

THE IRON AGE IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK

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INTRODUCTION

This survey can in no sense claim to be definitive. The scantiness of the material, the virtual absence of any attempts to solve by excavation the main problems of the Iron Age in this region and the consequent deplorable lack of associated finds, especially stratigraphical sequences of potsherds, would doom to failure any such aspiration at the present day. This article aims at assembling for the first time the existing material, much of it unpublished in detail, from the two counties, and at attempting tentatively to interpret it against its geographical environment in the light of studies made in recent years in other parts of Britain. At the conclusion of this survey the main deficiencies in our knowledge will be indicated and methods for their solution suggested. If this intensive short-term programme of research recommends itself to the archaeological societies of the district, many of the provisional conclusions here formulated will doubtless need modification. Even so it will require many years' persistent endeavour before East Anglia can hold its own, in this field of archaeological research, with, for instance, the omnivorous dragon of Wessex.

The following literary abbreviations are employed in the text and in the gazetteer :—

<i>Antiq.</i>	..	..	..	<i>Antiquity</i> (1927-1939).
<i>Ant. J.</i>	..	..	..	<i>The Antiquaries Journal</i> (1921-1939).
<i>Arch.</i>	..	..	..	<i>Archaeologia</i> (1770-1937).
<i>Arch. J.</i>	..	..	..	<i>The Archaeological Journal</i> (1844-1939).
B.A.H.	..	..	..	British Association Handbook : 1935 meeting. <i>A Scientific Survey of Norwich and District.</i>
B.M.	..	..	..	British Museum.
B.M.G.	..	..	..	<i>British Museum—Guide to Early Iron Age Antiquities</i> , 2nd edition 1925 (R. A. Smith).

- Brooke, A G. C. Brooke—'The Distribution of Gaulish and British Coins in Britain' (*Antiq.* vii, 1933, 268-289).
- Brooke, B G. C. Brooke—'The Philippus in the West and the Belgic Invasions' (*Num. Chron.*, 5 ser., xiii, 1933, 88-138).
- Bury M. Moyse's Hall Museum, Bury St. Edmunds.
- Cambs. Cambridgeshire.
- C.A.S.C. *Cambridge Antiquarian Society's Communications* (Proceedings) (1851-1939).
- C.M.A.E. Cambridge, Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.
- Collin. R. G. Collingwood (and J. N. L. Myres)—*Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 2nd edition 1937.
- Coll. Collection.
- Darby H. C. Darby (ed.), *An Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800* (1936).
- Evans Sir John Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864 and 1890.
- Fox, 1923 Sir Cyril Fox, 1923, *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*.
- Fox, 1933 Sir Cyril Fox, 1933, 'The Distribution of Man in East Anglia, c. 2300 B.C.-A.D. 50' in *P.P.S.E.A.* vii, 149-164.
- G.L.V. A. Bulleid and H. St. George Gray, *The Glastonbury Lake Village*, 1911, 1917.
- Henry F. Henry, *Emaillours d'Occident* in *Prehistoire* ii, 1933, 65-146.
- I.B.W. W. G. Clarke, *In Breckland Wilds*, 2nd revised edition, by R. R. Clarke, 1937.
- IP.M. Ipswich Corporation Museum.
- J.B.A.A. *Journal of the British Archaeological Association* (1846-1939).
- J.R.S. *Journal of Roman Studies* (1911-1939).
- K. and H. T. D. Kendrick and C. F. C. Hawkes, *Archaeology in England and Wales*, 1914-1931 (1932).
- Kemble J. M. Kemble, *Horae Ferales*, 1863.
- Leeds E. T. Leeds, *Celtic Ornament in the British Isles down to A.D. 700* (1933).
- N. Norfolk.
- N.A. *Norfolk Archaeology* (1847-1939).
- N.C.M. Norwich Castle Museum.
- Num. Chron. *Numismatic Chronicle* (1837-1939).
- O.S. Ordnance Survey followed by 6 inch sheet number.
- Personality Sir Cyril Fox, *The Personality of Britain*, 3rd edition, 1938.
- P.P.S. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* (1935-1939).

<i>P.P.S.E.A.</i>	..	..	<i>Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia</i> (1908-1935)
<i>P.S.A.Lond.</i>	..	..	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London</i> (1849-1920).
<i>P.S.I.A.</i>	..	..	<i>Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology</i> (1853-1939).
S.	..	..	Suffolk.
Spence	..	..	L. Spence— <i>Boadicea : Warrior Queen of the Britons</i> , 1937.
Thet. M.	..	..	Thetford Corporation Museum (Ancient House).
<i>V.C.H.</i>	..	..	<i>Victoria County History</i> .
<i>Verulamium</i>	..	..	R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler— <i>Verulamium—A Belgic and Two Roman Cities</i> , 1936.

PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS

The poverty of the East Anglian material at present available for study of the Iron Age can be correlated with the region's striking contributions to modern agricultural practice. The Norfolk four-course system, an important factor in the agrarian revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, ruthlessly levelled camps and barrows, ploughed up cemeteries and open villages and largely destroyed their contents before the days of accurate record. The evidence for study has further been diminished by the recent activities of the Forestry Commission. Over 50,000 acres of Breckland, the most prolific archaeological zone of East Anglia, have been sealed in perpetuity by sombre masses of conifers, pit-props of the future.

Monuments, probably of the Iron Age, such as the camps at South Creake (N.) and Holkham (N.) first attracted literary attention in the sixteenth century when Sir Henry Spelman, lawyer, politician and churchman noted them as 'Danish' in his '*Icenia*'¹ though this opinion was not published till after the appearance of Sir Thomas Browne's '*Urne-Buriall*' in 1669, in which the discovery of coins of the Iceni is recorded. An excellent example of the romantic habits of eighteenth-century antiquaries is furnished by two weaving combs found at Thetford (N.), of which drawings were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries by Dr.

¹ Published in *Reliquae Spelmanniae*, 1698 and 1727.

Stukeley. They were variously considered 'to have been used for combing the manes of Horses,' 'tattooing instruments used by the aboriginal inhabitants of this island' and 'Amulets hung round the Breasts of the Druid Priests in Sacrifice'; but it was wisely concluded 'the whole of this we confess must be conjecture, but it is, if only amusing, innocent, and may lead us into enquiries of greater importance.'¹ Fortunately a contemporary topographer, Armstrong, figured them (Fig. 7, 1, 2) so that their character is no longer in doubt.

The first scientific survey of any aspect of the East Anglian Iron Age was Sir John Evans' examination of its coinage in 1864,² and, with a few exceptions, his conclusions have stood the test of the subsequent years. G. Clinch, in his brief contributions on the Iron Age of Norfolk and Suffolk to the *Victoria County Histories* in 1901 and 1911 could only add to Sir John's conclusions a description of casual discoveries of loose metal objects.

The first recorded attempt by excavation to illuminate the local Iron Age seems to have been made in 1855 when H. Harrod, secretary of the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society dug on the site where the Westhall (S.) metal hoard was found. A gap follows in the excavation record while local antiquarian energies were harnessed to Stone Age problems and digging was eschewed. August, 1914, saw the only attempt to date by excavation one of the East Anglian camps but the trial diggings at Warham St. Mary (N.) of Mr. H. St. George Gray and Dr. W. M. Tapp were cut short by the war and never resumed. Their work demonstrated, however, an Iron Age occupation of the site. The subsequent record of excavation on Iron Age sites in this portion of East Anglia is largely one of the accidental and unexpected recovery of material of this age, of secondary importance to the enterprise in hand. In 1914 work at the flint mines at Grime's Graves, Weeting (N.) produced pottery of the latest phase of the Bronze Age or earliest Iron Age, and in

¹ Armstrong, *History of Norfolk* viii, 1781, Hundred of Shropham, pp. 156-7.

² Sir John Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, 1864—Supplement, 1890.

1922 and 1924-5 Mr. A. L. Armstrong examined the 'Black Hole' habitation site of this phase and a barrow near by, perhaps contemporary, the full publication of which we still await. In 1932 Mr. H. Apling partly excavated an Iron Age 'A' domestic site at West Harling (N.) and published an instructive series of the pottery discovered with a commentary by Mr. Hawkes. Field work in Norfolk was set on a more rational basis in 1934 by the formation of the Norfolk Research Committee which has been responsible among other work for the excavation of an Iron Age barrow at Stiffkey (N.) and of a hut-site at Postwick (N.), while the excavation by Dr. J. G. D. Clark of the Arminghall (N.) timber monument, under the same auspices, revealed a secondary late Iron Age occupation. There is little similar work in Suffolk to set beside the scanty excavation achievements of Norfolk, but the salvage operations of Ipswich Museum, in rescuing valuable material from destruction by commercial vandalism, merit honourable and grateful mention, while recently Lady Briscoe has excavated on a domestic site at Lakenheath (S.) and her report will appear in due course (see p. 35). One series of excavations outside the limits of the region, on the Iron Age and Roman site at Colchester will, when published, prove invaluable for a correct understanding of the final years of the Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk. From the Colchester region in the early years of the first century A.D. emanated powerful cultural influences over the ill-developed district on its northern frontier and the chronological sequence of pottery types established there should prove a criterion for estimating contemporary development in Norfolk and Suffolk, as valuable as imported pottery for the local wares of Roman Britain.

The material rescued by excavation being so meagre and the absence of any organised scheme for investigating the problems of the Iron Age in East Anglia so conspicuous, it causes no surprise that in 1930 the Report of the Research Committee of the Congress of Archaeological Societies¹ emphasised the necessity of

¹ p. 33.

investigating the distribution of Iron Age settlement and burial rites in East Anglia. But seven years previously the study of the local Iron Age was first placed on a sound basis by the publication of Sir Cyril Fox's *The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region*, which embraced a portion of N.W. Suffolk and S.W. Norfolk. His geographical and typological studies demonstrated the existence of two chronological phases which are still of general validity, though his dating for the beginning of Phase II should be lowered from 75 to 50 B.C. Sir Cyril extended the scope of this pioneer study ten years later when in his presidential address to the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia¹ he surveyed the distribution of man between the Wash and the Thames from Neolithic to early Roman times, and showed the swing of the focal centre of population from the heaths of Breckland in the Early Bronze Age to the heavier soils of Hertfordshire in the latest pre-Roman Iron Age. In the same year Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes published² his study of the Iron Age and Roman occupation of a village at Runcton Holme (N.) on the Fen-edge entitled 'A Peasant Settlement of the Iceni,' and showed its essential continuity of culture during the millennium between the Iron Age 'A' incursions and the close of the Roman era—a conclusion of fundamental importance. Since then Mr. J. E. Sainty has published a short note on the Iron Age in Norfolk,³ the present writer a summary of the Iron Age in Breckland,⁴ and Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins a note on the Iron Age of East Suffolk.⁵ A recent attempt by Mr. L. Spence⁶ to paint the archaeological background for the drama of the Boudiccan revolt has achieved only a qualified success and is marred by numerous errors of fact.

Invaluable comparative studies of the Iron Age in adjacent regions published recently, include Mr. C. W. Phillips' survey of Lincolnshire⁷ and Dr. Clark's supplement to Sir Cyril Fox's survey of Cambridgeshire.⁸

¹ *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 149–164.

² *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 231–262.

³ *B.A.H.* (1935), 69.

⁴ *I.B.W.* (1937), 77–8.

⁵ *Ant. J.* xvii (1937), 195–7.

⁶ *Boadicea: Warrior Queen of the Britons* (1937).

⁷ *Arch. J.* xci (1935), 97–110.

⁸ *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 284–301.

GEOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

In dealing with an area contiguous with that in which Sir Cyril Fox has so brilliantly demonstrated the significance of geography in relation to archaeo-

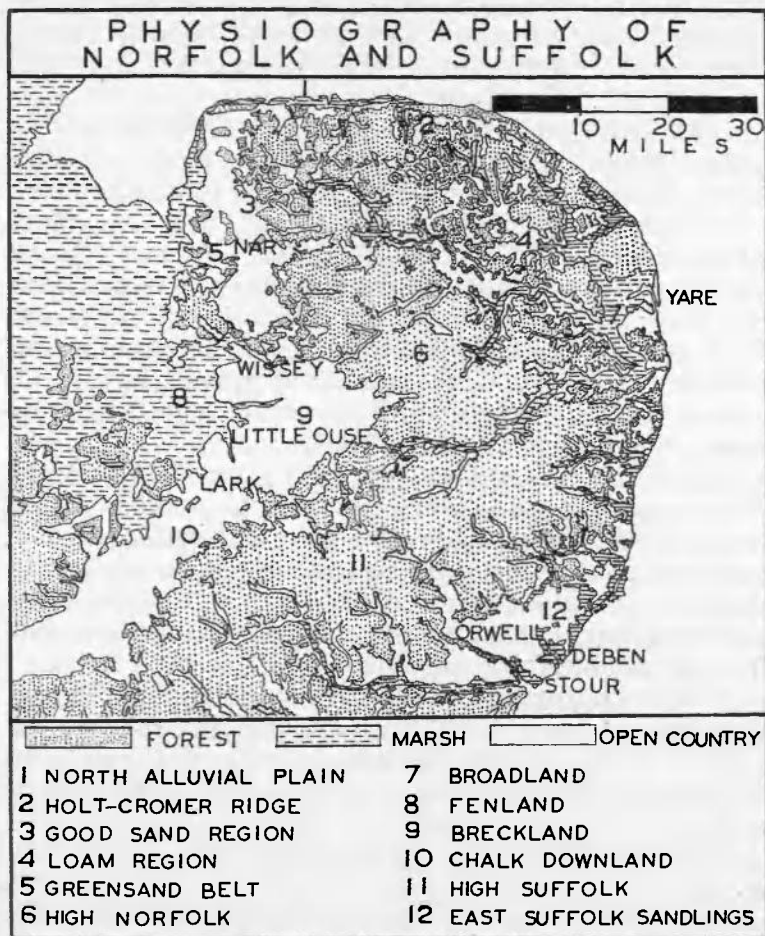


FIG. 1. MAP SHOWING PHYSIOGRAPHY OF NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK WITH CONJECTURAL NATURAL VEGETATION OF IRON AGE RESTORED ON A GEOLOGICAL BASIS.

logical distributions, it would be presumptuous to begin without a brief description of its physical features (Fig. 1).

Norfolk and Suffolk, some 70 miles from east to

west and north to south, form almost a natural region bounded on north and east by the sea, on the west mainly by the Fens and separated from Essex on the south by the Stour valley. Artificial barriers to complete the circuit are requisite only on the south-west across the narrow chalk belt and the adjacent heavy clay country between the Fenland borders and the headwaters of the Stour.

The coastline has been modified to an uncertain extent since the Iron Age.¹ On the east shore of the Wash there has been accretion ; from Hunstanton (N.) eastwards to Weybourne (N.) there has been pronounced accretion in historic times, and the Roman coastal fortress at Brancaster is unlikely to have been far from the open sea in the third-fourth centuries. East and south of Weybourne, down the Norfolk and Suffolk coasts, soft clays, sands and gravels have been eroded and conveyed south to form long projecting spits which tend to block the mouths of the rivers emptying on this shore. There is ample evidence of erosion since Roman times but little to prove save by implication that Iron Age sites have also suffered. The cairn at Stutton (S.) on the Stour was revealed by recent estuarine erosion while Iron Age coins have been exposed between Weybourne and Sheringham (N.) by encroachments on the cliffs.

The post-Roman subsidence witnessed in the Fens² and on the Essex coast³ also affected the intervening sector of the East Anglian shore, and probably stimulated the powers of erosion as well as flooding a wide expanse of low-lying marshland.

The elevations of Norfolk and Suffolk are as low as any in the lowland zone of Britain. Considerable areas are barely above tidal level and in Norfolk only a small portion of the Holt-Cromer Ridge rises above 300 feet, though much of central Norfolk is a plateau of about 200 feet, while in south-west Suffolk a larger area of the main watershed is of similar elevation, attaining 400 feet. Though there are no dramatic

¹ *Norfolk Annual* (1938), 5.

² *Geographical Journal* lxxxii (1933), 438 ; Darby (1936), 61-2, 94, 456-7, with references ; *Fenland Survey*

Exhibition (1934), 29 ; *Personality* (1938), 25.

³ Francis in *Essex Naturalist* xxiii (1932), 151.

differences of altitude the chalk outcrop in west Norfolk, forming a ridge some 200 feet high, has a pronounced scarp on its western flank.

The absence in the region of those abruptly defined physical zones, which in other parts of the country provide so facile an interpretation for archaeological distribution maps, in East Anglia only focuses attention on the geological map. It is on this basis that the region has been sub-divided but the boundaries of these sub-regions are necessarily arbitrary as the soil pattern is complex—a feature to be anticipated in a district notorious as a grave for geological reputations.

The underlying geology is comparatively simple. In the west the chalk belt curves through Cambridgeshire, north-west Suffolk and west Norfolk, with outcrops on its western side of gault, greensand and Kimmeridge Clay. The eastern portion of the two counties comprises tertiary deposits—London clay, Coralline, Norwich and Red Crag. The depressions and inequalities in these deposits contain a mantle of drift—boulder-clay—product of successive glaciations of varying intensity. The soil pattern thus produced is varied but its essential feature from the archaeological viewpoint is a central zone of impervious clay country, becoming heavier towards the south and doubtless bearing forest in the Iron Age, separating two areas of lighter pervious soil and sparser vegetation—the coastal fringe in the east and the chalk belt in the west.

On the basis of soil characteristics this dissected tableland of Norfolk and Suffolk may be divided into sub-regions and classified into two groups of areas of primary and secondary settlement, linked by the intermediate loam regions the importance of which in this context has been stressed by Wooldridge and Linton.¹

AREAS OF PRIMARY SETTLEMENT²

On the west of the central clay zone lie the CHALK DOWNLAND near Newmarket (S.); the BRECKLAND,

¹ *Antiq.* vii (1933), 297-310.

² For geographical regions see P. M. Roxby in A. Ogilvie, *Great Britain—Essays in Regional Geography* (1930), 143-166; Mosby in *B.A.H.*

(1935), 7-21, and in *The Land of Britain*, Part 70 (1938), 87-256; C. P. Chatwin in *British Regional Geology—East Anglia and Adjoining Areas* (1937), 81-4.

an area of sand and gravel heathland overlying chalk ; the GREENSAND BELT or WEST NORFOLK SCARP-FOOT ZONE east of King's Lynn (N.), a sandy tract of heaths and light woods, and the "GOOD SAND" region of north-west Norfolk where the clay admixture is greater but not sufficient to constitute it a loam region. On the north of the clay country lies the morainic gravel ridge between HOLT AND CROMER (N.). On the east, in Suffolk, the clay country is separated from the sea by another sub-region of heathland covering sands, gravels and loams overlying Tertiary crags—the EAST SUFFOLK SANDLINGS. The intermediate loamy soils predominate in North and East Norfolk, including the Fleggs, separated by an arm of Broadland, and may be called the LOAM REGION.

AREAS OF SECONDARY SETTLEMENT

The central clay plateau with its soggy, impervious soils derived from the London Clay and Boulder Clay proper, may be divided into HIGH NORFOLK and HIGH SUFFOLK, the latter being distinguished by its heavier soil. In addition to the central clay zone there are three other areas of impervious alluvial soils—the FENLAND on the west of the chalk belt, Breckland and the Greensand Belt ; the NORTH ALLUVIAL PLAIN dividing the 'Good Sand' region from the sea, and the BROADLAND thrusting its tentacles of marshland between the Loam Region, High Norfolk, High Suffolk and the East Suffolk Sandlings.

ROUTES

Communication in such a district before the occupation of the areas of secondary settlement was inevitably hampered by the presence of the central clay belt broadly separating two zones of primary settlement. The few river valleys penetrating this watershed from east and west and virtually forming corridors through it, flanked by gravel terraces providing easy travelling, are of fundamental importance. From south to north they are : (i) The Stour Valley, (ii) The Gipping-Lark corridor, (iii) The Waveney-Little Ouse corridor, (iv) The Yare-Wensum-Nar corridor.

North-west Suffolk and West Norfolk are unified by the trackways running along the chalk belt, of which that later known as the Icknield Way is the most important.

Access to the rest of Britain was provided primarily by coastal navigation, and secondly by the trackways along the chalk belt through the Cambridge region to the Thames and Wessex. The Fens on the west and the clay country on the south appear, during the first phase of the Iron Age, to have provided effective barriers to commercial intercourse, though the coastal fringe of East Suffolk was continuous with that in East Essex and brought the Ipswich area into the orbit of Colchester in the first century A.D.

Invaders arriving from the continent to colonise these two easterly projecting counties would naturally penetrate the estuaries (drowned valleys) on the east coast to the head of navigation or traverse the Wash and ascend the Fenland rivers. The most important estuaries, because adjacent to an area of primary settlement, are those of the Stour, Orwell and Deben. The Alde, Waveney, Bure and Yare are of secondary importance. The slow-flowing Fenland waterways most significant in this connection are the Nar, Wissey, Little Ouse and Lark, the waters of the last three, in the Iron Age, probably reaching the Wash through the site later occupied by Wisbech.¹

Norfolk and Suffolk have a low rainfall, very dry in Breckland but with greater precipitation towards the east. This has exercised a restraining influence on the growth of vegetation.²

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND TO THE IRON AGE INVASIONS OF NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK

The extent and intensity of the Neolithic cultures in northern East Anglia are as yet little known.³ An anomalous long barrow, flint mines and a few sherds of pottery of Neolithic 'A' and 'B' cultures can alone be assigned to them with any confidence. Their

¹ H. C. Darby, *The Cambridge Region* (1938), Fig. 7.

² *I.B.W.* (1937), 4.

³ *N.A.* xxvi (1938), 316.

duration would appear to have been short, restricted on the one hand by a Mesolithic survival and on the other curtailed by the early arrival of the Beaker folk and allied groups characterised by Rusticated and Grooved wares. This series of immigrants from the Rhineland settling chiefly in the Breckland and the Ipswich Region constitutes the basic ethnic stock of post-glacial East Anglia, but the persistence throughout a large portion of the Bronze Age of numerous Neolithic 'B' herdsman must be taken into account and is attested by the colossal surface flint industries so characteristic a feature of Breckland archaeology, e.g. in the Icklingham (S.) area. The Middle Bronze Age saw the development and consolidation of these strains with the penetration up the Icknield Way into West Norfolk of the Early Middle Bronze Age culture of Wessex as exemplified in the burial at Little Cressingham and in the presence of bell and disc barrows.¹ Greater prosperity is demonstrated by the increasing use of bronze tools and weapons, but flint persisted in popular favour owing to its accessibility in bulk. Population, probably largely peripatetic, expanded along the chalk belt towards Cambridgeshire with a corresponding diminution in the intensity of occupation in the Ipswich region.²

As in other parts of the Lowland zone the Late Bronze Age in East Anglia is ushered in by the appearance of fresh metal types and, in due course, by the adoption of new ceramic forms. But the complete break in the transmission of culture formerly postulated in Norfolk and Suffolk, as in Cambridgeshire, should more probably be regarded as a commercial transformation of the Middle Bronze Age culture in contact with exotic elements from the south and east. There is little trace of West Alpine refugees—no carps tongue swords have been found³ and winged axes and socketed axes with wing ornament are rare⁴ and perhaps due to trade, though settlement in Breckland may be substantiated. Lake dwellings have been noted in

¹ L. V. Grinsell, *The Ancient Burial Mounds of England* (1936), 185, and S. Piggott in *P.P.S.* iv (1938), 92.

² Fox, 1933, 155.

³ *Antiq.* iv (1930), 159 (map).

⁴ Fox, 1933, Figs. 9A and 9B, p. 157.

the meres of Breckland,¹ in Barton Mere, Pakenham, near Bury St. Edmunds (S.),² and probably in a silted-up valley called Lound Run near Lowestoft (S.),³ but none has been investigated scientifically and most of the evidence has been destroyed. Urn-field cemeteries with pottery allied to the Deverel-Rimbury group are found in the Ipswich area⁴ and elsewhere in Norfolk and Suffolk sporadically but their comparative rarity is probably due to the defectiveness of the archaeological record. The reactions of native and intruder are manifest at a marginal site like Mildenhall Fen (S.),⁵ one of the few settlements of this period in the area yet examined, and in funerary customs at Great Bircham (N.) where the South Barrow yielded a biconic urn with semicircular applied handles—an amalgam of native tradition and exotic influence.⁶ Other debris of occupation exhibiting general urn-field affinities has been discovered at the 'Black Hole,' Grime's Graves, Weeting (N.),⁷ which has also yielded a secondary flint industry and much bone work, at Saxmundham (S.),⁸ and at Runcton Holme (N.).⁹

The distribution of the intrusive Late Bronze Age culture is confined to the river valleys, chiefly in the chalk belt but also around the estuaries in the Ipswich and Norwich regions. Elsewhere the Middle Bronze Age population probably persisted, but increasingly influenced by trade with the intruder.¹⁰ These survivors are probably represented by plain biconic urns

¹ Mickle Mere and West Mere, West Wretham (N.) (R. Munro, *The Lake Dwellings of Europe*, 1890, 455-7, 467).

² W. B. Dawkins, *Early Man in Britain* (1880), 352; *V.C.H.S.* i, 1911, 269-70; *Ant. J.* xi, 412. An examination of Barton Mere would probably produce important material.

³ *P.S.I.A.* vi (1888), p. xvii; *East Anglian*, N.S. ii, 111; *V.C.H.S.* i, 1911, 276.

⁴ *Ant. J.* xvi (1936), Fig. 1, p. 31. *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), 451—at Hadleigh Road, Ipswich (*Man*, xix, no. 1) and Brantham (called Mannington in K. and H., 1932, 143) (J. R. Moir, *The Antiquity of Man in East Anglia*, 1927, Pl. xxiii, 1). Pots decorated all

over with finger-printing or stabs also occur at Sproughton and Rushmere (all Ip. M.). Bucket urns also appear at Troston Heath, Lakenheath and Creeting St. Mary (Pl. i, 1), Ip.M.-R. 1929, 177, all in Suffolk.

⁵ *Ant. J.* xvi (1936), 29-50.

⁶ F. C. Lukis, *A Brief Account of the Barrows near Bircham Magna, Norfolk* (Guernsey, 1843) plate.

⁷ K. and H., 1932, 148, with references; material in possession of Mr. A. L. Armstrong, F.S.A.

⁸ *Hampshire Field Club* xi (1930), 165 (St. Catharine's Hill). Material at B.M.

⁹ Unpublished. Material in possession of Mr. I. J. Thatcher.

¹⁰ cf. Cambs. (*V.C.H.* i, 1938, 283).

derived from Middle Bronze Age overhanging rim cinerary urns as at Rockland St. Andrew (N.)¹ and 'Three Farthing Hill,' Salthouse Heath (N.)² Routes utilised at this period³ crossed the clay zone from the Orwell-Deben estuaries to the Little Ouse-Lark Valleys, and perhaps also traversed it between the head-waters of the Wensum and Nar. Coastal seafaring and riverine trade are proven by the distribution of the Yorkshire type of socketed axes which entered the region by the Fen rivers or around the Norfolk and Suffolk coasts.⁴

THE EARLY IRON AGE : FIRST PHASE c. 500-50 B.C.

Sir Cyril Fox in 1923 classified the Early Iron Age remains of the Cambridge Region in two chronological phases and in 1933 used the same basis for his wider study of the Iron Age in East Anglia. This chronological division is employed in this survey of Norfolk and Suffolk in default of any more detailed scheme, though the line of demarcation between the two periods, the imposition of Belgic influence in south-east Britain beginning about 75 B.C. and reaching East Anglia perhaps a generation or so later, is not so precise as one could wish. In adopting this system of classification there is a danger both of masking the very real element of continuity in population and culture which prevailed over most of our region throughout both phases, and also of assigning to one definite phase groups of antiquities not yet dated with precision. Such a scheme, however, offers the only practicable method in the present state of knowledge of distinguishing the culture of the area at the wane of the Late Bronze Age from that which prevailed on the eve of the Roman conquest.

The first phase is inaugurated by the arrival in the region of the provincial Hallstatt culture distinguished by Mr. Hawkes⁵ as Iron Age 'A,' which was dominant throughout this and the succeeding phase. In Phase I

¹ N.C.M. Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery* ii (1912), Fig. 479.

² *Ibid.*, Fig. 480.

³ Fox, 1933, Fig. 5, p. 156.

⁴ Fox, 1933, Fig. 10, and p. 158.

⁵ *Antiq.* v (1931), 60, and K. and H. 1932, Chapter X.

it was modified in two directions: (I) By Late Bronze Age survivors in areas adjacent to those occupied by the newcomers and (II) by the arrival about 250–200 B.C. of a new ruling class in the Iron Age 'B' state of culture. The first phase shades off imperceptibly into the second about the middle of the first century B.C., when a few objects of commerce filter into the region owing to the arrival at that date of Belgic invaders of the pedestal urn complex in south-east England. The culture after the absorption of Iron Age 'B' influence may be termed 'AB' on the analogy of Dr. Wheeler's modification for Wessex of Mr. Hawkes' original scheme.²

Little can be said of the continental origins of the Iron Age 'A' culture in Norfolk and Suffolk until more comparative material is available. The ceramic evidence suggests that it was introduced about 500 B.C. by small groups of peasant farmers from the Lower Rhineland and adjacent areas, though there may have been other sources, all continuing the intrusions of the Late Bronze Age urn-field folk.³ The arrival of these newcomers, which in bulk constituted a major invasion, the principal folk migration in the area between the settlement of the Beaker peoples and the Angles in the Dark Ages, cannot be dated on East Anglian evidence alone. The general tenor of the evidence from south-east England indicates invasion in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., and 500 B.C. may be taken as an approximate limit for the beginning of the Iron Age 'A' culture with the proviso that some groups may have preceded and others succeeded that arbitrary date.

Within the limits of the Iron Age 'A' culture a broad chronological distinction may be made between its earlier and later facies, A1 and A2, on the basis of its pottery development. The finger-tip decoration of the former tends to disappear and the angular shoulder gives way to a more gentle profile. The boundary between the two phases has been provisionally fixed at

² *Ant. J.* xv (1935), 273–5; xvi (1936), 268–70.

³ cf. Map of Deverel-Rimbury

pottery in *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), 441 (Fig. 12), and map of Iron Age 'A' in *Personality* (1938), Fig. 5.

about 300 B.C. for Wessex¹ and this probably holds good for East Anglia.

SETTLEMENTS

In an area where hills are conspicuous by their low elevation or virtual absence, hill forts are naturally rare, and when the almost complete lack of excavation in these few hill forts is considered, it is not surprising that as yet there is no evidence for their occupation by the Iron Age 'A' folk. Most, if not all, of the earliest Iron Age invaders of East Anglia therefore lived in open and undefended villages of unknown plan and uncertain extent. No indications are normally visible on the surface and settlements are revealed only by casual commercial excavations.

The invaders favoured riverside sites especially near fords for their habitations, and only in rare instances did they occupy localities as much as one mile from a river, and even these sites, as at Highlodge Farm, Santon Downham (S.), may have enjoyed sources of water supply not now available. The possibility may also be borne in mind that the sites distant from the river valleys were for seasonal occupation. Even in a lowland region the Iron Age settlements of the first phase are conspicuous for their low altitudes. Those on the Fen edge lie below the 50-foot contour; several more, including West Harling (N.), Bolton's Pit, Ipswich (S.) and Brantham (S.), lie below 100 feet and only a few sites like Barrow Hill, Thetford (N.) and Santon Downham (S.) attain the dignity of 150 feet.

It will be seen from the map (Pl. viii) that the areas over 200 feet are at present quite barren of traces of settlement, even where the soil conditions might be considered propitious for such a development.

The recorded structural features of these settlements are tantalisingly vague, and the recent excavation by Lady Briscoe of a series of pits and hearths on the Fen edge at Lakenheath (S.) is all the more important as no other site has previously been thoroughly investigated.

¹ *Ant. J.* xvii (1937), 263-4.

Among Suffolk sites that at Badwell Ash reported by Mr. S. E. Winbolt¹ is unsatisfactory. In 1935 in a gravel pit was found a clay hearth in a depression 3 feet across and 2 feet deep, below five clay loom-weights of truncated pyramidal form mixed in burnt material, potsherds and animal bones. It has been interpreted as a kiln, but in default of excavation it might equally be regarded as domestic refuse in the debris of a hut. The pottery included a high angular-shouldered pot in a reddish gritted ware probably of Iron Age A1 type and sherds of dark grey-brown to dull black ware, smoother and thinner than the preceding.

At Moor's Hill, Darmsden, in Barking parish (S.), on the west bank of the Gipping² were found in 1938 sherds of Iron Age 'A' pottery (Fig. 5) in depressions 10-12 feet in diameter and depth, with black earth at the bottom. A small infilled trench was noted near by. At Brantham Hall Farm (S.) in 1924 Iron Age 'A1' pottery was found in a hollow filled with ashes, pounding stones, flint cores and flakes and briquetage. Near by similar pottery (Fig. 4, 4) was found in the silting of a circular trench probably connected with an adjacent burial of the Beaker culture.

At Highlodge Farm, Santon Downham (S.), most of the material was discovered on an old land surface (a thin black stratum) covered by recent blown sand, but in 1935 deep trenching south of the farm by trainees of the Ministry of Labour cut through at least five pits each 5 ft. 7 in. across from north to south and excavated 1 ft. 10 in. into the chalk. The pits were 3 ft. 6 in. apart and the top of their infilling was 6 inches below the surface. These hollows yielded sherds of Iron Age 'A' type to the present writer, but it was impossible to determine without excavation if these hollows were the sites of huts or storage pits.

In Norfolk Mr. A. L. Armstrong investigated in 1924-5 the 'Black Hole' deposit at Grime's Graves, Weeting. This hearth yielding evidence of the Late Bronze Age-Iron Age 'A' overlap was 18 feet in diameter and 6 feet deep, set in the saucer-shaped

¹ *Ant. J.* xv (1935), Pl. lxxiii, pp. 474-5.

² Information kindly supplied by Mr. G. Maynard.

depression at the top of one of the former Neolithic mine shafts. It contained ashes, animal bones, pot-boilers, worked flint implements, potsherds, bone tools¹ and one metal object, a ring of spiral twisted bronze wire. The finds have not yet been published in detail but Mr. Armstrong hopes to publish the pottery fully.

A few miles away is Micklemoor Hill, West Harling (N.), a gravel mound close to the River Thet, where Mr. H. Apling has partially excavated one of two penannular banks with external ditches, the remains of single dwellings comparable to the continental 'Einzelhof.' It is unfortunate that the whole of these earthworks, each some 70 feet in diameter, was not examined, as it is uncertain if both contained huts or if one was a cattle corral. Attention was focussed on the ditch, 12 feet wide, around part of the eastern enclosure and this yielded, besides the bones of ox, sheep, horse, dog, wild boar, beaver and red deer, a large assemblage of Iron Age A1 pottery (Pl. iii, 1) and two pottery spindle-whorls.²

A possible pit-dwelling was noted at Warborough Hill, Stiffkey (N.) in 1935 and yielded a sherd of Iron Age 'A' pottery (N.C.M.), but has not been investigated.³

BURIALS

Few burials can certainly be assigned to the first phase of the Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk, and as only one of these has even been partially excavated the information as to burial rites is most unsatisfactory. No inhumations can definitely be attributed to the Iron Age 'A' culture in the area though one is suspected at Barrow (S.), and those inhumations which appear to antedate the onset of Belgic influence receive consideration in the discussion on Iron Age 'B' (see p. 43). It must, however, be remembered that flat grave inhumations in acid soils are peculiarly liable to disintegration and the burial rite here as in the rest of

¹ *P.P.S.E.A.* iv (1924), 192-3 (Figs. 19, 20).

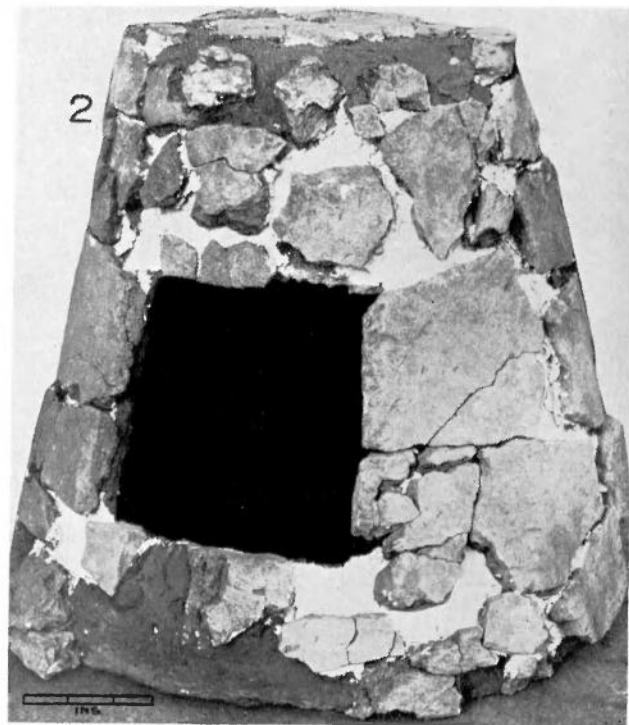
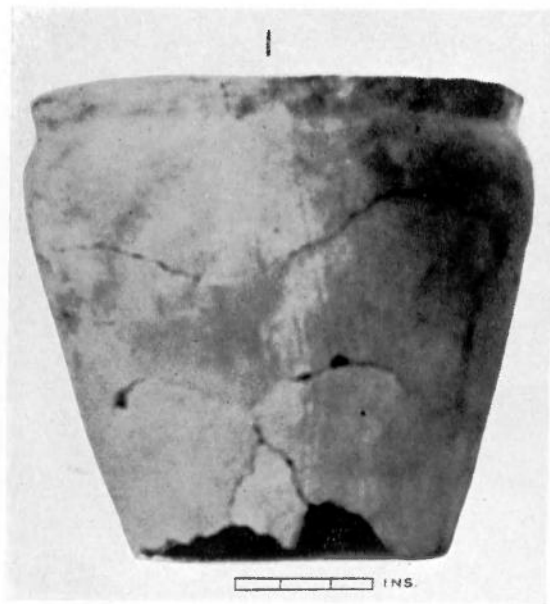
by H. Apling, with commentary on pottery by C. F. C. Hawkes.

² *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1932), 111-122,

³ Observations by Mr. J. E. Sainty and present writer.



FROM CREETING ST. MARY (S.): 1, LATE BRONZE AGE BUCKET URN (R. 1929, 177); 2, IRON AGE 'A' POT ASSOCIATED WITH CREMATION (R. 1929, 198) (IPSWICH MUSEUM). (See pp. 13, 19.)



IRON AGE 'A' POTTERY ASSOCIATED WITH CREMATIONS: 1, LAKENHEATH (S.) (PRIVATE POSSESSION);
2, STUTTON (S.), RECONSTRUCTED HUT-URN (IPSWICH MUSEUM). (See pp. 19, 21.)

the Iron Age 'A' zone was probably mixed, though cremation seems dominant.

Two examples of flat grave cremations are known from Creeting St. Mary (S.) and Lakenheath (S.), and both are probably to be attributed to Iron Age 'A2.' At Creeting (in Woolard's Pit) the burnt bones were found with a hand-made pot (Pl. i, 2) in thin red ware, the neck and shoulder being demarcated by cordons.¹ At Lakenheath on Caudle Farm in March, 1914, was found at a depth of 18 inches, a double cremation with one pot inside another (according to the original label) containing burnt human bones. The better preserved pot of reddish-brown ware with striated surface (Pl. ii, 1),² an Iron Age 'A2' type, is of such dimensions that it appears doubtful if the other pot could ever have contained it, and the label may mean that the pots were placed mouth to mouth and that the larger pot³ had collapsed under the pressure. It must, however, be emphasised that an Iron Age 'A2' type such as this may have persisted till almost the end of the Iron Age, as similar ware has been found at Salome Lodge, Huntingdonshire, associated with Iron Age 'C' vessels.⁴

Definite evidence of barrow cremation by the initial Iron Age 'A' invaders was obtained by the present writer in 1934 in the partial excavation of a barrow at Warborough Hill, Stiffkey (N.),⁵ on a glacial hummock overlooking the coastal marshes of the North Alluvial Plain. The mound, some 40-50 feet in diameter, and perhaps once 4 feet high, encircled by a ditch 12-14 feet wide, covered a primary deposit of Iron Age 'A1' potsherds, charcoal and cremated animal bones but no human remains, associated with a contemporary unpatinated flint industry. This multiple cremation (as several pots were represented) was followed by other burials,⁶ the rite being uncertain owing to the destruction of the mound wrought by rabbits.

¹ Ip.M. R. 1929, 198.

² Now at Elveden Hall—published by kind permission of Lord Iveagh.

³ The larger and less perfect pot is of similar type and fabric with a smeary surface.

⁴ *Ant. J.* xviii (1938), Pl. lx, 3.

⁵ *N.A.* xxv (1935), 408-28. Finds in N.C.M.

⁶ *Ibid.* e.g. Fig. 3, 10.

Early interments of the Iron Age 'A' invaders are probably indicated by the two hollow-bladed iron spearheads,¹ close copies of Late Bronze Age types—found in a tumulus at Barrow Bottom (S.) in 1813. There is no record of the associated burials but inhumation seems probable.

Small mounds at Salthouse (N.) and Weeting (N.) are probably to be interpreted as survivals of Late Bronze Age culture into the first phase of the Iron Age, though they need not be so late. In 1936 Mr. A. Q. Watson² discovered a large group of small mounds about 10 feet in diameter on Salthouse Heath overlooking the sea and forming part of a well-known barrow group of Middle and Late Bronze Age date. Several of these mounds have been examined and their centres contain coarse degenerate bucket urns with cremated bones,³ the last gasp of the Dutch Middle Bronze Age barrow tradition fused with the urn-field idea and transported to East Anglia to continue in isolation. These mounds are perhaps contemporary with the Iron Age 'A' occupation of other parts of the county, and find a ready parallel in the barrow clusters of north-east Yorkshire though there the small mounds generally cover inhumations.⁴

At Botany Bay, Weeting (N.), Mr. A. L. Armstrong excavated a small mound of sand about 14 feet in diameter and 1 ft. 6 in. in height, containing masses of charcoal, flint flakes and a few implements but no bones, and only a few nondescript potsherds, probably of the Late Bronze Age—Early Iron Age overlap.⁵ It may well be related to the 'Black Hole' and contemporary settlements at Grime's Graves from which it is distant about one mile.

The most remarkable burial of this phase in the district providing convincing evidence of the direct derivation of the culture from overseas is furnished by a discovery in 1933 at Stutton (S.) on the north

¹ Now in Bury M.

² Information kindly supplied by Mr. Watson. A report on these barrows is in preparation for the Norfolk Research Committee.

³ In N.C.M.—which also contains pottery from the site found by

Mr. and Mrs. S. Piggott (1937), see *East Anglian Magazine*, iv (1939), 127.

⁴ F. Elgee, *Early Man in North-East Yorkshire* (1930), Fig. 44.

⁵ *N.A.* xxv, 425-6, and information from Mr. Armstrong.

bank of the River Stour estuary. Here in a low cliff tidal erosion exposed and partly washed away a collapsed cairn of cement stones (limestone septaria from the London clay) standing in a depression below the modern surface (Fig. 2).¹ Amongst its remains were about seventy fragments of a large urn (Pl. ii, 2 ; Fig. 3, 2) of hard-baked, coarse, light-red clay, fairly

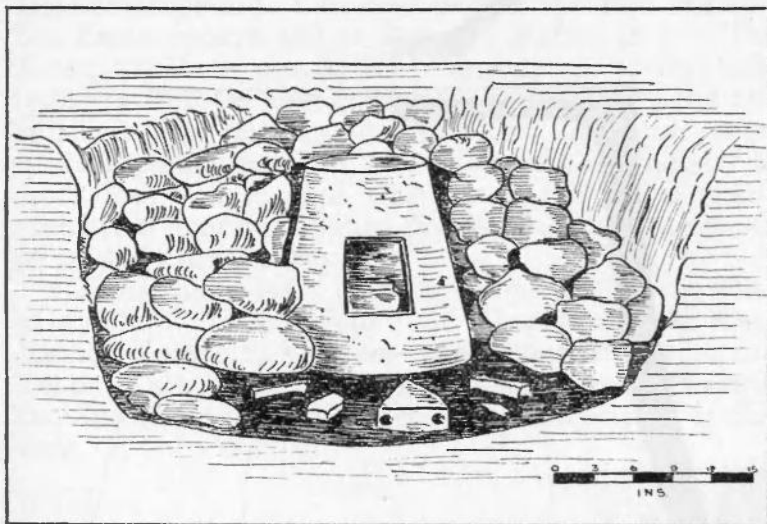


FIG. 2. SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF CAIRN WITH HUT-URN ASSOCIATED WITH CREMATION ON BANK OF RIVER STOUR AT STUTTON (S.) (IPSWICH MUSEUM).

free from grit and well fired, which evidently had a square aperture in the side. Its dimensions as reconstructed (15 inches high) are conjectural only. Apparently beneath it stood a small bowl (Fig. 3, 1) of dark brown ware of soapy texture. A triangular clay loom-weight, hand bricks of burnt clay and septaria nodules, charcoal, a goat's skull, burnt flints and iron fragments occurred at the base of the cairn, and are thought to have been placed around the urn. No human bones were recorded but the charcoal suggests cremation as the rite.

The large urn, the first of its type recorded in Britain, invites comparison with the hut-urns of the

¹ From observations by Mr. J. V. Todd.

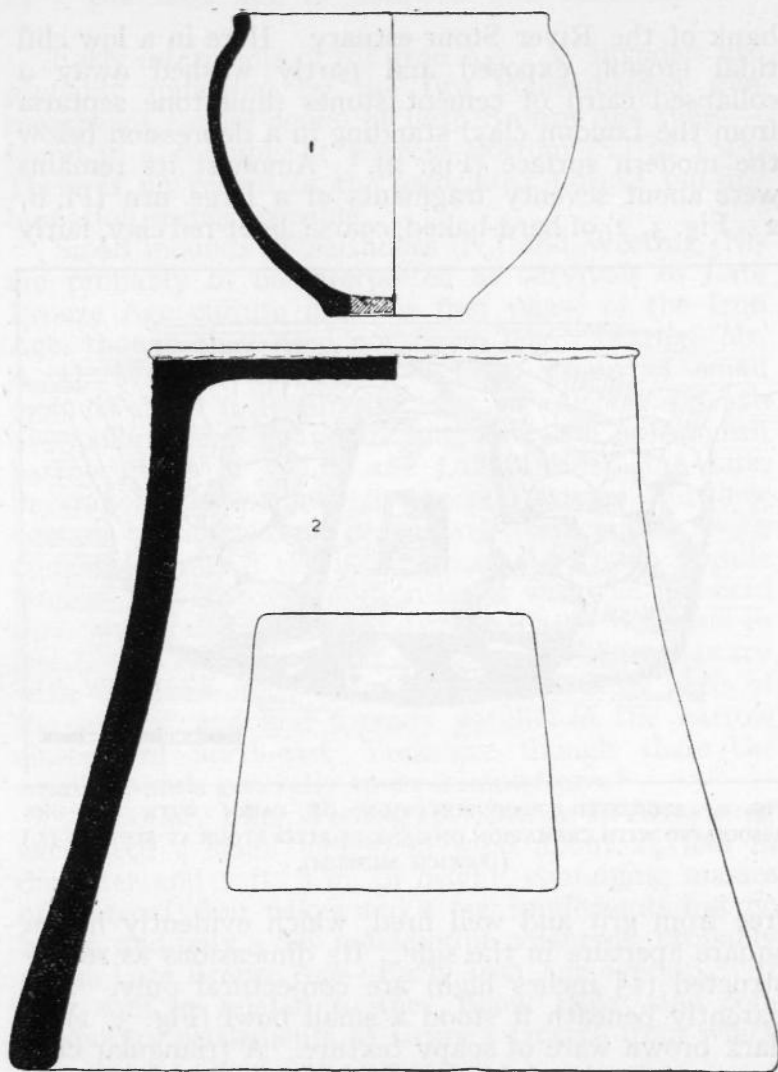


FIG. 3. HUT-URN AND BOWL FROM CAIRN AT STUTTON (S.) (IPSWICH MUSEUM). Scale one-quarter. (See pp. 21.)

continent where variants of the type occur in Italy, Germany, Holland, Denmark and Sweden.¹ No close parallel can be quoted in view of the disintegrated

¹ Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* (1924-9), v, 221 (G. Karo); Broholm in *Memoires de la Societe des*

Antiquaries du Nord, 1932-3; Hoernes-Behn, *Kultur der Urzeit*, ii (1922), Abb. 41.

condition of the Stutton hut-urn, but a pot of similar form though smaller and with an incised door occurs at Klein-Gottschow, Brandenburg, and is attributed to Montelius' Bronze Age period V.¹ This implies a Germanic element among the immigrants.

The hand bricks find ready parallels elsewhere on the East Coast — on the salt-boiling sites near Ingoldmells Point, Lincolnshire,² in the Red Hills of the Essex coast,³ and at Runcton Holme (N.).⁴ The Essex evidence proves the continuance of this salt industry into the first century A.D. and later, and the small pot of degenerate Iron Age 'A' type from Stutton points to a date late in Phase I for the arrival from the continent of this salt-manufacturer. His cremation may be assigned provisionally to the second or possibly first century B.C.

Claims have been made previously that a finial of a house urn was found at Thornton Dale, East Riding, Yorkshire,⁵ but an examination of this horned knob of clay now in York Castle Museum has not convinced the present writer of the correctness of this view.

POTTERY

Owing to the lack of excavation the volume of pottery assignable to the first phase of the Iron Age is scanty. Excavation has yielded series of potsherds from West Harling (N.), Weeting (N.), and Stiffkey (N.), while pottery salvaged from commercial operations is available from Runcton Holme (N.), Barrow Hill, Thetford (N.), and Barking (S.). From a dozen other sites the remains of only a few vessels are preserved and their representative character is uncertain. Most of the principal series have been adequately published, and here only the recently discovered group of sherds from Barking (S.) and a few outstanding pots from other sites will be illustrated.

¹ Priegnitz Museum — F. Behn, *Hausurnen*, Berlin, 1924, 37—Taf. 16B. Map Taf 19A—22 cms. high.

² *Ant. J.* xii (1932), 239—253; *Arch. J.* xci (1935), 97—8, Pl. xvii.

³ *P.S.A.Lond.* 28. xxii (1908), 164;

xxiii (1910), 66 ff., xxx (1918), 36 ff.; *Essex Naturalist* xxvi (1939), 136—160.

⁴ *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 259—60.

⁵ Hull, in *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* xxx (1930), 157, and Elgee, *Archaeology of Yorkshire* (1933), 113.

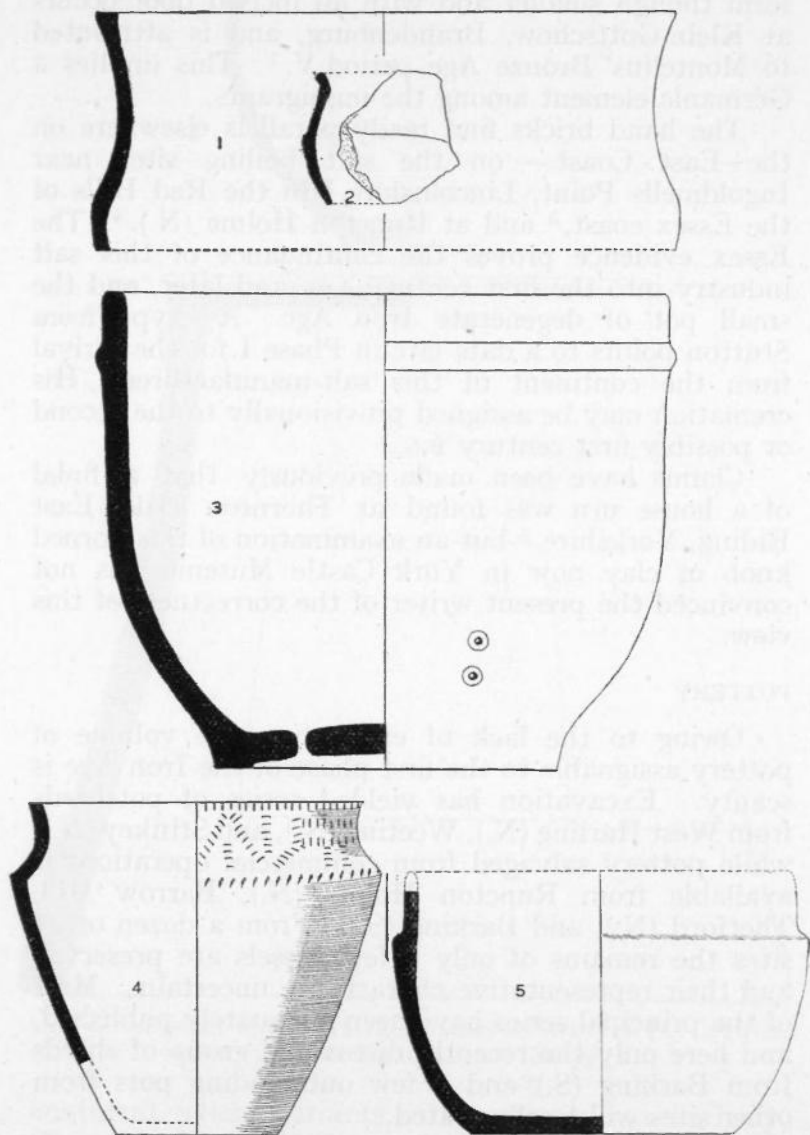


FIG. 4. IRON AGE "A" POTTERY FROM 1. RUNCTON HOLME (N.),
2. STOKE FERRY (N.), RIVER WISSEY ; 3, 5, RUSHMERE ST. ANDREWS (S.) ;
4, BRANTHAM (S.) (1, 2, PRIVATE POSSESSION ; 3-5, IPSWICH MUSEUM).
Scale one-quarter. (See pp. 17, 26, 28.)

In this area it is difficult to classify the coarse wares of Iron Age 'A' into its early and late phases, and to distinguish from the latter pottery made under the influence of Iron Age 'B' from the end of the third century onwards. Similarly, it is difficult to separate the coarse wares of the Late Bronze Age and the earliest Iron Age and the transition in East Anglia is to a large extent imperceptible on this basis. Certain features may, however, be recognised as generally confined to one or the other phase but the lack of stratigraphy and associated finds renders any typological remarks liable to extensive revision.

At least three groups of ceramics may be distinguished in the 'A1' phase, perhaps from 500-300 B.C. (i) Late Bronze Age pottery of Deverel-Rimbury character with or without Middle Bronze Age influence degenerating in isolation, as at Salhouse Heath (N.) (p. 20). (ii) Late Bronze Age pottery of Deverel-Rimbury character (bucket urns, etc.) influenced by contemporary Hallstatt types derived from the continent and made in the locality (e.g. Grime's Graves, Weeting (N.).¹ (iii) Pottery made by Iron Age 'A' immigrants in contact with Late Bronze Age survivors and occasionally borrowing from them some devices, as at West Harling (N.)² where some pots have applied bands with finger-tip ornament, vertical lines of finger-tip impressions or all-over finger-impressed decoration. From West Harling a series of over fifty vessels has been published and may be regarded as typical of the intrusive Iron Age 'A' folk around the margins of the Fenland.

The larger vessels of this hand-made ware of well-baked clay containing small flint grit were wide-mouthed jars for cooking or food-storage.³ 'The commonest form of decoration consists of a horizontal row of impressions of the tip of the finger, showing, in most cases, the finger nail. There is usually one row on the shoulder with often another row either on the outer edge of, or just below, the lip. . . . ' 'A few of

¹ The necked shoulders at this site suggest Iron Age 'A' influence, St. Catharine's Hill Report (*Hampshire Field Club* xi (1930), 146).

² *P.P.S.E.A.* vii, 115, 119.

³ *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1932), 113.

the larger jars have a raised band between the lip and the shoulder.' There are groups with angular undecorated shoulders, inward sloping rims, bowls with angular shoulders (the best preserved specimen is illustrated in Pl. iii, 1)¹ undecorated save for incised chevrons and one jar with S-profile. In colour the wares range from grey to brown, buff and red. Lug-handles are also found at this site as well as at Barrow Hill, Thetford (N.), and as they occur in Cambridgeshire (Abington Pigotts and the 'War Ditches,' Cherry-hinton),² this feature may have reached Norfolk and Suffolk by the Icknield Way.

The 'A1' pottery from Stiffkey (N.)³ and Barrow Hill, Thetford (N.)⁴ adds little to the West Harling series. At Stiffkey occurred sherds of 'corky' ware while Barrow Hill has produced a series of pots in black and red fabric, with high angular shoulders decorated by finger-tip impressions on the rims and finger-nail marks on the shoulders, and occasionally by incised parallel lines or an irregular trellis pattern. This practice of incising decoration after baking seems largely confined to East Anglia.⁵ Other pottery of the 'A1' phase has been published from Lakenheath (S.).⁶

The sherds recently found (1938) in the silted-up depressions on Moor's Hill, Darmsden, Barking (S.), illustrate the later forms of local Iron Age 'A1' pottery in a light reddish ware with finger-nail decoration on the shoulder (Fig. 5, 1, 5) and everted necks. The arrival of 'A2' is witnessed by the more rounded shoulder and by the acquisition of a dark brown soapy surface undecorated save for carelessly incised horizontal grooves (Fig. 5, e.g. nos. 12, 14, 16, 20),⁷ datable at earliest to the third century B.C. From Rushmere St. Andrew, east of Ipswich (S.), come two pots in dull polished red ware, one with holes perforated in the base and sides (Fig. 4, 3, 5).⁸ Cable

¹ Type 35 in report.

² *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), Fig. 23, 4.

³ *N.A.* xxiv (1935), 415 *seq.*, Figs. 2 and 3.

⁴ Unpublished—Thet.M.

⁵ *Ant. J.* xiv (1934), 387.

⁶ *Arch. J.* xxvii, Pl. xi, p. 164—

Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery* ii (1912), Fig. 476; Fox (1923), Pl. xvi, 3.

⁷ Cf. Runceton Holme (N.), *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 232, Fig. 2.

⁸ Cf. West Harling (N.), *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1932), 121, and Figs. 2, 16, 22, 25.

pattern on the rim occurs on a sherd at Brantham (S.).

A gentler profile, more rounded rim and the adoption of a smooth surface, often soapy in texture, and the general absence of decoration save for horizontal or vertical lines incised in an artless manner, are the main characteristics of the Iron Age 'A2' pottery of

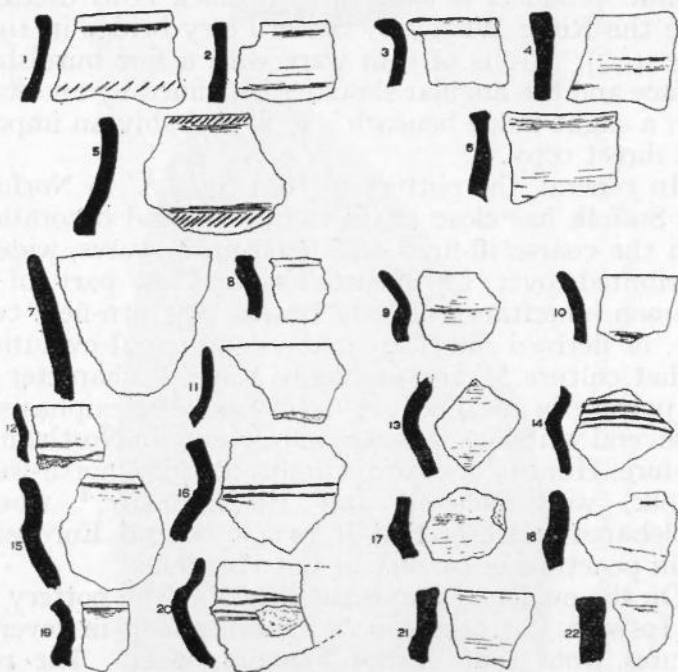


FIG. 5. POTTERY FROM MOOR'S HILL, DARMSDEN, BARKING (S.).
(IPSWICH MUSEUM.) One-quarter scale.

East Anglia. Ware of this type has been illustrated from Runcton Holme (N.)¹ and can be recognised at South Runcton (N.), Tottenhill (N.) (Fig. 9, 3), and Setchey (N.) near by; at Barrow Hill, Thetford (N.). Highlodge Farm, Santon Downham (S.) and Cavenham (S.) in Breckland, and at Ipswich (S.) in the south-east of the region. Here are figured a pot from Cavenham

¹ *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), Fig. 2.

(Pl. iv. 2)¹ with internal hollow mouldings at the shoulder (6 inches high) and another from Bolton's Pit, Dales Road, Ipswich (Pl iii, 2),² of thin burnished grey-black ware ($6\frac{7}{8}$ inches high).

The finer wares of Iron Age 'A' in southern England with haematite surface and geometric incisions with white inlay are wholly absent from our region. The only vessel reminiscent of the finer continental products is a sherd of a black bowl dredged from the River Wissey by Stoke Ferry bridge in 1939 (Fig. 4, 2).³ It is of thin ware with a fine burnished surface and the angular shoulder is defined by an offset with a slight bulge beneath. It is probably an import or a direct copy.

In general, the pottery of Iron Age 'A' in Norfolk and Suffolk has close affinities in form and decoration with the coarse ill-fired and hand-made wares, widely distributed over south-east England as part of a common inheritance of Late Bronze Age urn-field culture, or derived direct from the continental evolution of that culture.⁴ The markedly Rhenish character of the pottery in the Fenland basin has been emphasised by several writers.⁵ Similar ware occurs in Northamptonshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, north-west Suffolk, west Norfolk and Hertfordshire,⁶ where Applebaum suggests that it met a central European strain penetrating by way of the Thames.⁷

On the evidence at present available the pottery of the Ipswich (S.) area can be distinguished in several features from that of the Fenland basin. The red ware at Rushmere St. Andrew (S.) and Creting St. Mary (S.), the arrangement of the decoration on the Brantham (S.) pot have no parallels in north-west Suffolk or west Norfolk, while the finger-printed ware, lug handles and horizontal and vertical lines of the later phase commonly found in the valleys of the Fenland rivers are rare or quite unknown in the

¹ B.M.

² Ip.M.

³ In possession of Mr. I. J. Thatcher.

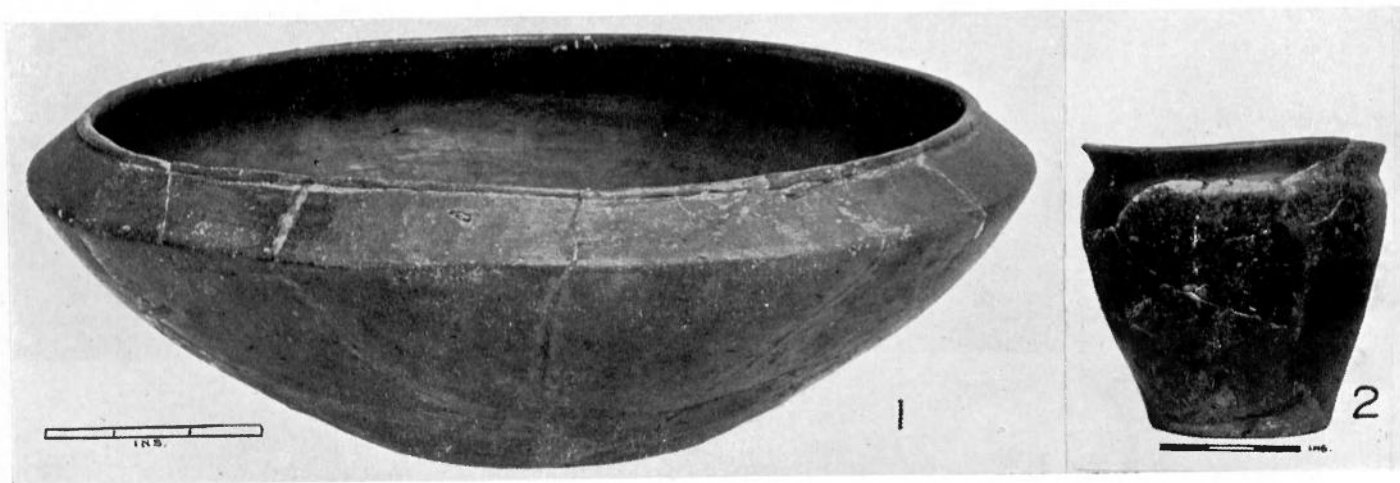
⁴ *Hampshire Field Club* xi (St. Catharine's Hill Report), 1930.

⁵ Hawkes, in *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1932),

111; Clark, in *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 200-1.

⁶ Great Wymondley (*P.P.S.E.A.* vi (1931), 371-4), and Wilbury (*J.B.A.A.* N.S. xxxviii (1932-3), 270-7).

⁷ *Ant. J.* xiv (1934), 388.



IRON AGE 'A' POTTERY FROM: 1, WEST HARLING (N.) (NORWICH MUSEUM), AND 2, DALES ROAD BRICKFIELD, IPSWICH (IPSWICH MUSEUM.) (See pp. 26, 28.)



POTTERY FROM : 1, BARROW AT RISBY (S.) ; 2, CAVENHAM (S.)
(BRITISH MUSEUM). (See pp. 44, 28.)

Ipswich district. A similar absence of these features may be noted at many of the Essex sites,¹ though negative evidence is unreliable in the absence of extensive excavations. It may be objected that the dissimilarities noted are of chronological rather than geographical significance, that the settlements in the Ipswich area are later than those around the Fens. Against this it may be urged that typologically some of the south-east Suffolk finds are as early as those on the Fen edge, that the sites from which they come present an unbroken sequence of occupation from the Early Bronze Age (though this needs verification by excavation), and that the divergencies are equally marked in the 'A2' phase when on all counts both areas were occupied. This apparent dual origin of the pottery of south-east Suffolk and of the Breckland-Fenland border raises questions of fundamental importance for a correct understanding of the settlement of the region and can only be solved when further material — more soundly attested — is available for study.

METAL OBJECTS

Metal objects attributable to the first phase of the Iron Age in East Anglia are rare and the evidential value of the few objects of iron and bronze with local provenances is not enhanced by the conditions of their discovery, for none has been recovered during excavation² and many emanate from dealers in antiques whose information as to their find-spots may have been tempered by the interests of their clients. But despite ambiguities these antiquities form a group of surpassing interest presenting problems which merit discussion.

Of iron are two spearheads³ with hollow blades found in a barrow at Barrow Bottom, Barrow (S.), and perhaps associated with inhumations. They have been regarded as Anglo-Saxon but probably belonged to

¹ *Hampshire Field Club* xi (St. Catharine's Hill report-list); *Ant. J.* xiii, 59; xiv, 186 (Danbury); *Essex Naturalist* xxii (1927), 117-138 (Loughton).

² Except a spiral twisted ring of bronze wire at Grime's Graves, Weeting (N.), but this may be Late Bronze Age.

³ Bury M.

Iron Age 'A' invaders as they imitate the form of Late Bronze Age types.¹ There is no evidence for the exploitation of local haematite beds in the Iron Age. Numerous pits can be seen on the Holt-Cromer ridge at Beeston Regis (N.) and Weybourne (N.) (marked as 'Hills and Holes' on the O.S.), sunk probably to work the surface iron concretions. Pottery and flint tools have been found and lost but their value is questionable, and a medieval origin seems more probable than an Iron Age date.²

Swan's neck pins have not yet been found in the two counties and only one ring-headed pin—a plain example from Bury St. Edmunds (S.)—has been recorded, the most easterly site in Britain at which this type has yet been found. It may perhaps be assigned to the fourth century B.C.³ The pin with double spiral head from Lakenheath (S.), formerly regarded as a Late Hallstatt type⁴ is now classified as Anglo-Saxon.⁵ From north-west Suffolk is reputed to come a remarkable group of bronze brooches of types common in the late Hallstatt cultures on the continent, and other examples come from the eastern seaboard and an unknown locality in Norfolk. The largest group of six is said to have been found in and near to Ixworth (S.) (Pl. v), and the same collection includes portion of a leaf-shaped brooch with swivel pin and part of the embossed rim of a bronze bowl (Pl. vi). These have been illustrated and described by Ridgeway and Smith⁶ and discussed by Fox,⁷ who inclined to regard them as contemporary importations resulting from trade or immigration, rather than modern introductions from the continent to the collection of J. Warren, from whom Cambridge Museum acquired them. The discovery of brooches of similar types at Lakenheath (S.), Icklingham (S.) (4), north-west Suffolk, Burgh Castle (S.), Felixstowe (S.) and Norfolk, demon-

¹ K. and H. (1932), 172.

² *N.A.* iii (1852), 232-40; *Arch. J.* xl (1883), 281, 286; *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), 263, 265; O. Davies, *Roman Mines in Europe* (1932), 162-3.

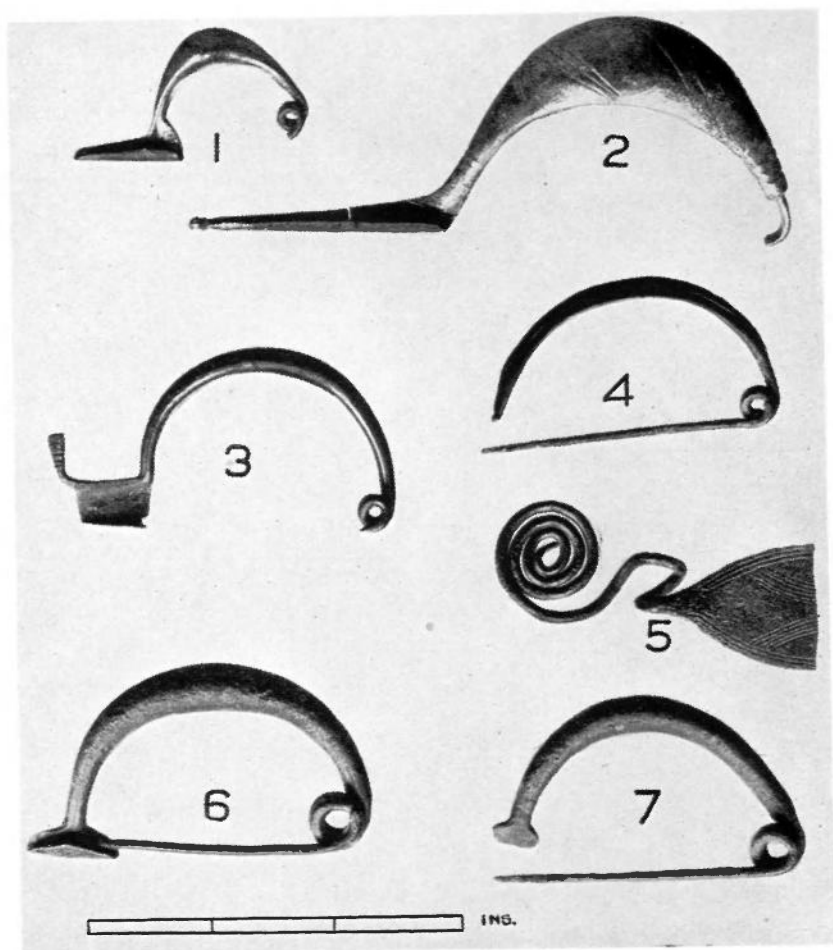
³ Dunning, in *Arch. J.* (1934), 269-295, Fig. 6.

⁴ Fox (1923), 76, in C.M.A.E.

⁵ *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), 249; *Transactions of Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* lviii (1936), 168.

⁶ *P.S.A.Lond.* 2s. cxi (1906), 97.

⁷ (1923), 74-5.



BRONZE BROOCHES OF HALLSTATT TYPES FROM IXWORTH (S.) AND
DISTRICT (CAMBRIDGE MUSEUM). (See p. 31.)



EMBOSSED RIM OF BRONZE BOWL FROM IXWORTH (S.) OR DISTRICT
(CAMBRIDGE MUSEUM). See p. 31.)

strates their wide diffusion in East Anglia,¹ and tends to reinforce Fox's conclusion. But it must be emphasised that not a single specimen has a reliable association, that most of them come from sites occupied extensively in the Roman age and may even be imports of that period.² If their authenticity is admitted, and it is difficult to disprove them all, they rank as valuable evidence for the arrival of Iron Age 'A' culture and for its continental commercial contacts in the fifth century B.C. Though some of these brooches could on continental chronology be earlier they are unlikely to have been imported at the peak of the Late Bronze Age, as none has been found in any of the numerous hoards of the period.

In detail, modified boat-shaped brooches are represented at Burgh Castle, Ixworth (Pl. v, 1, 2), Lakenheath (all S.) and Norfolk (locality unknown). Leech-shaped forms are known from north-west Suffolk (Fig. 6, 2), Icklingham (2) (Fig. 6, 1), and Ixworth (S.) (Pl. v, 6, 7), a broken backed type from Felixstowe (S.) (Fig. 6, 3), and bow types and a spiral wire brooch from Ixworth (S.) or district (Pl. v, 4). A La Certosa type from Ixworth (Pl. v, 3) is paralleled at Trumpington (Cambs.).³ These types are all at home in the Alpine region or North Italy. The embossed bowl rim with repeating horse pattern also finds its analogy at the type site of Hallstatt.⁴ In addition the two-member, leaf-shaped brooch said to come from Ixworth (Pl. v, 5) has Scandinavian Late Bronze Age affinities.⁵ This Germanic element thus confirms the evidence of the Stutton (S.) hut-urn.

East Anglia lies at the north-east extremity of the distribution of La Tène I brooches,⁶ but a few may be added to those listed by Fox. None is known from

¹ For general distribution see *Personality* (1938), Fig. 5.

² Hawkes, in *Hampshire Field Club* xi (St. Catharine's Hill) (1930), 135; K. and H. (1932), 168-9; *B.M.G.* (1925), 93.

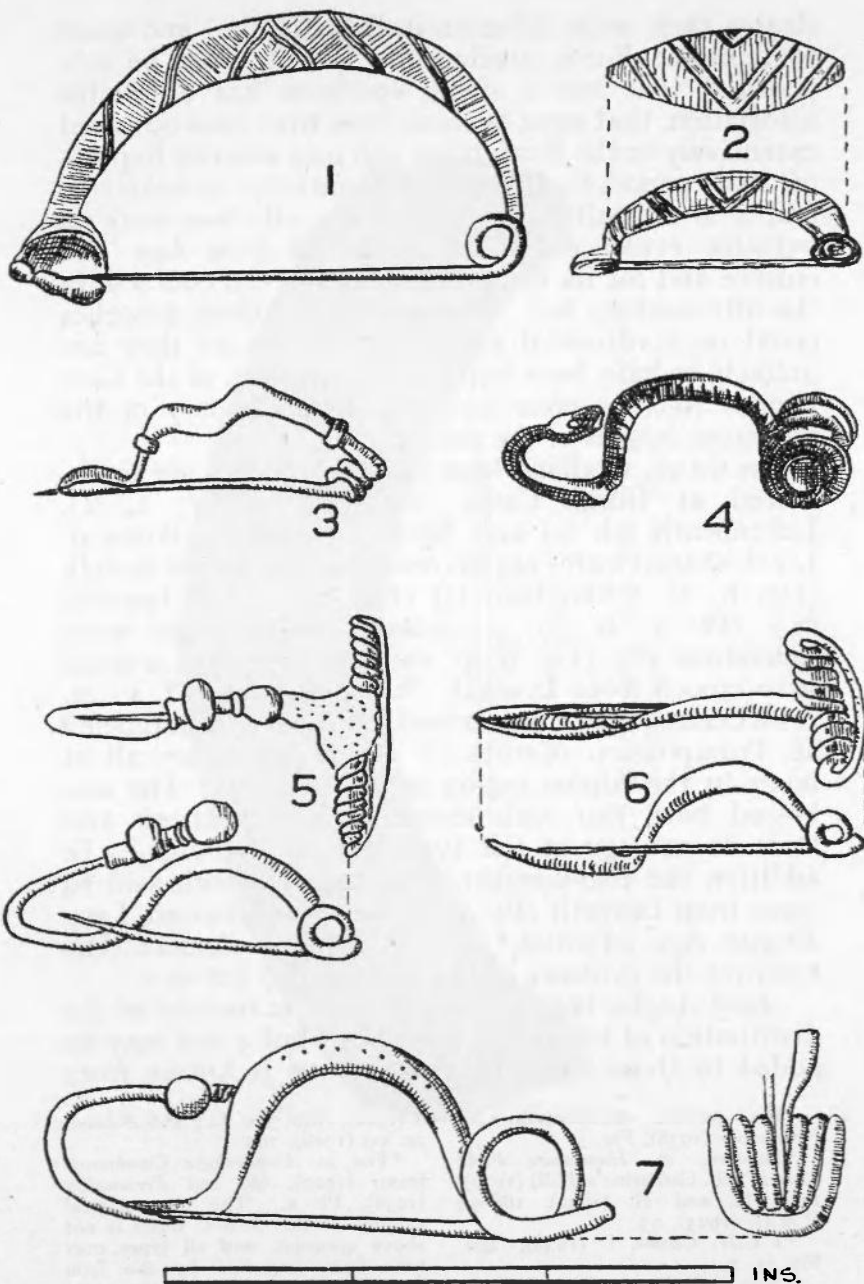
³ *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 292, Fig. 25, 2.

⁴ Von Sacken, *Grabfeld von Hallstatt* (1868), Pl. xi.

⁵ Hoernes-Behn, *Kultur der Urzeit*

ii (1922), Abb. 39c. 12; *P.S.A.Lond.* 2s. xxi (1906), 109.

⁶ Fox, in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* lxxxii (1927), 68, and *Personality* (1938), Pl. x. The chronological validity of the A-B-C series is not above question, and all types may have been imported by the Iron Age 'B' invaders, a notion consonant with their distribution. (*Arch. J.* xx (1940) 120-1).



(See foot of opposite page).

Norfolk but at least five have been found in north-west Suffolk—one of Fox's type A from Icklingham, perhaps a direct import from overseas (Fig. 6, 7), another of type B probably from north-west Suffolk (in B.M.) (Fig. 6, 4) and three probably of type C from Lakenheath (S.) (2) (Fig. 6, 5, 6), and Mildenhall (S.). All save the first may well have reached East Anglia by the Icknield Way from the Middle Thames area, as Fox has suggested the Thames as an important route for the entry of La Tène I brooches from northern France. The type C brooches, though evolved as early as the third century B.C., may well have continued in use till the close of Phase I in East Anglia.

A typologically early La Tène II brooch from Sudbury (S.) should perhaps be included here as the type is usually dated c. 250–100 B.C.¹ (Fig. 10, 2), but its associations are unknown and its geographical isolation is marked. If the type survived into the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D., its presence in the Stour valley would find a ready explanation in the Belgic occupation at that time of what was previously an unoccupied area.

COINS

Before ending the account of objects traded into the area mention should be made of five coins which may indicate distant trading contacts in the third-second centuries B.C., alleged to have been found near the Burnhams (N.). Two copper coins of Ptolemy III of Egypt (247–222 B.C.) and one of Ptolemy V (204–181 B.C.), were found at an unknown site at Burnham Market, one of Ptolemy III was found opposite the 'Three Horse Shoes' Inn at Burnham Overy, and a bronze coin of the Boeotian League (c. 200 B.C.) was

¹ R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler, *Park, Gloucestershire* (1932), 69, and *Report on Excavations in Lydney* Fig. 9.

FIG. 6. BRONZE BROOCHES OF HALLSTATT (1–3) AND LA TÈNE (4–7) TYPES FROM: 1. ICKLINGHAM (S.); 2. NORTH-WEST SUFFOLK; 3. FELIXSTOWE (S.), ALL BURY MUSEUM; 4. NORTH-WEST SUFFOLK (BRITISH MUSEUM); 5. LAKENHEATH WARREN (S.) (IPSWICH MUSEUM, R. 1934, 76, 12); 6. LAKENHEATH (S.) (IPSWICH MUSEUM, R. 1934, 76, 11); 7. ICKLINGHAM (S.) (ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD). (See pp. 31, 33.)

found in 1935 on the surface of Case's Farm, Burnham Market. There is no positive evidence for or against the contemporary importation of these coins and their acceptance or rejection depends largely on the personal equation of the assessor. It is relevant here to indicate their proximity to the Saxon Shore fortress of Brancaster and the possibility of their importation by the garrison of Dalmatians. Attention should also be drawn to the coins of the Ptolemaic dynasty found in Cambridgeshire¹ and to the foreign coins of the same period found in Sussex, including a Carthaginian bronze found at the Caburn.²

BONE OBJECTS

Few bone tools have been recorded from East Anglian Iron Age sites. At Grime's Graves, Weeting (N.),³ a series of pointed bone tools, probably awls, has been recovered and can be paralleled at the Late Bronze Age settlement in Mildenhall Fen with which it is partly contemporary.⁴ An isolated tool of similar form, a perforated tibia of sheep or goat from Mildenhall (S.) (Pl. xix, 10), is in the B.M. and the type is common in the Somerset Lake Villages.⁵ These also provide analogies for the antler weaving combs illustrated here (Fig. 7, 1-4), though the East Anglian specimens may well belong to the 'A' culture.⁶ Two weaving combs found under the earthworks at the Castle Hill, Thetford (N.) in the middle of the eighteenth century have already (p. 4) been mentioned on account of the violence they aroused among antiquaries of the day. The illustrations (Fig. 7, 1, 2) are reproduced from Armstrong's *History of Norfolk*.⁷ Another comb with dot-and-circle decoration broken in recent times comes from Wereham (N.), where fifteen triangular clay loom-weights were also found (Fig. 7, 3).⁸

¹ Fox (1923), 86.

² E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex* (1937), 252-3; G. F. Hill in *Rochester Naturalist* vi (1924), 54, and *Num. Chron.* 5 ser. x (1930-1); Hawkes, in *Hampshire Field Club* xi, 186 (St. Catharine's Hill Report).

³ *P.P.S.E.A.* iv (1924), Fig. 20.

⁴ *Ant. J.* xvi (1936), Pl. viii.

⁵ *G.L.V.* ii (1917), 419-20, Class C.

⁶ *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 287.

⁷ Vol. viii, 1781. Hundred of Shropham, pp. 156-7, cf. Gray type 5 with square or oblong enlargement at end (*G.L.V.* i (1911), 276).

⁸ Cf. Oldbury Camp, Wiltshire (Devizes Museum) (*G.L.V.* i (1911), 276).

The most important find of bone tools yet made in the region was at Lakenheath (S.) in 1938, during excavations on a settlement site of the Early Bronze Age by Lady Briscoe, who has kindly furnished an

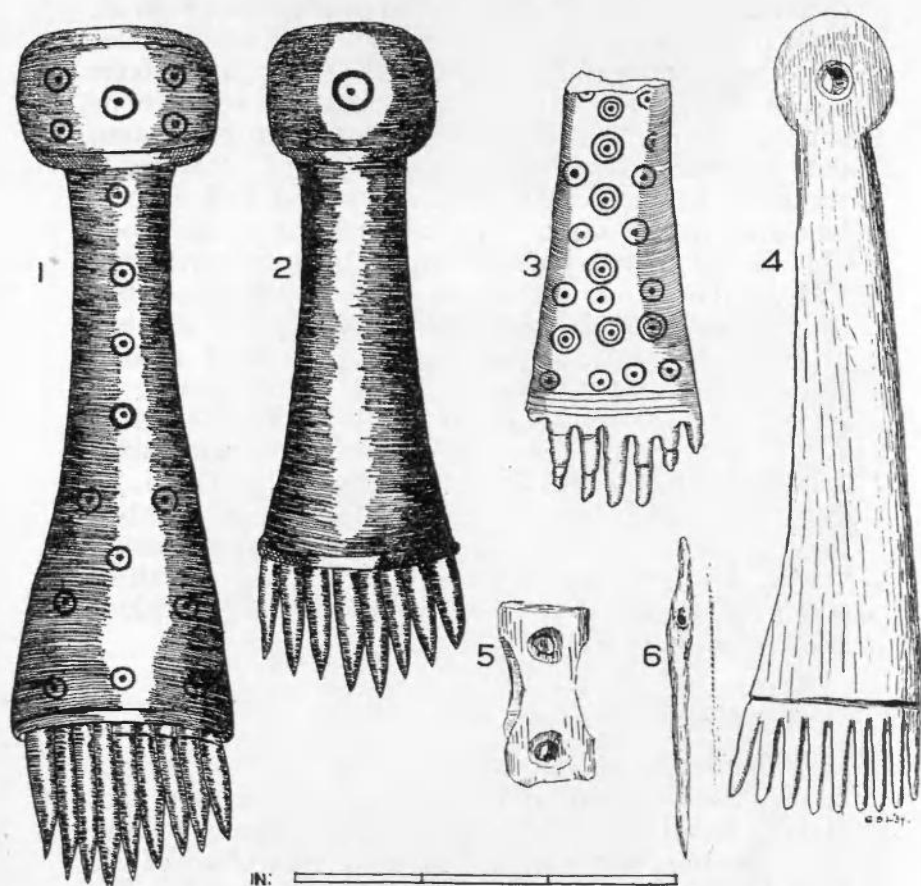


FIG. 7. ANTLER WEAVING COMBS, BONE NEEDLE AND WORKED BONE. 1, 2, CASTLE HILL, THETFORD (N.) (AFTER ARMSTRONG, 1781); 3, WEREHAM (N.) (KING'S LYNN BOROUGH MUSEUM); 4-6, LAKENHEATH (S.), EXCAVATED 1938 (PRIVATE POSSESSION). (See pp. 34-36.)

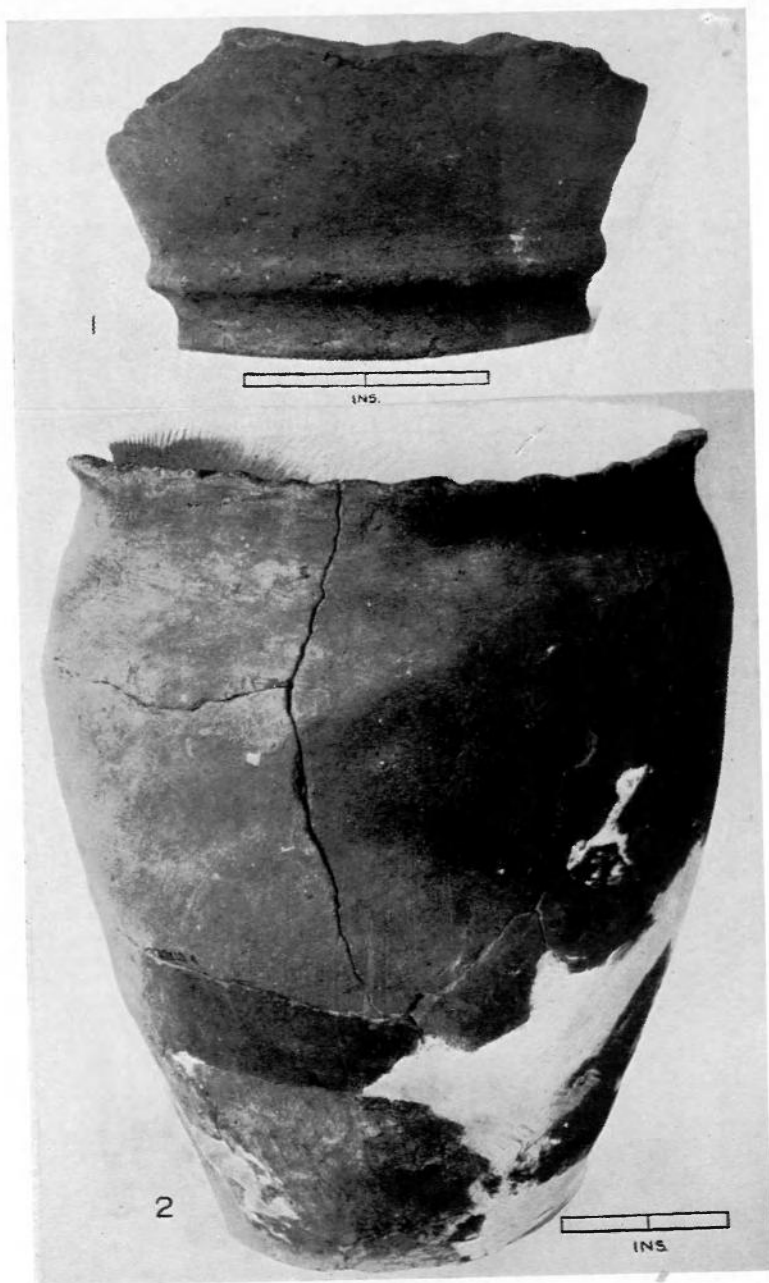
interim report and illustrations of this discovery in advance of her full report.¹ The site is on the north-east side of Maid's Cross Hill, on the very edge of the chalk within a few yards of Fen soil. In an area of

¹ It is hoped that this will appear in *C.A.S.C.*

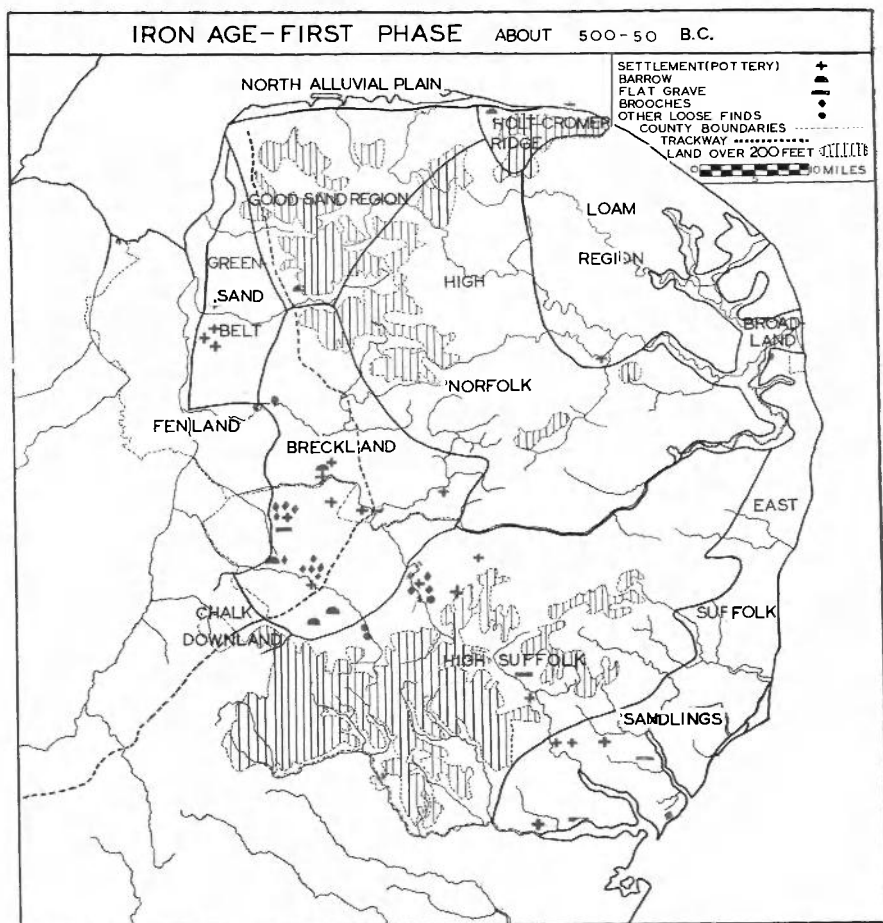
clean yellow sand thickly strewn with Beaker and Rusticated sherds, occur numerous patches or pits of black sand, containing mainly black undecorated sherds of Iron Age pottery. In Pit I, which was well defined, 5 ft. by 4 ft. across, oval in plan and 8–36 in. from the surface, were found mixed together an antler comb with perforated circular butt (Fig. 7, 4), a bone needle (Fig. 7, 6), a perforated fragment of rib bone (Fig. 7, 5), numerous potsherds, many broken bones, pot boilers, lumps of chalk, clay and charcoal—probably contemporary domestic refuse cast into a hole dug in the sand. The associations of the bone objects include two pots (Pl. vii). One partly restored with a frilled rim is in the Iron Age 'A1' tradition, but its rounded shoulder shows that the 'A2' phase has arrived. The paste is coarse and rather hard, gritted with small white flinty particles. The surface is smeary, reddish-brown in colour, but unevenly fired, and may be compared with the pots associated with cremation on Caudle Farm, Lakenheath (S.) (Pl. ii, 1). The other vessel has the unusual feature of a ribbed base (Pl. vii), perhaps the result of collapse during firing. The ware is softer but contains large particles of white flint and the surface is smooth and the colour is an even greyish-brown.

FLINT IMPLEMENTS

The abundance of excellent flint in East Anglia renders it a cheap and effective material for tool making in all periods, and it is not surprising to find flint industries persisting well into the first phase of the Iron Age until iron became available in bulk to displace the more expensive bronze. The contemporary flint industry at Grime's Graves, Weeting (N.), 'Black Hole' is fresh and unpatinated but simultaneously 'antiques' of all kinds were collected and re-used, and tools of the flint-mining culture were gathered and trimmed up for utilisation. The general impression of the contemporary industry at all sites is of its coarse and degenerate character, consisting largely of primary flakes and percussion flaked scrapers (e.g. Stiffkey



IRON AGE 'A' POTTERY FROM LAKENHEATH (S.), EXCAVATED 1938 AND
ASSOCIATED WITH OBJECTS ON FIG. 7, 4-6 (PRIVATE POSSESSION).
(See p. 36.)



MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF REMAINS OF FIRST PHASE OF IRON AGE IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK. (See pp. 37-40).

(N.),¹ Cavenham (S.), and Stutton (S.). The Norfolk and Suffolk industries may be compared with that at Loughton Camp, Essex,² and the decline in quality can be seen by comparing them with the series obtained from the Late Bronze Age settlement at Mildenhall Fen (S.).³ Many of the numerous East Anglian surface flint industries may well belong to the Iron Age.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, ORIGINS OF IRON AGE 'A' CULTURE AND COMMUNICATIONS

The attraction of the river valleys for Iron Age 'A' intruders has been noted in discussing their settlements. It remains to consider the mass distribution of relics attributable to this culture (Pl. viii).⁴ The blank areas on the distribution map may be the result of defective field-work but some regions such as the west Norfolk ridge and the north Norfolk coast, virtually devoid of relics, have in recent years been subject to intensive search. The general features of the distribution are clear. The central zone of heavy soil is almost barren of settlement, the few sites just within its borders would, on a large scale map, be shown to owe their existence to the lighter and drier soils in the river valleys. The Fenland, the North Alluvial Plain and Broadland are devoid of settlement. The emptiness of the Fens probably reflects land subsidence⁵ which may be correlated, to some extent, with the concentrations on the slightly elevated Fen borders, though here, as elsewhere in both Norfolk and Suffolk, no settlements are known above the 200 foot contour. The areas most favoured are the regions of primary settlement, the sand and gravel of the Greensand Belt, and of Breckland, both bordering on the Fens, and of the East Suffolk Sandlings around Ipswich and in the valleys of the Stour, Orwell and Gipping.

With the exception of a few isolated sites such as Stiffkey (N.), attesting a landing on the north Norfolk

¹ Figured in *N.A.* xxv (1935), Fig. 2, 1-4.

² *Essex Naturalist* xxii (1927), 127-136 (Warren).

³ *Ant. J.* xvi (1936), Figs. 9-11 (Clark).

⁴ Cf. Fox (1933), Fig. 6A. Pl. viii

includes a few remains of Iron Age 'B,' probably anterior to c. 50 B.C., but the distributional pattern is not thereby modified in any significant manner.

⁵ *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 270 (Clark).

coast, Markshall (N.), perhaps a late site in the Loam region and Sudbury (S.), perhaps belonging to Phase II (see p. 33), the settlements are concentrated in two areas—the Fenland periphery and the Ipswich region, insulated by the geological and altitudinal barrier of High Suffolk. The distinctions noted between the pottery of the two regions, the virtual restriction of imported metal objects to the former and the absence of barrow burial from the latter, suggest the possibility of distinct origins for their initial Iron Age 'A' settlers followed by prolonged lack of effective contact. The Fenland zone would naturally receive its new masters by the rivers flowing into the Wash, Nen, Wissey, Little Ouse and Lark, while the broad estuaries of Stour and Orwell enabled intruders to penetrate into the Ipswich region. Culturally, as Fox has shown, the Fenland basin and its radiating valleys form a unity, and the closest parallels to the Iron Age 'A' of west Norfolk and Suffolk therefore occur in the counties of Cambridge, Huntingdon and Northampton. The affinities of the Ipswich region, on the contrary, lie southward with the Essex coast and the Thames estuary.

In general the distribution is similar to that of the Late Bronze Age,¹ a period approximately equal in duration. The occupation is now less intense, probably due to increasing poverty and a less favourable climate. The differences, however, are important. The Late Bronze Age map reveals a concentration in the Norwich (N.) region and a general scatter of occupation over north, central and eastern Norfolk. This area was again occupied in the second phase of the Iron Age (Pl. xxii), but the apparent absence of occupation in the first phase suggests the possible survival of the Late Bronze Age population for a century or two. The degeneracy of the Salthouse Heath pottery supports this view and may be described as 'ultimate bronze age.'²

In the Cambridge region Fox³ was inclined to discount the possibility of an overlap of this type and

¹ Fox (1933), Fig. 5.

³ (1923), 117, see also K. and H.

² The phrase is Dr. Clark's (*P.P.S.* (1932), 147.
i (1935), 85-6).

explained the Barrow (S.) spear-heads as indicating a continental rather than a local instance of culture contact. Partial fusion of the two traditions has been seen in the pottery at Grime's Graves, Weeting (N.), and West Harling (N.), where there were no preceding Late Bronze Age settlers. Another indication, either of continuity of tradition or common cultural inheritance in their continental homeland, is the prevalence of barrow cremation in the area in both periods. Flat urn-fields of the Late Bronze Age, however, give way to the flat single graves of Iron Age 'A.'

The probability of some fusion of the newcomers with the Late Bronze Age aborigines in the two areas of settlement already distinguished is shown by the continuity of occupation of several sites. This continuity would be more definite but for the inadequate exploration of these settlements and cemeteries, the peripatetic habits of Early and Middle Bronze Age societies and our restricted knowledge of Middle Bronze Age domestic wares. Yet with these qualifications one can demonstrate a fairly continuous sequence of occupation from the Beaker period to Iron Age 'A,' and sometimes even through both phases of the Iron Age and the Roman period into the Dark Ages at Icklingham (S.), Lakenheath (S.), Runciton Holme (N.), Setchey (N.), Tottenhill (N.) and perhaps Wallington (N.), on the Fen edge and at Brantham (S.), and Creeting St. Mary (S.) in the Ipswich region.

But although contact between native and Iron Age 'A' invader is manifest,¹ the reality of the invasion admits of little doubt and the distribution pattern of Iron Age 'A' is very similar to that of the 'entrance phase' of the Anglo-Saxon conquest in the same area in the fifth century A.D.,² save that the latter is also found in east and central Norfolk, where no concentration of survivors then offered an effective resistance.

The attraction of the rivers for the invaders has been shown and doubtless the trackways along the valley slopes, such as the 'Drove Road' from the

¹ Cf. Plumpton Plain, Sussex, *P.S.* i (1935), 57-9.

² O.S. Map of Britain in the Dark Ages, South Sheet, 1935.

Fen edge to East Harling (N.),¹ formed the chief means of communication between adjacent settlements. The valleys in the chalk belt of west Norfolk and north-west Suffolk were linked to one another by the series of trackways generically known as the Icknield Way.² This route probably introduced from Wessex La Tène I brooches and lug handles. Little is known of any trackway system in east Suffolk comparable to this.

IRON AGE 'B'

The complexity of the Iron Age 'B' cultures of southern Britain is only now becoming apparent,³ but they are still broadly divisible into two main groups. One is concentrated in the south-west and presents different facies in Cornwall, the Somerset Lake Villages and the Wessex hill forts. The other extends up the East Coast from the Fens to east Yorkshire, and is best known from the chariot-burials on the Wolds. A further group, termed 'South-Eastern B' by Ward Perkins,⁴ is characterised by pottery found in east Sussex, north Kent and Essex. Geographically Norfolk and Suffolk obviously lie within the orbit of the Eastern and North-Eastern 'B' culture, and the question of its incidence on the stubborn and now consolidated Iron Age 'A' peasantry has been so well discussed by Hawkes⁵ that his conclusions form an excellent introduction to the problem. 'Iron Age "B" culture in east and north-east Britain has hardly produced anything typical or peculiar to itself except the rich ornaments and fine weapons of a war-like and splendour-loving Celtic aristocracy, and it seems clear that the invasions of the third century B.C. here, and perhaps in Lincolnshire at least, were the military adventure of a small but dominant caste.'

The homeland of these prehistoric Vikings and their successive assaults on the strongholds of Iron Age 'A' culture, is revealed by the scatter of finds round the south and east coasts, reflecting the progressive

¹ *I.B.W.* (1937), 68-70.

² *I.B.W.* (1937), 62-7; W. G. Clarke, 'The Icknield Way in East Anglia' in *P.P.S.E.A.* ii (1915-8), 539-48, and 'The Icknield Way: suggested Norfolk course,' in *Eastern*

Daily Press, October 11, 13, 17, 1923, reprinted as pamphlet.

³ *P.P.S.* iv (1938), 156.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 233-5.

dilution of their birthright, the La Tène civilisation best represented by the Marne culture, as their initial raids gave place to attempts at settlement. On the South Coast are Class C pottery at Hengistbury Head, Hampshire,¹ pedestals at Park Brow, Sussex,² and some of the pottery from Worth, Kent,³ which suggests real Marne wares. The dagger sheaths from the Thames at Wandsworth⁴ may represent an attempt by the invaders to force their way upstream, though it is uncertain if 'B' influence reached the Fens from the Middle Thames by the Icknield Way or through coastal navigators seeking a precarious foothold. The absence of relics of these invaders on the Essex coast and in south-east Suffolk coupled with the presence of barrow-burials at Triplow, and Newnham, Cambridgeshire, suggests the importance of the Icknield Way in this connection, though some invaders may have arrived in the Fenland direct from the continent.

Similar attacks on Lincolnshire are demonstrated by the war-gear rescued from the River Witham,⁵ but the main body of the invaders passed on to east Yorkshire on the periphery of Iron Age 'A,' where the natives were easier prey and here alone they effected a mass settlement, though by that time the pottery tradition had been lost and the pottery from the Danes Graves⁶ and Eastburn (East Riding)⁷ is in the local equivalent of the Iron Age 'A' tradition. The dating of this series of raids and piecemeal conquests rests largely on the form and style of the metal objects recovered from the east coast rivers and from the graves of east Yorkshire. These suggest unequivocally that the new overlords arrived in the middle of third century B.C., a conclusion reinforced by the absence of La Tène II brooches.⁸ The origins of the Parisii of east Yorkshire have been convincingly located

¹ J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Hengistbury Head* in 1911-2, 1915.

² *Arch.* lxxvi (1927), 19, Figs. 10A and 10B: *Sussex Arch. Colls.* lxxx (1940).

³ *Ant. J.* viii (1928), 84; xx (1940) 115.

⁴ *B.M.G.* (1925), Fig. 119.

⁵ *Arch. J.* xci (1935), 103-4.

⁶ *B.M.G.* (1925), Fig. 129.

⁷ Hull Museum and *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* xxxiv (1938), 35-47, Pl. iii.

⁸ Distribution Map in R. E. M. and T. V. Wheeler: *Report on Excavations in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire* (1932), Fig. 9.

in the Seine-Marne area of France,¹ and the Yorkshire affinities of the Newnham Croft burial² suggest that some at least of the intruders into the Fenland basin were also offshoots from the same districts on the continent.

It is uncertain if the intrusive warriors or the miserable peasantry they mastered bore the tribal name of Iceni, which first appears on coinage a few decades before the Claudian conquest. It is perhaps justifiable to speak henceforth of the inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk as the Iceni³ with the reservation that our only valid evidence for the area occupied by this tribe—its coinage—suggests that in the first century A.D. parts of north Cambridgeshire were then within their territory. At the same time portions of east Suffolk were possibly, and of south Suffolk certainly, in the hands of the hostile Belgic folk.

From the viewpoint of material culture Norfolk and Suffolk have a disappointingly small amount attributable to the tastes of Iron Age 'B' to display for the period 250–200–50 B.C. The overwhelming majority of the fine metal-work of the district, trappings of this select aristocracy, is to be assigned to the second phase of the Iron Age. Though the flowering of Iron Age 'B' was late, its period of germination should not be undervalued. Its social significance was immense and vital for the future development of the region to which it gave a 'ruling class' and probably founded the dynasty which culminated in Prasutagus and Boudicca, and perhaps unified the region in a manner analogous to that effected by the Wuffingas in the early sixth century A.D.

With such scanty material it is not easy to estimate the area of Norfolk and Suffolk affected by Iron Age 'B' in its initial stages, but the criteria of inhumation burials and the tradition of fine metal-work⁴ (even though many examples are chronologically of Phase II)

¹ K. and H. (1932), 188.

² *V.C.H. Cambs. i* (1938), 293, Fig. 26.

³ Probably pronounced 'Ickeney' (ECENI on the local coinage), though Roman Cenimagani (Caesar, *Bell. Gall.*

v, 21), a possible variant, suggests a long 'e,' perhaps accented on the central syllable (information from Dr. O. K. Schram).

⁴ *Personality* (1938), Fig. 11B (Chitty).

both point to the same conclusion, that only the area south-east of the Fenland basin was influenced and that the Ipswich region was probably largely, if not entirely, free from it. Other lodgments of Iron Age 'B' elements at perhaps a later date may be detected on the north Norfolk coast.¹

The social character of Iron Age 'B' precludes the possibility of discovering settlements solely of this culture, and there is as yet no evidence that any of the East Anglian camps were constructed by the invaders or thrown up by the Iron Age 'A' natives in defence against their inroads. Indeed, no camps at all have yet been identified in the area principally settled by Iron Age 'B' invaders.

BURIALS

All inhumation burials not demonstrably later than c. 50 B.C. will be described here as they probably reflect the impact of a new religious custom, though the possibility of a mixed rite in Iron Age 'A' was suggested by the spear-heads from Barrow (S.) (p. 29). An unusual burial was revealed at Mildenhall (S.) in 1812 in levelling sand hills on the fen edge, and Fox² has drawn attention to it. A large human skeleton at full length was found between the skeletons of two horses; on one side of the warrior lay a long iron sword, on the other his celt (? of bronze) and a gold torc, melted down soon after, the other finds being lost. The obvious similarity of this discovery to the chariot burials of east Yorkshire³ suggests that a small barrow (of sand in this district) may have covered the grave. The vitality of the chariot tradition in Norfolk and Suffolk is further shown by the equipment from these vehicles preserved in the hoards at Santon (Downham) (N.), and Westhall (S.), dating from the close of Phase II. Near by on Risby Heath (S.), Canon Greenwell in 1869 opened a barrow and recovered a bowl of polished dark brown ware with a well-defined foot from a secondary interment. It is not clear if

¹ Peake and Fleure, *The Corridors of Time* ix (1936), 168.

² (1923), 81, 86 (suggests flat grave).

³ *Arch.* lx (1906), 251.

this was found with the 'contracted burial of a man of unusual size' found by the Canon in one of the barrows of this group or if this latter was an Early Bronze Age primary.¹ The Danish analogies suggested for the pot (Pl. iv, 1) would seem less appropriate than those put to the writer by Mr. Hawkes. He regards it as a local rendering of a Marnian type² intermediate between the derivatives of Marne ware on the South Coast and the native Iron Age 'A' types and fabric of the East Yorkshire Wolds.

A few miles away near the Little Ouse at Brandon (S.), a cemetery containing at least 120 skeletons was excavated in 1895-6³ in a low mound about 150 feet in diameter and 3 feet high, probably natural though possibly a tumulus. This village cemetery contained the remains of all ages and both sexes which were found with the skeletons of horses but no associated objects other than iron fragments. Fox suggests⁴ that 'the Early Iron Age seems a likely period' and quotes parallels from the Cote d'Or. Ethnically the remains were diverse with 23 dolichocephalic, 23 mesocephalic and 5 brachycephalic skulls out of a group of 51 measured. 'The Long Barrow type was represented, and other dolichocephalic skulls suggested a "Germanic infiltration,"'⁵ while the brachycephalic examples were perhaps Romano-British. In the absence of dated skeletal material of the Iron Age or Roman period from the district, it would be premature to speculate on the physical features of the Iceni on the basis of this discovery.⁶

Further north alongside the Icknield Way at East Walton (N.) at the foot of Kettle Hills in Walton Field stood a barrow until about 1886.⁷ It was then destroyed and large skeletons were found arranged in cart-wheel fashion with feet towards the centre. The soil was 'black with human remains.' An 'earthen jar' found in the mound has not been traced and so the

¹ Fox (1923), 33, 77, 85, 327—*P.S.I.A.* iv (1870), 367.

² Cf. *B.M.G.* (1925), Pl. v. *Ant. J.* xx (1940) 117, 119 (Fig. 14).

³ C. S. Myers in *Journal of Royal*

Anthropological Institute xxvi (1896), 113-128.

⁴ (1923), 77.

⁵ Fox (1923), 114.

⁶ *J.R.S.* xxv (1935), 43, 46 (Buxton).

⁷ *C.A.S.C.* vii (1893), 112-113.

cultural position of the burials is undefined but they are very possibly due to Iron Age 'B.'

An isolated flat grave, perhaps connected with Iron Age 'B,' though its geographical isolation and the loss of the associated object, a bronze bracelet, might argue against this attribution, was found at Waldringfield near Ipswich (S.), about 1886, with a hand-brick of baked clay which survives.

METAL OBJECTS

Only one metal object can be assigned with certainty to the Iron Age 'B' incursion before 50 B.C. This is the iron dagger of modified anthropoid type in a bronze plated sheath found about a century ago at Hertford Warren near Bury St. Edmunds (S.), a locality not now identifiable but probably not far from Ickworth.¹ More developed examples of the type were left by other Iron Age 'B' invaders in Lincolnshire² and Yorkshire.³ The Suffolk specimen, which bears traces of silver plating in the interstices of the hilt, may be assigned to c. 200-100 B.C.⁴

An iron sword or rapier, as the blade is more tapering than usual, with a curved bronze guard, probably a La Tène II type, was dredged from the River Wissey about 250 yards east of Stoke Ferry Bridge (N.).⁵ At the same spot were three bronze spearheads of Greenwell's Class V, and it has been suggested that these weapons indicate the clash of Late Bronze Age natives resisting Iron Age intruders, but 'an association can, however, only be suggested,'⁶ and is perhaps improbable. The dating of swords such as this is not precise and this example may be as late as first century B.C.⁷ The presence of an Iron Age 'A2' bowl close to this site has already been noted (p. 28), while some two miles downstream near Herringay Hill, in 1928, a hemispherical bronze bowl, was also dredged from this

¹ Now in Saffron Walden Museum, *Arch.* lxvi (1915), 569-70 (Fig.).

² Kemble (1863), Pl. xvii, 2.

³ B.M.G. (1925), Fig. 58, 3.

⁴ For anthropoid daggers see J. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archeologie* ii (1914), 1137-43.

⁵ C.A.S.C. xxxi (1931), 152, Pl. iii, 2.

⁶ Hawkes in *Arch. J.* lxxxix (1932), 293.

⁷ Leeds (1933), 4, and *Arch. J.* xciii (1936), 93.

river and is likewise in C.M.A.E. It may have belonged to the same party of raiders or settlers.¹

POTTERY

The absence of any distinctive pottery save the sub-Marnian bowl from Risby (S.), (Pl. iv) is the logical corollary of an aristocratic invasion accompanied by few or no women, as distinct from a folk migration. But though there ensued no abrupt change in pottery form or texture consequent on this invasion, its effects are manifest in the further modification of the Iron Age 'A2' wares—their outline became more rounded and the surface acquired a soapy finish. In general its austerities were toned down and no decoration appeared probably before c. 50 B.C. save for horizontal and vertical incised lines.² There is no trace in Phase I of the influence of the artistic decoration of the Somerset Lake Villages or the jars with countersunk handles or bead-rims popular in the Wessex hill-forts.³ The ware may be termed Iron Age 'AB' on the analogy of Dr. Wheeler's scheme for Wessex.

THE EARLY IRON AGE—SECOND PHASE c. 50 B.C.—A.D. 60

Norfolk and Suffolk passed tranquilly from the first to the second phase of the Iron Age unmarked within their confines by armed invasion, social or economic revolution. The selection of 50 B.C. to divide the two phases is, however, justified by the ultimate effects on the area of the arrival in Kent about 25 years before that date of the Iron Age 'C' culture⁴ which spread first to Hertfordshire and later to south Cambridgeshire and the borders of Northamptonshire, accompanied by its characteristic wheel-made pottery, bowls, jars, beakers and pedestal urns often decorated with cordons. But Belgic culture was not restricted to the districts inhabited by Belgic immigrants from the region between the Seine and the Ardennes, and

¹ *C.A.S.C.* xxx (1929), 110-1, Pl. 1.

² *Ant. J.* xvi (1936), Fig. 2, p. 270.

³ E.g. Runcton Holme (N.), *P.P.S.E.A.* viii (1933), 232, Fig. 3.

⁴ Hawkes and Dunning in *Arch. J.* lxxxviii (1930), 240-262.

the second phase of the Iron Age in northern East Anglia is largely the story of the gradual absorption of Belgic material products from the regions to its south and south-west and the political reactions of its inhabitants to the imperialistic expansion of the Catuvellaunian dynasty, especially after its annexation of Essex at the turn of the first centuries B.C. and A.D. and the transference of the capital from Verulamium to Camulodunum. The phase saw the beginning of Romanisation and ended on the eve of Boudicca's revolt, the suppression of which stifled the last flicker of independence of the Iceni and retarded for half a century the effective Romanisation of the survivors. During the century allotted to this phase much of south-east England was transformed socially, economically and politically, and it would be strange if some indications of this cultural ferment were not perceptible in northern East Anglia. In cultural terms the phase witnessed the conversion of Iron Age 'AB' into Iron Age 'ABC'¹ and its modification by indirect contact with the Romanised continent and direct contact with the Romanised Belgic districts. But the process was cut short drastically by Boudicca's revolt and the resultant degraded culture represents the insoluble residue of Iron Age 'ABC' gradually transmuted into Roman provincial culture.

SETTLEMENTS

Many of the open and undefended settlements of Phase I survived into Phase II, but many sites are now occupied for the first time, perhaps due to the growth of population under peaceful conditions. Little is known of their structural features. Air-photographs have revealed a complex of crop markings on and near Chapel Hill, Markshall (N.),² where pottery indicating settlement in both phases has been found, but until the Norfolk Research Committee excavations on this site are further advanced it is impossible to distinguish between the probable remains of Bronze Age

¹ As used by E. C. Curwen, *The Archaeology of Sussex* (1937), 225, 253, 274.

² *N.A.* xxv (1935), 357; *P.P.S.* ii (1936), Fig. 2, p. 3; *N.A.* xxvii (1939), p. xiv.

barrows and later accretions. Across the Tas at Arminghall (N.)¹ evidence was obtained that Iron

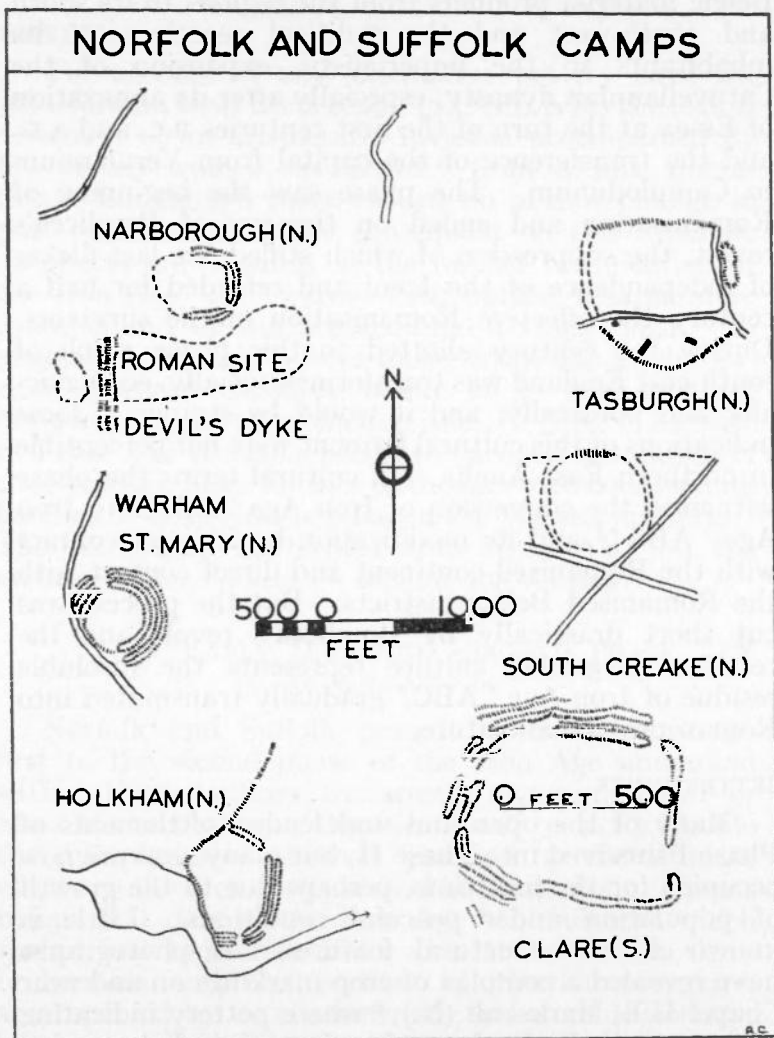


FIG. 8. PLANS OF NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK CAMPS REVISED FROM ORDNANCE SURVEY. (See pp. 49-52.)

Age peasants squatted in the silted-up ditch of the ruined timber monument of the Early Bronze Age and lighted their fires. The hut forms here and at Runcton

¹ P.P.S. ii (1936), 16-18.

Holme (N.) were not recovered though clay floors were noted at the latter site. One isolated hut occupied in this phase perhaps by a swineherd has been excavated at Postwick (N.),¹ but as it was partly destroyed prior to its identification some of its features are lost. It seems to have been oval in plan, 13 ft. by 6 ft., with at first a floor of natural gravel and later when rebuilt after a fire, one of cobble-stones with a central post-hole to support the roof. The depressing squalor of this hut, with bones of pig, sheep and ox trodden underfoot, cannot be taken as typical in default of excavation on other sites, as its occupation may only have been seasonal.

Camps are rare in East Anglia, and the plans of the six earthworks best qualified for this title are illustrated (Fig. 8), though it must be emphasised that there is no evidence that all of them belong to the second phase of the Iron Age or even to the Iron Age at all. Until excavations have been conducted the speculator has full scope and Tasburgh (N.), mutilated by roads, church, rectory and school planted in its interior, is not above suspicion of being a Roman temporary marching camp alongside the Roman road from Colchester to Caistor-by-Norwich. The terrain selected for defence by the camp engineers lay normally close to a river or other source of water. On the plans may be noticed the proximity of Narborough (N.) to the Nar, of Tasburgh to the Tas, of Warham St. Mary (N.) to the River Stiffkey, and of Holkham (N.) to a salt-marsh creek probably tidal at the period of the camp's occupation, while Clare (S.) is only a few hundred yards from a tributary of the River Stour. Only one site, South Creak (N.) crowns a hill top on the 200 foot contour far from drinking water and alone deserves the appellation of hill fort. The ruined condition of most of these camps due to agriculture, tree planting, road or house construction renders any study of their defences liable to drastic revision when excavation is initiated. In plan South Creak and Barrow Hill Camp, Warham St. Mary, are circular while the others are irregular quadrilaterals. South Creak, Tasburgh

¹ *N.A.* xxvi (1938), 271-7.

and Narborough were apparently protected by a single bank and ditch and the position of the original entrance or entrances is uncertain. Their size varies from about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres at Narborough to 24 at Tasburgh. At Holkham¹ the defenders utilised an island in a tidal salt-marsh, protected on two sides by natural scarps, one reinforced by a wide creek while the other two sides are fortified respectively by a single rampart and ditch and by two ramparts with intervening ditch as shown by oblique air-view (Pl. ix). At Clare, gardens and houses have encroached on the defences on the south and east, but on the north and west the fortifications consist of two ramparts and ditches with several entrances now existing, though whether these features are original has not been determined.

At Warham St. Mary (N.) the River Stiffkey is the principal defence on the west, and the trial excavations here in 1914 by Mr. H. St. George Gray, F.S.A., showed that the only original entrance was from this side. The defences elsewhere consist of two chalk ramparts with external ditches of a formidable character enclosing some $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, the whole area of the earthworks being about 9 acres.² A general similarity in plan may be noted between Warham with its two ramparts and Wandlebury, a genuine hill-fort on the Gog Magog Hills, Stapleford parish, Cambridgeshire, with its (former) three banks and ditches.³ The triple banks are probably a construction of the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D.

A circular rampart and ditch earthwork in Burnt Hall Plantation, Great Fakenham (S.), may possibly be of this period though at a later date it served as a homestead moat, hence its name, but its antiquity is uncertain.⁴

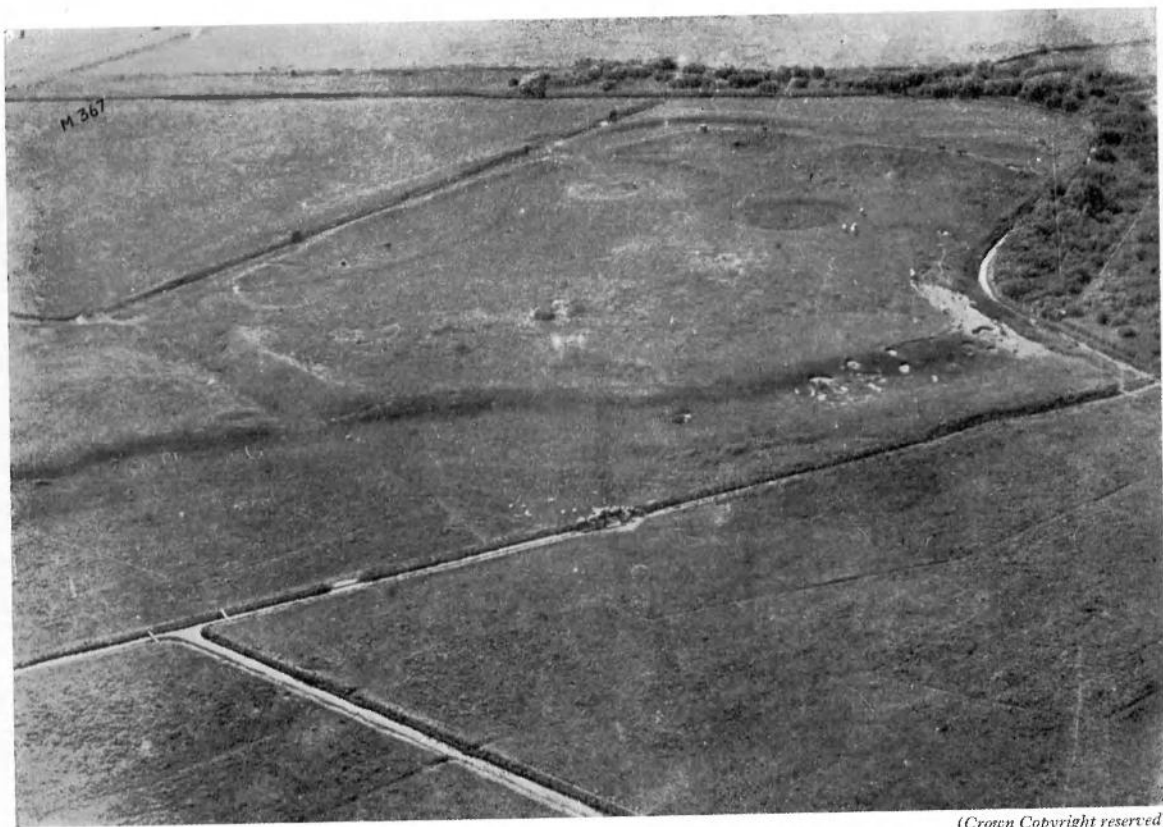
The geographical distribution of these earthworks is significant. Three (South Creak, Holkham and Warham) are concentrated in a small area close to the Norfolk coast. Narborough (N.) lies close to the

¹ *P.P.S.* ii (1936), 231-3 (vertical air-photograph, Pl. xliii).

³ Fox (1923), 134-5; *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 285.

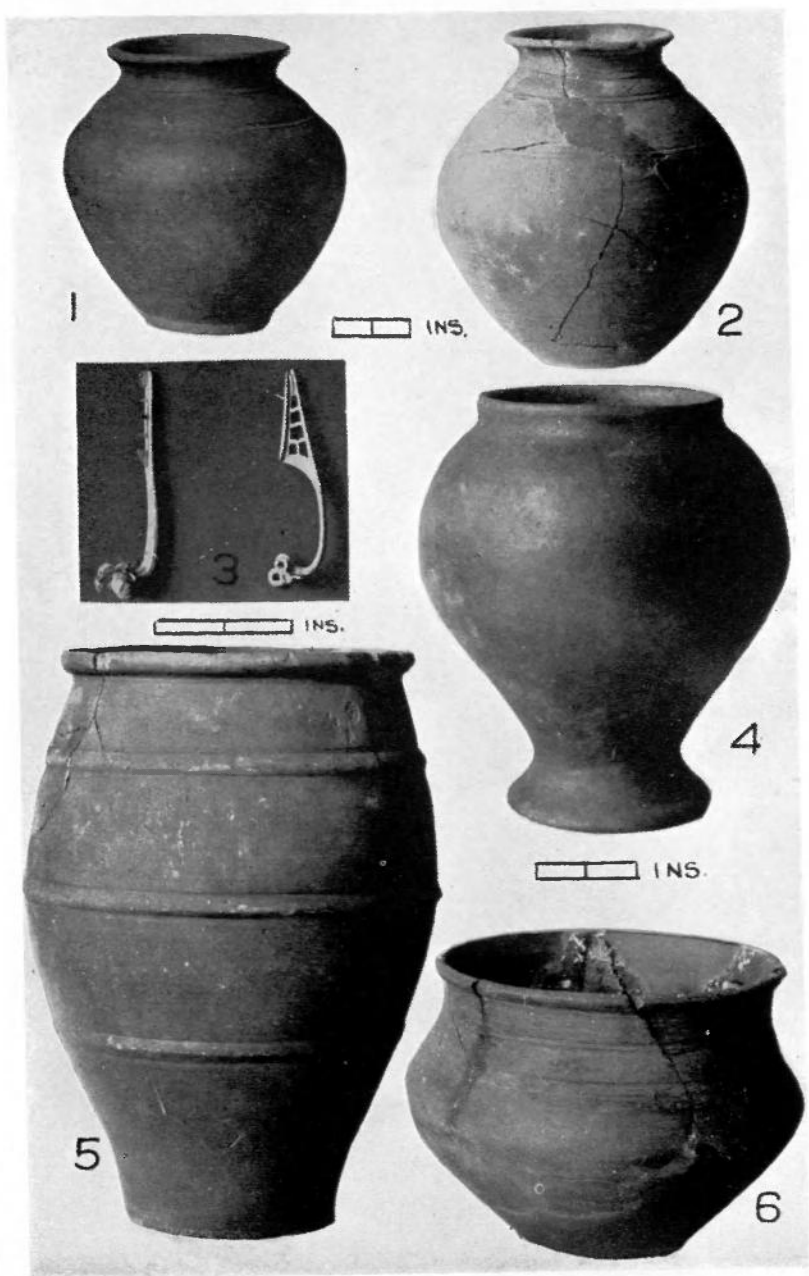
² *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), 399-413 (plan, air-photograph, sections, etc.).

⁴ *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 590; *C.A.S.C.* ix, 1895, 92-3 (Section 6 across defences).



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OBLIQUE AIR-VIEW OF HOLKHAM CAMP (N.), LOOKING EAST. (See p. 50.)



IRON AGE 'C' POTTERY FROM CEMETERY AT BOXFORD (S.). THE BRONZE BROOCHES (3) WERE ASSOCIATED WITH THE BUTT-BEAKER (5) (IPSWICH MUSEUM, R. 1927, 12). (See pp. 53, 54.)

crossing of the river Nar by the Icknield Way, while the camp on Clare Common (S.) lies in the Stour valley—an area apparently uninhabited in the first phase of the Iron Age, and in the latter part of the second phase, perhaps forming a main corridor of communication between the Colchester region and south Cambridgeshire, and its construction may possibly be related to that extension of Belgic culture at the end of the first century B.C.

The evidence for dating the construction of these earthworks is extremely scanty. There is nothing recorded from South Creak, Clare or Fakenham. From Holkham come a few flint implements of doubtful relevance, now lost, and from Tasburgh scattered Roman objects likewise missing. At Narborough a few sherds of Iron Age wares have been found inside the ramparts, while its prehistoric date is suggested by the position of a small Romano-British settlement on its south side which appears to respect its fortifications. The Romano-British settlement itself at this point is disturbed by the northern termination of a linear earthwork, the Devil's Dyke, running south to the River Wissey and constructed before about A.D. 1050.¹

At Warham alone have excavations been undertaken to determine its date. Nothing was found to substantiate the 'Danish' attribution of earlier antiquaries. The material from the silting of the ditch did not clearly define its builders, but from the depth at which imports of the middle of first century A.D. were found² it would appear that the camp is unlikely to have been erected much before about 50 B.C. and perhaps not till the early years of first century A.D., a date consonant with the evidence of similar plan at Wandlebury. In response to what alarm this imposing earthwork was thrown up is only a matter of conjecture. Its geographical situation

¹ *N.A.* xxvii (1939), 180.

² *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), Pl. lxxvii. Cutting I—coarse Iron Age 'AB' sherds near bottom (22, 14) with Romano-British sherds and late first century A.D. brooch (6, 9, 10, 13),

only a little higher up. Cutting II produced a black imitation of Drangedorff form 8, c. 40–60 A.D., near the bottom (5) with higher up a fragment of red imported Gallo-Belgic ware (16).

suggests that the threat was from the sea-board and one may hazard the guess, for it can be nothing more, that the hostile Belgic folk of Essex, finding the landward frontier of the Iceni difficult to force, may have endeavoured to take the enemy in the rear by coasting up the Suffolk and Norfolk shore and attempting to seize the thinly settled regions of north Norfolk.

Nothing is yet known of any field systems attached either to these camps or to open settlements of the phase though several of the sites have been examined from the air under favourable conditions. Only in the Fenland portion of Norfolk has air photography revealed and field-work confirmed, the existence of a Celtic field system and here it is unquestionably Romano-British in date.¹

BURIALS

Despite the apparent increase of population during this phase the number of burials yet recognised is few. None is known from Norfolk and only two isolated discoveries from north-west Suffolk and a group of four cemeteries in the valley of the Upper Stour and its tributaries are recorded from the southern county. The latter form a distinct cultural group and will be described first.

Pottery characteristic of the Belgic pedestal urn complex occurs at Boxford, Long Melford, Sudbury and Great Waldingfield, and the dominant rite is cremation. A cordoned bowl with burnished black surface (Fig. 9, 1) in Bury M. was found in a garden nearly opposite the 'Cock and Bull' Inn, Long Melford (S.), near human skeletons but any association is open to question. The cemeteries at Sudbury and Great Waldingfield (both S.) are represented by a few cordoned pots, but the only site from which an assemblage of pottery has been preserved is Boxford (S.). Here in a large gravel pit at White Street Green, urns were found in groups of three or four some 18-30 in. below the surface, perhaps placed in wooden chests as nails were numerous. The larger pots contained smaller pieces of calcined bone while the smaller were empty.

¹ C. W. Phillips in Darby, *The Cambridge Region*, 1938, 92-3, and Fig. 20.

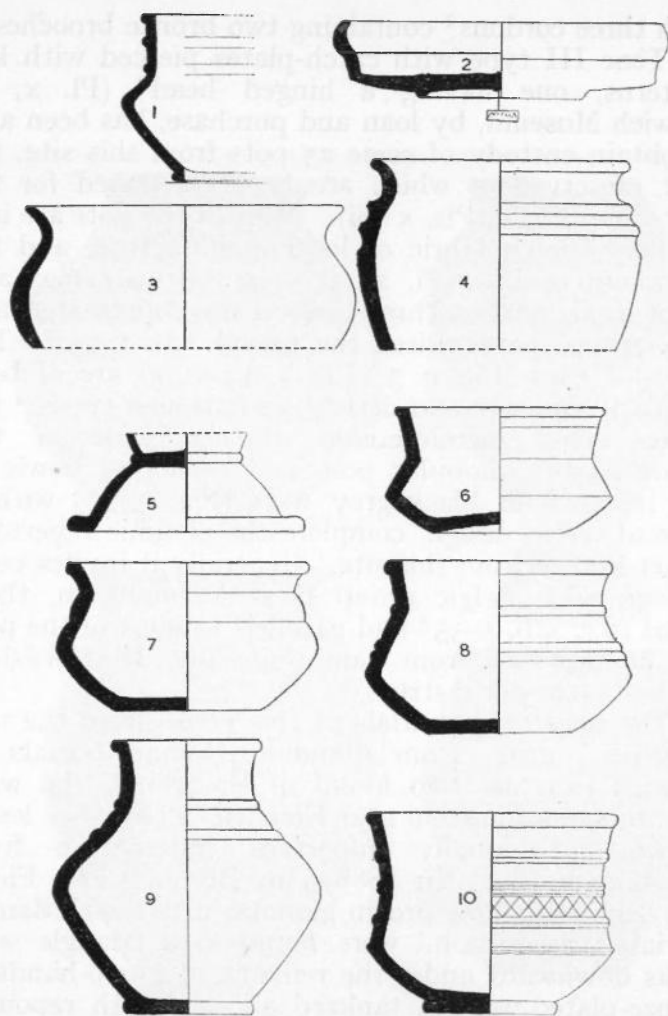


FIG. 9. IRON AGE "C," ETC., POTTERY FROM : 1, LONG MELFORD (S.), BURY MUSEUM ; 2, WEREHAM (N.), NORWICH MUSEUM ; 3, 4, TOTTEHILL (N.), PRIVATE POSSESSION ; 5-10, CEMETERY AT BOXFORD (S.), IPSWICH MUSEUM (5, L. 1932, 216 ; 6-10, R. 1927, 12). Scale one-quarter.

(See pp. 52-54, 57, 59.)

Owing to the conditions of their discovery it was not possible to segregate the material from each grave group and only one association of objects can be claimed—a leather brown butt-beaker (Pl. x, 5),

with three cordons¹ containing two bronze brooches of La Tène III type with catch-plates pierced with key patterns, one having a hinged head² (Pl. x, 3). Ipswich Museum, by loan and purchase, has been able to obtain custody of some 25 pots from this site, the best preserved of which are here illustrated for the first time (Fig. 9, Pls. x-xii). Most of the pots are in a leathery brown fabric of local manufacture, and the rarer butt-beakers (Pl. xi, 3, 4) in red ware may also be of local make. Three beakers are represented and as a group characterised the period A.D. 1-45.³ The pedestal urns (Fig. 9, 5; Pls. x, 4; xi, 2) are of both the early concave and derivative flattened types,⁴ the latter being characteristic of the area of the Catuvellauni.⁵ Globular pots and carinated bowls in one instance of black grey ware (Fig. 9, 10) with a zone of trellis design, complete the ceramic repertoire as yet known from this site. Generally it invites comparison with Belgic group B at Verulamium, there dated to c. A.D. 5-35⁶ and parallels to most of the pots can be provided from Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire or the Colchester district.

The only other burials of this phase from the two counties,⁷ apart from Claudian Roman burials at Ipswich (S.), are two found in Breckland, the well-known cremation from near Elveden (S.) and the lesser known but equally important inhumation from Lakenheath (S.). In 1888-9 in Broom Close Field, near Elveden, three brown globular urns⁸ with double 'striated decoration,' were found in a triangle with necks downward under the remains of a two-handled, bronze-plated wooden tankard adorned with repousse medallions and associated with cremated bones, though their exact position has been disputed, and the tankard seems too small to have covered more than one of the pots. The pottery is now lost to view and so cannot

¹ Cf. *Verulamium*, Fig. 14, 316.

² Cf. brooch from Deal, Kent (K. and H. (1932), 193, Fig. 75).

³ *Verulamium* (1936), 159.

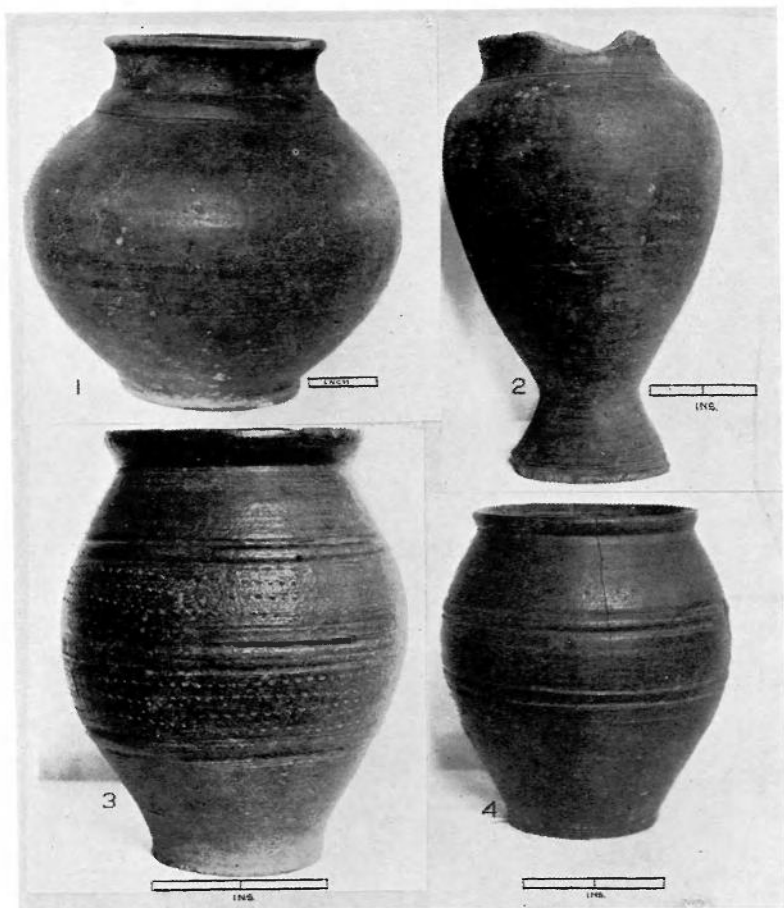
⁴ Hawkes and Dunning, *Arch. J.* lxxxvii (1930), 247.

⁵ Cf. Chesterton, *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), Fig. 27, 10.

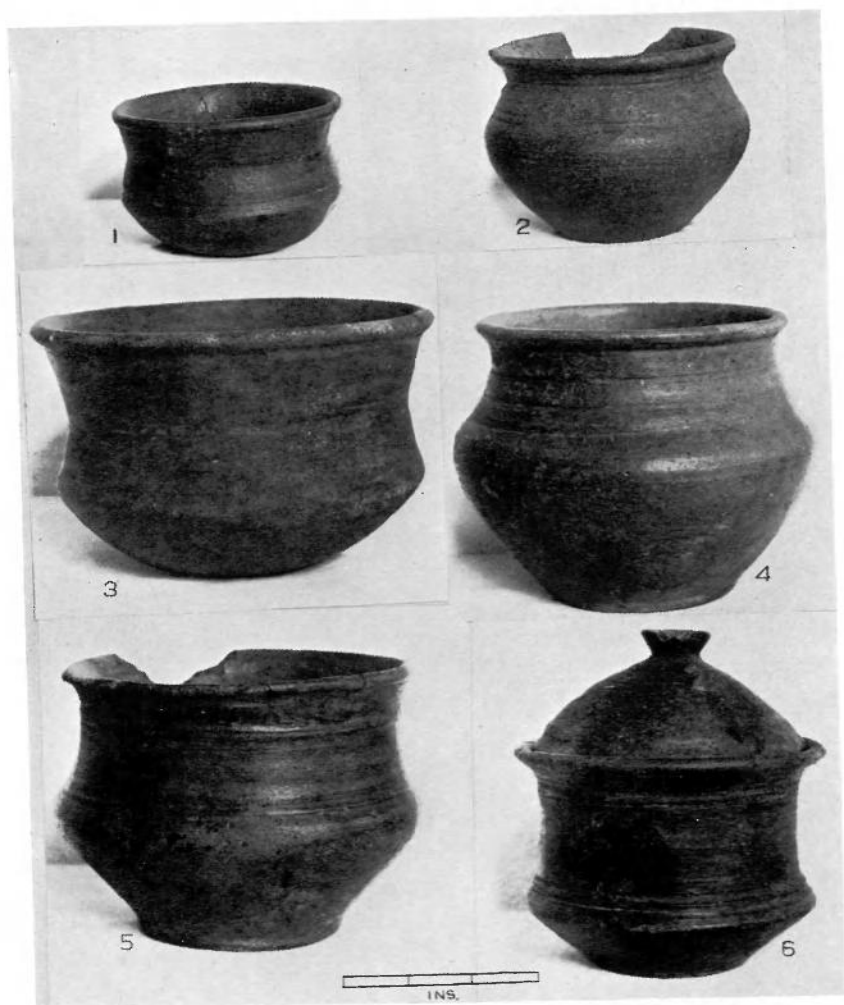
⁶ *Verulamium* (1936), Pl. liv, cf. *Ant. J.* xviii (1938), 366-7.

⁷ The burials formerly assigned to this phase from Icklingham (S.) (Fox (1923), 93-4; Pl. xv, 1) should be classified as late Roman. (Fox in *P.P.S.E.A.* iv (1924), 230 n.)

⁸ One was reddish in colour.



IRON AGE 'C' POTTERY FROM CEMETERY AT BOXFORD (S.) (IPSWICH MUSEUM LOAN, 1932—PRIVATE POSSESSION). (See p. 54.)



IRON AGE 'C' POTTERY FROM CEMETERY AT BOXFORD (S.) (IPSWICH MUSEUM LOAN, 1932—PRIVATE POSSESSION). (See p. 54.)

be illustrated, but it was seen at the time of its discovery by Sir Arthur Evans who was convinced of its resemblance to the Aylesford finds. The remains of the metal mounting of the tankard, also paralleled at Aylesford, but with the decorative roundels now missing, are now in Bury Museum and show a vessel about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter. The character of the pottery and the decoration of the tankard alike suggest a date about A.D. 40-60, or perhaps slightly earlier. The isolation of this find with a rite characteristic of the Belgic cemeteries of the Upper Stour valley is surely explicable on the grounds of its adoption by some Icenian notable.

At Lakenheath (S.) on the other hand, the native rite of inhumation introduced or popularised by the Iron Age 'B' overlords asserts itself. The inhumation found near Sandy Plantation before 1907 was associated with an unenamelled dragonesque brooch (Fig. 10, 1). This type has recently been studied by Bulmer¹ who derives the Lakenheath specimen from an example at Braughing, Hertfordshire, with Claudian-Cunobeline affinities. He describes it as 'perhaps the most beautiful example of the dragonesque motif (which) seems to stand as far from the general line of development as its find spot does from the sites on which the other brooches have been discovered.' Typologically it has no real descendants, doubtless due to the abrupt extinguishing of the art school to which it and the Elveden tankard belong, in the repression of Boudicca's revolt. A 'federate Icenian' context of c. 40-60 would again be compatible with the evidence.

POTTERY

Four categories of pottery used in Norfolk and Suffolk in the second phase of the Iron Age may be distinguished though two of these occur contemporaneously at many sites. They may be classified as (I) Iron Age 'AB' derivative of the old Iron Age 'A' tradition moulded by 'B' influence. (II) Belgic pottery of the pedestal urn complex introduced into south Suffolk by invasion and commercially diffused

¹ *Ant. J.* xviii (1938), 147-8, 151.

over a wider area, as well as occasional Gallo-Belgic imports from the Romanised continent. (III) Iron Age 'ABC' wares—the reaction of the native 'AB' potters to the imported 'C' styles, imitating their form and decoration in local clay. (IV) Imported Roman wares (Samian, etc.) introduced by the commercial activity attendant on the Claudian invasion of A.D. 43.

I. Iron Age 'AB'

The survival of the Iron Age 'AB' tradition of the second century B.C. into the first century A.D. is well shown by the material from the Postwick (N.) hut, where coarse, hand-made undecorated ware with rounded or rarely flattened rims was shown to survive to within measureable distance of the Romanisation of the district, perhaps till A.D. 60–70. Most of the pots had vertical sides but the rims were occasionally undercut or even everted.¹ Similar ware was found in the ditch of the timber monument at Arminghall (N.)² and provisionally dated to c. 50 B.C.–A.D. 50. Similar forms at the latter site had also been thrown on a primitive potter's wheel.³ The presence of pottery of this type has also been noted on 'floors' on Barnham Common, Thetford (N.) and at Warham St. Mary (N.).⁴ The continued production of these wares may be due to the inherent conservatism of peasant taste or to social factors which cannot yet be estimated adequately.

II. Iron Age 'C' (Belgic)

The bulk of the intrusive pottery due to the Belgic occupation of the Upper Stour valley has already been described (p. 54). Pedestal urns, butt-beakers, globular pots with neck cordons and wide-mouthed bowls often with carinations were noted as typical. But as Fox⁵ demonstrated, the boundaries of Belgic settlement and of the cremation culture are not co-terminous. Pottery probably made in the Belgic districts of

¹ *N.A.* xxvi (1938), Fig. 3, p. 274.

² *P.P.S.* ii (1936), Fig. 6, nos. 8, 9, 13.

³ *Ibid.* Fig. 6, nos. 10–12, 14.

⁴ *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), Fig. 3, 24.

⁵ (1923), 115.

Cambridgeshire and Essex and the Upper Stour valley, was exported northwards.

Globular pots associated with a cremation at Elveden (S.) have already been noticed. From the debris of occupation at Creting St. Mary (S.) comes a butt-beaker of Claudian type¹ and from Needham (N.) another in white pipe clay, probably an import from Colchester about A.D. 25-50⁸ and another, probably imported likewise, at Runcton Holme (N.).³ A tazza in reddish ware, unevenly fired with a base slightly concave was found with part of an amphora, now lost, at Coltishall (N.) but the reality of this association is uncertain. The tazza (Pl. xiii, 8) in N.C.M. may be compared with a typologically earlier example from a cremation grave in the Guilden Morden cemetery in Cambridgeshire, which was associated with an iron La Tène III brooch.⁴ The Coltishall example perhaps dates about A.D. 40-60.

The Belgic traders not only supplied the products of their own kilns to the poorer folk of Norfolk and Suffolk, but acted as entrepreneurs in introducing to them the wares of the Romanised continent, best described as 'Gallo-Belgic,' imported mainly through the wharves of Camulodunum. These are rare in northern East Anglia but have been recognised at Wereham and Runcton Holme in west Norfolk, Warham in north Norfolk and at Ipswich in south-east Suffolk. The scarcity of the originals is contrasted with the relative frequency of their imitations (p. 59). At Runcton Holme (N.) was found a black-coated dish⁵ with functionless foot-ring, perhaps dating c. A.D. 45-60, while the example illustrated from Wereham (N.) (Fig. 9, 2) in black micaceous ware with a potter's stamp perhaps reading ASSIM (retro.), is of much the same date though its foot-ring is less degenerate.⁶ At Warham a red sherd of a carinated

¹ Ip.M., cf. *Ant. J.* xviii (1938), 273, Fig. 4, 5.

² From information kindly supplied by Mr. S. S. Frere, who will publish this early pottery found since the publication of report in *N.A.* xxvi (1937), 145-153. cf. *Verulamium* (1936), Fig. 14.

³ *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 238.

⁴ *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), Fig. 27, 3; Fig. 25, 5, p. 297; *C.A.S.C.* xxvii, 52, Fig. 21.

⁵ *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), Fig. 8.

⁶ cf. *Ant. J.* xix (1939), Figs. 3-4 (Chilham, Kent).

Gallo-Belgic beaker¹ and an imitation in black ware of a cup of Dragendorff form 8 were found in the silt of Cutting II, and both are probably of Claudian date as is a pedestalled vase in red brown ware from Dale Hall Lane sandpit, Ipswich,² perhaps imported from the Marne area.

The importation of these vessels is probably a reflection of the incipient Claudian Romanisation of the area rather than of pre-conquest Belgic commercial penetration.³ This conclusion is supported by the distribution of Arretine ware from Italy and Italo-Greek amphorae.⁴ No Arretine ware has yet been found in Norfolk or Suffolk though it reached south Cambridgeshire, while only one amphora occurs at Stratford St. Mary (S.)⁵ in the Stour valley, an integral part of the Colchester region. The consulations of Mediterranean wine were thus withheld from the Iceni, before the Roman conquest.

III. Iron Age 'ABC'⁶

The widespread circulation of Belgic, and later to a lesser extent of Gallo-Belgic, ceramic products in Norfolk and Suffolk beyond the Stour valley in the early first century A.D. is amply attested by the numerous imitations of them made by the Iron Age 'AB' potters, who acquired the wheel technique through these commercial contacts. This hybrid ware attempting to reproduce cordons and carinations on Belgic pots or making direct copies in the local clay may be termed Iron Age 'ABC' ware. It would be superfluous to enumerate all the sites on which this influence is displayed. The material from Runcton Holme (N.) may be regarded as typical. Here cordons are rendered by the native potter by pairs of horizontal incised

¹ *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), Fig. 3, 5 (Find 16).

² Figured in *P.S.I.A.* xi (1902), 338.

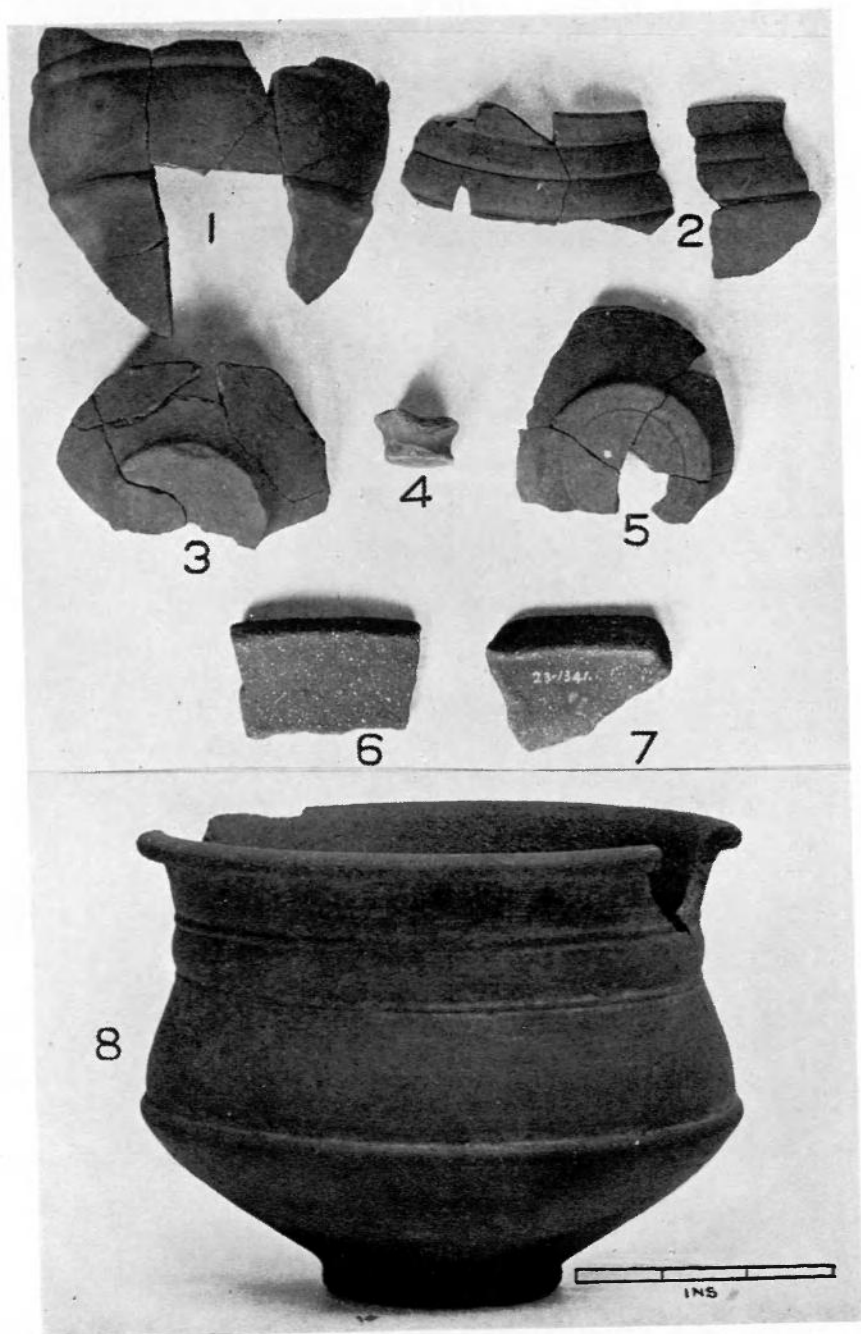
³ *Ant. J.* xviii (1938), 274 (Fig. 5—map of pre-Claudian Roman Gaulish wares).

⁴ Fox, 1923, 101 and 1933, 160 and Fig. 6c. 'That none of these

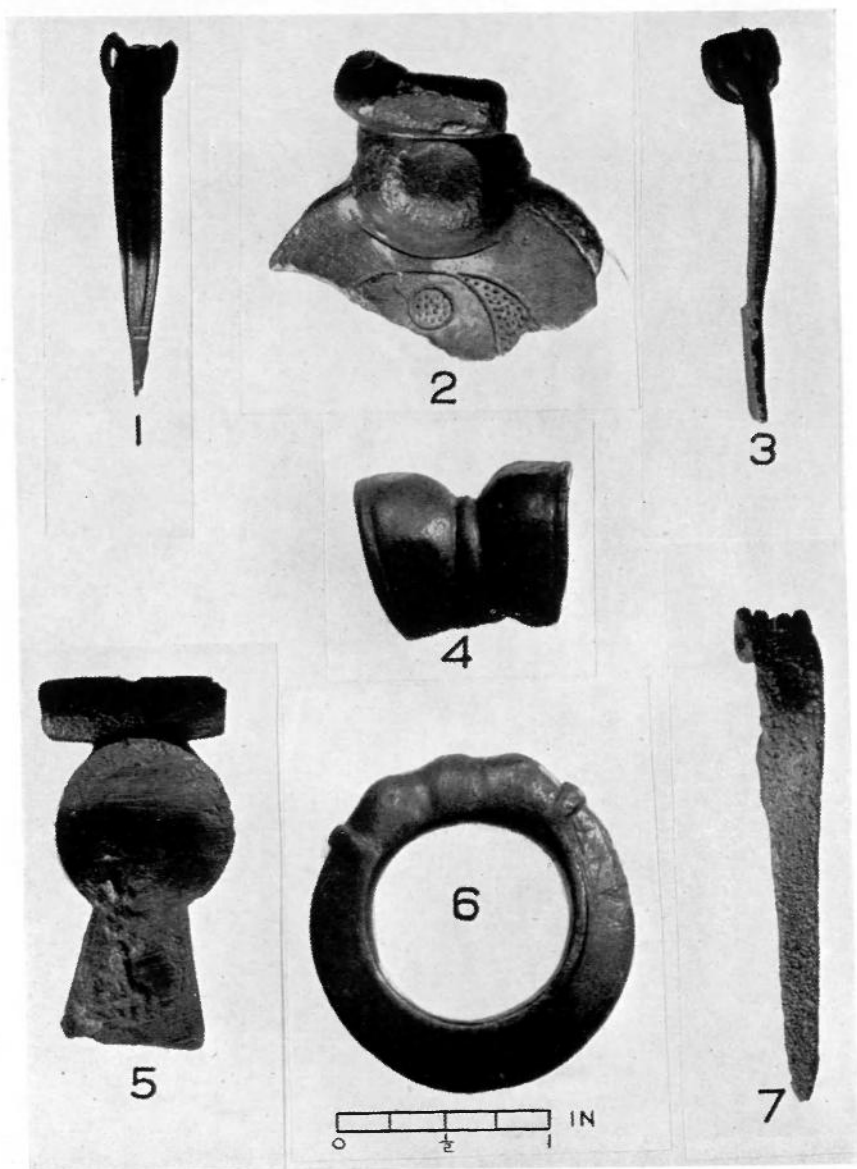
Mediterranean wine-cargoes reached the Iceni can fairly be inferred.'

⁵ Colchester Museum — Report 1933, 11.

⁶ See Hawkes in *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 235-40, and in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* lxxvii, 200. The presence of undifferentiated 'AB' pottery shows that sites low in the cultural scale escaped the Belgic influence.



POTTERY FROM HUNSTANTON (N.), 1-7 (about one-third) (CAMBRIDGE MUSEUM) AND COLTISHALL (N.); 8 (NORWICH MUSEUM). (See pp. 59, 57.)



BRONZE BROOCHES, ETC., FROM ERISWELL (S.) 1, 5; LAKENHEATH (S.) 2, 7; IXWORTH (S.) 3; ELVEDEN (S.) 4 (FRAGMENT OF BRIDLE-BIT); MILDENHALL (S.) 6. (CAMBRIDGE MUSEUM). (See pp. 65, 67, 71.)

lines,¹ corrugations appear somewhat feebly² and other pots bear more pronounced cordons.³ Belgic tazzas were also chosen as models and their transformation in a Romanised technique shows that they date about A.D. 50.⁴ Imitations of Gallo-Belgic wares include a girth-beaker⁵ and a cup of Dragendorff form 8 similar to that from Warham,⁶ both probably made about A.D. 40–60. Similar wares imitating the Belgic products of the Colchester region have been published from Arminghall (N.),⁷ including pedestal bases; Butley (S.),⁸ Stoke Ferry (N.)⁹ and a fresh series of sherds from Hunstanton (N.) is illustrated here (Pl. xiii, 1–7), and a typical sherd from Tottenhill (N.) (Fig. 9, 4). Imitations of Gallo-Belgic wares have also been recognised at Needham (N.), where butt-beakers in dark grey native ware are found copying imports of about A.D. 25–50 and a tazza with pedestal in similar ware directly follows a Gallo-Belgic model.

A shouldered pot in black ware with coarse striations from Freckenham (S.) is now lost, but is illustrated (Fig. 12, 5) from the original cut. It contained a hoard of gold coins of the Icenii, perhaps concealed in the confusion of A.D. 61.

The decoration of these Iron Age 'ABC' pots is usually provided by the cordons or carinations borrowed from the Belgic prototypes supplemented by cross-hatchings, chevrons or simple comb-markings, probably derived from the native artistic repertoire. An occasional curvilinear design may belong to the same category¹⁰ or reflect the influence of the decorated south-eastern 'B' pottery. The few decorated sherds from Warham Camp (N.)¹¹ also suggest that the native 'AB' potters only discovered the full extent of their latent artistic abilities at the close of the second phase or acquired their designs by commercial contact with their Belgic neighbours or perhaps with south-west England.

¹ *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), Fig. 5.

² *ibid.* Fig. 4.

³ *ibid.* Fig. 6.

⁴ *ibid.* Figs. 18, 18a.

⁵ *ibid.* Fig. 7.

⁶ *ibid.* Fig. 16.

⁷ *P.P.S.* ii (1936), Figs. 7, 8.

⁸ *Ant. J.* xvii (1937), 196, 2.

⁹ *N.A.* xxiii (1927), 17.

¹⁰ As at Arminghall (N.) (*P.P.S.* ii (1936), Fig. 7, 16, cf. *P.P.S.* iv (1938), Fig. 9, 4, 163.

¹¹ *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), Fig. 5, p. 411.

IV. *Roman about A.D. 45-60*

The intensification of commercial relations with Gaul so marked in the Belgic districts of south-east Britain after the Claudian invasion finds little reflection in Norfolk or Suffolk. The poverty and conservatism of the area, reinforced by political conditions, probably account for the limited distribution and superficial nature of the Romanisation effected during the decade and a half which elapsed between the consolidation of the Claudian invasion and the Boudiccan revolt. Only a few early pieces of Samian ware have yet been recorded. At Great Thurlow (S.)¹ rubbish pits yielded Samian ware of Dragendorff forms 15-17, 18, 27, 29, one of form 18 bearing the stamp of ALBVS, a Claudian-Neronian potter. From Needham (N.) Mr. Frere has obtained a form 29 bowl probably by ARDACVS² and a form 24 stamped OF MVRRANI, both datable about A.D. 50. At Runcton Holme (N.) the early form Ritterling 12 occurred³ and from Stoke Ferry (N.) form 18 has been recorded,⁴ but might date from after A.D. 60. The coarse ware attributable to Roman influence from its technique is equally rare and its forms normally reflect Belgic tastes in the Colchester region. It is, however, difficult to be certain that the coarse wares were exclusively of Claudian date as Neronian forms are similar and their powers of survival in this district are as yet unknown, though the evidence from Caistor-by-Norwich suggests that they are considerable.⁵ Isolated pots from Playford (S.),⁶ Trimley (S.)⁷ (a cordoned jar with lattice and scribble design on the shoulder),⁷ Tattingstone (S.)⁸ (a two-handled jug), and Winterton (N.) (a cordoned jar in black micaceous ware)⁹ may be set alongside more extensive series at Ipswich (S.)—cordoned jars from Valley Road,¹⁰ Castle Hill,¹¹ Burlington Road¹² and Dales Road sandpit,¹³ and at Needham (N.).

¹ C.M.A.E.² According to Dr. F. Oswald, F.S.A.³ *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 241.⁴ *N.A.* xxiii (1927), Pl. opposite p. 17.⁵ *N.A.* xxvi (1937), 198.⁶ Bury M., cf. with Colchester type 234.⁷ Ip.M.⁸ Ip.M.⁹ *N.C.M.* (1939)—found on old land surface under modern sand dunes.¹⁰ *P.S.I.A.* xxi (1933), 259, Fig. 65.¹¹ *ibid.* 248, Fig. 8.¹² Ip.M. R.1920.50.21.¹³ *P.S.I.A.* xi (1902), 338.

It has been suggested¹ that the numerous pots (about 120) found in a wooden shaft (well-hoard) at Ashill (N.), were buried at the time of the Claudian invasion, thus indicating a wider diffusion of pre-Claudian imports of Roman pottery than has been revealed by the above evidence. Leaving aside the intriguing possibilities of a religious explanation for this hoard, it may be said at once that the pottery² contradicts such a suggestion. Of the published pots³ all may be paralleled in Claudio-Neronian contexts at Colchester⁴ and at Margidunum, Nottinghamshire.⁵ None is probably earlier than *c.* A.D. 50 and if there is to be a political crisis to account for this assemblage, it can scarcely be earlier than 61. A fuller examination of the surviving contents of this remarkable find may suggest that the filling of the shaft was gradual and that it reflects the slow infiltration of Roman culture into the area after the devastation wrought by the punitive measures consequent on the revolt of Boudicca.

TOPOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF POTTERY

The survivals of the Iron Age 'A' tradition in the second phase appear to be confined to Norfolk though their absence from Suffolk may be due as much to imperfect record as to the proximity of that county to active centres of Belgic culture. The main concentration of Belgic pottery is in the areas settled in the Upper Stour valley but beyond that its circulation must have been considerable to produce such a crop of imitations mainly in the half century A.D. 25-75, for the tradition of Iron Age 'ABC' persisted after 61 and formed the stem on which the Flavian-Trajanic Romanisation was grafted, though its first offshoots were weakly. Gallo-Belgic wares are equally widely distributed and important as models though insignificant in volume. They occur in west and north Norfolk and in the Ipswich region, but not in the upper Stour

¹ By Prof. Atkinson in *J.R.S.* viii (1918), 200.

² In museums at Norwich, Ipswich and King's Lynn — at Threxton House (possession of Mr. F. Barton) and in possession of Mr. I. J. Thatcher, King's Lynn, who has

photographs of other pots now lost.

³ *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), Fig. 13, 295-6; *N.I.* viii (1879), 224-30.

⁴ Information kindly supplied by Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes.

⁵ *J.R.S.* XIII (1923), 114-126.

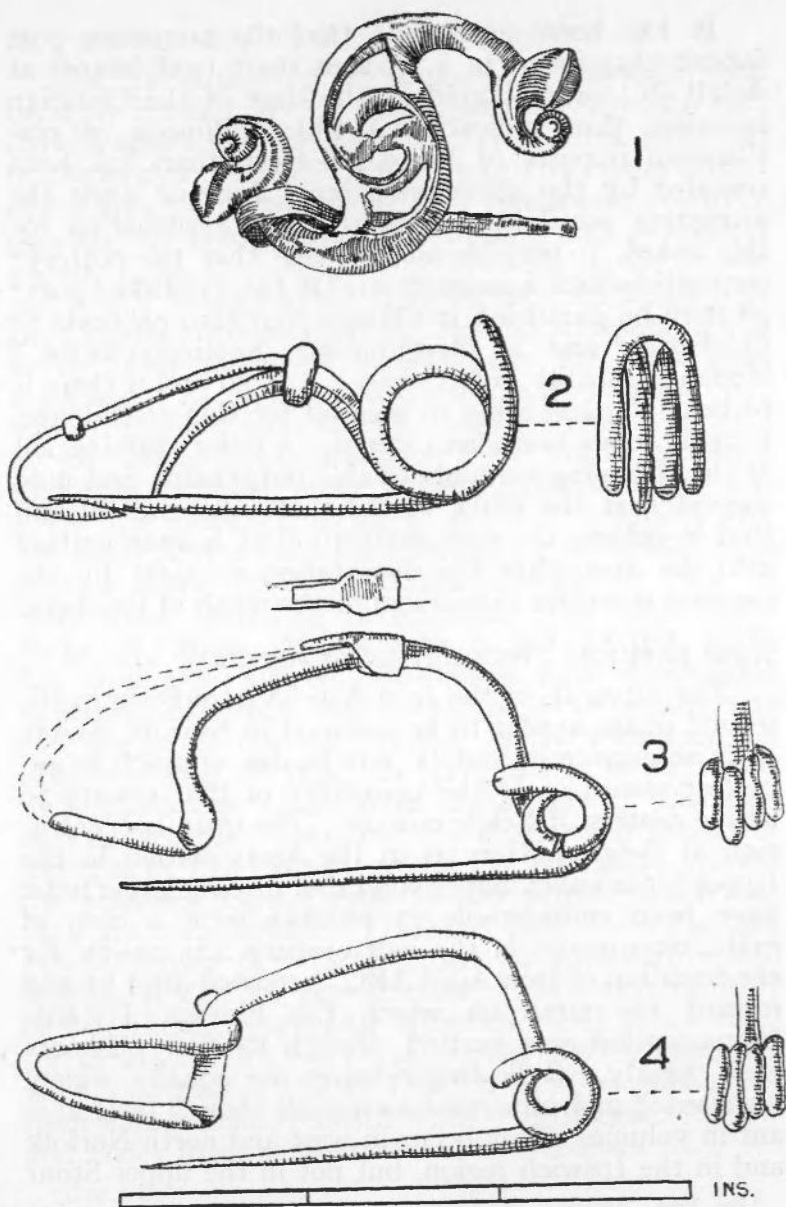


FIG. 10. 1, DRAGONESQUE BROOCH ASSOCIATED WITH INHUMATION, IAKENHEATH (S.) (ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD); 2-4, LA TÈNE II BROOCHES, 2, SUDBURY (S.) (ST. ALBAN'S MUSEUM), 3, 4, MILDENHALL (S.) (LEICESTER MUSEUM). (See pp. 55, 33, 63.)

valley, suggesting that they belong to the Claudian Romanisation rather than to the Belgic commercial enterprise before A.D. 43, unless conservative tradition demanded that only local ceramics should be placed with the ashes of the dead.

The pottery indicative of Romanisation under Claudius and Nero prior to the upheaval of 61 has a significant distribution, though this may be modified by future research. It is largely confined to the Ipswich region extending as far north as Needham (N.) but unknown in the Norwich (N.) area. Thurlow (S.) in the Upper Stour valley seems to have been founded after A.D. 43. Gallo-Belgic wares occur sporadically at Warham (N.) perhaps due to coastal trade, and a few pieces of early Samian come from west Norfolk, but the main concentration of population (Pl. xxii) in west Norfolk and Breckland seems unaffected by the new wares diffused from the Colchester region, though the distribution of metal objects suggests some slight qualification of this conclusion.

METAL OBJECTS

Brooches

Brooches are little commoner in the second than in the first phase of the Iron Age in East Anglia and of the 35 brooches attributed to the former, 10 alone come from the Santon (Downham) (N.) hoard, while several of the derivative La Tène III types may well, in the absence of associations, date from the late first century A.D.¹ and so fall outside the compass of this survey. The brooches may be considered in two groups:—(I) those of native origin; (II) those imported from Romanised Gaul.

(I) Two late La Tène II brooches from Mildenhall (Fig. 10, 3, 4) should perhaps be placed as late as the first century B.C.² Two La Tène III bronze brooches from Undley, Lakenheath (S.)³ and Kennyhill, Mildenhall (S.)³ (Fig. 11, 1 and 4) have a bead on the bow, a vestigial survival of the bow clasp of the La Tène II type and probably datable in first century B.C.

¹ cf. *Verulamium* (1936), 204, types 1 and 2.

² cf. *Verulamium*, 203, Fig. 42.

³ Both Ip.M. 'U'ney' on labels.

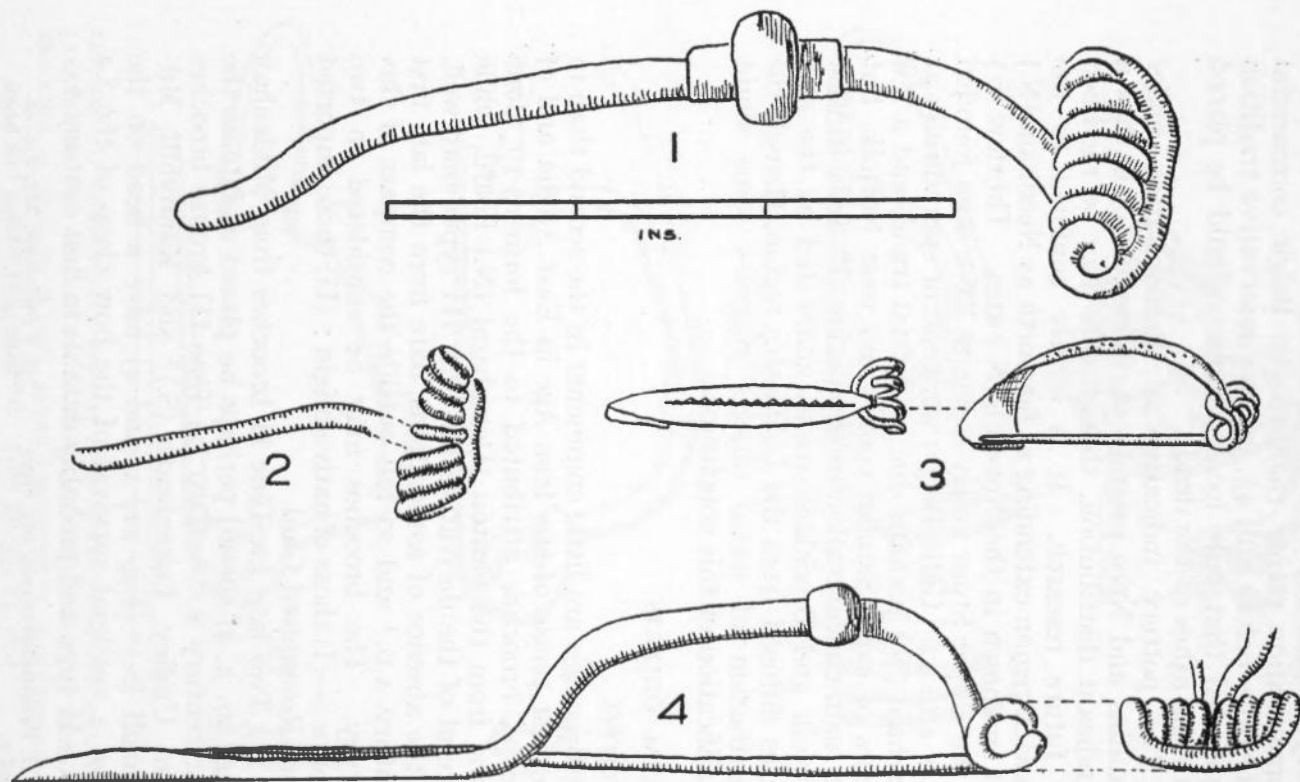


FIG. II. BRONZE BROOCHES FROM: 1, 2, UNDLEY, LAKENHEATH (s.) (R. 1934, 76, 28-29); 3, ICKLINGHAM (s.); 4, KENNYHILL, MILDENHALL (s.) (R. 1934, 76, 30). (1, 2, 4, IPSWICH MUSEUM; 3, BURY MUSEUM). (See pp. 63, 65.)

La Tène III types with pierced catchplates have been noted at Boxford (S.) (p. 54) and Ixworth (S.) (Pl. xiv, 3). Three more have been found at Lakenheath (S.), one at Coltishall (N.), Threxton (N.), and two from unknown localities in Suffolk.¹ The solid catchplate more general after the middle of first century A.D. appears at Eriswell (S.) (Pl. xiv, 1), Icklingham (S.) (Fig. 11, 3), Wangford (S.), Mildenhall (S.) and Thetford (N.) (two examples).

The dragonesque brooch from Lakenheath (S.) has already been described (p. 55, Fig. 10, 1).

The only other brooches of native inspiration to be considered are two of plate type found in the Santon (Downham) (N.) and Westhall (S.) hoards and attributable to the middle third of first century A.D. The Westhall circular bronze disc (Fig. 12, 2; Pl. xviii, 1) is embossed with an animal, perhaps a wolf or horse, recalling the quadrupeds on the Aylesford and Marlborough buckets and on Gaulish coins.² The Santon (N.) disc of almost identical size (Fig. 12, 1) clearly belongs to the same art school and according to Leeds³ bears the British conception of the griffin 'borrowed from the same sources as supplied the models for the Romanising coin types of Tasciovanus, Cunobelinus and other rulers.'

(II) The second group comprises 8 brooches, 6 from the Santon (Downham) (N.) hoard and two loose finds from Eriswell (S.) and Threxton (N.), which may date from after A.D. 60. Four brooches of British production from the same hoard may also be conveniently considered here. The brooches from the Santon (N.) hoard here illustrated together for the first time (Pl. xv)⁴ are important as its chronology depends largely on their evidence. Four of the brooches (nos. 1, 2, 5, 6) are of the harp-shaped or dolphin types current in southern Britain in the late first century A.D.⁵ The other six brooches are of types circulating in Gaul between about A.D. 25-50 and unfashionable

¹ Bury M.

² cf. *Antiquity* v (1931), 37-46, Pls. i-iii.

³ Leeds (1933), 95-6.

⁴ Two illustrated in *C.A.S.C.* xiii

(1909), Figs. 9, 10 (R. A. Smith), and 4 more in Fox (1923), Pl. xviii, 5-8.

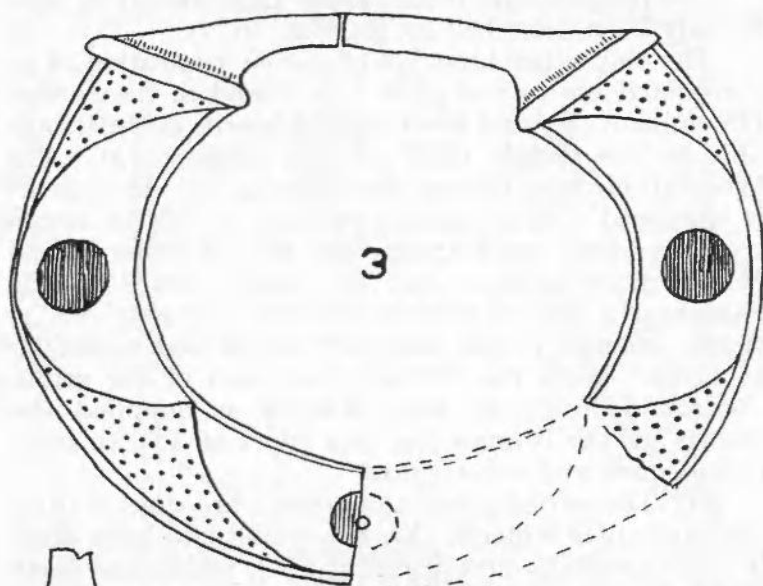
⁵ R. G. Collingwood, *The Archaeology of Roman Britain* (1930), 257.



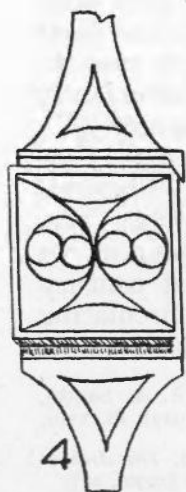
1



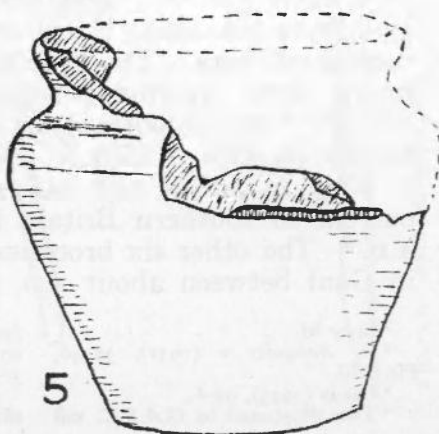
2



3



4



5

(See foot of opposite page)

after that date. The deposition of the hoard must, therefore, be placed about the middle of the century, in all probability a consequence of the revolt of A.D. 61. They include two specimens of the thistle brooch (nos. 8 and 9)¹ with circular and lozenge-shaped plate on the bow and two simple cast brooches (one with pointed boss on the disc) have a broad fan-tail (nos. 7, 10). A type common on the Rhine is no. 4, the 'cross-ribbed' bow type of Collingwood,² while no. 3 'has a broad, wedge-shaped nearly flat bow, heavily tinned, with a delicate incised wavy median line, the spring having a cylindrical cover.'³ Fox quotes British parallels for the wavy line device, found also at Icklingham (S.) (Fig. 11, 3), but the brooch type is continental. In general the imported brooches from this hoard with their Germanic connections suggest that their passage to Britain was in the wake of the Claudian army of invasion drawn from the Rhenish region.

The fan-tailed brooch from Eriswell (S.) (Pl. xiv, 5) with applied disc, now missing,⁴ may be compared with the similar brooch (no. 10) in the Santon hoard. The thistle brooch from Threxton (N.)⁵ has an oval plate cast in one piece with the bow.

The distribution of brooches in Phase II is almost restricted to Breckland, the only examples so far recorded outside that district being from the Belgic cemetery at Boxford (S.), the plate brooch from the Westhall (S.) hoard and one or two brooches from Coltishall (N.). The location of the Westhall and

¹ *ibid.* 257 and R. E. M. Wheeler, *London in Roman Times* (1930), 90.

² *ibid.* 250, Group O, and Wheeler (1930), Fig. 26, 16.

³ Fox (1923), 107.

⁴ Also figured in Fox (1923), Pl. xiii, 1A (lower).

⁵ Now at Threxton House (possession of Mr. F. Barton).

FIG. 12. 1, DISC BROOCH, SANTON (DOWNHAM) (N.) HOARD (CAMBRIDGE MUSEUM); 2, DISC BROOCH, WESTHALL (S.) HOARD (BRITISH MUSEUM); 3, ENAMELLED TERRET-RING, CAWSTON (N.) (NORWICH MUSEUM); 4, LOOP OF SWORD SCABBARD, ICKLINGHAM (S.) (BRITISH MUSEUM, AFTER *Kemble*, 1863); 5, POT, 'ORNAMENTED BY ROUGH SCRATCHINGS OF A STICK,' CONTAINING ICENIAN COIN HOARD, FRECKENHAM (S.) (AFTER *P.S.A. Lond.* 2s, xii, 84).

1-3, full size; 4, one-half; 5, scale unknown (See pp. 65, 70, 74, 59.)

Coltishall brooches is probably due to the Claudian Romanisation of the area, though the Coltishall brooches might be as late as the Flavian age.

Horse Trappings

The belated flowering of the Iron Age 'B' tradition of richly caparisoned chivalry is seen in the hoards and isolated specimens of horse harness, almost all enamelled work, found principally in Breckland, the only finds outside the area being at Cawston (N.) near Norwich, and Westhall (S.) in east Suffolk. All the enamel work is of the broad champlevé character, indicative of Belgic origin and may be dated in the first century A.D., perhaps the middle third of the century, as the 'degenerate Celticism' of its ornament, evinced by a rigid symmetry and a frequent use of small spots of enamel, reveals the onset of Roman influence.

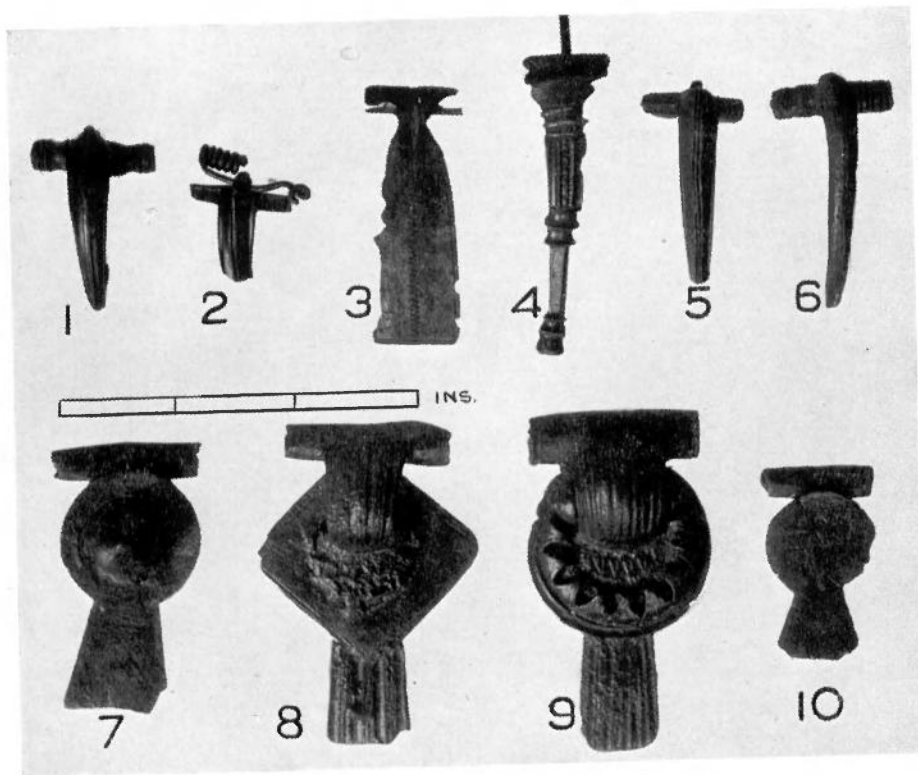
The Westhall hoard of horse harness has often been described¹ but has never before been illustrated in its entirety (Pls. xvi-xviii). It was discovered in 1855, 1 foot 6 inches down, by a farmer draining stiff clay land in Millpost Field on a site subsequently occupied in the Roman Age, as demonstrated by H. Harrod's slight excavations. A dish of Samian ware and a coin of Faustina, long exhibited with the hoard, must be regarded as intrusive and related to the later settlement.

The bronzes were packed on a circular bronze dish and covered by a circular bronze plate embossed with cruciform and palm-branch pattern, perhaps influenced by Samian ware (Pl. xvi, 4). The horse trappings (Pl. xvii) comprised eight enamelled terret rings (Leeds Class 2) with rather poor tendrilled scrolls in bronze on a red enamelled background and two quadrilobe bronze harness mounts in red and dark blue.³ There is also a plain bronze terret (Pl. xviii, 3) and the bronze heads of six iron lynch-pins (Pl. xviii, 4), fragments of bronze

¹ *Arch.* xxxvi (1855), 454-6; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 272-3; *B.M.G.* (1925), 194-6; Leeds (1933), 39-41; Henry (1933), 92 (Fig. 14, 1, gives an inadequate view of most of hoard).

² Leeds (1933), 41, regards the

alleged white enamel as due to decomposition of blue glass. For coloured reproductions of some of these horse trappings see Kemble (1863), Pl. xx, 6; *Arch.* xxxvi (1855), Pl. 37; *B.M.G.* (1925), Pl. viii, 1, and post-card B 58; Leeds (1933), Pl. i, 6.



BRONZE BROOCHES IN THE SANTON (DOWNHAM) (N.) HOARD
(CAMBRIDGE MUSEUM). (See pp. 65, 67.)



PART OF THE WESTHALL (S.) HOARD (BRITISH MUSEUM). (See pp. 68, 69.)

vessels (Pl. xvi, 3), bronze and iron fragments including perhaps a socketed spearhead (Pl. xvi, 1, 2, 6), the plate brooch already described (p. 65) and four flint pebbles highly burnished (Pl. xviii, 5), used perhaps for polishing harness, as Mr. Hawkes has suggested to the writer. The final object of value for dating the hoard is a pear-shaped bronze lamp with crescentic head (Pl. xviii, 2), a type paralleled at Pompeii and datable c. A.D. 50-75. The terrets find analogies in Suffolk (Lakenheath), Essex and Kent, and the quadrilobe mounts in Suffolk (Norton), Norfolk (Santon) and Somerset (Polden Hill hoard, Bawdrip). The linch-pins are only paralleled at Bigbury, Kent, and in Yorkshire,¹ while the Belgic affinities of the plate brooch have already been noted. In other words the hoard represents the spread in East Anglia of Belgic craftsmanship after the adoption of polychromy² in the phase of Claudian Romanisation. The contents of the harness chamber of this isolated establishment were probably concealed in A.D. 61, and the blackened earth and charcoal around may perchance be interpreted as the remains of its destruction at the hands of the over-zealous Roman troops.

The Santon (Downham) (N.) hoard of scrap metal is described below and has been fully studied in recent years by Smith,³ Fox⁴ and Leeds.⁵ Here it is sufficient to note that it contained chariot furniture including two quadrilobe enamelled bronze harness mounts, a two-link bronze bridle-bit (a south-western type), nine bronze linch-pin heads, five bronze axle-ends or ferrules and six bronze nave-bands. These may likewise be attributed to native craftsmanship under Belgic influence of the period A.D. 40-60.

Five enamelled horse-trappings remain for consideration. A quadrilobe open-work harness mount from Norton (S.)⁶ bears a general affinity to those in the Westhall hoard. It is enamelled in red and yellow dots displaying Roman influence with stippled spaces

¹ *P.P.S.v.* (1939), 187 (Fig. 10, J. B. W. Perkins).

² Henry (1933), 103.

³ *C.A.S.C.* xiii (1909), 146-163 (Figs.).

⁴ (1923), 104-8.

⁵ (1933), 18, 39, 48, 52-3, 101 (Fig. 33).

⁶ Bury M. Figured Kemble (1863), Pl. xix, 4; Henry (1933), Fig. 20, 4.

and may be attributed to about the middle of first century A.D. Stippling is also seen on an unpublished terret from Cawston (N.)¹ found in a later well at the 'Woodrow' Inn, of which two fragments survive, it bears on both sides spots of red enamel in counter-sunk recesses and has a small perforation in the centre of the arc (Fig. 12, 3) (Leeds Class 2). Another terret of similar form in the Ashmolean Museum from Lakenheath (S.),² has a scroll design in red and blue with some stippling. The design is 'good and not far short of the Westhall piece,' but Leeds dates it too early. Its patent affinity with the Westhall specimens compels its attribution to c. A.D. 50. Of similar date are two lipped terrets from Stanton (S.) ornamented with six spots of red enamel on each side (Pl. xix, 1, 2).³ These belong to Class 3 of Leeds' classification, a type distributed in Sussex, Somerset, Gloucestershire and Yorkshire, and this pair may have reached Suffolk from the south-west.

The hoard of enamelled horse trappings found in 1838 on the borders of Saham Toney and Ovington (N.) parishes⁴ may serve as epilogue to the story of the East Anglian enamel craft although chronologically it falls outside the limits of our study. The polychrome enamels are violent in hue and thickly applied but are still characteristic of native life rather than Romanised provincial culture. Terrets of Leeds' Classes 5 and 6 are included and triangles and lozenges were used in addition to the square enamelled cell-work hitherto employed. Typologically Leeds⁵ places them a little later than the Seven Sisters hoard, Glamorgan (about A.D. 50-70), and the Norfolk hoard is almost certainly as late as 61, or a decade or two subsequent.

A few unenamelled horse-trappings call for brief mention. A bronze terret, probably from Suffolk,⁶ is cast with rosette and other decoration in relief. On alleged resemblances to some of the Hunsbury material it has been dated perhaps too early, but Mr. Hawkes has denied this and given good reasons for placing it

¹ *N.C.M.* 734. 76. 94.

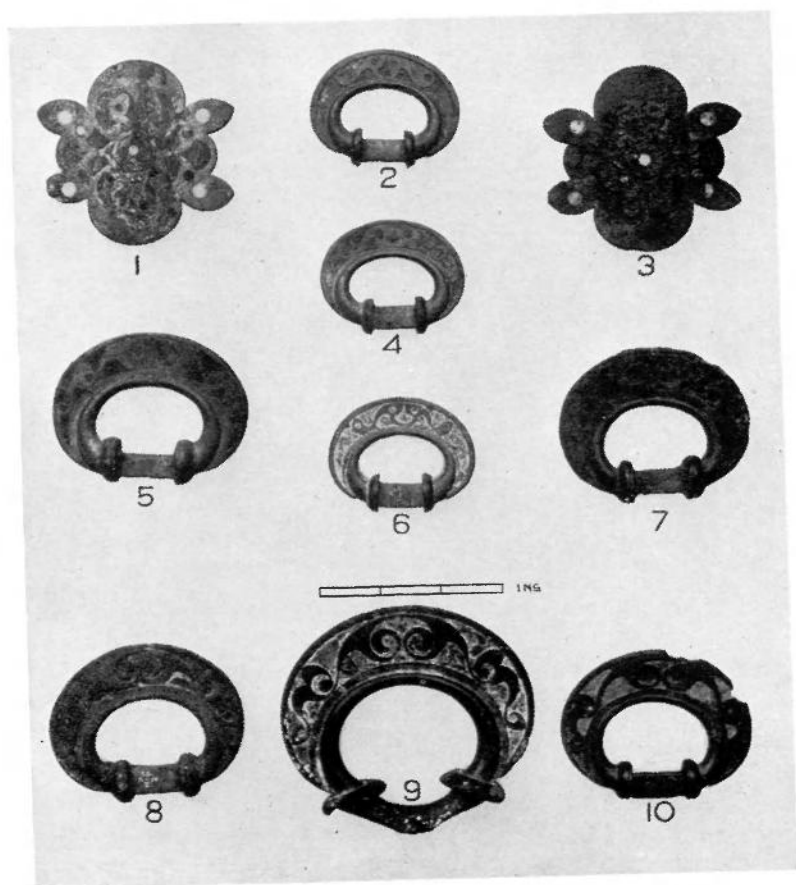
² Called 'Suffolk' in Leeds (1933), 273, 276; Henry (1933), Figs. 19, 21. 40, 42, 124 (Pl. i, 3, in colour).

³ Henry (1933), Fig. 14, 4.

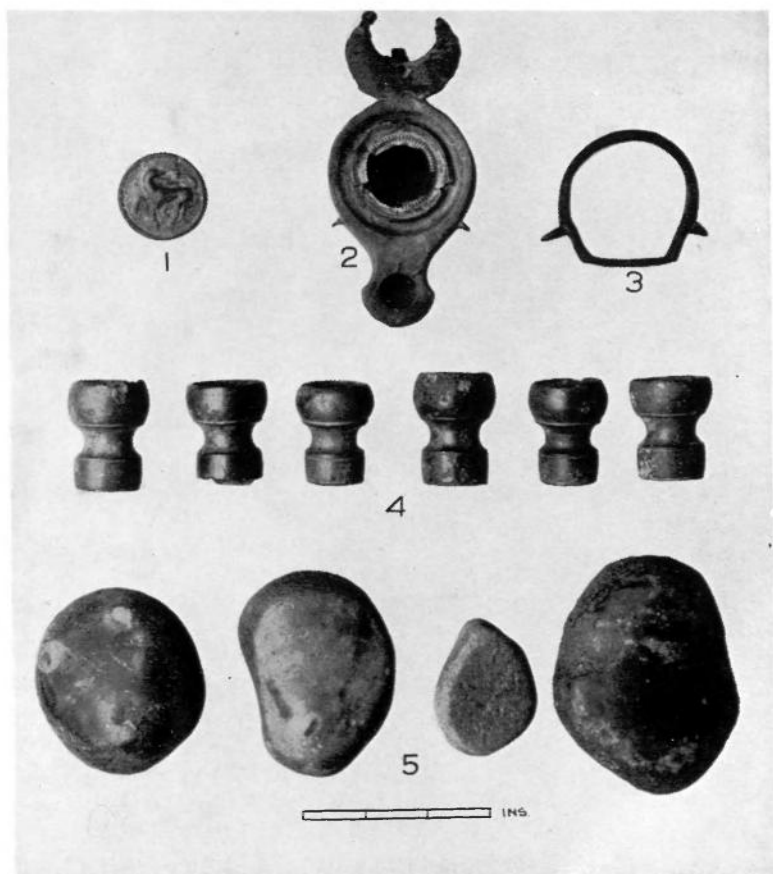
⁴ *N.C.M.*, Figd. *V.C.H.N.* i (1901),

⁵ (1933), 103.

⁶ B.M. ex Fenton Coll.



ENAMELLED HARNESS TRAPPINGS FROM THE WESTHALL (s.) HOARD
(BRITISH MUSEUM). (See p. 68.)



DISC BROOCH, BRONZE LAMP, TERRET RING, HEADS OF LINCH-PINS AND POLISHED PEBBLES FROM THE WESTHALL (s.) HOARD (BRITISH MUSEUM). (See pp. 68, 69.)

late in the first century B.C.¹ A bronze ring partly ribbed from Mildenhall (S.) (Pl. xiv, 6) may belong to harness. Two bronze rings somewhat similar in form but larger ($3\frac{3}{4}$ and $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches diameter) from somewhere in Suffolk (Ipswich Museum) may have had an analogous function, but might also have been foot-rings for a bowl. A bronze moulding from Elveden (S.)² Pl. xiv, 4) is the mouthpiece of a two-link bridle-bit of south-western type of the first century A.D. A bronze fragment with incised design, partly stippled, from Lakenheath (S.) (Pl. xiv, 2) may also be noted here.

Two small enamels, both of the first century A.D., though decorated only in red, may be included in this section. From Cavenham (S.) (Pl. xix, 3) the British Museum has a small bronze mount with traces of red in champlevé technique and from Ixworth (S.) the Ashmolean Museum possesses a red domed knob with a 'design executed in a manner reminiscent of the large fields on the Old Warden mirror.'³

Miscellaneous Metal Objects

The most important of the remaining metal objects of the second phase of the Iron Age due for consideration, is the hoard of chariot furniture, scrap bronze and iron tools from Santon (N.). This was found in 1897 in a labourer's garden at Santon Downham (S.), according to the original account, but subsequent investigation has shown that it was found on the opposite side of the Little Ouse in Santon (N.) parish between the south end of the former Halfmoon Plantation and the site of St. Helen's Church, on the site of an Iron Age settlement as indicated by the scatter of potsherds on the surface. Human bones were later reported to have been found with this hoard, but the authenticity of such an association is open to doubt and its general character is distinctly non-funerary. The hoard¹ was packed in a bronze cauldron² $18\frac{1}{2}$ inches in

¹ *Ant. J.* xx (1940); *Arch. J.* xc (1933), 153, cf. Hunsbury, *Arch. J.* xciii (1936), Pl. ii, 3.

² *C.M.A.E.*; *P.P.S.V.* (1939), 173, 175-6.

³ Leeds (1933), 44. Figured in Henry (1933), Fig. 7, 3, cf. Lexden Tumulus, Essex (*Arch.* lxxvi (1927), Pl. lx, Fig. 1). On dating of mirror style see *Arch. J.* xciii (1936), 93.

diameter, and may be classified into two groups: (I) objects of native workmanship, and (II) Roman imports from the continent. The chariot furniture in the former category has already been inventoried (p. 69) as have the brooches partly British, partly Roman, which suggest that its deposition may have taken place in the upheavals of A.D. 61. The remainder of the hoard comprised three fragments of a bronze band embossed with a repeating scroll pattern,³ a pin with engraved head, a bronze plate engraved with rosettes, with lid and movable duck-shaped rivets;⁴ thin bronze plating, heavily tinned, perhaps from two buckets or tankards, a bronze bowl once tinned ($3\frac{3}{4}$ inches diameter), a fragment (?) of a bronze mirror, bronze pin, a bronze joint for two straps, beam of bronze balance (?), iron pliers,⁵ two perforated pick-heads, a tanged knife, three socketed ferrules, probably for spears, a washer (?), two fragments of coloured glass and bones (animal), complete the native contribution apart from a piece of leather and a lump of beeswax. The Romanised tastes of the clients of the travelling tinker who perhaps owned this collection of scrap metal are revealed by the bronze drop handles, hinges and other metal fittings from a drawer or casket, by a bronze jug with trefoil spout,⁶ by a bronze handle of a skillet⁷ with animal's head terminal and by a bronze steelyard with scale pan and hollow bronze weight with triskele opening in base. Few will dissent from Smith's conclusion⁸ that the 'hoard illustrates the Romanization of Britain at the expense of native traditions and craftsmanship.' Its 'degenerate Celticism' is 'not far removed in date from Welwyn and Stanfordbury,'⁹ and shares in their Belgic heritage, but its Claudian-Neronian date is suggested by the brooches and jug which are scarcely likely to have been imported prior to the Claudian invasion.

¹ C.M.A.E.

² C.A.S.C. xiii (1909), Pl. xv, 1.

³ cf. Rodborough Common, Gloucestershire (B.M.G. (1925), Fig. 169).

⁴ C.A.S.C. xiii (1909), Fig. 8.

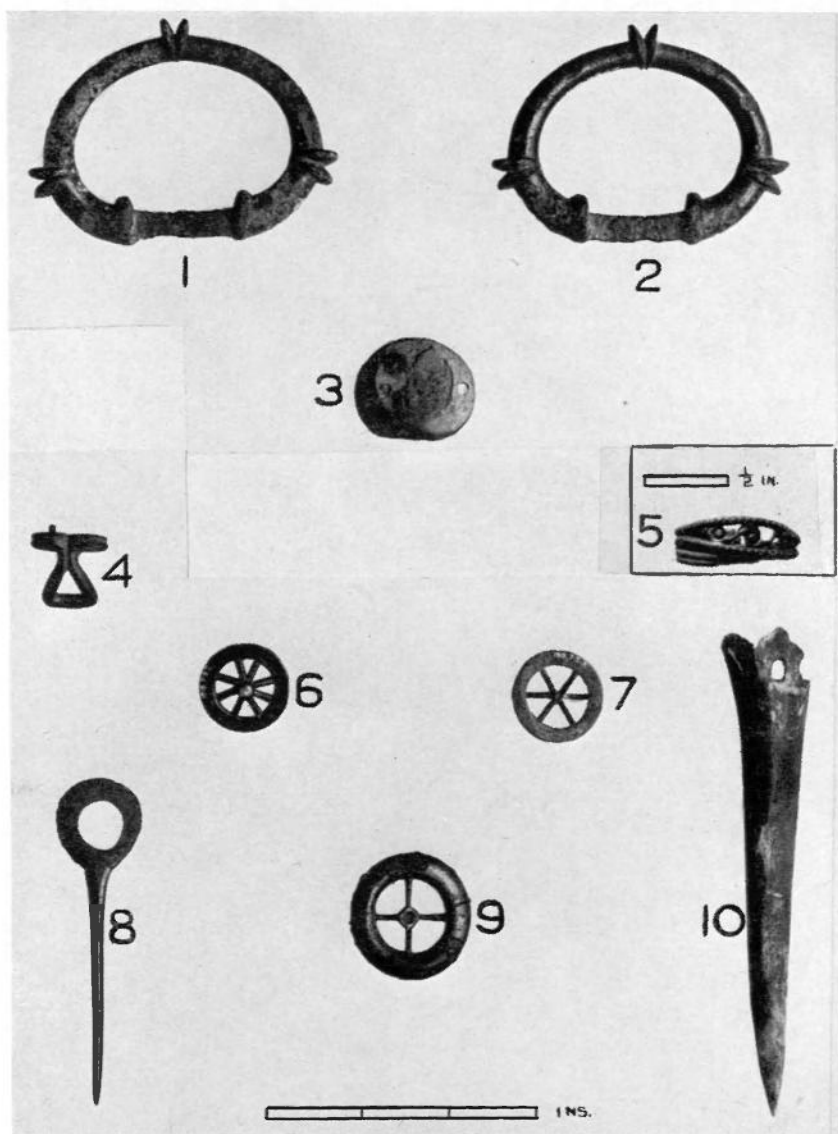
⁵ *ibid.* Pl. xvii, 1.

⁶ cf. Stanfordbury (Fox (1923), Pl. xxvi). Type found at Pompeii.

⁷ cf. Shefford (Fox (1923), Pl. xxvi, 2), p. 213.

⁸ V.C.H.S. i (1911), 321.

⁹ Leeds (1933), 52-3.



METALWORK, ETC. 1, 2, BRONZE TERRET-RINGS STANTON (S.); 3, ENAMELLED BRONZE MOUNT, CAVENHAM (S.); 4, BRONZE CLASP, LAKENHEATH (S.); 5, BRONZE RING, NEAR MILDENHALL (S.); 6, 7, 9, BRONZE AND SILVER 'WHEELS' (SUFFOLK); 8, BRONZE PIN, WEST STOW (S.); 10, BONE TOOL, MILDENHALL (S.). (BRITISH MUSEUM.) (See pp. 70, 71, 74, 34.)



BRONZE CAULDRON FROM LOUND RUN (S.) (BRITISH MUSEUM). (See p. 73.)

Apart from the bronze vessels already described—the tankard from near Elveden (S.), the dish and plate from Westhall (S.), the cauldron and bowl from Santon (N.), there are four bowls, all from Suffolk, worthy of record without entering upon the controversial ground of their use.¹ Three come from Breckland-Icklingham, Lakenheath Fen, and near Mildenhall, one from Lound (north-east Suffolk), and fragments of one from Ipswich (S.). The Icklingham bowl is a thin-shouldered cauldron,² 8 inches in diameter at the mouth and with an iron plug in the centre of the base. That from Lakenheath (S.), also in the B.M., is a small and imperfect shallow bowl with omphalos base and inturned rim and is similar to that from the Fens near Mildenhall (S.) in the Cambridge Museum.

From Lound (S.) comes the lower part of a bronze cauldron, attached by iron rivets to an upper part now lost (Pl. xx), which may well be of late Iron Age date. It was found in 1898 while excavating the peat from a silted up channel called Lound Run, near the water-works, and was found lying in mud at a depth of 5-6 feet, while a bottom of clean white sand was reached at 6-7 feet. Its maximum diameter is now 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches and its height 6 $\frac{3}{10}$ inches. Externally it is blackened and has been patched in several places with bronze rivets. The hole in the base is due to the workman who found it.³

Two bronze rings, the beaded brackets through which they passed and fragments of a hemispherical cauldron from Berner's Street, Ipswich, are now in the Ipswich Museum.⁴

Weapons of the second phase of the Iron Age are rare in East Anglia, and were probably imported. The most important is the bronze sword sheath containing the rusted remains of an iron sword found at

¹ *P.S.A.Lond.* 2s. xxvii (1914-5), 76-95; *B.M.G.* (1925), 162-4; *Antiq.* vii (1933), 69-70, 212-3; Distribution map in *P.P.S.* iii (1937), 164-5.

² *B.M. P.S.A.Lond.* 2s. xxvii (1915), Fig. 15.

³ A more detailed account of this find now in the B.M. and of the numerous antiquities of other periods found at this site will be published in *P.S.I.A.* 1940, see F. D. Longe, *Lowestoft in Olden Times*, 2nd edition (1905), p. 9 (Lowestoft).

⁴ *R.* 1921. 52. 40.

Lakenheath (S.), 1913.¹ The lip moulding of the chape is paralleled at Hunsbury where it is decorated in the mirror style² and is probably of late first century B.C. date. Slightly later, probably dating in the second quarter of the first century A.D., is the loop of a sword scabbard from Icklingham (S.),³ engraved in a simple sort of mirror style though hatching is absent (Fig. 12, 4). An iron bill-head or chopper from Mildenhall (S.) may be of the Iron Age.⁴

Among objects of personal adornment may be noted a penannular bronze bracelet with blunt expanded terminals ornamented in a degenerate style with a conventional animal's head from Shepherd's Fen, Lakenheath (S.),⁵ and doubtless of late first century B.C. or early first century A.D. date. From near Mildenhall (S.) (probably Icklingham or Lakenheath) comes a small bronze finger-ring (Pl. xix, 5) with open-work scrolls between beaded borders. It has been called Saxon⁶ but its general character suggests Iron Age craftsmanship under Roman influence displayed in the beaded borders. A bronze pin with flat ring-head and straight neck (Pl. xix, 8)⁷ from North Stow Farm, West Stow (S.), is probably later than the ring-headed pin proper.⁸ The British Museum has a similar pin from Hammersmith pile-dwelling. An angular bronze clasp (Pl. xix, 4), perhaps used as a button, from Lakenheath (S.)⁹ is of a type found on Iron Age sites such as Glastonbury, Hunsbury and Lydney, and on early Roman military sites such as Colchester and Newstead. The present example probably dates in first century A.D.¹⁰ Finally, attention may be directed to three wheel-shaped discs of silver and bronze (Pl. xix, 6, 7, 9) of unknown purpose, though it has been suggested that they are connected

¹ C.M.A.E. Figured Fox (1923), Pl. xviii, 1.

² *Arch. J.* xciii (1936), Pl. iii, 1, and p. 65.

³ B.M. Figured Kemble (1863), Pl. xviii, 8.

⁴ Figured, *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 272.

⁵ C.M.A.E. Figured *C.A.S.C.* xxxi (1931), Pl. vi, 1.

⁶ B.M. ex Fenton Coll. Figured, *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 271 and 350,

where it is compared to a gold ring from Coggeshall, Essex (*V.C.H., Essex*, Fig. 15 col. plate).

⁷ B.M. ex Fenton Coll.

⁸ Dunning in *Arch. J.* xci (1934), 269-95.

⁹ B.M.

¹⁰ *G.L.V.* i (1911), 219 (E. 151, 159); *J.R.S.* iii (1913), 100; *B.M.G.* (1925), Fig. 177, 151; *Lydney Report* (1932), 75, Fig. 10.

with sun-worship or were used as currency. A similar wheel was found near figures of bronze boars at Hounslow, Middlesex,¹ and other parallels may be cited from Colchester and Stanwick.

THE NATIVE COINAGE

Norfolk and Suffolk have yielded many coins struck either by their native rulers or imported from adjacent areas. Some 550 have been recorded from the two counties, four hoards accounting for about 450 and the remainder being loose finds. All with precise localities are marked on Pl. xxii. The work² of Brooke³ has modified the conclusion of Evans,⁴ that the British coinage began in the second century B.C. and has shown that the first coins struck in these islands were minted about 75 B.C. The coins throw considerable light on the political organisation of the area. This lies on the northern periphery of the circulation of the gold coins of the Bellovaci, minted in the Seine area of Normandy and brought across the Channel by pre-Belgic traders, c. 80-75 B.C.,⁵ or perhaps by early members of the Belgic invaders, as the distribution of these coins is largely coincident with that of cordoned pottery and cremation.⁶ Coins of this type have been found at Bucklesham (S.) (Pl. xxi, 1) and Stoke (S.), probably Stoke-by-Clare.⁷ The hoard of 40-50 gold coins found in a mould on Millfield, Place Farm, Haverhill (S.), about 1780, and now lost, has been regarded as an import from Gaul,⁸ but it might equally well be of the Eastern Counties type of the 'Nameless Hoard' (probably from near Clacton, Essex) and may have contained Gaulish types though it must have been struck in East Anglia, perhaps by Belgic immigrants.⁸

Further evidence of commerce and invasion is provided by the gold coins formerly attributed to the Morini but 'doubtless a slightly later development of

¹ *B.M.G.* (1925), Fig. 172, p. 147.

² (1933), A and B.

³ 1864 and 1890.

⁴ Brooke (1933), B, 100.

⁵ Leeds (1933), 6-7.

⁶ Brooke (1933), A, Map I marks a third find spot by the Orwell but the authority for this is unknown.

⁷ Brooke (1933), A, Map II; (1933), B, 103.

⁸ Brooke (1933), A, 276.

the coinage of the Atrebates,¹ that is, they were struck in north-east Gaul about 75-50 B.C. The East Anglian examples² include one at Glemsford (S.) in the Belgic area of the Upper Stour, one at Fincham (N.) and four from the foreshore between Sheringham and Weybourne (N.), perhaps relics of a small port destroyed by coastal erosion and evidence for trans-channel trade. Leeds,³ however, regards this type (Evans B8) as a 'purely British' production of the Western Group under influences from the East.

Allen⁴ has recently demonstrated that the earliest coinage struck in Britain was of tin, probably produced by the Iron Age 'A' pre-Belgic tribes of south-east England, and coincident in time with the gold coins of the Bellovaci. Suffolk is the northern limit of this coinage⁵ and examples are known from Mildenhall and Bardwell (Pl. xxi, 2) in the north-west of the county. Although this series is approximately contemporary with the gold coins of the Bellovaci about 75 B.C., its circulation may have persisted in north-west Suffolk outside the effective reach at that date of the Belgic invaders.

A group of gold coins struck in Britain, derived from those of the Gaulish Atrebates and called by Brooke,⁶ the Eastern Counties or Early East Coast Group is represented in Norfolk and Suffolk at Brumstead (N.), Norwich (N.) (Hellesdon Hall), Bressingham (N.), Ixworth (S.), and two in Norfolk. It circulated in the middle and later portion of the first century B.C., and its distribution also includes Essex, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, from which Norfolk forms an isolated offshoot.⁷ Brooke⁸ adds that it is difficult to separate from Norfolk the isolated issue of Evans types C2-3 (found at Norwich (Pl. xxi, 3) and Bressingham), which turns the horse into a wolf-like quadruped. 'It is curious that it leaves no trace in the

¹ Brooke (1933), A, 272; (1933), B, 105.

² Sheringham (N.) (2) and Glemsford (S.) marked on Map III (Brooke (1933) A).

³ (1933), 68.

⁴ British Tin Coinage of the Iron Age in *Transactions of the Inter-*

national Numismatic Congress (1936), 351-7.

⁵ *ibid.* 374.

⁶ (1933), A, 276 and map v; (1933), B, 116-123.

⁷ Brooke (1933), B, 123.

⁸ Brooke (1933), A, Pl. i, 9.

Icenic coins,' but a chronological gap probably separates the two series.

A contemporary issue, the Whaddon Chase type, the currency of the Belgic Catuvellauni¹ in Hertfordshire before c. 20 B.C., is only² represented by one coin from Thetford (N.), possibly found in a hoard, and an indication of the commercial utilisation of the Icknield Way. The continuity of this infiltration is attested by the finding of isolated coins of Tasciovanus (c. 20/15 B.C.–A.D. 10)³ at Burwell, Cambridgeshire, and near Norwich (N.)⁴ (Pl. xxi, 16).

A contemporary of Tasciovanus of Verulam and under the cultural influence of this prince's capital was Addedomarus, probably a ruler of the Trinovantes, prior to the Belgic seizure of his kingdom.⁵ His gold coins, distinguished on Pl. xxii, have been found in Norfolk and Suffolk, near Norwich (N.), (Pl. xxi, 14), and at Acton (Pl. xxi, 15), Cavendish, Haverhill, Ipswich and Newmarket (all S.). The coins are distributed over Essex, south-west Suffolk and Hertfordshire,⁶ and in Norfolk and Suffolk their distribution is complementary to that of the silver coins inscribed ATETH, ATTH, ATED (Pl. xxi, 10), which Brooke⁷ has assigned to Addedomarus, instead of to a hypothetical Icenian ruler, Antedrigus. A further argument against Brooke's identification is the absence of coins of Addedomarus from any of the Icenian coin hoards demonstrably of the middle of first century A.D., which do include the silver issues described.

The replacement of the gold coins of Addedomarus by those of Cunobeline (c. A.D. 10–43) and the extension of Belgic commercial influence into Breckland and beyond in the first half of first century A.D., following the Belgic annexation of Essex and the Stour valley, is

¹ Brooke (1933), A, 278; (1933), B, 126.

² Brooke (1933), A, map vi, marks another coin near the River Deben, ? Waldringfield, a mistake for Waldingfield where Evans type B3 occurs.

³ Dr. Wheeler's dating in *Verulamium* (1936), 6.

⁴ Brooke (1933), A, map x.

⁵ Evans (1864), 42, regarded Addedomarus' coins as struck in southern part of Icenian territory. See *Num. Chron.* 4s. ii (1902), 12, 16.

⁶ Brooke (1933), A, map xii—hoard marked in north-west Suffolk—probably an error.

⁷ Brooke (1933), A, 288–9, followed by Collin. (1937), 59.

shown by Pl. xxii,¹ where the coins emanating from the mint of Camulodunum are differentiated (Pl. xxi, 17, 18).

Finally, the coinage attributable to the Icenii must be considered (Pl. xxi, 4-13). Some of the silver issues alone bear the inscription ECEN or ECE. Others are inscribed ANTED, AESV, CAV(L)-DVRO and SAE, and the other uninscribed issues of silver, gold and bronze coins are assigned to this tribe by their distribution, the affinities of their design to the inscribed series and their association with them in hoards. The whole series has been described and figured by Evans² and only a few additional varieties have since come to light. The origin of the Icenic series is well shown by Leeds.³ He notes a clear link between their obverses and those of Tasciovanus, but the zigzagged exergual line on their reverses preserves the tradition of the early Atrebatian series. On some of the reverses the horse's mane is indicated by a double line of dots influenced by the spray surmounting the horse on some of Cunobeline's coins. 'The final descent of the Apollo-head is best illustrated by the remainder of the Icenian types, in which every reminiscence of the laural wreath so religiously conserved in some form or other on nearly all the specimens hitherto examined, now passes out of our ken.' 'A group which I believe to ring the last

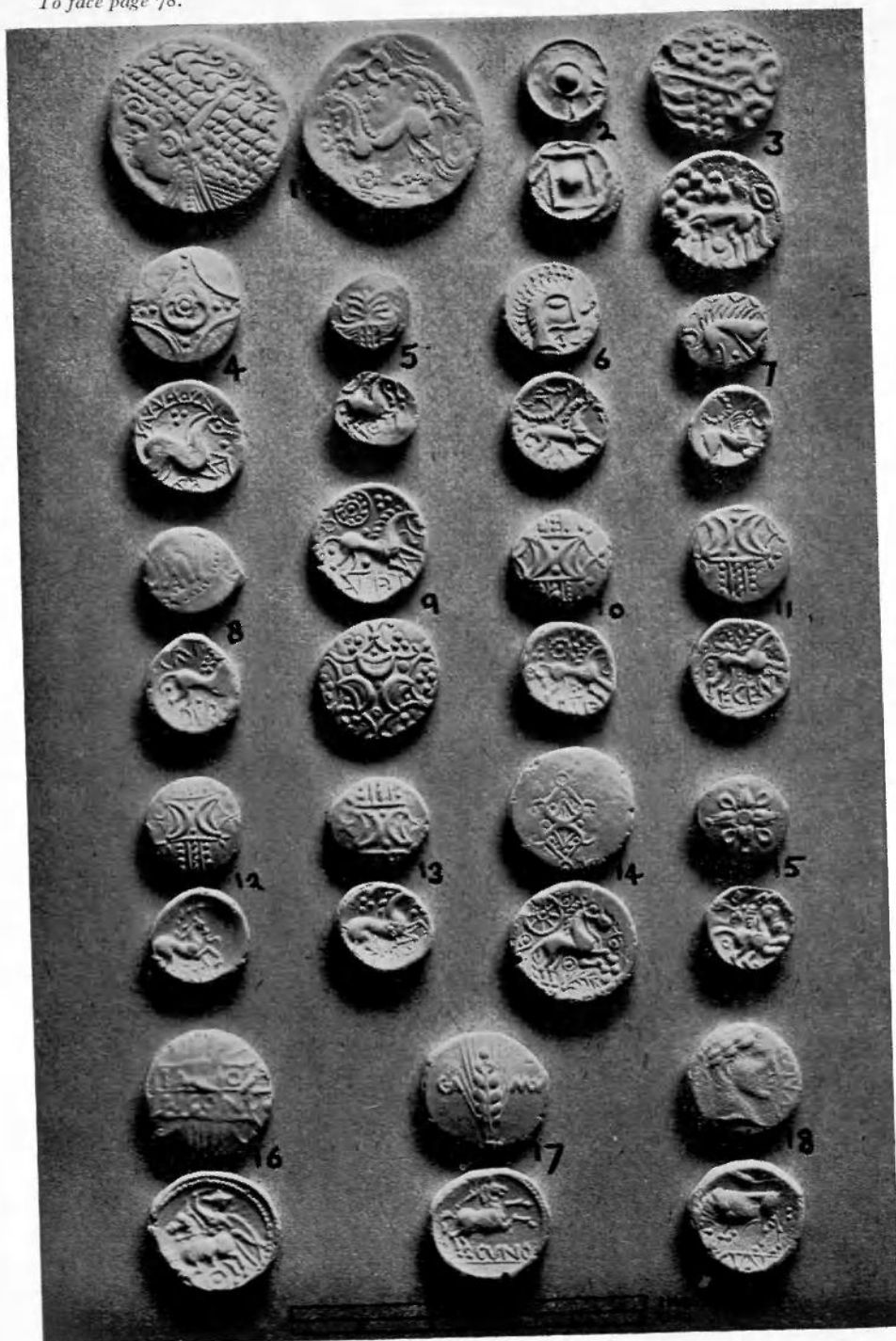
¹ Found at Norwich (N.), Brettenham (N.), Ixworth (S.), near Ipswich (S.), Baylham (S.) (Coddtenham,) Lawshall (S.), Glemsford (S.), Long Melford (S.), see Brooke (1933). A, map xi.

² (1864 and 1890)—others figured by Brooke, (1933), A, and by Spence (1937).

³ (1933), 79-81, and Pl. 26.

PLATE XXI.

1. Gold stater of Bellovaci, Evans A4, near Bucklesham (S.), 1868.
2. Tin coin, East Anglian type, Evans H8, Bardwell (S.).
3. Gold stater, Eastern Counties type, Evans C3, Norwich (N.), 1862.
4. Icenian gold stater, Evans xiv, 14, hoard from Freckenham (S.), 1885.
5. Icenian gold quarter-stater, unpublished type, Irstead (N.). Original in Savin collection.
6. Icenian uninscribed silver, Evans xvi, 8, hoard from Santon Downham (S.), 1869.
7. Icenian uninscribed silver, Evans xvi, 11, hoard from Weston (N.), 1852.
8. Icenian silver inscribed CAV (L) DVRO, Evans xv, 14, hoard from Weston (N.), 1852.
9. Gold stater of 'Anted' (rigus), Evans xviii, 2, near Bury St. Edmunds (S.), 1883.
10. Silver of 'Anted' (rigus), Evans xv, 9-11, hoard from Weston (N.).
11. Silver coin inscribed ECEN, Evans xv, 1, hoard from Weston (N.).
12. Silver coin inscribed ECE, Evans xv, 3, hoard from Santon Downham (S.).
13. Silver coin inscribed AESV, Evans xv, 8, hoard from Weston (N.).
14. Gold stater of Addedomaros, Evans xiv, 3, near Norwich (N.).
15. Gold quarter-stater, probably Addedomaros, though uninscribed, Evans D, 13, Acton (S.), 1891.
16. Gold stater of Tasciovanus of the Ricon mint, Evans viii, 6-9, near Norwich (N.).
17. Gold stater of Cunobeline, Evans ix, 4-10, Lawshall (S.), 1862.
18. Bronze coin of Cunobeline, Evans xxii, 10, Brettenham (N.).



TYPES OF NATIVE COINS FOUND IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK (BRITISH MUSEUM).
(For details see pp. 75-81.)

echo of the Phillipic stater in Britain. In short . . . they seem to owe their inception to influences of every kind diffused from the important and active centres of Verulamium and Camolodunum.'

Silver coins inscribed ATETH, ATTH and ATED have already been noted (Pl. xxi, 9, 10) and their attribution to Addedomaros rejected, as Brooke correctly rejected Evans' identification of the prince they commemorate with Antedrigus of the Dobuni in the Cotswolds. Typologically they are derived from the coins of Addedomaros and Cunobeline and their distribution¹ and associations stamp them as Icenic products.

The derivation of the Icenic coins from those of Verulamium and Camulodunum fixes the chronological position of the series. None is likely to be earlier than the last decade B.C., and may be as late as the opening decade or two of first century A.D. The coinage of the Iceni is unlikely to have been minted after the abortive revolt of 47-8 as none bears the name of Prasutagus, the Roman nominee after that event,² while a few Claudian coins came into circulation in the period 45-61 and are found associated with inscribed and uninscribed Icenic coins in equal numbers and in an equal state of wear in the hoards at Weston (N.) (Pl. xxi, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13), and Santon Downham (S.) (Pl. xxi, 6, 12), concealed probably immediately after A.D. 61. The Roman coins in these hoards may, of course, be loot and not currency circulating among the Iceni. The survival of the Icenic coins in circulation even after 61 seems probable, as four were found at Caistor-by-Norwich (N.),³ a site not occupied till about A.D. 70, and they occur at Brettenham (N.) and Threxton (N.), sites probably first occupied after A.D. 61. It may be that 'conservatism (was) responsible for retaining in circulation of large numbers of native issues of precious metals.'⁴ This continued circulation of Iron Age coins after the Claudian conquest as late as A.D. 75-80 has been noted elsewhere.⁵

¹ Brooke (1933), A, map xii.

² Atkinson in *N.A.* xxiv (1931), 134, suggests that these coins may have been minted in the period 43-61.

³ *ibid.* 134.

⁴ C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* (1937), 5-6.

⁵ *Verulamium* (1936), 226.

The distribution of coins of the Iceni and 'Antedrigus' issues is shown on Pl. xxii.¹ The find-spots in Norfolk are Acle, Brancaster, Brettenham, Caistor-by-Norwich, Cawston, Irstead (Pl. xxi, 5), Middleton, near Norwich, Oxnead, Thorpe-next-Norwich, Threxton, Walsingham and Weston (where the hoard includes 'Antedrigus'), and in Suffolk near Bury St. Edmunds (also 'Antedrigus') (Pl. xxi, 9), Fornham, Freckenham (hoard) (Pl. xxi, 4), Icklingham (also 'Antedrigus'), Ixworth, Lakenheath, Mildenhall, Pakenham (also 'Antedrigus'), Santon Downham (hoard including 'Antedrigus') and Wangford. The Icenic types account for approximately 450 out of the 550 early British coins yet recorded from the two counties. Two main concentrations are apparent—a major one in Breckland and a minor one in the Norwich (N.) region. It was probably in the former area open to influences from Verulamium up the Icknield Way and from Camulodunum via the Stour and Lark valleys as revealed by the distribution of the coins of Cunobeline that the Icenic series evolved.

Outside Norfolk and Suffolk hoards of Icenic coins are found on the Fen islands at March and Wimblington (Stonea), Cambridgeshire, showing that the Southern Fens were probably in Icenic territory.² Fox³ has demonstrated from their exclusive coin distributions that the frontier between the Iceni and the Belgic folk of Cambridgeshire must have crossed the chalk belt near the Devil's Dyke, Newmarket, and though this earthwork has since been shown to be a construction of the Dark Ages, it probably preserves the course of a pre-Roman 'limes.' The exclusive distributions of Icenic and Belgic coins save in the Ixworth (S.) area argue a cultural if not political and military hostility. From the Wash to the vicinity of Bury (S.) the boundary blazed the trail for the subsequent frontier of the kingdom of the East Angles in the sixth century A.D., but south and east of Bury the frontiers of these two

¹ General distribution given in Brooke (1933), A, map xii, but not all sites are marked.

² Fox in *Antiq.* iii (1929), 152.

³ (1923), 90, where the emptiness of the area between the Lark valley and Cambridge suggests a no-man's land, cf. *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 300-1.

periods diverged. In the Dark Ages the Stour valley separated East Angles and East Saxons but in the immediately pre-Roman period the evidence of pottery, burial rites and coins from the mint of Cunobeline, show clearly that the Stour valley and its northern tributaries formed an integral portion of the Belgic kingdom focussed on Camulodunum. On the distribution of pottery of the pedestal urn complex, the Belgic-Icenic frontier has been drawn across the clay belt from near Bury to the River Deben.¹ But in east Suffolk this arbitrary line was selected partly on the inaccurate mapping of Belgic pottery from Waldingfield (on a tributary of the Stour) at Waldringfield on the Deben. There is, in fact, no evidence as yet for pre-Claudian Belgic penetration into east Suffolk, north or east of the Stour valley, and nothing to show if such a frontier existed. The total absence of pre-Claudian material of Phase II from east Suffolk, especially of coins, makes it impossible at present to apportion that district to Icenic or Trinovantes, either in a developed Iron Age 'A' culture or under the new Belgic conquerors. In the east the Icenic coin distribution is confined to the Norwich (N.) region, and there is nothing to prove or disprove an Icenic-Trinovantian frontier from Bury (S.) through the central wooded area of High Suffolk and High Norfolk to the Norwich (N.) region.

The coin evidence therefore fixes the nucleus of the Icenic kingdom in Breckland with a lesser concentration in the Norwich region.² It emphasises that only north-west Suffolk, west, north and north-east Norfolk can definitely be considered Icenian with a possible extension of control to the Fen islands of north Cambridgeshire. The Stour valley and its northern tributaries lie within the ambit of Belgic imperialism centred on the Colchester region. There is as yet no evidence to define the tribal territorial boundaries in south-east Norfolk and east Suffolk, and the area may in the pre-Claudian phase have been largely a depopulated no-man's land.

¹ Hawkes and Dunning in *Arch. J.* lxxxvii (1930), 258; Fox (1933), 159.

² cf. Collin. (1937), 60.

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION, COMMUNICATIONS AND
GENERAL SURVEY OF PHASE II

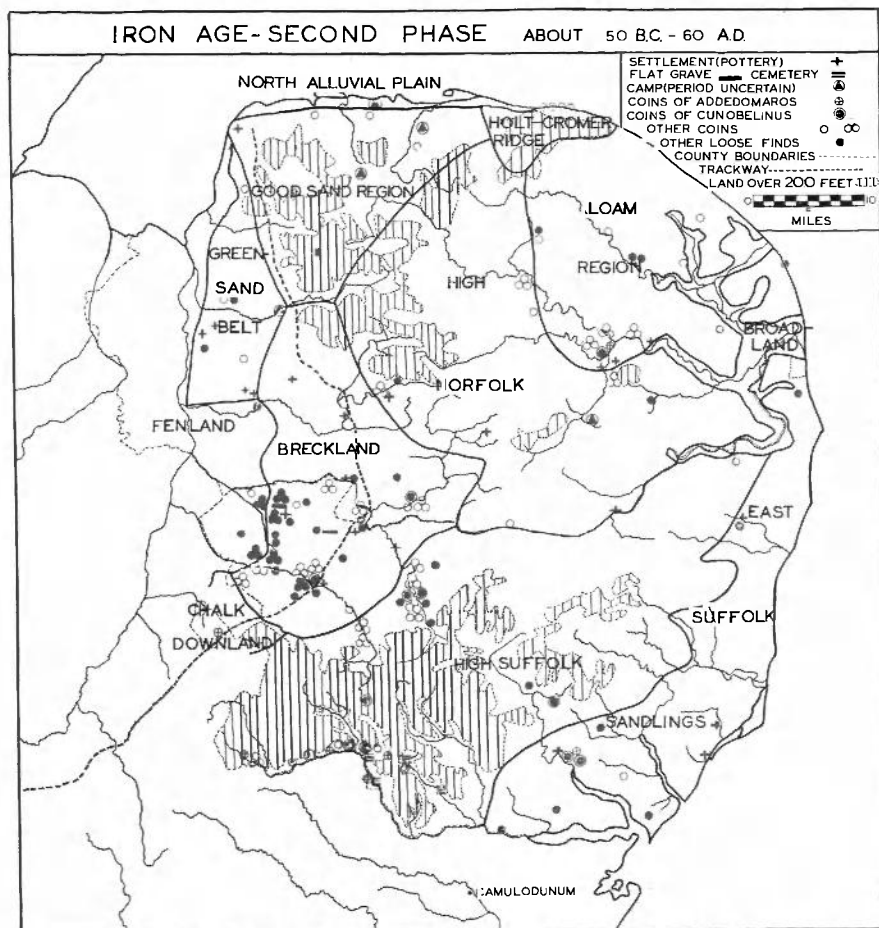
The distribution of population in Phase II (Pl. xxii)¹ is more diffuse than in the earlier period of the Iron Age. The concentrations in Breckland and the Greensand Belt persist, but the absence of finds in the Ipswich (S.) area indicates that the Deben and Orwell estuaries are disused and the area virtually isolated from the continent. The rich clay lands of High Suffolk and High Norfolk are unexploited, but an attack on slightly richer soils, paralleled by Belgic agricultural operations in Hertfordshire, can be discerned in two areas. (I) In the Upper Stour valley, an area previously uninhabited, gravel patches by the rivers were occupied by Belgic invaders in the middle of Phase II. (II) In the Norwich loam region of east Norfolk either unoccupied in Phase I or by survivors in a late Bronze Age state of culture see (p. 38).

The material poverty of Norfolk and Suffolk in relation to the remainder of the eastern counties in the second phase of the Iron Age has been effectively demonstrated cartographically by Miss Chitty and Sir Cyril Fox.² They have shown that population was concentrated on the rich farmlands of the Ivel-Hiz valleys in north Hertfordshire and on the chalk belt in Cambridgeshire owing to the superior agrarian technique of the Belgic farmers, while their more primitive neighbours to the north, the Iceni, with ill-developed methods, clung tenaciously to the poor soils selected by their Iron Age 'A' forebears.

The landward communications of the Iceni with their neighbours were few. There is little indication of intercourse with the Coritani of the Midlands across the Fens. With the Belgic tribes contact could be established by the time-honoured route of the Icknield Way used in Phase I and across the watershed from the Lark to the Stour valleys. That it was established, despite the depopulated areas forming inter-tribal frontiers across both lines of communication, is clear

¹ cf. Fox (1933), Fig. 7 and p. 159.
² (1933), Fig. 7 and pp. 62-3 (the lower chronological limit of this map

is about A.D. 50 and omits Claudian Roman finds), cf. Darby (1936), Fig. 5.



MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF REMAINS OF SECOND PHASE OF IRON AGE IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK. (See pp. 80-83.)

from the growing dependence of Icenic culture on that emanating from Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Essex. Coins, pottery and metal objects tell the same story, but the exclusiveness of the coin distributions confirms their essential hostility. The defectiveness of the archaeological record in east Suffolk renders any attempt to indicate lines of communication between the Colchester and Norwich regions mere speculation, though the reality of the contact in pre-Claudian times is certain. There is no reason to consider the Roman road built to link these areas, probably after A.D. 61, as preserving in whole or in part the course of a pre-Roman trackway. North Norfolk and Essex may also have been linked by coastal navigation.

Our survey of the material culture of Norfolk and Suffolk in Phase II has revealed the survival in one of the two zones occupied in Phase I—Breckland and the Greensand Belt—of a basic Iron Age 'A' culture modified under the influence of an Iron Age 'B' ruling class from the late third century B.C. onwards. The continuity in ceramic forms, and on the settlement sites in west Norfolk and north-west Suffolk demonstrates the persistence of the primitive and conservative culture of the Icenic based on pastoral farming and extensive agriculture. The situation in the Ipswich region is less clear owing to the scanty material but here also a modified Iron Age 'A' culture probably survived to bridge the gap between the Iron Age 'A' invaders and the Claudian settlement of the area.

In the generation following 75 B.C. Hertfordshire fell under the domination of Belgic invaders from overseas, possessed of a superior material culture based on an exploitation of rich soils hitherto neglected, and in contact with the Romanised world of Gaul and the Mediterranean. This hostile culture may have seemed at first a minor event in the Icenian world, but as the first century B.C. drew to a close and passed into the first century A.D. its menacing southern neighbour loomed ever larger in the eyes of the Icenic. It was not till the end of the first century B.C., or even a few years later under Tasciovanus, that Belgic dominion

reached its maximum extent with the annexation of Cambridgeshire as far north as the county town, and south-west Suffolk and Essex seized from the Trinovantes. The Iceni probably did not suffer any diminution in territory as the Catuvellauni, in Suffolk at least, colonised a district previously empty. Their contacts with the Catuvellauni by the Icknield Way before this imperialistic adventure reached its climax, had consisted in a restricted commerce revealed by sporadic coin finds. After that event the trickle became a flood and Belgic influences of every kind, coin models for Icenian moneyers, decoration for their pots, imported pottery, brooches, enamels flowed in a never-ending stream from the Belgic areas into Icenia by the Icknield Way, over the Stour-Lark watershed and through east Suffolk into the Norwich region, now first revealing signs of occupation since the late Bronze Age. Despite this one-way traffic descending from the higher to the lower culture across the unpopulated frontier zone and transforming the Iron Age 'AB' of Icenia into 'ABC,' the mutually exclusive coin distributions of the Icenic and Belgic tribes indicate two political, economic and military units. Why the Belgic expansion was halted at Cambridge and on the northern side of the Stour valley is unknown, when Icenia and perhaps the Trinovantian area of east and south-east Suffolk provided an obvious zone of interest ripe for commercial exploitation and settlement. The area occupied by the Iceni may have been so poverty-stricken that its annexation would have constituted an economic liability or their military prowess may have been so formidable that the Belgic farmers were content with the protection afforded by the depopulated tract between their respective dominions. It has been suggested¹ that the concentration of hill-forts in Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and on the Gog Magog Hills, near Cambridge, constitutes a fortified frontier to protect the Belgic settlers from the outer barbarians—on the north-east, the Iceni. It is, however, remarkable that if the Iceni were such a menace to their more settled neighbours, no attempts should have been made to fortify the

¹ Hawkes and Dunning in *Arch. J.* lxxxvii (1930), 258, 314.

northern approaches to the Stour valley and the Colchester region which the evidence of coins and pottery demarcates as a trade route. The only fortification here is Clare (S.), and in the absence of direct evidence it cannot be used to buttress the theory of a fortified frontier for which other indications are entirely lacking. The distribution of camps in Icenia likewise does not lend any support to the theory of an Icenian frontier to withstand Belgic encroachment save possibly from the sea, but Warham (N.), the one example dated to the late first century B.C. or early first century A.D., might as well, from the excavated evidence, be a fortified Belgic trading post, founded from the sea in scantily populated territory, as an Icenian fortification to resist such an influence.

A hint of possible trading relations with the south-eastern 'B' culture¹ in the early first century A.D. has already been furnished by curvilinear decoration on a sherd at Arminghall (N.) (p. 59), and at Warham (N.).

It is against such a background as we have sketched that the drama of the Claudian invasion was played. The story has been often told² and the main events only will be summarised here.³ The cultural hostility of the Iceni and their Belgic neighbours was reflected in their political re-actions to the events of A.D. 43. The latter opposed the invader, the former therefore supported him.⁴ The inhabitants of Norfolk and Suffolk even then displayed that 'do-different' spirit which Mr. R. H. Mottram has distinguished as one of their salient characteristics. The Roman forces were doubtless eager for the neutrality of a tribe which might have formed an inconvenient thorn in their flesh while they advanced north and west to further conquest. The wealthy Prasutagus, king of the Iceni, or perhaps his father, probably considered himself fortunate in backing the winning side. Within five years the wisdom of his decision was called in question by the severance of relations with their northern neigh-

¹ *P.P.S.* iv (1938), 151-6.

² Hawkes in *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 236-8; Spence, *Boadicea* (1937).

³ It is hoped to publish a fuller

study of the Romanisation of the area.

⁴ Maps of the political situation in 43 appear in *Arch. J.* lxxxvii (1930), Fig. 33, and in Darby (1936), Fig. 6.

bours through the construction in 47-8 of the Fosse Way 'limes.'¹ The disillusionment of the Iceni at this 'encirclement'² was enhanced by the disarmament of themselves and their kinsmen, and their resentment found vent in a rising with their neighbours in the East Midlands, probably the Coritani. The revolt was abortive,³ and was crushed by the auxiliaries of Ostorius Scapula at an unknown site. The speculations of Ridgeway⁴ as to the location of this conflict at one of the Cambridgeshire dykes are nullified by recent work which now assigns these earthworks to the post-Roman period.⁵ The Iceni and their allies were disarmed, but Prasutagus remained as a dependent protected prince though the right of coining was probably withdrawn (p. 79) and his subjects probably retained their arms despite the official disarmament.

The period A.D. 48-61 saw the first penetration of Roman culture into Norfolk and Suffolk. Fresh settlements were founded in south and east Suffolk, such as Great Thurlow and Ipswich, and Needham (N.) on the Norfolk border, but not in the centre of Icenian territory so far as present knowledge extends.⁶ That some attempt was made to Romanise the Icenian nobility is clear from the debts they incurred, for the closure of their credit by panic-stricken money-lenders was one of their incentives to revolt in 61. Archaeologically there is little evidence of the process—a few imported pots from the continent, brooches and bronzes as in the Santon (N.) hoard, a few Roman coins—and the tale has been told. This Romanisation was at best a mere veneer, for the rural and conservative economy of the Iceni was incapable of absorbing the urban blandishments of Imperial Rome, and probably boasted no market town in any way comparable to Verulamium or Camulodunum.⁷ There is as yet no evidence for the occupation of the town at Caistor-next-Norwich (N.) before about A.D. 70⁸ and the location of the

¹ Tacitus, *Annals* xii, 31; *J.R.S.* xiv (1924), 256; Collin. (1937), 91-2.

² *Ant. J.* xviii (1938), 40.

³ Collin (1937), 92-3.

⁴ *C.A.S.C.* vii (1892), 200.

⁵ *Antiq.* iii (1929), 150.

⁶ cf. Spence (1937), 140.

⁷ Wheeler in *Antiq.* iii (1929), 184.

⁸ Atkinson in *N.A.* xxiv (1931), 133.

Icenian tribal centre and palace of its monarchs is quite unknown.

The process of Romanisation—slow and superficial in its spread—was cut short abruptly by the events of 61¹ when for a brief moment the history of Icenia was the history of Britain. Prasutagus died and partitioned his kingdom between the Emperor Nero and his own children—an old device. The Roman tax-gatherers descended on the Iceni and seized the whole inheritance, confiscated the property and enslaved the persons of the Icenian aristocracy, extorted taxes or tribute and added insult to injustice by flogging Boudicca, the widow of Prasutagus, and raping her daughters. The Iceni 'felt they had been cheated of the fruits of their submission; and the personality of Boudicca effected the rest.'² Her inflamed and infuriated tribesmen swept southwards to join their former hated neighbours, the Trinovantes, against the loathed oppressor. Camulodunum, Verulamium³ and Londinium in turn suffered the barbarian impact amid fire and sword. But a detailed study of the chronology and topography of the revolt and of the retribution which fell upon its participants, so ruthless and excessive as to cause the recall to Rome of Suetonius Paulinus, is irrelevant to this survey.

The wastage of the Iceni by fire, sword and famine has been compared to the pacification of the vale of York by William the Conqueror.⁴ This harrying of fugitives and burning of isolated farmsteads and clusters of huts is surely the context for the concealment of the Santon (N.) and Westhall (S.) metal hoards,⁵ of the Icenic and Roman coins from Freckenham (S.), Santon Downham (S.) and Weston (N.), perhaps of the conflagration at the hovel at Postwick (N.), and of the abandonment of many Iron Age settlements which lay desolate throughout the

¹ Tacitus, *Annals* xiv, 31-38; Collin. (1937), 99-104; cf. Spence (1937), esp. 180-196 for causes of revolt and for an unorthodox chronology.

² Hawkes and Dunning in *Arch. J.* lxxxviii (1930), 320.

³ cf. *Verulamium* (1936), 25-6.

⁴ Hawkes in *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 237; Tacitus, *Annals* xiv, 38, 2, 'quodque nationum ambiguum aut adversum fuerat igni atque ferro vastatum.'

⁵ Some of the Roman objects in these hoards may be loot from the revolt.

Roman period. It is perhaps to this phase of panic-stricken flight that we may attribute the discovery of the bronze head of a statue in the River Alde at Rendham (S.) some 30 odd miles north of Camulodunum. It has been suggested¹ that this was the head of the cult statue of Claudius² in the temple of that city which aroused the special displeasure of the Trinovantes and was wrenched from its place to be borne in triumph by the barbarian conquerors. It is to the pacification of 61 that we must assign the origins of the Roman road system of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the temporary camps of the punitive forces as yet little explored.³

But the repression stamped its mark indelibly on East Anglia for a century. The imperfect Romanisation⁴ before the revolt was so retarded that normal development only began in the early second century and no real prosperity dawned till the third century. The depopulation and poverty of the survivors are writ large for all to see. At Caistor-by-Norwich (N.),⁵ in the Flavian period, the cultural optimum of early Roman Britain, the peak of luxury was squalid wattle and daub huts, while Samian ware was sub-normal in amount until the days of Hadrian.

PROBLEMS FOR SOLUTION

The scanty material available for a study of northern East Anglia from 500 B.C. to A.D. 50 has now been summarised and that its general conclusions have not been revolutionary is not a matter for surprise when the yawning chasms in the path of those who essay to study the evidence is considered. The tentative conclusions which the writer has ventured to draw may have to be modified drastically when more intensive research has been completed in this region.

¹ Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain*, 68; *Classical Review* xxviii, 43; Macdonald in *J.R.S.* xvi (1927), 3-7, and *Roman Britain*, 1914-1928 (1931), 77; *P.S.I.A.* xiii, 225, and Spence (1937), 122-3.

² Tacitus, *Annals* xiv, 31.

³ Hawkes in *Antiq.* xiii (1939), 189-90. The absence of any formal submission of the Icenii may mean

that some forces still held out, perhaps in north Norfolk, and this may supply the context for the camps on the coast, e.g. Warham and Holkham. If this view is substantiated by excavation at these sites we may look upon these Icenian refugees as prototypes of Hereward the Wake at Ely.

⁴ Hawkes in *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 237.

⁵ *N.A.* xxiv (1931), 133.

The following suggestions for further investigation are here put forward in the hope that the existing organisations for research in East Anglia—the Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology, the Norfolk Research Committee and Ipswich Museum—may be stimulated to attempt their solution co-operatively for the problems of the Iron Age are peculiarly suited to regional study.¹

1. A distinction has been drawn between the settlement and development of the Breckland-Fenland borders of west Norfolk and north-west Suffolk, and the Ipswich region—a distinction incidentally visible in other periods. These two cultural complexes need closer definition and their possible interactions require elucidation.

2. Several of the camps should be partially explored to determine what military danger necessitated their erection and to secure a stratigraphical sequence of potsherds and associated finds. Suitable sites are Holkham, Warham St. Mary, and Tasburgh in Norfolk, and Clare in Suffolk. The examination of Holkham might reveal organic materials and throw much light on the chronology of the post-glacial deposits which adjoin it, and so of the evolution of the north Norfolk coast line.

3. Intensive field-work is needed on the East Suffolk Sandlings to determine if its apparent depopulation is real or merely a reflection of its lack of exploration, and especially to learn if it owed suzerainty to the Icenii or the Trinovantes in the pre-Claudian period.

4. The complete excavation of a village settlement occupied from the Bronze Age to Romano-British times, such as Runcton Holme, would provide an admirable yard-stick by which to measure the relative potency of intrusive and aboriginal elements during this period. The discovery of a suitable site would call for field-work, as economic exploitation has largely destroyed the sites already known to possess a long continuity of occupation.

5. The continental origins of the Iron Age 'A'

¹ Hawkes in *1st Annual Report of Institute of Archaeology* (1937), 62.

and Iron Age 'B' invaders should be more closely defined by a comparison of the East Anglian material with that in the Rhineland, Flanders and north France, but such a study would inevitably entail more than a mere regional survey.

6. The direction and intensity of the Belgic influence on the Iceni might be assessed by a comparative study of the pottery of the Cambridge and Colchester regions, the approach to which will be facilitated by the publication of the report on the Colchester excavations.

7. The planning of settlements and their contiguous field systems would be advanced by a judicious use of aerial observation and photography over Breckland and the Ipswich region comparable to that already effected in the Fens. It is important that this should be undertaken without delay before the afforestation of Breckland obliterates all evidences of its ancient settlements.

8. The extent and intensity of the Claudian Romanisation of the area need examination, particularly in the Norwich region.

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GAZETTEER OF IRON AGE SITES IN NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK

In the following lists objects attributable to the Iron Age are classified in two phases and arranged under counties and civil parishes in strict topographical and alphabetical order. The approximate position of each parish on Fig. 13 is indicated by a letter and number and also by a reference to the 6-inch sheets of the Ordnance Survey. The literary abbreviations employed are those listed on page 1-3.

FIRST PHASE—ABOUT 500-50 B.C.

NORFOLK

Burnham Market: FI, O.S. 7NE.—Two bronze coins of Ptolemy III and one of Ptolemy V—exact site unknown—found

some years ago. Now in N.C.M. formerly in possession of E. N. Mennell (*Eastern Evening News*, April 23, 1932). Bronze coin of Boeotian League found on Case's farm south of railway station, 1933, in possession of Mr. W. Hall of Burnham Market, 1935.

Burnham Overy: FI, O.S. 7N.E.—Bronze coin of Ptolemy III,

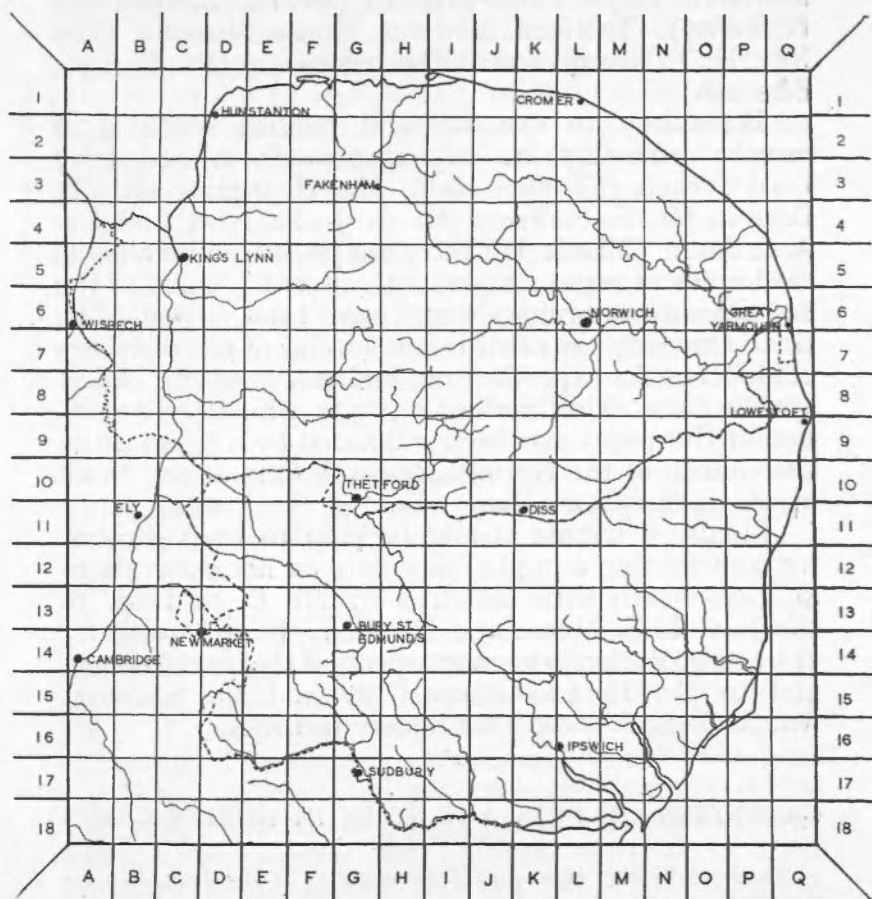


FIG. 13. KEY-MAP OF NORFOLK AND SUFFOLK TO SHOW POSITION OF SITES IN GAZETTEER.

ound by the forge and destroyed (information from E. N. Mennell, 1933).

Harling, West: H10, O.S. 103NE.—Earthworks of two single dwellings on Micklemoor Hill—one partly excavated by H. Apling, 1932. Pottery, spindle-whorls and bones of domestic and wild animals found (see p. 18). Excavated material in N.C.M. (165.932), Thet.M. and in possession of Mr. H. Apling, East Dereham,

P.P.S.E.A. vii (1932), 111-122, 231-2; *Arch. J.* lxxxix (1932), 292; *Ant. J.* xiv (1934), 383, 387-8; xv (1935), 471; *N.A.* xxv (1935), 358; *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 290; *B.A.H.* (1935), 69; Spence (1937), 66; *Oxoniensia* ii (1937), 8.

Markshall: L7, O.S. 75NE.—Potsherds of Iron Age 'A' type found on Chapel Hill on both sides of railway cutting, 1929, by R. R. Clarke. Now in N.C.M. (10.39). Possible Iron Age settlement on south-east of hill revealed by air-photographs; *N.A.* xxv (1935), 357-8.

Runton Holme: C6, O.S. 57NW.—Considerable quantity of pottery of Iron Age 'A2' and 'AB' types, loomweights, firebars, crucible, etc., found in Gorbould's gravel pit No. 1, east of main road to King's Lynn. Representative series published in *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 231-262. This pit was closed in 1936 and a new pit west of the main road and east of Holme Park Farm, opened in 1937, has yielded similar Iron Age wares. Material to 1933 in B.M., C.M.A.E., King's Lynn Borough Museum, N.C.M. (1 sherd given 1935), and since then in the possession of Mr. I. J. Thatcher of King's Lynn. Mr. Thatcher and Mr. P. L. K. Schwabe have provided information on recent discoveries at this site (see also *Arch. J.* xc (1933), 334; *N.A.* xxv (1935), 358; *B.A.H.* (1935), 69; Spence (1937), 67-9, 78-9).

Runcton, South: C6-7.—Complete hand-made pot in coarse dark paste with flat bottom—undecorated—flat top to rim—perhaps Iron Age 'AB' and sherd of large jar in similar paste and firing, but slightly coarser, Iron Age 'A2.' Greenland Fisheries Museum, King's Lynn.

Runcton, West: K1, O.S. 11NW.—Coarse undecorated potsherds in black ware of Iron Age 'A' style found on old land surface beneath modern sand-dunes west of W. Runton Gap, 1931-2, by R. R. Clarke. N.C.M. (10.39).

Salthouse: J1, O.S. 10NW.—Group of small grave mounds on Salthouse Heath unmarked on O.S. Degenerate bucket-shaped pots in Late Bronze Age tradition with cremations excavated by A. Q. Watson, 1936. Pottery in N.C.M. which has other sherds from same site given by Mr. S. Piggott, *East Anglian Magazine* iv (1939), 127.

Setchey: C6, O.S. 45SW.—Pottery of Iron Age 'A2' or 'AB' types, found in gravel pit by oil works, 1936. In possession of Mr. I. J. Thatcher, King's Lynn. Information from Mr. P. L. K. Schwabe.

Stiffkey: H1, O.S. 8NE.—Barrow (unmarked on O.S.) on Warborough Hill, partly excavated 1934 by R. R. Clarke. Pottery of Iron Age 'A1', 'A2', and 'AB'—cremated pig remains—flint flakes, charcoal in N.C.M. Report in *N.A.* xxv (1935), 408-28, with full references. Other notes in *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1934), 410, 430; *J.R.S.* xxiv (1934), 212; *B.A.H.* (1935), 69; *Earthworks Report* (1934), 28; *Arch. J.* xcii (1935), 358. Undecorated sherd in pit (? dwelling) seen in gravel-pit section, 1935, now in N.C.M.

Stoke Ferry: E8, O.S. 70SW.—Dredged from River Wissey above Stoke Ferry Bridge. Fragment of black bowl with fine burnished surface (Iron Age 'A2') in possession of Mr. I. J.

Thatcher, King's Lynn, 1939. Iron Sword of La Tène II type in C.M.A.E. (28.749), C.A.S.C. xxxi (1931), 152 (Pl. iii, 2). Found 1928. Other notes in *Arch.* lxxx (1930), 85; *P.P.S.E.A.* vi. 383; *Arch.* 7. lxxxix (1932), 293; *Journal of British Association Meeting*, Cambridge (1938), 80.

From River Wissey between Stoke Ferry and Northwold, opposite Herringay Hill (D8, O.S. 81NE. — 82 NW.). 1928, hemispherical bronze bowl, dredged. Iron Age sherds also found in sand below 8 feet of peat. (C.M.A.E. C.A.S.C. xxx (1929), 110-1, Pl. i) ? Phase I or II.

Thetford: G.10-11, O.S. 102SE.—Pottery from hearths in gravel pits at Barrow Hill, Iron Age 'A1' and 'A2' found 1925 and following years by the Rev. H. Tyrrell Green. Now in Thet.M. apart from two sherds in N.C.M. (10.39). *P.S.I.A.* xviii (1925), 251-3; *P.P.S.E.A.* vi. 55.

Two antler weaving combs found in eighteenth century in sand at least 3 feet under the rampart of Castle Hill (see Fig. 7). In 1781 they were in the possession of the Rev. G. Burton, of Elveden (S.) but are now lost. T. Martin, *History of Thetford* (1779), 13; Armstrong, *History and Antiquities of the County of Norfolk* viii (1781), *Hundred of Shropham*, 155 (Figs.), probably written by Burton; Add. MSS. B.M.23,045, f. 185 (Figs.); York volume *Arch. Institute* (1846), 6; *Proc. Somerset Arch. and Natural History Society*, xlviii (1902), 116; *G.L.V.* i (1911), 280; *Norfolk Annual* (1935), 34; *I.B.W.* (1937), 77.

Tottenhill: C6-D6, O.S. 57NW.—In surface soil of gravel pits on west side of road to King's Lynn, 1934, and years following. Numerous potsherds in Iron Age 'A2' and 'AB' styles, chiefly in possession of Mr. I. J. Thatcher and Mr. P. L. K. Schwabé, of King's Lynn, but fragments of one Iron Age 'A2' bowl in N.C.M. (97.34). *N.A.* xxv (1935), 358; *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1934), 430.

Walton, East: E5, O.S. 46NE.—Barrow at foot of Kettle Hills about 40 yards south of the Gayton Thorpe boundary, destroyed about 1886, when skeletons were found lying in a circle with feet to centre. The soil was 'black with human remains.' The 'earthen ar' found in this mound was exhibited to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in 1889 by Anthony Hamond and was perhaps preserved for some years at Westacre High House, but cannot now be traced. C.A.S.C. vii (1893), 112-3; *The Antiquary* xlix (1913), 423 called Walton.

Weeting: F9-10, O.S. 93SW.—Small barrow with cremation close to Bromehill Cottage (Botany Bay), excavated by Mr. A. L. Armstrong (Warrington), who has the material. Fox (1923), 79; K. and H. (1932), 172 (the site is not in the "park"); *N.A.* xxv (1935), 425-6.

Settlement at the Black Hole, Grime's Graves, F9, O.S. 93 NW.—Pottery of Late Bronze Age types under Iron Age 'A1' influence; flint implements, ring of spiral twisted bronze wire, small chalk cup, bone tools. Excavated by Mr. A. L. Armstrong. Similar pottery found elsewhere on site (e.g. in 1914 excavations and on floors, 15, 16, 22, 85). Material in B.M.—a few sherds in Thet.M.

but the bulk is in the possession of Mr. Armstrong. *Report on Excavations at Grime's Graves* (1914), 212-3, Figs. 82-3; *P.P.S.E.A.* ii (1916), 433-4 (Fig. 89); iii (1919), 92-3; iv (1923), 192-3 (Bone tools Fig. 20); v (1927), 107-8, 119; *Ant. J.* i (1921), 82; Fox (1923), 110; Hawkes in *St. Catharine's Hill* (*Hampshire Field Club*) (1930), 99, 102, 104-5, 119-20, 123, 146, 165; K. and H. (1932), 77, 147-8; *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), 451; *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 232; *Antiq.* vii (1933), 179; *B.A.H.* (1935), 69; *H.M. Office of Works Guide to Grime's Graves* (1936), 21-2; Regional Guides to Ancient Monuments, *East Anglia and Midlands* (1936), 13-4; Spence (1937), 67.

Settlement on Bromehill and slope to River Little Ouse (F9-10, O.S. 93SW.). Potsherds of Iron Age 'A1' type found 1928-9 by R. R. Clarke (N.C.M. 10.39).

Wereham: D8, O.S. 69NE.—Fragment of antler weaving comb probably from pit on border of Stoke Ferry. (King's Lynn Borough Museum.) (Fig. 7, 3.)

Norfolk: Site unknown. Bronze brooch of modified boat form with knobs and elongated catchplate (B.M. 1853. *P.S.A. Lond.* 2s. xxi (1906), 113).

SUFFOLK

Badwell Ash: I12-13, O.S. 35SW.—Hearth in gravel pit with pottery of Iron Age 'A1' type, loomweights and animal bones, found 1935 by Mr. B. Brown. Material in Ip.M. (1935.125) (some removed there from B.M.). *Ant. J.* xv (1935), 474-5 (section of hearth and illustrations of truncated pyramidal loomweights) (S. E. Winbolt).

Barking: J15-K15, O.S. 65NE.; 66 NW.—Iron Age 'A1-A2' pottery from depressions at Moor's Hill, Darmsden, 1938. Ip.M. R. 1938.243 (see Fig. 5).

Barrow: F13, O.S. 43NE.—Barrow at Barrow Bottom, adjoining Bury-Newmarket main road, opened 1813—two hollow-bladed iron spearheads (Bury M. Z.176 from Sir T. R. Gage) found. This may be the same discovery as the finding of a human skeleton in a field with a coarse clay bead in the possession of B. Nightingale, 1850 (*Arch.* xxxiv. 1852, 49 and Fig. 19, Pl. v). *P.S.I.A.* ii, 207-8; vi, 188; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 343 (called Anglo-Saxon); Fox (1923), 76, 85, 117, 265; K. and H. (1932), 172; *Ant. J.* xii (1932), 420.

Brandon: F10, O.S. 6SE.—Large cemetery in low mound some 80 yards south of River Little Ouse in Staunch Meadow. Age doubtful. Skeletons of horses and fragments of iron also found. From about 1870 these skeletons were dug up and ground in a bone mill. In 1895-6 at least 120 skeletons were excavated and many have been described (see p. 44) by C. S. Myers in *Journal of Royal Anthropological Institute* xxvi (1896), 113-128 (Figs.) ('An account of some Skulls discovered at Brandon, Suffolk' and by W. L. H. Duckworth in Marr and Shipley's *Natural History of Cambridgeshire* (1904), 250, 252; Fox (1923), 77, 114-5. Over a hundred skulls from this site are in the Museum of Anatomy, Cambridge, while one is in Thet.M.

Brantham : K18, O.S. 88NW.—Iron Age 'late A1 or early A2' pottery on hut floor with bricquetage (? loomweights), flint cores and flakes and in silting of circular trench round ? a beaker burial in gravel pit on Brantham Hall Farm, 1924. (Ip. M. R. 1925.5).

Burgh Castle : P7, O.S. 2NW.—Fragment of head of bronze brooch of Hallstatt type (cf. *B.M.G.* (1925), Fig. 91), found 1848-9 (N.C.M.) William Squire 98.50—*Catalogue of Antiquities* (1909), 47, no. 432. It must be pointed out that Squire was an antique dealer, so the provenance of any donation by him is open to question.

Bury St. Edmunds : G13, O.S. sheet 44.—Bronze ring-headed pin (B.M.). *B.M.G.* (1905), 147; *P.S.A.Lond.* 2s. xx (1905), 346; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 275; Fox (1923), 76; *Arch. j.* xci (1934), 292 (Dunning).

Near Bury St. Edmunds but the exact site has not been located. Found 1883. 'Hertford Warren,' near Lord Bristol's estate—perhaps south of Bury, near Ickworth. Iron dagger of modified anthropoid type in bronze-plated sheath (Saffron Walden Museum). *Arch. Ixvi* (1915), 569-70 (Fig. 1) (Sir A. Evans); *P.S.A.Lond.* 2s. xxvii (1915), 98; Fox (1923), 82; K. and H. (1932), 189 (misspelt 'Hatford' Warren).

Cavenham : F12, O.S. 32NE.—Iron Age 'A2' pottery (3 pots) with flint flakes from hearth on Cavenham Heath (see Pl. iv) (B.M. (1929-12-17), bought G. F. Lawrence. *Hampshire Field Club* xi (1930), 165 (Hawkes); *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 231; Spence (1937), 67.

Creeting St. Mary : K14 O.S. 57SW.—Woolard's Pits. Iron Age 'A2' pot found with cremation (Ip.M. R. 1929, 198), see Pl. i).

Felixstowe : N18. O.S. ? sheet 90.—Bronze brooch of Hallstatt type (Fig. 6). Bury M. Acton Coll. Z.175.

Icklingham : E12-F12, O.S. sheets 21, 22, or 32.—3 bronze brooches of Hallstatt type (Bury M. Acton Coll. Z.61, 62, 63). Fox (1923), 74-5; K. and H. (1932), 169. Similar brooch in private possession (information from Mr. R. A. Smith)—Bronze brooch of La Tene Ia type (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford—1932.515). Leeds (1933), 3 ('Suffolk') (see Fig. 6).

Ipswich : K16, O.S. 75NW.—Bramford Road—coarse pottery in Iron Age 'A' style (Ip.M. R. 1929.216).

O.S. 75NE.—Bolton's Pit (Dales Road Brickfield). Burnished pot in black-grey ware (Iron Age 'A2') (Ip.M. R. 1925.110).

Ixworth and district : H12.—Seven bronze brooches of Hallstatt types, leaf-shaped brooch with swivel pin (Scandinavian type) and part of embossed rim of bronze bowl—probably, but not certainly, found in the district. All in C.M.A.E., with one exception from J. Warren Coll. *P.S.A.Lond.* 2s. xxi (1906), 97 ff, 101, 108-9, 114 (Figs. 4 (leech brooch), 5 (boat-shaped brooch), 10 (spiral wire brooch), 11 (bowl rim), 12 (leaf-shaped brooch), 24, 25 (bow brooches)). (See Pl. v). Fox (1923), 74-5, 86 (Fig. III—La Certosa type brooch). K. and H. (1932), 169.

H12, O.S. sheet 34.—Sherds with flat-topped rims and finger-printed shoulders in Iron Age 'A' style (Ip.M. R. 1936.109B).

Lakenheath : E10-11, O.S. sheets 5, 6, 11, 12.—Boat-shaped bronze brooch of Hallstatt type (B.M. from G. Chester, 1854); *P.S.A.Lond.* 2s. xxi (1906), 113; Fox (1923), 74; *B.M.G.* (1925), 92 (Fig. 91); La Tène I brooch with ? bone bead at tip of foot (Lakenheath Warren) (Ip.M., Clouston Coll., 1934 76.12, Fig. 6, 5); similar with foot missing (Ip.M., Clouston Coll., 1934 76.11, Fig. 6, 6). C.M.A.E. (1892, FB) has metal representation of animal form with reverted head like La Tène I brooch but with two studs for attachment (Fox (1923), 75-mapped in *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), Fig. 6a) from Undley.

Iron Age 'A1' pottery (C.M.A.E.). *Arch. J.* xxvii, Pl. xi, 164, and Abercromby, *Bronze Age Pottery* (1912), ii, Fig. 476, 52; Fox (1923), Pl. xiv, C3; Pl. xvi, 3; see also Spence (1937), 67; *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 291.

NE. foot of Maid's Cross Hill near Fen edge, E10, O.S. 12NW., settlement with refuse pits partly excavated by Lady Briscoe, 1938 (see p. 35 and Fig. 7, Pl. vii). Pottery in Iron Age 'A2' style, worked bones, antler weaving comb, needle in possession of Lady Briscoe, Lakenheath Hall, 1939. Report to appear in *C.A.S.C.*

Near by, on the Warren, north of the road to Wangford in a shallow sand pit, R. R. Clarke found coarse undecorated pottery (Ip.M., given 1937).

Caudle Farm : E11, O.S. 12SW.—Cremation with two Iron Age 'A2' pots found 1914 (see p. 19 and Pl. ii), now in possession of Lord Iveagh, Elveden Hall.

Mildenhall : E12, O.S. sheets 11, 20, 21.—Degenerate La Tène I brooch (C.M.A.E., no. A.04.150). Fox (1923), 75-6; *Archaeologia Cambrensis* lxxxii (1927), 110, no. 54.

'Skirt-lands' on edge of fen ? O.S. 21SW.—Chariot burial, found in levelling sandhills, 1812—skeleton of man between horses' skeletons with iron sword, 'celt' and gold torc. Perhaps a barrow. Finds now lost. *Arch.* xxv (1834), 609-10; Fox (1923), 81, 86; Wheeler, *Prehistoric and Roman Wales* (1925), 170; *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 233.

Risby : F13, O.S. 32SE.—Secondary burial in barrow (Fox (1923), no. 30) on Long Heath Field, Risby Heath, excavated by Canon Greenwell, 1869. Bowl with foot 'sub-Marnian' type in B.M. (79, 12-9, 1897) (Pl. iv) *P.S.I.A.* iv (1870), 367; Fox (1923), 77, 85, 327; *Ant. J.* xx (1940), 117, 119 (Fig. 14).

Rushmere St. Andrew : L16, O.S. 76SW. (probably).—Two Iron Age 'A1' pots found some years ago (settlement), in Ip.M. (R.1939.8). (Fig. 4).

Santon Downham : F10, O.S. 13NW.—Hearths and pits south of Highlodge Farm found 1927—superficial excavations in subsequent years by the Rev. H. Tyrrell Green. Pits cut through by Ministry of Labour trainees 1935. Iron Age 'A2' and 'AB' pottery. In Thet.M., Ip.M. (given by R. R. Clarke, 1937), and in possession of the Rev. H. Tyrrell Green, Santon Downham. *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1932), 122 ('between Thetford and Brandon'); *Daily Express*, July 19th, 1935 (photograph of trenches cutting through pits).

Stutton : K18-L18, O.S. 88NW.-NE.—Cairn of septaria in

depression destroyed by erosion on north bank of River Stour. ? cremation burial. Hut urn with bowl, loomweight, hand-brick, worked flints, iron fragments, goat's skull, charcoal (see p. 21 and Figs. 2, 3; Pl. ii). All in Ip.M. (R.L.1933.145). *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Recent Archaeological Discoveries* (1933-1938) (Institute of Archaeology) (1938), 39.

Sudbury: G17, O.S. 72SE. or 79NE.—Early La Tène II bronze brooch (St. Albans Museum—J. A. Ball, Coll. 12.20) (Fig. 10).

Waldringfield: M16, O.S. 7 6SE.—Flat grave with inhumation-skeleton wearing bronze bracelet, about 1886—handbrick from this grave is in Ip.M. (R. 1920.50.106).

Wattisfield: I12, O.S. 24SW.—Sherds of Iron Age 'A' pottery (Ip.M. 1936.31), found at Dunhill.

North-West Suffolk: probably from the Lark or Little Ouse valleys.—Leech-shaped bronze brooch (Hallstatt type) (Bury M. Z.166 from J. Shirley) (Fox (1923), 74-5).

Suffolk: locality unknown—perhaps from north-west part of county.—La Tène Ia bronze brooch (Fig. 6) (B.M., Fenton Coll. (1927, 12.12.8)).

SECOND PHASE—ABOUT 50 B.C.—60 A.D. NORFOLK

1. General Finds

Arminghall: L7-M7, O.S. 75NE.—Pottery in Iron Age 'A' tradition and 'ABC' style from secondary silting of ditch of timber monument, excavated 1935. Now in N.C.M. *Antiq.* ix (1935), 466-8; *P.P.S.* ii (1936), 16-18 (Figs. 6-8); *Arch. J.* xciii (1936), 79.

Attleborough: J9, O.S. 85SE.—From H. Pointer's sand-pit on west side of Leys Lane, numerous sherds in Iron Age 'AB' and 'ABC' styles and a fragment of bronze in the possession of Mr. H. Apling, 1939, who has granted facilities for its examination. The clay rings from Attleborough in Ip.M. may come from this site and are perhaps of the Iron Age.

Bodney: F8, O.S. 71SE.—South-west of the Blackwater Ford, sherds found by W. G. Clarke (now lost—MS. note by W. G. Clarke).

Brooke: M8, probably O.S. 88NW.—Triangular clay loomweight from Anglican cemetery (exact site unknown). B.M. 1870. B.M.G. (1925), 152 (Fig. 179).

Caldecote: E7, O.S. 70NE.—South-east of site of church, sherds of Iron Age 'ABC' wares found by R. R. Clarke, 1931-2. Roman pottery occurs on the same site. (N.C.M. 10.39.)

Cawston: K4, O.S. 38NE.—From well at the 'Woodrow' Inn, bronze terret ring enamelled in red (Fig. 12) (N.C.M., Fitch Collection 734.76.94—*Catalogue*, 1909, 47, no. 439).

Coltishall: M4, O.S. 40SW. or 52,NW.—Iron Age 'C' tazza of reddish-brown ware found in chalk-pit about 1829 with (? genuine association) portion of large amphora (now lost). This is perhaps the same site as the marlpit at the hill on the road towards North Walsham which in 1810 produced several urns (date unknown

—N.A. iii (1852), 426). The tazza (Pl. xiii.) is now in N.C.M. (S. Woodward Coll., 1838) (*Catalogue*, 1909, no. 345), which also contains in Woodward Coll., probably from the same site, part of a La Tène III derivative brooch with lateral spring and moulded collar near head. *Arch.* xxii (1829), 422; xxiii (1831), 365; *Arch.* f. xlvi (1889), 335, 359; *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), 275 316.; *G.L.V.* ii (1917), 498; P. Millican, *History of Horstead* (1937), 3; N.A. xxvi (1938), 272.

Creake, South: F2, O.S. 15NE.—Camp (Fig. 8) on top of Bloodgate Hill levelled in early nineteenth century. Called Burrow Dykes on Faden's Map of 1797 and Burrow Dyke on Bryant's Map of 1826. H. Spelman, *Icenia* (1727), 149; Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia* ii (1806), 197; *Arch.* xiv, 5; xxiii (1831), 369; *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), 316; *Ant.* f. xiii (1933), 400; *B.A.H.* (1935), 69.

Heacham: D2, O.S. 6SW.—Long mounds on Manor Farm (marked on O.S.), probably salt-workings partly excavated, 1913, by Mr. B. Lowerison, who found a 'native pre-Claudian heavy roll-rim' in black ware and also 'Belgic' first century A.D. ware (now lost). *Report of Earthworks Committee* for 1912, 14; 1913, 11–2; *P.P.S.E.A.* i (1913), 345–7; *Ant.* f. xiii (1933), 399.

Holkham: G1, O.S. 3SW.—Camp (Fig. 8) in reclaimed salt-marshes (Pl. ix, oblique air-photograph taken in 1930). Flint flakes found. H. Spelman, *Icenia* (1698 and 1727), 149; *Arch.* xxiii (1831), 361; *The Geology of the Country around Fakenham, Wells and Holt* (1884), 43; *Saga Book of the Viking Club* v (1906–7), 29; vi (1908–9), 47–54; W. A. Dutt, *The Norfolk and Suffolk Coast* (1909), 277; *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), 318; *Ant.* f. xiii (1933), 400; *Transactions of the Norfolk and Norwich Naturalists Society* xiii (1935), 421; *P.P.S.* ii (1936), 231–3 (vertical air-photograph); *Norfolk Annual* (1938), 5.

Hunstanton: D1, 2, O.S. 6NW.—Potsherds of Iron Age 'ABC' (Pl. xiii), found 1923 during digging of trench near Light-house (C.M.A.E., 23.1341, given by Mr. Tams).

Ickburgh: F8, O.S. 83NW.—On west side of River Wissey close to Langford parish, hearths examined 1938–9 by Mr. S. George. Iron Age 'ABC' wares—some given to N.C.M. and Thet.M. Information from Mr. T. Wake and the Rev. H. Tyrrell Green, F.S.A.

Markshall: L7, O.S. 75NE.—Cordoned sherds from Chapel Hill found by R. R. Clarke (Iron Age 'ABC'). N.C.M. (10.39).

Massingham, Great: F4, O.S. 34NE.—Sherds on Massingham Heath north-west of Fieldbarn Plantation; sherds of late Iron Age pottery apparently wheel-turned, found by Mr. P. L. K. Schwabé 1935, and in his possession.

Middleton: D5–6, O.S. 45NE.—Blackborough End. One late Iron Age sherd with burnished surface, found 1938, about two-thirds of a mile due south of church by roadside. In possession of Mr. J. O. H. Nicholls, 9, St. John's Terrace, King's Lynn. Information from Mr. P. L. K. Schwabé.

Narborough: E6, O.S. 46SE.—Camp (Fig. 8) in Camphill Plantation, partly destroyed in sixteenth century (H. Spelman, *Icenia* (1727), 142). Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* i (1722), 474; *Arch.* xxiii (1831), 371–2; *f.B.A.A.* xiv (1858), 195;

I.B.W. (1925), 190; (1937), 78; *B.A.H.* (1935), 69. Iron Age and Romano-British potsherds from the site found by Mr. P. L. K. Schwabé are in his possession (*N.A.* xxvii (1940), 247).

Needham: M10, O.S. 106SE.—Dean's Gravel Pit. Claudian Roman pottery found since 1936 in quarrying and in the possession of Mr. S. S. Frere, who intends to publish a report on it. Previous Romano-British discoveries at this settlement are described with illustrations and a plan by the present writer in *N.A.* xxvi (1937), 145-153.

Postwick: M6, O.S. 64SW.—Isolated hut by edge of marshes south-east of church excavated by R. R. Clarke, 1935. Occupation shown by Iron Age 'AB' potsherds and a few sherds of Flavian and later Romano-British pottery. All finds are in N.C.M. (83.936). *P.P.S.* i (1935), 136-7; *N.A.* xxvi (1938), 271-7 (plan, section and illustrations).

Runcton Holme: C6, O.S. 57NW.—From same sites (Gorbould's pits 1 and 2), occupied in first phase, some pottery of Iron Age 'AB,' 'ABC,' Gallo-Belgic wares and imitations, and Claudian Roman wares. (For bibliographical references and list of institutions containing material from this site, see p. 93 above.)

Santon: G10, O.S. 93SW.—Between the east end of the former Halfmoon Plantation and the site of St. Helen's Church was found the hoard of scrap metal, etc., commonly called the Santon Downham (S.) hoard. Found in 1897 and now in C.M.A.E. (see p. 71). For correction of site see *N.A.* xxv (1934), 206, and for suggestion that skeleton of man was found with or close to hoard, see *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, 2nd series, ii (1907), 6. For literature relating to the hoard, see *C.A.S.C.* ix (1899), 430-1; xiii (1909), 146-163 (R. A. Smith) with plates; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 321-3; *G.L.V.* i (1911), 182; *Arch.* lxiii (1912), 23, 28; *P.S.A.Lond.*, 2nd ser., xxvii (1914-5), 87-9; Fox (1923), 104-8, 119, 192, 213, 215, 283 (plate); Henry (1933), 89-90, 99 (Figs. 12.4, 17); Leeds (1933), 18, 39, 48, 52-3, 95, 101; *Arch. j.* xc (1933), 153; *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 233; *I.B.W.* (1937), 78; Spence (1937), 146; Wheeler, *London in Roman Times* (1930), 94; *P.P.S.* v (1939), 175-6 (corrects Smith's view of the bit).

Potsherds of Iron Age type occur widespread between the site of the former Halfmoon Plantation and the site of St. Helen's Church, and indicate a settlement. Sherds have been noted by Messrs. H. D. Hewitt, C. S. Leaf and R. R. Clarke.

On Santon Warren close to a Romano-British site (*N.A.* xxv (1934), 202-6) a few Iron Age 'ABC' sherds have been found (N.C.M. 10.39 from R. R. Clarke). Two sherds in Thet. M. from Santon probably come from this site.

Saham Toney: H7, O.S. 72NW.—Hoard of 7 enamelled horse trappings found in 1838 near the earthwork called 'High Banks' on the borders of Saham Toney and Ovington. Now in N.C.M. (66.47, from the Rev. W. Grigson)—*Catalogue* (1909), p. 56. The Dawson Turner MSS. in the B.M. suggest that some of these trappings were found on the 'Battlefield' at Great Carbrooke in 1844, but this is probably an error (cf. Add. MSS. 23,060, f. 2, with 23,054, f. 8A).

For literature, see *N.A.* ii (1847), 398-9 (plate); *Arch.* xxxvi (1855), 455; Kemble (1863), 180, 194; *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), 273, 276 (plate); *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser., xiii, 327; J. R. Allen, *Celtic Art* (1904), 94, 98; G. B. Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, iv (1915), Pl. C.3, 4, p. 423; *B.M.G.* (1925), 103; Henry (1933), 100, 102-3, 105, 110 (Figs. 19, 21); Leeds (1933), 19, 103-5, 111-2, 121, 125; *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 233. Although chronologically these enamels are probably later than A.D. 60, they are included on the map of the second phase as they are so characteristic of native life. They are also illustrated in Add. MSS. 23,043, ff. 80-2.

Sedgeford: D2, O.S. 14NW.—Iron Age potsherds are alleged to have been found near Sedgeford Hall in 1916 but have not been traced (*N.A.* xix (1917), 117-8). This site is unmapped.

Snettisham: D2, O.S. 13NE.—It is incorrectly reported in the *Report of the Earthworks Committee* for 1929, p. 12, that an early hillfort had been discovered on Ken Hill.

Stoke Ferry: D8, O.S. 70SW. — From gravel pit by first milestone on east side of main road to King's Lynn—a site subsequently occupied in the Roman Age. Potsherds of Iron Age 'ABC' style now in N.C.M. (150.926—J. S. Parrott). (*N.A.* xxiii (1927), 17, Figs. 1, 4, 9.)

From the River Wissey near Stoke Ferry Bridge (D8-E8) have been dredged sherds of Iron Age pottery probably of the second phase besides numerous Romano-British sherds (C.M.A.E., 29.495A and B—given by the Cambridge Antiquarian Society and T. C. Lethbridge).

Tasburgh: L8, O.S. 87SW.—Camp (Fig. 8) of uncertain age. Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* i (1722), 459; *Excursions through Norfolk* i (1818), 51; *J.B.A.A.* xiv (1858), 197; *Antiquary* xxx (1894), 217; *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), 265, 278, 321; T. H. Bryant, *Norfolk Churches, Depwade Hundred* (1906), 191; *Eastern Daily Press*, August 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 21, 1929 and August 30, 1933; *B.A.H.* (1935), 69; Spence (1937), 74. Silver coins inscribed ICDVROT (probably for CAVL-DVRO) are alleged to have been discovered at this site (Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia* ii (1806), 176, 188), but this is probably due to a misreading of Sir Thomas Browne's *Hydriotaphia* which does not mention Tasburgh. See also Gale's *Itinerary* (1709), 109; Horsley, *Britannia Romana* i (1732), 515; Blomefield, *History of Norfolk* iii, 138; *N.A.* iv (1855), 358.

For amphora found here in digging a ditch, see *Eastern Daily Press*, February 7, 1923.

Thetford St. Peter: G10, O.S. 93SE.—Near Two Mile Bottom, between Manure Works and St. Helen's Church (site of), numerous Iron Age potsherds, mainly late in character have been found on the surface by C. S. Leaf, F. N. Haward, H. D. Hewitt and R. R. Clarke. This site is continuous with that described under *Santon*. Representative sherds are in the possession of Mr. F. N. Haward, 10, Waldeck Road, West Ealing; Mr. H. D. Hewitt, 37, Earl's Street, Thetford and N.C.M. (10.39, from R. R. Clarke). N.C.M. has a bronze fragment (1920) described in *Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany*, 2nd series, iii (1908), 98, as the lid of a vase and attributed to this

phase, from close to Croxton Park, north-east of the Manure Works, but its age and character are uncertain.

Thetford St. Mary : G10, O.S. 102SE.—Evidence of a settlement east of the Gasworks and south of Corporation Dwellings on the Bury Road is recorded in a MS. note by W. G. Clarke. The location of the material is not now known. Perhaps from this site come two bronze strip bow brooches of La Tène III derivative type in Bury M. (Acton Coll. Z.169) and dated to the late first century A.D.

G11, O.S. 102SE.—On Barnham Cross Common close to the Little Ouse, evidence of a settlement was obtained from a sandpit in 1914. The pottery is in the Iron Age 'AB' tradition. A few sherds are in Thet. M., see *P.P.S.E.A.* ii (1915), 39-41 and Fox (1923), 111 and Map iii.

Threxton : G8, O.S. ? 72, SW.—From unknown site but perhaps from subsequent Romano-British settlement around the crossing of the Wissey by the Peddars Way and partly in Saham Toney parish. Bronze thistle brooch with oval plate (Collingwood Group W), bronze La Tène III brooch and fragments of form 29 of Samian ware—all preserved at Threxton House (possession of Mr. F. S. Barton), 1939 (see *N.A.* xxvi (1937), 158).

Tottenhill : C7, O.S. 57NW.—From same site which produced evidence of occupation in first phase. Pottery of Iron Age 'ABC' style in possession of Mr. I. J. Thatcher and Mr. P. L. K. Schwabé, of King's Lynn, 1939 (Fig. 9).

Wallington : C7, O.S. 57SW.—From Luddington's gravel pit near Stow Bridge a few potsherds of late Iron Age wares have been found (1938). In possession of Mr. I. J. Thatcher and Mr. P. L. K. Schwabé.

Walton, East : E5-E6, O.S. 46SE.—NE. of Bradmoor Hill a few Iron Age potsherds found in 1936 by Mr. P. L. K. Schwabé.

Warham St. Mary : H1, O.S. 8SE.—Camp (Fig. 8 and p. 50) probably constructed in second phase. Partly excavated by Dr. W. M. Tapp and Mr. H. St. George Gray in 1914. Iron Age 'AB,' Gallo-Belgic and Roman pottery found—all finds in N.C.M., 1933. References prior to excavation are Armstrong's *History of Norfolk* vi (1781), 102-3, Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia* ii (1806), 196. The excavations are described or referred to in *Report of Earthworks Committee* (1915), 9; *N.A.* xxiii (1928), lxxxi-lxxxii; 261-3 (sketch plan); *Ant. J.* xiii (1933), 399-413 (plan, sectional diagrams, air-photograph and illustrations of finds); *Arch. J.* lxxx (1923), 334-5; xc (1934), 334; *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 233, 235, 241; *J.B.A.A.* xl (1934), 30-2; C. Close, *The Map of England* (1932), 10 (air-photograph); *B.A.H.* (1935), 69.

Weeting : F9, 10, O.S. 93SW.—Top and southern slope of Bromehill, especially between the railway and the river, potsherds of Iron Age 'AB' types found, 1920, by W. G. Clarke (Thet. M.; *N.A.* xxi (1921), 76). A bowl of soapy ware found one mile east of Brandon, now in C.M.A.E. (Fox (1923), 96, and Pl. xvi, 4) probably comes from this site.

Wereham : D8, O.S. 69NE.—Gravel pits east of the main road to King's Lynn, contiguous to Stoke Ferry parish. Gallo-Belgic

dish found in 1862, 'with a quantity of bones of cattle' (N.C.M., Beloe Coll. 22. 08; *Catalogue* (1909), no. 378; *G.L.V.* ii (1917), 498; W. Rye, *Roman Camps and Remains in Norfolk* (1916), 43) (Fig. 9).

A few sherds of Iron Age 'ABC' wares from this site are in N.C.M. (J. S. Parrott, 1926, see *N.A.* xxiii (1927), 17, Fig. 3). 15 triangular clay loomweights said to have been found in rows arranged as a sort of platform are now in the King's Lynn Borough Museum (*N.A.* xxiii (1927), 17, and *P.P.S.E.A.* vi (1932), 373), which also contains a series of coarse Iron Age sherds from this site difficult to classify, though in the Iron Age 'A' tradition. Some may have been associated with the weaving comb already catalogued.

Wiggenhall St. Germans: C6, O.S. 44SE.—Middle Level Sluice. In excavations in 1931-2, 7 glass beads were found near the top of peat bed at -18 feet O.D., but it is uncertain if they belong to the Iron Age, Roman or Anglo-Saxon periods (C.M.A.E. 32.244). *Geological Magazine* lxx (1933), 168-82 (appendix by H. Beck); *Arch. J.* xc (1934), 317; *Irish Naturalists' Journal* v (1934), 148. Unmapped.

Wilby: I9, O.S. 95SE.—On Wilby Warren are two horseshoe-shaped earthworks of unknown purpose and age. Sections cut by Mr. H. Apling in 1930 revealed no evidence save one sherd apparently of Iron Age type (*P.P.S.E.A.* vi (1932), 251, 367-9). Unmapped.

Winterton: Q5, O.S. 42SW. or 54NW.—On foreshore south of Winterton Ness from an old land surface eroded by the sea a few sherds of coarse Romano-British wares, probably pre-Flavian in date, were recovered in 1939 and are now in N.C.M. Briquetage and animal bones were found associated. (Information from Mr. J. N. Jennings.)

Wretham, East: G9-H9, O.S. 94SW.—On East Wretham Heath, east of Langmere, Iron Age sherds probably of the second phase have been noted by H. D. Hewitt and R. R. Clarke, 1934 (*P.P.S.E.A.* i (1913), 376).

2. Coins

Acle, near: O6.—Gold Icenian (1860) (B.M.). *N.A.* vi (1864), 381; Evans (1864), 377-8, Pl. xiv, 13; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii.

Brancaster: E1, F1, O.S. 2SW., or 7NW.—Inscribed silver coin (Icenian) now lost. Evans (1864), 386 (from information of C. R. Smith) and Pl. xv, 7; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii.

Bressingham: J11, O.S. probably 104SE. — Uninscribed gold coin of Eastern Counties type, in possession of Rev. C. R. Manning, 1872, but now lost (*N.A.* viii (1879), 327; Evans (1890) 437, type of Pl. C.2). Brooke (1933 A), Map v.

Brettenham: H10, O.S. probably 103NE. — Uninscribed bronze coin of the Aubiani (B.M. Evans (1864), 120-1, Pl. G.12). Inscribed copper coin of Cunobeline (B.M. Evans (1890), 571, Pl. xxii, 10; *N.A.* xxvi (1937), 144; Brooke (1933 A), Map xi). Three silver Icenian coins (? small hoard) (B.M., one each of Evans types, Pl. xvi, 7-8; xv, 9-13—information from Mr. D. F. Allen).

Brumstead: N3, O.S. 30SW. or 41NW.—Uninscribed gold

coin of Eastern Counties type in possession of Mr. R. Fitch, of Norwich, in 1890, but now lost. Found 1875 (Evans (1890), 443, Pl. K.4; Brooke (1933 A), Map v; (1933 B), Map v, 116, Pl. xii, 7).

Burnham Thorpe: G1, O.S. 7SE.—West of Scarboro' Wood, about 1900, 'small silver coins with wild horses on them' were ploughed up but have since been lost. (Information from Mr. E. N. Mennell, 1933.) ? hoard.

Caistor St. Edmund: L7, O.S. 75NE., SE.—During excavations on the site of the Roman Town in 1929 4 silver uninscribed Icenian coins were found in Flavian deposits on Insula IX. They are of Evans types, Pl. xvi, 7; xvi, 8 (2 specimens); xvi, 9-14, and are now in N.C.M. (*J.B.A.A.* xxxvi (1930), 116; *N.A.* xxiv (1931), 130, 134-5, Spence (1937), 162). The discovery of British gold coins here and at Caister-next-Yarmouth (Evans (1864), 360, and Brooke (1933 A), Map xii; Spence (1937), 161) seems to be an error derived from a misreading of T. Browne, *Hydriotaphia* (1669), 7. A 'Late Celtic' brooch from Caistor St. Edmund was recorded by Romilly Allen (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5 series, xiii (1896), 327), but nothing further is known of this and the brooch may well have been of Roman date.

Cawston: K4, O.S. ? 38NE. — Gold Icenian coin of type of Evans, Pl. xiv, 14, now lost, (Evans (1890), 579—from information of Mr. R. Fitch—and Brooke (1933 A), Map xii).

Easton: K6, O.S. 62, NE.—*N.A.* iv (1855), 312 records the recent find of rare British silver pieces (Greville Chester), and the site, with date 1849, is marked on the O.S. by Dog Lane. Nothing, however, is known of this hoard—the Ordnance Name Book gives no further information (O. G. S. Crawford), and it is possible that there may be confusion between the hoard found at Weston about the same date and a large hoard of Roman coins found at Easton.

Fincham: D7, O.S. 57SE.—Uninscribed gold coin of Evans type B.8 found in rectory garden in 1860 and in the possession of the Rev. W. Blyth in 1863, but now lost. See W. Blyth, *Historical Notices and Records of Fincham* (1863), 95, and *Num. Chron.* xv (1935), 68.

Ingoldisthorpe: D3, O.S. ? 14SW. — Armstrong, *History of Norfolk* ix (1781), *Hundred of Smithdon*, 70, and Blomefield, *History of Norfolk* x (1805-10), 339 record a coin 'very small, antique and rude; an horse in full speed, probably a British coin.' Location unknown.

Irstead: N4, O.S. probably 53NW. — 200 yards from Irstead Hall, Icenian gold quarter-stater of 23 grains was found in 1880 by R. Bloom, while mangold hoeing. Now in possession of Mr. A. C. Savin, 3, Beach Road, Cromer, who bought it in 1930 from Mr. J. R. Johnson. B.M. has a cast (see Pl. xxi, 5).

Middleton: D5-6, O.S. ? 45NE. — Silver coin of Weston hoard type (Evans, Pl. xv or xvi) (*N.A.* iv (1855), 358), then in possession of Mr. Goddard Johnson.

Norwich, near: Gold coin inscribed ADDED0 (B.M.—*Num. Chron.* xviii, 155, no. 3; Evans (1864), 370, Pl. xiv, 3; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii; Spence (1937), 97). Copper coin of Cunobeline

type of Evans, Pl. xii, 14 (*Numismatic Society Proceedings*, May 25, 1848; Evans (1864), 344; (1890), map marks site as just south of Norwich but on what evidence is unknown—Brooke (1933 A), Map xi). Two uninscribed gold Icenian coins (Evans, Pl. xiv, 12), and another found in 1890 (B.M.—Evans, (1864) 377; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii); Uninscribed Icenian gold coin of Evans type, Pl. xiv, 11 (B.M.—*Num. Chron.* xix, 65, no. 1; Evans (1864), 376; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii); Gold coin inscribed TASCIO-RICON B.M.—Evans (1864), 270 and Pl. viii, 6; Brooke (1933 A), Map x).

Norwich: L6, O.S. 63.—Hellesdon Hall, 1862. Uninscribed gold coin of Eastern Counties type (B.M., ex-Evans Coll., ex-Fitch Coll.). *N.A.* vi (1864), 384; Evans (1864), 72 (Pl. C.3); (1890), 437; Brooke (1933 A), Map v; (1933 B), 116, 123, Pl. xii, 4.

Five uninscribed silver Icenian coins (2 like Evans Pl. xv, 13 and 3 like Pl. xvi, 7-8) (N.C.M., P. Sadd, 22.17).

Oxnead: L4, O.S. 39NE.—1831, Icenian gold coin (Evans, Pl. xiv, 10) (B.M. *Numismatic Journal* i, Pl. II, i, p. 224; Evans (1864), 375-6; *N.A.* vi (1855), 358; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii).

Saham Toney: G8, O.S. 72SW.—In the bed of the River Wissey near Woodcock Hall was found a gold Icenian coin identified at N.C.M. for the owner, Mrs. F. Barton, but subsequently lost (1930).

Sheringham: J1, K1, O.S. 10NE.—Uninscribed gold coin of Evans type B8, found on the shore before 1847 (*Arch. J.* iv (1847), 252; Evans (1864), 65; Brooke (1933 A), Map iii; (1933 B), 104 and Pl. xi, 7)—possibly the specimen with no locality in N.C.M. (T. Southwell Coll. 59.09). Another specimen is in N.C.M. (52.24 from H. H. Halls; *P.P.S.E.A.* i (1911), 237) (from the cliffs), and yet another, found on the shore, c. 1914-18, between Sheringham and Weybourne, is in Wisbech Museum.

Thetford, near: ? H10.—Uninscribed gold coin (Whaddon Chase type—Evans Pl. C.5-7) said to have been found with four other British coins (? hoard) ? at Brettenham (B.M. but could not be found in 1939; Evans (1890), 437; *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), 278; Brooke (1933 A), Map vi). Perhaps the same as the coin exhibited to the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology by J. Warren in 1849 (*P.S.I.A.* i, 150).

Thorpe-next-Norwich: M6, O.S. sheets 63, 64.—Numerous silver coins—perhaps a hoard—of Evans types, Pl. xv-xvi. 'Brittish Coynes . . . no small number of silver peeces near Norwich; with a rude head upon the obverse and an illformed horse on the reverse, with inscriptions IC, DVRO, T' (T. Browne, *Hydriotaphia* (1669) 7, with marginal note indicating Thorpe as the findspot). Gale, *Itinerary* (1709), 109; *N.A.* iv (1855), 312; Evans (1864), 360; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii).

Threxton: G8, O.S. ? 72SW.—Inscribed silver Icenian coin (Evans Pl. xv, 2—exhibited to Numismatic Society, May 23, 1850, but now lost (Evans (1864), 382; *V.C.H.* i (1901), 322; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii). Copper British coin, now lost (*Arch. J.* iv (1847), 252).

Walsingham: H2, O.S. sheets 8 or 16.—Uninscribed silver

Icenian coin (Evans Pl. xvi, 9-14) in possession of Mr. Goddard Johnson in 1855 but now lost (*N.A.* iv, 358).

Weston : J5, O.S. 50NW. (site marked).—Hoard of 200-300 inscribed and uninscribed silver coins of Icenian types found with 3 Roman denarii in a pot in ditching a field in March 1852, one-third of a mile SW. of Weston House. B.M. has the 3 Roman coins and 33 Icenian (inscribed ANTED (6), ECEN (4), ECE (5), AESU, CAUL-DVRO—and uninscribed Evans Pl. xvi, 12; xvi, 10; xvi, 9; xvi, 8 (11); xvi, 13 (2)) N.C.M. has 4 uninscribed silver. Silver Icenian coins offered for sale generally come from this hoard. *Num. Chron.* xv (1853), 98; *N.A.* iv (1855), 357-9 (Pl.); *An Account of the Icenic coins found at Weston in the county of Norfolk*, 1854 (privately printed); *The East Anglian* i (1859), 36; Evans (1864), 361, 380-1, 383, 386-92, 397-400; (1890), 585 (Pl. xv, 1, 2, 4, 5, 8-11, 13, 14; xvi, 1, 7-9, 10, 11; *Arch.* liv (1895), 490; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii.

Weybourne : J1, O.S. 10NE.—Uninscribed gold coin of Evans type B8 found on shore, 1932—in possession of Mr. A. C. Savin, 3, Beach Road, Cromer, 1939.

No Exact Locality : Icenian gold coin (Evans Pl. xiv, 14) (B.M., Evans Coll.). *Num. Chron.* xix, 64, no. 2; Evans (1864), 378-9; Brooke (1933 A), 288.

Two uninscribed gold coins of Eastern Counties group (Evans type B2) (one in B.M. and the other unknown). Brooke (1933 A), 276; (1933 B), 116, Pl. xii, 8; Evans (1864), 59.

SUFFOLK

1. General Finds

Barnham : G11, O.S. 22NW., NE.— $\frac{1}{4}$ mile south-east of Icknield Way, Iron Age sherds, including some with combed surface (Thet.M., from Mrs. R. B. Caton) (*P.P.S.E.A.* iii (1919), 316-7).

The barrow on Barnham Heath (O.S. 13SE.) excavated by Mrs. Caton in 1913 (*P.P.S.E.A.* ii (1914), 36; *I.B.W.* (1925), 186) produced a few Iron Age sherds loose in the mound (N.C.M. 16.15).

Boxford : I17, O.S. 80NE.—Ellinger's stone pit at White Street Green—flat cemetery of Iron Age 'C'—pottery and brooches associated with cremations. Finds in Ip.M. (R.1927.12) and loan (Ellinger Coll. L.1932.216) now withdrawn (see Fig. 9, Pls. x-xii). *Ant. J.* vi (1926), 309; *J.R.S.* xvi (1927), 229; J. R. Moir, *Antiquity of Man in East Anglia* (1927), 156; *Arch. J.* lxxxvii (1930), 329.

Butley : O15, O.S. 78NW.—Burrow Hill gravel workings—ditch and pits of settlement. Pottery of Iron Age 'ABC' (*Ant. J.* xvii (1937), 196-7 (Fig. 2)) in possession of Dr. Rendall, of Butley Priory.

Cavenham : E12, F12, probably O.S. 32NE.—Exact site unknown—enamelled bronze mount (B.M., 1929, 11-11, 1; Henry (1933), 75-6, Fig. 4, 4) (Fig. 3).

Clare : F16, O.S. 71NE.—Camp (Fig. 8) on Clare Common (*Arch. J.* lvii (1900), 109; W. A. Dutt, *Little Guide to Suffolk* (1904), 41; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 588, 590 (plan); Fox (1923), Map v; Spence (1937), 74). Marked as Roman Camp on O.S.

Creeping St. Mary : J14, K14, O.S. 57SW.—Woolard's Sandpit. Fragment of Iron Age 'C' butt-beaker (Ip.M.).

Elveden : F11, O.S. 13SW. or 22NW. — Fragment of bronze bridle-bit of two-link type (C.M.A.E.—*P.P.S.* v (1939), 173, 175-6 (Fig. 1))

Near : 'Broom Close Field' (not identified—possibly near Broomhouse Farm, Wangford). Iron Age 'C' cremation found 1888-9 with 3 globular urns (now lost) and bronze-plated wooden tankard with medallions—the bronze fragments from this site in Bury M. appear to include the remains of two tankards (*Z.* 194). *Archaeological Review* ii (1889), 50; iv, 68; *Arch.* lii (1890) 351, 358-9, 383 (Fig. 10) (stated to be in 'Essex'); lxiii (1912), 22, 23, 27; *Antiquary* xix, 181; *J.B.A.A.* xlv (1889), 81; *B.M.G.* (1905), 119 (Fig. 99); *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), 281, Fig. 1 ('Essex'); and in Haverfield's articles in *V.C.H.* series; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 270-1, 304; Parkyn, *An Introduction to the Study of Prehistoric Art* (1915), 323-4 (Fig. 317); Fox (1923), 99, 102, 105; Haverfield and Macdonald, *Roman Occupation of Britain* (1924), 238-9 (Fig. 58); *Arch.* j. lxxxvii (1930), 260; *I.B.W.* (1937), 78.

Eriswell : E11, O.S. sheet 12 or 21.—Fantailed bronze brooch (C.M.A.E.) (Fox (1923), 91 n.; Pl. xiii, 1A (lower)). La Tène III derivative brooch (Pl. xiv) (C.M.A.E.—Fox (1923), 107). *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 275 records two 'Late Celtic' brooches then in possession of Mr. W. C. Wells.

Fakenham : H11, O.S. 23SW.—Earthwork of uncertain age in Burnthall Plantation—section given in *C.A.S.C.* ix (1896), 93. Placed in Norfolk in error by *V.C.H.N.* i (1901), 265 and Spence (1937), 74. *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 590 and *I.B.W.* (1937), 164. Unmapped.

From chalkpit and from Euston Carr come a few sherds of Iron Age 'ABC' type (Thet.M., Mrs. R. B. Caton; see *P.P.S.E.A.* ii (1914), 38).

Hollesley : O16, O.S. 77SE.—In levelling work at the Labour Colony, 1934, part of large storage jar of Iron Age 'ABC' type was found (now in Institute of Archaeology, London University—*Ant.* j. xvii (1937), 195-6, Fig. 1). An early Roman bead rim pot found with four others containing burnt bones near this site is in B.M. (87-7-13-1).

Icklingham : E12, F12, O.S. 21SE., 32NE. — Iron Age 'AB' potsherds from Rampart Field (R. R. Clarke—now in Ip.M., 1937). Bronze bowl or cauldron (B.M., acquired 1853—*P.S.A.Lond.* 2nd ser. xxvii (1915), 80, 87, 89 (Fig. 15); Fox (1923), 105).

La Tène III derivative bronze brooch (Bury M.) (Fig. 11).

Bronze loop of sword scabbard with simple incised ornament (B.M. 52, 6-26, 18) (Fig. 12) (Kemble (1863), 194, Pl. xviii, Fig. 8; *Arch.* xlv (1880), 253; *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 5th ser., xiii (1896), 327; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 276; Fox (1923), 107).

The pot in Bury M. from grave at Mitchell's Hill, formerly regarded as belonging to this phase (Fox (1923), 93-4, 97 (Pl. xv, 1) should now be regarded as a late Roman Saxon hybrid (*P.P.S.E.A.* iv (1924), 230) (see also *J.B.A.A.* xxxvii (1881), 154-5; *P.P.S.E.A.*

vii (1933), 235; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 310 and Pl. iv, B—a similar pot from the same site is in the Ashmolean M., Oxford, 1930.413).

Ipswich: LI6, O.S. 75SE.—Berners Street. Handle of bronze cauldron etc. (Ip.M. R.1921.52.40).

O.S. 75NE.—Roman pottery of Claudian, etc., date from Valley Road (Ip.M. R.1926.116; *P.S.I.A.* xxi (1933), 259, Fig. 65); Castle Hill (Ip.M. *ibid.* 248, Fig. 8); Burlington Road (Ip.M. R.1920.50.21; *P.S.I.A.* xxi, 260—found in field east of Burlington Road with several others); Dales Road Sandpit, 1902 (Ip.M. R.1920.52.13-14; *P.S.I.A.* xi (1902), 337-8; xxi (1933) 258-9 includes Gallo-Belgic ware—illustrated).

Ixworth: H12, O.S. sheet 34.—Enamelled knob (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1927.875; Leeds (1933), 44; Henry (1933), 81, 83 (Fig. 7, 3)).

La Tène III bronze brooch (C.M.A.E.—Pl. xiv).

Lackford: F12, O.S. 32NE.—Home Heath, a few coarse Iron Age sherds found on site subsequently occupied in Roman Age (Ip.M. 1937 from R. R. Clarke).

Lakenheath: Shepherd's Fen. D10, O.S. 5SE. or 11NE.—Penannular bronze bracelet (C.M.A.E. 1930). *C.A.S.C.* xxxi (1931), 152 (Pl. vi, 1) ('near Mildenhall'); *Arch. j.* lxxxix (1932), 293; *P.P.S.E.A.* vi (1932), 383; *V.C.H. Cambs.* i (1938), 297 (called 'Prickwillow').

Sandy Plantation. E10, O.S. 12NW.—Dragonesque bronze brooch found in grave with inhumation (Fig. 10) (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1927.4616, formerly in S. G. Fenton Coll.). *The Reliquary* xiii (1907), 62-3, Fig. 1; *P.S.A.Lond.* 2nd ser. xxii (1909), 61; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 271, 276 (illust.); Fox (1923), 97; Leeds (1933), 107-8, Fig. 30C; *Ant. j.* xviii (1938), 147-8, 151 (Fig. 2, no. 7; *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 235).

No Exact Locality: E10-11, O.S. sheets 5, 6, 11, 12.—Bronze clasp (B.M. 1912.5.28.45). 2 La Tène III brooches (C.M.A.E.—Fox (1923), 105) and 1 La Tène III derivative brooch (Fox (1923), 107); 2 La Tène III brooches (Fig. 11) labelled 'Ulney', probably Undley in Ip.M. (Clouston Coll.) 1934.76.28-29.

Bronze sword scabbard found 1913 (C.M.A.E.—Fox (1923), 107, Pl. xviii, 1). Shallow bronze bowl with omphalos base (B.M. 80-82—*P.S.A.Lond.* 2nd ser. xxvii (1915), 87, 89; Fox (1923), 105) (Lakenheath Fen).

Enamelled bronze terret ring (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1927.4615—formerly in S. G. Fenton Coll.). Leeds (1933), 40, 42, 124 (Pl. 1, 3) (probably from 'Suffolk'); Henry (1933), 90, 92 (Fig. 14, 4—'Suffolk'); information about provenance from Mr. D. B. Harden.

'Late Celtic' bronze rings in the possession of Mr. W. C. Wells in 1911 are referred to in *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 276, but nothing further has been ascertained.

Truncated pyramidal clay loomweight (B.M. *B.M.G.* (1925), Fig. 180; *Ant. j.* xv (1935), 474) (unmapped).

Coarse potsherds in Iron Age 'AB' style in C.M.A.E. (Fox

(1923), 95, Pl. xiv, C3) and in 'ABC' style though perhaps dating after A.D. 60 (Fox (1923), 92, 102).

Lound : Q7, O.S. 4NW.—Lower part of bronze cauldron from Lound Run near the waterworks, 1898 (B.M. 1898.5-16-1, documents filed in Dept. of British and Medieval Antiquities). F. D. Longe, *Lowestoft in Olden Times*, Lowestoft (1905), 9 (Pl. xx).

Melford, Long : G16, probably O.S. 72NE.—In garden on east side of street nearly opposite Cock and Bull Inn, near human skeletons, two Iron Age 'C' bowls (not pedestal urns as *Arch. J.* lxxxvi (1930), 329) in Bury M. (*P.S.I.A.* xv (1915), 267-8; Fox (1923), 103; J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Swarling Report* (1925), 29). (Fig. 9).

Mildenhall : Kennyhill. D11, probably O.S. 11SE.—La Tène III bronze brooch (Fig. 11), Ip.M. (Clouston Coll. 1934.76.30).

No Exact Locality : E11-12, O.S. sheets 11, 20, 21.—Two La Tène II bronze brooches (Fig. 10). Leicester Museum, Fernie Coll. 1913, Nos. 172 and 208; La Tène III brooch (B.M., Greenwell Coll.; *G.L.V.* i (1911), 194).

Bronze bowl with omphalos base (C.M.A.E.—Fox (1923), 105).

Iron bill or chopper, possibly Iron Age—in Fenton Coll. 1911 (*V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 276—illust. opposite p. 272).

Bronze finger ring—perhaps from Icklingham or Lakenheath (B.M. 1927.12.12.9—formerly Fenton Coll. (*V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 271 (Fig.), 276, 350 (Pl. xix)).

Perforated tibia of sheep or goat (B.M., W.G.545) (Pl. xix).

Norton : H13, O.S. 45NE.—Enamelled bronze horse-trapping (Bury M. Z.73) (*P.S.I.A.* ii, 223; Kemble (1863), 195, Pl. xix, 4; J. R. Allen, *Celtic Art* (1904), 94; E. A. Parkyn, *An Introduction to the Study of Prehistoric Art* (1915), 294; Leeds (1933), 41 n.; Henry (1933), 93, 96, 104 (Fig. 20, 4); *Ant. J.* xviii (1938), 76).

Playford : L15, O.S. 76NW.—Cordoned pot in dark grey ware, Roman Claudian date (Bury M.) (*V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 314).

Stanton : H12, O.S. 23SE., or 34NE. — Two enamelled bronze terret rings (B.M. 1909—W.G.2346-7). *G.L.V.* i (1911), 231; Leeds (1933), 47, 120, 125; Henry (1933), 87, Fig. 10, 3 illustrates one. (Pl. xix).

Stow, West : F12, O.S.22 SW.—North Stow Farm—Bronze pin with flat ringhead and straight neck (Pl. xix) (B.M. 1927, 12-12, 7, formerly in Fenton Coll.).

Stratford St. Mary : J18, O.S. 87NW.—By N. side of bridge over River Stour when making alterations many years ago, a long radish-shaped amphora found—now in Colchester and Essex Museum (437.32 from Mrs. Furness—*Report* (1933), 11). (This is not the Roman pottery recorded in *Arch. J.* xxxv as being in Colchester Museum.)

Sudbury : G17 O.S. 72SE. or 79NE. — Iron Age 'C' pottery in Sudbury Institute (Fox (1923), 103; J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Swarling Report* (1925), 29; *Arch. J.* lxxxvii (1930), 329).

Tattingstone : K17, O.S. 82SW. SE.—Two-handled flagon with buff coating—Roman of Claudian date in Ip.M. R.1920.50.1 (*V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 318).

Thurlow, Great : D15-16, O.S. 61NE., SE.—Refuse pits con-

taining Samian ware of Dragendorff forms 15/17, 27, 29, 30, 18, 35 with stamps of ALBVS and CORTO—figure of Mercury in clunch (C.M.A.E., 1891.20). *C.A.S.C.* vii, 252; xxxvii (1937), 52-3 (Pl. v, c and d, Mercury); *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 318-9; Fox (1923), 169, 187, 202-3, 205 226. Probably Claudian occupation.

Trimley: M17, N17, O.S. 83SE., 89NE. — Broom Hill Farm. Large grey cordoned pot decorated with lattice and scribble design, probably Claudian Roman (Ip.M. *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 319).

Waldingfield, Great: H16, O.S. 73NW. or SW.—Brownish grey cordoned pot probably from cemetery, in Sudbury Institute (Fox (1923), 103—J. P. Bushe-Fox, *Swarling Report* (1925), 29).

Wangford: E10, O.S. 12NE. or SE.—La Tène III derivative bronze brooch (C.M.A.E.).

Wenham: J17, O.S. 81NE., SE.—In Brighton Museum is an angle-sided cup containing burnt human bones said to have been found in Wenham Churchyard, and probably of mid or late first century A.D. date, but the old museum catalogue attributes this find to 'Wenlane,' a locality which has not been traced and the discovery cannot therefore be mapped.

Westhall: P10, O.S. 28NW.—Millpost Field. Hoard of enamelled horse-trappings found in 1855 on settlement site (Pls. xvi-xviii). All in B.M., 1855.5.19. Slight excavations by H. Harrod. *Arch.* xxxvi (1855), 454-6, Pls. 37-38; *Arch. J.* xii (1855), 276; lxxx (1933), 153; Kemble (1863), Pl. xix, 1; xx, 4, 180, 195-6; J. R. Allen, *Celtic Art* (1904), 154 (plate); *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 272-3, 277, 319 (plate); *P.S.A.Lond.* 2nd ser. xxvii (1915), 79, 82-3, Fig. 5 (embossed fragments of bowl); E. A. Parkyn, *Introduction to the Study of Prehistoric Art* (1915), 293-4, Pl. xvi, 1 and 4; *B.M.G.* (1925), 140, 144-6, 163 (Fig. 168); Leeds (1933), 18, 39-42, 95, 122, 124 (Pl. i, 6); *P.P.S.E.A.* vii (1933), 233; Henry (1933), 84, 90, 93, 96 (Fig. 14, 1, shows whole hoard); *P.P.S.* v (1939), Fig. 10, p. 192.

No Exact Locality: Three silver and bronze wheel-shaped discs (B.M. 1918.7-9, 7, 8, 9—Given by Mr. Louis Clarke).

Two bronze rings ? footrings from bowl (Ip.M. 1920.51, 49-50). Bronze terret ring cast with rosettes and other decoration in relief (B.M. 1927, 12-12, 11, formerly in Fenton Coll., perhaps from NW. Suffolk). Leeds (1933), 27; *Arch. J.* xc (1933), 153; xciii (1936), 63; *Ant. J.* xix (1939).

Iron 'ABC' and 'C' pottery in Bury M., locality unknown but probably from W. Suffolk (Acton Coll.). Two bronze brooches of La Tène III type (Bury M., Acton Coll. Z.168).

Bronze cruciform mount (1½ ins. square) with rectangular and circular panels enamelled in red and blue—probably mid. 1st cent. A.D. (Ip.M. R. 1936, 198 from Dr. Ralph's coll.)

2. Coins

Acton: G16-H16, O.S. probably 72NE.—Gold coin related to Addedomarus issues found 1891 (Evans (1864) type of Pl. D, 13) (B.M., information from Mr. D. F. Allen).

Bardwell : H12, O.S. sheet 23 or 34.—Several Tin coins—2 in Bury M. (Trigg Coll.) and 1 in B.M. (Evans (1890), 485; *G.L.V.* ii (1917), 395 ('Essex'); *Transactions of International Numismatic Congress* (1939), 357 and Fig. 8, p. 353 ('Bury') coin in B.M.).

Baylham (Coddensham) : K15, O.S. 66NW.—Copper coin of Cunobeline (Evans (1864), 342, Pl. xii, 12; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 275; Brooke (1933 A), Map xi.).

Beccles (near) : O9.—Uninscribed bronze coin with winged Pegasus (B.M. Evans (1890), 479, Pl. N, 11).

Bucklesham : M16-17, O.S. 83NW. or NE.—Uninscribed gold coin of Evans, Pl. A.4 type (B.M.—Evans, (1890) 432; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 275; Brooke (1933 A), Map i).

Bury St. Edmunds (near) : Gold coin 'Antedrigus' (B.M., Evans (1890), 490, Pl. xviii, 2); Gold Icenian coin (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (Evans (1890), 583, Pl. xxiii, 9 found 1868); two uninscribed silver coins of Evans type G2 (1864, 113, 115) (*V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 275) (B.M.); Inscribed copper coin (? Dubnovellaunos) (B.M.—Evans (1864), 353-4, Pl. xiii, 11) (Brooke (1933 A), Map xii).

Cavendish : F16, O.S. sheet 71 or 72.—Gold coin of Addedomarus (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (*Num. Chron.* 4th ser. ii 11-19; Brooke (1933 A), Map xii).

Fornham : G13, O.S. sheet 33 or 44.—Uninscribed silver Icenian coin (B.M., formerly in Barnett Coll; *Proceedings of Numismatic Society*, 17 March, 1870 ('Farnham' in error); Evans (1890), 587, Pl. xvi, 10).

Freckenham : D12, O.S. 20SE. or 31NE. — Hoard of 90 uninscribed Icenian gold coins found in 1885 by Mortimer's Lane in a pot now lost (Fig. 12). Most of Icenian gold coins offered for sale come from this hoard. B.M. has probably 20 coins (Evans Pl. xxiii, 1 (1); xxiii, 8-9 (4, perhaps 5); xxiii, 2, 3 (4, perhaps 6); xxiii, 4 variety (2); xxiii, 4-5 (4, perhaps 6). In addition the Montagu Coll. at B.M. contains 6 coins probably from this hoard. The Greenland Fisheries Museum, King's Lynn has 9 coins formerly in possession of E. M. Beloe. *Num. Chron.* 3rd ser. vi (1886), 23; *P.S.A.Lond.* 2nd ser. xii (1888), 83-4; Evans (1890), 578-81, 583; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 274, 276; Fox (1923), 88, 95; E. Callard, *The Manor of Freckenham* (1924), 6-9 (with plate of coins now in Greenland Fisheries Museum); Spence (1937), 60. The hoard of coins of Addedomarus apparently marked at or near this site on Brooke (1933 A), Map xii is probably an error, as nothing else is known of it.

Glensford : G16, O.S. 63SW. or 72NW. — Gold coin of Cunobeline, in possession of R. Almack, F.S.A., in Evans' time and probably the specimen with no provenance in Bury M. to which the rest of Almack's collection went. Type of Evans Pl. ix, 5 (Evans, 559; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 275; *P.S.I.A.* ii (1859), 96).

Gold coin of type of Evans Pl. B.8 (letter to B.M. from late Mill Stephenson, 7 August, 1925—information from Mr. D. F. Allen).

Haverhill : D16, O.S. 70NE.—Millfield, Place Farm. Hoard of 40-50 uninscribed gold coins found in mould about 1780 and now lost, save for Evans Pl. B, 7. *Arch.* v (1779), 72; xiv (1803), 72;

Gentleman's Magazine (1793), 29 (Pl. iii, Fig. 2); *Num. Chron.* i 89 (Pl. ii, 14); 5th ser. xiii (1933), 103; Evans (1864), 63; Fox (1923), 89; Brooke (1933A), 272 (inaccurately said to have been found about 1820 in Essex); Map ii (Gaulish Atrebatian coins but this is not certain, as the hoard was obviously minted on the site).

Gold coin of Addedomaros (uninscribed) in possession of Mr. A. C. Savin, 3, Beach Road, Cromer.

Icklingham: E12, F12, O.S. sheets 21SE., 32NE. — Icenian gold coin, variety of Evans Pl. xiv, 14, in B.M. Uninscribed gold coin Evans Pl. xxiii, 4, said by Evans (1890), 581, to come from near Mildenhall, but MS. note in B.M. copy places it at Icklingham (information from Mr. D. F. Allen).

Uninscribed bronze coin of Evans G.8 (1864, 118) in J. Warren Coll., 1864, but now lost.

Silver Icenian coins inscribed ECE (Evans (1864), 382 and Pl. xv, 3) and ANTED (Evans (1864), 387 and Pl. xv, 11) in J. Warren Coll. 1864 but now lost.

Uninscribed silver coin (Evans, Pl. xvi, 5 (1864), 395 (B.M.))

Uninscribed silver-plated forgery (Evans, Pl. xvi, 8, 10; (1864) 399 and (1890), 586, B.M.)

Four base silver coins are in Trigg Coll., Bury M.

A coin of Cunobeline is mentioned, *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 276, but no authority given.

Ipswich: L16, O.S. sheet 75.—Gold coin of Addedomaros (Evans, Pl. xiv, 7, 9) in J. Warren Coll. 1864, but now lost (Evans (1864), 374). Gold coin of Cunobeline found 1876 near Ipswich (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (Evans, Pl. ix, 4; (1890), 558). Two coins of Cunobeline are mentioned, *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 275, nothing is known of the other. *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 276 also mentions coins of the Icenii as found here, but nothing is known of these and it may well be an error.

Ixworth: H12, O.S. sheet 34.—Uninscribed gold coin (Evans, Pl. A, 9) (B.M., formerly in Barnett Coll. (Evans (1864), 433; Brooke (1933 B), 116).

Uninscribed silver Icenian coins (Evans, Pl. xvi, 7–9—Evans (1864), 397–8) one in possession of J. Warren, 1864; 2 possibly those in Bury M (Trigg Coll.).

Silver coin of Cunobeline (Evans, Pl. xi, 1—Evans (1864), 316; *Arch.* xxxiii, Pl. ix; *P.S.I.A.* i, 75).

Near Ixworth. Copper coin of Cunobeline (Evans, Pl. xi, 8—J. Warren Coll., 1864, now lost). Evans (1864), 321.

Lakenheath: D10, O.S. 12NW.—Stallode Farm. Uninscribed silver Icenian coin (C.M.A.E. 36.595—bought from Gathercole) (Evans type Pl. xvi, 8; *C.A.S.C.* xxxviii (1939), 166, Pl. ivc).

Lawshall: G15, O.S. sheet 54 or 63.—Gold coin of Cunobeline (B.M. Evans, Pl. ix, 4 (1864), 298 and *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 275).

Melford, Long: G16, O.S. 72NE. — Copper coin of Cunobeline (Evans, Pl. xxiii, 11) found 1873 and in coll. of R. Almack, now lost.

Coins of Evans type E, 9–10 shown at B.M. in 1925 (information from Mr. D. F. Allen).

Mildenhall, near: E11, 12, O.S. sheets 11, 12, 30, 21.—Un-

inscribed silver Icenian coin (Evans, Pl. xvi, 7). J. Warren Coll. 1864, now lost (Evans (1864), 397). *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 276.

Silver Icenian coin inscribed EC in B.M. (information, Mr. D. F. Allen). Tin Coin of Class 2 (B.M. *Transactions of International Numismatic Congress* (1939), 357).

Newmarket, near: Gold coin of Addeddomaros found 1882 (B.M.—Evans, Pl. xiv, 1. Evans (1890), 577; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 274).

Pakenham: H13, probably O.S. 34SW.—Uninscribed silver Icenian coin of Evans, Pl. xvi, 8, in J. Warren Coll. 1864, but now lost (Evans (1864), 397).

Inscribed silver coin 'Antedrigus' (Evans, Pl. xv, 10) (Evans (1890), 586, and *Proceedings of Numismatic Society*, 17 March, 1870).

Santon Downham: F10, O.S. 7SW.—Hoard of 107 Icenian silver coins and 2 Roman dupondii found in 1869 in gravel digging. Two pots found near by, described in *Arch. J.* xxvii (1870), 92–7 (B.M. has 2 Roman coins and 20 Icenian—8 inscribed 'ANTED,' 4 with ECEN, 4 with ECE, 1 with AESV, 1 of Evans, Pl. xvi, 8 and of xvi, 9, and Thet.M. has recently obtained the remainder). *Num. Chron.* 2nd ser. ix (1869), 319, 326; Evans (1890), 583–6; *Arch. J.* lvii (1900), 146; *V.C.H.S.* i (1911), 274, 276, 295, 316; Fox (1923), 88; Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* (1937), 5–6, 154; Spence (1937), 60, 146.

Stoke ? by Clare: E16, O.S. 71NW., SW.—Uninscribed gold coin of Evans type A.4. Evans (1864), 50; Fox (1923), Map iii; Brooke (1933 A), Map i—now lost.

Sudbury: G17, O.S. 79NE.—Gold coin of Addeddomaros placed at Long Melford (Evans (1864), 371) but corrected to Brundon, Essex (Evans (1890), 578), now included within Sudbury owing to boundary revision. Type of Evans, Pl. xiv, 5–6 (*Proceedings of Numismatic Society*, January 21, 1864).

Waldingfield, Great or Little: H16, O.S. 73NW. or SW. Uninscribed gold coin found 1855 (Evans, Pl. B.3—pp. 59–60) (Ip.M.). Brooke (1933 A), Map vi, apparently maps this find at Waldringfield in error.

Wangford: E10, O.S. 12NE. or SE.—Uninscribed silver Icenian coin of Evans (Pl. xvi, 9) (B.M.—Evans (1864), 398).

No Exact Locality: Uninscribed silver Icenian coin of Evans, Pl. xvi, 2 (B.M. Evans (1864), 393).

Uninscribed gold coin of Evans type B.10 (Bury M.).