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The Ancient Monument in Romano-British Ritual Practices

by Howard M.R.Williams

Introduction

Ritual practices concern performance and movement at and between places in the landscape. Indeed one anthropologist has recently characterized rituals as 'formulaic spatiality' (Parkin 1992:18). Studies of the material manifestations of ritual practices, including the deposition of material culture, human remains and monument building must be understood within a spatial, topographical and landscape context (e.g. Parker Pearson 1993). Rituals also have an important role in the remembrance of the past and the construction of social time separate from daily life. Uniting past and present, rituals establish and maintain associations with ancestors and the supernatural through the use of particular categories of place in the landscape (Barrett 1994:80, Bloch 1977:288–290, Mizoguchi 1993:233). The places chosen for ritual performance may have been invested with liminal or sacred qualities and would have influenced the movement and expectations of participants and onlookers. The antiquity and monumentality of a locale may be important resources integral to the symbolism and organization of ritual practices and important for the reproduction of social relations and identities in past societies.

These theoretical themes have important implications for our understanding of Roman period sacred geography in southern and eastern England. This paper hopes to demonstrate this by focusing upon one category of locale in the Roman period landscapes of southern and eastern England where ritual practices took place: the prehistoric monument. There is evidence that ancient monuments were re-used after centuries and sometimes millennia of abandonment as foci for temples, shrines and theatres, as burial sites and places for the deposition of votive offerings and hoards. Interpretations of the evidence have been plagued by a tendency to regard the evidence in functional terms. Monument re-use is sometimes interpreted as the result of labour or space-saving strategies, grave robbing or the vestiges of pre-Roman native religious practices and superstitions. This is partly because the evidence for monument re-use has not been compiled and interpreted in its entirety. Interpretations often focus on selected categories of data with an arbitrary selection of ritual and secular re-use (see Alcock 1991). The re-use of different types of monument is often interpreted in different ways despite very similar Roman period re-use (Dark 1993).

However, archaeologists are increasingly aware that old structures can be re-used because of the particular supernatural and ancestral qualities believed to be embodied in ancient monuments and objects rather than by practical concerns (e.g. Hingley 1996, Roymans 1995, Spencer 1995). The material remains of the past can be an important symbolic resource in society for the construction and reproduction of histories, mythologies and identities through their incorporation into ritual practices (Bradley 1987, 1993, Garwood 1991). Therefore, the ritual re-use of ancient monuments in the Roman period can be identified as an important resource in the negotiation of social structures, identities and claims to material and human resources by communities and individuals in the past. This paper will present much of the known evidence for Roman period monument re-use and attempt to place this evidence in its appropriate social context.

Roman Period Activity at Prehistoric Sites

Following upon the important surveys by Aitchision (1988), Dark (1993) and Woodward (1992) we can identify three broad categories of monument re-use in the Roman period in southern and eastern England: temples, artefact deposits and burials. The distribution of the main sites suggests concentrations in the Cotswolds (Woodward and Leach 1993:305), Wessex and the Peak District, with a wider scatter throughout lowland Britain (map 1). Examples of each category of re-use can be identified throughout the Roman period although the deposition of hoards and material culture at ancient monuments seems to be predominantly a late Roman phenomenon. Very few burial sites re-using ancient monuments have been adequately excavated and few can be securely dated. Whilst early Roman cremation graves are known to re-use old monuments (*contra* Dark 1993), the predominance of inhumations might suggest an increase in monument re-use over time into the fourth and fifth centuries AD (Dark 1993).

Shrines and Temples (Table 1)

Turning to the first category of evidence, cases of shrines and temples reusing prehistoric barrows are well known. For example, at Haddenham (Evans 1985) and Stanwick (Neal 1989:156–157) the *temenos* enclosures appear to have deliberately encompassed Bronze Age barrows. The possibility exists of a Neolithic long barrow beneath the Uley temple complex (Woodward and Leach 1993). At Brean Down the temple was adjacent to a barrow assumed to be prehistoric in date (ApSimon 1964) and a similar pattern can be observed for Mutlow Hill (Rodwell 1980:570) and Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943). The presence of Bronze Age cremations at Harlow (France and Gobel 1985) and Lancing Down (Bedwin 1981:37) suggests the possible presence of further unidentified relationships between Roman temples and prehistoric barrows.

Iron Age hillforts were also used to contain Roman temples, including well known examples at Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943), Lydney Park and Chanctonbury Ring (Bedwin 1980, Woodward 1992). In these cases the ancient earthwork acted as the boundary of the religious complex, sometimes with a new *temenos* wall constructed over the ramparts (e.g. Bedwin 1980). Other Roman religious centres are close to hillforts including Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993, see also Sparey-Green 1987:69). Admittedly, the monumental forms of Bronze Age barrows and Iron Age hillforts required different types of re-use, in the former case as platforms or foci for religious structures, in the latter case as *temenos* enclosures. Yet in both cases ancient monuments appear to have been abandoned for a substantial period of time prior to their use as Roman religious centres. While hillforts may have continued to be invested with mythical associations for a long time after their abandonment, it seems that it was the antiquity of the abandoned monument that encouraged ritual activity in the Roman period (*contra* Dark 1993).

Site	*Neolithic/Bronze Age Barrow*	*Iron Age Hillfort*
Haddenham	X	
Mutlow Hill	X	
Stanwick	X	
Slonk Hill	?	
Harlow	?	
Lancing Down	?	
Brean Down	X	X
Maiden Castle	X	X
Uley	?	X
Croft Ambrey		X
Lydney Park		X
Chanctonbury Ring		X
Poundbury Camp		?
Blaise Castle		?

Table 1: Roman Temples and Shrines reusing Prehistoric Monuments: a sample of sites.

Also, ancient monuments including the henge at Maumbury Rings near Dorchester (Bradley 1975) and a prehistoric tomb at Catterick (Moloney 1996) were re-used in the construction of amphitheatres. Together, the evidence of monument re-use by temples and amphitheatres suggests a desire to associate religious centres and ritual performances with ancient places in the landscape. It has been suggested that these ancient monuments may have been regarded as the dwelling places of deities or heroic ancestors (Drury 1980:57, Neal 1989). The placing of the temple could create and sustain the cult of a particular ancestor or deity focused upon the ancient monument.

Artefact Deposition (Appendix 1)

It has long been accepted that most cult centres and ritual practices would have taken place in the open air during the Roman period (e.g. Salway 1981). Besides religious structures and amphitheatres there are examples of possible open-air sacred places focusing upon ancient monuments in the Roman period. Excavators interpreted the remains from beneath a barrow south of the Croft Ambrey hillfort to be an open-air ceremonial stage of Roman date (Stanford 1985). The deposition of Roman material at other ancient monuments might indicate a similar kind of re-use as open-air stages for ritual performances and votive deposition. The discovery of more than 726 coins and large amounts of pottery from a Bronze Age barrow on Walkington Wold in East Yorkshire may represent such an open air ritual site rather than a Roman temple (Bartlett and Mackey 1973, *contra* Bailey 1985). At least 156 coins from the aptly named Money Mound prehistoric barrow in Sussex (Beckensall 1967), the cooking jars (100–110 fragments, perhaps deliberately broken), and coins from the Giant's Grave long barrow in Wiltshire (Annable 1970) are further cases of possible ritual deposits at prehistoric monuments. Similar examples of Roman coins and pottery are known from prehistoric tombs from the Peak District including Minninglow (Bateman 1848, 1861, Marsden 1982). These

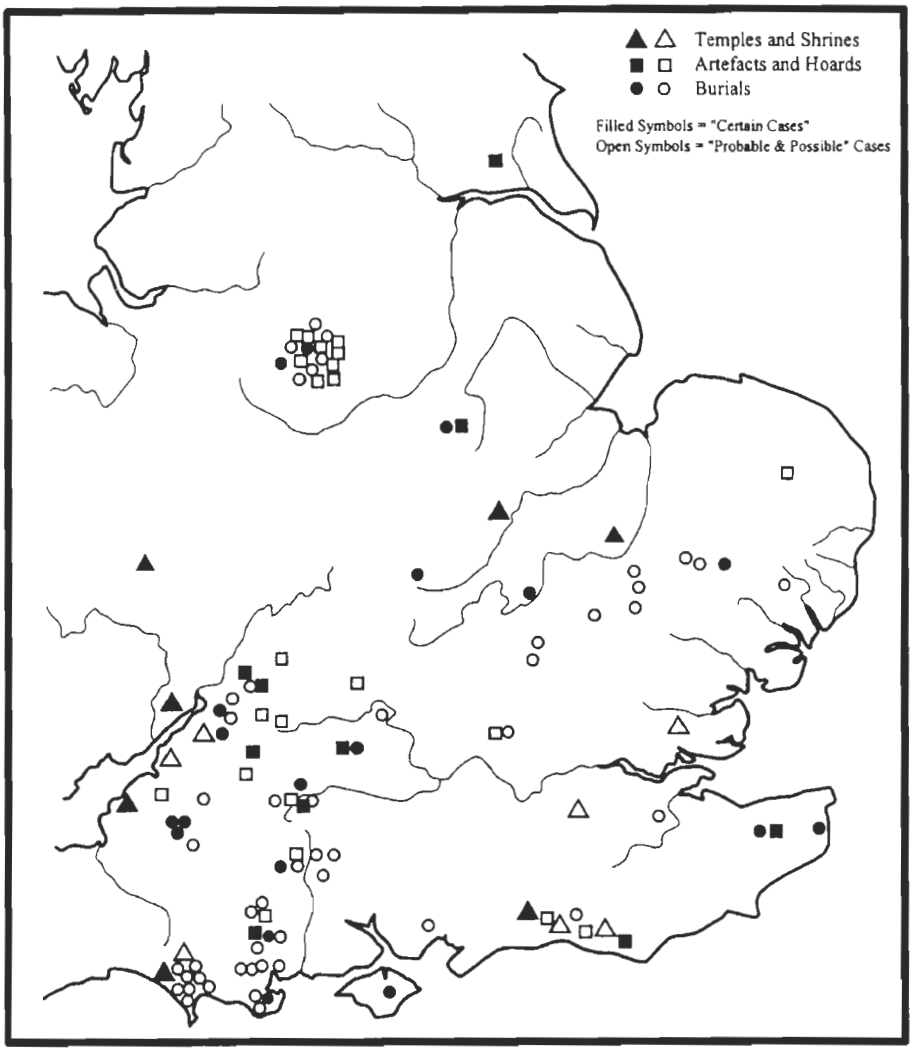

Figure 1. A Distribution of Romano-British monument re-use.

sites suggest that the deposition of small votive offerings at ancient monuments took place over a long period of time.

Even small amounts of Roman material from prehistoric monuments might represent ritual and votive deposits. The coins from the forecourt area of the West Kennet long barrow (Piggott 1962), the coins and animal bone deposits near the prehistoric barrows on Slonk Hill (Hartridge 1978) and a Roman brooch and coins buried deep into the prehistoric long mound on Crickley Hill (Selkirk 1993:503) appear to be deliberately placed offerings at visible ancient monuments. Furthermore, it has been argued that Roman hoards found associated with prehistoric monuments could represent votive offerings (see Aitchison 1988; Grinsell 1967). Other examples of Roman period ritual activity include the placing of altars into prehistoric round barrows in Gloucestershire (Darvill and Grinsell 1989; O'Neill and Grinsell 1960) and the opening up, disturbance and robbing of stones from megalithic chambered tombs (Aitchison 1988; Bateman 1848, 1861; Marsden 1982; O'Neill 1962; Smith 1989; Woodward and Leech 1993).

Other evidence seems more clearly 'ritual' in character. The burial of a female figurine within a miniature long barrow of Roman date on Crickley Hill suggests the ritual veneration of the nearby prehistoric long mound (Selkirk 1993:502–3). More evidence comes from the cutting of a ditch across the forecourt of Wayland's Smithy long barrow later filled with stone and fragments of human bone (Atkinson 1965). The excavation of at least five wells of Roman date around the Neolithic monument Silbury Hill could be interpreted as ritual shafts, although their role as functional wells associated with the nearby Roman settlement cannot be ruled out (Brooke 1908; Brooke and Cunnington 1896; Corney 1997; Dark 1993). Unfortunately, previous claims that suggest that the blue stone chippings at Stonehenge could relate to Roman period ritual activity cannot be substantiated on the available evidence (see Cleal *et al.* 1995, *contra* Atkinson 1956; Dark 1993). The evidence suggests a particular interest in Neolithic long barrows and chambered tombs, although round barrows also frequently contained Roman artefacts.

Burials *(Appendix 2)*

Prehistoric monuments could provide one context for funerary rituals and the burial of the dead in Roman Britain. In a literature review, a sample of seventy-nine prehistoric monuments have produced Romano-British burials in close proximity (eighteen monuments were judged to have 'certain' cases of re-use). There are undoubtedly many more cases that cannot be securely dated to the Roman period. Most burials were found singly or in small groups and the evidence for large burial sites reusing ancient monuments is secure in only a handful of cases (e.g. Frere 1984:302; Miles and Palmer 1996). There are early Roman period examples, including inhumations at Julliberrie's Grave long barrow in Kent (Jessup 1939) and cremation burials at a prehistoric round barrow near Pakenham in Suffolk (Brown *et al.* 1954). There are cases where Roman barrows appear to be placed close to prehistoric barrows including Holborough in Kent (Evison 1956; Jessup 1954) and the West Overton tombs in Wiltshire (Smith and Simpson 1960). Late Roman inhumation burials are also found re-using Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments. For example, numerous burials were found secondary to Neolithic barrows at White Horse Hill in Oxfordshire (Miles and Palmer 1996) and a single grave with Constantinian coins was inserted into 'Hetty Pegler's Tump' Neolithic long barrow in Gloucestershire (Clifford 1966). Numerous Bronze Age round barrows including one at King's Stanley in Gloucestershire have produced secondary late Roman inhumation graves (O'Neill and Grinsell 1960). There are also examples of Iron Age earthworks and cemeteries subject to re-use, sometimes after only a

century of abandonment (e.g. Mucking, Going 1997; Westhampnett, Fitzpatrick 1997). At Borough Hill, Northamptonshire, a Roman barrow cemetery (and possibly a villa) was constructed within an Iron Age hillfort (Brown 1977). Could the placing of the late Roman managed cemetery adjacent to the Iron Age hillfort at Poundbury Camp represent another example of associating the dead with ancient monumental structures?

Once more we might suggest that ancient monuments were appropriated in the organisation and performance of rituals practices. By burying the dead in ancient monuments, the old structures were being associated with ancestors and may have become foci for cults of the dead (Toynbee 1971). Perhaps the dead were being used as mediators with the past and the supernatural. If so, then could the 'votive offerings' discussed above be regarded as analogous to grave goods in some way used to forge contractual links with imagined ancestors and spirits resident in ancient monuments?

Monument Re-use in Context

The ritual re-use of old monuments was a geographically restricted and only occasionally practised in Roman Britain. For example, hillforts could be re-used as rural settlements, for industrial activity and as military bases as well as ritual foci. Other monuments were either destroyed or simply avoided in this period. In addition, the majority of temples and burial sites in Roman Britain do not appear to display any clear relationship with old monuments and instead are placed with reference to contemporary towns, settlements and routeways (see Blagg 1986; Esmonde Cleary 1997; Woodward 1992).

Where we do have evidence for monument re-use, there are inevitably many alternative interpretations. Practical or functional explanations have been widespread. It has been suggested that Roman material from prehistoric monuments reflects casual loss (e.g. Smith 1989), the result of plough damage or their use as rubbish dumps (see Jessup 1939). Hoards were placed in old barrows to hide them in times of crisis and coins were dropped by careless Roman grave robbers (O'Neill and Grinsell 1960; see Annable 1970). While these motivations may have been involved, the combination of evidence suggests that monument re-use often took place because of the mythological associations invested in ancient, abandoned places in the landscape. Other scholars have already come to this conclusion (Annable 1970; Bailey 1985; Dark 1993; Selkirk 1993; Woodward 1992). The evidence for a ritual re-use is most convincing at sites such as Julliberrie's Grave long barrow where more than one form of re-use has been identified, including burials, a hoard, and possible cases of ritual hearths connected with the monument (Ashbee 1996).

Uniform and simplistic explanations for this ritual practice must also be avoided. Firstly we must question the suggestion that monument re-use indicates the continuing respect or re-dedication of existing sacred places, since it is clear that the re-use often followed extremely long periods in which the monuments had not been the focus of ritual activity (*contra* Dark 1994 concerning ritual activity at hillforts). Other interpretations have emphasised the restricted nature of the evidence in contrast to other areas of the Western Roman Empire and have regarded the evidence in terms of local 'superstition' and 'folklore' (Dark 1993). It does appear to be the case that prehistoric monuments were more frequently re-used in other parts of the Roman world (Blake 1997; Dark 1993; Roymans 1995; Vermeulen 1997). While this cautious interpretation is largely appropriate for most of Britain, it seems inadequate to explain the variety of evidence from those regions where the practice appears to be concentrated.

Other interpretations hold the benefit of placing the practice within an historical context. The ritual emphasis upon old monuments can be seen as the appropriation of the pre-Roman past to

symbolize Roman élite domination of the landscape and its inhabitants, or as a ritual resistance to Roman domination by rural communities (Alcock 1991; Evans 1985). In this way we can imagine that attitudes to the material remains of the pre-Roman past were integral to the construction and negotiation of power relations and social identities for numerous groups in the Roman period (Blake 1997). However, if either or both of these views are correct, one would expect a particular interest in Iron Age structures, predominantly during the first century of Roman rule. This is not the case. Another view is that the re-use of ancient monuments forms part of a 'revitalization movement' in the late Roman period (Scott 1991). This interpretation takes into account the chronology of monument re-use yet it also places too much emphasis upon attitudes towards Iron Age monuments and the survival of pre-Roman social structures unhindered through centuries of Roman cultural influence. This is not to argue that these interpretations are incorrect, only that they assume a single, uniform explanation and fail to address the variability and longevity of the practice. In order to pursue these various lines of inquiry further, we must place greater emphasis upon the character of the ritual acts taking place at these sites and the possible significance they may have had for Romano-British communities.

Interpretations

Monument re-use represents a renewed emphasis upon the material remains of the past during the early first millennium AD in southern and eastern Britain (Williams 1996). Monuments could have acted as liminal places and been regarded as the constructions of ancient races, the dwellings of ancestors or supernatural forces, or in some cases the entrances to supernatural realms (Bradley 1987; Dark 1993). Perhaps ancient monuments that were the focus of ritual activity were shrines of local cults of deities, heroes or ancestors, deeply ingrained in the ritual practices and every day lives of certain communities in the Roman period. These attitudes can be seen as part of a wider cosmological context of votive offerings at temples, ritual shafts, wells, cellars and pits (e.g. Black 1986; Perring 1989; Scott 1991; Wait 1985). Burying human remains and artefacts at ancient places may have been an important means of contacting deities and the supernatural (Henig 1984). Consequently rituals at ancient monuments could have sought to secure and maintain the benign influence of ancestors or spirits in order to aid the social and political strategies of the living. Perhaps ancient monuments were regarded as a source of fertility and regeneration for both the communities of the living and the dead (Bloch and Parry 1982:7–9).

There may have been no single social context for monument re-use. Instead we must appreciate that different groups were interpreting and using old monuments in varied ways. Indeed, monuments could have been the focus for opposing and conflicting ideological attitudes towards the past, the supernatural and the ancestors (see also van Velzen 1992). Rituals at ancient monuments could have served in the negotiation of conflicting views of the pre-Roman past, perhaps securing legitimacy for certain readings of these monuments over others. Rituals at ancient monuments may in particular have constructed relations between the living and the land, so consequently the use of old structures could have been related to changing patterns of landownership and disputes concerning rights over land and agricultural resources throughout the Roman period. Furthermore, over the long term, ancient structures may have held an important place in the construction of local and regional identities in Roman Britain (see also Blake 1997).

The importance of this evidence for our understanding of the sacred geography of Roman period Britain must now be evident. Yet the evidence must be seen in the context of an overall increasing interest in the material remains of the distant past that continued and became a central

practice for societies in early medieval Britain (Härke 1994; Härke and Williams 1997, Williams 1996). This early medieval period monument re-use seems to be strongly influenced by practices introduced from Scandinavia and northern Germany but they could have an indigenous component (Härke and Williams 1997). If so, then perhaps we should see attitudes to ancient monuments representing a form of ritual continuity across the Roman/medieval transition.

Conclusions

Ancient monuments seem to have been re-used by certain segments of Romano-British society in only selected regions. For these groups enacting rituals and ceremonies, pre-Roman monuments could have been treated as the embodiment of local deities, ancestors and group identity. It would be overtly simplistic to associate the re-use of pre-Roman monuments with merely anti-Roman sentiments, élite legitimation or the continuation of pre-Roman cult centres. Instead, monument re-use could have served in a variety of social contexts and may represent new ideological and social tensions between people, the land and the past during the Roman period. From this perspective, ancient monuments and ancient places could have provided an important role in the construction and negotiation of social identities and power relations in Romano-British society, alternative to those resources and ideologies provided by the Roman state. Some prehistoric monuments represented important locales in the sacred geography of Roman period landscapes and their re-use reflects an often over-looked aspect of Romano-British ritual practices and represent attempts by groups to assert their reading of the supernatural and ancestral past in particular social and political strategies.

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Appendix 1

Roman Period Material from Prehistoric Monuments in southern and eastern England: a sample of sites.

Round Barrows

Alstonefield, Derbyshire	Bateman 1861	47 coins
Avebury 35a, Wiltshire	Grinsell 1957	84 coins
Barthomley, Derbyshire	Barnett 1996	Goldwork
Biseley-with-Lypiatt, Gloucestershire	O'Neill and Grinsell 1960	Altars
Cirencester, Gloucestershire	Grinsell 1967	Coins
Collerne 2,2a, 2b, Wiltshire	Grinsell 1959	Sculpted Stone, coins
Eaton, Leicestershire	Grew 1980	Coins, Pottery
Haddon Field Barrow, Derbyshire	Bateman 1861	c.80 coins
Leafield, Oxofordshire	Grinsell 1967	Coins
Litlington, Cambridgeshire	Fox 1923	Coins
Long Ashton, Somerset	Grinsell 1967	c. 150 coins
Money Mound, Sussex	Beckensall 1967	156 coins, pottery
Ringham Low, Derbyshire	Bateman 1861	Roman vessel
Saint's Hill, Parwich, Derbyshire	Bateman 1861	c.80 coins
Steyning, Sussex	Grinsell 1967	50 coins
Slonk Hill, Sussex	Hartridge 1978	12 coins, pottery, animal bone
Walkington Wold, East Yorkshire	Bartlett and Mackey 1973	726 coins, pottery
Withington, Gloucestershire	O'Neill and Grinsell 1960	3–400 coins, hoard

Long Barrows and Chambered Cairns

Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire	Selkirk 1993	Brooch, coins, figurine, monument
Giant's Graves, Luckington, Wiltshire	Concoran 1970	Coins, pottery
Gib Hill, Derbyshire	Barnett 1996	Roman finds
Green Low, Derbyshire	Barnett 1996	Coins
Julliberrie's Grave, Kent	Jessup 1939	Hearth, rubbish dump, 8 coins, hoard
Minninglow, Derbyshire	Marsden 1982; Barnett 1996	Coins, pottery
Pea Low, Derbyshire	Barnett 1996	Large numbers of coins
Tarrant Hinton, Dorset	Grinsell 1959	Hoard
Tideslow, Derbyshire	Barnett 1996	Roman finds
Wayland's Smithy, Berkshire	Atkinson 1965	Ditch across forecourt
West Kennett, Wiltshire	Piggott 1962	6 coins in forecourt
Whiteleaf Barrow, Buckinghamshire	Childe and Smith 1954	4 coins, pottery
Wor Barrow, Dorset	Pitt Rivers 1898	Coins

Henges

Arninghall, Norfolk	Woodward 1992	Coins, hearth
Stonehenge, Wiltshire	Atkinson 1956 Cleal *et al.* 1995	Pottery, coins, awl, hammer, knife and sickle
Condicote, Gloucestershire	Woodward 1992	Pit containing Celtic coin and pottery

Hillfort

Croft Ambrey, Hereford and Worcester	Stanford 1985	Platform under barrow, pottery, animal bone

Appendix 2

Romano-British Burials reusing Prehistoric Monuments in southern and eastern England: a sample of sites

The columns indicate the number of burials, whether they are inhumation or cremation (I, C or ?), and the quality of the evidence for re-use (Certain, Probable or Possible).

Prehistoric Round Barrows

Dorset				
Afflington Barrow	7	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Alington Avenue, Dorset	5+	I	?	Davies *et al.* 1985
Bradford Peverill	1	I	Probable	**
Church Knowle 7	1	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Corfe Castle	1	I	?	**
Dewlish 6	1	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Frampton 4 and 5	1	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Handley 29	3	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Handley barrow 27, Dorset	1	I	?	Pitt Rivers 1898
Maiden Castle	3	I	?	Wheeler 1943
Osmington 4a	1	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Poole 4	4	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Portesham	1	I	?	Grinsell 1959

Tarrant Keyston	1	C	?	Grinsell 1959
Wimborne St Giles 24	1	C	Certain	Grinsell 1959
Wimborne St Giles 26	1	C	?	Grinsell 1959
Wimborne St Martin 5b	1	I	Possible	Grinsell 1959
Wimborne St Martin 31	2	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Wimborne St Martin 32	10	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Worth Matravers 3	3	I	?	Grinsell 1959
Hampshire and Isle of Wight				
East Wonston, Hampshire	1	I	Probable	Whinney 1987
Snells Corner, Horndean, Hampshire	6	I	?	Knocker 1956
Ashey Down, Isle of Wight	4	C + I	Certain	Drewett 1969
Somerset				
Chewton Mendip 35	3	I	Certain	Grinsell 1971; Williams 1947
Charlcombe 7	1	I	Possible	Grinsell 1971
Cranmore 2	1	C	?	Williams 1942
Ston Easton 2	2	I	?	Grinsell 1971; Williams 1947
Ston Easton 4	2	I	?	Grinsell 1971; Williams 1942
Wiltshire				
Beckhampton	1	I	Probable	Grinsell 1957
Collingbourne Ducis	1	I	?	Grinsell 1957
Fittleton	1	I	?	Grinsell 1957
Idmiston	1	I	Possible	Grinsell 1957
Lamb Down, Codford St Mary	1	I	?	Grinsell 1957; Vatcher 1963
West Overton	3	I	Certain	Smith and Simpson 1960
Kent				
Hassocks	6	C	Probable	Lynne 1994
Holborough	2	I + C	?	Jessup 1954
Mill Hill, Deal	12	I + C	Certain	Parfitt 1995
Gloucestershire				
Hyde Barrow	1	I	Possible	O'Neill and Grinsell 1960
Kings Stanley	4	I	Probable	O'Neill and Grinsell 1960
Miserden 3	1	I	?	O'Neill and Grinsell 1960
Minchampton 4	1	C	?	O'Neill and Grinsell 1960
Withington	1	I	?	O'Neill and Grinsell 1960
East Anglia				
Balsham, Cambridgeshire	1	I	?	Fox 1923
Linton Heath, Cambridgeshire	1	C	Probable	Fox 1923

Litlington, Cambridgeshire	I	I	?	Fox 1923
Swaffham Bulbeck, Cambs	2	I	?	Fox 1923
Icklingham, Suffolk	1	I	?	Martin 1981
Flempton, Suffolk	1	I	Possible	Martin 1981
Helmingham, Suffolk	2+	C	?	Martin 1981
Pakenham, Suffolk	8	C	Certain	Brown *et al.* 1954
Midlands and the North				
Roxton, Bedfordshire	3+	I+C	?	Taylor and Woodward 1985
Dunstable, Bedfordshire	100+	I	Possible	Dunning and Wheeler 1931
Galley Hill, Steatley, Bedfordshire	18	I	?	Dyer 1974
Borough Hill, Daventry, Northamptonshire	18+	C	?	Brown 1977
Eaton, Leicestershire	**	I	Certain	Grew 1980: 367
Barrow Hills, Radley, Oxfordshire	20+	I+C	?	Frere 1984: 302
The Peak District				
Ballidon 12, Roystone Grange	2	I	?	Marsden 1982
Castern, Ilam	1	I	?	Meaney 1964; Barnett 1996
Harley Hill	1	C	Certain	Barnett 1996
Kenslow Knoll	1+	I	Probable	Bateman 1848; Philpott 1991; Barnett 1996
Monsal Dale	1	I	?	Marsden 1982; Philpott 1991
Newhaven House, The Low	1	I	Possible	Bateman 1848
Stanshope Pasture, near Dovedale	1	?	?	Bateman 1848
Long and Oval Barrows				
Whiteleaf Long Barrow, Buckinghamshire	1	C	Possible	Childe and Smith 1954
Stanshope Pasture, Derbyshire	2	I	Certain	Philpott 1991; Barnett 1996.
Thickthorn Down, Dorset	3	I	Probable	Grinsell 1959
Wor Barrow, Dorset	19	I	Probable	Pitt Rivers 1898
Hetty Peglers' Tump, Gloucestershire	1	I	Certain	Clifford 1966
Julliberrie's Grave, Kent	4	C+I	Certain	Jessup 1939
White Horse Hill, Oxfordshire	46+	I	Certain	Miles and Palmer 1993
Manton Down, Wiltshire	1	I	Possible	Grinsell 1957
Henges				
Stonehenge, Wiltshire	1+	I	Possible	Cleal *et al.* 1995
Hillforts				
War Ditches, Cambridgeshire 2	I	Probable		Fox 1923; White 1963
Limlow Hill, Litlington, Cambridgeshire	1	?	Possible	Clark 1936
Poundbury, Dorset	1,200+	I	Possible	Farwell and Molleson 1993

Borough Hill, Daventry, Northamptonshire	18+	C	Certain	Brown 1977

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