

PART II

BRITONS, ROMANS AND SAXONS ROUND SALISBURY AND IN CRANBORNE CHASE

REVIEWING THE EXCAVATIONS OF GENERAL PITT-RIVERS, 1881-1897

By C. F. C. HAWKES,

with collaboration by STUART PIGGOTT and a note by H. ST. GEORGE GRAY

I. INTRODUCTION: BRITONS, ROMANS, AND GENERAL PITT-RIVERS

The region round Salisbury is well known for its sites of the British Early Iron Age, that is, from towards 400 B.C. to the Roman conquest. Salisbury Plain as a whole, indeed, no less than Cranborne Chase south-west of it, is regarded as a classic region for what are usually called 'British villages', and for the 'Romano-British villages' that form their sequel in Roman times. None of these sites has yet been excavated completely, and it is not known how far they may include any of a size to be inhabited by a fairly numerous community, such as perhaps was All Cannings Cross,¹ in the Vale of Pewsey north of the Plain, the classic site for material of the 'Iron Age A' culture of Wessex. But that culture is represented by at least half a dozen sites on the tops or slopes of the chalk downs round Salisbury, which are now recognized to represent single farms or homestead-settlements, of an average size of something like 3 acres. The famous Highfield site, on the NW. outskirts of Salisbury at Fisherton, was explored as long ago as 1866-69;² those at Swallowcliffe Down and Fifield Bavant were examined after the last war by Dr. R. C. C. Clay;³ and those on Harnham Hill just SW. of Salisbury,⁴ and on Rockbourne Down farther south within Cranborne Chase,⁵ have been recognized more lately, in the light of the Prehistoric Society's excavations (1938-39) of a large part of what is now the Wessex type-site for their kind, Little Woodbury, a short way south of Salisbury in the parish of Britford.⁶

The essential recoverable features of Little Woodbury⁷ are a circular occupation-area of some 3 acres, enclosed by palisading and at one time by a ring-ditch; one central timber-posted dwelling-house, circular and about 50 feet across, for the household and its animals (whether or not a second, smaller house was ever dwelt in); small square granaries for seed-corn; scooped-out 'working-hollows', gradually agglomerating, for winnowing and the like; and very many pits, of the sort found on almost all Wessex Iron Age sites. Such pits have sometimes in the past been

¹ G. Bersu, in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, vi (1940), 106-7, on the well-known publication by Mrs. M. E. Cunnington (Devizes, 1923).

² Re-published by Mr. Frank Stevens in *W.A.M.*, xlii (1934), 579-624.

³ *W.A.M.*, xliii (1925-27), 59-93 and 540 ff.; xlii (1924), 457-96.

⁴ Mrs. Piggott, *W.A.M.*, xlviii (1939), 513-22.

⁵ Piggott, *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xv, 1 (1941), 53-5.

⁶ Report by the excavator, Dr. G. Bersu, in

Proc. Prehist. Soc., vi (1940), 30-107. On the pottery, see J. W. Brailsford, *ibid.*, xv (1948). The site is ploughed down, and invisible on the ground: see *Antiquity*, iii (1929), 453-5 and pl. 1 opp. 385.

⁷ For some restoration-photographs, see *Antiquity*, xx (June, 1946), pls. v-vii, illustrating the article (78-82) by Jacquetta Hawkes, on the film 'The Beginnings of History', made by the Crown Film Unit for the Ministry of Education, of which part was shown at the Salisbury Museum during the Institute's Meeting.

thought to include 'pit-dwellings', but were really for the storage of consumption grain. The grain was dried in ovens, which in this period were of ephemeral construction; permanent ovens or furnaces (on which see p. 37, note 48) appeared only in Romano-British times.

It is not yet fully clear how sites like Little Woodbury are related to the more obvious and familiar monuments of the Iron Age in Wessex, the hill-forts. But one of them lay only 400 yards away from it—'Great' Woodbury, a 7-acre circular hill-fort of what may be called the 'plateau' type.⁸ Possibly no hill-fort in this region is earlier than the third century B.C., when fortification was impelled perhaps by the first of those incursions from the Continent which brought into Britain, by various instalments, the culture—derived from the La Tène culture of the Continental Celts—called 'Iron Age B'.⁹ In the Salisbury region this was never more than a leaven in the persisting 'A' culture, giving rise in it presently to aspects that may be termed 'AB'. But the third century seems certainly the date of the two best-excavated hill-forts here: Figsbury Rings, of 15 acres in Winterbourne Dauntsey,¹⁰ and, farther west, the earliest fort at Yarnbury Castle, seen by the Institute on July 16th (fig. 2).¹¹ This fort (I) occupied the central 12 acres or so of the site: its western entrance, and post-holes of its single 'wall-and-berm' rampart, were revealed by Mrs. Cunnington's excavations; and her stratification in the ditch dated its construction by primary Iron Age A pottery. But there ensued a secondary occupation, in which the earthwork was nearly levelled and pits were cut into its remains; and with this appeared ornate 'AB' pottery, datable in—and probably throughout—the first century B.C.

It was probably in that century that Yarnbury was enlarged to its full 28½ acres by the addition of the main outer earthwork, with ditch between two strong ramparts (II). And outside this again is the small rampart and ditch of an additional outer earthwork (III).¹² Neither has been excavated; nor has the imposing eastern entrance, with its inturned rampart-ends and extensive outworks. There has been no proper excavation of bivallate or multiple fort-earthworks anywhere in Wiltshire. But at Bury Hill near Andover, not far over the Hampshire border, excavation in 1939 showed an analogous sequence of (I) simple univallate fort, (II) strong bivallate fort, and (III) traces of additional external work (this last was a repair of I, which lies here outside II instead of inside as at Yarnbury). It was dated thus: I, 'A' culture, probably third century B.C.; II, 'AB' culture, first century B.C.; and III, Belgic culture, from towards end of first century B.C.¹³ And in Yarnbury Mrs. Cunnington found wheel-made bead-rim and other Belgic pottery, just like that of Bury Hill III, succeeding the 'AB' ware. At Yarnbury too then, probably, this is how the sequence should be dated; and it seems to be

⁸ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, vi, 107-10: this too is ploughed down, but the filled ditch was completely sectioned in 1939 by Mr. C. W. Phillips. See *Antiquity*, iii (1929), 452-5 and pl. II.

⁹ *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiv, 2 (1939), 189-90; xiv, 3 (1940), 332-4, 344-5.

¹⁰ Excavated in 1925 by Capt. and Mrs. Cunnington: *W.A.M.*, xliii, 48-51; Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air*, 84-6, pl. ix.

¹¹ On the edge of Steeple Langford parish: Crawford, *Air-Survey and Archaeology*, 34, pls.

xI-xIb (R. S. Newall); *Wessex from the Air*, 68, pl. vi (A. Keiller). Mrs. Cunnington's excavations, 1932: *W.A.M.*, xlv, 198-217. Traces may be seen of the old sheep-fair, held here annually until 1916.

¹² Professor Piggott kindly verified this point, and the whole plan, on the ground in April, 1947, in order to draw fig. 2.

¹³ *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiv, 3, 291-337 (for the traces of III, see 299-300, with fig. 4, and 317-21, with fig. 11).

from Hampshire that these Belgae came here.¹⁴ Their pottery appears also at Highfield and Harnham Hill; though absent at Woodbury, it has occurred at Bilbury Rings (Wyllye Camp), whence we seem to have the contemporary horse-bit fragment described above, p. 25, fig. 5; and at Hanging Langford Camp and Stockton Earthworks, not far away.¹⁵ There is also the little material figured below from Old Sarum, which Mr. Montgomerie there shows we need not be shy of welcoming as originally a hill-fort, whatever its precise dating in the period.¹⁶

For the half-century before the Roman conquest, then, the Salisbury region, previously one of 'A' and 'AB' culture, was held by Belgae, who would seem to have come from Hampshire. But its major hill-fort defences probably were built before that. And the technique of building them—with the sling-warfare that evoked it—will have spread here from an opposite quarter, the south-west.¹⁷

Towards the middle of the first century B.C., whatever the extent to which these and other novelties may have been spread from among 'Iron Age B' immigrants into South-Western Britain somewhat earlier, they were certainly brought to a fresh focus in South-Western Wessex. It was then that the province of Iron Age B culture peculiar to that region was set up, as we see it at Maiden Castle in Dorset.¹⁸ It had its own sort of bead-rim pottery, less sophisticated than the wheel-made Belgic sort, and often distinguished also by 'countersunk' handles.¹⁹ And both this pottery, and equally its technique of fortification, combine with historical considerations to explain its introduction pretty clearly: it was the work of immigrants into Dorset from Brittany.²⁰ From that time on, accordingly, this culture differentiated the Dorset or South-Western region of Wessex from the rest.

How far towards and into Cranborne Chase it had been carried before the end of the century, we do not know. But soon after A.D. 1 something fresh happened. The Dorset region in its turn sustained an incursion of Belgae. Coming—perhaps direct, by sea—from homes in South-East Britain, they added their own to the Dorset culture: it took on, in fact, an 'Iron Age C' or Belgic form.²¹ And in this form, about A.D. 10-25, it certainly entered Cranborne Chase. Indeed, it was here that it was first fully revealed, in the excavation by General Pitt-Rivers, to be considered in detail here below, of the settlements of Rotherley and Woodcuts. Those sites lie far inland. The culture was carried as near to Salisbury, in fact, as the steep border-scarp of the Chalke valley, which is the west-to-east valley of the river Ebble (fig. 1). Jutting out from the high ground of the Chase, overlooking its head, is a great promontory hill-fort, Winkelbury Camp. Here too General Pitt-Rivers made an excavation—in 1881-82, one of his first in the district—and his findings are clear. There had been an earlier settlement on the promontory, with pits and pottery typical of Iron Age A. But with the defences

¹⁴ Ibid., 336-7.

¹⁵ These three in Mr. Dunning's list of Belgic bead-rims, *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxvii, 334-5. Farther north on Salisbury Plain the leading Belgic site is of course Casterley Camp: see refs. *ibid.*

¹⁶ Pp. 131-2, figs. 2-3; cf. pp. 132-3, with the pit in fig. 4, and 134-5, with the rampart-section fig. 5.

¹⁷ *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiv, 3, 335-7.

¹⁸ R. E. M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset*

(Rep. Research Committee Soc. Antiq. Lond., xii, 1943; hereinafter cited as *Maiden Castle*), 39 ff., 55-7, 203 ff., 382-7.

¹⁹ Ibid., 210-13; cf. p. 40 here below, fig. 5, c.

²⁰ See also Wheeler in *Antiquity*, xiii, 58-79, and (on Gresham, *ibid.*, xvii, 67-70) xviii, 50-2; also Leslie Murray Threipland in *Arch. Journ.*, c (1943), 128 ff.

²¹ *Maiden Castle*, 57-61, 230-41, 387.

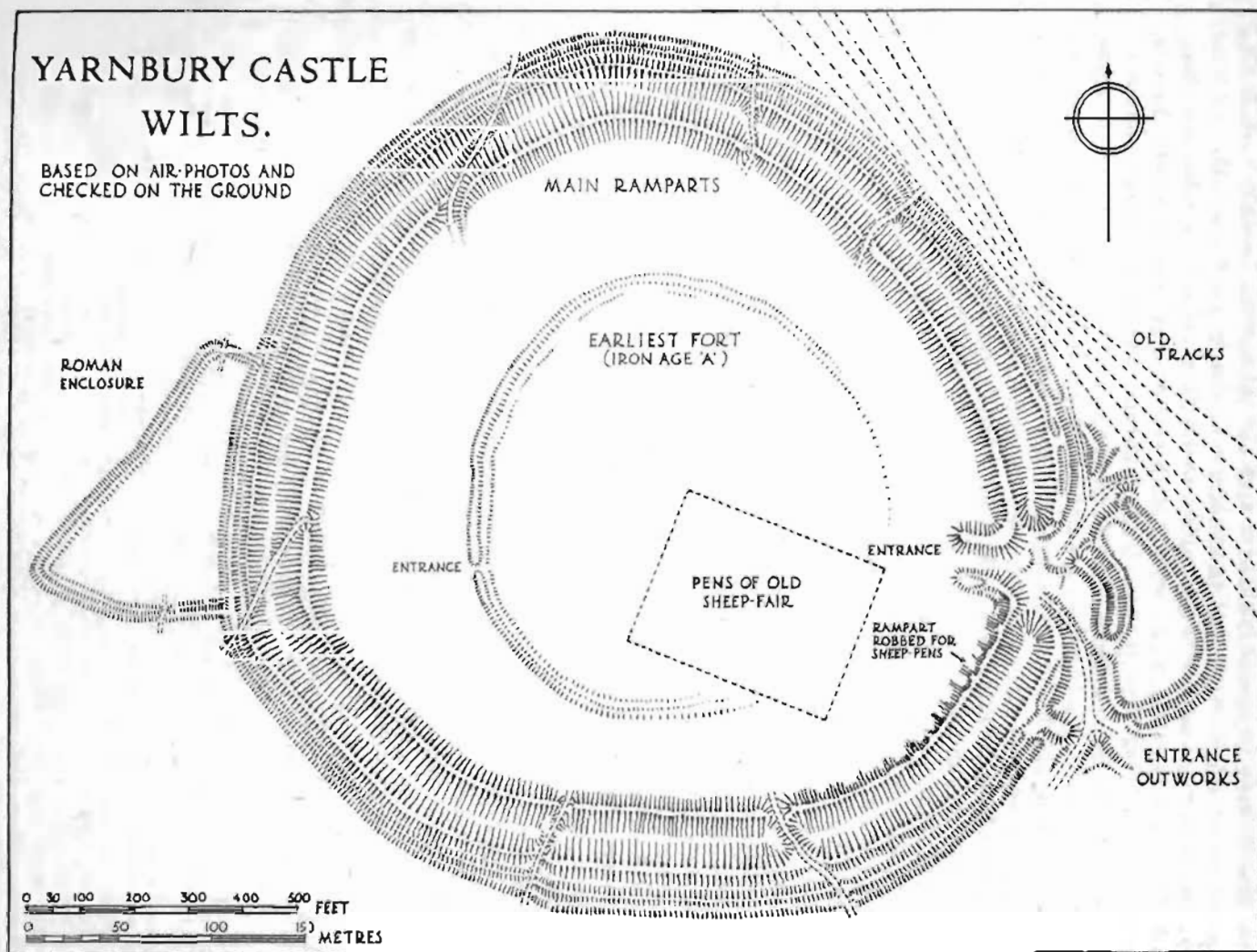


FIG. 2. PLAN OF YARNBURY CASTLE
By Stuart Piggott, 1947. See pp. 29 (hill-fort sequence), 33 (Roman enclosure).

of the fort itself was associated a different pottery—the unmistakable pottery of the Belgic newcomers.²²

The Roman conquest followed. And throughout the ensuing period, this Dorset-Belgic culture remained fundamental in Cranborne Chase. So, north of the Ebbles, did the parallel Belgic culture round Salisbury and on Salisbury Plain. The 'Romano-British village' sites of both regions make that evident. In fact, this is an especially conspicuous area of British-descended 'village' economy, as opposed to the more Romanized economy of the rural 'villa', with its counterpart the Roman town. The lack of a town—to take this in the first place—is particularly striking. Nowhere, between Winchester, Dorchester, and the Bath road, is there any Roman town-foundation. Why did not the Romans set up a normal town-centre for all this 'village' life at Salisbury, to supersede Old Sarum? It cannot have been because they made Old Sarum itself a town. The place had some Roman occupation (pp. 131-5); but for a strong native hill-fort to pass into a Romano-British township on the spot would be too anomalous for crediting. Yet Old Sarum was important enough to be made the centre of the whole area's Roman road-system. On the south edge of Cranborne Chase, too, the hill-fort of Badbury Rings was made a road-centre, and had some sort of Roman occupation, but was neither a town, nor near one.²³ There was something about all this country, it seems, that blocked its full normal Romanization.

Perhaps it was something political. We know there was much resistance hereabouts to the Roman conquest. The region may for some time have been more dangerous to Rome than one might think. After all, it had a past 2,000 years old as a cultural and religious centre, unique in Britain; its prehistoric monuments, surely, must still have been held sacred. Few may show clear signs of Iron Age attention, yet the one that does so most is the most monumental of them all—Stonehenge itself. For it is to the Iron Age, and to the Belgic phase of it, in or scarcely before the first century A.D., that the pottery from the 'Y' and 'Z' Holes there dates the 'third-phase' reconstitution, which Professor Piggott (above, pp. 5-6) offers as 'the sole link at present perceptible between Stonehenge and . . . the Druids'. Druidism was anathema to Roman governments, not only for its barbarity but as a breeder of rebellion: if the whole region of the great sanctuary was suspect for that reason, its exceptional treatment would have good cause.²⁴

That its treatment was truly exceptional, moreover, is shown in the second place by its lack of Roman villas. East of Salisbury there was one at East Grimstead:²⁵ south, near the edge of Cranborne Chase, one has lately been detected

²² Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations in Cranborne Chase*, ii, 233 ff.: this is the 'quality no. 4' pottery ('1-3' belong to the earlier settlement), much of which was found both in the fort ditch and elsewhere, and two pieces in the body of the rampart (in section III, pp. 245, 271). See (with *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxvii, 300) the affirmation of this in *Antiq. Journ.*, xii (1932), 428, made after examining this pottery in Farnham Museum. Fresh plan of the site: Heywood Sumner, *The Ancient Earthworks of Cranborne Chase* (1913), 22-3, pl. vi.

²³ Crawford in *Wessex from the Air*, 58-61, pl. iv, with refs. to 1928; E. C. Chancellor in *Proc. Dorset Arch. Soc.*, lxvi (1944), 28-34, with full bibliography: the known archaeological material includes at any rate enough Roman to 'tend to confirm the importance of Badbury in Romano-British times' (p. 29). See further p. 67; and also p. 80, n. 233.

²⁴ I owe this idea to conversations with Mr. C. E. Stevens.

²⁵ Heywood Sumner, *Excavations at East Grimstead, Wiltshire* (London, 1924).

in the Rockbourne valley;²⁶ but their absence from all this chalk-land as a whole is notorious, and was strongly emphasized by R. G. Collingwood.²⁷ Yet he recognized the superficial Romanizing of life in the many villages which appear in their stead.²⁸ And he had an explanation, which he put forward as most probable. It was that Salisbury Plain and Cranborne Chase—too dangerous, we could add, for normal Romanized self-government—were turned into an imperial estate, administered directly, or else through leaseholds, for the Roman emperor.²⁹ If so, one may suggest that Old Sarum, and perhaps Badbury too, could well have been regional headquarters of its administration. Their anomalies would thus be explained. And there might be subsidiary headquarters also, elsewhere in the domain.

Its main product would in the first place be corn, of which, especially for the army, there was great official need. But the peasants also kept cattle and sheep; and Collingwood thought that this tradition of pastoral farming gave rise to a change of great importance later. He conjectured, in fact, that in later Roman times much land was turned over to pasture that had before been arable.³⁰ The region possesses a good few sites that look like cattle-kraals or sheepfolds, in the form of angular earthwork enclosures.³¹ One may be seen in fig. 2 (p. 31) attached to the west side of Yarnbury Castle. And that shown in fig. 3, near Knighton Hill Buildings on the south side of the Ebbles valley, seems certainly of this age, and not of the Early Iron Age as has been supposed. Heywood Sumner's plan of it³² is here seen slightly amended, after an examination of the site by Mrs. Piggott and myself in 1942: it lies in a steep damp bottom, where there would then have been water for the beasts,³³ and is superimposed on a prominent and therefore long-ploughed system of narrow Celtic field-lynchets. These yield pottery, sometimes Roman, but more often Iron Age A: from them, then, must surely have come the Iron Age sherds which Dr. R. C. C. Clay, in 1925, found in his sections of the enclosure ditch.³⁴ For he found many Roman sherds in them too, and these seem much the better index to the enclosure's age; none of his evidence is flouted, anyhow, if one takes both it and its smaller neighbour to be Roman.³⁵ In North Wiltshire the enclosure of the same 'kite-shaped' sort at Brown's Barn, overrun later by the rampart of Wansdyke³⁶ and excavated by General Pitt-Rivers in 1890-91, is shown by his pottery and other finds to be Roman likewise.³⁷

Many more or less similar enclosures are still undated,³⁸ and there is a class

²⁶ This must surely be the explanation of the tessellated pavement and other structural remains, New Forest and other Roman pottery, discovered by Mr. A. T. Morley Hewitt in West Park here in 1942: *J.R.S.*, xxxiii, 75.

²⁷ *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 209-10, with map II, 217.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 222 (cf. 208).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 224.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 223-4.

³¹ Cf. those as early as the Late Bronze Age here: above, p. 3.

³² *Earthworks of Cranborne Chase*, 43-4, pl. xxii.

³³ Cf. pp. 63, 71.

³⁴ His report is in Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air*, 131-7, pl. xxib ('Wudu-burh').

³⁵ Mr. C. E. Stevens was suggesting this as long ago as 1936.

³⁶ On Wansdyke itself see p. 77 below.

³⁷ Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations*, iii, 242-76; plan of enclosure, 260, pl. ccxviii. On his first Wansdyke section, cut in 1889 near Shepherd's Shore, see also Crawford in *Antiquity*, vi (1932), 349-50, with air-photograph.

³⁸ E.g. on Coombe Bissett Down (Crawford, *Wessex from the Air*, 128): for others in Cranborne Chase, see Sumner, *Earthworks*, ix-xi, 44-5, 74 (and for the still enigmatic Thickthorn, 35-7), citing the pioneer work on 'valley pastoral enclosures' by the late H. S. Toms (*Proc. Dorset Field Club*, xxxiii; *The Antiquary*, July, 1913); for this in Sussex too, see the summary ('valley entrenchments') in Dr. E. Cecil Curwen's *Prehistoric Sussex* (1929), 144-6.

of medieval date, usually rectangular, which has to be distinguished.³⁹ But the leading cases of Roman date remain; and here, though rectangles are not excluded, the 'kite' shape seems distinctive. Small-scale examples of it occur, indeed, in

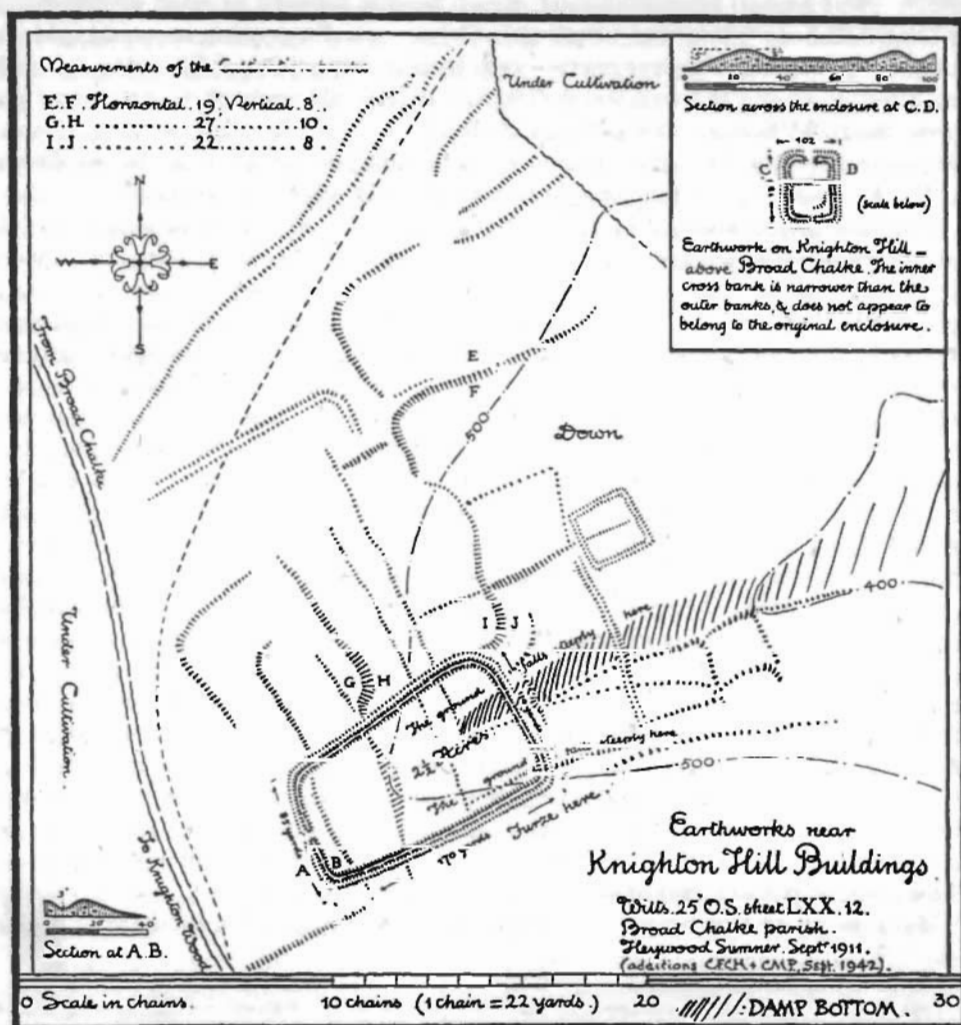


FIG. 3. KNIGHTON HILL. PLAN SHOWING EARTHWORK ENCLOSURE, SUPERIMPOSED ON CELTIC FIELDS

After Heywood Sumner: see p. 33 (the minor enclosures are probably contemporary)
Scale approximately 400 feet to 1 inch

Romano-British 'villages': those at Woodcuts, as we shall shortly see, are of middle and late Roman date (p. 45, fig. 6).⁴⁰ And on Rockbourne Down, in the

³⁹ See Piggott in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, ii (1936), 229-30, on the square example excavated by General Pitt-Rivers on Handley Hill. But Dr. Stone's, adjoining 'Ende Burgh' at Ford

near Laverstock, could still be Roman: *W.A.M.*, xlvii, 409.

⁴⁰ i.e. of Phases II and III there. And cf. the 'Oblong Enclosure' at Rotherley, also Roman: p. 41 and fig. 4.

east of Cranborne Chase, with a similar small earthwork farmyard included in it, is the much larger ditched and fenced enclosure of the same 'kite' shape which Sumner's excavations, in 1911-13, have made the classic case of a late Roman downland stock-farm.⁴¹ Another of these, probably, is Soldier's Ring, three miles to the south-west near South Damerham, which is a polygonal, sharp-angled 'kite' enclosure of 27 acres, including two likely ancient springs. It was taken for a Roman cattle-enclosure by Sumner;⁴² and since Williams-Freeman⁴³ and then more fully Crawford⁴⁴ have shown it to overlies the lynchets of abandoned Celtic fields, it fits well with Collingwood's conjecture of an expansion of pastoral farming here, at the expense of agriculture, in later Roman times.⁴⁵

Thus far, then, we can carry an outline sketch of the British and Roman occupation of our area. To improve and fill in the outline, we need more facts. For pre-Roman times, indeed, we have at least got some: they come chiefly from the excavations at Little Woodbury and the other sites that we have mentioned in the area, and from some outside it, notably Maiden Castle. But from the last pre-Roman phase onward, we have scarcely any except from one all-important source: the excavations made in Cranborne Chase, in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, by General Pitt-Rivers.

The main points of this prodigious man's life are well known. As Augustus Henry Lane-Fox, born in 1827, he combined a distinguished military career with that of a founder of scientific anthropology, and in 1880 succeeded, taking the surname of Pitt-Rivers, to the Rushmore estates of his relative Lord Rivers in Cranborne Chase; at once then, having archaeological excavations elsewhere already to his credit, he began them on the many sites and earthworks of his own and his neighbours' property, and, retiring from regular military duty as Lieutenant-General in 1882, continued them to within three years of his death in 1900.⁴⁶ The four thick blue-and-gold volumes of his *Excavations in Cranborne Chase* (1887-98) are a familiar sight on the shelves of archaeological libraries. The mass of material that he excavated is preserved in the Museum that he established at Farnham, in Dorset just a mile from the Salisbury-Blandford road, to the south of his seat at Rushmore. Fifty years have now passed since his last excavation; fifty years also since his last Presidency of a Summer Meeting of this Institute, in 1897 at Dorchester, and sixty since his first, in 1887 at Salisbury. His Addresses on those occasions⁴⁷ are landmarks in the history of archaeology: they expound the principles, and explain many of the methods, of his tremendous achievement in those years—

⁴¹ Sumner, *Earthworks*, 38, pls. xvii, xviii; and *Excavations on Rockbourne Down, Hampshire* (London, 1914). Area, 96 acres; coins, A.D. 253-375. The small ditched farmyard-*'kite'* in it is what he calls the *'hypocaust quarter'*, but the *'hypocausts'* are of course really corn-drying furnaces: see p. 37, n. 48.

⁴² *Earthworks*, 39, pl. xviii.

⁴³ *Field Archaeology as ill. by Hampshire* (1915), 196-7, 409.

⁴⁴ *Air Survey and Archaeology* (1924), 30-1, pls. ix, ixB; *Wessex from the Air*, 252, pl. XLIX (better air-photograph).

⁴⁵ On these larger *'kites'* in general, see Crawford, *ibid.*, 254-6.

⁴⁶ A biography, with an index and bibliography of his works, was compiled and published as a fifth volume of the *Excavations* series by H. St. George Gray (Taunton Castle, 1905; shorter memoir also in *Memorials of Old Wiltshire*, London, 1906). See also T. K. Penniman's article in *Man*, 1946, 70, on his life and his Museum of Ethnology, which he transferred by gift in 1884 to the University of Oxford.

⁴⁷ *Arch. Journ.*, xlv, 261-77 (1887); liv, 311-39 (1897), reprinted with additions in the *Excavations*, vol. iv, 5-29. This volume contains the Neolithic and most of the Bronze Age researches referred to on pp. 1 and 3 above.

its transformation from an amateur hobby to a scientific discipline. For that achievement he is honoured by us all to-day. Those principles and methods have become a heritage. And, owing largely to their widespread application, comparative knowledge is now far greater than it could be in his lifetime. It seems only right, accordingly, to see what its application can do to enhance the significance of his own discoveries. In other words, any quest for more facts about Britons and Romans in this countryside—and about Saxons, when we come to them, as well—should begin not with fresh excavation, but with re-examination of Pitt-Rivers's work. And he recorded it so well, and preserved his finds so carefully, that this process can really amount to re-excitation of his sites. One can pay no greater tribute to his genius.

I have attempted such 're-excitation' for his four chief sites of this period—Rotherley, Woodcuts, Iwerne (which he did not live to publish), and Woodyates with Bokerly Dyke—and the following pages are my report. I believe such an attempt is necessary, before the fresh researches on Romano-British rural life, now so evidently needed, can be properly begun. And I think the General himself would have wished it made.

I could not have carried it out at all without Professor Stuart Piggott's help. His collaboration has been constant: where a particular point is due to his insight, I have said so, but while I must take responsibility for the whole, and for all shortcomings that are in it, I know it has gained throughout from his attention, and I thank both him and Mrs. Piggott very heartily for everything they have done for me. My debt is most obvious for the plans and sections which he has re-drawn, with her indistinguishable aid, from their various originals. In preparing fig. 13, also, we had valuable assistance from Miss Mary Potter.

Mr. H. St. George Gray has given help with the Iwerne section, and contributed a Note to it himself, for which I am especially happy to thank him, as the chief survivor of the General's archaeological staff, and the unique link between that historic School of Archaeology and modern generations.

Lastly, I thank Major J. Joyce, the present Curator of the Museum at Farnham, for his ready permission to visit it daily for nearly a week of December 1947, handle all its material from these sites, make all the drawings that I needed, and publish those chosen for figs. 5, 8-10, and 15; and also, together with Mrs. Joyce, for warm hospitality and unstinted kindness.

I have added a Conclusion, to balance my Introduction, and to end the paper with the Saxons. But as far as possible I have made its four main sections self-contained, taking the sites one by one in turn.

2. ROTHERLEY

(References in italics are to Vol. II of the 'Excavations in Cranborne Chase', 1888.)

The ancient settlement-site now known as Rotherley, in Berwick St. John parish, Wiltshire (*p.* 51, with *pl.* i), lies at about 650 feet O.D. on the broad southward-sloping chalk whaleback of Rotherley Down, just over a mile north of Tollard Royal. It is 1,300 yards south of the main east-west ridge, overlooking the Ebble

valley and here buttressed on the north by Winkelbury Hill and Camp, along which runs the ancient Ox Drove ridgeway (fig. 1, p. 28). It was discovered by General Pitt-Rivers in 1885, and he excavated it in the eight months from October 1885 to May 1886. His main report is compact (pp. 51-61, 112-15), the chief finds are described at length (pp. 116 ff.), and all are set out in small-printed relic tables (pp. 67-110). The excavation followed after that of Woodcuts; but is here considered first, because it makes the simpler story. Our plan (fig. 4) is a somewhat simplified re-drawing of his Frontispiece (pl. xciv).

The total area of the settlement is about $4\frac{3}{4}$ acres. West and south of it are the lynchets of Celtic fields, and it was entered from alongside them on the south-east, by the 'Roadway', running between the 'East Road Ditch' and 'East Drain' which turn to form an entrance into the main open space, the 'East Quarter'. North from this space, between the East Drain and the angular 'North-West Ditch', there was an exit, through the 'North Quarter'; the other 'Quarters' of the site lie round—'West', 'South-West', 'South', and 'South-East'. In the centre is the ditch-enclosed 'Main Circle', with entrance on the south; the smaller 'North-East Enclosure' is similar but with wider entrance. The southern part of the East Quarter, and the South-East Quarter beyond it, were found divided up by various ditches, one being identified as a 'Palisade-Trench'; the 'South-East Drain' divides them from the South Quarter, which had little in it. The South-West Quarter, also poor in contents, was bounded by the straight and embanked 'South Ditch' and 'West Ditch'; between its inner corner and the Main Circle was an embanked 'Oblong Enclosure', with flinty bank over-running the West Ditch and the minor 'drain'-ditches which lead into the South-East Drain. The only other feature so stratified over a ditch is the bank round the east of the Main Circle, over-sailing its enclosing ditch; elsewhere, the plan shows no chronological successions. Just south of the eastern entrance were two-scooped-out areas which are certainly working-hollows, like those at Little Woodbury (p. 27); the General thought they had been 'sunken huts'. Adjoining them, and termed by him a 'hypocaust' (pl. xcvi), was a corn-drying furnace, containing Roman material, but simpler than the regular T-shaped Romano-British type.⁴⁸ Towards the edge of the South-East Quarter he found two large expanses of flints, and supposed them 'cooking-places'; there was also an oval area of flints just inside the Main Circle. Scattered variously over the more occupied parts of the site were 92 pits. These—though a few are really small working-hollows⁴⁹—are certainly storage-pits, like those at Little Woodbury and most other Iron Age sites in Wessex (p. 27). In some, and in places in the ditches, were contracted inhumation-burials, 13 in all; two extended skeletons (nos. 1, 5) were found buried separately.

The General also found 'holes', to the number of 33; most are post-holes, which at Woodcuts (p. 44) he had failed to locate. Twelve of them were in groups of 4 forming small squares, and these he correctly saw had held the corner-posts of small square granaries: as we have seen, Dr. Bersu has interpreted those at Little Woodbury as seed-corn granaries (p. 27). Two ('Group III', found containing carbonized grain, and the larger 'Group IV') were in the North-East Enclosure, the

⁴⁸ On the whole subject of this type of furnace, see R. G. Goodchild in *Antiq. Journ.*, xxxiii (1943), 148-53. The normal examples at Woodcuts (153) are noticed below, pp. 45, 47, 48.

For Rockbourne Down, see p. 35, n. 41; Woodyates, p. 66.

⁴⁹ Nos. 23, 52, 53, 67.

third ('Group V') in the South-East Quarter. He made another ('Group II') out of the three post-holes in the north-east of the Main Circle; but there was no fourth, and they form an almost equilateral triangle. The group of seven in the

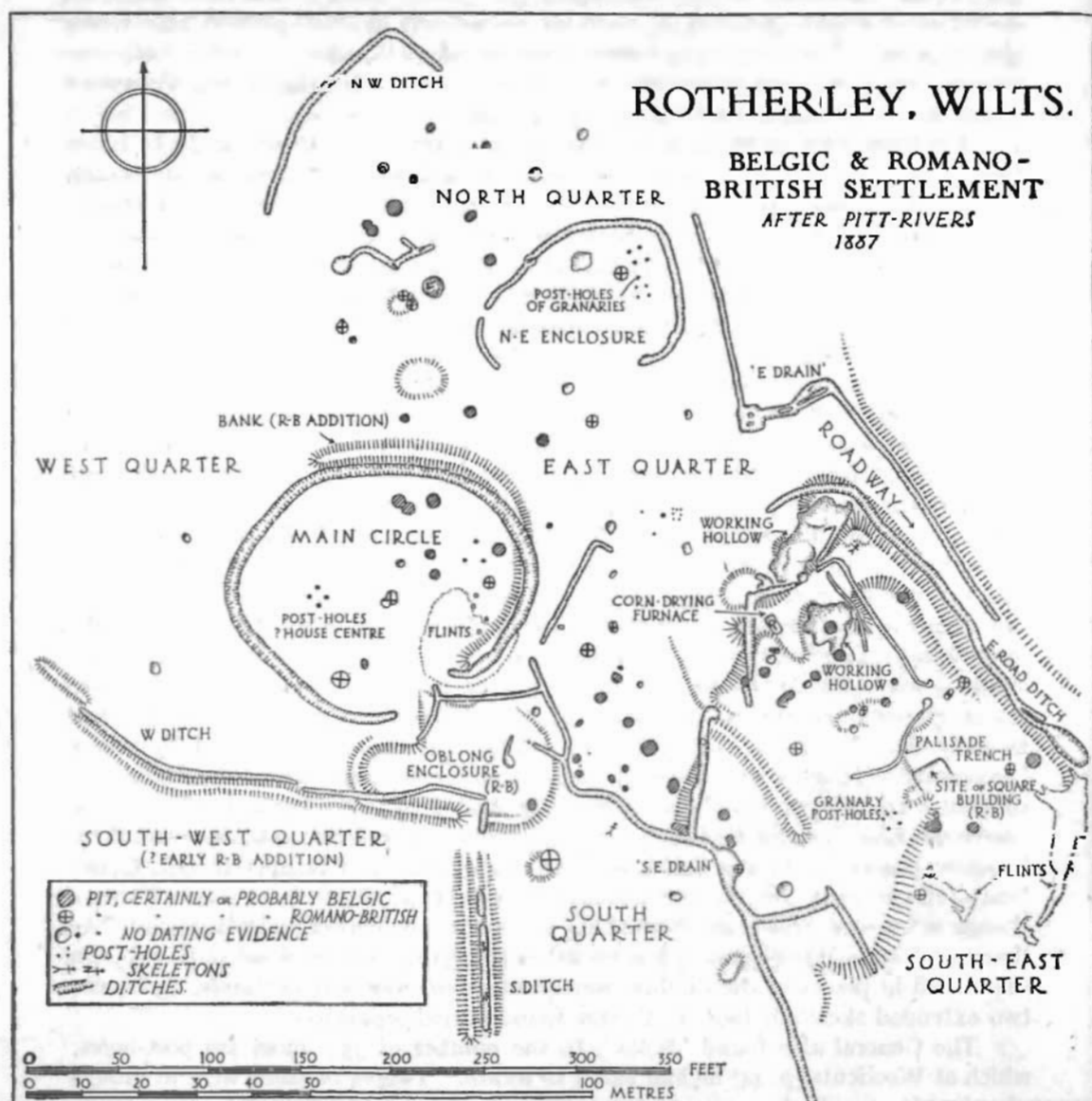


FIG. 4. ROTHERLEY. PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT

East Quarter ('Group VI') might represent a hay-drying rack like those inferred at Little Woodbury.

The four post-holes in a square towards the west of the Main Circle ('Group I') were wider and deeper than the others (measurements in relic table, *pp.* 108-9), and

surrounded by a large space bare of pits, about 70 feet across. Professor Piggott has suggested that these may represent not a granary, but the central square of a large circular house, of the type studied at Little Woodbury (p. 27: about 50 feet across); the surrounding area of this house, covering the bare space, will then have remained unrecognized through failure to find the outer ring of post-holes marking its circumference. Certainly the General had become convinced at Woodcuts (pp. 53-4) that traces of house-structure were not normally to be expected on such sites; his attitude to the triangle of holes just mentioned ('Group II') shows that he only expected post-holes in square 'granary' groups of four, and it can hardly be doubted that he failed to find many more post-holes at Rotherley generally, just as he failed to find any at all at Woodcuts. Indeed, he would not have looked for post-holes marking out a house-area as much as 50 feet across. All his remarks on dwellings in these settlements show that he believed them to have been small, numerous, and not normally traceable by excavation. There now seems little to support such a belief. We should expect one large house in the Main Circle; perhaps another in the North-East Enclosure, but scarcely many more.

In fact, only one other trace of structure was recognized. This was a levelled-down rectangular floor, 20 feet wide, next to the granary in the South-East Quarter, which seemed to have been the floor of a square building, 'a superior building of some kind' (p. 55). At the Park Brow settlement near Cissbury, Sussex, were five such rectangular house-floors, in average size 30 by 20 feet, which were of Romano-British age;⁵⁰ and this floor too yielded Roman material, including the ornamental tablet of Kimmeridge shale (p. 174; pl. cxviii) whence the General borrowed the cover-design of his *Excavations* volumes. This building, then, will have been an addition made in Roman times. For the occupation as a whole began appreciably earlier.

The two bronze La Tène I brooches,⁵¹ and the one bronze and three iron pieces of the derivative 'Swallowcliffe' type,⁵² do not require an initial date before the first century B.C.⁵³ Of the three La Tène III brooches, two might be either side of A.D. 1;⁵⁴ the third is a 'Colchester' brooch of after c. A.D. 10.⁵⁵ The pre-Roman pottery, apart from one late piece of ornamented 'Iron Age AB' ware,⁵⁶ consists of two elements. First (fig. 5, a-c) bead-rim jars, some with countersunk handles, together with necked-jar and bowl types, representing the Dorset-centred Iron Age B culture as seen at Maiden Castle, but in a mature stage, which cannot safely be dated before the intrusion of Belgic culture into the region.⁵⁷ Secondly (fig. 5, d), manifestly Belgic types, invariably wheel-made,⁵⁸ issuing from the primary or Belgic

⁵⁰ *Archaeologia*, lxxvi (1927), 8-9, fig. F.

⁵¹ Pl. xcvi, 5, 6, pp. 116-18: 'Phase B' in Sir Cyril Fox's classified list in *Arch. Camb.*, June, 1927, 106 (nos. 6, 7), following Mr. Gray's in *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, 1, 185.

⁵² Pl. xcvi, 2, p. 116; pl. ci, 6, 8 (probable), 9, p. 126: not in Dr. Wheeler's list of these brooches, *Maiden Castle*, 256, nos. 1-6, 8 (7 is not one); type first recognized by Fox, op. cit., 89-91.

⁵³ Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 253.

⁵⁴ Pl. xcix, 4, 7, pp. 122-3; cf. Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum*, 308-9.

⁵⁵ Pl. xcvi, 4, p. 116: *Camulodunum*, 309 (Type III).

⁵⁶ Pl. cxiv, 8, pp. 161-2; cf. *Maiden Castle*, 227-8, on fig. 70, 154.

⁵⁷ On pp. 140 ff., compare the following with *Maiden Castle*, pp. 203 ff., figs. 64 ff.: (pls.) cvii; cviii, 2-4, 7-8; cx, 8; cxi, 1-4; cxiv, 5, 7, 9-12; cxvi, 3. Our fig. 5, a-b, are cviii, 3, 8 (*Arch. Journ.*, lxxxvii, 284-5, fig. 26, 1-4; list, 335); c is cxi, 1.

⁵⁸ Fig. 5, d, is from the 'East Road Ditch', drawn in the Museum. Those figured by the General (pp. 142 ff.) are (pls.) cviii, 5; cix, 1; cx, 1, 3; cxii, 9-12; cxiii, 10-11; compare, in *Maiden Castle*, figs. 73 ff., e.g. nos. 188, 193-4, 196-213, 214, 220, 234-44, and what is there said of this class as a whole.

culture of SE. Britain, whence these intruding Belgae evidently came.⁵⁹ Dr. Wheeler has suggested that they came west to escape Cunobelin's domination of the SE. from Colchester, which began c. A.D. 10, and has dated their

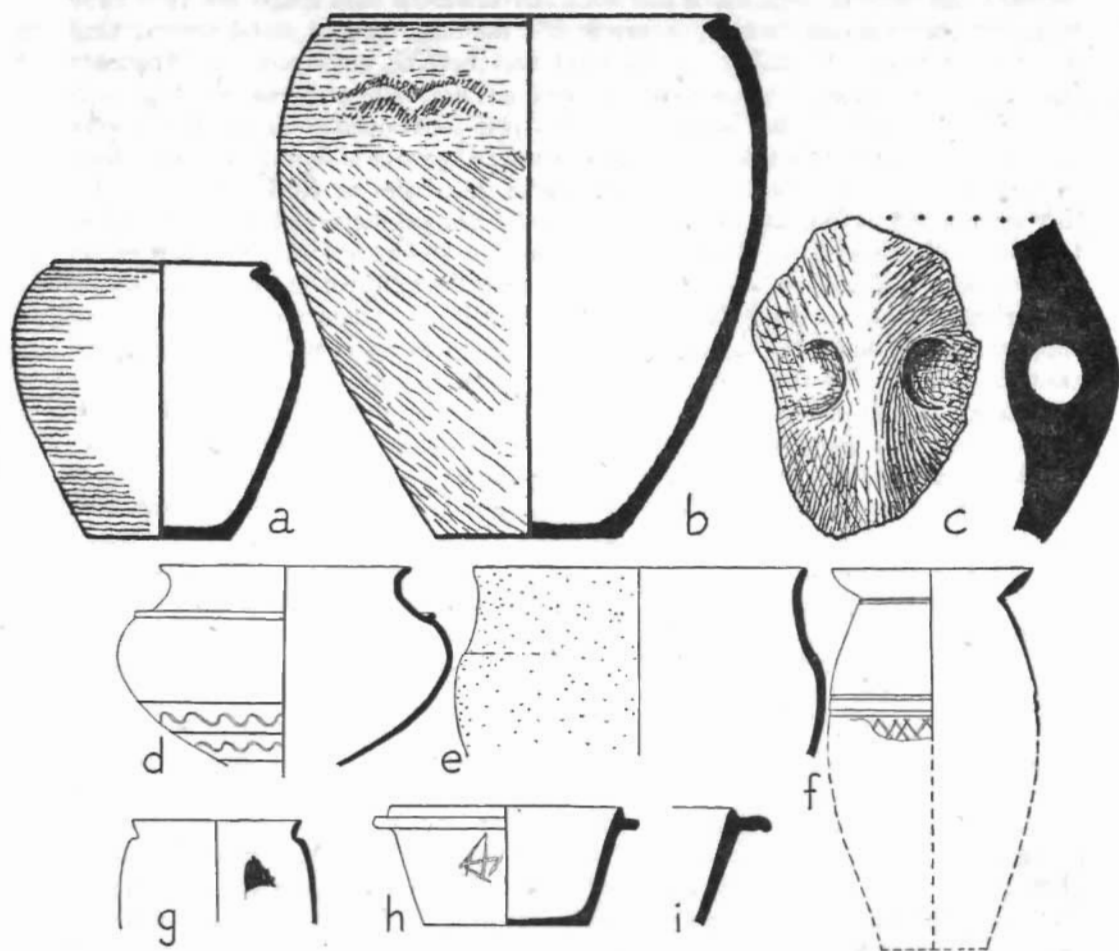


FIG. 5. POTTERY FROM ROTHERLEY AND WOODCUTS

Rotherley: *a-d*, p. 39. Woodcuts: *e*, p. 43; *f*, p. 44; *g-i*, p. 46 (from under 'mound': cf. fig. 6). The scratching on *h* is presumably an owner's mark

(All $\frac{1}{4}$, except *c* which is $\frac{1}{2}$)

Farnham Museum

arrival at Maiden Castle around A.D. 25.⁶⁰ Were one to take the Iron Age B pot-types and La Tène I brooches by themselves, one could suppose the settlement already founded before any Belgic arrival, in the later first century B.C.

⁵⁹ Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 57-61: it has to be remembered that the S.E. Belgic culture had its own bead-rim series, analysed in *Camulodunum* under forms 254-62; but with Dr. Wheeler's historical conclusions here I am in

entire agreement. They should not be so read, however, as to force the coin evidence, set out by Mr. Allen, *ibid.*, 330-4.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 5, 57.

But since this has no warrant in the excavation-record, it seems wiser to date the occupation within the Belgic time-limits of c. A.D. 10 and 25, which must certainly stand (pp. 30-2 above) for the neighbouring hill-fort of Winkellbury. The inhabitants, then (who left two of their characteristic silver coins on the site),⁶¹ will have been Dorset Iron Age B people led or accompanied by intrusive Belgae.

Examination of the pottery published or listed by the General and preserved in the Museum, with reference to its various find-locations, shows that nearly the whole lay-out of the site, and 52 (or at least 45) of its pits,⁶² must be dated from this initial pre-Roman phase of the occupation. Two Roman iron catapult-arrowheads, like the many found at Maiden Castle,⁶³ may suggest a brief resistance to Vespasian's campaign of conquest here towards A.D. 45; but the occupation, clearly uninterrupted, went on thereafter with no essential change. The Roman brooches well represent the first and second centuries,⁶⁴ and so does plenty of the coarse pottery.⁶⁵ Of Samian, in addition to the pieces figured by the General,⁶⁶ the Museum has pieces representing 5 bowls of form 29, first century; 3 of 30 and 8 of 37, late first to early second century; and, of the rest of the second century, 4 of 37 and 4 of 31 (one stamped VIIRVSFII: the Antonine *Verus*). There are 8 coins (*Æ* 2) of the same period: two Trajan, two Hadrian, one Pius, one M. Aurelius, two uncertain.⁶⁷ Roman-period pottery from the working-hollows and from the remaining 18 (or at least 11) datable pits,⁶⁸ shows that the old winnowing and pit-storage arrangements for the grain continued.

It must be remarked only that 18 pits for the Roman period is a relatively much smaller total than 52 for the comparatively short pre-Roman one; also, there was only one Roman-period corn-drying furnace. It looks as if a stiffish proportion of each harvest had to be delivered under requisition to the Roman authorities—we have seen (p. 33) that the region may have been Imperial domain-land—leaving barely enough for the inhabitants, who cannot have been many: I return to this point on p. 79 below. And Roman improvements to the site were few. The one furnace and the rectangular building have been mentioned. The Roman pottery in the West and South ditches indicates that these were added, at some fairly early Roman date, to make the South-West Quarter a yard or paddock of distinctively rectangular lay-out. And the embanked Oblong Enclosure, stratified over these and also yielding Roman pottery, was added evidently at a later Roman date, probably as a small cattle-enclosure like those above considered (pp. 33-5). The Main Circle was on the east likewise embanked, when its ditch had become quite choked up.

⁶¹ *Pl. cxxiv*, 1-2, Evans type F 1-3: see below, p. 52, n. 130.

⁶² Pits 10, 13-19, 21-4, 29-35, 37-9, 45, 48-51, 54-6, 60, 62, 65, 69-71, 73, 75, 77, 80, 82, 84-9, 92; and probably 5, 6, 27, 28, 41, 44, 64. Pit 54 contained a secondary contracted burial with two early Roman (Claudian) brooches (*pp.* 195-6, *pl. cxxvi*, 8; *pl. c*, 10; *pl. ci*, 4). No doubt this pit (the bottom of which contained ears of wheat) is earlier than the NE. Enclosure ditch, which runs over it; but the pottery in this ditch is strongly pre-Roman, and I think the burial must be secondary to both pit and ditch.

⁶³ *Pl. civ*, 12, 13, *pp.* 133-4: cf. *Maiden Castle*, 281, fig. 93, 1, 2.

⁶⁴ First century, 42 (*pls. xcvi*, 7; *xcviii*, all; *xcix*, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8-11; *c*, all; *ci*, 1-5, 7, 10-11), and the penannulars, *cii*, 15, *ciii*, 14, if not pre-Roman. Second century, 10 (*xcvii*, 1, 3, 8-12; *xcix*, 1; *cii*, 14, 16).

⁶⁵ The greater part of all the Roman-period pottery found.

⁶⁶ *cxxv*; *cx*, 10-11: all late first to middle second century.

⁶⁷ *Pp.* 188-9.

⁶⁸ Nos. 9, 26, 36, 43, 46, 47, 57-9, 61, 78; and probably 3, 7, 63, 68, 72, 74, 76.

This brings us to the concluding phase of the occupation. The coarse pottery runs into the third century, but dies away within it. Out of 18,932 sherds recorded altogether,⁶⁹ there are only 26 examples of the mainly late-Roman flanged pie-dish rim (as fig. 5, *h-i*), and only 51 of the distinctive store-jar 'rope-rim' which began to be made in the middle of the third century in the New Forest potteries,⁷⁰ then first established,⁷¹ 16 miles away across the Avon. Of the characteristic New Forest colour-coated ware, which appeared first with their 'middle' period of production, about 290,⁷² there are only 17 sherds, with one restorable thumb-pot.⁷³ And there are only 4 third-century coins: one of Gallienus (253-268), one of Tetricus (270-273), and two *Æ* 3 radiates illegible.⁷⁴ There are only two extended burials (p. 37) to be assigned to this time. Fourth-century material is entirely lacking.

The Rotherley settlement, then, never grew much beyond the size of a single-farm community, with probably one substantial house, but not probably more than three houses when at its largest. Its simple British farming-economy, set up about a generation before the Roman conquest, continued thereafter for some 250 years, with little materially added to it, and much of its produce annually taken from it. At last, in the bad times of the middle and later third century, its modest prosperity dwindled and gave out altogether, and towards 300 it was abandoned, never to be restored.

With this we must now compare what the General found at Woodcuts.

3. WOODCUTS

References in italics are to Vol. I of the 'Excavations in Cranborne Chase', 1887.

The settlement-site on Woodcuts Common, in the Dorset parish of Handley, lies a mile and 370 yards south-east of the Rotherley site, on a gentle southward slope at rather under 500 ft. O.D. Its total area is about 4 acres, more compact than Rotherley, but, as we shall see, more intensively inhabited. It was the first of these sites that General Pitt-Rivers excavated: he did this between October 1884 and December 1885; the main report (*pp.* 7-39) is followed by full description of the chief finds (*pp.* 41 *ff.*), and a complete set of small-printed relic tables (*pp.* 189-254). Through the lynchets of Celtic fields which adjoin it, a twin-ditched roadway approaches it from the south-east, with an oval earthwork like a small amphitheatre, called 'Church Barrow' made upon it at one point (p. 48 below). The ditches of this 'Southern Fosseway', as the General called it, open out when they reach the settlement-site; into its other side there leads a 'Northern Fosseway', twin-ditched likewise. Between these two approaches the General recovered the complicated site-plan reproduced in his *pl. ii*, which is familiar from its reproduction by R. G. Collingwood in his *Archaeology of Roman Britain*, fig. 37 (p. 154), as that of a typical 'Romano-British Village'. It may be well so to take Woodcuts as a type-site; but it will not be well to go on doing so, unless we understand what the

⁶⁹ P. III.

⁷⁰ Heywood Sumner, *Excavations at East Grimstead, Wilts* (1924), 46, on pl. x, 19; *Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites* (1927), 18, 38, 55, 65, 68, 74 (type-fig.), 80, 98, 110; initial date, *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii (1938), 127.

⁷¹ *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii, 124-8.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 126-8.

⁷³ P. III; p. 142, *pl. cviii*, 1.

⁷⁴ P. 189.

General's own account of it makes clear, namely, that the plan is not all of one period, but of three. The history of the site in fact falls into three successive phases. These we have planned in sequence in fig. 6. The plan of the whole only seems complicated because it shows them superimposed upon each other: separate them, and each is revealed as simple. The evidence justifying this, and allowing the phases to be approximately dated, is really quite reasonably clear.

Phase I. The settlement was founded at the same time as Rotherley. There is one La Tene I brooch, which can have been made as late as the first century B.C.,⁷⁵ and three La Tene III brooches of the 'Colchester' Belgic variety.⁷⁶ The three British silver coins are of the same type Evans FI-3 as found at Rotherley, and the bronze one of the related type G5-6.⁷⁷ As for the pottery, just as at Rotherley, it begins with an inseparable combination of bead-rim, necked, and other types representing a mature stage of the Dorset Iron Age B culture,⁷⁸ and of Belgic types which can all have hailed from SE. Britain, invariably wheel-made and often elegantly cordoned.⁷⁹ There is also one piece of late, ornamented 'Iron Age AB' ware,⁸⁰ and of hand-made gritted ware one bowl,⁸¹ and one piece (fig. 5, e, pink-brown to blackish) which suggests local potters trying laboriously to 'go Belgic'.⁸² The occupation will then have begun with the intrusion of Belgic culture into the region, between about A.D. 10 and 25.⁸³ Pottery of this pre-Roman character occurred in at least 32, and probably 39, of the 78 relic-yielding pits found,⁸⁴ and in sufficient quantity in the system of ditches shown in the Phase I plan in fig. 6, to leave no doubt of the Phase I dating of it as a whole.

This forms a roughly circular enclosure, some 300 ft. across. The ditches of the southern roadway, which their pottery shows were certainly pre-Roman, open out to embrace its southern portion. On the east there is then an entrance-gap, 28 ft. wide, and beyond it the E. Ditch, 5 ft. deep and up to 8 ft. wide, shown likewise by its pottery to be originally pre-Roman. After a narrow gap comes the original 50-ft. length of the NE. Ditch, up to nearly 6 ft. wide and about 6 ft. deep, which ended in the pit-like enlargement called 'pit 88'. No ditch of Phase I can be proved between this and the northern roadway-ditches, 90 ft. farther on; but beyond these was the similar ditch called the 'Northern Cross Ditch', 9 ft. by 4 and 110 ft. long, which was later cut (p. 48, n. 112) by the 'Main Ditch' of Phase III. Between its end and that of the southern ditch there was in Phase I a gap, 120 ft. wide. Nearly all the pits that appear pre-Roman from their pottery lie within the enclosure,

⁷⁵ Pl. xiv, 2, p. 49; no. 3 in Fox's and Gray's lists cited above, p. 39, n. 51; dating, Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 253.

⁷⁶ Pl. xi, 7, p. 44; pl. xiii, 11, p. 48; pl. xiv, 10, p. 49; cf. p. 39 above, n. 55.

⁷⁷ Allen, in *Maiden Castle*, 330-1.

⁷⁸ On pp. 99 ff., compare the following with the Rotherley and Maiden Castle series cited above, p. 39, n. 57: (pls.) xxxii, 2, 8, 10; xxxiii, 4-6; xxxiv, 8; xxxv, 3, 10, 11; xxxix, 1-3; liii, 7.

⁷⁹ Compare *ibid.* the following with the Rotherley and Maiden Castle series cited above, p. 39, n. 58: (pls.) xxxii, 4, 9; xxxiii, 7-8; xxxv, 2, 4-9, 12; xxxvi, 11. Pl. xxxv, 5, from pit 86, is *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxvii, 248, fig. 21, 5 (cf. 208, 216).

⁸⁰ Pl. xxxvi, 8, p. 107; cf. p. 39 above, n. 56.

⁸¹ Pl. xxxiv, 2, from pit 20; cf. the Hengistbury Class C.

⁸² Drawn in Museum: from bottom of the E. Ditch (in relic table as 'apparently British', p. 203).

⁸³ Pp. 40-1 above, nn. 59-61.

⁸⁴ Pits 5, 9, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20-8, 39, 51, 53, 56-9, 67, 71, 73, 74, 77, 82, 83, 85, 89, 93; and probably 12, 19, 55, 68-70, and 79. Pits 23 and 28 contained contracted burials in the pre-Roman manner: 23 is in the line of the southern roadway-ditch, which it probably post-dates; but neither burial need be as late as Roman. See pp. 33-6, pl. viii, nos. 5, 7.

mostly in two groups in the south-west and north-east of it. There is plenty of room for a large house in the middle of it, beside the way through it between the entrances; if there were other houses, there is not room for many. But this was the General's first excavation of such a site, and he recognized no post-holes, nor other traces of vanished structure. The areas marked by us 'Working-Hollows' in fig. 6 are so identified from their obvious resemblance to those at Little Woodbury.⁸⁵ How large they yet were in pre-Roman times one cannot say; but the pottery from at least the two larger of them shows that they only ceased to be used at a date well within the Roman period.

Phase I thus shows us a compact settlement within a quite deep but intermittent ring-ditch, established early in the first century A.D. by a substantial but quite possibly a single-farm community of Belgicized Britons, practising the regular Wessex Iron Age farm-economy, with winnowing in working-hollows and grain-storage in pits. And it continued, without any hint of interruption at the Roman conquest,⁸⁶ well into Roman times. Roman material of between the middle first and the later second century occurred not only over the surface, but in the ditch-fillings, the working-hollows, and in at least 29, probably 35, of the pits.⁸⁷ This, as at Rotherley (p. 41), is a distinctly small number relatively to that for the much shorter pre-Roman period, and so again suggests yearly official requisitions of grain, (see below, p. 79). But both Samian⁸⁸ and coarse pottery⁸⁹ of this period is well represented—though a few pieces of Gallo-Belgic butt-beaker, fig. 5, *f*⁹⁰ and three others,⁹¹ may be of pre-Roman introduction, as at Colchester and elsewhere.⁹² Amongst much other material, brooches of the same period are numerous.⁹³ Lastly, the Roman coin-list, for the period to Commodus inclusive, is the following:⁹⁴

Caligula	..	..	I	Faustina I ..	..	7
Claudius	..	..	2	M. Aurelius	..	4
Nero	..	..	2	Faustina II	..	I
Vespasian	..	..	2	Lucilla	..	I
Domitian	..	..	I	Commodus ..	..	I
Nerva	..	..	I			
Trajan	..	..	6	Unidentified, other		
Hadrian	..	..	II	than Æ3 assigned		
Antoninus Pius	..	..	5	to later date	..	7
				Total ..	..	52

⁸⁵ These are the General's 'Ditch Cluster' (p. 11), in which were the bottoms of several earlier pits, one (pit 61) with early Roman pottery; the 'Roman Excavation' around pit 29 (p. 14); and 'pit 46' (on which see p. 224).

⁸⁶ The Museum has a short iron sword from the site, complete with hilt and apparently British. The southern ditch produced one Roman iron catapult-arrowhead, *pl. xxix*, 22, p. 91, of the type of *Maiden Castle*, fig. 93, 3-13.

⁸⁷ Pits 1-4, 8, 10, 11, 13, 30, 32-4, 38, 40, 42, 43, 45, 47, 50, 52, 54, 60-2, 84, 86, 90-2; and probably 7, 16, 31, 44, 48, 49 (unfinished well-shaft?). See *pp.* 33-6, with *pl. viii*, for the contracted burials in pits 4 (one) and 62 (three, including the murdered child of Collingwood,

R. Brit. & Engl. Settmnts., 318: but we do not know by whom murdered, nor how late).

⁸⁸ The pieces figured are (*pls.*) *xxxii*, 3 (not imitation), 7; *xxxvii*, 7; *xli-xliii*; *xlvi*, 9-11; *liii*, 10.

⁸⁹ Figured: (*pls.*) *xxxii*, 6; *xxxiii*, 2; *xxxiv*, 1, 3, 4, 6; *xxxvi*, 1-3, 5-6; and various others on *xxxviii-xl*.

⁹⁰ Vol. II, *pl. cxvi*, 1, drawn in the Museum with the addition of a second sherd not there shown.

⁹¹ *Pl. xxxvi*, 10, 12; *liii*, 8.

⁹² Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum*, 237-8, on forms *III*, etc., *III*2.

⁹³ *Pl. x*, 2-6, 8-11; *xi*, 1-6, 8-10; *xii*, 1-2, 4, 6-10; *xiii*, 3-4, 6-7, 9-10; *xiv*, 1, 3-9; *xvi*, 10.

⁹⁴ *Pp.* 152-6, 160, 161-2 (where the coin is M & S Trajan 785), *pls. liv-lvi* and *Table* following.

WOODCUTS, DORSET.

(AFTER PITT-RIVERS 1885)

BELGIC & ROMANO-BRITISH SETTLEMENT

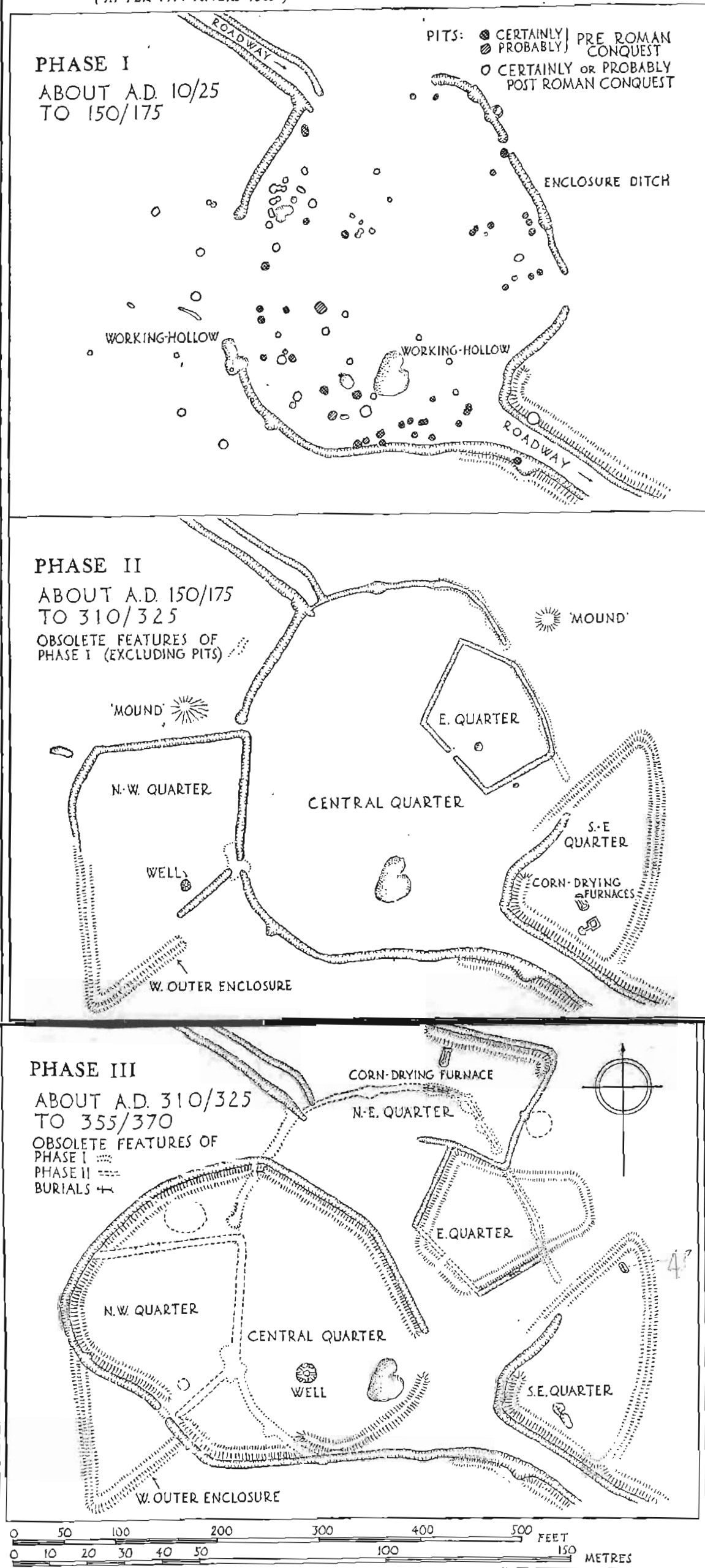


FIG. 6. WOODCUTS. PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT, SHOWING THE THREE SUCCESSIVE PHASES

This list, with the finds in general, shows a modest prosperity under Roman rule during the first two centuries. Actually, it takes us beyond Phase I and into Phase II.

Phase II. A kite-shaped enclosure, ditched and embanked, measuring about 280 by 150 ft., was now added on the west of the Phase I circle, with its inner side blocking the gap in the original ring-ditch, with narrow openings only at either end (the southern across the now evidently filled-up working-hollow there). Of this enclosure the General only excavated the portion inside the 'Main Ditch' of Phase III; but the portion outside this is clearly integral to it, being so planned as to leave a 'staggered' entrance on the south (masked later by the Phase III ditch), which was the only entrance the enclosure had. Since this leads outside the main circle and not into it, the enclosure was presumably one for cattle or sheep. It contained a well, 136 ft. deep, which was artificially filled later, presumably when the site was re-planned at the start of Phase III, with material including pottery of early and middle Roman age.⁹⁵ The initial date of the enclosure, and thus of Phase II as a whole, can be inferred from the chief finds in its north-eastern or 'interior' ditch. This had the mid-second-century brooch *pl. x, 3* (Collingwood 64, group Sii) almost right on its bottom (*p. 41*), and the contemporary Samian bowl *pl. xli, form 37*, thrown into it complete (in 18 pieces) when it was only 6 in. filled (*pp. 11, 119*).⁹⁶ It was dug not too late for one of the British coins (*pl. liv, 2, p. 151*) to have slipped on to its bottom, and for the five Roman coins in its filling to begin with Antoninus Pius (*p. 192*): they run on to Constantine, but hardly any of the pottery in it need be as late as the fourth century, and it was clearly quite filled up in Phase III. On this combination of evidence it seems safe to date it, and so Phase II altogether, from about A.D. 150-175.

The two similar but smaller angular enclosures in the other side of the circle seem to belong to the same phase. That on the south-east (the 'S.E. Quarter') was only partly excavated; but it uses the Phase I ditch between the south and east entrances as its inner side, and the material found within it, and in that ditch, is at least consistent with this dating. It was still used in Phase III, but its two well-made corn-drying furnaces ('hypocausts' 1 and 2, *pls. vi-vii*: see p. 37) may be of Phase II. Pit-storage, however, was apparently now dying out, for only three pits (6, 76, 78) need be thought from their contents to be perhaps so late. The other or 'E. Quarter' enclosure was formed by digging a ditch 3 ft. deep on an angular plan, with an entrance on its inner side, inwards from the original East Ditch. The latter, now full to the same depth, was found at one place to have a floor-like deposit of plaster on its bottom at this level (*p. 203*). This suggests a plasterer's work-floor, and some quantity of painted plaster was found in various parts of the site (*p. 145, pl. li*): it may have been in use in any part or all of the Roman period, but we can say little else of the dwellings which it adorned. These two enclosures must have required a slight shift in the position of the east entrance. And the North-East Ditch, also by this time full to a depth of 3 ft., was now extended, at that depth, to meet the north entrance;⁹⁷ it ends as a gutter dug across the entrance-roadway.

⁹⁵ This is the 'Small Well': *p. 10, pl. v*, and *p. 193*.

⁹⁶ At 3 ft., the maximum bottom-depth being 3 ft. 6 in. (*p. 191*).

⁹⁷ This is quite clear from *pp. 19* and *38-9*,

with *pl. ix, fig. 11*, describing the two skeletons later interred extended in the end ('pit 88') of the deeper or Phase I portion of the ditch: it was from its 3-ft. or Phase II bottom-level that their grave was dug down into the Phase I filling.

Phase II thus retained the original Phase I circle-ditch, though partly filled up now (and encroached on by various pits), as the main boundary of the settlement, but added three angular enclosures to it, two outside and one inside. That the chief habitation of the site was still near the middle, between the two main groups of Phase I pits, may be supposed from the discovery here, within an oblong area of 'depression' and near a hearth, of the remains of a bronze-mounted ornamental casket, with glass, a silver spoon, a penannular brooch, etc., and 31 bronze and 6 silver coins, from Claudius I to Claudius II (268-70).⁹⁸ This strongly suggests a hoard abandoned inside a dwelling in decay in the later third century. All the site's identified third-century coins belong to that period, from Valerian and Gallienus to Carausius and Allectus—i.e. struck between 253 and 296. They are the following :⁹⁹

Valerian	..	..	1	Probus	..	..	1
Gallienus	..	..	9	Carausius	..	..	10
Victorinus	..	..	7	Allectus	..	..	6
Claudius II	..	..	14	Unidentified	Æ3,		
Tetricus I	..	..	26	probably Tetricus			
Tetricus II	..	..	9	(or radiate copies of			
				this or later date)	..	47	
				Total	..	..	130

There are a few third-century brooches;¹⁰⁰ and New Forest pottery duly begins to appear.¹⁰¹ But it cannot be supposed that in these bad times the place did not suffer decay, if not actual interruption of its life. Anyhow, at the beginning of Phase III, it was judged to need radical re-planning.

There remains one feature of Phase II worth further notice, namely the two 'Mounds' just outside the circle-ditch, one on the north-west, beside the angular enclosure, and one on the north-east. The former at least seems probably a barrow : 14 in. deep in it, on its east side, was the urn *pl. xxxiv*, 7, full of burnt bones, and the disappearance of any more central deposit may be due to a previous excavation by J. H. Austen in 1863, which was only cursorily published.¹⁰² At any rate, the General's stratification shows that it is earlier than the bank of the Phase III 'Main Ditch' (*pl. iv*, section 1); and that it is later than the middle second century is shown by abundant pottery found on the old ground-surface under it (*pp. 199-200*), three pieces of which are shown in *fig. 5, g, h, i*. The north-eastern mound also overlay pottery of that age (*p. 206*), but no burial-deposit in it could be found.

Phase III. The coins and pottery from the site make it quite clear that after the end of the third century the occupation was revived for a further phase, in which it continued for at least fifty years within the fourth century. The reign of

⁹⁸ *Pp. 14, 61-7* (with *pls. xix-xxi*), 161-2.

⁹⁹ *Pp. 155-60, pls. lv-lvi*, and *Table* following.

¹⁰⁰ *Pl. x, 1, 7*; and perhaps *xiii, 2, 5*.

¹⁰¹ On 'rope-rims' see *p. III*, on *pl. xxxviii*, 9-11; I regard the single pieces in pits as strays, but 31 came from the interior ditch of the W. angular enclosure (*p. 192*), and 5 from the length of circle-ditch just N. of it (*p. 199*),

which also produced *pl. xlvii, 5*, and 1 other piece of New Forest colour-coated ware; the ditches of the W. angular enclosure produced 48 of this (*pp. 192-3*), but the other ditches earlier than Phase III hardly any.

¹⁰² *Pp. 14, 199*; *Arch. Journ.*, xxiv, 168-9; cf. *pp. 7-9*.

Constantine I, A.D. 307-337, produced eight coins (including one of his son Crispus, two Constantinopolis, and two Urbs Roma); there is one of Constans (337-350), and finally one of Magnentius (350-353).¹⁰³ These, with the fair representation of New Forest pottery-types of the early and middle (but not the late) fourth century,¹⁰⁴ may be allowed to date this Phase III from between about 310-325, to some time after 350/5 but before the years about 370, when one would expect coins of Valentinian I and Valens.

Thus, when Rotherley was given up, Woodcuts was renewed;¹⁰⁵ and the site-plan well shows how.

The old southern and northern approaches remained, but almost every other existing ditched feature of the site was done away with, and new ones made, cutting across the earlier ditches (fig. 6). Those were now mostly obliterated, whereas the new banks and ditches are still visible on the surface (pp. 8-9). The chief feature is a new main circle-enclosure, running out west from the middle of the old one, and taking in most of the Phase II angular enclosure. Opposite the well in this (now filled), an entrance was left into its outer portion, which was therefore retained in use. The 'SE. Quarter' enclosure was also retained, at least for burials, of which two of this age were found in it, one extended evidently in a coffin,¹⁰⁶ the second in a pit adjoining its two corn-drying furnaces (and perhaps intended for another), accompanied by a coin of Constantine.¹⁰⁷ The 'E. Quarter' enclosure, which had another late-Roman burial in its ditch,¹⁰⁸ was enlarged, with a new bank projecting beyond the old East Ditch and partly oversailing the Phase II enclosure-ditch within it. Finally, the north side of this was made the south side of a new enclosure, the 'NE. Quarter', which disregarded the old NE. Ditch,¹⁰⁹ and contained another corn-drying furnace.¹¹⁰ These outlying enclosures contained little occupation-material, and were probably intended mainly to serve farm purposes. The greater amount of such material was found within the 'Main Ditch' circle—the General's 'Central' and 'NW.' Quarters—and in the Main Ditch itself: here, evidently, was the main dwelling-area. Whatever the number and location of its dwellings,¹¹¹ the general look of things does not suggest to me a population of more than a few dozen people at the most.

However, the phase was begun with enterprise and effort. The Main Ditch circle is 280 ft. in average diameter, giving an area of over an acre within its bank.

¹⁰³ P. 161, pl. lvi, and Table following.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. (pls.) xxxiii, 1, 3; xxxiv, 5; xxxv, 1 (see vol. III, p. 144, on no. 3); xxxvi, 4, 7, 9; xxxvii, 1-6, 8-9; xxxviii, 3, 5, and the 'rope-rims' 9-II (which had begun to appear earlier: p. 46, n. 101); xl, 1, 4-7, 9-II; xlvii, 8. These represent the New Forest potters' activity, continued from the late third century, over about the first two-thirds of the fourth century but not after; cf. Heywood Sumner, *Excavations in New Forest Roman Pottery Sites* (1927), pls. III, VII-XII, XVII-XVIII, XXI, XXXI-XXXIV; and for the chronology *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii, 126-8 (with pp. 68-70, 72, 75 here below).

¹⁰⁵ Rotherley, out of 18,932 pieces of pottery recorded, had 51 of 'rope-rim' and 17 of colour-coated New Forest ware; Woodcuts, out of 27,721, had 186 and 218. See vol. II, III.

¹⁰⁶ No. 10, in pit 64: pp. 37-8, pl. ix, 9.

¹⁰⁷ No. 11, in pit 65: *ibid.*, 8.

¹⁰⁸ No. 9: p. 34, pl. viii, 2.

¹⁰⁹ Into 'pit 88' in which there was now dug the grave noticed above, p. 45, n. 97 for skeletons 12 and 13 (pp. 38-9: done to death by stoning?).

¹¹⁰ 'Hypocaust No. 3', p. 30, pl. vi; see P. 37.

¹¹¹ The area contained four hearths, and near the two westernmost a short length of drain-ditch; but these cannot now be dated.

This 'Main Rampart'¹¹² was not very high: the two third-century coins found beneath it (of Victorinus and Carausius, *p.* 9) can be taken to confirm its fourth-century date, but they could possibly have worked down through it from above. Yet the effort made in re-planning the site with all its new ditches and banks was considerable. And it was now, too, apparently, that the small but solid earthwork amphitheatre was erected, 130 yards SE. of the site, over the ditches of the southern approach-road; for the pottery beneath its embankments included not only Samian, but New Forest colour-coated sherds.¹¹³ Lastly, Phase III seems certainly the date of the 'large' Roman well, found towards the south of the Central Quarter. Its filling contained little pottery, but the only datable types are fourth-century;¹¹⁴ and it must surely have been abandoned at the very end of the occupation, for its mouth was left to cave in so as to give the appearance of a dry pond (*p.* 13), and at its bottom there still lay the bucket that had been used to draw its water (*pl.* xxviii, 3-6). Its cylindrical shaft, 4 ft. across, had true-cut putlog-holes on each side (*pl.* iv, v) right down it, and was 188 ft. deep; this is 52 ft. deeper than the Phase II well (*p.* 45), but both wells were found equally dry, and since neighbouring modern wells get water only at still greater depths, the General could discuss and illustrate (*pp.* 27-8, *pl.* v) the fall in water-table since Roman times.¹¹⁵ Indeed, the clearing of land may have hastened this process already within Roman times.

Woodcuts, then, was a more prosperous place than Rotherley, never large, but judged worth renewal in the fourth century—perhaps in connexion with the shift from mainly arable to mainly pastoral farming which we mentioned above (*pp.* 33-5). It was finally abandoned after about 355 and before about 370—a time of insecurity and crisis, of which we shall see more in section 5 below.

4. IWERNE

Neither the Woodcuts nor the Rotherley excavations, nor those at Woodyates which followed in 1888-90 (*pp.* 62-78), showed any stone or flint foundations of buildings in Roman style, as of the familiar 'Roman villa'. That 'villas' may have been excluded from the Cranborne Chase and Salisbury Plain uplands deliberately (*p.* 32) is a point to which we shall return below (*p.* 71). But that they were not excluded from the lower ground of the surrounding valleys is shown by the Hemsworth 'villa' long known near Badbury Rings, and by the East Grimstead

¹¹² It is plainly wrong to read the General's plan (*pl.* ii) as showing this breached by the various earlier ditches which it encounters. It may have 'dipped' somewhat over them, and where its ditch joins the Phase I circle-ditch on the south it is slightly dislocated (beside Section EF, *pl.* iv, where the extended skeleton no. 7 was buried under it: *p.* 34, *pl.* viii, 3). But the conclusive point is where it crossed that ditch's NW. portion (the 'Northern Cross Ditch'): in the filling of that was buried skeleton no. 8 (*pp.* 34-5, *pl.* viii, 4), which is clearly stated to have lain extended in the line of the Main Rampart and beneath its crest, which therefore must have run continuously over the filled ditch.

¹¹³ *Pp.* 23-4, *pl.* iii; pottery, 207-8. See

Collingwood, *Arch. R. B.*, 106-7: arena size, 50 by 70 ft. The plan of the road-ditches shows that there was something here before, not otherwise recognizable; but there is no questioning the late date of the embankments. The isolated pits (e.g. 66, *pp.* 24-5) and corn-drying furnace (*p.* 37: 'Hypocaust No. 4', *p.* 30, *pl.* vi, with secondary contracted burial, *pl.* ix, 10, skeleton no. 14, *p.* 38), scattered amongst the fields around the settlement (*pl.* 1) are of various ages.

¹¹⁴ *P.* 198: wall-sided mortarium, *pl.* xxxiii, 1; red flanged bowls, *pls.* xxxviii, 5; xxxv, 1 (cf. vol. III, 144, no. 3).

¹¹⁵ Cf. J. P. Williams-Freeman, *Field Archaeology as ill. by Hampshire*, 117-19.

and Rockbourne cases noticed above (pp. 32-3). A contrast between upland 'villages' and lower-lying 'villas' in fact, is now commonly recognized. But what is not commonly recognized is that in 1897, in the last excavations of his life, General Pitt-Rivers found both 'village' and 'villa' characters together on one site. The site is on Park House Farm, half a mile north of the Dorset village of Iwerne Courtenay (or Shroton), a little inside the parish of Iwerne Minster, and now near the grounds of Clayesmore School. It lies at about 230 ft. O.D., just below the west chalk scarp of Cranborne Chase and the jutting hill-fort of Hambledon (fig. 1, p. 28), down on the Upper Greensand shelf between the Fontmell and the Iwerne brooks, which flow, 2 and 3 miles to the west and south, into the river Stour.

In situation the place is not unlike the Early Iron Age site at All Cannings Cross, on the shelf below the chalk scarp in the Vale of Pewsey; and it was first settled, as we shall see, in the Early Iron Age likewise. But what attracted attention to it were traces of its Roman occupation; and the General (on whose property it was), after he had had it brought to his notice in 1891 by the neighbouring landowner, the clerical baronet and antiquary Sir Talbot Baker,¹¹⁶ and had confirmed Sir Talbot's findings in a trial excavation of his own in 1895,¹¹⁷ instituted full-scale digging there in the autumn of 1897, on and around the site of the Roman buildings. The work reached Christmastide, but the hoped-for continuation of it¹¹⁸ was prevented by his ill-health. Within little more than two years he died, leaving the work of publication never to be completed.

Yet there remain in his Museum at Farnham the coins, the brooches, some other finds including a little of the pottery, and a finely executed wooden model to the scale of 8 ft. to the inch, which gives a full three-dimensional representation of the discoveries, and is painted with the locations of all the principal finds by name and number. The General's chief Archaeological Assistant at this time was Mr. Harold St. George Gray. He worked on the site throughout the excavations in that capacity, made various drawings and a series of photographs (some coloured) which still survive, and himself drew the master-plan, and also the simplified version of it from which the model, under his personal direction, was cut and painted for the Museum. It is thus to Mr. Gray, who continued at this work throughout the time of the General's last illnesses, that archaeology owes the saving of enough vital fact about the excavation to make some account of it possible to-day, fifty years after the event.

Plainly, the account can only be brief, and must be in part conjectural; but Mr. Gray has most generously helped both in its preparation and its final revision, and has, moreover, consented to preface it with a personal note of reminiscence. I wish to express once again here my deep appreciation of his kindness.

¹¹⁶ *Proc. Dorset F.C.*, xii (1891), p. xxxiii. I owe this and the three following references to the kindness of Miss M. V. Taylor, C.B.E., F.S.A.

¹¹⁷ *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, n.s. ii (1896), 111-12; the General here published a Roman roof-tile roughly marked with a cross

within a circle, with a suggestion that it was intended for the Christian symbol, which however Haverfield, in *The Antiquary*, xxxiii (1897), 16, was not willing to accept.

¹¹⁸ Boyd Dawkins in *Arch. Journ.*, lvii (1900), 68.

THE EXCAVATIONS AT IWERNE, 1897

By H. ST. GEORGE GRAY

Owing to the increasing infirmities of General Pitt-Rivers* the excavation of the Roman building at Iwerne was never completed, and as far as the General's own description of the site was concerned he wrote, as far as I can recollect, only a very few foolscap sheets.

Allusion was made to the work at Iwerne in *A Memoir of Lieut.-General Pitt-Rivers* (p. xxvii), which formed part of my Index volume to *Excavations* and *King John's House, Tollard Royal* (1905). This volume was regarded as Volume V of the *Excavations* series. Some of the Iwerne specimens for comparative purposes were mentioned in *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, published in 1911 and 1917.

I was in charge of the Iwerne excavations, and, as required, had the assistance of the late G. F. W. Johnson, who was a draughtsman on the staff for five years. The General was able to visit the site only about four times a week, driving in a landau and pair to and from his house, Rushmore, through the western part of Cranborne Chase, a distance of 16 miles (return).

At the height of the work no less than twenty-nine men and three boys were employed, the latter being required for washing the large amount of pottery and bones, which was packed in sacks and boxes, duly labelled on the ground, and conveyed to Rushmore by waggon, stored in a shed adjoining the stables, and eventually, I believe, destroyed.† One deplores this fact, as there was a large mass of material to sort and tabulate.

These excavations were begun in mid-September 1897, and continued through the finest autumn in my recollection, until December 22nd. There was heavy rain only on October 15th when the crouched human skeleton was uncovered in Pit 14 and prepared for record under an awning erected for the purpose. The following day it was fine, and we were blessed with glorious weather throughout the remaining weeks of the excavations.

In reading the Iwerne report by Professor Hawkes, with illustrations by Professor Piggott, one feels very grateful to them for having so assiduously taken in hand the story of Iwerne as it presents itself to them in the light of the information at present available: the chronology given is certainly as near as can be obtained on the evidence preserved.

It appears that the original plan and note-book containing the full list of numbered finds have been lost. But coloured drawings of the ornamented plaster walls remain, and at least one of the sets of my photographs of the buildings.

The interpretation of the site here offered has been built up first of all on Professor Piggott's work, carried out with Major Joyce's ready consent in the Museum in September 1947, of measuring and drawing a full-scale plan of the model; next, on the further study of it and of the coins, pottery, and other extant finds which I was able to make there in December as above recorded. The findings of the excavation could then be seen to fall into three successive phases, and Piggott's single plan traced off into three phase-plans; from my tracings he then made the comprehensive three-phase plan here published as fig. 7. In this we both feel a modest confidence; but for anything in it that may be called in question, I alone should bear responsibility.

Perhaps one day a fuller presentation will be possible, e.g. with Mr. Gray's photographs and colour-work; of the finds, I have here drawn only the five certainly pre-Roman pieces (fig. 8), the fourteen Roman-period brooches (fig. 9), and what seemed the five most useful pieces of Roman-period pottery (fig. 11). The Museum also has a little more such pottery, in fragments, including 15 of Samian (p. 54);

* General Pitt-Rivers died on May 4th, 1900. I was in close association with the General's archaeological work both in the field and study and not infrequently at his bedside.

† The last time I saw this store of pottery was when I went down from Oxford with the late Professor E. B. Tylor and Mr. Henry Balfour to attend the General's funeral.

IWERNE, DORSET. BELGIC AND ROMANO-BRITISH SETTLEMENT AND ROMANO-BRITISH BUILDINGS. AFTER PITT-RIVERS 1897

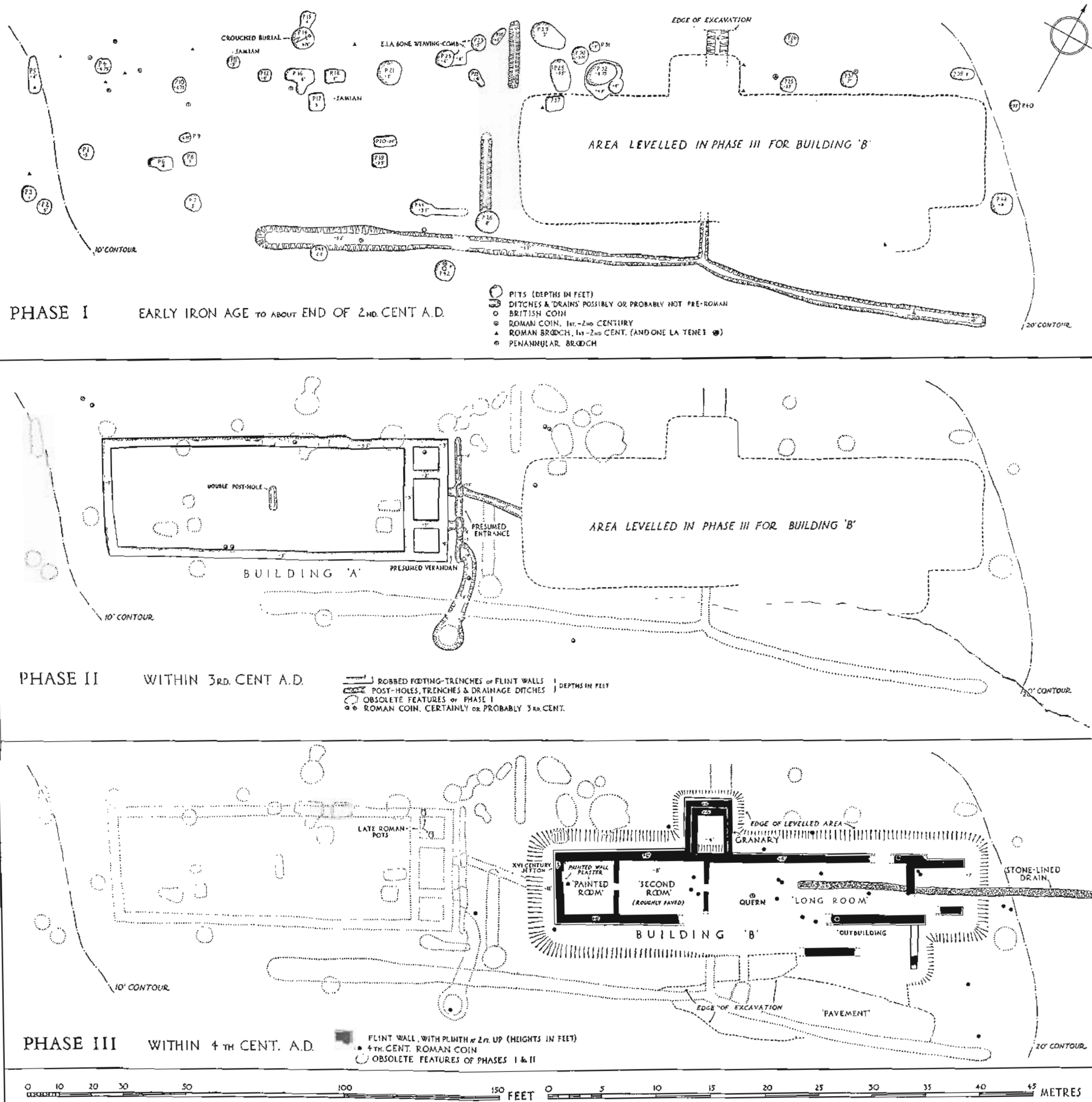


FIG. 7. IWERNE. PLAN OF THE SETTLEMENT AND BUILDINGS, SHOWING THE THREE SUCCESSIVE PHASES

8 fragments of Roman glass; pottery spindle-whorls; 1 bone whorl, and of Kimmeridge shale 8 whorls, with fragments of 5 bracelets and 1 of a ribbed chair-foot (?); a number of pieces of painted wall-plaster (p. 59); samples of stone paving-slabs; of roof-tiles, the cross-marked one already noted (p. 49, n. 117); fragments of rotary quern (p. 59); some sandstone rubbers; a clay crucible;¹¹⁹ a piece of sheet lead; two interesting iron knobs, vertically perforated; miscellaneous iron-work, including nails, keys,¹²⁰ knives, and ox-shoes; Roman bronze and bone pins, some with ornamental heads; small bronze tweezers, ear-picks, etc., and fragments of 4 bronze bracelets; and a base-silver spoon (shank broken) with oval bowl and square-notched 'drop' neck. There is also a complete human skull—presumably that of the skeleton found in pit 14 (p. 52).

All these various finds are exhibited, together with the model, as they were arranged and labelled by Mr. Trelawney Dayrell Reed when Curator of the Museum in 1935; the coins are not exhibited, but stored, each in a glass-topped 'pill-box', with its bottom inscribed in ink with the coin's identification, find-depth, and number corresponding to that of its location on the model.¹²¹ Numismatically, the coins could be examined in greater detail; to give completeness, the other finds could be catalogued minutely. But at present it seems best to concentrate on essentials. In the following short account, then, only those finds will be further noticed that bear most on the chronology of the site. Its three phases of occupation will simply be taken in turn, the evidence for each considered, and the results reviewed briefly in conclusion.

Phase I. Of the five extant finds which are definitely pre-Roman, the earliest is fig. 8, 1, a bronze La Tène I brooch.¹²² Sir Cyril Fox, classifying these brooches after Viollier and using a sketch by Mr. Gray,¹²³ recognized it as one of those British 'phase A' specimens which, whether fathered by Marnian invaders¹²⁴ or local natives,¹²⁵ have anyhow a reliable home now in the third century B.C.;¹²⁶ the settlement, then, may have begun as early, and certainly within the local Iron Age A. The bronze

¹¹⁹ Mentioned by St. George Gray in *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, i (1911), 303.

¹²⁰ Gray, *op. cit.*, ii (1915), 376, mentions a door-key and a 'latch-lifter' of iron.

¹²¹ In nine cases (nos. 52, 156, 168, 175 (two), 182, 183, 238, 246) where the model gives only the number and 'Roman coin', the identification is given on the box; in the tenth (31) neither model nor box gives the identification, but the obv. head of Hadrian is clear. The only coin with number absent from the model is 178: find-depth same as of 179, viz. 1.5 ft., so both in surface soil, probably near each other, perhaps together. There are altogether two British and forty-four Roman coins and one Nuremberg jetton: see lists given for each phase below.

¹²² First recorded by Gray, *op. cit.*, i, 185, no. 4.

¹²³ *Arch. Cambr.*, June 1927, 71 ff., fig. 5A (list, 104, no. 4), 77, with n. 4, where Gray gave its location on the model (no. 171); he had seen no ornament on it, but when drawing it in the Museum I could just discern a line of tiny punch-dots on each side of the bow. As he

stated, the pin is missing, spring corroded, condition otherwise fairly good.

¹²⁴ Hawkes, *Antiq. Journ.*, xx (1940), 119-21, 276-9; Fox, *Personality of Britain*, ed. 4 (1943), 36, 'disposed to agree'.

¹²⁵ Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 251-4: 'hang-over' (see next note).

¹²⁶ I mean, our 'A' specimens cannot reliably be put later than this, as can some 'B' and 'C' ones (pp. 39, 43), and only foreign typology puts them earlier. There is of course the Whitelot Bottom case, of a fragmentary specimen in a scrap hoard including Late Bronze Age pieces (Fox, 1927 list no. 57; *P.S.A.*, xx, 345; *Arch. Journ.*, xci, 281, 288, 292 (pins); Curwen, *Arch. of Sussex*, 205, 220-1, 227). But such pieces themselves may last later than this (Hagbourne Hill, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, v, 180); and I see no reliable home yet for La Tène I brooches with the Iron Age A immigrants of the earliest fourth century, from whom Dr. Wheeler suggests the type here 'hung over' to the third. The future may indeed prove him right. But will it teach us to tell an 'immigrant' from a 'hang-over' or either from a 'Marnian'?

belt-link, fig. 8, 3,¹²⁷ is later: the type is well known,¹²⁸ and the pin-centred disc sockets for four enamel bosses might place this example towards or around A.D. 1.¹²⁹ That would be about the middle of the period when British silver coins were current ;

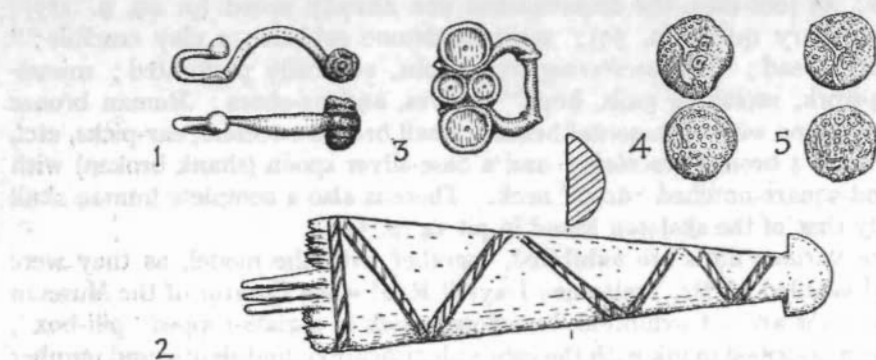


FIG. 8. IWERNE. THE EXTANT PRE-ROMAN FINDS

1, bronze La Tene I brooch ; 2, bone weaving-comb ; 3, bronze belt-link ; 4-5, British silver coins. All $\frac{1}{2}$ Farnham Museum

and the two here, fig. 8, 4-5, are of the type Evans F 1-3, which is characteristic of this region.¹³⁰ Lastly, fig. 8, 2, is a contemporary bone weaving-comb, of Mr. Gray's type 2:¹³¹ its incised cross-hatched zigzag ornament is paralleled once at the Glastonbury Lake-Village,¹³² and its D-shaped handle-end once at Maiden Castle, from a pit there dated about A.D. 1-25.¹³³ It was itself found in a pit, which it must date accordingly;¹³⁴ the site's pits and ditches may then be considered next.

Forty pits are shown on the model ; their sizes can be seen and depths read on the plan, fig. 7. In shape at the mouth, 27 are round or broad-oval,¹³⁵ 6 elongated or narrow-oval,¹³⁶ and 7 sub-rectangular.¹³⁷ In appearance, the two former sorts seem storage-pits of the regular Early Iron Age type : pit 14 contained a crouched burial in the Early Iron Age manner,¹³⁸ like those at Rotherley and Woodcuts ;

¹²⁷ Cited by Gray, *Glast. L.-V.*, i, 228, among 'harness-ornament' comparisons for his E 190, E 262, pl. XLIV. Of the 'other objects displaying Late Celtic art' which he mentions as found here with it, the model marks a 'British finger-ring' (8 ft. NW. of pit 11), no doubt as *ibid.*, 209 ff. ; *Maiden Castle*, 265-7 ; *Camulodunum*, 330 : same general period.

¹²⁸ Cf. that figured below from Old Sarum, p. 131, fig. 2. Lists : *Arch. Journ.*, xciii, 64 (on three from Hunsbury) ; *Maiden Castle*, 272 (on one dated there first century B.C.).

¹²⁹ Technique, *Antiq. Journ.*, xv, 351-3. A Colchester example, with almost exactly the same side-loop design, but the sockets reduced to small cups on the ring-surfaces, is probably not much later : *Camulodunum*, 329, fig. 60, 2 (again with list).

¹³⁰ Derek Allen in *Maiden Castle*, 330, with list (cf. Brooke, *Num. Chron.*, 1933, 109, map IV) including this site, Rotherley and Woodcuts ; 331, two Maiden Castle specimens from levels of c. A.D. 25-50. The Iwerne two are nos. 278-9

on the model : for 279, found over rather than in pit 42, see below, p. 57.

¹³¹ *Glast. L.-V.*, i, 266 ff., 275.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 295 and pl. XLVIII, H 255.

¹³³ *Maiden Castle*, 300-1, fig. 102, 10.

¹³⁴ *Glast. L.-V.*, i, 275, n. 4, and location on model : found in the extension of pit 24 connecting with pit 23, at 4.5 ft., on the bottom.

¹³⁵ Nos. 1-4, 7-11, 14, 21, 23, 24 (connecting with 23 by the S-shaped extension which contained the comb), 26, 28-32, 34-5, 37-40, 42, 43.

¹³⁶ Nos. 5, 6, 15 (annexe to 14), 22, 25, 44 (with 'drain'-like annexe).

¹³⁷ Nos. 12, 16 (with annexe), 17-20, 27 : see further below.

¹³⁸ This crouched skeleton, with head to NE., was found on October 15th, 1897, at the bottom of pit 14 ; the bottom of the pit was 6.8 ft. below the surface. Estimated stature (by Rollet's method) 5 ft. 8½ in. ; cephalic index 661 ; glabella-occipital length 191.5 mm. ; maximum width 126.5 mm. The skeleton was in excellent condition, and a drawing of it exists.—H.St.G.G.

and on general grounds alone, a proportion of them may certainly be supposed pre-Roman. A number, to be noticed below, are evidently earlier than the Phase II and III Roman buildings. But several are cut into by 'drains' or ditches themselves earlier than those. The two shorter of these ditches, at right angles to the long axis of the buildings, are set out from each other so as to suggest an oblique passageway between them, rather like the Belgic transverse ditches at Hembury Fort.¹³⁹ The southern one has been beheaded by a ditch connected with the Phase II building, but at its other end cuts into pit 26. Similarly, pit 43 is cut into by the southern edge (near its W. end) of the 'Main Drain'. This, 235 ft. long and deepening from 5 ft. at its west to 10 ft. at its east end, runs along the south side of the excavated area, mainly at right angles to the shorter ditches, but making a slight outward turn rather over half way along, at its meeting with a small feeder, running parallel to those, which was perhaps connected with the larger ditch seen alined with it on the north, before everything between them was removed by the excavation for the Phase III building (p. 58). Also, 60 ft. from its west end, the 'Main Drain' is crossed by the curved ditch, a foot shallower and therefore later, which runs to pit 42, beheading the 'drain' annexed to pit 44 on the way, from a corner-connexion with the Phase II building (p. 57). Therefore, on one or more occasions later than some pits and before those buildings, these various ditches were added to the lay-out of the site, on a rectangular plan which clearly, in the subsequent Phases, gave the buildings their general alinement.

In the 'Main Drain' were found one of the penannular and one of the other bronze brooches shown in fig. 9: since these are all Roman of the first and second centuries A.D., it was presumably open then; and one may reasonably take the whole rectangular ditch-plan (though the two shorter ditches might perhaps be Belgic) to be an addition of the early Roman period. One may compare the SW. Quarter at Rotherley (p. 41). Yet pits, as at Rotherley and Woodcuts also, were still in use then: for the model records pit 5 as containing, with two bone pins and an iron cleat and knife, an iron brooch which must be fig. 9, 1 or 2, of early Roman date. Moreover, the seven sub-rectangular pits, and also the 'drain' of pit 44, are alined with the ditch-plan; and since all but two of these must precede the Phase II building (see below), it seems reasonable to believe that all do, and that this sort of pit is a feature of the same early Roman period.

The occupation, therefore, just as at the other two sites, having begun within the Early Iron Age, will have run on through early Roman times with its pit-using farm system persisting; and its lay-out only modified (within our perception) by some new rectangular planning.

Since the excavations were never taken beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the later buildings, more cannot be said; but the plan as we have it certainly suggests that the focus of occupation, in this Phase I, lay just north-west of the excavated area. Most of the pits are on that side; and while the scatter of small finds which the model records naturally covers most of the ground around the buildings, the distribution of the pits and ditches is closely followed (fig. 7) by that of the three classes of Roman find that can be securely dated before the third

¹³⁹ Dorothy Liddell, *Proc. Devon Arch. Explor. Soc.*, i, pt. 3, 162, pl. III. Those at Winkelbury Camp, of the same age (pp. 30-2) are similarly

set out, but more so; the General thought this was for speedy driving in of cattle: *Excavations*, ii, 234-6, with pl. CXLIV.

century A.D.—the Samian, the brooches of fig. 9, and the coins to Commodus inclusive.

The Samian indeed may not all have been preserved. But the two locations of it on the model both adjoin the pits by the north wall of the Phase II building; and of the 16 pieces in the Museum (first century: 6 of form 29, 3 of 37; second

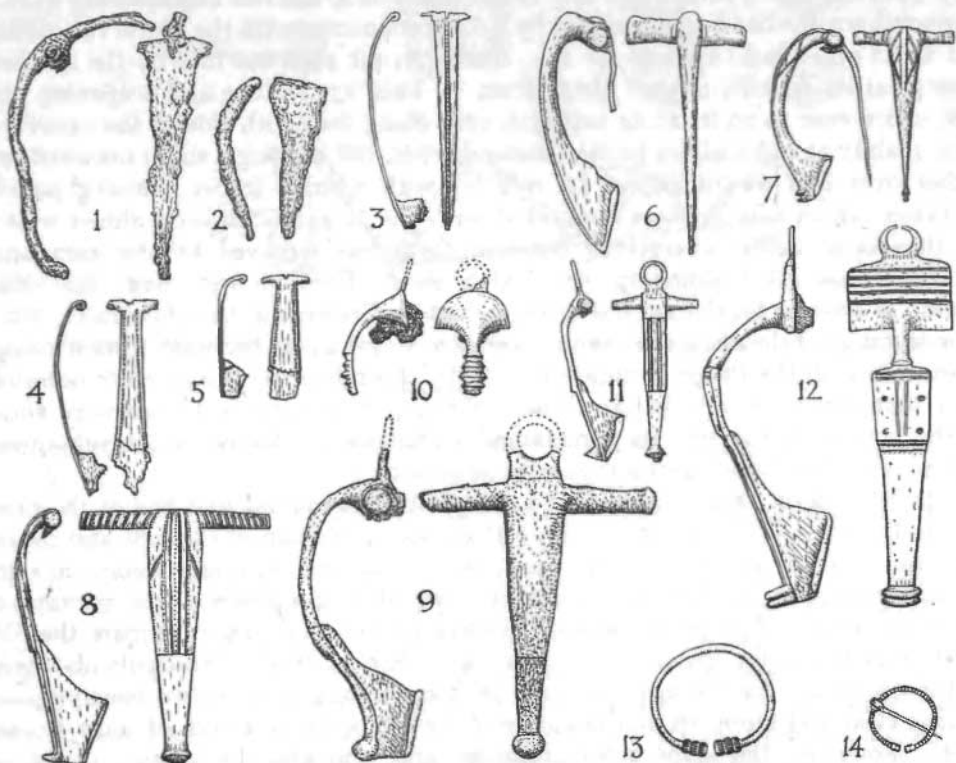


FIG. 9. IWERNE. THE ROMANO-BRITISH BROOCHES

1-2, iron; 3-14, bronze. All $\frac{1}{2}$

Farnham Museum

century: 1 of 30, 1 of 31, 2 of 37, 1 of 38, and 2 bases stamped, one DOCCALVS F (Hadrianic), the other illegible), all except the 30 and the DOCCALVS base are marked as found in or beside the area of that building, and with the following stratification. The 31, the 38, the illegible stamp, and one second-century 37 came from the 'third spit' dug, and so were at some depth; and four of the 29's and the three first-century 37's had a 'pavement of flints'—inside the building and presumably belonging to it—stratified above them. The Samian, in fact, should antedate the building, and be taken together with the pits.

The brooches (fig. 9) begin in the first century, with hinge-brooches, flattish-bowed in iron (nos. 1, 2)¹⁴⁰ or bronze (3, 4, tinned; 5),¹⁴¹ and next of heavier bronze

¹⁴⁰ As Woodcuts, *Excavations*, i, pls. XII, 2; XIV, 5; Rotherley, *ibid.*, ii, pl. CI, 3-5, 7, 10.

¹⁴¹ Woodcuts, pl. XIII, 4 (pit 91); Rotherley, pl. c, 3, 10 (on skeleton, pit 54); *Maiden Castle*, fig. 84, 19-25: all before c. A.D. 70.

'dolphin' (6, 7)¹⁴² or more ornamental type (8).¹⁴³ Head-looped developments of this, plain (9) or at least simple (11),¹⁴⁴ lead on into the second century, when, beside a poorish trumpet-brooch—the only coil-sprung specimen (10)¹⁴⁵—we see the head-plated trumpet form¹⁴⁶ adapted, quite impressively (12), to remembrance of first-century models. The bronze penannulars (13, 14) both seem early, probably first-century.¹⁴⁷ The only other brooch recorded is an iron penannular, found just by pit 16, in the same area of distribution.

Of the coins, the two British silver have been noticed. The Roman are these :

1. Vespasian, *Æ2* (no. 12).
2. Hadrian, *Æ2* (no. 31).
3. " " (no. 197).
4. Antoninus Pius, *Æ1* (no. 26).
5. Marcus Aurelius, *Æ1* (no. 280).
6. Commodus, *Æ1* (no. 34).

Here, then, is the evidence for taking Phase I to last from within the Early Iron Age until about—quite roughly—the end of the second century A.D. Of its coarse pottery little remains; but a second-century date seems likely for fig. 11 *a*, a globose latticed jar (pinkish-brown to greyish), and perhaps also for the big grey jug-top, fig. 11 (p. 60).

Phase II. The history of the site now took a turn different from that of Rotherley and Woodcuts. An oblong building, aligned on the Phase I ditch-plan (fig. 7), was constructed on it in Roman style. I have called this Building A; it is seen planned by itself in fig. 10A. The General recovered its plan from the vertical-sided trenches, 3 ft. wide, which contained the remains of the flint foundation of its walls; these had no doubt been sleeper-walls for a superstructure of timber. It was a long, barn-like affair, not laid out quite true: externally, the north side measures 112 ft., the south 110, the east end 39 ft., the west 36. Exactly in the middle is a vertical-sided trench or oblong round-ended hole, 8 ft. by 2.5 by 6 ft. deep: the General called this 'pit 13', but it looks more like a post-hole for two or more timber uprights. The east end of the building was partitioned into three small rooms, measuring internally 8 by 7, 8 by 13, and 8 by 8 ft. The rest, undivided by any wall, has sides measuring internally 95, 93, 33, and 30 ft., giving 94 by 32 ft. along its axes. At least part of this space, in the area of the Samian pottery-finds noticed above (p. 54), had a pavement of flints. The model calls the building 'Oblong Enclosure, probably Stables'; and Mr. Gray has told me that many animal bones were found in it. Its main space was evidently in part at least for the stabling of livestock: no doubt some horses, but chiefly sheep and cattle.

There remains the question of its roof structure. On this Sir Cyril Fox, in correspondence, has kindly given me the following opinion. 'The great breadth of Building A (probably 33-31 ft. in the clear) demands, like the Platform Houses

¹⁴² Woodcuts, pl. x, 6, 8, 11; Rotherley, pl. xcvi, 2, 8, 11.

¹⁴³ Woodcuts, pl. x, 9.

¹⁴⁴ Woodcuts, pl. xi, 9; Collingwood N, middle and late second century.

¹⁴⁵ Collingwood R iii; cf. R iv, at Rotherley, pl. xcvi, 9-12.

¹⁴⁶ Collingwood's nos. 59-60; Woodcuts, pl. xiii, 10.

¹⁴⁷ *Maiden Castle*, 264, on fig. 86; *Camulodunum*, 327, on Class B, fig. 59, 6; *B.M. Guide*, R.B., 56, on fig. 64, a-c, and unpublished mid-first-century examples from Hod Hill (less than 2 miles from the Iwerne site).

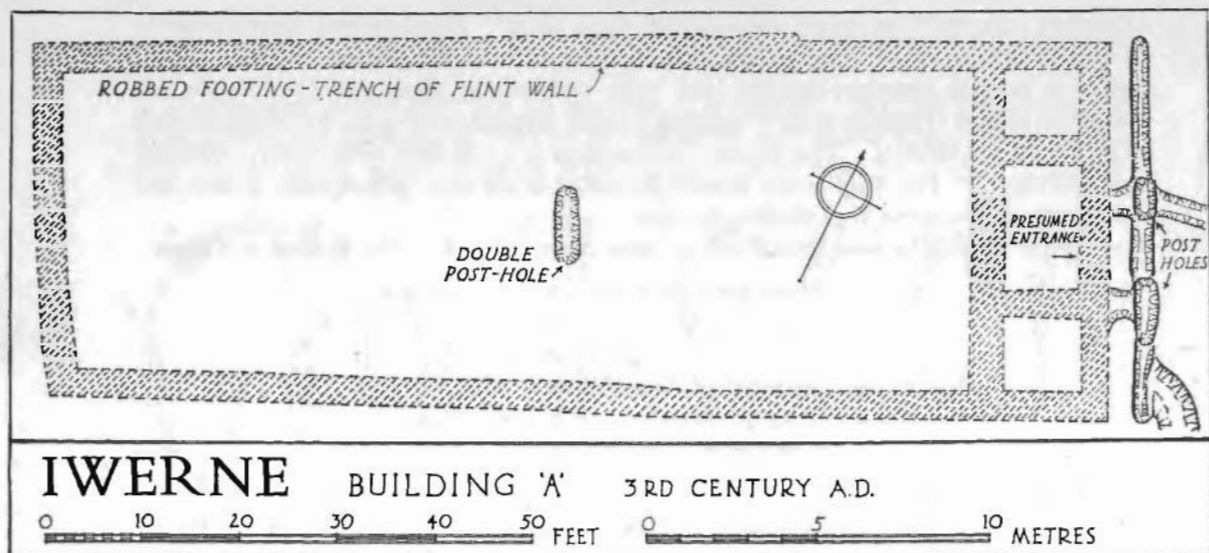


FIG. IOA. IWERNE. PLAN OF BUILDING A (cf. fig. 7).

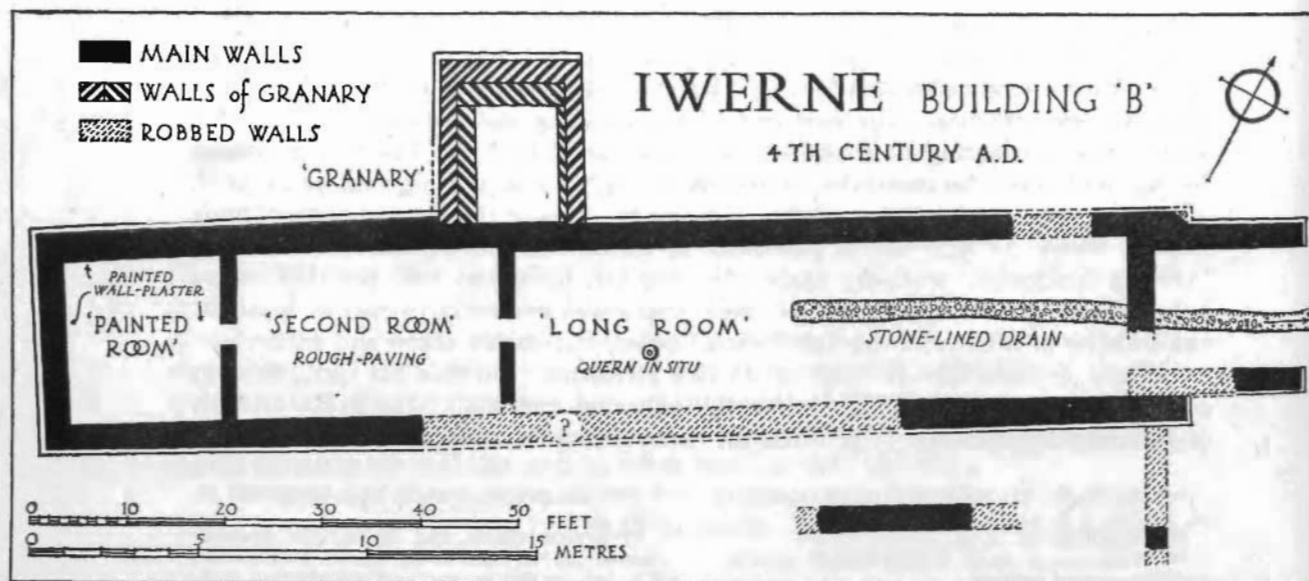


FIG. IOB. IWERNE. PLAN OF BUILDING B (cf. fig. 7)

referred to on p. 61 (notes 155-6) a roof supported on a central row of posts, five at least, or else two rows, making an aisled structure. In my view the latter is the more likely; the wooden columns may have rested on stylobats ("stone cheeses"), like some English crucks; and so would leave no trace on the floor of a building so thoroughly robbed as this one. If this explanation be rejected, and central support be assumed instead, on the strength of the "double post-hole" (fig. 10A), the support is insufficiently diffuse, and perhaps unnecessarily massive; moreover, it must be recognized that an aisled interior is favoured—indeed, demanded—by the triple structure of the porch.¹⁴⁸ This porch is described in the next paragraph. It will be seen that what Sir Cyril suggests is that Building A should be classed with the well-known aisled or 'basilican' form of Romano-British farm-house. He recalls further, that some of these buildings have partitions built in them, showing that, at some time within the Roman period, the open aisled hall without partitions became archaic. If then our Building A was such an open aisled hall, the time of this obsolescence may be indicated by the date of its abandonment, when, rather than insert partitions, the owners preferred to replace it by a new building altogether, Building B. This date, as will be found below, was around A.D. 300. I am most grateful to Sir Cyril for this interesting suggestion.

Of a separate entrance into the main space no trace is recorded. But there was plainly an entrance at the east end, into the middle of the three small rooms there. For 2 ft. out from the east wall was a vertical-sided trench, 2 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep, and 40 ft. long: this may have been a sleeper-trench for the timbers of a verandah, of the full breadth of the building, but at all events there must have been a porch near the middle, where it was vertically deepened into two oblong post-holes, respectively 4 ft. long and 3.5 ft. deep, and 6.5 ft. long and 4 ft. deep, with a 6-ft. interval between them, and each joined to the east wall by a shallower cutting: this entrance-porch will then have had its centre about 2 ft. south of the centre line of the building.

From the south corner of the 'verandah' there ran off the curved ditch noticed above (p. 53), 4 to 6 ft. wide and 5 ft. deep, which ended in what seems to have been a sump made out of pit 42. Here were found the British coin no. 279 (p. 52, n. 130), that of Marcus Aurelius, no. 280 (p. 55), at 2 ft., and one of Constantine II, no. 281 (p. 61): the depth of the pit was 9 ft., and these coins cannot be treated as stratified;¹⁴⁸ nor can that of Tacitus, no. 91 (p. 58), found at 1 ft. above the curving ditch. This seems clearly to have been a drain, and no doubt it carried away storm-water guttered off the roof. Its beheading of the pit 44 annexe and crossing of the 'Main Drain', both being of Phase I, have been noticed above (p. 53) as showing it later than these. So also (p. 53) has the beheading of the Phase I transverse ditch by the remaining ditch or trench connected with Building A, which, leading obliquely eastwards from the northern post-hole of the porch, was truncated after 20 ft. by the excavation for the Phase III building. The north wall-foundation trench of Building A is shown by the model to cut through pits 10, 12, 16, 18, and 21, assigned to Phase I (p. 53). These various intersections, then, fix the relative date of the building, with its associated features, as of Phase II.

The limits of its absolute date can both be presumed to fall within the third

¹⁴⁸ The depths of nos. 279 and 281 are not recorded.

century. Of the 11 certainly or probably third-century coins found (fig. 7), 10 were found either in it or within 30 ft. of it, and the other was less than 50 ft. away. They are as follows:

7. Gordian (III), Æ (no. 84).
- 8-12. Gallienus, Æ (nos. 25, 44, 51, 136, 270).
13. Victorinus, Æ (no. 61).
- 14-15. Tetricus, Æ (nos. 116, 131).
16. Tacitus, AR plated (no. 91).
17. Unidentified, probably radiate (no. 19).

Also, the Gordian coin, an Æ2 in notably fine condition, was found in the northernmost small room, 1.5 ft. deep, very close to its north wall-foundation trench, which was 3 ft. deep. It seems a likely guess that this coin was lost, while new, on the floor of the room during its occupation; if so, Gordian's years being 238-244, Building A will have been already constructed at a time not far from 240. Since its construction marks the start of Phase II, i.e. the end of Phase I, which was anyhow somewhere near 200 (p. 55), we are left with the probability of a date for this in the forty years before Gordian; namely, in the time of the Severi.

That was a time of change, which certainly seems suitable for the change so made in the character of the occupation. The old pit-using farm-life ceases, and a building of Roman sort appears. Its inhabitants, presumably, lived in the small rooms at the end: they cannot have been many. Perhaps one room was a granary: if so, a small one, for them only. And seven-eighths of the space was free for beasts. The notion of a change these parts (pp. 33-5, 48; cf. 71) from mainly arable to mainly pastoral farming, between early and late Roman times, thus seems confirmed. But what is at present unique about Iwerne is the change to this Roman sort of building. The place becomes just what Rotherley and Woodcuts never were, a kind—though a humble kind—of 'Roman villa'.

That it lasted in this form through the rest of the third century seems probable. The coins of Gallienus and after could well have been current till around 300. And the Victorinus (struck 268-70), which was found at 6 ft. in pit 16 under the level of the foundation-trench cut into it, perhaps slipped in when Building A was being pulled down, and its flints mostly removed, in the further change that then introduced Phase III.

Phase III. This change was drastic. An oblong space of some 150 by 40 ft. was excavated into the slightly rising ground east of Building A, cutting away all earlier features present (pp. 53, 55, and fig. 7), and giving a level floor, at from 7 or 8 to 11 ft. below modern surface everywhere but on the south-east, where it evidently ran out at contemporary ground-level. On this floor was erected a new long building, Building B (fig. 7, and separately, fig. 10B). Its surviving wall-construction, throughout, was of solidly-mortared flint rubble. Its main outer walls, 3 ft. 6 in. thick, have an external offset of 9 in., forming a plinth, at 2 ft. up from their base. The model shows them standing, on the north and west, still from 4 to 6 ft. high; less well preserved on the south and east. Some lengths there had been wholly robbed away, including much of a south-eastern 'outbuilding' (walls only 2 ft. 6 in. thick), and of the main walls enough to leave one somewhat uncertain of the entrance arrangements. A date for some of the flint-robbing is suggested by a sixteenth-century

Nuremberg jetton, found on the NW. corner. The total length of Building B was 132 ft., and its breadth 23 ft. (reduced to 18 ft. for the easternmost 12 ft. of length). In front of the south-eastern 'outbuilding' the model marks a 'pavement'.

Between 42 and 58 ft. from the NW. corner a tower-like structure, approximately 16 ft. square, projected from the northern main wall. The error in the main wall's alinement on either side of the projection, and the interruption of its plinth, show this structure to be an original part of the plan. On its three free sides it had doubled walls: the outer 2 to 3 ft. thick, with plinth on the west and north like the main wall and standing still 6 ft. high; the inner 9 in. to 2 ft. 6 in. thick, and standing to a level 2 ft. lower. The inner wall probably never rose higher, but carried joists at that level for a floor; for this is the up-hill side of the building, and within 3 ft. from the main wall the natural Greensand subsoil was left standing solid within the structure, to within a foot of the same level. A main floor thus carried over a solid basement, but leaving air-space between, must certainly mean a granary. The structure in fact was one of those tower-like affairs, thought in Germany to have been normal in the projecting end-wings of 'corridor' villa-houses, and represented in Hertfordshire in the N. end of the second house at Lockleys (Welwyn).¹⁴⁹ The ground-line there is a falling one, so that the tower-foundation lay below the main house-level: the Park Street villa near St. Albans had an excavated cellar, in the same position, serving as a granary.¹⁵⁰ At Iwerne the ground-line is rising, and so required a granary above the main house-level, over the solid basement of the tower. Its position at the side, not the end of the building, is natural because this was not a 'corridor' house, but was of a plan developed, logically, from that seen in Building A—long and undivided except towards one end for living-quarters.

The undivided Long Room in Building B ran from the 'entrance-hall' feature at the east end to a partition-wall opposite the granary, making an internal area of 64 by 16 ft., without central roof-posts. From the middle of it, and out under the east wall, ran a vertical-sided, stone-filled drain, 2 ft. wide and 95 ft. long, with a gentle fall to a depth of 4.5 ft. at the soak-away outer end. This seems plainly the drain of a cattle-byre or stable; about the eastern two-thirds of the space, then, accommodated beasts. But the western third of it had at least one other use, for near the middle of it was found about one-half of a rotary quern, broken but *in situ*, for grinding corn.¹⁵¹

The partition west of this, 18 in. thick, had a central doorway just over 2 ft. wide; 27 ft. west again was another, with doorway exactly 2 ft. wide. The Second Room between these, 17 ft. wide, was found floored with irregular-shaped paving-slabs of stone. Whatever its uses, it separated the working and cattle space of the Long Room from the third or west room of the house, which was the chief living-room. It measured only 17 by 16 ft. But it was here that the walls—all except the eastern one—were rendered in colour-painted plaster (p. 51); and on the floor, at a level which the stratification-sample seen at its centre on the model shows as secondary, was an orderly paving of small tiles of Kimmeridge shale. In this Painted Room, then, was lived the most 'Roman' part of the life of the house,

¹⁴⁹ J. B. Ward Perkins, *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii, 339 ff., 346-9, with the key German references, and plan, pl. LXX.

¹⁵⁰ H. E. O'Neil, *Arch. Journ.*, cii, 25-30,

40-2, 49-51, 55-7, with pls. VII-VIII, and plan fig. 3.

¹⁵¹ It was in three pieces: maximum thickness 4 in.; estimated diameter 2.2 ft.—H.St.G.G.

evidently by the occupier and his family. The model shows no hearths, so heating was presumably by brazier.

That Building B belonged to the fourth century, our Phase III, is shown by the distribution of the site's fourth-century coins. There are 27 of them: 19 were found inside the building or within the excavation made for the levelling of its

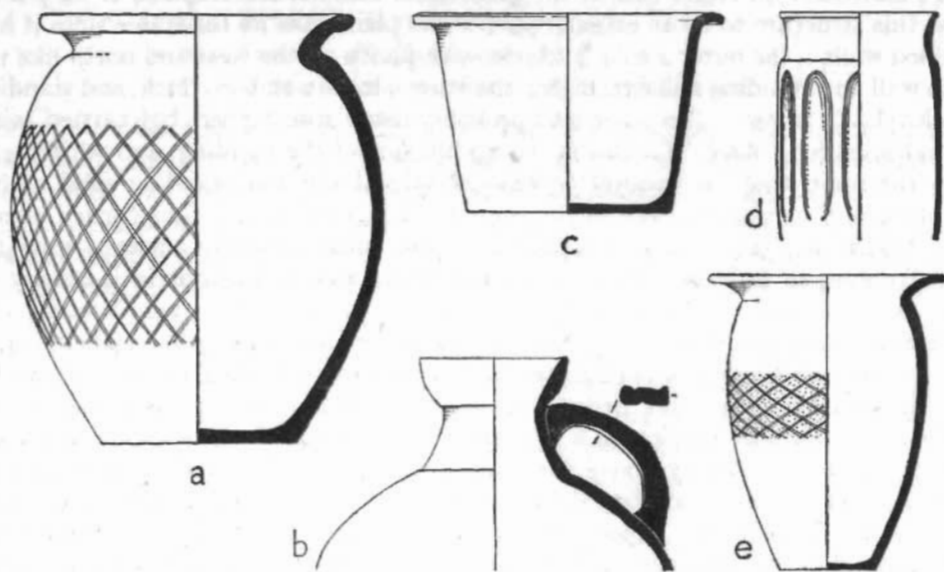


FIG. 11. IWERNE. ROMANO-BRITISH POTTERY

a-b, p. 55; c-e, p. 60. All $\frac{1}{4}$.

Farnham Museum

floor, and two of these (no. 175), one of Constantius I and the other of the House of Constantine, were found near the Long Room quern at 7 ft., which the model shows was on the floor or in it. Six more were within 30 ft. of the building, and one over pit 42 (no. 281: p. 57), within 40 ft. The area of Building A only produced one, no. 52, at 9 in. in surface soil; and that that building had certainly now been destroyed is shown by the discovery at 18 in. in its wall-foundation trench, close to the NE. corner, of the entire fourth-century coarse ware jar, fig. 11, e, altogether typical of the Constantinian age,¹⁵² which could not have got there till the wall had gone. This is no. 83 on the model; no. 86 is another, exactly similar though now without its rim, also in the Museum, and found in a like position beside the trench of the first parallel partition-wall (fig. 7). The two other illustrated pots are equally typical of this period: the grey steep-sided pie-dish with everted rim, fig. 11, c,¹⁵³ and the New Forest colour-coated thumb-pot, fig. 11, d.¹⁵⁴

In default of further pottery, one can only estimate Phase III's duration from the coin-list. This is the following (all are Æ):

¹⁵² Collingwood 73.

¹⁵³ *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii, 373-4, fig. 13, 1 (Lockleys); *Arch. Journ.*, cii, 85-7, fig. 18, 6-9 (Park Street).

¹⁵⁴ Latest note on these: D. M. Waterman in *Antiq. Journ.*, xxvii (1947), 168-9, on fig. 10, 1-5, from Clausentum (Bitterne).

18. Maximian (A.D. 286-306 : no. 246).
- 19-20. Constantius I (293-306 : nos. 175, 206).
21. Galerius (293-311 : no. 94, *Genio Pop. Rom.*).
22. Licinius (308-324 : no. 151).
- 23-32. Constantine I (306-337 : nos. 157, 162, 176, 178, 179, 199, 201, 207, 218, 222).
- 33-35. Constantine I, Urbs Roma (nos. 142, 164, 193).
- 36-38. Constantine II (317-340 : nos. 143, 168, 281).
39. Constans (333-350 : no. 183).
- 40-43. House of Constantine (nos. 52, 175*bis*, 182, 238).
44. Decentius (351-353 : no. 156).

This list shows that Phase III began about 300 or shortly after, continued throughout the Constantinian age, and ended before any coins could appear of the ensuing emperors, Valentinian I and Valens, who began to reign in 364. The latest coin is of Decentius, who struck in 351-3 as Caesar to his brother Magnentius, the last emperor represented by a coin at Woodcuts. Here, then, as there (p. 48), we may date the end of the occupation to the time of growing insecurity, and danger from barbarian incursion, in the sixties of the fourth century A.D. How grave hereabouts that danger seemed, we shall see in the next section.

It remains to point out that by his Iwerne excavations, General Pitt-Rivers did not merely unearth facts of great value for the rural history of Iron Age and Roman Britain, but also planned two buildings of much interest, in view of their Romano-British age, for the whole British history of the farm-house.

For whereas in pre-Roman Celtic Britain, as we saw at the beginning of this article (p. 27), the farm-house was characteristically round, in post-Roman Celtic Britain it presently appears as a long, rectangular building, and most characteristically then as what is called the Long-House, much studied in recent years in Wales.¹⁵⁵ This consisted, essentially, of a long cattle-space with dwelling-quarters at the upper end. And that, essentially, is just what the General found at Iwerne; most conspicuously—in spite of difference in detail—in building B. The ancestry of the Welsh Long-House is still obscure, and it may have had more prototypes than one. But if one is the Welsh upland type that has been called the 'platform' house, that type also recalls our Building B particularly, in the characteristic levelling of its emplacement into sloping ground.¹⁵⁶ No such house-type can yet be traced back in Wales, or anywhere in Britain, as far as Roman times. But I think it is true to say that the Iwerne buildings, and Building B especially, are more like a Welsh Long-House than anything yet known from Roman Britain. Indeed, I would claim them as the earliest things of that kind yet dated in the country. As such I offer them to the students of these matters; and I hope that Sir Cyril Fox, who has most kindly talked and corresponded about them with me, will soon be saying something of them in another place.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Iorwerth Peate, *The Welsh House* (Y Cymmrodor, XLVII), esp. 65-6, with figs. 8-20; and in *Antiquity*, x (December 1936), 448-59; Sir Cyril Fox, *ibid.*, xiv (December 1940), 363-76.

¹⁵⁶ C. and A. Fox, *ibid.*, viii (December 1934), 395-412; Aileen Fox, *Arch. Camb.*, 1937, 247-68; 1939, 163-99.

¹⁵⁷ Sir Cyril Fox has meanwhile kindly contributed the following note. 'The plan of Building B, in its proportions and size, in the continuity of dwelling-house and cattle-quarters, and in their relative positions, resembles, as Professor Hawkes remarks, that of the Welsh Long-House (see, e.g. *Antiquity*, xiv, Dec. 1940, pl. v), and an entrance at the point shown by the

One can only guess what General Pitt-Rivers would have said of them, and of the Iwerne site altogether, in the full publication which he intended. He must, anyhow, have been impressed by the discovery that rectangular buildings, of Roman sort, could be set up on a site covered with pits and ditches, like those of Woodcuts and Rotherley. But in the first years after his excavation of those sites, he was occupied with another aspect of the matter. It led him to the work recorded in the third volume of his *Excavations*, which he was just finishing when his notice was first drawn to Iwerne. To that, accordingly, we must now turn.

5. BOKERLY DYKE AND WOODYATES

References in italics are to Vol. III of the 'Excavations in Cranborne Chase', 1892.

The Rotherley and Woodcuts excavations had shown that sites of that kind in Cranborne Chase, which were apparently quite numerous, supported in Roman times a fairly considerable population. Its presence in this remote upland country seemed to the General to require explanation in terms of the period's political and military events. He judged the most likely source of archaeological evidence bearing upon these in the Chase to be its linear earthworks, which had long attracted theorists, but had never been dated by excavation,¹⁵⁸ and especially in the greatest of them, on the old Dorset-Wiltshire border¹⁵⁹ towards the north-east of the region, by name Bokerly Dyke.¹⁶⁰ For while hill-forts, such as Winkelbury, could be no more than the refuge-strongholds of local British tribes, an extensive linear earth-work like this, evidently built for boundary-protection, implies power and organization of a higher kind, likely to be recognizable in history. Upon these reflexions (*pp.* 1-8), the General began to consider the Dyke more attentively. Our plan of it (*fig.* 12) has been re-drawn from his (*p.* 60, *pl.* *clxi*); cf. also *fig.* 1, on *p.* 28 above.

Its general direction is from south-east to north-west; it consists of a rampart, normally steep and of high elevation, with a ditch on its outer or north-east side.¹⁶¹ It covers a front of nearly four miles, and spans the broad pass or saddle which depresses

query-mark in *fig.* 108 is highly probable. Some Long-Houses, moreover, have rising ground (Peate, *The Welsh House*, *pl.* 20; *Antiquity*, loc. cit., 1940, *pl.* 1) into which they have been levelled, like this building. The porch and entry at the "lower" gable end of this Building B, however, seem to belong to another tradition, possibly that surviving to our time in the famous "Saxon" farm-houses described by Meitzen, and that apparently familiar to Celts of the later Dark Ages in Britain (*Mabinogion*, Everyman ed., "Dream of Rhonabwy", *p.* 136). The "upper" end of the cattle area, where the quern was found, may be the living-place of the dairy-girl, or, alternatively, the housewife's working-place. It does not correspond to any Welsh Long-House feature known to me. The breadth of this house (less than 18 feet in the clear) would permit a roof in one span, without centre posts or aisles (contrast Building A, *p.* 55); the thickness of the walls is a relevant factor, suggesting that some lateral thrust was expected.

The study of our house origins in Britain will be greatly stimulated by the knowledge of the General's discoveries in this field now

rescued from oblivion and interpreted in this important paper. I am much obliged to my friend Professor Hawkes for inviting me to write this note, and also that on Building A, which appears in the text on *pp.* 55-7. C.F.'

¹⁵⁸ For Stukeley's, Guest's, and other older antiquaries' speculations, see Heywood Sumner, *Earthworks of Cranborne Chase* (1913), 54-5; Sumner introduces his own remarks (55-7) and plan (*pl.* xxxiii) by a brief notice of the General's discoveries which the following pages here will show to be seriously misleading.

¹⁵⁹ Now in part the Hampshire-Wiltshire border.

¹⁶⁰ The name should really be Bokerley Ditch, as on modern O.S. maps: the nineteenth-century antiquarian spelling is only used here because the General used it.

¹⁶¹ Sumner's measured section (*op. cit.*, *pl.* xxxiii: taken in 1911 on the 400-ft. contour-line which adjoins the letter A on our plan half a mile north of Blagdon) shows the rampart 7 ft. 8 in. high above the ground behind it, and 23 ft. 6 in. above the visible ditch-bottom; his overall horizontal measurement is 102 ft.

the chalk shelf between the high ground on its left, north-west of the modern Salisbury-Blandford road, and that on its right, which rises above the farm and cottages of Blagdon to the summit of Penbury Knoll, just off our map. This shelf and summit mark the watershed between the north-east quarter of the Chase, which drains east into the Avon, and its main or inner area, which drains south into the Stour. Moreover, the Dyke's two flanks rest upon ground not only high, but naturally thick-wooded. On the south-east the whole dip-slope of the Chase upland is so; but it is precisely to the slope of this watershed that the woods broaden out from the middle Avon to turn southward into the ancient Forest of Holt, which soon puts seven miles of Tertiary country between the upland and the lower Avon. The woods on the chalk slope where the Dyke begins, in fact, mark the upper inward corner of that broadening of the Chase's forest margin. And from here, north of Blagdon over Blagdon Hill and on past Martin Down, the Dyke runs across the saddle in the watershed to the rising ground beyond, where it ends within the answering corner, which survived until modern times as Cranborne Chase Wood, of the Chase's north-western belts of forest (*pp.* 9-10, 56-8).

The gently sinuous course of the Dyke suggests that between these woods it was built across 'parkland', with trees and scrub kept down to scattered patches presumably by grazing. The prehistoric Grim's Ditch mentioned above (p. 3)¹⁶² may have some relevance in this connexion: from its northern limb, appearing near the top of the map, fig. 12, the branch which the General dated to the Late Bronze Age on Martin Down runs south right up to the Dyke, while the southern limb, meeting and passing apparently under it on Blagdon Hill, runs from that point for some 1½ miles north-west behind it;¹⁶³ if the Grim's Ditch works are rightly believed to have bounded Late Bronze Age or later prehistoric grazing-grounds, this central stretch of the subsequent Dyke may be more readily accepted as traversing land thus grazed down and remaining fairly open.¹⁶⁴

The General did not excavate the southern limb of Grim's Ditch,¹⁶⁵ and made no speculation on that point; but he did speculate on why Bokerly Dyke in this central portion shows neglect, inevitably shocking to a soldier, of the tactical command of ground. The bend forward which it makes below the 300-ft. contour-line, into the shallow valley where a modern gap in it gives on to Martin Down, struck him as especially unbecoming in a military work; and he could only suppose (*pp.* 10, 57-8) that the moist ground in this valley must indicate an ancient spring, which the Dyke-builders would wish to deny to the enemy. A spring there may well have been; but that the Dyke neglects tactical command of ground here remains a fact: whereas farther to the left, climbing to higher ground and making for the woods, it could again earn the General's approval. And to that difference of character between centre and left there corresponds another, which he himself was to reveal: a difference of date.

Just over a quarter of a mile short of the modern road, there juts back from the rampart a short branch or spur, which the General, in the language of his Crimean

¹⁶² C. M. Piggott, *Antiquity*, xviii (June 1944), 65-71, superseding Sumner, *op. cit.*, 57-62 and pl. xxxiv.

¹⁶³ Cf. O. G. S. Crawford in *Wessex from the Air* (1928), 230-2, pl. XLIII.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. J. G. D. Clark, *Antiquity*, xix (June 1945), 69-70.

¹⁶⁵ *Pp.* 10, 23, 57; nor the northern: cf. *pp.* 11, 59, and 291-3 (*Appendix A*).

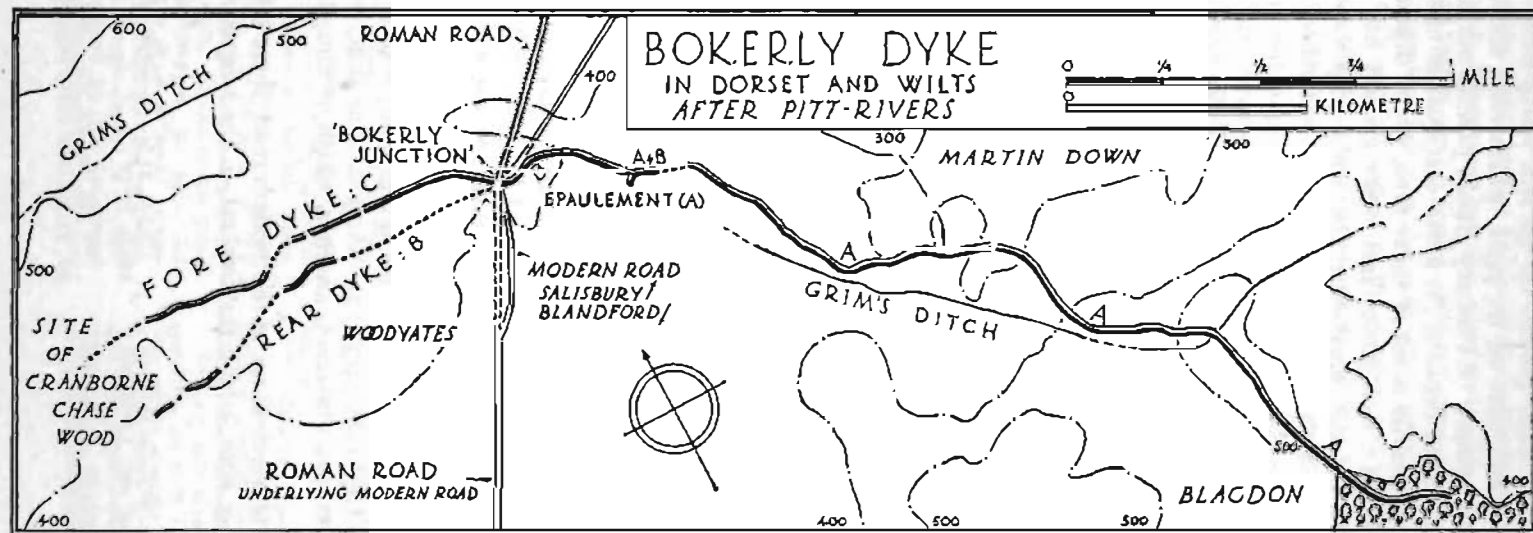


FIG. 12. MAP SHOWING THE COURSE OF BOKERLY DYKE, A, B, AND C

Contours in feet.

Cf. fig. 1, p. 28

youth, termed the Epaulement. Excavating here, as we shall soon see, he found it to be nothing else but the bent-back flank or shoulder, in which the original rampart of the right and centre sectors, with its ditch, had ended altogether. Those sectors and the Epaulement, therefore, are in fig. 12 distinguished by the letter A; and students of Bokerly Dyke must understand that in the first form in which we know it, it came as far north-west as here and no farther.

The General supposed that the north-western woods then still extended to this point (*pp.* 10-11, 58); whether or not Grim's Ditch continued past it, we may reasonably agree that our A Dyke would not so terminate, unless it had reached contemporary woodland. Later, however, it was lengthened. Along the short stretch marked A+B (fig. 12), between the Epaulement and the wide modern gap in the rampart short of it, the General went on to find the A work cut back, to a deeper ditch-bottom and a fresh face of rampart; and the new work continued as what he called a Traverse across the bend of the Epaulement ditch, to run on north-westward up the hill.

This is our B work; and at the General's 'Shoulder Angle' where we have placed that letter in fig. 12, it swings back to flank both the modern road, and the Roman road from Old Sarum which here ascends the pass south-westward, on its way to Badbury Rings and Dorchester. The place where it meets both roads has been made famous by the General under the name of 'Bokerly Junction'; and it is a junction not only of Dyke and roads, but of two successive versions of the rest of the Dyke itself (*pp.* 11, 58-9). The B work's continuation is not visible again for nearly another half-mile, but remains intermittently preserved as far as a point just below the 400-ft. line, nearly a mile west of the farm hamlet of Woodyates. The General (*p.* 60) called this the Rear Dyke. For in front of it, running in much better preservation for a mile from the Junction westward, is placed what he named the Fore Dyke, the third work of the series, which we have lettered C. It peters out to an end about a quarter of a mile north or north-west of the Rear Dyke, both terminations being deep in the old site of Cranborne Chase Wood (*pp.* 11, 59). Only high up to the north of that Wood, and of Grim's Ditch, is there an open strip again, before the high ground falls steeply to the Ebble Valley (beyond the edge of our fig. 12; but see fig. 1); and in various places across the ancient Ox Drove ridgeway, which runs east and west along that strip, there are eastward-facing cross-dykes.¹⁶⁶

Like them on a much greater scale, Bokerly Dyke in its extended form obstructs approach along a highway—the Roman road from Old Sarum. But the chief problem that faced the General, in his quest of a historical context for the occupation of Cranborne Chase in Roman times, was how to date the Dyke; and for that he wanted something more than a road. He wanted a settlement-site, which would give him coins and objects. Luckily, a chance discovery came at just the right moment to fasten his attention upon Bokerly Junction, and to launch him upon his Bokerly campaigns.

The conductor of the General's private band, out for a stroll along the Dyke one day towards the middle of 1888, found the Woodyates farmer cutting into it to get soil for top-dressing. In the rampart-material he had discovered five Roman coins and a brooch; the lucky musician quickly bore them to his patron; the

¹⁶⁶ *Pp.* 11-12; Sumner, *op. cit.*, 62-7, pls. xxxv-xlIII.

General remembered having himself once found a sherd of Samian near by; he immediately secured the landlord's leave to dig; and on May 22nd, 1888, a section was begun across the whole earthwork on the spot, 30 ft. in width. This was Section 1 (fig. 13), and on June 2nd it was finished. Roman relics in abundance had been obtained. Nine days later, Section 2 was begun, also 30 ft. in width; it was finished on June 18th, and was even more prolific. The coins in Section 1 went down to Constans; in Section 2, to Honorius. Thus (pp. 13-14) the General had dated Bokerly Dyke here to late Roman times or later. But he had done more: he had shown that a large Roman settlement must have existed close at hand, whence this material—and a human skeleton, found in Section 2 truncated by the ditch—had come. In November 1889, then (p. 14), he returned to the spot, and began trenching north of Section 2: pits and a drain speedily appeared, with more Roman coins and pottery. He had found the settlement; and he dug on through the winter, and again in the spring (pp. 14-24), planning the whole area of our fig. 13, sectioning the Roman road, extending the original rampart-sections, and finally exploring the Epaulement sector farther east. The excavations ended on May 22nd, 1890, exactly two years after their beginning; the actual digging time had been about five months. The relic-tables setting out the finds in small print (pp. 33 ff.) cover 36 quarto pages.

In the settlement proper, most of the finds came from the 'drain'-ditches, which were all cleared completely. The areas between them were only cleared to the extent marked in fig. 13 by dotted lines. Woodcuts and Rotherley experience (pp. 37-9, 44) could not have encouraged the General to any great expectation of structural remains. Apart from 11 pits, hearths, and a corn-drying furnace (his 'hypocaust', pp. 67, 82), he found only vague traces: these, with the abundance of small finds, at least showed that the site had been well occupied; and thus his plan (pl. clxii), of which our fig. 13 is a simplified re-drawing, is essentially one only of the ditch-system. This divides the site into rectilinear enclosures, like the later ones at Rotherley and Woodcuts (pp. 41, 45, 47); of the pits, 6 contained Roman finds (the rest were sterile), and of the numerous burials found, most were more or less extended inhumations in the later Roman manner (pp. 204 ff.). All this bespeaks a mainly late Roman date. But there were at least some early Roman finds: in particular, one pit contained a skeleton contracted in the early or native manner, with a Claudian brooch against its hip,¹⁶⁷ and had been cut into (fig. 13) by the original west ditch of the Roman road.

This road-ditch (the General's 'Cross Drain') is then post-Claudian; but it proved to be earlier than every other feature of the site that it encountered (pp. 20, 65-6). And the road—as is well seen in his Sections 3 and 4 (p. 74, pl. clxiii: positions in our fig. 13)—of which it is an integral feature, is an outstanding specimen of the distinctive type with raised central *agger* and a track on each side within a ditch. This 'three-tracked' type has lately been discussed by Mr. A. F. Hall¹⁶⁸ in connexion with the example found by him at Colchester, which is apparently the main road thence towards London, and datable to the late first century, though

¹⁶⁷ Skeleton no. 6 (pp. 67, 205, pl. cxcii); pit, Pit 8 (relic-table, following p. 52); brooch, p. 134, fig. 18 of pl. clxxxii, of the general type of our Iwerne fig. 9, c-e (p. 54), but fluted.

¹⁶⁸ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, 3 ser., vii (1942), 53-70, discussing *inter alia* I. D. Margary on such roads in *Antiq. Journ.*, xix (1939), 53-6; cf. *Arch. Journ.*, ci (1944), 68, 70.

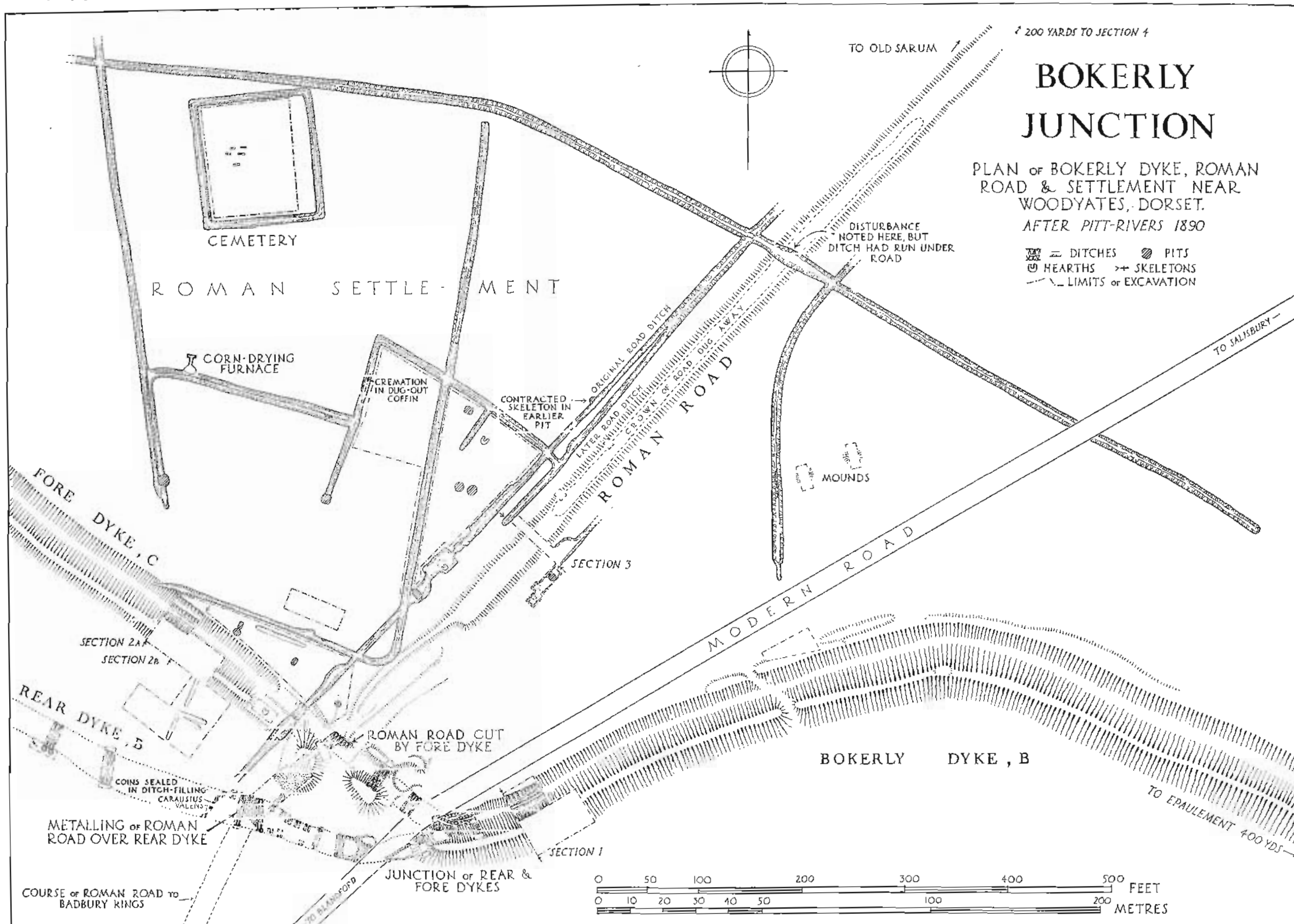


FIG. 13. PLAN OF 'BOKERLY JUNCTION' AND THE WOODYATES SETTLEMENT-AREA EXCAVATED IN 1888-90

For Sections 1, 2A, 2B, see fig. 15, p. 74

it may well have had a simply-constructed predecessor.¹⁶⁹ The same diagnosis would well fit the present road;¹⁷⁰ and we may be confident that the site grew essentially as a Roman road-side settlement.

It may indeed be the road-side station *Vindogladia*, named in the Antonine Itinerary (It. XII, XV) as 12 miles from *Sorbiodunum* or Old Sarum (p. 134), which is in fact its distance (pp. 19-20). But there is a shortfall of 20 miles in the total Itinerary distance from Sarum to Dorchester, which shows that if the figures in the text are sound, an entry must have fallen out; and the missing name may as well have come before *Vindogladia* as after it. The identification therefore remains possible, but is not certain; Mr. G. H. Wheeler, in fact, in the *English Historical Review* for 1932 (xlvii, 622-6), has argued that *Vindogladia* should be Badbury Rings.

Of pre-Roman material, from the excavations as a whole, there is not much to show: an occasional scatter of coarse Early Iron Age pottery,¹⁷¹ eight countersunk handles,¹⁷² two pieces of butt-beaker,¹⁷³ a few bead-rims, perhaps already Roman.¹⁷⁴ The first pottery of clear significance is first-century Roman, though it is still rare: it includes a little Samian, and of the second century there is more of everything, though still not very much; brooches run similarly; all these things could soon be listed. And then, when one comes to later Roman material, one finds its preponderance overwhelming. It is easiest to read the story from the coins (pp. 152-203; list summarized, p. 155). Eighteen coins, distributed over eight reigns from Trajan to Severus Alexander, are all that we have until after the middle of the third century, out of over 1,200 found altogether. During that period, then, occupation had been growing, perhaps steadily, but slowly. With Gallienus (259-68: 27 coins, with 2 of Valerian), begins an increase which site-finds of coins habitually show, owing to the contemporary inflation and enlarged volume of circulating coinage. And the Gallic Postumus (259-68) has only 1 coin, Victorinus (268-70) only 8. But Claudius II (268-70) has more (26; and Quintillus, 1): it is with the 75 coins of the Tetrici (270-3: 57 and 18) that the series really starts to swell; and Dr. C. H. V. Sutherland, who has kindly given his opinion on the list, points out that having regard to the known life and incidence of coins of this period in general, these figures must mean that occupation started up in earnest not before about 275. It is to the last quarter of the third century, then, when to the survival of the preceding issues the list adds 26 more coins from Probus (276-82) onwards, 12 and 8 of them being of the British Emperors Carausius and Allectus (287-93, 293-6), that we must ascribe the first effective increase in the site's intensity of habitation.

Now the General noted a significant fact about the coin-distribution on the ground (p. 67). In the north of the area, coins were rare (like everything else,

¹⁶⁹ Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum*, 16-20.

¹⁷⁰ And the Sussex Stane Street (*Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lvii, 136-141) and the London-Lewes and London-Silchester roads also compared by Mr. Margary, *op. cit.* For an air-photograph of our road ('Ackling Dyke') on Oakley Down, a mile on from Woodyates (Dr. Stone above, p. 10, with fig. 2), well showing the three tracks, see Crawford and Keiller, *Wessex from the Air* (1928), pl. xxxi.

¹⁷¹ E.g. p. 114, figs. 1-2 of pl. clxxviii; and see Pottery column 1 ('British') in the relic

tables, pp. 33 ff. One superior 'AB saucepan' piece, p. 149, fig. 6 of pl. clxxxvii.

¹⁷² P. 121, on figs. 14-15 of pl. clxxix.

¹⁷³ Buff, with light-brown slip: p. 110, fig. 6 of pl. clxxvii (cf. *Camulodunum* form 113); red, with chocolate slip: p. 148, fig. 5 of pl. clxxxvii (cf. other Wessex pieces, *Camulodunum* p. 237; *Antiq. Journ.*, xxvii, 165-6, Bitterne).

¹⁷⁴ None figured: of the four I found in the Museum, I thought one pre-Roman, two Roman, and one 'either'.

p. 69); towards the Dyke, they were commoner; and in the Dyke itself, above all in Sections 1 and 2 (cf. fig. 15), they were relatively very numerous. The finds in the Dyke region altogether, indeed, are far too numerous to have come all from the excavated settlement. There must then have been a further area of settlement directly beyond it to the south, still beside the road but inside the Dyke, between its line and Woodyates. That area is now an arable field; it has never been excavated, but the General was clearly right in his expectation (p. 67) that the centre of the whole site should lie there, and the excavated area be no more than an extension of it. The quickened growth of this in the late third century, then, will have been part of a larger growth, and the Woodyates site as a whole must have been a good deal more important than the excavated plan (fig. 13) would by itself suggest.

Let us now return to the Dyke, remembering that in its first phase it reached only to the Epaulement, between which and the settlement presumably still lay woods. When was this first phase? The answer must come from the General's Epaulement excavations (pp. 22-3, 58, 88-95), of which the plan and crucial sections (re-drawn from his *pls. clxix-clxxii*) are given in fig. 14. The facts are simple. The first-phase Dyke, A, ending in the Epaulement, was put up when Romano-British coarse pottery (and a little Iron Age and Beaker) was already lying on the ground (Sections 9, 10). A few sherds got into the body of the rampart, among them (Section 10) one of Imitation Samian. The work stood long enough (all Sections) for 3-4 ft. of chalky silt to form in the ditch. Into this slipped an iron nail, a little coarse pottery, and some Samian rubbish-scrap of the first and second centuries,¹⁷⁵ and upon it in patches grew a turfy mould (appearing in Section 9, but not in 10 or 11). Then, along the main line (Sections 9, 10), this A work was cut back to make a new ditch and a fresh rampart-face, the material so obtained being heaped over the old ditch-silt and piled into the crest of the new rampart. This is the B work; and the rampart was now continued north-westward by the Traverse, bridging the bend of the Epaulement ditch as shown in Section 11. And beneath the Traverse here, on the surface of the Epaulement ditch-silt over the A rampart's toe, the General found a coin of Magnentius, A.D. 350-53. The A work, then, had lasted untouched here until after the middle of the fourth century. When had it been made?

After the second-century Samian, obviously; but the Imitation Samian sherd from the rampart in Section 10 (p. 75, fig. 16, a)¹⁷⁶ comes from the rim of a red-slipped bowl which, probably, was one of those copies of the Samian flanged form 38 that may sometimes be third century, and more often fourth. And in the New Forest kilns, whence one would expect it anyhow to come, its red-slipped ware is in no form attested before the 'Late' period of production, which began towards 330—let us say about 325.¹⁷⁷ It has indeed a grey core, which compared with cream,

¹⁷⁵ Seen by me in the Museum. A few of the coarse sherds may be Belgic rather than Roman; first-century Samian, e.g. Domitianic form 37 (p. 123, fig. 14 of *pl. clxxx*); second-century, forms 31, 33.

¹⁷⁶ See the relic table preceding p. 53; not

figured by the General; I found and drew it in the Museum.

¹⁷⁷ *Antiq. Journ.*, xviii (1938), 126-7: the latest evidence for the preceding 'Middle' period is a coin of Licinius (308-24).

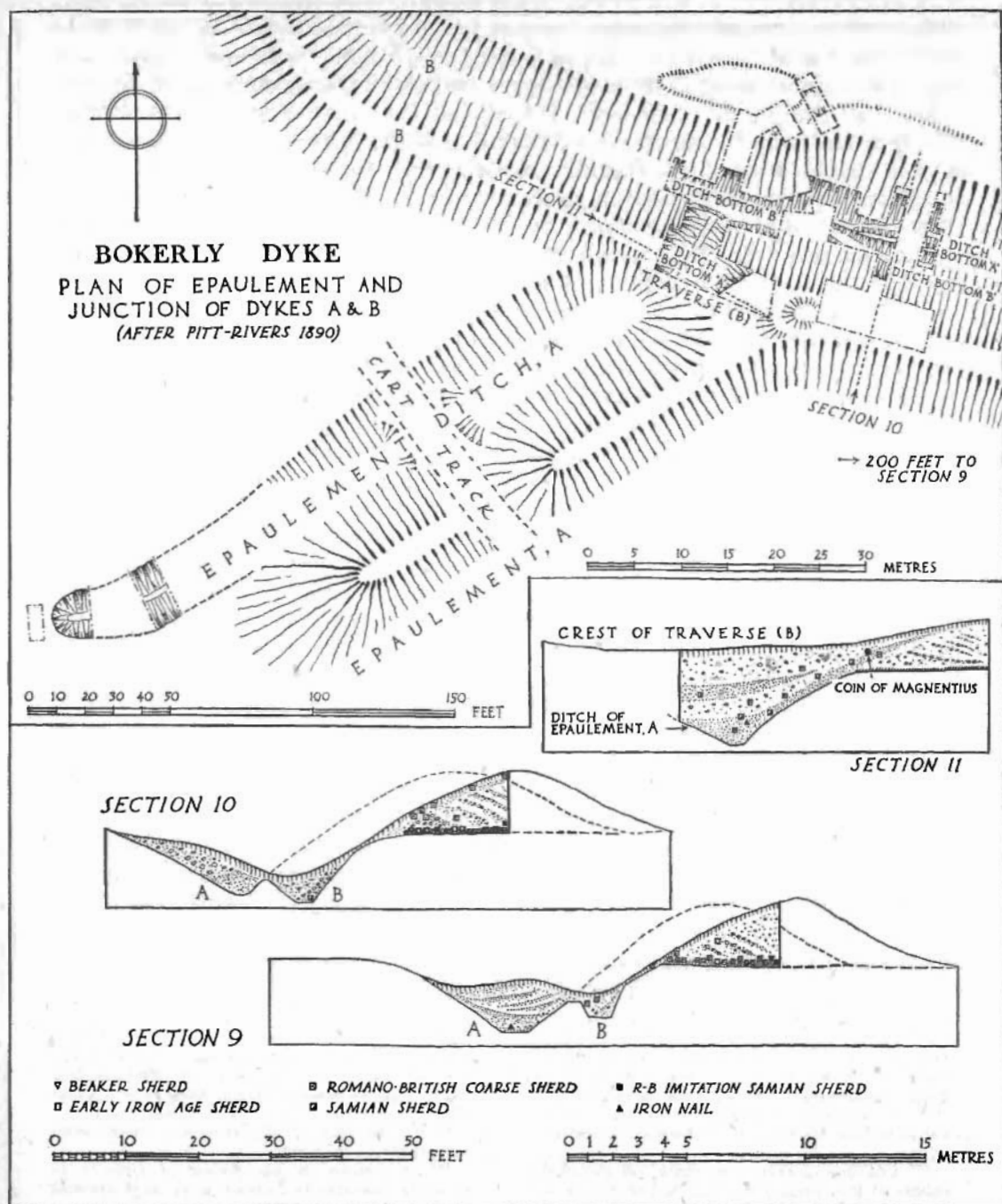


FIG. 14. BOKERLY DYKE, THE EPAULEMENT AREA: PLAN AND SECTIONS

buff, or reddish body is rare there for these bowls;¹⁷⁸ but examples do occur,¹⁷⁹ and wherever it was made, the sherd seems at least to hint at a date for the A Dyke within the fourth century, and perhaps after 325. Yet not much after; for it must appreciably precede the B Dyke, which we shall soon find requiring a date not long after 364. Its 3-4 ft. of ditch-silt, indeed, can have formed quite quickly:¹⁸⁰ in the B ditch farther along, as will soon be seen, as much formed in less—one would expect much less—than a probable thirty years. But here, with turfy mould on the silt in anyhow one Section, it may be wiser to allow rather more: say a possible forty.¹⁸¹ For the date of the A work, therefore, we should apparently look within the first half of the fourth century, with our preferences focused a little beyond the middle of it, around 325-330.

The A dyke, then, a protective but not altogether military work (p. 63), ignores not only the road, but a settlement that had been growing into importance for perhaps already half a century. What then did it protect? A tract of fairly open land between woods, of undefined southward extent, and suitable for pasture (cf. p. 63). In Gaul and the Rhineland, a late Roman date has in a number of cases been suggested for earthworks or stone walls protecting such tracts, which will then have been parks or ranches for stock-raising (perhaps sometimes for hunting), secured thus against civil disorder or barbarian inroad.¹⁸² It has usually been difficult to show that these are not really medieval. But a date in the fourth century seems virtually certain for the largest one known, which alone has been adequately studied.

This is the enclosure of 220 sq. km., in the limestone Eifel country round the Kyll valley north of Trier, protected by the so-called Long Walls of Bitburg.¹⁸³ The wall round the enclosure survives to heights up to a metre and breadths to 5 metres; it includes re-used (earlier Roman) material, and has yielded two inscriptions¹⁸⁴ recording that lengths of so many feet (*pedaturae*) were built by *Primani*, evidently a late Roman military unit, which are datable probably after the middle of the fourth century.¹⁸⁵ The wall avoids the Roman road from Trier to Cologne, and the Roman sites known within it (about 100) are rural; not all need be so late, but the Welschbillig villa site has yielded stamped tiles matched in Imperial buildings at Trier, which, with the military inscriptions, strongly suggest that the enclosure was an Imperial domain.¹⁸⁶ It will then have had military guard-troops, and will

¹⁷⁸ Heywood Sumner, *Excavations in New Forest Pottery Sites* (1927), 31, pl. VII, 5-10 (Ashley Rails); 113, pl. XXXII, 17-19 (Islands Thorns).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 111, pl. XXXI, 19 (Crock Hill); 114, pl. XXXIII, 28 (Pitt's Wood, four examples). The Crock Hill piece and pl. VII, 6, from Ashley Rails are the closest to our sherd in rim-form.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. Curwen, *Antiquity*, iv (1930), 97-100; and General Pitt-Rivers himself, *Excavations*, iv, 24.

¹⁸¹ Continuous turf, 2 in. thick, on the chalk rubble of the concavity of the tail of the earlier rampart of Bury Hill Camp near Andover, was estimated by Dr. Zeuner to have taken not less than a century to form, before being sealed by the chalk front of the later rampart: *Proc. Hants Field Club*, xiv, 3 (1940), 305-6, with fig. 6.

¹⁸² Rhineland: K. Schumacher, *Siedlungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande*, ii, 187-8. Gaul: A. Grenier, *Manuel*, v, 1 (see next note), 484, note 4.

¹⁸³ A. Grenier (J. Dechelette), *Manuel d'archéologie*, v, 1 (gallo-romaine: Paris, 1931), 479-84, with map, fig. 163; J. Steinhausen, *Archäologische Siedlungskunde des Trierer Landes* (Trier, 1936), 441-5, with (better) map, abb. 19.

¹⁸⁴ *C.I.L.*, xiii, 2, 1, 4139-40; both seem acceptable as genuine.

¹⁸⁵ So Keune, in his review of Grenier in *Deutsche Literarische Zeitung*, 1933, 2238, quoted by Steinhausen, op. cit.

¹⁸⁶ J. Vannier in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, xii (1933), 141 ff. Eventual use as an Imperial hunting-park is suggested by G. Lafaye in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, s. v. Vivarium: somewhat speculative.

have included not only perhaps studs for cavalry and draught horses, but cattle and sheep farms producing raw materials for Imperial leather and textile works; the responsible official will have been the *rationalis rei privatae per Gallias*, and under him the Notitia Dignitatum indeed records a *procurator* of Imperial weaving-mills (*gynaecia*) at Trier.¹⁸⁷

Now we have already seen that if Salisbury Plain and Cranborne Chase were Imperial estates, it would explain their lack of evidence for private villa estates which so struck Collingwood (pp. 32-3), and (p. 32) of a new town to replace Old Sarum. And we have also seen, in the desertion of Rotherley in the late third century (p. 42), the re-constitution of Woodcuts in the early fourth (p. 47), and the frequency of rectilinear stock-enclosures like those at Yarnbury and Knighton Hill (pp. 31, 33-5, figs. 2, 3), with also the larger 'kites' of Rockbourne Down and Soldier's Ring (p. 35), support for Collingwood's belief that in the late third and fourth centuries the staple production of these downs was changed from wheat to sheep. Collingwood¹⁸⁸ thought of this change in Britain as widespread, effected by capitalistic villa-owners as well as by Imperial estate-managers. But in this district his evidence for it and for there being Imperial estates came from the same sites, the type-examples being Rotherley and Woodcuts; here, then, the two things should stand together. From the late third century, when the economic no less than the political institutions of the Empire were re-modelled, while British cloth won a place in Diocletian's Edict of Prices,¹⁸⁹ the change from wheat to sheep here will have been an act of Imperial administration. And the wool will have gone down to the *procurator* of the Imperial weaving-mill recorded by the Notitia at Winchester,¹⁹⁰ as the Bitburg wool to his counterpart at Trier.

That brings us back to Bokerly Dyke. Whereas the Bitburg domain was wholly walled round, being vulnerably near the Rhine frontier, our A Dyke only blocks approach to one area reserved within a much larger tract of undefended downland. The woods on the area's east and north-west may have closed round it on the south, and been lined with an abattis of timber (p. 9), or have been linked by fencing: we do not know. We do not know how big an area we should think of. But that the downland estates as a whole should have contained an area of particular importance as an Imperial pasture-domain, whether for sheep or for cattle or stud horses, and that the north-western gap in its border of woods should have been held in the earlier fourth century to need earthwork protection, can surely well be credited. Not being military in the narrow, tactical sense, the work could reasonably take in a spring like that conjectured by the General on the edge of Martin Down (p. 63), which would be useful for watering the stock. Its construction in military style, however, is natural: it was to give protection against stock-raiding, whether by oppressed peasants—surreptitiously or in such outbreaks as the peasant-rebels called *Bacaudae* so often made in Gaul¹⁹¹—or by barbarians if they should ever come; this was a traditional purpose of Roman military barrier-works,¹⁹² and no doubt like the Bitburg walls it was built by military labour, and policed thereafter by a

¹⁸⁷ *Not. Dign. Occ.*, xii, 13, 26.

¹⁸⁸ In Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1936), 239-40.

¹⁸⁹ *xix*, 36.

¹⁹⁰ *Not. Dign. Occ.*, xi, 60: *procurator gynaecii*

in Britannis Ventensis; see Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 239, n. 1.

¹⁹¹ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 225.

¹⁹² Cf. Collingwood, *ibid.*, 130-2.

guard. The soldiers would be third-rate troops, peasants themselves, settled on such Imperial estates for miscellaneous duties. And a headquarters, responsible perhaps for all this part of the district, is close at hand in the Woodyates settlement.

For by the earlier fourth century this had become something much more than an ordinary 'Romano-British village': one has only to look at the coins.¹⁹³ For the fifty-five years from 306 to 361, covering the reigns of Constantine and his family to the death of Constantius II, the number of coins identified is no less than 699—332 of Constantine's own period (306-337), and 367 of his successors.¹⁹⁴ Dr. Sutherland has kindly commented again. 'The concentration is vast and impressive', he writes. 'This should point to a busy and populous occupation, of this or a neighbouring site' (i.e. taking into account the site directly south of the excavated area: p. 68), which grew, after beginning rather slowly and starting up in earnest only after 275 (p. 67), until it was 'working at high pressure' onwards from 'about 325'. This firm dating for a 'high pressure' period at Woodyates gives strong support to our tentative dating, about 325-30, for the A Dyke. The two things must clearly be connected: the A Dyke will have been built just when the Woodyates occupation, after something like half a century of growth, reached its maximum extent.

The growth and extent can also be seen on the General's site-plan (fig. 13). The ditches of the settlement, whatever their age-relation to each other, encroached on the Roman road-ditches, which were cut into for pits, hearth, etc. North of these, the original western road-ditch was superseded for 250 ft. by a later one;¹⁹⁵ and farther south it was by now filled up and being covered by thick black mould, which the General found sealed by the later Fore Dyke rampart south-east of his Section 2. In this mould, as well as a coin of Constans,¹⁹⁶ was the buff mortarium-fragment, fig. 16, b,¹⁹⁷ of late third to fourth-century type.¹⁹⁸ The road's central agger, however, shows no sign of interruption; the eastern outfall-ditch was carried under it, but presumably in a culvert which disappeared in more recent times, when the crown of the road here was dug away to get material for the modern one.¹⁹⁹ The numerous inhumation-burials found, evidently mainly of the fourth century (p. 66), were normally in these ditches (as was an interesting cremation in a dug-out coffin);²⁰⁰ five of the inhumations were in a rectangular ditched cemetery (the

¹⁹³ Pp. 152-203; list summarized, p. 155; cf. p. 67, above.

¹⁹⁴ Since of the 1,210 coins found in all 252 are 'unidentified and doubtful' (p. 155), one could reasonably augment these figures by 20 or 25 per cent.

¹⁹⁵ This later road-ditch, the General's 'North Road Drain' (pp. 65-6), contained 59 pieces of cream, painted fourth-century New Forest ware, as against 6 pieces in the original road-ditch (the 'Cross Drain'); of the harder, fluted thumb-pot and similar colour-coated New Forest ware, which began to be made earlier, in the 40 years before 325-30 (*Antiq. Journ.*, xviii, 126-7; cf. p. 42, above), it contained 63 pieces against the original ditch's 50: see the relic tables.

¹⁹⁶ Pp. 90-1, pl. clxxi, Section 6, L; plan, pl. clxvi, no. 20. 'Cross Ditch' and 'Cross Drain' here of course both mean the original road-ditch.

¹⁹⁷ Not recorded *loc. cit.*, so presumably found to one side of the line of Section 6; but is in the Museum, where I found and drew it, clearly labelled 'Black mould of Ramp over Cross Ditch by Dyke and Gate, 1890', which can only mean the black mould stratum over that ditch and under the rampart of the Dyke at this place, directly adjoining the field-gate through the modern hedge shown on pls. clxii and clxvi; the relic table for Section 6 is dated January 28th, 1890.

¹⁹⁸ Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter 1912*, 79-80, fig. 120, type 130, late third century; Sumner, *Excav. New Forest R. Pottery Sites*, 35-7, pl. X A, 8, 10, Ashley Rails, type B, fourth century (from about 325-30: p. 68 here).

¹⁹⁹ Pp. 67-8.

²⁰⁰ Pp. 220-1, fig. 2 of pl. cxcvi; with late pot like Iwerne fig. 11, e (p. 60 here).

General's 'Square' (pp. 68-9), which has parallels in the Marne region both of the Gallo-Roman²⁰¹ and late pre-Roman periods.²⁰² Two small mounds were also dug, east of the Roman road, which might be burial-barrows like those at Woodcuts (p. 46); no burials appeared, but the finds included fourth-century pottery.²⁰³ And the fourth-century pottery from the site in general, one may say, covers the first two-thirds of the century as well as do the coins.

But now we are confronted by the B Dyke. Where first discovered on the east, as we have seen, it is a re-cutting of the A work; and it continues from the Traverse across the Epaulement ditch (p. 68, fig. 14), over ground presumably no longer continuous woodland (pp. 65-8), to enter the area of fig. 13 400 yds. farther on. And here, where it could have edged forward to include all the settlement, it swings back instead, flanking the Roman road, and then bends again to cross it, leaving the whole excavated settlement-area outside its shelter. To the junction made with it later by the C work, inserted in front of it and thence called the Fore Dyke (p. 65), we shall come presently; but we can anyhow now distinguish it as the Rear Dyke, and fig. 13 shows the sections that traced its course. At two points these are crucial.

First, on the line of the Roman road.²⁰⁴ Its ditch, the General found, had cut the road across. It had been filled in again quickly, while its sides were still sharp and unweathered, with its upcast rampart-material. And it had had the flint metalling of the road at once re-laid right over it, above this filling. Away from the road-line, the sides seeming somewhat weathered, the filling was perhaps less rapid, but it was sealed by thick black chalky mould on a level with the road-metal. The projecting of the finds from all these sections on to one 'general section' (p. 91, pl. clxxi) shows pottery, much of it Samian rubbish-scrap, occurring throughout. But the second crucial point is where two coins were found, in the filling, well below the level of the re-laid road. This was where the ditch had obliterated the original western road-ditch (fig. 13), and was regular and sharp in profile (p. 69) as beneath the road itself, having had the same rapid filling. The section is G in pl. clxxvi, and the coins, nos. 16 and 17 there,²⁰⁵ are plotted thence on fig. 13 here. No. 16, at 5.6 ft., is of Carausius: this makes no odds. But no. 17, at 6.3 ft., is of Valens, A.D. 364-78. The Rear Dyke episode, then, happened after 364. What sort of episode was it? Plainly an alarming crisis. The B work is planned throughout for military defence. To get tactical command of the slope and the climbing road, it sacrifices the excavated settlement-area altogether; it cuts the road itself—a trunk route to the whole South-West; and it runs on for over a mile more (p. 65), to turn what had been simply a protective area-boundary—the A work—into a military barrier across a four-mile pass. But then, after this great expense of effort, it was levelled again at its central key-point, and the road re-laid there through the breach. The episode ended, therefore, in recovery.

²⁰¹ L'Homme-Mort, Écurey-le-Repos (Marne), *Bull. soc. prehist. fr.*, 1928, no. 5.

²⁰² Montepreux (Marne), *Bull. soc. arch. champenoise*, 1933, pt. 2.

²⁰³ Seen in the Museum: piece of flanged pie-dish (like pl. clxxix, 16) and pitcher-neck (like pl. clxxxvi, 2, found with skeleton 15 in

cemetery: cf. Sumner, *op. cit.*, pl. ix, 9-10); relic table, p. 48.

²⁰⁴ Pp. 21, 69-70, 80, 91: LZ in Section 5, pls. clxxvi, clxxi.

²⁰⁵ On pl. clxxi, their exact position in the ditch-filling, projected on to the 'general section' and Section 5, LZ, is shown by the letters E and U.

Yet what sort of recovery was it? The only structural habitation-traces dated by stratification after the Rear Dyke, and before the ensuing Fore Dyke, are those found over the silt of the Rear Dyke ditch and under the Fore Dyke

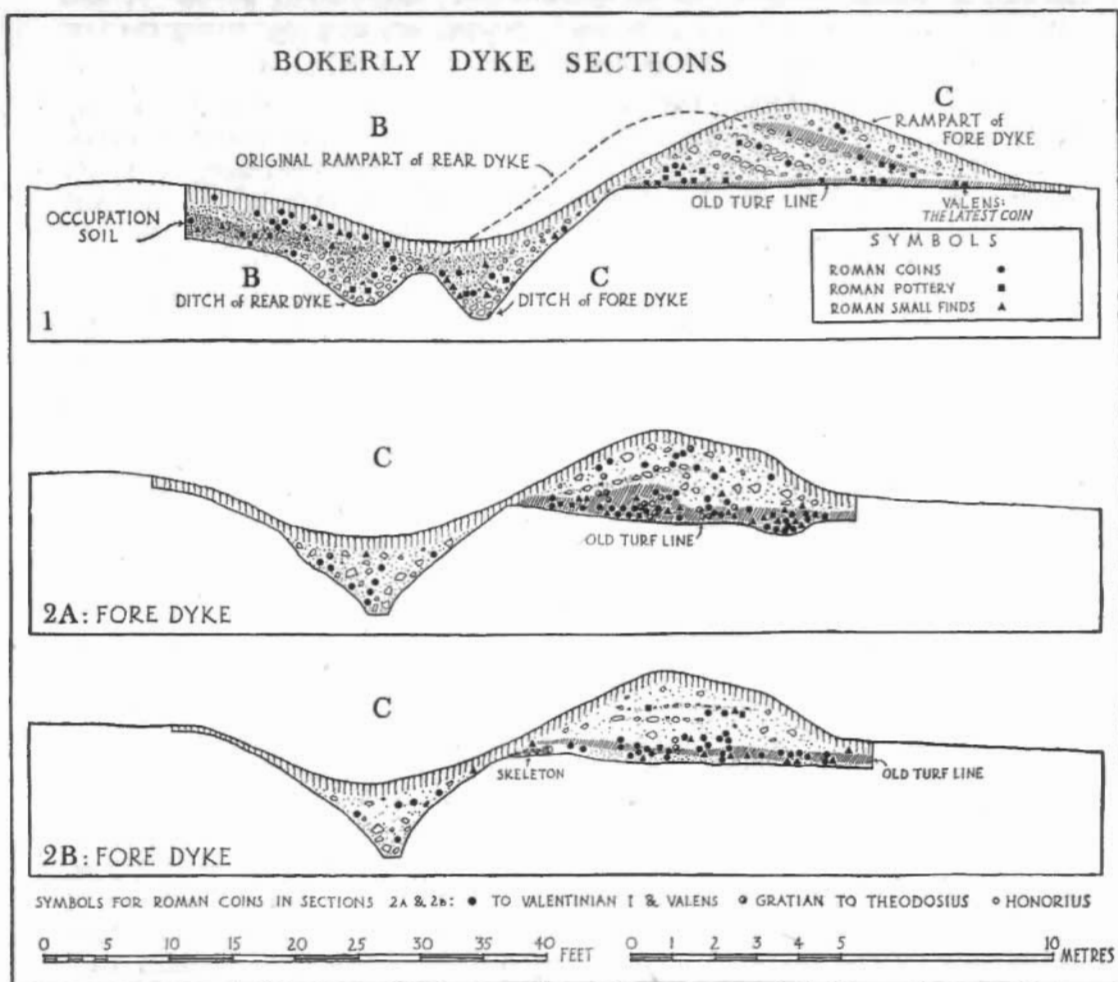


FIG. 15. BOKERLY DYKE. SECTIONS OF THE REAR AND FORE DYKES (B AND C) AT 'BOKERLY JUNCTION' (cf. fig. 13, facing p. 67)

counterscarp in Section 1 (fig. 15), in seeming continuity with previous occupation.²⁰⁶ But the 14 coins identified from within and over these occupation-layers are all of old third-century or Constantinian issues. The site as a whole indeed produced 32 coins of Valens, with 16 of Valentinian I (364-75). But this is a great falling-off after almost 700 of the Constantinian period; and Gratian (375-83) has only 17, Valentinian II and Maximus I each, and Theodosius I (379-95) only 4. Dr. Sutherland's conclusion is explicit. There was still 'a bigish volume of currency available

²⁰⁶ P. 73, pls. clxiii (listing coins), clxv (pickets 20 and 21).

after 360', but its replenishment soon began to fail. 'Then, rather curiously, it all ends: and there is not any group of "Theodosian $\text{\AA}4$ " which might have been expected.' The 'high pressure' period cannot have lasted after 'about 375'; 'then, the series closes down'. Pottery tells the same tale. The late wall-sided mortarium-rim, fig. 16, *c*, may or may not be after 360-75, but it is the Museum's only specimen from the site. And of the late red-slipped rosette-stamped ware, which in all southern Britain is characteristic of the last third of the fourth century,

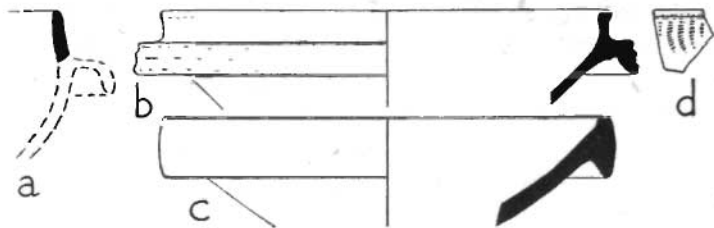


FIG. 16. POTTERY FROM BOKERLY DYKE AND WOODYATES

a, p. 68 (from the A rampart in Section 10: cf. fig. 14, p. 69)

b, p. 72 (from road-ditch beneath the Fore Dyke: cf. fig. 13, facing p. 67)

c, p. 75 (from the Woodyates settlement-area)

d, p. 75 (from in or under the Fore Dyke rampart in Section 2: cf. fig. 15, p. 74)

All $\frac{1}{4}$

Farnham Museum

and was made near by in the New Forest,²⁰⁷ the Museum has only 8 pieces: fig. 16, *d*, is one of them, from in or under the later Fore Dyke rampart in Section 2.²⁰⁸ Of the four figured by the General two come from the filling of the Rear Dyke ditch,²⁰⁹ which confirms the dating of the ware; but its scarcity well shows how diminished the late fourth-century occupation was. And since, of the 71 coins of 364-95, 51 come from Dyke-sections²¹⁰ and only 20 from the settlement north of them, it is clear that what occupation there was now shrank back towards and behind the Dyke-line, leaving the settlement-area outside it to decay.

These Dyke-section coins, by their incidence, show that a date early in their period must be inferred for the Rear Dyke episode. For of the 51, only two are associated closely with it, and both these are of Valens: that already noticed from the rapid ditch-filling, and another, found in Section 1 (fig. 15)²¹¹ exactly at the rampart's tail at a level suggesting loss at latest very soon after its construction, and in any case sealed by the overlying Fore Dyke rampart. In other words, before the Rear or B Dyke was built, no coins of Valens or Valentinian can be located; very shortly afterwards, when it was levelled to clear the road-line, a Valens coin appears in its ditch-filling; and probably soon after that at latest, where it was left standing beyond the road's east side, another was dropped behind

²⁰⁷ Sumner, *op. cit.*, 22-30, pls. iv-vi. Woodcuts, now abandoned, had none of it (p. 47).

²⁰⁸ Marked 'Rampart extension Section 2, Feb. 1890'.

²⁰⁹ P. 119, fig. 11 of *pl. clxxix*; p. 142, fig. 9 of *pl. clxxxv*. The other two are from a ditch-filling in the settlement (p. 149, figs. 7-8 of *pl.*

clxxxvii), as are the remaining three in the Museum.

²¹⁰ That is, from positions in and over the rampart and ditch of the Fore Dyke, or otherwise post-dating the Rear Dyke, in Sections 1 and 2 (*pl. clxxxviii*: 48 coins) and the Rear Dyke general section (*pl. clxxi*: 3 coins).

²¹¹ Section 1 extension, *pl. clxiii*, no. 53.

its rampart. It is known that in Britain, coins of these emperors took some few years from 364 to reach common currency; then, they become common enough.²¹² On this site, shrinking as it was, there are anyhow 48 of them. The episode, accordingly, can be put between 364 and about 370. It was a grave crisis, met by intense defensive effort; recovery quickly followed, but the place was never the same again. It is a matter of history that in 367-8, all Roman Britain was attacked at once by Picts, Scots, and Saxons, and its main defences overwhelmed. In 369-70, the Count Theodosius recovered it; but the old prosperity, above all of its rural life, was never again restored. The context fits our findings exactly. Our Dyke, then, will have been thrown up in 367, the road-reopened through it in 369 or 370, and the settlement's decay begun directly after.

The next thing we know is that the Fore Dyke was built—Dyke C. On the east it first appears in Section 1 (fig. 15), where it is formed by cutting a fresh ditch and rampart-face out of the B Dyke, and heightening its crest, exactly as the B Dyke beyond the Epaulement had been formed by cutting back the A Dyke (fig. 14). Section 2, west of the road, shows it by itself (fig. 15: 2A and 2B represent halves of this extended cutting, with the finds divided between them). The junction of the two sectors—the cut-back Rear Dyke and the thrown-forward Fore Dyke—is the essential 'Bokerly Junction', and was discovered by the General in a set of skilful cuttings (fig. 13), miraculously just clear of the modern road.²¹³ Between there and Section 2, the Fore Dyke's ditch cuts both the Roman road-ditch and the Roman road; and this time there was no re-filling. The cut road (fig. 13) was never again made good; and the rampart, though now somewhat damaged, was never cleared away. The General found it overlying both the old road-ditch and its sealing of black mould (p. 72)—with an adjacent hearth²¹⁴—and the flint metalling of the road itself.²¹⁵

Of the date of the Fore Dyke, this much at least is clear: it was after 393-95. For in the two halves of Section 2 (fig. 15), in or under its rampart, there were coins not only of Gratian (at least 10, and 1 in the ditch), Valentinian II (1), Maximus (1), and Theodosius I (3),²¹⁶ but also one perhaps of Arcadius,²¹⁷ and two without question of Honorius.²¹⁸ With their small bronze coinage, in 395—Honorius's had begun in 393—the Western Empire's mints in Gaul stopped *aes* production altogether.²¹⁹

²¹² Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* (1937), 87-8; O'Neil, *Arch. Journ.*, cii (1945), 30.

²¹³ *Pp.* 69-71, 80, with *pl. clxvi*.

²¹⁴ *Pp.* 66, 69, 90; *pl. clxxi*, Section 6.

²¹⁵ *Pp.* 70, 91; *pl. clxxi*, Section 5.

²¹⁶ There are minor discrepancies, which do not affect the chronology, between the plotting of the coins of these emperors in the sections in *pl. clxiv*, with find-numbers, and their listing, again with find-numbers, in the printed coin-list on *pp.* 201-2. In preparing fig. 15 we have throughout gone by the coin-list. Therefore, in Section 2A, nos. 37, 61, 68 go to Gratian (list, 546, 550, 540), with two under 80 (544, 547) and one under 78 (551, as well as the Theodosius 555), but not 62, 99, nor in Section 2B 67 (or 67A), which are not given him by the coin-list; no. 44 (553)

to Valentinian II; and no. 66 (556) to Theodosius.

²¹⁷ *Æ* 4. Given as certain on *p.* 64, but listed on *p.* 203 as 'doubtful' (no. 588), and omitted (find-number 34) in *pl. clxiv*, and therefore in fig. 15 here also.

²¹⁸ Both *Æ* 4. List no. 557 (Section 2B, 79), illustrated *pl. cxi*, 100, shows rev. clearly of the *Victoria Augg* type struck only in Gaul, and not after 395. List no. 558 (Section 2A, 63) has obv. head to r., . . HONO. . . , chi-rho also visible, but rev. type gone: if same type, not after 395; if *Salus Reip.*, Italian-minted, conceivably after but not necessarily: the bulk of all this coinage reaching Britain must have come close around that year, and very possibly in it, with Stilicho (O'Neil, *Arch. Journ.*, xc, 283-4, 294; Sutherland, *op. cit.*, 93). For our purposes, these two coins must stand together.

²¹⁹ Sutherland, *op. cit.*, 93.

The site produced nothing later-dated. But I do not think it likely that the Fore Dyke was built more than ten years from 395. Its silt is deep, and three extended skeletons were inhumed in it when it had already become so.²²⁰ Some feet of silt could of course form rapidly, as doubtless in the B ditch in Section 1, beneath the occupation noticed above (p. 74 with fig. 15); but here, it would seem that the site still had inhabitants, following their old burial-rite, after silt in this ditch had been forming for much longer.²²¹ The place need not have been wholly abandoned for a long time, and the only question is when, within that time, we should expect the building of the Fore Dyke. It is habitually taken to show that the Woodyates pass was defended in this final form by the Cranborne Chase Britons, after Roman rule had ceased in 410, against Barbarian invaders, whether Picts, Scots, or Saxons. But there was no serious Saxon invasion here in that period before the sixth century, unless the marauding outburst recorded by Gildas in the middle of the fifth century, or the inroad repelled by St. Germanus in 429, reached so far and need be considered, which seems hardly necessary. Gildas anyhow records that before the middle fifth Britain had a 'period of prosperity', and that after it the successes of Ambrosius Aurelianus led presently to a period of 'peace'. It seems probably (or seems at latest) to have been Ambrosius²²² who built Wansdyke, also proved in excavation by the General²²³ to be of about this age, and designed to protect, surely against the Saxons of the Upper Thames, the whole north bounds of Wessex from Inkpen to the Bristol Channel. With Wansdyke successfully held, Bokerly seems meaningless—at all events until the fresh West Saxon threat arose in the sixth century in Hampshire.

But what was Bokerly, in the form the C or Fore Dyke gave it? Simply an improved version of what it had been in the form the B or Rear Dyke gave it, in 367: and the C dyke starts from the B in a carefully-executed junction, exactly as that had started from the A Dyke. Both A and B were certainly official Roman works, and after 367 all A and most of B still stood, the only certain levelling being the short B sector on and by the road. Any local power needing to restore the Bokerly line had only to restore that sector, one would think, and the work would be done. I find it hard to conceive that post-Roman Britons, had they needed the line restored, would not have thought that good enough. The builder of Wansdyke might not have, indeed; but what he built was Wansdyke. The sole advantage given by the Fore Dyke (p. 71; cf. fig. 12) is a more advanced line north-westward from the junction with rather better tactical command of ground. To have insisted on that advantage to the point of building over a mile of new dyke, and to have reproduced the style of the old so exactly in its junction and its whole construction, surely bespeaks a Roman mind, employing a precedented Roman formula to meet a precedented crisis.

The last recorded Roman to restore the Imperial defence of Britain was Stilicho, between 395—the dating-limit of our Dyke—and 399. His work, though soon

²²⁰ Pp. 92, 214, nos. 17-19.

²²¹ Kendrick and Hawkes, *Arch. in Eng. & Wales 1914-31*, 398.

²²² Naturally, this is rather a matter of speculation, from which Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 319-20, and Myres, *ibid.*, 402-3, are quite right to refrain. Yet see Mr. Trelawney Dayrell Reed,

The Battle for Britain in the Fifth Century (1944), 11, 149-58, 197: he has something.

²²³ Pp. 24-30, 245-76 (preceded by relic-tables, which make interesting comparison with those from this site); also *W.A.M.*, xxvi (1891), 335-42. For the Brown's Barn enclosure, ante-dating Wansdyke, see p. 33 above.

weakened by drafting of troops away to fight the Goths, held at least till 405, when fresh invasion swept across the Rhine and left the army of Britain, cut off from central command, to resort to the succession of usurping emperors whose careers brought the island so soon to the end of Roman rule.²²⁴ It must surely be the confusion of those years, when Stilicho's work crumbled between sedition and barbarian assault, that explains the hiding of the sixty or more hoards known in Britain of Theodosian and other latest-current Roman coins.²²⁵ The renewal of Bokerly Dyke looks to me like a last measure of Roman regional defensive planning before the crumbling began, when official engineering traditions were still unbroken, and official physical resources still under command, but with crisis at hand. And for official Roman power here it was final crisis; for the road remained cut, leaving traffic, presumably, to go round past narrower check-points on the Ox Drove ridgeway (p. 65). But for a while there would be little traffic. The pony-trains of the New Forest potters ceased to ply,²²⁶ and the highways would be ways where fools might err, but the unclean barbarian pass all too ravenously²²⁷—to say nothing (p. 71) of the revolted peasant. The immediate crisis for the Dyke-builders, indeed, might be their combination. And among the barbarians, if Picts, may perhaps have come the forebears of the Pictish-named king Natan leod, who three generations later²²⁸ was ruling only just beyond the Avon towards Southampton Water.²²⁹

However that may be, I believe that Bokerly Dyke in this final form belongs probably to the decade that opened with the coming of Stilicho, and most probably to its closing years, towards 405. Those would be the years of the last Vicarius to govern in Britain—seemingly one Chrysanthus,²³⁰ who retired in time to find greater happiness nearer home, and became Bishop of the Novatians in Constantinople. But it is time we returned to General Pitt-Rivers.

6. CONCLUSION: BRITONS, ROMANS, AND SAXONS

Section I of this paper was a general sketch of the occupation of our region in the British Iron Age and the Roman period. In Sections 2-5, General Pitt-Rivers's chief Romano-British sites have been reviewed in detail, and explained as far as has seemed possible at the present time. The chief conclusion that emerges, I think, is that we do not yet know enough, for either period, about the unit or units of rural settlement. What is a 'British village'? Are all of them single farms like Little Woodbury? Or are some of them true villages, with more numerous inhabitants? If so, how can these be recognized? And what is a 'Romano-British village'? How many inhabitants, how many houses, had Rotherley and Woodcuts? Clearly not many. But some of the sites are larger. Woodyates may be a special case; but what about the big site on Gussage Cowdown,²³¹ for instance? How did such

²²⁴ Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 291.

²²⁵ O'Neil, *op. cit.*, 290-305, with list; Sutherland, *op. cit.*, 92-5.

²²⁶ Sumner, *op. cit.*, 82, 81.

²²⁷ St. Patrick would gloss his Isa. xxxv, 8, remembering Watling Street, for O'Neil (a descendant of his captors?) is surely right, *Arch. Journ.*, xc, 295, n. 1 (read with 291), against Collingwood, *op. cit.*, 305: his home was Bannaventa (Daventry), through which Watling

Street runs, giving easy communication with the Irish Sea.

²²⁸ *A.-S. Chron.*, s.a. 508.

²²⁹ The suggestion is Mr. Dayrell Reed's: *op. cit.*, 20-1.

²³⁰ Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.*, vii, 12, memorably cited by O'Neil, *op. cit.* 205, n. 2.

²³¹ Sumner, *Earthworks of Cranborne Chase*, 73-4, pl. XLIV; Crawford, in *Wessex from the Air*, 112-14, pls. xv-xvi.

places, develop, if they did, from pre-Roman times? And what was the nature of Romano-British occupation on the sites of pre-Roman hill-forts, like Ebsbury,²³² Stockton, Hanging Langford, or 'Great' Woodbury? Old Sarum, in this connexion, seems another special case; is Badbury Rings one too? Again, there is the case of Iwerne—a 'village' site superseded by a Roman 'villa' sequence, perhaps foreshadowing later Celtic house-types. How many such cases are there? And what is their significance for the region's agrarian history? Collingwood's suggestion of a change-over in late Roman times from a mainly agricultural to a mainly pastoral economy has appeared well founded. Yet this might be peculiar to our region; especially if it was indeed, as Collingwood further suggested, an imperial domain. That it was so, has seemed likely especially from our consideration of Bokerly Dyke. But what further light on the matter might there be from the region's other linear earthworks?

Such are the questions now outstanding. They can only be answered by further field-research. One would like to compare the rural sites of South Britain with those of the North. They are much richer in datable relics; but they are much harder—impossible, in fact—to plan without excavation. Our examination of Pitt-Rivers's sites, particularly Woodcuts, shows the nature of this problem. But it has yet to be tackled in the way he would have tackled it, were he at work again to-day. Further conclusions, it seems to me, must wait for that to be done.

In the meantime, I will only offer one observation: on the evidence of the pit-statistics. Both at Rotherley (p. 41) and Woodcuts (p. 44), this suggests that in the earlier part of the Roman period, when the inhabitants were still maintaining the pre-Roman practice of drying their consumption-grain and storing it in pits, a large part of their harvest was taken away from them by official Roman requisition.

At Little Woodbury, which was occupied for 300 years of the pre-Roman Iron Age (p. 27), if of a total of 360 storage-pits each be assumed to have been in use for 10 years, 12 pits will have been in use at once; and accepting Dr. Bersu's average of 4.6 bushels of wheat per pit (a bushel is about 2½ hectolitres or about 3 cubic metres), the annual consumption-harvest will have been about 55 bushels. At Rotherley, in the pre-Roman period of the occupation, about A.D. 10-45, a similar calculation gives about 64 bushels; at Woodcuts, again about 55. But in the Roman period of pit-storage, from about A.D. 45 to 175 (the Roman part of Phase I in the Woodcuts sequence, and its equivalent at Rotherley), the calculation gives only 3 pits in use at once at Rotherley, and at Woodcuts 4, storing a consumption-harvest of only 14 and 18 bushels respectively. If the total harvested was the same as in the pre-Roman period, with one-third of it subtracted for seed-corn (stored separately in granaries, p. 37), 50 bushels of a total of 84 at Rotherley, and 37 out of 74 at Woodcuts, have disappeared. It would seem, then, that the Roman authorities took from three-fifths to a half of the harvest by requisition. The annual consumption-average of wheat in the United Kingdom in 1938 was 4.5 bushels. On this standard, the stored harvest could only feed 3 people at Rotherley, and 4 at Woodcuts; whereas their undiminished pre-Roman harvests could feed 12 or 15 people. If in Roman times there were still as many inhabitants as that, they must

²³² Crawford, *ibid.*, 120-2, pl. XVIII; for the others, see above in Section 1.

have lived permanently on starvation rations of corn. Yet, as Mr. C. E. Stevens has pointed out to me, the teeth and bones of the many skeletons found by the General show no particular evidence of deficiency-diseases. It looks then as if the inhabitants may have numbered less than 12-15 people. It will thus remain to be considered how far our sites, or the Cranborne Chase—Salisbury Plain areas, were typical of 'Romano-British villages' in general. The average population-figure assumed for these by Collingwood (*Antiquity*, iii, 275-6) was 100 inhabitants per site. How much too big was this? In any case, one can well understand the decision which he suggested was made in late Roman times, to give up most of the wheat-cultivation in this area, and turn over the Downs mainly to pasture instead. But there is much fresh work to be done, as Collingwood would certainly have insisted were he now alive, on the vital statistics of rural Roman Britain.

It remains to say something of the Saxons. Their settlement of Wessex still poses many problems. But that they first settled this region of it only in the sixth century, and from the east and south, is at least agreed by writers whose minds and standpoints often differ otherwise.²³³ Here too, certainly, the archaeological material needs fresh reviewing. For Wiltshire, it was last listed by Mrs. Cunnington in 1933;²³⁴ in the Salisbury district, it includes the well-known inhumation-cemetery at Harnham Hill, and another, still of unknown extent, found in 1948 at Petersfinger, south-east of the city. For Cranborne Chase and Dorset, it has lately been summarized by Mr. Dayrell Reed, in his book *The Rise of Wessex*.²³⁵ To discuss the whole book would carry us too far; but no one can doubt that the Saxons penetrated Cranborne Chase both late and gradually, after the time of their victory at Old Sarum in 552, and on to the time of that at Penn in 658.

The British survival, therefore, which for the fifth century has left us the Wilton hanging-bowl,²³⁶ will have lasted thereafter for a correspondingly elastic time.²³⁷ And thus the Saxon change of settlement-pattern from upland to valleys, which is so notable in all the region, must not be thought of as happening everywhere at once.

²³³ Compare, for instance, E. T. Leeds, *Arch. of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, 52; R. H. Hodgkin, *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, i, 125 ff.; J. N. L. Myres, in *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 400-5; F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28; G. M. Young, *Origin of the West Saxon Kingdom*, passim, and in *W.A.M.*, xlix, 30; O. G. S. Crawford, 'Cerdic and the Cloven Way', in *Antiquity*, v (1931), 441-58; T. Dayrell Reed, *Battle for Britain in Fifth Century*, 21-2; and *Rise of Wessex*, 42. Mr. E. C. Chancellor, in *Proc. Dorset Arch. Soc.*, lxvi (1944), 19-29, suggests that the British victory of Mount Badon (near the end of the fifth century) should be located at Badbury Rings; the suggestion is not new, but the argument certainly deserves attention: the Saxons, unable to get across the middle Avon at Charford, will have crossed the lower Avon and tried by way of Badbury and the Stour to turn the Britons' southern flank.

²³⁴ *W.A.M.*, xlvii, 147-75.

²³⁵ Pp. 283-71. And see Wheeler, *Maiden Castle*, 78.

²³⁶ This (in Salisbury Museum) has four escutcheons, riveted on, with in-turned hooks and an open-work pelta design of late Roman

inspiration, and a narrow in-bent rim, slightly more developed than that of the Sleaford bowl (Lincs: with out-turned hooks like the bowl in the Traprain Treasure). Cf. T. D. Kendrick, in *Antiquity*, vi, 168, with Françoise Henry, *J.R. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, lxvi, 215-16, pl. xxiii, 1; E. T. Leeds, *Early A.-S. Art and Archaeology*, 8; M. E. Cunnington, *Arch. of Wilts*, 3rd ed., 133-4; *W.A.M.*, xlvii, 174; F. Stevens, *ibid.*, 441-44. It was dug up by itself in drainage work in Wilton about 1860; if Saxons brought it there, after 552, it must by then have been a good century old.

²³⁷ Its museum-archaeology, apart from the Wilton bowl, is admittedly still elusive. But will someone please explain the three applied brooches from Cold Kitchen Hill (Brixton Deverill), with their trying-to-be-Roman figure-design? See *Antiq. Journ.*, xi, 160-1; *W.A.M.*, xliii, 181, pl. II; xlvii, 172; *Devizes Mus. Cat.*, ii (1934), 128-30, fig. 23. If they are Saxon, they are too early for the Saxon conquest here (nearly 20 miles W. of Old Sarum). If they are Roman, or sub-Roman British, how many of all the 'Saxon' applied brooches which have lost their applied face, and been reduced to blank discs, may really be so too?

On this matter Mr. G. M. Young's lecture to the Institute at Salisbury (18 July) will be remembered by all who heard it; and his longer address to the Wiltshire Archaeological Society, given in 1939 at Wilton, should be read and marked by everyone.²³⁸ The demonstration of the change by Crawford, of course, remains fundamental;²³⁹ and we must not forget the detailed application of it, which he made in 1928, to the topography of Grovely Forest, west from Salisbury, and of the north of Cranborne Chase.²⁴⁰ But on the problems of its timing, and of its manner, archaeology has much still to do.

Moreover, the change was not merely one of settlement-pattern, but also of rural economy, farming practice, and field-system. And here again, we shall do well to stop ourselves from thinking in terms of a sudden general revolution. The paper that next here follows (pp. 82-111), by Mr. F. G. Payne, was read to the Institute in 1946 in London. It is a study of ploughs and ploughing in Britain, from early times into the Middle Ages. I will not anticipate its findings. But in this countryside, where the remains of British, Roman, and Saxon agriculture are so prominent, there could be no better approach to the transition from prehistory to history. And at that I must end this paper.

²³⁸ *W.A.M.*, xlix, 28-38.

²³⁹ *Air Survey and Archaeology* (1924), 7-11, with the well-known contrasted pair of maps (8-9, figs. 1-2).

²⁴⁰ 'Our Debt to Rome?', *Antiquity*, ii, 173-88, with full general bibliography (187-8), and fine two-colour maps (184, 190) of both these crucial districts.