Agency, Structure, and Place: Finds in the Landscape in the Late Iron Age / Early Roman Transition

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Introduction

In Roman archaeology, material based studies have a long history employing identity theory to explore issues of culture, class, status, and gender. This is apparent by the inclusion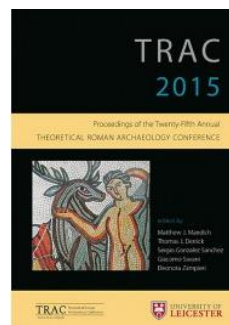 of a number of examples within the proceedings of the Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference (TRAC) over the last twenty-five years (e.g. Willis 1994; Allason-Jones 1995; Jundi and Hill 1998; Baker 2001; Pitts 2004; 2005a; Pudney 2011). These studies have been particularly important in demonstrating the understanding that material culture were not just things that existed in the Roman period, but were also illustrative of social practice, through their construction, use and disposal. A growing body of research has employed identity theory in many forms and to great effect to examine how material culture was incorporated, both physically and socially, into the lives of people and communities in the past (e.g. Hill 2001; Gardner 2002; Crummy and Eckardt 2003; Pitts 2005b). This research has vitally explored the actions or agency of people in the Roman period and how these objects were incorporated into their day-to-day lives.

Despite these achievements, when Roman finds are examined on a landscape scale these studies often illustrate artefacts as points on a map, focusing predominately on distribution in the archaeological record (Fig. 1). Although these maps are useful for answering certain questions of the data (e.g. circulation of use, density of finds) these representations of finds on a landscape scale loose the agency of these artefacts, i.e. how they were used by people in the past, and as such are limited in what they can tell us about social practices from a wider perspective. Essentially this is a problem of scale; with some studies of artefacts and social practice utilising site based artefact distributions to good effect (e.g. Gardner 2007), but with limited success when discussing these artefacts from a landscape scale. Problems with scale, illustrated by the disconnect between artefacts and landscapes, are part of a 'persistent problem in theorising the Roman Empire' where we struggle to 'encompass both empire-wide phenomena and local experience within one framework' (Gardner 2013: 7).

How can we examine finds, and the important interpretations we make about social identity, and portray this on a wider perspective? In particular, can we incorporate important research into the social practices of people in the past, identified through finds analysis, into a wider narrative that examine how social groups formed and operated and, as such, how they contributed to an integrated landscape in Early Roman Britain?
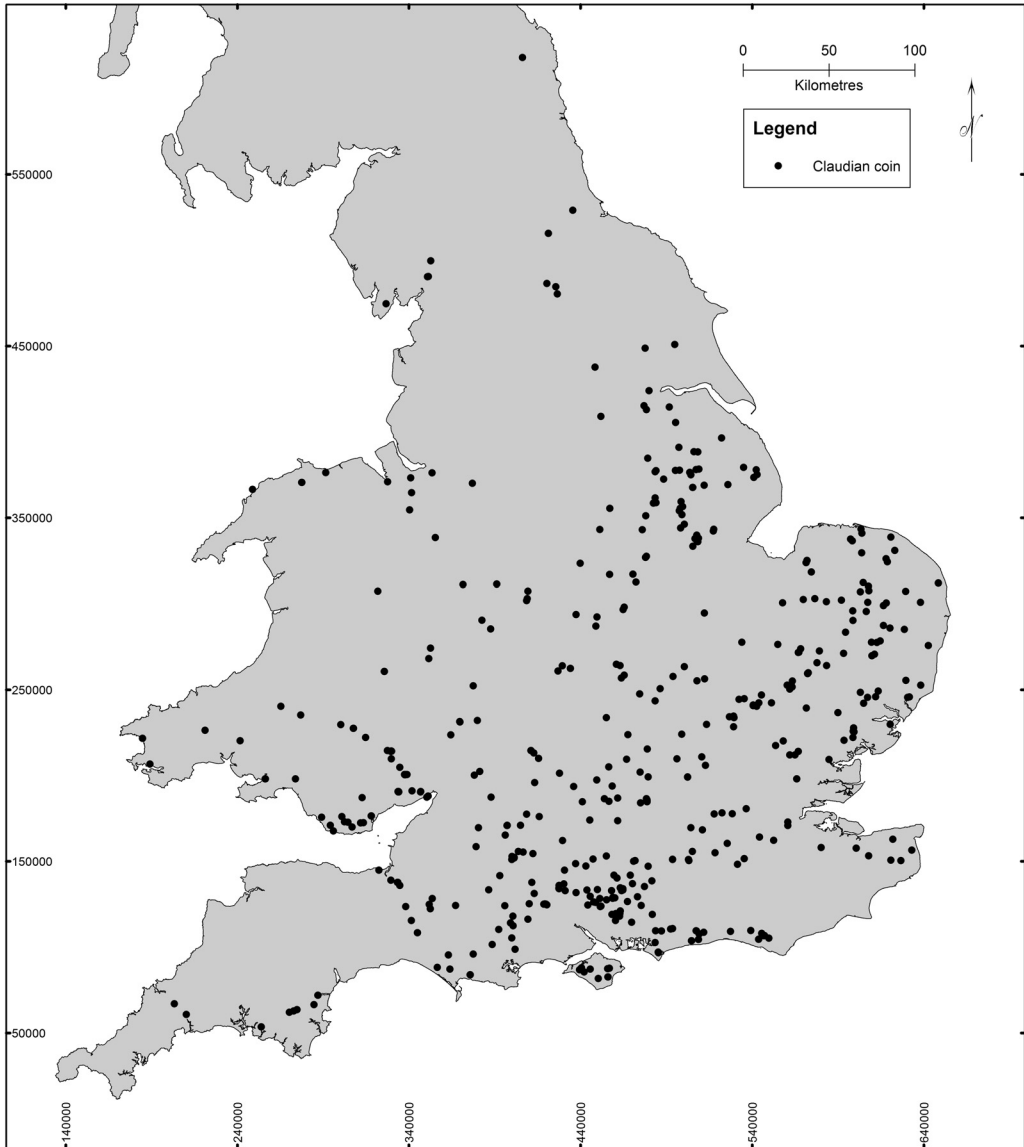
Figure 1: Artefact distribution map – Claudian coinage (source: Portable Antiquities Scheme).

Theoretical Framework

This paper proposes a solution to issues of scale; a multi-scale analysis integrating the examination of identity and social practice with that of meaning-laden and human-centred studies of landscapes. A resolute theme throughout TRAC 25, from the plenary to the summary, was the recognition that there is room in Roman archaeology for the renegotiation and reinvigoration of theoretical perspectives from the past. This paper proposes the combination of two such strands

of theory to develop a meaningful understanding of people on a landscape scale; namely practice theory, in particular structuration (e.g. Giddens 1984) and phenomenological or experiential understandings of landscapes (e.g. Thomas 1993; 2001; Tilley 1994). Essentially what unifies these two approaches, in a theoretical sense, is that each focuses on the study of human action or agency in the past, examining what practices, whether conscious (e.g. deliberate acts) or unconscious (e.g. routine), were undertaken by people in the Roman period and what this tells about their social identity. Equally in a methodological sense we can incorporate different scales of archaeological evidence (finds, sites, and landscapes) within a single framework and explore how our interpretation of this evidence is affected by examining it within an integrated analysis.

Identity

The study of identity has formed a key research theme and one of the 'unifying frameworks' in the social sciences and humanities since the 1990s (Jenkins 2004: 7). This includes, as mentioned above, a number of studies within archaeology in general (e.g. Insoll 2007) and Roman archaeology in particular (e.g. Mattingly 2004; Pitts 2007), which have utilised various strands of identity theory to great effect. A reoccurring theme in a number of studies (e.g. Gardner 2007; Revell 2009; Rogers 2013) has been the use of structuration theory building on the work of Anthony Giddens (1979; 1984). The highly sophisticated nature of Giddens' theory of structuration has led to a number of critiques and debates over its use (Gardner 2007: 45), however, each of the archaeological works mentioned above have highlighted the importance of its core concept, the 'duality of structure' (Gardner 2007: 40–43; Revell 2009: 10–15; Rogers 2013: 17), of which this paper is in part also concerned.

The key facets of structuration theory lie in the companion terms of agency and structure. Agency has been defined by Giddens (1984: xxii–xxiii) as 'the actions undertaken by people or "actors", both consciously and unconsciously, as part of their day-to-day lives'. Structure represents the wider physical and social world (Gardner 2007: 18), i.e. the larger society of which individual lives form part (Jenkins 2004: 25–6; Gardner 2007: 40). Vital to this interaction is the understanding of the duality of structure; that rather than representing a dichotomy, 'agents and structures are not two independently given sets of phenomenon…but represent a duality' (Giddens 1984: 25) where each form 'the precondition and product of one another' (Revell 2009: 10). This approach forces us to examine these constituent parts as one entity but also to understand these concepts operate as interwoven layers of sociality that have the ability to examine social identity on multiple scales. This concept is exemplified through the consideration of the different scales at which human experience operates and is considered here as the relationship between individual and group identity (Jenkins 2004: 19–20).

Individuals and individual agency has been considered a difficult notion to highlight in the archaeological record, particularly as patterns of evidence tend to reveal combinations of actions in the past rather than singular acts, thereby overwhelming social identity on this micro-scale (Gardner 2004: 36). This issue is in part resolved through the understanding, prevalent in prehistoric studies, that the use of individuals or individuality in contemporary discourse may be an entirely modern and westernized concept, which has little bearing in the understanding of people in the past (Thomas 2004: 125). Instead Fowler's (2004: 7) concept of personhood; a 'state of being a person as it is understood in any specific context', may be of use, reducing our definition down to undertaking action (agency) and the context in which it is constituted (structure). However, as argued by Jenkins (2004: 19), the identities of the self and collective

identities are analogous, 'routinely related to – or, perhaps entangled with – the other'. For example, the actions undertaken by people in the past (e.g. cooking, farming, ritual deposition) are structured within the particular space it has been undertaken, but also within the social rules and order of larger groups. That singular act both reflects the will of a single person but also, whether consciously of not, contributes to whole of a wider social group, potentially through the role that individual plays in the collective.

A useful classification of the types of group identity and how it operates on multiple social scales lies in what Richard Jenkins (2004: 24–5) defines as the difference between institutions and organisations. Institutions are social groups which are defined by routine actions, or established patterns over time. These routines are inscribed into collective identity through the actions of a number of people over a significant period. Through repetitive actions social norms are established both internally within the social group and externally to observers and future members (Jenkins 2004: 127). Organisations are organised social groups, with particular objectives and tasks in mind, and a recognised pattern of decision-making and task allocation. These specific tasks require the identification of people to specific roles within that group, to structure how these tasks are accomplished (Jenkins 2004: 136–137). It is also important to understand that social groups, whether an institution or organisation, are both externally and internally defined, i.e. that you can form part of a social group because who actively take part but you can also be attributed to a particular group without actively participating in its construction or maintenance.

Identity is defined by Jenkins (2004: 3–4), a sociologist, as the similarity and difference in the examination of the relationship between people and things. This definition forms a useful starting point in two issues that aid in how we address the methodology of examining identity on multiple social scales. Foremost, by seeking to understand the relationship between people and things we explicitly need to examine how people used objects in the past, in part linking our discovery and analysis of Roman artefacts with that of action, or human agency. Secondly by examining the trends in the archaeological evidence as looking for 'similarity and difference' (Jenkins 2004: 16–27), we can begin to tease out the different activities undertaken in the past and as such personal and group identities from our physical evidence. While personal identity reflects the distinction of one person from another and is visible through differences in the archaeological record, group identity implies that a comparative factor between people is present and stresses identifying similarities within the evidence. Through the examination of 'agency' (action) and 'structure' (the wider world) in the archaeological evidence we can begin to layer how personal identity fits into group identity and vice versa.

Landscape

The interrogation and critical analysis of landscapes as a theoretical concept have also been a constant theme in the humanities, particularly geography, for a lengthy period. In archaeology this research was influenced by, and utilised the models of, the New Geography of the 1960s and 70s. However, the dissatisfaction of purely empirical methods, focused on economic or environmental considerations of landscape, led to a new critique and body of research borne from the onset of post-processual archaeology in the 1980s and 90s (Hamilton 2011: 264–269). This period saw the reinvention of Humanist Archaeology, defined as an approach that 'sees biologically grounded human overlaid by experience' (Trigger 2006: 472). The role of Phenomenology, or the investigation of sensory experience in landscapes, has formed an important but controversial

part of social exploration of landscapes since the 1990s (e.g. Thomas 1993; 2001; Tilley 1994).

The notion of landscape is 'a singularly complex and difficult concept', with multiple and shifting meanings including (but not restricted to) ideas of topography, inhabitation, experience or representation (Thomas 2001: 166). In terms of an experiential or human-centred understanding of landscape, it is more useful to consider what they are not. They are not a passive backdrop onto which human action is undertaken (Thomas 1993: 27) or an natural backdrop for cultural activity (Ingold 1993: 153–155). Landscape paintings have often been used as an allegory for antiquated approaches to landscape, separating people, as the active viewer, from the landscape, as the passive object (Thomas 1993: 21–23; 2001: 168–170), as well as the general dominance of vision in the acquisition of knowledge (Thomas 2001: 167).

Initially commencing with Tilley's (1994) *A Phenomenology of Landscape*, archaeologists, including Christopher Tilley and Julian Thomas (1993; 2001) have developed phenomenological or experiential approaches in archaeology (Brück 2005: 46–50). These studies have differed vastly from the philosophical works of well-known and divergent approaches of phenomenologists of Edmund Husserl and his protégé Martin Heidegger (1962). The exploration of phenomenology in archaeology has drawn on a number of key issues including the role of the body as a medium to provide insights into past experience and places, and the 'deconstruction of dualistic thinking' such as nature / culture and subject / object (Brück 2005: 64–5). Importantly an experiential or phenomenological archaeology emphasises the physical engagement of the human body with the world in order to interact with, and understand, the landscapes that are shared with people of past societies (Brück 2005: 46–47). As stated by Tilley (2010: 25), embodiment is a central term, with phenomenologists working and studying landscapes from the inside, contrasted with abstract or outside experience of landscapes derived from maps, texts, photographs, paintings etc.

An important example of an experiential understanding of landscape, is illustrated by the development of studies which suggest that natural places in the landscape, such as rock outcrops, springs, etc., had specific meanings to people in the past (Bradley 2000: 34–5; Tilley *et al.* 2000). This research demonstrated the importance of these places in the past, but also that past interpretation may have seen little distinction between natural and cultural features, or those constructed by people (Bradley 2000: 157). The relative importance of each of these places were inscribed in collective memory and passed down through generations (Bradley 2000: 157–158). This has in part led to the consideration that '[H]umans, and what they produce, are conceived as being part of the world, enveloped within that world rather than being in some way separated and opposed to it' (Tilley *et al.* 2000: 219). These interpretations also went some way to deconstruct our modern distinction between nature and culture – to one which better reflects people in past landscapes, i.e. 'not exclusively natural, not totally cultural; it is a mediation between the two' (Ashmore and Knapp 1999: 20).

Places, as discussed by Tilley (1994: 14–17), illustrate how we can begin to incorporate a human-centred understanding of past landscapes with that of the examination of social identity. Whether natural or cultural in origin, these locations in the landscape form the foci for 'action, intention and meaningful concern' (Tilley 1994: 18). Rather than just representing abstract spaces in the landscape, they represent the medium in which actions by the people in the past are set. Tilley (1994: 19–20) has equated his definition for places i.e. areas in which action is carried out, as to that described by Anthony Giddens as 'Locales' (Giddens 1984: 118–119), incorporating ideas of structuration with that of experiential examinations of landscape. Tilley (1994: 19) states that '[A]ctors draw on their settings; and the manner in which they do so depends upon their specificity of their relationship to place'. As such, places in the landscape

form an integral part in our understanding of the relationship between agency and structure, as they form the arena for such action and therefore contribute to the structure in which those actions are carried out. Interestingly Giddens' (1984: 118) also advocates for the use of locales on larger scale territorial aggregations, stating that 'locales may range from a room in a house, a street corner, the shop floor of a factory, towns and cities, to the territorially demarcated areas occupied by nation states'. Although these terms direct our analysis to certain societal structures, the overall theme here is one of scale; where singular concepts, such as the agency and structure of people in the past can be expanded beyond the micro, to that of macro concerns.

The role of place has recently been forwarded by Rohl (2015: 12) as a useful tool in examining Roman monuments in particular; to gain a greater understanding of these 'meaningful locations' and to provide a number of opportunities for interdisciplinary analysis. While the premise of this paper agrees with this understanding, Rohl (2015: 4), among other researchers have questioned the facets of phenomenology in the understanding of the past, including critiques of over privileging the physical form and role of the archaeological expert (e.g. Brück 2005: 55). This paper advocates for the use of an experiential based understanding of the past through the philosophy put forward by Julian Thomas that as individuals in the modern world we can only use our own form to experience and examine the landscape of the past, and while this does not allow us share bodily experiences with those in the past, it does 'provide a basis for understanding of how they may have been unlike our own' (Thomas 2001: 181). In addition, more recent approaches have moved away from the quagmire of Phenomenological theory and advocate the incorporation of experiential understanding with more holistic approaches to landscape (e.g. Hamilton *et al.* 2006; Hamilton 2011). The most successful approaches have used experiential investigation in the field to create, as stated by Hamilton (2011: 271), a 'method of enquiry' of experiencing and 'being in the world' that can be incorporated within methodologically rigorous and diverse landscape analyses. This includes traditional methods of investigation, such as desk based research, and excavation, which have arguably incorporated phenomenological methodology (i.e. deep familiarisation with the landscape) since O.G.S Crawford (1953) and W.G. Hoskins (1955) investigations of landscape in the 1950s (Hamilton 2011: 272).

Combined Perspective

A combined theoretical perspective, incorporating elements of both landscape and identity can be utilised to address three scales of society; personal identity, group identity, and landscapes. These social scales are interrelated concepts which can be discussed around a strategy that examines agency and structure (Fig. 2). 'People' are discussed as representing personal identity, i.e. the examination of actions or agency in the past, which are undertaken by separate actors and are characterised by differences in the archaeological record which may stress individuality. This social scale is, in part, visible through the examination of material culture to explain how people used objects in the past and provide some insight into the motives for those practices and/ or routines. The combination of actors, through external or internal definition, form collective identity, understood here as 'Groups'. 'Groups'; may be defined through purposeful action or through a shared interest or belief, which is expressed in part through collective action. 'Groups' are made up of the collection of individuals with similar characteristics and therefore are intimately related to personal identity, specifically the similarities between those identities. 'Regions' are defined here as the understanding of Landscapes as a concept i.e. as inhabited spaces, which are viewed as a combination of culture and nature, and are transformed through the actions of
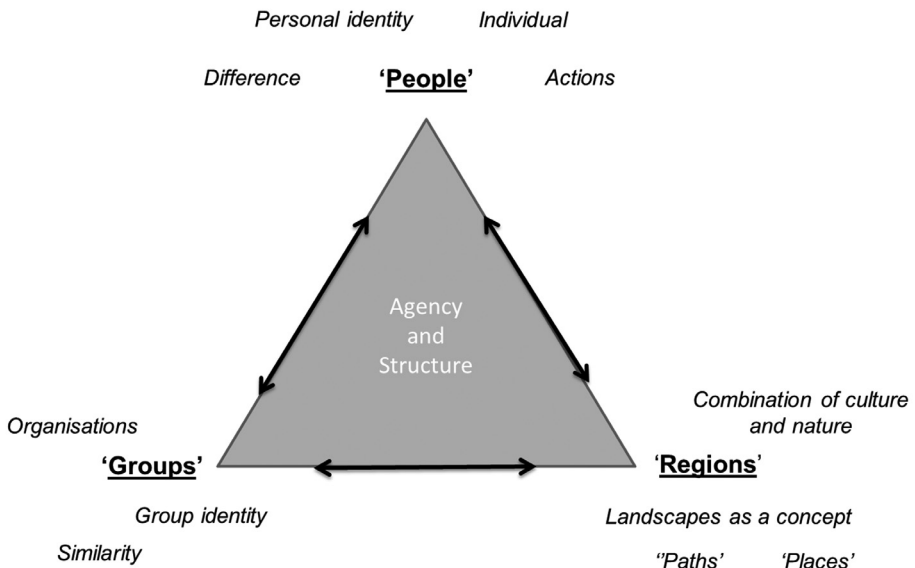
Figure 2: Theoretical framework.

people and groups in the past. The actions of individuals and social groups have impacts on how landscapes are formed, through the creation of places, but also through the creation of paths, socially constructed routeways, inscribed through memory and reflective of the links between individuals. It is through the action of creating these places that the links between some people are formed providing the building blocks of some social groups.

The operation and interaction of these frameworks allow us to examine, through the archaeological evidence, how the agency of people in the past was framed within the structures of the wider physical and social world, particularly the spaces, or places, in the landscapes, in which they inhabited. In a methodological sense, this also allows us to better utilise the range of evidence present on multiple scales, (i.e. find, site, landscape) and equate these to the complexities of identity on multiple layers of society (i.e. people, groups, regions).

Case Study – Hayling Island Temple, Hampshire

To explore the outcome of this theoretical framework, this paper will interrogate the artefacts, structural remains and landscape context of the Late Iron Age and Early Roman temple at Hayling Island, Hampshire (King and Soffe 2001; 2008; 2013). Archaeological excavations between 1976 and 1982 revealed several phases of construction, beginning in the early first century B.C., represented by a square fenced enclosure defining a smaller square plank built fence (King and Soffe 2001: 111). This was replaced at some point in the early first century A.D., by a second outer enclosure surrounding a circular structure remarkably similar to a 'typical roundhouse' of the period (King and Soffe 2001: 113). The shrine was replaced in the Early Roman period (60s or 70s A.D.) by a Romano-Celtic Temple, mirroring the Late Iron Age layout, denoted by a square enclosure surrounding a circular stone tower (*cella*) (Fig. 3). The circular tower, reflected the position of the Late Iron Age 'roundhouse' feature and likely reached 10 metres

in height, similar to other known examples from Pirigueux and La Rigale, Dordogne' (King and Soffe 2008: 142). An important aspect of the each phase of the excavated temple is the presence of a large assemblage of material culture, including coinage from Britain, Gaul, and Rome, military equipment, horse trappings, currency bars, human and animal bone, each dated to the Late Iron Age (King and Soffe 2001: 116), and pottery, glass objects, coins, brooches, and a single inscribed stone altar dated to the Early Roman period (King and Soffe 2008: 141). This material culture has been interpreted as representing votive offerings associated with the ritual practices undertaken as part of the occupation and use of the temple throughout each phase.

While the site has yet to definitively published, a number of important analyses have been undertaken of the finds assemblage, in particular the coinage (Briggs *et al.* 1992; King and Soffe 2001; Haselgrove 2005). These analyses provide a basis onto which we can begin to identify the different people who built and used this ritual site, the different scales of social identity in
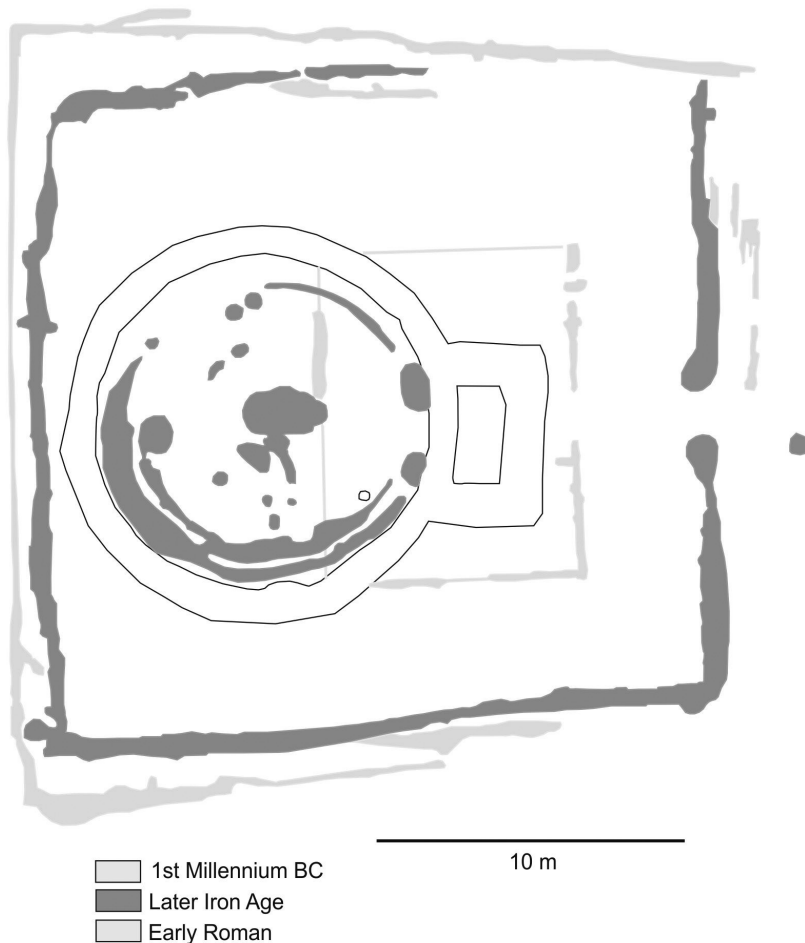

1st Millennium BC
Later Iron Age
Early Roman

10 m

Figure 3: Plan of Hayling Island Temple (after King and Soffe 2001; 2008; 2013).

which they operated, and how that identity changed across the Late Iron Age / Early Roman transition period.

People

The most obvious interpretation of the material culture recovered from Hayling Island is that it represents structured or votive deposition by people in the past, intimately linked to ritual practice. While there has been some discussion recently about the caution of using 'structured deposition' to explain a range of deposits (e.g. Garrow 2012) in this case, the context in which these finds have been recovered (within the Late Iron Age and Early Roman temples), and the manner in which they were deposited, strongly suggests a ritual motivation. This is illustrated through the particular distribution of these finds, both in the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, which suggest that deposition was undertaken in specific places within the temple structure itself. Analysis of the distribution of finds, taking into account some truncation on the northern part of the temple site, suggests that deposition for the majority of finds categories focused on the south-east corner of the temple courtyard, rather than within the central structure (King and Soffe 2001: 117). This zonation suggests that particular movements were undertaken by people entering and depositing material at the temple, i.e. on the left hand side of the entrance as people entered (King and Soffe 2001: 117), and it has been suggested that perhaps the northern or 'right hand' side of the temple courtyard may have been reserved for animal sacrifice (King and Soffe 2001: 121).

The diversity in the types of material culture deposited at the temple (pottery, glass, metal objects, and animal bone) may be a reflection of the overall wealth or social standing of the people who undertook votive deposition at the temple, i.e. deposit what you can afford. However, this material could equally suggest some independence or individuality in what was considered 'special' or appropriate to deposit. While an importance or role was placed on the deposited artefacts by the depositors, this significance could have also been structured within social norms of the period and as such influenced what was placed during these ritual practices (see below). Some of these finds, particularly the faunal remains could give a wider indication of some of the specific rituals undertaken at the temple. Anthony King's (2005: 338) detailed analysis of the animal bone assemblage from Hayling Island suggests that there was a significant selection in the species chosen for deposition (potentially following sacrifice and consumption), represented almost exclusively by pig and sheep. The evidence also suggested that specific parts of the animal were deposited at the temple, with meat bones predominant for sheep and for pigs, a large number of cranium, and mandibles (King 2005: 339). King (2005: 338–339) has argued that this, and the lack of evidence for the animals extremities, may suggest that joints of meat were brought to the temple either to cook and consume as part of ritual feasting or to deposit whole in this context.

Focusing specifically on the coin assemblage from Hayling Island, in part due to the wealth of available analysis (Briggs *et al.* 1992), there is further evidence of particular ritual action on this social scale. A small proportion of the coin assemblage (seventeen) recovered from the Roman phase of the temple were bent or broken prior to deposition and have been interpreted as being purposefully broken with some type of 'sacrificial intent' (Briggs *et al.* 1992: 2). This practice illustrates some of the more personal motivations associated with the actions / rites undertaken at Hayling Island, explained as deliberate destruction, in a number of ways, so that these objects could not re-enter the day-to-day lives of the depositors (King 2008). In addition, a

high proportion of plated coins (silver over a copper core) were also uncovered from the Roman temple, which has been suggested that they might represent forgeries, or coins specifically made as 'temple deposits', in order to reduce the need for the ritual deposition of precious metals (King and Soffe 2013: 9). However, the relative rarity of the plated Roman coins on other site and the large number (36 denarii) found at Hayling Island (Briggs *et al.* 1992: 48) suggests they in themselves could have formed a special deposit, considered important enough to offer at the temple despite their composition as plated examples.

Groups

An examination of the material culture has illustrated some of the specific actions and practices undertaken by individuals at the temple at Hayling Island. However, a consideration of the structure in which these actions were framed will reveal the social group which these people formed. This is clear initially in the collective actions of a number of people who all deposited 'special' items at the temple site and likely undertook a number of associated rituals, possibly as individuals or perhaps, illustrated by the evidence for ritual feasting, as part of a larger group. The shared ritual practice at Hayling Island indicates the creation of routines and social norms, presumably structured through a shared belief system, and forming the core activities of this social group.

What is not apparent in the evidence at Hayling Island is whether specific roles were attributed to people during the ritual practices undertaken at the temple. While this may have been the case, perhaps this social group was formed purely through the undertaking of repeated actions by people, and thus the moulding of routines over an extended period. This is evidenced in part through the comparisons between the structure of the Late Iron Age and Early Roman temple (King and Soffe 2008: 140) (Fig. 3) and the similarity of the ritual practices undertaken in each period, particularly the spatial distribution of the deposition, concentrated to south-east of the temple precinct (King and Soffe 2001: 117–120). This suggests that the knowledge and importance of these ritual actions were passed down through generations over an extended period, possibly 150 years. The presence of a large and unusual assemblage of early Roman coins also suggests the actions of this collective continued immediately following the Claudian invasion, despite the massive upheaval felt in this period. In addition, despite the abandonment of Hayling Island as a temple site by the late Roman period, coinage continues to deposited in this location up until the fourth century (King and Soffe 2013). This suggests that the significance of the site, and as such the routines and rituals established through its use, continued to be passed down through the generations and that a group, albeit of a more limited size and makeup, continued to venerate the temple well after it was demolished.

Following the examination of the diversity of the material deposited at the temple, as discussed above, the evidence suggests that there was a distinct separation between the types of material deposited in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman periods. While the Late Iron Age assemblage consisted of military equipment, and horse and vehicle trappings, these types of find are absent in the Early Roman period (King and Soffe 2008: 141). This has been suggested by the excavators as being indicative of the decline of the 'warrior class' and the rise of the Roman Empire following the Claudian invasion, with civilians forbidden to wear weapons (King and Soffe 2013: 21). Whether this is the case is debatable, however, the conspicuous change in the choice of deposited goods suggests that there are differing trends apparent in both the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period, and that these tendencies changed over time. This demonstrates that while the core belief system of this social group remained unaltered across the transition

period, the way in which these practices and routines were undertaken were subject to change, likely from both internal and external influence.

The influence of external groups to those who utilised the site at Hayling Island may be, in part, pursued through the consideration of the origins of some of the recovered coin assemblage, revealing the changing nature of affiliations over time. For example, Haselgrove's (2005: 393–395) analysis of the coinage from Hayling Island suggests that in the earliest phases of the temple in the early first century B.C. the occupants of the site had links with Lower Normandy and the Loire Valley, with issues later in the Iron Age coming predominantly from southern Gaul. While some republican issues were also present in the Late Iron Age phases, suggesting some links to Rome, there was a sharp increase in Roman issues following the establishment of the Romano-British stone temple (Haselgrove 2005: 392–393). This evidence illustrates the changing nature of social relations between the collective who deposited coinage at Hayling Island and groups on the continent, while equally demonstrating the links between social groups and regional scales of evidence.

Regions

The physical landscape context of the temple is located on an island, slightly separated from the coastline. While the area is relatively flat, the temple itself is located on a slightly elevated position, approximately 5.5m above sea level, which makes it a somewhat more prominent feature over a greater distance. The construction of the Roman temple, illustrated by the excavated remains, suggests that the structure would have been quite substantial in size and have consisted a tall central tower (King and Soffe 2008: 200). Excavated evidence, and comparative examples from Pirigueux and La Rigale, Dordogne (King and Soffe 2008: 142), indicate that the tower itself was plastered and painted red on its external surface (King and Soffe 2013: 24). The colouring, apparent from surviving plaster remnants found during the excavation, would have made the tower particularly visible against the green and blue colouring of the surrounding foliage and the channel. A viewshed analysis of the temple using modern topographic data and the approximate height of the tower (*c.*10m) suggests that the site would have been visible from at least the town of *Noviomagus Regninorum*, now Chichester, located approximately 10km to the east (Fig. 4). As such, the Roman temple would have formed an ever present fixture in the lives of the people living in the town, as well as the surrounding area, and a constant reminder of the routines or perhaps duties that were undertaken there.

Ideas of processional movement and ritual practice through urban space has been forwarded by Esmonde Cleary (2005) for a number of sites in southern Britain. Esmonde Cleary (2005: 1) has argued for the use of 'ordered movement and processions, from one place to another', which would have been 'places of interest to the established social and religious order'. The use of place in this context is helpful in understanding the agency of people within specific contexts and relating those practices to the wider, in this case urban, landscape. Esmonde-Cleary (2005: 8–12) has theorised that pre-existing urban street grids would have been utilised for such processions, citing Silchester as an example which involved internal movement, but also Colchester, where he theorised that movement was taken well beyond the confines of the Roman *colonia*. This type of analysis could equally be attributable to the Roman town at Chichester, with Hayling Island temple in a liminal location outside of the town but accessible via a Roman road, and probable prehistoric routeway, and potentially accessed via other ritual sites including the temple at Ratham Mill (Fig. 4). As discussed above, the practices and routines of groups would have
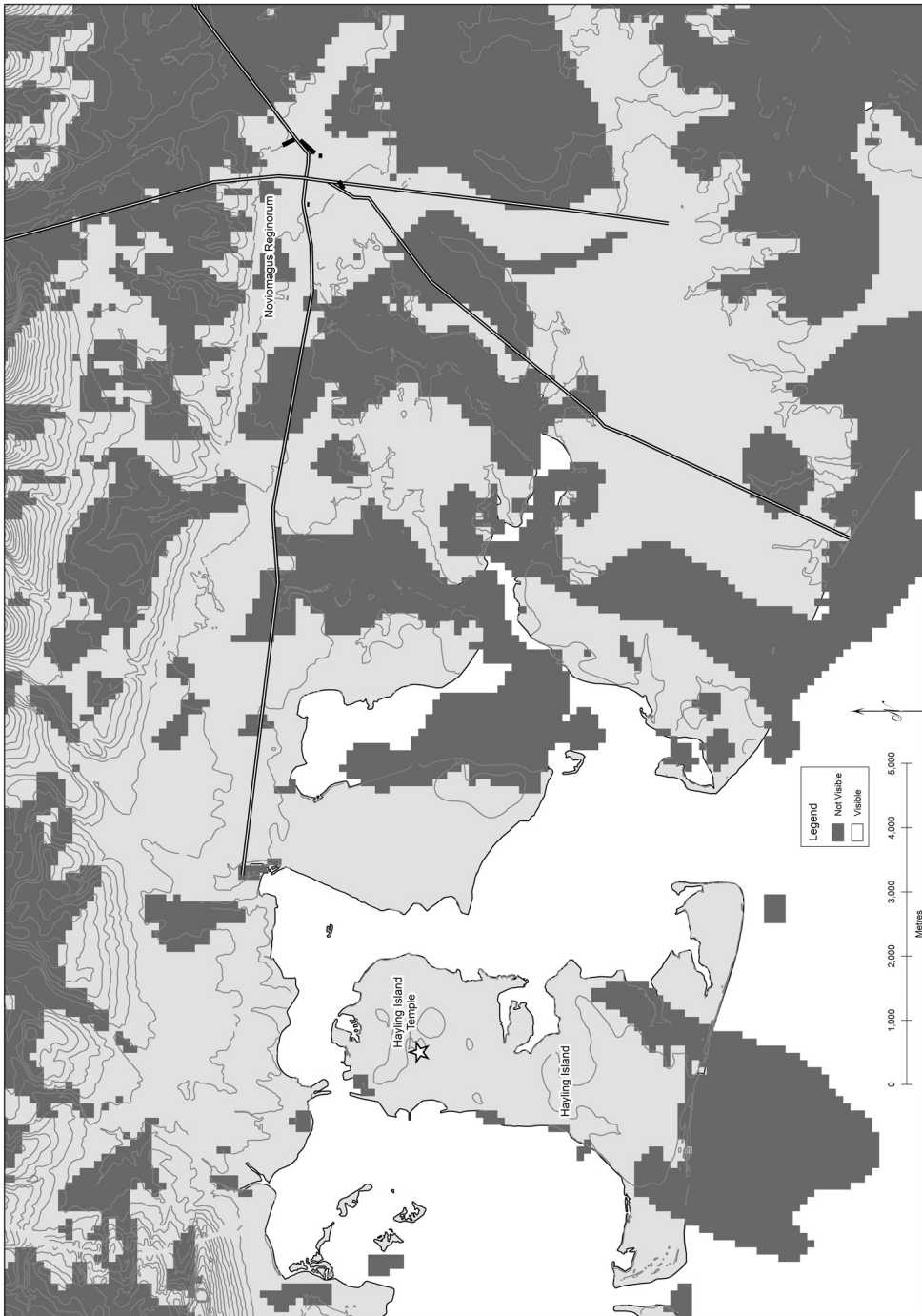
Figure 4: Viewshed analysis of Hayling Island Temple.

been passed down as tradition through the generations, and this could have equally included the movement and pathways chosen as processional routes to and from the site. Inscribed in memory, these routes may have formed a companion part to the rites undertaken the temple site, with the journey forming just as an important and integral part of the veneration, as the deposition of 'special' items.

Conclusions

This paper has illustrated how research into social practice, gathered particularly from find analysis, can be incorporated into a wider understanding of society in the Late Iron Age and Early Roman periods. This has allowed us, specifically in terms of ritual practice, to examine how the actions of people integrate into the formation of social groups and, as such, how these practices were incorporated into the wider social landscape. This has created a layering of social understanding surrounding the use of a particular site, in this case Hayling Island Temple, Hampshire. While this article represents a preliminary examination of the benefits of a multi-scale analysis, in both a theoretical and methodological sense, further investigation could target both individual and multiple identity categories. This would allow for the examination of underrepresented identity categories, such as gender, and consideration of how these might be incorporated into wider perspectives on Roman society.

In response to the rejection of the elite focused model of Romanisation, as well as to the emphasis on lower orders encouraged by concepts such as creolisation (e.g. Webster 2001), this methodology allows the examination of 'the entire spectrum of society' (Mattingly 2004: 7) from the 'bottom-up'. Indeed, the examination of micro and macro scale data in this manner could hypothetically be approached from either direction (find to landscape or landscape to find) to ensure our interpretations of the evidence are rigorous and reflective of social practices in this period. Comparable to concepts of globalisation, this type of multi-scale methodological and theoretical analysis could, arguably, be adapted to smaller and larger scales of evidence, and therefore link 'local experience' to that of the Roman Empire as a whole (Gardner 2013: 7).

This type of analysis lends itself particularly to collaborative efforts, combining the expertise of those with a variety of skill sets to suit the different scales of evidence. Despite the exceptional published works utilised for the above case study (e.g. Briggs et al. 1992), I believe that this particular analysis would have greatly benefited from a collective effort employing varied knowledge of some of the specific types of material culture discussed above, particularly while utilising a number of pre-existing and well-developed theoretical frameworks. There have been limited collaborative research papers published in the TRAC proceedings over the last twenty-five years (seventeen of a total of two hundred and ninety six – approximately 5%). While this is in part due to the nature of post-graduate research in much of archaeology, which is viewed as requiring the production of high quality but single author publications, funding bodies (e.g. Arts and Humanities Research Council 2014) have, arguably, begun to facilitate the use of collaborative publications as part of research outputs. More importantly the production of collaborative / interdisciplinary papers allows the examination of topics from multiple perspectives and the production of more creative and robust research. I would strongly urge the consideration of collaborative research in future TRACs.

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