

*Unearthed: A Multidisciplinary Exploration
of the Romano-Celtic Temple on Hayling
Island.*



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Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

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May you be eternally remembered with the ancient ruins beneath the sunflowers.

Abstract

Despite acknowledgement of its socio-political importance during the Roman conquest, the temple site on Hayling Island has limited literature regarding the rituals or experience of patrons to the site. This dissertation sought to explore the possibility of understanding the experiences of those in the past by studying the experiences of people today. Although it is not possible to determine exact equivocations between the past and present due to vast temporal, cultural and socio-political differences, similarities could enliven the archaeological record and enrich understanding of past experiences. During the Romano-Celtic period, the temple was a place of pilgrimage and depositional praxis, but today it is buried beneath sunflowers on active farmland and frequently visited by a small community of detectorists, the Solent Metal Detecting Club. They work closely with two key authoritative archaeologists, Dr Anthony King and Graham Soffe, and have close relations with the farmer, Sam, and his family. The ability to conduct this project is a privilege granted by familial connections, as my grandfather was a member of the Club. He passed shortly after the start of this project, and its subsequent formation was emotionally charged. This invited the inclusion of theories that are concerned with experience and emotion, such as phenomenology, alongside ethnographic approaches of interviews and surveys. The cornucopia of data revealed potential similarities between the experiences of people in past and present, affected and influenced by the place, such as connecting with cultures and history, engaging in communal and ritualised praxis, interacting with nature and the weather-world, and reminiscing about family and community. This project serves to scratch the surface of such similarities, showing that there is room for further investigation and justified space for emotion and experience in the study of archaeological sites.

Introduction

Identified as a major centre for the socio-political changes occurring before and during the Roman conquest, the Iron Age temple at Hayling Island evidences the affluent political status of local rulers and hints at allied involvement with the discordant arrival of Rome to British shores.¹ When the Romans invested in the local infrastructure at Fishbourne/Chichester, the temple received a Romanised design, although the general plan and praxis were maintained.² Despite this, the known archaeological data from the site is restricted to a limited understanding of the architectural layout and an extensive discussion of coins within the material culture.³ Two thousand years later, the temple is located on farmland. When the crops are harvested, the Solent Metal Detecting Club (SMDC) have special permission from the farmer to excavate and must report their findings to the archaeologists Anthony King and Graham Soffe. The engagement between the farmer, detectorists and archaeologists, in addition to the death of two members who had been involved in arranging digging rights at the farm, have created emotionally affective memories and experiences associated with the site. A similar phenomenon is possible for the Romano-Celtic patrons due to the religious and socio-political nature of the temple; this was a place of depositional praxis and cultural heritage.⁴ Therefore, this dissertation seeks to explore the Iron Age temple site of Hayling Island, England, from the perspective of people who use it today to shed light on the feasible feelings and experiences of those who used it in the past. This primarily anthropological approach seeks to enhance the current archaeological data by incorporating methods such as phenomenological accounts, interviews and questionnaires alongside archaeological theories of landscape, ritual, and emotions. The data gained in this research consists of voice and notebook recordings made during site visits, including directional data and phenomenological journal entries, and questionnaires and interviews with the SMDC as the primary

¹ Anthony King and Graham Soffe, *A Sacred Island: Iron Age, Roman And Saxon Temples And Ritual On Hayling Island*, (Winchester: Hayling Island Excavation Project, 2013), pp. 15-17.

² King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 18.

³ See Daphne Briggs, Colin Haselgrove and Cathy King, 'Iron Age And Roman Coins From Hayling Island Temple' in *The British Numismatic Journal*, 62.3 (1992), pp. 1-69; Antony King, and Graham Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Gallo-Roman Temple In Britain, And A Bibliography Of The Iron Age And Roman Temple On Hayling Island', in D. Rudling (ed.), *Ritual Landscapes of Roman South-East Britain*, (King's Lynn: Oxbow Books and Heritage Marketing & Publications, 2008), pp. 139-151 (pp. 146-151).

⁴ Anthony King, 'Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain', *Britannia*, 36 (2005), 329-369 (p. 359); Anthony King, 'The Pre-Roman Cult Site at Hayling Island, Hampshire, GB: The Problem Of Characterizing An Anonymous Deity', in *Divindades Indígenas Em Análise: Divinidades Pré-Romanas - Bilan Et Perspectives Daune Recherche: Actas Do VII Workshop FERCAN [Indigenous Deities In Analysis: Pre-Roman Divinities - Assessment and Perspectives of Research: Proceedings of the VII FERCAN Workshop]*, ed. by José Encarnação (Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos das Universidades de Coimbra e Porto [Centre for Archaeological Studies of the Universities of Coimbra and Porto], 2008), pp. 274-5 (p. 275); Anthony King and Graham Soffe, 'Internal Organisation And Deposition At The Iron Age Temple On Hayling Island', *Proceedings of Hampshire Field Club Archaeology Society*, 53 (1998), 35-47 (pp. 44-5); King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', pp. 142-3; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 16-7. Briggs, Haselgrove and King, 'Coins At Hayling Island', p. 2.

focus group. Additionally, a fresh archaeological perspective centred on materiality and affectivity is explored, reintroducing the human experience and agency of place to the understanding of the barely studied Romano-Celtic Temple on Hayling Island, Hampshire.

The site has not been investigated from a phenomenological perspective previously, meaning that incorporating qualitative aspects into the knowledge pool could enrich the current understanding of the temple and evoke interpretations anew.⁵ It is due to my late grandfather that I have the honour of pursuing this research as he introduced me to the site and the people who still use it today. My late grandparents were beloved members of the SMDC; they secured permission from the farmer, Sam, for the club to detect on the farm, and their memories were honoured through charity events.⁶ Consequently, I have been granted access to the site by the SDMC, the Farm's owner, and the archaeological team, who have been eager to assist with my research. This connection has also granted contact with two key authoritative authors who specialise in the Romano-Celtic temple, King and Soffe, as they oversee and record any 'finds' made by the SMDC.

The inclusion of qualitative methods within ethnographic research requires the researcher to provide a brief personal background, so that readers may gain insight into the mind that thought of, performed, and interpreted the project and its data. This is because all research emerges from, and is moulded by, the cosmological, socio-political, and individual contexts of the researcher.⁷ Inevitably, my interpretation of the data is moulded by my context and cosmovision, which can be understood as the enmeshed and often symbolism-filled understanding of, and orientation within, the cosmos and local ecosystem, as well as societal and personal environments.⁸ I am a neurodivergent white British woman approaching this research with a background in archaeological and classical studies. I grew up in the south of England, attended university in Wales, and spent a year living in rural Bulgaria. I write creatively alongside my academic studies and enjoy sky-watching. I am not a metal detectorist myself, despite my grandparents' encouragement, typically preferring a 'bookish' path to the past.

⁵ Yannis Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses: Human Experience, Memory, And Affect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 8-9; Michael Shanks, *Experiencing The Past: On The Character Of Archaeology* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 152.

⁶ Belinda Dickins, 'Metal Detecting Club Donates Hundreds To Rowans Hospice After Memorial Dig For Member Who Died.', *The News* (Portsmouth, 29 January 2020) <<https://www.portsmouth.co.uk/news/people/metal-detecting-club-donates-hundreds-to-rowans-hospice-after-memorial-dig-for-member-who-died-1379104>> [Accessed 23 December 2023].

⁷ Fiona Bowie, *The Anthropology Of Religion*, 2nd edn. (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), p. 83; Shanks, *Experiencing the Past*, p. 36.

⁸ Edwin Charles Krupp, *Skywatchers, Shamans & Kings: Astronomy And The Archaeology Of Power* (New York: Wiley, 1997), p. 17; Michael A. Rappenglück, Michael A, 'The Housing Of The World: The Significance Of Cosmographic Concepts For Habitation', *Nexus Network Journal*, 15.3 (2013), 387-422 (pp. 387-388).

Literature Review

Hayling Island: The Site and Its Context

Hayling Island, located on the south coast of England near Portsmouth, Hampshire, is a small and relatively flat islet within Langstone Harbour.⁹ Positioned within the Hampshire Basin, the surrounding area predominantly comprises sand, clay and chalk and hosts a complex entanglement of urbanscapes, seascapes and landscapes.¹⁰ Further features include salt marshes, mudflats and expansive farmland, and Hayling Island has undergone gradual sinking and inundation since the last Ice Age.¹¹ Although rising sea levels pose problems,¹² the island has survived fluctuations of the British climate throughout the millennia.¹³ The bleak, windy weather was reported by Julius Ceasar, who struggled against storms during his attempts to conquer Britain.¹⁴ According to Martin Rowley, the severity of the weather continued for several centuries, with gales, extreme rainfall and subsequent floods featuring frequently in historical records.¹⁵

As stated by David Cooper and Michelle Green, Hayling 'is an island thick with stories.'¹⁶ This is evident from the close and visible proximity of several prominent landmarks and places of archaeological interest; the chalk cliffs of Ports Down Hill house several 19th-century forts and an Iron Age enclosure similar to the one at Butser Hill, which prospers as an experimental archaeology farm

⁹ King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 1-2.

¹⁰ Havant Borough Council, 'Formative Influences On The Landscape', *Havant Borough Townscape, Landscape and Seascape Character Assessment: Formative Influences on the Landscape* (Havant: Havant Borough Council, February 2007), 13–34 (p. 2) <<https://cdn.havant.gov.uk/public/documents/Section2.pdf>> [accessed 23 December 2023]; David Cooper, and Michelle Green, 'Confounding Cartography: The Sandscape Diminution Of Hayling Island', in *Sandscapes: Writing The British Seaside*, ed. by Jo Carruthers and Nour Dakkak (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2020), pp. 191–207 (p. 193).

¹¹ King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 1.

¹² Hayling Island is at risk of being engulfed by the sea as early as 2030. This is a 'moderate' prediction using the settings 'sea level rise + annual flood', 'moderate [pollution] cuts' and 'medium' luck. If the parameters are changed to the best-case scenario, only parts of Hayling are predicted to be underwater by 2050. See Climate Central, 'Sea Level Rise And Coastal Flood Risk Maps -- A Global Screening Tool By Climate Central' (Climate Central, 2023) <https://coastal.climatecentral.org/map/14/-0.9785/50.8045/?theme=sea_level_rise&map_type=year&basemap=roadmap&contiguous=true&elevation_model=best_available&forecast_year=2050&pathway=rcp45&percentile=p50&refresh=true&return_level=return_level_1&rl_model=gtstr&slr_model=kopp_2014>.

¹³ Martin Rowley, 'Weather History', WeatherWeb, 2023 <<https://premium.weatherweb.net/weather-in-history-notes/>> [accessed 23 December 2023].

¹⁴ Jan Goliński, *British Weather And The Climate Of Enlightenment*, (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007), p. 56.

¹⁵ Martin Rowley, 'Weather in History 4000 To 100BC', WeatherWeb, 2023 <<https://premium.weatherweb.net/weather-in-history-400-to-100bc/>> [accessed 23 December 2023]; Martin Rowley, 'Weather in History 100BC To 499AD', WeatherWeb, 2023 <https://premium.weatherweb.net/weather-in-history-100bc-to-499ad> [accessed 23 December 2023].

¹⁶ Cooper and Green, 'Confounding Cartography', p. 191.

and public educational centre.¹⁷ To the northeast, the national nature reserve Kingley Vale features four Neolithic and Bronze Age barrows known as the Devil's Mounds/Humps or Kings Graves, which are thought to have been reused during the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods.¹⁸

Europe, before the Roman conquest, was populated by the heterogeneous Celts.¹⁹ This expansive culture comprised clans, tribes and familial groups that engaged readily in warfare, trade, and cultural exchange.²⁰ Due to interactions with Rome, the Celts adopted writing and iconography on durable surfaces and local gods were assimilated.²¹ After Caesar conquered his people, Commius of the Atrebates tribe (Belgium) earned preferential treatment through importing Gallo-Roman ideals to Britain (c. 57 BCE) – however, he rebelled, lost and fled back to the Hampshire/Sussex area (c. 52-50 BCE).²² Subsequent leaders Tincommius (c. 20 BC – 5 AD), Verica (c. 10 – 41/42 AD) and Cogidubnus (c. 40-70s AD) had close allegiance with Rome, which is reflected in coinage and artefacts.²³ Roman presence is confirmed locally at Chichester/Fishbourne, where early temples to Neptune and Minerva have been uncovered within the *oppidum* constructed by Verica and Cogidubnus,²⁴ and another Romano-Celtic temple is evidenced at Funtington.²⁵ By 43 CE, Chichester

¹⁷ Richard Bradley, 'Stock Raising And The Origins Of The Hill Fort On The South Downs', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 51.1 (1971), 8–29 (pp. 11, 13-14, 19); A. Corney, 'The Portsmouth Fortress', *Journal Of The Royal Society Of Arts*, 131.5326 (1983), 578–86 (p. 586); David Rudkins, 'Excavations At Southwick Hill Cross-Roads, Portsdown, Portsmouth', *Proceedings Of Hampshire Field Club Archaeological Society*, 45 (1989), 5–12 (pp. 5-12).

¹⁸ James Dodd, *Report of Volunteer Fieldwork Conducted In And Around Kingley Vale National Nature Reserve, West Sussex, By The 'Secrets Of The High Woods' Project, March 2015 & February 2016* (South Downs National Park Authority), 1-36 (p. 5) <<https://www.southdowns.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Kingley-Vale-Fieldwork-Report.pdf>>; W. Hayden, 'On Some Prehistoric Flint Implements Found On The South Downs, Near Chichester', *Journal Of The British Archaeological Association*, 50.2 (1894), 131–38 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00681288.1894.11888346>; The Megalithic Portal, 'Devil's Humps Barrows - Barrow Cemetery in England in West Sussex', The Megalithic Portal, 2002 <<https://www.megalithic.co.uk/article.php?sid=5043>> [accessed 23 December 2023].

¹⁹ Nick Pennick, *Celtic Sacred Landscapes* (Thames & Hudson, 2000), p. 9.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Simon Price, 'Religious Mobility In The Roman Empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 102 (2012), 1–9 (p. 6).

²² Bernhard Maier, *Dictionary Of Celtic Religion And Culture* (Boydell Press, 1997) p. 78; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', pp. 140-2; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 15; John Frederick Drinkwater, 'Atrebates (1), A Tribe Of Gallia Belgica', *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.013.939>> [Accessed 30 Nov. 2023]; Sheppard S Frere and Martin Millett, 'Atrebates (2), A Gallic Tribe Of Southern Britannia', *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, 2015) <<https://oxfordre.com/classics/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-940>> [Accessed 30 Nov. 2023].

²³ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, 'Coins At Hayling Island', pp. 3-5; King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', pp. 38-9; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', pp. 139-141.

²⁴ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, 'Coins At Hayling Island', p. 2.

²⁵ Anthony King and Grahame Soffe, 'A Romano-Celtic Temple at Ratham Mill, Funtington, West Sussex', *Britannia*, 14 (1983), 264–66.

(*Noviomagus*) was the capital of the Regni, one of three Romanized civitates that occupied the old Atrebatian territory.²⁶

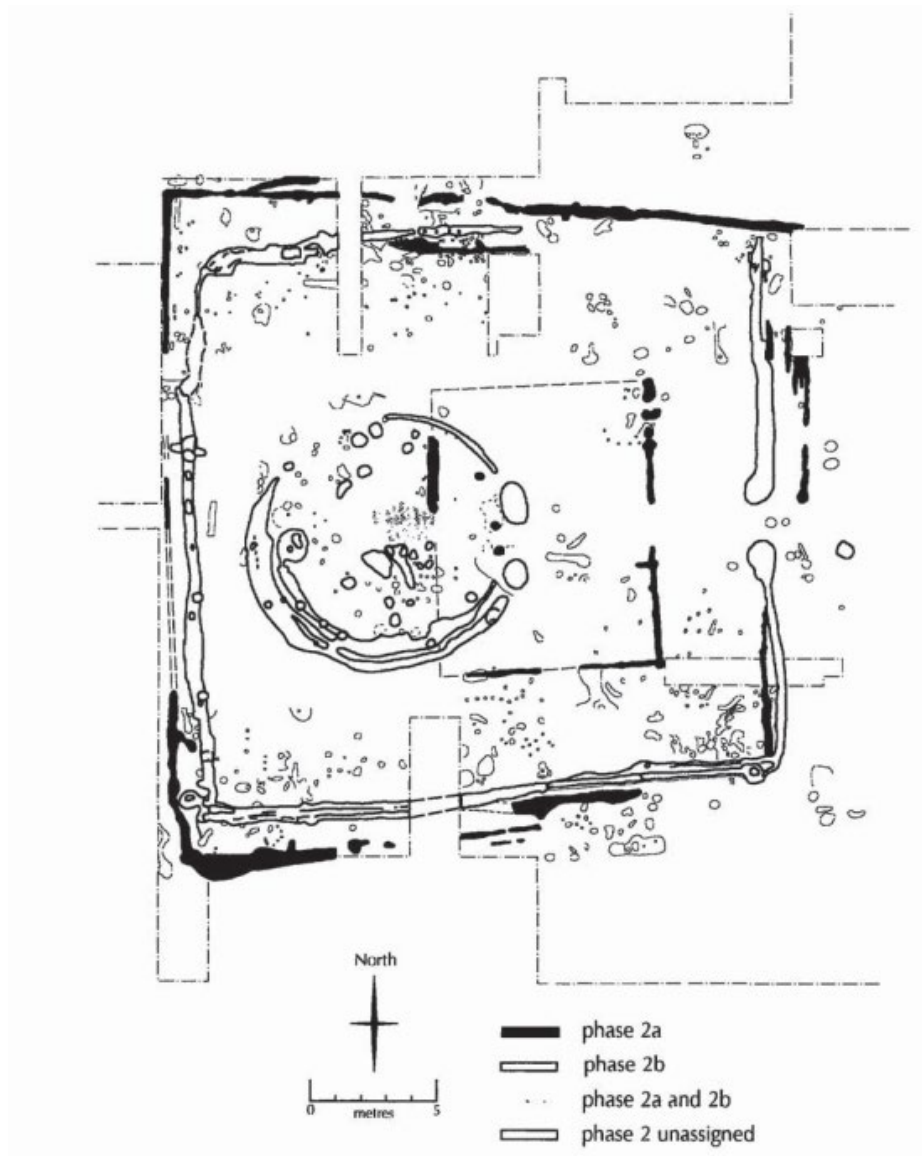


Figure 1 - The Iron Age temple, layout, and phasing.

Source: King and Soffe (1998: 37).

As part of the Belgic influence imported by Commius, a shrine was erected on Hayling Island, that was ‘unlike any other Romano-Celtic temples in Britain’²⁷ with clear efforts to differentiate the sacred site from the surrounding area.²⁸ It is built on a slight rise in the landscape and would have been

²⁶ Frere and Millett, ‘Atrebates (2)’.

²⁷ King and Soffe, ‘Hayling Island: A Bibliography’, p. 142.

²⁸ King and Soffe, ‘Organisation And Deposition’, p. 45; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 17.

visible from Winchester during the Roman era.²⁹ Initially identified in 1826, it underwent limited excavations in 1908, but it was not until the 1960s, when aerial-photography revealed the outline during a drought, that the building was recognized as a temple and excavated further during 1976-82 and 2001.³⁰ There are several documented phases; phase 1 is pre-Iron Age and scantily discussed and documented,³¹ phase 2 dates to the Iron Age and has two sub-phases (2a and 2b), and the final phase is attributed to post-Roman conquest (Figure 1).³² The temple continued to be used until the end of the fourth century, with gradual architectural decline.³³ The Saxons continued ritual activity for a short period during the eighth century AD.³⁴ Today, the Romano-Celtic (Gallo-Roman) temple is buried beneath the active farmland of Solent Fruit Farm.³⁵ Two of the primary authorities on the site, King and Soffe, continue to work alongside the SMDC to document any artefacts uncovered by the detectorists. The finds are photographed, measured, and provided an approximate dating. This ever-evolving corpus comprises several stuffed tomes and is the subject of writings not yet published.³⁶

Much of the interpretations regarding the sacrality of Hayling Island patrons are drawn from continental temples³⁷ and it has been suggested by King and Soffe that the cultic centre of Hayling originates in western/central Gaul.³⁸ Although the deity remains mysterious,³⁹ they plausibly suggest a Mars-Mullo-type deity was being worshipped at the site as the result of being the patron of the Commian dynasty, meaning that the praxis occurring here was related to ancestral cults and hero worship.⁴⁰ It is possible the site was constructed to serve as an ancestral shrine or mausoleum/cenotaph to Commius.⁴¹ This localised dedication could explain differences from other temples; the Mars Mullo temple at Allonnes was architecturally different and built upon stonecutting and metal workshops,⁴²

²⁹ King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 2, 16.

³⁰ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, 'Coins At Hayling Island', p. 1; King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 35; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', p. 139; King, 'Pre-Roman Cult Site', pp. 274-5; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 3.

³¹ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 36; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 16.

³² King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 35; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', p. 139; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 3-8.

³³ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, 'Coins At Hayling Island', p. 1.

³⁴ King, 'Pre-Roman Cult Site', p. 274.

³⁵ Although permission was granted by Sam to name the Farm (via email on Friday 24th March 2023), I ask that the reader honours his privacy and respects his farmland.

³⁶ Conversation with Anthony King and Graham Soffe, 12th September 2021.

³⁷ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', pp. 39, 44; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', p. 140-1; King, 'Pre-Roman Cult Site', p. 275; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 15.

³⁸ King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', p. 142.

³⁹ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, 'Coins At Hayling Island', p. 2; King, 'Pre-Roman Cult Site', p. 275.

⁴⁰ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', pp. 44-5; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', pp. 142-3; King, 'Pre-Roman Cult Site', p. 275; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 16-7.

⁴¹ King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', p. 143; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 16-7.

⁴² Hélène Dessales, 'The Archaeology Of Construction: A New Approach To Roman Architecture', *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 72.1 (2017), 69–86 (p. 80) <<https://doi.org/10.1017/ahsse.2019.6>>; See also Véronique Brouquier-

and at Entrains, the architecture is similar but the deities are Epona, the horse goddess, and Grinovantis, an Apollo-like god.⁴³ Nonetheless, the Celtic Mars was associated with the protection of the tribe, warriors and death.⁴⁴ However, in a separate paper, King stands by the notion of the shrine 'commemorating the royal house' but doubts its' specific dedication to Mars-Mullo.⁴⁵ Furthermore, he suggests that the original foundation of the shrine was based around the burial of a horse and its' vehicle.⁴⁶

The ritual praxis identified at Hayling was common in south-central England during the Iron Age and is evidenced in Britain and Gaul.⁴⁷ The votive offerings were involved in highly structured depositional practices, whereby certain objects were broken and placed in specific zones, particularly in the southeastern quart of the courtyard, or the left-hand side of entering worshippers.⁴⁸ Structured depositions were the subject of study by Adrian Chadwick, who believes the ritualised acts are part of a routinised continuum of praxis.⁴⁹ King and Soffe, inspired by a quote from Poseidonius regarding Celtic ritual practices, suggest that 'sacrificial actions took place on the right-hand (northerly) side of the enclosure, whilst the deposition of the votive remains took place on the left-hand side'.⁵⁰ Additionally, they propose such intentional deposition was repeated, with artefacts 'disturbed and repositied again'.⁵¹

A focused report by Richard Coates highlights a potential etymology for Hayling in the word Old English *Hegelingas*, which would have a lexical derivative in *gegaeg*, meaning 'enclosure'; a *Hegeling is a 'place marked by an enclosure'.⁵² However, this latter interpretation is 'doubtful' to Coates, who states that it would be premature to associate this etymology with the Iron Age/Romano-British temple.⁵³ While it could be presumptive, it is an undeniably interesting and poignant

Reddé, and Katherine Gruel, 'Le Sanctuaire De Mars Mullo Chez Les Aulerques Cénomans (Allonnes, Sarthe) Ve S. Av. J.-C. -Ive S. Apr. J.-C. Etat Des Recherches Actuelles' [The Sanctuary of Mars Mullo Among The Aulerques Cénomans (Allonnes, Sarthe) 5th century BC - 5th century BC J.-C. State of Current Research], *Gallia*, (2004), 291–386.

⁴³ Isabelle Faudet, 'Private Devotions at Temples in Central and Eastern Gaul', in Ralph Haeusser and Anthony King (eds.), *Religious Individualisation: Archaeological, Iconographic and Epigraphic Case Studies from the Roman World*, (Oxbrow Books: Oxford, 2023), 127-145 (p. 140).

⁴⁴ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 45; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 16-7.

⁴⁵ King, 'Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain', pp. 337.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 341.

⁴⁷ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, 'Coins At Hayling Island', p. 2; King, 'Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain', p. 359.

⁴⁸ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 42; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', p. 140; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 14-8.

⁴⁹ Adrian Chadwick, 'Routine Magic, Mundane Ritual: Towards A Unified Notion Of Depositional Practice', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 31.3 (2012), 283–315 (p. 283), <<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0092.2012.00390.x>>.

⁵⁰ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 45.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁵² Richard Coates, 'The Place-Names of Hayling Island, Hampshire', (1991)

<http://www.uwe.ac.uk/hlss/llas/staff_coates_r_hayling.doc> [Accessed 26 December 2023], p. 26.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

connection. Coates suggests a Welsh origin in a different publication concerning family names, rather than places, meaning ‘cupbearer’.⁵⁴ A considerably more probable etymology determines the etymology as Celtic meaning ‘salt meadow/grassland’.⁵⁵ The salt industry was a long-standing tradition on Hayling Island, and it is thought that the Celts employed a method that involved ‘setting a pile of wood on fire and pouring sea water on the ashes’.⁵⁶ Salt mining is a potential reason for building on Hayling Island due to the political advantages of trading salt with the Romans and since pilgrimages to the site could coincide with seasonal activities.⁵⁷

Understanding Sacred Landscapes

Early discussions of religion were influenced by the now-rejected framework of social evolutionism, meaning that religions were thought to evolve from animist belief to the institutional system of the Judeo-Christian traditions, which typically served as a scholarly template of religion.⁵⁸ Scholars such as Robert Ranulf Marett and Otto Rank proposed that the ‘source’ of religion is a sense of awe, which only becomes religion upon extended socio-cultural and historical refinement and rationalisation through pondering, theorizing, ritual and doctrine.⁵⁹ The sociologist Emile Durkheim similarly defined religion according to Judeo-Christian characteristics and terminology, stating that religion is ‘a unified set of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things... which unite into one single moral community called a Church[.]’⁶⁰ For Durkheim, the sacred was immaterial, imbued into places and things by humanity and constructed by their collective awe and subsequent refinement through active engagement,⁶¹ similar to Marett and Rank. In contrast, Mircea Eliade proposed humans interact with paradigmatic celestial prototypes created by the gods and re-awaken the inherent sacrality of the environment through ritual, encouraging sacrality to reveal itself to humanity.⁶² This numinous experience whereby the divine manifests itself as dichotomously divided from the profane is a

⁵⁴ Patrick Hanks, Richard Coates, and Peter McClure, *The Oxford Dictionary Of Family Names In Britain And Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), pp. 1232-3.

⁵⁵ Thomas William Shore, ‘Hayling Island’, *Hampshire Studies: Proceedings Of The Hampshire Field Club And Archaeological Society*, In Memoriam T.W Shore, (1911), 299–311 (p. 299)
<https://www.hantsfieldclub.org.uk/publications/hampshrestudies/digital/Shore_Memorial/Hayling.pdf>

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 300.

⁵⁷ King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 1; Mark Maltby, ‘Salt And Animal Products: Linking Production And Use In Iron Age Britain’, in *Integrating Zooarchaeology*, ed. by Mark Maltby, 9th ICAZ Conference (Durham 2002) (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006), 117–22 (pp. 117-9).

⁵⁸ Thomas A. DuBois, *An Introduction To Shamanism* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 7-10.

⁵⁹ Robert R. Marett, *The Threshold Of Religion* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1909), p. 15 as cited in DuBois, *Shamanism*, p. 8; Otto Rank, *Psychology And The Soul*, trans. by William D. Turner (Philadelphia: University Of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), 142-3 as cited in DuBois, *Shamanism*, p. 8.

⁶⁰ Emile Durkheim, *Sociology And Philosophy* (New York: Free Press, 1953), p. 62 as cited on DuBois, *Shamanism*, p. 8.

⁶¹ Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms Of The Religious Life*, trans. Karen E. Fields (New York: Free Press, 1995[1912]), pp. xlv, xxv, 226.

⁶² Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred And The Profane* (New York: Harcourt Inc., 1959), pp. 31, 34.

‘hierophany’, a concept central to the work of Eliade that was inspired by Rudolf Otto.⁶³ The latter scholar of religion identified three types of numinous experience; the merciful and pleasant *Mysterium fascinans*, the deeply terrifying *Mysterium tremendum*, and the silencing shock of encountering something undoubtedly outside of ordinary reality that is *Mysterium tremendum et fascinans*.⁶⁴ For Eliade, it is irrelevant as to what form the experience reveals itself – rather, it is the revelation itself that carries sacred importance: a hierophany creates a symbolic centre, an *axis mundi*, that represents the connection between the heavens, earth and underworld.⁶⁵

An *axis mundi* requires regular ritualised engagement to retain and reaffirm its sacrality.⁶⁶ However, a frequent accusation within archaeology is the overidentification of ritual and the subsequent overinflation of its socio-political representational possibilities, despite the illusiveness of a clear definition and little contextual data such an identification provides.⁶⁷ There are a vast array of activities and contextual variations of what can constitute a ritual, such as feasts, sacrifices, ceremonies, dancing, or formal greetings.⁶⁸ Generally, rituals can be used to channel and express emotion; guide and reinforce behaviour; bring about change, healing, or destruction; strengthen relations with the supernatural or support people through rites of passage.⁶⁹ At Hayling, the pious patrons performed symbolic sacrifice through the bending or breaking of votive offerings before deposition and engaged in pilgrimages.⁷⁰

Rituals are embodied, performative, dynamic yet traditional, and little separates them from routine; a slither of spirituality, sensorial engagement, mystical mediation and the induction of awe for the former, yet both acts are highly structured and imbued with cultural knowledge.⁷¹ The link between routine in ritual is hinted at within the work of Ninian Smart, where they identified the source of religion, not as awe, but as fulfilment (soteriology), and claimed it manifested within daily habitus.⁷² However, there is still a proclivity for studying the ‘mysterious’ sacred, as opposed to the mundane magic of past lives. This issue is highlighted by Adrian Chadwick within his analysis of Iron Age and

⁶³ Eliade, *Sacred And Profane*, p. 11.

⁶⁴ Rudolf Otto, *The Idea Of The Holy* (London: Oxford University Press, 1923[1917]), pp. 14-17.

⁶⁵ Eliade, *Sacred And Profane*, pp. 21, 35-7.

⁶⁶ Eliade, *Sacred And Profane*, pp. 29.

⁶⁷ Chadwick, ‘Routine Magic, Mundane Ritual’, pp. 294, 296; Edward Swenson, ‘The Archaeology Of Ritual’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 44 (2015), 329–45 (p. 330). Don Handelmann, ‘Conceptual Alternatives To “Ritual”’, in *Theorizing Rituals, Volume 1: Issues, Topics, Approaches, Concepts*, ed. by Jens Kreinath, J. A. M. Snoek, and Michael Stausberg, Numen Book Series (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 114/1, 37–49 (pp. 37-8).

⁶⁸ Bowie, *Anthropology Of Religion*, p. 140-1; Chadwick, ‘Routine Magic, Mundane Ritual’, pp. 296, 298.

⁶⁹ Bowie, *Anthropology Of Religion*, p. 138.

⁷⁰ King and Soffe, ‘Organisation And Deposition’, p. 42, 44; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 1, 11.

⁷¹ Chadwick, ‘Routine Magic, Mundane Ritual’, pp. 295-6.

⁷² Ninian Smart, *The Phenomenon Of Religion* (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 1973) as cited in DuBois, *Shamanism*, p. 9.

early Romano-Celtic depositional practices in Britain, where he notes that attention is paid to ritualised contexts archaeologists determine as ‘special’, while the informal rituals of everyday habitus are often understudied despite the wealth of knowledge they could provide regarding past understandings of landscape, materiality, and cosmology.⁷³ Additionally, King and Soffe state that the organisation of space within domestic and spiritual contexts was likely imbued with cosmological symbolic referents for southern British populations during the Iron Age.⁷⁴ The supposedly mundane activities of weaving, potting, and blacksmithing were potentially ‘infused with symbolic and metaphysical meanings, and surrounded by rituals, proscriptions and hidden knowledge.’⁷⁵ Similarly, Edward Swenson stresses the importance of identifying marked ritual contexts with their unmarked counterparts; ritual must be studied alongside routine.⁷⁶ Simon Price similarly states that archaeological interpretations ‘must be set in a socio-political context’.⁷⁷ Further, Joanna Brück shows that the people of the Iron Age and early Romano-Celtic period did not differentiate between routine and magic, special and functional.⁷⁸

However, the deep entrenchment of dichotomies into academic perspectives is traceable to the Platonic disunion of Body and Soul, and the eventual division of *logos* and *mythos*.⁷⁹ While there have been efforts to distance archaeological interpretations from restricted binaries,⁸⁰ theories involving them still permeate and influence modern scholarship; for example, the Durkheimian stance that humans imbue sacrality into places is supported by David Carmichael, Jane Hubert, Brian Reeves and Audhild Schanche,⁸¹ who believe sacred places ‘demand appeasement, supplication and thanksgiving’.⁸² Eliade’s attitude is represented by Josef Heinisch within his framework for sacred geography, whereby he emphasized sacrality was not formed by human activity but magnified through the construction of structures that aligned with celestial phenomena and integrated the environment.⁸³ Eliade asserts that a locale embraces its inherent numinosity once provocatively detached from its

⁷³ Chadwick, ‘Routine Magic, Mundane Ritual’, pp. 294-5.

⁷⁴ King and Soffe, ‘Organisation And Deposition’, p. 45.

⁷⁵ Chadwick, ‘Routine Magic, Mundane Ritual’, p. 296.

⁷⁶ Swenson, ‘The Archaeology Of Ritual’, p. 339.

⁷⁷ Price, *Religious Mobility*, p. 5.

⁷⁸ Joanna Brück, ‘Ritual And Rationality: Some Problems Of Interpretation In European Archaeology’, *European Journal of Archaeology*, 2.3 (1999), 313–44 in Chadwick, ‘Routine Magic, Mundane Ritual’, p. 296.

⁷⁹ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 25-7; William Doty, *Mythography* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000), p. 6.

⁸⁰ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 48-52; Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 33-5; Belden C. Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred: Geography And Narrative In American Spirituality* (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 2002), p. 5, 52.

⁸¹ David Carmichael, Jane Hubert, Brian Reeves, and Audhild Schanche, eds., *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*, 1st edn (London and New York: Routledge, 1997), p.7.

⁸² Carmichael et al., *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*, p. 1.

⁸³ Joseph Heinsch, *Principles Of Prehistoric Sacred Geography*, trans. by Michael Behrend (Glastonbury: Zodiac House, 1975).

ordinary cosmic milieu.⁸⁴ This is alike the Celtic cosmovision proposed by Nigel Pennick in a publication concerned with the sacred landscapes of British Celts, whereby sacrality emerges with the acknowledgement of the *anima loci*, or the place-soul.⁸⁵ The Celts had ensouled landscapes, meaning natural phenomena had a personality that could be engaged with, and the *anima loci* that was acknowledged and honoured could build personal bonds with those who used it.⁸⁶ Further, sacred qualities could be enhanced through harmonious and stable praxis for the space; performing ceremonies, and creating and depositing appropriate artefacts as a form of ‘spiritual gardening’.⁸⁷ This is identifiable at Hayling, where ritual praxis was stable despite rapid socio-cultural changes⁸⁸ and it was intentionally ‘designed to enhance differentiation’⁸⁹ from the surrounding landscape and was purposefully placed on an island, which was potentially sacred in the Iron Age.⁹⁰ Furthermore, Fiona Bowie proposes that pilgrimages to sacred landscapes at this time were a way of respecting the *anima loci* of the site.⁹¹

Within their work *Landscapes of the Sacred*, Belden Lane sought to employ richness in the study of spirituality using a phenomenological perspective, critically reflecting the political and ecological factors.⁹² For Lane, the formation of a sacred place is *influenced* – not dictated - by humans, and their myriad of socio-political, economic, demographic and spiritual perceptions, and by the non-humans in the environment.⁹³ It ‘is not chosen, it chooses’ and is ‘ordinary place, ritually made extraordinary.’⁹⁴ Place demands voice and agency, but is often overwhelmed by the collective narratives imbued onto it - influenced by political, cultural, and temporal contexts, which can impact cultural value or lead to appropriation.⁹⁵ Despite the acknowledgement of their agency, Lane asserts that modernity has impacted our ability to connect to places, creating a feeling of loss that permeates Western culture.⁹⁶ This criticism also emerged in the works of Eliade and Martin Heidegger, who believed that modern man had become estranged from places,⁹⁷ leading to culture-wide

⁸⁴ Eliade, *Sacred And Profane*, p. 26.

⁸⁵ Pennick, *Celtic Sacred Landscapes*, pp. 13-14.

⁸⁶ Pennick, *Celtic Sacred Landscapes*, pp. 6-7, 13-14.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸⁸ King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 3, 18.

⁸⁹ King and Soffe, ‘Organisation And Deposition’, p. 45.

⁹⁰ King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 16.

⁹¹ Bowie, *Anthropology Of Religion*, p. 47.

⁹² Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, p. 11.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁹⁵ Bender, *Stonehenge*, pp. 5, 8-9; Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, pp. 3-4, Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 37-8, 43, 91; Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 23, 36, 93-4.

⁹⁶ Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, p. 7.

⁹⁷ Martin Heidegger, Martin, ‘An Ontological Consideration Of Place’, in *The Question Of Being*, ed. by Martin Heidegger, trans. by J. T. Wilde and W. Kluback (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1958), pp. 18–27 as cited in Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, p. 7; Bowie, *Anthropology Of Religion*, p. 271.

disenchantment, or spiritual impoverishment⁹⁸ However, Lane believes the ‘human psyche... still seeks a sacred centre.’⁹⁹

The Influence of Phenomenology

The phenomenological approach, coined by Christopher Tilley¹⁰⁰ but employed by Lane,¹⁰¹ Tim Ingold,¹⁰² and Barbara Bender,¹⁰³ is a method focused on human engagement and experience.¹⁰⁴ It is advocated for by Michael Shanks¹⁰⁵ but critiqued by Joanna Bruck,¹⁰⁶ and Yannis Hamilakis recognises its strengths yet requests expansion and refinement.¹⁰⁷ For Tilley, spaces and places have lost their agency and meaning within academic discourse due to the obsession with objectivity.¹⁰⁸ He seeks to reanimate archaeological environments, believing knowledge emerges from engagement and entanglement with environments imbued with cultural and personal histories, identities, discourses, ideologies, memories, and emotions.¹⁰⁹ Ingold shares this view, believing landscapes form biographies of the people (and animals) who interact with it, known as the ‘dwelling’ perspective.¹¹⁰ The landscape tells a story of the inhabitants and this story of dwelling within a landscape formulates a taskscape, which must be continuously engaged with to be formed and maintained.¹¹¹ Similarly, although with acknowledgement of agency rather than passivity, Barbara Bender asserts landscapes are a way for history to ‘declare itself’,¹¹² continually renewing ‘as the present rewrites the past’.¹¹³

Applying phenomenology to lines, Ingold argues that ‘every somewhere must lie on one or several paths of movement’ from elsewhere, and knowledge and histories are formed when persons traverse along the lines, or paths, of life.¹¹⁴ Due to the diverse definitions of a line, he proposes a

⁹⁸ Bowie, *Anthropology Of Religion*, p. 271.

⁹⁹ Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁰ Christopher Tilley, *A Phenomenology Of Landscapes: Places, Paths And Monuments* (Oxford: Berg, 1997); Christopher Tilley, *The Materiality Of Stone: Explorations In Landscape Phenomenology* (New York: Berg, 2004).

¹⁰¹ Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, pp. 11, 52-56.

¹⁰² Tim Ingold, ‘Earth, Sky, Wind, And Weather’, *Journal Of The Royal Anthropological Institute*, 13.1 (2007), S19–38; Tim Ingold, ‘Footprints Through The Weather-World: Walking, Breathing, Knowing’, *Journal Of The Royal Anthropological Institute*, 16.1 (2010), S121–39; Tim Ingold, ‘The Temporality Of The Landscape’, in *Contemporary Archaeology In Theory: The New Pragmatism*, ed. by Robert W. Preucel and Stephen A. Mrozowski, 2nd edn (Singapore: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 59–76; Tim Ingold, *Lines* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016).

¹⁰³ Barbara Bender, *Stonehenge: Making Space, Materializing Culture* (Bloomsbury Publishing, 1998).

¹⁰⁴ Bender, *Stonehenge*, p. 37; Tilley, *Phenomenology Of Landscapes*, P. 11.

¹⁰⁵ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁶ Joanna Brück, ‘Experiencing The Past? The Development Of A Phenomenological Archaeology In British Prehistory’, *Archaeological Dialogues*, 12.1 (2005), 45–72.

¹⁰⁷ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 97-104.

¹⁰⁸ Tilley, *Phenomenology Of Landscapes*, p. 9; Tilley, *Materiality of Stone*, p. 67.

¹⁰⁹ Tilley, *Phenomenology Of Landscapes*, pp. 9, 11, 15. Tilley, *Materiality of Stone*, pp. 11, 38.

¹¹⁰ Ingold, ‘Temporality Of Landscape’, p. 59.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 60, 63, 66-7.

¹¹² Bender, *Stonehenge*, p. 26.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹¹⁴ Ingold, *Lines*, p. 3.

taxonomy; threads are tangible lines that form a surface: traces are lasting marks either *on* or *in* surfaces: cracks and creases are disruptive lines formed through ruptures of the surface: ghostly lines are those that tend to metaphysical, such as constellations.¹¹⁵ Knowledge of people and place can be gained through engaging with the entangled enmeshment of lines, a form of navigating through and thinking about the world that he divides into ‘wayfarers’ and ‘travellers’, with the latter being associated primarily with modernism.¹¹⁶ He states that ‘traveller’ knowledge is constructed and likens them to map-makers, as opposed to wayfarer wisdom which grows with the person as they ‘make their way’ through life.¹¹⁷ These lines of life and knowledge (as well as topography, floral and faunal life, architecture, and human inhabitation) are subject to the tempestuous temporality of the landscape, which is, in turn, at the mercy of the ‘weather-world’¹¹⁸. This concept is defined as the space where places, people, living beings and objects dwell *within*, rather than externally observing, the environment through the medium of air.¹¹⁹ The weather-world, therefore, allows for engagement with reality, and the meshwork of lines reveals those engagements.

Although the concept of weather-world is not mentioned in a volume dedicated to understanding how people experience, discuss, and interpret the meteorological phenomenon they witness and how these experiences are shaped by culturally and temporally specific frameworks, the editors Sarah Strauss and Benjamin Orlove titled their introductory chapter ‘Up in the Air’.¹²⁰ Despite being reminiscent of Ingold’s work, little more is said of the connection between air and weather. However, the entanglement of air and weather is displayed in a quote provided by Jan Goliński, from the eighteenth century; ‘Air (or the different Temperature of it, by which we mean WEATHER) is one of the grand concerns of Mankind... The Air being like Food, the better, the more refreshing.’¹²¹ Similarly to Ingold,¹²² Goliński, and co-contributor to the Strauss and Orlove volume, Steve Rayner, believe that modern urbanised populations are somewhat detached from the weather due to the immense infrastructure that shields them from the worst of the elements.¹²³

¹¹⁵ Ingold, *Lines*, pp. 41-53.

¹¹⁶ Ingold, *Lines*, pp. 17, 77-78; Ingold, ‘Footprints Through The Weather-World’, p. S136.

¹¹⁷ Ingold, ‘Footprints Through The Weather-World’, p. S122; Ingold, ‘Earth, Sky, Wind, And Weather’, p. S32.

¹¹⁸ Ingold, ‘Temporality Of Landscape’, p. 70.

¹¹⁹ Ingold, ‘Earth, Sky, Wind, And Weather’, p. S20.

¹²⁰ Sarah Strauss, and Ben Orlove, ‘Up In The Air: The Anthropology Of Weather And Climate’, in *Weather, Climate, Culture*, ed. by Sarah Strauss and Ben Orlove (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2003), pp. 3–4 (p. 6).

¹²¹ John Pointer, *Rational Account Of The Weather, Shewing The Signs Of Its Several Changes And Alterations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1723), p. iii., as cited in Jan Goliński, *British Weather And The Climate Of Enlightenment* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007) p. 54.

¹²² Ingold, ‘Earth, Sky, Wind, And Weather’, pp. S29, S34.

¹²³ Steve Rayner, ‘Domesticating Nature: Commentary on the Anthropological Study of Weather and Climate Discourse’, in *Weather, Climate, Culture*, ed. by Sarah Strauss and Ben Orlove (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2003), pp. 277–90 (p. 280); Jan Goliński, ‘Time, Talk, And The Weather In Eighteenth-Century Britain’, in *Weather, Climate, Culture*, ed. by Sarah Strauss and Ben Orlove (Oxford & New York: Berg, 2003), pp. 17–38 (p. 17).

The weather proved a popular topic for polite conversations in the eighteenth century, potentially due to the lack of space for disagreement; Samuel Johnson notes the peculiar English proclivity of using the weather as a greeting, ‘they are in haste to tell each other, what each must already know’.¹²⁴ In contrast, sacred places are contested spaces, simultaneously a ‘battleground of warring voices,’ and a field of social interconnectivity.¹²⁵ For example, within a dedicated publication, Barbara Bender sought to highlight the ‘multitude of voices and landscapes through time’ with Stonehenge as a case study.¹²⁶ She emphasises that landscapes must ‘be historically contextualised... people’s experience of the land is shaped and changed... the land engages with experience, rather than simply reflecting it.’¹²⁷ Particularly at Stonehenge, disparate voices debate its’ past and present; modern public engagement is restricted by regulations and borders placed by heritage authorities in the name of protection and preservation of national identity, yet this isolation presents a socio-politically influenced interaction of a place frozen outside of the thrum of engagement.¹²⁸ Whether in favour of isolative regimes or rejuvenation through sensorial engagement, the concerns of heritage preservation must remember that ‘one way of knowing does not negate the validity of another’.¹²⁹ According to Mark Edmonds, the landscape deserves a biography,¹³⁰ similar to the biography of objects presented by Igor Kopytoff whereby objects are understood to have accumulated disparate histories, identities and memories during their ‘lifetimes’ of use.¹³¹ However, with the work of Bender and Ingold in mind, it would be more appropriate to record and research the diverse biographies of a landscape that are shaped through human, animal and weather-world interaction.

One method of understanding the landscapes’ narrative, according to Ingold, is through the network of lines and locations; maps.¹³² For Ingold, the map is a collection of entangled lines that detail journeys already made and the narrative of both place and person.¹³³ He specifically refers to ‘sketch’ maps, stating these symbolise the meshwork of habitation and lines of movements, whereas the cartographic map favours distant surveyance over engaged story-telling.¹³⁴ In contrast, Edmond argues that the landscape cannot be conveyed through the lines, dots, or contours of a map; it must be

¹²⁴ Samuel Johnson, ‘Discourses On The Weather (No. 11)’, in *The Idler* (London: Universal Chronicle, 1758) as cited in Goliński, *The Climate Of Enlightenment*, p. 69.

¹²⁵ Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, p. 50.

¹²⁶ Bender, *Stonehenge*, p. 131.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

¹²⁹ Carmichael *et al.*, *Sacred Sites, Sacred Places*, p.7.

¹³⁰ Dialogues with Mark Edmonds in Bender, *Stonehenge*, p. 72.

¹³¹ Igor Kopytoff, ‘The Cultural Biography Of Things: Commoditization As A Process’, in *The Social Life of Things*, ed. by A. Appundai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 64–91.

¹³² Ingold, *Lines*, p. 83.

¹³³ Ingold, *Lines*, pp. 87-8, 93, 104.

¹³⁴ Ingold, *Lines*, pp. 93-5.

lived in and engaged with.¹³⁵ This aligns with Pennick, who admits their usefulness but critiques their detachment from the ‘living bodily reality of the land.’¹³⁶ The work of Tilley similarly condemns cartographic maps as objectified products of capitalist ownership that detach sites from their memories and meanings, forgetting the entangled relationships which saw their formation.¹³⁷ Somewhat in congruence, Price warns against the subjectivity of maps within interpretations of ancient social and religious mobility; by basing facts on fragmentary evidence, ‘we may end up with a map that plots our own preconception... rather than the cult itself.’¹³⁸ An archaeological dilemma, these critiques reflect the acknowledgement that our academic understandings are determined by preconceived worldviews and historical narrative is determined by socio-political context.¹³⁹ This blurring of subjectivity and objectivity of a map is more positively presented by Shanks, who believes it serves to order the abstract through surveillance and survey, providing guidance and modifiable to suit the user’s needs.¹⁴⁰

Making Sense of It

According to Tim Olaveson, academia during the time of Durkheim’s theories was ‘paradigmatically unprepared’ for the emotional and creative aspects of religion and ritual.¹⁴¹ However, Lane has commended the phenomenological method for reminding academia that perception of places ‘is never purely a cognitive process’.¹⁴² Expanding on this, Hamilakis advocates for an archaeology of the senses, which seeks to understand the spatial and temporal intermingling of places, beings and things and reinvoke their affective power.¹⁴³ After a lengthy and thought-provoking critique of archaeological theories and current academic approaches to emotion and the senses,¹⁴⁴ he outlines a framework that engages with the unification of mind, body, environments, organisms and things through the study of light, movement, materiality, memory, emotions and ideas.¹⁴⁵ At the heart of the publication is the need to recognise ‘humans as sensorial beings which are produced and continually reproduced through their embodied and corporeal interaction with... living organisms and with things, the atmosphere, the weather and the cosmos.’¹⁴⁶ Therefore, despite some alignment with Ingold and Tilley, Hamilakis seeks expansion and refinement of their ideas alongside traditional archaeological

¹³⁵ Mark Edmonds, Bender, *Stonehenge*, pp. 72-74.

¹³⁶ Pennick, *Celtic Sacred Landscapes*, p. 130.

¹³⁷ Tilley, *Phenomenology Of Landscapes*, pp. 11-14, 26-34.

¹³⁸ Price, *Religious Mobility*, p. 3.

¹³⁹ Brück, ‘Experiencing The Past?’, p. 47; Tilley, *Phenomenology Of Landscapes*, pp. 27-33.

¹⁴⁰ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 145.

¹⁴¹ Tim Olaveson, ‘Collective Effervescence And Communitas: Processual Models Of Ritual And Society In Emile Durkheim And Victor Turner’, *Dialectical Anthropology*, Vol. 26 (2001), 89-124 (p. 115).

¹⁴² Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, p. 52.

¹⁴³ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁴ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 59-109.

¹⁴⁵ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 115-6.

¹⁴⁶ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 92.

approaches.¹⁴⁷ He proposes archaeologists should be observing sensorial assemblages alongside the material; the recognition of flows, memories, actions, activities and materiality between beings.¹⁴⁸ Consequentially, he stresses the importance of reflexivity and examining personal ‘sensory stratigraphy’.¹⁴⁹

The notion of a sensorial assemblage is comparable to affective fields, an idea formulated by Oliver Harris and Tim Sørensen that provides a means to recognise the disparate emotions and experiences of people in a particular location.¹⁵⁰ They suggest that objects and places have powerful affective capabilities, although how this manifests tends to be culturally, temporally and individually specific.¹⁵¹ For Hamilakis, affect was central to understanding the senses and emotion in archaeology; the former being a collective of the personal latter.¹⁵² Similarly, Harris & Sørensen identify emotion as an individual's embodied act of ‘being moved’ and affective fields to be the network of people, things, and environments through which these acts are generated.¹⁵³ Their theory of ‘attunement’, or the active attendance of the material world and its emotional and sensorial qualities¹⁵⁴ is similar to Ingold’s taskscapes, albeit with the latter being focused on production rather than ‘being in the world’ – this features within his weather-world theories, however.¹⁵⁵ When people engage with the affective field, it forms an atmosphere, which acts as an agent reinforcing or readjusting the field for the requirements of those within it.¹⁵⁶

Attempting to make sense of these theories, and the application of them to site case studies, would be worthy of a publication onto itself and cannot be justifiably extended upon here. Similarly, Harris & Sørensen admit to the imperfections in their work, encouraging others to refine and form a practical framework for emotional archaeology.¹⁵⁷ The omission of the supposedly subjective aspects of the human experience from archaeology always resonated as severely limiting and providing a fragmented view. How can the lives of people in the past be understood while denying their ‘subjective’ experiences, thus reducing their enriched, enmeshed lives to material objects that need to be translated and deciphered?¹⁵⁸ However, critiques that seek to preserve the scientific rigidity of

¹⁴⁷ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 128.

¹⁴⁸ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 126.

¹⁴⁹ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 100, 119.

¹⁵⁰ Oliver J.T. Harris, and Tim Flohr Sørensen, ‘Rethinking Emotion And Material Culture’, *Archaeological Dialogues*, 17.2 (2010), 145–63 (p. 163).

¹⁵¹ Harris & Sørensen, ‘Rethinking Emotion’, pp. 147-8.

¹⁵² Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 124-5.

¹⁵³ Harris & Sørensen, ‘Rethinking Emotion’, pp. 149-153.

¹⁵⁴ Harris & Sørensen, ‘Rethinking Emotion’, pp. 151, 153.

¹⁵⁵ Ingold, ‘Earth, Sky, Wind, And Weather’, p. S32; Ingold, ‘Footprints Through The Weather-World’, p. S122.

¹⁵⁶ Harris & Sørensen, ‘Rethinking Emotion’, p. 152.

¹⁵⁷ Harris & Sørensen, ‘Rethinking Emotion’, p. 163.

¹⁵⁸ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 52; Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 63.

archaeology have justified cause for concern. Through the phenomenological method, Tilley and Ingold seize the avenue to use evocative, sometimes poetic, language within their work and Lane encourages interpreters to employ their 'poetic third eye'.¹⁵⁹ Hamilakis shares my 'conviction that all academic writing should become evocative, merging scholarly discourses with mnemonic and autobiographical accounts.'¹⁶⁰ A similar stance is conveyed by Shanks, who presents a lengthy and evocative critique of archaeological theories, particularly their oppressive scientific rigidity.¹⁶¹ He highlights that archaeological education is usually unimaginative and uninspiring, full of 'difficult technical scientific works, serious and authoritative', with the implication that 'serious means difficult, and thinking seriously is only incidentally pleasurable at all'.¹⁶² This appears harsh, but is quite agreeable; he asks why pleasurable writing needs to be deemed frivolous and unintellectual, advocating for a melding of the two.¹⁶³ As such, he identifies archaeology as a craft for it is dictated by the medium of material and views interpretations as informed inventions.¹⁶⁴ Shanks briefly likens archaeologists' praxis as ritualistic, or to gardeners who are tending and cultivating archaeological knowledge.¹⁶⁵ These three identifications reflect his invitation of creativity, emotion, and experience into scholarly discourse.

Criticism

The above-mentioned theories are not without their faults. For example, Ingold claims to advocate for active landscapes,¹⁶⁶ yet he reduces the landscape to a passive placeholder for biographies and shows a clear favouring of rural landscapes. Bender provides a similar critique; Ingold's evocative and insightful theories overemphasise socio-economic and political activities and influence, presenting the landscape as an ahistorical, romanticised concept based upon rural life and activities.¹⁶⁷ Likewise, Hamilakis finds the work of Tilley to be equally inspiring and troubling; a key concern is the lack of acknowledgement towards diverse sensorial regimes or modalities and the ahistorical perspective of bodies and landscapes and warns against homogenising the material record with typically Eurocentric sensory understandings.¹⁶⁸ This is a clear example of interpretations and theories being subject to the socio-political context and cosmological ideals of the scholar.¹⁶⁹ Some, such as Brück, argue that the

¹⁵⁹ Lane, *Landscapes of the Sacred*, p. 11.

¹⁶⁰ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 11.

¹⁶¹ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 12-15, 30-2.

¹⁶² Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 143.

¹⁶³ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 34-5, 143.

¹⁶⁴ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 138-140.

¹⁶⁵ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 94, 115.

¹⁶⁶ Ingold, 'Temporality Of Landscape', p. 59.

¹⁶⁷ Bender, *Stonehenge*, p. 37.

¹⁶⁸ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 97-100.

¹⁶⁹ Brück, 'Experiencing The Past?', pp. 47, 60; Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 10; Tilley, *Phenomenology Of Landscapes*, pp. 73-5.

prehistoric world is completely unknowable, for we can never be certain if our interpretations are true.¹⁷⁰ For Bender, ‘we make the past in the present... we use the past to justify the present’¹⁷¹ Similarly, Shanks believes past and present are intrinsically connected, allowing for a plethora of pasts that are all valid and worth investigating, even within social groups.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Brück, ‘Experiencing The Past?’, p. 58.

¹⁷¹ Bender, *Stonehenge*, p. 18.

¹⁷² Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 23.

Methodology

Previous archaeological studies of the Romano-Celtic temple have been processual due to a focus on economic exchange, and social and cultural network relations. However, this paper seeks to understand the temple from the perspective of its relationship with those who have used it, past and present. Such a query invites the inclusion of surveys, interviews a phenomenological methodology for the present, and an analysis of archaeological literature for evidence of past sensory and emotional affective fields. This ensured a triangulation of data focused on the potentially contested, histories and experiences of the temple site.

Surveys and Interviews

The surveys and interviews of the targeted group, the SMDC, provide a large portion of the data. The Club operates on the south coast and attends several farms; they also abide by the Code of Conduct presented by the Federation of Independent Detectorists (FID)¹⁷³ and the legislation of the Treasure Act and the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS).¹⁷⁴ Non-professional detecting is a contentious issue, although England and Wales tend to be more accepting and permissive.¹⁷⁵ According to Pieterjan Deckers *et al.*, detectorists help to preserve and locate knowledge of the past, rather than the presumed destruction,¹⁷⁶ and emphasise the positive effects of detectorists working alongside archaeologists.¹⁷⁷

Despite the welcoming inclusion and familial connection, I am still an ‘outsider’ because I am not a member of the club. Therefore, a spokesperson was used to distribute surveys and to arrange a day for the interviews. Surveys are a method for identifying the way people think or behave.¹⁷⁸ While ensuring that the researcher's presence does not affect the answers provided and ensures participants' autonomy and anonymity, surveys can adversely be emotionally distant due to the lack of human interaction.¹⁷⁹ My familial and personal connections with the club during ‘digs’ have reduced the

¹⁷³ ‘Code Of Conduct’, *Federation Of Independent Detectorists* <http://www.fid.org.uk/code_of_conduct.html> [Accessed 07 Dec. 2023].

¹⁷⁴ The British Museum, ‘The Treasure Act’, *The Portable Antiquities Scheme* (The Portable Antiquities Scheme/ British Museum) <<https://finds.org.uk/treasure>> [Accessed 07 Dec. 2023].

¹⁷⁵ Pieterjan Deckers, Andres Dobat, Natasha Ferguson, Stijn Heeren, Michael Lewis, and Suzie Thomas, ‘The Complexities Of Metal Detecting Policy And Practice: A Response To Samuel Hardy, “Quantitative Analysis Of Open-Source Data On Metal Detecting For Cultural Property” (Cogent Social Sciences 3, 2017)’, *Open Archaeology*, 4.1 (2018), 322–33 (pp. 322, 325).

¹⁷⁶ See Samuel Andrew Hardy, ‘Quantitative Analysis Of Open-Source Data On Metal Detecting For Cultural Property: Estimation Of The Scale And Intensity Of Metal Detecting And The Quantity Of Metal-Detected Cultural Goods’, Ed. By Stephen Tong, *Cogent Social Sciences*, 3.1 (2017).

¹⁷⁷ Deckers *et al.*, ‘Metal Detecting Policy And Practice’, pp. 327-9.

¹⁷⁸ Judith Bell, and Stephen Waters, *Doing Your Research Project: A Guide For First-Time Researchers*, 7th edn (London: Open University Press, 2018), p. 211.

¹⁷⁹ Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods*, 4th edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 233-4.

concern of emotional disconnection. However, this close contact could impact results due to the groups' determination to participate in my research after the passing of my grandfather. Further, familiarity may result in less confidence when sharing sensitive responses due to fear of judgment. This problem was reduced by making the surveys anonymous. The questions focused on understanding the SMDC memories, experiences, and emotions towards the site, including any routines they performed while approaching or visiting the site. The surveys were distributed to a spokesperson but were not distributed until the 5th of March 2023 due to illness,¹⁸⁰ the agreed date for my attendance on the site to conduct interviews. This also allowed club members to approach me and ask questions if required. A total of 30 surveys were distributed, and 10 were returned by special delivery in several instalments over five months within sealed envelopes, ensuring confidentiality.

Although the survey data was directly unusable during the interviews, the data was enriched. Interviews are an appropriate method for uncovering the personal experiences of others such as their beliefs, their feelings or emotions or their attitude and perspective.¹⁸¹ Rather than being directed dialogues, interviews were 'conversation[s] with a purpose', where I encouraged the interviewees to share their experiences in an empathetic space, as per the advice from Monique Hennink, Inge Hutter and Ajay Bailey.¹⁸² The interviews were informal affairs due to the familiarity with the SMDC; excessive formality could have led to discomfort. These purposeful conversations occurred at the site itself, which is familiar and neutral ground for all parties. Interviewees were encouraged to bring photographs or any other item that they felt would express their emotions and experiences at the site.

The anonymous data was organised by encrypted transcription and codification. This method is useful for identifying common concepts or themes present and capturing the emic perspective of small focus groups.¹⁸³ Rather than employing specialist software, I utilised Microsoft Excel and used an inductive strategy for developing themed codes allowing data to 'speak' for itself.¹⁸⁴ Thereby, codes were derived organically from the data collected.¹⁸⁵ According to Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, incorporating a deductive strategy (themes formed using prior literature) provides an avenue for a reflective process in the analysis of data regarding the wider literature.¹⁸⁶ However, the wider literature

¹⁸⁰ Lyme Disease can impact detectorists. See Laura Harris, 'Lyme Disease Beware!', *The Searcher* (June 2023), 48–49.

¹⁸¹ Monique Hennink, Inge Hutter, and Ajay Bailey, *Qualitative Research Methods*, 2nd edn (London: SAGE Publishing, 2020) p. 200.

¹⁸² Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, *Qualitative Research Methods*, p. 199.

¹⁸³ Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, *Qualitative Research Methods*, p. 353.

¹⁸⁴ Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁵ Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, *Qualitative Research Methods*, pp. 355, 359.

¹⁸⁶ Hennink, Hutter and Bailey, *Qualitative Research Methods*, p. 355.

was not ignored during data analysis, nor was the opportunity to reflect upon said literature discarded; it was just not used to form themes.

Phenomenology and the Past

Using predominantly inductive strategies ensures that encoded themes are intrinsically tied to the researcher who interpreted and analysed the data. While the brief reflexive account provided in the introduction could be sufficient for anthropological and ethnographic works, archaeology has an approach that emphasises the researchers' (my) experiential account: the phenomenological method. Formulated by Tilley (2004), phenomenology in archaeology seeks to understand the experience of the material record. When recorded with senses, emotions and affective fields in mind, my phenomenological accounts and observations can enhance archaeological understandings with the inclusion of emotions and the senses.

I experienced four site visits: 29th July, 12th September, 23rd December 2021 and 5th March 2023. Data was recorded primarily using a microphone, but some written notes and photographs were also taken. After each visit, notes were transcribed into password-protected OneNote with any photographs, the voice recording file, and subsequent transcripts, attached to the same note. Akin to the survey and interview data, my phenomenological accounts were codified using both inductive and deductive strategies; meaning that some themes emerged organically, and others were influenced by themes emerging in the surveys. The data, along with the previously mentioned datasets were then conflated, and these collections were codified. This allowed the identification of recurring themes across all data, as well as unique themes for each collection. Some of the phenomenological accounts (July 2021 and September 2021) were codified at a much later date than their formation because the voice recordings included my late grandfather; I needed time before I could listen to them again. The impact this had on the emerging codes is unknown but likely minimal.

Methodological Criticism

The introduction of subjective aspects of human experience to archaeology has been argued as being fruitless, and as an unwarranted, unfaithful diversion from the epistemological quest of the discipline.¹⁸⁷ However, to deny these aspects is to doom oneself to a partial understanding of the lives of ancients,¹⁸⁸ an almost superficial and unmistakably erroneous perception. Nonetheless, it is impossible to determine the specific thoughts and feelings of those who lived long ago;¹⁸⁹ experience

¹⁸⁷ See Brück, 'Experiencing The Past?', pp. 57-8; 57; Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 102-6; Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 128.

¹⁸⁸ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 129.

¹⁸⁹ Brück, 'Experiencing The Past?', pp. 57-8; 57.

of place, people, senses, and things are socio-politically and culturally specific.¹⁹⁰ Due to this, Brück states archaeology should primarily focus on the present.¹⁹¹ However, she also commends the use of archaeology for forming contemporary records of experiences with places and things that may prove fruitful in the future or help reform modes of thinking.¹⁹² The ability of others to recreate this project is also limited due to the exceptionally personal circumstances that granted me access to the site, the people involved and the unpublished data from ongoing archaeological investigations. However, this ensured that I was given a prime opportunity to shed light on the Romano-Celtic temple on Hayling Island and the contemporary experiences of the place.

¹⁹⁰ Harris & Sørensen, 'Rethinking Emotion', pp. 147-8; Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 20, 22-3, 36. This thought is foundational to the work of Hamilakis, *Archaeology Of The Senses*.

¹⁹¹ Brück, 'Experiencing The Past?', p. 58.

¹⁹² Brück, 'Experiencing The Past?', p. 58.

Results

Results of Phenomenology

During my first visit to Hayling Island (29th July 2021), I had a different research question in mind. My records were primarily focused on orientation, landscape visibility, and architectural alignment. This archaeoastronomical approach proved difficult with a notable lack of ruins; the temple site consisted of a chalk-drawn outline on a recently sown sunflower field and a faded informational board adorned with artefacts. However, there was one unexpected element of my experience at the temple site that demanded attention – the wind. The memory of being buffeted around a flat plain and my shouted words snatched by the near-continuous gusts dominates my initial experience at Hayling Island. The chill had been unexpected during July, and I had never been fond of high winds due to my petite stature. The weather also proved problematic for notation – the wind disrupted efforts to use a pen and paper and drowned out significant portions of the voice recordings, and the glaring sun made using an electronic screen impossible. The farm was quiet; my grandfather had received permission for us to be there outside of tourist and detecting seasons. None of the amenities supplied by the farm during their summer sunflower events were erected, the sunflowers barely grown, and the dry ground hostile towards potential digging. Not that this thought stopped me from playing in the mud, so to speak, and in the voice recording, I can be heard describing the soil as crumbly as I tugged out tile shards.

My second visit (12th September 2021) was warmer – or perhaps that was an illusion created by the fact I was tucked into a barn assisting with the documentation finds reported by detectorists. Yet, my notebook remained untouched. This was due to engaging conversations with the archaeologists. Eagerly, they revealed the wealth of data that had been accumulated over the years by the detectorists, with maps that highlighted where artefacts were found and then a folder filled with records of said artefacts, including the name of who found it. At the end of the day, the detectorists brought over their finds. They tipped out their find bags and dug through the scrap, which they placed into a separate orange bucket, and waited for the archaeologists' verdict. The anticipation and excitement were almost palpable each time, and rarely did the detectorist walk away disheartened; any piece of history mattered. The detectorists were eager to discover more about their finds, and a large tome dedicated to Coins sat on the table, ready for anyone to browse through. The family that ran the farm visited, and there was a lengthy casual conversation between the groups whereby peoples' health and happiness were checked upon. The atmosphere was light and jovial, despite the tiredness evident on the detectorists' wind-torn faces. Everyone showed interest in my research, and Graham Soffe sought to memorialise the moment with a photograph of my grandfather and me (Figure 2). This

photograph proved to be one of the last taken of my grandfather, who passed away shortly after. During his final evening, he had been preparing for the monthly SMDC Committee Meeting that would be occurring the following day, and so had a map of the Farm on the dining table. This was a map that he had printed out and then outlined the fields using a thick pen and marking the fields with names that are not found on Google Maps. This map represented the SMDC lay of the land. Unfortunately, this map was lost.



Figure 2 - My grandfather, Tony Alexander, and myself. Photograph taken by Graham Soffe on 12th September 2021. Photograph shared with permission.

My third visit to the site was the first without my grandfather (23rd December 2021). I wore a jacket that he had regularly worn when he had attended digs as I doubted that I had a suitable coat that could fare the weather, yet I knew that his could. I was one of the first to arrive, so I helped with the parking duties and greeted the detectorists as they entered the farm. Several expressed shock upon arriving and seeing the jacket, taking a moment to recall warm memories of my grandfather similarly greeting them in the mornings. After changing into appropriate attire, which seemed to be dominated

by thick, sturdy boots and large coats, and making a considerable dent in the hot drink flasks they had brought with them, the detectorists took off into the fields. I was left alone with my thoughts, my notebook, and my recording device. I talked to the chickens, petted a friendly llama, and armed myself with a steaming tea before trekking into the fields. I took a sporadic route, unconsciously avoiding members as I struggled with the weight of grief. I had expected it, but it did not make it easier. Thus, I did not stay long; the atmosphere felt heavier, the weather colder and somehow claustrophobic, and I feared my soured mood would impact the detectorists. I needed time away and hoped I had sufficient data for the time being.

By my fourth visit (5th March 2023), I felt capable of being more involved with the members and their activities. The members had known about my arrival at least a month in advance as this was also the date chosen for the informal interviews. Their enthusiasm to share their passions was evident, and several members were happy for me to tail them and watch them as they operated, keen to impart their knowledge. The soil was hard and difficult to navigate. The weather was biting, but relatively pleasant, the wind only a light tickle compared to my previous visits. The shining sun, unfettered by clouds, was deceptive for it did not provide much warmth and my flask of tea was swiftly emptied.

Results of Interviews

It was during my fourth visit (5th March 2021) that the informal interviews were conducted. All detectorists that attended the ‘dig’ that day spoke to me and were eager to do so, meaning that I had not pressed record before they had started talking and I missed some of the earlier conversations. However, the first conversation I captured featured my grandfather – or rather, a detectorist enthusiastically informed me that my grandfather was the reason he joined the club, and proceeded to tell an anecdote; ‘when they were building Berewood [a new housing estate in Waterlooville], I was brought a metal detector and I used to go up where they were doing the digging and the building work. Your grandad had an allotment up there’ – at this point, I asked if he saw him through the allotment fence, to which he replied, ‘yes, yes! He said, “You won’t find nothing over there, you want to join Solent club!” But I don’t know anyone in Solent Club, “Well, you know me now!” haha!’. This was followed by several laughs, and someone else could be heard saying ‘that sounds like Tony!’ and I agreed.

However, the conversation swiftly diverted to the temple, and the detectorists were eager to share their thoughts and opinions. One shared: ‘I think you had the temple there, but this whole island, I think, was initially a trading place, a Roman holiday camp... secure because of the water all around so nobody can invade you, somewhere for the Romans to relax... put their feet up, have some herbal brew and chill out.’ This was a common theme, whereby the detectorists believed that there was more

occurring around the site rather than just housing a temple. It was also postulated that blacksmithing of some kind was occurring, due to some detectorists admitting they had found gold slag full of impurities and gold coins scattered around the site, sometimes at quite a distance from the temple – not all of this was documented, due to being found before the archaeologists had joined the detectorists on site. On the temple field, some whetstones and flint items had also been found. Further, it was said that the people who used the temple travelled from Porchester and Chichester, which is ‘a long way; you’re not just going to come over just for the day.’

I asked when the last dig of the season would be but was told that it was down to the farmers' discretion; he could decide to plough and seed, and they would be done for the year. However, they discussed amongst themselves that they were pleased he had been providing different areas for them, keeping their activities in mind as he continued working on the farm. During my visit, I saw Sam but did not wish to bother him as he was busy fixing a tractor – however, he waved and offered a smile, which I returned.

Predominantly, the interviews feature five detectorists whom I tailed for roughly five to ten minutes – allowing them to lead the conversation. They imparted wisdom they had gained, outlining the way to operate the detector and get the best use out of its’ various functions, recommending techniques and attire and reminiscing about times gone past. Two mentioned my grandfather, sharing fond memories built on site, and all three pondered on the prehistoric people who used the temple. The thirst for knowledge and appreciation of the natural surroundings were clear, with three sharing experiences of animals, particularly deer. One, a local to Hayling Island, expressed sadness that the species were not as varied as they once were, blaming it on the increased urbanisation at the farms’ borders.

When I departed, nursing cold fingers and a rumbling stomach, most of the detectorists were still out in the fields. Some were chatting with the archaeologists, not necessarily about the site. They sent me off with beaming smiles and well-wishes for the future. As I drove home, I felt invigorated, despite the shadow of grief at the periphery, and felt thankful I had managed to attend once more.

Results of Surveys

Of the 30 distributed surveys, 10 were returned. Demographically, the general age range of participants was 43-80 years old, and all contributing detectorists declared themselves relatively local to the area (Hayling Island, Gosport, Portsmouth, Havant, Denmead, and Waterlooville), with a short drive to the site. However, some came from further afield including Haslemere (Surrey) and Titchfield (Hampshire). Of the responses that included gender (3), 2 were male and 1 female. Responses were predominantly rich and lengthy, indicating a willingness to share knowledge and experiences. For clarity, participants' responses throughout this section have been lettered A-K, with the number following indicative of the section and question of the survey. For example, the third question from the second section, 'The Present,' is numbered 2.3 (Figure 3).



Figure 3 - Graphic of Survey Questions.

Participants eagerly shared their knowledge; all but one admitted that they were curious to know more – not only about the site but what it meant in context, as well as similar history in the surrounding area.¹⁹³ Some found academic information accessible,¹⁹⁴ whereas others admitted to having difficulty and relying on conversations with the archaeologists, Soffe and King.¹⁹⁵ One participant stated they had visited several museums to learn more,¹⁹⁶ while others used Google and Google Earth.¹⁹⁷ Throughout the surveys, it is evident that certain historical eras of the site’s lifetime are favoured: the Romans, Celts, and Saxons, in descending order of mentions. Perhaps this reflects the archaeologists’ focus or is linked to the prominence of Roman coins¹⁹⁸ and artefacts, such as a brooch,¹⁹⁹ amongst their most valued finds. Other finds that incite pride are from the Anglo-Saxon period²⁰⁰ and the Iron Age.²⁰¹ Two participants did not answer.²⁰²

Eight out of nine participants expressed pride, appreciation and achievement from the privilege of detecting on local farmland and producing artefacts that enhance the knowledge of the site, as well as Celtic studies in general:²⁰³ ‘Very proud that I and the Club can help the archaeologists discover more about the site’²⁰⁴ and ‘Proud to help in a small way to understand the site’.²⁰⁵ One stated that they ‘love the feeling of still being part of the history’.²⁰⁶

The detectorists were asked about the frequency and quality of their visits. The Club meets at the Farm on a fortnightly basis on Sundays, 9am-4/5pm throughout September to March/April, ‘at [the] discretion of [the] landowner’²⁰⁷, and when the fields have been harvested²⁰⁸ as it is important to ‘Remember that [it] is a working farm’.²⁰⁹ Several were enthusiastic, attending whenever possible,²¹⁰ even returning via public walking routes during the week.²¹¹ Detectorists shared the conditions of their last visit as cold,²¹² and windy,²¹³ but dry and bright;²¹⁴ conditions considered ‘Just right for detecting!’²¹⁵ One mentioned a warmer day, commenting that the ‘ground [was] drying out too quickly, too hard to dig’,²¹⁶ while others recalled the rain; ‘it rained all day and as soon as you dug a hole, [it] filled with water’²¹⁷ and the ‘very soggy soil made it hard to manoeuvre’²¹⁸, or the biting cold meant they went home early.²¹⁹

All detectorists sought defence against the weather using specific clothing, reporting the need for dressing ‘for the weather, [and] what you’re comfortable with’.²²⁰ All recommended warm layers,

¹⁹³ C1.2; D1.2; H1.2;
J1.2.
¹⁹⁴ F1.2; I1.2.
¹⁹⁵ B1.2; C1.2; D1.2;
E1.2; K1.2.
¹⁹⁶ A1.2.
¹⁹⁷ B1.2; F1.2; I1.2.
¹⁹⁸ A1.3; C1.3; E1.3;
I1.3; J1.3.

¹⁹⁹ K1.3.
²⁰⁰ B1.3; H1.3.
²⁰¹ D1.33; J1.3.
²⁰² F1.3; G1.3.
²⁰³ E1.4; I1.4; J1.4;
K1.4.
²⁰⁴ B1.4.
²⁰⁵ C1.4.
²⁰⁶ F1.4.

²⁰⁷ H2.1.
²⁰⁸ D2.1; E2.1; F2.1.
²⁰⁹ B2.1.
²¹⁰ J2.1; K2.1.
²¹¹ A2.1.
²¹² A2.2; B2.2; D2.2
E2.2; I2.2; J2.2; K2.2.
²¹³ A2.2; C2.2; D2.2.
²¹⁴ A2.2; C2.2; D2.2.

²¹⁵ K2.2.
²¹⁶ H2.2.
²¹⁷ B2.2.
²¹⁸ F2.2.
²¹⁹ E2.2; I2.2.
²²⁰ B2.3.

waterproof boots, and trousers – particularly military or tradesperson’s clothes²²¹ – as well as hats, gloves, scarves,²²² and padded knee supports.²²³ While this makes up the typical ‘Digging Clobber’,²²⁴ four participants mentioned t-shirts, shorts, and sunhats.²²⁵ Most detectorists were specific in their brand of detector,²²⁶ while others listed ‘a metal detector to locate finds and a spade to retrieve them’²²⁷ or similar; ‘good detector, good space, good pin-pointer’.²²⁸ All responses featured detectors and spades, eight mentioned the pin-pointer, or the so-called ‘Garrett-Carrot’,²²⁹ and five answers included finds bags/pouches/boxes.²³⁰ Other items highlighted were headphones,²³¹ a belt bag and water spray,²³² glasses,²³³ and a rubbish bag.²³⁴

Each response noted a sense of anticipation, excitement, and hope upon arrival. However, some expressed tiredness due to the early mornings²³⁵ or mentioned freedom for a few hours.²³⁶ Some were grateful for days spent with like-minded people.²³⁷ Conversations were a primary activity; all responses mentioned having a ‘chat and catch up’²³⁸ upon arriving, although there is also a ‘[b]it of friendly chat often out in the fields’.²³⁹ This routine included having food and drink while conversing with the other club members; some specifically preferring coffee or tea²⁴⁰ or a banana.²⁴¹ Most mentioned donning the ‘detecting gear’²⁴² and checking that the equipment was in working order.²⁴³ One clarified the necessity to find out what fields were available for the day,²⁴⁴ and another purposefully waited for ‘the allocated time to start talking to Sam, the farm owner’.²⁴⁵ Upon leaving the site, most attend the archaeologists’ table to report their finds first,²⁴⁶ before chatting with other club members whilst packing to go home.²⁴⁷ Great importance is attributed to reporting finds, for ‘you can never tell what’s rubbish and what’s treasure for the archaeologists’²⁴⁸ and it is a nice opportunity to learn about what the Club is unearthing.²⁴⁹ No hot drinks were mentioned when leaving, but one emphasised getting their hands warm,²⁵⁰ while several stated they lacked any routine.²⁵¹ Another expressed excitement to ‘get home to lay in the bath ASAP’ and that they ‘occasionally love going to the farm shop on the way home to get some fresh eggs and vegetables, if it is still open’.²⁵² The feelings of detectorists when leaving the site were more diverse than those upon arrival; satisfied,²⁵³ exhausted,²⁵⁴ cheerful or happy,²⁵⁵ elated²⁵⁶ or annoyed.²⁵⁷ Some felt cleansed and refreshed, honoured

²²¹ B2.3; B2.11; E2.3; J2.3.
²²² A2.3; E2.3; H2.3.
²²³ C2.3; J2.3.
²²⁴ G2.3.
²²⁵ A2.3; D2.3; H2.3; J2.3.
²²⁶ A2.11; D2.11; F2.11; G2.11; I2.11; K2.11.
²²⁷ C2.11.
²²⁸ J2.11.
²²⁹ D2.11.

²³⁰ B2.11; D2.11; E2.11; F2.11; I2.11.
²³¹ D2.11.
²³² E2.11.
²³³ H2.11.
²³⁴ I2.11.
²³⁵ E2.4.
²³⁶ G2.4.
²³⁷ A2.4.
²³⁸ B2.5.
²³⁹ J.25.
²⁴⁰ C2.5; D2.5; F2.5.

²⁴¹ C2.5.
²⁴² A2.5; B2.5; C2.5; D2.5; F2.5; G2.5; I2.5; J2.5.
²⁴³ A2.5.
²⁴⁴ B2.5.
²⁴⁵ G2.5.
²⁴⁶ A2.7; B2.7; C2.7; D2.7; H2.7; I2.7; K2.7.
²⁴⁷ B2.7; D2.7; H2.7; I2.7; K2.7.
²⁴⁸ A2.7.

²⁴⁹ B2.7; E2.7; H2.7; I2.7.
²⁵⁰ A2.7.
²⁵¹ F2.7; G2.7; J2.7.
²⁵² E2.7.
²⁵³ B2.6.
²⁵⁴ B2.6; D2.6; E2.6; H2.6.
²⁵⁵ A2.6; C2.6; E2.6; F2.6; K2.6.
²⁵⁶ D2.6.
²⁵⁷ H2.6.

and fortunate to be at the farm, surrounded by nature.²⁵⁸ Others expressed that any negative emotions could be overturned if an interesting find was uncovered.²⁵⁹ Two statements summarise the moods and patterns of the responses: ‘sometimes ecstatic, sometimes despondent’,²⁶⁰ and ‘next time, I’ll be more fortunate’.²⁶¹

The detectorists were asked to share their favourite memories of the site. Some recalled particular finds; ‘my first Celtic gold coin’,²⁶² ‘finding my first gold stater’,²⁶³ ‘found three silver denaris’,²⁶⁴ and ‘my first stater and the first gold stater’.²⁶⁵ Furthermore, being able to share these experiences with friends also takes precedence.²⁶⁶ It was not memories of artefacts that dominated the responses, but rather those of people and social events, such as Christmas and charity events.²⁶⁷ This is a time when they ‘usually get together, mince pies and glum wine, and presents for the farmer and his family’.²⁶⁸ One response stated that their first visit to the site was their favourite, when they met ‘the farmer and his family, the archaeologists, and the other club members’,²⁶⁹ while another took the time to reminisce about family and times with other members.²⁷⁰ For one detectorist, their favourite memories include being sat at ‘the edge of a field and hav[ing] my lunch and watch[ing] the local wildlife and think[ing] about the past’.²⁷¹ This connection to the past means, for one detectorist, that all visits to the site could be a favourite due to considering ‘it to be a privilege to be able to visit such an important site’.²⁷²

The detectorists have their favourite fields, namely the temple field²⁷³ as it is ‘the main feature of the farm’²⁷⁴ and produces many kinds of finds.²⁷⁵ The temple field is favoured for different reasons: ‘Everyone wants to detect on the temple field, we all want to find Roman coins’²⁷⁶, or ‘because it was special. I like to stand there and visualise/connect to the people who were once there.’²⁷⁷ One response stated that it ‘would’ve been a hub of activity in its day’.²⁷⁸ One admitted that it was not their favourite field, but they enjoyed walking in that area to get ‘a sense of history’.²⁷⁹ Several mentioned a second field, the ‘ditch’ field,²⁸⁰ while others said that they do not have a favourite field.²⁸¹ Other responses focused on the practicality of detecting and digging; ‘There’s a small field just south of the main barns where I found three Roman coins... it is a very quiet field (not many signals).’²⁸² Some had a preference for ‘large fields, less chance of going over already covered ground’²⁸³ or preferred switching ‘from field to field depending on availability’.²⁸⁴ This also determined routes around the

²⁵⁸ E2.6; G2.6; I2.6.

²⁵⁹ B2.6; D2.6; E2.6.

²⁶⁰ I2.6.

²⁶¹ K2.6.

²⁶² C2.8.

²⁶³ D2.8.

²⁶⁴ E2.8.

²⁶⁵ J2.8.

²⁶⁶ C2.8; I2.8; J2.8.

²⁶⁷ B2.8; E2.8; H2.8.

²⁶⁸ B2.8.

²⁶⁹ D2.8.

²⁷⁰ G2.8.

²⁷¹ A2.8.

²⁷² K2.8.

²⁷³ E2.10; G2.10; I2.10;

J2.10; K2.10.

²⁷⁴ K2.10.

²⁷⁵ J2.10.

²⁷⁶ B2.10.

²⁷⁷ E2.10.

²⁷⁸ I2.10.

²⁷⁹ C2.10.

²⁸⁰ G2.10; I2.10; J2.10.

²⁸¹ B2.10; C2.10; D2.10;

F2.10.

²⁸² A2.10.

²⁸³ H2.10.

²⁸⁴ B2.10.

farm.²⁸⁵ One participant said ‘as fields become available, we relish a new field that has had the crop harvested’.²⁸⁶ Some stated that they do not have a specific route at all²⁸⁷ or select fields that have delivered finds before²⁸⁸ and have fewer people on.²⁸⁹ Some opt for straight lines,²⁹⁰ while others prefer random paths.²⁹¹

The detectorists were asked to relay their process of unearthing a find like a recipe, and these were all identical in content: sweep detector over the ground, listen for the signal and attempt to pinpoint it, dig out a large square or circular hole – ensuring ample sample of soil to avoid damaging the artefact²⁹² – and using the small pin-pointer device to locate the item, ‘happily sift through it [the soil] to find the target’²⁹³, before placing it into a finds bag. One mentioned double-checking the area and the dirt piles in case there was more than one item causing a signal,²⁹⁴ while another warned that the condition of the soil may hinder finding the artefact.²⁹⁵ The detectorists try to ‘be patient’²⁹⁶, and assert taking your finds to ‘the archies’.²⁹⁷ Additionally, several detectorists mentioned a request from the farmer that they refill any holes,²⁹⁸ and remove scrap metal from the fields to clean them and to deter ‘night hawks’(people who detect illegally, typically at night).²⁹⁹

Reasons for attendance to the site included ‘I am a detectorist’,³⁰⁰ and expressions of Hayling being the main and most interesting farm for the SMDC.³⁰¹ Several stated that the site is ‘special’,³⁰² while others feel privileged and seek to savour the opportunity granted by the farmer, to whom they express gratitude.³⁰³ Two respondents highlighted the variety of finds that have been and could be unearthed, ranging from tractor scrap to coinage, and from the Iron Age to today.³⁰⁴ All detectorists find the site accessible, both with movement around the site and reaching it, with journey times ranging from 5 minutes to 2 hours. For some, the journey time did not deter their attendance,³⁰⁵ while for others, the proximity was an appeal, and they would consider not attending if it was further away.³⁰⁶ The only complaint was of a traffic incident that had impeded getting on and off the island.³⁰⁷

Regarding the landscape, most of the detectorists responded with appraisals for wildlife or seascapes.³⁰⁸ Some were more nonchalant or critical, with some comments focusing on the flat, open, exposing landscape: ‘not a lot of shelter from the south-west winds... who cares if you’re finding treasure!’;³⁰⁹ ‘not much, concentrating on my detecting!’;³¹⁰ and ‘I find it quite open, flat and slightly noisy; my preference is more scenic and quieter’.³¹¹ Others were inspired to ‘imagine the area in times

²⁸⁵ B2.9; C2.9; D2.9;
G2.9; K2.9.
²⁸⁶ G2.9.
²⁸⁷ F2.9; I2.9; J2.9.
²⁸⁸ C2.9.
²⁸⁹ H2.9.
²⁹⁰ E2.9.
²⁹¹ A2.9.

²⁹² B2.12; C2.12.
²⁹³ G2.12.
²⁹⁴ A2.12.
²⁹⁵ E2.12.
²⁹⁶ B2.12.
²⁹⁷ F2.21.
²⁹⁸ A2.12; G2.12.
²⁹⁹ D2.12; H2.17.

³⁰⁰ D2.13.
³⁰¹ C2.13; D2.13; K2.13.
³⁰² A2.13; D2.13; E2.13.
³⁰³ G2.13; I2.13; K2.13.
³⁰⁴ G2.13; J2.13.
³⁰⁵ D2.16; H2.16.
³⁰⁶ J2.16; K2.16.
³⁰⁷ H2.16.

³⁰⁸ A2.15; E2.15; I2.15;
J2.15; K2.15.
³⁰⁹ B2.15.
³¹⁰ J2.15.
³¹¹ H2.15.

gone by'³¹² and wondered how 'it looked some 2000 years ago, with the temple in use and the people using it there'.³¹³ Similarly, one expressed concern for the adjacent fields, which get 'night hawked', their finds 'never to be recorded or seen again',³¹⁴ and another simply stated that the land had changed a lot during their 40 years of living there.³¹⁵ Only one detectorist mentioned community in relation to landscape,³¹⁶ but when asked about their feelings towards being part of the Solent Metal Detecting Club, all detectorists responded that they felt part of a community of 'like-minded people'³¹⁷ that were able to 'compare finds and knowledge',³¹⁸ 'to enjoy the hobby and to raise money for the charities that we support'³¹⁹ and 'get out in the fresh air, get some exercise, and have a good banter'.³²⁰ One detectorist pondered on the fact that 'people share personal things when out on the land, and you feel you know people well, even though you do not'.³²¹ Another stated there is a 'sense of responsibility while detecting with the club, more so at Hayling, there is definitely a community spirit'.³²² Several detectorists reference the farm owner, his family, and the archaeologists within their answers,³²³ one mentioning the local island community; 'it is nice the farm has many walkers... the local people are friendly and interested, and frequently stop to ask questions'.³²⁴

The detectorists were asked about their overall experience of the site and if there were any recurring thoughts and feelings that they would be willing to share. Two referred to well-being, claiming it 'cleansed' and detoxed'³²⁵ and is 'therapeutic'³²⁶ to be out in nature and have tangible engagement with history. One claimed to always carry binoculars so that they can 'observe wildlife or spy on that person that's been down that hole for ages haha!'³²⁷ Several other detectorists shared the 'anticipation/excitement' of 'walking through history, trying to image what actually happened in years gone by'³²⁸, and 'thinking what it must have been like in the Iron Age/Roman/Saxon periods'.³²⁹ It is 'satisfying'³³⁰ and 'a privilege'³³¹ to detect at a site with a wealth of history. One detectorist shared 'I always feel that something really important and interesting has been found by somebody',³³² while others described their experiences as positive due to 'meeting like-minded people and friends, exchanging information'³³³ and being 'enjoyable, social, friendly'.³³⁴ Several express gratitude and appreciation for the ability to work alongside the archaeologists,³³⁵ while one simply states 'Just brings back memories'.³³⁶ When asked if there was a way their experience could be improved, 5 of 9 responses said that there was no way to improve the site,³³⁷ and that they 'love it just the way it is'.³³⁸ One detectorist marvelled at the fact 'the club, the landowner, and the archaeologists are all working

³¹² C2.15.

³¹³ D2.15.

³¹⁴ F2.15.

³¹⁵ G2.15.

³¹⁶ E2.15.

³¹⁷ B2.14; F2.14.

³¹⁸ I2.14.

³¹⁹ A2.14.

³²⁰ G2.14.

³²¹ E2.14.

³²² C2.14.

³²³ D2.14; K2.14.

³²⁴ D2.14.

³²⁵ E2.17.

³²⁶ A2.17.

³²⁷ A2.17.

³²⁸ C2.17.

³²⁹ 2.17.

³³⁰ I2.17.

³³¹ K2.17.

³³² D2.17.

³³³ B2.17.

³³⁴ J2.17.

³³⁵ B2.17; H2.17.

³³⁶ G2.17.

³³⁷ A3.1; C3.1; I3.1;

J3.1; K3.1.

³³⁸ A3.1.

together' and hoped to see it continue.³³⁹ Another would like to see the site 'geophysed'³⁴⁰, while three respondents would like increased access or options for different days and deeper ploughing of the fields³⁴¹. One commented on the weather but admitted that this was down to the whims of Mother Nature.³⁴² The weather was the secondary cause for detectorists not attending future digs, particularly rain,³⁴³ while the primary concern was bad health.³⁴⁴ Two claimed nothing could stop them from attending,³⁴⁵ while another stated 'green waste'³⁴⁶.

Finally, the detectorists were asked if there was anything else that they would like to share, something that was not covered by the survey questions. Four said they could not think of anything.³⁴⁷ However, one shared that they were involved in the erection of the community information board on the farm, inspired by the knowledge 'there was a temple there and I wanted people to know when they walked across that land, some of the history that walked there before them'.³⁴⁸ Another commented that they were awed every time they found an ancient artefact, pondering on how it came to be in the ground.³⁴⁹ Two expressed contentment with detecting, one commenting that they 'experienced some of my best days detecting.'³⁵⁰ One detectorist marvelled at the sky; 'the sky is always amazing... once there was rain and lightning in the field and my hair stood up, so I got out of there quick!'³⁵¹. However, one expressed a desire for the collaborative work between the detectorists, landowner, and archaeologists 'will get noticed and other prospective sites will get in touch and work alongside so we can add to British history... and prevent finds from being destroyed by hawks.'³⁵²

Results Conclusion

Broad themes emerged, yet oftentimes it was possible to create subcategories within themes. Primary themes include 'Weather'; 'Heritage'; 'Community' and 'Emotions and Memories'. While all the above themes reoccur frequently in the survey responses, certain themes were more dominant amongst my phenomenological accounts and the interviews. For the former, weather, personal history, emotion, and natural community were more prominent, whereas the latter was dominated by the theme of heritage, with discussions primarily focused on the detectorists' knowledge and speculations about the temple or demonstrating the process of unearthing an artefact. This disparity of themes within the datasets emphasises the importance of data triangulation and demonstrates the varied capability of surveys.

³³⁹ B3.1.

³⁴⁰ G3.1.

³⁴¹ D3.1; E3.1; F3.1.

³⁴² H3.1.

³⁴³ A3.2; B3.2.

³⁴⁴ C3.2; D3.2; E3.2;

I3.2; K3.2.

³⁴⁵ G3.2; J3.2.

³⁴⁶ F3.2.

³⁴⁷ F3.4; I3.4; J3.4;

K3.4.

³⁴⁸ A3.4.

³⁴⁹ G3.4.

³⁵⁰ C3.4.

³⁵¹ E3.4.

³⁵² H3.4.

Interpretation

Within this brief prelude to the interpretation, it would be pertinent to highlight a mode of thinking Shanks identifies as ‘rhizome-thinking’, whereby knowledge is gained through a concentration on relations and associations.³⁵³ It is in opposition to the traditional approaches in archaeology, which Shanks identifies as the hierarchical, linear ‘tree-thinking’.³⁵⁴ The previous and proceeding chapter would have been more suited for a rhizome structure, a nonsequential and shifting assemblage,³⁵⁵ rather than squeezed into a linearized text. Although it has been divided into themes and subthemes, the data should not be seen in isolation from the other categories.

Finding Heritage

Responses that were concerned with ‘Heritage’ were plentiful and intrinsically connected to the theme of ‘Finding/Sharing (of Artefacts, of Knowledge)’, which is interwoven throughout this discussion. For many of the detectorists, their knowledge of the temple was provided by King and Soffe on-site, but some also sought further information online with varying results; one detectorist complained about the under-acknowledgement of the pre- and post-Roman periods within available literature,³⁵⁶ while another commented on the ‘ease’³⁵⁷ or ‘effort’³⁵⁸ of access. The emphasis on the temple being Roman evoked imagery of an acropolis-type structure, and one detectorist expressed their disappointment after seeing pictures of surviving similar temples in France.³⁵⁹ For the ancient patrons, this could have been a familiar experience, but this is not verifiable. However, the association with Rome would have potentially been welcomed by the ancient rulers as it was not uncommon for Celtic communities to model themselves after Rome in attempts to appease and align with the prestigious powerhouse.³⁶⁰

Past

The detectorists show a clear interest in the past lives of those who were attending Hayling in the Romano-Celtic era. The Romans are favoured, particularly their gold coinage, mirroring the academic predilection.³⁶¹ The image of the treasure-hunting detectorist is not uncommon; not only is

³⁵³ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 28-9.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-8.

³⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

³⁵⁶ H1.1.

³⁵⁷ F1.2.

³⁵⁸ C1.2.

³⁵⁹ J1.1.

³⁶⁰ Price, *Religious Mobility*, pp. 3-4.

³⁶¹ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, ‘Coins At Hayling Island’, pp. 3, 6-69.

it discussed in academic discourse,³⁶² but it also features within the BBC show *The Detectorists* (2014-2017, 2022), and my recording on the 29th of July 2021 whereby I made a somewhat sarcastic remark to my grandfather about ‘not being a treasure hunter’ after he mocked me for getting excited over Roman roof tile that I had pulled from the dirt. For Shanks, displaying an interest in something represents a curiosity or concern; and the accumulation of archaeological objects not only implies such interest but also conveys the power or ability to have the past within one’s ownership.³⁶³ The intense interest expressed by all detectorists regarding the historical context of the coins and the fact that they still retained possession of the item, rather than selling it (despite accusations of the Portable Antiquities Scheme being ‘promotional’),³⁶⁴ indicate primary interest is focused on heritage and owning a piece of the past. This contradicts the definition of non-professional detectorists made by Decker *et al.*, which states they are primarily driven by financial motivations.³⁶⁵ Some detectorists admittedly showed interest in the treasure,³⁶⁶ yet even these responses aligned with others that were focused on knowledge³⁶⁷ and experience of place with others.³⁶⁸ Attitudes to artefacts, therefore, reflect the various voices to be heard amongst the detectorists. Within archaeological theory, attention is being drawn towards the disparate experiences of places and things,³⁶⁹ indicating that it is quite possible the ancient patrons had similar disparities in their attitudes and motivations for attending the site. At Hayling, this could arise from the socio-cultural changes being implemented, including the construction of the nearby oppidum and the Romanization of architecture.³⁷⁰ However, for both past and present, there is a parallel of connecting with and learning about cultures.

The temple of Hayling remained in use from the 1st century BCE to the 4th century CE and therefore, was ruled by a series of Celtic leaders and frequented by several generations of patrons.³⁷¹ Today, the temple is visited by several generations frequently - the farm owners’ extended family live

³⁶² Deckers *et al.*, ‘Metal Detecting Policy And Practice’; Hardy, ‘Metal Detecting For Cultural Property’.

³⁶³ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 98.

³⁶⁴ Deckers *et al.*, ‘Metal Detecting Policy And Practice’, p. 327.

³⁶⁵ Deckers *et al.*, ‘Metal Detecting Policy And Practice’, p. 322.

³⁶⁶ A2.4; B2.4; C2.8; J2.8; B2.9; B2.12; E2.12; J2.12; C3.4.

³⁶⁷ A2.4; D2.4; E2.4K; F2.4; I2.4; K2.4; I2.8; C2.10; E2.10; A2.12; C2.12; E2.12; G2.12; H2.12; I2.12; K2.12; B3.4; C3.4; G3.4.

³⁶⁸ A2.1; A2.4; B2.4; D2.4; E2.4; A2.8; B2.8; C2.8; D2.8; E2.8; J2.8; C2.10; E2.12; G2.12; H2.12.

³⁶⁹ Deckers *et al.*, ‘Metal Detecting Policy And Practice’, p. 325; Brück, ‘Experiencing The Past?’, pp.55-8; Harris & Sørensen, ‘Rethinking Emotion’, p. 163; Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, pp. 3-4; Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*; Bender, *Stonehenge*; Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*.

³⁷⁰ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, ‘Coins At Hayling Island’, pp. 2-5; King and Soffe, ‘Organisation And Deposition’, pp. 35, 44-45; King and Soffe, ‘Hayling Island: A Bibliography’, pp. 139-141; King, ‘Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain’, pp. 329-357; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 2-3, 15.

³⁷¹ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, ‘Coins At Hayling Island’, pp. 2-5; Drinkwater (2015); Frere and Millett (2015); King and Soffe, ‘Organisation And Deposition’, pp. 38-9; King and Soffe, ‘Hayling Island: A Bibliography’, pp. 139-141; Maier, *Dictionary Of Celtic Religion And Culture*, p. 78.

in proximity and visit the site.³⁷² Additionally, the temple has been visited by my grandfather, myself, my younger sister and my nephew, where similar experiences involving tractors were unintentionally evoked, despite attending at different times and for different reasons (Figures 4 and 5).



Figure 5 - My nephew, Theo.

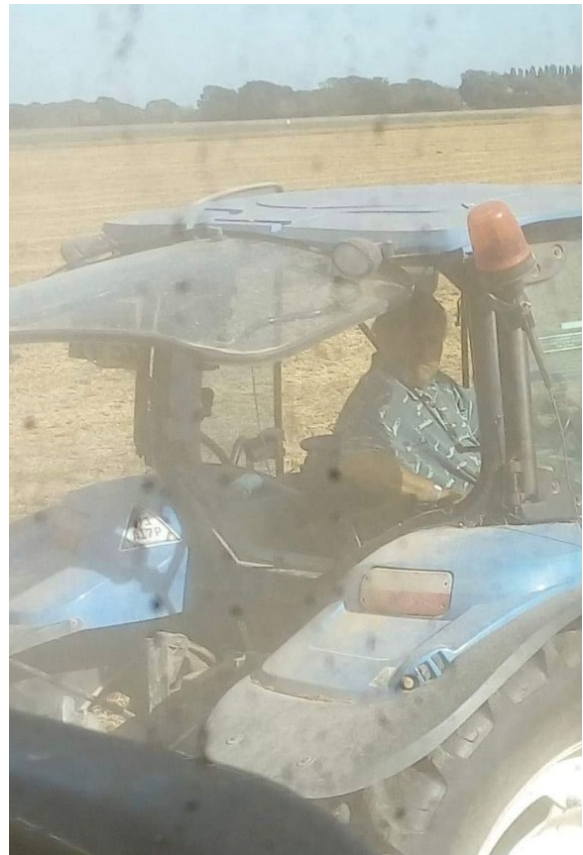


Figure 4 - My grandfather, Tony.

These photographs were taken several years apart without knowing the others' experiences. Photo of Theo shared with permission by his mother, my sister, Paige Hibberd.

Various generations attend the site, often with family, and although not attached to the site directly, one survey response noted that they enjoyed visiting Hayling as it invoked memories of when they fished at the beach with their father.³⁷³ Although the ancient world lacked tractors, it is not hard to imagine a family of multiple generations visiting with a cart, or someone reminiscing at the beach. This notion of succession is enhanced by the interpretation of Mars-Mullo as the patron deity of the Commian dynasty, meaning the temple would have been linked to ancestral worship.³⁷⁴ Further, the temple was continuously used by several generations of Atrebates leaders; Commius was succeeded

³⁷² Site visits on 29th July and 12th 2021; D2.4; D2.8; B2.8.

³⁷³ D2.13.

³⁷⁴ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', pp. 44-5.

by Tinomarus, Verica, and then Cogidubnus.³⁷⁵ In addition to the notion of familial succession, the idea can be applied abstractly if appropriated by the place; The Iron Age was succeeded by the Roman period, then the Anglo-Saxons, and finally the contemporary farmland. The succession of praxis is also seen in the flocking of people from the regional vicinity to attend the site, perform specific rites and return to their homes.

Future

Objects, often determined by archaeologists to symbolise societal interaction or ideology, are ultimately the primary source that leads archaeologists to knowledge of the past.³⁷⁶ The quest to accumulate objects and store them as datasets typically alienate the archaeologist from the public, or from the culture they seek to study; Shanks highlights the Native American desire to be recognised as people, not past,³⁷⁷ while Hamilakis details a site in Greece whereby archaeologists prohibited engagement with a site in the name of preservation, despite protests from the community.³⁷⁸ This is also seen in Bender's discussion of Stonehenge, where she highlights the contested perspectives, voices and attitudes that surround a single site.³⁷⁹ These examples display the disparate perspective between academia (especially heritage authorities) and the general public, the latter viewing the former with distrust, suspicious that access will be denied and distorted.³⁸⁰ This is seen at Hayling Island, whereby the detectorists expressed excitement and gratitude for the work of King and Soffe and the ability to collaborate,³⁸¹ but also conveyed concern regarding the threat of restricted access by authorities due to the wealth of finds being documented, a characteristic of the heritage industry according to Hamilakis,³⁸² and changes to the Treasure Act.³⁸³ For the detectorists, this would be 'disappointing'³⁸⁴, and they would be 'gutted'³⁸⁵. Several detectorists raised concerns about housing development on the island but felt reassured that the farm owner would try to hold fast.³⁸⁶ Rather than site restriction and removal of active engagement, the detectorists strongly advocate for further excavations with modern

³⁷⁵ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, 'Coins At Hayling Island', p. 4; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', pp.141-2.

³⁷⁶ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 88.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 37-8.

³⁷⁹ Bender, *Stonehenge*, p. 9.

³⁸⁰ Deckers *et al.*, 'Metal Detecting Policy And Practice', pp. 325, 330; Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 37-9, 43-6, 65; Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 86, 129.

³⁸¹ B1.1; H1.1; B1.2; E2.2; K1.2; A1.4; B1.4; C1.4; D1.4; E1.4; H1.4; F2.4; I2.4; B2.7; D2.7; H2.7; I2.7; K2.7; K2.8; E2.13; G2.13; H2.13; I2.13; B2.17; H2.17; K2.17; B3.1; H3.4.

³⁸² Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 45-6.

³⁸³ D3.2; H3.2; C3.3; E3.3.

³⁸⁴ C3.3.

³⁸⁵ E3.3.

³⁸⁶ A3.3; K3.3.

technology.³⁸⁷ During the interviews, several detectorists stated that they believed the temple site featured a blacksmith nearby, potentially at a small, local settlement. My grandfather thought it to be on the opposite field and insisted there was a ‘bump’ in the landscape, but I failed to see anything but flatness. While this shows a flaw in phenomenological work, one that has been highlighted by Brück,³⁸⁸ there is insight to be gained from non-professionals to inspire further excavation; some archaeological sites and finds in the UK have only been uncovered due to the work of detectorists.³⁸⁹ The idea of the possible inclusion of a blacksmith or small settlement beside the temple is further supported by the Mars Mullo temple at Allonnes, which was constructed atop old workshops.³⁹⁰

Others were more fearful that the ‘amount of people attending will start to diminish’³⁹¹ and were saddened by the fact the remaining structures ‘will always remain underground, and never seen by the public’³⁹² despite the thought-provoking effect of the site and connection to people throughout time.³⁹³ With the gradual dilapidation of the temple from the 1st to 4th centuries AD,³⁹⁴ it is not difficult to imagine similar thoughts had entered the minds of ancient patrons, albeit perhaps rather than concerns that the temple *remained* hidden, an unease of it *becoming* unknown. Conversely, the detectorists also seek to protect the site from ‘nighthawks’ and assist the farmer in clearing the fields of scrap.³⁹⁵ While broken farming equipment today is deemed rubbish and requires removal, the military and economic equipment of the ancients was purposefully broken, deposited, and redeposited;³⁹⁶ perhaps there were concerns of illicit redeposition, such as the metal detectorists' worry about illegal detectorists.

Community

While coins were favoured as a proud find,³⁹⁷ and ‘everyone wants to find a Roman coin’,³⁹⁸ there is an indication that personal discovery does not dictate a good detecting session; ‘it doesn’t actually matter if I don’t find anything’³⁹⁹ and ‘I always feel that something important and interesting

³⁸⁷ E3.3; G3.1; I3.3.

³⁸⁸ Brück, ‘Experiencing The Past?’, p. 55.

³⁸⁹ Deckers *et al.*, ‘Metal Detecting Policy And Practice’, pp. 324, 328.

³⁹⁰ Dessales, ‘The Archaeology Of Construction’, (2017), p. 80.

³⁹¹ H3.3.

³⁹² F3.3.

³⁹³ G3.3.

³⁹⁴ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, ‘Coins At Hayling Island’, p. 1.

³⁹⁵ D2.12; F2.15; H2.17; H3.4.

³⁹⁶ King and Soffe, ‘Organisation And Deposition’, pp. 42, 44; King and Soffe, ‘Hayling Island: A Bibliography’, p. 140; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 14-8.

³⁹⁷ A1.3; B1.3; C1.3; E1.3; I1.3; J1.3; K1.3.

³⁹⁸ B2.10.

³⁹⁹ A2.9.

has been found by somebody.’⁴⁰⁰ The discovery of history and heritage, and then sharing those findings with the community, was attributed higher importance.⁴⁰¹ The sense of community that permeated the survey responses and physical experiences of the site was dominating.

Church of Detectorists and their Praxis

According to Durkheim, religion is 'a unified set of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things... which unite into one single moral community called a Church[.]'⁴⁰² Although based upon Judea-Christian characteristics, Durkheim's definition applies to the detectorists, whereby the community is bound by specific practices and beliefs regarding the detecting, digging, and discovering of valuable artefacts.⁴⁰³ Similarly, Rank claims religion emerges once awe is rationalised with doctrine and praxis,⁴⁰⁴ and the awe of engaging with the past for the detectorists is bound by the rules and methods of the club and heritage laws. In this regard, Hayling Island temple has continuously been attended by communities inspired by awe; whether that be defined as religious or scientific in origin, it would be the wondrous *Mysterium fascinans* outlined by Rudolf Otto.⁴⁰⁵ For Eliade, this experience was a hierophany that formed sacred spaces.⁴⁰⁶ At Hayling, we see the *axis mundi* of the temple maintained through ritualised actions. While ritual saw the deposition of the votive offerings, routine saw them unearthed; there is a clear method of excavation conducted by the detectorists, shared as recipes.⁴⁰⁷ If the suggestion by King and Soffe that the depositional praxis involved a re-depositing of offerings is correct,⁴⁰⁸ the detectorists continued the ancient tradition when they dug up the artefact and repositioned it within their finds bag. This was also reflected in the actions of my spokesperson, who unwittingly mirrored ancient praxis when they placed a detector and some flowers within the temple outline to honour my grandfather (Figure 6) but picked it up before leaving so as not to litter on the farmland. Therefore, the Church of Detectorists religiously attends their temple to perform rituals of artefact *accumulation*. Ancient patrons similarly attended at specific times and performed rituals of artefact *deposition*.⁴⁰⁹ Furthermore, King suggests that the temple was a pilgrimage centre that supported

⁴⁰⁰ D2.17.

⁴⁰¹ A2.4; D2.5; E2.4; K2.4; A2.5; B2.5; D2.5; E2.5; G2.5; H2.5; I2.5; J2.5; K2.5; A2.7; B2.7; C2.7; D2.7; H2.7; I2.7; K2.7; B2.8; C2.8; D2.8; E2.8; I2.8; J2.8; A2.13; D2.13; A2.14; B2.14; C2.14; D2.14; E2.14; F2.14; G2.14; H2.14; I2.14; K2.14; A2.17; B2.17; D2.17; H2.17; J2.17; A3.4; H3.4.

⁴⁰² Durkheim, *Sociology And Philosophy*, p. 62 as cited on DuBois, *Shamanism*, p. 8.

⁴⁰³ A-K2.14.

⁴⁰⁴ Rank, *Psychology And The Soul*, pp. 142-3 as cited on DuBois, *Shamanism*, p. 8.

⁴⁰⁵ Otto, *Idea Of The Holy*, p. 14-17.

⁴⁰⁶ Eliade, *Sacred And Profane*, pp. 21, 35-7.

⁴⁰⁷ A-K2.12.

⁴⁰⁸ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 41.

⁴⁰⁹ King, 'Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain', pp. 363, 359. King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', pp. 42, 44; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', p. 140; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 1, 14-8.

seasonal activities, although autumn was likely favoured.⁴¹⁰ This could coincide with salt-mining activities⁴¹¹ or equinox festivals.⁴¹² The suggested seasonal preference for ancient patrons aligns with the start of the detecting season, indicating they were flocking to attend the site at the same time of the year despite temporal and cultural disparity.



Figure 6 - Metal detector deposited by my spokesperson within the temple outline to honour my grandfather. She took several photographs, capturing the moment, before collecting the detector and starting her day. Photograph taken by me, 23rd December 2021.

Furthermore, the bone assemblages at Hayling are suggestive of feasting rites occurring here,⁴¹³ and the region traded salt extensively with the Romans, who considered salted pork a delicacy.⁴¹⁴ Although only ritualised consumption has been discussed in literature,⁴¹⁵ and food is notoriously difficult to identify in the record,⁴¹⁶ the morning routine of eating and chatting with other club members is not so dissimilar to feasting; there are specific consumables (pigs, sheep and cattle for ancients and tea, coffee and bananas for modern attendees) and for specific activities (pious praxis and detecting preparation, respectively) within a specific social space (the temenos and the car park). While these may seem dichotomously opposed, sacrality is often integrated into mundane habitus⁴¹⁷ and such

⁴¹⁰ King, 'Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain', p. 363.

⁴¹¹ King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 1.

⁴¹² King, 'Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain', p. 359.

⁴¹³ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 41-2. **See: Levitan 1993.**

⁴¹⁴ Maltby, 'Salt And Animal Products', pp. 118-9.

⁴¹⁵ King, 'Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain', pp. 359, 362.

⁴¹⁶ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 88.

⁴¹⁷ Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, p. 9

divisions prove unhelpful.⁴¹⁸ Therefore, the ritualised routines of the detectorists are all reminiscent of past praxis. Admittedly, this suggestion is not unequivocal, as there are distinct differences between past and present; for example, ancient patrons ritually broke their offerings,⁴¹⁹ whereas detectorists would prefer to find identifiable, unbroken artefacts. Additionally, Hamilakis emphasizes the strong sensorial effects formed during feasting, including scents, textures, and tastes.⁴²⁰ While the dishes would have been different, the detectorists and temple patrons would both form sensorial affective memories due to the punctured periodic associations with feasting; either in the morning for the detectorists,⁴²¹ or during festivals in the autumn for the ancients.⁴²² This emphasises the notion that past experiences can only ever be partially understood,⁴²³ yet shows how contemporary experiences can be insightful and valuable to furthering knowledge of ancient lives, an important quest for archaeologists and detectorists alike.

At Hayling, the archaeologists and detectorists work together to learn more about the site and disseminate the knowledge gained; the archaeologists occasionally present talks for the SMDC⁴²⁴ and then the detectorists discuss this with the wider public that express interest.⁴²⁵ However, their generally friendly and welcoming attitudes are not only evident in the fields, but also in their charity efforts⁴²⁶ and in the great respect and adoration they express for Sam and his family.⁴²⁷ The close relationship between the farmer and the detectorists was clear to witness during their interactions⁴²⁸ and it is said they celebrate Christmas with meals and gifts together.⁴²⁹ All participants felt they belonged to a community and socialising was key to the experiences of the site.⁴³⁰ While there is a lack of the untamed intensity outlined in Durkheim's idea of collective effervescence,⁴³¹ this community does align with the definitions concerned with sacred connections, communal passions, and access to a creative space that allows individuals to generate ideas and reclassify reality, or history in this case. To use the words of Durkheim and Olaveson, there is a sense of 'a sort of electricity'⁴³² amongst the

⁴¹⁸ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 109; Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, p. 5.

⁴¹⁹ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 42, 44; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 11.

⁴²⁰ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 87.

⁴²¹ Site visits on 12th September, 23rd December 2021, and 5th March 2023; C2.5; D2.5; E2.5; F2.5; I2.5; K2.5.

⁴²² King, 'Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain', p. 363.

⁴²³ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 57, 129; Tilley, *Materiality Of Stone*, p. 145; Bruck, 'Experiencing The Past?', pp. 57-8; Bender, *Stonehenge*, pp. 8-9, 18; Tilley, *Phenomenology Of Landscape*, p. 74.

⁴²⁴ B1.1; Recordings currently unavailable to the public.

⁴²⁵ Interview conversations; A2.1; D2.4; D2.14; A3.4.

⁴²⁶ H2.8; A2.14; A2.15.

⁴²⁷ I2.1; D2.4; G2.5; B2.8; D2.8; B2.9; D2.12; E2.13; G2.13; K2.14; B3,1; D3.2; K3.3.

⁴²⁸ Site visits on 12th September and 23rd December 2021.

⁴²⁹ B2.8; H2.8.

⁴³⁰ A-K2.14.

⁴³¹ Olaveson, 'Collective Effervescence And Communitas', pp. 99-103, 105.

⁴³² Durkheim, *Elementary Forms*, pp. 217-218; Olaveson, 'Collective Effervescence And Communitas', p. 99.

community of the temple today, which 'is not simply mob psychology or camaraderie'.⁴³³ Due to this idea being formed within Durkheim's sociological theories of religion and ritual,⁴³⁴ it is quite possible yet unverifiable, as to whether this is a shared experience for the ancient patrons.

Being with Nature

It has been proposed that islands were sacred spaces of pilgrimage for the Celts, and that they constructed enclosures to contain the *anima loci* of sacred places.⁴³⁵ The placement of the temple upon a rise in the otherwise flat landscape,⁴³⁶ and the identification of a water 'drainage' ditch around the temenos border⁴³⁷ could potentially reflect a mirroring of the landscape, or to use Eliadian terms,⁴³⁸ a purposeful re-enactment of a sacred place to honour the hierophany, the acknowledgement of the *anima loci*.⁴³⁹ Unfortunately, no modern comparison can be directly drawn, however, during a critique of Tilley and emphasis on the requirement of reflexivity, Hamilakis states 'the visual and kinaesthetic experience of the land is still one of the most important rituals of English nationhood'.⁴⁴⁰ The term ritual implies specific actions are taken to invoke certain experiences, such as healing, and aligns with notions of ritualisation maintaining the *anima loci* of a sacred site.⁴⁴¹ This is evidenced by the survey responses that are concerned with nature, which focus on pausing, taking in the moment, observing animal species and scenic vistas, and emphasising their soothing evocation.⁴⁴² In this way, the detectorists are enacting a personal ritual when perceiving the landscape. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine if the ancient patrons of the temple shared a similar experience, yet the frequency of animal bones indicates that some livestock would have been in the vicinity.⁴⁴³ Today, the site is on

⁴³³ Olaveson, 'Collective Effervescence And Communitas', p. 101.

⁴³⁴ Ibid., p. 93.

⁴³⁵ Pennick, *Celtic Sacred Landscapes*, pp. 105, 109, 115-6.

⁴³⁶ King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, p. 16.

⁴³⁷ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 36, 39.

⁴³⁸ Eliade, *Sacred And Profane*, pp. 11, 31, 34.

⁴³⁹ Pennick, *Celtic Sacred Landscapes*, pp. 13-14, 115.

⁴⁴⁰ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 100.

⁴⁴¹ Bowie, *Anthropology Of Religion*, p. 271; Eliade, *Sacred And Profane*, pp. 29.

⁴⁴² K2.6; A2.8; A2.15; E2.15; I2.15; K2.15; A2.17; C2.17; D2.17; E2.17; A3.1.

⁴⁴³ King, 'Animal Remains From Temples In Roman Britain', pp. 337-341.

active farmland with alpacas and chickens (Figure 7), so this is a shared experience even if the domesticated animals differ.



Figure 7 - The farm features chickens and alpacas, which are friendly. This photograph is of myself, taken by my spokesperson and shared with permission. Taken on the 23rd of December 2021.

Weather-World

Weather

The weather proved overwhelming, the wind was unyielding and imposed difficulties with notetaking. It was as Ingold claims, that ‘a strong wind can so overwhelm the senses[.]’⁴⁴⁴ In the summer, sunflowers dance in the bracing breezes and the visiting public may seek shelter in the canopies provided or enjoy being cooled by its caress. But in the winter, the open, flat fields of the temple site leave visitors vulnerable to the barrage of wind; the only protection the detectorists have in their arsenal against it is their clothing. Participants stressed the importance of protecting oneself from the wind, and one interviewee commented ‘do not be fooled by the sun, that wind has a chill!’⁴⁴⁵ Dressing appropriately is unlikely to be a strictly modern experience of the temple. The climate, geography and floral environment of Hayling Island are thought to be relatively consistent from the Iron Age,⁴⁴⁶ meaning that the ancient visitors were likely also buffeted by the wind. Evidence indicated

⁴⁴⁴ Ingold, ‘Footprints Through the Weather-world’, S139.

⁴⁴⁵ Interviews, 5th March 2023.

⁴⁴⁶ Pennick, *Celtic Sacred Landscapes*, p. 16.

they attributed significance to the direction in which wind originated; the horizon was divided into eight *airt*, each of which had specific qualities.⁴⁴⁷ Furthermore, the lack of wind at a location provided a ‘bad’ atmosphere, and the stillness was thought to bring sickness.⁴⁴⁸ This latter belief would not have been a concern at Hayling, where strong winds are common.⁴⁴⁹ According to the detectorists, the wind most commonly came from the south-west but the coldest was from the north-west.⁴⁵⁰ The Celts are thought to have similarly acknowledged the agency of wind,⁴⁵¹ and Ingold asserts that our existence is intricately tied to the wind, for it creates all life and is the fluctuating medium that allows us to experience the world.⁴⁵² This would imply that all beings, despite spatial-temporal or even taxonomic differences, are connected by the wind and would confirm a shared experience in past and present.

While the detectorists cannot hide from the wind, immersed within the medium and only seeking to protect themselves as much as possible, not one stated that it was a reason to go home or to leave early. This brings a quote to mind, from a scene in the movie *Mulan* (Disney, 1998), whereby the steadfast emperor refuses to surrender to the Mongol invader, Shan-Yu: ‘No matter how the wind howls, the mountain cannot bow to it.’ Despite the agency attributed to the wind, it has little volition against the determined detectorist. However, a slither of sunshine can reinvigorate them.⁴⁵³ Despite the positive emotions within sunshine-related responses, the five surveys that mention it do so only briefly.⁴⁵⁴ One detectorist describes the temple as ‘idyllic’ in the summer sun.⁴⁵⁵ During one visit, I took several photographs but only one photo gives any indication as to what the weather was that day; a direct photo of the sun rising in the eastern sky, framed by a towering tree that was losing its leaves (Figure 8). The sun and the radiant beams emanating from it take up much of the snapshot. However, the bottom-left corner shows the inside of a car windscreen, meaning that I am experiencing the weather from the sheltered cocoon of the car. This act of admiring the weather rather than being immersed in it is heavily criticized by Ingold, Goliński, and Rayner.⁴⁵⁶ Additionally, the detached experience from a car would not have been shared by the ancient people of the site. However, the

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁴⁴⁹ D2.2.

⁴⁵⁰ A2.2;

⁴⁵¹ Pennick, *Celtic Sacred Landscapes*, p. 16.

⁴⁵² Ingold, ‘Earth, Sky, Wind, And Weather’, p. S30; Ingold, ‘Footprints Through The Weather-World’, pp. S131, S133.

⁴⁵³ K2.2; A2.7.

⁴⁵⁴ K2.2; D2.3; E2.3; H3.3; A2.7.

⁴⁵⁵ A2.3.

⁴⁵⁶ Ingold, ‘Earth, Sky, Wind, And Weather’, pp. S29, S34; Goliński, ‘Time, Talk And The Weather’, p. 17; Rayner, ‘Domesticating Nature’, p. 280).

bareness of agricultural fields in the summer ensures the detectorists have an experience that is more likely to be akin to that of the past.



Figure 8 - The early morning sun. Photograph taken by me, 12th September 2021.

However, despite modern protections, the cold and rain could dampen the detectorist's enthusiasm and motivation, reducing attendance and forcing them to return home.⁴⁵⁷ The majority of clothing items advised for 'digging clobber'⁴⁵⁸ were winter wear; thick and preferably thermal. 'Rain and strong winds are a common occurrence',⁴⁵⁹ and can be so bad that 'as you dug a hole [it] filled with water, [but] you don't worry about that when you're looking for the Holy Grail.'⁴⁶⁰ One shared that the sky 'is always amazing early and late in the day' and described a lightning storm; 'my hair stood up in the air, so I got out quick!'⁴⁶¹ Therefore, the weather was central to the experience of the site. The proximity of several sites in the region, including the Iron Age farm at Butser Hill⁴⁶² and the Regni capital of Chichester (c. 43 CE)⁴⁶³ and the lack of a contemporaneous settlement identified on Hayling Island, indicates that patrons of the ancient temple were travelling a similar distance to that of the detectorists (Hampshire, Sussex) to attend the temple. The detectorists took into consideration the

⁴⁵⁷ A2.2; E2.2; I2.2; A3.2; B3.2.

⁴⁵⁸ G2.5.

⁴⁵⁹ D2.2.

⁴⁶⁰ B2.2.

⁴⁶¹ E3.4.

⁴⁶² Bradley, 'Hill Fort On The South Downs', pp. 11, 13-14, 19.

⁴⁶³ Frere and Millett (2015).

weather and distance when attending – some detectorists found the sites’ proximity appealing and would not attend if they were further from their homes.⁴⁶⁴ The dismal weather would have likely affected the ancient patrons’ decisions regarding attendance.



Figure 9 - Four detectorists set off into the fields after chatting with other club members, following well-worn tracks that were muddy during this visit. Photograph taken by myself on the 23rd of December 2021.

Movement

This theme relates to accessibility being hindered or enhanced by the weather and reflects the consequences of the weather rather than focusing on it as an active agent. During his detailing of taskscapes and temporality in landscapes, Ingold likens the evidence of human activity to ‘footprints’ left behind.⁴⁶⁵ This is particularly noticeable when spotting the Solent Metal Detecting Club trekking through mud-sodden fields (Figure 9). Their tracks, however, are often difficult to determine due to the nature of the soil; it is either rock solid, lined with cracks, or squishy and sinking underfoot.⁴⁶⁶ The soil had also hindered excavations and stratigraphical sequencing at the temple site.⁴⁶⁷ Other archaeological investigations have experienced difficulty due to the geology at Hayling; the 1864 schooner, *The Ocean*, lay buried beneath a sandbar on the southwestern tip of the island and can only be excavated during low tide.⁴⁶⁸ Despite this, movement around the site was not dictated by reported ease of walking but by the availability of fields,⁴⁶⁹ which are linked by trodden tracks and pathways.⁴⁷⁰ It is possible that the ancients used paths and roads that improved ease of access around and to the site; my grandfather noted that a Roman road had been found leading away from the western face of the

⁴⁶⁴ J2.16; K2.16.

⁴⁶⁵ See Ingold, ‘Footprints Through The Weather-World’; Ingold, ‘Temporality Of Landscape’; Ingold, *Lines*.

⁴⁶⁶ F2.2; H2.2; J2.2.

⁴⁶⁷ King and Soffe, ‘Organisation And Deposition’, p. 35.

⁴⁶⁸ Cooper and Green, ‘Confounding Cartography’, pp. 196-7.

⁴⁶⁹ K2.1; B2.4; B2.5; B2.9; C2.9; D2.9; K2.9; C2.17.

⁴⁷⁰ Walked upon during site visit 29th July, 23rd December 2021, 5th March 2023; C2.16; E2.16.

temple,⁴⁷¹ but I could not find literature evidence of this and it is unverifiable to propose that ancient people suffered similar issues with movement and mud, but the prospect is plausible due to the continuation of weather conditions.⁴⁷²

Although footpaths and footprints are subject to the whims of the weather-world, their temporal impression of the land records the detectorists' purposeful wanderings around the site; one detectorist is a self-declared wanderer!⁴⁷³ Although map-making, according to Ingold, is concerned with travellers who construct knowledge (as opposed to wanderers who grow it)⁴⁷⁴, the detectorists have maps which signify the SMDC names for each field; for example, the Ditch field was also known as the Pumpkin field, as it was full of pumpkins during their early visits (Figure 10).⁴⁷⁵ During a dialogue recorded by Bender, Tilley states that the perception of the landscape deepens through repeated engagement, forming an intimate sensorial relationship that cannot be reproduced or conveyed through cartographic maps.⁴⁷⁶ However, when people connect with a place, identity is imbued through names, and environments become imprinted with memories through actions and feelings.⁴⁷⁷ The maps created by detectorists reflect the engagement between people and place and could only be developed through repeated connection. Similarly, the detectorists adapted the map as required, a benefit highlighted by Shanks.⁴⁷⁸ Additionally, the preference for architectural features as name places is reminiscent of the rejected Old English etymology of enclosure for Hayling,⁴⁷⁹ presenting a tantalising yet doubtful continuation of a tradition from the past to the present at the site.

⁴⁷¹ Site visit, 29th July 2021.

⁴⁷² Goliński, *Climate Of Enlightenment*, p. 56; Rowley. 'Weather In History 4000 To 100 BC'; Rowley, 'Weather In History 100BC To 499AD'.

⁴⁷³ A2.9.

⁴⁷⁴ Ingold, 'Footprints Through The Weather-World', pp. S134-6.

⁴⁷⁵ Conversations with my grandfather; conversations with my spokesperson; 29th July 2021; Solent Fruit Farm, 'A Polite Message Regarding Footpaths', *Facebook*, (16th April 2022) <<https://www.facebook.com/StokeFruitFarm/photos/a.872881489413387/5507710855930404/>> [accessed 30 December 2023].

⁴⁷⁶ Christopher Tilley in Bender, *Stonehenge*, p. 81.

⁴⁷⁷ Lane, *Landscapes Of The Sacred*, pp. 3-4, 7, 21.

⁴⁷⁸ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 145.

⁴⁷⁹ Coates, 'The Place-Names of Hayling Island, Hampshire', (1991), p. 26.

Emotions and Memories

The inclusion of sensorial assemblages in archaeological research is encouraged by Hamilakis⁴⁸⁰ and the data of this project rests upon the complex network of people, things and places through affective acknowledgement, or affective field.⁴⁸¹ The theme of emotions is prevalent in the surveys, interviews, and phenomenological accounts, regardless of question or conversation; the sensorial assemblage of the temple today could have been the sole focus of this dissertation.

All participants mentioned being proud, privileged, and grateful for the ability to detect at an important site,⁴⁸² valuing the rich connection it has provided them to the past⁴⁸³ and feeling honoured at their part in building knowledge.⁴⁸⁴ Some worked with the council to create the information board around 15-20 years ago⁴⁸⁵ or at the holiday camp where the 1976 archaeological team stayed.⁴⁸⁶ Several are keen to know more about the site and the surrounding area,⁴⁸⁷ and it is said that local people who use the public rights-of-way through the farm tend to ask questions, to which the detectorists are happy to oblige and share what they know.⁴⁸⁸ According to Deckers *et al.*, the gaining of the public's trust and the open collaboration between interested audiences is a 'legitimate choice in heritage policy' to which detectorists have contributed greatly.⁴⁸⁹ Access to the site encourages attendees to engage with their local history and current community, a potentially common experience with ancient attendees due to the socio-historical context in which the temple was constructed and used. Conversely, continental links may have been emphasised in the past due to the gradual Romanization implemented by the Atrebatian rulers, originally from Gaul, who sought to earn the favour of Rome.⁴⁹⁰ Unfortunately, it cannot be said whether prehistoric people who visited the site also aided in construction and held memories of its earlier days or felt pride to be a patron of the temple.

Unwittingly, the detectorists align with the recent academic discourse that recognises the interconnectedness of past and present.⁴⁹¹ There are direct equivocations, such as: 'placing what

⁴⁸⁰ Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 126.

⁴⁸¹ Harris & Sørensen, 'Rethinking Emotion', pp. 149-153.

⁴⁸² A2.13.

⁴⁸³ C1.3; E1.4; F1.4; F2.6; A2.8; C2.10; A2.13; H2.13; I2.13; K2.13; C2.17; K2.17; A3.14; B3.4; H3.4.

⁴⁸⁴ A2.13.

⁴⁸⁵ A2.6; A3.4.

⁴⁸⁶ G1.1.

⁴⁸⁷ A1.2, B1.2; C1.2; D1.2; E1.2; H1.2; K1.2; A1.4; B1.4; G3.1; D3.4; H3.4.

⁴⁸⁸ D2.4; D2.14; A3.4; Witnessed during site visits on 12th September, 23rd December 2021 and 5th March 2023.

⁴⁸⁹ Deckers *et al.*, 'Metal Detecting Policy And Practice', p. 329.

⁴⁹⁰ Briggs, Haselgrove and King, 'Coins At Hayling Island', pp. 2, 4-5, King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', p. 44; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', pp. 139-141; King, 'Pre-Roman Cult Site'; King and Soffe, *A Sacred Island*, pp. 3, 15-6.

⁴⁹¹ Bender, *Stonehenge*, p. 18; Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, p. 23; Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, pp. 43, 122-3.

happened then, in the now'⁴⁹², or being able to connect with and 'imagine its past'.⁴⁹³ The feeling of connection to people in the past and present was an overarching theme represented in the data and is strongly linked to memories. Particularly associated with memories is 'family', whether this be through blood relations or as the community of detectorists, archaeologists, and farmers, which were described as 'one big happy family.'⁴⁹⁴ One detectorist admitted their time at the site was often restricted by family commitments elsewhere and that they tended to reminisce about loved ones as they detected.⁴⁹⁵ Although the mentioned memories are described as 'fond'⁴⁹⁶, mine were bittersweet due to the loss of my grandparents. Although unverifiable, ancient attendees to the site were possibly incited to reminiscent of families due to the shrine being connected to ancestral worship.⁴⁹⁷

The loss of my grandfather at the start of this project undoubtedly affected some of the emotions and memories that revealed themselves, particularly grief.⁴⁹⁸ This was not limited to me but extended to the club members, archaeologists, and the farmer. Consequently, he features several times in each dataset and is quite central to the activities and experiences that occurred at the temple. The detectorists were eager to share anecdotes and memories and informed me that he had gained the club access to the site; he was the friendly face, the chatty one who would approach anyone. He participated in many of the charity digs, one of which was in memoriam of my grandmother, who was an honorary member of the club and regular patron of the site (Figure 11). She was not a detectorist but preferred to read and enjoy the conversations; my grandfather was a second-generation detectorist, furthering the previous theme of succession. Without my grandfather's charming demeanour and interest in detecting, this project could not have come to fruition, nor would the community that has arisen between the SMDC, archaeologists and the farmer. The entire project became emotionally charged; perhaps more so than what Shanks and Hamilakis encouraged. However, grief, particularly that concerned with sudden deaths and loss of loved ones, was potentially a feeling experienced by the ancient patrons of the ancestral shrine dedicated to Mars Mullo. Due to this connection, it is the emotion most likely to be evidenced through a dedicated sensorial analysis of the data; the other emotions mentioned by the detectorists may not leave obvious material traces.

⁴⁹² A2.13.

⁴⁹³ H2.13.

⁴⁹⁴ K2.14.

⁴⁹⁵ G2.2; G2.8.

⁴⁹⁶ D2.13.

⁴⁹⁷ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', pp. 44-5.

⁴⁹⁸ 23rd December 2021, 5th March 2023.



Figure 11 - Photograph taken on an unknown date (over ten years ago) of two SMDC members looking at some finds scattered on a table, while my grandfather, Tony Alexander, and my grandmother, Denise Alexander, enjoy some pre-packed lunch.

Conclusion

This dissertation sought to explore the possibility of understanding the experiences of those in the past by studying the experiences of people today. This was not a search for direct equivocation, but rather a suggestion of agency of place; could the temple invoke similar thoughts, feelings, and experiences for those who visited regardless of temporality? The ability to conduct this project is a privilege granted by personal connections, and the subsequent formation of the dissertation was emotionally charged due to the loss of my grandfather. Archaeological theories such as those concerned with emotions, senses and experience were included alongside those of sacred landscapes. Appropriate methods such as phenomenological accounts, surveys and interviews provided a rich wealth of data that could be expanded upon in further research, each theme containing enough information for individual dissertations. Instead, befitting of rhizome-thinking, the assemblage of data is shallow and shifting, and would be best read as a network.⁴⁹⁹

The experiences of past and present, comparing a shrine to active farmland, may immediately seem dichotomously opposed. However, such divisions tend to be fruitless and simplistic,⁵⁰⁰ and in this project, unrealistic. The explored themes of heritage, community, weather, and sensorial experiences revealed potential similarities between past and present patrons of Hayling Island temple and suggested that the place invoked approximately comparable experiences for attendees. Similarities include the connection with and learning about other cultures, the concept of succession, engaging with local history and being part of a community. There may have been concerns about the future of the temple, although these were likely different for the past and present. The place was visited in both instances by dedicated groups who performed specific praxis, consumed food and drink, and enjoyed conversation in a landscape that featured domesticated animals. The weather has been roughly consistent, meaning that similar experiences regarding the weather are possible, albeit reactions were likely dissimilar due to modern conveniences such as cars and heavy-duty weather-appropriate attire. This is especially prospective when considering the similar time of year for festivals in the past or the start of the modern detecting season: autumn. Additionally, the emotions and memories of the site, particularly those relating to family and grief, are suggestively shared across temporal bounds due to the proposal that the place is an ancestral shrine dedicated to Mars Mullo, a Celtic god of warriors, kinship, and the tribe.⁵⁰¹ There was a strong sense of pride and appreciation for the opportunity to

⁴⁹⁹ Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 28-9.

⁵⁰⁰ Brück, 'Experiencing The Past?', pp. 57-8; 57; Shanks, *Experiencing The Past*, pp. 102-6; Hamilakis, *Archaeology And The Senses*, p. 128.

⁵⁰¹ King and Soffe, 'Organisation And Deposition', pp. 44-5; King and Soffe, 'Hayling Island: A Bibliography', pp. 142-3.

detect there and the resulting community, or tribe, that has arisen between the SMDC, the archaeologists and Sam, the farmer. The building upon knowledge, the finding of heritage and sharing that information with others was of more importance than treasure hunting, opposing the traditional academic perspective of metal detectorists.⁵⁰²

Just as Commius awakened the *anima loci* with the construction of the temple, my grandfather caused it to be maintained and reconstructed in a sensorial effective manner through praxis and engagement from the SMDC. Not only did he initiate detecting access and relations with the farmer and archaeologists, but he also introduced me to the site and was at the heart of my experiences there, even if his physical presence was not. Consequently, the place was able to provide some similar experiences to patrons of past and present, once invited into the community by a person who then left the engagement with and maintenance of the *anima loci* to their successors. Disparities between past and present are to be expected due to the temporal, historical and cultural contexts, and it is not possible to precisely determine the exact thoughts, feelings, emotions, and experiences of prehistoric people. However, this project aligns with Tilley's assertion that the experience of place can be familiar and similar⁵⁰³ and Ingold's claim that 'retracing the lines of the past lives is the way we proceed along our own.'⁵⁰⁴ Additionally, the project shows the potential insights gained from including ethnographic accounts alongside archaeological interpretations and incorporating the sensorial aspects of the human experience into the study of the past reflexively and consciously. Regardless of whether archaeologists can agree that the present can enlighten the past, the preservation of modern experiences of the site could be valuable to future researchers who seek to understand disparate responses to heritage. As such, a befitting conclusion is found in a survey response that is firmly rooted in the modern socio-historical climate and representative of the knowledge-seeking experience of the determined and curious detectorist.⁵⁰⁵

'You could spend the day here rain or shine, dig a couple of hundred holes, find 20lbs of scrap and one coin found the whole day should help. Sitting down in the evening with a glass of wine, exploring the internet, trying to identify the coin, you can't beat it.'

⁵⁰² Deckers *et al.*, 'Metal Detecting Policy And Practice', p. 322.

⁵⁰³ Tilley, *Phenomenology Of Landscape*, p. 74.

⁵⁰⁴ Ingold, *Lines*, p. 122.

⁵⁰⁵ B3.4.

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