

THE EARLIEST IRON AGE CULTURE OF BRITAIN

THIS detailed survey of the pottery and other material of the settlement has shown, by means of the numerous parallels which it has been possible to draw with other sites, that we have here some of the leading features of the immigration that reached Britain from the Continent towards the middle of the first millennium B.C.

Its coming can hardly be called strictly an invasion, but rather the continued trickling of small groups, not, it seems, all of strictly the same origin, and each possessing or developing some degree of variation in its own character. Yet they had recognizable features in common, and their establishment in the south and east of the island marks the transition there from the Bronze to the Iron Age, and an essential and probably the initial stage in the bringing in of Celtic blood and speech.

This important turning-point in the pre-history of the country has only of recent years begun to be recognized in the archaeological material with which we are concerned, and it cannot be said that there is more than a bare outline of agreement on many of the problems which it raises.

Still, the idea of quite a long transitional period of immigration in many scattered bands, related indeed though hardly homogeneous, forms a reasonably safe starting-point for the slight essay here attempted concerning the origins, distribution, and duration of this phase of culture.

Abercromby gave the first adequate recognition to the evidence for foreign penetration late in the Bronze Age afforded by sepulchral pottery (*Bronze Age Pottery*, vol. II, 1912). Broadly speaking, the characteristic Middle Bronze Age cinerary urn is his Type I, the purely native overhanging-rim type, derived from the old food-vessel, while the new forms, which he saw to betoken movement from abroad, belong to his Types III and IV. These consist chiefly of the classes of urns often called "Deverel-Rimbury," from the Deverel barrow and the Rimbury cemetery in Dorsetshire, and comprise (1) the barrel urn, slightly convex and decorated with raised mouldings often bearing finger-print ornament, (2) the bucket urn, cylindrical or nearly, with a raised fillet, usually finger-printed, about two-thirds of the way down, and (3) the globular urn with projecting lugs and decorated neck of truncated-cone shape. A distribution-map of these urns is given by Dr. Clay in his report on the

Woodminton barrows;¹ they are thickest in Wessex, and sparser north-east of the Thames.

The suggestion made in the same paper² that the bucket type is not immigrant, but aboriginal and a degeneration of the overhanging-rim urn, has since been superseded in his report on the Pokesdown urn-field, where it is made³ abundantly clear that all three classes were the product of Late Bronze Age invaders, who introduced communal interment in flat urn-fields or else secondary burial in existing barrows. The validity of proposed further distinctions concerning 'finger-nail' and 'finger-tip' ornament and the presence or absence of applied bands on pottery has already been scouted,⁴ and as we shall find flint flaking a doubtful criterion of race in this connection,⁵ the whole complex represented by these urns may be considered as immigrant.

They have indeed been claimed as Hallstatt in type, and the globular urn particularly recalls the Lausitz culture of Central Europe. The presence of close analogues in the Pyrenees suggests the arrival there of another wave of Central European invaders, and in fact the appearance of the Deverel-Rimbury urns in Britain, which Abercromby⁶ dated to 700-650 B.C., introduces us to the whole question of the movements which from late in the second millennium B.C. were intermittently at work in Europe, and which did not end when the expansion of the Celts and the advance of the Germans brought those peoples into contact with the Greek and Roman world.

As far as this complex question affects the British Isles, the next important contribution was made by Crawford in 1922.⁷ He contended that the invasion was more important than Abercromby allowed, that the invaders were Goidels, or Celts speaking a Gaelic tongue, that they were the first Celts to reach these islands, and that they came about 800-700 B.C. The chief evidence comes from bronze weapons and objects, mostly in hoards. While the rapier and the stop-ridged axe or palstave characterize the undisturbed native Middle Bronze Age which produced the overhanging-rim urn, socketed axes were competing with palstaves at the time of the invasion, and the socketed

1. *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 322, pl. I.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 319-322.

3. *Ant. Journ.* VII, no. 4, p. 465 ff., esp. pp. 482-4.

4. See pp. 104-6 above.

5. See pp. 148-9 below.

6. *Op. cit.* II, pp. 109, 113.

7. *Ant. Journ.* II, no. 1, p. 27 ff.

axe with 'vestigial-wing' ornament, which is the successor of the purely foreign winged axe, must have been brought in by the invaders; further, their typical weapon, the leaf-shaped sword of Central European origin, superseded the rapier. Of the other intrusive bronze objects adduced the most important is a type of razor, which is both associated in hoards with the bronze weapons already mentioned, and is also found in the small square earthworks on Cranborne Chase (see p. 79 above) along with examples of Abercromby's Deverel-Rimbury urns. Thus these urns with their finger-print ornament, the new bronze types, and the square earthworks, form a single invading complex, which Mr. Crawford traces to the Lake-Dwelling culture of the Western Alps. This culture came to an abrupt end during the earlier part of the Continental Iron Age, apparently at just the time (800-700 B.C.) required for the invasion of Britain.

Shortly afterwards, Peake's *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World* appeared, where by the recognition of distinct types of leaf-shaped swords the invasion theory is elaborated. The earliest group of these swords found in England and Ireland, mainly of Peake's type E, is attributed to the arrival in both islands successively of 'Celtic lords (*sc.* Goidelic Celts) and the bravest of their henchmen' (*sc.* Alpine Lake-Dwelling peasants) who left Central Europe between 1200 and 1175 B.C., and travelled by E. France or the Rhine.¹ The next, his type G, marks the appearance of the last of these lords and henchmen, as refugees after the destruction of their ancestral Lake-Dwellings about 900 B.C. by a fresh wave of Celts of Hallstatt culture from the Upper Danube, newly armed with iron swords and speaking a Kymric or Brythonic tongue which used P where the Goidelic used Q.² Though finger-printed pottery is supposed to characterize invasion 1 also, much of the Deverel-Rimbury group seems to be ascribed to this invasion 2, which is, broadly speaking, the equivalent of that proposed by Crawford. Lastly, after iron and the La Tène culture had appeared through commercial channels about 450, invasion 3 is the work of a later generation of the Kymric or Brythonic Celts, who had chased their Goidelic cousins east and north across Europe and arrived in Britain about 300 B.C.³

1. Peake, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3, 129, 161.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 101-3, 130, 164.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-7.

The vision of completeness held out by Peake's book is perhaps a little previous, and we must next note further evidence produced by British archaeology.

As long ago as 1915, the Hengistbury Head excavations had produced pottery which Mr. Bushe-Fox recognized as of Hallstatt character: much of it bore finger-print ornament, but it seemed largely superior in quality and different in form from the finger-printed urns ascribed to the Bronze Age (*i.e.* broadly speaking, the Deverel-Rimbury group), and obviously different from the later La Tène wares. This Hengistbury A class pottery was duly noted to resemble the presumably contemporary Hallstatt pottery of the barrow-cemeteries of the French Pyrenees, to be further noticed below, and a few analagous finds in S. England were also recorded.¹

Chief among the latter was that at All Cannings Cross, near Devizes, the subsequent excavation of which by Mr. and Mrs. Cunningham has produced a mass of interesting and important material, published partly in 1922² and fully in 1923.³ The pottery is the same as the Hengistbury A class, but in the much wider range of types found appeared a close resemblance to the domestic wares found in the square earthworks of Cranborne Chase along with Deverel-Rimbury urns, and indeed with those urns themselves. Also, a bronze razor and part of a socketed axe serve to complete the link between this settlement—itsself undoubtedly beginning in the Hallstatt period, as a swan-neck pin helps to show⁴—and the complex of new bronze types, finger-printed pottery, and square earthworks on which Crawford's invasion-theory was based. Thus the All Cannings Cross culture, which is properly Early Iron Age and has a fairly wide distribution, and the intrusive features of the Late Bronze Age, which have one wider still, have been hailed in some quarters as identical: Peake, too, assigned the settlement to his invasion 2.⁵

Now the All Cannings Cross pottery is derived by its discoverers⁶ from the Lausitz type, present in Central Europe in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages, as is indeed strongly suggested by the furrowing, punch-marks, bosses, and dimples which in addition to finger-printing characterize the ware, and

1. *Hengistbury Head Report*, pp. 32-3.

2. *Ant. Journ.* II, no. 1, p. 13. Also *W.A.M.* XXXVII, p. 526 ff.

3. *All Cannings Cross*, the work here quoted throughout.

4. See p. 133 above.

5. *Op. cit.*, pp. 102, 130, 164.

6. Pp. 37-9.

which are all Lausitz features. Abercromby made the same suggestion for the globular urns of his Deverel-Rimbury group,¹ and as the Pyrenæan parallels both to this and the Hengistbury-All Cannings Cross wares noted above may be explained by assuming common origins for these types in Central Europe,² the identification of all the British Late Bronze and Early Iron Age material under review as belonging to a single Central European invasion seems thus far reasonable. But further evidence has been somewhat disconcerting. A find of definitely Hallstatt pottery at Eastbourne was published in 1922,³ including pieces with a painted lozenge-pattern of clearly foreign origin, but all demonstrably fired on the spot. The pots were compared with the All Cannings Cross wares, with sherds of the Göritz sub-type of the Lausitz group found at Pulborough,⁴ and with pottery from Park Brow, near Cissbury, which subsequent excavation, published in 1924⁵ and 1927,⁶ proved to be a most interesting site. It produced (1) a Late Bronze Age settlement of circular huts, with finger-printed pottery of the bucket-urn type as in the Deverel-Rimbury group; (2) an Early Iron Age settlement of rectangular huts, with superior finger-printed pottery of Hallstatt type analogous to that of All Cannings Cross, (3) a later La Tène settlement which lasted into the Roman period. The sequence of pottery showed two main points: first, a marked break and difference between a Late Bronze Age and an Early Iron Age culture, and second, undoubted continuity of the latter with La Tène culture, lasting into Roman times. Thus, whatever the origin of the Late Bronze people, with their finger-printed bucket-urns, the Hallstatt people, whose origins were traced to the Rhine and Central Europe, were the direct ancestors, at this site at least, of the La Tène people who became the subjects of Rome. The slight shifting of the settlement in La Tène times corresponds to no break in the pottery-sequence, and while the so-called Hallstatt-La Tène settlement was the direct begetter of the La Tène II-III and Romano-British settlement, it is sharply distinguished from the Late Bronze Age settlement. This is shown not only by the form of the huts, but, despite the finger-printing present in both, by the superior quality, the ferruginous

1. *Op. cit.* II, p. 48.

2. *All Cannings Cross*, p. 39. Cf. p. 150 below.

3. *Ant. Journ.* II, no. 4, p. 354 ff.

4. *P.S.A.* XXIII, pp. 376, 385.

5. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 4, p. 347 ff.

6. *Arch.* 76, p. 1 ff.

coating, and above all the sharp-shouldered form of the pottery, the last being a Hallstatt feature absent from the bucket-urn ware connected with the Deverel-Rimbury group. Other finds in Sussex, especially at Findon Park, Caburn, and The Trundle (see list below) have confirmed the Park Brow evidence, and a not dissimilar sequence of Early Iron Age pottery at Wisley, Surrey, was also published in 1924.¹

Meanwhile Dr. Clay's report on the Woodminton barrows (see p. 141 above) had yet urged the identification of the Deverel-Rimbury sepulchral pottery and the All Cannings Cross domestic pottery in a single culture transitional between the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages; his opinion in the modified form we have seen it attained in his Pokesdown report may be compared with Dr. Wheeler's paper on bronze implements from London,² where the introduction of the new bronze types discussed above is doubtfully attributed to successive parties of settlers or traders.

The next event was the unexpected discovery of coarse finger-printed pottery of undoubted Hallstatt type by Mr. F. G. Simpson at Scarborough, published in 1928.³ It certainly betokens invaders, and is cruder and apparently earlier than the Early Iron Age ware at Park Brow; as above noticed,⁴ the site is far outside the area of the Deverel-Rimbury group, and typological suggestions based on the features of that group cannot apply; however, it is by no means too far north for the Late Bronze Age hoards we have noticed, as the famous Heathery Burn hoard from Co. Durham is enough to show. The connection of the Scarborough invaders with the people responsible for such hoards deserves careful handling, for what little pottery the British Museum possesses from Heathery Burn makes interesting comparison with that from Scarborough. Whether or no the latter was produced, as Mr. Reginald Smith has contended,⁵ by coerced native women for their new masters, this material from the northern limits of the intruding elements may be, in part at least, confidently traced to the Low Countries and the Lower Rhine.

The same culture in a rather later phase (= La Tène I) appears at Atwick in Holderness, though this was not recognized

1. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 1, p. 40 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, VII, no. 3, p. 294 ff.

3. *Arch.* 77, p. 179 ff.

4. See p. 104-5.

5. See p. 104 above.

at the time of the discovery there,¹ and again at the neighbouring West Furze lake settlement.² Further south, sherds of similar coarse pottery have occurred near Ingoldmells in Lincolnshire,³ and in the Fen region the discoveries of Mr. Wyman Abbot at Fengate near Peterborough,⁴ and the researches of Dr. Cyril Fox in the neighbourhood of Cambridge show similar but deeper penetration at the turn of the Hallstatt and La Tène periods by immigrants probably from Flanders and the Rhine, who made for our eastern coast and sailed to the Wash and up the Fen rivers.⁵

A settlement yielding pottery which shows Hallstatt influence but more strongly suggests the bucket-urn character ascribed to the Late Bronze Age has been discovered on the site of the Stone Age flint-mines at Grime's Graves, Norfolk.⁶ This points, along with various finds of actual bucket-urns in East Anglia, to earlier immigration than that certified by Dr. Fox, though the transitional character of this whole phase is well shown by the bucket-urn from Colchester in which an iron spear-head was found.⁷

The furthest penetration inland of this East Coast movement or movements seems to be marked by some significant sherds of pottery from Loughborough,⁸ and by the earliest types of pot from Hunsbury, Northampton; though as is well known, the main occupation there is later La Tène, the presence of coarse vessels with regular late Hallstatt features, including finger-printing, deserves attention.

The Thames estuary would naturally attract immigrants, and as well as various finds of the same Hallstatt-period pottery, in Kent and in Essex, notably at Walthamstow, Dr. Wheeler's recent discoveries at Old England, Brentford,⁹ require especial notice, as the previous occurrence here of leaf-shaped swords, many other bronze weapons and implements including a remarkable razor, and skulls assigned by Sir Arthur Keith to the Alpine Lake-dweller group, recall to us once more Mr. Crawford's

1. *Man*, 1910, 48. The correct attribution of this site has been pointed out to the writer by Mr. G. C. Dunning.

2. *Arch.* 62, pt. 2, p. 591 ff.

3. Private information.

4. Specimens in Northampton Mus.

5. *Arch. Cambr. Reg.*, pp. 83, 118.

6. *P.P.S.E.A.* V, pp. 107-8.

7. Colchester Mus., no. PC 617: cf. Clay in *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 321.

8. Information from Mr. C. A. Raleigh Radford, F.S.A.

9. *Antiquity*, vol. III, no. 9, p. 33 ff.

hypothesis of 1922 concerning invasion by refugees from the Swiss Lakes.

Further up the valley, more finds of pottery, including a notable pot from near Reading, attest penetration as far as the edge of the Cotswolds, and the new culture appears to some extent on the oolite ridge. But the people made themselves most at home on the chalk; they are traceable on the Chilterns, plentiful, as we have seen, on the Sussex Downs, and on the main chalk plateau of Wessex most plentiful of all. Many must have landed on the south coast, and the importance of the St. Catharine's Hill district has been emphasized in the Introduction; the Downs of Hampshire, Berkshire, and above all Wiltshire and the Dorset border were thickly populated. The western limit seems to be Ham Hill, near Yeovil, where before the better-known occupation by another Celtic people in La Tène times there was a settlement of makers of the familiar finger-printed Hallstatt pottery.

This gives us the main outline of the complex immigration which we have to account for; the distribution is given in detail below: meanwhile we are faced by the confusion of different theories of origin and date which have been brought forward. The diversity of opinion is the natural result of the diversity in the archaeological material. It is difficult to identify the whole movement with that which brought in the new types of Late Bronze Age weapons, etc., for the distribution of hoards and of isolated objects such as leaf-shaped swords will not yet tally with that of either sepulchral or domestic pottery. Further, such objects, as we have seen in the case of the swords, may be divided into types of different dates, and at Birchington and Worthing hoards have been found placed in pots of definitely Hallstatt or Hallstatt - La Tène I character: these may be set off against the iron spear-head in the Colchester bucket-urn, and Crawford's paper on the Birchington and Worthing hoards¹ presents a strong case once more for identifying the Late Bronze Age and Hallstatt - La Tène I immigrant material as together part and parcel of the same invasion. Still the difficulties are far from being overcome, as is rather amusingly indicated by the pregnant discussion on Crawford's paper by Messrs. Peake, Bushe-Fox, Reginald Smith, and Dr. Wheeler.²

In Wilts and Dorset there can be no doubt that the people of the Deverel - Rimbury urns and late bronze implements

1. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 3, p. 220 ff. See distribution-list below, p. 167.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 225-6.

used finger-printed domestic pottery, but the converse proposition, that all such domestic pottery and in fact the whole complex of our so-called Hallstatt culture is due to the Deverel - Rimbury urn people, may be supported by coincidences, which in Wessex indeed are suggestive, as Dr. Clay has shown in the papers quoted, but it will not fit the whole of the evidence any more than the precepts of Formal Logic.

At Park Brow the Late Bronze Age and Hallstatt - La Tène I cultures stand in sharp contrast, and though in the latter, as in the former, cremation was practised, the only cremation-burial found was in a small urn¹ of Hallstatt quality quite unlike a Deverel - Rimbury urn. In East Anglia the contrast is still more marked, for while cremation in Deverel - Rimbury bucket-urns characterizes the Late Bronze Age, the Hallstatt - La Tène I immigrants practised inhumation in barrows,² although here and elsewhere there is evidence for a few cases of cremation (see list below, p. 168). This matter of burial customs is of the first importance: both rites were clearly present among the various groups of Hallstatt - La Tène I invaders, but the evidence is terribly scanty; indeed, it is largely because the so-called Late Bronze Age has produced many graves and few habitations, while the case is just the reverse with the so-called Early Iron Age, that the identification of the two in Wessex came to be proposed. But though no graves of the All Cannings Cross people have been found, we shall find reason below to suspect that some of them inhumed, in which case, of course, all hope of identifying these with the cremating Deverel - Rimbury urn people instantly vanishes.

Still, the burial-rite criterion has yet provided no thorough-going distinctions, and the same is the case with another, namely, the flaking of flint for tools. It has been suggested that this was practised by the Late Bronze Age but not by the Early Iron Age people. Dr. Clay's contention³ that in the Deverel - Rimbury group the bucket-urns do and the barrel-urns do not belong to a flint-flaking people at first led him to attach the former to the Middle Bronze Age natives: now that he has superseded this view one can only say that some of the Late Bronze Age immigrants flaked flint while others did not. As for the so-called Hallstatt - La Tène I settlements, flint is certainly absent normally except for pot-boilers and strike-a-lights,

1. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 4, p. 355, fig. 14.

2. Fox, *Arch. Camb. Reg.*, pp. 76-79, 118.

3. *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 321: cf. *Arch.* 76, p. 18 (Reginald Smith).

which do not count—e.g. at All Cannings Cross, Swallowcliffe, Fifield Bavant, St. Catharine's Hill, etc.,—but at Hengistbury Head, the original type-site for the pottery concerned, Mr. Bushe-Fox found "that on sites 2, 3, 30 and 31, where the greater part of this pottery occurred, a large number of flints showing the work of man was met with."¹ So again we seem only to have unenlightening local variation.

It is already only too clear what confusion has prevailed concerning the important movement of peoples which apparently brought the first Celts to Britain, and produced among so many others the settlement on St. Catharine's Hill. Crawford's and Peake's invaders, whether they came in one or several waves, are Q-speaking Goidels: Dr. Fox's invaders are P-speaking Brythons.² The Deverel-Rimbury and the All Cannings Cross peoples may or may not be identifiable. Late Bronze and Early Iron cultures are here merged, here distinct: some cremate, others inhumate: some flake flint, others do not: skulls at Old England are Alpine and round, in East Anglia apparently long.³ Dates fly about: 1200-1175, 900, 800, 700, 600, 500 B.C. and later have all been attached to one movement or another, or been claimed to serve for a majority; while Continental origins have fluctuated between the Pyrenees, the Swiss Lakes, Central Germany, the Rhine, Flanders, and the Netherlands, and the folk who relinquished these diverse spots for our shores figure variously as war-lords, traders, refugees, and cultural jetsam. Our provisional conclusion can only be, in all fairness to the distinguished scholars who have written on this intricate problem, that all of them are right—right, that is, in interpreting the evidence with which they have been immediately concerned, and that all the elements that have been detected, and perhaps more besides, went to make up the complex of immigration. Accordingly, we still have the notion with which we started, of an extended period of penetration by varied though generally related groups.

Two obstacles stand in the way of the further advance of our knowledge. Firstly, we have far too little evidence from our own country to enable us to sort out and define the connections of one group with another. Secondly, the Continental material is still incompletely worked out. It is clearly in the

1. *Hengistbury Head Report*, p. 33. For the flint industry associated with the Early Iron Age earthworks in Epping Forest, see Hazzledine Warren, *Essex Naturalist*, XXII, pp. 117-138.

2. *Arch. Cambr. Reg.*, pp. 86, 115.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.

succession of fusions and mutual reactions of peoples in Central Europe that the origins of our immigrants must be sought, but links in the chain are as yet missing, and agreement is only beginning to be reached concerning the crucial region itself around the Alps and the adjoining highlands. Undoubtedly this is where the Celtic cradle, the *Urkelitikum* of German scholars, is to be placed, and in the long story that there leads up to the emergence of the Celtic stock, various parts were played before 1800 B.C. by native Alpines, Beaker peoples, Nordic intruders, and westward-moving folk rooted in the so-called Aunjetitz culture of Bohemia and the Danube, the vital Early Bronze Age dispersal-centre to which Hellenes, Illyrians, Italici, and Celts—all Aryan peoples—can apparently alike be traced. The successor of this last culture in the region centring on Silesia and Eastern Saxony is the Lausitz culture¹ which we have already mentioned in passing, and besides bringing about important developments over a large area of Germany, we also find its carriers making their way into the Celtic cradle, and causing some of the people of the West Alpine lakes to emigrate about 1200 B.C. to north-east Spain.²

Now it is these West Alpine folk that we have seen Peake referring to as "Celtic lords and their henchmen," and on the evidence of leaf-shaped swords he has given the same initial date, 1200 B.C., for their first invasion of Britain. But lack of similarity between contemporary finds in Britain and N.E. Spain will thus prevent our pressing at all closely this suggested early invasion of our shores. No doubt there were a number of irruptions, but to such trade is often a prelude, and we must recall Dr. Wheeler's handling of the possibility that trade was responsible, at least to begin with, for the introduction of leaf-shaped swords and the like. Such an early immigration must, in fact, for the present stand over.

Meanwhile the working of iron was beginning in the Eastern Alps, where in the later province of Noricum is the site of Hallstatt that has given the earlier Iron Age its name, and both Celtic and Illyrian peoples began about 900 B.C. to take to the long iron sword, typical of the unitary culture influenced by the Geometric art of Greece, that grew up to stretch from Austria along the northern edge of the Alps to Eastern France.

1. On this see Gordon Childe in *Antiquity*, vol. II, no. 5, p. 37 ff.

2. For a clear English summary incorporating this important event, newly established by Bosch-Gimpera and Kraft, see the latter's paper, "The Origin of the Celts," in *Antiquity*, vol. III, no. 9, p. 33 ff.

It spread over much of the area of the South German urn-field folk of the later Bronze Age, who embodied the tradition of the Lausitz culture mentioned above, and in the course of its development also the Lake-Dwellings of the West Alpine people already noticed were abruptly destroyed. Both they and their destroyers can in some sense be called Celtic, and Peake at least has made the distinction between them that of Q-speaking from P-speaking, or Goidelic from Brythonic (Kymric) Celts. It is wise at present to avoid the tangled linguistic controversy involved, but the apparent distinction of some sort here is important, for it is this destruction of the Lake-Dwellings, about 800-700 B.C., which Crawford has urged to have brought about his important invasion of Britain.¹

The exact identity of type which he has stressed between so many bronze implements from this country and the Swiss Lake-Dwellings is most striking, and the argument from the Swiss analogues to the finger-print decoration which appears in Britain with the Deverel - Rimbury urns is a suggestive one.

But as we shall see, there are other cross-currents to be considered, and in fact such pottery forms in some ways an imperfect criterion. These Lake-Dwellers were bronze-users, and apparently a different block of the Celtic or largely Celtic elements occupying Central Europe from the iron-using people, of Hallstatt culture, who dispossessed them. However, among the latter also finger-printed pottery appears in the material marking the spread of Hallstatt culture in south-west Germany and the Rhine valley, e.g. from the Degenfeld barrows in Württemberg,² from Eguisheim in Alsace,³ from near Wiesbaden,⁴ and near Mainz,⁵ the last being actually Late Hallstatt in date. The truth is that this finger-printing is a Bronze Age survival from the Neolithic, which lived on in Central Europe to appear along with the wholly different true Hallstatt pottery.

So in Britain, while we may be practically certain of the arrival, about 800-700 B.C. or rather later,⁶ of refugees from the Swiss Lakes who made finger-printed pottery, the determining factor in the evidence is not so much the pottery as the

1. Peake also, though his date, 900 B.C., seems somewhat too early.

2. Pieces in Brit. Mus.

3. *Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Histoire d'Alsace*, 1927, p. 26 ff.

4. *A.U.H.V.* V, pp. 238-9.

5. *Mainzer Zeitschrift* VII, p. 48.

6. Crawford has himself more recently (1924) suggested that 800-700 B.C. may be a little too early: *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 3, p. 224.

bronze implements. Finger-printed ware, originally Neolithic, may for our purposes be considered as Bronze Age, and must be so considered in the complex of immigration from the Swiss Lakes: but when in Britain the ware also appears—for we have seen that it does—along with features of Hallstatt culture, this, as reflecting the fusions that took place in the Early Iron Age abroad, can indicate further immigration, which may more properly be called not Bronze Age but Hallstatt.

All we can say is that some of the groups arriving in Britain in the immigration-period under review were Bronze Age people from the Swiss Lakes, who brought characteristic pottery and bronze implements. New complications arise as we attempt to trace other groups.

The Hallstatt culture duly appeared in the Rhine basin, where is also found the urn-field culture with its Lausitz traditions, which properly belongs to the Late Bronze Age. On the Lower Rhine, the important area for us, the two occur in close association: anyhow, the people may without impropriety be called Celtic, and they placed their cremated dead in barrows. But now an entirely new movement strikes in. Germanic peoples appear from the north-east, originally from South Sweden and Denmark. They were on the Upper Lippe by 800 B.C., and advancing west down the Lippe valley they had occupied the right bank of the Lower Rhine by 700. Typical of their pottery is the so-called Harpstedt style, and here again finger-printed ornament is regular and characteristic, on the rim and also on the neck of coarse unshapely urns.¹ It thus appears that finger-printing is far from being a wholly Alpine character in this period, and caution in this regard is accordingly necessary.

The Germans were crossing the Rhine by the 6th century; the Harpstedt tradition is characteristic of the 'Early Germanic' pottery of central and north-east Holland, where it lasted right on into the Roman period, and the peoples to which it belonged then turn out to be the Frisii and Batavi of Roman writers. The convincing evidence for this led its discoverer, Holwerda, to argue in 1907² that it cannot have appeared very long before the Christian era; but much evidence from Germany was not

1. E. Rademacher, *R.V., Niederrheinische Hügelgräber-Kultur*, and *Mannus*, *Ergänzungsband IV*, p. 112 ff.; *Ergänzungsband VI*, p. 176 ff.; *Stamfuss, Mannus XVII*, 4, p. 287 ff.; *Ergänzungsband V*, p. 50 ff., and *Das Germanische Hügelgräberfeld Diersfordt* (Augsburg, 1928): English summary by de Navarro, *Cambridge Ancient History*, VII, p. 66 ff.

2. Holwerda, *Nederland's Vroegste Beschaving*, pp. 104-6 of German summary: cf. p. 58 of Dutch, with plate IV.

then forthcoming, whereas now we can appreciate the fact of its survival, and in due course trace the effect of its partial Romanization, with interest all the greater for the certainty of its arrival in at least the 6th century. Further south in Holland appears a mixed type of pottery called by Holwerda Gallo-German,¹ to which much the same scheme of chronology can apply, for indeed this heavy Germanic pressure on the Celts of the Lower Rhine, beginning about 600 B.C., produced a mixed Early-Iron Age culture lasting into Roman times. All this Dutch and Lower Rhenish material is most important for our purpose, for Mr. Reginald Smith has rightly connected with it the British types of pottery occurring at Scarborough,² and while in Britain there is much to suggest the regular Hallstatt culture of the Rhine, rooted in south-west Germany and attesting Celtic peoples, yet the Germanic Harpstedt style is recognizable as well as the other,³ and the two seem a great deal mingled. In fact, the British immigrant material closely reflects the situation set up by the overlap of Celt and German in the Low Countries, which naturally became a centre of dispersal.

Germanic pressure there effected the downfall of the Celts of the Lower Rhenish barrows, and while the mixed culture we have noted testifies to some partial absorption, quantities of Celts naturally fled.

To these the isolated settlement of Haulzy in Champagne may be attributed, and here the early graves are 7th century: if displacement had begun as early as this, Britain may also have been affected; but the 6th century is the date of the big migrations. Then undoubtedly groups scattered across the sea to Britain, and on the mainland not only the later graves at Haulzy attest the movement: a wholly new wave of people appears in south-west France and the Pyrenees, and beyond again in Spain; these are without doubt displaced Celts from the Lower Rhine, and they had reached Spain before 500 B.C.⁴ There must have been certain vicissitudes, but there is nothing incredible in the speed of the movement across France.

1. *Ibid.* p. 97 ff., with taf. II-III.

2. *Arch.* 77, pp. 190-2.

3. The later series, both Hallstatt and Germanic, in Stampfuss' *Hügelgräberfeld Diersfordt*, quoted above, makes interesting comparison with some, e.g., of the Park Brow and All Cannings Cross coarse-ware, notably nos. 6 onwards in the Harpstedt type-series of abb. 12 (p. 31), where also no. 8 recalls urns like that from Reading mentioned above, p. 147.

4. E. Rademacher in *R.V. 'Kelten'*, § 6, 'Haulzy,' and 'Hügelgräber der französischen Pyrenäengegend': cf. Bosch-Gimpera, *Die Vorgeschichte der Iberer*, p. 93 ff. (map, p. 97), and Schulten, *Hispania*, p. 181. 600 seems rather too early, but a date before 500 is indisputable: see de Navarro, *op. cit.*, pp. 59-60 and 67-8.

The invaders of Spain we may leave there for the present, but the Pyrenæan barrow-culture thus set up demands attention, for it will be recalled that resemblance here to the contemporary British pottery which most concerns us was stressed by Mr. Bushe-Fox when he first found the latter at Hengistbury Head.

In Joulin's authoritative work on these Pyrenæan barrow-cemeteries,¹ the pottery falls into two main classes. One he calls 'indigène': it is coarse ware, often of bucket form, with finger-print ornament, and altogether to be dissociated from the Central European wares up to now considered, for it is simply the native Neolithic pottery of the district, that had lasted without interruption in the Bronze Age (which is there barely represented at all) till the time of the Celtic invaders. The latter were responsible for the other class, which is of the late Hallstatt types now definitely traced to the Lower Rhine along with the migration just recorded. In fact, as is only natural, the native Pyrenæan folk with their direct Neolithic tradition were reduced to subjection by the Celtic invaders.

Now it is a laboured explanation of the British material to bring the Celts from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and then along with hastily subjected Pyrenæans up again to Britain: we have already seen reason, and shall see more, for their movement from the Rhine to Britain direct. And north-western France, the natural half-way house between the Pyrenees and Britain, remained untouched by Hallstatt racial penetration; for the Bronze culture of Brittany is essentially that of the western megalith-builders, reaching with them right back into the Neolithic Age, and it resisted the Hallstatt iron culture; there was what may be called Hallstatt influence,² yet Breton urns of Hallstatt profile, as from Kerhon and Bogoudonou,³ contain hoards of the indigenous bronze axes which still and probably yet later characterized north-western France, and in the course of immemorial cross-channel trade found their way in numbers to Southern Britain.⁴

This latter intercourse, long-established as it was, deserves emphasis, for our Pyrenæan natives belonged to the same Western culture, with the Neolithic megalith-builders behind it, as was rooted in Brittany. Indeed, the Celts on the move

1. *Revue Archéologique*, 4me sér., XIX, 1912.

2. *E.g. Cte. Rdu. Ass. française pour l'avancement des Sciences*, Paris, 1900, p. 767: *B.S.P.F.* XXI, p. 241 ff.

3. Kendrick, *The Druids*, p. 42 and fig. 8.

4. Crawford in *L'Homme Préhistorique*, 1911, p. 289 ff.: distribution-map, fig. 79.

in the 6th century from the Rhine were split by the block of Western people in north-west France,¹ who divided those who reached Britain from those who reached the Pyrenees; on the other hand, any Pyrenæans who fled before the latter might well turn north, for all the western seaboard had a common native tradition, and as Southern Britain was linked with this, landings there by such folk are likely for just the reason which should rule out landings by Celtic pursuers.

We have already seen that in Britain, in spite of undoubted overlapping, there are arguments for distinguishing so-called Late Bronze Age from Early Iron Age pottery, *i.e.* the groups comprising the Deverel - Rimbury urns from the more properly Hallstatt wares with their Rhenish and Central European features. Concentrating for the moment on the former, we now observe the aptness of Abercromby's emphasis on its affinities with the western seaboard of France: the Deverel - Rimbury class strongly suggests the Pyrenees,² where the coarse finger-printed ware is, as stated, indigenous and not Celtic, and allied to it are the two groups of urns with handles and with semi-circular encrusted fillets (his Type 3, groups 1 and 2), mainly from Cornwall and Dorset, which he thought began to appear as early as 1400 B.C.³ Even if this initial date be too early, the series comes at its lower end into our main migration-period with the true Deverel - Rimbury types, and as the handled urns derive from north-west France⁴ there seems to have been more than trade in the cross-Channel intercourse we have spoken of. The notion of earlier infiltrations into south-west Britain with the handled urns is perfectly compatible with the arrival of Pyrenæan natives with Deverel - Rimbury urns, driven from their homes by the advancing Celts.

Indeed, the globular urns which belong both in Britain and the Pyrenees undoubtedly derive from Lausitz types of Central Europe, but influences from there were at work in France before the late Hallstatt movements of Celts. Not only the Pyrenæan globular urns and that from Foissac (Gard),⁵ but pottery from Central France and up to the edge of Normandy shows Lausitz antecedents, while being emphatically Late Bronze Age, distinct from and earlier than the Hallstatt culture; in fact, a pre-

1. Cf. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 3, p. 225 (remark by Dr. Wheeler).

2. *Bronze Age Pottery* II, p. 49.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 107, 109.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

5. Dechelette, *Manuel* II, p. 378, fig. 148, no. 2.

Hallstatt movement into France has been suggested from the South German urn-fields,¹ and this too may be reflected in Britain. Certainly similar Lausitz antecedents are clear at All Cannings Cross,² and Late Bronze Age pottery also of this character has been quoted from Champagne,³ and attributed to such a movement from Germany.⁴

But in addition to the finger-printed and other such pottery which, as its Continental analogies show, must largely be classed as Bronze Age in type, the striking feature of sites like All Cannings Cross and Hengistbury is the presence of finer ware which in profile and quality is Hallstatt. And in the same district of Champagne the recent work of the Abbé Favret has revealed a late Hallstatt culture where the pottery is identical with this latter class. It is that of Les Jogasses, near Chouilly,⁵ and it belongs to the very end of the Hallstatt period, not much earlier than 500 B.C. The absolute identity of the pottery with All Cannings Cross types must surely mean direct and presumably rapid movement of people from the one region to the other, and we must therefore make clear the situation in Champagne at this crucial date.

The big move of cremating people from the Lower Rhine towards the Pyrenees has already taken place, and Haulzy shows that some of them stopped in Champagne. Behind them, while some Germans were mingling with the Celtic remnant in the Netherlands, the main German advance was driving more Celts southward up the Rhine as far as the highlands of Eifel, Hunsrück and Taunus, where the crop of hill-forts recorded in a previous section marks the frontier on which they rested.

From the Rhine south of this there was further movement westwards into Champagne, the result of which was fusion with such Lower Rhenish refugees as those at Haulzy, and other elements present in the neighbourhood from which arose the great Celtic culture of the Marne. Thus before the middle of the 5th century an area of culture was formed stretching from

1. Poisson on the pottery from Fort Harrouard (Eure-et-Loir), *B.S.P.F.* XXV, pp. 372, 376, comparing that from Dompierre (Allier) and Pougues-les-Eaux (Nièvre). The 'Bronze Age' finger-printed pottery from Chastel-sur-Murat (Cantal) should be contemporary, and the style there survived through the Iron Age: *B.S.P.F.* V, pp. 485-7, VI, p. 79: cf. exx. from Neussargues, V, p. 493. In Normandy, the Seine seems to mark the eastward limit of true Hallstatt penetration: *Revue Anthropologique* XXXII, p. 298 ff.

2. See p. 143 above.

3. At Barbonne near Epernay and Vert-la-Gravelle near Châlons: Hubert, *Revue Préhistorique*, 1910, pp. 97-115.

4. *All Cannings Cross*, pp. 38-9.

5. *Revue Archéologique*, 5e. sér. XXV, p. 325 ff.: XXVI, p. 80 ff., where note especially figs. 19-22.

Champagne to the middle Rhine valley, in which the Hallstatt tradition, joining with trade-borne Greek influence from the south, produced the civilization and art called La Tène,¹ the great achievement of the Celts which went on developing till met by the advance of Rome four centuries later.

The *grosse Expansivkraft* of the Celts ultimately carried it far and wide over Europe in all directions save where the Germans blocked the way to the north and north-east, but our concern is with its earliest focus. Here, along with the new development in art, its most important feature is the adoption of the rite of inhuming the dead, typical of the Marne culture from the very beginning of the La Tène period.

Now whereas at Haulzy in the 6th century the rite is cremation as on the Lower Rhine, at Les Jogasses and similar sites inhumation has already begun, but the art and craftsmanship of La Tène has not yet appeared. Les Jogasses thus stands at the very end of the Hallstatt period: though inhumation had come in, it is distinct from the earliest La Tène culture of the Marne.

Favret says:² "La transition est brusque: ce sont deux époques nettement différentes; on ne tourne qu'une page, mais on change de chapitre." The new chapter had opened before 450 B.C., but its features were not brought to Britain by immigration, for the movement ceased at the turning of the page. In the earlier years of the 5th century, therefore, our long and tangled tale reaches its end.

Its last phase is the arrival from Northern France of people who inhumed their dead, and produced the distinctive better-class pottery on sites like All Cannings Cross. The presence of inhuming immigrants in the eastern counties at this time has already been noted, but the association in Wessex of this pottery with inhumation is, in spite of its novelty, a presumption which must be entertained. Till cemeteries of this culture have been discovered in Britain, nothing further can be said, but an overlap of inhumation and cremation may be expected, for as has now been abundantly shown, the culture represents an overlap of a number of different groups, of which, for example, the people of the Deverel - Rimbury urns must be one, perhaps a composite one, and those of the All Cannings Cross - Les Jogasses pottery another.

1. The name comes from the type-site of La Tène on the Lake of Neuchâtel though it is now realized that the earliest phase of the culture is here absent.

2. *Op. cit.* XXV, pp. 332-3.

For while save for possible infiltration into the remoter south-west we have seen immigration before the 7th century to be not proven, from that date till the early 5th Britain was penetrated by people from the Western Alps, from the Rhine and the Netherlands, from the Pyrenees very possibly, and perhaps from elsewhere in France before the final arrivals from Champagne. Various Celtic stocks clearly predominate, but native Alpine, Germanic, and Western elements are also apparent. While many groups cremate, the latest certainly inhumate. The earlier majority are bronze-users, but all the time the knowledge and use of iron is coming in, as is shown by early iron imitations of bronze socketed spearheads and axes,¹ the remarkable sickle from Llyn Fawr,² the iron spearhead in the Colchester bucket-urn,³ and the late Hallstatt sword from the Thames.⁴ The immigrants reach far up the East Coast, and spread over all the south-east of the island, stopping short at the Midland forests, the western slopes of the Cotswolds, and the Somerset plain, and congregating most thickly on the chalk uplands, which could be most readily cultivated without forest-clearance.⁵ They were scattered settlers, without the military force we associate with conquest: at St. Catharine's Hill at least no fortifications arise for some time.⁶

It has been emphasized here in the section on the bronze bird-figure that products of Mediterranean craftsmanship were imported before the La Tène period, and as the latter began, in north-eastern France at least, immediately after the last of them arrived, the continuance of cross-Channel trade is only to be expected. The best evidence of this is that of La Tène I brooches, which after early imports were imitated in Britain itself, and both importation and imitation (not without development) were prevalent enough for these brooches to become, broadly speaking, typical of the people. These brooches have been brilliantly discussed by Dr. Fox,⁷ and his distribution-map to a great extent shows that their importation was across the Channel, and is contrasted with the distribution of the beakers of the Early Bronze Age, which came by immigration from the

1. *B.M. Early Iron Age Guide*, p. 87.

2. *Arch.* LXXI, p. 133 ff.

3. See p. 146 above.

4. *B.M. Early Iron Age Guide*, pp. 88-9.

5. See Collingwood in *Antiquity*, vol. III, no. 11, p. 261 ff.

6. Dr. Clay's opposite contention in *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 322, has perhaps a local rather than a general application.

7. *Arch. Cambr.*, June 1927, p. 67 ff.

Rhine. That the brooches came largely by trade and not by immigration, which was over just as their type begins, is thus clearly shown, for as we have seen many of the immigrants came from the Rhine by just the route which the beaker-people had taken.

But these brooches do not belong wholly to the area of the mixed population we have been tracing. Later in the La Tène period Britain received two fresh and entirely distinct waves of immigrants. One, quite late in La Tène I, arrived in Cornwall from Northern Spain, being in fact descendants of the Celtic invaders there whom we have already noted¹: these spread over the south-west, occupying the outlying settlements of our earlier comers, such as Ham Hill, but stopping at the Wessex chalk plateau which they held, and reached Gloucestershire and beyond, while some seem to have crossed the Severn Sea. These people also used La Tène I brooches for some time, but their pottery and superior artistic talent marks them off from our people, though as the latter in La Tène II developed a more distinctively La Tène technique in decorating such products as pottery, some degree of uniformity in culture is perceptible between the two groups, who were after all largely akin: the well-known iron currency-bars, for instance, seem to have become common to both.

The other are the well-known people of the Yorkshire barrows and chariot-burials, who are clearly rooted in the Marne culture, and if they are Ptolemy's Parisii and derive from those of the Paris basin, the slight difference of their culture from that of Champagne is easily explicable.² Their migration can probably be dated about the end of the Continental La Tène I (c. 250 B.C.)—hence the single La Tène I brooch found brought by them to Cowlam. A few of them seem to have gained a footing in the eastern counties,³ but that the main body could not settle south of Yorkshire is as important as that the south-western invaders could not scale the chalk scarp of Wessex.

Both facts show what we have already appreciated on internal evidence; namely, that our Late Bronze Age and Hallstatt immigrants, scattered bands as they were to begin with, consolidated all over the south and south-east of Britain suffi-

1. Leeds, *Arch.* 76, p. 205 ff.

2. It is worth noting that the chariot-burial at Nanterre near Paris is more like the Yorks examples than those of Champagne, in that horses were buried: Déchelette, *Manuel* IV, p. 531.

3. Fox, *Arch. Cambr. Reg.*, pp. 81, 86, burial at Newnham.

ciently to keep these later comers away. The culture of their area, as the pottery shows, was continuous and uninterrupted from their arrival till the end of the 2nd century B.C., and thus the contention of Peake¹ and earlier scholars that there was anything like a general invasion about 300 turns out to be wholly unfounded.

The mixed Celto-German population round the Lower Rhine do not appear again till their descendants, the Belgae, come over in La Tène III, and Flanders before their arrival there seems scarcely to have been populated at all,² while save for four pieces of Marne pottery,³ which must be trade imports, like the contemporary foreign brooches, etc., the culture of Northern France is unreflected till La Tène III where our people were established. Their products as their original Bronze Age and Hallstatt culture faded may be called La Tène I and La Tène II in date, but there was no new blood from Continental people of La Tène I and II culture.

The evidence here brought forward has been mainly that of pottery, because it is by far the most reliable, in dealing with barbarian cultures, for the movements of bodies of people, but the evidence of other material, and in particular the distribution of Late Bronze Age weapons and hoards, which is notably wider than that of any corresponding pottery, requires careful handling: in fact, a very great deal more work must be done to settle the distribution of the peoples with whom we have been concerned, and that of the various groups of which they were composed, the St. Catharine's Hill people among the others.

In conclusion, it may be emphasized that distinctions of material culture need not always coincide with differences of language. We have said something of the theories concerning Goidels and Brythons, or Q-speaking and P-speaking Celts: the controversy there involved is an intricate one, but there is one point that may here be suggested. It is generally accepted that the bulk of the Britons were when they came under Roman rule a Brythonic or P-speaking people. The Belgic invaders of La Tène III, who though of partly German blood must have been Brythonic in speech, had neither distribution, numbers, nor time before the Roman conquest to change the speech of

1. His invasion 3 on p. 142 above.

2. de Navarro, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

3. Two from Deal, one from Oxford (*P.S.A.* XXVI, pp. 129-133), and one from near Cambridge (Fox, *op. cit.*, p. 83).

the people they found in possession. These people were the descendants of those we have been considering. It is surely permissible to urge that though some of the earlier arrivals, notably the Western Alpines, may well, as Crawford and Peake have suggested, have been Goidelic, the great mass of the immigrants were no less prevailingly Brythonic in speech at the time of their arrival than they were five centuries or more later. Anyhow, they may be provisionally considered as the first Celts to reach our shores, and the Celtic peopling of Britain is none the less momentous if we remember¹ how large must have been the survival in blood of the primitive stock of the Stone Age inhabitants.

Greater precision than this is not yet possible in the attempt to define the origins of the early inhabitants of St. Catharine's Hill.

The following distribution-list, arranged alphabetically by counties, gives the sites marked on the accompanying map (fig. 18) where either on fortified or unfortified habitation-sites or in isolation domestic pottery has been discovered belonging to one group or another of the immigrant culture discussed in this essay. It should be compared with the distribution map of Deverel-Rimbury sepulchral pottery by Dr. Clay and of La Tène I brooches by Dr. Fox noticed above (pp. 141 and 158), and also with the Ordnance Survey map of Roman Britain, for the descendants of these people lived on through the Belgic invasions to become the subjects of Rome. The mingling in distribution of this pottery and other contemporary material in the same area is exemplified by the map of the St. Catharine's Hill area given in the Introduction (fig. 3).

No attempt at regional or chronological sub-division has been made, and all sites from the Late Bronze Age to the La Tène II period have been included, as belonging to the same complex of groups either in an earlier or later phase.

The time for elaborating sub-divisions has not yet arrived: meanwhile this list and map may assist the appreciation of the culture in question as a whole. It is impossible to ensure completeness, but the number of sites which have come to the writers' notice is large enough to make the geography of the culture reasonably clear in outline.

1. See Pokorný, R.V., '*Britische Urbevölkerung*,' § 2.

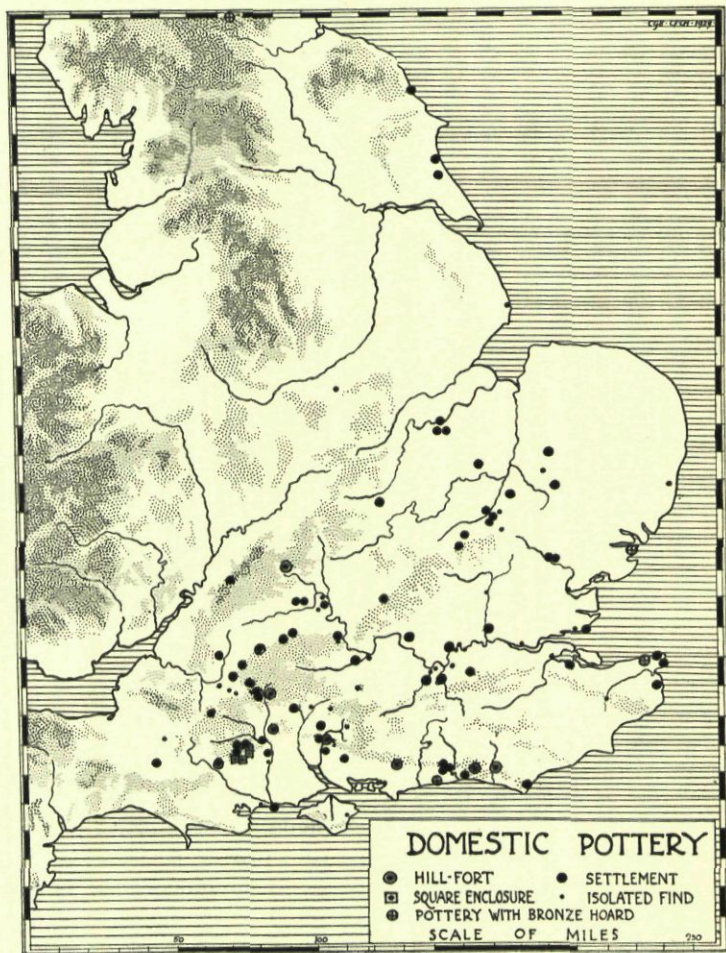


FIG. 18.

Distribution-Map of the Early Iron Age Culture represented on St. Catharine's Hill, as shewn by domestic pottery.

DISTRIBUTION LIST OF DOMESTIC POTTERY

Acknowledgments for help in compiling this list are due to Mr. G. C. Dunning, Mr. Stuart Pigott, and Mr. C. A. Ralegh Radford, F.S.A., as indicated in each case by their initials.

BERKSHIRE.

- BLEWBURTON HILL, nr. Blewbury. Sherds in rabbit-scape. S.P.
COMPTON BEAUCHAMP. Rubbish-pits. *Earthworks Committee's Report*, 1927, p. 23.
HINKSEY HILL. Small settlement. Attested by the present writers.
KNIGHTON HILL, nr. Uffington. Rubbish-pits, with Hallstatt - La Tène I pottery. *Ant. Journ.* VII, no. 4, p. 517.
LOWBURY HILL. Small settlement. Atkinson, *Lowbury Hill*, p. 68 and pl. XVIII, group A.
SOUTHERN HILL, nr. Reading. Pot in Brit. Mus., suggesting Harpstedt type: see p. 153 above. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 2, pl. XXVI, 2.
THEALE. Small settlement. Reading Mus. G.C.D., C.A.R.R.
TURNEY. Pot in Brit. Mus.
WYTHAM. Sherds in Ashmolcan. C.A.R.R.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

- ELLESBOROUGH. Pit-dwellings. *Records of Bucks*, 1908, p. 349 and fig. II.
WIN HILL, Hitcham. Pit-dwellings. Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery* II, p. 122 (no. 474).

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

- ABINGTON PIGOTTS. Settlement. *P.P.S.E.A.* IV, no. 19, p. 211 ff, with pl. I and fig. 2 A.
GRANTCHESTER. Settlement. Fox, *Arch. Cambr. Reg.*, p. 112, and pl. XI, A. 2-4.
HAUXTON MILL. Settlement. *Ibid.*, A. 5-6, and pl. XVI, 9.
SWAFFHAM. Small settlement. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-8.
TRUMPINGTON. Settlement. *Ibid.*, p. 111, pl. XIV, A. 7, and XVI, 1.
WAR DITCHES, Cherry Hinton. Pottery (fortifications undated). *Ibid.*, p. 96 and pl. XVI, 6.
Fox, *ibid.*, pl. XIV, XVI, gives other exx., broadly speaking of this character, but perhaps of La Tène III date.

DORSETSHIRE.

- HAMBLEDON HILL. Hill-fort. *Wessex from the Air*, p. 44 ff. Cf. p. 76 above.
HANDLEY HILL. Square enclosure (also "Angle Ditch"). Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations*, IV, p. 46 ff.
Various coarse sherds from the Durden Collection without locality are stored in Brit. Mus., which may be attributed to Dorset, but the paucity of domestic pottery forms at present an odd contrast to the abundance of Deverel - Rimbury urns in the county.

ESSEX.

- BRAINTREE. Pits with Hallstatt pottery. Colchester Mus. G.C.D.
CHESTERFORD. Large pot. Fox, *Arch. Cambr. Reg.*, pl. XIV, C. 2.
GRAYS. Pot from the Thames. Colchester Mus.
MALDON, near. Pot from a creek. *Ibid.*
SHOEBURY. Pits: Hallstatt as well as later pottery. Colchester Mus. G.C.D.
SKITTS HILL, nr. Braintree. Pile-dwelling. *Essex Naturalist*, XI, pp. 113-14; XIV, p. 142 ff. and pl. XXVII A.
SOUTHCHURCH. Small pot. Colchester Mus.
WALTHAMSTOW. Settlement, also with later occupation. Pottery in Brit. Mus.

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

LECKHAMPTON. Some early sherds (with more later La Tène and Roman). Fortifications not precisely dated. *Trans. Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc.*, XLVII, p. 81 ff.; cf. *Arch.* 76, p. 236.

HAMPSHIRE.

(Sites marked * occur in fig. 3 above and note, p. 5.)

ARMSLEY, nr. Breamore. Settlement, increasing in Roman period. *H.F.C.* X, pt. 1, pp. 56-8.

BASINGSTOKE. Pottery, with 'pie-crust' finger-printed rims, and applied bands. Reading Mus. G.C.D.

*CHEESEPOOT HEAD, 1 mile S. of. Pottery.

*COLDEN COMMON. Pit-dwellings.

*CORHAMPTON DOWN. Village, increasing later and in Roman period. *H.F.C.* VI, pp. 253-5; *Hants Chronicle*, Apr. 18, 1908, p. 9.

FORDINGBRIDGE. Pottery. *All Cannings Cross*, p. 40.

HENGISTBURY HEAD. Settlement. Bushe-Fox. *Hengistbury Head Report*, p. 30 ff.

HURSTBOURNE. Pottery, with more later La Tène. C.A.R.R.

MARTIN DOWN. Square enclosure. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations* IV, p. 185 ff.

*OLIVER'S BATTERY, Abbotstone Down. Sherds in rabbit-scraper.

POKESDOWN. Sherds found in area of Deverel - Rimbury urn-field: *Ant. Journ.* VII, no. 4, pp. 481-2; cf. *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 320. (Druitt Colln.)

REDENHAM, nr. Weyhill: Pit-dwellings. *H.F.C.* IX, pp. 2, p. 217 ff.

*ROUNDWOOD, nr. Micheldever. Pottery in ditch of disc-barrow. *Ibid.*, pp. 191, 198-209.

*ST. CATHARINE'S HILL. Hill-fort.

SANDOWN, Isle of Wight, nr. Three sherds (with two later La Tène) on Neolithic site. *H.F.C.* X, pt. 1, pp. 32-3.

*STANMORE (Battery Hill), Winchester. Settlement, with oven (Hallstatt period). *Ibid.*, p. 63 ff.

*TELEGRAPH HILL, nr. Chilcombe. Pottery.

*WORTHY DOWN. Village. *Ant. Journ.* I, no. 4, p. 321 ff.; *H.F.C.* X, pt. 2, p. 178 ff.

HERTFORDSHIRE.

ARBURY BANKS, Ashwell. Coarse pottery from settlement, perhaps mostly later La Tène, as also fortifications. Fox, *Arch. Cambr. Reg.*, pl. XIV, C. 1; cf. pp. 135-6.

TURNFORD. Pottery. G.C.D.

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.

FLETTON. Settlement. *V.C.H. Hunts* I, p. 209 ff.

SOMERSHAM. Settlement. *Ibid.*

WOODSTONE. Settlement. *Ibid.*

KENT.

BROADSTAIRS. Village, chiefly La Tène III, but some pieces earlier, including vessel of Lausitz character. *P.S.A.* XXII, p. 509; XXV, pp. 89-0; *Arch.* 52, pl. XII, figs. 1, 3; 61, pt. 2, p. 427 ff., esp. pp. 427, 434-5.

CHATTENDEN and FRINDSBURY, between. Two large pots in Brit. Mus. LOWER HALSTOW. Settlement, at least La Tène II as well as III. *P.P.S.E.A.* V, no. 27.

MARGATE. Settlement. Pottery in Brit. Mus.

WORTH. Pottery from settlement below later Romano-Celtic Temple. *Ant. Journ.* VIII, no. 1, p. 81 ff.

WYE. Pottery. Private information.

LEICESTERSHIRE.

LOUGHBOROUGH. Pottery, including carinated types. C.A.R.R.

LINCOLNSHIRE.

INGOLDMELLS, nr. Pottery, with later La Tène and Roman.
Private information.

MIDDLESEX.

OLD ENGLAND, Brentford. Pottery presumably from settlement. *Antiquity*, vol. III, no. 9, p. 20 ff.

THAMES at HAMMERSMITH, MORTLAKE, WANDSWORTH, and elsewhere.
Pots in Brit. Mus. and London Mus.

NORFOLK.

GRIME'S GRAVES, "black hole" site. Settlement. *Grime's Graves Report*, 1914, pp. 212-3, figs. 82-3: P.P.S.E.A. II, p. 433, fig. 89: III, pp. 93-4: IV, pt. 2, p. 192: V, pp. 107-8, 119.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.

FENGATE, Peterborough. Settlement. Pottery in Northampton Mus. and Coll., Wyman Abbott (G.C.D.); cf. *All Cannings Cross*, p. 39.

HUNSBURY, nr. Northampton. Settlement, lasting to later La Tène; fortifications undated. Pottery in Northampton Mus. *Assoc. Architectural Society's Reports (Northants)* XVIII, p. 53 ff., pl. V; *Journ. Northants Nat. Hist. Soc.* XVIII, p. 230: XIX, pp. 1 and 29 ff., esp. p. 37 and pl. XV; *V.C.H. Northants* I, p. 147.

OXFORDSHIRE.

BAMPTON, Calais Farm. Pits, with pottery, including carinated bowl in Ashmolean (Manning Colln.). *Arch.* 71, p. 234: *The Antiquary*, 23, p. 155: *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Arch. Journ.* IV, p. 11.

CHASTLETON. Hill-fort of early date. In course of excavation by Mr. E. T. Leeds.

STANDLAKE. Pits: pottery in Ashmolean. *Arch.* 71, p. 256: *P.S.A.*, 1st ser. IV, pp. 70, 92-100.
Pottery also occurs which is perhaps later La Tène, and attributable to the Celts of the S.W. British area (cf. finds at Yarnton, *Arch.* 71, p. 262), some of whom reached as far as the Cherwell, and seem to be Ptolemy's Dobuni, between whom and the Catuvellauni of the later S.E. group that river is the apparent boundary (*Arch.* 71, p. 229).

SOMERSETSHIRE.

HAM HILL. Occupation preceding that of the later La Tène people of the S.W. Celtic area, responsible for the hill-fort in its final form. Early pottery in Taunton Mus. G.C.D.: *Somerset Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Proc.* LXVII, p. lxxiv; LXX, pp. 112, 116.

KEINTON QUARRY, nr. Somerton. Pottery in Glastonbury Mus. G.C.D.

SUFFOLK.

CAVENHAM HEATH. Hearth, with Hallstatt pottery and flint flakes.
Specimens in Brit. Mus.

LAKENHEATH. Pottery. Fox, *Arch. Cambr. Reg.*, p. 82; pl. XI, A. 1: XIV, C. 3: XVI, 3.

SAXMUNDHAM, nr. Pottery, like that from Grime's Graves, in Brit. Mus.

SURREY.

- COBHAM. Pit-dwellings, with early as well as later pottery. *Surrey Arch. Coll.* XXI, p. 202, pl. I, 2-5.
- KINGSTON HILL. Pottery in Brit. Mus. and at Soc. Antiquaries: Late Bronze Age urns *ibid.* P.S.A. 1st ser., I, p. 67 (and Clay's list, *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 323).
- WADDON, nr. Croydon. Site continuously occupied till Roman period: "Class A" pottery should be La Tène I-II. *P.P.S.E.A.* V, pt. 1, no. 10, pp. 80-2: *Surrey Arch. Coll.* XXXVII, pt. i, p. 59 ff.
- WALTON-ON-THAMES, high ground above. Bowl, incised after firing, in Brit. Mus.
- WEYBRIDGE (Oatlands). Biconical pots, in Weybridge Mus. *Ant. Journ.* V, no. 1, pp. 74-6.
- WISLEY. Pit-dwellings and kilns. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 1, p. 40 ff.

SUSSEX.

- CABURN. Hill-fort, enlarged in La Tène III. *Arch.* 46, pt. 2, p. 452 ff., esp. pl. 25, figs. 33, 43, 49, 51; *Suss. Arch. Coll.* LXVIII, p. 1 ff.
- CISSBURY. Hill-fort perhaps later La Tène, but some pottery shews earlier occupation. *Arch.* 42, p. 53 ff.: *J.R.A.I.* V, p. 357 ff., esp. pl. XVIII, 7-8: *Suss. Arch. Coll.* LXVII, p. 55 ff.
- EASTBOURNE. Settlement, with Hallstatt pottery. *Ant. Journ.* II, no. 4, p. 354 ff.
- FINDON PARK. Settlement. *Ant. Journ.* VIII, no. 4, p. 449 ff.
- HOLLINGBURY, nr. Brighton. Pottery from pit: hill-fort likely to be contemporary. *Brighton and Hove Archaeologist* 1, p. 18 ff.
- KINGSTON BUCL. Settlement (pits) with later occupation lasting to Roman period (to be published shortly). Information from Dr. Eliot Curwen, F.S.A.
- LANCING. Perforated bowl of Hallstatt type, in Brit. Mus.
- PARK BROW, nr. Cissbury. Successive settlements. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 4, p. 347 ff.: *Arch.* 76, p. 1 ff.
- PULBOROUGH. Urn suggesting Göritz class of Lausitz type. *P.S.A.* XXIII, pp. 376, 385.
- THE TRUNDLE (St. Roche's Hill, Goodwood). Hill-fort. *Suss. Arch. Coll.* LXX, p. 33 ff.

WILTSHIRE.

- ALL CANNINGS CROSS. Village. *Ant. Journ.* II, no. 1, p. 13 ff.: Cunington, *All Cannings Cross* (1923). Also *W.A.M.* XXXVII, p. 526 ff.
- BOWERCHALKE. Haematite-coated sherd in Blackmore Mus., Salisbury. *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 321.
- CASTERLEY CAMP. Early pits prior to La Tène III fort. *W.A.M.* XXXVIII, pp. 53-105: XL, p. 32, and pl. 8, fig. 1.
- COLD KITCHEN HILL, Brixton Deverell. Settlement, continuing through later La Tène. *W.A.M.* XXVII, p. 279 ff.
- FIFIELD BAVANT. Village (La Tène I-II). *W.A.M.* XLII, p. 457 ff.
- FIGSBURY RINGS. Hill-fort. *All Cannings Cross*, p. 183: *Wessex from the Air*, pp. 84-6: *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 48 ff.
- FISHERTON. Pits. Pottery in Salisbury Mus. *All Cannings Cross*, p. 39.
- GUY'S RIFT, Slaughterford. Some early La Tène occupation. *Proc. Spelaeological Soc. (Bristol Univ.)*, 1925, p. 229 ff.: *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 483 ff.
- HIGHFIELD. Pottery (Hallstatt - early La Tène) in Salisbury Mus. *G.C.D. Hengistbury Head Report*, p. 33.
- LIDBURY CAMP. Hill-fort. *W.A.M.* XL, p. 12 ff.
- LIDDINGTON CASTLE. Hill-fort. *W.A.M.* XXXVIII, p. 576 ff.

- OLDBURY CAMP, Cherhill. Pottery from settlement preceding later La Tène hill-fort. *All Cannings Cross*, p. 39; *Devizes Mus. Catalogue*, p. 96, no. 847: *W.A.M.* XXVIII, p. 277 ff.
- OLIVER'S CAMP, nr. Devizes. Hearths with pottery prior to later La Tène hill-fort. *All Cannings Cross*, p. 39: *W.A.M.* XXXV, p. 408 ff., esp. p. 420.
- POTTERNE. Haematite-coated bowl, All Cannings Cross type. Devizes Mus. G.C.D.
- SOUTH LODGE CAMP, Rushmore Park. Square enclosure. Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations* IV, p. 1 ff.
- SWALLOWCLIFFE DOWN. Village (mainly La Tène I). *W.A.M.* XLIII, p. 59 ff. and 540 ff.
- WEDHAMPTON. Haematite-coated bowl, All Cannings Cross type. Devizes Mus. G.C.D.
- WILSFORD DOWN (N. Wilts). Pits: pottery in Devizes Mus. (*Catalogue*, pp. 92-4). *W.A.M.* XXXVII, p. 536.
- WINKELBURY CAMP. Settlement preceding later La Tène hill-fort (*cf.* p. 78 above). Pitt-Rivers, *Excavations* II, p. 233 ff.
- WINTERBOURNE MONKTON DOWN. Pottery. *W.A.M.* XXXVIII, p. 108.
- "WUDUBURH," Knighton Hill. Square enclosures. *Wessex from the Air*, pp. 131-7.

YORKSHIRE.

- ATWICK, E. Riding. Early La Tène settlement. G.C.D. *Man*, 1910, 48.
- SCARBOROUGH (Castle Hill). Pits: Hallstatt-period settlement. *Arch.* 77, p. 179 ff.
- WEST FURZE, Ulrome, E. Riding. Pit-dwelling site: platform above Neolithic level with Early Iron Age pottery, Late Bronze Age spear-head, etc., and some later La Tène and Roman occupation. *Arch.* 62, pt. 2, p. 591 ff.

POTTERY WITH LATE BRONZE HOARDS

DURHAM.

- HEATHERY BURN (*Cave-dwelling*). Of the pottery with this famous hoard (*Arch.* 54, pt. 1, p. 87 ff.) fragments exist in Brit. Mus. of a small shouldered pot, a rim with internal bevel, two flat-topped slightly everted rims, one with slightly projecting carinated shoulder below, one perforated after firing, and two little pieces of base, all of hard brown to grey gritty ware with coarse finish.

ESSEX.

- DOVERCOURT. With hoard of 15 socketed axes (*Colchester Mus. Report*, 1912, p. 8 and pl. 1B) was found a coarse sherd of Hallstatt character, and a few months later in immediate proximity a small 3-lugged globular urn of Deverel - Rimbury type. (Information from Mr. E. J. Rudsdale).

KENT.

- BIRCHINGTON. Bowl of Hallstatt character containing hoard of palstaves. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 3, p. 220 ff.

SUSSEX.

- WORTHING. Pot, more probably La Tène I than Hallstatt, containing palstaves and socketed axes. *Ibid.*, 81 in Evans' List II; nos. 88 (Sittingbourne), 93 (Marden), and 108 (Wilmington) were also in pots, but of undiscoverable character.

SEPOLCHRAL POTTERY

In addition to the urns treated by Dr. Clay, the following sepulchral pottery (not on the map) may be noticed, as having features of Early Iron Age date:—

HAMPSHIRE.

*PRESHAW. Finger-printed bucket-urn of Hallstatt quality from barrow. In Brit. Mus. *Ant. Journ.* VIII, no. 1, pp. 98-9.

OXFORDSHIRE.

ROLLRIGHT, nr. Small urn of Hallstatt - La Tène I character from barrow. In Brit. Mus.

SURREY.

SHAMLEY GREEN, nr. Wondersh. Urn with cremation in stone cist: flat-topped rim, high sharp shoulder with lugs. *P.S.A.* XVIII, p. 251.

SUSSEX.

PARK BROW. Small urn (Early Iron Age character) with cremated bones in rough cist. *Ant. Journ.* IV, no. 4, p. 355, fig. 14.

WILTSHIRE.

MORGAN'S HILL. Finger-printed bucket-urn of Hallstatt quality in Brit. Mus. *Ant. Journ.* VIII, no. 1, pp. 98-9.

Cf. the cremations in barrow at Weeting Park (Norfolk) and Triplow Heath (Cambridge) with Early Iron Age pottery mentioned by Fox, *Arch. Cambr. Reg.*, pp. 79-80, and contrast the inhumations, *ibid.*, pp. 76-9 at Barrow Bottom and Brandon (Suffolk), Royston (Herts), and near Triplow (Cambridge), as well as *e.g.* that at Worthy Down mentioned below, p. 181.