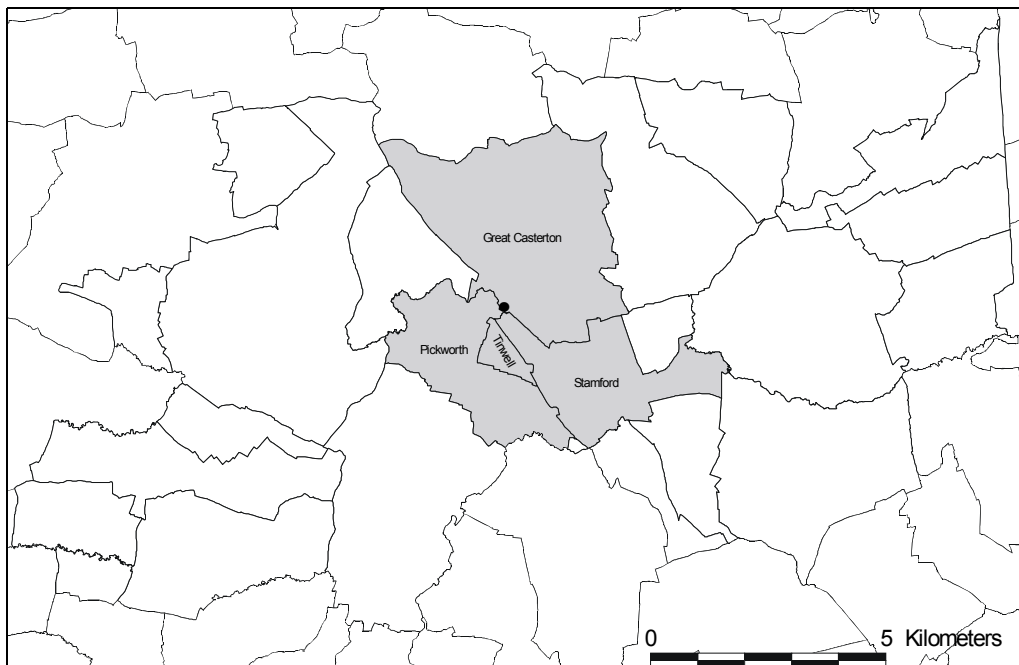


Figure 104 – Great Casterton: The church of SS Peter and Paul lies in the south-east corner of a Roman *vicus*, at the junction of three parishes.

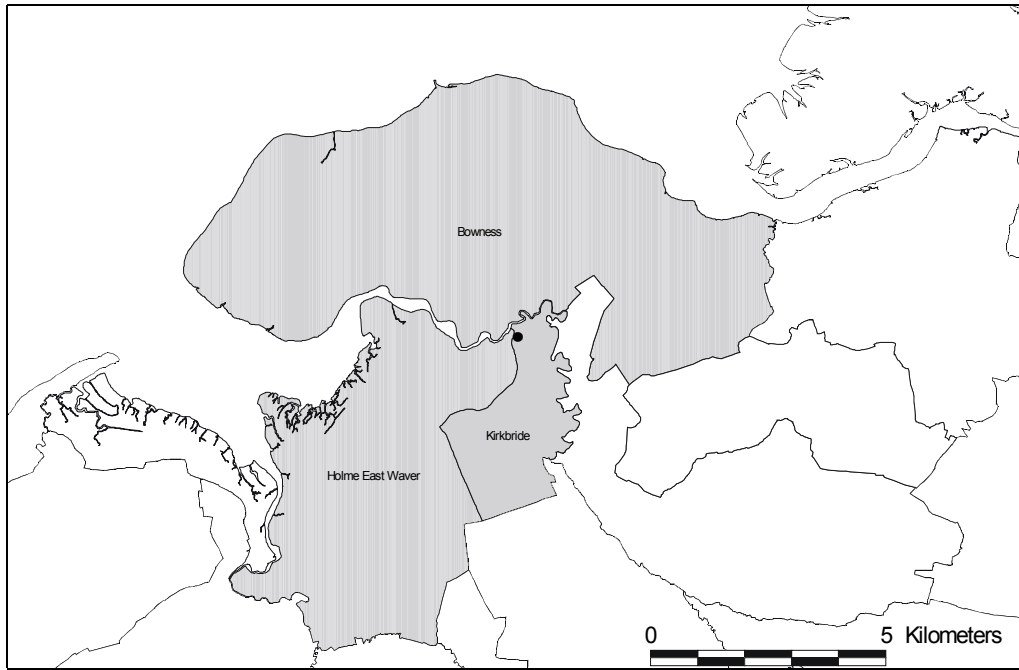


Figure 105 – Kirkbride, Cumbria. The site lies on the parish boundary overlooking the Solway.

At Fringford Lodge, two skeletons were found on the site of a large villa in 1860.⁷²³ The site lies at the intersection of four parishes, divided by a Roman road running north-east/south-west (Figure 106). About 100 metres to the north-west of the villa is 'Glebe Farm', where further Roman remains and Roman coins were found in the 1830s.⁷²⁴ It is unclear now whether the site is or was originally owned by the church, but further research may uncover if the site lies within a field whose name contains a -church or -glebe element.

A similar site is found at Heronbridge, just south of Chester, where a large cemetery, believed by its excavators to date from the Roman period, overlies the walls and ruins of a Roman villa. During excavation in 1931 the remains of more than 19 individuals were found in around a Roman building: most, if not all, were adult males and almost half had sword injuries to the head (more *cnights* similar to those Shakenoak, or Eccles?).⁷²⁵ The skeletons were found over an extensive area, mainly south of the 'long wall', a long line of masonry associated with the building. All were aligned west/east, without grave goods.⁷²⁶

⁷²³ *VCH Oxon* I, 320.

⁷²⁴ Blomfield 1882.

⁷²⁵ Shakenoak: Gelling 1967, 103; Blair 1994, 17, 33.

⁷²⁶ Petch 1933.

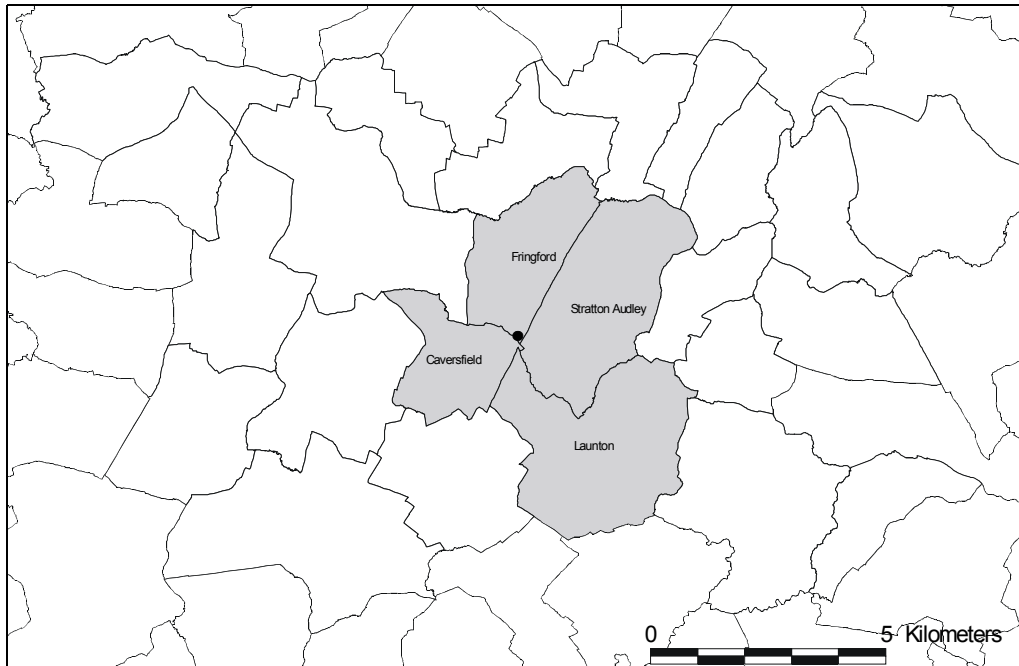


Figure 106 – Fringford Lodge: Two burials were found on a large villa at the intersection of four parishes, about 100 metres from Glebe Farm.

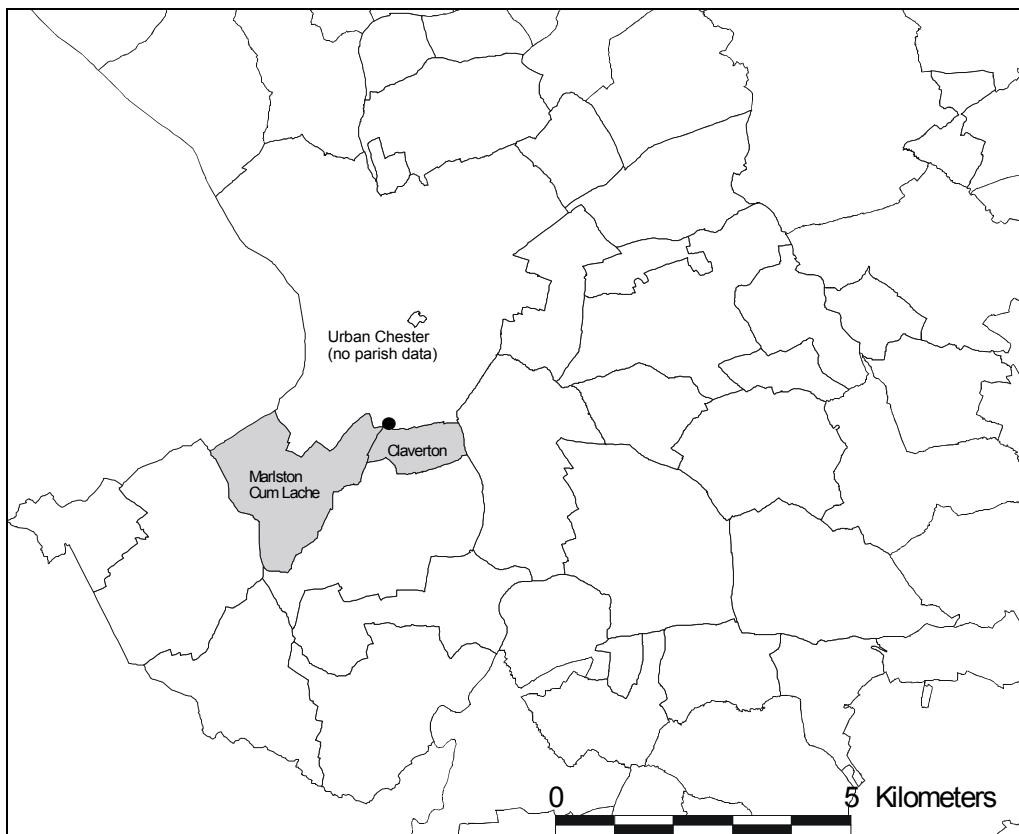


Figure 107 – Heronbridge: the Roman building and cemetery, at the junction of three parishes.

At Barnby-in-the-Willows, little is known of the presumed Roman building here. Morris and Roxan suggest persistent building material, while the SMR records only Roman

pottery and no recent finds.⁷²⁷ Does its position at the boundary of three parishes add weight to the potential existence of a Roman building here? Possibly: the River Witham divides Barnby-in-the-Willows from the parishes of Beckingham and Claypole, but the division between the latter is marked from a point near the site of the church (Figure 108). Here, the river forms a natural, geographic boundary, but the boundary between Beckingham and Claypole parishes begins at Barnby in the Willows' All Saint church.

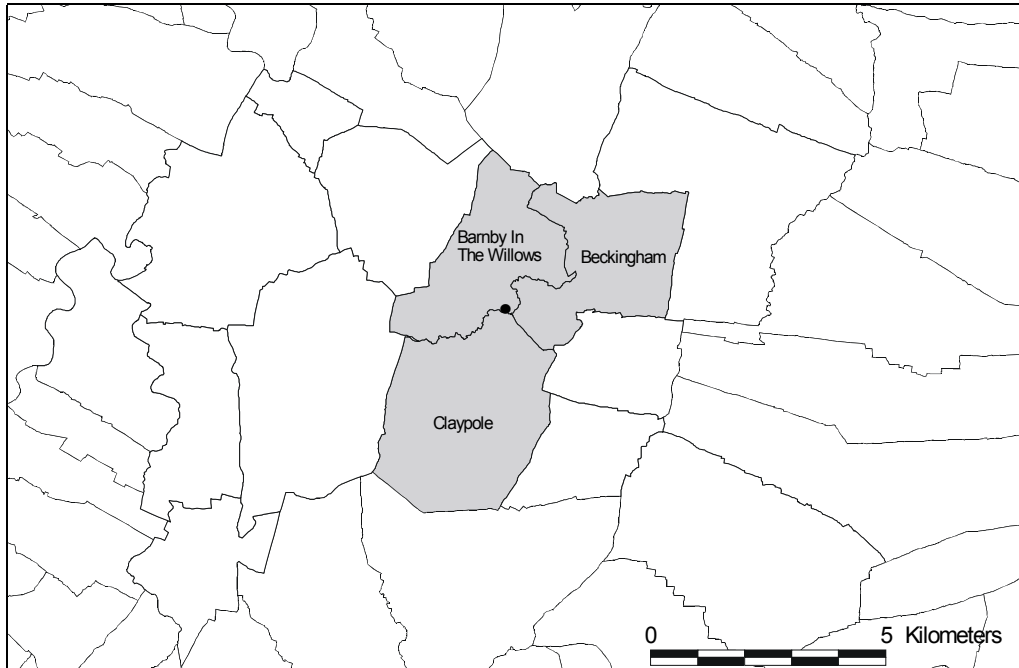


Figure 108 – Barnby-in-the-Willows: the church of All Saints, at the junction of three parishes.

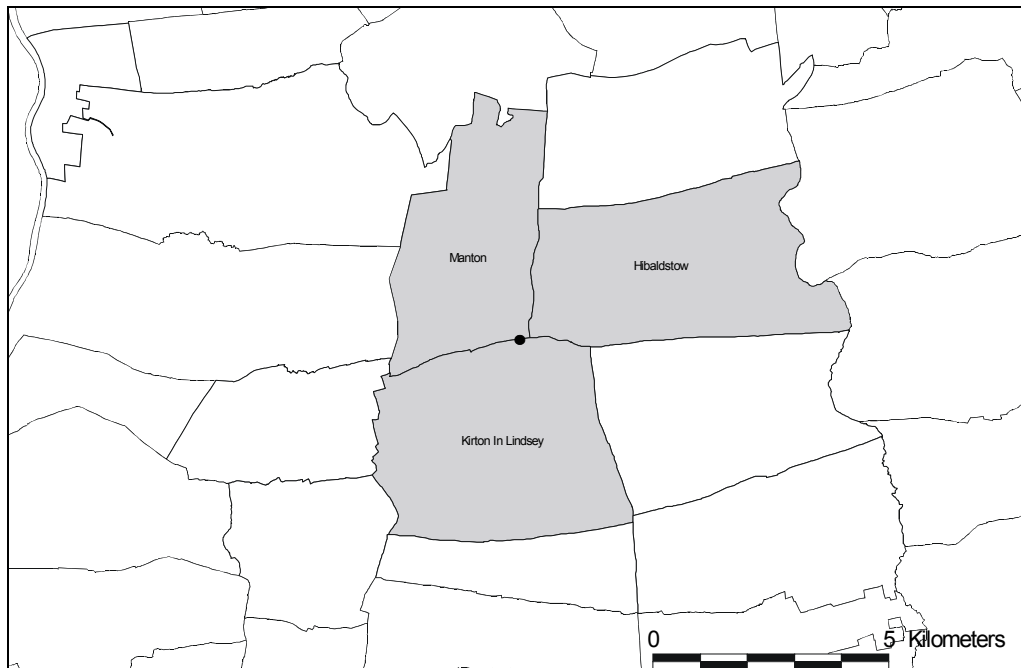


Figure 109 –Cleatham: the site of a Roman villa and large cremation cemetery, at the junction of three parishes.

⁷²⁷ Morris and Roxan 1980, 195; Notts. SMR: 3730, 5834.

At Cleatham, a very large cremation cemetery of comparatively early date is centred on a prehistoric burial mound, about 60 metres from a Roman villa. The cemetery was discovered in 1846 when 50-60 urns were found, and more plough-damaged cremations found in 1979. The remainder of the cemetery was excavated in 1984-89, and an additional 1014 cremations and 63 inhumations found, dating from the fifth to the seventh centuries.⁷²⁸ This site was clearly a large focal point in the religious landscape in the post-Roman period, and it too lies at the intersection of three parishes (Figure 109).

Other sites on parish boundaries, but not illustrated here, include Shakenoak, where several inhumations were made within and aligned to the Roman villa;⁷²⁹ Chipping Warden, where the ploughing of a field called 'the Black Grounds' revealed foundations, building material, dark earth (unsurprisingly), and four unaccompanied skeletons aligned west/east;⁷³⁰ Flawford, which is discussed below, page 228;⁷³¹ West Dean, where the church of St Mary and the ruined church of All Saints are both found near a Roman villa;⁷³² and lastly at Wigginton, where the remains of a Roman bath-house near the church of St Giles was found to have an inhumation within an apsidal room.⁷³³

Can we make anything of this small sample of sites on parish boundaries, comprising less than 7% of the total number within the corpus? Taken by itself, with such a preliminary study, no, but the investigation is certainly suggestive in that it has uncovered a potential trend within the data that can be tested more thoroughly in a later study, using the addition of charter boundary data, early estate boundaries, and eighteenth-century surveys to the overall boundary data coverage.

There are two possible explanations behind the existence of these sites on boundaries, which are themselves not mutually exclusive. One, almost certain, reason that these sites are featured on boundaries is because the remains of the ruined villas and other landmarks were convenient and visible landmarks for the mapping of charter boundaries. Villas and prehistoric earthworks were common enough in the Anglo-Saxon landscape to be used with some frequency. The second reason follows from the suggestions made earlier, that these sites were shared between estates, and therefore pre-date their demarcation.

Flawford is a good case in point. It too is demolished: although the church of St Peter was demolished between 1773-9, there is no church recorded in Domesday, but one is recorded by c.1150.⁷³⁴ Excavations in the late 1960s and 1970s found five phases of church pre-dating the thirteenth century, including certain evidence of a pre-Conquest church. The church lies upon and is aligned to a Roman villa, and the nave of the Phase I church appears to have reused the tessellated floor of the villa, upon which a coin of Burgred (852-74) was found. Despite the numerous interim reports the site has not seen publication; no plan has been produced. Here Dawn Hadley suggests that its omission from Domesday can be explained by suggesting that the church served several manors and therefore was 'supra-manorial'; there is no evidence that Flawford was ever a separate manor. 'In time, each of the manors served by Flawford received a church or chapel of its

⁷²⁸ Geake, 1997, 160.

⁷²⁹ This lies on a Saxon estate boundary as well as a current parish boundary (Gelling 1967, fig. 17).

⁷³⁰ *JBAA* 5 (1850), 82-84; *JBAA* 2 (1847), 346.

⁷³¹ Rodwell 1984, 5; OS 1:2,500 TL 1307.

⁷³² *VCH Hants* I, 311; *VCH Wilts* I, 119.

⁷³³ See gazetteer entry for full bibliography.

⁷³⁴ Discussed in Hadley 1992, 386-92.

own. This left Flawford in an anomalous position isolated in the fields of Ruddington and sitting awkwardly on the parish boundary between two of the churches of which it must have been the mother church' (Figure 110).⁷³⁵

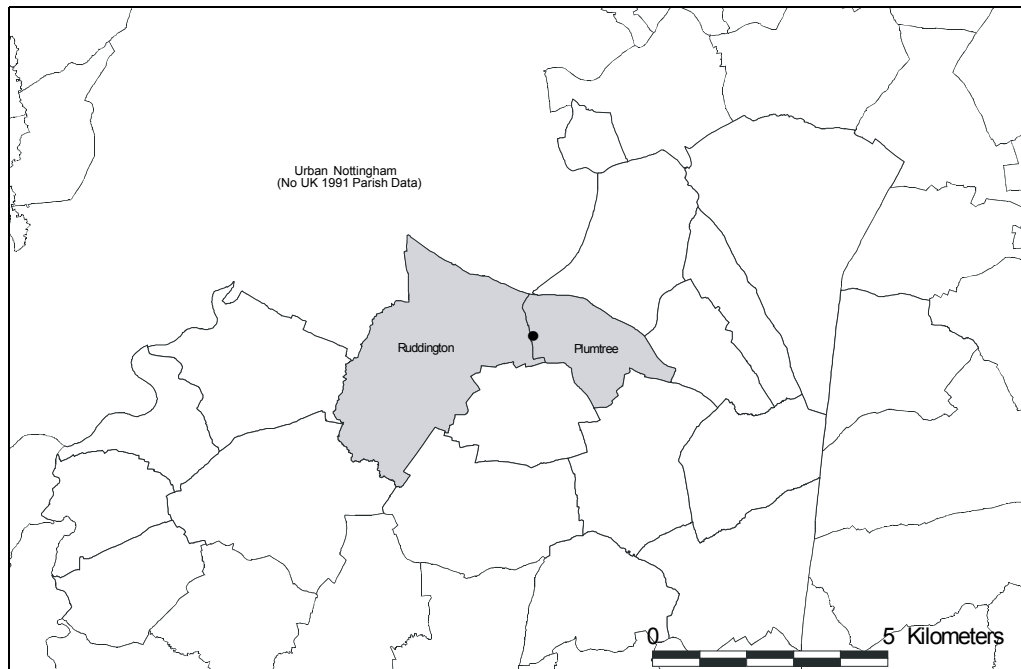


Figure 110 – The site of the demolished church of St Peter at Flawford: 'sitting awkwardly on the parish boundary between two of the churches of which it must have been the mother church'.

Some boundary sites, such as Flawford, therefore, should not be seen to be peripheral places, but rather central places that may have once 'served' a larger area which is now comprised of two or more parishes. This model is supported by the number of sites that fall within the junction of three or more parishes, suggesting that some of these site may have been central to a rather large initial area.

The evidence fits nicely with the results of research undertaken by Aliki Pantos, who is examining the many hundred meeting places and *wapentakes* that are associated with parish, estate, and hundred boundaries.⁷³⁶ Using place-name as well as archaeological evidence, Pantos has determined with a simple 'Monte Carlo' type simulation that the proportion of these sites on boundaries is indeed significant, and her resultant discussion suggests that these sites are not simply located in a peripheral 'no-man's land', as Gelling terms it, but rather were viewed as central places. John Blair, in his short paper on the *regia villa* at Hook Norton, notes that Tadmarton Camp, an Iron Age hillfort, is similar, sitting at the junction of five parishes which share this rfeature like slices of a pie, and therefore suggests that what happened here was 'the subdivision of some earlier whole'; it too may have been one of these possible 'central places' in the Anglo-Saxon period.⁷³⁷

In this light we may suggest that some sites demonstrating a religious reuse of Roman structures were central to the landscape, and may have been the religious foci for large regions. Like the ephemeral archaeology of meeting places, the archaeology of many of

⁷³⁵ Hadley 1992, 386-92.

⁷³⁶ Pantos forthcoming.

⁷³⁷ Blair 1986, 64.

these sites may not accurately reflect their role within the religious landscape of Anglo-Saxon England.

This section has aimed to introduce an alternative model to those discussed earlier. The model suggests that some of the sites within the corpus first originated as 'cult sites' before being formalised by the construction of a Christian buildings; not all sites were brought into the Christian fold, and some of the burials on Roman buildings suggest that religious activity was occurring on these sites, with or without a church. The evidence from those sites that demonstrate a church and early burials, such as Wigginton, may in fact be showing the fossilised transition from cult site to Christian centre. Other burials on Roman buildings that have no adjacent church certainly reflect religious activity on these sites, and could be sites that were never formalised. Some sites with burials on Roman buildings, however, such as that at Scampton, probably did have a church built on them, either before or after burial activity had begun, of which we only see the skeletal evidence today. The place-name association of church and chapel field-names with Roman villas is very likely to be a further suggestion of this relationship, and at the very least records an earlier relationship between the local church and ruined Roman sites. Lastly, the fact that many of these lie on parish boundaries further suggests that they may have originated as cult sites that arose independent of the manorial system. It remains possible that some of these sites – now small, minor, and even in ruins – were not always peripheral sites but rather, like Flawford, were central places that were once superior to the surrounding manorial churches in local religious significance.

4.3.6 Demolished Churches

In light of these potential 'extra-manorial' churches, it is possibly significant that 45 of the 255 churches (18%) in the corpus are demolished, abandoned or otherwise unused. If we were to assume chapel or churches existed at the additional 14 sites where the Roman structures underlie 'church field' and 'chapel' field, then it would bring the total number of these site up to 59, 23% of the entire corpus.

One reason behind the high proportion of demolished sites is clear: the simple fact that a demolished or redundant church is available (in theory, if not in practice) for excavation suggests that many of these sites exist in the corpus simply because they produce more archaeological information. Before excavation at St Mary Bishophill Senior in York, we would have known only of the presence of an underlying Roman building; how much more of the archaeological sequence of Roman building to Saxon church could we learn of All Hallows by the Tower if it were redundant and available for excavation? The answer is obvious and the point does not require belabouring, but it does underline that fact that we are not dealing with a complete dataset. How many more churches may lie unknowingly on Roman buildings?

While this fact may explain the presence of demolished churches within the dataset, it does not explain *why* so many of them are demolished or abandoned. Is it simply a fact of parochial reorganisation? Acknowledging the same, unusually high, proportion of demolished churches in their study, Morris and Roxan note that

During [the 1970s], a period of some pastoral turmoil, only about one church in twenty-two has been affected by formal closure. And whereas many modern redundancies concern churches which were built in the nineteenth century, all of the churches listed [in their gazetteer] are of medieval origin ... In a few cases the immediate reason for the loss of the church is to be found in

recent parochial reorganisation. But this in itself is usually symptomatic of some more long-standing anomaly in the relationship between the church and the settlement it serves.⁷³⁸

The nature of this 'long-standing anomaly' may play a significant part in explaining the origins behind the religious reuse of some Roman sites. There are of course many reasons why a church will have become redundant or demolished, including changes in settlement patterns, etc., but some of the churches within the gazetteer, such as Flawford, may have become redundant because, having been founded on Roman site not central to the Anglo-Saxon landscape, they effectively fell through the cracks of the parochial system.

⁷³⁸ Morris and Roxan 1980, 186.

4.4 Final Conclusions

This study has shown that the behaviour and beliefs underlying the religious reuse of Roman structures in Anglo-Saxon England are considerably more complex than have traditionally been believed. The evidence suggests that the placement of the dead within a Roman building, and the building of a church on Roman site, was in most cases a purposeful and significant act that demonstrates more than a simple coincidence, or the reuse of neglected space.

The study has included 256 churches and 116 burial sites that are associated with Roman buildings; it is very likely that this is only a fraction of the true number of these sites, and that more will come to light, once their significance has been realised. It is clear that the physical remains of Roman structures were regarded as significant by the Anglo-Saxons, even in a ruinous state.

Many aligned and carefully-placed inhumations show that the walls were still standing to some degree for the architecture to be recognisable. Because burials associated with Roman structures remain the earliest archaeological evidence we have of religious reuse of these sites, one would hope that future excavators will pay greater attention to the nature of their placement within Roman buildings. The presence of these burials may be explained by a variety of factors, including the possibility that they were placed on Roman sites that were already considered sacred. Other viable explanations include what could be described as 'strategic' burial of the dead in order to legitimise an existing social order or consolidate a claim for a particular territory. Furthermore, there is the possibility that the Anglo-Saxons buried their dead in Roman buildings so as to impose certain ideological principals upon the landscape.⁷³⁹ The chronology of these sites is fairly straightforward: the practice clearly extended from the fifth century into probably the eighth or ninth centuries, although the practice seems to have reached its peak at the turn of the seventh century. Even with the usual caveats regarding the degree of totality of an excavation, the majority of these cemeteries only contain a handful of burials, suggesting that the practice lay outside the normal burial rite; such cemeteries may have had an abbreviated use.

Churches were built on or adjacent to Roman buildings throughout the early Christian period, and probably into the tenth or even eleventh century. Both minsters and churches of lesser status reused Roman structures in a similar manner. There is little evidence of Roman sites continuing in use into the post-Roman period, and gradually adopting a religious function; no claims can be made for 'true' continuity, or the type of ritual continuity often proposed for these sites.

This study of the religious reuse of Roman structures has entailed the examination of the transition (or more appropriately the creative adoption) of secular power by religious authorities, and entails a fundamental examination of the reuse and adaptation of the Roman landscape. It is anticipated that the new material offered and interpretations proposed in this thesis will enable future studies to penetrate more deeply into the evolution of the post-Roman landscape, and the development of the English ecclesiastical topography.

⁷³⁹ Williams 1997.

5 Appendices

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References are written in full, although the following abbreviations are used for frequently cited works:

Eagles 1979	Eagles, B. N. (1979) <i>The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside</i> , 2 vols. (B.A.R, British Series 68).
Geake 1997	Geake, H. (1997) <i>The Use of Grave Goods in Conversion-Period England, c.600-c.850</i> (BAR, British Series 261).
Meaney 1967	Meaney, A. L. (1964) <i>Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites</i> (London, Allen & Unwin).
Morris and Roxan 1980	Morris, R. and Roxan, J. (1980). 'Churches on Roman Buildings', in W. Rodwell (ed.), <i>Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain with a Gazetteer of Romano-Celtic Temples in Continental Europe</i> (BAR British Series 77).
Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969	Nash-Williams, V. E. and Jarrett, M. G. (1969) <i>The Roman Frontier in Wales</i> , 2nd edition (Cardiff, University of Wales Press).
O'Brien 1999	O'Brien, E. (1999) <i>Post-Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England: the Burial Evidence Reviewed</i> (BAR British Series 289)
Pearce 1982	Pearce, S. (1982), 'Estates and Church Sites in Dorset and Gloucestershire: the Emergence of a Christian Society', in S. Pearce (ed.), <i>The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland</i> (BAR British Series 102).
Pevsner	Pevsner's <i>Buildings of England</i> Series
RCHME	The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England
RCHMW	The Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of Wales
Rodwell and Rodwell 1977	Rodwell, W. J. and Rodwell, K. (1977) <i>Historic Churches: A Wasting Asset</i> (CBA Research Report 19).
Scott 1993	Scott, E. (1993) <i>A Gazetteer of Roman Villas in Britain</i> (University of Leicester School of Archaeological Studies, Leicester Archaeology Monographs 1).
Stukeley	The Surtees Society (1882) <i>The Family Memoirs of the Rev William Stukeley, M.D: and the Antiquarian and Other Correspondence of William Stukeley, Roger & Samuel Gale, etc</i> (Durham: 1882).
Taylor and Taylor 1965	Taylor, H. M. and Taylor, J. (1965) <i>Anglo-Saxon Architecture</i> , 2 vols. (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press).
VCH	<i>The Victoria County History</i>

Journal titles have been abbreviated to the point where they remain self-evident; the following list is provided as a cross-reference should one be necessary:

<i>Antiq. J.</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>Arch.</i>	<i>Archaeologia</i>
<i>Arch. Aeliana</i>	<i>Archaeologia Aeliana</i>
<i>Arch. Camb.</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cambrensis</i>
<i>Arch. Cant</i>	<i>Archaeologia Cantiana</i>
<i>Arch. J.</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>Arch. Rev.</i>	<i>Archaeological Review</i>
<i>Bull. Northants. Fed. Arch. Soc</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Northamptonshire Federation of Archaeological Societies</i>
<i>Beds. Arch. J.</i>	<i>Bedfordshire Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>Colchester Arch. Group Annual Bull.</i>	<i>Colchester Archaeological Group Annual Bulletin</i>
<i>Derby. Arch. J.</i>	<i>Derbyshire Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>E. Anglian Arch.</i>	<i>East Anglian Archaeology</i>
<i>E. Midlands Arch. Bull.</i>	<i>East Midland Archaeological Bulletin</i>

Appendices

Gents. Mag.
Hist. & Cart. Gloucs.
J. Axbridge Caving Group and Arch. Soc.
J. Banwell Arch. Soc.
JBAA
J. Chester N. Wales Architect. Arch. Hist. Soc.
J. Derby Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc.
J. Northants. Museum Art Gallery
JRA
JRS
J. Theol. Stud.
Lincs. Archit. and Arch. Soc. Rep. Papers
Lincs. Hist. Arch.
London Arch.
Loughborough Dist. Arch. Soc. Bull.
Maidenhead Dist. Arch. Hist. Soc.
Med. Arch.
Monmouthshire Antiq.
Mont. Coll.
Norfolk Arch.
Northants. Arch.
Ox. Hist. Soc.
Oxoniensia
Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.
Proc. Hants. Field Club
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newcastle
Proc. Somerset Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc.

Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.
Proc. Univ. Bristol Spel. Soc.
Rec. Bucks.
S. Midlands Arch.
St Albans Arch. Soc. Trans.

Suff. Inst. Arch. Proc.
Surrey Arch. Coll.
Sussex Arch. Coll.
Trans. Anglesey Antiq. Soc. Field Club
Trans. Architect. Arch. Soc. Durham Northumberland
Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.
Trans. Burton Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.
Trans. Cardiff Nat. Soc.
Trans. Cumber. Westmor. Antiq. Arch. Soc.
Trans. East Herts. Arch. Soc.
Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.
Trans. Lancs. Chesh. Antiq. Soc.
Trans. Leics. Arch. Hist. Soc.
Trans. Newbury Dist. Field Club
Trans. North Oxon. Arch. Soc.
Trans. Shrops. Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.

Trans. Thoroton Soc. Notts.
Trans. Woolhope Nat. Field Club
Trans. Worst. Arch. Soc.
W. Midlands Arch.
W. Midlands Arch. News Sheet
Wilts. Arch. Mag.
Yorks. Arch. J.

The Gentleman's Magazine
History & Cartography Gloucestershire
Journal of the Axbridge Caving Group and Archaeological Society

Journal of the Banwell Archaeological Society
Journal of the British Archaeological Association
Journal of the Chester and North Wales Architectural, Archaeological, and Historic Society
Journal of the Derbyshire Archaeological and Natural History Society
Journal of the Northamptonshire Museum and Art Gallery
Journal of Roman Archaeology
Journal of Roman Studies
Journal of Theological Studies
Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports and Papers
Lincolnshire History and Archaeology
London Archaeologist
Loughborough and District Archaeological Society Bulletin
Maidenhead District Archaeological and Historical Society
Medieval Archaeology
Monmouthshire Antiquary
Montgomeryshire Collections
Norfolk Archaeology
Northamptonshire Archaeology
Oxfordshire Historical Society
Oxoniensia
Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society
Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, London
Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-on-Tyne
Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeological and Natural Historical Society
Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology
Proceedings of the University of Bristol Spelaeological Society
Records of Buckinghamshire
South Midlands Archaeology
Transactions of the St Albans and Hertfordshire Architectural and Archaeology Society
Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology
Surrey Archaeological Collections
Sussex Archaeological Collections
Transactions of the Anglesey Antiquarian Society and Field Club
Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland
Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society
Transactions of the Burton Natural History and Archaeological Society
Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society
Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society
Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society
Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society
Transactions of the Lancaster and Cheshire Antiquarian Society
Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society
Transactions of the Newbury District Field Club
Transactions of the North Oxfordshire Archaeological Society
Transactions of the Shropshire Natural History and Archaeological Society
Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire
Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club
Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society
West Midlands Archaeology (CBA Group 8)
West Midlands Archaeological News Sheet
Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine
Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

5.1 Burials Associated with Roman Structures

Sites are listed alphabetically, with a county cross-reference at the end of the section. County names are pre-1974. The data for each site are presented in the following format:

SITE *County*
Grid reference *1:2,500 map sheet*
Type of structure *1:10,000 map sheet*
Date *Source for date*
Number of burials

SMR Record Number

NMR Record Number

Plan (page reference in text, and source)

Site Description

Relevant Bibliography

ASTHALL

SP 28871123

villa

Unknown

15

Oxon

SP 2811

SP 21 SE

'On the W of Akerman Street, in a field S of Asthall church [St Nicholas, at SP 28721139], fragmentary foundations and many tesserae were found during excavations in the winter of 1921-1922 by Dr A. E. Peake' (*VCH*), together with C4 coins and pottery. Fifteen inhumations were also found, but no further details of these are recorded. Geake (1997) records a total cremation nearby at SP 28991010. The site lies in fields to each side of the main Roman road, near the church. The location of the foundations and the inhumations are marked on the OS 3rd edition (1921): 'Roman remains' at SP 28821131, and 'villa' at SP 28871123 (now under the gardens of the houses at 'Walker's Close'). These inhumations could be Roman. The distance between the church and the site is about 130m.

P. Booth and D. Jennings, *Asthall, Oxfordshire: Excavations in a Roman 'Small Town', 1992* (Oxford, Oxford Archaeological Unit: 1997).

P. M. Cook, 'A Roman Site at Asthall, Oxfordshire', *Oxonensia* 20 (1955), 29-39.

VCH Oxon I, 330-1.

JRS 11 (1921), 214-15.

JRS 12 (1922), 254-5.

Geake 1997, 173.

BANWELL - WINTHILL

ST 39745846

villa

Early Christian: C7-

C8?

Unknown

Somerset

ST 3958

ST 35 NE

Hunt 1963

NMR: ST 35 NE 12

The remains of a Roman villa and post-Roman cemetery at 'Winthill', on a spur on the S side of Banwell Hill, S of Banwell itself (where the church contains a piece of Anglo-Saxon sculpture), were excavated intermittently over a period of 15 years between c.1954 and c.1970. The OS 1:2500 shows rectilinear earthworks which are presumably the remains of the villa complex, into which were cut a number of W/E aligned graves of men, women, and children. The exact number of burials here is unknown but clearly many more exist: the site is traditionally associated with a battle between the Saxons and the Danes, which suggests that other skeletons have probably been found earlier. A monastery at Banwell is mentioned in Asser's Life of King Alfred, c.880: while tradition places the monastery at Winthill, the church of St Andrew at ST 39955917 in Banwell itself (about 700m to the N) is also a candidate. The villa lies within three fields: 'Chapel Leaze', 'Chapel Field', and 'Chapel Yard'. Although there are a number of publications on Winthill, the excavations have not been written up in their entirety, and no composite plan of the villa or the position of the graves has been published. The archaeology here

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

is clearly reminiscent of the sites at Llantwit Major and Llandough.

VCH Somerset I, 307-8.

D. Bromwich, 'Winthill: 1811-1968', *J. Banwell Arch. Soc.* 8 (1968), 13-18. [A bibliography of the site up to 1968].

G. Bennett, 'Topographical Account of Banwell, Somersetshire', *Gents. Mag.* 81.2 (1811), 105-7; 210-213.

G. Bennett, 'An Historical and Topographical Account of the Parish of Banwell in the County of Somerset [written c.1825]', *J. Banwell Arch. Soc.* 4 (1964), i-x.

C. S. Taylor, 'Banwell', *Proc. Somerset Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 51.2 (1905), 31-76.

J. W. Hunt, 'Roman Site at Winthill – Historical Background', *J. Axbridge Caving Group Arch. Soc.* 2.4 (1955), 22-8.

J. W. Hunt, 'Banwell Camp. Report on Excavation by the Banwell Society of Archaeology', *Notes & Queries for Somerset & Dorset* 27 (1959), 238-9.

J. W. Hunt, 'Excavations at Winthill', *J. Banwell Arch. Soc.* 1 (1961), 26-34.

J. W. Hunt, 'Notes on the Trial Trench Excavation, Chapel Close, Winthill, Banwell, 1954-5', *J. Axbridge Caving Group Arch. Soc.* (1963), 35-42.

J. W. Hunt, 'Winthill Glass Bowl, and an extract of the excavation notes', *J. Axbridge Caving Group Arch. Soc.* (1964), 26-8.

J. W. Hunt, 'A Bank and Ditch Investigated at Chapel Close, Winthill', *J. Banwell Arch. Soc.* 4 (1964), 25-9.

J. W. Hunt, 'Banwell - the Saxon Invasion and After', *J. Banwell Arch. Soc.* 5 (1965), 22-9.

R. L. Clarke, 'Recent Excavations: Winthill, 1964', *J. Banwell Arch. Soc.* 5 (1965), 35-41.

D. Bromwich, 'Winthill Excavation', *J. Banwell Arch. Soc.* 6 (1966), 35-7.

D. Bromwich, 'Winthill Excavation', *J. Banwell Arch. Soc.* 7 (1967), 27-33.

Asser. *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi*, chapter 81 (ed. and trans. by S. Keynes and M. Lapidge, Alfred the Great (Harmondsworth, Penguin Books: 1983)).

Scott 1993, 13.

BARROW ON SOAR

Leics

SK 569166
masonry building
C6, 2nd half
1 (?)

SK 5616
SK 51 NE

NMR: SK 51 NE 15

A single inhumation with spearhead and knife was found on the site of Romano-British ?wooden buildings with tile roofs. A second shield boss was found unassociated with the inhumation. The precise relationship between the structures and burial(s) is unknown. The site is located about 500m E of Quiorndon's church, 1.5km SW of Barrow on Soar, next to the R Soar below the wolds to the NE.

Loughborough Dist. Arch. Soc. Bull. 1 (1958), 10-11.

BARTON COURT FARM

Berks

SU 508975
villa
C6, second half
5

SU 5097
SU 59 NW
Miles 1984

NMR: SU 59 NW 39

Plan: Figure 23, page 74 (after Miles 1984, figs. 50, 72, and 67).

Five adult burials overlie the villa complex at Barton Court Farm; all were damaged by ploughing: 3 females (2 buried with neonatals or infants), 1 male and 1 unsexed. Two graves were inserted into the main villa structure. Grave 258 was inserted into destruction level of Room 5: a male lying N/S with head to S; accompanied by an iron knife and C3 coin. Grave 271 was inserted into destruction level of Room 4: an adult female with newborn infant; the child lay on her R side, with its head to N. The inhumation, assigned a C6 date, was accompanied by amber and crystal beads, a cast bronze ring, and a C3 coin. Two additional graves were inserted into Building 2, an outbuilding or cottage. Grave 807 was inserted into rubble of Building 2: a female between 18-23 years old and accompanied by a newborn infant. She was oriented SW/NE with head to SW; the child was laid at her R shoulder with its head to the SW. She was accompanied by 6 amber beads, a cast bronze ornament adapted for use as a brooch, an iron buckle, an iron knife, a pin and a bone comb, placing her in the 2nd half of the C6. A fifth burial (unsexed by the excavators), Grave 171, was inserted into the terminus of a Y-shaped Romano-British ditch inside the SE enclosure, oriented SSE/NNE; there were no grave goods or traces of a coffin, but it is probably roughly contemporary with the other interments.

D. Miles, *Archaeology at Barton Court Farm, Abingdon, Oxon: an Investigation of Late Neolithic, Iron Age, Romano-British, and Saxon Settlements*, CBA Research Report 50 (1984).

BEADLAM

Yorks N

SE 63378412
villa
C5 or later
3

SE 6384
SE 68 SW
Neal 1996, 114-15

The inhumation of a female aged 21-24 was found 'in a somewhat disarticulated state' within the destruction layer of the Roman villa, in what is probably part of the bath suite (Room 6,

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

Building 1). No grave cut was recognised. The excavator remarks that a likely explanation is that either the grave was cut into the demolition rubble, or the corpse was laid on the floor and the rubble heaped over it. Further re-deposited fragments of human bone suggest that there were at least two more inhumations in the vicinity of the site. No radiocarbon dates were obtained, and the orientation of the grave is unrecorded. The villa is located at the foot of the E Moors, close to the E bank of the R Riccal.

D. S. Neal, *Excavations of the Roman Villa at Beadlam, Yorkshire*, Yorks. Arch. Report 2 (1996), 114-15.

BEDDINGTON	Surrey
TQ 300654	TQ 3065
villa	TQ 36 NW
C6, 2nd half	Meaney 1964, 237
24 +	

Between 1871 and 1875, about 500 yards SW of a Roman villa, at least 12 furnished inhumations were found in addition to the remains of at least 5 cremations. The inhumations were accompanied by spears, shields, and knives; one had a sword and what appears to have been the fragment of a helmet. The site may have been a barrow cemetery, as two slight eminences had been levelled when the inhumations were uncovered. The site lies in what is now an urban location W of Croydon.

Meaney 1964, 237-8.
O'Brien 1999, No.224.
J. C. Anderson, *Chronicles of the Parish of Croydon: Volume 1: Prehistoric and Roman*, (1874), 41.
J. C. Anderson, *Chronicles of the Parish of Croydon: Volume 2: Saxon Croydon* (1877), 86-7.
VCH Surrey I, 263-4; IV, 358.
D. C. Whimster, *The Archaeology of Surrey* (London: 1931), 180-4.
Scott 1993, 78.

BENWELL	Northumb
NZ 215648	NZ 2164
fort	NZ 26 SW
C6 / C7	Meaney 1964, 198
2?	

The Roman fort of *Condercum* now lies in suburban Benwell, 1km N of the R Tyne, on Hadrian's Wall. Meaney records hints of possible inhumations within the fort: a C7 cruciform brooch was found at its centre in 1935, and a square-headed brooch (prob. C7) was later found in the same place in 1957. A glass vessel was also found with this second brooch, but was destroyed by workmen.

Meaney 1964, 198.
P. Brewis, 'A Cruciform Brooch from Benwell, Newcastle upon Tyne', *Arch. Aeliana* (4th Series) 13 (1936), 117-21.

BINCHESTER	Durham
NZ 210313	NZ 2131
fort	NZ 23 SW
C6	O'Brien 1999
1	

Roman *Vinovia*. Within the fort a single female burial was found W of the main hypocaust, now on the site of Binchester village where Dere Street crosses the R Wear. The nearest town is Bishop Auckland, about 1.5km to the south.

O'Brien 1999, No.1125
Med. Arch. 23 (1979), 236.
R. Miket, 'A Re-statement of Evidence from Bernician Anglo-Saxon Burials' in P. Rahtz *et al.* (eds.) *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries 1979* (BAR British Series 82, 1980), 289-306, esp. 297.

BISLEY	Gloucs
SO 91320438	SO 9005
villa	SO 90 NW
Unknown	
4	

SMR: Gloucs 3710, 3636
NMR: SO 90 NW13?

A sizable villa complex (318' x 274' with 29 rooms) at SO 91320438 was excavated in 1845 in a field called 'Church Piece'. Nearby, four inhumations had been inserted into a 'long mound or rubbish dump' at SO 91250440. One report mentions the 'hasty nature of the burials', and reports that the 'skeletons were damaged', but it is unclear how, or if, this occurred during the excavation. From the *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Antiq. Arch. Soc.* (1938) we learn that the skeletons were oriented N/S: one was crouched, one was an old man, one was in the 'prime of life'; another report mentions that another was a female. It is clear that these burials are post-Roman; although the excavators conclude that, because the deposit contained rubble and occupation debris, the bodies were interred into what they believed to be the midden of the villa, but this could equally be the destruction layer. Of further interest is a separate site in the same parish. Under the church of St Mary, about a 1.5 miles from the villa (SO 90360592), altars of Mars and Silvanus were dug up from under the SW corner of the tower, together with calcined stone and a plain fragment of another altar. The SMR suggests that Roman votive material

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

(objects and plaques) has been found in enough quantity to suggest that the church is built on a Romano-British religious site. The identification of a Roman temple here should be treated as suspect until further evidence is uncovered, not least because there is no account of Roman foundations or building material at the church. Lowder suggests that the altars may have come from the villa, and that the calcined stones originally formed part of the villa's hypocaust. (See above, p. 97 for the potential pitfalls of using Roman altars as evidence of temples on church sites.) Hare (1990) makes a good case for Bisley's having a pre-Conquest minster church: late Saxon sculpture is associated with the church and the nearby C8 Lypiatt cross may have marked the parish border. Two priests were recorded here in 1086. A plan of the villa exists (Baker 1845, 43), but does not record the location of the burials.

RCHME Gloucs. I, 14-16.

T. Baker, 'Roman Villa Discovered at Bisley, Gloucestershire', *JBAA* 2 (1847), 324-7.

T. Baker, 'Roman Villa, discovered at Bisley, Gloucestershire', *Arch. J.* 2 (1845), 42-5.

Anon, 'Lillyhorn Villa, Bisley', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 60 (1938), 351-2.

H. Lowder, 'Bisley Church', *Arch. J.* 20 (1863), 186-7.

M. Hare, 'The Minster Status of Bisley', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 108 (1990), 46-52.

BLAISE CASTLE Gloucs

ST 55867837 ST 5578
camp / temple ST 57 NE
'Sub Roman'? Rahtz 1968
Unknown

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 277.

BLETSGOE Beds

TL 01915852 TL 0158
villa TL 5 NW
Late Saxon? NMR
'single row'

SMR: Beds 307
NMR: TL 05 NW 1

'A single row of inhumations, buried at irregular depths, and aligned SE/NW, appear to be Christian Saxon. The skeletons lay with hands crossed, a position similar to the late Saxon skeletons excavated at Brixworth, Northants. The graves cut into late fourth-century levels with pottery and coins; sherds of Romano-Saxon pottery were also present' (NMR). There were graves of both sexes, but no children. The site is associated with what the NMR suggests is a late-

Roman cemetery and a Roman villa nearby (at TL 020585). There is no firm dating evidence for these skeletons; both their date and their Christian ascription are open to interpretation.

Beds. Arch. J. 5 (1970), 119-21.

Scott 1993, 19.

BOWOOD (CALNE) Wilts

ST 97646998 ST 9769
villa ST 96 NE
Unknown
6

SMR: Wilts NE 313

Within Bowood Park in 1779 were found six skeletons and a tessellated pavement c.6 x 5m. Scott records the exact location of the site as being unknown, but the OS marks a Roman building in the park at ST 97646998, which fits with Hoare's identification of a villa lying 'between the mansion and the lake'.

VCH Wilts. I.1, 54.

R. C. Hoare, *The Ancient History of North Wiltshire* (London: 1821), 124.

J. E. Jackson, 'Calne', *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 24 (1889), 166-219, esp. 170.

Earl of Kerry, 'King's Bowood Park, Part III', *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 42 (1924), 18-38, esp. 37.

Scott 1993, 199.

BOXLEY HILL Kent

TQ 7759 TQ 7759
villa TQ 75 NE
Unknown
1 +

A complex of 'extensive buildings' was discovered in 1844, together with human bones on a brick floor within the structure. Earlier, in 1830 or 1831, a mound was examined about 100m N of the complex, revealing more Roman building debris, artefacts, and a human skeleton. Over 300 brass coins were also found here, suggesting to the *VCH* that it may have been a temple site. Without further evidence we should treat the *VCH*'s interpretation with healthy scepticism. Rather than a tumulus, the mound described above could have been the remains of a collapsed structure. No plan exists.

VCH Kent III, 104.

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

BOZEAT

SP 90655880
villa
C6
3

Northants
SP 9058
SP 95 NW
NMR

NMR: SP 95 NW 9

Three burials, one with beads and two with 'small-long' brooches of C6 type, were found in one room of a Roman building, probably part of a villa (wall plaster was found). No further details of the inhumations are noted. The centre of excavation was at SP 90655880. The site lies immediately S of Bozeat itself, c.250m from a chapel, c.550m from the church of St Mary.

JRS 59 (1969), 219-20.

RCHME Northants. II, 3-5.

Bull. Northants. Fed. Arch. Soc. 6 (1971), 3.

BRADLEY HILL

ST 48003034
villa / farm building
Late/Post-Roman
27 adults

Somerset

ST 4830
ST 43 SE
Leech 1981

Plan: Figure 17, page 61 (after Leech 1981, fig. 2).

Leech excavated a C4 farmstead that consisted of three masonry buildings and 54 associated burials. Two adult graves and one child grave found to the W of Building 2 may have pre-dated the construction of Building 3, a barn or byre. Later, while the domestic buildings were still in use in the late Roman period, the bodies of 21 infants were placed in cist graves in Building 3, aligned to the building, with covering slabs. Leech notes that the burial of infants through the floors of buildings that were still in use in the Roman period was standard practice, and it cannot be assumed that this structure had gone out of use - it may still have been used as a general-purpose farm building or barn during this time. To the S of Building 3 were later interred 25, W/E aligned graves, some in cists; one was aligned N/S and had hobnailed boots. In light of the similarities with other sites in this corpus, some of the adult graves could be post-Roman, and should ideally dated by radiocarbon. The site lies below the crest of the hill, to the NW of Ilchester.

R. Leech, 'The Excavation of a Romano-British Farmstead and Cemetery on Bradley Hill, Somerton, Somerset', *Britannia* 12 (1981), 177-252.
Scott 1993, 170-1.

BREAN DOWN

ST 29335883
temple
Centres on C6-C7
Cemetery

Somerset

ST 2958
ST 25 NE
radiocarbon

SMR: Somerset 10117

The site of a Romano-Celtic temple structure with a square cella and veranda. The temple was put into secular use (including iron smelting) from c.370, and although this seems to have ended shortly thereafter, another building of uncertain use was erected c.400, adjacent to the temple, oriented off the axis of the temple and closer to an E/W alignment. One skeleton was buried outside of the N corner of the temple, and nearby there is a cemetery of W/E oriented burials, a selection of which have been dated to 650 +/- 80, 520+/-70, 650+/-80 [see the most recent recalibrations in the Radiocarbon appendix]. O'Brien mentions that an additional three burials were found weathering out of the cliff to the N of the previous cemetery: one was buried in a cist, covered by a limestone boulder; the other two were of infants. There are in fact at least 7 skeletons from this cemetery, reported in Bell (1990, 73-80). All were oriented W/E with heads to W: a child, two juveniles, and 5 adults of indeterminate sex. The site sits on a projecting, elevated spur. The nearest church is at Brean, c.2.9km to the south. The OS 1:2500 marks an Anglo-Saxon cemetery 240m to the south-east at ST 29565875 (actually a 'sub Roman' cemetery partly excavated by Bell), as well as several prehistoric tumuli in the area.

M. Bell, *Brean Down Excavations 1983-1987* (English Heritage Archaeological Report 15: 1990), 73-80.

A. M. ApSimon, 'The Roman Temple on Brean Down, Somerset. An Interim Report on the 1957 Excavations', *Proc. Univ. Bristol Spel. Soc.* 8.2 (1957-8), 106-9.

A. M. ApSimon, 'The Roman Temple on Brean Down, Somerset', *Proc. Univ. of Bristol Spel. Soc.* 10.3 (1964-5), 195-258.

P. Rahtz, 'Sub Roman Cemeteries in Somerset', in M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson (eds.), *Christianity in Britain: 400-700* (Leicester: 1968), 193-5.

O'Brien 1999, No.2103.

BRIXWORTH

SP 747719
villa / bath-house
Unknown
1

Northants

SP 7471
SP 77 SW

SMR: Northants 738

A villa and bath suite were discovered about 600m from the Saxon church of All Saints (SP

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74757122), in 'Lodge Leys Field' at SP 747719. Just S of the bath-house *praefurnium* was found a single, unaccompanied inhumation oriented N/S with head to S. Woods (1967) suggests that 'no great period of time had elapsed between the villa becoming derelict, and the burial taking place'. Rubble from the (presumably ruinous) villa walls had been thrown over the body to form a 'cairn-like' covering. Woods concludes that 'the burial had taken place without respect or ceremony'.

P. J. Woods, 'A Mid-Second Century Pottery Group from Brixworth, Northants', *J. Northants. Museum Art Gallery* 1 (June 1967), 4-28.

P. J. Woods, 'Brixworth, Lodge Leys Field', *Bull. Northants. Fed. Arch. Soc.* 2 (1967), 7-8.

JRS 56 (1966), 207.

JRS 57 (1967), 186.

JRS 58 (1968), 192.

Scott 1993, 141.

BROUGHTON	Yorks N
SE 77097288	SE 7772
fort / station	SE 77 SE
Early C6	Meaney 1964, 282
25	

SMR: N. Yorks. 1951.00000; 1861.13000

Eleven or more urns have been discovered around the church, including miscellaneous artefacts, believed at first to have been Roman. Most of the artefacts have been lost, but illustrations showing the finds suggest that they may be Anglo-Saxon; Meaney records the site as a possible Anglo-Saxon cemetery. Adding further ambiguity, Watkin records that 'in the walls of the old and now ruined church of Broughton there are (according to a correspondent of the *Shrewsbury Chronicle*, Sept. 4th, 1874) Roman tiles and pieces of tufa, probably taken from a Roman building, standing on the bank above the church'. Outside the Roman material in the fabric it is difficult to know what to make of the correspondent's 'Roman building': he was probably hypothesising its existence. The site lies to immediate SE of village of Broughton, in small vale of northerly aspect. About 2km NW of town of Malton on the R Derwent. A very uncertain site.

Meaney 1964, 282-3.

W. T. Watkin, 'Roman Shropshire', *Trans. Shrops. Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 2 (1879), 317-63, esp. 343. *VCH Yorks.* II, 100.

BRUNDALL I	Norfolk
TG 31600850	TG 3108
masonry building	TG 30 NW
Mid C5 - C7	Meaney, 1964, 170
7 + cremations	

SMR: 10227, 10234

NMR: TG 30 NW 8/9

Brundall Gardens (TG 31910857) lies approximately 350m NW of the church: a large, rural, masonry building with foundations of brick and concrete rubble. Finds include building tiles, roofing tile, flue tile and pottery. About 30m W is a depression in the hillside, where 3 or 4 charcoal spars were found, 6-8' long, 9" square, with iron nails, and an iron knife. This has been interpreted as either a boat building yard and kiln, or a ?Saxon boat burial. At TG 31600850 at least 7 cremation urns were found and a copper alloy ring brooch. Meaney notes this site and Brundall II as being possible pagan antecedents to the church and chapel graveyards. The site is located on a terraced area in S. Brundall, overlooking R Yare. The parish church of Brundall is less than 500m to the E.

Meaney 1964, 170.

Arch. J. 46 (1889), 354-5.

VCH Norfolk I, 297.

R. Clarke, 'Norfolk in the Dark Ages: 400-800 AD, Part I', *Norfolk Arch.* 27.1 (1939), 163-214, esp. 189-93.

R. Clarke, 'Norfolk in the Dark Ages: 400-800 AD, Part II', *Norfolk Arch.* 27.2 (1940), 215-49, esp. 235-6. O'Brien 1999 No.747.

BRUNDALL II	Norfolk
TG 33010805	TG 3308
Settlement	TG 30 NW
Undated	Meaney 1964, 170
3 +	

SMR: 10231, 10232

In 1820 an urn containing ashes, possibly representing an Anglo-Saxon cremation, was found during the destruction of St Clement's chapel, of which little is known. In about 1885, human bones were also discovered in a sandpit on the site. Subsequently, in 1932, a skeleton lying N/S was found, with an iron 'spoon bit' at the foot and an iron knife at the waist. Fragments of wattle and daub and Romano-British pottery were also found within the site. Although there is no clear evidence of a Roman masonry structure here, the site is included here as a possible candidate for a cemetery and church on a Roman

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settlement. The site lies in modern Brundall, overlooking the R Yare.

F. Johnson, 'The Chapel of St Clement at Brundall, Norfolk', *Norfolk Arch.* 22.1 (1924), 194-205.

Meaney 1964, 170-1.

VCH Norfolk I, 297.

R. Clarke, 'Norfolk in the Dark Ages: 400-800 AD, Part I', *Norfolk Arch.* 27.1 (1939), 163-214, esp. 189-93.

R. Clarke, 'Norfolk in the Dark Ages: 400-800 AD, Part II', *Norfolk Arch.* 27.2 (1940), 215-49, esp. 235-6.

W. White, *History, Gazetteer and Directory of Norfolk*, 3rd ed. (1845), 185.

N. Batcock, *The Ruined and Disused Churches of Norfolk*, *East Anglian Arch. Report* 51 (1991), 53.

BURGH	Suffolk
CASTLE	
TG 474044	TG 4704
fort	TG 40 SE
C7-C9	radiocarbon
162 +	

Roman *Gariannovum*. With reference to the church (TG 474044), Bede records that Fursa, a holy man with noble blood, came from Ireland to the East Angles: 'Fursa set himself with all speed to build a monastery on a site given to him by King Sigbert, and to establish a regular observance in it. This monastery was pleasantly situated in some woods close to the sea, within the area of a fortification [*castro*] that the English call *Cnobheresburg*.' The site has been tentatively identified with the Saxon shore fort of Burgh Castle, and certainly other possibilities exist. No contemporary or extant church structure has been found here, but post-holes and Anglo-Saxon plaster fragments that may point to a wooden structure have been found further S in the fort. Further strength of the correlation of this site with Bede's *Cnobheresburg* is suggested by a cemetery (TG 476045) containing a number of 'conversion period' inhumations. Two cremations were found in 1756 close to the fort, and 160 unfurnished, W/E inhumations were found during excavations between 1951-68. The cemetery contains both male and female graves, which does not exclude it from being a lay cemetery associated with the provisional minster. Radiocarbon dates have been obtained from 3 graves: Cal 660+/-70; 720+/-70; 910+/-80 [see the Radiocarbon appendix for recalibrations]. The cemetery was probably used until the latter half of the C9 (Geake lists 56 of the total graves as being of the 'Conversion Period'). Most recently, Tim Pestell has examined this site, together with Caister-on-Sea, and has concluded that they are both of a similar kind, probably monastic; either could be *Cnobheresburg*; there is good circumstantial evidence for a minster

here. The fort overlooks the R Waveney to the W. The 'Glebe Marshes', a reference to church ownership of the surrounding land, lie to the immediate N of the site.

T. Pestell, *An Analysis of Monastic Foundation in East Anglia, c.650-1200* (unpublished PhD, Univ. East Anglia, 1999), 324-9.

Meaney 1964, 225-6.

S. Johnson, *Burgh Castle, Excavation by Charles Green*, (*E. Anglian Arch.* 20, 1983).

Geake 1997, 178.

A. J. Morris, 'The Saxon Shore Fort at Burgh Castle', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.* 24 (1948), 1-120, esp. 116-9.

Bede, *H. E.* III, 19.

O'Brien 1999, No.741.

BURWELL	Cambs
TL 58756605	TL 5866
masonry building	TL 56 NE
'Saxon'	Scott 1993, 33
Unknown	

See entry in *Churches Gazetteer*, page 282.

CAERLEON	Monm
ST 338903	ST 3390
fort	ST 39 SW
705 +/- 60	

See entry in *Churches Gazetteer*, page 282.

CAERWENT	Monm
ST 472904	ST 4790
town	ST 49 SE
Mid C4 to mid C8	
Unknown	

See entry in *Churches Gazetteer*, page 283.

CAERWENT - VICARAGE ORCHARD	Monm
ST 472904	ST 4790
masonry building	ST 49 SE
C6, C7	radiocarbon
160 +	

Plan: Figure 18, page 63 (after Campbell and MacDonald 1993, figs. 2&3).

During the Edwardian excavations of the Roman city, a Roman building outside the E gate of the town was uncovered and recorded. Although the structure was largely robbed, the report notes existing courses above the foundation. A 1994 publication summarises excavations undertaken here during 1973: superficial disturbance was excessive, archaeological preservation was poor, and many relationships were obscured by

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Edwardian-period trenches (Ashby *et al.* 1911). The 136+ graves recorded in 1973 were located in and around the structure, aligned roughly W/E, and inclined about 10-15° off the alignment of the building. Thirty additional graves were recorded in 1910; most or all were simply dug or stone-lined; the skeletons were extended, supine. The burials to the immediate E of the structure appear to be respecting it, and the pattern of burial (including one lengthwise against the exterior of the building) fits well with what we see in other, smaller cemeteries within this corpus. Eleven radiocarbon samples were taken, producing dates in the C6 and C7 cal. [see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations]. The limits of the cemetery were not reached, and it probably extends further to the E and S. The site is traditionally associated with the monastery of St Tathan, a reputedly Irish monk who founded a Christian community outside the town, and later within the walls, sometime in the post-Roman period. The tradition is based on the C12 *Vita Tathei*, which has more recently been shown to hold little historical accuracy (Knight 1971); despite the reservations about St Tathan and his monastery, the OS Map still records the site of the monastery here, on the site of the cemetery outside the E gate. The first recorded reference to a church at Caerwent is in a C12 compilation of charters associated with Llandaff (Davies 1978), suggesting the presence of a community here by C10.

E. Campbell and P. MacDonald, 'Excavations at Caerwent Vicarage Orchard Garden 1973: an Extra-mural post-Roman cemetery', *Arch. Camb.* 142 (1993), 74-98.

J. K. Knight, 'St Tatheus of Caerwent: an Analysis of the Vespasian Life', *Monmouthshire Antiq.* 3.1 (1971), 29-36.

W. Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm: Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (London: 1978), 124.

T. Ashby, A. E. Hudd, and F. King, 'Excavations at Caerwent, Monmouthshire, on the Site of the Romano-British City of Venta Silurum, in the Years 1909 and 1910', *Arch.* 62 (1911), 405-48.

CAISTER-ON-SEA	Norfolk
TG 51701230	TG 5112
fort	TG 51 SW
Mid Saxon	Darling and Gurney 1993
147+	

Plan: Figure 153, page 402 (after Darling and Gurney 1993, fig. 5).

Earlier in the twentieth century Caister was believed to have been a small Roman town; it

was in fact a coastal fort, probably contemporary with those of Reculver and Brancaster. The walls of the fort were apparently still standing c.1600 but had vanished by c.1726. A massive mid-Saxon cemetery lies outside the walls to the S with an estimated area of c.8.8ha and an extrapolated 3000-4000 total graves. Burials date from C8 - mid C11 (although no radiocarbon dates appear to have been taken); all lie W/E with heads to W. Further burials were recorded from the 1930s in the NW quarter of the walled area. Two burials are recorded from within an intramural Roman building (Graves 1 and 2: Area 1, Building 1, Room 3). The burials were aligned to this structure, which itself lies roughly E/W (Darling and Gurney 1993, fig. 7). Burial 1 was in the unusual position of lying prone with its left arm flexed above its head, and its right arm extended, which the excavators attribute to a state of rigor mortis at the time of interment. Recent gravedigging to the E of the parish church, itself 150m SE of the fort, has revealed Roman occupation debris and the foundations of timber structures. The evidence would seem to suggest that there was some kind of Christian community within or immediately outside the walls, to which this cemetery belonged; K. Rodwell notes that 'the southerly deflection of many of the later, more easterly graves hints at a focus within the cemetery itself, such as a mausoleum or a church' ('The Cemetery', in Darling and Gurney 1993, 252-5). The site is another contender for Bede's *Cnobheresburg*, although the evidence it demonstrates is comparable to Burgh Castle: Pestell concludes that both are valid candidates. The current parish church lies 150m E of the fort's SE corner.

M. J. Darling and D. Gurney, *Caister-on-Sea:*

Excavations by Charles Green, 1951-1955, E. Anglian Arch. 6 (1993), esp. 44-61.

T. Pestell, *An Analysis of Monastic Foundation in East Anglia, c. 650 -1200* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia 1999), 323-9.

CAPEL EITHIN	Anglesey
SH 489729	SH 4872
signal station	SH 47 SE
C6-C7	O'Brien 1999, No.2002
120 +	

The site is complex and multi-period. A Roman building here was originally interpreted as a temple, but has now been reinterpreted as a secular building which was dismantled some time in the Roman period, perhaps in the C2. At a later period, over 100 inhumations were interred to the N of the structure, in full or partial cists; none had been placed within the building

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itself. No skeletal material survives, and no grave goods were found. A second, later structure was found to the N, which has a very similar size, plan and orientation to the signal station. Two bodies were interred into this, and subsequent graves were aligned (SW/NE) to this building. Radiocarbon dates were obtained from a plank in Grave 66, and returned wide-ranging results; a C6 to C7 date is accepted (see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations). An inscribed stone from this site (recorded c.1968 but now lost) falls within Nash-Williams Group 1, dating from the C5-C7 (Miket 1980, 300). The signal station and cemetery lie adjacent to a Roman communication route, located on a visually prominent ridge.

Med. Arch. 25 (1981), 186.

S. I. White, 'Excavations at Capel Eithin, Gaerwent, Anglesey, 1980: First Interim Report', *Trans. Anglesey Antiq. Soc. Field Club* 70 (1981), 15-27.

O'Brien 1999, 35; No.2002.

R. Miket, 'A Re-statement of Evidence from Bernician Anglo-Saxon Burials', in P. Rahtz (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries 1979* (BAR British Series 82, 1980), 289-306, esp. 300.

CASTOR - MILL HILL	Northants
TL 12609725	TL 1297
villa / bath-house	TL 19 NW
Unknown	
1	

Plan: Figure 36, page 89 (after Artis 1928, pl. 20 (see also *VCH Northants.* I, fig. 6)).

Plate 20 in Artis 1828 depicts the hypocausted bath-house of a villa on Mill Hill, near Castor and *Durobrivium* (Water Newton). This plan is reproduced in the VCH and the RCHME, but only the original shows within the *pilae* of the bath-house a skull, the clavicles and the upper ribs of an inhumation. No. 11 on the plan, it is simply marked as 'a human cranium and part of a skeleton'. If Artis' plan of the skeleton shows it *in situ* (and there is no reason it should not), then the body was interred with its head to the NE, aligned to the bath-house, with its feet in the apse. See also the entry for Castor - St Cyneburgh (Appendix 5.2, below).

E. T. Artis, *The Durobrivae of Antonius Identified and Illustrated* (London:1828).
VCH Northants. I, 172-4.
RCHME Peterborough New Town, 25-6.

CASTOR – WATER NEWTON

TL 12159676
town
Post Roman
20 +

Hunts

TL 1296
TL 19 NW

NMR: TL19NW62

Durobrivium is a Romano-British market town that grew on the line of Ermine Street to serve the Roman fort of Castor to the N. In the C19 and probably before, the area was known as 'The Castles', due to the remains of the intramural buildings and the town walls, which were of clay but originally faced with stone. No masonry is visible today, but traces were visible to Stukeley, who noted a stone-built SE gateway to the town. Artis excavated the site in the early C19, and left little record outside his purely pictorial *The Durobrivae of Antonius Identified and Illustrated*. He appears to have excavated at least 22 buildings within the walls. An intramural mound was later excavated and found to contain 20 bodies interred haphazardly; the associated pottery suggests a late-Roman or post Roman date. Further inhumations, probably Roman, are recorded on the NE side of the town, aligned to the walls (Artis, 1828, plate 23). However there was certainly early Anglo-Saxon burial activity in the immediate region, as suggested by Artis plates depicting Anglo-Saxon brooches from a nearby cemetery. The more recent discovery of the remains of a hanging bowl and perhaps part of a helmet crest in 1990 at TL 13979946 suggest a rich burial in the vicinity. The site is in the parish of Chesterton, on the S bank of the Nene, four miles W of Peterborough. The NMR holds Artis' excavation archives (UID 642304).

RCHME Hunts 52-3, 56 (plan).

E. T. Artis, *The Durobrivae of Antonius Identified and Illustrated* (London:1828).

VCH Northants. I, 172-4.

R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Corpus of Celtic Hanging-Bowls, Part 2* (OUP: forthcoming) (pers. comm. Shelia Raven).

CATTERICK

SE 225988
fort / station / town
?C6
5

Yorks N

SE 2298
SE 29 NW
RCHME Hunts

Roman *Cataractonium*. Bede tells us that this was a royal vill of Northumbria (H.E. II, 14). Five inhumations were found within or aligned to the walls of the Roman station, in unspecified

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locations: a buckle and cruciform brooch were found on two of the inhumations. The bodies were not recorded *in situ*, but one had its feet to the N; their placement is described as 'haphazard'. The details are few: one was inserted into NE angle of building, one was found with two sets of buckles, one was in the central area with feet to S; two more from earlier works in the area are reported in an 1887 newspaper. Hildyard notes that 'the [Roman] building was so simple in outline it has not been thought necessary to redraw it', an attitude towards recording that was prevalent during the period (1954, note 1, 242). The site is located NW of modern Catterick on the S bank of the R Swale where the A1 (originally a Roman road) crosses S of Brompton-on-Swale.

P. R. Wilson, P. Cardwell, R. J. Cramp, J. Evans, R. H. Taylor-Wilson, A. Thompson and J. S. Wachter, 'Early Anglian Catterick and Catraeth', *Med. Arch.* 40 (1996), 1-61.
E. J. W. Hildyard, 'A Roman and Saxon Site at Catterick', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 38 (1954), 241-5.
E. J. W. Hildyard, 'Cataractonium, Fort and Town', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 39 (1957), 224-65, esp. 243-6.
JRS 30 (1940), 166.
Meaney 1964, 284-5.
H. MacLauchlan, 'Roman Roads, Camps and Earthworks in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Arch. J.* 6 (1849), 213-25, esp. 215-16. & pl. opp. 216.

CATTERICK -	Yorks N
BAINESSE	
FARM	
SE 240972	SE 2497
villa	SE 29 NW
Cal AD340-640/Cal	radiocarbon
AD410-660	
8	

NMR: SE 29 NW 4

Plan: Figure 31, page 85 (after Wilson *et al.* 1996, fig. 15).

The villa at Bainesse Farm is located 2km S of the Roman station of *Cataractonium*. Seven burials (and the fragmentary remains of an eighth) cut into the remains of Roman buildings; all but one are aligned to the axis of the buildings, roughly NW/SE. The burials are described in turn: Burial 3775: cut into the N wall of the Roman building, female adult with head to W, and lying loosely crouched on left side. Burial 4112: within post-abandonment accumulation over W room of Roman building. Burial 709: male, 25-30, lying on left side with knees crouched and head to W; an iron knife was found with the skeleton, under the pelvis. Burial 4168: part of the N side of the grave was cut into

the S foundation of the N wall of the Roman building, aligned SW/NE; a juvenile of indeterminate sex, crouched on right side with head to E. Burial 4169: the skeleton of a juvenile aged 6-8 lay on the foundation of the N wall of the Roman building, oriented NE/SW, head to NE; found with the skeleton was a spearhead of C7 type. Burial 687: a female aged 35-39, lying on her left side in a crouched position, an iron knife at her waist and her head to the W. The grave was cut into the accumulated material overlying the Roman building, S of the foundation of the N wall. Burial 4171: a female aged 45+, lying supine with head to W; found with knife, buckle, and beads. Burial 4172: an adult male aged 20-23 buried on left side with head to E; finds include beads and a brooch; the grave cut into the foundation of the N wall of the Roman building, following the alignment of the wall. Fragmentary remains of another two skeletons were also found. In 1981-2, excavations found a further 15 inhumations, of which 10 are Roman. Two cist graves from the S side of the site could be Anglian. See the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations.

P. R. Wilson, P. Cardwell, R. J. Cramp, J. Evans, R. H. Taylor-Wilson, A. Thompson and J. S. Wachter, 'Early Anglian Catterick and Catraeth', *Med. Arch.* 40 (1996), 1-61.
E. J. W. Hildyard, 'A Roman and Saxon Site at Catterick', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 38 (1954), 241-5.
E. J. W. Hildyard, 'Cataractonium, Fort and Town', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 39 (1957), 224-65, esp. 243-6.
Meaney 1964, 284-5.
JRS 30 (1940), 166.
H. MacLauchlan, 'Roman Roads, Camps and Earthworks in the North Riding of Yorkshire', *Arch. J.* 6 (1849), 213-25, esp. 215-16. & pl. opp. 216.

CHATHAM	Kent
LINES	
TQ 7567	TQ 7567
villa	TQ 76 NE
C7 and earlier	Meaney 1964, Geake
	1997
7 +	

Plan: Figure 19, page 64 (after Douglas 1793, pl. 28, no. 2, fig. 1).

Several burials were found in what appears to be a Roman villa here: the site is best known for the barrow cemetery that Douglas excavated, illustrated, and described in his 1793 publication. Meaney notes that one of the excavated burials may be as early as late C5 / early C6, and Geake states that some graves contained several conversion period artefacts, and that the assemblages appear to contain some items that

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were already antique when they were buried. Douglas refers to additional graves and Roman structures, about 200m from the above, which were uncovered in 1779 during the excavations for a redoubt. Although Douglas believed the structure to have been a burial vault – a 'Roman sepulchre...a subterraneous ruin' – due to the ash and urns found within, his descriptions of the painted plaster and his accompanying plan (plate xxviii, no. 2, fig. 1 - redrawn in this corpus to scale, page 64) suggest that it is more likely to be part of a villa complex. There were probably more burials here: Douglas noted additional burials 'in the vicinity', but does not provide further details.

J. Douglas, *Nenia Britannica: or, A Sepulchral History of Great Britain; from the Earliest Period to its General Conversion to Christianity* (London: 1793).

VCH Kent III, 110.

Meaney 1964, 114-15.

Geake 1997, 162.

O'Brien 1999, 180.

CHIPPING WARDEN	Northants
SP 510482	SP 5148
villa / bath-house	SP 54 NW
Unknown	
4	

The ploughing of a field called 'the black grounds' in the early C19 revealed foundations, Roman building material, and (unsurprisingly) dark earth. Drainage work close to the river in 1847 produced pottery and 4 skeletons: they were found 'a few yards beyond the descent of the vallum' and were buried unaccompanied with their heads to the W (Walford 1850, 83). Subsequent work on the site revealed a bath-house, apparently part of a larger villa complex. A plan of the villa exists (RCHME IV, 29) but does not show the exact placement of the inhumations in relation to the structure. Anglo-Saxon sceattas are said to have come from the site of the villa. The site is 0.5 miles SE of Chipping Warden, on the N side of the R Cherwell.

VCH Northants. I, 200-1.

RCHME Northants. IV, 29-32.

E. G. Walford, 'Roman *Brinavis*, Near Chipping Warden', *JBAA* 5 (1850), 82-4.

JBAA 2 (1847), 346.

CIRENCESTER - STRATTON	Gloucs
SP 0103	SP 0103
masonry building	SP 0 SW
Early C7	
1	

NMR: SP 79 SE 15

One male skeleton with a shield-boss and spear was found c.1894 near the remains of a Romano-British building. No further information is available.

E. Whatley, 'On the Discovery of Skeletons at The Barton, Cirencester; and other Roman finds of 1896', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 19 (1897), 394-8.

CIRENCESTER - THE BARTON	Gloucs
SP 01630232	SP 0102
villa	SP 0 SW
C7	Meaney 1964
2 +	

NMR: SP 00 SW 12

A Roman villa at 'Oakley Park' was discovered about 1824; rescue work revealed two young male inhumations (each taller than 6') whose graves had been cut through the Orpheus mosaic pavement, which is now in the Cirencester Museum; they were 'laying side-by-side and facing each other'. Finds include a shield boss, metal studs and an iron band. Portions of other skeletons were also found at this site: Sewell and Powell mention the body of a child, and Buckman and Newmarch 1850, plate 9, illustrates two Anglo-Saxon shield bosses among Roman finds from Corinium - perhaps from burials discovered earlier, or during excavations described above. The British Museum also records an Anglo-Saxon disc brooch and tweezers from this site, from above, or perhaps other, burials. The Rev W. Bazeley, communicating with E. Whatley and discussing the origins of these burials, expressed notions current of the period: 'The relics were evidence that a conflict took place between a Roman garrison at Corinium and a body of Barbarian invaders' (Whatley 1897, 396). The site is located to the immediate northwest of Cirencester, about 400 yds. from the wall of the Roman town.

E. Whatley, 'On the Discovery of Skeletons at The Barton, Cirencester; and other Roman finds of 1896'

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Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc. 19 (1897), 394-8.

E. C. Sewell and A. H. Powell, 'The Roman Pavement at The Barton, Cirencester', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 33 (1910), 67-77.

J. Buckman and C. H. Newmarch, *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester: the site of ancient Corinium* (London, George Bell: 1850). *RCHME Gloucs.* I, 29-30.

A. Fox, 'The Date of the Orpheus Mosaic from the Barton, Cirencester Park, Gloucestershire', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 70 (1951), 51-3. Scott 1993, 70.

CLEATHAM Lincolnshire
SE 93850070 SE 9300
villa SE 90 SW
Late C5, C7 Geake 1997, 160
c.1137

NMR: SE 90 SW 5

Meaney's Kirton in Lindsey I. A large cremation cemetery is centred on a ?prehistoric burial mound near a Roman villa. Here the relationship of cemetery and villa is potentially coincidental. The site of the villa appears to be centred at SE 93940038: a tessellated pavement was exposed at SE 93870035, but no other structural evidence has been uncovered. Fifty to sixty urns were discovered in 1846, and additional plough-damaged cremations were uncovered in 1979. The remainder of the cemetery, 1014 cremations and 63 inhumations dating from C5-7, was excavated in 1984-89. It lies in a rural location c.250m S of the hamlet of Mount Pleasant, and is close to Meaney's Kirton in Lindsey II.

Meaney 1964, 156-7.

J. N. L. Myres, *Anglo-Saxon Pottery and the Settlement of England* (Oxford: 1969), 121.

J. N. L. Myres, *A Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Pottery - Pagan Period* (Cambridge: 1977), 94.

C.M. Wilson, *Lincs. Hist. Arch.* 5 (1970), 6.

Geake 1997, 160.

COLLINGHAM Yorks W
- DALTON
PARLOURS
SE 402445 SE 4044
villa SE 44 SW
?C7
1 (3 others: 1 Roman,
1 IA, one undated)

NMR: SE 44 SW 1

A total of 4 adult inhumations have been found here since 1854, in addition to a single Anglo-Saxon cremation urn in levelled, post-Roman ditch fill. Three of the inhumations were found to

the N of building M: 1 grave is undated; another was dated by radiocarbon to the Iron Age, and published uncalibrated (HAR-6174, BP 2140 +/- 70, CAL 380 BC – AD 10 at 2σ); a third was dated by radiocarbon to the Roman period, and also published uncalibrated (HAR-6714, BP 1780 +/- 80, CAL AD 70-430 at 2σ). The purportedly Roman skeleton was of a male aged between 25 and 30, buried prone, with legs flexed; the neck is described as being in 'extreme extension' as is the vertebral column. Dr D. K. Manchester saw the skeleton *in-situ* and concluded that the posture 'cannot be explained by death due to any pathological process... [it] may suggest burial whilst still alive with attempt at escape from the grave' (Sumpter 1988, 190). This could suggest that similar deviant burials found within the corpus belong in the (late) Roman period. The fourth burial is dated to the Anglo-Saxon period (C&7) on the basis of a copper-alloy annular brooch with iron pin found with the skeleton: a flexed female inhumation (which Geake records as doubtful) located to the E of building B. The villa is marked on the OS map, about 1.6 km north of the Roman road (now Thorner Road). The site is rural, but lies c.3km northwest of Bramham, whose church sits astride the Roman road.

S. Wrathmell and A. Nicholson, *Dalton Parlours : Iron Age settlement and Roman villa* (Wakefield: 1990).

A. Sumpter, 'Iron Age and Roman at Dalton Parlours', in J. Price & Wilson, *Recent Research in Roman Yorkshire: Studies in Honour of Mary Kitson Clark* (BAR British Series 193, 1988), 171-96.

Geake 1997, 191.

CORBRIDGE Northumb
NY 98226484 NY 9864
fort / station NY 96 SE
Late C5 - early C6 Meaney 1964, 198
4 +

SMR: T&W NY96SE20

Anglo-Saxon artefacts and inhumations have come from the Roman fort of *Corstopitum*. Finds from about 1907-8 include C5 cruciform brooches, an Anglo-Saxon urn, a sword mount, and 32 beads – clearly the remains of one or more burials. In 1948 or 1949 two skeletons were found, oriented N/S, and another furnished female burial was found in 1980-81. The fort became a considerable market town in the Roman period, and continued to be occupied until at least the late C5. The fort is located where the Roman bridge (in use until C19) crosses the R Tyne.

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

Meaney 1964, 198.

R. Milet, 'A Restatement of Evidence from Bernician Anglo-Saxon Burials', in P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson, and L. Watts (eds.), *Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries: the fourth Anglo-Saxon Symposium at Oxford*, BAR British Series 82 (1980), 289-305, esp. 293.

R. Cramp, 'Anglo-Saxon Settlement', in J. C. Chapman and H. C. Mytum (eds.), *Settlement in North Britain, 1000 BC-AD 1000: Papers Presented to George Jobey, Newcastle upon Tyne, December 1982* (Oxford: 1982), 263-98, esp. 268.

DARENTH

TQ 56357065

villa

Unknown (possibly Roman)

1

Kent

TQ 5670

TQ 57 SE

Philp 1973

A single female inhumation was found about 22m E of an aisled building, itself part of a Roman villa complex. Over the grave-cut developed a layer of black loam containing late Roman pottery, leading the excavator to attribute it a Roman date. The skeleton was lying prone in a wooden coffin, without associated grave goods. Philp (1973, fig. 26) shows it lying N/S. The site is about 800m SE of the parish church.

B. Philp, *Excavations in West Kent 1960-70: the Excavation of 30 Prehistoric Roman, Saxon and Medieval Sites mostly in the Bromley Area and in the Darent Valley*, Kent Arch. Research Unit for W Kent Border Arch. Group (Dover: 1973).

DAVENTRY - BOROUGH HILL

SP 58896320

villa (bath block)

C6-C7

2-3

Northants

SP 5863

SP 56 SE

Meaney 1964

NMR: SP 56 SE 1

Borough (or Bury) Hill is the site of a massive Iron Age hillfort with several prehistoric and Roman barrows: at least 18, presumably Roman, were recorded in the C18, of which some are no longer visible. A Roman villa, of which only the bath-house has been excavated, also lies within the hillfort. Two, possibly three, Saxon burials are recorded from different locations on the hill: No.1: unlocated, but apparently a secondary burial in an earlier barrow, C5 as dated by Meaney (1964, 186-7); No.2: lying N/S in 'one of the rooms of the bath block', with a spearhead by its side; No.3: possible burial found at N end of Borough Hill shortly before 1823: inhumation in stone cist with spear by side. Borough Hill lies to

the N of the city of Daventry where the nearest church is 1.6km distant.

W. Edgar, *Borough Hill (Daventry) and its History* (London: 1923), 40, plate 8.

RCHME Northants. III, 62-8.

Meaney 1964, 186-7.

VCH Northants. I, 195-6.

G. Baker, *The History and Antiquities of Northampton*, I (1822), 339-47.

DENTON

SK 87593094

villa

C6

5 +

Lincs

SK 8730

SK 83 SE

Meaney 1964, 153

SMR: Lincs 30018, 30019

Plan: Figure 34, page 88 (after Greenfield 1971, fig. 7, and Smith 1964, fig. 3).

A basilica-type villa and bath-house were excavated here in 1948-9. Two aligned burials were found in the main villa structure: one was interred in the hearth, and another (with an associated C6 pot) was interred through the centre of a mosaic pavement. The excavators conclude that the roof was still intact when the second body was inhumed, due to the lack of tile or brick in the grave-fill. The remains of at least three other individuals were also discovered in the bath-house: two were placed into its floor while the building was still intact. Of these three individuals, one is known to have been a male aged c.25 years, while the remains of another showed signs of osteo-arthritic wear. Their exact location is unclear, in part because they were probably disturbed during stone robbing: one grave is certainly that shown in the N wall of the bath-house (Greenfield 1971, fig. 7), and the location of the second and/or third burial can probably be deduced from the two holes cut into the S wall of the bath-house. In 1727 Stukeley reported finding human bones (including those of a presumably articulated hand), which probably suggest additional burials outside those discovered in the 1948-49 excavation. He also recorded that extensive plough damage was visible during his visit, which probably destroyed further evidence in the subsequent centuries. Even if fragmentary remains of these probably burials existed until the C20, it is unlikely that they would have been discovered in the recent excavations because the topsoil and Roman occupation levels were removed by machine. The site is located in open fields about 1.5km east of the village of Denton, about 200m away from spring and small tributary feeding the R Witham.

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

Meaney 1964, 153-4.

JRS 40 (1950), 100.

J. T. Smith, 'The Roman Villa at Denton', *Lincs.*

Architectural and Archaeological Soc. Reports and Papers 10.2 (1964), 75-104.

E. Greenfield, 'The Roman Villa at Denton, Lincs.,

Part II: the Bathhouse and Well', *Lincs. Hist. Arch.* 6

(1971), 29-58.

Scott 1993, 120.

ECCLES

Kent

TQ 722605

TQ 7260

villa

TQ 76 SW

Mid C7

Hawkes 1973

200

Plan: Figure 33, page 87 (after Shaw 1994, fig. 1).

Some 200+ inhumations were found within and adjacent to the SE bath-wing of the Roman villa here. The burials were laid in what appear to be three distinct levels; 28 furnished burials are amongst the earliest. The date of the cemetery's abandonment is unknown. A church is expected here, in part due to the place-name, but none has been found so far; the uninterrupted mass of features to the SW of the cemetery may eventually prove to be a candidate. The site lies c.880m W of the centre of Eccles on slight slope overlooking the R Medway. A modern reservoir and quarry pit has transformed much of the topography to the N, while the area to the W is low-lying and marshy.

R. Shaw, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Eccles: a Preliminary Report', *Arch. Cant.* 114 (1994), 165-88.

S. Hawkes, 'Finds from the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Eccles, Kent', *Antiq. J.* 53 (1973), 281-6.

A. P. Detsicas, 'Excavations at Eccles, 1976. Final Interim Report', *Arch. Cant.* 93 (1977), 55-9, and previous interims in *Arch. Cant.* 78 (1963), 125-41; 86 (1971), 25-34; 87 (1972), 101-10; 88 (1973), 73-80; 89 (1974), 119-34; 92 (1976), 15-64.

K. Cameron, 'Eccles in English Place-names', in M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson (eds.), *Christianity in Britain, 300-700* (Leicester: 1968), 87-92.

Geake 1997, 163.

ELY

Glam

ST 14727615

ST 1476

villa

ST 17 NW

Unknown

RCHMW

1

A fortified Roman villa, abandoned sometime in the middle of the C4, lies here on low-lying, wet ground. At an unknown period after the decline of the villa, an unaccompanied inhumation was interred N of Building II. The body lay supine, W/E, with hands crossed over the pelvis, with a

vertical headstone and footstone placed within the grave, and two additional stones to each side of the head. A photograph of the burial is in Wheeler (1921, Plate 5, no. 2).

RCHMW Glam. 1.2, 115-19.

R. E. M. Wheeler, 'A Roman Fortified House Near Cardiff', *JRS* 11 (1921), 67-85.

EXETER

Devon

SX 92019254

SX 9292

town (forum)

SX 99 SW

Late C7

Henderson and

Bidwell 1982

53

See entry in *Churches Gazetteer*, page 297.

FELTWELL -

Norfolk

OULSHAM

DROVE

TL 69014915

TL 7091

villa

TL 79 SW

1st half C5

S. C. Hawkes in

Gurney 1986, 32-7

1?

A Roman villa complex was excavated here in 1962 and 1964. Fifty metres to the NE of the main villa building, a C4 bath-house was examined, measuring 13.7 x 5.5m, divided into two rooms, including an apsidal tepidarium. Between the two rooms of the bath-house was found an early Germanic sword in its scabbard, which Hawkes believes to have originated in S Scandinavia, and dates to the first half of the C5. Gurney notes that the sword was contained within the demolition layer of the bath-house, by the SW wall of the tepidarium, lying flat in the gap between the wall and the adjacent pilae. He concludes that it appears to have been deliberately concealed. Although no trace of a skeleton is noted, the idea that the sword may have accompanied a burial should be taken as a possibility in light of similar furnished inhumations within this corpus. The site is located at Little Oulsham Drove, a track N of Feltwell Common, 1 mile NW of Feltwell, at the approximate grid reference provided in the heading; no Roman building is marked on the current OS 1:2500.

JRS 53 (1963), 137.

JRS 55 (1965), 213.

D. Gurney, 'The Romano-British Villa and Bath-House at Little Oulsham Drove, Feltwell; Excavations by Ernest Greenfield, 1962 and 1964', *Settlement, Religion and Industry on the Roman Fen-Edge, Norfolk* (E. Anglian Arch. 31, 1986), 1-48.

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

FINKLEY

SU 39814834
masonry building
Unknown
Unknown

Hants

SU 3948
SU 34 NE

A villa at Finkley was excavated by Stevens after bones and building material were brought to the surface by plough. Stevens found the remains of a Roman building plus 'iron fibulae, without pins, of several patterns, and several hundreds of iron objects of various sizes and designs, some of them in pairs, which appeared as if formed for attachment to a leather doublet, and for tags to belts and girdles'. He also found evidence of iron working, so this could simply be the remnants of Roman industrial activity. There were no bronze finds. A 'cremation pit' 'contained four vessels, more or less broken, of the usual Romano-British ware, and amid the ashes [the excavator] found the head of a tibia of a child, of about six years of age, and a small iron knife, which had the appearance of a toy' (Stevens 1872, 332). However the upper part of the grave 'was filled with broken roof tiles, bricks, pieces of pottery, and bones of animals' and other destruction debris which lead the excavator to believe that the interment was Roman, but of a later date than the building. Mr Roach Smith, a contemporary of the excavator, believed this to be a Saxon burial – probably, Stevens believes, due to the presence of the iron knife (Stevens 1872, 333). Stevens reconstructs a tranquil setting for the burial of the cremation: 'the place being quiet and secluded, some Saxon peasant might have stolen into the ruins and there interred his child' (Stevens 1872, 333). It is unclear what exactly to make of this site: it could simply be that a villa that was put to industrial use during the later stages of its life, but the cremation, in addition to the report of bones being ploughed up (although not necessarily human), suggests that we could be looking at a small, shallow cemetery interred through the destruction layer of the villa, of which no intact graves were found by the excavator. The site lies northeast of Andover, at Finkley Farm '0.5 mi E of the farm, 400 yds S of the Roman road which runs through the farm, and 300 yds W of the Devil's Dyke, in a field called Nettle or Nuttle field, anciently Nuthill Copse' (*VCH*). It is now 'Finkley Manor Farm'. The site is marked on the current OS 1:2500.

VCH Hants. I, 303-4.

J. Stevens, 'On Newly Discovered Roman and Saxon Remains at Finkley, Near Andover', *JBAA* 28 (1872), 327-36.

J. Stevens, 'Discoveries at Finkley, Hants.' *Trans. Newbury Dist. Field Club* 1 (1871), 328-36.

FISHBOURNE

SU 843053
villa
Undated
4 (?+)

Sussex

SU 8405
SU 80 NW
Cunliffe 1971, 193-4

Plan: Figure 14, page 56 (after Cunliffe 1971 figs. 26 & 50).

During excavation in the 1960s a massive Romano-British villa complex was found to contain four graves aligned to the building. Grave 1 was an extended, supine inhumation, oriented N/S with head to N. The grave was cut into the filling of a robber trench in the E wall of Room N11. Grave 2 contained an extended supine inhumation, oriented N/S with head to N. The grave clearly cut through rubble and 25cm of mortar floor in Room N9 (Cunliffe 1971, pl. 72a). Grave 3 was also an extended supine inhumation, but oriented W/E with head to W. The grave cut through rubble E of Room N4, but did not cut the floor (Cunliffe 1971, pl. lxxiib). Grave 4 was a flexed, supine inhumation, lying N/S with head to N, cut through rubble in the NW corner of garden (Cunliffe 1971, pl. lxxiic). Each skeleton had its hands across the pelvis. No traces of grave goods or coffins were found. A number of disarticulated fragments of human bone were also discovered close to Grave 3, and might suggest another burial. The site lies at the head of a tidal inlet, 1.4km west of Chichester.

B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Fishbourne 1961-9: Vol. 1, The Site*, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 26-27 (London: 1971), 193-4.

FOLKESTONE

TR 23563671
mausoleum / villa
?C7-C8
5 +

Kent

TR 2336
TR 23 NW
NMR

NMR: TR 23 NW 6

Plan: Figure 43, page 112 (after Jenkins 1876, 174-5).

In 1873 R. C. Jenkins (the excavator of Lyminge) recorded that 'at Folkestone, on a place near the station called the Chapel Field, a very remarkable foundation of a church or debased Roman structure was exhumed about a year ago...several skeletons were found buried under the hard masonry of its walls [which were then] broken up for sale of the stone' (Jenkins 1873, 479). This was part of a complex of Roman buildings, comprising either one very large villa, or two adjacent ones. The structure in question, small and oblong, was first found in 1869. The

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

VCH notes that it was not properly measured or planned, but was estimated to be 10m long, consisting of two rooms and an underground chamber which the *VCH* describes as a 'crypt with well-faced walls', entered through the two E/W structures between the rooms. A plan of the area does appear in Jenkins (1876). Although the scale is unclear, the dimensions recorded for one building allow the plan to be scaled, and confirm that the structure associated with the burials was similar in size and proportion to that at Stone-by-Faversham. A few feet to the S of this structure was a smaller, circular chamber, said by one to be connected to the above by some sort of underground conduit. A re-examination of the site in 1952 by Frank Jenkins, son of R. C. Jenkins, revealed further buildings. These activities are unpublished, but the NMR records that 'the S side had been much disturbed by probably late Saxon C7-C8 grave digging. Of the five burials, at least one had a coffin.' (The NMR holds Jenkins unpublished report to the Folkestone Museum and related correspondence.) Jenkins records that 'some skeletons were found in the very walls of the building' (Jenkins 1876, 174), but no count or indication of their orientation is given. The nature of this site remains confusing due to the fragmentary evidence: Rigold considers this to be the Christian re-use of a Roman mausoleum; its similarity in size and shape to St Martin's Canterbury and Stone-by-Faversham is distinctive. However, the account of a second chamber underneath, and the report of an underground conduit, suggest that the structure may have been a bath-house, with the inhumations interred within the hypocaust such as appears to have been the case at Great Tew. The excavated structure is (or was believed to have been) St Botolph's chapel, of which little else is known. A human jaw and fragment of a skull found in the main villa complex could suggest contemporary burials here as well (Winbolt 1925, 99). Folkestone itself was the site of an important royal minster founded for Eanswith, the daughter of King Eadbald, but the relationship between the minster and this site remains unclear. The site lies on the west slope of a natural ridge in Folkestone, and is now completely under modern development, about 5km NE of St Peter's church.

- S. E. Rigold, 'Roman Folkestone Reconsidered', *Arch. Cant.* 87 (1972), 31-41.
 R. C. Jenkins, 'On a Roman Hypocaust Discovered at Folkestone AD 1875', *Arch. Cant.* 10 (1876), 173-7. *VCH Kent* III, 114-5.
JRS 14 (1924), 242.
 R. C. Jenkins, 'Archaeological Progress in Kent', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 5 (1873), 478-81.
 S. E. Winbolt, *Roman Folkestone*, (London: 1925).

FRILFORD

SU 439962
 temple
 C7
 1

Berks

SU 4396
 SU 49 NW
 Dickinson 1976

NMR: SU 49 NW 5

A Romano-Celtic temple and amphitheatre form the heart of a large, ritual complex at Frilford. The temple was in use until well into the C5. About 225m to the SE of the temple, a late Roman and Anglo-Saxon cemetery was established, in which were discovered 123+ burials, of which some were furnished. Although the cemetery is significant in the context of this thesis, the inhumation which primarily concerns us here is Meaney's 'Frilford II': a single inhumation a few metres to the S of the temple, interred supine within the confines of an Iron Age pit in 'Area B'. Close to the left thigh of the body and partly covered by its forearm were the blades of a seax and knife, which dates the inhumation to the C7-C8. The grave was oriented WNW/ESE and covered by a 'platform' of stones, 6'6" x 1'8". The site is in a rural location on comparatively flat topography, about 1km from the church at Garford.

- J. S. P. Bradford and R. G. Goodchild, 'Excavations at Frilford, Berks., 1937-8', *Oxoniensia* 4 (1939), 1-70, esp. 37-8.
 G. Rolleston, 'Researches and Excavations Carried on in an Ancient Cemetery at Frilford, near Abingdon, Berkshire in the Years 1867-1868', *Arch.* 42 (1869), 417-85.
 G. Rolleston, 'Further Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Frilford', *Arch.* 45 (1880), 405-10.
 L. Dudley Buxton, 'Excavations at Frilford', *Antiq. J.* 1.2 (1921), 87-97.
 T. Dickinson, *The Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites of the Upper Thames Region and Their Bearing on the History of Wessex, c. AD 400-700* (Unpublished DPhil, University of Oxford, 1976), Vol. 2, 134.
JRS 29 (1939), 222-3.
 Meaney 1964, 47.
 Geake 1997, 174.

FRINGFORD LODGE

SP 59592587
 villa / bath-house
 Unknown
 2

Oxon

SP 5925
 SP 52 NE

Two skeletons were found in a Roman villa at this site. Blomfield (1882, 17-18) records that 'a villa of considerable importance was built on the rising ground, to the left of the road leading to Lactodorum, where a dry soil, and a full spring

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

in the adjoining brook, and a wide expanse of scenery afforded an attractive site. When the ground was disturbed here about 1860, two human skeletons were found at a depth of two feet below the surface, the skulls being quite perfect; and several remains of tessellated pavement were laid bare, some tesserae being large and coarse, and others smaller and of different colours, red, blue, and white, the latter probably forming the floor of the hall or other chief room of the house. An underground chamber, close by the pavement, with two or three steps leading down to it, was also discovered; which looked as if it might have been the site of the hypocaust or a bath; and broken pottery abounds. There are also evident signs of an embankment at a short distance in front of this house, over which the present road now runs, and in the adjoining field small coins, mostly copper, have been constantly turning up in such numbers as if the ground had been sown broadcast with them'. He also adds that 'about 50 years ago coins and other Roman remains were found on the Glebe Farm in Fringford'; there is no church nearby. It is clear from this account that Blomfield is describing a Roman bath-house; the 'underground chamber' is probably the stoking room, although it has similarities in its description to the structure at Folkestone. The site is far to the south of Fringford, at Fringford Lodge, roughly 0.75 miles W of Stratton Audley. Glebe Farm is even more isolated, 1 mile to the NW of Fringford Lodge. The site is about 2 miles N of Bicester, and is only marked on the Oxon/Buck OS Sheet 17, 1885 edition. Glebe Farm is at SP 59042747. The nearest church is that of St Mary and St Edburga in Stratton Audley at SP 60852604. The villa lies at the junction of four parishes.

VCH Oxon I, 320.

J. C. Blomfield, *History of the Present Deanery of Bicester, Oxon* (London: 1882), Vol. I, 17-18.

FROCESTER	Gloucs
SO 77100327	SO 7703
villa	SO 70 SE
Christian (probably	Heighway 1987
Pre-Conquest)	
A 'row' +	

See entry in *Churches Gazetteer*, page 300.

FROCESTER	Gloucs
COURT	
SO 785029	SO 7802
villa	SO 70 SE
Post C5	Gracie and Price 1979
11	

Plan: Figure 15, page 59 (after Gracie and Price 1979, figs. 3&7, and Price 1980, 25).

At least eleven inhumations and three cremations have been found in this villa, of which four or more were noted by the excavators to be post C5; two include hobnailed boots, and as such still probably fall within the later Roman period. Gracie and Price record only the following details regarding the burials: G1: a male, aged 50-55 with head to NE, wearing hobnailed sandals or boots; G10: a male, aged 30-40 with head to SW, and a boot behind pelvis; G11: a female, aged 45+ with head to NE; G12: a female aged about 48 with head to SE. The figure on p. 25 of Price (1980) shows an additional seven inhumations and three cremations, two of which he notes are Roman or earlier (he does not comment upon the others). It is difficult to understand the exact nature of this site, as the excavators do not give us a complete grave count, but the villa seems to have been used for inhumation in the late Roman period and probably beyond. Selkirk's report (2000) hints at the possibility of a further burial with the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon annular bead and a piece of a claw-beaker from behind the ruined bath-house. The site has been excavated continuously since its discovery, and is now in its fortieth season. The final report will be published by the excavator and land owner, E. Price, later this year. Frocester Court lies 14 miles W of Cirencester.

A. Selkirk, 'Frocester', *Current Archaeology* 169 (2000), 11-19.

H. S. Gracie, 'Frocester Court Roman Villa', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 89 (1970), 15-89.

H. S. Gracie and E. G. Price, 'Frocester Court Roman Villa', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 97 (1979), 9-64.

E. G. Price, 'Frocester Court Roman Villa', *Glenvenis* 14 (1980), 24-6.

E. Price, 'Frocester Court Roman Villa, Third Report 1980: the Well', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 101 (1983), 49-76.

E. Price, 'Frocester Court Excavations 1990-91' *Glenvenis* 25 (1991), 41.

A. Selkirk, 'Frocester Roman Villa, Gloucs', *Current Archaeology* 8 (1983), 139-45.

RCHME Gloucs. I, 57-8.

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

GLOUCESTER - ST MARY DE LODE

Gloucs

SO 82941891 SO 8218
masonry building SO 81 NW
C5 -C6 Heighway 1987, 128
5 +

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 301

GREAT TEW Oxon

SP 402275 SP 4027
villa SP 42 NW
C7 Dickinson 1976, 134-
5

Cemetery

In May 1810, a structure 18' x 20' with an apse 8' wide on the N was discovered at Great Tew, was discovered, and at first believed to be a Roman burial vault. It was in fact part of a Roman bath building. Nash's description in Beesley (1841) reports that it contained 'human remains laid in partitions of dissimilar width, which crossed the vault from E to W, and were built with Roman red tiles, about 8.5" square; the partitions were 2.5' deep, about the size of graves, and were covered with 'plank tiles' varying in size from 11.5" to 23.5" square, and some contained fragments of black pottery and red urns. 'The bones were small, possibly those of children. There were two tiers of sepulchral recesses; and above was a spread of planking tiles covered with mortar and sand, to the thickness of about two inches in which was set a geometric tessellated floor with a design of urns and serpentine lines'. Nash's account combines both description and interpretation, and is there somewhat confusing, but we can probably dismiss his interpretation of this site as a possible temple. Nash in fact appears to be describing an apsidal bath-house and hypocaust, into which various inhumations had been inserted, lying W/E. During preparation of a site for a new barn at Beaconsfield Farm (SP 406275), in 1956/66, the remains of main villa building was found (*Oxon.* 31 (1966), 153). It is not impossible that the 'hypocaust below a destroyed tessellated pavement' that was found in the N/S wing during these excavations was the same as that in Beesley's report. In this wing was also found a C7 inhumation covered by a small cairn (*Oxon.* 31 (1966), 154). This is presumably that from Room 2 reported by Geake, O'Brien, Dickinson and Blair, which was accompanied by a spear, hanging bowl, and iron buckle. The site is very isolated, and is probably 200m W of the site marked on the most recent OS 1:2500, to the

immediate west of Beaconsfield Farm at SP 40592746. It lies within a slight, sheltered vale to the NW of Sandford St Martin, where the nearest extant church is 1.6km distant.

VCH Oxon I, 310.

A. Beesley, *The History of Banbury* (London: 1841), 39-41.

R. Plot, *The Natural History of Oxfordshire* (Oxford: 1676), 327.

Geake 1997, 174.

T. Dickinson, *The Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites of the Upper Thames Region and Their Bearing on the History of Wessex*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Univ. of Oxford, 2 vols (1976), 134-5.

O'Brien 1999, No.2143.

Oxoniensia 31 (1966), 153-4.

Oxonensia 15 (1950), 107.

J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Oxford: 1994), 33.

Scott 1993, 159.

GREETWELL Lincs

SK 99537164 SK 9971
villa SK 97 SE
Unknown Meaney 1964, 156
1

SMR: Lincs 70017

A very tentative site: the only indication of a possible burial in the villa here is the occurrence of an Anglo-Saxon spearhead and pot.

Arch. J. 108 (1952), 91, 97.

Eagles 1979 II, 377.

Meaney 1964, 156.

O'Brien 1999, No.1069.

J. N. L. Myres, 'Lincoln in the Fifth Century AD',

Arch. J. 103 (1946), 85-8, esp. 87-8

HANWELL Oxon

SP 428437 SP 4243
villa / bath-house? SP 44 SW
Unknown
c.5

The remains of masonry buildings have been found extending over 10 acres in two fields: 'The Town Grounds' and 'Church Balk'. In the former were found foundations, a hypocaust, burned stones, bones, pottery, coins and skeletons. Beesley's is the only extant description: 'The site is on the W of the turnpike road [now Warwick Road], at the part where the lane turns off towards Horley, and extends over a great part of the first fields N and S of the lane. Near the gate of the S field some tessellated pavement was discovered some years ago; and in digging for stone in the parts adjacent regular chambers were found, appearing for the most part to have been formed in the rock, and lying in ranges N and S;

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communicating with each other in that direction, but each range separated from the next range in the direction E and W. There were also stairs cut partly in the rock, and flues in different parts. These chambers extended as far as the excavations continue. The soil above these remains is entirely adventitious; and throughout the site there are found a profusion of burned stones, bones and pieces of Roman pottery. In one of the chambers within the rock was discovered, 40 years ago, an oven, and within it, some dishes, stated by the labourers who found them to have been made of pewter. Other pewter dishes also, described by the labourers as porringers, were found beneath the soil, lying on the rock; and likewise several skeletons' (Beesley 1841, 44). He also adds: 'Between the site of the Hanwell remains and the church, at a part called Church Balk, are apparent traces of a trench or embankment facing the E...' This embankment is probably part of a complex of fish ponds to the E of the church visible on the OS 1:2500. Beesley appears to be describing a large, hypocausted complex cut into the bedrock, but little more can be said regarding the burials: they could be Roman if they were associated with the pewter dishes, but their relationship is unclear. The nearest church is St Peter's at SP 43574357. There is no indication of Roman or Anglo-Saxon activity on the OS map. The site coordinates given in the heading are approximate.

VCH Oxon I, 308.

A. Beesley, *The History of Banbury* (London: 1841), 44.

HEMSWORTH	Dorset
ST 96250593	ST 9605
villa	ST 90 NE
Unknown	
Unknown	

SMR: Dorset 3 027 022

A large villa with 14 or 15 pavements and a bath-house was discovered in 'Wall's Field', next to the ruins of 'Wall's Cottages'. Inhumation burials are reported from the adjacent field, but no details of these are published. The villa lies to immediate W of 'Wall's Cottages', at ST 96360593. No site is visible on the OS map, though it does lie near a Roman road.

RCHME Dorset V, 110-12.

G. H. Engleheart, 'The Roman Villa at Hemsworth', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 30 (1909) 1-12.
Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc. 29 (1908), lxxxviii-lxxxviii.
 Scott 1993, 55.

HENLEY	Somerset
WOOD	

ST 44296520	ST 4465
temple	ST 46 NW
Post C5	radiocarbon
50	

NMR: ST 46 NW 9

Plan: Figure 30, page 81 (after Watts and Leach 1996, fig. 30).

The Romano-Celtic temple at Henley Wood was in use from c. AD 225-50 until the close of the C4. Sometime after its demise, the remains of c.87 men, women and children were inhumed within and adjacent to the temple: c.75 have been excavated, and c.12 were lost to earlier quarrying. The extent of the excavated cemetery lies primarily over the E temenos ditch, with many graves cut into the bedrock. The graves in the temple itself were oriented randomly, but 'possibly relating to the position of temple walls'. Some graves of the main cemetery were double graves, and some lined with limestone slabs. All were unaccompanied, aligned W/E, although a small collection of finds on the site - including brooches, pins, and beads - may have accompanied the burials. A total of 15 radiocarbon samples were taken (see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations). The site was originally on an elevated spur adjacent to the hillfort of Cadbury/Congresbury, now surrounded by a reservoir and largely quarried away. The church at Yatton is about 1.25km distant. Congresbury was the site of an Anglo-Saxon minster given by King Alfred to Asser.

L. Watts and P. Leach, *Henley Wood, Temples and Cemetery Excavations 1962-9, By the Late Ernest Greenfield and Others*, CBA Research Report 99 (London: 1996).

HERONBRIDGE	Cheshire
SJ 4064	SJ 4064
Masonry building	SJ 46 SW
Unknown	
19 +	

During excavations in 1931, the remains of more than 19 individuals were found in and around a Roman building, probably part of a villa complex. Most, if not all, were adult males and almost half had sword injuries to the head. The skeletons were found over an extensive area, mainly S of the 'long wall', a line of masonry footings associated with the building. All were aligned W/E, without grave goods. Some burials were isolated, and one was found on the 'long

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wall' itself, others were found in two groups. Group I consisted of complete skeletons, closely packed together and lying alternately on their back and sides - apparently a single-phase interment. The skeletons of Group II were packed less tightly together; all were laid on their back, but some skeletons were incomplete: one had no legs, another only one; two skeletons of this group were without skulls. A 'heap of detached bones' was also found. The excavators suggest a Roman (c. AD 160-200) date for the inhumations, primarily based on small fragments of Roman pottery in the dark, organic deposit that overlies and surrounds the burials. However, it is very likely that the burials are post-Roman: certainly the 'long wall' was in ruins before the interment that overlies it was made, and the pottery from the grave fills could easily be residual. Furthermore, the organic deposit into which the graves were interred sounds suspiciously like the ubiquitous, post-Roman 'Black Earth' seen at other former Roman sites. The pathology report regarding the sword cuts to the heads concludes that they are apparently not suggestive of a thrusting blade, such as the Roman gladius, but rather a slicing sword: the excavators suggest that a Roman cavalry sword, the *spatha*, may have made the cuts, but it is just as likely that the cuts were made by an Anglo-Saxon or later period sword. There really is no firm reason to assign the graves to the Roman period. The site lies in Red House Croft, on the Eaton Road immediately outside of Heronbridge. The site is bounded by the modern road on the west, and the bank of Dee on the east.

J. A. Petch 'Excavations at Heronbridge, 1930-1', *J. Chester N. Wales Architect. Arch. Hist. Soc.* 30 (1933), 5-49.

B. R. Hartley, 'Excavations at Heronbridge, 1947-48', *J. Chester N. Wales Architect. Arch. Hist. Soc.* 39 (1952), 3-20.

D. Mason, 'The Roman site at Heronbridge, near Chester, Cheshire: Aspects of Civilian Settlement in the Vicinity of Legionary Fortresses in Britain and Beyond' *Arch. J.* 145 (1988), 123-57.

L. R. Laing and J. Laing, *The Dark Ages of West Cheshire* (Cheshire, 1986).

VCH Cheshire I, 188-92.

HOWLETTS -	Kent
LITTLEBOURNE	
TR 20075687	TR 2056
masonry building	TR 25 NW
Late C5, early C6	Meaney 1964
36 +	

NMR: TR 25 NW 2

At least 36 inhumations were found near a masonry structure during gravel-pit digging in

1913. Foundations of a building consisting of mortar, chalk and flint that were still visible on the site in 1918, and the existence of other structures is suggested by Smith's note that 'villagers assert that there was once a town on the [site] in question' (Smith 1918, 102). Smith's report of the excavations records graves 'scattered indiscriminately over the whole area, usually E and W', the 'arms and armour' of men towards the N end, and 'jewellery, beads and glass' towards the S end. Crude 'blackware' with fragments of bone could suggest the existence of some cremations on the site. The inhumations were clearly well-furnished, but only three artefact groups were associated with specific graves: two females and one male (see Smith 1917-18, plates 1 & 2). Unfortunately, no plan of the graves or the structure exists, and there is no certain evidence that the structures were indeed Roman. The site lies to the S of Littlebourne town on a sloped hill overlooking a wide, shallow vale. About 300m to the N are the remains of a well and chapel. The site is located in the Luddenham/Luddington Wood, formerly in the parish of Wells, 3 miles SE of Canterbury Cathedral.

Meaney 1964, 125.

R. A. Smith. 'Prehistoric and Anglo-Saxon Remains Discovered by Capt. L. Moysey at Howletts, Near Bridge, Kent', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 2nd Ser. 30 (1918), 102-13.

Antiq. J. 4 (1924), 276-7.

KEMSING	Kent
TQ 55565877	TQ 5558
masonry building	TQ 55 NE
Early C7-C8	Meaney 1964
2	

Meaney notes that burials were found 'on the false crest of hill, above the 300 foot contour, not far from a Roman building' (Meaney 1964, 132). These are probably the burials reported in 1931, about which Gordon Ward records a note made by the vicar of Kemsing Church in 1880: 'I interred in the churchyard near the N fence, due N of the buttress of the nave, the remains of two skeletons which had been found in a field, number 24 on the Ordnance Survey map, 750 yards due W of the church (W end). The skeletons were lying one with feet to the E, the other close to it with feet to the W. A spear head was afterwards found' (Ward 1931, 89). The existence of Meaney's Roman building cannot be confirmed by this author: it could be the nearby structure at Dynes Road reported in 1950, but the exact location of this is unknown. It should be noted here that the vicar's two burials are very different from the Kemsing (Polhill) Anglo-

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Saxon cemetery at the intersection of the A41 and Pilgrim's Way (TQ 505589), 5km distant, though Meaney seems to imply a single site.

G. Ward, *Sevenoaks Essays* (London: 1931), 89-91.
Meaney 1964, 132.
Arch. Cant. 63 (1950), xlv-xlv.

KEYNSHAM	Somerset
ST 65726938	ST 6569
Masonry building	ST 66 NE
Unknown	
2	

NMR: ST 66 NE 20

Two inhumations in stone coffins were found 3/4 mile E of a villa, and just SW of a probable Roman building that is suggested by the existence of tile, worked stone and pottery. These burials could very well be Roman. Keynsham Abbey and parish church are 560m distant.

JRS 11 (1921), 210-11.
H. Gray, 'Roman Coffins Discovered at Keynsham, 1922', *Antiq. J.* 2 (1922), 371-5.

LAMYATT BEACON	Somerset
ST 66953618	ST 6636
temple	ST 63 NE
Centres on C7	radiocarbon
18	

SMR: Somerset 23728

NMR: ST 63 NE 1

Plan: Figure 29, page 81 (after Leech 1986, fig. 3).

At Lamyatt Beacon a square, Romano-Celtic temple exists that demonstrates evidence of post-Roman activity, including adjacent burials. Like the temple at Brean Down, there was some post-Roman construction here, including an E/W aligned building which post-dates the temple, and may pre-date the cemetery. Two burials were found within this structure (Building 2). To the immediate N of the temple buildings were found sixteen unaccompanied skeletons, oriented roughly SW/NE, with heads to the SW. Radiocarbon samples returned dates of: Cal AD 559+/-90, 782+/-90 (see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations). The proportion of females to males is high, about 11:1 or 11:3. The church of St Mary and St John (now isolated) is 800m directly to the west of the temple. The site of the temple is intervisible with that at Brean Down.

R. H. Leech, 'The Excavation of a Romano-Celtic Temple and a Later Cemetery on Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset', *Britannia* 17 (1986), 259-328.

R. H. Leech, 'Religion and Burials in South Somerset and North Dorset', in W. J. Rodwell, (ed.), *Temples, Churches and Religion: Recent Research in Roman Britain, with a Gazetteer of Romano-Celtic Temples in Continental Europe*, BAR 77 (1980), 329-36, 346, 349-52.

O'Brien 1999, No.2181.

LANCING DOWN	Sussex
TQ 17840670	TQ 1706
temple	TQ 10 NE
Unknown	
Unknown	

SMR: W. Sussex 4416-18

A Romano-Celtic temple (TQ 17840670) was excavated during 1828 and 1829. In 1833 the site was dug up and destroyed by the farmer, and rediscovered again in 1929. Thirty-five burials are reported from around the temple; few details of these are published, but they did include Iron Age and Romano-British cremations. The only recorded suggestion of Anglo-Saxon activity on the site is the discovery of one or possibly several scettas found on the site (Frere 1940, 170), but in light of similar sites (Lamyatt Beacon, Henley Wood, and Frilford) it would be surprising if none of burial activity around the temple dates from the post-Roman period. Meaney's site lies to the SE of the temple, in the centre of Lancing at Hoe Court House, at TQ 1906, where 6 skeletons were excavated in 1928. They were oriented N/S, 3 had iron weapons by their heads: 2 spearheads and 2 knives. Later excavations at Hoe Court House in 1936 found an additional skeleton, with its head to the W.

O. Bedwin, 'Excavations at Lancing Down, West Sussex 1980' *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 119 (1981), 37-55.
S. Frere, 'A Survey of Archaeology Near Lancing', *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 81 (1940), 141-72.

Meaney 1964, 251.

O'Brien 1999, No.152

LATIMER	Bucks
SU 99739851	SU 9998
villa	SU 99 NE
Unknown	
4	

'Roman tesserae were found in a slightly raised mound here in 1834 by workmen who were diverting the road... a few yards to the W were four human skeletons with coins and fragments

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of earthen vessels deposited near them' (*VCH*). Subsequent excavations in 1864 revealed a corridor Roman villa. The plan in the *VCH* shows the outlines of the Roman building, but not the location of the inhumations. The *VCH* records that the site is located 'a little to the SW of Latimer Dell Farm [now Latimer Park Farm], shut in on two sides by Lane Wood and West Wood'. The site is marked on the most recent OS 1:2500 map, on the immediate south bank of the R Chess.

VCH Bucks. II, 8-9.

LILLYHORN Gloucs
(BISLEY): St MARY'S
SO 90360592 SO 9005
masonry structure / SO 90 NW
possible temple
Unknown
4

SMR: Gloucs 3710, 3636
NMR: SO 90 NW13?

1.5 miles from the villa found in a field called 'Church Piece', altars of Mars and Silvanus were dug up from under the SW corner of the tower of St Mary's Church (page 309 of the churches gazetteer), together with calcined stone and a plain fragment of another altar. The SMR suggests that Roman votive material has been found in enough quantity – it mentions votive objects and plaques – to suggest that the church is built on a Romano-British religious site. (But note the usual caveats, see p. 97 of this thesis) Lowder suggests that the altars may have come from the villa, and that the calcined stones originally formed part of the villa's hypocaust (a realistic suggestion - the altars are rather small); there is no account of the discovery of foundations or building material at the church. Heighway (pers. comm.) believes that the wells next to the church may have played an important part in the initial, and possible later, religious focus of the site: 'An important topographical aspect here are the wells next to the church at Bisley, which are highly likely to have acted as a cult focus. Whilst no building materials except the altars have come from under or around the church, it would be surprising if there were not a temple site – perhaps not under the church, but beside the wells in the rock face below the church.' Hare makes a good case for Bisley's having a pre-Conquest minster church: late Saxon sculpture is associated with the church and the nearby C8 Lypiatt cross may have

marked its border. Two priests were recorded here in 1086.

RCHME Gloucs., 15-16.
JBAA 2 (1847), 324-7.
Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc. 60 (1938), 351-2.
H. Lowder, 'Bisley Church', *Arch. J.* 20 (1863), 186-7.
M. Hare, 'The Minster Status of Bisley', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 108 (1990), 46-9.

LINCOLN - Lincs
CATHEDRAL
SK 978718 SK 9771
town SK 97 SE
C6? Mid to late Meaney 1964, 157
Unknown

A very tenuous site: there is very slight evidence of a cremation cemetery within the Roman town. Meaney concludes: 'It is considered that there is probably a cremation cemetery under the E end of the Cathedral'.

Meaney 1964, 157.
J. N. L. Myres, 'Lincoln in the Fifth Century AD', *Arch. J.* 103 (1946), 85-8.
Arch. J. 108 (1951), 76, 98.
JRS 46 (1956), 26, 32.

LINCOLN - Lincs
SALTERGATE
SK 976712 SK 9771
masonry building SK 97 SE
780+/-90 radiocarbon
4

Four graves were dug into the rubble of a Roman building. One was radiocarbon dated to AD 780+/- 90 (HAR 863: see the radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations). The site is located at the Silver Street end of the Saltergate excavations. No further details are available.

N. M. Reynolds, 'Excavations at Lincoln: Saltergate', *Antiq. J.* 59 (1979), 84-91.
Geake 1997, 168.
O'Brien 1999, No.2212.

LINCOLN - ST Lincs
PAUL-IN-THE-BAIL
SK 976719 SK 9771
town (forum) SK 97 SE
C7 O'Brien 1999,
No.1183

1

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 309.

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LITTLE CHART

TQ 939458
villa / bath-house
Late C6
3 +

Kent

TQ 9345
TQ 94 NW

NMR: TQ 94 NW 13

Meaney (1964, 114) notes that 'at least three Anglo-Saxon inhumations with an iron spearhead, a shield boss, three 'shield studs', two knives and a group of three hooks were discovered 13m away from a Roman bath-house' at Little Chart. Severe damage to the site was apparent at the time of its discovery, as all destruction level and post-Roman contexts had been destroyed by ploughing. Only the bath-house and a corner of a second building were excavated at the time, and the entire site has since been quarried away without being fully recorded, although there was certainly potential for further burials here. Eames' is the most detailed report, but it does not mention the discovery of the burials and, as a consequence, their precise location in relation to the bath-house cannot be determined. The site lies on the slope of a hill overlooking Little Chart, 500m to the E, and is located on what is now a slight terrace (probably related to the recent quarrying). It is c.800m SE of the remains of St Mary's church at TQ 93454671.

Arch. Cant. 48 (1936), 234-5.
J. Eames, 'A Roman Bath-House at Little Chart, Kent', *Arch. Cant.* 71 (1957), 130-46.
O'Brien 1999, No.179.
Meaney 1964, 114.

LITTLE CHESTER

SK 355375
fort
C6
17

Derby

SK 3537
SK 33 NE
O'Brien 1999,
No.1154

Derventio Roman fort. The *VCH* notes only in passing that at Little Chester 'there are records of human burials within the ramparts' of the fort. O'Brien provides further details: in the SE corner of the Roman fort is a C6 cemetery. Seventeen burials have been excavated, including 6 females with brooches, wrist clasps, and a bronze bowl, and 2 males with shield bosses, a spear head, and drinking horn mounts. The presence of Stamford Ware would suggest later, Anglo-Saxon occupation here, around the C10-12. The site lies to the immediate east of the R Derwent, in a

suburb of Derby. A church is located within the fort at SK 35653748.

O'Brien 1999, No.1154
VCH Derby I, 218.
Med. Arch. 17 (1973), 138.
J. Pilkington, *View of the Present State of Derbyshire* (Derby: 1789), ii, 198.
JRS 59, 212-13
O'Brien 1999, No.1154.

LLANDOUGH

ST 168733
villa
C8 and earlier
Cemetery

Glam

ST 1673
ST 17 SE
O'Brien 1999

See entry in *Churches Gazetteer*, page 91.

LLANTWIT MAJOR

SS 95886998
villa
Unknown
48 +

Glam

SS 9569
SS 96 NE
Hogg 1974

The villa at Llantwit Major was discovered in 1888 by J. C. Storrie, who partially excavated two rooms of the structure: he found mosaic floors, over which many burials had been made. Part of the site was later excavated by Nash-Williams in the 1950s, and again by Hogg and the D.O.E. in 1971, who also re-interpreted the site. Hogg agrees with Nash-Williams' interpretation of two, distinct phases of burial on the site. The first (Phase III) is indicated by 30 burials, nearly all men, and three horses, which 'lay in all sorts of positions'; Storrie and Nash-Williams took this to be evidence of a massacre, after which the bodies were left to lie amongst the ruins. Whatever the reasons behind their presence here, at least 15cm of humus appears to have accumulated before their deposition, and Hogg conjectures at least several centuries had passed after the ruination of the villa. Later, when the site was reduced to 'overgrown irregularities', the site was used for more 'formal' burials (Phase IV), which were placed carefully within the villa structure, aligned W/E; many were cut through the foundations or walls of the villa. Nash-Williams suggested that some of the graves may have been those of the late Roman occupants, but this was based on coins - likely residual - associated with the graves, and which Hogg correctly notes cannot be taken as a date for the graves themselves. Hogg concludes that Nash-Williams' chronology, as far as the villa structure itself goes, is suspect, and his plans are in part schematic, but 'on the published evidence ... there can be practically no doubt that the

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coincidence of two separate deposits of human bodies must be accepted' (Hogg 1974, 241). After the three excavations, a total of at least 37 graves were found from Phase III, and 11 inhumations were found from Phase IV, the 'formal' cemetery. However, it remains very difficult to gain an overall understanding of the site: the total extent of the cemetery is unknown, and could be very large, as only about 10% of the villa structure has been excavated thus far. Furthermore, none of the inhumations have been radiocarbon dated, so it is difficult to know from when exactly these burial phases date. More recent speculation has suggested that the villa was the home of St Illtud (fl. c.500), founder of Llanillud Fawr, of which the modern name is a corruption. The site of his monastery is unknown, but the Roman villa is believed to be the most likely candidate (Morris 1966, 379). The site itself is known as 'Cae Mead' or 'Caer Mead', and lies 0.75 miles NNW of the Llantwit Major church at SS 966687.

A. Hogg, 'The Llantwit Major Villa: a Reconsideration of the Evidence', *Britannia* 5 (1974), 225-50.
V. E. Nash-Williams, 'The Roman Villa at Llantwit Major in Glamorgan', *Arch. Camb.* 102 (1953), 89-169.
J. C. Storr, *Trans. Cardiff Nat. Soc.* 20 (1888), 50ff.
J. Morris, 'The Dates of the Celtic Saints', *J. Theol. Stud.* new ser. 18.2 (1966), 379.
RCHMW Glam 1.2, 111-14.

LONDON - SOUTHWARK	Surrey
TQ 32698034	TQ 3280
villa	TQ 38 SW
Unknown	
1	

See entry in churches gazetteer, page 312.

LOWBURY HILL	Berks
SU 541823	SU 5482
temple / camp	SU 58 SW
Early C7	O'Brien 1999, No.510; radiocarbon
2	

A rich, primary inhumation lay within a barrow, 25m to the E of a rectangular enclosure; this has traditionally been believed to be a Roman camp, but has recently been reinterpreted as a Roman temple. The barrow contained the remains of a male, 50-60 years old, who lay N/S with his head to S. He was accompanied by a sword, knife, a bowl with escutcheons, a bone comb, and shield. Inserted into the robber trench of the enclosure wall was the skeleton of a female, lying W/E.

The skeleton has been radiocarbon dated to AD 591-650 (see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations). The site lies on Lowbury Hill, with commanding views to the southwest and west.

M. Fulford and S. J. Rippon, 'Lowbury Hill, Oxon: a Re-assessment of the Probable Romano-Celtic Temple and the Anglo-Saxon Barrow', *Arch. J.* 151 (1994), 158-211.
Meaney 1964, 49.
J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud: 1994), 48.

LOWER BASILDON	Berks
SU 60747933	SU 6079
villa	SU 67 NW
Unknown	
2 (possibly 20+)	

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 313.

MAIDEN CASTLE	Dorset
SY671884	SY 6788
temple	SY 68 NE
C7	Geake 1997
1-10	

There are several archaeological features within the the hillfort: into one, a Neolithic long mound, were inserted four inhumations (one male, three female), oriented W/E with heads to W. Another, interred away from these unfurnished burials, towards the E end of the mound, was furnished with a broad seax and knife in a single sheath. The remains of belt fittings were also found. It lies about 40m S of the Romano-Celtic temple and about 20m SW of an annular shrine from the late or post-Roman period, and in this respect it is not unlike the single inhumation at Frilford. Wheeler believed this to be an isolated burial, unassociated with the others, and concluded that 'it is unlikely to represent more than some band of pioneers or brigands who may have sheltered momentarily in the ruins and there have interred a casualty in a clumsy and shallow grave' (Wheeler 1943, 78.). However, an adjacent inhumation, whose skull had been cut with a metal tool, has been carbon dated to the Anglo-Saxon period, and Rahtz and Watts suggest that two, crouched burials nearby may also be Anglo-Saxon. In total, there could be as many as ten burials on this site that post-date the Roman period; a clear indication that the site, if not the temple or Neolithic mound itself, was witness to some kind of mortuary activity in the Anglo-Saxon period.

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R. E. M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset*, Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 12 (London: 1943).
 N. M. Sharples, *Maiden Castle: Excavations and Field Survey 1985-6*, English Heritage Arch. Report 19 (London: 1991).
RCHME Dorset II.3, 501.
 P. Rahtz and L. Watts, 'The End of Roman Temples in the West of Britain', in P. J. Casey (ed.), *The End of Roman Britain* (BAR British Series 71, 1979), 183-202.
 Geake 1997, 150-1; No.602.
 Meaney 1964, 81.

MARKET OVERTON Rutland
 SK 88591646 SK 8816
 fort / station / camp SK 81 NE
 Unknown
 c.5

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 314.

MUCH WENLOCK Shrops
 SO 62379990 SO 6299
 masonry building SO 69 NW
 660s (C7) radiocarbon
 3 inhumations

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 316

NORTH STOKE Lincs
 SK 8730 SK 8730
 villa / bath-house SK 83 SE
 Unknown
 2

Plan: Figure 35, page 88 (after Turnor 1829, 30).

The structural remains of a villa here were recognised as early as 1670. Little of the main villa structure is known: 'the vestiges of the North Stoke villa are so very slight, that although parts of the foundations of Roman workmanship were laid open, yet nothing satisfactory could be made out' (Turnor 1829, 29). However, the remains of the bath-house were better preserved, and two inhumations were found during its excavation in 1829: 'at † on the semicircular recess, was found in the rubbish, a human skeleton complete: and at ‡ on the outside of the wall, the skull and part of another skeleton' (Turnor 1829, 32). No further details of these were recorded. The site is near the villa at Denton (p.247), which also contained inhumations within the bath-house. See Castor - Mill Hill (p.243) for the the parallel use of the apse for burial.

E. Turnor, 'Account of the Remains of a Roman Bath near Stoke, in Lincolnshire', *Arch.* 22 (1829), 26-32.

NORTON DISNEY Lincs
 SK 85896028 SK 8560
 villa SK 86 SE
 Unknown
 3 +

Plan: Figure 16, page 60 (after Oswald 1937, pl. 45).

A mosaic pavement was discovered here in 1933, as well as three inhumations to the N of the complex. The excavator records that 'human remains were found elsewhere on floor levels of this period' (Oswald 1937). These lead one to believe that there were certainly more burials here that were missed or disturbed in the excavation; this is supported by the fact that the feet of Burial 2 were removed during excavation and only recognised retrospectively. Burial 1 was 'on [the] wall' of the villa, a supine male; Burial 2 was next to the foundation, on its side, a female; Burial 3 was next to foundations, supine, with a knife 'just below the right ribs'. All three lay 'immediately on the top Roman level'. The excavator firmly believes these are Roman, largely due to the lack of grave cuts, and suggests that they were all caught by the collapsing walls of the building, as it burnt, the inhumations in all likelihood post-date the decline and ruin of the villa. Oswald's prose, containing phrases such as 'violent ends' and 'troubled times', is indicative of the writing of his period. The site is located 300m E of the Foss, 9 miles S of Lincoln.

A. Oswald, 'A Roman Fortified Villa at Norton Disney, Lincolnshire', *Antiq. J.* 17 (1937), 138-78 (esp. plates 39, 2; 42, 1; 44, 1&2).
 Eagles 1979 II, 407.

OFFENHAM Worces
 SP 0645 SP 0645
 masonry building SP 4 NE
 Unknown (possibly Roman)
 Unknown

SMR: 2827

The SMR records that skeletons were found near flue tiles, Romano-British pottery, a quern fragment and coins of Trajan and Constans. The skeletons could be Roman.

Scott 1993, 90.

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

OKUS (SWINDON)

SU1483
villa
Unknown
3

Wilts

SU 1483
SU 18 SW
Passmore 1898-99

Plan: Figure 141, page 396 (after Passmore 1899, opp. 218). The third inhumation, found under a cairn, is not shown on the plan.

Three unaccompanied inhumations were found within a Roman villa at Okus, Swindon. Two were crouched, one was under a cairn, and a third, an extended W/E inhumation: 'At the S end of the large court, close under the wall, was the skeleton of a young person deposited in a doubled-up position, perhaps coeval with the dismantling of the building' (Passmore 1899, 218). 'Sixteen feet from the outside wall was a grave sunk into the rock, 6ft. long, 2ft. wide, and 2ft. 6in. deep, containing the bones of a young person lying E and W on the back in an extended position, the head facing W, close behind which were several pieces of black Roman pottery' (Passmore 1899, 220). Later, the skeleton of a female was found near this building under a carefully constructed cairn, crouched and lying on her right side with the head to W, without grave goods (Passmore 1899, 221). The exposed remains of the Roman building were demolished for road material, but Passmore records that some of the building remained unexcavated. Perhaps significantly, the villa was associated with a healing spring that was still in use in Passmore's time: 'Within a few yards of the foundations is the well-known spring of beautiful water said to contain medicinal qualities and used by old people in the town for bad eyes. About fifty years ago [c. 1850] a man discovered near this spot a jar containing a hoard of coins (Passmore 1899, 220). The site is near Westlecote Farm, on the south slope of Swindon Hill.

A. D. Passmore, 'Notes on a Roman Building and Interments, Lately Discovered at Swindon', *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 30 (1899), 217-21.

B. Eagles, *Undated Inhumation Burials: Examples from Wiltshire* (unpublished essay, 2000).

ORPINGTON

TQ 46756758
villa
Mid C5 - mid C6
82

Kent

TQ 4667
TQ 46 NE
Tester 1968

Plan: Figure 32, page 86 (after Palmer 1984, fig. 2, and Tester 1969, fig. 1).

A large cemetery with furnished inhumations and cremations is aligned to a Roman bath-house here. No burials are recorded from within the structure: the majority lie to the E of the building, aligned to it rather than lying strictly W/E. In the 1960s, Tester found 19 cremations and 52 inhumations; he did not locate the bath-house but held suspicions of its existence. In 1983 Palmer found the bath-house and 11 further inhumations. Tester believes that the cemetery was in use c. mid C5 to mid C6 (artefacts illustrated in Tester 1968), but Palmer commits to the more general 'early pagan phase'. A Saxon Grubenhaus was discovered late in the excavations across the street on the other side of Cray Avenue (Palmer 1984, 62), which could suggest a possible peripheral settlement, similar to that at Barton Court Farm. The site is now in the centre of urban Orpington, 0.1 mile from the R Cray (but would have originally been closer to the river). Note that the better known 'Orpington Villa' is in fact a different site altogether, at TQ 45426584, about 2.2 km distant.

S. Palmer, *Excavation of the Roman and Saxon site, Poverest, Orpington, Kent 1971-78* (London Borough of Bromley: 1984).

P. J. Tester, 'An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Orpington: First Interim Report', *Arch. Cant.* 83 (1968), 125-50.

P. J. Tester, 'Excavations at Fordcroft, Orpington. Concluding Report', *Arch. Cant.* 84 (1969), 39-77.

P. J. Tester, 'Further Notes on the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Orpington', *Arch. Cant.* 93 (1977), 201-2. Scott 1993, 79.

PIDDINGTON

SP 79395407
villa
'Early Saxon'
5

Northants

SP 7954
SP 75 SE
R. Friendship-Taylor

SMR: 1673

Plan: Figure 27, page 77 (after *Britannia* 20 (1989), fig. 18).

The villa here was abandoned in the early C3, and shows 'squatter occupation' in the C4 until the end of the same century. Three skeletons have been found within the villa during recent excavations: one male with a knife and 'staff', a crouched elderly female with a small knife, and younger female in her twenties. Earlier records suggest at least two other burials also existed, including a C18 reference by a vicar noting 'that a skeleton had been found lying on a mosaic which looked like a carpet'. The skeleton was buried with a spear. This mosaic was later robbed, probably in the C18, but was originally located in the NW corner of the main villa

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

building. The inhumations were aligned (N/S) with the walls of the villa, and were buried through the rubble of the destruction layer. The site lies in the village of Piddington, not far from the church and chapel.

A. Selkirk, 'Piddington', *Current Archaeology* 146 (Jan 1996), 57-64.

Pers. comm. the excavator, Roy Friendship-Taylor, Upper Nene Arch. Soc., Northants.
VCH Northants. I, 198.

PORTCHESTER	Hants
SU 62530449	SU 6204
fort	SU 6204 SE
Late C10 / early C11	
21	

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 318.

ROCK	Hants
SZ 4283	SZ 4283
masonry building	SZ 48 SW
Unknown	
1 +	

SMR: 277

Near Rock, on a site between Brixton and Calbourne, E of Butterhole Spring and W of Brixton Shute, 'Mr E. P. Wilkins has noted foundations of twelve or fourteen rooms, tiles, pottery, coins, and a skeleton in a walled grave' (*VCH*). Kell's account further notes that the 'cist grave had a stone head-rest 'sculpted out to fit the back part of the skull', which could be an indication of a medieval date. Kell also found a 'cartload of ashes in which the bones of humans and animals had been mixed together' (Kell 1856, 160), though it is difficult to know what to make of this.

VCH Hants. I, 318.

E. Kell, 'Notice of Sites of Roman Villas at Brixton and Clatterford in the Isle of Wight', *JBAA* 12 (1856), 141-45.

ROCKBOURNE	Hants
SU 120170	SU 1217
masonry building	SU 11 NW
Unknown	
2-4	

Plan: Figure 145, page 398 (after Hewitt 1971, 16).

A large villa was found in 1942 when a farmer was digging out a ferret from under the old village cricket grounds. One skeleton was found in Area VI, Room III 'on the N side of the corner buttress...a male skeleton was found buried face

downwards and having had its feet and R forearm amputated,' about 35-40 yrs of age; the L side of the skull had been trepanned. Another burial of a 'middle aged' male was found on the floor of the Room XIV, Area XXI; the author suggests that 'it would appear that he was probably robbing roof tiles and fell through, or was sheltering in a dilapidated building' (Hewitt 1971, 10). This is probably a fanciful interpretation - it is more likely that the skeleton was interred into the destruction layer, because there were tiles, presumably roof tiles, above and below the inhumation. Hewitt's fold-out plan of the site (opp. 16) shows that the inhumation buried to the N of the buttress of Room III was lying E/W with head to E; the inhumation in Room XIV was lying N/S, with head to N. The RCHME report provides a more up-to-date analysis of the material.

A. T. M. Hewitt, *Roman Villa, West Park, Rockbourne, near Fordingbridge, Hants: a Fully Illustrated Report* (Fordingbridge: 1971).

RCHME, 'West Park Roman Villa, Rockbourne, Hampshire', *Arch. J.* 140 (1983), 129-150.

SCAMPTON	Lincs
SK 95497851	SK 9578
villa	SK 97 NE
Anglo-Saxon/Early	Illingworth
Christian	
22 +	

SMR: Lincs 54197, 50248

NMR: SK97NE1, SK97NE2

Plan: Figure 26, page 76 (after Illingworth 1808, pl. 5, fig. 1).

Scampton is one of the most interesting sites within the corpus, but it has only been partially examined in a C18 excavation. A large courtyard villa and small cemetery were excavated here in 1795. Over 22 inhumations were found on the site (Illingworth's Plate 5, fig. 1 shows eleven inhumations within the long N/S corridor, but his text describes 'upwards of twenty' in this area alone, plus two others in separate rooms (Illingworth 1808, 13)). Most skeletons were found with their heads on the foundation walls, and some were inclosed in stone cists. The only reported find is a bronze Roman finger-ring found on a female. The burials were oriented W/E, and Illingworth, unlike many of his contemporaries, did not believe them to be Roman, but rather he 'concluded that some Saxon, or other Christian chapel, might have been erected on the site of the villa' (Illingworth 1808, 7). Illingworth was not simply being capricious in his identification of the site with a

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

chapel: the existence of a well of St Pancras and a chapel of the same name is documented in a C12 charter from the Kirkstead Cartulary, recording the transfer of land from Richard Fitz-Robert of Scampton to the monastery of Kirksted (Illingworth 1808, 8, note 1). Illingworth also records that the chalybeate spring across the road from the villa 'has immemorially been called St Pancras' well; at the bottom of this was a strong flooring of oak, taken up several years ago [before 1795]' (Illingworth 1808, 13). The SMR records that the site of the villa and well was under plough in 1991. The site of the villa now lies immediately SW of the Scampton airfield: the approach lights of the runway run between the villa and the site of St Pancras' well. To Illingworth 'the site produced considerable reflections upon the elegance of a Roman villa, in a moment reduced to ruins by fire, converted into solitude and silence, and become the dreary mansion of the dead' (Illingworth 1808, 7).

C. Illingworth, *A Topographic Account of the Parish of Scampton, together with anecdotes of the family of Bolles* (London: 1808), 3-13.

J. B. Whitwell, *Roman Lincolnshire* (Lincoln: 1970), 82-83.

Lincolnshire Archit. and Arch. Soc. Reports and Papers 7 (1958), 106.

D. M. Owen, 'Medieval Chapels in Lincolnshire', *Lincs. Hist. Arch.* 10 (1975), 15-22.

Eagles 1979 II, 158.

Lincs. Hist. Arch. 9 (1974), 21.

SHAKENOAK	Oxon
SP 373138	SP 3713
villa	SP 31 SE
C6 or C7	
20	

Plan: Figure 24, page 75 (after Brodribb *et al.* 1973, figs. 16 & 17).

Shakenoak villa is one of the quintessential sites demonstrating the reuse of villa architecture for mortuary purposes. Here, 22 inhumations were placed within and to the immediate E of a Roman villa complex. The graves are aligned to the structure, rather than true W/E. They are all males, some showing weapon wounds; one grave was stone-lined. The site lies on level ground 1km north of New Yatt. The nearest church is at North Leigh, 1.8km to the south east. A significant 'wicham' place-name lies on a charter boundary to the northwest of the site.

A. C. C. Brodribb, A. R. Hands and D. R. Walker, *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, Near Wilcote, Oxfordshire: Part I: Sites A and D* (Oxford: 1968).

A. C. C. Brodribb, A. R. Hands and D. R. Walker, *Excavations at Shakenoak Farm, near Wilcote, Oxfordshire: Part IV: Site C* (Oxford: 1973).
J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud: 1994), 33-4.

SOUTHWELL	Notts
SK 70265376	SK 7053
villa	SK 75 SW
Pre-Christian and later	
30 + (2 N/S)	

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 326.

ST MARY BOURNE	Hants
SU 4254	SU 4254
masonry building	SU 45 SW
Unknown	
3 +	

'About a quarter mile S of the Roman road, near the Bourne rivulet, and perhaps a mile E of the [Roman road]. Here foundations of coarse flint masonry have been noted; also Romano-British pottery, an iron knife, Roman coin, and near[by], three skeletons and urns. The site has never been excavated' (*VCH*). Depending on how 'near' the skeletons were found to the structure, this could be referring to either a peripheral Romano-British cemetery, or Anglo-Saxon burials adjacent to a villa. Without further details it is difficult to be certain.

VCH Hants. I, 304 (under the entry for Lower Link).
J. Stevens, *A Parochial History of St Mary Bourne with an Account of the Manor of Hurstbourne Priors, Hants* (London: 1888), 59.

STANCIL	Yorks W
SK 609960	SK 6096
villa	SK 69 NW
Undated	Meaney 1964, 301
72 +	

A very interesting site that suffers from a lack of detailed publication, but may well compare to sites such as Scampton. A rectangular, apsidal bath building was found here, oriented NW/SE with the apse to the SE, associated with over 72 inhumations. The publication records almost no details about the placement and orientation of the burials; although one skeleton was recorded as laying partly under a wall, but was believed to postdate the wall because 'it [the skeleton] seems to have slipped into a sort of pocket by some later subsidence' (Whiting 1943, 267). The excavator describes the skeletons as lying in 'all directions' (Whiting 1943, 267). Sixty-two or

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

more of the inhumations were found within the villa itself, mostly male, 30 years or older. One elderly man, three or four children (5 to 8 years) and two youths of 15 or 16 years. Also found was one female skeleton with a child laying over it. There is a local tradition that 'a medieval church formerly stood somewhere near this spot, and that this was probably the site of the church and churchyard', and an old lady who died the year before excavations began, at the age of 97, was known to refer to the site as a cemetery (Whiting 1943, 261). These accounts should not be dismissed too readily: this is a particularly large cemetery, and the number of burials found here puts this site in the largest 8% of sites within this corpus – in the company of Eccles, Wells, Burgh Castle, Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard, Caister-on-Sea, and Capel Eithin – all Roman sites with early burials that are believed to have associations with an otherwise unknown or undocumented church. The site is also interesting because of the structure's resemblance to a basilican church. Only a detailed study of the 1940s excavation records and further field work and research will illuminate the relationship between the villa, cemetery and possible chapel or church. The site is located within or near the small village of Stancil, about 2km SW of the modern town of New Rossington, in a low-lying area now criss-crossed by artificial drains.

C. E. Whiting, 'Excavation at Stancil, 1938-1939', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 35 (1943), 261-9.
JRS 30 (1940), 167.
 Meaney 1964, 301.
 O'Brien 1999, No.931.

STANTON	Suffolk
TL 955742	TL 9574
villa	TL 97 SE
Undated	Meaney 1964, 233
1	

SMR: Suffolk 2564

A large villa complex was excavated between 1935-9 by G. Maynard. In the unpublished SMR records B. Brown marks a 'skeleton in pit' at TL 95367411, near the villa. Further notes elaborate: 'From the late tenant and owner of the farm, Mr. Howes, I received the following: A skeleton of a man was found in the pit at the top of the field above the site buried about 2 feet deep'. The exact distance from the villa is unknown, but Meaney believes it to be Anglo-Saxon. After finding further Anglo-Saxon objects on the site Brown notes: 'Further evidence confirms conclusions of Anglo-Saxon occupation near villa site'. This is potentially similar to that at

Barton Court Farm, in which earlier, peripheral, occupation was followed by later inhumation. The site lies 200m SW of Stanton Chair on a slight slope about 1km from Stanton itself.

Meaney 1964, 233.
JRS 30 (1940), 171-2.
 C. Balwill, *Roman Villa at Stanton Chair* (unpublished ms in SMR).
 B. Brown, unpublished notes, plans and ms in SMR.

STAPENHILL	Staffs
SK 25772125	SK 2521
settlement	SK 22 SE
C6	Meaney, 1964, 222
36 +	

SMR: Staffs Prn 907/908

At least 31 inhumations and 5 cremations were discovered during clay quarrying. Finds include spearheads, brooches, glass beads, buckles, spindle whorls, a shield boss and handles, knives, tweezers, and pendants. The cemetery was found in 1953, overlying part of a Romano-British settlement: a quadrilateral enclosure on the edge of scarp overlooking the R Trent. Although no structures have been positively identified, the site is believed to have been a possible farmstead, and is included within the corpus as a possible parallel to Shakenoak and similar villa sites. The site is now located within the town of Stapenhill, on R Trent.

Meaney 1964, 222.
 D. M. Wilson and M. J. Fowler, 'A Report on the Excavation of a Romano-British Native Settlement at Stapenhill, Staffordshire', *J. Derby Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 75 (1955), 1-19.
VCH Staffs, I, 192, 200-4.
VCH Derby, I, 262.
 J. Heron, 'Report on the Stapenhill Excavations', *Trans. Burton Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 1 (1889), 156-93.
Arch. J. 38 (1881), 119-20.

STONE-BY-FAVERSHAM	Kent
TQ 99166132	TQ 9961
mausoleum	TQ 96 SE
C6 (or Roman)	O'Brien 1999, No.2085

Unknown

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 329.

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

STREATLEY

SU 593817
masonry building
Unknown
'Some'

Berks

SU 5981
SU 58 SE

In 1819 Sir Richard Colt-Hoare mentioned some archaeological remains on Streatley Farm near Streatley village, including the foundations of old buildings, earthen vessels, Roman coins, and some skeletons. While he attributed the entire site to the Roman period, Akerman (1860) believes this cemetery to be Anglo-Saxon. It is likely that both authors are correct in their interpretation, as the site is a small Anglo-Saxon cemetery on a Roman villa, but further confirmation is impossible without excavation. The farm is N of the village, about 800m west of the Upper Thames; the precise location of the villa is not marked on the OS map; the reference given in the heading is approximate.

VCH Berks. I, 214.

R. Colt-Hoare, *History of Wiltshire*, ii (1810), 46.

J. Y. Akerman, 'Report on Researches in an Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Long Wittenham, Berkshire, in 1859', *Arch.* 38 (1860), 327-52, esp. 328.

STRETTON ON FOSSE

SP 219318
masonry building
Unknown
53

Oxon

SP 2131
SP 23 SW

NMR: SP NW 13

At least 53 Anglo-Saxon graves were found 'secondary' to a rectangular Romano-British structure. The alignment and date of the burials is unknown, as is the nature of the structure. The structure is part of a Romano-British settlement, with a nearby Romano-British cemetery. The site is immediately to the SE of Moreton-in-Marsh, through which the Fosse Way runs N/S. A church exists at SP 20613224, at Moreton, c.1.2km away. A Roman settlement is marked c.2km N/NW at Dorn, also on the Fosse.

Med. Arch. 14 (1970), 163

Birmingham University Field Arch. Unit Report 2 (1978-79), 11-12.

SUDELEY

SP 02312604
masonry building
Unknown (possibly Roman)
1

Gloucs

SP 0226
SP 2 NW

An outbuilding just S of the Roman villa at Sudeley was cut through during the laying of a gas pipeline in 1969. A skeleton was found within the pipe trench, lying N/S near the outbuilding. The skeleton is recorded as being associated with Romano-British pottery and 2 'Roman type' nails - it could be Roman.

RCHME Gloucs. I, 113.

E. Loftus Brock, 'The Excavation of a Roman Villa in the Wadfield', *JBAA* 1 (1895), 242-50.

B. Rawes, 'An Outbuilding at Wadfield Roman Villa', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 90 (1971), 124-8.

SUTTON BARON

TQ 8863
masonry building
Unknown
1 +

Kent

TQ 8863
TQ 86 SE

In Borden Parish within a field called 'Fourteen Acres', the foundations of three Roman buildings were uncovered in 1846 and 1850, including one 'oblong' structure with a hypocaust. In the 14'x16' excavation, two walls faced with mortar 3' apart were uncovered: at their end was found a skeleton 'facing E' (head to W?) with the remains of a wooden coffin bound with iron and a bronze coin of Victorinus. Further disarticulated human bones were also found. No plan exists.

VCH Kent III, 105.

JBAA 2 (1847), 346.

JBAA 4 (1849), 68-9.

JBAA 6 (1851), 448-9 (sketch plan on 448)

TETBURY UPTON

ST 87829572
villa
Unknown (possibly Roman)
3

Gloucs

ST 8795
ST 89 NE

Gracie reported to the *RCHME* that three burials were superimposed on a villa here: one was in a stone coffin, the other two in wooden coffins. Further details are not available. No villa is marked on the OS 1:2500. The nearest church is at the manor, Chavenage House, at ST 87209519, 800m distant.

RCHME Gloucs. I, 119.

Arch. Rev. 6 (1971), 28.

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THORNHAM

TF 72534255
fort / signal station
C7
24

Norfolk

TF 7242
TF 74 SW
Meaney 1964, 183

A multi-period site on Beacon Hill began life as a Roman enclosure that became re-fortified with a rampart during the mid C1. The Roman fortifications were never re-built in stone and were systematically destroyed mid C2. Several C7 inhumations were placed within the enclosure, oriented W/E in rows; about half had grave goods, including iron knives, a small bronze bracelet, beads, and a hanging bowl escutcheon. The earthworks are visible on a gradual slope overlooking the sea and sands, c.3km to the N.

T. Gregory and D. Gurney, *Excavations at Thornham, Warham, Wighton, and Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk*, (E. Anglian Arch. 30, 1986), 1-13.
Meaney 1964, 183.
O'Brien 1999, No.123
Med. Arch. 1 (1957), 148.
Med. Arch. 5 (1961), 309.
Geake 1997, 171.

THRUXTON

SU 297463
villa
Unknown
8

Hants

SU 2946
SU 24 NE

A mosaic was uncovered here in 1823, which led to the subsequent discovery of a villa and at least 8 inhumations. Hoare notes that 'several graves in which 5 skeletons were discovered' N of a modern building which had been erected to protect one of the villa mosaics. He notes later that within the Roman basilican building another skeleton was discovered, 'midway between [two] rows of stones' (presumably the pier bases - Ingram adds further that its legs were crossed); nearby were a 'small axe' [seax?], the head of an arrow, and several coins, etc. 'At the end [of the building] another human skeleton was uncovered, but unfortunately destroyed; and at some distance behind the outer wall, a third skeleton.' (Henig and Soffe 1993, 13) These last three burials appear to be separate inhumations from the five that Hoare saw earlier. Henig and Soffe also record that the foundations of this villa were dug up to build a chapel at Thruxton, and when the first OS map was published, the surveyors were unsure of the villa's location and placed it incorrectly next to the church (Henig and Soffe 1993, 13). The church is in fact about 400m NNW of the villa. The site is 6km W of

Andover, close to the border with Wilts. Pillhill Brook lies to the W.

M. Henig and G. Soffe, 'The Thruxton Roman Villa and Its Mosaic', *JBAA* 146 (1993), 1-28.
R. Hoare, 'Observations Upon Four Mosaic Pavements Discovered in the County of Hants.', *Arch.* 22, 49-54.
J. Ingram, 'Notices of the Mosaic Pavement Discovered at Thruxton, Hants, in 1823', in *Memoirs Illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Wiltshire and the City of Salisbury, The Proceedings of the Archaeological Institute, Salisbury* (London: 1851), 241-5.
VCH Hants. I, 298-300.

TODDINGTON

TL 030292
masonry building
Early C7
13-16

Beds

TL 0329
TL 2 NW
Meaney, 1964, 40

NMR: TL 02 NW 13

Meaney's Toddington I, Sheepwalk Hill. Between 13 and 16 Anglo-Saxon graves were found at this site. In a single grave two bodies were found lying together, one of which was a male, buried with a spear, knife and shield. A third grave contained a female: the burial lies over a concrete floor, and included two fibulae, a bronze ring, and pieces of iron and bronze. Other graves lie approximately 5m away, including a female lying NW/SE with a knife, ear-scoop, tweezers, strike-a-light, and pot. Six other skeletons found nearby were without grave goods. Another female found a few yards to the S was lying N/S, with a small, round bronze fibula. Apparently 'heads [were] also found', in addition to Anglo-Saxon urns found in a nearby field. The site is not located with certainty, but is in a low-lying area between two hills, about 2km to the E of Toddington proper.

Meaney 1964, 40.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond. 1 (1861), 399.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond. 10 (1885), 36-8.
Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond. 11 (1887), 311.
R. Smith, 'Anglo-Saxon Remains From Toddington', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 25 (1913), 183-5.
Scott 1993, 21.

WEARNE

ST 4227
villa / settlement
Possibly Roman
4

Somerset

ST 4227
ST 42 NW
Leech 1976

SMR: 54039

Three inhumations, 2 adults and 1 child, were found during the laying of a sewer pipe, about

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

100m S of what appears to be a large villa complex or Roman settlement, suggested by enclosures visible on the APs and the discovery of building stone, roof and flue tiles, wall plaster, tesserae, and pottery. The orientation of the graves is uncertain; one adult was wearing a bronze, faceted finger ring. Another burial was discovered in 1950 to the W; it was found with bronze tweezers and is believed to be Roman.

R. H. Leech, 'Romano-British and Medieval Settlement at Wearne, Huish Episcopi', *Proc. Somerset Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 120 (1976), 45-50. *JRS* 37 (1947), 173. Scott 1993, 168.

WELL HOUSE	Berks
SU 5272	SU 5272
villa	SU 57 SW
Unknown	
2	

Preliminary excavations in the parish of Hampstead Norris sometime between 1820 and 1830, in a field on Well House Farm, lying on the S side of a knoll in the valley below the high grounds of Cold Ash, revealed tessellated floors and two skeletons (one more than 6' in height). Further exploration sometime after 1861 revealed that the structure was part of a larger complex, presumably a villa. The skeletons were found two feet below the surface, face down. The site was not completely excavated and no plans exist. Palmer, in tune with his time, ascribes the presence of the skeletons to the defence of the villa when sacked and burnt. The foundations of Adelaide Chapel were built from the stone taken from the excavations. Well House is near Marlstone, in Hermitage Parish. The farm is found at SU 521728, but the site is not located on the OS 1:2500; the grid reference given above is approximate.

VCH Berks. I, 209-10, 219.
S. Palmer, 'An Account of the Roman Villa at Well-House, near Marlstone, Berks', *JBAA* 19 (1863), 60-3.

WELLS	Somerset
ST 55154588	ST 5545
mausoleum	ST 54 NE
Cemetery by C7	radiocarbon
270	

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 332.

WELTON LE WOLD	Lincs
TF 281871	TF 2887
villa	TF 28 NE
Unknown	
"Cemetery"	

SMR: Lincs 43544

Morris and Roxan report a cemetery on a Roman villa here, but Eagles makes no mention of either. It is difficult to know what to make of this site, located in a wide vale, in the middle of Welton; a church is nearby.

Morris and Roxan 1980, 187.
Eagles 1979 II, 399.

WESTON	Shrops
SJ 2927	SJ 2927
masonry building	SJ 22 NE
Unknown	
Unknown	

Watkin (1879, 343) notes that: 'A building was found in Weston near Bury Walls' about 1814, which was believed to be Roman. It is described in Hill 1850 as being found 'in a garden...the foundation of a small oblong building'; also that 'the walls were double, and in the space between them, bones are said to have been found'. This is another enigmatic site, but the description of the burials between the walls is very similar to that at Folkestone.

W. T. Watkin, 'Roman Shropshire', *Trans. Shrops. Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 2 (1879), 317-63, esp. 343.
J. Hill, *A Description of Hawkestone, with brief notices of the antiquities of Bury Wally and Red Castle*, (Shrewsbury: 1840), 43-4.

WETTON - BOROUGH FIELDS	Staffs
SK 108547	SK 1054
masonry building	SK 15 SW
'Conversion period'	Geake 1997, 177
3	

NMR: SK 15 SW 12

Three Anglo-Saxon inhumations are reported from within a Roman-British settlement here: one extended inhumation with knife and spear within a barrow, one N/S cist burial, and one other. There appears to be no certain evidence of masonry buildings, but reports are muddled: the structural remains were apparently few, and the

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

records are incomplete. The barrow burial is interesting, as these do not usually occur in close proximity to villa burials. Although there is a possible parallel at Chatham Lines (p.244), the barrow was more likely to have been a mound of rubble from the ruined villa, such as at Boxley Hill (p.238). The site lies on a bluff overlooking the R Manifold in a valley, now surrounded by lead mines and limekilns. A tumulus is marked on the OS c.500m to E.

Geake 1997, 177.
 Meaney 1964, 223.
Med. Arch. 6-7 (1962-3), 45-6.

WEYCOCK HILL	Berks
SU 82147764	SU 8277
camp / temple	SU 87 NW
Unknown	
70 +	

SMR: 420.20/40; RW 655, 660

A Roman site, perhaps a fort or camp, sits atop Weycock Hill, in an area called 'Castle Acre' or 'Castle Fields'. Camden noted that coins were found often on this site, and foundations are to be seen. Hearne also reported seeing broken tiles 'in no small quantity'. Within this 'camp' or adjacent to it, Neville uncovered an octangular structure which he thought at the time to be a tower or signal station, but is more likely to have been the foundations of a Romano-Celtic temple. In 1837, at the E end of Weycock field, near Church Farm, presumably not too far from the latter structure, workers found 30 human skeletons. Later, at a spot 'nearer to the castle', 40 additional skeletons were found which 'seemed to be thrown into a hole without any order'. It is difficult to make sense of these tantalisingly incomplete records, but the site sounds not too unlike the cemetery, temple and religious complex at Frilford. The site lies on top of a gradual hill, c. 1.15km NW of the parish church of Wattham St Lawrence. Several Roman buildings are shown on the OS map to the north at Knowl Hill.

R. Neville, 'Memoir on Remains of the Anglo-Roman Age, at Weycock in the Parish of Laurance Waltham, Berkshire, and on the Excavations There Made in 1847 by Direction of the Hon. Richard C. Neville FSA', *Arch J.* 6 (1849), 114-23.
VCH Berks. I, 216-8.

WIGGINTON

SP 39233318
 villa / bath-house
 Unknown
 1

Oxon

SP 3933
 SP 33 SE

Plan: Figure 37, page 90 (after Beesley 1841, pl. XI).

The *VCH* reports that the remains of a bath-house were uncovered in 1824 about 190m SE of the church. It consisted of two rooms, one rectangular and the other apsidal, both with tessellated pavements supported on hypocausts. At the centre of the rectangular room, oriented N/S, was a small skeleton lying on the pavement. Further rooms extend W over an area of about two acres. Mackenzie describes the site as lying one furlong (just over 200m) to the SE of the church, and that 'the skeleton lay upon [the tesserae], lying at full length N and S'. Beesley's account differs: he notes that the villa was to be found two furlongs E of the church, and that the skeleton was lying beneath the Roman pavement: 'The pavement [of this building] was of square tesserae of a coarser kind. Beneath this pavement was a small skeleton lying N and S. Below these two chambers was the hypocaust...' (Beesley 1944, 42). He may simply be referring to the interment's cutting through the tesserae, but it seems more probable that the skeleton lay upon the floor of the Roman building. The site was re-excavated by E. Greenfield in 1965 and 1967; it remains largely unpublished: Henig and Booth have published a plan (2000, fig 4.6), and the mosaics have also been published in Neal (1981, 105-7). Near the site is a 'lost', but very significant 'wicham' place-name (Gelling 1967, 92). The OS 1:2500 marks a villa at SP 39363356 (NE of the church), but no site is marked to the SE as the *VCH* reports. The coordinate given in the heading is for a position 200m SE of the church. The church of St Giles is at SP 39073328. Springs occur not far to the NW.

F. Mackenzie, *Skelton's Engraved Illustrations of the Principal Antiquities of Oxfordshire* (Oxford: 1823), 'Bloxham Hundred', 9-10.

VCH Oxon I, 309.

A. Beesley, *The History of Banbury* (London: 1841), 41-2.

JRS 56 (1966), 208.

JRS 57 (1967), 186.

Three letters from C. Winstanley to J. Skelton, 24 Sept., 13 Oct., 15 Oct. 1824 (in Bodleian ms. Top. Oxon. B. 80, fol. 200 ff.).

Morris and Roxan 1980, 203.

M. Gelling, 'English Place-names Derived from the Compound Wicham', *Med. Arch.* 11 (1967), 87-104, esp. 92.

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M. Henig and P. Booth, *Roman Oxfordshire* (Stroud: 2000), 88.
D. S. Neal, *Roman Mosaics in Britain* (Sutton: 1981), 105-7.

WINCHESTER Hants

- LOWER

BROOK ST

SU 48922953 SU 4829
Town SU 42 NE
mid C7 - mid C8 Biddle 1975, 305
4

Plan: Figure 156, page 404 (after Biddle 1975, figs. 10 & 12).

The Lower Brook St site is a small, post-Roman cemetery within the walls of Roman Winchester. Although the excavations revealed 'no evidence for any occupation of the area between the Late Roman and the Late Saxon periods' (Scobie *et al.* 1991, 37), four inhumations were cut into the levelled Roman deposits and overlying silt accumulations, the bodies were buried with their heads to the W, but they deviate from true W/E orientation and in fact are aligned to the Roman structures. Grave 23 was that of a female, wearing a bead necklace with gold and garnet pendants, and a collar of silver rings, which dates the burial to the end of the C7 (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, 221). Grave 25 had a small iron object on the pelvis, which might have been a pair of sheers; Grave 26 had a small, copper-alloy buckle by the lower left ribs; Grave 24 was unaccompanied. (Kjølbye-Biddle 1992, fig. 14.3 shows that the feature 'Grave 22' in Biddle 1971, fig. 12 is *not* a grave.) Biddle concludes that the cemetery dates to the mid C7 - mid C8 (Biddle 1975, 305). These interments are therefore occurring while the Old Minster is already in existence (p.337 of the churches gazetteer). The cemetery was succeeded (in Phase G) by a square masonry structure, which was later incorporated into the nave of St Mary's church. Biddle is however quick to stress that there is nothing to support any ecclesiastical continuity here (Biddle 1975, 308).

M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, 1971: Tenth and Final Interim Report: Part II', *Antiq. J.* 55 (1975), 295-337, esp. 303-10.

B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Dispersal or Concentration: the Disposal of the Winchester Dead Over 2000 Years', in S. Bassett (ed.), *Death in Towns* (Liecester: 1992), 210-47, esp. 221.

G. Scobie, J. M. Zant, and R. Whinney, *The Brooks, Winchester: a Preliminary Report on the Excavations* (Winchester: 1991).

J. M. Zant, *The Brooks, Winchester, 1987-88: the Roman Structural Remains* (Winchester: 1983).
O'Brien 1999, No.2051.

WINTERTON

SE 932192
villa
Unknown
6

Lincs

SE 9319
SE 91 NW
Stead 1976

Plan: Figure 25, page 75 (after Stead 1976, fig. 25).

Six inhumations were found in the villa at Winterton. The villa was first identified in 1699, and further mosaics were discovered in 1747. The excavation of this massive complex was carried out between 1958-67, partly published in 1976, and further post-excavation analysis is currently being undertaken by Roger Goodburn and Sally Rogers. Five inhumations were found within the villa itself, aligned to the building W/E, without grave goods. Graves 1 and 5 were resting on the floor (of Rooms 1 and 28 respectively); Graves 2 and 3 were interred over a large bath (Room 20); and Grave 4 was interred within a robber trench (suggesting that this burial, and perhaps others, occurred after all or some of the wall had been robbed). Another skeleton was found in 1748 on the Orpheus pavement 100' away; Peacock (1866, 241) records its discovery: 'upon the last beautiful pavement [we found] all the bones of a man'. Another burial (female) was found in a stone coffin nearby. The estimated ages of the individuals at burial: No.1, 45-55; No.2, 20-25; No.3 35+; No.4, 40+.

I. M. Stead, *Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa and Other Roman Sites in North Lincolnshire, 1958-67*, DoE Arch. Report HMSO London 9 (1976), 324
E. Peacock, 'History of Winterton, in the County of Lincoln, by Abraham de la Pryme', *Arch.* 40 (1866), 225-41 (see the additional note in the ms by G. Stovin).

Eagles 1979 II, 402.

D. S. Neal, *Roman Mosaics in Britain* (Sutton: 1981), 108-15.

WOOLSTONE

SU 29048777
villa
Undated
8 +

Berks

SU 2987
SU 28 NE
Meaney 1964, 54

NMR: SU 28 NE 1

Three skeletons were found in the corridors of this partially excavated villa: a male with an iron knife at the W end of one of the passages, and two further bodies at the E end. Another account mentions two 'Saxon daggers' found with another male skeleton (a seax and knife?) as well as a woman, a boy and other burials; another knife was found with two women. The site is

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

unplanned and the excavation was never completed. The site lies on the immediate NW edge of the village of Woolstone, on the slope of a hill immediately outside of Woolstone Farm, c.300m from the village church. The village itself is located just N of 'The Manger', at the base of the Downs below Uffington Castle and Whitehorse Hill.

Meaney 1964, 54.
VCH Berks. I, 222.
 H. Peake, *Archaeology of Berkshire* (London: 1931), 119, 249.
 Scott, 1993, 163.

WORLABY	Lincs
TA 01731428	TA 0114
masonry building	TA 01 SW
C6	<i>Med. Arch.</i> 11 (1967), 268; Leary 1993
12+	

SMR: N. Lincs 2331, 2327
 NMR: TA 01 SW 16

C. Knowles excavated the remains of a Roman villa after it had been found in 1965 during the ploughing of an old pasture to the E of the village. Six burials in 5 graves are recorded (*E. Midlands Arch. Bull.* 8 (1965), 25): Grave 1: a female with 20 amber beads, 2 boar's tusk pendants, a carved chalk spindle whorl, an ivory ring, and a silver pendant; Grave 2: probable male with iron spearhead, bronze buckle, and a bronze appliqué ornament; Grave 3: a male and female in the same grave. The female in Grave 3 had 66 amber beads, a silver pendant, part of a boar's tusk pendant, 2 bronze annular brooches, a bronze ring or bead, a pair of spiral wrist clasps, a bronze staple or cramp, a twisted bronze wire finger ring, and a girdle hanger broken before burial. The male was buried with an iron knife. Grave 4: a male with iron spear head and shield boss, and what appears to have been an iron pin across the chest. Grave 5: the skeleton was badly damaged by ploughing but the finds suggest a female: 2 bronze annular brooches, a bronze pin, bronze sleeve clasps, 'several dozen' amber beads, and 2 glass beads. The SMR records that at least 2 of these graves were within the structure. Knowles could not excavate further due to 'interference' by the farmer. The incomplete excavation and the scatters of bone that were revealed after ploughing suggest that further inhumations exist; a small quantity of cremated human bone suggests at least one of these was a cremation. A more recent summary by Leahy notes that twelve graves were excavated in 1965-66, and others had been ploughed out. The artefacts are in the Scunthorpe

Museum, but the site is unpublished and no plan of the villa is available. The church of St Clement is about c.200m to the SW, at TA 01531401; it contains C11 fabric but is largely a C19 rebuild. The SMR records that the base of a Roman statue with a very finely carved foot was dug up in the churchyard 'many years ago', and is now (c.1988) on display in the church. The site lies immediately north of modern Worlaby in 'The Park', on a slope overlooking a flat landscape to the south west. The church is located at TA 015140.

Lincs. Hist. and Arch. 2 (1967), 37.
E. Midlands Arch. Bull. 8 (1965), 25.
E. Midlands Arch. Bull. 9 (1966), 19.
Arch. J. 131 (1974), 290.
Med. Arch. 11 (1967), 268.
 K. Leary, 'The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Lindsey', in A. Vince, *Pre-Viking Lindsey* (Lincoln: 1993), 34.
 Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 688.
 Scott 1993, 123.

WROXETER	Shrops
SJ 56330824	SJ 5608
town	SJ 50 NE
Cal AD 600-700	radiocarbon
1	

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 339.

WYKHAM	Oxon
SP 43993790	SP 4337
masonry building	SP 43 NW
Unknown	
7 or 8	

See entry in Churches Gazetteer, page 340

Appendix 5.1: Burials Associated with Roman Structures

5.1.1 County Cross Reference (pre-1974)

Anglesey	Finkley
Capel Eithin	Portchester
	Rock
Bedfordshire	Rockbourne
Bletsoe	St Mary Bourne
Toddington	Thruxton
Berkshire	Huntingdonshire
Barton Court Farm	Castor - Water Newton
Frilford	
Lowbury Hill	Kent
Lower Basildon	Boxley Hill
Streatley	Chatham Lines
Well House	Darenth
Weycock Hill	Eccles
Woolstone	Folkestone
	Howletts - Littlebourne
Buckinghamshire	Kemsing
Latimer	Little Chart
	Orpington
Cambridgeshire	Stone-by-Faversham
Burwell	Sutton Baron
Cheshire	Leicestershire
Heronbridge	Barrow on Soar
Derbyshire	Lincolnshire
Little Chester	Denton
	Greetwell
Devon	Cleatham
Exeter	Lincoln - Cathedral
	Lincoln - Saltergate
Dorset	Lincoln - St Paul-in-the-Bail
Hemsworth	North Stoke
Maiden Castle	Norton Disney
	Scampton
Durham	Welton le Wold
Binchester	Winterton
	Worlaby
Glamorganshire	Monmouthshire
Ely	Caerleon
Llandough	Caerwent
Llantwit Major	Caerwent - vicarage orchard
Gloucestershire	Norfolk
Blaise Castle	Brundall I
Cirencester - Stratton	Brundall II
Cirencester - The Barton	Caister-on-Sea
Frocester	Feltwell - Oulsham Drove
Frocester Court	Thornham
Gloucester - St Mary de Lode	
Lillyhorn (Bisley)	
Sudeley	Northamptonshire
Tetbury Upton	Bozeat
	Brixworth
Hampshire	Castor - Mill Hill

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Chipping Warden	Offenham
Daventry - Borough Hill	
Piddington	North Yorkshire
Northumberland	Beadlam
Benwell	Broughton
Corbridge	Catterick
	Catterick - Bainesse Farm
Nottinghamshire	Collingham - Dalton Parlours
Southwell	Stancil
Oxfordshire	
Asthall	
Fringford Lodge	
Great Tew	
Hanwell	
Shakenoak	
Stretton on Fosse	
Wigginton	
Wykham	
Rutland	
Market Overton	
Shropshire	
Much Wenlock	
Weston	
Wroxeter	
Somerset	
Banwell - Winthill	
Bradley Hill	
Brean Down	
Henley Wood	
Keynsham	
Lamyatt Beacon	
Wearne	
Wells	
Staffordshire	
Stapenhill	
Wetton - Borough Fields	
Suffolk	
Burgh Castle	
Stanton	
Surrey	
Beddington	
London - Southwark	
Sussex	
Fishbourne	
Lancing Down	
Wiltshire	
Bowwood (Calne)	
Okus	
Worcestershire	

5.2 Churches Associated with Roman Structures

Sites are listed alphabetically, with a county cross-reference at the end of the section. County names are pre-1974. The data for each site are presented in the following format:

SITE *County*
Grid reference *1:2,500 map sheet*
Type of structure *1:10,000 map sheet*
Dedication *Certainty*
Status

SMR Record Number

NMR Record Number

Plan (page reference in text, and source)

Site Description

Relevant Bibliography

AB KETTLEBY Leics
 SK 724228 SK 7222
 villa SK 72 SW
 St James Certain
 Unknown

SMR: Leics 72 SW AA

NMR: SK 72 SW 8

The remains of a villa were first discovered here during a Victorian restoration of the church, and mosaic tesserae are recorded to have been found during the recent digging of at least three graves (one mosaic found at nearby Freckingham's manor farm was first identified as being Roman, but was later found to be Victorian). A watching brief on work E of the chancel in 1997 found Roman roof tiles, hypocaust, worked stone, painted wall plaster and foundations. The brief suggests a villa 'limited to rectangular area of 30 x 20m centred upon the chancel of the church at an angle of 12° from E/W'. During the watching brief Mrs J. Allsop noticed that 'the well-coursed ironstone walls of the villa start about 0.5 metres below GL [ground level] trending at an angle of 12° W of N, and much of the bright pink wall-plaster had survived. Within the 2 E soakaways themselves, the walls were made either of soft plaster or with flagstones. Below the floor were flue and hypocaust fragments.'

Trans. Leics. Arch. Hist. Soc. 41 (1966), 68.

Recent watching brief by Melton fieldworkers: letter from Jenny Allsop to Dr Richard Pollard, 13 March 1998 (SMR).

Scott 1993, 109.

ABINGTON PARK Cambs
 TL 5146 TL 5146
 masonry building TL 54 NW
 Unknown Probable

SMR: Cambs 193

Field walking in 'Sunken Church Field' on Abington Park Farm produced Roman pottery and tile. Roman coins have also been found in the field. The cropmarks of an enclosure are visible on APs. A Roman road runs NE/SW through the area.

W.M. Palmer, *The Neighbourhood of Hildersham and Abington* (1924), 37.

Scott 1993, 38.

ACTON TRUSSELL Staffs
 SJ 937175 SJ 9317
 villa SJ 91 NW
 St James Certain

SMR: Staffs 6/01/4003

A Roman villa underlies the church of St James, and Roman finds extend into the field to the N. The church sits within a rectangular Roman ditch and enclosing wall, and is clearly aligned to the underlying villa. An apsidal room was found to the immediate E of the church, which could suggest a potential parallel to Much Wenlock (p.316). The site is isolated, S of the village.

Appendix 5.2: Churches Associated with Roman Structures

T. Habberley, 'A Roman Villa at Acton Trussell, Staffordshire', *W. Midlands Arch.* 34 (1991), 12-16.
Britannia 17 (1986), 390-1.
 Scott 1993, 172.

ALDBOROUGH	Yorks W
SE 4066	SE 4066
town	SE 46 NW
St Andrew	Possible

Plan: Figure 52, page 127 (after Wachter 1974, fig. 86).

The late Saxon minster of St Andrew overlies the Roman forum, and the N wall of the N aisle stands on a stylobate footing of different alignment; the existing church is 10° off the Roman alignment, but not quite directly E/W. Rodwell notes that, 'the base of the SE respond of the nave arcade and the exposed offset plinth of the N aisle wall' show, he concludes, that the church 'has been slewed round on its foundations a few degrees' (Rodwell 1984, 7). It is difficult to assess Rodwell's claims, based as they are on what appears to be only fragmentary evidence.

W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 7.
 J. Wachter, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London: 1974), 398-404.
 S. Pearce, *The Kingdom of Dumnonia: Studies in History and Tradition in South-Western Britain*, A.D. 350-1150, (Padstow: 1978), 52-3.
 J. C. Brooke, 'An Illustration of a Saxon Inscription Remaining in the Church of Aldborough in Holderness, in the East Riding of the county of York', *Arch.* 6 (1882), 39-53.
 A. D. H. Leadman, 'Aldborough Church near Boroughbridge' *Yorks. Arch. J.* 9 (1886), 163-96.
 J. S. Wachter, 'Yorkshire Towns in the 4th Century', in R. M. Butler (ed.), *Soldier and Civilian in Roman Yorkshire*, (Leicester: 1971) 165-77.

ALPHAMSTONE	Essex
TL 87883545	TL 8735
villa	TL 83 NE
St Barnabas (original unknown)	Certain

SMR: Essex 9323, 9371, 9320

The churchyard stands raised above the surrounding fields, and the S edge of the churchyard lies on the line of a rubble and mortar wall. A former owner of the surrounding fields reported other buried walls nearby, and Roman building debris has been found in the field S of the church. Further debris has been revealed by

grave digging within the churchyard, and the quoins of the late-Saxon or Norman nave contain Roman brick - all good evidence of the existence of a Roman building or buildings of some kind. The SMR suggests on what is presumably topographic evidence and the Rodwells' report, that it is a 'prime site for an isolated minster', and records a cropmark at TL 87873540, as well as a Bronze Age cremation cemetery here. The site has yielded many sarsens: one lies under the SW corner of the nave, and the SMR speculates that these are the 'reputed remains of a stone circle'. Although there has been no formal archaeological investigation of the site, Alphamstone holds excellent archaeological potential. The location is isolated, at what the SMR terms 'the junction of several ancient routes', overlooking the Stour.

VCH Essex III, 35-6.
RCHME Essex III, 3-4.
 W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 94.
 Scott 1993, 60.

ANCASTER	Lincs
SK 98274356	SK 9843
town	SK 94 SE
St Martin	Certain

SMR: Lincs. 30334, 30335

Plan: Figure 42, page 111 (after Burnham and Wachter 1990, fig. 75).

Roman *Causenna*. The medieval church of St Martin stands within the walls, aligned to the Roman grid, 13° S of E/W. It has been suggested that the church sits upon, or is adjacent to, a Roman temple, in part because a sexton, digging in 1831, found a sculpture of a triple-mother goddess (apparently *in situ*) on what appeared to be a foundation of two superimposed stones. Work on the NE buttress of the church in 1961 found an altar and a fragment of sculpture with life-size drapery. Without modern excavation it is impossible to verify the existence of a Roman temple, and such speculation should be treated with caution. Nearby, an early Anglo-Saxon (pre c.450) cemetery lies to the SE of the defences.

B. Whitwell, *Roman Lincolnshire*, rev. ed. (Lincoln: 1992), 125-6.
 M. Todd, *The Roman Town at Ancaster, Lincolnshire: The Excavations of 1955-1971* (Nottingham: 1981).
 E. Trollope, 'Ancaster, the Roman Causennae', *Arch. J.* 27 (1870), 1-15.
JRS 57 (1967), 182.
 S. Frere, 'Some Romano-British Sculptures from Ancaster and Wilsford, Lincolnshire', *Antiq. J.* 41 (1961), 229-31.

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D. R. Wilson, 'An Early Christian Cemetery at Ancaster', in M. W. Barley and R. P. C. Hanson (eds.), *Christianity in Britain, 300-700* (Leicester: 1968), 197-9.

M. Todd, 'Margidunum and Ancaster', in W. J. Rodwell and T. Rowley (eds.) *The Small Towns of Roman Britain* (BAR 15.1, 1975), 211-23.

ASHTEAD	Surrey
TQ 192580	TQ 1958
masonry building	TQ 15 NE
St Giles	Certain

SMR: Surrey 2027

The *VCH* reports that 'the church stands in a quadrangular enclosure, possibly Roman, of which the W bank and ditch, part of the S bank and a little of the N bank are well preserved. Roman bricks are built into the E and S walls of the chancel. There was a N window in the church, since removed, headed by an arch of Roman bricks. During resotation of the church in 1830 Roman tiles and part of a hypocaust were found'. The amount of building material and the existence of a hypocaust, presumably found *in situ*, is good evidence of a Roman building here. Lowther's excavations on the earthworks revealed Roman material.

VCH Surrey III, 247.

J. Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement before 1300* (1991), 126, 136.

A. W. G. Lowther, 'The Roman Site Near the Parish Church of St Giles, Ashtead', *Surrey Arch. Coll.* 42 (1934), 77-84.

Scott 1993, 175.

ASTHALL	Oxon
SP 28871123	SP 2811
villa	SP 21 SE
St Nicholas	Certain

See entry in Burials Gazetteer, page 235.

BANWELL - WINTHILL	Somerset
ST 39745846	ST 3958
villa	ST 35 NE
Unknown	Certain
Minster	

See entry in Burials Gazetteer, page 235

BARNBY IN THE WILLOWS	Notts
------------------------------	-------

SK 86035219	SK 8652
masonry building	SK 85 SE
All Saints	Uncertain

SMR: Notts 3730, 5834

Little is certain regarding a Roman building on this site. Morris and Roxan suggest that persistent building material has been found on the site, while the SMR records only pottery (but no recent finds). Eagles records that pottery has been found at various times in the churchyard. The existence of a Roman building here is uncertain. The church now lies at the junction of three parishes: Barnby in the Willows, Beckingham, and Claypole.

Eagles 1979 II, 409.

Morris and Roxan 1980, 195.

BARTLOW	Essex
TL 58704499	TL 5844
villa	TL 54 SE
St Mary	Certain

SMR: Cambs 6164

An excavation in 1852, approximately 100m NW of the Bartlow Tumuli, revealed a large villa structure in 'Church Field', the field probably adjacent to the church. St Mary's is at TL 58604518.

R. Neville, 'Account of an Excavation at Bartlow, Essex', *Arch. J.* 10 (1853), 17-21.

C. Fox, *Archaeology of the Cambridge Region: a Topographical Study of the Bronze, Early Iron, Roman and Anglo-Saxon Ages, with an Introductory Note on the Neolithic Age* (Cambridge: 1923), 185.

Scott 1993, 60.

BATH	Somerset
ST 37526477	ST 3764
town / temple	ST 36 SE
St Mary	Certain
Minster	

Plan: Figure 5, page 30 (after Cunliffe and Davenport 1985, fig. 105 (also see Blair 1992, fig. 10.5, and Rodwell 1984, fig. 4)).

Roman *Aquae Sulis*: the Chronicle states that Bath was taken from the British in 577, and in c.675 sub-King Osric gave land to an abbess to found a nunnery at Bath. Further references to a Christian community there date from 758, the 770s and 796. The remaining Roman structures

Appendix 5.2: Churches Associated with Roman Structures

of the temple and bath complex dictated the development of the Anglo-Saxon Christian topography: the early abbey of St Peter probably lay to the immediate E of the temple enclosure, under the W end of the current abbey of St Peter, and Rodwell notes that it deviated from the Roman alignment by about 10°. The early church of St Mary de Stalls, the principal church of the town of Bath, and possibly built before the Abbey of St Peter, lay within the temple enclosure. It and its (presumably) associated burials respected the temple walls and their alignment, as did the medieval roads. Here too, parts of the bath complex, and possibly the Roman polygonal reservoir itself, were used as a baptistery in the early medieval period.

B. Cunliffe and P. Davenport, *The Temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath*, 3 vols., Oxford University Committee for Archaeology (Oxford: 1985-88).
J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: 1992), fig. 10.5.
B. Cunliffe, 'Saxon Bath', in J. Haslam (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester: 1984), 345-58.
J. Earle, 'An Ancient Saxon Poem of a City in Ruins Supposed to be Bath', *Proc. of the Bath Nat. Hist. Antiq. Field Club* 2 (1870-3), 259-70.
W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. pp. 7-8.

BATHFORD	Somerset
ST 786665	ST 7866
masonry building	ST 76 NE
St Swithin	Certain

A 14' x 17' tessellated pavement was found here in 1655. Later, in 1691 or 1692, a masonry building was found 'in a field called horselands, between the church and the river, about 100 yards below the Low House farmstead' (*VCH Somerset* I, 300). One room was described as a 14' square pavement supported on a hypocaust, itself on a mosaic floor. The location of the building is shown in Skrine 1885 (opp. p 53), at approximately ST 786665. The church of St Swithin is c.150m to the E.

VCH Somerset I, 300-1.
H. D. Skrine, 'A Walk Around the Manor of Forde', *Proc. Bath Nat. Hist. Antiq. Field Club* 5 (1885), 53-68, esp. 66.
Gough *Brit. Top.* ii 226.

BAWD RIP	Somerset
ST 35463953	ST 3539
villa	ST 33 NE
Unknown	Unknown

Sometime in the mid C17 a villa was discovered in a field called 'Churchie Bushes', on glebe land, a half mile E of Bawdrip. Correspondence from 1689 mentions a 'mosaic discovered in a ploughed field at Bawdrip some years ago'. The potentially significant fieldname is supported, in a somewhat roundabout manner, by a reference in the *VCH*: it notes that E. H. Brice cited a statement made by Mr Knott (whose father was the vicar of Bawdrip until 1827) regarding a tessellated pavement that had been found in the glebe land of the parish; Brice himself believes this to be the site of the medieval chapel called Ford Chantry, although no supporting evidence is cited in the *VCH*. The location of the building is marked on the OS 1:2500 at ST 35463953; the nearest church is St Michael and All Angels at Bawdrip (ST 34153958). The site of the Roman building is now isolated, c.250m S of the Roman road into Bath.

JRS 1 (1957), 221-2.
VCH Somerset I, 329.
Scott 1993, 166.

BEAUMONT	Cumberland
NY 34835929	NY 3459
fort (milecastle on Wall)	NY 35 NW
St Mary	Certain

Plan: Figure 111, page 381 (after OS 1:2500 NY 3459).

The church of St Mary lies on the site of turret 70A, in the village of Beaumont, surmounting a 30m high hillock on a bend in Hadrian's Wall. Churchyard excavations in 1928 found the foundations of the Wall. The fabric of the current church is C12.

H. Davies, *A Walk Along the Wall* (London: 1974), 264-5.

BELCHAMP ST PAUL'S	Essex
TL 79844345	TL 7943
masonry building	TL 74 SE
St Andrew	Possible

A masonry wall found under the W hedge of the churchyard may be Roman; it is not mentioned in the *RCHME* volume. The site of the church is now isolated in a loosely defined village. Morris

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and Roxan incorrectly list this site as 'Belchamp Otten' in their gazetteer.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 96. *RCHME Essex I*, 16-18.

BEWCASTLE	Cumberland
NY 56557460	NY 5674
fort (bath-house)	NY 57 SE
St Cuthbert	Certain
Probable minster	

NMR: NY 57 SE 15

Plan: Figure 112, page 381 (after Gillam *et al.* 1993, fig 1, and Austin 1991, fig. 2).

Roman *Fanum Cocidi*: the church of St Cuthbert lies within a hexagonal Roman fort, in bleak moorland to the N of Hadrian's Wall. Bewcastle is of course best known for its decorated C8 Anglo-Saxon cross, which still stands probably *in situ* on the SE side of the church. Excavations has shown that little of the post-Roman archaeology survives, in part because the site is overlain by the church and rectory, a C14 castle, and more modern farm buildings. However, it appears from numismatic evidence that the site was not re-occupied after its abandonment in AD 367. A grave slab, dating between the C9 and the C11, was found during the excavations of the bath-house, but apart from this and the cross, little post-Roman archaeology has been forthcoming – a fact not helped by the exclusive focus on the Roman period during the past excavations. The earliest surviving features of the church are C13, but the structure was largely rebuilt in the late C18 and more recently modified in 1900-1. There is good circumstantial evidence for a minster here, but nothing certain. The site is situated on a naturally raised area overlooking the R Kirkbeck.

J. P. Gillam, I. M. Jobey and D. A. Welsby, *The Roman Bath-House at Bewcastle, Cumbria*, CWAA Soc Research Series no. 7 (Kendal: 1993).
P. Austen, *Bewcastle and Old Penrith* (Carlisle: 1991).
R. Newman, 'The Problems of Rural Settlement in Northern Cumbria in the Pre-Conquest period', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 155-76, esp. 165-9.
R. N. Bailey and R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture in England*, vol. 2 (Oxford: 1984), 61-73.

BEXLEY
TQ 49097366
masonry building
St John

Kent
TQ 4973
TQ 47 SE
Certain

The *VCH* notes that foundations have been found opposite St John's Church and close to Croyford rail station. Ellison-Erwood remarks that a plan of the church records that 'Roman debris [is] found all over this area' between the W end of the choir and the S transept. No plan of the Roman building is available, but the site is labelled No.16 on a small scale location map in Spurrell 1889, opposite 307.

VCH Kent III, 104-5.

F. C. J. Spurrell, 'Dartford Antiquities', *Arch. Cant.* 18 (1889), 304-18 (esp. 313).

F. C. Elliston-Erwood, 'Plans of, and Brief Architectural Notes on, Kent Churches', *Arch. Cant.* 66 (1953), 45-51 (esp. 49).

BIRDOSWALD	Cumberland
NY 615663	NY 6166
fort	NY 66 NW
Unknown	Unknown

SMR: Cumbria 343
NMR: NY 66 NW 14

Banna Roman fort. In 1599 Reginald Bainbrigg (d. 1606) notes that he was shown 'the plaice wher the church stode'. This is very possibly pointing at the 'popular' association of Roman remains with churches, but in light of the possible Late Roman churches at Housesteads and Vindolanda, this account should not be dismissed too readily. There is no archaeological evidence of a church, but the site is well-known for its post-Roman habitation. An Anglo-Saxon C6 small-long brooch was reported to have been found at the fort, but the authenticity of this findspot has been questioned (see Wilmott 1997, 218 for a full discussion of the brooch). The site lies on a bend in the R Irthing, on a high bluff overlooking the river valley to the south.

T. Wilmott, *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman Fort on Hadrian's Wall and its Successor Settlements, 1987-92* (London: 1997), esp. 217-31.

R. Bainbrigg, *Account of Antiquities in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham, with several Roman Inscriptions, Drawings of Altars, Figures, and Descriptions of the Countryside* (British Museum Cotton ms Jul. F. vi. No. 162: 1599).

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BISHOPSTONE	Herefords
SO 41764338	SO 4143
villa	SO 44 SW
St Lawrence?	Certain

A Roman villa containing a massive mosaic room 30' square, was found underneath the rectory during building works in 1812. Further Roman 'finds' have been discovered in radius of 100 to 200m around the building. The parish is on the left bank of the Wye, 9 km WNW of Hereford; the site is 250m north of the Roman road. The church of St Lawrence is 660m NNW in Bishopstone Court. Although the distance between the church and villa here is excessive, the fact that the villa is found under the rectory may suggest some tie between church land and the site of the Roman building.

RCHME Herefordshire III, 16-19.
Arch. 23 (1831), 417-18.
VCH Here I, 191.

BITTON	Gloucs
ST 68206935	ST 6869
masonry building	ST 66 NE
St Mary	Probable

Possible minster
Pottery, coins, tesserae and a mosaic pavement have been found in the churchyard and the vicarage garden, itself 100m to the N of the church. Roman bricks were found in the fabric of the W wall of the nave during restorations in 1850. These are all good evidence of a Roman building here, but no specifics of the underlying structure are known.

C. Heighway, *Anglo-Saxon Gloucestershire* (Gloucester: 1987), 136.
H.T. Ellacombe, *History of the Parish of Bitton, II* (Exeter: 1883), 267.
Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc. 23 (1900), 60.
RCHME Gloucs, 16-17.
Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 73-6.

BLAISE CASTLE	Gloucs
ST 55867837	ST 5578
camp / temple	ST 57 NE
St Blasius	Uncertain
Unknown	

The relationship between a possible Roman temple, post-Roman cemetery and church at Blaise Castle remains an unknown quantity. Bartlett notes that 'there was traditionally a chapel dedicated to St Blasius somewhere on the hill in Henbury parish, now crowned by the summer house known as 'Blaise Castle'. In the early C20 Bartlett found 'Several skeletons and

many incomplete portions ... lying close to the surface' (Bartlett 1919, 166), and concluded that 'the whole area appears to be full of Roman or Romano-British pottery and mortar' (Bartlett 1919, 169). However, any solid evidence of Roman remains was likely obscured when the 'castle' was built on the site in 1707. Rahtz's trial trench in the mid 1950s found painted plaster, roof tiles, and coins. Rahtz believes that the Roman remains suggest a temple or other Roman structure, and the W/E aligned graves give evidence of a Christian church on the site (Rahtz includes these burials in his 'sub Roman' cemetery list). Although there is good evidence of a Roman building here, the burials cannot be presumed to fall automatically within the post-Roman period and no radiocarbon samples appear to have been taken, but the site is potentially similar to those at Weycock Hill or Maiden Castle. Blaise Castle is located on a prominent spur overlooking the valley of the R Trym; it is now on the north-western periphery of the Bristol suburbs, c.600m from the church at Henbury. The OS 1:2500 marks site of the chapel under the castle.

R. Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present State of Gloucestershire*, 2nd edition (London: 1768), 248.
J. A. Bartlett, 'Report on a Search for the Site of the Chapel of St Blasius, Henbury', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 41 (1919), 163-9.
P. Rahtz and J. C. Brown, 'Clevedon Blaise Castle Hill, Bristol, 1957', *Proc. Univ. Bristol Spel. Soc.* 8.3 (1959), 147-71.
JRS 47 (1957), 221.
P. Rahtz and L. Watts, 'The End of Roman Temples in the West of Britain', in P. J. Casey (ed.), *The End of Roman Britain*, BAR British Series 71 (1979), 183-202.

BOSHAM	Sussex
SU 80430388	SU 8003
masonry building	SU 80 SW
Holy Trinity	Uncertain
Minster	

NMR: SU 80 SW 22

Bede mentions that in 681 there was 'a certain monk of the Irish nation, called Dicul, who had a very modest little monastery in a place surrounded by woods and the sea called Bosham' (H.E. 4, 13). The church here is certainly pre-conquest, dated by both documentation and its fabric (Gem 1985, 32, 35). Although the *VCH* concludes that 'it is, generally, safe to infer that Bosham was a place of some importance during the whole of the Roman period (III, 50), the evidence for a Roman building on the site of the church is often cited, but less clear. In addition to the Roman brick and tile found in the church

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fabric, the *VCH* records that Roman foundations were found under the church in 1851 (III, 50), and identifies that the pedestals of the chancel arch are Roman. Roman sites exist elsewhere in the parish – certainly at Stone Walls and Broadbridge – from which much of the transportable material may have been obtained. Without modern excavation the existence of a Roman site here must be treated as uncertain. The church at Bosham is located on an elevated, protruding spur of land, which fits Bede's description well. The site was an important minster in the Anglo-Saxon period.

R. D. H. Gem, 'Holy Trinity Church, Bosham' *Arch. J.* 142 (1985), 32-6.
VCH Sussex II, 109-12; III, 50; IV, 182-8.
 Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 81-4.
 P. M. Johnston, *JBAA* 39 (1933), 230-1.
 G. W. Marwood, *The Story of Holy Trinity Church Bosham* - Church Guide (Bosham: 1995).
 Scott 1993, 183.

BOTTESFORD	Lincs
SE 89940702	SE 8907
masonry building	SE 80 NE
St Peter Ad Vincula	Uncertain

SMR: N. Lincs 1035, 1036

Roman tiles have been found in the croft E of churchyard, and other, miscellaneous, Roman finds have been discovered in the area. A hypocaust was found in 'Pan field', 400m to the W of the church. Pre-conquest sundials, and cross and shaft fragments were found during restoration of the church in 1870. It is difficult to assess the evidence here without knowing the quantity of building material that has been uncovered near the church. The hypocaust to the W is good evidence for a structure there, and the material found near the church could simply have come from this structure.

H. E. Dudley, *Early Days in North-West Lincolnshire; a Regional Archaeology* (Scunthorpe: 1949), 255 pp.
 H. E. Dudley, *History of the Scunthorpe and Frodingham District* (1931).
 Eagles, 1979, II, 357.
Arch. Rev. 3 (1889), 179.

BOWES	Yorks N
NY9913	NY 9913
fort	NY 91 SE
St Giles	Certain

Plan: Figure 113, page 382 (after JRS 58 (1968), fig. 9).

The Roman fort of *Lavatrae*. The church lies in the NE corner of the fort on an E/W orientation, as does the fort itself. The site of the bath-house lies outside the walls to the S.

JRS 58 (1968), 179-81.

BOWNESS-ON-SOLWAY	Cumberland
NY 22276270	NY 2262
fort	NY 26 SW
St Michael	Certain

NMR: NY 26 SW 23

Plan: Figure 114, page 382 (after Potter 1975, fig 1).

The fort of *Maia* marks the most western point at which the Solway could be forded in the Roman period. Today, the line of the N wall of this fort has been eroded by the sea. Today, nothing of the complex is visible above ground, but in 1599 Camden noted traces of streets and walls, and mentions an ancient, silted-up harbour. The existing road layout has clearly been influenced by the location of the Roman gates and walls. The church lies immediately outside the SE corner of the fort.

T. W. Potter, 'Excavations at Bowness-on-Solway' *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 75 (1975), 29-57.
 J. Collingwood Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall with the Cumbrian Coast and Outpost Forts*, 13th ed. (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: 1978), 222-5.
Britannia 20 (1989), 275-6; plan.
 R. L. Bellhouse, 'To Dig or Not to Dig', *British Arch.* 6 (1988 Mar/Apr), 8-12; plan and fig.

BOX	Wilts
ST 82326854	ST 8268
villa	ST 86 NW
St Thomas à Becket	Certain

SMR: Wilts ST86NW2/301; ST86NW19/453
 NMR: ST86NW2 & ST86NW19

Plan: Figure 71, page 157 (after Hurst *et al.* 1987, figs. 1 & 23).

A large courtyard villa with over 40 rooms and a bath suite was discovered N of Box church. It was first excavated in C19, again by H. Brakspear in 1902-3, and more recently by Wessex Archaeology. The excavated villa structure lies to the immediate N of the church of St Thomas à Becket, although mosaics found within the churchyard in 1831 suggest that the villa complex probably extends underneath the

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present church. The villa is aligned roughly NE/SW, and the road that runs parallel to the Valens terrace clearly derived its course from the villa itself. The church itself is oriented 7° from E/W, a deviation which could be explained in part by the orientation of the underlying Roman structure. The site lies on the southern limit of the Cotswolds, 8km E of Bath, on a 100m terrace running along S side of the Box Brook valley, along the spring line.

H. R. Hurst, D. L. Dartnall and C. Fisher, 'Excavations at Box Roman Villa 1967-8. *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 81 (1987), 19-51.
H. Brakspear, 'The Roman Villa at Box', *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 33 (1904), 236-69.
H. Brakspear, 'The Roman Villa at Box', *Arch. J.* 61 (1904), 1-32.
VCH Wilts. I.1, 44; I.2, 463.
Wessex Archaeology, *Box Roman Villa, Wiltshire 833*, Archaeological Evaluation Report No. 36922.b. (unpublished: 1994).
Scott 1993, 198.

BRADWELL-ON-SEA	Essex
TM 031082	TM 0308
fort, gate	TM 0 NW
St Peter	Certain
Minster	

Plan: Figure 115, page 383 (after Blair 1992, fig. 10.6 and Rigold 1972, fig. 36).

Roman *Othona*; Anglo-Saxon *Ythancaestir*. Bede writes that, after converting the East Saxons, Cedd returned from Lindesfarne as a bishop in 653 and 'built churches in several places and ordained priests and deacons to assist in teaching the faith and baptising the people, especially in the city [*civitatem*] which the Saxons call *Ythancaestir*... here Cedd established communities of the servants of Christ...'. Rigold notes that 'a fragment of rubble over 1m high, visible on the cliff-edge in 1864, may possibly have belonged to Cedd's monastic church or its successor, in which case it would have lain towards the south-east corner, as a Burgh. St Peter's is best explained as a second church, added after Archbishop Theodore had vindicated conformity and Roman obedience c.669' (Rigold 1977, 73). The extant church of St Peter has been identified as Cedd's church, and although now only the nave remains, it once had a plan almost exactly like those at Reculver and Canterbury, with an apsidal chancel, transepts and a probably western porch. The church sits on the western gate of the fort. It retained a 'quasi-parochial' use until c.1600 when it went out of use. Most recently it was used as a barn until 1920, when it was restored and reconsecrated. The fort and

church lie on higher ground between the estuaries of the R Blackwater and R Crouch. The E of the fort has been eroded by the sea.

S. Rigold, 'Litus Romanum: the Saxon Shore Forts as Mission Stations', in D. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore*, CBA Research Report 18 (1977), 70-75, esp. 72-3.
J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: 1992), fig. 10.6.
Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 91-3.
H. Laver, 'St Peter's Chapel, Bradwell-on-Sea', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* n.s. 11(1911), 85-9.
Bede, *H. E.* III, 22.
T. Lewin, 'On the Castra of the Litus Saxonum, and Particularly the Castrum of Othona', *Arch.* 41 (1867), 421-52.
RCHME Essex IV, 13-16.

BRAMPTON OLD CHURCH

NY 51016156	NY 5161
fort (Stanegate)	NY 56 SW
St Martin	Certain

NMR: NY 56 SW 20

Plan: Figure 116, page 383 (after Robinson 1982, fig. 1).

The church lies in the NE corner of this Trajanic Stanegate fort, which was systematically demolished in the Roman period, presumably when the frontier moved to the Wall. The foundations of masonry structures have been found, however, and slippage at the NW corner has revealed a rampart core and cobble base. Although the church is 1.6km from the town of Brampton, it continued to be used as the parish church until the late C18. The site has a tradition of sanctity, tied to St Ninian (and a holy well called 'ninewells', a possible corruption of Ninian) (Newman 1984, 164) and St Martin, including a nearby large tree called 'St Martin's Oak' (an ironic attribution given the tree-felling activities of Martin documented in Chapter 13 of Sulpicius Severus' *Vita Martini*). Bede (*H. E.* III, 4) mentions an association between Martin and Ninian, but, although the ascription is unique in Cumbria and rare in England, it is impossible to take the evidence any further. The church was certainly in existence by c.1169 (*VCH*).

R. Newman, 'The Problems of Rural Settlement in Northern Cumbria in the Pre-Conquest period', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 155-76, esp. 163-5.
J. Robinson, 'Notes on Brampton Old Church', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 82 (1982), 73-89.

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T. W. Norwood, 'The Old Chancel in Brampton Churchyard', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 10 (1889), 166-9.

H. Whitehead, 'Historical Appendix [to 'The Old Chancel in Brampton Churchyard']', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 10 (1889), 169-75.

VCH Cumberland II, 152.

BRANDON	Suffolk
TL 77708617	TL 7786
masonry building	TL 78 NE
St Peter and St Paul	Possible

SMR: Suffolk 2679

Parts of a tessellated pavement were found during restoration of the church in 1843, although little else is known of its age or origin. The fabric of the building originally consisted of a Saxon nave, but this was rebuilt in the late C14.

W. White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Suffolk* (Sheffield: 1844).

BRIGHTLINGSEA	Essex
TM 07701874	TM 0718
masonry building	TM 1 NE
All Saints	Certain

The *RCHME* reports that 'a major Roman building lies immediately under the chancel' of the church, and also mentions that nearby 'on top of the hill, near the waterworks, in laying pipes at the cross-roads of Church Road, Walnut Street, Park Chase and Spring Road, mosaic pavements were found in 1884. Roof and flue tiles with samian and other pottery turned up in 1888 in Well Street, and in 1900 similar finds were made in Spring Road, close to a spring. The [Well Street] site is now built over'. These remains could be part of a large villa complex, or another structure altogether. The church was in existence by 1096, and is now isolated.

VCH Essex III, 14-18, 57.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 99. Scott 1993, 61.

BRIMPTON	Berks
SU 55746470	SU 5564
villa	SU 56 SE
St Peter	Probable

SMR: Berks 968

Based on information from the SMR, Scott reports that a hypocaust was found built into Brimpton church. In an adjacent field, a farmer

noticed brick and tile when the field was ploughed in 1962 – good evidence of a Roman building here that extends under the church.

Scott 1993, 22.

BRINGHURST	Leics
SP 844921	SP 8492
villa	SP 89 SW
St Nicholas	Certain

SMR: Leics SP 89 SW AH

Based on information from the SMR, Scott records that, since 1981, scatters of Roman pottery, tile, tesserae and wall plaster had been found to the E of the church of St Nicholas. The Great Easton Fieldwork Group subsequently found a Roman villa on the site. A brief report in *Trans. Leics. Arch. Hist. Soc.*, 60 (1986) records that the site is at SK 84492; this is probably a typographical error, and should be SP 84492. St Nicholas is nearby at SP 84129215.

Scott 1993, 110.

BROCKWORTH	Gloucs
SO 891168	SO 8916
masonry building	SO 81 NE
St George	Possible

In allotments about 200 yards S of the church were found pottery, tegulae, coins, and a hard gravel floor. The exact location of this site remains unclear: to the west of Brockworth there is a villa at SO 876175, which is c.500m to the E of the church at Hucclecote.

RCHME Gloucs, 21-2.

Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc. 87 (1968), 203.

BROOKTHORPE	Gloucs
SO 83351245	SO 8312
villa?	SO 81 SW
St Swithin	Certain

SMR: Gloucs 8314

A Romano-British settlement or villa with stone buildings, painted wall plaster, and a tessellated pavement was hastily excavated in advance of the M5 construction. The church is about 200m from the uncovered buildings, but the excavator believes that 'it is likely that [only] the out-buildings rather than the main house [had] been located', and that further buildings exist outside of the excavated area. Roman brick and tile is incorporated into the chancel of the church (at SO 83511226).

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P. A. Moss, 'Archaeology of the M5 Motorway: Brookthorpe-with-Whaddon', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 90 (1971), 50-3.
RCHME Gloucs., 22.
 Scott 1993, 69.

BURGH	Suffolk
TM 22365227	TM 2252
villa / camp	TM 25 SW
St Boltolph	Certain

SMR: Suffolk 3281, 3282

Plan: Figure 151, page 401 (after Martin 1988, fig. 2).

The church of St Botolph sits within a quadrilateral, bivallate enclosure enclosing almost 7ha. A Roman presence is attested from shortly after the conquest into the C4, although its nature has been debated: a military presence is suggested by the discovery of a ballista bolt and pilum head in the earlier part of this century. However, evidence from the 1947-57 excavations suggests the presence of a villa with a hypocaust, tessellated floors, painted plaster and glazed windows. Newly dug graves in the churchyard, observed by B. Brown in 1946, revealed pottery, tile, oyster shell and bone. Excavation also revealed an inner enclosure in the NW corner of the fort, of presumably Roman date. The site is said to have been the resting place of the relics of St Botolph's, and a church is recorded here in Domesday. The ecclesiastical topography is interesting: the church lies at the junction of three parishes (Grundisburgh, Clopton, and Burgh); it is tucked into the corner of Burgh parish, isolated from the village of the same name 1km to the SW. The nearby church of Clopton, only 400m to the NW, is also isolated, in the corner of its parish.

E. A. Martin, *Burgh: the Iron Age and Roman Enclosure* (Ipswich: 1988).
VCH Suffolk 1, 281-2, 301, 586-7, 591.

BURGH CASTLE	Suffolk
TG 474044	TG 4704
fort	TG 40 SE
Unknown	Certain
Minster	

See entry in Burials Gazetteer, page 241.

BURGH-BY-SANDS	Cumberland
NY 32875911	NY 3259
fort (on Wall)	NY 35 NW
St Michael	Certain

NMR: NY 35 NW 10

Plan: Figure 117, page 384 (after Collingwood 1923, fig. opp. 3).

The church of St Michael is located within the Roman fort of *Aballava*, to the immediate SE of the *principia*. The N part of the E interior of the fort has been excavated, and a geophysical survey over the N part of the site was carried out in 1992. No remains are visible now, but there is a distinct drop in the road level over the Wern defences, near the crossroads in the centre of town. An altar was found in the vicarage garden, and the baths of the fort may lie to the SE of the church..

R. G. Collingwood, 'Explorations at the Roman Fort of Burgh-by-Sands' *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 23 (1923), 3-12.

N. Linford, *Geophysical Survey: Burgh-by-Sands, Cumbria*, Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 88/92 (unpublished: 1992).

BURGH-LE-MARSH	Lincs
TF 49786503	TF 4965
masonry building	TF 46 NE
St Mary	Unknown

SMR: Lincs 51482, 41503

It is difficult to know what to make of this site: Burgh-le-Marsh appears to have been a Roman settlement, but it is not certain that either the chapel of St Mary (demolished C16) or the church of Saints Peter and Paul (near the motte) overlie Roman buildings. The only finds from the churchyard of Peter and Paul include a coin and some pottery. Eagles also records an extended inhumation covered in roofing tiles, found in 1961 and believed to be Roman, at TF 49876495, as well as an Anglo-Saxon barrow burial at TF 49936500. The coordinates given in the heading above are for the chapel of St Mary; the church of Peter and Paul is at TF 501649.

Eagles, 1979, II, 358.
 M. Bennett, Lincs SMR officer (pers. comm.).

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BURWELL

TL 58756605
masonry building
St Mary

Cambs

TL 5866
TL 56 NE
Certain

A castle was built on the site of a Roman building at TL 58756605, and St Mary's church lies to the immediate NE (at TL 58956606). Both the church and a rectangular earthwork (of the castle or villa?) are on the same alignment, roughly NE/SW. Scott reports from the Cambs SMR (no record number supplied) that Roman building material was found beneath a nearby Saxon cemetery, which has now been quarried away.

Scott 1993, 33.

BUXTON

SK 0673
town
St Anne

Derby

SK 0673
SK 7 SE
Unknown

Roman *Aquae*. Buxton is a town founded on Roman baths which were fed by cold chalybeate springs. No minster is known to have existed here, but St Anne's well is recorded in the *VCH*, and appears to have been built of Roman masonry; it was demolished in 1709. This is of course impossible to confirm today, but the existence of a holy, and potentially Roman, well on a Roman site is worthy of its inclusion in this gazetteer.

VCH Derby I 222-7.

CAER GYBI

SH 247826
fort
St Cybi

Anglesey

SH 2482
SH 28 SW
Certain

Plan: Figure 118, page 384 (after *RCHMW Anglesey* I).

The church of St Cybi and its churchyard lie within the Roman fort of Caer Gybi at Holyhead on the Isle of Anglesey. The wall of the fort is nearly intact on the N, W and S sides. The fort was supposedly presented to the St Gybi by the British ruler Maelgwn, but the oldest current fabric is that of the partially rebuilt C13 nave. The adjacent, detached chapel dates from the C14. The site was excavated in 1952 and 1955, but has not been fully published.

RCHMW Anglesey I, 28-34.

N. Edwards, 'Anglesey in the Early Middle Ages: the Archaeological Evidence', *Trans. Anglesey Antiq. Soc. Field Club* (1986), 19-41, esp. 24-5.

J. Blair 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: 1992), note 41.

Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 135-7.

CAERHUN

SH 77687039
fort
St Mary

Caernarvon

SH 7770
SH 77 SE
Certain

Plan: Figure 119, page 385 (after OS 1:2500 SH 7770).

Roman *Kanovium*. The church of St Mary lies in the NE corner of the fort. The site was extensively excavated between 1926 and 1929, although the area underlying the churchyard remains unexplored.

S. Lysons, *Some Account of Roman Antiquities Discovered at Caerhun, in Carnarvonshire, and in Other Parts of that County* (1807), 127-34.

W. Gardner, 'The Roman Fort at Caerhun, Co. Caernarvon', *Arch. Camb.* (1925), 307-41.

Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 56-9.

CAERLEON

ST 338903
fort
St Cadoc

Monm

ST 3390
ST 39 SW
Certain

Plan: Figure 46, page 120 (after Knight 1994, facing page 48).

Medieval accounts suggest that the Roman fort of *Isca* was a heart of Christian activity from the early Roman period: Giraldus Cambrensis believed that Fagan and Dyfan were sent to Caerleon in AD 156 to preach to the Welsh/Britons, and in 186 Caerleon became the third episcopal see in Britain. More reliably, Bede (*H.E.* I, 7) tells us that Julius and Aaron – two soldiers of the 2nd Augusta Legion, and two of our three known Romano-British martyrs – were arrested, tried, and executed at the City of Legions, presumably Isca. The current church has no structural evidence to suggest a pre-conquest date, but this is a likely place for the see of Caerleon. However, more research on the church and churchyard is certainly needed here.

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G. C. Boon, *Isca: A Guide to the Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon, Monmouthshire*, 3rd edition (Cardiff: 1962), 38 pp.
Giraldus Cambrensis, Itinerary Through Wales (Newtown: 1989).
 J. Knight, *Caerleon Roman Fortress* (Cardiff: 1994).
 Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 29-33.

CAERWENT	Monm
ST 472904	ST 4790
town	ST 49 SE
St Tathan (later St Stephen)	Certain

Plan: Figure 46, page 120 (after Wachter 1974, fig. 82).

Roman *Venta Silurium*. The parish church of St Stephen and St Tathan may perpetuate the site of a C6 minster, lying in the same insula as the baths, near the centre of the town, S of the forum. The church is aligned to the Roman fort, and nearby excavations have revealed some artefactual evidence of a post-Roman Christian community, to which the post Roman burials to the W of the church may belong. The present church dates from the C13. Boon (1992) believes that the architecture of House xxiiw, Insula V suggests a Romano-British domestic church, but this is certainly open to interpretation. Edwards and Lane note that there was a cemetery 'inside the town near the present church of St Tatheus; again there were some long cists and some of the burials were cut into the main E/W street and into adjacent buildings... radiocarbon dates span the mid-fourth to the mid-eighth [centuries]' (Edwards and Lane 1992, 8). See the gazetteer entry for the adjacent site of Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard.

J. K. Knight and A. L. Lane, 'Caerwent', in N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds.), *Early Medieval Settlements in Wales A.D.400-1100: a Critical Reassessment and Gazetteer of the Archaeological Evidence for Secular Settlements in Wales AD 400-1100* (Bangor: 1988), 35-8.
 E. Campbell and P. MacDonald, 'Excavations at Caerwent Vicarage Orchard Garden 1973: An Extra-Mural Post-Roman Cemetery', *Arch. Camb.* 142 (1993), 74-98.
 V. E. Nash-Williams, 'Further Excavations at Caerwent, Mon.', 1923-5, *Arch.* 80 (1930), 229-88.
 G. C. Boon, 'The Early Christian Church in Gwent I: the Romano-British Church', *Monmouthshire Antiq.* 8 (1992), 11-24.
 N. Edwards and A. Lane, 'The Archaeology of the Early Church in Wales: an Introduction' in N. Edwards and A. Lane (eds.), *The Early Church in Wales and the West* (Oxford: 1992), 1-11.
 J. Wachter, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London: 1974), 375-89.

CAISTER-ON-SEA	Norfolk
TG 51701230	TG 5112
fort	TG 51 SW
Holy Trinity	Certain

See entry in Burials Gazetteer, page 242.

CAISTOR	Lines
TA 116012	TA 1101
town / camp	TA 10 SW
St Peter and St Paul	Certain
Possible minster	

Plan: Figure 62, page 141 (after Burnam and Wachter 1990, fig. 77).

The church of SS Peter and Paul lies in the centre of the Roman walls of Caistor, a significant place-name, reported to Camden as *Caer Egarry*. An inscription found here in 1770 but subsequently lost is believed to have recorded the dedication of a church or altar, dated to the C9 by Radford, from a drawing published in 1784 (Radford 1946; Okasha 1971). There evidence for a minster here is based strictly on the physical evidence, and is largely circumstantial. The church and the Roman grid are both aligned E/W.

P. Everson and D. Stocker, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture, Vol V: Lincolnshire* (Oxford: 1999), 124.
 B. Burnham and J. Wachter, *The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain* (London: 1990), 240-5.
 P. Rahtz, 'Caistor, Lincolnshire 1959', *Antiq. J.* 40 (1960), 175-87.
 Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 127-9.
 C. A. R. Radford, 'A Lost Inscription of Pre-Danish Age from Caistor', *Arch. J.* 103 (1946), 95-9.
 Eagles 1979 II, 361.
 E. Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge: 1971), No. 18, p. 58.

CAISTOR-BY-NORWICH	Norfolk
TG 230035	TG 2303
town	TG 20 SW
St Edmund	Certain

Plan: Figure 58, page 131 (after Wachter 1974, fig. 54).

Edward the Confessor gave the manor and the church of Caistor to the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, probably accounting for the dedication of the church and the village to St Edmund. The church sits within a Roman insula in the SE of the town, aligned to the Roman grid, which itself only deviates 2° from E/W.

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J. Wachter, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London: 1974), 227-38.
 W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 9.
 J. N. L. Myres and B. Green, *The Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk* (Soc. Antiq. London Research Report 30), 1973.
 T. Pestell, *An Analysis of Monastic Foundation in East Anglia, c. 650 -1200* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia 1999), 330.

CAMERTON	Somerset
ST 68545738	ST 6857
masonry building	ST 65 NE
St Peter	Probable

Plan: Figure 120, page 385 (detail from *VCH Somerset* II, fig. 56).

In its account of the Romano-British remains of Somerset, the *VCH* briefly summarizes the results of the excavations of the Rev Skinner around the area of Cameron and Clan Down between 1800 and 1839. The report is a condensed version of the material available in over 100 of Skinner's unpublished manuscripts, including the notes of his excavations. In the *VCH*'s location map of Skinner's excavations around Camerton (Fig. 56, p. 289), a masonry building is indicated to the immediate SW of the Church of St Peter, a location which puts the building at the coordinates given in the header above, now underneath the rectory. The church of St Peter is at ST 68705743.

VCH Somerset I, 289-94.
 M. J. Hunter, 'Mr. Skinner of Camerton', *Proc. of the Bath Nat. Hts. and Antis. Field Club* 2 (1870-3), 281-99. (For an account of Skinner and his activities)

CANEWDON	Essex
TQ 896945	TQ 8994
masonry building	TQ 89 SE
St Nicholas	Possible

SMR: Essex 13599, 13600

The *RCHME* reports that Roman tiles were 'excavated on the S side of the churchyard' about 1848, and there is Roman tile in the fabric of the church. The church in its current form largely dates from the C14. Nothing else regarding a Roman site here is known.

RCHME Essex 4 (1923), 21.
JBAA 4 (1849), 74.

CANTERBURY -	Kent
ST MARTIN'S	
TR 15865776	TR 1557
mausoleum (possibly)	TR 15 NE
St Martin	Probable

NMR: TR 15 NE 6

Plan: Figure 90, page 192 (after Tatton-Brown 1980, fig. 5).

St Martin's is a very well-known yet persistently enigmatic C7 or earlier church that incorporates a Roman structure: the earliest part of fabric is the W half of the present chancel, with subsequent extensions beneath the present nave. The date of earliest church remains debatable, though it must be no later than C7. According to Bede, this is the church that Bertha, the queen of Ethelbert, used before the Augustinian mission. The church lies to the E of Canterbury, outside the walls of the town, about 800m E of the cathedral.

Bede *H. E.* I, 26.
 T. Tatton-Brown, 'St Martin's Church in the 6th and 7th Centuries', in Hobbs, J. E. and Sparks, M. (eds.), *The Parish of St Martin and St Paul, Canterbury* (Canterbury: 1980), 12-18.
 N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester: 1984), 20.
 Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 143-5.

CANWICK	Lincs
SK 988696	SK 9869
masonry building	SK 96 NE
Unknown	Uncertain

A tessellated pavement is reported to have been found beneath the chancel of the church in 1814. No further details are known.

C. W. Phillips, 'The Present State of Archaeology in Lincolnshire: Part II', *Arch. J.* 91 (1935), 97-187, esp. 163.
 W. White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Lincolnshire* (1882), 231 (reprinted by David & Charles Reprints, Newton Abbot 1969).

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CAPEL ST MARY Suffolk
TM 085382 TM 0838
villa TM 3 NE
St Mary Certain

SMR: Suffolk 18, 11520, 10

A Roman villa exists near the church, and cremations have been found in fields to the N. Morris and Roxan record the existence of building debris, pavement, pottery and tile.

I. E. Moore, 'Roman Suffolk', *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.* 24.3 (1948), 163-81, esp. 166.

CARISBROOKE Hants
SZ 48518810 SZ 4888
villa SZ 48 NE
St Mary Certain

A villa was partly excavated by W. Spickernell in 1859, in the grounds of the vicarage, about 150m from the church of St Mary. The site is marked on the OS 1:2500, in the south-east end of the vicarage grounds. St Mary's church is located at SZ 48558825.

VCH Hants. I, 316-17.

D. S. Neal, *Roman Mosaics in Britain* (Sutton: 1981), 52-3.

CARLISLE Cumberland
NY 397561 NY 3956
town NY 35 NE
unknown Certain
Minster

Many aspects of Roman and early medieval Carlisle remain ambiguous (including the line of the Roman walls, although the most recent investigations suggest that Roman walls may encompass the site of the current castle), not least because there was no large area excavation within the city until 1977. Excavations at Blackfriars' Street in particular located features dating from C7-C9, although these did not respect the Roman building and road alignments. One post of a wooden structure was dated by dendrochronology to after AD 655 (McCarthy 1990, 73). Little is known of the early Christian topography. There were three known early, intramural churches in Carlisle: the Augustian Priory and parish church of St Mary were founded in 1123, apparently without an Anglian precedent. The church of St Alban is referred to as early as 1201, although the church and graveyard were never consecrated, and it had no parish of its own; it was demolished sometime

after it was sold in the mid C16 (McCarthy 1990, 246-7). The earliest reference to the church of St Cuthbert is believed to be c.1130, although it dates from the late C18 in its present form.

McCarthy suggests that it is possible that 'the orientation of St Cuthbert's was determined by constraints dating from an earlier period, perhaps Roman buildings' (McCarthy 1990, 249); again, there is no reason to suppose any late Saxon or Viking Age predecessor. Cuthbert is believed to have established a nunnery in Carlisle with the support of Ecgrith, but this remains unlocated. It was clearly a major early ecclesiastical site, and probably a minster. Recent excavations adjacent to the cathedral located an Anglian burial ground, with one grave dated to Cal 680-820 (HAR 7046), which could suggest that the pre-Norman church may be found in current cathedral precincts (McCarthy 1996, 36).

M. R. McCarthy, 'Thomas, Chadwick and Post-Roman Carlisle', in S. Pearce (ed.), *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland* (B.A.R. British Series 102, 1982), 241-56.

M. R. McCarthy, *A Roman, Anglian and Medieval Site at Blackfriars Street, Carlisle* (Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc. Research Ser. 4, 1990).

M. R. McCarthy, 'The Origins and Development of the 12th Century Cathedral Church at Carlisle', in T. Tatton-Brown and J. Munby (eds.), *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (1996), 31-45.

R. N. Bailey and R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture II, Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North-of-the-Sands* (1988), 27-8, 84-7.

R. Hogg, 'Excavations at Tullie House, Carlisle, 1954-6', *Trans. Cumber. Westmor. Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 64 (1964), 14-62.

Two Lives of St. Cuthbert: a Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne, and Bede's Prose Life (Anonymous Life of St Cuthbert), edited and translated by B. Colgrave (Greenwood Press: 1968).

D. Charlesworth, 'Roman Carlisle', *Arch. J.* 135 (1978), 115-37.

CARMARTHEN Carmarthen
SN 416214 SN 4121
town SN 42 SW
St Peter Certain

Plan: Figure 121, page 386 (after Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, fig. 33; OS 1:2500 SN 4121; and James 1991, fig. 10).

The church of St Peter lies in the W of the Roman town, roughly aligned to the Roman grid. The church is first mentioned in the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey* (1100-1135), in which it is given by Henry I, along with an earlier church of St John the Evangelist and St Teilo, and the old city of Carmarthen. St Peter's had the chapelries of Newchurch and Llangain attached to it at this

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time (Brigstocke 1907, 337). The fabric of the current church is mainly C13. The Augustinian Priory of St John was established outside of the E gate in 1148. The town lies on the W bank of the tidal estuary of the R Tywi, in the centre of the modern town. The Roman town succeeded a series of Roman forts to the W of the site.

H. J. James, 'Carmarthen - Moridunum', in B. C. Burnham and J. Davies (eds.), *Conquest, Co-Existence and Change: Recent work in Roman Wales* (Lampeter: 1991), 86-93.

H. J. James, 'Excavations at Church Street, Carmarthen, 1976', in G. C. Boon (ed.), *Monographs and Collections I: Roman Sites* (Cardiff: 1978), 63-106.

T. E. Brigstocke, 'St Peter's Church, Carmarthen', *Arch. Camb.* 7 (1907), 335-51.

Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 73-4.

E. Searle, *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey* (Oxford: 1980).

CARNO	Mont
SN 962966	SN 9696
fortlet	SN 99 NE
St John the Baptist	Certain

Plan: Figure 122, page 386 (after Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, fig. 75).

The name '*Caer Noddfa*' (fort of refuge) derives from the Roman fort's reuse by the Knights Hospitaller of St John in the C13, who built their refuge in its N corner. The church, which deviates significantly from E/W, lies outside what is probably the S corner of the fort. One hint of an early Christian presence on the site is given by the discovery in 1960 of a stone inscribed with a crude cross in circle'; found in the village of Carno to the immediate NW and once used as a gatepost. Radford assigned a date of the C7 to early C8, and places it within Nash-Williams' Group II of cross-decorated stones. The fortlet lies on the flood plain of the Carno brook.

Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 137-8.

W. G. Putnam, 'Excavations at Caer Noddfa, Carno', *Mont. Coll.* 62.2 (1972), 195-201.

C. J. Spurgeon, 'An Early Christian Stone from Carno (Mont)', *Arch. Camb.* 110 (1961), 155-6.

CASTOR - ST CYNEBURH	Northants
TL 12479852	TL 1298
fort / ?villa	TL 19 NW
St Cyneburh	Certain
Probable minster	

NMR: TL 19 NW 10; & TL 19 NW 12

Plan: Figure 76, page 162 (after Artis 1828, plate XII, plan 1).

Castor is a very large villa complex located to the NE of the Romano-British market town of *Durobrivae* (see the associated records in this corpus for Castor - The Castles, and Castor - Mill Hill). The church of St Cyneburh lies within the fort, and traces of Saxon masonry, Roman brick and tile are visible in its fabric, which in its current form dates largely from 1124. Pevsner notes the existence of Roman herringbone brickwork just S of the church but provides no further details. The existence of underlying Romans buildings is not in doubt: in 1712 Morton noted that 'in digging a little way beneath the now surface, they frequently met with small square bricks, or tiles, such as the Romans were wont to make their chequered pavements of; and particularly in the place with is now the churchyard, and on the N side of the town. In digging into that part of the hill, which the church stands upon, they find the little bricks almost everywhere; sometimes single and sometimes loose; sometimes set together and fixed, or inlaid in a very hard cement or mortar.' Later, in 1733, a sexton found a mosaic pavement while digging a grave for a 'poor woman'; he could not dig through the pavement and so laid the coffin on top of it. Artis excavated here in the early C19 and found Roman remains all around the churchyard. As for the earliest reuse of the site: Charles Green discovered evidence of middle Saxon settlement over a Roman building in 1957-58, in the S extension of the churchyard. The building showed several signs of post-Roman activity, including a hut and pits of mid-Saxon date. More recent excavation by J. P. Wild and G. B. Dannell in the garden of 'Elmlea' (about 130m N of the previous excavation, and N of the church) found two sunken huts that had cut through Roman flooring, and a pit which contained 80 middle Saxon potsherds, iron knives, a pair of shears, a triangular wrist strap, and a bone comb with incised decoration. The NMR concludes that these fit a date of 655-680. These features may be associated with a late tradition regrading the nunnery or double monastery of St Cyneburh, daughter of Penda, which is suggested to have

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been founded in or about 670. Cyneburh was the third of four daughters of Penda, King of Mercia, and married Aelfrith, King of Northumbria. She came with her sister St Cyneswith to Castor c.650, and subsequently built a nunnery, probably on the site of the current church. The only documentary evidence for the nunnery comes from John of Tynemouth who compiled evidence for a collection of saint's lives while he was a monk at St Albans from 1325-1348. He places the site, called by its inhabitants 'Castre', on the bank of Nene, about two miles from Peterborough.

William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: II*, ed. R. M. Thompson (Oxford: 1999), 60.
 E. T. Artis, *The Durobrivae of Antonius Identified and Illustrated* (London: 1828).
VCH Northants. I, 172-4.
Med. Arch. 16 (1972), 158.
Castor Church, Saint Kyneburgha, (Peterborough: 18??) (church information pamphlet).
 J. Morton, *The Natural History of Northamptonshire* (London: 1712), 509.
 C. Dack, 'The Peterborough Gentleman's Society', *JBAA* n.s. 5 (1899), 141-60 (esp. 147, the record for 1733.).
 E. Trollope, 'Durobrivae', *Arch. J.* 30 (1873), 127-40.
 N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Northants* (Harmondsworth: 1961), 146.
 D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales* (London: 1971), 470.
 J. P. Wild, 'Villas in the Lower Nene Valley', in M. Todd (ed.), *Studies in the Romano-British Villa* (Leicester: 1978), 59-69.

CHART SUTTON	Kent
TQ 80464965	TQ 8049
villa	TQ 84 NW
St Michael	Certain

Terry (1950) mentions in passing the existence of a corridor villa 'behind Chart Sutton church'. The OS marks the site of a Roman building 200m N/NE of the church. No plan of the structure is known.

N. N. Terry, 'Pipe-Clay Statuette of Venus', *Arch. Cant.* 63 (1950), 155.

CHEDDAR	Somerset
ST 45955295	ST 4552
villa	ST 45 SE
St Andrew	Certain
Minster	

SMR: Somerset 11441, 13114

Plan: Figure 123, page 387 (after Blair 1995, fig. 6).

The complex at Cheddar focus upon a series of wooden buildings which were excavated by

Rahtz, and determined to be a suite of palaces and an associated chapel. Blair (1995) believes these structures to have been grafted onto the edge of the existing minster, mentioned in Alfred's will. Some 350m to the SE, the church of St Andrew sits upon a Roman villa complex, the plan of which has been determined from parch marks and some minimal trenching. Its extent is unknown, although Roman finds have been reported to the W, and it is likely that the villa could continue under the church to the E. The relationship between the church, villa, and palace remains unknown, although a boundary developed between the area of the villa nucleus and the palace, perhaps as early as the C9 (Rahtz 1979, 372). St Andrew's church lies on the axis of a Roman road, aligned slightly off of the villa. The entry in Taylor and Taylor refers to the excavated timber chapel, not the church of St Andrew.

P. Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar*, BAR British Series 65 (Oxford: 1979).
 J. Blair, 'Palaces or Minsters? Northampton and Cheddar Reconsidered', *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1995), 97-121.
 P. A. Rahtz, 'Cheddar Vicarage 1965', *Proc. Somerset Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 110 (1966), 52-84.
 P. A. Rahtz and S. M. Hirst, 'Cheddar Vicarage 1970', *Proc. Somerset Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 117 (1973), 65-95.
 S. Pearce, *The Kingdom of Dumnonia: Studies in History and Tradition in South-Western Britain, A.D. 350-1150* (Padstow: 1978), 52-3.
 Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 154-5.

CHEDWORTH	Gloucs
SP 05171212	SP 0512
masonry building?	SP 1 SE
St Andrew	Unknown

SMR: 8353, 2134
 NMR: SP01SE13

The *RCHME* records that '[Roman] tesserae have been reported in the gardens of Church Row Cottages, about 50 yds SE of the church', although there is little additional, supporting evidence. The better-known villa at Chedworth is 1.3km away.

RCHME Gloucs., 24.

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CHERRILL

SU 03857031 Wilts
SU 0370
villa SU 7 SW
St James Certain

SMR: Wilts 302

NMR: SU 07 SW 302 & SU 07 SW455

Plan: Figure 73, page 158 (after Johnson and Walters 1988, fig. 1).

A mosaic pavement was found in 1913 under the path leading to churchyard gate; this was re-excavated in the 1930s and again in 1984. The later excavations revealed that the alignment of the mosaic and rooms of the villa is NW/SE. The site lies on a knoll of chalk drift adjacent to a spring line, 2 miles to the south ran the Roman road from *Cunetio* (Mildenhall) to *Verlucio* (Sandy Lane).

VCH Wilts. I.1, 55-6.

JRS 12 (1922), 268.

P. Johnson and B. Walters, 'Exploratory Excavations of Roman Buildings at Cherhill and Manningford Bruce', *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 82 (1988), 77-91.

S. Semple and A. Reynolds, 'The Church of St James, Cherhill and the Development of the Medieval Village of Cherhill', *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* (forthcoming).

Scott 1993, 199.

CHESTER

SJ 4066 Cheshire
SJ 4066
town / fort SJ 46 NW
St Weburgh Certain
Minster

Plan: Figure 124, page 387 (after Thacker 1988, fig. 63).

Roman *Deva*, an auxiliary fortress on the R Dee. Chester is described as a deserted Roman site in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for 893/4; that the Danes were encamped there, withholding a siege, suggests that the fortifications were not only extant, but to a certain extent still functional. The town was refortified by Aethelflaed in 907, who founded the minster of St Weburgh, on the site of the current cathedral. Other pre-Conquest churches within Chester include St Peter's in the centre of the town, St Bridget's on the S gate, St Olave's on the road leading south of the town, and St John's to the SE, near the amphitheatre. St Peter's church is believed to have existed since the early C10, and lies on the site of the *principia*; there is a C12 tradition that one of Chester's two Anglo-Saxon minsters, St John's, was founded in the late C7 by the Mercian king Aethelred. St John's shared burial rights with the larger minster of St

Werburgh, so this could suggest some antiquity (Thacker 1988, 119).

T. J. Strickland, 'The Roman Heritage of Chester: the survival of the buildings of Deva after the Roman period', in R. Hodges and B. Hobley (eds.), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700-1050*, CBA Res Rep 68 (1988), 109-18.

A. T. Thacker, 'Early Medieval Chester: the Historical Background', in R. Hodges and B. Hobley (eds.), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West AD 700-1050*, CBA Res Rep 68 (1988), 119-24.

VCH Cheshire I, 117-85.

Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 33-42.

CHESTERFIELD

SK 3871 Derby
SK 3871
fort SK 37 SE
St John and St Mary Certain
Mother church, possible minster

Plan: Figure 125, page 388 (after Ellis 1989, fig. 2).

The church of St Mary and St John lies oriented E/W within the Roman fort of Chesterfield, and deviates 11° from the axis of the fort. It is the mother church of a very large parish and, although it cannot be documented before the late C11, can be safely regarded as a minster.

P. Ellis, 'Roman Chesterfield: Excavations by T. Courtney 1974-78', *Derby. Arch. J.* 109 (1989), 51-130.

P. Riden, 'Unpublished Roman Discoveries Near Chesterfield', *Derby. Arch. J.* 100 (1980), 18-24.

J. M. Bestall, *History of Chesterfield 1: Early and Medieval Chesterfield* (1974), 21.

CHESTER-LE-STREET

NZ 2751 Durham
NZ 2751
fort NZ 25 SE
St Cuthbert Certain
Minster

Plan: Figure 126, page 388 (after Rainbird 1971, fig. 3).

The community of St Cuthbert settled in Chester-le-Street between 883 and 995. Their church was built of wood, and was only replaced in stone under Bishop Aethelric of Durham (1041-56). The fabric of the current church is C13, and it probably perpetuates both the placement and alignment of the first church, which was placed at the centre of the Roman fort, over the *principia*. No traces of the early church have been found. The site was a minster by the C9/C10, if not before: Cambridge suggests that some of the carved Christian stones may pre-date the advent of the community (Cambridge 1989,

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379-80), and therefore suggests that an earlier church may have been installed within the fort before the arrival of Cuthbert's community.

E. Cambridge, 'Why Did the Community of St Cuthbert Settle at Chester-le-Street?', in G. Bonner, D. W. Rollason, C. Stancliffe (eds.), *St Cuthbert, His Cult and Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge: 1989), 367-86.

G. Bonner, 'St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street', in Bonner *et al.* (eds.), as above, 387-96.

J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: 1992), fig. 10.3.

J. S. Rainbird, 'Recent Excavations at Chester-le-Street', *Arch. Aeliana* 49 (1971), 101-8, esp. facing 104.

CHICHESTER	Sussex
SU 85950478	SU 8504
masonry building	SU 80 SE
St Mary	Possible
Possible minster	
SMR: W Sussex 4607	

Plan: Figure 127, page 389 (after Wacher 1974, fig. 56).

The pre-Conquest church of St Mary in Forno once stood in the SE corner of the town; it was demolished in 1229. The present Cathedral of the Holy Trinity was built in 1075-91 on an earlier cemetery: a series of finds underneath the cathedral indicates that a Roman building lies under its E end. Excavations between 1966-8 found tessellated pavements, flue tiles, a hypocaust, pottery, and foundations.

W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 7.

VCH Sussex 13.

A. Down and M. Rule, *Chichester Excavations*, Vol. I (Chichester: 1971), 127-38.

A. Down, *Chichester Excavations*, Vol. II (Chichester: 1974).

J. Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London: 1974), 239-55.

CHIPPING	Essex
ONGAR	
TL 55330295	TL 5502
masonry building	TL 50 SE
St Martin	Possible

SMR: Essex 4108, 4110

Roman foundations are vaguely recorded in the parish, 'particularly in the church and churchyard', in or around 1767 (*RCHME*). The

church fabric contains Roman tile and brick, visible particularly in the angle quoins of the nave and the C11 lancet windows. Although masonry footings were also discovered in the C19 below the church and churchyard, no Romano-British material has been reported from more recent grave digging. The chancel and nave date from the late C11.

RCHME Essex II, 51.

P. Muilman, *A New and Complete History of Essex*, Vol. 3 (Chelmsford: 1770), 316-17.

M. R. Eddy and M. R. Petchey, *Historic Towns in Essex: an Archaeological Survey of Saxon and Medieval Towns, with Guidance for their Future Planning* (Chelmsford: 1983), 39-41.

CIRENCESTER	Gloucs
SP 0201	SP 0201
town	SP 0 SW
St Mary	Certain
Minster	

Cirencester is mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for 577, and was fought over again in 628. The parish church of St John the Baptist was built c.1120 to replace the earlier, demolished church for St Mary's Abbey. The only historical reference to the pre-conquest church is documented in Domesday, and the early minster appears to be the oldest post-Roman structure on the site. The foundations cut through the underlying Roman courtyard structure to the sterile subsoil, but are made of reused Roman material. The structure is possibly of C9 construction although there is no reason that a Christian presence could not be expected here in the C7; it is a 'superior church' in Domesday. Evans (1989) suggests that the town would have been a royal vill by this time.

D. Wilkinson and A. D. McWhirr, *Cirencester Anglo-Saxon Church and Medieval Abbey* (Cirencester: 1998).

T. Slater, 'The Town and Its Region in the Anglo-Saxon and Medieval period', in A. D. McWhirr (ed.), *Studies in the Archaeology and History of Cirencester* (Oxford: 1976), 81-108.

A. K. B. Evans, 'Cirencester's Early Church', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 107 (1989), 107-22.

J. Buckman and C. H. Newmarch, *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester: the Site of Ancient Corinium* (London: 1850).

A. D. McWhirr, *Houses in Roman Cirencester* (Cirencester: 1986), 222-3.

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CLAXBY BY NORMANBY

TF 11129458
villa
St Mary

Lincs
TF 1194
TF 19 SW
Certain

SMR: Lincs 50137, 50150

A Roman pavement of blue and white tesserae and a box tile were found beneath and W of the church nave. Romano-British greyware has also been found in a field W of the church. Both the moais and the flue tile are good evidence of a villa here.

T. Allen, *The History of the County of Lincoln*, vol. 2, (London and Lincoln: 1834), 208.
Eagles 1979 II, 362.

COLCHESTER - ST HELEN

TL 99742538
masonry building / civic
structure
St Helen

Essex
TL 9925
TL 92 NE
Certain

Plan: after Crummy 1981, fig. 41d.

A C12 charter describing Eudo Dapifer's construction of Colchester castle also mentions his restoration of the Chapel of St Helena (now in the parish of St Nicholas), which Helen (it was believed) 'had erected and dedicated to St John'. This association of St Helena with the city and the chapel in particular is also mentioned in other documents from the C12, but there is little to verify the legend. The fabric of the current chapel is in part C13, but the structure fell into disuse in C14. Crummy notes that the N wall of the church overlies a Roman wall that seems to continue beyond the bounds of the church: his observation is based on the interpretation of Hull (who in turn studied the plans of Goodyear, which were drawn in 1891). Hull suggests that, although the shape and position of the Roman building in Goodyear's plans are largely conjectural, there is a possibility that the underlying building was part of an amphitheatre - its massive size certainly suggests some sort of civic structure. Without fresh excavations here the nature and date of the reuse will remain ambiguous.

W. Rodwell and K. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset* (CBA Research Report 19, 1977), 37-8, 103.

J. H. Round, *St Helen's Chapel, Colchester* (London: 1886).

P. J. Crummy, *Colchester: Recent Excavations and Research* (Colchester: 1974), 27.

U. M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester* (Oxford: 1958).

COLCHESTER - ST MARY

TL 99252506
mansio
St Mary the Virgin

Essex
TL 9925
TL 92 NE
Probable

Little is known of the medieval church of St Mary-on-the-Wall, or the Saxon church that preceded it on the same site. It was apparently built on a Roman town house, and fragments of mosaic pavement were recovered during grave digging in the churchyard in the early C18, and later in 1871.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset* (CBA Research Report 19, 1977), 32-3.

M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester* (Oxford: 1958), 207-8

COLCHESTER - ST NICHOLAS

TL 99782519
masonry building
St Nicholas

Essex
TL 9925
TL 92 NE
Certain

Plan: after Crummy 1981, fig. 54b.

The medieval church of St Nicholas stood in the centre of Colchester and was briefly recorded before its demolition in 1955. Like the church of All Saints in Colchester, St Nicholas must pre-date the construction of the castle and the associated deflection of the High Street. The nave and chancel of the medieval church had Roman walls for their foundation. Hull excavated after demolition in 1956 and found no C14 wall on top of the Roman one, which suggested to Rodwell that a structure – intact to a certain extent – was reused rather than simply the foundations themselves.

RCHME Essex III, 39.

M. R. Hull, 'The St Nicholas Church Site, Colchester', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* 25 (1960), 301-28.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 31.

W. J. Rodwell, 'Archaeology and the Church', *Antiquity* 49 (1975), 33-42.

P. J. Crummy, *Colchester: Recent Excavations and Research* (Colchester: 1974), 27.

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COLNE ENGAINE Essex
 TL 85013037 TL 8530
 masonry building TL 83 SE
 St Andrew Possible

Rodwell reports only that Romano British material is in the fabric of the church, and concludes it 'probably has a Roman ancestry'. Better evidence for the existence of an underlying or nearby Roman building is supplied by the *VCH*, which reports that tiles are constantly being ploughed up in the field immediately to the S of the church.

RCHME Essex III, 74-5.
 W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 104.
VCH Essex III, 122

COMBE DOWN Somerset
 ST 76146221 ST 7662
 masonry building ST 76 SE
 Holy Trinity Certain

A Roman villa (ST 76046229) was first noted in 1822 SE of Holy Trinity church (ST 76036228), and partly excavated in 1860. No precise plan was drawn but it was described as a courtyard type aligned on the compass points: N/S walls were traced and two rooms with hypocausts were explored; further remains were noted to the E. An inscription found on the site refers to the restoration of a *principia*, which may be referring to an civil administrative centre here, rather than that specifically of a fort. Roman burials in stone coffins were also found near the villa, but the discovery of an Anglo-Saxon spearhead and key which are illustrated with the small finds in Scarth (1863, pl. 5) suggests that some of these could be post-Roman.

JBAA 18 (1862), 303-304.
 P. Scarth, 'On a Roman Villa at Combe Down, Bath', *JBAA* 19 (1863), 66-9.
 H. M. Scarth, *Aquae Sulis, or Notices of Roman Bath* (London: 1864), 115-7.
VCH Somerset I, 309-12.

COPFORD Essex
 TL 93492268 TL 9322
 villa TL 92 SW
 St Michael and All Possible
 Angels

Roman finds from the churchyard and foundations of an unknown date have been reported in the grounds of the hall adjacent to the church. Rodwell reports that there is a villa to the N at an unspecified distance. The *VCH* does not

mention the villa (unless these are the remains found at Copford Hall at TL 932231), nor is a villa listed in the 4th ed. Map of Roman Britain. However, in 1949, tile, pot and brick fragments were found in the grounds of the hall, in land that had been apparently ploughed for the first time in two hundred years, so it is likely that this is indeed the site of a villa or Roman masonry building. The church is now in an isolated position.

VCH Essex III, 123.
RCHME Essex III, 76.
 W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 104.

COTTERSTOCK Northants
 TL 03269107 TL 0391
 villa TL 9 SW
 St Andrew Certain

SMR: Northants 391002, 2777, 2773

An excavation carried out in about 1736 reports a mosaic pavement near the church at TL 03269107. Further Romano-British finds (pot, brooches, etc.) have been found in the area. Aerial photos taken between 1976 and 1982 confirm that this is a very large villa structure. Amphora and coins of Domitian (AD 81-96) were found the under chancel of church.

RCHME Northants 1 (1975), 32-3.
Northants. Arch. 12 (1977), 211-2.
VCH Northants. I, 192-3.

CRAYKE Yorks N
 SE5670 SE 5670
 ?villa SE 57 SE
 St Cuthbert Possible
 Probable hermitage or minster

It is reported in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, a text compiled mid C10, that c.683 Ecgrith and Theodore gave to Cuthbert 'also the villa which was called Crayke, and three miles around that villa, so that he might have a dwelling place, however many times he might go to York, or return from there. And there the Holy Cuthbert established a community of monks, and ordained an abbot.' The archaeological evidence for either a Roman building or a monastic centre is not unequivocal: only one piece of Roman flue tile was found in excavations in the churchyard in 1956. Adam's concludes that 'the flue tile suggests that the hill was the site of a villa-type building substantial enough to have a hypocaust system' (Adams 1990, 39). However, one would expect more Roman material to have been

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recovered in the 1956 excavations if this were the case; the existence of a villa here must remain uncertain. An early cemetery (radiocarbon dated to AD880-990 at 1 sigma) found to the NE of the present Church of St Cuthbert is probably monastic. Adams suggests 'the possibility of an earlier and distinct ecclesiastical topography, with a church further to the south or east' (Adams 1990, 42). One piece of Anglian sculpture, probably early C9, is now in the Yorkshire Museum. A later Durham tradition suggests that the hermit Echa (d.767) died here. Crayke lies on the edge of the Vale of York, 19km S of the city of York. The site lies on a hill within the village.

K. Adams, 'Monastery and Village at Crayke, North Yorkshire', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 62 (1990), 29-50.
 E. J. W. Hildyard, 'Romano-British Discoveries at Crayke, Near Yorks.: the Trial Excavation', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 40 (1959), 99-111.
Historia de Sancto Cuthberto, trans. E. James, in T. Arnold (ed.) *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia I, Rolls Series* 75, 1882, 199.
Symeonis Op. Om. (Rolls Ser. 75b, 1885), 43.
 T. Sheppard, 'Viking and Other Relics at Crayke, Yorkshire', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 34 (1939), 273-81.

CRESSING	Essex
TL 79432043	TL 7920
masonry building	TL 72 SE
All Saints	Probable

J. H. Hope viewed Roman foundations during drainage work at the church in the early 1970s, and the Norman fabric incorporates Roman tile. The church is now isolated.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 104.
 J. H. Hope, 'Drainage Trenches at All Saints Church, Cressing, June 1974', *Trans. Essex Arch. Soc.* 6 (1974), 82-9.

CRUNDALE	Kent
TR 0749	TR 0749
masonry building	TR 4 NE
St Mary	Certain
C12	

'Remains of Roman foundations were found about 1908 in digging graves in the churchyard' (*VCH Kent* III, 111). No further information is available. The church is remote and isolated.

VCH Kent III, 111

CUXTON	Kent
TQ 7066	TQ 7066
masonry building	TQ 76 NW
St Michael	Probable

In 1902 a 3' thick wall and 'much debris of a Roman building' were found in the churchyard W of the rectory (*VCH*); a continuation of this wall was also visible in the 'bank and the S side of the drive', as well as further debris 'just above' the new churchyard. Rigold reports persistent Roman debris, and suggests a villa, but notes that the 'steep site is more suitable for a mausoleum'. This latter interpretation makes sense if we are to assume that the church is re-using underlying Roman foundations, which dictated its alignment of NW/SE, perpendicular to (and facing) Rochester Roman Road. However the (current) rectory lies 100m to the NW, and material found here as well as around the churchyard could suggest a larger site, perhaps a villa, or even an extended cemetery. The place-name was originally '*Cucolanstan*', one of Kent's many -stan place-names. No plan of the Romano-British structure(s) exists.

S. Rigold, 'Roman Folkestone Reconsidered', *Arch Cant.* 87 (1972), 31-42, esp. 40.
Arch. Cant. 25 (1902), lxvii.
VCH Kent III, 111.

DEERHURST - ODDA'S CHAPEL	Gloucs
SO 86922985	SO 8629
masonry building	SO 82 NE
Holy Trinity	Possible

SMR: Gloucs 455, 457
 NMR: SO82NE1

About 160m to the SW of Deerhurst St Mary's, a two-celled stone chapel (perhaps the chapel of the pre-conquest manor house) is dated by an inscription – now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford – to the time of Edward the Confessor. Levelling operations in 1972 revealed spreads of burnt material, Romano-British tile, and pottery. If we take this as evidence of a Roman building, it could be part of the same complex that is suggested in the vicinity of Deerhurst St Mary's.

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H. M. Taylor, 'Anglo-Saxon Architecture', *Arch. J.* 122 (1965), 230-5.
P. Rahtz, 1972 'Deerhurst Church: Interim Note on 1971 excavation', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 90 (1972), 129-35.
P. Rahtz, Excavations at St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, 1971-73, *CBA Research Report Council for British Arch. London* 15 (1976), 6-7.
Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 209-11.
Scott 1993, 71.

DEERHURST - ST MARY'S	Gloucs
SO 87042996	SO 8729
masonry building	SO 82 NE
St Mary	Possible
Minster	

SMR: Gloucs 445, 447
NMR: SO82NE1

Limited excavation under and adjacent to the church of St Mary at Deerhurst uncovered Roman material, including combed box-flue tiles, pottery and fragments of *opus signinum*, all suggestive evidence of a Roman building here. A Roman or Early Anglo-Saxon wall exists to the W of the church, running N/S, which appears to have influenced the position of the first church (the 'basic rectangle' in the excavators' terminology), and a large, unexcavated mound lies to the immediate W (Rahtz *et al.* 1997, 79, fig. 61), which the excavators suggest could be the centre of the Roman site. The nature of the structure and its date, however, are unclear. Roman mortuary activity is suggested by the discovery of 'two large earthenware vases or cinerary urns' found in 1861, and a possible Roman sarcophagus fragment. Rahtz *et al.* conclude that such activity may have been later associated with a pagan or Christian shrine or mausoleum, although this is largely speculative. A community is first recorded here in a will of 804.

P. Rahtz, L. Watts, H. M. Taylor and L. A. S. Butler, *St Mary's Church, Deerhurst, Gloucestershire: Fieldwork, Excavations and Structural Analysis, 1971-1984* (Woodbridge: 1997).
P. Rahtz, *Excavations at St Mary's Church Deerhurst* (CBA Research Report 15, 1976).
P. Wormald, 'How Do We Know So Much About Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?' [The Deerhurst Lecture, 1991] (Deerhurst: 1993).
Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 193-209.

DONCASTER	Yorks W
SE 5702	SE 5702
fort	SE 50 SE
St George (and another to St Mary Magdalene)	Certain

Plan: Figure 128, page 390 (after Selkirk 1972, 274, and Buckland *et al.* 1989, fig. 5).

Roman *Danum*. There were two parish churches in Doncaster: St George, which lies within the fort, and St Mary Magdalene, which lies a short distance to the SE in what became the triangular medieval market place. The relationship and antiquity of the two churches is unknown: one of the two was recorded as part of the manor of Hexthorpe in Domesday (Buckland *et al.* 1989, 34), but by the time Leland visited *c.* 1540, St Mary's simply served as a 'chapel of ease' (Buckland *et al.* 1989, 11). St Mary has been suggested to be the older of the two, in part because of three graves that were found in 1870, surrounded by loose stones set on edge, which Buckland suggests could be immediately post-Roman or Anglian (Buckland *et al.* 1989, 13), although without radiocarbon dates such an early date seems unwarranted. It has been suggested that St George began life as the chapel of the castle, but this interpretation is not universally accepted and the chronological relationship between the two churches remains ambiguous (Buckland *et al.* 1989, 52). St Mary's was downgraded to a chapel in *c.* 1320, and was demolished in 1870. The outlines of the fort are hardly visible in the modern town plan: no walls were visible to Leland, but they are known to have existed into the Anglo-Danish period (Buckland *et al.* 1989, 11, 46). The site of the fort now lies within urban Doncaster.

P. C. Buckland, J. R. Magilton, and C. Hayfield, *The Archaeology of Doncaster 2: The Medieval and Later Town* (BAR Brit Ser 202, 1989).
A. Selkirk, 'Doncaster', *Current Archaeology* 33 (1972), 273-7.

DORCHESTER-ON-THAMES	Oxon
SU 5794	SU 5794
town	SU 59 SE
Minster	Certain

Plan: Figure 118, page 384 (after Doggett 1986, fig. 1).

Bede records that the Roman town was given by Cynegils of Wessex to Birinus in 634 as the site of his cathedral and see. It is believed that

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Birinus' church lies under the present (C12) abbey church, and there is a persistent, if unproven, tradition that a Roman building lies under the church (Doggett 1986, 54). This is in part due to the reports of a mosaic pavement (not necessarily verified as Roman) below the NE chapel of the Abbey, beneath which the *VCH* reports were found bones and charred corn. The walls of the Roman town survived, in part at least, until the C12, but the course of the E wall has not been confirmed with certainty; it is therefore unclear whether the church lies within the walls or without. In the 1930s Hogg suggested that the R Thame formed the eastern boundary. Although Hogg's hypothesis was confirmed by the 1962 excavations which uncovered a wall in a sewer trench on High Street, Bradley's excavations at the rear of the Old Castle Inn found no trace of the wall where it was expected to continue, further to the south. Most recently, Henig and Booth conclude that the walls do continue to the E, and their absence in Bradley's excavations can otherwise be explained. Cunningham and Banks report 'Saxon' burials in their excavations on the N side of the church, whose alignment deviates from E/W. The Roman town is situated on a gravel terrace at the confluence of the R Thames and R Thame, 8 miles south of Oxford.

Bede *H. E.* III, 7.

N. Doggett, 'The Anglo-Saxon See and Cathedral of Dorchester-on-Thames: the Evidence Reconsidered', *Oxoniensia* 51 (1986), 49-61.

A. H. A. Hogg and C. E. Stephens, 'The Defences of Roman Dorchester', *Oxoniensia* 2 (1937), 41-73.

R. Bradley, 'Rescue Excavations in Dorchester-on-Thames, 1972', *Oxoniensia* 43 (1978), 17-39.

M. Aston, *The Roman Town Defences of Dorchester, an Interim Assessment*, CBA Group 9 Newsletter 4 (1974), 3-4.

T. Rowley, 'The Roman Towns of Oxfordshire - Dorchester-on-Thames', in W. J. Rodwell and T. Rowley (eds.) *The Small Towns of Roman Britain* (BAR 15.1, 1975), 115-18.

C. J. K. Cunningham and J. W. Banks, 'Excavations at Dorchester Abbey', *Oxoniensia* 37 (1972), 158-64.

T. Rowley and L. Brown, 'Excavations at Beech House Hotel, Dorchester-on-Thames, 1972', *Oxoniensia* 46 (1981), pages 1-55.

J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: 1992), 236-7.

J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud: 1994), 1-6.

M. Henig and P. Booth, *Romano-British Oxfordshire* (Stroud: 2000), 58-63.

DOVER

TR 32634182

fort

St Martin / St Mary

Minster

Kent

TR 3241

TR 34 SW

Certain

NMR: TR 34 SW 42

Plan: Figure 130, page 391 (after Amos and Wheeler 1929, Plate IV and Philp 1981, fig. 3).

There are two geographically distinct but historically related sites at Dover: St Mary-de-Castro on the E cliff and the Saxon shore fort within the town. Tatton-Brown and *VCH* note later manuscripts (Brit. Lib., ms Cotton Jul. D.v and Vesp. B. xi) that ascribe the foundation of the minster of Dover to the 630s, which was later re-founded in the 690s and moved into the Roman Saxon shore fort. Rigold more specifically suggests that the 630s minster was first in the Iron Age hillfort on the E cliff, and then later moved down into the Saxon Shore fort during the 690s (Rigold 1977, 73). Taylor and Taylor, and Wheeler, give a full account of the architecture and fabric of St Mary-de-Castro, which uses the Roman lighthouse as its bell tower. Philip excavated the Classis Britannica fort in the town and revealed part of the Saxon Shore fortifications which were not on the line anticipated by Wheeler. As only a portion of the Saxon Short fort has been revealed, it is difficult to know the exact position of the minster within the fort, but it probably lay within its walls, against the N rampart. The remains of a bath-house were found beneath its W end in 1778, and the remains of a second bath-house were found during excavations for the 'new club' beneath the Norman foundation of St Martin-le-Grand, also within the Saxon Shore fort, in 1881. St Mary-de-Castro lies on the E cliff of the Roman port of Dover; the Roman forts are situated within the town of Dover itself.

B. Philp, *The Excavation of the Roman Forts of the Classis Britannica at Dover 1970-77*, Kent Monograph Series Vol. 3, (1981).

T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Churches of the Canterbury Diocese', in J. Blair, (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: the Local Church in Transition, 950-1200* (Oxford: 1988), 105-18.

E. G. Amos and R. E. M. Wheeler, 'The Saxon Shore Fortress at Dover', *Arch. J.* 86 (1929), 47-58.

R. E. M. Wheeler, 'The Roman Lighthouses at Dover', *Arch. J.* 86 (1929), 29-46.

S. Rigold, 'Litus Romanum: the Saxon Shore Forts as Mission Stations', in D. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore*, CBA Research Report 18 (1977), 73.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 214-17.

VCH Kent II, 133.

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J. Lyon, 'A Description of a Roman Bath, Discovered at Dover', *Arch. J.* 5 (1779), 325-34.
Arch. J. 38 (1881), 432-3.

DOVERCOURT	Essex
TM 23813111	TM 2331
masonry building	TM 23 SW
All Saints	Probable

A tessellated pavement was found at Dovercourt Vicarage Farm (TL 261318), near the Beacon Hill earthwork, and Roman bricks were found in a farm wall that was demolished in about 1750. Rodwell reports a 'probable Roman villa immediately to the E' of the church – presumably the site of the aforementioned tessellated pavement.

VCH Essex III, 144 (listed under Harwich).
RCHME III, 85-6.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset* (CBA Research Report 19, 1977), 105.

DRAX	Yorks W
SE 69002612	SE 6926
villa	SE 62 NE
St Wilfrid	Possible

NMR: SE 62 NE 2

The foundations of a villa have been found at Drax, with nine postholes – interpreted as the possible remains of a timber chapel – nearby. The place name 'stanhill' is of particular interest: the Tithe Award map of Drax Parish (1838) shows this field (no. 611 on the OS map) to be part of an area called "Stannels", or "stan hill". Since the local geology is largely alluvial, the *stan* here is almost certainly a reference to the Roman building complex. The postholes were found in an area 70m NNW of the villa, which according to 'local legend', was the site of the chapel of St Wilfrid, the existence of which is in fact documented in a cartulary of Drax Priory c.1181. The area was not completely excavated, no plan of the postholes is published, and the dating evidence is ambiguous; we are once again left with the remains of a Roman villa and only a reference to a lost medieval chapel. Wilson's claim (1966, 680) that the chapel is mentioned in a 959 charter of King Edgar is incorrect. All that can be concluded with the available evidence is that there was a church on or adjacent to the villa site by the C12. Drax priory was founded in the first half of C12.

F. T. Wainwright, 'Two Lost Sites at Stanhill in the Parish of Drax', *Yorks Arch. J.* 38 (1955), 398-402.
K. Wilson, 'A Survey and Excavation within the Area of Scurff Farm, Drax, Near Selby, Yorks', *Yorks Arch. J.* 41 (1966), 670-86.

DRAYTON	Oxon
SP 42944148	SP 4241
villa / bath-house?	SP 44 SW
St Peter	Certain

Beesley notes that, in c.1778, a pavement of 'fine coloured tiles' and a bath were found 'in the vicinity of the ancient seat of the Grevilles'. He also notes a large number of Roman coins from the area (Beesley 1841, 44). The locals reported to Beesley that the site was to the immediate SE of the churchyard, probably on the site of Park Farm at SP 42944148. The church of St Peter is at SP 42844156. Although Beesley's description is broad enough to interpret the pavement as medieval, the bath would suggest a Roman date.

VCH Oxon I, 336.

A. Beesley, *The History of Banbury* (London: 1841), 44.

Trans. North Oxon. Arch. Soc. 3 (1855), 17.

DUNCTON	Sussex
SU 95921650	SU 9516
villa	SU 91 NE
St Mary	Certain

SMR: W. Sussex 1580, 1579

Persistent finds of tiles and building debris led to the discovery of a hypocaust approximately 140m NE of the site of the now-demolished church. The Roman site appears to have extended further to the N and W. The SMR notes that a scatter of debris was visible on the surface in 1975, which may mark the site of a Roman building (SU 96061653). There is almost certainly a Roman building (or buildings) of some sort here.

Gent. Mag. (1816) pt. 2, 17-20

VCH Sussex III, 24.

Scott 1993, 185.

DYMOCK	Dorset
SO 70043122	SO 7031
villa	SO 73 SW
St Mary	Probable

Within the immediate area of the pre-Conquest church of St Mary, casual finds and excavation have produced enough evidence to suggest the existence of a Roman settlement (the site also

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lies on a Roman road). Leech suggests that 'the place-name "Dimock", partly perhaps derived from the Latin "*Macatonium*", may also indicate continuity of occupation from the Roman into the medieval periods' (Leech 1981, 31). If such a continuity did exist, it may suggest that the name was known through the early medieval period, but cannot necessarily suggest continuity of occupation here. The excavations are largely unpublished.

Taylor and Taylor 1965 I, 221-2.

R. Leech, *Historic towns in Gloucestershire: Archaeology and Planning* (Bristol, Committee for Rescue Archaeology in Avon Gloucestershire and Somerset: 1981), 30-4.

EAST BARMING	Kent
TQ 72065418	TQ 7254
masonry building	TQ 75 SW
St Margaret	Certain

Some time around 1797, a villa containing 'many small and irregular rooms' was found in a field 100m SE of St Margaret's Church. No plan exists, but the Roman building marked on the OS 1:2500 Map TQ7253 ties in well with Wright's location sketch in Smith (1848, 193).

Unfortunately no plan of the structure or note of its alignment is known.

VCH Kent III, 104.

C. R. Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, I (London: 1848), 193.

EAST MALLING	Kent
TQ 70305697	TQ 7056
villa	TQ 75 NW
St James	Certain

Some 100m due south of St James' Church were found the burnt tesserae of a possible mosaic, heavy stone foundations, tiles, pottery, animal bones, a coin, and decorated wall plaster. There are traces of Roman building materials in the fabric of the church. The site is marked as 'the vicarage' on earlier editions of OS maps. A limited excavation of the site was undertaken in 1955.

Scott 1993, 104.

Arch. Cant. 69 (1955), 208.

Arch. Cant. 71 (1957), 228-9.

EAST NESS
SE 6978
masonry building?
Unknown

Yorks N
SE 6978
SE 67 NE
Possible

A Roman site of an unknown nature lies in 'Chapel Field'. Many Roman coins and up to three stone coffins (incl. R.I.B. 720) have come from the site, but trial trenching in 1929 found nothing. The site was pointed out to OS officers in 1909 and subsequently found its way into the literature, although no antiquities are marked on the current OS 1:2500. Clarke refers to the 'supposed existence of a medieval chapel' here, but does not cite supporting evidence. Scott notes that 'it has been suggested that a villa is the most probable type of site to have produced the inscribed stone coffin R.I.B. 720 and the numerous coins found in the locality', but this raises the questions of why a villa should produce any coffins at all. Scott also notes (pers. comm. Herman Ramm) that 'in local tradition the site is conflated with finds of medieval coffins by the site of a former chapel'. It remains unclear whether there is any evidence for a medieval chapel here beyond the place-name.

M. K. Clark, *A Gazetteer of Roman Remains in East Yorkshire* (Roman Malton and District Report 5: 1935), 79-81.

Scott 1993, 150.

EAST STOKE
SK 74795007
'camp'
St Oswald

Notts
SK 7549
SK 74 NE
Possible

The *VCH* records that 'there seems to have been traces of a [Roman] encampment or post of some sort visible in the C18. Stukeley mentions a "Roman camp opposite the church", and Thorsby mentions a site here'. Nothing is marked on today's OS. The evidence supporting the existence of a Roman site here is vague, although one is certainly possible. St Oswald's church is isolated, with Stoke Hall, to the NW of the village at SK 74795007, on the S bank of a bend in the R Trent. About 1km to the E, on the Foss Way, is the site of *Ad Pontem*, a Roman fort and settlement (SK 75955035).

VCH Notts. II, 34.

Stukeley III, 151.

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EAST TILBURY

TQ 689769
villa
St Margaret (now St Katherine)
Probable minster
SMR: Essex 1740, 1763

Essex
TQ 6876
TQ 67 NE
Probable

There are Roman bricks in the church fabric, and gravel digging near the church during the C18 consistently uncovered tessellated pavements. According to Bede, Tilbury was one of Cedd's two minsters (the other at Bradwell-on-Sea), and was possibly located here on the peninsula. Metal detecting in the area has revealed middle Saxon finds, but the details of these are unknown.

Bede, *H.E.* iii, 22.
VCH Essex III, 190.
RCHME Essex IV, 38-40.

EASTERGATE

SU 94520509
possible villa
St George

Sussex
SU 9405
SU 90 NW
Probable

SMR: W Sussex 1406
NMR: SU 90 SW 6

Scott notes that the NMR and SMR record Roman pottery, tile, and occupation debris found at the surface of a ploughed field south of Eastergate Church. Roman tile has also been found in a ploughed field immediately to the north, and therefore we could be dealing with a large site that underlies the church. A cropmark on an air photograph suggests a villa.

Scott 1993, 186.

EBCHESTER

NZ 10365545
fort
St Ebba

Durham
NZ 1055
NZ 15 NW
Certain

NMR: NZ 15 NW 6

Plan: Figure 131, page 391 (after Maxfield and Reed 1975, fig. 1).

Roman *Vindomora*. The foundations of Romano-British walls were found in the churchyard extension. The church is in the SW corner of the fort, aligned roughly E/W, which cuts the alignment of the fort and respects the modern road that enters through the SE gate, where it

meets another in the centre, aligned to the fort itself.

M. G. Jarrett, 'The Roman Fort at Ebchester, County Durham', *Arch Aeliana* 38 (1960), 193-229.
V. A. Maxfield and H. A. Reed, 'Excavations at Ebchester Roman Fort, 1972-3', *Arch Aeliana* 3 (1975), 43-104.

ESCOMB

NZ 18933014
Masonry building
St John
Probable Minster

Durham
NZ 1830
NZ 13 SE
Uncertain

NMR: NZ 13 SE 1

The church of St John at Escomb is a quintessential Anglo-Saxon church, preserved almost in its entirety. Excavation revealed what appears to be the original Anglo-Saxon porticus (Pocock and Wheeler 1971). The report of an underlying hypocaust (Miles 1982) is unconfirmed. Taylor and Taylor ascribe a date between c. 700- 800. B. Brown (in Taylor and Taylor 1965) suggests that the S impost of the chancel arch is Roman, and may have been removed from the nearby fort of Binchester, Roman *Vinovia*. Other stones within the church fabric show signs of Roman tooling, including an inscribed stone of the sixth legion. The building material may have been transported from Binchester, and until the existence of the hypocaust is confirmed it is not possible to confirm the existence of a Roman site under or adjacent to the church. The site lies to the south of the R Wear, about 200m from the bank of the river.

M. Pocock and H. J. Wheeler, 'Excavations at Escomb Church, Co Durham', *JBA* 3rd Ser. 34 (1971), 11-29.
D. Miles, *The Romano-British Countryside: Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy* (B.A.R. British Series 103, 1982), 103, 385.
Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 234-8.
B. H. Gill, *Excavations at St John, Escomb, County Durham* (University of Durham Arch. Report 3, 1979), 15-16.

EXETER

SX 92019254
town (forum)
St Mary Major
Minster

Devon
SX 9292
SX 99 SW
Certain

Plan: Figure 55, page 128 (after Rodwell 1984, fig. 3b, and Blair 1992, fig. 10.10).

A new minster church was built in the C10 over the NE corner of the forum, which is now marked by the church of St Mary Major, itself

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lying directly to the W of the Norman cathedral of St Peter, whose alignment was adjusted to an E/W orientation during its construction. The medieval church of St Mary Major was redundant by 1867, and pulled down in 1970. There is also evidence of continued burial activity on the site: three superimposed cemeteries lie roughly 23m W of the cathedral. A small cemetery dating from the C5 (Phase I) has been found within the forum area and basilica courtyard, aligned to the Roman grid (SW/NE). Some post-dated the removal of some of the larger Roman walls of the complex which, Rodwell suggests (perhaps somewhat over-enthusiastically) 'betoken a significant sub-Roman re-planning of the forum-basilica complex' (Rodwell 1984, 5). A minster was extant here by 680 (Levison 1905), and fifty-three burials are ascribed to a Phase II (conversion period) cemetery, presumably contemporary with the minster, on an alignment different from that of the Roman grid or the C5 cemetery beneath.

Levison, W. (ed.) *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii Archiepiscopi Moguntini* (Hannover: 1905), 6.
C. G. Henderson and P. T. Bidwell, 'The Saxon Minster at Exeter', in S. M. Pearce, (ed.), *The Early Church in Britain and Ireland*, BAR British Series 102 (1982), 145-76.
J. Blair and N. Orme, 'The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Cathedral at Exeter: Twin Churches?', *Friends of Exeter Cathedral 65th Annual Report* (Exeter: 1995).
W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 5.
J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: 1992), fig. 10.10.
Med. Arch. 16 (1972), 148.
Antiq. J. 62 (1982), 366-7.
Geake 1997, 150.
P. T. Bidwell, *The Legionary Bath-House, Forum and Basilica at Exeter* (Exeter: 1979), 111-13.
A. Selkirk, 'Exeter', *Current Archaeology* 39 (1973), 102-10.

FAVERSHAM	Kent
TR 01816153	TR 0161
masonry building	TR 6 SW
St Mary	Certain
Possible minster	

NMR: TR 06 SW 18

Plan: Figure 80, page 169 (after Philp 1968, fig. 3 (in which his scale is 50% off); Philp 1968, fig. 21; and Edward Jacob: Map of Faversham, 1774 (Bodleian: Gough Maps Kent 38), scaled and redrawn by John Blair (pers. comm.) to the OS grid).

Roman foundations have been found to the N and S of the chancel of the church of St Mary of Charity, and a Roman altar and bricks were found on the site in 1755. Tatton-Brown cites a late Saxon W end to the nave of the church (Tatton-Brown 1988, 110). If these foundations are indeed Roman, it is solid evidence for a Roman building under the church here. Another villa building is known to exist to the N, just E of the Norman abbey. Faversham is laid out on a planned grid, about 22° off an E/W orientation, with the church of St Mary in the centre. The Norman abbey took this alignment, which was probably established by the layout of the Roman building(s) here. The finds within the churchyard and the abbey suggest what is probably a complex of Roman structures, probably all on a similar alignment, between Faversham Creek and the stream formed by the spring to the S. The site of Faversham is evidently a minster, though poorly documented, called *oppidum regis* in 811. Furthermore, a possible suggestion, though not a certain sign, of an early Anglo-Saxon burial on a Roman building is hinted at by the discovery of part of a skull with an Anglo-Saxon green glass cup during grave digging in 1853.

B. Philp, *Excavations at Faversham 1965: the Royal Abbey, Roman Villa and Belgic Farmstead* (Bromley: 1968).
T. Tatton Brown, 'The Churches of the Canterbury Diocese in the 11th Century', in J. Blair, (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches*, 1988, 105-18, esp. 108-10.
VCH Kent III, 93-6.
JBAA 13 (1857), 313.
Meaney 1964, 118.

FAWLER	Berks
SU 32048790	SU 3287
villa	SU 38 NW
St James	Possible

The site of the ruined chapel of St James marks the site of a pre-Conquest 'holy place', and possible Roman villa. The site lies to the immediate E of the parish boundary, between the parishes of Uffington and Kingston Lisle, and is referred to in C10 charters as 'the holy place'; the chapel of St James had been founded here by the C16 and was demolished in 1733. The landowner of the site has found a number of tesserae, associated with a quantity of Romano-British domestic pottery, which suggests a villa site. The nearby place-name of Fawler is from the Old English *flage-flor* (paved floor) which, along with *fagan flore* (variegated floor), are two of the few place-names used to describe specifically a single Roman building. A suggested sequence would therefore begin with the villa, followed by the development of a 'cult' site associated with

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either the villa or the spring, or both, and finally the formalisation of the cult with a chapel. The site is located adjacent to a brook which is fed by a spring at the base of the downs, about 200m SSE of Fawler, on the parish boundary.

D. Hooke, 'Two Documented Pre-Conquest Christian Sites Located Upon Parish Boundaries', *Med. Arch.* 31 (1987), 96-101.

FELIXSTOWE (WALTON CASTLE)

TM 32263580
fort
unknown (St Felix?)

Suffolk
TM 3235
TM 33 NW
Possible

SMR: Suffolk 2953, 11521, 2955

Plan: from *VCH Suffolk* I, facing page 288, from a drawing made in 1623 (see also Rigold 1977, fig. 37).

This Saxon Shore fort was entirely eroded by 1766, though in the 1950s Roman masonry was still visible off the coast at low tides. The fort is one of the candidates for Bede's *Dommoc*, the see of St Felix, granted by King Sigberht (see Pestell 1999). The 'ruins' in the NE corner of the plate in the *VCH Suffolk*, from a drawing made in 1623, may be the remains of the church, or else may depict the castle of the place-name, possibly a reference to a fortification known to have been built by Hugh Bigod and destroyed by Henry II in 1176.

S. Rigold, 'Litus Romanum: the Saxon Shore Forts as Mission Stations', in D. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore*, CBA Research Report 18 (1977), 70-5, esp. 72. *VCH Suffolk* I, 288-91; 305-7.
T. Pestell, *An Analysis of Monastic Foundation in East Anglia, c. 650 -1200* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia 1999), 302-5, 438.

FELTWELL - GLEBE FARM

TL 71259089
villa / bath-house
St Nicholas

Norfolk
TL 7090
TL 79 SW
Certain

SMR: Norfolk 4921

An unpublished bath-house was excavated in 1964 at Glebe Farm immediately N of St Nicholas' church, part of an otherwise unexplored villa as suggested by Romano-British debris that are spread out over a c.300m area. A plan of the bath-house is published in Gregory (1982, fig. 9), but there is no overall site plan. St Nicholas is at TL 71259089; St Mary's church is

c.200m to the SE, on the same alignment, at TL 71519074. A well is adjacent to the bath-house.

D. Gurney *et al.*, 'The Romano-British Villa and Bath-House at Little Oulsham Drove, Feltwell; Excavations by Ernest Greenfield, 1962 and 1964', *E. Anglian Arch.* 31 (1986), 1-48.

T. Gregory, 'Romano-British Settlement in West Norfolk and on the Norfolk Fen edge', in D. Miles (ed.), *The Romano-British Countryside: Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy* (BAR British Series 103: 1982), 351-76, esp. 369 and fig. 9.
Scott 1993, 131.

FENNY DRAYTON

SP 350971
villa
St Michael

Leics
SP 3597
SP 39 NE
Possible

SMR: Leics 39 NE AB

The SMR records that a recent (1995) visit by K. Scott to a drainage trench dug on the E side of the church of St Michael found quern stone, Romano-British tile, and mortar. By the time Scott arrived on site, the trench had already been backfilled, and the section could not be observed directly.

SMR: Leics 39 NE AB

FETCHAM

TQ 14985563
villa
St Mary

Surrey
TQ 1455
TQ 15 NW
Uncertain

'It is said that foundations of a Roman villa were uncovered here, and the walls of the church are partially constructed of its materials' (*VCH*). The original, aisle-less nave of the church is visible amidst the later flint fabric of the current church. The SW quoin is pre-conquest, and made largely of Roman tiles. The *VCH* reference sounds unverified, but if foundations were indeed found, they, and the amount of Roman building material in the church, would suggest the presence of a Roman building on the site.

VCH Surrey III, 362.

Surrey Arch. Coll. 19 (1903), 206-7.

Surrey Arch. Coll. 20 (1905), 1

J. Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement before 1300* (Stroud: 1991), 126, 136.

A. W. G. Lowther, 'The Roman Site Near the Parish Church of St Giles, Ashted', *Surrey Arch. Coll.* 42 (1934), 77-84.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 240.

Scott 1993, 177.

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FINCHAMPSTEAD

SU 79286382
Masonry building
St James

Berks
SU 7963
SU 76 SE
Possible

SMR: Berks 3389

Scott reports from SMR evidence that, W of the church of St James (SU 79286382), a ploughed field with an abundance of Roman brick and pottery suggests the existence of a villa or building. The primary source of information for this site is held on a Reading Museum index card, which the SMR references. The church, and the adjacent manor house to the W, are enclosed within a rectangular earthwork of an unknown date. The 'Devil's Highway', a Roman road, runs E/W, c.200m N of the church.

Scott 1993, 22.

FLAWFORD

SK 59333324
villa
St Peter
Possible minster

Notts
SK 5933
SK 53 SE
Certain

SMR: Notts. 806
NMR: SK 53 SE 1

The church of St Peter at Flawford was demolished 1773-9. A church here is not mentioned in Domesday, and was not recorded historically until c.1150, although there is archaeological evidence for a pre-conquest structure. Excavations in the late 1960s and 1970s found five phases of church pre-dating the C13: the church lies upon and is aligned to a Roman villa, and the nave of the Phase I structure appears to have reused the tessellated floor of the villa, upon which a coin of Burgred (852-74) was found. Hadley suggests that its omission from the Domesday can possibly be explained by the fact that the church served several manors and therefore was 'supra-manorial'; there is no evidence to suggest that Flawford was ever a separate manor. In time, each of the manors served by Flawford received a church or chapel of its own. This left Flawford in an anomalous position, isolated in the fields of Ruddington, and sitting awkwardly on the parish boundary, between two of the churches of which it must have been the mother church' (Hadley 1992).

VCH Notts 2, 149-50.

D. M. Hadley, *Danelaw Society and Institutions: East Midlands Phenomena?*, PhD Thesis University of Birmingham (1992), 386-92.
Med. Arch. 12 (1968), 175-7.

Med. Arch. 13 (1969), 251.
Med. Arch. 16 (1972), 178.
Med. Arch. 18 (1974), 183.
Med. Arch. 21 (1977), 211-12.
Med. Arch. 22 (1978), 166-7.
E. Midlands Arch. Bull. 12 (1978), 46.
D. M. Shrimpton, *St. Peter's, Flawford, and St. Peter's, Ruddington, Nottinghamshire* (D.M. Shrimpton: 1963).
Scott 1993, 155.

FLEET

MARSTON

SP 77971597
Masonry building / villa
St Mary

Bucks

SP 7715
SP 71 NE
Possible

SMR: Bucks 5303, 1025

Scott reports from SMR evidence that a building visible as cropmark on aerial photographs is visible near St Mary's church, recorded as a possible villa associated with adjacent Roman settlement. The church is now isolated.

Scott 1993, 27.

FOLKESTONE

TR 23563671
mausoleum / villa
St Botolph
Minster (although its association with this site is unknown)

Kent
TR 2336
TR 23 NW
Certain

See entry in Burials Gazetteer, page 249.

FROCESTER

SO 77100327
villa
St Peter
Possible minster

Gloucs
SO 7703
SO 70 SE
Certain

SMR: Gloucs 5205, 5206
NMR: SO 70 SE 10

Plan: Figure 70, page 155 (after Gracie 1963, figs. 1&3, and Heighway 1987, 125).

Frocester is the site of a Roman villa, Saxon cemetery, and probable pre-Conquest church. The Roman site covers about 4ha. around the church, and extends to the N and E. In his excavations, Gracie discovered a row of graves, oriented W/E, dug into the Roman pavement and through the overlying black earth, which contained Saxon pottery. He also recorded 'medieval' burials inserted into the stoke hole. Heighway has re-interpreted Gracie's phasing to suggest a late Saxon church, which makes sense, - assigning the N porch to the Norman period -

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but it is unclear if Heighway's source regarding the number, date and placement of the burials is published. The church is aligned 4° off the Roman structure, and 6° N of E. Leland notes that Frocester was anciently a college of secular priests (*Itinerary*, ii, 62), and it was called the 'old minster' in 1313 (*Hist. & Cart. Gloucs.*, I, 147); the first historical reference to the church is c.1150 (*ibid*, II, 42-3). Additional phases were added in C12 and C13. The structure was rebuilt in 1849, but largely demolished in 1952, leaving only the tower, the medieval S porch, and some of the wall. The site is 10 miles S of Gloucester, on the border between Frocester and Coaley parishes, and is now isolated. (See the Burials gazetteer entry for the nearby 'Frocester Court' villa, with which this site is sometimes confused.)

C. Heighway, *Anglo-Saxon Gloucestershire* (Gloucester: 1987), 124-5.

I. E. Gray, 'Some Early Records of Frocester', *Trans Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 82 (1963), 143-7.

H. S. Gracie, 'St Peter's Church, Frocester and an Underlying Roman Building, Interim Report', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 77 (1958), 23-30.

H. S. Gracie, 'St Peter's Church, Frocester', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 82 (1963), 148-67. *RCHME Gloucs*, 56-7.

GELLIGAER	Glam
ST 13419707	ST 1397
fort	ST 19 NW
St Cattwg	Certain

Plan: Figure 132, page 392 after *RCHMW Glam*. I.2, fig. 53

The church lies to the immediate SE of the fort, with the rectory to the NE. 'Rough paving and Roman potsherds' were uncovered during grave digging in the churchyard at ST 13569698.

RCHMW Glam. I.2, 95-7.

Trans. Cardiff Nat. Soc. 46 (1913), 20.

Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 88-91.

GLOUCESTER - ST MARY DE LODE	Gloucs
SO 82941891	SO 8218
masonry building	SO 81 NW
St Mary	Certain
Perhaps part of complex of St Peter's minster	

SMR: Gloucs 14595, 8469

A C12 church was preceded by a smaller C11 building on this site, underneath which were two

earlier structures built on a similar plan. A Roman building on the same alignment exists below these, with foundation walls existing to about 1m in height. A reference to the development of the site in Heighway (1987) shows that a C5 - C6 cemetery on the villa preceeded the first church. Bassett believes that 'there is enough circumstantial evidence to demonstrate that St Mary-de-Lode was indeed of British origin, and that it had itself served the undivided parish at all times before the foundation of St Oswald's - that is to say, both before 679 and afterwards.' A final report by Richard Bryant and Carolyn Heighway is currently in press, which will undoubtedly offer a fresh interpretation of the evidence, and should clarify the relationship between the church, cemetery and villa here.

J. Haslam, *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester: 1984), 359-83.

C. Heighway, *Anglo-Saxon Gloucestershire* (Gloucester: 1987), 128-9.

S. Bassett, 'Church and Diocese in the West Midlands: the Transition from British to Anglo-Saxon Control', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (1992), 13-40, esp. 26-9.

M. Hare, *The Two Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Gloucestershire* (Deerhurst: 1993).

B. Rawes, 'Archaeological Review, 1982', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 101 (1983), 187-9.

GOXHILL	Lincs
TA 104211	TA 1021
masonry building	TA 12 SW
All Saints	Possible

SMR: N. Lincs 1580, 1586

Roman greyware and tile were found at the coordinates given above, S of the church, during levelling operations in 1968. Also found were areas of cobbles, rubble, brick and tile and some worked stone. The church lies at TA 10222123. Traces of a mid-to-late Saxon settlement (pottery, earthworks and an enclosure) have been reported 150m S of the church. There is enough evidence to warrant the supposition of a villa here, but its relationship to the church and settlement remains obscure.

N. Loughlin and K. R. Miller, *A Survey of Archaeological Sites in Humberside* (Hull: 1979), 199. *Med. Arch.* 13 (1969), 278. *Eagles* 1979 II, 368.

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GREAT BARRINGTON

SP 204138
villa
St Mary

Gloucs

SP 2013
SP 21 SW
Certain

About 330m N of St Mary's church (SP 20521348) a Romano-British building was discovered in 1867, and partly excavated in 1882. A well-built wall, plunge pool, roof slates, pottery tiles and bone were found – clear evidence of what is most likely a villa.

RCHME Gloucs, 12.

GREAT CASTERTON

TF 00140879
town
St Peter and St Paul

Rutland

TF 0008
TF 0 NW
Certain

NMR: TF 00 NW 28 & TF 00 NW 213

Plan: Figure 66, page 146 (after Burnham and Wachter 199, fig. 35).

The church of St Peter and Paul sits in the SW corner of the Roman town, aligned to the Roman grid, near the bath-house. The town is in fact the *vicus* of the adjacent fort; it gained urban status and its own defences in the C2. Outside the fort (at TL 00100920), partly cut into the counterscarp of the bank of the town defences, is a Roman and early Anglo-Saxon cemetery with 36 inhumations and 11 cremations, probably not unlike those at Durobrivae, Rochester, Verulamium, and Caister-by-Norwich. The earlier burials were laid in rows, with feet to the W, some in stone cists with flat covers; associated pottery suggests a late C3 to early C4 date. Further inhumations of a later C4 date were also found, as well as Anglo-Saxon cremations.

VCH Rutland I, 88, 108-9.

P. Corder, *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland: Third Report for the Years 1954-8* (Nottingham: 1961).

B. Burnham and J. Wachter. *The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain* (London 1990), 130-5.
JRS (1967), 57, 183, 185.

J. B. Whitwell and M. J. Dean, 'Great Casterton', *E. Midlands Arch. Bull.* 8 (1966), 46.

GREAT COGGESHALL

TL 85352302
masonry building
St Peter-ad-Vincula

Essex

TL 8523
TL 82 SE
Certain

Roman tiles exist in the church, and wall foundations have been reported from the churchyard. Tile fragments and tesserae have been found to the S, including the five imbrex tiles also discovered in the garden of 'The Lawn', opposite the church.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 102.

JRS 16 (1926), 230.

VCH Essex III, 89

GUSSAGE ST ANDREW

ST 97611425
villa
St Andrew
chapel

Dorset

ST 9714
ST 91 SE
Certain

Roman remains were uncovered at Chapel Farm when a field was ploughed for the first time in living memory in 1986. Ongoing excavation by the Dorset Antiquarian Society has discovered a Roman building, including mosaics and masonry walls, c.300m from the chapel of St Andrew. The site is now isolated, and now lies in the parish of Sixpenny Handley.

RCHME Dorset V, 65-6.

C. Sparey-Green, 'Interim report on Excavations at Myncen Farm, Sixpenny Handley, Dorset 1998', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 120 (1998), 91-4.

C. Sparey-Green, 'Sixpenny Handley: Myncen Farm 1997', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 119 (1997), 169-72.

M. Green, 'A Roman Building in Gussage St Andrew's', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 112 (1990), 117.

HADSTOCK

TL 5544
villa
Unknown

Essex

TL 5544
TL 54 SE
Unknown

One mile from the excavated church of St Botolph at Hadstock, a Roman villa lies in 'Sunken Church Field', on a site with no known Christian significance. The *RCHME* reports that the site is in field 70, NE of the windmill. It was excavated between 1846-50, and published in Neville 1851.

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R. Neville, 'Collections Illustrative of Roman Occupation: Roman villa at Hadstock, Essex', *Arch. J.* 8 (1851), 27-35.
RCHME Essex I, 143-6.

HARTING	Sussex
SU 78461949	SU 7819
villa?	SU 71 NE
St Mary	Probable

SMR: 0179
NMR: SU 71 NE 30

Gorden was shown a pavement c.1874, buried under 1m of soil at the rectory (SU 78461949), about 60m NE of the Church of St Mary (SU 78431941). He first believed it to be a threshing floor, but in a subsequent excavation he found a Roman wall, evidence of a possible villa if we are to trust his interpretation

H. D. Gorden, 'New Evidence of Roman Occupation at South Harting', *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 39 (1894), 225-6. Scott 1993, 187.

HARTLEY	Kent
TQ 60266645	TQ 6066
masonry building -	TQ 66 NW
?bath-house	
Unknown	Uncertain
Unknown	

The remains of a chapel believed to be that of the medieval village of Scotgrove exist in 'Chapel Wood', in the middle of a rectangular enclosure and associated earthworks. The *JRS* reports that a hypocaust was found in 1926 on the slope of the Downs at Hartley; the *VCH* tells us that this was found close to the chapel wood site, but reminds us that no Roman remains were found near the hypocaust, and the structure could be of the same date as the remains in Chapel Wood.

JRS 16 (1926), 237-8.
J. A. Keen, 'Chapel Wood, Hartley', *Arch. Cant.* 82 (1967), 285-7.
VCH Kent III, 117.
Morris and Roxan 1980, 198.

HAWKESBURY	Gloucs
ST 76828693	ST 7686
villa	ST 78 NE
St Mary	Certain
Possible minster	

Restoration works carried out on the church between 1882 and 1885 revealed the foundations of 'a wall under the north wall of the nave, west of the porch, and crossing it at right angles, then returning about 2 feet north of the present arcade'

(Bethel 1889, 14). A paper by Michael Hare on the site is in press, which should better clarify the early history of the church.

W. Bethel, 'Comments Upon Hawkesbury Church', *Trans. Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 13 (1889), 10-15.
C. Heighway, *Anglo-Saxon Gloucestershire* (Gloucester: 1987), 127.

HAYES	Kent
TQ 4166	TQ 4166
Villa?	TQ 46 NW
St Mary	Certain

Three feet beneath Hayes church lie the remains of a Roman building, including a floor of *opus signinum*. Roman tiles are found within the church fabric. No plan or further information is available, but the tiles and floor suggest that it is probably a villa.

VCH Kent III, 119.
G. Clinch, *Antiquarian Jottings Relating to Bromley, Hayes, Keston, and West Wickham, in Kent* (Addiscombe: 1889), 97.

HIGHAM FERRERS	Northants
SP 955690	SP 9569
villa / bath-house?	SP 96 NE
St Mary	Uncertain

'A few years before 1838, what were thought to be 'hot baths of Roman construction' were found in the castle yard near the church. No proper notice was taken and no account kept' (*VCH*). The *VCH* believes this identification to be in doubt, as the 'baths' were not seen by an expert and no subsequent remains had by that time been found. However, more recently a Roman capital was found nearby, somewhere between the R Nene and the fishponds, so the identification may be valid. See the site of the 'Roman' bath-house on the Strand for an example of the antiquarian potential for incorrectly dating these structures (p. 98) .

VCH Northants. I, 218.
M. Shaw, *Saxon and Earlier Settlement at Higham Ferrers, Northamptonshire* (Medieval Settlement Research Group Annual Report 6, 1991), 15-19.
P. Woodfield, 'Roman Architectural Masonry from Northamptonshire', *Northants. Arch.* 13 (1978), 67-86, esp. 79.
RCHME Northants. IV, 189.
H. K. Fry, *Higham Ferrers Church* (London: 1926).
J. Bony, 'Higham Ferrers Church', *Arch. J.* 110 (1953), 190-2.

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HOLCOMBE

ST 67355056
probable villa

Somerset

ST 6750
ST 65 SE
Certain

SMR: 23688

Scott reports from SMR evidence that the foundations of a Roman rectangular building, tile, pottery, and miscellaneous various finds were found in 'Glebe Fields', presumably where the OS marks 'Roman pottery found AD 1911' at ST 67355056. The site is near Holcombe House. No church is adjacent, or visible on the map sheet, but the site is included here because it lies on glebe land.

Scott 1993, 168.

HORNCASTLE

TF258696
town
St Mary

Lincs

TF 2569
TF 26 NE
Certain

Plan: Figure 63, page 142 (after Burnham and Wachter 1990, fig. 80).

The church of St Mary lies within the centre of this Roman 'small town'. Stukeley visited and described the site in 1722. There have been few subsequent intra-mural finds from the Roman period, which Field and Hurst suggest may indicate either short-term occupation of the site, or possibly may suggest the use of timber buildings in the interior. Otherwise, nothing is known of the relationship of the church to the underlying Roman archaeology. Horncastle is located at the confluence of the R Bain and the R Waring, lying at the end of Caistor High Street, a prehistoric ridgeway.

B. Burnham and J. Wachter, *The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain* (London: 1990), 240-5.

N. Field and H. Hurst, 'Roman Horncastle', *Lincs. Hist. Arch.* 18 (1983), 47-88.

Eagles 1979 II, 371-2.

J. C. Walter, *A History of Horncastle, from the Earliest Period to the present Time* (Horncastle: 1908).

HUNTINGDON

TL 23667138
villa
Unknown

Hunts

TL 2371
TL 27 SW
Certain

Minster (although its association with this site is unknown)

SMR: Cambs 8660

There is no complete report of the excavation of this very interesting site. Emergency excavations

of the Huntingdon siege castle in 1967 and 1968 revealed an archaeological sequence spanning the Roman period into the C19, although no details are provided in the brief interims. The interpreted archaeological sequence follows: 1) A Roman corridor villa, of which at least 6 rooms were uncovered, 2) An earlier religious building, believed to be Saxon, at the centre of a cemetery of W/E inhumations associated with Thetford and St Neots pottery; the skeletons 'overlie the Roman levels, some obviously lined up against the villa walls, and some overlying the robber trenches, showing that the robbing of the stonework must have taken place during the life of the cemetery, shortly before the Norman conquest.' 3) Scarping and traces of 1174 siege castle, 4) Ruinous walls of what may have been a church or chapel, including one reused stone with Saxon interlace carving which had a C13 arch-moulding cut on the other side; interpreted as a rebuilding of the earlier church. 5) C15 a windmill, 6) C16 gallows, 7) C18 windmill, 8) C19 cottages. There is clearly a villa/church/cemetery sequence here that will need further supporting detail to be resolved. The main church at Huntingdon was a minster (St Mary's at TL 24097165), mentioned in Domesday and with its own saint. The minster is c.500m from the site in question, but its relationship to the early church or chapel is unknown. Huntingdon lies just N of Godmanchester (Roman *Durovigutum*), N of the R Ouse.

F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, 2nd ed. (London: 1979), 192-3.

Med. Arch. 12 (1968), 175.

CBA Group 7 Bulletin 14 (1967), 2-3.

CBA Group 7 Bulletin 15 (1968), 2-3.

CBA Group 7 Bulletin 16 (1969), 3.

ICKHAM

TR 22955802
masonry building
Unknown

Kent

TR 2258
TR 25 NW
Certain

Within 'Church Ure' or 'Church Oare' field, the remains of a Roman building have been found, including masonry foundations, pottery, and painted plaster. The church of St John is the nearest church, at TR 2225814, about 700m distant. The author of the *VCH* notes that 'church or chapel field, or the like, is a common name for the site of Roman buildings', but sadly does not cite further parallels.

Scott 1993, 105.

VCH Kent III, 119.

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IGHTHAM

TQ 5956
masonry building
St Peter
C14

Kent

TQ 5956
TQ 55 NE
Certain

'Foundations of a Roman building, Samian and blackware and many, perhaps some hundred, Roman coins are said to be found, previous to 1859 mostly about 1840, within a few yards of the S wall of the Ightham churchyard' (*VCH Kent* III, 119). The *VCH* mentions further Roman pottery found in 'Church Field', which is presumably the same as the one mentioned above. No plan of the structure or any indication of its alignment is given.

VCH Kent III, 119, 157.

ILCHESTER

ST 5222
town
St Mary Major

Somerset

ST 5222
ST 52 SW
Certain

Plan: Figure 51, page 125 (after Burnham and Wachter 1990, fig. 12).

The medieval church of St Mary Major lies in the centre of this Roman town, on the presumed site of the forum (if one did in fact exist here). The church is oriented E/W, about 30° from the Roman grid, though Rodwell suggests that it may be aligned to the N/S road of the town, and therefore may not necessarily entail a later realignment.

P. Leech, *Ilchester: I: Excavations 1974-5* (Bristol: 1982).

W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 7.

B. Burnham and J. Wachter, *The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain* (London: 1990), 62-70.

M. A. Aston and R. H. Leech, *Historic Towns in Somerset: Archaeology and Planning* (Bristol: 1977).

ILKLEY

SE 11644783
fort
All Saints
Possible minster
Plan: Figure 133, page 392 (after Blair 1992, fig. 10.3).

Yorks W

SE 1147
SE 14 NW
Certain

Roman *Olicana*. The fort guarded the crossing of the Pennines, and was excavated in 1919-1921. The church lies in the centre of the fort, south of the site of the *praetorium*. In the churchyard, 3

large fragments of Anglo-Saxon cross shafts amalgamated into a modern base attest to a pre-Conquest Christian presence on the site. Like Bewcastle, there is only physical and circumstantial evidence for a minster here. The site is situated on the E bank of the R Warfe.

A. M. Woodward, 'The Roman Fort at Ilkley', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 28 (1926), 137-321.

D. Charlesworth, 'Ilkley Roman Fort', *Arch. J.* 125 (1968), 329-30.

H. M. Taylor, 'Ilkley Saxon Crosses', *Arch. J.* 125 (1968), 330.

J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: 1992), fig. 10.3.

IRTHLINGBOROUGH

Northants

SP 94927076
villa
All Saints

SP 9470
SP 97 SW
Certain

SMR: 1624, 1770

NMR: SP97SE16

Excavations in 1965 revealed the plan of a Roman building underneath the Anglo-Saxon church. The church was certainly extant in 1214, but in ruins by 1562, and demolished before the C18. In 1849 only foundations of the E and W walls were visible in the field called 'The Cuningeres'. Nearby, the SMR mentions a 'reputed Romano-British villa found in the garden of Dr Robb's house' at SP 94927076; building material, etc. is reported in Brown (1966). A plan certainly exists but has not been published. John Blair notes (pers. comm.) that 'Offa held an assembly here in 787x96 (Sawyer No. 1184), and Glenn Ford [reports] that the Iron Age Hillfort (the *burh* of the place-name) has produced mid-Saxon pottery'. With its royal ties and evidence of a Roman building, the site is potentially very interesting, but the relationship of the Roman building to the church must first be established. The site is on the west bank of the R Nene.

Northamptonshire Antiquarian Society Reports and Papers, 65 (1966), 13-18.

Med. Arch. 10 (1966), 187-9.

G. Brown, *Northamptonshire Antiquarian Society Reports and Papers* 65 (1966), 3-18.

J. Bridges, *History and Antiquities of Northamptonshire* 2 (Oxford: 1791), 236-7.

RCHME Northants 1 (1975), 57.

VCH Northants III (1931) 207.

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KEDINGTON

TL 70514702
villa
SS Peter and Paul

Suffolk

TL 7047
TL 74 NW
Certain

SMR: Suffolk 6013, 6014, 6015

A scatter of Roman pottery and tile was found next to the R Stour at TL 706456, with flint wall foundations, box and roof tile, tesserae and limestone fragments. 'A number of Roman bricks are to be seen in the walls [of the church], which are built up of flints supported by buttresses. Two pieces of Roman mosaic laid in cement bedding are noteworthy - possibly others exist' (Turnbull 1931, 296). A small stone cross of c.900 now in the E gable probably stood originally on the E gate of church. The SMR suggests that the structural finds are actually the 'aisle foundation and earth floor of church', but this does not address the other discoveries nearby. A visitor to the church today can lift two trap doors in the church floor to reveal a mortared surface underneath – was this where Turnbull's mosaics were located? We can be certain that there was a villa nearby, but whether one exists under the church must remain in doubt until the mortar floor can be positively identified as Roman. The site is certainly topographically suited for a villa.

Suff. Inst. Arch. Proc. 20 (193) 287.

W. H. Turnbull, 'Ss Peter and Paul Kedington', *JBAA* 36.2 (1930) 291-317.

KELSTON

ST 69906691
villa?
St Nicholas

Somerset

ST 6966
ST 66 NE
Unknown

NMR: ST 66 NE 26

A brief reference in *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* in 1884 records that amongst the items exhibited in a 'temporary museum' were 'two pieces of Roman fluted-tile, found under the stone floor of Kelston chancel (more pieces were found at the same time). These were exhibited as part of the evidence which might be adduced to warrant a presumption that the first Christian church at Kelston was built on the site of a Roman villa'. Without knowing the quantity of the building material and the circumstances of its discovery, it remains difficult to assess the veracity of this suggestion.

Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc. 8 (1883-4), 45.
Scott 1993, 16.

KEMPSEY

SO 84824906
masonry building (IA fort)
St Mary Minster

Worcester

SO 8449
SO 84 NW
Uncertain

SMR: 2123, 2113

The church lies within earthworks of probable Iron Age date: a Romano-British milestone (2121) was found to the immediate NW of the church, although it is probably not *in situ*. Tile and flue-tile are reported to have been found in the same location. A minster was first mentioned here in 799. A recent watching-brief (1996) revealed no trace of Roman material. There are several instances of Roman sites' reusing prehistoric earthworks in the corpus, and in all cases it is difficult if not impossible to determine whether the Roman or Iron Age remains played a greater part in the placement of the church. The site lies on a natural gravel terrace on the E bank of the R Severn where the river meets Hatfield brook.

P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600-800* (Cambridge: 1990).

VCH Worcs. III, 430; IV, 422-3.

JBAA 4 (1849), 312.

H. O'Neill, 'Court House Excavations, Kempsey, Worcestershire', *Trans. Worst. Arch. Soc.* 33 (1957), 33-44.

J. Allies, *The Ancient British, Roman and Saxon Antiquities and Folklore of Worcestershire* (London: 1840).

KEMPSFORD

SU 16149650
masonry building
St Mary

Wilts

SU 1696
SU 19 NE
Possible

SMR: Wilts NE 302

Excavations searching for the Roman ford across the R Thames at Kempsford found Roman pottery, tile fragments and coins less than 100m W of the church of St Mary (SU 16149650). The relationship of these remains to the church is unclear.

Scott 1993, 199.

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KINGS CLIFFE

TL 00699709
masonry building
All Saints

Northants

TL 0097
TL 9 NW
Possible

SMR: 2853, 2854

Bonney reports stone walls, Romano-British coins, and iron working debris found during grave digging and 'other excavation works' adjacent to the church of All Saints. The *RCHME* volume suggests that these are the foundations of a medieval hunting lodge – the validity of the interpretation depends on the identification of the building material as Roman.

RCHME Northants I (1975), 59.

Arch. J. 35 (1878), 269-71.

Bonney (?unpublished ms in SMR) *History of Kings Cliffe*.

KING'S STANLEY

SO 81000410
masonry building
St George

Gloucs

SO 8104
SO 80 SW
Certain

SMR: Gloucs 3468, 3469

NMR: SO 80 SW 3

Plan: Figure 134, page 393 (after Heighway 1987, 127).

A tessellated pavement was cut by modern grave digging on the E side of St George's church. The possible villa structure (Figure 134, page 393) may extend into the grounds of the adjacent manor of Stanley House, where Romano-British pottery was found during other excavation work. A Romano-British ditch and pottery also came to light during the excavation of a later medieval (c.1100) moat to the W and the NW of the church, and a stamped Roman tile is built into the church fabric. The finds suggest an unpretentious site, but the SMR suggests (on unclear grounds) a possible Romano-British shrine or temple. Heighway offers the same interpretation, citing at least 5 Roman altars known in the village which may have come from the site. 'On the other hand, a large villa might well have its own shrines and altars, so we should not make too much of this' (Heighway 1987, 126). This is true (see p. 97 of this thesis). The medieval manor house was held by the crown in the late C12, although it may have been in ruins at this time; excavations suggest that it was not used after C13.

C. M. Heighway, 'Excavations near the Site of St George's Church, King's Stanley', *Glevensis* 23 (1989), 33-42.

C. M. Heighway, *Anglo-Saxon Gloucestershire* (Gloucester: 1987), 126-7.

Scott 1993, 73.

KIRKBRIDE

NY 22955732
fort
St Bride (Bridget)

Cumberland

NY 2257
NY 25 NW
Certain

SMR: Cumbria 380

NMR: NY 25 NW 1

Plan: Figure 135, page 393 (after Bellhouse 1989, fig. 7).

The church of St Bride (Bridget) lies within the Roman fort, on the intersection of the inter-vallum road and the decumanus, aligned E/W. The structure may have been contiguous to the W gate of the fort. The site lies on the parish boundary, at the edge of the tidal estuary, at the mouth of the R Wampool.

R. L. Bellhouse, *Roman Sites on the Cumberland Coast: a New Schedule of Coastal Sites* (Kendal: 1989).

R. L. Bellhouse and G. G. S. Richardson, 'The Roman site at Kirkbride, Cumberland', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 75 (1975), 58-90.

R. L. Bellhouse and G. G. S. Richardson, 'The Trajanic Fort at Kirkbride: the Terminus of the Stanegate Frontier', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 82 (1982), 35-50.

J. Whiteside, 'Kirkbride Church', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc.* (old series) 15 (1898), 145-60.

G. Fellows-Jensen, 'The Vikings' Relationship with Christianity in the British Isles: the Evidence of Place-Names Containing the Element Kirkja', in J. Knirk (ed.), *Proceedings of the Tenth Viking Congress, Larkollen, Norway, 1985* (Oslo: 1987), 295-307.

KIRKBY WARFE

SE 506411
villa
St John the Baptist

Yorks W

SE 5041
SE 54 SW
Certain

SMR: Yorks 2072

NMR: SE 54 SW 07

A Roman pavement was found in 1711 c.110m S of Kirkby Warfe church. Tesserae, wall plaster and pottery were found nearby at the wood at Ladyflats Belt. The SMR records that subsequent excavations on the site in 1971 showed that a C4 mosaic was robbed sometime in the C17. The grid reference provided in the above header is

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approximate. The church of St John the Baptist lies at SE 50614107.

Ox. Hist. Soc. 3 (1889), 138.

LANCASTER	Lancs
SD 47356194	SD 4761
fort	SD 46 SE
St Mary	Certain
Probable Minster	

SMR: Lancs 449

The church of St Mary lies in the Roman fort, the lines of which today are obscured by urban development. The current church dates from the C14, but this probably replaced an earlier structure, suggested by the presence of many C8 to C9 sculpted stone crosses, and the name of 'Kirk-Lancaster' given in Domesday. Part of the W nave may belong to this period. The site was given in 1094 by Count Roger of Poitu to Norman Abbey of St Martin at Sees. Although the site is not a documented pre-Conquest minster, the crosses, extensive parochial rights, and large parish suggest a minster. Leland and Stukeley believed correctly that the Wery Wall formed part of the priory precinct. The site lies in the NW of modern Lancaster, immediately N of the castle.

D. G. B. Jones and D. C. A. Shotton, *Roman Lancashire* (Lancaster: 1988).

D. C. A. Shotton and A. White, *The Roman Fort and Town at Lancaster*, University of Lancaster Occasional Paper 18 (1990).

W. G. Collingwood, *Northumbrian Crosses of the Pre-Norman Age* (London: 1927).

R. N. Bailey and R. Cramp, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture in England II* (Oxford: 1984), 16, 31-2, 75, 114, 116-17.

VCH Lancs. VII, 22-8; II, 167-73.

R. Newman and K. Buxton, *Mitchell's Brewery Site, Lancaster* (forthcoming).

H. J. Austen, 'Notes on the Discovery of an Apse at St Mary's, Lancaster', *Trans. Lancs. Chesh. Antiq. Soc.* 31 (1913), 1.

D. Shotton, *The Romans in Lunesdale* (Lancaster: 1995).

LANGLEY	Herts
TL 19832459	TL 1924
villa	TL 12 SE
	Probable

SMR: 1094

From the SMR, Scott reports that the ruins of Minsden chapel lie at TL 19832459, on the site of a possible villa that is suggested by cropmarks. This interpretation is supported by

the large number of tesserae that have been recovered from area. It is unclear whether the presumed villa or chapel have seen any excavation.

Scott 1993, 4.

LEICESTER	Leics
SK 5804	SK 5804
town (baths)	SK 50 SE
St Nicholas	Certain
Cathedral	

Plan: Figure 49, page 123 (after Blair 1992, fig. 10.5).

Little is known of the Anglo-Saxon church of St Nicholas that sits within the Roman *palestra* of the Leicester baths; it is frequently assumed that the church was the cathedral of the short-lived bishopric of the Middle Angles. The fabric of the Roman bath-house is still preserved today, known as the Jewry Wall, and undoubtedly owes its preservation to its incorporation in the church. Rodwell believes that one of the small, baths to the N may have been preserved for use as a baptistery, and the larger portion of the Roman fabric probably acted as some kind of monumental W entrance to the church, not unlike his reconstruction of St Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln. While this may be true, unequivocal evidence is absent from his interpretation. The date of the structure is disputed: Taylor and Taylor suggest an early C7 date, while Parsons places it in the late Anglo-Saxon period, mainly due to its double-splayed windows. To the immediate E, across the Roman street and on the basilica of the Roman forum, the separate church of SS Augustine and Columba may have been aligned to the church of St Nicholas. The relationship of the churches to the underlying Roman structures may never be known for certain, as the Anglo-Saxon remains were largely cleared away in the quest to expose the Roman material beneath.

D Parsons, 'Before the Parish: the Church in Anglo-Saxon Leicestershire', in J. Bourne (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes in the East Midlands* (Leicester: 1996), 11-35, esp. 11-13.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 384-6.

W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23.

K. M. Kenyon, *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester* (Society of Antiquaries of London Research Report 15 (1948).

C. A. R. Radford, 'Church of St Nicholas, Leicester', *Arch. J.* 112 (1955), 161-3.

VCH Leics. IV, 385 (plan of church).

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T. H. M. Clough, A. Dornier, and R. A. Rutland, *Anglo-Saxon and Viking Leicestershire, including Rutland* (Leicester: 1975).

J. Blair, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters: a Topographical Review' in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: 1992), fig. 10.5.

R. Bailey, *The Early Christian Church in Leicestershire and its Region* (Adult Education Development, Univ. of Leicester, Vaughan Paper 25, 1980).

J. S. Wachter, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London: 1974), 335-57.

LEINTWARDINE	Herefords
SO 40457409	SO 4074
fort / station / camp	SO 47 SW
St Mary	Certain

Plan: Figure 136, page 394 (after *VCH Here I*, fig. 11).

Roman *Bravinum*. A sub-rectangular earthwork, about 200m x 400m, on the N side of the R Clun/Teme where it is crossed by Watling Street. Graves dug in the churchyard, within the enclosure, have revealed tiles, pottery, coins, etc., and an ash layer appears to underlie the entire site. St Mary's is in the centre-right of the enclosure, and an older plan in the *VCH* shows that the churchyard once encompassed the entire NE corner of the fort.

VCH Here I, 183-7.

Nash-Williams and Jarett 1969, 91-2.

LEYTON	Essex
TQ 377870	TQ 3787
masonry building	TQ 38 NE
St Mary	Certain

At Leyton Grange, N of St Mary's church (TQ 377868), near the present Grange Park Road in the garden of The Grange, were found 'several old foundations with Roman bricks and medals [coins?]. In digging a horse pond was discovered huge foundation 6 feet underground, a large arched gate with mouldings, and a portal to a large gate 9 or 10 feet high and 5 or 6 feet broad, the wall 4 feet thick or more' (*VCH*). Stukeley adds further that he saw 'two large and deep wells covered with stone ... and a great quantity of oak timber...mortised together'. It is unclear what exactly we are looking at here – the Roman remains are certainly substantial. The exact location of the site is also slightly unclear: Morris and Roxan record the site as adjacent to the church, but the grid references supplied in the *VCH* suggest a distance of up to 400m from the church.

RCHME Essex II, 166.

VCH Essex III, 155.

Stukeley II, 145, 154.

LILLYHORN	Gloucs
(BISLEY):	
CHURCH PIECE	
SO 91320438	SO 9005
villa	SO 90 NW
St Mary	Certain

SMR: Gloucs 3710, 3636

NMR: SO 90 NW13?

A sizable villa complex (318' x 274' with 29 rooms) was excavated in 1845 in a field called 'Church Piece'. Nearby, four inhumations had been inserted into a 'long mound or rubbish dump' at SO 91250440. One report mentions the 'hasty nature of the burials', and reports that the 'skeletons were damaged', but it is unclear how, or if, this occurred during the excavation. *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* (1938) reports further that the skeletons were oriented N/S: one was crouched, one was an old man, one was in the 'prime of life'; another report adds that one was a female. The account makes it clear that these burials are post-Roman. The excavators conclude that the bodies were interred into what they believed to be the midden of the villa, because it contained rubble and occupation debris; however, this could be part of the destruction layer. A plan of the site exists (Baker 1846, 43), but does not record the location of the burials. See the reference to the site of Lillyhorn (Bisley): St Mary, about 1.5 miles from the villa, in the burials gazetteer, page 256.

RCHME Gloucs, 15-16.

JBAA 2 (1847), 324-7.

Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc. 60 (1938), 351-2.

T. Baker, 'Roman Villa Discovered at Bisley, Gloucestershire', *Arch. J.* 2 (1846), 42-5.

LINCOLN - ST	Lincs
PAUL-IN-THE-	
BAIL	
SK 976719	SK 9771
town (forum)	SK 97 SE
St Paul	Certain

Plan: Figure 48, page 123 (after Jones 1994, fig. 1).

The church of St-Paul-in-the-Bail at Lincoln is an oft-cited example of the post-Roman use of intra-mural open space. The site presents an exciting and somewhat problematic chronology: excavations in the 1970s uncovered the remains of three structures in addition to numerous graves. An apsidal building was built over a

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rectangular structure dating from sometime in the late-Roman period, and in turn this was replaced by a simpler, rectangular structure, which may possibly be a *cella memoria*. At the centre of these buildings is a cist grave; the remains of the original occupant were previously translated at an unknown date, but a C7 hanging bowl was left behind. Jones suggests a eighth- or ninth-century date for the occupant of this central grave. The chronology still remains in question, as the structure and the grave are stratigraphically unrelated, but the radiocarbon dates suggest that burials were occurring in the forum here before the apsidal structure was built, and that the cemeteries associated with the later phases of the church filled the forum courtyard. The structures are aligned to the forum; and, although the plan of the W end was not uncovered, Rodwell's reconstruction suggests a W porch on the apsidal building, similar to that at Bradwell-on-Sea, so that the church was actually entered through the Roman porticus. In the E part of the forum was a well, which remained in use into the medieval period. The excavation revealed some activity in the S apse on the E range of the forum, and Rodwell suggests a possible baptistery, similar to his reconstruction of the post-Roman reuse of the Roman baths at Leicester. Rodwell's reconstructions are valid but speculative.

M. J. Jones, 'St Paul in the Bail, Lincoln: Britain in Europe?', in K. Painter (ed.), *Churches Built in Ancient Times* (London: 1994), 325-47.
K. Steane and A. Vince, 'Post-Roman Lincoln: archaeological evidence for activity in Lincoln from the 5th to 9th centuries', in A. Vince (ed.), *Pre-Viking Lindsey* (Lincoln: 1993), 71-9.
W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 4.
B. Gilmour, 'The Anglo-Saxon Church at St Paul-in-the-Bail, Lincoln', *Med. Arch.* 23 (1979), 214-18.
Geake 1997, 168.

LITTLE BADDOW	Essex
TL 76440807	TL 7608
masonry building	TL 70 NE
St Mary the Virgin	Probable

SMR: Essex 5591, 5589

'A hypocaust is said to have been found here and there are many Roman tiles in the church' (*VCH*); the SMR adds only that the hypocaust was found by the vicar, and that tiles have also been found in the churchyard. Although the *VCH* sites what appears to be hearsay, there is no real reason to doubt the existence of a Roman building here. The nave of the church is late C11.

VCH Essex III, 46.

LITTLE KIMBLE	Bucks
SP 827064	SP 8206
villa	SP 80 NW
All Saints	Possible

SMR: Bucks 901

Branigan, citing an unpublished report, notes that Roman finds denote a house of considerable size SE of Little Kimble churchyard. The church of All Saints is at SP 82660642.

K. Branigan, 'Romano-British Rural Settlement in the Western Chilterns', *Arch. J.* 124 (1967), 129-59, esp. 151.
R. D. Thomson, *The Roman Villa Site at Little Kimble*, (unpublished report lodged with Bucks. County Museum, 1957).
Scott 1993, 27.
RCHME Bucks. I, 165.

LLANCARFAN	Glam
ST 0570	ST 0570
villa	ST 7 SE
Unknown	Certain

Morris (1989, 100) notes that there was a villa (or perhaps 2) and an early monastery here. One villa, possibly of the corridor type, is found at Moulton, E of Llanccarfarn at ST 07416963. Another probable villa exists at Llanbetherly, W of Llanccarfarn, at ST 03557023. Although the *llan* place-name suggests a monastery, like Llantwit Major, none has been found. It could however be associated with one of these villas, which are largely unexplored.

R. Morris, *Churches in the Landscape* (London: 1989), 100.
RCHMW Glam 1.2, 114.

LLANDOUGH	Glam
ST 168733	ST 1673
villa	ST 17 SE
St Dochwdy (C5 St Docco)	Certain

Plan: Figure 38, page 92 (after Owen-John, 1978, figs. 64, 58 and 59; and Selkirk 1996, 75).

The church of St Dochwdy (probably a derivation of the C5 St Docco) now stands on the site of a Roman villa and an adjacent Roman and post Roman cemetery. The site is one of the best candidates for a villa-to-church transition in Britain. Excavations here first revealed a Roman

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villa and late C8 burials (published as 775 +/- 60; 795 +/- 65, but see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations), about 100m to the S of the church (one burial in the villa gave a radiocarbon date of AD 1065 +/- 60 (published Cal.)). Later excavations revealed another cemetery in the field immediately N of the church. The report of the second excavation is only preliminary, but the excavators divide the cemetery into four phases, the earliest (nearest the church) providing radiocarbon dates of AD 535 and 880. The burials apparently cease in the early C11, about the time when the church at Llandaff, 3 miles away, was raised to episcopal status. Charters refer to a church at Llandough between c.650 and 1075, although the earliest material evidence is a C10/C11 cross shaft in the churchyard which has been dated on stylistic grounds. It is hoped that the forthcoming final report will elucidate the chronology of the entire site. Llandough is located immediately E of the R Ely.

H. S. Owen-John, 'Llandough: The Rescue Excavation of a Multi-Period Site near Cardiff, South Glamorgan', in D.M. Robinson (ed.), *Biglis, Caldicot & Llandough*, BAR British Series 188 (1988), 123-77.

A. Selkirk, 'Llandough', *Current Archaeology* 146 (1996, Jan.), 73-7.

W. Davies, 'An Early Welsh Microcosm', *Studies in the Llandaff Charters* (1978), 124.

O'Brien 1999, No.2049.

Scott 1993, 67.

LLANDOVERY	Carmarthen
SN 76983512	SN 7635
fort	SN 73 NE
St Mary	Certain

Plan: Figure 137, page 394 (after Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, fig.49, and OS 1:2500 SN 7635).

The church of St Mary lies in the centre of the Roman fort, and is oriented 12° S of E/W. The building of the vicarage to the W of the fort in the C18 destroyed a Roman structure, either a bath-house or *mansio*. The fort and church overlook the Tywi valley, near the head of the Usk valley.

Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 95-6.
Scott 1993, 57.

LONDON - ALL- HALLOWS	Lond
TQ 335807	TQ 3380
masonry building	TQ 38 SW
All Hallows and St Mary (now All Hallows)	Certain

Plan: Figure 59, page 131 (Blewett 1977, 3).

In 1940 the church of All Hallows was burnt by incendiary bombs. During the reconstruction, an Anglo-Saxon arch made of Roman tiles was revealed in the S wall of the nave, as well as fragments of a cross shaft with figure sculpture, vine scroll, and interlace. The church is also known as Barking church, probably associated with the abbey at Barking, founded by Earconwald (d. 694), Bishop of London, for his sister Æthelburgh (Taylor and Taylor, 1965, I). Underneath the church can be seen a Roman tessellated pavement (see Figure 59, page 131); the groove probably marks the line of an original wall.

P. Blewett, *All Hallows by the Tower: Church Guide* (London: 1977).

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 399-400.

T. D. Kendrick and C. A. R. Radford, 'Recent Discoveries at All Hallows, Barking', *Antiq. J.* 23 (1934), 14-18.

LONDON - ST BRIDE'S	Lond
TQ 31558113	TQ 3181
Masonry building	TQ 38 SW
St Bride	Certain

'At the eastern end of the church and extending beyond it were the fragmentary remains of a Roman building with a tessellated pavement' (Milne 1997, 21). A smaller fragment was located beyond the E wall of the chancel in 1952, and two Roman walls were seen in the 1950s, one in the centre of the building, and one on its N edge. The church and Roman walls appear to be on the same alignment. Grimes wrote to Toynbee expressing that there was 'no question of direct continuity between the Saxon church and the Roman building' (Milne 1997, 23), and concluded that, due to Roman debris cut through by the early foundations of the nave, 6m to the W, 'the Roman building had long been destroyed when the church was erected' (Milne 1997, 23). This also suggests that the Roman building extended over a larger area than was uncovered. Rodwell proposes an underlying basilica (Rodwell 1993, 94-5), but there really is not enough evidence to be certain what kind of Roman building it was. A holy well on the site

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may have played a part in the site's significance in the early medieval period. The site lies to the W of Roman London, just S of Fleet St on the W bank of the R Fleet.

G. Milne, *St Bride's Church, London: Archaeological Research 1952-60 and 1992-5* (English Heritage Archaeological Report 11, 1997).

W. Rodwell, 'The Role of the Church in the Development of Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon London' in M. Carver (ed.), *In Search of Cult: Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz* (Woodbridge: 1992), 91-9.

W. F. Grimes, *The Excavation of Roman and Mediaeval London* (London: 1968), 183.

LONDON - ST PETER CORNHILL	Lond
TQ 33408185	TQ 3381
town (basilica)	TQ 38 SW
St Peter	Probable

Plan: Figure 54, page 128 (after Rodwell 1984, fig. 3c (which incorrectly records the dedication as 'St Michael'; see also Rodwell 1993, 12.1 A)).

The church of St Peter, Cornhill, lies centrally over the basilica on the N side of the forum, close to the Roman alignment; Rodwell suggests that this may be one instance of a basilican church which reuses part of the original, Roman basilica structure, seen so often in other parts of the Empire. The site remains unexcavated. Rodwell 1993, 24-5 suggests the C9 as a terminus *ante quem* for the church.

W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 5 and fig. 3c.

W. Rodwell, 'The Role of the Church in the Development of Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon London' in M. Carver (ed.), *In Search of Cult: Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz* (1993), 91-9, esp. 93-4.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 400.

R. E. M. Wheeler, 'The Topography of Saxon London', *Antiq.* 8 (1934), 290-302, esp. 295-6.

LONDON - SOUTHWARK	Surrey
TQ 32698034	TQ 3280
villa	TQ 38 SW
St Mary Overy (now St Saviour's)	Probable
Minster	

Plan: Figure 150, page 401 (after OS 1:2500 TQ 3280 and *VCH Surrey IV*, 373).

This is clearly the site of an extra-mural villa or complex of Roman buildings, lying on the S Bank, at the S bridge head of London Bridge. Roman material was revealed when the nave of the church was destroyed in 1837-8, and in 1829, in digging the foundations of warehouses around the church, foundations tesserae, frescos, and pottery were all recovered. Similar development in the following year uncovered a mosaic pavement on the S side of the church. Part of another pavement was found in 1833, and another in one in 1911. The *VCH* records that a skeleton was found 'below' this latter pavement: this may have been an Anglo-Saxon inhumation that had been cut through the pavement, like others in the corpus, or else the pavement was medieval, overlying an earlier Christian burial. The *VCH* records that 'older' writers believe this to have been the site of a temple, although on what grounds it does not say; the usual caveats apply when considering the antiquarian identification of temples (see p. 107 of this thesis). What is now St Saviour was originally the church of the Augustinian priory of St Mary, founded c.1103, on what is probably the site of a pre-Conquest minster.

VCH Surrey IV, 375.

J. Blair, *Early medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church and Settlement Before 1300* (Stroud: 1991), 101-2.

LOUGHOR	Glam
SS 56359779	SS 5697
fort	SS 59 NE
St Michael	Certain

Plan: Figure 138, page 395 (after *RCHMW Glam. I.2*, 87, fig.49; and Marvell and Owen-John 1997, fig. 3).

The church of St Michael lies in the centre of the fort of *Leucarum*. An early OS 1:2500 map marked the site of another church at SS 56559779, although the *RCHMW* notes that there is no historical evidence for a church there. The OS also records 'Roman tiles found 1851' at SS 56369788. It is possible that we are dealing with a larger Roman site than first believed, possibly with an associated *vicus*. The fort lies at the mouth of the R Loughor, and was positioned to guard a ford that existed c.60m to the north of the current bridge.

A. G. Marvell and H. S. Owen-John, *Leucarum*, (Britannia Monograph Series 12, 1997).

J. M. Lewis, 'Excavation and Loughor Castle, West Glamorgan, 1969-73', *Arch. Camb.* 142 (1993), 99-181.

RCHMW Glam. I.2, 87-8.

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LOWER BASILDON

SU 60747933
villa
St Bartholomew

Berks

SU 6079
SU 67 NW
Certain

The remains of a villa were found in a field called 'Church Field', located between the village and the church, during the cutting of a railway. Two mosaic pavements were discovered, but destroyed by workmen. At a distance of 5 yards from the site, the workmen also found two skeletons, one with a sword, and a part of a wall. They furthermore uncovered twenty 'pavements' from 6 to 8 feet long, and made of large flints, which they thought to be graves. It is unclear how many of these 'pavements' were excavated – if any – and what they might have been, were they not graves. A few pieces of bone were reported to have been found with them. The nearest church is St Bartholomew, 400m to the E at SU 61167928.

VCH Berks. I, 203.

LOWER HALSTOW

TQ 860674
villa
St Margaret

Kent

TQ 8667
TQ 86 NE
Certain

The *VCH* notes that 'traces of a hypocaust have been detected a little W of the church, and tiles and potsherds occur freely in the adjoining fields'. In 1842 Smith noted an embankment 'constructed entirely out of the debris of a Roman building', and traced further 'building debris ... about 200 yds E of the church, but confined to a small space of ground. In the arable fields to the W of the church, sepulchral remains are frequently found' (Smith 1842, 226). Without further detail it is difficult to know what to make of Smith's 'sepulchral remains'. He describes Roman remains on either side of the church, which could suggest that we are dealing with a church associated with an expansive villa complex. Like the 'holy place' at Fawler, this site is also another significant *halig stowe* place-name. The site lies 1 mile N of Watling St on navigable creek of the Medway. No plan exists.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 281.

VCH Kent III, 117, 156.

C. R. Smith, 'On Roman Pottery', *JBAA* 2 (1847), 133-40, esp. 139.

C. R. Smith, 'Notices of Recent Discoveries...', *Arch.* 29 (1842) 217-26, esp. 226.

E. R. Olive, 'Lower Halstow Church', *Arch. Cant.* 33 (1918), 157-66.

Scott 1993, 106.

LOWER SWELL

SP 174257
settlement
St Mary

Gloucs

SP 1725
SP 12 NE
Certain

A Romano-British settlement lies adjacent and to the E of the church of St Mary. A possible ancient well (although the *RCHME* does not say how ancient), known as the 'Lady's Well', lies 230 yards to the E. Between the two, the ground is reported as being 'much disturbed'. Abundant pottery and animal bones have come from the churchyard. A now-destroyed tumulus of unknown period once existed within the churchyard.

RCHME Gloucs., 115.

LULLINGSTONE

TQ 529651
mausoleum
Unknown

Kent

TQ 5265
TQ 56 NW
Certain

Plan: Figure 43, page 112 (after Meates 1979, fig. 31).

A singular site: an undated but potentially early church was built on a temple-like mausoleum, which itself was adjacent to a villa that shows evidence of Christian activity in the Late Roman period. The pagan mausoleum was allowed to decay sometime after the creation of a suite of Christian rooms in the main villa complex, sometime in the third quarter of C4. These rooms and the villa were probably in use into the late C4, but probably abandoned in the C5. Sometime later (Taylor and Taylor note it as 'period uncertain') a small church was built upon the mausoleum foundations, even though the excavator notes that 'little, if anything, is likely to have remained above ground when the Christian church came to be built' (Meates 1979, 124). The church was abandoned in 1412. The Anglo-Saxon burial that Meaney records for Lullingstone is not associated with this site, and lies about 650m distant, at TQ 533646.

G. W. Meates, *The Lullingstone Roman Villa* (Ashford: 1979).

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 401-2.

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S. Rigold, 'Roman Folkestone Reconsidered', *Arch Cant.* 87 (1972), 31-41, esp. 40.
T. W. Bell (1999), 10-11.
Meaney 1964, 126.
O'Brien 1999, No.198.

LYMINGE	Kent
TR 16104085	TR 1640
villa/bath-house	TR 14 SE
St Mary	Certain
Minster	

NMR: TR 14 SE 8

Plan: Figure 74, page 160 (after Taylor 1969, fig. 26, and Jenkins 1876, opp. cii).

Lyminge is the site of Æthelburgh's church which she may have founded on the remains of a possible Roman structure, perhaps a bath-house, soon after the death of Edwin and her return to Kent in 633 (Rollason 1982). St Dunstan's later church of St Ethelburga (c.965) incorporates the S wall of the earlier church. Evidence of further ?contemporary structures is suggested by mounds of ruined masonry that were visible until the C19 in the meadow to the S. Its excavator, Canon Jenkins, proposed – without any attempt at brevity – that the church formed the core of a Saxon or Roman basilica. It is now believed that the original St Mary's possibly overlay a bath-house, suggested by the curious circular shape of the underlying ?Roman building. There may have been further buildings: Jenkins (1874, 212) mentions that 'fragments of very early work have been found here from time to time, and a foundation of considerable size, built with a very rude concrete, un-like both the Roman and the later mixtures, was disinterred in the field adjoining the church some years since. It was built in the form of a church, and of rude, unhewn stones; but the concrete was so perishable that the whole building, founded only on blocks of chalk and large fragments of the concrete facing of a Roman building (some of it painted red), fell to pieces by degrees, and has now entirely disappeared'. This structure is perhaps another part of Æthelburgh's monastery, or (if Jenkins indeed did see painted plaster) another Roman building of the complex. It remains possible that much, if not all of what we see here is early Anglo-Saxon. See the sketch showing the underlying structure, Figure 75, page 160 of this thesis.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 408-9.
D. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend: a Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester: 1982), 62-3, 80-5
M Biddle, 'Archaeology, Architecture, and the Cult of Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in L. A. S. Butler and

R. K. Morris (eds.), *The Anglo-Saxon Church* (CBA Research Report 60, 1980), 1-31, esp. 8.
T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Churches of the Canterbury Diocese' in J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches* (Oxford Committee for Archaeology Monograph 17, 1988), 105-18, esp. 110.
H. M. Taylor, 'Lyminge Churches', *Arch J.* 126 (1969), 257-60.
R. C. Jenkins, 'The Basilica of Lyminge', *Arch. Cant.* 9 (1874), 205-23.
R. C. Jenkins, 'Remarks on the Early Christian Basilicas', *Arch. Cant.* 10 (1875), ci-ciii.
R. C. Jenkins, 'Observations on the Remains of the Basilica of Lyminge', *Arch. Cant.* 18 (1889), 46-54.
R. C. Jenkins, 'Historical Notes Relating to the Church in Lyminge', *JBAA* 43 (1887), 363-9.
J. T. Mickelthwaite, 'Something About Saxon Church Building', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 313-4.
C. R. Peers, 'On Saxon Churches of the St Pancras Type', *Arch. J.* 58 (1901), 402-34, esp. 419-20.
VCH Kent III, 12.

MANNINGFORD	Wilts
BRUCE	
SU 1402558058	SU 1458
villa	SU 15 NW
St Peter	Certain

SMR: Wilts 304
NMR: SU15NW21

Plan: Figure 72, page 158 (after Johnson and Walters 1988, fig. 5).

Chalk wall foundations and a tessellated floor were revealed during grave digging in 1958, and subsequently excavated and evaluated in 1985. The area plan reveals a mass of Roman debris to the E of the church, and an elongated Roman building which appears to have dictated the layout of the surrounding buildings. The fields to the W show signs of a DMV. The site lies in Pewsey Vale, two miles SW of Pewsey town.

VCH Wilts. I, 84.
P. Johnson and B. Walters, 'Exploratory Excavations of Roman Buildings at Cherhill and Manningford Bruce', *Wilts. Arch. Mag.* 82 (1988), 77-91.
Scott 1993, 204.

MARKET	Rutland
OVERTON	
SK 88591646	SK 8816
fort / station / camp	SK 81 NE
SS Peter and Paul	Certain

Plan: Figure 139, page 395 (after *VCH Rutland* I, 91).

In the village of Market Overton, the parish church of SS Peter and Paul lies within the rectangular earthwork of a Roman camp. The area has been known to be a Roman site since

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Camden, but the majority of Roman remains have been found to the E on a site about 1.25 miles distant. Here, excavation in 1863-1866 in a field called 'Kirk Hole' found a 'pit' containing human skeletons and bones, but there is no particular reason why these should be believed to be Anglo-Saxon. Here or nearby were also found the 'fire places' once covered with flat stones (the *VCH* suggests that this was a pillared hypocaust): are we looking at burials in a Roman bath-house? A large Corinthian capital was also found here in 1866 (the font of the church is suggested to be a Roman column base). More systematic excavations were undertaken on the site in 1900. Taylor and Taylor date the church to 'period doubtful'; the uprights of the stone stile in the NW corner of the churchyard are Anglo-Saxon baluster shafts.

VCH Rutland I, 90-3; 110-11.

R. Haines, 'The Roman Settlement at Market Overton and Thisleton', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond.* 19 (1903), 192-4.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 411-12.

MESSINGHAM	Lincs
SE 89050479	SE 8904
masonry building	SE 80 SE
Holy Trinity	Certain

SMR: N. Lincs 2164

A tessellated pavement was found during grave digging in the churchyard. Romano-British material found in the recreation ground to the N of the churchyard includes 'sherds from a domestic site' as well as kiln wasters. A further dump of Romano-British sherds, roof and floor tiles was found while preparing a graveyard extension in 1946. A mound in the old churchyard contained 'stone walls, broken pots' (SM parish file recorded in SMR). The site was excavated in 1946 and 1949, but not published. The kilns were located by geophysical survey in 1964. The evidence would suggest a Roman villa with an adjacent pottery production complex.

I. M. Stead, *Excavations at Winterton Roman Villa and Other Roman Sites in North Lincolnshire, 1958-1967* (London: 1976), 99, note 5.

Eagles 1979 II, 381.

H. E. Dudley, *Early Days in North-West Lincolnshire: a Regional Archaeology* (Scunthorpe: 1949), 179. Scott 1993, 98.

MILTON
TQ 9089654
probably villa
Holy Trinity

Kent
TQ 9065
TQ 96 NW
Certain

The OS marks 'Roman remains found AD 1872' in Milton churchyard at TQ 90896546. Brief details of the find are recorded in Payne 1878: when expanding the graveyard of the church, the NW wall of the churchyard was removed to incorporate the adjacent 'Church Field'. Under this wall and field were found the remains of what appears to have been a villa (Payne 1878, 428). The sexton of the church at that time reported that that foundations also underlayed a large portion of the old churchyard (Payne 1878, 429).

G. Payne, 'On Roman Remains in the Churchyard at Milton, Next Sittingbourne', *Arch. Cant.* 12 (1878), 428-9.

Scott 1993, 108.

MONKS KIRBY	Warwick
SP 46328314	SP 4683
masonry building	SP 48 SE
St Mary and St Edith	Possible

SMR: Warwicks 4241, 4213

Foundations and Roman bricks are recorded to have been dug up near the church, and presumed Romano-British cremation urns were also discovered in 1712 and 1716. The OS Card 48SE3 (SMR: WA4243) suggests that this may be a Romano-British cremation cemetery, and the walls might be associated with an earlier phase of the church of St Edith, listed as a C14-C15 rebuild. Without knowing more it is difficult to clarify this account, but the existence of a villa here is certainly possible. Excavations in 1977 found evidence of C12 church fabric.

VCH Warwicks. I, 238.

S. M. Wright, *W. Midlands Arch. News Sheet* 21 (1978), 83.

MORESBY	Cumberland
NX 98272102	NX 9821
fort	NX 92 SE
St Bridget	Certain

NMR: NX 92 SE 4

The church lies within and is aligned to the Roman fort of *Gabrosentum*. The walls of the fort are evident as earthen banks, but no internal features are visible. An excellent aerial photo of the site exists in the NMR. A church, located 4.5

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to 6m E of the E gateway, is recorded as being demolished (except the chancel) in 1822, too early to be recorded on the OS 1st edition. The site lies on the Lowca Beck. Camden noted a harbour here in 1600.

Aerial Photographs in SMR: G Lee, Manchester University (NX 9821/1).
E. B. Birley, 'The Roman Fort at Moresby', *Trans. Cumberland Westmorland Antiq. Arch. Soc.* 47 (1948), 42-72.

MUCH	Shrops
WENLOCK	
SO 62379990	SO 6299
masonry building	SO 69 NW
St Milburgh	Certain

SMR: Shrops 03768, 307
NMR: SO69NW21

Plan: Figure 78, page 165 (after Woods 1987, fig. 2).

Much Wenlock is a curious and contentious site: a masonry structure was found under the priory in the 1960s, and was partially re-excavated in the early 1980s. The date of this structure is debated: Woods suggests a Roman origin based on tesserae and collapsed wall plaster; the Biddles stand firmly by an Anglo-Saxon date. The niche of the building appears suggestive of a Roman building, not unlike that at Lyminge (see entry), but the Biddles are correct in lamenting that a more rigorous examination was not undertaken of this important site. The nearby church of Holy Trinity at SO 62369998 is suggested to contain Anglo-Saxon fabric, but this has been recently disputed. More recently, three inhumations were found near the church; two have been radiocarbon dated to (published) Cal 460-640 @ 1 sigma, 410-660 @ 2 sigma; and Cal 245-425 @ 1 sigma, 130-540 @ 2 sigma (see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations); the three graves were aligned SW/NE. Gelling (1990, 304) suggests the place-name may come from the Welsh 'gwyn', meaning white, plus 'loch' which may be derived from the Latin 'locus', or 'religious place'. Buteaux notes (1996, 4) that the site had pagan-cult associations, which were possibly water-based. If we are looking at a villa building, this site is a likely candidate for a possible villa-to-church transition. St Owen's well to the immediate W of the Holy Trinity church may further suggest an early date; Woods suggests the possible candidates of St Owin (fl. 672) or St Owen (ob. 684). A double religious house was established here in C7. The site is in a valley; a stream bounds abbey complex to the north and runs into the Severn.

H. Woods, 'Excavations at Wenlock Priory, 1981-6', *JBAA* 140 (1987), 36-75.
Y. J. E. Staelens, 'Burials from Barrow Street, Much Wenlock, Shropshire - Further Evidence', *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Hist. Soc.* 70 (1995), 211-12.
M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'The So-Called Roman Building at Much Wenlock', *JBAA* 141 (1988), 179-81.
Y. J. E. Staelens, 'Burials from Barrow Street, Much Wenlock', *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.* 64 (1985), 111-13.
D. C. Cox and M. D. Watson, 'Holy Trinity Church, Much Wenlock: a Reassessment', *JBAA* 140 (1987), 76-87.
E. Dudley, C. Jackson, and E. Fletcher, 'The Pre-Conquest Churches at Much Wenlock, Shropshire', *JBAA* 28 (1965), 16-38.
V. Buteaux, *Archaeological Assessment of Much Wenlock, Shropshire. Central Marshes Historic Towns Survey Report*, (In-house Shropshire CC publication) (1996).
D. Cranage, 'The Monastery of St Milburge at Much Wenlock', *Arch.* 62 (1922), 105-32.
H. P. R. Finberg, *Lucerna: Studies of Some Problems in the Early History of England* (London: 1964), 73-4.
Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 453-4.

NETHER	Cumberland
DENTON	
NY 595645	NY 5964
fort (on Wall)	NY 56 SE
St Cuthbert	Certain

SMR: Cumbria 314
NMR: NY 56 SE 21

Plan: Figure 140, page 396 (after OS 1:2500 and Jones 1976).

The church of St Cuthbert, dating from 1868 in its current form, lies within this enigmatic Stanegate fort. The site was partly excavated by Simpson in 1911, but remains almost entirely unpublished. An unfinished altar stone was dug up from the churchyard in 1978, but this should not be taken as evidence of a temple on the site. It is suggested that the fort was built in two phases, the latter being reduced to the area of the current church and farm. An extensive vicus lies to the S. Simpson was later buried within the churchyard in 1955: apparently, cobbling was found when his grave was dug, and no other human remains were encountered (Grace Simpson pers. comm.). A topographical survey by the author suggests that the NW, raised corner of the churchyard may lie on the line of the NW corner of the fort, contrary to Jones' interpretation of the aerial photograph. Magnetometer readings taken to the W of the church at the same time revealed no sign of the fort ditch.

Appendix 5.2: Churches Associated with Roman Structures

G. D. B. Jones, *Hadrian's Wall from the Air* (Warminster: 1976).
T. W. Bell, *A Survey of Nether Denton Churchyard* (unpublished report: 1997).

NORMANTON	Leics
SK 93260628	SK 9306
villa?	SK 90 NW
	Possible

SMR: Leics SK 90 NW CD

According to Scott, the SMR records that Roman structures were seen during a watching brief adjacent to Normanton church; they were apparently suggestive of a villa.

Scott 1993, 114.

NORTH HAYLING	Hants
SU 73090320	SU 7303
villa	SU 70 SW
St Peter	Certain

An extensive villa complex on the Isle of Wight excavated in 1898-99 revealed structural remains, mosaics, and foundations. Excavation uncovered an apsidal basilical hall divided into several chambers. Near the site of this villa is the small, possibly ancient church of St Peter. The island was held by clerics of Winchester after 1045, and then passed to Jumieges. The site is a little W of North Hayling church in the 'Towncil Field'. The Roman building is at SU 72450307

VCH Hants. I, 310.

T. Ely, 'The Antiquities of Hayling Island', *Arch. J.* 55 (1898), 286-95, esp. 290-1.

NORTH STOKE	Somerset
ST ST 70316916	ST 7069
masonry building	ST 76 NW
St Martin	Probable

Plan: Figure 35, page 88 (after Turnor 1829, 30).

The remains of a Roman building were found in 1881 underneath a medieval barn belonging to manor farm, adjacent to the churchyard. No further details are known. The site is marked on the OS 1:2500 at ST 70316916.

VCH Somerset I, 302.

Scott 1993, 17.

NORTHWICH	Cheshire
SJ 665738	SJ 6673
fort	SJ 67 SE
Holy Trinity	Possible

Little is know of the exact layout of Roman *Condate*. Roman finds and building material from one of a series of forts on the site were found near the church in the 1850s. Clearance in the 1960s, SW of the church, revealed a Roman auxiliary fort. The greatest concentration of Roman finds comes from the S of the church.

G. D. B. Jones, 'Excavations at Northwich', *Arch J.* 128 (1971), 31-77.
VCH Cheshire I 198-202

OYSTERMOUTH	Glam
SS 61658802	SS 6188
villa	SS 68 NW
All Saints	Probable

Fragments of mosaic have been found during grave digging from the C17 onwards, especially on the N side of the church (recorded in one specific instance as being found 'near the grave of Ann Hart'). A fragment of another mosaic discovered in 1860 is preserved in the church. There is no record of an early monastery here.

J. Ward, 'Fragments of Roman Mosaic, Oystermouth Church', *Arch. Camb.* 6th ser. 19 (1919), 227-9.
W. Morgan, 'An Antiquarian Survey of East Gower', *Antiq. Survey* (1899), 136-9.
RCHMW Glam 1.2, 110.
Scott 1993, 67.

PAULTON	Somerset
ST 647565	ST 6456
villa	ST 65 NW
Holy Trinity	Certain

There were at least two villas at Paulton: the *VCH* notes that one was excavated in 1818 'on high ground between Paulton and Camerton', where an interment was found in the corner of a villa, and a cremation in an urn. A plan on p. 315 of the *VCH* shows the location of the burial but not its placement or orientation. In a separate reference, the JRS refers to part of another Roman structure uncovered in 1955 in a field 'W of Paulton church and of a lane leading to Hallatrow'. The fields to the W of Holy Trinity church (ST 64995657) are now built over, and no Roman building is marked on the OS. The site of the villa with the burial can be estimated to have been no more than 250m to the W of the church. The estimated grid reference of the second site is given above.

Appendix 5.2: Churches Associated with Roman Structures

VCH Somerset I, 315-16.
JRS 47 (1957), 221.
RCHME Gloucs., 94-5.
 Scott 1993, 17.

PIERCEBRIDGE	Durham
NZ 21041575	NZ 2115
fort	NZ 21 NW
St Mary	Certain

Plan: Figure 142, page 397 (after OS 1:2500 NZ 2115 and Wooler 1904, 127).

The church of St Mary lies within the E of the fort, in a topography very similar to that at Leintwardine. The ruins of a chapel lie in the SE corner of the fort, immediately E of the ruins of the intramural bath-house. The site lies on the N bank of the R Tees, and originally guarded the river crossing. Dere Street runs to the E of the fort, visible in aerial photographs in Selkirk (1973, 138).

E. Wooler, 'Ancient Piercebridge', *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Newcastle* 1 (1904), 123-31.
 A. Selkirk, 'Piercebridge', *Current Archaeology* 40 (1973), 136-41.
 R. P. Harper, 'Excavations at Piercebridge, 1964' *Trans. Architect. Arch. Soc. Durham Northumberland* 1 (1968), 27-44.
 G. S. Keeney, 'Excavations at the Roman Fort at Piercebridge in 1948-1949' *Trans. Architect. Arch. Soc. Durham Northumberland* 10.3 (1949), 283-309.
 P. R. Scott *Excavation at Piercebridge, 1978-79* Univ. Durham Newcastle Arch. Report 3 (1979), 11-12.
VCH Durham I, 353.

PLOUGHLEY	Berks
SU 41747546	SU 4175
masonry building	SU 47 NW
	Possible

The Gentleman's Magazine of 1827 refers to a Roman pavement taken up at Pughley Farm [2km S of Chaddleworth], which stands on the site of what the *VCH* terms the 'old monastery'. This is marked on the current OS as an Augustian Priory founded in 1160, and the pavement could possibly be medieval.

VCH Berks. I, 205 (listed under Chaddleworth).
Gent. Mag., November 1827, ii, 448.

PORTCHESTER	Hants
SU 62530449	SU 6204
fort	SU 6204 SE
St Mary	Certain

Plan: Figure 154, page 403 (after Cunliffe 1975, fig. 2 and fig. 29).

The Saxon Shore fort at Portchester was excavated from 1961-72. The parish church of St Mary, formerly an Augustinian priory, sits in the SE corner of the fort, aligned slightly off the Roman grid. The earliest fabric of the extant church dates from c.1130-1153. Limited excavation around the priory in 1969-70 found no evidence of a pre-Conquest structure, but the excavator concludes that 'a [Saxon] church should be expected within or without the fort, in wood or in stone' (D. Baker in Cunliffe 1977, 115). There was clearly pre-Conquest habitation and activity: excavations in the south-centre of the fort revealed 6 structures dating from the C5-C7, including 4 grubenhauser, 2 irregular post-built huts, a well, and evidence of ploughing. That there was a religious focus within the fort is suggested by the presence of a Late Saxon cemetery of 21 individuals within the fort, buried supine with heads to W, hands crossed over the pelvis. A large, late C10/early C11 masonry tower here may also have served some religious function (Cunliffe 1975, 60). An early C10 charter tells us that the site was in the hands of the Bishop of Winchester c.904, before it was purchased by Edward as part of the burghal refortification (Cunliffe 1975, 2).

B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Portchester Castle, Vol. II: Saxon* (London: 1975).

B. Cunliffe, *Excavations at Portchester Castle, Vol. III: Medieval* (London: 1977), 97-120.

PRESTON	Hants
CANDOVER	
SU 5941	SU 5941
masonry building	SU 54 SE
St Mary	Probable

'At Chapel Field in the parish of Chilton Candover, about a mile W of the village, roof slates, tiles, oyster shells, and other vestiges of a small house have been noted. Local tradition places here a buried church, the bells of which are audible from underground to passers-by at night' (information by Rev S. Wilson, cited in the *VCH*). This is one of the few references to a popular tradition surrounding a Roman site, and is included here because of the significance of the field name. The exact site is not marked on the OS 1:2500, and the grid reference given above is only approximate. The church of St Mary is at SU 60694154, 1.6 km to the east; the ruined chapel of St Mary and the vicarage are 1.3 km to the east at SU 60354140.

VCH Hants. I, 306.

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PRIDDY

ST 52835138
masonry building
St Lawrence
Chapelry

Somerset

ST 5251
ST 55 SW
Unknown

A Roman building was found about 300m from the Church of St Lawrence (ST 52835138). Priddy was the chapelry to Westbury-sub-Mendip. The church is now in an isolated position N of the town; two tumuli lie within 100m of the site. Although the distance between the Roman building and the church is large for this corpus, both sites are isolated, and the position of the Roman site may have influenced the placement of the church.

P. Bartlow, *Interim Report on a Romano-British Site near 'Priddy'*, Annual Reports of the Wells Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc., 77-8 (1967).
Scott 1993, 170.

PULBOROUGH

TQ 04690177
masonry building
St Mary

Sussex

TQ 0401
TQ 0 SW
Uncertain

SMR: W. Sussex 2328, 2365, 2366

An uncertain site: a roof tile was unearthed during grave digging in the churchyard in 1929, and Romano-British sherds are said to have been found beneath the church. This material may have come from two known Roman buildings nearby, the foundations of which were found during digging in 1859-1910 about 1700m away at Homestreet Farm. The site almost did not make the corpus, because the known villa is so far away and it is very likely that material may have been transported to the church site, but the possibility of a site here should be entertained until proven otherwise.

VCH Sussex III, 63-4.
Scott 1993, 189.

PUTLEY

SO 64613761
Masonry building

Herefords

SO 6437
SO 63 NW
Possible

The *RCHME* records that Roman 'relics' were found in the foundation of the church in 1876, including marked bricks, and flue and roof tiles. The *VCH* conjectures that the Roman remains were removed from the site of a Roman villa when the church was built. Later, other Roman material was found by John Riley on his estate, suggesting a structure somewhere in Putley, but not necessarily under the church. This 'other' site may be the one marked on the OS map, at SO 64243712, about 600m from the church. However, more recent investigation by Keith Ray of Herefordshire Archaeology believes that Putley church stands over the corner of a villa: 'Our inspection of the site in May, 2000, indicated that the [Victorian] works involved the almost total rebuilding of the north nave wall of the simple two-celled building. The church seems to stand on the NE corner of a clearly-definable rectangular earthwork platform. Our visit was too brief to measure the dimensions of this platform, but it measures something like 70m E/W by c.100m N/S. The southern side is the most clearly marked, by a prominent south-facing lynchet. The most economical provisional interpretation is that the daub and tiles recovered before 1876 indicate the existence actually on this site, of a tiled-roofed structure of Romano-British date, and that the earthwork approximates the site of its principal buildings. Whether this represents a 'villa' building or another less sophisticated farmstead, it is impossible to conjecture: only further survey and investigation will determine this' (K. Ray pers. comm.). Lastly, the dedication of the church is a puzzle: Pevesner does not note the dedication, nor does the *VCH*, nor do the first edition and most recent OS maps. On a recent visit by K. Ray, the church was locked, and there is no notice board outside the church that might offer its dedication.

V. H. Coleman, 'Excavations at the Romano-British Site at Putley, 1954', *Trans. Woolhope Nat. Field Club* (1960), 84-7, 143-5.
Trans. Woolhope Nat. Field Club (1882), 258.
W. T. Watkin, 'Roman Herefordshire', *Arch. J.* 34 (1877), 349-72, esp. 363-4.
RCHME Here. II, 156.
VCH Here I, 193.
Scott 1993, 90.

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RECVLVER

TR 228694
fort
St Mary
Minster

Kent

TR 2269
TR 26 NW
Certain

Plan: Figure 143, page 397 (after Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, fig. 246, and Peers 1928, fig. 4).

A small C7 church exists within the fort at Reculver which was given by Echbert of Kent to Bassa in 669: 'Her Ecgbryht cyning salde Basse maesse preoste Reculf mynster on to timbranne' (Anglo-Saxon Chronicle). The small church in the centre is oriented E/W, almost 45° against the grid of the Roman fort. That Roman buildings must have been extant in the interior into the mid C16 is suggested by Leland's report that the vicarage was 'made of the ruins', and Fox's figure showing it built on the alignment of the Roman grid; certainly enough Roman buildings were upstanding to have been reused by Bassa at the end of the C7 had he chose to. The small size of the church is misleading: it was probably the heart of a monastic community from 669, and a land grant by King Clothere to Abbot Brihtwald confirms that it was certainly so 10 years later. Furthermore, Peers published sculptural fragments which probably came from a monumental cross, probably the same one that Leland describes seeing in the mid C16. The site remained a parish church until 1805 when it was pulled down on the suggestion of the vicar's mother. In the NW corner stood the 'Chapel House', which incorporated Roman material into its fabric. The fort overlooks marshes and the Isle of Thanet, and is half eroded by the sea. Leland records that in his day (1560s) the ocean was still a ¼ mile away.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 503-9.

E. Cambridge, 'The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission', in R. Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud: 1999), 202-36, esp. 204-5.

C. R. Smith, *Antiquities of Richborough, Reculver and Lymne in Kent* (London: 1850), 221-6.

C. R. Peers, 'Reculver: its Saxon Church and Cross', *Arch. J.* 77 (1928), 241-56.

VCH Kent III, 19-24.

G. E. Fox, 'The Roman Coastal Fortresses of Kent', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 352-75.

G. Dowker, 'Reculver Church', *Arch. Cant.* 12 (1878), 248-68.

S. Rigold, 'Litus Romanum: the Saxon Shore Forts as Mission Stations', in D. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore* (CBA Research Report 18, 1977), 70-5, esp. 73.

H. M. Taylor, 'Reculver Reconsidered', *Arch. J.* 125 (1969), 291-6.

R. Kozodoy, 'The Reculver Cross', *Arch.* 108 (1986), 67-94.

REEDHAM

TG 42780249
masonry building
St John the Baptist

Norfolk

TG 4202
TG 40 SW
Possible

The fabric of the church of St John the Baptist at Reedham contains a good deal of Roman material, including brick, tile (in a herringbone pattern), and chamfered grey stone. A Rhineland lava quern is probably Saxon. The quantity of stone (petrologically similar to that used at Brancaster Roman fort) indicates 'a Roman building of very large size indeed' (Rose 1994, 7). No other medieval usage of this grey stone has been found in the area. Rose concludes that 'the Saxon and Medieval builders knew of an exceptionally large Roman building near Reedham'. The sheer quantity of reused Roman material in the church fabric has marked this church for inclusion in the corpus. Woodward records that the 'foundations of a pharos or watchtower' were 'some years ago laid open' here (Woodward 1831, 364), but this identification is questioned.

E. Rose, 'The Church of St John the Baptist, Reedham, Norfolk: The Re-use of Roman Materials in a Secondary Context', *JBAA*, 147 (1994), 1-8.
VCH Norfolk I, 298.

S. Woodward, 'A Descriptive Outline of the Roman Remains in Norfolk', *Arch.* (1831), 358-73, esp. 364.

G. E. Fox, 'Roman Suffolk', *Arch. J.* 57 (1900), 89-165, esp. 127.

RIBCHESTER

SD 64983501
fort
St Wilfrid

Lancs

SD 6435
SD 63 NW
Certain

SMR: Lancs 150

Plan: Figure 155, page 403 (after Edwards 1972, 18-9).

St Wilfrid's church lies within the seven acre Roman fort at Ribchester, just to the N of the principia, and overlying the granaries. Little is known of the church and parish before C14, but the N nave of the current church may preserve some Norman fabric. A grant made by Robert de Lacy between 1100 and 1135 mentions 'the gift of a church in the same town'. Romano-British pillars in the music gallery of the church are probably from the portico of the fort's bath-house. The fort lies on the NW bank of the R Ribble, which has eroded its SE corner.

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VCH Lancs VII, 45.

B. J. N. Edwards, P Webster, and P. J. Casey,

Ribchester Excavations (Cardiff: 1985).

G. D. B. Jones, 'Ribchester Roman Fort', *Arch. J.* 127 (1970), 277-9.

B. J. N. Edwards, *Ribchester, Lancashire* (Plaistow: 1972).

A. C. H. Olivier and K. Buxton, *Brigantia to Britannia, Ribchester Excavations 1989-90* (forthcoming).

RICHBOROUGH	Kent
TR 3260	TR 3260
fort	TR 36 SW
St Augustine	Certain
Chapel	

Plan: Figure 144, page 398 (after Bushe-Fox 1928, pl. 42 & fig. 1).

An extensive (though unpublished) cemetery was found to the NE of the Saxon shore fort of Richborough, associated with a large number of C7-C9 coins. Presumably associated with this cemetery is an undated, perhaps late-Saxon chapel with square nave and square chancel, which itself sat on Roman foundations of the Flavian period, just S of the C4 bath complex. Rigold notes that the lack of graves on the site of the church suggests that there was a building here when the cemetery was in use (Rigold 1977, 72), and Cunliffe notes in passing that 'it may well be that the first masonry chapel replaced an earlier [wooden] structure dating back to the seventh century' (Cunliffe 1968, 251). Brown notes a baptismal font to the NE of the church, and suggests that this was a 'congregational church' with parallels from similar churches in Roman forts along the Rhine-Danube frontier, including Cologne, Boppard, Kaiseraugust, and Zurzach. The chapel was still in use as late as 1601 but is now in a totally ruinous condition. It would be surprising if this were the single Roman fort in Kent not to have seen Christian activity in the seventh and eight centuries. Sadly, it is unlikely that the details will ever be known: Brown records that the top 3 feet of 'mixed topsoil' (undoubtedly including a fair quantity of post-Roman archaeology) was systematically removed in advance of excavation. The fort is one of the few that has been preserved by the shifting sea, and now lies 3km inland.

VCH Kent III, 24-41, esp. 34.

P. D. C. Brown 'The Church at Richborough', *Britannia* 2 (1971), 225-31.

B. Cunliffe, *Fifth Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent*, Report Research Comm. Soc. Antiq. London Society of Antiquaries London 23 (1968).

J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Second Report on the Excavations of the Roman Fort at Richborough, Kent Report*

Research Comm. Soc. Antiq. London Society of Antiquaries London (London: 1928).

S. Rigold, 'Litus Romanum: the Saxon Shore Forts as Mission Stations', in D. Johnston (ed.), *The Saxon Shore, CBA Research Report* 18 (1977), 70-5, esp. 71-2.

RIPON	Yorks W
SE 31527124	SE 3171
villa?	SE 37 SW
St Peter (now SS Peter and Wilfrid)	Possible
Minster	

NMR: SE 37 SW 4

A Roman building may have existed at or near the minster at Ripon. Although no Roman evidence was found in recent excavations, tesserae have been found on the site, and a pavement is recorded (2b, 2c, 3 in the *RCHME* volume). Excavations at the church in 1930's found Anglo-Saxon architectural fragments and a 'stone of Roman origin'. There has been enough Roman material found to warrant inclusion in this corpus, but this would ideally be confirmed in more recent excavation. A minster was founded here in the 650s as a cell of the Irish community of Melrose, but was transferred c.660 to St Wilfrid who built the church and surviving crypt.

Bede, H. E. iii, 35; iii, 28; iv, 12; v, 19.

Anon, *Vita Cuthberti*, ii, 2; Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, chs. 7-8 (ed. Colgrave, B. (1985) *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert: a Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press)).

R. A. Hall, 'Antiquities and Archaeology In and Around Ripon Minster', in L. R. Hoey (ed.) *Yorkshire Monasticism* (London: 1995), 12-30.

R. A. Hall and M. Whyman, 'Settlement and Monasticism at Ripon, Yorkshire, from the 7th to 11th Centuries AD', *Med. Arch.* 40 (1996), 62-150.

R. A. Hall, 'Rescue Excavations in the Crypt of Ripon Cathedral', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 49 (1977), 59-63.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 516-18.

Scott 1993, 151.

RIVENHALL	Essex
TL 82791779	TL 8217
villa	TL 81 NW
St Mary and All Saints	Certain

Plan: Figure 69, page 154 (after Rodwell and Rodwell 1986, figs. 63, 86 & 74).

Rivenhall is certainly the best-known and most recently excavated example of a church on a Roman villa, but is not necessarily the best example of the religious reuse of a Roman building. Before excavation there was little about

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the church of St Mary that aroused antiquarian interest; Pevsner assigned it a date of 1838-9. The site was excavated between 1971 and 1973, revealing an underlying Roman villa, and Saxon fabric within the existing church. The Rodwells' discussion argues for underlying continuity of the site, and their interpretation of the later sequences can briefly be summarised as: 1) Sometime in the early C5, a Roman aisled building (Building 4) was built on the site of the villa; sherds of early Anglo-Saxon pottery (C5) were found on its gravel floor. 2) Sometime in C6, a rectangular hall (Building 5) on E/W alignment with internal partition was built on the villa. 3) After the decay of Building 5, but probably while it was still in use, a row of six graves (Phase 1 - unfurnished) were interred immediately outside the villa; these were shortly sealed by the construction of a rectangular structure (Building 1) of unknown use. 4) After some time and presumably after the earlier graves had been forgotten, 60 Saxon-period graves were interred in the villa (Cemetery 1 in area C2): four were dug into villa room 2.1a or its E wall. Radiocarbon dates were obtained for burials in this cemetery (published uncalibrated, of 810, 950 +/- 70, 980 +/- 70; see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations). 5) A timber church (Building 7) of one or two cells was built on the site of cemetery, aligned about 5° N of E/W. Rodwell reconstructs a square chancel, and suggests a date before the end of C10. 6) This is followed by a stone-built church (Building 8) with a hoggin foundation, which is subsequently followed by several phases of rebuilding into the middle ages, concluding with a final rebuild in the late C18. The Rodwells conclude that the least improbable course of events begins with Germanic settlers who were employed on the villa estate sometime in the early C4, and remained in control of its 'native proprietor', while the stone-built Roman structures were slowly replaced by timber ones. They further suggest that the transition into the Anglo-Saxon period entailed the translation of secular power, and cite Morris and Roxan, noting that 'As the majority of English churches are proprietary in origin, this conjunction of church and villa would appear to serve as a pointer to those Roman villa estates which continued in use as viable economic concerns, maintaining the same administrative centre even though ownership might change'; they cite Rivenhall as one of these successful examples. However, Millett vigorously interrogates the Rodwells' interpretation, and questions – if not effectively invalidates – their structural and chronological interpretations. This was in part because the supporting evidence was not at that time

available, and only appeared in Vol. 2 eight years later. One can only agree with Millett, and conclude that, although Rivenhall is certainly an important site for this corpus, the evidence does not support the strength of the Rodwells' interpretations. The site is located at Rivenhall End and Silver End, on a road running parallel to a tributary stream from the R Blackwater. Just north of the Roman road (A12), between Colchester and London. The site is now isolated.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Rivenhall: Investigations of a Villa, Church and Village, 1950-1977*, Volume I, (CBA Research Report 55; Chelmsford Archaeological Trust Report 4, 1985).
W. J. Rodwell and K. Rodwell, *Rivenhall: Investigations of a Villa, Church and Village, 1950-1977*, Volume II, CBA Research Report 80 (1993).
M. Millett, 'Review Article. The Question of Continuity: Rivenhall Reviewed', *Arch. J.* 144 (1987), 434-8.
W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 42-9.
W. J. Rodwell, 'Rivenhall and the Emergence of First Century Villas in North Essex', in M. Todd (ed.), *Studies in the Romano-British Villa* (Leicester: 1978), 11-32.
Geake 1997, 152.

ROCHESTER	Kent
TQ 74267684	TQ 7476
town	TQ 77 NW
St Andrew	Certain
Minster	

Plan: Figure 65, page 144 (after *VCH Kent* III, fig. 14, and Taylor and Taylor II, fig. 252).

Bede records that in 604 Augustine consecrated Mellitus bishop of London, and Justus bishop of Rochester (*H. E.* II, 13), so a community existed here from at least the early C7. Late C19 excavations by Livett discovered a small apsidal church, and Fairweather notes the possibility of a second, contemporary structure (Fairweather 1929, 192). This supposition is supported by Taylor and Taylor, but the arc of the 'apse' and its alignment suggests something different, perhaps a Roman building on the Roman axis. The Norman cathedral lies to the immediate E.

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Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 518-19.

G. M. Livett, 'Foundations of the Saxon Cathedral Church at Rochester', *Arch. Cant.* 18 (1889), 261-78. *VCH Kent* III, 80-8.

W. H. St J. Hope, 'The Architectural History of the Cathedral Church and Monastery of St Andrew at Rochester', *Arch. Cant.* 23 (1898), 194-328.

F. H. Fairweather, 'Gundulf's Cathedral and Priory Church of St Andrew, Rochester; some Critical Remarks on the Hitherto Accepted Plan', *Arch. J.* 86 (1929), 187-212.

B. Burnham and J. Wachter, *The 'Small Towns' of Roman Britain* (London: 1990), 77-81.

ROMSEY	Hants
SU 35102121	SU 3521
masonry building	SU 32 SE
St Mary and St	Probable
Æthelflaed	

SMR: SU 32 SE 21, 5, 64
NMR: SU 32 SE 5

The abbey was founded by Edgar in 967, though an earlier foundation is possible. No structural remains from this period survive. Large Roman blocks are built into the foundation of the current church. The first church was probably made of wood, suggested by postholes and a possible chalk floor, surmounted by a later timber building. Earlier burials were cut by the Saxon porticus, presumably contemporary with the chalk structures of the mid-Saxon period. A small lead coffin (?Romano-British or medieval) was found lying N/S, plus 'a mass of concrete and masonry' in 1839, during grave digging near the Abbess doorway. Roman coins and masonry have been found below the Saxon church.

I. R. Scott, *Romsey Abbey: Report on the Excavations 1973-1991* (Hampshire: 1996).

J. C. Yarborough, 'An Account of Some Recent Discoveries in Romsey Abbey', *Proc. Hants. Field Club* 4 (1901), 227-33.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 520-2.

ROXBY	Lincs
SE 92031696	SE 9216
villa	SE 91 NW
St Mary	Certain

SMR: N. Lincs 2016, 1987

A Roman pavement was discovered by de la Pryme in Roxby village in 1699, on the SW side of the church, four feet under the surface. This was investigated again by V. D. H. Cary-Elwes in 1873, who discovered another, simpler mosaic pavement in an adjoining room that was partly destroyed by a farm building. After again being buried, these were exposed completely in 1972,

covered, and then again uncovered and re-evaluated in 1989. Miscellaneous Roman finds from around the church and village are reported in the SMR, including a quern stone found in the churchyard in 1919. The SMR has an unpublished report of the 1972 excavations: C. Knowles, 'The Re-Excavation of Roman Pavements at Roxby, 1972'.

N. Loughlin and K. R. Miller, *A Survey of Archaeological Sites in Humberside* (Hull: 1979), 210-11.

H. E. Dudley, *Early Days in North-West Lincolnshire; a Regional Archaeology* (Scunthorpe: 1949), 139-40. Eagles 1979 II, 387.

RUSHBURY	Shrops
SO 51369185	SO 5191
villa?	SO 59 SW
St Peter	Probable

SMR: Shrops 634, 637, 1352

Watkin notes that 'in the end of 1850 or the beginning of 1851 some men, cutting drains in the field S of the church, found some Roman masonry and tiles' (1879, 345). Coins and building debris have been found in and around the churchyard, including herringbone work, tufa, concrete and bricks, and *opus signinum* has been re-used in the fabric. In 1850 or 1851 Roman masonry and tiles were found in a field S of the church – it is difficult to say exactly which field this was, but it is probably adjacent to the church. The SMR notes that 'indications of other works' are visible in the meadow S of the church, but it is unknown whether these are Roman.

G. Webster, *The Cornovii* (London: 1975), 86 and note 21.

W. T. Watkin, 'Roman Shropshire', *Trans. Shrops. Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 2 (1879), 317-63, esp. 345-6. *VCH Shropshire*, I (1908), 261.

C. H. Hartshorne, *Salopia Antiqua* (London: 1841), 140, 149.

SARRATT	Herts
TQ 02639913	TQ 0299
villa	TQ 9 NW
Holy Cross	Certain

SMR: 893, 894, 895

A villa exists in 'Church Field', N of Valley Farm, 1.45km from the nearest church: Holy Cross, Church End, at TQ 03889839. Part of the villa was excavated in 1907 by P. Clutterbuck: his work revealed a rectangular structure 37' x 55' with an apsidal end. This, and further structures, were confirmed in a geophysical

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survey in 1975. Roman brick and tile is included in the current church fabric, and the upper part of the church tower. Romano-British urns, a ring or torque, a key and fibula have also been found within the churchyard. The estate of 'Syret' was granted to St Albans, but the place-name origin is uncertain: Gower's suggestion that it might mean 'place of ambush or for snaring' or 'lurking place' from the OE *searu*, 'trick' fits nicely with the perceptions of Roman ruins discussed in the thesis. Erkwall does not find this convincing and instead suggests the OE *sēret*, 'dry or barren place' or OF *serret* 'an enclosure'. The villa is marked on 1:2500 OS Map TQ0299, 10m NW of Valley Farm (field 109). The site is located N of a bend in the R Chess, opposite a bluff at Mount Wood to the south. It is situated on low-lying ground, N of a ford (now a footbridge) in the river.

VCH Herts. II, 428 and IV, 163.

Use of Geophysical Survey to Locate Buried Artefacts at Sarratt, Herts. Univ. Bristol Survey Report, 1975 (unpublished SMR report).

J. E. Cussans, *History of Hertfordshire*, Vol. 3 (London: 1870-81), 3. (reprinted 1972).

St Albans Arch. Soc. Trans. 3 (1895-1902), 70, 59.

E. Erkwall, *The Concise Oxford English Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th ed. (Oxford: 1960), 405.

J. E. B. Gover, *The Place-Names of Hertfordshire* (Cambridge: 1938).

SAUNDERTON	Bucks
SP 796019	SP 7901
villa	SP 70 SE
St Mary and St Nicholas	Certain

SMR: Bucks 364

Part of a courtyard villa was excavated in 1936-7. Further evidence and material uncovered during ploughing suggests that the structure recovered in 1937 was a small part of a larger courtyard villa. A large, rectangular moat to the immediate SE at SP 79640180 is on the same alignment as the church, roughly NE/SW. The villa is not marked on the OS 1:2500 SP 7901, but it lies about 160m from the church of St Mary and St Nicholas at SP 79550189. The site is on the NW slope of the Chilterns, at 'Church Farm'.

D. Ashcroft, 'Report on the Excavation of a Romano-British Villa at Saunderton, Buckinghamshire', *Records of Buckinghamshire*, 13 (1939), 398-426.

K. Branigan, 'The Romano-British Villa at Saunderton Reconsidered', *Records of Buckinghamshire* 18.4 (1969), 261-76.

SCAMPTON	Lincs
SK 95497851	SK 9578
villa	SK 97 NE
St Pancras	Unknown
Unknown	

See entry in Burials Gazetteer, page 261.

SCARBOROUGH	Yorks N
TA 05178916	TA 0589
fort / signal station	TA 8 NE
Unknown	Certain

SMR: N. Yorks 9100.20000

Plan: Figure 88, page 187 (Bell 1999a, illus. 3).

The church on Castle Hill, Scarborough is one of the few completely excavated examples of the Anglo-Saxon religious interpretation of a Roman secular structure. Several centuries after the abandonment of the Roman signal station, a small church was built directly on top of the structure, reusing its foundations on precisely the same alignment. Around this a cemetery developed, and three successive churches were later built on the same alignment, reusing the foundations of the station and the earliest church. The site continued in use as the Christian centre for the castle and possibly all of Scarborough until the construction of the current parish church in C12. The final church on the site was damaged during the Civil War and was probably demolished with the rest of the castle soon thereafter. The site lay largely abandoned until about 1885 when a coastguard lookout tower was built on the exact site of the Roman station, curiously bringing full-circle the manner in which the site was used. The shelling of the station by a German flotilla in the First World War allowed a complete excavation by F.G. Simpson between 1918-1926. The site is located on the headland of Scarborough, now dominated by Scarborough castle.

T. Bell, 'A Roman Signal Station at Whitby', *Arch J.* 155 (1999), 303-22, esp. 308-11.

(Scarborough Libraries and Museum Committee, *The Scarborough Museum*, 2nd ed. (Scarborough: 1964).

R. G. Collingwood, 'The Roman Signal Station', in A. Rowntree (ed.), *The History of Scarborough* (London: 1931).

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SHAPWICK

ST 42463823
masonry building
Unknown

Somerset

ST 4238
ST 43 NW
Probable

Plan: Figure 81, page 172. An interpretation of the geophysical results on Old Church Field, from Aston *et. al.* (eds) *The Shapwick Project, The Eighth Report* (1998), 49, fig. 8.

Excavation in 1993 and geophysical survey in 1997 located the remains of the Anglo-Saxon church of St Andrew, which is associated with a Roman building in 'Old Church Field' (no. 4016). The church was moved from here to its current site sometime between 1327 and 1331. The fieldname is recorded from 1515, and Roman material - tiles, bone and pottery - is still visible during fieldwalking. The nature of the underlying Roman building is unclear, but the most recent season's fieldwork has discovered a massive Roman villa nearby at ST 425395, which may suggest that the building in Old Church Field is something other than a simple domestic structure.

M. Aston *et al.* (eds.), *The Shapwick Project: a Topographical and Historical Study* (Annual Reports, 1989-present).
Nick Corcos, *The Shapwick Project*, pers. comm.

SHERBORNE

ST 63801649
masonry building?
St Mary the Virgin
Minster

Dorset

ST 6316
ST 61 NW
Possible

SMR: Dorset 1101-1

A Romano-British pavement is said to have been found on the site of the Abbey church of St Mary 'some time ago', but the county archaeologist, Laurence Keen, feels that this is more likely to have consisted of early medieval tiles (C. Pinder, Dorset SMR pers. comm.). Further excavation or more Roman material is needed to answer the question. A long-running controversy exists about whether the British religious site of Lanprobus lay on the nearby castle site or elsewhere.

T. Hall, *Minster Churches in the Dorset Landscape* (BAR British Series 304, 2000), 11-13.
K. Barker, 'Sherborne in Dorset: an Early Ecclesiastical Settlement and its Estate', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in History and Archaeology* 3 (1984), 1-33.
L. Keen, 'The Topography of Sherborne, Dorset - Lanprobus', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 103 (1981), 132-4.

L. Keen, 'The Towns of Dorset', in J. Haslam (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (Chichester: 1984), 203-47.
S. Pearce, *The Kingdom of Dumnonia: Studies in History and Tradition in South-Western Britain, A.D. 350-1150* (Padstow: 1978), 52, 53, 97-104.
RCHME Dorset I, 199.
Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 540-3.

SILCHESTER

SU 64346236
temple?
St Mary

Hants

SU 6462
SU 66 SW
Certain

Plan: Figure 41, page 110 (after Wachter 1974, fig. 60 (note: the scale of the temple enclosure in Wachter 1974, fig. 63, is incorrect)).

Roman *Calleva Atrebatum*. The parish church of St Mary sits in an insula that was devoted to temples in the Roman period, immediately within the town's E gate. Nothing is known of the underlying archaeology: the existence of an underlying temple here has long been assumed, due solely to its position within the temple enclosure, but has not been proven. The church is aligned to the Roman grid, 8° N of E/W.

J. S. Wachter, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London: 1974), 255-71.
M. Henig, *Religion in Roman Britain* (London: 1984).
W. J. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 9.

SNODLAND

TQ 7061
villa
All Saints

Kent

TQ 7061
TQ 76 SW
Certain

In 1844 foundations were uncovered in two fields called 'Church Field' and 'Stone Grave Field', adjacent to All Saints church. A brief mention in Arch. J. in 1845 records the foundations of two buildings and Roman building debris on the site, and that the Medway had eroded part of a bank that consisted largely of Roman material. In 1854 Wright made 'slight excavations' (actually at least several trenches) that uncovered further foundations *in situ*. Wright also records that a bath-house was discovered here c.1814 and reburied shortly thereafter. No plan exists, or indication of the structures' alignment. The site is located at a bend in the R Medway, on the west bank. In 1928 Church Field was completely built over, and occupied by the Snodland gas works and allotments.

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VCH Kent III, 124.

Arch. J. 1 (1845), 164.

N. C. Cook, 'A Roman Site in the Church Field at Snodland', *Arch. Cant.* 40 (1928), 79-83.

T. Wright, *Wanderings of an Antiquary, Chiefly Upon the Traces of the Romans in Britain* (London: 1854), 189.

Scott 1993, 108.

SOUTH CHARD	Somerset
ST 32770527	ST 3205
villa	ST 30 NW
St Margaret	Certain

SMR: Somerset 53159

The *VCH* records that coins, tile, and tesserae were uncovered in 1843, in a garden near the chapel of St Margaret (at ST 32750528). Some 45 years before, the foundations of a building were uncovered with three stone steps leading to a vault or bath (now destroyed). More recently, a trench dug in 1965, at the coordinates given in the header above, recovered mosaic fragments. Tesserae still continue to be uncovered in the topsoil. This is all very good, if fragmentary, evidence for a Roman villa here.

VCH Somerset I, 332.

SOUTH ELMHAM	Suffolk
TM 309826	TM 3082
fort or camp	TM 38 SW
Unknown	Certain
?Minster	

Plan: Figure 64, page 144 (after OS 1:2500, and Taylor and Taylor I, 1965, fig. 104).

The 'Old Minster' here lies near the centre of a small (1.7 ha) Roman, square enclosure; it is aligned on the axis of the enclosure, 33° N of E/W. Woodward, on visiting the site in 1857, was told by the warden of the estate that, although the interior of the enclosure had been drained and ploughed, and the interior of the church explored to a depth of five feet, no floor had been found, nor any burials in or around the church. After their own excavations, Smedley and Owles concluded that the enclosure is undoubtedly Roman, and that the date of the existing church building cannot have been much earlier than C11 (Smedley and Owles 1971), but this does not preclude the possibility of an earlier, timber church (of which no evidence was found). The orientation of the church itself, within the rectangular enclosure would seem to suggest the reuse of an internal structure contemporary with the enclosure, although none has been found. The site did not exist in

isolation: Ridgard concludes that 'both the medieval documents and the archaeological evidence point to the complex of buildings near South Elmham Hall rather than to the minster as the true site of the 7th-century seat of the bishopric' (Ridgard 1987, 199). The Anglo-Saxon church at North Elmham (formerly a cathedral - C8 in its earliest incarnation: TF 987217) has a very similar setting, within a square, moated enclosure.

N. Smedley and E. Owles, 'Excavations at the Old Minster, South Elmham', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Arch.* 32.1 (1971), 1-16.

J. Ridgard, 'References to South Elmham Minster in the Medieval Account Rolls of South Elmham Manor', *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.* 36.3 (1987), 196-201.

E. Fernie, *The Architecture of the Anglo-Saxons* (London: 1983), 171, 178.

T. Pestell, *An Analysis of Monastic Foundation in East Anglia, c. 650 -1200* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia 1999), 306-12.

VCH Suffolk I, 281.

C. R. Peers, 'On Saxon Churches of the St Pancras Type', *Arch. J.* 58 (1901), 402-34, esp. 410.

J. T. Micklethwaite, 'Something About Saxon Church Building', *Arch. J.* 53 (1896), 293-351, esp. 340-9.

J. T. Micklethwaite, 'Some Further Notes on Saxon Church Building', *Arch. J.* 55 (1898), 340-9, esp. 317.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 228-33.

B. B. Woodward, 'The Old Minster Church, South Elmham', *Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch.* 4 (1874), 1-7.

SOUTHWELL	Notts
SK 70265376	SK 7053
villa	SK 75 SW
St Mary	Certain
Probable minster	

Plan: Figure 92, page 201 (after JRS 50 (1960), fig. 25 and OS 1:2500 SK 7053).

SMR: Notts 3148, 3069

The site of Southwell is a probable minster church on a Roman building that preserves what appear to be pre-Christian burials. Although Domesday Book did not record a church on the manor of Southwell, a secular college existed at St Mary's Minster from c.956, and a church here can be assumed. In 956 a grant to Oskytel, Archbishop of York, at Southwell has been taken to record the founding of the minster, but nothing in the charter suggests it is a foundation document, and the church is not referred to. There is a reference to Southwell in the C9 portion of the Secgan as the resting place of an unknown St Eadburh. The first tangible hints of pre-Saxon occupation on the site came in 1789 when a masonry wall and Roman material was discovered about 3 feet below the 'vicar's court residence', just E of St Mary's minster. In 1901,

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A. Baylay recorded that, about 30 years prior, c.1870, 'some workmen... came upon a tessellated pavement... and two skeletons, lying on the pavement and in a N and S direction' (Baylay 1901, 59). The age of both the wall and this mosaic remained in doubt until the Ministry of Works excavated in 1959 in advance of building works for a new grammar school - they found the remains of a courtyard villa that extends under the provost's garden. Only the areas under threat were excavated. In the S wing, Daniels excavated two narrow, diagonal ditches that cut through the Roman levels, and were filled with human bones, 'some dozen groups could be isolated in the filling, comprising, in most cases, moderately complete limbs or other sections of the body, rather than whole skeletons' (Daniels 1966, 24). Fig. 7 in Daniels shows what appear to be 'disturbed burials rather than pure charnel. However, amongst the other bones Daniels found one complete skeleton, 'pierced at the shoulders, ankles, and heart with iron studs' (Daniels 1966, 24). One would at first assume these to be coffin fittings, but they are double-headed clinchers, and Daniels clearly suggests that they were found piercing the bone; he offers that these burials lay outside of the original churchyard, presumably thinking that they were the result of some kind of 'deviant' burial. There is other evidence of post-Roman activity: one 'Saxon pot, dated to c.500-525 was found in Room 3, lying in dark soil over the mosaic (Daniels 1966, 47), and the mosaic in this same room was pierced by 7 postholes of a later structure (Daniels 1966, pl. 2, 3; fig. 9). It is tempting to see an early church developing on the site of a pre-Christian burial ground here. St Mary's minster is at SK 70165380; the OS marks a Roman building at SK 70265375, and the remains of the Bishop's Palace are at SK 70055375.

C. M. Daniels, 'Excavation on the Site of a Roman Villa at Southwell, 1959', *Trans. Thoroton Soc. Notts.* 70 (1966), 13-54.

D. Hadley, *Danelaw Society and Institutions: East Midlands Phenomena?* University of Birmingham, PhD thesis (1992) 365-72.

A. Baylay, 'Discovery of a Pavement, Probably Pre-Norman, at Southwell', *Trans. Thoroton Soc. Notts.* 5 (1901), 58-9.

W. Dickinson, *A History of the Antiquities of the Town and Church of Southwell, in the County of Nottingham* (London: 1787).

H. Rooke, 'Observations on the Roman Roads and Camps in the neighbourhood of Mansfield Woodhouse in the County of Nottingham', *Arch.* 9 (1789), 193-205, esp. 200.

Anon., 'Southwell Minster', *JBAA* 39 (1933), 73-83.

R. M. Beaumont, *The Chapter of Southwell Minster: a story of 1,000 years* (Southwell: 1956). *JRS* 50 (1960) 223-4.

Eagles 1979 II, 414.

VCH Notts. II, 34.

Scott 1993, 156.

ST OSYTH

TM 12261556

masonry building

St Peter and St Paul

Essex

TM 1215

TM 11 NW

Certain

The Rodwells suggest that there is no reason not to believe that the site of the extant church of St Peter and St Paul is the site of St Peter's minster, mentioned in a document dated c.1050, and the burial place of St Osyth herself (who lived in the C7 or C9). The *VCH* notes that a mosaic, or several mosaics, were uncovered in St Osyth park. In 1843 another mosaic was noted in 'the estate of St Osyth priory', and in 1906 a further pavement was found 0.75 mile NW of the priory and 100 yards NW of the pond in Nun's Wood at TL 115167; this was again uncovered in 1921. These finds seem to suggest a sizable Roman structure or complex of structures in the NW corner of the park.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 117.

C. Hohler, 'St Osyth and Alyesbury', *Rec. Bucks.* 18 (1970), 61-72.

RCHME Essex III, 195-6.

VCH Essex III, 176.

K. Bailey, 'Osyth, Frithuwold and Aylesbury', *Rec. Bucks.* 31 (1989), 37-48.

Scott 1993, 65.

STANFORD-ON-SOAR

SK 54332200

masonry building

St John the Baptist

Notts

SK 5422

SK 52 SW

Probable

SMR: Notts 42, 19, 43

The SMR records that that two tessellated pavements were found on the S side of the tower of the church of St John the Baptist (SK 54332200) during grave digging. There is an almost rectangular earthwork of some sort between the church and the rectory, but little beyond this is known of the site.

C. L. U. Baker, 'St John Baptist, Stanford-on-Soar', *Trans. Thoroton Soc. Notts.* 14 (1910) 2-9.

S. P. Potter, *A History of East Leake* (Nottingham: 1903), 3.

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STANSTEAD ABBOTS

TL 39971107
masonry building
St James

Herts

TL 3911
TL 31 SE
Possible

SMR: 1689

Another -stan place-name. Roman tile, bricks and pottery reported to have been found on the site, and Romano-British bricks are incorporated into the tower, chancel and nave of St James church. There is reason to expect a building here if we can trust the identification of the material as Roman.

VCH Herts. IV, 164
Trans. East Herts. Arch. Soc. 2, (1904), 28.

STANSTED MOUNTFITCHET

TL 52102415
villa
St Mary the Virgin

Essex
TL 5224
TL 52 SW
Certain

In 1887 the remains of a Roman villa were found during restoration of the church, but no plan or detailed description survives, and nothing is visible on the surface. In 1891 Green observed pottery uncovered near a grave and reported to the *VCH* that 'the whole churchyard teems with Roman remains'. He later added that a mosaic pavement was found in 1887, 2-3 feet below the surface within the nave of the church on the S side, in addition to the discovery of flue tiles, tegulae and imbrices. Part of the mosaic pavement is on display in the Saffron Walden museum, which also has some tiles from the churchyard. A priest is recorded here in Domesday. The church is now isolated.

RCHME Essex I, 275.
VCH Essex III, 181-2.
W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 118.
Scott 1993, 65.

STANWIX

NY 402571
fort (on Wall and Stanegate)
St Michael

Cumberland
NY 4057
NY 45 NW
Certain

NMR: NY 45 NW 2

Plan: Figure 146, page 399 (after Dacre 1985, fig. 2).

The church of St Michael, C19 in its current form, lies within the Roman fort of *Uxelodunum*, on the course of Hadrian's Wall, but now entirely built over in a suburb of Carlisle. A fragment of the S rampart is slightly visible in the current churchyard (running SW/NE, c.30 cm high), and some masonry is displayed in the car park of the nearby Cumbria Park Hotel. The fort continues under the adjacent schoolyard. Excavations in 1939-40 and 1984 focused on the Roman contexts: Roman layers have been removed by later levelling, and little if anything is known of the early history of the church and its relationship to the fort.

J Dacre, 'An Excavation on the Roman Fort at Stanwix, Carlisle', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland Arch. Soc.* 85 (1985), 53-69.

STEEPLE BUMPSTEAD

TL 67914106
masonry building
St Mary the Virgin

Essex

TL 6741
TL 64 SE
Possible

In 1962 Mrs. P. G. Lucas, the occupant of Broadgates, the house to the N of the church, reported to the *VCH* that extensive Roman foundations were found under her lawn in 1949. The site is included here with the usual caveats: we do not know who discovered and dated the foundations.

VCH Essex III, 59.
RCHME Essex I, 288.
W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 100.

STEYNING

TQ 17911140
masonry building
St Andrew

Sussex
TQ 1711
TQ 11 SE
Uncertain

SMR: W Sussex 3502
NMR: TQ 11 SE 26

Scott concludes from SMR and NMR reports that the discovery of Roman pottery, brick and oyster shells in Steyning churchyard suggest a possible Roman site underneath or adjacent to the church. However, little Roman material has been uncovered in recent excavations.

M. Gardiner and C. Greatorex, 'Archaeological Investigations in Steyning, 1992-95', *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 135 (1997), 143-7
J. Blair, 'Saint Cuthman, Steyning and Bosham', *Sussex Arch. Coll.* 135 (1997), 173-92.
Scott 1993, 191.

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STOKE D'ABERNON

Surrey

TQ 129584
villa
St Mary

TQ 1258
TQ 15 NW
Certain

The pre-conquest church of St Mary contains Roman tiles in the W part of the chancel, some re-laid in a herringbone pattern, with mortar of lime and crushed Roman brick. The church clearly lies on the edge of a villa site, but the archaeological relationship between the two is unknown.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 573-5.

P. M. Johnson, 'Stoke d'Abernon Church', *Surrey Arch. Coll.* 20 (1907), 1-89.

P. M. Johnson, 'Stoke d'Abernon: Some Recent Discoveries', *Surrey Arch. Coll.* 26 (1919), 121-33.
Scott 1993, 178.

STONE-BY- FAVERSHAM

Kent

TQ 99166132
mausoleum
Unknown

TQ 9961
TQ 96 SE
Certain

NMR: TQ 96 SE 2

Plan: Figure 91, page 194 (after Fletcher and Meates 1977, fig. 1).

This is the classic example of an early Anglo-Saxon church (assigned to period A1 by Taylor and Taylor) that reuses the remains of a Roman building. The interpretation of the original structure as a mausoleum suits the topography, as Roman cemeteries are recorded nearby along the line of the Roman road. Early burials are also known from this structure: the 1968 interim report briefly mentions burials on the site that both pre-date the church and post-date the mausoleum: 'Burials found inside and outside the building, some oriented N-S, indicate a pagan or pre-Christian origin'. Two radiocarbon dates were taken, and published uncalibrated: one (BM-479), taken from the bone of a juvenile, buried near the S wall of chancel, returns a calibrated date of AD430-660 at 1 sigma. Another sample (BM-481), taken from charcoal from possible wattle-and-daub fragments, returns a similar calibrated date of AD530-730 at 1 sigma. (See the Radiocarbon appendix for details of these recent calibrations.) It remains possible that this and similar burials could be Late Roman, and associated with the original Roman cemetery. The site is visible on OS maps as the isolated 'Stone Chapel', 1km north of the Roman road, at the mouth of a slight valley now

occupied by Faversham Road, 1 mile west of Faversham.

H. M. Taylor and D. D. Yonge, 'The Ruined Church at Stone-by-Faversham, a Reassessment', *Arch. J.* 138 (1981), 118-45.

E. Fletcher and G. W. Meates, 'The Ruined Church of Stone-by-Faversham', *Antiq. J.* 49 (1969), 273-90.

E. Fletcher and G. W. Meates, 'The Ruined Church of Stone-by-Faversham, Second Report', *Antiq. J.* 57 (1977), 67-72.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 575-7.

J. T. Irvine, 'On the Remains of Saxon or Early Norman Work in the Church of Stone Juxta Faversham', *JBAA* 31 (1875), 249-58.

O'Brien 1999, 133; No.2085.

STOW

SO 3073
villa
Unknown

Shrops

SO 3073
SO 37 SW
Certain

SMR: Shrops 1776

'On the lower slope of the hill, there is a field, known from medieval times as 'Church Field': just beneath the surface of the soil are the foundations of a building...' (Morris 1926, v). Excavation in 1924 confirmed that this was part of a Roman villa, perhaps a bath-house. A well is reported from an adjacent field, and was filled in recent times. Little else is known of this potentially interesting site.

J. A. Morris, 'Excavations at Stowe (near Knighton), Shropshire', *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.* 43 (1926), iv-vi.

A. J. Bird, *History on the Ground: An Inventory of Unrecorded Material Relating to the Mid-Anglo-Welsh Borderland* (Cardiff: 1977), 128-9.

Scott 1993, 165.

STREET

ST 48843717
villa
Holy Trinity

Somerset

ST 4837
ST 43 NE
Probable

SMR: Somerset 24705

There is a probable Roman villa under the church of the Holy Trinity, which sits on the E edge of a curvilinear enclosure; this is the supposed site of Lantokay, the church of St Cai, an early endowment of Glastonbury Abbey. Excavation is certainly required here.

C. Hollinrake and N. Hollinrake, *An Archaeological Watching Brief in the Churchyard of Holy Trinity Parish Church, Street* (Unpublished Report no. 53, Somerset CC, 1993) SMR.

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STROUD

SO 85220527
masonry building ?
St Lawrence

Gloucs

SO 8505
SO 80 NE
Uncertain

SMR: Gloucs 3588

A brief report in *Glevensis* records that 'unstratified' Romano-British box tile, tegulae, sandstone tile and plaster was found in digging the foundations of the new vicarage, adjacent to and NE of the parish church. The material was recorded as being found 'only in the churchyard limits', but this account does not immediately make sense because the excavations for the vicarage were outside (but adjacent to) the churchyard. It is unclear how much material was found under the churchyard and/or the vicarage, and how far it extended under both. Although the writer of the *Glevensis* article suggests that it could be redeposited material, if the Roman remains are spread over a large area it could be evidence of a villa on the site.

Glevensis 11 (1977), 30.
Scott 1993, 76.

TAKELEY

TL 55522167
masonry building
St Mary (or Holy Trinity
- original uncertain)

Essex

TL 5521
TL 52 SE
Uncertain

The Rodwells note that 'recent burials just S of the church have turned up Roman brick fragments; similar brick and pieces of Rhenish lava quern occur in the fabric of the church... The apparent isolation of this church is a feature of great interest; it would come as no surprise to discover that it lay on the site of a villa' (Rodwell and Rodwell 1977, 120). The *RCHME* and the *VCH* do not mention Roman material here, but they do pre-date the Rodwell's reference to the material found during grave digging, which presumably occurred sometime in the early 1970s. Isolated.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 119-20.
VCH Essex III, 185-6.
Scott 1993, 65.

TARRANT

CRAWFORD

ST 92300347
masonry building
St Mary

Dorset

ST 9203
ST 90 SW
Possible

SMR: Dorset 2056-12, 8

Roman pottery, tile, and 'old glass' are reported to have been found beneath the church floor in 1918. Scarps and banks at ST 92030338 were disturbed during unrecorded C18 excavations, covering an area 200' x 50', roughly L-shaped, the longer side oriented E/W. 'Mounds which appear to contain masonry from the walls of a substantial building stand up to 3' high.' The remains of a large, substantial structure may mark the site of the Abbey church.

Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Antiq. Field Club, 39 (1918), 109.
RCHME Dorset IV, 88.

THORNHAM

TQ 7957
masonry building

Kent

TQ 7957
TQ 75 NE
Probable

'Traces of a 'considerable mansion' were noticed here in 1833 on 'a damp, clayey site' just NW of the church. The foundations were removed and no plan made' (*VCH*). The *VCH* regards these as Roman.

VCH Kent III, 125

TICKENHAM

ST 45857149
villa?
St Quiricus and St Juletta

Somerset

ST 4571
ST 47 SE
Possible

SMR: 536

Scott reports from SMR evidence that a stone wall was found associated with C3 pottery, at Church Lane, which lies at the S and E of the church of St Quiricus and St Juletta, at ST 45787144. It is unclear whether the identification of the foundation as Roman is due simply to the associated C3 pottery, and if so, whether it was discovered in a stratified archaeological context.

Scott 1993, 18.

Appendix 5.2: Churches Associated with Roman Structures

TITSEY	Surrey
TQ 4054	TQ 4054
masonry building /	TQ 45 SW
?temple	
Unknown	Certain

A villa was discovered at Titsey in 1847, and excavated more thoroughly in 1864. Near this site, in Church Field, about 500m S of the Pilgrim's Way, the foundations of a square building were discovered, facing SE. It was about 21'2" square. At the NE and SW angles were traces of buttresses. No plan is provided but a more detailed textual description is given in Levison-Gower (1881). The site lies on a knoll, about 500' above sea level. Without a plan it is difficult to know what to make of the building: the excavator believed it to be a watchtower, but his colleague Roach-Smith believed it to be only part of a larger, possibly domestic structure. Morris and Roxan refer to it as a temple. The excavator was told a local story, commonly found in tales of ruined churches, about how attempts were made to build a church on the site, but witches frustrated the attempt by night (Levison-Gower 1881, 213). In the same reference, Roach Smith also notes that he is familiar with 'more than one instance where the name of Church Field is found in connection with Roman remains,' but sadly no examples are provided. The 'ancient' church at Titsey was pulled down in 1776.

G. Leveson-Gower, 'Recent Excavations at Titsey', *Antiq. J.* 8 (1879-1881), 211-15.
G. Leveson-Gower, 'On a Roman Villa Discovered at Titsey', *Surrey Arch. Coll.* 4 (1869), 214-37.
Morris and Roxan 1989, 185.

TOLLESBURY	Essex
TL 95631037	TL 9510
masonry building	TL 91 SE
St Mary (or St Margaret;	Probable
uncertain)	

During the restoration of the church c.1875 many Roman roof and flue tiles were found in the fabric of the nave, tower and S doorway, including an arch of Roman brick. Their discovery is recounted by Loftis Brock in the *JBAA*, who saw on site the foundations from which they were derived. The *VCH* notes that Haverfield saw a possible Roman foundations outside the wall of the N tower. Construction work in the late 1950s uncovered a foundation that was also believed to be Roman.

VCH Essex III, 192.
RCHME Essex III, 216.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset* (CBA Research Report 19, 1977), 121.
L. Brock, 'Early Remains in Tollesbury Church, Essex', *JBAA* 32 (1876), 417-19.
Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 622-3.
Scott 1993, 66.

TOLLESHUNT KNIGHTS	Essex
TL 92691387	TL 9213
masonry building	TL 91 SW
All Saints	Certain

The *VCH* records that 'Roman tiles are said to be found NE of the church in the present time [1963]'. The *RCHME* furthers that a 'possibly Roman house stood near Barne Walden, now called Barn Hall, NE of the church' (TL 929149), where Morant (1768) records that 'Roman pavements were dug up near it some years ago several feet under ground'. Morris and Roxan report a Roman building as 'near' the church, but the grid reference for the structure at Barn Hall places it about 1km away from the church. The existence of a Roman building at Tolleshunt Knights is certain, but it remains unclear whether the *VCH* and the *RCHME* are referring to the same building.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 121-2.
RCHME Essex III, 222.
VCH Essex III, 192.
P. Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the Town and Borough of Colchester, in Essex*, vol. 1, 2nd ed. (London: 1768), 393.

TOTTERNHOE	Beds
SP 98932080	SP 9820
villa	SP 92 SE
St Giles	Certain

SMR: Beds 534, 1143

A small courtyard villa complex (200' x 450') at 'Church Farm', lies in a field immediately to the S of the church. The site was excavated by Manshead Archaeological Society in the 1950s, 1960s and late 1970s. C5/C6 Saxon pottery was found within the villa. A major Anglo-Saxon cemetery is located 1.96km away at TL 008214, and it is interesting to note that the villa was not chosen as the site of the cemetery; it is likely that the cemetery was instead sited in its current position because of the topography and nearby prehistoric tumuli. The church lies on Chiltern scarp, 1 mile N of the Icknield Way. The cemetery is located SW of modern Dunstable

Appendix 5.2: Churches Associated with Roman Structures

(Roman *Durcobreuis*) immediately north of the 'Five Knolls Tumuli'.

- C. L. Mathews, *Beds. Arch. J.* 1 (1962), 25.
 R. Morris, *The Church in British Archaeology (Nature of the Evidence, Work Done, and Work Needed)*, CBA Res Rep CBA London 47 (1983), 55.
 C. L. Mathews, 'Ancient Dunstable: A Prehistory of the District', (Dunstable: 1963), 61-4.
 C. L. Mathews, J. Schneider and B. Horne, 'A Roman Villa at Totternhoe', *Beds. Arch. J.* 20 (1992), 41-95.
 E. Baker, 'Excavation of St Giles Church', *Beds. S. Midlands Arch.* 20 (1990), 12.
 Meaney 1964, 41-2.
 J. Brennan, *Hanging Bowls and Their Contexts* (BAR British Series 220, 1991), 48-9, 80-2.
 Geake 1997, 145.

USK	Monm
SO 37890081	SO 3700
fort	SO 30 SE
St Mary	Certain

Plan: Figure 147, page 399 (after Manning 1981, fig. 14, and OS 1:2500 SO 3700).

The defences of Roman *Burrium* have been located by excavation on the N and E sides, and on the S side by geophysical survey. The line of the W wall is postulated. The church of St Mary lies in the NE corner of the fort, aligned to the Roman grid, about 28° N of E/W. Just S of St Mary's church are the ruins of a Benedictine priory. The site lies at the confluence of the R Olway and R Usk, on the E bank of R Usk, between the two rivers.

- W. H. Manning, *Report on the Excavations at Usk, 1965-76* (Cardiff: 1981).
 W. T. Watkin, 'On the Roman Stations "Burrium", "Gobannium", and "Bleasium", of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Iters of Antoninus', *Arch. J.* 35 (1878), 19-43.
 Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 116-18.

VERULAMIUM - ST MICHAEL	Herts
TL 135073	TL 1307
town (basilica)	TL 10 NW
St Michael	Certain

Plan: Figure 53, page 127 (after Rodwell 1984, fig. 3d).

The pre-conquest church of St Michael overlies the centre of the Roman basilica, to the immediate N of the forum, and is aligned about 40° off of the Roman axis. Rodwell (1993) notes that the present gateway of the churchyard corresponds to the NE entrance of the basilica, and his Figure 12.1B further shows the

correspondance between the shape of the churchyard and the underlying basilica. He concludes that 'the basilica must have been transferred from civil to ecclesiastical authority at a time when it was still a complete structure' (Rodwell 1993, 93). While his topographical observations are certainly valid, this conclusion is not the only one to fit the available evidence.

- W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 5 and fig. 3d.
 W. Rodwell, 'The Role of the Church in the Development of Roman and Early Anglo-Saxon London' in M. Carver (ed.), *In Search of Cult: Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz* (Woodbridge: 1993), 91-9.
 Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 528-30.
 J. C. Rogers, *The Parish Church of St Michael, St Albans: a Short History* (St Albans: 1956).

WELLS	Somerset
ST 55154588	ST 5545
mausoleum	ST 54 NE
St Mary the Virgin Minster	Possible

Plan: Figure 45, page 115 (after Rodwell 1984, fig. 6).

Wells was known as *Fontinetum* in the Anglo-Saxon period. This may be a survival from the Roman name, which derives from a series of springs rising to the E of the present cathedral - one of which was dedicated to St Andrew by the C8. The site has a complex history: sometime in the Roman period a mausoleum with a subterranean burial chamber was constructed 50m to the W of this well. Primary interments were placed into the chamber, and secondary burials were placed on the floor at ground level. In the C8 or sometime before, Christian burials were being made to the W of the structure. Later, the Roman mausoleum was dismantled and the primary burials removed, while the secondary burials were shifted into the subterranean chamber, and the remains of the structure were levelled, over which a chapel was built that contained the graves of three adults and two children, cut through the floor. To the W of this structure a nave was added, and the chapel dedicated to St Mary the Virgin. The Anglo-Saxon minster of St Andrew was built to the immediate W by 776, aligned to the chapel of St Mary, 18° from E/W; the subsequent town took its alignment from this complex. As at Exeter and York, the subsequent Norman rebuilding of the cathedral re-oriented it to an E/W axis. Dates for the early cemetery is based on a C8 Frisian sceatta, coloured window and vessel glass (possibly Merovingian), and radiocarbon date

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from a skeleton of 730 +/-70 (see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations).

W. J. Rodwell, 'Above and Below Ground: Archaeology at Wells Cathedral', in T. Tatton-Brown and J. Munby (eds.), *The Archaeology of Cathedrals* (Oxford: 1996), 115-33.
 W. J. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 13-14.
 W. J. Rodwell, 'The Origins of Wells Cathedral', *Antiquity* 56 (1982), 215-18.
 W. J. Rodwell, 'From Mausoleum to Minster: the Early Development of Wells Cathedral', in S. Pearce (ed.), *The Early Church in Western Britain and Ireland* (Oxford: 1982), 49-59.
 W. J. Rodwell, 'The Anglo-Saxon and Norman Churches at Wells', in L. S. Colchester (ed.), *Wells Cathedral* (Shepton Mallet: 1982), 1-23.
 W. J. Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral: Excavations and Discoveries*, 2nd edition (Wells: 1980).
 Geake 1997, 177.

WEST DEAN	Hants
SU 25702723	SU 2527
villa	SU 22 NE
St Mary	Certain

SMR: SU22NE21

A mosaic found in 1741 revealed the presence of a Roman villa, which was excavated in 1846. The remains of the structure are extensive, and appear to spread into the adjacent fields. The villa is in a field adjacent to the church of St Mary at SU 25782709; the site of All Saints Church (ruined) is nearby at SU 25492694. The villa is now found in glebe land, but was 'at the time' property of the manor (Master 1885, 244). The parish was originally two distinct parishes, one in Hants and one in Wilts, that were united in 1473. A plan of the villa is found in Master (1885, opp. 244).

G. S. Master, 'Collections for a History of West Dean', *Wilts. Arch. Hist. Mag.* 22 (1885), 239-317, esp. 243-50.
VCH Hants. I, 311.
VCH Wilts. I, 119.

WEST MERSEA	Essex
TM 00911250	TM 0012
villa	TM 1 SW
St Peter and St Paul	Certain
Minster	

SMR: Essex 2274, 2214, 12501

The existence of the minster of St Peter at West Mersea is confirmed by a series of references in

C10 wills; the fabric of the W tower is late Saxon or Norman, and in 1970 a fragment of stone decorated with Saxon interlace was discovered. An extensive villa complex underlies the churchyard and the priory to the W, suggested by the discovery of several mosaics throughout the area: in 1730 pavements were discovered over an area 100' by 50' in the churchyard just NE of the church. In 1740 another red tessellated floor was found under the chancel, and to the SE of the church further red tiles or tesserae were found. Gough saw the further remains of floors W of the church in 1764, and in the 1960s red tessellated tiles were exposed on the footway of the road by the churchyard wall. Furthermore, a similar pavement was exposed in fixing a telegraph pole about 180 feet SW of the church. Solomon concludes that 'the whole of the churchyard was paved at the same depth, and most of the [recent] coffins are placed on these pavements, which varied in character'. Nearby in 1896, about 200 yards E of the church and 150 yards E of Hall Farm, foundations of a circular building were found, believed at first to be some sort of watch tower, are most probably the remains of a Roman tomb or columbarium. An interesting footnote regarding the degree of post-Roman build-up within the churchyard is apparent from the 1956 re-investigation of the pavements found in 1730, which lies under the border of the churchyard. The mosaic lay 1 foot beneath the outside surface, and 4 feet beneath the surface of the churchyard. Finally, some distance away at East Mersea, the church of St Edmund the Martyr may have been a possible subsidiary church, and has also been suggested to overlie a Roman building. Although Morris and Roxan include East Mersea in their corpus, the *VCH* records only the discovery of coins near the church, which has Roman tile in the fabric. The *RCHME* does not mention anything Roman, and Rodwell (1978) concludes that 'nothing is certain' about the suggested underlying Roman building at East Mersea.

D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge: 1930), 8, 36, 40, 140.
VCH Essex III, 158.
 W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 113-14.
 W. J. Rodwell, 'Rivenhall and the Emergence of First Century Villas in North Essex', in M. Todd (ed.) *Studies in the Romano-British Villa* (1978), 11-32, fig. 4.
 H. M. Carter, 'Anglo-Saxon Carving from West Mersea Church', *Colchester Arch. Group Annual Bull.* 14 (1971), 37.

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WEST STOKE

SU 82650874
possible villa
St Andrew

Sussex
SU 8208
SU 80 NW
Uncertain

SMR: 0541
NMR: SU 80 NW 30

Scott reports from the NMR and SMR that a roughly square earthwork that is associated with a 'local tradition of a Roman villa', W of the church of St Andrew (SU 82650874). No earthwork is visible on the current or first edition OS maps. A Roman pipe and tile fragments were found during ploughing c.1959.

Scott 1993, 187.

WHITBY

NZ 903115
signal station
Unknown
Minster

Yorks N
NZ 9011
NZ 91 SW
Probable

SMR: N. Yorks 7464.10000

Recent research by the author has added support to the suggestion that there was a Roman signal station at Whitby, which lies at the mouth of the R Esk and its associated harbour on the North Yorkshire coast, amidst an intervisible chain of five known signal stations. The site is best known for its Anglo-Saxon monastery founded by the Northumbrian King Osui in 657. No absolute archaeological evidence of a signal station at Whitby exists, but Bede's toponym *sinus fari* suggests that the site had an association with a signal station or watchtower. It is clear that the existing stations were designed to function as a cohesive system, given their similar form and identical dates: communication and intervisibility were therefore essential aspects of this defensive network. Despite this, the stations to the N and S of Whitby – those at Goldsborough and Ravenscar respectively – are not intervisible. A station positioned at Whitby would effectively close this gap in the system. Recent excavations by English Heritage have found what appear to be Late Roman, possibly Christian, graves on the headland. The abbey, the church of St Mary, and the presumed site of the signal station lie on Whitby's East cliff, overlooking the coast and the mouth of the R Esk.

Bede *H. E.* iii, 25; iv, 23.

Online interims of the recent excavations by English Heritage: <http://www.english-heritage.gov.uk/projects/whitby/wahpsae/>

P. Ottaway, *Romans on the Yorkshire Coast*, York (York: 1995).

P. Rahtz, 'Anglo-Saxon and Later Whitby', in L. R. Hoey (ed.) *Yorkshire Monasticism* (London: 1995), 1-11.

C. Peers and C. A. R. Radford, 'The Saxon Monastery of Whitby', *Arch.* 89 (1943), 27-88.

T. Wilmott, *Whitby Abbey, North Yorkshire: Archaeological Evaluation 1993-5*. (English Heritage Assessment Report: 1995). Unpublished.

T. Bell, 'GIS, CAD and Coastal Reconstruction: Reconstructing Archaeology from the Landscape', in L. Dingwall *et al.* (eds.), *Archaeology in the Age of the Internet: Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology 1997* (BAR International Series: 1997).

T. Bell, 'A Roman Signal Station at Whitby', *Arch. J.* 155 (1999), 303-22.

P. Rahtz, 'The Building Plan of the Anglo-Saxon Monastery of Whitby Abbey', in D. Wilson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: 1976), 460-2.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 654-5.

M. Johnson, 'The Saxon Monastery at Whitby: Past, Present, and Future' in M. Carver (ed.), *In Search of Cult: Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz* (Woodbridge: 1993), 85-9.

R. Cramp, 'A Reconsideration of the Monastic Site of Whitby', in R. M. Spearman and J. Higgitt (eds.), *The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh: 1993), 64-73.

WHITCHURCH

SJ 54094172
fort
St Alkmund

Shrops

SJ 5441
SJ 54 SW
Certain

SMR: Shrops 4460

Plan: Figure 148, page 400 (after Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, fig. 65, and OS 1:2500 SJ 5441).

Roman *Mediolanum*. The church of St Alkmund lies in the NE corner of the fort, aligned closer to the fort than to true E/W: about 40° N of E/W, and 14° S of the fort itself. Little is known of the earliest church here and its relationship to the Roman remains beneath.

Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, 121-2.

WHITCHURCH

CANONICORUM

SY 39689545
masonry building
St Candida (or St Wite)
and Holy Cross
Minster

Dorset

SY 3995
SY 39 NE
Uncertain

SMR: Dorset 1127-21

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At least ninety fragments of Roman brick and concrete exist in the fabric of the church here. Alfred's will (C9) refers to 'Hwitancyrican'- a plastered building or stone structure, so there was perhaps a pre-Conquest stone church here, and the dedication to 'St Wite' is curious: 'the obscurity of the dedication to Candida suggests that it was a back-formation from the Latin word for white, *candidus* ... whereas the *hwit* element probably simply refers to a stone building, though this in itself suggests that it was more important than neighboring structures (Hall 2000, 13). The C13 shrine and its contents still survive in a recess in the N wall of the transept.

T. Hall, *Minster Churches in the Dorset Landscape* (BAR British Series 304, 2000), 13.

S. Pearce, *The Kingdom of Dumnonia: Studies in History and Tradition in South-Western Britain, A.D. 350-1150* (Padstow: 1978), 52-3.

RCHME Dorset I, 260-3.

D. Woolner and A. Woolner, 'The Antecedents of Whitchurch Canonicorum, Dorset', *Proc. Dorset Nat. Hist. Arch. Soc.* 83 (1961), 83.

L. Keen, 'The Towns of Dorset', in J. Halsam (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England* (1984), 203-47.

WHITE NOTLEY	Essex
TL 78451815	TL 7818
villa	TL 71 NE
Unknown (now St Etheldreda)	Certain
Probable minster	

In 1949 Major Brinson and Mr Ridyard noted a scatter of Roman tile and pottery in a field W of the vicarage. Mr J Campen later opened a single trench on the site, and discovered bones and pieces of flue and other tiles, and 'a quantity of painted wall plaster' in a pit to the SE. The exact site of the trench is unclear: the *JRS* records only that it was to the SW of the church. The journal also notes the discovery of a circular tomb here very similar to that at West Mersea. The church is located at TL 78571825; the chancel is arguably pre-conquest and contains Roman brick. A bequest of 998 to God's servants at Notley suggests a minster here (S 1522).

P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: 1968), S 1552.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, I, 475.

VCH Essex III, 164.

JRS 45 (1955), 137.

W. J. Rodwell and K. A. Rodwell, *Historic Churches: a Wasting Asset*, CBA Research Report 19 (1977), 115.

WHITESANDS BAY

SM 73362724

fort / station

St Patrick

SMR: 2632

Pemb

SM 7327

SM 72 NW

Uncertain

A site, known as Yr Hen Eglwys, 'The Old Church', lies on the shore of Whitesands Bay in Pembrokeshire: the site is believed locally to have been a church founded by St David (the OS marks site of 'St David's chapel' here, at SM 73362724). The structure was excavated in 1924 and found to be a small, rectangular chapel. Burials under the chapel walls suggest that it was built on an existing cemetery: the remains of at least 6 individuals were found in Badger and Green's excavations, including the bones of young children. While no Roman activity was revealed on the chapel site, an addendum on p. 119 of Badger and Green records the claim of a local woman who said that she knew in her childhood (c.1850) of the existence of 'the foundations of a building much larger than St Patrick's Chapel lying some 40ft or so from it on the beach'. The foundations were removed for a new wing of the Ty Gwyn farmhouse in 1854 or 1855. Was this a Roman building? Fenton observed a square agger with rounded corners here, and Haverfield knew of the 'remains of walls under Whitesand Bay, about which nothing is really known' (Haverfield 1909, 110). IN c.1536 Leland wrote that 'sum say that there hath beene a castel at or about Port Mawr [the area of Whitesands Bay], but the tokens be not very evident.' The existence of a former Roman building here is uncertain, but the potential parallels with sites on the N Yorkshire coast are worth exploring.

A. B. Badger and F. Green, 'The Chapel Traditionally Attributed to St Patrick, Whitesands Bay, Pembrokeshire', *Arch. Camb.* 5 (1925), 87-120.

H. James, 'The Cult of St David in the Middle Ages', in M. Carver (ed.), *In Search of Cult: Archaeological Investigations in Honour of Philip Rahtz* (Woodbridge: 1993), 105-12, esp. 106.

RCHME Pembrokeshire, 337.

R. Fenton, *An Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire*, 2nd edition (Brecknock: 1903), 24-6.

F. Haverfield, *Military Aspects of Roman Wales: From the Trans. Hon. Soc. Cymmrodorion*, 1908-9 (London: 1910), 110.

Pembrokeshire Archaeological Survey (Tenby: 1908), 13.

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WHITESTAUNTON Somerset
ST 28031060 ST 2810
villa ST 21 SE
St Andrew Certain

SMR: Somerset 53258, 53262, 53262O

The remains of a large villa with alcoves and a colonnade facing SW were found in 1845 during road alterations close to the church and manor house of Whitestaunton; they were partially excavated in 1882-3 by Charles Elton. The church of St Andrew is at ST 28051049; St Agnes' Well is adjacent at ST 28051058; it runs tepid waters known locally to possess medicinal qualities.

C. Elton, 'The Roman House at Whitestaunton', *Proc. Somerset Arch. Nat. Hist. Soc.* 29 (1883), 98-103.
VCH Somerset I, 334.
P. Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (Woodbridge: 1993), 267.

WHITLEY Shrops
SJ 45700964 SJ 4509
villa SJ 40 NE
Unknown Certain

SMR: Shrops 62, 353

When the site of 'Whitley Chapel' in Chapel Field was excavated in 1893 it was discovered to be a rectangular Roman structure 11.6 x 9.4m. When the adjacent field to the E was ploughed for first time in recorded memory in May 1976, the further remains of a villa were found, and the stratigraphy suggested that it and the adjacent building in chapel field were still standing in the early C19 (Toms 1985, 15). The C19 excavators discuss a 'tradition' of a medieval chapel on the site, apparently based solely on the place-name. The location of 'Whitley Chapel' was recently confirmed by surface survey when the area was studied and excavated in 1976. The OS notes 'Roman remains found' at SJ 45700964. The site lies in a coombe on a small plateau close to the S bank of the Rae Brook. It is now isolated, with a single farm. The farm, 'Whitley Grange', has moats and earthworks to the S at SJ 45510935.

G. Toms, 'Whitley Chapel and Weir Meadow: A Romano-British Site Near Shrewsbury', *Trans. Shrops. Arch. Soc.* 64 (1985), 13-6.
Scott 1993, 164.

WHITSBURY Hants
SU 12911914 SU 1219
villa SU 11 NW
St Leonard Possible

NMR: SU 11 NW 1

Scott reports that the NMR records that Romano-British pottery and a hypocaust with flint walls were found near the church of St Leonard. No Romano-British site is marked on the OS.

Scott 1993, 88.

WHORLTON Yorks N
NZ 48290244 NZ 4802
villa NZ 40 SE
Holy Cross Certain

SMR: N Yorks 00271

Scott reports from SMR records that Roman foundations were uncovered just W of the churchyard of Whorlton. The ruins of Holy Cross church are at NZ 48340245, and the OS 1:2500 marks 'Roman Pottery found 1907' at NZ 48290244, adjacent to the church. Earthworks around the church suggest a large villa and/or a later DMV. The site is now isolated, with a single farm nearby.

Scott 1993, 153.

WIDFORD Oxon
SP 27341209 NP 2712
masonry building SP 21 SE
St Oswald Certain

Underneath the chancel of the church lies a fragment of tessellated pavement, which was exposed during restoration. The mosaic was visible until recently, but has now been covered by a layer of cement to assist in its preservation (tourists were apparently taking away tesserae as souvenirs). Other mosaic fragments are said to have been discovered in the churchyard. Monk's claim that an earlier spelling of the site as 'Whiteford' should not be taken to suggest a 'whit' place-name: earlier forms (Wythiford in 1232) show that it derives from 'willow-tree-ford' (Gelling and Stenton 1953, 384). St Oswald's church deviates from E/W in the DMV of Widford, but is now isolated, north of modern Widford, on the bank of the R Windrush.

R. A. Chambers and N. Hutchings, 'Widford, St Oswald's Church, and Roman Remains', *S. Midlands Arch.* 20 (1990), 82 and fig. 7.

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VCH Oxon. I, 320.

M. Gelling and D. Stenton, *The Place-Names of Oxfordshire* (Cambridge: 1953), 384.

W. J. Monk, *Walks and Drives Around Burford* (Burford: 1896), 3-4.

D. S. Neal, *Roman Mosaics in Britain* (London: 1981), 104.

WIGGINTON	Oxon
SP 39233318	SP 3933
villa / bath-house	SP 33 SE
St Giles	Certain

See entry in Burials Gazetteer, page 267.

WILLINGHAM	Cambs
TL 438713	TL 4371
settlement	TL 47 SW
Unknown	Unknown

SMR: 05789

Scott reports from the SMR that a quernstone and Roman sherds were found in 1951 in a field at Glebe Farm. Deep ploughing in 1953 produced soilmarks. The OS marks the site as a ?Roman 'settlement'; Glebe Farm itself is at TL 43667134. The site is included in the gazetteer because it is isolated, and there is no church in the immediate area.

Scott 1993, 45.

VCH Cambs VII, 48, 68.

WIMBORNE	Dorset
SZ 009999	SZ 0099
masonry building	SZ 9 NW
St Cuthburh	Certain
Minster	

NMR: SZ09NW2

A tessellated pavement first discovered under the nave of Wimborne church in 1857 was again revealed during restoration work in 1961. The details of the original discovery are not fully documented, but *The Salisbury and Winchester Journal* (3 October, 1857, 6) notes 'during recent excavation at the minster, under the pillars of the nave, were discovered bases of columns, at regular intervals, a considerable length of a very early and perfect tessellated Roman pavement, and a large stone pediment, clearly indicating the site of a Roman temple, immediately over which the central tower now lifts its head', and that 'the whole of the Norman piers which support the weight of the building, were removed and replaced without damage to any portion of the building. They now rest on the existing Roman walls'. However, contemporary notes of C. Mayo

record that the mosaic was only a 'small piece... which did not cover more than 2 or 3 square feet'. Only 8" x 12" of the pavement was visible in 1961. The pavement seems to be aligned to the compass points, as is the church, and the mortared tesserae lie upon a bed of rammed chalk 2.5" thick. The 1961 investigation could not substantiate the 'Roman walls' or the 'bases of columns' commented upon in the 1857 paper, and the *RCHME* volume treats the pavements as Anglo-Saxon. The church was founded c.705 by Cuthburh. The Chronicle in 871 mentions the burial of King Æthelred I at Wimborne, and the church is mentioned in Domesday.

T. Hall, *Minster Churches in the Dorset Landscape* (BAR British Series 304, 2000), 8-11.

Salisbury Journal, 3 October 1857.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, III, 1077.

R. A. H. Farrar, 'Some Roman Tesserae under the Nave of Wimborne Minster', *Proc. of the Dorset Nat. Hist. and Arch. Soc.* 84 (1963), 106-9.

Scott 1993, 55.

RCHME Dorset V, 80.

Scott 1993, 55.

P. H. Coulstock, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster* (Woodbridge: 1993).

WINCHESTER - THE OLD MINSTER	Hants
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SU 48202937	SU 4829
town / forum	SU 42 NE
Ss Peter and Paul (now Holy Trinity) Minster	Certain

NMR: SU 42 NE 123

Roman *Venta Belgarum*. The minster of Ss Peter and Paul was built by Cenwalh of Wessex c.648 in the centre of Winchester, immediately S of the Roman forum on a true E/W alignment, forsaking the Roman grid. This became a cathedral c.660 x c.663 when the see of the West Saxons was transferred from Dorchester-on-Thames. Excavations in the 1960s recovered the plan a modest, cruciform church, and although the foundations were almost entirely robbed, their line has been re-traced and is visible today to the immediate N of the Norman cathedral. See the entry for Winchester - Lower Brook Street (p. 268) in the Burials Gazetteer for late C7 burials within the town walls.

B. Kjøbye-Biddle, 'The 7th Century Minster at Winchester Interpreted', in L. A. S. Butler and R. Morris (eds.), *The Anglo-Saxon Church* (CBA Research Report 60, 1986), 196-209.

M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, 1962-63: Second Interim Report' *Antiq. J.* 44 (1964), 188-219.

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M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester 1969: 8th Interim Report', *Antiq. J.* 50.2 (1970), 277-326.
B. Yorke, 'The Foundation of the Old Minster and the Status of Winchester in the 7th and 8th Centuries', *Proc. Hants. Field Club Arch. Soc.* 38 (1982), 75-83.

WINTERSLOW	Wilts
SU 22773249	SU 2232
masonry building	SU 23 SW
All Saints	Probable

SMR: Wilts SW 317

A Roman building exists about 100m W of All Saints church. Finds include Roman coins, a key, pottery and fragments of bronze and lead. The church of All Saints is at SU 22903251; the OS 1:2500 marks 'Roman remains found' at SU 22773249.

Wilts. Arch. Mag. 72-3, (1977-8), 207.
Scott 1993, 209.

WOODCHESTER	Gloucs
SO 83970314	SO 8303
villa	SO 80 SW
St Mary	Certain
Possible minster	

SMR: Gloucs 300, 302
NMR: SO 80 SW 10

Plan: Figure 77, page 163 (after Lysons 1797, pl. v; and Clarke 1982 figs. 1 & 6).

The church of St Mary has been known to lie over a Roman building since the early C18: Roman pavements were discovered in 1712 and 1722, and were excavated by Lysons in 1793; he subsequently illustrated and published these in 1797. The church, demolished in 1832, sat within the N end of the villa complex and was aligned to the buildings beneath; Lysons' plan shows further foundations directly beneath the chancel. Although the Roman foundations under the church remain unexplored, it is clear that the underlying structure continues N, perhaps to the boundary of the churchyard itself. The site of the famous Orpheus mosaic is visible today as a sunken rectangle within the churchyard. The first historical reference to this site comes from an early C8 grant of three hides of wooded land at *Uducestre* to the Bishop of Worcester by Æthelbald of Mercia (S 103). Another agreement of 896 confirming this grant records that its boundaries were walked by '*se ceaster setna preost*' (S 1441) - this could be interpreted as 'the priest of the people settled around [Wood]chester', or simply 'the priest of the people settled around the cheser', i.e. Worcester.

Clarke's suggestion that a bath may underlie the church (1982, 215) is certainly plausible. The site lies to the north of the village of Woodchester, 11 miles west of Cirencester. The villa lies between the river and a gully, with springs present to the immediate north.

P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: 1968), S 103, S 1441.
S. Lysons, *An Account of the Roman Antiquities Discovered at Woodchester* (London, 1797).
G. Clarke, 'The Roman Villa at Woodchester', *Britannia* 13 (1982), 197-228.
G. Clarke, 'Excavations at Woodchester, 1973', *Glevensis* 8 (1974), 16-18.
H. E. O'Neil, 'Woodchester Roman Villa', *Trans. Bristol Gloucs. Arch. Soc.* 74 (1955), 172-5.
RCHME Gloucs., 132-4.
D. S. Neal, *Roman Mosaics in Britain* (London: 1981), 115-22.

WOODPERRY	Oxon
SP 57771049	SP 5710
masonry building	SP 51 SE
Unknown	Certain

'Potsherds, trinkets, 'a very great quantity of coins', tiles, with mortar and a few large tesserae were found shortly before 1846 among the foundations of a medieval church and village (DMV) at Woodperry. The larger proportion of the material is said to have come from the latter which was 'lower down in the field' than the church, and 'in a little close below, which itself reaches up to the Horton Road', close to the stream and apparently W of the brook. The pottery and metal objects found here are now in the Ashmolean. The church is at SP 57771049, now visible as a low earthwork, shown in the preface to Wilson's article. Woodperry was originally a small, distinct parish, but now lies within the parish of Stanton St John.

VCH Oxon I, 343 (listed under Stanton St John).
J. Wilson, 'Antiquities Found at Woodperry, Oxon.' *Arch. J.* 3 (1846), 116-28.

WORLABY	Lincs
TA 017143	TA 0114
masonry building	TA 1 SW
St Clement	Certain

See entry in Burials Gazetteer, page 269.

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WRINGTON

ST 46786272
masonry building
All Saints

Somerset

ST 4662
ST 46 SE
Certain

'A short stretch of Roman walling with box flue tiles *in situ* has been found in the garden of the Court House, adjacent to the church on its W side. This was the manor house for the abbots of Glastonbury. The clear reference is that this was a hypocaust system belonging to a high status residence.' (Nick Corcos, an amateur archaeologist working in Somerset, and part of the Shapwick Project, has provided this information but was at the time of going to press unable to provide a reference.)

Nick Corcos pers. comm.

WROXETER

SJ 56330824
town
St Andrew
Minster

Shrops

SJ 5608
SJ 50 NE
Certain

SMR: Shrops 2883, 2577, 13416
NMR: SJ 50 NE 1

Plan: Figure 56, page 129 (after Wachter 1974, and 1:2500 OS). The Wroxeter Hinterland Project has produced an extremely detailed plan of the town from geophysical survey.

Anglo-Saxon *Wroxcestre*, Roma *Virconium*. The C9 or C10 fabric of St Andrew's church reuses Roman masonry, and includes fragments of a C9 cross-base and shaft. A Roman altar was found during restoration of the church in 1885, which in itself is not surprising given its location within the Roman town: it lies in the SW corner, and is aligned with the town wall, about 15° from E/W. Today Roman columns can be seen used as gateposts, and a capital as the font. A recent geophysical survey of the town has uncovered the plan of a Roman building to the NW which is probably a church (Gaffney and Linford 1999). It is suggested that the town may not have been abandoned until the C7 or C8, and may not have been completely abandoned (White and Halwood 1996, 16). Taylor and Taylor conclude that the period is uncertain, but probably A: c.600-800. Further N in the town, a burial was found in the last phase of the Baths basilica, dated to Cal AD 600-790 (see the Radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations), and a late C5 or early C6 Frankish seax was found within the baths complex in the C19 – part of another burial? (Selkirk 1971, 49).

P. Barker, R. White, K. Pretty, H. Bird and M. Corbishley, *The Baths Basilica Wroxeter: Excavations 1966-90* (English Heritage Archaeological Report 8: 1997), Chapter 7.

S. Basset, 'Church and Diocese in the West Midlands: the Transition from British to Anglo-Saxon Control', in J. Blair and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care Before the Parish* (Leicester: 1992), 13-40, esp. 35-9.

C. A. R. Radford, 'Wroxeter Church', *Arch. J.* 113 (1956), 209-10.

C. Thomas, *Christianity in Roman Britain* (London: 1981), 126-7.

W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull, (ed.), *Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement: Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford Univ Dept of External Studies: 1984), 9-10.

C. Moffett, 'Archaeological Investigations at the Anglo-Saxon Church of St Andrew, Wroxeter, 1985-6', *Trans. Shrop. Arch. Soc.* 66 (1989), 1-14.

C. Moffett, 'The Anglo-Saxon Church of St Andrew, Wroxeter' in P. A. Barker and G. Webster (eds.), *From Roman Virconium to Medieval Wroxeter: Recent Work on the Site of the Roman City of Wroxeter* (Worcester: 1990), 8-9.

R. White and H. Halwood, *Archaeological Assessment of Wroxeter, Shropshire. Central Marshes Historic Towns Survey Report* (In-house Shropshire CC publication: 1996).

Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 694-5.

A. Selkirk, 'Wroxeter', *Current Archaeology* 25 (1971), 45-9.

Gaffney, C. F. and Linford, P. K., 'The Application of Geophysical Techniques at Wroxeter Roman City', in C. F. Gaffney (ed.), *Archaeology in the Age of the Internet: Proceedings of the 25th Anniversary Conference of Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology* (BAR International Series S750, 1999), CD edition.

P. Barker, 'Aspects of the Topography of Wroxeter', in F. Grew and B. Hobley (eds.), *Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire* (CBA Research Report 59, 1985), 109-17, esp. 115.

WYCOMBE

SU 8693
masonry building
All Saints

Bucks

SU 8693
SU 89 SE
Probable

The church of All Saints is in the centre of a Roman site on the N bank of the R Wick. A tessellated pavement and a wall were found 'in the garden of a house in All Hallows Lane, adjoining a house called 'The Priory', on the W.'

VCH Bucks. II, 19.

E. J. Payne, 'Roman Villa at Wycombe', *Rec. Bucks.* 3.5, 160-4.

J. Parker, *The Early History and Antiquity of Wycombe* (Wycombe: 1878), 2, 3.

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WYKHAM

SP 43993790
masonry building
Unknown
Chapel

Oxon

SP 4337
SP 43 NW
Certain

In 1851 a fragment of a coarse tessellated pavement, a 'beehive stone-vaulted oven', and foundations were found 'in Wykham, or Wickham Park, near the Sor brook, apparently between the house and the road'. Nearby, 'on the site of the kitchen garden', were found a deep steined well and 'a large vault filled with black earth' and 7 or 8 skeletons. The account appears to be describing a Roman structure, possibly hypocausted, and associated burials. The OS Oxon Sheet 1885 edition notes that 'Roman coins and pottery found A.D. 1851', immediately due west of (the site of) the chapel at SP 44093791. The place-name is significant: Margaret Gelling has suggested that there is a relationship between 'wic-ham' place-names and Roman sites.

VCH Oxon I, 331 (listed under Banbury).

Trans. North Oxon. Arch. Soc. 3 (1853-5), 17.

M. Gelling, 'English Place-names Derived from the Compound Wicham', *Med. Arch.* 11 (1967), 87-104, esp. 91.

YORK - MINSTER

SE 60355218
fort (*principia*)
St Peter
Minster

Yorks W
SE 6052
SE 65 SW
Certain

The minster of St Peter overlies the *principia* of the Roman fort. The current structure is oriented east/west, 45° to the alignment of the underlying Roman fortress. However, this alignment only existed from the Norman period. Dating the archaeology of the post-Roman period (Period 7) is particularly difficult: did the archaeology develop through the C9, or primarily in the Late or Sub Roman period? Once the flagstones of the floor were removed, thin soil layers developed, then a rubble layer, including a collapsed column and roof debris of the basilica, and finally dark earth. Into this were cut the Anglo-Scandinavian graves of the C9. It may be argued that the basilica stood until C9, holding 'intermittent assemblies and industrial activities' (Phillips *et al.* 1995, 188), or the entire period may fall into the late- or immediately post-Roman context. An animal bone from under the destruction layer returned a published date of Cal AD 343-416 at 2 sigma (but see the radiocarbon appendix for the most recent recalibrations). It is probable that Edwin's church of c.627 (Rodwell suggests it lay within the *principia* courtyard) respected the

Roman alignment, as did the earliest Anglian burials. (See the gazetteer entry for nearby York - St Michael le Belfry.)

C. Norton, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City', *JBAA* 151 (1998), 1-42.

D. Phillips, B. Heywood and M. Carver, *Excavations at York Minster, Volume 1: from Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral* (London: 1995), esp. 189-95.

W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 5.

Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 700-9.

YORK - ST

HELEN

SE 606521
masonry building and
?Roman burial
St Helen

Yorks W

SE 6052
SE 65 SW
Certain

Plan: Figure 152, page 402 (after Magilton 1980, figs. 4 & 5a).

The church of St Helen is known to have been in existence from the C12. Although recent archaeological excavations would push its origin back to the C10, the pottery suggests that a pre-C10 date is unlikely. The church was made redundant in 1549-50 and demolished shortly thereafter. The first-phase church was a single-celled structure not unlike that at St Mary Bishophill Sr; it lies over a Roman building, within which a Roman mosaic depicts the head of Medusa – did the early church builders mistake the female face for Helen? Magilton notes that a 'Roman' burial existed to the immediate E of the structure (within the Roman structure?), cut by pit 680, which is associated with Phase 1 of the church, but provides no details regarding its orientation, burial rite, or phasing (Magilton 1980, 18).

J. R. Magilton, *The Church of St Helen-on-the-Walls, Aldwark* (London: 1980).

YORK - ST MARY

BISHOPHILL JR

SE 59985148
town / colonia
St Mary

Yorks W

SE 6051
SE 65 SW
Certain

The church contains Anglo-Saxon fabric, and sits in the centre of the Roman colonia of York, possibly on the site of the forum if one existed here. It respects the Roman grid, lying about 45° from E/W. The Taylors assign the church to Period C3, c.1100. The colonia of York is

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situated opposite the legionary fortress, on the south side of the R Ouse.

L. P. Wenham, R. A. Hall, C. M. Briden, D. A. Stocker, *St. Mary Bishophill Junior and St. Mary Castlegate* (London, Council for British Archaeology for the York Archaeological Trust: 1987).
W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 9.
Taylor and Taylor 1965, II 697-9.
C. C. Hodges, 'Pre-Conquest Churches of Northumbria', *Reliquary* 8 (1894), 202-5.

YORK - ST MARY BISHOPHILL SR	Yorks W
SE 601514	SE 6051
town / colonia	SE 65 SW
St Mary	Certain

Plan: Figure 149, page 400 (after Ramm 1976, figs. 4 & 5).

The demolished church of St Mary Bishophill Senior lay upon a Roman townhouse, and respected the Roman alignment of the colonia which deviates about 45° from E/W. This part of the Roman townhouse consisted of four rooms, of which three were hypocausted, including the apsidal room. The C4 fabric of the NW wall of the Roman building survived to above a metre, and was only truncated to this height in the C12 (Ramm 1976, 42); the churchyard wall contained the *in situ* Roman terrace walling (Ramm 1976, 38). The late Saxon (C11) church overlies the SW and SE walls of the villa, but this was not the earliest church on the site. The excavators note that 'the Roman wall was not known to the C11 builders, for even where it is underneath the late Saxon foundations there is a layer of soil between them. Yet the width of the church had in some way been determined by that of the Roman building, and thus could only have been through the intermediary of a destroyed earlier church...' (Ramm 1976, 47). The only potential physical evidence of such a structure, or structures, is a 45 cm diameter posthole on the wall between Rooms II and III, as well as the enclosure wall, which pre-dates the C11 church. Further evidence of this interim phase is provided by several graves that were further disturbed during the construction of the C11 church, from which the C10 cross fragments may have come, one of which was built into the foundation of the C11 church (Ramm 1976, 45). The burial shown on the plan appears to be the one on dark material, including charcoal, found in 1959 and described as being of a late-Saxon type; another disturbed grave contained a C10 strap end (Ramm 1976, 45; *Med. Arch.* 9 (1965), 154). Another male

burial with a knife at its right side was found outside of the later churchyard to the W (Ramm 1976, 49). The colonia of York is situated opposite the legionary fortress, on the south side of the R Ouse.

H. G. Ramm, 'The Church of St Mary Bishophill Sr, York: Excavations 1964', *Yorks. Arch. J.* 48 (1976), 35-68.
RCHME York III, 32-3.
Taylor and Taylor 1965, II, 699-700.
W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning', in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 9.
Med. Arch. 9 (1965), 154.

YORK - ST MICHAEL-LE-BELFRY	Yorks W
SE 60275214	SE 6052
fort (<i>principia</i>)	SE 65 SW
St Michael	Certain
Possibly part of minster complex	

Plan: Figure 50, page 124 (after Rodwell 1984, fig. 3a).

The church of St Michael-le-Belfrey lies to the S of the Cathedral of St Peter, and overlies the SW corner of the Roman *principia*. Like so many churches associated with Roman buildings, it respects the position of the Roman buildings, but is not directly aligned to the underlying structures.

C. Norton, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City', *JBAA* 151 (1998), 1-42.
W. Rodwell, 'Churches in the Landscape: Aspects of Topography and Planning' in M. L. Faull (ed.), *Studies in Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement* (Oxford: 1984), 1-23, esp. 5 and fig. 3a.

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5.2.1 County Cross Reference (pre-1974)

Anglesey	Dymock
Caer Gybi	Gussage St Andrew
	Sherborne
Bedfordshire	Tarrant Crawford
Totternhoe	Whitchurch Canonicorum
	Wimborne
Berkshire	Durham
Brimpton	Chester-le-Street
Fawler	Ebchester
Finchampstead	Escomb
Lower Basildon	Piercebridge
Ploughley	
Buckinghamshire	Essex
Fleet Marston	Alphamstone
Little Kimble	Bartlow
Saunderton	Belchamp St Paul's
Wycombe	Bradwell-on-Sea
	Brightlingsea
Caernarvonshire	Canewdon
Caerhun	Chipping Ongar
	Colchester - St Helen
Cambridgeshire	Colchester - St Mary
Abington Park	Colne Engaine
Burwell	Copford
Willingham	Cressing
	Dovercourt
Carmarthenshire	East Tilbury
Carmarthen	Great Coggeshall
Llandovery	Hadstock
	Leyton
Cheshire	Little Baddow
Chester	Rivenhall
Northwich	St Osyth
	Stansted Mountfitchet
Cumberland	Steeple Bumpstead
Beaumont	Takeley
Bewcastle	Tollesbury
Birdoswald	Tolleshunt Knights
Bowness-on-Solway	West Mersea
Brampton Old Church	White Notley
Burgh-by-Sands	
Carlisle	Glamorganshire
Kirkbride	Gelligaer
Moresby	Llancarfan
Nether Denton	Llandough
Stanwix	Loughor
	Oystermouth
Derbyshire	Gloucestershire
Buxton	Lillyhorn (Bisley)
Chesterfield	Bitton
	Blaise Castle
Devon	Brockworth
Exeter	Brookthorpe
	Chedworth
Dorset	Cirencester
	Deerhurst - Oddas Chapel

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Deerhurst - St Marys	
Frocester	
Gloucester - St Mary de Lode	
Great Barrington	
Hawkesbury	
Kings Stanley	
Lower Swell	
Stroud	
Woodchester	
Hampshire	
Carisbrooke	
North Hayling	
Portchester	
Preston Candover	
Romsey	
Silchester	
West Dean	
Whitsbury	
Winchester - The Old Minster	
Herefordshire	
Bishopstone	
Leintwardine	
Putley	
Hertfordshire	
Langley	
Sarratt	
Stanstead Abbots	
Verulamium - St Michael	
Huntingdonshire	
Huntingdon	
Kent	
Bexley	
Canterbury - St Martin's	
Chart Sutton	
Crundale	
Cuxton	
Dover	
East Barming	
East Malling	
Faversham	
Folkestone	
Hartley	
Hayes	
Ickham	
Ightham	
Lower Halstow	
Lullingstone	
Lyminge	
Milton	
Reculver	
Richborough	
Rochester	
Snodland	
Stone-by-Faversham	
Thornham	
Lancashire	
Lancaster	
Ribchester	
Leicestershire	
Ab Kettleby	
Brighthurst	
Fenny Drayton	
Leicester	
Normanton	
Lincolnshire	
Ancaster	
Bottesford	
Burgh-le-Marsh	
Caistor	
Canwick	
Claxby by Normanby	
Goxhill	
Horncastle	
Lincoln - St Paul-in-the-Bail	
Messingham	
Roxby	
Scampton	
Worlaby	
London	
London - All-Hallows	
London - St Bride's	
London - St Peter Cornhill	
Monmouthshire	
Caerleon	
Caerwent	
Usk	
Montgomeryshire	
Carno	
Norfolk	
Caister-on-Sea	
Caistor-by-Norwich	
Feltwell - Glebe Farm	
Reedham	
Northamptonshire	
Castor - St Cyneburh	
Cotterstock	
Higham Ferrers	
Irthlingborough	
King's Cliffe	
Nottinghamshire	
Barnby in the Willows	
East Stoke	
Flawford	
Southwell	
Stanford-on-Soar	

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Oxfordshire	Fetcham
Asthall	Stoke D'Abernon
Dorchester-on-Thames	Titsey
Drayton	
Widford	Sussex
Wigginton	Bosham
Woodperry	Chichester
Wykham	Duncton
	Eastergate
Pembrokeshire	Harting
Whitesands Bay	Pulborough
	Steyning
Rutland	West Stoke
Great Casterton	
Market Overton	Warwickshire
	Monks Kirby
Shropshire	
Much Wenlock	Wiltshire
Rushbury	Box
Stow	Cherhill
Whitchurch	Kempsford
Whitley	Manningford Bruce
Wroxeter	Winterslow
Somerset	Worcestershire
Banwell - Winthill	Kempsey
Bath	
Bathford	North Yorkshire
Bawdrip	Bowes
Camerton	Crayke
Cheddar	East Ness
Combe Down	Scarborough
Holcombe	Whitby
Ilchester	Whorlton
Kelston	York - St Helen
North Stoke	York - St Michael-le-Belfry
Paulton	
Priddy	West Yorkshire
Shapwick	Aldborough
South Chard	Doncaster
Street	Drax
Tickenham	Ilkley
Wells	Kirkby Warfe
Whitestaunton	Ripon
Wrington	York - Minster
	York - St Mary Bishophill Jr
Staffordshire	York - St Mary Bishophill Sr
Acton Trussell	
Suffolk	
Brandon	
Burgh	
Burgh Castle	
Capel St Mary	
Felixstowe (Walton Castle)	
Kedington	
South Elmham	
Surrey	
Ashtead	

5.3 Burials in Roman Structures in Southwest Gaul

Thirty-one relevant sites taken from James 1977, Catalogue F. This list is provided to allow an at-a-glance comparison between the evidence of similar sites in Britain and on the Continent, as well as provide references for specific sites. Inclusion in James' work assumes a Merovingian date, but more precise dating is provided below where available.

Site	Date	Number	Structure
<i>Alba (Ardèche)</i> Sarcophagi, cists, and tile graves with epitaphs of apparent C6-7 <i>Archéol. Médiévale</i> 5 (1975), 5-44.	C6-7	cemetery	building
<i>Beaucaire (Gers)</i> East-West aligned sarcophagi and trench graves <i>Gallia</i> 24 (1966), 431-2.	C4-EMA	112+	villa
<i>Bourret (Tarn-et-Garonne)</i> <i>Gallia</i> 17 (1959), 448; 20 (1962), 606.	barbarian	cemetery	villa
<i>Campagnac (Aveyron)</i> Long-cist grave(s) <i>Gallia</i> 32 (1974), 455.	Merovingian	cemetery	villa
<i>Canéjean (Gironde)</i> In front of porch of present church <i>Gallia</i> 25 (1967), 338.	Merovingian	cemetery	building
<i>Celle-Guenard (Indre-et-Loire)</i> Merovingian weapons found <i>Bull. Soc. Ramond: Explorations Pyrénéennes</i> 1 (1866), 189.	Merovingian	???	villa
<i>Cournanel (Aude)</i> Cremations and eight inhumations (trench graves) <i>Gallia</i> 19 (1961), 389.	Merovingian	cemetery (8+)	villa
<i>Fources (Gers)</i> Two sarcophagi and fragments of mosaic found <i>Gallia</i> 24 (1966), 433.	Merovingian	2	?villa
<i>Frontenac (Gironde)</i> Trench burials with signs of burning - one grave with bent seax <i>Gallia</i> 25 (1957), 247-50.	EMA	cemetery	villa
<i>Izaux (Hautes- Pyrénées)</i> No grave goods <i>Archéol. Médiévale</i> 1 (1971), 301.	Merovingian	46	villa
<i>Loupiac (Tarn)</i> Inhumations and some structures <i>Gallia</i> 22 (1964), 468-9.	barbarian	cemetery	settlement/building
Moissac (Tarn-et-Garonne) ?Merovingian sarcophagi and terracotta crosses Hypocaust directly under church of St Martin <i>Gallia</i> 5 (1947), 476; 9 (1951), 136-7; <i>Bull. Monum.</i> 128 (1970), 41-56.	?Merovingian	???	hypocaust

Appendix 5.3: Burials in Roman Structures in Southwest Gaul

<i>Montcaret (Dordogne)</i>	EM/Merovingian	many	villa
Villa which appears to have been turned into a church: burials in apsidal room of villa <i>Congr. Arch. de France</i> 102 (1941), 182-95; <i>Gallia</i> 9 (1951), 120-4.			
<i>Montmaurin (Haute-Garonne)</i>	Merovingian	cemetery	villa
Three small family groups interred in Roman villa. A second villa nearby at 'La Hillère' has similar burials Plus 'traces of medieval occupation from C11' Fouet, G. <i>La Villa Gallo-Romaine de Montmaurin</i> (Paris 1969); <i>Gallia</i> 22 (1964), 440-2.			
<i>Montréal (Gers)</i>	barbarian	???	villa
Signs of EM inhabitation plus 'barbarian material probably coming from tombs' <i>Gallia</i> 32 (1974), 487.			
<i>Mouchan (Gers)</i>	Merovingian	303+	villa
300 sarcophagi and 3 trench burials in villa ruins <i>Mém. Soc. Arch. Midi</i> 27 (1961), 8-33; <i>Gallia</i> 12 (1954), 224-5; 13 (1955), 214-16.			
<i>Ordan-Larroque (Gers)</i>	Merovingian	cemetery	villa baths
Bathhouse ruins used as cemetery <i>Gallia</i> 26 (1968), 544; 28 (1970), 422; 30 (1972), 496-7.			
<i>Paulmy (Indre-et-Loire)</i>	Merovingian	small cemetery	villa
'Part of the establishment has been reoccupied by a small Merovingian cemetery' <i>Gallia</i> 30 (1972), 331.			
<i>Petit-Bersac (Dordogne)</i>	Merovingian	18	villa
<i>Gallia</i> 33 (1975), 475.			
<i>Pierrefitte (Deux-Sèvres)</i>	Merovingian	???	villa
Sarcophagi and trench burials; few grave goods <i>Gallia</i> 25 (1967), 255.			
<i>Pompogne (Lot-et-Garonne)</i>	Merovingian	???	villa
Burials in Ruins <i>Gallia</i> 9 (1952), 126.			
<i>Port-Sainte-Foy (Dordogne)</i>	Early Medieval	1	villa
Single sarcophagus in trench grave cut through villa mosaic <i>Gallia</i> 17 (1959), 387.			
<i>Pouzay (Indre-et-Loire)</i>	???	???	???
<i>Pujo (Hautes-Pyrénées)</i>	Merovingian	???	villa and baths
Inhumations in two rooms of bathhouse and outside villa to south; no grave goods <i>Gallia</i> 22 (1964), 467; 24 (1966), 445; 26 (1968), 552.			
<i>Romegoux (Charente-Maritime)</i>	Merovingian	some	villa
<i>Rev. Archéol.</i> 2 (1940), 58.			
<i>Saint-Sever (Landes)</i>	Medieval	40 excavated	villa
Cemetery in villa ruins partly excavated in 1870s <i>Gallia</i> 29 (1971), 356-7.			
<i>S.-Just-Luzac (Charente-Maritime)</i>	Gallo-Roman?	1	villa
1 ?Gallo-Roman burial in coffin found; 1 Merovingian buckle found <i>Gallia</i> 23 (1965), 358-9.			
<i>Thaims (Charente-Maritime)</i>	Merovingian	2	villa
2 Merovingian sarcophagi under church, in villa <i>Gallia</i> 18 (1955), 169.			

Appendix 5.3: Burials in Roman Structures in Southwest Gaul

<i>Tocane-Saint-Apre (Dordogne)</i> Inhumations in sarcophagi Barrière-Flavy, <i>Étude</i> , 186-8.	Merovingian	???	villa
<i>Vayrac (Lot)</i> 3 inhumations cut into wall, tombs surrounded by rough blocks of stone <i>Gallia</i> 30 (1972), 502-3.	?Merovingian	3	'Roman site'
<i>Verdelais (Gironde)</i> Sarcophagi and long-cist burials in mound overlying Romans structures, near villa <i>Gallia</i> 27 (1969), 355.	Merovingian	'several'	'structure'

5.4 Radiocarbon Recalibrations

Given the comparative lack of absolute dating evidence from the majority of sites within the corpus, the few radiocarbon dates that are available assume a greater significance. All radiocarbon dates for which the original uncalibrated date is available have been recalibrated using the latest OxCal Program (version 3.4) and the most recently published calibration curves (Stuiver *et al.* 1998). A summary table is provided first, followed by detailed calibration curves.

5.4.1 Summary Radiocarbon Table⁷⁴⁰

Site	Feature	Lab Reference	Years BP	Error	Published 1 σ	Published 2 σ	Oxcal 1 σ	Oxcal 2 σ	Page
Bath	Plank from Saxon Grave	HAR-4321	1370	70	none	none	AD600-720	AD530-820	350
Brean Down	Bone	BIRM-246b	1300	80	AD654-786	AD600-890	AD650-810	AD600-900	350
Brean Down	Bone, unit 3c, Context 213, Skeleton 8	HAR-8548	1550	80	AD415-600	AD270-650	AD420-600	AD340-660	351
Brean Down	Bone, unit 3c, Context 212, Skeleton 7	HAR-8549	1430	70	AD560-660	AD450-690	AD540-670	AD430-720	351
Burgh Castle	Grave				AD590-730				n/a
Burgh Castle	Grave				AD650-790				n/a
Burgh Castle	Grave				AD830-990				n/a
Caerwent	Context 298, adult, female	HAR-5110	1400	70	AD610-675	AD545-775	AD560-690	AD530-780	352
Caerwent	Context 302	HAR-5152	1310	70	AD660-785	AD625-885	AD650-780	AD610-890	352
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 34, adult, male	HAR-495	1540	80	AD425-620	AD380-660	AD430-600	AD380-660	353
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 141, adult, male	CAR-1431	1530	60	AD445-610	AD415-650	AD430-600	AD410-650	353
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 140, adult, male	CAR-1430	1490	60	AD540-640	AD430-665	AD530-650	AD430-660	354
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 111, adult	HAR-497	1460	80	AD545-660	AD425-695	AD530-670	AD420-720	354
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 137, adult, female	CAR-1429	1460	60	AD550-655	AD450-675	AD540-650	AD430-670	355
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 152, adult, male	CAR-1433	1460	60	AD550-655	AD450-675	AD540-650	AD430-670	355
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 26, adult, female	HAR-494	1410	70	AD605-670	AD540-775	AD560-690	AD530-780	356
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 121, adult, female?	CAR-1428	1370	60	AD640-685	AD560-780	AD600-720	AD550-780	356
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 149, adult, female?	CAR-1432	1360	60	AD645-690	AD605-785	AD620-720	AD540-780	357
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 134, adult, female	HAR-496	1250	80	AD675-885	AD650-980	AD680-880	AD650-980	357
Caerwent - Vicarage Orchard	Context 97, child	HAR-493	1090	70	AD890-1015	AD785-1040	AD880-1030	AD770-1050	358
Capel Eithin	Grave 66; plank of wood	CAR-484	1120	90			AD810-1020	AD690-1050	358
Catterick - Baines Farm		HAR-5273	1660	70			AD320-440	AD220-570	359
Catterick - Baines Farm		HAR-5272	1640	70			AD340-470	AD240-570	359
Catterick - Baines Farm		HAR-5275	1870	70			AD70-240	AD0-340	360
Catterick - Baines Farm	Burial 709	HAR-5276	1500	70			AD530-650	AD420-660	360
Catterick - Baines Farm	Burial 3775	HAR-5277	1560	70			AD420-600	AD380-650	361
Crayke	Skeleton 24	HAR-6279	1090	80	AD880-990	AD770-1020	AD870-1030	AD770-1070	361
Crayke	Skeleton 24	HAR-6280	1140	70	AD880-990	AD770-1020	AD810-990	AD760-1030	361

⁷⁴⁰ Where the uncalibrated date is not listed, it was neither published, nor available in the CBA online radiocarbon index (<http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/>).

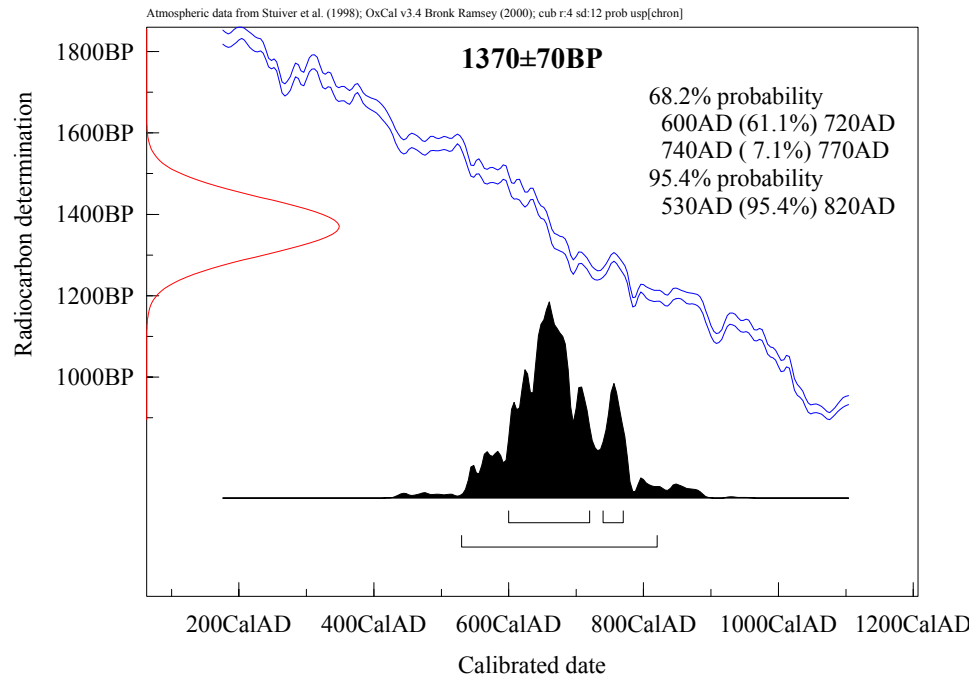
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

Site	Feature	Lab Reference	Years BP	Error	Published 1 σ	Published 2 σ	Oxcal 1 σ	Oxcal 2 σ	Page
Henley Wood	Grave 62/3	HAR-5588	1630	80	AD270-535	AD230-600	AD340-540	AD240-610	362
Henley Wood	Grave 2	HAR-5589	1439	80	AD555-665	AD430-760	AD530-680	AD420-720	363
Henley Wood	Grave 13	HAR-5584	1530	70	AD430-605	AD390-650	AD430-610	AD400-660	363
Henley Wood	Grave 24	HAR-5585	1510	70	AD440-620	AD400-660	AD530-640	AD410-660	364
Henley Wood	Grave 25	HAR-5586	1590	90	AD380-560	AD240-640	AD380-600	AD250-650	364
Henley Wood	Grave 38B	HAR-5662	1550	70	AD420-595	AD350-640	AD420-600	AD380-650	365
Henley Wood	Grave 39	HAR-5587	1420	80	AD560-665	AD440-765	AD540-690	AD430-780	365
Henley Wood	Grave 44	HAR-5590	1590	80	AD390-555	AD255-630	AD380-570	AD320-640	366
Henley Wood	Grave 47	HAR-6084	1660	90	AD255-447	AD140-600	AD320-470	AD210-600	366
Henley Wood	Grave 62/13	HAR-8760	1650	40	AD345-425	AD260-450	AD340-440	AD320-540	367
Henley Wood	Grave 5A	HAR-8762	1580	40	AD420-540	AD395-565	AD430-540	AD400-600	367
Henley Wood	Grave 5B	HAR-8758	1590	40	AD415-535	AD385-555	AD420-540	AD380-570	368
Henley Wood	Grave 6	HAR-8759	1550	40	AD435-535	AD415-600	AD430-560	AD420-610	368
Henley Wood	Grave 12	HAR-8761	1190	90	AD680-970	AD660-1020	AD770-970	AD660-1000	369
Lamyatt Beacon	Bone				AD469-649				n/a
Lamyatt Beacon	Bone				AD692-872				n/a
Lincoln - Saltergate	Bone	HAR-863	1170	90			AD770-980	AD680-1020	369
Llandough	Bone (25/052, 18-19yrs)	CAR-271	890	60			AD1110-1220	AD1020-1260	370
Llandough	Bone (25/122), female >40	CAR-305	1160	70			AD770-980	AD690-1020	370
Llandough	Bone, child 5-5.5 yrs	CAR-306	1180	60			AD770-900	AD680-990	371
Much Wenlock	Burial 2	HAR-8304	1460	80	AD460-640 uncalibrated	AD410-660 uncalibrated	AD530-760	AD420-720	371
Much Wenlock	Burial 3	HAR-8305	1690	90	AD245-425 uncalibrated	AD130-540 uncalibrated	AD230-440	AD120-560	372
Much Wenlock	charcoal, context 62a	HAR-6446	1100	80	AD880-1010	AD725-1040	AD870-1030	AD760-1050	372
Much Wenlock	bone, context 62a	HAR-6496	1290	70	AD660-785	AD630-890	AD650-810	AD620-900	373
Rivenhall	Bone, cem. 2 (C1E, G135)	HAR-2015	980	60	uncalibrated	uncalibrated	AD990-1070	AD960-1220	373
Rivenhall	Bone, cem. 2 (C1E, G89)	HAR-2016	970	80	uncalibrated	uncalibrated	AD990-1170	AD940-1250	374
Rivenhall	Bone, cem. 2 (C1E, G165)	HAR-2017	980	70	uncalibrated	uncalibrated	AD990-1160	AD950-1220	374
Rivenhall	Bone, cem. (C1E, G257)	HAR-2018	860	80	uncalibrated	uncalibrated	AD1150-1260	AD1020-1290	375
Rivenhall	Bone, cem. 1 (C2, G284)	HAR-2019	1000	70	uncalibrated	uncalibrated	AD970-1070	AD890-1220	375
Rivenhall	Bone, cem. 1 (C2, G316)	HAR-2021	970	70	uncalibrated	uncalibrated	AD1000-1160	AD950-1220	376
Rivenhall	Bone, cem. 1 (C2, G298)	HAR-2326	820	60	uncalibrated	uncalibrated	AD1160-1280	AD1110-1300	376
Rivenhall	Bone, cem. 1 (C2, G326)	HAR-2404	1140	70	uncalibrated	uncalibrated	AD810-990	AD760-1030	377
Rivenhall	Wood; chancel window	HAR-2427	950	60	uncalibrated	uncalibrated	AD1020-1160	AD990-1220	377
Stone-by-Faversham	Bone (juvenile) from burial near S wall of chancel	BM-479	1490	110			AD430-660	AD250-800	378
Stone-by-Faversham	Charcoal from ?wattle-and-daub	BM-481	1400	110			AD530-730	AD420-890	378
Wells	Bone	HAR-3397	1220	70			AD760-900	AD660-980	379
Wroxeter	Grave	BIRM-1045	1340	60			AD640-730	AD590-870	379
York – Minster	Animal bone from mud and silt under destruction	UB-3434	1664	14	AD349-354 AD376-411	AD343-416	AD380-420	AD340-480	380

Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

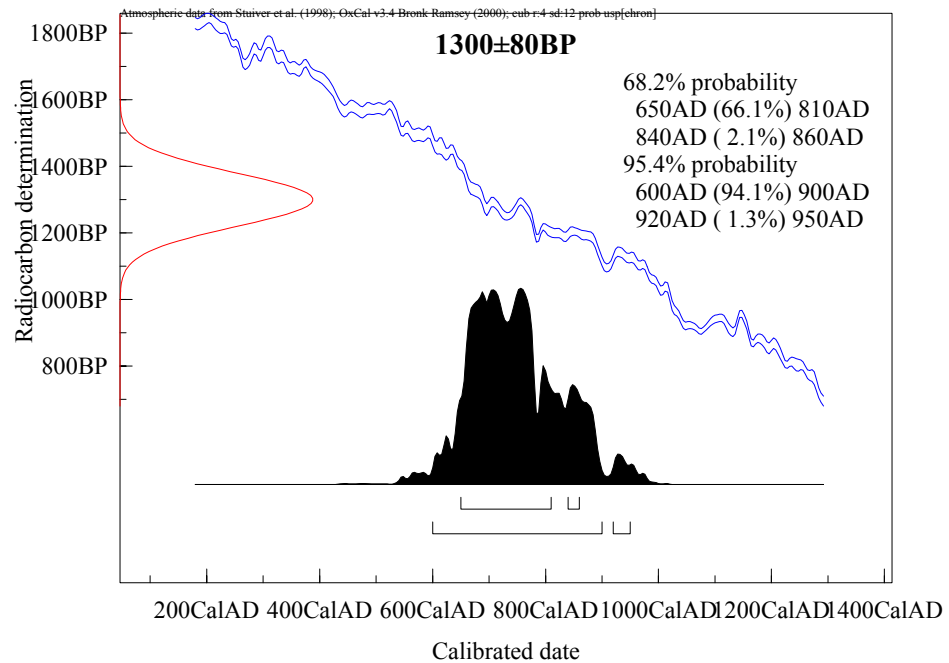
5.4.2 Bath, Avon

5.4.2.1 HAR-4321 Cal AD600-720 at 1 sigma (61.1%)



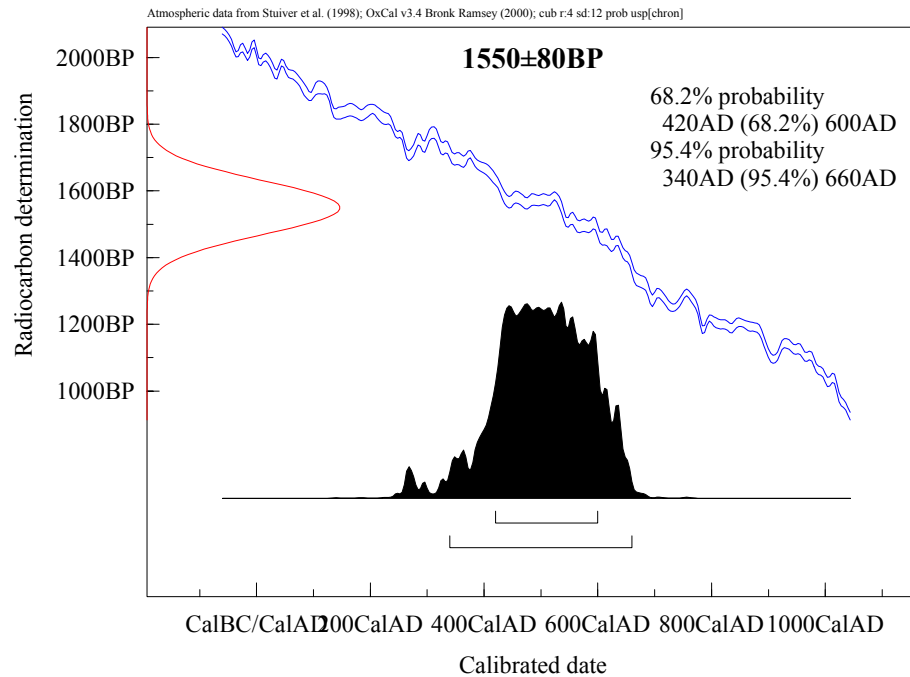
5.4.3 Brean Down, Somerset

5.4.3.1 BIRM-246b Cal AD650-810 at 1 sigma (66.1%)

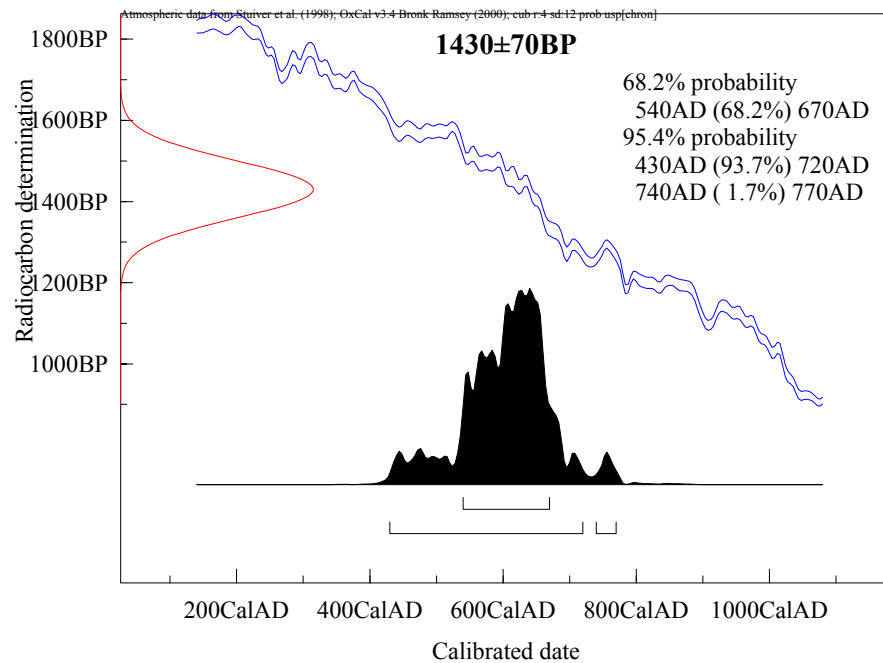


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.3.2 HAR-8548 Cal AD420-600 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



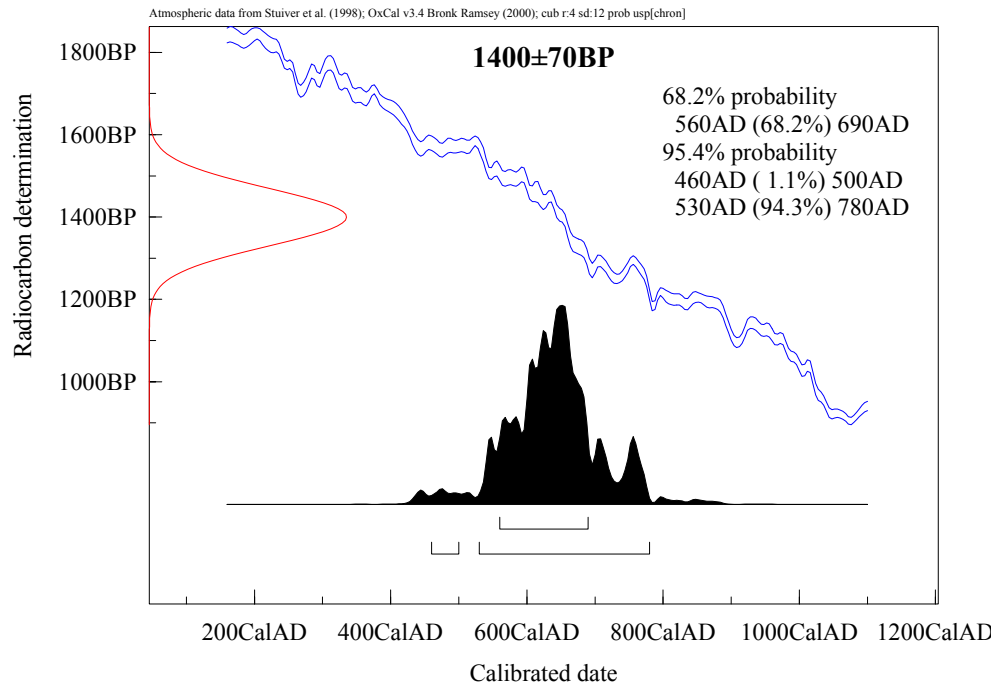
5.4.3.3 HAR-8549 Cal AD540-670 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



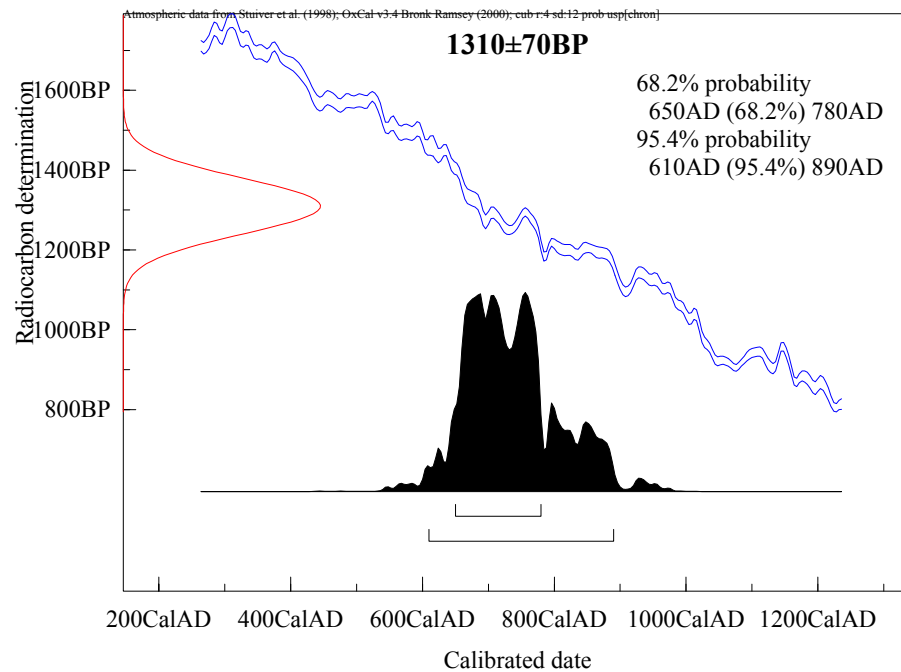
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.4 Caerwent

5.4.4.1 HAR-5110 Cal AD560-690 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



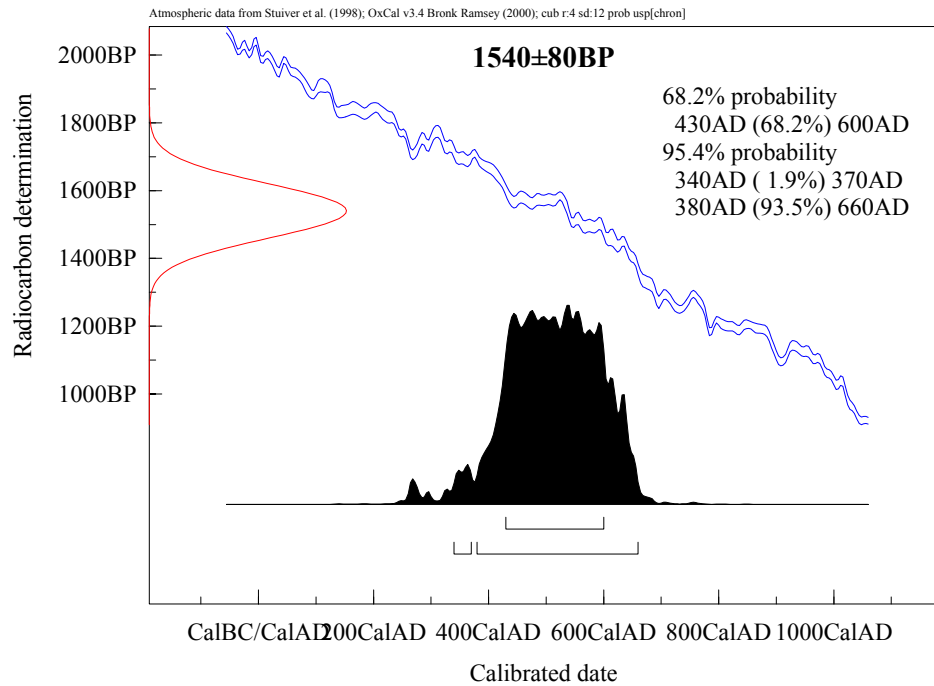
5.4.4.2 HAR-5152 Cal AD650-780 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



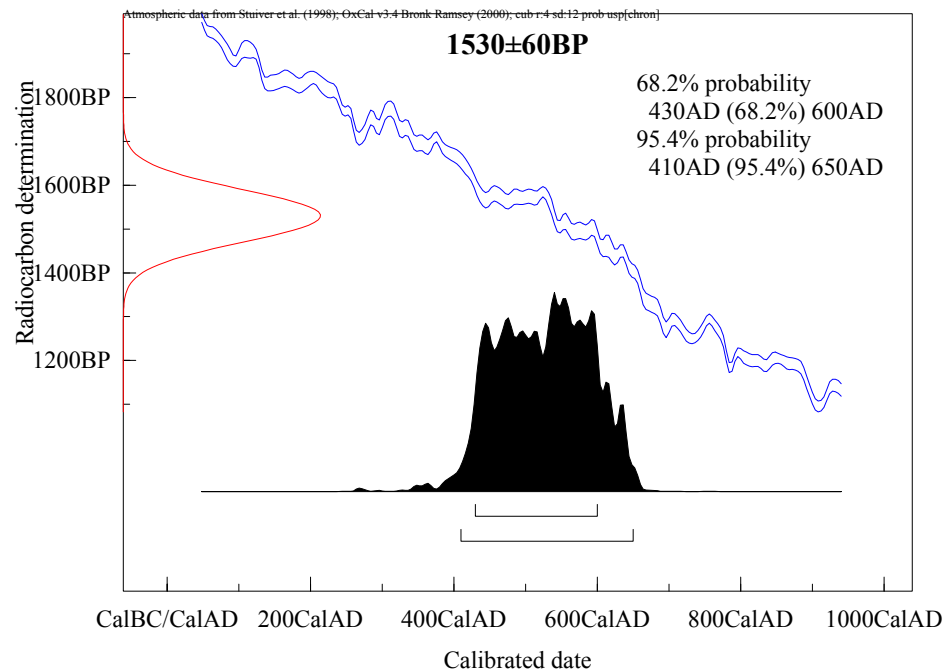
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.5 Caerwent, Monmouthshire

5.4.5.1 HAR-495 Cal AD430-600 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

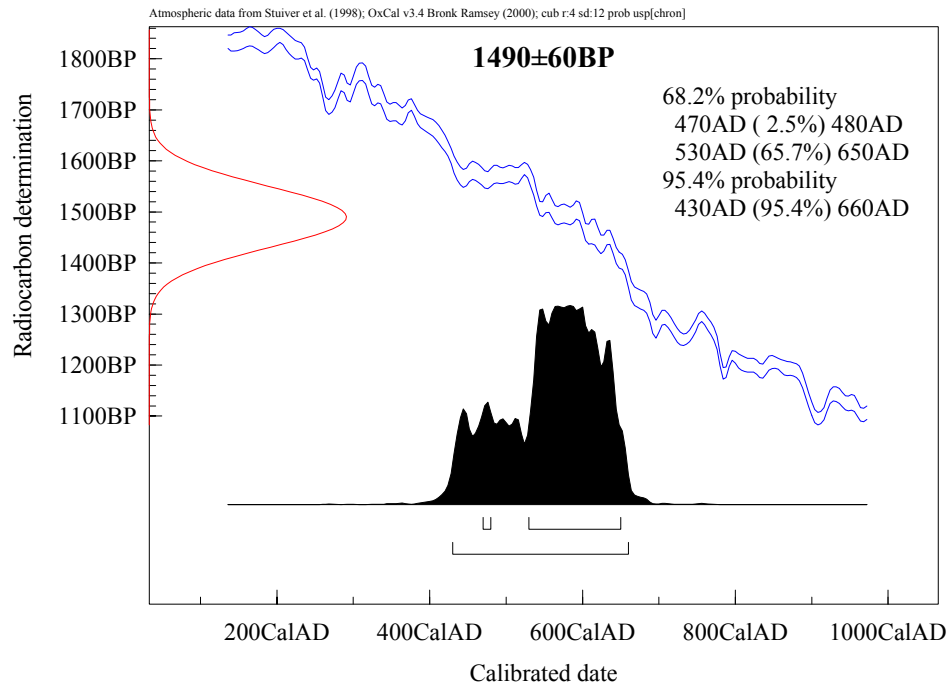


5.4.5.2 CAR-1431 Cal AD430-600 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

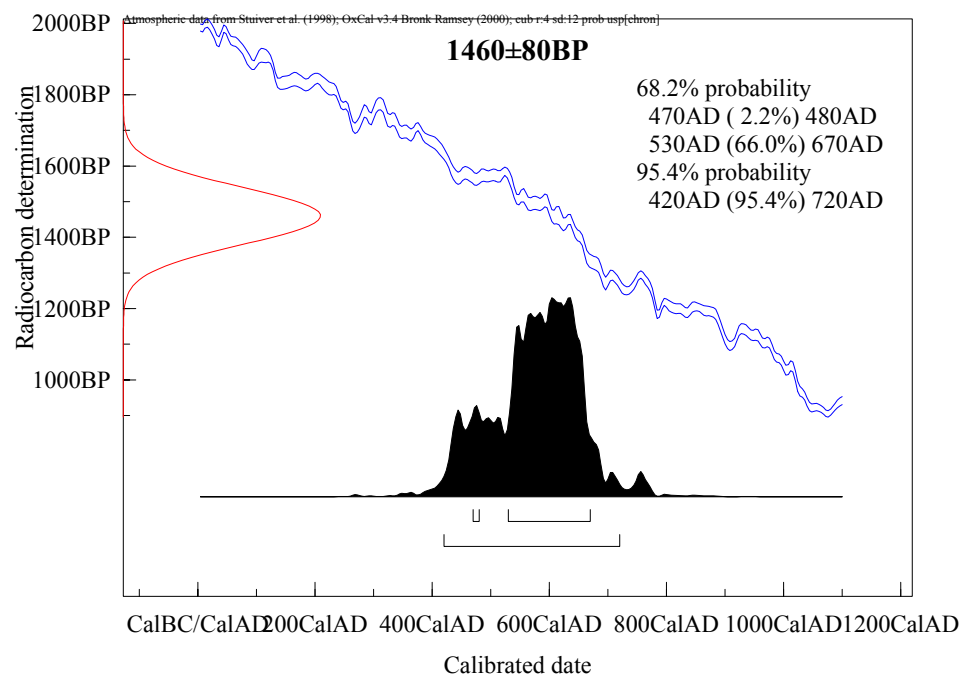


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.5.3 CAR-1430 Cal AD530-650 at 1 sigma (65.7%)

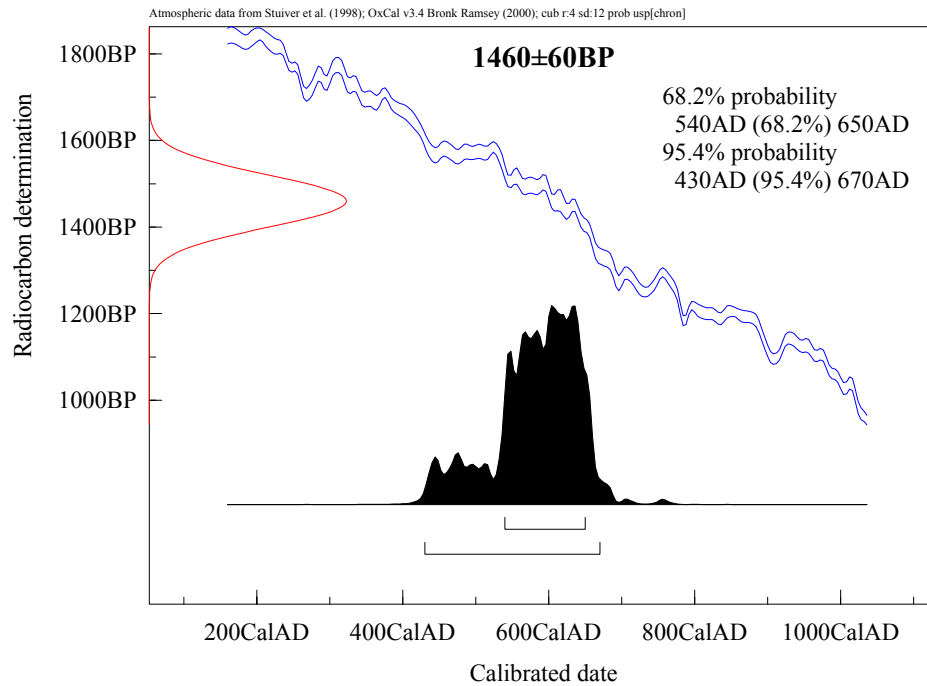


5.4.5.4 HAR-497 Cal AD530-670 at 1 sigma (66.0%)

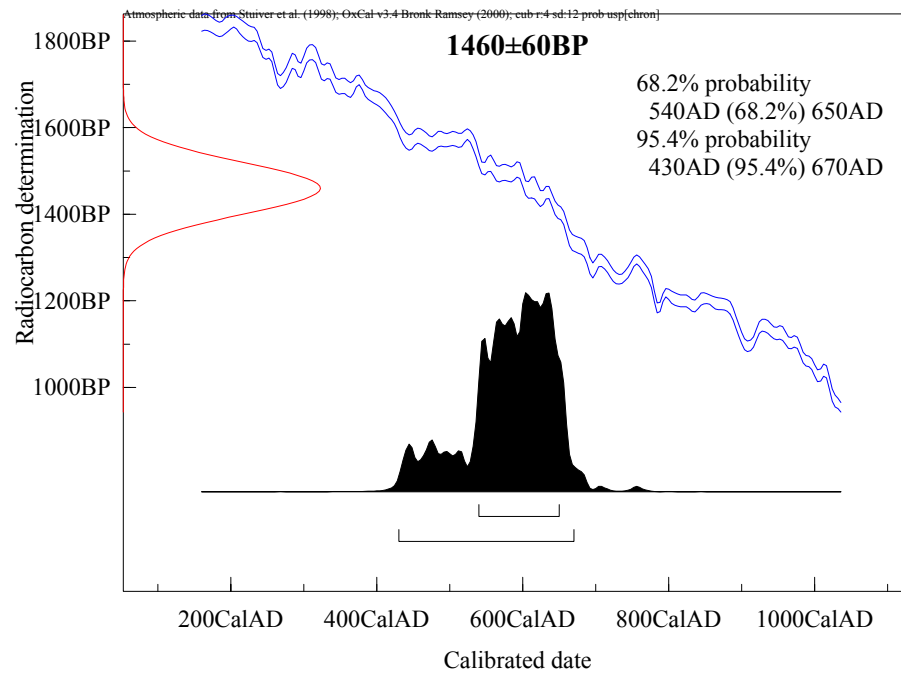


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.5.5 CAR-1429 Cal AD540-650 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

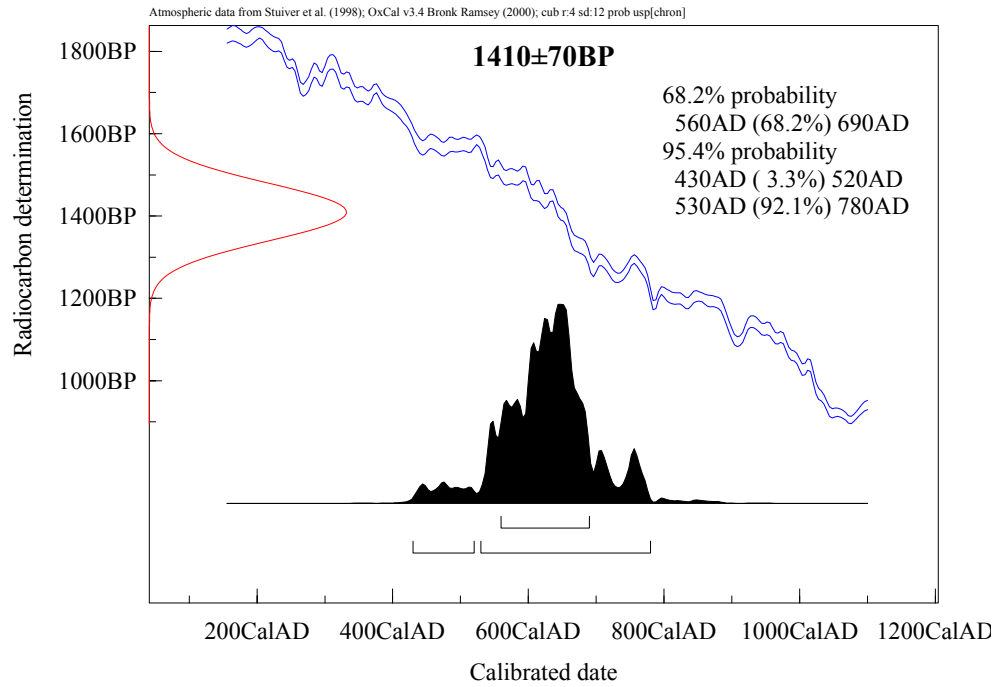


5.4.5.6 CAR-1433 Cal AD540-650 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

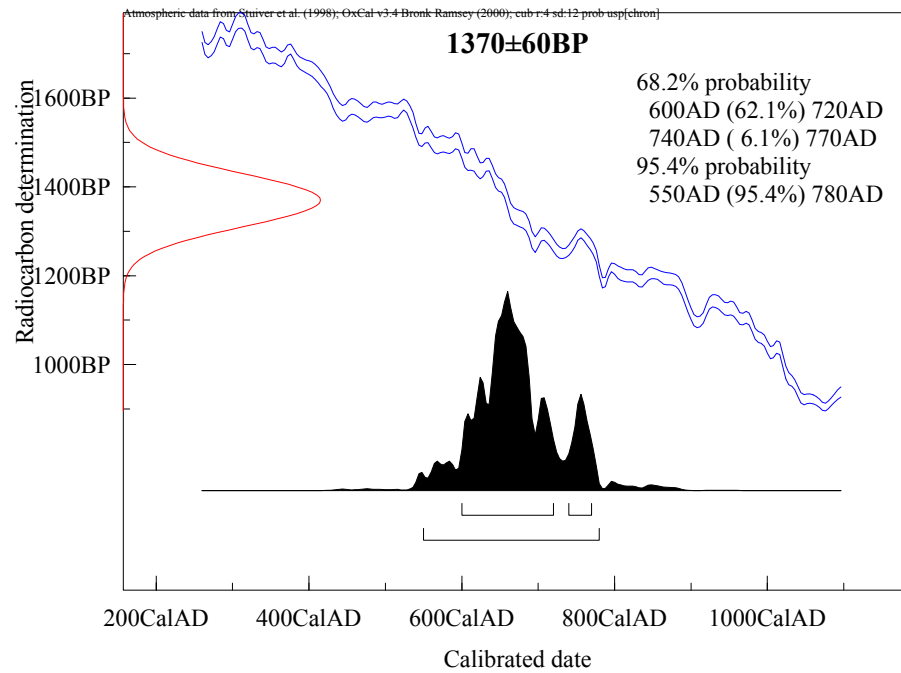


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.5.7 HAR-494 Cal AD560-690 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

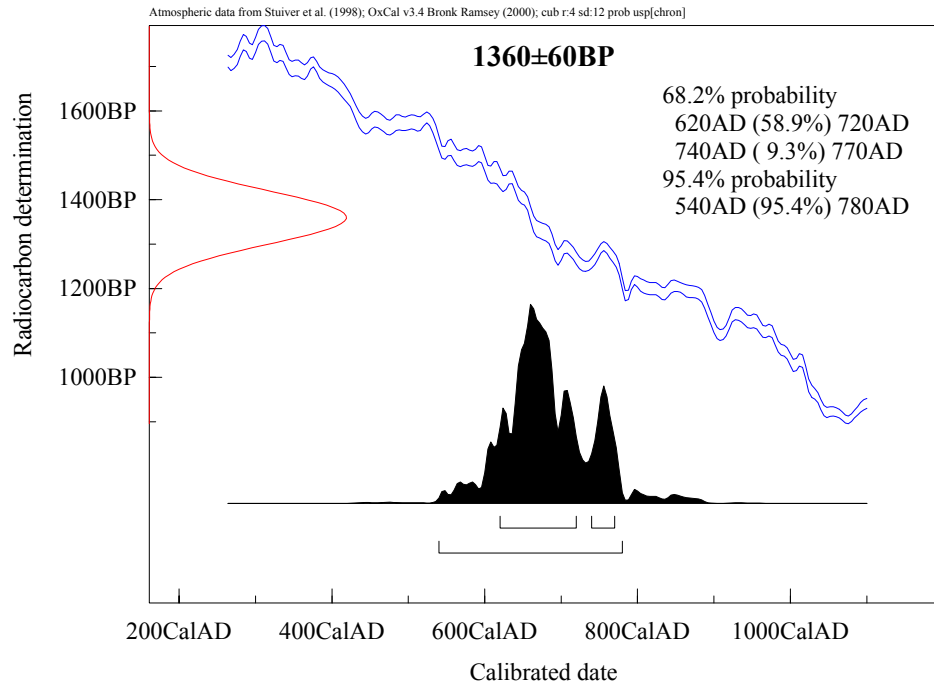


5.4.5.8 CAR-1428 Cal AD600-720 at 1 sigma (62.1%)

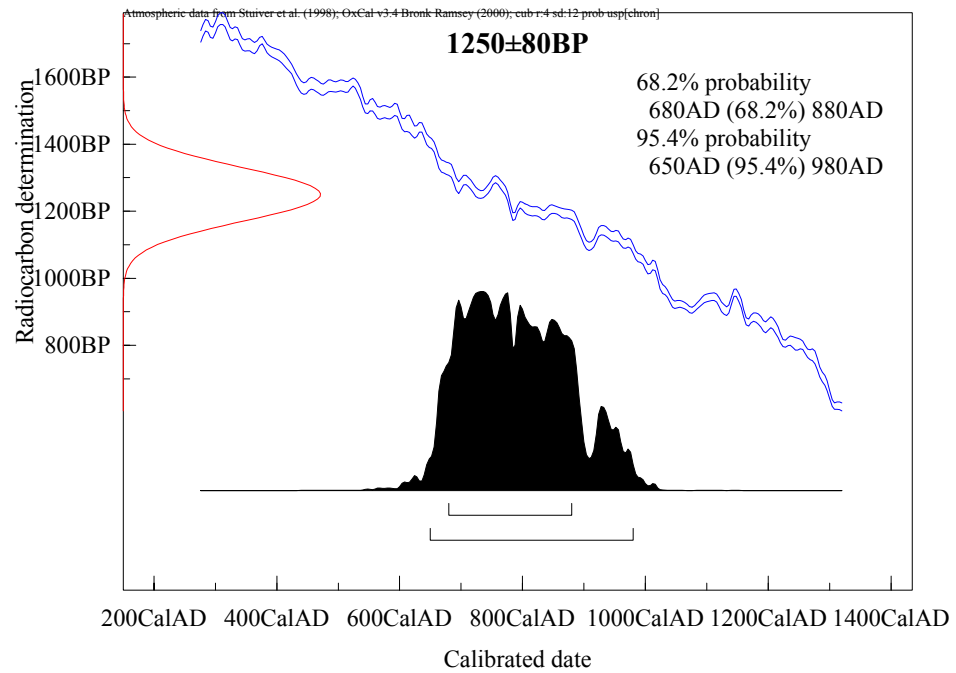


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.5.9 CAR-1432 Cal AD620-720 at 1 sigma (58.9%)

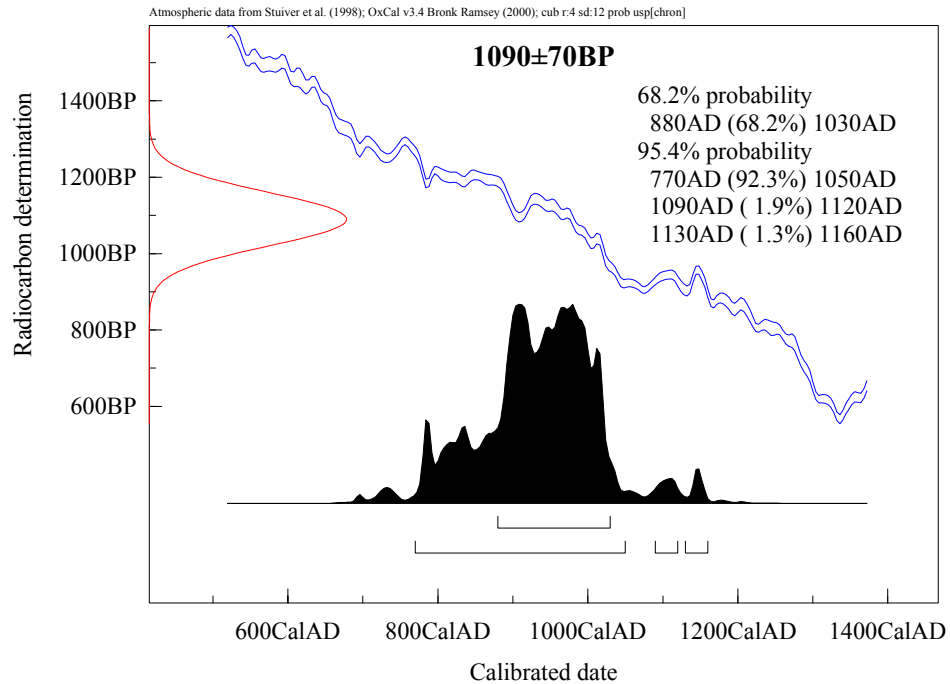


5.4.5.10 HAR-496 Cal AD680-880 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



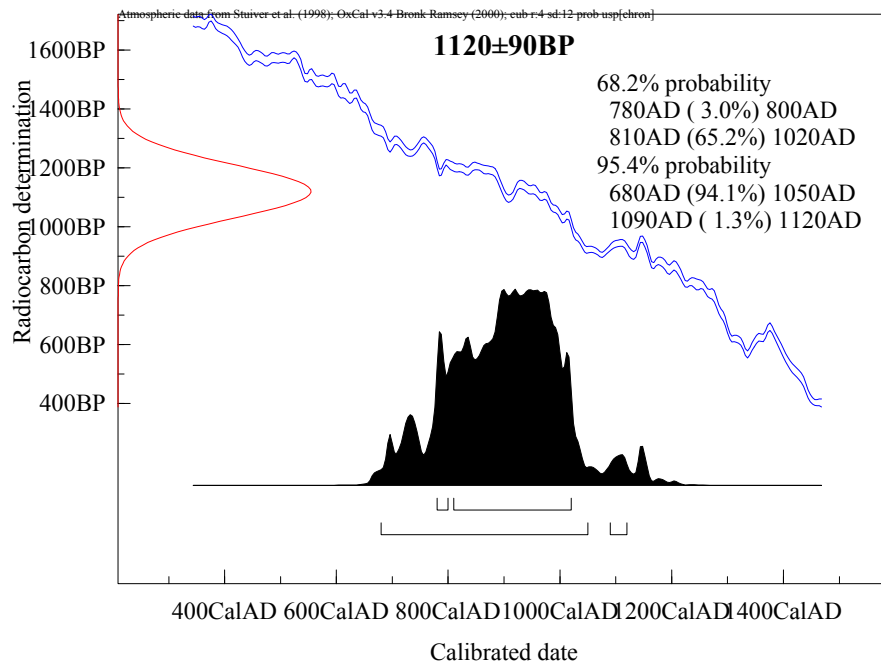
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.5.11 HAR-493 Cal AD880-1030 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



5.4.6 Capel Eithin, Gwynedd

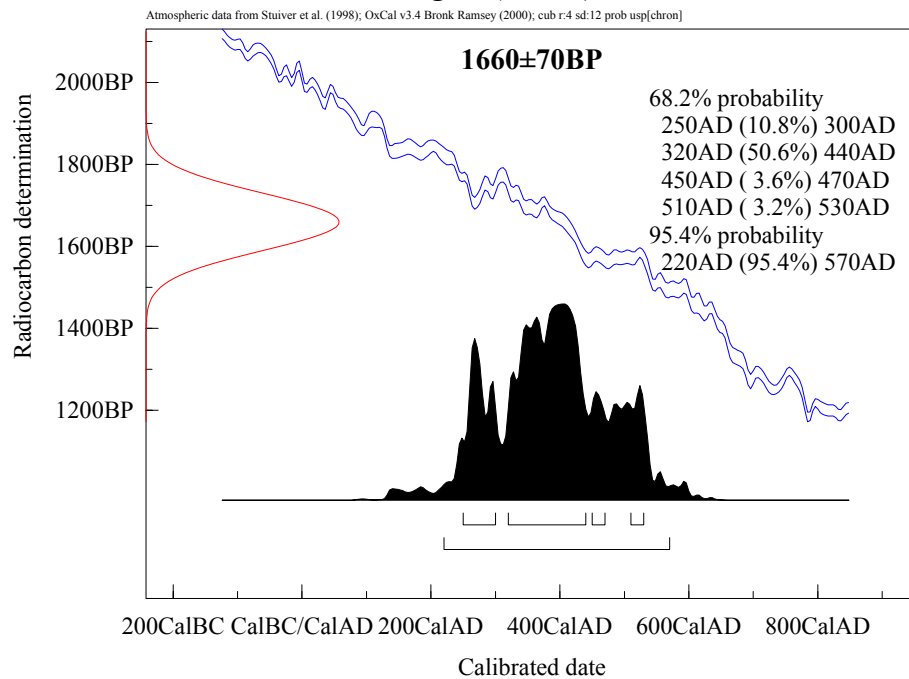
5.4.6.1 CAR-484 Cal AD810-1020 at 1 sigma (65.2%)



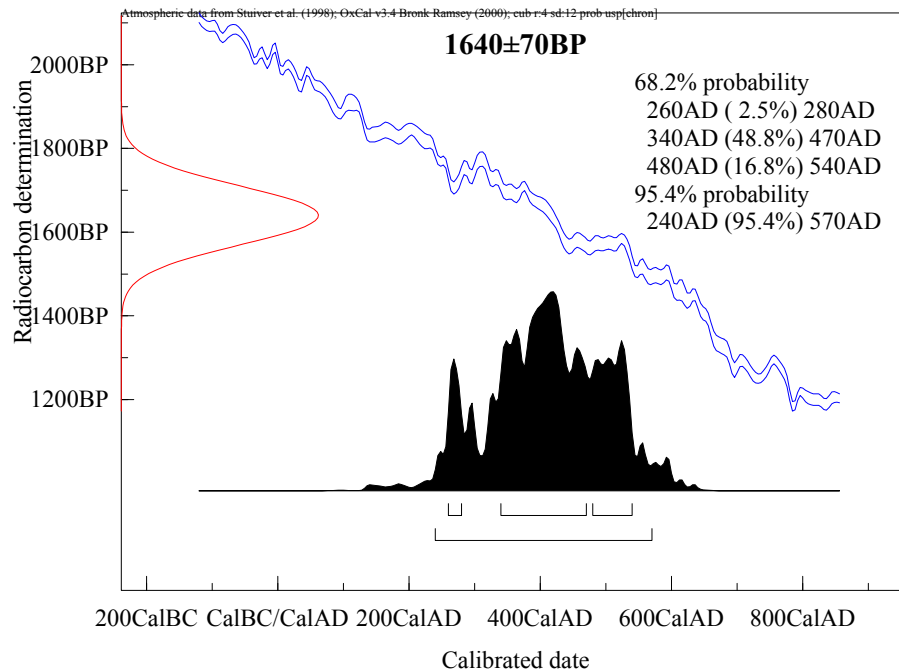
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.7 Catterick - Bainesse Farm, North Yorkshire

5.4.7.1 HAR-5273 Cal AD320-440 at 1 sigma (50.6%)

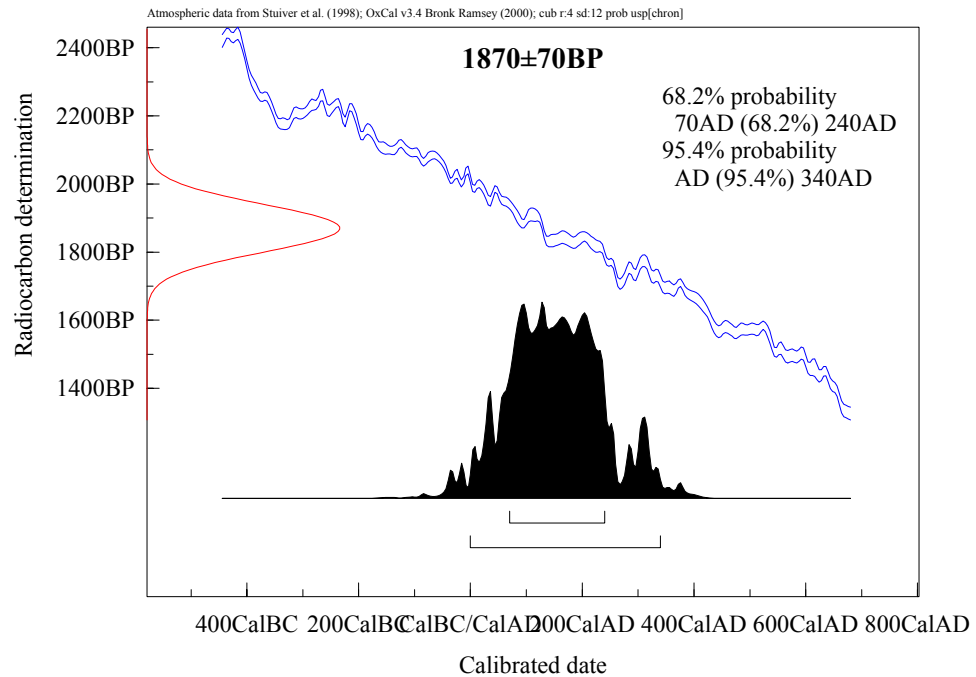


5.4.7.2 HAR-5272 Cal AD340-470 at 1 sigma (48.8%)

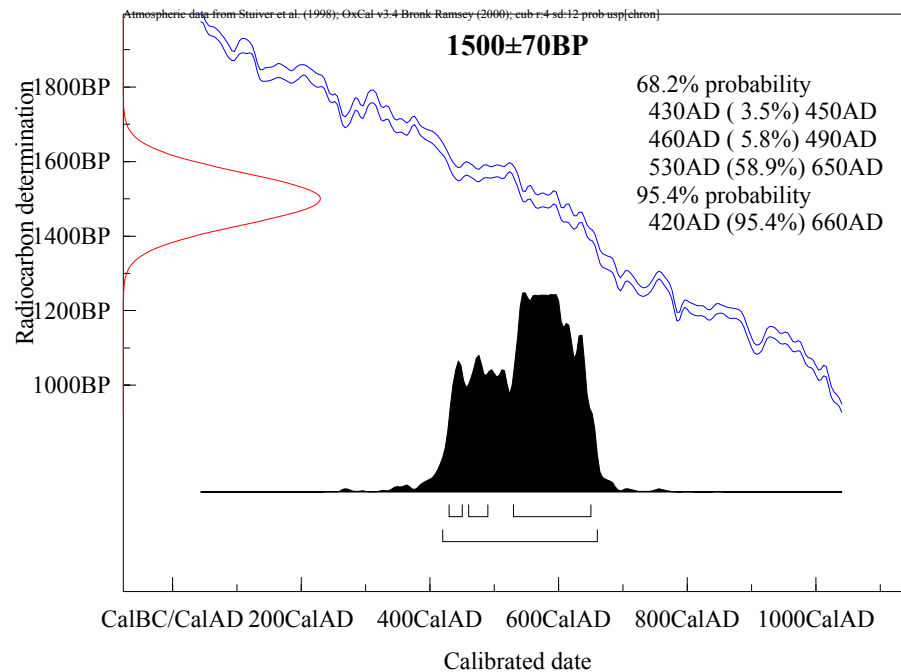


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.7.3 HAR-5275 Cal AD70-240 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

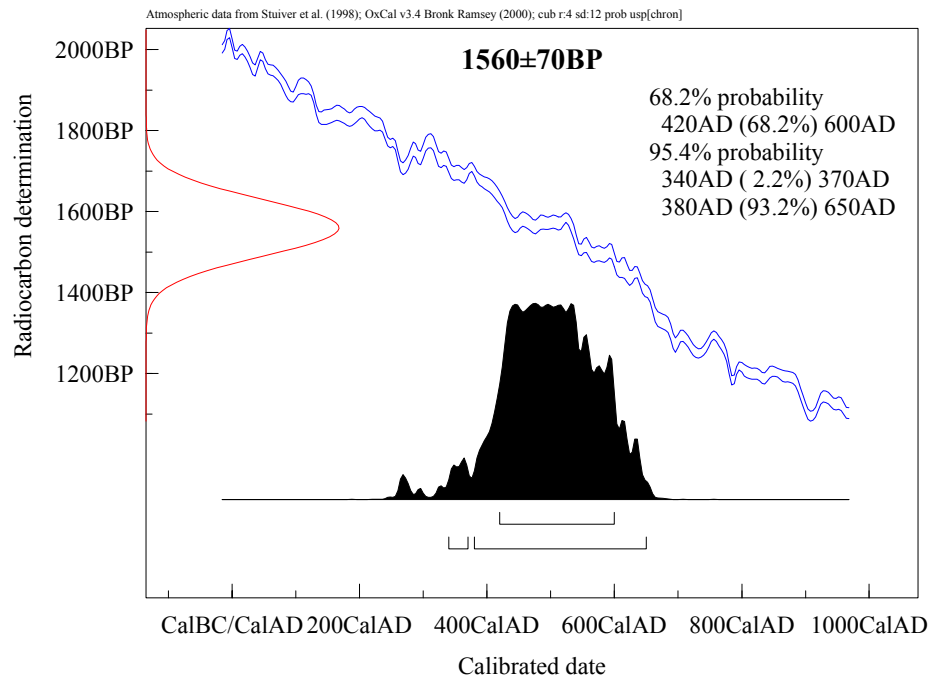


5.4.7.4 HAR-5276 Cal AD530-650 at 1 sigma (58.9%)



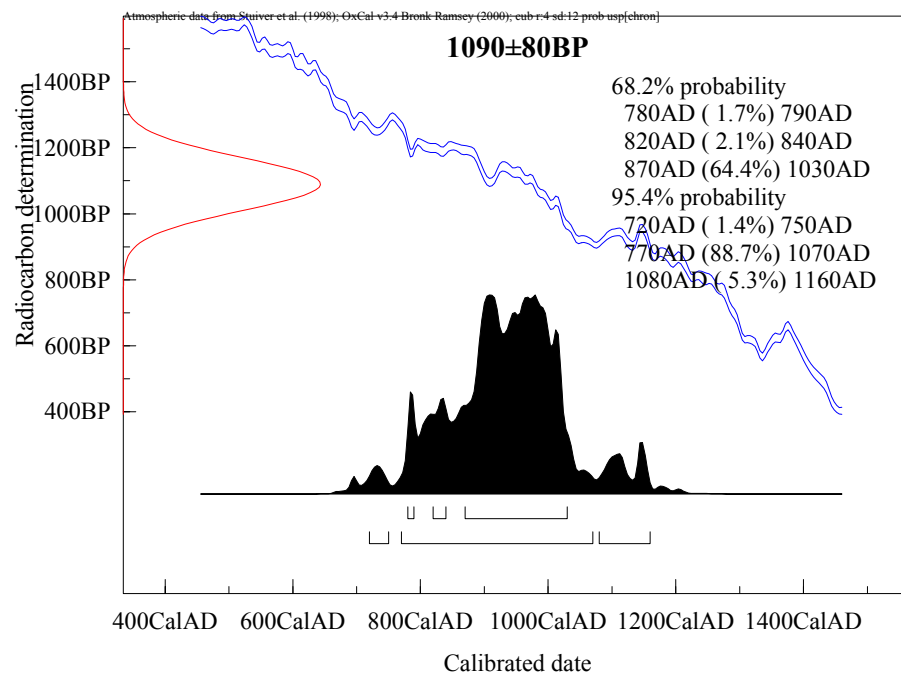
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.7.5 HAR-5277 Cal AD420-600 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



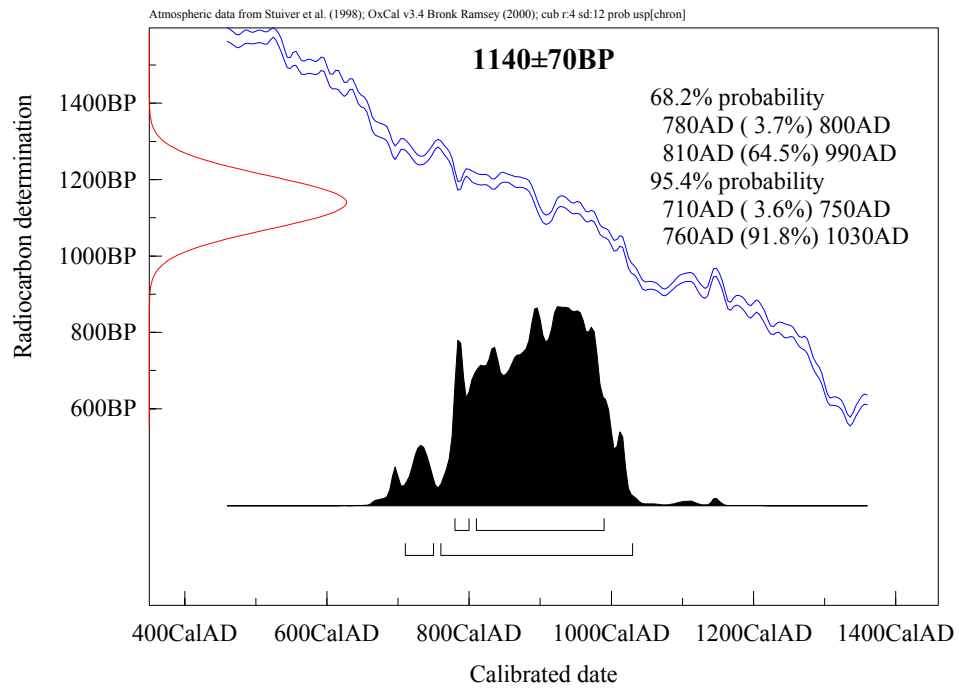
5.4.8 Crayke, Yorkshire

5.4.8.1 HAR-6279 Cal AD870-1030 at 1 sigma (64.4%)



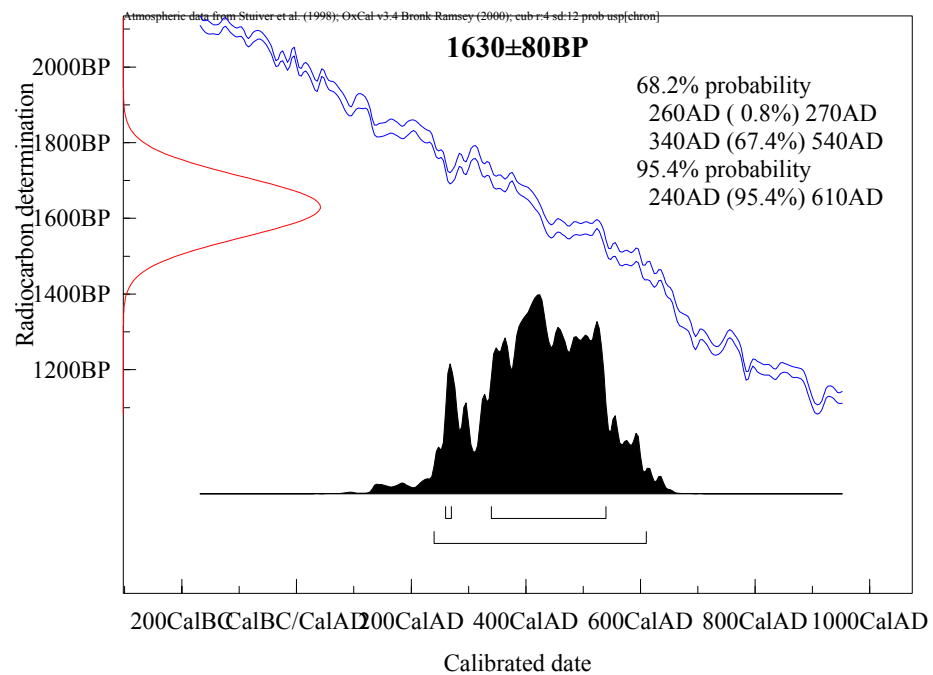
5.4.8.2 HAR-6280 Cal AD810-990 at 1 sigma (64.5%)

Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations



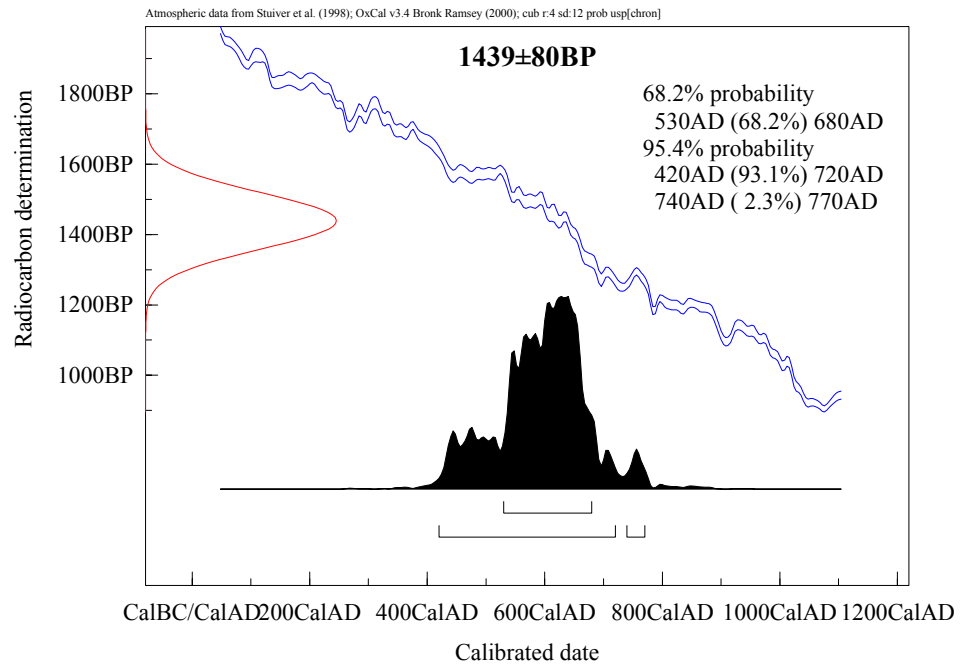
5.4.9 Henley Wood, Avon

5.4.9.1 HAR-5588 Cal AD340-540 at 1 sigma (67.4%)

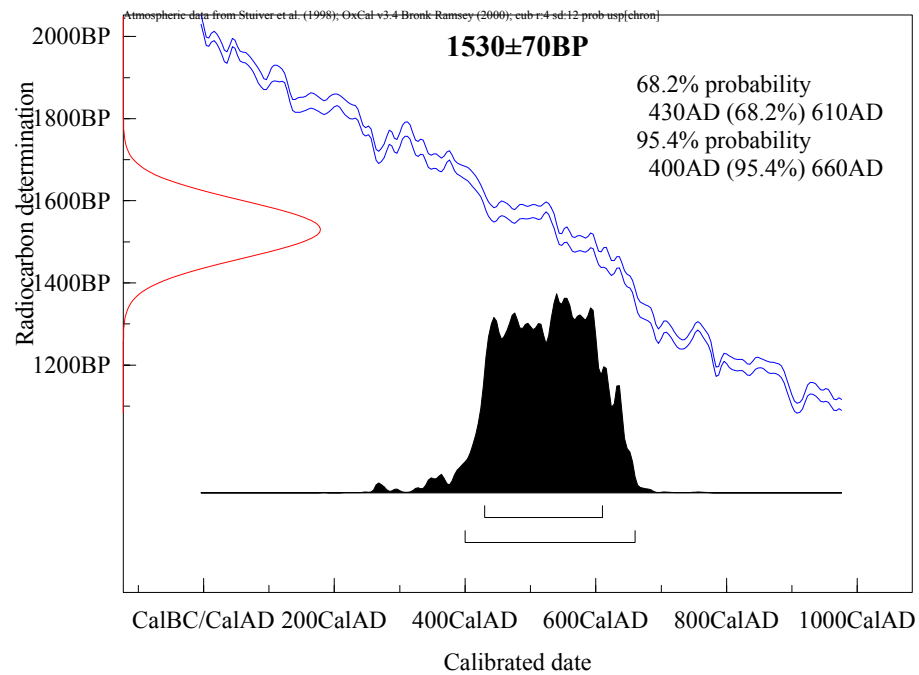


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.9.2 HAR-5589 Cal AD530-680 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

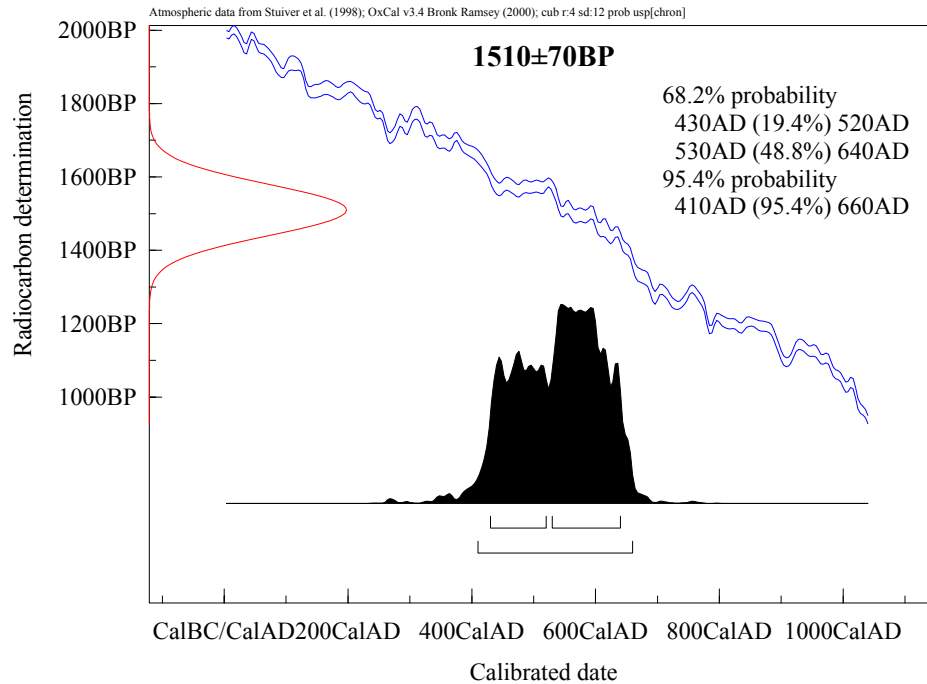


5.4.9.3 HAR-5584 Cal AD430-610 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

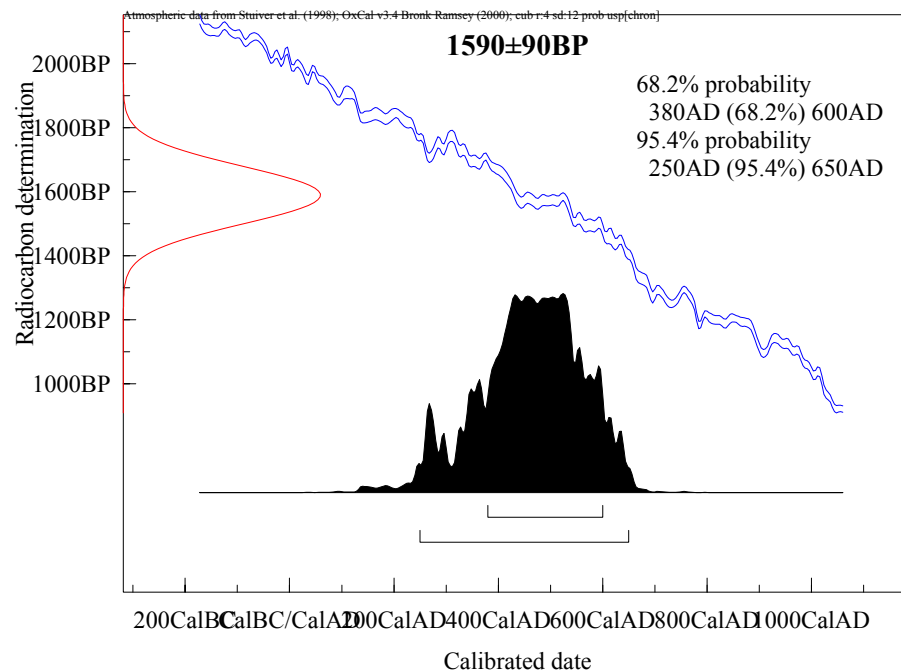


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.9.4 HAR-5585 Cal AD530-640 at 1 sigma (48.8%)

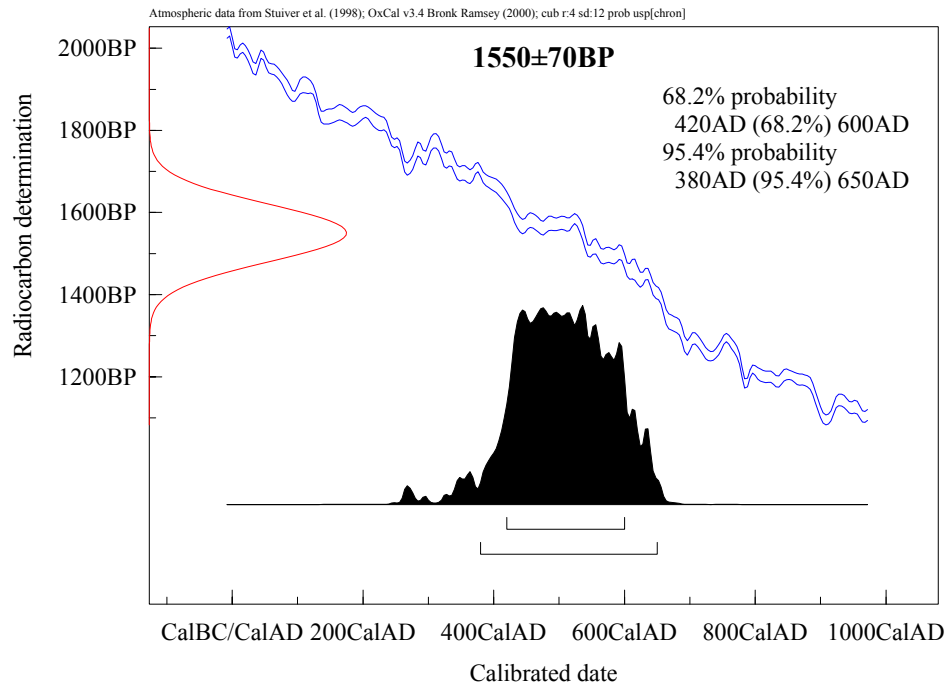


5.4.9.5 HAR-5586 Cal AD 380-600 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

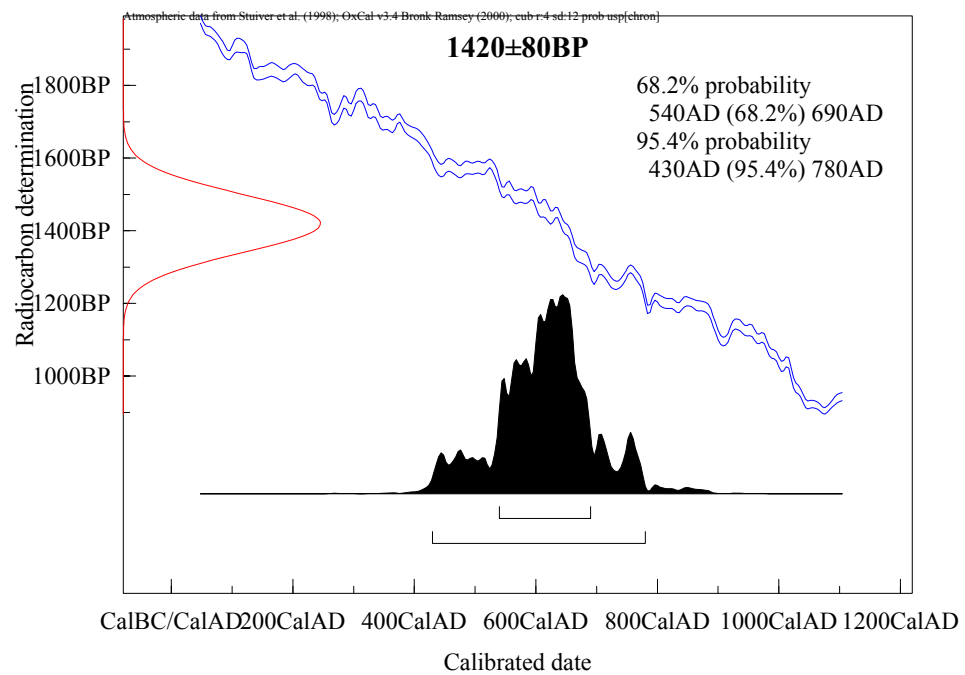


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.9.6 HAR-5662 Cal AD420-600 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

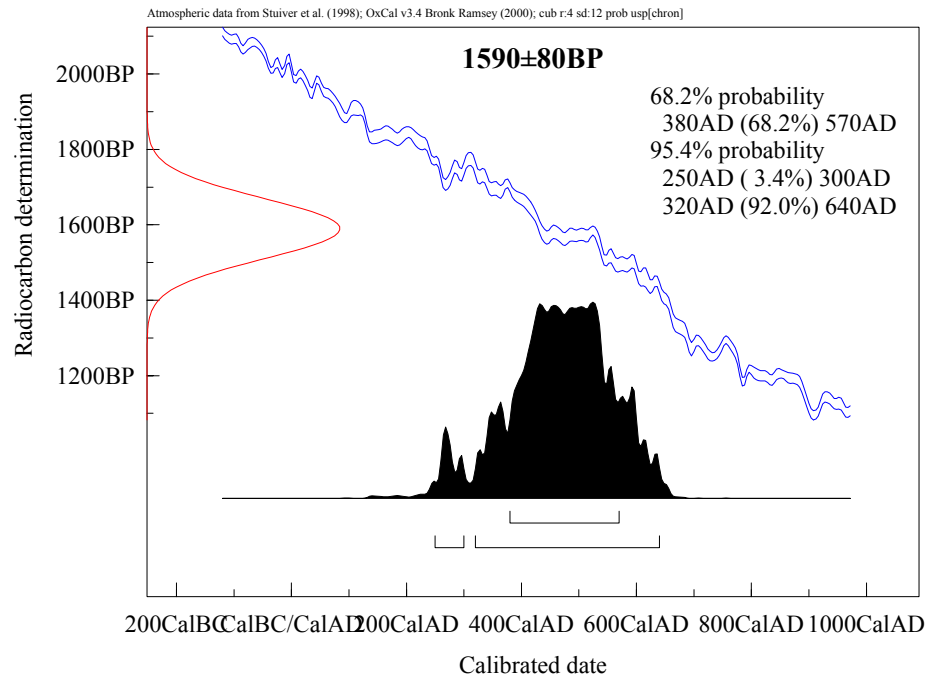


5.4.9.7 HAR-5587 Cal AD540-690 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

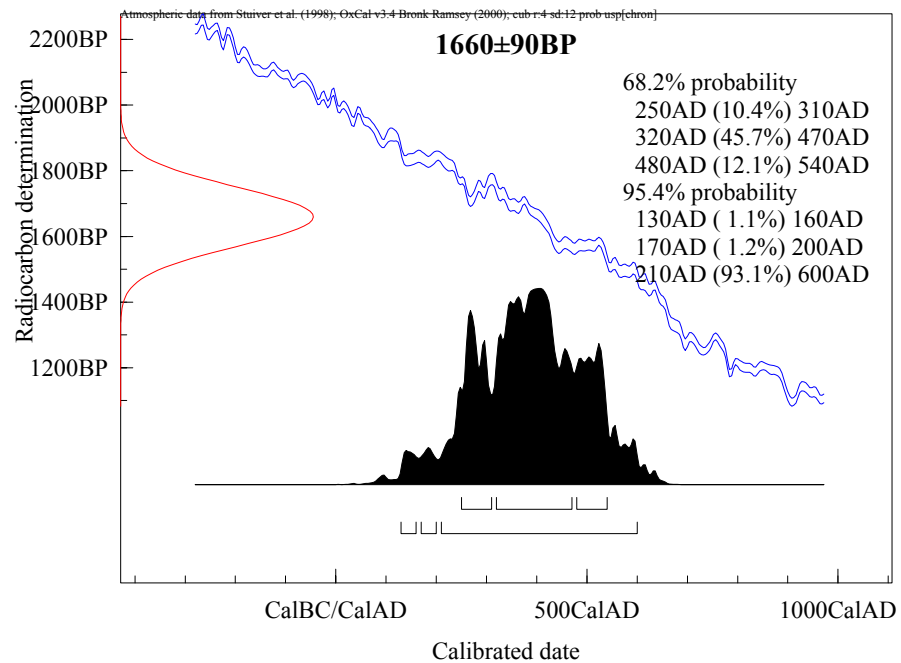


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.9.8 HAR-5590 Cal AD380-570 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

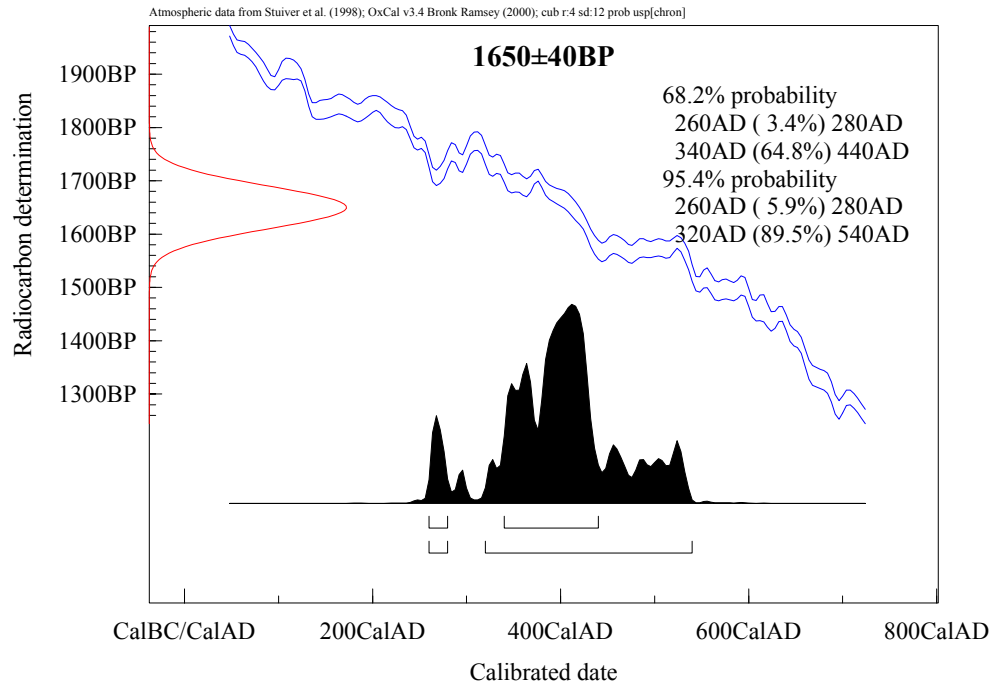


5.4.9.9 HAR-6084 Cal AD320-470 at 1 sigma (45.7%)

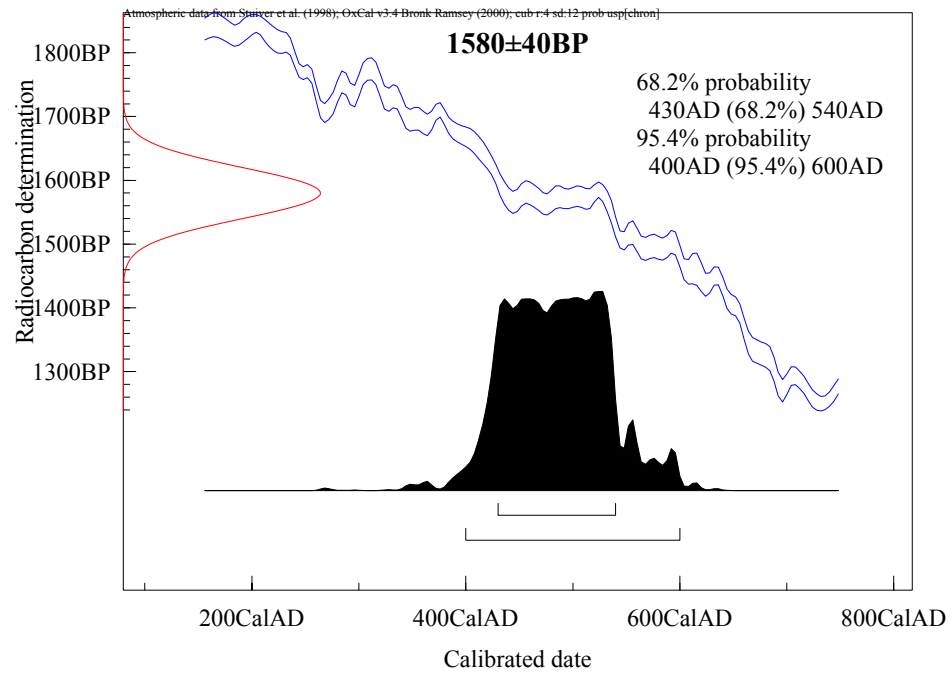


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.9.10 HAR-8760 Cal AD340-440 at 1 sigma (64.8%)

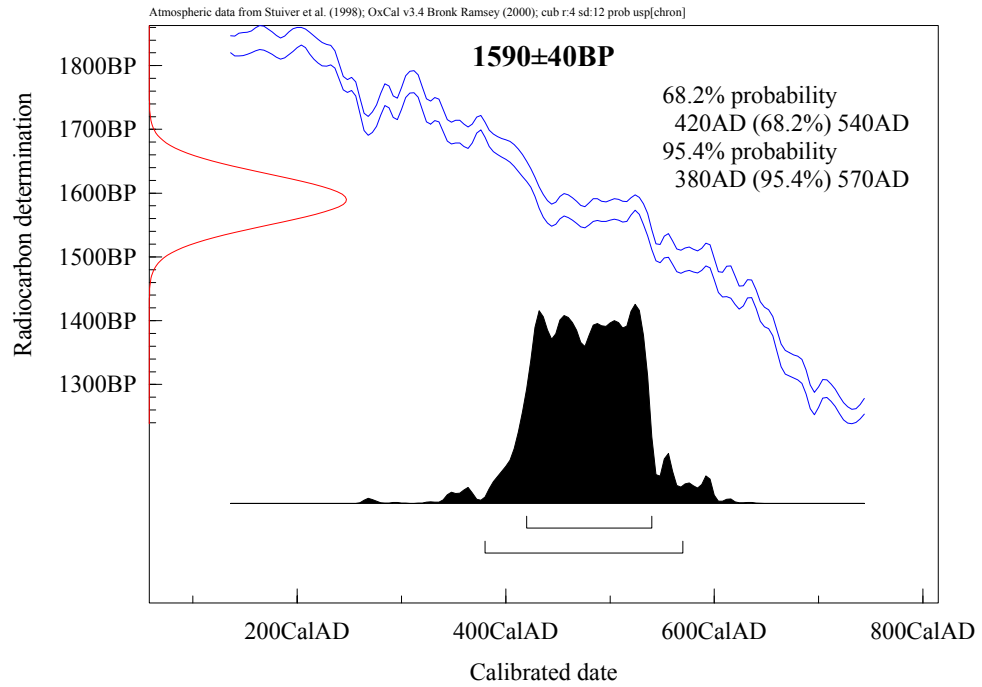


5.4.9.11 HAR-8762 Cal AD430-540 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

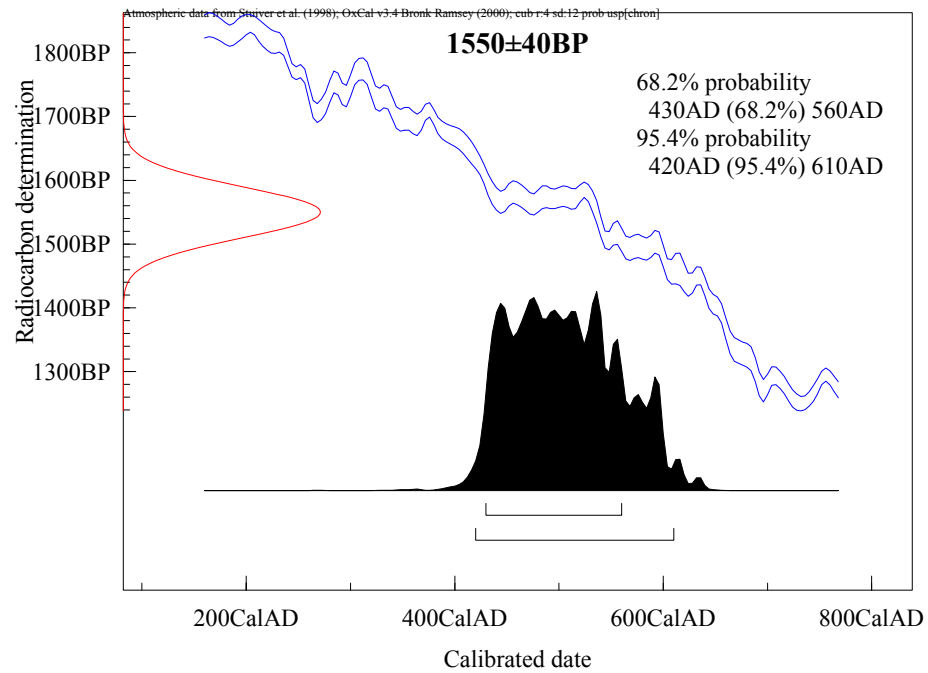


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.9.12 HAR-8758 Cal AD420-540 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

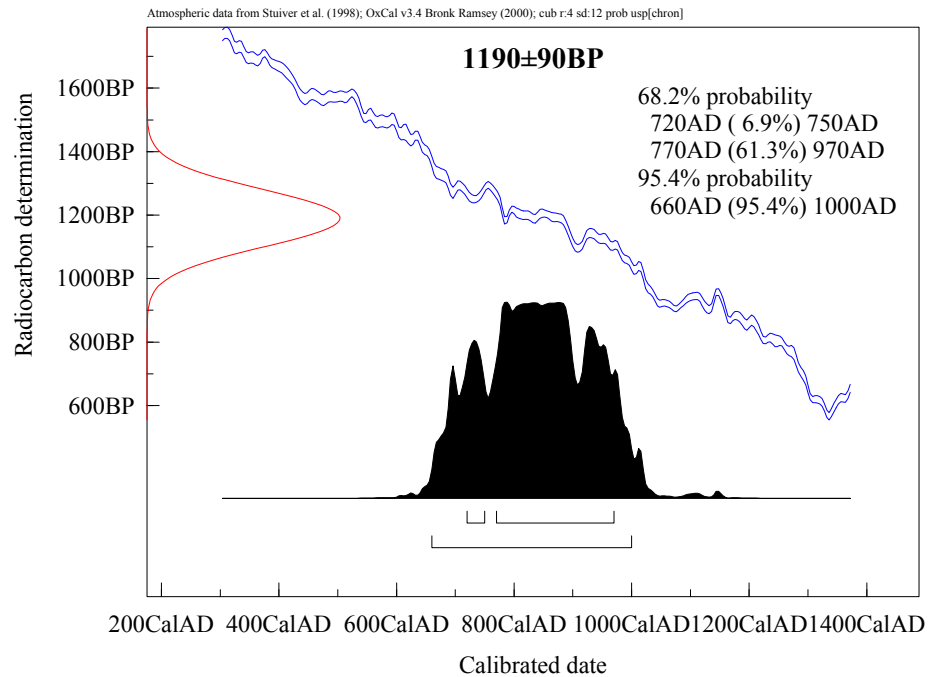


5.4.9.13 HAR-8759 Cal AD430-560 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



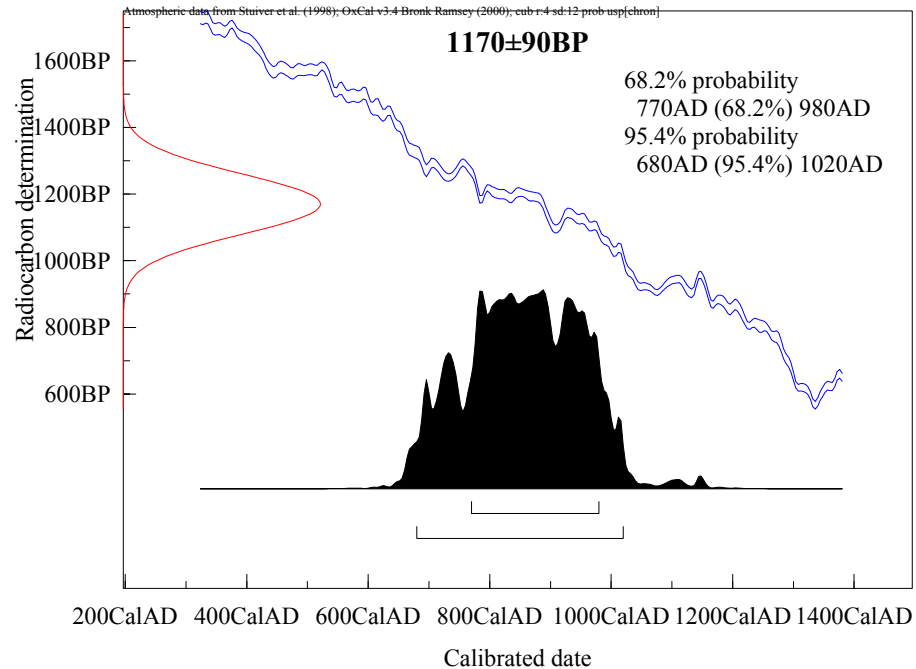
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.9.14 HAR-8761 Cal AD770-970 at 1 sigma (61.3%)



5.4.10 Lincoln - Saltergate, Lincolnshire

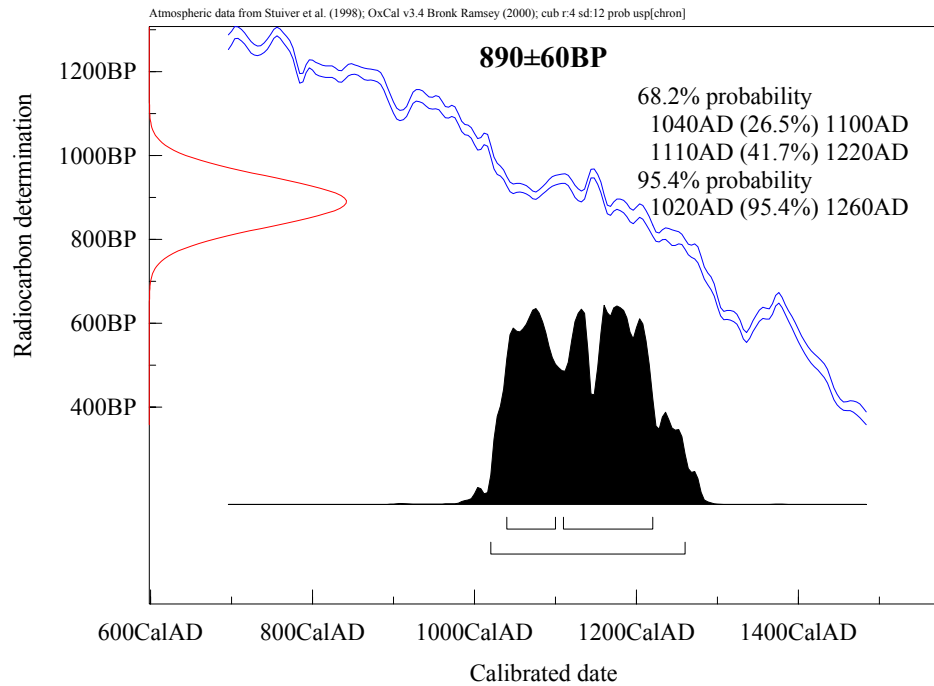
5.4.10.1 HAR-863 Cal AD770-980 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



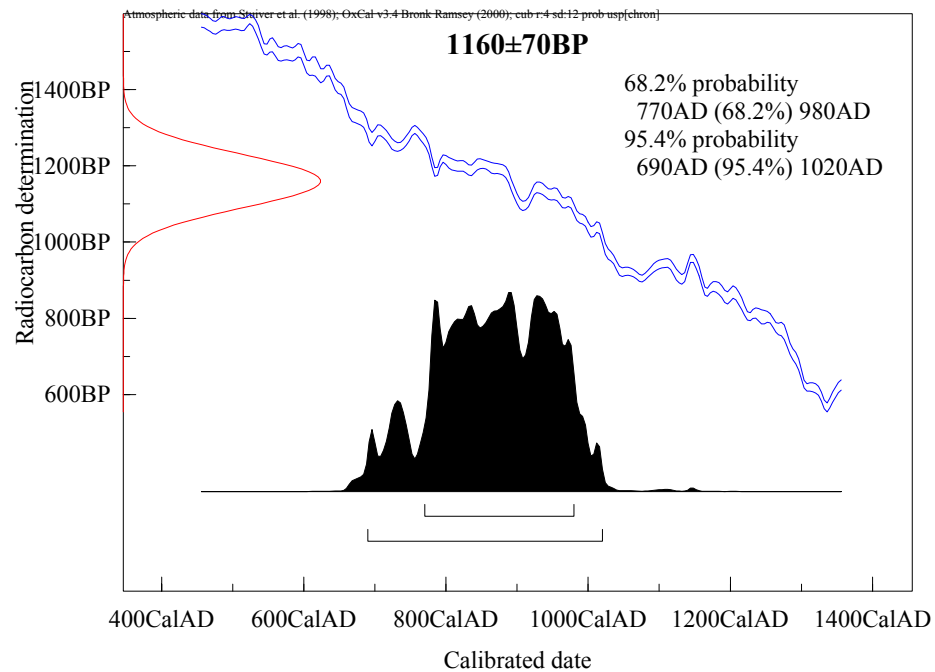
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.11 Llandough, Glamorgan

5.4.11.1 CAR-271 Cal AD1110-1220 at 1 sigma (41.7%)

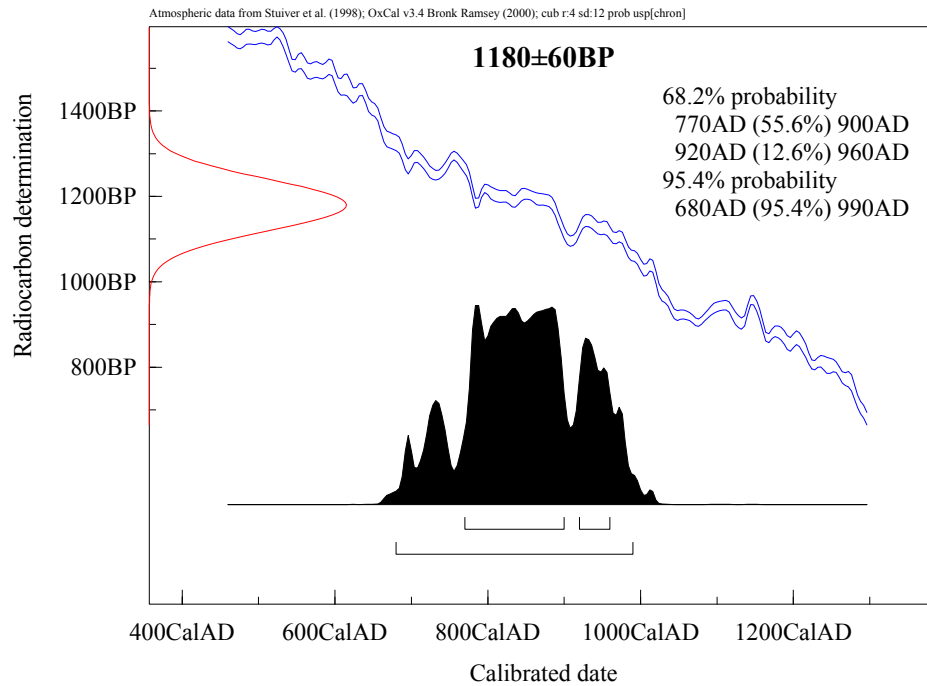


5.4.11.2 CAR-305 Cal AD770-980 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



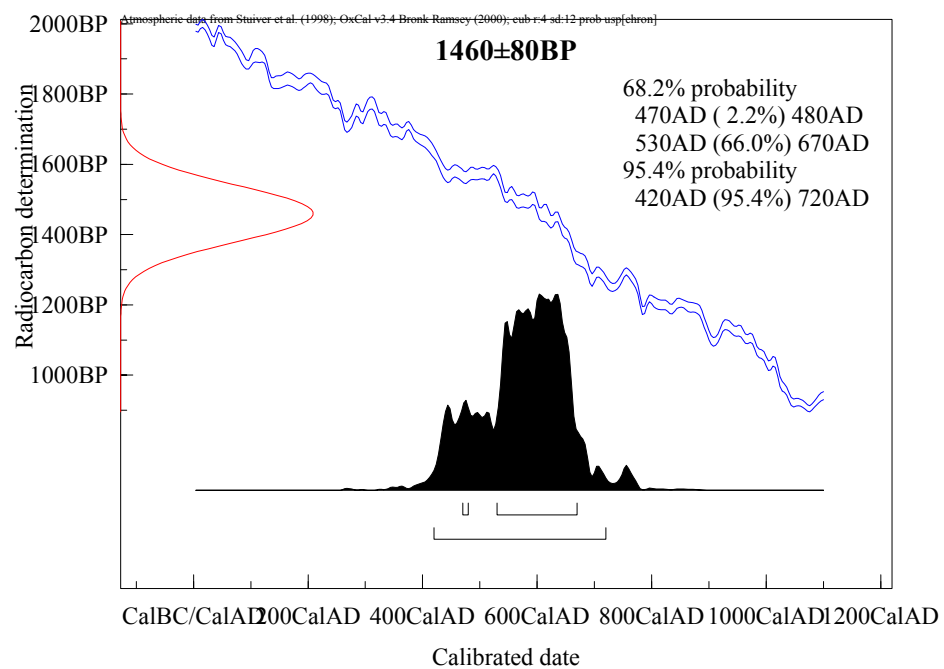
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.11.3 CAR-306 Cal AD770-900 at 1 sigma (55.6%)



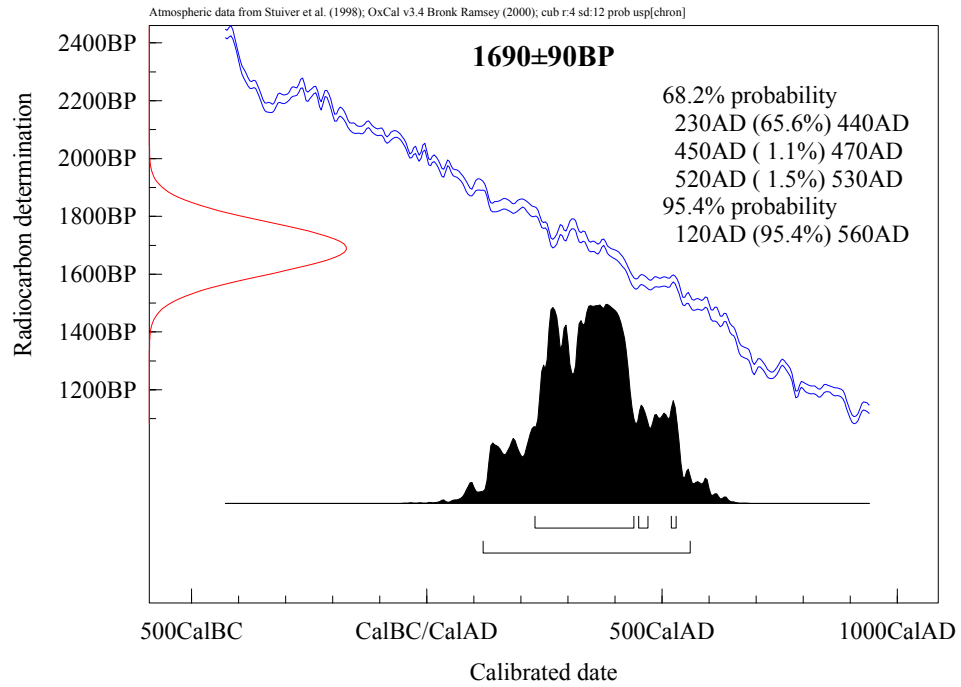
5.4.12 Much Wenlock, Shropshire

5.4.12.1 HAR-8304 Cal AD530-670 at 1 sigma (66.0%)

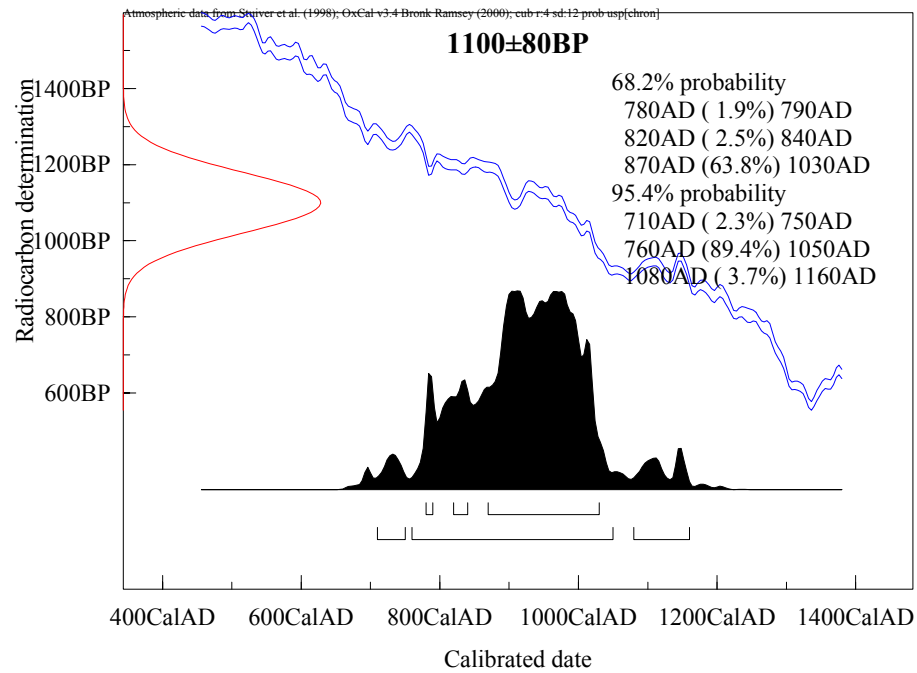


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.12.2 HAR-8305 Cal AD230-440 at 1 sigma (65.6%)

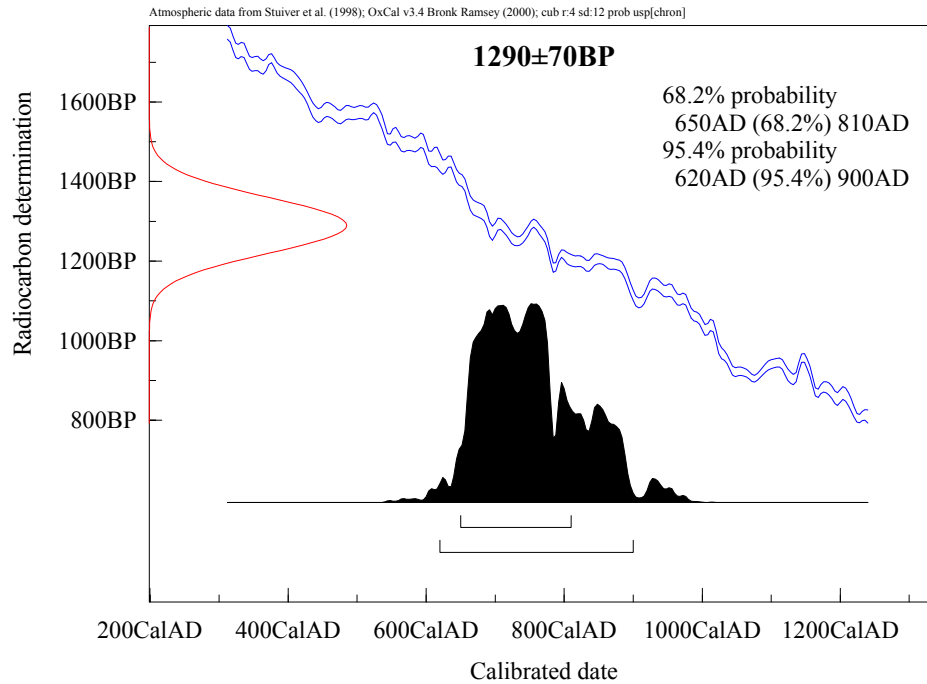


5.4.12.3 HAR-6446 Cal AD870-1030 at 1 sigma (63.8%)



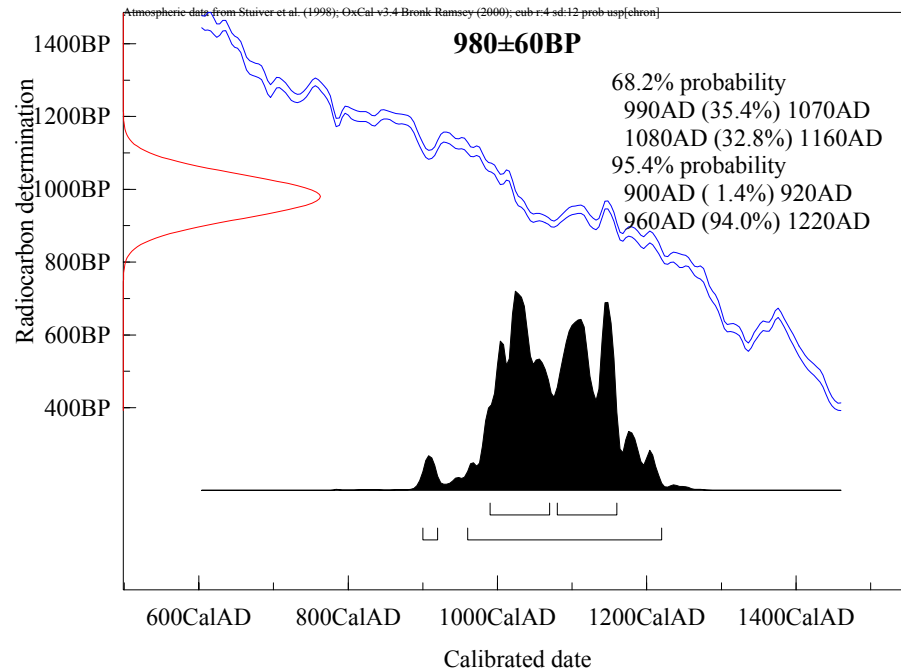
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.12.4 HAR-6496 Cal AD650-810 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



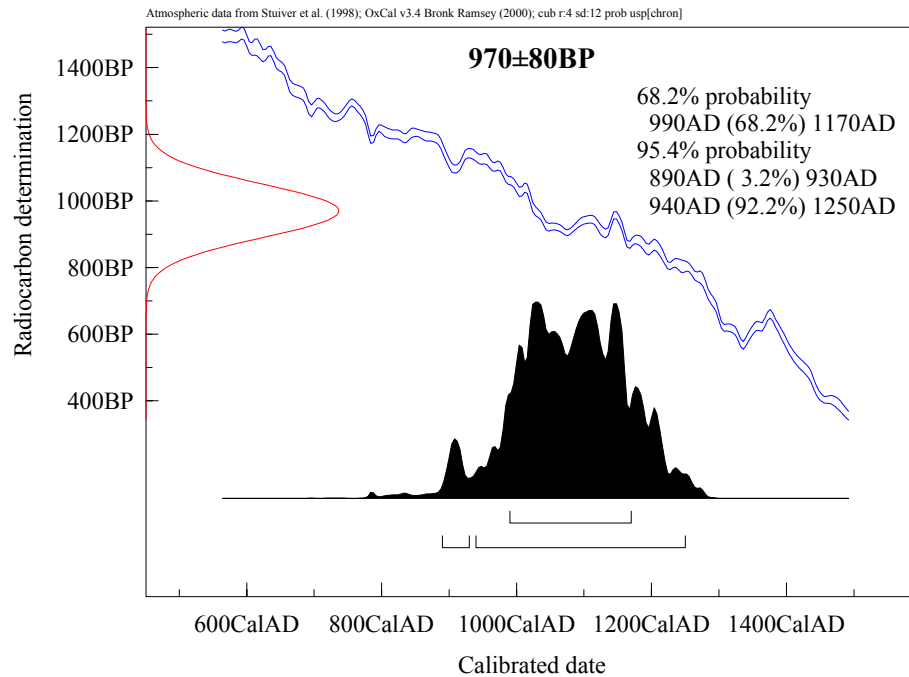
5.4.13 Rivenhall, Essex

5.4.13.1 HAR-2015 Cal AD990-1070 at 1 sigma (35.4%)

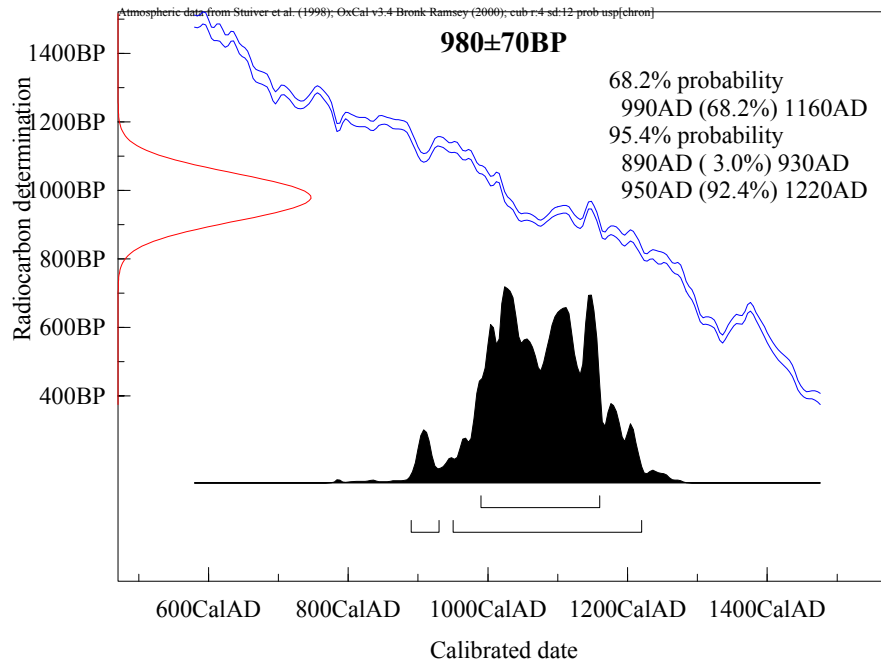


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.13.2 HAR-2016 Cal AD990-1170 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

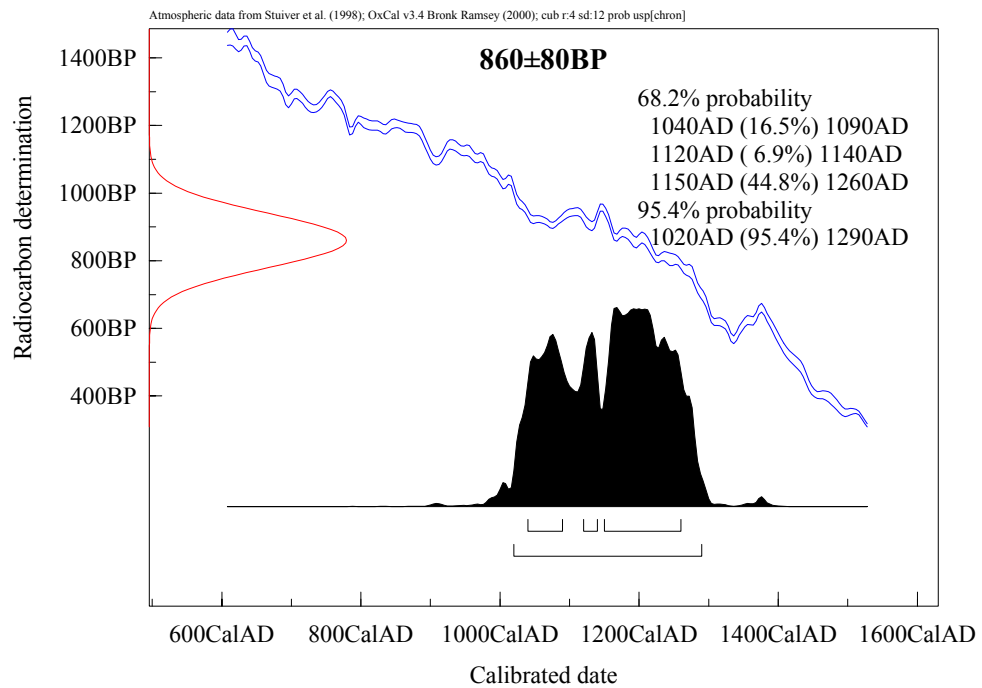


5.4.13.3 HAR-2017 Cal AD990-1160 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

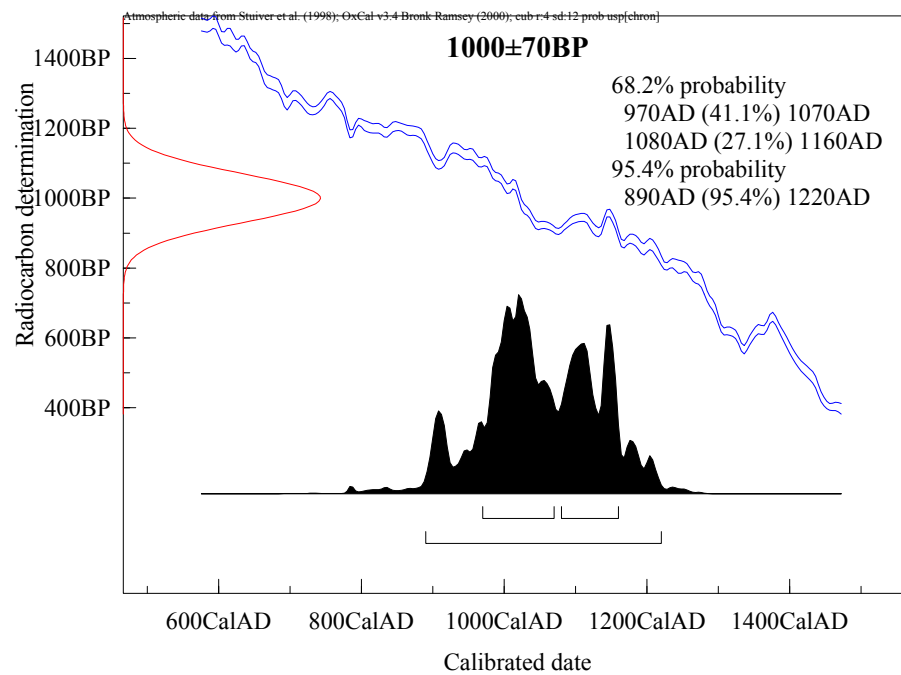


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.13.4 HAR-2018 Cal AD1150-1260 at 1 sigma (44.8%)

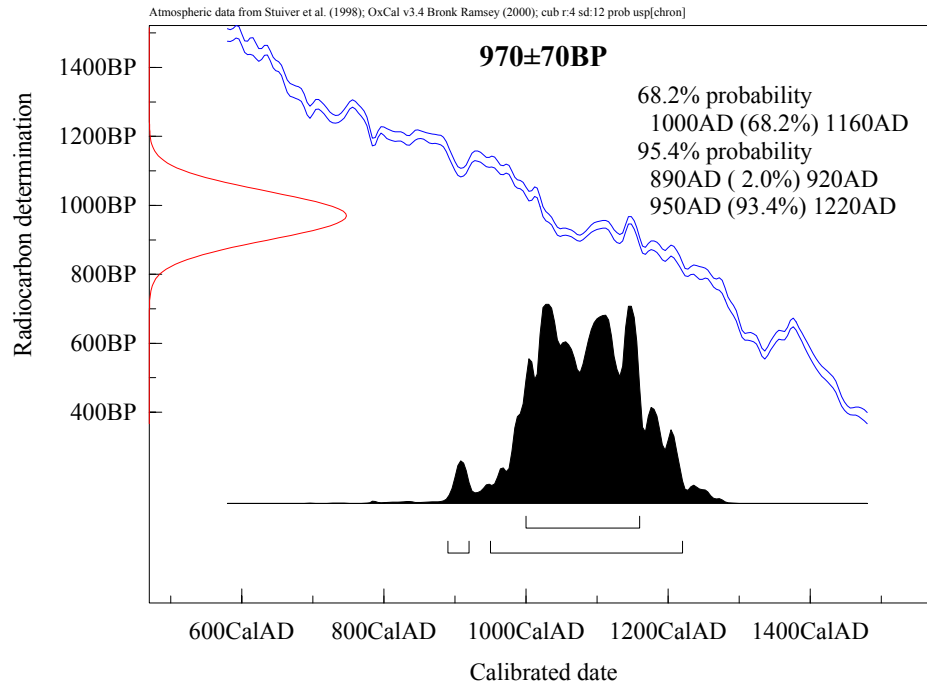


5.4.13.5 HAR-2019 Cal AD970-1070 at 1 sigma (41.1%)

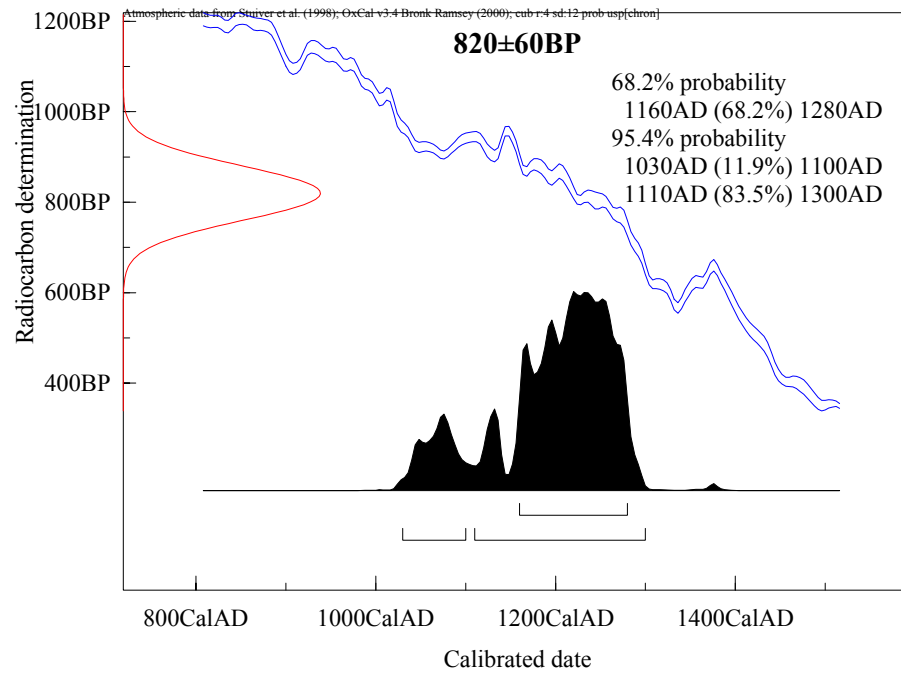


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.13.6 HAR-2021 Cal AD1000-1160 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

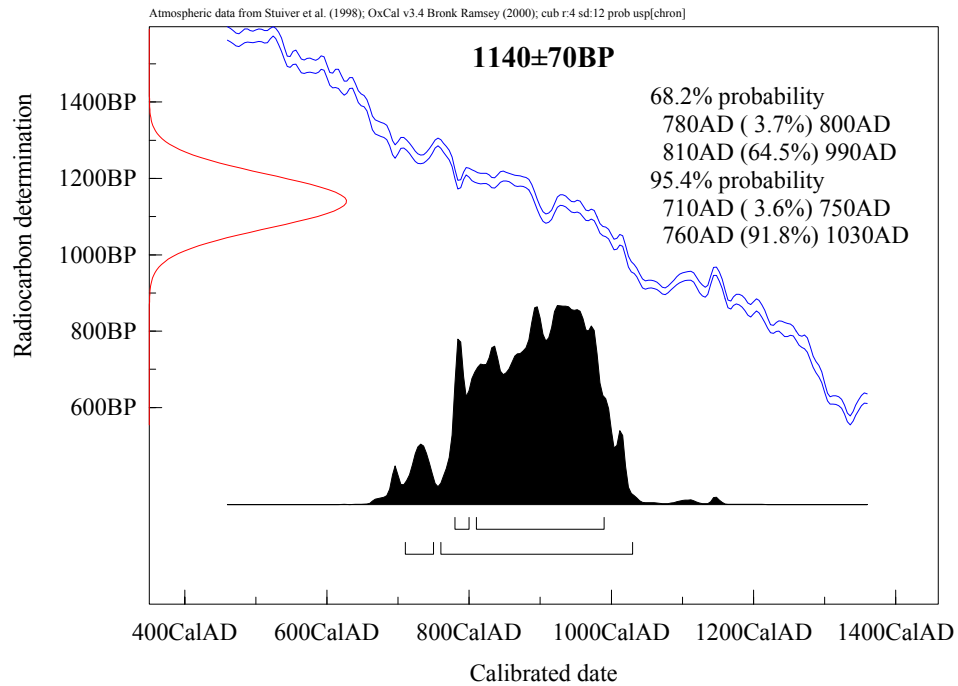


5.4.13.7 HAR-2326 Cal AD1160-1280 at 1 sigma (68.2%)

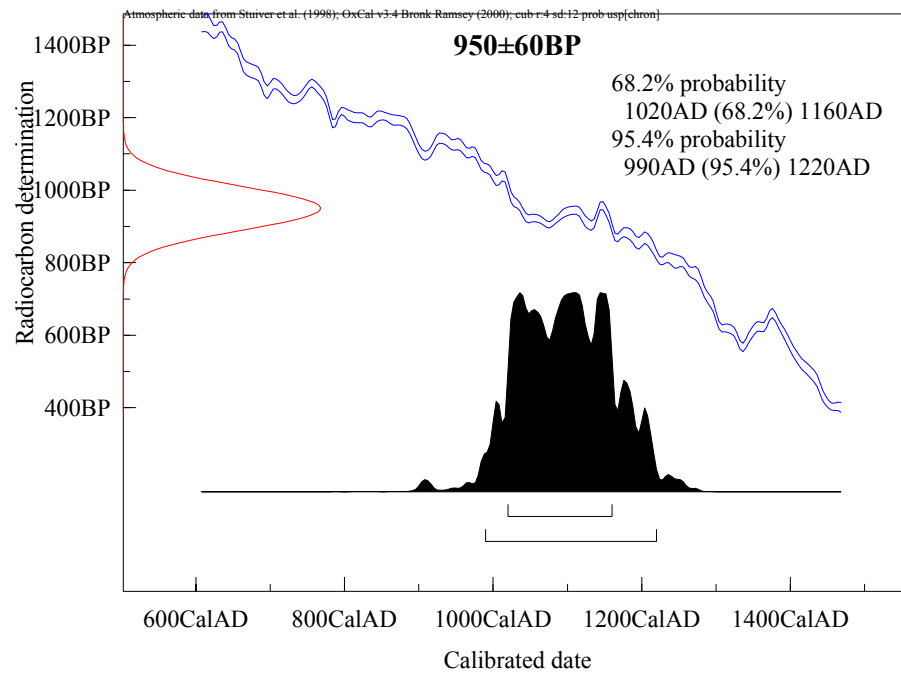


Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.13.8 HAR-2404 Cal AD810-990 at 1 sigma (64.5%)



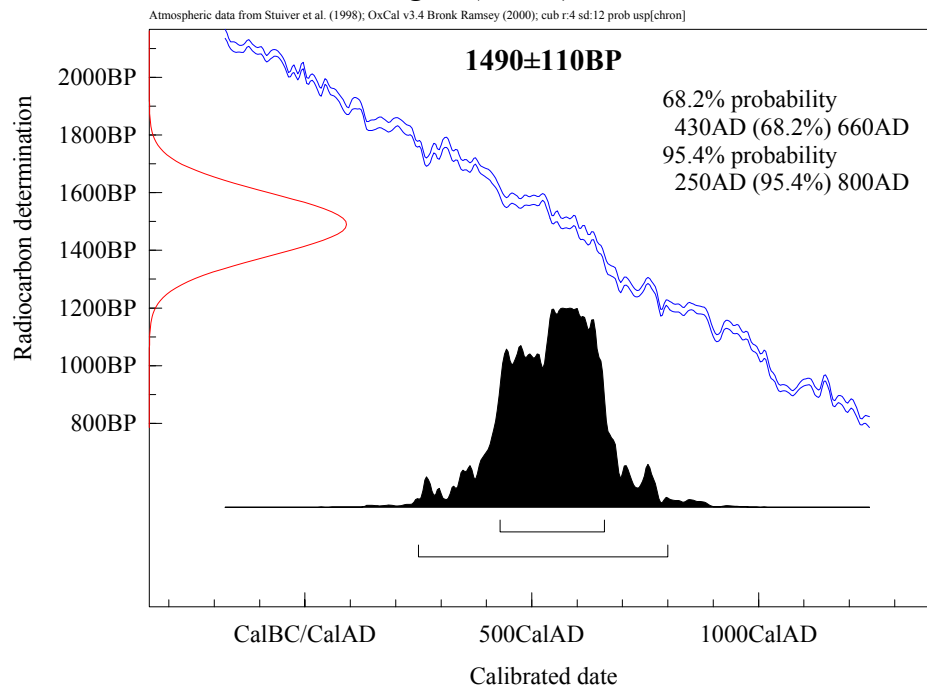
5.4.13.9 HAR-2427 Cal AD1020-1160 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



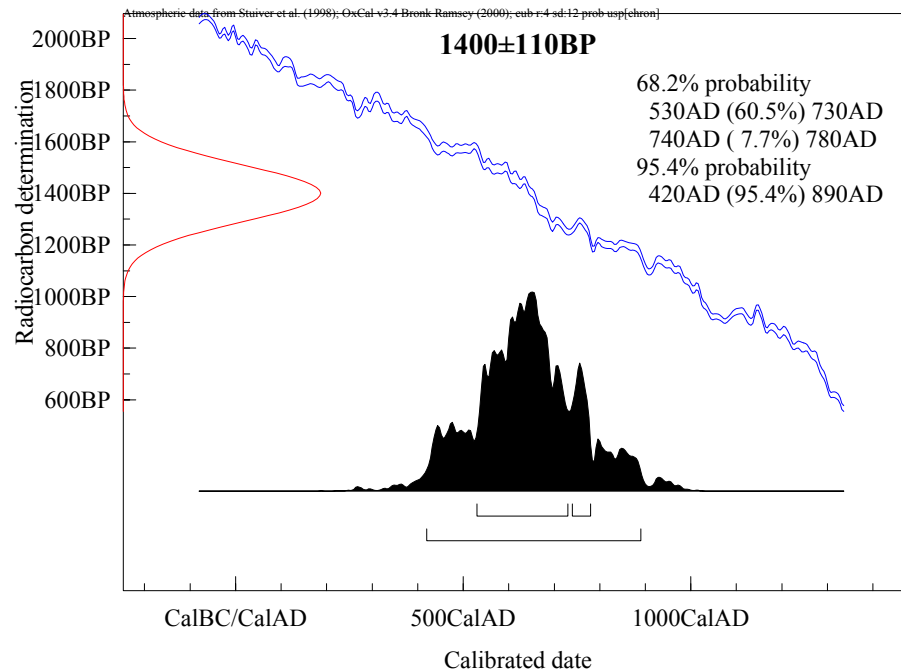
Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.14 Stone-by-Faversham, Kent

5.4.14.1 BM-479 Cal AD430-660 at 1 sigma (68.2%)



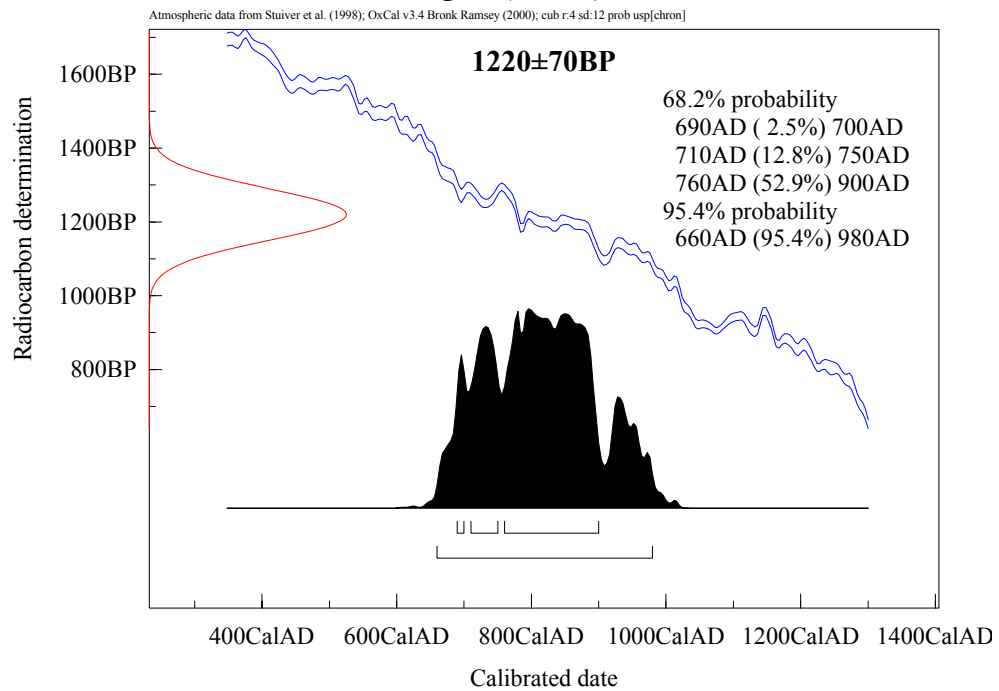
5.4.14.2 BM-481 Cal AD530-730 at 1 sigma (60.5%)



Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

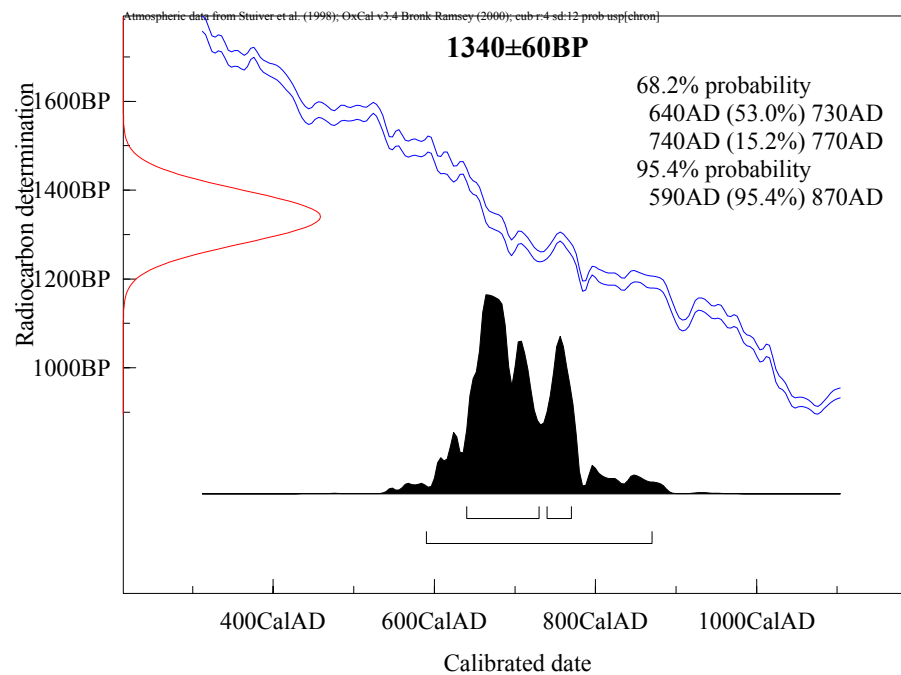
5.4.15 Wells, Somerset

5.4.15.1 HAR-3397 Cal AD760-900 at 1 sigma (52.9%)



5.4.16 Wroxeter, Shropshire

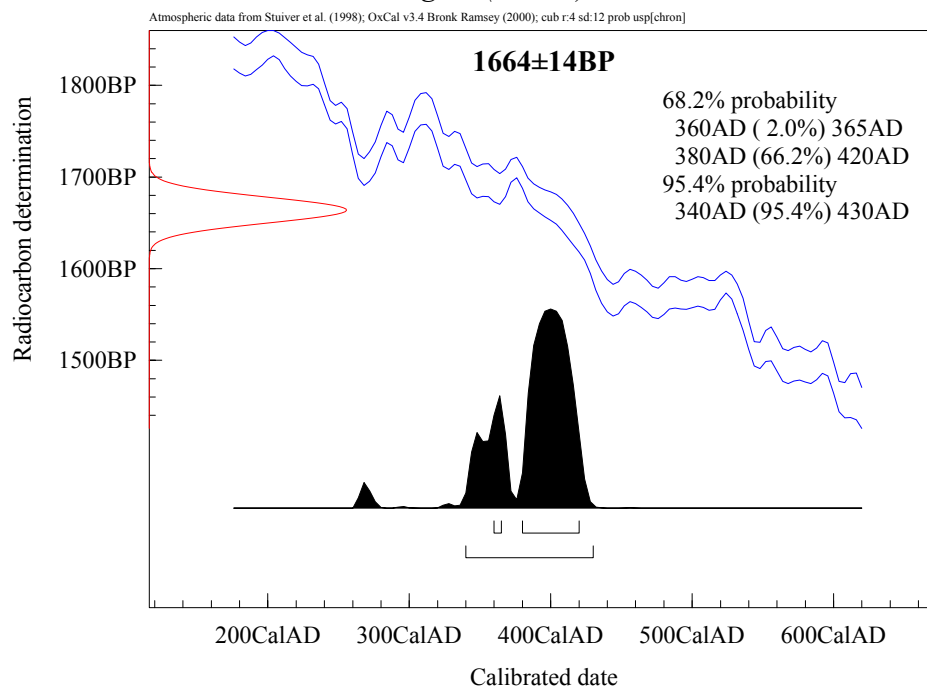
5.4.16.1 BIRM-1045 Cal AD640-730 at 1 sigma (53.0%)



Appendix 5.4: Radiocarbon Recalibrations

5.4.17 York - Minster, Yorksire

5.4.17.1 UB-3434 Cal AD380-420 at 1 sigma (66.0%)



5.5 Additional Figures

This final appendix presents 39 site plans that have been produced for this study, but have not been included in the main body of the text. Modern roads are hatched, and the full reference for each source is available in the site gazetteer.

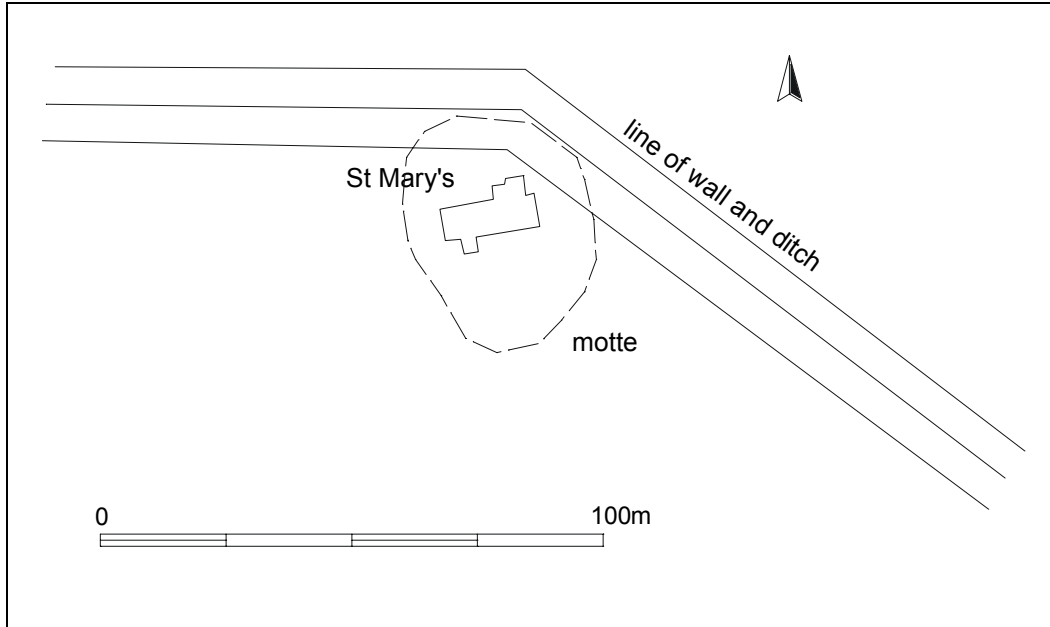


Figure 111 – Beaumont: the church of St Mary overlies the site of Turret 7a on Hadrian's Wall (after OS 1:2500 NY 3459).

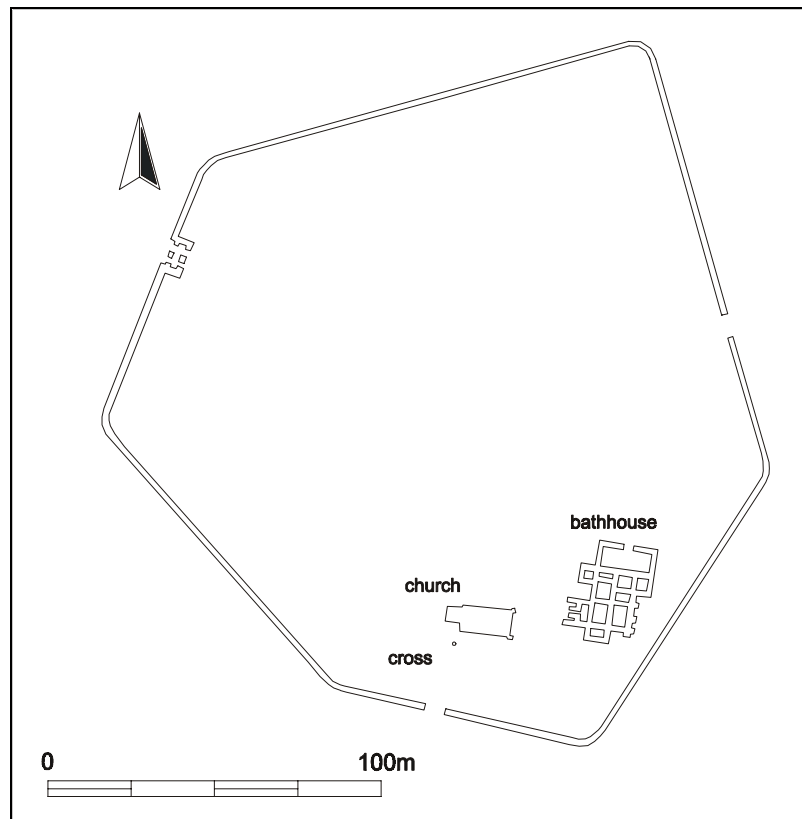


Figure 112 – Bewcastle: the church of St Cuthbert lies in the south of the fort, aligned to the bath-house to the east (after Gillam *et al.* 1993, fig. 1, and Austen and Anderson 1991, fig. 2).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 113 – Bowes (after JRS 58 (1968), fig. 9).

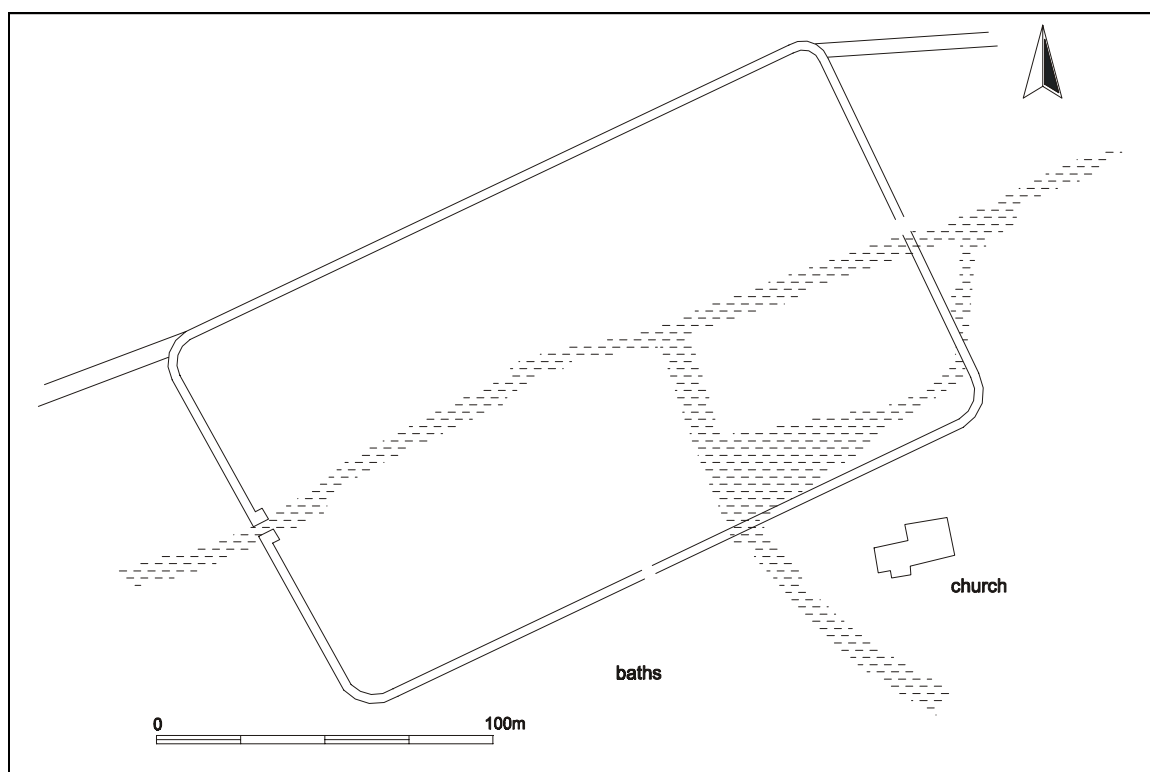
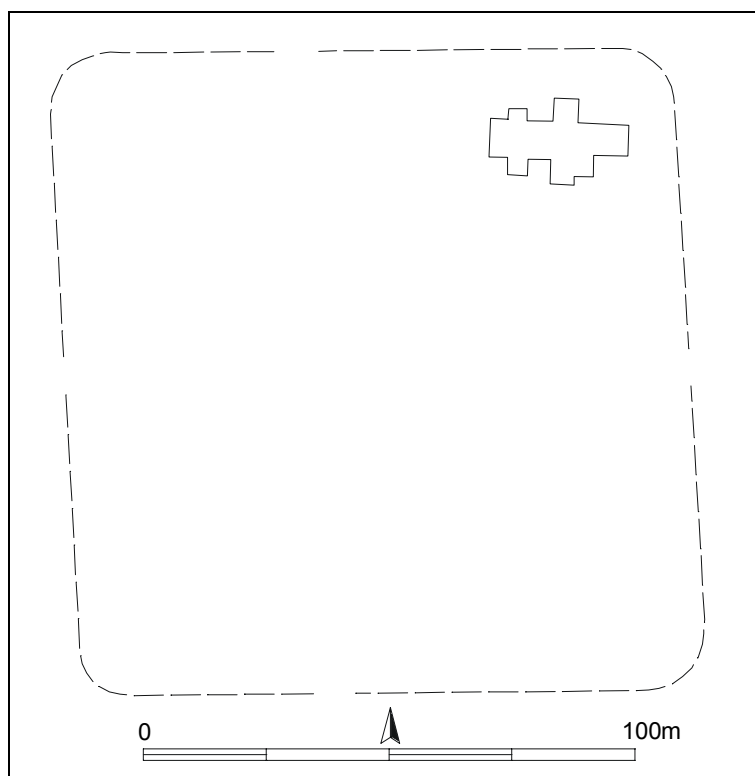


Figure 114 – Bowness-on-Solway: the church of St Michael lies immediately outside the fort (after Potter 1975, fig 1).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 115 – Bradwell-on-Sea
(after Blair 1992, fig. 10.6 and
Rigold 1972, fig. 36).

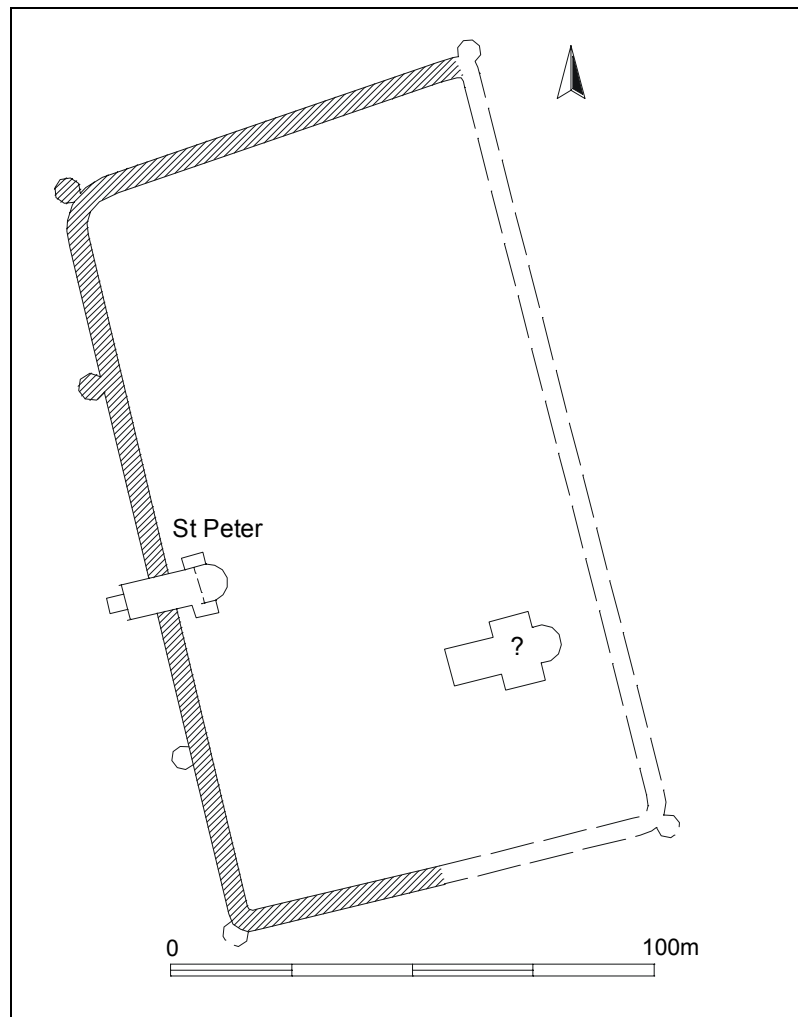
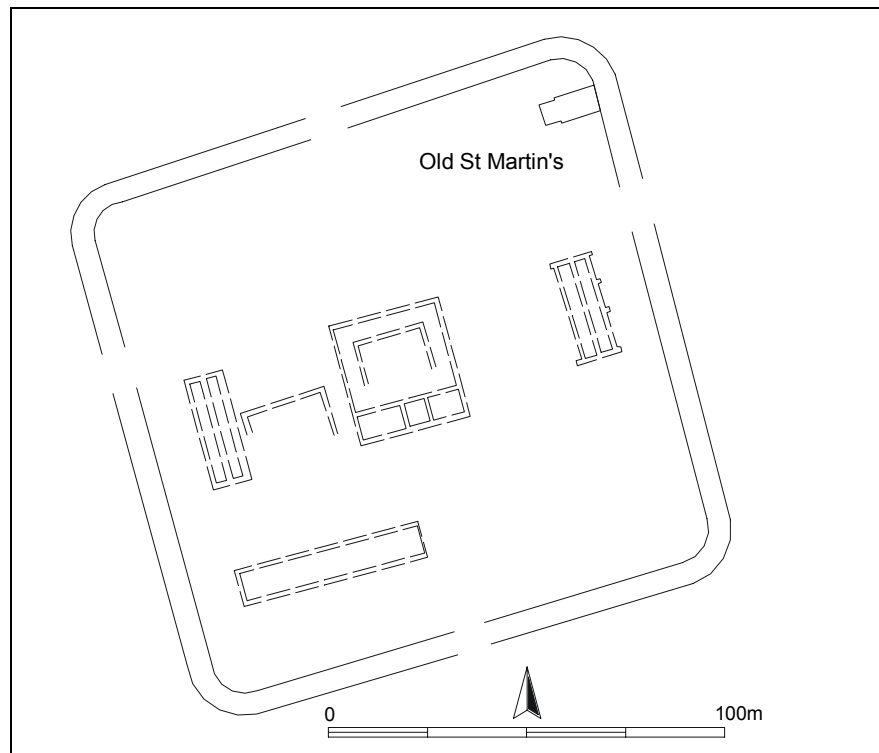


Figure 116 – Brampton
Old Church (after
Robinson 1982, fig. 1).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

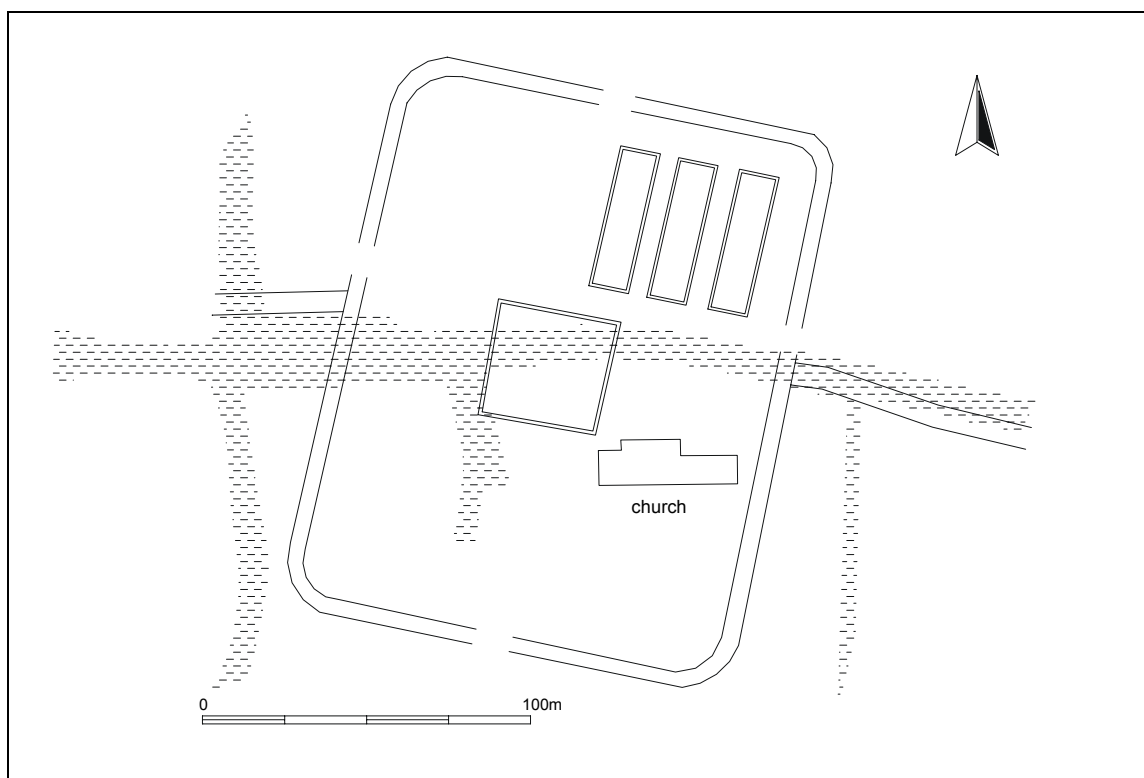


Figure 117 – Burgh by Sands (after Collingwood 1923, fig. opp. 3).

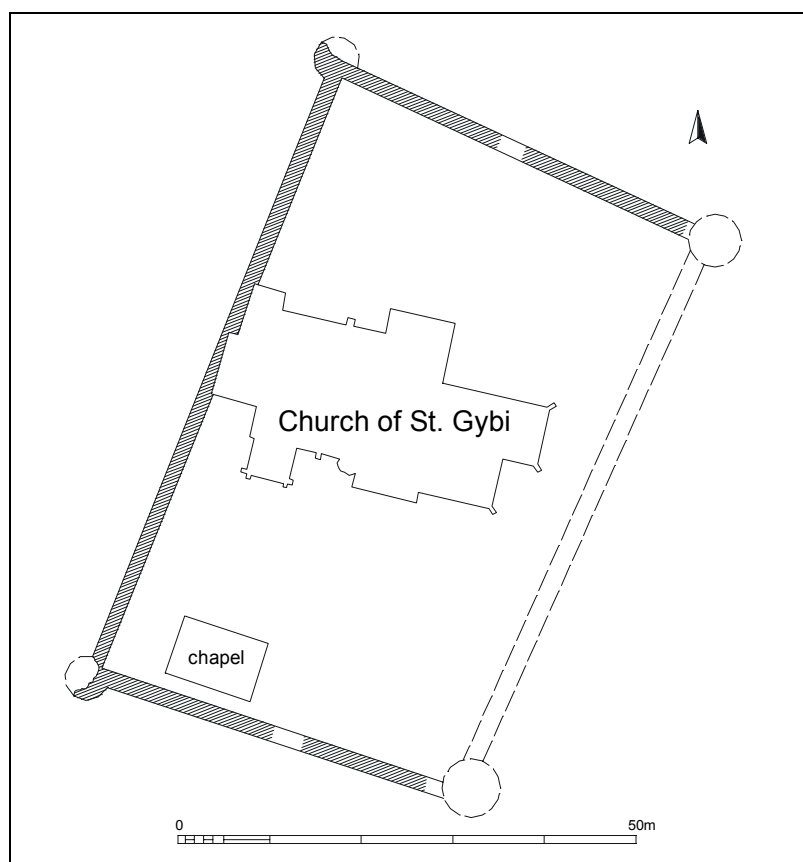


Figure 118 – Caer Gybi
(after *RCHMW Anglesey I*).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 119 – Caerhun
(after OS 1:2500 SH
7770).

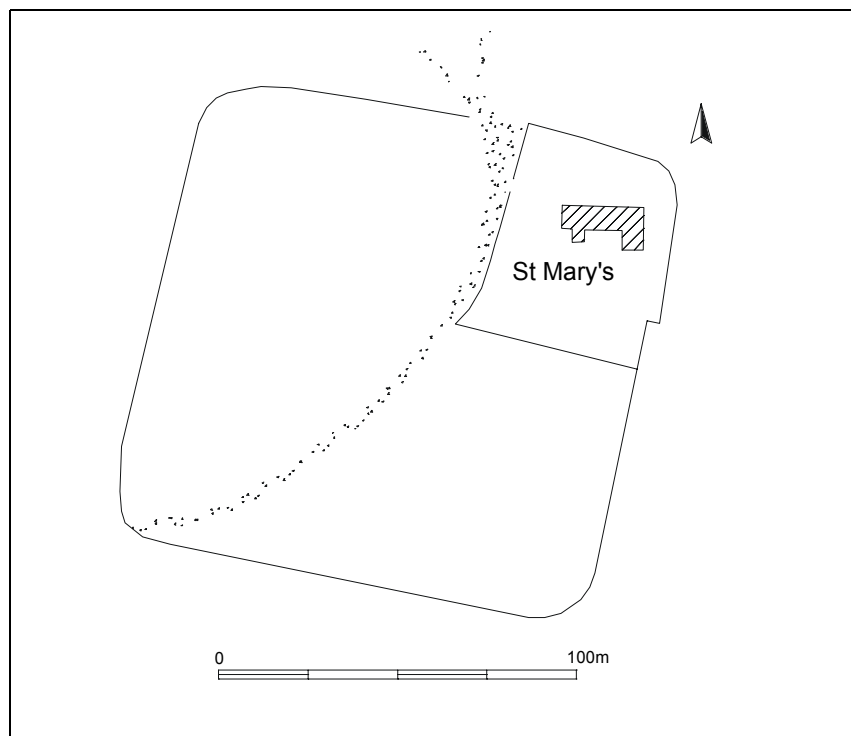
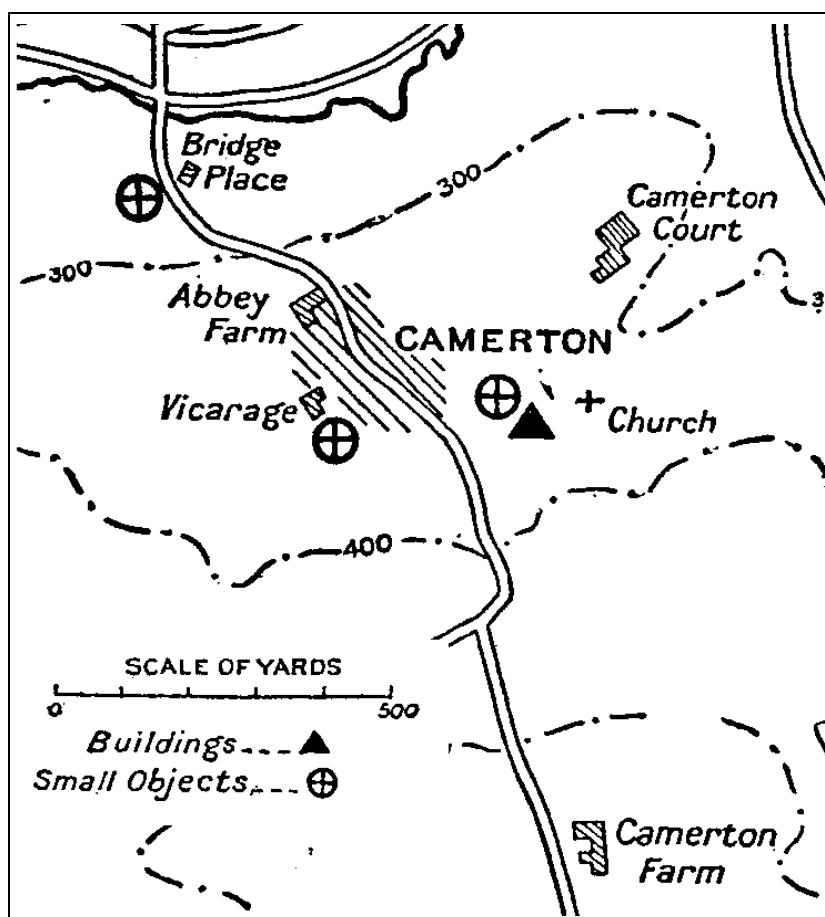


Figure 120 – Camerton
(detail from VCH Somerset
II, fig. 56).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 121 – Carmarthen (after Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, fig. 33; OS 1:2500 SN 4121; and James 1991, fig. 10).

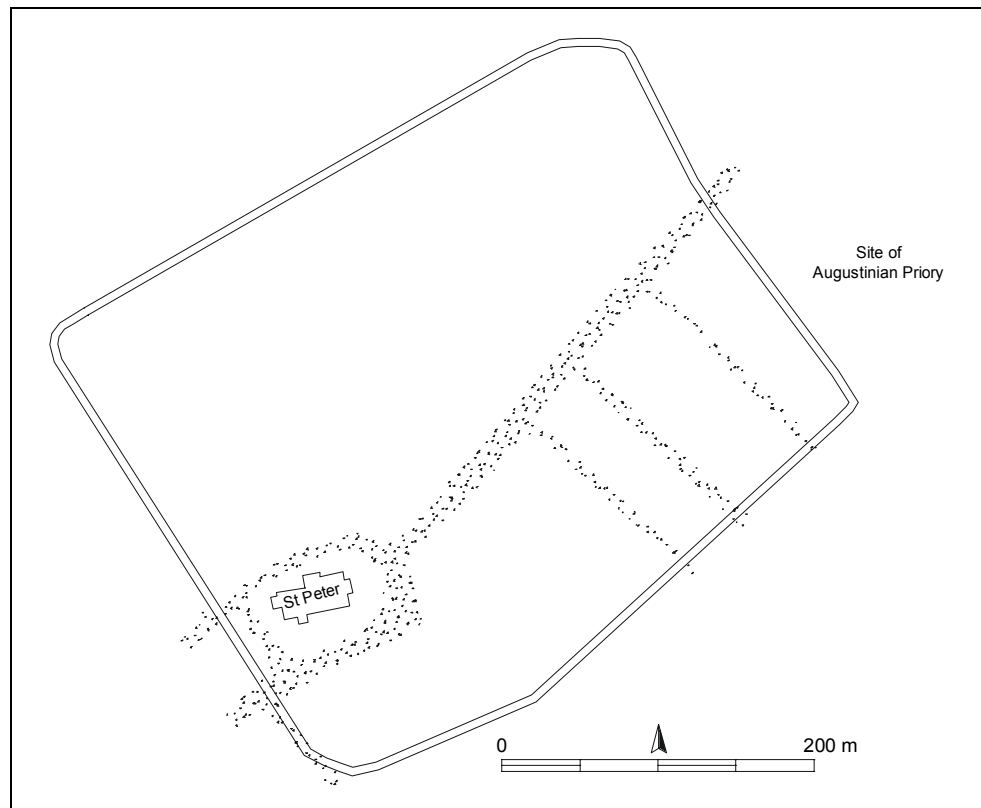
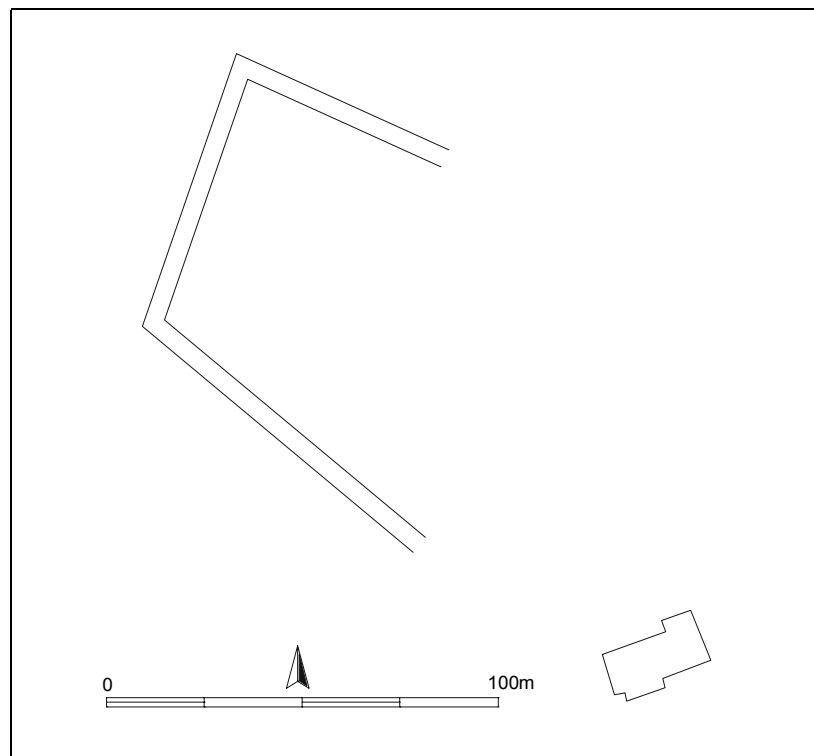


Figure 122 – Carno: the Roman enclosure and church (after Nash-Williams and Jarrett 1969, fig. 75).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

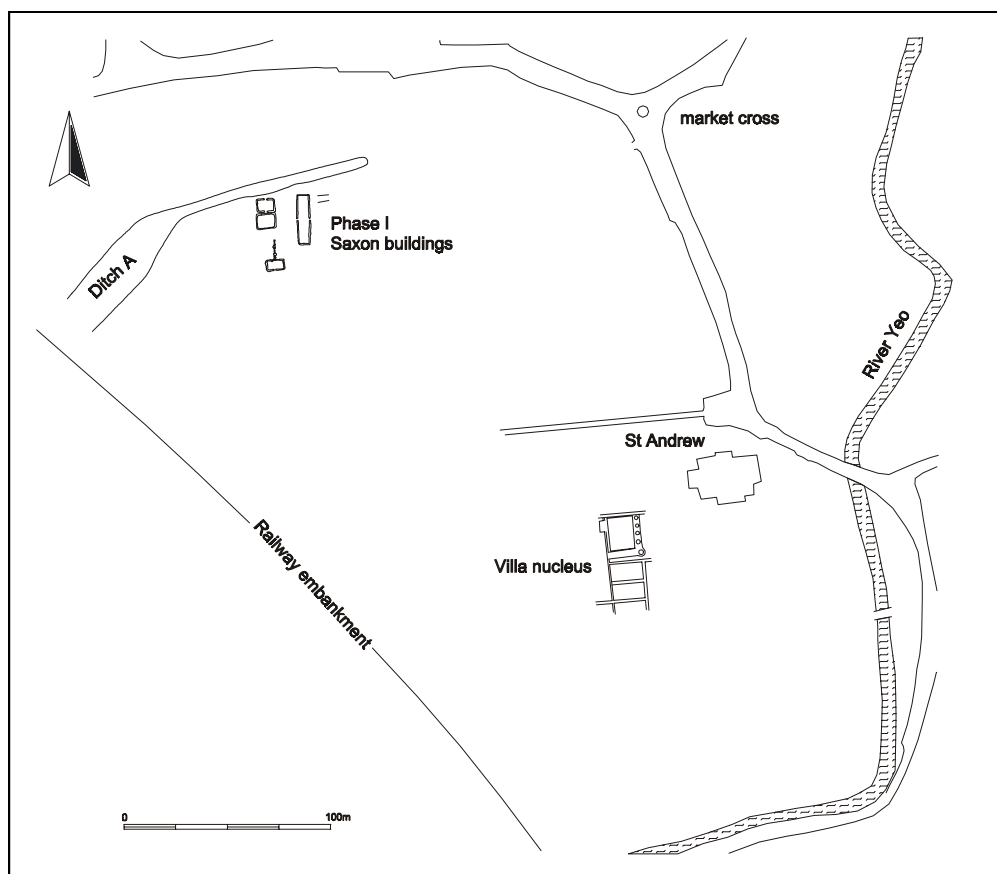


Figure 123 – Cheddar (after Blair 1995a, fig. 6).

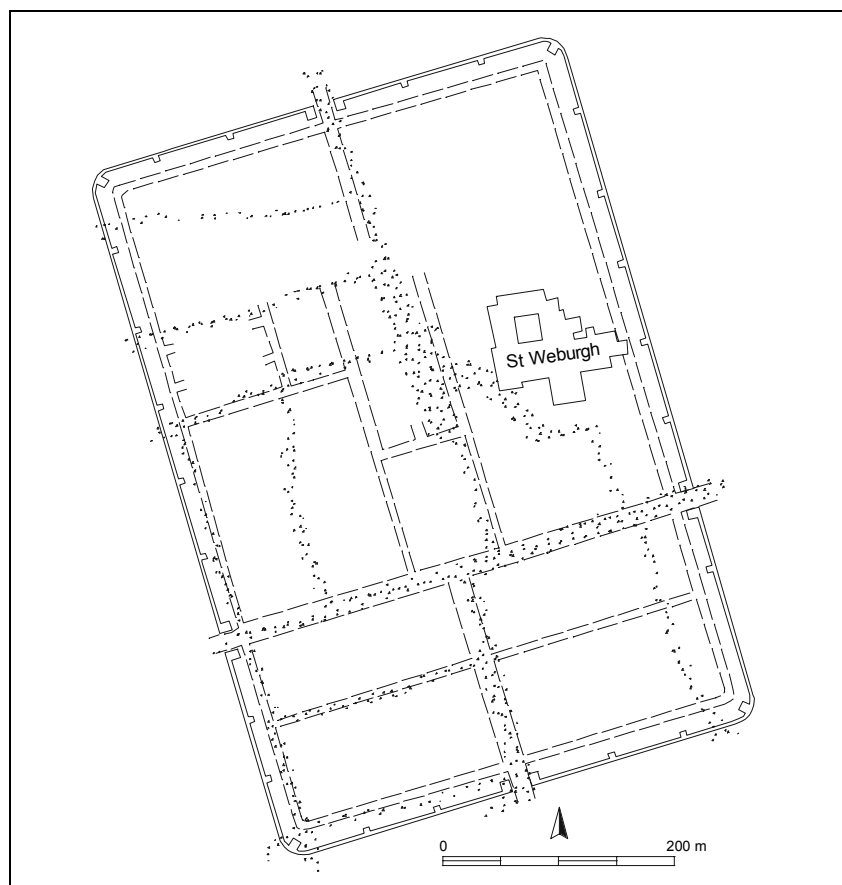


Figure 124 – Chester
(after Thacker 1988, fig.
63).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 125 – Chesterfield
(after Ellis 1989, fig. 2).

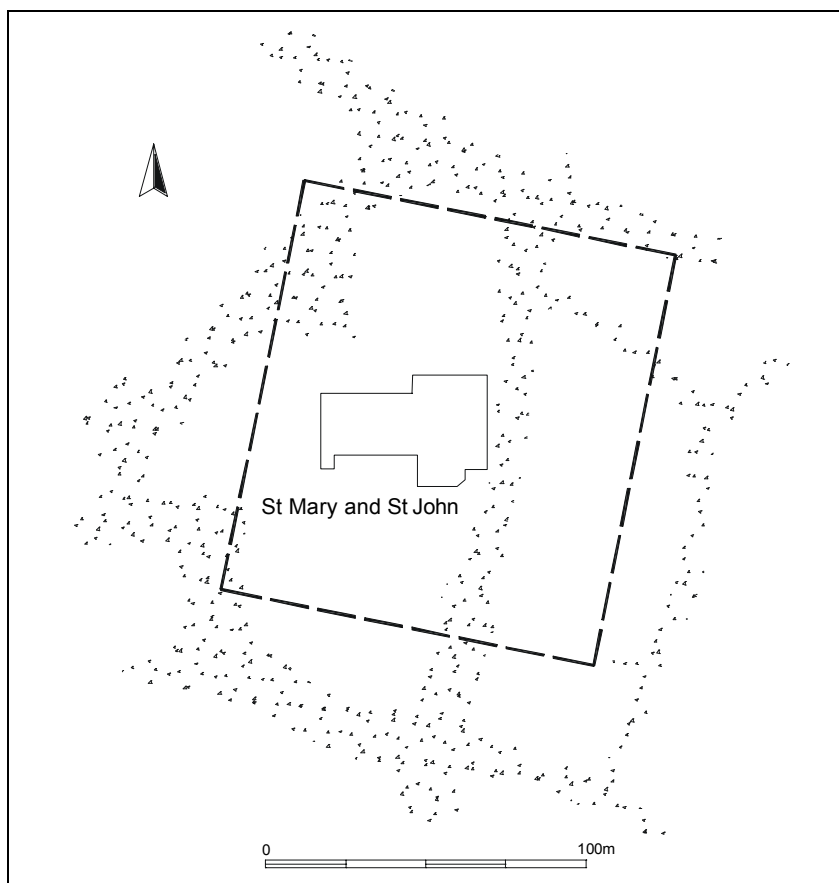
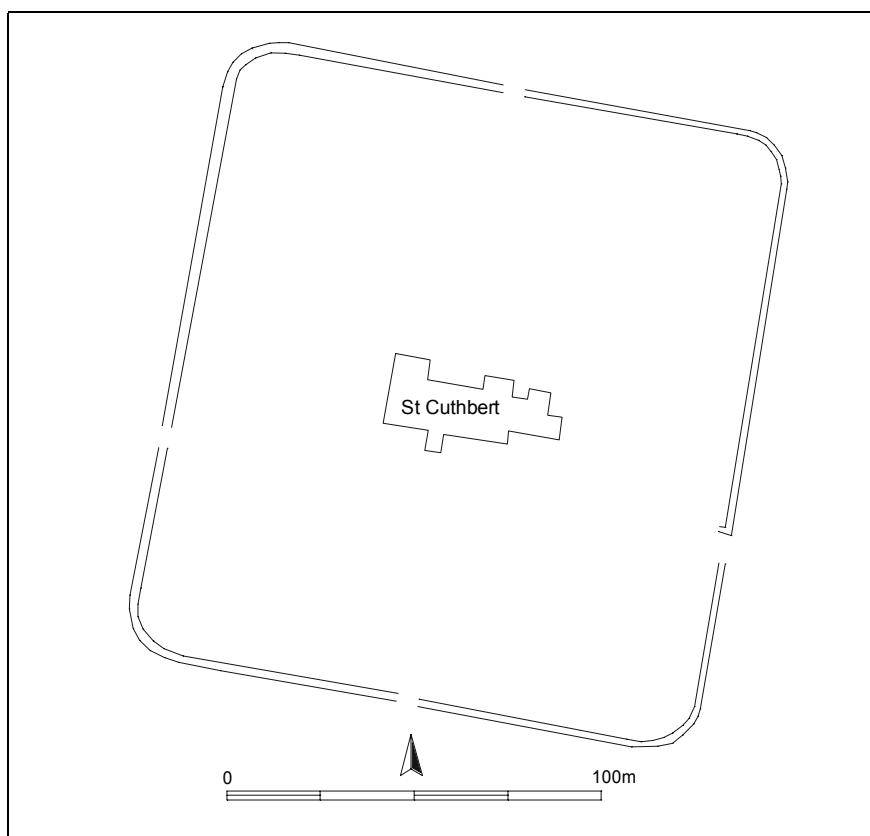


Figure 126 – Chester-
le-Street (after
Rainbird 1971, fig. 3).



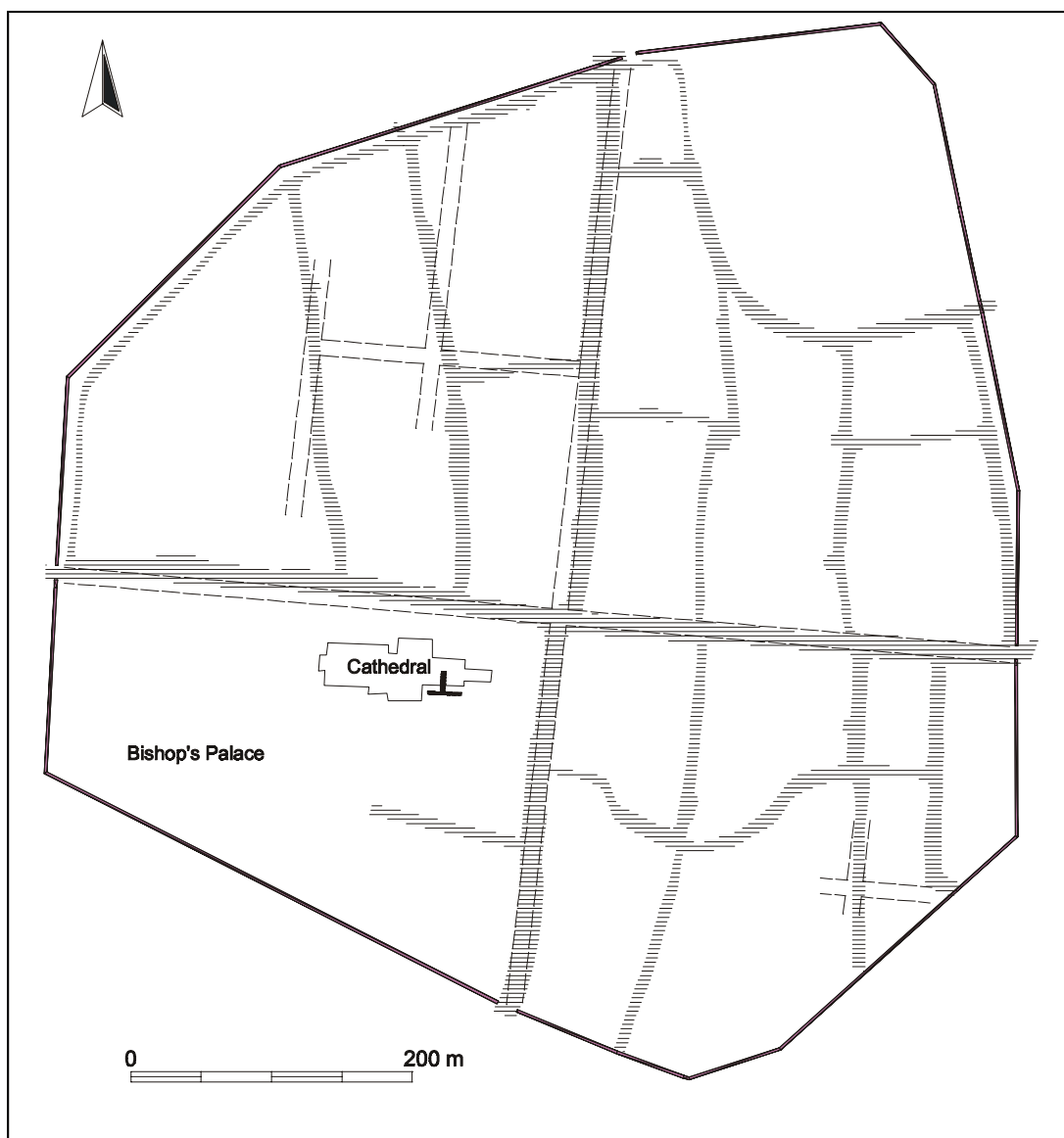


Figure 127 – Chichester (after Wachter 1974, fig. 56).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 128 –
Doncaster (after
Selkirk 1972, 274,
and Buckland *et al.*
fig. 5).

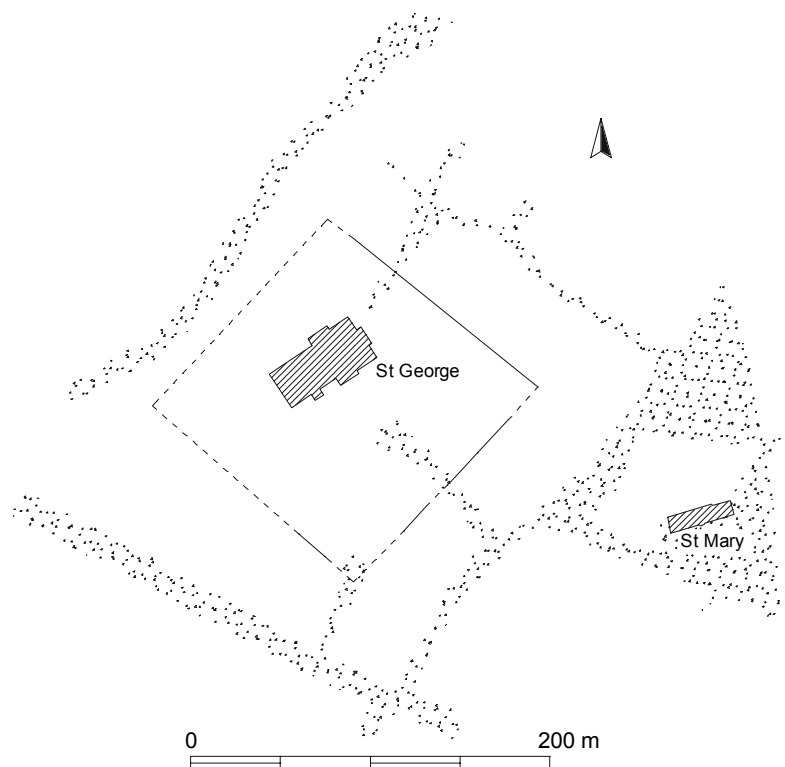
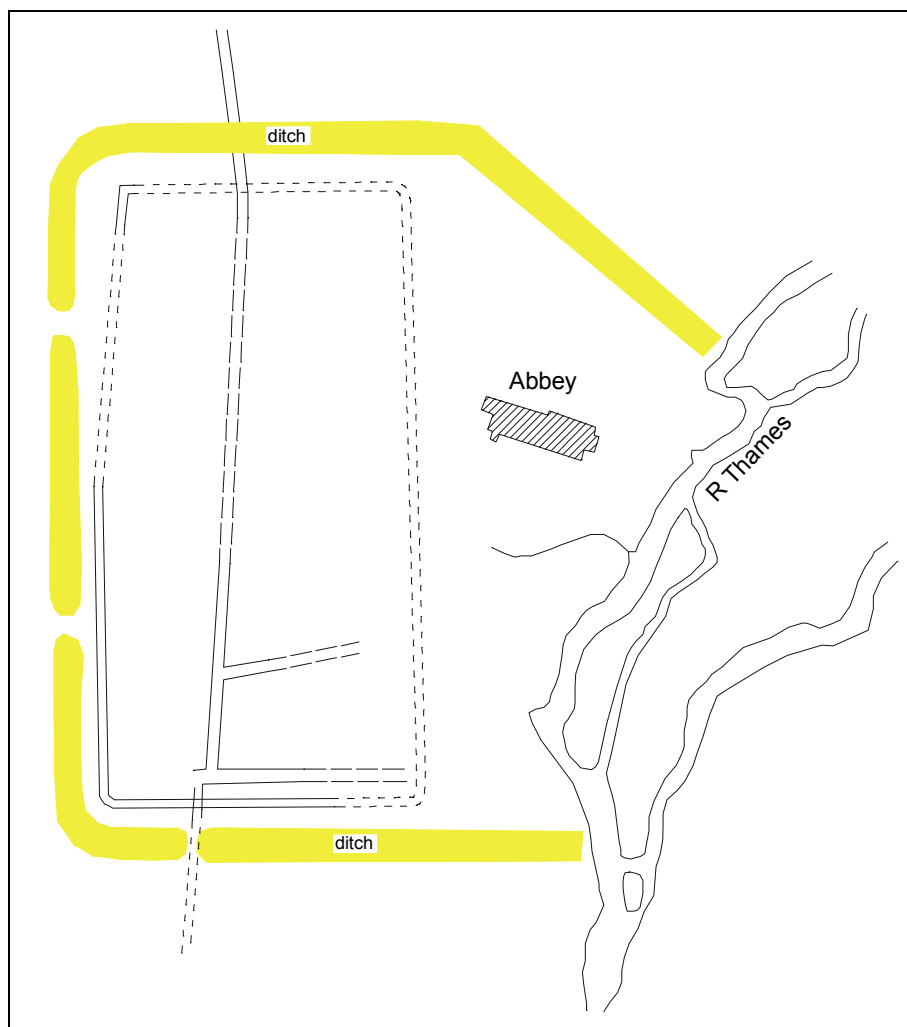


Figure 129 –
Dorchester-on-
Thames (after
Doggett 1986, fig.
1).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 130 –
Dover (after
Amos and
Wheeler 1929,
Plate IV and
Philp 1981, fig.
3).

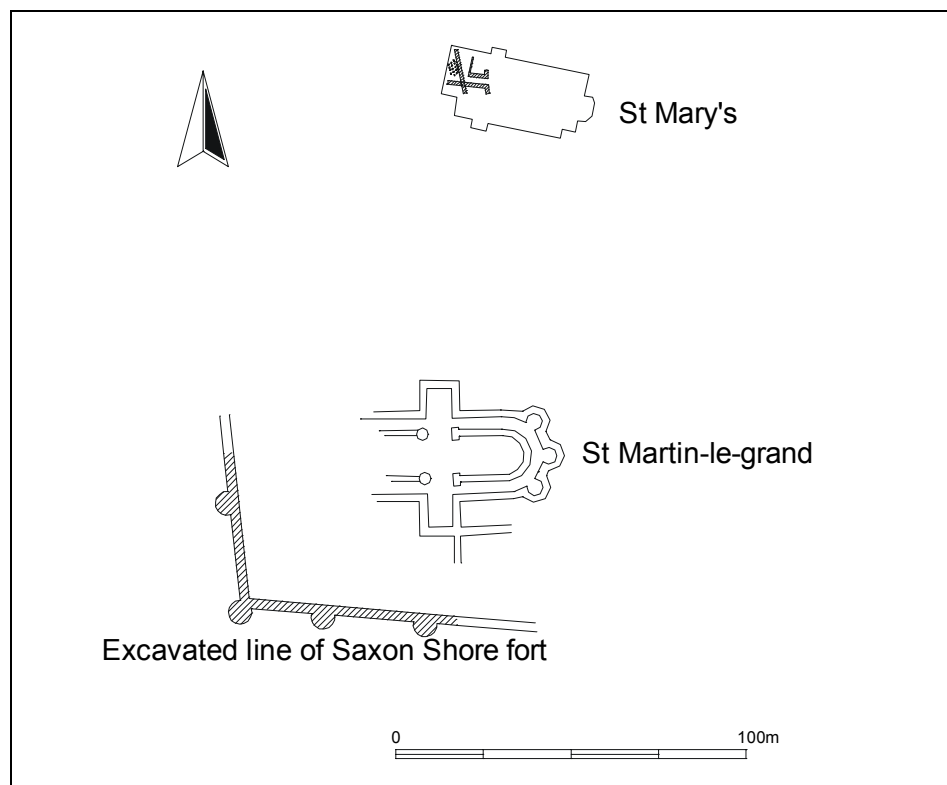
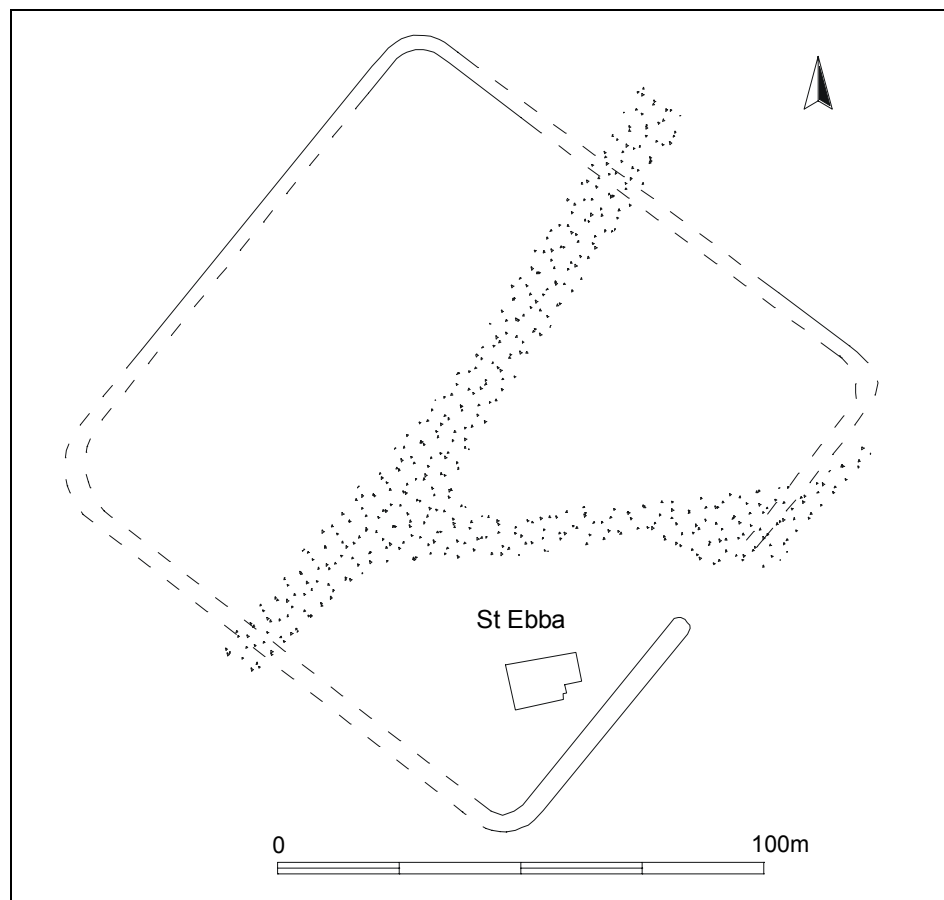


Figure 131 –
Ebchester (after
Maxfield and
Reed 1975, fig.
1.).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 132 – Gelligaer (after RCHMW Glam. I.2, fig. 53).

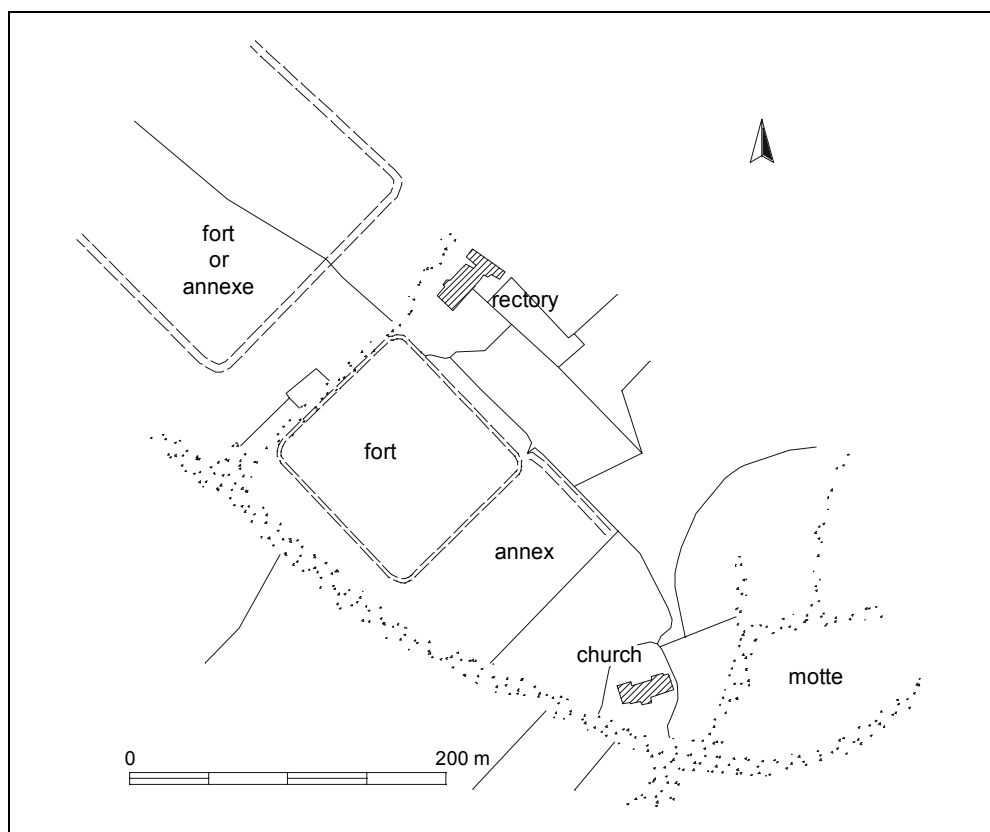
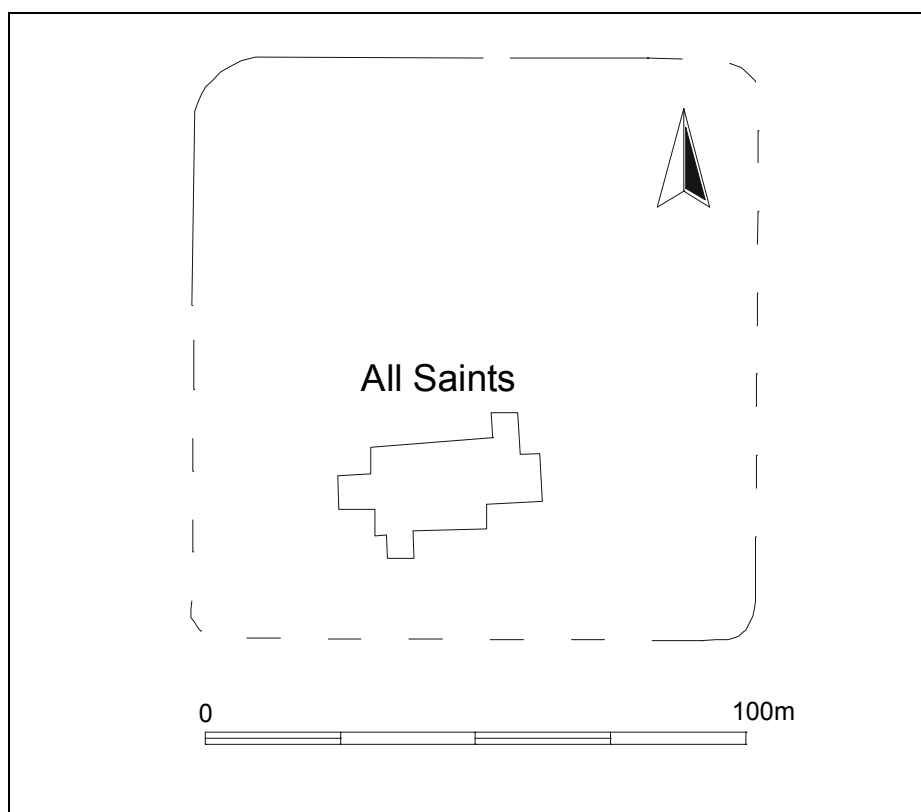


Figure 133 – Ilkley (after Blair 1992, fig. 10.3).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

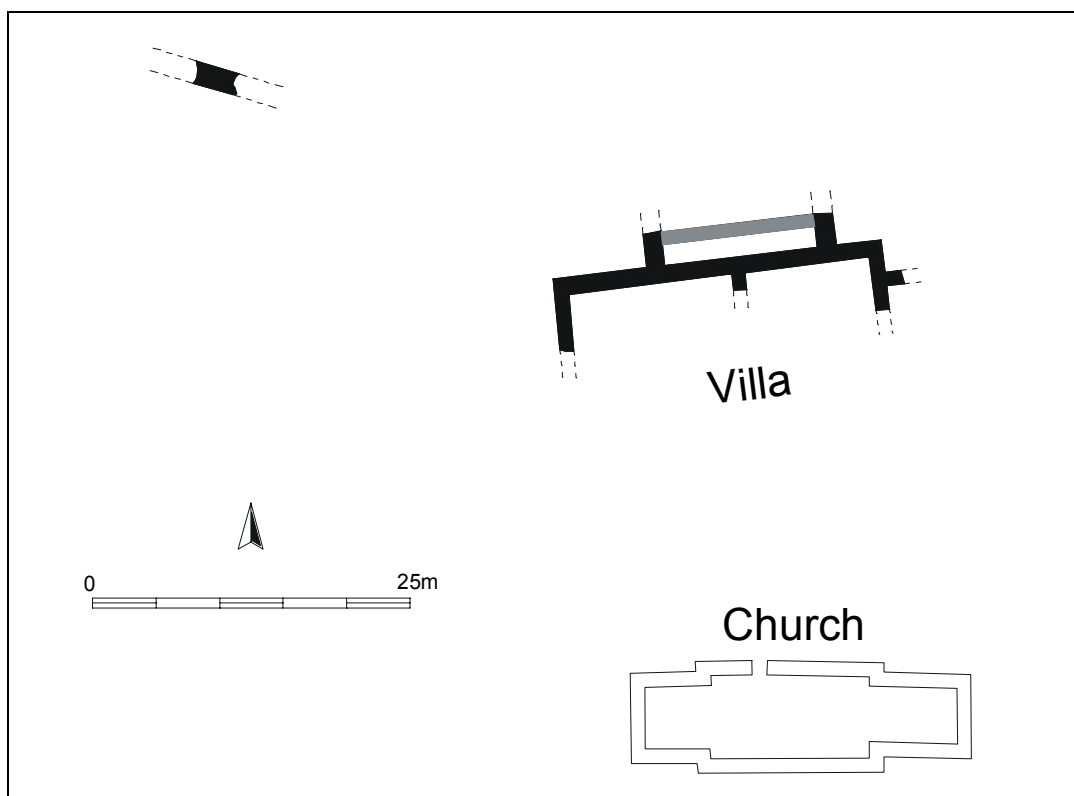


Figure 134 – Kings Stanley (after Heighway 1987, 127).

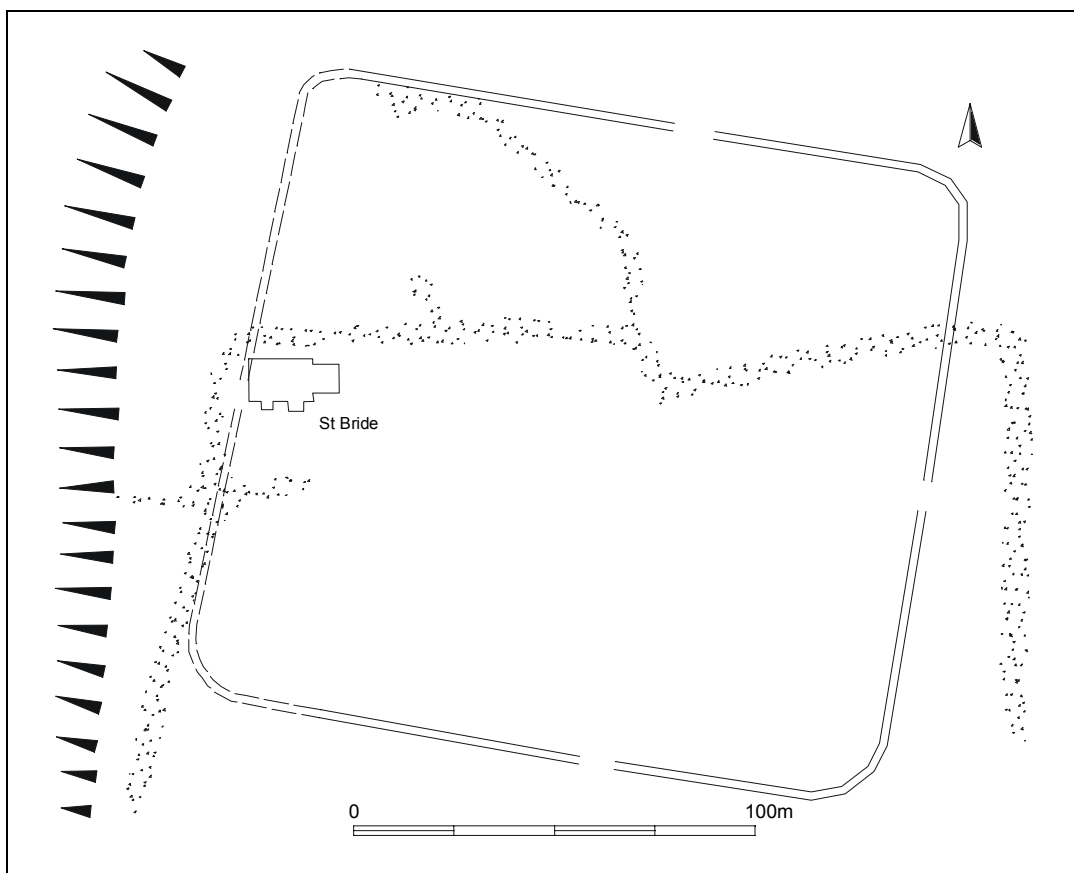


Figure 135 – Kirkbride (after Bellhouse 1989, fig. 7).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 136 –
Leintwardine
(after VCH
Here I, fig.
11).

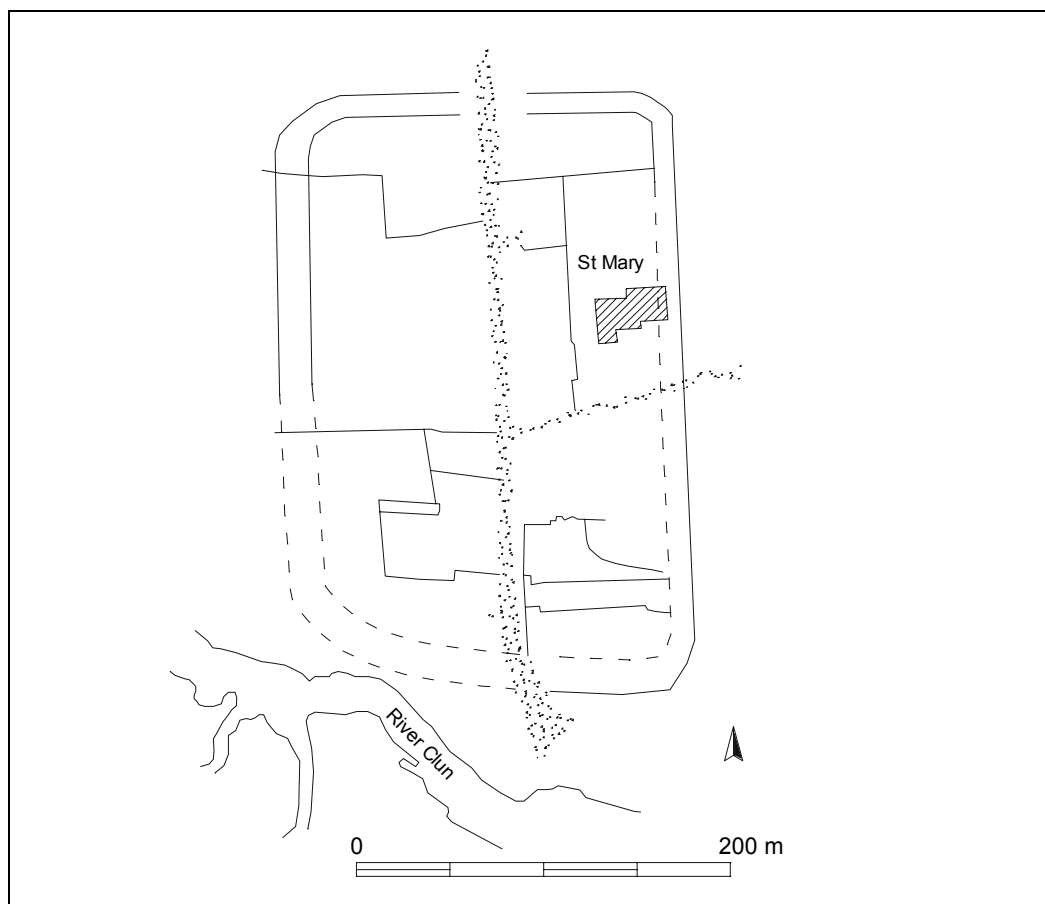
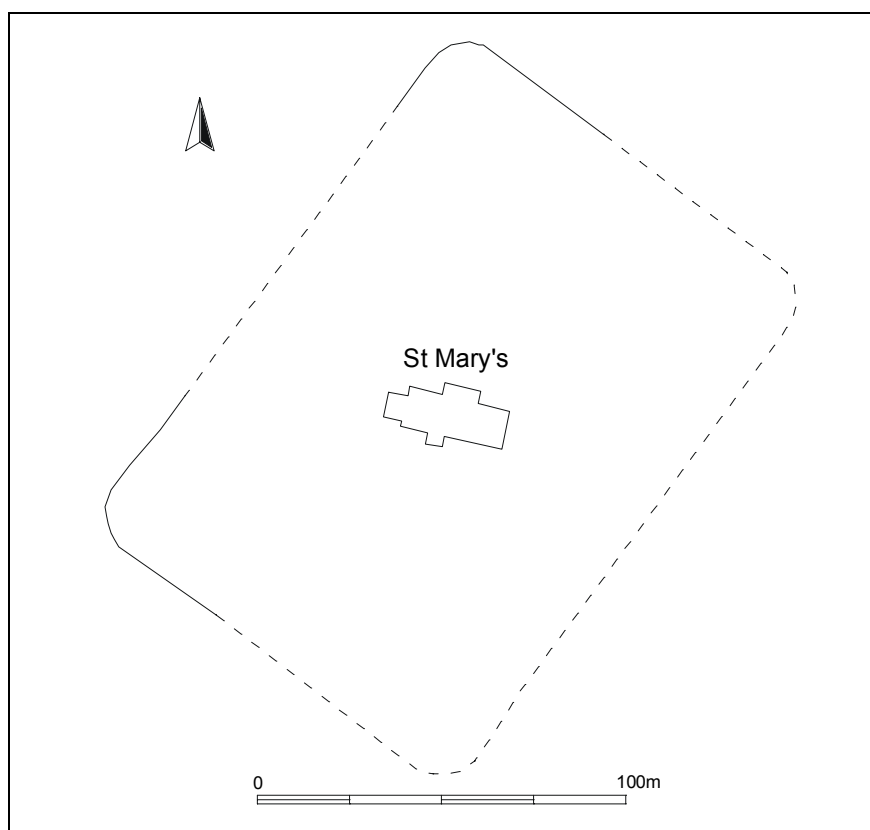


Figure 137 –
Llandovery (after
Nash-Williams and
Jarrett 1969, fig.49,
and OS 1:2500 SN
7635).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

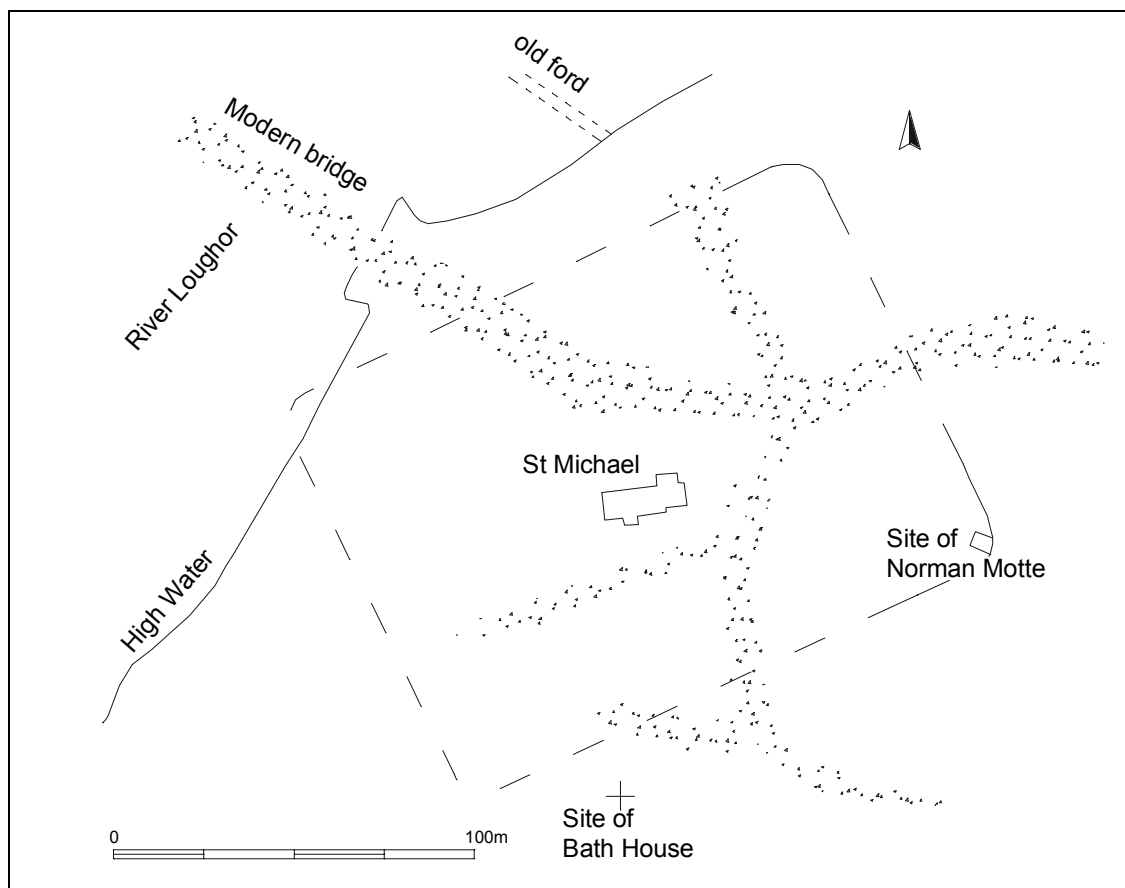


Figure 138 – Loughor (after RCHMW Glam. I.2, 87, fig.49; and Marvell and Owen-John 1997, fig. 3).

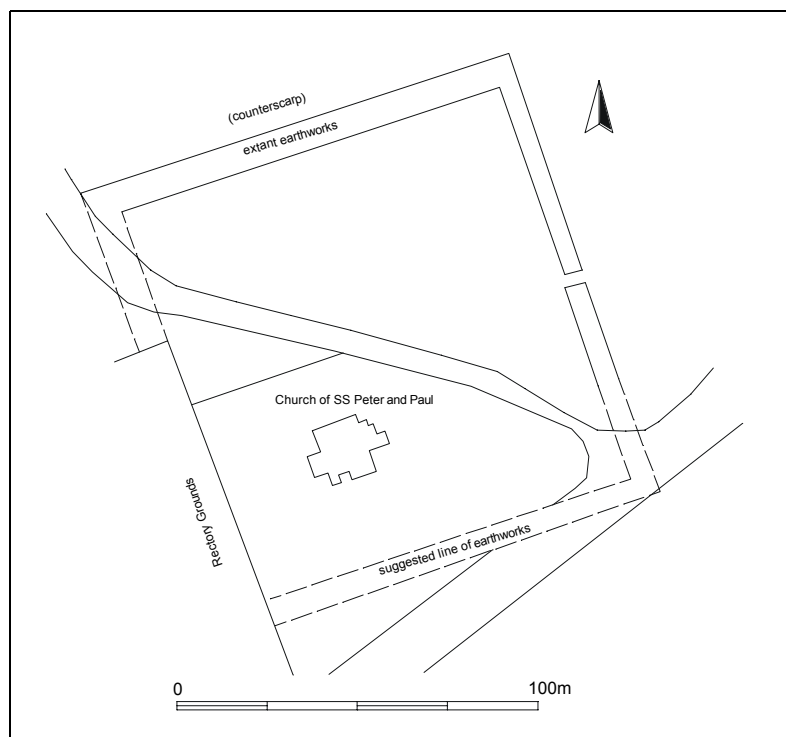


Figure 139 – Market Overton (after VCH Rutland I, 91).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 140 –
Nether
Denton
(after OS
1:2500
and Jones
1976).

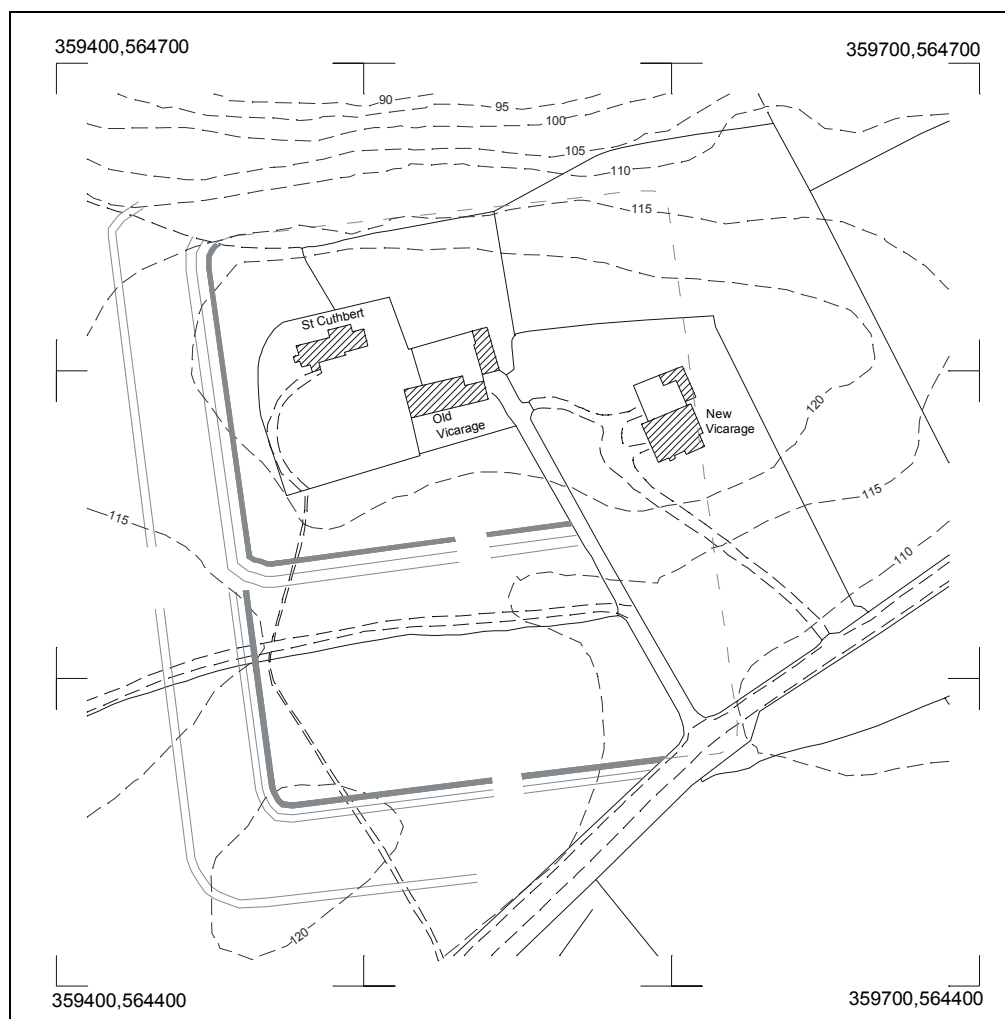
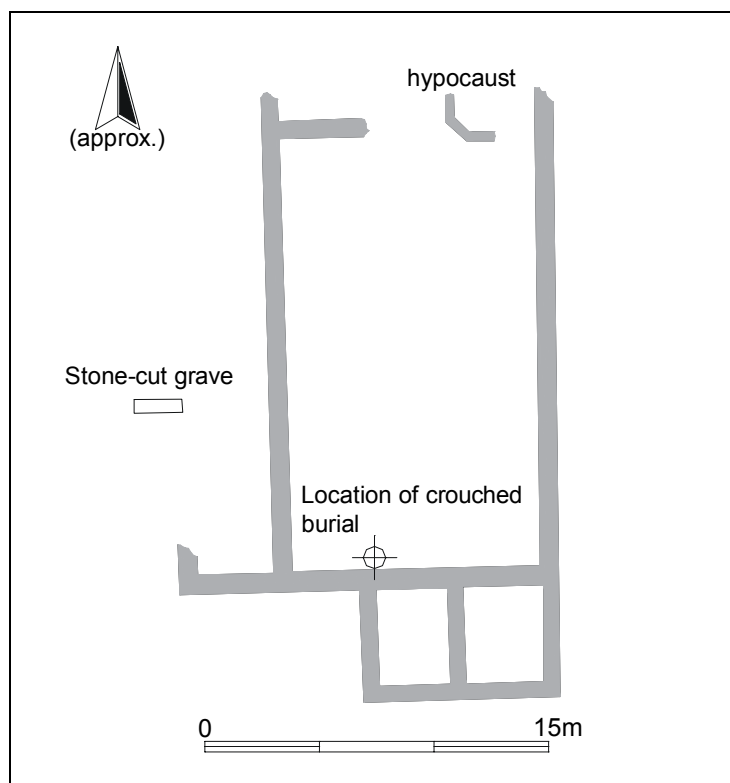


Figure 141 – Okus, Swindon. The
third inhumation, found under a
cairn, is not shown on the plan
(after Passmore 1899, opp. 218).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 142 – Piercebridge (after OS 1:2500 NZ 2115 and Wooler 1904, 127).

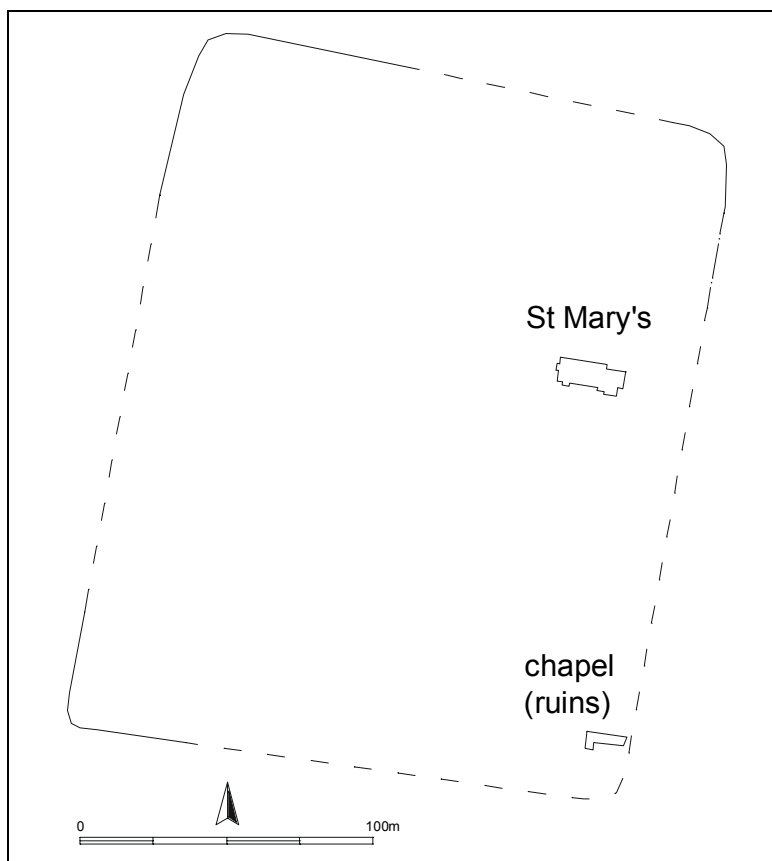
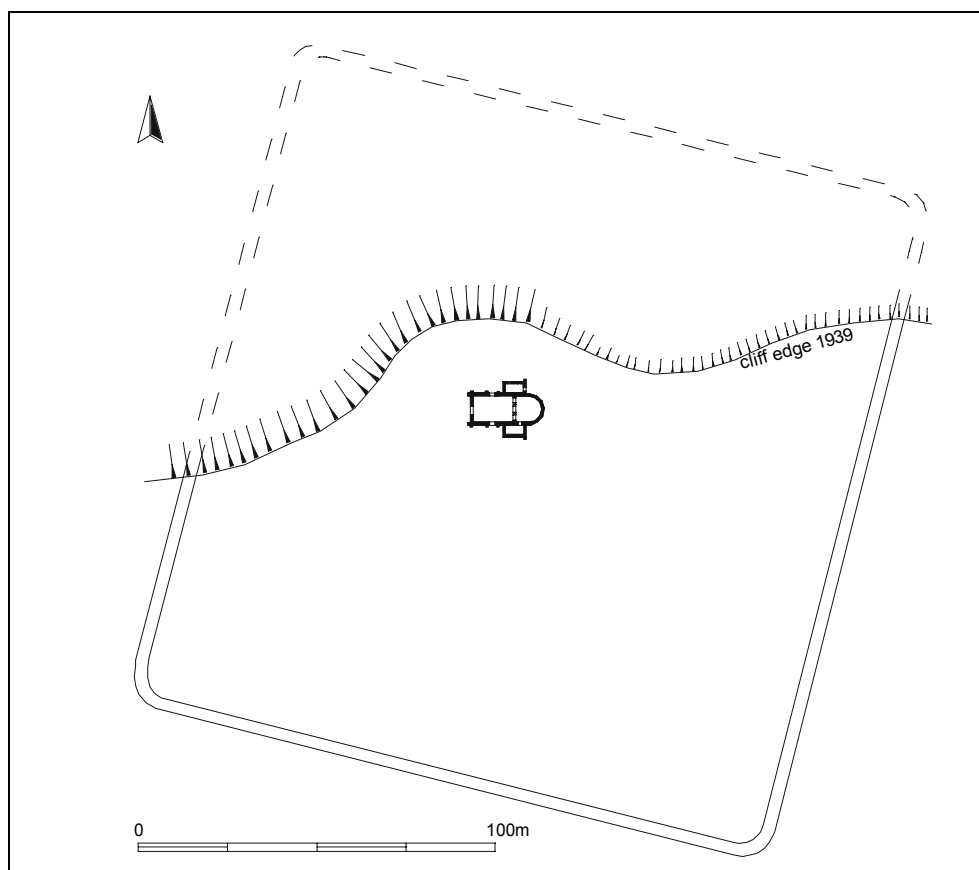


Figure 143 – Reculver (after Taylor and Taylor 1965, vol. II, fig. 246, and Peers 1928, fig. 4).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

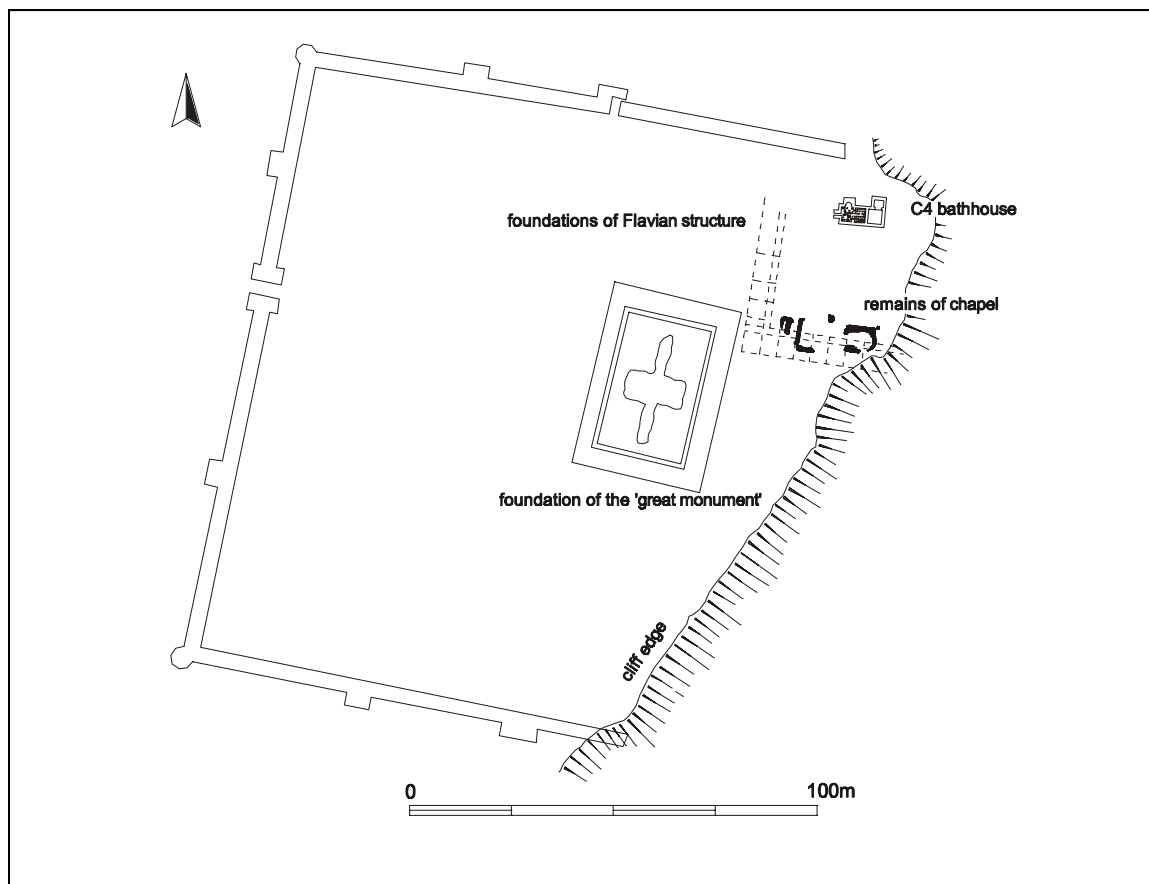
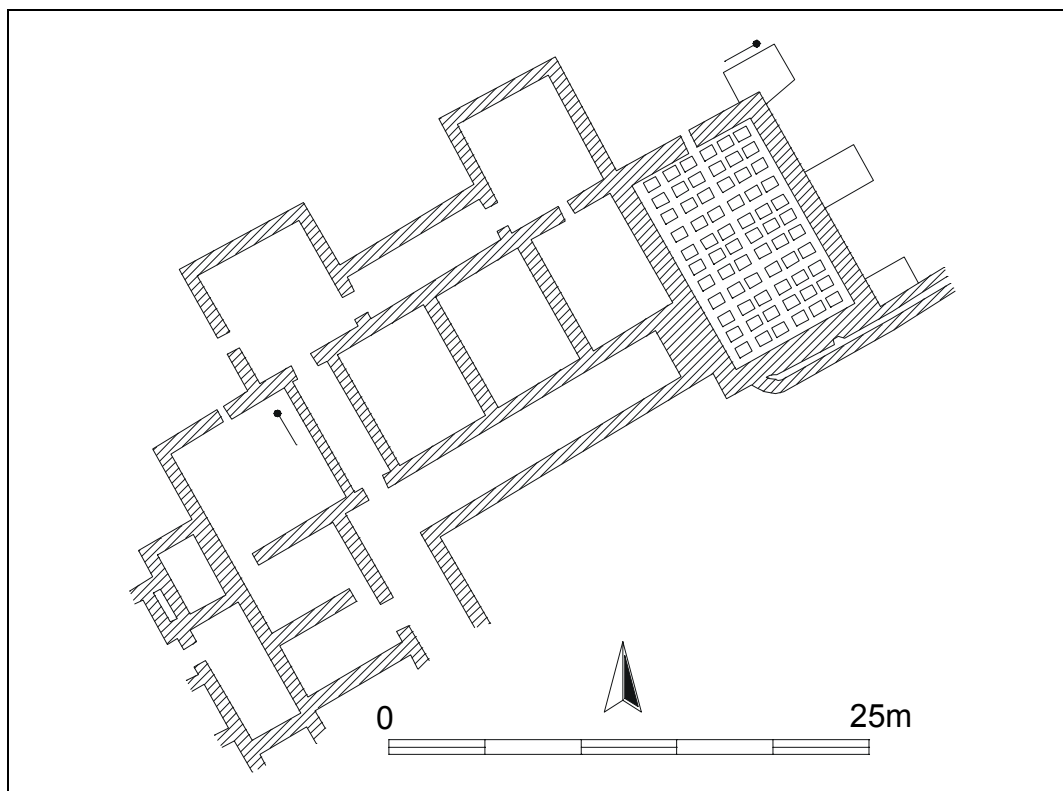


Figure 144 – Richborough (after Bushe-Fox 1928, pl. 42 & fig. 1).

Figure 145
–
Rockbourne
(after
Hewitt
1971, 16).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 146 –
Stanwix (after
Dacre 1985, fig.
2).

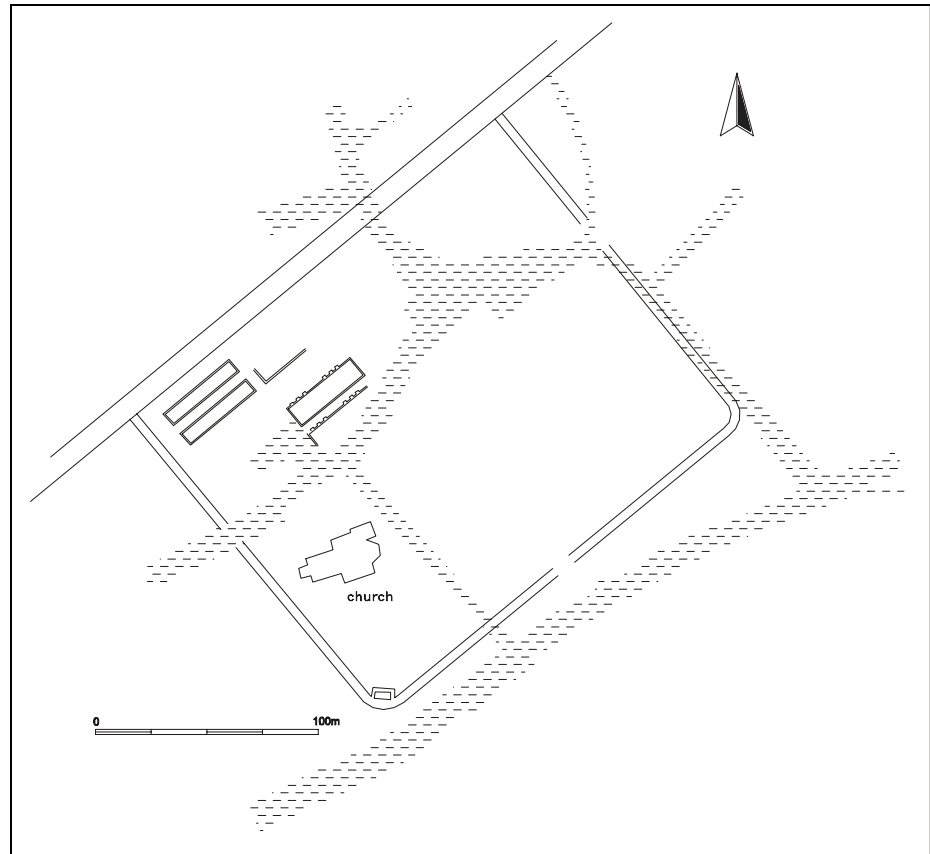
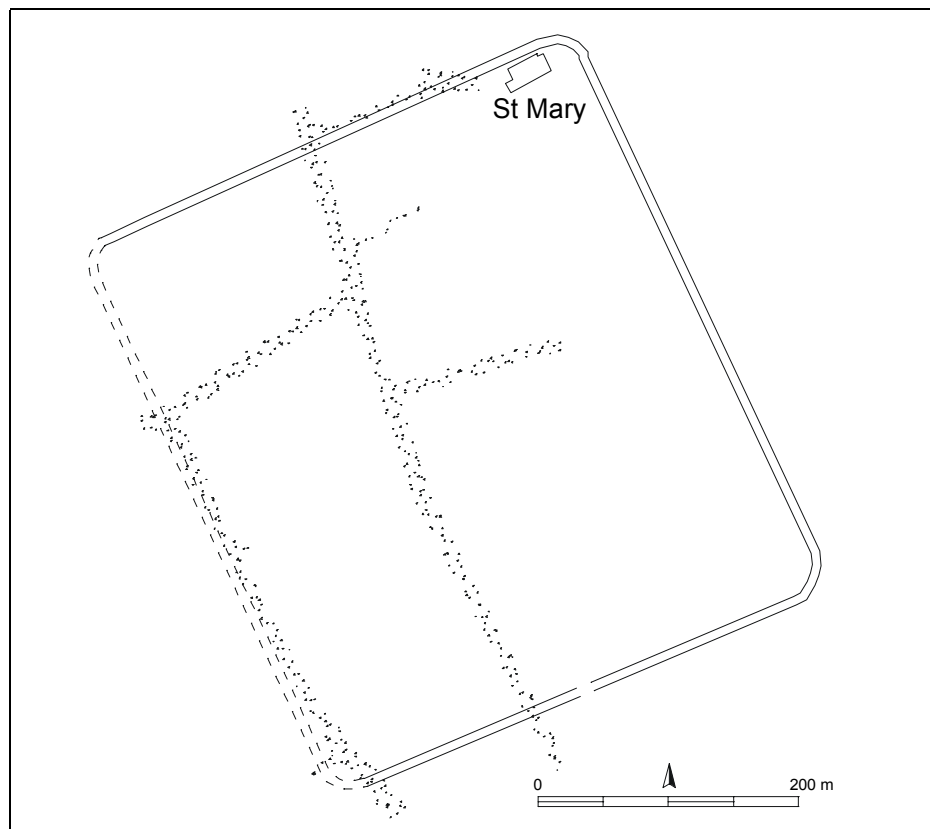


Figure 147 – Usk
(after Manning
1981, fig. 14, and
OS 1:2500 SO
3700).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 148 – Whitchurch
(after Nash-Williams and
Jarrett 1969, fig. 65, and
OS 1:2500 SJ 5441).

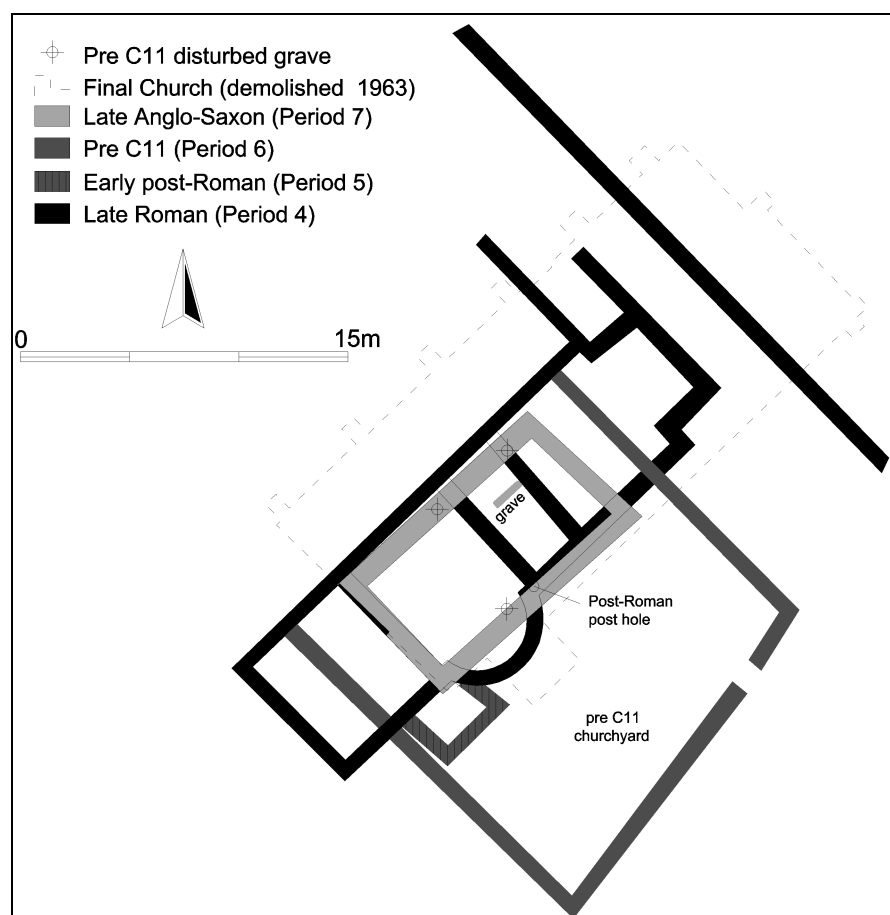
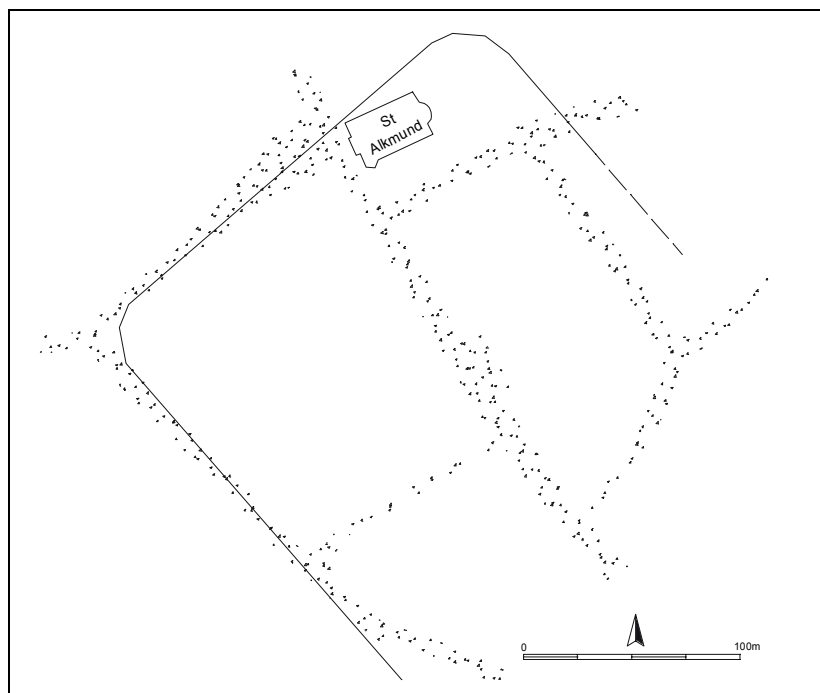


Figure 149 – York, St Mary Bishophill Sr (after Ramm 1976, figs. 4 & 5).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

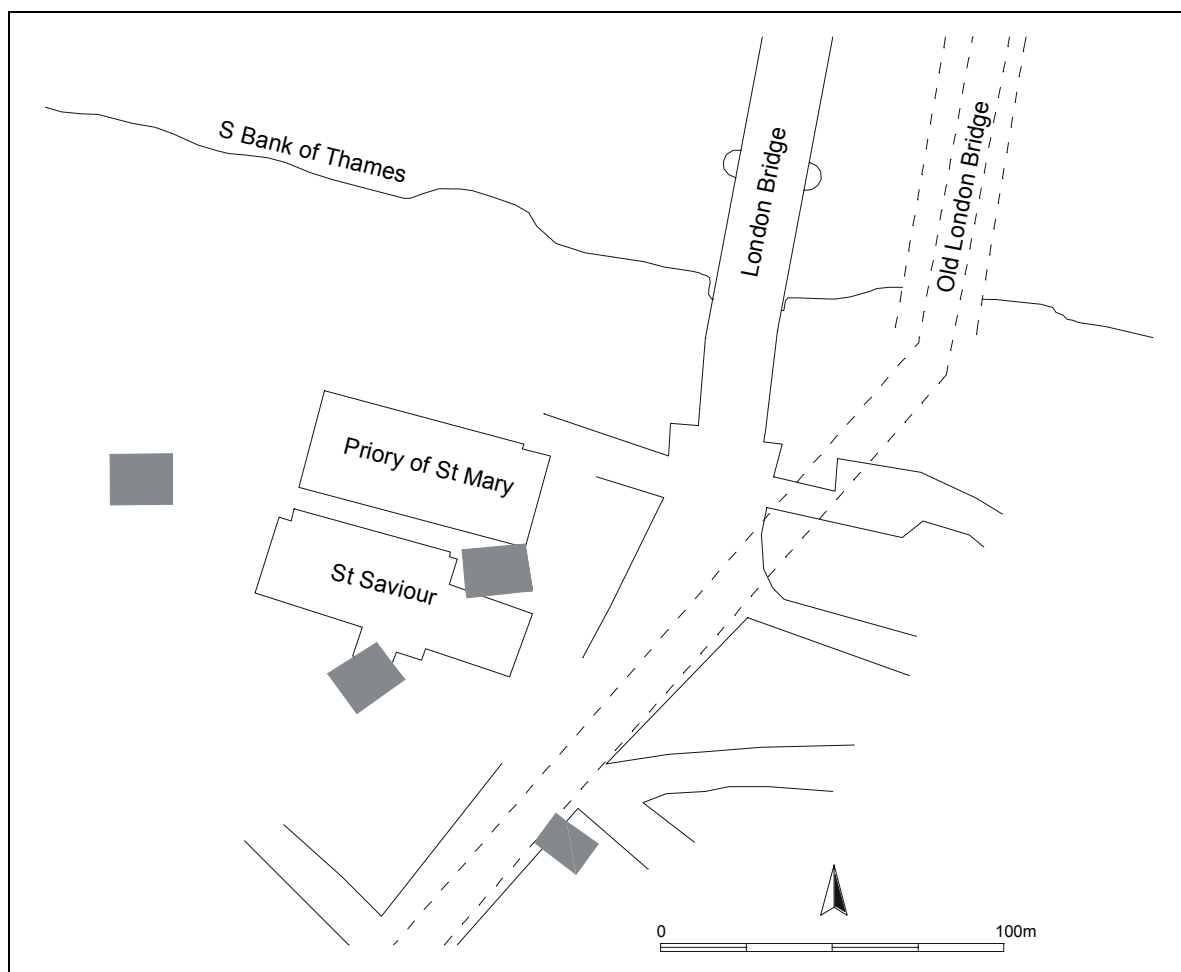
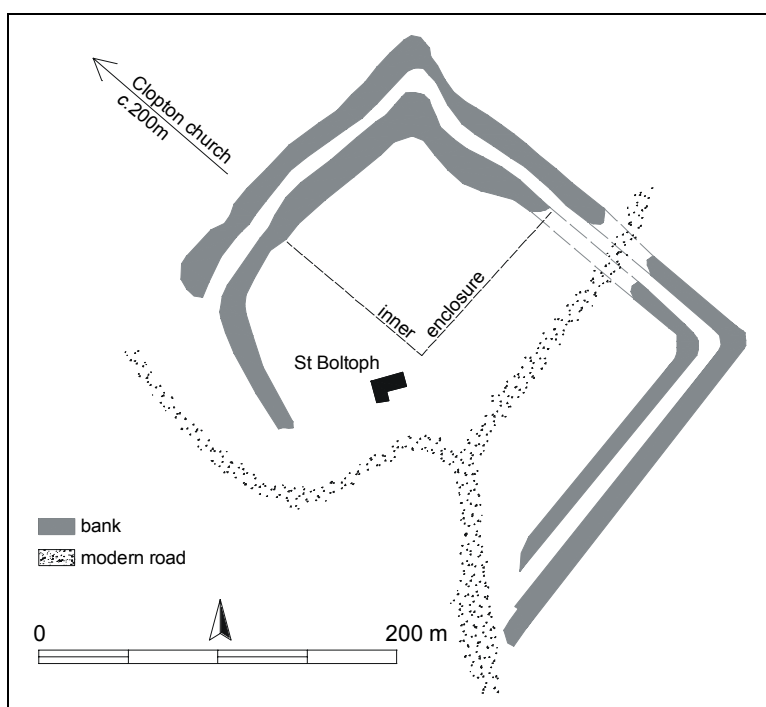


Figure 150 – London, Southwark (after OS 1:2500 TQ 3280 and VCH Surrey IV, 373). The grey squares show the position and (presumably) orientation of Roman mosaics, although their size, as shown in the *VCH*, does not appear to be to scale.).

Figure 151 – Burgh (after Martin 1988, fig. 2).



Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

Figure 152 – York, St Helen-on-the-Walls (after Magilton 1980, figs. 4 & 5a).

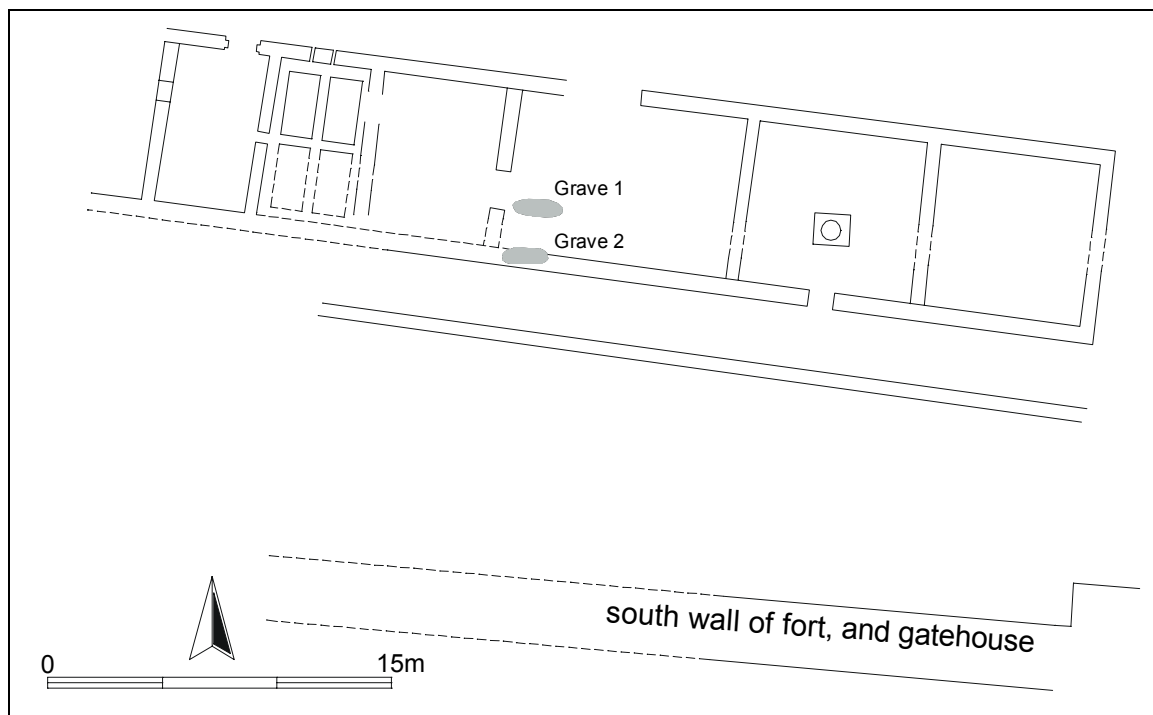
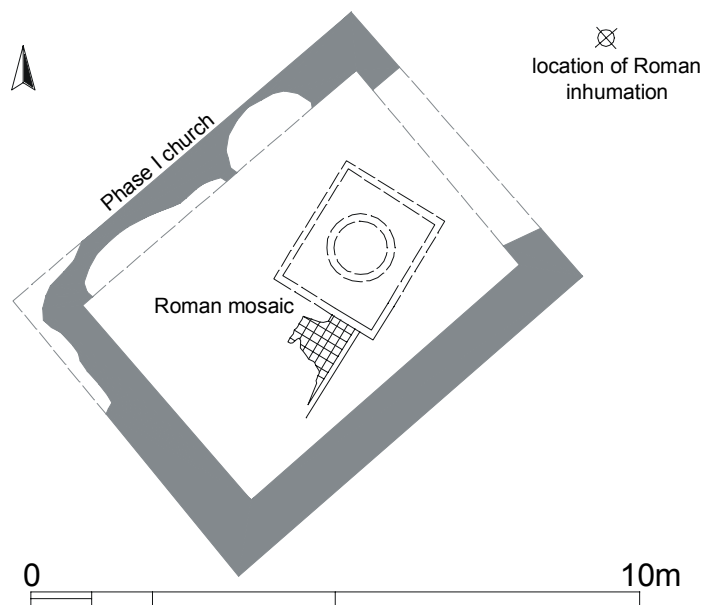


Figure 153 – Caister-on-Sea: two graves within and inter-mural building (after Darling and Gurney, 1993, fig. 5).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

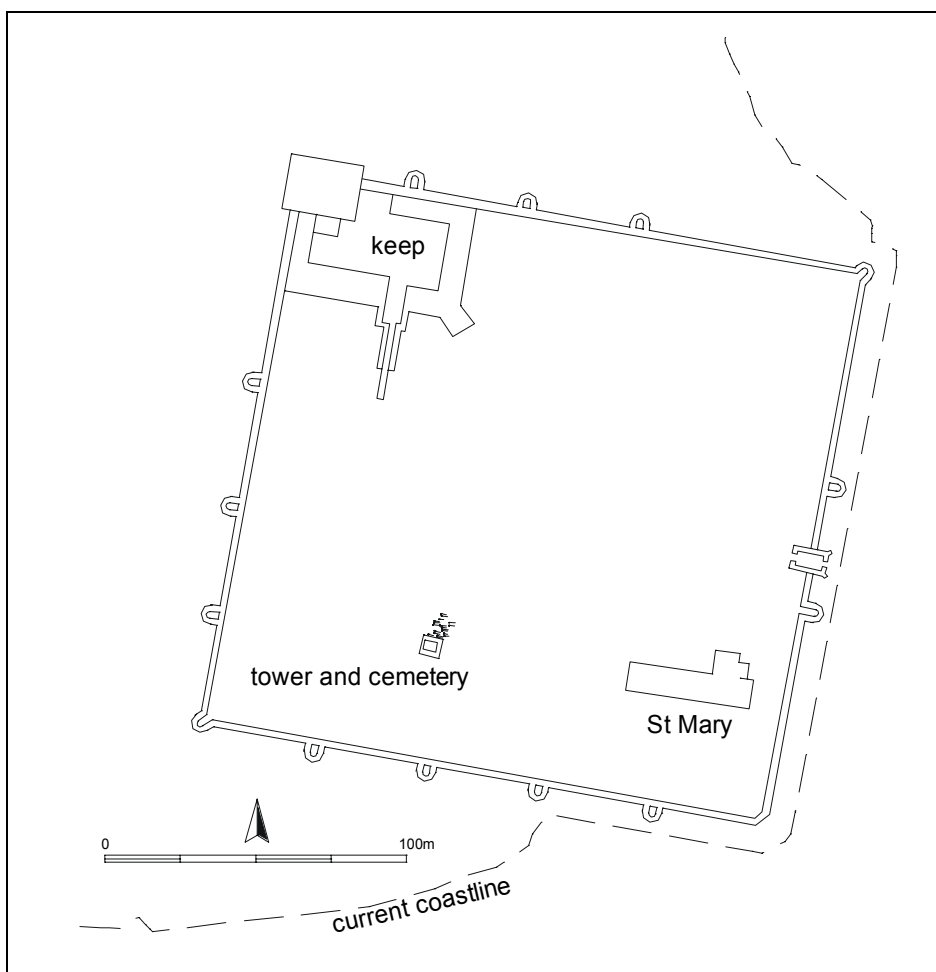


Figure 154 – Portchester Castle (after Cunliffe 1975, figs. 2 & 29).

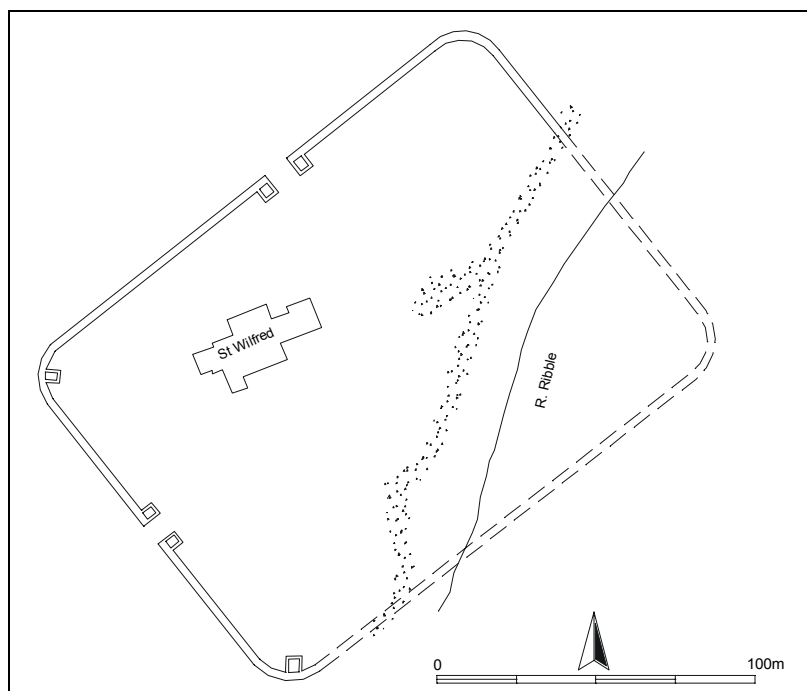


Figure 155 – Ribchester (after Edwards 1972, 18-9).

Appendix 5.5: Additional Figures

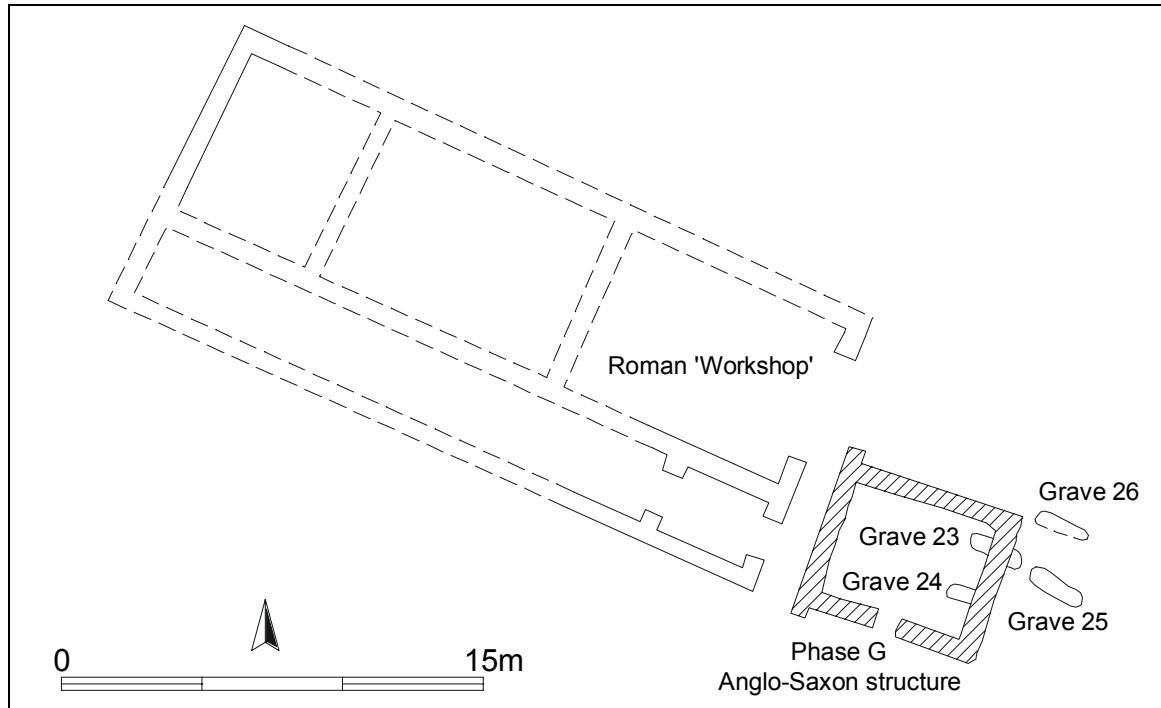


Figure 156 – Winchester, Lower Brook Street (after Biddle 1975, figs. 10 & 12).

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