Social Organisation in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley from the Late Bronze Age to the Middle Iron Age

Volume I of II

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Abstract

This thesis is an account of social organisation in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley from the Late Bronze Age to the end of the Middle Iron Age, c.1150-100 BC. This is approached through the integration and synthesis of various different types of evidence, including houses and settlements; metalwork; pottery; depositional practices; human and animal remains; 'special deposits'; monuments; and landscape boundaries. Patterns have been found within each period that cross different types of evidence. These patterns relate to underlying internal social and conceptual logical systems. Qualitative and quantitative methods are used, and comparison between periods is an important feature of the analysis. This demonstrates the 'non-functional', culturally specific nature of many aspects of material under study and how it was treated in the past.

The thesis begins with an exploration of the role that material culture plays in ways that people create identities and community relationships. The following four chapters each discuss the archaeology and interpret the social organisation of a different period. Much of the Late Bronze Age archaeology is characterised by two features: the repeated destruction and abandonment of objects, settlement and place; and the plain, undifferentiated nature of the material culture. It is argued that Late Bronze Age communities were relatively fluid; identity was not structured around lineage, and differences in status not particularly marked. In the Late Bronze Age, three distinct areas within the study region have been identified, each with differences in various types of material culture and depositional habits. The Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition is argued to have been a truly transitional period between two distinct types of social organisation. In the Early Iron Age, ancestors were being increasingly identified with, as material culture, settlements and hillforts were passed down and used by multiple generations. Ancient and foreign exotica were acquired and appear to have been employed in the negotiation of power relationships. Aspects of ritual practice and material culture were becoming more heterogeneous. The segregation of smaller, more distinct social groups continued in the Middle Iron Age, shown in part by the construction of boundaries around the household. Hillforts were a focus for deposition. The final chapter charts changes in various aspects of the archaeology before discussing process and causes of social change. A reassessment of the pottery chronology of the period is also included.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis explores a well excavated region of southern Britain over a one thousand year period towards the close of prehistory. The aim is to provide an interpretative social account that synthesises information from various aspects of life. This is achieved by approaching the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age from the same theoretical and methodological frameworks, finding patterns that cross different types of evidence within each period. A key approach is to compare periods that shared very similar environmental contexts, much in the way of daily routine, and had archaeological records subject to very similar subsequent processes. This comparative approach is useful in teasing out practices that resulted from specific social and ontological differences. The study is split into four main periods: the Late Bronze Age (LBA); Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition (Transition); Early Iron Age (EIA); and Middle Iron Age (MIA). The chronological basis for dividing evidence into these categories is provided in Appendix 1, with a focus on defining the LBA/EIA Transition of c.800-600/550 cal BC.

Significant differences in the treatment of the material world in these different later prehistoric periods question the underlying social and conceptual structures guiding these practices. This is further highlighted given that different aspects of the physical world are treated in similar ways within each period, but differently between them. This includes metalwork and other objects; houses; settlements; monuments and other landscape features. A methodology is sought to tie these periods within one theoretical perspective, rather than following the traditional method that approaches and interprets Bronze Age and Iron Age separately, each with different issues, datasets and historiographies. An exploration of the relationships between personhood, community and the material world has proved useful in this respect. This demonstrates that these periods are characterised by differences in world-views, social relationships and ontologies that result in different archaeological records, and not by insurmountably opposing datasets and theoretical issues.

All disciplines are split up into a series of smaller units, with research projects typically focused within the boundaries of one of these. Archaeology is no different, and indeed at certain points in its history has been obsessed with categorising objects, people, times and places into mutually exclusive groups; the most famous is the Three Age System. While the boundary between the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age is commonly blurred, the same can rarely be said for the Bronze Age and Iron Ages, despite recent work shining a light on the little understood centuries between these longer periods (e.g. Madgwick and Mulville 2015; Needham 2007a; O'Connor 2007; Sharples 2010; Waddington 2009; Waddington *et al. forthcoming*).

The nature of Bronze Age evidence is in many ways quite different to that belonging to the Iron Age, and this has historically led research along different paths. The later Bronze Age has had a focus on metalwork, and more recently landscape. Much effort has been spent refining metalwork typologies, dating and distributions, and interpretative issues have surrounded

prestige goods, exchange and deposition. Research on the British Iron Age is typically more regionally focused, with data based on settlements and hillforts. Interpretative issues have taken a different direction, looking at enclosures and boundaries, settlement economics, and structured deposition. Table 1.1 provides a summary of these differences. In other respects the later Bronze Age and Iron Age were quite similar: throughout the period people were living in roundhouses in small settlements and farming the surrounding landscape. Although this study has in fact highlighted substantial differences in the constitution of social identities between the periods, this is best demonstrated by an inclusive and comparative analysis.

Later Bronze Age	**Early and Middle Iron Age**
Landscape Metalwork Deposition	Settlement Structured Deposition
Landscape Enclosure (field-systems)	Settlement Enclosure/Boundary Theory
Metalwork Typology and Assemblages	Settlement Typology
Monuments: MBA–Barrows; LBA-None	Monuments: Hillforts
Social complexity through prestige goods	Social complexity through settlement hierarchy
Exchange Theory/Gift giving	Settlement economics/resource management
Cosmology – Sun, Water, Bronze	Cosmology – Fertility, Regeneration, House
Defined and dated through metalwork	Defined and dated through pottery
Metalwork: Distributions	Metalwork: Art and Decoration
Ethnographic analogies	Historical sources
International	Regional

Table 1.1. Evidential and interpretational differences between the later Bronze Age and Iron Age

This thesis is part of a broader research context that has in recent years seen a shift away from studies orientated around theory that tend to include the detailed analysis of a more limited number of archaeological examples, to big data collection and interpretation that have learnt important lessons from the more specifically theory driven research. Recent regional syntheses include those by Niall Sharples (2010) for Wessex and Melanie Giles (2012) for East Yorkshire. This thesis was conceived as a counterpoint to George Lambrick's (2009) more descriptive account of the Thames Valley in later prehistory.

Part of the shift to larger scale analysis has been due to the increasing availability of data, due mostly to the explosion of archaeological discoveries made during commercial excavations, alongside projects such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme making content easily accessible on the internet. As ever, publication and dissemination should be a priority. The wide scope of this thesis in terms of types of evidence included and its spatial and temporal scale was only possible due to the publication of a large number of commercially excavated sites. Information was almost entirely gleaned from published or otherwise easily available sources, with a few important exceptions.

This resulted in a dataset comprising some 676 houses; information on the remains of at least 383 human individuals; 444 'special deposits'; 58 animal bone assemblages of over 150 identified NISP; over 1600 small finds (excluding pottery vessels and metalwork); and over 4850 pottery vessels with decoration and/or enough surviving profile to reconstruct the diameter of at least the rim or carination. These were from some 197 individual settlements and hillforts with enough excavated evidence to characterise, as well as numerous smaller sites, field systems, linear ditches, pit alignments, burnt mounds, islands and bridges. Also included are over 950[1] LBA metal objects from 572 findspots; and 445[2] metal objects dating to the EIA and MIA from 235 findspots or settlements. The study covers the period 1150-150/100 BC.

The study covers c.5,750km^2, comprising the Upper and Middle Thames Valley and a sample of the surrounding topographies (Maps 1.1-2). This can be split into the gravels of the Upper Thames Basin, adjacent to the south-eastern edge of the Cotswolds; the Corallian Ridge and Vale of White Horse that sit between the southern side of the Thames and the Berkshire Downs. The Berkshire Downs and the Chilterns on the other side of the Goring Gap provide the boundary for the Upper Thames. The Middle Thames gravels form part of the London Basin, bounded by the North Downs on its south-eastern side. Much excavation has been undertaken in this regions, especially on the gravels in advance of quarrying and redevelopment.

The thesis begins with an exploration into how communities and social identities are constituted, the role that material culture plays in this, and how we can understand the relationship between the treatment of the material world and creation of communities. The following four chapters are arranged by period, discussing different types of evidence and drawing patterns between these, providing interpretative accounts of social organisation and focusing on how different social strategies would result in different archaeological records. Comparisons are frequently made between periods. Given that there is much continuity between the EIA and MIA, some EIA evidence is discussed in the MIA chapter, and *vice versa*. These period analyses are brought together in the final chapter which charts changes in the archaeological record for different types of evidence. This is followed by a discussion on the processes and causes of the social change that occurred between the Bronze Age and Iron Age.

Appendix 1 outlines the framework followed that led to the sites and features being phased into one of the four periods. Each site was reappraised in light of this discussion. This was especially necessary given the lack of a standardised nomenclature relating to the LBA/EIA Transition, and that this period is commonly subsumed into either the LBA or EIA. Other appendices include a discussion on how we can reconstruct roundhouses from their archaeological signatures; a reassessment of Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry and Reading Business Park/Green Park; and the dating of field systems. This is followed by lists of data.

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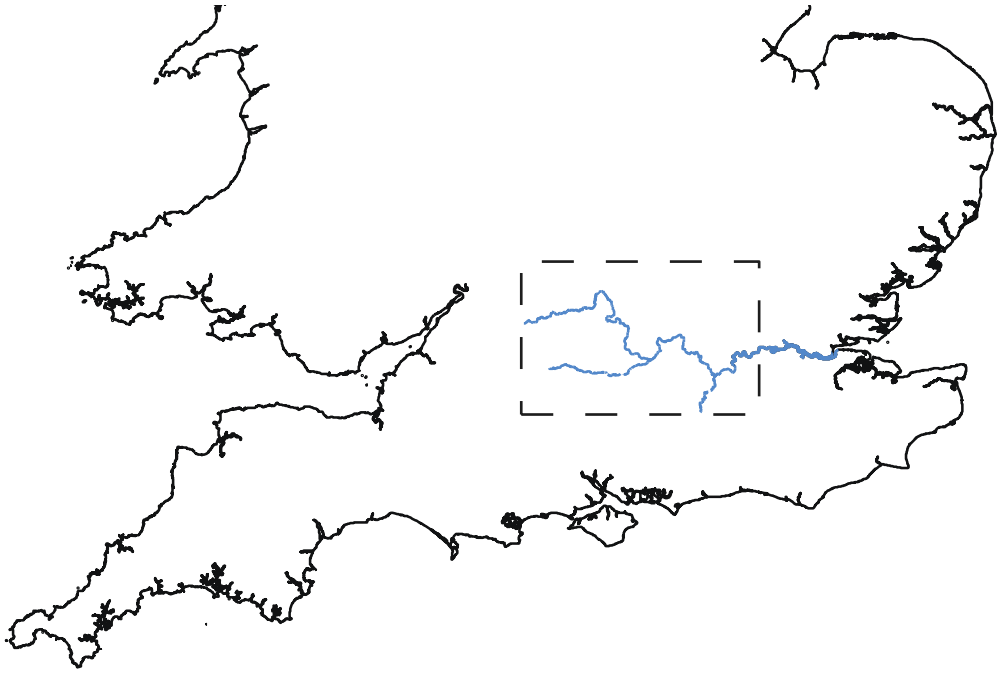
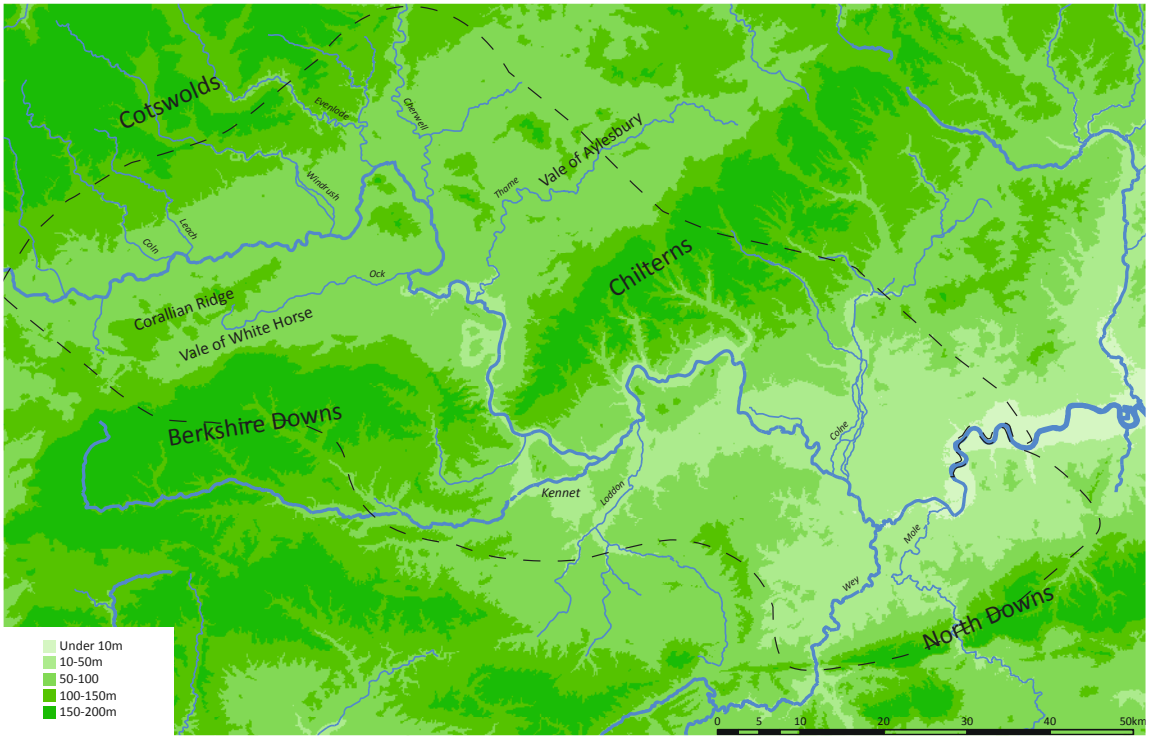
[1] This figure excludes ingots, lumps and other metallurgical debris.

[2] This figure excludes unassociated spearheads, some of which might date to the Iron Age, and small unidentifiable fragments found on settlements.



Map 1.1. The study area within southern Britain



Map 1.2. Topography of the study area

Chapter 2: Understanding Objects, Identity and Community

2.1 Introduction

This chapter investigates ways in which we can understand prehistoric social organisation. It begins with the principle that the archaeological record is not just a passive reflection of the items most likely to survive the ravages of time, but is constructed via the choices and ontologies of those using material culture. As the archaeological record is in many respects very different in the various periods under study, quite different underlying social and conceptual structures must have guided its creation. Given that interpretation rests on evidence from objects and material remains, we need to understand the relationships between personhood, community, identity and the material world.

This section begins with an examination of these factors. This will be followed by a discussion on how community groups are formed and recreated, with an emphasis on how objects and houses are used in these processes. Ethnographic examples are introduced that demonstrate the close relationship between objects, houses, identity and community. These examples also show that this nexus relates to a host of other practices and ideological positions. Specifically, if objects are thought to contain within them parts of people, the way in which objects are treated after the death or change of status of a person correlates with the way in which that individual is regarded in the living community. In those societies where certain ancestors are held in high regard and still thought to have agency and presence, their possessions, houses and other things closely related to them are commonly kept, repaired or venerated. Societies that do not regard the dead as having a continuing presence tend to destroy the possessions and abodes of the deceased. This is because the social logic deems it appropriate to treat the objects that contain part of a person in analogous ways to how that person is thought about after death. This treatment also helps to perpetuate the roles of dead.

This line of reasoning is followed into the definition of groups and communities. Some societies place great importance on ancestors and lineage, using these to define membership into social groups and positions. These factors are less pronounced in other societies, where actions in life and daily practice instead create affiliations. We can therefore separate two broad groups: one where social identity is continually renegotiated and redefined throughout life, and where the possessions and houses of the dead are destroyed and forgotten. In the second group, importance is placed on ancestors and lineage in defining identity; the possessions and houses of the dead are usually kept. The first group tends to have no institutionalised rank, whereas this can occur in the second group as hierarchical positions are often justified by providing ancestral and historical authority, although this is not a necessary feature. These groups have been summarised graphically (Fig. 1.1; Table 1.1). The splitting of these two groups is not absolute, but a spectrum used as an analytical tool. This framework will be used in the following chapters to argue that LBA social construction followed features closer to that of the first group. This shifted in the Transition, finally to a situation closer to the second group in the Iron Age.

Group 1	Group 2
Personhood extends into objects	Personhood extends into objects
Ancestors do not play role in living community	Ancestors play role in living community
Actions in life define identity	Biological descent defines identity
Objects and houses destroyed at death	Objects and houses passed on at death
Big-man. No institutionalised hierarchy	Can be hierarchical
More flexible social grouping	More rigid social grouping
New Ireland, Langkawi, Tukanoan, Jivaro	*LoDagaa, Kodi, Zafimaniry*
Late Bronze Age	**Iron Age**

Table 2.1. Features of the two opposing modes of social organisation

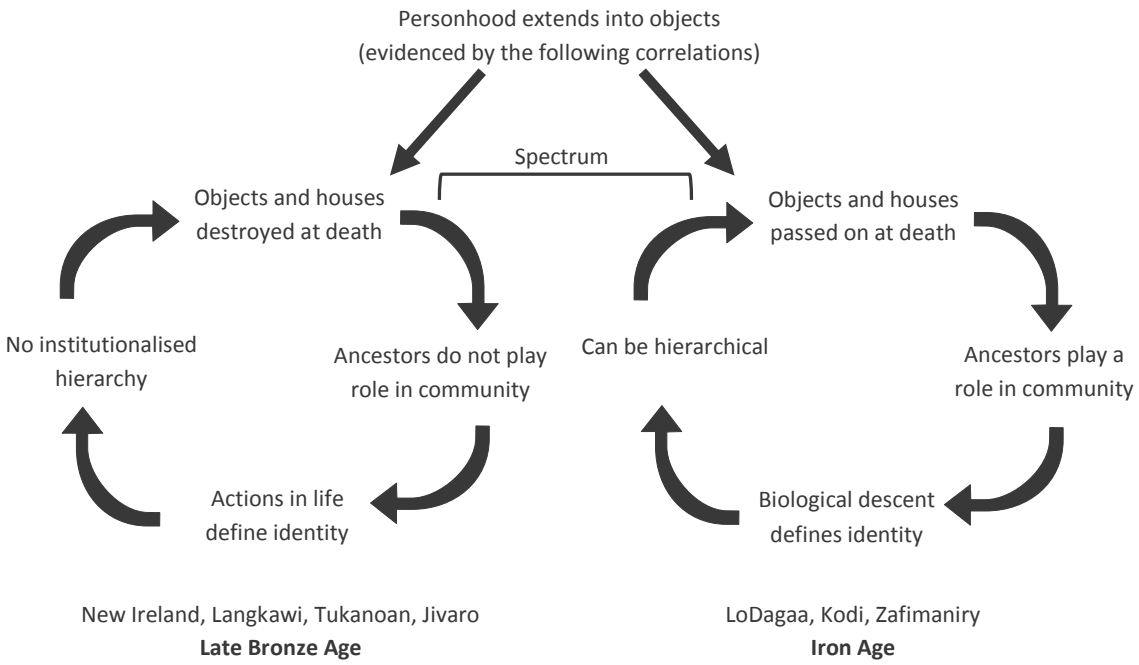


Figure 2.1. Relationship between the practices and beliefs of the two modes of social organisation

2.2 The Self and the Material World

> 'Personal possessions can also be used as a means of conjuring up the memory of an individual. When someone dies, he or she is eulogized by chanting the names of significant possessions - horses, buffalo, spears, knives - which are seen as poignantly evocative of the missing owner. These possessions are believed to be so imbued with the personality of the deceased that they must leave the house at the same time the dead person does. Some (like the betel bag) may be buried with the body, or sacrificed (like the horse), or broken on the grave. Others may be ritually bestowed onto a descendant to anoint him or her successor to a particular role… . When a personal possession such as a head cloth, knife, or betel bag is accidentally left behind, it is believed that a part of the owners soul... is lost'
>
> Hoskins (1998, 21)

This quotation describes the relationship between objects and people among the Kodi of Sumba, Indonesia. Here we see a blurring of the boundary between objects and people, with possessions being part of an individual as much as their body. Just as people are thought to extend into objects, so too are some objects seen as equivalent to people, having souls and agency (Hoskins 1993, 119-20, 127-36). Similar features are found in many societies across the world and throughout time. They have been realised for some time in anthropology, commented early on by Mauss (2002 [1923]) and Malinowski (1932 [1922]), but only seriously discussed in the archaeological literature in the last c.15 years. Godelier (1999, 41-55) argues that the extension of personhood into objects is a universal feature of gift-giving societies: it is at the heart of gift exchange as reciprocation, and therefore the whole gift economy only occurs because the given object contains within it part of the original giver – it is inalienable from them and they continue to have rights over it, providing sufficient pressure to give back (also Gregory 1982, 41-5).

2.2.1 Personhood and Objects – The last 25 years

The argument by Marilyn Strathern (1988; 1995; 1999) has been particularly influential in archaeological theory, helping to formulate a range of perspectives that break down the traditional object/subject divide. She followed the tendency for the objects-as-people argument to be situated around exchange, arguing that in Melanesia personhood is not contained in the body, but created through relationships between people and things. The person is 'partible' and 'dividual', distributed spatially through these connections, not contained within a single entity. Objects are therefore subject to inclusive rather than exclusive notions of property, and become meaningful through interaction with people.

This has influenced archaeological theory in a number of ways. The discussions on personhood by Fowler (2004) have been prominent; another is Chapman's fragmentation argument. This sees objects and humans enchained to one another so that the breakage of objects is filled with significance, making social relationships visible and tangible through the manipulation of objects (Chapman 2000; Chapman and Gaydarska 2006; see also Brittain and Harris 2010). Brück's (2001a; 2001b; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; Brück and Fontijn 2013) vision of Bronze Age Europe also regards objects and people as only gaining meaning through their relations with others

and exchange histories: 'status' objects are not automatically symbolic of disembodied power and prestige. This is similar to Wickstead's (2008) interpretation of Bronze Age field systems. Here the importance is placed on land-use creating identity, where the exchange of use-rights extends personhood to create intimate links between individuals. Field system landscapes are materialisations of social relationships.

Other perspectives influenced by the blurring of the boundary between people and things include that of object biography, where things are seen to have idiosyncratic histories and reflexively affect their environment beyond their original context and intent (Appadurai 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986). This has seen a more extreme form with the argument that agency *only* occurs through the interaction of objects and humans: objects therefore should have no less value and force as humans in the social world, and we should not attempt to separate or prioritise these in analysis (Latour 1993; Witmore 2007; see also Barrett 2014).

Although there is much to be admired in these approaches, to move the arguments forward interpretation needs to be fully grounded in as many aspects of the data of the society under study as possible to see how the blurring of the object/person boundary manifests itself in each particular context. A diachronic comparative approach can further highlight this. For example, although investigating personhood has proved rich enough in various independent time periods,[1] there is a danger of applying theoretical models too liberally and commonly reaching similar conclusions in the numerous contexts studied (Brittain and Harris 2010). The lack of historical and comparative engagement in these studies further undermines interpretations by failing to show how object-person relationships change over time and how any change may be related to changes in other cultural practices and ideologies. Jones (2005) is an exception to this.

There is also a need to look more critically at the ethnographic sources influencing archaeological interpretation. At present there is a risk of orientalising the past and drawing too sharp a divide between 'us' of the modern West, and 'them' of modern ethnographic and prehistoric societies (Carrier 1995; cf. Said 1978). This acts as overgeneralising non-Western societies as all having a similar relational and fractal concept of personhood.

For example, influence from Strathern and other Melanesianists (e.g. Battaglia 1990) has led Brück and Wickstead to see *all* exchange in the Bronze Age within the context of the gift, translocating and extending personhood with every object inalienable from its previous possessors: 'there was no rigid distinction between alienable commodities and inalienable valuables…the objects that defined a person's position were themselves once gifts of others and had histories that linked them to other people, events, and places' (Brück and Fontijn 2013, 212-3); 'When identities are understood relationally…tenure is not best seen as property… Instead tenure is necessarily

[1] For British prehistory this has tended to focus on the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (e.g. Brück 2001; 2004; Jones 2005; Fowler 2001). Brück (Brück 2006a; 2006b; Brück and Fontijn 2013) and Wickstead (2008) are notable exceptions studying the Later Bronze Age. See Brittian and Harris (2010) for a survey of other periods.

inclusive and distributed, because the subjects at issue are inclusive and distributed' (Wickstead 2008, 127).

Despite this, the above authors do generally give persuasive arguments that Bronze Age personhood was not defined solely by the body and that objects should not be thought of as impersonal material goods circulating freely in contexts comparable to our own. For example, the frequent fragmentation and dispersal of human remains suggest that the complete body was not synonymous with the person; similar practices with objects also hints at metaphorical links between the two (Brück 2006a; 2006b). Fractual personhood is also argued from a generalisation of gift-giving societies, and invoked as an explanation for the selectivity of metalwork deposition as such patterning suggests objects acquired meta-functional properties through their lives (Brück 2006a; 2006b; Brück and Fontijn 2013). However, personhood does not have to be implicated in every material relationship or exchange, and we should allow for processes to detach personhood significance from objects. For example, personhood significance is detached through ceremony among the LoDagaa (see 2.4.1). Indeed, the total malleability of bronze – it can be melted down, recast and completely change its form – especially means that it could potentially lose previous associations and meanings when this is carried out. Such total reworking was not possible with iron objects: once made metalwork could not be melted down and completely reforged, leaving more potential for attached meanings to be sustained over time.

Strathern and others (e.g. Barraud *et al*. 1994) have been criticised for overemphasising the role of gift exchange in Melanesia at the expense of barter and monetary transactions, and the extent gift giving and exchange is related to personhood (Carrier 1995; 1998; Gell 1992a; 1999, 74; Healey 1984; 1990, 127, *passim*; Thomas 1991). As a result, it has been argued that the interpretation of personhood is based on a biased dataset only considering mechanisms alien to the Western reader, and therefore worthy of anthropological study (Carrier 1998). The acquisition of goods is often the primary purpose of exchange, even in Highland New Guinea, and does not have to implicate lasting social relationships (Healey 1984, 58, *passim*; 1990, Chap. 5, 210; Helms 1993, 91-108). Gell (1999, Chap. 1) makes the important point that Strathern's work on Melanesian personhood is an idealist 'thought experiment' designed not as ethnographic description, but a tool with which to think about parts of the Melanesian data. Strathern's Melanesia is not real: as such, uncritical application of models derived from it is not appropriate. We should allow at least some objects and exchanges as being minimally significant in personhood construction, even in societies where the gift is of critical value, and 'the relation' should not be seen as the essence of all non-Western personhood. This does not mean that we should try and draw strict categories of those objects and exchanges that did translocate personhood against those that did not, but that we should allow for both to be contextual and fluid. Due to this unequal Melanesian ethnographic influence on prehistoric archaeology, discussion later in this chapter takes examples from around the world.

On the other side, arguments that seek to contrast ethnographic and prehistoric societies with the modern West may have been too extreme in characterising the latter as seeing objects only as depersonalised commodities, and personhood as strictly bounded by the body (e.g. Barraud *et al.* 1994, 5; Brück 2001; 2006a, 74-5; Fowler 2004; Mauss 2002, 61; Thomas 2004). For example, it is through objects that people create for themselves identities on various levels – the clothes you wear, car you drive and objects you own allows for both idiosyncratic constructions and group affiliations. Advertising works by making reference to social niches, suggesting you can join these by purchasing particular products. Indeed, we can use the proliferation of available products in our own society to help interpret how we construct personhood boundaries precisely because personhood includes part of the material world. Heirlooms, keepsakes or objects heavily associated with an individual or group are also not just valued for their monetary worth, but can conjure emotive responses because part of a person may be regarded to reside within them. This can become highlighted after the death of an individual, where it may not be considered appropriate to freely sell or dispose of the possessions of the deceased without a period of time to detach the strongest associations.

This is not to dismiss arguments that the way objects were thought about in prehistory or other non-western societies was quite different to modern perceptions, but that we should not draw too sharp a divide. Indeed, certain factors have drawn stricter boundaries between the self and the world external to the body in the West. One is the acceptance of germ theory in modern medicine and daily practice. This paradigm sees illness as only occurring through the physical contact of the body with a pollutant, and processes only within the body affecting it. This can be contrasted with the belief of magical or spiritual causes of illness, where the body does not take a central role. Here disease is caused by factors external to the body, blurring the boundary between this and the outside world. Another factor is the fleeting relationship we have with most objects, exacerbated as we are divorced from manufacturing processes. Whereas in non-industrial societies individuals have contact with relatively few, more unique objects in their lifetime, keeping each for much longer periods of time, in the West things are continually consumed meaning that few individual objects can become so heavily associated with a person as to really blur the boundary between the two.

The above critique is not attempting to dismiss approaches to studying personhood in prehistory, or that the material world was not an inseparable part of this construction. Instead, by developing and contextualising these arguments we can use this observation to understand further aspects of ideology and social organisation. However, we do have to be careful in how we use such ideas.

2.3 Identity: Community and Kinship

Discussion has so far focused on the relationship between personhood and the material world, demonstrating how thought has progressed with regards to the role that objects have in constructing a sense of self, and how this might be developed further. The following section will take a step backwards in scale, discussing how community boundaries are drawn, and how individuals construct a wider sense of identity and belonging.

2.3.1 Community

Recent ideas about community have moved away from earlier definitions that considered these as almost universal entities comprising those who simply share the same locality and have regular face-to-face interaction (e.g. Kolb and Snead 1997). Instead, approaches are becoming popular that consider processes with which groups construct identities on various scales through more selective engagements with the world (e.g. Anderson 2006; Cohen 1985; Varien and Potter 2008; Whittle 2003; 2005; papers in Canuto and Yaeger 2000; see Harris 2014 for a summary). Although this often takes the form of interaction between coresident individuals, agency is allowed for emphases to be placed on different aspects of these relationships depending on the values and ideologies of those involved. The degree of shared identity and sense of community cannot be taken for granted purely by virtue of proximity: factors that create connections are more complex and subject to the context and desires of the actors involved. There is also a call to consider the more human, emotive and lived experience of individuals and the relationships between them and the world (Harris 2014; Whittle 2003; 2005). Recent approaches also broaden out the bases with which communities are formed, allowing for inclusion of individuals and things that may not even exist or have had no physical contact with: what is important is the belief of those with shared facets of identity. This leads to interpretation of more nuanced and sensitive community groups.

Significant in developing these ideas are two pairs of internally related arguments. First are those by Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984), who argue that everyday practice and interaction reflexively affect ways in which the world is viewed and acted within. Here, communities are socially produced by knowledgeable agents through practice, acting within but not entirely constrained by social conditions and their own histories. Second are the perspectives by Anderson (2006 [1983]) and Cohen (1985), who argue that communities are respectively ‘imagined’ and ‘symbolic’. All these views agree that community boundaries are not pre-determined universals but are related to the host of other social realities and practices of the given context.

Anderson (2006) tracks the emergence of the nation as a significant seat of identity and community in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when other factors that bound people together were subverted. Central to nationalism is the sharing of identity with multitudes of individuals that will never meet or know each other. Such communion is therefore inherently

imaginary. Anderson (2006, 6) argues all communities are similarly based around principles of imagination as identity boundaries are not situated in the immediate locality of the individual. Community is therefore at least partly conceptual.

Cohen (1985) also argues for the conceptual bases of community. For him, community is created through the belief of shared meanings attached to shared symbols. These symbols do not have to be physical, but can be ideas and ideologies (Cohen 1985, 19). Community boundaries are again not defined by co-location or automatically by shared experience, but the belief of shared beliefs between individuals.

If conceptually constructed communities include people and things separated in space, they can also include individuals and things separated in time or by death. An example is demonstrated by the practice of ghost marriage in parts of China. Here, the dead are seen to have agency in the affairs of the living – positive if they fulfilled the socially imperative goal of successful reproduction, and negative if they did not. The dead still continue to some degree in the social life of the living: if a child was not married when he/she died, parents are still obligated in their duty to find them a spouse. This satisfies the continuing needs of the deceased and pacifies their participation with the affairs of the living (Martin 1991).

Other examples where the dead are regarded as belonging to some form of living community include societies who continue to treat corpses in a similar way as those living. This can include mummifying bodies, offering them food, drink and clothes, and involving them in the activities and decisions of the village, whilst believing they can affect living individuals and social processes. This occurs, amongst other places, among the modern Toraja in South Sulawesi (Coville 2002); the Anga of Papua New Guinea (Beckett 2015); and communities in the South Andes in the prehispanic and contact period (Nielson 2008, 212-4). Helms (1998, 25) provides more ethnographic instances where the dead are still part of the daily life of the living. In all these examples the dead are also regarded as having a real effect on the lives of the living, and the living are able to affect the social lives of the deceased. This demonstrates that deceased individuals can still be thought as present in the community, although they are never regarded as synonymous with the living. Further ethnographic examples where the dead are thought to have real presence and agency, and clearly considered part of some form of community amongst the living, are dealt with in more depth below (see 2.4.1). These include the Kodi, LoDagaa and Zafimaniry.

More distant ancestors or culture heroes could also be regarded as part of some forms of living community as aspects of identity are shared; indeed originate from them. Often an important part of the justification of community boundaries, practices, values and ideologies are by giving them historical and ancestral legitimacy: ‘We do this because this is how it has always been done/this is how our ancestors did it.’ Here the belief of past practices is more important than the reality: even in the modern West with our emphasis on viewing the past as something that

should be remembered and studied as objectively as possible, 'traditions' of high cultural value often with perceived historical depth are frequently only recent occurrences (Hobsbawn 1983; Trevor-Roper 1983).

However, in other situations there may be a desire to purposefully rupture and disassociate from the past, and not include ancestors with their past practices in the current community. Examples can be found following the American and French Revolutions: the Declaration of Independence makes no mention of Christopher Columbus, the Pilgrim Fathers or attempts to justify independent existence through any historical means. This is similar to the decision during the French First Republic to scrap the Christian calendar, instead taking 1792 as Year One (Anderson 2006, 193). Although these may be extreme examples, forgetting or indifference to the practices of ancestors in favour of current dynamics are described below with regards to those from Langkawi, Bali and among the Jivaro (see 2.3.2; 2.4.2). No doubt similar orientations are easy in Northern New Ireland and among the Tukano, where the dead are purposefully forgotten (see 2.4.2).

Harris (2014) argues for the inclusion of objects, animals, plants and any other parts of the material world as constituting communities as much as humans. This resonates with the above discussions of personhood extending into objects, and ways in which objects are used in the negotiation of grouphood (i.e. community) is further considered below (see 2.4). We should also consider how the material, landscape, floral and faunal contexts that humans are engaged with help situate themselves within the world, even if these things do not have personhood significance. In this way other non-human things have the potential to be part of a conceptual community, even if we do not go as far as Harris (2014, 88-92; also Latour 1993; Witmore 2007) in accepting a 'symmetrical' archaeology where objects have as much of a role in agency as humans.

These discussions scatter notions of community, placing importance on conceptual construction whilst not denying the role of practice and process. Community boundaries become more culturally idiosyncratic and depend on wider values and ideologies. Communities do not have to consist of those who have met or are even living. We may define community here as groups that share facets of identity and comradeship – or the belief of these – and not restricted only to humans and things that physically exist or are living. There are many levels and dimensions of community, cross-cutting each other and drawing boundaries by various means. A further feature of some, but not all, communities is the ability to affect members within it, and/or be affected by them. This reflexive bond demonstrates a sharing of the world and life context, even if individuals are not physically present. It also makes the point that communities can include individuals that have negative, even violent relationships towards each other (Harris 2014, 87).

Communities can also be contextual, existing for only specific time periods and purposes, for example during ritual occasions. Some are highly dynamic, whereas others may remain quite fixed

over long periods of time. Individuals within the same cultural context may place importance on different types of relationships, some conforming closer to wider cultural ideals than others. In a sense each individual constructs their own communities, although clearly much is shared between two people who consider the other in their community.

No explicit social distinction has been made between other potential types of identity groups, for example: lineage, family, kingroup, household, gender, class, polity, regional social group or ethnicity. All are regarded as types of cross-cutting communities. This takes into account the culturally specific emphases that exist with each of these terms, not automatically assuming priority of one of these over the others, or indeed their meaningful existence to everyone. Some may see the co-resident household and the interaction that entails as the most important seat of identity, whereas for others this might be lineage; others still might place equal importance on both.

Recent approaches to the study of kinship in anthropology have been developing in parallel with these archaeological discussions regarding community construction. This is unsurprising as kinship, lineage and family can be regarded as types of communities. It is becoming increasingly accepted that biology cannot be taken for granted as the basis of society and tying individuals together. Instead, emphasis has shifted to process and practice in the creation of group affiliation (e.g. Carsten 2004; Godelier 2011; Schneider 1984; Strathern 1992a; 1992b; papers in Bamford and Leach 2009; Carsten 2000). This has two implications. Firstly, for those societies that do hold lineage in a prime position, the way in which this is perpetuated needs to be explained through practice as it cannot be simply put down to the 'natural' consequence of the interaction between the biological and the social. Secondly, those societies that place factors such as co-residence, exchange, the sharing of food, practice, dress or material culture as defining the most important social groups should not be seen as unusual, deviating from 'normal' biological kinship structures.

The following section will review a number of ethnographic case studies to demonstrate and develop these theoretical arguments. There is a focus on the role of objects and settlement space in creating community and a sense of self, as well as the place of ancestors and the past. From these examples, it will be shown that ways communities are constructed can, in part at least, be interpreted by the way in which personal possessions, houses and bodies are treated in life and after death; the form and distribution of material culture; and patterns of exchange. These represent ways that groups are constructed as they are part of the process of construction: communities do not emerge as ahistorical universal entities, but through engagement with each other and the world. Changes to ideology will therefore be seen in material practice and its signatures; changes to material practice – chosen or imposed – would also affect ideology. The extension of personhood and community into the material world makes interaction with objects and houses particularly pertinent.

2.3.2 Kinship fluidity on two Southeast Asian islands

The first two ethnographic examples that explore the relationships between social organisation, identity, the treatment of objects and the place of ancestors, come from two islands in the Malay Archipelago. In these two examples, biological kinship and links through common ancestors are played down in the construction of social groups and affiliations in favour of co-residence and time spent together, sharing daily routines. There are various day-to-day practices and processes that ensure the perpetuation of this social orientation.

Langkawi

There is an emphasis on forgetting ancestors within the community living on Langkawi, a small island off the north-west coast of Malaysia. Genealogical memory is short and identity is not fixed at birth. Instead, Carsten (1991; 1995a; 1995b; 1997) argues that kinship is fluid and in a continual process of becoming. It is socialisation, primarily in the house, that creates kinship identity and ties to others. There is little privacy in the house and every action that does not conform is criticised and corrected. This leads to similarity in practice and the incorporation of those living together into a single group. Although the wider community is constituted of individuals from diverse geographic backgrounds, there is surprising cultural homogeneity, and importance is not placed on continuing traditions practiced by ancestors: they are instead forgotten. Food is regarded as particularly important as its consumption is thought to transform blood: those who share food also share blood, and are therefore kin (Carsten 1991; 1997, 4). Fostering is common and encouraged. Ideally foster and biological children should not be distinguished, and it is believed that children come to look like their adoptive parents (Carsten 1991, 431-2). There is a lack of personal property, with objects being shared by those living within a house (Carsten 1997, 96-9). Houses are sometimes deconstructed or physically moved at the death of their inhabitants (Carsten 1997, 38).

Bali

These features on Langkawi – where remembering ancestors is not important, and kinship and identity is not defined at birth but through actions in life – are part of a wider phenomenon apparent among certain groups in Southeast Asia and Austronesia (Carsten 1995a, 324-6; Fox 1987, 174). Geertz and Geertz (1964) discuss the practice of teknonymy in Bali, where individuals are known by the names of their offspring, and grandparents known by their youngest grandchild. It is argued that this leads to ‘genealogical amnesia’, and is part of a wider system of social organisation that values co-residence in the same hamlet above biological links. Membership of a social group is not automatically defined by birth. Personal names are lost after the birth of a child, and it is therefore impossible to meaningfully talk about all but the recently deceased as they can only be known in relative kinship terms. Individuals know virtually nothing of the lives of their forebears. Ties are soon lost between kin who move away and there is no concept

of decent from a common named ancestor. This system leads to malleable and dynamic social groups that are 'downward', future oriented and can easily adapt to changing political and social circumstances. Significantly, the gentry in Bali do not practice teknonymy, instead placing more importance on kinship descent. Their groups are more enduring and fixed, and it is no doubt necessary for the institutionalised hierarchy present among the gentry to have practices that encourage identity to lineal descent groups (see 2.3.2).

When we look at the archaeological and ethnographic records, we should not simply see the frequent destruction of objects, for example, or generational settlement movement as independent features relating to religious or economic practices, but as parts of wider interrelated cultural ideologies and practices. These both inform and are informed by ways in which community and kinship boundaries are structured. They relate to where various emphases are placed; whether this is on biological descent, or other ways in which individuals create identity groups with their non-consanguineal relationships.

2.3.3 The House and Settlement

One of the key arenas where communities are constructed and reproduced is the house and settlement:

> 'Unusual features of buildings, serving symbolic rather than functional purposes, are merely a part of more complex patterns of symbolism which are woven into indigenous architectures, making them resonant with meaning. Human beings use built form as one means of creating for themselves a sense of place, and as such, the forms reflect the world views of their creators.'

> 'Rules about the uses of space provide, in all cultures, a potentially powerful means of encoding aspects of social relationships, and causing them to be 'lived' at a tacit or subconscious level by the actors themselves'

Waterson 1990, 91, 167

The architecture and layout of houses and settlements provide clues into the social organisation and cosmological understanding of their inhabitants. The ethnographic examples demonstrating this are innumerable (e.g. Bourdieu 1990 [1971]; Brück and Goodman 1999; Carsten 1997; Fewster 1999; Humphery 1974; Hoskins 1993, 14; Jackson 1983; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Rapoport 1969; Waterson 1990; papers in Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995). The complexity and diversity of houses and settlements in the ethnographic record reflects the similarly diverse nature of social relations and ways in which humans create for themselves a world alive with meaning beyond what is physical. One of the key reasons social and cosmological aspects are present in house architecture and settlements is that they are more than just referents and symbolic guides: houses provide the nexus of whereby social relations and world views are perpetuated and recreated (e.g. Bourdieu 1977; Giddens 1984; Waterson 1990, 167). The domestic environment dominates the lives and routines of many cultures and individuals, and

as such forms the focus where children and adults alike are socialised and re-socialised by acting out and embodying these relations and giving them meaning. Where emphases are placed on divisions and groupings within society need to be reaffirmed for their continuation; the house and settlement provide a perfect setting for this to take place. For Gell (1998, 252-3), houses are 'especially suited for the projection of collective agency…[that is] ancestral, and essentially political'.

Various ways in which cosmological understandings are represented in Later Prehistoric architecture have been discussed in the literature since the 1990's (Fitzpatrick 1994; Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson 1996; 1999; Parker Pearson *et al.* 1996; Parker Pearson and Sharples 1997; Sharples 2010). Despite problems and critiques of these models (Pope 2007), it has been generally accepted that both functional and symbolic considerations influenced architectural styles in prehistory (Harding 2009, Chap. 11; Lambrick 2010, 142-9; Sharples 2010, Chap. 4; Webley 2008). Ethnographic examples can highlight the possibilities and problems in the archaeological analysis of social groups through the interpretation of settlements and buildings.

House architecture in the ethnographic record

A particularly overt example where the dwelling provides a microcosm of the social world is within traditional Mongolian *gers*. Here, space within the round tent was rigidly organised to highlight differences in gender and status (Humphrey 1974). The area between the door and central fireplace was for the junior or low-status family members or guests. The area between the fire and back of the tent was the high-status area. These were flanked by the male area on one side, and female on the other. Individuals sat according to gender and status, those with the highest status furthest from the door. Objects also had very particular places within the *ger*. Each was associated with gender roles and was graded by the level of ritual pollution. Thus, the Buddhist shrine was kept at the back furthest from the door. Sitting on the wrong place or moving implements from their designated place was considered taboo and could only be rectified though fines or ceremonies (Humphery 1974, 273). This ensured the perpetuation of gender and status differences as these were continually reinforced by daily routines.

Longhouses of the eastern Tukanoan speaking peoples of north-west Amazonia similarly provide a window into aspects of their social organisation. These have been described as 'probably the key metaphor for human identity' in Tukanoan society (Jackson 1983, 230). Within these live a number of families all related through the male line. Each have separate apartments, with the headman – usually the father or eldest brother of the other male occupants - and his wives and children in the most prestigious area (Hugh-Jones 1995, 229-30; Jackson 1983, Chap. 3). Great emphasis is put on the shared identity and sense of community of those living within the longhouse. At the same time, other divisions are present in both the house and wider society. There are separate doors for men and women; this gender differentiation is seen at meal times where men and women eat separately (Hugh-Jones 1995, 231). The sense of a community with

differences is embodied in both the house itself and the headman. He decides the building of the house; the architecture is a testament to his leadership and the strength of the new community created. When the leader dies, the house and community die with him. He is buried in the centre of the house and the building is abandoned. The community then fractures and moves elsewhere (Hugh-Jones 1995, 228). The lack of emphasis placed on genealogy and descent in this society (Hugh-Jones 1995, 238; Jackson 1983, 198-200) is represented by the house as it does not remain standing to act as a mnemonic to previous communities and ancestors. This is feature among the Tukano is discussed further below (see 2.4.2).

We should not expect such overt social attributes in the houses of all societies. Rivière (1995, 193) comments, on the settlements in Guiana that consist of only a single house, that they have more explicit and elaborate symbolism than multi-house settlements. In a similar fashion, houses of the Mẽbengoke of central Brazil lack symbolic elaboration (Hugh-Jones 1995, 251; Lea 1995, 224). Here, the boundaries of the house do not represent boundaries of the social group. Occupants of dwellings consist of a senior woman occupying the centre of the house, with her daughters and their husbands and children distributed either side (Lea 1995, 207). Unlike the similar Tukanoan patrilineal arrangement, marriage does not offer membership into this social group. Instead, identity remains primarily with blood-kin down the mother's line. This is represented and reinforced through men sharing ritually important food with their mother and sisters at the latters house. Other aspects of identity are passed through the mother's line and are only inheritable and cannot be obtained through marriage. These include rights to make and use particular ornaments, play specific ceremonial roles, raise particular animal, and so on (Lea 1995, 208). In these examples, the nexus of the community is not situated in the house; consequently dwellings are less elaborated. This point is taken further when comparing houses of the LBA and MIA: archaeological remains of houses in the earlier period are far more homogeneous and simple than those dating to the MIA (see 3.2; 6.2.4; 7.1.1).

A further example where the boundaries of the house do not represent the boundaries of the most important social unit is among the Kelabit of Sarawak, Indonesia (Janowski 1995). The conjugal couple is given precedence here, although settlements consist of large communal longhouses. However, organisation of space within the house does represent this unit. The longhouses are divided into private areas for each couple and their children, each with their own hearth. Meals are eaten within these groups, and the cooking of rice in this area is regarded as culturally imperative and highly significant. Older couples tend to stay only within their hearth area, whereas children and young adults spend more time in communal areas away from the rice cooking area (Janowski 1995).

The Zafimaniry of Madagascar also hold the conjugal couple in prime importance, but have very different architectural styles to the Kelabit. Here, the house is the physical representation of the relationship, and is conceived of as such (Bloch 1995). Marriage and house building are

drawn out processes. As the relationship is made official, the framework of the marital house is constructed. When they move in, the house is made from flimsy, unsubstantial material of bamboo and reeds. As the relationship develops with time and children, parts of the house slowly get rebuilt with harder, older wood with prized darker qualities (Bloch 1995, 78). The house is further substantiated with more and more ornate relief carvings. Even after the death of the couple, this hardening process is carried on by their descendants; the house eventually becomes a sacred place where blessings are carried out. The founding couple are considered to be present in the form of the house (Bloch 1995, 80-82). The central role that ancestors play in Zafimaniry society is again represented in house architecture; this can be contrasted to the lack of genealogical memory and house destruction among the Tukano and people of New Ireland (Hugh-Jones 1995; Küchler 2002; see 2.3.3).

Similar social references can be seen in the organisation of settlements, for example Henemeras in New Ireland, Papua New Guinea. The nine houses were split into five groups, each group consisting of one or two structures. The eldest man was the head of the extended family, and lived with his two sons in the only unit near the beach. The other four units were up a hill, each inhabited by one of the old man's female relatives, and their immediate family. This separation of cross-sex siblings and cousins reflects a divide seen in daily life, where they avoided wherever possible. When the old man died, the settlement was abandoned (Küchler 2002, 27-38).

Such architectural features and structured uses of space are necessary for the reproduction of social relations. They also help to conceptualise them by making relationships representative in the physical world. Multiple symbolic aspects can be present that tell of various ways in which society is united and divided.

Like any aspect of the archaeological and ethnographic record, we cannot expect homogenous, rule-bound evidence, but subtle diversity that must always speak of human individuals acting within, but not entirely constrained by, sets of social norms. Various personalities and local situations may amend the ideal composition of the household and social units; arguments and bickering may cause factions, whereas unexpected deaths may cause conglomerates of more distant individuals than is usual. Subtle changes to the way in which individuals and groups relate to each other on a daily basis by changes to uses of space have effects, and create subtly different relations between such groups. Households and groups also go through developmental cycles, so even the ideal can have various permutations (Yanagisako 1979, 168-9). For example, the ideal modern British household and social unit is a conjugal couple with two or three children. Before these children get married, buy a house and have their own children, they may live with friends in rented accommodation. If seen within the development cycle, this is still part of the ideal situation.

The ways in which to successfully interpret the social aspects of architecture and space are clearly not straightforward from an archaeological perspective. The similar importance placed on the conjugal couple among the Kelabit and Zafimaniry, for example, results in quite different architectures. Consequently, a contextual approach considering all aspects of the archaeological evidence is required, with houses and settlement spaces providing one line of argument. This can further be demonstrated by the immediately similar looking evidence we have for roundhouses throughout the Later Bronze Age and Iron Age. However, when the evidence is interrogated and contextualised, it can be demonstrated that roundhouses played very different social roles at different times in the final 1500 years of the prehistory of southern Britain.

2.4 Objects, the Dead and the Creation of Community

The first section of this chapter discussed the role of objects in creating a sense of self and personhood. This was followed by thoughts on how communities are constructed, and the vital contribution that houses and settlements play in this. The next section will assess the role that objects have in creating community. All of the recent societies discussed below regard personhood as including parts of the material world, but objects are treated in different ways, and community boundaries are drawn on different lines. Specifically, different emphases are placed on the importance of lineage and the dead. These societies also leave different archaeological signatures which can be used to reconstruct community boundaries.

2.4.1 Object Retention and the Role of Ancestors

The following ethnographic case studies all place importance on the dead. They consider lineage of prime importance in identity and the definition of community. They also share in common a way of treating certain types of material culture. Objects and houses associated with important deceased individuals who help orientate identity and structure communities are kept and even venerated. This is due to a belief that aspects of personhood extend into these objects. These objects are not only mnemonics of recent ancestors, but are thought to be a physical representation of these people. The first example is also from the Malay Archipelago, but the role that ancestors play in this society is quite different to that described in Langkawi and Bali.

Kodi

As the quotation opening this chapter demonstrates, the Kodi of Sumba, Indonesia, intimately associate themselves with their possessions. They tell their personal and group biographies through the histories of significant objects (Hoskins 1998). Objects can stand in for people: betel bags are sometimes buried in the absence of a body, and social deaths and disinheritance is signified by a rite called ‘burying the betel bag’ (Hoskins 1998, 3, 43-7, 56). These bags are passed down through generations when passing on social roles. Although these are inherently fragile objects, when they disintegrate replicas are made that are regarded as containing the same meaning and essence (Hoskins 1998, 39, 51). Certain objects are regarded as ancestors:

they are addressed as such at ceremonies, believe to 'listen in', and are fed at sacrifices (Hoskins 1993, 24, 119-20). Ancestors themselves play an important role in the communities of the living: they are believed to have agency and can affect change. This is often mediated through objects (Hoskins 1993, Chap. 4; 1998, 26). The dead are buried in megalithic tombs, and each kin group is associated with a lineage house in an ancestral village where the possessions of the important dead are stored (Hoskins 1993, 14-5, 24, 119-24; 1998, 9, 28). Objects of particular importance are regarded as active agents. These tend to be ancient and exotic, and can retroactively be ascribed to ancestors (Hoskins 1993, 119). Hoskins (1993, Chap. 4) gives the example of a large Ming period urn, produced in South China centuries earlier. Such objects are valued due to their age, uniqueness and non-local manufacture. These become markers of group identity, passed down generations and venerated.

Zafimaniry

The second recent society that retains the objects and houses of those deceased individuals who continue to be important members of the community are the Zafimaniry of Madagascar (Bloch 1995; 1998, Chaps. 2, 7 and 8). Here, the houses of the dead who were reproductively successful become sacred places and are carefully repaired by their descendants (see 2.3.3). Parts of the house are visualised as the original occupants: the central post the man, and the hearth and furniture the women (Bloch 1995, 82; 1998, 35). The possessions of the founding couple are kept in the house and become 'relics representing the original couple, and they are addressed as such and offerings are made to them' (Bloch 1998, 35). When blessings take place, the original pot, spoon and dish are used to cook the meal (Bloch 1995, 82). These objects and the original house become inalienable, in time sacred, tied to their original owners and their descendants. They are necessary in perpetuating the importance of certain ancestors within their society. The past among the Zafimaniry is ever-present and felt in nearly all aspects of life: narratives of the past are frequently told, both verbally and through peculiarities in material culture. Events are recounted by the decedents of those who witnessed them as if they were actually there themselves (Bloch 1998, Chaps. 7 and 8).

LoDagaa

In this case study, the ethnography allows more a specific and nuanced picture of the relationship between ancestors, their possessions, and living society. Some ancestors were very important in identity construction and the definition of future social units: following death, their possessions and house timbers were kept. Other members were of little continuing social importance: their possessions were destroyed.

The LoDagaa of northern Ghana regarded objects intimately associated with an individual to be extensions of that person (Goody 1957; 1962). For example, any objects to be inherited after death needed to be left for a period of time before rites were performed to remove some

association from the dead and make them useable again. These were then passed down to the next generation (Goody 1962, 231-2, 253-4). A similar process was necessary for xylophone makers to remove his soul from the instrument before exchange, and for individuals carving ancestor shrines so the shrine could become fully associated with the deceased instead of themselves (Goody 1962, 200-205, 240). Those who had a problematic death or were outcast from society had their possessions destroyed at burial, and were not given an ancestor shrine (Goody 1962, 104, 408).

The society was patrilocal, with brides living within the compounds of the husband's family, and the male line was seen as more important than the female. Direct male ancestors were of utmost importance in the living community – they afforded protection against attack from witches, and therefore decided the fate of the living. They could also be malignant by taking away this protection, and sacrifices had to be made to them to prevent this. This influence went further: all wealth gained through farming, inheritance, wage labour or other means was only done so through the auspices of these ancestors. Accordingly, everything was partly owned by them and must be given through more sacrifice (Goody 1962, 209, 376-414). Female ancestors did not have such a powerful influence. Consequently, at the death of a woman some of her possessions were destroyed, including pots and calabashes (Goody 1962, 84, 130-1). The death of a bachelor was accompanied by the destruction of the most important masculine object – his bow – whereas for those who had fathered children, their bow was made into a shrine for them (Goody 1962, 84, 221-4). Men without sons were not considered important after death and could little affect the land of the living, and they were not afforded a shrine (Goody 1962, 383). Those who were reproductively successful were significant ancestors, and those who lived to be grandparents were buried under their houses. When a new house was built, the timbers from the residence of an agnatic ancestor were reused (Goody 1962, 79, 339). Among the LoDagaa, we therefore see personhood extending into objects, and kinship/group structures and affiliations being represented in the treatment of these objects after death. Broadly, the objects of those who continued to be significant in the living community were kept, whereas those who are not important were destroyed.

2.4.2 Object Destruction and the Role of Ancestors

In these following examples, ancestors and lineage are of little importance in living society. Consequently, possessions and houses are destroyed following death. Although very different to the above examples, a similar belief in the extension of personhood into objects structures the practices in all these cases.

New Ireland

After the death of an individual in Northern New Ireland, Papua New Guinea, a series of funerary events known as Malanggan take place, starting with the destruction of the material representation of the person in the community (Küchler 1999; 2002; Jackson 1996). This is known as the 'skin' of the dead: in fact there is no word for the body other than this. The produce of their gardens is eaten, the trees and plants grown by the deceased are destroyed, and their possessions burnt (Küchler 2002, 38-9, 82, 85-6, 93, 100; Jackson 1996, 161). Their house is also burnt, and if the deceased is the head of a settlement, the settlement is abandoned. Exchanges and feasts take place in order to symbolically cancel debts that bind the mourners to the dead (Küchler 2002, 29-30, 96). The fragmentation of sacrificial pigs is important in every stage of the funerary process: this metaphorically ruptures relationships with the dead (Küchler 2002, 92). Before it was banned by colonial authorities, the dead were cremated with their remains thrown into the sea. Now they are buried and cemeteries are abandoned (Küchler 1999, 58; 2002, 20, 82-3; Powdermaker 1931, 28). Finally, a wooden effigy is carved that is believed to contain the soul of the dead. This is ritually killed, fragmented and destroyed, with the remains left to rot in the forest or sold to Western collectors, having no further meaning (Küchler 2002, 103-8, 119). Houses are built specifically for this ceremony, which are then destroyed or left to rot (Küchler 2002, 104). These processes take place in order to forget the dead: they are never to be mentioned or referred to again (Küchler 2002, 100). Consequently, there is no concept of genealogy, no belief in life after death, and named ancestors are of little importance: instead the dead join an undifferentiated ancestral whole (Küchler 2002, 4, 17, 59, 81; Jackson 1996; Powermaker 1931). Objects do not act as mnemonics; their importance lies in destroying relationships (Küchler 2002, 190).

Tukano

Similar features and processes occur among the Tukano of north-west Amazonia. Here the dead are buried within the longhouse; if it is the headman who has died, the large house is abandoned. As settlements are comprised of single longhouses, this also constitutes the abandonment of the settlement (Hugh-Jones 1995; Jackson 1983, 37, 200; see 2.3.3). The dead are not important in the cosmology: ideally their spirits should leave as quickly as possible and be kept separate from the world of the living (Hugh-Jones 1995, 238; Jackson 1983, 200, 208). Spirits of the dead become removed from the affairs of the living, lose human characteristics and are forgotten. There is a taboo on mentioning the dead, and thinking too much about them is believed to bring on illness (Jackson 1983, 105, 198, 210). The belongings of the deceased are also quickly broken and burnt (Jackson 1983, 200). Again we see correlations between the significance of the dead and the treatment of the material culture associated with them after death.

Jivero

Further to the west on the border of Ecuador and Peru, the Jivaro place a similar emphasis on forgetting the dead (Taylor 1993; 2007). Individuals are buried or exposed on a platform in the house with their ornaments, tools and other valued possessions. Exposure hastens their physical decomposition, metaphorically related to the quick destruction of their social being. The house is abandoned when the headman dies, and the surviving members of the household disperse (Harner 1971, 166-8; Taylor 1993, 662, 665).

Soon after death, songs are chanted about the deceased, repeating that they are no longer alive or related to the living, and wishing the dead to leave. Eventually the dead are not referred by name or kin relation in these chants, only by pronoun. The chants also contain repeated and graphic descriptions describing the rotting of flesh, especially the face. This deliberately and forcefully severs kin bonds between the deceased and the living, and destroys the identity of the dead (Taylor 1993, 663-5). Personal names of the recently deceased are quickly reused, but not to evoke a connection with the dead. Instead, the reappropriation of that name with another disassociates it with the deceased and hastens forgetting (Taylor 1993, 667).

Stories are only told in autobiographic form, and this is the only way the past is given narrative shape. Narrative outside of the first person is unthinkable (Taylor 1993, 667; 2007, 148). As such, details of events and the exploits of past individuals are quickly forgotten, and not integrated into the collective consciousness of the next generation. The dead are only ever mentioned if appearing in an autobiographical story, and then only their physical acts recounted, never describing or imputing thoughts on them (Taylor 1993, 667). This substantially differs to Zafimaniry and Kodi ways of thinking and talking about the past.

Individuals are seen as unique by the Jivaro, rather than being subsumed by more important, overarching group or lineage identities (Taylor 2007, 153). For example, if siblings look too alike, their faces are tattooed to make each more unique. Twins are repugnant, and only one is usually allowed to survive (Taylor 1993, 659). This can be seen in direct contrast to the unilineal decent societies described by Fortes (1953). These place great emphasis on lineage, and individuals are thought of as direct replacements of their forebears; a single spirit moving through different bodies (also Bloch 1998, Chap. 5).

Alongside forgetting ancestors, the Jivaro also very selectively organise memory relating to cultural identity. The long history of interaction with non-Jivaroans is ignored in their cultural histories. Narratives instead are introverted and self-contained; material culture and other evidence of non-Jivaroan exchange do not feature in mythologies and discourses relating to the past (Taylor 2007). The archaeological remains that can be found in abundance are not at all identified with, but thought of as belonging to hostile alien spirits (Taylor 2007, 149).

Overall, the Jivaro do not associate with the past: 'ties with past states of the Jivaroan collectively are rarely objectified or recognised… Collective history is a foreign country' (Taylor 2007, 149). There is little desire to explicitly pass on facets of wider cultural identity as there is no formal instruction in tradition, and myths are not seen as culturally important (Taylor 1993, 658). The perceived cultural orientation of the Jivaro is therefore highly individualised and temporally restricted. These features are present in a variety of other Amazonian societies (Clastres 1968; Cunha 1977; 1978; Fausto and Heckenberger 2007, 23-4; Taylor 1993, 653; see Chaumeil 2007, 243-9 for a review): 'Witness the widely reported desire of these people to forget or efface all material traces of the dead, to avoid all direct contact with corpses…since they theoretically occupy the position taken by enemies' (Chaumeil 2007, 246-7); '[in Amazonia] there exists no place for the ancestors in the society of the living' (Cunha 1977, 292, quoted in Chaumeil 2007, 246).

However, such forgetting is not simply a one-dimensional process. For the Jivaro, disassociation with the dead is a means of reflexively structuring identity boundaries of the living as the two are thought of in alterity (Taylor 1993, 654). Forgetting the dead is also thought of as necessary for successful procreation, and encounters with formless spirits metamorphosed from the dead are important ritualised events (Taylor 1993, 659-61, 666-7). The forgetting during the Malanggan ceremonies of New Ireland is also in some respects creative. The ceremony itself is remembered and the absent image of the effigy as the clan is recalled and used to think about current society (Küchler 2002, 106, 108, 187). However, in this context the significance of these examples is that the individual dead are not incorporated into any kind of identity or community of the living, and this is represented in the treatment of the material culture associated with them.

2.4.3 Objects and the Role of Ancestors - Conclusion

It is precisely because all the societies discussed above regard personhood as extending into the material world that objects and ancestors are treated in these internally comparable ways. The role of the dead and the importance of the memory of named ancestors influence the way that objects are treated as these objects are thought to contain a part of these people: this in turn feeds back to perpetuate these beliefs. If ancestors are important, their objects are kept. If they are not, objects and houses are destroyed. If personhood does not extend into objects, the treatment of material culture would not correlate with the ways that the dead are thought about. These features are intrinsically linked due to the blurring of person/object boundary.

In New Ireland and among the Tukano and Jivero, it is deemed necessary to destroy the material representation of individuals – their possessions and houses – because the social logic does not allow for the deceased to be incorporated into living social groups. It is because these objects are inalienable with the individual that they must be destroyed, paralleling the social person and body. The social logic within the Zafimaniry, Kodi and LoDagaa encourages certain dead to be part of living groups; consequently objects associated with them are kept and used to define these polities.

Here we see a difference in the mechanisms of social organisation and the creation of identity. On the one hand, the societies that forget do not construct immediate identities by virtue of birth and biological kinship: instead this is formed though deeds in their life and relationships created, for example, by exchange. Among the Tukano, group affiliation is primarily defined by co-residence in a longhouse. Although most within these are biologically related, more importance is placed on co-residence after marrying out, and specific relations within the longhouse are deemphasised in favour of the larger affinity (Hugh-Jones 1995; Jackson 1983). The Jivaro think of themselves as unique individuals, with their identity stemming from their idiosyncratic facial features, and not part of wider and more important group affiliations (familial similarities in facial features are ignored) (Taylor 1993; 2007). With the Tukano and Jivaro, objects and houses associated with the dead are destroyed or the relationship otherwise subverted. This is the opposite of societies where importance is placed on remembering, and lineage is of prime significance. The Kodi and LoDagaa place much emphasis on biological kinship. They are both patrilocal and patrilineal, with more importance placed on agnatic than affinal ties. The Kodi see biological relationship as 'frozen but enduring', whereas those created during life are 'vital but perishable' (Hoskins 1993, 244). Objects are kept and transcend individual personhood, and knit themselves into the fabric of the group.

2.4.4 Inalienable Objects

These are examples of inalienable objects; things that become indelibly part of a social unit. These can exist in relation to both individuals and groups. The destruction we see in New Ireland and among the Tukano and Jivero are examples of inalienable objects that relate to individuals: these are so much part of an individual that, as the person is not allowed to have a continuing presence in society, the object(s) has to be destroyed. Some objects become more than a part of an individual's essence, instead attached to and defining groups. The following discussion will focus of these examples. They are the focus of Weiner (1992) and Godelier's (1999) discussion on inalienable objects.

Inalienable objects become the 'hub around which social identities are displayed, fabricated, exaggerated, modified or diminished'; 'the enchantment of a person's or a group's social identity is dependent on strategies of conserving such possessions…that distinguish the difference between one person or group and another' (Weiner 1992, 100, 47). Examples include items previously belonging to known important individuals among the Kodi, Zafimaniry and LoDagaa. If these objects are regarded as being a focus for sustaining the identity of a social group, after an appropriate period of time the association of the object can transcend the deceased individual and attach itself onto the larger group. These include houses among the Kodi and Zafimaniry, and house timbers with the LoDagaa. Specific possessions for the Zafimaniry include pots, spoons and dishes; and for the LoDagaa, quivers, bows and shrines. Another example of inalienable objects are the crowns of kings and queens: these will still be associated with a particular lineage and

social position even if in the possession of somebody else. Here we see 'grouphood' extending into objects. A social group is defined, legitimised and reproduced through the interaction, association and consubstantiation with these objects. They set each group as unique, each with a different set of objects.

Alongside a belief in personhood and grouphood extending into these objects, a key feature of these types of inalienable objects is age. These need to have been within the group for a certain period of time to become fully associated with a group and to gain importance. As these can be everyday objects, they do not otherwise need to be obvious superficially, or indeed archaeologically (e.g. Godelier 1999, 125-7). Age also has the effect of the object transcending the humanity of the extant individuals and context, attaching the object and group to ancestral or supernatural powers.

2.4.5 Exotica, Art and High Craftsmanship

Other types of objects that become part of social groups and are thought to be imbued with special power are those that are ancient or have a faraway origin. Both provide a distant provenance, meaning the objects can transcend the current society, making them unique and irreplaceable. Both these factors are commonly linked to supernatural powers (Helms 1988; 1993). Exotic origins also ensure the objects are not producible within the communities' available material and/or technological repertoires, adding to the belief in supernatural origins. Examples include the ancient Chinese Ming urns in Kodi mentioned above; another are a type of copper 'shield' owned by higher-ranking lineages of former American Northwest Coast societies, including the Tlingit and Kwakiutl (Fig. 2.2). These were kept within families, believed to be gifts from gods or spirits handed to the clans' founding heroes. These supernatural beings were thought to still reside within them and provide the family with power through their association with the divine (Godelier 1999, 59-68; Mauss 2002, 55-9, 162-7). Neither of these could have been produced in the localities where they were inalienable, adding to a belief in their supernatural origin.

Many of these objects are regarded as sacred, given to ancestors at the founding of a group identity by supernatural beings in a mythical time (Godelier 1999, Chaps. 2 and 3). Others are more recently acquired by interaction with the supernatural (Helms 1993). In this way they are not only inalienable from the larger group, but also from the god or spirit who gave them. The personhood of divine beings extends into these objects; this power is passed onto the group through consubstantiation with the object. A further common feature is uniqueness in form, at least locally and conceptually. This distinguishes between the objects and demonstrates the distinctiveness of each faction, each with a particular mythological history attached to culturally imperative beings and moments.

Figure 2.2. High-ranking Nakoaktok (Kwakiutl) man with copper 'shield' (Curtis 1907-30, vol. 10, 146)

Uniqueness and the property of not being able to be created by the current society can be achieved not only by a distant provenance in time or space, but also through specialised high craftsmanship. This also charges objects with supernatural connections by making the human creation of them unimaginable for the majority of who do not have the necessary skills (Helms 1993, 11-88). With ancient or foreign exotica, and objects of skilled craftsmanship, manufacturing mechanisms are not conceivable in current contexts. Objects displaying technically proficient artwork are also often regarded as being created by magical process with assistance from the spiritual or divine (Gell 1992b; 1998, 68-71). Gell regards these objects of art and high craftsmanship as having agency and affecting the social world through enchanting the viewer: 'Art objects are produced in order to be displayed on those occasions when political power is being legitimized by association with various supernatural forces' (Gell 1992b, 54). They are 'propaganda' (Gell 1992b, 43), having the specific social function of gaining power over the recipient through the association with the godly authorities. The same processes occur with exotica.

Societies that place importance on the collection of exotica or the production of objects requiring highly skilled craftsmen with complex artwork commonly use these objects to help legitimise positions of hierarchy and power by attaching individuals and social groups to ancestral, if not supernatural, authority (Godelier 1999, Chap. 2; Gell 1992b, 54; Helms 1993; Weiner 1992, 6, 9, 118-30). The existence of such objects within a society creates an inequality due to the presence of a tangible representation of higher power: those who can become associated with this profit. The hierarchies that are formed through the manipulation these objects are accepted because it is believed that the association with even higher supernatural powers is ultimately beneficial to everyone, but only accessible through chosen individuals in the custodianship of certain objects (Helms 1993). These can become institutionalised as it is difficult for other lineages to compete given the necessary age, origins and/or beliefs attached to the objects. For example, Weiner

argues that such objects helped to perpetuate institutionalised rank among the Maori, whereas the lack of old, inalienable objects in some parts of Highland New Guinea prevents this social form from developing (Weiner 1992, Chaps. 2 and 4).

The presence of old objects that were previously the possessions of known individuals but become inalienable with groups is evidence that the dead and lineage are important in structuring identities and a sense of community in living society. The presence of objects with exotic ancient or distant provenances, or those of high craftsmanship and complex artistry, suggests a society where the manipulation of material forms is used to create inequality. Both can be explained by the belief that a degree of personhood, or essence, of the deceased individual or supernatural being resides in these objects, giving them otherworldly power. This power is shared by the wider social unit also associated with the objects. Objects with these characteristics can be recognisable archaeologically, and if sensitively approached can be used in social analysis.

2.4.6 Ancestors and Hierarchy

The examples given above regarding the Kodi, Zafimaniry and LoDagaa demonstrate that ancestors can be regarded as important and part of living communities, but social organisation can still lack formalised institutional hierarchy. However, in their extensive ethnographic and archaeological surveys, both Flannery and Marcus (2012) and Mary Helms (1998) conclude that increased identification with ancestors is an important way in which institutionalised hierarchy is established.

Such close identification with the dead, including them in the social groups of the living, can allow for the achievements and prestige of an individual to be passed to their descendants. The permission of status to be inherited has been recognised as fundamental in the shift from a mode of social organisation where power and leadership is based on achievement, to one where this is hereditary (Flannery and Marcus 2012). The ability to pass on privileges, titles and renown to children creates hereditary inequality; this is only possible if identity and community orientate around lineage. Examples of this occurring include the nineteenth century Nootka and Tlingit foragers of the American Northwest Coast, where titles and offices were handed down at feasts sponsored by the chief. These feasts simultaneously placed the witnesses in an inferior relationship due to the debt generated through attendance. Bemba chiefs of Zambia in the early twentieth century assumed the names and histories of their predecessors, and became so associated with them that ‘it became difficult to tell whether he was referring to events in his own life or the lives of his predecessors’ (Flannery and Marcus 2012, 225-6). Conversely, those societies where achievement in life provided influence and power that could not be passed on to offspring remained more egalitarian. Examples include the Angami Naga of Assam, the Mt. Hagen region of New Guinea and the Siuai of the Solomon Islands (Flannery and Marcus 2012, Chaps. 6 and 7).

With the closer association of living individuals and groups to lineage, there is also the opportunity for closer association to real or mythical cosmologically important forbears (Flannery and Marcus 2012, 74-6, 189, 198-9; Helms 1998). This further provides a means with which to separate lineages in a fashion that is difficult to subvert: if great emphasis is placed on lineage and ancestors in the definition of social groups, one is born into a particular group that either has cosmologically powerful forbears or not, and cannot leave it. As discussed above, association with the supernatural creates positions of privilege and power (Helms 1988; 1993; 1998; Flannery and Marcus 2012; Gell 1992b). Closer identification with cosmologically important forebears was the defining feature of the Kachin of Burma (Myanmar) when they were in rank 'mode'. This society cycled between rank and more egalitarian politics (Flannery and Marcus 2012, 191-9; Leach 1954, 124-5, 175-7, 207). Among others, this also justified the inherited ranking present on Tikopia, Polynesia; Tonga; the Bemba of Zambia; and the communities of the South Andes during sixteenth and seventeenth AD (Flannery and Marcus 2012, 210-5, 225-8, 331, 319-23; Nielsen 2008).

These observations can be used to assist archaeological social interpretation if markers of increased affiliation to ancestors and linage can be found. However, the relationship between this and hierarchy is not straightforward as there are ethnographic examples of societies where power is based on non-inherited achievement but ancestors are still closely associated with. Analysis therefore needs to be contextual and holistic.

2.5 The Past in the Past: recent archaeological perspectives

It is within this highly dynamic framework of community construction with varying emphases on ancestors and the past that we can contextualise current discussions in archaeology about social memory and the 'past in the past'. This has been a recently popular and fruitful topic, and needs reviewing as arguments proposed here consider similar themes. As space restrictions preclude a more detailed analysis of the literature, general trends will be outlined, followed by a discussion of some papers that do not follow these patterns. The principle edited volumes referred to are those by Chadwick and Gibson (2013); van Dyke and Alcock (2003); Mills and Walker (2008); Williams (2003); and Borić (2010). Other key texts include a special edition of World Archaeology (1998, 30:1); Bradley (2002); and thoughts directly related to the study area by Gosden and Lock (1998; 2007; 2013, 204-17).

Theoretical discussions prefacing analyses of archaeological examples tend to state that perceptions of the past are malleable and dependent on present contexts. However, this recognised importance on processes of forgetting are often not followed through. Analyses instead tend to place much more emphasis on how societies remember or connect with the past rather than disconnect with it. A common approach is to identify when the past has been manipulated

- parts forgotten and others made up or unduly appropriated - to legitimise power relations, almost as though historical 'reality' was known by these Machiavellian actors and purposefully subverted for their own ends. Even here the importance is still placed on remembering and connection, even if this involves selective forgetting and fabrication.

This may be projecting a Western view on the importance of the past onto other societies. In the West, forgetting, disconnecting or remembering the past differently to how it occurred is seen in negative terms; a losing struggle against the imperative process of accurate recall (Connerton 2008, 59). For example, in a popular psychology book Schacter (2001) describes memory recall that diverges from true events as 'sins', but demonstrates how ubiquitous this is (also Bridge and Voss 2014; Connerton 2008; Schacter *et al.* 2003; Wade *et al.* 2002; and many others). Archaeologists in particular spend their professional lives trying to connect with the past, but this desire to connect is not universal, as the above ethnographic examples demonstrate.

There are instances where archaeological interpretation does discuss disconnection with the past. These include Semple's (1998; 2013) analysis of the place of pre-Saxon archaeological remains in Anglo-Saxon society and ideology. It is particularly powerful as it considers how this changed over time. It is argued that in the early period these were a focus for pagan spiritual activity, regarded as the home of spirits, ancestors or gods and a focus for burial, often of important people (Semple 1998, 117-20; 2013, Chaps. 3 and 4). In the later Christian period, however, there was a deep fear of barrows. These were haunted by dragons, goblins and elves, and became the burial grounds for socially marginal individuals (Semple 1998; 2013, Chaps. 5 and 6).[2] Whitley (2002) provides examples of social ideologies that focus on forgetting and distancing from the past, emphasising discontinuity and 'otherness'. Whittle (2003, 112-4) considers forms of forgetting in his nuanced interpretation of how social memory may have worked in the Neolithic Körös culture of the Hungarian Plain. Fowler (2003, 58-9) discusses processes of forgetting at early Neolithic monuments in southern Britain, and Manning (1998) argues that widespread forgetting of past people and practices was encouraged in Late Bronze Age Cyprus as a new form of centralised power structure came to dominance. Sharples (2010, 23-36) suggests that some earlier monuments were not important to the later prehistoric inhabitants of Wessex: Stonehenge and Avebury seem to have been purposefully avoided, but barrows are frequently respected and referenced in the creation of landscape features. Blake's (2003) interpretation of Byzantine reuse of Bronze and Iron Age rock-cut tombs in Sicily considers neither connection nor disconnection with the past was being symbolised: original uses were of no importance. Instead, connection with current pan-Mediterranean troglodyte fashions was the desired association. This perspective is important as it demonstrates that we should not necessarily assume that in referencing or using old places, objects or symbols, the past is being associated with *at all*.

[2] Semple's earlier (1998) analysis draws a stricter divide between earlier and later Anglo-Saxon perceptions of prehistoric monuments. The later account differs as it argues that in the late Anglo-Saxon period the power residing in ancient monuments was occasionally manipulated and associated with (Semple 2013, Chaps. 4 and 6).

Indeed, we should not assume that these ancient things were regarded as being made by humans or beings of comparable constitution. In both these cases we may again be projecting our own values: firstly that the past should *in some way* be important or referenced; and secondly our archaeological preferences of landscape and object classification.[3]

This chapter demonstrates the varied ways in which people connect and disconnect with their cultural pasts, and to the extent this is included in their communities and cultural orientation. There is no generalised way to think about the past, and there is no shared importance on remembering. Disconnection with the past is instead often desired. Cultural narratives are formed through the tactical employment of specific readings of real or imagined events, while forgetting those that do not fit into the current and desired ideological trajectory. To understand how these processes worked in each society, a contextual approach is necessary to situate practices related to connection or disconnection with the past within a wider cultural framework.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has argued that personhood is commonly regarded to extend into objects and other aspects of the material world. This is demonstrated by the analogous ways in which the parts of the material world closely associated with individuals are treated after the death of that person, and how they are regarded by the community after death. It will be argued that the peculiar form and treatment of material culture, houses, settlements, monuments and landscape features in both the LBA and Iron Age demonstrate that this proposition is relevant to these periods.

It was also contended that kinship and community boundaries, as well as how the past is thought about, is contextually and culturally specific. Social groups do not manifest themselves by predetermined, ahistorical means. These are constructed through selective actor-based interaction with the world, and can include non-humans and those separated by time and space. There is no universal importance on remembering past ancestors. It will be argued that communities in the LBA did not consist of ancestors and those recently deceased. These were forgotten. Instead, communities consisted of those drawn from wider spatial frames. This transformed over c.150 years in the Transition to the situation in the EIA, where ancestors were important in the living community.

Ethnographic case studies and theoretical developments highlight wider correlations between personhood, the treatment of objects and houses, the role of ancestors, the construction of social groups, and the possibility of hierarchy. Fig. 2.1 and Table 2.1 provide an idealised summary of these correlations, dividing ethnographic examples into two broad groups. This is oversimplified

[3] Bradley (2002, 7) makes a direct analogy between how modern archaeologists see the past and its material remains with how these were regarded in prehistory: '[ancient peoples] most certainly seem to have been aware of their own pasts. That is because its traces were ineradicable. Just as modern archaeologists are challenged by the survival of so many artefacts and monuments, people in antiquity could hardly have been unaware that they were living among the material remains of past generations'. Jivaro perceptions of archaeological remains (Taylor 2007, 149; see 2.4.2) as well as Whitley's (2002, 123-4) analysis demonstrates this is not necessarily the case.

and suggests a binary relationship between these two groups. The reality is more complex; these should be regarded as the extremes of a spectrum. Furthermore, the groupings should be used as an analytical tool rather than a rigid typology. We should expect some mixing between the groups, and the co-existence of more than one type of social group. We should also allow for many contexts where objects do not become inalienable with a person, and for processes to destroy past associations.

2.7 Theoretical Framework and the Later Prehistory of the Thames Valley

It will be argued through various lines that LBA social organisation leaned more towards Group 1. In the LBA, the destruction, deposition and abandonment of houses, settlements and possessions were common. Monuments and human remains are very rare, also suggesting little desire to incorporate ancestors into the communities of the living. Despite indirect evidence for the acquisition of foreign metalwork, such exotica does not appear to have been used in the manipulation of social relationships. Although it is possible to point to a few examples of such objects, for interpretation to have meaning beyond a small frame, analysis needs to go beyond anecdotal evidence. This is particularly shown through comparison with the Iron Age. Instead, exotic metalwork was recast into homogeneous local types in the LBA. Indeed, this characterises much of the metalwork, pottery and other types of visible material culture: masses of homogeneous material, unelaborated from their relatively strict typological criteria. There is virtually no attempt at artistic embellishment or ornamentation. There is also no secure evidence that objects were kept for long periods of time, or that ancient discovered objects were regarded as important. The above discussions are relevant in interpreting these patterns. It is suggested that ancestors played a smaller role in living communities: these communities were shallowly defined but included members from a relatively wide geographical breadth. It is argued that this transformed in the LBA/EIA Transition, to a situation towards Group 2 in the Iron Age.

When we compare to the Iron Age, these features of the LBA archaeological record become clear. Despite both periods being subject to much of the same environmental pressures and subsequent taphonomic processes, and the daily routines of the individuals being broadly similar in many aspects, very different patterns emerge in the Iron Age. Settlements last for long periods of time, monuments are built and revisited over centuries, and human remains appear to have circulated amongst the living. Objects appear to have been passed down and reused rather than destroyed and deposited, and ancient and foreign exotica was collected and exchanged. Iron Age metalwork is very different to Bronze Age metalwork: material in the later period is much more heterogeneous both in terms of form and ornamentation, and this has affected the way in which the material is categorised. Many aspects of the LBA/EIA Transition sit between these two more extreme positions apparent in the late LBA and the EIA. It is interpreted that in the Iron Age biological descent was of increasing importance in constructing identity and social relationship, and ancestors were regarded as an important part of the community. The

boundaries of community appear to have had retracted spatially. This move from a wider spatial frame to wider temporal frame does not have to be regarded as a hugely significant structural shift: Helms (1993) argues that in many non-industrial societies the value in spatial and temporal distance is seen in equal symbolic and cosmological terms. The shift may therefore be one of emphasis and not structure. We see even more importance on the immediate family and smaller living social groups in the MIA with the elaboration of house and household, and construction of small enclosures. These lineal groups competed to the situation apparent in the LIA where institutionalised hierarchy finally becomes established utilising this kinship structure.

The significant differences we see in the archaeological records of these periods need to be explained with reference to the social logic underlying practices surrounding the creation, use and deposition of material culture. Functional explanations such as dismissing the absence of some objects as due solely to the degradation of the archaeological record, or settlement shifting due to overworked soils, do not allow for these differences to occur in the extremes that they do given the chronological contiguity and colocation of the societies under study. In traditional terms, the functionally simple shift from one metal to another also cannot explain these differences alone. The quantity and uniformity of material in the LBA cannot be dismissed as the 'normal' or largely acultural relationship between a society engaging with the material world and taphonomic circumstances; nor can the opposed characteristics of material remaining from the EIA be seen in similar terms. This comparison alone is evidence that objects are more than just material things, but deeply embedded into social and conceptual systems, and used to reflexively define people and social groups.

Although it is argued that these general ways of relating and creating communities became dominant in these two periods, in reality we should expect diversity and a past populated by knowledgeable actors. Individuals within these contexts would no doubt have deviated from these idealised positions, each placing importance in their own slightly different places. Despite this, a general pattern and theme emerges, especially when the archaeology from the LBA and EIA is directly compared.

Chapter 3: Late Bronze Age

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will draw together different aspects of the archaeological record to provide a holistic interpretation of social organisation in the Late Bronze Age (LBA) of the Upper and Middle Thames Valley. Although this chapter will focus on the period c.1050-800 cal BC, changes can be charted throughout the LBA as it is often possible to split the evidence into earlier (c.1150-1050 cal BC), middle (c.1050-900 cal BC) and later LBA (c.900-800 cal BC).

The two primary broad themes that are discussed are the relationships between material culture, personhood and society; and ways in which community groups at various scales are formed and identity is constructed, particularly the ambiguous role of ancestors and lineage, as well as through practice and daily interaction. These follow the more theoretical and anthropological discussions in the previous chapter, using these ideas with specific archaeological datasets. The chapter also discusses some problems and biases with parts of the archaeological record, principally our metalwork corpus.

One of the key methodological approaches used in this chapter, as with the bulk of the thesis, is the comparison between the LBA and sub-periods within the Iron Age of the study area. This is done through both quantitative and qualitative methods, statistically comparing trends in the data alongside using specific examples that can be understood at a more human level. One of the advantages of this diachronic comparative method is that it teases out peculiarities in the archaeological record that are the result of specific cultural choices, which can sometimes be mistaken for 'natural' or 'functional' features. Examples include the short-lived nature of LBA settlements, the dearth of various types of EIA material culture, the homogenous character of LBA metalwork types, or substantial gullies around MIA houses. By demonstrating that these do not occur in spatially and temporally contiguous cultures that lived broadly in the same environmental contexts with the same taphonomic process and sharing much in terms of daily routine, it is shown that these need to instead be explained by social factors. A further methodological approach assesses different types of evidence to try to understand the underlying patterns that structure both contemporary practices and the formation of the archaeological record. These two approaches also cross traditional boundaries in prehistoric research, hopefully uncovering previously unrecognised patterns. The chapter will also define and discuss some of the more specific analytical devices that are referred to throughout the thesis. These include the definition of special deposits, and categories of settlement longevity.

Interpretation in this chapter moves away from the traditional, object centred approaches that argue a significant hierarchy existed in the form of elites/chiefs/big-men, hereditary, achieved, or based around other social groupings, principally the warrior. These models tend to favour metalwork as the basis for interpretation, with theoretical perspectives based on power being

achieved through the control of exchange networks where prestige goods such as weapons and gold ornaments were used to symbolise and create status (e.g. Bradley 1980; 2007, 206-24; Burgess 1980, 164-80; Coombs 1975, 70-7; Earle 2002; Ellison 1980, 137; Eogan 1994; Gillman 1981; Harding 2000, Chap. 12; Hodges 1957, 55-6; Kristiansen 1998; Kristiansen and Larsson 2005; Rowlands 1980; Yates 2007). A difficulty with these approaches is that they continue an interpretative trajectory that was established in an era before settlements were regularly excavated or attributed to the LBA in Britain. A large number of these sites are now known, and need to be integrated into social interpretation at its initial stages.

A number of other approaches have recently developed that consider theoretical perspectives that more explicitly interrogate the creation of the archaeological record and the relationship between material culture and society. Joanna Brück (1997; 1999a, 328-335; 1999b; 2000; 2001a; 2001b; 2001c; 2004; 2006a; 2006b; Brück and Fontijn 2013; also Wickstead 2008) leads the deconstruction of previous models by arguing that the rationality inherent in correlating particular objects or things with status and power, for example, or seeing bronze as a form of capital that can be converted for personal gain are the result of modern, Western frameworks that are not appropriate to prehistory. It is argued that this dominant discourse does not allow for the active role that agents play in constructing meaning in the material world. Individuals are inherently part of the production and reproduction of symbols, not passive 'subjects' in a world of 'objects'. This questions the role of metalwork in the Bronze Age: to understand its social meaning we need a contextual perspective. Stuart Needham (1988; 1993; 1998; 2001; 2007a; 2007b; 2008; also Bradley 1990; Fontijn 2002) in particular has demonstrated the importance of recognising the structured and incomplete nature of the metalwork dataset. These perspectives turn analysis around by taking the specific contexts of the creation, exchange, fragmentation and deposition of objects as a starting point.

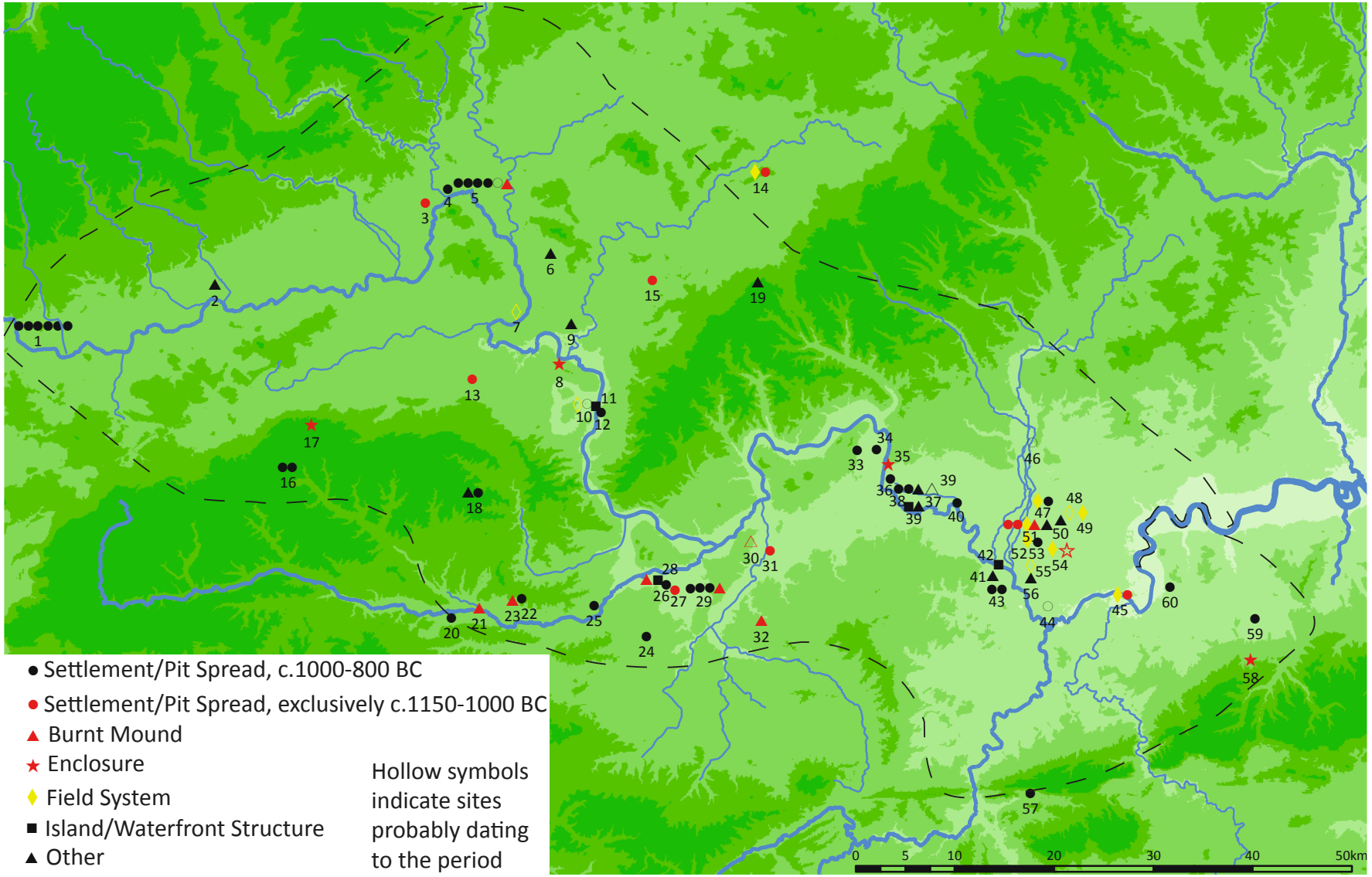
The following chapter will take inspiration from these perspectives, whilst not following them wholesale. It will begin with an assessment of the now extensive settlement record, arguing that there was little in the day-to-day routines of households that would have supported, allowed for or reinforced any major localised social differentiation. The nature of special deposits on settlements will be reviewed. The model advocated by David Yates (1999; 2001; 2007) will be assessed, demonstrating that enclosures, field systems and Ewart Park metalwork deposition cannot be used together in models of social organisation for the majority of the region as these three features were not contemporary. Specifics of the manufacture, deposition, distribution and form of Ewart Park metalwork will be assessed, arguing that we should expect some quite different patterns if status negotiation was a primary function of the material. Underlying patterns structuring the nature of the settlement record will be related to metalwork deposition and other material culture, arguing that the same sociological processes can tie together and explain these otherwise disparate activities. The periodic destruction and abandonment of the material world is found across a variety of types of evidence. It will be argued that this occurred

following death. This evidence will form a holistic interpretation of how LBA identity and communities were structured, suggesting relatively fluid social groups that were not situated around ancestors or kin.

I will then compare aspects of the metalwork and pottery evidence to argue that three distinct cultural regions existed within the study area. These groups differed in some aspects of metalwork type and treatment, ritual practices, ways of storing or consuming food, and emphases in social organisation. Island sites, later with characteristic midden deposits, occur at the boundaries between these areas, and it is likely these were meeting places for these ostensibly different groups.

1. Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry (Brossler *et al.* 2002; Hearne and Adams 1999; Hearne and Heaton 1994; Powell *et al.* 2010)
2. Roughground Farm – Burial (Allen *et al.* 1993)
3. Eynsham Abbey (Barcley *et al.* 2001)
4. Cassington West (Oxford Archaeology 2006)
5. Yarnton (Hey *et al. forthcoming*)
6. Rover Plant – Ditch (Keevil and Durden 1997)
7. Eight Acre Field (Mudd 1995)
8. Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps (Allen *et al.* 2010; Hingley 1980; Rhodes 1948)
9. Mount Farm – Waterhole (Lambrick 2010; Myres 1937)
10. Bradford's Brook (Boyle and Cromarty 2006)
11. Whitecross Farm/Wallingford (Cromarty *et al.* 2006; Thomas *et al.* 1986)
12. Settlement under Grims Ditch (Cromarty 2006)
13. Milton Hill North (Hart *et al.* 2012)
14. Former Nurses Home, Stone (Gibson 2001)
15. Latchford (Site 35) (Taylor and Ford 2004a)
16. Weathercock Hill (Bowden *et al.* 1991-3)
17. Rams Hill (Bradley and Ellison 1975; Needham and Ambers 1994; Piggott and Piggott 1940)
18. Beedon Manor Farm (Richards 1984)
19. Cop Round Barrow - Spread of Finds (Farley 1992; Head 1938)
20. Site of First Battle of Newbury (Gajos *et al.* 2011)
21. Turnpike School (Pine 2010)
22. Hartshill Copse (Collard *et al.* 2006)
23. Dunston Park (Fitzpatrick 2011)
24. Mortimer Hill Farm (Taylor 2011)
25. Aldermaston Wharf (Bradley *et al.* 1980)
26. Knights Farm (Bradley *et al.* 1980)
27. Pingewood (Johnson 1983-5)
28. Anslow's Cottages (Butterworth and Lobb 1992)
29. Reading Business Park/Green Park (Broosler *et al.* 2004; 2013; Moore and Jennings 1992)
30. Duffield House (Hardy 1999)
31. Lea Farm (Manning and Moore 2011)
32. Barkham Square (Torrance and Ford 2003)
33. Furze Platt (Lobb 1980)
34. Widbrook Common (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
35. Taplow (Allen *et al.* 2009)
36. Amerden Lane East (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
37. Marsh Lane East - Groups of Burials (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
38. Lot's Hole (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
39. Eton Rowing Course – Spread of Finds and Island (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
40. Agars Plough (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
41. Runnymede (Longley 1980; Needham 1991; 2000; Needham and Spence 1996; Waddington 2009, Chap. 5)
42. Petters Sports Field – Ditch (O'Connell 1986)
43. Thorpe Lea Nurseries (Hayman and Poulton 2012)
44. Shepperton Green (Canham 1979)
45. Hurst Park (Andrew and Crockett 1996)
46. Jewsons Yard (Barclay *et al.* 1995)
47. Prospect Park (Andrew and Crockett 1996)
48. Nobel Drive (Elsden 1997)
49. Cranford Lane (Elsden 1996)
50. Caesar's Camp, Heathrow - Spread of finds (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993)
51. Heathrow Terminal 5 - Spreads of finds, Field Systems and Early Settlements (Framework Archaeology 2010)
52. Stanwell (O'Connell 1990)
53. 15 High Street, Stanwell (Leary 2004)
54. Mayfield Farm (Jefferson 2003)
55. Hengrove Farm (Hayman 2005)
56. Matthew Arnold School – Ditch (Hayman and Jones 2008)
57. Weston Wood (Harding 1964; Russell 1989)
58. Carshalton/Queen Mary Hospital (Adkins and Needham 1985; Groves and Lovell 2002)
59. London Road (Bagwell *et al.* 2001)
60. Coombe Warren (Field and Needham 1986)

see overleaf for map



Map 3.1. Late Bronze Age sites

3.2 Houses and Settlements

A common recurring type of LBA settlement can now be distinguished. These are unenclosed sites with one to three roundhouses, of which there are two broad types. A discussion of roundhouse reconstruction can be found in Appendix 2. Type 1 houses are defined by an inner post-ring, a pair of entrance posts (or 'porch') and occasional postholes following the circumferential line of the protruding entrance postholes. It is argued in Appendix 2 that the outer wall probably followed this line: these houses do not appear to have had a distinct porch. Type 2 houses are defined archaeologically only by a post-ring. Post-rings of Type 2 houses are smaller than those of Type 1. There are usually one or two of each type per settlement. Often a larger, Type 1 roundhouse is paired alongside a smaller Type 2 structure.

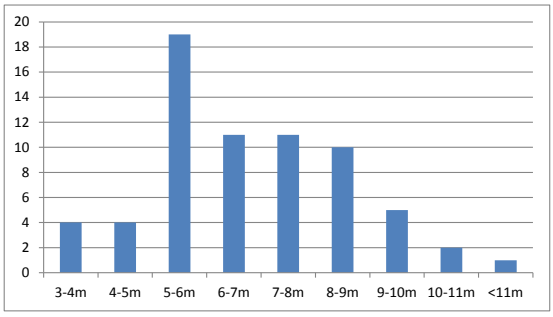
One or two four-post structures and short fence lines may also be present in the settlement; larger rectangular buildings are rarer, but occasionally occur. These features are accompanied by a light scatter of pits and unintelligible postholes (Figs. 3.2-16). The settlements are generally single phased and short-lived, with no overlapping features, and material culture and radiocarbon dates belonging to only one sub-phase. This will be demonstrated below. Aldermaston Wharf, Yarnton Sites 1 and 3, Furze Platt, Hartshill Copse, Weston Wood, the settlement below Grims Ditch, Prospect Park, Mortimer Hill Farm, Stone former Nurses Home, Reading Business Park Area 7000, Beedon Manor Farm, the pre-enclosure phase at Rams Hill, and five settlements at Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry all conform to this pattern; Former Jewsons Yard, Uxbridge, is another, but might date to the Transition or possibly MBA. Pingewood and another of the Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry sub-sites are similar, but appear multi-phased. Reading Business Park Area 5 is similar in each of its constituent phases.[1] The large areas stripped around the majority of these sites confirm their small size, with excavation often clearly extending beyond at least some of the edges of the settlement. Many other sites also appear to conform, but the archaeological evidence is too fragmentary to be certain.

There is a clear difference in the size of houses with entrance posts (Type 1) and those without (Type 2). Type 1 houses are generally larger. This is even the case if we do not assume that the wall followed the line of the protruding entrance posts and compare just the inner post-ring sizes. The size difference is clearer still when the wall line is followed from the outer entrance ('porch') postholes (Table 3.1; Graphs 3.1-3). This suggests a clear difference in these two types of houses, suggesting a different function. The interpretation of where the wall line falls is very significant in terms of floor space, given the exponential relationship between area and diameter. For example, although the difference between the post-ring diameter and the wall diameter on Type 1 houses is on average 3.2m, this accounts for a doubling of floor area. Outer walls may be archaeologically invisible on Type 2 houses as they probably did not follow the post-rings. Despite this problem, they were still smaller than those of Type 1. Comparing floor areas further shows the difference between Type 1 and Type 2 houses.

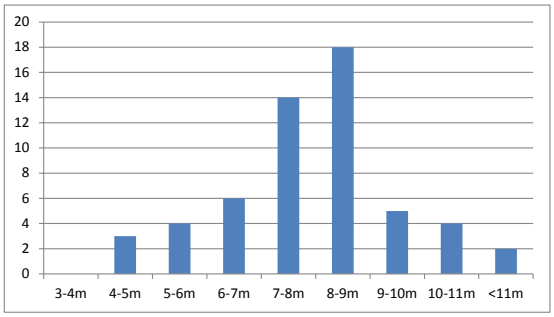
[1] Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry and Reading Business Park/Green Park have been reassessed in Appendix 3.

	Type 2 Post-ring, house w/o 'porch' (=67)	**Type 1** Post-ring, house w/ 'porch' (=55)	**Type 1** Wall following 'porch' (=55)	**Modern** 1 bed single story	**Modern** 3 bed two story
Mean Diameter	6.7m	7.8m	11m	=7.7m	=10.6m
Mode Diameter	5-6m	8-9m	11-12m	-	-
Mean Area	35m^2	47.7m^2	95m^2	46m^2	88m^2
Mode Area	c.19.6-28.2m^2	c.50.2-63.6m^2	c.95-113.1m^2	-	-

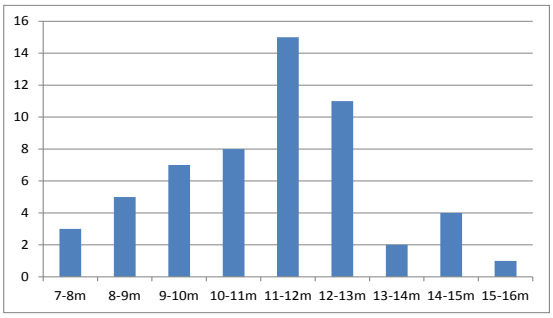
Table 3.1. Late Bronze Age house size averages



Graph 3.1. Post-ring diameter of LBA Type 2 and related houses



Graph 3.2. Post-ring diameter of LBA Type 1 and related houses



Graph 3.3. Outer wall diameter following 'porch' or outer post-ring of LBA houses

By means of further comparison, average sizes of modern new-build UK one-bed single story and three-bed two storied houses have been given (Roberts-Hughes 2011). Floor area has been converted to an equivalent size if the living space was a single storied circular structure, like a roundhouse. This shows that houses without entrance posts (Type 2) may have been generally smaller than modern one-bed houses (if the post-ring is taken as representing the outer wall), but those with entrance posts are larger than three-bed houses.[2] This measures only the ground floor area of a roundhouse: we should assume another partial floor existed in at least some houses, although this is usually impossible to prove. Despite such comparison being fraught with problems given the culturally specific uses of space and notions of privacy, this still provides a useful way of thinking about the data.

The layout of settlements argues against different types and sizes of houses representing any significant status divides. Many of the smaller houses are paired with larger examples, and this accounts for the largest size differences: smaller houses in general appear to be subsidiary

[2] Modern UK new-build houses are the smallest in Western Europe. The average floor area of a 'porched' LBA roundhouse is smaller than homes in the Netherlands or Denmark (Robert-Hughes 2011, 10).

structures to these larger, Type 1 examples. Although there appears to be significant differences in the sizes of houses within both types, the histograms mask a more realistic picture available through comparison of settlement plans (Figs. 3.2-16). Within each site, there are no significant differences between the sizes of houses within each of the two types. Instead, house sizes differ between settlements. However, this does not appear significant enough to attempt classification of different types of settlement or to suggest that settlements were ranked in any form of hierarchy based on house sizes. The differences between sites instead give the impression of individuals with very similar expectation of what a settlement should be like, but each responding to the specific dynamics and situation faced when building each site. For example, the settlement based around the relatively small house 5815 at Yarnton Site 3 does not appear to qualitatively different to the site around the much larger roundhouse at Mortimer Hill Farm (Hey *et al. forthcoming*; Taylor 2011; Figs. 3.2, 3.4). We might conclude that it was decided, for whatever reason, to incorporate the function of the subsidiary structure into the larger house at Mortimer Hill Farm. Perhaps a slightly larger family lived at Mortimer Hill Farm, or the builders of Yarnton Site 3 were less confident at erecting a large structure.

LBA settlements are small, comprising only a handful of houses. We are not seeing sites where a diversity of individuals considering themselves as belonging to substantially different social groups lived in the same place. Instead, smaller numbers of people shared the same space, often the same house. From a perspective that favours embodied practice as essential in creating and reproducing social relationships (Bourdieu 1977), this suggests that significant social differences were not enacted and reinforced in the settlement context, although smaller differences based around age, gender or other factors could still have existed.

These sites appear to consist of one or two households, presumably based around one or two extended families. There is not enough diversity in the settlement record for it to be likely that separate sites were split into groups based around gender, age or other social groupings. There are also few archaeologically visible ways in which space within a settlement was split to provide visual differentiation, or to structure movement based around social concerns: ditches are very rare and fence lines, although fairly common, are not positioned to segregate visible living areas. This is in contrast to divisions commonly seen in many MIA settlements (see 6.2). Modern notions of privacy also seem to be little considered. Postholes within houses are fairly common, but these rarely form any pattern that can be interpreted as divisions within the structures.[3] More ephemeral boundaries may have existed that did not penetrate the subsoil. Some segregation may have occurred in the use of the subsidiary Type 2 structures, for example, although these are clearly part of a larger single unit usually including a Type 1 house. Even on short-lived sites, not all structures need to have been in existence during the entire life of the settlement: some could have a function specific to one stage in the lifecycle of the social group.

[3] Possible fence lines are present in Roundhouse D, Hartshill Copse; and Roundhouse 2313, Settlement C, Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry (Figs. 3.3, 3.13).

There is little desire architecturally to distinguish between houses: 90% are represented by only a single post-ring, or post-ring and 'porch' (Tables 7.2-3; Graphs 7.2-3). The orientation of 65 houses can be distinguished: 45% of these face to the SE, and 83% face between E and S (Fig. 3.1; Table 7.4). When we compare architectural differences diachronically, we can see that the LBA and LBA/EIA Transition are particularly homogenous, with the MIA displaying the largest differences in construction technique in terms of the house itself and the area immediately in front of it. This again suggests that that there was little desire to distinguish between those living either within a single settlement, or between them.

The reviews of MBA and LBA settlements in southern Britain by Brück (1999b; 2007) stress the increase in finds, size and longevity in the latter period, as well as a diversification of settlement types. Although this may be broadly correct, Brück (2007) includes the period that is identified here as the Transition, and many of these changes are better dated to the Transition. Regional differences may also be masked. For example, in the current study area MBA settlements appear longer lived in the Middle Thames Valley compared to the Upper basin. LBA middens, ringworks and hillforts also have regional and chronological foci, which will be discussed below. Many of these appear to have had a communal function: the vast majority of people appear to be living in the common type of settlement outlined above.

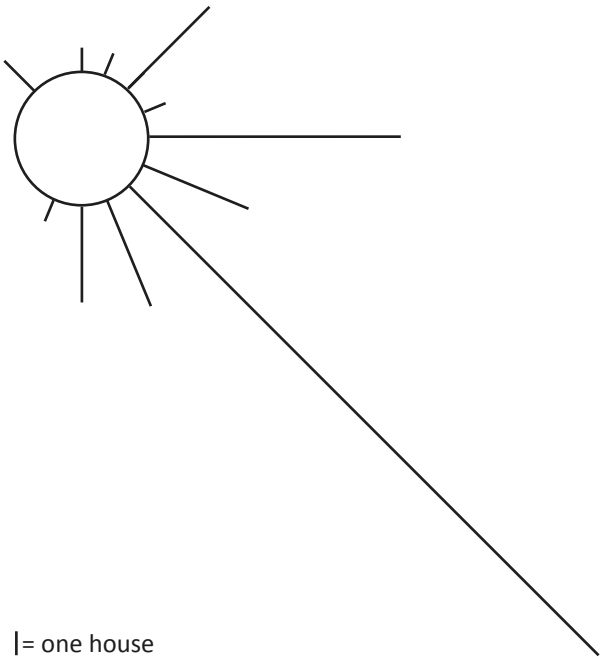


Fig. 3.1. Orientation of Late Bronze Age houses

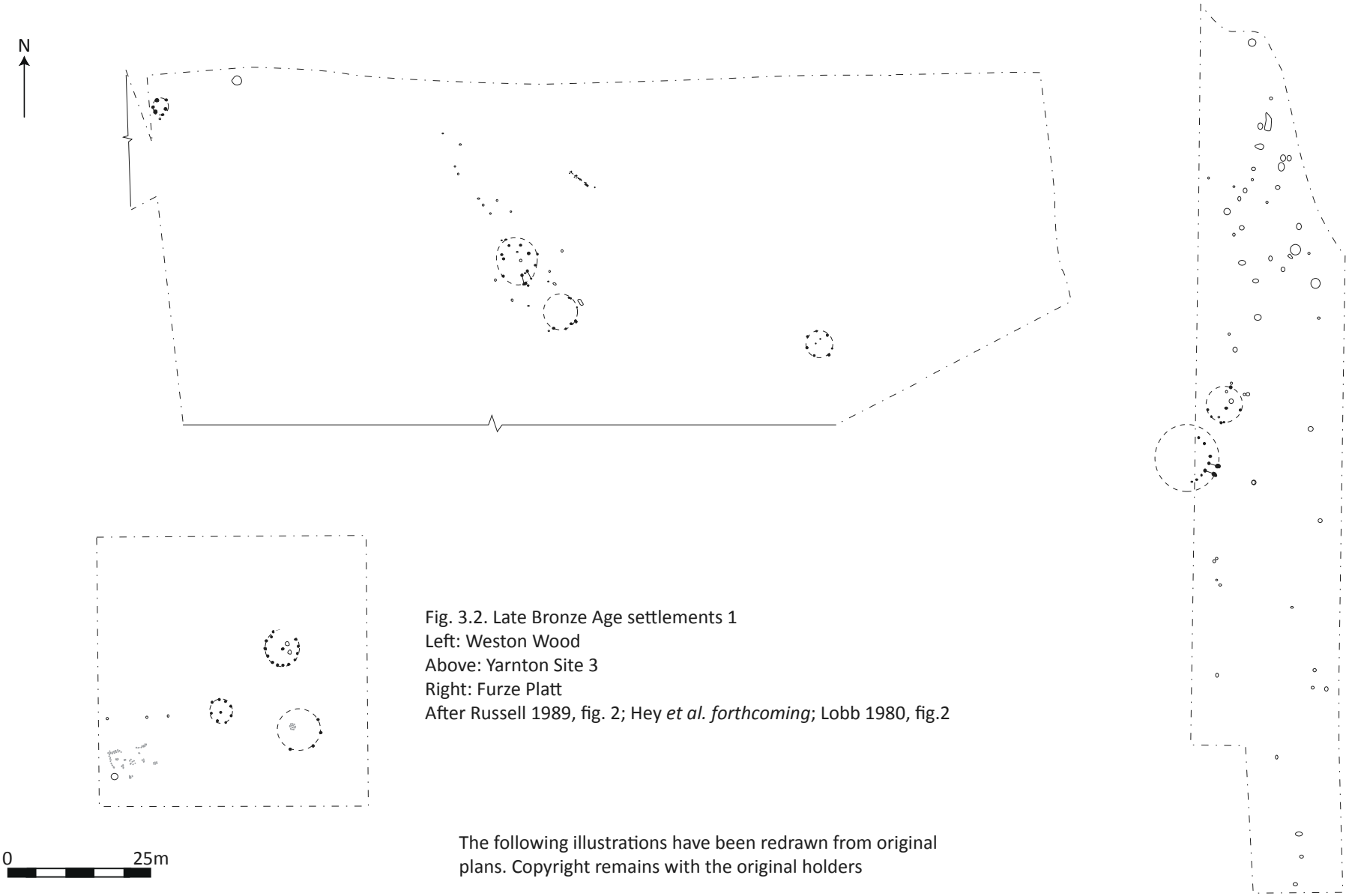


Fig. 3.2. Late Bronze Age settlements 1
Left: Weston Wood
Above: Yarnton Site 3
Right: Furze Platt
After Russell 1989, fig. 2; Hey *et al. forthcoming*; Lobb 1980, fig.2

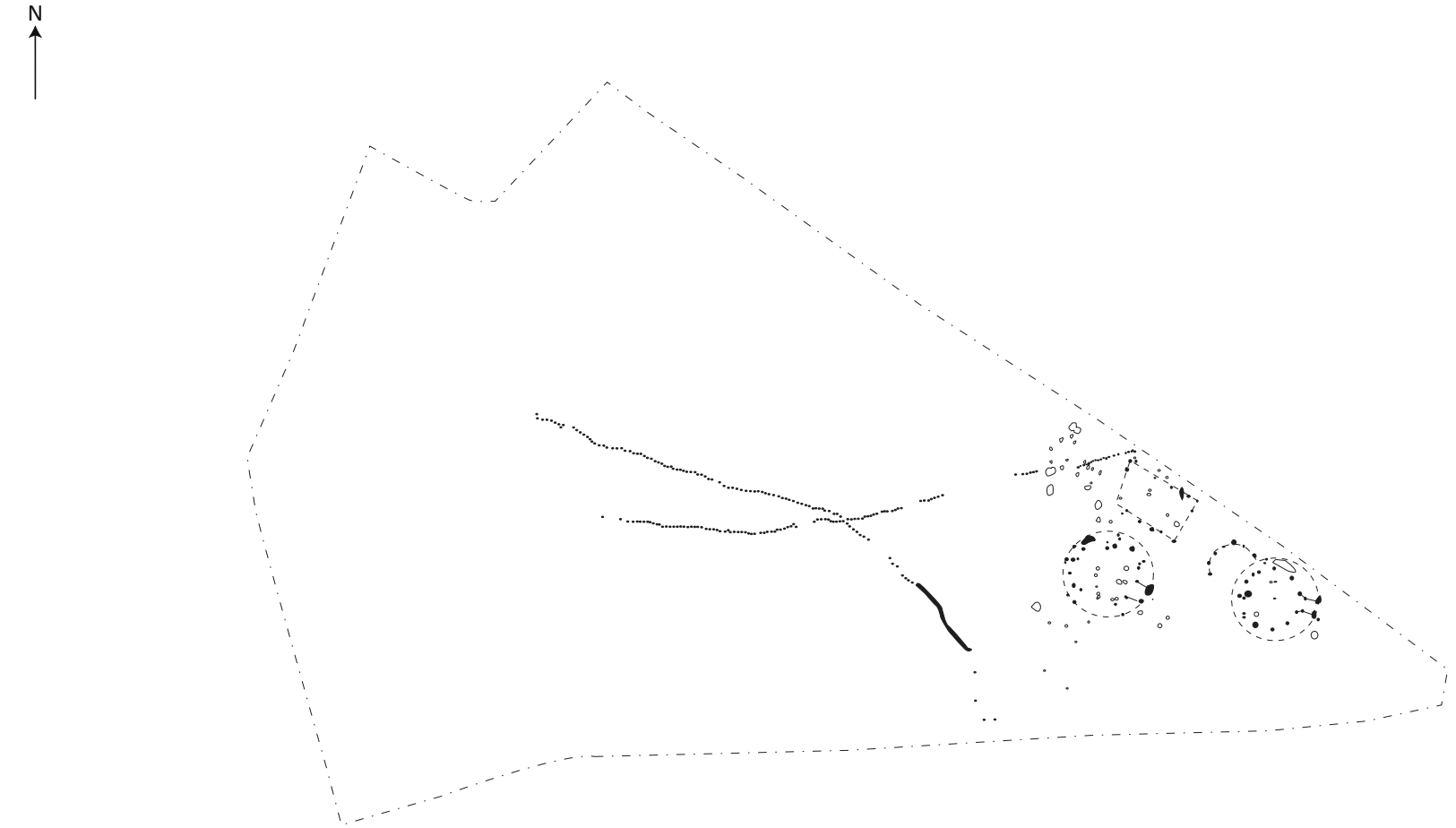


Fig. 3.3. Late Bronze Age settlements 2. Hartshill Copse
After Collard *et al.*2006, fig. 4.

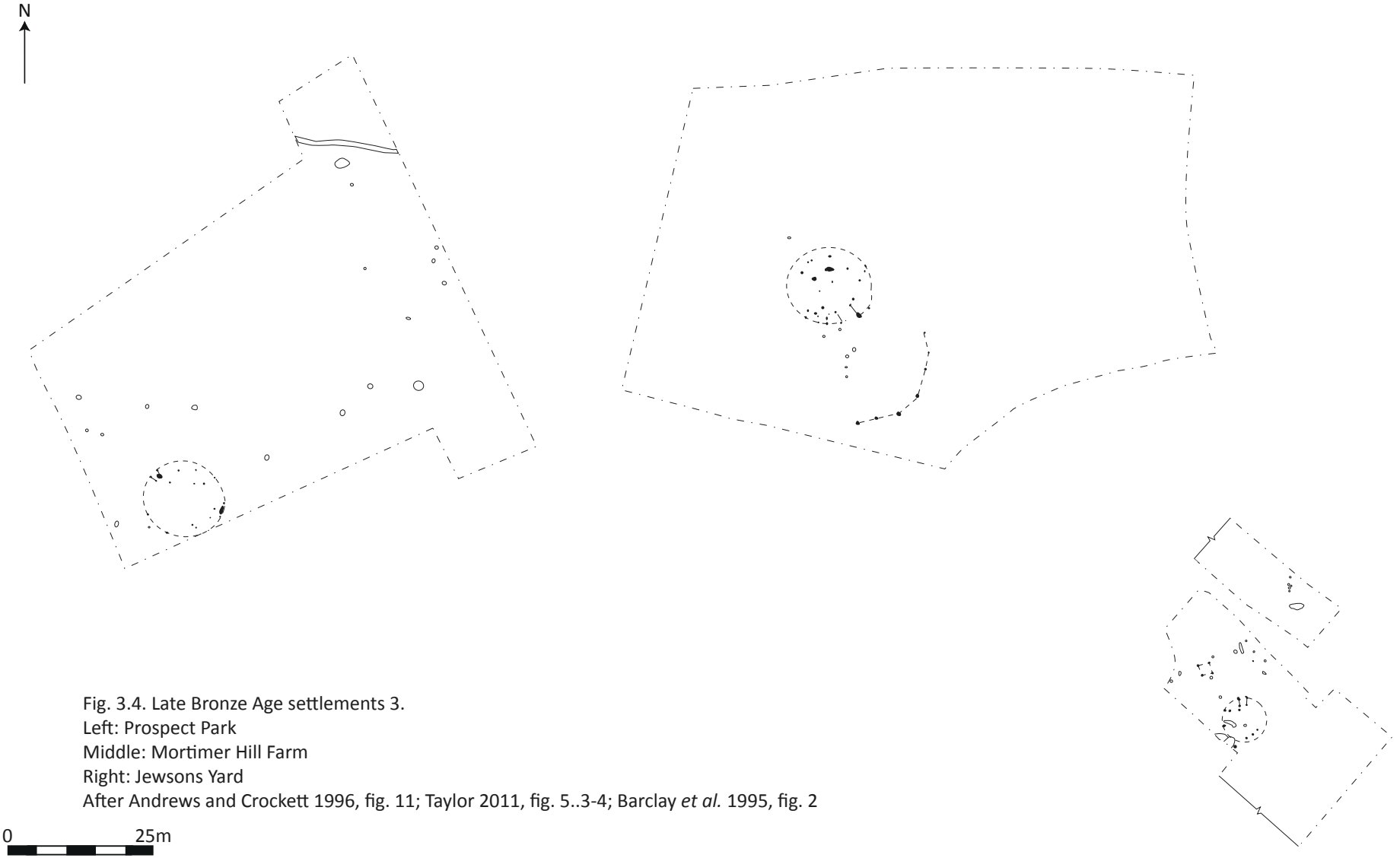


Fig. 3.4. Late Bronze Age settlements 3.
Left: Prospect Park
Middle: Mortimer Hill Farm
Right: Jewsons Yard
After Andrews and Crockett 1996, fig. 11; Taylor 2011, fig. 5..3-4; Barclay *et al.* 1995, fig. 2

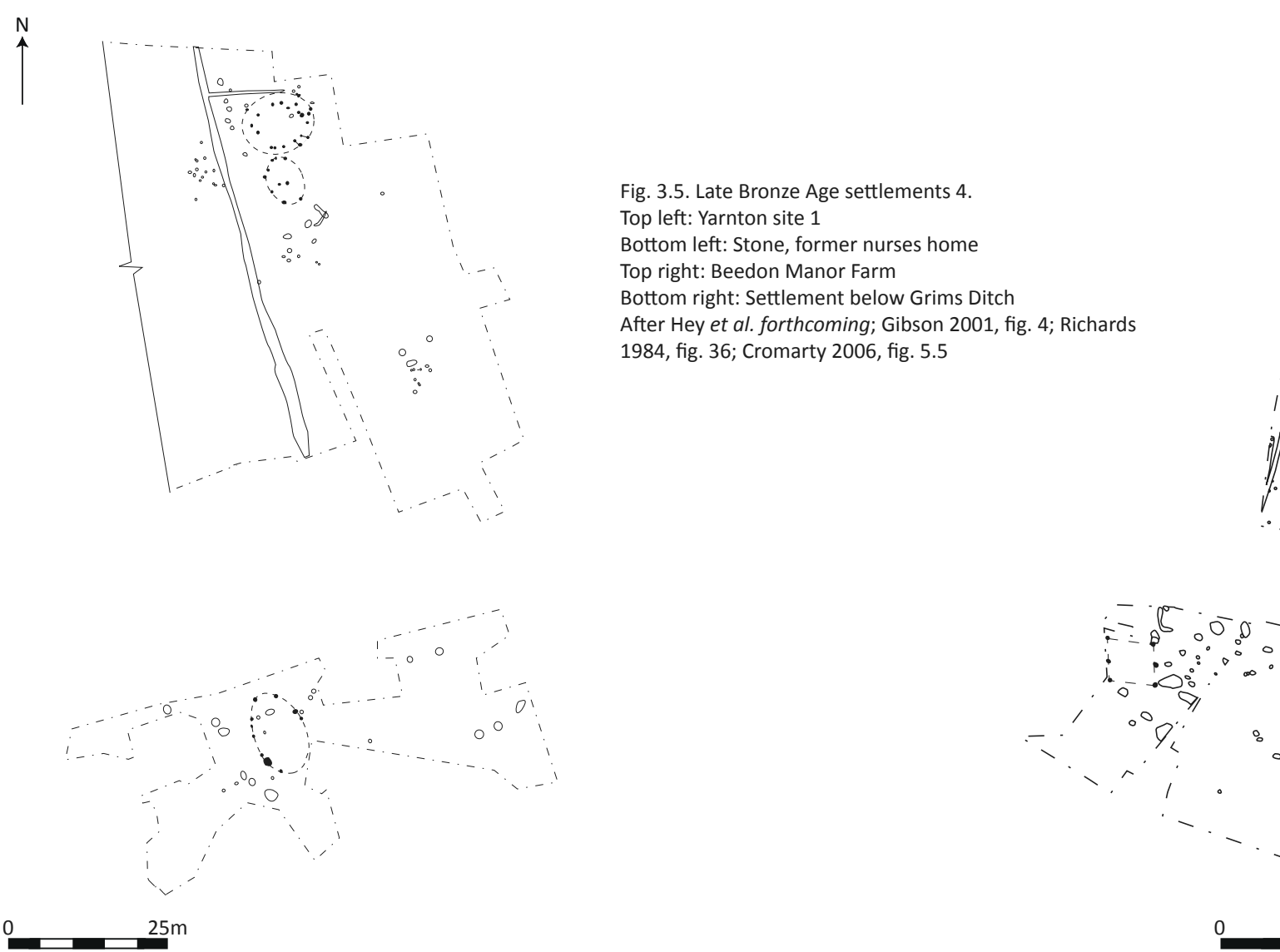


Fig. 3.5. Late Bronze Age settlements 4.
Top left: Yarnton site 1
Bottom left: Stone, former nurses home
Top right: Beedon Manor Farm
Bottom right: Settlement below Grims Ditch
After Hey *et al. forthcoming*; Gibson 2001, fig. 4; Richards 1984, fig. 36; Cromarty 2006, fig. 5.5

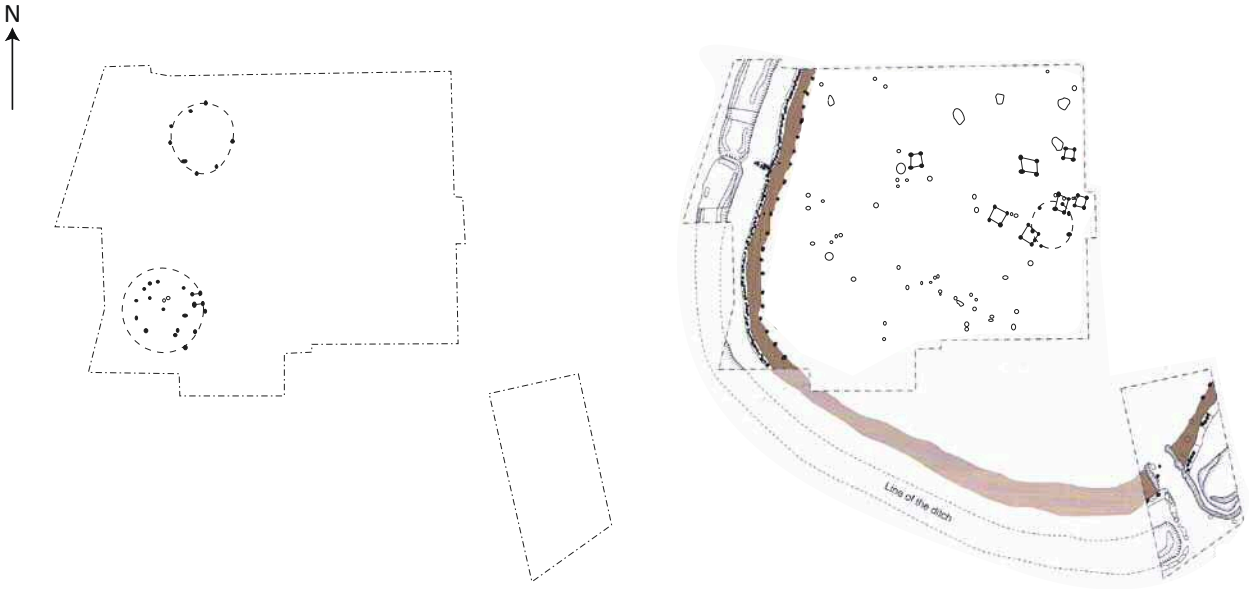


Fig. 3.6. Late Bronze Age settlement 5.
Top left: Rams Hill, phase 0 (before rampart)
Top middle: Rams Hill, phases 1-3, and unphased
Top right: Aldermaston
Bottom right: Pingewood
After Lambrick 2009, fig. 9.9 (Image: OA); Bradley *et al.* 1980, fig. 3;
Johnson 1983-5, figs. 5-6

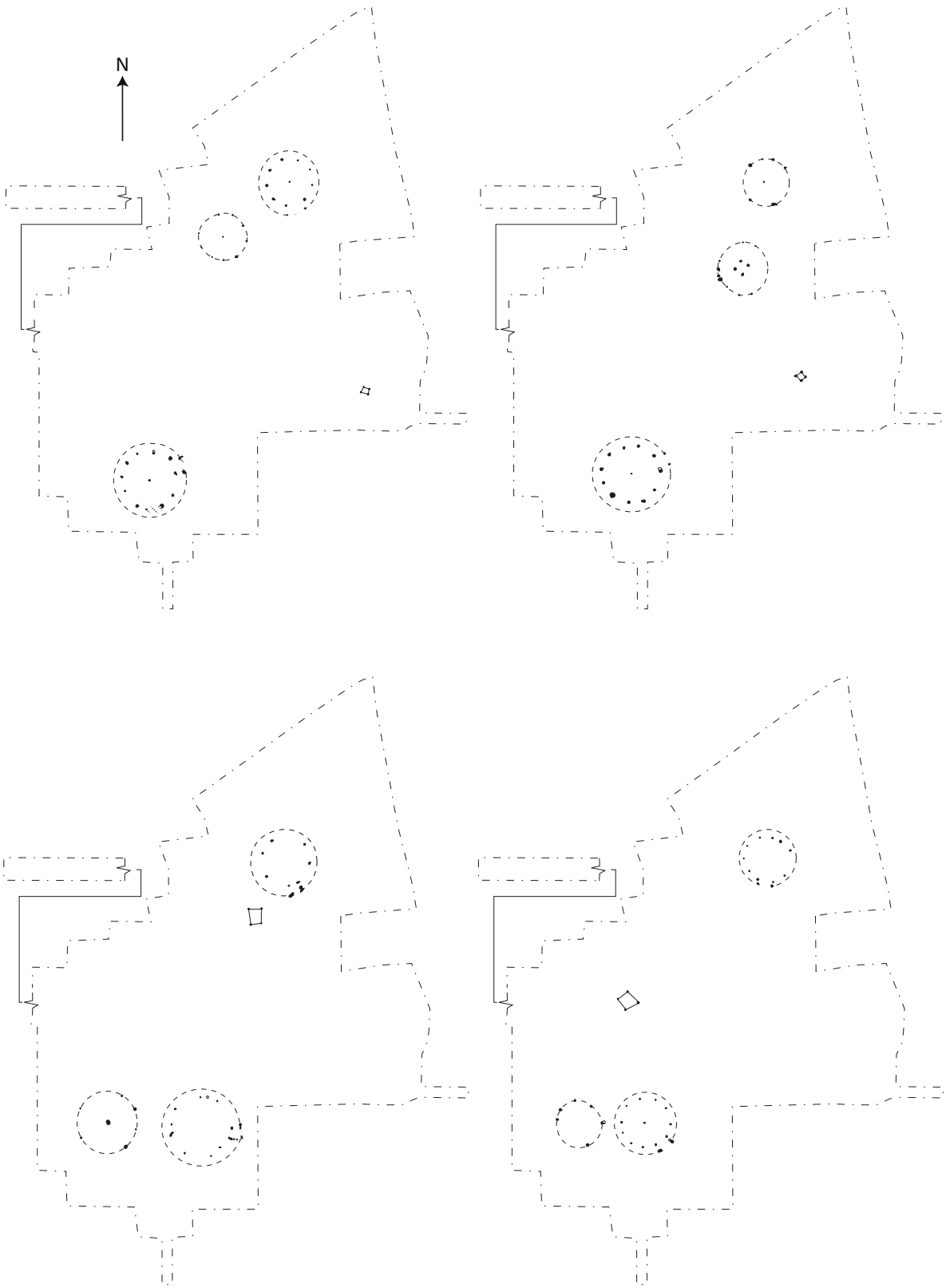


Fig. 3.7. Late Bronze Age settlements 6. Reading Business Park Area 5
Phases 1-4
After Moore and Jennings 1992, figs. 9-16
see Appendix 3

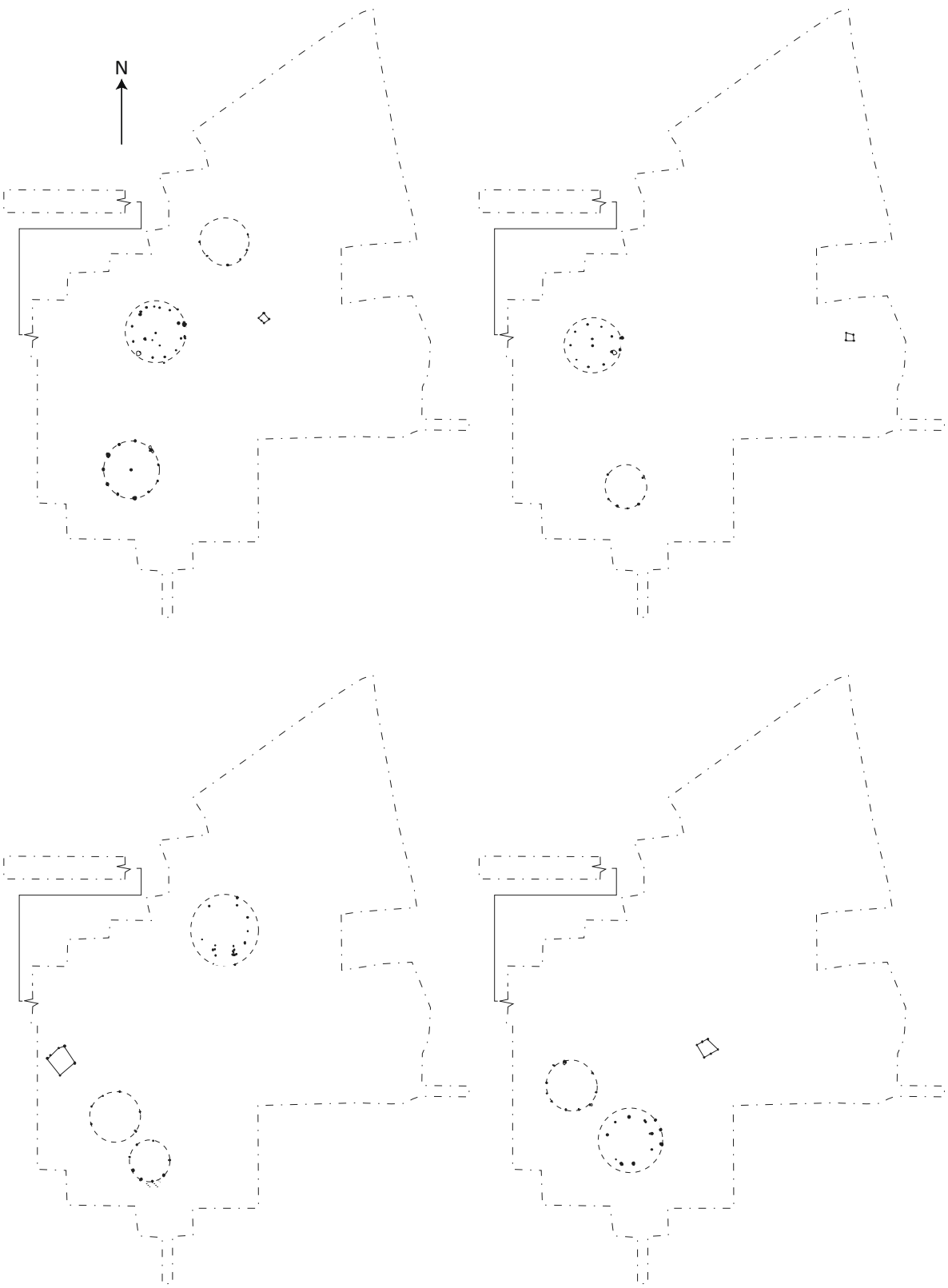


Fig. 3.8. Late Bronze Age settlements 7. Reading Business Park Area 5
Phases 5-8
After Moore and Jennings 1992, figs. 9-16
see Appendix 3

Fig. 3.9. Late Bronze Age settlements 8. Reading Business Park Area 5
Unphased and all phases
After Moore and Jennings 1992, figs. 9-16
see Appendix 3

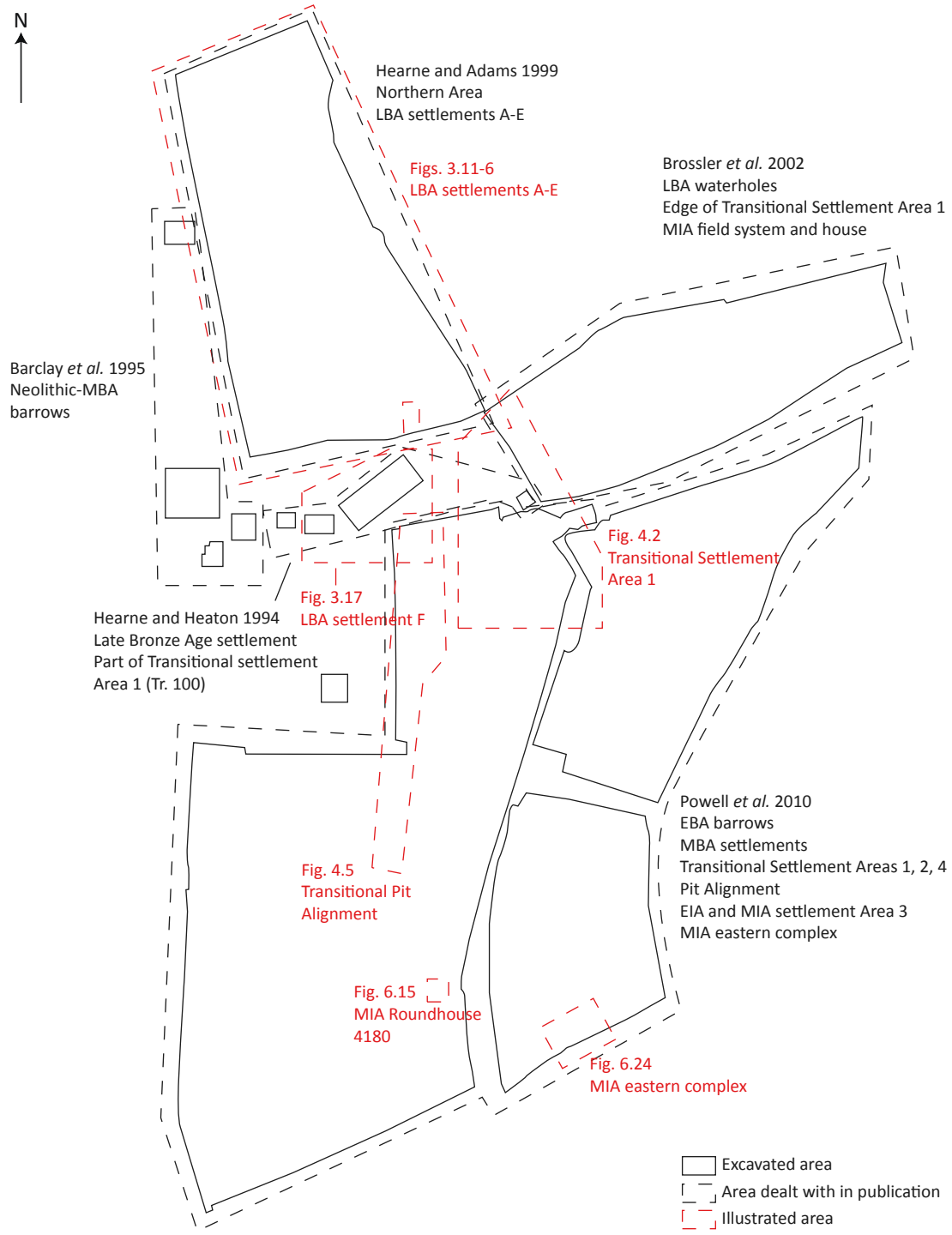


Fig. 3.10. Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry showing excavated areas, publications and figures

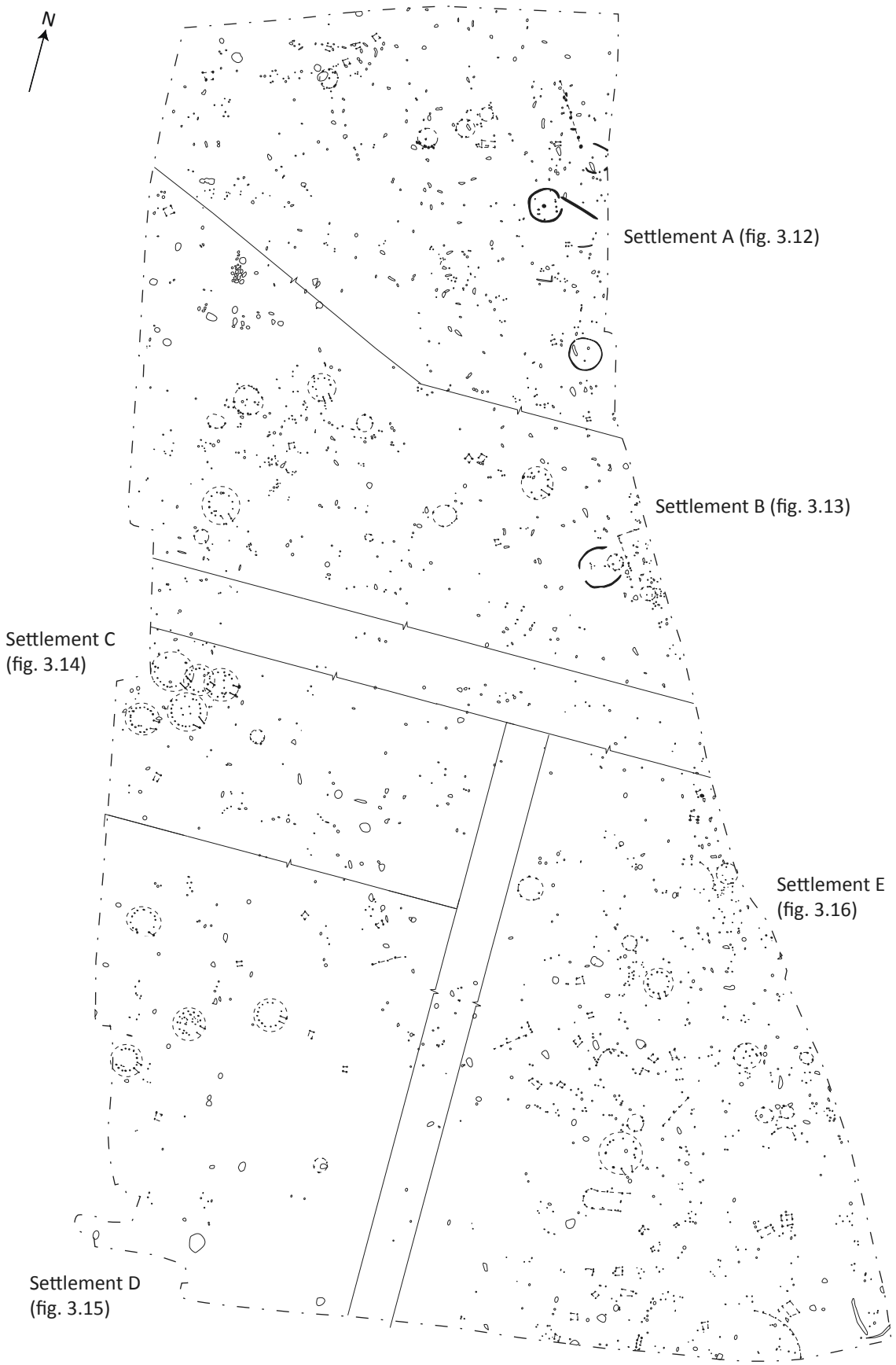


Fig. 3.11. Shorncote Quarry Northern Area
After Hearne and Adams 1999, fig. 3

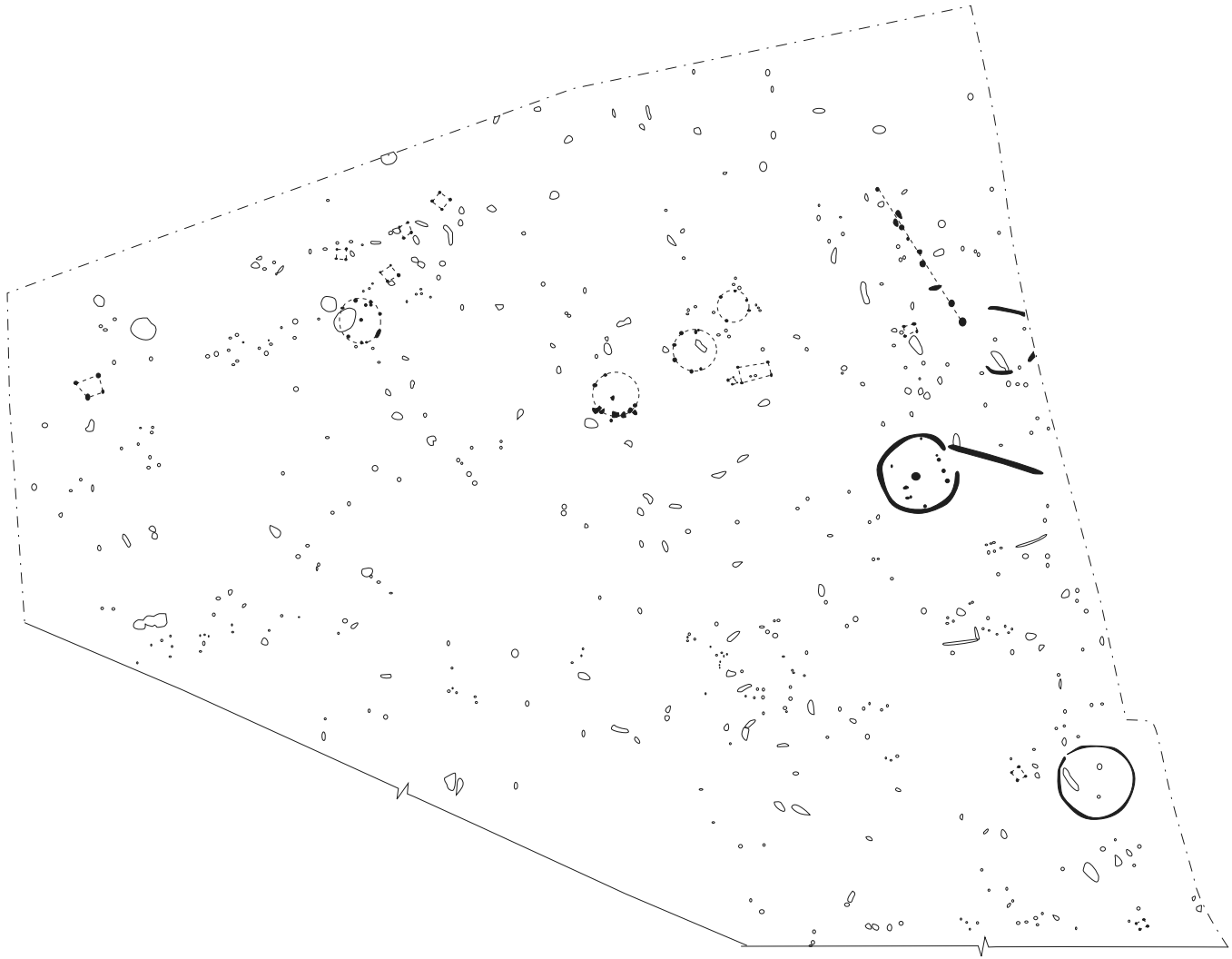


Fig. 3.12. Late Bronze Age settlements 9.
Shorncote Quarry Northern Area, Settlement A
After Hearne and Adams 1999, fig. 3

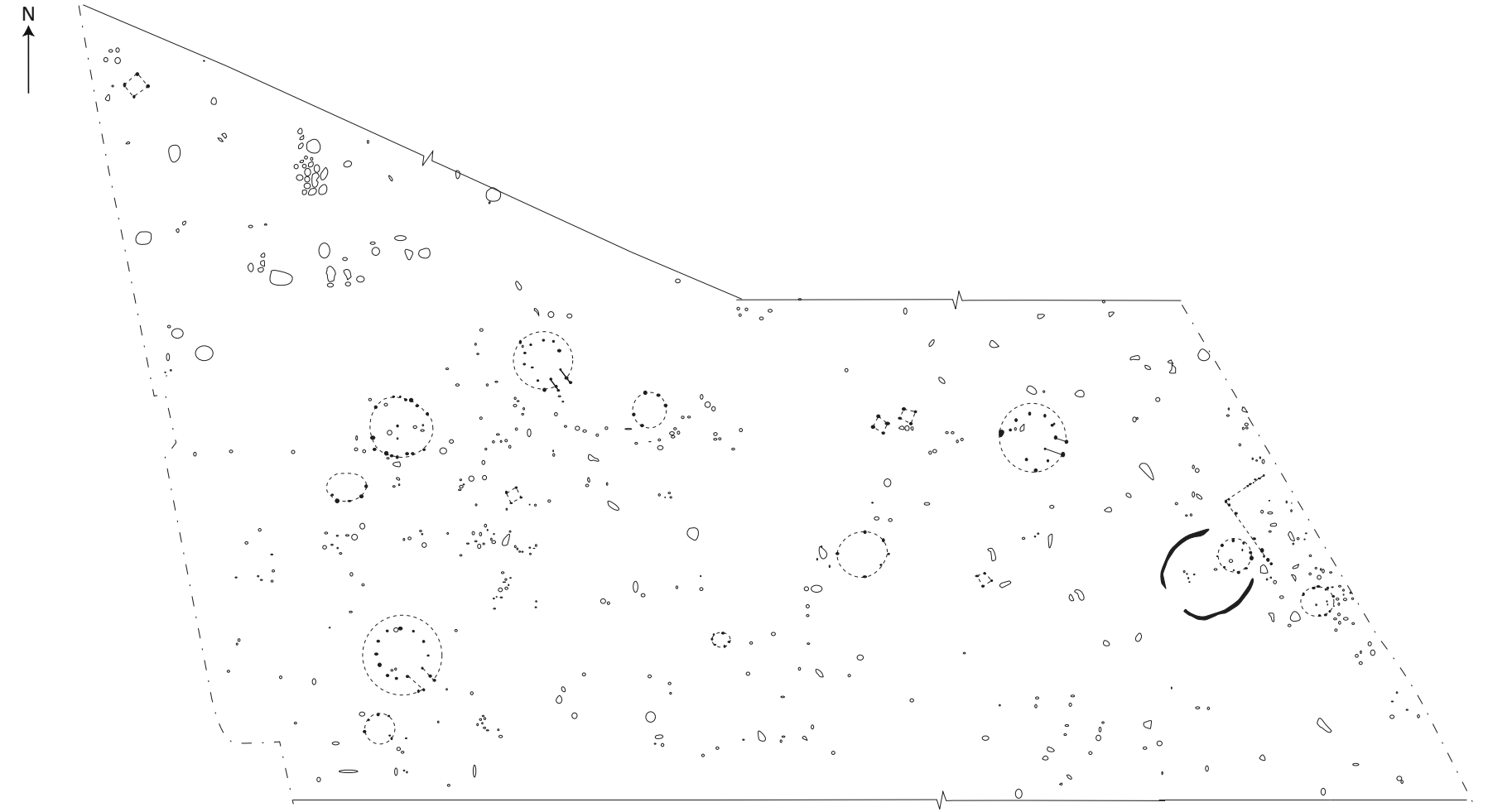


Fig. 3.13. Late Bronze Age settlements 10.
Shorncote Quarry Northern Area, Settlement B
After Hearne and Adams 1999, fig. 3

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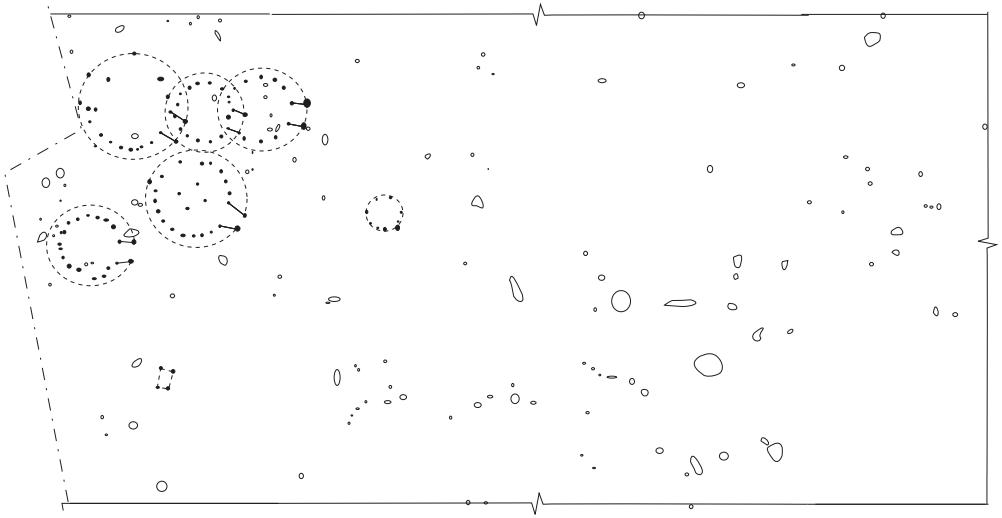

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Fig. 3.14. Late Bronze Age settlements 11.
Shorncote Quarry Northern Area, Settlement C
After Hearne and Adams 1999, fig. 3

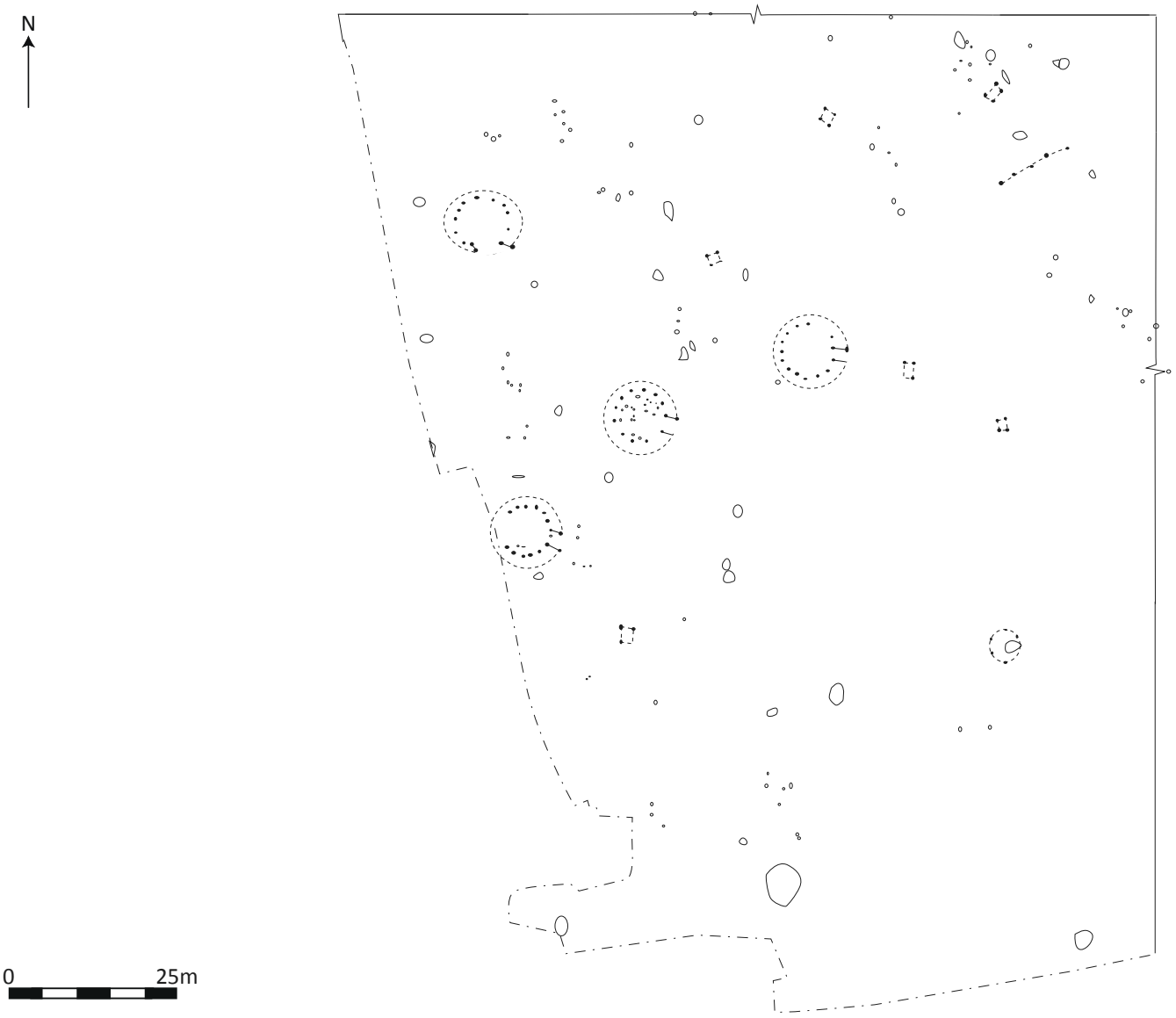

Fig. 3.15. Late Bronze Age settlements 12. Shorncote Quarry Northern Area, Settlement D
After Hearne and Adams 1999, fig. 3

Fig. 3.16. Late Bronze Age settlements 13. Shorncote Quarry Northern Area, Settlement E
After Hearne and Adams 1999, fig. 3

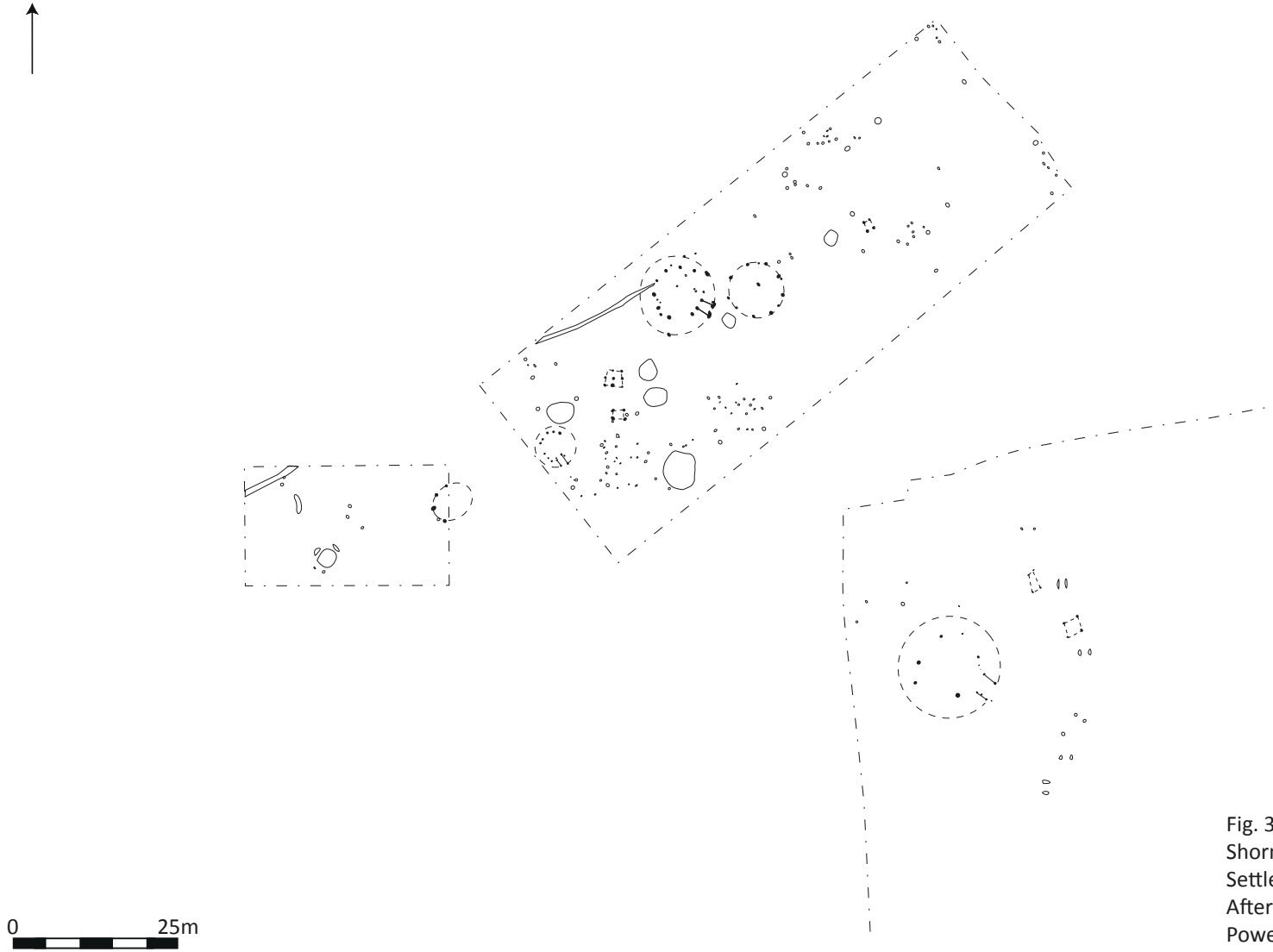

Fig. 3.17. Late Bronze Age settlements 14. Shorncote Quarry/Cotswold Community Settlement Area F
After Hearne and Heaton 1994, fig. 2; Powell *et al.* 2010, fig. 2.36

3.2.1 Settlement longevity – destruction and abandonment

68% of the 50 LBA sites have been classed as single-phased. This figure includes open settlements, enclosures and sites of a more communal nature. Single-phased sites are defined by having no overlapping features and material culture and radiocarbon dates belonging to only one sub-period. 20% are multi-phased, consisting of a sequence of two or three overlapping features and/or material culture/radiocarbon dates belonging to two successive sub-periods. 12% are long-lived, defined by four or more overlapping features and/or material culture/radiocarbon dates from more than two successive sub-periods (Graph 7.1; Table 7.1). Splitting settlements into one of these three categories can be justified as the later prehistoric settlements that have been dated through Bayesian analysis can be classed under this scheme, and in general follow appropriate use-lengths for the given categories.[4] We may therefore see single-phased sites as belonging to no more than one generation.

As the majority of settlements seem to have lasted no longer than a single generation, it appears that it was not considered appropriate, even taboo, for successive individuals to live within the same house and place. Perhaps after the death of the founding inhabitants their house was destroyed and settlement moved to a different area of the landscape. Houses and settlement space appear to have been intimately associated with the individuals living within them – perhaps their personhood and essence was thought to extend into this aspect of the material world (see 2.2-3).

There is evidence for houses being burnt down in the LBA at Runnymede (F31; Longley 1980) and Hartshill Copse (Roundhouse C; Collard *et al.* 2006), and Latton Lands (Roundhouse 3008; Powell *et al.* 2009) probably during the Transition; this may have been purposeful. Similar evidence is lacking in the Iron Age. LBA houses lasting limited periods of time – perhaps one generation – are further suggested by the only group in the study area to be subject to Bayesian modelling. Three houses have been remodelled at Hartshill Copse, two dating to the LBA and one to the EIA (Derek

[4] For example, three LBA settlements have been modelled with Bayesian statistics at Bestwall Quarry, Dorset (Ladle and Woodward 2009). Settlements 1 and 2 are single-phased under this scheme, and they were occupied for respectively 15-50 years and 40-70 years, both at *68% probability*. Settlement 3 is classified as multi-phased due to a series of pits overlapping dismantled House 8. Bayesian analysis demonstrates this was inhabited longer than the other settlements, spanning 60-100 years, at *68% probability*. The extensive programme of dating later Iron Age sites in East Central Britain by Hamilton (2011) found sites conforming to single-phased, multi-phased and long-lived categories, and have appropriate durations. However, as the artefactual record is generally poorer with less precisely dated pottery in this region, these categories have been primarily defined by overlapping phases. Sites classified as single-phased include Kilton Thorpe Lane, LBA Standingstone and phase 2 of East Brunton Farm; these were in use for respectively less than 45 years, 30 years and 20 years, all at *68% probability*. Multi-phased sites include Ingram South, phases 2-3 at Druburn Bridge, the structures at Fishers Road East, the post-scoop settlement at Phantassie Farm, and Iron Age Standingstone. These sites lasted between 25-110 years, 50-170 years, 1-145 years, 20-90 years and 1-120 years respectively, all at *68% probability*. Long-lived sites include Street House Farm, Thorpe Thewles and Fawdon Dean, lasting 145-230 years, 160-235 years, and 175-270 or 150-240 years respectively, all at *68% probability*. Sites that do not fit into the expected longevities given the archaeological sequences include 'long-lived' Stanwick, whose five phases were contained within 80-120 years; and 'multi-phased' Knowes Farm, which lasted between 175-300 years, both at *68% probability.*

Hamilton *pers. comm.*). Although ideally more samples could be added, it appears that the LBA houses (Roundhouses C and D) were in use for very short periods of time, whereas the EIA house (Roundhouse B) appears to have had considerable longevity. The durations are as follows: Roundhouse C spanned *1-90 years*; Roundhouse D spanned *1-125 years*; and Roundhouse B spanned *55-195 years (all at 68% probability)*. The archaeological remains of all three houses are remarkably similar, suggesting differences in longevities resulted from cultural norms rather than functional limitations (see Appendix 2).

Even at most of the sites that lasted for longer periods of time, we see similar patterns of periodic destruction and rebuilding of houses at a faster rate than is functionally necessary. At these sites, we have the same taboos with regards to inhabiting the same house as the previous generation, although settlement stayed in the same place rather than shifting through the landscape. This is most clearly seen at Reading Business Park Area 5: here we have at least eight phases belonging to a fairly restricted timeframe of c.200 years, allowing c.25 years per phase (see Appendix 3; figs. 3.7-9). Such periodic destruction and rebuilding is also evidenced at special sites. At the Riverside Zone at LBA Runnymede, four main phases of architectural activity probably belong to the ninth century. Each required the destruction of the last phase, with at least two of these having sub-phases (Waddington 2009, Chap. 5; Stuart Needham *pers. comm*.). Each phase therefore lasted only short periods of time – on average less than 25 years each. At Area 6 the timber waterfront structure was built, destroyed possibly by fire, built again and destroyed again probably all within the ninth century (Needham 1991; Needham and Spence 1996, Table 63).[5]

At the proto-hillfort at Taplow, at least three or four LBA phases of defences have been recognised. They consist of two phases of palisades, which were replaced by a ditch, bank, and outer *chevaux-de-frise*, possibly of two phases. The building of each of the first three phases required total destruction of the previous phase. Bayesian modelling of the radiocarbon dates associated with the defences suggests that these phases were all built within *1-130 years (68% probability)*, in the late 11th to ninth centuries cal BC (Marshall *et al.* 2009, 174). This again suggests each phase lasted a *maximum* of 40 years, but probably much less. There were also as many as four structural phases occurring behind the defences during this time; some of these may represent further palisade defences possibly adding more distinct phases in the limited time span (Allen *et al.* 2009, 35-70, fig. 4.1). The limited numbers of long-term LBA settlements therefore tend to look busier with more overlapping features than Iron Age sites, even when the Iron Age sites lasted even longer periods of time.

[5] Eight radiocarbon measurements have been taken from the piles comprising the first waterfront structure, returning a combined latest date of c.870 cal BC (*68% probability*; Needham 1991, 62). This was not built before c.900 cal BC as earlier contexts can be narrowed to this date. Seven dates have been taken from the second structure, returning a bracket of 840-720 cal BC. This can be further narrowed down with a date from an articulated dog skeleton (Needham and Spence 1996, Table 63). This dog burial is within the silts associated with the abandonment of waterfront 2 that finally seal the rotted stumps of the outer row piles (Needham 1991, 65, Table 2, fig. 22). The dog could not have died after 790 cal BC at the very latest. This compresses the waterfront structural activity completely within the ninth century cal BC, giving a slightly shorter range to that published in Needham (1991).

The frequent destruction of the built environment usually accompanied by the abandonment of place is one example that suggests a desire for living communities to distance themselves from those of the past in the LBA. It was not appropriate to continue to inhabit the house of previous generations perhaps due to identities being based around wider, non-kin group affiliations, as opposed to ancestors and lineage. Fixing identities to ancient, even supernatural, authority by associating with ancient people, titles, material culture, place, monuments and houses (in both the material and Lévi-Straussian sense) has been demonstrated as a common means by which social differentiation is expressed and institutionalised (see 2.4.4-6). The destruction of houses and abandonment of settlements provides evidence that this was not occurring in the LBA, supporting the interpretation from other aspects of the settlement record that this was not a period of significant social differences. This desire to disassociate from the past is also seen in the treatment of material culture, both within and outside of settlements.

3.3 Special deposits

The concept of 'special deposition' is now pervasive within later prehistoric interpretation, and a considerable literature is building up that discusses the identification of these and the usefulness of classification. The majority of what might be considered as 'special deposition' in the LBA consists of metalwork placed outside of settlements. These are not considered in this section, but assessed in 3.6. This section will begin by defining 'special deposits' on settlements, before discussing the two principle types that date to the LBA.

3.3.1 Defining special deposits

The analysis of Iron Age finds from Wessex settlements and hillforts by Hill (1995) was a landmark study in understanding the structured nature of the archaeological record of later prehistory. This statistically demonstrated the increasing suspicion that a large amount of the material recovered from these sites did not enter the archaeological record through random accumulated and deposition (e.g. Cunliffe 1992; Wait 1984, Chap. 5; See Garrow 2012 for a review). Hill (1995, 39-40) identified four categories of 'exceptional' deposits. These will not be repeated here, suffice to say that they are similar but not identical to the criteria used in this analysis. In the present study, special deposits are defined as single contexts or closely related contexts in the same feature containing one or more of the following:

- Two or more small finds;
- Articulated animal remains;
- Animal skulls;
- 'Unusual' quantities of disarticulated animal bone;
- 'Unusual' quantities of pottery;
- Complete or nearly complete pots, or sherds from complete or nearly complete pots;
- Human remains with any of the above

These differ from Hill in that human remains without any other indicator have not been included: these are dealt with separately. Also, there are no strict limits on the number of pottery sherds or animal bones needed to satisfy the criteria, although those included in this study are all somewhat higher than Hill's (1995, 40) limits, which comprised fewer than 5-10 large sherds; or 20-30+ of small to medium sherds; or more than 30-40 animal bone fragments. It was decided not to impose rigid thresholds due to the site specific nature of both deposition and subsequent taphonomic processes, as well as more recent discussions that warn against such absolute distinctions (e.g. Brudenell and Cooper 2008; Chadwick 2012; Garrow 2012). Not all need agree with the proposed categories, and each deposit needs to be considered individually within its site context. Details of each special deposit is given in Appendix 9.

Garrow (2012) has recently distinguished between 'odd deposits' and 'material culture patterning', critiquing the interpretation of the latter as deliberate, but accepting the intentionality and even ritualised nature of 'odd deposits'. Most, if not all, of the examples listed here should be classed as odd deposits. Brudenell and Cooper (2008) have criticised the intentionality behind odd or special pottery deposits, suggesting more complex criteria should be used than just sherd size, quantity and associations. It is recognised here that the segregation of artefact producing layers into either special or non-special deposits is problematic and overly course. These should probably be seen on a continuum as all practices resulting in deposition of material are related to wider social and cultural structures and beliefs, and those regarded here as special may not have necessarily been thought as such by those depositing them, although the relative rarity of these does demand that they were unusual in at least one sense. Despite these problems, the segregation of special deposits has still proved to be a useful analytical tool, and although the study does not have the scope of highly detailed intra-site discard (e.g. Brudenell and Cooper 2008; Hill 1995), it does have the advantage of assessing a large number of sites under the same rubric and from different time periods. The use of the same criteria from a diachronic perspective teases out specific cultural practices and assists in understanding meaning and process. That clear patterns through time can be demonstrated – both between each contiguous period, as well as broad incremental patterns though the millennium that this study covers – demonstrates the applicability of both the general concept of special deposits, as well as the criteria used here. Diachronic analysis should form a fundamental part of future research into structured deposition and understanding the nature of the archaeological record.

It is not assumed that we should see special deposits as the result of *specific* ritual practice, distinguishable from non-ritual practice. The problems with distinguishing ritual from non-ritual practice has been highlighted by Brück (1999a), who argues that practices that might be deemed ritual by modern post-Enlightenment logic need not be seen as non-utilitarian by those that carry them out: if it is truly believed that a propitiatory act is necessary for the successful growth of a crop, for example, then the 'ritual' is, in the mind of the actor, just as 'functional' as planting the seed or fertilising the ground. However, if these special deposits were intentional

with 'ritualised' elements (Bell 1992; Garrow 2012, 94-5), then we should be able to interpret some social meaning from observable patterns. An analysis of special deposits was carried out in order to find common principles found in other types of evidence that can be related to wider aspects of social organisation and cultural orientation.

3.3.1 Special deposits in the Late Bronze Age

At least two distinct types of special deposits occur on LBA settlements (Table 7.7; Graphs 7.19-20). This considers both the content and where the deposition was placed. The most common type are large pottery deposits, comprising complete or largely complete pots, or vessels broken *in situ* or broken and quickly deposited. These often consist of only one pot, but can contain up to 20 vessels. At least 23 examples of these special deposits dating to the LBA are known.[6] These tend not to be deposited with other objects, but up to a further 12 are associated with at least one small find.[7] In one instance substantial portions of a jar and bowl were placed on an inverted hearth that in turn was above a dismembered horse[8]. These deposits are occasionally closely connected with houses, for example at Hartshill Copse, Beedon Manor Farm, Reading Business Park Area 5, Hurst Park and Heathrow T5 Settlement 4. This practice may have been associated with the abandonment of the house and settlement, destroying and depositing pots belonging to an individual after their death. It may be that these too were bound up with personhood. Perhaps it was not appropriate to continue using these objects as separation from the deceased was socially desired. This interpretation would be assisted by analysis of how fresh or worn the sherds are as this would add information about the history of the material prior to deposition (e.g. Brudenell and Cooper 2008).

Another special deposit that was associated with a house was a complete *in situ* quern in the occupation layer of Structure 2 at Weston Wood; a similar interpretation seems suitable. This tradition continues into the Transition, where the deposits tend to be larger (see 4.3). Although the practice of depositing substantial quantities of one or more pots in single contexts occurs throughout later prehistory, this appears to be a particular feature of the LBA. Later special deposits tend to be of more mixed character. The practice of destroying and depositing objects on settlements is recognised by comparing the frequency of small finds and sizes of pottery assemblages with the Iron Age. This can also be explained by cultural processes similar to those described above.

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6 Special deposit IDs 1, 13, 24, 50, 225, 317, 318, 322, 324, 345, 353, 354, 357, 377, 381, 396, 397, 398, 399, 415, 416, 442 and 379.

7 Special deposit IDs 2, 340, 351, 352, 355, 356, 382, 400, 401, 402, 403 and 404.

8 Special deposit ID 340

Despite the majority of settlements only lasting for short periods of time, on average more small finds[9] are recovered from LBA settlements[10] compared to later periods (Graphs 7.13-4). Although when all sites are included the MIA looks to be the most abundant, the figures are skewed for each period due to a few sites being particularly rich. These are Carshalton for the LBA, Runnymede[11] for the LBA and Transition, Alfred's Castle for the EIA, and Gravelly Guy for the EIA and MIA.[12] When these four sites are taken out of the analysis, the LBA dominates with nearly five objects on average found at each site, compared to less than two for the Transition, around three for the EIA, and around four and a half for the MIA. Objects were deposited more frequently on settlements in the LBA compared to later periods. The percentage of small finds in special deposits is not particularly high,[13] but a more detailed survey of where these objects were placed might draw out patterns that could suggest purposeful deposition.

Comparing the number of small finds per site to other periods demonstrates that cultural norms determined depositional patterns even in cases where objects do not obviously appear to be placed in a structured manner. If accidental losses unrelated to wider cultural processes accounted for most of the small finds outside of special deposits, we would expect LBA numbers to be similar to the Transition and Iron Age. It must be stressed that Iron Age settlements should produce many more small finds, given that activity typically spanned a number of centuries with sites comprising many more features, including often hundreds of pits and dozens of lengths of ditches. This is compared to the much smaller, single-generational LBA settlements that have far fewer sub-soil features: despite this handicap these settlements still produce more small finds. Similar patterns can therefore be recognised with the deposition of various types of objects both on and off settlements, as well as the treatment of houses, settlements and some landscapes. This all suggests that the various objects associated with individuals were periodically destroyed or abandoned, in turn suggesting that there was a social desire to forget and distance the present organisation from that of the past.

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9 Includes worked bone, stone and wood; amber, shale and jet objects; and fired clay objects excluding vessel sherds. Recognisable metallic objects are excluded in this analysis as metalwork is considered elsewhere. However, these figures do include small fragments that have been excluded in the metalwork analysis. The inclusion of all metal objects would make no difference to the results.

10 Settlements include enclosures, pit spreads, middens, iron smelting sites and hillforts. Field systems, burnt mounds, singular waterholes, linear ditches *etc.* are excluded, along with sites that did not produce enough evidence to characterise. Included are 50 LBA settlements, 47 Transitional, 67 EIA, and 103 dating to the MIA. 27 (54%) LBA, 18 (38%) Transitional, 34 (51%) EIA and 58 (56%) MIA settlements produced one or more small find(s).

11 Only material published in Longley (1980), Needham (1991), and Needham and Spence (1996) has been included in this analysis. Some information from the Riverside Zone is incorporated into discussion below (after Waddington 2009, Chap. 5). Stratigraphic Units B-F have been designated LBA and date to the ninth century. Later units date after 800 cal BC, and are considered Transitional.

12 This bias particularly affects the MIA as around 350 objects dating to the MIA were found at Gravelly Guy. This does not seem to be due to particularly increased deposition at Gravelly Guy, but rather the unique excavation strategy as every feature was completely excavated at this extensive and long-lived site. At all the other excluded settlements, increased numbers of finds appears to be due to increased levels of deposition, rather than more through excavation.

13 Around 14% of all LBA small finds are from special deposits. This figure is similar to the EIA.

Aside from large pottery assemblages in single contexts, the second main type of LBA special deposits are complete animal burials, articulated remains or skulls placed in liminal boundary positions. Given the location of these, they are unsurprisingly more common on enclosed sites. At least 13 are known.[14] The practice of burying animals and placing special deposits in liminal positions are both long lived, and probably functioned as a way of ritualising and socially imbuing boundary areas to increase their meaning and enhance the significance between inside and out. This will be explored further in 6.2.2.

3.4 Human Remains

Human burials on land are becoming increasingly recognised, although they tend to belong to the earlier part of the LBA and are largely restricted to loose groups of burials on a small number of sites. These sites include Heathrow T5 settlements 8 and 10, Reading Business Park Area 7000, and Marsh Lane East. The majority of LBA human remains are adult cremations, but deposits of single bones, groups of bones and articulated skeletons are known (Table 7.5; Graph 7.7). This continues a pattern present in the MBA. They are rarely associated with houses or any small finds (Graph 7.10), and there is one example of worked human bone. These latter features are more common feature in Iron Age deposition (see 5.3-4; 6.4-5). Interestingly, all of these are known from Reading Business Park/Green Park Area 3100/3000B, a settlement that appears more 'Iron Age' in its longevity and apparent lack of house destruction. Very small amounts of cremated remains have been found in a number of contexts at Cassington West, some of which are associated with houses. However, radiocarbon dating has shown that at least some of these are redeposited from EBA activity (Chris Hayden *pers. comm.*). Further dating at this site is on-going. If we exclude Cassington West, all of the sites containing loose groups of cremations are located in the Middle Thames Valley, and this might be part of a wider cultural repertoire that distinguishes the Middle Thames Valley from the Upper basin (see 3.7). The non-funerary features that differentiate the two areas primarily date to the later LBA: the cremation evidence suggests this broad geographical division may have also been present in the earlier LBA.

Very few human remains can be dated to the period contemporary with Ewart Park metalwork. Some that might appear to follow the pattern of animal burials that are positioned at liminal locations.[15] Over 300 human skulls have been recovered from the Thames; 24 have been radiocarbon dated, and 20% of these belong to the LBA (Bradley and Gordon 1988; Schulting and Bradley 2013). These will be discussed in 3.6.4. Even with these Thames finds, the later LBA is our least understood period with regards to human burial, despite only knowing minority rites in the Iron Age. Although interpretation is always difficult from negative evidence, this could support other aspects of the archaeological record in suggesting this was a period where disconnection with the dead was desired.

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14 Special deposit IDs 25, 26, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 282, 346, 385, 386, 422 and 340.

15 Human remains ID 20, 389 and 390

3.5 Field systems and enclosures

David Yates (1999; 2001; 2007) has recently enhanced our understanding of Bronze Age landscapes by collating data on a large number of field systems dating to the MBA and LBA discovered during commercial excavations. He and others regard these as an integral part of the social hierarchy, controlled by elites living in enclosures. It is argued that these enclosures were situated at the head of field systems within defined territories, and form a focus for high-status metalwork deposition (e.g. Bradley 1980; 2007, 206-24; Brown and Medlycott 2013, 159-61; Ellison 1980, 132-7; Rowlands 1980, 32-7). Within this model, field systems were designed to increase productivity to extract a food surplus that could be converted into power and prestigious metalwork. However, when we scrutinise the chronology of these sites it can be demonstrated that these three features – field-systems, enclosures and large quantities of metalwork deposition – are either not contemporary or are geographically distant, so cannot be used to build a coherent social model in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley.

Field systems date primarily to the MBA, continuing only into the first half of the LBA, with very few examples dating to the early first millennium cal BC. Appendix 4 summarises the dating evidence for field systems. The latest appear to have been abandoned just before the large quantities of Ewart Park metalwork appears. They are instead contemporary with the much smaller numbers of early Wilburton depositions. Enclosures in the Middle Thames near areas of field systems date to this later period, constructed after the fields fell out of use. Although enclosures in the Upper Thames tend to date to the earlier LBA, these are in areas where field systems do not occur. Although not appropriate for the majority of the study area, Yates' interpretation may have some bearing on its south-east periphery and areas further east (for alternative suggestions see Brück 2007, 33-4; Guttmann and Last 2000, 352-3; Needham 1993, 54-6).

Each enclosure and its landscape can be discussed to demonstrate this. Rams Hill saw three phases of construction in the later Bronze Age, the first dated to between 1255-1010 cal BC, the last 1010-915 cal BC (both at 68% confidence; Needham and Ambers 1994, 234, Table 2; Bradley and Ellison 1975; Piggott and Piggott 1940). The site is on the escarpment of the Lambourn Downs: virtually all excavated and surveyed field systems on the downs postdate the Bronze Age; possible exceptions are the unexcavated lynchet under Perborough Castle hillfort, and a possible MBA example at Lollingdon Hill. Both are distant from Rams Hill, and the latter is more likely to be Roman (see Appendix 4). Bronze Age field systems do not appear to be present in the Vale of White Horse, the area Rams Hill overlooks (Tingle 1991). Rams Hill was abandoned by the Ewart Park phase, with occupation instead dating to the periods before and after this phase of increased metalwork deposition. Eynsham Abbey also dates to the transition between the MBA and LBA; modelled radiocarbon dates indicates activity occurred within the bracket 1270-1040 cal BC (Barclay *et al.* 2001). Bronze Age field systems have not been discovered in the area, despite large-scale excavation taking place on the nearby gravels at, for example, Yarnton, Farmoor and around the river Windrush.

Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps is on a chalk hill adjacent to the Thames overlooking the flat gravels. Radiocarbon dating of the enclosure ditch indicates construction in the tenth century, and like Rams Hill was quickly followed by a period of abandonment as the molluscan and pollen evidence suggests woodland regeneration soon after construction (Allen *et al.* 2010; Reynolds 2010; Parker 2010). This site does however seem to have been revisited for deposition in the following centuries. Excavation has revealed a series of field systems on the nearby gravels, although only Eight Acre Field and Bradford's Brook might date to a period during which the enclosure was used. Eight Acre Field is clearly not geographically associated with the enclosure. The majority of the fields on the gravels date to the MBA, and appear to have been abandoned well before the construction of the enclosure.

LBA activity at Taplow is dated between the 11th and early ninth century, and like Rams Hill belongs largely before the great quantities of Ewart Park metalwork deposition (Allen *et al.* 2009). Extensive excavations nearby at Eton Rowing Course and the Flood Alleviation Channel uncovered multiple field systems dating to the MBA, but little LBA activity, and no field systems of this date (Allen *et al. forthcoming*). A further MBA field system was found at Weir Bank Stud Farm, but again there is no evidence this continued into the period contemporary with Taplow.

Marshall's Hill at Reading is a possible enclosure, although our understanding of the site is poor (Lambrick 2009, 347; Seaby 1932). Pottery from the interior appears to date either to the late LBA or Transition: field systems in this area date to the MBA and very early LBA. There is clear evidence for abandonment and disuse of the fields early in the LBA at Reading Business Park, where an extensive settlement was built over the field ditches. The enclosure recognised by aerial photographs at Mayfield Farm may date to the LBA, although excavation was inconclusive (Jefferson 2003, 13, fig. 3; Jon Cotton *pers. comm.*). There may be a relationship between this site and an adjacent field system, although the latter is better dated to the MBA. A field system probably dating to the LBA was, however, discovered at Stanwell c.2km to the north-west (O'Connell 1990; Appendix 4). Another enclosure was discovered at Staines Moor, c.2.5km to the west of Stanwell. Limited excavations were also inconclusive in providing a date, although it might date to the Transition given the pottery fabrics comprising flint, sand and grog, and the presence of a fingertipped rim (Brown 1972).

Despite large areas being exposed around many LBA settlements – especially Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry, Reading Business Park/Green Park, Yarnton, and Eton Rowing Course/Flood Alleviation Scheme – field systems are rarely found that are contemporary with LBA settlement, except those that date to the very beginning of the period. Many other very large excavations have failed to find LBA field systems: it instead appears that those built in the MBA were abandoned towards the end of the second millennium cal BC. Reasons for this will be explored further below.

Available interior evidence is unfortunately slim at most of these sites, and more excavation is needed to better understand the nature of activity. The two houses at Taplow and four at Rams Hill were all on the periphery of the enclosures, and fall within the smaller ranges of LBA houses (Fig. 3.6). This differs to large and/or centrally or conspicuously placed roundhouses that can be seen at other LBA enclosures, for example Thwing, North Yorkshire; the two sites at West Harling, Norfolk; and the Essex sites of Springfield Lyons (Brown and Medlycott 2013, fig. 2.9), Mucking North and probably Mucking South Ring (Evans *et al.* 2016, 151-3, fig. 3.12; Bond 1988, fig. 3), and South Hornchurch (Guttman and Last 2000, fig. 8). Environmental evidence at both Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps and Rams Hill sites suggests woodland regeneration quickly after construction, suggesting punctuated activity (Allen *et al.* 2010; Reynolds 2010; Parker 2010; Evans 1975).

Enclosures and field systems are not contemporary in the study area, so cannot be used to form a unified social interpretation. Enclosures in the Upper Thames date to the earlier LBA, but are not in areas of field systems. Most enclosures in the Middle Thames date to the later LBA, after field systems fell out of use. Taplow is the exception, but earlier LBA field systems are not present around this site despite extensive excavations. It is worth exploring some of the motivations behind the abandonment of these often extensive and dominating landscape features.

3.5.1 Abandoning field systems

Understanding why these sites were abandoned is just as important as understanding why they were initially constructed. However, abandonment is frequently overlooked and under-theorised, often thought of as just a natural stage in any site sequence. Functional explanations may be sought. Abandonment could be due to social changes – differences to farming regimes requiring different land management, or vice versa; or changes to social relationships and breaking down structures of tenure/ownership that provided the foundation for previous patterns. Factors external to society may be invoked – environmental change or population replacement by invasion. The argument of abandonment due to land becoming overworked and unfertile cannot be sustained wholesale for a number of reasons, although it could be a factor at some sites. First, field systems were in use for up to half a millennium through the MBA and early LBA before being abandoned; this careful, long-term management is confirmed by some positive evidence for manuring (Carruthers 2010, 12-53, cf. p.82). Second, at least some field systems appear to be constructed more for pastoral regimes than arable (Pryor 1996; Yates 2007, 129-30, 142; Fleming 2008, 133-5; Framework Archaeology 2010, 139), although the poor preservation of animal bone in the study area precludes more detailed analysis and meaningful discussion of pastoral change. Yates (1999, 163) notes that cereal does not appear to have been a major element of the Thames Valley field systems. In the West of London group there is evidence for fields being for both animals and crop.

It is likely that various factors had a role in the abandonment of the field systems. To understand why this occurred, it needs to be fully contextualised within the wider social context of the early first millennium BC. The dramatic change from a highly structured landscape would had to have been accompanied by changes to wider social and agricultural practices as these are dependent on landscape use. Specifically, land division is related to tenure; ownership of a landscape divided into blocks is easier to manage, especially between generations and smaller social groups. Abandonment of this system suggests a change in inheritance patterns to practices not as focused on passing specific blocks of land to others. Even if structuring inheritance was not a main reason for constructing the systems, after centuries of continued use this may have become important. Just as it has been argued that the appearance of field systems and enclosed settlements suggests a society consisting of more fragmented and small-scale communities (Brück 2000; Barrett 1994a and b), the abandonment of the fragmented landscape and regimes suggests a similar upheaval in social structures. This rupture from the past may indicate a change to one that was more communally minded, removing the landscape divisions that could segregate property and enforce inheritance through smaller, restricted channels. There is a contemporaneous move from primarily enclosed settlements in the Middle Thames Valley in the MBA to those being primarily unenclosed in the LBA. Opening up the landscape could open out ownership, in turn allowing communities comprising more individuals to use larger parcels of land with less segregation and social differentiation. The abandonment of field systems suggests more expanded and inclusive social relationships, with individuals and lineages not tied to specific land and inheritance. Field systems that *could* theoretically provide a means of segregating people into smaller communities by tying lineages together through defined inheritance and providing surplus for powerful minorities (cf. Yates 2007) were destroyed and abandoned. Instead, landscapes that favoured larger, more inclusive groups were either forged in areas where this did not previously exist, or continued existing open patterns. The presence of fairly large local groups with little desire to internally distinguish within them is suggested by a close reading of the metalwork, especially in the Ewart Park period.

3.6 Late Bronze Age Metalwork

This section introduces research on Thames Valley metalwork, followed by an interpretative summary of the Wilburton and Ewart Park material. It will be argued that in the Wilburton period the Thames should not be seen as a particularly rich area for deposition when contextualised with the lack of non-riverine finds and patterns in adjacent areas. Most of this material could be have belonged to a small number of medium-sized depositions. Patterns in the Ewart Park metalwork show regional differences in both object type and the treatment of material; distributions of other practices also follow these regions. Hoards can also be grouped following topographical placement and composition. Finally, reasons for metalwork deposition will be considered, along with a characterisation of the material, and an assessment of the evidence for metalworking.

3.6.1 Previous work

Bronze Age metalwork from the Thames has long been of interest, with the material being regarded as nationally important (Needham and Burgess 1980, 442-4; Bradley 1990, 24, Chap. 3; Thomas 1999, 117; Fox 1943, 66-7). The survey by Ehrenberg (1980) assessed the finds from the Thames above Teddington and provided some context with nearby non-riverine finds. Needham and Burgess (1980) looked at Thames finds mainly from Greater London, and their assessment of non-riverine finds covered the London Basin west of Royston-Mucking. Thomas (1984) evaluated the objects from the Thames at Wallingford, and later compared the dirks, rapiers and swords from the Thames Valley and Fenlands (Thomas 1999). York (2002) has studied the treatment of objects before they were deposited in the Thames upstream from Teddington. My dataset from the river therefore compares well with Ehrenburg (1980) and York (2002), although the non-riverine catchment is more extensive than Ehrenburg (1980), and has a more westerly focus than Needham and Burgess (1980), with some overlap.

Biases affecting the dataset have been explored in Appendix 10. Whilst recognising these problems, most commentating on LBA finds from the Thames stress the quantities of weapons recovered compared to axes and tools (Barrett and Bradley 1980, 261; Ehrenberg 1977, 24; 1980; Needham and Burgess 1980, 442-5; Lambrick 2009, 341-2; Sharples 2010, 99-102; Thomas 1999; York 2002). This is in absolute terms, compared to dryland finds, and compared to other regions. The presence of weapons in particular is used to argue the existence of a stratified society due to the interpretation that ownership of such prestige goods differentiates groups into those with power and weapons, and those without (e.g. Coombs 1975, 70-7; Ellison 1980; Harding 2000, 400-1; Hodges 1957, 55-6; Kristiansen 1998, 113-23; Rowlands 1980; Sharples 2010, 99-102; Yates 2007, 124-8). However, some of the specific characteristics of this metalwork will be explored below, arguing that this material was employed more to distinguish communities between regions rather than individuals within them. This is more apparent in the Ewart Park than Wilburton periods. Furthermore, when these finds are contextualised with both non-riverine finds from the Thames Valley and other nearby regions, it can be seen that the Thames above

Teddington is not particularly unusual either in terms of numbers of finds or relative quantities of particular types. Instead, it seems that the Thames was the preferred location for the deposition of metalwork by groups from the surrounding area within a framework of hoarding and single deposits that is seen in adjacent regions. This can be demonstrated by looking at the LBA in its constituent phases.

3.6.2 Wilburton

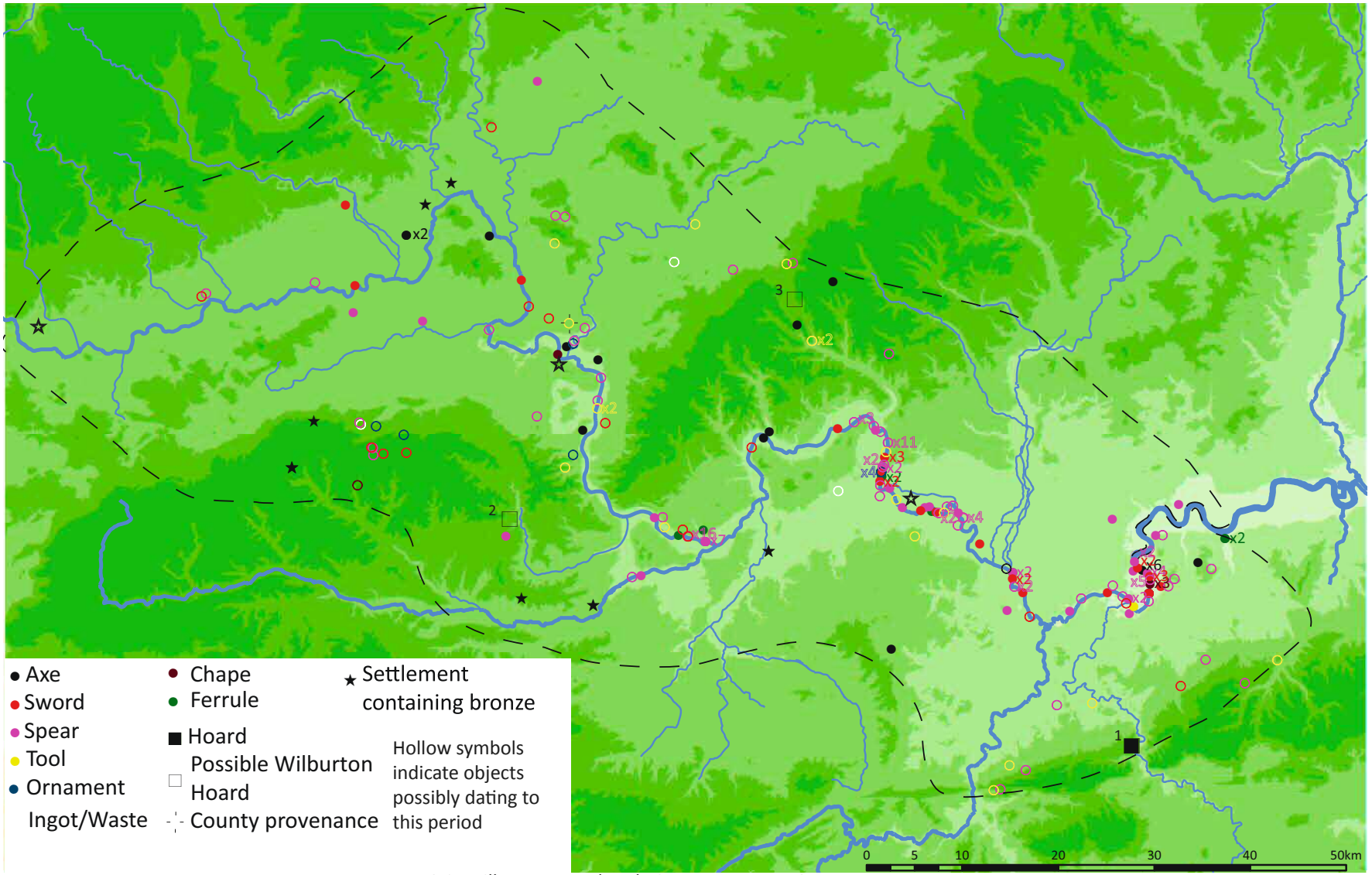
Although it is certainly true that the majority of finds from the Thames during the Wilburton phase are weapons and their accruements, in terms of relative proportions this is not an unusual occurrence compared to adjacent regions of southern Britain. Furthermore, due the dearth of non-riverine Wilburton material in the rest of the Thames Valley, the quantities from the Thames are not unusual compared to other regions of southern and eastern Britain.

The Wilburton period in southern and eastern Britain is characterised by often large hoards dominated by weapons (Coombs 1975, 54-63). These do not occur in the Thames Valley; instead we have only one certain small dryland hoard, and two other possible examples. Furthermore, it is likely that the only certain example – Norbury Park – dates to the very beginning of the period, the Limehouse subphase, rather than the period when the majority of Wilburton metalwork was probably deposited (Burgess 2012; Williams 2008; Appendix 1).

Interpreting Wilburton Thames finds

It is difficult to be sure of the circumstances of deposition in rivers – whether concentrations of finds represent a series of single deposits, small hoards, or a single large hoard. Despite this, recent opinion tends to assign these as single deposits (e.g. Bradley 2013, 131; Thomas 1999, 117), probably because conclusive evidence for hoards is rarely present. Placing this assumption on the material does, however, affect interpretation, and consequently proportions of finds from the Thames may have been over-emphasised.

Items from the Thames deemed associated by antiquarians must all be questioned (Thomas 1984, 12-4), although there are finds from rivers that appear to be hoards. This includes the Broadness hoard from the Thames estuary (Burgess *et al.* 1972), and the Wilburton hoard at Syon Park, just beyond the present catchment area. This was discovered in the process of being eroded from the banks of the Thames (Needham and Burgess 1980, 445). Analysis of Iron Age finds also demonstrates that hoards deposited in the Thames do not necessarily become dispersed. Currency bars were generally deposited as hoards (Hingley 2005), so it is reasonable to assume that multiple finds in the same place in the Thames were the result of a single event, rather than multiple separate single depositions. The practice in the Bronze Age of both hoarding and the placement of single objects makes it harder to understand depositional circumstances in this period than in the Iron Age. Of the four places currency bars have been found in the Thames, only one was found on its own. Of the three non-Thames riverine find spots, again only one was



Map 3.2. Wilburton metalwork. See Maps A11.1-6
Hoard references - 1. Norbury Park; 2. Hampstead Norreys; 3. Saunderton

found on its own (Hingley 2005, 202-3; Allen 1967, 333). It is best to interpret these Iron Age collections as hoards, demonstrating that finds of multiple Bronze Age objects in the same place could at least in some cases have been hoards placed in the river. Wilburton finds from the river cluster in a few areas, suggesting a good proportion of these may have been. At least one has good evidence that the objects were deposited together. This is the collection from Reading (Fig. 3.18).

Twenty-one spearheads have been found in the Thames at Reading, seven of which can be placed in the Wilburton phase with some confidence. This includes six stumpy spears with splayed sockets, and a long bladed spear with a short socket (Shrubsole 1906, fig. after p.184, no.6). None are of more certain Ewart Park type. 20 are in the Royal Ontario Museum, and all but one was bought from Llewellyn Treacher in 1907 (Pryor 1980, 11-4). There is reason to believe these were from Reading as 'Treacher was a serious collector who appreciated the importance of accurate provenance for the objects in his possession – many of which he found himself' (Pryor 1980, 1). Furthermore, six spearheads have been melted by intense heat, leaving them damaged and distorted. Included in this number are those of both certain and possible Wilburton date. This treatment prior to deposition is unusual, and it is likely that at least these six, if not all 21 spearheads belong to the same episode of deposition.[16] A ferrule of Wilburton date and the end of an unclassified sword blade were also found by Treacher at Reading (Pryor 1980, 17-8). It seems reasonable to suggest all were part of the same hoard deposited into or close to the Thames.[17] We may also tentatively include an axe (Shrubsole 1906, fig. after p.182, no. 5) clearly related to Schmidt and Burgess' (1981, 218, Pl. 86.1295-1303) 'miscellaneous slender socketed axes with rectangular sectioned bodies' as belonging to this Thames hoard. These are rare and appear to date early within the Ewart Park period; one was found at Peelhill, included here in the possible group of hoards which the Thames at Reading may also belong (see note 3.16). Less convincing although possible are the Ewart Park Southern and possible South-Welsh axes also found here: although the hoard appears to be Wilburton, others in the potential hoard group are transitionary containing Wilburton and Ewart Park types.

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[16] This appears to be part of a wider group of typically large hoards dating to late Wilburton, early Ewart Park, or a transitionary period between the two that focus on weapons – especially spearheads – where a number have been melted, and are often deposited in wet places. Other examples include Thames Street, London (this lies just outside the study area; Burgess *et al.* 1972, 239, fig. 24.2-7); Bishops Castle, Shropshire (Burgess *et al.* 1972, 240, fig. 27.1-8); Ashley, Hampshire (Burgess *et al.* 1972, 237, figs. 19-20); Peelhill, South Lanarkshire (Burgess *et al.* 1972, 239; Coles and Scott 1962-3); Wilburton, Cambridgeshire (Evans 1884; Bridgford 2000; Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, Pls. 145-52); Waterden, Norfolk (Bridgford 2000; Northover and Bridgford 2002); and Duddingston Loch, Edinburgh (Burgess and Colquhoun 1988, 52, 95, 98, Pl. 177; Callander 1922, 360-4, fig. 4; Burgess *et al.* 1972, fig.31.54).

[17] The more certain Wilburton spearheads 80, 83, 84, 90, 91, 93, 184. Also Sword 112; Axe 347; Other 30.

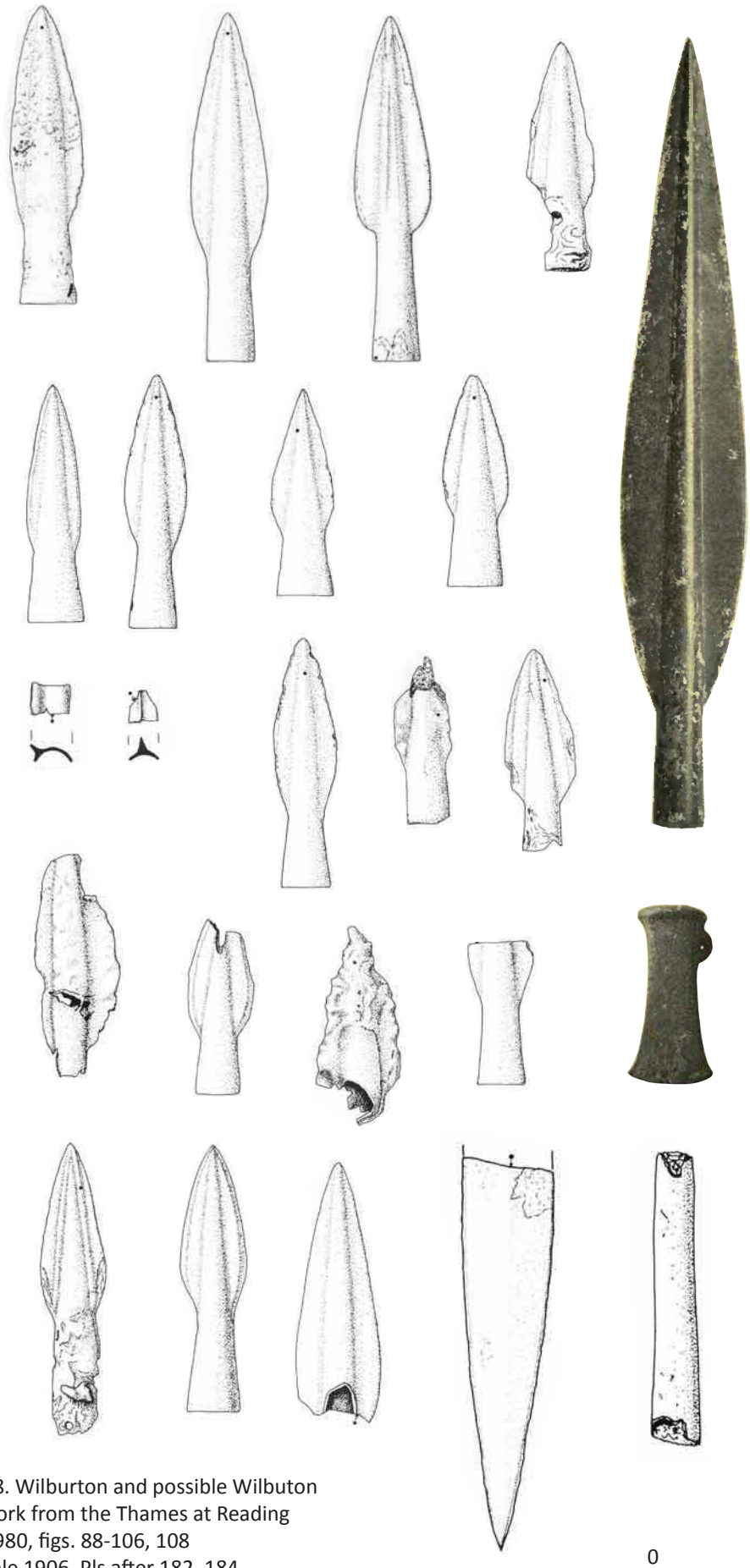

Fig. 3.18. Wilburton and possible Wilbuton metalwork from the Thames at Reading
Pryor 1980, figs. 88-106, 108
Shrubsole 1906, Pls after 182, 184

Another concentration of Wilburton material is at the Taplow/Maidenhead reach. Here, four swords, two ferrules and two spearheads of certain Wilburton date were found alongside 13 spearheads, a sickle and four bracelet fragments were also found that might be Wilburton.[18] Two of these swords have been fragmented in exactly the same way, possibly suggesting they were deposited at the same time. These swords, along with the ferrules and five to seven of the spearheads have previously been classed as a hoard, found in a creek and donated to the British Museum by Ada Benson in 1898 (Burgess and Colquhoun 1988, 43; British Museum records). These and at least some of the rest may belong to a riverine hoard. The bracelet is of a rare type, having longitudinal ribs running along each of its sides. The only associations of this type of bracelet are in the Isleham and Tower Hill hoards, dating respectively to the late Wilburton and Llyn Fawr periods (Davies 2012). Objects dating to the Ewart Park period found in the river below Taplow include a sickle, three axes, a decorated spearhead and a barbed spear dating to the beginning of the period. This latter object in particular could belong to the possible hoard (see note 3.16). One Gündlingen sword was found between Taplow and Bray.

The nearby proto-hillfort at Taplow was constructed in the 11th century BC, contemporary with the Wilburton period, with its LBA phases ending in the Ewart Park period. Riverine deposition may have been related to this site, although it is impossible to know the circumstances these objects entered the water. However, the Wilburton collection is comparable to hoards of this period outside of the Thames Valley, and it is possible that most of the material entered the river together.

The next concentration of Wilburton material is around Windsor. Here a sword, two spearheads[19] and a ferrule were found of more certain Wilburton date, alongside a sickle and four more spearheads that might date to the period. No certain Ewart Park or Transitional metalwork has been found here.

Another concentration of material is at Staines. Here, one sword and two spearheads of certain Wilburton date were found, alongside up to three spearheads and a socketed axe fragment that could belong to the period.[20] The sword, two of the spearheads and the axe fragment were apparently found together, and it has been conjectured elsewhere that these belonged to a hoard (Vulliamy 1930, 111; Burgess and Colquhoun 1988, 45). A Ewart Park and Carps Tongue sword have also been found in this stretch.

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[18] The more certain objects are Spearheads 49, 50; Swords 42, 44, 49, 53; and Other 46, 47. The possible objects are Spearheads 51, 52, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67; Tools 35; Ornaments 15, 16, 17, 18

[19] More certain Wilburton objects are Sword 47; Spearheads 35, 72; Other 58. Less certain are Spearheads 47, 70, 73, 74; Tools 34.

[20] The more certain Wilburton objects are Sword 43; Spearheads 10, 11. Less certain are Spearheads 151, 152, 153; Axe 345

The last concentration of material is at Kingston. Two swords, perhaps five possible late palstaves, four spearheads, three chapes and a ferrule date to the Wilburton period.[21] A barbed spearhead was also found, alongside six further spearheads that might be Wilburton. However, this concentration is much more difficult to understand as this area also saw much deposition in the Penard, Ewart Park and Llyn Fawr periods. Looking further down the river to the Lower Thames, Syon Reach immediately outside of the catchment area is the only other stretch that seems to have been a particular focus of deposition, and at least one hoard seems to have been deposited there (Needham and Burgess 1980, 445, figs. 7-8).

The objects considered here as possible Wilburton riverine hoards comprise 61% of the certain Wilburton objects from the river, and 68% of the riverine objects possibly dating to the Wilburton period. They also make up 42% of all non-settlement Wilburton finds. It therefore seems probable that much – perhaps the majority – of the Wilburton metalwork from the Thames resulted from a small number of medium-sized depositions within a framework paralleled to the south and north of the region. Furthermore, the concentrations from at least Reading and Taplow, and possibly Kingston, may be part of a wider group of hoards that has a considerable geographic distribution. These focus on weapons and especially spearheads, are deposited in wet places, with objects subjected to extreme temperature prior to deposition. These also tend to date to the transitionary period between Wilburton and Ewart Park, evidence by barbed spearheads and/or a mixture of types usually dated to both phases. We can therefore propose that a significant number of the Wilburton objects studied perhaps date to this transitionary period given the presence of rare barbed spearheads. We might, perhaps, consider the possibility that some of the Ewart Park objects also found in these stretches belong to these transitionary deposits. It is interesting to note that the only certain Wilburton dry-land hoard – Norbury Park – dates instead to the very beginning of the Wilburton phase.

Although the tendency to be cautious with uncertain hoard associations and concentrations in rivers – dismissing those that are not certain – is sensible in typological and association analyses, this automatically assumes these objects were instead single depositions. Again unimportant in traditional studies, this has a huge effect in how the data is perceived in social analyses. Social circumstances surrounding a large number of small deposits would be quite different to a small number of larger depositions spread over a long period of time. Rather than a picture of frequent destruction, it appears that Wilburton material was rather infrequently deposited and in smaller quantities than various adjacent areas. Given the relatively thorough programmes of dredging that the Thames has undergone, and the real lack of dryland hoards in the Thames Valley, the dataset for this area is also probably more complete than other areas. This lack of dryland finds in the region further compensates for the apparent large numbers of riverine objects. The picture the Wilburton metalwork presents, if we accept the presence of riverine hoards, is therefore one of limited destruction: small and infrequent deposition where the Thames is a clear focus,

[21] The more certain Wilburton objects are Sword 46, 51; Spearheads 97, 105, 141, 149, Axes 180, 181, 182, 320, 322 (identification of these as late palstaves is not certain); Other 25, 26, 48, 91.

perhaps drawing individuals and groups from a wide area in the Thames Valley to ritually destroy their weapons.

Wilburton Quantities

There are 106 certain Wilburton items in the catchment area, 66 of which are from the Thames and its tributaries. A further 168 objects might date to the period, of which 68 are from the river. Half of these possible objects are spearheads, 53 of which come from the Thames. Spears therefore make up most of the possible Wilburton objects from the river (Tables 3.2-3; Graphs 3.4-6).

Similar numbers of objects and proportions of types are present when we look at other areas. Although this is not the place for a comprehensive survey of LBA metalwork outside of the Thames Valley, comparison can be made between a small number of hoards from Hampshire and Cambridgeshire. When grouping five Wilburton and Broadward[22] hoards from Hampshire, and three from Cambridgeshire, numbers of objects and relative proportions of types in both areas are comparable to those from the Thames.[23] This also provides evidence that much of the Wilburton Thames material was deposited as hoards. The Thames has the smallest number of objects of these three groups, even when including those only possibly dating to the period. There are more axes in the Thames than in these hoards, and more possible ornaments and tools (Graphs 3.6-7). The catchment area of this study covers a larger area than those in Hampshire and Cambridgeshire.[24]

Overall, this demonstrates that in the Wilburton period the Upper and Middle Thames and its tributaries do not particularly stand out in southern and eastern Britain as being particularly rich in finds; neither is there anything distinctive about the relative quantities of certain object types over others. Instead, this region follows the depositional patterns seen elsewhere in the south, east and beyond, with a focus on weapons. What is distinctive is that the Thames itself seems to have been the focus of deposition; it seems people from the valley may have come considerable distances to put bronze objects into the river. However, the clustering of objects suggests that the Wilburton material may also have resulted from only a small number of medium-sized depositions, although this is very difficult to demonstrate with certainty. This focus on water is by no means unusual, and it is becoming increasingly clear that hoards and other deposits not obviously in wet locations nonetheless reference water (Yates and Bradley 2010a; 2010b).

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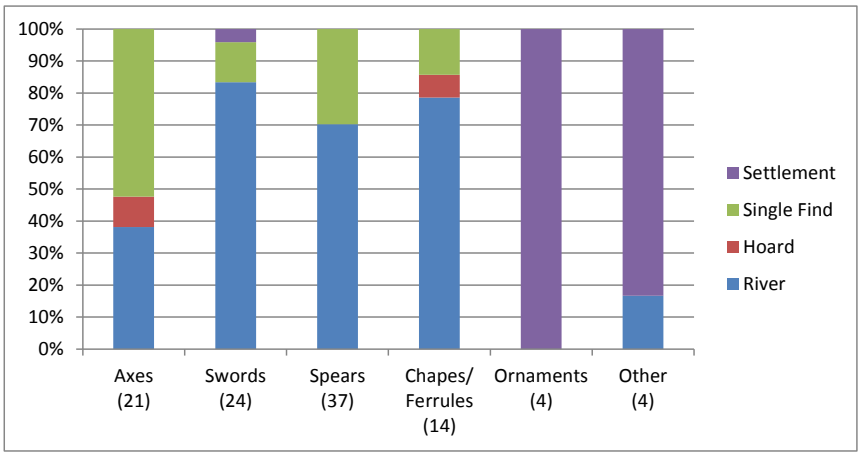
[22] Although Broadward hoards are later than most Wilburton hoards, there is considerable overlap in some types (see Appendix 1). Broadward also sees the continuation of Wilburton depositional practices (Coombs 1975). Furthermore, the Thames Valley Ewart Park corpus has no hoards that look early within the period, and most of this material belongs after Broadward in the mature Ewart Park phase (see Appendix 1). Including some Broadward material in this comparison is therefore justified.

[23] The Hampshire hoards are Winchester, Ashley Wood, Bossington, Blackmoor and Andover; the Cambridgeshire hoards Wilburton, Wicken Fen and Fulbourne Common. Information from Coombs (1971), Burgess *et al.* (1972) and Burgess and Colquhoun (1988).

[24] The areas covered in Hampshire and Cambridgeshire are c.300km^2 and 60km^2. These are both much smaller than the catchment of this study, covering c.5,750km^2

	River	Hoard	Single Find	Settlement	Total
Axe	8	2	11	0	21
Sword	20	0	3	1	24
Spearhead	26	0	11	0	37
Chape/Ferrule	11	1	2	0	14
Ornament	0	0	0	4	4
Other	1	0	0	5	6
Total	66	3	27	10	106

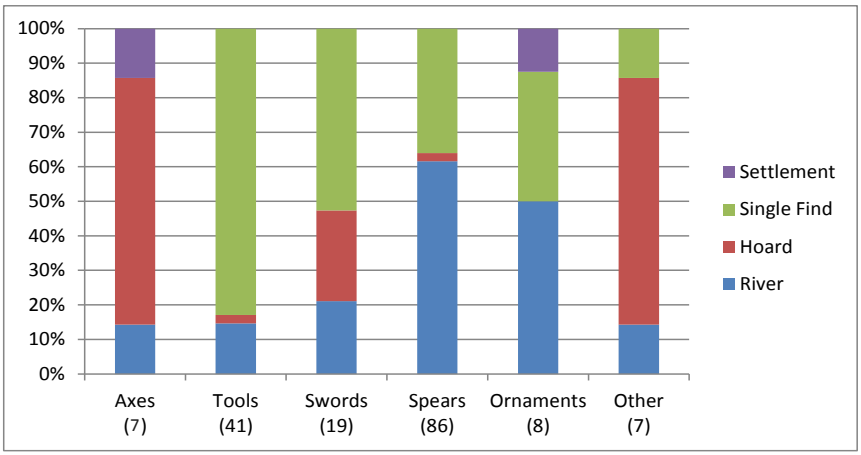
Table 3.2. Contexts of certain Wilburton metalwork



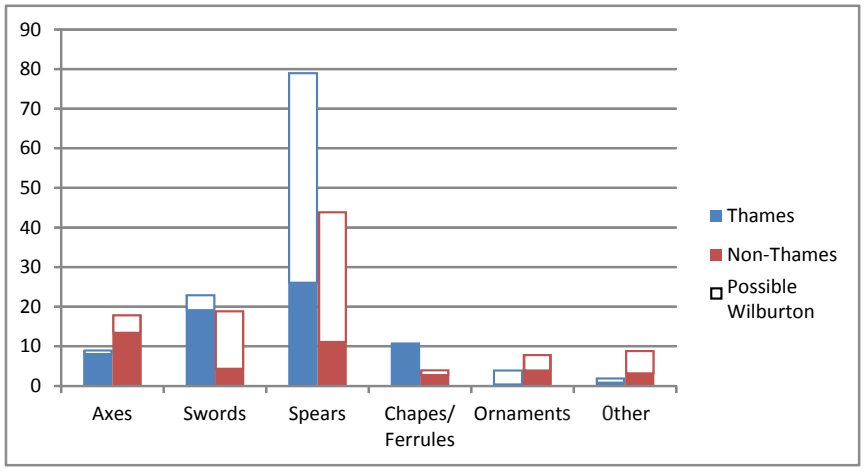
Graph 3.4. Contexts of certain Wilburton metalwork

	River	Hoard	Single Find	Settlement	Total
Axe	1	5	0	1	7
Tool	6	1	34	0	41
Sword	4	5	10	0	19
Spearhead	53	2	31	0	86
Ornament	4	0	3	1	8
Other	1	5	1	0	7
Total	69	18	79	2	168

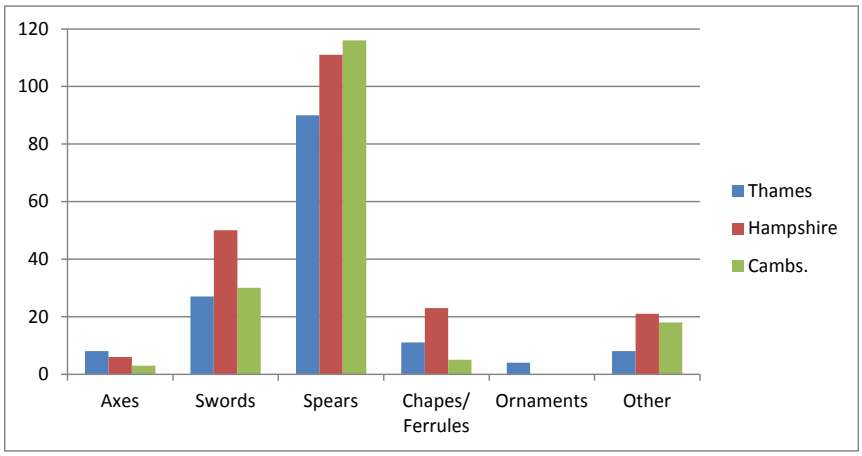
Table 3.3. Contexts of possible Wilburton metalwork



Graph 3.5. Contexts of possible Wilburton metalwork



Graph 3.6. Wilburton metalwork comparing riverine and non-riverine finds



Graph 3.7. Wilburton metalwork from the Thames and selected hoards in Hampshire and Cambridgeshire

It might be argued that this could be seen within a framework of elite competition, consumption and exchange, albeit of limited frequency. Such an interpretation seems more applicable to the Wilburton corpus than the Ewart Park metalwork given the emphasis on weapons at the expense of axes and tools in the earlier period. Indeed, the quite different depositional contexts and object types represented in these two phases argue that the conscious motivations and symbolic meanings behind metalwork consumption may have been quite different. Following a summary of Ewart Park depositional patterns, an alternative explanation of metalwork deposition is provided, alongside a reinterpretation of some of the peculiarities of the corpus.

3.6.3 Ewart Park

Although distinct changes do occur in the Ewart Park period, some patterns carry on from the Wilburton phase. Like regions to the south and east, this period has the greatest concentration of material, with a particular focus towards the end of the ninth century. Dryland hoards now become a feature in the Thames Valley: at least 22 are known, and a further ten might date to the period. None of these look early in the Ewart Park.

There are 370 objects definitely dating to the Ewart Park phase, and a further 213 that might.[25] The majority of the possible objects should belong to this period given the much higher frequency of demonstrable deposition. Of the definite objects, 74 are from the Thames and its tributaries, 203 are in hoards, 66 are single finds, and 27 come from settlements. Of the possible objects, 77 are from the river, 14 in hoards, 111 are single finds and 13 from settlements (Tables 3.4-5; Graphs 3.8-10). Although this is a large number of objects, it is far fewer than substantial parts of contemporary East Anglia and Kent (Pendleton 1992; Turner 1998; Coombs 1971, figs. 23-84, 90-168, 214-262, 297-350, 365-407; Weller 2014). In these areas, large hoards are common, often containing many dozens of objects. More than three times as many Ewart Park objects are known each from just hoards in Kent, Essex and Cambridgeshire than all the objects from the Upper and Middle Thames Valley.

The best known hoard in the Thames Valley is Petters Sports Field (Needham 1990). This is perhaps unfortunate as it is highly unusual when set among other Ewart Park hoards. Excluding metallurgical debris, Petters contains 77 objects. The next largest is Wickham Park on the edge of the study area with 18 objects. Overall excluding Petters, the average hoard size is just 5.6 objects; when hoards belonging to the Eastern Surrey North Downs group are excluded, this number is even smaller (see below). Non-riverine Ewart Park hoards of the Thames Valley can therefore be characterised by small deposits, and it is within this context that the river finds should be considered.

The situation is in some ways therefore similar to the Wilburton period, with many objects ending up in the Thames rather than being placed in dry-land hoards. Although hoards do now occur, these are generally small. Despite this, the Thames has now lost its dominant position as the primary location for the deposition of bronze. Only 20% of the total definite Ewart Park bronzes come from river contexts. There is also less clustering of objects in the Thames in the Ewart Park period, making it unlikely that many of these objects resulted from hoard deposits in the river.

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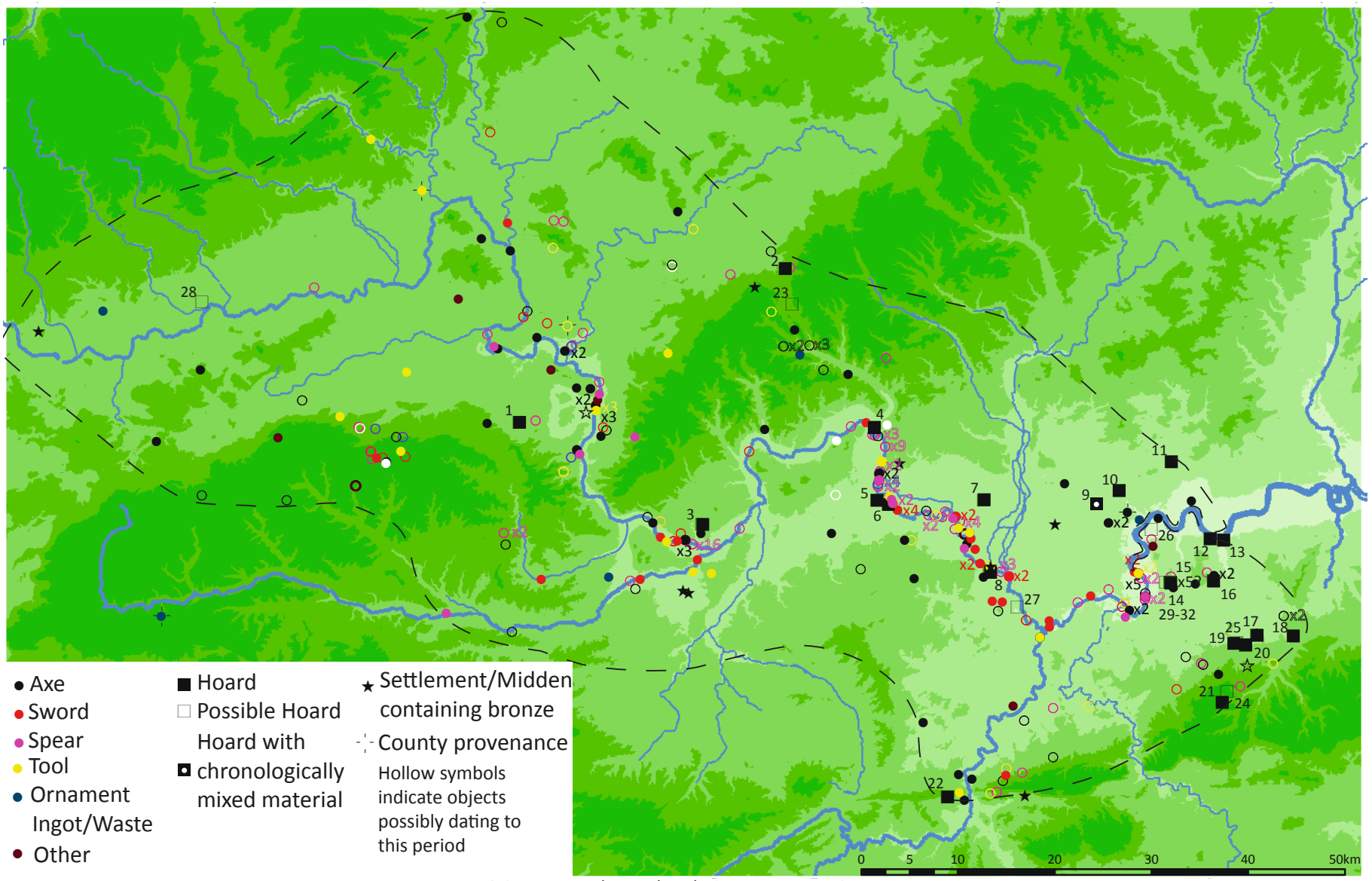
[25] Lumps, ingot fragments and scrap have been excluded in these quantities analyses as accurate numbers in published records are often inadequate; large numbers of small pieces inaccurately reflects the size of hoards; and the absence of these from the Thames is probably due in large part to these not being recorded or kept after retrieval (e.g. Syon Reach hoard – Needham and Burgess 1980, 445; Appendix 10).

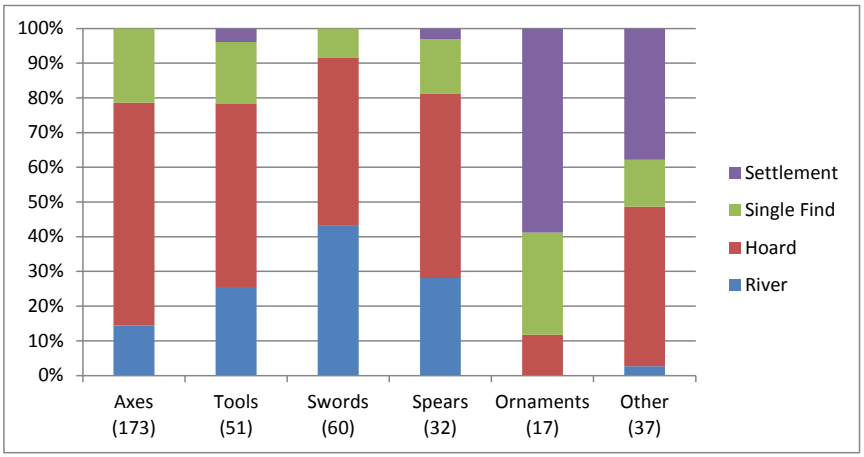


Map 3.3. Ewart Park metalwork. See Maps A.11.8-14

Hoard references for Map 3.3:
1 - Blewbury
2 - Princes Risborough
3 - Emmer Green
4 - Bourne End
5 - Hoveringham Gravel Pit 1, Bray
6 - Hoveringham Gravel Pit 2, Bray
7 - Langley Marsh
8 - Petters Sports Field
9 - Southall
10 - Hanwell
11 - Disraeli Road
12 - Wandsworth
13 - Wandsworth Gas Works
14 - Coombe Warren, Christs Hospital School
15 - Coombe Warren - George Gravel Pit
16 - Wimbledon
17 - Beddington
18 - Wickham Park
19 - Railway Cutting C, Carshalton
20 - Carshalton Park
21 - Perrotts Farm
22 - Hogs Back
23 - Saunderton
24 - Culgarth House
25 - Carshalton, Railway Cutting D
26 - Kew Gardens
27 - Laleham Burway
28 - Lechlade
29 - Coombe Warren, ?waste hoard
30 - Coombe Warren, ?ingot hoard
31 - Coombe Warren, ?ingot and waste hoard
32 - Coombe Warren, rising ground above Kingston

	River	Hoard	Single Find	Settlement	Total
Axe	25	111	37	0	173
Tool	13	27	9	2	51
Sword	26	29	5	0	60
Spearhead	9	17	5	1	32
Ornament	0	2	5	10	17
Other	1	17	5	14	37
Total	74	203	66	27	370

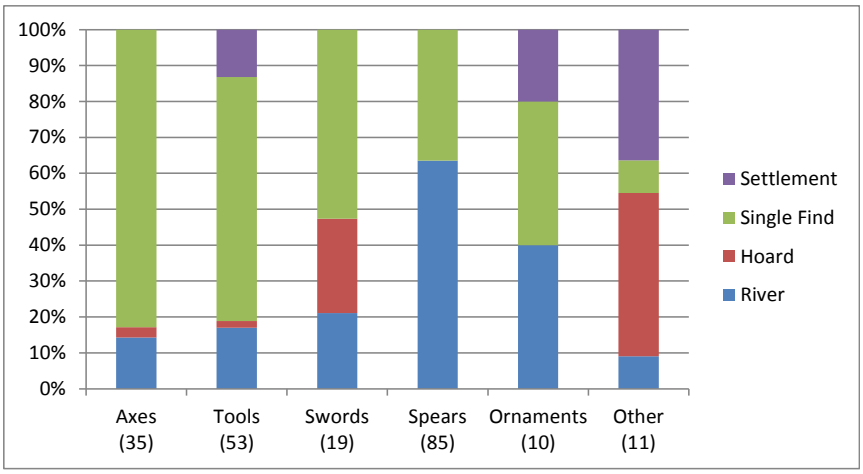
Table 3.4. Contexts of certain Ewart Park metalwork



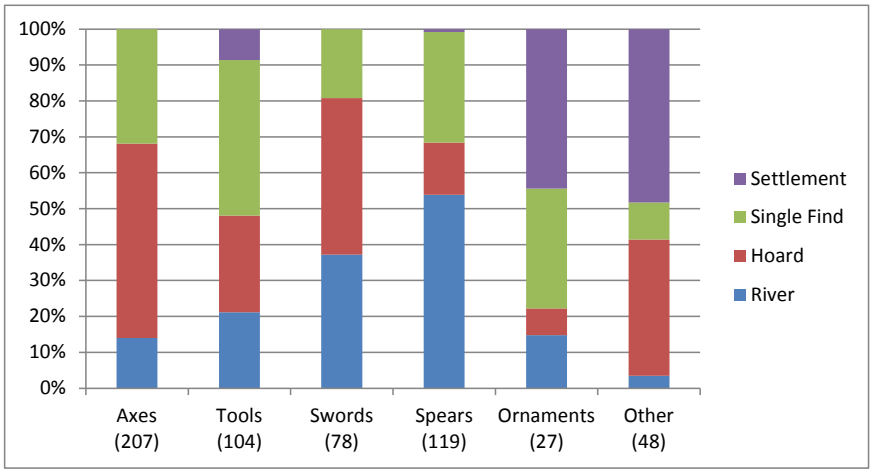
Graph 3.8. Contexts of certain Ewart Park metalwork

	River	Hoard	Single Find	Settlement	Total
Axe	5	1	29	0	35
Tool	9	1	36	7	53
Sword	4	5	10	0	19
Spearhead	54	0	31	0	85
Ornament	4	0	4	2	10
Other	1	5	1	4	11
Total	77	12	111	13	213

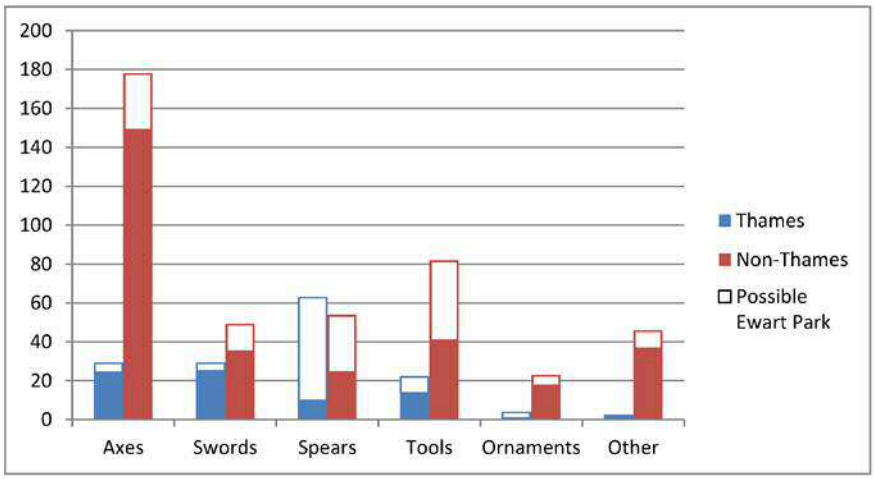
Table 3.5. Contexts of possible Ewart Park metalwork



Graph 3.9. Contexts of possible Ewart Park metalwork



Graph 3.10. Contexts of certain and possible Ewart Park metalwork



Graph 3.11. Ewart Park metalwork comparing riverine and non-riverine finds

There are some differences in terms of where certain object types were deposited. 58-65% of finds from all major categories were found in hoards, 9-22% were single finds, and 14-43% from the river. The river and settlement categories are therefore the most diverse – 14% of definite Ewart Park axes and 44% of swords come from the Thames.[26] There is therefore an emphasis on weapons in the Thames, but this does not detract from substantial occurrences in hoards, or as single finds, especially if we include at least some of the increasing number of unclassified fragmented examples (Tables 3.4-5; Graphs 3.8-10).

Ornaments and 'other' objects stand out as larger numbers have been found on settlements. This is common across Britain, with pins being the only bronze object commonly found on settlements (Davies 2012). Other find types more common in settlements than other contexts are tweezers and razors. These are related to ornaments as they are to do with bodily presentation.

Ewart Park Hoards

Dryland hoards can be placed into four consistent groups, considering both content and topographical location. The majority fit into one of these four groups. These are: Thames-side, Tributary, Eastern Surrey North Downs and Coombe Warren. The Thames-side group are also commonly located near tributary confluences (Appendix 11.1). The placement of these latter hoards suggests that at least some of the river finds could have originally have been dry-land deposits that subsequently eroded into the river, and that some of the Thames-side hoards could originally have been river deposits that subsequently became areas of dry land following shifts in the river channel (e.g. Needham 2000, 221-37).

The Thames-side group consists of Petters Sports Field, Bray Hoveringham Gravel Pit 1 and 2, Bourne End, Wandsworth Gas Works, Wandsworth, and probably Lechlade. Kew Gardens and Laleham Burway may also belong to the group, although little is known about these. The next group of hoards were placed by tributaries of the Thames. These consist of Hanwell, Blewbury, Princes Risborough, and possibly Langley Marsh, Wimbledon and Beddington. Although Beddington was placed near the river Wandle, it might be better considered as belonging to the Eastern Surrey North Downs group. This latter group also consists of Wickham Park, Carshalton Park and Carshalton Railway Cutting C and possibly Railway Cutting D hoard. Perrotts Farm might belong to this group. These lie on the south-eastern edge of the catchment area: numerous other hoards belonging to the group lie outside the catchment area and are not included in this study. This group has been previously identified by Needham (1987, 120). These hoards sit close to the broadly contemporary Carshalton enclosure: this association will be discussed below. The final group of hoards is at Coombe Warren, above Kingston (Field and Needham 1986). Understanding the exact nature of activity here is difficult due to inconsistent recovery and recording, although there appears to have been a series of ingot and scrap deposits alongside a smaller number of

[26] The proportion of spearheads in the Thames might be slightly higher as a large number cannot be more accurately phased than to the general LBA. These have been classed as possible Ewart Park.

axes and weapons. An enclosed settlement may have been present here, and pottery recovered is of later plain post-Deverel-Rimbury type, contemporary with Ewart Park.

Along with topographical similarities, each hoard group also shares characteristics in composition. Those near tributaries are generally small axe hoards containing metallurgical debris. The Thames-side hoards are typically larger, more fragmented and more varied than the tributary hoards, containing weapons and tools as well as axes and metallurgical debris. Interestingly, there appears to be a purposeful selection of different types of axes in these hoards, with numerous types usually being represented rather than repetition of one or two. This may also be apparent in some tributary hoards, although recognition is more difficult in this latter group. They all appear to be associated with confluences with tributaries. Recognition of topographic and compositional similarities makes the possible small dispersed hoard at Lechlade more likely to be genuine as it shares these features with other Thames-side hoards.

The Eastern Surrey North Downs hoards usually contain axes, weapons, tools and metallurgical debris. However, unlike the Thames-side examples, the typological inclusion of axes is much more restricted. These are entirely confined to South Eastern and End Winged types: hoards of this group immediately outside the study area often contain many axes and are also dominated by these two types. The South Eastern axes are also occasionally have wing ornamentation. This pattern also appears to be present in the single finds in the locality: none of the other axe types occur in the Eastern Surrey North Downs region of the study area that are common closer to the Thames. Also present in this group are other Carps Tongue elements. Carps Tongue objects occur only very rarely in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley outside of this locality: indeed Petters may be regarded as the westerly limit of the general distribution as this hoard contains some of these elements, although it is better placed in the Thames-side group. Some explanation for this group can be given when compared with hoards and other features outside of the study area. It will be demonstrated in 3.7 that this metalwork distribution follows the distribution of numerous other features, and can be interpreted as a belonging to a different cultural group.

3.6.4 Destruction and Deposition

It has been argued that the Wilburton metalwork largely resulted from a modest number of medium-sized depositions. Also, many more Ewart Park phase objects are known in the Carps Tongue regions to the east. Despite these factors, there are still a huge number of objects and depositional events in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley during at least this latter period. This is especially apparent when compared to other prehistoric periods, and when quantities are broken down into the average number of metal objects we have for each year (see 7.1.3; Table 7.6; Graphs 7.11-2). This demonstrates that the peculiarities of these assemblages are underpinned by peculiarities in contemporary social logic. The large numbers of objects resulted from frequent deposition in the Ewart Park, a specific choice that makes no ‘functional’ sense within our own western logical systems as bronze objects can easily be recycled. The same

underlying patterns of increased destruction, deposition and abandonment can be seen in the treatment of houses, settlement space, metalwork, some pottery vessels and some landscapes, especially in the Middle Thames in the Ewart Park period, but apparent throughout the LBA across the region.

It is argued here that the underlying reason for this was twofold. First, personhood was regarded to have extended into at least some of the objects, houses and places intimately associated with an individual; and second that the overarching social expectation was that community affiliations should include those from a relatively wide area, rather than identity being shared primarily with ancestors or family members (see 2.2-4). The material culture a person used and settlement they lived in were thought to contain some of their essence: after death, it was deemed necessary to destroy these things as the person no longer belonged in the living community or was identified with it. It is not suggested that these factors were explicitly known or could be easily articulated by every person in the LBA, just as an anthropologist commenting on one's own society can provide hitherto unrecognised explanations for behaviours and beliefs. Personhood extending into objects and the dead not being involved in identity and community construction manifested themselves as taboos around the use of objects, houses and places heavily associated with those who had died or otherwise changed social category to the extent that it was thought that these material things should be destroyed. This in turn resulted in the idiosyncrasies of the archaeological record of the LBA – short-lived houses and settlements; large quantities of fragmented metalwork from frequent depositional events; special deposits consisting of complete but fragmented pots; possibly some very large pottery assemblages; and other factors.

This model further helps to explain the large numbers of purposefully destroyed metal objects. In these cases, it seems objects were ritually 'killed'. York (2002) has demonstrated that none of the EBA metalwork from the Thames was deliberately destroyed, but this practice begins in the early MBA, becoming increasingly popular before peaking in the Ewart Park period[27]. This practice includes artefacts being chopped at right angles; crushed or struck in a manner inconsistent with primary use; bent to breaking point; and burnt or twisted (York 2002, 80). Such destruction is even more prevalent with dry-land finds. None of the swords from hoards are complete, and only two (10%) of the single finds are complete. These are of Limehouse and Taplow types[28] and date to the transition between the MBA and LBA. Only 19% of the spearheads from hoards are complete, although 45% of non-hoard dry-lands finds are complete. Just over half of the Ewart Park axes from both the hoard and single find categories are complete, compared to 75% of Wilburton dry-land axes. This brief analysis does not, however, attempt to distinguish between pre- and post-depositional fragmentation, nor fragmentation/destruction resulting from

[27] 25% of Acton/Taunton spearheads were destroyed, rising to 44% in Penard, and finally to 60% in Wilburton/Ewart Park. 39% of Penard swords were destroyed, compared to 70% of the Wilburton examples, and 74% of those dating to the Ewart Park. This then falls to 40% of the Gunlingen swords, dating the eighth century. Fewer LBA axes were destroyed – 13% - but this is still a rise from 8% during the MBA (York 2002, 84-9).

[28] Swords 28, 37.

use. Recent finds reported under the Portable Antiquities Scheme are much more frequently fragmented compared to those reported through other avenues, suggesting that real proportions of fragmentation are higher than our dataset currently suggests (see Appendix 10). Nevertheless, there is a clear increase in destruction through the Later Bronze Age in all categories of object, peaking at the same time as metalwork deposition peaks. The effort required to fragment or 'kill' the sturdier objects in a manner that does not prepare the material for recycling should not be underestimated, and often this was a significant undertaking.

Destruction through fragmentation, 'killing' or deposition in an unretrievable location (and indeed dry-land contexts, as many objects were never retrieved in antiquity), suggests a purposeful desire to break from the past and the context of the objects use. This could have happened at a moment of social transition, passing from one social status to another, including during funerary rituals.[29] Such transitions are almost always marked by ritualised activity, dramatizing change. These often include symbols of separation, making otherwise abstract social processes visual. Such acts commonly include breaking, cutting and tearing: the fragmentation and destruction of objects fit well within this framework, especially if separation from the deceased is desired (van Gennep 1960; Lindholm 1997). Such metaphorical relationships between people and their possessions have been previously recognised in the Later Bronze Age (Brück 2001a; 2006b). The destruction and deposition of objects seems to be associated with the change in social status in both the LBA and Transitional phases at Potterne, Wilts. Recent analysis of the large collection of shale bracelets found that they were of a standardised size, large enough only to be worn by children. There were also clear patterns in fragmentation, and none were complete. It is suggested that these were related to life-cycle rituals, with destruction and deposition marking an end to one stage in the human lifecourse (Brück and Davies *in prep.*). The link between metalwork deposition and funerals is also often made, especially for the LBA.

In southern Scandinavia, for example, Goldhahn argues that LBA smiths were ritual specialists who also performed cremations, as bodies here were burnt at high temperatures only possible in furnaces, and cremation burials and metalworking are frequently associated (in Bradley 2013, 129-30). In southern Germany, copper waste, weights and unfinished bronze objects are found in burials (Winghart 2000), and on a wider European scale there are certain key relationships. In regions or time periods where furnished burials occur, the same objects found in graves are likely to be deposited in watery contexts in the adjacent region or time period, if furnished burials do not exist (Bradley 1990, 99-102; Torbrügge 1971). As furnished burials decline, objects such as swords are instead deposited in rivers.

These observations are applicable to the current study area: furnished burials are unknown, but water deposits frequent. More specifically, over 300 human skulls have been found in the Thames, often from the same places that produce Bronze Age metalwork (Bradley and Gordon

[29] For ethnographic examples and interpretation of the destruction of property following the death of an individual, see 2.4.2.

1988). These tend not to show significant signs of rolling, suggesting they were found close to where they were deposited (Schulting and Bradley 2013, 52). One example from Mortlake has a LBA radiocarbon date (1020-800 cal BC; 95% confidence), and was apparently found beneath 'bronze implements'. Another without a date has green copper staining, resulting from prolonged contact with a copper-alloy object; another still was found at Staines with a 'bronze vase and spearheads and a bone spearhead'. Lastly, a skull was found with a Ewart Park sword at Wraysbury (Schulting and Bradley 2013, 32; Bradley and Gordon 1988, 505; Chadwick 1982, 102). Several programmes of radiocarbon dating demonstrate that although examples are known from the Neolithic to Medieval period, they cluster in the LBA to LIA (Schulting and Bradley 2013, Table 6). Alongside the large number of direct water deposits, virtually all the dryland hoards outside of the Eastern Surrey North Downs group as well as numerous single finds closely reference water (Appendix 11.1). This parallels deposition in adjacent regions (Yates and Bradley 2010a; 2010b). No general rule distinguishing wet and dry deposits should therefore be made.

The association of water, metalwork and human remains is paralleled elsewhere in Britain, Ireland and other parts of Europe (Schulting and Bradley 2013, 53-69). For example, the Duddingston Loch, Edinburgh, hoard was found alongside human skulls and other bones. The metalwork was subjected to intense heat (Callander 1922). This find is practically relevant as it shares many similarities with the proposed late Wilburton Thames river deposits (see note 3.16). One of these is at Reading, where a number of spearheads were also melted. The Limehouse sword from Mortlake was also burnt at a very high temperature (Burgess and Colquhoun 1988, no.97); metallographic analysis of swords has demonstrated that this occurs with some frequency, and much more common than visual inspection suggests as intense burning unrelated to production processes can often only be seen microscopically (Bridgford 2000, 216-8). This particular treatment of metal objects also provides a further connection between deposition and funerary rituals. Such burning could have occurred on a funeral pyre and accompanied human cremations (Bridgford 1998, 210-2). Although evidence for human remains is poor, at least 23 cremations are known from the Upper and Middle Thames Valley, comprising more than twice as many non-riverine unburnt remains. Indeed, the lack of human remains may suggest that cremation was at least popular, even if the formal burial of the remnants was generally rare. Even if metal objects were not burnt during human cremations, similar pyrotechnical treatment of objects and bodies at the end of their lives suggests these were at least metaphorically linked (Brück 2006b). A further suggestion could be made about the Thames skulls in this respect. At least some date to the LBA, and considering the available types of non-blunt weapons a surprising number of these have unhealed blunt force trauma (Schulting and Bradley 2013, 34-40). Rather than this causing death, it is possible that skulls were purposefully fragmented after death as part of the funerary rite, mirroring the treatment of metalwork.[30] Overall, there are clear links between

30 This would find an ethnographic parallel in the Hindu practice of *kapal kriya* where the chief mourner smashes the deceased skull during cremation (Parry 1994, 177). Interesting, Parry (1994, 177) further notes that a large pottery vessel is also smashed, which is a recapitulation of the skull. These rites represent the final death and symbolically destroys the attachment between the living and dead: 'as

the treatment of human remains and metalwork, adding to the interpretation that metalwork deposition occurred principally at funerals, or other transitionary periods in the human lifecycle.

Understanding the specific conscious reasons for, and circumstances surrounding, hoarding and other metalwork deposition is difficult, even if something of the underlying motivation and effects can be suggested. Given the wide variations in this practice in one area and at one given time – let alone considering the phenomenon diachronically – clearly no single reason can be given, and the interpretation proposed here is not meant to be widely applicable throughout the European Bronze Age. Each region and time period needs to be studied contextually. Perhaps most were broadly 'votive', but this does not preclude a variety of other more specific circumstances surrounding metalwork deposition. It is suggested here that much of the LBA material in Southern Britain seems to have been related to changes in the social status of individuals or groups, including deaths and funerary rites. Given the wider range of objects deposited, this seems more applicable to the Ewart Park period than Wilburton, or at least the practice was afforded to a wider range of individuals and situations. Objects are ritually 'killed', the treatment of metalwork and bodies appears similar, but most importantly metalwork destruction and deposition parallels the treatment of other aspects of the material world closely associated with individuals: like metalwork, houses, settlements, pottery, other possessions and even some landscapes were periodically destroyed and abandoned. Metalwork deposition cannot be interpreted in isolation from these other phenomena. It seems most likely this destruction occurred during changes in the social status of individuals, assisting these lifecycle transformations by manifesting them physically. That it was deemed appropriate to destroy material things closely associated with individuals suggests two processes: first that personhood extended into these objects so the death of a physical or social person needed to be accompanied by the death of the objects; and second that there was social pressure to forget the dead. This in turn suggests that identity was not situated around lineage or kin, instead based more on wider living groups. The ethnographic basis of this interpretation has been outlined in 2.2-4.

The exact contexts surrounding metalwork deposition are still open to question: objects need not be destroyed immediately after death or other change; and only some may be afforded this ritual. The limited object types represented in the Wilburton period could be explained by this: the practice may have been more restricted in this phase. The frequent inclusion of waste in hoards suggests that objects may have been melted down with only token amounts deposited; fragmented objects in hoards also rarely if ever join, again suggesting the inclusions of only token amounts following their destruction, with the remainder presumably recycled. The appearance of occasional unused objects, for example in the Blewbury hoard, may be related to the change

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the saying goes, 'pot broken, relationship finished''. Kapoor (2010) describes: 'having gone through the experience with both my parents, I can say that this one act breaks all the attachment to the deceased. Before doing it, you shiver – for this person was alive just a few hours back – but once you hit the skull, you know what burns in front of you, is after all just a body. All attachments are gone.' If this did occur in the LBA, it might be another example of purposeful distancing between the living and dead.

of status of a smith, or perhaps these objects were created specifically for a lifecycle ritual that included its deposition. Such unused objects more frequently date to the Transition: a good example of this is the Tower Hill hoard.

The interpretation that metalwork was deposited due to an anthropologically widely held belief of the necessity to give back to the earth part of what is taken from it (e.g. Helms 2009; Bradley 2013, 130) is not appropriate in regions like south-east England that are devoid of ores. It is unlikely that those living in such regions believed that metal was 'redolent with the cosmological life force of the earth that originally generated them', and needed to be given back to the earth (Helms 2009, 155). No smelting occurred in the Thames Valley as metal was imported as both ingots and objects. It is likely that the processes of extraction and even the existence of metal-producing stone ores were not known to those living distant from areas where mining and smelting was occurring. We can see this among the American Northwest coast society. The Ahtna controlled the exchange of copper and the source region of native copper in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries AD (Cooper 2012). The neighbouring Tlingit, however, believed copper came from encounters with superhuman creatures (Kan 1989, 240-4). If Bronze Age smiths did not know copper and tin originated from the earth, they would not need to give it back to the earth.

The Thames-side hoards usually include a wider variety of weapons, tools and other objects than hoards of the other groups, and there is a remarkable inclusion of different types of axes. This is quite different to the homogeneity seen within the Surrey Eastern North Downs group. This looks purposeful, and it suggests that our axe typology was in some ways recognised and meaningful in the LBA. Each axe type has its own distributional cluster; those relevant to this study area during Ewart Park are often broadly represented in their modern names: South-Welsh, Southern English and South-Eastern. The deliberate inclusion of different types might indicate a desire to represent difference within a bounded hoard. It is tempting to suggest that at least some of these objects were carried from the areas of their main distribution, perhaps with marriage partners, where different forms continued to represent the origins of certain individuals. However, the evidence from moulds suggests that common types were made locally, although the Petters South-Welsh axe mould is particularly interesting. This is made from keratophyre, a rock type fairly rare in Britain but present in Wales and the south-west peninsula (Needham 1981, 26)[31]. Distribution of the axes themselves centres on south Wales and north Somerset, with fewer numbers across much of the rest of southern Britain and parts of France (Needham 1981, fig. 10; Schmidt and Burgess 1988, 239-41). Perhaps moulds were carried with moving peoples, making it possible to keep remaking axes of a local type more suitable to their homeland. They may instead have been exchanged via various mechanisms, visibly representing social relationships long after the

[31] It is probably from the same geological intrusion as the South-Welsh mould from Burderop, just outside the study area at the bottom of the chalk escarpment of the Marlborough Downs. Another mould from Bulford on Salisbury Plain is of a similar rock and may be from the same source. Moulds of this rock have not been found near their source; the other stone moulds of this axe type have been found in Cornwall and used a different local rock (Needham 1981).

event. However, any symbolic meaning of different object types was no doubt contentious and contextual, with multiple interpretations being simultaneously appropriate. Despite this, a desire to incorporate diversity can be recognised in the Thames-side hoards, although this diversity only stretches to locally abundant types, not those with non-local provenances. This might be evidence that these hoards were not the possessions of single individuals, but collections of objects from a variety of people. If related to deaths – physical or social – perhaps these objects were kept for a period of time before being deposited together at a larger communal event.

2.6.5 Manufacture, Form and Distribution

This section will assess metalwork production and distribution, arguing that the contexts surrounding metalwork creation and decisions about form, decoration and distribution suggests that social competition was of little importance in the employment of this aspect of material culture, especially in the Ewart Park period. Such choices may in fact have worked to undermine the potential role that metalwork could play in social differentiation.

Metalworking

Metalworking evidence has been found on 13 (26%) settlement sites, and moulds are known from four hoards. The context of a further mould found at Coombe Warren is unknown. Most of the major metalwork types are represented by these[32]. Each site has produced only very small quantities of metalworking material – no more than one or two items seem to have been produced on each occasion, and there is no evidence for regular repeated episodes of metalworking at any site. An exception may be Coombe Warren where many ingots and copper alloy lumps have been found, although not enough contextual information is known and the discovery of only one mould is certain.

Metalworking was not favoured at any particular type of site. It is evidenced from a cross-section of sites, including single-phased and multi-phased unenclosed settlements, pit spreads, field systems, island sites and enclosures. There is no discernable difference between the contexts of the production of different broad types: there is no separation between potentially high and low-status objects. The two sword moulds are from otherwise very unassuming locations – a small unenclosed pit spread at Lea Farm, and a well next to a field ditch at Cranford Lane. Surveys of both refectory assemblages and metalworking on settlements from elsewhere in Britain suggest similar patterns with some local variation, principally in Essex and Kent (Needham and Bridgford 2013, 68-74). Small amounts of metalworking debris are also found at around 30% of all excavated

[32] Details of up to 24 LBA moulds are included. Up to 10 are undiagnostic, consisting of one each from Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps and Coombe Warren, alongside four unidentified fragments from different contexts at both LBA Runnymede and Aldermaston Wharf. Identified moulds were used to cast probably two late palstaves at Cotswold Community; South-Eastern axes at Blewbury, Wickham Park and Beddington; South-Welsh axes at Petters; Southern axes at Cotswold Community and Southall; a Limehouse phase sword at Lea Farm; a spear at Reading Business Park; a probable sword and spearhead from Cranford Lane; a razor from Runnymede; and a ring from Cassington West. We therefore have evidence for local production of all the common axe types except faceted axes.

LBA sites in southern Britain: a very similar percentage to the study area (Sophia Adams *pers. comm.*). Even swords, the object sharing the widest geographical typological similarities, have specific regional patterns in their finishing techniques, demonstrating these were generally not exchanged a great distance from where they were produced (Bridgford 2000, 226-7). While recognising the shortcomings of our refectory assemblages (Needham and Bridgford 2013, 68), this still gives the picture of small-scale, domestic production of all types.

Metalworking is often thought to have been a highly-charged magical and transgressive process in prehistory, with the smith having special status and perhaps working outside of normal social boundaries (Budd and Taylor 1995; Hingley 1997; cf. Childe 1930, 4, 10; 1958, 169). We now have enough evidence of metalworking to begin to reconstruct its organisation rather than solely relying on information from other societies, although evidence for metalworking is still under-represented given the number of objects we have. The archaeology currently suggests that metal production was a process that was not significantly separated from everyday life. This does not rule out ritualised aspects, but these should not necessarily be qualitatively different from other productive activities: each is understood within logical systems that are different from our own. Given that mining and smelting did not occur in the Thames Valley, metalworkers did not have to navigate the more intrinsically magical process of transforming stone to metal, and therefore their association with cosmologically powerful processes is less necessary.

Ethnographically, it is not unusual for metalworking to be part of everyday village life: specialists rarely exist unless supported by privileged minorities. In places without this degree of specialisation metalworkers are often closely supported both socially and practically by the community, with members being heavily involved and even physically helping in the process of manufacturing. Aside from their metalworking duties, smiths tend otherwise to be fully engaged in society, but are often seen as different, either positively or negatively (Barber 2003, 129-34; Rowlands 1971). Archaeologically there currently does not appear to be either specialised production centres or smiths employed by privileged minorities. This is evidenced both by the wider social context and the specific contexts where metalworking has been found. The technical proficiency required to create some objects, particularly swords, fancy spearheads and MBA shields, does for some give *a prioiri* impression of specialists (e.g. Bridgford 2000, 217; Davis 2006, 86; Rowlands 1976, 63-4, 116-25), but we could equally suggest that this was carried out by highly skilled individuals primarily travelling to settlements within fairly restricted areas to cast bronze objects, but otherwise being members of the community, and perhaps carrying out other ritual roles. Factors such as individual skill, experience or ritual status might prevent smiths from producing the full range of objects, but as the available evidence gives the impression of small-scale metalworking from all types of sites, special and even supernatural connections potentially ascribed to objects of skilled craftsmanship are reduced (cf. Helms 1993, 11-88; Gell 1992b; 1998; 2.4.5). It is, however, problematic that evidence for metalworking is still under-represented given the number of objects that we have.

Form and Decoration

One of the key features of LBA metalwork is the surprisingly high levels of homogeneity that occurs within almost all types. It must be questioned why it was chosen not to individualise and symbolically elaborate these objects, despite the ability to do so. Within each functional class of material a few contemporary types exist. For example, the various Ewart Park period axes include Southern, South-Eastern, Faceted and End-Winged types. These follow strict conventions, and it seems that, by and large, many of our typological classifications that deal with contemporary material were recognised in the LBA. This leads to a characterisation of LBA metalwork as a series of internally largely undifferentiated masses of material (e.g. Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, 2, 55; Schmidt and Burgess 1981, Pls. 74-99). Although some studies assessing the micro-typology of metalwork might appear to disagree with this description (e.g. Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, 55-68; Brandherm and Moskal-del Hoyo 2014), when we step back from this fine and often statistical detail and compare with other periods, particularly the Iron Age but also other eras (e.g. Jope 1961; Adams 2013, 44-94; Stead 2006; Manning 1985; Hull and Hawkes 1987; Jope 2000, 221; Nielsen 2013), such a characterisation is justified. Objects both traditionally seen as high-status and those of more everyday function are far more heterogeneous and individualised in the Iron Age compared to the LBA, in terms of both form and decoration (see 6.8; 7.1.3; Figs. 7.1-15). There is very little desire to differentiate between certain objects outside of their types in the LBA: decoration is restricted to only one or two very common, simple motifs, and only present on axes and spearheads. This is paralleled in the contemporary ceramic repertoire, and there is a further lack of decoration on virtually all other artefact types. This can again be highlighted by comparison. LBA swords and knives from the continent are often highly decorated and individualised (Novák 1975, Taf. 19-8, 26-7; Peroni 1970; 1976; Říovský 1972, Tafs. 12-29; Schauer 1971, Tafs. 78-91). There seems to have been a purposeful decision not to decorate objects in the LBA in Britain.

It is within the context of both probable small-scale non-specialist production and homogenous plain objects that we can consider the applicability of Gell's (1992b; 1998) concept of the 'enchantment' of technology and art. Gell argues that art and other forms of high craftsmanship produced by a select few are often regarded in traditional societies to have been created with magical or supernatural assistance as the required skills transcend that of most spectators (also Helms 1993; 2.4.5). Custodianship of such objects confers status through association with the supernatural (Helms 1993, 11-88). This is especially apparent for complex and visually attractive decorative motifs as they in particular work to entrance the audience (Gell 1992b, 44-6; Helms 1993, 61-8). Gell (1998, 74-83) further argues that such patterns have intrinsic *social* functions, even agency, that is used to affect the human world. Therefore objects without decoration do not play such a role in negotiating social relationships.

Although some of the more technically proficient objects may mesmerise modern viewers unfamiliar with the corpus, this should not be assumed for those for whom these objects are part of daily life (Gell 1998, 81-3). That metalworking appears common place – perhaps anyone could assist the smith or otherwise be involved in manufacturing (cf. Rowlands 1971, 211-2) – democratises the process, taking away potential beliefs of divine assistance. Furthermore, there was no desire to create intricate designs to individualise and visually enhance the objects despite the technical ability to do so, suggesting these were not generally employed to enchant the viewer into submission or to communicate social differences. Exceptions might include some of the more unique Wilburton spearheads and MBA shields, but these objects do not exist in the large quantity of material belonging to the primary period under study, the Ewart Park phase.

Similar approaches are applicable to foreign and old objects. Like those of high craftsmanship, the ancient and exotic are mysterious and incomprehensible; the viewer is unable to identify with the context of creation, placing the object and its possessor above and beyond themselves in the sphere of the supernatural and divine (Helms 1988; 1993; 2.4.5). Objects that would have already been ancient are rare finds in LBA contexts. The only certain instance of a LBA hoard containing items that would be phased to an earlier period is at Southall. A possible association occurs at Speen. At Southall, a collection of metalwork that would comprise a fairly normal Taunton period hoard[33] was found with a Ewart Park phase socketed axe mould. It seems likely here that a Taunton hoard was found in the Ewart Park period and redeposited with the current object. This is quite different to the increasingly recognised phenomenon of mixed period hoards deposited in the Iron Age, and the significance of the lack of ancient objects in the LBA is highlighted by this diachronic comparison. Objects comprising these collections are all of varied dates and provenances, demonstrating these must have been carefully exchanged, collected and curated in a fashion not evidenced at Southall (4.9.2). A Neolithic axe was found in the enclosure ditch at Rams Hill (Bradley and Ellison 1975, 86); however, instances of such incongruous finds are rare (see 5.6.2; Appendix 6). There also appears to have been no relationship between the placement of metalwork and earlier monuments. Neither ancient objects nor earlier monuments were exploited for social gain. Foreign and ornamented objects are also not present in the LBA, but are again a particular feature of the Early and MIA.

Insularity and Localism

Like ancient or highly decorated artefacts, exotic objects can be manipulated for social gain through the same processes. The acquisition of foreign metalwork is indirectly documented in the LBA as the Thames Valley is not a region containing either copper or tin ore. Metallographic analysis confirms incoming metal from the continent and western Britain (Rohl and Needham 1998). However, this is clearer if we look to the MBA as a number of probable shipwreck finds date to this period, giving otherwise unprecedented insight into exchange mechanisms

[33] Similar to Gosport and Portsmouth, Hants., or Grimstone and Eglesham Meadow, Dorset. (Rowlands 1976, 231-42).

(Needham *et al.* 2013). These primarily consist of objects from various continental regions, the furthest originating from Sicily, but significantly these types are extremely rare or entirely absent in British non-shipwreck assemblages. Examples include Median-Winged axes: more than 60 of these were found at Langdon Bay but only one other, from Alexandra Bay, Hull, has been found in Britain outside of shipwreck contexts (Needham *et al.* 2013, 58-91). Unfortunately very little shipwreck metalwork has yet been found dating to the LBA, but projection of this MBA evidence into the subsequent phase is necessary. Exotic and unusual objects were clearly imported in the Later Bronze Age, but these were melted down and recast into locally homogenous types. Of the large quantity of LBA objects in the study area, only a small handful may be regarded as exotic – the Möringen sword found at Chertsey, probably originating from the Middle Rhine (See Table A6.1; Needham 1987, 123); the possible Auvernier or Tachlovice hilt fragment from Wickham Park, possibly made in southern Germany or Switzerland (O'Connor 1980, 183-4); and the single-edged razor from Cothill.[34] This latter object has been grouped with examples from North Rhine-Westphalia by Jockenhövel (1980, 166, no. 614), although it is quite different from other Nordic razors having a thin perforation in its body rather than a looped or peripheral handle. The potential symbolism in exotic objects was therefore not regularly exploited for either social gain or other purposes, for example locally differentiating in less hierarchical fashions. Indeed, powerful foreign objects were actively taken out of circulation, not being allowed to become a means to discriminate between individuals within local groups. The suggestion by Needham (2007b, 282-3) that endemic recycling could transform bronze in non-metalliferous regions to be perceived as a local resource is pertinent: despite originally have an exotic provenance, bronze need not have been considered as a foreign material.

The other non-local objects comprise four Dowris axes probably from Ireland, one Portree and one possible Gillespie axe both probably from Scotland (Schmidt and Burgess 1981, 190, 197-8). Interestingly, there are no definite Yorkshire axes, despite this type being very numerous in their eponymous county, as well as Lincolnshire and East Anglia[35] (Schmidt and Burgess 1981, 223-39; Burgess and Miket 1976). These non-local axes were either not sought out, or acquired for their material worth before being recast into local types. This picture of exchange is similar if we look at British exports to the Low Countries during this period. Like the southern British Ewart Park period, the equivalent HaB2/3 period in the Low Countries is very rich in metalwork (Fontijn 2002). However, the only visible British imports in this region are five swords, contributing a tiny fraction of overall finds (Fontijn 2009, Tab. 9.1). Both the MBA and LBA/EIA Transition are much better represented in the numbers of imports, despite metalwork being rarer in both periods.

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[34] More certain exotic razors were discovered just outside the study area at Brentford (Jockenhövel 1980, 133, 144-4).

[35] A possible example from the Hounslow hoard(s) has been excluded, reported in the National Bronze Index. This was not part of the original acquisition so association is doubtful, but if it was part of the mixed period hoard its date of deposition would probably be Iron Age, and not necessarily representing LBA distribution. See 4.9.2.

Although Bronze Age exchange is much discussed, connections between areas appear to have been played down in the period. Rather than differentiating *within* regional groups, set types seem to serve to differentiate *between* them. Bronze objects appear to have been employed as regional markers, with the distribution of particular types not only following other bronze objects, but often a wide variety of diverse archaeological traits. This is particularly clear when considering the Carps Tongue objects and related features in the south-east periphery of the study area. The next section will begin by introducing the archaeological differences between this area and the Middle Thames, before arguing that three distinct social regions appear to have existed in the Thames Valley in the LBA.

3.7 Regional Groups in the Thames Valley

3.7.1 The Thames – a prehistoric highway?

It is often assumed that the Thames was a primary route of transportation and exchange for prehistoric communities (Bradley 1980, 67; Fox 1946, 66-7; Lambrick 2009, 225-8; Yates 2007, 41). This is especially relevant in the Bronze Age due to the large amount of exchange we have evidence for in the form of bronze metal and objects. Although this interpretation seems reasonable enough, evidence from various types of material culture and landscape features, especially in the Ewart Park period, does not support the idea that 'the Thames itself afforded access to innovating cultures derived ultimately from the Continental mainland' (Harding 1972, 3). Rather than the valley being an area of relative cultural homogeneity, there instead appears to have been three separate areas, demonstrated and defined by differences in the distribution and treatment of material culture and monuments. These differences are themselves dictated by social and non-material cultural choices. The boundary between two of these does not sit expectedly with regards to the natural topographic landscape of the Middle Thames Valley, instead crossing the Thames around Runnymede. The discussion of these groups will begin with metalwork.

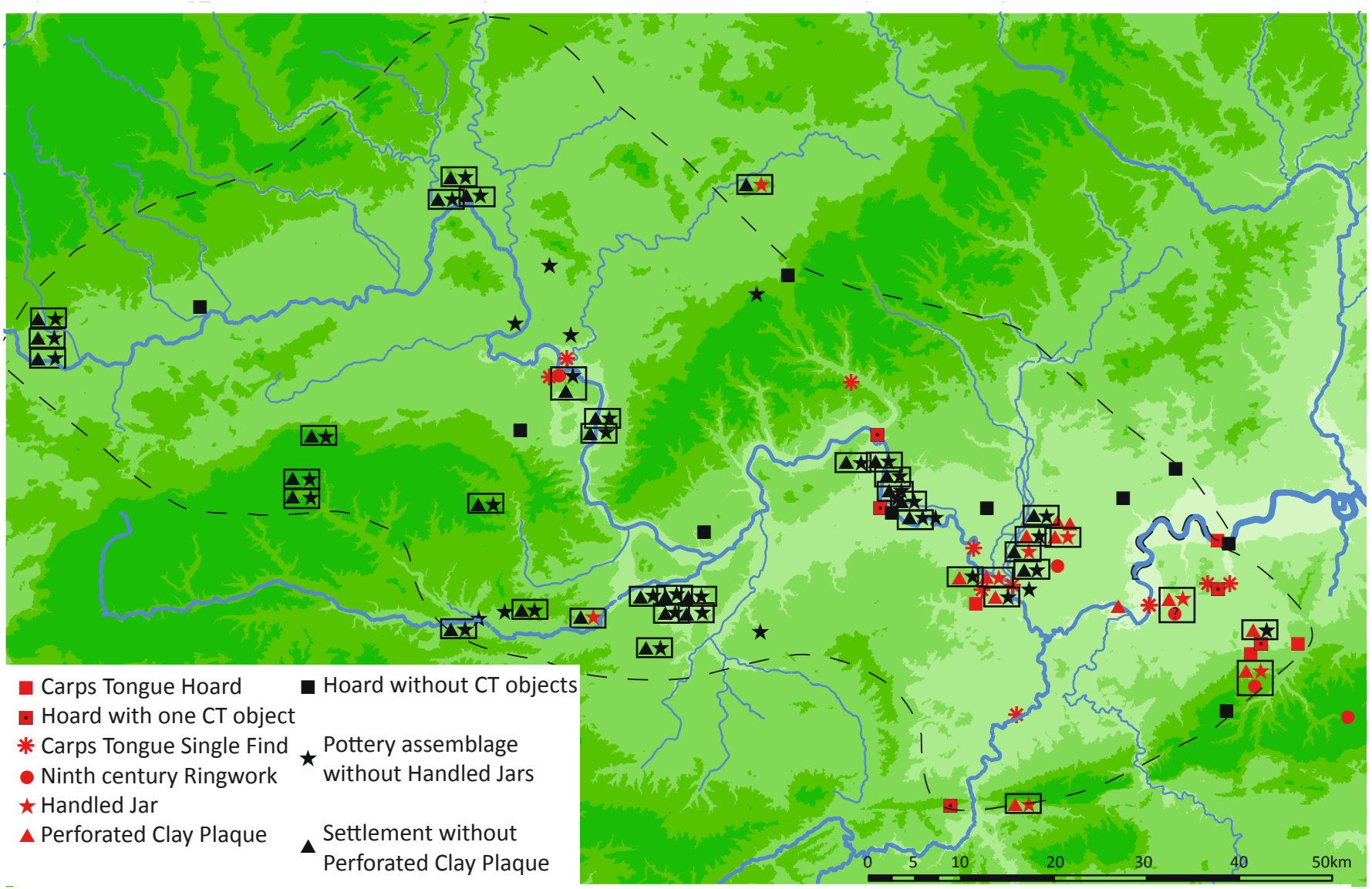
The Carps Tongue complex is the dominant group of metalwork contemporary with the later Ewart Park period in northern and north-west France. Related material, chiefly swords, are also present further east and in Iberia, and it has recently been suggested that the British and French material should be distinguished as the 'Boughton-Vénat' complex due to differences between this and the metalwork present further south (Brandherm and Moskal-del Hoyo 2014). This is followed in the present study; reference to 'Carps Tongue' refers to the more specific Boughton-Vénat material and areas where this occurs. Metalwork of this group is present in southern and eastern Britain, with authors often suggesting cultural and economic links across the channel in areas where we find these types (Brandherm and Moskal-del Hoyo 2014; Briard 1979, 202-4; Burgess 1968, 17-8). Diagnostic Carps Tongue material includes the Nantes variant of the eponymous sword, wing decorated South Eastern axes, End-Winged axes, Bag-Shaped chapes, Minnis Bay sickles, Hog-Backed knives, ornamented and/or saw-tooth plates, and other bric-a-brac (Blanchet 1984, 279-98; Brandherm and Moskal-del Hoyo 2014; Burgess 1968, figs. 13-4, 38-9; Needham 1990, 73-4).[36]

[36] There is no agreed consensus as to what objects constitute the Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat complex (Brandherm and Moskal-del Hoyo 2014, 24-5, note 60). Only objects that do not also belong to other complexes are included here as only these are specifically Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat. Other objects, for example Ewart Park swords, Bugle-Shaped objects, Thorndon knives, South-Welsh axes, Faceted axes, socketed gouges and tanged chisels, have much wider distributions so cannot be considered as defining the Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat group. Bugle-Shaped objects have a more limited distribution than these other objects and are often closely associated with Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat material, so might be considered as partly defining the complex. However, these are also present in areas far to the north of specifically Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat distributions, for example in the St Andrews (Cowie *et al.* 1991) and near Berwick-upon-Tweed hoards (Needham *et al.* 2007). Two of the three Bugle-Shaped objects in the study area are within other Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat distributions (Other 2, 62); the third is on the Berkshire Downs (Other 63).

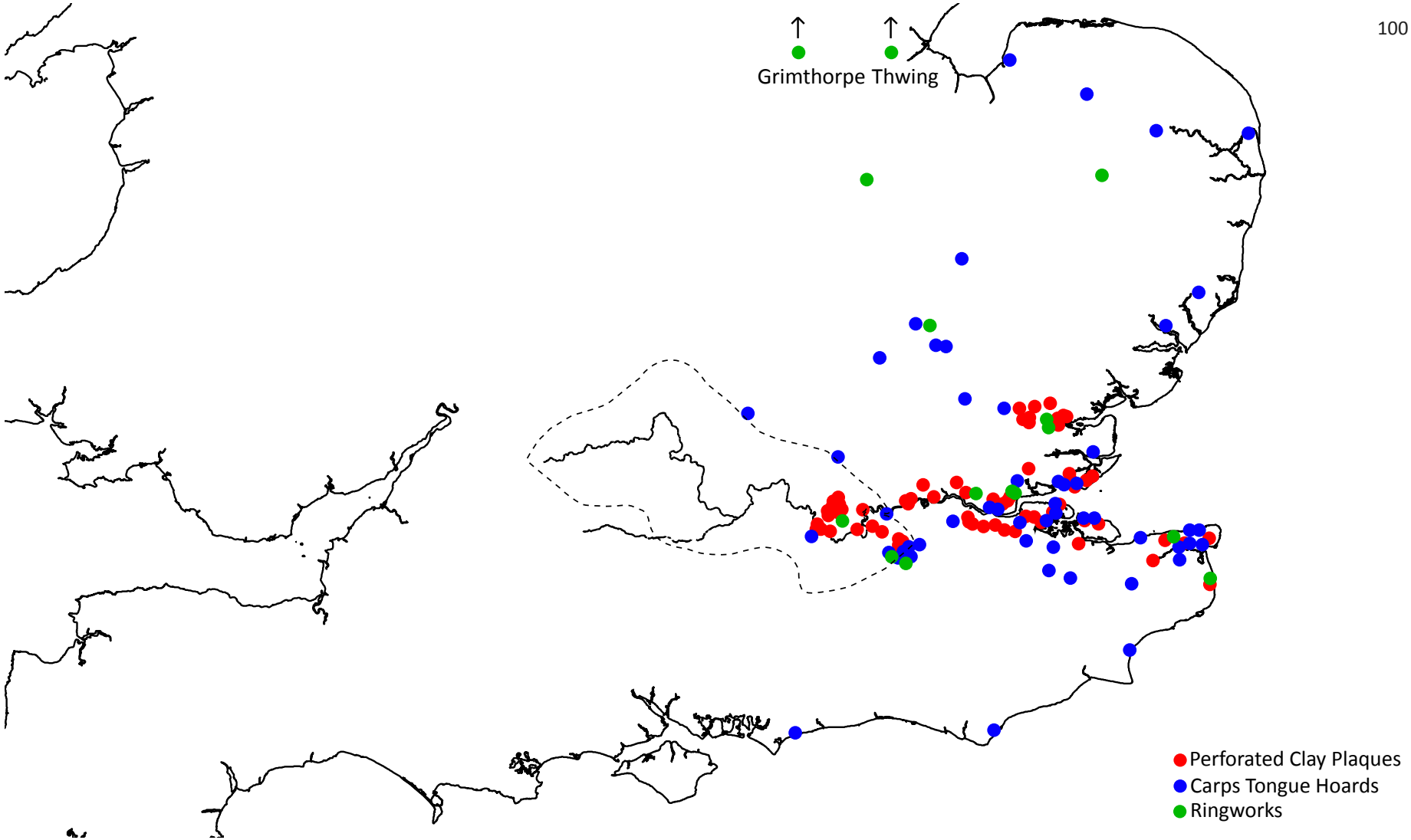
Such material in Britain occurs primarily in Kent and Essex, with smaller distributions elsewhere in East Anglia and on the south coast (Matthews *et al.* 2011, fig. 7; Map 3.5). In this current study area, the main region that these objects are found is the Eastern Surrey North Downs group of hoards (Appendix A.11.1.4; Maps 3.4). End-Winged axes and South Eastern wing ornamented axes are only present in any number in this group. Larger hoards dominated by these two types of axes with other types only rarely occurring is also a common feature of Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat hoards elsewhere (Blanchet 1984, figs. 155-64; Turner 1998; Weller 2014). The Eastern Surrey North Down hoards are therefore highly influenced by the Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat phenomenon.

As already discussed, the Thames-side hoards are quite different as they are characterised by a mixture of different types of axes and tools, rarely having Carps Tongue elements. The Petters hoard provides the western boundary of the distribution in the valley; the eponymous swords, Bag Shaped chape and Minnis Bay sickle fragments are the relevant elements. After Petters, Carps Tongue material very rarely occurs in or near the river, or further upstream away from the river.[37] Carps Tongue material was therefore reaching the eastern, north-eastern and south-eastern peripheries of the study area, and was dominant in the Thames Estuary region, but had little presence in the valley or river itself. Instead, different objects and depositional practices were present in the core of the Upper and Middle Thames Valley. This questions the assumption that the Thames was an artery of communication, transport and cultural links through south-eastern Britain. Bronze may have passed up the valley, but was recast from these types into local objects at some point in the process. Either way, it seems that potential cultural links were deliberately undermined. It appears that communities in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley isolated themselves from continental influence and exchange: given the distribution of these objects on the peripheries of the region, and that exchange must have occurred to acquire the material, the lack of Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat objects in the main area seems purposeful. Networks culturally linking together those on the continent with parts of Britain did not seem to use the Thames beyond Petters/Runnymede, even if bronze as a material did move through the region. However, despite this difference in the valley itself, these cultural and exchange links as evidenced by the metalwork and depositional patterns do occur on either side of the valley, shown for example by the Watford and Manor Drive, Aylesbury hoards just north of the study area (Coombs 1979; Farley 1979). These have more similarities with the Eastern Surrey North Downs group than the latter group have with Middle Thames Valley hoards.

[37] The only other Carps Tongue material in the study area north-west of Petters are swords from Bourne End and Staines, a wing ornamented axe from Dorchester, an End-Winged axe each from Bray Hoveringham II hoard and High Wycombe, and a Bag Shaped chape from Little Wittenham.



Map 3.4. Distribution of Carps Tongue metalwork, ninth century ringworks, handled jars and perforated clay plaques



Map 3.5. Distribution of perforated clay plaques, Carps Tongue hoards and ringworks in Southern Britain.
After Champion 2014, fig. 2; Matthews *et al.* 2011, fig. 7; Needham 1993, with additions

3.7.2 Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat beyond metalwork

Areas of Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat metalwork also correlate with other archaeological features. Although this is not the place for an extensive survey as this primarily falls out of the current study area, a few observations can be made. The distribution of perforated clay plaques follows the main concentrations of Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat hoards, focusing especially on the Thames Estuary, the Blackwater and coastal Kent. These objects are remarkably uniform, and it has been recently suggested that they were used in bread baking. As there are no predecessors of this object, this represents a new technology and cultural feature (Champion 2014). The complete absence of these west of Petters/Runnymede, and their concentration by this western boundary around the rivers Colne and Brent, closely ties in with the furthest western Thames Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat material (Maps 3.4-5).

Handled jars also follow these distributions. These are found at Coombe Warren and in large numbers at the Carshalton ringwork, in the heart of the Eastern Surrey North Downs hoard group. Only one is present at Runnymede, helping to demonstrate that this is the boundary area, and one each from the nearby Stanwell field system and Caesars Camp. The only other examples in the study area are Weston Wood and one each from Aldermaston Wharf and Stone: this latter site is on the northerly boundary of the study area, 5.3km from the Aylesbury Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat hoard, and also appears to date earlier than the main Boughton-Vénat metalwork. Aldermaston Wharf also appears to be slightly earlier. More than 27 LBA sites in the study area therefore do not have handled jars, but they become slightly more common in the Transition. Handled jars occur in some of the Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat[38] areas further to the east primarily in Essex, for example at Springfield Lyons (Brown 2013), Mucking North and South Ring (Barrett and Bond 1988; Brudenell 2016), South Hornchurch (Harrison 2000), Springfield Park (Manning and Moore 2004) and Boreham Interchange (Lavender 1999); but also occasionally in Kent at Cliffs End Farm (Leivers 2014) and Mill Hill (Champion 1980, fig. 6). A number of LBA sites in north-west France and Belgium have also produced handled jars, although a more detailed study of cross-channel pottery similarities is needed to confirm this significance (e.g. numerous sites in papers in Bourgeois and Talon 2005; see also Bourgeois and Talon 2009, 52-5). These distributions hint at differences in the preparation, storage and consumption of food in 'Carps Tongue' areas and those outside of it, although there are differences in pottery within this broad area (cf. the Essex sites with Cliffs End Farm: Leivers 2014). Processes surrounding food are deeply culturally embedded and provide major arenas in social expression (Goody 1982; Orton and Hughes 2013, 260). It is therefore not surprising that archaeologically surviving material relating to food – pottery and perforated clay plaques – follow the distribution of other culturally specific features.

[38] They were not found at the Essex sites of Hall Road (Newton 2008), South Ockendon (Jurgielewicz and Maynard 2000), Frog Hall Farm (Brooks 2002), Great Baddow (Brown and Lavender 1994), Broomfield (Atkinson 1995), and Broads Green (Brown 1988); and in Kent at Highstead (Couldrey 2007), Hoo St Werburgh (Moore 2002), and Monkton Court Farm (Perkins *et al.* 1994).

Ninth century ringwork enclosures also share these distributional patterns (Maps 3.4-5). Although earlier enclosures are known further west at Rams Hill, Eynsham Abbey, Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps and Taplow, these are quite different sites and either entirely or primarily predate the Ewart Park/Carps Tongue deposition. In the study area, those contemporary with this metalwork includes Carshalton, probably Nore Hill and Mayfield Farm, and possibly Coombe Warren. Three of these are in areas of significant Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat metalwork deposition, and all are in areas producing perforated clay plaques and handled jars (Map 3.4). East of the study area the chronology of ringwork enclosures focuses on the ninth century, contemporary with Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat/Ewart Park metalwork, but also span the centuries immediately before and after (Manby 2007; Guttman and Last 2000; Hull 2001; Brown and Medlycott 2013; Bennett *et al.* 2007; Bond 1988; Clark and Fell 1954; Stead 1969; Evans *et al.* 2016, Chap. 3). A similar survey of the French Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat region has not been undertaken, although broad association between this metalwork and ringworks enclosures can be seen at Malleville-sur-le Bec, Normandy (Bourgeois and Talon 2009, 45-8). This region also allies with Britain due to the presence of roundhouses, differing from rectangular buildings common in other areas of France (Mordant 2013, 576-8; Bourgeois and Talon 2009, 45-8). However, we should not see this large area consisting of Kent, Essex and parts of north-west France as an entirely unified cultural region as there are differences within it, for example the lack of visible LBA roundhouses in Kent.

Here we are seeing a broad cultural region dating to the ninth century. This is defined by the presence or absence of particular types of material culture, and differences in the treatment of these objects. This group is differentiated from those further up the valley due to the presence of Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat metalwork with its particular depositional patterns, alongside perforated clay plaques, handled jars and ringwork enclosures. Pottery fabrics and assemblage sizes also differ in this region compared to the Upper Thames. These patterns in material culture tell not only of physical exchange and interaction, but also different religious and social practices, and specific cultural choices and orientations. This group appears in the study area either side of both the north and south peripheries of the Middle Thames Valley, but no further west of Petters/Runnymede in the valley itself. It continues into the Lower Thames Valley and beyond. There appears to be an outlier in the Upper Thames Valley at Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps – this enclosure is related to the eastern ringworks and saw at least some activity in the ninth century; found nearby were two Carps Tongue objects,[39] and the size of the pottery assemblage is also unusual in this region, more characteristic of sites further downstream (see below; Map 3.6). Perhaps a group here was imitating activity more normal in the Lower Thames Valley. Excluding Castle Hill, the distribution of this wider cultural group therefore appears to deliberately avoid the Upper and Middle Valley itself. Alongside this cultural region, there is a further broad split between the Upper and Middle Thames Valley that can also be seen in various aspects of the archaeological record.

39 A Bag-Shaped chape was found 500m from the enclosure, and a wing ornamented axe from Dorchester, c.2km away. The two northerly ringwork outliers – Thwing and Grimthorpe in East Yorkshire – are also both c.30km from the northerly Carps Tongue sword outlier (Burgess and Colquhoun 1988, Pl. 133).

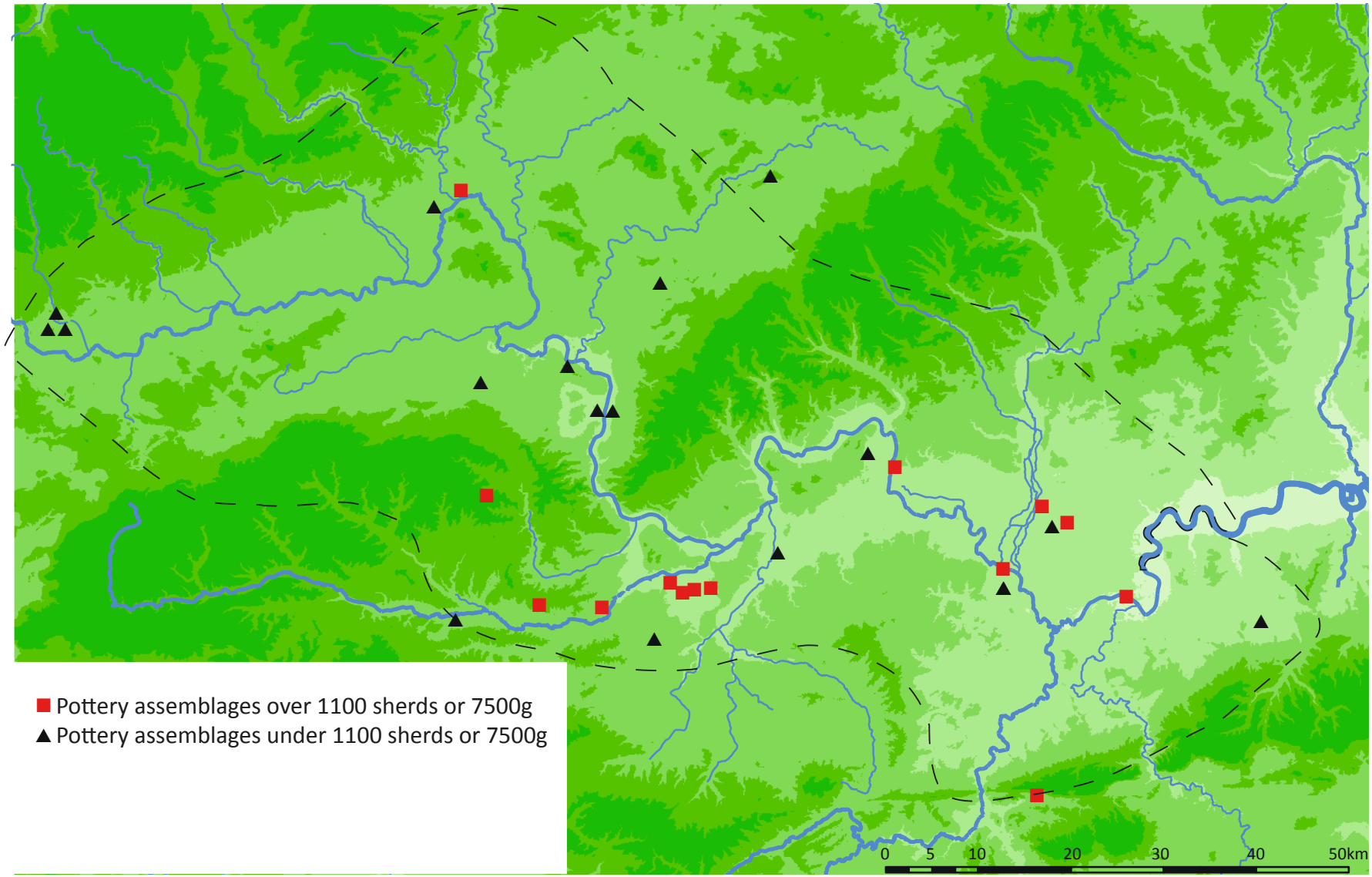
3.7.3 Material culture patterns

Hoard groups

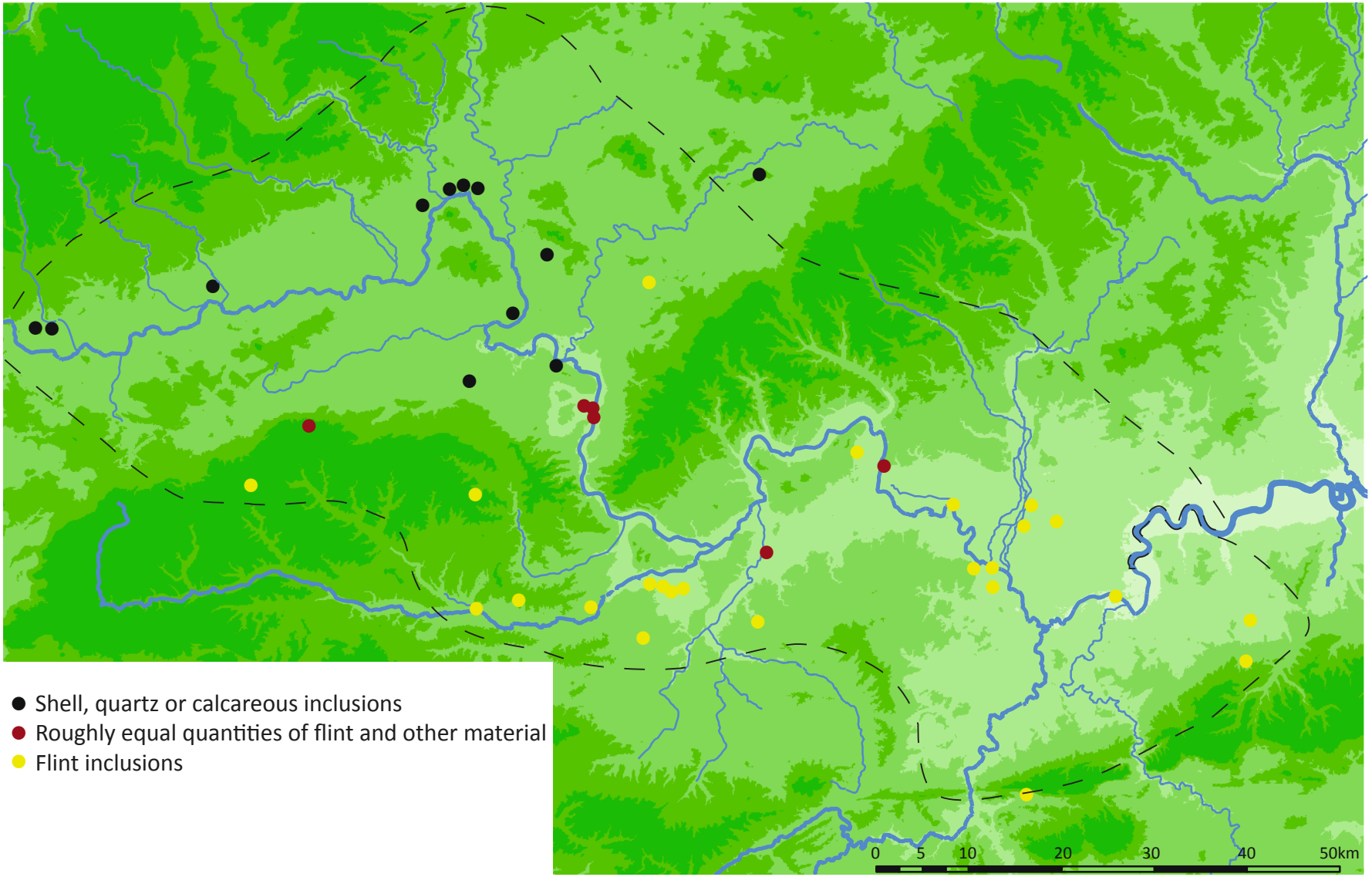
The Eastern Surrey North Downs and Coombe Warren hoard groups seem to be loosely bounded subgroups within the Carps Tongue phenomenon, although they are immersed within communities to the east. The other two hoard groups have wide distributions – the Thames-side ranges from Wandsworth to Lechlade; and the Tributary hoards from Hanwell to Princes Risborough on the Chilterns, and Blewbury off the Berkshire Downs. Given their overlapping distributions, it does not appear that these latter groups of hoards were deposited by ostensibly different social groups, unlike those belonging to Carps Tongue. Instead, particular topographic locations were deemed appropriate to deposit particular assemblages of objects. However, the lack of metalwork in and around the upper reaches of the Thames, especially compared to notable concentrations elsewhere, does suggest different cultural practices and outlooks to those downstream from around Wallingford, the last concentration of riverine Ewart Park material. This broad split between the Upper and Middle Thames Valley with Wallingford at the boundary is also seen in pottery fabrics and perhaps assemblage sizes.

Pottery

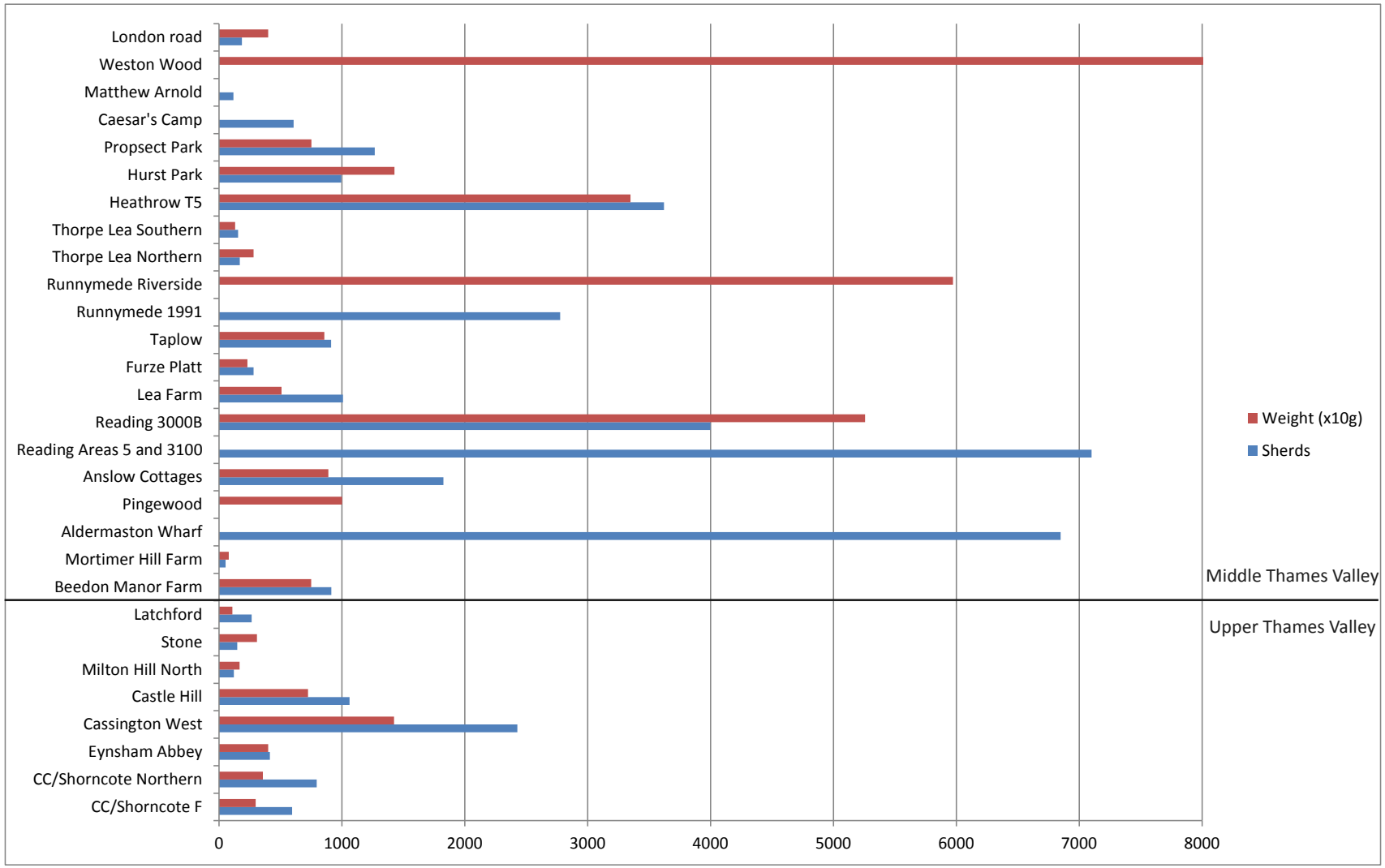
The sizes of pottery assemblages suggest a broad split between the Upper and Middle Thames Valley, but the divide between the Middle Thames and Carps Tongue areas is not represented (Map 3.6; Graph 3.12). Assemblages tend to be larger in the Middle Thames Valley compared to the Upper basin, and there are no clear patterns between proposed longevities of the sites and sizes of assemblage. For example, very little pottery was discovered at Cotswold Community/ Shorncote Quarry despite this being among the most extensive LBA sites excavated. However, two of the largest assemblages come from small, short-lived sites – Aldermaston Wharf and Weston Wood. To demonstrate this is not an effect of the size of excavation, comparison between two sites each from the Upper and Middle Thames Valley is given in Table 3.6. Both the amount of pottery used at each settlement and depositional practices will affect recovered assemblage sizes, as sherds incorporated into subsoil features are more likely to survive. It is likely that both factors are responsible for the divergence in assemblage size. If depositional patterns are responsible, we are seeing similar treatment in pottery as with metalwork between these regions – communities in the Middle Thames perhaps intentionally destroying and depositing objects at a more frequent rate than those in the Upper basin. Personhood may have extended into ceramic objects intimately associated with individuals, with their destruction deemed necessary perhaps after the death of their owner. This is even more visible from the special pottery deposits discussed above. This suggests that like metalwork and other strands of evidence, archaeological pottery assemblages resulted from conscious interactions between agents, cultural norms and the material world: social interpretation from such evidence is therefore possible. Unlike with metalwork, there are no clear chronological changes in assemblage sizes,



Map 3.6. Distribution of Late Bronze Age pottery assemblages on settlements over 1100 sherds, or 7500g, and under 1100 sherds, or 7500g



Map 3.7. Distribution of Late Bronze Age pottery assemblages dominated by shell, quartz or calcareous material; or flint inclusions.



Graph 3.12. Sizes of LBA pottery assemblages, arranged geographically with those in the uppermost reaches of the Thames at the bottom

showing the relationship between metalwork, pottery and personhood is not straightforward. Large differences in assemblage sizes may also be due to differences in the amount of pottery in use at a settlement, further reflecting its functions. Like handled jars and perforated clay plaques in Carps Tongue areas, this suggests potentially highly charged cultural differences in the storage, preparation and serving of food between the Upper and Middle Thames Valley. Broad comparison between assemblages from the Upper and Middle Valley suggests a cultural division existed between these areas, although there is diversity within each region.

	Upper Thames		**Middle Thames**	
	Cotswold Community/ Shorncote Quarry Northern Area	Cassington West	Aldermaston Wharf	Reading Business/ Green Park 3000B
Area Stripped	c.9.2ha	Features in 1.25ha	0.135ha	Features in 0.7ha
Roundhouses	37	12	2	5
Pits excavated	>30	-	32	45
Sherds	794	2472	6849	3998
Weight (g)	3570	14,236	-	52,565
Sherds/m²	0.0086	0.194	5.073	0.571
Grams/m²	0.0388	1.139	-	7.509
Sherds/ex. pit	<26.5	-	214	88.8
Grams/ex. pit	<119	-	-	1168.1

Table 3.6. Sizes of pottery assemblages compared to extent of excavation at two sites each from the Upper and Middle Thames Valley

This split between the Upper and Middle Thames is also seen in pottery fabrics (Map 3.7). Clays used in pottery assemblages in the Upper Valley contain quartz, quartzite, shell or calcareous material, whereas those downstream of Wallingford use flint as the main temper. Interestingly, the sites around Wallingford – the house at Bradford's Brook, the settlement under Grim's Ditch, and the island midden at Whitecross Farm[40] – all have roughly equal quantities of flint and quartz. Like the other island midden at Runnymede, Whitecross Farm also appears to be on the boundary between two larger cultural entities. The two groups on either side of Whitecross Farm differ in pottery temper and assemblage sizes, as well as in metalwork depositional habits. Either side of Runnymede they differ in a wider variety of ways, although not in pottery fabrics. The enclosure at Rams Hill also has a mixture of flint and other inclusions, and is geographically on the boundary between flint tempering communities on the downs and those using other means in the valley. Pottery from the Taplow enclosure includes substantial proportions tempered with sand and flint, alongside more normal flint-only sherds. However, this site does not appear to be on a ceramic boundary area as it is well within the distribution of flint tempered pottery. The Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps enclosure also has features that would otherwise be considered as belonging to the eastern groups – a relatively large pottery assemblage and two nearby Carps Tongue objects (see note 3.36).

[40] Reservations should be made about the dating of the Grim's Ditch house given the paucity of pottery. Bradford's Brook also has little ceramic evidence, but appears belong to the late LBA or Transition. The activity at Whitecross Farm appears to date to the late LBA and Transition. The Whitecross Farm temper does slightly favour flint.

It therefore appears that these enclosures and especially midden sites may have been meeting areas for ostensibly *different* groups as they are often positioned on boundaries between wider social areas. Neutron activation analysis of sherds from Runnymede suggests that pottery was being brought to the site from a variety of sources (Longley 1991, 163). Nitrogen ($\delta^{15}N$) isotope analysis of cattle and pigs from Runnymede suggest these had varied feeding environments, possibly also originating from varied locations (Julie Hamilton *pers. comm.*). Midden sites outside the study area have good evidence that people and animals were travelling some distances to convene at these locations, although caution must be taken in using evidence from sites in quite different contexts (Madgwick *et al.* 2012; Madgwick and Mulville 2015; Waddington 2009). At the midden sites in particular there is distinct evidence for feasting, beginning in the ninth century and expanding in the Transition;[41] the earliest phases are therefore contemporary with the Ewart Park/Carps Tongue deposition and other features loosely associated with Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat to the east.

3.7.4 Feasting and Middens

Ethnographic assessments stress that feasting is a highly important social and political device, but it is vital that it is placed within the wider social context to understand its meaning and importance (papers in Dietler and Hayden 2001). However, the majority 'revolve around *the creation or maintenance of important social relationships.*…establishing desirable social relationships constitutes the bottom line for many feasts' (Hayden 2001, 30, original emphasis). These can be relationships that bind individuals together, or those designed to separate and differentiate. The social relationships under negotiation at Runnymede and Whitecross Farm in particular must be related to their position on the boundary between ostensibly different groups displaying a range of divergent practices. The specific liminal location of these sites also accentuates these as boundary areas by replicating this in microcosm: they are both on small islands in the Thames, and the Thames itself was highly ritually significant at this time, as demonstrated by metalwork and skull deposition. It may be that the type of feasting at LBA Runnymede was designed both to bind individuals and groups together through shared activity in a politically neutral but ritually significant location, whilst also allowing for a degree of competition and activities that marked social divisions.

The primary evidence we have that feasting occurred is the large amounts of animal bone, with assemblages from Runnymede[42] and Whitecross Farm far out-stripping contemporary sites. Runnymede also has a heavy emphasis on pig, at least at Area 6 (Done 1991). Although this assemblage is important in its size, the percentage of pig bone compared to other species does not particularly mark Runnymede out as special compared to the six other LBA sites with

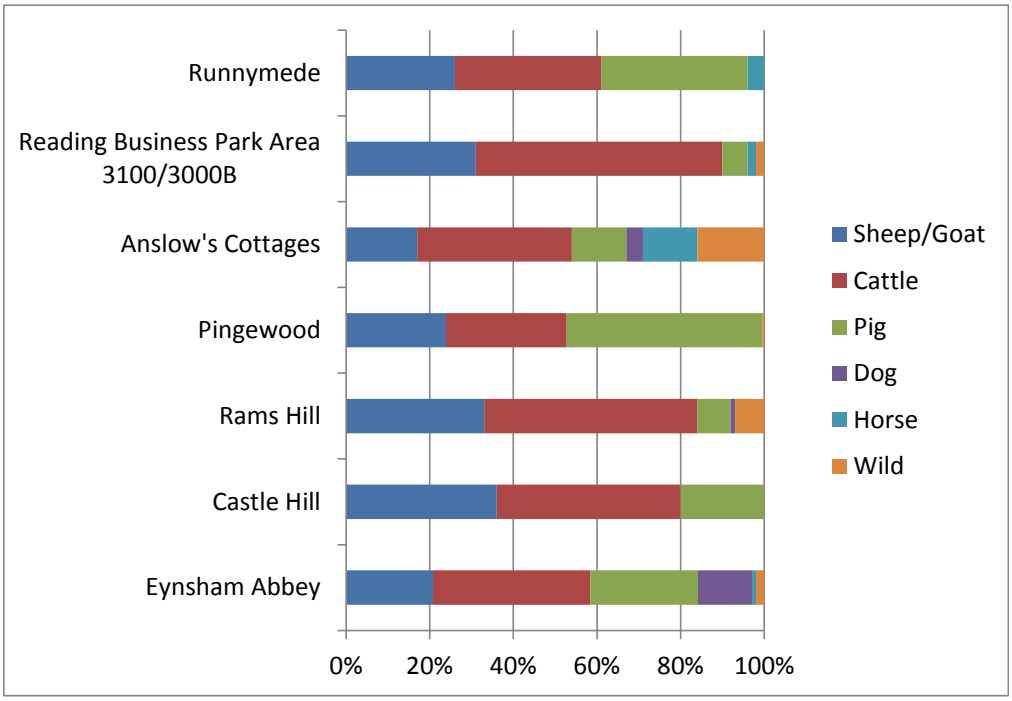
[41] It is likely that the midden outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps started in the Transition, but primarily dates to the EIA (see Appendix 1, note 7).

[42] Comprehensive information about Riverside Zone was not available, although plans of each phase and some details on quantities of material have been incorporated into this section (Waddington 2009, Chap. 5).

sufficient evidence (Table 3.7; Graph 3.13). Almost half of the animal bones from the more usual, open settlement at Pingewood were of pig, although much of this was from a single pit (Cram 1983-5). Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps and Eynsham Abbey also produced relatively high percentages of pig bone. This analysis does suffer from an unfortunately low number of sites producing animal bone assemblages of useful size. The relative quantities of pig at Transitional Runnymede and Whitecross Farm do, however, stand out in this later phase, although even fewer sites Transitional sites have useful bone assemblages (Table 3.8; Graph 3.14).

	Sheep/ Goat %	Cattle %	Pig %	Dog %	Horse %	Wild %	**Identified NISP**
Eynsham Abbey	21	38	26	13	1	1	101
Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps	36	44	20	0	0	0	45
Rams Hill	33	51	8	1	0	7	221
Pingewood	24	29	47	0	0	0.5	187
Anslow's Cottages	17	37	13	4	13	16	83
Reading Business Park	31	59	6	0	2	2	241
Runnymede Area 6	26	35	35	0	4	0	1731

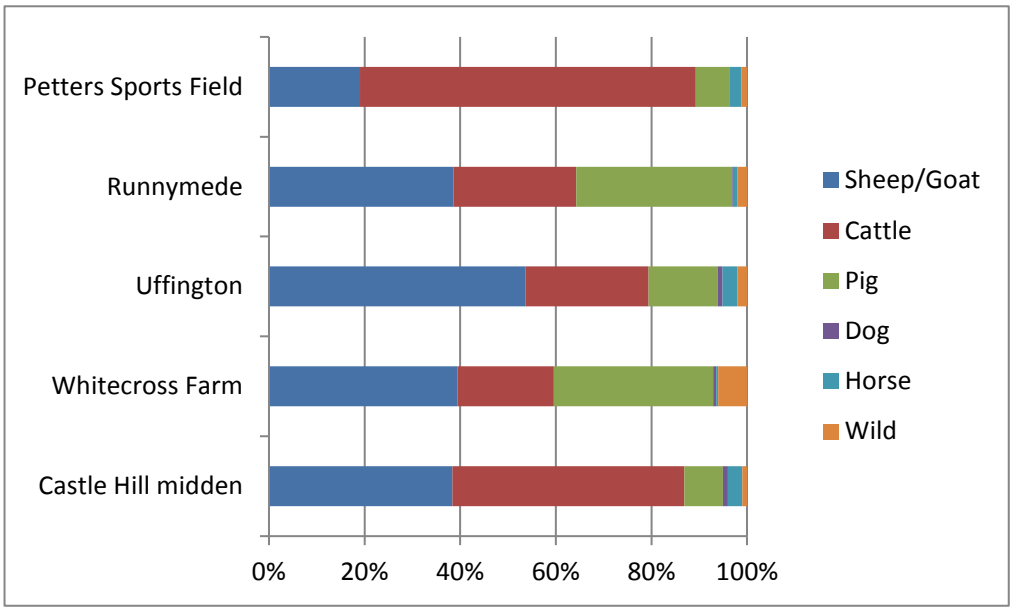
Table 3.7. Late Bronze Age animal bone assemblages



Graph 3.13. Late Bronze Age animal bone assemblages

	Sheep/ Goat %	Cattle %	Pig %	Dog %	Horse %	Wild %	**Identified NISP**
Castle Hill midden	38	48	8	1	3	1	99
Whitecross Farm	39	20	33	0.6	0.4	6	520
Uffington	52	25	14	1	3	2	36
Runnymede	39	26	33	0.1	1	2	2008
Petters Sports Field	16	59	6	0	2	1	291

Table 3.8. LBA/EIA Transition animal bone assemblages



Graph 3.14. LBA/EIA Transition animal bone assemblages

The large pottery assemblages at Runnymede and Whitecross Farm also suggest feasting took place, although the quantity from the published areas is comparable to a number of other, non-special sites. Some specialist structures have been recognised at Runnymede, including a possible excarnation platform and unusual post enclosures (Waddington 2009, Chap. 5). Although such ritual structures are a feature of both competitive and status-building feasting practices, other visible hallmarks that suggest that this was the form that was occurring during the LBA are few (see Hayden 2001). Significantly the pottery is qualitatively indistinguishable from contemporary assemblages. Decoration is extremely rare, and restricted to simple fingertipping. Sizes are readily comparable to a host of other sites, and only two vessels (P62, 433) are particularly large, but not unique in size (e.g. Aldermaston Wharf, 148d; Weston Wood, 25; Rams Hill, 3.5.14; Hurst Park, 2). We do not have ceramic evidence at ninth century Runnymede to suggest that the preparation, serving and consumption of food was distinctively different from normal daily patterns, or that it was done in a manner that was particularly conducive to competition or social differentiation. If this was a primary objective we may expect more symbolic elaboration in the material culture associated with feasting, for example distinct vessels. Although pottery vessels are not vital for consumption of food, the large quantity of ceramics demonstrates it was heavily involved in activities at the site. It is in the Transition that there is a move away from undecorated, coarsely flint-gritted pots to finer, decorated and burnished examples that is more suitable in differential deployment depending on status (Needham 1991, 109-10).

Two bucket and two cauldron fragments weighing a total of 132g were, however, present in the nearby Petters hoard, although it is difficult to understand the exact relationship between these objects and activity at Runnymede. Small finds are relatively abundant at Runnymede, although again not qualitatively different from other sites. Runnymede sits at the tail end of the core area of Thames metalwork deposition that begins c.35km upstream at Marlow; any material discovered near the site needs to be contextualised within this wider group. The distinctive feature at LBA Runnymede is the quantity of material present. It may be that the feasting occurring here was primarily to reaffirm social bonds and alliances, with elements of competition (cf. Dietler 2001; Hayden 2001). This could be between groups within the wider cultural areas that the island sites straddle, reaffirming these similarities and differences, as well as creating alliances between groups that do things slightly differently. Similar interpretations are appropriate to Whitecross Farm, although activity appears on a smaller scale.

Upper Thames Valley	**Middle Thames Valley**	**Eastern Surrey North Downs/ Lower Thames Valley**
Quartz/Shell/Calcareous inclusions in pottery	Flint pottery temper	Flint pottery temper
Small pottery assemblages	Some large pottery assemblages	Some large pottery assemblages
Infrequent Thames metalwork deposition	Frequent Thames metalwork deposition	Thames metalwork deposition
One possible Thames-side hoard	Some Thames-side and Tributary hoards	Frequent Thames-side and Tributary hoards
-	-	Large fragmented hoards near ringworks
Enclosures out of use	Enclosures out of use	Ringwork enclosures
-	-	Handled Jars
-	-	Perforated clay plaques
Ewart Park metalwork	Ewart Park metalwork	Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat metalwork

Table 3.9. Differences between three areas of the Thames Valley in the ninth century BC

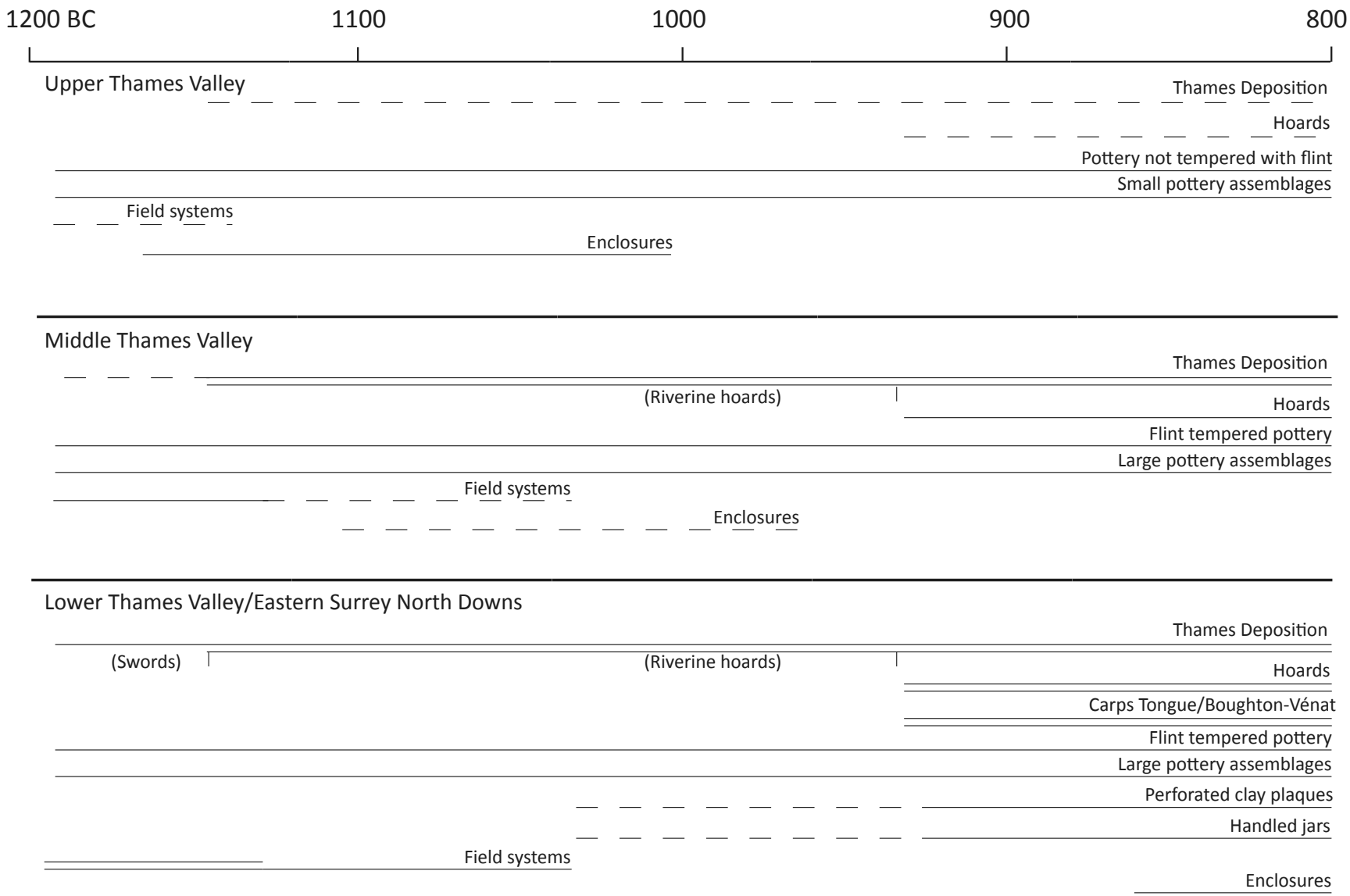


Fig. 3.19. Date and distribution of a selection of archaeological features in the Thames Valley

3.8 Discussion

What do we mean by the Thames Valley being split into three cultural areas? Although 'culture' in the Childean sense has some relevance as these consist of separate groups of recurring material remains bounded spatially and temporally (see Childe 1929, v-vi), we can go beyond this by interpreting the meaning behind these remains. The key archaeological differences between the three areas are summarised in Table 3.9; Fig. 3.19; Maps 3.4-6.

It is argued that the relatively large assemblages of metalwork, small finds and pottery, alongside the pattern of house destruction and the abandonment of settlements and field systems, all share the common feature of a wish to destroy objects and abandon place. This can be explained by two related factors. First, an underlying socio-cultural organisation that wished to forget the dead and not include them in the communities of the living. Second, by the belief that personhood extended into the objects, houses and places heavily associated an individual. It was therefore deemed necessary to destroy these parts of the material world that were thought to contain the essence of those who did not belong in the living community. Ethnographic examples of such strategies of social organisation that also treat material culture in similar ways have been discussed in 2.4.2. We may question why this was desired, but any broad sociological explaination ignores the ethnographic instances where ancestors and lineage are highly important in identity construction.

We can suggest that in areas where frequent destruction and abandonment were less prominent – primarily the Upper Thames Valley – this way of structuring communities was not as strong. Although these features were common in both the Middle Thames Valley and the Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat areas, there are other practices and material that divide these two regions. Differences in metalwork types in these areas are not due to a lack of interaction and exchange, but instead aquired bronze objects were recast into locally appropriate forms. This appears to have been to purposefully socially distance from the source area whilst confirming the integrity of those within the region. This practice of destroying such exotic and old objects by recasting them further suggests that there was little desire to create either identity or community boundaries around a lineage: alongside highly decorated objects, ethnographically the ancient and exotic are commonly deployed to create links between the generations by passing objects down and making them associated with specific lineages, generating numerous factions that are often hierarchically ranked (see 2.4.5).

Differences in archaeological metalwork assemblages are due in large part to differences in depositional habits. The larger number of often more diverse hoards in the Eastern Surrey North Downs group tells of differences in ritual practice, even if underlying reasons to destroy metal objects were broadly similar. The presence of perforated clay plaques and handled jars in the Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat area is evidence of different ways of cooking and eating between this area and the valley itself. Food is highly involved in wider issues of social organisation given

that so much of life revolves around its production, preparation and consumption, and that at each stage social differences can be expressed through different roles and expectations. Groups were clearly aware of others in different regional areas, evidenced from the interaction at the island middens and perhaps enclosures. Perhaps part of the identity construction was in opposition to other groups: part of what defines identity is knowing that certain norms and practices are different from others.

A common approach in Bronze Age interpretation is to argue that status and power relations were negotiated through the ownership and control of metalwork, supported in part by the conversion of agricultural surplus, alongside living in resource-intensive enclosures physically and symbolically segregating certain individuals from the masses. Although this no doubt was happening to some degree, discussion in this chapter argues that specifics in the creation, form, exchange, use and deposition of LBA metalwork suggests that status negation was not a primary function of the material. We should expect different patterns in the features of metalwork if this was happening to any significant degree. Field systems were abandoned *before* we see the large quantities of metalwork in the Ewart Park period, and enclosures also cannot be chronologically or spatially related to field systems. Instead, the daily routines that were enacted at settlements could have only allowed for the opportunity of limited differences in status to become engrained in the social fabric. Status being relatively dynamic and fluid is also suggested by the seeming lack of shared identity through generations, with achieved status and hierarchies presumably not passed down.

These arguments do not preclude the opportunity for power relationships to form between individuals and groups, or status having an important role in the functioning of society, only that these may have been over-emphasised in other analyses. The abundance of weapons in the archaeological record of the LBA is particularly suggestive. These types are clearly over-represented in the record during at least the Wilburton phase, given the relative lack of axes datable to the period. Warfare is intimately related to power and competition, and we may envisage that fighting, raiding, duelling at festivals and violent competition occurred between social groups, but this does not have to happen within a context of explicit elitism. Warfare and violence occur within virtually all societies, including those that are relatively egalitarian (Flannery and Marcus 2012, Chap. 3; papers in Allen and Jones 2014). We might be seeing competition and small-scale status negotiation primarily between spatially defined social groups, rather than within them. Success in fighting would bring prestige both to individuals and groups, but this does not have to have much bearing on power in other contexts, or translate into something that we might regard as explicitly hierarchical. It is very hard to envisage a specific ‘warrior class’ given that the settlement organisation could not sustain substantial identity differences.

It has been argued that there was a wider cultural orientation and social pressure to forget the dead. This was due to identity not being situated around lineage or ancestors. This manifested in the generational destruction and abandonment of possessions, house and settlement: it was taboo to continue using the objects related to the dead because of this cultural orientation. This is also suggested by the surprising lack of monuments dateable to the LBA. These often function as ways of connecting with the past and future as they are highly conspicuous reminders of past generations. The period is the only one since the introduction of agriculture that did not leave visible landscape features: none of the enclosures that could be considered monumental survive today as earthworks.

Leading from the argument that the dead and ancestors were of little importance to the living, it can be suggested that community groups were instead more present-orientated and ‘‘downward looking’…producing structure below…rather than emerging from it above’ (cf. Geertz and Geertz 1964, 105). If this was the case, we would expect social groups to be dynamic, contextual and fluid as identities were not predetermined, not tied to kin, family or birth. This mirrors bronze as a material, and the clear important ritual place it held means bronze could have been considered metaphorically. Unlike iron in prehistory, bronze objects can be melted down and completely change their form, responding to changes in the social fabric they are part of and losing previous meanings. Iron objects are not so dynamic after being forged, with at least some historic or exchange associations more likely to remain with the social conceptualisation of the object.

The existence of present-orientated community groups relates to debates on the extent of social stratification as hierarchy is commonly created and reinforced through the living closely identifying with past ancestors and the supernatural. The desire to forget the dead is evidenced by the underlying pattern found in various features of the archaeological record: destruction, deposition and abandonment of those things intimately related to other individuals. So far this has been demonstrated in houses, settlements, pottery, metalwork and possibly other small objects. This is also suggested at a wider scale with field systems. It is demonstrated that very few of these were constructed or used after c.1000 cal BC; indeed a number have positive indications of abandonment and slighting. Widespread abandonment of whole organised landscapes therefore occurred at the beginning of the LBA; the most extensive of these are around Heathrow and happened some decades before the large scale Ewart Park metalwork deposition.

3.9 Summary

This chapter defines the LBA as dating to c.1150-800 cal BC. It began by looking at LBA houses and settlements. A common, recurring type of settlement was identified, comprising a main and subsidiary house alongside other limited features. These are typically short-lived, possibly only lasting a generation. Even at longer-lived sites, similar patterns of frequent destruction and rebuilding of houses can be seen. Two types of special deposits can be discerned from settlements. One consists of animal remains placed in peripheral locations; the second type comprises complete, shattered or large sherds of one or more pots. A relatively large number of small finds are discovered on LBA settlements compared to Iron Age sites, especially considering relative longevities. These last two phenomena may be related to the abandonment of the settlement and the frequent destruction of houses. Similar patterns can also be seen in the treatment of metalwork.

The evidence for human remains has been reviewed. The majority date to the early centuries of the LBA and most are from loose groups of burials from a small number of sites in the Middle Thames Valley. Small cremation deposits are archaeologically dominant. Skulls were also placed in the Thames, some of which were smashed and deposited with bronze objects. It was shown that field systems were abandoned by c.1000 cal BC: these are primarily located in the Middle Thames Valley, and are not contemporary with either enclosures in this area or the large quantities of Ewart Park deposition. Enclosures are present in the Upper Thames Valley but date to the earlier LBA. Linear ditches on the Berkshire Downs are better dated to the Transition.

A survey of the LBA metalwork suggests that much of the Wilburton material may have entered the Thames as relatively small hoards. Contextualising the river finds with those from dry land demonstrates that the Thames Valley was not a particularly metal-rich region in the Wilburton period. Most of the Ewart Park hoards are small, and they can be split into four clear groups that demonstrate differences in both content and location. A large amount of metalwork from this period is often fragmented prior to deposition. This can be related to the settlement evidence and the treatment of other possessions: all are characterised by the frequent, perhaps generational, destruction and abandonment. The metalwork, along with other small finds, consists of masses of homogenous undecorated objects. There is little to individualise or distinguish outside of the series of set types. Exotic foreign metalwork was certainly reaching the Thames Valley, but was recast into plain, local types. Evidence for metalworking currently suggests this was carried out in the domestic environment with no difference between different object types.

Three discrete regional areas can be discerned in the study area, each with subtly different material culture and ritual practices. These are most clear in the later LBA. The first is in the south-east of the Middle Thames Valley, extending out of the study area. This is defined by Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat metalwork; frequent Thames and hoard deposition, the latter often near ringworks; perforated clay plaques; handled jars; ringworks; and large pottery

assemblages with flint temper. The Middle Thames Valley shares this latter feature alongside frequent Thames deposition. There are fewer hoards, and little Carps Tongue/Boughton-Vénat metalwork. Enclosures are out of use by this time, and there are very few perforated clay plaques or handled jars. The Upper Thames does not have these features, and is different from the Middle Thames as sites produce much smaller pottery assemblages, and flint is not added to the clays. Metalwork deposition is also much rarer. The island sites are situated on the boundaries between these larger areas.

The model of social organisation argued in this chapter comprises three interrelated features. First is the argument for the purposeful forgetting and distancing from the dead, shown by the frequent destruction and abandonment of settlements, houses and possessions, and the lack of monuments. The second feature is that differences in status could not have been particularly marked, with any achieved power relations not becoming ingrained in the social fabric: the settlement evidence could not have supported much social differentiation, and the way in which objects were made and used seemingly avoided features that would have made them more conducive to status negotiation. Third, it is argued that the LBA was a period when identity was not situated around lineage and ancestors. This is supported by the previous two propositions given both the desired distancing from the dead, and the lack of embedded social differentiation: a primary way in which the latter is achieved is through close association with ancestors, appropriating their achievements and making inequality appear timeless and unchangeable (see 2.4.6). It therefore appears that communities did not incorporate the dead, but instead were inclusive beyond kin. Ancestors were distanced from: communities instead could have comprised those from a wider spatial but chronologically restricted plane. This led to more malleable and dynamic groups that saw people defined by actions in life rather than the accomplishments or status of their lineage.

Chapter 4: Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an interpretative synthesis of the archaeology of c.800-600/550 cal BC. This relatively poorly understood period in prehistory is difficult to date, in part due to the Hallstatt radiocarbon plateau covering its entirety, although recent realignments are overcoming this problem (Needham *et al.* 1997; Needham 2007a; Waddington *et al. forthcoming*). In common with much of the EIA, the period c.800-600/550 cal BC outside Wessex is plagued by a lack of material culture; when it does occur it is often hard to assign to the phase with certainty. Appendix 1 reassesses the ceramic sequence and provides a workable chronological foundation that underpins this chapter. The period also straddles specialisms, often being side-lined and not fully contextualised by researchers who focus either on the Bronze Age or Iron Age (Needham 2007a, 39). Sharples (2010) is a key exception to this. The recent interest in midden sites has led the period to be studied in its own right and provided a foundation to understand other developments (Lawson 2000; Madgwick and Mulville 2015; McOmish *et al.* 2010; Needham 1991; Needham and Spence 1996; Waddington 2009; Waddington *et al. forthcoming*).

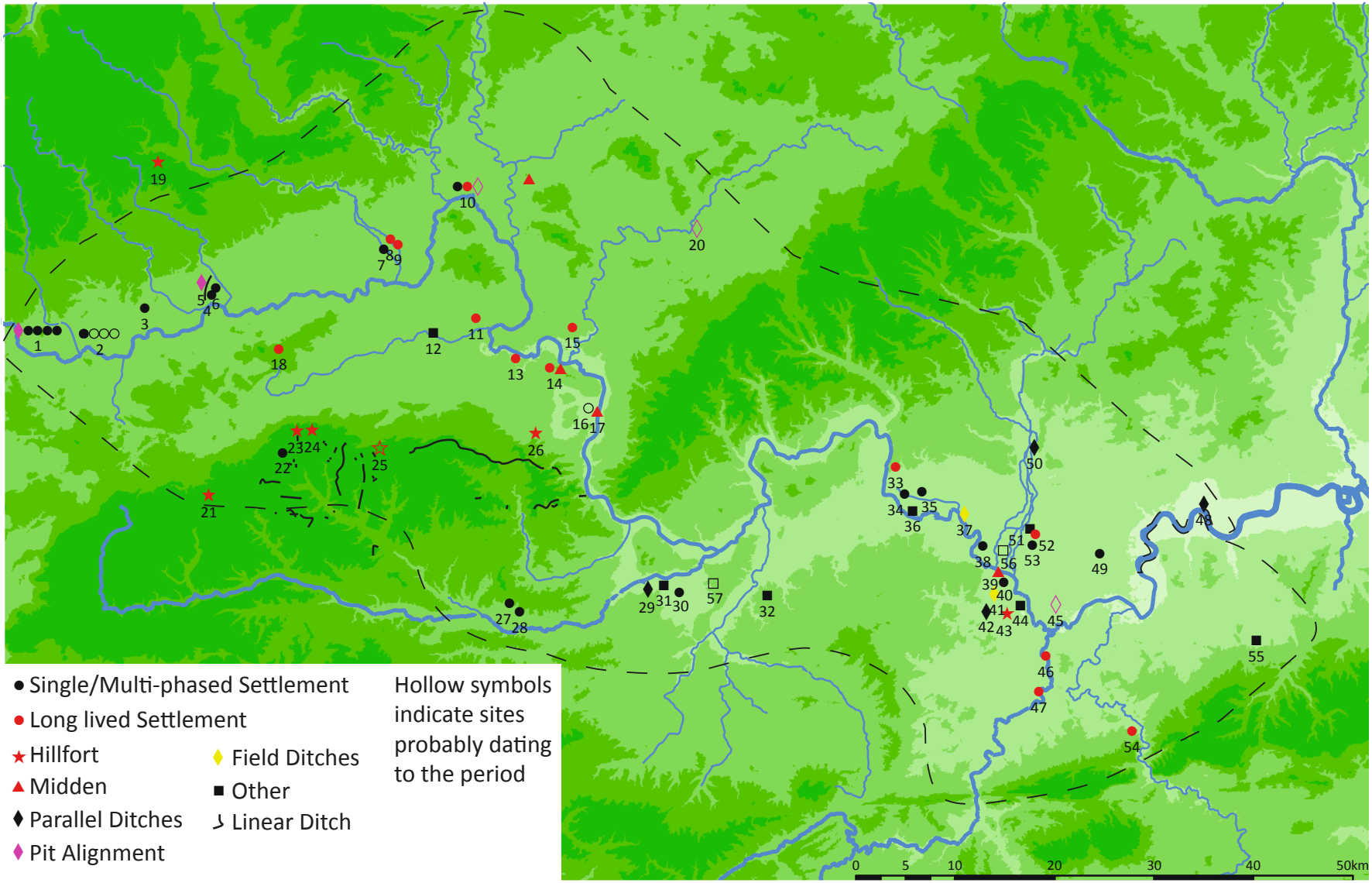
This period is referred to as the 'Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition', shortened to the 'Transition', following a number of recent authors (e.g. Bradley 2007; Hey *et al.* 2011, 81-5; McOmish *et al.* 2010, 35; Sharples 2010). There is no universally accepted nomenclature: the Transition is often subsumed into either the LBA (e.g. Brück 2007) or EIA, sometime grouped as the 'Earlier Iron Age' (e.g. Booth 2011; Haselgrove and Pope 2007; Moore 2007). It can be confusingly referred to as the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (LBA/EIA; e.g. Lamdin-Whymark *et al.* 2009); and the more helpful term 'Earliest Iron Age' is also frequently used (Brown 2000; Cunliffe 1984a). It is necessary to be specific about the time period under study, and make it comparable with other researchers. By treating it as a distinct phase we can pull out some of the subtleties of this period and more accurately chart social and material change.

This chapter brings together evidence belonging to the Transition, beginning by a review of houses, settlements and special deposits. Patterns can be seen in all of these. Human remains are discussed, before an assessment of midden sites, including those that continue into the EIA. Ways in which the landscape was divided is presented, showing three different types that have broad regional distributions: pit alignments are generally found in the Upper Thames Valley; parallel ditches usually in the Middle Valley; whereas longer linear ditches are found in the Berkshire Downs. These latter features appear to be loosely associated with the earliest hillfort phases, also belonging to this period. Metalworking will then be reviewed, before a characterisation of the metalwork. Hoards are assessed, with a disscussion on multi-period hoards, including examples of these that date to later within the Iron Age. This will be linked to the increase in imported objects in the Transition and EIA. The form, finish and fabric of pottery will be related to other material remains. It will be argued that this period was truly transitional

between LBA and Iron Age modes of social organisation and ways of relating to material culture and landscape: there are many similarities between the Transition and LBA, but we also see the beginnings of practices that become fully established in the EIA. This includes a diversification and an increase of individualisation compared to the LBA in many artefact types, through decoration, less rigidly defined typologies, and the acquisition of unusual ancient or foreign exotica. Due to the transitionary nature of the period, some practices could be seen as contradictory. Both permanent and transitory relationships to places and objects can be seen at hillforts and middens, and there is also an even mix of both single-phased and long-lived settlements. A discussion on how we can understand the processes and causes of social change in later prehistory, and how the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition relates to the preceding and succeeding periods, can be found in 7.3-4.

1. Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry (Brossler *et al.* 2002; Hearne and Adams 1999; Hearne and Heaton 1994; Powell *et al.* 2010)
2. Latton Lands (Powell *et al.* 2009)
3. Horcott Pit (Lamdin-Whymark et al. 2009)
4. Butlers Field Settlement (Boyle and Palmer 1998)
5. Roughground Farm/Butler's Field/ Memorial Hall/Gassons Road/ Sherborne House/ Allcourt Farm Alignments (Allen *et al.* 1993; Bateman *et al.* 2003; Boyle and Palmer 1998; King 1998; Stansbie et al. 2013)
6. Roughground Farm Settlement (Allen *et al.* 1993)
7. Standlake (Bradford 1942)
8. Beard Mill (Williams 1951)
9. Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004)
10. Yarnton (Hey et al. 2011; *forthcoming*)
11. Ashville Trading Estate/Wyndyke Furlong (Muir and Roberts 1999; Parrington 1978)
12. Frilford/Noah's Ark Inn (Bradford and Goodchild 1939; Harding 1987)
13. Appleford (Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980)
14. Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps (Allen *et al.* 2010; Hingley 1980; Rhodes 1948)
15. Mount Farm (Lambrick 2010; Myres 1937)
16. Bradford's Brook (Boyle and Cromarty 2006)
17. Whitecross Farm/Wallingford (Cromarty *et al.* 2006; Thomas *et al.* 1986)
18. Coxwell Road (Cook *et al.* 2004; (Weaver and Ford 2004)
19. Bladon Camp/Round Castle (Ainslie 1988)
20. Church Farm (Taylor 2012)
21. Liddington (Bowden 2001; Hirst and Rahtz 1996)
22. Tower Hill (Miles *et al.* 2003)
23. Uffington (Lock *et al.* 2003a)
24. Rams Hill (Bradley and Ellison 1975; Needham and Ambers 1994; Piggott and Piggott 1940)
25. Segsbury (Lock *et al.* 2005)
26. Blewburton (Bradford 1942; Collins 1947; Collins 1952-3; Collins and Collins 1959; Harding 1976)
27. Coopers Farm (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1995; Fitzpatrick 2011)
28. Dunston Park (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1995; Fitzpatrick 2011)
29. Wickhams Field (Andrews and Crockett 1996)
30. Knights Farm (Bradley *et al.* 1980)
31. Anslow's Cottages - Waterfront Structure (Butterworth and Lobb 1992)
32. Sadlers End - Iron Smelting Site (Lewis *et al.* 2013)
33. Taplow to Dorney Pipeline, Site A (Hart et al. 2011)
34. Lot's Hole (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
35. Old Way Lane (Ford 2003)
36. Eton Rowing Course - Waterfront Structure (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
37. Eton Road (Grassam 2004-8)
38. Waylands Nursery (Pine 2003)
39. Runnymede (Longley 1980; Needham 1991; 2000; Needham and Spence 1996; Waddington 2009, Chap. 5)
40. Petters Sports Field (O'Connell 1986)
41. Great Fosters Hotel (Leary *et al.* 2010)
42. St Ann's Heath School Playing Field (Lambert 2013a)
43. St Ann's Hill (Jones 2012a)
44. Abbey Meads - Artefact Rich Layer (Jones 2012b)
45. Staines Road Farm (Jones 2008)
46. Brooklands (Hanworth and Tomalin 1977)
47. Wisley (Lowther 1945)
48. King Street (Humphrey 2001)
49. Former Railway Marshalling Yard (Howell 2007)
50. Jewson's Yard (Barclay *et al.* 1995)
51. Heathrow T5 – Waterholes (Framework Archaeology 2010)
52. Heathrow Site K (Canham 1978)
53. Stanwell (O'Connell 1990)
54. Hawk's Hill (Hastings 1965)
55. Westcroft House - Special Deposits (Proctor 2002)
56. Staines Moor – Enclosure (Brown 1972)
57. Marshall's Hill – Enclosure (Seaby 1932)

see overleaf for map



Map 4.1. Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition sites

4.2 Houses and Settlements

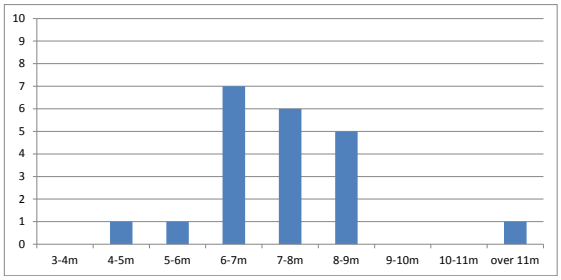
The settlement pattern in the LBA/EIA Transition develops and diversifies from the LBA. In general, houses sizes are similar to the LBA; however, the size difference between the Type 1 and 2 houses becomes less marked (Table 4.1; Graphs 4.1-2). Compared to the LBA, Type 1 houses, defined by a post-ring with a pair of protruding entrance posts, are now smaller (see 3.2). The post-rings of Type 2 houses increase in size compared to the LBA. These comprise a single post-ring, and are identified in the LBA as subsidiary structures, although this interpretation is less valid in the Transition. There is now little difference in the post-ring diameters between houses with and without entrance posts. The issue of where the outer wall falls still remains: if we assume that this is defined by entrance posts on Type 1 houses but by the post-rings of Type 2 houses (as we have no other visible referent), then Type 1 houses still have on average twice the area of those of Type 2. However, it is more likely that the outer wall of Type 2 houses was outside the post-ring, so it is safest to assume that that houses of both types were generally of a similar size. This picture in the Transition is quite different to Wessex, where houses dating to this period are larger compared to the LBA, which in turn are larger than the MBA (Sharples 2010, 194-5, fig. 4.4). Although a few large houses do exist in the Thames Valley – for example from Dunston Park and Cotswold Community Areas 2 and 4 – these are more common in the LBA.

The clear LBA settlement type consisting of a small number of roundhouses of both Types 1 and 2 is not commonly recognised in the Transition. There are a number of roundhouses that appear to be largely solitary, or alongside a limited number of other settlement features. Examples include Butler's Field, Roughground Farm, Old Way Lane, Yarnton Site 5, and Dunston Park. There are also a number of similar but poorly dated sites that might belong to this period. They include Yarnton Site 4b, Jewsons Yard, Shepperton, Bradfords Brook, Cotswold Community Area 1 South, and two or three solitary houses at Latton Lands. Similar but slightly more extensive are the better dated sites at Horcott Pit, Cotswold Community Area 2, and Stanwell. The above sites are found throughout the study area, but are primarily on the gravel terraces. They are comparable to those dating to the LBA, and a broadly similar interpretation is appropriate for at least some. However, we do not now see a main house paired with a smaller subsidiary structure. It seems probable that some of the more isolated houses were not permanent settlements, but used for more specialised and temporary purposes. Little has been found in these solitary structures to suggest any specific activity, although House 3008 at Latton Lands was probably burnt down (Powell *et al.* 2009).

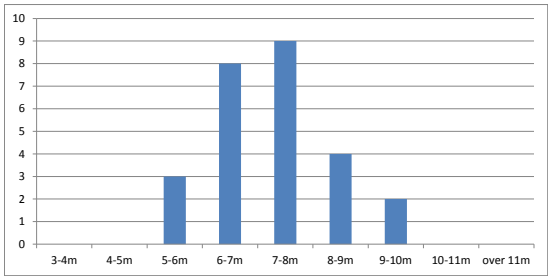
Other settlements become slightly larger and more aggrandised in the Transition, although understanding size and the relationship between features is more difficult as settlement moves away from the single-phased pattern of the LBA to longer-lived sites with more complicated plans. This move can be demonstrated at Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry. The very large excavations here uncovered multiple shifting LBA settlements. This pattern continues in

	Type 2 Post-ring, house w/o 'porch' (=21)	**Type 1** Post-ring, house w/ 'porch' (=26)	**Type 1** Wall following 'porch' (=26)	Inner post-ring all (=47)
Mean Diameter	7.2m	7.3m	10.7m	7.2m
Mode Diameter	6-7m	7-8m	10-12m	7-8m
Mean Area	40.3m^2	41.3m^2	89.3m^2	40.8m^2
Mode Area	c.28.3-38.5m^2	c.38.5-50.3m^2	c.78.5-113.1m^2	c.38.5-50.3m^2

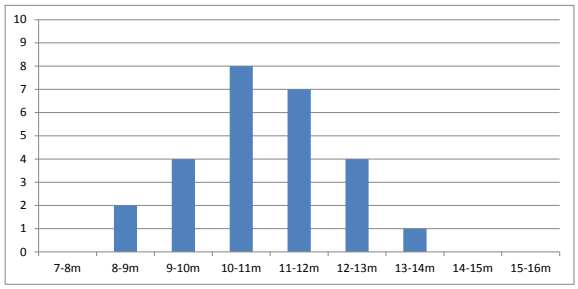
Table 4.1. LBA/EIA Transition house size averages



Graph 4.1. Post-ring diameters for Transitional Type 2 houses



Graph 4.2. Post-ring diameters for Transitional Type 1 houses



Graph 4.3. Outer wall diameter of Transitional houses following 'porch' or outer post-ring

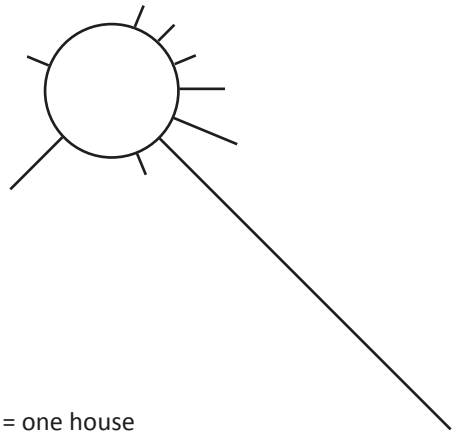


Fig. 4.1. Orientation of LBA/EIA Transition houses

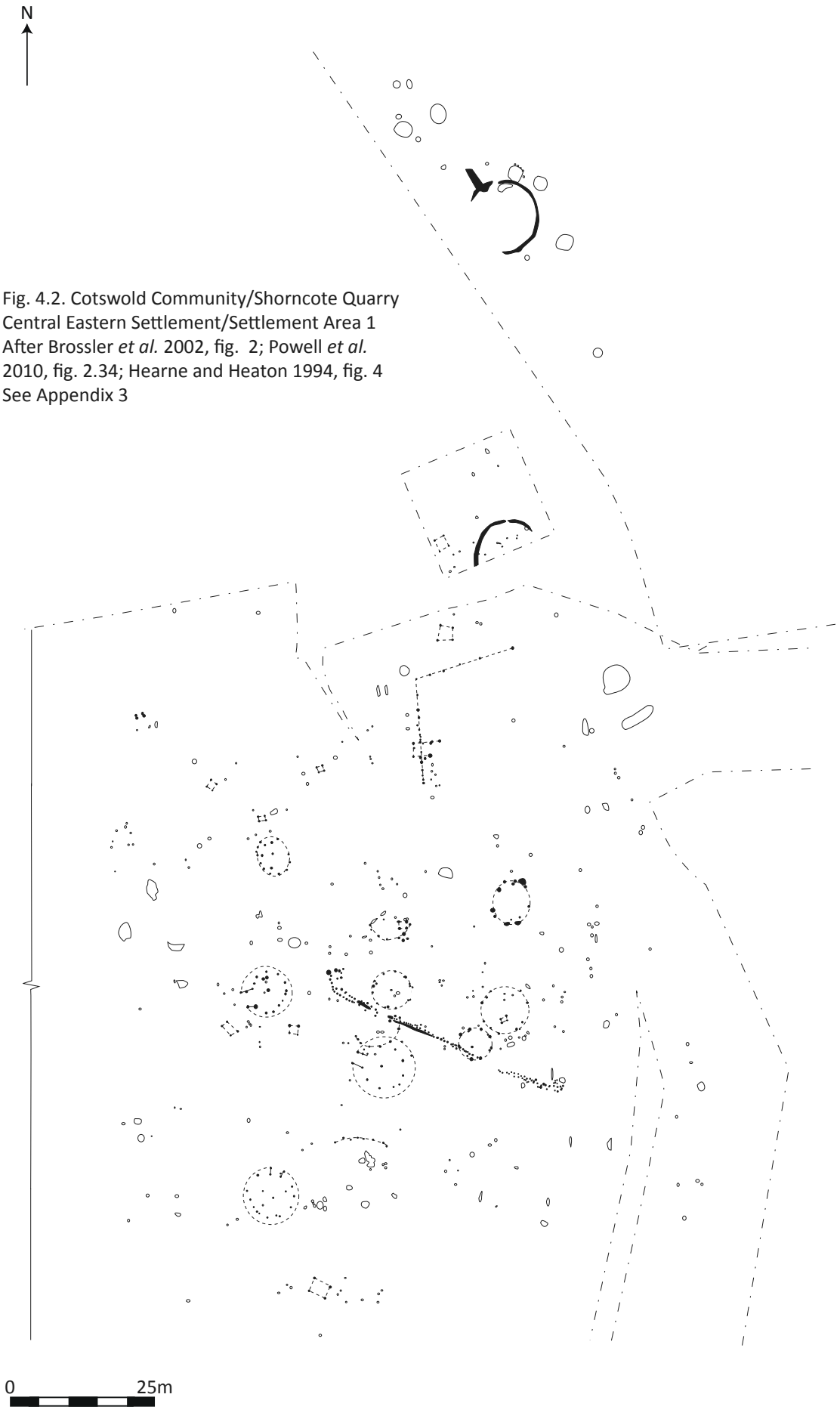


Fig. 4.2. Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry Central Eastern Settlement/Settlement Area 1
After Brossler *et al.* 2002, fig. 2; Powell *et al.* 2010, fig. 2.34; Hearne and Heaton 1994, fig. 4
See Appendix 3

the Transition to some extent at Area 2, and perhaps the southern zone of Area 1 (see Appendix 3; Figs. 3.10-6). However, the Central Eastern settlement appears to last a longer period of time than the LBA sites. It has a number of overlapping features, with three or four phases visible around fence 14269 and house 17526 (Fig. 4.2; Powell *et al.* 2010, 50-4, fig. 2.34). This is similar to Area 4. The Transition also sees the establishment of settlements that last through most of the Iron Age. A cluster of these appear in the Upper Thames basin east of the river Windrush, although they are also found in other areas, often nearby shorter-lived settlements. Of the 48 settlements with sufficient evidence, 19 (40%) have been classed as single-phased, 6 (13%) are multi-phased, and 23 (48%) are long-lived (Table 7.1; Graph 7.1; see 3.2.1 and 7.1.1). We see a clear shift away from the single-phased sites that characterises the LBA, to the long-lived settlements that characterises the EIA. This is one of the many ways that the LBA/EIA Transition really does appear transitional between two quite distinct social systems.

4.3 Special Deposits

The practice of depositing large quantities of pottery in single contexts on settlements continues from the LBA. These are typically larger in the Transition, with Pit 5 at Knights Farm 1 and F117.1 at Petters Sports Field particularly noteworthy (Bradley *et al.* 1980; O'Connell 1986). Sherds from at least 51 and 228 vessels were recovered from these respective features. At least 14 examples containing only pottery date to the Transition,[1] with a further five consisting of substantial parts of at least one vessel and at least one small find.[2] Three more might date to this period.[3] An example at Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry contains a complete vessel, other pottery sherds and human skull fragments.[4] Three of these are clearly associated with houses: two from Horcott Pit (Fig. 4.3), and one from Yarnton Site 5. As in the LBA, in most cases these could have been deposited at the abandonment of the settlement, destroying the objects associated with the use of the site. However, at least four or five long-lived sites contain similar special deposits. In these examples, the remains are instead lived among by successive generations. These are Yarnton, Coxwell Road, Appleford, Brooklands, and possibly Uffington. In some respects this deposition mirrors activity at middens, with an emphasis on large quantities of pottery, and moving depositional locations from isolated landscape contexts to the settlement. Some specific examples from Runnymede show the comparability between these settlement special deposits and activity at middens. Two complete cups were placed upright in Unit H at Area 16 East, surrounded by other midden material (Needham and Spence 1996, 239). Detailed analysis of concentrations of sherds belonging to the same vessel demonstrates most of these were broken away from the deposition area before being moved in relatively large fragments. In other cases, pots were broken *in situ* during or after deposition (Sørensen 1996). These practices parallel the special deposits in settlements.

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1 Special deposit IDs 11, 175, 251, 291, 325, 326, 344, 349, 358, 423, 426, 427, 431 and 446. ID 415 – pit 53 from Weston Wood should date to the very end of the LBA or beginning of the Transition.

2 Special deposit IDs 239, 241, 361, 380 and 441.

3 Special deposit IDs 154, 155, and 432.

4 Special deposit ID 288.

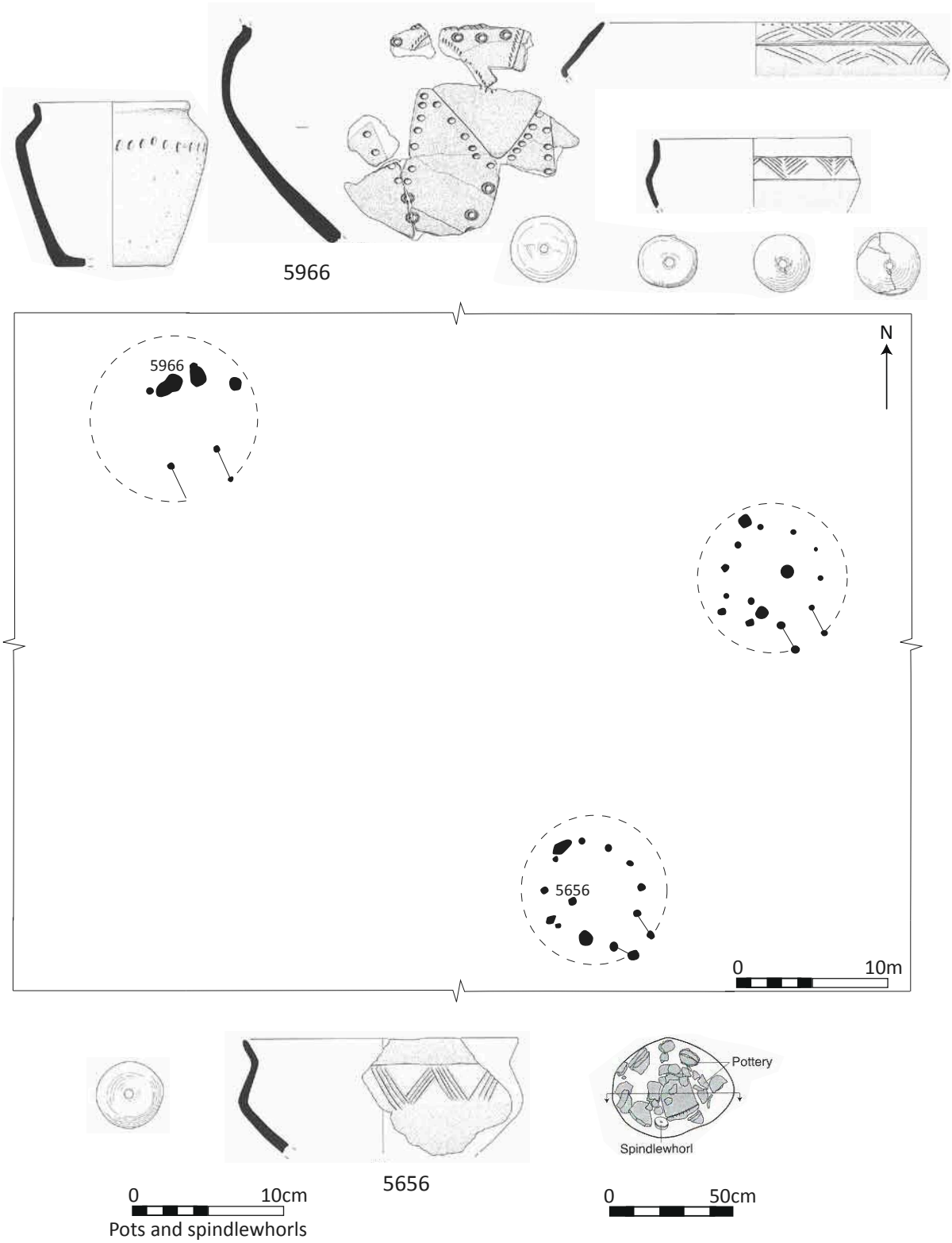


Fig. 4.3. Special deposits from pits 5966 and 5656 at Horcott Pit Lamdin-Whymark *et al.*2009, figs. 8-11, 26-7, 29

The other type of special deposit recognised in LBA settlements – animal skulls or articulated remains in liminal boundary positions – is also present in the Transition. Eight examples are known that can be dated to the Transition with some confidence. Three of these are on the edge of a settlement,[5] one is in a river channel near a waterfront structure,[6] one might be related to the entrance of a house,[7] at least two are in a midden accumulation,[8] and one is not in any clear relationship to other features.[9] A further 16 might date to the Transition or might be later in the Iron Age; of these at least three are in boundary positions (Table 7.7; Graphs 7.17-23).

Two further special deposits are of mixed composition, and appear more Iron Age in character. These are both from Westcroft House[10] (Proctor 2002). A small series of pits were explored at this site, but excavation was not large enough to fully understand activity. Pit 62 contained a horse skull placed next to quernstone fragments and a large lump of fired clay. Occasional pottery sherds were found elsewhere in the fill, alongside fragments of perforated clay slabs. The secondary fill of Pit 77 contained three large flint nodules; a fragment of a possible socketed axe was placed on one, and a red deer skull was resting on another. Another red deer skull was on the other side of the pit, alongside an antler (Proctor 2002, 72). Other pits in the spread may have been special deposits, but do not quite meet the criteria required (see 3.3.1). The last two settlement special deposits are ID289 from Cotswold Community, and ID12, the Llyn Fawr hoard placed in an entrance posthole at Tower Hill. The former contained older prehistoric artefacts seemingly purposefully placed in postholes of a roundhouse. These will be discussed in 5.6.2.

4.4 Human Remains

Human remains that can be dated to the Transition with some confidence are not common, but more frequent than those belonging to the final centuries of the LBA (Table 7.7; Graphs 7.7-10). The most common sites where human remains are found are middens. These is an emphasis on skull fragments from these sites, but disarticulated single bones or small groups of bones are also found.[11] There is a possible excarnation platform at the Riverside Zone at Runnymede, and it has been interpreted that skulls were also displayed on posts at this site (Waddington 2009, 186). Human bones from other locations in the zone appear to have been placed in a structured manner, including at peripheral locations (Waddington 2009, Chap. 5).

Two small cremation deposits consisting of 34g and 66g were found at the dispersed settlement at Old Way Lane (Ford 2003).[12] These were found in two postholes not apparently connected to any structure. Another unurned and unaccompanied cremation deposit was found on the

5 Special deposit IDs 287, 292 and 341.
6 Special deposit ID 424.
7 Special deposit ID 286.
8 Special deposit IDs 342 and 343.
9 Special deposit ID 227.
10 Special deposit IDs 366, 367.
11 Human remains IDs 29, 225, 226, and possibly 311. IDs31, 32, 33 and 34 dates either to the Transition or EIA.
12 Human remains IDs 316 and 317.

western edge of settlement area 1 at Cotswold Community (Powell *et al.* 2010, 54).[13] At its northern periphery a waterhole containing skull fragments and a complete pot were discovered, although not in the same context (Brossler *et al*. 2002, 44).[14] Special deposits with human remains are very rare in this period, but an example from Eton Rowing Course Area 1 might also see the association between human bones and pots. Here an ulna was found on the eyot in the same layer as two almost complete vessels, although the relationship is not secure.[15] A skull fragment was found in the layer above.[16] Three femurs were found elsewhere in the channel, dating either to the Transition or EIA (Allen *et al. forthcoming*).[17] A further nine instances of human remains that date to either the Transition or EIA were found at Yarnton and Coxwell Road. All but one are single bones, the other consists of two disarticulated bones in the same context.[18] It is perhaps likely that most of these date to the EIA. The final example is six bone fragments of an infant at Waylands Nursery, tentatively dated to the Transition.[19] This site consists of only a very dispersed scatter of postholes (Pine 2003).

Given the limited and varied evidence for human remains, little can be said except that, like other classes of finds, middens were a focus of deposition and at least some of this deposition was structured. However, only a very small number of individuals are represented from the currently excavated midden sites. The pattern of largely invisible burial practice continues from the later LBA. Three of the dated Thames skulls date to either the Transition or EIA, representing around 10% of those sampled (Schulting and Bradley 2013, Tab. 6). There is a steady change through the LBA to EIA of deposits of single bones replacing cremation in frequency, and the Transition is the only period where there are no certain examples of articulated human remains (Graph 7.7).

4.5 Middens

The island midden sites established in the last century of the LBA at Runnymede and Whitecross Farm continue into the Transition. Most of the intensive deposition is dated to the Transition, with Runnymede at least being the site of the destruction and consumption of huge quantities of meat, pottery and other objects at periodic gatherings (Needham and Spence 1996; Waddington 2009, Chap. 5). Densities of pottery, animal bone and small finds are often far in excess of contemporary non-midden sites (Waddington 2009, figs. 4.1-2, 4.38, 8.1-2, Tabs 4.1-2). This intensification of consumption at middens is happening just when the large amount of Ewart Park metalwork deposition ends: there may be a conceptual crossover in these practices despite the change of material. It cannot be chance that the largest assemblage of Transitional pottery from a single context – F117.1 at Petters Sports Field – was placed directly above the

13 Human remains ID 270.
14 Human remains ID 271.
15 Human remains ID 366. Special deposit ID 431.
16 Human remains ID 368.
17 Human remains IDs 369, 370 and 371.
18 Human remains IDs 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 247, 248, 255.
19 Human remains ID 308.

largest LBA hoard in the study area (Needham 1990; O'Connell 1986). As existing bronze stocks and imports ran low, social and spiritual factors demanding deposition did not quickly tail off as is suggested by much of the metalwork evidence, but continued with pottery and other objects.

There is also a change in the landscape context of deposition. Rather than following the LBA practice of choosing fairly isolated locations that were generally not revisited for depositing metalwork, middens represent new depositional 'centres' where accumulation occurred over centuries. There is juxtaposition between the destruction of goods that could suggest a desire to distance and move away from the context of its use, with the visible, vast accumulation of material reaching near monumental proportions. Midden sites are simultaneously the loci for processes of forgetting, as well as places for production and connecting with past actions and people by enacting rituals and traditions in the same place over generations. Structural evidence at Runnymede at this time points to a continuation of the island as a special place due to the presence of probable sweat lodges, excarnation platforms, post enclosures and various other architectural features that were foci for special deposition (Waddington 2009, Chap. 5). Middens appear to have continued to function as meeting places for dispersed groups, although differences between the regional areas they straddle in the LBA are less visible in the Transition.

Other midden sites in the Thames Valley are smaller but could still have been revisited places that were a focus for deposition. The Woodeaton midden appears to have been established in the Transition and was in use until the MIA, with the location continuing to be an important depositional site into the Roman period (Goodchild and Kirk 1954; Harding 1987). A relatively high density of finds came from Layer 6 at Abbey Meads (Jones 2012b, 34-7). This appears to date to the Transition given the presence flint and grog tempered sherds including an example with at least two rows of fingertip decoration (Jones 2012b, 37-8, fig. 5; see Appendix 1.4-5). This is probably not a midden as it consists of dark grey clayey loam up to 10cm thick instead of the more typical dark anthropogenic soils (cf. Waddington 2009, 6).

The similar sites of Chinnor and Bledlow by the Chiltern section of the Ridgeway may also have related midden deposits. At Chinnor layers variously described as 'black soil', 'black earth' or 'dark earth' were found covering a series of half-filled intercutting pits (Richardson and Young 1951). At least 10 metal objects, 27 worked bone objects excluding an unquantified number of worked pig incisors, one shale bracelet fragment, one blue glass bead, one amber bead, wattle marked daub, iron slag, an unquantified number of various worked stone objects, an unquantified number of animal bones including the skeleton of a complete pig, and a large quantity of pottery was discovered over a small area, mainly from the dark earth layers. Most of the pottery should, however, be earlier EIA as the assemblage has more sharply angular vessels than those with rounded bodies, and has only a small number of expanded rims, both features typical of the later EIA. Chinnor is one of Cunliffe's (2005, 101-2) type-sites in his regional EIA sequence. There is a change in the pottery stratigraphically, and we could see the site beginning

in the Transition as the lower levels lack sherds with decorative techniques of EIA style: stamped rosettes and incised swags. These only occur in later levels (Richardson and Young 1951, 139).

Bledlow sits 2km to the north-east, also consisting of a series of intercutting pits. It is described that 'an occupation level of dark soil had originally extended evenly and unbrokenly across the brim of the pits, their dividing walls, and in short over the whole site' (Head and Piggott 1943, 193). The majority of the animal bones came from this layer; small finds were fewer than Chinnor, but included a bronze swan necked ring-headed pin. The pottery is comparable to Chinnor and primarily dates to the earlier EIA. The phenomenon of accumulating midden material with large quantities of artefacts is not restricted to the Transition and continues through the Iron Age. More excavation is needed at these sites to understand the nature of this later accumulation.

For example, a midden forms part of the settlement complex at Yarnton and appears to have formed under quite different social circumstances to Runnymede and Whitecross Farm. This was spread over c.20m^2, and up to 0.5m deep. A 1m wide sondage produced 3kg of EIA pottery, 85 pieces of animal bone, including one worked bone and part of an antler, and small quantities of briquetage and slag. Like other EIA middens, this overlaid a pit containing more animal bone, pottery, an antler cheekpiece and handle (Hey *et al.* 2011, 117). The midden outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps is also associated with a larger settlement and a hillfort (Allen *et al.* 2010, 111-3; Rhodes 1948; Hingley 1980). This appears to have begun in the Transition and continued in use through the EIA (see Appendix 1.6.1 for discussion on dating this feature). At least some Iron Age middens are therefore part of larger, more usual settlements, and not necessarily the specific depositional sites in the landscape that characterise most Transitional sites.

Long Wittenham/Wigbalds Farm is another old site that should receive attention given the recent discussions about middens (Savory 1937). Here a single oblong pit measuring 5.8x4.5m was excavated. It 'was filled to the top with occupation soil, rich black above, but becoming sticky towards the bottom…[and] produced a wealth of sherds and broken animal bones. At several points large portions of coarse jars lay broken *in situ*' (Savory 1937, 2). Twenty-two vessels are illustrated, again of largely earlier EIA date rather than specifically Transitional given the lack of biconical bowls, highly angular jars and the presence of two expanded rims (Savory 1937, fig. 2; see Appendix 1.4). Also discovered were five worked animal bones, a spindle whorl, a crucible, a bronze fitting, and most interestingly a miniature bronze axe. These are rare finds, with the largest assemblage coming from the midden at Whitchurch, Warkwickshire (Johnson 2010, 33-5). Another example is known from Potterne (Gingell 2000, 191). The Long Wittenham example is different to these as it does not closely resemble a socketed axe. Instead, the form is nearer to either a flat or flanged axe, or a shaft-hole axe with a loop made from rolling the butt-end so its

axis is on the same plane as the blade (Savory 1937, 3, fig. 1.2).[20] The small size of the excavation precludes further comment on this site and its function.

Overall, specific midden sites differ in the Transition from their LBA origins. They still appear to be meeting places, but the intensive accumulation of animal dung, pottery and other artefacts enhance their meaning as they become special revisited places in the landscape that are a focus for deposition. Activity at these sites could have taken over some of the roles of bronze deposition, although the characteristics are quite different. Other midden sites date to the EIA: some are part of larger settlements, whereas others may still have continued to form the focus of deposition away from settlements although more excavation at these examples is needed.

4.6 Dividing the landscape

4.6.1 Pit Alignments in the Upper Thames Valley

We begin to see divisions on settlements and in the wider landscape in the Transition, segregating space and suggesting a more permanent presence. In the extreme Upper Thames in areas devoid of MBA field systems, a number of linear ditches and pit alignments appear. Both of these have been discovered in the Roughground Farm complex, also comprising Butlers Field, Memorial Hall, Gassons Road, Sherborne House and Allcourt Farm, showing a multi-phased sequence of divisions (Allen 1993; Bateman *et al.* 2003; Boyle and Palmer 1998; King 1998; Thomas and Holbrook 1998; Stansbie *et al.* 2013). The primary division consists of two widely spaced parallel linear features c.280m apart, perpendicular to the rivers Thames and Leach, using the rivers to enclose an area of c.200ha (Fig. 4.4). At Gassons Road, Butler Field and Memorial Hall, further multiple phased ditches and pit alignments lead off the main alignment, further segregating the enclosed area.

The outer, western ditch is best dated to the Transition due to the presence of biconical bowls and incised linear decoration at Butlers Field and Gassons Road; alongside occasional grog temper at Butlers Field, and geometric motifs at Gassons Road (Barclay 1998; Timby 1998). The first phase of the eastern ditch may be better dated to the EIA. Its earliest phase at Sherborne House has been dated to this period, and at Roughground Farm a vessel with an expanded rim and globular or straight-sided body was discovered in the ditch (Bateman *et al.* 2003, 35; Hingley 1993, fig. 31.54). The boundary continued into the MIA, with the ditch being recut in this period at Sherborne House, and being replaced entirely at Allcourt Farm (Stansbie *et al.* 2013, 31). At Roughground Farm, a MIA crouched burial radiocarbon dated to 350-40 cal BC (68% confidence; HAR-5502) was inserted into the partially silted ditch (Allen 1993, 36). Here we have evidence for a large, long-lived landscape feature. Two isolated houses of probable Transitional date have

[20] The Long Wittenham example is unique in Robinson's (1995) catalogue. A large number of miniature axes have recently been reported through the PAS: none match the Long Wittenham example, although the closest is made from silver in a hoard with a Late Roman coin and small triangular copper alloy object. This was found 13km from Long Wittenham (BERK-4BFBA9; PAS database searched November 2015).

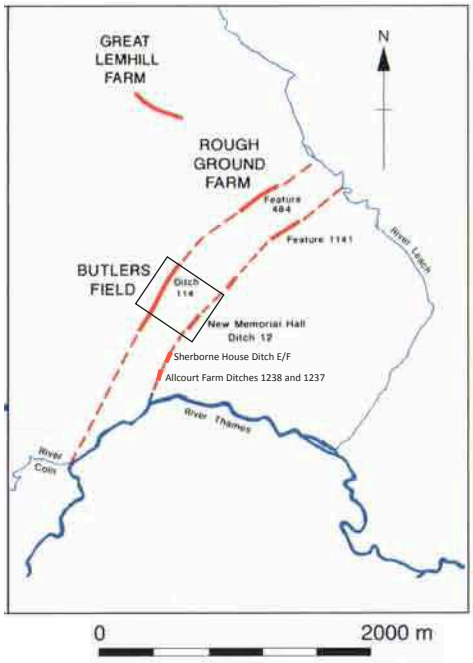


Fig. 4.4. Roughground Farm linear ditch complex
Lambrick 2009, fig. 3.7; Boyle and Palmer 1998, fig. 1.5; King 1998, fig. A2.3
After King 1998, fig. A2.7
Images: OA

been discovered in the enclosed area. The example at Butlers Field appears to be single-phased (Boyle and Palmer 1998, 13, fig. 2.3); whereas the house at Roughground Farm appears to have been rebuilt (Allen 1993, 40, fig. 30; Harding 1972, 24-5). A scattered short-lived EIA settlement was also uncovered at Roughground Farm (Allen 1993).

Similar 'meander cut-off' enclosures are present at Clifton Hampden/Fullamore Farm and Northfield Farm. These are not as well dated, although the ditch at Fullamore Farm may be slightly later, perhaps dating to the EIA or MIA: it cut a ground surface containing later Bronze Age pottery, with the ditch itself producing seven Iron Age sherds: a single shell tempered fragment from the lower fill, and a small group from the upper fill of mixed fabrics, including a sherd with tooled curvilinear decoration, perhaps from a swag motif (Booth *et al.* 1993; Booth and Underwood-Keevil 1993; Gray 1977). Other excavated linear ditches to the north and east of the Thames date later in the Iron or are Early Roman (see below).

These complexes give an almost contradictory impression of the relationship to place: long-lived, multi-phased boundaries create large landscape divisions, but only enclose small short-lived settlements. As permeable divisions of the landscape, pit alignments elsewhere also seem somewhat contradictory. These are typically poorly dated, but excavated examples at Cotswold Community (Powell *et al.* 2010), Yarnton (Hey *et al.* 2011; *forthcoming*), Church Farm, Thame (Taylor 2012) and Staines Road Farm (Jones 2008) hint at a date in the Transition, but may date to slightly before or after this period.

Only a little pottery dating to between the LBA and EIA was discovered from the double pit alignment at Cotswold Community; however, it is stratigraphically bracketed between the MBA and LIA, and much of the occupation in the area can be dated to the Transition (Fig 4.5). The pit alignment runs c.525m, and appears to have been a continuous feature in the landscape as it structures the orientation of LIA and Roman boundaries. The unusual 'dendric gully' complex at Yarnton Site 2 appears to be a fairly long-lived feature. This consists of a series of long pits or slots arranged in a linear fashion, sometimes joined with sections of ditches, and aligned on an earlier circular feature (Fig. 4.5; Hey *et al.* 2011, 300-3, fig. 11.38). Dating is again inconclusive, although it follows the orientation of a MBA ditch, with the earliest pits dug after LBA ditch 2607 begin to silt, and many were also still hollow at the onset of MIA alluviation. The double pit alignment at Staines Road Farm in the Middle Thames runs at least 260m; one of its terminals might be defined by the river Ash, the other is unknown (Fig. 4.6; Jones 2008). Dating evidence is restricted to five sherds: these were of fabrics paralleled by features containing Neolithic/EBA, MBA and EIA pottery on the site. A pit alignment was also found at Church Farm (Fig. 4.6; Taylor 2012). Four pits contained Transitional-MIA pottery; two contained M-LBA pottery; and one contained pottery from both broad periods. The L-shaped form superficially looks MBA - similar shaped ditched enclosures are present at Latton Lands (Stansbie and Laws 2004), Frilford (Lock *et al.* 2003, 76, figs. 14, 18), and two at Cotswold Community (Powell *et al.* 2010). Excavation

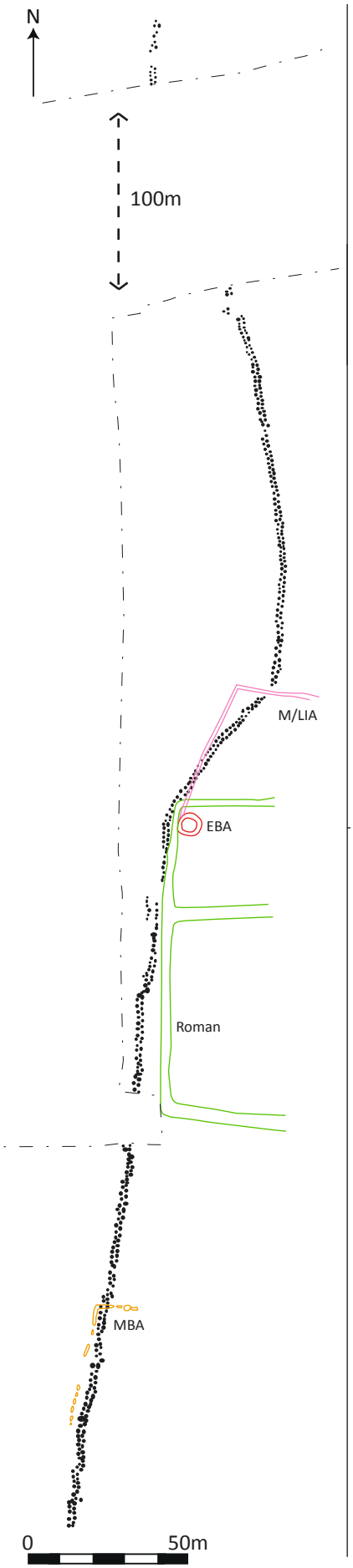


Fig. 4.5. Pit alignments 1.
Left - Cotswold Community; Right - Yarnton Site 2
After Powell *et al.* 2010, figs. 2.1, 3.1; Hearne and Adams 1999, fig. 3;
Hey *et al.* 2011, fig. 11.38. Image: OA

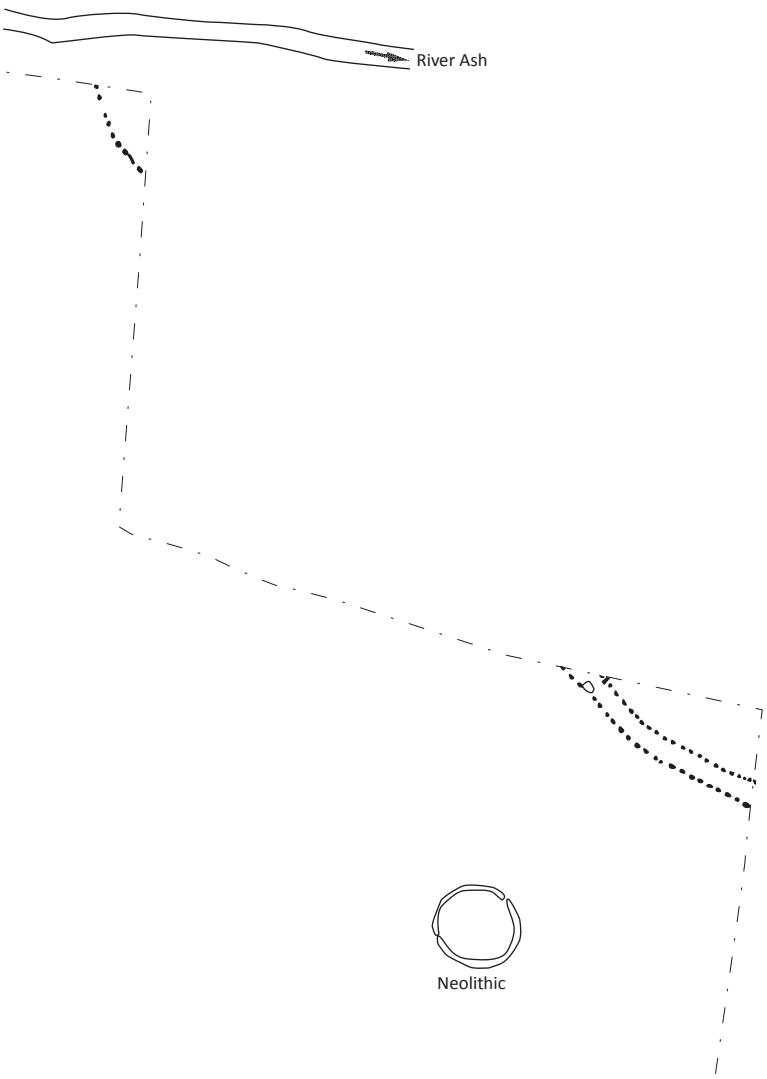
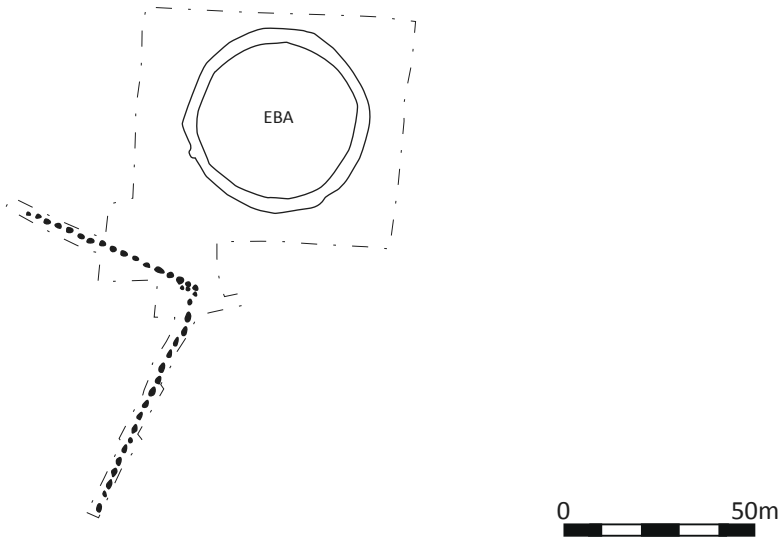


Fig. 4.6. Pit alignments 2
Above - Staines Road Farm; Below - Church Farm
After Jones 2008, fig. 2; Taylor 2012, fig. 1



did not, however, define the limits of the pit alignment, and its form could be different. All of these examples are orientated on earlier ring-ditches, or change direction when such features are encountered. The examples at Yarnton Site 2 and Cotswold Community are also orientated on MBA ditches. The alignment in turn structures later linear features at these two sites. While providing permeable divisions in the landscape, these features also appear long-lived and appear to have been purposefully associated with earlier features, possibly to give legitimacy to the boundaries. Alternatively, they could have been used as convenient landmarks when creating the pit alignments.

Unexcavated pit alignments have been discovered through aerial photography at Northfield Farm, Binsey and Datchett (Lambrick 2009, 64-5). Three pit alignments can be dated to after the Transition. Yarnton Site 9 contained Roman pottery; the alignment within the settlement at Sherborne house can be dated to the MIA (Bateman *et al.* 2003); and that at Langford Downs appears to be LIA (Williams 1946-7). Other substantial linear features in the Upper Thames basin include the North Oxfordshire Grims Ditch. Various sections have produced evidence for a date in the first century BC/first century AD (Copeland 1988; Fine 1976; Harden 1937; Thomas 1957). A LIA or Roman date is also likely for the South Oxfordshire Grims ditch, running from the Thames at Mongwell along the crest of the Chilterns (Bradley 1968; Cromarty *et al.* 2006, 157-200; Hinchcliffe 1975). A ditch partially excavated at The Maples, Lechlade, was at least 3.2m wide and 1.1m deep. The only dating evidence was a single sherd of probable Iron Age date in its apparently homogenous single fill (CAT 2000).

4.6.2 Parallel ditches in the Middle Thames Valley

Double linear alignments are also present in the Middle Thames Valley, but apart from the example at Staines Road Farm they consist of long ditches rather than pits. These also divide the landscape, and may have acted as droveways. The example at Wickhams Field had some recutting and could be followed for 145m over the excavated area: only one pair of terminals were probably found (Fig. 4.7; Andrews and Crockett 1996). A corner of a probable enclosure also forms part of this complex. This is best phased to the Transition given the post Deverel-Rimbury character of the pottery with a relatively high percentage of sandy fabric and a fragment of a possible furrowed bowl (Laidlaw 1996, 145).

Similar paired ditches were found at 120-124 Kings Street. These were of larger proportions measuring c.5m wide and 1.4m deep (Fig. 4.7; Humphery 2001). Although no recutting was observed, the pottery sequence in the stratigraphy suggests these were open for a considerable period of time. Only Transitional material was recovered from the lowest fill – this was part of a wider assemblage from the site that comprised pottery of decorated post Deverel-Rimbury character with a relatively high percentage of sandy wares, furrowed bowls, a pie crust rim, and decoration including shoulders with fingertip impressions, diagonal slashes and geometric motifs (Raymond 2001). EIA, MIA and LIA pottery was found in the middle and upper fills.

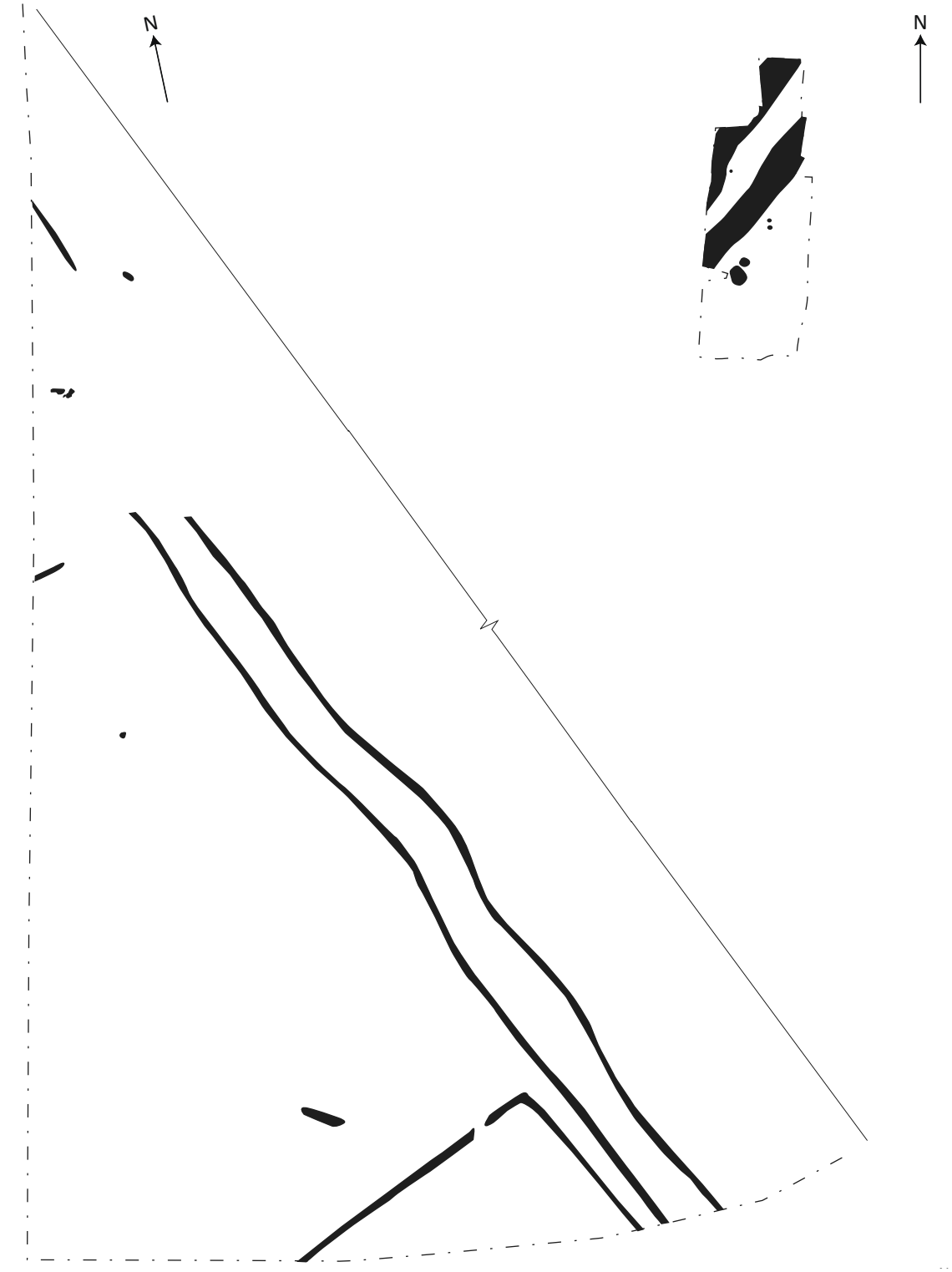


Fig. 4.7. Parallel Ditches 1.
Above left - Wickhams Field; Above Right - 120-124 Kings Street
After Andrews and Crockett 1996, fig. 63; Humphery 2001, fig. 2

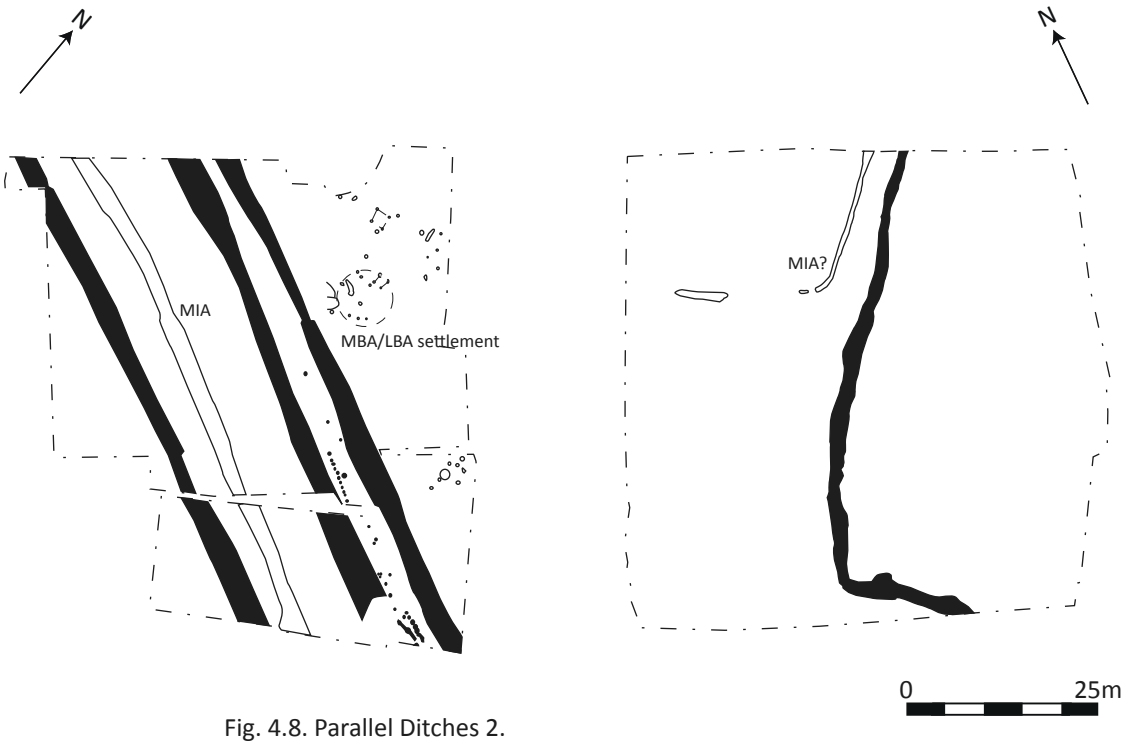


Fig. 4.8. Parallel Ditches 2.
Left - Jewsons Yard; Right - St Ann's Heath School Playing Field
After Barclay *et al.* 1995, fig. 2; Lambert 2013a, fig. 1.4

Further parallel ditches were found at former Jewsons Yard, Uxbridge (Fig. 4.8). Inside one pair a palisade was also found. A third ditch on the same alignment was found 15m to the west. Initial construction of these four linear features can be phased to the Transition as lower fills included sherds with occasional grog temper, fingertipped shoulders and cabled rims, and a furrowed bowl fragment. A sherd with a double row of fingertip impressions was found in a higher fill (Barcley *et al.* 1995). A small single-generational settlement probably dating to the MBA or LBA, but possibly being later and contemporary with the ditches was found just to the east (Fig. 3.4). Evidence that the ditches remained in use, or were at least visible for a considerable period of time, is demonstrated by the presence of recuts, EIA pottery in the fills, and a fourth ditch containing only MIA pottery following on exactly the same alignment as the other three.

The enclosure at St Ann's Heath School Playing Field also demonstrates longevity of use (Fig. 4.8; Lambert *et al.* 2013a). Two ditches forming an L-shape were exposed over a length of 80m, but neither terminals were found. They had been recut multiple times. Although dating evidence was not conclusive, it may best be phased to the Transition given the decoration on the pottery including fingertip and fingernail impressions on shoulders and a rim, and the occasional presence of grog in the fabric. There were, however, twice as much sherds dominated by flint compared to sand, possibly indicating a slightly earlier date (Jones 2013, 15). Another ditch ran parallel forming a droveway or trackway for some of its length, and probably formed another enclosure. This latter ditch is best dated to the MIA given the associated pottery, although it is possible following the evidence from other sites that the double ditches date to the Transition.

Two perpendicular ditches were revealed at Eton Road (Grassam 2004-8). Excavations were too limited to fully understand their nature, but they resemble the L-shaped ditches at St Ann's Heath School Playing Field and Wickhams Field. These may have been field enclosures, although they are of a very different, smaller-scale form to those belonging to the second half of the second millennium BC. The limited evidence indicates a date in the Transition given the pottery comprising flint with sand fabric and the presence of a sherd decorated in All Cannings Cross style (Thompson 2004-5). The coaxial system exposed at Great Fosters Hotel does, however, resemble the earlier type (Leary *et al.* 2010). Dating evidence here was limited to pottery in a single ditch that is comparable to the assemblage from nearby Petters Sports Field; this was on the same coaxial alignment to the rest of the system, but cut two of the ditches.

4.6.3 Linear Ditches on the Berkshire Downs

Pit alignments and parallel ditches are part of a wider phenomenon of landscape division in the Transition. The former are found primarily on the gravels of the Upper Thames, but are also present in the Middle Valley; the latter found primarily in the Middle Thames. On the Berkshire Downs, a series of major linear boundaries divide the landscape; at least 48km of these are known (Map 4.1; Richards 1978, 41). Although these are often thought to date primarily to the LBA, a survey of the excavated evidence suggests that most of these are better dated to the Transition, with some use throughout the Iron Age and a few also constructed in the Roman period. This phasing is due in part to the realignment of chronological markers: by and large Plain post Deverel-Rimbury is concurrent with the LBA, both ending around 800 cal BC; Decorated post Deverel-Rimbury dates to the Transition, after the Ewart Park metalwork deposition (see Appendix 1; Needham 2007a; Needham *et al.* 1997).

Dating linear ditches on the Berkshire Downs

The Berkshire Grims Ditch is the most substantial linear on the Berkshire Downs, and can be traced 16.75km. It runs largely along the chalk escarpment and separates this quite different topographical context with the clay Vale of White Horse below. This has been sectioned in three places (Ford 1982):

393 sherds were excavated at Churn 1, including 13 from the primary fill. This material should be broadly contemporary with the construction date of the ditch. This pottery was initially determined as Decorated Post Deverel-Rimbury type due to decoration and form, dating to the Transition (Ford 1982, 19). Fabric analysis provides support for this phasing. Grog is present to in this assemblage, and it can now demonstrated that the use of this temper distinguishes LBA, Transitional and EIA pottery, as grog is only present in Transitional assemblages (see Appendix 1.5). Evidence from East Ginge Down appears to confirm a Transitional date as decorated pottery was present in the primary and secondary fills. Excavations at Cow Down were less conclusive, but do not oppose a Transitional date.

Excavations and fieldwalking on a number of other linear ditches on the Berkshire Downs largely agree with this Transitional date. Pottery from East Garston was of clear Transitional character including sherds with All Canings Cross decoration (Ford 1981-2, fig. 3.16, 22). The pottery at Russley Down Middle could have been Plain or Decorated post Deverel-Rimbury, and at Baydon and Folly Clump the assemblages were too small to indicate a date more precise than LBA/EIA on form and decoration (Ford 1981-2, 6-7), although presence of grog suggests a Transitional date. Excavations at Aldworth-Streatley demonstrated that the earthwork here belongs to the Roman period (Ford 1981-2, 8).

This Roman date for a linear ditch is paralleled at Uffington (Gosden and Lock 2003). Here, four trenches sectioned a ditch that is visible over 2km. Two of these trenches provided dating evidence: Romano-British pottery was found in the primary fill in Trench 2, and pottery of a similar date was found in the secondary fill of Trench 5. OSL dates were taken from the primary and secondary fills of Trench 2. Material from the primary fill returned dates of 2200-200 BC and 820 BC-AD 20. From the secondary fill, two determinations of 4450-1450 BC and 1150-550 BC were returned. Clearly all of these should be disregarded as they are incongruous and do not agree with the stratigraphy and the Roman pottery. Inaccurate dates were explained by inconsistent bleaching of the samples (Gosden and Lock 2003, 218-9). These results in part question the OSL date of the Uffington White Horse of 1380-550 BC (68% confidence) as they were obtained with similar methods on similar material and taken around the same time. Stylistic comparisons may therefore be more reliable for dating the horse: a LIA or Early Roman date is most likely (Piggott 1931). We may be able to link the horse with the unusual Roman activity above the figure, consisting of the reuse of EBA or MBA barrows, and some activity within the hillfort. However, this reuse appears to be primarily Late Roman (Barclay *et al.* 2003; Lock *et al.* 2003).

A steep-sided, flat bottomed ditch c.1.8m deep was excavated at Moulsford on the edge of the downs just north of the Goring Gap. This appears to be part of a linear ditch whose course is lost on aerial photographs c.850m away from the excavated area. Haematite coated pottery was found in the lower fills of the ditch, indicating a Transitional or possible EIA date (Wymer 1961, 37; Richards 1978, 40; Anon. 1962, 116, 120). At Beedon, a linear ditch was associated with a settlement, both producing later LBA pottery (Richards 1984). This is the best evidence for a LBA linear ditch on the Berkshire Downs.

Two linear ditches were sectioned multiple times during investigations in and around the small late EIA hillfort of Alfred's Castle (Gosden and Lock 2013). These two ditches meet where the corner of the hillfort was later built. Nine sections were revealed, three of these from the north-south ditch. In Trench 8, two fills accumulated rapidly, perhaps the result of backfilling. Three sherds of Iron Age and 1 sherd of Roman pottery were found. This was then recut, the second fill containing late EIA pottery. The only dating evidence of the linear ditch in Trench 10 consisted of seven sherds of Iron Age pottery in the latest fills. However, the linear was cut by a V-shaped

ditch, following the line of the linear. This ditch cut a ring-ditch, and was recut itself. The recut contained late EIA/MIA pottery in most of the fills. The linear ditch was partially exposed in Trench 21: no dating evidence was found, although it was demonstrated that the hillfort ditch cut the linear. The east-west linear ditch was sectioned five times in the fragmented Trench 1. No dating material was found in the primary fills in any of these sections. The ditch had few fills, and a radiocarbon date was taken on a bone in the third fill. This returned a date of 416-361 cal BC (94% confidence), probably dating to just before the construction of the hillfort ditch, although possibly being contemporary with it (Hamilton and Davies *forthcoming*). Pottery of a similar Late EIA/Early MIA date was found in the middle and upper fills of the ditch.

Dating evidence for these two joining ditches is not therefore conclusive, but a date can be suggested on the circumstantial evidence. Material from the early fills in Trench 8 are problematic as one Roman sherd is present, yet it is stratigraphically earlier than the hillfort ditch, dated by a series of radiocarbon determinations to early in the fourth century BC (Hamilton and Davies *forthcoming*). The linear ditches were clearly conceptually and visibly prominent during this time as they defined the location of the hillfort. As no LBA pottery was discovered in any of the trenches from the site – the assemblage consists of 6291 sherds weighing 84kg – it is unlikely that the linear ditches date to the LBA. Given the extent of recutting in the Iron Age, it might be expected that material contemporary with the digging of the ditches would survival as residual finds in Iron Age features. These factors, alongside the dating evidence for other linears on the Berkshire Downs and elsewhere, suggest that a date in the Transition or earlier EIA is most likely for the linear ditches at Alfred's Castle. There is nothing convincing for an earlier, LBA date.

Overall, on current evidence it is likely that most of the linear ditches on the Berkshire Downs date to the Transition, with some built in the EIA and Roman period. A survey by Ford *et al.* (1988) does not contradict this, as it was found that there is only one possible example of fields predating linears: field systems on the Berkshire Downs are best dated to the Roman period (see Appendix 4). It has been argued by others that linear ditches could have been cleared out for an unknown period of time prior to silting that contained datable finds (Cunliffe and Poole 2000, 56; Gosden and Lock 2003, 131). However, most significant recuts will be visible, and any clearing does not have to destroy the silts belonging to the earliest phase as this does not need to exactly reach the bottom of the original cut. Furthermore, this is a wider problem for the archaeological dating of subsoil features, and is not limited to linear ditches. We must interpret from the evidence available: given that the only direct evidence for a LBA linear ditch found in this assessment was that at Beedon Manor Farm, it is likely that most of these features do not date to the LBA.

4.7 Hillforts and Linear Ditches

Construction of the linear ditches on the Berkshire Downs required huge communal effort with substantial foresight and planning, visibly segregating large tracts of land. These ditches appear to have been intimately related to the major Ridgeway hillfort construction projects as the first phases of excavated hillforts at Liddington, Uffington and the larger enclosure at Rams Hill all date to the Transition and are broadly contemporary with the linear ditches. While field systems and defended enclosures were not contemporary in the majority of the study area in the LBA, linear ditches and hillforts on the Berkshire Downs were constructed broadly at the same time. The earliest phase at Segsbury, consisting of a timber palisade and a possible ditch, might also date to the Transition (Lock *et al.* 2005).[21] Unlike the other Ridgeway hillforts, no All Cannings Cross pottery was discovered, making a substantial Transitional presence unlikely. Although not the favoured interpretation, it was suggested in the report that the lack of this pottery may not be a chronological indicator (Brown 2005, 15): Segsbury is further east and on the edge of the All Cannings Cross distribution, and it may have followed a number of Thames Valley sites that did not use this distinctive pottery in the Transition (Map 4.3). If the earliest phase at Segsbury did date to the Transition, it would mirror the first phase at Blewburton on the eastern edge of the Berkshire Downs, also consisting of a timber palisade (Bradford 1942; Collins 1947; Collins 1952-3; Collins and Collins 1959; Harding 1976). The dating of this first phase is also not secure: Harding (1976, 145) prefers to see the limited All Cannings Cross sherds from the interior as dating this phase, even though this pottery was not clearly associated with the stockade. Bladon Camp/Round Castle[22] and St Ann's Hill also appear to have phases dating to the Transition (Ainslie 1988; Jones 2012). The former is located away from Berkshire Downs, to the north of the Thames; the latter on a prominent hilltop in the Middle Thames.

Although one of the clearest associations between a linear and a hillfort is the probable Roman ditch that runs up to Uffington (Gosden and Lock 2003), we can still see relationships between these major, broadly contemporary features. Liddington, Uffington, Hardwell, Rams Hill and Segsbury sit on the Ridgeway and have commanding views of the Vale of White Horse below. Further to the west outside of the study area, the unexcavated hillfort at Barbury is in a similar position; Oldbury could also be included, and is positioned at the junction of linears and has a substantial unexcavated linear ditch running from the north-east of the site along the 200m OD ridge (Bowden 2004). Two minor linears meet Liddington at its north-east and south-east sides, although the exact stratigraphic relationships are unknown. A major undated linear, the *Bican*

[21] This is visible in the magnetometer survey and was exposed in Trench 3. Of the sherds found beneath the later rampart, one was of possible Transitional form (Brown 2005, fig. 3.3.46, suggested as possibly LBA in the report), and another was one of four grog tempered sherds, again of possible Transitional date.

[22] Only a very small amount of archaeological work has been undertaken, with a section of rampart being exposed. Sherds tempered with grog, flint, quartz and organic matter have been discovered: comparing this with the large assemblages from Yarnton c.2.5km to the south-east a Transitional date is most likely, although more excavation is needed. This is due to the presence of grog and flint on the one hand, and the absence of shell on the other.

Dic, can be followed along the escarpment for over 5km to the south of Liddington, ending at the hillfort (Bowden 2001). 3km east of Segsbury, the Berkshire Grims Ditch can be picked up also following the escarpment of the Berkshire Downs before being lost c.3km west of the Thames (Ford 1982). The Grims Ditch follows the topographic positioning of the fairly regularly spaced, mostly inter-visible hillforts, and both could have some similar functions.

The hillforts dominate the landscape, and are highly conspicuous when viewed from the Vale of White Horse and for individuals following the Ridgeway. The lack of activity inside the sites at this time demonstrates they were not settlements, and may not have acted to physically control movement through the area. Instead, these appear to be more symbolic statements of ownership and permanence, segregating two clearly different topographic zones and demonstrating presence in the landscape. The Grims Ditch along with the other linears could have had a similar function. The Grims Ditch runs along the east-west Ridgeway; the other linears run either broadly parallel or perpendicular to this (Map 4.1). The area to the west of Segsbury is divided into a series of strips that have shorter perpendicular ditches: this appears to be closely related to the hillfort (Fig. 4.9). These north-south linears are not found east of Segsbury, again suggesting a possible relationship between the hillfort and linear ditches, and possibly differences in landuse or ownership either side of the monument. Relationships between early hillforts and linear ditches are also recognised in Wessex (Cunliffe 2004).

Hillforts and linear ditches are both large and highly visible construction projects dating to the Transition. The first phase at Uffington consisted of a box framed, timber-laced rampart with a ditch measuring 7m wide and 3.5m deep and counterscape bank, enclosing 8.4 acres (Lock *et al.* 2003). The defences ran a length of c.670m. Early All Cannings Cross pottery was found in the pre-rampart ground surface, the rampart structure and layers relating to disrepair, suggesting a date early in the Transition. The second, dump rampart phase is perhaps better dated to the MIA on analogy with other hillforts, although no MIA pottery was directly associated (Lock *et al.* 2003, 121). Limited MIA activity was found in the interior, and no EIA pottery was discovered. Excavations were more limited at Liddington, but the monument appears to be of similar form and sequence to Uffington, but slightly more complicated. The first phase dates to the Transition, comprising a box framed, timber-laced rampart enclosing 7.5 acres, measuring c.650m (Hirst and Rahtz 1996). This appears to have been refurbished. The counterscape bank might date to this phase, although it has not been excavated. This is followed by three phases of dump rampart. Although only the last contained MIA pottery, like Uffington, the dump rampart phases are better dated to this later period (see 5.6.2).

Fig. 4.9. Segsbury and nearby linear ditches, including barrows and probable Roman field systems Lambrick 2009, fig. 3.10. Image: OA

Only two narrow slots have been excavated from the Iron Age rampart at Rams Hill (Piggott and Piggott 1940). Seemingly of dump construction, there may have been timber revetments that were not uncovered: Avery (1993a, 294) considers that the ditch profile resembles those that accompany timber-framed box ramparts. The ditch was 3-4m wide and 1.7-2m deep, running c.750m and enclosing 8.6 acres. All Cannings Cross pottery of a reasonably fragmented nature was discovered in the secondary fills of the hillfort ditch (Piggott and Piggott 1940, 472). Given that the fairly large area opened to investigate this earlier enclosure did not discover any EIA or MIA pottery but did uncover further Transitional sherds (Barrett 1975), it seems likely that this pottery found in the ditch dates the construction.

Internal activity within hillforts at this time appears limited. This will be explored further in 5.8.1. A degree of the transience that characterised the LBA is therefore still present as settlement is still not frequently rooted to place, but we have a simultaneous permanence and control within the landscape which must signal a shift in social organisation. Social entities may be becoming more established and longer lived, with the construction processes of creating hillforts and linear ditches themselves creating and reaffirming bonds and remaining visible reminders of the event (Sharples 2007, 180). However, on the Ridgeway there is a choice to build multiple hillforts near each other rather than refurbishing and enlarging one or two sites,[23] again prehaps suggesting only limited permanence.

Following Startin's (1982) calculations for the construction of prehistoric earthworks, we can estimate the hours required to dig the ditch and build bank in the Transitional phase at Uffington. The ditch in section measured 11.25 sq.m (Lock *et al.* 2003, 87); if assumed this was similar around the circumference, a rough figure of 7300 cu.m can be suggested (see Lock *et al.* 2005, 142-3, for similar calculations for Segsbury; Figs. 4.10-1, 5.14, 17). This gives around 3422 person days of construction, with one permutation taking 100 people just over a month to dig. This does not include the substantial timber-framing involved: two rows of posts followed the circumference, the inner c.0.6m apart, and outer c.1.35m (Lock *et al.* 2003, 83, Table 6.3, fig. 6.2). This suggests the vertical lacing alone might have used more than 1500 timbers; a further c.480 could be added to this for a single row of horizontal timbers joining the verticals, and more for entrance structures (Figs. 4.10-1). Further superstructural or retaining elements could add significantly more (see Allen *et al.* 2009, 80-5; Audouze and Büchsenschütz 1991, fig. 49; Avery 1993b, fig. 120; Harding 1974, fig. 14). Such estimations are extremely approximate, but are useful to help think about the social organisation required for construction.

[23] This depends on the interpretation the pottery in the later phases at Uffington and Liddington. Transitional pottery was found in the later phases at both sites (Miles *et al.* 2003, 85; Brown 2003a, 172; Hirst and Rahtz 1996, 28), but given the dump form of the ramparts (typically MIA) and the necessary interval between the phases for the collapsing of the timber revetments (demonstrated by the presence of postpipes at Uffington (Miles *et al.* 2003, 83)), on balance it is likely that the Transitional pottery is redeposited and the later phases associated with internal activity dating to the MIA (Miles *et al.* 2003, 121; Hurst and Rahtz 1996, 52).

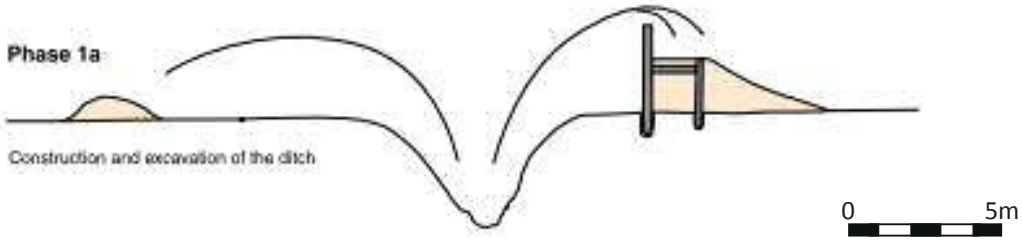


Fig. 4.10. Reconstruction drawing of the hillfort ramparts, ditches and counterscarp bank for the first phase at Uffington
Lock *et al.* 2003, fig. 6.22. Image: OA

Fig. 4.11. Image of the phase 1 entrance, presenting a possible reconstruction of the gatehouses and ramparts in the Transition
Lock *et al.* 2003, Plate 6.8 (Drawn by Mel Costello). Image: OA

The ability to organise such feats of engineering involving large numbers of people might also suggest newly found divisions within society, although these may be only temporary. We are also seeing regional differences in hillfort construction and where landscape divisions were used, with the Berkshire Downs dominating discussion of linear boundaries and Transitional hillforts, while pit alignments are found primarily on the Upper Thames gravels, and parallel ditches in the Middle Thames. The earliest phases of most other excavated hillforts belong to the EIA, although given the large number of unexcavated examples, at least some more must date to this period (see 5.8; Map 5.3).

4.8 Metalworking

Evidence for metalworking is modest, with about an equal representation of iron working and bronze working. Some of the evidence again points to a continuation of LBA practices, alongside the beginnings of Iron Age patterns. Four hammerscale spheres were found in the posthole of a roundhouse at Area 4, Cotswold Community (Keys 2010, 130). An unidentified mould fragment and a small piece of a possible crucible were found at Roughground Farm (Allen *et al.* 1993, 45), and a crucible at the Dunston Park settlement (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1995). A small amount of ironsmithing slag was found in a pit 1.2km to the north-west at Cooper's Farm, associated with Transitional pottery. Further excavation at this site has revealed a group of ditches, postholes, a small number of pits and a hearth of similar date. The settlement relating to this activity might lie just to the east of the excavated area (Fitzpatrick 2011, 100). More slag was discovered as well as some hammerscale and vitrified lining; overall the quantities probably resulted from a few small smithing operations (Crew 2011). Metalworking slag was found at 120-124 Kings Street (Humphery 2001, 12). Small amounts of blacksmithing, and small amounts of blacksmithing and copper casting dating to the Transition or EIA were found at Coxwell Road and Ashville Trading Estate/Wyndyke Furlong respectively (Salter 2004; Cleere 1978).

Limited, single episodes of metalworking also characterises the evidence from middens. Two mould fragments and an ingot were found in Transitional levels at Runnymede Area 16 East; a copper lump and two mould fragments at Area 6 might be Transitional; bronze casting waste and an ingot at Whitecross Farm; fragments of a smithing hearth bottom was found from the probably Transitional pit below the slightly later midden at Yarnton; and iron slag discovered in the midden itself (Needham 1991, 150-1; Needham and Spence 1996, 184-8; Salter 2011; Cromarty 2006; Thomas *et al.* 1986). Some slag was also found in the Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps midden, and slag was found alongside mould and crucible fragments in the lower levels at Woodeaton (Harding 1987, 33; Hingley 1980, 48). Only small amounts of metalworking evidence were found at all of these sites.

The iron smelting site at Sadler's End might have been initiated in the Transition (Lewis *et al.* 2013). This specialist site was certainly in use by the EIA, and continued at least into the LIA. It will be discussed in more detail in 6.7. Gully 502 was one of a series of features beneath the main spread of slag. It contained 94kg of smelting slag including a single 30kg piece; a radiocarbon date was taken on wood charcoal from the feature, returning a date of 816-756 cal BC (89.4% confidence; KIA-44188; Lewis *et al.* 2013, 7-8). This was interpreted by the excavator as probably residual, as in plan the gully appears to be associated with the furnace 505, radiocarbon dated to have been in use in the second century BC, and the large lump 'can only realistically have originated from furnace 505'; given its size it cannot be intrusive (Lewis *et al.* 2013, 32). Even if the charcoal was residual from elsewhere on the site, it is likely it was related to iron smelting as only six of the 11 other smaller furnaces have dating evidence; at least one of these could date

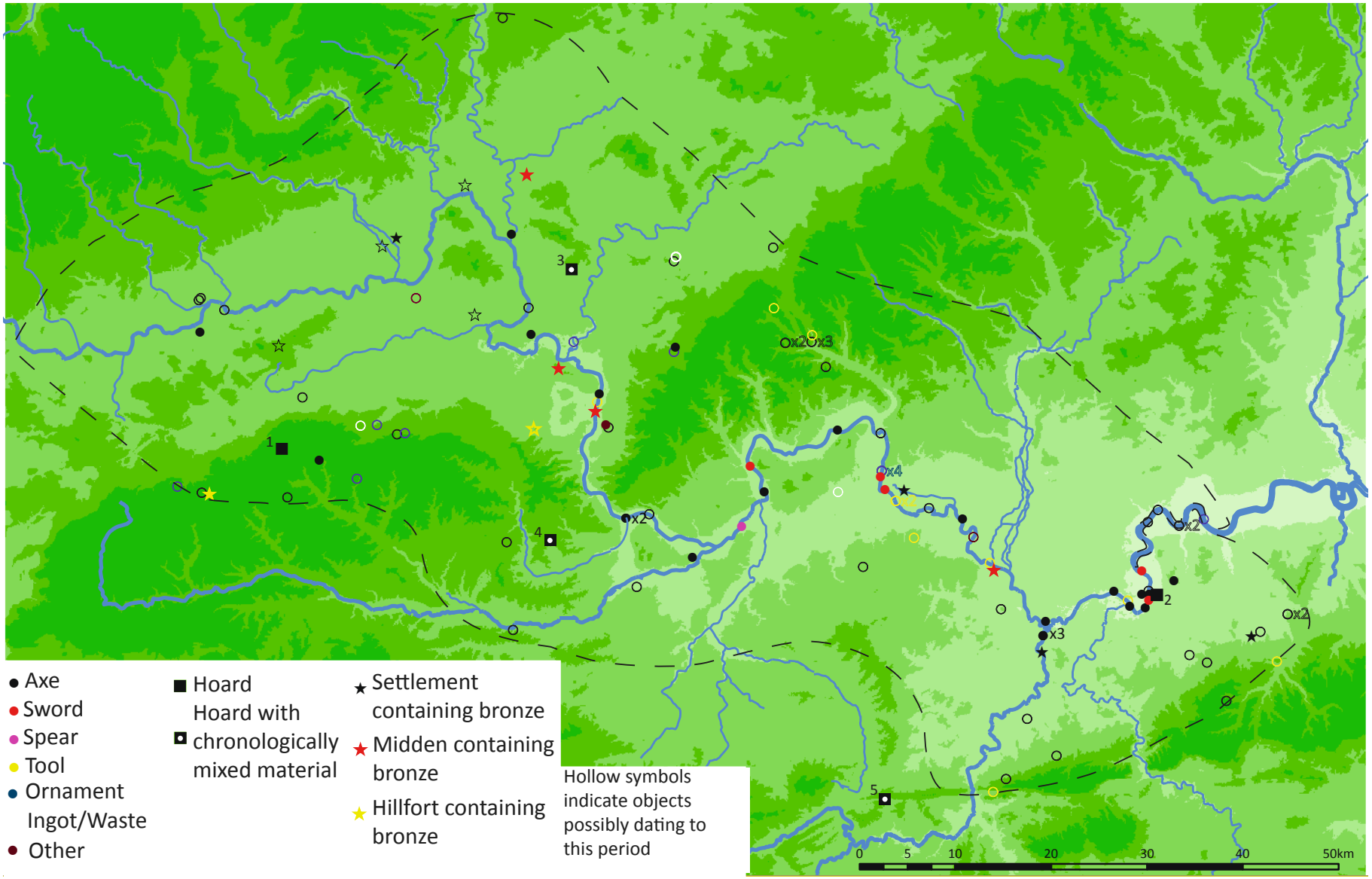
to the Transition. The pottery assemblage is poor and dating is largely reliant on a small number of radiocarbon samples. Some 6ha was stripped around the slag spread demonstrating that Iron Age activity was restricted to iron smelting and probably bloom smithing, but no evidence for blacksmithing or an associated settlement was found. Overall, like the LBA, the current evidence for bronze working suggests production was small-scale and domestic. This also seems the case for blacksmithing. It is possible that iron smelting was geographically restricted in the Transition, although direct evidence for early dates is less secure than those later in the Iron Age (see 6.7).

4.9 Metalwork

126 objects certainly date to the Transition in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley, alongside 105 that might. Most of this latter category should, however, belong to the Ewart Park period; for example, included in this figure are 35 unclassified bronze socketed axe fragments that are most likely Ewart Park. Although ostensibly axes dominate and similar percentages of objects came from hoard and river contexts than the Ewart Park period, there is a heavy bias due to the axe-dominated Tower Hill hoard comprising half of the certain Transitional metalwork. More accurately, settlements and middens become more popular contexts for deposition, although the Thames remains a focus (Map 4.2; Tables 4.2-3; Graphs 4.4-5).

Some of the ways in which the Llyn Fawr metalwork can be characterised follows that of the Ewart Park period. Much of the material follows strict typological criteria: like LBA types, Gündlingen swords are virtually indistinguishable from one another,[24] as are many of the Sompting axes (Fig. 7.6). All but one of the 21 complete axes in the Tower Hill hoard are plain. They are all a very consistent shape, following the pattern described for Ewart Park metalwork (Fig. 4.13). We do, however, see individualisation and unique decorative devices on other examples. The Kingston hoard contains one plain axe alongside three decorated examples. The ornamentation on these and another axe from Kingston play on the rib and pellet patterns, but are much less restricted than Ewart Park designs (Fig. 4.12). A Sompting axe from the Thames has a more unique pattern; diversification of decoration is seen with Sompting axes elsewhere in Britain (Fig. 4.14; Schmidt and Burgess 1981, Pls. 100-4). This is not restricted to axes. The bracelets and rings in the Tower Hill are decorated, playing on designs inherited from the LBA but also less restricted (Fig. 4.13; Coombs *et al.* 2003, fig. 11.14-5). Decoration is more common on Llyn Fawr bracelets compared to Ewart Park examples elsewhere in Britain (Davies 2012). Here we are seeing metalwork becoming more unique and individualised, whilst still in many respects conforming to standardisation of design.

[24] It is relevant that Gündlingen swords date to the very beginning of Llyn Fawr (O'Connor 2007, 71-2; Gerloff 2004, 141-7).



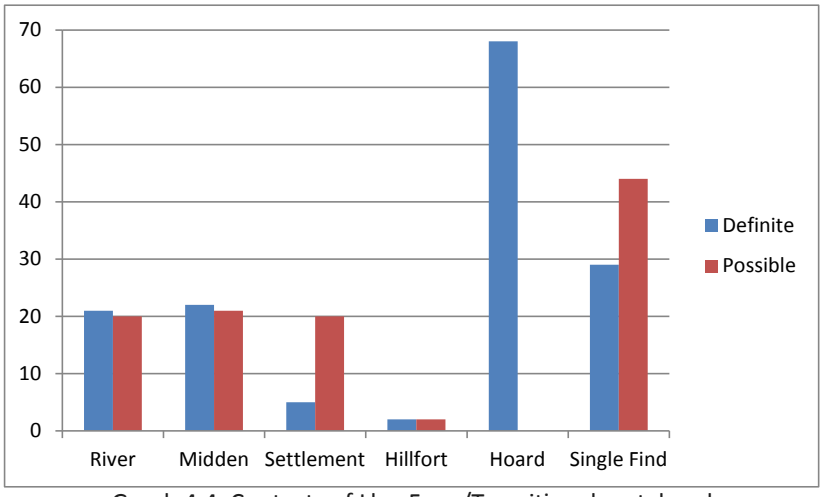
Map 4.2. Llyn Fawr/Transitional metalwork
Hoard references - 1. Tower Hill; 2. Kingston; 3. Garsington; 4. Yattendon; 5. Crooksbury Hill

	River	Hoard	Single Find	Settlement	Total
Axe	15	50	7	2	74
Tool	0	0	0	7	7
Sword	5	0	0	0	5
Spearhead	1	0	0	1	2
Ornament	0	12	0	12	24
Other	0	6	1	7	14
Total	21	68	8	29	126

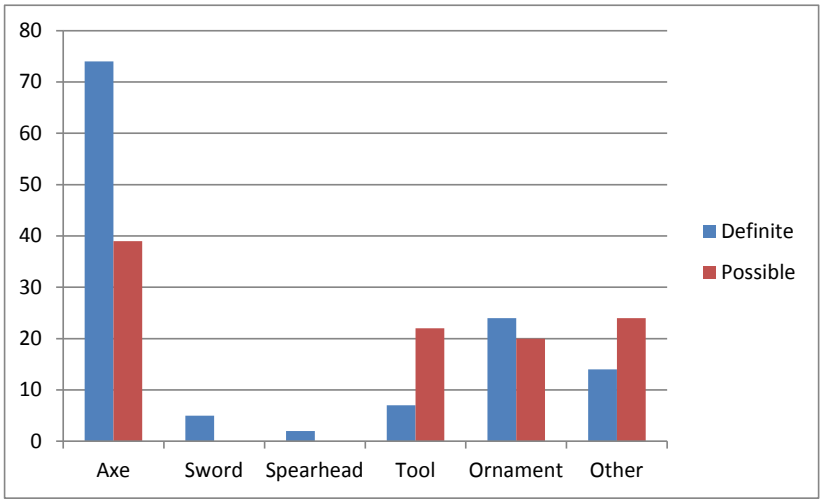
Table 4.2. Contexts of certain Llyn Fawr/Transitional metalwork

	River	Hoard	Single Find	Settlement	Total
Axe	10	0	29	0	39
Tool	5	0	5	12	22
Sword	0	0	0	0	0
Spearhead	0	0	0	0	0
Ornament	5	0	6	9	20
Other	0	0	4	20	24
Total	20	0	44	41	105

Table 4.3. Contexts of possible Llyn Fawr/Transitional metalwork



Graph 4.4. Contexts of Llyn Fawr/Transitional metalwork



Graph 4.5. Categories of Llyn Fawr/Transitional metalwork

Fig. 4.12. The Kingston hoard.
Above - Pictures of the axes
Below - Views of both sides of axe 2
© Trustees of the British Museum
Evans 1881, fig. 142

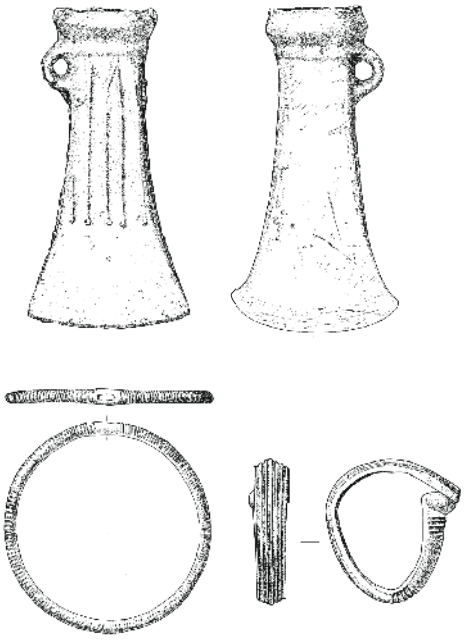


Fig. 4.13. Four objects from the Tower Hill hoard, including the decorated axe and one of the plain axes, and two bracelets
Coombs *et al.* 2003, figs. 11.1, 11.14.
Image: OA

4.14. Three decorated Llyn Fawr axes
Left - Kingston Hill; Middle - Thames;
Right - Hampton
Evans 1881, figs. 141, 143
After NBII

0 10cm

4.9.1 Hoards

Four or five hoards have been identified as belonging to this period. Two contain objects that should all be broadly contemporary, the other two or three have items from a variety of periods with the latest of Llyn Fawr date.

Four complete Sompting axes were found at Kingston, possibly with a gold penannular ring, although this is not normally included (Needham 1987, note 30). The hoard could be seen as following in the local tradition of the Ewart Park Tributary hoards in composition, although little is known about the location of the find. The Tower Hill hoard is the largest of the period, containing 63 objects excluding metallurgical debris (Coombs *et al.* 2003). This consists mainly of fragmented and complete Sompting axes, but also contains a number of rare or unique ornaments. Given its large size, the hoard dominates quantitative analysis of objects belonging to this period. This was placed in the posthole of the doorway of a roundhouse. The association of a hoard with a settlement diverges from the apparently isolated positioning of most Ewart Park hoards, but it is part of moving deposition away from the landscape and within settlements or special, revisited places that we see in the Transition and EIA.

4.9.2 Multi-period hoards

Two or three hoards contain objects from a variety of different periods with the latest belonging to the Llyn Fawr. In another one or two examples the latest objects date to the Ewart Park period, and in two further cases the latest objects are LIA. These are part of an increasingly recognised tradition of multiperiod hoards that largely begins in the Transition and continues through the Iron Age. For this reason, multiperiod hoards with the latest objects dating to the Iron Age will be discussed here.

Yattendon contains 59 objects, and there is material present from at least five different periods: Aylesford/Willerby; Taunton; Penard; Ewart Park and Llyn Fawr. There may also be Wilburton objects (Fig. 4.15-6). The latest object confirming the Llyn Fawr phase as the earliest date of deposition is a Sompting axe. Although the bulk of the material could be Ewart Park, 12 objects are certainly not of this phase and many more might not be, making this an extraordinary collection of objects. A further iron object may also have been present in the hoard as iron oxide was also discovered, but this may be connected to a possible later beacon on the same spot, although the original report favours it as associated (Evans 1878, 484-5). There is no reason to believe that this hoard is not genuine. The reporting and recording is the best we could hope for given its 19th century discovery: it was found during the construction of a house in 1878, and was reported to the Society of Antiquaries by John Evans later that year (Evans 1878). The findspot is fully described in this original report (also Burgess *et al*. 1972, figs. 15-8).

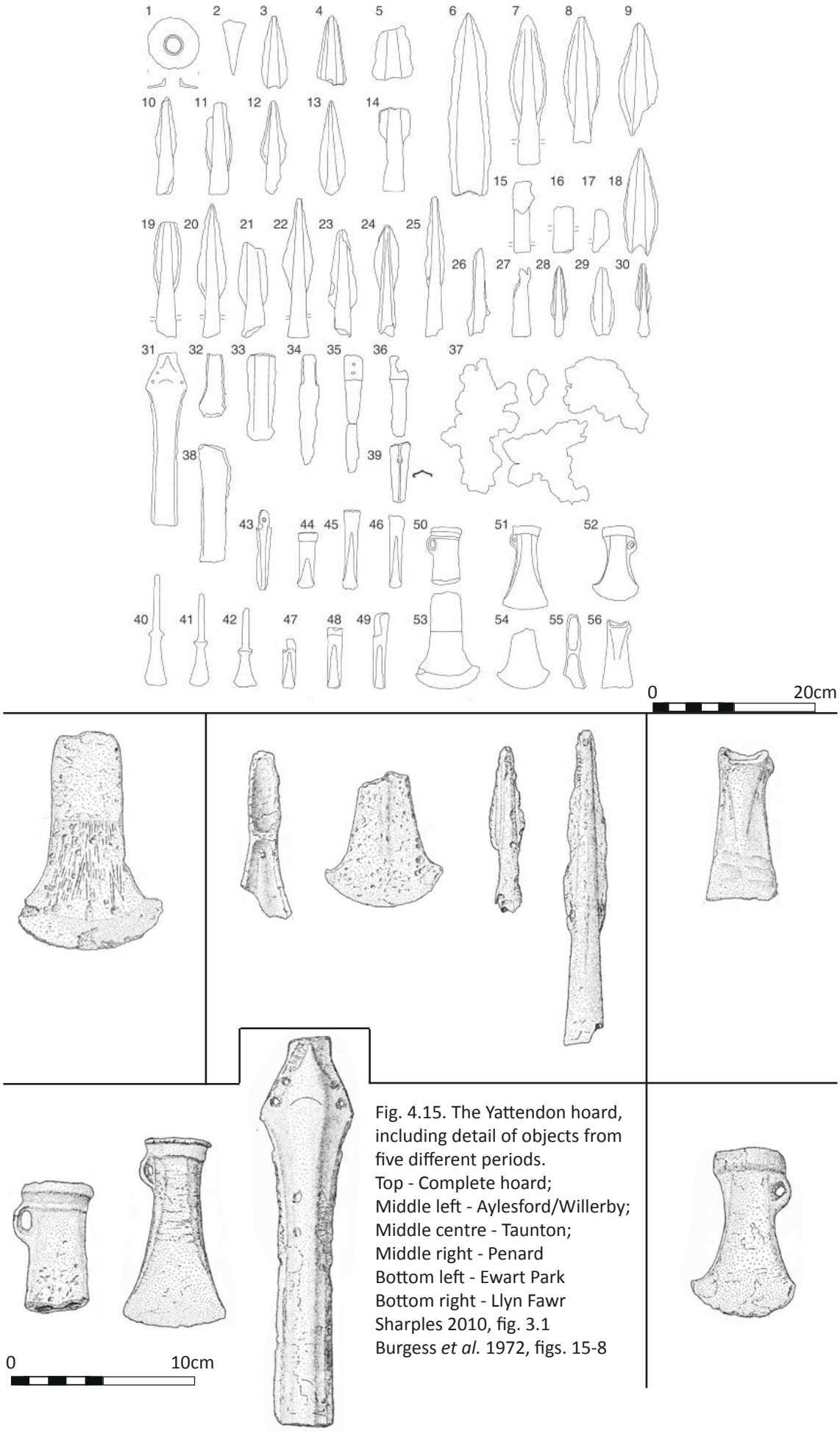


Fig. 4.15. The Yattendon hoard, including detail of objects from five different periods.
Top - Complete hoard;
Middle left - Aylesford/Willerby;
Middle centre - Taunton;
Middle right - Penard
Bottom left - Ewart Park
Bottom right - Llyn Fawr
Sharples 2010, fig. 3.1
Burgess *et al.* 1972, figs. 15-8

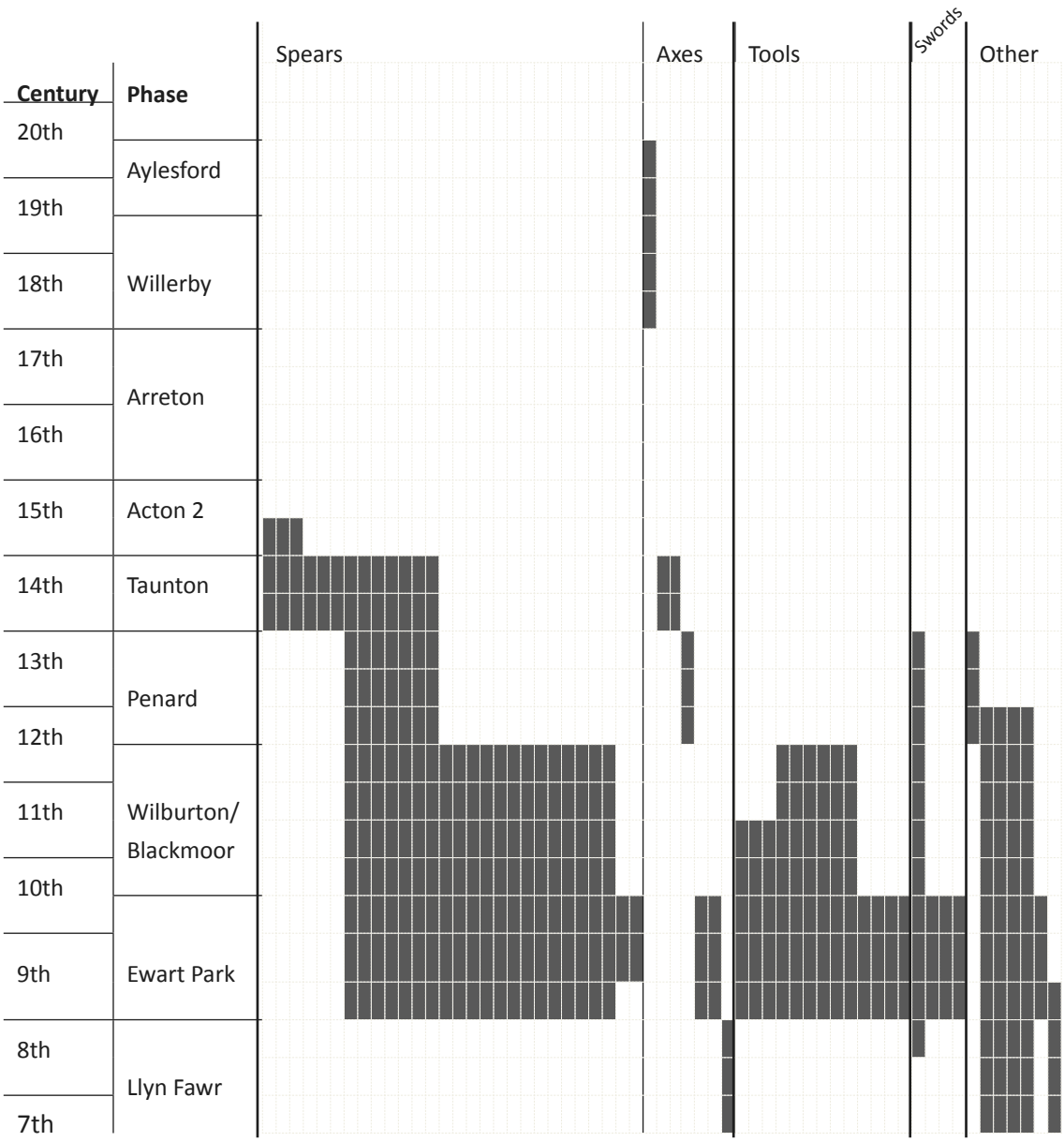


Fig. 4.16. The Yattendon hoard showing the chronological ranges of each object
Each column is one object

Crooksbury Hill is another mixed period hoard containing objects of more than one period. The account written 'a short time since' the find describes that 'a variety in bronze…from the rudest form down to the most elaborately finished weapon' was discovered (Anon. 1857). From 'a considerable number of celts', only five axes are illustrated (Figs. 4.17-8). The flanged axe can probably be identified as a bar-stop/stopridge type; the socketed axes as South Eastern and Sompting types. One of the palstaves is of midribbed transitional type, the other might be a variant of this type, or might be a late palstave. The midrib suggests this is of a type more common in Northern Britain (Brendan O'Connor *pers. comm.*).[25] A further transitional palstave from the hoard has been published elsewhere (Needham 1980b, fig. 5.4). The hoard therefore has at least one object each from the Acton Park, Penard, Ewart Park and Llyn Fawr periods; perhaps more were originally present. This was found 'fifty yards' from the small unexcavated Soldiers Ring hillfort.

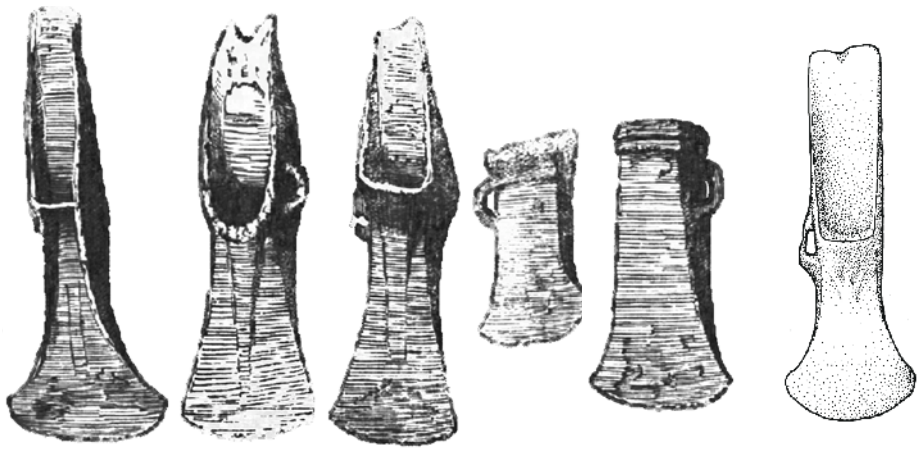


Fig. 4.17. The six illustrated Crooksbury Hill axes No scale
Anon. 1854; Needham 1980b, fig. 5.4, reproduced courtesy of Surrey Archaeological Society

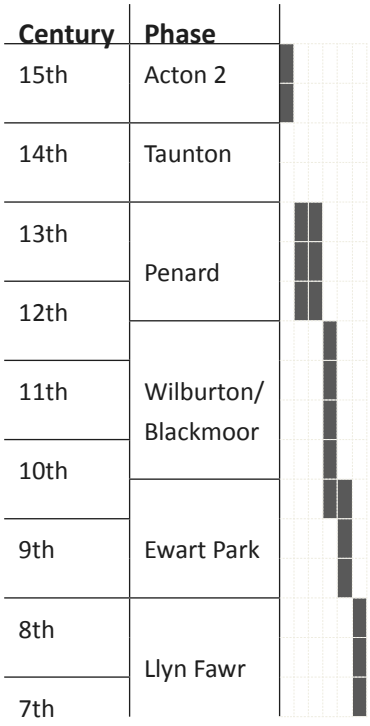


Fig. 4.18. The Crooksbury Hill hoard showing the chronological ranges of each object
Each column is one object

[25] Thanks to Brendan O'Connor for providing a second opinion on the typology of these pieces.

A possible hoard containing Llyn Fawr and earlier material is Garsington (Leeds 1939, 248, 264). Here a linear faceted axe may have been deposited with a double looped transitional palstave of probable Penard date. These earlier objects in Llyn Fawr hoards have been discounted in the analysis of quantities and contexts of finds.

Speen is another possible double period hoard, although the latest object here is an early Ewart Park barbed spearhead. This may have been found with a projecting basal-looped spearhead dating to the Taunton or Penard period. Burgess *et al.* (1972, 236) consider it as a genuine association, although Needham (1981, 38) discounts it as they were found a year apart. Davis (2012, 154) and Rowlands (1976) also do not include this as a genuine association.

At Southall, four palstaves, a butt of a further palstave, and a ring dating to the Taunton phase were found alongside copper alloy cakes and a socketed axe mould for a South Eastern axe of Ewart Park date (Fig. 4.19). The mould would have produced an axe with a prominent collar, two small mouldings and three ribs, or possibly wing ornament (cf. Britton 1959; Schmidt and Burgess 1981, 213; Read 1897). Analysis of residues on the mould demonstrates that a lead axe had been cast in it (Britton 1959; Read 1897; Vulliamy 1930, 110-1).

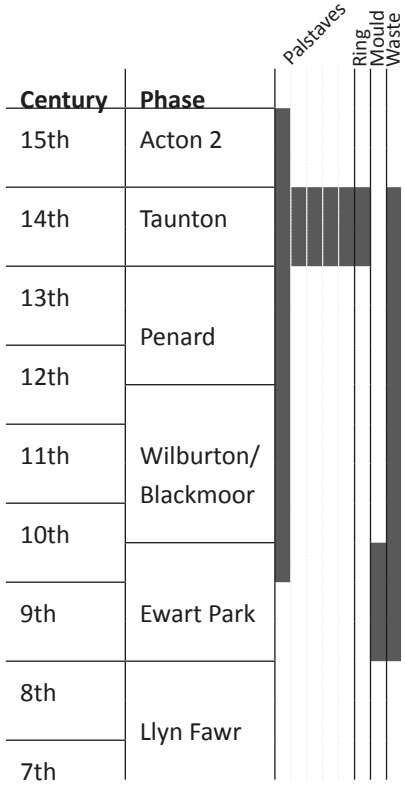


Fig. 4.19. The Southall hoard showing the chronological ranges of each object Each column is one object.

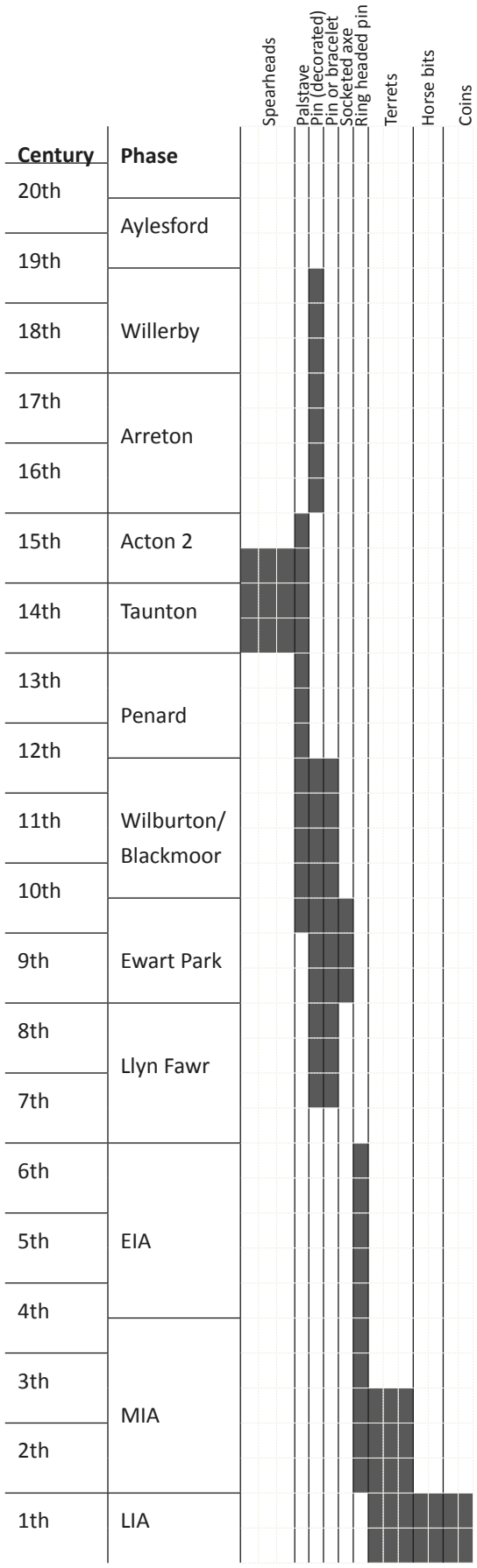


Fig. 4.20. The Hagbourne Hill hoard showing the chronological ranges of each object. Each colum is one object

Another example is the hoard at Hagbourne Hill (Stead 1998, 119-20; Hingley 2009; Harding 1972, 91-2, Pl. 77; King 1812). There is little disagreement between the various sources as to its composition: objects include at least one but up to three Taunton looped spearheads; a palstave fragment; a South Eastern socketed axe; one or two nail headed pins - the spiral decoration on one of these suggests a possible EBA or MBA date but is more likely LBA,[26] and the other could be a fragment of a Ewart Park bracelet; an EIA or MIA swan necked ring headed pin; two horse bits and three terrets dating to the LIA; and two coins of which at least one appears to be LIA (Fig. 4.20).

The last example from the Upper and Middle Thames Valley is less certain. This is the hoard or hoards from Hounslow. The site is best known for its highly unusual collection of LIA boar and dog figurines, a miniature wheel and the remains of a 'crown'. The original report claims that the finders initially said that Bronze Age objects were found with these Iron Age pieces, but later stating they were found in separate parts of the same field (Franks 1865, 90). Stead (1998, 119) believes that A. W. Franks – then the Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities - persuaded the finders that they were not discovered together in order to make sense of this otherwise unusual deposit. Following the hoard through the

[26] Spiral or concentric circular decoration on nail/disc headed pins is extremely rare, as most LBA pins have plain heads (Davies 2012). This has been compared to a pin dated to the early Urnfield (O'Connor 1980, 74-5). A possible parallel was discovered at Shrewton in the secondary fill of barrow 5l associated with Collared Urns (Green and Rollo-Smith 1984, 281; Gerloff 1975, Pl. 57D), although neither Gerloff (1975, 249-50) nor Hunter and Woodward (2015, 175-81) find any similar examples in their assessments of EBA grave goods.

literature it is clear that various objects have been conflated with any original finds (Burgess and Colquhoun 1988, 127; Evans 1881, 128, 175, 406, 466; Franks 1865, 90-2; Layton 1870-3, 428; Vulliamy 1930, 110; National Bronze Index). However, preliminary study of the original 21 Bronze Age objects acquired by the British Museum in 1864 suggests that at least five Bronze Age periods are represented: Aylesford, Acton Park, Taunton, Wilburton and Ewart Park. Work on this hoard is ongoing. It appears that these Bronze Age objects were deposited in the LIA alongside items dating to the later period. If this was not the case, it still appears that at least one hoard of chronologically mixed material was deposited at Hounslow sometime between the LBA and LIA.

Support for the LIA deposition of all the objects can be found from the increasingly recognised phenomenon of hoards containing objects from various periods in the Bronze Age, with the latest items dating to the EIA, MIA or LIA. Furthermore, like at Hounslow, often the Iron Age objects are highly unusual or unique. Examples of these include the Salisbury and 'Batheaston'/Wylye hoard(s), with the latest objects - and in the case of Salisbury a radiocarbon date - belonging to the MIA (400-350 cal BC at 51% confidence, or 300-210 cal BC at 45% confidence; OxA-17511; Garrow *et al.* 2009, Table 2; Stead 1998). These both also contained EBA, MBA and LBA, as well as Transitional objects. A hoard at Tisbury/Wardour, Wiltshire, containing 114 EBA, MBA LBA, Transitional and EIA objects has recently been excavated under archaeological conditions (Boughton 2013). The hoard from Danebury is also well known, and contains objects from the Migdale, Arreton, Penard, Ewart Park and Llyn Fawr periods (Cunliffe and O'Connor 1979). Another example is the Melksham hoard, comprising an earlier MBA dirk, LBA spearheads, three Llyn Fawr phalerae and two iron spearheads datable to the Transition or Iron Age (Gingell 1979; O'Connor 2007, 72).

These extraordinary depositions must have resulted from the purposeful discovery, collection and exchange of ancient and unusual objects. The time-spans involved between the traditional dates of the oldest and most recent objects are too great for it to be likely that these remained in continual possession. At Yattendon, the date between the earliest and latest axe is around 1000 years; at Crooksbury Hill it is at least 700 years; and at Southall and Garsington it is some 600 years. At Hagbourne Hill, c.1500 years separates the looped spearheads and terrets, and Hounslow perhaps 2000 years between the earliest Bronze Age axe and the LIA objects (Figs. 4.16, 4.18-20). These periods of time are far too long for objects to have been kept, exchanged and passed down in a social context devoid of sustained institutions that could have acted as repositories, and over periods that saw significant social change. The context of short-lived settlements in the MBA and LBA further undermines likelihood that objects could have been in continual possession for these vast periods of time. Instead it seems that objects already of great antiquity were being discovered in the Bronze Age and Iron Age. This should not be surprising given that digging activities that occurred in later prehistory, but what is significant is the changing nature of how these objects were treated following their discovery.

The two mixed period hoards with the latest objects dating to the LBA in the study area are Speen and Southall. Southall is quite different to the later depositions as it looks like a fairly normal Taunton period hoard[27] with a socketed axe mould dating c.500 years later (Fig. 4.19). It seems likely that a Taunton hoard was found in the Ewart Park period and was redeposited with a contemporary mould. Speen consists of only two objects traditionally separated by c.250 years, but the association is far from certain. Except the similarly uncertain association of two axes at Garsington, the rest of the Transitional or Iron Age multi-period hoards described contain objects from more than two periods, meaning the circumstances surrounding the accumulation of these later collections appears quite different to those of the LBA. Assemblages of objects from more than two periods require at least the purposeful retention of discovered objects, whereas double-period hoards do not need this collection. Double-period hoards require only the deposition of a single discovered ancient object alongside one or more contemporary items. Whilst older objects and hoards must have been found in the LBA, and on at least one occasion redeposited, the evidence of the purposeful accumulation of such exotica is not nearly as clear as in later periods. This is paralleled elsewhere in Britain.

A recent survey found 19-30 examples of LBA or Transitional hoards containing older objects (Knight 2014; *pers. comm.*). However, the vast majority of these were double-period hoards, and consisted of only one object that was older than the rest of the hoard. Alongside those already discussed, Rayne (Essex) and Paston (Norfolk) contained more than one incongruous object,[28] but like Southall these were of the same period, meaning only two periods overall are represented. The latest objects at Rayne are of Ewart Park date, and at Paston this is a Transitional Llyn Fawr linear faceted axe (Knight 2014, 79-96). Hayne (Somerset)[29] is the only clear example where more than two periods are represented with the latest object dating to the LBA; Battlefield (Shropshire),[30] Lanherne (Cornwall)[31] and Cleeve Hill (Gloucestershire)[32] might also be similar,

[27] Similar to Gosport and Portsmouth, Hants., or Grimstone and Eglesham Meadow, Dorset (Rowlands 1976, 231-42).

[28] Knight (2014, 95) suggests the three palstaves in Stuntney (Cambs.) as possibly being earlier than the bulk of the otherwise Ewart Park hoard. These, however, may instead be late palstaves, contemporary with earlier Ewart Park metalwork (Clark and Godwin 1940). Boughton Malherbe was also suggested also due to the presence of four palstave fragments, possibly dating to the MBA (Sophia Adams *pers. comm.*; Brenden O'Connor *pers. comm*.).

[29] This consists of a flat axe, two early palstaves and a Yorkshire socketed axe (Knight 2014, 91).

[30] A large number of objects were discovered together, of which only eight are documented. This includes a Swinton flanged axes of Willerby date, a haft-flanged axe of probable Acton Park date, and a North Welsh primary shield palstave also of Acton Park date (Schmidt and Burgess 1981, 86, 122). The other five documented objects contain high percentages of lead but are of unknown typology: one is illustrated (Chitty 1941-3, 150; Ouvry 1861-4, 252). Only two periods are therefore certainly represented. The association of the haft-flanged axe is particularly interesting as Schmidt and Burgess (1981, 86) record that this is the only definite association of this type of axe in Britain.

[31] A large number of objects were found at Lanherne, although the only closely datable surviving objects include an earlier MBA unlooped palstave and a rapier (Pearce 1983, 417; Knight 2014, 81). A serrated saw blade, an un-looped square sectioned socketed chisel and an unknown number of square sectioned socketed axes of 'Breton' type were also discovered.

[32] The NBI records an association of a flat axe, a flanged axe, two palstaves, one or two socketed axes and a spearhead. In the apparently sole published source, only a flanged axe of probable Arreton type, a pegged or side looped ogival spearhead, and a 'lump of copper' that might not be associated are

although little information is known about the majority of the objects in these hoards.

This breakdown demonstrates that the phenomenon of collecting and curating a range of ancient objects in hoards is a practice particular to the Transition and Iron Age. Earlier objects sometimes occur in LBA hoards, but the nature of these and the processes leading to their accumulation are quite different. LBA hoards occasionally contain only a single older object or a small number from the same period, suggesting that if they were rediscovered this was the result of a single find event. Alternatively the objects could have been retained for a number of centuries, although as the older objects are generally little used, rediscovery of previously deposited metalwork is more likely (Knight 2014; *pers. comm.*). On the other hand, the wildly mixed character of the Transitional or Iron Age hoards means that they must have been from a collection of numerous finds, and some at least probably resulted from exchange. The palstave of a type more common in northern Britain in the Crooksbury Hill hoard also suggests these ancient objects were exchanged. It appears that a quite different relationship existed with ancient objects in the LBA compared to the Iron Age. It is worth contrasting the way in which ancient artefacts are considered in two recent societies. The Jivero of north-west Amazonia entirely disregard the archaeological remains that can be found in abundance, ascribing them to hostile alien spirits. They also do not consider ancestors as important in identity construction (Taylor 2007, 149; see 2.4.2). In comparison, the Luwu of Sulawesi, Indonesia, regarded all ancient artefacts, even sherds of pottery and iron tools, as filled with potent ancestral energy (Errington 1983, 230; see 5.6). The most highly prized ancient objects were ascribed to a specific named supernatural ancestor who was the first ruler of Luwu (Helms 1993, 158; Errington 1983, 230).

Given the much larger numbers of LBA hoards compared to those dating to the Transition and Iron Age, the percentages of metalwork depositions containing ancient objects after the LBA are much higher than during it. In the study area, over 30 dryland hoards date to the LBA. Only one certainly contains earlier objects, and there is one possible association. This can be compared to the four or five hoards that date to the Llyn Fawr period: two of the certain and the single possible example contain objects that were already ancient at the time of deposition. It has been assumed that the latest object is contemporary with the date of deposition: although with single-period hoards this supposition is valid, given the unusual compositions it is reasonable to suggest that the highly chronologically mixed hoards were deposited sometime after the creation of their latest object. Some indeed may be full Iron Age, but this is impossible to demonstrate without associated radiocarbon dates.

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mentioned (Dent 1877, 9; Illus. facing p.8). The circumstances surrounding the discovery are unknown, and the association is far from clear.

4.9.3 Foreign Objects

Multi-period hoards demonstrate the collection of unusual objects in the Transition and Iron Age. This can also be shown by the presence of foreign objects in the study area, locally unique and of quite different form to the available repertoire. A modest number date to the Transition, but the practice expands in the Iron Age (see Appendix 5; 5.7). One of the most astonishing objects is the polished stone *nackengebogene Äxte* from the Thames at Syon Reach (Macdonald and O'Connor 1979). These distinct shaft-hole axes are most common in western Lower Saxony and the adjacent parts of the Netherlands, and date to the second quarter the first millennium BC (Macdonald and O'Connor 1979, 178). The finds context is secure enough, and petrological examination confirms a foreign provenance (Fig. 4.21).

The same stretch of river produced an unusual type of wart-headed pin, or *warzenkopfnadel* (Celoria 1974). This has a similar original provenance as the polished axe, probably coming from Lower Saxony, perhaps the Elbe estuary (O'Connor 1980, 202). Although these are dated to slightly before the polished axe – most likely equivalent to Ewart Park – the only other known example in Britain is from Transitional levels at nearby Runnymede (Davies 2012; Needham 1996, 188). The Runnymede pin differs from Syon Reach, but it is of the same class. These are very rare west of the Weser (O'Connor 1980, 201-2; Needham 1996, 188). Both of the wart-headed pins, alongside the *nackengebogene Äxte,* may belong to a unified phase of exchange between this area and Lower Saxony early in the Transition, procuring alien goods that can be related to the collection of ancient exotica. The vase-headed pin from Transitional levels at Runnymede might also be an import from central or northern Europe (Needham 1980a, 21). Although unique in the study area, at least seven vase-headed pins are known in Britain, including three made from iron. Associations from both Britain and the continent suggest these date to the LBA and Transition (Davies 2012, 40-1).

Two similar razors of non-British type have also found, one at Runnymede, the other in the Wallingford midden (Northover 2006, 51-2, fig. 3.1.2; Needham 1980a, fig. 11.5). These both appear to be of the type classed by Jockenhövel (1980, 188-90) as *Einscheidige Rasiermesser vom Mauvilly/Sundhoffen.*[33] Given the perforation, the Whitecross Farm example may be typologically between this and type *St. Etienne-du-Valdonnez* (Jockenhövel 1980, Taf. 36.697-703). These are dated to Hallstatt C: a good parallel is the razor from Sundhoffen, discovered with a Gündlingen sword (Jockenhövel 1980, Taf. 36, 38-9, 101.E). Distribution of these types centre on the upper Seine and Languedoc regions (Jockenhövel 1980 Tafs. 57-8), and they may have been imported from here. An Etruscan cup from the Thames is the earliest of several Mediterranean ceramic objects relavent to this study (Appendix 7; 5.7).

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[33] Northover (2006, 49-51) assigns the Whitecross Farm example to type *Einscheidige Halbmodrasiermesser ohne Griff*. However, the angle of the back of both the British razors are more characteristic of the later straight or reflex types, rather than the obtuse earlier examples (see Jockenhövel 1971, Tafs. 36-7; 1980, Tafs. 28-9, 38-9).

Using the framework outlined in 2.2.4-6, we may suggest that the purposeful collection of foreign, ancient and exotic objects may have been employed as a means to segregate social factions whilst setting these in relations of power. The ancient and exotic are commonly believed to be made or acquired with assistance from the divine or supernatural: ownership associates the select few with this power as others believe the custodian has special connection to the gods. Such unusual items also commonly become inalienable with a group, attaching the identity of a faction around an object(s) whose ownership transcends any individual (Godelier 1999; Weiner 1992; see 2.2.4-6). This in turn bolsters the integrity of the group as others do not have access to locally unique objects. Here we may be seeing a move away from material culture that is particular to the individual - as argued for the LBA - towards objects that stand for groups. The creation of more unique ceramic and metal items mirrors this acquisition of unusual objects: there is a general move away from the lack of differentiation that we see with the LBA material. This is explored further in 5.6-7 and 6.8, where more Iron Age examples are given (also Appendix 5).

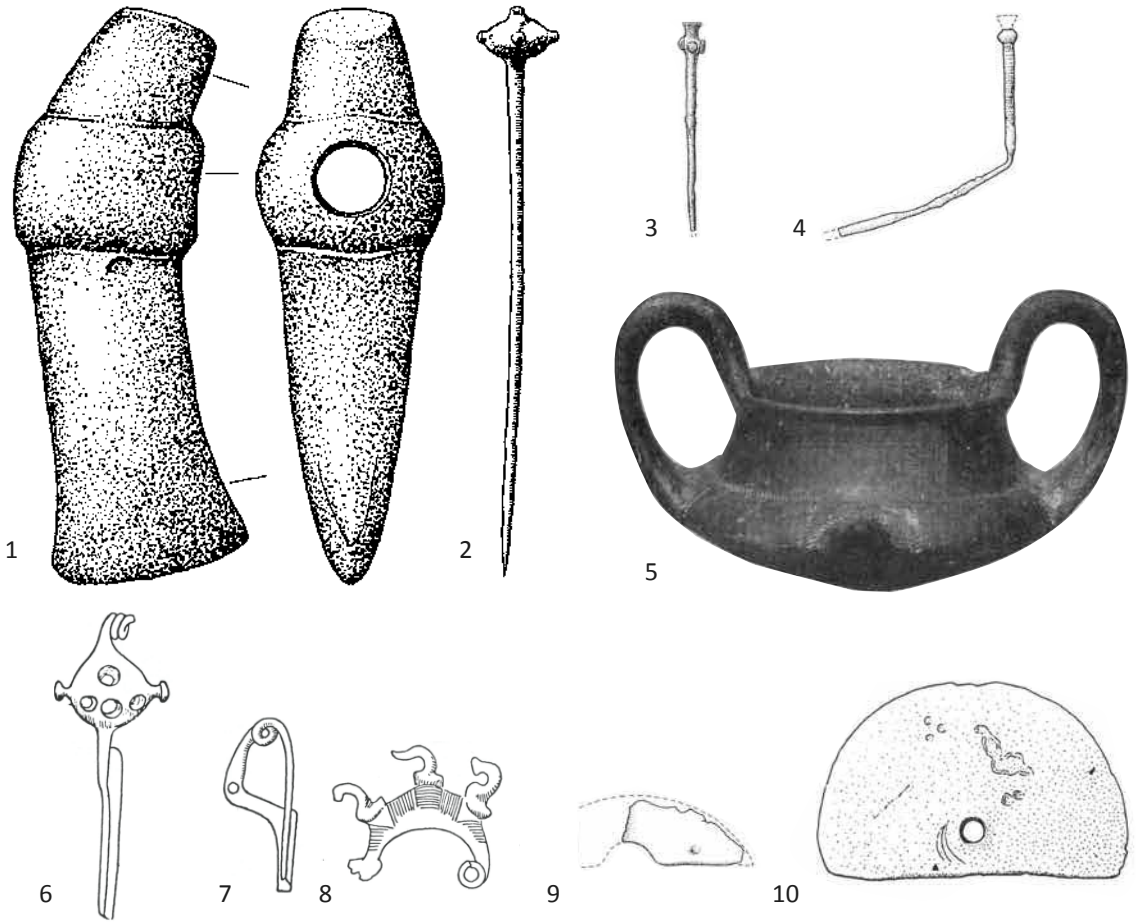


Fig. 4.21. Imported objects certainly or probably dating to the Transition
1 - *nackengebogene Äxte* from Syon Reach; 2 -Wart headed pin from Brentford; 3 - Wart headed pin from Runnymede; 4 - Vase headed pin from Runnymede; 5 - Cup from Barn Elms/Pool of London; 6-8 - Brooches from Kingham, Near Oxford, and Brentford; 9 - Razor from Runnymede; 10 -Razor from Runnymede.

1 - Macdonald and O'Connor 1979, fig. 1; 2 - Celoria 1974 (London and Midlesex Archaeological Society); 3, 4, 9 - Needham 1996, fig. 100; Needham 1980a, fig. 12; fig. 11 (Reproduced courtey of Surrey Archaeological Society; 5 - Smith 1925, fig. 88; 10 - Northover 2006, fig. 3.1 (Image: OA); 6-8 - Hull and Hawkes 1987, Pls. 7, 11-2

0 5cm

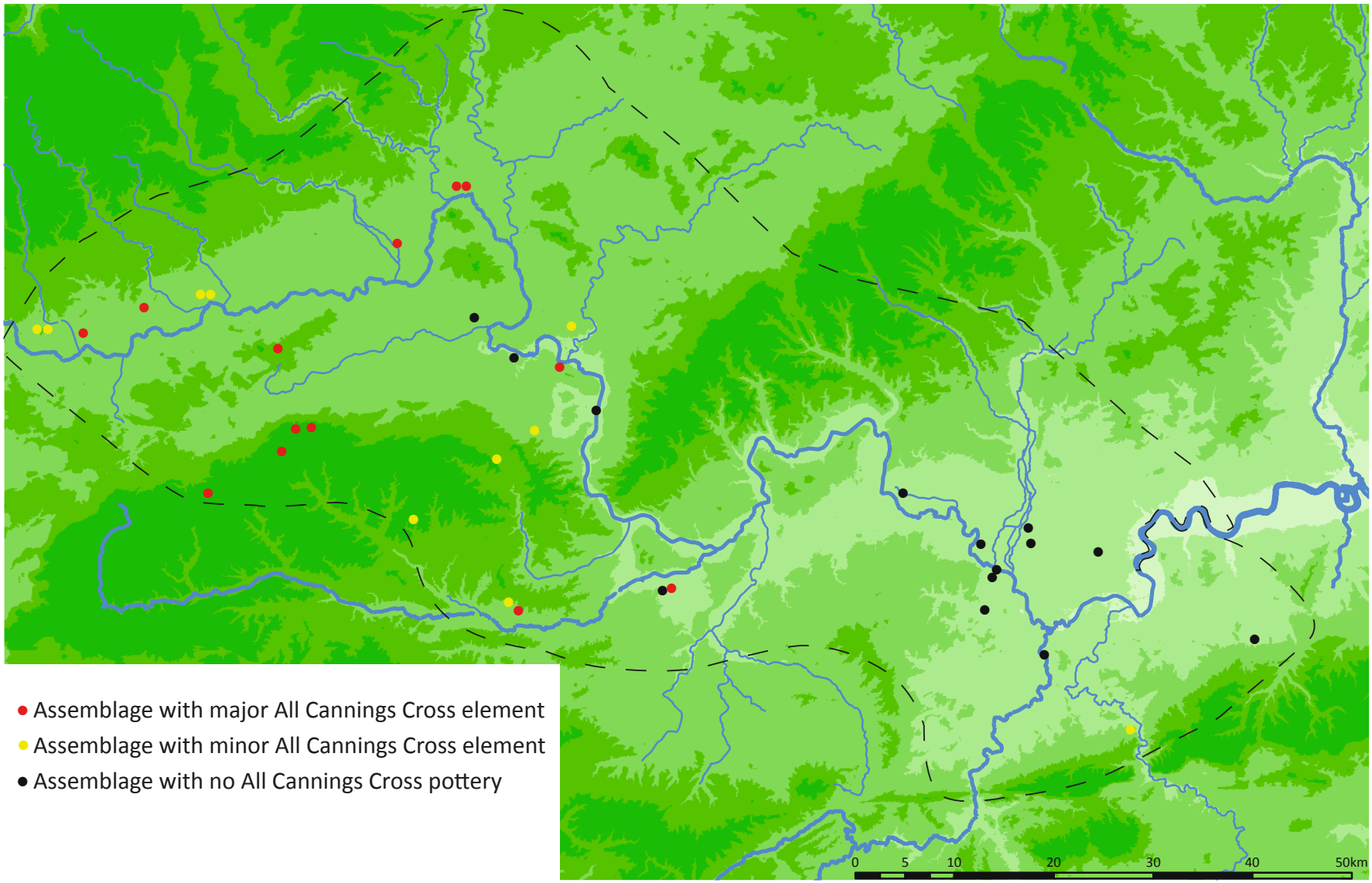
4.10 Pottery

4.10.1 Form and Finish

The range of forms, finishes and decorative techniques on pottery expands in the eighth century. It is important to distinguish between areas with All Cannings Cross pottery, and those without it. Changes to the ceramic repertoire are more distinctive with the former, but still appreciable in the latter. All Cannings Cross pottery centres in Wessex, but appears in the Upper Thames Valley and Berkshire Downs, and occasionally in the Middle Thames Valley (Map 4.3).[34] This pottery has distinctive decorative techniques, including stamped circles, incised geometric motifs and stabbing. This is commonly found on the shoulder and neck, but sometimes extends across the whole body. White inlay is also used to emphasise these patterns (Fig. 4.3). Some vessels are made even more distinctive through the use of haematite coating and careful firing techniques to create different coloured pots (Cunliffe 2004, 78; Edwards 2009b, 83). Although this could signal a switch in symbolic expression from bronze to ceramics (Needham 2007a, 55), we must be cautious with this interpretation. Focusing in Wessex, the distribution of All Cannings Cross pottery broadly follows that of Llyn Fawr hoards, whereas pottery in areas of significant Ewart Park deposition did not become as highly decorated following the demise of bronze (see Cunliffe 2000, fig. 4.24 and O'Connor 2007, fig. 1). The use of distinctive pottery occurs primarily in areas that continued to place symbolic emphasis on metalwork in the Transition: this is particularly evident with the association between All Cannings Cross pottery and the Tower Hill hoard (Miles *et al.* 2003). The increased deposition of pottery in the Transition, seen especially at middens but also some settlements (see 4.3), could in part also replace some of the ritual functions of bronze, although a number of middens are in areas where bronze hoarding continued.

An increase in the range of decoration, form and surface treatment on pottery marks one of the ways material culture became more heterogeneous in the Transition and Iron Age. This is partly mirrored in the Llyn Fawr material as this is more expressive than earlier metalwork, but is still restricted in its forms. Although clearer in the All Cannings Cross areas, it is also present in assemblages to the east, where fingertipping and fingernail slashing become more common and the range of forms increase. This increase in symbolic expression displayed in material culture could be interpreted as an articulation of an increase of individuality in wider society, and a shift in the social role that objects played. People were now making and using objects that looked different from each other and distinctive in their own right. Individual objects may now have begun to take on personalities of their own, rather than being subsumed in the mass of relative homogeneity. Furthermore, most objects were now not being frequently destroyed, instead

[34] Sites in the study area with appreciable quantities of All Cannings Cross pottery include Latton Lands, Horcott Pit, Gravelly Guy, Yarnton, Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps, Coxwell Road, Liddington, Tower Hill, Uffington, Rams Hill, Dunston Park and Knight Farm 1. Those with a smaller number of sherds include Cotswold Community, Gassons Road, Butlers Field, Mount Farm, Blewburton, the Berkshire Grims Ditch, East Garston and Hawk's Hill.



Map 4.3. Distribution of Transitional pottery assemblages indicating the presence of All Cannings Cross ceramics

presumably being passed down and used by numerous people. The increase in the individuality of such objects might have acted to bind these lines of people together, whilst distancing from those who were using distinctively different material culture. This is explored further in 5.6.

4.10.2 Fabric

The geographical split we see with fabrics in the LBA is still visible in the Transition. The pottery used by communities in the Upper Thames basin continued to contain primarily shell with some sand, whereas fabric in the Middle Thames contained flint. This broad picture is confused by the chronological changes in fabric use as there is in general a move towards sandy fabrics throughout the Transition and EIA, with this dominating almost everywhere by the MIA. The speed in which this occurs is locally variable. Despite this, the prevalence of sand can still be used to suggest inter-regional connections at this time. Petrological analysis at Uffington suggested some of the sandy All Cannings Cross decorated pottery may have come from the Devizes area, closer to the heartland of All Cannings Cross distribution (Brown 2003a, 167). Much still appears to have been made locally. Such exchange might explain the presence of this highly decorated pottery in a similarly sandy fabric at Knights Farm 1 as this site is on the edge of the distribution of both the fabric type and tradition of decoration (Map 4.3). Petrological work is needed to confirm this.

Clearly not all the All Cannings Cross pottery in the Thames Valley resulted from exchange with Wessex. This was produced in the probably local shelly fabrics at least at Horcott Pit, Yarnton and Coxwell Road (Edwards 2009b; Booth 2011; Timby 2004b); interestingly Uffington had roughly equal quantities of pottery in sandy fabrics possibly originating from Wiltshire, and shelly fabrics common to both the Upper Thames and more locally at Tower Hill (Brown 2003a; 2003b). Rams Hill also has a mixture of different pottery fabrics in its Transitional phase (Barrett 1975). Like the island midden sites in the LBA, the mixture of pottery from different areas at these hillforts could suggest they partly functioned as meeting places for groups from different areas. The roughly equal mixture of shell and sand at Gassons Road and Gravelly Guy might be better explained by later chronological emphasises (Timby 1998; Duncan *et al.* 2004). The mixture of fabric types at Appleford is less easy to explain: the Transitional assemblage has roughly equal quantities of pottery with shell, flint and sandy fabrics, and lacks All Cannings Cross decoration (de Roche and Lambrick 1980, fig. 21, Table 1). Sandy fabrics dominate the Transitional assemblage at Petters Sports Field: this again lacks All Cannings Cross pottery (O'Connell 1986, 61-73). Although the close relationship between the Ewart Park hoard suggests a date early in the Transition, comparing with the Runnymede assemblage the fabric proportions instead suggest it should be later in the period (Needham 1990, 124-5).

4.11 Summary

The chapter has summarised the evidence dating to the LBA/EIA Transition, c.800-600 cal BC. Houses, settlements, middens, special deposits, human remains, landscape divisions, hillforts, metalwork and pottery have been assessed. The uniform settlement pattern of the LBA consisting of single generational sites comprising paired roundhouses and few other features gives way to more aggregated sites lasting for longer periods of time with fewer pronounced differences between larger and smaller houses. Middens become fixed, revisited places in the landscape that are a focus for deposition and inter-community social interaction. The practice of depositing sets of pottery vessels continues from the LBA, although these are often larger, and the placing of animal remains on the edge of settlements continues. There are the beginnings of more mixed special deposits that characterise the Iron Age. Human remains are still rare, and consist of skulls, disarticulated single bones or small groups of bones, and very small amounts of unaccompanied cremated remains. A number of both large and more modest landscape divisions are best dated to this period. The forms of these differ locally, but are not restricted in their distribution: double pit alignments and 'meander cut-off' linears tend to be found in the Upper Thames basin; paired parallel linear ditches are more commonly found in the Middle Thames Valley; longer linear ditches are present on the Berkshire Downs. This latter group appear to be linked to the Ridgeway hillforts. These are the best understood in the study area, the first phases of which date to the Transition.

Metalworking evidence is modest and suggests continuation of small-scale production of both bronze and iron. However, we may be seeing the beginnings of more specialised iron smelting activities. In many respects the metalwork itself continues patterns observed towards the end of the LBA – object types stick to a small number of defined typological forms, although decoration is less restricted with some axes displaying unique and individualised motifs. Depositional patterns are quite different, although occasional hoards, river and single depositions occur. The Transition sees the beginning of the practice of true multi-period hoards – collections that contain objects from more than two periods, with the time-spans between the earliest and latest too great for the objects to have been in continuous circulation. This continues in the Iron Age. Alongside the procurement of ancient exotica, unusual foreign objects were also imported. Pottery in the region becomes more individualised through the expansion of forms and decoration. This is particularly apparent in the Upper Thames and Berkshire Downs, but is also visible in other areas.

When this summary of the archaeology of the LBA/EIA Transition is placed against those for the LBA and EIA, we can see that these c.200 years really was a transitionary period between two quite different social and cosmological systems. In many respects there was a continuation of LBA practices, whereas in others we see the beginnings of quite different relationships between

people, material culture and landscape that become more pervasive in the EIA. At present, the timing and tempo of these changes within the period c.800-600/550 cal BC are difficult to assess given our currently poor chronological resolution within these centuries. Hopefully Bayesian statistics can in the future help bridge this problem. A discussion of the nature and cause of this social transition can be found in 7.3-4.

Chapter 5: Early Iron Age

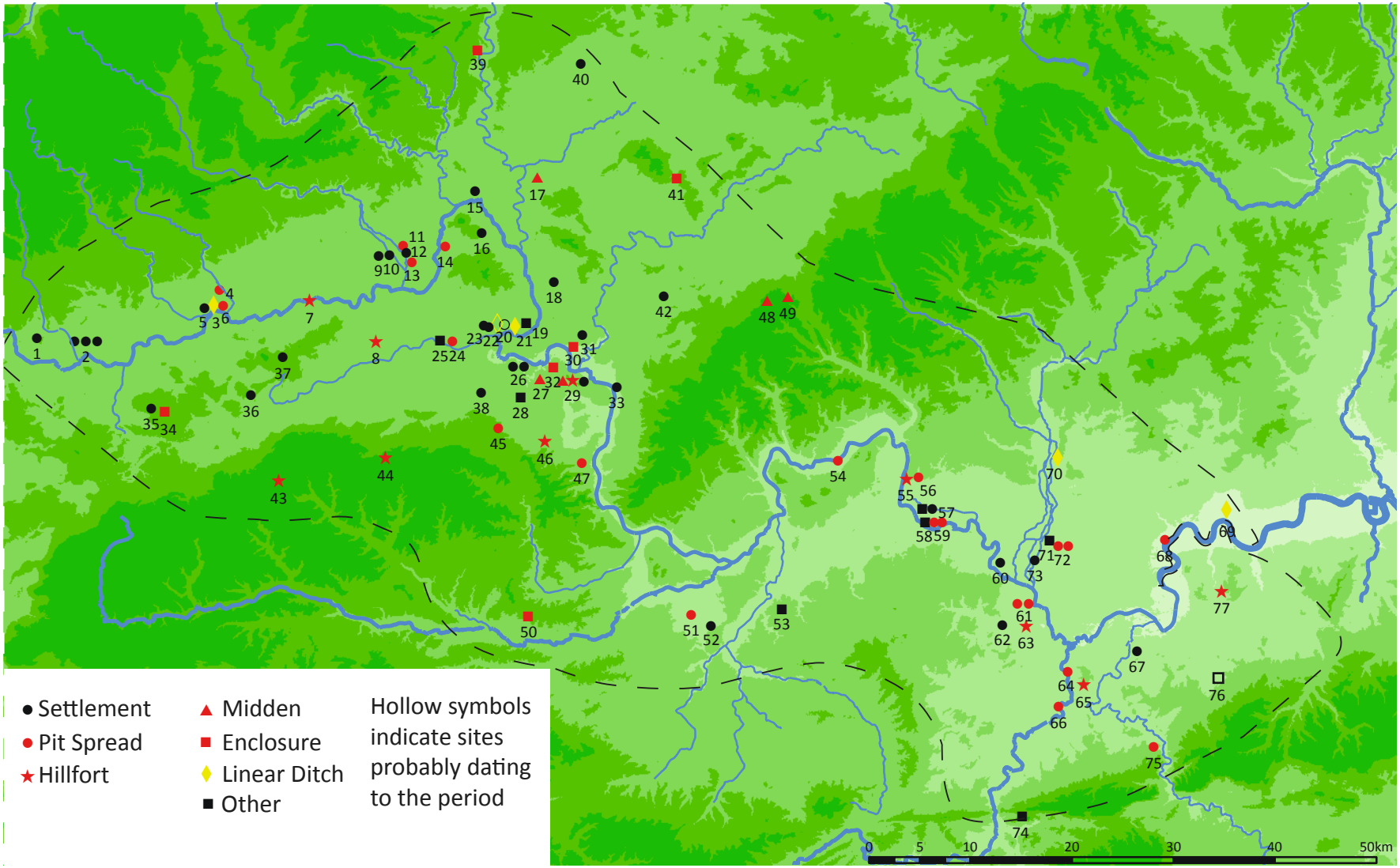
5.1 Introduction

This chapter follows the format of the previous two chapters, beginning with an account of EIA houses and settlements, before looking at special deposits and human remains. The metalwork is then assessed quantitatively and qualitatively, providing an interpretation for why we have so few objects dating to this period. Examples of foreign and ancient objects in Iron Age contexts will then be discussed. The material remains from hillforts are compared with non-hillfort sites, demonstrating distinct differences between these site types. Patterns within these data will be used to form the basis of a social interpretation that aims to find common principles between different types of evidence that structure behaviour and the formation of the archaeological record. Given the degree of continuity between parts of EIA and MIA, this chapter will include MIA examples when discussing modified human remains, exotica, and hillforts. Some aspects of the EIA are dealt with the previous chapter – middens and multi-period hoards – whereas metalworking and certain further features of metalwork are discussed in the next chapter, dealing primarily with the MIA.

5.2 Houses and Settlements

The archaeological representation of domestic architecture diversifies in the EIA compared to the LBA and LBA/EIA Transition, although in many respects it is not as complex as the MIA (Table 7.2-3; Graphs 7.2-3). The most common two types of houses are firstly those represented by a single post-ring, and secondly by a penannular gully. Combined, these comprise 71% of all houses. Houses of Type 1 and 2 are still visible in the EIA, although they become less clear compared to the Transition and especially the LBA. In common with the Transition, there are no differences in post-ring sizes of houses with protruding entrance posts and those without, and the clear relationship between these two house types that was apparent in the LBA cannot be seen in the EIA.

Comparing overall houses sizes, inner post-ring diameters are very similar to the Transition, but there are more examples that deviate from the common range in the EIA (Graphs 5.1-3, 4.1-3). 68% (36) of EIA post-rings are between 6-9m in diameter, whereas 83% (39) of Transitional houses fall within this range. This is similar to outer walls. 68% (13) of EIA outer walls fall between 9-13m diameter; at 88% (23) this was more standardised in the Transition. The sizes of EIA penannular gullies are comparable to outer walls: the frequency of both peak sharply at 10-11m, although there is more diversity in the sizes of penannular gullies compared to outer walls. This diversification becomes slightly more apparent in the MIA.



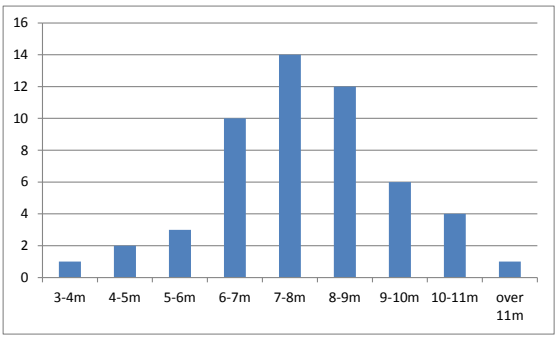
Map 5.1. Early Iron Age sites

1. Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry
(Powell *et al.* 2010)
2. Latton Lands
(Powell *et al.* 2009)
3. Roughground Farm/Sherborne House/Allcourt Farm Linear Ditch Complex
(Allen *et al.* 1993; Bateman *et al.* 2003; Stansbie *et al.* 2013)
4. Roughground Farm Pit Spread
(Allen *et al.* 1993)
5. Sherborne House
(Bateman *et al.* 2003)
6. The Loders
(Darvill *et al.* 1986)
7. Burroway
(Lambrick 2009; 1984a)
8. Cherbury
(Bradford 1940; Hingley 1983)
9. Standlake
(Bradford 1942a)
10. Standlake Downs
(Riley 1946-7)
11. Beard Mill
(Williams 1951)
12. Gravelly Guy
(Lambrick and Allen 2004)
13. Stanton Harcourt, Site 2
(Hamlin 1966)
14. Farmoor
(Lambrick and Robinson 1979)
15. Yarnton
(Hey *et al.* 2011)
16. Wytham Hill
(Mytum 1986)
17. Woodeaton
(Goodchild and Kirk 1954; Harding 1987)
18. Blackbird Leys
(Booth and Edgeley-Long 2003)
19. Eight Acre Field, Radley - Waterhole
(Mudd 1995)
20. South of Abingdon Vineyard
(Devaney 2007)
21. Abdingdon West Central
(Allen 1997; Brady *et al.* 2007)
22. Spring Road
(Allen and Kamash 2008)
23. Ashville Trading Estate/Wyndyke Furlong
(Muir and Roberts 1999; Parrington 1978)
24. Land South of Marcham
(Hart *et al.* 2012)
25. Frilford/Noah's Ark Inn
(Bradford and Goodchild 1939; Harding 1987)
26. Appleford
(Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980)
27. Wigbalds Farm, Long Wittenham
(Savory 1937)
28. West of All Saints Church
(Chambers 1993)
29. Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps
(Allen *et al.* 2010; Hingley 1980; Rhodes 1948)
30. Allen's Pit
(Bradford 1942b)
31. Mount Farm
(Lambrick 2010; Myres 1937)
32. Neptune Wood
(Allen *et al.* 2010)
33. St Helen's Avenue
(Pine and Ford 2003)
34. Groundwell Farm
(Gingell 1982)
35. Groundwell West
(Walker *et al.* 2001)
36. Watchfield West
(Scull 1992)
37. Coxwell Road
(Cook *et al.* 2004;
(Weaver and Ford 2004)
38. Milton Hill North
(Hart *et al.* 2012)
39. Heyford Road
(Cook and Hayden 2000)
40. Slade Farm
(Ellis *et al.* 2000)
41. Chilton Grove North (Site 20)
(Taylor and Ford 2004b)
42. Cornwall Copse (Site 32)
(Taylor and Ford 2004a)
43. Alfred's Castle
(Gosden and Lock 2013)
44. Segsbury
(Lock *et al.* 2005)
45. Hagbourne Hill, site 68 North
(Hart *et al.* 2012)
46. Blewburton
(Bradford 1942; Collins 1947; Collins 1952-3; Collins and Collins 1959; Harding 1976)
47. Halfpenny Lane
(Ford 1990)
48. Chinnor
(Richardson and Young 1951)
49. Bledlow
(Head and Piggott 1943)
50. Hartshill Copse
(Collard *et al.* 2006)
51. Moores Farm
(Brossler *et al.* 2013)
52. Grazeley Road
(Ford *et al.* 2013)
53. Sadler's End – Iron Smelting Site
(Lewis *et al.* 2013)
54. Manor Cottage, Bisham
(Pine 2013)
55. Taplow
(Allen *et al.* 2009)
56. Taplow to Dorney Pipeline, Site A
(Hart *et al.* 2011)
57. Lake End Road West - Field System and Settlement
(Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
58. Eton Rowing Course - Waterfront Structure
(Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
59. Eton Rowing Course Areas 10 and 15
(Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
60. Wraysbury
(Astill and Lobb 1989)
61. Thorpe Lea Nurseries Eastern and Western Sites
(Hayman and Poulton 2012)
62. St Ann's Heath School
(Lambert 2013b)
63. St Ann's Hill
(Jones 2012a)
64. Brooklands
(Hanworth and Tomalin 1977)
65. St Georges Hill
(Anthony 2002; Gardner 1911; Lowther 1950; Milbank 2009; Poulton and O'Connell 1984)
66. Wisley
(Lowther 1945a)
67. Sandown Park
(Burchell and Frere 1947)
68. Snowy Fielder Way
(Bell 1996)
69. King Street
(Humphrey 2001)
70. Jewson's Yard
(Barclay *et al.* 1995)
71. Heathrow Terminal 5 - Waterholes
(Framework Archaeology 2010)
72. Heathrow - Sites J and K
(Canham 1978)
73. Lower Mill Farm
(Jones and Poulton 1987)
74. St Martha's Hill – possible Iron Smelting Site
(Lowther 1935)
75. Hawk's Hill
(Hastings 1965)
76. Purberry Shot – Iron Smelting Site
(Lowther 1949)
77. Caesars Camp, Wimbledon
(Lowther 1945b)

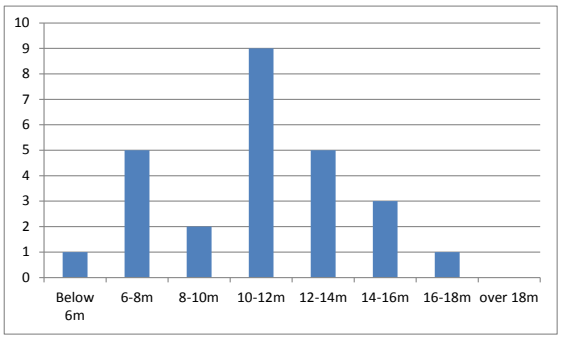
See previous page for map

	Inner post ring (=55)	Outer wall* (=19)	Gully (=26)
Mean Diameter	7.5m	10.6m	10.4m
Mode Diameter	7-8m	10-11m	10-11m
Mean Area	43.7m^2	87.6m^2	85.4m^2
Mode Area	c.38.5-50.3m^2	c.78.5-95m^2	c.78.5-95m^2

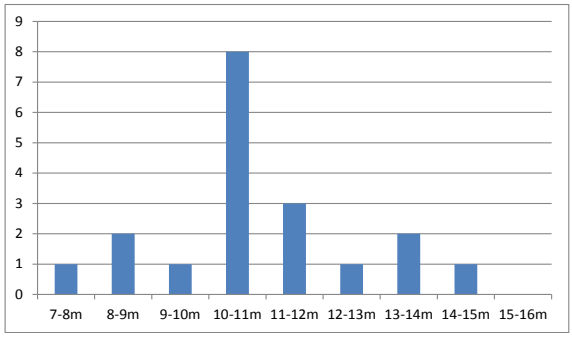
Table 5.1. EIA house size averages
*Following line of protruding entrance posts, slot trench or outer double post ring



Graph 5.1. Inner post-ring diameters of EIA houses



Graph 5.2. Diameters of EIA penannular gullies



Graph 5.3. Outer wall diameters of EIA houses

There are no clear relationships between house sizes and site type or location. There are a number of sites that have houses from both the larger and smaller ends of the distribution,[1] suggesting that this was not used as a means of communicating inter-settlement differences in a straightforward manner. In a few instances, houses of different sizes can be explained in a similar way to that suggested for the LBA: that smaller houses are subsidiary to larger examples, both being part of the same household unit. This is possible for roundhouses 1829 and 1912 at Latton Lands (Powell *et al.* 2009, fig. 11), Structures B and C at Coxwell Road (Weaver and Ford 2004, fig. 6), and the houses at Lower Mill Farm (Jones and Poulton 1987, fig. 2). However, the majority do not have this relationship, so we could instead interpret differences in house sizes and architecture as a way in which households distinguished and differentiated themselves from each other within a settlement. This may or may not imply differing status, and we might be seeing more diversity in household composition. Unlike the very homogenous settlements and houses of the LBA and Transition, there is more diversity in the EIA. This expands again in the MIA. Although many sites have only one or two types of houses, settlements such as Sherborne House, Yarnton, Gravelly Guy and Coxwell Road have three or more different types of houses represented.

[1] For example Cotwsold Community Area 3, Latton Lands, Gravelly Guy, Yarnton, St Helens Avenue, Groundwell West, both the areas at Coxwell Road, probably the settlement outside Castle Hill, and Lower Mill Farm.

Eighty-five houses can be dated with some certainty to the EIA, and 30 can be dated no closer than the Transition or EIA. As this latter figure is high, examples of Transitional or EIA date have been dealt with separately and in the comparative tables (Tables 7.2-3; Graphs 7.2-3). A true mix of both Transitional and EIA houses is suggested as the percentages of house types generally fall between those of more certain Transitional and EIA dates: compared with the Transition there are fewer 'Type 1' houses defined by entrance posts and post-ring, and more penannular gullies.

The likelihood of archaeologically invisible houses appears to be more of an issue for the EIA than other periods under study (see 7.1.1; Appendix 2). There are two main reasons. First, the prevalence of penannular ditches in the MIA surrounding few structural remains suggests that houses could have been built in a similar ephemeral fashion in the EIA but not afforded an encircling ditch, rendering them archaeologically invisible. Second, there are more 'pit spreads' relative to other settlement types in the EIA than in other periods. These sites do not have visible houses, but otherwise appear to be normal settlements.[2] Pit spreads with EIA phases often have MIA houses. These sites are very similar in plan to settlements that comprise both a large number of pits and visible EIA houses.[3] It appears that at pit spreads, houses were not built with enough substantial subsoil features to recognisably survive truncation. Settlements usually have many pits, but there are also a minority of EIA sites with very few of these features. These are primarily found in the extreme upper reaches of the Thames Valley, for example at Cotswold Community, Latton Lands and Sherborne House, although can be found further to the south-east, for example at Grazeley Road and Slade Farm. In some cases it may be that the water-table was too high for storage pits.

Settlements appear to be small and consist of only a handful of contemporary houses. This has been demonstrated at sites where large areas have been stripped exposing the entirety of occupation, such as Cotswold Community Area 3, various settlements at Latton Lands, Gravelly Guy, Groundwell West, Moores Farm, and the eastern settlement at Thorpe Lea Nurseries. The issue of invisible houses is partially mitigated by sites commonly lasting long periods of time making them appear larger with more features.

Gravelly Guy remains the best understood EIA settlement due to its complete excavation strategy. Including MIA phases, the settlement comprises some 915 pits and up to 38 visible houses, but given its lengthy period of use – around 600-700 years – when broken down into approximate phases, it appears that only a few pits and perhaps five houses were ever in use at the same time (Fig. 5.1). It was possible at this site to distinguish five evolving but discrete areas of activity,

[2] Pit spreads include: Site 2 at Stanton Harcourt, the southern area of Farmoor, land south of Marcham, Heyford Road, Halfpenny Lane, Chinnor, Moores Farm, Manor Cottage, Site A from the Taplow to Dorney Water Pipeline, Areas 10 and 15 at Eton Rowing Course, the eastern and western sites at Thorpe Lea Nurseries, Brooklands, Site K at Heathrow, and Hawks Hill. A post-built house that might date to the EIA was found at Beard Mill; if not this would be a pit spread.

[3] For example: Standlake Downs, Gravelly Guy, Yarnton, Ashville Trading Estate/Wyndyke Furlong, the settlement outside Castle Hill, Mount Farm, St Helens Avenue, Groundwell West, Watchfield West, Coxwell Road, Milton Hill North, Cornwell Copse, Hartshill Copse, and St Ann's Heath School.

each containing a very similar range of features including dense areas of pits and a succession of buildings. They were interpreted as each representing a different household within the site, suggesting the fairly small settlement was divided into still smaller units, but with few obvious differences between them (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 152-5).

A similar split into three domestic units was suggested at Yarnton, each with a series of pits and a small group of houses. Building 1474 was replaced in the EIA; buildings 1754 and 2661 were replaced in the MIA by 1755/898 and 2683 respectively (Hey *et al.* 2011, figs. 2.4-5, 5.7, 6.3). Other houses may not have been directly rebuilt, but have nearby replacements. In these cases small but distinct households can be recognised, some at least existing over an extended period of time throughout much of the Transition and Iron Age. At both the sites these units become more distinguished in the MIA, and this is clearer at other sites in this later period. House replacement and the presence of increasingly distinct households are discussed further in 6.2. Alongside the paired houses mentioned above from Latton Lands, Coxwell Road and Lower Mill Farm, contiguous EIA houses include Structures 42088 and 42144 at Lake End Road West, and probably Huts 2 and 3 at Standlake Downs, although this last site is poorly dated (Allen *et al. forthcoming*; Riley 1946-7, fig. 9). These also appear to form household units.

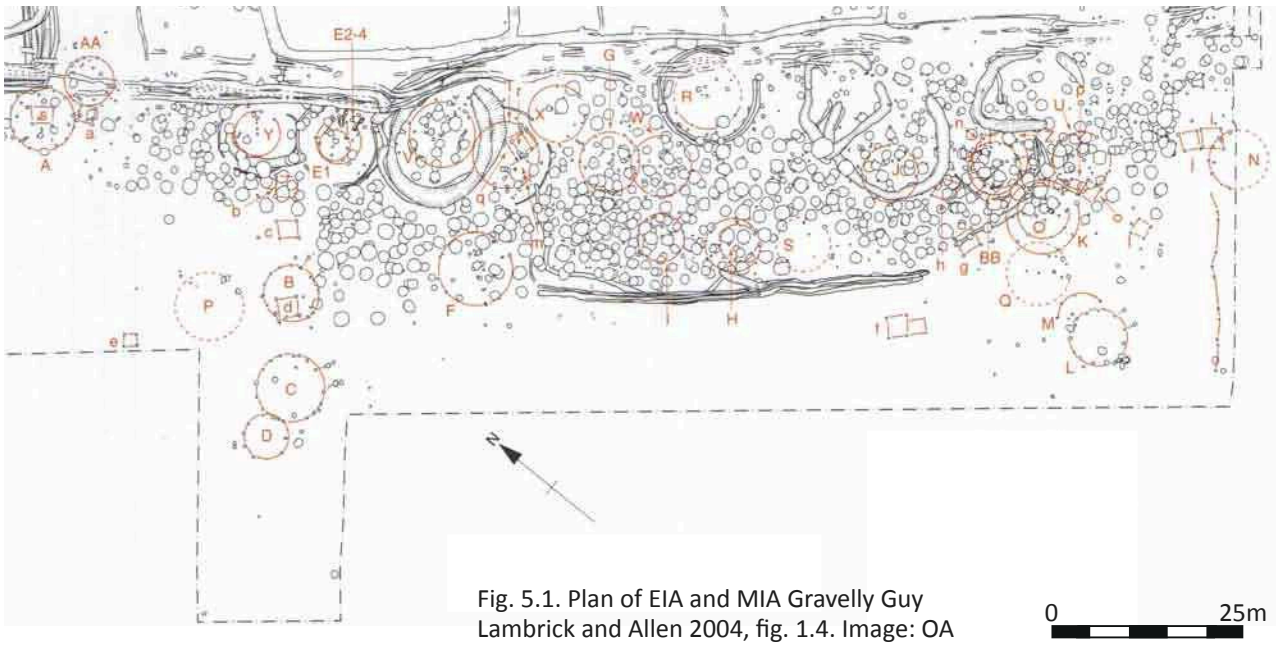


Fig. 5.1. Plan of EIA and MIA Gravelly Guy Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 1.4. Image: OA

The pattern of long-lived settlements replacing single-generational sites continues unabated in the EIA. Of the 67 sites with sufficient evidence, just six (9%) have been classed as single-phased, whereas 20 (30%) are multi-phased, and 41 (61%) are long-lived (Table 7.1; Graph 7.1; see 3.2.1). It is clear that there was now quite a different relationship to place compared to the LBA, and this was demonstrated at the levels of both settlement and landscape. Rather than house and place being destroyed and abandoned on perhaps a generational scale, these were being passed down and lived in often for many hundreds of years (compare figs. 3.2-16 with 5.1). An individual may have lived their entire life in the same settlement, with the knowledge (or belief) that their parents, grandparents, great-grandparents and further had done the same, and their children will do too, all sharing the backdrop of life, entwining experience and identity together through shared action. Places and houses appear in the EIA not to be associated with one individual, but enmeshed with a lineage, or a spatially restricted group stretching through time. Houses and settlements now appear to have had significance beyond the generation currently living there. This is also occurring with objects and perhaps landscapes (see below).

There are hints that houses also last for longer periods of time, although secure evidence for this is currently limited. Three houses from Hartshill Copse have been subject to Bayesian modelling and have been discussed in 3.2.1: the EIA house is estimated to have been in use for *55-195 years,* whereas the two LBA houses spanned *1-90 years* and *1-125 years (all at 68% probability*; Collard *et al.* 2006; Derek Hamilton *pers. comm.)*. Given their spatial arrangement and the longevity of the site, the houses at Gravelly Guy were estimated to have been in use for approximately a century (Lambrick and Allen 2004, 153). Although the excavators think this may be too long, a century does not overstretch some estimates for potential life-spans of carefully maintained roundhouses (Appendix 2; Brück 1999, 149). The longest sequence of intercutting Iron Age houses is at Ashville Trading Estate/Wyndyke Furlong, and assuming these were continuous, the longevity of the houses can be estimated. Here, one or two sequences of five overlapping houses date to the MIA. At the north of the site, ditch 491 was replaced by 32, then 286, 1014 and 1049. This was all preceded by EIA 346, a small penannular ditch surrounding a four-poster. To the west, ditch 1023 was replaced by 1129, then 1130, and 1051. This all may have been preceded by 1025: this was not cut by 1023, but they are very close together so may not have been contemporary (Parrington 1978). Given the longevity of the site it is likely these sequences spanned the entirety of the MIA: this suggests each house stood for c.60 years. These remain the sequence with the most overlapping Iron Age houses: similar analysis at other sites would suggest houses lasted for even longer periods of time. This can be compared to LBA Reading Business Park Area 5. Here, a sequence of at least eight houses appears to have occurred within c.200 years, allowing a c.25 year life of each house (Appendix 3). Further Bayesian analysis is necessary in demonstrating the interpretation that Iron Age houses lasted longer in the Thames Valley than LBA examples.

EIA settlement can be characterised as mostly small open sites comprising a handful of contemporary roundhouses and four-posters, with a few pits in use at any one time. Settlements tended to last for long periods of time – the majority surviving through the MIA – making archaeological plans complex due to overlapping features. A few larger sites might also date to the EIA, although none have been extensively investigated. An example includes the settlement outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps (Allen *et al.* 2010). House types and sizes begin to diversify, and at some sites we can see household groups becoming distinct from each other. This becomes clearer through physical and symbolic elaboration in the MIA. In the EIA there are the beginnings of a mode of settlement organisation that becomes more established in the MIA. This is characterised by an increase in boundaries, divisions and enclosures, interpreted as the separation of households and the split into smaller social groups. This is explored in 6.2. Like various types of objects and monuments, houses and settlements were now passed down through multiple generations. This may have had the effect of tying together individuals from a lineage, sharing closer identity with ancestors, and perhaps excluding other, more distantly related living individuals. Objects and place might now have become inalienable to social groups comprising increasingly fewer living members.

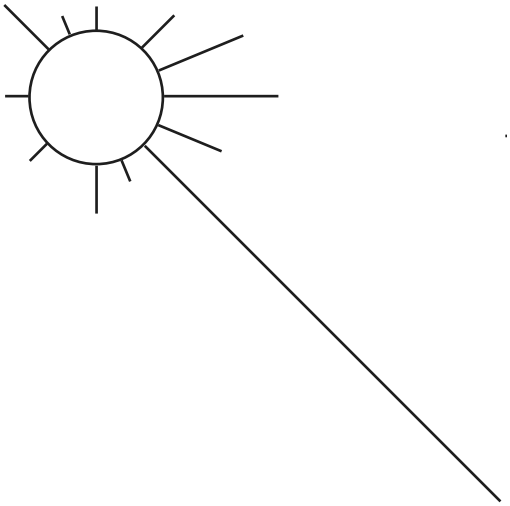


Fig. 5.2. Orientation of EIA houses

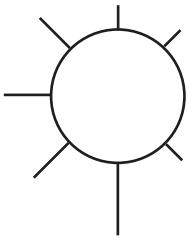


Fig. 5.3. Orientation of EIA burials

|= one house/burial

5.3 Special deposits

Special deposits have been defined in 3.3.1. Eighty-eight of these have been recognised as dating to the EIA, with a further 40 belonging to either the Transition or EIA. Three broad types can be recognised: those containing only animal remains; those with only pottery; and those with a mixture of types of finds. Special deposits become much more heterogeneous compared to earlier periods, with higher numbers of larger examples of more mixed character (Table 7.7; Graphs 7.20-4; 5.4). There are also few observable patterns in the location of these deposits.

5.3.1 Animal Only

There are 23 examples of EIA special deposits containing only animal remains, and a further 22 that might date to this period. EIA Latton Lands had a particularly large number of complete animal burials, including the skeletons of two cattle and a calf, a complete juvenile horse, and partial articulated burials of a dog and another calf.[4] Each was placed in a separate feature, the dog in the posthole of four-poster 3485, the young horse in a feature probably related to the outer wall of roundhouse 2760, and the calf remains in pits just to the north-west of two other houses (Poole 2009; Powell *et al.* 2009).

Patterns are difficult to pull out of this data in both composition and location. Complete and articulated remains are more frequent than skulls or large assemblages of disarticulated bone, although this difference is not particularly marked, with individual deposits often mixing these categories.[5] Taking the 46 examples together, there are a fairly even number of sheep/goat, cattle, dog, and horse represented. Pigs are rare. We may infer that more importance was placed on dog and horse given that these are less well represented in contemporary bone assemblages (5.4): a higher percentage of these animals are being afforded these rites, even if not higher in overall number. This was found in Wessex by Hill (1995). This is particularly relevant for dogs: there are slightly more of these than any other species – around 18 animals from 15 contexts. There are notably more dogs of certain EIA date than possible – 12 of the contexts and 15 of the animals are of more certain EIA date. Gravelly Guy produced a high number of dogs. Along with the large number of complete skeletons at Latton Lands, the frequency of dogs at Gravelly Guy is an example of practices relating to special deposition differing between sites.

There is a lack of clear structure in the positioning of these deposits within settlements. In the LBA and to a lesser extent the LBA/EIA Transition, special deposits containing only animal remains were placed in liminal locations. There are a few EIA examples that follow this pattern,[6] for example a complete dog, the articulated lower hind limb of a horse and a mandible in pit 1213 near the south-west boundary ditch at Gravelly Guy, although too few to have statistical

[4] Special deposit IDs 275, 278, 274, 273, 271, 272

[5] Special deposit IDs 44, 78, 97, 100, 111, 116, 440; and 8, 79, 117, 252.

[6] Those most likely dating to the EIA are special deposit IDs 97 and 293, and possibly 51, 44 and 95. Those possibly dating to the EIA include IDs 8, 115, 117 and 259. ID 259 was placed in a penannular gully.

relevance as there are also animal-only special deposits placed in quite different locations. Four examples of certain EIA date and three possibly of this date are located in or next to a house;[7] one example was placed in a posthole of a four-poster;[8] and one in a pit in the middle of a droveway/trackway.[9] However, the majority were neither placed in liminal locations nor have clear relationships to other features.[10] Given that settlement plans are often complicated as sites are commonly long-lived, it is possible that these originally had some patterning that has been obscured by later activity. Although patterns are difficult to recognise at this level, some can be seen at a broader scale. The vast majority of special deposits comprising only animal remains are found in the Upper Thames basin.[11] This may in part be due to taphonomic factors: bone assemblages are usually smaller in the Middle Thames compared to the Upper basin, as bone is less likely to survive in the more acidic Middle Thames soils and gravels. Bone survival is generally poor on the gravels, but there are local differences. Special deposits from the Middle Thames are more likely to contain only pottery than only animal remains.

5.3.2 Pottery Only

There are 11 examples of special deposits containing only pottery that are datable with some certainty to the EIA.[12] This includes the almost complete jar, decorated bowl, carinated bowl and two cups from waterhole 103038 and its recut 136194 at Heathrow T5 (Fig 5.4; Framework Archaeology 2010, 189-90, figs. 3.43-4). There are a further five with pottery and one other artefact.[13] This includes large sherds from two jars found with a quern fragment discovered in the posthole of four-poster 773 at St Ann's Heath School. Other sherds from one of these pots were found in three of the other postholes (Lambert 2013b, 35). There are four further special deposits containing only pottery that might date to the period,[14] including the only example associated with a house. This was from pit 2647 at Yarnton, and comprised 35 very large sherds[15] and a sizeable assemblage of charred plant remains.

There are no clear patterns in terms of depositional location with settlements, with the majority found in pit clusters. Most of these special deposits are found outside the Upper Thames basin, despite this being the most densely settled area.[16] Special deposits containing only one type of

7 Those of certain date include IDs 107, 271, 272 and 275. Examples of possible EIA date include IDs 143, 259 and 260.

8 Special deposit ID 278.

9 Special deposit ID 440. This was found at Lake End Road West, is a rare example from the Middle Thames, comprising a cat skeleton and goat skull with five sherds of EIA pottery at (Allen *et al. forthcoming*).

10 Those most likely dating to the EIA are special deposit IDs 32, 38, 78, 99, 100, 104, 111, 116, 273 and 274. Those possibly dating to the EIA include IDs 6, 39, 41, 43, 79, 108, 200, 226, 228, 230, 232, 252, 253 and 254.

11 Exceptions where animal-only special deposits occur outside this area include IDs 6, 8 and 440.

12 Special deposit IDs 270, 153, 49, 202, 411, 412, 413, 389, 378, 363, 332.

13 Special deposit IDs 444, 390, 388, 364, 365.

14 Special deposit IDs 154, 155, 157, 432.

15 Special deposit ID 157.

16 Exceptions where pottery-only special deposits occur in the Upper Thames include IDs 153 and 270 from Yarnton and The Loders. IDs 154, 155 and 157 might date to the EIA: these are also from Yarnton.

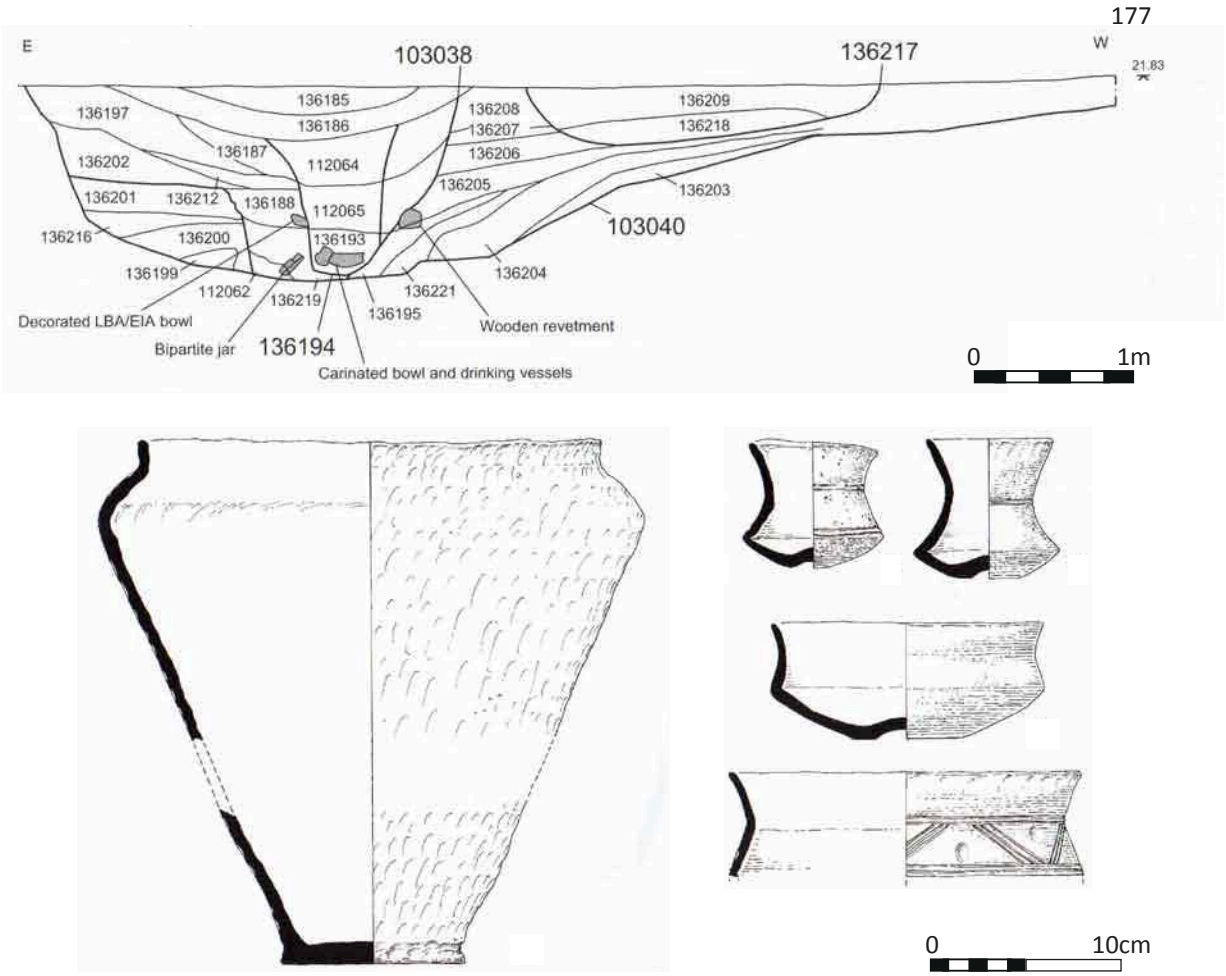


Fig. 5.4. Special pottery deposit from well 103038 and shaft 136194, Heathrow T5 Framework Archaeology 2010, figs. 3.43-4

find in the Upper Thames are more likely to comprise animal remains. Special deposits containing only pottery are the most popular types in the LBA and Transition, but fall from favour in the EIA and MIA (Table 7.7; Graphs 7.19-20). For the earlier periods these were interpreted alongside the pattern of settlement abandonment and metalwork deposition: perhaps all were associated with the death of their owners, destroying their possessions as they were intimately bound to personhood. This is less clear in the EIA, although may continue with the placement of smashed pottery in the postholes of the dismantled four-poster at St Ann's Heath School. Pottery-only deposition becomes much less common in the EIA: this shift over time is clear in the histogram, but very significant changes are occurring within the imposed categories of special deposits. The 'mixed' deposits in the LBA and Transition are much simpler, containing fewer objects of a more restricted range; they comprise mainly pottery alongside only one or two other objects (Graphs 7.19-20). Overall, earlier examples are much more homogenous, and a similar interpretation to the pottery-only depositions is appropriate. The mixed deposits of the EIA and MIA are much more complex with many more objects from a wider range of categories, suggesting the context and meaning behind this practice is changing.

5.3.3 Mixed Deposits

Special deposits containing more than one type of object are much more frequent, larger, and include a wider variety of object types compared to the LBA or Transition. Fifty-one date to the EIA, and a further 24 cannot be placed with certainty to the period, but the majority probably should be EIA as they follow EIA rather than Transitional patterns in composition (Table 7.7; Graphs 7.19-20). An example is pit 1022 from Coxwell Road. This contained burnt and unburnt quern fragments and animal bone, a semi-articulated dog, a stone counter, a loomweight, over 100 pottery sherds, and the radius of an adult (Cook *et al.* 2004, Table 7). A haematite coated bowl from this pit was very similar in shape and finish to a bowl from pit 3006 at Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps (Fig. 5.5). The middle and upper fills of this latter pit also contained 11kg of pottery, much of it in a fresh condition; 12.4kg of animal bone including a partially articulated raven; a clay sling-shot; a bone needle and two gouges; a possible antler handle; 3.5kg of burnt stone and a rich assemblage of charred plants (Allen *et al.* 2010, 30).

Unworked animal bones and pottery are most frequently included: animal bones in significant quantities and/or skulls and articulated remains are found in 75% of the examples. The most common species represented are cattle, followed by dog, sheep/goat and wild animals in similar frequencies, with horse and pig the most infrequent (Graph 5.4). Human remains are found in 28% of the special deposits, although three-quarters of these are from Gravelly Guy or Alfred's Castle. However, as the soils at the majority of other sites do not preserve bone well, the inclusion of human and animal remains may well have been higher.

Debris from metalworking are also common inclusions, found in 21% of mixed special deposits. However, again there is a site bias with two-thirds of these coming from Yarnton. Metalwork and worked bones are found respectively in 21% and 24% of the mixed special deposits: although a relatively large number of both of these – 42% and 44% – are from Alfred's Castle, inclusion of these still appears to be a fairly widespread practice. hilst only one or two worked bones are normally found in each special deposit, larger numbers are more common at Alfred's Castle.

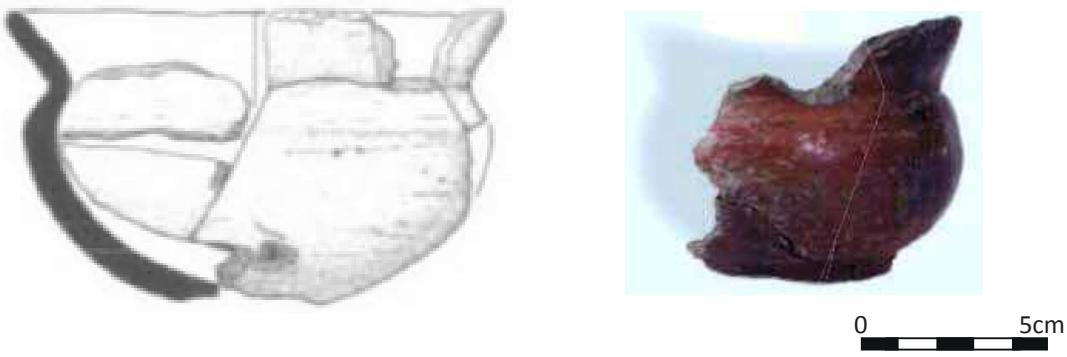
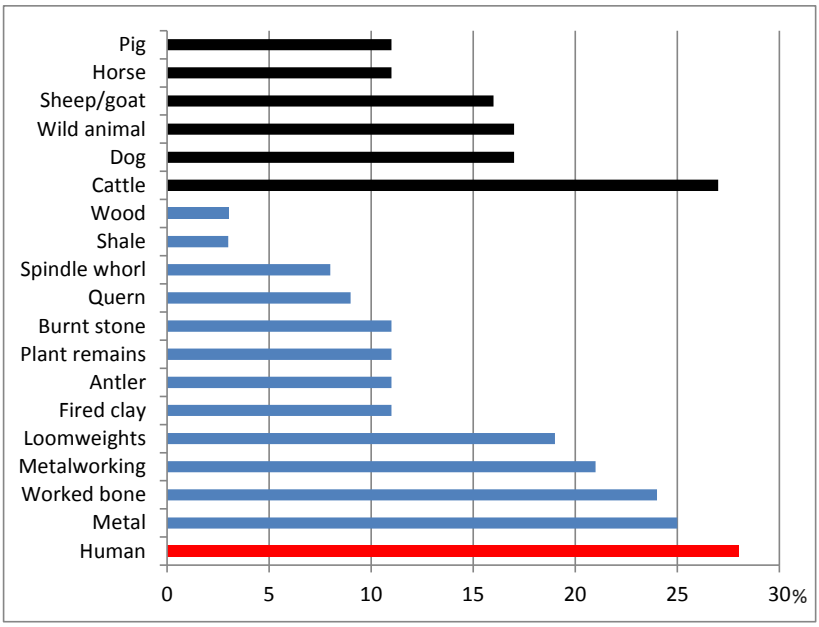


Fig. 5.5. Red haematite coated bowls from the large mixed special deposits at Coxwell Road, pit 1022 (left), and Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps, pit 3006 (right) Cook *et al.* 2004, fig. 25.11; Allen *et al.* 2010, Pl. 3.2 (Image: OA)



Graph 5.4. Artefact categories in percentage of EIA mixed special deposits

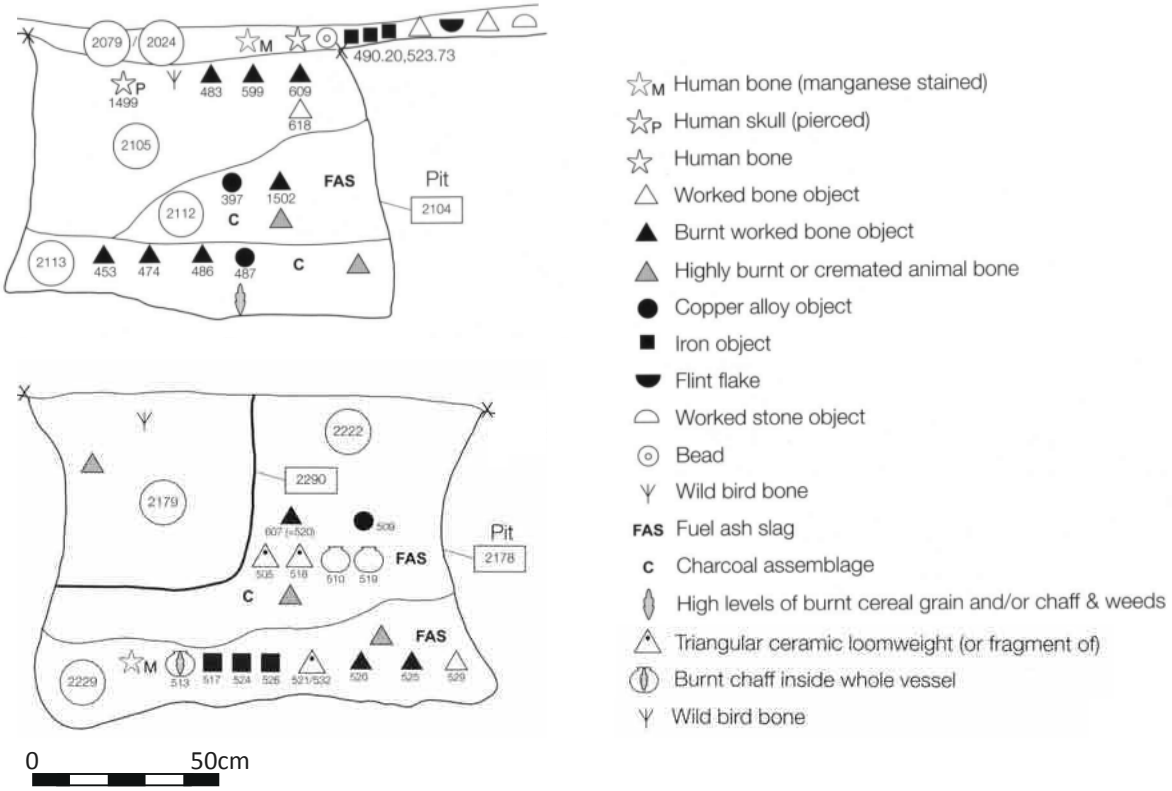


Fig. 5.6. Mixed special deposits in pit 2104 (above) and 2178 (below) at Alfred's Castle
Gosden and Lock 2013, figs. 3.26, 3.31

The limited excavations at this small hillfort produced an astonishing array of very large special deposits (see 5.8; Gosden and Lock 2013). Two examples are pits 2104 and 2178 (Fig. 5.6). The other observable site-specific pattern is the relatively large number of dogs at Gravelly Guy. This is also seen in the animal-only deposits.

Apart from these very broad comments, there are few observable patterns shared between settlements in terms of cross-associations and relative frequencies of find types. There are a few patterns within settlements, but even these are limited. Like the pottery or animal only depositions, there is little patterning in the placement of special deposits of mixed character. There may have been a preference to place these towards the edge of settlements or clusters of pits,[17] but they are more commonly found fairly centralised in pit spreads or seemingly randomly placed on the site.[18] Some are associated with houses,[19] and one with a four-poster.[20] Given the excavation strategy, the only site where we might realistically estimate the frequency of special deposits is Gravelly Guy, although we must note the invisibility of perishable organic items. Including examples of special deposits as well as contexts containing only human remains, the excavators estimate that for the EIA one of these was deposited on average every six or seven years, and for the MIA every four or five years (Allen and Lambrick 2004, 491).

Overall, special deposits on settlements become much more diversified in the EIA compared to earlier periods. Unlike the LBA, there are very few specific practices that are shared across a variety of sites, and even within each settlement there is much diversity. Special deposits generally get larger and include a wider variety of object types compared to earlier periods (Table 7.7; Graphs 5.4, 7.19-20): this contributes to the lack of patterning and increased complexity that can be seen. The now heterogeneous nature of this practice could be regarded as the underlying pattern. This suggests a fragmentation of wider cultural agreement regarding how to properly carry out rituals – both those explicitly related to the supernatural, and those that we would regard as having more prosaic desired consequences. It appears that in the EIA and MIA, the appropriate way to propitiate the Gods, make sacrifice, prepare for more mundane tasks or even dispose of rubbish was decided at a more household and contextual level, rather than following broader practices shared between more individuals over a large area. This fits into the wider interpretation for the Iron Age that argues the period witnessed the development of ever-smaller community and identity groups.

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17 Special deposit IDs 7, 42, 45, 73, 80, 96, 294, 321, 390.

18 Special deposit IDs 85, 149, 152, 164, 166, 171, 173, 298, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 335, 337, 365, 387, 444.

19 Special deposit IDs 4, 71, 72, 80, 142 305.

20 Special deposit ID 388.

5.4 Animal Bones

Data from animal bones also gives the impression of some significant differences between settlements. Eleven EIA animal bone assemblages are included in this analysis; only Latton Lands and Segsbury are below the minimum 300 NISP sample size recommended by Hambleton (1999) for analysis. This is only a small proportion of all EIA settlements as bone survival is less than adequate at many sites. Either sheep/goat or cattle are the most common species, although percentages differ greatly between just 17% caprines at Latton Lands to nearly 70% at Alfred's Castle and Segsbury (Table 5.2; Graphs 5.5-9). The low figure at Latton Lands may be biased due to a small sample. The importance of cattle is also demonstrated at this site by four EIA cattle burials, although elements from these are excluded in this analysis. The much larger sample from Yarnton also produced comparatively low percentages of sheep. The higher numbers of sheep/goat at two of the hillforts may in part be explained by the more appropriate downland setting for raising caprines (Dark and Dark 1997, 112): these figures are also closer to the higher numbers of sheep/goat usually found on Wessex sites (Hambledon 1999).

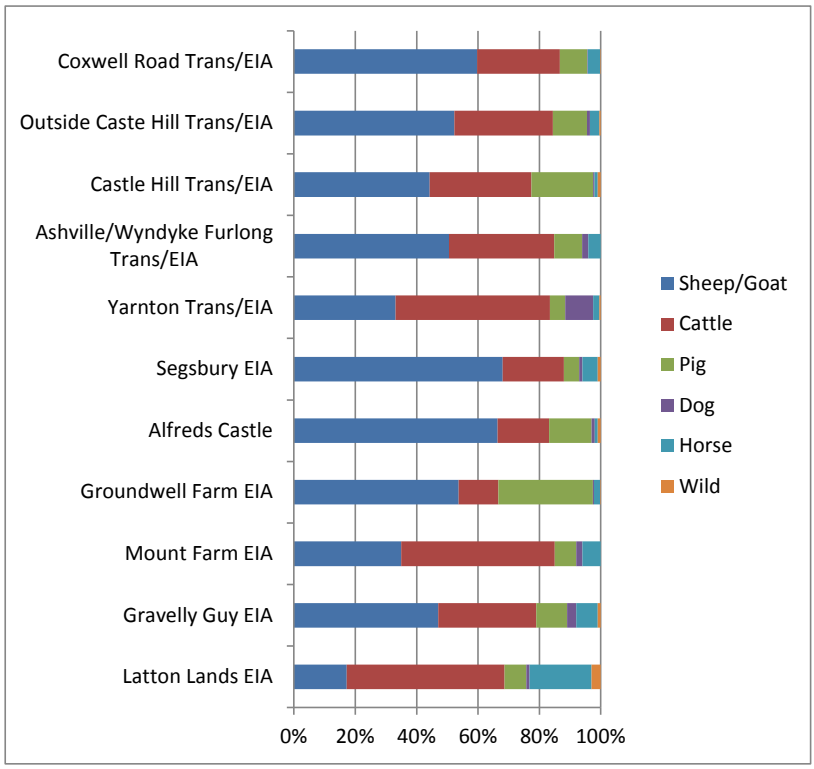
At around 50% of NISP, Mount Farm and Yarnton follow Latton Lands in having a large proportion of cattle. Latton Lands is also unusual in its quantity of horse bone (see 6.6). Yarnton immediately appears unusual in its relatively high percentage of dog. However, this may an effect of the inclusion of articulated bone in the NISP count as elements derived primarily from three dog burials (Mulville *et al.* 2011, 506). Comparing NISP from published accounts can be problematic given that authors deal with articulated remains in different ways.

At 31% of NISP, pig is very numerous at Groundwell Farm. This holds for both its first phase, possibly belonging to the end of the EIA, and the site during the MIA, where the majority of activity can be phased. The hillforts of Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps and Alfred's Castle yielded the next highest percentages of pig. Hillforts in the study area generally produce more human remains, metalwork, special deposits and decorated pottery (see below): the consumption of pig may have accompanied activities that resulted in the deposition of these items, although Segsbury has notably few pig bones. Gravelly Guy stands apart due to the young age of slaughter of horses and common evidence for butchery, both suggesting horses were eaten more routinely than at other sites (Mulville and Levitan 2004, 472-3).

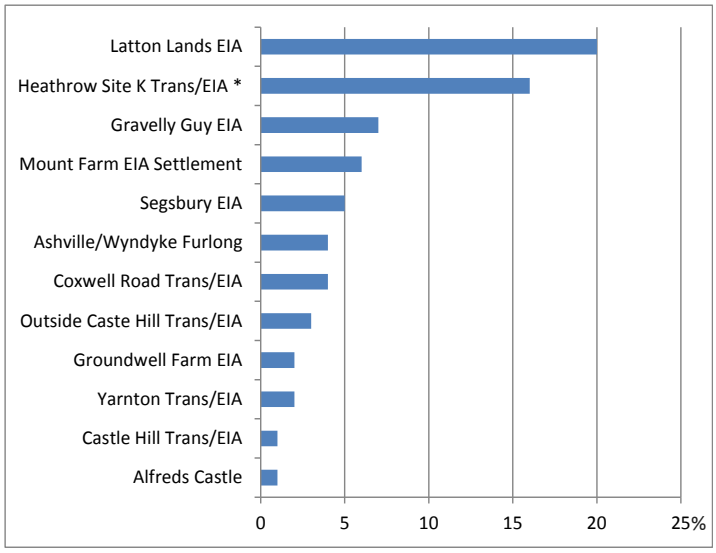
Overall, like special deposits and to a lesser extent human remains, there are only very broad inter-site patterns, with no strict or standardised relative percentages of species. This again could indicate that cultural choices were decided at a more restricted settlement level, rather than conforming to wider norms. In this instance, these choices relate to lifestyle and daily routine: which animals to raise and the different associated husbandry practices, as well as diet and food. All of these should be regarded as having significance beyond functionality and subsistence, but affecting world-views ways in which life is lived (e.g. Goody 1982). Having various nearby groups engaged in different day-to-day practices, including different diets, may also affect social relationships.

	Sheep/ Goat %	Cattle %	Pig %	Dog %	Horse %	Wild %	**Identified NISP**
Latton Lands EIA	17	51	7	1	20	3	145
Gravelly Guy EIA	47	32	10	3	7	1	2282
Mount Farm EIA	35	50	7	2	6	0	621
Groundwell Farm EIA	54	13	31	0.4	2	0.2	860
Alfreds Castle	67	17	14	1	1	1	2357
Segsbury EIA	68	20	5	1	5	1	256
Yarnton Trans/EIA	33	50	5	9	2	0.5	2663
Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong Trans/EIA	50	34	9	2	4	0	616
Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps Trans/EIA	44	33	20	0.5	1	1	1164
Outside Castle Hill Trans/EIA	52	32	11	1	3	0.5	1079
Coxwell Road Trans/EIA	60	27	9	0.2	4	0.2	1809

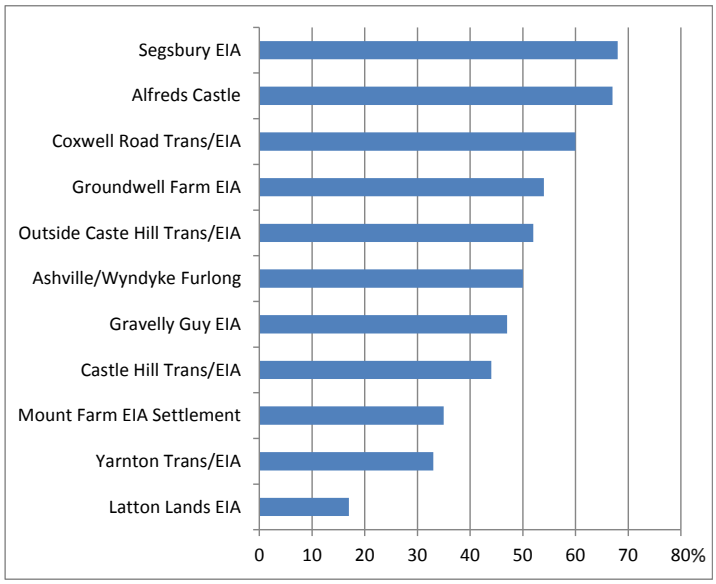
Table 5.2. EIA animal bones assemblages



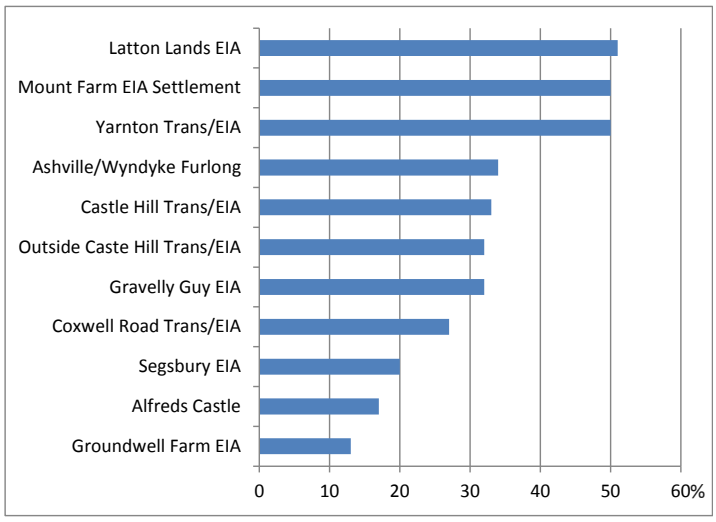
Graph 5.5. EIA animal bone assemblages



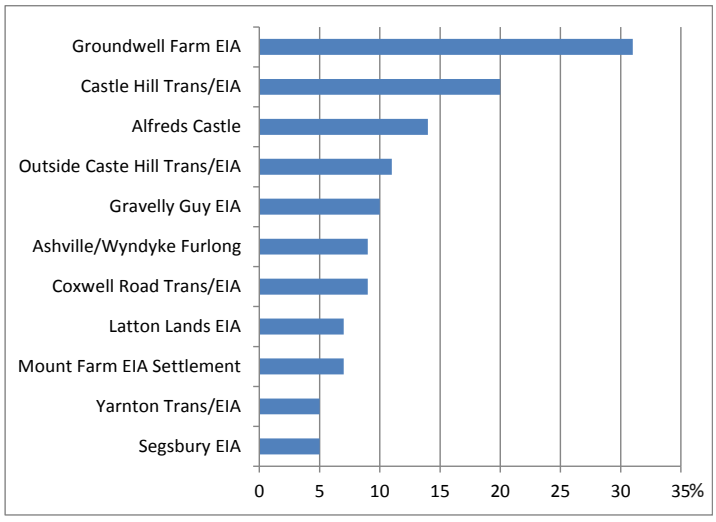
Graph 5.6. Percent of horse in EIA animal bone assemblages *Heathrow Site K is included depsite the limited NISP of 44



Graph 5.7 Percent of sheep/goat in EIA animal bone assemblages



Graph 5.8 Percent of cattle in EIA animal bone assemblages

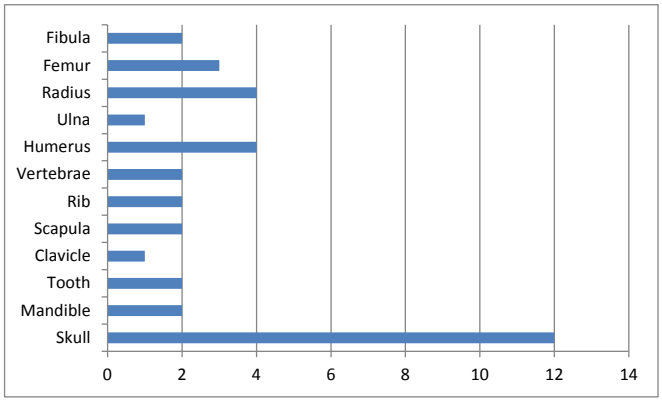


Graph 5.9 Percent of pig in EIA animal bone assemblages

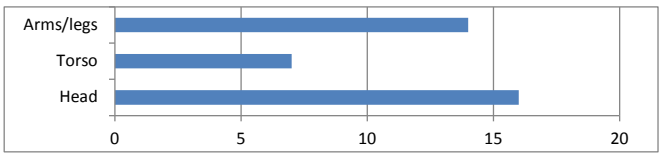
5.5 Human Remains

This study has collected information on 72 individuals of EIA date, and a further 44 that might belong to the period, but might date to the Transition or MIA. In the majority of cases the remains from only one individual were deposited in each feature.[21] Of the 72 better dated examples, there are 21 infants of less than about a year old, three children, 44 adults, and four with no age information. There is a slight bias with Gravelly Guy producing a relatively large number of infant remains. Half of the EIA human remains are from the Upper Thames gravels; 28 are from the small hillfort of Alfred's Castle on the Berkshire Downs; between four and 13 dating to the EIA were found at Segsbury hillfort; and only a small number from other topographic contexts.[22] Human remains are more likely to be deposited on hillforts; this is discussed further in 5.8.2. The bias towards the Upper Thames is partly due to a large number of sites in this region, and also bone survival is better on the gravels of this area compared to the middle valley. This is shown from the animal bone assemblages (5.4). However, there does still appear to be a cultural difference in the deposition of human remains on settlements between these areas.

Half of the EIA examples of human remains are single bones. Groups of bones and articulated remains each account for around a fifth of cases, and cremations are rare: all five more certain EIA examples are from Alfred's Castle (Table 7.5; Graph 7.7-10). We are seeing a clear pattern from the early LBA through to the EIA of deposits of single bones replacing cremation in popularity. There immediately appears to be a preference towards depositing skulls. However, when bones are grouped into areas of the body, this is less marked, as long bones are almost as popular (Graphs 5.10-1). This under-representation of the torso was also found in Wessex (Sharples 2010, 271).



Graph 5.10. Element representation in EIA human single bone deposits



Graph 5.11. Area of the body represented in EIA human single bone deposits

[21] Exceptions include pit 1248 and Gravelly Guy (Human remains IDs 114 and 115); pit 2126 at Spring Road (IDs 46 and 47); layer 1401 at the Castle Hill midden (IDs 35 and 37), and four pits at Alfred's Castle (IDs 276, 277, 278, 286, 287, 284, 285, 280 and 292).

[22] Human Remains IDs 239, 251, 85, 211 and 312 are of more certain EIA date; IDs 255, 247, 248, 87, 369, 370, 371, 333, 313 and 330 might date to the period.

Of the small number of sexed burials, there are six males and perhaps four females: the sample is too small to infer much meaning. There appears to be no preference in the side on which articulated remains were laid: three were laid on the right side, five on the left, two prone and two suprine. Again the sample is small. There is a preference in placing heads facing towards the south to north-west: 75% (9) were placed between these directions, with one each from the north, north-east and south-east. None were placed pointing east. Interestingly this is in direct contrast to the orientation of houses of the period: of those visible, 48% (22) face to the south-east, and 71% (33) face between the east and south (Figs. 5.2-3). A relatively large number of human remains have been classed as belonging to special deposits (5.3), comprising 23 of the more certain 73 examples. Most of these are from Alfred's Castle and Gravelly Guy. There does not appear to be obvious patterns in terms of cross associations or elements included as they do not differ substantially from contexts containing only human remains.

There is a preference for depositing human remains on settlements in areas that could be regarded as liminal, although this includes a variety of locations. Just over half of the examples were found in such contexts: 46 from the 80 where location could be distinguished. This includes those found at the edges of houses,[23] in boundary features,[24] or on the edges of settlements[25] or pit clusters.[26] Other liminal areas include hillfort ramparts,[27] or near entrances to hillforts.[28] Subsequent activity may be masking a greater number of examples originally being placed in such locations. There are no clear patterns in the further details of these deposits across the study area: it was appropriate to bury single bones, groups of bones and articulated infants and adults in these locations.

As with special deposits, there are site specific patterns. The relatively higher number of infants at Gravelly Guy has been mentioned: these bones are particularly susceptible to degradation so the real proportions from other sites are likely higher. Human remains were found in three contexts associated with an unusual rectangular structure at Yarnton: half of an infant humerus was found in a posthole and a possible burnt human femur and skull were found in separate pits nearby (Hey *et al.* 2011, 90). Cremations are rare in the period, but five were found at Alfred's Castle. The association of human remains with houses is relatively rare, with ten examples. Four of these are positioned in three pits around the house at Spring Road, all dating to the end of the EIA (Fig. 6.26; Allen and Kamash 2008, 13-7). Following from the LBA/EIA Transition, placing human remains in middens continues, for example at Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps. Three femurs that might date to the EIA were found in a palaeochannel at Eton Rowing Course near

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23 Those of more certain EIA date include IDs 127, 116, 97, 49, 47, 46, 48, 38, 39 and 283. Of less certain date are IDs 148, 132 and 119.

24 Human remains IDs 85, 131, 149, 222, 229, 239, and 291. IDs 87 and 164 might date to the EIA.

25 Human remains IDs 137, 144 and 157. ID 136 might date to the EIA.

26 Human remains IDs 66, 105, 114 and 115. IDs 78, 79 and ?333 might date to the EIA.

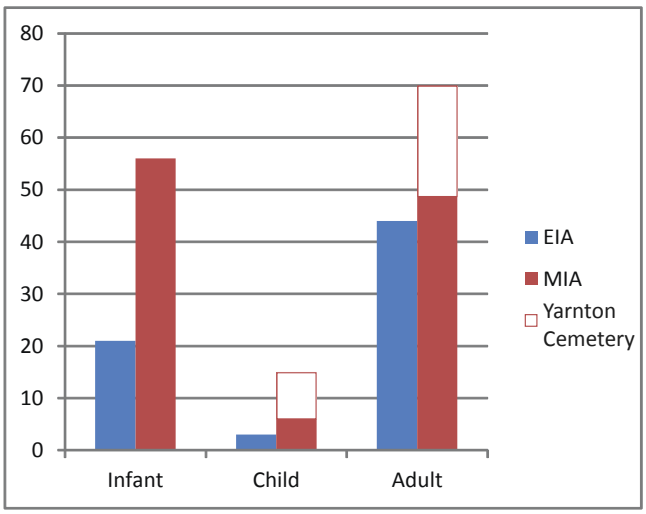
27 Human remains IDs 211, 274 and 275.

28 Human remains IDs 17, 273, 276, 277, 278 and 279. IDs 13, 14, 15 and ?18 might date to the EIA.

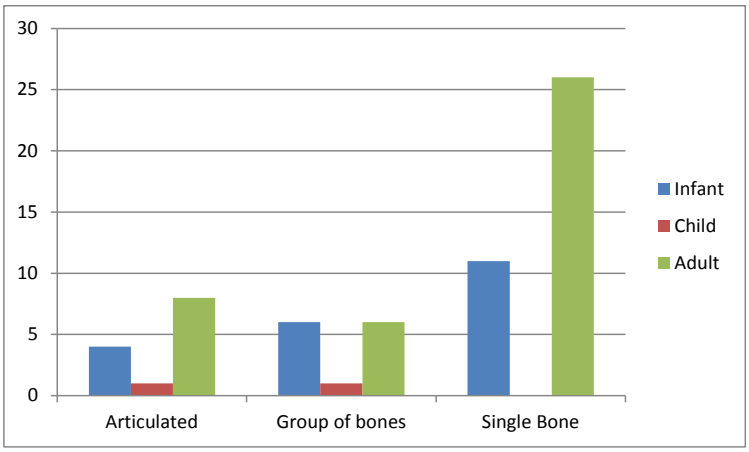
a series of wooden structures, and three of the dated skulls from the Thames might also date to the period (Schulting and Bradley 2013, Table 6). The absence of clear inter-site patterns, but presence of intra-site patterns in the deposition of human remains has also been noted in Wessex (Tracey 2012; Sharples 2010, 268-70).

It is difficult to know the circumstances in which human remains came to be deposited, especially as poor preservation in the region often leads to a misrepresentation of elements originally deposited. Despite this, some suggestions can be made. Very broadly, we have on average just over one individual per settlement, and just fewer than one for each visible house, although this is biased due to more than half of the certain EIA sample coming from Alfred's Castle and Gravelly Guy (Graphs 7.8-10). These figures are substantially greater than during the LBA and Transition, where visible burial is even rarer: for the period between c.1150-600 BC, most examples are cremations dating to the first c.200 years that are very rarely deposited with any other object (see 3.4, 4.4). This vague analysis taking ratios of buirals against other features is problematic as it does not account for localised preservation. Gravelly Guy was excavated in its entirety and had good levels of bone preservation: on average the remains from one individual were buried every c.10 years. We are therefore currently seeing only rites afforded to a minority of the population.

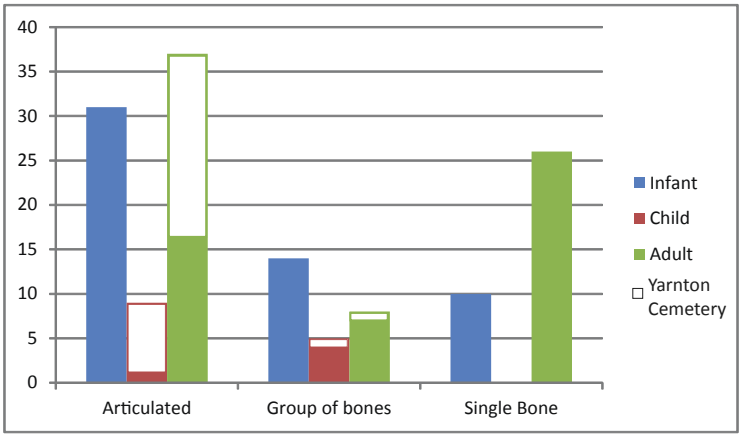
The age profiles can be used to help interpret the circumstances surrounding deposition, as they do not reflect death rates. Splitting into three broad age groups – infants, children and adults – the remains overall comprise a relatively large number of infants but very few children. There are many more single bones belonging to adults compared to infants: numbers of articulated remains and groups of bones from infants and adults are similar (Graphs 5.12-4). This is even more marked in the MIA (see 6.5). This suggests different circumstances surrounding the deposition of articulated and groups of bones on the one hand, and single bones on the other.



Graph. 5.12. Age profiles of EIA and MIA burials



Graph 5.13. Age profiles of different types of EIA buirals



Graph 5.14. Age profiles of different types of MIA burials

There are various reasons not to conform to majority practices, with different practices broadly appropriate for different categories of people or those who had experienced different deaths (Cannon and Cook 2015; Goody 1962, 104, 149, 208; Parker Pearson 1999, 12-5; Ucko 1969). Applying perspectives derived from psychology, Cannon and Cook (2015, 404) suggest that burial in the intimate environment of the settlement indicates a focus on the loss of an individual and yearning for the deceased. This may primarily be due to personal feelings, but would need to be sanctioned socially, so a broader social orientation would therefore underlie this practice. Whatever the circumstances surrounding the burial of articulated remains, the deposition of single bones appears different: age profiles are different and deposition is preceded by a different *chaîne opératoire*. A number of examples have signs of being worked and retained for some time, and even worn as pendants. In other cases, corpses have been dismembered with only parts deposited, or elements later removed. Examples of these will now be discussed, including those dating to the MIA. This suggests that in the EIA and MIA, adult human remains circulated amongst the living or were kept by decedents, and may have been regarded with some importance. This could also help explain the now dominant instances of single bones as these could not have been deposited immediately after death.

5.5.1 Modified Human Remains

The small later EIA hillfort of Alfred's Castle produced the largest assemblage of worked human bone. Five skull fragments from different contexts and one vertebra had signs of being modified. A c.10mm wide hole was drilled through the skull fragment from pit 2104; the outer surface had a polished appearance and was lightly burnt. A parietal bone from destruction layer 2006 probably from an older individual had been sawn and possibly perforated. Rubbing or polishing was apparent across the sawn side and on each face. Another polished parietal bone from layer 1708 with clear wear and smoothing was probably redeposited from an Iron Age context. Two further skull fragments, one polished and one with very fine cut marks, alongside a polished vertebra fragment were also discovered (Levick 2013, 155). The perforations and rubbing suggests these bones were kept and perhaps worn as pendants. Another skull fragment that had been perforated, cut into a disc shape with signs of wear dating to the EIA was found at Gravelly Guy (Fig. 5.7; Boyle and Wait 2004a, 386). Although there is one similar example dating to the earlier LBA at Reading Business Park/Green Park (Boyle 2004, 99), this practice appears more common in the Transition and Iron Age.

Other examples of worked human bone include MIA skull 5013 from Watchfield East. The primary feature of interest is a large, well healed trepanation, but the skull also had a smoothed area and a series of fine cut marks. These are unhealed, and it was noted that they are similar to cuts associated with defleshing (McKinley 2001, 267-72). Skull fragments were found in different levels of a MIA ditch at Watkins Farm. Several unhealed cuts were found on the surface, but none that would have immediately killed the individual. It is possible that these were inflicted post-mortem, but may have been associated with further trauma that caused death. It was suggested that the skull had been detached from the body and retained (Harman 1990, 57).

Fig. 5.7. Perforated fragment of human skull, polished in places.
Probably worn as a pendant
Boyle and Wait 2004a, fig. 8.14. Image: OA

0 5cm

Alongside working individual bones, there is evidence for the modification of corpses and the removal of elements. Cut marks from defleshing or dismemberment were found on a femur and tibia of an adult female at Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps hillfort. The deposit included c.20-30% of the individual in four partially articulating sections, missing their skull, neck, arms and right leg, alongside parts of the torso and left leg. It was interpreted that body parts had been selected and removed when decomposition was not advanced (Allen *et al.* 2010, 33; Hacking *et al.* 2010, 78-9). This treatment is similar to the MIA individual in pit 25 at Beard Mill: '[t]he corpse had been dismembered and heaped haphazard in the partly-filled pit; the foot-bones were found articulated but placed on top of a couple of rib-bones; arm and leg bones lay above a badly damaged cranium. Parts of the body were missing…' (Williams 1951, 14). At City Farm West, another skull was found 'more or less vertically a few inches from the vertebrae' of an otherwise articulated MIA skeleton (Case *et al.* 1964-5, 47).

An extraordinary deposition was found at the bottom of the recut rampart ditch at Blewburton hillfort. Here, a male was discovered with one leg over and the other under a horse's hindquarters, as 'if the man had been slewed round under the horse's belly' (Collins 1952-3, 31). Directly beneath this a complete dog skeleton was found with an iron adze; sherds of a MIA pottery vessel were also scattered amongst these remains alongside an iron pin or rivet and another degraded iron object. The skull was found inside the ribcage of the individual, its mandible some 2ft away on the ditch bottom. It is possible that movement of the jaw and skull occurred after deposition due to settling of the ditch filling, but could have been due to mutilation prior to deposition (Collins 1952-3, 30-1).

The majority of the other cases of modified bones and corpses are part of special deposits, suggesting an enhanced significance towards these examples. Those from pits at Alfred's Castle were deposited alongside an array of artefacts and animal bones. The perforated skull from Gravelly Guy was found inside the entrance of a house with fired clay objects including loomweights, briquetage and pottery, alongside an articulated dog forelimb.[29] The trepanned skull at Watchfield East was found with a cow skull and other cattle bones, pottery and flint.[30] The skeleton at City Farm West was associated with 'much animal bone' (Case *et al.* 1964-5, 47). A cattle skull was found with the dismembered corpse at Castle Hill; underneath this was an articulated male radiocarbon dated to 370-160 cal BC (95% confidence; Poz-12525), and sheep bones. Above was a sheep skull, and finally a neonate was buried some time later, radiocarbon dated to 20 cal BC-130 cal AD (95% confidence; Poz-12518).[31] This pit was therefore the location of a series of punctuated burials over some c.150-450 years. There may also have been a purposeful association with the past with the dismembered corpse at Beard Mill. The pit might have cut a MIA house ditch, and contained MIA pottery. However, at least one sherd of a much earlier probable All Cannings Cross decorated bowl was also found in the pit (Williams 1951, 9, fig. 9.14); incorporation of this may have been intentional.

[29] Special deposit ID 80.
[30] Special deposit ID 248.
[31] Special deposit ID 17.

For the majority of articulated remains, the skeleton was incomplete at the time of excavation. Unfortunately, it is often not possible from the published records to assess if dismemberment was more likely to have occurred in antiquity, or if the missing elements decayed after deposition. A more in-depth taphonomic study of Iron Age burials is needed for the area. However, there are a few more examples that directly suggest that body parts were removed. Burial 22386 at Milton Hill North dates to the end of the period under study, and comprises an infant missing its skull (Hart *et al.* 2012, 215-6). Of the four burials associated with a house at Spring Road, the male skeleton 2243 was missing its skull, mandible and upper neck vertebrae, although a fragment of occipital was recovered. A possible later feature may have been dug to remove the skull, or it may have been decapitated prior to burial (Fig. 5.8). The child skeleton 2125 at the site was also missing its upper right arm (Allen and Kamash 2008, 16-8). The burial in well 498 at Watkins Farm may also be relevant. This was in a waterlogged context found with leather and wooden objects; the human remains were articulated but missing one arm, the lower right leg, most of the vertebrae, half of the maxilla and part of the mandible. It is possible that this burial predates the Iron Age: a radiocarbon date obtained from one of the wooden objects returned a MBA date of 1443-1155 cal BC (93% confidence; HAR-8253), and three possible sherds of MBA pottery were also found. However, the environmental evidence strongly suggests this deposit was made in the MIA (Allen 1990a, 8-10; Harman 1990, 57).

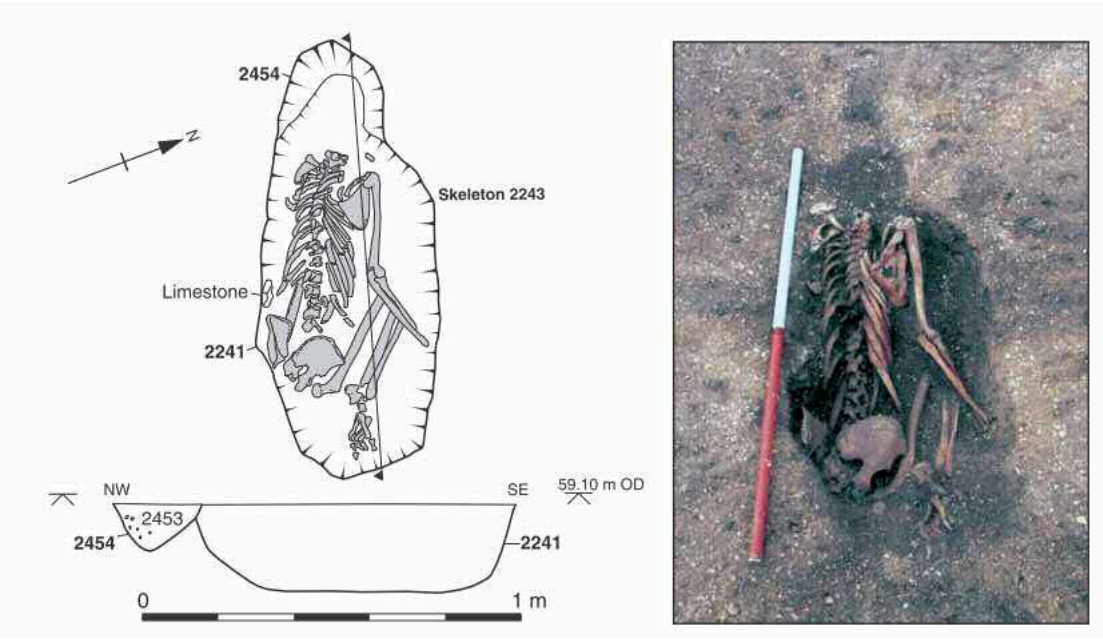


Fig. 5.8. Plan, profile and photograph of grave with male burial 2243 at Spring Road, missing its skull
Allen and Kamash 2008, fig. 11. Image: OA

At least some of the apparently non-articulated groups of bones from a variety of sites appear to have resulted from deposition subsequent to the removal of other body parts. This was suggested by the excavator of the MIA sites near Aves Ditch for three partial burials. Here, pit 5016 contained the right arm bones of an infant; pit 6016 the pelvis and legs of a child; and pit 5050, the partial remains of an infant (Hart *et al.* 2010, 138). Other remains of note are the articulated torso from Segsbury (Boyle 2005, 119), as well as groups of bones from a number of pits from Alfred's Castle. The cultural modification of bones, including the removal of elements, cutting, polishing, perforating, even shaping into bowls and decorating has been noted elsewhere in Britain (Craig *et al*. 2005; Redfern 2008; Wilson 1981, 129, 152). Craig *et al.* (2005) prefer to see many of the instances of peri or post-mortem mutilation and dismemberment at Danebury as the result of revenge warfare. However, the examples discussed here of more careful treatment and deposition of human remains suggests different reasons behind the incorporation of ancestral remains in living society.

A particularly insightful example also came from Alfred's Castle. Numerous fragments of a skull stained blue were found in different contexts in three pits (Fig. 5.6). One fragment was radiocarbon dated to the LBA: 928-824 cal BC (95% confidence; OxA-20358; Gosden and Lock 2013, 194-5), although the contexts they were retrieved from are well dated to the first half of fourth century cal BC (Hamilton and Davies *forthcoming*). Examination demonstrated that the blue colouring resulted from extended exposure to manganese found in boggy conditions that are not local to the dry chalk soils of the site and surrounding landscape (Doherty 2013). Crucially, this means that the fragments were not kept and curated through the LBA, but originally deposited presumably not long after the individual died. These must have been discovered a considerable time later – in the Transition or EIA – before being taken or exchanged some distance, perhaps retained and curated for a period of time, and carefully deposited again with a series of EIA objects at Alfred's Castle. This sequence of events is parallel to that suggested for the multi-period hoards that were deposited in the Transition and Iron Age (see 4.9.2).

These examples of the modification of corpses through the removal of elements and the working of individual bones suggests that the incorporation of human remains amongst the living was important, with the deceased being physically represented in society. Better evidence for this comes from the large number of single bones. Work in Wessex suggests that it is unlikely that many of these derived from excarnation in the settlement, where single bones would be explained by elements casually left on site following this process (cf. Carr and Knüsel 1997). This is due to the lack of weathering or gnawing of bones (Madgwick 2008; cf. Redfern 2008); the selective presence of certain bones, particularly the infrequency of smaller elements (Sharples 2010, 266; cf. Carr and Knüsel 1997, 169-70) – only four of the examples of single deposits of bone from throughout the period under study were elements from the hands or feet; the frequent incorporation of single bones in special deposits confirming deliberate placement (Hill 1995, 46, 54-6) – 19% (23) Transitional and Iron Age single bones were part of recognisable

special deposits in the current study area; and finally recent histological examination assessing levels of bacterial bioerosion suggests that disarticulated human bones derived from corpses that had decomposed in a buried environment (Booth and Madgwick 2016). This latter study also adds weight to the interpretation suggested by pit fills that articulated corpses were often left to decompose in open pits, as the post-mortem histories of individuals ending as single bones and articulated skeletons appear quite different (Booth and Madgwick 2016; Tracey 2012, 373; Walker 1984, 448; Wilson 1981, 148-51). This is also suggested in the Thames Valley by the differential age profiles between single bones on the one hand, and groups of bones and articulated remains on the other (see above). The probable instances of corpses being left in open pits within settlements, and human bones being circulated and occasionally worked following either partial exhumation or retrieval from excarnation platforms demonstrates the importance placed on the physical remains of the dead. This suggests that the dead and ancestors themselves may have had a role in living society, perhaps closely associated with and even believed to have agency. This is also suggested by other types of evidence, and is discussed below.

Overall, some patterns emerge in the deposition of human remains, although there is still much diversity with some practices confined to individual settlements. Just over half the human remains were found in places that could be considered liminal within the settlement, but this includes a variety of different contexts. Around a third were deposited with assemblages that are considered special. In the majority of cases bodies were not found in a complete articulated state. For some this is due to natural taphonomic factors, although there are a few certain cases of dismemberment prior to substantial decomposition. For at least some others, bones were presumably taken after this process, either prior to burial or following partial exhumation. There is evidence that human bones were worked and retained, and this practice explains the instances of single human bones. This appears to have been one of the many ways in which ancestors were incorporated in the lives of the living in the EIA.

5.6 The Past and Material Culture

> '[An individual's] 'effectiveness'…pervades their clothing and ornaments, their hair and fingernails. So, for instance, childless couples will ask for an old shirt from the father of numerous children. This fragment of cloth, imbued with his ['life-energy'], will be worn or stored by the childless couple…to effect fertility in themselves.
>
> 'Understandably, these precious fragments are not discarded when a person dies. These leavings, kept and passed through generations, are called *mana'*, roughly, inherited treasures. Every family…has *mana'*.
>
> 'Villagers are often guided by voices in dreams to particular locations. Upon awakening, they dig up pieces of broken china, old iron pots, knives. There are treasured as ancestral fragments…and passed to their children as *mana'*…. Villagers connect themselves to the ancestors by cherishing these potent leavings as talismans, tapping ancestral potency through caring for the objects'
>
> Errington (1983, 229-30)
>
> Quote describing the Luwu of Sulawesi

The past was also being incorporated into the present through the retention of material culture over long periods of time, as well as finding and collecting objects that were already ancient. There is evidence that both of these processes were occurring with human remains. This section will begin by assessing metalwork quantitatively, before describing a number of specific cases where objects whose accepted date is much earlier that the contexts in which they are found, and where it appears that this did not occur through unintentional residual deposition.

5.6.1 Metalwork

One line of evidence that heavily implies the retention of material culture and passing it down over multiple generations is the highly conspicuous absence of metalwork in the EIA. Although arguing from an absence of evidence is always problematic, this dearth cannot be ignored or put simply down to natural taphonomic factors. When we compare amounts of metalwork we have for the differemt periods under study, we can see very clear differences and patterns (Table 7.6; Graphs 7.11-2). There are only 77 metal objects that can be dated with certainty to the c.250 years of the EIA. There are a further possible 86 objects.[32] This allows for around one metal object surviving from each two years of the period. In fact, the majority of these come from the final c.100 years of the EIA: of the 77 more definite objects, 43 demonstrably date to between c.450-350 BC. These primarily consist of the La Tène A brooches, daggers, and the metalwork from Alfred's Castle. This leaves very few objects that even possibly date between c.600-450 BC. Only four can be placed in this earlier period with more certainty: two daggers, a bucket

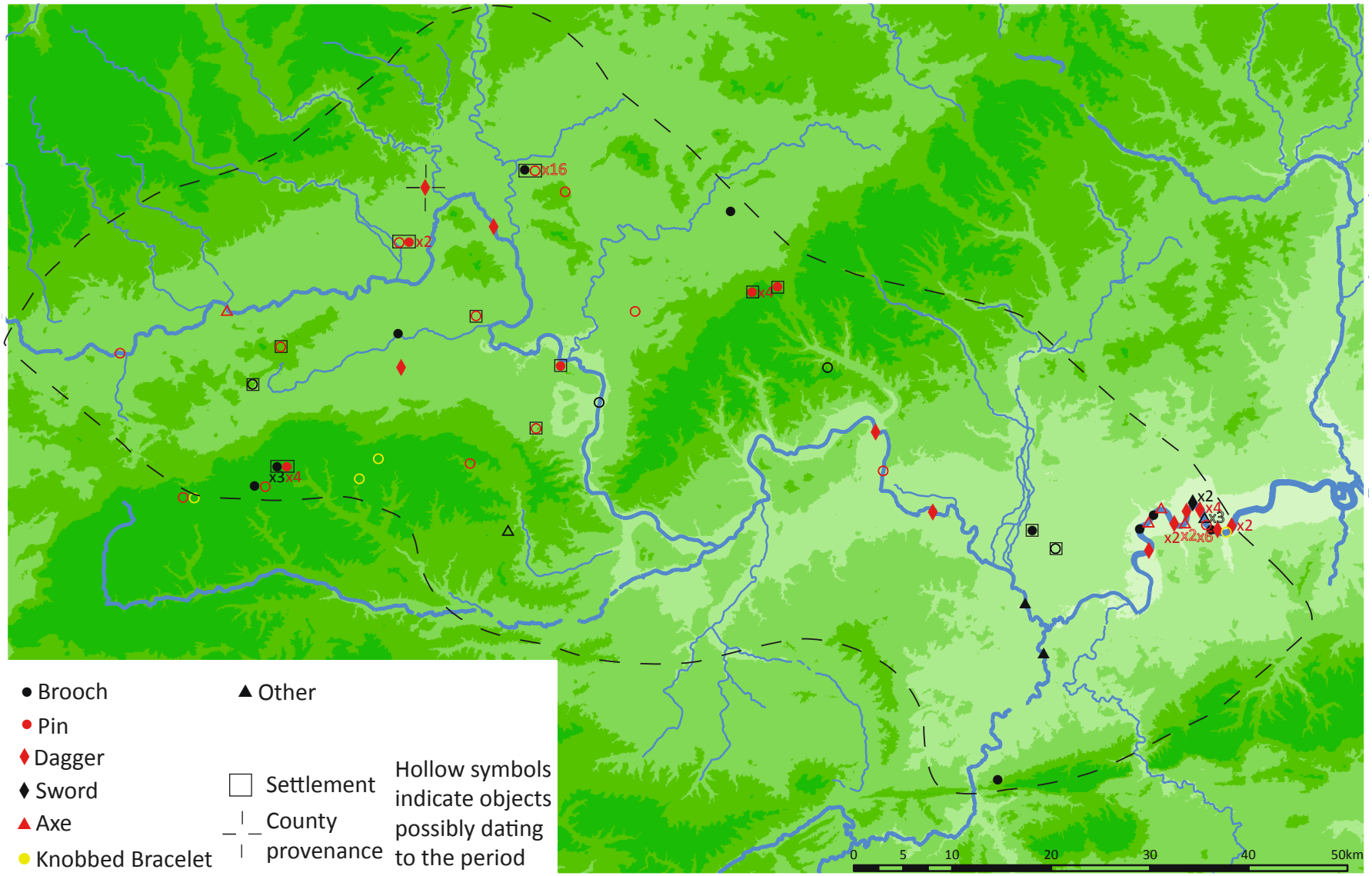
[32] This excludes a number of possible Iron Age iron spearheads deriving from the Thames. The majority are unillustrated and cannot currently be sufficiently distinguished from later historic objects as our understanding of Iron Age spearheads is poor and lacking a chronologically sensitive typology (Yvonne Inall *pers. comm.*). A smaller number of tools from the Thames have also been excluded as their potential date range spans the Iron Age to Early Medieval periods. More work is needed on these objects.

and a cauldron of Hallstatt D type (Figs. 7.7, 5.11). When we look diachronically, the quantitative differences are very clear. About eight to ten times more objects date to the Ewart Park period than the EIA. Furthermore, there are patterns within this data. After the explosion of metalwork at the end of the LBA, the numbers fall in the Transition. This falls again in the earlier EIA, before slowly picking up in the later EIA. Numbers rise slightly in the MIA, and expand further in the LIA. Like to EIA, more of the MIA metalwork is demonstrably later in the period than earlier. However, even the MIA has only just over one object represented for each year of the period. The explosion of excavated settlements means that this figure is still very low (see 7.1.1).

A number of artefact types are particularly conspicuous in their absence as we must assume that they existed in some quantities. Only five iron axes have been discovered: none can be placed to a single sub-phase in the Iron Age as all are from the Thames. The axe at Buscot has a Transitional or EIA radiocarbon date taken from wood in the haft: 776-428 cal BC (95% confidence: OxA-6216; Barclay *et al.* 1995; Needham 2007a, 52). That the majority of these axes found in England were from a restricted area of the Thames in London does not mean that they were only present in this area, but that depositional practices in this locality allows for the objects to be represented in the archaeological record (Manning and Saunders 1972, fig. 2). We should note that exactly the same stretches of the Thames produced the majority of British EIA daggers (Jope 1961; PAS; Babb 2001; Appendix 12), most of the swords in the study area and a considerable number of brooches. Like the axes, we should assume that these items had much wider distributions and were more frequent than their archaeological representation suggests. The west London Thames is the only area to see continued non-settlement metalwork deposition in the EIA (Map 5.2).

Only two Iron Age adzes have been discovered, one dating to the MIA at Blewburton, and one to Transition or EIA at Yarnton. No other digging tools have been found. Along with axes, these must have been common objects as not only are they necessary in the environmental context of southern Britain, but there is evidence that felling timbers and digging were particularly common activities given the large number of hillforts built at this time as these are characterised by substantial ditches and timber-laced ramparts. Only a small handful of woodworking, metalworking and farming tools date to the EIA or MIA:[33] these again must have been common objects as every settlement must have owned a number of them. That the Thames remained a focus for deposition in the Iron Age – albeit much diminished from the LBA – means that the study area is in fact richer in metalwork than many others. Even so, given the degree of archaeological recovery and that ironwork from the Thames is often remarkably well preserved (e.g. Cotton and Green 2005, 142; Ganiaris *et al.* 2012; Jope 1961), the relative infrequency of EIA objects from the river compared to other periods has to be questioned as this cannot only be due to the degradation of metalwork.

[33] Only four awls, two chisels, one file, one ploughshare, two punches, four scythes/reaping hooks and two miscellaneous tools can be dated with confidence to the EIA or MIA. A larger number - 25 - blades or knives have been found. There are no hammers, anvils, saws, gouges or other objects we might expect: these were all present at Danebury (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 333-52).



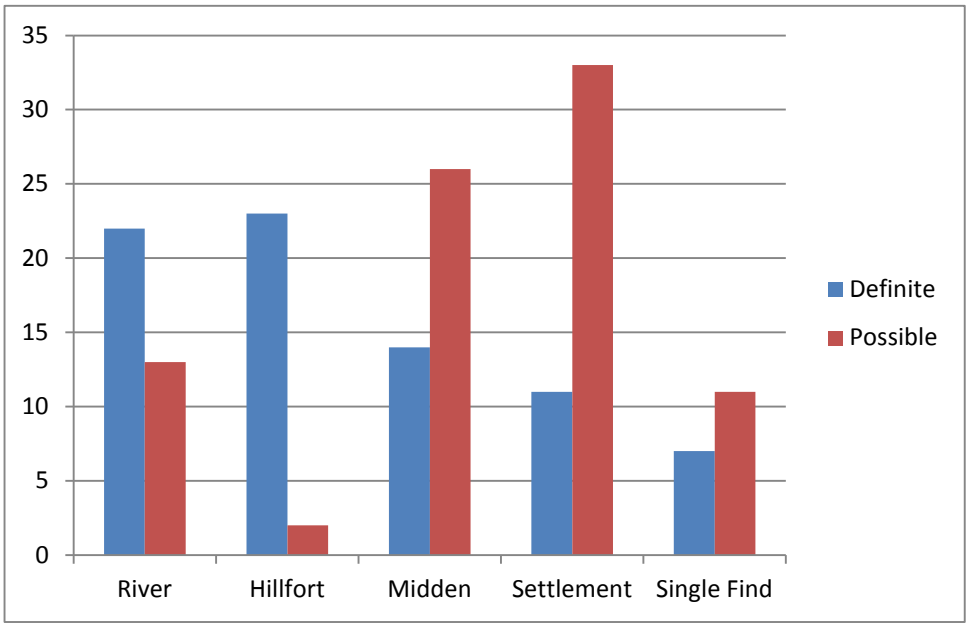
Map 5.2. EIA metalwork. The only settlement finds included are brooches and ornamental pins

	River	Hillfort	Midden	Settlement	Single Find	TOTAL
Brooch	3	3	1	1	4	12
Dagger	14	0	0	0	2	16
Sword	2	0	0	0	0	2
Cauldron	2	0	0	0	0	2
Shield	1	0	0	0	0	1
Currency Bar	0	0	0	1	0	1
Pin	0	4	5	1	0	10
Bracelet	0	1	0	0	1	2
Ring	0	1	0	0	0	1
Knife/Blade	0	3	4	2	0	9
Tool	0	2	0	1	0	3
Nail	0	1	0	3	0	4
Other	0	8	4	2	0	14
TOTAL	22	23	14	11	7	77

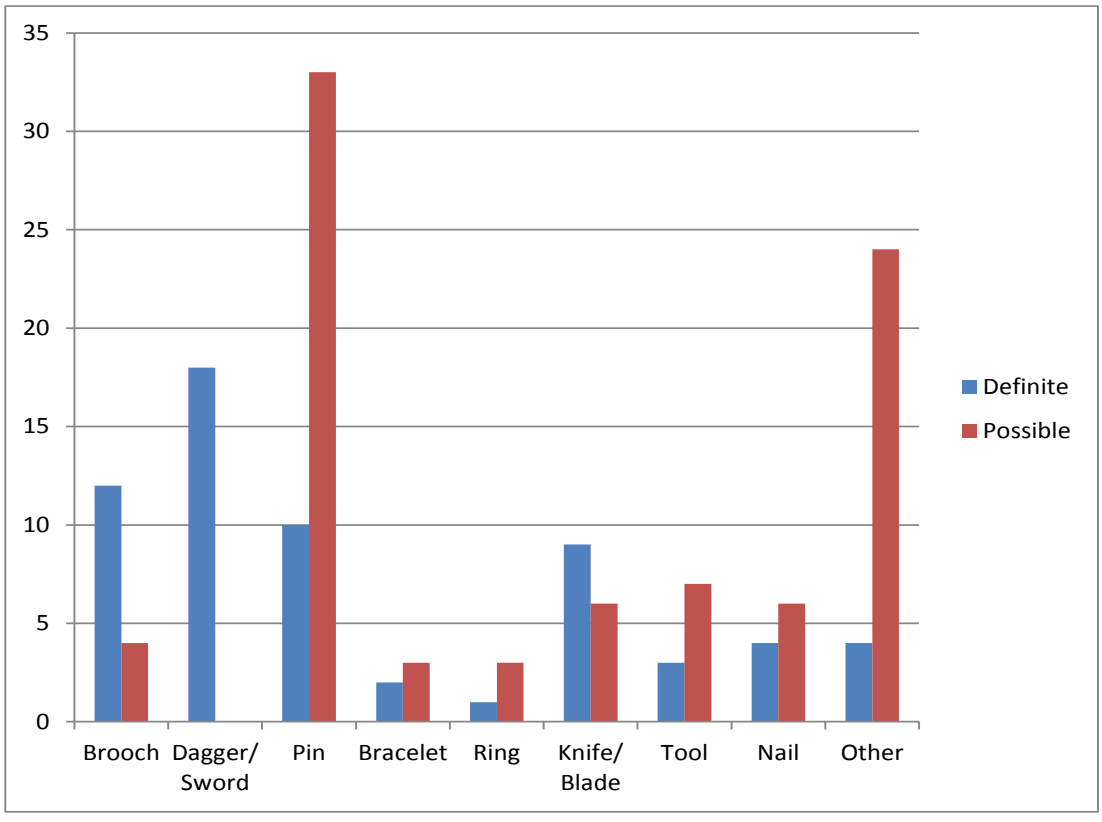
Table 5.3. Contexts of certain EIA metalwork

	River	Hillfort	Midden	Settlement	Single Find	Field System	TOTAL
Brooch	1	0	0	2	1	0	4
Dagger	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bracelet	1	0	0	0	2	0	3
Ring	0	0	2	1	0	0	3
Pin	7	1	16	3	6	0	33
Knife/Blade	0	0	1	5	0	0	6
Tool	0	1	3	3	0	0	7
Nail	0	0	0	6	0	0	6
Other	4	0	4	13	2	1	24
TOTAL	13	2	26	33	11	1	86

Table 5.4. Contexts of possible EIA metalwork



Graph 5.15. Contexts of EIA metalwork



Graph 5.16. Types of EIA metalwork

Simplistic functional explanations do not on their own account for this extraordinary dearth of material culture. Although iron is more susceptible to corrosion than bronze, the much higher quantities of LIA and Roman iron objects from similar environmental contexts demonstrates this presents only a limited bias. For example, settlements with Iron Age and Roman phases where the frequency of Roman ironwork far outnumbers the Iron Age include Thornhill Farm, Cotswold Community, Thorpe Lea Nurseries and Heathrow T5. Even at Alfred's Castle, the site with the richest EIA metalwork assemblage, the number of Roman iron objects found during excavation outnumber the Iron Age by a ratio of around 60:1 (Scott 2013). Furthermore, the types of EIA iron objects commonly found are small, fragile and more likely to corrode – nails, pins, needles, thin fittings, brooches, awls; only very rarely do we have the more substantial types that should survive, like axes and adzes. Not only is ironwork more prevalent in the LIA and Roman periods, but also objects from virtually all other artefact categories. The particular lack of EIA objects can again be demonstrated by the frequency of small finds discovered during settlement excavation. Although not as pronounced, when we compare the average number of objects found at each site during the periods under study (excluding metalwork and ceramic vessels), the patterns are similar to metalwork: small finds are more common on LBA sites compared to the EIA (see 3.3.1; Graphs 7.13-4). This is in spite of EIA settlements being inhabited for much longer periods of time than LBA sites, meaning that they should produce many more finds.

Understanding how representative metalwork is of original assemblages in terms of quantities, types and distributions is a major issue for later prehistory. This has been specifically problematized in Bronze Age studies and become a major field of research. Stuart Needham (1988; 1998; 2001; 2007a, 47-55; 2007b; Needham and Spence 1997) has been a key contributor, demonstrating the culturally selective nature of our dataset and showing that finds cannot be taken for granted. Research on understanding the selectivity of the archaeological record has taken a slightly different approach for settlement evidence and the Iron Age (e.g. Brudenell and Cooper 2008; Chadwick 2012; Garrow 2012; Hill 1995). Specific reasons are required to explain why so little metalwork belongs to the EIA, and why only some types are commonly represented in the MIA when others must have existed.

The huge discrepancy between the frequency of LBA, EIA and MIA metalwork suggests two things: both the very large number of objects belonging to Ewart Park period *and* the paucity of EIA objects resulted from specific depositional choices in each period, over-representing at least some types in the LBA, and under-representing all types in the EIA. It has been argued elsewhere that this over-representation in the LBA can be linked to other practices of the period that involve the frequent destruction and abandonment of the material world. We can also link the lack of finds in the EIA to practices in other types of evidence: settlements were lived in for multiple-generations; houses may have been home to more than one generation; human bones circulated among the living; and hillforts were highly conspicuous monuments that reminded people of the past, were revisited and rebuilt over centuries. Aspects of the material world were

now passed down and shared through the generations, incorporating the dead and the past into the lives of the living. This was also occurring with metalwork. Objects were never or only very rarely deposited, not entering the archaeological record. Instead they must have been carefully repaired, recycled and reused by decedents. The significance of this may have been heightened beyond its functionality: if personhood was believed to have extended into the aspects of the material world associated with individuals, objects could have 'stood for' the deceased individuals, continuing their presence in the living world (see 2.4). We could take this further. Objects and places were now becoming associated with a host of people, perhaps a lineage, allowing personhood ascribed to an object to transcend an individual. Rather than objects being inalienable to an individual, they may have been regarded as inalienable to a group or lineage spanning through time. The nature of reused or recycled wrought iron furthermore makes it likely to retain its past associations as it preserves much more of its original form than recast bronze. A few particular examples further suggest that objects were kept for long periods. The Standlake sword is probably of composite construction comprising perhaps three or four stages: Jope (2000, 8, 28) dates some of the ornament to the fourth century, but other aspects to around 200 BC. Differential wear on the chape and mouth mounts suggest the former was reused from an older object, possibly a dagger: this rubbing can even be seen under the iron chape-frame, demonstrating the earlier origins of this element (Jope 2000, 27, Pl. 48). The sheath on one of the Mortlake daggers also appears to have been substantially repaired (Jope 1982).

This social interpretation does not preclude other explanations as to why so little metalwork and so few objects of other materials date to the EIA. Approaching from a LBA perspective, Needham (2007a, 49-51) suggests that the relative dearth of EIA metalwork compared to the LBA was due primarily to the lack of circulating iron stock: this had to be built up from nothing in the EIA, whereas bronze in the LBA had been accumulating for one and a half millennia. However, this alone does not explain why bronze was destroyed at such a rate in the LBA, or why bronze deposition did not continue in the EIA. There was certainly relatively little iron available in the EIA, but if ritual consumption was desired production could have increased, especially if smelting became more locally controlled in the Iron Age, as is usually assumed (but see 6.7). This functional restriction may, however, have influenced a change in the social logic. The belief in personhood extending into objects could have occurred in both the LBA and Iron Age; as it was now more functionally necessary to retain metalwork, social logic had to shift to allow new symbols to be incorporated into daily life. This may be an oversimplification or just part of a wider sequence of changes that also saw past generations and their material culture becoming more important in the Iron Age. Either way, such functional and social explanations are not mutually exclusive.

5.6.2 Old Objects, New Contexts

We can also assess the likelihood that objects were retained for extended periods of time by reviewing cases where old or ancient material culture was incorporated into newer contexts, and where it appears that this did not occur simply through unintentional residual deposition. In these cases, objects were either kept and passed down through generations, or discovered after a period of burial, or both. Either way, the final placement of such material culture in potentially symbolically charged locations, or alongside other objects in special deposits, suggests the old or ancient were regarded as important in the Iron Age.

Later contexts producing older objects are only visible in exceptional circumstances. This is due to a number of reasons. First, our current chronological understanding of the majority of EIA and MIA material culture allows for objects to only be placed in date ranges usually spanning at least a century. Second, contexts are only rarely tightly dated independently from the objects they contain, for example through Bayesian radiocarbon modelling. These factors both mask potentially long time periods between an object's production and initial deposition. On long-lived settlements, it is difficult to know if the presence of old objects in more recent contexts resulted from intentional or unintentional redeposition.

If the objects were part of special deposits or placed in locations that were recognised as cosmologically significant, it is more likely that incorporation of these objects was intentional. Furthermore, it is hard to be sure if items were passed down for the intervening period, or had been previously deposited and re-excavated. If the latter, items could still have been kept for substantial periods of time. Each case needs to be considered individually. When discussing multi-period hoards, it was suggested that more than half a millennium seems too long for objects to have been in continual possession (4.9.2). Evidence from multi-period hoards, as well as the blue skull fragments from Alfred's Castle discussed above, suggests that objects were both being discovered and kept for long periods of time in the Iron Age. The following examples include those dating to the EIA and MIA as this practice occurs in both periods.

At Slade Farm, a Hallstatt C trapezoidal razor was discovered in a pit alongside a partial dog skeleton and MIA pottery at the back of a house (Fig. 5.9; Ellis *et al.* 2000, 224). The razor should be c.350-600 years older than the pottery. There are a number of reasons to suggest that the razor was handed down for this period of time. It is very heavily worn, and these objects were rarely deposited around their time of manufacture; this is the only example of a trapezoidal razor in the study area.[34] Even if the object was discovered in the Iron Age rather than passed down, its presence in a special deposit highlights the importance placed on this ancient artefact in the MIA. It is interesting to note that a relatively large number of trapezoidal Hallstatt C razors have

[34] One was found just outside in the study area in the Thames at Richmond, and a related type was found at Whitecross Farm (Piggott 1946, fig. 8, no. 92; Northover 2006, 49-51).

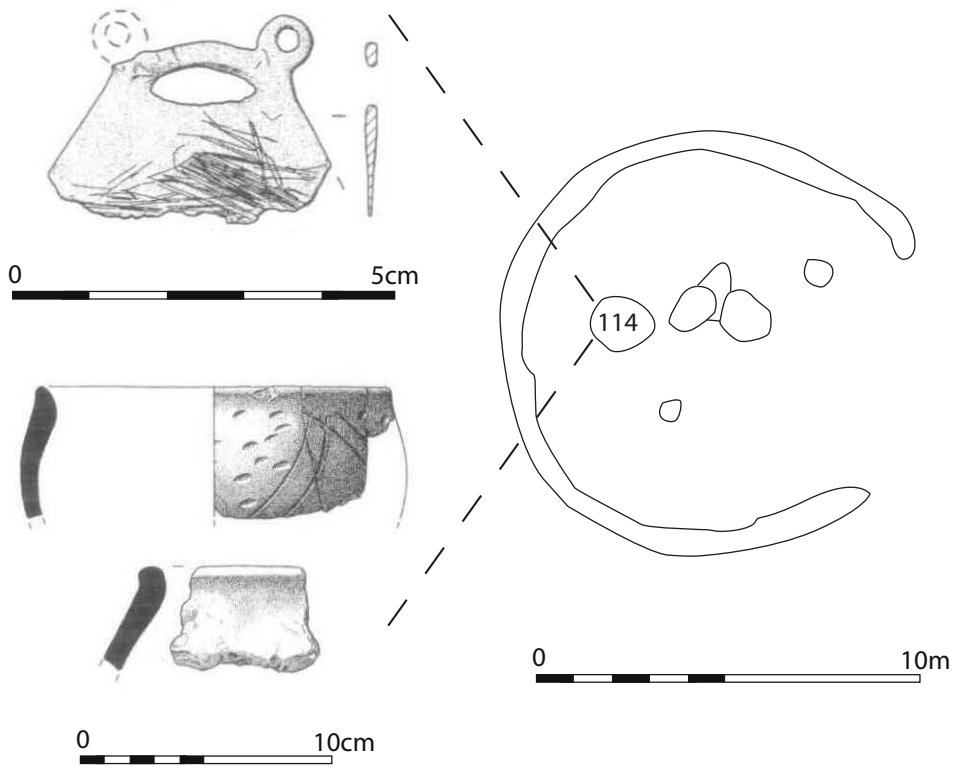


Fig. 5.9. Hallstatt C razor and MIA pottery in pit 114 at the back of a roundhouse at Slade Farm. A partial dog skeleton also from the pit has not been illustrated
Ellis *et al.* 2000, figs. 5, 15, 21

been discovered in multi-period hoards or other chronologically incongruous contexts. The most relevant is the razor found in a pit containing MIA and LIA pottery at Cadbury Castle (O'Connor 2000, 179). Other examples come from the Danebury, Netherhampton/Salisbury, and Tisbury/ Wardour hoards (Cunliffe and O'Connor 1979, 237-8; O'Connor 2007, 77; PAS: WILT-E8DA70).

At Watchfield East, pit 5077 contained three complete but fragmentary cylindrical clay loomweights and large quantities of charcoal (Birbeck 2001, 229). These usually date to the MBA and LBA; this study has not uncovered any certain examples in Iron Age contexts.[35] Although the pit did not contain any other datable objects, it was placed in the entrance to a MIA enclosure next to a series of MIA special deposits (see 6.2.8). No other possible Bronze Age evidence was found during excavations, and it is probable these objects were rediscovered in the Iron Age before being deposited. It is less likely they were kept in continuous circulation given their friable nature and at least 500 years separates their probable manufacture and deposition.

[35] An object described as a loomweight was found at the MIA settlement at Fairclough Farm (Timby 2003, 101, fig. 4.5.10). Despite the cylindrical shape, its diminutive size (45x30mm) suggests this may be better identified as a spindle whorl. Two very small possible fragments were found at Alfred's Castle (Brown *et al.* 2013, 103).

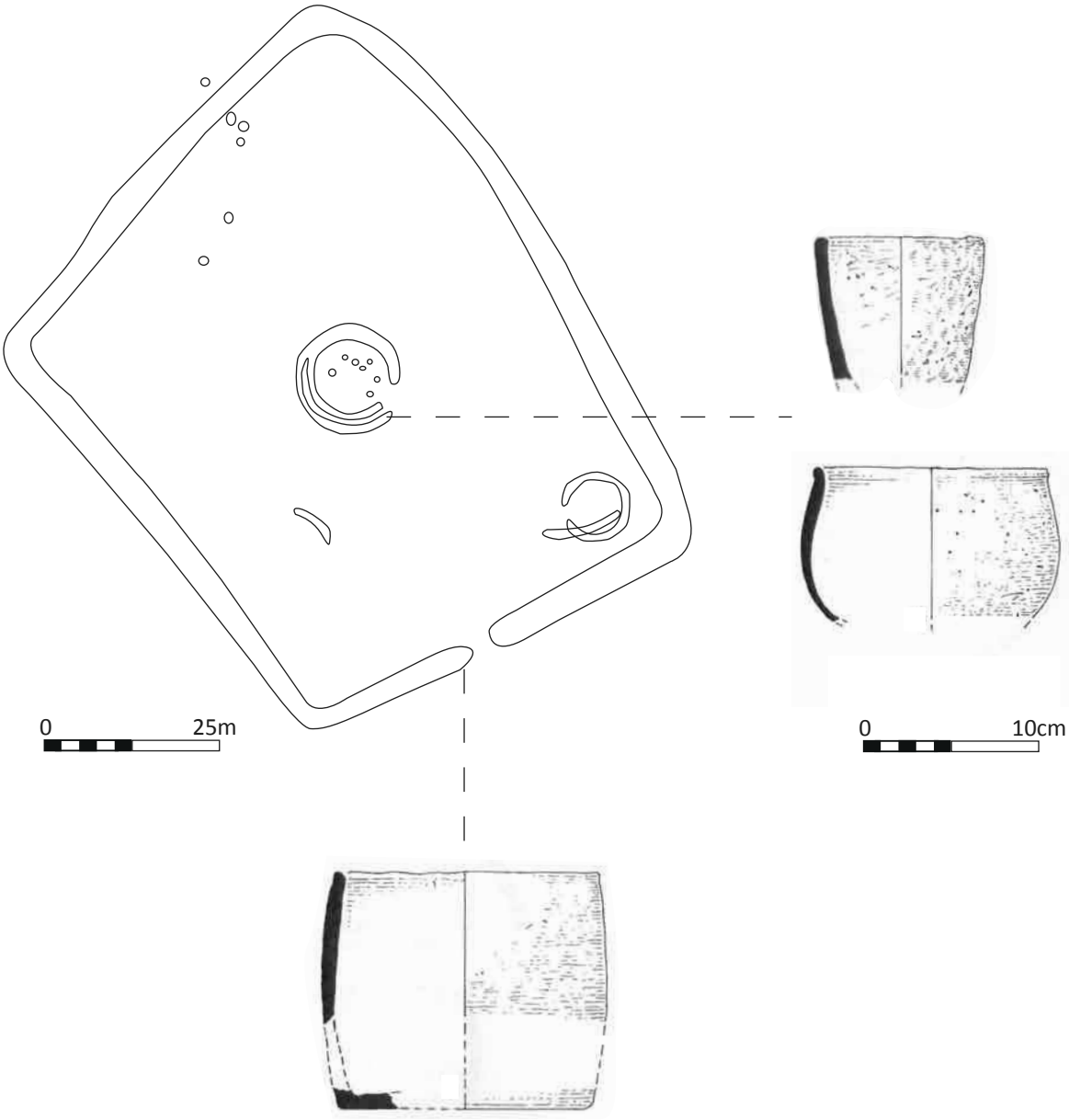


Fig. 5.10. MIA pottery in 1st century AD enclosure and house terminals at Lea Farm
Manning and Moore 2011, figs. 3, 10

At Lea Farm, large sherds from three separate MIA pottery vessels were found in the terminals of a LIA settlement enclosure ditch and a centrally placed roundhouse gully (Fig. 5.10). The earliest Iron Age features on the site date to the early first century AD: the primary fill of the large enclosure ditch and a pit that it cuts contain pottery of this date. The excavator and pottery specialist rule out overlap between the MIA and LIA material; the earlier pottery must have been taken to the site c.100-300 years after it was made and carefully placed in liminal positions in the settlement (Manning and Moore 2011; Laidlaw 2011).

The occurrence of EIA pottery in MIA features is extensive at Mount Farm. Although the degree that the incorporation of old pottery was intentional is less clear than at Lea Farm given the long period of time the site was in use, there are grounds to suggest that not all of this was inadvertent (cf. Lambrick 1984). The general pattern of fabrics shifting from predominantly shelly ware to those containing sand or calcareous gravel from the EIA to MIA is well documented in the Upper Thames basin (e.g. Booth *et al.* 2011, Tab. 14.8; Duncan *et al* 2004, 279-81; Jones 2007, 47-8; Lambrick 1984, fig. 11.6; Lambrick 1979, fig. 20). If redeposition was low, we should expect pits with datable featured sherds to also contain unfeatured sherds of appropriate fabric. This does not occur clearly at Mount Farm, with the correlation between fabric and diagnostic sherds low (Lambrick 1984, 156-7, fig. 11.1; 2010, 12). Indeed, there are a number of features (for example F.116 and F.545) that are stratigraphically and spatially MIA but contained only EIA sherds. Furthermore, there are also only two MIA pottery producing features that do not contain diagnostic EIA sherds, despite the site lasting throughout the MIA and beyond. These all suggest the potentially long gap of time between manufacture and deposition of pottery at this site (Lambrick 1984, 164-7; 2010, 12-6): that this is very extensive suggests some of this was intentional. This could either have occurred through keeping and collecting whole or fragmented vessels for extended periods of time before depositing them, or finding them in buried contexts, either deliberately or not. The evidence from a range of other artefact types, including human remains, suggests that retention and collection of old objects was common-place: it would therefore be incautious to dismiss all older pottery as unintentionally residual or intrusive.

Pit 652 further highlights this. It contained a large assemblage of butchered bone, including articulated limbs, vertebrae and crania of cattle, horse and dog. A radiocarbon date of 200 cal BC-cal AD 240 (95% confidence; HAR-4793) was taken from the articulated remains: this should fall in the MIA. 118 sherds were also recovered. None were of clear MIA form, and there was a roughly equal split between shelly and sandy fabrics. At least three sherds were from different distinctively decorated EIA bowls, datable some 200-300 years before the earliest date allowable from the radiocarbon sample (Lambrick 2010, fig. 33.99-101; 1984b, fig. 11.1). Such decoration is rare at the site, enhancing the likelihood that these old sherds were meaningfully placed in this highly structured deposition.

It is notable that the incorporation of old pottery in newer contexts appears more common at Mount Farm than other similar nearby sites.[36] Redeposition still occurred at these latter sites: examples that appear to have been intentional given their associated finds at Gravelly Guy are from ditches 2256 and 2395. These substantial house ditches are stratigraphically and spatially MIA, but both contained a large number of EIA sherds, infant bones, iron objects,

[36] This can be shown by the degree that form and fabric correlate as EIA forms should generally be found with shell tempered sherds, and MIA with sand. This correlation is more apparent at Farmoor, Ashville Trading Estate and even Gravelly Guy, where occupation was intensive with many intercutting features (Lambrick 1979, fig. 20, 35-7; 1984b, 184-7, fig. 11.1, 11.6; 2010b, 12-3; Duncan *et al*. 2004, 279).

quern fragments, worked animal bone and significant assebalges of unworked animal bone.[37] A 'significant percentage' of the 1.5kg of pottery found from a small section of MIA house ditch 7895 at Yarnton was EIA. This was discovered alongside a dense concentration of animal bone, burnt stone, a fragment of briquatage and a copper alloy ring (Hey *et al.* 2011, 160).

It was suggested by the excavators of Uffington hillfort that the large assemblage of All Cannings Cross pottery in the phase 2 dump rampart was intentionally kept for some c.300-400 years before being purposefully incorporated into the defensive structure (Lock *et al.* 2003, 121). There are two alternatives to this suggestion. First, that this earlier material was unintentionally redeposited; and second that the Transitional pottery was contemporary with the phase 2 rampart. This latter suggestion was deemed unlikely despite the lack of MIA pottery in these contexts: MIA material was discovered in the hillfort interior, and it is generally accepted that dump ramparts began around the fourth century, not the eighth (see 4.7). The purposeful incorporation of earlier material was argued on the following grounds: hillforts possibly had a ceremonial focus (see 5.8); and the pottery itself is highly distinctive due to its decoration and surface treatment and presence of refired sherds, possibly adding to its ritual meaning (Brown 2003a, 174; Lock *et al.* 2003, 121). Furthermore, the location of these sherds in the hillfort enclosure, concentrated in the blocked east entrance, also suggests intentional incorporation as these areas are frequently noted as being a focus for special depositions (e.g. 6.2.2; Bowden and McOmish 1987, 82-3; Hingley 1990a, 100-1). This is also likely given that the incorporation of this distinctive pottery in much later hillfort ramparts has been noted from other sites.

This also occurs at Liddington, where only All Canning Cross pottery was found in the first two phases of dump rampart, with a few possible MIA sherds coming from the last, less substantial dump refurbishment (Hurst and Rahtz 1996, 28). Like Uffington all the dump phases are better dated to the MIA, meaning redeposition of earlier material in the rampart. All Cannings Cross pottery was also discovered in the fifth century rampart at Danebury (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, 318). This is particularly significant as no Transitional activity was present on the hilltop, demonstrating that this pottery was specifically brought to the site and probably intentionally deposited. The only other possible Transitional activity is the multi-period hoard, the latest objects of which are Llyn Fawr (Cunliffe and O'Connor 1979). Given the growing evidence for ancient objects – especially metalwork – being collected in the Iron Age (4.2.9; see above), it is perhaps likely that the hoard was deposited in the second half of the first millennium BC during Iron Age occupation of the hilltop.

Transitional and earlier EIA pottery was also incorporated into later rampart layers at Blewburton. The significance of this is also less certain, although it is notable that these old sherds concentrated near the entrance (Collins 1947, 15, fig. 6; 1952-3, 44; Harding 1976, 145). Perhaps more significant are the finds of three Neolithic polished axes, all found near the western entrance.

[37] Ditch 2256: Special deposit ID64; House ID 100; Human remains ID 95. Ditch 2395: Special deposit IDs 66, 67 and 68; House ID 101; Human remains ID 96.

One came from an unusual cross-ditch behind the gateway, and associated with probable Iron Age pottery (Harding 1976, 142); another near the base of the plough-soil silting of the inner defensive ditch to the north of the entrance (Collins 1952-3, 38, fig. 18.4); and the third had been reused as a pounder and found in an Iron Age context near the entrance, although the exact location is not recorded (Collins and Collins 1959, 55). A polished axe was also found in the terminal of the LBA enclosure at Rams Hill (Bradley and Ellison 1975, 86).

Like many of the objects in multi-period hoards (4.9.2), these latter artefacts could not have been kept in constant circulation between manufacture and deposition as the intervening periods must be too long. A survey was carried out recording Mesolithic, Neolithic and EBA flint arrowheads, stone axes and adzes in LBA to MIA contexts. These are listed in Appendix 6. These do not occur commonly in any period, suggesting that the intentional collection and deposition of these objects was not frequent. A more in-depth study is required to confirm this, especially as the reported contextual information for redeposited objects is often vague, meaning some significant examples may have been overlooked (e.g. Allen 1993, 22; Harding 1999; 2001; Mudd and Mortimer 1999, 311; Roe 2004; Skellington 1978; Underwood 2012; Walker 2003). Although not common, alongside the hillfort examples there are a number of instances where the incorporation of stone axes, adzes and flint arrowheads in the LBA and Iron Age are of note.

Two Mesolithic adzes were found together on the floor of a pit containing EIA pottery at Manor Farm Buildings, Old Malden (Jon Cotton *pers. comm.*). This must be intentional. The collection of earlier arrowheads at Gravelly Guy also appears significant. Between 10-12 chisel, oblique, triangular and barbed-and-tanged arrowheads were found in EIA or MIA contexts (Holgate 2004, 97-9, Table 2.11). Three of these were from special deposits: one was found in an EIA pit with a dog skeleton; another in a pit also producing the upper part of a dog skeleton, cattle and horse bones. This was cut by the terminal of a house gully, itself containing a further arrowhead and a sheep skull.[38] At Gravelly Guy, arrowheads were over three times more likely to have been deposited in contexts already regarded as special in this analysis than those that were not. This implies deposition was purposeful, in turn suggesting collection and a degree of meaning imparted on the objects. Two stone axe fragments were also found in Iron Age or Roman contexts (Holgate 2004, Table 2.11).

Settlement Area 2 at Cotswold Community comprised two Transition or EIA roundhouses next to two long posthole alignments funnelling outwards to enclose an earlier EBA round barrow (Powell *et al.* 2010, 56-8, fig. 2.38). Alongside pottery of this date, late Neolithic/EBA pottery and worked flint was discovered in five postholes. This earlier material was found in the outer porch postholes, one of the inner porch postholes, and a posthole at the back of the structure. Such locations have been recognised as particularly symbolically charged, and the excavator suggests that these ancient objects were strategically and deliberately placed, strengthening the ritual connection with the barrow (Powell *et al.* 2010, 56-8).

[38] Special deposit IDs 95, 131 and 133.

The collection, retention and occasional deposition of ancient metalwork in the Iron Age has been discussed with relation to multi-period hoards in 4.9.2. To these can be added one certain example and two possible instances where Bronze Age spearheads were reused in the Iron Age. A MBA side-looped spearhead was deposited under a MIA limestone causeway at Yarnton, around a thousand years after its manufacture. A radiocarbon date of 400-230 cal BC (95% confidence; OxA-9377) was taken from plant material in the spear socket; this was confirmed by further dates from the causeway itself. Environmental evidence from inside the socket indicates the object was kept in a dry environment before it was deposited, suggesting it was retained for a period of time before being deposited, although again a thousand years must be too long for the object to have been in continual circulation (Hey *et al.* 2011, 285-6).

Two other spearheads may also have been found and rehafted in the Iron Age. A flame-shaped pegged spearhead found in the Thames at Windsor had iron encrustation in the peg holes (Pryor 1980, no. 86). Another example from Hampton Court of probable Wilburton date with triangular openings had an iron rivet in place when it was discovered (Lawrence 1929, 75). Unfortunately neither have radiocarbon dates, although wood may still remain in the socket of the latter example. The iron rivets may have been contemporary with the initial use of the spearheads, as their traditional dates coincide with the possible tenth century ironworking at Hartshill Copse, and there are one or two instances of iron in use in the LBA (Collard *et al.* 2010). Particularly relevant is a spearhead in the Ewart Park hoard at Plover Hall, Co. Durham, as it is of LBA type and also has iron rivets (Darvill 2010, 410). Such evidence is, however, exceedingly rare; equally these could have been discovered in the Iron Age, like the example from Yarnton, and rehafted. The collection and retention of these objects are again only visible in exceptional circumstances: Hingley (2009, 148) notes that without radiocarbon dating at Yarnton, both the spearhead and causeway would have been assigned to the MBA. Both the preservation of suitable organic material and the scientific dating of such samples are rare.

Old objects were being retained for extended periods of time, and ancient objects discovered, kept and treated with some importance. Alongside this, foreign exotic objects were also being procured, especially in the EIA. We may see the collection of ancient and foreign items in parallel and part of the same phenomenon: neither could have been made in the cultural and technological context of the Iron Age of southern Britain, and both originated from provenances that were unknown and no doubt regarded as mystical and beyond current society. The Mediterranean objects discussed are particularly relevant. Ethnographically, such objects are often regarded as being made by the supernatural or divine: custodianship legitimises positions of authority due to this association. Such items often also become inalienable and part of a social group, being points around which shared identity is created, with the uniqueness of the object symbolising and reinforcing the individuality of the group (2.4.4-6; Godelier 1999; Helms 1988; 1993; Mauss 2002; Weiner 1992). The following section will assess the instances of foreign exotic objects in the EIA and MIA. Similar examples have been considered for the LBA and Transition, where it was shown that very few such objects date to the LBA, with more belonging to the Transition (3.6.5, 4.9.3).

5.7 Foreign Exotica

Although little metalwork in the archaeological record is datable to the EIA, a surprisingly high percentage of the objects that we do have appear to be imports from the continent. There are also a number of possible and more probable finds of ceramic objects that were made in the Mediterranean. Various studies have concluded that we should not dismiss all of these unusual finds (Bradley and Smith 2007; Champion 1977; Cunliffe 2005, 462-5; Harbison and Laing 1974; Harden 1950; Hull and Hawkes 1987, 7; Jope 2000, 10-6, 226-8; although cf. Adams 2013, 101-3). There are a number of reasons that suggest that at least some of these objects genuinely arrived in Britain in the Iron Age, rather than being brought in the Roman period or by modern collectors. First, the reputed provenances of a large number are from rivers, especially the Thames. This is a wholly suitable archaeological context for metalwork in this period, particularly as Britain lacks the tradition where these are found in central Europe: burial with grave goods (Bradley and Smith 2007, 31-2; Champion 1977, 93). Indeed, the lack of these exotic goods from strict EIA contexts[39] – a main reason to deny them as genuine finds (e.g. Adams 2013, 103; Jope 2000, 10, note 2) – should not be seen ultimately as problematic. This is a wider issue for EIA metalwork and not restricted to foreign goods. Apparently no daggers or even iron socketed axes have been found in acceptable EIA contexts (Manning and Saunders 1972; Jope 1961). A few early non-British Iron Age objects have been found in recent years, demonstrating that not all were given false provenances by early unscrupulous dealers (Adams 2013, 101-2; Parfitt 2005; Wells and Cotton 2015).

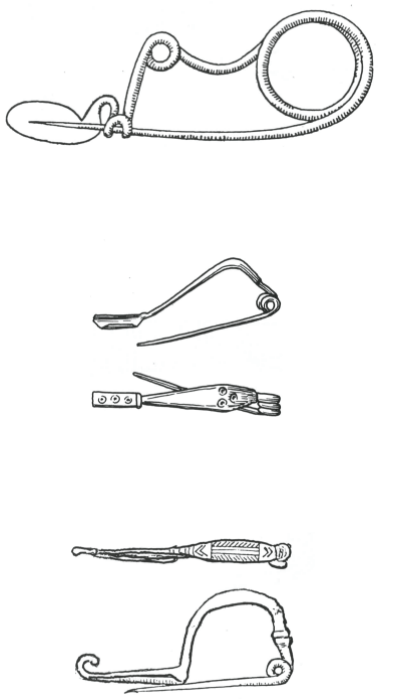
Other reasons to accept at least some examples is that the Mediterranean objects tend to date to the seventh and fifth centuries BC, exactly the period in which exports from the region – especially Etruria – to lands north of the Alps were common: a large number of British finds are Etruscan types that are found outside of their region of manufacture (Bradley and Smith 2007, 31; Harbison and Laing 1974, 20-9). Furthermore, there are patterns that point to real archaeological features: a notable lack of Greek brooches among the quite large assemblage of those of Italic origin, for example, and the majority of reported find-spots from south-east England (Harden 1950, 318-9; Hull and Hawkes 1987, 8). These all point to real archaeological patterns as these features should not be expected if objects were brought to Britain in modern times. Each case needs to be considered individually, but when taken as a whole it appears that the procurement of exotic goods was a genuine phenomenon, especially in the EIA.

Imports and objects with clear foreign influence are detailed in Appendix 5. Some objects, like the Weybridge bucket, is of clear continental type and has a relatively good provenance (Fig. 5.11). It was discovered in a deep deposit whilst building a bridge over the river Wey at Brooklands in

[39] A fragment of a possible seventh century Etruscan handled cup, known as a bucchero, was discovered in an Iron Age context during controlled excavation just to the north of the study area at Chastleton hillfort (Leeds 1931, 396-7). Hull and Hawkes (1987, 22) cite more recent expertise and agree with this possible identification, whereas Jope (2000, 15) dismisses the fragment as being of local manufacture.

1

0 10cm



2

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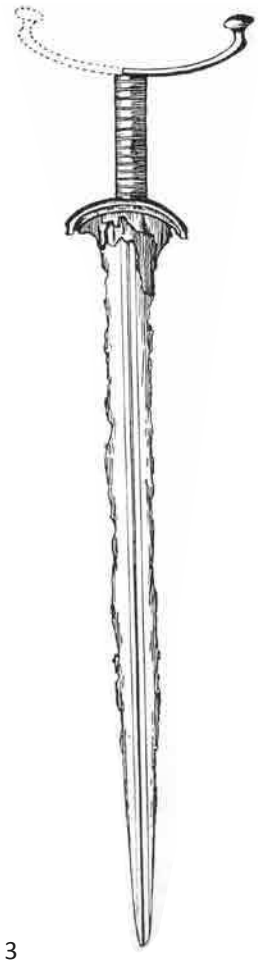


3

0 10cm

4

No scale

5

0 25cm

Fig. 5.11. Some of the EIA foreign objects found in the study area
1 - The Weybridge bucket
2 - Brooches from Mincing Lane, Baydon and Reading
3 - Sword from London
4 - Kylix from Reading
5 - Cauldron from London

1+5 - © Trustees of the British Museum; 2 - Hull and Hawkes 1987, Pls 14, 18; 3 - Smith 1925; 4 - Bradley and Smith 2007, fig. 3.1

1907. It is just outside an excavated settlement of the period, near another river and may have been in a former channel, all suggesting genuine Iron Age deposition.

Other objects mix both British and continental features and designs. On the basis of the hand-grip and upper sheath, Jope (1982) argues that one of the Hallstatt D daggers from Mortlake was made in the Swabia-Bavaria region (Fig. 7.7; also Stead 1984, 46). Its sheath, however, was probably made in Britain as it possesses the twin-loop suspension system (Jope 1961; Stead 1984, 46). This is similar to the Minster Ditch La Tène dagger and one of the daggers from Hammersmith (Fig. 7.8). The Standlake sword also has continental features, although not enough to suggest an import. There are numerous other features that are closely shared between some of the British and continental daggers and swords, and it is probable that foreign objects were circulating in Britain, providing inspiration for the native craftsmen that produced these objects (Fig. 7.10; Jope 2000, 25-8; Stead 1984, 46-53, 63). Given the general rarity of Iron Age metalwork, this should not be a surprise that these are very seldom found.

Champion (1977) has suggested a similar process with regards to the decoration on the pottery from Chinnor. Following the original report (Richardson and Young 1951, 138), he argues that the 'arcade' or 'horseshoe' with triangles ornament was inspired by a technique seen in metalworking, namely a handle with attachment plates. More specifically, he notes that Etruscan bronze stamnoi, often found north of the Alps, could only have provided such inspiration (Fig. 5.12; Champion 1977, 92). Such an object with handle and plates of comparable design to the Chinnor decoration was found in a tomb at Courcelles-en-Montagne, Haute-Marne. It is of note that these decorative arcades are still not well paralleled in EIA pottery assemblages in the study area, suggesting a specific, restricted influence. This may again be evidence for foreign goods that rarely entered the archaeological record.

Some objects have particularly striking origins, for example the arrowhead found by a fisherman on the end of his hook in the Kennet near Reading. It bears a monogram of Berenice II of Egypt, who ruled between 247-222 BC. There are similar arrowheads with the same monogram

Fig. 5.12. Etruscan stamnoi from Courcelles-en-Montagne, Haute-Marne (left), and two pots from Chinnor (right), with decoration possibly copying stamnoi handles and attachments Richardson and Young 1951, fig. 7

from Cyrene, Knossos and France. In their study of Iron Age Mediterranean objects in Britain, Harbison and Laing (1974, 16-7) conclude that this is 'quite probably genuine'. Of equal interest is a Greek kylix attributed to the Pithos Painter, made around c.500 BC, said to be dredged from the Thames at Reading (Fig. 5.11). Bradley and Smith (2007) argue this is a genuine import (also Harbison and Laing 1974, 5-6). It is small and relatively easy to transport; the majority of the Pithos Painters products were exported, especially those that are particularly comparable with our example. The cup retains 'intact river sediment, which is substantial enough to indicate very ancient deposition into the river' (Bradley and Smith 2007, 39). Other unusual Mediterranean objects are known (Appendix 5). Individually we should treat some of items with scepticism, for example the large Ptolemaic basalt statue found during excavation at Hayes, but recognise that these items date to a period that produces a fairly large number of more likely imports.

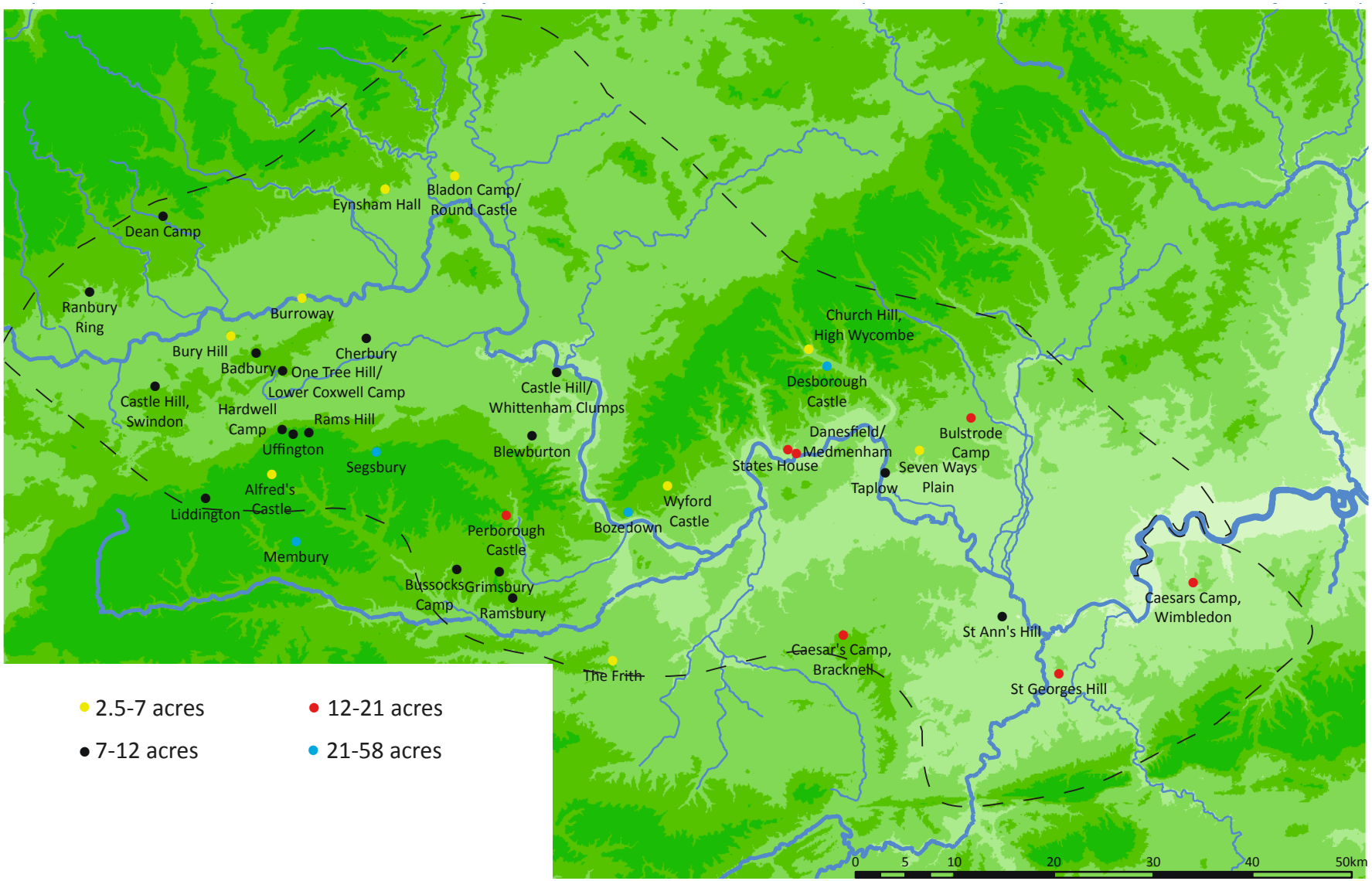
The provenances of pre-La Tène brooches in Britain have long been recognised as problematic (Hull and Hawkes 1987, 7-11; Ridgeway and Smith 1906, 103-17). The most recent survey reclassifies one of the largest such groups - Hull and Hawkes (1987, 54-67) Group L, thought to be late Hallstatt of British manufacture (also Hodson 1971) – as in fact MIA with an early third century origin, whilst suggesting we should remain highly sceptical about the rest (Adams 2013, 101-3, 115-6). Despite this, we should not be too hasty in dismissing a number of examples, like those from Kingham, Brentford and Baydon (Fig. 4.12, 5.11; Appendix 5), especially as evidence presented above suggests that the procurement of exotic objects was a real phenomenon in this period.

Exotic foreign goods were being acquired in the EIA: this holds true even if we dismiss the more questionable examples. Ancient objects were also being discovered and redeposited in hoards and in settlements. Both were occuring in the Transition, but rarely seen in the LBA (3.6.5, 4.9.2-3; Fig. 4.21). This can be interpreted as communicating and bolstering certain social relationships as unusual and locally unique objects were acquired, belonged to and were used by social groups that might have employed such items to distinguish and differentiate between each other (see 2.4). That old goods appear to have been passed down, repaired and reused might strengthen these bonds through the generations, making affiliation and identity through a lineage tighter, whilst distancing from other social groups. This more 'normal' material culture was also designed and made in a much more heterogeneous fashion compared to the LBA, considering both form and decoration (see 4.9-10, 6.8, 7.1.3). This began in the Transition, especially apparent with All Cannings Cross pottery, but developed further in the EIA and MIA with metalwork. In the EIA, decoration on pottery also becomes more widely employed in the Middle Thames, the area that was outside the earlier All Cannings Cross distribution in the Transition. Decorated pottery becomes more restricted in the MIA, focusing on hillforts and a few other sites. This suggests that increasingly complex symbolism was being imparted though portable material culture, and it was becoming easier to differentiate local individuals and groups through the objects they used.

5.8 Hillforts

The final aspect of EIA archaeology that will be considered are hillforts. This section will include data from the MIA. The beginnings of these sites in the LBA/EIA Transition have been outlined in 4.7. Although excavation has not been particularly extensive at any site, by comparing various aspects of the material remains discovered at hillforts to contemporary non-hillfort sites, it appears that hillforts were not enclosed settlements, nor primarily defensive structures. Instead, the increased levels of deposition of key types of material on hillforts compared to other sites – human remains, metalwork, special deposits and decorated pottery – suggests that these were special places in the landscape. The degree of interior occupation is not consistent between sites, but at least some do not appear to have been intensively settled. This enhances the significance of the relatively large quantities of the key material remains: these are not the result of dense occupation.

Alfred's Castle, Uffington, Segsbury, Blewburton, Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps, Caesars Camp (Wimbledon) and St Ann's Hill have seen some excavation in the interior and ramparts; Liddington has been subject to very limited work but a comparatively large amount of information was revealed. Discussion will focus on these sites. The degree of excavation has not been unreasonable at Rams Hill, Taplow and St Georges Hill, although very little Iron Age activity was uncovered. Most of these have been extensively surveyed by geophysics. This represents a good sample of the Ridgeway hillfort group and a few sites between the Windrush and the Goring Gap, as well as four in the Middle Thames. Limited excavations have also taken place at Cherbury, Burroway, Danesfield/Medmenham, Grimsbury and Bulstrode. Hillforts in the Upper Thames tend to be smaller than those in the Middle Thames, and the size differences between sites on the Berkshire Downs vary greatly. As most fall between 7 and 12 acres, hillforts in the Upper Thames and some of the Ridgeway sites are quite different from the larger examples in Wessex (Map 5.3; Figs. 5.13-6; Cunliffe 2005, fig. 15.1).



Map 5.3. Distribution of hillforts, showing size groups

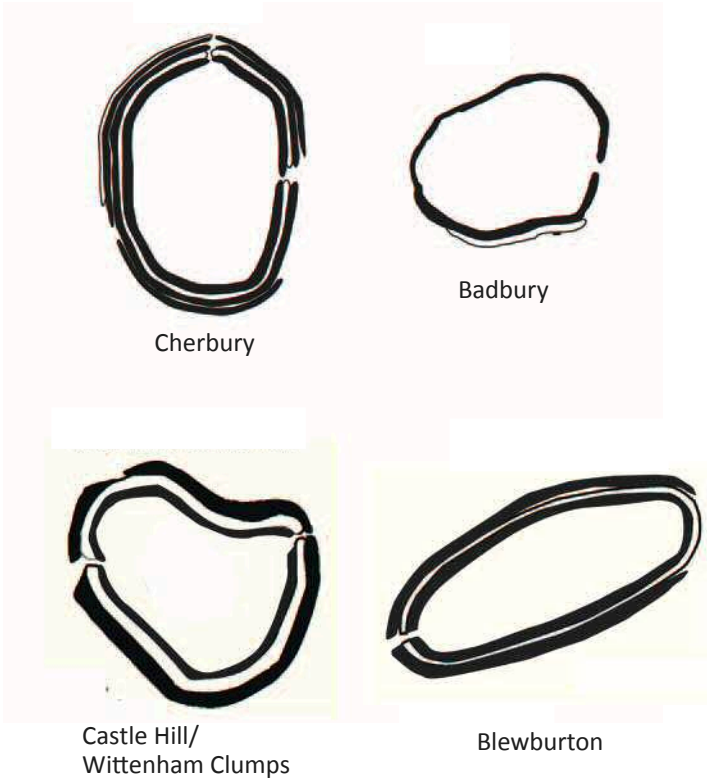


Fig. 5.13. Hillforts of the Upper Thames Valley

Cherbury + Badbury - After RCHME; Castle Hill and Blewburton - Allen *et al.* 2010, fig. 9.3. Image: OA

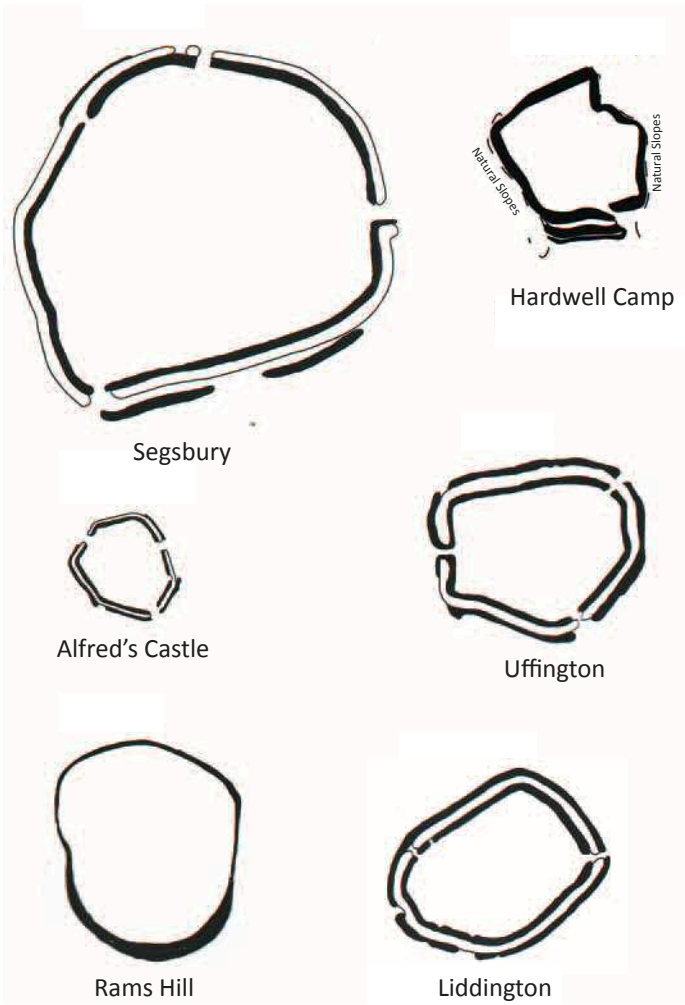


Fig. 5.14. Hillforts of the Ridgeway

Hardwell - After RCHME;
Others - Lock *et al.* 2005, fig. 4.4
Image: OA

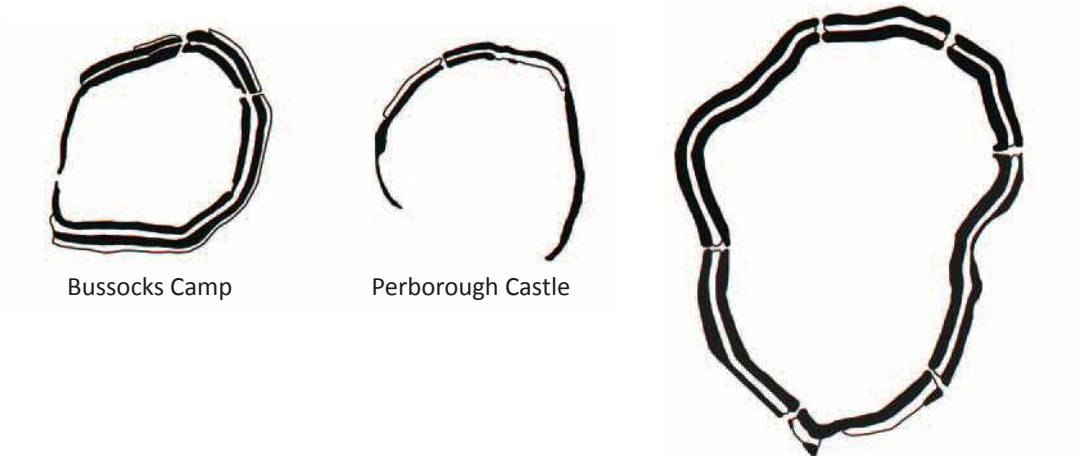


Fig. 5.15 Hillforts of the south-east Lambourn Downs
After RCHME

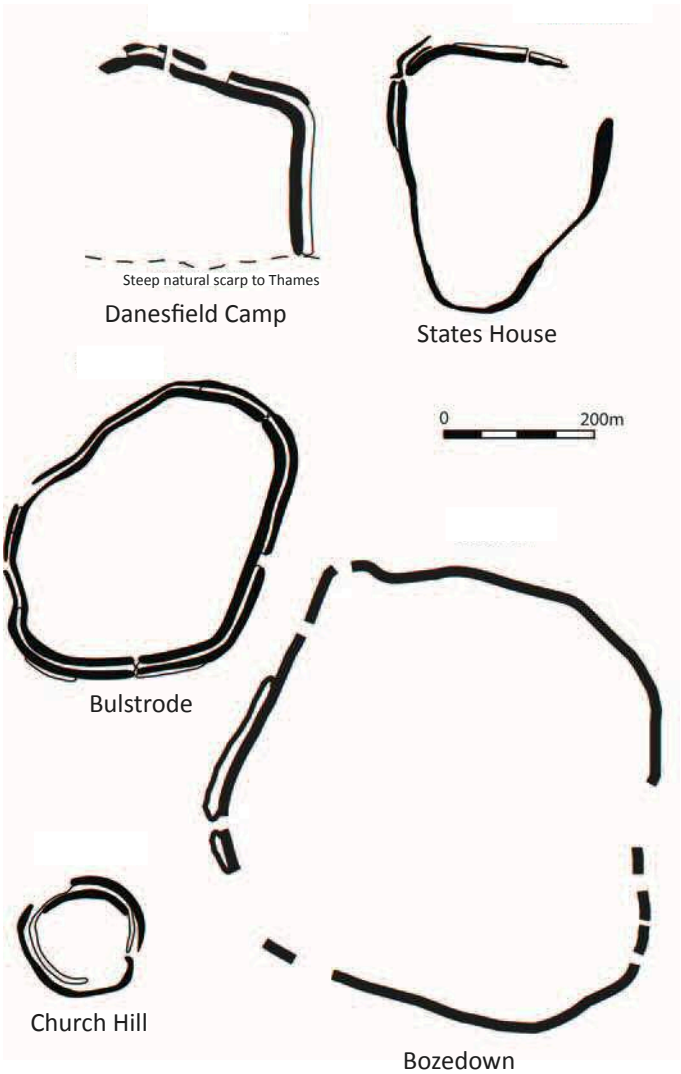


Fig. 5.16. Hillforts of the Middle Thames Valley
After RCHME, Wood 1954, fig. 2

0 250m

5.8.1 Internal occupation

Large quantities of certain types of material culture are found at hillforts; prior to this being demonstrated the degree of internal occupation needs to be outlined to show that this is not the result of intensive activity. Although occupation differs between sites, increased deposition does not appear to be due to the high density of activity, as this is generally low. The only Iron Age houses discovered at hillforts are the three at Segsbury, one at Alfred's Castle, and one possible (but unlikely) example from Rams Hill, the others at the site being LBA or late MBA. One of the Segsbury houses and those at Alfred's Castle date to the EIA, and the Rams Hill example most likely dates to the LBA, but a Transitional date is possible (Building D; Bradley and Ellison 1975, fig. 2.20; Needham and Ambers 1994, 236). The other two Segbury houses date to the MIA: these are two phases of the same structure. The only recognised four-poster is at Uffington. The excavators at Segsbury conclude that the houses on this site were not substantial structures that were permanently occupied, instead suggesting that the rebuilt example at least was an unroofed enclosure or a house associated with death and burial. This is due to the lack of postholes supporting structural timbers, the western orientation, associated burial, and generally flimsy appearance (Lock *et al.* 2005, 144-5). However, a house represented only by a penannular gully is normal by the MIA, and burials are often associated with houses (see 6.2; Tables 7.2-3; Graphs 7.2-3). Although activity in Trench 1 at Segsbury appears intensive, Trenches 2 and 4 are fairly sparse, and 3 and 5 even more empty (Lock *et al.* 2005, figs. 3.1b, 3.25, 3.30, 3.36, 3.41). Geophysics also suggests some areas of more intensive activity, alongside those devoid of activity. In conclusion, the excavators suggest that the site witnessed temporary, repeated occupation (Lock *et al.* 2005, 145).

The picture at Uffington is one of even less Iron Age activity, although excavation only covered a small percentage of both sites. Geophysics suggests 'moderately sparse but fairly even distribution of buried pit-type features', with no anomalies that could be roundhouses (Payne 2003). Thirteen limited interior trenches were opened: most revealed some activity, the majority of which were phased to the Transition and some to the Romano-British period, with very few features belonging to the MIA. Only four small features were uncovered in the three largest trenches, and a further trench did not reveal any activity (Fig. 5.17; Lock *et al.* 2003, fig. 6.11).

One house was uncovered at Alfred's Castle, and the interior trenches give the impression of intensive activity (Gosden and Lock 2013). Bayesian modelling of a series of radiocarbon dates suggests this was over a limited period of time – 15-40 years *(68% probability)*, beginning between *395-360 cal BC*, and ending *355-325 cal BC (83% probability*; Hamilton and Davies *forthcoming)*. Geophysics confirms the impression of dense occupation (Payne 2013). At 2.6 acres this is a very small hillfort, and is the site to produce the most intensive evidence. No clear houses were found at Blewburton, and the interior excavation, away from the entrance area, uncovered fairly sparse spreads of pits and postholes given that activity is recorded from the Transition to the MIA, and the Saxon period (Collins 1947, figs. 2, 5; Harding 1976, fig. 6). At Taplow, despite area excavation

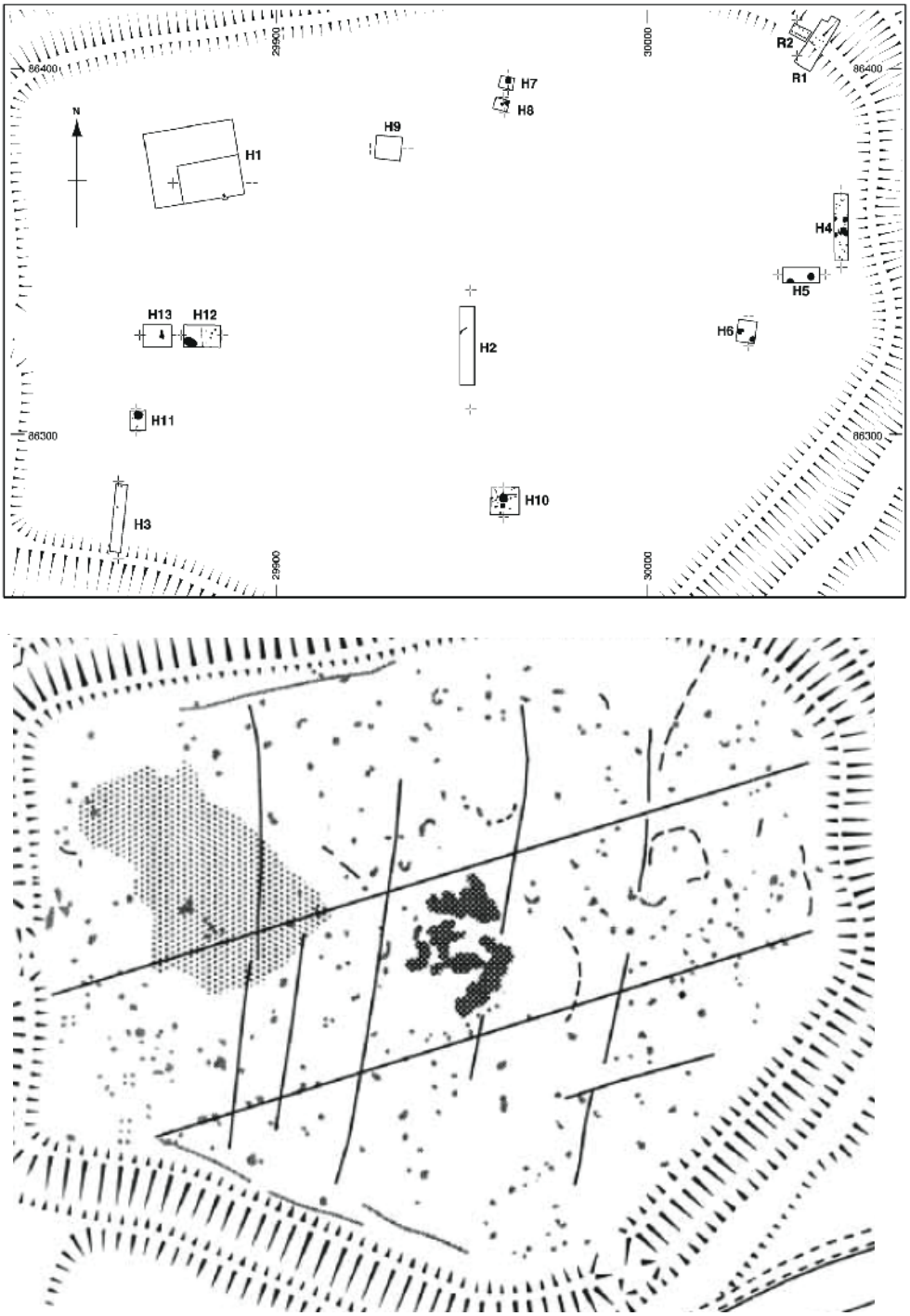


Fig. 5.17. Excavations (above) and interpretation of magnetometer survey (below) at Uffington. Pit 8004 in H5 and possibly posthole 9003 in H7 are MIA. The posthole in H1 and pit in H11 are Romano-British. All other features are Transitional. H4 features are gateway structures

Lock *et al.* 2003, fig. 6.11; Payne 2003, fig. 6.10. Image: OA

of a proportion of the interior and an extensive radiocarbon dating program that discovered LBA settlement features, only a few internal postholes and a very limited amount of pottery may date to the EIA or MIA (Allen *et al.* 2009, 99). Instead, excavated activity seems restricted to the creation of the phase 4 and 5 defences in the later EIA and probably MIA. Sampling other areas of both these sites is required to better understand internal activity.

Only a single pit can be phased to the EIA at Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps. Limited excavation revealed 14 pits datable to the MIA, and a geophysical survey of the interior suggests the presence of a scatter of pits and two possible roundhouses (Allen *et al.* 2010; Payne 2010). Limited excavations on St Ann's Hill have revealed at least one small area of intensive activity dating primarily to the EIA (Jones 2012a). Excavations in the interior of Medmenham/Danesfield Camp revealed a number of pits, postholes, a fence line and a possible roundhouse (Keevil and Campbell 1993). Unfortunately, this cannot be directly related to constructional phase(s) as the defences have not been dug. At Cherbury, cropmarks have revealed a possible hut circle and sixteen possible pits (Pastscape Monument No. 229424), as well as an extensive external settlement to the west of this hillfort (Hingley 1981). The innermost rampart was revetted with a drystone wall (Bradford 1940). Two trenches covering c.1ha of the interior of St George's Hill discovered no archaeological deposits, despite little evidence of modern truncation in the area (Anthony 2002; Gardner 1911; Lowther 1950; Milbank 2009; Poulton and O'Connell 1984). Taken together, the two excavations at Bulstrode were of reasonable size but found only two postholes, a hearth and a single pot sherd (Fox and Clarke 1919-26; Rouse and Viney 1966). The only potential Iron Age features on the geophysical survey of the entire interior were a D-shaped enclosure 20x30m with a circular gully the interior, alongside a few other possible roundhouse gullies (Gover 2002).

Overall, interior activity at the majority of the hillforts does not appear particularly intensive, although more excavation is needed to confirm this and there still remain a large number of sites that have not been sampled. Despite this, more metalwork, human remains, special deposits and possibly decorated pottery were deposited at hillforts compared to non-hillforts. This suggests different depositional patterns were appropriate at these sites, and they may have had special, ritual status. Despite the general lack of sustained activity, most sites saw episodic use over long periods of time. At Uffington, the first Transitional timber laced box rampart was replaced by a dump rampart probably in the early MIA some 300-400 years later (4.7; Lock *et al.* 2003). This is similar at Liddington, although the timber framed rampart phase appears to have been refurbished once, and the dump phase perhaps three times (Hurst and Rahtz 1996, 29). At Blewburton, the earliest phase appears to be a timber palisade built in the Transition, followed by a timber laced box rampart and ditch in the EIA. This in turn was replaced by a dump rampart in the MIA (Collins 1947; 1952-3; Harding 1976). At Segsbury, the earliest phase may also have been a timber palisade with a small ditch dating to the Transition (4.7). If this is not accepted, enclosure began in the EIA with a rampart revetted on the outer side by a single

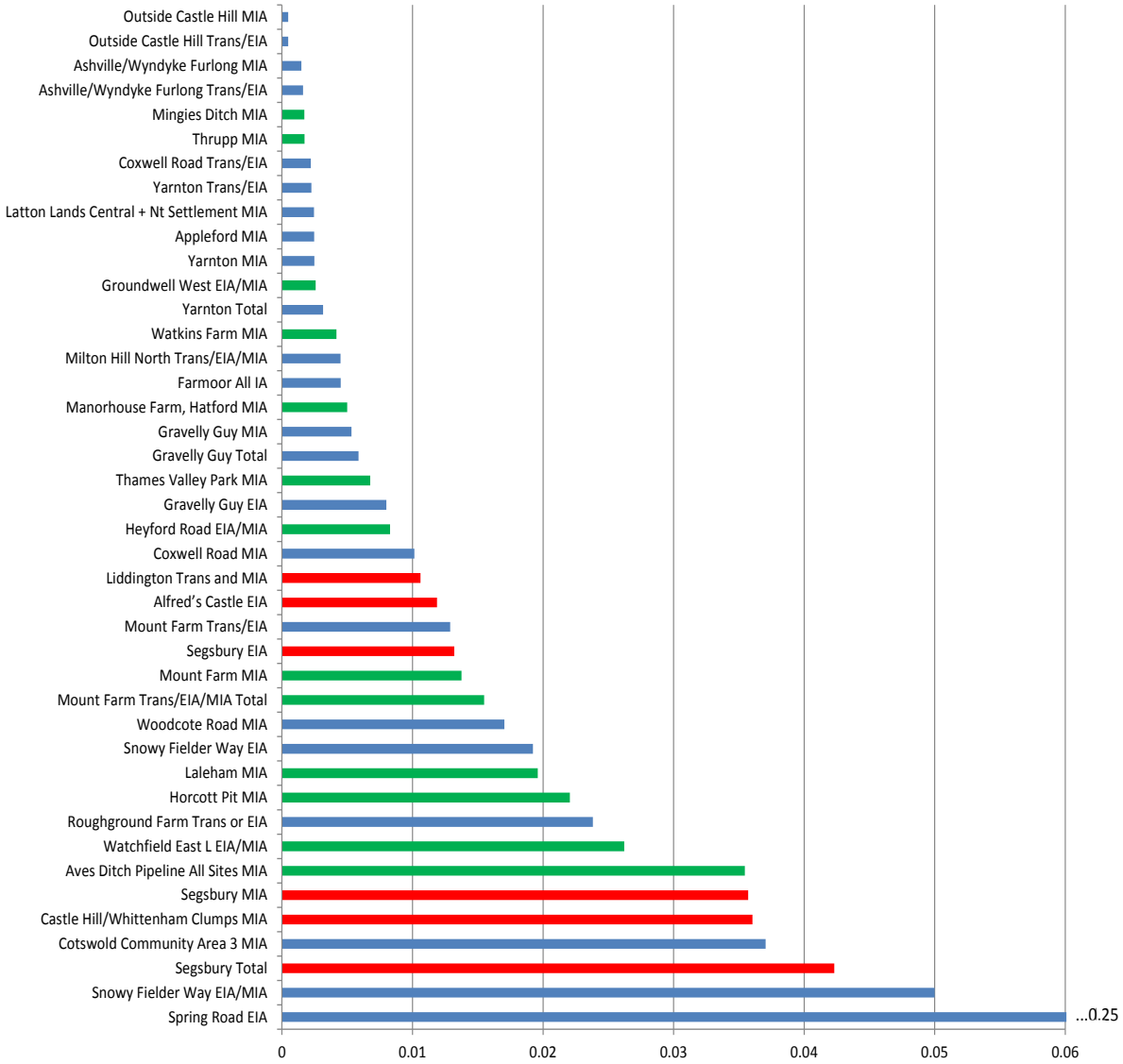
line of timbers and ditch (Lock *et al.* 2005, 102-4). This was then heighened. The next phase consists of a very wide (c.7m) box rampart with a much more substantial ditch and bank (Lock *et al.* 2005, 104-110). Despite a lack of direct dating evidence, the excavators suggest a fourth century, MIA, date contemporary with the limited range of pottery dating to this period (Lock *et al.* 2005, 149-50). Alfred's Castle is the only excavated hillfort that was in use for a limited period in the Iron Age, and is also the most intensively settled (Gosden and Lock 2013). At Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps, a dump rampart with a possible inner timber revetment and ditch was built probably in the EIA, with the ditch being kept clean through the MIA (Allen *et al.* 2010, 26-30). At Taplow, a timber laced rampart built on a horizontal raft of timbers with an accompanying ditch has been dated by Bayesian analysis to have been built in the EIA between 480-400 cal BC (*68% probability*; Marshall *et al.* 2009). An outer ditch and dump rampart were later added: this is only dated by Saxon material in the middle fills, but a MIA date is likely by comparison with other sites (Allen *et al.* 2009, 73-99).

5.8.2 Human Remains

Despite the general lack of intensive, sustained occupation, human remains are more often found on hillforts compared to non-hillfort sites (Graph 5.17-8). There are 292 individual instances of human remains dating to the EIA or MIA.[40] Fifty-eight of these are from five hillforts. The remaining 234 are from 44 settlements: 78 sites did not produce human remains. As most of the excavated hillforts are on chalk and the majority of Iron Age settlements are on gravel, a methodology is needed to offset the differential taphonomic conditions. This can be achieved by comparing the frequency of human bone to animal bone as both are affected by the same taphonomic issues. This also allows comparison between sites that have been subject to differing amounts of excavation, and those with different degrees of occupation.

This analysis takes the ratio of human deposits and animal bone against each other. Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) for animals including and excluding bones identified to species is compared against the number of different human bone deposits. A human bone deposit has been defined as a single incidence of deposition where no more than one individual was deposited. For example, an articulated inhumation, or group of bones probably belonging to one individual, or a single bone, all count as one deposit; a double inhumation or group of bones belonging to two individuals in the same context count as two deposits. The animal bones provide a control baseline; the number of human deposits compared to this baseline provides an index to compare between sites. The lower the frequency of animal bones compared to one human deposit, the more significant the human remains are. This is not a perfect method of analysis – animal bones are frequently part of special deposits, so an increased number of special deposits on a particular site lowers the significance of human deposits. In fact, special deposits are more common on hillforts, making the number of human remains on some hillforts

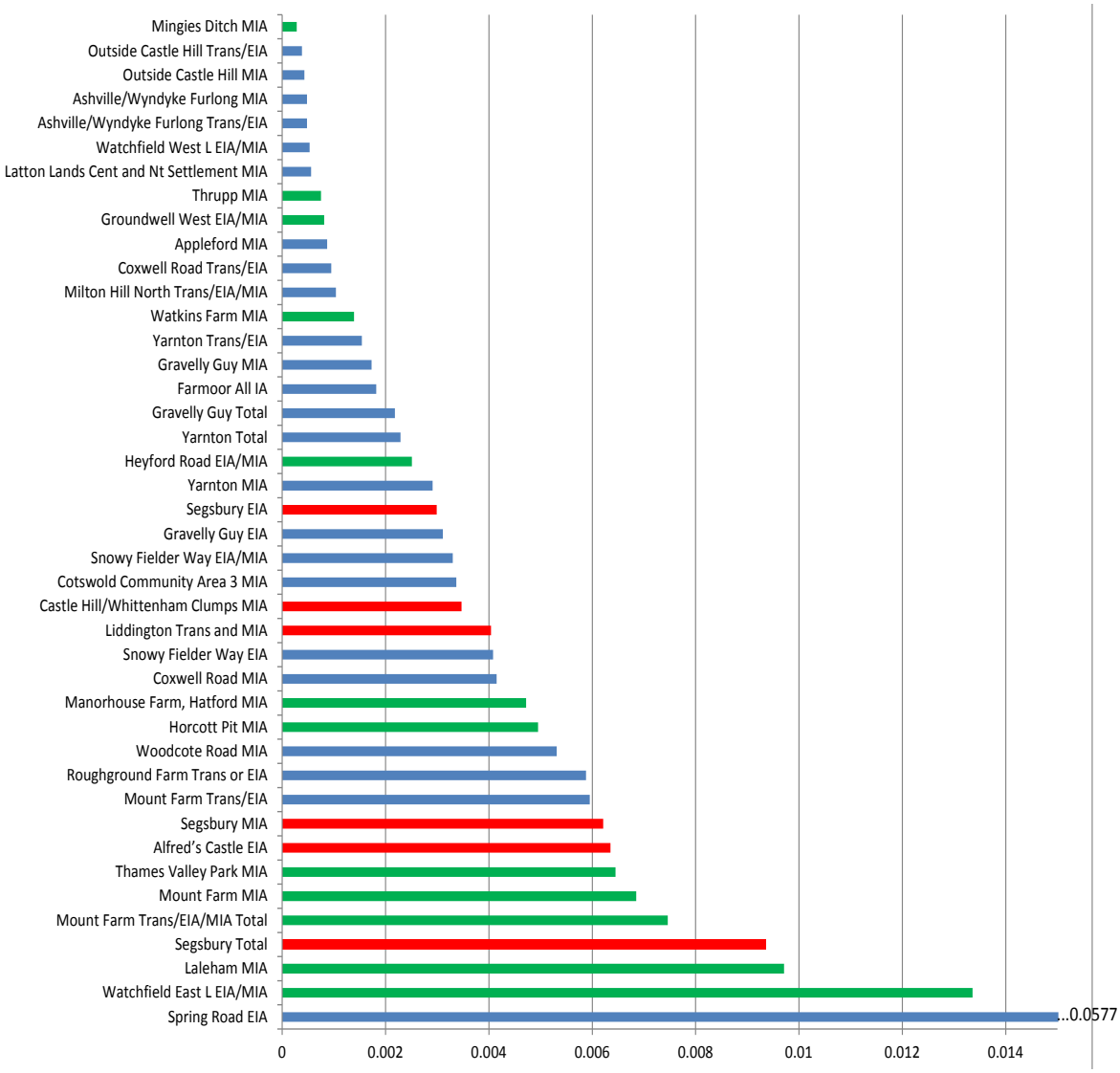
[40] This includes those that cannot be phased more closely than the LBA/EIA Transition, EIA or MIA, but excludes those certainly of Transitional date.



Graph 5.17. Index of the frequency of human remains, taken against identified animal NISP
Hillforts are in red, enclosures in green, and other sites in blue

Iron Age sites producing human remains but not included due to lack of data are Blewburton, Abingdon West Central, The Loders, Beard Mill, City Farm East, City Farm North, City Farm West, Land South of Marcham, Frilford/Noahs Ark Inn, Purwell and Yarnton Cemetery

78 sites did not produce any human remains, and not included on the graph



Graph 5.18. Index of the frequency of human remains, taken against identified and unidentified animal NISP
Hillforts are in red, enclosures in green, and other sites in blue

Iron Age sites producing human remains but not included due to lack of data are Blewburton, Abingdon West Central, The Loders, Beard Mill, City Farm East, City Farm North, City Farm West, Land South of Marcham, Frilford/Noahs Ark Inn, Purwell and Yarnton Cemetery

78 sites did not produce any human remains, and not included on the graph

appear less significant. This explains why Alfred's Castle is not higher on the list. Despite this, the analysis is still useful. In most cases it was possible to split apart the EIA and MIA. However, at Segsbury, Gravelly Guy, Mount Farm and Yarnton,[41] a number of human remains could not be phased closer than the EIA or MIA. At these sites, both the phased EIA and MIA instances of human remains were taken against the number of animal bones for each respective phase, as well as the overall total of human remains against all the animal bones.

Most of the hillforts (in red) that have been subject to reasonable amount of excavation are high on the list; Blewburton cannot be included as there is no information on animal bones, but a single human bone can be dated to the EIA, alongside one articulated individual and two groups of bones datable to the MIA. This analysis also suggests that the high frequency of human remains at Gravelly Guy is not particularly unusual considering the frequency of animal bones and scale of excavation. A number of non-hillfort sites also have relatively high instances of human remains, suggesting deposition was important elsewhere. Spring Road has by far the largest ratio of human remains compared to animal bones: four individuals were placed on the edges of a roundhouse at the end of the EIA, and two others were found c.50m to the west and c.70m to the north-west of the house respectively (Allen and Kamash 2008, 13-7). Few animal bones were discovered. Human remains appear to be discovered on enclosed settlements (in green) more frequently than non-enclosed sites. Although in some cases these are found in the enclosure ditches, finds from these contexts do not alone account for the higher instances of human remains. There is a range of topographical contexts represented with the enclosed sites producing human remains, including the extremes of the Upper Thames gravels as well as further down the basin, the Corrallian Ridge, the upland north of the Upper Thames basin, and the Middle Thames gravels. Enclosed sites do not appear to produce more metalwork or special deposits compared those that are not enclosed. The graphs exclude ten[42] Iron Age sites that produced human remains where too little information was available on animal bones. Around two-thirds of Iron Age sites did not produce any human remains and are also excluded.

[41] The inhumations from the Yarnton MIA cemetery have been excluded due to the unusual nature of the site as this cannot readily be compared with human deposition on settlements. At Yarnton, the examples included are those from the settlement.

[42] These are Blewburton; Abingdon West Central; The Loders; Beard Mill; City Farm East; City Farm North; City Farm West; Land South of Marcham; Noahs Ark Inn and Purwell.

5.8.3 Metalwork

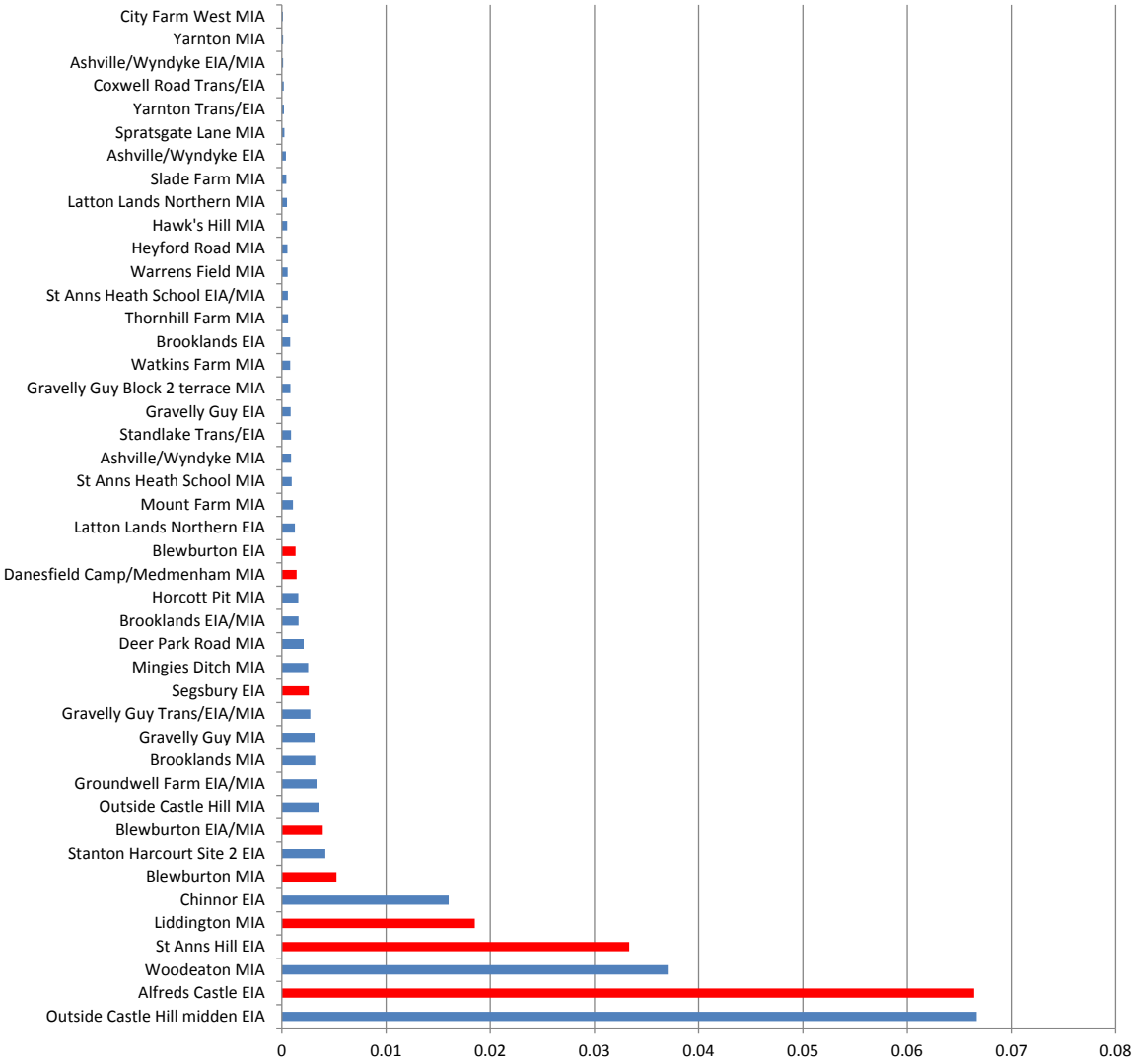
Like human remains, comparing the amount of metalwork discovered at the hillforts that have been subject to reasonable excavation with other Iron Age sites in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley demonstrates that these objects are much more likely to be discovered on hillforts (Graphs 5.19-20, 5.15; Tables 5.3-4). To provide a means of comparison between sites that have been excavated to differing extents, the number of iron and copper alloy finds have been divided by the number of square meters the relevant excavated area covered to provide an index that can be compared between sites. For hillforts, this includes all interior and rampart excavation; for non-hillfort sites, areas were only measured where Iron Age features had been discovered, excluding any stripped areas devoid of occupation. As far as possible, the EIA and MIA have been separated, but often finds cannot be attributed to one of these sub-phases. Individual sites can appear more than once if metalwork was discovered in more than one sub-phase, although each object is only counted once. For example, 7860m^2 of Iron Age features were uncovered during the two excavations at Ashville Trading Estate/Wyndyke Furlong (Muir and Roberts 1999; Parrington 1978). Three iron objects and two of copper alloy can be phased to the EIA. Seven iron objects and five copper alloy objects can be dated to the MIA, as well as one iron and three copper alloy objects that cannot be phased more closely than the EIA or MIA. Iron and copper alloy indices are therefore 0.00038 and 0.00025 for the EIA; 0.00089 and 0.00064 for the MIA and 0.00013 and 0.00038 for the EIA/MIA. Although this does not provide a perfect measure of comparison as it does not factor in issues such as sampling strategy of density of occupation, many hillforts are more sparsely occupied than contemporary open sites: examples such as Gravelly Guy, Ashville Trading Estate/Wyndyke Furlong, Yarnton, Coxwell Road and many others are more densely occupied than most hillforts with concentrations of intercutting pits and houses. Activity at all types of sites commonly lasted for a number of centuries. Furthermore, areas devoid of features within hillforts have been included in this analysis, whereas only occupied areas at non-hillforts were counted. This should all bias analysis towards hillforts producing less metalwork: the findings are therefore more significant.

When all Iron Age metal producing settlements are plotted against hillforts (in red), we can see that hillforts are much more likely to produce objects of both iron and copper alloy compared to non-hillfort sites. This is particularly clear as the majority of settlements are excluded as they did not produce any metalwork. Metalwork was found during excavation of 38 Iron Age sites: 33 with iron objects, and 30 producing those of copper alloy. The analysis overall includes 127[43] Iron Age sites, meaning that metalwork was found on less than a third of sites. This makes the hillforts more significant than appears on the figures, despite neither Uffington nor Taplow producing metalwork that could be dated with certainty to the Iron Age.[44] Of the 77 certain EIA

[43] This figure excludes those only with phases only dated to the LBA/EIA Transition.

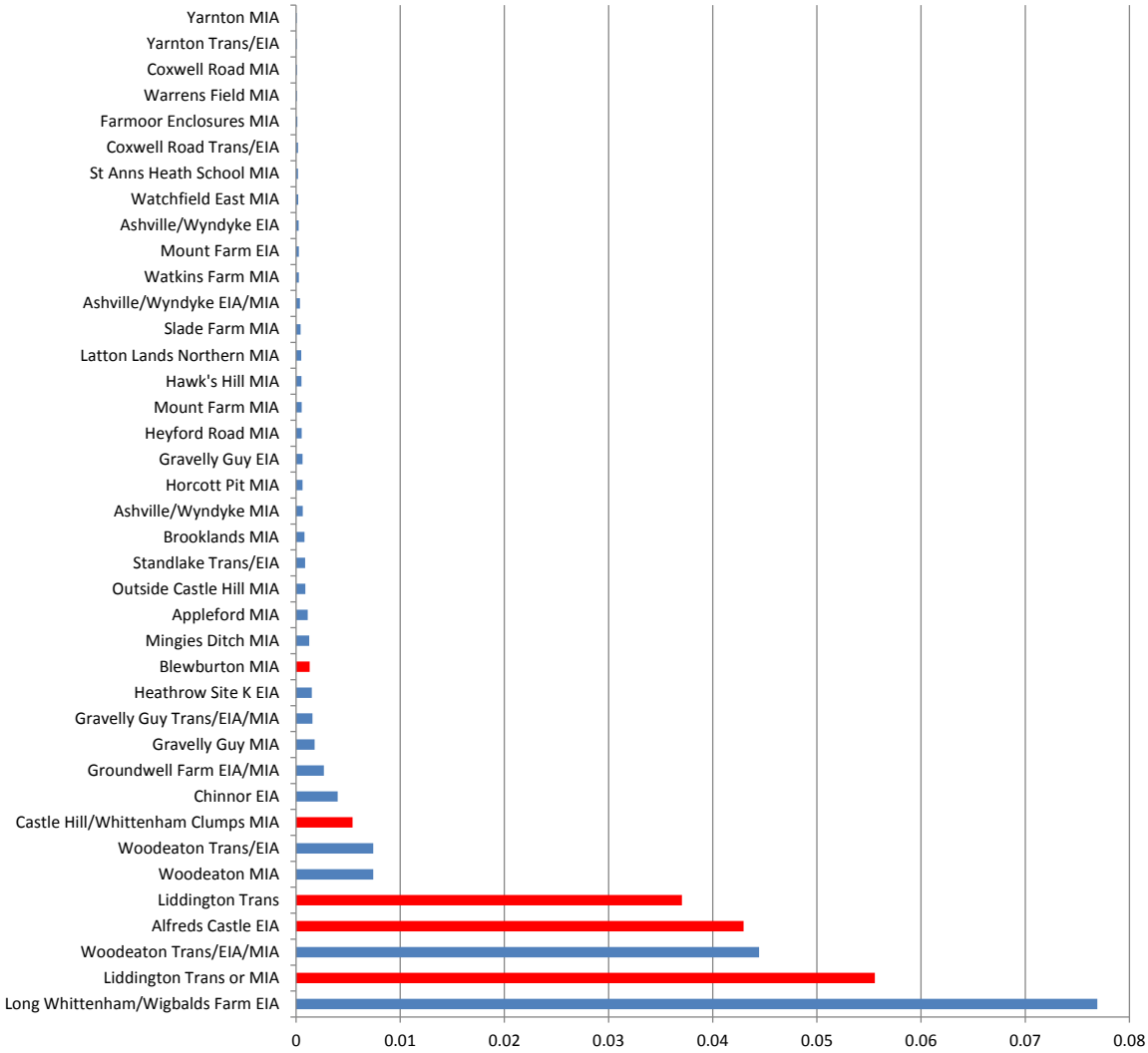
[44] A copper alloy penannular brooch was discovered at Segsbury in pit that was stratigraphically MIA but contained only EIA pottery. As this is largely a LIA type and was found in the uppermost deposit of the pit, it was deemed by the excavators to be intrusive, as has not been included in this analysis

metal objects, 21 were discovered on hillforts. Alongside hillforts, other sites relatively rich in metalwork are middens or those related to middens. This implies that hillforts had a different status, although this does not need to have been one of hierarchy. The metalwork from hillforts is not spectacular and still does not occur in any vast numbers, comprising a range of functional material that should be expected to have been in common use. We can instead suggest that different depositional patterns were appropriate at hillforts. This is clearer when we look at human remains, special deposits and decorated pottery.



Graph 5.19. Index of the number of iron objects discovered for each square metre of site excavated, excluding peripheral areas deviod of occupation
Hillforts are in red, other sites in blue

Two-thirds of the excavated sites did not produce any metalwork, and are not included on the graph

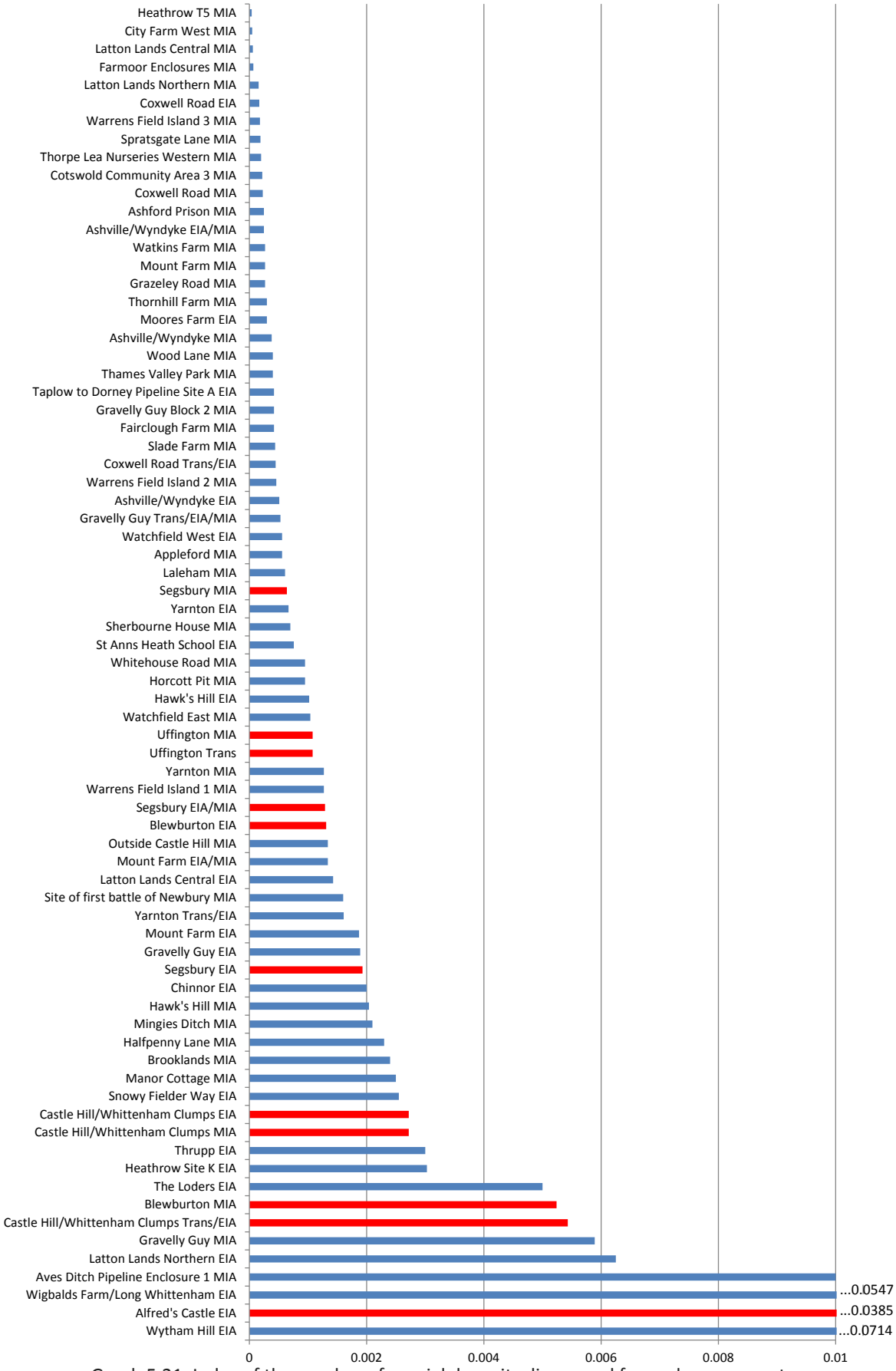


Graph 5.20. Index of the number of copper alloy objects discovered for each square metre of site excavated, excluding peripheral areas deviod of occupation Hillforts are in red, other sites in blue

5.8.4 Special Deposits

Special deposits are also more common on hillforts compared to non-hillfort sites (Graph 5.21; see 3.3.1 for a definition of these). To create a comparable index, the number of special deposits at each site has been divided by the size of excavation in a similar fashion to the analysis of metalwork. Where possible the EIA and MIA have been split, although at a number of sites some special deposits could not be phased this closely. In these cases sites are also included with the EIA/MIA category; each special deposit is only counted once. Fifty-one Iron Age sites produced recognisable special deposits, meaning excavation did not reveal these at 76[45] other sites. Alongside hillforts, a few other sites produced a relatively high number of special deposits. Single examples were found each at Wytham Hill, Wigbalds Farm/Long Wittenham, Aves Ditch Pipeline Enclosure 1 and The Loders; excavation covered only a very small area of settlement in each case, leading to their high positioning on the graphs. The high position of MIA Gravelly Guy may in part be due to the density of settlement and policy of complete excavation.

[45] These figures exclude those with phases only datable to the LBA/EIA Transition.



Graph 5.21. Index of the number of special deposits discovered for each square metre of site excavated, exlcuding peripheral areas devoid of occupation.
Hillforts are in red
76 sites did not produce recognisable special deposits, and not included on the graph

5.8.5 Decorated Pottery

Finally, decorated pottery also appears to be found more frequently at hillforts compared to non-hillfort sites. This seems particularly apparent in the MIA. It is difficult to produce a means to directly compare assemblages given that the majority of both hillforts and non-hillforts have phases in both the EIA and MIA, meaning producing accurate percentages of decorated pottery for either period is problematic. Pottery is more frequently decorated in the EIA than MIA, with percentages of decorated sherds at sites with only EIA phases commonly falling between c.1-4%.[46] MIA assemblages rarely comprise more than 1% decorated sherds, and very often none of the sherds are decorated.[47]

Whilst recognising that pottery assemblages at hillforts are generally small, the primary exceptions to the very low rate of decoration are at these sites. Of the 3278 EIA and MIA sherds at Segsbury, 4% were decorated. The majority of the pottery was EIA, but included at least two distinctively decorated MIA vessels (Brown 2005; fig. 3.3.43). Thirty sherds of probable EIA date have been found at Perborough Castle; two of these from different vessels were decorated, comprising 6.7% of the very small assemblage (Wood and Hardy 1962, 56). At Danesfield/Medmenham, 6% of the 66 MIA sherds were decorated, and this comprised three out of eight of the recognised vessels (Barclay 1993). At St Ann's Hill, decoration occurred on 5% of the 988 predominately EIA sherds (Jones 2012a, 66-70). Of the 3372 sherds retrieved at Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps, 5.4% were decorated: the majority of this was EIA, but included a substantial proportion of LBA pottery. 215 sherds were recognised as MIA, with a further 17 possibles. At least four of the eight MIA sherds that are illustrated are decorated, and not all decorated sherds were illustrated (Edwards 2010, 49, Table 2.3, figs. 3.5.47-54). At Liddington, only two certain MIA vessels are illustrated, one of which was decorated (Ashton *et al.* 1996, Illus. 18-9). Other decorated sherds might belong to the MIA, although the high degree of fragmentation makes it difficult to distinguish between those of MIA and Transitional date. A similar problem was encountered at Uffington, as both assemblages comprised predominantly All Cannings Cross pottery of which much was redeposited, alongside a more limited MIA presence. Included in the small MIA assemblage is a 'Frilford' style decorated bowl, and at least one other decorated vessel (Brown 2003a, 172-3, fig. 9.6.45-7). Little certain EIA or MIA pottery was discovered at Taplow, although some was decorated (Edwards 2009a, 127). Decoration on the Alfred's Castle assemblage was limited, with

[46] Sites include The Loders, Roughground Farm, Gravelly Guy, Wytham Hill, Spring Road, West of All Saints Church, Watchfield West, Coxwell Road, Moores Farm and Snowy Fielder Way.

[47] MIA sites with no decorated pottery include Cotswold Community, Cleveland Farm, Latton Lands, the Farmoor enclosures, Blackbird Leys, Aves Ditch Pipeline sites, the Site of the First Battle of Newbury, Larkwhistle Farm, Jennett's Park, Baird Road and Riseley Farm. Those with fewer than 1% include Horcott Pit, Manorhouse Farm, Mingies Ditch, Gravelly Guy, Yarnton, Whitehouse Road, Deer Park Road, Slade Farm, Woodcote Road, Thames Valley Park, Fairclough Farm, Laleham, Stanton Harcourt, the settlement Outside Castle Hill, Ashville Trading Estate/Wyndyke Furlong, Groundwell West and Grazeley Road. Warrens Field, Watkins Farm, Tubney Wood, Chilton Grove South, Manor Cottage and Caesar's Camp at Heathrow have just over 1%. A number of other sites have very low decoration, although percentages of sherds are not available.

the pottery primarily dating to the later EIA. Some of the small number of sherds of clearer MIA type were decorated (Brown 2013a, figs. 4.4.26, 4.8.55; 2013b, 8). Statistics are not available for the Blewburton assemblage, although reproduction of all the illustrated MIA vessels shows that decoration was common on this site (Figs. 5.18-9). There is also a wide range of decorative motifs on the EIA pottery at this site.

Although it is by no means decisive that hillforts produce more decorated MIA pottery than non-hillfort sites as current assemblages are limited and more excavation is needed, it does appear that this is the case. The assemblages need to be set against the rarity of MIA decoration at most non-hillfort sites. There are, however, a few non-hillfort sites that produce far more decorated MIA pottery than the majority. Appendix 1.7 demonstrates that this is not probably a chronological indicator, contrary to Harding's (1972, 97-116) assessment. These sites include Noah's Ark Inn/Frilford[48] (Bradford and Goodchild 1939; Harding 1987), Denton's Pit (Piggott and Seaby 1937), Eton Rowing Course Area 16 enclosure (Allen *et al. forthcoming*), St Ann's Heath School (Jones 2013), Wisley (Lowther 1945a), possibly Hawk's Hill (Cunliffe 1965) and 120-124 King Street (Raymond 2001), although the assemblage was very small at this last site. Interestingly, these sites are well distributed in the study area, and there currently appears to be little that unifies them or otherwise distinguishes the group from other MIA sites.

Activity at most hillforts does not appear continuous, but repeated and episodic. Despite this, these highly conspicuous sites were revisited, refurbished and reused over centuries. We might be able to link this pattern to other practices in the Iron Age. The referencing, physical incorporation and retention of aspects of the past can be seen with settlements, material culture and even human remains. This is also occurring at hillforts. These are long-lived features and could have become stages for interaction with the past through visiting and refurbishing. They are very prominent features in the landscape and continual reminders of past generations. The incorporation of the past can also be seen by the appropriation of the few LBA monuments. The early hillfort-type enclosures at Rams Hill, Taplow and Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps all witnessed renewed activity and reconstruction in the Iron Age despite abandonment of the hilltops in the LBA, although there may have been continuous activity outside the Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps enclosure. Given that similar underlying motivations can be traced in the practices associated with a diverse range of evidence, we should be able to interpret social meaning and the structuring principles behind them.

[48] Excavation at this site is ongoing and not included in this analysis (e.g. Kamash *et al.* 2010).

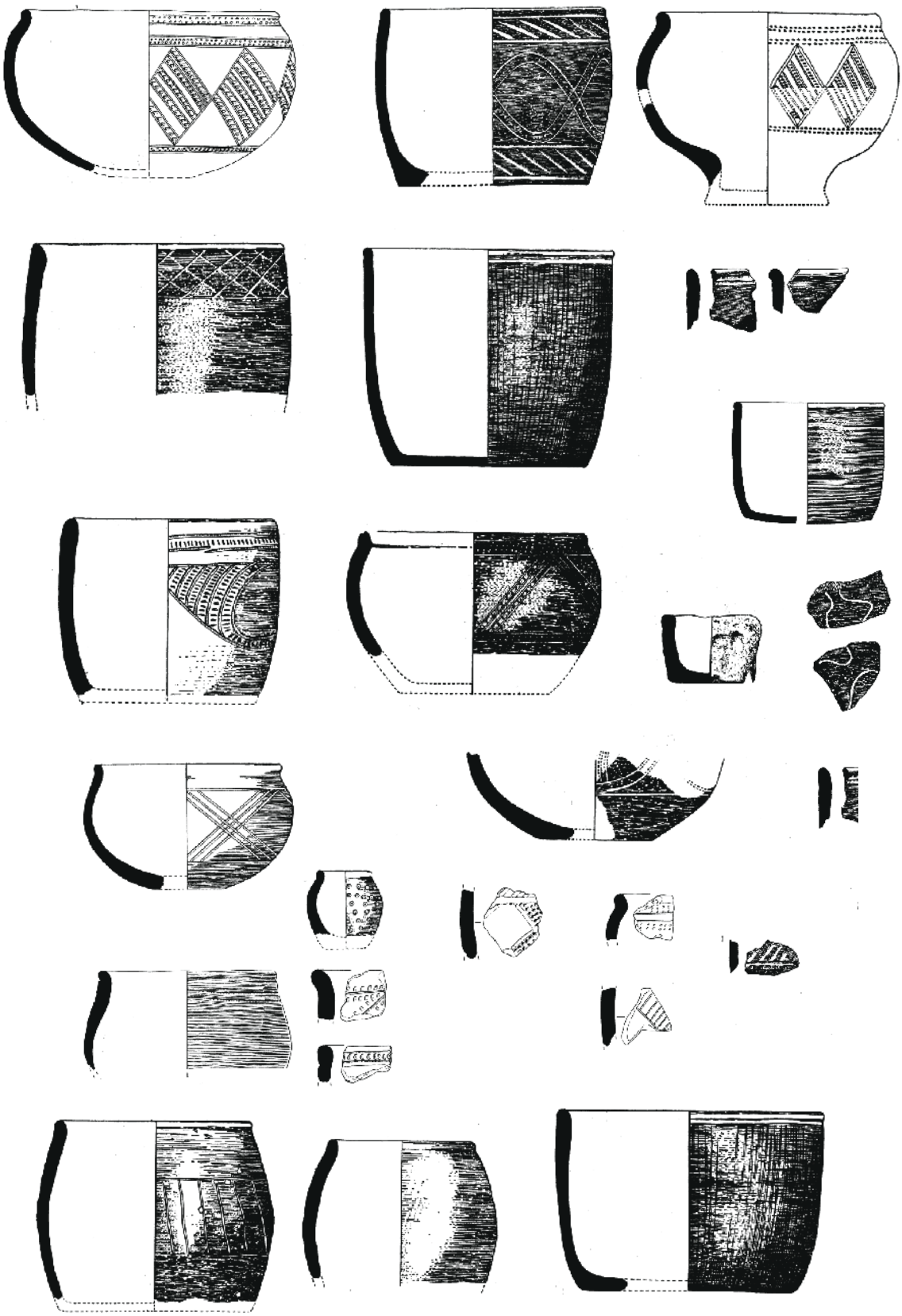


Fig. 5.18. All of the previously illustrated MIA pottery from Blewburton 1.
Note the frequecy of decoration
Collins 1947; 1952-3; Collins and Collins 1959

0 5cm

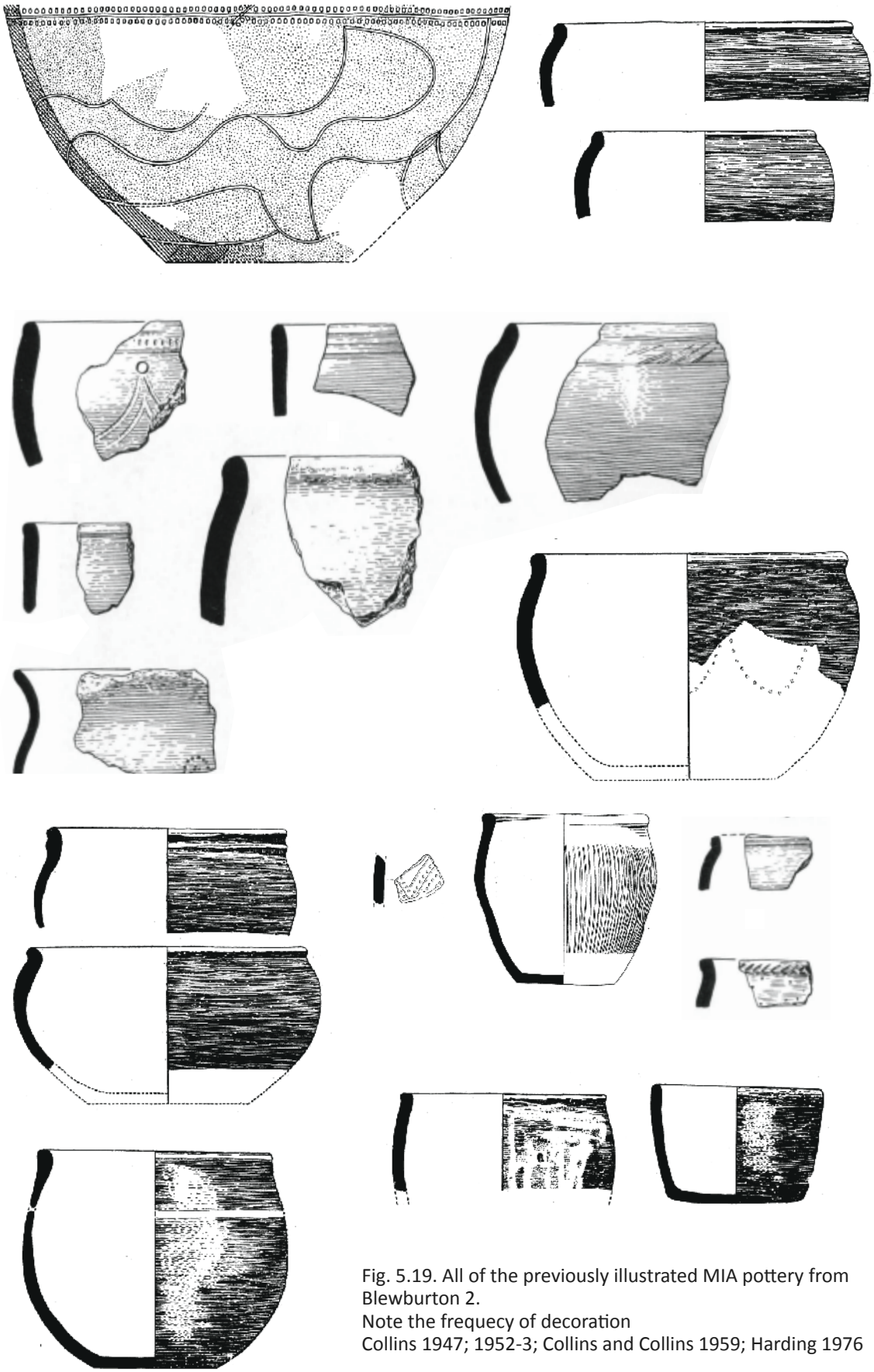


Fig. 5.19. All of the previously illustrated MIA pottery from Blewburton 2.
Note the frequecy of decoration
Collins 1947; 1952-3; Collins and Collins 1959; Harding 1976

0 5cm

5.9 Summary

The chapter began by discussing houses, demonstrating that the archaeological representation of these diversifies from the Transition, but is not as complex as in the MIA. House size also becomes less standardised. Settlements are typically small with only a handful of contemporary houses, and at a few sites we can see separate areas probably belonging to distinct household units. These small, separate units become much more visible through physical and symbolic elaboration in the MIA. Settlements are now typically lived in by numerous generations, often lasting through the EIA and MIA. Single-phased sites are rare. Houses may have lasted longer periods of time than in the LBA.

Special deposits also become much more heterogeneous compared with those dating to the LBA and Transition. Although we can still see three broad types – those only comprising animals and pottery, and those with a mixture of types of finds – fewer patterns can be drawn from the data compared with earlier periods. Animal special deposits now have less structure in their placement within settlements. However, there are wider geographical trends with animal special deposits primarily coming from the Upper Thames basin, although this may in part be due to taphonomy. Pottery only depositions are instead found outside of this region, and these are rarer than in earlier periods. Special deposits of mixed character are typically larger, more frequent and include a wider variety of object types compared to the LBA or Transition. A further shift compared with earlier periods is that patterns are less discernable between settlements, but occasionally can be seen within them. This makes broad analysis of associations and relative frequencies problematic.

The majority of human remains were found in the Upper Thames basin and in hillforts. Deposits of single bones continue to replace cremated remains in popularity compared to earlier periods, and articulated remains and groups of bones are still fairly common. The deposition of skulls may have been preferred. There are some patterns in how bodies were placed, including most heads pointing between the south to north-west, and most human remains appear to have been deposited in liminal positions. It is probabe that only minority practices are visible, although human remains are more common in the EIA than LBA or Transition, but not as common as the MIA. The remains of children are rare, with adults and infants accounting for about half of both the articulated and groups of bone categories. There are many more adult single bones than infants, implying that different circumstances surrounded deposition of this latter group. The presence of worked human bone and the modification of corpses and removal of elements suggest that bones circulated amongst the living and were treated with some importance. This practice also explains the presence of single bones as these could not have been deposited immediately after death and commonly found in special deposits.

The incorporation of aspects of the past can also be shown with material culture. That metalwork is so rare in the EIA needs to be problematized as natural taphonomic processes cannot alone explain this dearth. Other types of non-ceramic finds are also rarer on settlements in the Transition and EIA compared to other periods, despite EIA settlements commonly lasting for long periods of time. The best explanation for this is that objects were passed down through the generations, repaired and reused, very rarely entering the archaeological record. We have some direct examples of this. Again there are some local differences, with the west London Thames and Alfred's Castle producing much of our EIA metalwork. The discovery, collection and exchange of objects that were already ancient can be demonstrated in the Iron Age, and these were treated with importance. This is shown by multi-period hoards and the inclusion of such objects in special deposits on settlements. Alongside ancient objects, foreign exotica were also being procured. A surprising high percentage of the little EIA metalwork that we have appears to have been made on the continent, even if the more spurious examples are excluded. Ceramic objects with a Mediterranean provenance are also known, and objects of British manufacture may have been inspired by foreign items that have yet be found in Britain.

By comparison with non-hillfort sites, it was demonstrated that metalwork, human remains, special deposits and probably decorated MIA pottery are more regularly found on hillforts. This is in spite of activity generally appearing less intensive compared to non-hillforts. This suggests that hillforts were special places in the landscape, and may have had a ritual or ceremonial focus. The nature of activity at these sites is episodic but they are revisited over long periods of time, reworking highly conspicuous landscape features. The LBA hilltop enclosures were also substantially redefined in the Transition or EIA, despite intervening abandonment.

5.10 Discussion

There are two primary patterns that that can be found running through much of this diverse evidence. First, the past was being incorporated into the present: settlements and hillforts lasted for long periods of time, and metalwork and other types of material culture appear to have been kept and passed down over numerous generations. Importance also appears to have been placed on collecting and retaining ancient objects, and human remains may have circulated within society following exhumation or retention. As well as the physical remains of dead individuals being kept, aspects of personhood might have been regarded to have extended into objects, settlements and landscape features associated with the deceased. As such, objects, settlements and hillforts might not have just been reminders of the dead and ancestors, but thought to contain part of their essence (see 2.2-4). We can take this further. Purposeful retention of ancestral items may be related to identity construction and the definition of social groups. This may well signal the increasing importance of past generations and ancestors in the lives of the living, and may indeed be actively part of the process of creating and recreating this mode of social organisation. Ethnographic examples of communities retaining the belongings of

the deceased, with personhood regarded to reside in these things, have been outlined in 2.4. In these communities, certain ancestors are thought to have real agency and power in the lives of the living; lineage is also of prime importance in identity construction and social relationships. Over time, objects also transcend the association of individuals and become inalienable and part of a social group, and an axis to orientate identity (2.4.4). This may have occurred in the EIA, with both foreign and ancient exotica perhaps also being used in such a fashion. Foreign and ancient objects are particularly good candidates for this as they are locally unique, and as such metaphorical for the social group, as well as being manufactured in a context that cannot be understood or recreated. This heightens their significance, and they are often attributed to powerful supernatural beings, and used as a means to hierarchically differentiate (see 2.4.5).

The acquisition and use of unique exotic objects leads to the second pattern that structures much of the evidence outlined in this chapter. We are seeing increasing cultural heterogeneity in its material aspects, ritual practices, and decisions of a less ceremonial nature. This was first traced with decoration on All Cannings Cross pottery in the previous chapter; decoration becomes more prevalent on pottery in the Middle Thames Valley in the EIA. Given the rarity of metalwork in the period, further discussion and interpretation of the diversification of objects is explored in the next chapter (6.8). This diversification was occurring in the EIA, demonstrated for example by the very varied range of daggers and acquisition of exotic objects (Figs. 4.21, 5.11-2, 7.7-12). There is also diversification in other types of material culture and practice. Houses become more varied in size and visible architectural techniques; special deposits have much less inter-site structure in terms of content and placement compared to the LBA and Transition; ways of disposing the dead are also much more varied; and relative percentages of animal bones differ substantially between some sites, representing differences in farming and daily routines. This tells of a fragmentation of wider cultural agreement about how to do things, as well as a desire to more thoroughly distinguish between social units through differences in practice. This links with the discussion of ancestors and lineage becoming more important, as social groups may have been defined by fewer living members, with identity instead becoming more closely engaged with ancestors and the deceased. These processes continue in the MIA, but slightly change tack through the increased use of physical boundaries.

This analysis has highlighted these two primary features partly due to comparison with the LBA. It was argued that some opposed patterns can be discerned in the LBA, and consequently quite different social interpretation is appropriate. As such, the models may appear overly coarse and diametric, although differing relationships with material culture, place and the past, as well as how social groups were defined, do appear to comprise major differences between the LBA and Iron Age, and help structure the often very varied archaeological record between the periods.

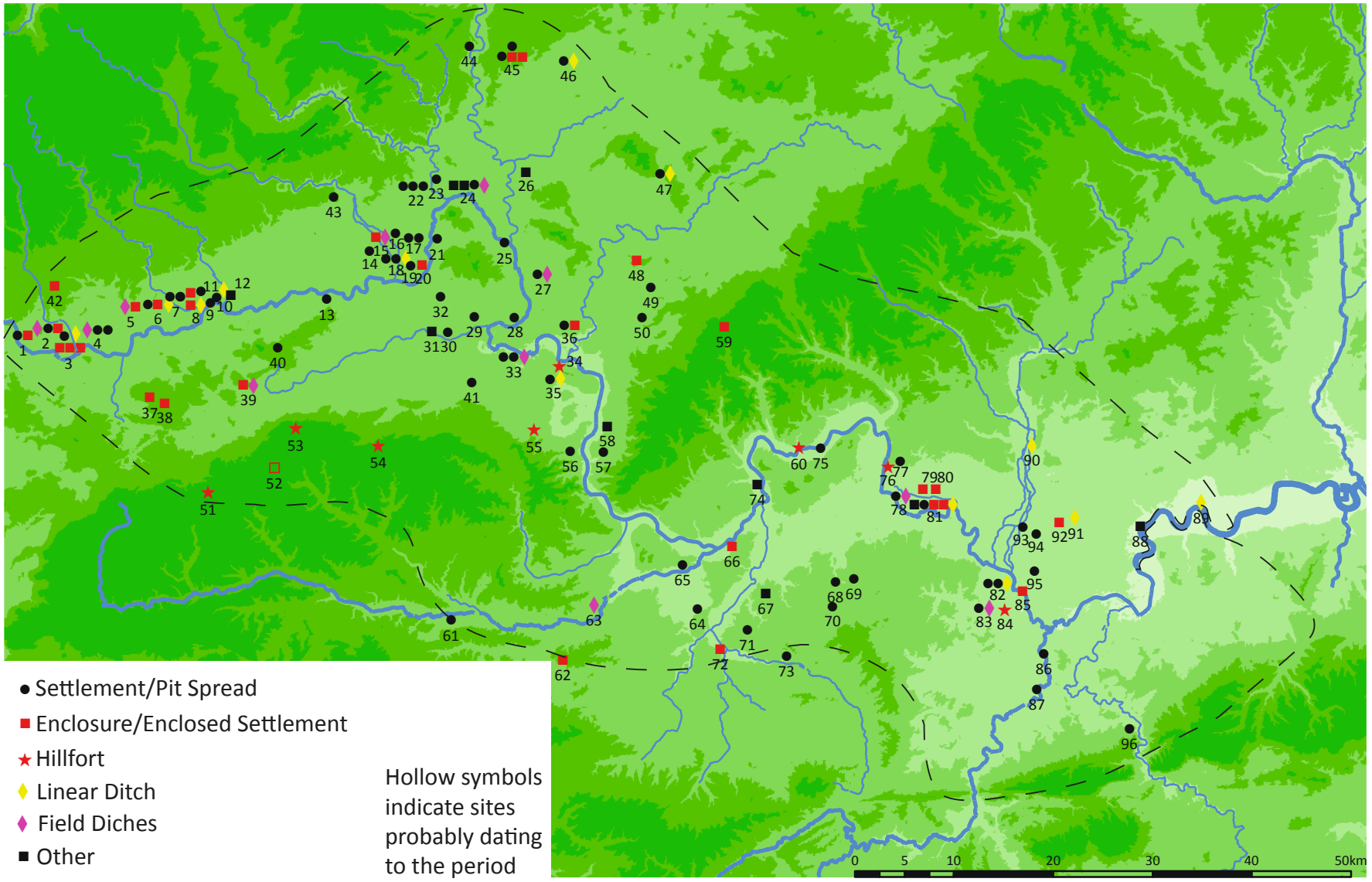
Chapter 6: Middle Iron Age

6.1 Introduction

The key development that occurs in the MIA is the expanding popularity of enclosure and the increasing elaboration and definition of the house and household. Although these features are largely novel to the period, this can be seen as continuing a trajectory of social development that began in the Transition, and was clearer by the EIA. This saw social groups made up of increasingly limited numbers of living individuals. Given the importance of the household in the MIA, this chapter begins with an assessment of houses and settlements, including an examination of the function of ditches and gullies that surround houses. This is followed by a discussion of the meaning of enclosure, and leads to an interpretation of the various levels of enclosure encountered in the MIA. The composition and location of special deposits and human remains are then assessed, before the evidence for iron smelting, metalworking and metalwork is presented. This will form the basis of an interpretation that argues that MIA social groups were based around the household and lineage. Although there are some distinct differences, much of the discussion in the previous chapter related to the EIA is relevant to the MIA. In particular, interpretation and MIA examples of modified human remains, foreign and ancient exotica, and hillforts can be found in 5.5.1, 4.9.2 and 5.6-8.

6.2 Houses and Settlements

312 houses have been dated with some confidence to the MIA. One of the main changes in the archaeologically visible aspects of houses in the MIA is that penannular gullies now dominate. These are now present on 92% (286) of houses, with some 198 (64%) examples being represented only by this feature. Post-rings are now less visible, and 'Type 1' houses defined by a post-ring and protruding entrance posts – integral to the make-up of LBA and Transitional settlements (3.2, 4.2) – are now very rare. The decline of post-rings and increase of gullies continues a pattern that is seen in the EIA (Tables 7.2-4; Graphs 7.2-4). The lack of visible post-rings should not be regarded as a significant change in roundhouse design; these still would have existed to support the roof. It is likely that posts were not dug into the subsoil in the MIA, rendering them archaeologically invisible. This method of construction was tested at Butser Ancient Farm, and there are many ethnographic examples of substantial wooden houses without earth-fast posts (Appendix 2; Reynolds 1979, 30, 42-4; Waterson 1990, 78-83, figs. 77, 83, 86, 88, 89). It was suggested in 5.2 that this factor may mask the true numbers of EIA houses given that penannular gullies were not regularly dug in this period. This is supported by the pit spread settlements that do not have visible houses. Although the population certainly did increase between the EIA and MIA, this is not as dramatic as the relative numbers of houses suggests. Given the ubiquity of penannular gullies and the explosive rate in which they came to dominate the archaeological record of domestic architecture, it is worth exploring their function and meaning.



Map 6.1. Middle Iron Age sites

1. Spratsgate Lane (Vallender 2007)
2. Cotswold Community/ Shorncote Quarry (Powell *et al.* 2010)
3. Cleveland Farm (Powell *et al.* 2008)
4. Latton Lands (Powell *et al.* 2009)
5. Horcott Pit (Lamdin-Whymark *et al.* 2009)
6. Totterdown Lane (Pine and Preston 2004)
7. Thornhill Farm (Jennings *et al.* 2004)
8. Warrens Field/Claydon Pike (Miles *et al.* 2007)
9. Allcourt Farm (Stansbie *et al.* 2013)
10. Roughground Farm/ Sherbourne House/Allcourt Farm Linear Ditch complex (Allen *et al.* 1993; Bateman *et al.* 2003; Stansbie *et al.* 2013)
11. Sherborne House (Bateman *et al.* 2003)
12. Roughground Farm – Burial (Allen *et al.* 1993)
13. Manorhouse Farm, Hatford (Brown 2000)
14. Standlake Downs (Riley 1946-7)
15. Mingies Ditch (Allen and Robinson 1993)
16. Beard Mill (Williams 1951)
17. Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004)
18. Stanton Harcourt (Hamlin 1966)
19. Irelands Land (Norton 2006)
20. Watkins Farm (Allen 1990a)
21. Farmoor (Lambrick and Robinson 1979)
22. City Farm (Case *et al.* 1964-5)
23. Purwell Farm (Dawson 1961-2)
24. Yarnton (Hey *et al.* 2011)
25. Whitehouse Road (Mudd 1993)
26. Woodeaton (Goodchild and Kirk 1954; Harding 1987)
27. Blackbird Leys (Booth and Edgeley-Long 2003)
28. Thrupp (Ainslie 1992; Wilson 1997)
29. Ashville Trading Estate/ Wyndyke Furlong (Muir and Roberts 1999; Parrington 1978)
30. Land South of Marcham (Hart *et al.* 2012)
31. Frilford/Noahs Ark Inn (Bradford and Goodchild 1939; Harding 1987)

see previous page for map

32. Tubney Wood (Simmonds and Anderson-Whymark 2011)
33. Appleford (Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980)
34. Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps (Allen *et al.* 2010; Hingley 1980; Rhodes 1948)
35. Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps (Allen *et al.* 2010; Hingley 1980; Rhodes 1948)
36. Mount Farm (Lambrick 2010; Myres 1937)
37. Groundwell Farm (Gingell 1982)
38. Groundwell West (Walker *et al.* 2001)
39. Watchfield East (Birbeck 2001)
40. Coxwell Road (Cook *et al.* 2004; (Weaver and Ford 2004)
41. Milton Hill North (Hart *et al.* 2012)
42. Preston (Mudd and Mortimer 1999)
43. Deer Park Road (Walker 1995)
44. Heyford Road (Cook and Hayden 2000)
45. Aves Ditch Pipeline (Hart *et al.* 2010)
46. Slade Farm (Ellis *et al.* 2000)
47. Chilton Grove South (Site 21) (Taylor and Ford 2004b)
48. Heath Farm (Rowley 1973)
49. Cornwell Copse (Taylor and Ford 2004a)
50. Wrapsgrove (Site 34) (Taylor and Ford 2004b)
51. Liddington (Bowden 2001; Hirst and Rahtz 1996)
52. Alfreds Castle Large Enclosure (Gosden and Lock 2013)
53. Uffington (Lock *et al.* 2003a)
54. Segsbury (Lock *et al.* 2005)
55. Blewburton (Bradford 1942; Collins 1947; Collins 1952-3; Collins and Collins 1959; Harding 1976)
56. Halfpenny Lane (Ford 1990)
57. Woodcote Road (Timby *et al.* 2005)
58. North Stoke (Ford and Hazell 1989)
59. Hailey Wood (Chambers 1973)
60. Danesfield Camp/ Medmenham (Keevill and Campbell 1993)
61. Site of the first battle of Newbury (Gajos *et al.* 2011)
62. Larkwhistle Farm (Hardy and Cropper 1999)
63. Aldermaston Wharf (Cowell *et al.* 1977-8)
64. Grazeley Road (Ford *et al.* 2013)
65. Denton's Pit (Piggott and Seaby 1937)
66. Thames Valley Park (Smith and Barnes 1997)
67. Sadler's End (Lewis *et al.* 2013)
68. Park Farm, Binfield (Roberts 1995)
69. Fairclough Farm (Torrance and Durden 2003)
70. Jennett's Park (Simmonds *et al.* 2009)
71. Baird Road (Hammond 2011)
72. Riseley Farm (Lobb and Morris 1991-3)
73. Manor Farm, Finchampstead (Platt 2013)
74. Lower Bolney (Campbell 1992)
75. Manor Cottage, Bisham (Pine 2013)
76. Taplow (Allen *et al.* 2009)
77. Taplow to Dorney Pipeline (Hart *et al.* 2011)
78. Lake End Road West (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
79. Old Way Lane (Ford 2003)
80. Wood Lane (Entwistle *et al.* 2003)
81. Eton Rowing Course – Enclosures, linear ditch, settlement and bridges (Allen *et al. forthcoming*)
82. Thorpe Lea Nurseries (Hayman and Poulton 2012)
83. St Ann's Heath School (Lambert 2013a; 2013b)
84. St Ann's Hill (Jones 2012a)
85. Laleham (Taylor-Wilson 2002)
86. Brooklands (Hanworth and Tomalin 1977)
87. Wisley (Lowther 1945)
88. Snowy Fielder Way – Ditch (Bell 1996)
89. King Street (Humphrey 2001)
90. Jewson's Yard (Barclay *et al.* 1995)
91. Nobel Drive (Elsden 1997)
92. Caesar's Camp, Heathrow (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993)
93. Heathrow Terminal 5 (Framework Archaeology 2010)
94. Heathrow Site K (Canham 1978)
95. Ashford Prison (Carew *et al.* 2006)
96. Hawks Hill (Hastings 1965)

6.2.1 Penannular gullies – function and interpretation

Penannular gullies surrounding houses are almost invariably interpreted as drainage features for water running off the eaves of the house (e.g. Allen *et al.* 1984; Allen and Robinson 1993, 41, 65; Cook *et al.* 2004, 193; Framework Archaeology 2010, 240; Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, 318-25, 333; Harding 2009, 65, 75; Hey *et al.* 2011, 31; Lambrick 2010, 138; Lambrick and Robinson 1979, 66, 69, 70; Miles *et al.* 2007, 61; Mudd 1993, 45; Parrington 1978, 34; Powell *et al.* 2008, 24; Powell *et al.* 2009, 39, 106; but see Evans 1997[1]; Moore 2007[2]). The exceptions are gullies that have been shown to hold posts for the outer wall of the house. However, closer scrutiny suggests penannular ditches were not simply functional solutions to an environmental issue, but were constructed within socio-cultural frameworks with non-'functional' meanings. As features created within such contexts, careful interpretation can reveal something of the social patterning of the groups and individuals who built them. It will be argued that penannular gullies did not function primarily to provide drainage. Instead, they should also be thought of as a form of enclosure, being one of many present at different scales in the Iron Age. This is suggested by their rarity before and after the MIA; their presence at free-draining sites; the often excessive dimensions of the ditches; the often non-concentric relationship between ditches and inner post-rings; commonly associated special and human deposits; and that penannular ditches are part of a wider phenomenon of boundary features in the MIA. When other features of MIA houses are considered within this framework, such as the diversification of visible architectural elements, and the presence of features constraining and controlling movement towards houses and within settlements, a wider interpretation of the makeup of MIA social units is suggested. It will be argued that the household was the nucleus of community and identity; this is supported by other patterns in the archaeological record.

Functionality: Geology and other Periods

The drainage argument is a functional interpretation and can be explored by a number of functional means. As the argument assumes that gullies were necessary for drainage, it follows that all houses in the same or similar architectural style in the same topographic locations would need either this feature or a similar way of controlling water. Although the specifics vary, houses from the MBA through to the end of the Iron Age remained broadly similar regarding requirements for the provision of drainage: floor levels do not seem to have been raised in any period, for example.

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1 Although Evans (1997) still regards drainage as the primary function for penannular gullies in his much wetter fenland study area, he does argue that they were constructed within cultural frameworks and aspects of this culture can be understood through their study. He highlights the lack of integration between house gullies, enclosure ditches and other settlement ditches and the consequent lack of functionality that these features provide for drainage (Evan 1997, 220).

2 Moore (2007, 271) has previously contrasted the open nature of earlier first millennium houses with later examples surrounded by ditches in social terms.

The vast majority of sites and houses from all periods are on the gravel terraces near the Thames or Kennet (Graph 6.7). Although there is local variation, gravel itself is very free-draining and not prone to waterlogging. This has been commented on in various archaeological sites that also produced penannular gullies (e.g. Allen and Robinson 1993, 107; Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, 325; Hanworth and Tomalin 1977, 12; Lambrick 2009, 22; Robinson 1993, 73). In any period, drainage may therefore be less of a problem in Thames Valley compared to other areas. Given that similar domestic architectural styles were being built on the same geologies, similar functional considerations and perhaps solutions regarding drainage should be found throughout later prehistory. In fact, given that supporting post-rings were not sunk into the ground in the MIA but probably left sitting on the surface, the need to direct subterranean water away from these features may have been less an issue compared to earlier periods when earth-fast posts more susceptible to rot were the norm.

Many Iron Age sites such as Gravelly Guy, Latton Lands, Yarnton and Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong have houses that date to various sub-periods within the Iron Age. Others such as Yarnton and Heathrow T5 have houses from both the Later Bronze Age and Iron Age. If drainage was a substantial issue we should see ways of dealing with this regardless of period. This, however, is not the case: house gullies – like settlement enclosures – are primarily a MIA phenomenon, with relatively few earlier precursors (Tables 7.2-4; Graphs 7.2-4). There are few obvious houses in the LIA (Allen *et al.* 1984; Hey *et al.* 2011, 189; Lambrick and Allen 2004, 175), although they appear to have been round,[3] and often built within the numerous enclosures of rectilinear form that have even larger ditches found on various LIA/Early Roman sites.[4] These are even less obviously drainage solutions than in the MIA. 'Gullies' thus become less common in the LIA. This LIA pattern argues against the suggestions that, first, prior to the MIA drainage was an issue that was not addressed due to ignorance that a ditch could provide a solution; and second that the slightly wetter environment in the MIA caused drainage to become a larger problem that needed to be addressed in novel ways.

It may be further expected that houses at particularly low-lying sites on the gravels close to rivers dating to the MIA would have been provided with a drip gully. This is not necessarily the case. Two of the sites where flooding was a constant seasonal threat both had houses with no penannular gullies. At Farmoor, seasonal Iron Age flooding of the northerly enclosures is well demonstrated. Evidence is less conclusive in Areas I and II, although this is certainly a possibility (Lambrick and Robinson 1979, 140). House F.560 in Area II consists of a palisade wall-slot trench

[3] For example S200, 2001 and posthole cluster 1, Thornhill Farm (Jennings *et al.* 2004, 31-35, figs. 3.6-7); Structures 19986, 11951 and 19985, Cotswold Community (Powell *et al.* 2010, 99-100, fig. 3.6); 705 and 825, Cleveland Farm (Powell *et al.* 2008, 28-9, fig. 3); the stake-circle in Enclosure B, Langford Downs (Williams 1946-7, 53-4, fig. 14).

[4] For example Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004, Chap. 4), Thornhill Farm (Jennings *et al.* 2004, 30-58), Yarnton (Hey *et al.* 2011, Chaps. 7-8), Totterdown Lane (Pine and Preston 2004), Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry (Powell *et al.* 2010, Chap. 3), Linch Hill Corner (Grimes 1943-4, 47-60, figs. 20-23), Old Shifford Farm (Hey 1995), Longdoles Field (Miles *et al.* 2007, Chap. 4), Langford Downs (Williams 1946-7).

and is not surrounded by a gully (Lambrick and Robinson 1979, 138, fig. 4, Pl. IV). The main enclosure ditch at Mingies Ditch was waterlogged and the bottom of at least one pit also fell below the water table during the Iron Age, although the site itself was probably not flooded during occupation (Allen and Robinson 1993, 101-8). Here, House 4 did not have a gully (Fig. 6.1; Allen and Robinson 1993, 50-4, fig 24). This house would not have survived the level of truncation that is present on the vast majority of Upper Thames sites, suggesting other similar now destroyed houses were present in the MIA that did not have gullies. This further suggests that the addition of a gully was a choice determined by cultural norms and expectations, rather than just the environment. Other earlier low-lying sites dating before the MIA that may have been prone to flooding, for example St Helen's Avenue (Pine and Ford 2003), consist of post-built houses with no drainage gullies.

Dimensions and Special Deposits

The proportions of a number of gullies further argue against the assumption that these functioned primarily for drainage purposes. These particular gullies are of a size far in excess of what is necessary for this purpose, requiring considerable work input. Large banks that have subsequently been levelled would also have accompanied many if not all of these features. One example is Enclosure 120 at Thornhill Farm (Fig. 6.2; Jennings *et al.* 2004, 26-8). This defined an internal oval area of 9x14m with a south facing entrance; the ditch was 1m deep and 3m wide. Like many other houses with unusual ditch features, the importance of this enclosure was enhanced by a series of special deposits.[5] Deposition concentrated at the terminals of the enclosure, with the area directly opposite also receiving increased material. From the seven small slots excavated, 2kg of pottery, 3.45kg of bone and 2200kg of burnt limestone was recovered. The various phases of Enclosure 390 at Yarnton provide another example (Fig. 6.3-4). The first phase of this three or four phased ditch sequence also had a blocking ditch outside its southerly entrance. At its greatest extent, this enclosure ditch was 2m wide and cut 90cm into the gravel. A number of special deposits including human remains are also associated with this feature.[6]

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[5] Special deposit ID 311

[6] Special deposit IDs 176, 177, 182. Pit 273 in the north-west of the enclosure contained a partial sheep skeleton alongside other animal bones. Pit 584, on the south-west edge of the enclosure, was one of only eight MIA pits to contain the remains of wild animals at Yarnton. It contained wild bird and hare bones, a bone comb and leaze rod, a bone/antler handle, 23 loomweight fragments weighing 4482g, four fragments of two saddle querns, a crucible fragment; 53 sherds of pottery weighing 1046g, a large quantity of animal bone, charred plants, worked bone and fired clay. The final cutting of the ditch further contained special deposits, including 120 sherds of pottery weighing 1692g, 101 animal bones, a sub-tuyere plate, two crucible fragments and copper alloy brooch fragments. Although only 20% of the ditch was sampled, finds concentrated on the south-east side. An articulated infant was buried in posthole 411 in the west of the enclosure.

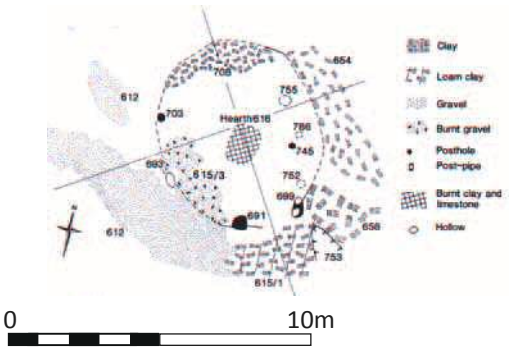

Fig. 6.1. House 4 at Mingies Ditch
Allen and Robinson 1993, fig. 24
Image: OA

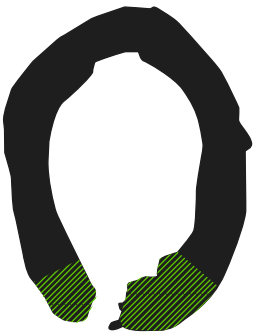

Fig. 6.2. Enclosure 120 at Thornhill Farm
After Jennings *et al.* 2004, fig. 3.4

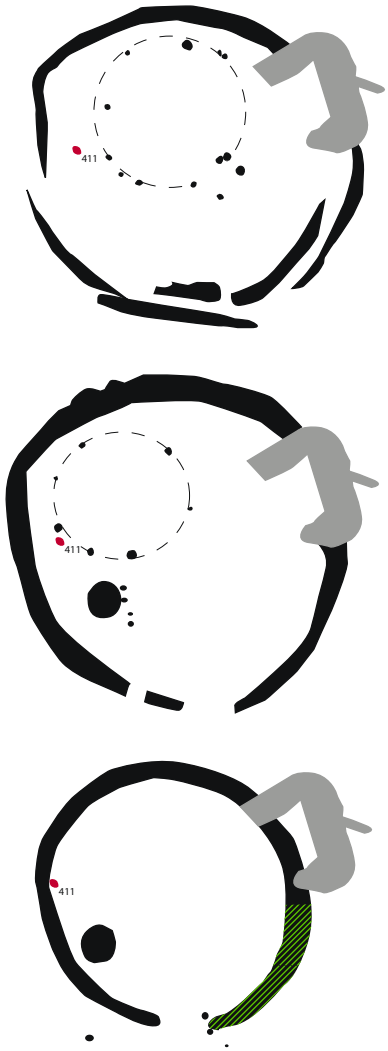

Fig. 6.3. Multi-phased Enclosure 390 at Yarnton
After Hey *et al.* 2011, figs. 6.9-13

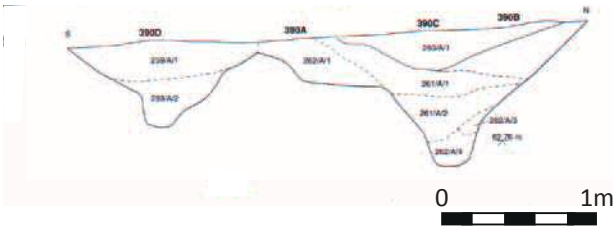

Fig. 6.4. Sections of Enclosure 390 at Yarnton
Hey *et al.* 2011, fig. 6.14. Image: OA

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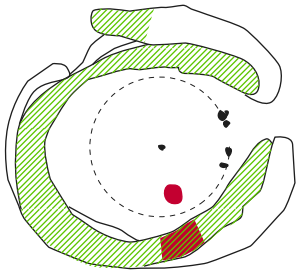

Fig. 6.5. Enclosure A3 and Building V at Gravelly Guy
After Lambrick and Allen 2004, figs. 3.6, 3.14

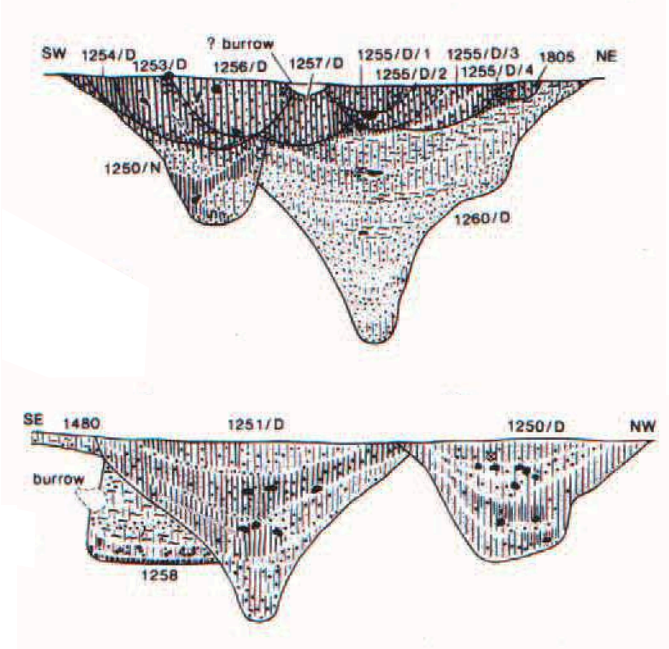

Fig. 6.6. Sections of Enclosure A3 at Gravelly Guy
Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 3.7. Image: OA

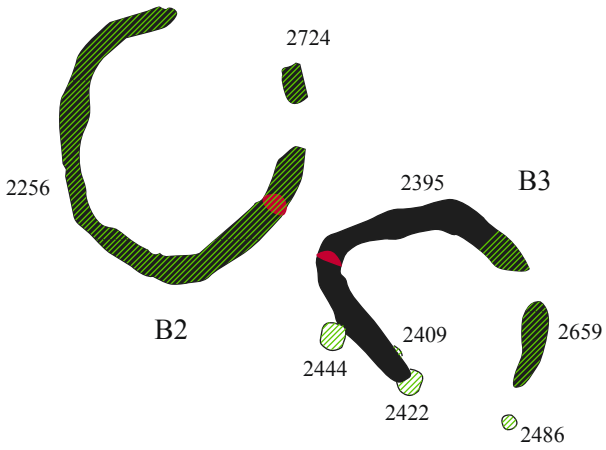

Fig. 6.7. Enclosures B2 and B3 at Gravelly Guy
After Lambrick and Allen 2004, figs. 3.8

0 10m
Plans
0 1m
Sections
= Human Remains
= Special Deposit

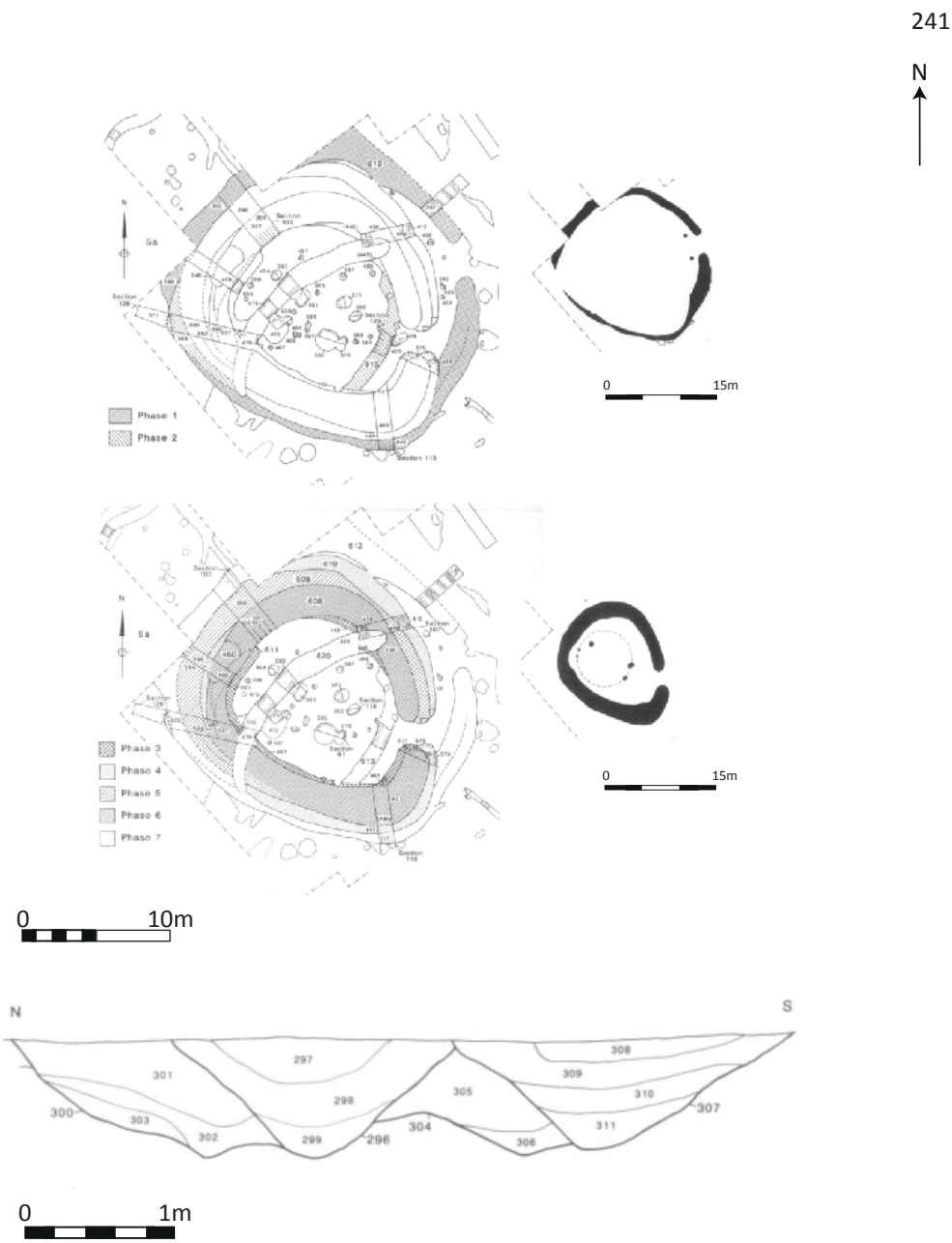

Fig. 6.8. Multi-phased Enclosure B at Whitehouse Road
Mudd 1993, figs. 5-6, 8

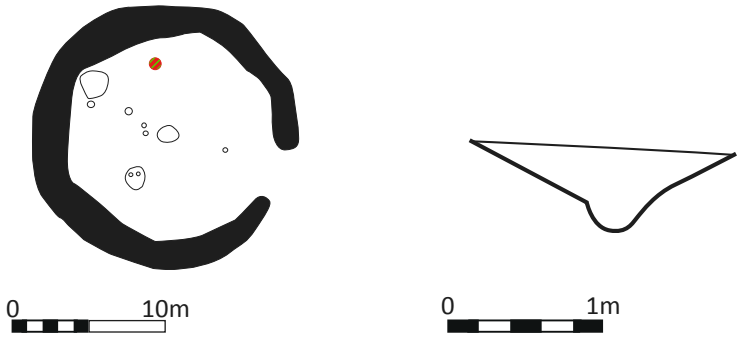

Fig. 6.9. Structure 8 at Ashford Prison
After Carew *et al.* 2006, figs. 31, 43

= Human Remains

= Special Deposit

At Gravelly Guy, the ditch of enclosure A3 reached a depth of 1.8m below the gravel and a width of 2.8m (Figs. 6.5-6; Lambrick and Allen 2004, 119-131; figs. 3.6-7). Large deposits of material including human remains were concentrated in the north-west terminal. The later phase of this enclosure was of similar massive proportions and also contained special deposits.[7] This feature can be dated towards the end of the MIA. Enclosures B2 and B3 are similar, and were also the focus for a large number of special deposits comprising a vast and varied quantity of material, including human remains (Fig. 6.7; Lambrick and Allen 2004, 123-31).[8] These both had a short ditch at the causeway of the penannular ditch, creating a double entrance. Deposits were concentrated at the entrance. The multi-phased Enclosure B at Whitehouse Road was of similar size (Fig. 6.8; Mudd 1993, 41-5, fig. 5, 6, 8). The gully was up to 16m in diameter and measured up to 3m wide and 0.8m deep.

Other examples of substantial ditches probably surrounding roundhouses include circular structure 8 at Ashford Prison, measuring up to 2.4m wide and 0.7m deep (Fig. 6.9; Carew *et al.* 2006, 50-2). The finds density of the fill was high, and an internal pit contained a special deposit of nested pottery.[9] The recut at Roundhouse 8 at Heathrow T5 measured at least 1m deep and up to 1.2m wide (Fig. 6.10; Framework Archaeology 2010, 247, Table 4.3). The ditch contained by far the highest quantity of pottery, bone, burnt flint and fired clay than any other roundhouse, the material being concentrated at the northern terminal.[10] The double penannular ditches at Blackbird Leys are both of excessive proportions, the inner 1.5-3m wide with a depth of 0.7-0.92m (Fig. 6.11; Booth and Edgeley-Long 2003, 209). Enclosure 55/43 at Totterdown Lane was between 2-3m wide (Fig. 6.55; Pine and Preston 2004); and the ditch of the secondary enclosure at Caesar's Camp was up to 1.8m wide and 0.65-0.9m deep (Fig. 6.12; Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, 326-7). These both date to the very end of the MIA, and both could have enclosed two roundhouses. Further instances of ditches surrounding two houses are discussed in 6.2.6. All these measurements are minimum figures as they are the sizes when excavated, not allowing for original topsoil and the effects of truncation. Examples are found throughout the study area, and also include enclosure 6 and enclosure 4/structure 11 at Warrens Field. Enclosures 1, 3 and 8 at the site are again similar, but probably date to the LIA (Miles *et al.* 2007).

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7 Special deposit IDs 62 and 63. This consisted of 458 sherds/8715g pottery, much burnt stone and charcoal, three quern fragments, a bone gouge, 418 animal bones and a complete horse skull. Material concentrating in the eastern terminal include a copper alloy rim, nine fragments of slag, an iron nail, 294 sherds/3475g pottery, four quern frags, one stone smoother, a bone awl, a bone tool and 401 fragments of animal bone. An infant tibia was deposited in the south-east side of the house gully, and several bones from a neonate in pit 1230 in the south of building V.

8 Special deposit IDs 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137. Human remains IDs 95 and 96.

9 Special deposit ID 392

10 Special deposit ID 395

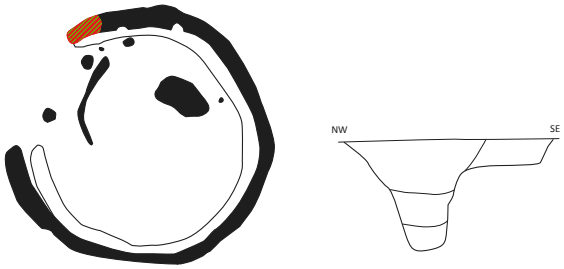


Fig. 6.10. Plan and section of northern terminal of Roundhouse 8 at Heathrow T5
After Framework Archaeology 2010, fig. 4.25

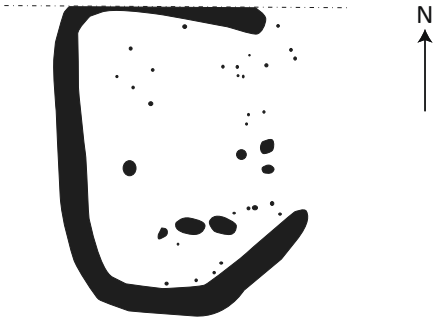


Fig. 6.12. The Secondary Enclosure at Caesar's Camp, Heathrow
After Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, fig. 20

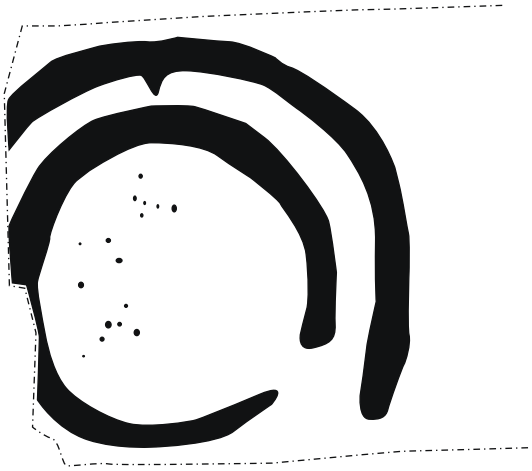


Fig. 6.11. The double penannular ditches at Blackbird Leys
After Booth and Edgeley-Long 2003, fig. 3

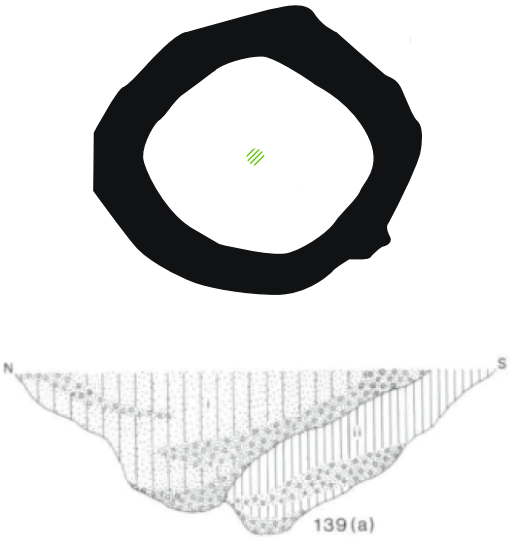
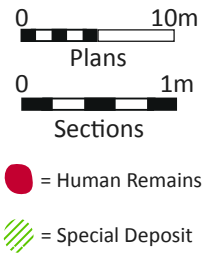


Fig. 6. 13. Enclosure A, ditch 139 at Appleford
After Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980, figs. 15-6

Fig. 6.14. Enclosure 2, Structure 1 and Structure 2 at Warrens Field
After Miles *et al.* 2007, figs. 3.5-6, 3.11



Ditch 139 of Enclosure A at Appleford had no entrance. This measured 13x12m internally, and may have had a further structure measuring c.7m in diameter inside, although this was not discovered by excavation but only seen on aerial photographs (Fig. 6.13; Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980, 35-9, figs. 15-6). At the base of the ploughsoil the ditch measured 2.5m wide and was up to 1m in depth. Silting into the ditch here suggests spoil was used to form an internal bank (Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980, 35). This ditch also contained the only recognised special deposit[11] on the site, consisting of a horse skull and upper part of dog skull in the bottom of a pit in the centre of the enclosed area. More examples of houses associated with special deposits and human remains are detailed below.

Enclosure 2 surrounding Structure 1 at Warrens Field was again of substantial proportions, being up to 2.25m wide and 0.9m deep (Fig. 6.14; Miles *et al.* 2007, 40-42; figs. 3.5-6). A special deposit appears to have been placed in the inner gully.[12] The relationship between this ditch and its internal house - defined by a probable wall slot trench - is characteristically unsuitable for catching rain water from the eaves of the house. It is rectangular, contrasting with the circular wall slot trench, with the south-eastern side tapering far away from the entrance to the house. For gullies to effectively drain water, they should lie concentric to any house posts and under the eaves of the roof. There should also be a consistent relationship between the diameter of the post-rings and gullies. This is very often not the case, and could not have been effective for draining water from the eaves.

Post-Rings and Gullies

Of the 38 MIA gullies that enclose post-rings, the size difference between these two features differs enormously. Although part of the discrepancy could be explained by the post-rings representing different parts of the roundhouses, with some being the outer wall line and others the inner posts supporting the roof (see Appendix 2), smaller post-rings are very often off-centred to their corresponding gullies. An example of a house with a post-ring almost the same diameter as its surrounding gully is Roundhouse 4180 at Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry (Fig. 6.15; Powell *et al.* 2010, 74-8). This consists of a post-ring with a diameter of 10.5m inside a gully with an internal diameter of 11m. The post-rings and gullies of Hut D at Caesar's Camp and Roundhouse 7 at Groundwell West are of very similar proportions (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, 321; Walker *et al.* 2001, 12-5). Beard Mill provides an example from the other end of the spectrum (Fig. 6.16; Williams 1951, 9-10). Here, a post-ring measuring 7m was located inside a gully with an internal diameter of c.18x12m. This was off-centre, with the nearest posthole only 1.5m from the edge of the ditch. The opposite side of the post-ring can be projected to lie at least 3.5m from the edge of the ditch. Gullies containing houses that are off-centred could not function effectively as drainage features for more than only a small portion of the house.

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11 Special deposit ID 27

12 Special deposit ID 223

Fig. 6.15. Roundhouse 4180 at Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry
After Powell *et al.* 2010, fig. 2.53

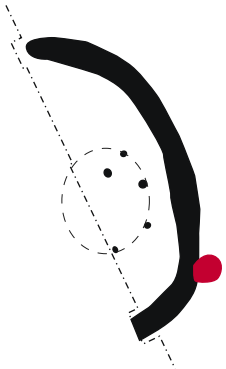


Fig. 6.16. Ditched Enclosure and Hut, Site A at Beard Mill
After Williams 2051, fig. 4

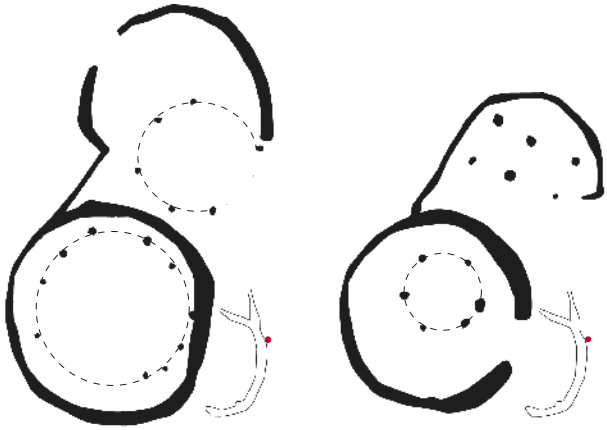
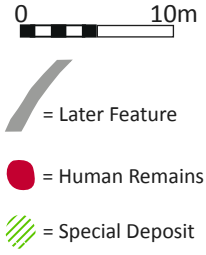


Fig. 6.17. Phases ine and three of the three phased ditch sequence 13, 18, 19 *etc.* at Ashville Trading Estate
After Parrington 1978, fig. 12

Fig. 6.18. Building BB at Gravelly Guy
After Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 3.14

Fig. 6.19. Ditch 1020 at Ashville Trading Estate
After Parrington 1978, fig. 5



The three phased sequence at Ashville, ditches 13, 18, 19 *etc.,* are of note for a number of reasons (Fig. 6.17; Parrington 1978, 11-5, fig. 12). The first phase consists of two adjacent joined penannular gullies, the northerly of the two containing a very off-centred post-ring. The relationship between this and the southern gully suggests this ring supported outer wall posts; the surrounding gully could therefore not function effectively as a drainage feature, and may have instead enclosed a yard area in front of the house. This southern gully contained a concentric post-ring. Like enclosure A at Appleford this gully did not have an entrance. It was dug up to 0.5m below the gravel.

In the third phase the ditches were redug, this time with the southern example provided with an eastern causeway leading to a separate ditched area, containing a much smaller off-centred post-ring. The northern ditch enclosed a six-post structure, directly replacing an earlier unenclosed six-poster that in turn replaced the small post-ring of phase 1. As the structure is rectangular and the ditch is penannular, it is unlikely that the ditch could have effectively drained water from the roof.

Enclosure 390 at Yarnton is a similar noteworthy multi-phased penannular ditch sequence containing post structures (Figs. 6.3-4; Hey *et al.* 2011, 150-156, figs. 6.9-6.14). This has already been mentioned regarding the large proportions of the ditches and the series of special deposits in pits in the interior and the ditch itself. Here, two phases of post-rings sit off-centred and very close to the ditch edges, providing a large area between the southerly entrance of the ditch and the houses. Even if Structure B802 is interpreted to lie within Enclosure 390B rather than 390D as is interpreted in the report, the houses are still not concentric with the ditches. Furthermore, Structure B802 has a south-east facing porch inside a south facing gully, suggesting a more complex use of the gully than for purely drainage purposes. Other examples where the post-ring and gully are not concentric include Building BB at Gravelly Guy (Fig. 6.18; Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 3.14) and Ditch 1020 at Ashville Trading Estate (Fig. 6.19; Parrington 1978, 17).

Enclosing the House

It can be demonstrated that a number of other gullies did not function as drainage features, but instead acted more to enclose and differentiate. House 5 at Mingies Ditch was provided with a gully most of the way around the house. However, on its north-west side, two sections of the gully were joined by a length of fence (Fig. 6.20; Allen and Robinson 1993, 56). This suggests that the fence and gully were interchangeable and had a similar function. These features both enclose the house and make it more distinctive and separate from the rest of the settlement. This is similar to House 2 where part of the gully was replaced by a fence. House 1 was only surrounded by a gully on its westerly side; to the east it was directly adjacent to and enclosed by the upcast from the inner settlement enclosure ditch (Allen and Robinson 1993, 37-43).

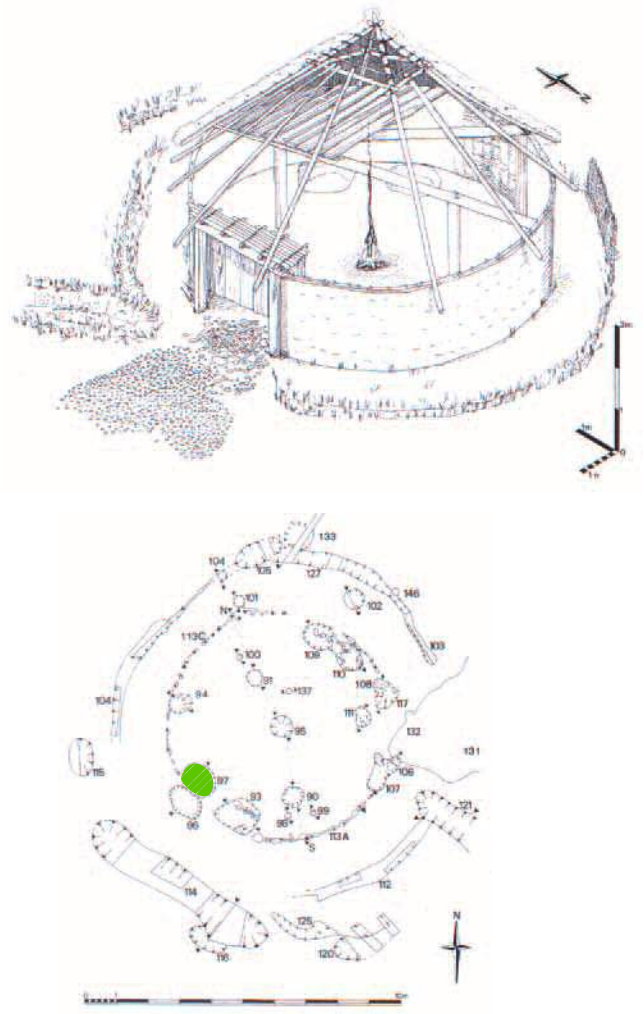


Fig. 6.20. Plan and reconstruction of House 5 at Mingies Ditch
Allen and Robinson 1993, figs. 27-8
Image: OA

= Special Deposit

Alongside enclosure A at Appleford and ditch 18 at Ashville (Figs. 6.13, 6.17), various other house ditches do not have entrance causeways. Other examples include gully 1277 at Latton Lands (Powell *et al.* 2009). Roundhouse 9 at Totterdown Lane had a very small entrance that was subsequently blocked (Fig. 6.55; Pine and Preston 2004, 11, fig. 2.11), and the entrance to the second phase of structure 17 at Warrens Field also was also blocked after use (Miles *et al.* 2007, 31, fig. 3.02, 3.11). This appears similar to the first phase of Enclsoure 390 at Yarnton (Fig. 6.3; Hey *et al.* 2011, 152). The long antenna ditches at Spratsgate Lane S1/8/9 were also blocked numerous times (Fig. 6.21; Vallender 2007), as were the entrances to the settlement enclosure at Mingies Ditch (Figs. 6.37-8; Allen and Robinson 1993, 28, fig. 11), and possibly Groundwell Farm (Fig. 6.57; Gingell 1982, 35, fig. 2). Structure 1 at Jennetts Park comprised a continuous circular gully with no entrance enclosing a probable wall-slot trench facing east (Simmonds *et al.* 2009, 17, fig. 15). Perhaps access to houses that had gullies with no entrance was via a removable wooden plank, further emphasising the isolation and separation of the house that is created by the construction of the ditch. In the case of the examples from Totterdown Lane, Spratsgate Lane and Warren Field, perhaps the houses were blocked after the demise of the household, or during a period of abandonment to seal the space from the rest of the settlement.

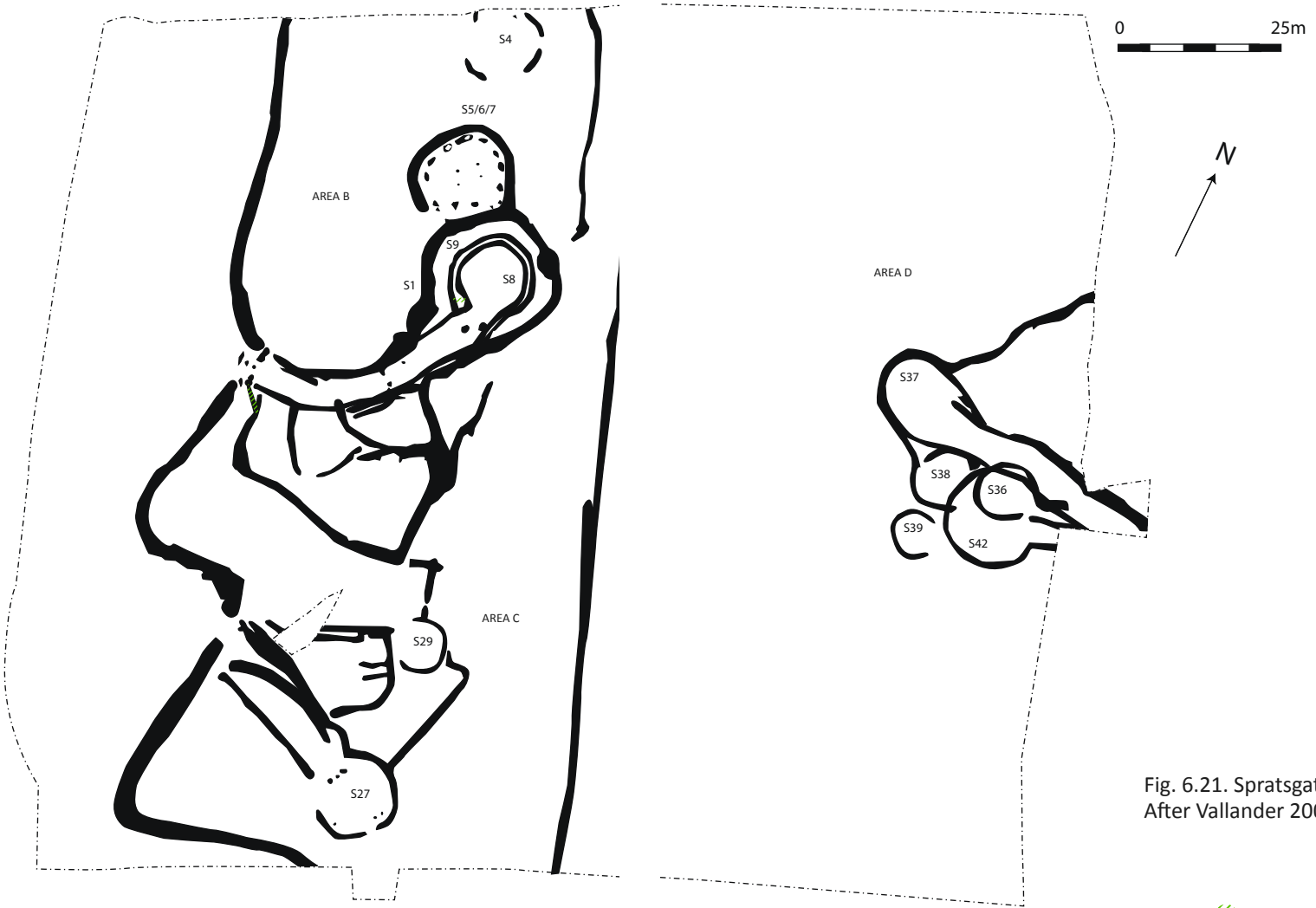


Fig. 6.21. Spratsgate Lane
After Vallander 2007, fig. 4

Seven MIA houses are enclosed by two gullies. This includes the structure at Blackbird Leys, mentioned above with regard to its excessive proportions (Fig. 6.11; Booth and Edgeley-Long 2003, fig. 3), Structure 532 at the settlement outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps (Fig. 6.22; Allen *et al.* 2010, 131-4, fig. 5.20) and Structure 6283 at Ashville/Wyndyke (Fig. 6.23; Muir and Roberts 1999, 20-1, fig. 2.15). Like the fence substituting the ditch at House 5, Mingies Ditch, these double ditches serve to isolate the house and its inhabitants from the outside world, perhaps simultaneously emphasising the unity of those inside by creating this contrast. Another house where this occurs is at the focal point at Spratsgate Lane, S1/8/9 (Fig. 6.21; Vallender 2007, 39-42, fig. 4). This consists of a two-phased house each inside its own gully, surrounded by a larger ditch. Both the inner and outer ditches lead off from the house, creating a 30m long approach that is further controlled by a series of gates. These ditches did not function as drainage features, but enclosed the house and controlled access to it. This is especially apparent given the highly controlled nature of movement around the entire settlement. Similar ditches surrounding houses that then lead off to flank the entranceway occur at Structures 27, 36, 37 and 42 at this site.

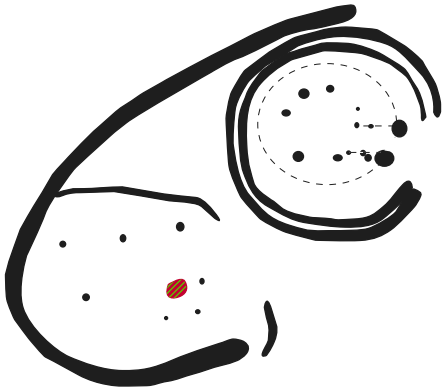


Fig. 6.22. Structure 532 and Ditch Groups 80, 100, 174 *etc.* at the settlement outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps
After Allen *et al.* 2010, fig. 5.20

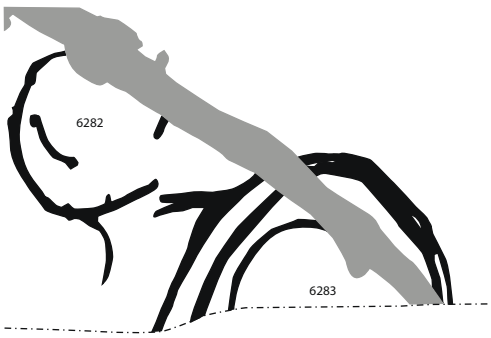


Fig. 6.23. Structures 6282 and 6283 at Wyndyke Furlong
After Muir and Roberts 1999, fig. 2.15

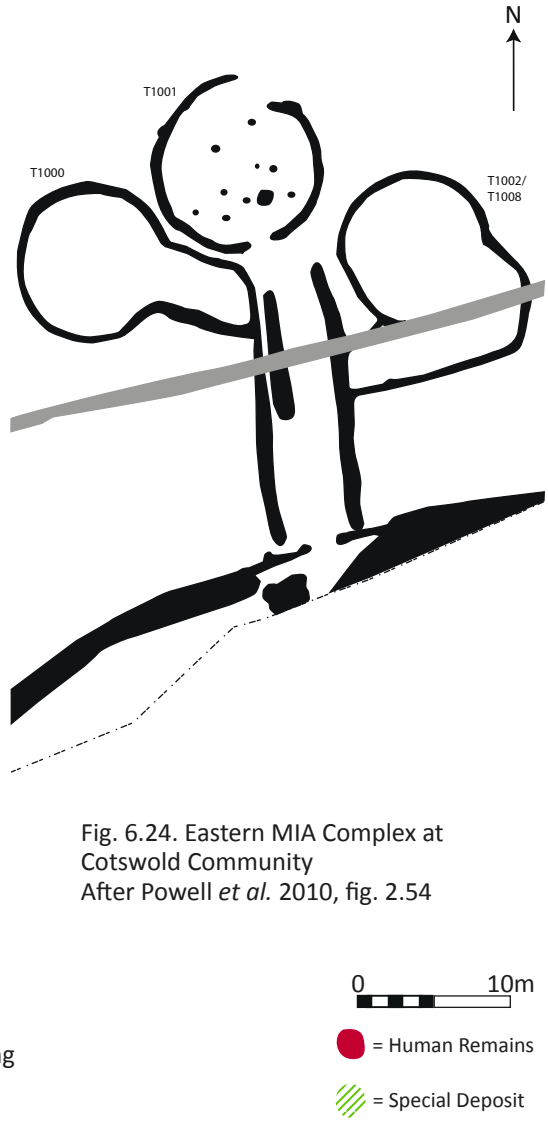


Fig. 6.24. Eastern MIA Complex at Cotswold Community
After Powell *et al.* 2010, fig. 2.54

This is also seen at the houses forming the eastern MIA complex at Cotswold Community/ Shorncote Quarry (Fig. 6.24; Powell *et al.* 2010, 78-80; fig. 2.54). House T1000 also has elongated entrance ditches, controlling access to the interior. The penannular gully of house T1002/1008 faces to the south-east, but the ditch continues and turns to the west. The entranceway is therefore to the west through a narrow space between the ditches.

None of these ditches controlled drainage, but instead functioned to enclose particular areas and control movement on the approach to the house. Enclosure highlights difference between an area and people inside it from those outside of it; controlling access and movement to the house may have served to further highlight the house and its residents by imposing its will on guests and those entering. By having a single, formalised entrance passage, agency is being denied for those entering and power enforced by disciplining the body into approaching the house in a standardised manner (see Foucault 1977). There are other examples of the control of movement at the approach to houses and also within settlements. This will be discussed below.

Although it may be suggested that extreme examples of penannular gullies have been chosen in this argument, these form a continuum with the gullies of smaller proportions. It seems difficult to accept solely the drainage interpretation for smaller gullies and something quite different for those of larger proportions.

This part of the thesis is not intended to be a polemic against the interpretation of roundhouse gullies being dug to provide drainage, re-rehearsing the tired functional versus symbolic dichotomy by replacing one oversimplistic interpretative scheme with another. Instead, it demonstrates some problems with the assumptions currently inherent in the analysis of later prehistoric domestic architecture. The similar morphologies of house gullies and settlement enclosures should be highlighted, especially as they are contemporary, with interpretation of either of these considering the other. Interpretation of house gullies should in part at least follow interpretations regarding why people chose to build and live within settlement enclosures in the Iron Age. Although drainage was probably a perceived or real issue that gullies around houses may have helped to solve, the decision to dig such features was the consequence of cultural choice rather than functional necessity. However, this does not detract from the likelihood that *perceived* functional necessity influenced cultural choice. This factor may have been important in the continuation of digging ditches around houses, especially in the conscious rationale behind their construction. We should also consider possible unintended social and cultural consequences that may not be initially conceived of as having social relevance. Living within such ditches may have increased the separation between those within and outside, even if this was not a conscious, intended purpose. Moore (2007, 273) and Evans (1997) highlight the social role of drainage ditches, and comment that ditches full of water surrounding a house would have the effect of creating even more physically and psychologically distinct areas.

6.2.2 Interpreting Enclosure

It has so far been demonstrated that house gullies cannot solely have been drainage features. If this were the case we would expect them in other periods, they would be contingent to underlying geology and local topographic factors, and internal post-rings would be concentric to the gullies. Furthermore, a significant number of house gullies were exaggerated in size and depth and enhanced by special deposits. It is suggested that the interpretation of house gullies and settlement enclosure should be considered in tandem, rather than as separate unrelated entities with the former restricted to functional necessities and therefore largely out of the realm of culture and not being instructive of the society that built them.

Theoretical consideration of the meaning and function of settlement and hillfort enclosures developed in the 1980s after a series of papers published in the Scottish Archaeological Review challenged the usual assumption that these were defensive (Bowden and McOmish 1987; 1989; Hingley 1984a; 1990). Instead, it was proposed that boundaries were imbued with symbolic significance. Part of the argument for this symbolic emphasis was the incidence of special deposits at enclosure boundaries (Bowden and McOmish 1987, 82-3; Hingley 1990a, 100-1). A number of special deposits in house gullies have already been discussed. The incidences of MIA special deposits in settlement boundaries will be discussed later. These focus on the entrance at a number of sites.

One of the recurring interpretations of the meaning of boundaries regards social definition. Physical boundaries define those within communities by including and conceptually homogenising those inside the boundary, while excluding and socially distancing those who fall outside of it (Bowden and McOmish 1987; Hill 1996; Hingley 1984a; 1990; Sharples 2010, 295). As these are partly symbolic, enclosure features themselves do not necessarily have to be functional physical barriers in terms of either their proportions or location, and are commonly exaggerated. There is, however, also an emphasis on practice, as physical boundaries separate groups, serving to reinforce differences. Boundaries not only separate, but also ‘wrap’ those who are enclosed. Richards (2013, 17) has recently discussed the social functions of wrapping. He identifies five possibilities, including concealment, protection, containment, unification, and re-presentation. All may be relevant, but wrapping and enclosure also draws attention to those within, and is somewhat paradoxical in conspicuously separating the internal from the external, whilst embracing those concealed (Douny and Harris 2014; Richards 2013, 16-8). It has therefore been interpreted that those living within enclosures in the Earlier Iron Age in Wessex had a strong, insular group identity (Sharples 2010). In the MIA developed hillforts like Danebury saw the creation of larger communities, where individual identity was further subsumed into collective ideologies (Davis 2013; Sharples 2010).

A similar situation is apparent in the Thames Valley, but instead of boundaries around settlements and hillforts being part of the creation of homogenised communities based on membership of these relatively large groups, we are seeing much smaller group identities being defined around membership of the household, reinforced by house gullies. Although this presents quite a different picture to that recently suggested in Wessex, this does not mean that one contradicts the other. The archaeological records for the Iron Age in both areas are subtly different. Importantly, house gullies are relatively rare in Wessex, settlement enclosures larger, and hillforts often densely occupied (Sharples 2010, 75-7, 194, note 11, figs. 2.16-7).

Community groups comprising increasingly smaller living units and being defined by the household in the MIA fits well into the model proposed for the EIA in the previous chapter. It was argued that in the EIA social units were coming to define themselves through linage by closer association with the dead and ancestors. This was mediated through the retention and collection of ancestral objects and human remains; increased settlement longevities; the social deployment of exotica; and the heterogeneity of material culture and ritual practices with which living groups could more easily differentiate from others. These practices continue in the MIA, and will be detailed below. The differentiation of the house and household in the MIA through symbolic elaboration and physical boundaries suggests one more method that serves to reinforce this mode of social organisation. Individuals were coming to define themselves both with a restricted living group comprising kin relations in the household, as well as deceased kin relations in the form of ancestors.

There are various levels of enclosure in the MIA. The following section will demonstrate that the majority enclose and represent the same social unit: the household or extended household. Hillforts are an exception: these have been dealt with in 5.8, where it was argued that the increased presence of metalwork, human remains, special deposits and decorated pottery, alongside a lack of intensive occupation, suggests these were not settlements. Different levels of enclosure include penannular gullies around single houses; gullies that enclose two houses, or one house and a rectangular structure or a small area near the house; ditches and fences that divide areas within settlements; those that control movement within a settlement; settlement enclosures; hillforts; field boundaries; and longer linear ditches.

Enhancing the House

Houses are more likely to be associated with special deposits and human remains in the MIA compared to earlier periods, especially the LBA and Transition. A number of examples of houses associated with both special deposits and human remains have been given above. Other examples include Roundhouse C at Coxwell Road. This saw at least four major phases of construction, each represented by one or two curving ditches (Fig. 6.25; Cook *et al.* 2004, 195-6, fig. 9). The earliest phase dates to the EIA by associated pottery, the later phases to the MIA. Special deposits and

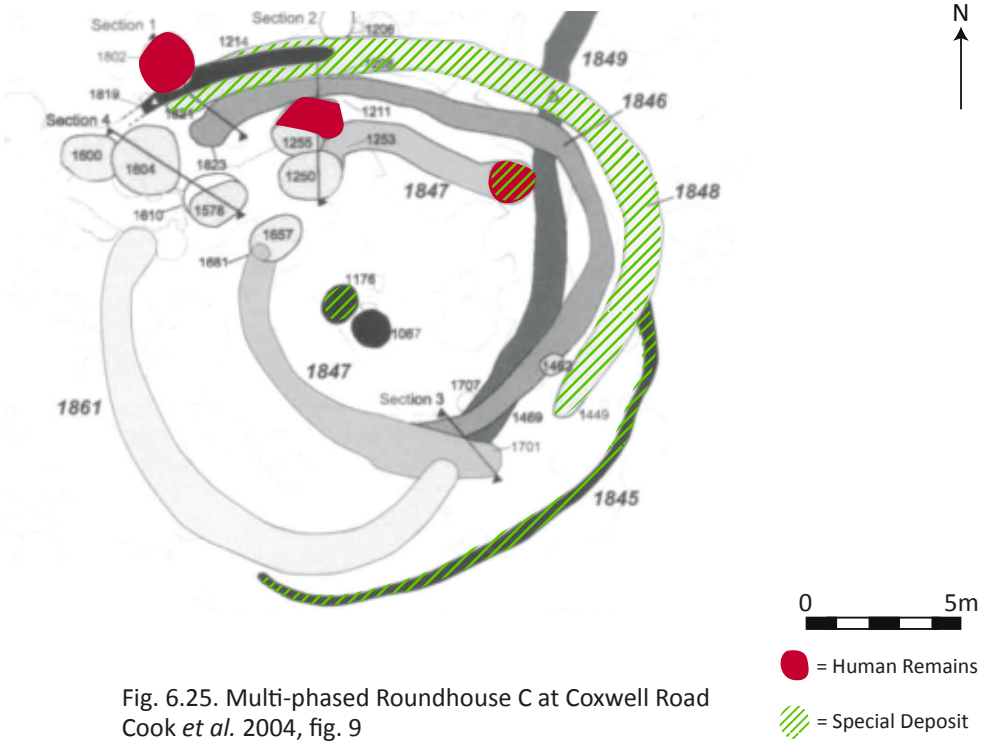


Fig. 6.25. Multi-phased Roundhouse C at Coxwell Road
Cook *et al.* 2004, fig. 9

human remains were found throughout these phases.[13] A horse skull was discovered in the gully of the earliest ditch, and partial remains of the left foreleg of a horse along with quantities of burnt stone were found in central pit 1177, also dating to this phase. Pit 1216 was located inside the ring gully of a later phase and contained an adult human skull fragment. Pit 1390 at the terminal of the gully of the next phase contained 20 disarticulated human bone fragments and the radius and ulna of a mallard. Ring gully 1848 of the next phase contained another horse skull, alongside 202 sherds of pottery, a stone slab with a worn face and a crucible. The last feature stratigraphically in the sequence is Pit 1802. This contained the articulated remains of a prematurely born infant.

Four of the five human remains from Watkins Farm were associated with houses (Fig. 6.31; Allen 1990a).[14] The only human remains at Beard Mill[15] and Thrupp[16] were also associated with houses (Fig. 6.16; Williams 1951, 14; Ainslie 1992, 63). The only special deposit and human remains from the MIA phase at the Latton Lands Northern Settlement was from a pit within a probable house enclosure gully[17] (Powell *et al.* 2009, 48). In this example, animal bones including rare weasel and red deer bones were discovered alongside ironworking slag, an iron rod and a triangular cast copper alloy object. An articulated crouched infant was buried above this. An adolescent and an infant were buried in two pits in a house at Frilford, and numerous individuals buried around a roundhouse dating to the end of the EIA at Spring Road (Figs. 6.26-7; Allen and Kamash 2008, 13-7; Harding 1987, 5-9)

13 Special deposit IDs 259, 260, 263, 264; Human remain IDs 252-4
14 Human remains IDs 1, 3, 4 and 5; House IDs 4 and 5
15 Human remains ID 52; House ID 48
16 Human remains ID 89; House ID 80
17 Special deposit ID 277; Human remains ID 258; House ID 337

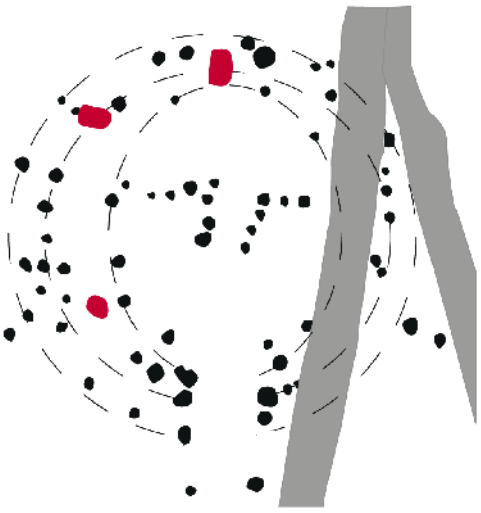


Fig. 6.26. The Roundhouse at Spring Road
After Allen and Kamash 2008, fig. 8

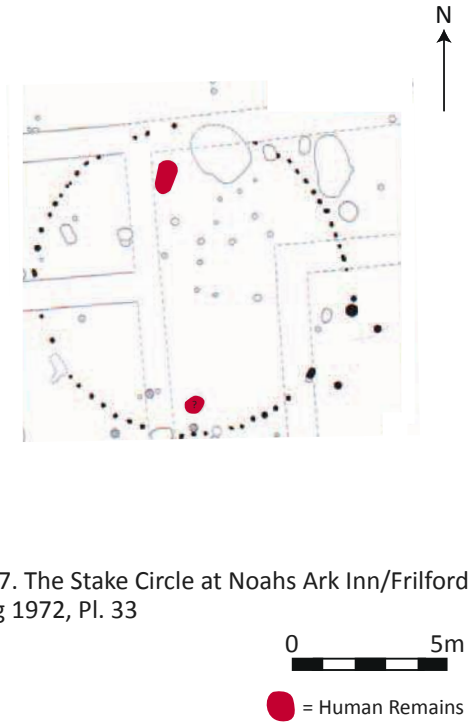


Fig. 6.27. The Stake Circle at Noahs Ark Inn/Frilford
Harding 1972, Pl. 33

38% (64) of MIA special deposits are associated with a house. This compares to 13% (11) of EIA special deposits, 15% (5) of those dating to the Transition, and 12% (6) of LBA examples. Put another way, 20% of MIA houses are associated with a special deposit, compared to 13% EIA, 10% Transitional and 5% LBA houses (Graphs 7.17-8). 17% (29) of MIA human remains are associated with a house, compared to 14% (10) EIA, and 3% (1) LBA examples (Graph 7.10). No human remains dating to the LBA/EIA Transition are associated with houses. The percentage for the MIA is higher when the unusual Yarnton cemetery is excluded (see 6.5). Put another way, 9% of MIA houses have associated human remains, compared to 12% EIA and 1% LBA.

The framework developed by van Gennep (1960 [1908]) and Turner (1967; 1969) of social and conceptual categorisation is relevant in understanding boundaries and special deposits. This perspective regards sociological conceptualisations of society and the physical world as a series of groups, with movement between these groups mediated through various rites and markers that are rich in symbolism and 'non-functional' attributes. Within this framework, enclosure serves to separate physical areas and social groups associated with these respective areas. It makes visible what would otherwise be a conceptual divide, further reinforcing any divide for posterity. The 'non-functional' nature of house enclosures and deposits associated with them suggests that these represent liminal, transitory places between two well-defined conceptual categories. There is an increasing need for ritualised division as the areas and the people associated with them were becoming conceptually separated. Movement between them required non-functional attributes, and was mediated with special deposits. The other side of social separation between two groups is social homogeneity within them. This helps to explain enclosure itself, as well as the increased deposition associated with houses and settlement boundaries.

Special deposits serve to highlight the importance of the place they are deposited. The initial depositional event and the subsequent memory of it draws attention to particular areas, creating a sense of difference between these and areas that have not had deposits. Areas with ritual deposits would not have been selected at random, and would have associations with religious understandings and/or important aspects of society and the wider culture. The increasing deposition at houses in the MIA suggests that these areas of the settlement became more important; these appear to have been imbued with more social meaning, with an increased desire to differentiate between different houses and their inhabitants. This is supported by the house boundaries. This may also suggest that ritual was becoming more of a matter performed in the household and perhaps by the household, rather than at a more communal level. The increasing heterogeneity of the composition of settlement special deposits seen in the EIA and MIA compared to earlier periods also suggests a fracturing of ritual practice with less centralisation and agreement with how to carry it out (see 3.3, 4.3, 5.3, 6.4, 7.1.4). Special deposits placed in house gullies on the boundary between the house and the rest of the settlement further suggests that houses were regarded as separate. In a similar fashion, such deposits placed in settlement boundaries served to distance those within the settlement to those outside of it.

The deposition of human remains can be understood in a similar light as special deposits, although with slightly different emphases. Turner (1967, 96-7) recognises the common association between liminal periods, places and states with symbols of death. Transition between two states requires the death of the old before the beginning of the new. The association between human remains with houses and boundaries may be a more overt form of this type of symbolism. As forms of sacrifice, special deposits also essentially represent the death of an object, animal or foodstuff. Burials at houses could also suggest the desire to keep the integrity of the social group even after the death of its members by incorporating their remains in the intimate domestic setting. The association of human remains and special deposits with houses suggest a growing importance placed on the house, and perhaps a growing sense of shared identity between those within the household at the expense of those outside of it.

6.2.3 Longevity and Replacement

In was suggested in 5.2 that Iron Age houses may have for lasted longer periods of time than those dating to the LBA. A MIA example of the sequence at Ashville was discussed, as these five overlapping penannular ditches are the longest stratigraphic sequence related to houses in the Iron Age. If this sequence spanned the entire MIA with no breaks, each house could have stood for c.60 years. However, more detailed Bayesian analysis is needed to investigate this suggestion.

The number of houses built over previous houses greatly increases in the MIA compared to earlier periods. 34% (107) of MIA houses are built over previous examples: many of these are direct replacements, whereas others overlap or are built off-centre. This compares to 18% (15) EIA houses, 12% (6) Transitional houses, and 10% (11) LBA houses (Graph 7.4). The LBA figure excludes the Reading Business Park Area 5 settlement, as this is a unique and unusual occurrence of houses replacing each other in quick succession (See Appendix 3; 3.2). If this site is included, 21% of LBA houses would overlap a levelled house.

Alongside the sequences at Ashville (Fig. 6.17, ditch 13, 18, 19 *etc.* complex; ditches 346, 491, 32, 286, 1014, 1049; 1023, 1129, 1130, 1051, 1025), the multi-phased complexes at Yarnton (Fig. 6.3; Enclosure 390 and Structures 801/802), Whitehouse Road (Fig. 6.8; Enclosure B) and Coxwell Road (Fig. 6.25; Roundhouse C) have already been discussed; these have between three and seven major overlapping phases. Other examples are the sequence at Warrens Field Island 2 (Enclosures 9, 7, 6, 5; Miles *et al.* 2007, 36-38, fig. 3.4), and at Totterdown Lane there are at least three but up to five major phases of house replacement (Roundhouses 6, 5, 8, 7, ditch 43/45; Pine and Preston 2004, 9-17, fig. 2.9).

Although no doubt the rebuilding over previous houses is due in part to the longevity of a number of settlements making it inevitable that houses will get built over older structures, there are also many sites where activity is entirely constrained to the MIA where multiple phases of the same house can be discerned. These include the examples given from Whitehouse Road, Warrens Field and Totterdown Lane. This suggests the desire to maintain the integrity of the household as a unit past the lifetime of the physical house. An ideal position may have been to keep the house for as long as possible, but local conditions, knowledge and competency of repair would shorten this. Long-lived household units within settlements have been discussed at EIA Gravelly Guy and Yarnton; these continue in the MIA (5.2; Lambrick and Allen 2004, 146-53; Hey *et al.* 2011). Further divisions within MIA settlements probably defining household units are discussed below.

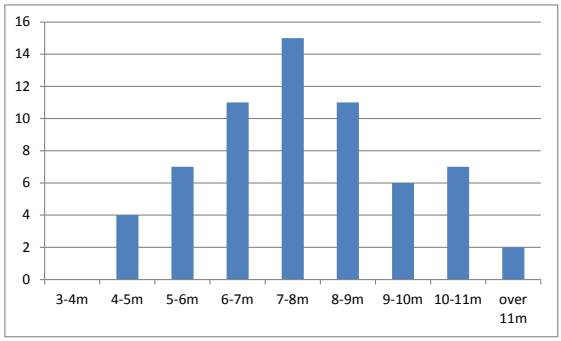
In common with the EIA there are very few single-phased settlements in the MIA. There is a slightly higher percentage of multi-phased sites rather than those that are long lived (Table 7.1, Graph 7.1; see 3.2.1 for definition of these terms). This pattern of settlements becoming longer-lived in the Iron Age compared to the LBA should be seen as part of a wider pattern where objects and places associated with the dead and ancestors were being kept and integrated into everyday life. This is discussed in more detail in 5.2 and 5.5-6 in relation to the EIA, but also applies to the MIA.

6.2.4 Size, Orientation and Representation

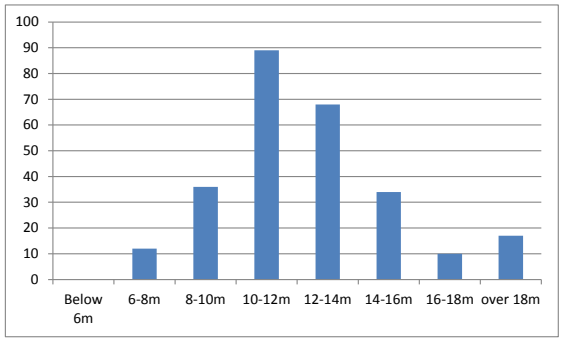
The diversification of domestic architecture continues a pattern seen in the EIA, and is quite different to the homogenous houses and settlements of the LBA and Transition. Extending the analysis in 5.2 to the MIA, 59% (37) of post-rings fall between 6-9m diameter. This leaves a larger number of houses than in earlier periods not conforming to this common range, meaning the sizes of post-rings and houses are more heterogeneous in the MIA compared to other periods. The percentages of penannular gullies and outer walls falling within similar common size ranges are comparable between the EIA and MIA, being more diverse than earlier periods (Table 6.1; Graphs 3.1-3, 4.1-3, 5.1-3, 6.1-3). There is still a preference for houses to be orientated to the south-east, although this is not as clear as in earlier periods. The percentages falling within the most common quadrant are similar. For earlier periods this is between the east and south; this shifts slightly in the MIA to between the north-east and south-east (Fig. 2.28; Table 7.4).

	Inner post ring (=63)	Outer wall* (=36)	Gully (=267)
Mean Diameter	7.6m	10.2m	12.2m
Mode Diameter	7-8m	10-11m	11-12m
Mean Area	45.4m^2	81.7m^2	117m^2
Mode Area	c.38.5-50.3^2	c.78.5-95m^2	c.95-113m^2

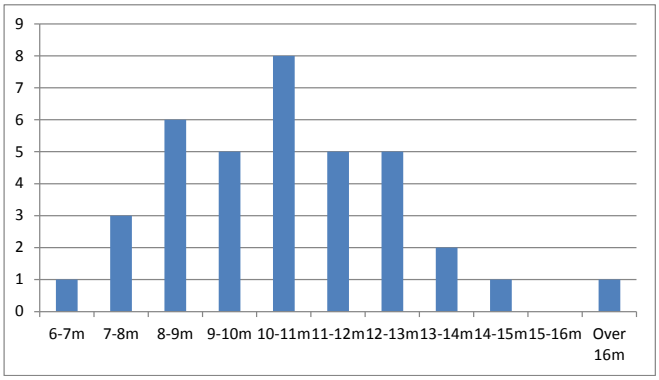
Table 6.1. MIA house size averages
*Following line of protruding entrance posts, slot trench or outer double post ring



Graph 6.1. Inner post-ring diameters of MIA houses



Graph. 6.2. Diameters of MIA penannular gullies



Graph 6.3. Outer wall diameters of MIA houses

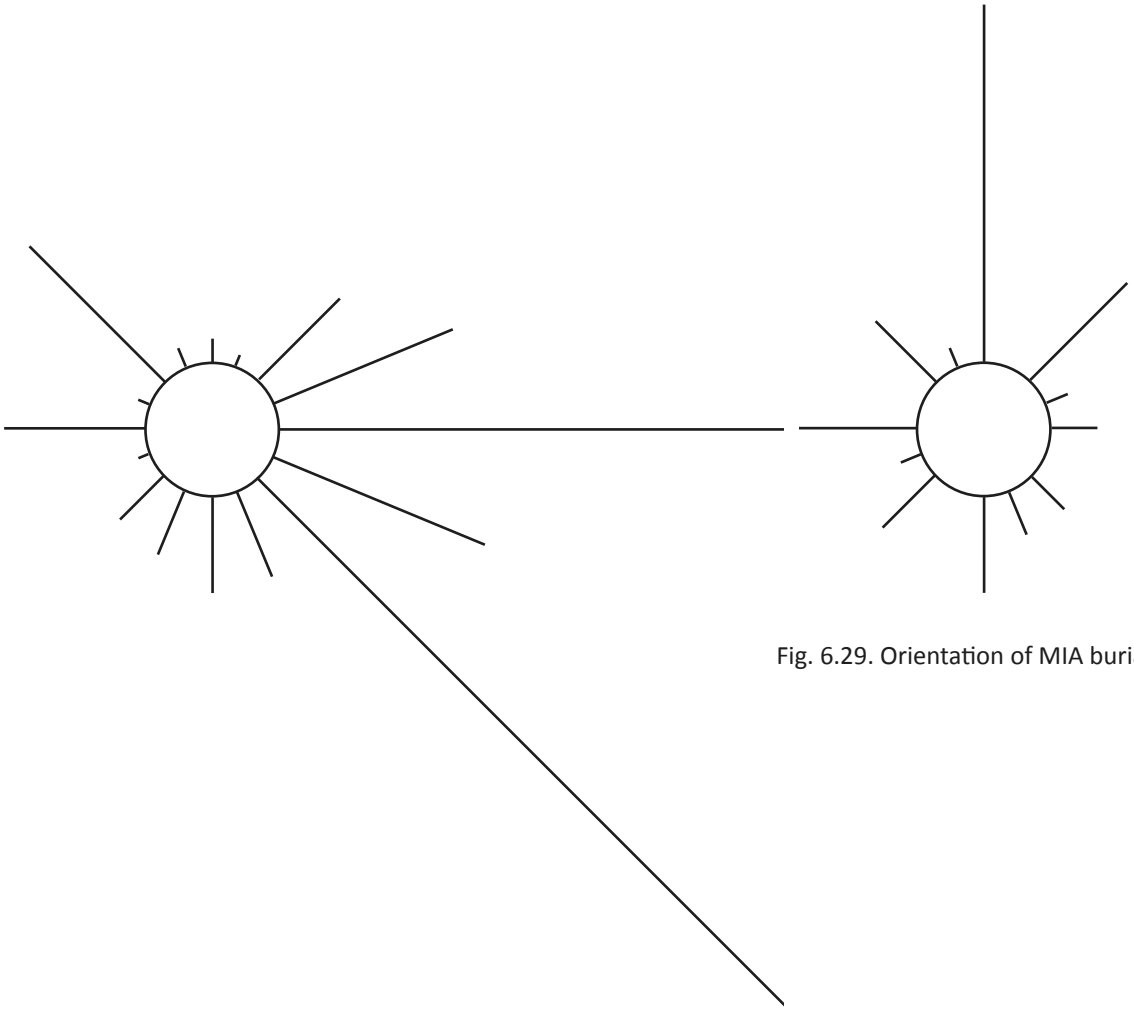


Fig. 6.29. Orientation of MIA burials

Fig. 6.28. Orientation of MIA houses

|= one burial or two houses

Despite the predominance of houses being represented only by gullies, there is considerable diversity in the remaining examples. At a quantitative level this appears to be similar to the EIA, with the Iron Age much more heterogeneous than the common pattern seen in earlier periods: in the MBA, LBA and Transition, the vast majority of houses belong to Type 1 or 2, represented by either a post-ring and protruding entrance posts, or just a post-ring (Tables 7.1-2; Graphs 7.1-2). In the MIA, the only clear unifying features are their circularity and penannular gully. Although most are represented only by a penannular gully, after this other surviving features of houses vary quite substantially. 11 (4%)[18] houses have a unique combination of visible elements. Alongside these, the MIA is also the only period that has houses represented by a wall-slot and gully; wall-slot, gully and entrance posts; a gully, entrance posts and post-ring; and double gullies. Examples of MIA houses with unique combinations of visible architectural elements include structure 532/ gullies 174 and 175 at the settlement outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps (Fig. 6.22; Allen *et al.*

[18] House IDs 22, 40, 54, 82, 126, 207, 221, 256, 339, 348, 550

2010, 131-3). This was also attached to another penannular gully enclosing a six-post structure (see 6.2.6). Another example is House 2 at Groundwell Farm (Fig. 6.30; Gingell 1982, 41-4). Here, a four-post structure was surrounded by a wall-slot trench with two pairs of entrance posts facing south-east. Leading from the outer pair was another wall slot trench with a further pair of entrance posts facing north-east (the significance of this is discussed below). At nearby Groundwell West, Roundhouse 4 is represented by a probable wall-slot trench that is surrounded by a post-ring, presumably providing extra support for the eaves (Walker *et al.* 2001, 11-2). Many of those with no post-ring were probably constructed with a mass wall technique, and therefore quite different from houses with posts supporting the roof. This suggests an increasing desire to differentiate between different houses and households, making them more unique. Conversely, the homogenous LBA and Transitional houses give the impression of communities that do not want to express differences at the level of the house.

Fig. 6.30. House 2 at Groundwell Farm
After Gingell 1982, fig. 6

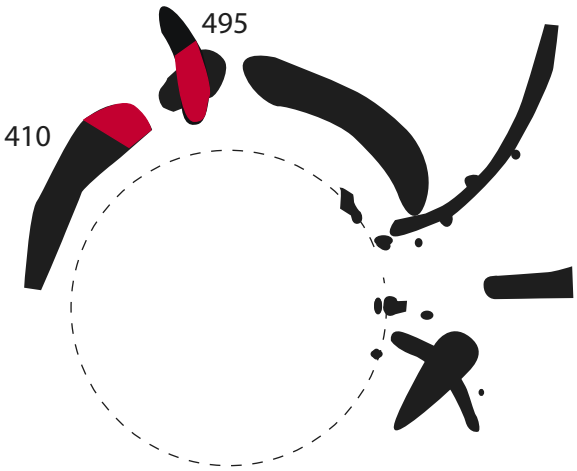


Fig. 6.31. The Central Roundhouse at Watkins Farm
After Allen 1990a, fig. 9

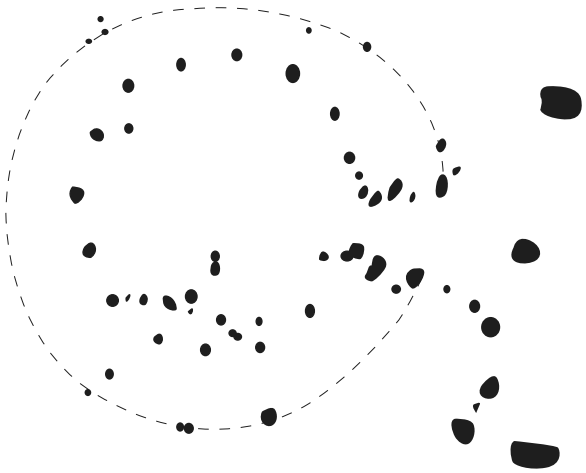
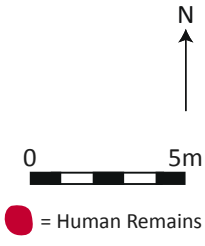


Fig. 6.32. House 1 at City Farm East
After Harding 1972, Pl. 26



6.2.5 Controlling Access

Antenna Ditches and Fences

A further feature of a number of MIA houses is the addition of ditches or fences immediately outside the entrance, serving to control access and limit choice regarding how structures were approached. These consist of funnel-like antenna ditches or fences, or a separate enclosed area just outside the house. A number of examples have already been discussed and illustrated, including those from Spratsgate Lane and Cotswold Community. Table 6.2 lists other houses with antenna features immediately outside the entrance. The example from Mingies Ditch is worth discussing in detail.

Site	House	Figure	Reference
Spratsgate Lane	S1/8/9	6.21	Vallender 2007, fig. 4
Spratsgate Lane	S27	6.21	Vallender 2007, fig. 4
Spratsgate Lane	S37	6.21	Vallender 2007, fig. 4
Spratsgate Lane	S42	6.21	Vallender 2007, fig. 4
Spratsgate Lane	S36	6.21	Vallender 2007, fig. 4
Cotswold Community	T1000	6.24	Powell *et al.* 2010, 78-80, fig. 2.54
Cotswold Community	T1002	6.24	Powell *et al.* 2010, 78-80, fig. 2.54
Cotswold Community	Roundhouse 4180	6.15	Powell *et al.* 2010, 74-78; fig. 2.53
Totterdown Lane	Roundhouse 9	6.55	Pine and Preston 2004, fig. 2.4
Mingies Ditch	House 3	6.36-8	Allen and Robinson 1993, 28-31, 49-50, figs. 8, 16, 22
Watkins Farm	Central Roundhouse	6.31	Allen 1990a, 12-14, fig. 9
Warrens Field	Structure 1/Enclosure 2	6.14	Miles *et al.* 2007, 40-42, fig. 3.5
Warrens Field	Structure 5	6.34	Miles *et al.* 2007, 38, fig. 3.3
Warrens Field	Structure 20b	6.52	Miles *et al.* 2007, 32-33, fig. 3.10
Groundwell West	Roundhouse 7	6.53	Walker *et al.* 2001, fig. 10
Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6287	-	Muir and Roberts 1999, fig. 2.9
Wyndyke Furlong	Structures 6282	6.23	Muir and Roberts 1999, fig. 2.13
Ashville Trading Estate	Ditches 1020	6.19	Parrington 1978, fig. 5
Ashville Trading Estate	Ditches 13/19	6.17	Parrington 1978, fig. 12
City Farm East	House 1	6.32	Harding 1972, 20-21, Pl. 26
Heath Farm	Hut Circle 1	-	Rowley 1973, 32-35, fig. 5
Grazeley Road	Ring gully complex A	6.33	Ford *et al.* 2013, figs. 2.3-4
Grazeley Road	Ring gully complex B	-	Ford *et al.* 2013, fig. 2.3
Park Farm	Ditch 1020	-	Roberts 1995, fig. 45
Brooklands	The house	-	Hanworth and Tomalin 1977, fig. 8
Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 5/ Enclosure EC7	6.34	Framework Archaeology 2010, figs. 4.20, 4.31

Table 6.2. MIA houses with antanna ditches or fences structuring movement towards the entrance

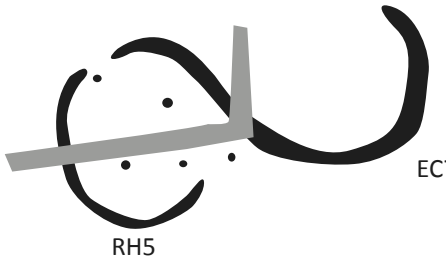


Fig. 6.34. Roundhouse 5 and Enclosure 7 at Heathrow T5
After Framework Archaeology 2010, figs. 4.20, 4.31

Fig. 6.33. Ring gully complex A at Grazeley Road
After Ford *et al.* 2013, fig. 2.3-4

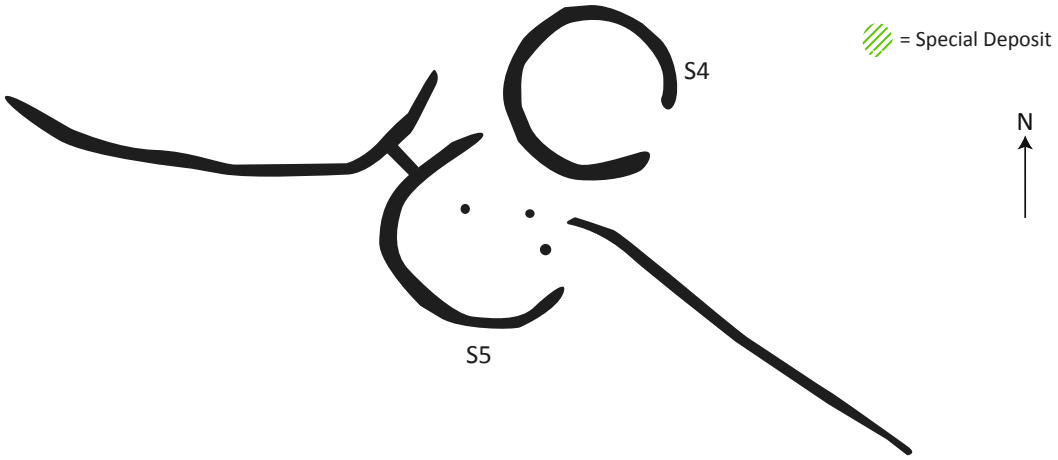


Fig. 6.35. Structures 4 and 5 and adjoining ditches at Warrens Field
After Miles *et al.* 2007, fig. 3.3

The very well preserved remains at Mingies Ditch, including various occupational spreads, floor levels and shallow features that at other sites would have been obliterated by the plough, allows for the detailed reconstruction of the relationship between various dug gullies, pits and hollows and an assessment of their function. This is the best preserved site in the Thames Valley, and has been fully investigated. On less well preserved sites relationships between these have been destroyed, leaving confusing spreads of features with no obvious purpose. The survival of the ground surface of a path leading to House 3 makes it possible to relate various dug features (852, 694, 848, 860, 855, 832, 620 and possibly 712) to this path. These helped delineate space within the enclosure and proscribed movement and access to the house. The features consist of short stretches of gullies and postholes, making access to the house very difficult from any other direction. These are a continuation of ditches 118, 119, 62, 157, 136 that form an unbroken bounded path from the entrance of the enclosure all the way across the site to House 3. This creates a coherent and complex entranceway into the house (Figs. 6.36-8; Allen and Robinson 1993, 28-31, 49-50, figs. 8, 16, 22). We should assume that similar features would have originally been present on other MIA sites, but have been obliterated by subsequent activity. Gullies on

settlements that cannot otherwise be assigned a function become more numerous in the MIA than in previous periods, and these may be related to such features that control and restrict movement within the settlement.[19]

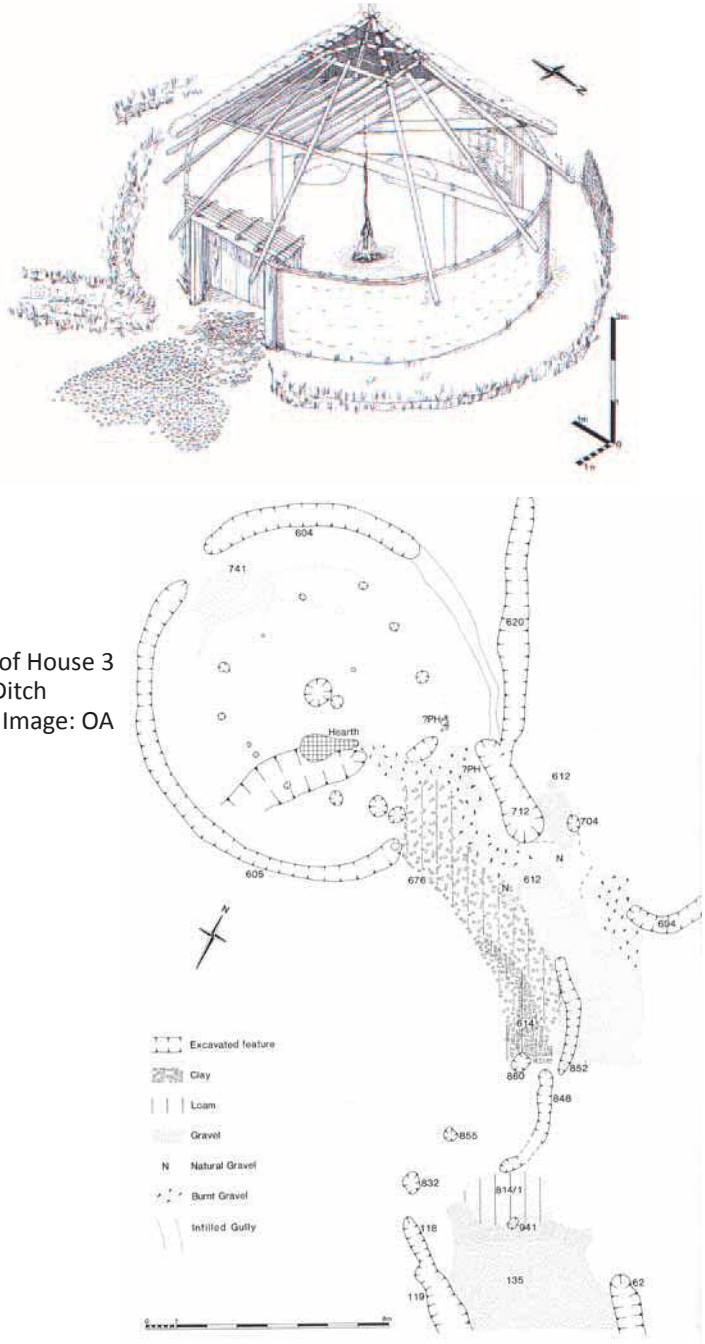


Fig. 6.36. Plan and reconstruction of House 3 and adjacent features at Mingies Ditch
Allen and Robinson 1993, figs. 23. Image: OA

[19] Without the exceptional preservation at Mingies Ditch, a number of gullies would have been relegated to an unknown function. Only five short stretches of gullies – 925, 806, 821, 857 and 709 – are left unassigned in the Mingies Ditch enclosure, measuring a combined 16m. The area inside the inner enclosure was almost entirely excavated; this covered just under 2000m^2. Excavated EIA settlement activity outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps covered around the same area, with activity expanding in the MIA to cover c.2230m^2. In the EIA, only 10m of gullies unassigned to particular functions were noted; this increased to 138m in the MIA. Similar MIA unassigned gullies occur on many sites. They are also present in the EIA, but are less frequent. Alongside gullies, fence lines become more common in the MIA. Like Mingies Ditch, the interior of Alfred's Castle has not been ploughed. Here, limited excavation revealed the eastern edge of a house, immediately outside of which a series of stakehole fence rows limited access to the house (Gosden and Lock 2013, 65, fig. 3.50). Other fences occur at City Farm West, Gravelly Guy, Mingies Ditch and Yarnton. Fences are, however, most common in the LBA.

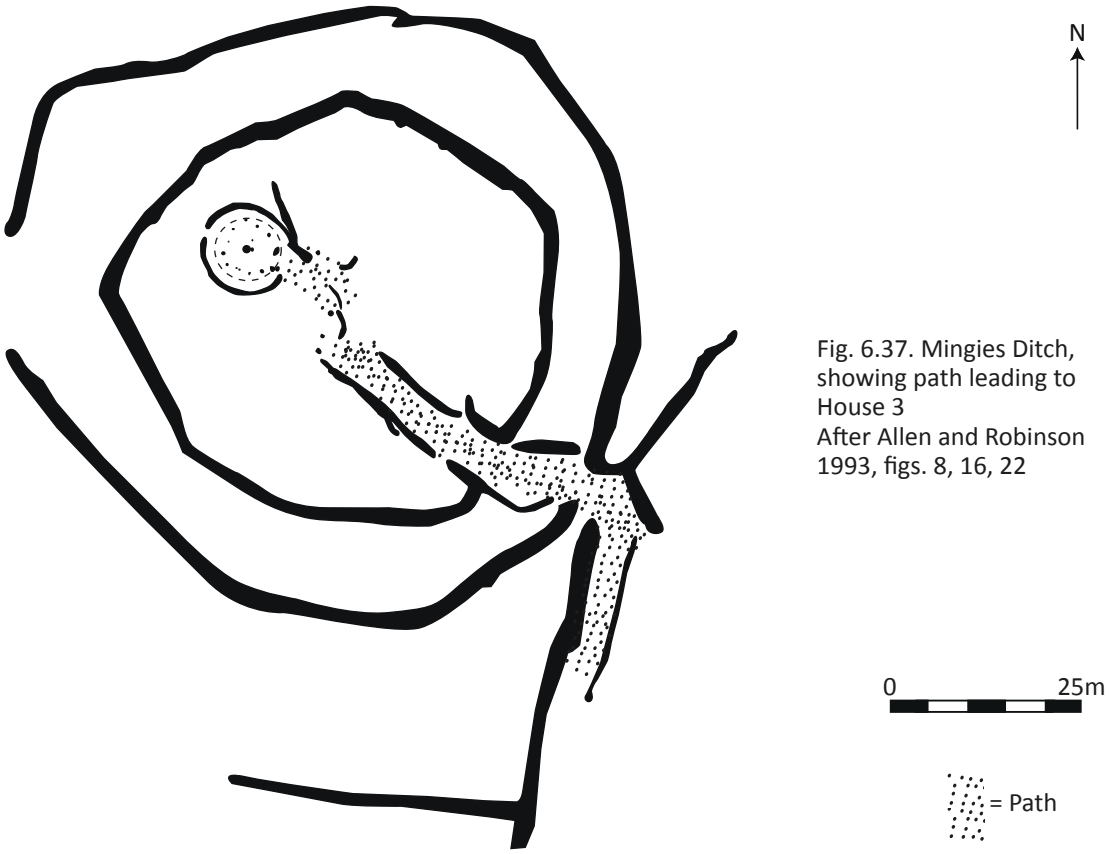


Fig. 6.37. Mingies Ditch, showing path leading to House 3
After Allen and Robinson 1993, figs. 8, 16, 22

Fig. 6.38. Artists reconstruction of Mingies Ditch
Allen and Robinson 1993, front page. Image: OA

These features are replicated at a larger level outside the settlement enclosure of Mingies Ditch itself. Like Watkins Farm, Groundwell Farm (Fig. 6.57), Watchfield East (Fig. 6.68) and the Eastern MIA Complex at Cotswold Community (Fig. 6.24), antenna ditches serve to funnel individuals approaching in a particular, standardised fashion, creating a façade and elongating the enclosure itself. This is similar to the addition of an outer enclosure in the LIA at Area 16, Eton Rowing Course, first constructed in the MIA (Allen *et al. forthcoming*). The Thames Valley Park enclosure also has a small antenna ditch from its north-west corner (Fig. 6.62). As argued below, these small enclosed settlements appear to symbolically and physically represent the same small social units as houses. They are small and only contain one or two contemporary roundhouses. These enclosed settlements are therefore directly analogous to houses in many of their archaeological features, and may have been conceived of as such. The majority of those in the Upper Thames are round, and in plan look like large roundhouses.

Gullies, fences and paths outside houses controlled access and limited choice regarding how houses were approached. They also serve to expand the house making its presence increasingly felt in the settlement. Even before one has passed the threshold, the house dominates the settlement with various features relating to the house blocking movement between other areas. Entrances are particularly highlighted and façades created, choreographing approaches. The house and its residents are imposing their will on guests and those entering; agency is being denied and power enforced by disciplining the body into approaching the house in a standardised manner. This served to emphasise the house and suggests its dual importance as a social object.

The ditches, fences and other features directing people towards a house or settlement could also be regarded as liminal places between two states. One of these states is the house and its occupants, the other the outside. They are at the same time outside the house or settlement that they are leading to, but are teleologically associated with it. Individuals entering these features are between the outside on the one hand, and the house/settlement on the other, but are in neither. These increasingly elaborate liminal features suggest that the categories that the features were linking were becoming increasingly separated, as there was now the need for more elaborate, ritualised passage between them.

Blocking Ditches

A number of houses have ditches immediately outside the entranceway causeway, exerting a subtly different type of control over access and movement to the house. This in effect creates two entrances, meaning there is opportunity to distinguish between groups of individuals in relation to how they enter houses. At Gravelly Guy, blocking ditches are present at adjacent enclosures B2 and B3 (Fig. 6.7). The significance of these ditches is highlighted by special deposits, and has been discussed above: the special deposits focus on the blocking ditches and adjacent gully terminals. Another possible special deposit comprising disarticulated cattle bones was found in a pit near the entrance between the gully and post-ring of structure 2 at Warrens Field.[20] Table 6.3 lists examples of MIA houses with ditches or posts immediately within the entrance causeway. There are a further 14-20 houses with two entrances.[21]

Fig. 6.39. Enclosure 3 at Heathrow T5
After Framework Archaeology 2010, fig. 4.27

[20] Special deposit ID 224

[21] House IDs 53, 148, 173, 183, 294, 295, 296, 444, 454, 461, 476, 477, 490 and 513. Possibly IDs 73, 77, 181, 220, 240 and 573

Site	House	Figure	Reference
Gravelly Guy	Enclosure B2	6.7	Lambrick and Allen 2004, 123-8
Gravelly Guy	Enclosure B3	6.7	Lambrick and Allen 2004, 123-8
Thornhill Farm	Structure 207	-	Jennings *et al.* 2004, 24-25, fig. 3.3
Totterdown Lane	Gully feature 7	-	Pine and Preston 2004, 5, fig. 2.2
Totterdown Lane	Roundhouse 1	-	Pine and Preston 2004, 5, fig. 2.5
Totterdown Lane	Roundhouse 2	-	Pine and Preston 2004, 6, fig. 2.6
Warrens Field	Structure 2	6.14	Miles *et al.* 2007, 38, fig. 3.11
Warrens Field	Structure 5	6.35	Miles *et al.* 2007, 38, fig. 3.3
Warrens Field	Structure 12	-	Miles *et al.* 2007, 42, fig. 3.11
Deer Park Road	The Roundhouse	-	Walker 1995, fig. 4
Park Farm	Ditch 1020	-	Roberts 1995, fig. 45
Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 5/ Enclosure EC7	6.34	Framework Archaeology 2010, figs. 4.20, 4.31
Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 18	-	Framework Archaeology 2010, 242, fig. 4.22
Heathrow T5	Enclosure 3	6.39	Framework Archaeology 2010, 248-9, fig. 4.27

Table 6.3. MIA houses with blocking ditches or posts in the causeway creating two entrances

This structuring of how individuals entered buildings alongside increased importance on the entrance can also be seen at House 2 at Groundwell Farm (Fig. 6.30; Gingell 1982, 41-44, fig. 6). This has been mentioned above, and consists of two concentric walls. Two entrances are apparent here: a more usual south-east entrance providing access directly into the interior space, as well as a north-east entrance providing passage only into the outer courtyard area. If this secondary entrance was used, access to the interior could only be achieved by moving through the eastern section of the courtyard to the south-east opening. A ditch inside Roundhouse 8 at Heathrow T5 may also have been used to structure movement in the house in an anti-clockwise fashion in this unusual house (Fig. 6.10; Framework Archaeology 2010, fig. 4.25).

The provision of two adjacent entrances to the same house could have functioned as a means by which subgroups in society could have been separated and segregated. Perhaps one entrance could only be used by a certain group in society - for example those belonging to that household - while the other by a different section, possibly guests not belonging to the household. The separation between the two groups reinforces homogeneity within them. The anecdote by Colin Richards of tradesmen entering modern houses through a separate entrance and directed along a specific, different path to those belonging to the household and their non-tradesmen guests may be relevant here (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994, 1). In this example, the conceptual difference between tradesmen on the one hand and members of the household and their guests on the other is being represented and reinforced by choreography within the house.

6.2.6 Enclosures within Settlements

Enclosures do not only surround singular houses, but often incorporate another house, subsidiary area or storage structure. These either form the only house gully or create a double ditch around the house. A number are associated with special deposits, and two with human remains.[22] Table 6.4 lists examples of these:

Site	Feature(s)	Figure	Reference
Shorncote Quarry	House gully 1611	-	Brossler *et al.* 2002, 46, fig. 10
Warrens Field	Structure 3	6.42	Miles *et al.* 2007, 42, fig. 3.11
Warrens Field	372, 371, 945; Structure 20	6.52	Miles *et al.* 2007, 32-3, figs. 3.3, 3.10
Totterdown Lane	Ditches 55, 900, roundhouses 7 and 8	6.55	Pine and Preston 2004, figs. 2.4 and 2.9
Manor House Farm	The circular building	-	Zeepvat 2001, fig. 7
Coxwell Road	Roundhouse E/ditches 1853/1854	6.40	Cook *et al.* 2004, fig. 15
Farmoor	F.1010, 1012	6.48	Lambrick and Robinson 1979, fig. 11
Farmoor	F.1007, 1008, 1009	6.48	Lambrick and Robinson 1979, fig. 11
Farmoor	Enclosure Group 2	6.49	Lambrick and Robinson 1979, fig. 13
Yarnton	Structure 8180/8286	6.41	Hey *et al.* 2011, 160, fig. 6.19
Ashville	Ditches 13, 18, 19 *etc.*	6.17	Parrington 1978, 11-15, fig. 12
Mount Farm	Northern Area	6.54	Lambrick 2010, fig. 7
Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	Structure 532 and ditch groups 80, 100, 174 *etc.*	6.22	Allen *et al.* 2010, 131-134, fig. 5.20
Appleford	Ditch 139/enclosures A, B and C	6.47	Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980, 39-40, fig. 15
Grazeley Road	Ring gully complex A	6.33	Ford *et al.* 2013, fig. 2.3
Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Secondary enclosure	6.12	Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, 335, fig. 20
Heathrow T5	Enclosure EC6	6.45	Framework Archaeology 2010, 256-7, fig. 4.28
Heathrow T5	Enclosures 11, 12, EC4, EC5	6.45	Framework Archaeology 2010, 250, 256, fig. 4.29
Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 7 and 140118	-	Framework Archaeology 2010, figs. 4.19, 4.31
Ashford Prison	Circular structures 6, 7	6.44	Carew *et al.* 2006, 50, fig. 41
Ashford Prison	Circular structure 4	6.43	Carew *et al.* 2006, 46-8, fig. 37

Table 6.4. MIA enclosures surrounding a house alongside another house, subsiduary area or storage structure

[22] Special deposit IDs 20, 27, 28, 266 and 391; Human remains IDs 41 and 45

Fig. 6.40. Roundhouse E and Ditches 1853/1854 at Coxwell Road
After Cook *et al.* 2004, fig. 15

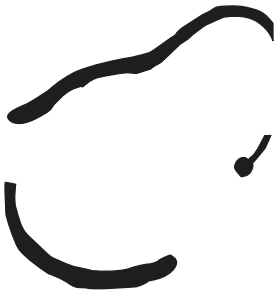


Fig. 6.41. Enclosures 8081 and 8286 at Yarnton
After Hey *et al.* 2011, fig. 6.19

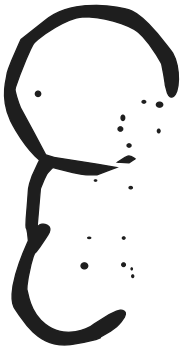


Fig. 6.42. Structure 3 at Warrens Field
After Miles *et al.* 2007, fig. 15

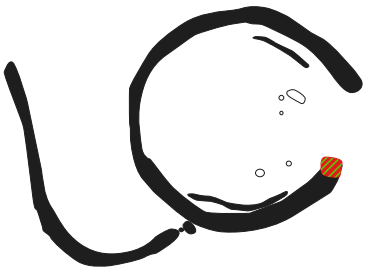


Fig. 6.43. Circular Structure 4 at Ashford Prison
After Carew *et al.* 2006, fig. 37

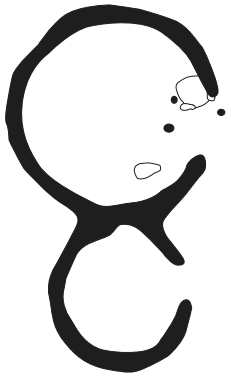


Fig. 6.44. Circular Structures 6 and 7 at Ashford Prison
After Carew *et al.* 2006, fig. 41

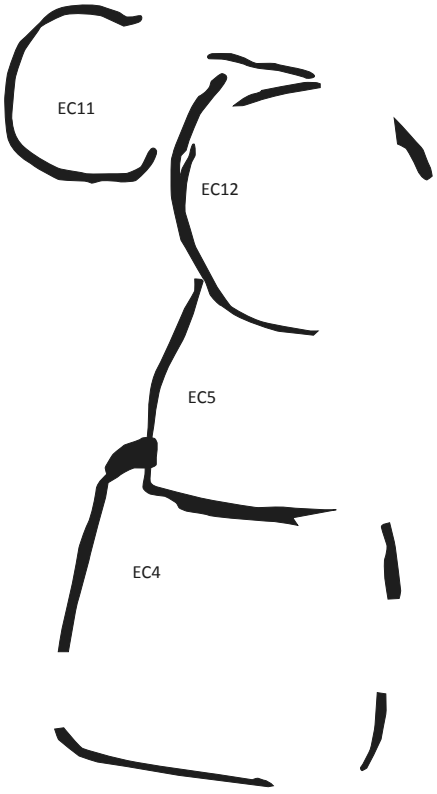
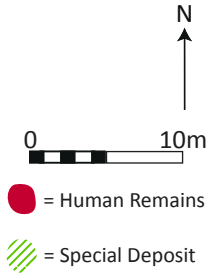


Fig. 6.45. Enclosures 5, 6, 11 and 12 at Heathrow T5
After Framework Archaeology 2010, fig. 4. 29

Fig. 6.46. Enclosure 6 at Heathrow T5
After Framework Archaeology 2010, fig. 4.31



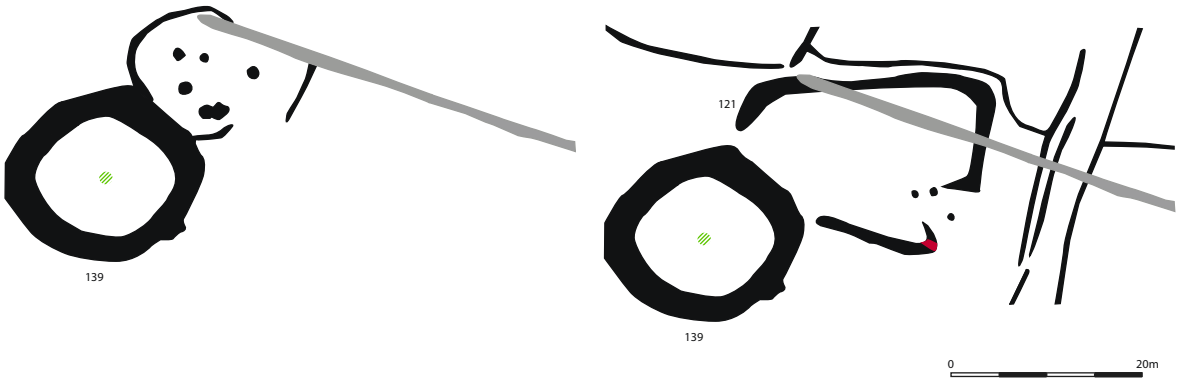


Fig. 6.47. The latter two phases of Enclosures A, B and D around Ditch 139 at Appleford.
See also Fig. 6.13
After Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980, fig. 15

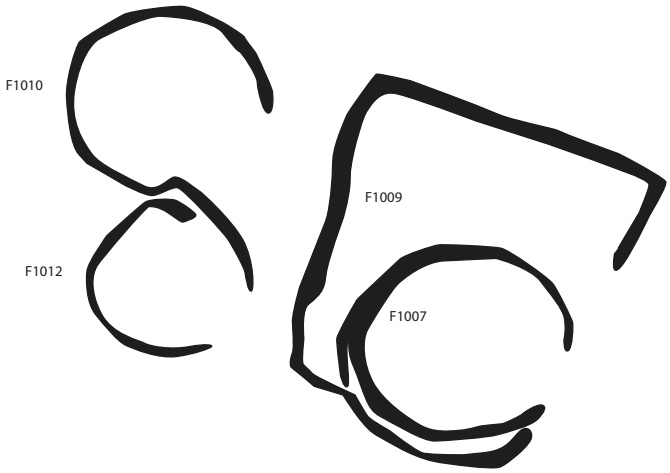


Fig. 6.48. Area III, Enclosures 1 at Farmoor
After Lambrick and Robinson 1979, fig. 11

Fig. 6.49. Area III, Enclosures 2 at Farmoor
After Lambrick and Robinson 1979, fig. 13

Ditches that enclosure a house and another feature are similar to the series of slightly larger enclosures that are found within settlements. These often also incorporate a house. Table 6.5 lists examples of these. The example from Warrens Field is noteworthy as it has a pair of 30m long antenna ditches leading to the enclosure. This is also attached to the structure 20 complex, comprising a house and two contiguous small enclosures.

Site	**Feature(s)**	**Figure**	**Reference**
Cleveland Farm	Enclosure 1	6.50	Powell *et al.* 2008, 24-29, fig. 3
Cleveland Farm	Enclosure 2	6.50	Powell *et al.* 2008, 24-29, fig. 3
Cleveland Farm	Enclosure 3	6.50	Powell *et al.* 2008, 24-29, fig. 3
Cleveland Farm	Enclosure 4	6.50	Powell *et al.* 2008, 24-29, fig. 3
Latton Lands	2951	6.51	Powell *et al.* 2009, 39-44, fig. 15
Latton Lands	1442	6.51	Powell *et al.* 2009, 39-44, fig. 15
Latton Lands	1258	6.51	Powell *et al.* 2009, 39-44, fig. 15
Cotswold Community	8581	-	Powell *et al.* 2010, 78, fig. 2.52
Warrens Field	451, 372; Structures 13, 14	6.52	Miles *et al.* 2007, figs. 3.3, 3.10
Mount Farm	206, 56, 200, 203	6.54	Lambrick 2010, 56-9, figs. 7, 43
Wyndyke Furlong	3556	-	Muir and Roberts 1999, 7, fig. 2.4
Groundwell West	Enclosure E2	6.53	Walker *et al.* 2001, 16-7, fig. 13
Milton Hill North	?Enclosure 1	-	Hart *et al.* 2012, 213-6, fig. 6

Table 6.5. MIA small enclosures within settlements

The first set of enclosures in Table 6.4 forms a reasonably coherent group. The second set listed in Table 6.5 is slightly more heterogeneous, with the larger examples overlapping in size and form with enclosed settlements, discussed below. The enclosures at Cleveland Farm could be considered as comprising a series of small adjacent enclosures, like the Aves Ditches Pipeline sites. Alongside enclosed settlements and roundhouse ditches, these various levels of enclosure form a continuum and can all be interpreted in similar ways.

Double enclosures and small enclosures within settlements have been interpreted as animal pens or storage areas (e.g. Framework Archaeology 2010, 241; Lambrick 2010, 67-70; Lambrick and Robinson 1979, 68-71; Powell *et al.* 2009, 39, 106). Evidence for livestock tramping was found at Heathrow T5 (Framework Archaeology 2010, 250, 256), and double penannular ditches surrounded a house and four- or six-poster at Ashville, Warrens Field and the settlement outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps. At least some enclosures within settlements were used as animal pens and storage areas, but further significance may have been placed on these features, and we may be able to interpret something of the social relationships of those using them. What is significant is the rarity of enclosures in settlements prior to the MIA. An example from the Transition is the palisaded oval enclosure at Horcott Pit; one from the EIA can be found at the Latton Lands central settlement. Assuming that these were used to corral livestock or store goods, why do we not see them in earlier periods? This could be explained by a change in ownership

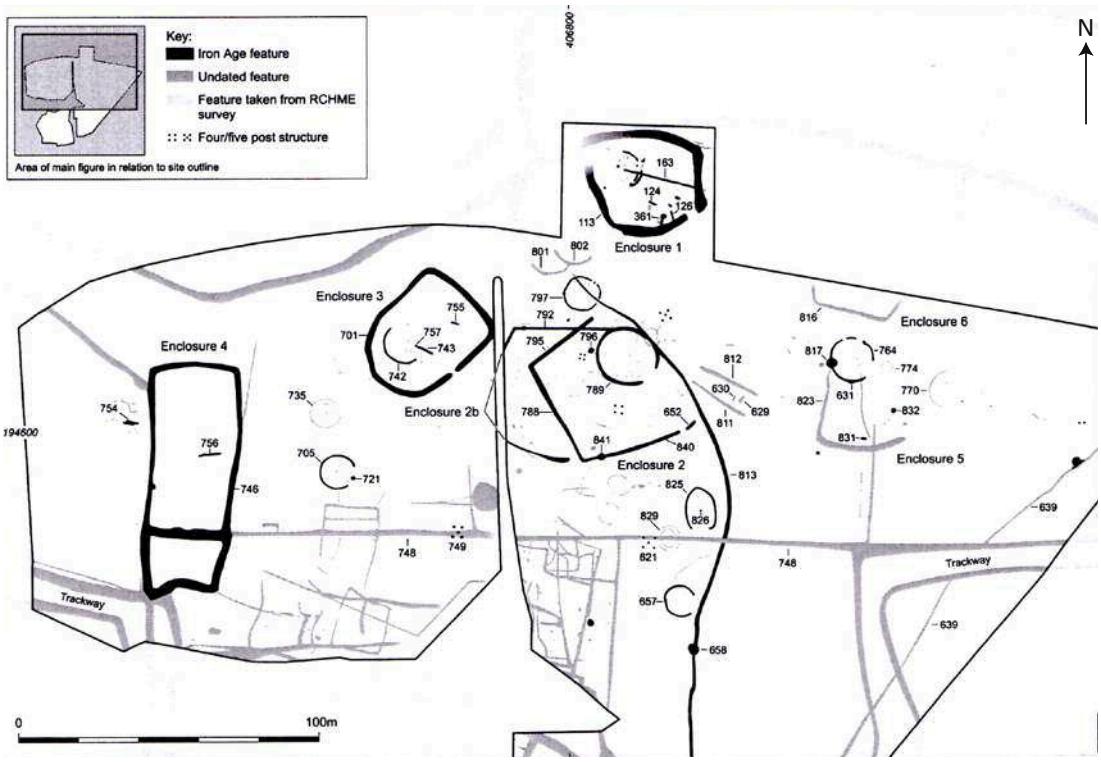


Fig. 6.50. Plan of Cleveland Farm
Powell *et al.* 2008, fig. 3

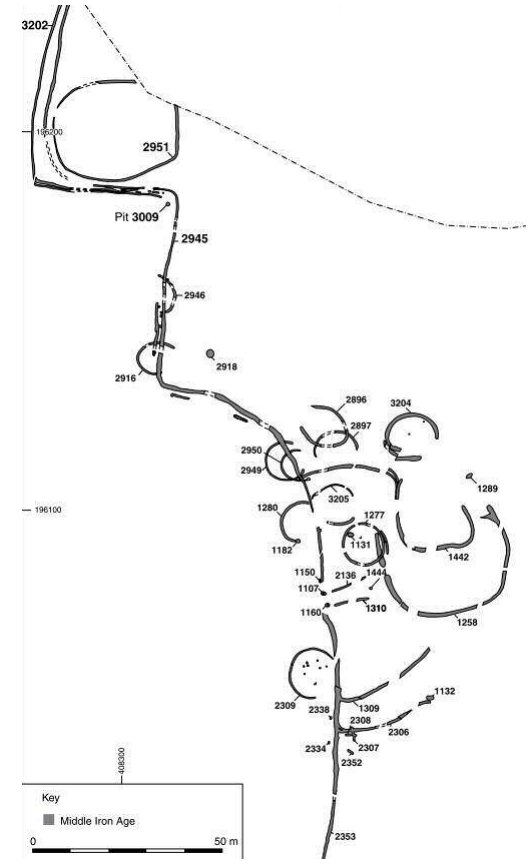


Fig. 6.51. MIA central settlement at Latton Lands
Powell *et al.* 2009, fig. 15

Fig. 6.52. Structures 13, 14 and 20,
Island 3 at Warrens Field
After Miles *et al.* 2007, fig. 3.2

= Later Feature

= Human Remains

patterns. The restricted size of many of these, and the close association between the enclosures and individual houses at most of the examples, suggests that by the MIA ownership may by this time be based more around the household and family, as storing goods and livestock seems to be more closely associated with the house. This may have condensed from larger communal social units owning and raising livestock in the earlier period, and the consequent lack of a need to segregate flocks and divide food and goods into smaller units in the earlier periods. Even if this communal ownership was not apparent prior to the MIA, with flocks and goods being kept together but owned individually or by households, this increased desire to separate these and for them not be *kept* communally still suggests a move towards the household as the nexus of social identity and away from the wider community.

6.2.7 Divisions within Settlements

Enclosures within settlements serve to fracture the site, breaking it into areas more explicitly used or even owned by particular individuals or households, segregating from the other inhabitants. This is also seen in the layout of a number of other MIA settlements. Ditches and other boundaries add to a picture of settlements fracturing and separating into smaller units.

Phases 2 and 3 at Groundwell West provide an example (Fig. 6.53; Walker *et al.* 2001, 8-16, fig. 10). Here, ditches and palisades make the three roundhouses and their immediate environs very isolated from each other. Roundhouse 2 has its own enclosed area, bounded on three sides by a large ditch and substantial palisade. The palisade would presumably have blocked visibility between roundhouses 2 and 3, and their adjacent areas. The position of north-west facing roundhouse 7 is also of note. Boundary ditch 414 blocked access from the south-east towards roundhouse 2; instead access was via the west, complicating movement between the two houses and separating them further. This arrangement would ensure privacy in the area immediately outside the house.

This is similar to the arrangement at Spratsgate Lane. Access to and between the main settlement spaces of Areas B and C was severely limited by the complex of ditches around and within the site (Fig. 6.21). Like other sites, these ditches could have been accompanied by banks, hedges or walls, increasing enclosure and separation, although no traces of these were found at Spratsgate (Vallender 2007, 87). If contemporary, one could not have easily moved between house S1/8/9 to the adjacent S5/6/7 without fully exiting the S1/8/9 complex via the 30m long antenna ditches to the west and before going around, outside the settlement and re-entering from the eastern side. Even so, a further ditch, S2, prevented straightforward access to Area B, instead moving inhabitants around a corner. Access between Areas B+C and Area D is further controlled and impeded by the orientation of the two areas. Unusually, Areas B+C face to the west, whereas D faces to the east. This segregation is amplified by the antenna ditches of S37, 40 and 41, further restricting easy access between the houses in Area D and B+C. There is segregation of space in Areas B+C, with each house being accompanied by an adjacent paddock or yard.

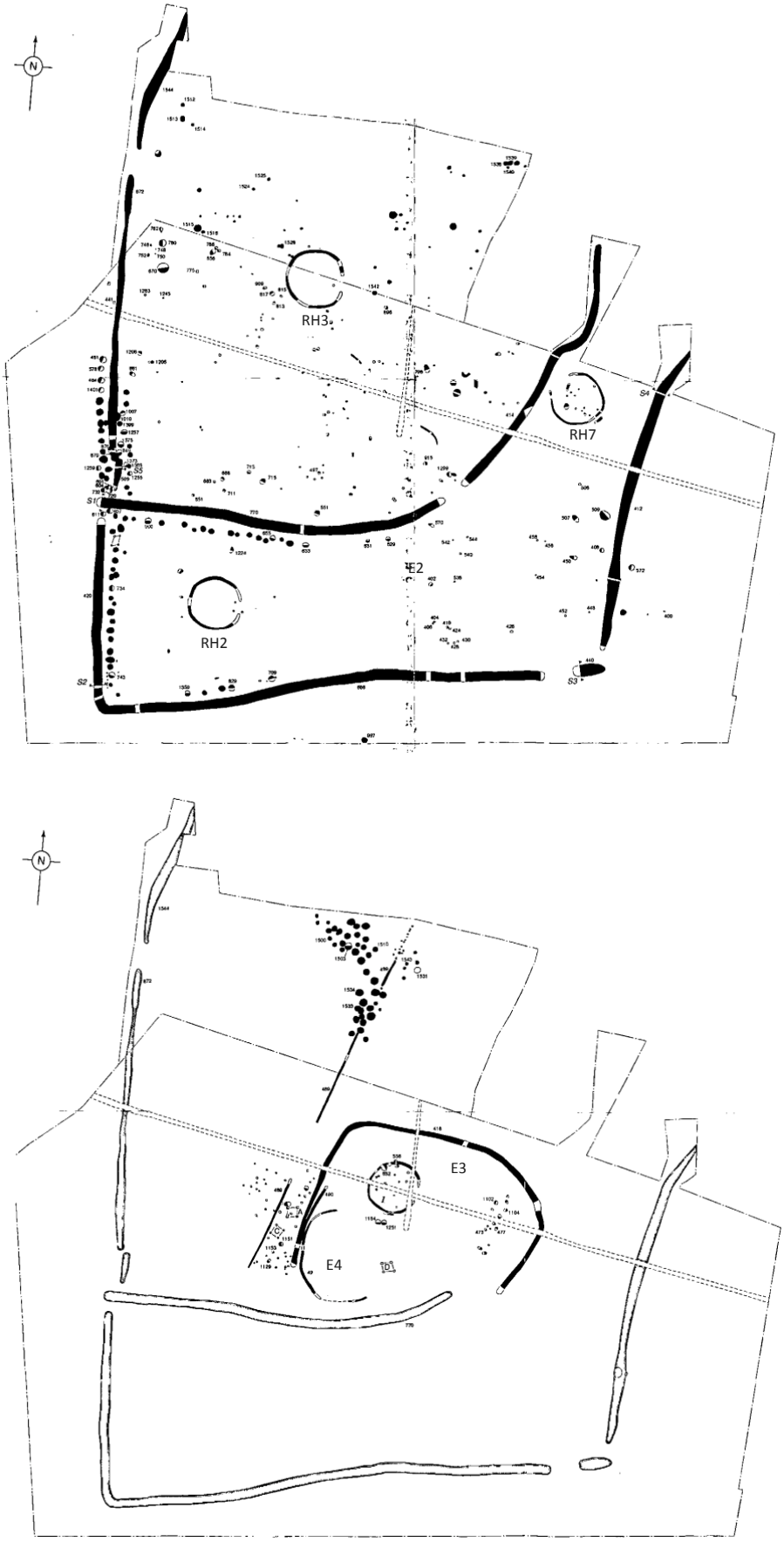


Fig. 6.53. Phases 3 (above) and 4 (below) at Groundwell West
Walker *et al.* 2001, figs. 10,13

0 50m

At Mount Farm, the MIA saw not only the enclosure of the previously open EIA settlement, but various divisions within the settlement (Fig. 6.54; Lambrick 2010, 56-62, figs. 42, 43). The northern zone, comprising features 206, 56, 200 and 203, has already been listed with its roundhouse and subsidiary area (Table 6.4). Alongside this, there are other areas of the settlement segregated from each other by ditches and trackways. The southern zone also has two phases of a house gully with an adjacent private area. Division of settlements into smaller units in the MIA is also apparent at Totterdown Lane (Fig. 6.55), Whitehouse Road, St Anns Heath School, and probably Slade Farm and Chilton Grove South. Ditches are present on numerous other sites that may have performed a similar function. At Gravelly Guy and Yarnton, segregation into small units began in the EIA (5.2). This becomes even clearer in the LIA and Roman period (see note 6.41).

At these sites, enclosure had the function of making physical division between houses and households *within* the settlement. Like the smaller penannular enclosures discussed above, non-house ditches define only slightly larger areas than houses gullies. Both enclose areas large enough for use by only a limited household. This suggests that identity boundaries are based around family groups, of which the nexus is the house. This is due to the function of boundaries serving to differentiate areas and individuals associated with them, ritualising passage between them, further emphasising this difference. Alongside symbolic distinction, boundaries within the settlement and surrounding the home provide a very 'lived-in' arena where these differences are played out multiple times a day. The movement of individuals within a settlement are choreographed in a particular way, similar to some, but different to others. The majority of enclosed settlements also appear to be distinguishing social units of a similar, small size.

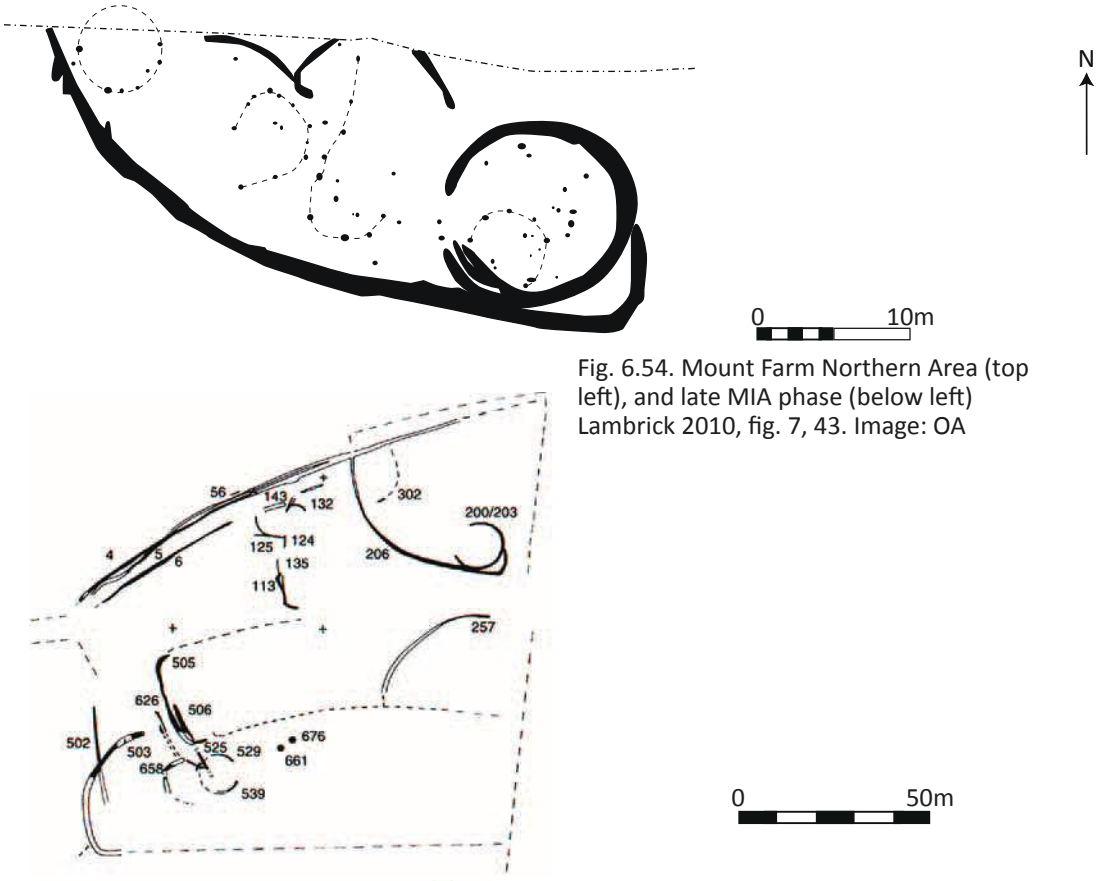
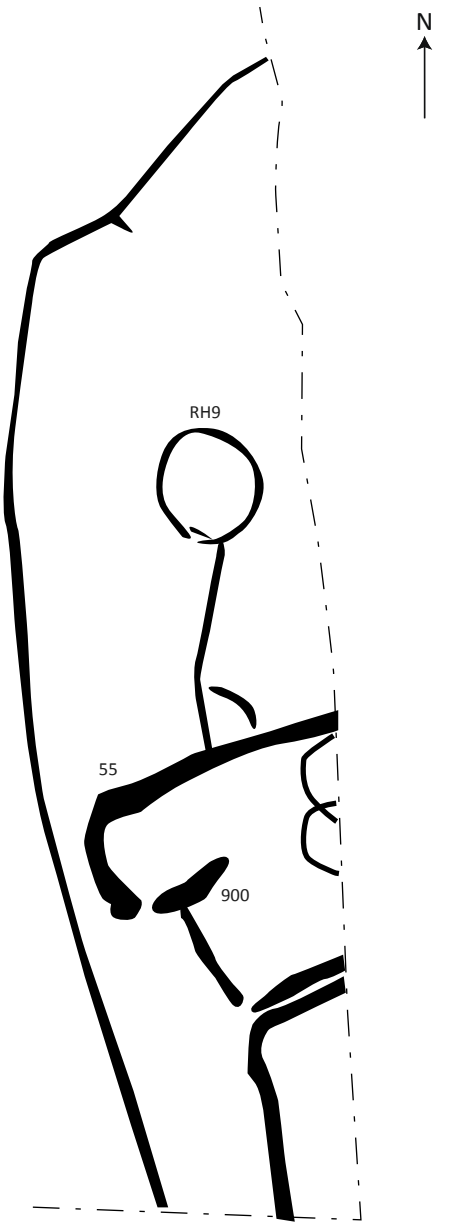


Fig. 6.54. Mount Farm Northern Area (top left), and late MIA phase (below left) Lambrick 2010, fig. 7, 43. Image: OA

6.2.8 Enclosed Settlements

Enclosed settlements are usually relatively small and rarely contain more than two or three contemporary roundhouses. A good number from the study area have been fully or extensively excavated. Table 6.6 lists these examples, and there are more that have been subject to limited work where dimensions are unknown. The vast majority enclose an area of less than one acre; as discussed above, enclosed settlements overlap in form and size with smaller enclosures both within and adjacent to larger settlements. Like ditches around houses, double enclosures and divisions within settlements, most enclosures appear to each have contained perhaps a small extended family community, living in one or two houses. Like these other MIA features, it is significant that enclosed settlements are rare prior to this period. Island 2 at Warrens Field and Caesar's Camp at Heathrow are exceptions in size and internal occupation; the EC1 enclosure at Heathrow T5 is also large, although enclosed limited visible features. The Warrens Field enclosures are bounded primarily by marshy ground, alongside some ditches.



6.55. Latest MIA phase at Totterndown Lane
After Pine and Preston 2004, fig. 2.4

Like roundhouse gullies, MIA settlement enclosure ditches are a focus for special deposits and human remains, often with emphasis on the entrance.[23] An example is at Watchfield East. Here, the eastern terminal of the enclosure ditch saw two separate special deposits belonging to different phases. The first was the skull of a large polecat, possibly deriving from a pelt (Hamilton-Dyer 2001, 276-7). The second consisted of a near complete cattle skull, articulated leg of a pig, and an axially split head of a pig, alongside other animal bones (Birbeck 2001, 228). A pit just to the east of the entrance contained a cattle skull and a trepanned human skull, placed upside down beside each other (McKinley 2001). In the middle of the antenna ditches just outside the entrance of the penannular enclosure,

[23] Special deposit IDs 35, 47, 59, 60, 103, 118, 119, 120, 125, 126, 240, 242, 245-8, 281, 310, 347, 348, 368; Human remain IDs 2, 54, 55, 76, 77 86, 88, 146, 155, 236, 240-4, 261, 263, 264, 266, 319. This does not include examples in hillfort ramparts, ditches or entrances.

Site	Internal Area (m^2/acres)	Figure	Extent of contemporary activity
Spratsgate Lane Areas B+C	6200/1.5 exposed; c.8000/2 overall	6.21	Five roundhouses. Linear ditches, boundaries and enclosures within main enclosure
Horcott Pit	c.1500/0.375 exposed; c.3000/0.75 overall	6.56	Maximum of two of the three houses could have been contemporary
Warrens Field, Island 3	c.2625/0.65 Fully investigated	-	Maximum of six or seven of the 10 houses could be contemporary. Bounded by ditches and marshy ground
Warren Field, Island 2	c.15200/3.75 Fully investigated	-	Ten roundhouses, not all could be contemporary. Four enclosures and linear ditches. Bounded by marshy ground
Mingies Ditch	2375/0.6 Fully investigated	6.37-8	Unlikely more than two contemporary houses
Watkins Farm	3685/0.9 Fully investigated	-	Unlikely more than two contemporary houses
Groundwell Farm	c.1500/0.37 exposed; c.2330/0.55 overall	6.57	Maximum of two of the four houses could have been contemporary. Geophysics suggests few features outside excavated area.
Groundwell West, phase 4	1800/0.45 Fully investigated	6.53	One house and one large semi-circular enclosure
Preston	1000/0.25 exposed; 4075/1 overall	6.58	Non-intensive. No houses revealed, only lengths of gullies and postholes
Aves Ditch Pipeline, Enclosure 1	810/0.2 overall; only small slots excavated	6.59	Only small slots excavated
Aves Ditch Pipeline, Enclosure 2	950/0.24 overall; only small slots excavated	6.59	Only small slots excavated
Hailey Wood	770/0.2 exposed; c.1540/0.4 overall	6.60	Two pits and 12 postholes were uncovered
Larkwhistle Farm	2250/0.6 Fully investigated	6.61	Two roundhouses
Thames Valley Park	2350/0.6 Fully investigated	6.62	35 pits, 23 unassigned postholes, four-poster, linear gully
Wood Lane	2210/0.5 exposed; c.4000/1 overall	6.64	Seven pits, one or two postholes
Eton Rowing Course Area 16	4500/1.1 Fully investigated	6.65	Small numbers of pits. Four-poster and six-poster
Heathrow T5, EC1	9000/2.2 Fully investigated	6.66	Three roundhouses, one with yard; cluster of pits, four-poster, linear ditch
Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	8050/2 exposed; 11100/2.7 overall	6.67	11 roundhouses, enclosure, LIA temple. At least three roundhouses predate enclosure, the rest need not be contemporary. Might be LIA

Table 6.6. MIA settlement enclosures that have been subject to substantial excavation

Fig. 6.56. Horcott Pit
After Lamdin-Whymark *et al.* 2009, fig. 17

0 50m

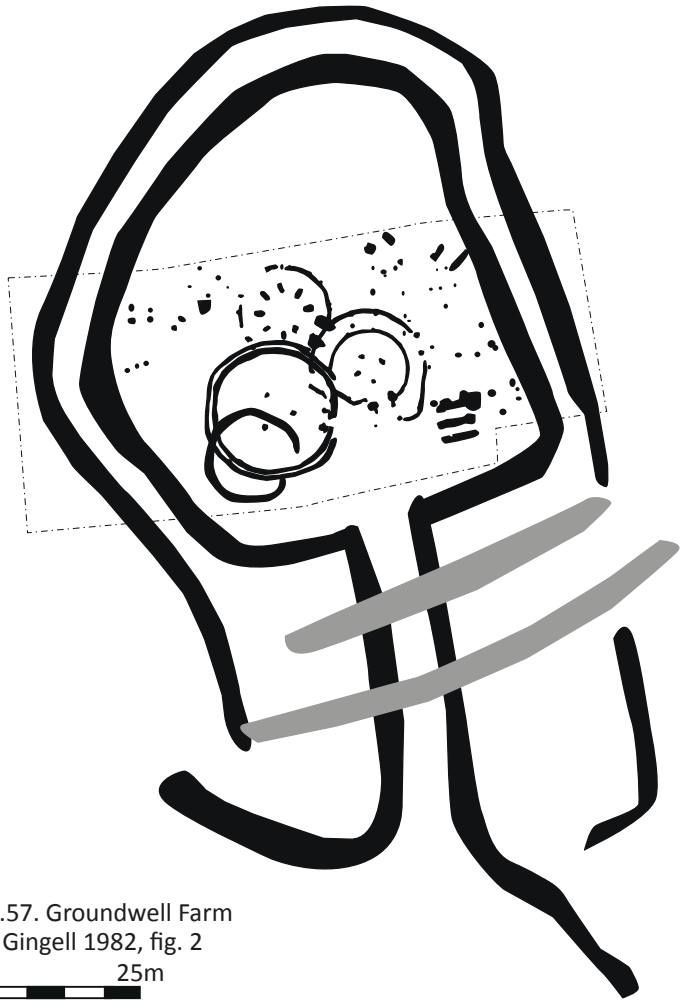


Fig. 6.57. Groundwell Farm
After Gingell 1982, fig. 2

0 25m

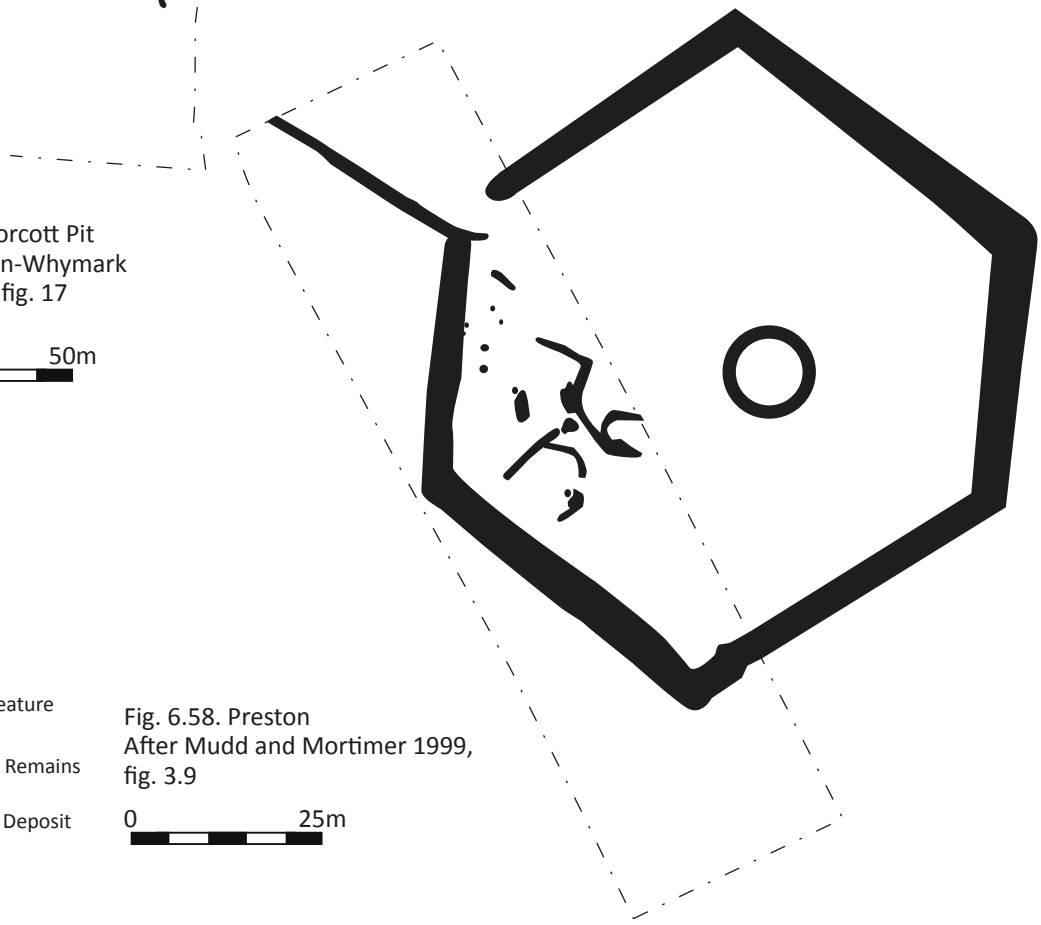


Fig. 6.58. Preston
After Mudd and Mortimer 1999, fig. 3.9

0 25m

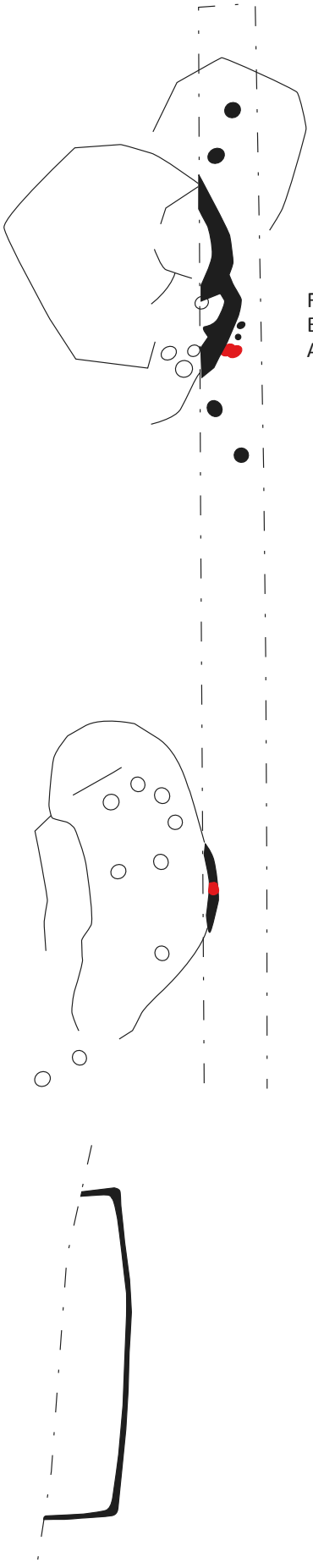


Fig. 5.59. Aves Ditch Pipeline
Enclosures 1 and 2
After Hart *et al.* 2010, fig. 5

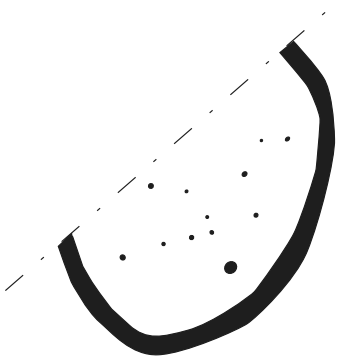


Fig. 6.60. Hailey Wood
After Chambers 1973, fig. 1

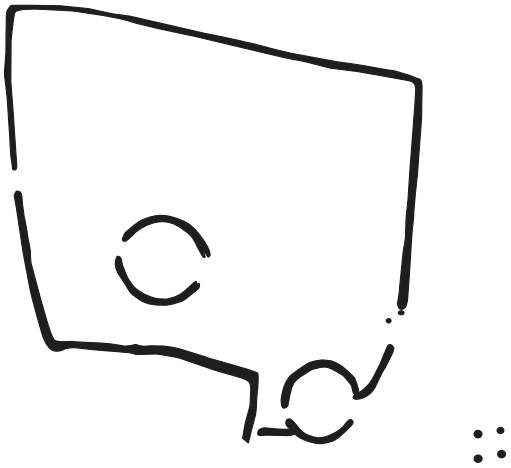


Fig. 6.61. Larkwhistle Farm
After Hardy and Cropper 1999, fig. 3

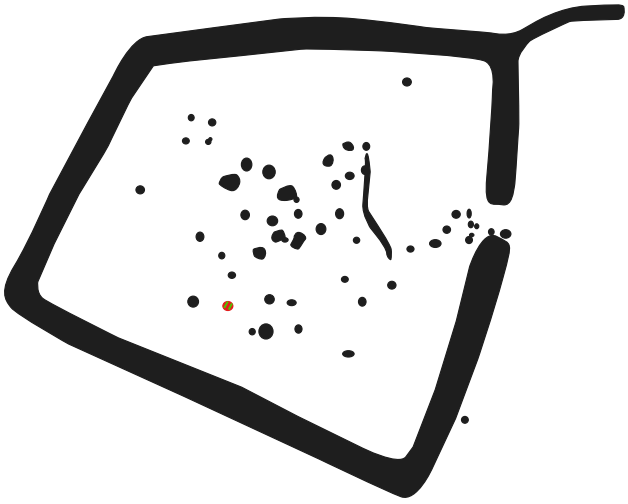


Fig. 6.62. Thames Valley Park
After Smith and Barnes 1997, fig. 19

Fig. 6.63. Old Way Lane
After Ford 2003, fig. 4.17

N

0 25m

= Human Remains

= Special Deposit

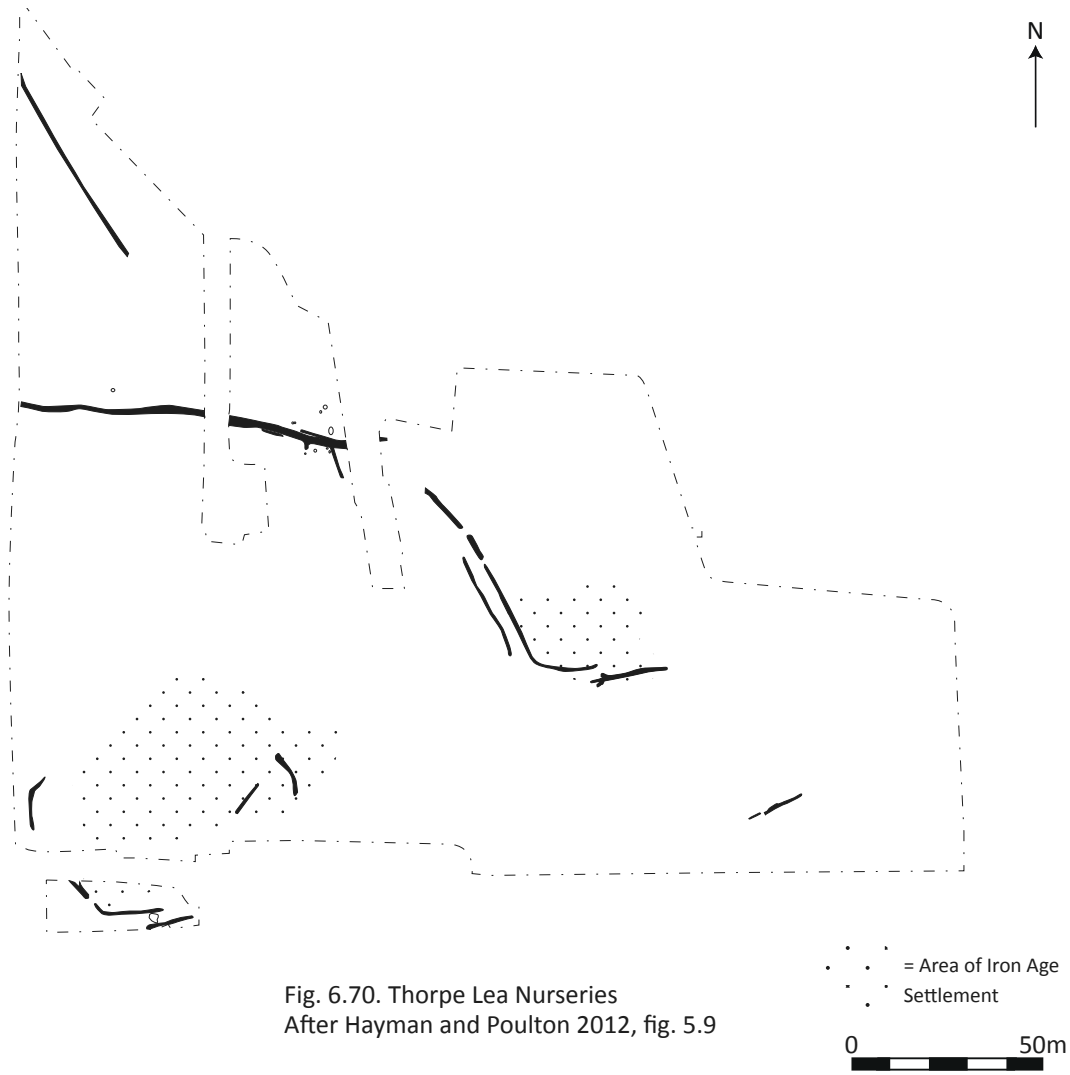


Fig. 6.70. Thorpe Lea Nurseries
After Hayman and Poulton 2012, fig. 5.9

We are able to interpret these features alongside the settlement context described above. Small coaxial enclosures closely associated with settlements could have held livestock and crops belonging to the same small units that defined themselves by enclosure within and around the settlement. Rather than larger social units holding stock in common, with ownership either shared by larger groups or owned individually but kept together, there appears to be more of a social need or desire to segregate and differentiate agricultural stock, presumably due to changes in ownership patterns. Furthermore, the limited size of the overall systems suggests that unlike those dating to the MBA and Roman period, landscape divisions were not constructed through the organisation of large conglomerate social groups and used by a variety of people. Instead, each is associated with a small settlement, and presumably built by the residents.

This concludes the first part of this chapter, which focused on houses and enclosure. The second part looks at special deposits, human remains, animal bone assemblages, iron smelting, metalworking and metalwork. Evidence from these features are used in support of the social interpretation suggested by analysis of houses and enclosure.

6.4 Special Deposits

170 MIA special deposits have been recognised from the study area. These have been defined in 3.31. There are therefore around the same number of MIA special deposits as the LBA, LBA/EIA Transition and EIA combined. Given the larger number of settlements in the MIA, the average number of special deposits for each excavated settlement is not substantially larger than the EIA, although special deposits on settlements are still most common in the MIA (Graphs 7.21-3). With 64 (38%) examples, special deposits are much more likely to be associated with houses in the MIA compared to earlier periods (Graphs 7.17-8): a number of these have already been described and interpreted above. Following previous chapters, this section will split special deposits into those containing only animal remains; those with only pottery; and those of mixed composition. There will also be a separate assessment of examples comprising objects from a single material other than pottery.

6.4.1 Animal Only

Special deposits containing solely the remains of animals become slightly more popular in the MIA relative to other types, compared to earlier periods. 62 examples of these are included, comprising just over a third (37%) of all recognised special deposits. The bias on the Upper Thames gravels continues from the EIA: all but ten are in this region, with four coming from the Corrillian Ridge, and three each from the Berkshire Downs and Middle Thames Valley. Half of all the animal only special deposits are from Gravelly Guy. This large number is not due only to the complete excavation policy at the site, but also represents an example of site specific depositional patterns that sets the EIA and MIA aside from the LBA and Transition.

Cattle now become the most popular animal to deposit in this way: half of the examples include cattle, and at least seven have more than one individual. Dog and horse are equally popular, as 18 animal-only special deposits contain these species. This preference is more marked than these figures suggest, given that fewer dogs and horses compared with other species would have made up living populations (6.6). Pig remains are the least popular domestic species represented, with only eight examples. Three of these are juveniles. Wild animals are rarer still, with only two deposits containing deer remains, and one with other wild species. This was the skull of a polecat, although this may have derived from a pelt (Hamilton-Dyer 2001, 276-7). There are only four examples of dogs being deposited with other animals: all other species are much more likely to be placed with other animals.

Half of the animal-only special deposits contained skulls or mandibles, and this was the most prevalent category of remains. The other categories, in order of popularity, are groups of disarticulated bones, articulated remains, and complete individuals. Nine of the 11 complete corpses are from dogs: seven are dogs from Gravelly Guy. There may have originally been more complete examples, with the often poor bone preservation obscuring others. There is only one

Not to scale

Fig. 6.72. Fine MIA metalwork with La Tène artwork 2.
1 - Scabbard mount from the Standlake sword; 2 Scabbard mount and chape from the Shepperton sword; 3 - Pin from Hammersmith; 4 - Brooch from Old Ford, Datchet

1 - Harding 1972, frontispiece; 2 - Poulton 2012, fig. 3.7, Surry County Archaeological Unit;
3 - © Trustees of the British Museum; 4 - Hull and Hawkes 1987, Pl. 43

Objects of high craftsmanship and fine art are ethnographically often regarded in a different light to those that are plain or less skilfully produced. Alongside unusual exotica of foreign or ancient provenance, the production of such items cannot be understood by the majority of the population as they are beyond their technical or artistic ability. Such objects are alien. As such, these items are commonly ascribed a supernatural provenance, or it is believed that the craftsman has been given divine inspiration and patronage. The ownership or association with these objects elevates the possessor as it is believed that they could only be the custodian through godly sanction (see 2.4.5-6; Gell 1992b; 1998; Helms 1993). Consequently, viewers become 'enchanted' by these objects and their supernatural associations: they have social agency and used as 'propaganda' to legitimise political power (Gell 1992b). We may regard the production and deployment of such objects as evidence of a society becoming increasingly concerned with differentiating members and groups, perhaps in a hierarchical manner. Other types of items used in this way, the ancient and exotic from beyond the boundary of society, were also obtained and appear to have been treated with some reverence. MIA examples have been discussed alongside those dating to the EIA in 5.6-7.

Approximately 216 metal objects can certainly be ascribed to the MIA in the study area. A further 113 might date to the period (Tables 6.9-10; Graphs 6.12-3).[40] Put another way, between one and one and a half objects have been found for each year of the period. There are around two and a half times more metal objects per year of the Ewart Park period than the MIA (Table 7.6; Graphs 7.11-2). Although there are somewhat more belonging to the MIA than the EIA, and slightly more than the Transition, given that settlements are far more common and the population must have been greater in the MIA than any other period under study, this still represents very little MIA metalwork. To broadly adjust for differing population, there are around 13.5 metal objects for each excavated LBA settlement. This compares to around just three for the Iron Age.

Reasons for the dearth of metalwork, alongside the lack of other types of material culture, has been discussed in relation to the EIA in 5.6.1. It was argued that metalwork and other objects were passed down and repaired, rarely entering the archaeological record. Personhood may have been regarded to reside in these objects, with the presence of these objects/subjects having social significance. This was linked to patterns we see in other aspects of the archaeological record: settlements, houses and monuments in the Iron Age also become linked to multiple generations, not apparent in the LBA, and human bones appear to have circulated amongst the living. Despite material culture being more common in the MIA than the EIA, these arguments are still relevant to the latter period. Retaining old objects may have continued the presence of the dead in living society, making it easier to more closely associate with ancestors.

[40] Objects of La Tène III/D have been excluded as these are primarily LIA (see Appendix 1.8). The figure also excludes a number of undated spearheads from the Thames (see note 5.32), and the poorly documented currency bar hoard at Minety, on the boundary of the study area, where around 100 specimens were apparently discovered (Allen 1968, 328). Unassociated currency bars have been included as possible MIA objects (see Appendix 10.3.2; Allen 1968; Hingley 1990b, 92; 2006, 183-6). Exact numbers in hoards are commonly unknown.

There is an increase in metalwork deposition outside of settlements in the MIA compared to its near total absence in the EIA, with areas of dense settlement not being rich in stray finds. Stray finds are more common on the Berkshire Downs and Chilterns rather than the Upper Thames gravels, although non-settlement finds do occur in these areas of settlement (Map 6.3). Like earlier periods, the west London Thames is particularly rich. The exceptional assemblages from this area are due in part to a sustained localised practice of ritual deposition over a long period of time. The lack of adjacent documented sites must partly be due to destruction following urban development. Hammersmith in particular has produced a large amount of metalwork: including EIA objects, this study has recorded some eight swords, six brooches, four daggers, a currency bar, three openwork discs, seven pins, a possible shield rim and an undated reaping hook and spearhead. Woodeaton is another location that witnessed a large amount of deposition. In at least some of the phases this appears to have been a midden site, with occupation probably beginning in the Transition, and metalwork deposition continuing into the Roman period (Goodchild and Kirk 1954; Harding 1987).

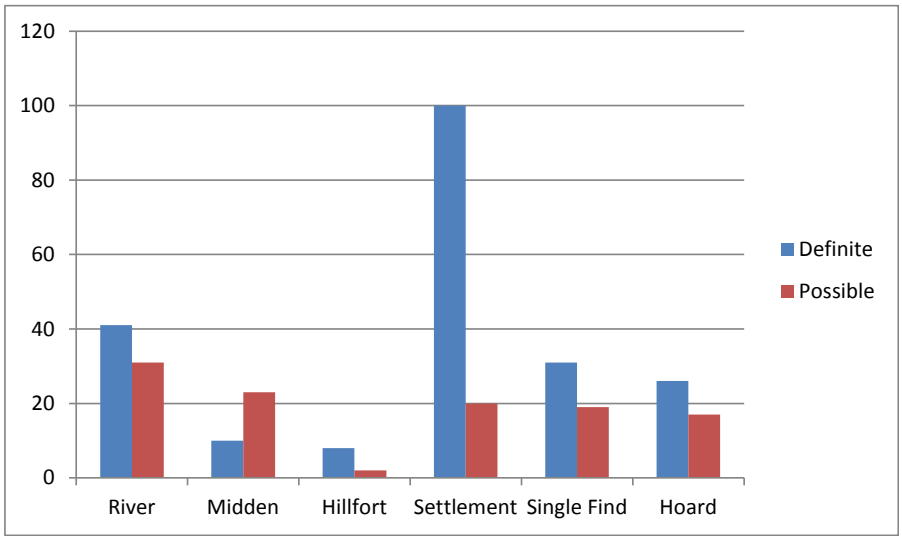
Following their absence in the EIA, hoards now have a limited presence in the MIA. Most of these are currency bar hoards: of the four places these are found in the Thames, only the example from Hammersmith was not found with another currency bar. It is reasonable to suggest that the pairs from Datchet and Marlow, and the six from Maidenhead, were deposited as hoards. At Appleford, a sword was probably deposited with a hoard of around six to 12 currency bars (Brown 1971), and a hoard of 17 complete cauldrons and numerous fragments was recently found at Chiseldon has an associated MIA radiocarbon dates (Joy 2014, 25, Table 5).

	River	Hillfort	Midden	Settlement	Single Find	Hoard	TOTAL
Brooch	17	0	8	17	30	0	**72**
Axe	0	0	0	0	0	0	**0**
Horse Bit	0	0	0	1	0	0	**1**
Cauldron/Bucket	0	0	0	3	0	17	**20**
Currency Bar	0	1	0	1	0	8	**10**
Shield	2	0	0	0	0	0	**2**
Spearhead/Ferrule	0	0	0	2	0	0	**2**
Pin	2	0	0	5	1	0	**8**
Ring	2	1	1	5	0	0	**9**
Sword	17	0	1	1	0	1	**20**
Knife/Blade	0	3	0	7	0	0	**10**
Tool	0	1	0	6	0	0	**7**
Nail	0	0	0	24	0	0	**24**
Other	1	2	0	28	0	0	**31**
TOTAL	**41**	**8**	**10**	**100**	**31**	**26**	**216**

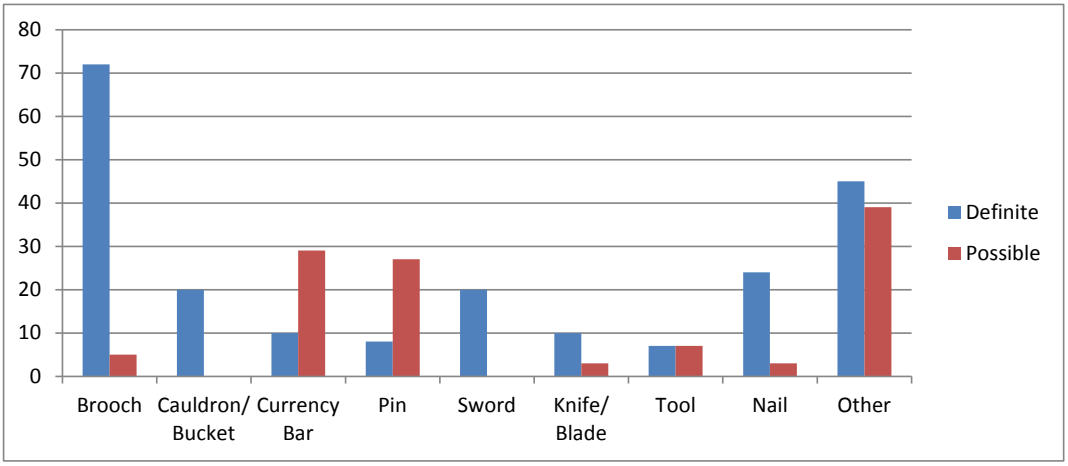
Table 6.9. Contexts of certain MIA metalwork
see note 6.40

	River	Hillfort	Midden	Settlement	Single Find	Hoard	Field System	TOTAL
Brooch	1	0	0	2	2	0	0	**5**
Axe	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	**5**
Horse Bit	1	0	0	0	4	0	0	**5**
Currency Bar	12	0	0	0	0	17	0	**29**
Pin	6	1	12	2	6	0	0	**27**
Ring	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	**3**
Bracelet	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	**2**
Knife/Blade	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	**3**
Tool	1	1	3	2	0	0	0	**7**
Nail	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	**3**
Other	4	0	5	8	6	0	1	**24**
TOTAL	**31**	**2**	**23**	**20**	**19**	**17**	**1**	**113**

Table 6.10. Contexts of possible MIA metalwork
see note 6.40



Graph 6.12. Contexts of MIA metalwork



Graph 6.13. Types of MIA metalwork

6.9 Summary

This chapter opened with an extended discussion on penannular gullies and ditches surrounding roundhouses. It was argued on numerous grounds that these were more than just drainage features: they are only commonly present in the MIA; the gravels they were built on are commonly very free-draining; MIA houses without ditches are found on sites prone to flooding; dimensions are often far in excess of what would be necessary for drainage; special deposits and human remains are often present in the ditches; and post-rings are often not concentric with gullies, meaning these features would not drain water from the eaves of the roof. A primary reason to dig these ditches appears to have been to enclose the house. Furthermore, there are various other non-functional features related to houses. For example, a number of house ditches have no entrance causeway; others have two concentric penannular ditches; and others still have long antenna ditches or fences leading from the entrance of the house; and there are others with features in the main causeway, creating multiple entrances. Houses are commonly employed as a means of communicating and substantiating aspects of social organisation in the ethnographic record (2.3.3): this appears to have been the case in the MIA. All the above features serve to enclose, isolate and differentiate the house from the surrounding settlement, controlling and structuring access and movement towards the house. Houses are commonly rebuilt in the same space and are more unique in size and how they are represented archaeologically. This can be contrasted to the homogenous buildings present in earlier periods.

Other forms of enclosure also become much more common in and around MIA settlements compared to earlier periods. Ditches not only surround houses, but often also enclose small adjacent subsidiary areas, creating distinct household units within settlements. Enclosed settlements become more common, but these are small and contain only one or two contemporary roundhouses. Enclosure clearly becomes an important device in this period: theoretical positions surrounding this theme were discussed, and it was argued that enclosure serves to differentiate particular areas and individuals associated with them by physically creating and highlighting boundaries that would otherwise only be conceptual. As boundaries restrict movement and communication, these social differences are self-reinforcing when they become 'lived in' through daily practice and routine. The common presence of ritual deposition in many forms of boundary in the MIA, especially those around houses, confirms the applicability of these ideas. Such deposition is evidence for the need to ritualise the passage across the boundary, suggesting those on either side were thought of as socially separate.

When contextualised with these other features and debates, the presence of ditches around houses takes on a new significance. Although they could also have facilitated drainage, house ditches are part of a series of enclosure features each defining the same small unit: the household. These are seen at the level of the house; the house and a private area within a settlement; and around small settlements large enough for only an extended household. Limited field systems were documented, and these also appear on a scale appropriate for the use by small social units.

Following this assessment of houses, settlement and enclsoure, the chapter discussed special deposits and human remains. Both are very often associated with houses, with some others placed in possible liminal areas, but others still having no clear pattern in their location. Special deposits comprising only animals are common. Skulls are favoured, and dogs are clearly treated differently to other species. Special deposits containing only pottery are now rare, although those with artefacts from only one category other than pottery are more common than in previous periods. Half of the special deposits contain a mixture of artefact types, with pottery and animal bone most frequently included, followed by human remains, metalwork and metalworking debris. There are few clear patterns shared between settlements, but some differences can be discerned at a regional level between the Upper and Middle Thames. The impression of heterogeneous ritual practices being undertaken at a household level continues from the EIA.

The remains of children were rarely deposited, and instances of single bones are much more likely to have belonged to adult males rather than infants or females. It was argued that remains of ancestors may have circulated amongst the living, finally resulting in the deposition of these selective elements belonging to a particular demographic. The orientation of inhumations and houses can be contrasted. A survey of animal bone assemblages shows that the relative percentage of species differs considerably between sites. Horses now become a significant feature at a number of sites, and it is possible these were bred and exchanged from a limited number of sites.

The presence of an important iron smelting centre demonstrates that iron was only produced in a limited area, generating more than was domestically required and exchanging surplus with wider regions. The majority of metalworking does not appear to have been undertaken at such a specialist level, instead occurring sparsely at many settlements. The presence of a limited number of much finer objects suggests that the production of these was separated from the much more poorly made tools. The high quality of craftsmanship, intricate decorative elements and uniqueness of many items suggests these were employed to differentiate members of society. There is still a relative dearth of metalwork belonging to the MIA suggesting that objects were kept, repaired and passed down the generations, providing tangible links to the past and ancestors.

6.10 Discussion

Much of the conclusions regarding the EIA are relevant to the MIA. MIA evidence discussed in the previous chapter includes the cultural modification of human remains; the collection and deposition of foreign and ancient exotica; the retention of old objects; and the discoveries at hillforts setting these sites apart from settlements. Patterns identified in the EIA of the past and ancestors being incorporated into the present through the tactical deployment of human remains and material culture, as well as settlements and monuments being used by multiple generations, are just as relevant for both periods. Here it was argued that the dead were being

increasingly incorporated into the communities of the living, with ancestors and lineage becoming the focus for the orientation of identity. In turn, this limited the inclusion of living members in social groups, with society fracturing into smaller units. This continues in the MIA: social groups become more rigidly and physically defined by the house and household, segregated with ritually imbued boundaries. Settlements either comprise separate areas inhabited by smaller more differentiated groups, or one small group living within an enclosed settlement. Ownership and use-right patterns may have also shifted towards smaller groups based around the house. If ownership became more fragmented and located at the household and individual rather than community level, the desire to control access and movement at the approach to the house is logical.

The relationship between social organisation and architectural features, including enclosure and deposition, is best regarded as a dialogue with each influencing the other. Over time as social groups fractured into smaller units, the house and household became the new nexus of identity. These relationships were being represented in the settlement features described above. The experience of living within a settlement that was more explicitly and physically internally divided, with certain areas associated with certain people, would have the effect of further distancing some individuals from others, while pulling others closer together. Rather than open settlements facilitating the free movement of people, ideas and objects, enclosures and boundaries served to cut this movement off and divide people into more explicitly differentiated groups. This in turn would have led to these divisions to be emphasised further in domestic architecture, further spiralling particular social relationships and divisive settlement features. This process does not deny agency and no doubt some realised that this was occurring. Certain individuals may desire this change in social organisation and encourage its development, whereas others may have protested against it.

The rise of the household required a shift in exchange partners as it is doubtful such small groups could have been economically independent. If ownership was now focused at smaller levels, there would presumably have been fewer restrictions on exchange as this could not be limited to endogamous transactions, facilitating the acquisition of different types of material culture. Exchange can be explicitly seen with iron currency bars and the regional specialisation of iron smelting; this may also be occurring with livestock and grain. Other ways in which household groups could form relations between each other is at hillforts. It was argued in 5.8 that the deposition of key materials occurred with more frequency at hillforts compared to settlements, and this deposition could have happened during events where groups from different settlements met. The construction of new phases of hillfort ramparts required the organisation and cooperation of groups that considered themselves as different; these events could also have been opportunities to negotiate power relationships. Given the emphasis on the household it is likely that the effects of such events on social relationships were shorter-term and less meaningful than could otherwise have been achieved.

This is related to Sharples (2007; 2010) interpretation of Iron Age Wessex, but differs in a few key respects. This is due to differences in the archaeological record between the two areas. Hillforts of the Thames Valley are not as intensively occupied as those in Wessex (Cunliffe 2005, Chap. 15; Sharples 2010); houses are not enclosed by ditches, and the heterogeneity of architectural styles and elaborate entrances are not seen (Sharples 2010, 196-7). Enclosed settlements are larger in Wessex housing more people (compare Sharples 2010, figs. 2.16-7 with Table 6.6, Figs. 6.21, 37-8, 53, 56-67 and Hingley and Miles 1984, fig. 4.3), and occupied in the EIA rather than the MIA (Sharples 2010, 75). This leads to different social interpretation, with larger self-identifying social groups appropriate for Wessex. Hillforts also had a different role as in Wessex developed examples were more closely associated a particular group as they inhabited them. Examples in the Thames Valley appear instead to have been more loosely associated with various groups, with everyone involved in the construction events having a similar relationship to the monument, rather than some possibly conspicuously using the labour of others for their own social gain (see Sharples 2007). In both areas, however, we see a broad correlation between metalwork deposition and hillforts: as large scale metalwork deposition ends, hillforts begin. This occurs in the Thames Valley just after c.800 cal BC, but in Wessex this happens some two centuries or so later. Both therefore appear to fulfil social roles (Sharples 2007; 2010, Chap. 3), although exactly what form this takes is contextual and depends on other aspects of the archaeological record.

The diversification and heterogeneity not present in the LBA and Transition but seen in many aspects of the archaeological record in the EIA is again clear in the MIA. Both the fine and lower quality metalwork is typologically varied; patterns in ritual practices are rarely shared between sites; and houses become more varied in a number of ways including size, visible architectural features and features immediately outside the entrance. Both suggest the absence of people conforming to tighly shared cultural practices, with decisions instead made at a household level. The deployment of socially powerful material culture such as fine metalwork also suggests that these small groups were in social competition. Many of the more extreme house enclosures date to the end of the MIA, and this expands further in the LIA and the Early Roman period where divisions within settlements and landscapes are even clearer and more elaborate,[41] metalwork becomes finer and social hierarchies more visible. This continues a trajectory that began in the LBA/EIA Transition where social groups started to increasingly focus on lineage, and ancestors were identified with at the expense of more distantly related living individuals.

[41] Examples of LIA and Early Roman sites with even more substantial ditches enclosing small areas, some adjacent to a more divided landscape, include Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004, Chap. 4), Thornhill Farm (Jennings *et al.* 2004, 30-58), Yarnton (Hey *et al.* 2011, Chaps. 7 and 8), Totterdown Lane (Pine and Preston 2004), Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry (Powell *et al.* 2010, Chap. 3), Latton Lands (Powell *et al.* 2009, 50-57), Vicarage Field (Thomas 1955, 7-12, fig. 2; Case and Whittle 1982, 115-116, fig. 59), Linch Hill Corner (Grimes 1943-4, 47-60, figs. 20-23), Old Shifford Farm (Hey 1995), Longdoles Field (Miles *et al.* 2007, Chap. 4), Langford Downs (Williams 1946-7), Smiths Field (Allen 1981), Eagle Farm (Allen and Moore 1987), Pingewood (Johnston 1983-5).

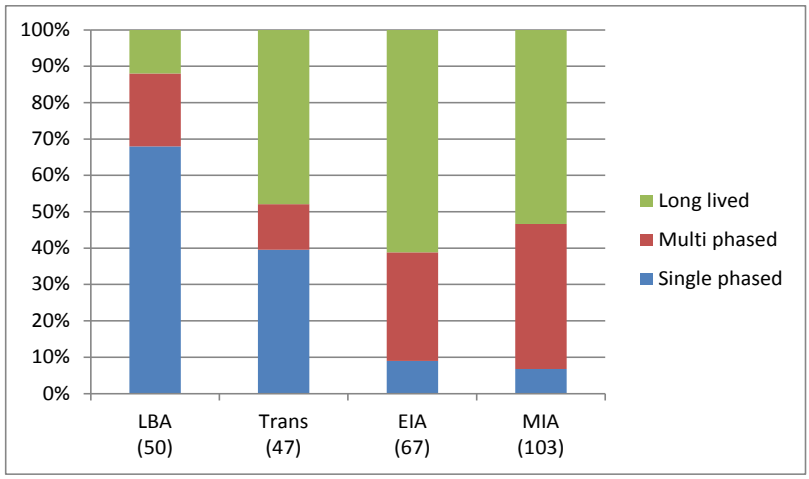
Chapter 7: Discussion

7.1 The Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Compared

One of the aims of this thesis was to approach the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age from the same theoretical and methodological perspectives, attempting to avoid the differences in interpretation stemming from historiographical issues rather than that based in the evidence. To this end, a series of methods for analysing data was developed that could be used for each period under study that did not prejudice any one of them. These include special deposits and ways of categorising settlements in terms of their longevity: methodologies are detailed respectively in 3.3.1 and 3.2.1. Human remains, metalwork, other small finds from settlements, and houses were also subject to quantitative analysis. Alongside patterns within each period, distinct changes can be observed over the one thousand years under study. The following section will summarise these.

7.1.1 Houses and Settlements

Single phased settlements are the dominant type in the LBA. These become replaced by long lived settlements through the LBA/EIA Transition and Iron Age until single phased sites become very rare in the MIA (Table 7.1; Graph 7.1). This pattern, with very clear differences between the LBA and Iron Age, highlights the need to more fully problematize settlement abandonment. This is too often regarded as just a natural part in the settlement lifecycle without considering the wider socio-cultural context, reasons or meaning behind abandonment. This is particularly important as the circumstances surrounding the desertion of a site structures the archaeological assemblages left behind. The tendency for LBA sites to be abandoned after much shorter periods of use than Iron Age sites was interpreted alongside the far greater frequency that material culture – primarily metalwork but also other objects – were destroyed and abandoned in the LBA. Both have numerous parallels in the ethnographic record (see 2.4.2), and it was suggested that this occurred following the death of their owners due to a desire to socially disassociate with them. The converse appears true with the Iron Age.



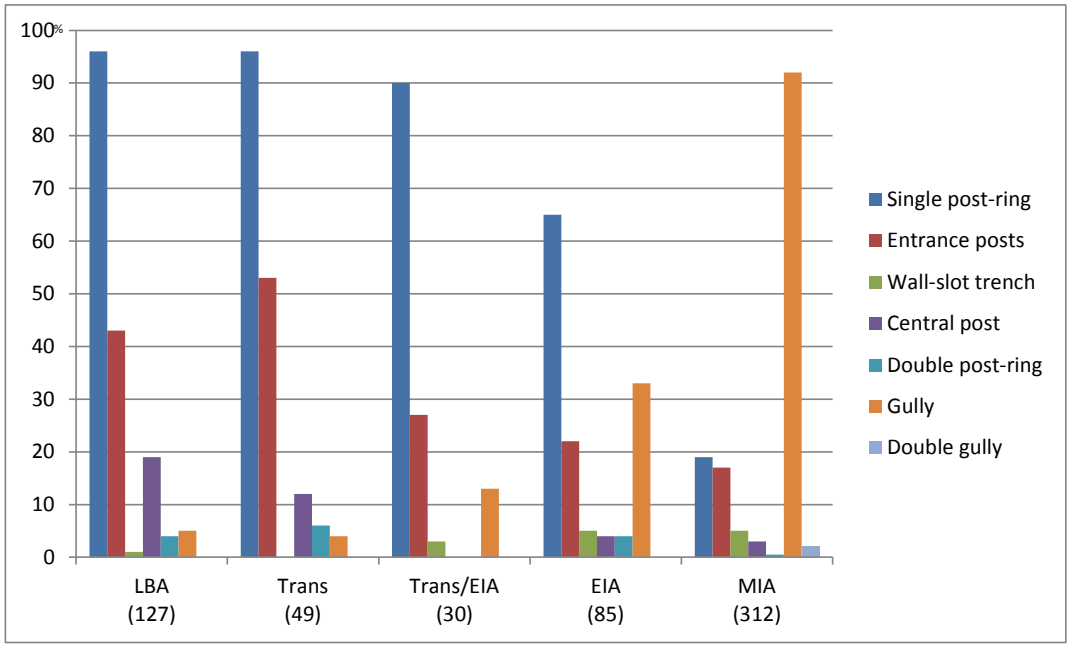
Graph 7.1. Longevity of settlements

	Single phased	Multi phased	Long lived
LBA	34	10	6
Transition	19	6	23
EIA	6	20	41
MIA	7	41	55

Table 7.1. Longevity of settlements

	LBA = 127	Trans = 49	Trans/EIA = 30	EIA = 85	MIA = 312
Single post-ring	122 (96%)	47 (96%)	27 (90%)	55 (65%)	58 (19%)
Entrance posts	55 (43%)	26 (53%)	8 (27%)	19 (22%)	54 (17%)
Wall-slot trench	1 (1%)	0	1 (3%)	4 (5%)	16 (5%)
Wall otherwise defined	0	0	0	0	3 (1%)
Central post	24 (19%)	6 (12%)	0	3 (4%)	11 (3%)
Central internal three/four/six-poster	3 (2%)	0	0	2 (2%) (+2 possible)	8 (3%)
Double post-ring	5 (4%)	3 (6%)	0	3 (4%)	1 (>0.5%)
Gully	7 (5%)	2 (4%)	4 (13%)	28 (33%)	286 (92%)
Double gully	0	0	0	0	7 (2%)

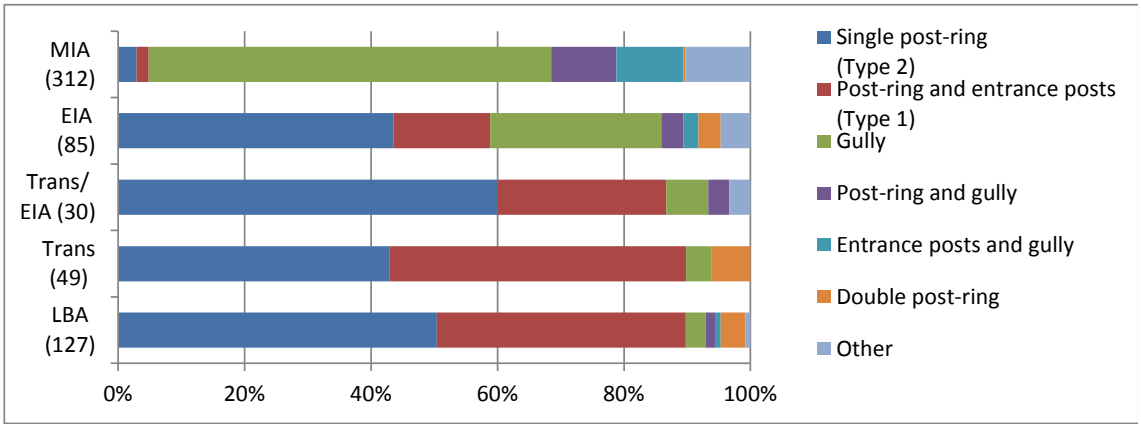
Table 7.2. Archaeological representation of houses 1: Houses are shown more than once if they have more than one feature. If a house has many features, it is counted multiple times.



Graph 7.2. Archaeological representation of houses 1: Houses are shown more than once if they have more than one feature. If a house has many features, it is counted multiple times.

	LBA = 127	Trans = 49	Trans/EIA = 30	EIA = 85	MIA = 312
Single post-ring 'Type 2'	64 (50%)	21 (43%)	18 (60%)	37 (44%)	9 (3%)
Post-ring and entrance posts 'Type 1'	50 (39%)	23 (47%)	8 (27%)	13 (15%)	6 (2%)
Gully	4 (3%)	2 (4%)	2 (7%)	23 (27%)	198 (64%)
Post-ring and gully	2 (2%)	0	1 (3%)	3 (4%)	32 (10%)
Double post-ring	5 (4%)	3 (6%)	0	3 (4%)	1 (>0.5%)
Wall-slot	0	0	0	3 (4%)	2 (0.5%)
Wall-slot and post-ring	1 (1%)	0	0	1 (1%)	2 (0.5%)
Wall-slot and gully	0	0	0	0	6 (2%)
Wall-slot, gully and entrance posts	0	0	0	0	3 (1%)
Entrance posts and gully	1 (1%)	0	0	2 (2%)	33 (11%)
Gully, entrance posts and post-ring	0	0	0	0	5 (2%)
Double gully	0	0	0	0	3 (1%)
Other	0	0	1* (3%)	0	11** (4%)

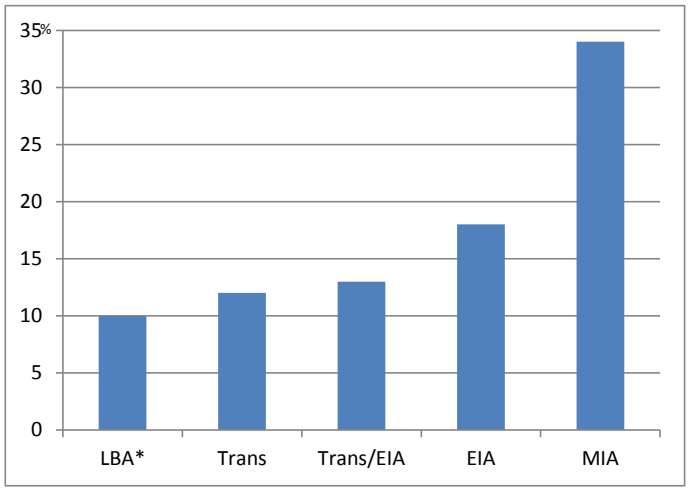
Table 7.3. Archaeological representation of houses 2: Each house is only counted once. Internal supports - central posts and four-posters - have been excluded as these are minor features. *House ID 290. **House IDs 22, 40, 54, 82, 126, 207, 221, 256, 339, 348, 550



Graph 7.3. Archaeological representation of houses 2: Each house is only counted once.

Houses also develop through the period. Two distinct types dominate in the LBA: those defined by a post-ring and a protruding pair of entrance posts (Type 1); and those with a single post-ring (Type 2). These are discrete not only in construction, but also size: the post-rings of the Type 1 houses are larger than Type 2 (Table 3.1; Graphs 3.1-2). Typically Type 1 and Type 2 houses are paired. The dominance of these two types continues in the Transition, although they become less distinct as there are now few differences in post-ring diameters between the two. Type 2 houses still have a significant presence in the EIA, although Type 1 are much rarer. Both types finally fall from favour in the MIA (Tables 7.1-2; Graphs 7.2-3). Penannular gullies are rare in the LBA and Transition, but appear in some numbers in the EIA before dominating the architectural

record in the MIA. Houses that are not defined solely by a gully in the MIA are otherwise of varied construction. This greater variety is also seen in the EIA, and diverges from the more standardised houses of the LBA and Transition. There is a steady increase of houses being successively built over one another: if we exclude the unusual LBA site at Reading Business Park Area 5, this is rare in the LBA, becomes more common through time, and is prevalent by the MIA (Graph 7.4). This must partly be due to settlements lasting for longer periods in time in the Iron Age, meaning by the MIA houses would inevitably be more likely to truncate earlier examples, although this also appears to be due to factors such as a desire to retain the integrity of a household unit past the lifespan of a single house; the presence of long-lived units can be demonstrated at a number of sites. More difficult to show quantitatively (except with house ditches) is the increased emphasis on enclosure through the period, being rare in the LBA before reaching a pinnacle in the MIA and LIA. Excluding hillforts, in the MIA enclosures of differing levels all provide boundaries around the same small social unit. This includes the increase of penannular ditches around houses, especially as many are of excessive proportions and have other 'non-functional' attributes. Also more common in the MIA are small enclosures and divisions within settlements, and enclosed sites themselves. Compare, for example, plans of LBA settlements with MIA sites such as Spratsgate Lane, Mount Farm, Groundwell West and Cleveland Farm (Figs. 3.2-16, 6.21, 6.48-57). Hillforts do not appear to have been permanent settlements, and instead produce higher quantities of metalwork, human remains, special deposits, and decorated pottery.



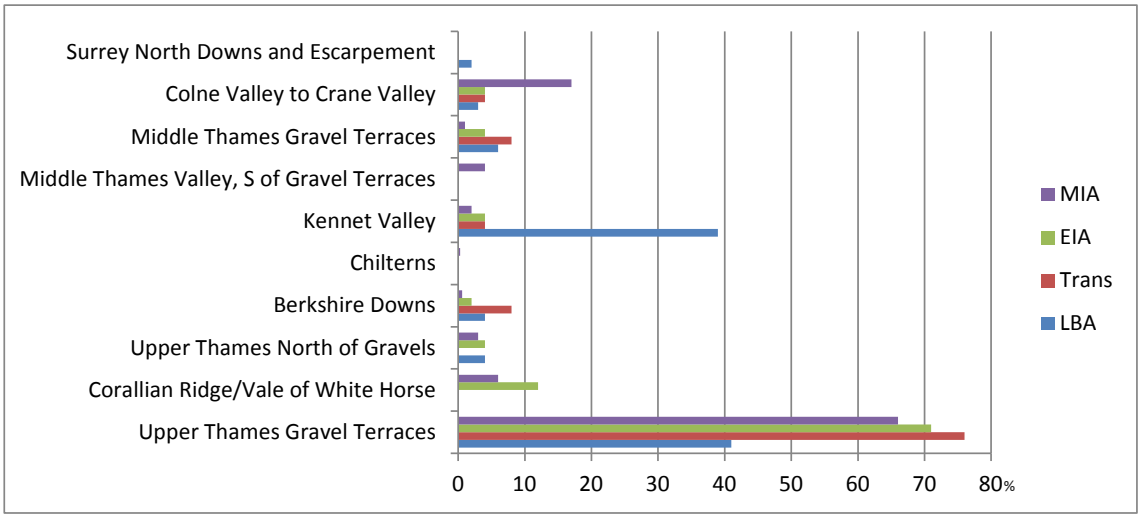
Graph 7.4. Percent of houses built over an older house
*excluding Reading Business Park Area 5. If included, this would be 22%

	Houses facing SE	Houses in most common quadrant
LBA	45% (29)	83% (54) between E-S
LBA/EIA Transition	58% (18)	77% (24) between E-S
EIA	48% (22)	71% (33) between E-S
MIA	37% (101)	77% (211) between NE-SE

Table 7.4 Orientation of houses

Settlements become more common through the period under study. The graphs include 197 separate settlements with enough excavated evidence to be placed in one of the longevity categories; sites with little information have been excluded. If a site has phases in more than one period, it is included more than once in Table 7.1 and Graph 7.5. There are twice as many MIA settlements than those dating to either the LBA or Transition. This is fact underrepresents real population as although sites in all periods are typically small, those dating to the EIA and MIA last for much longer periods, each accounting for more individuals than the mostly single-generational LBA settlements. There are as many houses dating to the MIA as the previous periods combined. This is only partly due to an increase in population through the period. Transitional and EIA houses must be less archaeologically visible: there are on average 2.5-3 houses for each LBA and MIA settlement, whereas this is much lower for the middle periods. If it were not for penannular ditches, we would have far fewer MIA houses as post-rings are comparatively rare. Transitional and EIA houses appear to have commonly had neither penannular ditches nor earth-fast post-rings, leading to their underrepresentation in the archaeological record. We should instead expect a steadier increase in houses between the LBA and MIA, parallel to the increase in settlements.

Graph 7.5. Number of houses and settlements



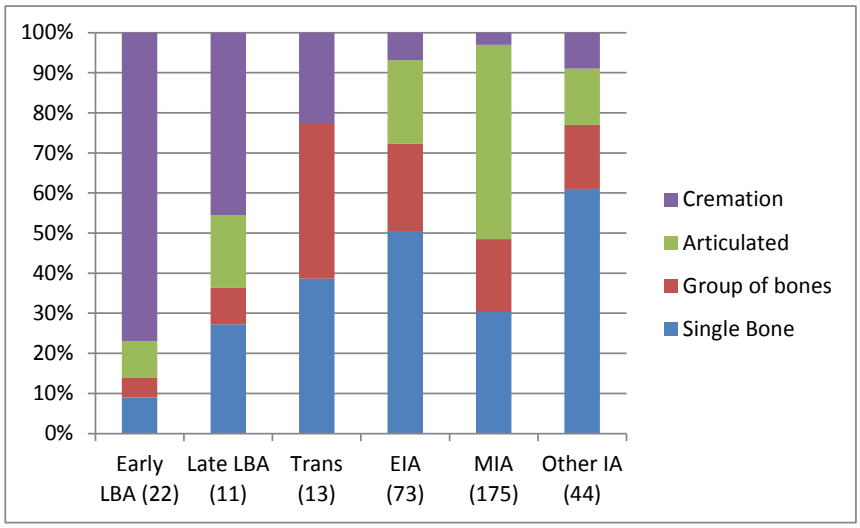
Graph 7.6. Location of houses

7.1.2 Human Remains

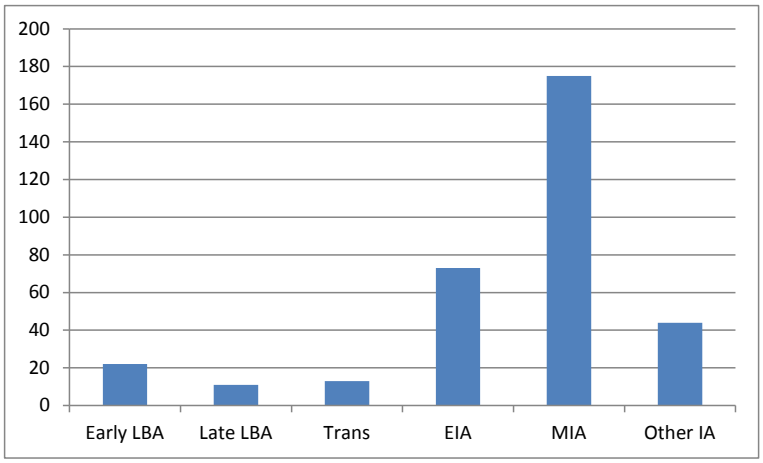
Clear patterns though time can also be seen with human remains. Cremation dominates in the early part of the LBA before steadily becoming less popular until it is very rare in the MIA. In its place, the deposition of single bones begins as a very uncommon practice in the earlier LBA, before gaining popularity until it comprises half of the instances of human remains in the EIA. The burial of articulated human remains is most popular in the MIA, although this is slightly biased by the unique cemetery at Yarnton (Graph 7.7). Single bones are deposited fairly frequently in this period as around half of the human remains can be dated to the MIA (Graph 7.8). This is not solely due to more settlements belonging to this period as the instances of human remains compared to number of excavated settlements is greatest for the MIA, followed by the EIA (Graph 7.9). Very few human remains are known from the late LBA and Transition: two-thirds of those dating to the LBA belong to the first half of the period. Human bones are also most commonly associated with houses in the MIA, followed by the EIA (Graph 7.10). Given that archaeologically invisible houses appear to be of greatest issue in the EIA, human remains may have been more commonly associated with houses in this period than the data suggests.

	Single Bone	Group of bones	Articulated	Cremation	Total
Early LBA	2	1	2	17	22
Late LBA	3	1	2	5	11
Transition	5	5	0	3	13
EIA	37	16	15	5	73
MIA	53	32	84*	6	175
Other IA	27	7	6	4	44

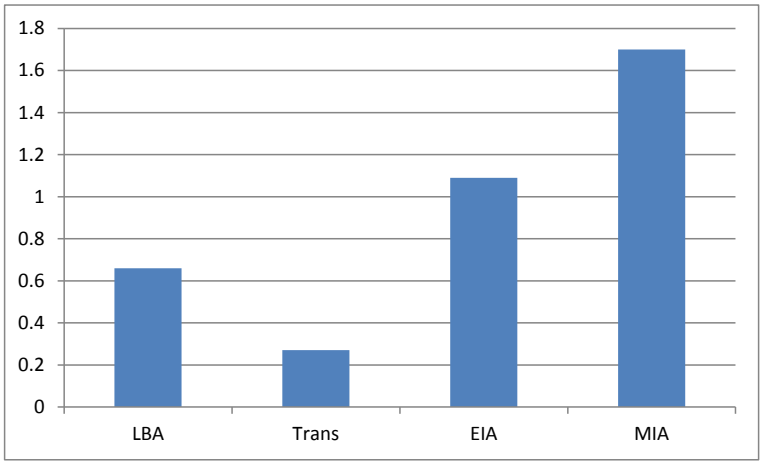
Table 7.5. Types of human remains
*35 of these are from the Yarnton cemetery



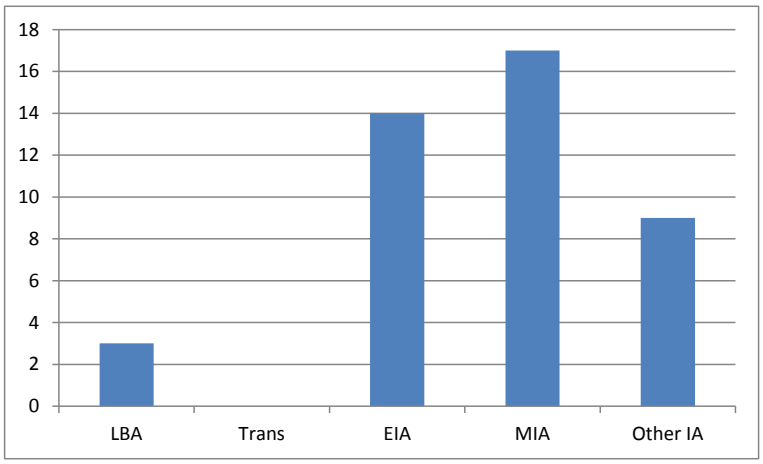
Graph 7.7. Percent of different types of human remains



Graph 7.8. Number of human remains



Graph 7.9. Average number of human remains per excavated settlement



Graph 7.10. Percent of human remains associated with a house

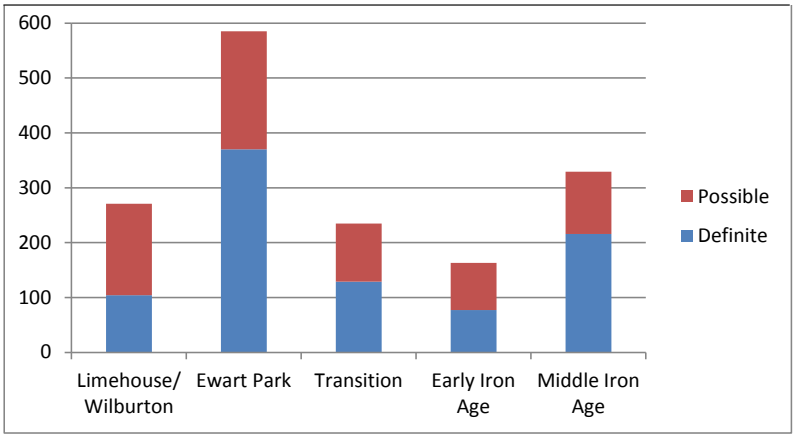
7.1.3 Metalwork

The huge disparity in the quantities of metalwork belonging to the LBA on the one hand, and EIA and MIA on the other has been known for some time. This is quantified in Table 7.6 and Graphs 7.11-2. The enormous amount of excavation in the past few decades has shown that this is not due only to the LBA preference to deposit these in a manner more susceptible to early recovery – *i.e.* rivers that were subject to nineteenth century dredging. Iron Age metalwork is still very rare, and we are entirely missing whole groups of objects that must have been in existence. We have at least 13 metal objects for each excavated LBA settlement in the study area, compared to just three for each Iron Age settlement. This study has also shown that similar patterns occur in objects of other materials: small finds are more common on LBA settlements compared to those dating to the Iron Age, despite LBA sites lasting for much shorter periods of time – years or decades rather than centuries – therefore having less opportunity to accrue material (see 3.1.1; Graphs 7.13-4).

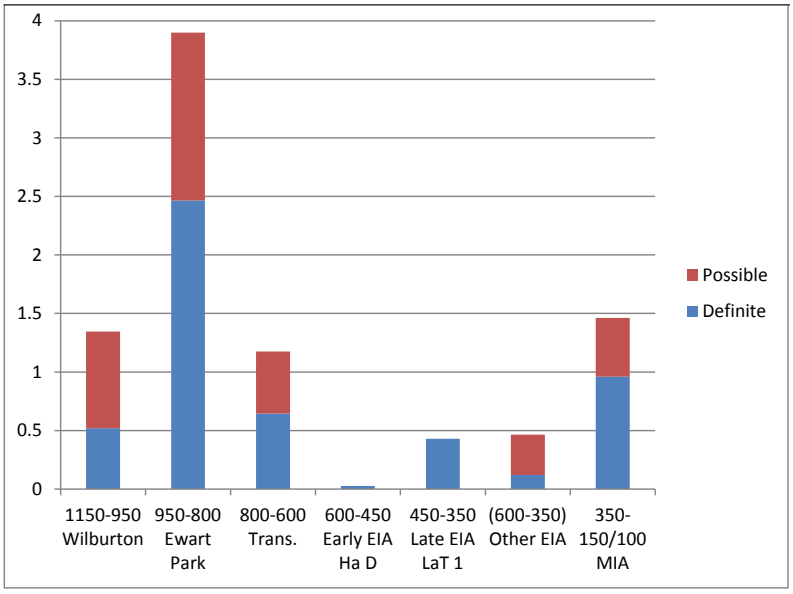
Alongside these quantitative differences, there are clear qualitative differences in metalwork between the LBA and Iron Age. LBA metalwork can be characterised as comprising masses of material virtually undifferentiated outside of groups of fairly strict types. This is in both terms of form and decoration, as objects are very rarely ornamented except for a few regimented motifs such as three ribs on an axe. When compared to Iron Age metalwork, we see much more heterogeneous forms and decoration in the latter period. Celtic art shows inventiveness and great skill. Iron Age material is typically therefore less suitable for typological work, with fewer objects being able to be assigned meaningful types. Iron Age typologies commonly focus on one or two features: the ends of the sword chape or method of sheath suspension (Jope 1961; Stead 2006, 5-17), for example, as opposed to encompassing virtually all aspects of LBA objects (Colquhoun and Burgess 1988; Davis 2015; Schmidt and Burgess 1981). These characterisations are appropriate for both 'special' and potentially higher status objects such as swords and daggers, as well as those of more everyday use (see 3.6.5, 6.8). The best way to demonstrate these substantial qualitative differences is by illustration. The increasing individuality of objects began in the Transition, with increased decoration on pottery and metalwork, whilst axes and swords still conformed to strict form types (Figs. 7.1-15; 4.2; 4.11-13).

	Definite	**Possible**
Limehouse/Wilburton	106	168
Ewart Park	370	213
Transition	126	105
Early Iron Age	77	86
Middle Iron Age	216	113

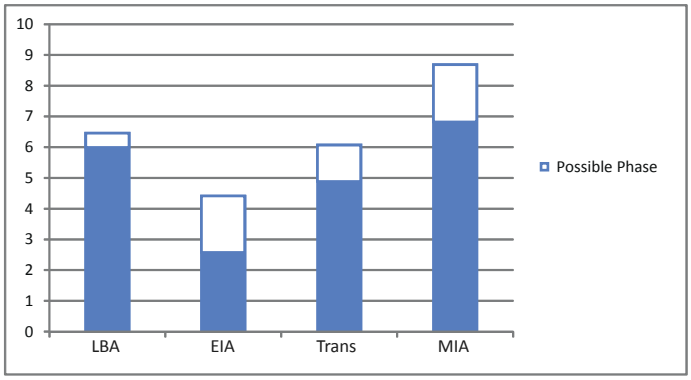
Table 7.6. Number of metal objects, excluding ingots, metallurgical debris and small unidentifiable scrap fragments



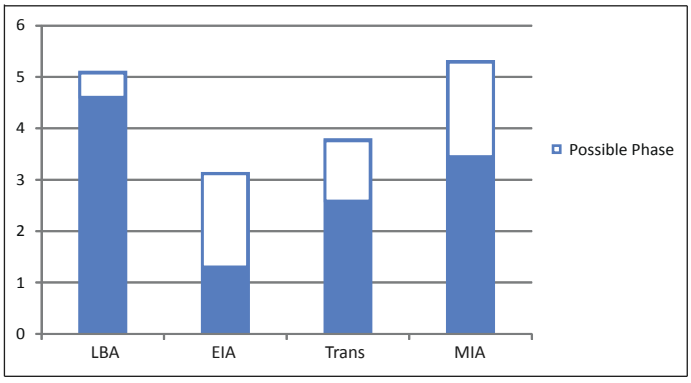
Graph 7.11. Number of metal objects excluding ingots, metallurgical debris and small unidentifiable scrap fragments



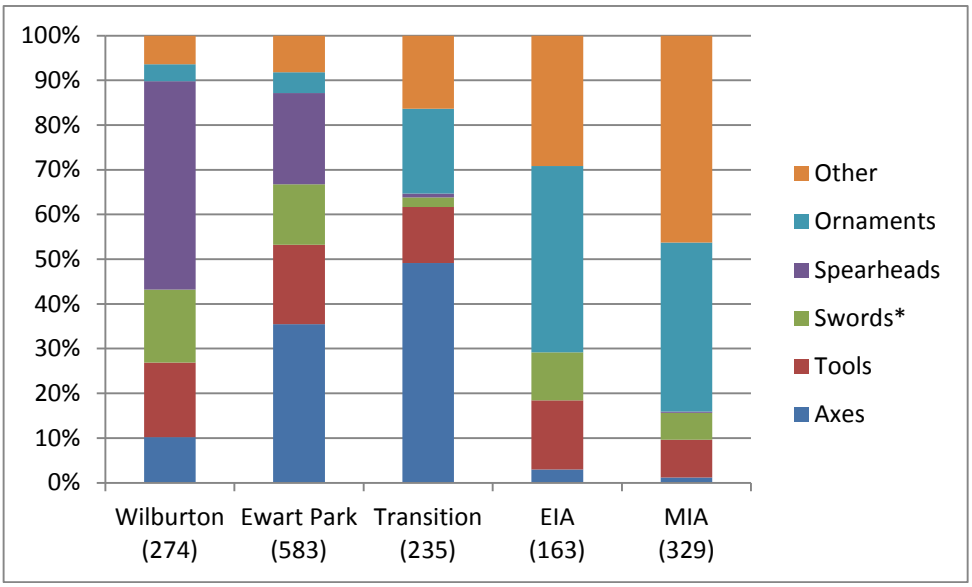
Graph 7.12. Number of metal objects per year of each period



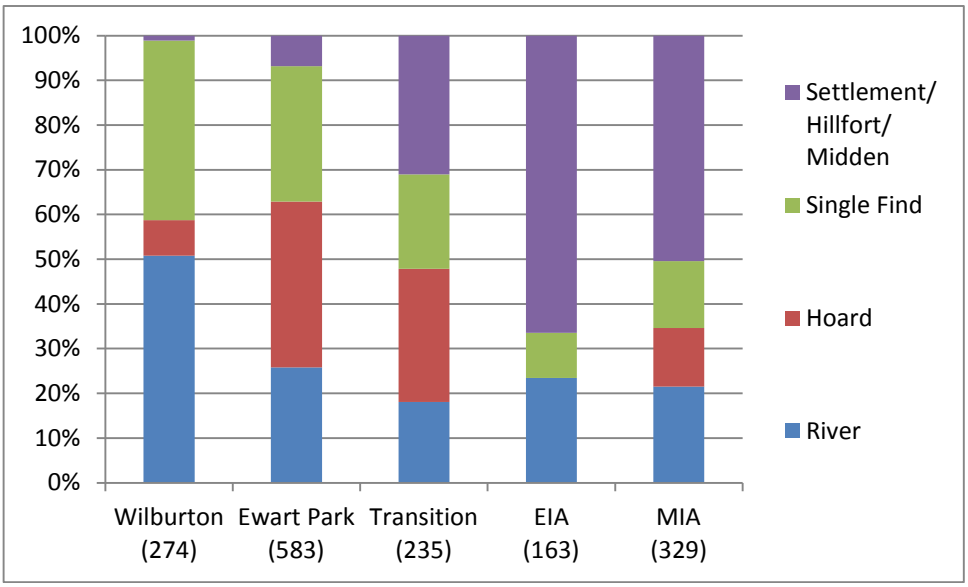
Graph 7.13. Average number of non-metallic small finds per excacated settlement



Graph 7.14. Average number of non-metallic small finds per excavated settlement excluding Carshalton, Runnymede, Alfred's Castle and Gravelly Guy (see 3.1.1)



Graph 7.15. Types of metalwork
Including objects certainly and possibly dating to each period
*Includes EIA daggers



Graph 7.16. Metalwork contexts
Including objects certainly and possible dating to each period
see Tables 3.2-5, 4.2-3, 5.3-4, 6.9-10; Graphs 3.3-4, 3.8-10, 4.4, 5.15, 6.12

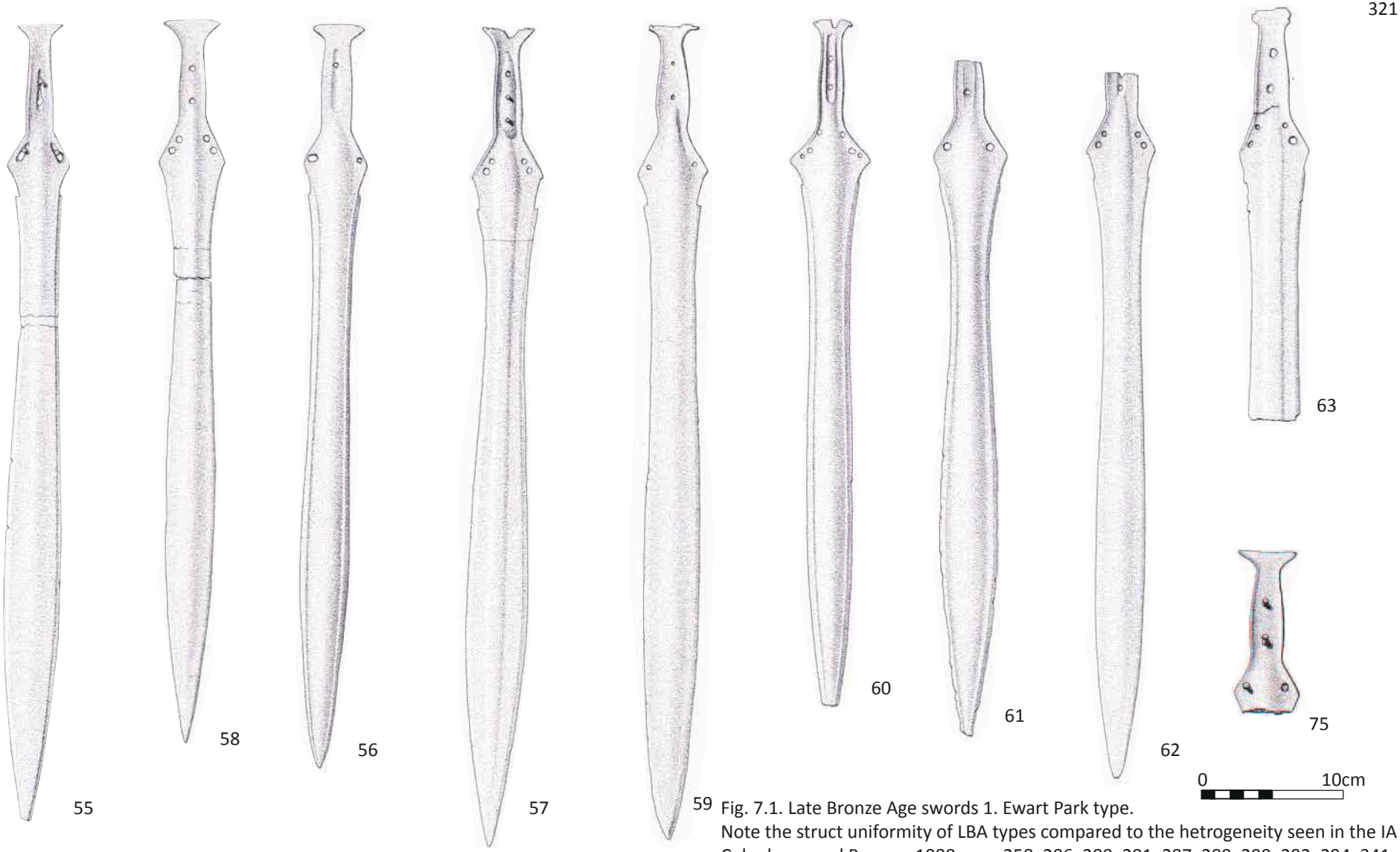


Fig. 7.1. Late Bronze Age swords 1. Ewart Park type.
Note the struct uniformity of LBA types compared to the hetrogeneity seen in the IA
Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, nos. 258, 286, 280, 281, 287, 289, 290, 292, 294, 341

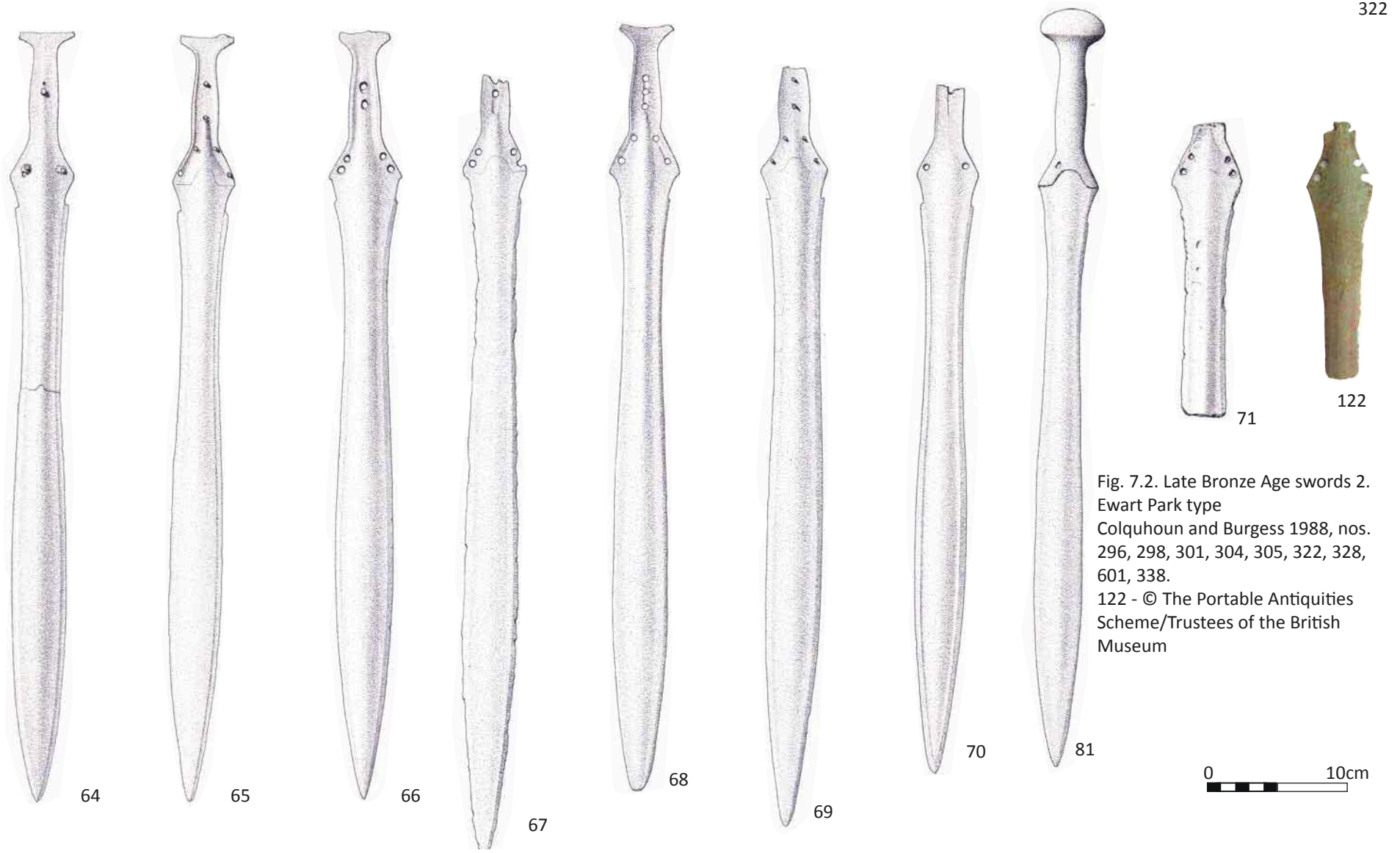


Fig. 7.2. Late Bronze Age swords 2. Ewart Park type
Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, nos. 296, 298, 301, 304, 305, 322, 328, 601, 338.
122 - © The Portable Antiquities Scheme/Trustees of the British Museum

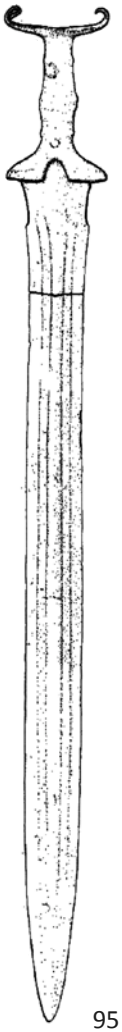


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Fig. 7.3. Late Bronze Age swords 3. Möringen type. Needham 1987, fig. 5.15. Reproduced courtsey of Surrey Archaeological Society

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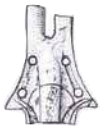

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Fig. 7.4. Late Bronze Age swords 4. Carp's Tongue type. Colquhoun and Burgess, nos. 669, 673; Needham 1990, fig. 12.36

90

Fig. 7.5. Late Bronze Age swords 5. Auvernier or Tachlovice type. Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, no. 757

91

Fig. 7.6 Late Bronze Age swords 5. Miscellaneous. Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, no. 767

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Fig. 7.7. Transitional swords. Gündlingen type.
Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, nos. 704, 717, 718, 727, 738.

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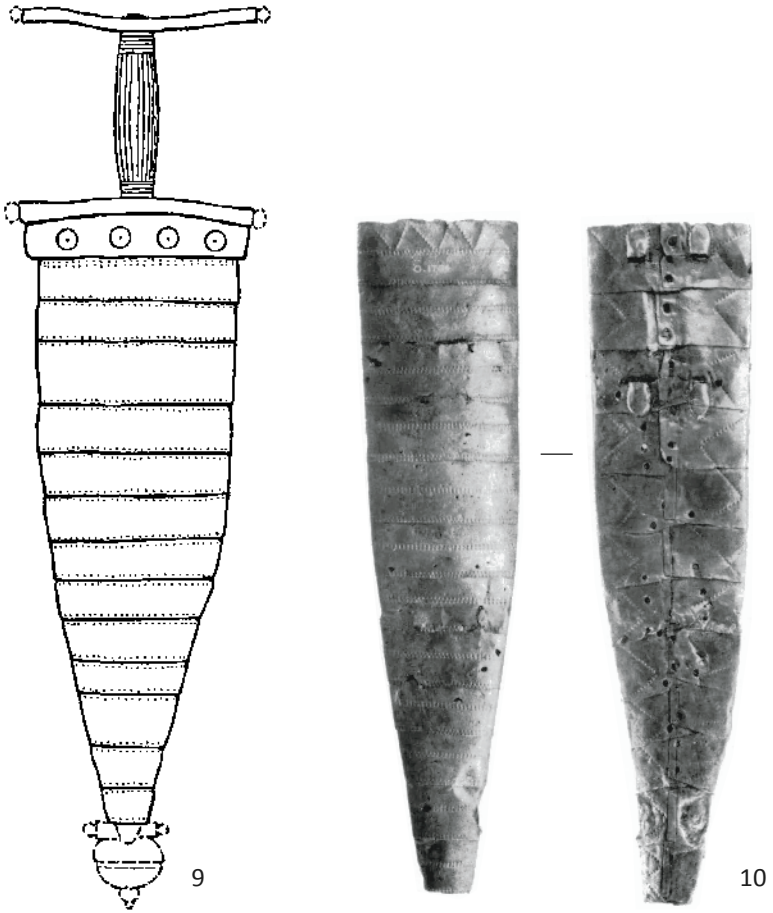

Fig. 7.7. Early Iron Age daggers 1. Hallstatt D.
Note the individuality of these objects compared to the plain homogeneous LBA types
Jope 1961, figs. 1, Pl. XIX

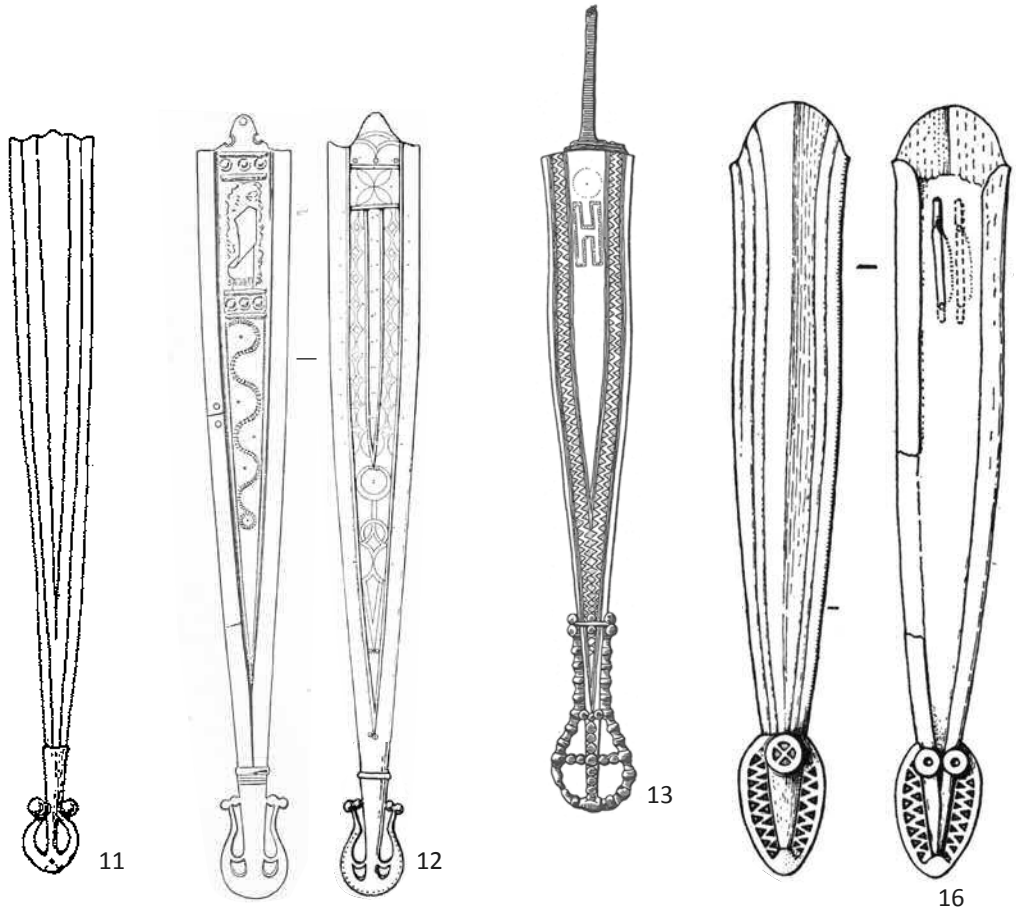

Fig. 7.8. Early Iron Age daggers 2. La Tène 1
Jope 1961, figs. 3, 4, 7; Brailsford 1953, fig. 22.2

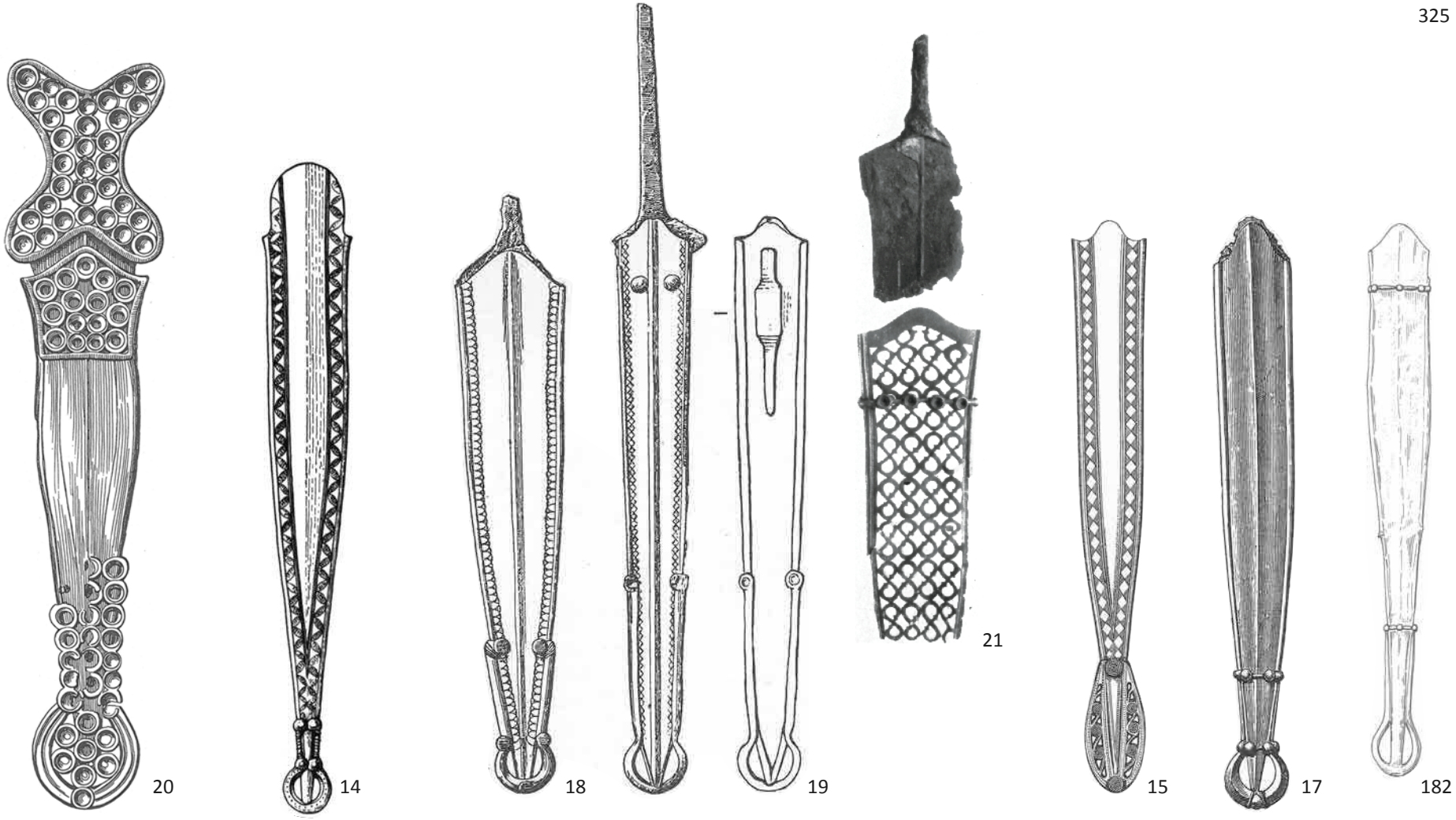

Fig. 7.9. Early Iron Age daggers 3. La Tène 1
Jope 1961, figs. 4, 9, Pl. XXIII; Smith 1925, figs. 119,120; Brailsford 1953, fig. 22.3;
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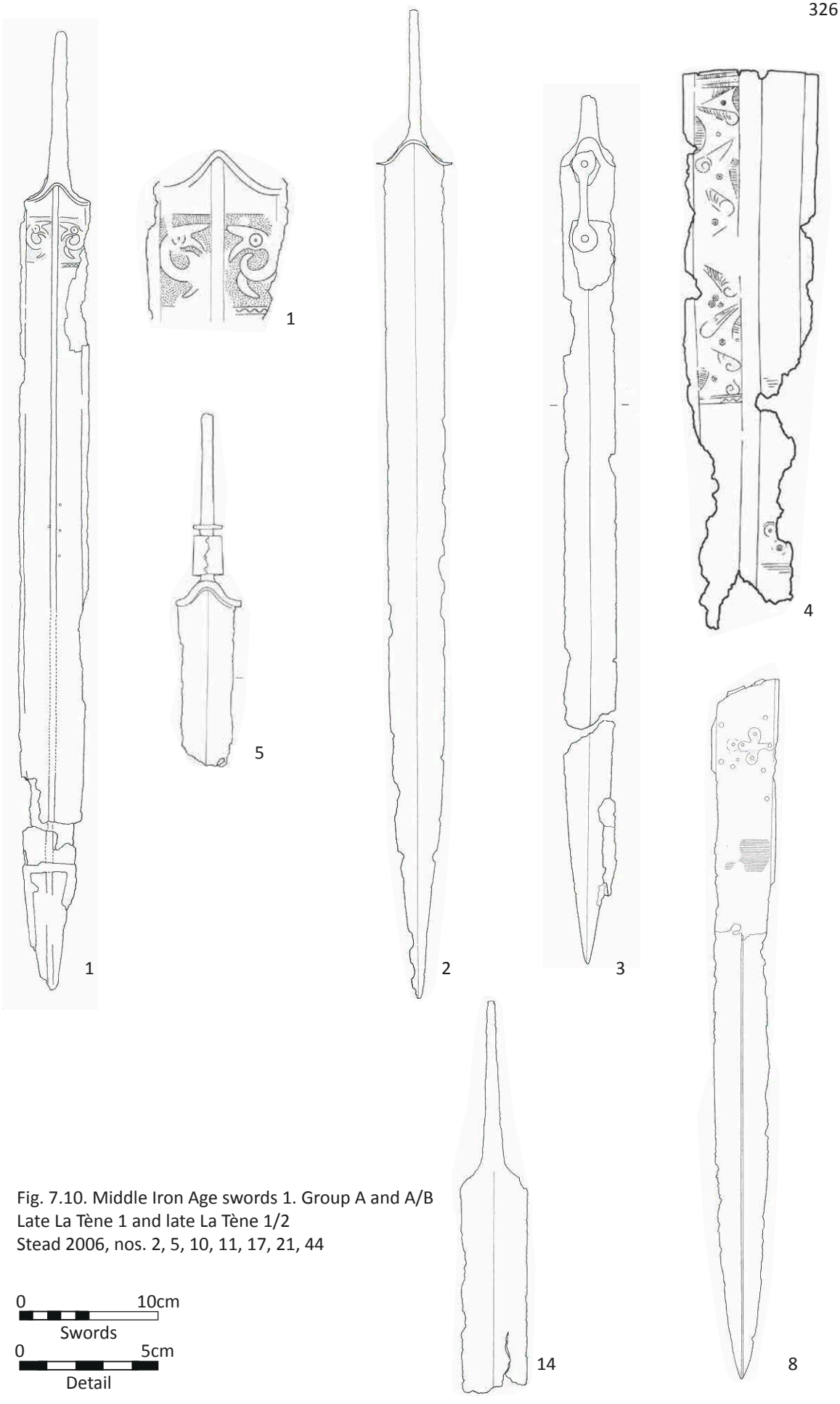


Fig. 7.10. Middle Iron Age swords 1. Group A and A/B
Late La Tène 1 and late La Tène 1/2
Stead 2006, nos. 2, 5, 10, 11, 17, 21, 44

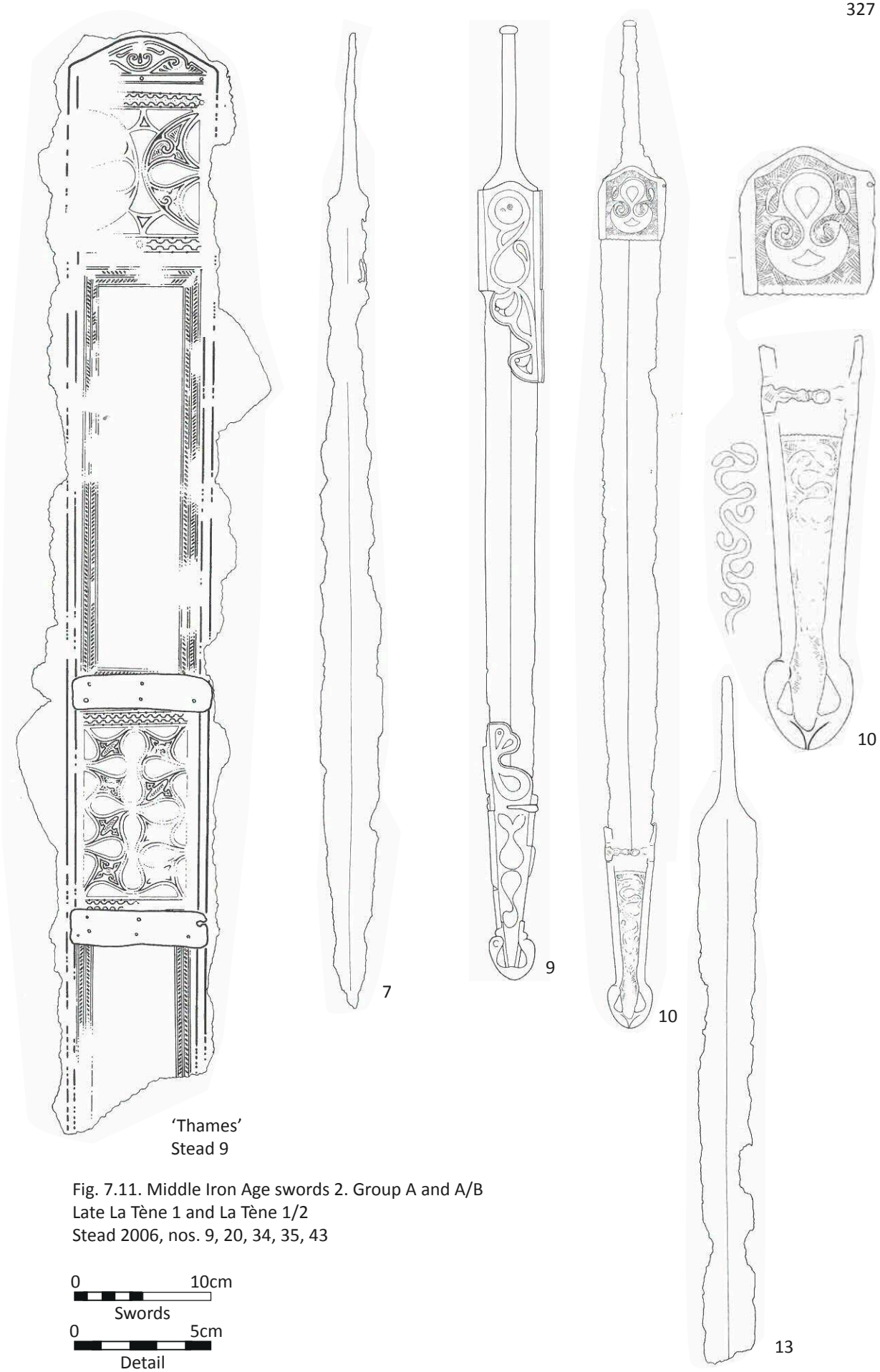
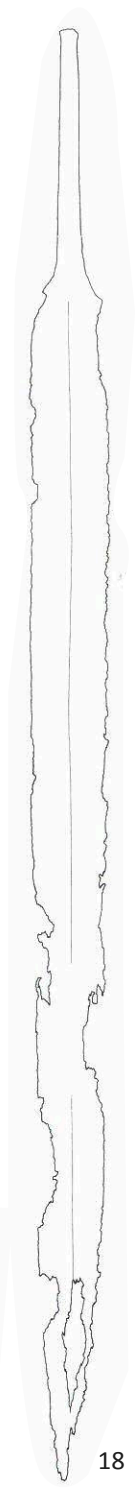


Fig. 7.11. Middle Iron Age swords 2. Group A and A/B
Late La Tène 1 and La Tène 1/2
Stead 2006, nos. 9, 20, 34, 35, 43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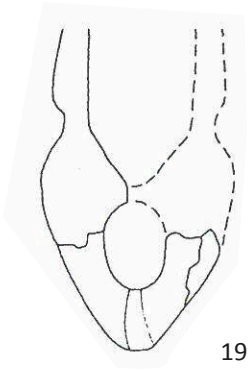
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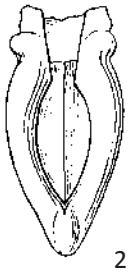
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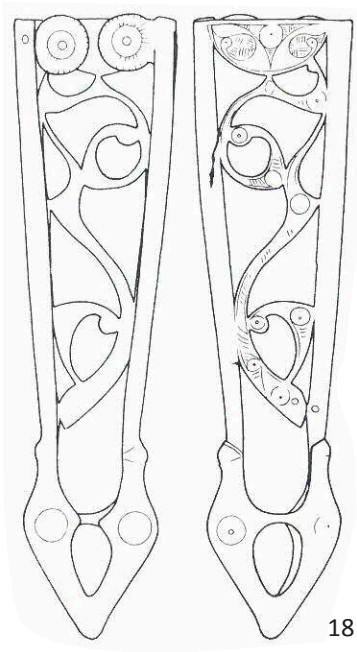
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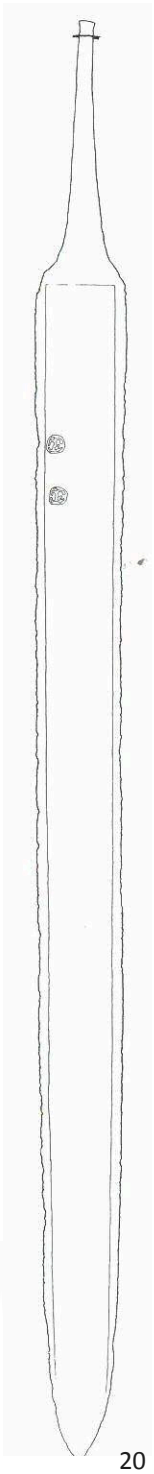
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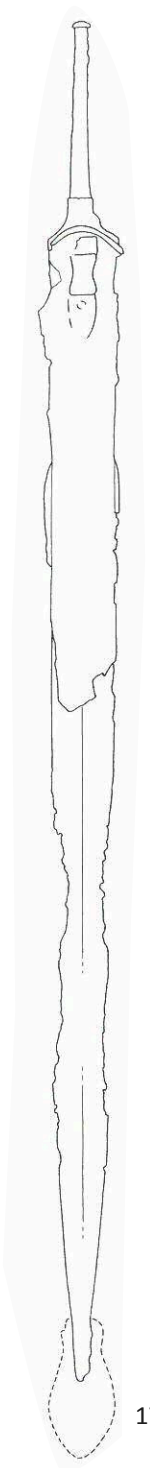
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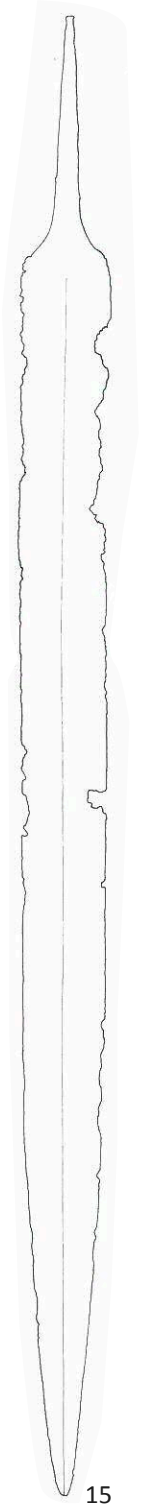
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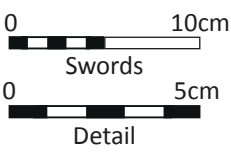
Fig. 7.12. Middle Iron Age swords 3.
Group A/B and B
La Tène 1/2 and La Tène 2
Stead 2006, nos. 46, 54, 67, 75, 76;
21 - Harding 1987, fig. 12.14



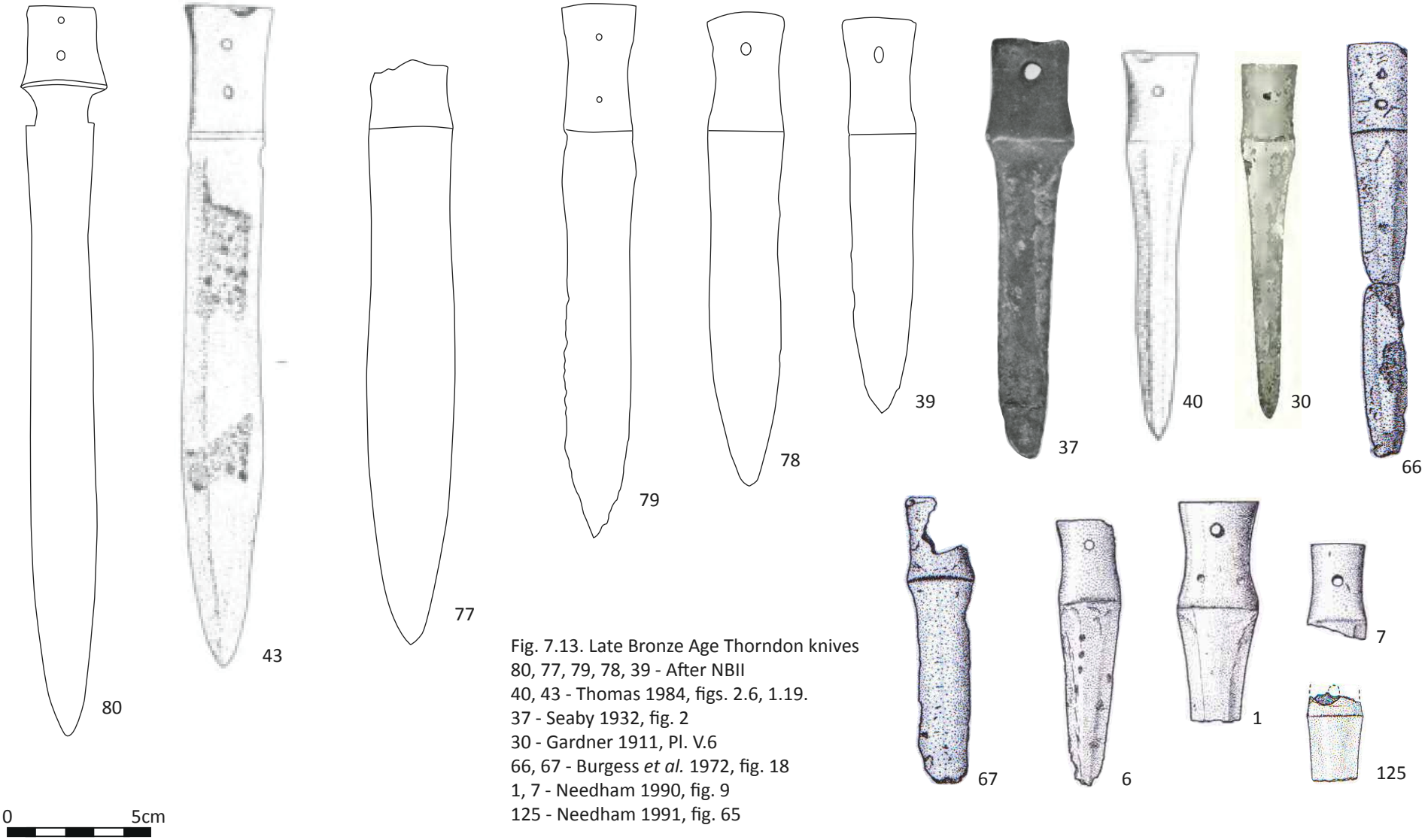


Fig. 7.13. Late Bronze Age Thorndon knives
80, 77, 79, 78, 39 - After NBII
40, 43 - Thomas 1984, figs. 2.6, 1.19.
37 - Seaby 1932, fig. 2
30 - Gardner 1911, Pl. V.6
66, 67 - Burgess *et al.* 1972, fig. 18
1, 7 - Needham 1990, fig. 9
125 - Needham 1991, fig. 65

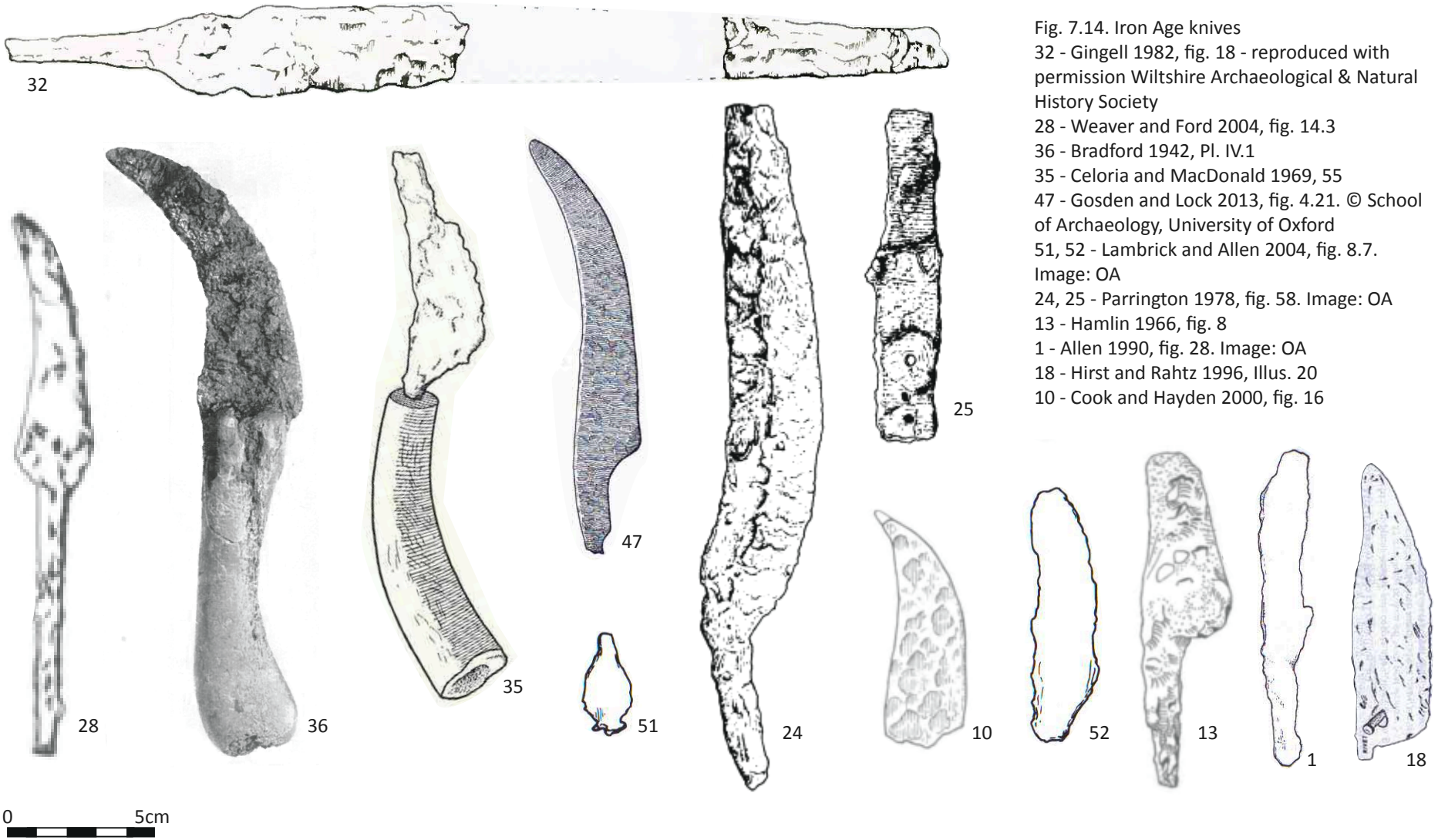
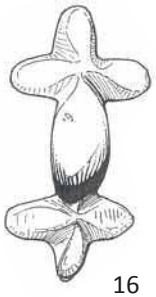


Fig. 7.14. Iron Age knives
32 - Gingell 1982, fig. 18 - reproduced with permission Wiltshire Archaeological & Natural History Society
28 - Weaver and Ford 2004, fig. 14.3
36 - Bradford 1942, Pl. IV.1
35 - Celoria and MacDonald 1969, 55
47 - Gosden and Lock 2013, fig. 4.21. © School of Archaeology, University of Oxford
51, 52 - Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 8.7. Image: OA
24, 25 - Parrington 1978, fig. 58. Image: OA
13 - Hamlin 1966, fig. 8
1 - Allen 1990, fig. 28. Image: OA
18 - Hirst and Rahtz 1996, Illus. 20
10 - Cook and Hayden 2000, fig. 16



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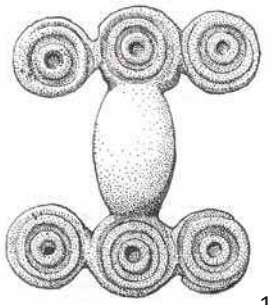

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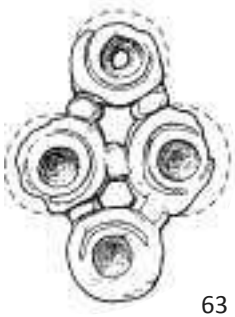

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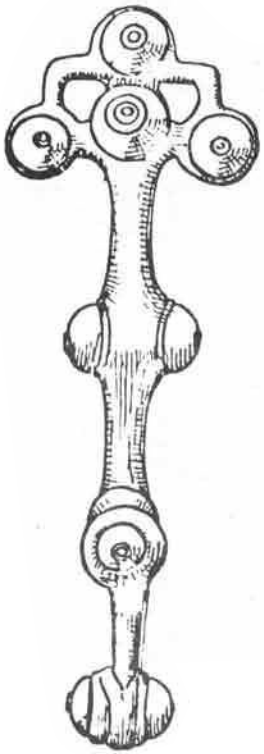

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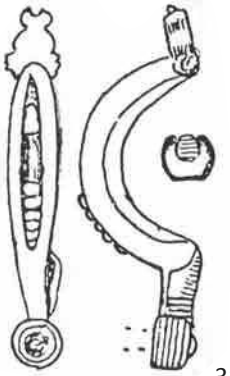

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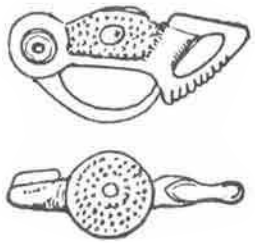

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Fig. 7.15. MIA brooches of type 2B

Hull and Hawkes 1987, Pls. 22, 43

0 5cm

7.1.4 Special Deposits

In recent years the intentionality and definition of special deposits has been explored and critiqued (see 3.3.1; Brudenell and Cooper 2008; Chadwick 2012; Garrow 2012). Whilst some of these studies have the advantage of including detailed intra-site analysis (e.g. Brudenell and Cooper 2008; Hill 1995), none has yet attempted a diachronic study whereby the same criteria are used across numerous sites in more than one period. This perspective is useful in teasing out intentionality, and assessing whether these unusual or large assemblages really are 'special'. Although the current definition is far from perfect and no doubt misses many more subtle depositional trends, distinct patterns both within time periods and between them highlight the applicability of the general concept. The burial of articulated animal remains, for example, was not 'random' given the liminal positions these were placed in during the LBA. If the deposition of a large number of sherds or complete or nearly complete pots were largely unintentional, we might expect more similarities between the periods under study. In fact, there are twice as many recognised special deposits containing only pottery dating to the LBA as to the MIA, despite there being twice as many excavated MIA settlements. In the EIA, these are found almost exclusively in the Middle Thames Valley or Berkshire Downs, even though the majority of settlements are in the Upper Thames. Other patterns demonstrating the usefulness of the concept are that there are much clearer inter-site depositional patterns in the LBA and Transition compared to EIA and MIA; furthermore, like human remains, special deposits become increasingly associated with houses. This is not due only to the greater visibility of houses in this period as there is also a steady increase in the percentage of visible houses found with an associated special deposit (Graphs 7.17-8).

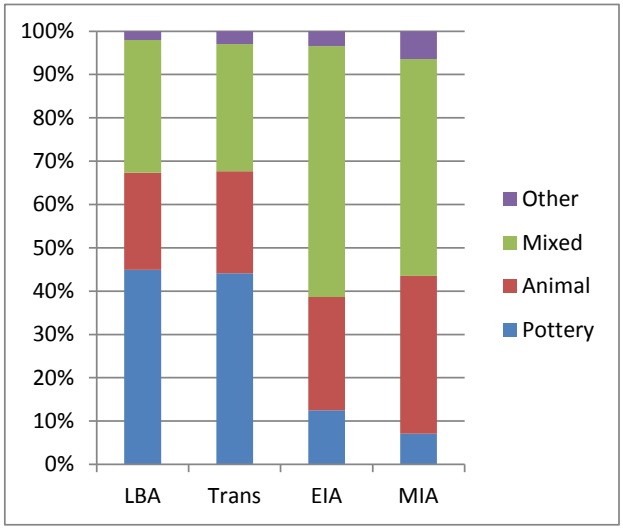
Special deposits in the LBA and Transition are very similar, with most examples comprising only animal bones or pottery. There are few examples that include more than one category of object; special deposits in this period are limited in size and composition. These are replaced by more mixed examples in the EIA and MIA which themselves comprise more varied objects in larger quantities, and have few inter-site patterns in terms of location and cross-associations (Table 7.7; Graphs 7.19-20). Deposition in this more structured manner appears to become steadily more popular through the period if we take absolute numbers and numbers relative to excavated settlements (Graphs 7.21-2), although the caveat of longer-lived Iron Age settlements remains.

	Pottery	Animal	Mixed	Other	**Total**	Associated with a house
LBA	23	11	15	1	**50**	6
Transition	15	8	10	1	**34**	5
EIA	11	23	51	3	**88**	11
MIA	12	62	85	11	**170**	64

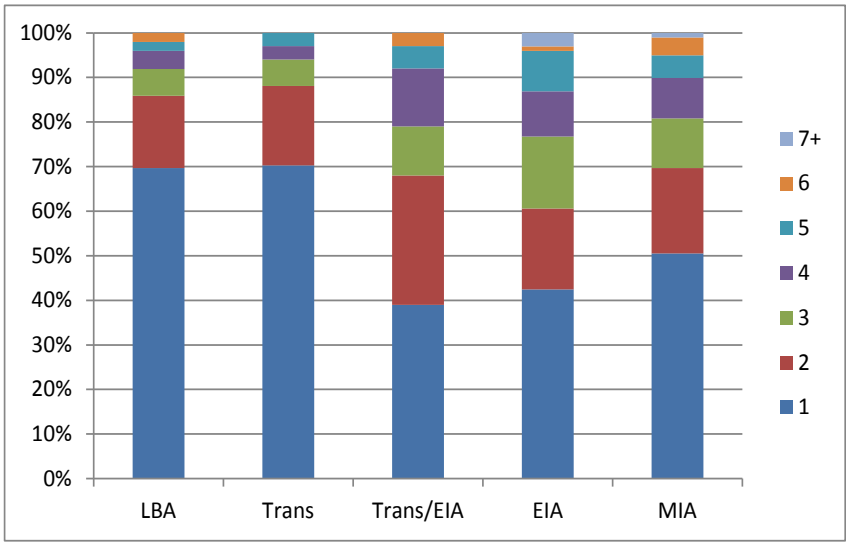
Table 7.7. Types of special deposit

Graph 7.17. Percent of special deposits associated with a house

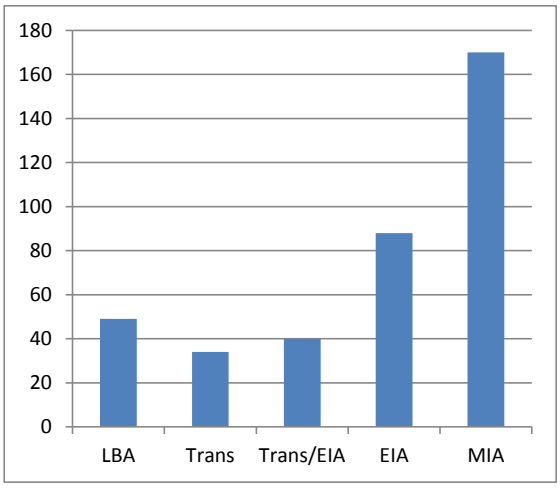
Graph 7.18. Percent of houses associated with a special deposit



Graph 7.19. Types of special deposits

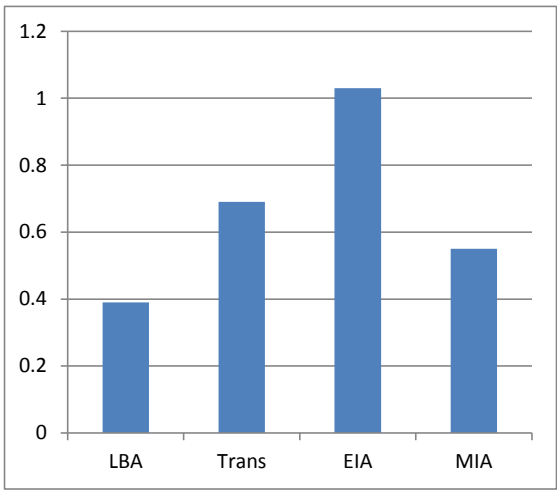


Graph 7.20. Number of object categories in special deposits



Graph 7.21. Total number of special deposits

Graph 7.22. Number of special deposits per excavated settlement



Graph 7.23. Number of special deposits per excavated house

7.2 Interpreting Social Organisation – a summary

Comparing chronologically contiguous groups that shared the same (or at least very similar) environmental contexts[1] demonstrates that the archaeological record is created through the interaction of agency, material culture, and the social and conceptual structures specific to a wider culture. For example, that penannular gullies were only regularly dug around houses in the MIA argues against a singular functional explanation for these features, otherwise we should expect to see them in other periods. The wildly different numbers of metal objects belonging to each period shows that these assemblages did not result from accidental losses, but that the deposition or retention of metalwork was governed by particular systems of logic with specific desired consequences. We can interpret the creation and ownership of relatively undifferentiated objects in the LBA, and the converse in the Iron Age, in a similar vein.

[1] Environmental work has, for example, demonstrated a rise in the water table in the Upper Thames from the MBA (Lambrick 2009, Chap. 2). Despite this and other changes, in terms of functional requirements we can still characterise the environment as very similar in all periods under study.

Such observations are best explained by placing them contextually and holistically with other evidence belonging to each period. When this is done, wider patterns can be seen that are found across different types of evidence. By comparing with the Iron Age, it was demonstrated that LBA settlements and houses were short-lived, homogeneous and unenclosed; landscapes and place had fewer multi-generational attachments; metalwork and other possessions were undifferentiated, undecorated, and frequently destroyed; human remains rarely deposited in a visible manner; and special deposits followed stricter rules.

These were then considered alongside the theoretical debates outlined in Chapter 2. This incorporated ethnographic case studies and wider anthropological surveys to provide a basis with which we could understand how communities are constructed and the vital role that objects, houses and settlements play in this. Ways that objects and houses are treated and how this relates to senses of identity, self and community were discussed, including a consideration of the relationships between material culture, modes of sociality, and the archaeological record. Two contrasting ethnographic groups were identified: each have internally similar ways of treating certain types of material culture that could be related to the constitution and perpetuation of particular social identities. These groups should be thought of as analytical tools at two ends of a spectrum, rather than strict types (Table 2.1; Fig. 2.1). With these perspectives in mind, patterns emerged that crossed different types of evidence, and social interpretations given. The LBA leans towards Group 1, whereas the Iron Age leans towards Group 2.

In the LBA we are seeing the destruction and abandonment of various types of things associated with past generations. Aspects of personhood may have been believed to reside in these. There was an active desire to disassociate the present from the past: past peoples do not appear to have held an important place in the construction of social identities and senses of community. With less attachment to lineage and birth, identities may instead have been more fluid, with groups more easily changing composition following shifts in extant social dynamics. The choice of undecorated, more undifferentiated material culture and the avoidance of foreign and ancient exotica suggest that the potential these items had to help symbolise and reinforce marked status differences were not being realised. These two interpretations can be tied together as embedded social differentiation is often achieved by attaching groups and individuals to lineages and cosmologically important material culture. Neither appears to have occurred in the LBA.

By the MIA, a quite different picture of social organisation is apparent, with material culture playing different roles in its reproduction. Possessions, houses, settlements, monuments and landscapes are now much longer-lived, with multiple generations sharing these similar aspects of the ‘lifescape’. Not only are these material remnants of the dead and ancestors incorporated into society, but human bones are now kept, exhumed and occasionally modified. This could be interpreted as ancestors and lineage playing a larger role in the constitution of communities. Parallel to this development we are seeing relatively small groups split themselves apart from

one another: the manufacture and ownership of more unique objects – both the 'everyday' and 'special' – may have been part of this, and ancient and foreign exotica could have been collected to be employed in a related social manner. Ways of carrying out rituals also become more heterogeneous as practices within settlements were more distinctive. Enclosure was now used to mark small groups apart from each other within settlements and wider landscapes. By the MIA, the focus of enclosure was the household, with ditches dug around houses, a house and a small adjacent area, and/or a small settlement only large enough for a household unit. We may also link these two Iron Age features together. The household with its ancestors and lineage appears now to have been the focus for identity construction and community, at the expense of more distantly related individuals. These interpretations of ways in which communities and identity groups were constructed in the LBA and Iron Age are summarised in Figs. 7.16-7.

The interpretations of LBA and MIA social organisation may seem too diametric; rather than being entirely representative of social reality, these should be thought of as idealistic positions within which individuals expressed agency. They do, however, go some way to explain the key differences between the archaeology of the LBA and Iron Age. The LBA/EIA Transition of c.800-600/550 cal BC shares many features of both the LBA and the EIA, and this truly appears to have been a transitionary period between two quite different modes of social organisation. The more precise timing and tempo of these changes is currently difficult to assess given the poor chronological resolution of this period.

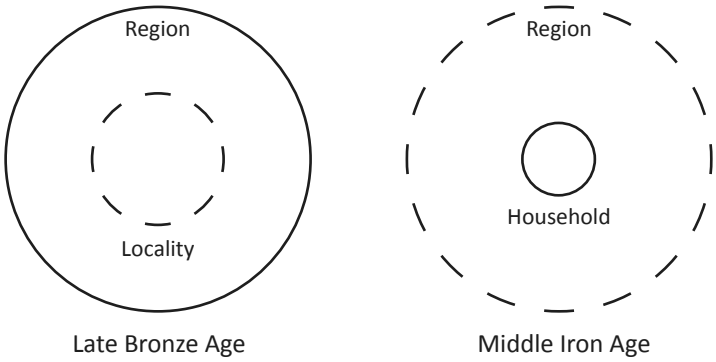


Fig. 7.16. Idealised representation of community boundaries 1. Regions become less tightly defined through the first millennium BC, with a focus instead on the household

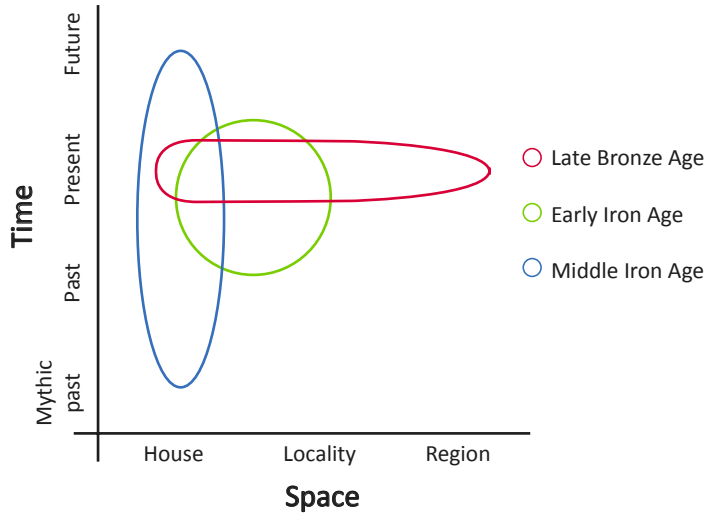


Fig. 7.17. Idealised representation of community boundaries 2. The shift towards communities comprising smaller numbers of living individuals was accompanied by an increasing importance of the past and ancestors

7.3 Processes of Social Change

Discussions of transitions between archaeological or historical periods are littered with assessing the degree of either continuity or change (e.g. Needham 2007a; for theoretical discussion see Brück 1997, 30-6; Hodder 1982; Shanks and Tilley 1987 Chap. 2; Sharples 2007). The extent of either tends to follow theoretical fashion, but placing such processes on a two dimensional scale is too simplistic bearing in mind debates on the processes of social reproduction. Both Bourdieu's (1977) theory of practice and Giddens' (1984) structuration argue that time is an important contributing factor as social change occurs through the actions of people, the effects of these actions, as well as external influences on individuals and groups. Society is produced and reproduced though people reacting to established traditions and norms; following them, changing them, or ignoring them. We never have true stability, but in some periods change is quicker than in others.

If the interpretations offered for the LBA bear resemblance to past reality, social development in the ninth century moved in earnest towards a specific mode of organisation. This comprised relatively fluid social groups with a lack of marked status differences that included individuals drawn from quite wide areas who defined themselves by actions in life rather than their kin or ancestors. Everyday life was played out in small farmsteads with a range of homogenous material culture that signalled regional rather than local differences. There was frequent, ritualised destruction and abandonment of houses, settlements and possessions. The continuation of these factors would all act to reinforce the proposed social system: material culture that could have more easily created social differentiation was not manufactured and indeed actively taken out of circulation; objects, houses and places were not used as a means of creating links and a shared identity between generations. It seems that in the ninth century BC most went along with these norms, although we can see regional differences in the study area, and some variety within these.

In the decades following c.800 cal BC, the key change was not one of immediate practical and archaeological substance. Instead, there was a significant shift in the trajectory of social development. This took time to work through. Rather than the LBA practices described reinforcing its particular social system, the desire and opportunity to continue this faded early in the Transition. With fewer practices leading social reproduction in a certain direction, those that replaced them instead put social organisation on a different path. This path was towards more tightly bounded social units and identities based around the household, immediate kin and genealogy, with factions in increasingly hierarchical relationships to one another. In the Transition we begin to see longer-term, multi-generational attachment to local landscapes, places and people in the settlement, monument and depositional records; this is also implied by the archaeological absence of material culture that certainly was present. There is more desire to locally differentiate by decorating possessions and procuring foreign or ancient exotica.

These are all, however, more prominent in the full EIA after the practices that support these features of sociality had been developing for a number of generations. The shift towards this system appears to have occurred in the decades just after 800 cal BC; this new mode of social organisation manifested through practice slowly and unevenly over the next c.850 years. We see shifts again in the manifestation of this social trajectory towards the end of the EIA with increased metalwork deposition, and end of the MIA with the width and depth of house ditches becoming more extreme – each prefacing the features of the subsequent period – but all driven in the same direction.

Overall, rather than pointing somewhere on a scale with 'continuity' on the one side and 'change' on the other, the way the LBA/EIA Transition of c.800-600/550 cal BC can be characterised is by a shift in the social trajectory. No longer were societies moving in the direction of that interpreted for the LBA: instead it began to follow a path that continued and developed through the Iron Age. This was the major change, although it did not result in immediate revolution in actions, world-views or social relationships. Practices that characterised the previous period continued, but dwindled; new practices that do not become fully institutionalised for some time instead replaced these. This manifested itself in the archaeological record having some similarities with the LBA, and others with the EIA. This process of change is summarised in Fig. 7.18.

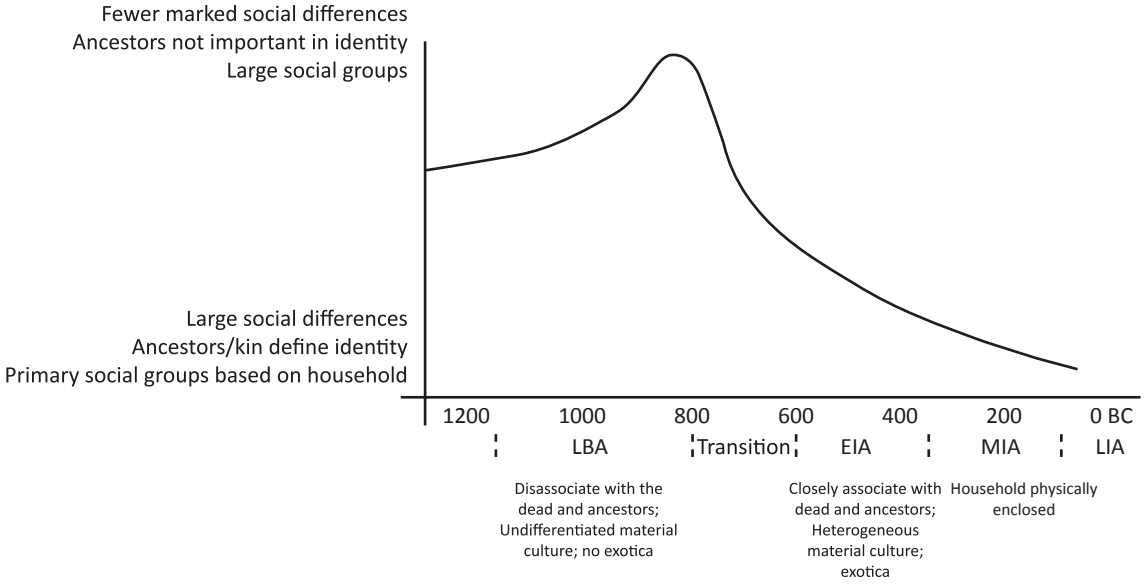


Fig. 7.18. Representation of the process of social change in the first millennium BC

7.4 Causes of Social Change

The causes of this change of direction are due to the interaction between factors that are external and internal in relation to society. External factors force change due to the practical inability to continue traditions and the reproduction of current society; examples include climate change, dramatic changes in population, and new technologies rendering old traditions obsolete. Conversely, internal factors end practice through choice: this is primarily through agency, but more specific theories such as Marxism are also included. Internal factors are traditionally much more difficult to explain archaeologically, but all change should be seen as the interaction between the internal and external. External pressures are dealt with internally, and many external factors originate internally, for example new technologies. If there is sufficient desire to continue social systems, human beings can prove remarkably resilient to external pressures. However, if systems are being undermined internally, external factors could provide tipping points that in other circumstances could be overcome.

The technological development of ironworking – a functionally superior metal to bronze – has traditionally been seen as the major external factor in the LBA/EIA Transition. The realisation that bronze had meta-'functional' symbolic and social roles challenges the argument as iron could not necessarily fulfil these, and could not directly replace bronze (Needham 2007a, 54, fig. 8; Sharples 2010, Chap. 3). Nevertheless, the introduction of iron could still have undermined the social importance of bronze, even if it did not take on the same roles. The discovery of iron objects and ironworking in contexts dated well before the end of the Bronze Age weakens the argument that iron directly replaced bronze: the two metals appear to have been in use simultaneously for a number of centuries, although the number of iron objects in LBA contexts is still very small (e.g. Butler 1984; Casparie 1984, 58, 62-3; Collard *et al.* 2006; Needham 2007a, 52; O'Connor 2007; Roberts *et al.* 2015, 388). Here an external pressure that *could* have reaped huge social change did not do so immediately due to internal desire to continue the symbolic preference of bronze. This is most clearly seen in Wessex and Brittany between c.800-600 cal BC where we have many more bronze objects dating to this period, when iron certainly was in use, compared to the LBA (O'Connor 1980, 230-68; Roberts *et al.* 2015; Thomas 1989).

New evidence may in fact argue for a closer relationship between bronze and iron. Opinion that regards these as being socially incompatible, as the metals fulfilled quite different roles, relies on assumptions about metal procurement. Copper and tin ores are geologically much rarer than iron ore: metal has to be exchanged over some distance to reach southern and eastern Britain, necessitating and reinforcing social relationships, whereas iron can be procured locally[2] (Sharples 2010, 106-9). Recent discoveries suggest that smelting may have been a specialised and fairly centralised activity from quite early in the Iron Age (see 4.8; 6.7). Although in theory the availability of iron ores could lead to local production, if the technical and ritual knowledge of

[2] Metallurgical analysis also suggests iron was traded some distance in the Iron Age (Crew 1994; 1995; Ehrenreich 1985; 1991; 1994).

smelting was restricted to geographical centres we could envisage the existence of similar social exchange networks in the Iron Age as in the Bronze Age, albeit over shorter but still significant distances.

Another external factor that contributed to the shift in the social trajectory is the depletion of bronze stocks in the Thames Valley around 800 cal BC. The large amount of deposition immediately preceding this date supports this idea as existing, recycled material was taken out of circulation; however, explanation is needed for why the large amounts of new material entering southern Britain through exchange just before this date suddenly ended (Needham 2007a, 53-5; Rohl and Needham 1998). Copper and tin were being imported from the continent and western Britain in the LBA: if mining ceased or exchange relations broke down along the supply chain, bronze would not have been available to play the same social roles. Like other external social factors, this conveniently places primary social change outside of the parameters of investigation; change in the area under study is just a passive reaction.

Although the supply of bronze drying up must have been a major contributing factor in the demise of bronze deposition and the social structures this was supporting in the Thames Valley, the presence of bronze in the eighth century in some quantities in north-west France and Wessex, alongside evidence for contemporary cross-channel exchange, calls this argument into question (O'Connor 2007; Roberts *et al.* 2015, 385-8). In southern Britain a key shift in metal distribution occurs between the Ewart Park and Llyn Fawr period. The Thames Valley, East Anglia and Kent dominate the earlier period, and South Wales and Wessex the latter (Thomas 1989). This region has a close connection to Brittany in the Transition as both are characterised by hoards of axes, often containing many examples in an as-cast state (Roberts *et al.* 2015, 384-6). If bronze was truly desired for its social functions in the Thames Valley in the Transition, it could have been acquired even if this demanded a change in exchange relationships to communities in Wessex and Brittany. Such a switch may have, however, undermined some of the social value of bronze.

A shift in large-scale deposition from bronze to pottery at midden sites could have been an internal reaction to the external pressure of a lack of bronze. If bronze deposition helped bolster a social reality, the demise of bronze supply did not necessitate the demise of this reality: if desired, similar functions could have been switched to other media. We might not expect that the symbolic cross from one material to another was direct or simple, or that it could support exactly the same functions, but the potential to continue features of social and symbolic systems through different means reinforces the importance of internal processes in modifying external factors that put pressure on continuing social practices.

Interpretation can see the large quantities of Ewart Park deposition as being a cause or a consequence of the transition to the Iron Age, or as unrelated. In essence, Burgess (1979, 275-6) regarded this as a consequence: a dumping of valueless material due to the availability of superior iron. Needham (2007a, 54) sees this as a cause: the final flourish of the bronze system that was

so extreme it devalued itself, leading to the uptake of more attractive possibilities. Arguments that see iron being taken up in part due to the depletion of bronze stocks also regard the large amount of Ewart Park deposition as a cause rather than consequence of the introduction of iron (e.g. Bradley 1988). Thomas (1989, 278-80) sees these as largely unrelated: iron was taken up after the social system that controlled the exchange of bronze shifted to one based instead around the control of land and agricultural production. There is evidence for increased social control over the landscape with the construction of various forms of linear boundaries that are best dated to the period following the demise of Ewart Park deposition (see 4.6). However, the larger field systems of the second half of the second millennium BC were abandoned in the LBA rather than extended, and landscape control was never again seen on such a scale in prehistory (see 3.5.1; Appendix 4). Sharples (2007; 2010, Chap. 3) sees the Iron Age practice of enclosure construction as a response to bronze falling from grace as both fulfilled social roles. The construction of hillforts in the Transition suggests these and the demise of bronze were related, but enclosed settlements are rare in the Thames Valley in the EIA, suggesting different methods of creating communities were employed in this area compared to Wessex.

Interpretations of the transition to the Iron Age need to specifically explain the huge amount of Ewart Park deposition. In many areas of Britain and the continent this must be regarded as a unique phenomenon, not simply the exaggeration in quantity rather than quality of preceding Bronze Age practices. When we look in detail at hoards and deposition, it is clear that the spatial and temporal differences preclude a single explanation for the broad practice of bronze deposition. The large Wilburton and early Ewart Park weapon dominated hoards in southern and eastern Britain, for example, clearly fulfilled quite different social roles from the large number of typically smaller axe dominated or fragmented hoards belonging to the slightly later period. There may be some shared broad undercurrents, but the specific meaning and motivation must change alongside the change of hoard composition, frequency, location and the broader social and archaeological context. This is similar to other features that recur within quite different social contexts and used in different ways – particularly hillforts. The meaning of Ewart Park deposition has been explained here in relation to other contemporary practices – underlying each is the frequent or generational destruction and abandonment of material things. Such an explanation cannot be as easily invoked for the EBA and MBA as metalwork deposition and its wider context are quite different: there is a greater attachment to landscape and monumentalisation of the dead in these earlier periods, for example.

This interpretation sees a variety of external and internal factors causing the end of LBA social systems. The destruction of a large amount of bronze stock in the Ewart Park period coupled with the cessation of new metal from the continent put pressure on continuing existing social practices that were necessary for the continuation of the wider system. However, if truly desired, new exchange relations with other regions owning bronze – principally Wessex or Brittany – could have been forged. If not, similar social and symbolic functions could have crossed material,

in part at least. These both happened to a degree, but not enough to suggest overwhelming internal desire to continue existing social systems, especially as iron was available to replace the functional roles of bronze. The lack of iron stock during this period meant destruction and deposition of this material on the scale of the LBA was difficult: there may have been more pressure to pass tools and objects through generations, affecting relationships and ways in which previous owners were socially conceptualised. Again, if truly desired more iron could be smelted, although the possible socially and geographically restricted nature of this activity would make this more difficult than may have been previously assumed.

An expansion of population may have also put pressure on continuing the LBA practice of periodically destroying objects and settlements and moving to other areas. We have more settlements dated to the EIA than LBA, and twice as many by the MIA despite the Iron Age examples each representing many more people due at to their much extended longevities. Worsening climate might have added further pressure (Armit *et al.* 2014; Brown 2008; van Geel *et al.* 1996). Overall, we must allow for a large degree of internal desire to change the social system: perhaps competitive individuals wanting power and influence began exploiting exotica and ancestors, and organising large-scale construction projects. The above pressures made it more difficult for these to be reined in through traditional practices that flattened local differences and rendered ancestors of little social importance. The success of some individuals may have caused a snowballing effect, influencing others that eventually took the course of social development in a different direction.

7.5 Concluding Thoughts

This thesis has highlighted the importance of crossing the usual boundaries that separate research and interpretation. Although it has supported the traditional divide between the Bronze Age and Iron Age as each comprising communities with quite different social outlooks, the assessment of these different periods under the same theoretical and methodological rubric has brought out important patterns that would have stayed hidden if this scope was tightened. Future prehistoric research should also benefit by setting projects that are not restricted by traditional temporal, spatial or evidential boundaries.

It was only possible to collect and analyse such large quantities of diverse data from the relatively long period under study in the time frame of the project due to the enormous amount of commercial excavation the region has witnessed in the past few decades, and the high standard of publication that so many sites have received. The *Thames Valley Landscapes* series by Oxford Archaeology should in particular be highlighted. This is, however, only one avenue of making data available; others need to be explored following examples set by projects such as the Portable Antiquities Scheme and the digitalisation of the Bronze Age Implement Index, as this would be of significant benefit to future work.

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Social Organisation in the Upper and Middle Thames Valley from the Late Bronze Age to the Middle Iron Age

Volume II of II

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Contents - Volume II: Appendices

Appendix 1: Chronological Framework

A1.1 Introduction

The foundation of any social archaeological analysis must consist of a sound chronological framework. Without knowledge of what evidence is contemporary, datasets cannot be created upon which to base interpretations. Pottery remains the mainstay for the building of chronologies on settlements and features within settlements as it is the only class of artefact found on such sites in any quantity. As pottery is created from a material that is highly malleable and is manipulated to suite idiosyncratic cultural and practical needs, its form, decoration and fabric have specific chronological ranges. These ranges can be understood through relative sequencing and associations with radiocarbon dates and other datable objects.

Metalwork is rarely found in settlements. Occasional associations between metalwork and pottery provide a rough idea of the contemporaneity of objects in both artefact classes. The increasing number of tighter radiocarbon dates analysed with more sophisticated methods is beginning to overtake the reliance on dating through associations with objects phased by typology and comparison. Such tight independent dating should in the future provide more accurate horizons and drop-offs, but for now we can only assess the general contemporaneity between certain later prehistoric pottery and metalwork styles. This often gives the wrongful impression of strict sequential periods with quick and encompassing material change; however, such a working hypothesis is necessary for the development of social interpretations.

Detailed pottery dating analysis was undertaken in order to provide a single chronological framework within which to place sites and material into phases. There is still much confusion and contradiction in defining the end of the LBA and beginning of the Iron Age, and the phasing of all sites needed to be reappraised in light of the following discussion. It is hoped that this analysis will provide a more explicit bases with which to phase regional pottery assemblages.

It will be argued that we can distinguished seven or eight chronologically successive ceramic phases covering the period c.1150-100 cal BC, with overlap and geographic variation. Two or three phases cover the Late Bronze Age (LBA), c.1150-800 cal BC; one for the Late Bronze Age/ Early Iron Age Transition (referred to as the Transition, also known as the Earliest Iron Age), c.800-600 cal BC; two cover the Early Iron Age (EIA), c.600-350 cal BC; and one or two covering the Middle Iron Age (MIA), c.350-100 cal BC. This has been rationalised to these four main periods; subsequent discussion will follow this, while realising the potential for some refinement.

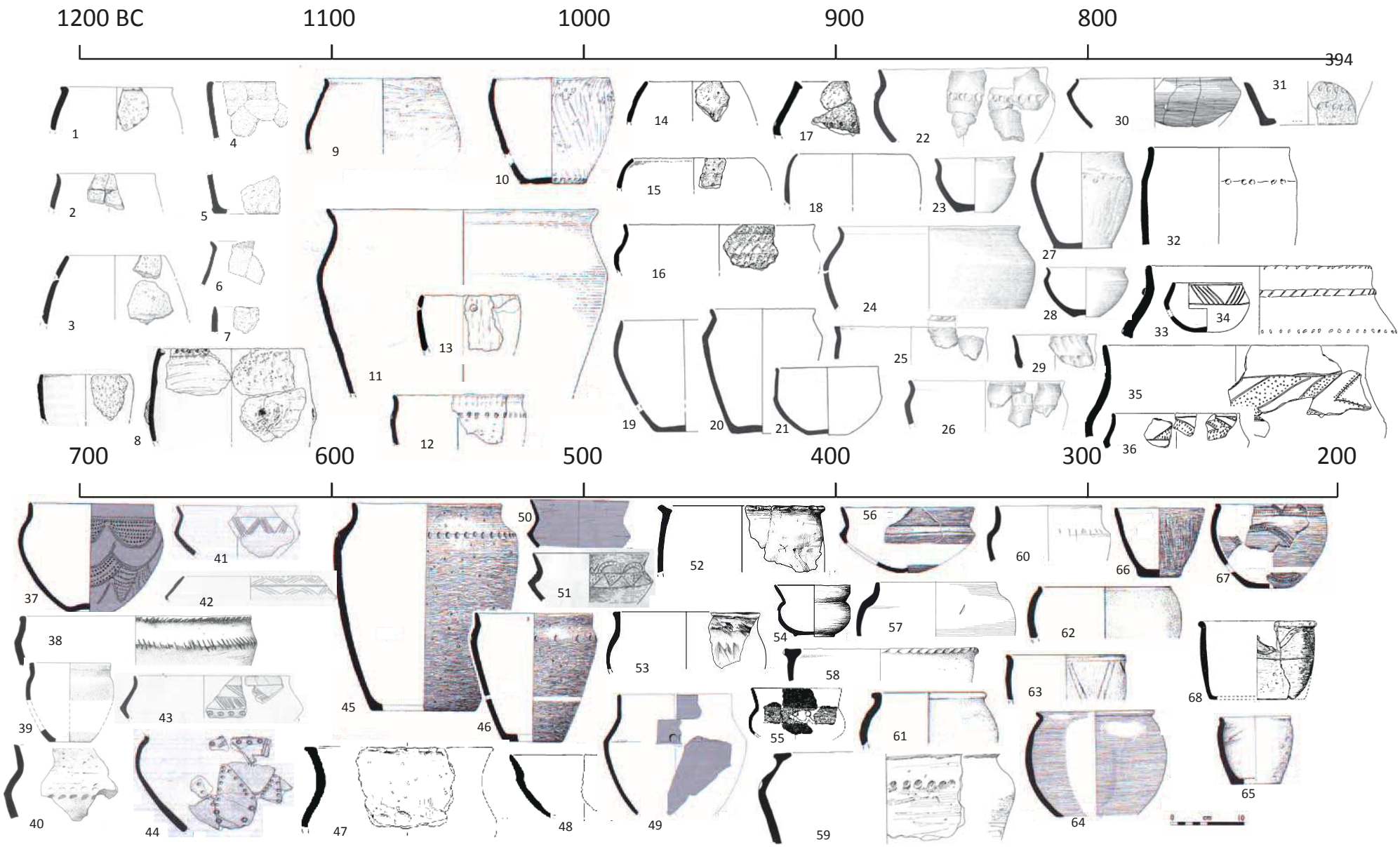

Fig. A1.1. Pottery chronology c.1200-150 cal BC

References for Fig. A1.1

1-3 - Morris 2013b, figs. 2.19.15-6, 2.17, 6;

4-7 - Barclay 2001, figs. 16.39, 15.21, 28, 14.6, 9;

8 - Laidlaw 2011, fig. 9.3, 7;

9-12 - Framework Archaeology 2010, fig. 3.47;

13 - McSloy 2012, fig. 12.6;

14-17 - Morris 1994, fig. 11.7, 14, 21, 26;

18-21 - Hall 1992, figs. 41.4, 6, 42.8, 10;

22-29 - Longley 1991, figs. 78.P33, P35, 79.P44, 81.P60X, 82.P73, 85.P131, 86.P14, 87.P171;

30-31 - O'Connell and Needham 1986, figs. 49.121, 51.174;

32-36 - Bradley et al. 1980, figs. 34.21u, 15v, 39v, 46v, 36.76v;

37 - Booth 2011, fig. 14.1.1;

38-40 - DeRoche and Lambrick 1980, fig. 21.5, 15, 18;

41-44 - Edwards 2009b, figs. 26.P25, P28, 27.P31, P32;

45-46 - Jones 2013b, fig. 2.33.2-3;

47-48 - Timby 1996, figs. 5.14, 6.24;

49-50 - Booth 2011, figs. 14.3.72, 4.115;

51 - Richardson and Young 1951, fig. 7.41;

52-54 - Edwards 2010, fig. 3.3.27, 32, 34;

55 - Bradford 1942, fig. 1.24;

56 - Jones 2013b, fig. 2.35.21;

57-58 - Lambrick 2010, fig. 30.63, 66;

59-60 - Brown 2013, fig. 4.2.1, 4;

61 - Timby 2013a, fig. 2.9.5;

62-63 - Timby 2013b, fig. 3.10.10, 12;

64-65 - Allen 1990, fig. 24.4, 11;

66-67 - Jones 2013b, fig. 2.39.75, 81;

68 - Cunliffe 1965, fig. 8.26.

A1.2 Late Bronze Age Pottery

John Barrett's seminal 1980 paper proposed a twofold sequence of pottery development in the Late Bronze Age and Earliest Iron Age, termed post Deverel-Rimbury ware. This consists of an earlier, plain phase, and later, decorated phase. Both are characterised by the novel introduction of bowls, alongside ovoid and shouldered jars. Decoration consists of either fingertipping or small slashes on the shoulders and/or rims of vessels, or more complex geometric patterns on the necks. These styles were believed to have begun by the end of the second millennium cal BC, with decoration becoming more common by the eighth century (Barrett 1980, 307-8). This therefore roughly correlates the beginning of Late Bronze Age metalwork styles with this pottery, leaving Deverel-Rimbury ware contemporary with earlier, Middle Bronze Age metalwork.

A1.2.1 Earlier Late Bronze Age Pottery (TLBA)

It has been recognised for a number of years that the plainware pottery can be separated into earlier and later styles, with the earlier essentially having more similarities to the preceding Deverel-Rimbury pottery (e.g. Barclay 2001, 138-9; Bradley 1983-5, 28; Morris 2004, 78-80). Compared to later plain post Deverel-Rimbury, it is more restricted in the number of forms, lacking a substantial bowl element and characterised by straight-sided and more rounded shouldered jars. These ovoid jars also appear to have the widest point lower on their body compared to later LBA ovoid jars, producing a more closed, barrel-like appearance. This earlier post Deverel-Rimbury pottery has recently been the subject to a review by Elaine Morris (2013a). This will be summarised, with additional evidence from the Thames Valley supporting this division.

The basis of Morris' (2013a) review consists of evidence from the third phase of excavations at Reading Business Park/Green Park. These uncovered more of the Middle Bronze Age field system excavated in previous seasons. Alongside these fields, five waterholes containing a variety of material were found, including associated sherds of Deverel-Rimbury pottery and non-Deverel-Rimbury ovoid and straight sided jars, and a single slack profile bowl. Ten radiocarbon measurements were taken and modelled to suggest a start date of *1500-1310 cal BC (95% probability)*, with an end of *1370-1130 (95% probability)*, lasting 20-200 years *(68% probability*; Brossler *et al.* 2013, 13-21; Morris 2013b). Morris (2013a) suggests that this marks the inception of a group of pottery that sits between but overlaps both the Deverel-Rimbury and the more classic shouldered jars and bowls of post Deverel-Rimbury traditions. This has been termed Transitional Later Bronze Age (TLBA) pottery (Morris 2013a, 114).

Similar pottery was seen in the northern section of Reading Area 3000B/3100, whereas more shouldered jars were in the southern section, suggesting a chronological shift (Hall 1992; Morris 2004). At Pingewood, TLBA pottery was found without a shouldered element and associated with Deverel-Rimbury ware (Bradley 1983-5). At Eynsham Abbey a similar pottery assemblage was associated with six radiocarbon dates that have been modelled to between *1270-1040 cal BC* (Barclay *et al.* 2010, 158-9). The fragmentary sherds at Rams Hill also suggest an earlier straight-sided jar tradition at the sites phase 2, dating to the 11th or very early 10th centuries, giving way to shouldered vessels in the 10th century phase 3 (Barrett 1975, fig. 3.5.1-5, 14; Needham and Ambers 1994).

A number of other assemblages not discussed by Morris (2013a) from the Upper Thames Valley with independent dating evidence in the 12th and 11th centuries BC can be added to support the existence of this distinct pottery horizon. Two vessels from Milton Hill North have been directly dated by burnt resides adhering to their inner surfaces. One of these is certainly a small hooked rim jar (McSloy 2012a, fig. 12.6), the other is probably a similar vessel or ovoid jar as these are the only types of pot illustrated. The radiocarbon dates are 1116-929 cal BC (95.4% confidence) and 1239-1051 cal BC (92.2% confidence; Hart *et al.* 2012, Table 1), either suggesting they were both contemporary within the period c.1115-1050 cal BC, or this site lasted a slightly extended period in the 12th and 11th centuries.

The pottery from Weathercock Hill is again of TLBA type, and is dominated by straight rims. This pottery is loosely associated with a probable Wilburton sword hilt (Bowden *et al.* 1991-3). A radiocarbon date from a bone at Latchford produced a date of 1133-929 (86.5% confidence). Although this is not directly associated with any illustrated pottery, the excavations were small scale and the pottery assemblage is restricted to straight sided jars and one ovoid bowl or jar (Taylor and Ford 2004a, 48-53, fig. 2.14).

In the Middle Thames Valley, the basal fill of the recut of waterhole 517310 at Heathrow T5 produced a series of worked wooden objects and 117 sherds of pottery. This included an ovoid and round shouldered jar, a slack shouldered bowl with fingertip decoration, and a very large rounded shouldered jar. A radiocarbon determination from withy tie ropes produced a date of 1160-980 cal BC (93% confidence; Framework Archaeology 2010, 192-194, fig 3.47). The latter vessel described is very similar to the reconstruction of the large jar containing the Isleham Wilburton hoard (Malim 2010, fig. 17).

At Lea Farm, Hurst, mould fragments for a tapering sword blade of lozenge section with a distinct central midrib were found in the same pit as TLBA pottery consisting of straight-sided and hook rim jars, and a jar resembling a Deverel-Rimbury barrel urn with a finger-tipped rim and applied bosses (Manning and Moore 2011, figs. 7, 9). Although the distinct protruding midrib occurs on a few earlier Penard and later Wilburton swords, this feature is more characteristic of the Limehouse group of swords (Burgess 2012; Burgess and Colquhoun 1988, Pls. 8-28). The Wilburton sword moulds from Dainton do not display this feature (Needham 1980, 206-7, fig. 9-10), and neither do those of Ewart Park date from Springfield Lyons. These latter moulds are also different in having rounded rather than lozenge sections (Needham and Bridgford 2013, figs. 3.1-6). Both the Limehouse metalwork and associated ceramic traditions sit between the MBA and LBA, and a date in the 12th or early 11th centuries can be given. At Roughground Farm, an assemblage consisting of TLBA vessels with Deverel-Rimbury ancestry was found in a context also producing a radiocarbon date of 1520-1000 cal BC (95% confidence), or 1410-1170 (68% confidence).

In Dorset, the well dated site at Tinny's Lane, Sherborne, can be added to Morris's (2013a, 111-3) assessment of earlier Late Bronze Age pottery in Wessex. The very large assemblage here has been dated by the Bayesian analysis of 24 radiocarbon determinations to begin between *1150-1070 cal BC (68% probability)*, and end between *1050-980 cal BC (68% probability*; Marshall *et al.* 2012). The pottery is again dominated by straight-sided bucket and ovoid jars, having very few shouldered jars and courseware bowls, and even these are restricted to one of the three distinct areas. Fine shouldered bowls are entirely lacking (Tyler and Woodward 2012; 2013).

Another large, well dated assemblage comes from Huntsman's Quarry, Worcestershire. On the basis of Bayesian analysis of 27 radiocarbon dates, the pottery from this site began between *1090-1020 cal BC (68% probability),* and ended between *1040-990 cal BC (68% probability*; Bayliss *et al.* 2015). The assemblage is dominated by vertical and hooked-rimmed, straight-sided and ovoid jars. Shouldered jars are again very rare, and decoration is restricted to occasional lines of fingertip or nail impressions (Woodward and Jackson 2015). These sites outside of the Thames Valley demonstrate similar developments are happening in other regions. However, this survey is not comprehensive outside of the Upper and Middle Thames Valley, and there are variations. The well dated sequence at Cliffs End Farm, Kent (Leivers 2014), demonstrates

differences within southern Britain as changes to the decoration and form of vessels at this site diverges from neighbouring regions.

These examples discussed all date in the later part of the 12th and throughout the 11th centuries BC, roughly contemporary with Wilburton metalwork (see below). Pottery styles in this earlier part of the LBA are distinct from those dating to the tenth and ninth centuries BC.

A1.2.3 Later Late Bronze Age Pottery – Tenth Century

The larger range of shouldered jars and bowls that is more commonly regarded as post Deverel-Rimbury pottery begins in the tenth century BC, overlapping with TLBA styles. The assemblage from the Settlement F at Cotswold Community appears to date to this period. Like many of the TLBA assemblages it is dominated by ovoid jars and has few obvious bowls, however shouldered jars do also occur in some numbers (Morris 1994, 40, fig. 11). This settlement also produced a mould for a Southern English axe. These are usually found[1] in Ewart Park hoards, ostensibly dating to c.950/920-800 cal BC. The pottery is slightly earlier than the majority of assemblages dated to the Ewart Park, however as the settlement looks short lived, the pottery and mould are largely contemporary. We can therefore suggest a date at the beginning of the currency of the axe, in the tenth century.[2]

A series of modelled radiocarbon dates also places the majority of LBA activity at Hartshill Copse in the tenth century (Bayliss *et al.* 2006). One of these is taken directly from carbonised residue on the pottery. The assemblage here is again dominated by ovoid jars, with far fewer shouldered jars and bowls (Morris 2006, 386). There are, however, two later radiocarbon dates taken from carbonised residues on sherds dating to 830-760 cal BC and 810-590 cal BC (both 95% confidence). These are not illustrated, although they probably represent a separate, weakly represented ceramic phase that includes an Early All Cannings Cross style jar (Morris 2006, 388). Full publication of this site is pending.

The small illustrated assemblage from the LBA ditch at Taplow consists of sherds from straight-sided and ovoid jars, and a shouldered bowl (Edwards 2009a, fig. 7.3.5-9). A series of radiocarbon dates have been modelled that include the primary fill of this ditch. This was dated to *1050-700 (95% probability)* or *980-800 (68% probability*; cf. Marshall *et al.* 2009, 174, 175, Table 9.3). A date in the tenth century accords best with the pottery.

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[1] Schmidt and Burgess (1981, 222-3) consider a few examples of their corresponding Type Welby axe that overlap with earlier Wilburton styles, suggesting some could date to the transition between Wilburton and Ewart metalwork.

[2] Morris (1994, 40) originally assigns this assemblage to the ninth or eighth centuries given that around 25% of the vessels are decorated. However, this includes the assemblage from Trench 100, and the only illustrated decorated vessels came from this trench (Morris 1994, fig. 12). This lies some 150m to the east of the settlement identified in Trenches 101+102, and subsequent excavations revealed that Trench 100 is part of a larger, different settlement dating to the Transition (Appendix 2; Figs. 3.10, 16, 4.2; Powell *et al.* 2010). Excluding these sherds, the assemblage from Trenches 101+102 is better dated to the tenth century. The much higher percentage of sherds with grog from Trench 100 supports this later date (see below).

A1.2.4 Later Late Bronze Age Pottery – Ninth Century

Pottery dating to the ninth century sees an increase in the range of forms, with shouldered jars and bowls becoming the dominant types. Our best assemblage remains that from Runnymede. Publication of the remaining excavated areas will enhance our knowledge of pottery of this date. In Area 6, a series of radiocarbon dates demonstrate that stratigraphic units A-F date to the ninth century (Needham 1991). Throughout the sequence at Runnymede, shouldered jars are the most common vessels. There are very few straight-sided and no ovoid jars. Shouldered bowls steadily become replaced by biconical and open bowls in the ninth century and the centuries following it (Longley 1991, 169-70).

This pattern is also seen at other ninth century sites. Similar pottery is present at Caesar's Camp, Heathrow, loosely associated with a copper-alloy collared disc of Ewart Park date (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, figs. 25-36). At nearby Petters Sports Field, the pottery found in direct association with the Ewart Park hoard consisted of shouldered jars and bowls and an open bowl (O'Connell 1984, fig. 41.1-7). At Priory Park, a South Eastern axe is loosely associated with a shouldered jar and carinated, open bowls (Williams 1994). At Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps, a radiocarbon date of 905-806 (95% confidence) in the LBA enclosure ditch is directly associated with a tripartite bowl and unusual large rounded jar with a flaring neck and cordoned shoulder (Edwards 2009a, fig. 3.2.8-9).

Outside of the Thames Valley, the well dated assemblages from Bestwall Quarry, Dorset, are informative (Ladle and Woodward 2009). The pottery here has been modelled with Bayesian statistics to begin between *1020-930 cal BC*, and end *825-750 cal BC (both 95% probability)*. Most of the assemblage comprises shouldered jars and open and angular bowls, slightly different to the contemporary Thames Valley assemblages but still comparable. However, pottery from the Settlement 1 sub-site has earlier characteristics, comprising straight-sided and barrel jars (Woodward 2009, fig. 169). Bayesian modelling also places this earlier than the other sites, in the tenth century (Ladle and Woodward 2009, 125).

A1.3 Late Bronze Age Metalwork

Absolute dating of British Late Bronze Age metalwork still largely relies on the radiocarbon programme of Needham *et al.* (1997). This places the beginning of the Wilburton metalwork at c.1140 cal BC, with the change between this and the transitional Blackmoor phase at c.1020 cal BC. The mature Ewart Park metalwork begins in c.920 cal BC, ending at c.800 cal BC.

Burgess (2012) has recently suggested a new Late Bronze Age phase to be inserted between Penard and Wilburton. This is due partly to the recognition that Wilburton is not in fact equivalent to the French St-Brieuc-def-Iffs period, but is later. A new phase, termed Limehouse, has been suggested to align with the French St-Brieuc phase. This potential Limehouse phase was argued to be largely hoard-free in Britain, instead primarily represented by swords, the vast majority

of which come from the Thames (Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, Pls. 122-3). Swords belonging to this period include types Limehouse, Taplow, Mortlake and Teddington. Given this relevant distribution, it is worth considering the existence of this phase.

Alongside the arguments set out by Burgess (2012), support for this phase also comes from the metallurgy of swords belonging to this period. A new type of metal is associated with Limehouse, Taplow, Mortlake and Teddington swords, different from the earlier Penard stock having 'a new and distinctive impurity pattern with arsenic, antimony, nickel and silver as the principle impurities' (Northover 1988, 135). Northover (1988, 135) assigns this change to a 'major realignment of European metal supplies'.

The swords also have distinctly higher tin content than both earlier Penard and later Wilburton examples. Of the 25 Limehouse period swords analysed by Northover, the average tin content is 10.3%, with a range of 5-20.5%. This compares to the 19 latest Penard swords of types Hemigkofen, Erbenheim and Clewer, with an average of 8.27% and a range of 7-10%. The 35 Wilburton swords have an average of 8.32%, and a range of 5.4-12%. Limehouse phase swords and objects from the St-Brieuc-des-Iffs hoard do not have the high lead content that is distinctive of Wilburton material (Northover 1988, 141-6; 1982, 90, Tab. 1, fig. 4).

However, although we can see this group of swords sitting between the bulk of Penard and Wilburton, this does not necessitate an entire phase. Such a phases needs to be defined by a wide range of unique types that do not belong to any other phases (Needham *forthcoming*). Limehouse does not have this, instead only comprising a group of swords and straight mouthed chapes (Burgess 2012, 136-8). The contiguity of a number of Penard and Wilburton types can be seen, and well as the existence of Wilburton objects in the few potentially Limehouse associations (Needham *forthcoming*). This demonstrates that there cannot be an entire phase sitting between Penard and Wilburton, even if we do appreciate the selectivity of our data. Needham (*forthcoming*) instead classifies the Limehouse objects as a 'group', relatable but not equal to larger phases (or 'assemblages'), and not containing enough unique types to be classed as an independent phase. Limehouse can therefore be considered as a floating subgroup comprising Limehouse and related swords, and straight-mouthed chapes. It is chronologically positioned overlapping both Penard and Wilburton.

Just as we can dismiss Limehouse as a distinct phase/assemblage due to the lack of unique types, we can also dismiss Blackmoor on the same grounds. Blackmoor belongs to a series of related hoard groups comprising large numbers of weapons and dating to late Wilburton, early Ewart Park, or a transitionary period between the two. This merges into the Broadward group. These can be considered a larger aspect, grouped by patterns in association and how material was deposited. Such grouping can provide a more nuanced picture that can be better relatable to social processes than the traditional method of prioritising segregation along purely chronological lines. Examples of these hoards include Wilburton, Blackmoor (Colquhoun 1979),

Fulbourne Common (Burgess 2012, 144), Broadward, Broadness, Ashley (Burgess *et al.* 1972), and Waterden (Bridgford 2000, 227). No dryland hoards of this type have been found in the present study area,[3] although at least some hoards of this wide group appear to have been placed in the Thames. Indeed, it is argued elsewhere that more than half of the riverine Wilburton material could be from hoards placed in the river belonging to this group (see 3.6.2).

These hoards represent an important social phenomenon, not all contemporary but deposited within a continuum between c.1050-920 cal BC. Metalwork typology was continually developing during this time, with the earlier hoards like Wilburton consisting of primarily Wilburton material, and later hoards, like Peelhill (Coles and Scott 1962-3) comprising of primarily Ewart Park types. It is these changes in how metalwork was deposited that is arguably more socially significant, rather than changes in the metalwork types themselves. Two of the most significant shifts in the LBA are the demise of these large weapon hoards and the onset of the larger numbers of mature Ewart Park hoards. As these both occur within Ewart Park, the social importance of these can get lost if we think only in terms of sequential chronological steps.

On the basis of defining subsets within phases, the large corpus of Ewart Park hoards should belong to at least one distinct group within this broader phase/assemblage. These can be defined by characteristics in depositional patterns – primarily the large number of axe-dominated hoards – and a date late within the phase. The chronology is shown by a lack of earlier Ewart Park objects, for example barbed spearheads, late palstaves, transitionary Wilburton/Ewart swords, and axes or spearheads with Wilburton features,[4] and its relationship to Carps Tongue/Boughton-Venat (Brandherm and Moskal-del Hoyo 2014, 23). No dryland hoards in the study area belong early in the Ewart Park. Further comment on different Ewart Park groups falls out the remit of this thesis, although discussion on distinct types of hoards can be found in 3.6.3.

In sum, the early Wilburton and Limehouse group was current between c.1140-1050 cal BC. It appears that the bulk of Wilburton deposition occurred between c.1050-950/920 BC, with the Thames being the focus for a number of hoards that are related to late Wilburton, Blackmoor and Broadward. Ewart Park belongs to c.950/920-800 cal BC.

Aligning pottery with metalwork, we can roughly demonstrate the contemporaneity between Limehouse and early Wilburton with TLBA assemblages consisting of barrel and straight sided jars and few bowls. Late Wilburton/Blackmoor/Broadward/early Ewart Park metalwork was contemporary with the shift towards hooked rimed ovoid jars and some bowls. Mature Ewart Park occurred alongside assemblages dominated by shouldered jars, more decoration and higher frequencies of bowls.

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[3] One might argue that Yattendon is a Broadward hoard due to presence of barbed spearheads. However, this is a hoard with chronologically mixed material, the latest being a Sompting axe. This therefore belongs to a later distinct Transitional and Iron Age hoarding tradition.

[4] For example spearheads with lunate openings; long spearheads over c.300mm with short sockets; lozenge sectioned hollow bladed spearheads; and spearheads of a short overall length – below c.110mm – with slayed sockets (Richard Davis *pers. comm.*; Burgess 1968, 36; Burgess *et al.* 1972; O'Connor 1980, 181).

A1.4 Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition Pottery

Barrett (1980) originally suggested that decoration on post Deverel-Rimbury pottery increased in the eighth century, and that this represents a new horizon of distinguishable ceramics. In none of the LBA assemblages discussed so far is decoration common, although it does seem to occur more often on ninth century pottery. For example, around 11% of the pottery from ninth century Runnymede is decorated, representing a larger number of decorated sherds than pottery at sites dated to the previous two and a half centuries (e.g. Barclay 2001, 136; Barrett 1975, fig. 3.5; Bowden *et al.* 1991-3, fig. 6; Bradley 1983-5, 27; McSloy 2012a, fig. 12.6-9; Morris 2006, 385; 2013a; Taylor and Ford 2004a, fig. 2.14; cf. note A1.2 and Morris 1994). When it does occur on plain PDR pottery, decoration consists of simple fingertipping of the rim of shoulder (e.g. Framework Archaeology 2010, fig. 3.47.3).

Dating the transition between plain and decorated PDR is problematic as the beginning of the eighth century cal BC witnesses the inception of the notorious Hallstatt radiocarbon calibration plateau. This technical issue renders many radiocarbon dates calibrating between 800-400 cal BC indistinguishable from each other, meaning ranges often span this long 400 year period. Luckily, however, relatively steep curves are present either side of this plateau, meaning that some radiocarbon dates with short pre-calibration error margins can calibrate to within a few decades either side of both 800 and 400 cal BC. The importance of the latter Iron Age date is considered below.

Dendrochronology can helps us bridge this problem with radiocarbon, and this has been used to date the important metalwork assemblage of barrow 8 at Wehringen, Bavaria. This was dated to the first quarter of the eighth century BC (O'Connor 2007, 71-3). The metalwork is considered transitionary between the continental Hallstatt B3 and Hallstatt C styles. This relates respectively to Ewart Park and Llyn Fawr in Britain, and dates the inception of Llyn Fawr metalwork in Britain (O'Connor 2007, 71-3). This corresponds well to the latest radiocarbon dates of c.800 cal BC associated with Ewart Park (Needham *et al.* 1997, 97-8, Illus. 15).

One of the few Llyn Fawr hoards in the Thames Valley is loosely associated with pottery. This is the short-lived settlement at Tower Hill, and the Llyn Fawr hoard was deposited by the entranceway of one of the houses, possibly as a rite associated with the inception or abandonment of the house (Miles *et al.* 2003, 144-58). Although the pottery is fragmentary, the decoration is important as it shows not only fingertipping of the rims and shoulders present on ninth century pots, but new techniques including incised geometric designs and stamped circles (Brown 2003a, fig. 12.3). These new ways of decorating pottery is a key method of distinguishing between the sequential 'plain' and 'decorated' groups belonging respectively to the LBA and Transition. This demonstrates links between the Thames Valley and Wessex, where pottery of this period is more distinguishable due to the higher frequency of these styles of decoration (Cunliffe 2005, 90; Morris and Gingell 2000).

This highly decorated pottery from Wessex is known as All Cannings Cross ware, and is a distinctive part of the wider decorated PDR group. The inception of this at Potterne is associated with an archaeomagnetic date of 800-650 cal BC (68% confidence; Clarke 2000; Morris 2000). At East Chisenbury, the inception of the midden is associated with a Llyn Fawr Sompting axe fragment (Barber 2010; McOmish *et al.* 2010). A series of radiocarbon dates places this to between *750-565 cal BC (95% probabilit*y), concurring with the metalwork (Waddington *et al. forthcoming*). All Cannings Cross pottery occurs throughout the midden (Raymond 2010). A particular form of closed globular jar with a straight neck belongs to the All Cannings Cross tradition, appearing for example in the middle to upper levels at Potterne (Morris 2000, 165, fig. 51.45). This is rare in the Thames Valley, but was found in the Transitional levels at Runnymede (Needham and Spence 1996, fig.71.P711), and at Heathrow T5 in pit 125233 associated with a radiocarbon date taken from charcoal of 810-550 cal BC (68% confidence; Healey *et al.* 2010, Table 3).

Pottery similar to the All Cannings Cross tradition has been found in two large pit deposits at Knights Farm, site 1. Pits 5 and 12 contained bowls and jars with geometric designs on the shoulders and necks, often infilled with stabbing, alongside jars with a high frequency of fingertip and fingernail impressions on the shoulders and rims (Bradley *et al*. 1980, figs. 34-6). Two radiocarbon dates from pit 5 overlap at the end quarter of the ninth and first half of the eighth centuries (Bradley *et al.* 1980, 283).

Deposits of sherds from large numbers of vessels in pits are a particular feature in Transitional settlements, although this practice does occur both before and after this period. Alongside those at Knights Farm, this phenomenon includes pit 5966 at Horcott Pit (Lamdin-Whymark *et al.* 2009, 62). This assemblage includes similar distinctively decorated All Cannings Cross pottery. As the site is short lived, the entire pottery assemblage can be considered broadly contemporary, and includes biconical and tripartite bowls and jars and shouldered jars. These sharply angled biconical bowls are a feature not seen in the LBA. Also included is a more roundbodied jar/bowl with stamped circles and geometric decoration, again a form not seen in the LBA (Edwards 2009b, fig. 26.P28). This distinctive jar/bowl is similar to jar 31 at Gravelly Guy (Duncan *et al.* 2004, fig. 7.3.31). This and associated sherds in pit 2219 at Gravelly Guy have ladder motifs alongside geometric and fingertipping decoration that is more commonly found on pottery of this date. A radiocarbon determination was obtained, returning a date of 778-400 cal BC (95.4% confidence; Duncan *et al.* 2004, 282). Given the decoration, this should fall at the beginning of this range.

Another large assemblage of pottery was found in pit 8127 at Yarnton (Booth 2011, fig. 14.1.1-21). This contained a further roundbodied bowl with All Cannings Cross decoration alongside more usual shouldered, fingertipped jars with Late Bronze Age ancestry. Pit 105 from Appleford contained a large assemblage of shouldered jars and bowls with fingertip and fingernail decoration, but without the more distinctive All Cannings Cross element (DeRoche and Lambrick

1980, fig. 21). As these pits and there pottery date right to the beginning of the sequences at Gravelly Guy, Appleford and Yarnton, they can be regarded as closed groups and suffer less from the problems of residuality faced by later assemblages at these and other sites. All these discussed pit deposits can therefore be used to define Thames Valley Transitional pottery.

The lack of All Cannings Cross decoration beyond simple fingertipping in the Appleford pit is mirrored elsewhere, and makes the recognition of Transitional pottery more difficult in areas with less cultural contact with Wessex (see Map 4.3). For example, the large assemblage at Runnymede that has been securely radiocarbon dated to the eighth century and later contain only a handful of All Cannings Cross decorated sherds (e.g. Longley 1980, fig. 35.372, 36.373-390; Longley 1991, P104-6, P167, P190-1; Needham and Spence 1996, P740). At nearby Petters Sports Field the very large assemblage from F117.1 contained no sherds with decoration beyond fingertipping, despite being stratified above a Ewart Park hoard, associated with a radiocarbon date of 938-728 cal BC (75.8% confidence; this probability distribution peaks sharply in the decades around 800 cal BC; Bowman *et al.* 1990, Table 1; O'Connell 1986) and consisting of fabric and forms comparable to eighth century and later contexts at Runnymede (Needham 1990, 124-5; Needham and Spence 1996, 231).

As fingertipping also occurs in ninth, tenth and 11th century assemblages, it can be difficult to decide whether an assemblage should be classed as 'decorated' and later. As an additional caveat, Runnymede Area 16.E demonstrates that in Transitional assemblages with little All Cannings Cross decoration, counting the frequency of fingertipped sherds alone can significantly underrepresent the number of decorated vessels. This is due to only small percentage of such vessels being decorated: a shattered fingertipped pot will produce far more undecorated then decorated sherds. For example, the total assemblage from Area 16.E contained only 173 (1.8%) decorated sherds, seemingly arguing for a Plainware assemblage. However, further analysis shows that the 9,505 sherds that make up the assemblage represent 363-454 vessels, and that of the decorated sherds not in pot groups only 17 joined or were clearly from the same vessel (Sørensen 1996, 72-3). Roughly on average therefore c.21-26 sherds make up a vessel, but only one of these need to be decorated to make a decorated vessel. As only c.10% of decorated sherds are from the same vessels, we can read that c.90% of decorated sherds represent individual vessels, bringing the figure up very roughly to 34-43% of total vessels being decorated. The percentage of decorated vessels in the published catalogue is comparable at 30.5%.

Dating the end of decorated PDR and the beginning of full EIA pottery styles is fraught with difficulties. It occurs at some point in the radiocarbon calibration plateau, and is usually given a rather nominal date in the middle of this, around c.600/550 BC, linking it with the transition from Halstatt C to D metalwork (e.g. Cunliffe 2005, 97-103; Brown 2003a, 172; Edwards 2009b, 82-3; deRoche 1978, 72; Timby 2001, 23.

Comparing the set of recent radiocarbon dates that have been modelled with Bayesian statistics from East Chisenbury with those from Danebury suggest the pottery transition in Wessex occurs in the first half of the fifth century (Waddington *et al. forthcoming*.). This is much later than is usually assumed. This present study has tracked three changes in the pottery assemblages between c.800-350 cal BC, placing the first between c.800-600/550 cal BC and belonging to the Transition, the second at c.600/550-500/450 cal BC being the earlier part of the EIA, and the third c.500/450-350 cal BC comprising the later full EIA. Further dating might move the second phase to the Transition, leaving only the third as belonging to the full EIA, contemporary with Scratched Cordoned Bowls in Wessex. Support for this may be found in Cunliffe's (2005, 90-2) original segregation of earlier and later All Cannings Cross styles. Here, two phases were placed in the Transition, with only the third (his All Cannings-Cross-Meon Hill group) belonging to the EIA. Indeed, the most substantial change in pottery styles in the Thames Valley within the bracket c.800-450 cal BC is between the earlier and later EIA styles, as defined here (see below). For now, however, conventional nomenclature is followed placing the Transition between c.800-600/550, and the EIA c.600/550-350 cal BC, as it would be incautious to rely too heavily on the dating of one site in a different region. This should not substantially affect interpretation as it is largely a semantic difference on what we call pottery assemblages of c.600-500/450 cal BC, although a few more sites might belong more comfortably in the Transition than is currently allowed for. Information on particular sites that this affects will be worked through in the relevant chapters.

A1.5 Grog

One method of distinguishing between later LBA, Transitional and EIA pottery with assemblages containing few particularly distinctive vessels is thorough the analysis of fabrics. Alongside more localised changes, the occasional addition of grog to clays seems to be a feature only belonging to the Transition within these three periods. These only ever consist of minor percentages of overall fabric proportions. Grog appears in around two-thirds of the Transitional assemblages. Those most clearly of this date with grog include Petters Sports Field (O'Connell 1986, 62), Uffington (Brown 2003a), Tower Hill (Brown 2003b), Yarnton Site 5 (Hey *et al. forthcoming*), Knights Farm 1 (Bradley *et al.* 1980, 266-7), Stanwell (O'Connell 1990; but see below), Whitecross Farm (Barrett 1989; Barclay 2006), Cotswold Community Central Eastern site (Hearne and Heaton 1994, Tr100; Powell *et al.* 2010 LBA/EIA settlement area 1), and Rams Hill (Bradley and Ellison 1975, 95, fig. 3.3). Grog is present in the Transitional assemblages at the main area of Yarnton (e.g. pit 8127 and other features at Cresswell Field), but seemingly not in full EIA assemblages (Booth 2011). It is also present at St Ann's Heath School Playing Field, but not at the nearby residential development (Jones 2013a; 2013b). The pottery at the former sub-site is of probable Transitional date, whereas the latter settlement began in the full EIA.

Small amounts of possible grog have been reported from two of the Runnymede areas, although it is unclear if these are from LBA or Transitional layers (Longley 1980, 40; 1991, 163). There is no mention of grog from Area 16.E. However, iron-rich pellets are recorded (Needham and Spence 1996, 111). It is possible that similar, probably natural, inclusions have been misidentified as grog at a few sites in the Middle Thames, especially in the lower part of the region (Russell 1989, 18; Timby 1996, 43, 49). This could account for the recognition of grog in EIA assemblages at Heathrow Site K (Canham 1978) and Lower Mill Farm (Jones and Poulton 1987), as well as the supposedly high percentages of grog at Transitional Stanwell.

There has been similar confusion at Reading Business Park. A high percentage of grog was reported from the phase 1 excavations (Hall 1992, 63), but Morris (2004, 61-2) suggests most of this are iron oxide fragments. Further excavation at the same site discovered only 0.7%/1.4% of sherds by number and weight were found to have grog inclusions (Morris 2004, Tab. 4.10). Although some of the phase 1 material might have included grog, this could belong to the Transitional decorated PDR reported. This later activity was not encountered during phase 2 excavations.

The LBA plainware areas at Cotswold Community have only very small percentages of grog. Grog appears to become more popular in the Transition. At LBA Settlement F (Hearne and Heaton 1994, Trs. 101+102; see Appendix 3), grog is present in 2.3%/1.7% of sherds by number and weight. This expands to 29%/38% of the sherds in the Transitional, decorated PDR assemblage from Tr100 of the Central Eastern settlement (Morris 1994). In the Northern Settlements that can generally be placed to the LBA, grog accounts for 26% of the assemblage. However, this is dominated by sherds of a single vessel: the real proportion is likely to be much smaller (Mepham 1999, 61), and some of this activity should be Transitional. Grog is absent in most areas.

At Taplow, grog temper accounted for only 4% of LBA sherds. This increased to 13% in the Transition standstill layer, before dropping off completely in the EIA levels (Edwards 2009a, Tab. 7.8). Nearby at the Taplow to Dorney pipeline site, the only grog sherds belong to LIA wheel-thrown vessels. This assemblage predominantly dates to the EIA, overlapping with the Transition and MIA (McSloy 2012b, Tab. 1).

Assemblages of TLBA or earlier LBA character do contain some sherds tempered with grog, although these are distinct from later LBA and Transitional pots due to their form. This includes Eynsham Abbey (Barclay 2001, Tab. 5), Pingewood (Bradley 1983-5), Former Nurses House, Stone (Last 2001), Yarnton sub-sites and Cassington West (Hey *et al. forthcoming*). This appears to be inherited from the Deverel-Rimbury tradition, but disappears in the later LBA.

Overall, the presence of small quantities of grog can be used to help with the periodisation of sometimes very similar assemblages that date between c.900-500/450 cal BC. The minor use of this temper appears to belong to the Transition, c.800-600/550 cal BC. However, not all Transitional assemblages contain grog; the absence of this cannot be used to argue for a date before or after the Transition.

A1.6 Early Iron Age Pottery

As between the LBA and Transition outside the All Cannings Cross areas, there is considerable ceramic continuity between the Transition and full EIA. Shouldered bowls and jars with LBA ancestry still feature, often with fingertipping decoration on the shoulders and rims. Although these commonly have carinations of sharper angles in the EIA, which Harding (1972, 86-96) saw as the defining feature of full EIA pottery, such angles are not entirely novel so cannot on their own define full EIA assemblages.[5] It seems that assemblages dominated by these sharply carinated vessels date to earlier within the full EIA; evidence will be presented below. A number of new features do also occur. This includes expanded and T-shaped rims, round bodied and tripartite bowls with flaring necks, and jars with high rounded shoulders and straight necks, and slack shouldered jars. Distinctive EIA necks include those that are straight and those that are long and flaring. Shorter, slightly flaring necks are more characteristic of the later LBA and Transition. It will be demonstrated that these new features more often date to the end of the full EIA, although do also occur earlier within the period.

Vessels with these features do not occur in the Transitional assemblages discussed, but are a feature of a number of assemblages with independent dates in the EIA. At Hartshill Copse, a series of modelled radiocarbon dates places the EIA activity to the fifth and into the first half of the fourth centuries cal BC (Bayliss *et al.* 2006, 381-4; Derek Hamilton *pers. comm.*). The pottery here is dominated by round shouldered jars and bowls, often decorated with impressed dots. MIA pottery is absent (Morris 2006, 388), demonstrating the transition to these pottery forms did not occur in this area until after sometime in the first half of the fourth century. Pit 1127 at St Ann's Heath School contained angular bowls alongside a round bodied bowl fragment and a round shouldered jar with a straight neck (Jones 2013b, fig. 2.35.21-9). Charred grain from the pit returned a radiocarbon date of 375-203 cal BC (95.4% confidence; Lambert 2013b, Table 2.28). A date in beginning of this range is to be expected given the numerous third century dates for MIA types (see below). A similar round shouldered, straight necked jar with a slightly expanded rim was found in pit 1270 with an associated radiocarbon date of 750-408 cal BC (95% confidence; Jones 2013b, fig. 2.36; Lambert 2013b, Table 2.28). A date towards the end of this range should be expected. Another useful date from this site is from pit 1189. The two shouldered jars in a calcinated flint fabric found in this pit, decorated with fingertipping on the shoulders, would not look out of place in later LBA or Transitional assemblages. However, grain from this pit produced a radiocarbon date of 549-401 cal BC (81.3% confidence; Jones 2013b, fig. 2.33.2-3; Lambert 2013b, Table 2.28), demonstrating the longevity of such vessels and the problems associated with phasing small assemblages. There is no pottery on the site of certain Transitional or earlier date to suggest that the grain belonged to an earlier phase and is intrusive to this pit.

[5] Sharply angled vessels predating the EIA include examples at Horcott Pit (Edwards 2009b, figs. 26.P25, 27.P31, 32-33), Reading Business Park (Hall 1992, fig. 45.66-7), Petters Sports Field (O'Connell and Needham 1986, fig. 49.97, 121) and Carshalton (Adkins and Needham 1986, fig. 11.372). Outside the Thames Valley these are common at Potterne (e.g. Morris and Gingell 2000, figs 47.14-13, 48.18-26, 49.31, 53, 54, 55) and East Chisenbury (Raymond 2010, fig. 10).

A1.6.1 Later Early Iron Age

As mentioned above, the radiocarbon calibration plateau that hampers our chronological understanding between c.800-400 cal BC yields to a steep curve between c.410-350 cal BC, allowing for the tight calibration of dates falling around 2300 BP (uncal). Interestingly, assemblages of both EIA and MIA character are associated with these tight dates, and the latter end of this range can be suggested as the transition between the two periods.

The recent excavations at Alfred's Castle provide the most important pottery assemblage associated with such dates. The pottery consists almost entirely of EIA forms, including vessels with expanded rims (Brown 2013, fig. 4.2.4, 8) and jars with high rounded shoulders and straight necks (Brown 2013, fig. 4.6.41). A few vessels of MIA character are present. A series of radiocarbon dates have been modelled suggesting activity began between *395-360 cal BC*, and ended *355-325 cal BC (83% porbability;* Hamilton and Davies *forthcoming).* Also discovered in direct association with the pottery and radiocarbon dates were a number of La Tène 1 brooches.

Excavations at Spring Road uncovered four burials in three pits placed around the post-ring of a roundhouse. The inhumations all have radiocarbon dates that are statistically the same, all probably falling within the first half of the fourth century (Marshall *et al.* 2008). The modest pottery assemblage associated with this house is dominated by angular tripartite bowls with flaring necks and slightly expanded rims (Timby 2008, fig. 31.4-9).

Two pits with radiocarbon dates from Mount Farm demonstrate the existence of EIA forms into at least the fourth century. Pits 118 and 328 contained high, round shouldered jars alongside jars with expanded, pie-crust rims (Lambrick 2010, figs. 30.63-70, 31.77-82). Radiocarbon dates obtained from bones in these pits respectively returned dates of 410-40 cal BC and 390-AD 50 (both at 95% confidence; Lambrick 2010, 71). Caution should be taken with these dates as there is a high degree of earlier material in later pits at this site (see 5.6.2; Lambrick 1984). However, none of the sherds from these pits are of definite MIA character, so the dates could prove reliable.

Pit 347 at Watchfield West produced a fragmented pottery assemblage consisting of high shouldered, fingertipped jars (Mudd 1992, Illus. 23). A radiocarbon date of 460-230 cal BC (68% confidence) was obtained from charcoal in the fill (Scull 1992, 133, Table 1). Not directly associated were round bodied bowl sherds, and a sherd with dotted swags between ring stamps of the same type found at Blewburton (Collins 1952-3, fig. 11.6-8; Bradford 1942, fig. 1.24). A La Tène 1 brooch was also found in a ditch nearby (Scull 1992, 148).

A fragmentary EIA assemblage was found with a La Tène 1B brooch in Feature 25 at Heathrow Site K (Canham 1978, 38). The directly associated pottery was dominated by flaring rims, alongside a bipartite angular jar/bowl (Canham 1978, fig. 18.93-101). One jar from the feature has MIA characteristics (Canham 1978, fig.18.93).

A few further assemblages with no independent dating evidence are worth mentioning. The settlement at Sandown Park, Esher (Burchell and Frere 1947) is unusual as MIA activity is absent. The vast majority of EIA settlements continue into the MIA, meaning there are considerable problems with the intentional or unintentional incorporation of old material in deposits. This can confuse our understanding of contemporary assemblages. As this does not occur at Sandown Park, and there are no sherds that are particularly suggestive of a Transitional date, this assemblage is a rare and useful example of an EIA group that is not contaminated with earlier or later pottery.

Pit 3006 at Castle Hill contained a large special deposit consisting of 11kg of pottery and many other objects (Allen *et al.* 2010, 30). Amongst other forms, the assemblage consisted of slack shouldered jars with expanded pie-crust rims and round bodied bowls with flaring necks (Edwards 2010, fig. 3.3). Although there is no independent dating evidence and the possibility of redeposited or intrusive material is quite high given the long duration of activity on the site, this looks like a closed group. It can be considered as a late full EIA assemblage as the jars have lost their angular shoulders common on earlier vessels and are approaching the globular and straight sided jars of the MIA. The round bodied bowls in this assemblage and those discussed above should be considered in a similar light, having similarities to MIA styles. This presence of expanded rims alongside jars with more MIA characteristics also is a feature of the Stanton Harcourt, Site 2 assemblage (Hamlin 1966, fig. 7). Vessels with these features were found with a high, round shouldered jar with a straight neck at Site 1 (Hamlin 1966, fig. 6). Both the subsites appear short-lived, and it is reasonable to assume that each pottery assemblage is largely contemporary. This is similar to Pit 1549 from the Taplow to Dorney Water Pipeline Site. It contained 5.5kg of pottery, consisting of fragments from at least 12 vessels. This included two vessels of MIA character alongside three high, round shouldered jars, and a sherd with a slightly expanded rim (McSloy 2012b, fig. 16).

This demonstrates a degree of internal development through the full EIA. It seems the more sharply angular bowls and jars give way to rounded bodied vessels or those with high rounded shoulders later in the EIA, that then take on distinctive MIA forms. This can be seen at the midden outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps. Nine refitting sherds of a sharply angular, tripartite bowl were found in the lowest layer of the EIA midden, 1413[6] (Edwards 2010, fig. 6.2.62, 160). In the uppermost layer, 1401, sherds of a more rounded profile bowl were found, alongside other EIA and seven MIA sherds (Edwards 2010, fig. 6.2.60, 161). Although a single sherd of a red coated globular bowl was recovered in the lower layer (Edwards 2010, 160), this could be dismissed

[6] Below this layer a radiocarbon date of 900-790 cal BC was taken from a disarticulated bone, in layer 1435/1455/1406. This bone was probably redeposited as the refitting bowl is of earlier EIA or Transitional character rather than dating to the LBA. Furthermore, an iron swan-necked pin was found in the layer below the radiocarbon date, 1456/1431. It is therefore likely that the only LBA activity in this area is represented by the postholes underneath the accumulation. The light occupation layers ending with 1435/1455/1406 probably date to the Transition. The dark midden begins with 1454/1413 late in the Transition or early in the EIA, best dated by the refitting bowl.

as intrusive given the large number of small features dug into the midden that were difficult to discern during excavation (Tim Allen *pers. comm.*). The refitting sherds of the angular bowl are more difficult to dismiss as intrusive. There is also a move from more angular to rounded or slack shouldered vessels from the lower Layer 2 compared to Layer 1 in Rhodes' (1948, fig. 9) excavation of the same midden. Although angular vessels do occur at the early/mid fourth century assemblage at Alfred's Castle, there are a larger number of less sharply carinated vessels (Brown 2013, figs. 4.1-7).

Vessels with expanded rims seem also be more common later in the full EIA. These may be precursors to the incipient bead rims characteristic of MIA pottery, although they are formed by different methods. This differs from Harding's (1972, 75-9) assessment that prefers to see expanded rims as earlier within the period, being influenced by LBA and Halstatt D cauldrons. The assemblage from pit 3006 at Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps is important in the respect of the later dating, and there are quite a large number of expanded rims at Alfred's Castle (Brown 2013, figs. 4.1-7). These occur less in assemblages dominated by sharply angular forms, for example at Sandown Park (Burchell and Frere 1947, figs. 16-19), Wigbalds Farm (Savory 1937, fig. 2) and Allen's Pit (Bradford 1942, figs 8-11). They also occasionally occur in otherwise MIA assemblages, for example at Warrens Field (Miles *et al.* 2007, fig. 3.7.5, 8).

This can also be seen at Gravelly Guy. Parts of the very large assemblage here have been given sub-phases within the EIA and MIA due to changes in fabric. Although expanded rims do occur in the earlier full EIA (EIA II), these seem to occur in higher numbers in the later EIA III group. This latter group is also characterised by a relative dearth of angular forms (Duncan *et al.* 2004, 282-3, figs. 7.3-4).

Pits 118 and 328 from Mount Farm with radiocarbon dates belonging to the fourth century or later have already been discussed; these contain vessels with slack shoulders and expanded rims. Pit 2221 from Milton Hill North contained ovoid jars, one with an expanded rim, alongside two more angular sherds (McSloy 2012a, fig. 13.14-20). Two radiocarbon dates of 395-209 cal BC (95% confidence; or 399-352 cal BC, 52% confidence, and 297-228 cal BC, 41% confidence) and 363-183 cal BC (95% confidence) have been taken from charcoal and grain respectively (Hart *et al.* 2012, Table 1).

A1.7 Middle Iron Age Pottery

A number of EIA assemblages with MIA traits are therefore dated to the fourth century. Dates have already been given for the ovoid jars in Milton Hill North pit 2221, as well as pit 2299 associated with the house at Spring Road that, alongside angular bowls, contained a straight sided vessel of a more MIA type (Timby 2008, fig. 31.5). The Alfred's Castle assemblage contained a few vessels with MIA traits (Brown 2013, figs. 4.2.7-8, 4.5.29, 34). MIA pottery is characterised by simple profiled ovoid, barrel, globular or straight sided jars and bowls. Often these have modest outcurving or everted beaded rims.

Recent excavations at Grazeley Road, Three Mile Cross, provide important information in dating the inception of MIA styles. The settlement was not particularly long lived or intensive, although three phases of the main roundhouse can be discerned (Ford *et al.* 2013). The three radiocarbon dates associated with this house calibrate to 750-409 cal BC, 760-417 cal BC and 515-387 cal BC (all 95% confidence; Ford *et al.* 2013, Table 2.7). This last, latest looking date is stratigraphically the earliest, so we could suggest that all three dates fall in the fifth century where they overlap. The sherds associated with the house all look later EIA and early MIA, some with high rounded shoulders and other of globular profile with outcurving and incipient bead rims (Timby 2013a, fig. 2.9-10). A radiocarbon date from the second roundhouse on the site returned a date of 411-385 (95% confidence). The only pottery illustrated from this house is residual Bronze Age. All dates were taken from charcoal. A probable fifth or very early fourth century date is extremely early for the MIA vessels on this site.

The pottery from Manor Cottage, Bisham, is almost entirely of MIA character, including some LIA forms. The earliest looking illustrated sherd is a high rounded shouldered jar with a slightly outcurving rim (Timby 2013b, fig. 3.10.18). This was found in pit 42, and has two directly associated radiocarbon dates of 421-390 cal BC (72% confidence) and 409-358 cal BC (91% confidence; Pine 2013, Table 3.16). The other two dates from the site calibrate to 419-381 cal BC (89% confidence) and 111 cal BC-AD 26 (93.5% confidence; Pine 2013, Table 3.16). These were taken from the same sample, and given the other two dates the latter is probably incorrect. All determinations were taken from animal bones. This site therefore places the beginning of MIA styles in the decades around c.400 cal BC, earlier than the EIA pottery from a number of sites discussed above. The only other radiocarbon date as early as this and associated with MIA pottery is the date from Farmoor enclosure F.1007. This recalibrates to 797-357 cal BC (93% confidence; Lambrick and Robinson 1979, Table 29). This was taken from unidentified charcoal.

This evidence leaves us with two possibilities. Out first option is that MIA pottery began earlier in the Middle Thames than in the Upper Thames, appearing in the former area in the decades around 400 cal BC, and the latter around 50 years later. This still leaves the early date from Farmoor in the Upper Thames as anomalous. Alternatively, we could dismiss the dates from Manor Cottage, Grazeley Road and Farmoor as too early, and give the transition between EIA

and MIA styles around the middle of the fourth century across the study area. Dismissing dates from Grazeley Road and Farmoor may be acceptable as these were taken from charcoal that was not identified in the reports, and could suffer from the 'old wood' problem. This was suggested for Farmoor in the original report (Otlet 1979, 144). However, dismissing the dates from Manor Cottage is more problematic as these were taken from animal bone. These earlier bones had to have to come from somewhere, and there was no full EIA pottery to suggest activity began in this period. However, further excavations at this site could possibly provide evidence for EIA activity.

The other 46 radiocarbon dates from 22 settlements with MIA pottery all have ranges falling somewhere within the fourth to first centuries cal BC. The chronological development from undecorated to decorated vessels during the MIA that Harding (1972, 97-116) suggested has not been confirmed in the 45 years since his assessment. Indeed, surprisingly few decorated MIA vessels have been discovered in the Thames Valley in the intervening years, despite a large amount of excavation. For example, only very small numbers of MIA sherds found at Yarnton and Gravelly Guy were decorated, despite these both consisting of huge assemblages (Booth 2011, 359-60, fig. 14.5.144-5; Duncan *et al.* 2004, 275-8, tables 7.14-5, figs. 7.5.18, 84-9). Decoration does not seem more common in the later MIA pottery phase at Gravelly Guy compared to the earlier MIA (Duncan *et al.* 2004, 283, figs. 7.4-12). At Warrens Field/Claydon Pike, it was shown that decoration decreased through the MIA. Settlement shifted through three sub-sites through the MIA, demonstrated by changing of fabric percentages, with sandy wares replacing those with calcareous inclusions. The earliest sub-site had some sherds with EIA features and the highest level of decoration; the latest site did not produce any decorated sherds (Jones 2007, 47-8). Decoration on sherds at Ashville is uncommon, despite continuation of activity throughout the MIA and into the LIA. Decorated shreds are present in the middle phases of two stratified MIA sequence at this site, in penannular ditches 13 and 32, suggesting a date possibly in the middle of the MIA (DeRoche 1978, 57). Decoration was restricted to four sherds at Brooklands and perhaps only one at Caesars Camp, Heathrow, despite activity continuing through to the LIA at both sites (Close-Brooks 1977, 41; Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, fig. 29.76, 356-7). This situation is similar at Heathrow T5 (Leivers 2010, 38), Jennets Park (Brown 2009), Latton Lands (Edwards 2009c) Slade Farm (Woodward and Marley 2000, 238) and Totterdown Lane (Timby 2004a, 59): all these sites continued into the LIA. However, pit 1164 at St Ann's Heath School did produce a bowl decorated with incised curvilinear designs alongside a late radiocarbon date of 195-42 cal BC (95% confidence; Jones 2013b, fig. 2.39.75; Lambert *et al.* 2013, Table 2.28). This site has a surprisingly large number of decorated shreds.

There may therefore be social significances in the employment of decoration on MIA vessels. The small numbers of decorated sherds found at the above sites, alongside numerous other sites, can be compared to much larger percentages at virtually all the excavated hillforts in the study area (see 5.8.5; Fig. 5.18-9). This includes Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps (Edwards 2010, 55, fig. 3.5), Blewburton (Harding 1976, 146; Collins 1947, 19-21; Collins 1952-3, 46-7), Uffington

(Brown 2003b), Liddington (Ashton *et al.* 1996, Illus. 17.12.17; 18), Segsbury (Brown 2005) and Danesfield (Barclay 1993). Although at most of these sites only very small assemblages of MIA pottery was discovered, there still seems to be a distinct difference. Other, non-hillfort sites with seemingly higher than average frequency of decorated MIA pottery includes St Ann's Heath School (Jones 2013b), Frilford (Bradford and Goodchild 1939, 15-25) and Southcote (Piggott and Seaby 1937)

The transition from Middle to Late Iron Age pottery is tied up with social, material and cultural changes that define the LIA, and falls out of the remit of this thesis. The LIA sees the introduction of the potter's wheel, and has more links with the continent. Dating this change relies in part on continental chronologies with finer resolution, and can be placed in the decades around 100 BC (Cunliffe 2005, 116-7, 125-38).

A1.8 Iron Age Metalwork

As outlined above, Llyn Fawr metalwork begins around 800 BC, and is equivalent to Hallstatt C on the continent. Hallstatt C becomes Hallstatt D around c.625 BC (O'Connor 2007, 71-3). Although providing absolute dates to British Llyn Fawr metalwork is extremely difficult given the radiocarbon plateau, Needham (2007, 41) argues that the majority of this metalwork probably dates earlier rather than later within the span c.800-625 BC. This is because we are only able to date a single hoard – Sompting, with its later seventh century phalerae - to the end of the period (Needham 2007a, 41; O'Connor 2007, 73). Furthermore, Gündlingen swords are now be regarded as belonging right at the beginning of the Llyn Fawr phase (O'Connor 2007, 71-2; Gerloff 2004, 141-7). Gerloff (2004) argues they originated in Britain –probably the Thames Valley - and date slightly earlier here than the continent.

Hallstatt C/Llyn Fawr and Hallstatt D very roughly correspond respectively to Transitional Decorated PDR pottery and full EIA types. Although the pottery change probably occurs later than the metalwork change, currently this is still the best working hypothesis to use when it is necessary to correlate settlement and unassociated metalwork evidence. As only a very small number of unassociated metal objects certainly from the study area can be placed into Hallstatt D – two daggers from Mortlake and the Weybridge bucket (Jope 1961, 329-30; Gerloff 2010, 372) – the uncertainty in the date of the pottery change from Transitional to EIA and the probable disjoined nature of pottery and metal change is of little significance. The majority of EIA metal is associated with EIA pottery, making it easier to known what material is contemporary.

La Tène I, or La Tène A, begins around 450 BC. Like the shift from Hallstatt C to D, this is dated largely by dendrochronological dates of material on the continent alongside a series of associations including some with well dated Mediterranean imports (Garrow *et al.* 2009, 92). I follow the standard dating of La Tène decoration and features of La Tène I = A and B (450-250 BC); La Tène II = C (250-150 BC); La Tène III = D (150 BC to Roman Conquest; Stead 2006, 2-3).

This is modified with dating evidence of each object category displaying La Tène features as well as consideration of each individual object – primarily brooches (Adams 2013; Hull and Hawkes 1987), daggers (Jope 1961), swords, chapes (Stead 2006) and horse equipment (Palk 1984).

To correlate with pottery and settlements, La Tène I covers the end of the EIA and beginning of the MIA, and La Tène II covers the majority of the rest of the MIA. I have not included any unassociated La Tène III metalwork in the database as this crosses over with LIA pottery, burials and settlements. It is recognised that some La Tène III material excluded is contemporary with final MIA settlement evidence, although most is regarded to belong to the LIA. Recent radiocarbon dating by Garrow *et al.* (2009) give slightly earlier dates than have hitherto been accepted for a some 'Late' Iron Age objects; the full implications of this will take some time to be understood.

A1.9 Summary

Seven or eight chronologically successive ceramic phases can be distinguished between c.1150-100 cal BC. The first are TLBA styles beginning before the LBA, overlapping with MBA Deverel-Rimbury. This ancestry is clear in TLBA assemblages, and they are characterised by barrel, ovoid or straight-sided jars, some with a turned out rim, with very few or no bowls. This shifts around c.1000 cal BC, in line with transitionary Wilburton and Ewart Park metalwork. Jars lose their barrel shape as the widest point of the vessel moves up the body. These often have hook rims. Straight sided vessels become rarer, and bowls begin to feature. In the ninth century as the main period of Ewart Park deposition occurs, the range of forms expands, and includes bowls. Shouldered vessels now dominate, many with out-turning necks. Decoration becomes slightly more common, but is restricted to simple fingertipping of shoulders and rims. The beginning of the eighth century sees the inception of Decorated PDR and Llyn Fawr metalwork. The range of forms expands again. Biconical and more heavily angular bowls help distinguish these assemblages, as well as the rare globular closed jar. Areas with more cultural contact with Wessex have distinctive All Cannings Cross decoration. Large zig-zag motifs or triangles on the shoulder and neck are particularly common. Areas further to the east lack the range of decoration, although fingertipping and fingernail slashes become more common. Assemblages with a small amount of grog temper also appear to date solely to the Transition. There is a slight change in the sixth century around the shift to Ha D metalwork, as assemblages now include flared and straight necked bowls and jars on still generally angular vessels. A more substantial change can be seen in the fifth century with the inception of round-bodied bowls, broadly contemporary with the move to La Tène I metal. Both straight and flaring necks become more common as angularity is lost. High, round-shouldered jars with straight necks are distinctive of the period, sometimes with rather straighter bodies. Expanded, T-shaped or pie-crust rims are also distinctive. A number of these features serve as precursors to MIA styles, beginning around c.350 cal BC, but seemingly earlier in the Middle Thames. These features consist of simple profiled ovoid, barrel globular and straight sided vessels, often with modest proto-bead, everted or outcurving rims. There is no chronological difference with MIA decoration, instead probably having social significance.

Appendix 2: Reconstructing a Roundhouse

A2.1. Introduction

The purpose of this section is to provide a basis with which we can understand the archaeological remains of houses in later prehistory. This is necessary before comparative or social analyses can take place. The interpretation of archaeological features is rarely an unproblematic exercise, although the large number of houses that this study has collated information on means that comments can be made. It is suggested that at most of the houses with a post-ring and a pair of protruding posts (Type 1, mainly dating to the LBA and Transition), the outer wall-line followed the protruding posts: these were not projecting porches. There is some evidence that wall lines on houses without these posts followed the post-ring.

The roundhouse remains by far the most dominate type of recognisable domestic dwelling during the later prehistoric period in the Thames Valley. Possible rectangular houses represented by six or more postholes occur at a number of sites. It is tempting to dismiss these as larger versions of four-post structures that were probably used for storage and are common on settlements throughout the MBA to MIA, although these could have been domestic dwellings or had other functions beyond storage. Given the uncertainty of the function of these rectangular structures, and the interpretation of roundhouses as domestic dwellings, priority has to be given to these latter structures in the interpretation of later prehistoric houses.

Since the acceptance of the widespread presence of roundhouses in this period after Bersu's (1940) persuasive comments, much effort has gone into attempting to understand their construction. Some of the main archaeological features of roundhouses include circular post-rings, defining either the outer wall or inner supports; paired posts outside a main ring defining either a protruding porch or outer wall; internal posts supporting the roof or a first floor, or providing internal divisions; outer walls represented by rows of stakes or narrow slot trenches; and surrounding penannular gullies. Few houses are represented by all of these features, although houses have to have at least one or two to be recognisable. The likelihood of different features occurring depends on the period. For example, protruding paired posts are far more common in the LBA and Transition than the full Iron Age, whereas surrounding gullies occur almost exclusively in the full Iron Age with a strong emphasis on the MIA (see Table 7.2-3; Graphs 7.2-3). The function of these latter features is discussed in 6.2.1. The circular post-rings are generally thought to support the main weight of the roof, usually with the aid of a horizontal ring-beam morticed to these posts (Avery and Close-Brooks 1969; Harding *et al.* 1993; Hawkes *et al.* 2012, 52; Reynolds 1979, Chap. 3). Internal posts may have helped to take some of this weight;[1] about half of the houses at Gravelly Guy have a central posthole.

[1] These take the form of a central square four-post or triangular three-post arrangement in Houses 2 and 4, Groundwell Farm (Figs. 6.30, 57; House IDs 339, 341; Gingell 1982, figs. 6 and 8); Roundhouses 2430 and 2869, Cotswold Community/Shorncote (Figs. 3.14, 16; House IDs 376, 383; Hearne and Adam 1999, figs. 3 and 11); and Structure 5/6/7, Spratsgate Lane (Fig. 6.21; House ID 303; Vallender 2007, fig. 4).

A2.2 Outer Walls

Difficulty comes in the interpretation of the position of the outer wall. This is only incontrovertible where there is a line of stake holes or a thin slot trench that held a wattle wall, or, in the case of most of the houses at Mingies Ditch, the survival of floor levels that show clear lines of debris following the wall line (Figs. 6.1, 20, 36; Allen and Robinson 1993, 37-59). Houses 1, 2 and 4 here and Structure 1 at Weston Wood are the only examples where the main ring of supporting posts - rather than a separate stake lines or slot trenches - can be confidently demonstrated to also represent the wall. At Weston Wood, a wall trench links the postholes of the main supporting ring (Russell 1989, 6). The only instance where we can clearly demonstrate the wall line falling outside of the post-ring on houses without 'porches' or double post-rings is House 3, Mingies Ditch, where the wall line lies c.1m outside the post-ring (Fig. 6.36; Allen and Robinson 1993, 44-6, fig. 19). This may also apply to Farmoor Small Enclosure, Area II, although it has been interpreted that a pair of protruding postholes originally followed the wall slot trench, the southerly posthole being destroyed by F503, the northerly one surviving (F567; Lambrick and Robinson 1979, 12, fig. 4). Roundhouse 4 at Groundwell West has a post-ring outside of a wall-slot trench, suggesting extra support for the eaves and roof outside of the building (Walker *et al.* 2001, fig. 9). Further evidence for outer walls not falling far from the inner-post ring is from the positioning of LBA houses at Aldermaston Wharf; Furze Platt; Yarnton Site 1; and two settlements at Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry - the southern section of the Northern Area (Settlement E), and the Settlement F (Figs. 3.2, 5, 6, 16-7). At these sites, houses are too close together for the wall line to fall much further out from the post-ring. This is also the case at Settlement Area 2 at Cotswold Community (Powell *et al.* 2010, fig. 2.21) and Yarnton Site 1 (Hey *et al. forthcoming*), both dating to the MBA; and Stanwell (O'Connell 1990). This assumes that the houses were contemporary: as the majority of LBA settlements appear single-phased (see 3.2), this interpretation is valid.

Walls are usually archaeologically invisible as they rarely penetrate the subsoil; the examples at Mingies Ditch that did not do this were only recognisable due to exceptional levels of preservation. If the inner post-ring supports the main weight of the roof, the wall would not need to support much weight. It could therefore be relatively insubstantial, and could comprise of coppiced wattle being weaved around stakes driven only into the topsoil (Guilbert 1981). These could be easily destroyed by subsequent ploughing (e.g. Guilbert 1975, 215-7). Alternatively, walls could have been constructed from turf, cob, or other mass techniques that would leave little if any archaeological trace, especially if the site has been ploughed. If wide enough, these could support the weight of the roof of a small house, thereby not needing a post ring. This was demonstrated by experiment at Butser Ancient Farm (Reynolds 1979, 42-4). Even if a ring of posts did support the main weight of the roof, this need not be sunk into the subsoil. There are many ethnographic examples of very substantial wooden houses that do not have posts dug into the ground (e.g. Reynolds 1979, 30; Waterson 1990, 78-83, figs. 77, 83, 86, 88-9). Exceptional

preservation at Staines meant LIA roundhouses could be distinguished by surviving floors, but no postholes or anything directly relating to the superstructure was found, demonstrating that earth-fast posts were never present (Jones and Poulton 1987, 9). The probable use of mass walls and/or ground level posts explains why the majority of MIA houses are represented only by their surrounding gullies, and may render a number of earlier houses archaeologically invisible. This is most problematic in the full EIA before houses were very regularly surrounded by gullies but were often more archaeologically ephemeral than their predecessors. This may lead to a bias in the dataset underrepresenting EIA houses: no doubt a number of houses are unrecognisable in the multi-phased and long-lived settlements that characterise the EIA (see 5.2, 7.1.1). These settlements always contain many postholes that cannot be assigned functions but could easily have been related to houses where the remains are too ephemeral to categorise as such. The use of archaeologically invisible methods and materials seems less popular in the Bronze Age and into the Transition, where houses were constructed in a much more standardised manner with clear, evenly spaced postholes, often accompanied by a pair of posts outside the main ring (Table 7.2-3; Graph 7.2-3; Figs. 3.2-17). The surprisingly regular occurrence of these features at the majority of sites suggests that, unless lost completely, houses of these periods are more likely to be recognised in excavation. The much shorter-lived nature of these settlements also makes it easier to see houses that have been partially destroyed by ploughing as incomplete arcs of postholes are more recognisable when centuries of continual subsequent settlement and digging activity has not confused the remains.

The walls of houses with a post-ring and porch lie either in line with one of these features, or between them.[2] In some cases the load-bearing post-ring may have provided the framework for a wattle wall, for example Structure 802 in enclosure 390A at Yarnton, where the surrounding gully is too close to the house for the wall to be in line with the protruding paired postholes (Fig. 6.3; Hey *et al.* 2011, 150-156). Needham (1990, 115-8, fig. 34) suggests a protruding porch on Structure 2 in his reinterpretation of the Petters Sports Field evidence. The house is defined by two post-rings, the outer presumably representing the wall line, with a long porch protruding from this line. As further clear evidence is lacking for the existence of true protruding porches, it seems likely that in the majority of cases the wall followed the line from the outer paired postholes. Evidence of this is present at a number of roundhouses from all periods under study, and listed in Table A2.1 and Fig. A2.1-2:

[2] See Guilbert (1981) for further discussion of the relationship between outer walls, post-rings and porches, with examples from outside the Thames Valley. These examples show houses with the wall both in line with the outer porch postholes, and between the inner post-ring and outer porch postholes.

LBA	Transition	EIA	MIA
Shorncote Quarry Northern – 1565, 2497, 2000	Cotswold Community – 9830, 14266, 5648	Gravelly Guy – H	Gravelly Guy – E1
Shorncote Quarry F - 1126	Cotswold Community – 5390 (maybe EIA)	St Anns Heath School - 673	Yarnton – 1507
Beedon Manor Farm – Structure 1			Groundwell Farm – House 3
Yarnton Site 1 – 1878			City Farm East – House 1
Yarnton Site 3 – 5815			Warrens Field – Structure 10
Reading Business Park 3100/3000B – 1, 3, 4, 5; 3108, 3109			Brooklands – The House
Reading Business Park, A5 – 3, 14, 15			
Rams Hill – Building B			
Mortimer Hill Farm			
Prospect Park – 750			
Amerden Lane East			

Table A2.1. Houses with postholes or slot trenches in line with protruding postholes outside of the main post-ring

These examples, dating from the LBA, Transition, EIA and MIA, have outer postholes or slot trenches in line with the outer porches postholes. This suggest that the 'porches' are not protruding features, but substantial entranceway posts that are part of the non-loadbearing outer wall. This arrangement was how House A1 was reconstructed at Shearplace, Dorset (Avery and Close-Brooks 1969). This suggests that other houses with a single post-ring and porch could originally have had walls following the line of the outer posts of the 'porch', made from unidentifiable mass or stake construction. The incomplete nature of most of these outer wall lines need not be a problem given the archaeological fragility of these methods of wall construction. As they are largely non-loadbearing, the outer walls do not need to be perfectly circular. This can also be seen at a number of LBA sites outside of the Thames Valley, for example Structures 1, 6, 7, 8 at South Hornchurch (Guttmann *et al.* 2000, figs. 8 and 14); Structures 8 and 13 at Tinney's Lane (Best and Woodward 2012, figs. 6 and 10); and Structure D at Springfield Lyons (Brown and Medlycott 2013, fig. 2.26).

At a number of other houses, the wall lines fall somewhere between the porch postholes and post-ring. This is suggested at Roundhouses B and D at Hartshill Copse (Fig. 3.3; Collared *et al.* 2006, figs. 7 and 8), Roundhouse 1128 at Dunston Park (Fitzpatrick *et al.* 1995, fig. 35), Roundhouses 1590, 10386, 5648, at Cotswold Community/Shorncote (Fig. 3.13; Hearne and Adams 1999; Powell *et al.* 2010, fig. 2.42), Building H at Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 3.12), The Roundhouse at Spring Road (Fig. 6.26; Allen and Kamash 2008, fig. 8), and the Stake Circle at Site A, Noah's Ark Inn (Fig. 6.27; Harding 1987, 7-8). At the last site, the postholes forming the main ring are too insubstantial to support a roof, and very close together suggesting

that this formed the wall (Harding 1987, 7-8). Further load-bearing posts must have existed, but were not sunk into the ground, rendering them archaeologically invisible. A further pair of posts outside the wall line was a slightly protruding porch.

Overall, for houses that consist only of a single post-ring, the wall line may have followed this feature, but may also have been outside of it. For those with a single post-ring and pair of protruding post-holes ('porches'), the wall line probably followed the line from this latter feature; it will be assumed that this is where the wall line falls for the sake of illustration on settlement plans, although realised this is not necessarily the case. However, as this is rarely certain, possible sizes drawn from various aspects of the house will be given.

A2.3 House longevities

Comparison between periods is one of the main investigative methods in this thesis. The longevities of houses and settlements is one of the these, it broadly being argued that abandonment or continuing settlement in the same place was most often a choice influenced by cultural norms, rather than down to functional necessity. The main functional restraint that would restrict purely cultural arguments is the length of time a timber built roundhouse would stay standing. A review of previous estimates by Brück (1999, 149) highlights how diverse these are. Some are very conservative suggesting only around two decades (e.g. Drewett 1982, 343), whereas Francis Pryor suggests they could last almost indefinitely if regularly maintained. Experimental work suggests that a span of a century is by no means too lengthy, although longer periods are perhaps unlikely (Brück 1999, 149). We should not hold any number as a functional 'standard', but recognise that factors affecting the longevity of a house are related to host of cultural considerations.

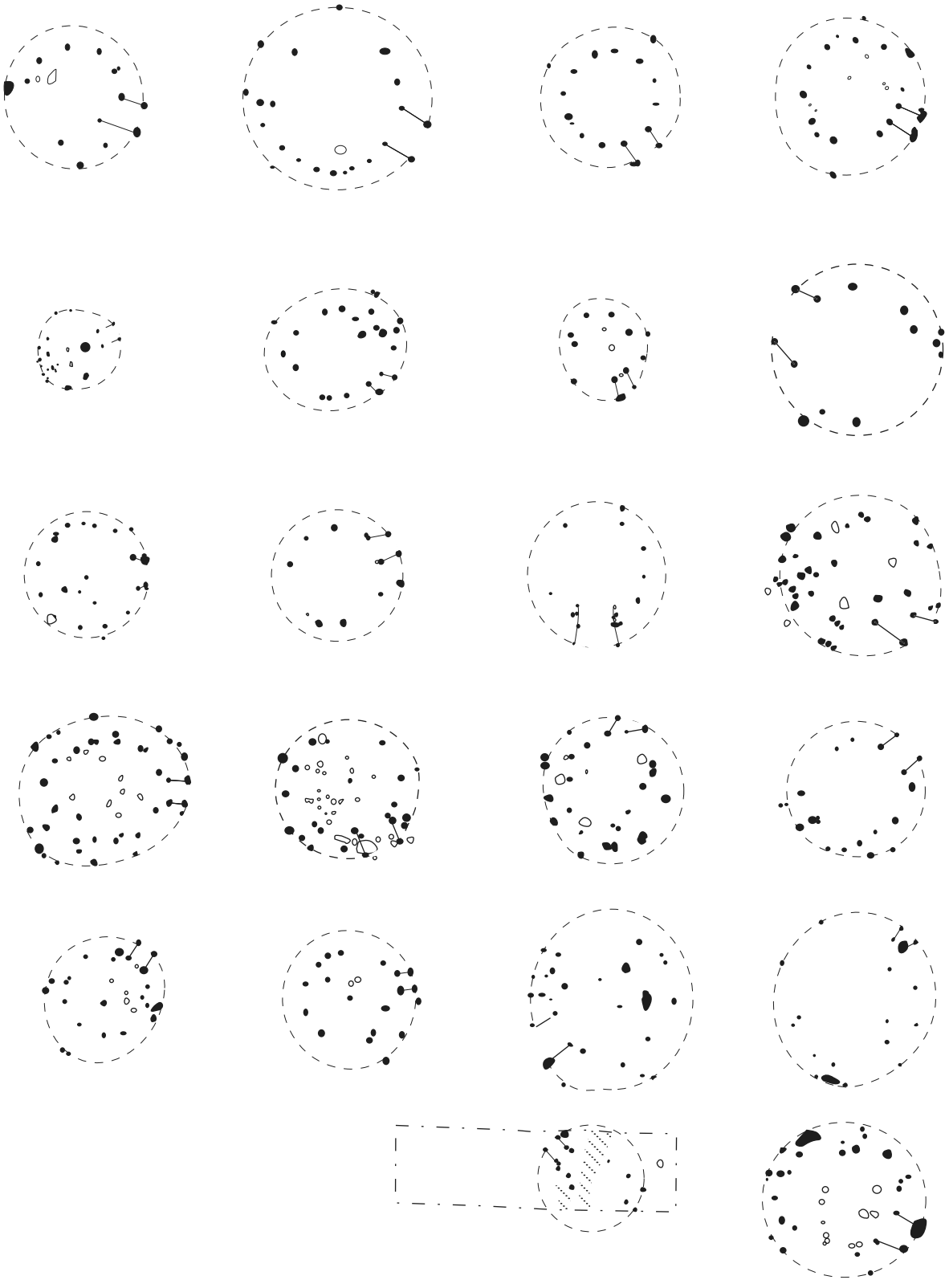

Fig. A2.1. LBA houses with postholes in line with the circumference following the protruding postholes outside of the main post-ring, suggesting this was the position of the outer wall

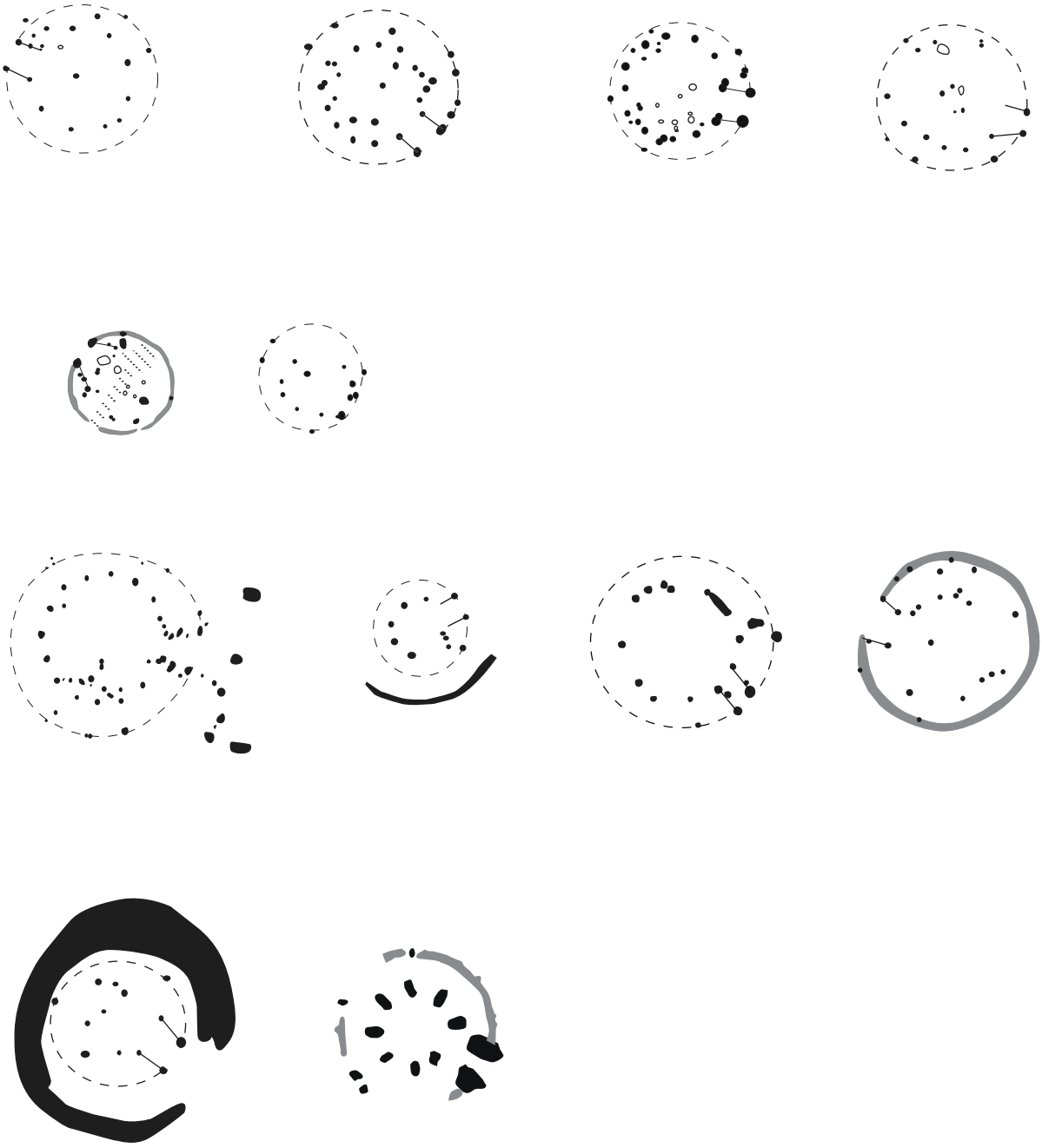

Fig. A2.2. Transitional, EIA and MIA houses with postholes or slot trenches in line with the circumference following the protruding postholes outside of the main post-ring, suggesting this was the position of the outer wall

Figure references for A2.1

Top Row: Shorncote Quarry Northern, Roundhouses 1565, 2497, 2000: after Hearne and Adam 1999
Shorncote Quarry/Cotswold Community, Roundhouse 1126: after Hearne and Heaton 1994

Second Row: Beedon Manor Farm, Structure 1: after Richards 1984. Yarnton Sites 1, 3 and 4c, Roundhouses 1878, 5815 and 16209 (MBA): after *Hey et al. forthcoming*

Third Row: Reading Business Park Area 5, Roundhouses 3, 14, 15: after Moore and Jennings 1992. Reading Business Park 3000/3100B, Roundhouse 1.

Fourth Row: Reading Business Park 3000/3100B, Roundhouses 3, 4, 5, 1308: after Brossler *et al.* 2005

Fifth Row: Reading Business Park 3000/3100B, Roundhouse 1309: after Moore and Jennings 1992. Rams Hill, Building B: after Needham and Ambers 1994. Mortimer Hill Farm: after Taylor 2011. Prospect Park Roundhouse 750: after Andrews and Crockett 1996.

Bottom Right. Amerden Lane East: after Allen *et al. forthcoming*. Hartshill Copse, Roundhouse D: after Collard *et al.* 2006

Figure references for A2.2

Top Row (Transitional houses): Cotswold Community Roundhouses 14266, 9830, 5648, 5390: after Powell *et al.* 2010, figs. 2.34, 38, 40, 42

Second Row (EIA houses): St Ann's Heath School 673: after Lambert 2013b, fig. 2.5;
Gravelly Guy House H: after Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 3.12

Third Row (MIA houses): City Farm East House 1: after Harding 1972, Pl. 26. Gravelly Guy House E1: after Lambrick and Allen 2004, fig. 3.12. Yarnton Structure 1507: after Hey *et al.* 2011, fig. 6.7. Brooklands The House: after Hanworth and Tomalin 1977, fig. 3.

Fourth Row (MIA houses): Warrens Field Structure 10: after Miles *et al.* 2007, fig. 3.11. Groundwell Farm: after Gingell 1982, fig. 7

Appendix 3: Reassessing Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry and Reading Business Park/Green Park

A3.1 Cotswold Community/Shorncote Quarry

Extensive excavations stripping some c.56ha uncovered a series of shifting settlements in the north-west periphery of the Upper Thames Valley. This is published over six separate reports: Hearne and Heaton (1994); Barclay *et al.* (1995); Hearne and Adams (1999); Brossler *et al.* (2002); Powell *et al.* (2010); and Smith *et al.* (2010). The aim of this section is to tie these together and provide an account of the chronological development and characterisation of the landscape (see Figs. 3.10-6; 4.2, 5).

Evidence from this site is fully in accordance with other LBA and Transitional settlements in the study area. In the LBA we see a pattern of small, mostly single-phase settlements shifting around the landscape. This continues the pattern of MBA activity on the site (Powell *et al.* 2010, 34-46). Although the Bronze Age evidence is similar to that dating to the Transition, the later settlements tend have more overlapping features and are larger and more aggregated, suggesting they lasted longer periods of time. Activity is restricted to one area in the EIA; this continues into the MIA. Two other smaller areas of activity date to the MIA. The site has been split into a number of distinct settlements. The Northern Area consists of at least five separate settlements, with possibly two others. Although the degree of truncation is quite high in this area and we should expect more features than were uncovered, the presence of distinct settlements appears to be real as the areas separating them with less activity do not correlate with the localised topographic undulations, suggesting they are not the result of later disturbances (Hearne and Adams 1999, 70).

A3.1.1 Late Bronze Age

Northern Area

The Northern Area has been published by Hearne and Adams (1999). Settlement Area A consists of four post-built roundhouses, ten four-posters, a fence line, three penannular gullies and a scatter of pits and other postholes (Fig. 3.12). Only one group of features overlap: pit 196 crosses the post-ring of roundhouse 1066. The penannular gullies are unusual for the LBA, but not unique in the study area.

Settlement Area B consists of ten roundhouses, four four-posters, an L-shaped fence, and a scatter of pits and other postholes (Fig. 3.13). Three of the roundhouses have ‘porches’ (Type 1), two of which are clearly paired with smaller houses. A large ‘non-porched’ (Type 2) house is also paired with a smaller house. One of the remaining small houses is partly bounded by two gullies. Given the paring of the houses it is possible that we are seeing more than one phase, although this is impossible to demonstrate and no features overlap. These two settlements may be the

latest in the Northern Area of the site as all the decorated pottery (1% of total sherds) and the majority of those tempered with grog came from settlements A and B (Mepham 1999, 62-3). The penannular gullies also suggest a slightly later date: 1550 in particular with its very narrow causeway is very similar to gullies 305 and 1010 from Settlement Area 1, dating to the Transition (Hearne and Heaton 1994, fig. 4; Brossler *et al.* 2002, fig. 5).

Settlement Area C consists of one four-poster and five Type 1 houses and one smaller Type 2 example (Fig. 3.14). Four of the larger houses overlap, and 2485 and 2430 are too close to be contemporary. This area therefore comprises a minimum of three phases, each phase consisting of two houses possible in various permutations. Unfortunately no radiocarbon dates were taken and the material remains are too poor to get a full understanding of the longevity of these phases.

Settlement Area D is less aggregated, with four Type 1 and one single Type 2 house (Fig. 3.15). Also present are four four-posters, a short fence line, pits and a small number of other postholes. No features intercut or overlap.

Settlement Area E is the most extensive and aggregated (Fig. 3.16). Two larger Type 1 houses are present; at least one is paired with a small Type 2 example. Overall there are eight Type 2 roundhouses; two appear to be paired with each other. There are at least five fence lines and an oblong enclosure, alongside c.24 rectangular structures, comprising four or more posts. The only overlapping or intercutting features are pits 2256 and 2133, giving the impression of a relatively large single generational settlement.

Waterhole 1414

An isolated timber lined waterhole (1414) was found on the far eastern periphery of the excavated area (Brossler *et al.* 2002, 45). This is separated by a distance of c.375m from the closest contemporary excavated activity and has a radiocarbon date of 1006-889 cal BC (68.2% probability). This may either be related to an unexcavated settlement to the south, or maybe an isolated well for watering animals in pasture.

Settlement Area F

This area is covered in two publications, and was exposed in Hearne and Heaton's (1994) Trenches 101 and 102, and Powell *et al.* (2010, 54-5) Western Zone of Settlement Area 1. Three Type 1 roundhouses and two Type 2 houses were uncovered, alongside two four-posters, a nine-post square structure, and a scatter of postholes, pits and waterholes, including one (1127) surrounded by postholes (Fig. 3.17). Other activity undoubtedly remains in the unexcavated areas between the trenches, although it is unlikely that the settlement extended beyond this area as features petered out in north-western and easterly fringes of trenches 101 and 102 respectively, and activity was not recorded in trench 103 further to the west. The features recorded by Powell

et al. (2010, 54-5) appear also to represent the eastern and southern edges of the settlement. Although this site was initially dated to the very end of the LBA due to the supposedly high proportion of decorated pottery (25% of vessels; Morris 1994) and the discovery of a mould for a Southern axe, subsequent excavation and re-evaluation of the distribution of this pottery suggests the decorated and grog tempered sherds belongs to the later, Transitional Settlement 1 further to the west. Settlement F instead appears to date to around the tenth century (see Appendix 1.2.3, note A1.2).

A3.1.2 LBA/EIA Transition

Central Eastern Settlement/Settlement Area 1

Information from this settlement is found in three reports (Fig. 4.2). It was exposed in Trench 100 (Hearne and Heaton 1994); the western section of Area 1b (Brossler *et al.* 2002); and the eastern zone of Settlement Area 1 (Powell *et al.* 2010, 50-4). All features appear to belong to the same settlement dating to the Transition. Indeed, following a reassessment of the local pottery sequence (Appendix 1), it seems probable that the majority of the activity phased by Powell *et al.* (2010) to the 'Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age' in fact dates to the Transition. Very little material looks specifically LBA, lacking the ovoid jars that dominate the assemblages of Settlement F and the Northern Area (Morris 1994; Mepham 1999). Instead, the pottery shares many characteristics with key local Transitional assemblages, for example Horcott Pit (Edwards 2009) and Gassons Road (Timby 1998), appearing to be dominated by angular biconical and tripartite jars and bowls decorated with fingernail impressions or incised diagonal lines. Pottery from Cotswold Community furthermore lacks the bowls with flaring necks and/or rounded bodies, expanded rims, and rounded high shouldered jars of local EIA assemblages, for example The Loders (Hingley 1986), Watchfield West (Mudd 1992) and Roughground Farm (Hingley 1993). Fabric proportions are also much more similar to Transitional assemblages, lacking the substantial sand element present in those dating to the EIA. One of the illustrated vessels from Settlement Area 1 also appears to be a narrow mouthed, straight neck globular jar relatively rare in the Thames Valley, dating to the Transition (Appendix 1.4). A single radiocarbon measurement was taken from Settlement 1, dating to the beginning of the LBA (1135-1017 cal BC; 70% probability). This was in a pit associated with a mould of a probable Late palstave. It is likely that this activity is not related to the settlement, but represents an earlier single episode of metalworking slightly away from contemporary settlement, perhaps influenced by MBA L-shaped ditch 14273.

Settlement Area 1 is more aggregated than the LBA settlements to the north and west. There is more evidence this area lasting a longer period of time. A number of features overlap, for example the sequence over fence 14269, suggesting three or four phases. House 17526 is one of these, and this appears to have been of two phases having most of its posts replaced during its lifetime. A four-poster also sits within roundhouse 19862, and a rectangular structure appears to overlap fence 3903. At least nine post-built roundhouses belong to this settlement; two more

might be represented only by semi-circles of postholes, the remainder possibly being truncated. Three are of Type 1, and two of the Type 2 houses appear to be paired, 19862 being significantly larger than 17526. These may, however, overlap, especially if we interpret 19862 as having a pair of protruding entrance posts with the wall-line following this. Ten four-post, one larger rectangular structure and a number of pits and other postholes also belong to the settlement, as well as two penannular gullies.

Settlement Area 2

This unusual settlement deliberately references past human activity. Two long fencelines are aligned on a large EBA barrow, some of the postholes cutting the silted ring ditch. Two paired roundhouses, both of Type 1 but 5648 significantly larger than 6189, with projected diameters of 12.3m and 9m respectively. The larger roundhouse incorporated Late Neolithic and EBA pottery and worked flint in most of its postholes, with a focus on the entrance area (Powell *et al.* 2010, 56, figs. 2.38-9). A number of the postholes have been replaced, suggesting a longevity rarely seen with the earlier roundhouses on the site. Given the dual associated of the barrow and earlier material culture, it is likely that this referencing was purposeful. We cannot be sure if these were recognised as traces of past human activity or were ascribed to mythical or non-human forces.

Pit Alignment

The striking double pit alignment may also deliberately reference an earlier area of special significance, and represents a dramatic departure from the previous impermanent and transitory nature of settlement and relationships to the landscape, shown by the series of short-lived settlements (Fig. 4.5). This feature runs north-south for c.525m, and consists of over 505 pits. Its southerly extent stretches to MBA enclosure 3239, a non-domestic space that enclosed a crouched inhumation burial. No activity appears to date to the LBA; the first time the area is used again is with respect to the pit alignment. This area then accommodates a pair of Roman graves and defines the outer boundary of a Roman settlement. It currently also defines the county boundary between Wiltshire and Gloucestershire (Powell *et al.* 2010, 40).

Although dating evidence for the pit alignment is sparse, stratigraphically it is bracketed by Middle Bronze Age and later Iron Age activity. The limited amount pottery recovered from pits includes some intrusive late Iron Age and Roman material alongside a small amount of Transitional or Early Iron Age pottery (Powell *et al.* 2010, 49-50). Despite the lack of dating evidence, comparison with similar alignments suggests a date in the Transition or possibly Early Iron Age (see 4.6.1).

Settlement Area 4

This area is less aggregated and may represent more than one phase of shifting settlement. The southern area has at least two phases, as roundhouses 9830 and 7209 are too close to be contemporary. The pairing of houses cannot easily be seen in this area, and there appears to be a split between the northern area with a larger number of four-post and larger rectangular structures, and the southern area that is dominated by roundhouses. A further area to the west probably represents a separate settlement, consisting of two roundhouses, two four-posters, fence lines and a series of waterholes.

A3.1.3 Early Iron Age

Settlement Area 3

This area consists of five roundhouses, pits, postholes, a four-poster and numerous fence lines. A MIA roundhouse with a number of contemporary pits was also discovered in the area. A radiocarbon measurement from the pennanular ditch returned a date of 386-206 cal BC (95.4% probability; Powell *et al.* 2010, 74-78). This suggests this area saw continual activity through the EIA to the MIA. The settlement clearly extended beyond the excavated area to the east. However, after a strip of unexcavated land c.35m wide following a modern field boundary, archaeological work continued to the east but did not pick up any further features. The lack of prehistoric features in the large eastern area is stark in comparison to other excavated areas. The exception is three MIA penannular gullies attached to what appears to be a larger enclosure outside of the excavated area. This suggests differential survival of archaeological remains in these two areas, rather than a real lack of activity.

A3.1.4 Undated

Two more roundhouses were discovered away from the other settlement areas. This is Powell *et al.* (2010, 55) Area 1, southern zone. The only pottery comprises a single E/MBA sherd. House 15978 was 15m south of a small ring ditch, probably the remains of an earlier barrow.

A3.1.5 Discussion

There are clear differences between the MBA and LBA settlements on the one hand, and Transitional and EIA settlements on the other. The latter have more extensive remains, and more chronological depth displayed in both the pottery and overlapping features that cannot have been contemporary. The only exception to this is LBA Settlement C which has at least three phases. It is not argued that the more extensive remains reflect larger communities in the later period, but that similar sized groups consisting of an extended family living in a few contemporary roundhouses farming the surrounding landscape were in existence in both the later Bronze Age through to at least the end of the EIA. However, the difference between the

earlier and later settlements is in their longevity and continued attachment to place. The earlier settlements are short-lived, prehaps lasting only few decades and represent a far more accurate 'snap-shot in time'. In contrast, at least some of the later settlements last longer periods of time, their remains the result of the successive building of houses and four-posters carried out by consecutive generations of individuals living and farming the same place in the landscape. This pattern can be seen at many sites in the Thames Valley where multi-generational attachment to place is seen for the first time in the Transition, although single-generational sites are still a feature during this period. There also seems to be a deliberate referencing of past human activity in the Transition not seen in the LBA, and a more permanent relationship with the wider landscape with the creation of the double pit alignment.

There is little evidence for individual houses lasting longer periods of time, as is seen in the EIA and MIA elsewhere. In the LBA, there is possible evidence for rebuilding at houses 1216, and replacement of the protruding 'porch' postholes at houses 2359, 2313 and 2430 (Hearne and Adams 1999, 45-50). 1216 may be slightly later, belonging to Settlement B; the other three are all in Settlement C, consisting of the only overlapping LBA houses. The replacement of posts seems more common in the Transitional houses, visible on houses 17526, 19849, 5648, 4400, 9830, 7209, 7321 and 7721. Postpipes, representing the *in situ* decay of timbers are only mentioned in two roundhouses – 18149 and 7721 (Powell *et al.* 2010, 54, 64) – dating to the LBA and Transition respectively. That postpipes survived in all eight of the postholes representing EBA timber circle 9100 (Powell *et al.* 2010, 27-29) demonstrates the probability of their survival given the taphonomic conditions of the site as well as the likelihood of their mention in the report. This indicates that houses may have been dismantled.

A3.2 Reading Business Park/Green Park

Reading Business Park/Green Park remain a key group of sites for the British LBA. These contrast with the majority of settlements dating to the LBA as they both last considerable lengths of time. Area 3000B/3100 in particular is not representative of wider patterns. However, the succession of roundhouses built over each other seen at Area 5 appears to follow the wider social logic underlying the abandonment of the more common single-generational sites (see 3.2). A reassessment of Area 5 is necessary in light of the discussions of roundhouse reconstruction and pottery dating (Appendix 1, 2).

A3.2.1 Area 5

It has been argued that the outer wall line of LBA houses probably followed the line of the pair of postholes external to the main post-ring, when these are in existence. Although this is how the houses were reconstructed for Area 5 in the initial discussion and figures (Moore and Jennings 1992, 14, figs. 10-1, Table 1), this appears to have not been followed when considering the phasing of the site and the contemporaneity of buildings (Moore and Jennings 1992, figs. 9, 12-

6). This has led to the possibility of buildings being contemporary in the original scheme when in fact they would have overlapped. For example, the following buildings have been paired that could not have been standing contemporaneously: 14 and 17; 2 and 18; 19 and 20 (Moore and Jennings 1992, 25-6, fig. 12). If we reconstruct the outer wall as following the 'porch' postholes, a minimum of eight phases can be recognised. Following any stratigraphic and material phasing and working on the premise that each phase is as similar as possible to each other, a new scheme is proposed (Table A3.1):

Phase 1	Phase 2	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5	Phase 6	Phase 7	Phase 8
7	7a	11	12	(8a)	19	15	4
8 (8a?)	9	18	17	3	5	16	14
10	6	20	2	1		13	

Table A3.1. Roundhouses belonging to each proposed phase at Reading Business Park Area 5

All but two phases consist of three houses (Figs. 3.7-9). Each phase is not strictly sequential, but relationships occur between buildings 7 and 7a; 7a and 11; 11 and 12 – giving a basis for the first four phases – as well as between 3 and 5; and 8 and 8a. The current scheme therefore leaves 8a not as a direct replacement of 8: building 8/8a seems too close to be contemporary with 9, so therefore maybe a subphase of phase 1. Alternatively, 8 and 8a might be entirely separate buildings only fortuitously sharing a very similar position. Eight phases also leaves a single four-poster per phase.

This scheme also follows an increasingly recognisable pattern of LBA settlement layout (see 3.2). Each phase has a mix of houses with 'porches' (Type 1) and those defined only by a post-ring (Type 2). Clear pairing of houses can be seen in most of the phases. Further features probably lay undiscovered to the E of the excavated area, although this is less likely to the W: the site lay on a discrete gravel island which was stripped to its westerly boundaries, and a sondage in this direction did not uncover any features (Moore and Jennings 1992, 14).

Estimating the longevity of the settlement has to be based on pottery dating alone. Luckily, the local LBA and Transitional pottery sequence is relatively well understood (Morris 2013a and b; Appendix 1.2; Fig. A.1). The assemblage from Area 5 is lacking a substantial element of earliest TLBA styles, consisting of straight-sided jars and more closed ovoid jars present at other areas of Reading Business Park/Green Park and dateable to this period at other sites (e.g. Barclay 2001, figs. 14-5; Bradley 1983-5, figs. 7-9; Framework Archaeology 2010, fig. 3.47; Gaffney 1991-3, fig. 6; Hall 1992, fig. 49; Laidlaw 2011, fig. 9; Morris 2005, figs. 4.8-9; 2013b, 2.17-9). Instead, the assemblage is dominated by ovoid and hooked rim jars with the widest point higher on the body. Bowls are also present, consisting of about 10% of the assemblage (Hall 1992, Table 15). Decoration is entirely restricted to fingertip or nail marks on the rim and shoulder; jar 66 is the most highly decorated, with fingernail slashes in these areas. This came from pit 247, along with three other decorated shouldered jars. These are among the very few illustrated vessels

that could belong to the ninth century; the assemblage in general lacks this later element, present for example at Area 3100 and datable to the ninth century elsewhere (Hall 1992, figs. 48, 50; Longley 1991, figs. 76-88; Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993, figs. 25-36). It is therefore proposed that activity at Area 5 belongs to a reasonably restricted period in the middle of the LBA, between c.1075-875 cal BC. This gives around 200 years for eight phases, allowing for c.25 years per phase.

We can therefore see a similar pattern of the relatively frequent destruction of the built environment at Reading Business Park Area 5 than is present at the more common single-generational sites. A taboo appears to have existed in the LBA preventing individuals from living in the same houses as their predecessors. For the majority of sites, like Cotswold Community/ Shorncote Quarry, this extended to the wider settlement area and constituted the abandonment of the settlement. For Area 5, however, this manifested in the destruction of the house, probably at the death of a significant member of the household and the fracturing of that group, but subsequent generations remained in the same settlement space. This may have been deemed appropriate if personhood was thought to extend into houses: destruction of this part of the person should accompany the end of the social person following death. Not wishing to keep these material representations of a person after death indicates they did not continue to remain part of the living community. This destruction of the built environment at a rate in excess of both functional necessity and Iron Age practice is repeated elsewhere in the LBA (see 3.2-6).

A3.2.2 Area 3100/3000B

It is within this context that Area 3100/3000B can be considered. This settlement now appears highly unusual in that the pottery suggests activity spanning the entire LBA and perhaps into the eighth century, but lacks the frequent structural renewal of Area 5 and other sites. There is neither a large number of houses, nor a long succession of overlapping features: the longest sequence appears to be three or four phases including houses 3 and 4, rectangular structures 6, 11 and 19, and pit 1551 (Brossler *et al.* 2005, fig. 3.9). Excavation appears to have fully uncovered one concentration of houses; more certainly appear to have existed to the south, but further activity is less likely in the other directions. Given the very close proximity to single generational settlements or those that witness frequent destruction of the built environment (3.2; Map 3.1), this is not a localised pattern of long-term settlement. No other LBA settlement has such longevity: apart from these two areas at Reading the rest categorised as long-term are enclosures or island middens (3.2). This may suggest that activity in Area 3100/3000B was not continual throughout the c.350 years evidenced by the pottery, but was intermittent and characterised by successive abandonments and reoccupations, perhaps structured around the burnt mound. This interpretation would be more fitting with the rest of the LBA settlement evidence. Alternatively, this settlement may be seen as somewhat anomalous, conforming more to characteristically Iron Age settlement patterns.

Appendix 4: Dating Field Systems

This section reviews the dating evidence for later prehistoric field systems. Little evidence can be found for systems created in the MBA to have continued much after c.1000 cal BC, and very few were built in the early first millennium BC. Instead it appears that this way of organising large swathes of landscape were abandoned in the first half of the LBA.

A4.1 Field Systems on the Lambourn Downs

The excavated evidence for field systems on the Lambourn Downs indicates that these are primarily of Roman date. The most extensive project excavated 21 trenches across 13 lynchets in eight areas across the Downs. Of the 13 lynchets, nine had Roman pottery in primary levels, demonstrating they are very unlikely to be earlier than this date. One more lynchet was probably Roman, and another possibly. Only one area – **Eastbury Down** – suggested Roman reuse of earlier fields: the stratigraphy and mollascan evidence elsewhere suggests a single, Roman phase of use (Bowden *et al.* 1991-3; Ford *et al.* 1988; 1990). Although it is possible that pre-existing fields were reused and altered in the Roman period, evidence for this is currently limited.

Other excavations generally support this conclusion. Fieldwalking and a series of trenches across lynchets at **Tower Hill** again suggest a LIA or Early Roman date of use (Miles *et al.* 2003, 151-8). Extensive survey on various areas of the Downs for the **Maddle Farm** project found c.7750 sherds of Roman pottery, but only c.250 sherds of prehistoric pot, excluding the excavated settlement at Weathercock Hill (Gaffney and Tingle 1989). This again points to Roman rather than later Bronze Age dates for the field systems. Excavations at **Streatley Warren** also demonstrated this (Richards 1986-90, 38-40): although no finds came from the primary fill of a ditch below a lynchet, pottery from the secondary fill was MIA or LIA in date. Finds from the lychet itself was dominated by LIA and Early Roman pottery, although some Later Bronze Age sherds were also present.

A banjo enclosure located in an area of extensive field systems at **Letcombe Bowers** has been subject to a geophysical survey. One of the lynchet banks crosses the entrance of the enclosure, demonstrating that it built up after the banjo enclosure fell out of use (Levick 2015, 114). A date in the LIA or Roman period is therefore likely for this system.

At **Rams Hill**, lynchets overlay the LBA enclosure ditch in several places; LIA and Roman finds were discovered in these features (Bradley and Ellison 1975, 16, 27, 65-7). Two ditches were excavated and a number of associated lynchets were observed during work at **Waylands Smithy** (Whittle 1991, 81-5). Ditch 400 truncated the western ditch of the long barrow. Transitional pottery was found in its fills. This was recut, and Roman pottery found in its upper fills. Another field ditch was excavated that dated to the Roman period. The lynchets are associated with the Roman ditches.

A field system is present around the hillfort of **Perborough Castle**. A lynchet from the west of the hillfort passes underneath the rampart, and is therefore earlier than the hillfort, possibly dating to the later Bronze Age. However, one of the lynchets belonging to the more extensive system to the north clearly respects the rampart, postdating it (Payne *et al.* 2006, 41; Wood and Hardy 1962, 57-9, fig. 2). The hillfort is unexcavated, although EIA sherds have been found eroding from the ramparts, and MIA sherds in the interior (Wood and Hardy 1962, 56-7).

The best excavated evidence for MBA field systems on the chalk is at **Lollingdon Hill,** on the eastern edge of the Downs (Hart *et al.* 2012, 209-11). Here, three small pits dated to the MBA were found 130m to the north-west of a single ditch whose lowest fill contained two fragments of a Neolithic axe, an EBA arrowhead and MBA pottery. This was on exactly the same alignment to a series of Late Roman coaxial ditches, and the excavators suggest that the MBA ditch remained visible into the Late Roman period and influenced the later system (Hart *et al.* 2012, 211). Alternatively, it is possible all ditches belong to the later period, with the 20m exposed of the proposed 'MBA' example containing only redisposed finds. This is particularly likely given the earlier prehistoric objects also found in the lowest fills.

A4.2 Field Systems on the Gravels

The lack of MBA field systems on the Downs is quite different to the evidence from some areas of the gravel terraces. In the Upper Thames, fields dating to the Later Bronze Age have been found below Oxford. These have been given termed the 'Wallingford Group' by Yates (2007, 37-9, Tab. 5.1). Above this group, landscape division instead begins Transition, continuing to a smaller degree into the EIA and MIA. However, the construction of large scale field systems first occurred in the LIA and Roman periods, shown for example at Cleveland Farm (Powell *et al.* 2008); Cotswold Community (Powell *et al.* 2010); Thornhill Farm (Jennings *et al*. 2004); Totterdown Lane (Pine and Preston 2004) and Claydon Pike (Miles *et al.* 2007). The lack of documented Bronze Age field systems is in spite of a succession of large developer funded excavations. Unenclosed MBA and LBA settlements are known in the region.

A4.2.1 The Wallingford Group

Understanding the exact nature of activity at **Eight Acre Field, Radley**, is difficult due to the lack of dating evidence in key features (Mudd 1995). The field system appears to have been established in the earlier MBA. Although the main ditch 133/167 did not contain dating evidence, it terminates at a waterhole whose primary fill produced oak timber, radiocarbon dated to 1680-1420 cal BC (95% confidence). Aligned at right angles but leaving a gap between the features is another ditch, 119. This contained an E/MBA sherd. Parallel to this were two other ditches and a fence line, 163/191/194, meeting 133/167 at the gap in its length, suggesting contemporaneity. Parallel to 133/167, 50m to the W, the corner of a rectilinear double ditched enclosure was exposed. No finds were discovered, although it is likely this also dates to the MBA given its

position and with comparison to other sites.[1] A roundhouse gully and a waterhole produced the only direct LBA evidence. The gully contained a hooked rim jar dating to the early or middle LBA, and the waterhole with a notched oak log with a radiocarbon date of 1020-800 cal BC (95% confidence). A complete EIA bowl was then placed with a cattle skull and horse tibia in the second fill. Pottery of a similar date was found in subsequent fills. The rest of the ditches belonging to this system contained either a small number of EIA sherds or no dating evidence.

The fields appear therefore to have been constructed in the MBA, adjacent to a possible settlement enclosure. A roundhouse appears to have been constructed in the LBA, and a waterhole possibly dug. The roundhouse defined only by a gully is unusual from the LBA, but not unknown.[2] The EIA is the next phase clearly represented. Although it is possible that the field system could have been used throughout from the LBA to EIA, the evidence is slight, coming mainly from waterhole 156. To accept this continuity and the radiocarbon date as accurately dating the deposition of the wood, the wood would have to have been lying in waterlogged conditions at the base of a shallow waterhole for some 400 years, with silt being regularly cleared from just above without disturbing the deposit. Although this is possible, it might perhaps be better to accept a later date for the deposition of the log. The possibility of this sample suffering significantly from the old wood problem is slight as the log is likely to have come from a branch rather than the truck and retains bark (Taylor 1995). As there is no clear Transitional evidence and that from 156 is uncertain, the fields could have been abandoned in the LBA, and remodified some c.350 years later in the EIA.

A curving ditch and waterhole was uncovered at **Manor Farm, Drayton** (Challinor *et al.* 2003). The pottery primarily dates to the MBA. At **Mount Farm**, the corner of a double-ditched field converges on the edge of a round barrow, and is clearly aligned to it (Lambrick 2010). The barrow was used in the later EBA and MBA (Lambrick 2010, 27-32). The only direct dating evidence for the ditches are an EBA arrowhead, although this may have been redeposited. A large waterhole was cut into the silted up ring ditch, with sapwood from the basal fill producing a radiocarbon date of 1440-1000 cal BC (95% confidence). Another radiocarbon date of 1260-830 cal BC (95% confidence) was taken from sapwood in a fill slightly higher (Lambrick 2010, 34). The use of the waterhole is probably contemporary with the field, both beginning in the MBA and possibly continuing into the beginning of the LBA, although no plain PDR pottery was discovered during any of the excavations. The next phase of activity consists of ploughing over the field ditches, barrow and waterhole (Lambrick 2010, 54-6). Clearly the field system had been abandoned some

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1 Around the same number of enclosed, usually rectilinear, MBA sites are known as unenclosed sites. LBA enclosed sites are known, but are less common than unenclosed sites, and tend to be suboval. MBA enclosed settlements include: Latton Lands (Stansbie and Laws 2004); Corporation Farm (Barclay *et al.* 2003); Weir Bank Stud Farm (Barnes and Cleal 1995); and numerous examples from Heathrow T5 (Framework Archaeology 2010). Both enclosed and unenclosed sites were found at Cotswold Community (Powell *et al.* 2010). A LBA rectilinear enclosure is known from Reading Business Park, Area 7000 (Moore and Jennings 1992).

2 Other possible examples are House IDs 32, 392-3

time before this phase, especially as the direction of the ard marks do not follow the orientation of the earlier fields. The ploughing can be dated to the Transition or EIA, as Transitional material was found nearby and the ploughsoil was cut by EIA pits. The best date for the abandonment of the MBA fields is therefore in the LBA.

Extensive excavations at **Appleford Sidings** uncovered a coaxial field system dating exclusively to the MBA (Booth and Simmonds 2009). This included ditched trackways, waterholes and more isolated enclosures. The sequence of recutting in some of the waterholes suggests the system was in use for some time, although only five sherds of possible plain PDR was found. This system appears therefore to have been abandoned towards the end of the MBA.

Another coaxial system was found 3km to the south-east at **Wallingford Road** (Ruben and Ford 1992). This was on a similar alignment to Appleford Sidings. Collared Urn and Deverel-Rimbury pottery was recovered from most of the ditches. Again no PDR was found, demonstrating the site began in the early MBA, and probably abandoned later in the MBA.

A linear boundary of proportions appropriate to a field ditch was sectioned at **Fullamoor Farm** (Boyle *et al.* 1993). Dating evidence is inconclusive, although it seems to be contemporary with a ground surface containing two pottery sherds, one with grog, sand and organic temper, the other of angular quartzite, so may predate the MBA.

At **Bradford's Brook**, possible field ditches on the same alignment were exposed in two areas 300m apart (Boyle and Cromarty 2006). The pair to the north were perpendicular, and to the south consist of two parallel ditches near a post-built roundhouse. Dating evidence in both areas is meagre, although small amounts of MBA/LBA and Transitional pottery were found. Pit 50 inside the parallel ditches to the south contained a decorated Transitional or late LBA jar. As a whole, the assemblage could date to the late LBA, although a Transitional date is more satisfactory.

30km to the north-east of the 'Wallingford Group' at the **former nurses home at Stone**, two paired ditches were found perpendicular to another ditch. Adjacent was a section of curved gully (Gibson 2001). These features lie 80m to the east of a possible roundhouse and series of pits. The intervening area has not been excavated. The settlement is short-lived, and all associated pottery is of early LBA date.

Two parallel ditches were found at **Northfield Farm** (Gray 1977). The only dating evidence is that they are stratigraphically earlier than a series of Roman field enclosures.

A4.2.2 Lower Kennet Valley

A number of field systems have been excavated in the lower Kennet valley. At **Reading Business Park/Green Park and Moores Farm**, at least one system covering c.2x2km has been exposed in a number of excavations (Brossler *et al.* 2005; 2013; Moore and Jennings 1992). Other excavations around the site show areas where these fields do not exist (Brossler *et al.* 2013, fig. 6.3). The majority follow a NNE-SSW axis, although at Moores Farm, c.850m to the SW of nearest other excavated NNE-SSW fields, this shifts to N-S orientation. Despite this, all are probably part of the same system built in a piecemeal fashion over an extended period of time in the MBA (Brossler *et al.* 2013, 123). There is evidence of recutting, slight changes in the alignment and organisation of the fields at Moores Farm, Area 3100/3000B and Area 5000, although these changes are not seen at Green Park Phase 3. Associated pottery is of only Deverel-Rimbury and TLBA styles, and an extensive modelled radiocarbon programme at Green Park Phase 3 demonstrates that the field system did not continue past the first few decades of the LBA at the latest. The field system appears to have been abandoned during this time. The settlement in Area 3100/3000B was built over the MBA fields, and this began early in the LBA, although previous fields did have some influence over the arrangement of the settlement (Brossler *et al.* 2005, 13-46; Morris 2005, 78-80). There are many known settlements in the local area dating throughout the LBA, none of which are associated with either MBA or newly constructed field systems (Brossler *et al.* 2013, 123-6).

The next field system downstream is at **Weir Bank Stud Farm, Bray** (Barnes and Cleal 1995). Here a MBA coaxial system was discovered that included at least one enclosed settlement area. There is some recutting evident in the ditches, although no certain LBA pottery was found (Cleal 1995). The only possible LBA evidence is a radiocarbon date of 1260-261 cal BC (95% confidence), taken from an animal bone in the upper fill of one of the outlying ditches. This ditch also contained MBA material. This date therefore only suggests some LBA or Iron Age activity in the general vicinity.

Excavations at **Eton Rowing Course** uncovered two areas of MBA field systems (Allen *et al. forthcoming*). In Areas 20 and 24, a broadly coaxial system with a droveway could be followed by cropmarks outside of the excavated area. MBA pottery and five MBA radiocarbon dates are associated with the fields. Although this seems to have been constructed in multiple phases and has some recutting, there was virtually no LBA material to suggest continuation past the MBA. A MIA or LIA ditch cuts across the system at a different angle, suggesting the system had been abandoned some time before. 600m to the SW a droveway and the edge of more fields on a similar alignment were discovered at Area 18, Site F East.

On the other side of a palaeochannel, remnants of another coaxial system were found at **Lake End Road West**. This was on the same alignment to a later system established at the end of the EIA that lasted through to the Roman period. No LBA or Transitional material was discovered to

provide direct evidence for continued use of the fields between the MBA and end of the EIA. The similar alignments could be explained by influence of the palaeochannel in both periods.

600m to the NW, a series of ditches at **Marsh Lane East** seem to be related to fields and a droveway. Multiple phases can be discerned. Two radiocarbon dates were taken from charred grain and glume from alluvium covering a middle phase of these ditches. These returned dates of 1530-1400 cal BC and 1690-1500 cal BC (95% confidence). This suggests the fields were established in the EBA, although it is possible that the plant material was redeposited. A group of four cremations were placed in pits cutting one of these ditches: one has a radiocarbon date of 1010-810 cal BC (95% confidence).

Taken together, the evidence from the extensive excavations at Eton Rowing Course and the Flood Alleviation Channel tells of a divided and controlled landscape in the MBA. Cremated human remains were placed within these field systems. This was accompanied by a number of small settlements. This seems to have been largely abandoned in the LBA: there is no direct evidence for the continued use of fields, and in general occupation was sparse. Set against this, the Thames between Dorney and Datchet is one of the most prolific areas of metalwork finds in both the Wilburton and Ewart Park periods.

A4.3 West of London

A4.3.1 Heathrow Terminal 5

Radiocarbon evidence

The most extensive field systems in the study area are the group on the gravels in and around Heathrow. Those excavated in advance of the construction of **Terminal 5** are the most important due to the size of the area opened and the considerable radiocarbon programme undertaken (Framework Archaeology 2010). Approximately 75ha was investigated and 68 radiocarbon dates taken relating to the MBA and LBA field system and settlement. Given the placement of some of the trenches, fields in the same system can be demonstrated to exist over from a much larger area. The radiocarbon dates were modelled using Bayesian statistics (Healy *et al*. 2010). Aggregate systems were found to the west of the area at Farmsteads 1-4, and possibly 5, 11 and 12. The other five Farmsteads are coaxial.

This division of this extensive landscape began with the aggregate system of Farmstead 3. Modelled dates suggesting this began in the 15th century cal BC, and ended sometime between 1390-1150 cal BC *(95% probability;* Healy *et al.* 2010, 12-8), although earlier outlying dates might push the beginning to the 16th century cal BC (Framework Archaeology 2010, 137).

The next farmstead to have been constructed seems to have been coaxial Farmstead 8. An early acceptable date falls at the end of the 16th century cal BC. Another date from an associated waterhole of 1210-980 cal BC (95% confidence) demonstrates a possible long use of this farmstead (Framework Archaeology 2010, 137, 182; Healy *et al.* 2010, 20-1).

The other farmsteads were constructed during the early MBA, falling out of use towards the end of the MBA or early in the LBA (Healy *et al.* 2010, 18-23). As a whole, the radiocarbon evidence for continued use of the field systems past the first few decades of the first millennium cal BC is slight. The modelled dates estimates that complex began between 1650-1480 cal BC *(95% probability)*, probably 1590-1510 cal BC *(68% probability)*, and ended between 1100-900 cal BC *(95% probability)*, probably 1060-960 cal BC *(68% probability)*. The overall duration is estimated from 410-620 years *(95% probability)*, probably 460-550 years *(68% probability;* Healy *et al.* 2010, 22). Therefore the radiocarbon evidence suggests that this huge divided landscape was abandoned early in the LBA, before Ewart Park metalwork was in circulation. Only three radiocarbon dates fall in the first half of the first millennium BC: these are Wk-11712 (feature and context 803009) and Wk-9373 from a waterhole cutting into a trackway ditch near Farmstead 4 (feature 125233, context 125228). HAR-4823 was taken from earlier excavations from a waterhole at Stanwell (O'Connell 1990, 53). These are all plateau dates, spanning the Transition and EIA.

Pottery evidence

This radiocarbon evidence does not seem to explain the substantial PDR/EIA pottery assemblage that was recovered. A significant break in occupation occurred sometime in the first half of the first millennium BC as the MIA settlement is built on top of and largely does not respect the field system. Dating this abandonment remains key, although small amounts of activity occurred during all intervening periods. The pottery dating between c.1150-350 cal BC has not been explicitly separated in the report, and grouped together as 'PDR'. However, comments can still be made on where emphases lie in the assemblage (Leivers 2010, 27-37).

Although Leivers (2010, 36-7) initially argues that there is little diagnostic full EIA pottery, he concedes that it is likely that more pottery dates to this period than was allowed in the report. This interpretation is largely due to a lack of fineware bowls with tall necks, found in some quantities at nearby EIA Heathrow Site K (Canham 1978). However, in the illustrated examples, other bowls and jars of specific EIA characteristics feature heavily. The assemblages from nearby St Ann's Heath School (Jones 2013b) and Sandown Park (Burchell and Frere 1947) can be added to the discussion of the T5 pottery. Sandown Park is particularly useful as seems to date solely to the EIA and contains the base of a sharply carinated omphalos based cup (Burchell and Frere 1947, fig. 16.8). Two examples of this vessel were found at T5, but they otherwise have few parallels (Framework Archaeology 2010, 189; other examples have been found at Long Wittenham: Savory 1937, fig. 2.10, 23, 24).

Jars forms that appear to date solely to the EIA include those with straight necks and high rounded shoulders or slack shoulders (Appendix 1.6). T5 examples include nos. 68, 93 and 94. These are present at Sandown Park (Burchell and Frere 1947, figs. 17.17-8, 18.29, 19.44-6) and Heathrow Site K (Canham 1978, figs. 14.20, 14.35, 1.45, 15.41, 15.42-3, 17.65) in some numbers, and do not occur at Runnymede, Caesars Camp or other LBA assemblages, where a slighting flaring neck is preferred on similar jars. Well dated to the end of the EIA are examples from pits 1127 and 1270 at St. Ann's Heath School, although these are a more extreme type (Jones 2013b, fig.2.35.29, 2.36). These do occur in the Petters assemblages, demonstrating their beginnings after the Transition. Further afield, round shouldered jars with straight necks are well dated to the EIA at Alfred's Castle, Mount Farm, Castle Hill and Watchfield.

Alongside the tall necked bowls, other bowls characteristic of the EIA include those with flaring necks, either with rounded shoulders or of more tripartite angular form. At T5 these include nos. 73, 74, 75, 79, 80, 82 and 100. These occur locally at Sandown Park (Burchell and Frere 1947, figs. 16.1, 16.4, 18.30), St. Ann's Heath School associated with a late EIA radiocarbon date (Jones 2013b, figs. 2.35.21-3) and Heathrow Site K (Canham 1978, figs. 14.30, 17.59, 17.62, 18.85-6).

Half of the 40 illustrated vessels are either of these distinct EIA forms, or directly associated with them. A further five vessels – 60, 63, 71, 72 and 86 – are from pit 125233 and directly associated with a radiocarbon date of 840-480 cal BC (95% probability) or 810-550 (68% probability; Wk-9373; Framework Archaeology 2010, 194, fig. 3.48). These all find very good parallels in the latest pottery at Runnymede (Needham and Spence 1996, figs. 71-82). In particular, T5 no.86 is a rare form of closed jar, and can be paralleled at late Runnymede (Needham and Spence 1996, fig. 71.P711). Vessels 71 and 60 also find particularly close parallels with vessels P.811 and P.771 respectively at late Runnymede. This suggests a late Transitional date to this pit, perhaps in the seventh or early sixth century, concurring with the radiocarbon date.

Vessels nos. 77, 81, 88 and 89 were found in the basal fill of waterhole 517310 with a rope producing a radiocarbon date of 1160-980 cal BC (93% probability; Framework Archaeology 2010, 192-194, fig 3.47). These jars fit well into the regional early LBA scheme. The 13 remaining illustrated vessels can all fit comfortably within either the early LBA or EIA phases of the proposed chronological pottery sequence, although many could be later LBA or Transitional (Appendix 1). The illustrated vessels therefore suggest that there are two chronological emphases of the pottery dated to 1150-350 cal BC. One of these is within the end of the span of the use of the field systems as dated by radiocarbon to c.1150-1000 cal BC; the next is in the EIA. Support for this interpretation can be found when looking at the assemblage as a whole. There is less decoration in the T5 assemblage than at Runnymede and Petters Sports Field (Leivers 2010, 35): both these sites begin in the ninth century and continue into the Transition. Similar percentages of decorated jars are recorded at Caesars Camp and Petters, again of late LBA date (Grimes and

Close-Brooks 1993, 355). Locally and regionally decoration increases in the ninth century, and again in the eighth. This is further evidence that the emphasis on the T5 assemblage was not between c.900-600 BC.

Overall, the pottery evidence agrees with the extensive radiocarbon evidence that the abandonment of the field system occurred in the decades around c.1000 cal BC. Multiple waterholes cutting Trackway 6 also help to show this abandonment of the earlier structured landscape (Framework Archaeology 2010, figs. 3.51-2). Activity continued only on a small scale in the following c.400 years. We might expect a pattern of single-generational settlements moving around the landscape within this time, the details of which are largely archaeologically invisible. There are problems locating post-built roundhouses throughout the later prehistoric archaeology at the site. It was suggested in the report that a midden may have been dispersed in the central part of excavated area (Framework Archaeology 2010, 194). This would help to explain the comparatively large amount of PDR pottery despite the lack of radiocarbon dates.

Activity increased in the EIA, and in turn gave way to the more nucleated MIA settlement. The multi-phased EIA waterhole 103038/103040/136194/136217 sits within a group of later MIA waterholes in the settlement (Framework Archaeology 2010, fig. 4.19), demonstrating early beginnings of the settlement.

A4.3.2 Other West of London Sites

Immediately to the south of the T5 excavations, part of a field system was uncovered at **Stanwell** (O'Connell 1990). Almost no certain Deverel-Rimbury pottery was found during the entire excavation, and only three sherds are illustrated that are associated with the field ditches (O'Connell 1990, fig. 29.30-2). These could date to the LBA, and a similar date could apply to the fields. These sherds all have grog included in the fabric, although it is possible that these are misidentified iron-rich pellets (Timby 1996, 46), as the quantity of grog at this site is unparalleled for the possible periods. This was not present in the PDR pottery at T5, and is extremely rare for LBA pottery (Appendix 1.5). Grog was only present in one Deverel-Rimbury vessel at T5, but is more common regionally (Leivers 2010, 23, Tab. 2). One of the sherds at Stanwell is a handle: these were present in the Deverel-Rimbury assemblage at T5, but not PDR (Leivers 2010, fig. 53-4, 57). Either way, the fields seem to have been abandoned before the establishment of the single-generational Transitional settlement.

Mayfield Farm lies 2km to the SE of Stanwell. Here three areas were opened, each containing remnants of at least one coaxial field system (Jefferson 2003). In Area A, eight ditches including a parallel pair were revealed, some of which have MBA dating evidence. LBA pottery was found in the two perpendicular ditches uncovered in Area C, c.260m to the SW. These were on the same alignment to the MBA examples, both on the same alignment as LIA and Roman fields immediately to the NE. No EIA or MIA evidence was found during the excavation, although an

Iron Age settlement has been uncovered in the vicinity (Alexander and Farrant 1973). Given the alignment, direct continuity between the MBA and Roman period is possible at this site, although the MBA and LBA evidence in the excavated area is not intensive. Direct continuity is not the only possibility: fields may have been abandoned and reoccupied, following relict earthworks, or each could have been influenced independently by 'subtle trends in the orientation of the slope' (Jefferson 2003, 15).

1km to the SW at **Ashford Hospital**, at least three ditches forming a coaxial system was found on a similar but not exactly the same alignment as the system at Mayfield Farm (Cowie 2008). Deverel-Rimbury pottery was found in the ditches, and no PDR was found on the site. The ditches appear to have been influenced by two pits radiocarbon dated to the EBA, and it is probable that the fields here were established in the early MBA.

1.5km to the SW an extensive field system was uncovered at **Hengrove Farm**. Only an interim report is available (Hayman 2005). The fields date to the MBA; other activity includes a MBA roundhouse. The site appears to have been abandoned until the LIA when a settlement is established. Fields and enclosures are then redefined in the Roman period on the same alignment to the MBA system. This alignment is the same as Ashford Hospital, but slightly different to the other nearby sites.

500m to the S, another coaxial field system was uncovered at **Ashford Prison** (Carew *et al.* 2006). This is of same alignment to Mayfield Farm, and consists of five major ditches. The only pottery associated with the ditches are one Neolithic and one Iron Age sherd. No Bronze Age pottery was found during the excavation. The sherd claimed to be PDR is likely to be EIA due to the straight neck: this was also found in an MIA eaves gully. The field system lies on the edge of a MIA settlement that is located on slightly higher ground. A Roman field system then cuts across both the settlements and fields, on the same alignment. The earlier field system is not therefore dated, although could belong to the MIA settlement given their relationship.

A pair of parallel ditches was discovered 700m to the S at **Matthew Arnold School** (Hayman and Jones 2008). These were phased to the LBA given associated pottery in the ditch. The forms illustrated might be dated to the MIA, although the flint fabric should be earlier.

On the other side of the Thames at **Thorpe Lea Nurseries**, four ditches were discovered that seem to be part of a coaxial field system (Hayman 2010). Two ditches run parallel forming part of a trackway, and the others are perpendicular to these. A surprisingly large assemblage of Deverel-Rimbury pottery was found in these ditches. A small spread of 17 pits and postholes was located near one of the ditches. 15 of these contained pottery dating to the early LBA, dominated by ovoid and slack-shouldered jars. Two of the pits contained Deverel-Rimbury pottery, and none of the ditches had PDR (Jones 2012c, 120-30).

Further downriver at **Hurst Park**, the edge of a probable field system was uncovered (Andrews and Crockett 1996, 51-104). One ditch ran across the excavated area, and another perpendicular to it. This second ditch was aligned on an EBA barrow. The ditches were only exposed on the eastern extremity of the excavated area and do not appear to form a coaxial system. The Thames is situated immediately to the north and east, precluding this being the edge of a larger system. The ditches were recut multiple times. To the west a short-lived settlement was uncovered. The pottery assemblage from the ditches and settlements dates to early in the LBA, with one vessel of clear Deverel-Rimbury ancestry (Laidlaw 1996, fig. 53.1).

1.5km from the most northerly of the Heathrow T5 excavations, a LBA short-lived settlement was found within a probable coaxial field system at **Prospect Park** (Andrews and Crockett 1996, 1-50). Most ditches contained pottery, and one ditch – 236 – with more than 400 sherds. The assemblage fits within the mid-LBA.

Just above Heathow airport, 3km east of the T5 excavations, a series of excavations revealed field ditches (Elsden 1997). At **Nobel Drive**, this included a multiphased entrance feature to a possible field. The only dating evidence was one pre-Iron Age pot sherd in the fill. This is on the same orientation to the adjacent **Cranford Lane** complex. Only interim reports are available for this site, although it seems that it was during the LBA that the field system was constructed, following less intensive MBA activity (Elsden 1996). A number of LBA settlements were discovered among the fields. These do however appear to have been abandoned in the late LBA (Elsden 1996, 1): there is virtually no Iron Age activity, and Roman fields are on a different alignment (Elsden 1996; Yates 2007, fig. 4.4). Further analysis of this site would provide essential information on the date of this abandonment. Information on **Imperial Sports Ground** is also only currently available in interim form (Crockett 2001). This lies just to the west of Cranford Lane. A coaxial field system appears to have been laid out in the 'Mid/Late Bronze Age', with small accompanying settlements.

An extensive field system has been discovered at **Horton**, c.4km to the west of T5 (Chaffney and Barclay 2013). This was established in the MBA, and abandoned in or before the LBA. A LBA paired ditch cuts across the field system at a different orientation, demonstrating this lack of continuity and perhaps purposeful slighting. Later features cutting across fields are also common in Wessex as many of the MBA field systems have linear ditches uncomfortably overlaying them on different angles (Cunliffe 2004, 63). Further to the east of Horton at **Bankside Close**, a right-angled ditch was found (Hull 1998). 179 sherds of Deverel-Rimbury pottery were discovered, and no LBA finds were made.

Overall, extensive excavations between the Colne and Crane have revealed a widespread, ordered and divided landscape. This has been estimated to cover an area of at least 4000ha (Framework Archaeology 2010). Dating evidence suggests that this began early in the MBA – c.1550-1450 cal BC – and was probably not established as a single system, but still constructed within a fairly limited time span. These seem to have persisted over much of the MBA up to c.1000 cal BC,

when evidence from most of the sites suggests abandonment of this vast, systematic landscape. The best evidence for construction or continuation of parts of the system into the early first millennium BC is at Cranford Lane and adjacent Imperial Sports Ground.

The single field system dating to the LIA and Roman periods uncovered at Mayfield Farm, Hengrove Farm and Ashford Prison is roughly on the same alignment as those dating to the MBA at these sites. Although this could suggest continuity over a long time period – including the LBA – none of the excavations contained clear evidence that the fields stayed in use through the intervening millennium. Activity during the LBA and Transition is present in the locality of the earlier West of London field systems, although in most cases this seems to be substantially different to the MBA and not closely associated with an ordered, coaxially defined agricultural landscape. Four different systems at Cranford Lane, Horton, Mount Farm and Eton Rowing Course each have evidence for later prehistoric or Roman fields being orientated at different angles to those established in the MBA, clearly demonstrating abandonment at some point in their history. There is therefore very little evidence of field systems dating to the first half of the first millennium BC.

Appendix 5: Imports or objects with distinct foreign influence

A5.1 Late Bronze Age

Object	Location	Origin	Comment	Reference
Möringen sword	Chertsey	Middle Rhine	Complete. Possibly from Thames.	Needham 1987, 123
Possible Auvernier or Tachlovice sword hilt	Wickham Park	Southern Germany or Switzerland	Possible fragment. From Ewart Park hoard	O'Connor 1980, 183-4; Invent. Arch. GB 39
Single-edged razor	Cothill	?North Rhine-Westphalia	Grouped with examples from North Rhine-Westphalia by Jockenhövel (1980, 166, no. 614), although our example is quite different from other Nordic razors having a thin perforation in its body rather than a looped or peripheral handle	Jockenhövel 1980, 166, no. 614

A5.2 Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition

Object	Location	Origin	Comment	Reference
Cup	Barn Elms/Pool of London	Italy	Said to be found in gravel on the banks of the Thames near Barn Elms, which itself may have been brought from the Pool of London. Bradley and Smith (2007, 32) believes this to be a probable Iron Age import, although the find has been treated with some scepticism by Harbison and Laing (1974, 3). Seventh century BC	Harbison and Laing 1974, 3; Bradley and Smith 2007, 32
Cup handle fragment?	Chastleton hillfort	Italy?	Fragment possibly belonging to seventh century Etruscan handled bucchero cup, discovered in an Iron Age context during excavation in 1928-9 at Chastleton hillfort. Hull and Hawkes (1987, 22) cite more recent expertise and agree with this possible identification, whereas Jope (2000, 15) dismisses the fragment as being of local manufacture. Just outside study area.	Leeds 1931, 396-7; Hull and Hawkes 1987, 26

Nackengebogene Äxte. Polished stone shaft-hole axe	Syon Reach, Thames	Most common in western Lower Saxony and the adjacent parts of the Netherlands	Petrological examination confirms a foreign provenance. Found in area of Thames rich in metalwork. Second quarter the first millennium BC. Just outside study area.	Macdonald and O'Connor 1979 444
Warzenkopfnadel. Wart-headed pin	Syon Reach, Thames	Lower Saxony, perhaps the Elbe estuary	Same find-spot and original provenance as above, but traditionally dated slightly earlier, most likely equivalent to Ewart Park. Just outside study area. See below.	Celoria 1974; O'Connor 1980, 201-2
Warzenkopfnadel. Wart-headed pin	Runnymede	Lower Saxony, perhaps the Elbe estuary	Differs from the Syon Reach example, but it is of the same class. These pins are very rare west of the Weser, and these are the only two known from Britain (Davies 2012). Discovered in early Transitional levels. These two pins and the n*ackengebogene* Äxte may belong to a unified phase of exchange between this area and Lower Saxony early in the Transition.	Needham 1996, 188
Vase headed pin	Runnymede	Possible import from central or northern Europe	Although unique in the study area, at least seven vase-headed pins are known in Britain, including three made from iron. Associations from both Britain and the continent suggest these date to the LBA and Transition (Davies 2012, 40-1).	Needham 1980a, 21
Einscheidige Rasiermesser vom Mauvilly/Sundhoffen razor	Runnymede	Distribution of these type centres on the upper Seine and Languedoc regions	Hallstatt C. See 4.9.3	Needham 1980a, fig. 11.5
Einscheidige Rasiermesser vom Mauvilly/Sundhoffen razor	Whitecross Farm	Distribution of these type centres on the upper Seine and Languedoc regions	Given the perforation this example may be typologically between this and type *St. Etienne-du-Valdonnez*. Hallstatt C. See 4.9.3	Northover 2006, 51-2, fig. 3.1.2
Brooch	Kingham	Italy	Dug up from an allotment in 1929 and soon after reported to the Ashmolean Museum.	Hull and Hawkes 1987, 22, 26, no.7061
Brooch	Near Oxford	Italy	Hull and Hawkes (1987, 30, no.7064) suggest no specific reason as to why this should be accepted or dismissed. Seventh or early sixth century BC	Hull and Hawkes 1987, 30, no.7064
Brooch	Brentford, Thames?	Italy	Hull and Hawkes (1987, 30, no. 4440) suggest no specific reason as to why this should be accepted or dismissed. Seventh or early sixth century BC	Hull and Hawkes 1987, 30, no. 4440

5.3 Early Iron Age

Object	Location	Origin	Comment	Reference
Narrow-ribbed bucket	Brooklands, Weybridge, River Wey	Recent assessments suggest SW Germany or France (Gerloff 2010, 375; Bradley and Smith 2007, 32). Previous thoughts give a more distant, easterly origin.	Found in 1907. Near excavated EIA settlement and river confluence. May have been former channel. Suggests genuine EIA import. Hallstatt D	Gerloff 2010, 375; Bradley and Smith 2007, 32; Jope 1982, 88; 2000, 13; O'Connor 1980, 251-2; Stead 1984, fig. 16
Hundersingen-Narce cauldron	London, Thames	SW Germany	Hallstatt D	Gerloff 2010, 371-2
Antenna hilted sword	London, Thames	Central Europe or E France	Hallstatt D	O'Connor 1980, 248; Stead 1984, 44-6; Jope 2000, 12, 229
Dagger	Mortlake, Thames	Swabia-Bavaria	Hand-grip and upper sheath do not appear British (Jope 1982), but sheath has British twin-loop suspension. Stead (1984, 46) notes the distinct method of construction is closely paralleled in the continental examples. Hallstatt D	Jope 1961, no. 1; Jope 1982; Stead 1984, 46
Dagger	Minster Ditch, Thames	Some Gaulish features	Has both British and Continental features: a British chape and layout of the front panels, but Gaulish single strap, back-plate and engraved ornament. La Tene 1	Jope 1961, 316-7, 321; 1984, 88; 2000, 18, 21-2
Dagger	Hammersmith, Thames	Gaulish type single strap	Probably not imported but influence by Continental examples. La Tene 1	Jope 2000, 18
Sword	Standlake, Thames	Continental influence	Probably not imported but influence by Continental examples.	Jope 2000, 25-8; Stead 1984, 46-53, 63
Three openwork discs	Hammersmith, Thames	Gaul	Later fourth or fifth century BC	Jope 2000, 15-6, 233

Sword	Battersea, Thames	Swiss and Hungarian influence	Ornament can be closely paralleled with swords discovered in Switzerland and Hungary. Just outside study area	Stead 1984, 47-50
Sword	Walthamstow, Thames	Swiss and Hungarian influence	Ornament can be closely paralleled with swords discovered in Switzerland and Hungary. Just outside study area	Stead 1984, 47-50
Kylix, attributed to the Pithos Painter	Reading, Thames	Greece	Bradley and Smith (2007), and Harbison and Laing (1974, 5-6) argue this is a genuine import on the following grounds: it is small and relatively easy to transport; the majority of the Pithos Painters products were exported, especially those that are particularly comparable with our example. The cup also retains 'intact river sediment, which is substantial enough to indicate very ancient deposition into the river' (Bradley and Smith 2007, 39). c.500 BC.	Bradley and Smith 2007; Harbison and Laing 1974, 5-6
Pottery	Chinnor	Etruscan influence	Decoration similar to handle attachments on Etruscan bronze stamnoi. These are often found north of the Alps, with a good parallel found in a tomb at Courcelles-en-Montagne, Haute-Marne	Champion 1977
Brooch	Mincing Lane, City of London	Italy	Hull and Hawkes (1987, 53, no. 7274) suggest no specific reason as to why this should be accepted or dismissed. Probable sixth century. Just outside study area.	Hull and Hawkes 1987, 53, no. 7274
Brooch	Baydon	Italy, or further north	Possible support for this comes from two other brooch finds in the parish, one of La Tene Type 1B, the other Type 2B; the latter is a recent PAS find (PAS: WILT-E2D3B2; Hull and Hawkes 1987, 103, no.2282). Probable sixth century.	Hull and Hawkes 1987, 44, no.3099
Brooch	Reading	Italy	Thought by Hull and Hawkes (1987, 44, no.4981) as more likely genuine. Probable sixth century.	Hull and Hawkes 1987, 44, no.4981
Statuette	Uffington?	Italy	DOUBTFUL. Said to have been found at Uffington. Patina not suggestive of burial in British soil. c.480-460 BC, Etruscan	Harbison and Laing 1974, 10; Riis 1946; Jope 2000, 14

A number of less certain foreign brooches have not been included: Hull and Hawkes (1987, nos. 8576, 4982, 2398, 4984, 4986).

5.4 Middle Iron Age

Object	**Location**	**Origin**	**Comment**	Reference
Knobbed bracelet	Wandsworth, Thames	?South Germany/Czech Republic	Belongs to heterogeneous group of bracelets with no clear parallels in Britain (Davies 2012). Late fourth or third centuries BC	Wells and Cotton 2015
Arrowhead	Reading, Kennet	Ptolemaic Kingdom	The arrowhead bears a monogram of Berenice II of Egypt, who ruled between 247-222 BC. There are similar arrowheads with the same monogram from Cyrene, Knossos and France. In their study of Iron Age Mediterranean objects in Britain, Harbison and Laing (1974, 16-7) conclude that this is 'quite probably genuine'.	Harbison and Laing 1974, 16-7
Three Greek vessels	Dorchester	Greece	DOUBTFUL? Two belonged to P. Manning , a well-known local antiquary; the third was said to have been dug up in the rickyard of Manor Farm. Dorchester was a well-known Roman settlement and early dealers are known to have attributed finds to such sites to secure a better price. On the other hand, the locality is noted for numerous EIA settlements. Fourth century. Either EIA or MIA	Harbison and Laing 1974, 13-4; Harden 1950, 322, fig. 6
Attic lamp	Shotover	Greece	DOUBFUL? Similar comments regarding Dorchester vessels are applicable. Fourth century BC. Either EIA or MIA.	Harbison and Laing 1974, 13-4; Harden 1950, 322, fig. 6
Bowl handle	Near Witney?	Italy	DOUBTFUL. c.300 BC, Late Etruscan or Roman Republic	Watson *et al*. 1997, 310
Ptolemaic basalt statue	Haynes	Ptolemaic Kingdom	DOUBTFUL? 50cm tall. Apparently found 'in gravel under clay at a depth of 8 or 9 feet' during excavations. Given that such statues were rarely exported, it is perhaps unlikely this arrived in Britain in the Iron Age, despite having information on its discovery.	Anon 'Exotic finds in Britain'- Antiqu J 15, 1935, 354; Harbison and Laing 1974, 24

Appendix 6: Stone Arrowheads, Axes and Adzes from LBA and Iron Age Contexts

Site	Date	Comment	Reference
Rams Hill	LBA	A polished axe found in the terminal of LBA enclosure	Bradley and Ellison 1975, 86
Carshalton	LBA	A flint 'hoe' may have come from the upper part of the enclosure	Adkins and Needham 1985, 15
Turnpike School	LBA	A barbed-and-tanged arrowhead was found in the LBA burnt mound	Pine 2010
Reading Business Park/ Green Park	LBA	Polished axe found below burnt mound	Brossler *et al.* 2004, 42
Abbey Meads	?Transition	Barbed-and-tanged arrowhead found in artefact spread probably dating to Transition	Jones 2012b
Runnymede	Transition	Leaf arrowhead in the lower Transitional midden levels at Area 16.E	Higbee and Spence 1996, 172
Wickhams Field	Transition	Leaf arrowhead found in ditched trackway	Andrews and Crockett 1996, Table 16
Blewburton	Iron Age	Three Neolithic polished axes, all found near the western entrance of the hillfort. See text.	Collins 1952-3, 38, fig. 18.4; Harding 1976, 142; Collins and Collins 1959, 55
Manor Farm Buildings, Old Malden	EIA	Two Mesolithic adzes were found together on the floor of a pit containing EIA pottery.	Jon Cotton *pers. comm.*
Gravelly Guy	EIA and MIA	Between 10-12 chisel, oblique, triangular and barbed-and-tanged arrowheads were found in EIA or MIA contexts. See text.	Holgate 2004, 97-9, Table 2.11
Preston	MIA	Barbed-and-tanged arrowhead was found in a MIA gully. A flint laurel leaf and fabricator was also found during excavation. The context was not published but other evidence of earlier activity was not found	Mudd and Mortimer 1999, 48-9, 311
Heath Farm	MIA	A barbed-and-tanged arrowhead appears to have been found in a MIA roundhouse gully	Rowley 1973
Halfpenny Lane	MIA	A broken and reused polished flint axe was found in a MIA pit alongside a loomweight fragment	Ford 1990, 25
Denton's Pit, Southcote	MIA	A broken Acheulian hand-axe was found in a ditch alongside fragment of beehive quern, a 'rusted pin with a curl at one end', daub with wattle impressions, one or two loomweight fragment, sherds from at least 20 pots including many decorated examples	Piggott and Seaby 1937, 48-50

Appendix 7: List of Houses

A7.1 Middle Bronze Age

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
170	Corporation Farm	House inside F4, phase 1	7.5	17x20					SW side of gully just for house, NW part of settlement enclosure. Little info
171	Corporation Farm	House inside F4, phase 2	7.5	17x20					SW side of gully just for house, NW part of settlement enclosure. Little info
172	Corporation Farm	House inside F4, phase 3	7.5	17x20					SW side of gully just for house, NW part of settlement enclosure. Little info
274	Latton Lands	Structure 538	7.2					SE	
275	Latton Lands	Structure 297	6.5					?S	
394	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 2531	7						
395	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 2532	6						
396	CC/Shorncote Settlement 2	Roundhouse 5330	7.5					SE	Slightly elaborated entrance
397	CC/Shorncote Settlement 2	Roundhouse 5331	7					SE	Funnelling entrance structure - enter from W
398	CC/Shorncote Settlement 2	Roundhouse 6650	9					SE	
399	CC/Shorncote Settlement 2	Roundhouse 7101	9						Semi-circle
455	Weir Bank Stud Farm	Roundhouse 491	7.5		10			SE	Occupation layer under house
482	Knights Farm 3+4	Ring ditch 147	10	12					Gully has no entrance
531	Heathrow T5 Settlement 9	Possible roundhouse		7.5					
532	Heathrow T5 Settlement 1	Posthole group 1	5x10						Rectangular structure
533	Heathrow T5 Settlement 1	Posthole group 3	8x3						Rectangular structure
640	Yarnton Site 1	Structure 1363	6x7						
641	Yarnton Site 1	Structure 1876	6x7					?SE	
642	Yarnton Site 1	Structure 1875	7x5.5		?10m			?SE	Possible 'porch' to SE - lots of postholes

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
643	Yarnton Site 1	Structure 1874	7x5.5						Uncertain
650	Yarnton Site 7	Structure 3600	4.7						
651	Yarnton Site 7	Structure 3686	4.7x6.5						
652	Yarnton Site 7	Structure 3353	5						
653	Yarnton Site 7	Structure 3518	3x4						
654	Yarnton Site 7	Structure 3468	4.7						
655	Yarnton Site 7	Structure 4517	4.6						Northern outlier. Edge of excavated area
656	Yarnton Site 7	Structure 3503	6.6						Southern outlier
657	Yarnton Site 4c	Structure 16209	4.8			Double post-ring - 9		SE	
670	Eton Rowing Course Areas 20, 24 etc. field system			9.13				SE to W	Semi-circular gully
673	Marsh Lane East	Structure 60261	5		7		Central post	SE	

A7.2 Late Bronze Age

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
1	Hartshill Copse	Round-house C	9.5		15			ESE	House possibly burnt down. Bayesian dated
2	Hartshill Copse	Round-house D	10			Double post-ring - 12.5		SE	Bayesian dated
32	Eynsham Abbey	Roundhouse/gully 1977		c.5				SSW	Three postholes might be part of house
160	Rams Hill	Building A	7						Precedes phase 1 enclosure. Might be MBA
161	Rams Hill	Building B	7		9			ENE	Precedes phase 1 enclosure. Might be MBA
162	Rams Hill	Building C	5.5x7				Internal four-poster		Associated with LBA pottery
176	Settlement under Grims Ditch	Cluster B	3x4						Small
212	Beedon Manor Farm	Structure 1	c.5			Double post-ring - 7.5		E	
213	Beedon Manor Farm	Structure 2	6					SE	Semi-circular. Line of stakeholes closes off open end
352	CC/Shorncote Settlement F	Roundhouse 1126	8		12			SE	Hearne and Heaton 1994
353	CC/Shorncote Settlement F	Roundhouse 1516	8					?E	Hearne and Heaton 1994
354	CC/Shorncote Settlement F	Roundhouse 1557	4		8			SSE	Hearne and Heaton 1994
355	CC/Shorncote Settlement F	Roundhouse 1072	6						Hearne and Heaton 1994. Could have had SE 'porch' outside of excavated area
356	CC/Shorncote Settlement F	Roundhouse 18149	8.5		12.5			SE	Powell *et al.* 2010
357	CC/Shorncote Settlement A	1005	4.5						Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
358	CC/Shorncote Settlement A	1055	5.5						Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
359	CC/Shorncote Settlement A	1066	7						Hearne and Adams 1999
360	CC/Shorncote Settlement A	1216	6.5						Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
361	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	1590	6.2		9.2			SSE	Hearne and Adams 1999

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
362	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	1437	4.5		7.5			SE	Hearne and Adams 1999. Truncated to W
363	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	1565	7.5		11				Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
364	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	1566	7.5		12.5			SE	Hearne and Adams 1999
365	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	1597	10						Hearne and Adams 1999
366	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	1711	c.5						Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
367	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	1744	5.5						Hearne and Adams 1999. Within SW facing ditched enclosure, with fence behind
368	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	1913	5						Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
369	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2000	7.2		11			SE	Hearne and Adams 1999. Well preserved
370	CC/Shorncote Settlement C	2037	7.9		11.5			E	Hearne and Adams 1999
371	CC/Shorncote Settlement D	2040	7.9		11.5			ESE	Hearne and Adams 1999
372	CC/Shorncote Settlement D	2084	8		12			E	Hearne and Adams 1999
373	CC/Shorncote Settlement C	2497	10		14			SE	Hearne and Adams 1999. This is only overlapping succession of LBA houses on site. If 'porch' is outer wall, then at least 3 phases
374	CC/Shorncote Settlement C	2485	7.5		10.5			SE	Hearne and Adams 1999
375	CC/Shorncote Settlement C	2313	8.5		12			ESE	Hearne and Adams 1999
376	CC/Shorncote Settlement C	2430	10		14		Internal four-poster	SE	Hearne and Adams 1999
377	CC/Shorncote Settlement C	2539	4.6					SSE	Hearne and Adams 1999
378	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2675	4.8			Double post-ring - 7.2			Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
379	CC/Shorncote Settlement D	2778	8.6		11.6			SE	Hearne and Adams 1999
380	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2779	8.6						Hearne and Adams 1999
381	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2780	5		8.5			SE	Hearne and Adams 1999

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
382	CC/Shorncote Settlement D	2853	7.5		11			ESE	Hearne and Adams 1999
383	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2869	7				Internal supports		Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
384	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2890	10.7		13.7			SE	Hearne and Adams 1999. Possible wider outer wall, but further postholes outside entrance interpreted as fence
385	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2891	5.7						Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
386	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2892	5						Hearne and Adams 1999
387	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2895							Hearne and Adams 1999. Interpreted as fenced enclosure
388	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2896	8.5						Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
389	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2897	5						Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
390	CC/Shorncote Settlement E	2898	5						Hearne and Adams 1999
391	CC/Shorncote Settlement D	2842	5						Hearne and Adams 1999
392	CC/Shorncote Settlement A	Gully structure 368		11.3				NE. Antenna SE	Hearne and Adams 1999. Antenna ditch leading to entrance. Unusual for LBA. Associated with grog and shell tempered pot - possibly later
393	CC/Shorncote Settlement A	Gully structure 1550		11.5					Hearne and Adams 1999. Partial
478	Taplow	Group 1117	5						
479	Taplow	Group 1134	6.5		9.5			N	
480	Aldermaston Wharf	Structure 1	6.8		10.2			SE	
481	Aldermaston Wharf	Structure 2	8						
483	Pingewood	Northern structure	6.5x9						
484	Pingewood	Semi-circular structure	7.5						
485	Pingewood	Large structure	7.5x10				Central post		
486	Pingewood	Southern structure	5.5				Central post		

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
497	Furze Platt	Structure A	8		11			SE	
498	Furze Platt	Structure B	5.8				Central post		
500	Runnymede	The Roundhouse - F31	5						Longley 1980. Burnt down
524	Prospect Park	Roundhouse 750	11.5		14			NE	
525	Hurst Park	Structure 1	c.9.5	c.10	10			?SE	Heavily truncated. At terminal of gully two postholes that could be protruding porch in line with gully
526	Hurst Park	Structure 2	5	c.12			Central post	?E	Heavily truncated
537	Heathrow T5 Settlement 4 Farmstead 3	Horse-shoe shaped enclosure		c.11.5			Doorposts	E	Partial. c.30m west of settlement
538	Heathrow T5 Settlement 10 Farmstead 11	Northern set of postholes	5		8			SE	
539	Heathrow T5 Settlement 10 Farmstead 11	Southern set of postholes	5						
547	Mortimer Hill Farm	Roundhouse	11		14			S	
589	Reading Business Park, Area 7000	Not recognised as roundhouse in report	4.5						
590	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 1	9.15				Central post		
591	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 2	8		10		Central post	SE	
592	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 3	8.15		9.7		Central post	E	
593	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 4	8.2						
594	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 5	6.95		9.75		Central post	E	
595	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 6	9.45		13		Central post	NE	
596	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 7	7.5		10.5		Central post	SSE	
597	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 8	7.75				Central post		Partially repaired
598	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 9	8.55				Internal four-poster		

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
599	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 10	9.25		12.65		Central post	NE	
600	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 11	7.95		10.95			SE	
601	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 12	7.5		8.7			S	
602	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 13	6.65						
603	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 14	7.8		11			NE	
604	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 15	8.26		12.3			S	
605	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 16	8.15						
606	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 17	7.4						
607	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 18	9.95				Central post		
608	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 19	6.9						
609	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 20	9.75		12.6			E	
610	Reading Business Park, Area 5	Building 7a	7.5				Central post	SSE	
611	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3100 (1992)	8.25		11.4		Central post	ESE	Inner entrance posts may have been replaced
612	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3101 (1992)	8.5						Postholes for 'porch' may have been outside excavated area
613	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3102 (1992)	8.15		11		Central post	?SE	Possible 'porch' but only one posthole surviving
614	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3103 (1992)	8.15		11.75		Central post	SE	Possible 'porch' but only one posthole surviving
615	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3104 (1992)	5.3						Partially outside excavated area
616	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3105 (1992)	7.9		10.8		Central post	SE	Inner entrance posts may have been replaced
617	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3106 (1992)	8.05		11.45		Central post	SE	Possible 'porch' but only one posthole surviving
618	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3107 (1992)	6.25						

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
619	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3108 (1992)	6.7		9.7			SE	
620	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3109 (1992)	8.3		11.5			SE	
621	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3110 (1992)	4.25x7				Central post		Some rebuilding
622	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3111 (1992)	9.5				Central post		Possible house. Semi-circle
623	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Building 3112 (1992)	15				Central post		Possible house. Semi-circle
624	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Not given number (1992)	7.5						Possible 'porch' outside of excavated area
625	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Roundhouse 1 (2004)	8.75		12.4			SE	
626	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Roundhouse 2 (2004)	9		11			NW	
627	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Roundhouse 3 (2004)	8.7		12			E	Probably earlier in settlement
628	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Roundhouse 4 (2004)	8		11.6			SE	Probably earlier in settlement
629	Reading Business Park, Area 3100/3000B	Roundhouse 5 (2004)	8.3		10.8				
630	Weston Wood	Structure 1	6.1			Slot trench - 6.1	Central post	NNE	Wall trench links up post-ring
631	Weston Wood	Structure 2	3.65				Central post		
632	Weston Wood	Structure 3	9				Central post		Carstones in centre. Might not be house
633	Stone, former nurses home	?Structure 1	10/c.12					E	Possible house. Semi-circle
644	Yarnton Site 1	Structure 1878	8x6		?11			?SE	Might be MBA
645	Yarnton Site 1	Structure 1879	7x5						Might be MBA
646	Yarnton Site 3	Structure 5746	4.5					S	

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
647	Yarnton Site 3	Structure 5815	5.7x5.2			Double post-ring - 8.5			
674	Amerden Lane East	No name, inc. postholes 120008, 120010, 120012…	6			Possible double post-ring - 9		NW	Partially exposed
675	Yarnton Site 3	9	6						
676	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	No name - to left of 1590	5						
677	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	No name - in centre	3						Small
678	CC/Shorncote Settlement B	No name - S of four-posters	7.5						
679	Yarnton Site 3	5816	3						Small
540	Walton Road	Structure A	8.8						Outside of study area
541	Walton Road	Structure B	5.3						Outside of study area
542	Walton Road	Structure C	6.3						Outside of study area
543	Walton Road	Structure D	7.2						Outside of study area

A7.3 LBA/EIA Transition

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
10	Tower Hill	Building A	7		10			SE	Llyn Fawr hoard near entrance
11	Tower Hill	Building B	7		?c.9m				
12	Tower Hill	Building C	6.5						
14	Tower Hill	Building D	8						Partially exposed
214	Roughground Farm	Roundhouse 1100, phase 1	6		10			E	
215	Roughground Farm	Roundhouse 1100, phase 2	6		10			E	
276	Horcott Pit	Roundhouse 5868	5.8		10			SE	
277	Horcott Pit	Roundhouse 6046	6.65		10			SE	
278	Horcott Pit	Roundhouse 6100	6.75		10			SE	
279	Horcott Pit	Roundhouse 6301	6.3		11			SE	
280	Horcott Pit	Possible roundhouse	c.6.2		11			SE	Tentative
312	Butlers Field	The roundhouse	7.5		11.5			ENE	Pits and postholes radiating from SE side of house, might be to control movement
400	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 14266	7.9		11.5		Central post	WNW	Powell *et al.* 2010
401	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 14267	7.4				Central post	?ESE	Powell *et al.* 2010
402	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 19862	7.3		?c.10			SSE	Powell *et al.* 2010
403	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Not recognised in report. Between 14266 and 14267	8						Powell et al. 2010. Possible house. Semi-circle
404	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 17526	6.2				Central post	?SE or E	Powell *et al.* 2010
405	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 19691	8					SE	Powell et al. 2010. Possible 'porch'
406	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 19849	8.3						Powell *et al.* 2010
407	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 14263	7.9		10.5		Central post	NNE	Powell *et al.* 2010
408	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 14264	7.9		9.5		Central post	SW	Powell *et al.* 2010
409	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 14265	6				Central post		Powell *et al.* 2010

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
410	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Roundhouse 1010		12					Hearne and Heaton 1994. Only partially exposed
411	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	House gully 305		10.7				?SW	Brossler *et al.* 2002
415	CC/Shorncote Settlement 2	Roundhouse 5648	8.3		12.3			ESE	
416	CC/Shorncote Settlement 2	Roundhouse 6189	5.5		9			SE	
427	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 9830	7.9			Double post-ring - 12.5		SE	
428	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 7209	6.4		9.4			SE	
429	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 8131	6.4		10.5			SE	Partially enclosed area around these houses with a fence
430	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 10320	6.1						
431	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 7721	8		12			ESE	Well preserved
432	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 7608	7.3		8.8			SE	Has fence leading from door, structuring space and creating yard
433	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 7321	7.9		13			SE	
434	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 8191	11						
435	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 10386	8.4		11.4			SE	
436	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 7083	6.8						
437	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 7079	8.8						
438	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 8190	8.75						Possible house/partial. Semi-circle
439	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 7470	7.7						Possible house/partial. Semi-circle
440	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 9343	6.4		12.5			SE	
441	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	Roundhouse 9975	7.2					SW	Possible house/partial. Semi-circle
456	Dunston Park	Roundhouse 1128	9			Double post-ring - 11		SE	Protruding porch outside of outer post-ring
457	Dunston Park	Roundhouse 1129	9.5		11.5			SE	

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
501	Petters Sports Field	Hut 1	6.5						
502	Petters Sports Field	Hut 2	5			Double post-ring - 8.5		NE	Protruding porch outside of outer post-ring. Needham 1990 scheme
506	Petters Sports Field	Hut 6	c.4.5						Partially exposed
509	Old Way Lane	Structure 1	7.5x5						
529	Stanwell	Hut 1	7.5						
530	Stanwell	Hut 2	7						
649	Yarnton Site 5	Structure 9568	5						

A7.4 LBA/EIA Transition or Early Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
20	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	19190	5						
21	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	Includes 19146, 19171, 19140	7.2						
128	Yarnton	8396	7x5						D-shaped.
129	Yarnton	8399	5.5x9						D-shaped.
130	Yarnton	8787	7x5.5						
131	Yarnton	8789	7x6						Pits and postholes immediately to W
132	Yarnton	8788	6.5x8						Pits and postholes immediately to W
133	Yarnton	1474, phase 1	8					S	
134	Yarnton	1474, phase 2	9		11			S	
135	Yarnton	1760	10.5					?S	
136	Yarnton	1761	8						
137	Yarnton	1752	5.5						
138	Yarnton	1511	9						
139	Yarnton	1482	4.5					SE or SSE	
140	Yarnton	1754	8.5						
141	Yarnton	2661	7		9			SE	
142	Yarnton	2694	7		9			SSE	
143	Yarnton	1756, enclosure 28	5	11				Gully - S; House - ?SE	
144	Yarnton	8792	10x8.5						Might be animal pen: postholes 'too widely spaced in comparison to size of area they enclosed to support building'

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
216	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Gully 346 (1978)		4-5.5				S	Gully around a four-poster
285	Coxwell Road	Structure A	5.2						Weaver and Ford 2004
286	Coxwell Road	Structure B	6.8						Weaver and Ford 2004
287	Coxwell Road	Structure E	7						Weaver and Ford 2004
288	Coxwell Road	Structure C	8		14			SW	Weaver and Ford 2004
289	Coxwell Road	Structure D	12						Weaver and Ford 2004. Only N section. Very large
290	Coxwell Road	Roundhouse A		Possible		Slot trench - 13.5	Possible	SE	Cook *et al.* 2004. Possible protruding porch beyond slot trench. Outer gullies might be MIA
291	Coxwell Road	Roundhouse B		9.5					Cook *et al.* 2004. Only semi-circle
292	Coxwell Road	Roundhouse C Trans/EIA		18				N or SW	Cook *et al.* 2004
322	Latton Lands Roundhouse to N	Roundhouse 4020	8		10.5			SE	Has fence leading to house
323	Latton Lands Roundhouse to W	Roundhouse 3008	8		12			SE	Possibly burnt down
324	Latton Lands Roundhouse to S	Roundhouse 2554	7.35		10			SE	Only one 'porch' posthole

A7.5 Early Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
3	Hartshill Copse	Round-house B	7.6			Double post-ring - 10.2		ESE	Porch projects from double post-ring. Bayesian dated
7	Segsbury	1364		9.5					
15	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	15330		13					
16	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	19184		6					
17	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	19189		Small					Very little exposed
18	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	6		Small					Very little exposed
19	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	19183		7.5			Four-poster		Probably not house - gully around a four-poster
30	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	Curving gully		16					Hingley 1980. Might not be house
33	Appleford	H		c.9					Little information
34	Appleford	I		c.13.5					
47	Spring Road	The Roundhouse	8			Double post-ring - 11		S	Internal division separating front and back
63	Milton Hill North	Roundhouse 1		10			Entrance posts	E	Possibly enclosed by another ditch and posts. Excavation too narrow
64	Milton Hill North	Roundhouse 2		c.10					Little exposed
70	Slade Farm	Structure 1 F.151		15					Might not be house - stock management?
71	Slade Farm	Structure 1 F.145		15					Might not be house - stock management?
72	Slade Farm	Structure 2 F.171		10				SE	Internal pit has luminescent date 335+-100 BC
83	Noahs Ark Inn/Frilford	Penannular ditch Site C		6					Very wide ditch. Unusual. Probably not house
87	Standlake Downs	Hut 1	7.5		10.5			SE	Houses poorly dated. Shell pottery fabric

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
88	Standlake Downs	Hut 2	7.5						Partially exposed
89	Standlake Downs	Hut 3	7						Partially exposed
105	Gravelly Guy	Building C	9		12.5			SE	
106	Gravelly Guy	Building D	6		10			SE	
107	Gravelly Guy	Building L	7.5		10			SE	
109	Gravelly Guy	Building Q	8				Central post	SE	
110	Gravelly Guy	Building O	7					?SE	
111	Gravelly Guy	Building K	9					?ESE	
112	Gravelly Guy	Building B	7		10			E	
113	Gravelly Guy	Building N	8						Partially exposed
114	Gravelly Guy	Building A1	8.5		10.5			SE	
115	Gravelly Guy	Building A2	6.5		10.5			SE	
116	Gravelly Guy	Building AA	6.5					SW	
118	Gravelly Guy	Building W	8					ENE	
119	Gravelly Guy	Building H	5			Double post-ring - 8		SE	
120	Gravelly Guy	Building J1	7					ENE	
121	Gravelly Guy	Building J2	8					ENE	
122	Gravelly Guy	Building I	6						
125	Gravelly Guy	Building F	9.5					?ESE	
164	St Helens Avenue	Structure 1	4x2						D-shaped
165	St Helens Avenue	Structure 2	5.5						
166	St Helens Avenue	Structure 3	8						
167	St Helens Avenue	Structure 4	7						

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
243	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 5257 (1999)	8.5					NE	
244	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 5087 (1999)	9					NE	
245	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 5166 (1999)	7						
246	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6310 (1999)	7					E	
247	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6313a (1999)	c.6					E	
248	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6313b (1999)	c.6					E	Not certain houses - confusing series of postholes could be two phases cut by penannular gully
249	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6286a (1999)		10.5					
252	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6287 (1999)		10				?NW	Might have small area in front segregating space and access
265	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Clusters 6314-6317 (1999)							Possible series of multiphased structures
284	Watchfield West	Posthole group 246-248	c.10?						Only three postholes exposed in arc
313	Latton Lands Northern	Roundhouse 3349	9					SE	Possible ‘porch’ outside of excavated area
314	Latton Lands Northern	Roundhouse 4007							Partially exposed
315	Latton Lands Northern	Roundhouse 2842	8.5		11			SE	
316	Latton Lands Central	Roundhouse 2760	9.5		13.5			SE	
317	Latton Lands Central	Roundhouse 3200	7						
318	Latton Lands Eastern	Roundhouse 1829	10		14			SE	
319	Latton Lands Eastern	Roundhouse 1878	10						Only partially surviving
320	Latton Lands Eastern	Roundhouse 1912	6						Only partially surviving
321	Latton Lands Eastern	Roundhouse 1914	8						Only partially surviving
338	Groundwell Farm	House 1				Slot trench - 13		SE	Not certainly slot trench
342	Groundwell West	Roundhouse 9		10			Internal four-poster		Internal four-poster offset, might not be contemporary

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
343	Groundwell West	Roundhouse 10		10			Internal four-poster		
344	Groundwell West	Roundhouse 6		6				SE	
345	Groundwell West	Roundhouse 5	c.5	6.5				SE	Incomplete arcs of postholes
346	Groundwell West	Roundhouse 8	c.8	10				SE	Incomplete arcs of postholes
417	CC/Shorncote Settlement 3	Roundhouse 4947	6					?SE	
418	CC/Shorncote Settlement 3	Roundhouse 4400	6.8					S	
419	CC/Shorncote Settlement 3	Roundhouse 4373	7.6						
420	CC/Shorncote Settlement 3	Roundhouse 5390	7.6		11			SE	
421	CC/Shorncote Settlement 3	Roundhouse 7090	4		8.5			SSE	Long porch - six postholes
422	CC/Shorncote Settlement 3	Roundhouse 7089	8						Semi-circle
442	Alfreds Castle	Gully 5068				Slot trench - 10			Group of linear stakes run from S of gully
488	Grazeley Road	Ring gully complex A, phase 1, gully 2000		14.4			Doorposts	SE	
489	Grazeley Road	Ring gully complex A, phase 2, gully 2001		12.2			Doorposts	SE	
494	Lower Mill Farm	F3		10.5					
495	Lower Mill Farm	F4		13.5				No entrance	
496	Lower Mill Farm	F5		7				Main - N	
510	Sandown Farm	Horseshoe shaped trench		5.5				NW	Circular clay platform in middle
523	Wraysbury	Structure 1	4						Many of postholes had been replaced
544	St Ann's Heath School	Ring gully 673	6			Slot trench - 7.5		NW	Postholes in terminals of slot trench
635	Sherborne House	Structure 4				Slot trench - 9			Partially exposed
636	Sherborne House	Structure 11	?11.5	12				W	Four postholes very close to edge of gully - these might not be Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
637	Sherborne House	Structure 12	10.6					?ENE	
671	Lake End Road West	Structure 41244	7.5				Central post		
672	Lake End Road West	Structure 42088	8.5				Central post		

A7.6 Middle Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
4	Watkins Farm	Enclosure 496-512		11.5				ENE	
5	Watkins Farm	Central house phase 1, 402		10				SSW	
6	Watkins Farm	Central house phase 2-6		12				E	Antenna gullies from entrance
8	Segsbury	1003		11.5					Considerable quantities fuel/ash/slag
9	Segsbury	1003/1154/1084		11.5				WNW	
22	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	Structure 532/gully 174 and 175	5	Inner-11.5 outer-12	9			ESE	Two gullies surrounding post-ring with protruding entrance posts
23	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	Group 60/70		10.5				E	Two phases of gully
24	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	690		13					
25	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	700		12				NW	
26	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	19188		12.5				W	
27	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	19187		13.6					
28	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	Gully 19185 and wall slot 19186		13.5		Wall slot - 9.5			
29	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	12066		8				SE	
31	City Farm East	House 1	9.1		13.5	Possible double post-ring		E	Long post lined entranceway. Harding (1976, Pl. 26)
35	Appleford	Enclosure A - Ditch 139		12.5				No entrance	Aerial photos show circular gully 7m in diameter inside. Substantial ditch
36	Appleford	Enclosure B - Ditches 166, 155, 131		17x12				SE	
37	Appleford	Enclosure C - Ditch 121		24x14				SE	Less of a house and more of an enclosure

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
38	Appleford	11 - NOT A HOUSE						No entrance 3m GULLY AROUND FOUR POSTER	
39	Farmoor enclosures	Main enclosure area II. F503 etc.		13x10				E	Complex sequence of cuttings. Radiocarbon date - HAR-1925
40	Farmoor enclosures	Small enclosure area II F.560	6.5			Wall slot - 12	One entrance post	SE	One entrance post visible
41	Farmoor enclosures	F1007, area III, enclosures 1		13.75				ESE	Within another enclosure, together forming a house and yard
42	Farmoor enclosures	F1010, area III, enclosures 1		12				SE	
43	Farmoor enclosures	F1012, area III, enclosures 1		9				SE	
44	Farmoor enclosures	F1100, area III, enclosures 2		9.75				E	Part of other complex set of enclosures. This only obvious house, others yards?
46	Farmoor enclosures	F1156, area III, enclosures 3		12				E	Adjoining enclosure
48	Beard Mill	Enclosure and hut, site A	7	15.2				NW	
51	Mingies Ditch	House 1	5.7x6.6	8.5		Dark soil spread defined wall - just outside post-ring		SSE	Only bounded on W by gully; on E bounded by upcast from inner enclosure ditch. Very well preserved
52	Mingies Ditch	House 2	6x7	10.5				Posts - SE Gully - SE+WNW	At late stage of life gully boundary partly replaced by fence
53	Mingies Ditch	House 3	6.6	11		8.4 - shown by three factors		Main - SE; subsid NW	Subsidiary entrance. Antenna gullies from main entrance
54	Mingies Ditch	House 4				6 - shown by floor spreads	Entrance posts	SE	Entrance posts are only clear visible post-holes
55	Mingies Ditch	House 5		10.5		Stake-ring - 8.4		E	Not single gully - lengths of interrupted ditches. Repairs and recuts
60	Mount Farm	F200/203		11				W	Possible animal enclosure. Earlier MIA
61	Mount Farm	F279/327		15				E	Possible animal enclosure. Earlier MIA
62	Mount Farm	F529/539		10				ENE	Possible animal enclosure. Earlier MIA

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
67	Heath Farm	Hut circle 1. G1		12				SE	Elaborated entrance. Has stakeholes in gully by entrance, but shape of rest of gully suggests not for wall slot. Later MIA?
68	Heath Farm	Hut circle 1. G2 and 3		14				SE	Elaborated entrance. Gully recut - G3. Profile of ditch might be for timber slots. Later MIA?
69	Slade Farm	Structure 3. F100		10				E	
73	Slade Farm	Structure 4, F23		9				SE, poss also NW	
74	Deer Park Road	Roundhouse		10.5				SW	Radiocarbon date - 2190+-90
75	Whitehouse Road	Enclosure B, phase 1, ditch 612		16			Entrance posts	ENE	
76	Whitehouse Road	Enclosure B, phase 2, ditch 613 and 569		14					
77	Whitehouse Road	Enclosure B, phase 3, ditch 611		10				Main - SE; subsid NW	
78	Whitehouse Road	Enclosure B, phases 4-6, ditches 610, 609, 608	7.5	13				SE	Gully recut 3 times
79	Whitehouse Road	Enclosure A		11				SSE	Semi-circle only. Defined on NE side by linear feature that is part of wider system dividing settlement. 2 phases
80	Thrupp	Features 1 and 5		14			Entrance posts	SE	Recut several times. Enclosure built over in NW
81	Noahs Ark Inn/Frilford	Hut Site B	4.5						Semi-circle. Possibly not house
82	Noahs Ark Inn/Frilford	Stake circle, Site A	9.6		Porch, not outer wall line	Stake-ring - 9.6		SE	Stake-ring representing outer wall. Protruding entrance posts genuine porch. Beneath Ro-Brit temple. Reynolds in Harding 1986 - stakes could not support structure. Probably had inner ring of load bearing posts not sunk into ground
84	Stanton Harcourt, Site 1	Eastern posthole group	5x7		8.5			SE	
85	Stanton Harcourt, Site 1	Western posthole group	8.5						Semi-circle of postholes

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
86	Purwell Farm	Gully D							Only partially exposed
90	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure A2, phase 1, Building E1	4.3	11	7	One posthole in line with porch		ENE	Shallow gully only partially surrounding structure
91	Gravelly Guy	Building E2	6.5		8			ENE	All four phases of this building in the MIA
92	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure A2, phase 2, Building E3	?4.6	11	8.5		Four posts at entrance	E	Four posts at entrance, no other postholes. If inner pair are from post-ring, this would have been 4.6m
93	Gravelly Guy	Building E4	7					E	
94	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure A4, Building T	?8	12	9		Four posts at entrance	ESE	Four posts at entrance, no other postholes. If inner pair are from post-ring, this would have been 8m.
95	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure A1, Building Y	6	10			Central post; entrance posts	Main - SE; gully also NW	Stratigraphic order - ID95, ID92, ID96
96	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure A1, phase 2		9x10				N	Maybe not house, but contiguous enclosure for ID92.
97	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure A3, phase 1; 1260, 1251 and Building V	8.5	14x11			Central post	ENE	Very substantial ditch. Building defined by tenuous selection of postholes. End of MIA
98	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure A3, phase 2; 1250 and ?Building V		14x11			Central post		Less substantial than earlier phase. May still enclose building V. End of MIA
99	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure B1		11				SE	Late EIA or early MIA
100	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure B2		12.5				NE	Whole of NE side open, except small ditch 2724 in middle
101	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure B3		8				SE	Whole of SE side open, except small ditch 2659.
102	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure B4 and Building BB	7	11				House - SE; Ditch open all of NE	Semicircle with mass of postholes inside. Maybe annex to ID100
103	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure B5 and Building R	9	12				E	Semi-circle of postholes. Transitional EIA/MIA

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
104	Gravelly Guy	Enclosure B6		9x13				E	Unusual pentagon shape. Late MIA
117	Gravelly Guy	Building G	8		10			NNW	
123	Gravelly Guy	Building U	7.5					SES	
124	Gravelly Guy	Building Z	7.5	9				?ENE	Semi-circular gully
126	Gravelly Guy	Building X	7.5				Central post; entrance posts	SSE	Only entrance posts and central post
145	Yarnton	803, enclosure 267, phase 1	7.5x4	11				House - E; Gully SE	
146	Yarnton	803, enclosure 267, phase 2	9x6	11					This and ID145 might be same structure and not two phases
147	Yarnton	1507	8.5			Double post-ring 12.5		SSE	
148	Yarnton	Enclosure 327		10.5				SE and NNW	
149	Yarnton	1762	8						
150	Yarnton	801, enclosure 390A	8	18.5				Gully - S	Gully entrance blocked by two ditches. Building very close to gully.
151	Yarnton	802, enclosure 390B	9	20.5	11.5			House - SE; Gully S	Sequence of these two buildings and three gullies confusing. This interpretation slightly different to report
152	Yarnton	Enclosure 390D		16				S	Postholes by entrance might be gate structure?
153	Yarnton	1764	5						
154	Yarnton	1755, gully 898	8	More info…	10			ENE	Only small amount of gully surviving - cut by Ro ditch. If gully contemporary with house, 'porch' cannot be outer wall, unless gully was a wall trench
155	Yarnton	Enclosure 2683							Only partially exposed.
156	Yarnton	Enclosure 97		11.5				ENE	

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
157	Yarnton	Enclosure 8180/8286		19x10				SE	Oval. Double enclosure for two houses?
158	Yarnton	Enclosure 7895		c.15				?SE	Only partially exposed. Seen in geophys. Remnants of narrow gully 0.2m in width run parallel close to inside of main gully
159	Yarnton	Enclosure 241 and gully 242		7.5				E	Series of postholes at entrance - maybe multiphased gate structure?
169	Blackbird Leys Settlement	Concentric pennanular ditches		Inner 19; outer 28				SE	Two substantial concentric ditches
173	Ireland's Land	381/357		c.14				Main - E; subsid- N	
174	Ireland's Land	562							Badly truncated and badly defined
175	Manorhouse Farm, Hatford	211		9				?ENE	
177	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 13		10.5			Entrance posts	SE	Entrance posts at same diameter as gully
178	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 14		10			Entrance posts	SE	Entrance posts slightly just inside gully
179	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 15		10		Wall Slot - 8		NW	
180	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 16		11.5x9			Entrance posts	SE	
181	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 17a		7.25			Entrance posts	Main - SE subsid W	
182	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 17b		10			Entrance posts	SE	Slot blocking entrance
183	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 19		10.5				SE and NW	Partly defined by linear ditch
184	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 20a		11.5			Entrance posts	SE	
185	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 20b		10.5			Entrance posts	SE	E terminal of gully curved out to SE and demarcated entrance to NE enclosure
186	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 20c		10			Internal four poster	SE	
187	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 18	7.5		10.5			SE	Away from other buildings
188	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 21		10				SE	Away from other buildings

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
189	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 11a/enclosure 4a		15				E	Substantial ditch
190	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 11b/enclosure 4b		15				E	Three phases of ditch, but looks like two main house phases. Substantial ditch
191	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 10a	c.6.5	10-11.5	10	Two postholes in line with porch		SE	Ditch recut at least four times - two houses? Both posts of northern entrance: both of these houses repaired
192	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 10b	c.6.5	10-11.5	10	Two postholes in line with porch		SE	See above
193	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 9		9			Entrance posts	SE	Ditch recut at least 3 times
194	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 7		Partial			Entrance posts	SE	Little surviving - post pair for entrance and two terminal sections of gully
195	Warrens Field, Island 2	Gully 198		9				SE or W	Little surviving
196	Warrens Field, Island 2	Gully 199		Partial					Little surviving
197	Warrens Field, Island 2	Gully 200		Partial					Little surviving
198	Warrens Field, Island 2	Enclosure 7		15x12				S or E	Little surviving
199	Warrens Field, Island 2	Enclosure 9		11.5				E	
200	Warrens Field, Island 2	Enclosure 6		11				NE	Lots of internal features, cant relate to use. Substantial ditch
201	Warrens Field, Island 2	Enclosure 5		12x9				E	
202	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 4		9.5				SE	
203	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 5		11			Entrance posts	NE	Long linear ditch running from entrance
204	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 6		10.5			Entrance posts	ESE	
205	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 8		11.5				SE	
206	Warrens Field, Island 2	Structure 12		10.5			Entrance posts	E	Short length of gully segregating entrance

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
207	Warrens Field, Island 1	Structure 1, enclosure 2		Inner 13; outer 22x20		Inner gully might be wall slot	Entrance posts just inside inner gully	SE	Has length of fence from S side of entrance. Substantial ditch
208	Warrens Field, Island 1	Structure 2a		12			Entrance posts	SE or E	Short length of gully segregating entrance
209	Warrens Field, Island 1	Structure 2b	7	12				SE or E	Short length of gully segregating entrance
210	Warrens Field, Island 1	Structure 3.1 (North) Gully 97		9			Entrance posts	SE	Gully joining house below
211	Warrens Field, Island 1	Structure 3.2 (South) Gully 80		6.5				N to E	See above
217	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 18 (1978)	10.5	14.5				No entrance	Gully joining ID220
218	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 19 (1978)	5.5	13				E	Gully just outside entrance with postholes. Controls entrance
219	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 13 (1978)	5.5	13				E	Gully just outside entrance with postholes. Controls entrance. Gully joining ID221
220	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 73 (1978)	6x8	11				W and E	Gully joining ID217. Post-ring in entrance to penannular gully
221	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 45 (1978)		8x9			Internal six poster	E	Gully joining ID219. Gully surrounding six-poster.
222	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 20 (1978)		18.5					Partially exposed
223	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 491 (1978)		20				SE	
224	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 32 (1978)		20					
225	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 286 (1978)		20				SE	
226	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 331 (1978)	10	13				?NW	Recut several times in the SE
227	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 290 (1978)		Partial					Only partially exposed
228	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 280/284 (1978)		c.17					Only partially exposed
229	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 273/279 (1978)		c.26					Only partially exposed

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
230	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1014 (1978)		11.5				E	
231	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1048 (1978)		11.5				E	
232	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1049 (1978)		14				E	End of MIA
233	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1034 (1978)		12.5				E	
234	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1035 (1978)	7.5	15				E	
235	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1020a (1978)	5x8	16.5				E	
236	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1020b (1978)		16.5				E	Interpreted as two phase building, but at least four recuts in gully. Only one post built house
237	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1025 (1978)		13.5				NE	
238	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1051 (1978)		14				E	
239	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1129 (1978)		15				E	
240	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1130 (1978)		15				E and W	
241	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1023 (1978)		24				E	
242	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Ditch 1052 (1978)		c.15				E	
250	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6286b, gullies 6048, 6139 (1999)				Wall Slot - 10.5			Gully 6139 may have held posts
251	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6286c, gully 6046 (1999)		10.5					Maybe just repair of ID250
253	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 5021a, gully 5338 (1999)		14				SW	
254	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 5021b, gullies 5339 (1999)		16		Possible Wall Slot - 11x13		NE	Terminal of inner gully had probable post-packing. Gullies inside
255	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6282 (1999)		10.5				E	Possible annex. Antenna ditches from entrance
256	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6283 (1999)		17x15; 17x18.5		Wall Slot - 10		E	Two gullies surround wall slot trench.
257	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6290 (1999)		13					

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
258	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6291 (1999)		c.12					
259	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6297 (1999)							
260	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6297a (1999)		Partial					Only partially exposed
261	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6297b (1999)		Partial					Only partially exposed
262	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6072 (1999)		Partial					Semi-circular - might not be house
263	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6301 (1999)		Partial					Semi-circular - might not be house
264	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Structure 6307 (1999)							Semi-circular - might not be house
266	Thornhill Farm	Structure 207		13				E	Gullies controlling entrance
267	Thornhill Farm	Structure 210	4.5						
268	Thornhill Farm	Structure 209		9.5				SE	
269	Thornhill Farm	Enclosure 120		12x16				SSW	Very substantial ditch. Number of postholes in E terminals - gate structure?
270	Thornhill Farm	Gullies 854 and 870		c.7				NW	Not considered a house in report - truncated
271	Thornhill Farm	Gully 949							Not considered a house in report - truncated
272	Thornhill Farm	Structure S206		Partial				E	Little detailed info or plan
273	Thornhill Farm	Structure E149						W	Little detailed info or plan
281	Horcott Pit	Gullies 3054 and 3055		c.16					Very tentative - only half of gully exposed
282	Horcott Pit	Gully 3063		c.10					
283	Horcott Pit	Gully 3067		c.14					
293	Coxwell Road, Faringdon	Roundhouse C, 1849		Not penan-nular					Does not look like house, unless rest of ditch completely truncated. But stratigraphically between ID292 and 294, so probably some kind of house. All MIA houses published in Cook *et al.*2005
294	Coxwell Road, Faringdon	Roundhouse C, 1846		12				NW and SE	

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
295	Coxwell Road, Faringdon	Roundhouse C, 1847		9				NW and SE	
296	Coxwell Road, Faringdon	Roundhouse C, 1861/1848		16				NW and SE	Three of these phases have associated human deposit.
297	Coxwell Road, Faringdon	Roundhouse D 1850	9.5	11				E	
298	Coxwell Road, Faringdon	Gullies 1851/1852		10			Internal four poster	?E	Semi-circular gully.
299	Coxwell Road, Faringdon	Gullies 1853/1854				Wall Slot - 6.5x8		ESE	Outer edge of gully had at least four features that should be posts within gully
300	Coxwell Road, Faringdon	Roundhouse E Gully 1661		10				E	
301	Spratsgate Lane Areas B and C	S8 and S1 (main house)		Inner 10; outer 19				Inner - SSW; outer - W	Enclosed by two ditches. Long antenna ditches leading from entrance to complex gated structure
302	Spratsgate Lane Areas B and C	S9 and S1 (main house, second phase)		Inner 13; outer 19				Inner - SSW; outer - W	Enclosed by two ditches. Long antenna ditches leading from entrance to complex gated structure
303	Spratsgate Lane Areas B and C	S5, 6, 7		15		Wall slot - 11.5		SSW	Inner postholes might have been continuous ditch that has been truncated. Multi-phased
304	Spratsgate Lane Areas B and C	S4		11					Four lengths of gully - much truncated
305	Spratsgate Lane Areas B and C	S27, 26 and 35	8.5	12.5				W	At least four phases of antenna ditches leading from entrance
306	Spratsgate Lane Areas B and C	S29		8				W	Joined to ID305 by linear ditch
307	Spratsgate Lane Area D	S36		9.5				ESE	
308	Spratsgate Lane Area D	S37		14				E	Antenna ditches leading from entrance.
309	Spratsgate Lane Area D	S38		8.5		Possible wall slot		E	Posthole in gully suggests possible wall slot
310	Spratsgate Lane Area D	S39		6.5				E	
311	Spratsgate Lane Area D	S42		14				ENE	
325	Latton Lands Central	Gully 2949		9.5				E	These precede MIA N-S boundary ditch

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
326	Latton Lands Central	Gully 2950		7.5				E	
327	Latton Lands Central	Gully 2897		12				S or SE	
328	Latton Lands Central	Gully 2896		13				NW	
329	Latton Lands Central	Gully 1280		11				?SSE	
330	Latton Lands Central	Gully 3205		10				?E	
331	Latton Lands Central	Gully 2916		8				E	
332	Latton Lands Central	Gully 2946							Very truncated
333	Latton Lands Central	Gully 3209	6.5	12.5				SE	
334	Latton Lands Central	Gully 1277		10				No entrance	
335	Latton Lands Central	Gully 3204		13				SE	
337	Latton Lands Northern	Gullies 3955		15x12					Discontinuous lengths of gullies
339	Groundwell Farm	House 2				Inner wall slot-11.75; Outer - 14.75	Internal four poster. Entrance posts	House - SSE; outer gully - ENE	Four entrance posts at entrance to house, and pair at opening of outer gully
340	Groundwell Farm	House 3	5.75			Wall slot - 12	Massive entrance posts	SE	
341	Groundwell Farm	House 4		Outer 19.5		Wall slot - 17.5	Internal three post support. Entrance posts	E	Very large - estimated height 10.5m
347	Groundwell West, phases 2 + 3	Roundhouse 2		12			Entrance posts	E	Entrance posts inside gully, and another just outside suggesting projecting porch
348	Groundwell West, phases 2 + 3	Roundhouse 4	13.5			Wall slot - 11		SE	Post-ring outside wall slot trench. Providing extra support for eaves?
349	Groundwell West, phases 2 + 3	Roundhouse 7	c.10.5. Incomplete	11.7				NW	Possible internal partitions

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
350	Groundwell West, phases 2 + 3	Roundhouse 3		12.5				ESE	
351	Groundwell West, phases 2 + 3	Roundhouse 1	10	11.7				SE	Internal supports - possible double post-ring
414	Cotswold Community/ Shorncote	Gully 1611, structure 1612		12			Entrance posts	SE	Antenna ditch from NE side. Arc of internal postholes. Brossler *et al.* 2002
423	Cotswold Community/ Shorncote Settlement Area 3	Roundhouse 4180	10.5	11				SE	Radiocarbon date - 323-205 cal BC (75%) Powell *et al.* 2010
424	Cotswold Community/ Shorncote Eastern Complex	T1000		9.2				SE	Two ditches leading from entrance to antenna ditch leading to large enclosure. Radiocarbon date 207-86 cal BC (77%)
425	Cotswold Community/ Shorncote Eastern Complex	T1001		9.8				N and S	To get to main enclosure have to go through house
426	Cotswold Community/ Shorncote Eastern Complex	T1002		9.8				House - SE; antenna ditch - SW	Gully leading from entrance swerves to SW.Radiocarbon date 322-226 (60%)
443	Totterdown Lane, west	Gully Feature 7		19				Main - S; subsid-ESE	Blocking ditch in entrance. Possibly later Bronze Age
444	Totterdown Lane, west	Roundhouse 1		9				Main - ESE; subsid-N	Blocking ditch in entrance.
445	Totterdown Lane, west	Roundhouse 2		9				E	Large posthole in entrance
446	Totterdown Lane, west	Roundhouse 3		13				?E-NE	Considerable amount of metallurgical debris inside. Partially exposed
447	Totterdown Lane, west	Roundhouse 4	?7.5	13				SE	Ring of posts tentative, but entrance posts clear
448	Totterdown Lane, east	Roundhouse 6		13					Earliest in sequence
449	Totterdown Lane, east	Roundhouse 5		10				SE	
450	Totterdown Lane, east	Roundhouse 8		c.11.5					
451	Totterdown Lane, east	Roundhouse 7		9.5					

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
452	Totterdown Lane, east	Roundhouse 9		13				SE	Very small entrance the becomes blocked. Antenna ditch
453	Totterdown Lane, east	Roundhouse 10							Much truncated.
454	Totterdown Lane, east	Enclosure 55 and 43		12				Main-N; subsid-SE	Double house enclosure ditch. Very substantial. Late MIA
458	Park Farm, Binfield	House 2		13.5		Wall slot - 10.5	Central post	SW	Entrance porch posts in gully terminal
459	Park Farm, Binfield	House 3	14				Central post	?ENE	
460	Park Farm, Binfield	House 4	10				Central post	?ENE	Multi-phased central post. Possible double post-ring
461	Park Farm, Binfield	Ditch 1020		11.5				ENE; SE; subsid SW	Blocking ditch and posthole by entrance. Late MIA or early LIA
462	Park Farm, Binfield	Ditch 1181		10					
463	Chilton Grove South (Site 21)	Ditches 1020, 1032, 1027							Partially exposed. Radiocarbon date 381-201 cal BC (95%)
464	Chilton Grove South (Site 21)	Ditches 1041, 1021							Partially exposed
465	Cornwall Copse (Site 32)	Ditch 1008		8				SE	
466	Cornwall Copse (Site 32)	Ditches 1004/1005/1034		12				?SE or none	Radiocarbon date 410-354 (79%)
467	Warpsgrove (Site 34)	Ditches 1001 and 1033		10.5					
468	Fairclough Farm	Structure 1		12.5			Central post	ENE	
469	Fairclough Farm	Structure 2		11.5			Central post	SW	
470	Site of the First Battle of Newbury	Roundhouse 1428		12			Entrance posts	ESE	
471	Jennett's Park	Structure 1		14		Wall slot - 9.5		Wall slot-ESE	Outer gully has no entrance
472	Jennett's Park	Structure 2		14				E	
473	Jennett's Park	Structure 8							Little surviving
474	Jennett's Park	Structure 3		7				ESE	

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
475	Jennett's Park	Structure 6		12					Little surviving
476	Larkwhistle Farm	Structure 194		10			One entrance post	Main - SE; subsid-NW	Two main phases
477	Larkwhistle Farm	Structure 209		9.5				Main - E; subsid-WSW	Built over causeway to enclosure. Would have to go through house to enter
490	Grazeley Road, Three Mile Cross	Ring gully Complex A, phase 3, 2002/2012, recut as 2004/2017		11			Entrance posts	Main - SE; subsid-NW	Sequence of three houses. Antenna ditches leading from entrance
491	Grazeley Road, Three Mile Cross	Ring gully Complex B, gully 2003		12				SE	Short antenna ditches leading from entrance
492	Thrope Lea Nurseries, west	Ditch 1845							Little surviving
493	Thrope Lea Nurseries, west	Ditch 2110		8					Little surviving
508	Danesfield Camp, Medmenham	Structure F43	5.5						
511	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut A		11.5				SE	Earlier than main enclosure
512	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut B		11.5				E	Earlier than main enclosure
513	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut C		9				SSW and NNE	
514	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut D	10.5	11.5				E	Has particularly prominent doorposts
515	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut E		7.6				SE	Earlier than main enclosure
516	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut F		13			One entrance post	SE	Earlier than main enclosure
517	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut G		13				S	
518	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut H		12				SE	
519	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut I	7	9				SE	
520	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut J		11				ESE	
521	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Hut K		12.8				W	Earlier than main enclosure

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
522	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Secondary Enclsoure		17x12			?Entrance posts - pit D and 8	E	Substantial ditch. Possibly not house. Late MIA or LIA
527	Brooklands	The House	8			Wall slot - 12.8	Internal four poster	W	Antenna ditch
528	Laleham	The ring gully		10				S	Partially exposed
546	Baird Road, Arborfield Garrison	Ring gully 201		14				ESE	
548	Ashford Prison	Circular Structure 1		11				SE or NW	Semi-circle. Lack of truncation suggests this is real
549	Ashford Prison	Circular Structure 2		10.5				SE	
550	Ashford Prison	Circular Structure 3		Inner 10.5 outer-13			Entrance posts	ESE	
551	Ashford Prison	Circular Structure 4		12		Possible wall slot - 11		E	Ditch joining SW of house to create partial enclosure
552	Ashford Prison	Circualr Structure 5, phase 1		9				SE	
553	Ashford Prison	Circular Structure 5, phase 2		10.5				SE	
554	Ashford Prison	Circular Structue 6		7				E	Joined to ID555 by ditch
555	Ashford Prison	Circular Structure 7		11.5			Entrance posts	ESE	Joined to ID554 by ditch
556	Ashford Prison	Circular Structure 8		13				SE	Substantial ditch
557	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 1		14			Entrance posts	SE	Badly truncated
558	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 2	8	12				ESE	
559	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 3		18				Main-S; subsid-SE	Large - might not be house
560	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 4		9				SE	
561	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 5		12.5				E	Has postholes segregating entrance. Antenna ditch leading from entrance

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
562	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 6		11					Badly truncated. Only semi-circle survived
563	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 7		11.8				SE	
564	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 8, phase 1		15			Entrance posts	NW	Substantial gully. Unusual house in settlement - different orientation and lots of finds
565	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 9		9			Internal four poster	?SE	
566	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 10	9	12.4			Central post/ internal four poster	ESE	
567	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 11		11.25				NE	
568	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 12		16				NW	Attached to possible animal pen
569	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 13		13.5				?SE	Badly truncated
570	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse14	7	11.5				SE	
571	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 15		15.4			One entrance post; central post	SE	
572	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse16		15.4			Entrance posts	SE	
573	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 17		13.5				Main-ESE; subsid-NW	Posthole in middle of entrance
574	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 18		12				SE	Posthole in middle of entrance
575	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 19		13.75				?SE	SW gap that joins to ID582. Beam slot at entrance
576	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 20		14.25				SE	
577	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 21		11				SE	
578	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 22		9				SE	Badly truncated
579	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 23		12				?SE	Badly truncated
580	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 24		12			Entrance posts	SE	

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
581	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 25		8					Badly truncated. Only semi-circle survived
582	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 26		11.5				NE	Entrance goes directly to house ID575
583	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 27		7.2				NW	Away from settlement
584	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 28		6				NW	Away from settlement
585	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 29		11.75				E	Badly truncated. Only semi-circle survived
586	Heathrow T5	Enclosure 30		7.5					Badly truncated. Only semi-circle survived
587	Heathrow T5	Roundhouse 8, phase 2		15			Entrance posts	NW	Substantial gully. Unusual house in settlement - different orientation and lots of finds
588	Heathrow T5	Enclsoure EC6						NE	Probable gully enclosing two houses
638	Sherborne House MIA	Structure 5		10.4				SE	Recut
639	Sherborne House MIA	Structure 10		11.7				SE	Much of interior truncated

A7.7 Other Date

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
	MBA/LBA								
534	Heathrow T5 Settlement 1	Posthole Group 4, SW	4.5x5.5						
535	Heathrow T5 Settlement 1	Posthole Group 4, NE	5x4.5						
536	Heathrow T5 Settlement 1	Posthole Group 5	5x6.5						
	MBA/LBA/EIA								
50	Eight Acre Field	109/126 and 149		9.5				Main - SW; Subsid-NW	LBA sherd in gully, but aligned to MBA waterhole
	MBA/LBA/Transitional								
412	CC/Shorncote Southern Settlement 1	Roundhouse T20363	7.7						Powell *et al.* 2010
413	CC/Shorncote Southern Settlement 1	Roundhouse 15978	5						Powell *et al.* 2010
648	Yarnton Site 4b	Circulat Structure	10			14		NW	Unexcavated, but close to LBA waterhole
	LBA/Transitional								
163	Rams Hill	Building D	5.5						The LBA pottery Bradley says in associated actually from palisade posthole (Needham and Ambers 1994, 236). Probably LBA
168	Bradford's Brook	House	7						Partially exposed
499	Jewson's Yard	Building 5	6		8.5			N	
507	Shepperton Green	The possible house	6		Yes			ENE	Possible multi-phased house

ID	Site	Feature Name	Post-ring (m)	Gully (m)	Porch Projection (m)	Outer Wall (m)	Entrance/ Central Posts	Orientation	More Information
	Transitional/EIA/MIA								
49	Beard Mill	The semi-circular house	9						Partially exposed. Lots of replacement post-holes
108	Gravelly Guy	Building M	6						Possible house. Semi-circle
127	Gravelly Guy	Building S	7.5					ENE	
	EIA/MIA								
56	Mount Farm	Postring inside F200/203	6						Not recognised in report
57	Mount Farm	W of ID56	5						Not recognised in report. Likely EIA
58	Mount Farm	NW of ID57	6						Not recognised in report. Dubious
59	Mount Farm	NW of ID58	6						Not recognised in report. Likely EIA
633	Bedfont	Hut circle 1/Enclosure 1		10				SE	
	MIA/LIA								
65	Milton Hill North	Roundhouse 3		c.12				E	Central hearth
66	Milton Hill North	Roundhouse 4		c.11.5				E	

Appendix 8: List of Human Remains

Abbreviations: Type - A = Articulated; C = Cremation; G = Group of bones; S = Single bone

House and SD columns refer to IDs of associated houses and special deposits, detailed in Appendices 7 and 9

A8.1 Middle Bronze Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
219	Corporation Farm		A			F	30 yrs	Crouched	On S edge of settlement. Below ID220.
220	Corporation Farm		A			?M	9 yrs	Crouched	On S edge of settlement. Below ID219.
221	Corporation Farm		S		214			Cranium	
234	Latton Lands	1750/1752	G		237	F	25-35 yrs	Cranium and femur	To S of settlement
235	Latton Lands	640	A			F	25-35 yrs	Crouched/Right/W	Poorly dated
259	Appleford Sidings	1566/1568	A			F	18-25 yrs	Crouched/Supine/ E	At edge of excavated area, near trackway. Globular urn placed by side
260	Appleford Sidings		C					Six pits with burnt human bone; 5 next to each other and one away	Away from open excavated area. Radiocarbon date
268	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	2508/2511	A			M	Mature adult	Crouched/N	To W of settlement
269	CC/Shorncote Enclosure 3239	Grave 3173	A			F	Young adult	Crouched/Right/NE	Far NW corner of enclosure. Radiocarbon date
304	Weir Bank Stud Farm	926	S						Field system ditch
305	Weir Bank Stud Farm	357	C				Adult	63.3g	In field system area in pit
309	Jennett's Park Burnt Mounds	4409	?C		316				
310	Knights Farm 3+4	Cremation	C					330g	Set into ground 2m south of small 3m ring ditch. With coarse bowl
320	Heathrow T5	Pit 544566	C			F	13-25 yrs		In field system. Radiocarbon date. LBA cremations in same area
331	Heathrow T5	Skel 595073	A			F	18-35 yrs	Crouched/Right/NE	On edge of excavated area, not near other features. Radiocarbon date

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
338	Reading Business Park Area 3100/3000B field system	Pit 1159	C				Adult		Next to field system ditch. Two individuals in same pot
341	Reading Business Park Area 3100/3000B field system	Pit 1159	C				Sub-adult		Next to field system ditch. Two individuals in same pot
344	Reading Business Park Area 3100/3000B field system	1308/1309	C						0.1m away from IDs 338-9
346	Reading Business Park field system	Waterhole 2690	S		407		Adult	Tibia frag	Brossler *et al.* 2013. In field system. Bayesian modelled
347	Reading Business Park field system	Waterhole 3091	C		408			10g	Brossler *et al.* 2013. In field system. Bayesian modelled
348	Reading Business Park field system	Waterhole 3201	C		409			>10g	Brossler *et al.* 2013. In field system. Bayesian modelled
349	Reading Business Park field system	Grave 222	A			M	35-45	Complete but degraded. Crouched/Left/W	Brossler *et al.* 2013. In field system
351	Yarnton Site 5	Burial 9456	A			?F	17-25 yrs	Poor condition. Crouched/Right/NW	Cut fill of Neolithic enclosure ditch
352	Yarnton Site 5	Pit 9039	C					2g	Cut fill of Neolithic enclosure ditch
353	Yarnton Site 5	Pit 9039	C					Small quantity	Cut fill of Neolithic enclosure ditch
355	Yarnton Site 5	Pit 9048	C					6g	Inside Neolithic enclosure. Radiocarbon dates
356	Yarnton Site 4d	Pit 17008	C					123g	
357	Yarnton Site 10	Pit 14034	C				?Adult	49g	Radiocarbon dates
359	Eton Rowing Course Area 20, 24 etc. field system	Pit 18175	A				c.25 years	Crouched/Left/N	In enclosure 1 - part of field system
360	Eton Rowing Course Area 20, 24 etc. field system	27/7	C					Little surviving - badly truncated	In enclosure 3 - part of field system
361	Eton Rowing Course Area 20, 24 etc. field system	23/9	C					Little surviving - badly truncated	In enclosure 3 - part of field system
362	Eton Rowing Course Area 20, 24 etc. field system	23/11	C					Little surviving - badly truncated	In enclosure 3 - part of field system. With plain bucket urn
363	Eton Rowing Course Area 20, 24 etc. field system	23/12	C					Little surviving - badly truncated	In enclosure 3 - part of field system
364	Eton Rowing Course Area 20, 24 etc. field system		C					Little surviving - badly truncated	In enclosure 3 - part of field system

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
373	Eton Rowing Course Area 10	86/33	A			M	c.35 yrs	Largely complete. Crouched/Left/NW	Adjacent to waterhole 6765, near ID374. Radiocarbon date
374	Eton Rowing Course Area 10	86/8	A				Adoles-cent	Crouched/Right/NW	Adjacent to waterhole 6765, near ID373
376	Lake End Road West	E.343	C					42g	In area of field system. With remains of bucket urn
378	Marsh Lane East	60200	C				Adult	183g	Near house
379	Marsh Lane East	60206	C				Adult	1g	c.20m NW of house
380	Marsh Lane East	60211	C					30g	c.40 W of house. With bucket urn
381	Marsh Lane East	60212	C					10g	c.20m NW of house. With DR pot

A8.2 Late Bronze Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
20	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	F.3017; C.3081	S				Adult	Left radius shaft	Enclosure ditch. Radiocarbon date
57	Mount Farm	F.162	G				Adult; juvenile	Skull frag; 2 adult bones; 1 juvenile bone	Waterhole upper fill cut into E/MBA ring ditch. Could be redeposited
227	Roughground Farm	1157	A			M	30-35 yrs	Crouched/Left/NW	On edge of excavated area. No other LBA activity. Radiocarbon date
315	Carshalton		A/C				c.6 yrs	Complete/Crouched	c.50m SW of enclosure. Partially calcinated. With a saddle quern. Might not be LBA
321	Heathrow T5	Pit 106013	C			F	Adult		Isolated. c.65m W of settlement 4
322	Heathrow T5 Settlement 8	827119	C						Near other cremations, c.75m from settlement. Radiocarbon date
323	Heathrow T5 Settlement 8	830083	C						Near other cremations, c.75m from settlement. Radiocarbon date
324	Heathrow T5 Settlement 10	699044	C				5-7 yrs		In group of cremation, c.40m NE of settlement. All have modelled radiocarbon dates
325	Heathrow T5 Settlement 10	699046	C				Adult		In group of cremation, c.40m NE of settlement.
326	Heathrow T5 Settlement 10	699048	C				Subadult / Adult		In settlement enclosure
327	Heathrow T5 Settlement 10	698001	C				Adult		In group of cremation, c.40m NE of settlement
328	Heathrow T5 Settlement 10	699001	C				Infant		In group of cremation, c.40m NE of settlement
329	Heathrow T5 Settlement 10	699010	C				Subadult / Adult		In group of cremation, c.40m NE of settlement
332	Heathrow T5 Settlement 10	699060	C				Adult		In group of cremation, c.40m NE of settlement
335	Reading Business Park 7000	Pit 7264	A			F	30+	Crouched/Left/NW	In pit cluster
336	Reading Business Park 7000	Pit 7181	C				Adult	60g	To S of pit cluster
337	Reading Business Park 7000	Pit 7180	C				Adult	65g	In pit cluster
339	Reading Business Park 3100/3000B	3376	A			F	30+	Crouched/Right/SE	1992. In settlement
340	Reading Business Park 3100/3000B	1015	S					Worked skull frag	2004. Waterhole on edge of house cluster

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
342	Reading Business Park 3100/3000B	1163/ 1114	C					9g	
343	Reading Business Park 3100/3000B	1334/ 1344	C	627				1g	In posthole of roundhouse
345	Reading Business Park 3100/3000B	1857/ 1859	C			?M	Adult	141g	
350	Stone, former nurses home	F.1037	C				Adult	406g	In field system
386	Cassington West		C				All adults	28 contexts contained cremated bone, 12 with 1g or less. Work ongoing	Many associated with structures. 2 have radiocarbon dates, 1 in EIA, 1 LBA (not associated with structure)
365	Eton Rowing Course Area 1	1945	S					100mm frag of tibia	In layer on eyot
367	Eton Rowing Course Area 1	1920	S					Mandible	In layer on eyot
382	Marsh Lane East	60132	C			M	Adult	376g	In group by silted palaeochannel crossed by ditches
383	Marsh Lane East	60089	C			M	Adult	251g	In group by silted palaeochannel crossed by ditches Radiocarbon date
384	Marsh Lane East	60090	C					2g	In group by silted palaeochannel crossed by ditches
385	Marsh Lane East	60146/ 60144	C				Adult	26g	In group by silted palaeochannel crossed by ditches
386	Marsh Lane East	80013	C					18g	Isolated. Might not be LBA
389	Runnymede		S					Skull	Needham 1992. Near entranceway
390	Runnymede		G					Two mandibles	Needham 1992. Near entranceway

A8.3 LBA/EIA Transition

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
29	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps midden	F.1444/ 1445	S				Adult	Skull frag	2010
58	Mount Farm	L.145	G				c.9 yrs	c.20 bones	From ploughsoil. Near E/MBA ring ditch
59	Mount Farm	L.145	G				Neonate	c.20 bones	From ploughsoil. Near E/MBA ring ditch
225	Whitecross Farm	1951	S					Skull frag	1986. In midden. Little information
226	Whitecross Farm	1951+	G					3 Skull frags	1986. In midden. Little information
270	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	18536 ?18534	C						Powell *et al.* 2010. To W of settlement. Poorly dated
271	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	132	S		288		Adult	Skull frags	Brossler *et al.* 2002. N edge of settlement
308	Waylands Nursery	105	G				0-6 mths	6 frags, inc. femur, tibia and humerus	In very loose spread of PHs
311	Abbey Meads	6/15	G			M	35-45	Skull, mandible, 5 vertebrae	Between layers 6 and 15. May have originally been complete, with neck cut off by gravel digging
316	Old Way Lane	1629	C				Adult	34g	Might be redeposited MBA. Near 1642
317	Old Way Lane	1642	C				Adult	66g	Might be redeposited MBA
366	Eton Rowing Course Area 1	1946	S		431			Ulna	In layer on eyot
686	Eton Rowing Course Area 1	1813	S			M	Adult	Skull	In layer on eyot. Might not be Transitional

A8.4 LBA/EIA Transition or Early Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
31	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps		S					Skull frag	Hingley 1980. Midden. Not the same individual
32	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps		S					Skull frag	Hingley 1980. Midden. Not the same individual
33	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps		S					Skull frag	Hingley 1980. Midden. Not the same individual
34	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps		S					Tooth	Hingley 1980. Midden. Not the same individual
160	Yarnton	8592/8591	S			F	26-35 yrs	Skull without jaw	Near rectangular structure 8202
161	Yarnton	7059/7029	S				Neonate	Distal half of humerus	Near rectangular structure 8202
162	Yarnton	7018/7017	C					Femur	
163	Yarnton	7644	S				Adult	Ulna	
164	Yarnton	276	S		159			Skull vault frags	Cut by MIA enclosure
165	Yarnton	951	S		169		Neonate	Phalanx	
247	Coxwell Road	622	S					Right femur frag	Weaver and Ford 2004
248	Coxwell Road	210	S					Right humerus frag	Weaver and Ford 2004
255	Coxwell Road	1052/1054	G					Radius and skull frags	Cook *et al.* 2004.
369	Eton Rowing Course Areas 3 + 5		S					Femur	Phase 5 channel deposit. Radiocarbon date
370	Eton Rowing Course Areas 3 + 5		S					Femur	Channel deposit in Area 3
371	Eton Rowing Course Areas 3 + 5		S					Femur	Channel deposit near bridge 3483. Radiocarbon date

A8.5 Early Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
6	Segsbury	1019	A	7	4		Infant	Virtually complete	Pit near house
7	Segsbury	1336	S			?F	Adult	Right humerus, missing proximal end and one third of distal end	In pit group
8	Segsbury	1007	S					Left radial midshaft	Near pit group
17	Segsbury		S				Adult	Humerus - midshaft	Phase 3 rampart
35	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	1401	S				16-20 yrs	Humerus - complete head	Allen *et al.* 2010. Midden
37	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	1401	S				22-28 yrs	1st molar	Allen *et al.* 2010. Midden
38	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	15003	A			M	18-20	Flexed/Left side in report, but right in plan/W	Allen *et al*. 2010.
39	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	15155	A				Neonate	Crouched/Left side in report, but right in plan/W	Allen *et al.* 2010. Probably inserted soon after deposition of ID37
46	Spring Road	2126/2125	A	47			4 or 5 yrs	Missing upper right arm. Crouched/Right/SE	Bone ring found in pit. West side of house. Bayesian model of burial group.
47	Spring Road	2126	G	47			3 mths	Femurs, tibia, six long bones, six ribs, two skull frags.	West side of house
48	Spring Road	2241/2243	A	47		M	19-21 yrs	Missing skull, mandible and some neck vertebrae - these might have been removed in later cut. Crouched/Prone/NW	NE side of house
49	Spring Road	2200/2199	A	47		M	20-24 yrs	Crouched/Supine/N	N side of house
50	Spring Road	Area 4, A4	A					Missing skull. Left/S	c.50m W of house
51	Spring Road		A						c.75 NW of house. Poorly dated
60	Mount Farm	F.134	A			F	40+	Nearly complete. Crouched/L/SW	Very shallow pit. In pit spread, near earlier barrow
62	Mount Farm	F.118	S				Neonate	1 bone	In pit spread, near earlier barrow. Radiocarbon date
63	Mount Farm	F.122	S				Adult	1 bone	
64	Mount Farm	F.137	G				Infant	4 bones	In pit spread, near earlier barrow.
65	Mount Farm	F.140	G				0.5-1 yrs	18 bones	In pit spread, near earlier barrow.
66	Mount Farm	F.671	G		45		17-23 yrs	17 bones	On edge of S pit spread

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
85	Heyford Road	Pit 663	G			?F	Adult	Long bone midshafts - femur, tibia, fibula, humerus, radius and ulna	Cut into terminal of enclosure ditch
97	Gravelly Guy	502	A	114	72	F	Less than 40 yrs	Largely complete. Crouched/Left/NW	Pit near door of house
105	Gravelly Guy	320	G		78		1-3 mths	Several bones from R side of body	N edge of pit cluster, between buildings AA and Y
106	Gravelly Guy	326	S	116	80		Adult	Skull frag cut into disc shape, perforated and worn as a pendant	Inside porch of house AA, on N edge of settlement
114	Gravelly Guy	1248	S		82		Infant	Humerus	On SW edge of pits
115	Gravelly Guy	1248	S		82		0.5-1 yr	Ulna	Same pit as above
126	Gravelly Guy	1376	S		85		20-25 yrs	Mandible	
127	Gravelly Guy	1391	G	119	106		Pre-mature	Skull frag, femur	Straddling SSW edge of building H. 1m SE of ID132
131	Gravelly Guy	1624	S				Infant	Femur	In SW boundary ditch
137	Gravelly Guy	2118	G		90		Infant	Skull, 4 ribs, clavicle, scapula, humerus, tibia	Far SW of settlement
141	Gravelly Guy	2166	G				Infant	Ulna, femur, tibia	
143	Gravelly Guy	2177	S				Adult	Skull frag	
144	Gravelly Guy	2217	A				Neonate	Virtually complete. Crouched/L/SW	On far SE of settlement
147	Gravelly Guy	2300	S				Infant	Rib	In posthole
149	Gravelly Guy	2317	S				Infant	Femur	In SW enclosure ditch
151	Gravelly Guy	2425	S				Adult	Fibula	
157	Gravelly Guy	2680	A				Neonate	Virtually complete. Extended/Supine/S	On far SE of settlement
211	Blewburton	Cutting E	S						1947. In rampart core
222	Abingdon West Central Redevelopment	236	A			M	Adult	Crouched/Left/S	S terminal of ditch
229	Roughground Farm	1275	A			M	30-35 yrs	Arms raised but legs bent/Prone/NE	Near ID228. Away from other activity. Might be MIA
239	Watchfield West	139/138	S				Adult	Skull frag	
251	Coxwell Road	1022	S		261		Adult	Left radius	Cook *et al.* 2004. Top of large pit deposit

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
257	The Loders	Inhumation burial	A			M	20-25 yrs	Complete. Crouched	Little information
273	Alfreds Castle	4045	S		294		Adult	Part of femur	Near NW rampart entrance on cobbled surface, part of rampart construction but extended into entrance gap
274	Alfreds Castle	4042	S				Adult	Skull frag. Polished with fine cut marks	Part of rampart, overlaying layer with ID273
275	Alfreds Castle	4002/4029	S				Adult	Tooth	Top layer of rampart structure
276	Alfreds Castle	4063/4116	C/S		295		Adult	Mandible frag. Burnt	Just inside rampart, by entrance. Secondary fill
277	Alfreds Castle	4063/4072	G		296		Adult	4072-Fibula frag; 4070-Vertebra frag	Just inside rampart, by entrance. Tertiary fill
278	Alfreds Castle	4063/4069	G		296		Adult	Right scapula frag; atlas. Polished	Just inside rampart, by entrance. Upper fill
279	Alfreds Castle	4131/4127	S				Juvenile	Left Clavicle	Just inside rampart, by entrance. Cutting pit 4063, IDs276-278
280	Alfreds Castle	2104/2105	S		298		Adult	Pieced skull frag. Lightly burnt and polished	Centre of hillfort
281	Alfreds Castle	Main 2123; also 2104, 2178/2229	S		300		Adult	Skull frags from same individual in various pits. Stained blue by exposure to manganese.	LBA radiocarbon date. Centre of hillfort
282	Alfreds Castle	5377/5378	C				?Adult	Phalange; fibula frags; skull fags; mandible frags; radius frag; other	In NW in hillfort
283	Alfreds Castle	5119/5120	C	442	305		Adult	Vertebrae frag	Part of intercutting pit series, over house gully
284	Alfreds Castle	5257/5262, 5258	S		306		Adult	Left scapula frags	Part of intercutting pits. Inside house.
285	Alfreds Castle	5257	G		307		5-6 yrs	Skull frag, skull bone, right femur. From three different contexts in same pit	Same pit as ID284, upper fills
286	Alfreds Castle	5022	G/C		308		Adult	3 skull frags - burnt; another fill - 6skull frags (unburnt), burnt long bone; another fill - pelvis frag, burnt mandible frag	Multiple bones from different fills. Might not all be same individual. Towards NW of hillfort
287	Alfreds Castle	5022	G		309		Infant	Rib; skull frags; rib frags; pelvis frags, skull frags	Multiple bones from different fills. Might not all be same individual. Towards NW of hillfort
288	Alfreds Castle	2006	S				Adult	Skull frag. Sawn, possibly perforated	From medieval context, but probably redeposited
289	Alfreds Castle	17008	S				Adult	Skull frag. Has wear and polish	From Roman context, but overlaying EIA pits and probably redeposited

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
290	Alfreds Castle	14015/ 14016	S				Adult	Skull frag. Polished	Outside hillfort in linear ditch to SW
291	Alfreds Castle	1162/1163	S				Adult	Right radius frag	In centre of HF
292	Alfreds Castle	2104/2113	S				Adult	Rib frag	In centre of HF
293	Alfreds Castle	2118/2119	S				Adult	Skull frag	In centre of HF
294	Alfreds Castle	2223/2147	G				Adult	Vertebrae and vertebrae process; skull frags	In centre of HF
295	Alfreds Castle	2189/2171	G				Adult	Vertebra; left rib frag; left mandible frag; humerus frag. Fill 2208 - vertebrae. Fill 2267-Sturnum frag, rib frag, fibula frag	In centre of HF
296	Alfreds Castle	2177/2209	S				Infant	Skull frag	In centre of HF
297	Alfreds Castle	2234/2235	S				Infant	Scapula frag	In centre of HF
298	Alfreds Castle	2143/2250	S				Adult	Fibula frag	In centre of HF
299	Alfreds Castle	5298/5299	S				?Adult	Vertebra frag	In NW of hillfort
300	Alfreds Castle	5300/5301	S				Adult	Vertebra	In NW of hillfort
312	Snowy Fielder Way	227	S		339		Neonate	Radius	

A8.6 Middle Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
1	Watkins Farm	489	A	4		F	Over 30 yrs	Missing one arm and lower right leg. Extended/ Right/SW	Well in house. MBA radiocarbon date from wooden object associated with body, but environmental evidence suggests MIA deposition
2	Watkins Farm	12	S				Adult	Skull frags	Ditch just outside entrance to main enclosure
3	Watkins Farm	495	S	6		M	Adult	Skull frags	Ditch near house
4	Watkins Farm	410	S	6			Adult	Left tibia	House gully
5	Watkins Farm	23	S				Adult	Right humerus	From probably house gully, but very truncated
19	Segsbury	7607/7621	S				Adult	Right humerus missing proximal and distal ends	Main rampart ditch, near S entrance
21	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	3152/3160	A		17	M	40-50 yrs	Near complete. Crouched/Right/S	Burial pit cluster. Same pit as ID22, different fill. Radiocarbon date
22	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	3152/3143	A		17	F	20-25 yrs	4 separately articulating sections. 1 - some vertebrae and ribs; 2 - some vertebrae and sacrum; 3 - left pelvis and femur; 4 - left tibia	Cut marks on femur and tibia, probably from dismemberment or defleshing. Decomposition not advanced - certain parts deliberately selected whilst corpse fairly fresh
23	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	3116/3113	A			F	25-35 yrs	Tightly crouched, probably originally bound/Right/N.	Burial pit cluster. Staining on associated animal bone suggests buried with cu alloy object
24	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	3155/3163	A			F	Adult	Supine/W	Burial pit cluster. Only partly uncovered. Cut away on S by Roman feature. Radiocarbon date
25	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	3098/3048	A				Neonate	Crouched/Right/S	Burial pit cluster
26	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	3015/3016	G			M	Adult	Left pelvis frags; left and right femurs	Burial pit cluster. Earliest of three intercutting pits. Buried with small iron strip
27	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	6022	?A					Femur, tibia, skull and finger bone frags	May have belonged to articulated burial - disturbed by medieval pit which contained numerous human bones. Radiocarbon date
28	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	3057/3058	G				Adult	Cranial frags; two hand bones	Burial pit cluster
40	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	15341	S					Femur shaft	

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
41	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	149	S	22		M	Less than 40 yrs	Skull frag	In contiguous structure to house
42	City Farm North	N/1	C				Adult	94g	Could be BA. In group of pits
43	City Farm East		C	31					Harding 1972, 68. Pit in roundhouse
44	City Farm West	13	A					Crouched	In group of pits. Skull found a few inches from vertebrae. Associated with 'much animal bone'
45	Appleford	F.177/ Ditch 121	A	37			Infant		Upper filling of enclosure ditch, southern end
52	Beard Mill	Pit 25	G/(A)	48				corpse had been dismembered and heaped haphazard… foot bones [articulated] but placed on top of a couple of rib bones; arm and leg bones lay above a badly damaged cranium. Parts of the body were missing'	Cut into outer SE side of house gully. Associated with some Transitional pottery, but stratigraphically MIA
53	Mingies Ditch	602 and 611	S				Subadult / Adult	Cranium frag	Redeposited - post abandonment contexts but probably related to IA site. Peripheral area of settlement
54	Mingies Ditch	603	S				Subadult / Adult	1 phalange	Enclosure ditch
55	Mingies Ditch		S				Subadult / Adult	Cranium frag	Outer enclosure ditch at the N causeway
67	Mount Farm	F.4	S				Adult	1 bone	Far NW of site in double ditched track. All from boundaries and ditches controlling movement around site
68	Mount Farm	6/A/1	A				Neonate	Nearly complete	Parallel to ID67
69	Mount Farm	6/B/1	A				Neonate	Half complete	Parallel to ID67
70	Mount Farm	126/A/1	G				Neonate	5 bones	Leading off from ditch 6, with IDs68, 69
71	Mount Farm	126/B/1	G				Neonate	4 bones	Leading off from ditch 6, with IDs68, 69
72	Mount Farm	126/C/1	S				Neonate	1 bone	Leading off from ditch 6, with IDs68, 69
73	Mount Farm	206/M/1	A				Neonate	Nearly complete	Enclosing possible houses IDs56-61
74	Mount Farm	F.131	S				Neonate	1 bone	Might be LIA. At right angles from ditches 6 and 4, containing ID67-69. Maybe replacement of 126, containing ID70-72

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
75	Mount Farm	F.136	S				6-9 mths	1 bone	Near 131, containing ID74
76	Mount Farm	F.505/A/1	S		47		Adult	1 bone	Paddock boundary in S part of site. Radiocarbon date
77	Mount Farm	F.505/A/1	A		47		Neonate	Half complete	Paddock boundary in S part of site. Radiocarbon date
80	Milton Hill North	22316. 22318	A				Infant	Complete. Crouched. Effected by slight periostitis - probably responsible for death	In pit cluster
83	Land South of Marcham	5049	A			M	25-35 yrs	Complete. Crouched/Right/N	Radiocarbon date
86	Heyford Road	Pit 565	G					13 frags	Cut into terminal of enclosure ditch, next to ID85
88	Heyford Road	Pit 565	G					Bone frags	See above
89	Thrupp	F.1	S	80				Skull frag	House gully, N side
90	Noahs Ark Inn/Frilford	Pit 41/41a	A	82			15-17 yrs	Complete. Crouched/Left/N	Inside house, N side
91	Noahs Ark Inn/Frilford		A	82			Infant	Nearly complete	Inside house on S side, in shallow pit
91	Purwell Farm	Pit 4	A			M	30's	Complete. Crouched	In pit spread
92	Purwell Farm	Pit 5	G			M	Adult		In pit spread. Removed before excavation
93	Purwell Farm	Pit 5	A			M	Adult	Complete down to waist. Supine	In pit spread. Same pit as above
95	Gravelly Guy	2256 A/1	G	100	64		Infant	Tibia and Femur	House gully, near SE terminal
96	Gravelly Guy	2395 - cut 3	G	101	68		Infant	Humerus, tibia and ulna	House gully, at back of enclosure - NW
98	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	17	S		76		35-40 yrs	Skull	In pit spread next to ID99
99	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	18	G				3-4 yrs	Skull and some bones from thorax and arms	In pit spread next to ID98. Found with iron spearhead
101	Gravelly Guy	143	S	92			Infant	Ulna	Pit at E edge of house
102	Gravelly Guy	187	G				Infant	Tibia, femur	On SW edge of pits
103	Gravelly Guy	187	S				Adult	Skull frag	Same pit and fill as ID102
104	Gravelly Guy	247	A				1-2 mths	Most of skeleton	On SW edge of pits, 10m NE of ID102 and 103
107	Gravelly Guy	330	G				Neonate	Several bones from all parts of body	On SW edge of pits, 3m from IDs102 and 103; and special deposit IDs94 and 95. Inside fourposter b
108	Gravelly Guy	346	S				Adult	Skull frag	On NE edge of pits

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
109	Gravelly Guy	1133	A		81	F	35-40 yrs	Virtually complete. Crouched/Right/SW	On SW edge of pits
110	Gravelly Guy	1161	G				Neonate	Parts of skull and several limb bones	
112	Gravelly Guy	1220	A				1-2 mths	Virtually Complete. Crouched/Right/ENE	
113	Gravelly Guy	1230	G	97			Neonate	Several bones from all parts of body	SE side of house
116	Gravelly Guy	1250	S	98	63		Infant	Tibia	On SE side of house gully
117	Gravelly Guy	1291	S				Adult	Skull frag	
118	Gravelly Guy	1325	G				Infant	Ulna, femur, tibia	On SW edge of pits
120	Gravelly Guy	1339	A		83	?M	Less than 40 yrs	Virtually complete. Crouched/Right/NW	
121	Gravelly Guy	1346	A		84		Infant	largely complete	Inside house I, but later so not counted
122	Gravelly Guy	1347	S				Adult	Skull frag	Inside house I, but later so not counted
123	Gravelly Guy	1362	A	117			Infant	Largely complete	On S side of building G
124	Gravelly Guy	1367	S				Adult	Skull frag	
125	Gravelly Guy	1371	A		105		Neonate	Virtually complete. Crouched/Left/N	
128	Gravelly Guy	1422	A				Neonate	Virtually complete. Crouched/Left/NE	3m S of ID129
129	Gravelly Guy	1424	A				Neonate	Virtually complete. Crouched/Right/N	3m to N of ID128
130	Gravelly Guy	1479	S		86		Infant	Skull frag	
133	Gravelly Guy	1648	A				0-1 mth	Largely complete	
134	Gravelly Guy	1703	S		87		Adult	Femur	
135	Gravelly Guy	1757/1758	A		88		Neonate	Virtually complete. Crouched/Right/NW	Over house W, but later so not counted
138	Gravelly Guy	2144	A			F	Less than 40 yrs	Virtually complete. Crouched/Right/SE. Legs above level of head	On far SW of settlement
139	Gravelly Guy	2150	A				Pre-mature	Humerus, femur, 2 tibiae	
140	Gravelly Guy	2156	G				Infant	Rib, femur	
142	Gravelly Guy	2169	?A				0-1 mth	Virtually complete	

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
145	Gravelly Guy	2293	S	102			Infant	Tibia	Over house enclosure ditch
146	Gravelly Guy	2299	S				Adult	Tibia	Cut into SW enclosure ditch
150	Gravelly Guy	2404	A		91		Neonate	Virtually complete. Crouched/Right/NE	
152	Gravelly Guy	2426	G				Neonate	Several bones	On far SE side of settlement
154	Gravelly Guy	2465	S	104			Infant	Ulna	Cut into SW side of house enclosure ditch, opposite entrance. Late MIA
155	Gravelly Guy	2477	A				Neonate	Virtually complete. Extended/Right/SE	Part of main SW boundary ditch
156	Gravelly Guy	2663	S				Infant	Femur	On far NE of settlement
158	Gravelly Guy	2775	S	104			Adult	Skull frag	NE side of house enclosure
159	Gravelly Guy	2930	G				2-3 mths	Part of skeleton, mainly from R side of body	Far NE of settlement
166	Yarnton settlement	135/136	A	156			Neonate	Hands and feet bones missing	Cut into NW area of ring gully. Disturbed
167	Yarnton settlement	248	S	156				Tibia shaft	Cut by E terminal of house gully
168	Yarnton settlement	746	S	145	190			Femur shaft	Cutting NE house gully
169	Yarnton settlement	1189	S		189			Left ulna	In area much disturbed by Roman activity
170	Yarnton settlement	412/411	A	150			Infant	Missing pelvis, part of mandible and metapodials. Extended/Supine	Posthole. Inside house enclosure on W side, maybe SW posthole of smaller first house
172	Yarnton outlying inhumations	1683	A					Skeleton missing	Recovered during gravel extraction in area disturbed by Roman ditches, in central Yarnton area. Not near any Iron Age features. Poorly dated
173	Yarnton outlying inhumations	1682	?A			M	18+ yrs	Missing left arm, legs and most of vertebrae	Recovered during gravel extraction in area disturbed by Roman ditches, in central Yarnton area. Not near any Iron Age features. Poorly dated
174	Yarnton outlying inhumations	1681	A			M	45+ yrs		Recovered during gravel extraction in area disturbed by Roman ditches, in central Yarnton area. Not near any Iron Age features. Poorly dated
177	Yarnton outlying inhumations	132/133	A			M	26-35	Mostly complete. Crouched/Right/W	Not close to any other IA features, although could be far S area of settlement, or just outside it
178	Yarnton settlement	376/1 377	G			M	26-35 yrs	Missing skull and mandible, right arm and both legs. No complete long bones	On line of trackway defined by fence lines. Disturbed by ID 179

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
179	Yarnton settlement	376/2 377	A			?M	18+ yrs	Missing scapulae, clavicles and vertebrae. Crouched/Right	On line of trackway defined by fence lines.
180	Yarnton outlying inhumations	496=998A	A				Neonate	Largely complete	Recovered during gravel extraction in area disturbed by Roman ditches, in central Yarnton area. Not near any Iron Age features. Poorly dated
181	Yarnton settlement	719/714 715?	G				Neonate	Some long bones and torso	In far N of excavated area
182	Yarnton outlying inhumations	1346	G				1-5 yrs	Vertebral arches	Not close to any other IA features, although could be far S area of settlement, or just outside it
183	Yarnton cemetery	1396	?A			?M	26-35 yrs	Missing right arm and most of torso	In N cemetery area. Central W. Recovered during gravel extraction
184	Yarnton cemetery	1397	A			F	26-35 yrs	Missing mandible, all vertebrae and both legs	In N cemetery area. Central W. Recovered during gravel extraction
185	Yarnton cemetery	2021	?A/?G				18+ yrs	Lower vertebrae, legs and lower arms, rib frags, metacarpals and metatarsals	In S cemetery area. Very disturbed. Recovered during gravel extraction
186	Yarnton cemetery	2022/2023	A			M	26-35 yrs	Virtually complete. Crouched/Left/N	In S cemetery area. W side
187	Yarnton cemetery	2025	?A				26-35yrs	Missing most of vertebrae, hands and feet	In S cemetery area. Central. Recovered during gravel extraction
188	Yarnton cemetery	2026/2027	?A			M	18+	Missing hands and feet	In S cemetery area. Central. Recovered during gravel extraction
189	Yarnton cemetery	2028/2029	A			F	18+ yrs	Missing upper body	In S cemetery area. Central E. Recovered during gravel extraction
190	Yarnton cemetery	2033/2034	A			?M	18+ yrs	Missing skull, hands and feet. Crouched	In S cemetery area. N. Recovered during gravel extraction
191	Yarnton cemetery	2041/2042	A				13-15 yrs	Missing most of vertebrae. Crouched/Left/N	In S cemetery area. SE. Damaged during machine excavation
192	Yarnton cemetery	2048/2049	?A				18+	Frag lower legs survive	In S cemetery area. S. Recovered during gravel extraction
193	Yarnton cemetery	2051	G				6-11yrs	Skull and femur frags	In S cemetery area. SE. Bones found 1.5m W of 2041
194	Yarnton cemetery	2069/2070	A				13-14 yrs	Virtually complete. Crouched/Left/NW	In S cemetery area. Central
195	Yarnton cemetery	2569/2570	A			M	18-25 yrs	Virtually complete. Crouched/Right/N	In N cemetery area. SE. 1 Roman sherd in fill
196	Yarnton cemetery	2709	?A			F	18-25 yrs	Missing most of lower body. NE	In N cemetery area. SE. Recovered during gravel extraction

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
197	Yarnton cemetery	2710	A			F	18-25 yrs	Virtually complete. Extended/Supine/N	In N cemetery area. SW
198	Yarnton cemetery	2711	A			F	26-35 yrs	Missing mandible and legs. Crouched	In N cemetery area. S. Recovered during gravel extraction
199	Yarnton cemetery	2712	A				5-7yrs	Missing left leg. Flexed/Supine/W	In N cemetery area. Recovered during gravel extraction
200	Yarnton cemetery	2713	A			F	26-35 yrs	Virtually complete	In N cemetery area. NE. Recovered during gravel extraction
201	Yarnton cemetery	2714	A				12-13 yrs	Virtually Complete. Crouched/W	In N cemetery area. E. Recovered during gravel extraction
202	Yarnton cemetery	2715	A				13-14 yrs	Missing skull. ?NE	In N cemetery area. N. Recovered during gravel extraction
203	Yarnton cemetery	2716	A			M	18+ yrs	Missing skull and mandible. Supine/?NE	In N cemetery area. Central. Recovered during gravel extraction
204	Yarnton cemetery	2717	A			M	18+	Virtually complete. Crouched/Left/NW	In N cemetery area. W
205	Yarnton cemetery	2718	A				14-17 yrs	Virtually complete. Crouched/Left/N	In N cemetery area. NE
206	Yarnton cemetery	2719	A				13-17yrs	Missing upper torso. Crouched/Left/S	In N cemetery area. N. Badly damaged by machine
207	Yarnton cemetery	2720	A			F	26-35 yrs	Missing legs. Extended/Supine/N	In N cemetery area. NW. Damaged by machine
208	Yarnton cemetery	2066	G				18+ yrs	Right arm and rib frags	In S cemetery area. N. Quantity of loose bones located 4m N of 2033 during machine excavation
209	Yarnton outlying inhumations	3043	S					One vertebrae	Way off to the E on different site, not near any Iron Age features. Poorly dated
212	Blewburton	Cutting F	A		204	M		Complete. Legs tied together between horses hind quarters as if riding horse. Skull 60 cm below skull and rest of burial. Left side	1952-3. In bottom of recut rampart ditch
213	Blewburton	Cutting G	G					Radius; ulna	1952-3. Bottom of recut rampart ditch. Associated with decorated MIA bowls
214	Blewburton	Cutting J18	G		205		Child	Skull frags; forearm	1952-3. Laying on street in centre of entrance to hillfort. Associated with decorated MIA bowls.
215	Liddington	B7b	S			M	?Adult	Skull frag	Partly charred
216	Liddington	A3	S			M		Right humerus frag	In spread below topsoil
217	Liddington	A3a	S			M		Right phalanx	In spread below topsoil

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
223	Manorhouse Farm	0255	G				Adult	Rib frags; ilium frags; skull frags; vertebrae; sacral frags; femur frags; humerus frag; calcaneus; tibia frag; ulna frag	
228	Roughground Farm	1215	A				18-23 yrs	Crouched/Left/SW	Dug into earlier linear boundary. Radiocarbon date
230	Ashville/Wyndye Furlong	F.283	C			M	Adoles-cent	Upper parts of body	1978. Might be MBA
231	Ashville/Wyndye Furlong	5139; 5141	S	253			Adult	Skull frag	1999. In ring gully
232	Ashville/Wyndye Furlong	5569	S					Skull frag	1999
236	Horcott Pit	5137	C/G					Skull frag and long bone	By S corner of enclosure ditch, next to special deposit ID240
237	Horcott Pit	5477	A			M		Crouched/Right/SSE	Cut into field boundary ditch
238	Horcott Pit	5046	A			F	Adult	Crouched/Right/SSE	Cut into field boundary ditch
240	Watchfield East	5008/5013	S		248			Skull. Well healed trepanation. Possible smoothing preparation prior to second trepanation? Also small unhealed cut marks	Just E of enclosure entrance
241	Watchfield East	5001/5002	A			F	18-30 yrs	Crouched/Right/N	Buried together at same time. Just outside entrance to enclosure
242	Watchfield East	5001/5003	A			?M	7-9 yrs	Crouched/Left/N	Buried together at same time. Just outside entrance to enclosure
243	Watchfield East	5010/5011	A			F	Young adult	Crouched/Right/E	Outside entrance, near antenna ditch
244	Watchfield East	5010/ neonate	A				Neonate		Outside entrance, near antenna ditch. Found in or close to L hand of adult
245	Watchfield East	5009	S					Incisor	
246	Watchfield East	5039	S				Adult	Proximal end of femur	Canid gnawing
249	Coxwell Road	1608	S					4 frags of left humerus	Weaver and Ford 2004. In MIA ditch running through site - in area with little MIA activity
250	Coxwell Road	628	S					Skull frags	Weaver and Ford 2004
252	Coxwell Road	1216	S	294			Adult	Skull frag	Cook *et al.* 2004. In N area just inside house ditch
253	Coxwell Road	1390	S	295			Adult		Cook *et al.* 2004. Terminal of house ditch

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
254	Coxwell Road	1802/1804	A	296			Pre-mature		Cook *et al.* 2004. Series of houses each with an associated human deposit. By NW terminal of house gully
258	Latton Lands Northern		A	337	277		Infant	Crouched/Left/W	Inside possible penannular gully. Upper fill of pit with special deposit. Might be Roman - earlier hollow used as a grave
261	Aves Ditch Pipeline, Enclosure 1	Burial B	A		281		6mth-1 yr	Crouched/Left/NE	On SE side of enclosure ditch
262	Aves Ditch Pipeline, pit group 2	5050. Burial A	A				Neonate	Partial	
263	Aves Ditch Pipeline, Enclosure 2	Pit 5016	G				Infant	Right humerus and radius or ulna	Under enclosure ditch, on SE side of enclosure
264	Aves Ditch Pipeline, Enclosure 2	Pit 5085	S				Adult	Finger bone	Under enclosure ditch, on SE side of enclosure
265	Aves Ditch Pipeline, pit groups 3 and 4	Pit 6016. Burial C	G				3-5 yrs	Pelvis and legs	In pit group, near a ditch
266	Groundwell West	Ditch 688	G					2 skull frags	
267	Groundwell West	Gully 594	S	350				Skull frag	House gully terminal
272	CC/Shorncote Settlement 3	7096/ 4366	C					55g	4m NE of house. With other burnt material
301	Woodcote Road	405/372	A				Neonate	Crouched/Right/N	In pit cluster. Associated with metalworking slag
302	Woodcote Road	463/481	A				Neonate	Crouched/Left/E	Possibly on edge of pit cluster
303	Woodcote Road	623/620	A				Adult	Crouched/S. Arms crossed on upper par of chest	Radiocarbon date
306	Warpsgrove (Site 34)	Unstrat	S				Neonate	Femur	
307	Warpsgrove (Site 34)	Unstrat	S					Skull frags	
318	Thames Valley Park	1320	A		350		Neonate	Largely complete	Towards S of enclosure
319	Laleham	301	S						Larger ditch just outside of site. Little information
334	St Ann's Heath School	1158	C					6.5g. Skull and lower limb fragments	In N area of site, near other pits
372	Eton Rowing Course Areas 3 and 5	7441	S					Femur	Channel deposit layer next to bridge 7205. Radiocarbon date

A8.7 Other Date

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
	MBA/LBA								
354	Yarnton Site 5	9452	C	425				9g	30m away from nearest of burial pits
375	Eton Rowing Course Area 16	10401/ 10400	A			F	18-20 yrs	Largely complete, with foetal bones. Probably died in childbirth. Crouched	Cut into EBA ring ditch. Radiocarbon date
387	Marsh Lane East	60334/ 60333	C				Adult	104g	With ID 388. Otherwise isolated
388	Marsh Lane East	60309/ 60308	C					8g	With ID 388. Otherwise isolated
	LBA/Trans								
314	Runnymede	Dispersed	G				Mature	Frags of skull and mandible, 2 femora and a tibia, ulna	1980. Spread across area. 'No evidence to suggest bones are from more than 1 individual', but it is possible
377	Lot's Hole Northern	Burial 51798	C					36g	In pit spread
	Trans/EIA/MIA								
84	Millets Farm	54069	S				Infant	Ulna	
100	Gravelly Guy	Topsoil - 100	A				Infant	Partial	
111	Gravelly Guy	1219	A				Neonate	Virtually complete. Extended/SE	
119	Gravelly Guy	1336	S	122			Infant	Skull frags	On S side of EIA house
132	Gravelly Guy	1625	A	116			Neonate	Partial	Straddling SW edge of building H. 1m NW of ID127
136	Gravelly Guy	2062	A		89		Neonate	Largely complete. Crouched/Right/N	On far SE of settlement. Probably EIA
148	Gravelly Guy	2313	G	119			2-3 mths	Humerus, femur, tibia, fibula	Entrance to building H
153	Gravelly Guy	2460	G				Infant	Skull frags, rib, scapula	
210	Yarnton	1420	S					Sacrum	In posthole
233	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	5434	S	265				Skull frag	In cluster 6314 - probably house. Most likely EIA

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
256	RAF Fairford	Pit 60	G					Large pit containing predominantly disarticulated remains of at least 9 individuals inc. 3 children	Tentatively dated to the Iron Age by the excavator despite a lack of associated evidence. This would be unique in the study area if this is Iron Age.
	Trans or MIA								
218	Liddington	A5	S			M		Right fibula shaft frag	Disturbed buried soil directly on top of chalk
	EIA/MIA								
9	Segsbury	1023	S				Young adult	Skull frags	
10	Segsbury	1196	S			M	25-35 yrs	Skull frags	
11	Segsbury	1082	G				Adult	Articulated spinal column, rib cage and sacrum	
12	Segsbury	2041	C			F	Adult	Skull vault, 3rd molar root, premolar root, rib, humerus, fibula	
13	Segsbury	6003	S				Adult	Right distal humerus	Ditch outside E entrance of HF
14	Segsbury		S				Adult	Skull frags	Topsoil Tr6. Outside E entrance
15	Segsbury	7022	S				Adult	Right femur head	Inside S entrance
16	Segsbury	7302	S				?Adult	Radial midshaft	Spoil from modern road cut
18	Segsbury	7618/7619	S				Adult	Left femur midshaft	In Roman layer of main rampart ditch. Probably redeposited
56	Farmoor		S					Skull vault frag	Info from Allen and Robinson 1993, 148
61	Mount Farm	F.105	A			F	35-40 yrs	Crouched/Left/NW	Very shallow pit. In pit spread, near earlier barrow
78	Mount Farm	F.314	S				Adult	1 bone	Periphery of N pit cluster
79	Mount Farm	F.522	G				3-9 mths	c. 25 bones	Periphery of N pit cluster
87	Heyford Road	731/562	G				Sub-adult/ adult	Bone frags and teeth	Enclosure ditch, near terminal
313	Snowy Fielder Way	Pit 229	C					9 frags weighing 2g	

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	SD	Sex	Age	Bones Present/Position/Side/Orientation	Location/More Information
330	Heathrow T5 Farmstead 11	726001/ 703006	A				25-35 yrs	15% survived. Originally complete. Crouched/N	On periphery of excavated area, not near any other IA activity
333	St Anns Heath School	1235	C				Adult	43.1g	On edge of excavated area
	MIA/LIA								
82	Milton Hil North	22385/ 22386	A				Infant	Complete except skull. Crouched/Right/S	In pit cluster. Effected by periostitis. With two large burnt stones. Further infant bones from Roman ditch maybe disturbed from this

Appendix 9: List of Special Deposits

Abbrevations: Type - A = Animal; P = Pottery; M = Mixed; W = Wood; O = Contains objects from only one other material

House and Human columns refer to IDs of associated houses and human remains, detailed in Appendices 7 and 8

A9.1 Middle Bronze Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
48	Lollingdon Hill	2651	M			Cattle teeth and toe bones; 32 sherds pottery; charcoal	
211	Wallingford Upper School		A			Cattle skull frag, three quarters of rib cage, articulated central and posterior sections of vertebral column; 1 sheep tooth	Isolated. Radiocarbon dated
212	Bradford's Brook		A			Cattle Skull	Waterhole, middle fill
214	Corporation Farm		M		221	Pig mandibles, dog remains, human cranium. Tertiary fill - two cattle and two sheep skeletons	In NE terminal of W enclosure ditch
215	Corporation Farm		A			Sheep and cattle mandibles	SW terminal of northern enclosure
216	Corporation Farm		A	170		Half a cattle skeleton	In E posthole of demolished house
217	Corporation Farm		A	170		Cattle skeleton	In E posthole of demolished house
237	Latton Lands	1750	M		234	Human remains; polisher stone	S of settlement
238	Horcott Pit	5461	A			Articulated cow	Just to N of pit spread
279	Appleford Sidings	414	M			Over 350 sherds pot; similar number of bones; much worked flint; 3 amber beads; quernstone frag	At entrance to enclosure
280	Appleford Sidings	322	A			Partially articulated piglet	
283	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	Pit 2048	A			Complete cow burial	To E of settlement. Might not be MBA
284	CC/Shorncote Settlement 2	5018	M			Upper levels - substantial deposits of burnt stone, animal bone (mainly cattle, but also dog mandibles and red deer), pottery, flint and fired clay	Waterhole in settlement
285	CC/Shorncote Enclosure 3239	Pit 2004	M			Upper fill - significant quantities of MBA bucket urn. Middle fill - Neo axe hammerstone	Towards S central of enclosure
312	Weir Bank Stud Farm Field System	326	P			Substantial parts of two pottery vessels	To SE of field enclosure 925
316	Jennett's Park Burnt Mounds	4409	M		309	Base of large urn. Maybe remains of truncated cremation burial, although no cremated bone	

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
324	Knights Farm 3+4	Pit 181	P			Large storage jar set into ground, with other sherds - 17 other pots illustrated	Radiocarbon date. In pit cluster
369	Heathrow T5 Aggregate Field System	135071	M			Wattle revetment; log ladder; basketry; axe haft; ard spikewood; bark chippings; Neolithic axe	Waterhole. 30m to W of Settlement 4. Within larger outer D-shaped enclosure
370	Heathrow T5 Aggregate Field System	611107	W			Wooden bowl	Waterhole. 65m NE of Settlement 4. Within D shaped outer enclosure. Radiocarbon dates
371	Heathrow T5 Aggregate Field System	156028	W			Wattle panelling; ard spike; wooden haft for socketed axe	Waterhole. 55m W of Settlement 4. Inside outer D shaped enclosure. Radiocarbon dates
372	Heathrow T5 Settlement 7	Pit 615008	M			Log ladder; cylindrical loomweight; sherds of DR bucket jar	On S edge of settlement. Radiocarbon date
373	Heathrow T5 Settlement 2	Pit 557027	A			Two large deposits of cattle and sheep/goat, both had neonate elements, some articulating parts present. 557039-one neonate sheep/goat, neonate cattle. 557029-partial adult sheep	On W side of settlement. Radiocarbon date.
374	Heathrow T5 Settlement 9	Pit 579172	P			Complete knobbed cup at base; after weathering a broken saddle quern; pottery; 67 flints	On W side of settlement
375	Heathrow T5 Settlement 1	210026	P	532		Complete pot at base of posthole/pit. DR bucket jars	In rectangular structure
376	Heathrow T5 Settlement 1	221005	P	532		Complete pot at base of posthole/pit. DR bucket jars	In rectangular structure
405	Reading Business Park Field System	Ditch 2511	P			2.4kg in one intervention. Both DR and early PDR	2013. In field ditch
406	Reading Business Park Field System	Ditch 2538	O			Complete saddle quern	2013. In field ditch, N terminal
407	Reading Business Park Field System	2690	M		346	At least 1.6kg pottery - at least 18 vessels; human tibia frag; *in situ* structure of wooden planks and stakes; wooden ladle; wooden vessel; 500g animal bone	2013. Waterhole in field system. Radiocarbon dates
408	Reading Business Park Field System	3091	M		347	DR pottery; animal bone; frags of wooden vessel; worked timber, prob from revetment structure. Two fills higher - shale bracelet frag; cremated human bone	2013. Waterhole in field system. Radiocarbon dates
409	Reading Business Park Field System	3201	M		348	Wooden bowl; remains of wooden revetment structure; buzzard bone; upper fill - small amount of cremated bone	2013. Waterhole in field system. Radiocarbon dates
410	Moores Farm Field System	5113	A			Partial horse skeleton - butchered and placed in semi-articulated state	Waterhole in field system
428	Yarnton Site 7	3870	M			98 sherds/475g. 9 vessels. E-MBA. 12 struck flints; large quantities of animal bone	Treethrow. On W edge of excavated area
429	Yarnton Site 4c	16010	A			Partial sheep burial- skull frags, left and right jaws, teeth, scapulae, left humerus, radius and ulna, L and R femur, R patella. Pelvis frags, vertebra and ribs.	Waterhole 30m from settlement. Butchery marks

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
430	Yarnton Site 4c	Pit 16018	M			4 large loomweight frags; large loomweight frag and saddle quern	Isolated
433	Eton Rowing Course Area 10	6265/6219	A			Complete cow; palstave frag; sizeable MBA sherd; L Neo sherds; flints from Meso-L Neo	In a group, near waterhole 6765
434	Eton Rowing Course Area 10	6266/6314	A			Complete cow	In a group, near waterhole 6765
435	Eton Rowing Course Area 10	6273/6312	A			Complete cow	In a group, near waterhole 6765
436	Eton Rowing Course Area 10	6453/6371	A			Complete cow	In a group, near waterhole 6765
437	Eton Rowing Course Area 10	6744/6745	A			Complete cow	In a group, near waterhole 6765
438	Eton Rowing Course Area 10	6747/6748	A			Complete sheep	In a group, near waterhole 6765
439	Lake End Road West	40963	P			1.9kg pottery - sherds of single, near complete bucket urn	Fill 40559, northern terminal of ditch

A9.2 Late Bronze Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
1	Hartshill Copse	Posthole 1241	P	1		559 sherds, 5053g, burnt subsequent to firing, deposited after removal of posts	Western side of Roundhouse C, mainly posthole 1241. House closure rite?
2	Hartshill Copse	1104	M			210 sherds pottery; burnt flint; charcoal; daub; frags of fired clay object; clay weight; ham-merscale; lots of charred plant remains	In gap in post alignment
13	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	F.6003; C.6027	P			Large, semi-complete globular jar with applied neck cordon	Enclosure Ditch
24	Eynsham Abbey	250/C/3-4	P			65 sherds/621g of refitting pot	N side of enclosure ditch. Might be associated with ID25
25	Eynsham Abbey	250/C/3	A			Partial dog burial; neonate pig burial	N side of enclosure ditch
26	Eynsham Abbey	720/-/2	A			Left and right hind limbs of cow	Enclosure ditch near entrance
50	Milton Hill North	22520	P			116 sherds inc. virtually whole pot	Radiocarbon date
206	Rams Hill	F.10	A			Complete dog skeleton	Base of palisade trench on W side of en-trance, phase 2. Radiocarbon dated
207	Rams Hill	F.8	A			Deer antler. From construction?	In posthole of entrance post on E side of entrance, phase 2. Radiocarbon dated
208	Rams Hill	F.38	A			Complete pig skeleton	In posthole of entrance post on E side of entrance, phase 3. Radiocarbon dated
209	Rams Hill	F.35	A			Complete sheep skeleton	In posthole of entrance post on W side of entrance, phase 3. Radiocarbon dated
210	Rams Hill	Unspecified	A			Deer antler - deposited tool from construction?	In primary silts of ditch on W side of entrance, phase 1. Radiocarbon dated
225	Beedon Manor Farm	F.300	P	212		Large unabraded sherds of pot set vertically around edges of feature	Pit in middle of house
282	CC/Shorncote Settlement A	Pit 483, co. 1088	A			1316g animal bone - 47% of entire assemblage from site	Hearne and Adams 1999
317	Lea Farm	Pit 218	P			455 sherds from partially complete vessel	In pit spread, next to ID318
318	Lea Farm	Pit 254	P			254 sherds from partially complete vessel	In pit spread, next to ID317
322	Aldermaston Wharf	Pit 71	P			Pottery inc. complete upright pot	In pit cluster
322	Knights Farm 2	Pit 1	P			Sherds of up to 14 vessels	In pit cluster

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
340	Runnymede	Pit F.6	M			Almost complete skeleton of horse, inc. two articulated forelimbs of horse laid out in cross formation. Dismembered before burial. Sealed by inverted hearth, substantial portions of jar and bowl	1991. On edge of island. Radiocarbon date
345	Anslow's Cottages	Pit 1174	P			Complete jar, *in situ*	
346	Anslow's Cottages	Ditch 874	A			Articulated hindleg of immature pig	Ditch parallel to waterfront bank
351	Hurst Park	Pit 149	M			63 shreds of pot; perforated clay slab; saddle quern frag; relatively rich assemblage of cereal grains and weed seeds	Away from settlement features
352	Hurst Park	Pit 347	M			64 sherds pot; 16 frags for perforated clay slab	Away from settlement features
353	Hurst Park	Pit 153	P	525		46 sherds from a single vessel	Porch posthole
354	Hurst Park	Pit 239	P			Half of a large shouldered jar, in situ but in pieces; remains of large bucket shaped jar, but most had been truncated; frag of perforated clay slab	
355	Hurst Park	Pit 342	M			120 sherds pottery; 9 frags perforated clay slabs; quern frag	On edge of settlement area
356	Hurst Park	F.489	M			80 sherds pottery; several frags perforated clay slabs; quern frag	
357	Hurst Park		P			66 sherds from a single vessel	On edge of settlement area
377	Heathrow T5 Settlement 4	Horseshoe enclosure	P	357		Substantial portions of three vessels; perforated clay slab frags	In terminal of possible house gully
379	Heathrow T5 Farmstead 4	Waterhole 517310	M			Stake points; withy ties; board; wall of wooden vessel; basel fill 117 sherds from six vessels	Edge of excavated area. Radiocarbon date
381	Heathrow T5	Pit 146048	P			927 sherds/9841g pottery, max 13 bowls and 7 jars. Significant proportion burnt or overfired. Possible wasters from pot production	Far SE edge of excavated area
382	Heathrow T5 LBA Farmstead 8	Waterhole 581168	M			Over 2kg pottery; charcoal; 46 freshly struck flints; 8kg burnt unworked flint	Isolated
385	Heathrow T5 Settlement 8	594272/ 594275	A			Large red deer skull with antler attached split along middle; animal bone	110m to N of settlement enclosure
386	Heathrow T5 LBA Farmstead 4	609020	A			1887 frags burnt bone	
396	Reading Business Park Area 5	440	P	604		Whole pot lying on side	In entrance of house 15, but might be different phase
397	Reading Business Park Area 5	314	P			Whole pot	Just outside house 10, but might be different phase
398	Reading Business Park Area 5	311	P			Whole pot, inverted	

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
399	Reading Business Park Area 5	247	P			Five pots, broken and disposed of immediately	Latest looking pots on site
400	Reading Business Park 3100/ 3000B	Pit 3475	M			Complete burnished bowl; sherds from at least 7 other fineware pots; copper alloy pin	In line of pits
401	Reading Business Park 3100/ 3000B	Waterhole 1015	M		340	Worked human skull frag; wooden disc and jointed piece; 598 sherds pot; smoothed sarsen frag; 12 loomweight frags	From various fills. On edge of house cluster before storage area
402	Reading Business Park 3100/ 3000B	Waterhole 1118	M			452 sherds pottery; burnt flint; oven plate frags	On E edge of settlement, near burnt mound
403	Reading Business Park 3100/ 3000B	Waterhole 1144	M			268 shreds pottery; burnt stone rubber; hammerstone	In settlement
404	Reading Business Park 3100/ 3000B	Waterhole 2042	M			457 sherds pottery; worked wood	Towards N edge of settlement
414	Weston Wood	Structure 2	O	631		Complete quern, *in situ*	Inside house occupation layer
415	Weston Wood	Pit 53	P			5.5kg of pottery inc. complete jar	Radiocarbon date. On edge of excavated area
416	London Road	Pit 139	P			Partially complete vessel sitting upright	On edge of excavated area, near boundary ditch
422	Yarnton Cresswell Field	Pit 7543	O			Substantial amount of fired clay; 21 frags of at least 3 cylindrical loomweights - 1457g; 76 frags animal bone	In small pit cluster?
442	Lot's Hole Southern	Pit 50191	P			Rims and bases from at least 5 bipartite vessels	Away from main pit cluster
443	Widbrook Common	Pit 131001	M			239g pyramidal loomweight; burnt and worked flint; fired clay objects; pottery; worked stone; near complete saddle quern	In pit cluster
417	Green Lane	No name	M			Complete saddle quern; two cylindrical loomweights; a few sherds of pottery	Outside study area

A9.3 LBA/EIA Transition

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
11	Uffington	8504	P			327 sherds All Cannings Cross pottery	Deliberately backfilled and fill may be curated midden material
12	Tower Hill	66	H	10		Llyn Fawr hoard	Near entrance to house
169	Yarnton	951	M		165	Human phalanx; 674g metalworking debris (iron?); 9 animal bones - red deer antler, horse atlas; 6 sherds of pottery inc. grog tempered	S edge of settlement, 10m SW of ID330
175	Yarnton	8127	P			Primary fill - 177 sherds/4564g of pottery - very substantial parts of 3 vessels, rim shreds from at least 11 others. Upper fill - 8 further rims	
227	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Pit 114	A			Cow skull	1978
239	Horcott Pit	5656	M	277		124 sherds/1392g ACC pot; complete spindlewhorl	Pit in SW centre of roundhouse
241	Horcott Pit	5966	M	280		Lower fill - Complete ACC vessel; 4 complete spindlewhorls. Upper fill - spindlewhorl, substantial sherds from at least 11 ACC vessels	Rear of house
251	Coxwell Road	913	P			Near complete pot	Waver and Ford 2004.
286	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	18686	A	402		Complete cattle burial	Powell *et al.* 2010. In possible porch posthole
287	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	18570	A			Complete cattle burial	Powell *et al.* 2010. On SE periphery of settlement
288	CC/Shorncote Settlement 1	132	M		271	Human skull frags in lower fill; pottery throughout, inc. complete vessel	Brossler *et al.* 2002. On N edge of settlement
289	CC/Shorncote Settlement 2	5648	M	415		Neolithic and EBA pottery; flints	Powell *et al.* 2010. In roundhouse postholes, prehaps stratigically
291	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	7575/7605	P			2.8kg pottery, 8 vessels illustrated	Powell *et al.* 2010. In settlement
292	CC/Shorncote Settlement 4	8587	A			Cattle burial	Powell *et al.* 2010. On edge of settlement
325	Knights Farm 1	Pit 5	P			Sherds from 51 vessels	In pit cluster, near ID326
326	Knights Farm 1	Pit 12	P			Sherds from at least 15 vessels	In pit cluster, near ID325
341	Runnymede	F.111	A			Complete dog skeleton	1991. On edge of levee. Radiocarbon date (1996)
342	Runnymede	Unit H. 16.886	A			Articulated vertebrae of mature sheep	1996. In midden with other large dumps of material

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
343	Runnymede	Unit H. 16.873	A			Large portion of lambs carcass	1996. In midden with other large dumps of material
344	Petters Sports Field	F.117.1	P			Sherds from at least 228 vessels	Top fill of ditch - purposefully filled in
349	Old Way Lane		P			103 sherds/808g of pottery from at least 11 vessels.	In middle of settlement
358	Wickhams Field	Pit 345	P			Large pottery vessel	Isolated
361	Brooklands	Pit 177	M			Sherds from at least 11 vessels; iron nail	
366	Westcroft House, Carshalton	Pit 62	M			Horse skull, large frags of quern stone; preforated clay slab frags	In pit spread
367	Westcroft House, Carshalton	Pit 77	M			Animal bone; large flint nodules placed in centre of pit and frag of decayed cu alloy object on top of one-maybe socketed axe. Red deer skull frags and antlers on top of flint. Another red deer skull with antler attached but broken; briquatege frag	In pit spread
380	Heathrow T5 Farmstead 4	Pit 125233	M			5 vessels; loomweight	Radiocarbon date
423	Yarnton Tr57	Pit 105708	P			183 sherds/1.347kg pot in four separate fills. Minumin 12 vessels	
424	Yarnton Site 1 Waterfront	Phase 5	A			Skull from old dog	Channel deposit
426	Yarnton Site 5	Pit 9139	P	649		55 sherds/535g decorated PDR from 6 vessels. One vessel is 27 sherds 234g. Unusual decoration-rows of cuneiform stamps	Immediately to W of house
427	Yarnton Site 5	9102	P			55 sherds/541g from three vessels. Very large sherds packed into posthole	Might be assoicated with house
431	Eton Rowing Course Area 1	Layer 1946	P		366	2 almost complete pots; human ulna in layer. Unsure of relationship	In palaeochannel layer
441	Lot's Hole Northern	Pit 50977	M			Upper fill-sherds from at least 8 vessels-much unabraded; burnt bone; 1 warped vessel. Middle fill-burnt clay. Lowest fill-bronze needle and clay spindlewhorl	In pit cluster
445	Runnymede	A16.E	P			2 small undecorated semi-fineware cups found standing upright	1996. Base of Unit H
446	Appleford	Pit 105	P			521 sherds/9275g pottery	Away from main pit cluster

A9.4 LBA/EIA Transition or Early Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
14	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	F.3015	M			Over 3.8kg pottery; over 2800 animal bone frags; chalk spindle whorl; dark soil	Enclosure Ditch. Contexts 3065-3018
15	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	F.6003	M			2.8kg pottery; 1.8kg animal bone; dark soil	Enclosure Ditch. Contexts 6021, 6004, 6017
30	Eight Acre Field	Waterhole 156	M			Lower fill - two timber ladders (LBA radiocarbon date). Middle fill - complete EIA angular bowl; inverted cattle skull and horse tibia. Upper fill - relatively large quantities of EIA pot	Near field boundary and poorly dated house 50
143	Yarnton	1127	A	143		6 large cow bones	In centre of house
144	Yarnton	7018	A/M	128	163	Cremated animal bone, possibly also cremated human femur	In N posthole of rectangular structure
146	Yarnton	330	M			Complete sheep, one front leg replaced other animal; 520g/53 sherds pottery; iron nail; fired clay; cut antler; cu alloy frags; 43 items/797g of metalworking debris, inc. crucible frag, hearth bottom, dense slag and vitrified clay. Cu alloy working and ?iron smithing	S edge of settlement. 10 NE of pit 951, ID169
147	Yarnton	2646	M	142		Complete dog; 1019g/69 sherds pottery; cattle, horse, pig, sheep/goat bones; crucible; furnace debris; bone object	On W edge of house
148	Yarnton	7598	M			Complete dog; articulated segment of cow; bone gouge; 1316g/91 sherds pottery; mallard duck bone and only wild pig bone on site; 10kg burnt stone; 50 sherds pottery; 3 pieces of slag, smithing hearth bottom	
150	Yarnton	371	M			Disturbed remains of articulated cow; polished metapodial; 18 sherds pottery; sheep, pig, cow bones	
151	Yarnton	1163	M	143		?articulated cow remains; slag	In posthole of four-poster inside house
154	Yarnton	7854	P			Pottery	On SW edge of settlement
155	Yarnton	7912	P			Pottery	On SW edge of settlement
156	Yarnton	1716	M			80 sherds/2kg pottery; 87 animal bones inc. 1 dog, 3 pig mandibles, other mixed bones inc. dog, sheep/goat, cow, pig; plano-convex smithing hearth; substantial quantities plant remains	
157	Yarnton	2647	M	142		Moderate number very large sherds pottery - 35 sherds; sizeable assemblages of charred plants	Inside house
158	Yarnton	1540, 2658	M			Pits containing over 30 sherds, largely the same as those with dense concentrations of animal bone	9 others that are already listed as special deposits

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
159	Yarnton	276	M		164	37 pottery sherds inc. 8 jar rims, handled body sherd with simple geometric dec, miniature vessel; 89 animal bones - inc. domestic fowl, dog mandible, cow, pig, horse, sheep/goat; human skull vault; substantial quantities plant remains	Cut by MIA enclosure
160	Yarnton	1729	M			Over 30 sherds pot; substantial quantities plant remains; large amount of animal bone	
161	Yarnton	2649	M			82 sherds pottery; substantial quantities plant remains; large amount of animal bone; crucible; gouge	
162	Yarnton	544	M			32 sherds; 16 animal bones	Possible special deposit
163	Yarnton	2650	M			47 sherds; sizable assemblages of charred plants	
165	Yarnton	7060	M			74 animal bones inc. 2 red deer bones; 2 antler handles; antler working debris	
167	Yarnton	7173	M			157 animal bones; 590g/26 sherds pot; bone gouge; iron metalworking debris - ore, plano-convex hearth bottom, slag; polisher	
170	Yarnton	7300	O			Cu alloy pin; iron nail/tack; iron slag	
172	Yarnton	8195	M			Lower horse leg; antler handle; cheek piece; awl/pin; smithing hearth bottom	Under midden
174	Yarnton	8517	M			Worked bone; loomweight; slag	On E edge of settlement
187	Yarnton	1314	A			Partial burial of lamb - left hand limb, scapula, radius, pelvis, tibia and metacarpal	Posthole
200	Yarnton	1675/1695	A			Articulated upper left forelimb of young cattle	
226	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Pit 71	A			Cow skull; two large limestone frags resting on base of pit next to skull	1978
228	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Pit 82	A			Part of articulated ewe	1978
232	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Pit 288	A			Part of cattle skeleton	1978
235	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	5553	M			Skull frag; 22 cattle vertebra; cu alloy strip	1999
252	Coxwell Road	301	A			Fox and fox cub; raven; 2 neonate pigs; watervole; field vole; woodmouse; sheep and cattle bones	Weaver and Ford 2004
253	Coxwell Road	541	A			Wing and leg bones of raven	Weaver and Ford 2004
254	Coxwell Road	981	A			Articulated puppy; unusual lens of stone	Weaver and Ford 2004
256	Coxwell Road	203	M			Horse skull; partial skull and unusually complete scapula from cow; loomweight	Weaver and Ford 2004
258	Coxwell Road	1281	M	290		Half a saddle quern; poss quern frag; ?metal (co 1231); watervole and rodent bones	Cook *et al.* 2004. In SE porch posthole

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
259	Coxwell Road	1845	A	292		Horse skull	Cook *et al.* 2004. Gully of house
260	Coxwell Road	1176/1177	A	292		Left foreleg of horse; pot boilers	Cook *et al.* 2004. Inside house
262	Coxwell Road	1096	M			20 burnt animal bones; jaw of dog; scapula of roe deer; bird bone; sheep bones; loom-weight frags	Cook *et al.* 2004
432	Eton Rowing Course Areas 3 and 5 wooden structures	3723/3734 /3742	P			?Complete bipartite bowl	?In channel layer by wooden uprights

A9.5 Early Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
4	Segsbury	1019	M	7	6	Lowest fills to highest. 1730 - 27 animal bones, 4 articulated. 1728 - partial pig burial; chalk spindlewhorl; two more fills with a little pot; 1718 - 20 sherds pot, 19 animal bones; 1020 - 54 sherds pot, 13 animal bones, 3 frags daub; infant skeleton	Pit near house
7	Segsbury	3007	M			340 sherds pot; weaving comb; high concentrations wheat and barley; fill above-two iron objects, possibly chisel and horse harness roundel	Ditch quarry for rampart, or defined earlier enclosure. Terminal.
9	Segsbury	1009	O			544 slingstones	
16	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	3006	M			Middle fill 3061 - 1.7kg pottery; 2.7kg animal bone inc. partially articulated raven; clay slingshot; bone needle; bone gouge; rich charred plant. Then 7 sterile layers. Upper fills - 9.4kg pot, 9.7kg animal bone, bone gouge, antler object. Pit also contained 3.5kg burnt stone	
18	Outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps midden		M			Just from Allen *et al.* 2010- 609 sherds pottery, some in distinct groups e.g. 9 refitting sherds Chinnor-Wandlebury; foetal and neo-natal pig remains	Midden
29	Wytham Hill	L.12	M			Upper half of cow skull upside down in bottom of pit and a 'considerable quantity of pottery and bone'	Very small excavation. Cuts indicate skin removal
31	Wigbalds Farm, Long Wittenham	Only feature	M			Bronze fitting; bronze axe pendant; crucible; spindlewhorl; animal bones; lots of pottery inc. *in situ* broken jars	Very small excavation. Possibly in larger enclosure. Possible midden?
32	Chinor	Pit 5	A			Complete pig skeleton	In pit cluster. Under midden?
38	Mount Farm	F.153	A			Sheep carcass	In pit cluster
42	Mount Farm	F.75	M			Bronze needle; numerous elements of puppy or fox cub	Possible special deposit. Far W periphery of pit cluster
44	Mount Farm	F.652	A			10 variously articulated butchered limbs of cattle; segments of backbone of cattle and horse, crania of dog, polled cattle-beast	Periphery of S pit cluster. Radiocarbon date
45	Mount Farm	F.671	M		66	Antler strap union; 17 bones 17-23yr old human; articulated cattle remains	4m from ID44
49	Hagbourne Hill, site 68 N	50504	P			144 sherds/1,108g pottery - large and joining sherds from as many as 7 vessels; red deer antler	Only pit excavated. Radiocarbon date
51	Milton Hill North	22644	A			Large dump of animal bones, mostly cattle, horse and dog, with horse and dog from single animals	Periphery of pit cluster
71	Gravelly Guy	503	M	114		Considerable number of loomweights; clay plates; querns; burnt stone	Pit inside house
72	Gravelly Guy	502	M	114		Human burial; cu alloy strip	Pit near door of house
73	Gravelly Guy	1304	M			Four charred oak logs; 2 frags of charred oak plank; foetal/neonatal dog below timbers	Near S edge of settlement

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
78	Gravelly Guy	321	A		105	Mostly complete adult dog; skull, mandibles, atlas and axis from another adult dog; 89 more dog bones from 3 foetal dogs; another complete dog on base	N edge of pit cluster, between buildings AA and Y. Cut into 321 was pit 320 - human ID105; and pit 893 special ID78
80	Gravelly Guy	326	M	116	106	Human skull frag, perforated and worn; 47 frags/6.83kg of fired clay, inc. 5 'plates'; 6 loomweights; oven daub; briquetage; 28.5kg burnt stone; 225 sherds/2335g pottery, mainly from base; animal bone inc. articulated dog forelimb	Inside porch of house AA, on N edge of settlement
82	Gravelly Guy	1248	M		114; 115	Humerus and ulna from two infants; foetal sheep/goat at base	On SW edge of pits
85	Gravelly Guy	1376	M		126	Human mandible; 100 frags of animal bone from mixed species; 31 sherds/165g pottery; possible crucible frag	
90	Gravelly Guy	2118	M		137	Disarticulated infant; perforated dog canine	On far SW of settlement
95	Gravelly Guy	211	A			Complete dog; flint arrowhead	On SE edge of pits, near ID94; human ID107, 102, 103
96	Gravelly Guy	269	M			Complete dog; shale armlet/bracelet frag	NE of settlement. Radiocarbon date
97	Gravelly Guy	1213	A			Complete dog; articulated lower hind limb of horse; unidentified large mandible	Near SW boundary ditch
99	Gravelly Guy	1259	A			Horse skull; cattle mandible	Cut by later house gully 98, also containing special deposits ID61-3
100	Gravelly Guy	1272	A			Complete dog; other animal bones inc. cattle radius and scapula	Cut by pit 1291 with ID102
104	Gravelly Guy	1334	A			Almost complete dog	
106	Gravelly Guy	1391	A	119	127	Human infant remains; horse skull and left mandible; large bones inc. cattle humerus, mandible and tibia, in group behind skull	Straddling SSW edge of building H. 1m SE of human ID132
107	Gravelly Guy	1418	A	119		Near complete dog skeleton	Inside building H
111	Gravelly Guy	1472	A			Dog skull and mandible; horse metapodial	
116	Gravelly Guy	2128	A			Complete dog; dog skull	
142	Yarnton	7787	M	128		Iron adze; 72 sherds/3921g from one vessel (lining N edge of pit); 360g daub; 168 animal bone frags, inc. 17 frags cattle femur and large numbers sheep/goat teeth, much of it burnt; vitrified clay	Immediately adjacent to S edge of post-ring of house. Largest assemblage of daub from site
145	Yarnton	7365	M			400 pieces animal bone; 200 sherds pottery; fox leg bone; deer bone; dog bone; bone object; large quantities of frog and toad bones; sawn section of antler	Away from main group of pits, at entrance to prob Neo barrow ditch

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
149	Yarnton	7762	M			Disturbed remains of complete dog; articulated horse leg; 2004g/122 sherds pottery; large quantities disarticulated cow and horse, esp. horse; small quantity cu alloy and iron working debris	
152	Yarnton	7057	M			Articulated cow leg; antler handle, roughout for another; 3776g/157 sherds pottery; very large quantity of disarticulated mixed animal bone (mostly cattle); polished perforated object; 1 deer bone; smithing hearth bottom	
153	Yarnton	7182	P			Pottery	
164	Yarnton	7049	M			746g/31 sherds pottery; 49 animal bones - sheep/goat, cow, pig	
166	Yarnton	7307	M			1kg/87 sherds pot; 177 pieces animal bone - mainly cow and sheep/goat, but also pig, horse and dog; quern	
168	Yarnton	7603	M			36 sherds; 28 animal bones	Possible special deposit?
171	Yarnton	8005	M			Spindle whorl; shale armlet; iron slag	
173	Yarnton	8327	M			Antler handle/sawn antler; gouge; bone manufacturing debris; iron strip; ore; vitrified clay	
202	Blewburton	Cutting C	P			Large inverted pot	1947. In Trans enclosure palisade trench after posts removed. Just before construction of phase 2?
244	Watchfield West	Pit 347	M			Pottery - unsure how much but 9 out of 21 frags illustrated are from this pit; clay bead; young sheep skeleton	To W of excavated area. Radiocarbon date
255	Coxwell Road	818	A			Large group of bones from at least 2 young sheep, some had been charred and one astragalus had been cut	Weaver and Ford 2004
257	Coxwell Road	1780	A			Lower fills - two articulated dogs; small rodent . Upper fills - 82 MIA pot sherds, pelvis and scapula of dog	Cook *et al.* 2004. Pit left open before and after deposition
261	Coxwell Road	1022	M		251	From lowest fill - 18 sherds pot frag saddle quern. Semi-articulated dog skeleton; 9 sherds pot; quern frag. 4 sherds pot; bone; stone counter. 51 sherds pot, loomweight. Quern frags. 42 sherds pot; quern frag. Human remains; 14 sherds pot	Haematite coated bowl very similar to Castle Hill special deposit ID16
270	The Loders	Pit 1	P			309 sherds pottery	In pit spread
271	Latton Lands Northern	Pit 3907	A	313		Partial calf skeleton	Just to N of house. These similar to CC/Shorncote
272	Latton Lands Northern	Pit 3461	A	314		Calf skeleton	Just to NW of house
273	Latton Lands Northern	Pit 3441	A			Cattle skeleton	In middle of settlement, next to ID274

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
274	Latton Lands Northern	Pit 3367	A			Cattle skeleton	In middle of settlement, next to ID273
275	Latton Lands Central	Pit 2785	A	316		Complete juvenile horse	
278	Latton Lands Northern	3360	A			Dog skeleton, partial articulated	Posthole from four-poster 3485
293	Alfreds Castle	4052; 4053	A			18 bones of foetal cow; pottery	Posthole revetting inner side of rampart
294	Alfreds Castle	4045	M		273	Iron objects; flint blade; 77 sherds pot; human femur frags; 297 animal bones	Sarsen cobbled surface, part of rampart but extended into entrance gap
295	Alfreds Castle	4063	M		276; 277	Secondary fill 4116 - 21 sherds pot; remains of two different calf's; roe deer bone; two fully articulated piglets; burnt human bone (ID276); sig. quantities of sheep and goat horns. Above this (4104)-180 animal bones-2 neonate pigs and calf remains. 4077-iron slag; 2 worked bones; articulated sheep. 4072-worked bone; pot; adult human fibula frag (ID277). 4069- pot; 2 human bone frags (ID278); calf	Behind rampart directly inside HF, by entrance. Radiocarbon date. Frequency of burnt and butchered bones suggests feasting. Rapidly filled - refitting sherds from pit that cuts this
297	Alfreds Castle	4134	M		279	Primary fill - near complete pot. Fill above - large jar base; left clavicle of juvenile human	Behind rampart, by entrance. Cutting pit 4063, ID295
298	Alfreds Castle	2104	M		280; 281	Primary fill - 3 burnt worked bones; cu alloy La Tene 1 brooch frag. Secondary - worked bone; cu alloy object; FSA; large amounts of charcoal. Upper - 4 worked bones; pierced frag human skull (ID280); pot; wild bird bone; part of stained skull (ID281)	Middle of hillfort
300	Alfreds Castle	2123	M		281	Primary fill - rich dark soil; worked bone; whole wheat sheaves; FAS. Secondary - worked bone; pot; FAS. Upper fill - loomweight frag, burnt bone comb, cu alloy swan-necked pin, pot. Top fill - loomweight frag; wild bird bone; burnt bone tool. Stained skull frag	Middle of hillfort
301	Alfreds Castle	2133	M			3 burnt worked bone objects from 2 contexts; raven	Middle of hillfort
302	Alfreds Castle	2143	M			Secondary fill - burnt worked bones; loomweight frag; FAS; pot; bone. Fill 2268 - worked stone objects. Upper fills from erosion - burnt bone objects; charcoal; FAS	Middle of hillfort
303	Alfreds Castle	2177	M			Worked bone awl; cu alloy pierced fitting; lots of burning evidence	Middle of hillfort
304	Alfreds Castle	2178	M		281	Primary fill - 3 bone comb frags; 2 worked bone needles; complete loomweight; iron blade; iron brooch; FAS; stained human skull frag (ID281). Secondary fill (2222) - 2 complete loomweights; 2 complete pots; burnt bone comb; La Tene I cu brooch	Middle of hillfort
305	Alfreds Castle	5119	M	442	283	Primary fill - Daub; 27 sherds pot; 101 animal bones. Tertiary fill - iron strip; 79 shreds pot; 305 animal bones; burnt adult human vertebra.	Part of intercutting pits across house gully

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
306	Alfreds Castle	5257	M	442	284; 285	3 loomweights; upper half of jar; spindlewhorl; worked bone object; many oven/hearth frags; pot; 112 animal bones; adult human scapula frags. Fill 5262 - loomweight frags; more scapula frags. Fill 5430 - infant skull frags. Fill 5405 etc. -worked bones; iron object; infant skull bone. Fill 5595 - human infant femur. Fill 5669 - 2 slingshots; quern frag; unusual triangular loomweight; 87 animal bones. Other smaller pot and bone assemblages in other fills	Lots of fills. Part of intercutting pits. Inside house
308	Alfreds Castle	5022	M		286; 287	Fill 5183- 45 sherds pottery; 101 animal bones; human adult and infant bones; Other fills - sherds and animal and human bones (infant and adult). Fill 5481 - cu alloy ring; iron object; 91 sherds pot; 236 animal bones; adult and infant bones. Lower fill 5527 - pot; animal bones; skull frags from human infant	Towards NW of hillfort
321	Taplow to Dorney Pipeline, Site A	Pit 1594	M			310 sherds/5.5kg pottery; 713g burnt flint; 2 loomweights	In pit cluster
332	St. Martha's Hill		P			Complete pot	Inside oven/furnace
335	Hawk's Hill	Pit 8	M			Sherds from at least 43 vessels. Centre of floor of pit, pig bones that gave impression of being placed. Spindlewhorl	In pit cluster
337	Hawk's Hill	Pit 10	M			Sherds from at least 51 vessels; complete skull and lower part of legs of articulated ox - perhaps hide burial	In pit cluster
339	Snowy Fielder Way	Pit 227	M		312	1,607 sherds/19,051g of pottery; 250 loomweight frags weighing 4kg; 247 animal bones; human neonate radius	
363	Heathrow Site K	Feature 19	P			Complete vessel	
364	Heathrow Site J	Feature 21	M			Complete vessel; sherds of 3 other vessels; carbonised wooden stakes	Isolated - c.500m from main activity
365	Heathrow Site K	Hollow 25	M			Several hundred sherds of pottery; La Tene 1 brooch	In pit spread
378	Heathrow T5	103038; 136194	P			Almost complete jar, decorated bowl, carinated bowl, two complete drinking vessels	Well and shaft
383	Heathrow T5	833123	M			Substantial amount of pottery throughout fills inc. complete bowl in upper fill; burnt flint and animal bone in sizeable quantities; saddle quern	Waterhole. Near other waterholes, but unsure of date
387	St Ann's Heath School	Pit 1189	M			Burnt flint; burnt sheep bone; two separate vessels partially crushed *in situ;* baked clay with wattle impressions; hammerscale	In small pit cluster. Radiocarbon date
388	St Ann's Heath School	775	M			Large frags of two jars; saddle quern frag	Posthole for four-poster 773
389	St Ann's Heath School	Pit 1127	P			91 sherds/7.72kg pottery, inc. large refitting shreds from 2 pots partially broken *in situ*. At least 9 pots	In middle of site. Radiocarbon date

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
390	St Ann's Heath School	Pit 1270	M			Baked clay lumps; burnt flints; sarsen stone; 32 sherds/4.43kg pottery; also 3 vessels (2.59kg) pottery - parts of 18 vessels and another 14 body sherds from others. Many of these pots burnt and warped	On edge of site and pit cluster. Radiocarbon date
411	Moores Farm	Pit 2169	P			1.9kg pottery	In pit cluster
412	Moores Farm	2043/ 2065	P			3.8kg pottery. Dark deposit	Layer over pit cluster
413	Moores Farm	Pit 2494	P			2.2kg pottery in two discrete clusters	12m SW of pit group
440	Lake End Road West Field System	Pit 24109	A			5 sherds pottery; cat skeleton; goat skull	In middle of droveway
444	Lake End Road West Field System	Pit 42075	M			Sherds from at least 8 vessels. Triangular loomweight frag	In pit cluster. End of EIA

A9.6 Middle Iron Age

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
3	Watkins Farm	499	A	4		Articulated lower foreleg of cow. Occupation debris and dark soil	Pit in house
5	Segsbury	1312	M			Perforated iron disc; quern frags; 3 slingstones; 1.8kg pottery inc. some EIA pot	In pit group
10	Uffington	8004	M			Articulated dog skeleton; 32 joining sherds of MIA burnished jar; some ACC pot	
17	Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps	3152	M		21, 22	Base-articulated adult 21; sheep humerus and rib under left arm. Middle-small amount of pot and animal bone; 4 partially articulated sections of female 22 with cattle skull; sheep skull in backfill; LIA/Ro human neonate in top of pit	Radiocarbon dates. In pit group
20	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	149	M	22	41	Pottery; animal bone inc. worked examples; charred plant remains; iron blade; human skull frag	In enclosure contiguous to house ID22
21	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	769	M	24		698 animal bone frags; pottery; slag; saddle quern	Inside house
22	Outside Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	41	M			Rotary quern with shaped and polished animal bones	
23	City Farm West		A			Large parts of two vertebrae of two oxen with some ribs still articulated	In pit group
27	Appleford	145	A	35		Horse skull and upper part of dog skull on bottom of pit	In centre of possible house gully
28	Farmoor	F.1100	A	44		Lower jaw and upper part of the skull of two horses	Either side of entrance to house. Butchery marks
33	Mingies Ditch	418	A			Burnt bone including sheep teeth. No in situ burning	Outside enclosure to paddock
34	Mingies Ditch	97	O	55		Two saddle querns and rubbers	Pit at back of house
35	Mingies Ditch	10/9	A			Puppy	Outer ditch terminal
36	Mingies Ditch	71				Dispersed bones of piglet	Ditch for four-poster
37	Mingies Ditch	2/4	A			Articulated piglet	
47	Mount Farm	F.505	M		76, 77	Weaving comb; 2 worked bones; 279 sherds pot (third largest assemblage); half human neonate; 1 human adult bone	Paddock boundary. Radiocarbon date
53	Slade Farm	F.114	M	69		Hallstatt C razor; partial dog skeleton; significant number of MIA sherds	Back of house opposite entrance
54	Whitehouse Road	319	M			Most of bones of piglet; largest pot assemblage on site, inc. half a small jar	In pit cluster
55	Halfpenny Lane	F.16	A			Adult cattle skull; red deer antler; unid. bone frag	In pit cluster
56	Halfpenny Lane	F.39	A			Adult horse skull; cattle and sheep bones	In pit cluster

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
57	North Stoke		M			Cattle, sheep, pig, horse, dog, frog/toad and rabbit bones; lots of pot inc. almost complete jar, quarter of another and third of another	
58	Thrupp	F.33	M			Iron smithing slag; parts of crucibles; 149 animal bones inc. dog cranium and neck vertebrae	Well to E of site
59	Thrupp	F.9	M			576 animal bones, mainly sheep, 32% mandibles or teeth, no complete carcasses; rubber	Butchery marks. Small enclosure ditch very near ID60
60	Thrupp	F.10	P			Complete pot weighing 7kg; 88 animal bones	Related to small enclosure ditch
61	Gravelly Guy	1260	M	97		458 sherds/8715g pottery; much burnt stone and charcoal; 3 quern frags; bone gouge; 418 animal bone frags; complete horse skull	Concentrated NW gully terminal. End of MIA - stratigraphically late
62	Gravelly Guy	1251	M	97		Cu alloy rim; 9 frags slag; iron nail; 294 sherds/3475g pottery-concentrated E terminal; 4 quern frags; stone smoother; bone awl; bone tool; 401 frags bone	House gully. Continuation of above. End of MIA - stratigraphically late
63	Gravelly Guy	1250	M	98	116	Iron spike; 10 slag frags; 988 sherds/11823g pottery; 10 quern frags; 401 frags bone; human infant tibia	House gully. Later than ID61+62 - going into LIA?
64	Gravelly Guy	2256	M	100	95	Infant tibia and femur; iron spike; 689 sherds/5805g pottery (much of this EIA) - concentrated in terminals; antler point; 2 quern frags	House gully. Second cut
65	Gravelly Guy	2724	M	100		370 sherds/8140g pottery; bone needle; loomweight; quern frag; 237kg burnt stone; 306 frags animal bone	Short gully segregating access to house
66	Gravelly Guy	2395 cut 1	M	101		In NE terminal - Horse skull; 2 cattle skulls; large sherds of plain jar, further sherds in higher fill. Considerable redeposition of EIA pot	House gully cut 1. Similar to house ID100, 130-1
67	Gravelly Guy	2395 cut 2	M	101		Cattle skull; 15 sherds/1255g - considerable redeposition of EIA pot; bone bobbin	House gully cut 2. ID129 in ditch and cut
68	Gravelly Guy	2395 cut 3	M	101	96	Infant humerus, ulna and tibia; 753 sherds/5520g - considerable redeposition of EIA pot; iron frag with rivet; 17 frags slag; 2 quern frags; tooth from weaving comb; polished bone; most of the 1083 animal bones from feature in this cut	House gully cut 3
69	Gravelly Guy	2659	M	101		334 sherds/3370g pottery; cattle skull upside down on base of terminal, horn cone sawn off; 2 quern frags; 524 animal bone frags; 107kg burnt stone	Short gully segregating access to house
70	Gravelly Guy	2397	M	104		847 sherds/8360g pottery mainly in upper layers - considerable redeposition of EIA pot; hooked iron rod; 4 frags slag; quern frag and rubber; 278kg burnt stone; 1160 animal bone frags	House gully
74	Gravelly Guy	1755	O	103		3 loomweights	Cut into house gully
75	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	6	O			6 loomweights	In pit spread
76	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	17	M		98	Human skull and sheep jaw	In pit spread next to ID77

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
77	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	18	M		99	Disarticulated child bones and iron spearhead	In pit spread next to ID76
81	Gravelly Guy	1133	M		109	Human inhumation; shale spindlewhorl	On SW edge of pits
83	Gravelly Guy	1339	M		120	Adult male inhumation; bone toggle	
84	Gravelly Guy	1346	M		121	Infant inhumation; iron punch. But 'association indemonstrable'	Inside house I, but later
86	Gravelly Guy	1479	M		130	Human infant skull frag; bone toggle	
87	Gravelly Guy	1703	M		134	Human adult femur; horse skull	
88	Gravelly Guy	1757/1758	M		135	Infant inhumation; 7 articulated vertebrae and 1 rib of cattle	Over house W, but later
91	Gravelly Guy	2404	M		150	Infant inhumation; pig mandible	Maybe near house
92	Gravelly Guy	109	A			Complete dog	
93	Gravelly Guy	131	A			Horse skull, pelvis and radius frags; 2 cattle humerus	
94	Gravelly Guy	197	A			Near complete dog	On SE edge of pits. Near ID95
98	Gravelly Guy	1239	A			Cattle skull	
101	Gravelly Guy	1286	A			Cattle skull	
102	Gravelly Guy	1291	A			2 complete dogs; 8 bones of another dog without skull; 1 large sherd	Cut pit 1272, ID100
103	Gravelly Guy	1330	A			Infant pig skull, mandible, pelvis and limbs	On SW boundary of settlement
105	Gravelly Guy	1371	M		125	Human infant and radius and ulna of horse	
109	Gravelly Guy	1459	A			Horse skull; horse forelimb and pair of scapulae from different horse; cattle mandible and radius; sheep hindlimb, 2 metatarsals and frag of tibia; sherds	
110	Gravelly Guy	1460	A			Sheep skull, mandibles, atlas, articulated R foot - skull on top of foot bones; quern frag	
112	Gravelly Guy	1617	M			2 sheep mandibles, scapula, other bones; complete base of pot	Inside building W but later
113	Gravelly Guy	1667	A			Complete dog	Inside building W but later
114	Gravelly Guy	1756	A	103		Cattle skull; horse mandible	Dug into house gully opposite entrance
118	Gravelly Guy	2171	A			3 mandibles, 2 L scapulae, 2 R tibiae, 1 femur of cattle; Horse scapula; pig metacarpal	On S boundary of site

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
119	Gravelly Guy	2172	A			Femur, humerus, articulated L radius and ulna, L radius and ulna, skull frag, tibia, mandible of cattle; dog skull	On S boundary of site
120	Gravelly Guy	2179	A			Complete dog	On S boundary of site. Close to IDs118+ 119
121	Gravelly Guy	2240	A	123		2 mandibles, L pelvis, 2 radii, scapula, 2 vertebrae, tibia, ulna of cattle; mandible, 2 tibiae of sheep/goat; skull of infant horse	Just outside door of house, cutting SE door posthole
122	Gravelly Guy	2289	A			Part of partially articulated puppy	
123	Gravelly Guy	2322	A	123		Skull, humerus, 3 mandibles, R pelvis, radius, ulna, 9 ribs, all virtually complete, of horse; radius and 3 mandibles of cattle	Inside N side of house. Cut marks on several horse bones
124	Gravelly Guy	2323	M	123		Articulated L forelimb of cattle, large pot sherd within arc of articulation	Inside NW side of house
125	Gravelly Guy	2336	A			Articulated cattle with skull and forelimb missing	S boundary of settlement
126	Gravelly Guy	2345	M			248 frags mixed bones, inc. complete dog skull and half horse skull; 35kg burnt stone; 82 sherds/820g pottery; 23 frags/1.118kg fired clay	?S boundary of settlement
127	Gravelly Guy	2354	A	102		2 horse skulls; near complete femur and butchered mandible of cattle	Nearly central in house
128	Gravelly Guy	2358	A	123		Complete dog except skull, mandibles and atlas. Head removed by cutting pit 2378 - would have been buried complete	Nearly central in house
129	Gravelly Guy	2395/D/3	A	101		Cattle skull	NW side of house ditch, opposite entrance. Second cut. See also ID66-69, and ID130-131
130	Gravelly Guy	2395/J/5	M	101		Horse skull; 2 cattle skulls; large sherds of single plain jar	NE terminal of house gully
131	Gravelly Guy	2395	M	101		Sheep skull; flint arrowhead	SW terminal of house gully
132	Gravelly Guy	2409	A	101		Dog skull, mandibles, atlas. Rest of skeleton possibly removed by house gully	Cut by SW terminal of house gully
133	Gravelly Guy	2422	M	101		Upper part of dog skeleton; cattle tibia; horse scapula; flint arrowhead	Cut by SW terminal of house gully
134	Gravelly Guy	2444	A	101		Goat skull, with butchery marks	Cut SE enclosure gully
135	Gravelly Guy	2467	A			L articulated lower hindlimb of cattle	
136	Gravelly Guy	2486	A	101		Upperish fill - 140 frags animal bone, inc. 5 cattle mandibles; 9 sheep/goat mandibles, 2 skull frags; 16 unid. skull frags	Immediately above ID137. Near SE entrance to house ID101, but might not be associated

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
137	Gravelly Guy	2486	A	101		164 animal bone frags inc. 2 mandibles, 2 skull frags, 3 metacarpals, tibia of cattle; 3 mandibles, 3 skull frags, 2 metatarsals, 3 radii of sheep/goat; pig mandible; 25 longbone frags, 27 ribs unid	Same pit as ID136, immediately below
138	Gravelly Guy	2609	A			Dog skull	On SE edge of settlement
139	Gravelly Guy	2632	A			Substantial part of pig skull; Small part of horse and cattle skull	
140	Gravelly Guy	2721	A			Cattle skull	On far SE edge of settlement
141	Gravelly Guy	2755	A			Bones from 1-3 horses. Some with gnawing	On far SSE edge of settlement
176	Yarnton	584	M	151		Bird and hare bones; bone comb; leaze rod; bone/antler handle; 23 loomweight frags (4482g); 4 frags of 2 saddle querns; crucible frag; 1046g/53 sherds pottery; large quantity animal bone; charred plants; worked bone; fired clay	On SW edge of ring gully. Of the eight MIA pits that contained wild animals, six also significant quantities of pot
177	Yarnton	390D	M	152		1692g/120 sherds pottery; 101 animal bones; sub-tuyere plate; 2 crucible frags; Cu alloy brooch frags	Gully of final house. Most from SE side. Only 20% excavated
178	Yarnton	7988	O			Jet earing	Possible special deposit. In area of finds rich pits
179	Yarnton	7895	M	158		1.5kg pottery - significant percentage redeposited EIA; 5 kg burnt stone; over 220 animal bones - mostly sheep and cattle; frag briquetage; cu alloy ring	In ring gully of house. Only 3 sections excavated
180	Yarnton	7512	M			Pottery, inc. significant quantity of redeposited EIA; teeth and small lower limb bones, cattle femora, frags of mammal skulls and cattle mandibles	In dense area of intercutting features
181	Yarnton	7789	M			Concentration of cattle femora, bone comb, fired clay prob from metalworking	In dense area of intercutting features
182	Yarnton	273	A	150		Partial sheep skeleton; lots of other sheep bones; 1 pig, 1 cow bone; 20 grains	Associated with house, depends with pit is phased
183	Yarnton	511	A	145		Cattle torso; fore and hind limbs of foal	Just to N of house. Only evidence of young horse
184	Yarnton	1744	A			Partial dog burial; pair of mandibles from another dog	
185	Yarnton	8786	M			Articulated sheep leg bones; pottery; daub; 2 whetstones; shale bracelet frag; rim of shale vessel; grooved and polished metapodial	On NW edge of settlement, Cresswell
186	Yarnton	8149	A			Very young partial sheep skeleton; pair of foetal sheep tibiae	On NW edge of settlement, Cresswell
188	Yarnton	1530	A			Clay filling; sheep mandible; frags cow skull	

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
189	Yarnton	1189	M		169	Human remains; horse bone; 2 pieces of slag, hearth bottom fragment; bone point; 'two of these [three] pits with human bone also contained substantial deposits of pottery and animal bone'	The three special deposits that contained human remains all also had horse remains. Only 12 other pits contained horses
190	Yarnton	746	M	145	168	Human remains; horse bone; loomweight; 'two of these [three] pits with human bone also contained substantial deposits of pottery and animal bone'	Cutting NE house gully. See above
191	Yarnton	248	M	159	167	Human remains; horse bone; 'two of these [three] pits with human bone also contained substantial deposits of pottery and animal bone'	Cut by E terminal of house gully. See above
192	Yarnton	8493	M			Articulated sheep leg bones; 'one of the richest assemblages of artefacts other than pottery associated with articulated sheep leg bones'	
193	Yarnton	577	P			Large sherds	
194	Yarnton	1733	P			Large sherds	
195	Yarnton	7712	P			Large numbers of small sherds	
196	Yarnton	7783	M			Spindlewhorl; polisher; 2 frags cu alloy	
197	Yarnton River Causeway		O			MBA spearhead with MIA radiocarbon date; small quantity LBA/EIA pottery; BA double pointed awl; L Neo/EBA flint	Beneath causeway
198	Yarnton River Causeway		A			402 identified bones - 81% cattle, 10% horse, 2% dog, 7% red deer, 2% roe deer. Minimum of 30 cattle - distinct bias towards right cattle limbs	Within and on top of stone causeway, spread quite evenly across its length
199	Yarnton River Causeway	13009/ 13297	O			BA Cu alloy bracelet; 84g LBA/EIA pottery	Possible special deposit given its location rather than contents. In layer of organic silt overlaying final gravel causeway
201	Blewburton	Cutting B	M			Cattle skull; large part of plain saucepan pot; Trans or EIA and IA pot	1947. Near the bottom of the recut inner enclosure ditch.
204	Blewburton	Cutting F	M		212	Iron pin or rivet; several sherds of pot; complete horse with human riding it; iron adze; rust stains that could be wire; complete dog. Decorated saucepan pot sherd in turf line above deposit	1952-3. At bottom of recut inner enclosure ditch
205	Blewburton	Cutting J -Entrance to hillfort	M		214	Horse skull and cow skull together in centre; deer by S wall, complete except for hind legs; 2 complete horse skeletons under N wall; 2 horse skeletons in centre inner area (1976); child skull frags and forearm in centre; MIA sherds	Mainly 1952-3. Should be more than one special deposit. Scattered in different areas of street under fallen wall and rampart
213	Blackbird Leys field system	2094/2163	A			Cattle skull, pottery, bone frags	In upper fill of double pit

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
219	Ireland's Land	381/357	M	173		28 sherds pottery; animal bone from cattle, horse, sheep/goat, pigs; fired clay; iron and copper slag	In house gully terminals of subsidiary N entrance
220	Warrens Field, Island 3	Structure 20b, 371, 372	M	185		605 animal bones; 15kg pottery; 2 fitting frags of saddle quern rubber; small amount of fired clay; 2 briquetage frags	In house gully and contiguous enclosure gullies
221	Warrens Field, Island 2	Enclosure 6	M	200		3.8kg pottery; 2 pieces fired clay; 105 animal bone frags	In SE terminal of house/enclosure gully
222	Warrens Field, Island 2	Enclosure 6	P	204		Nearly complete jar; 1 piece fired clay	In N terminal of house gully
223	Warrens Field, Island 1	Structure 1 inner gully. 21	M	207		3.7kg pottery; 82 animal bone frags; 9 pieces fired clay; 6 briquetage frags; piece of iron	Inner house gully
224	Warrens Field, Island 1	?Inside structure 2	A	209		Part of disarticulated cow skeleton, predominantly foot bones	Pit on E side of internal gully
229	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	315	O			Reaping hook; knife handle with rivet for fixing handle	1978
231	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	303	A			Partial calf skeleton	1978
233	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	5849	A	262		Articulated dog skeleton	1999. NW edge of house
236	Thornhill Farm, Tr22	3247	P			Almost complete but broken Malvernian vessel	
240	Horcott Pit	5187	M			Charcoal rich fill; iron blade; worked bone handle; several triangular loomweight	?Upper fill of enclosure ditch on S side
242	Horcott Pit	5164	O		236	Ring headed pin; iron sheet frag	Next to pit with cremation
243	Horcott Pit		O			Currency bar hoard	From TVAS excavation. Less than c.20m of enclosure
245	Watchfield East	5214, third phase	A			Skull of large polecat - may have derived from pelt as unusually dark and hard; domestic animal bones	East terminal of enclosure ditch. All special deposits concentrated at entrance, but only this area excavated
246	Watchfield East	5214, fourth phase				Near complete cattle skull; articulated leg of pig; axially split pig skull	East terminal of enclosure ditch
247	Watchfield East	5077	O			3 cylindrical loomweights; large quantities of charcoal	12m S of MIA enclosure entrance. Likely these MBA objects were deposited in MIA. See 5.6.2, 6.2.8
248	Watchfield East	5008	M		240	Cattle skull placed beside an upside-down trepanned human skull. Pot; flint; other cattle bones	Just E of entrance

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
249	Watchfield East	5019	A			Complete articulated cattle skeleton	Away from other special deposits
250	Watchfield East	5030	M			Complete rotary quern; worked bone object; small amount of pottery	To W in small pit spread
263	Coxwell Road	1848	M	296		202 sherds pottery; stone slab with worn face; crucible; horse skull	Cook *et al.* 2004. House gully
264	Coxwell Road	1390	M	295	253	20 pieces of disarticulated human bone; radius and ulna of mallard	Cook *et al.* 2004. House gully terminal
265	Coxwell Road	1852	A	298		Cattle skull	Cook *et al.* 2004. House gully
266	Coxwell Road	1248	O	300		?62 loomweight frags inc. large complete example, 12kg fired or burnt clay	Cook *et al.* 2004. Centre of house
267	Spratsgate Lane Areas B and C	868	P	302		Burnt waste, ash; 6.86kg of pottery. Not burnt *in situ*	To NW of entrance. Might be later than house
268	Spratsgate Lane Areas B and C	S18; 804, 816	M	302		Large quantities of animal bone and pottery	To S of outer entrance to house
269	Spratsgate Lane Areas B and C		M			Central fill 706 - 40% of fill animal bone, limestone and pot	Well outside entrance to settlement
276	Latton Lands Central	1182	A	329		Horse skull	Pit in S entrance terminal of gully
277	Latton Lands Northern	3869	M	337	258	Weasel and red deer bones; ironworking slag; iron rod; triangular cast cu alloy object; animal bone; MIA pottery; crouched infant in upper fill (possibly Roman)	Inside possible large penannular gully enclosure. Radiocarbon date
281	Aves Ditch Pipeline, Enclosure 1		M		261	Human infant; cattle mandible, femur and scapula; a few sherds of pottery	On SE side of enclosure ditch
290	CC/Shorncote Eastern Complex	4180	M			S terminal - 38kg burnt stone; 245g pottery; horse scapula. N terminal - 2kg burnt stone; oyster; cattle bones; rubber	House gully terminals. Radiocarbon dated
310	Alfred's Castle Large Enclosure	Tr 20B, basal fill	M			Considerable collection of animal bones; iron tool; remains of nearly complete ceramic vessel laid along ditch as row of large sherds	In enclosure ditch, on its E side
311	Thornhill Farm	Ditch 803, enclosure 120	M	269		2kg of pottery, 3.45kg of bone and 2200kg of burnt limestone	In house enclosure ditch, concentrating in terminals
313	Fairclough Farm	Section 5, structure 1	P	468		Almost complete pot	In terminal of house gully
314	Site of the First Battle of Newbury	1360, 1328	M	470		3 triangular loomweights on top of broken vessel. Minimum of two other vessels	In N terminal gully of house gully
315	Site of the First Battle of Newbury	1372	P	470		Sherds from a single vessel	In S terminal of house gully
327	Grazeley Road	2002	M	490		1307 sherds/13.5kg pottery, loomweight frags, 12kg iron slag - mostly from smelting, spindlewhorl	In house gully at back of house. Might be redep from earlier elongated pits

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
328	Manor Cottage	Pit 13	M			31 sherds decorated saucepan pot; horse skull	On edge of pit cluster
329	Manor Cottage	Pit 42	A			Complete dog	In pit cluster. Radiocarbon date
330	Thrope Lea Nurseries Western	1653	A			Articulated remains from both left and right upper forelimbs of sheep/goat	In pit cluster
331	Denton's Pit, Southcote	Pit F	M			Considerable quantity of pot - large sherds from at least 7 pots; loomweight frags	In pit cluster
448	Denton's Pit, Southcote	Ditch D	M			Broken Acheulian hand-axe; fragment of beehive quern; a 'rusted pin with a curl at one end'; daub with wattle impressions; one or two loomweight fragment; sherds from at least 20 pots including many decorated examples	In dog-leg of ditch. Small area exposed
333	Hawk's Hill	Pit 1	M			Sherds from 23 pots. Separate 'cave' dug into bottom of pit containing animal bones. Sherds from large jar distributed throughout	In pit cluster
334	Hawk's Hill	Pit 3	M			Sherds from 81 vessels; placed jaw bone of ox	In pit cluster
336	Hawk's Hill	Pit 6	M			Sherds from 27 vessels. Burnt ox skull	In pit cluster
338	Hawk's Hill	Pit 11	M			Bronze pin; chalk disc; crucible; slag; sherds from 55 vessels; most of these EIA, but some MIA	In pit cluster
347	Wood Lane	Pit 446	A			Articulated upper cattle forelimb joint	Pit cut in enclosure ditch, by SW entrance
348	Wood Lane	Pit 515	M			47 sherds/306g pottery in fresh condition; articulated cattle joint; sheep and pig bones; ox skull frags; woodcock bones	Pit cut into SE corner of enclosure ditch
350	Thames Valley Park enclosure	1320	M		318	Human neonate; 144 animal bones, inc. disarticulated bones representing at least 4 cattle; complete skull of bull; bones from at least 3 sheep/goat; toad skeleton; 12 sherds M/LIA pot; 2 LBA/EIA sherds	Towards S of enclosure
359	Brooklands	Cutting 35	M	527		Loomweight; iron ring or buckle; 6 whetstones	Near SE side of house gully, opposite entrance
360	Brooklands	Cutting 56	M	527		Two loomweights; latch lifter	Entrance to house
362	Brooklands	Pit 55	M			Sherds from at least 15 pots; nail; fired clay; slag	
368	Laleham	Pit 272	M			4kg pottery; triangular loomweight; iron hooked billet; bird bone; clay 'briquette'	Near entrance to enclosure
391	Ashford Prison	Structure 4	M	551		Horse jaw, cattle radius, 'finds density was high, with burnt flint, bone and a reasonable quantity of pottery, burnt daub, hearth debris, abundant FAS'	S terminal of house
392	Ashford Prison	Pit 1426	P	556		Three large pieces of pot made from two different fabrics, nested together and placed in feature. Finds density in house gully high	Pit in N area of house

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
393	Heathrow T5	136046	P			Complete saucepan pot	Ditch c.150m W of settlement, cutting across entrance to Neo HE1 enclosure
394	Heathrow T5	Waterhole 148303	M			Over 1.5kg iron slag; over 1kg fired clay inc. 2 loomweights; over 2kg/over 348 sherds pottery; 1.3kg animal bone; 5kg burnt flint	Middle fills. Waterhole dug in LBA c.150m to W of settlement, near Neo HE1 enclosure.
395	Heathrow T5	Gully of RH 8	M	587		350 sherds/3kg pottery; 3.5kg bone; 6.4kg burnt flint; 1.8kg fired clay	Concentrated in N terminal
419	Sherborne House	Pit 1815	P			More than 150 sherds	In pit cluster
420	Sherborne House	Pit 914	A			Semi-articulated horse leg and pelvis from primary fills	In pit cluster
421	Sherborne House	Pit 185	A			Dog skull in upper fills	In pit cluster
447	Halfpenny Lane	Pit 29	M			Broken and reused polished flint axe; loomweight fragments	On edge of pit cluster

A9.7 Other Date

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
	MBA/LBA						
425	Yarnton Site 5	Pit 9452	M		354	Clay lining above primary fill. Black ash/charcoal layer with 57 animal bones, 17 burnt; 6kg layer of limestone burnt in situ; clay and charcoal with cremated human bone, 47 frags animal; clay lining to seal	Radiocarbon dates. 30m away from nearest of burial pits
	LBA/Trans/EIA						
384	Heathrow T5	827250	O			Log ladder; complete bark container; DR and PDR pot	Waterhole, in loose cluster with others
	Trans/EIA/MIA						
79	Gravelly Guy	893	A			1 complete sheep; most of another sheep; 3 infant or juvenile sheep or goats	Cut into ID78, N edge of pit cluster, between buildings AA and Y
89	Gravelly Guy	2062	M		136	Neonate inhumation; 1 foetal sheep/goat and part of another; poss loomweight	On far SE of settlement. Intercutting ID115
108	Gravelly Guy	1451	A			Horse skull	
115	Gravelly Guy	2096	A			Adult goat, complete but skull not articulated with spine	On far SE of settlement. Intersecting ID89
117	Gravelly Guy	2131	A			Disarticulated skull; longbone; rib; 2 mandibles from pig and sheep	On far SW of settlement
230	Ashville/Wyndkye Furlong	Pit 63	A			Puppy	1978
234	Ashville/Wyndkye Furlong	5502	O			3 complete or nearly complete loomweights; 2 large frags; 1 frag from massive loomweight; three other frags	1999
	EIA/MIA						
6	Segsbury	1298	A			Partially articulated young pig on top layer	In pit group
8	Segsbury	6004	A			Cow skull and several bones	Gully outside E entrance
39	Mount Farm	F.588	A			40 sheep bones	Posthole in S area
40	Mount Farm	F.53	A			3 sheep carcasses. No butchery marks	
41	Mount Farm	F.166	A			Butchered dog that had suffered numerous injuries	Pit cluster

ID	Site	Feature	Type	House	Human	Contents	Location/More Information
43	Mount Farm	F.174	A			Part of fox	Pit cluster
46	Mount Farm	F.661	O			Worked bone - 1 point, 2 misc, 1 pin, 2 combs, 1 antler	Waterhole in S of site
418	Bedfont	1	M			120 sherds pot; loomweight frags; iron objects; iron fibula from ploughsoil in circle	Ditch of hut circle/enclosure 1
	MIA/LIA						
52	Milton Hill North	2220	P			Half intact pot	Inside enclosure 1. Probably MIA

Appendix 10: Metalwork Notes

A10.1 Biases

A10.1.1 Representation

The Thames

Assessing the metalwork from the Thames and its tributaries is problematic as there are various biases inherent in the dataset. The majority of the finds from the Thames were discovered during dredging works in the 19th and 20th centuries. Some areas, particularly those downstream and around urban areas, have been more systematically dredged than others, although now the majority of the river has been considerably dredged (Ehrenberg 1980, 1-5; York 2002, 77-9). Some areas would therefore produce more finds than others. Rates of collecting during dredging works have also varied considerably, with finds increasing both after the Thames Conservancy Board started to make records in 1932, and after the employment of an archaeological officer in 1969 (Ehrenberg 1980, 4). The circumstances of recovery would favour the collection and retention of larger and impressive items such as complete or largely complete swords and spearheads, especially before systematic recording was in place. We must assume that many smaller and fragmented tools, ornaments and other objects were missed or not retained after discovery. More recent, controlled finds from the Thames include fragments and scrap, demonstrating that these were deposited in these contexts (Needham and Burgess 1980, 445).

These factors place a bias on the number and type of objects found in the Thames as opposed to on land. They must be set against the large amount of construction and quarrying that has taken place on the Thames gravels in modern times. Although some areas are favoured over others, considerable quarrying has taken place in large areas throughout the Upper and Middle Thames Valley that could, and often have, brought up later prehistoric metalwork. Similar biases on land in the collection of certain objects over others might still persist. However, the majority of Thames finds were made in the 19th and earlier 20th centuries, whereas more of the construction and quarry finds are from the later 20th century. These later discoveries are more likely to be representative of original depositions.

Portable Antiquities Scheme

The huge upsurge in metal-detecting in the last few decades as Thames finds become less common also helps to even out numerical biases in finds, although new problems emerge in the representation of object types. Metal-dectectorists tend to find and report even the most fragmented objects of the kind that one could scarcely imagine a nineteenth century dredgerman keeping, let alone reporting to an antiquarian. This is especially true in the last decade since the inception of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS; Murgia *et al.* 2014). Table A10.1 demonstrates that less obvious object types such as awls and chisels are more likely to

be reported through the PAS than previous channels. The recent bias towards smaller objects being more heavily represented can also be demonstrated by comparing levels of fragmentation. Objects reported through the PAS are far more likely to be in a fragmented state compared to the discoveries prior to this scheme (Table A10.2). This again shows the likelihood that many smaller, less impressive objects were discarded following all but the most recent discoveries. The PAS data should eventually be more representative of original object frequencies and patterns of fragmentation preceding deposition, but we should allow for biases obscuring more fragmented and less aesthetically impressive objects from the Thames originally being deposited. This discussion does not attempt to distinguish between pre- and post-depositional fragmentation.

Object Type	**Number reported through PAS**
Awls[1]	19/31 (61%)
Chisels	6/19 (32%)
Swords	15/110 (14%)
Spearheads	21/187 (11%)
Axes	24/313 (8%)
Thorndon Knifes	1/20 (5%)

Table A10.1. Ratio of LBA objects reported through the Portable Antiquities Scheme

Object Type	**Number of fragmented PAS finds**	**Number of fragmented non-PAS finds** (where data is available)
Axes	18/24 (75%)	97/271 (36%)
Spearheads	17/21 (81%)	62/155 (40%)
Swords	15/15 (100%)	66/73 (90%)
Tools (ex. awls)	10/14 (71%)	31/67 (46%)

Table A10.2. LBA object types comparing the ratio of fragmented examples reported through the Portable Antiquities Scheme and those known prior to the Portable Antiquities Scheme

A10.1.2 Provenance

The provenance of river finds is often inexact, with only vague stretches of river or landmarks being recorded. The location an object was found was also not necessarily the location of its deposition as we must expect movement of at least some objects in the dynamic river channels. The Thames itself has moved considerably in the last 3000 years due to natural and man-made processes (e.g. Needham 2000), depositing objects in palaeochannels and possibly eroding riverside hoards, single depositions and settlement debris into the river.

The movement and deposition of ballast from dredging also complicates provenances (Cotton 1996; Lawrence 1929, 72; Needham and Burgess 1980, 438; Schulting and Bradley 2013, 31-2). Objects incorporated in sediment may be dredged from one location, moved to another and subsequently found, giving a different provenance to the original location of deposition (e.g. Harbison and Laing 1974, 3).

A further problem is the honesty of early finders. In efforts to increase the price of an artefact to prospective buyers, provenances might have been fabricated. This is especially problematic for Thames and other nineteenth to earlier twentieth century discoveries. For example, dredgermen selling to the prolific antiquarian Thomas Layton - many of our Bronze and Iron Age Thames finds are from his collection - were apparently in the habit of telling him they were found around Brentford, near where he lived, to secure sales (Vulliamy 1930, 131). Furthermore, as the Thames was well known in the nineteenth century for producing antiquities, objects from unknown locations may have been attributed to the river to reduce the suspicion of fake provenances. However, as these issues affect both Bronze Age and Iron Age objects, the significance of this lessens in the diachronic analyses presented. Significant differences occur between the periods, demonstrating real patterns in the evidence base.

A10.2 Location

For the LBA, the catchment area for finds from the Thames ends at Teddington lock. This is extended up to Wandsworth Bridge for the Iron Age. It was chosen to exclude the large number of LBA finds between these two areas – for example from Syon Reach – but it was thought necessary to extend the catchment for the Iron Age given the important finds of daggers, swords, axes and ornaments between Teddington and Wandsworth. Transitional bronze finds stop at Teddington, but the catchment for possible iron dating to the Transition continues to Wandsworth. For both periods, dryland finds are included as far east as Wandsworth bridge.

Finds that have only been given a modern riverside location as their provenance and not specifying whether the object was from the Thames are assumed in the database to have been dryland single finds. Objects that clearly came from palaeochannels are included as Thames finds.

Objects with provenances only of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Buckinghamshire, Surrey and London have been excluded. Those with Oxfordshire and Berkshire have been included, as the majority of these latter counties fall within the catchment area.

Objects have been excluded from the database when the provenance only of the ‘Thames’ is given. This is due to large numbers of objects having been found further downriver, especially in the LBA, despite that the majority of the river itself falls within the catchment area (Needham and Burgess 1980, figs. 7-8).

Following PAS policy, grid references for PAS finds are accurate to no more than 1km. It is indicated if more detailed location is available. Some finds are restricted further: in these cases only the find pseudonym is given. These are indicated by ‘Restricted’ in the ‘XY accuracy’ column in Appendices 11 and 12. More detailed information might be available.

A10.3 Object Phasing and Typology

Broad metalwork phasing has been outlined in Chronological Framework Chapter. Typological classification follows recognised schemes where available. This section aims to clarify the phasing and typology of a number of object types.

A10.3.1 Late Bronze Age

Axes

Late palstaves have been placed into Wilburton. Although some in the south have early Ewart associations, no hoards look early Ewart, and 'Blackmoor' has been subsumed into Wilburton. There does remain the possibility that some of the Late palstaves are Ewart Park.

A number of axes probably best fitting into the loose group 'miscellaneous slender socketed axes with rectangular sectioned bodies' (Schmidt and Burgess 1981, 217-8) have been included. These were not regarded as a coherent type by Schmidt and Burgess (1981, 217-8). Unassociated finds have been phased to the Ewart Park period, whilst recognising their possible earlier development in the Wilburton period.

34 unclassified socketed axe fragments that are not associated with other dateable material and without chronologically distinctive features have been included. As only four socketed axes can be assigned to the Wilburton period with any certainly, it is unlikely that many of these belong to this phase. Unclassified socketed axe fragments have been assigned as Ewart Park or Llyn Fawr, with the expectation that most of these should be Ewart Park. This is due to much larger numbers of single axe finds belonging to this period, and that the frequency of fragmentation is highest in the Ewart Park.

Swords

Swords begin in the Penard period and end with the Gündlingen series early in the Llyn Fawr. Gündlingen have been included on the Llyn Fawr maps, although it should be noted that these belong to the closing years of the Ewart Park period and only the beginning of the Llyn Fawr, c.810-750 BC (Gerloff 2004, 141-7; O'Connor 2007, 71-2).[1] As there are only five examples of Gündlingen swords, no unclassifiable swords have been phased to possibly date to the Llyn Fawr period as it is unlikely they date this late. Instead, they have been placed as possible finds within all other periods in the Late Bronze Age, although some should belong to Penard.

[1] The recent Ewart Park hoards containing Gündlingen swords at Crundale, Kent (Treasure Annual Report 2003, 22) and St Erth, Cornwall (Treasure Annual Report 2002, 20-2) support this early dating.

Spearheads

As the only definite Broadward objects consist of 10 unassociated barbed spearheads, these have been included in the Ewart Park maps with the view that these are earlier than the majority of the rest of the Ewart material.

The assemblage from the Thames Valley does not support the existence of a distinct Blackmoor phase. This study therefore regards the distinctive Wilburton spears that occur in some 'Blackmoor' hoards outside of the Thames Valley as belonging to the Wilburton period (see Appendix 1.3). This includes spearheads with lunate openings; long spearheads over c.300mm with short sockets; those slightly smaller than these but still with relatively short sockets; lozenge sectioned hollow bladed spearheads; and spearheads of a short overall length – below c.110mm – with slayed sockets (Richard Davis *pers. comm.*; 2015; Burgess 1968, 36; Burgess *et al.* 1972; O'Connor 1980, 181).

Other spearheads of the LBA are in general difficult to differentiate chronologically. However, recent work has demonstrated that pegged, rounded midrib examples with that have blunt tip in the shape of a bullet belong to the Ewart Park phase (Richard Davis *pers. comm.*; 2015). Pegged spearheads with decoration on the sockets that is beyond simple lines are also likely to be of Ewart Park date.

The majority of the pegged spearheads cannot be further differentiated chronologically. They have been included in the Wilburton/Ewart Park phase maps. These have been split into flame, leaf and ogival. The definition these follow Davis (2012, 10-2), where the difference between flame and leaf shaped blades are those where the maximum width of the blade is respectively below and above a third of the overall blade length.

The database was compiled prior to the publication of Davis's (2015) corpus of LBA spearheads, although information was provided by Richard Davis on typological and chronological findings from this study – I thank him for this. A list of spearheads has been omitted due to the subsequent publication of Davis's (2015) more comprehensive corpus.

Awls

Awls occur throughout the Bronze Age, and have associations in the Thames Valley with Transitional pottery at four settlements. The single finds of awls have therefore been phased throughout the Bronze Age, and are excluded from the maps with a note some will belong to the period under study. No attempt has been made to typologically segregate these objects.

Chisels

Unassociated tanged chisels have been phased within an undifferentiated Wilburton/Ewart Park, with a view that the majority of these should be Ewart Park as most in hoards outside of

the area belong to this later period (Burgess *et al.* 1972, 217; O'Connor 1980, 175). One example was found in the Wallingford midden, demonstrating a late date within the Ewart Park or early Llyn Fawr here. These LBA examples are different to earlier objects by their prominent stops and clear separation between the tang and blade.

Gouges

Socketed gouges also have a long chronology, appearing in the Wilburton period and continuing into the Llyn Fawr (Burgess 2012, 144; O'Connor 1980, 137, 175-6, 239). Unassociated examples have been phased within this long period, with the note that most should belong to the Ewart Park phase as most are associated with this tradition.

Bracelets

The typological scheme used for bracelets is that of Davies (2012).

A10.3.2 Iron Age

Currency bars

Currency bars are generally dated from the end of the MIA to perhaps as late as the first century AD (Allen 1968; Ford and Raymond 2010, 44; Hingley 1990a, 92; 2006, 183-6). Associated examples seem to more often fall early within this period. The examples with useful contexts in the Thames Valley are suggestive of MIA dates, although none are secure dated. The Totterdown Lane hoard was deposited c.30m to the north of a MIA enclosed settlement; the sword probably associated with the Appleford hoard appears to be Group B; and no LIA pottery was found at Blewburton where a currency bar was discovered in the topsoil (Harding 1976, 144). Two fragments of possible currency bars were found at Gravelly Guy, one each in pits dating to the EIA and MIA (Boyle and Wait 2004). Currency bars have therefore been included as possible MIA objects, with the note that most should belong to the period.

Swan necked and ring headed pins

There is a need for a comprehensive review of Iron Age swan necked and ring headed pins in Britain, although recent work by Becker (2000; 2008) has led to a greater understanding of these objects. Davies (2012, 38-40) has also recently discussed the LBA origin of these ornaments. Unassociated swan necked pins have been assigned a Transitional or EIA date, with the possibility that some could date in the Ewart Park period. Most ring headed pins with or without a recurved neck should date to either the EIA or MIA, with some possibly as early as the Transition. An iron swan necked pin has recently been discovered in a probably Transitional midden layer outside Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps (Allen *et al.* 2010, 111-3; see Appendix 1, note 6).

Knives

A simple typology considering weather knives were tanged or handled, and were either single- or double-edged was employed. This produced very little useful information, and in hindsight a classification that considers how knives could have been used, looking at size and the shape of the blade, for example, might result in a more useful scheme.

Horse equipment

A small number of terrets, bridle bits and toggles have been included as possible MIA objects. Only one has come from a secure MIA context, at City Farm West.

Spearheads

A number of unassociated spearheads have been found mainly in the Thames, but also as single finds. These could belong to the Iron Age, but could easily be Roman or later. Only a single spearhead is in a secure context – from Gravelly Guy – and this dates to the MIA. Ongoing work analysing Iron Age spear typologies is demonstrating the difficulty in determining dates from individual finds (Yvonne Inall *pers. com.*). Scholars working on spearheads from later periods also find individual finds problematic for dating (Manning 1985, 160). The extremely varied assemblage from Danebury highlights problems in dating Iron Age spearheads (Cunliffe and Poole 1991, fig. 7.18).

Other objects

A small number of unassociated hook-shaped cutting tools, knives, latch-lifter, a ferrule and an iron prong might belong to the Iron Age. However, these equally could be Roman or even later as there is very little typological change in these objects over long periods of time (compare Cunliffe and Poole 1991, figs. 7.9-11, 7.22 with Manning 1985, figs. 14, 28, Pl. 37).

A10.4 Fragmentation

Basic information has been provided on the level of fragmentation on LBA metalwork. Most object types were divided into four areas; the numbers in the 'Frag' column in Appendix 11 represent the sections of the object present. '0' indicates a complete object, and '/' indicates an incomplete object where information on the areas present is not known. Fig. A10.1 outlines this scheme.

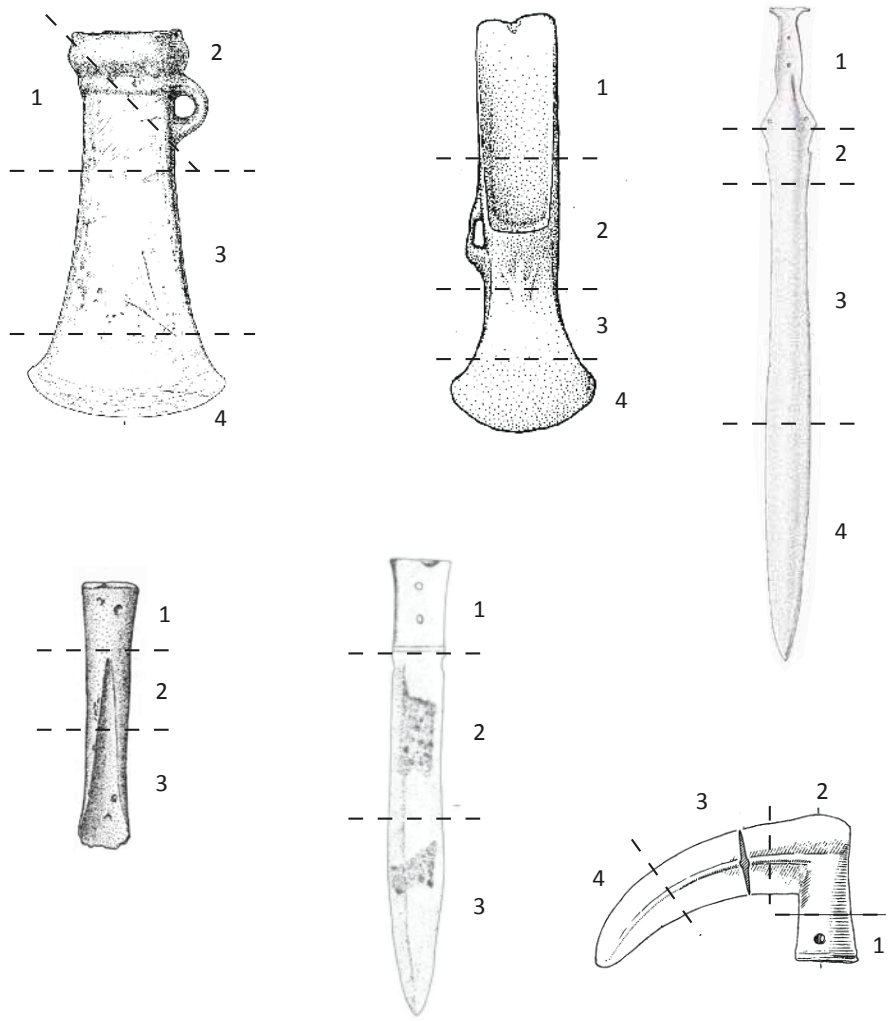


Fig. A10.1. LBA metalwork fragmentation scheme

Axe - Coombs *et al.* 2003, fig. 11.1. Image: OA
Palstave - Needham 1980b, fig. 5.4. Reproduced courtsey of Surrey Archaeological Society
Sword - Colquhoun and Burgess 1988, Pl. 47.287
Gouge - Burgess *et al.* 1972, fig. 18.49
Knife - Thomas 1984, fig. 1.19
Sickle - Fox 1939, fig. 6

Not to scale

A10.5 Data collection and use

The metalwork data was gleaned from published sources, the Portable Antiquities Scheme, the National Bronze Implement Index, and a limited number of unpublished sources. The lists presented are not intended to be wholly comprehensive, and no doubt unpublished objects have been missed. Furthermore, as the objects were not viewed and handled, in many cases typological classification should only be used as an approximation. This is especially relevant for objects that have not been subject to comprehensive reviews, where older sources with poor quality pictures and illustrations are relied that did not include typological classifications used today. In particular, the list of LBA axes should not be used as a substitute for a much needed comprehensive review and corpus of these objects in southern Britain: the same can be said for many of the Iron Age objects, for example knives, pins and spearheads.

Appendix 11: Late Bronze Age Metalwork

A11.1 Hoards

A11.1.1 Wilburton Hoards

Name	Norbury Park
Hoard Group	N/A
Contents	Axes – 2 Late Palstaves. Complete Long tongue shaped chape. Complete
Relationship to water	On hill overlooking river Mole
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Findspot excavated. Deposited under small cairn of flint within area of field lynchets. Hoard overlies a lynchet. Commented by Burgess (2012, 136) as belonging to the earlier, Limehouse sub-phase due to the early looking St-Brieuc straight-mouthed chape.
Location	TQ 15915 53220
Reference	Williams 2008

Name	Hampstead Norreys
Hoard Group	N/A
Contents	Spearheads – Tip of probable lozenge sectioned spearhead 2 pegged spearheads. One missing tip, the other missing tip and socket
Relationship to water	1.75km from the river Pang, which the findspot appears to overlook.
Relationship to earlier monuments	
Comments	Possible hoard – two spearhead fragments found in the same field, with a further fragment down the hill c.175m away. The fragment of tip is in a very rolled condition, but appears to be lozenge sectioned.
Location	SU 51 75 – More accurate available PAS: BERK-4FB102; BERK-4F1825; BERK-ED93F6
Reference	PAS: BERK-4FB102; BERK-4F1825; BERK-ED93F6

A11.1.2 Possible Wilburton Hoards

Name	Speen
Hoard Group	N/A. Mixed period. Wilburton Ewart Park Transition/'Broadward'
Contents	Spearheads – Barbed, Type II Basal-looped. 9A
Relationship to water	
Relationship to earlier monuments	
Comments	Consensus is divided as to whether this is a genuine association. Burgess *et al.* (1972, 236) think it is, although Needham (1981, 38) discounts it as they were found a year apart. Davis (2012, 154) and Rowlands (1976) also do not consider this a genuine association. This study considers 'Broadward' related deposits, including barbed spearheads, as being transitionary between Wilburton and Ewart Park (see 3.6.2; A1.3)
Location	c.SU455 673
Reference	Burgess *et al.* 1972

A11.1.3 Hoards possibly dating to Wilburton or Ewart Park

Name	Saunderton
Hoard Group	
Contents	56 highly fragmented objects. Most chronologically distinct is the end of a tongue shaped chape. Although it does not appear to have ribbing or raised edge, suggesting a possible early Wilburton/Limehouse date, it could also be later Wilburton or Ewart Park. Also present is a fragment of twisted rod, again possibly suggesting an earlier date as these most often found in Taunton contexts (O'Connor 1980, 79-80), although these do occasionally occur in Ewart Park hoards.[1] A punch is also present: these are rare items, although similar objects are present in the Ewart Park Reach Fen hoard (Smith 1956 17.3(3). 36-7).
Relationship to water	Might sit on the watershed between the Wey and a tributary of the Thame
Relationship to earlier monuments	Possible round barrows are located 750m, 850m and 1.1km from the Saunderton hoard
Comments	Wilburton or Ewart Park.
Location	Restricted
Reference	PAS: BUC-69CE72

[1] Ewart Park hoards with twisted torcs or bracelets include Lulworth (Pearce 1983, 490-1), Hitchin (Coombs 1971, fig. 200; this looks earlier Ewart Park due to the spearhead with fillet midribs), Breage 1 (Treasure Annual Report 2004, 35), Bucklands Brickfields (Coombs 1971, fig. 238) and Green End Road (Lethbridge and O'Reilly 1930-1, 59-60).

Name	Culgarth House
Hoard Group	Surrey North Downs
Contents	'A hoard was found… for which no details are available. All that remains are pieces of 'copper cake.' (Phillips 1967, 14)
Relationship to water	
Relationship to earlier monuments	
Comments	No more details available on contents
Location	TQ 261 604
Reference	Phillips 1967

Name	Coombe Warren, ?waste hoard
Hoard Group	Coombe Warren
Contents	Cu alloy lumps
Relationship to water	Area noted for presence of series of mineral springs
Relationship to earlier monuments	There may have been some monuments near Coombe Warren, although Field and Needham (1986, 129-31, 148) do not consider pre-LBA activity as significant.
Comments	Probable Ewart Park. Little information. Might not be hoard. Field and Needham (1986, nos. 66)
Location	c.TQ 20 70
Reference	Field and Needham 1986, 145-6, no. 66

Name	Coombe Warren, ?ingot hoard
Hoard Group	Coombe Warren
Contents	15 ingots
Relationship to water	Area noted for presence of series of mineral springs
Relationship to earlier monuments	There may have been some monuments near Coombe Warren, although Field and Needham (1986, 129-31, 148) do not consider pre-LBA activity as significant.
Comments	Probable Ewart Park. Little information. Might not be hoard. Field and Needham (1986, nos. 69)
Location	c.TQ 20 70
Reference	Field and Needham 1986, 145-6, no. 69

Name	Coombe Warren, ?ingot and waste hoard
Hoard Group	Coombe Warren
Contents	Cu alloy ingots Cu alloy lumps
Relationship to water	Area noted for presence of series of mineral springs
Relationship to earlier monuments	There may have been some monuments near Coombe Warren, although Field and Needham (1986, 129-31, 148) do not consider pre-LBA activity as significant.

Comments	Probable Ewart Park. Little information. Might not be hoard. Field and Needham (1986, nos. 64-5)
Location	c.TQ 20 70
Reference	Field and Needham 1986, 145-6, no. 64, 65

Name	Coombe Warren, rising ground of Kingston
Hoard Group	Coombe Warren
Contents	'Bronze weapons and large masses of bronze'
Relationship to water	Area noted for presence of series of mineral springs
Relationship to earlier monuments	There may have been some monuments near Coombe Warren, although Field and Needham (1986, 129-31, 148) do not consider pre-LBA activity as significant.
Comments	Probable Ewart Park. Little information. Might not be hoard. Field and Needham (1986, nos. 68)
Location	c.TQ 20 70
Reference	Field and Needham 1986, 145, no. 68

Name	Railway Cutting D, Carshalton
Hoard Group	Surrey North Downs
Contents	Ingots
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	Around 24 now destroyed barrows nearby, but 'from the description the group probably represents an Anglo-Saxon barrow cemetery'. No other possible monuments near the hoard.
Comments	Probable Ewart Park. Little information. Railway Cutting C hoard nearby
Location	TQ 272 643
Reference	Phillips 1967, 15

Name	Kew Gardens
Hoard Group	Thames-side?
Contents	'Consisted of 'brass' celts, lumps of metal and bits of rings'
Relationship to water	Exact site unknown, but Kew Gardens sits on the south side of the Thames, opposite the confluence with the river Brent.
Relationship to earlier monuments	
Comments	Objects destroyed. Little known.
Location	TQ 186 770
Reference	Phillips 1967, 21

Name	Laleham Burway
Hoard Group	Thames-side?
Contents	'Fragmentary items…including possibly weapons and ingot metal' (Burgess and Needham 1980, 445)
Relationship to water	Found eroding from river bank. May have been near ancient tributary confluence.
Relationship to earlier monuments	
Comments	Location of objects unknown. Found with pottery vessel.
Location	
Reference	Burgess and Needham 1980, 445; Coombs 1971, 191

A11.1.4 Ewart Park Hoards

Name	Blewbury
Hoard Group	Tributary
Contents	Axes – 3 South Eastern. Complete Mould – Cu alloy two part Cu alloy lumps – 6 pieces, 1033g
Relationship to water	6.8km from Thames. Placed in area of numerous springs and bogs.
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	All axes unused, exactly the same and cast from two part mould.
Location	SU 53 87
Reference	PAS: BERK-56BD17

Name	Princes Risborough
Hoard Group	Tributary
Contents	Axes – 1 Southern. Complete 1 South Eastern. Complete
Relationship to water	Overlooks Pyrtle Spring. This makes its way NW to Thame
Relationship to earlier monuments	Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age crouched inhumation was found c.500m to the east of hoard. No barrow was located, but it is possible that an upstanding monument originally marked the grave
Comments	
Location	SP 805 029
Reference	Taylor 1993, M1:A11; Anon. 1967

Name	Hanwell
Hoard Group	Tributary
Contents	Axe – 1 socketed unclassified, not Llyn Fawr type. Missing blade. Cu alloy lumps
Relationship to water	c.50m to river Brent. 4.25km from Thames
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship. 'Cinerary urns' found 1km to SE
Comments	
Location	TQ 150 800
Reference	London HER; NBII London 187

Name	Langley Marsh
Hoard Group	Tributary?
Contents	Axe – 1 socketed unclassified Cu alloy lumps
Relationship to water	3.3km from Thames. Not sited next to any obvious modern tributaries, but the hoard is in the flat, wet Colne Valley, an area that has been subject to substantial ground reworking, including gravel pitting and the building of reservoirs. In the Late Bronze Age this siting could have been similar to the other hoards, especially Blewbury.
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Cu alloy lumps stuffed inside axe
Location	TQ 01 79
Reference	NBII Berks 39

Name	Wimbledon
Hoard Group	Tributary?
Contents	Axes – 3 South Eastern. Complete 1 Faceted. Complete 1 End-Winged. Complete
Relationship to water	Exact location unknown, but the Wandle runs through the approximate area of its discovery.
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Has Carps Tongue elements
Location	London district only
Reference	Pryor 1980, 22, nos. 169-173

Name	Petters Sports Field
Hoard Group	Thames-side
Contents	Axes – 5 Faceted. Fragmented and complete examples of each type 10 South Eastern 9 Southern 4 South Welsh 4 Unclassified Socketed Swords – 9 Carp's Tongue. None complete 11 Ewart Park 1 unclassified Spearheads – 4 pegged fragments. Two join Tools – 2 Gouges. Complete 3 Unclassified knife fragments 1 Sickle, laterally placed side socketed. Fragment 2 Minnis Bay Sickle fragments. Joining 3 Thorndon knives. One complete Other – 1 Ferrule 1 Bag-shaped chape 1 Bugle shaped object 2 Cauldron handle attachment fragments. Class A2 2 Bucket fragments. Base plate and handle fragment 2 Cast bronze plate fragments 1 Sheet bronze fragment 4 Cu alloy ingots 2 Casting jets 1 Cu alloy lump
Relationship to water	1.3km from modern Thames, opposite confluences of rivers Colne and Wraysbury and Staines causewayed enclosure
Relationship to earlier monuments	1.3km from Staines causewayed enclosure, on other side of Thames
Comments	Found during archaeological excavation. Closely related to Runnymede and Petters Sports Field settlement. Many Carps Tongue elements, but stands out from the other Carps Tongue hoards in the area.
Location	TQ 01610 71571
Reference	Needham 1990

Name	Hoveringham Gravel Pit 1, Bray
Hoard Group	Thames-side
Contents	Axes – 1 South Eastern. Complete 3 Unclassified socketed. One blade. At least one of the other two is complete - this found separately in same area Sword – 1 unclassified fragment Spearhead – 1 pegged bullet tipped. Complete Tools – 1 possible Thorndon knife 1 tanged knife fragment Other – 1 possible ferrule fragment Cu alloy lump
Relationship to water	Near Thames. Near modern confluence with The Cut; original tributary association are uncertain.

Relationship to earlier monuments	A possible causewayed enclosure at Dorney is c.900m away. c.730m to the west of a pair of possible round barrows, and 1km to the south of a possible long barrow. All three were on the other side of the Thames to the hoard.
Comments	Not definitely a hoard. Found in reject material during gravel extraction. A MBA spearhead also found, but unsure of association.
Location	SU 912 785
Reference	Anon 1963-4; Rutland and Greenaway 1970, 55; Taylor 1993 M1:A1-2

Name	Hoveringham Gravel Pit 2, Bray
Hoard Group	Thames-side
Contents	Axes – 1 End-Winged. Complete 1 Faceted. Complete 1 South Eastern. Complete 1 Southern. Complete 1 Unclassified socketed blade Spearheads – 1 unclassified fragment Tools – 1 Thorndon Knife fragment Cu alloy lump
Relationship to water	Near Thames. Near modern confluence with The Cut; original tributary association are uncertain.
Relationship to earlier monuments	A possible causewayed enclosure at Dorney is c.900m away.
Comments	1 Carps Tongue element
Location	SU 90 79
Reference	Kendrick and Hawkes 1932, 134; Taylor 1993, M1:A2; NBII

Name	Bourne End
Hoard Group	Thames-side
Contents	Sword – Carps Tongue Spearhead – Pegged and decorated
Relationship to water	Near confluence of Thames and Wye.
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent association
Comments	Possible hoard. Objects found 50ft apart. 1 Carps Tongue element
Location	SU 897 865
Reference	NBII Berks spear 9

Name	Wandsworth Gas Works
Hoard Group	Thames-side
Contents	Axes – 6 South Eastern. 3 complete, 3 fragmented 1 Southern. Complete 1 South-Welsh. Complete 2 unclassified socketed blade fragments Tools – 1 Faceted chisel 1 Gouge ?11 cu alloy lumps

Relationship to water	Near confluence of Thames and Wandle
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship, but in built up area
Comments	
Location	c. TQ 259 753
Reference	Garraway Rice 1924; NBII Axes London 107-112, Hoards

Name	Wandsworth
Hoard Group	Thames-side
Contents	Axe – 1 South Eastern fragment. Might not be part of hoard Sword – 1 Carps Tongue or Ewart Park fragment, bent twice Tools – Gouge. Complete Minnis Bay sickle fragment
Relationship to water	Near confluence of Thames and Wandle
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship, but in built up area
Comments	1 Carps Tongue element
Location	TQ 247 756
Reference	Cotton and Wood 1996

Name	Beddington
Hoard Group	Tributary/Surrey North Downs
Contents	Axes – 3 South Eastern. 2 complete, the other missing part of blade with wing ornament 1 unclassified blade Swords – 2 Ewart Park hilt fragments Spearheads – 2 pegged fragments. 1 missing tip with decorated socket. Tools – 1 Gouge. Complete Other – 1 Ferrule 1 cu alloy mould for South Eastern axe – upper section.
Relationship to water	Near river Wandle
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	1 Carps Tongue element
Location	TQ 2920 6503
Reference	Burgess and Colquhoun 1988, no. 362; Needham 1987, fig. 5.15.19-28

Name	Wickham Park
Hoard Group	Surrey North Downs
Contents	Axes – 6 South Eastern. 2 complete. 1 with wing ornament 3 End-Winged. 2 complete 3 unclassified socketed blades Sword – 1 possible Auvernier or Tachlovice hilt fragment Spearhead – 1 fragment Tools – 1 Gouge fragment 1 Thorndon knife fragment 2 ferrules 1 cu alloy mould for South Eastern axe – upper section. Cu alloy lumps. Various fragments. 3024g
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Various Carps Tongue elements
Location	TQ 33 65
Reference	Burgess and Colquhoun 1988, no. 757; Invent. Arch. GB 39

Name	Carshalton Park
Hoard Group	Surrey North Downs
Contents	Axes – 6 South Eastern. All complete. One is possible Armorican 3 End-Winged. One complete 1 unclassified blade Cu alloy ingot
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	Around 24 now destroyed barrows nearby, but 'from the description the group probably represents an Anglo-Saxon barrow cemetery'. No other possible monuments near the hoard.
Comments	Carps Tongue elements
Location	TQ 281 640
Reference	Collyer 1909; Phillips 1967; 1968; Schmidt and Burgess 1981, 249

Name	Railway Cutting C, Carshalton
Hoard Group	Surrey North Downs
Contents	'a number of bronze tools and weapons'; 'many axes, spearheads and ingots' (ingots may be just hoard D).
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	Around 24 now destroyed barrows nearby, but 'from the description the group probably represents an Anglo-Saxon barrow cemetery'. No other possible monuments near the hoard.
Comments	Little information. Another possible Railway Cutting (D) hoard nearby
Location	TQ 271 642
Reference	Phillips 1967, 15

Name	Coombe Warren, Christ's Hospital School
Hoard Group	Coombe Warren
Contents	Axe – South Eastern. Complete Tools – Awl. Complete
Relationship to water	Area noted for presence of series of mineral springs
Relationship to earlier monuments	There may have been some monuments near Coombe Warren, although Field and Needham (1986, 129-31, 148) do not consider pre-LBA activity as significant.
Comments	Poorly understood. Might not be hoard
Location	c.TQ 20 70
Reference	Field and Needham 1987, no. 48, 52; Phillips 1967, 16.

Name	Coombe Warren, George Gravel Pit
Hoard Group	Coombe Warren
Contents	Axes – 2 South Eastern. One complete, the other mouth. Swords – 1 Ewart Park. Hilt 1 unclassified Spearheads – 4 unclassified fragments Other – 1 lead plate 2 misc cast bronze Cu alloy lump Cu alloy ingot
Relationship to water	Area noted for presence of series of mineral springs
Relationship to earlier monuments	There may have been some monuments near Coombe Warren, although Field and Needham (1986, 129-31, 148) do not consider pre-LBA activity as significant.
Comments	Lumps forced inside complete axe
Location	c.TQ 20 70
Reference	Field and Needham, 1986, 144, no. 49

Name	Perrotts Farm
Hoard Group	Possibly Surrey North Downs
Contents	Axes – 2 South Eastern. Complete. Another unclassified axe fragment possibly part of hoard Cu alloy ingot. 4 fragments
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	An undated contracted inhumation was found c.1km from the Perrotts Farm hoard. There is no mention of evidence for a barrow.
Comments	Slightly away from the concentration of Surrey North Downs hoards, and no specific Carps Tongue elements.
Location	c.TQ 2565 5810
Reference	Cotton 2004, 3; NBII Surrey 7-10, Context card 3

Name	Hogs Back
Hoard Group	Surrey North Downs?
Contents	Axes – 1 End-Winged, fragmented 1 South Eastern, fragmented 2 unclassified blades Tool – unclassified socketed tool 2 cu alloy lumps, 49g and 78g
Relationship to water	Apart from being only 2.25km from the river Wey, there is no obvious relationship to water. A modern stream starts only a short distance to the south which its location might overlook, although if this was desired, placement elsewhere might be more suitable.
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Away from main concentration of Surrey North Downs hoards, but has 1 Carps Tongue element
Location	SU 9725 4835
Reference	English 2002

Name	Emmer Green
Hoard Group	Thames-side? Tributary?
Contents	Axes – Faceted. Complete South-Welsh. Missing part of blade Unclassified blade
Relationship to water	2km from the modern course of the Thames, on a hill overlooking the river.
Relationship to earlier monuments	c.150m southwest of a possible round barrow
Comments	Although not near a modern tributary or next to the Thames, the hoard shares compositional features of both groups
Location	SU 719 765
Reference	Taylor 1993, M1:A5; NBII Oxon context card 19

Name	Disraeli Road
Hoard Group	
Contents	Axes – 5 South Eastern. 4 definitely complete, the other probably Cu alloy ingot fragments
Relationship to water	5km from Thames, 1km from river Brent
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	
Location	c.TQ 204 830
Reference	Cotton and Wood 1996, 19. no. 27

Name	Southall
Hoard Group	Double period
Contents	Axes – 4 Low Flanged Palstaves. Types Oxford, Southall, Swanwick and Ardudwy. All complete. Butt of palstave 1 Ring 1 two part mould for Southern axe
Relationship to water	
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Double period hoard, with latest object dating to Ewart Park. Unlike the other mixed hoards with more than two objects, only two periods are represented. It appears as though a Taunton hoard was discovered in the Ewart Park period, and redeposited with a contemporary axe mould
Location	London district
Reference	Invent. Arch. 8th set GB 51

A11.1.5 Possible Ewart Park Hoards

Name	Lechlade
Hoard Group	Thames-side
Contents	Axe – Body section of unclassified socketed axe, with rib decoration Sword – Unclassified hilt Spearhead – Unclassified socket
Relationship to water	All found less than 1km from the modern confluence of the Colne and Thames
Relationship to earlier monuments	Lots of ring-ditches in generally locality, but objects found in area away from clusters.
Comments	Found within 100x200m^2. Not found at same time, but all reported through PAS. Similarities in topographic position and composition to other Thames-side hoards suggests this is a genuine association.
Location	Restricted
Reference	PAS: WILT-F45E04; WILT-4FCD41; WILT-4D06B3

Name	Letcombe Regis
Hoard Group	Cluster of objects
Contents	Axe – South Eastern mouth fragment Swords – 1 Ewart Park hilt fragment. 2 unclassified blade fragments Spearheads – 2 fragments Tools – Awl Ingot
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Not a hoard, but an unusual cluster of objects. All eight found in an area 1.2x1.5km. All found during metaldetector rally in 2006, and all have location information accurate to $10m^2$. This concentration lies just to the south of the Early and Middle Iron Age hillfort of Segsbury. Field systems have been documented in this area, although these lie to the east and south-west of the concentration of finds (Gosden and Lock 2007, fig. 5; Richards 1978, fig. 11).
Location	Restricted
Reference	PAS: BERK-953763; BERK-82C6A3; BERK-3344F1; BERK-9A7624; BERK-950D76; BERK-9524C6; BERK-9514F7; BERK-D22193

A11.1.6 Llyn Fawr Hoards

Name	Kingston
Hoard Group	N/A
Contents	Axes – 4 Sompting axes. Complete. 1 undecorated, 1 ribs, 1 rib and pellet 1 more complex variation on ribs and pellets
Relationship to water	Too little information on location, although the river Hogsmill meets the Thames at Kingston. The Coombe Warren area noted for its LBA hoards and mineral springs sits behind the town.
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship, but little information on location
Comments	Possibly associated with a gold ring
Location	Town
Reference	Needham 1987, fig. 5.17.6-9

Name	Tower Hill
Hoard Group	N/A
Contents	Axes – 22 complete and 24 body and mouth fragments of Sompting axes Ornaments – 4 complete ?armrings Nail headed Pin 7 Bracelet fragments. Different types, variously decorated Other – 1 Ring 2 Rods 1 Fitting 1 Sheet bronze fragment 1 Strip of bronze Scrap – 16 pieces 2 Casting Jets Slag – 2 pieces
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	Possible barrows have been identified 700m to the east of the findspot, and another 320m to the northeast
Comments	Found in posthole of doorway of a roundhouse
Location	SU 2846 8397
Referece	Coombs *et al.* 2003

A11.1.7 Multi-period hoards with the latest objects dating to the Llyn Fawr

Name	Yattendon
Hoard Group	Multi-period
Contents	Axes – Flat Axe, Scrabo Hill. Complete Low-flanged Palstave. Miniature side-flanged palstave. Transitional Palstave South Eastern Faceted. Complete Sompting. Complete Swords – Carps Tongue blade 2 Ewart Park hilts Unclassified blade Spearheads – 3 Basal-Looped 4 Side-Looped 2 Barbed, Type II 7 Unclassified 13 Pegged Tools – 6 Gouges. 5 Complete 2 Thorndon Knifes 2 Tanged Knives. Complete 3 Tanged Chisels. Complete Other – Conical Ferrule Collared Disc 4 pieces of sheet
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Objects represented from at least five periods: Aylesford/ Willerby; Taunton; Penard; Ewart Park and Llyn Fawr. Nothing from Arreton and nothing certainly from Wilburton. Iron possibly also associated. Around 1000 years between the earliest and latest objects
Location	SU 5593 7457
Reference	Burgess *et al.* 1972; Evans 1878

Name	Crooksbury Hill
Hoard Group	Multi-period
Contents	Axes – Bar-Stop/Stopridge flanged axe Two Transitional Palstaves, one midribbed. All complete Transitional or Late Palstave South Eastern Sompting Original find consisted of 'a variety in bronze...from the rudest form down to the most elaboratley finished weapon', and a 'considerable number of celts'
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Found 'fifty yards' from small unexcavated Soliders Ring hillfort. Objects from Acton Park, Penard, Wilburton, Ewart Park and Llyn Fawr periods.
Location	SU 882 463
Reference	Anon 1857

Name	Garsington
Hoard Group	Double period
Contents	Axes – Transitional Palstave. Double looped Linear Faceted
Relationship to water	No apparent relationship
Relationship to earlier monuments	No apparent relationship
Comments	Hoard association not certain
Location	SP 582 025
Reference	Leeds 1939, 264; Taylor 1993, M1:B3; NBII Oxon 7

A mixed period hoard was discovered at Hagbourne Hill, and at least one may have been found at Hounslow. The latest objects in these belong to the Iron Age; they are discussed in the 4.9.2.

A11.2 Non-Hoard Finds

A11.2.1 Axes

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	Frag	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
172	Bagshot, Windlesham	Wilburton	Single Find	Late Palstave	0	491158	163304	Parish		Philips 1967, 33
315	Benson, axe	Wilburton	Single Find	Ulleskelf	0			Restricted		PAS: BERK-79C218
319	Cholsey, palstave	Wilburton	Single Find	Late Palstave	1, 2, 3	459426	185790	Parish		NBII B16 Berks 7
213	Dorchester, near, axe 1	Wilburton	Single Find	Late Palstave	0	457752	194396	Parish	Type Isleham	Evans 1881, 93; NBII Oxon 34
245	Great Hampden, axe	Wilburton	Single Find	Ulleskelf	1, 3, 4	485148	201076	Parish		Anon. 1962, 128.
317	Hambledon, palstave	Wilburton	Single Find	Late Palstave	0	478000	185000	1km		NBII B16, Bucks 77, 79
182	Kingston on Thames, palstave, Devenish 6	Wilburton	River Thames	Late Palstave	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		Devenish 1964, 7, no. 6
181	Kingston on Thames, palstave, Devenish 738	Wilburton	River Thames	Late Palstave	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		Devenish 1964, 7, no. 738; prob also NBII B16 London 61
180	Kingston on Thames, palstave, Devenish 9	Wilburton	River Thames	Late Palstave	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		Devenish 1964, 7, no. 9
320	Kingston, palstave	Wilburton	River Thames	Late Palstave	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		NBII B16 London 57
322	Kingston, palstave 3	Wilburton	River Thames	Late Palstave	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		NBII B16 London 63
236	Pot's Stream, North Hinksey, axe	Wilburton	River Thames	Late Palstave	0	449802	205785	c.500m river		Leeds 1939, 248, PL. VI Id; NBII B16 Berks 27
356	Rams Hill	Penard/ Wilburton	Settlement	Transitional or Late Palstave	4	431500	186400	Excavated Settlement	Probably Transitional palstave	Bradley and Ellison 1975
323	Stanton Harcourt, palstave	Wilburton	Single Find	Late Palstave	0	441233	205868	Parish		NBII A9, Oxon 56
324	Stanton Harcourt, palstave 2	Wilburton	Single Find	Late Palstave	0	441233	205868	Parish		NBII A9, Oxon 58
272	Teddington, axe 2	Wilburton	River Thames	Highfield	0	517007	171415	2km river		NBII London 103
318	Trott's Meadow, Wycombe, palstave	Wilburton	Single Find	Late Palstave	2, 3, 4	481447	196604	1km		NBII B16, Bucks 93
189	Yewden, axe	Wilburton	Single Find	Late Palstave	0	478611	185636	c.500m		Hollis 1924, no. 3
289	Wimbledon Common, axe	Wilburton	Single Find	Wilburton	0	522705	172202	2km		NBII Surrey 67

124	Banstead Downs	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	525300	161000	100m		Phillips 1967, 13
266	Bradmore, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	1, 3, 4	522500	178900	c.100m		NBII London 31
305	Broad Street, Swindon, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Southern	0	415534	185092	450m	Might be Sompting?	NBII Wilts 57
296	Caversham, axe	Ewart Park	River Thames	Rectangular Socketed	0	471796	175528	4km river		NBII Berks 37
176	Coombe Warren, Kingston Hill, F&N 47	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	520311	170454	c.20ha	Found 'in digging gravel close to the same place as' pots 21 +22	Field and Needham 1986, 141, no. 47
313	Crowmarsh, axe 2	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	3, 4	461000	185000	100m available	Winged decoration	PAS: SUR-E2B937
214	Dorchester, near, axe 2	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	457752	194396	Parish		Evans 1881, fig. 111
215	Dorchester, near, axe 3	Ewart Park	Single Find	South-Welsh	0	457752	194396	Parish	Has single medial rib rather than three. Otherwise South Welsh	Evans 1881, fig. 115
149	Egham, site unknown	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	501000	171000	1km		Phillips 1967, 18; NBII Surrey 35-8
290	Hagbourne Hill, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Dowris	0	449700	186900	100m	Possible varient Dungiven. Or type Gillespie varients Luncarty or Fulford. Distinctive mouldings, baggy and expanded blade, but possibly faceted	NBII Berks 11
307	Hambledon, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Southern	0	478358	186326	Parish		NBII Bucks 67
248	High Wycombe, axe 2	Ewart Park	Single Find	End-winged	/	487000	192000	1km	High Wycombe axes 1-4 (IDs 246-9) and chisels 1-2 (IDs 55-6) found close together	Farley 1978, 481
303	Highworth, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Southern	0	420036	192487	Parish	No mouldings and large collar	NBII Wilts 25
269	Hounslow, axe 1	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	513919	176622	London borough		NBII London 41
278	Hounslow, axe 2	Ewart Park	Single Find	Gillespie	2, 3, 4	513919	176622	London borough	Possibly Dowris; possibly faceted	NBII London 191
183	Kingston on Thames, socketed axe, Devenish 10	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	517716	169019	3.75km river	Thin, waisted. Possibly Faceted?	Devenish 1964, 7; NBII London 77-79
187	Kingston on Thames, socketed axe, Devenish 3	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		Devenish 1964, 7; NBII London 81
185	Kingston on Thames, socketed axe, Devenish 742	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	2, 3, 4	517716	169019	3.75km river	Loop joins at mouth	Devenish 1964, 7; NBII London 85

184	Kingston on Thames, socketed axe, Devenish 743	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	517716	169019	3.75km river	Has 3 pellet	Devenish 1964, 7; NBII London 87
186	Kingston on Thames, socketed axe, Devenish 744	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	517716	169019	3.75km river	Unusual wing ornament	Devenish 1964, 7; NBII London 83
276	Kingston-on-Thames, axe, NBII 2	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		NBII London 151
316	Letcombe Regis, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	1			Restricted		PAS: BERK-82C6A3
308	Long Crendon, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Faceted	0	469424	208800	Parish	Cannot see facets on drawing, but blade form suggests faceted?	NBII Bucks 69
203	Maidenhead, axe ROM	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	490216	181753	4km river		Pryor 1980, 9, no. 61
151	Main Drain, Guildford	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	499830	150170	10m		Phillips 1967, 20
241	Mapledurham Lock, axe	Ewart Park	River Thames	Rectangular Socketed	0	466811	176813	River landmark		Leeds 1939, 250; NBII Oxon 12
279	Middlesex	Ewart Park	Single Find	Southern	0	515876	177750	County		NBII London 193
240	Minster Ditch, North Hinksey, axe	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	449104	206016	c.1km river		Leeds 1939, 250
292	Moulsford, axe 1	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	459007	184159	Parish	Shield decoration. Same as below?	NBII Berks 21
293	Moulsford, axe 2	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	459007	184159	Parish	Shield decoration. Same as above?	NBII Berks 23
152	Near Kew	Ewart Park	Single Find	Southern	0	519298	177435	District in London borough		Phillips 1967, 21; BM website WG.1750
259	New Windsor, St. Leonards Hill, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Faceted	0	493550	174850	10m	Possible hoard	Taylor 1993, M1:A3-4. Possible spear on NBII. Some info on NBII Context Cards
242	North Aston, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified bronze		447628	228911	Parish	Probable South Eastern - no pic, but says same as ID240	Leeds 1939, 250
294	Old Windsor, axe	Ewart Park	River Thames	Southern	0	499641	174896	4.5km river		NBII Berks 27
237	Oxford and Iffley, between, axe	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	452129	204800	3.5km		Leeds 1939, 248, PL. VI 2a
339	Pirbright, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	494000	156000	100m available		PAS: SUR-EA2DB7
346	Reading, axe 3	Ewart Park	River Thames	Southern	0	470225	174858	6.75km river	Possible Thames	Shrubsole 1906, pl. after p.182, no. 6.

347	Reading, axe 4	Ewart Park	River Thames	Rectangular Socketed	0	470225	174858	6.75km river		Shrubsole 1906, pl. after p.182, no. 5.
238	Reading, axe, south-welsh	Ewart Park	River Thames	South-Welsh		470225	174858	6.75km river	Possible South Welsh - ribs, but no picture	Leeds 1939, 248
333	Shottesbrooke, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Faceted	3, 4	485000	175000	100m available		PAS: SUR-D13C85
300	Slade End, Wallingford, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Dowris	0	458922	190611	c.300m	Varient Newton?	NBII Berks 49, 51
123	St Catherine's Hill	Ewart Park	Single Find	South-Welsh	0	499000	148000	1km		Phillips 1967, 13; NBII 43
197	St Mary's Convent, Botwell Lane	Ewart Park	Single Find	Southern	0	509380	180720	10m	Might have been dredged from Thames at another location	Cotton and Merriment 1991, 49, no. 24
239	Sutton Courtenay, axe, south-welsh	Ewart Park	River Thames	South-Welsh		450795	194623	3.5km river		Leeds 1939, 248
282	Taplow and Maidenhead, between, axe	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	490230	181797	c.850m river		NBII Thames 37
283	Taplow and Maidenhead, between, axe 2	Ewart Park	River Thames	Southern	0	490230	181797	c.850m river		NBII Thames 39
271	Teddington, axe	Ewart Park	River Thames	South Eastern	0	517007	171415	2km river		NBII London 101
349	Thames Ditton, axe	Ewart Park	River Thames	Dowris		516131	167627	1.5km river	Philips: hatchet axe of Irish type with expanded cutting edge and small side loop; BM: socketed chisel	Phillips 1967, 30; BM WG.1759
166	The Ford, Weybridge, Wey Bridge, axe 1	Ewart Park	River Wey	South Eastern	0	506861	164798	River landmark		Gardner 1911, 50, pl 5; Philips 1967, 32
167	The Ford, Weybridge, Wey Bridge, axe 2	Ewart Park	River Wey	Faceted	0	506861	164798	River landmark		Gardner 1911, 50, pl 5; Philips 1967, 32
311	Trotts Meadow, Wycombe	Ewart Park	Single Find	South Eastern	0	481447	196604	1km		NBII Bucks 81, 83
299	Wallingford, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Faceted	0	460389	190491	Parish	Might be Thames?	NBII Berks 45
301	Wallingford, axe 2	Ewart Park	Single Find	Dowris	0	460389	190491	Parish		NBII Berks 53
193	Wallingford, T1	Ewart Park	River Thames	South-Welsh	0	460920	188813	2.25km river		Thomas 1984
194	Wallingford, T4	Ewart Park	River Thames	South-Welsh	0	460920	188813	2.25km river		Thomas 1984
195	Wallingford, T5	Ewart Park	River Thames	Faceted	0	460920	188813	2.25km river		Thomas 1984
120	West Moor, Clifton Hampden	Ewart Park	Single Find	Faceted	1, 3, 4	454844	195838	Parish		O'Connor 1980, list 227.24

171	Wimbledon, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Portree	0	522887	170360	London district	Varient Alford. Could be Late Wilburton	Philips 1967, 33; NBII London 73
331	Winkfield, axe	Ewart Park	Single Find	Faceted	0	493000	170000	1m available		PAS: SUR-EEBB82
169	Woodside Common, Wimbledon, axe 1	Ewart Park	Single Find	End-winged	?	524817	171206	1km	No information if found with ID170	Philips 1967, 33
170	Woodside Common, Wimbledon, axe 2	Ewart Park	Single Find	End-winged	?	524825	171215	1km	No information if found with ID169	Phillips 1967, 33
344	Bourne Hall Lake, Ewell	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	0?	521890	162790	10m		Cotton 2004, 35
325	Cricklade, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	3			Restricted	Rib decoration	PAS: WILT-1273C2
312	Crowmarsh, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	462000	186000	10m available		PAS: SUR-E2D0C3
338	Ewell, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	1	523000	162000	100m available		PAS: SUR-271E46
328	Hampstead Norreys, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	451000	174000	100m available		PAS: BERK-13A051
246	High Wycombe, axe 1	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	484465	192435	Parish	High Wycombe axes 1-4 (IDs 246-9) and chisels 1-2 (IDs 55-6) found close together	Farley 1975, 135
247	High Wycombe, axe 3	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	483000	195000	1km	High Wycombe axes 1-4 (IDs 246-9) and chisels 1-2 (IDs 55-6) found close together	Farley 1985, 130
249	High Wycombe, axe 4	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	483000	195000	1km	High Wycombe axes 1-4 (IDs 246-9) and chisels 1-2 (IDs 55-6) found close together	Farley 1984, 124
329	Lambourne, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	429000	179000	1km		PAS: SUR-0F1EA1
326	Lechlade, axe 2	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	3	420000	199000	100m available	Rib decoration	PAS: WILT-F45E04
125	Perrott's Farm, Single axe frag	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	/	525710	158060	10m		Phillips 1967, 14
122	Somerton	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	451000	228000	10m available		PAS: BERK-9FDEF4
261	St Anns Hill, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	/	502000	167000	100m available		Phillips 1967, 16

121	Tetsworth	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4			Restricted		PAS: BH-CA6718
330	Thacham, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	1	452000	165000	10m available		PAS: BERK-5BB2B2
314	Wantage, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	1			Restricted		PAS: BERK-811798
332	Warfield, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	3, 4	488000	171000	1m available		PAS: SUR-2FE4D6
342	West Clandon, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	503000	150000	1km		PAS: SUR-DAADF4
341	West Horsley, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	508000	152000	100m available		PAS: SUR-B8BAF2
250	West Wycombe, axe 1	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	480300	194900	100m		Farley 1989, 228
251	West Wycombe, axe 2	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	480300	194900	100m		
340	Wisley, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	505000	156000	100m available		PAS: SUR-FE1092
270	Beddington, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	2	529220	165180	10m	Found c.100m from Beddington hoard	NBII London 99
192	Burghfield, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified		465000	169800	100m		Rutland and Thomas 1967-8, 68
327	Chiseldon, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4			Restricted		PAS: WILT-46A797
336	Cookham, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Socketed, unclassified		490096	185616	8km river		Peake 1931, 59
147	Croydon, site unknown 1	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	0?	532000	167000	1km	No pic: 'Plain socketed axe with side loop; casting seams still visible; single moulding at mouth'	Phillips 1967, 17
148	Croydon, site unknown 2	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	0?	532000	167000	1km	No pic: 'Plain socketed axe, single mouth moulding, small side loop and round mouth'	Phillips 1967, 17
173	Kingston-on-Thames, axe, NBII	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Socketed, unclassified		517712	169374	River landmark	Kingston bridge. BM from Geological Museum	NBII London 75
309	Longwick, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	4	479041	204715	Parish		NBII Bucks 71

337	New Windsor, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Socketed, unclassified		495075	177901	3.75km river		Peake 1931, 60
335	Purley, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Socketed, unclassified		466285	177266	3.75m river		Peake 1931, 56
334	Radley, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Socketed, unclassified		453839	198533	6.75km river		Peake 1931, 54
298	Uffington, axe	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Socketed, unclassified	0	430581	189309	Parish		NBII Berks 41
153	Clifton Hampden, axe	Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Sompting	1, 3, 4	454100	195800	100m		Kirk and Case 1950, 106
154	Coombe Warren, Kingston Hill, F&N 51	Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Sompting	0	520311	170454	c.20ha		Field and Needham 1986, 51; Evans 1881, fig. 141
306	Datchet, axe	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Sompting	0	498548	176778	4.6km river		NBII Bucks 55
267	Hampton Court, axe	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Sompting	0	515553	168386	c.800m river	Possible Sompting	NBII London 34
268	Hampton, axe	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Armorican	0	514128	169360	3.3km river	Decorated on mouth and mouldings	NBII London 35
304	Inglesham, axe	Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Sompting	0	420000	196000	1km		NBII Wilts 27
277	Kingston-on-Thames, axe, NBII 3	Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Sompting	0	517000	169000	1km		NBII London 153
291	Lambourne, near Seven Barrows Farm	Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Armorican	0	432310	182870	10m	Other possible Armorican axes near here but just outside area - Berks NBII	NBII Berks 13
244	Magdalen Bridge, armorican axe	Llyn Fawr	River Cherwell	Armorican	0	452122	206092	River landmark		Leeds 1939, 250, Pl. VI 2e
310	Marlow, axe	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Sompting	0	485665	185985	6.5km river	Possible Sompting. As-cast	NBII Bucks 73
295	Reading, axe 2	Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Armorican	0	470743	172862	City		NBII Berks 29
260	Shepperton, axe	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Sompting	0	507123	166251	10m	In buried palaeochannel, with haft	Poulton 2012, 46-8
287	Surbiton, Kingston	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Sompting	0	517378	167694	800m river		NBII Surrey 49; Evans 1881, fig. 141
288	The Ford, Weybridge, NBII axe	Llyn Fawr	River Wey	Armorican	0	506861	164798	River landmark		NBII Surrey 65
168	The Ford, Weybridge, Wey Bridge, axe 3	Llyn Fawr	River Wey	Sompting	0	506861	164798	River landmark		Gardner 1911, 50, pl 5; Philips 1967, 32
188	The Ford, Weybridge, Wey Bridge, Gardner 1912, 3	Llyn Fawr	River Wey	Sompting	0	506861	164798	River landmark	Decorated	Gardner 1912, no. 3
196	Wallingford, T17	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Sompting	0	460920	188813	2.25km river	Decorated. Maybe linear faceted	Thomas 1984

302	Wargrave, axe	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Linear Faceted	0	478111	179550	3.5km river	Possible single find - found while building a boat house on the Thames	NBII Berks 55
243	Watlington, armorican axe	Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Armorican	0	468966	194469	Parish		Leeds 1939, 250
343	Westcroft House, Carshalton	Llyn Fawr	Pit Spread	Socketed, unclassified	/	528280	164690	Excavated settlement		Proctor 2002
280	Whitchurch, axe	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Linear Faceted	0	463890	176912	5.25km river	Could be same as ID281, but doesn't look identical	NBII Oxon 17. Thames conservancy board
281	Whitchurch, axe 2	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Linear Faceted	0	463890	176912	5.25km river	Could be same as ID281, but doesn't look identical	NBII Oxon 19. Thames conservancy board

A11.2.2 Swords

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	Frag	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
27	Eton, C&B 132	Limehouse	River Thames	Mortlake	1, 2	495444	177412	6.75km river		C&B 132
28	Kingston on Thames, C&B 782	Limehouse	Single Find	Limehouse	0	518538	168928	Town		C&B 782
35	Kingston on Thames, C&B 96	Limehouse	River Thames	Limehouse	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		C&B 96
39	Staines, C&B 126	Limehouse	River Thames	Early Flange-Hilted	0	503648	171126	3.3km river		C&B 126
37	Taplow, C&B 117	Limehouse	Single Find	Taplow	0	490192	181027	1km river		C&B 117
40	Teddington, C&B 137	Limehouse	River Thames	Teddington	2, 3, 4	516510	171589	c.10m river		C&B 137
36	West Molesey, C&B 133	Limehouse	River Thames	Limehouse	3, 4	513416	169085	10m river		C&B 133
110	Abbey Meads, Chertsey, sword	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	0	504683	169024	100m	Although not from Thames itself, almost certainly from buried paleaochannel	Jones 2012b
92	Chimney, C&B 180	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	0	436000	200700	c.100m river		C&B 180
46	Kingston on Thames, C&B 192	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	2, 3, 4	517716	169019	3.75km river	In three pieces	C&B 192
51	Kingston on Thames, C&B 212	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		C&B 212
49	Maidenhead, C&B 204	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	0	490216	181753	4km river		C&B 204

54	Marlow, C&B 241	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	2, 3, 4	485665	185985	6.5km river		C&B 241
52	Sandford, C&B 221	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	0	453100	201300	100m		C&B 221
43	Staines, C&B 177	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	1, 2	503648	171126	3.3km river		C&B 177
42	Taplow, C&B 167	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	1, 2	490473	182969	4km river		C&B 167
44	Taplow, B&C 186	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	1, 2	490473	182969	4km river	Bent almost to breaking	C&B 186
53	Taplow, C&B 238	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	3	490473	182969	4km river		C&B 238
41	Teddington, C&B 151	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	2, 3, 4	517007	171415	2km river	In two pieces	C&B 151
131	Weathercock Hill	Wilburton	Settlement	Wilburton	1	429500	182000	Excavated settle-ment		Bowden *et al.* 1991-3
47	Windsor, B&C 193	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton	0	495352	177455	4km river		C&B 193
50	Witney, C&B 209	Wilburton	Single Find	Wilburton	1, 2, 3	435000	209000	c.1km	In three pieces	C&B 209
135	Wraysbury, sword 1	Wilburton	River Thames	Wilburton		500630	173760	Parish	In two pieces	Chadwick 1982, 102
65	Bourne End, B&C 298	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	0	489207	187010	2km river		C&B 298
58	Bray, C&B 286	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	0	491643	178636	4.75m river	In two pieces, bent	C&B 286
61	Bray, C&B 290	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	2, 3, 4	491643	178636	4.75m river		C&B 290
66	Bray, C&B 301	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	0	491643	178636	4.75m river		C&B 301
80	Bray, C&B 372	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	3	491643	178636	4.75m river		C&B 372
67	Bucklebury Church, C&B 304	Ewart Park	Single Find	Ewart Park	2, 3, 4	455300	170800	100m		C&B 304
55	Burghfield, C&B 258	Ewart Park	River Kennet	Ewart Park	0	465400	170800	100m river	In two pieces	C&B 258
95	Chertsey, Möringen sword	Ewart Park	Single Find	Möringen	0	502961	168479	?c.3km	Might be from Thames between Teddington and Reading, but more likely single find. Bent	Needham 1987, 123, note 29.
59	Datchet, C&B 287	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	0	498548	176778	4.6km river		C&B 287
64	Datchet,C&B 296	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	0	498548	176778	4.6km river		C&B 296

60	Kingston on Thames, C&B 289	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	1, 2, 3	517716	169019	3.75km river		C&B 289
82	Kingston on Thames, C&B 669	Ewart Park	River Thames	Carp's Tongue	0	517716	169019	3.75km river	In two pieces	C&B 669
122	Letcombe Regis, sword 2	Ewart Park	Single Find	Ewart Park	1, 2			Restricted		PAS: BERK-9514F7
78	Molesey Reach, C&B 365	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	2, 3, 4	512083	169070	10m river		C&B 365
81	Near Oxford, C&B 601	Ewart Park	River Cherwell	Ewart Park	0	451835	207643	6km river	Cast hilt - Cherwell Varient	C&B 601
83	Old Windsor, C&B 673	Ewart Park	River Thames	Carp's Tongue	1, 2	499641	174896	4.5km river		C&B 673
79	Reading, C&B 371	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	3, 4	470225	174858	6.75km river		C&B 371
69	Reading, Katesgrove, C&B322	Ewart Park	River Kennet	Ewart Park	0	471300	172900	100m		C&B 322
62	Runnymede, C&B 292	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	2, 3, 4	500644	172422	3.5km river		C&B 292
68	Runnymede, C&B 305	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	0	500644	172422	3.5km river		C&B 305
70	Shepperton, C&B 328	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	2, 3, 4	507810	166510	10m river		C&B 328
63	Staines, C&B 294	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	1, 2	503648	171126	3.3km river		C&B 294
84	Staines, C&B 692	Ewart Park	River Thames	Carp's Tongue	3, 4	503648	171126	3.3km river		C&B 692
57	Teddington Lock, C&B 281	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	0	516589	171574	River landmark		C&B 281
94	Thorpe, C&B 358	Ewart Park	Single Find	Ewart Park	3, 4	501921	168497	Parish		C&B 358
75	Tilehurst, C&B 341	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	1	467637	175138	2.25km river		C&B 341
130	West Clandon, sword	Ewart Park	Single Find	Ewart Park	1	503000	150000	100m availble		PAS: SUR-DA8792
56	Windsor, C&B 280	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	0	492150	177940	10m river		C&B 280
136	Wraysbury, sword 2	Ewart Park	River Thames	Ewart Park	0	500630	173760	Parish	Found with skull	Chadwick 1982, 102
89	Bray, C&B 738	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Gündlingen	0	490559	179768	River landmark		C&B 738
85	Henley, C&B 704	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Gündlingen	0	476672	182219	1km river	Patina suggests it was originally depositied with chape, now lost	C&B 704
87	Kingston on Thames, C&B 718	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Gündlingen	0	517716	169019	3.75km river		C&B 718
86	Taplow/Bray, C&B 717	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Gündlingen	0	490125	181436	10km river		C&B 717

88	Teddington, C&B 727	Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Gündlingen	2	517007	171415	2km river		C&B 727
124	Blechingdon, sword		Single Find	Unclassified	4	450000	217000	1km		PAS: SUR-1429F2
102	Chertsey Bridge		River Thames	Unclassified		505400	166600	River landmark	'Broken off below shoulder'	Phillips 1967, 16
120	Clifton Hampden, sword		Single Find	Unclassified	2/3			Restricted		PAS: BERK-276E34
106	Crowmarsh, sword		Single Find	Unclassified	4	461000	186000	100m availble	Might be rapier	PAS: SUR-AD2BAA
103	East Molesey, site unknown		Single Find	Unclassified	4	515338	167952	Town	Might be from Thames	Phillips 1967, 18
129	Epsom, sword		Single Find	Unclassified	2/3	520000	159000	1m available		PAS: SUR-CCE7E0
125	Lechlade, sword		Single Find	Unclassified	1			Restricted		PAS: WILT-4D06B3
121	Letcombe Regis, sword		Single Find	Unclassified	2/3			Restricted		PAS: BERK-9524C6
123	Letcombe Regis, sword 3		Single Find	Unclassified	2/3			Restricted		PAS: BERK-D22193
127	Radley, sword		River Thames	Unclassified		453839	198533	6.75km river		Peake 1931, 54
126	Reading, sword		Single Find	Unclassified	2/3			Restricted		PAS: BERK-CF2C22
128	Remenham, sword		River Thames	Unclassified		476802	184021	9km river		Peake 1931, 59
107	Wantage, sword		Single Find	Unclassified	4			Restricted	Might be blade from tool	PAS: BERK-38DFA7

A11.2.3 Tools

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	Frag	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
35	Taplow, sickle	Penard/ Wilburton/ Ewart Park	River Thames	Sickle	0	490473	182969	4km river	Conical	Fox 1939, no. 8
32	Tilehurst, sickle	Penard/ Wilburton/ Ewart Park	River Thames	Sickle	0	467637	176813	2.25km river	Ring socketed	Fox 1939, no.5
34	Windsor, sickle	Penard/ Wilburton/ Ewart Park	River Thames	Sickle	0	495352	177455	4km river	Ring socketed	Fox 1939, no. 7
127	Cassington West	Wilburton	Settlement	Awl, bronze		446100	210700	Excavated settlement		Oxford Archaeology 2006
107	Rams Hill	Wilburton	Settlement	Awl, bronze	0	431500	186400	Excavated settlement		Bradley and Ellison 1975
130	Rams Hill	Wilburton	Settlement	Knife, bronze, tanged	2	431500	186400	Excavated settlement	Reused as a razor	Bradley and Ellison 1975
17	Thames Ditton	Wilburton	River Thames	Adze, socketed bronze	0	516131	167627	1.5km river		O'Connor 1980, list 101. Wheeler 1924
55	High Wycombe, chisel 1	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	Single Find	Chisel, tanged		483000	195000	1km		Farley 1985, 130
24	Horspath	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	Single Find	Chisel, tanged		456000	205000	10m available	Blade only	PAS: BERK-724EC7
18	Princes Risborough	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	Single Find	Chisel, tanged		480359	202902	Parish		O'Connor 1980, list 131
23	South Oxfordshire	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	Single Find	Chisel, tanged	0			Restricted		PAS: BERK-52E8C3
36	Streatley	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	Single Find	Chisel, tanged		457600	181950	10m		Rutland and Greenaway 1970, 55
98	Thame, chisel	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	Single Find	Chisel, tanged				Restricted	Blade	PAS: BERK-89AD11
42	Wallingford, T8	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	River Thames	Chisel, tanged	0	460920	188813	2.25km river		Thomas 1984

110	West Clandon, chisel	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	Single Find	Chisel, tanged	1, 2	503000	151000	10m available		PAS: SUR-14C207
102	Weybridge, chisel	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	Single Find	Chisel, tanged	1	511000	157000	1m available	Tang only	PAS: SUR-DFA787
56	High Wycombe, chisel 2	Wilburton/ Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Chisel, unknown type		483000	195000	1km	Possibly MBA?	Farley 1985, 130
27	Russell Hill	Wilburton/ Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Gouge, socketed	0	530900	162100	100m		Phillips 1967, 17
101	Tilshead, gouge	Wilburton/ Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Gouge, socketed	1, 2	501000	148000	100m available	Missing end of socket	PAS: SUR-7898C5
41	Wallingford, T7	Wilburton/ Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Gouge, socketed		460920	188813	2.25km river		Thomas 1984
71	Bray, faceted chisel	Ewart Park	River Thames	Chisel, socketed, faceted	0	491300	179400	100m river	No loop	NBII Bucks 1
77	Bray, knife	Ewart Park	River Thames	Thorndon Knife	2, 3, 4	491643	178636	4.75m river	Possibly Hoveringham Gravel Pit	NBII Berks 1
118	Cop Round Barrow	Ewart Park	Settlement	Knife, bronze, tanged	0	477330	201090	10m	Possibly redeposited from settlement	Head 1938; Farley 1992
78	Datchet, knife	Ewart Park	River Thames	Thorndon Knife	0	498548	176778	4.6km river		NBII Berks 3
37	Northcourt Avenue, Reading	Ewart Park	Single Find	Thorndon Knife	0	472900	171400	100m	Road that adjoins Cressingham Road	Seaby 1932, 124
79	Old Windsor, knife	Ewart Park	River Thames	Thorndon Knife	0	499641	174896	4.5km river		NBII Berks 5
90	Oxfordshire, socketed chisel	Ewart Park	Single Find	Chisel, socketed one piece	0			County		PAS: BERK-654397
100	Reading, knife	Ewart Park	Single Find	Knife, bronze, tanged	1, 2	471000	171000	100m available		PAS: SUR-FFEAA0
119	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Settlement	Hammer	1	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
72	Sparsholt, knife	Ewart Park	Single Find	Knife, bronze, tanged	1, 2	434501	187674	Parish		NBII Berks tanged knives and razor 7

51	Taplow, riveted sickle	Ewart Park	River Thames	Sickle, riveted	1, 2, 3	490473	182969	4km river		Fox 1941, 157, no.2; British Museum 1920, fig. 47
74	Teddington, knife	Ewart Park	River Thames	Knife, bronze, tanged	0	517007	171415	2km river		NBII London tanged knive and razor, 29
75	Teddington, knife 2	Ewart Park	River Thames	Knife, bronze, tanged	2, 3, 4	517007	171415	2km river		NBII London tanged knive and razor, 31
30	The Ford, Weybridge, Wey Bridge, knife	Ewart Park	River Wey	Thorndon Knife	0	506861	164798	River landmark		Gardner 1911, 50, pl 5; Philips 1967, 32
80	Tilehurst, knife	Ewart Park	River Thames	Thorndon Knife	0	467637	175138	2.25km river	Very long and has ricasso - probably modelled on Carps Tongue sword	NBII Berks 17
43	Wallingford, T19	Ewart Park	River Thames	Thorndon Knife	0	460920	188813	2.25km river	Very large	Thomas 1984
39	Wallingford, T2	Ewart Park	River Thames	Thorndon Knife	0	460920	188813	2.25km river		Thomas 1984
40	Wallingford, T6	Ewart Park	River Thames	Thorndon Knife	0	460920	188813	2.25km river		Thomas 1984
87	Wantage, knife	Ewart Park	Single Find	Thorndon Knife	3	440000	184000	10m available	Possible rapier tip	PAS: BERK-227481
91	Watlington, knife	Ewart Park	Single Find	Knife, bronze, tanged	2			Restricted	Possible tanged knife	PAS: BH-447707
89	West Hanney, knife	Ewart Park	Single Find	Knife, bronze, tanged	2, 3	441000	192000	10m available		PAS: BERK-076175
117	Weston Wood	Ewart Park	Settlement	Awl, bronze		505300	148500	Excavated settlement	In structure 1	Harding 1964
85	Woodstock, knife	Ewart Park	Single Find	Knife, bronze, tanged	0			Restricted	Short - possible broken and reused	PAS: BERK-302CB3
76	Bell Weir Lock, quarter mile up-stream, sickle	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Sickle	2, 3, 4	501341	172270	c.10m		NBII Berks 1
54	Bledlow-cum-Saunderton, chisel	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Single Find	Chisel, socketed		479100	198500	100m		Farley 1985, 129
33	Bray, sickle, socketed	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Sickle	0	491643	178636	4.75m river		Fox 1939, no. 6
44	Hampton Court, sickle, ROM 159	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Sickle	0	515553	168386	c.800m river		Pryor 1980, 18, no.159
126	Runnymede	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Midden	Knife, bronze, tanged	1	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1991

125	Runnymede	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Midden	Thorndon Knife	2	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1991
116	Whitecross Farm, Wallingford Midden	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Midden	Awl, bronze		460700	188200	Excavated settlement		Northover 2006
115	Whitecross Farm, Wallingford Midden	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Midden	Awl, bronze	Tip	460700	188200	Excavated settlement		Thomas *et al.* 1986
114	Whitecross Farm, Wallingford Midden	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Midden	Awl, bronze	0	460700	188200	Excavated settlement		Thomas *et al.* 1986
112	Whitecross Farm, Wallingford Midden	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Midden	Chisel, tanged	0	460700	188200	Excavated settlement		Thomas *et al.* 1986
113	Whitecross Farm, Wallingford Midden	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Midden	Sickle	1, 2, 3	460700	188200	Excavated settlement		Thomas *et al.* 1986
111	Gravelly Guy	Llyn Fawr	Settlement	Reaping hook, iron		440300	205300	Excavated settlement	Missing end of tip. Three rivets with tang	Boyle and Wait 2004, no. 510
124	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Chisel		501800	171800	Excavated settlement	Blade end	Needham and Spence 1996, M22
123	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Awl, bronze		501800	171800	Excavated settlement		
122	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Knife, bronze, tanged	2, 3	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham and Spence 1996, M20
121	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Awl, bronze	0	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
120	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Thorndon Knife	1	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
81	Bray, tanged sickle	Later Bronze Age	River Thames	Sickle, riveted		491643	178636	4.75m river	Might be MBA?	NBII Thames 1
50	New Windsor, St. Leonards Hill, socketed object	Later Bronze Age	Single Find	Socketed tool, bronze	1, 2, 3	493550	174850	10m		Taylor 1993, M1:A3-4
82	Ashdown Park, Ashbury, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	428129	181597	1km		NBII Berks 1
25	Beddington, Awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze		530720	165030	10m		Phillips 1967, 14
99	Bradfield, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	459000	174000	100m available		PAS: SUR-FE4CA5
86	Chilton, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	447000	184000	1m available		PAS: SUR-660898
92	Clanfield, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0			Restricted		PAS: BERK-017487

94	East Handred, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	445000	189000	10m available	PAS: BERK-D25822
104	Epsom, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	520000	159000	100m available	PAS: SUR-33CF30
103	Guildford, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	504000	151000	1m available	PAS: SUR-AA5DE1
106	Leatherhead, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	517000	156000	100m available	PAS: SUR-471F73
96	Letcombe Regis, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0			Restricted	PAS: BERK-953763
97	Stanton St John, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0			Restricted	PAS: BERK-BCE3F1
88	Wantage, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	439000	185000	1m available	PAS: BERK-A89238
93	Wantage, awl 2	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0			Restricted	PAS: BERK-816404
95	Wantage, awl 3	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0			Restricted	PAS: BERK-290BB5
19	Watlington	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0			Restricted	PAS: BH-2A4677
105	West Clandon, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	503000	151000	100m available	PAS: SUR-EAE648
109	West Clandon, awl 2	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	503000	151000	10m available	PAS: SUR-14DC71
20	West Hagbourne	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	450000	187000	100m available	PAS: BERK-CE3138
21	West Hanney	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	438000	192000	10m available	PAS: BERK-E1FD85
22	West Hanney 2	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	441000	191000	10m available	PAS: BERK-CEF487
108	West Horsley, awl	Bronze Age	Single Find	Awl, bronze	0	508000	152000	100m available	PAS: SUR-A08F64

A11.2.4 Ornaments

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
58	Cassington West	Wilburton	Settlement	Pin Shank	446100	210700	Excavated settlement		Oxford Archaeology 2006
61	Cassington West	Wilburton	Settlement	Pin Shank	446100	210700	Excavated settlement		Oxford Archaeology 2006
59	Cassington West	Wilburton	Settlement	White metal, misc	446100	210700	Excavated settlement		Oxford Archaeology 2006
21	Eynsham Abbey	Wilburton	Settlement	Nail/Disc Headed Pin	443190	209118	Excavated settlement		Barclay *et al.* 2001
60	Marsh Lane East MBA	Wilburton	Field System	Nail/Disc Headed Pin	491850	179900	Excavated settlement	Loosley associated with radiocarbon date	Allen *et al.* forthcoming
30	Weathercock Hill	Wilburton	Settlement	Pin Shank	429500	182000	Excavated settlement		Bowden *et al.* 1991-3
31	Weathercock Hill	Wilburton	Settlement	Pin Shank	429500	182000	Excavated settlement		Bowden *et al.* 1991-3
15	Maidenhead, bracelet, ROM 179	Wilburton/ Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Bracelet, Isleham/ Tower Hill	490216	181753	4km river	Type of bracelet with longitudinal ribs with associations in the Isleham and Tower Hill hoards	Pryor 1980, 23, no. 179
16	Maidenhead, bracelet, ROM 180	Wilburton/ Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Bracelet, Isleham/ Tower Hill	490216	181753	4km river	Type of bracelet with longitudinal ribs with associations in the Isleham and Tower Hill hoards	Pryor 1980, 23, no. 180
17	Maidenhead, bracelet, ROM 181	Wilburton/ Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Bracelet, Isleham/ Tower Hill	490216	181753	4km river	Type of bracelet with longitudinal ribs with associations in the Isleham and Tower Hill hoards	Pryor 1980, 23, no. 181
18	Maidenhead, bracelet, ROM 182	Wilburton/ Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	River Thames	Bracelet fragment	490216	181753	4km river		Pryor 1980, 23, no. 182
27	Berkshire, penannular ring	Ewart Park	Single Find	Penannular ring, gold	416000	167000	County		Ben Roberts pers. comm
29	Brentford, gold bracelet	Ewart Park	Single Find	Bracelet, gold, Type 2D			Restricted	May have originally been from river	PAS: PAS-B9D6E5. Marshall archive report
39	Cop Round Barrow	Ewart Park	Settlement	Nail/Disc Headed Pin	477330	201090	10m	Possibly redeposited from settlement	Head 1938; Farley 1992

40	Cop Round Barrow	Ewart Park	Settlement	Nail/Disc Headed Pin	477330	201090	10m	Possibly redeposited from settlement	Head 1938; Farley 1992
26	Cricklade, gold bracelet	Ewart Park	Single Find	Bracelet, gold, Type D	410000	198600	Parish		Ben Roberts pers. comm. Treasure Trove files
25	Englefield, penannular ring	Ewart Park	Single Find	Penannular ring, gold			Restricted		PAS: SUSS-665261
23	Moulsford, torc	Ewart Park	Single Find	Torc, gold			Restricted		PAS:PAS-BF4245
37	Reading Business Park Area 3100/3000B Settlement	Ewart Park	Settlement	Pin Shank	470000	169700	Excavated settlement		Moore and Jennings 1992
46	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Settlement	Button	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
55	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Settlement	Pin Shank	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
43	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Settlement	Bracelet, Type 5A	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
45	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Settlement	Button	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
47	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Settlement	Globular headed pin	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1991
44	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Settlement	Button	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
35	Taplow	Ewart Park	Hillfort	Bracelet, Type C	490700	182300	Excavated settlement	Loosley associated with radiocarbon date. Decorated	Allen *et al.* 2009
38	Weston Wood	Ewart Park	Settlement	Pin Shank	505300	148500	Excavated settlement		Harding 1964
28	Wycombe District, penannular ring	Ewart Park	Single Find	Penannular ring, gold			District		PAS: BERK-1FC1E8. Ben Roberts pers. comm.
53	Runnymede	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Midden	Pin Shank	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
36	Whitecross Farm, Wallingford Midden	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Midden	Nail/Disc Headed Pin	460700	188200	Excavated settlement		Northover 2006
20	Castle Hill midden	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Swan Necked pin IRON	456950	192620	Excavated settlement		Scott 2010
32	Liddington	Llyn Fawr	Hillfort	Roll headed pin	420900	179700	Excavated settlement		Taylor 1996

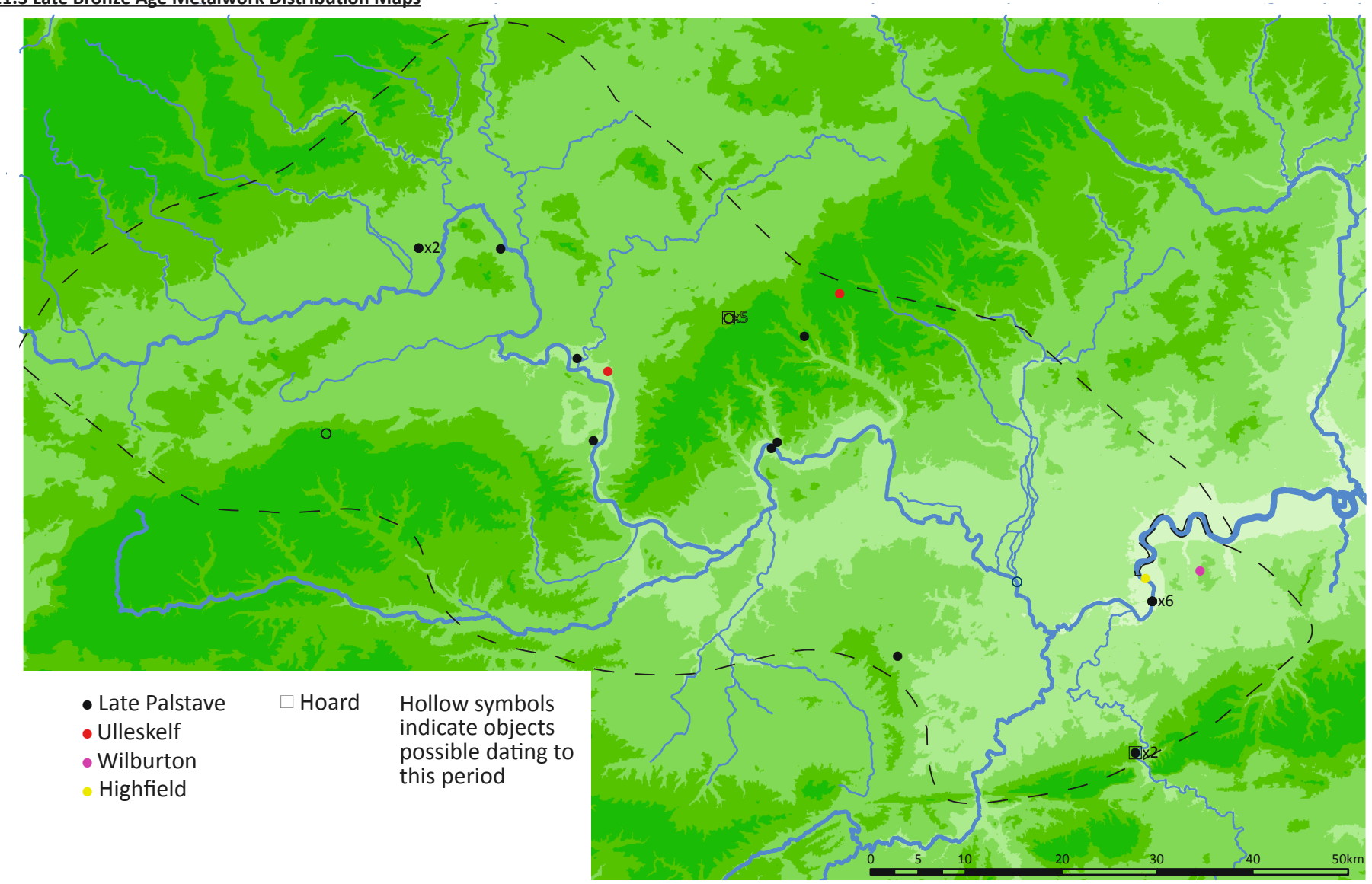
33	Liddington	Llyn Fawr	Hillfort	Nail/Disc Headed Pin	420900	179700	Excavated settlement		Taylor 1996
57	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Swan necked ring headed pin	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Becker 2000
52	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Pin Shank	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
54	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Button	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
48	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Nail/Disc Headed Pin	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
51	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Pin Shank	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
50	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Pin Shank	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
56	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Wart headed pin	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham and Spence 1996
49	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Vase headed pin	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
34	Woodeaton	Llyn Fawr	Midden	Nail/Disc Headed Pin	453640	212550	Excavated settlement		Harding 1987
41	Watlington, bracelet	Llyn Fawr/ EIA/MIA	Single Find	Knobbed Bracelet			Restricted	Possibly Iron Age	PAS: BH-FA1F96
42	Letcombe Regis, pin	Later Bronze Age	Single Find	Nail/Disc Headed Pin	438000	186000	10m available		PAS: BERK-0CE905
22	Lockinge, pin	Later Bronze Age	Single Find	Nail/Disc Headed Pin			Restricted	Radial lines on head. Possibly EBA	PAS: BERK-1808D2
24	Queenford Farm, Dorchester, spear	Later Bronze Age	Single Find	Shell amulet	458500	195000	c.100m	Part of socketed spear-head found transversing pelvis of skeleton, shell amulet also found'	NBII Oxon 5; NBII Context cards Oxon 17; Rowlands 1976, 274-5, 163

A11.2.5 Other

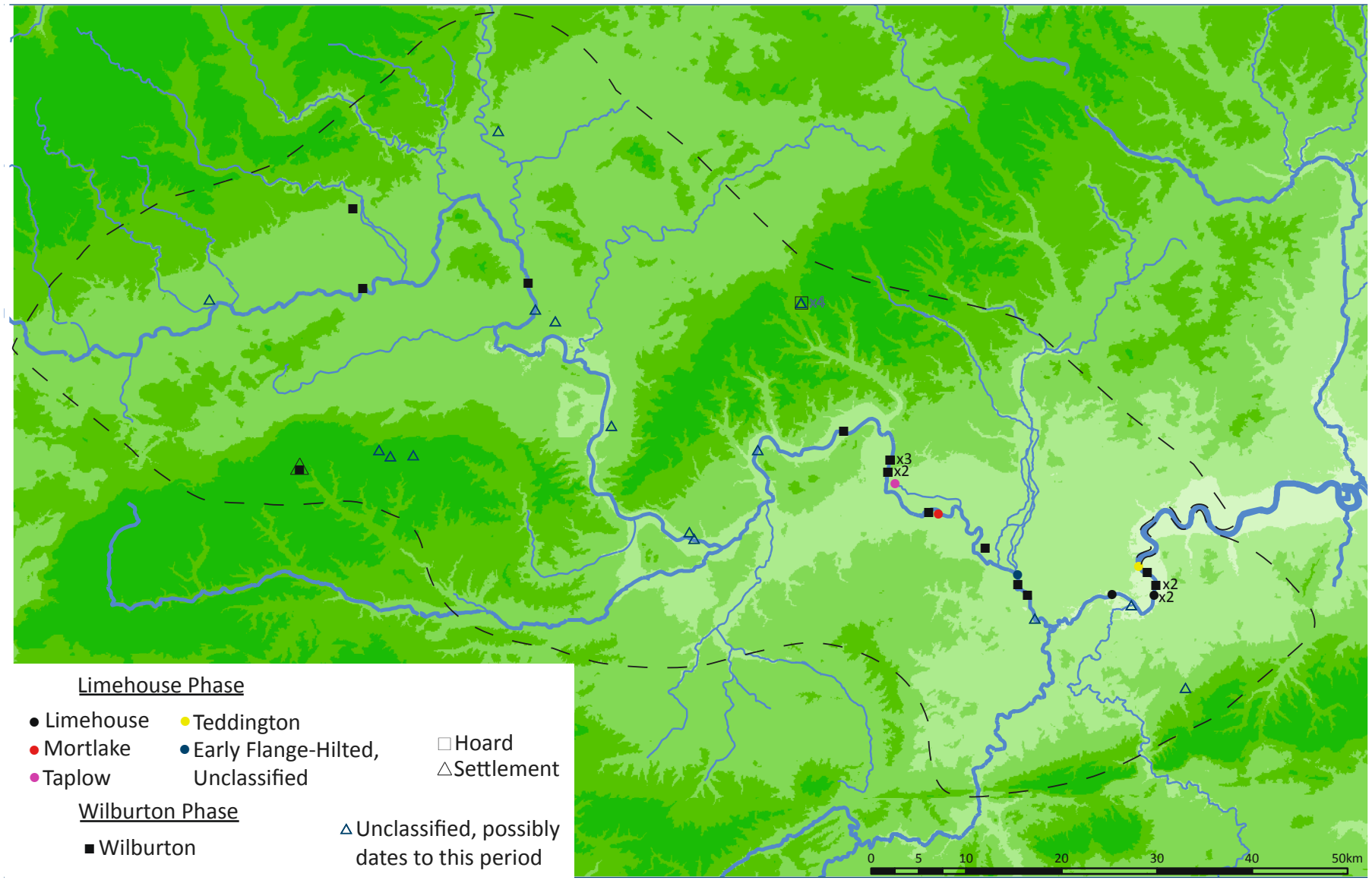
ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
57	Caversham, ferrule	Wilburton	Ferrule, long Wilburton	River Thames	471796	175528	4km river		NBII Thames 1
31	Dorchester, chape	Wilburton	Chape, long tongue	River Thames	456867	193627	River Landmark		Evans 1881, fig. 366; Leeds 1939, 249; NBII context cards Oxon 47
25	Kingston on Thames, chape, Devenish 745	Wilburton	Chape, long tongue	River Thames	517716	169019	3.75km river	Earlier - Limehouse	Devenish 1964, 7
26	Kingston on Thames, chape, Devenish 746	Wilburton	Chape, long tongue	River Thames	517716	169019	3.75km river	Earlier - Limehouse	Devenish 1964, 8
48	Kingston, chape	Wilburton	Chape, long tongue	River Thames	517716	169019	3.75km river		Coombs 1975, fig. 9.15
91	Kingston, ferrule	Wilburton	Ferrule, long Wilburton	River Thames	517716	169019	3.75km river	Radiocarbon date	Needham *et al.* 1997, illus. 19.4
30	Reading, ferrule, ROM 157	Wilburton	Ferrule, long Wilburton	River Thames	470225	174858	6.75km river		Pryor 1980, 18, no.157
59	Staines, ferrule	Wilburton	Ferrule, long Wilburton	River Thames	503648	171126	3.3km river		NBII Thames 29
46	Taplow, ferrule, Eh 118	Wilburton	Ferrule, long Wilburton	River Thames	490192	181027	1km river		Ehrenberg 1977, no. 118
47	Taplow, ferrule, Eh 119	Wilburton	Ferrule, long Wilburton	River Thames	490192	181027	1km river		Ehrenberg 1977, no. 119
32	Teddington, chape	Wilburton	Chape, long tongue	River Thames	517007	171415	2km river		Evans 1881, 303
45	Wandsworth, ferrule	Wilburton	Ferrule, long Wilburton	Single Find	525540	174644	London borough		NBII London 1
56	Wandsworth, ferrule 2	Wilburton	Ferrule, long Wilburton	Single Find	525540	174644	London borough		NBII London 3
64	Weathercock Hill	Wilburton	Rivet	Settlement	429500	182000	Excavated settlement		Bowden *et al.* 1991-3
58	Windsor, ferrule	Wilburton	Ferrule, long Wilburton	River Thames	495352	177455	4km river		NBII Thames 3
61	East Garston, chape	Wilburton/ Ewart Park	Chape, tongue	Single Find	436000	180000	1m available		PAS: SUR-43E3A2

68	Caesar's Camp, Heathrow	Ewart Park	Collared Disc	Settlement	508400	176600	Excavated settlement		Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993
67	Carshalton	Ewart Park	Ring, bronze	Enclosure	527900	162200	Excavated settlement		Adkins and Needham 1985
9	Castle Hill environs, Little Wittenham	Ewart Park	Chape, bag shaped	Single Find	456320	192480	10m		*Allen et al. 2010*
76	Cop Round Barrow	Ewart Park	Tweezers	Settlement	477330	201090	10m	Possibly redeposited from settlement	Head 1938; Farley 1992
77	Cop Round Barrow	Ewart Park	Tweezers	Settlement	477330	201090	10m	Possibly redeposited from settlement	Head 1938; Farley 1993
78	Cop Round Barrow	Ewart Park	Tweezers	Settlement	477330	201090	10m	Possibly redeposited from settlement	Head 1938; Farley 1994
79	Cop Round Barrow	Ewart Park	Tweezers	Settlement	477330	201090	10m	Possibly redeposited from settlement	Head 1938; Farley 1995
80	Cop Round Barrow	Ewart Park	Tweezers	Settlement	477330	201090	10m	Possibly redeposited from settlement	Head 1938; Farley 1996
16	Cothill	Ewart Park	Razor, single edge	Single Find	446711	199759	c.1km	Jöckenhovel classes as a Nordic razor, but handle is quite different	Jöckenhovel 1980, 166, no. 614
60	Newark Priory, chape	Ewart Park	Chape, bag shaped	Single Find	504060	157750	100m		NBII Context cards, surrey, 19
62	Richmond, bugle	Ewart Park	Bugle-shaped object	Single Find			Restricted		PAS: LON-CA5354
71	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Razor, unclas-sified	Settlement	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
72	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Razor, Feltwell	Settlement	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
73	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Tweezers	Settlement	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
74	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Tweezers	Settlement	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
75	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Tweezers	Settlement	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
81	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Ring, bronze	Settlement	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
82	Runnymede	Ewart Park	Stud	Settlement	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
28	Wallingford, T9	Ewart Park	Razor, Feltwell	River Thames	460920	188813	2.25km river		Thomas 1984; Jöckenhovel 1980, 65, no.179

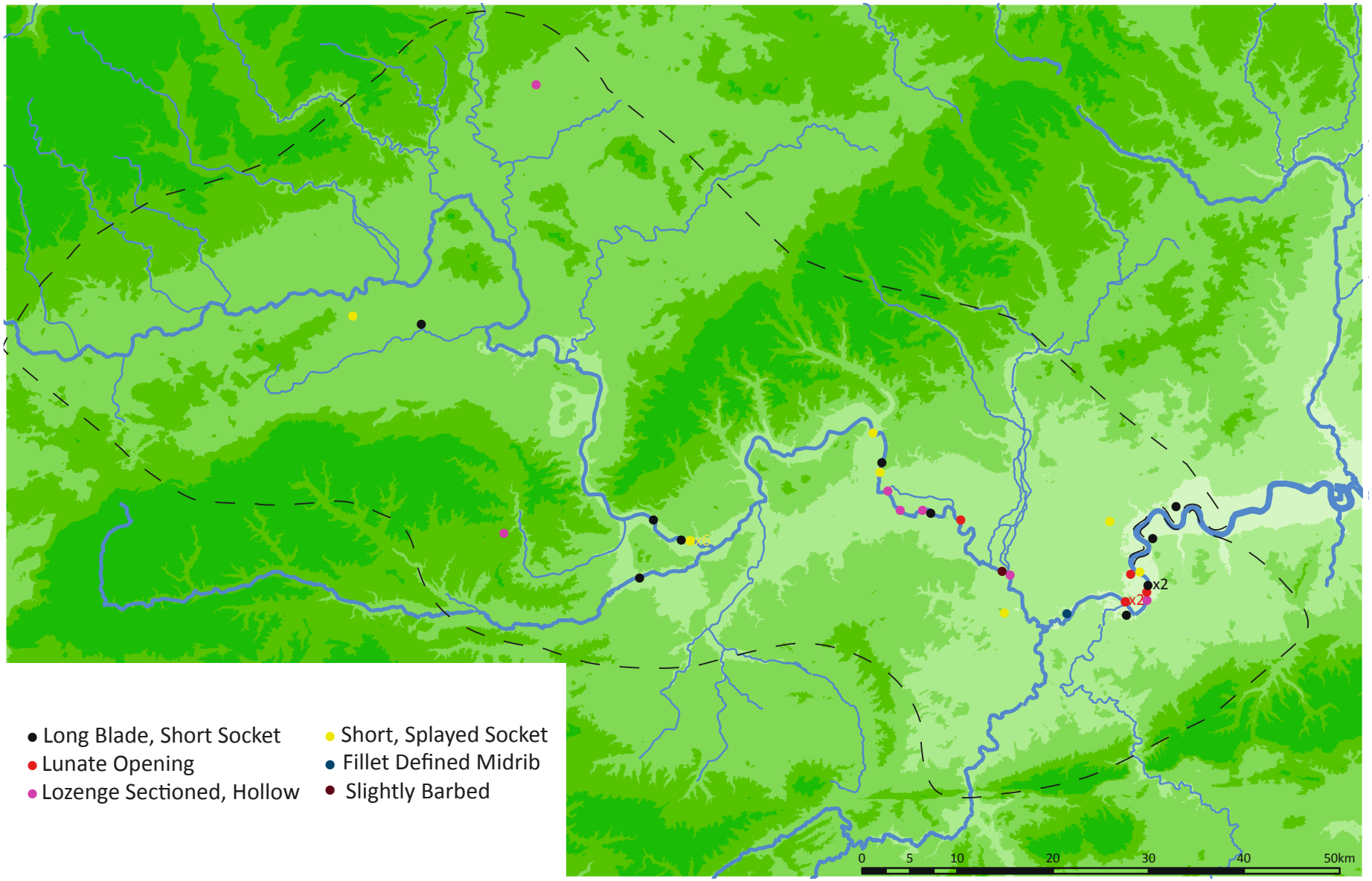
63	Wayland's Smithy, bugle	Ewart Park	Bugle-shaped object	Single Find	428081	185396	10m		Whittle 1991, 87
70	Weston Wood	Ewart Park	Ring, bronze	Settlement	505300	148500	Excavated settlement		Harding 1967
88	Runnymede	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Tweezers	Midden	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
89	Runnymede	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Tweezers	Midden	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
90	Runnymede	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Stud	Midden	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
66	Whitecross Farm, Wallingford Midden	Ewart Park/ Llyn Fawr	Razor	Midden	460700	188200	Excavated settlement	Type Einscheidige Rasiermesser vom Mauvilly/Sundhoffen, or St. Etienne-du-Valdonnez, or Einscheidige Halbmodrasiermesser ohne Griff	Northover 2006. See 4.9.3
69	Brooklands	Llyn Fawr	Nail, iron	Pit Spread	506700	163100	Excavated settlement		Hanworth and Tomalin 1977
65	CC/Shorncote Settlement Area 2	Llyn Fawr	Nail, iron	Settlement	403380	196500	Excavated settlement		Powell *et al.* 2010
44	Crowmarsh	Llyn Fawr	Chape, winged	Single Find	461000	186000	1m available		PAS: SUR-05401D
92	Lot's Hole Northern	Llyn Fawr	Needle	Pit Spread	492200	179700	Excavated settlement		Allen *et al*. forthcoming
83	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Ring, bronze	Midden	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1980a
84	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Ring, bronze	Midden	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1991
85	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Ring, bronze	Midden	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham 1991
86	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Needle	Midden	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham and Spence 1996
87	Runnymede	Llyn Fawr	Tweezers	Midden	501800	171800	Excavated settlement		Needham and Spence 1996
29	Old Windsor, razor	Later Bronze Age	Razor, unclas-sified	River Thames	499641	174896	4.5km river		Jöckenhovel 1980, 75, no. 204



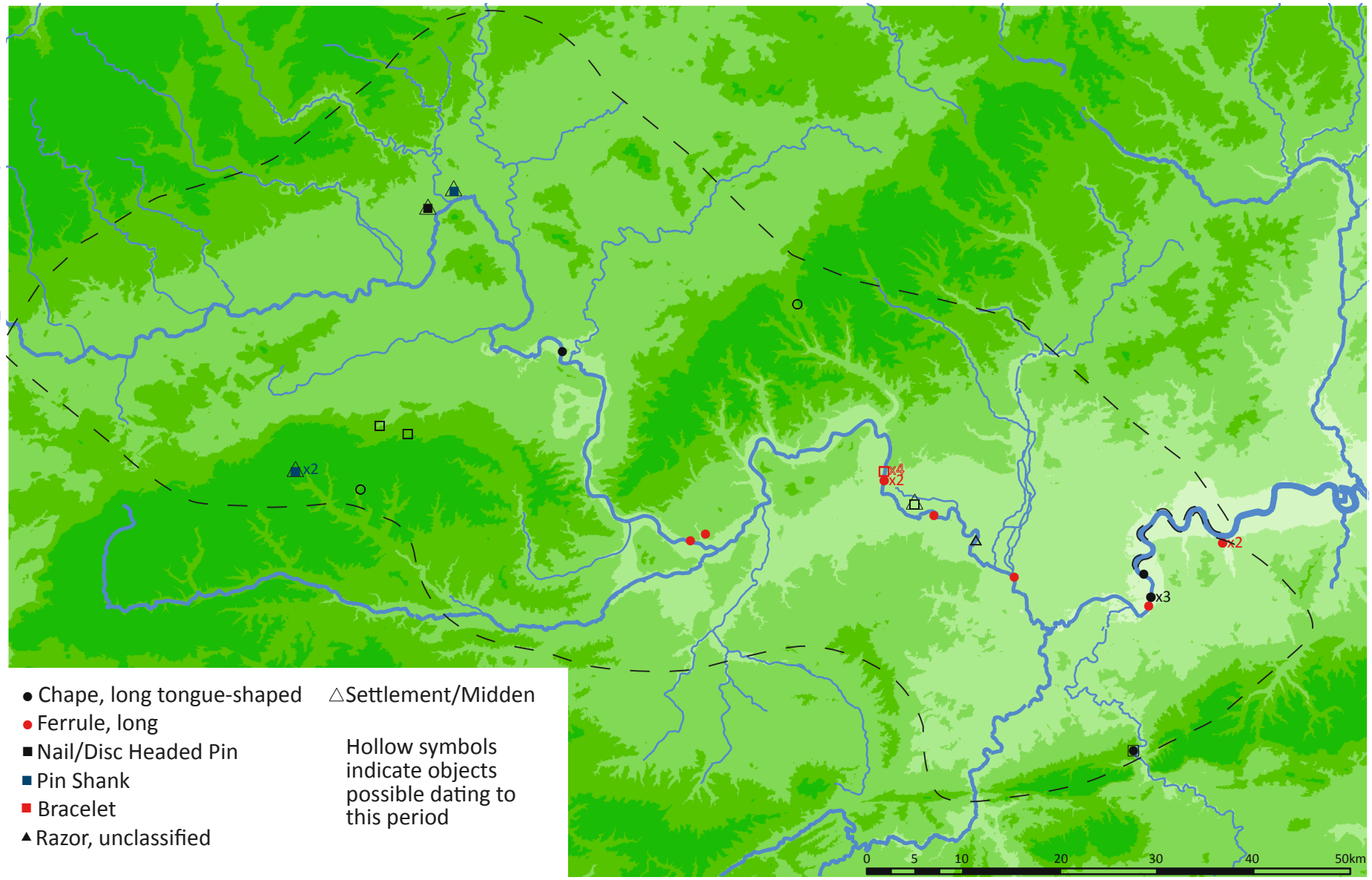
Map A11.1. Wilburton Axes



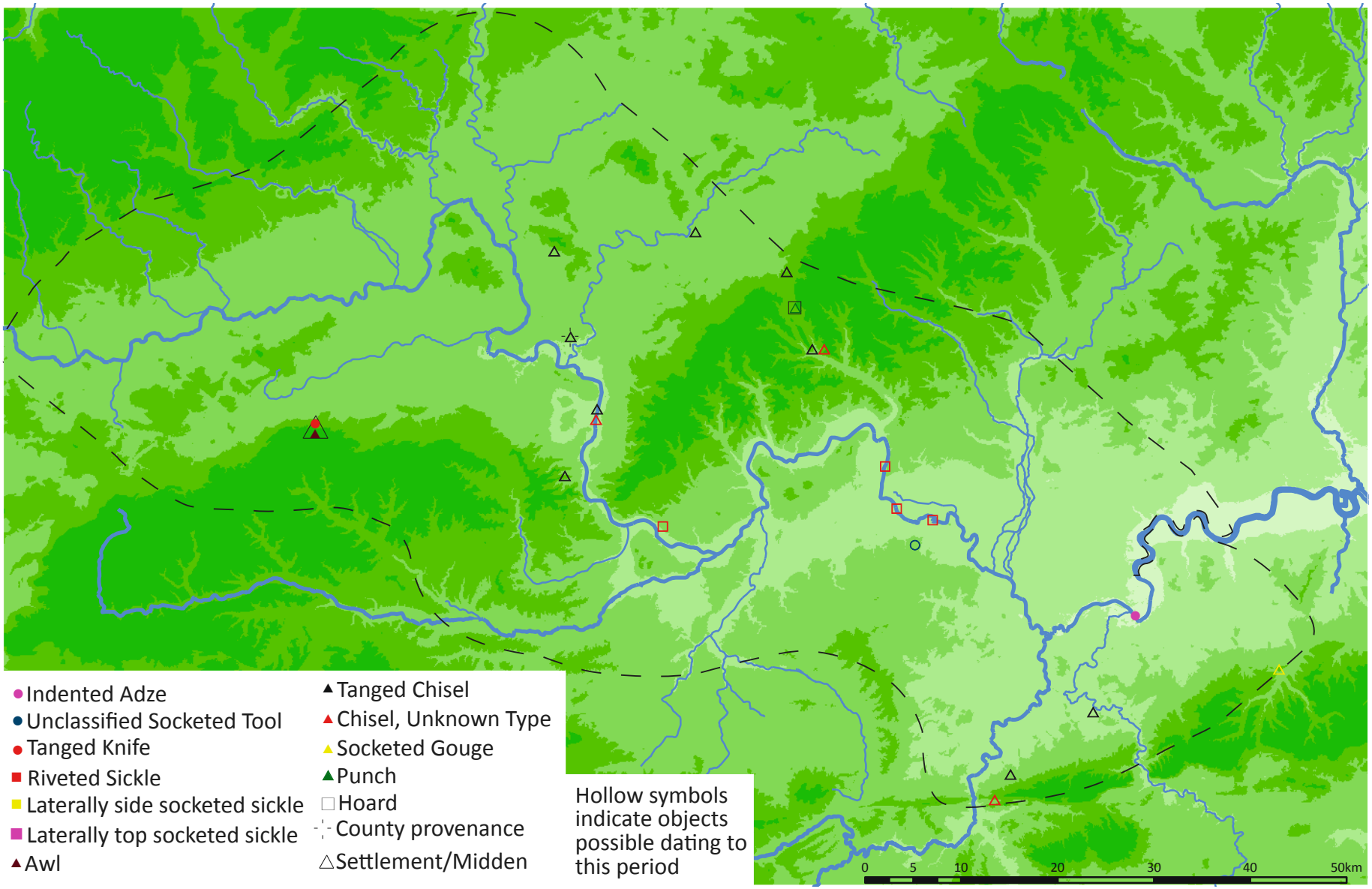
Map A11.2. Wilburton/Limehouse Swords



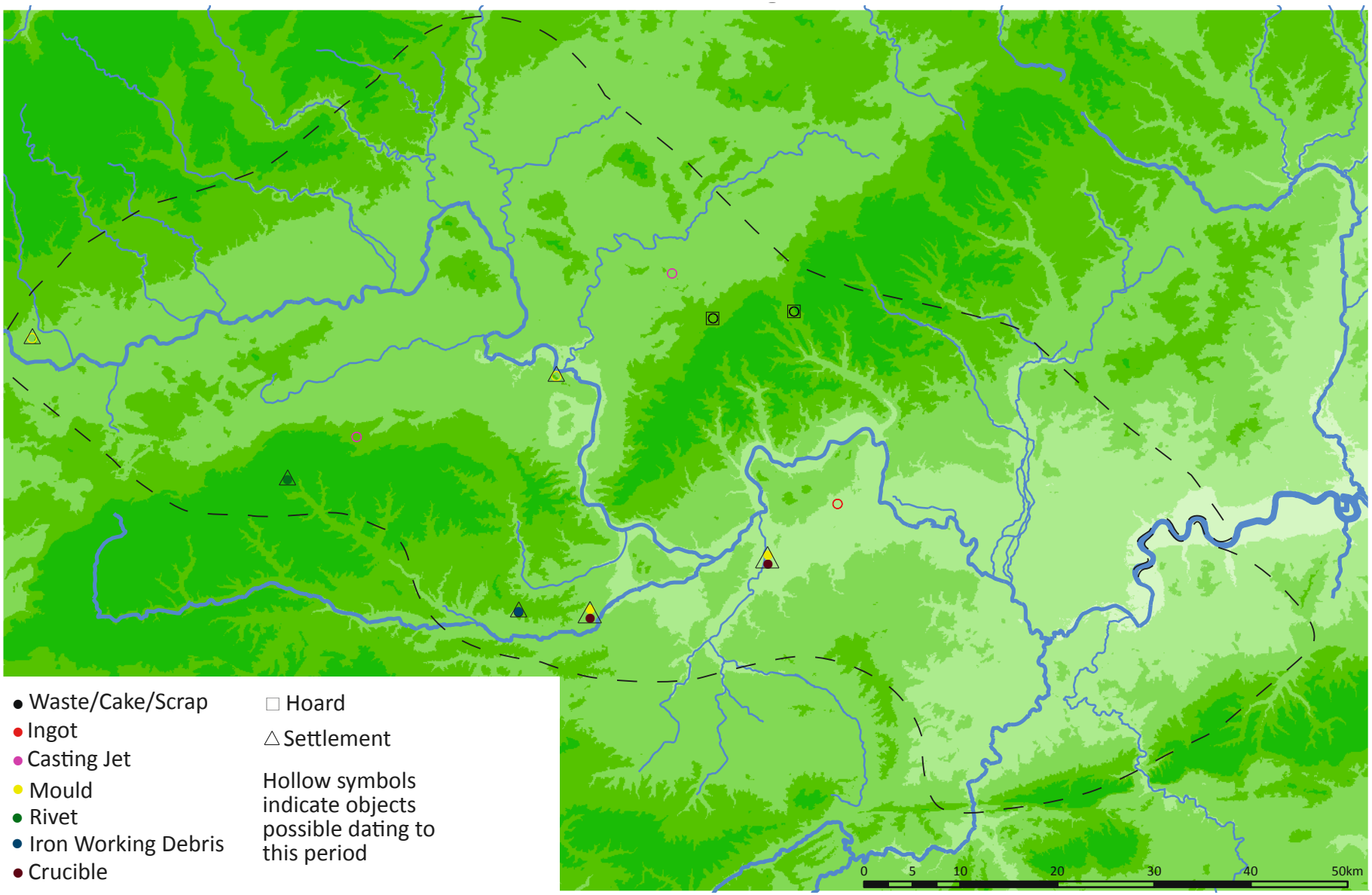
Map A11.3. Wilburton Spearheads



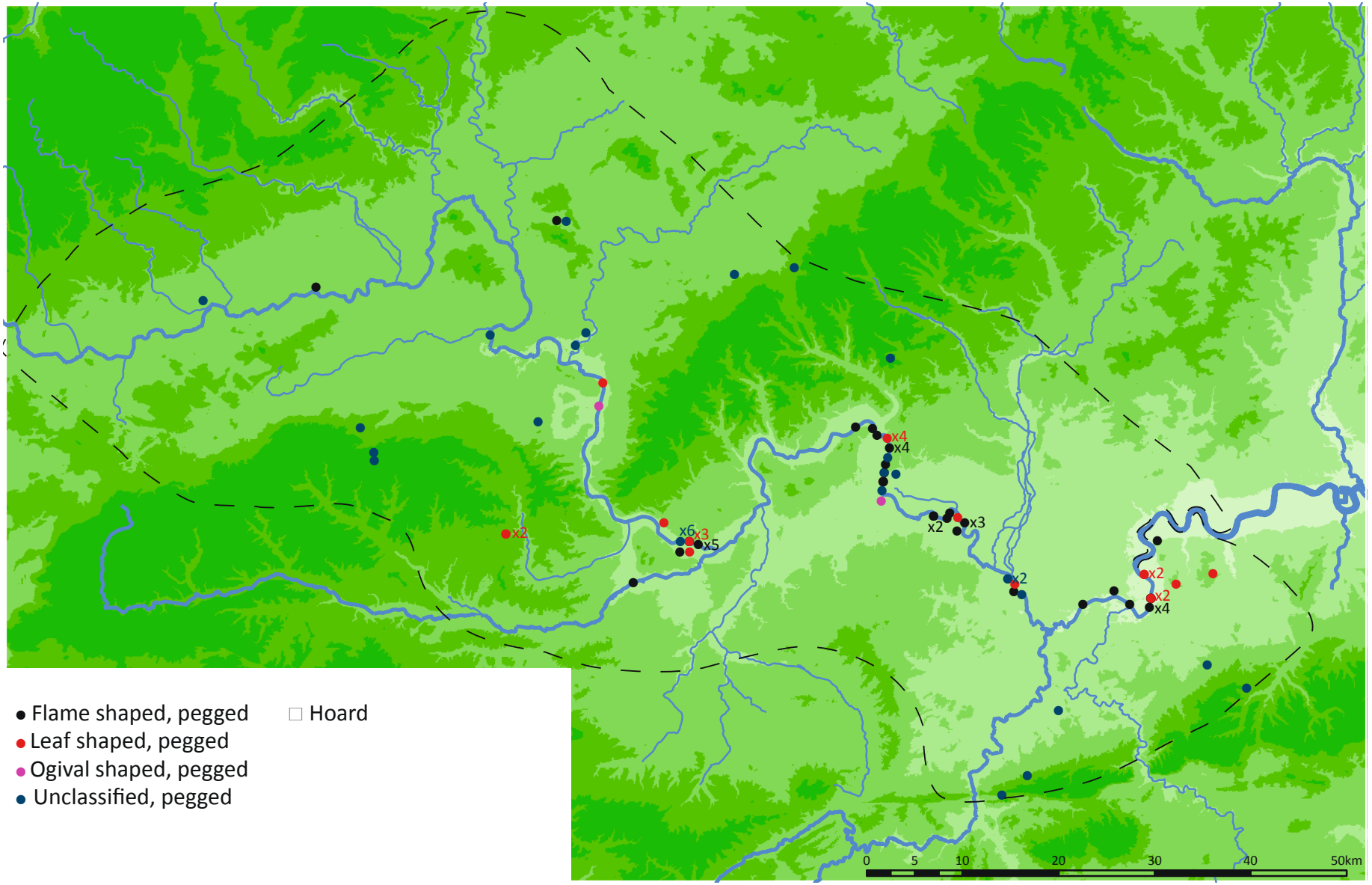
Map A11.4. Wilburton Weapon Accoutrements and Ornaments



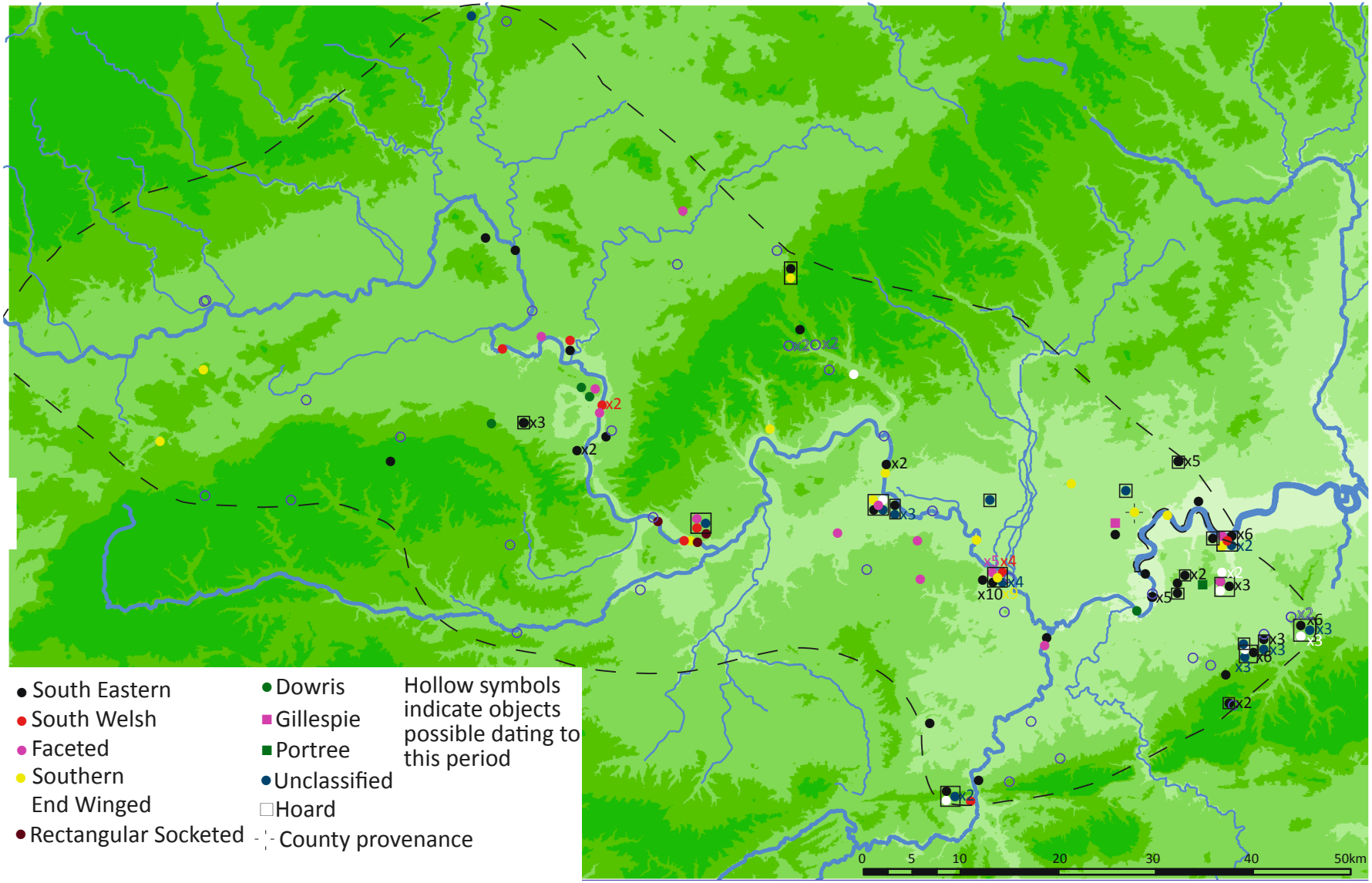
Map A11.5. Wilburton Tools



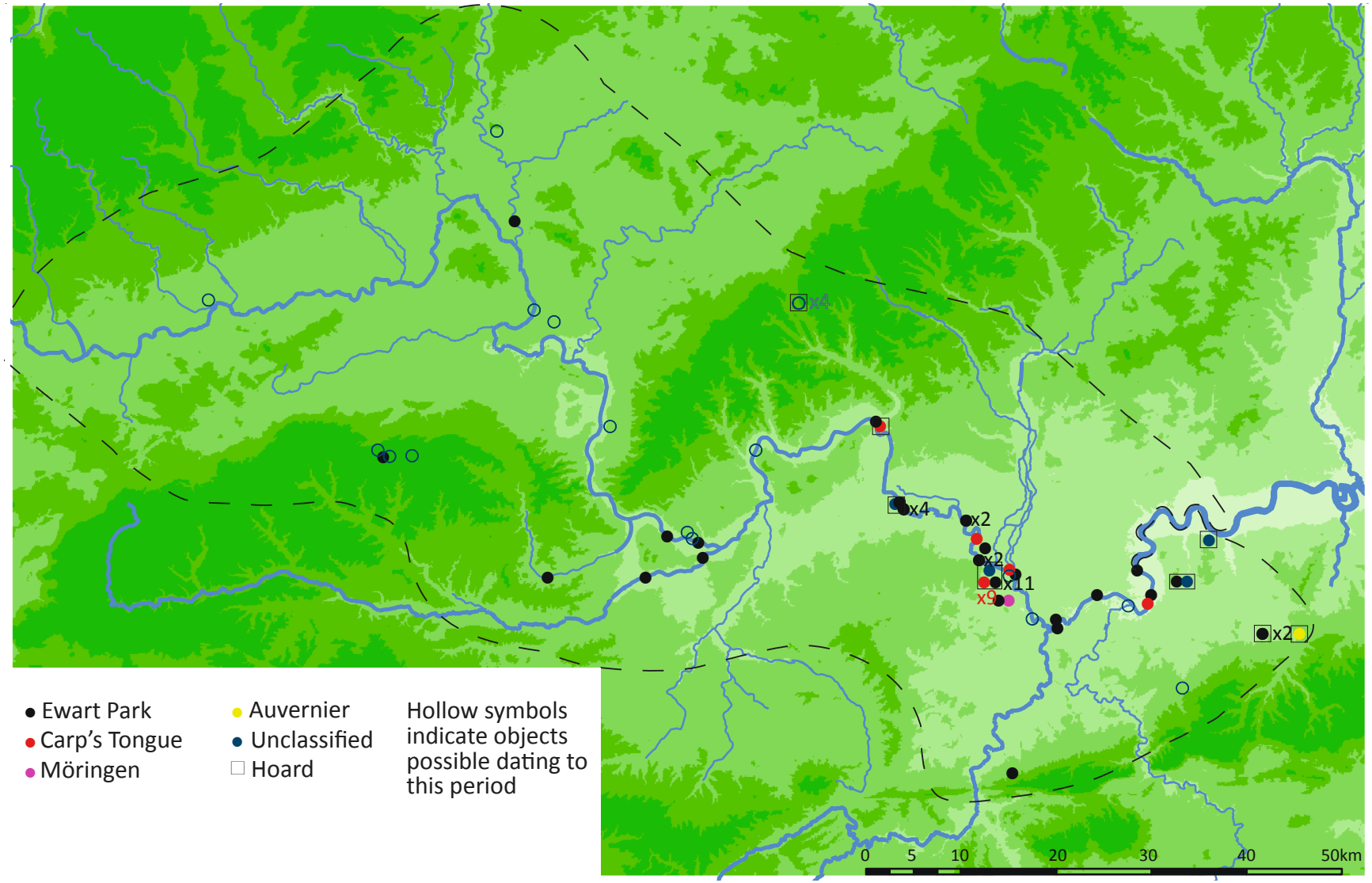
Map A11.6. Wilburton Metallurgical Debris



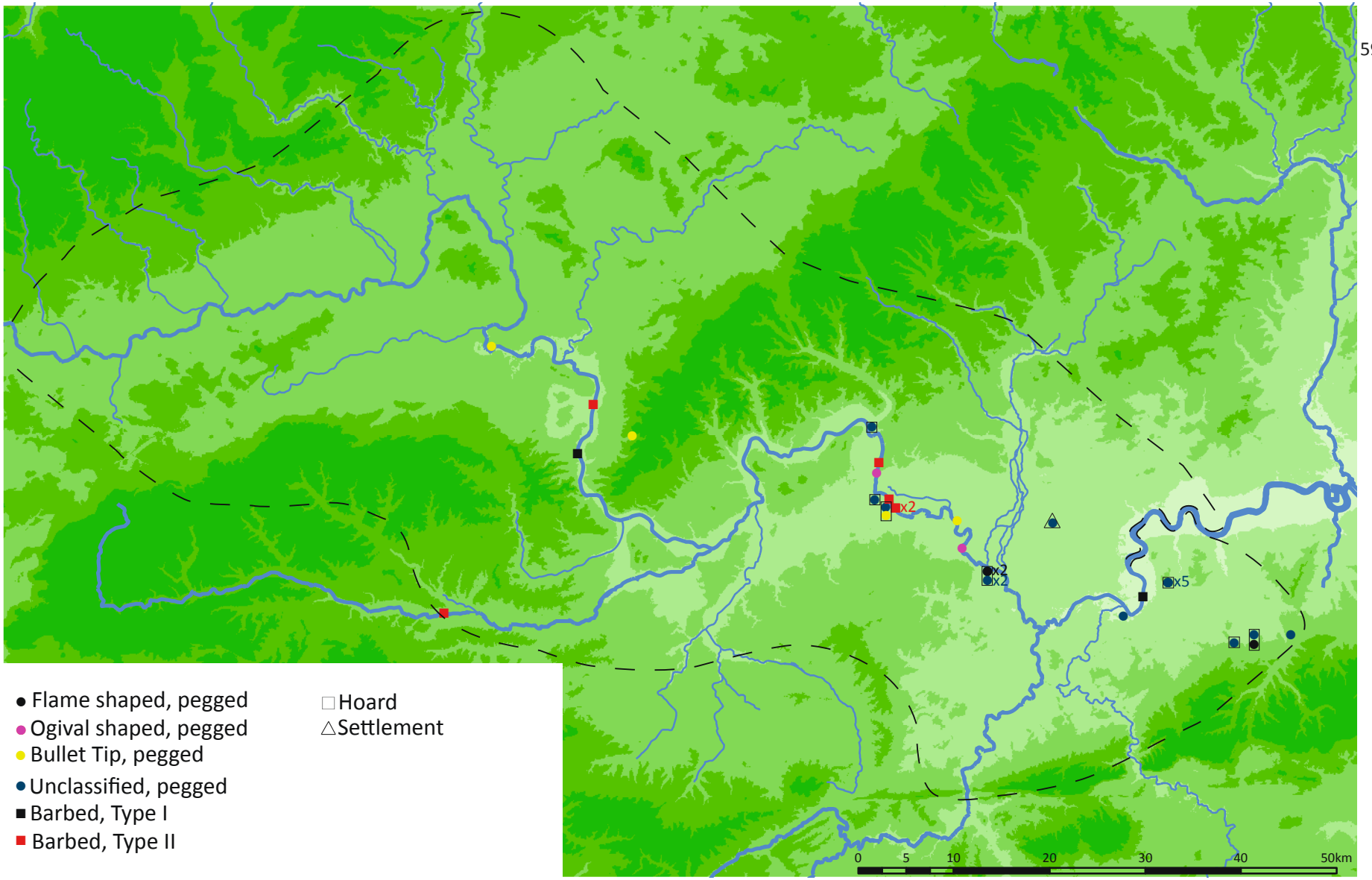
Map A11.7. LBA spearheads that cannot be phased



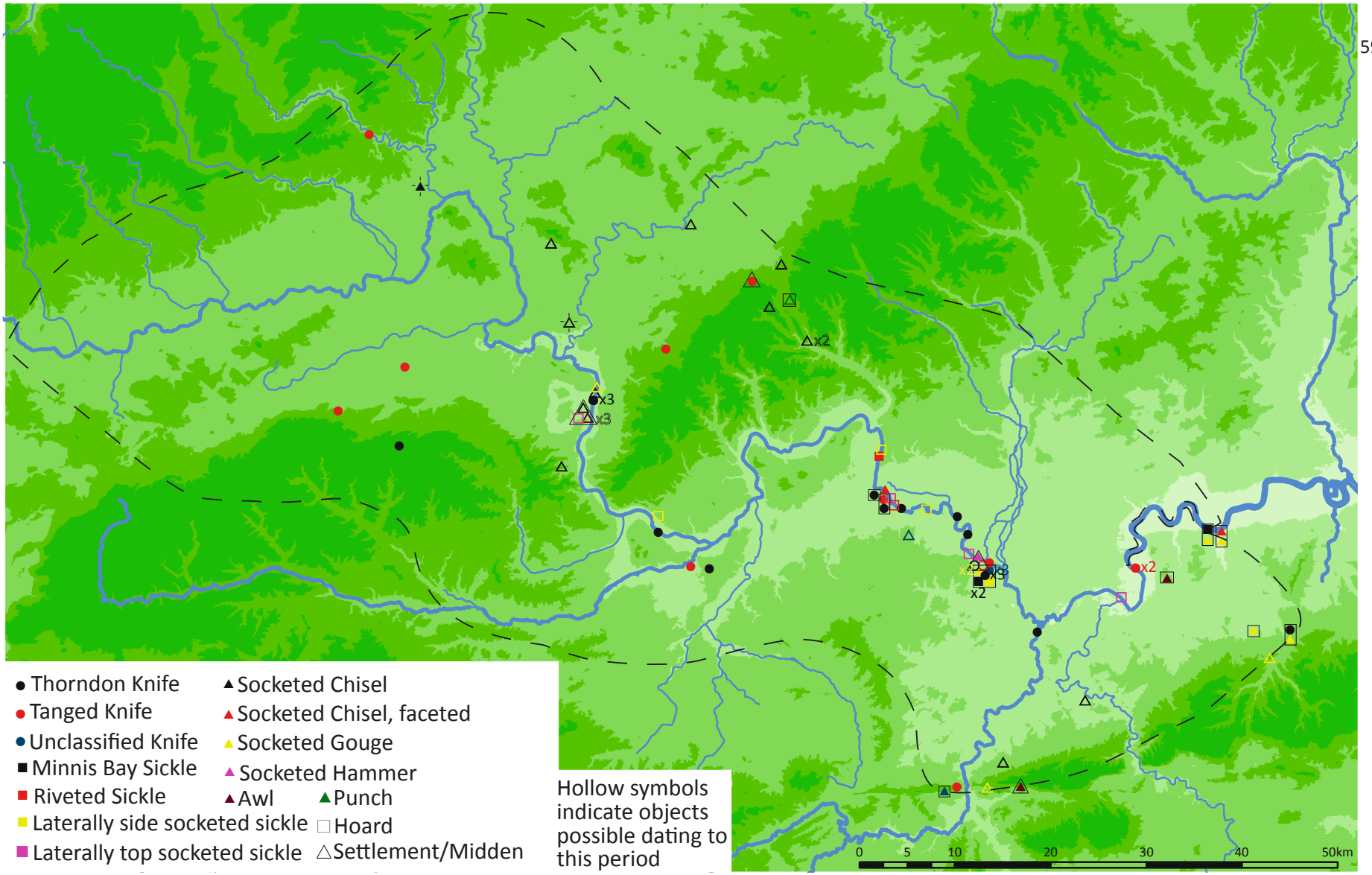
Map A11.8. Ewart Park Axes



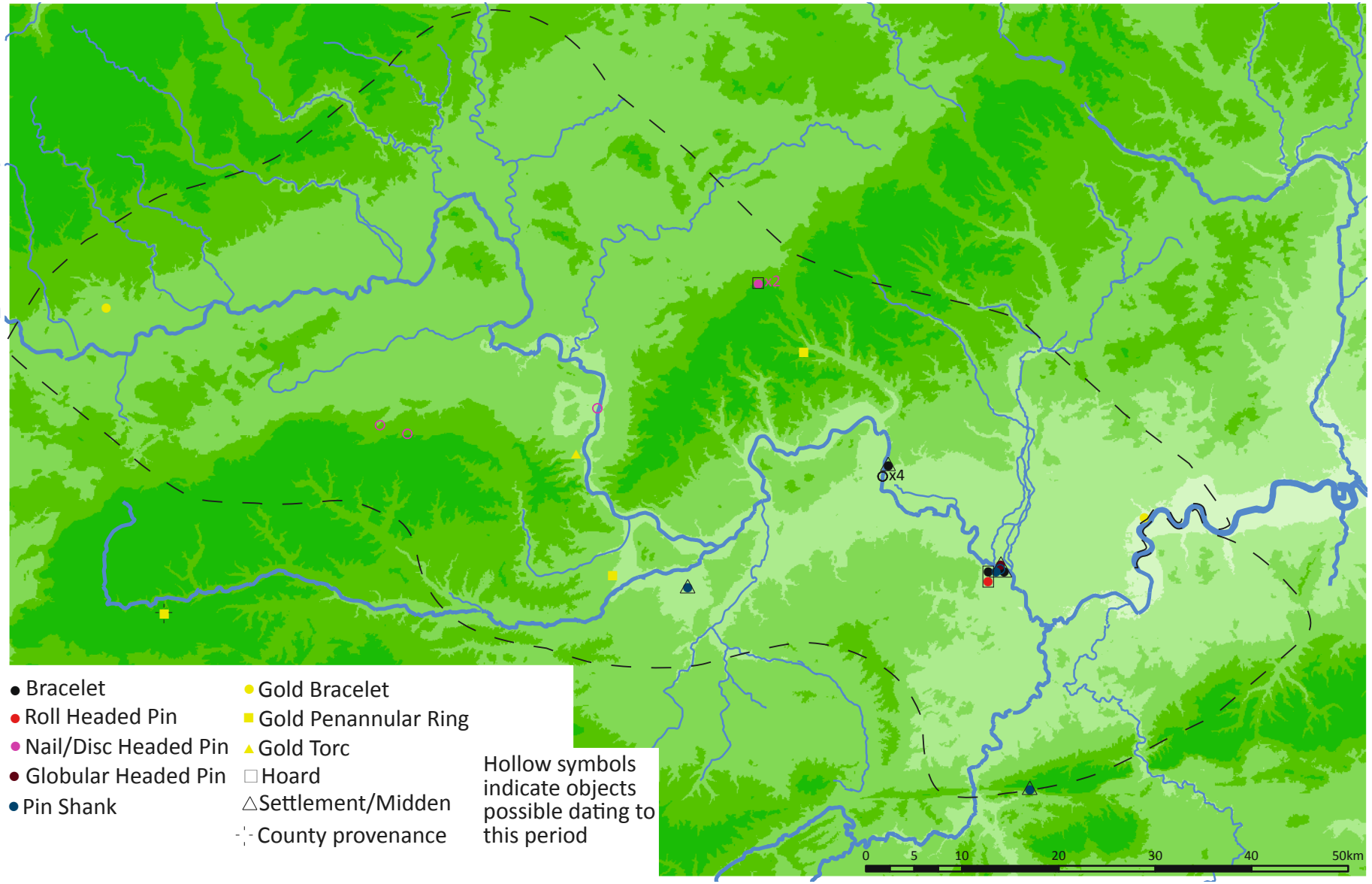
Map A11.9. Ewart Park Swords



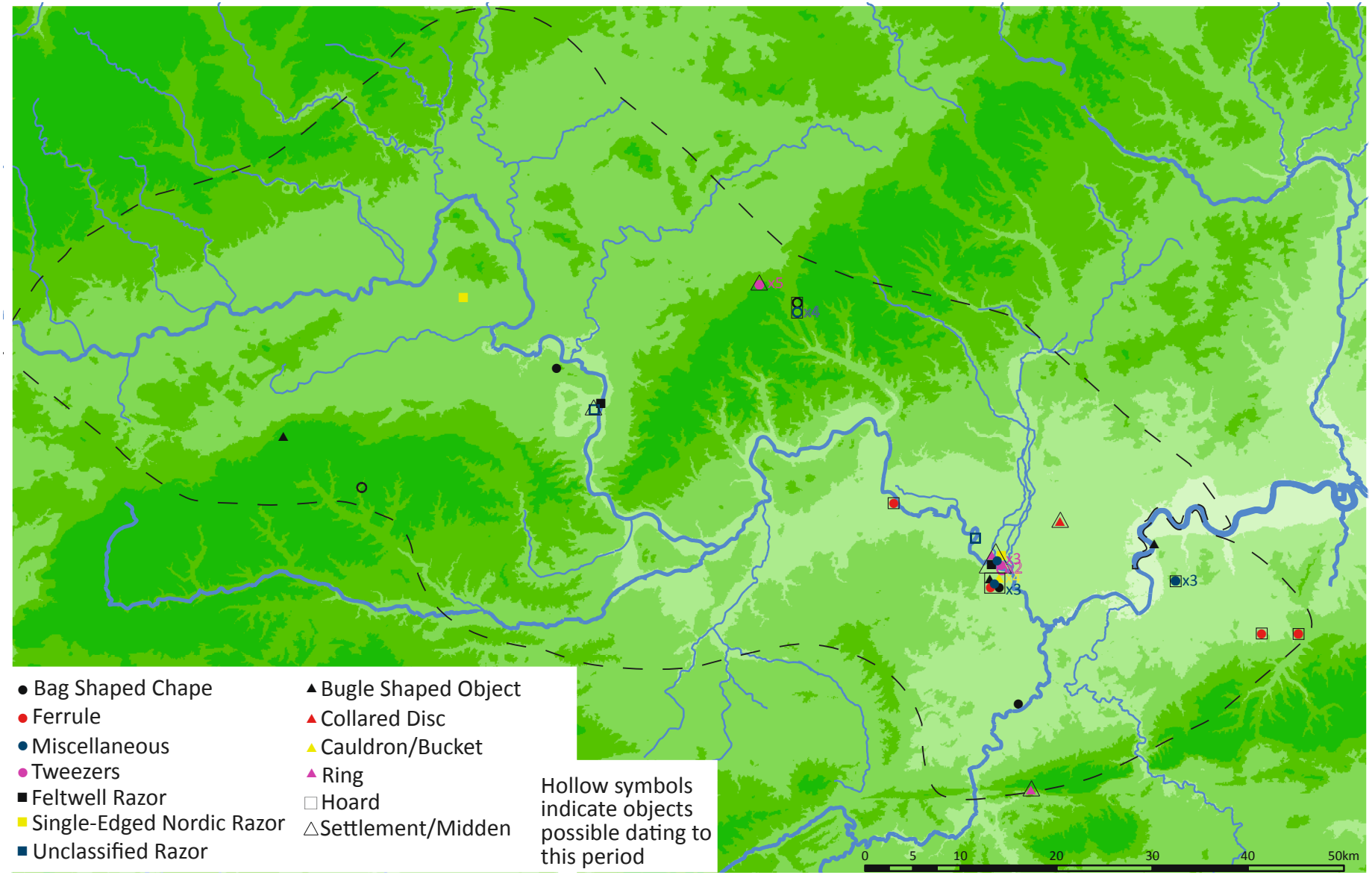
Map A11.10. Ewart Park Spearheads



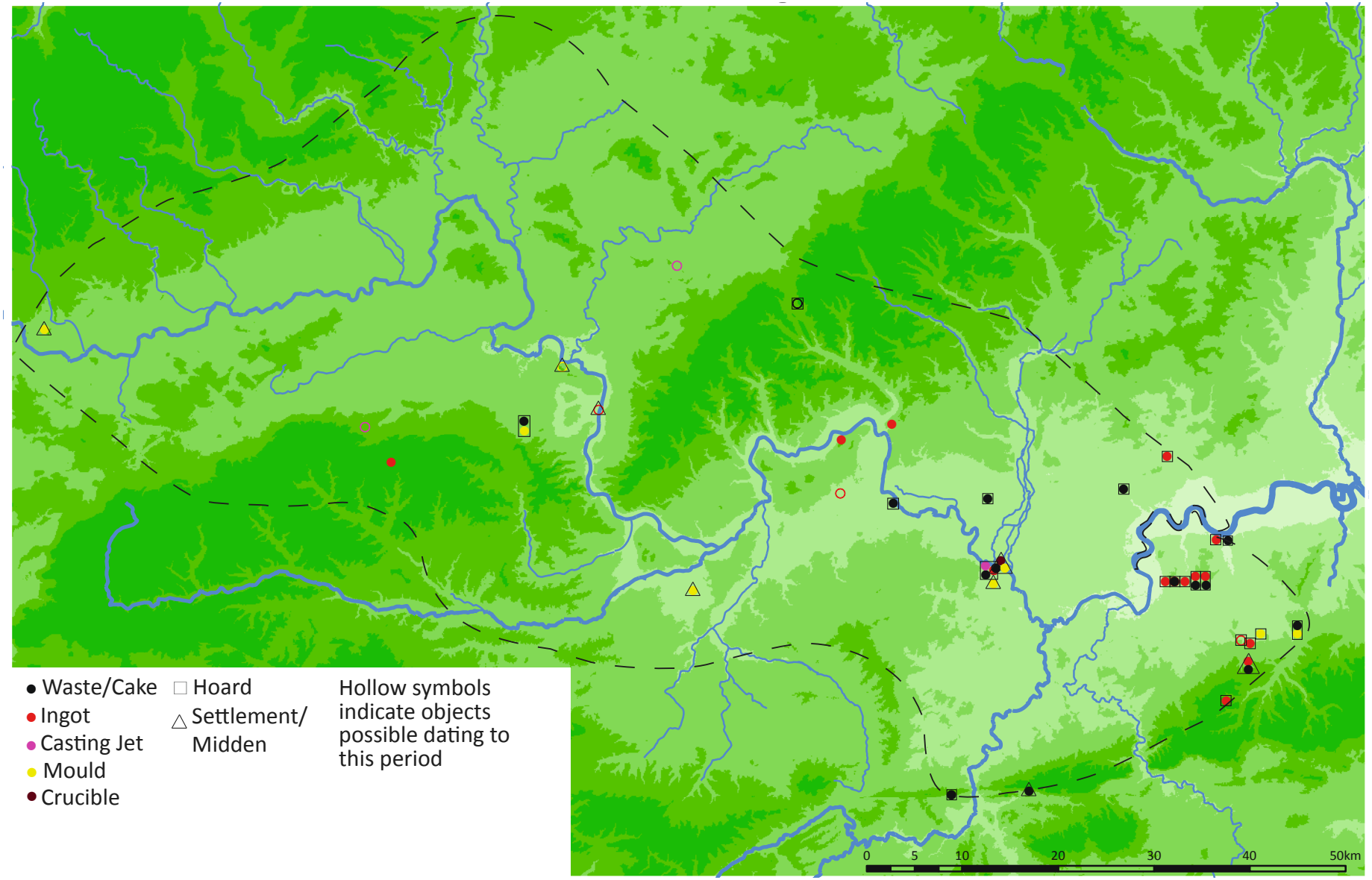
Map A11.11. Ewart Park Tools



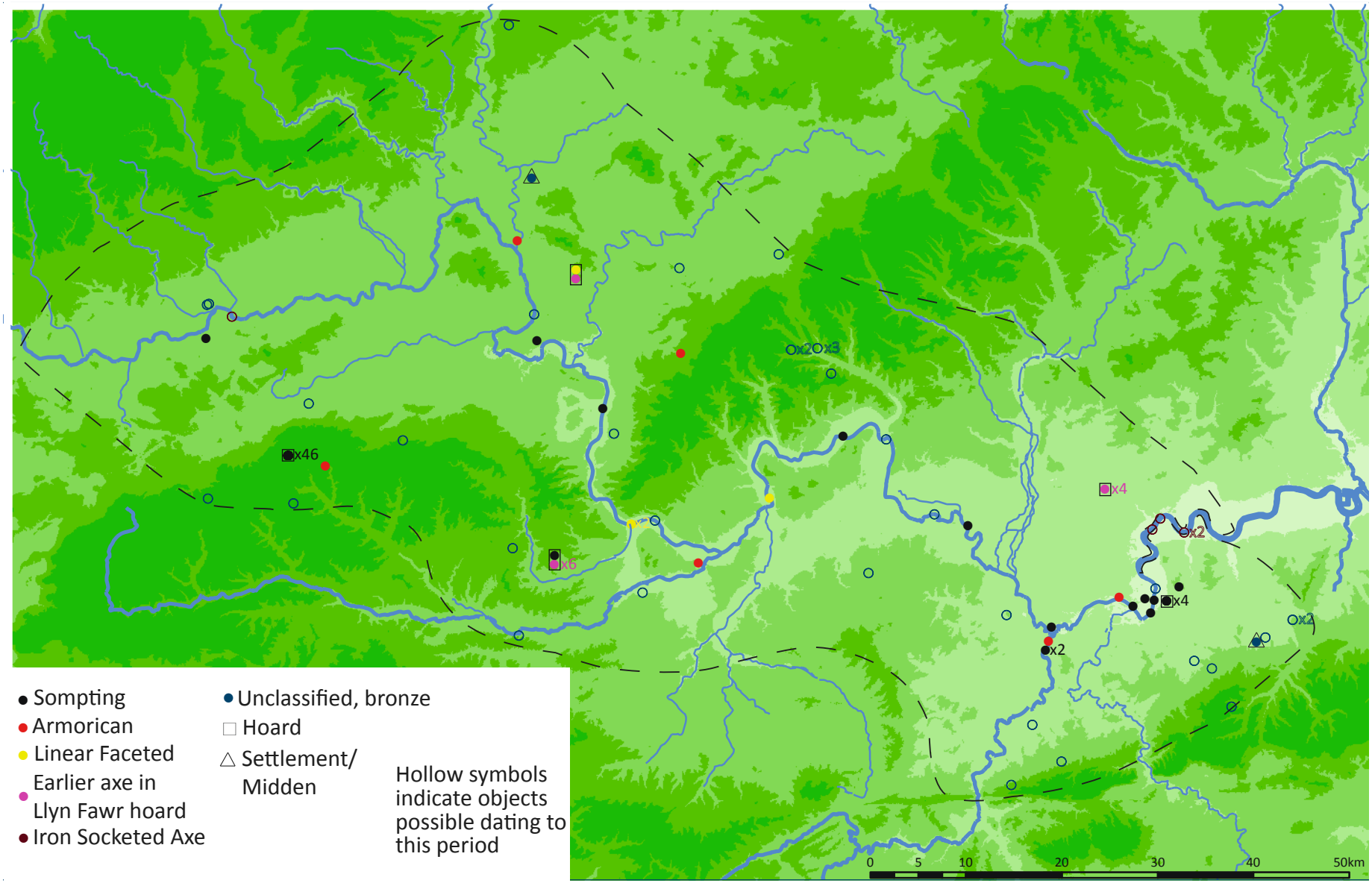
Map A11.12. Ewart Park Ornaments



Map A11.13. Other Ewart Park Metalwork



Map A11.14. Ewart Park Metallurgical Debris



Map A11.15. Llyn Fawr/Transitional Axes

Appendix 12: Iron Age Metalwork

A12.1 Brooches

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
78	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Unclassified	427700	182200	Excavated site	Possible brooch - not illustrated	Adams 2013, 10870
76	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	1	427700	182200	Excavated site		Adams 2013, 10870
66	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	1A	427700	182200	Excavated site		Adams 2013, 10870
9	Haddenham, brooch	EIA	Single Find	1A			Restricted	Decorated bow	Adams 2013, 10065; PAS: BERK-E5E422
34	Hammersmith, brooch 2	EIA	River Thames	1A	523382	176760	3.5km river		Adams 2013, 10431
40	Heathrow, site K	EIA	Settlement	1B	505600	175600	Excavated site		Adams 2013, 10472; Canham 1978
8	Kew, brooch	EIA	River Thames	1A	518000	177000	100m river available		Adams 2013, 10056; PAS: SUR-36D9E1
80	Kingston Bagpuize with Southmoor	EIA	Single Find	1A	440000	195000	1m available		PAS: BERK-266428
36	Merrow, brooch	EIA	Single Find	1A	502060	149855	1km		Adams 2013, 10440
35	Russley, brooch	EIA	Single Find	1A	426487	180115	c.2km		Adams 2013, 10437
26	Syon Reach, brooch	EIA	River Thames	1A	517629	176481	2km river		Adams 2013, 10264
37	Woodeaton	EIA	Midden?	1A	453600	212600		Decorated bow and foot	Adams 2013, 10441
79	Bedfont	EIA/MIA	Settlement	Unclassified	508000	173700	Excavated site		Alexander and Farrant 1973
19	High Wycombe, brooch	EIA/MIA	Single Find	1A/1B	484465	192435	Parish		Adams 2013, 10163; Bucks HER
43	Wallingford, brooch 2	EIA/MIA	River Thames	1A/1B	460920	188813	2.25km river		Adams 2013, 10491
67	Watchfield	EIA/MIA	Settlement	1C	425170	190700	Excavated site	Loosely associated with EIA pottery	Adams 2013, 10967
59	Ashville/Wyndye Furlong	MIA	Settlement	1B	448240	197720	Excavated site		Adams 2013, 10627
73	Ashville/Wyndye Furlong	MIA	Settlement	Unclassified	448240	197720	Excavated site		Adams 2013, 10627
86	Baydon, Botley copse, brooch	MIA	Single Find	1B	428000	180000	100m available		Adams 2013, 10469
87	Baydon, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2B			Restricted		Adams 2013, 10856; PAS: WILT-E2D3B2

52	Beckley, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2C	456581	211078	Parish		Adams 2013, 10546
82	Besselsleigh, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2B	446000	202000	10m available		PAS: BERK-A659F4
7	Bisham, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2L			Restricted		Adams 2013, 10047; PAS: BUC-4A8DF7
61	Bledlow, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2B	477693	202099			Adams 2013, 10804
23	Brentford Ferry, brooch	MIA	River Thames	1B	518324	177491	River landmark		Adams 2013, 10196
15	Chenies, brooch	MIA	Single Find	1B			Restricted		Adams 2013, 10130; PAS: BUC-D4C803
20	Chenies, brooch 2	MIA	Single Find	1B	501730	198368	Parish. More accurate available		Adams 2013, 10164; Bucks HER
62	Chenies, brooch 3	MIA	Single Find	2B	501730	198368	Parish. More accurate available		Adams 2013, 10810; PAS: BUC-3E10D0
50	City Farm West	MIA	Settlement	1C/2A	443000	211100	Excavated site		Adams 2013, 10520; Case *et al.* 1964-5, fig. 35.1
5	Cleveland Farm	MIA	Settlement	1C	406750	194500	Excavated site		Adams 2013
75	Coxwell Road	MIA	Settlement	1B	428070	194550	Excavated site	In a sequence of ditches, the earliest containing MIA pot	Cook *et al.* 2002
25	Crab Tree, Hammersmith, brooch	MIA	River Thames	1B	523382	176760	3.5km river		Adams 2013, 10209
14	Cuddesdon and Denton, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2L	459000	202000	10m available		Adams 2013, 10129; PAS: BUC-3197B7
77	East Challow	MIA	Single Find	2B	438000	187000	10m available		PAS: BERK-33D535
22	Eton Rowing Course	MIA	Single Find	1B	493000	178000	Better accuracy available		Allen *et al.* forthcoming
13	Fingest, brooch	MIA	Single Find	1B			Restricted		Adams 2013, 10079; PAS: BUC-E0D317
54	Frilford, Noah's Ark Inn, brooch	MIA	Settlement	2C	443880	196220	Excavated site		Adams 2013, 10558
63	Frilsham, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2B			Restricted		Adams 2013, 10822; PAS: BERK-CA5154
71	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Penannular	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004

69	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Penannular	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
70	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Penannular	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
4	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	2A	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
3	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	2A/2C	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
2	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	1C/2A	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
1	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	1C/2A	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
27	Hammersmith Bridge, 100(0)yds, brooch	MIA	River Thames	2L	523272	177460	500m river		Adams 2013, 10281
24	Hammersmith, brooch	MIA	River Thames	1B	523382	176760	3.5km river		Adams 2013, 10208
45	Hammersmith, brooch 3	MIA	River Thames	1B	523382	176760	3.5km river		Adams 2013, 10494
68	Hammersmith, brooch 4	MIA	River Thames	1B	523382	176760	3.5km river		Adams 2013, 10985
29	Holloway Lane	MIA	Settlement	2L	506701	178181	Excavated site		Adams 2013, 10294
74	Horcott Pit	MIA	Settlement	2C	414320	198750	Excavated site		Lamdin-Whymark *et al.* 2009
49	Kingston, brooch	MIA	River Thames	1Bd	517716	169019	3.75km river	Decorated bow	Adams 2013, 10502
6	Leatherhead, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2L	514000	153000	1m available		Adams 2013, 10043; PAS: SUR-41D522
81	Letcombe Bassett, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2B	436000	185000	10m available		PAS: BERK-D08268
12	Letcombe Regis, brooch	MIA	Single Find	1B			Restricted		Adams 2013, 10078; PAS: BERK-510306
84	Letcombe Regis, brooch 2	MIA	Single Find	1C			Restricted		PAS: BERK-51FE41
89	Lewknor, brooch	MIA	Single Find	1B			Restricted		PAS: BH-245E96
38	Micklands Farm, brooch	MIA	Single Find	1B	471979	176136	Town		Adams 2013, 10450
28	Mortlake, brooch	MIA	River Thames	2L	520820	176092			Adams 2013, 10282
41	Mortlake, brooch 2	MIA	River Thames	1B	520820	176092			Adams 2013, 10475
65	Putney, brooch	MIA	River Thames	1B	524000	175000	1m available		Adams 2013, 10844; PAS: SUR-0B2C37
32	Radley	MIA	Settlement	1B	452000	198800			Adams 2013, 10416

39	Reading, Kennet, brooch	MIA	River Kennet	1B	471408	173006	10km river		Adams 2013, 10459
18	Runymede, brooch	MIA	River Thames	1B	501800	171800	Excavated site		Adams 2013, 10161; Needham 2000, 77
51	Russley, near, brooch	MIA	Single Find	1B	426487	180115	c.2km		Adams 2013, 10533
21	SE of Piddington Farm, West Wycombe, brooch	MIA	Single Find	1B	480886	194165	Parish		Adams 2013, 10166; Bucks HER
11	South Oxfordshire, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2L			Restricted		Adams 2013, 10069; PAS: BERK-717093
83	Steventon, brooch	MIA	Single Find	Penannular	446000	191000	100m available		PAS: BERK-C88152
46	Syon Reach, brooch 2	MIA	River Thames	1B	517629	176481	2km river		Adams 2013, 10497
17	Tetsworth, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2B			Restricted		Adams 2013, 10160; PAS: BERK-91FC62
88	Thacham, brooch	MIA	Single Find	1C	451000	165000	10m available		PAS: BERK-57A9F2
53	Thames West, Old Ford, Datchet, Brooch	MIA	Single Find	2B	498548	176778	4.6km river	Various materials	Adams 2013, 10556
48	Wallingford, brooch 3	MIA	River Thames	1Bd	460920	188813	2.25km river	Decorated bow	Adams 2013, 10503
33	Wallingford?, brooch	MIA	River Thames	1B	460920	188813	2.25km river		Adams 2013, 10421
42	Wandsworth, brooch	MIA	River Thames	2A	525300	175380	2.75km river		Adams 2013, 10490
60	Wandsworth, brooch 2	MIA	River Thames	2L	525300	175380	10m river		Adams 2013, 10731
10	West Clanton, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2L	505000	150000	100m available		Adams 2013, 10068; PAS: SUR-604411
64	West Hanney, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2B	439000	192000	10m available		Adams 2013, 10834; PAS: BERK-F5AF04
31	Woodeaton	MIA	Midden?	2B	453600	212600			Adams 2013, 10399
55	Woodeaton	MIA	Midden?	2B	453600	212600			Adams 2013, 10563
56	Woodeaton	MIA	Midden?	2C	453600	212600		Decorated foot	Adams 2013, 10564
57	Woodeaton	MIA	Midden?	2C	453600	212600			Adams 2013, 10564
44	Woodeaton	MIA	Midden?	1C	453600	212600			Adams 2013, 10492
30	Woodeaton	MIA	Midden?	2L	453600	212600			Adams 2013, 10297

47	Woodeaton	MIA	Midden?	1B	453600	212600			Adams 2013, 10498
58	Woodeaton	MIA	Midden?	2E	453600	212600			Adams 2013, 10569
16	Wooton, brooch	MIA	Single Find	2B			Restricted		Adams 2013, 10150; PAS: BERK-B9D492
72	Yarnton	MIA	Settlement	Unclassified	447400	211200		Pit 390D. Not in metalwork section	Hey *et al.* 2011
85	Letcombe Regis, brooch 3	MIA/LIA/Ro	Single Find	Penannular			Restricted		PAS: BERK-6BA132

A12.2 Ornaments

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
23	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Ring-headed pin	448240	197720	Excavated site	Possible head	Parrington 1978
38	Chiseldon, bracelet	Trans/EIA	Single Find	Hallstatt Knobbed Bracelet	417000	180000	100m available	Cu alloy	PAS: WILT-0E2575
43	Hammersmith, pin	Trans/EIA	River Thames	Swan-necked pin	523382	176760	3.5km river	Cu alloy. Roll headed	Dunning 1934, fig. 2.6
65	Woodeaton	Trans/EIA	Midden?	Swan-necked pin	453600	212600			
66	Woodeaton	Trans/EIA	Midden?	Swan-necked pin	453600	212600			
67	Woodeaton	Trans/EIA	Midden?	Swan-necked pin	453600	212600			
27	Coxwell Road	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Ring-headed pin	428070	194550	Excavated site	Possible example	Cook *et al.* 2004
13	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Ring-headed pin	440300	205300	Excavated site	Cu alloy	Lambrick and Allen 2004
41	Lambourn, bracelet	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Single Find	Hallstatt Knobbed Bracelet			Restricted	Cu alloy	PAS: BERK-55CB10
72	Wandsworth, bracelet	Trans/ EIA/MIA	River Thames	Hallstatt Knobbed Bracelet	524000	175000	1m available	Cu alloy	PAS: LON-064A57; Wells and Cotton 2015
22	Woodeaton	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Midden?	Ring, bronze	453600	212600			
32	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Ring-headed pin	427700	182200	Excavated site	Iron	Gosden and Lock 2013
28	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Bracelet, wire	427700	182200	Excavated site		Gosden and Lock 2013

29	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Ring, bronze	427700	182200	Excavated site		Gosden and Lock 2013
30	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Swan-necked pin	427700	182200	Excavated site	Cu alloy	Gosden and Lock 2013
31	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Ring-headed pin	427700	182200	Excavated site	Iron	Gosden and Lock 2013
33	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	427700	182200	Excavated site	Iron	Gosden and Lock 2013
71	Bledlow	EIA	Midden	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	478789	200597	Excavated site	Cu alloy	Head and Piggott 1943
2	Castle Hill midden EIA	EIA	Midden	Ring-headed pin	456950	192620	Excavated site		Hingley 1980
7	Chinnor	EIA	Midden	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	476700	200200	Excavated site	Iron	Richardson and Young 1951
9	Chinnor	EIA	Midden	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	476700	200200	Excavated site	Iron	Richardson and Young 1951
8	Chinnor	EIA	Midden	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	476700	200200	Excavated site	Iron	Richardson and Young 1951
15	Gravelly Guy	EIA	Settlement	Ring-headed pin	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
11	Gravelly Guy	EIA	Settlement	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
37	Letcombe Regis, torc/bracelet	EIA	Single Find	Hallstatt Knobbed Bracelet			Restricted	Cu alloy. Similar examples at Mount Batten	PAS: BERK-BF3445
69	Wigbalds Farm, Long Wittenham	EIA	Midden	Miniture axe	453900	192300	Excavated site	Not looped in usual way, but butt bent around to form loop	Savory 1937
20	Blewburton	EIA/MIA	Hillfort	Ring-headed pin	454400	186100	Excavated site		Hirst and Rahtz 1996
5	Chalgrove, pin	EIA/MIA	Single Find	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	464000	198000	100m available		PAS: BERK-4045E7
39	Chiseldon, pin	EIA/MIA	Single Find	Ring-headed pin	418000	179000	1km		PAS: WILT-14BAF4
40	Cricklade, pin	EIA/MIA	Single Find	Swan-necked, ring headed pin			Restricted	Cu alloy	PAS: WILT-94A7A1
45	Hammersmith, pin 2	EIA/MIA	River Thames	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	523382	176760	3.5km river	Slight ribbing on head	Dunning 1934, 290
46	Hammersmith, pin 3	EIA/MIA	River Thames	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	523382	176760	3.5km river	Ribbing on head	Dunning 1934, 290
48	Hammersmith, pin 4	EIA/MIA	River Thames	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	523382	176760			Dunning 1934, 290

49	Hammersmith, pin 5	EIA/MIA	River Thames	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	523382	176760			Dunning 1934, 290
50	Hammersmith, pin 6	EIA/MIA	River Thames	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	523382	176760			Dunning 1934, 290
47	Maidenhead, pin	EIA/MIA	River Thames	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	490216	181753	4km river	Probable swan neck. Probable Thames	Becker 2000, no.124
70	Russley, pin	EIA/MIA	Single Find	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	426487	180115	c.2km	Possibly more than one. Possibly found with brooch	Hull and Hawkes 1987
26	Watchfield	EIA/MIA	Settlement	Ring, bronze	425170	190700		Incised rib decoration	Adams 2013, 10967
42	West Ilsey, pin	EIA/MIA	Single Find	Swan-necked, ring headed pin			Restricted	Cu alloy	PAS: BERK-046805
60	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
52	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
53	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
54	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
55	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
56	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
57	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
21	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Ring, bronze	453600	212600			
59	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
61	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
62	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
63	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			

64	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
58	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	453600	212600			
44	Woodperry, pin	EIA/MIA	Single Find	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	457404	210528	Hamlet	Involuted. Only slight swan neck	Leeds 1939, fig. 17h
19	Blewburton	MIA	Midden	Ring, bronze	454400	186100	Excavated site		Collins 1947
3	Castle Hill/Wittenham Clumps	MIA	Hillfort	Ring, bronze	456950	192620	Excavated site	Two possible parts of cast ring	Allen *et al.* 2010
36	Crowmarsh, pin	MIA	Single Find	Swan-necked pin	461000	186000	100m available	Cu alloy	PAS: SUR-6B7C91
34	Denton's Pit, Southcote	MIA	Pit Spread	Ring-headed pin	469600	172200	Excavated site	Iron	Piggott and Seaby 1937
4	Farmoor enclosures	MIA	Settlement	Ring, coiled bronze	444400	205700	Excavated site		Lambrick and Robinson 1979
12	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Ring, coiled bronze	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
14	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Ring-headed pin	440300	205300	Excavated site	Iron. Possible swan necked	Lambrick and Allen 2004
51	Hammersmith, pin 7	MIA	River Thames	Swan-necked, ring headed pin	523382	176760		Coral inlay	Dunning 1934, 290
35	Hawk's Hill	MIA	Pit Spread	Pin Shank	515500	155400	Excavated site	Cu alloy	Hastings 1965
25	Horcott Pit	MIA	Settlement	Ring-headed pin	414320	198750	Excavated site	Iron	Lamdin-Whymark 2009
24	Horcott Pit	MIA	Settlement	Ring, coiled bronze	414320	198750	Excavated site		Lamdin-Whymark 2009
10	Mount Farm	MIA	Settlement	Ring, bronze	458160	196810	Excavated site		Lambrick 2010
6	Syon Reach, ring headed pin	MIA	River Thames	Ring-headed pin	517629	176481	2km river	Cu alloy. 11 moulded knobs	Cotton and Wood 1996, 22
1	Watkins Farm	MIA	Settlement	Ring-headed pin	442600	203500	Excavated site		Allen 1990
18	Yarnton	MIA	Settlement	Ring, iron	447400	211200	Excavated site		Hey *et al.* 2011
16	Yarnton River Causeway	MIA	River Causeway	Ring, bronze	447400	211200	Excavated site	Riveted, might not be ornament	Hey *et al.* 2011
17	Yarnton River Causeway	MIA	River Causeway	Ring, iron	447400	211200	Excavated site	Might not be ornament	Hey *et al.* 2011

A12.3 Swords

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
3	Hammersmith, Stead 10	EIA	River Thames	Group A	522835	178151	300m river	Scabbard type - L or M	Stead 2006
4	Hammersmith, Stead 11	EIA	River Thames	Group A	523282	177479	100m river	Scabbard type - L	Stead 2006
22	Appleford	MIA	Hoard	Group B	452060	193581	100m		Brown 1971; Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980
8	Datchet, Stead 21	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	498548	176778	4.6km river	Scabbard type - M	Stead 2006
19	Frilford, Noah's Ark Inn, Sword Stead 75	MIA	Settlement	Group B	443880	196220	Excavated site		Stead 2006
5	Hammersmith, Stead 17	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	522965	178070	River landmark	Scabbard type - L	Stead 2007
6	Hammersmith, Stead 18	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	523382	176760	3.5km river	Scabbard type - L	Stead 2008
1	Hammersmith, Stead 2	MIA	River Thames	Group A	523022	177990	c. 1.5km	Scabbard type - L	Stead 2009
12	Hammersmith, Stead 42	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	523382	176760	3.5km river		Stead 2006
13	Hammersmith, Stead 43	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	523382	176760	3.5km river		Stead 2006
14	Hammersmith, Stead 44	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	523382	176760	3.5km river		Stead 2006
20	Isleworth, Stead 76	MIA	River Thames	Group B	516884	175988	1km river		Stead 2006
15	Little Wittenham, Stead 46	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	456867	193627	River landmark		Stead 2006
18	Little Wittenham, Stead 67	MIA	River Thames	Group B	456867	193627	River landmark	Scabbard type - N	Stead 2006
17	Newbridge, Stead 54	MIA	River Thames	Group B	440262	201463	River landmark	Scabbard type - L	Stead 2006
7	Richmond, Stead 20	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	517636	173518	5km river	Scabbard type - L	Stead 2006
9	Shepperton, Stead 34	MIA	River Thames	Group A	507123	166251	c.10m	Scabbard type - N	Stead 2006; Poulton 2012
10	Standlake, Stead 35	MIA	River Thames	Group A	439517	201315	1km river	Scabbard type - N	Stead 2006
11	Wallingford, Stead 37	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	460913	189514	River landmark		Stead 2006
2	Wandsworth, Stead 5	MIA	River Thames	Group A	524120	175670	2.75km river	Scabbard type - L	Stead 2006
16	Wargrave, Stead 51	MIA	River Thames	Group A/B	478111	179550	3.5km river		Stead 2006
21	Woodeaton MIA	MIA	Midden?		453600	212600			Harding 1987, fig. 12.14
23	Woolley Down, Stead 64	MIA		Group B					Stead 2006

A12.4 Tools

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
24	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Knife, tanged, single blade	448240	197720	Excavated site		Parrington 1978
28	Coxwell Road	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Knife, tanged, single blade	428070	194550	Excavated site		Weaver and Ford 2004
36	Standlake	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Knife, tanged, single blade	438800	204800	Excavated site		Bradford 1942
14	Yarnton	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Adze	447400	211200	Excavated site		Hey *et al.* 2011
34	Brooklands	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Blade, undiagnostic	506700	163100	Excavated site		Hanworth and Tomalin 1977
50	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Awl	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
53	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Awl	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
52	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Knife, unknown type	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
47	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Knife, tanged, single blade	427700	182200	Excavated site		Gosden and Lock 2013
48	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Reaping hook	427700	182200	Excavated site		Gosden and Lock 2013
33	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Blade, undiagnostic	427700	182200	Excavated site		Gosden and Lock 2013
17	Blewburton	EIA	Hillfort	Knife, single blade, unknown handle	454400	186100	Excavated site		Collins 1952-3
4	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps midden	EIA	Midden	Blade, undiagnostic	456950	192620	Excavated site		Hingley 1980
8	Chinnor	EIA	Midden	Knife, unknown type	476700	200200	Excavated site		Richardson and Young 1951
7	Chinnor	EIA	Midden	Knife, unknown type	476700	200200	Excavated site		Richardson and Young 1951
6	Chinnor	EIA	Midden	Knife, unknown type	476700	200200	Excavated site		Richardson and Young 1951
51	Gravelly Guy	EIA	Settlement	Knife, unknown type	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
49	Gravelly Guy	EIA	Settlement	Punch	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
2	Segsbury	EIA	Hillfort	Chisel	438400	184500	Excavated site		Lock *et al.* 2005

13	Stanton Harcourt, Site 2	EIA	Settlement	Knife, tanged, single blade	440800	204900	Excavated site		Hamlin 1966
3	Segsbury	EIA/MIA	Hillfort	Awl	438400	184500	Excavated site		Lock *et al.* 2005
22	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Punch	453600	212600			
19	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Knife, unknown type	453600	212600		With rivet	
20	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	File	453600	212600			
21	Woodeaton	EIA/MIA	Midden?	Tool	453600	212600			
26	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	MIA	Settlement	Reaping hook	448240	197720	Excavated site		Parrington 1978
25	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	MIA	Settlement	Knife, tanged, single blade	448240	197720	Excavated site		Parrington 1978
16	Blewburton	MIA	Hillfort	Adze	454400	186100	Excavated site		Collins 1952-3
15	Blewburton	MIA	Hillfort	Blade, undiagnostic	454400	186100	Excavated site		Collins 1947
5	Castle Hill/ Wittenham Clumps	MIA	Hillfort	Blade, double-edged	456950	192620	Excavated site		Allen *et al.* 2010
11	Deer Park Road	MIA	Settlement	Reaping hook	433800	210000	Excavated site	Possible. With two rivets	Walker 1995
12	Frilford, Noahs Ark Inn	MIA	Settlement	Ploughshare	443880	196220	Excavated site		Bradford and Goodchild 1939
32	Groundwell Farm	MIA	Settlement	Knife, tanged, single blade	415730	188900	Excavated site	Large	Gingell 1982
31	Groundwell Farm	MIA	Settlement	Chisel	415730	188900	Excavated site	Or wedge	Gingell 1982
10	Heyford Road	MIA	Settlement	Knife, single blade, unknown handle	447700	225500	Excavated site		Cook and Hayden 2000
27	Horcott Pit	MIA	Settlement	Awl	414320	198750	Excavated site	Iron	Lamdin-Whymark *et al.* 2009
18	Liddington	MIA	Hillfort	Knife, tanged, single blade	420900	179700	Excavated site		Hurst and Rahtz
9	Mingies Ditch	MIA	Settlement	Knife, single blade, unknown handle	439100	205900	Excavated site		Allen and Robinson 1993
29	Spratsgate Lane Areas B, C and D	MIA	Settlement	Tool	402420	195790	Excavated site		Vallander 2007
30	Spratsgate Lane Areas B, C and D	MIA	Settlement	Blade, undiagnostic	402420	195790	Excavated site		Vallander 2007
23	Warrens Field	MIA	Settlement	Blade, undiagnostic	419335	199730	Excavated site	Probable blade frag	Miles *et al.* 2007

1	Watkins Farm	MIA	Settlement	Knife, handled, single blade	442600	203500	Excavated site		Allen 1990
46	Eton Rowing Course Area 1	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Scythe	492300	178000	Excavated site	Palaeochannel island	Allen *et al.* forthcoming
35	Brentford, knife	IA or later	River Thames	Knife, tanged, single blade	518399	177579	1.5km river	No dating	Celoria and MacDonald 1969, 55, fig. 5
37	Hammersmith, sickle	IA or later	River Thames	Reaping hook	523382	176760	3.5km river	No dating	Lawrence 1929, 88
38	Kingston, knife	IA or later	River Thames	Knife, unknown type	517716	169019	3.75km river	No dating	Lawrence 1929,76
39	Kingston, sickle	IA or later	River Thames	Reaping hook	517716	169019	3.75km river	No dating	Lawrence 1929,76
40	North Hinksey, iron prong	IA or later	River Thames	Iron prong				No dating	Peake 1931, 75
41	Old England, knife	IA or later	River Thames	Knife, tanged, single blade				No dating. Bone handle	Vulliamy 1930, 129
42	Syon House, bill hook	IA or later	River Thames	Reaping hook				No dating	Vulliamy 1930, 129
43	Syon House, bill hook	IA or later	River Thames	Reaping hook				No dating	Vulliamy 1930, 129
44	Syon House, sickle	IA or later	River Thames	Reaping hook				No dating. Open socket	Vulliamy 1930, 129
45	Wandsworth, Knife	IA or later	River Thames	Knife, unknown type				No dating	Vulliamy 1930, 129

A12.5 Axes

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
6	Woodeaton	LBA/Trans	Midden?	Socketed, bronze unclasified	453600	212600			
1	Mortlake, axe	Trans/EIA/ MIA	River Thames	Socketed, looped, iron	520820	176092			Manning and Saunders 1972
2	Kew, axe	Trans/EIA/ MIA	River Thames	Socketed, looped, iron	518657	177713	3km river		Manning and Saunders 1972
3	Syon Reach, axe	Trans/EIA/ MIA	River Thames	Socketed, looped, iron	517629	176481	2km river		Manning and Saunders 1972
4	Mortlake, unlooped axe	Trans/EIA/ MIA	River Thames	Socketed, unlooped, iron	520820	176092			Manning and Saunders 1972
5	Buscot, axe	Trans/EIA	River Thames	Socketed, looped, iron	422529	198312	3.5km river	Radiocarbon date	Barcley *et al.* 1995, oxon

A12.6 Other

ID	Site	Phase	Context	Type	X	Y	XY Accuracy	More information	Reference
71	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Rivet, bronze	448240	197720	Excavated site	Cu alloy. Maybe stud	Parrington 1978
72	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	448240	197720	Excavated site		Parrington 1978
178	Fyfield and Tubney, toggle	Trans/EIA	Single Find	Toggle			Restricted		PAS: BERK-CF9B53
62	Yarnton	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	447400	211200	Excavated site	Maybe tack	Hey *et al.* 2011
63	Yarnton	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Pin, bronze	447400	211200	Excavated site		Hey *et al.* 2011
61	Yarnton	Trans/EIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	447400	211200	Excavated site		Hey *et al.* 2011
78	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Rivet, bronze	448240	197720	Excavated site		Parrington 1978
65	Blewburton	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Hillfort	Pin, iron	454400	186100	Excavated site	Maybe awl	Collins 1947
66	Blewburton	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Hillfort	Pin, iron	454400	186100	Excavated site	Maybe awl	Collins 1947
97	Brooklands	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	506700	163100	Excavated site		Hanworth and Tomalin 1977
56	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
34	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Needle	440300	205300	Excavated site	Cu alloy. Probably EIA	Lambrick and Allen 2004
192	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Linch Pin	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
55	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
60	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Spike, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
36	Gravelly Guy	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Settlement	Ring, bronze	440300	205300	Excavated site	Probably EIA	Lambrick and Allen 2004
67	Woodeaton	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Midden?	Tweezers	453600	212600			
68	Woodeaton	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Midden?	Tweezers	453600	212600			
69	Woodeaton	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Midden?	Tweezers	453600	212600			

70	Woodeaton	Trans/ EIA/MIA	Midden?	Tweezers	453600	212600			
90	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Fitting, bronze	427700	182200	Excavated site		Gosden and Lock 2013
91	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Stud, bronze	427700	182200	Excavated site	Perforated	Gosden and Lock 2014
92	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Bar, iron	427700	182200	Excavated site		Gosden and Lock 2015
93	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Bar, iron	427700	182200	Excavated site		Gosden and Lock 2016
94	Alfred's Castle	EIA	Hillfort	Hook, iron	427700	182200	Excavated site		Gosden and Lock 2017
11	Barn Elms, dagger	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	523382	176760	2.75km river		Jope 1961, no.13
189	Bledlow	EIA	Midden	Hook, iron	478789	200597	Excavated site	Twisted	Head and Piggott 1937
185	Chertsey Shield	EIA	River Thames	Shield	504230	167920	10m	Radiocarbon date	Stead 1991
25	Chinnor	EIA	Midden	Ring, iron	476700	200200	Excavated site		Richardson and Young 1951
24	Chinnor	EIA	Midden	Needle	476700	200200	Excavated site	Cu alloy	Richardson and Young 1951
20	Cookham, dagger	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	489486	185772	c.7km river		Jope 1961, no. 25
35	Gravelly Guy	EIA	Settlement	Ring, bronze	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
49	Gravelly Guy	EIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
50	Gravelly Guy	EIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site	Probably EIA	Lambrick and Allen 2004
195	Gravelly Guy	EIA	Settlement	Currency bar, unknown type	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
14	Hammersmith, dagger	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	523382	176760	3.5km river		Jope 1961, no. 18
18	Hammersmith, dagger 2	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	523382	176760	3.5km river		Jope 1961, no. 23
19	Hammersmith, dagger 3	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	523382	176760	3.5km river		Jope 1961, no. 24
21	Hammersmith, dagger 4	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	523382	176760	3.5km river		Jope 1961, no. 26
85	Latton Lands Northern Settlement	EIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	408310	196170	Excavated site		Powell *et al.* 2009
12	Minster Ditch, dagger	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	449104	206016	c.1km river		Jope 1961, no.14;
9	Mortlake, dagger	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, Hallstatt D	520820	176092			Jope 1961, no.1; 1982
10	Mortlake, dagger 2	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, Hallstatt D	520820	176092			Jope 1961, no.2
27	Mount Farm	EIA	Settlement	Needle	458160	196810	Excavated site	Cu alloy	Lambrick 2010

177	Oxfordshire, chape	EIA	Single Find	Dagger, LaT 1			County	Possible - recorded as Medieval pommel	PAS: BERK-773305
22	Reading, kylix	EIA	River Thames	Kylix	470225	174858	6.75km river	Pottery	Bradley and Smith 2007; Harbison and Laing 1974, 5-6
13	Richmond, dagger	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	517636	173518	5km river		Jope 1961, no. 16
4	Segsbury	EIA	Hillfort	Fitting, iron	438400	184500	Excavated site		Lock *et al.* 2005
5	Segsbury	EIA	Hillfort	Fitting, iron	438400	184500	Excavated site		Lock *et al.* 2005
95	St Ann's Hill	EIA	Hillfort	Nail, iron	502700	167600	Excavated site		Jones 2012a
15	Wandsworth, dagger	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	525300	175380	2.75km river		Jope 1961, no. 19
17	Wandsworth, dagger 2	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	525300	175380	2.75km river		Jope 1961, no. 22
182	Wandsworth, dagger 3	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	524000	175000	10m available		PAS: LON-0012B7
176	West Hanney, chape	EIA	Single Find	Dagger, LaT 1			Restricted		PAS: LVPL-FCE522
1	Weybridge, Cauldron	EIA	River Wey	Cauldron, Ribbed pail	506800	163000	100m		Gerloff 2010, 372, no. EIA8
16	Windsor, dagger	EIA	River Thames	Dagger, LaT 1	495352	177455	4km river		Jope 1961, no. 20
171	Hammersmith, openwork disc	EIA/MIA	River Thames	Openwork disc	523382	176760	3.5km river		Jope 2000, 31; Celtic Art database
172	Hammersmith, openwork disc 2	EIA/MIA	River Thames	Openwork disc	523382	176760	3.5km river		Jope 2000, 31; Celtic Art database
173	Hammersmith, openwork disc 3	EIA/MIA	River Thames	Openwork disc	523382	176760	3.5km river		Jope 2000, 31; Celtic Art database
181	Hampstead Norreys, knobbed object	EIA/MIA	Single Find	Knobbed object	451000	175000	100m available		PAS: BERK-EAF656
190	Lake End Road West Field System	EIA/MIA	Field System	Rod, iron	492500	179300	Better location available		Allen *et al.* forthcoming
110	St Ann's Heath School	EIA/MIA	Settlement	Pin, iron	500306	167770	Excavated site		Lambert 2013b
111	St Ann's Heath School	EIA/MIA	Settlement	Firedog	500306	167770	Excavated site	Frag of central section	Lambert 2013b
112	St Ann's Heath School	EIA/MIA	Settlement	Handle, iron	500306	167770	Excavated site		Lambert 2013b
80	Watchfield	EIA/MIA	Settlement	Rivet, bronze	425170	190700	Excavated site		Birbeck 2001
147	Appleford, currency bar and sword	MIA	Hoard*	Currency bar, sword shaped	452060	193581	100m	Hoard containing a sword and 'six or more' to 'about a dozen' currency bars. One survives	Brown 1971; Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980

7	Appleford	MIA	Settlement	Fitting, bronze	452300	193600			Hinchliffe and Thomas 1980
75	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	448240	197720			Muir and Roberts 1999
77	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	448240	197720			Muir and Roberts 1999
76	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	448240	197720			Muir and Roberts 1999
74	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	448240	197720			Muir and Roberts 1999
73	Ashville/Wyndyke Furlong	MIA	Settlement	Rivet, iron	448240	197720			Parrington 1978
155	Blewburton	MIA	Hillfort	Currency bar, sword shaped	454400	186100			Harding 1976
64	Blewburton	MIA	Hillfort	Pin, iron	454400	186100			Collins 1952-3
99	Brooklands	MIA	Settlement	Latch-lifter	506700	163100			Hanworth and Tomalin 1977
102	Brooklands	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	506700	163100			Hanworth and Tomalin 1977
100	Brooklands	MIA	Settlement	Ring, iron	506700	163100			Hanworth and Tomalin 1977
98	Brooklands	MIA	Settlement	Stud, bronze	506700	163100			Hanworth and Tomalin 1977
101	Brooklands	MIA	Settlement	Ferrule, iron	506700	163100			Hanworth and Tomalin 1977
117	Chiseldon, cauldrons	MIA	Hoard*	Cauldron, Group II			Accurate location available	17 complete cauldrons and numerous frags deposited with two cattle skulls. Radiocarbon date	Joy 2014
33	Deer Park Road	MIA	Settlement	Firedog precursor	433800	210000	Excavated site	Possible. Two frags that create a dog-leg.	Walker 1995
8	Farmoor enclosures	MIA	Settlement	Chain	444400	205700	Excavated site		Lambrick and Robinson 1979
37	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	MIA	Pit Spread	Cauldron or bowl	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
42	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	MIA	Pit Spread	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
43	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	MIA	Pit Spread	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
44	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	MIA	Pit Spread	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
38	Gravelly Guy Block 2 terrace edge	MIA	Pit Spread	Spearhead	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004

39	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Bucket	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
52	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
40	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
45	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
46	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
47	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site	Probably MIA	Lambrick and Allen 2004
41	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
51	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
194	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Currency bar, unknown type	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
53	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
54	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
57	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Spike, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
58	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Spike, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
59	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Spike, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site		Lambrick and Allen 2004
193	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Rod, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site	Hooked. Late MIA	Lambrick and Allen 2004
48	Gravelly Guy	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	440300	205300	Excavated site	Probably MIA	Lambrick and Allen 2004
88	Groundwell Farm	MIA	Settlement	Ring, iron	415730	188900	Excavated site		Gingell 1982
89	Groundwell Farm	MIA	Settlement	Bucket handle	415730	188900	Excavated site		Gingell 1982
87	Groundwell Farm	MIA	Settlement	Ring, iron	415730	188900	Excavated site		Gingell 1982
86	Groundwell Farm	MIA	Settlement	Pin, bronze	415730	188900	Excavated site	Possibly needle	Gingell 1982
96	Hawk's Hill	MIA	Pit Spread	Nail, iron	515500	155400	Excavated site		Hastings 1965
30	Heyford Road	MIA	Settlement	Pin or tack	447700	225500	Excavated site	Cu alloy	Cook and Hayden 2000
79	Horcott Pit	MIA	Settlement	Rod, bronze	414320	198750	Excavated site		Lamdin-Whymark *et al.* 2009
84	Latton Lands Northern Settlement	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	408310	196170	Excavated site		Powell *et al.* 2009
83	Latton Lands Northern Settlement	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	408310	196170	Excavated site		Powell *et al.* 2009

26	Mingies Ditch	MIA	Settlement	Ring, iron	439100	205900	Excavated site		Allen and Robinson 1993
29	Mount Farm	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	458160	196810	Excavated site		Lambrick 2010
28	Mount Farm	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	458160	196810	Excavated site		Lambrick 2010
23	Reading, Egyptian arrowhead	MIA	River Kennet	Egyptian arrowhead	470075	171072	10km river	Found by a fisherman. Made during the rule of Berenice II of Egypt, 247-222 BC	Harbison and Laing 1974, 16-7
6	Segsbury	MIA	Hillfort	Disc	438400	184500	Excavated site		Lock *et al*. 2005
31	Slade Farm	MIA	Settlement	HaC Razor	458000	224000	Excavated site	Transitional razor in MIA context. Worn	Ellis *et al.* 2000
32	Slade Farm	MIA	Settlement	Tweezers	458000	224000	Excavated site		Ellis *et al.* 2000
82	Spratsgate Lane Areas B, C and D	MIA	Settlement	Tang	402420	195790	Excavated site	Iron	Vallander 2007
81	Spratsgate Lane Areas B, C and D	MIA	Settlement	Disc	402420	195790	Excavated site	Iron	Vallander 2007
103	St Ann's Heath School	MIA	Settlement	Rod, bronze	500306	167770	Excavated site		Lambert 2013b
104	St Ann's Heath School	MIA	Settlement	Rivet, bronze	500306	167770	Excavated site		Lambert 2013b
105	St Ann's Heath School	MIA	Settlement	Pin, iron	500306	167770	Excavated site		Lambert 2013b
109	St Ann's Heath School	MIA	Settlement	Nail, iron	500306	167770	Excavated site		Lambert 2013b
106	St Ann's Heath School	MIA	Settlement	Strap, iron	500306	167770	Excavated site	Slotted	Lambert 2013b
107	St Ann's Heath School	MIA	Settlement	Strap, iron	500306	167770	Excavated site	Riveted	Lambert 2013b
108	St Ann's Heath School	MIA	Settlement	Hoop, iron	500306	167770	Excavated site	For a wooden vessel	Lambert 2013b
170	Wandsworth Mask Shield	MIA	River Thames	Shield boss	525300	175380	2.75km river		Stead 1985, 41; Jope 2000, 70-5
169	Wandsworth Shield Boss Roundel	MIA	River Thames	Shield boss	525300	175380	2.75km river		Stead 1985, 41; Jope 2000, 81
3	Watkins Farm	MIA	Settlement	Latch-lifter	442600	203500	Excavated site		Allen 1990
131	Addington Road, currency bars	MIA/LIA	Hoard*	Currency bar, plough shaped	472690	172510	10m	Hoard of four plough shaped bars and three partial bars	Ford and Raymond 2010; Paynter 2013
184	Beckley, stud	MIA/LIA	Single Find	Stud, bronze	456581	211078	Parish		Leeds 1939, fig. 17f

164	Bucks. Berks. Currency bar	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, plough shaped			c.45km river	Allen 1967, 333
156	Datchet, currency bar	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, plough shaped	498548	176778	4.6km river	Allen 1967, 333
157	Datchet, currency bar 2	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, plough shaped	498548	176778	4.6km river	Allen 1967, 333
167	Hammersmith, currency bar	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, plough shaped	523382	176760	3.5km river	Allen 1967, 333
180	Lechlade, mount	MIA/LIA	Single Find	Mount	420000	199000	10m available	PAS: WILT-A40537
158	Maidenhead, currency bar	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, plough shaped	490216	181753	4km river	Allen 1967, 333
159	Maidenhead, currency bar 2	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, plough shaped	490216	181753	4km river	Allen 1967, 333
160	Maidenhead, currency bar 3	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, unknown type	490216	181753	4km river	Allen 1967, 333
161	Maidenhead, currency bar 4	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, unknown type	490216	181753	4km river	Allen 1967, 333
162	Maidenhead, currency bar 5	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, unknown type	490216	181753	4km river	Allen 1967, 333
163	Maidenhead, currency bar 6	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, unknown type	490216	181753	4km river	Allen 1967, 333
165	Marlow, currency bar	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, plough shaped	485665	185985	6.5km river	Allen 1967, 333
166	Marlow, currency bar 2	MIA/LIA	River Thames	Currency bar, plough shaped	485665	185985	6.5km river	Allen 1967, 333
168	Minety, currency bars	MIA/LIA	Hoard*	Currency bar, sword shaped	402550	190750	Parish	Said to have contained around 100 currency bars. At least 1 is sword shaped	Allen 1967, 328
145	Totterdown Lane currency bars	MIA/LIA	Hoard*	Currency bar, sword shaped	414466	198944	1m	Hoard of currency bars, c.30 of MIA enclosed settlement	Pine and Preston 2004
175	Wallingford, toggle	MIA/LIA	Single Find	Toggle			Restricted		PAS: BERK-76F4E3
174	Wantage, fitting	MIA/LIA	Single Find	Spiked ring	439800	187900	100m		Jope 2000, 218i; Celtic Art Database
183	Woodeaton MIA/LIA	MIA/LIA		Stud, bronze	453600	212600			Leeds 1939, fig. 17
179	Crowmarsh, toggle	MIA/LIA/Ro	Single Find	Toggle			Restricted		PAS: BERK-FA25F5