

AN IRON AGE SITE AT WEST CLANDON, SURREY, AND SOME ASPECTS OF IRON AGE AND ROMANO-BRITISH CULTURE IN THE WEALDEN AREA

By S. S. FRERE

PART I. AN IRON AGE SITE AT WEST CLANDON

Of archaeological sites casually exposed in commercial or military excavations, it is difficult to reckon the proportion ever to be recorded. Certainly it is small, and must remain so as long as trained observers continue in scarcity. The site at present under notice was an Iron Age pit partially exposed in section in the side of a chalk quarry, and it is fortunate that it was still comparatively undamaged when found, seeing that the quarry had not been worked for several years, and the site lay open to the elements, the military, and the passer-by.

The site lies in the parish of West Clandon, near Guildford, on the northern decline of the Downs about 600 yards north of the Newlands Corner Hotel, and 800 yards south of the Guildford-Leatherhead road; the pit was seen in the west face of the upper division of the small chalk quarry which bounds the western side of the Newlands Corner road just above the steepest part of its ascent from West Clandon cross-roads.¹ The chalk rises close to the surface, and the surrounding country is thus typical downland, covered with coarse grass and thorn bushes.

The site was discovered by the writer and his brother, Mr. D. H. S. Frere, in November 1941, and circumstances made possible only periodic visits to the spot during the winter. We thought it best, however, to excavate it even in adverse circumstances, for it was in immediate danger of military operations in the neighbourhood. Even as it was, a certain amount of damage occurred from that quarter and from the heavy snow; the section, therefore (fig. 1), is a composite drawing compiled as the work proceeded; but at least we can be sure of having saved the contents of the pit, and even such a modest contribution is to be valued in our present state of knowledge of the Iron Age in Surrey.

THE PIT

The pit (fig. 1) was a barrel-shaped excavation rather irregular in profile owing to the crumbly nature of the chalk rock. Its bottom is 6 ft. 4 in. below the surface of the chalk, which is overlaid by 6 in. of humus and 7 in. of brown clay-like earth which sank into the top of the pit.

It is clear that this pit is a storage pit or silo of normal Iron Age type, and it is highly unlikely that it is solitary: these silos usually mark the sites of small farmsteads or villages, and exist in clusters in them. Further excavation here would no doubt be profitable, and it is to be hoped that with the return of normal times the work will be undertaken on a suitable scale.

This being so, and owing to the circumstances of our work as explained, I shall not discuss the filling of this pit in great detail, being content to point out its general

¹ 6-in. O.S. Surrey XXIV S.W.; Lat. 51° 14' 29" N., Long. 0° 30' 12" W.

similarity to those excavated by Dr. Gerhard Bersu at the classic site of Little Woodbury.¹

Our pit conforms to Bersu's form F, of barrel shape. The floor was level, but we could observe no tool marks. Their absence may have been caused by ancient trampling on the floor, for there was present in this pit, unlike those at Little Woodbury, a very thin layer of crushed chalk on the surface and in the interstices of the

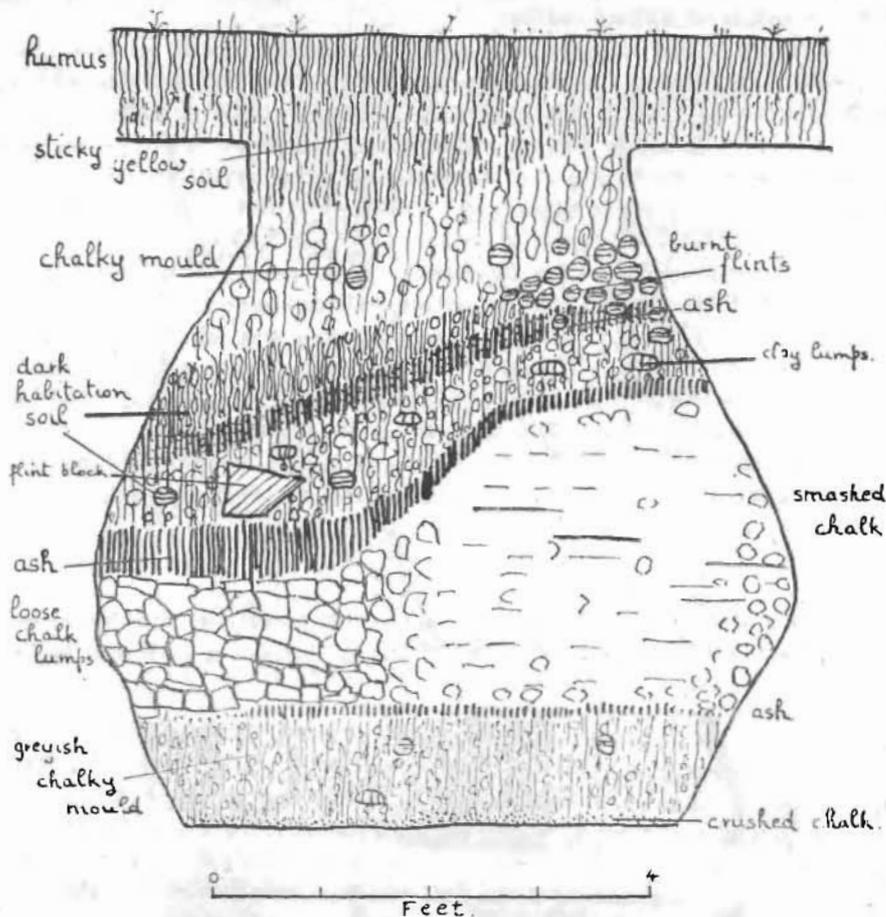


FIG. I. SECTION OF PIT, WEST CLANDON

floor, suggesting that the pit may have been dug in wet weather, or remained open longer than was usual. This is borne out by the nature of the walls, for above the widest diameter the chalk was found to be very crumbly, as if from the effects of weathering. But it would require work in further pits to disprove that this was the natural condition of the upper levels of the bed chalk. Below the belly of the pit, the rock was hard and solid.

The lowest layer of filling was a greyish chalky mould, which had been filled in from a direction at right angles to the bedding of the upper layers, and thinned out

¹ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, vi, 30-111.

downwards towards the back of the pit. Above this, and at various levels higher up, occurred bands of black charcoal ash, sometimes containing burnt flints. Next was a dark soil containing much burnt flint, unburnt bones, sandstone fragments, and pottery. It is a habitation soil: by this it is not implied that it is a floor at which habitation took place, but rather that it is soil from the settlement surface, shovelled in. This layer contained a large block of flint, and also small lumps of reddish or brown clay originating from neighbouring Tertiary deposits or the layer of sticky yellow soil which is of similar nature.

Most striking is the large mass of chalk occupying the central position of the filling. Half of this consists of loose chalk lumps; the other half of a very tightly-compacted mass of smashed (and probably puddled) chalk. A similar layer was found at Little Woodbury in Pit 123, where Bersu suggests that together with the clay found there it formed the raw material for oven structures made of 'cob'. A similar explanation is most likely here, in spite of the fact that we did not find much raw clay, nor any fragments of oven.

We may conclude that the pit, having served its primary purpose as a storage-pit for grain, was intentionally filled in with anything that came to hand to the top of the layer of chalky mould. As this subsided, wind and rain filled in the depression with sticky yellow soil. This must have occurred within quite a short time. The sticky yellow soil is continuous over the whole chalk surface, and should contain traces of an occupation layer. This is a point for investigation.

I have to thank Dr. F. E. Zeuner for examining certain samples from the contents of the pit, and for his opinions thereon, which have been drawn upon above.

THE FINDS

A. *Pottery* (figs. 2-4). Two classes were distinguished, a fine-grained ware usually polished and sometimes decorated; and a coarse ware soft and badly fired,

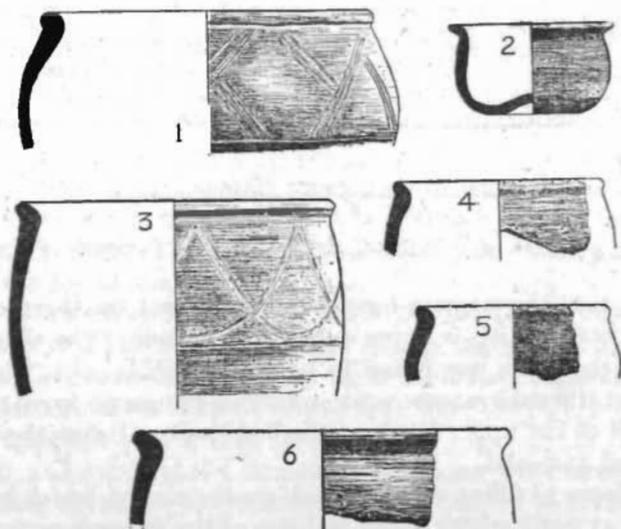


FIG. 2. IRON AGE POTTERY, WEST CLANDON ($\frac{1}{4}$)

often crudely built up, and containing larger or smaller quantities of shell grit. Dr. K. P. Oakley has kindly examined some of this, and writes as follows :—

The nearest clay suitable for pottery is the Reading Beds outcropping in Clandon Park, to the north. A shell-bed commonly occurs at the top of the Reading Beds in the Guildford district, and this may well have been the source of the broken-up shells with which the paste is charged. A fragment of a small lamellibranch with thick umbo and hinge, which, although too worn for certain determination, might well be *Cyrena*, a genus abundantly represented in this shell-bed, occurred in one sherd.

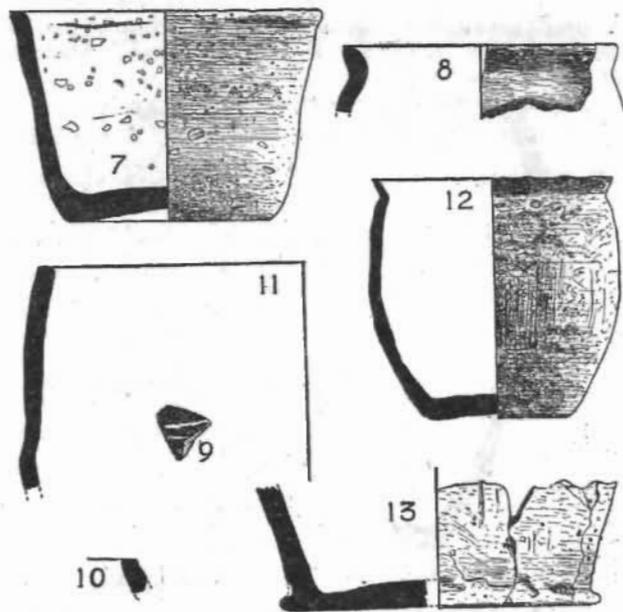


FIG. 3. IRON AGE POTTERY, WEST CLANDON (1/4)

There is no sign of the potter's wheel, but one or two of the finer pieces have been made on a turn-table. It will be seen that large fragments of pots of both classes were found, and it is clear from this that both were in current use in the settlement at the time when the silo was filled in, and so are contemporary. We are thus dealing with people possessing two separate traditions of potting, the cultural and chronological implications of which will be discussed later.

1. Fine rounded bowl with beaded rim and zone of decoration on shoulder above horizontal girth groove. Paste sandy dark brown and in places soft; a little medium flint grit; black surface inside and out. Outside surface well burnished to a polish; the marks of the burnishing tool run from top left to bottom right, parallel with the decoration.

2. Small bowl with omphalos base. Paste black, hard, and sandy. Burnishing has been attempted inside and out, including the omphalos, but it is not complete, leaving the lines of the tool separate and distinct. Lower part of exterior slightly worn.

3. Tall slightly convex 'saucepan-shaped' bowl; beaded rim above wide shallow neck-groove; zone of decoration above shallow girth groove. Paste dark reddish brown, somewhat 'porridgy' and crumbling; inside surface smoothed dark grey; outside black to brown, polished dully. Decoration in wide very shallow hardly perceptible grooves, forming interlocking parabolic curves depending from the neck-groove.

4. Hard black sandy paste, small flint grit; exterior brown to dark grey, roughly smoothed.

5. Very like 4.

6. 'Saucepan-shaped' pot; brown sandy paste, interior black, exterior brown and smoothed, not however so much as to obliterate some slight horizontal ridges below neck, which may be traces of turn-table action.

7. Rough straight-sided bowl of coarse ware. Black paste and interior, outside baked a rich brown and roughly smoothed; very copious shell-grit.

8. Jar-rim, dark sandy paste, darkish grey-brown exterior, burnished and 'soapy' to feel.

9. Fragment showing tooled decoration; paste 'porridgy' brick red; both surfaces coated with thin dark slip and the exterior polished, giving almost purplish hue.

10. Rim-fragment, flat top; very soft chocolate-coloured paste with tiny shell-grit; dark slip.

11. Rough rim-fragment, too irregular for its exact form to be certain. Black paste very pitted on inside surface; exterior baked to dull brown; much shell-grit.

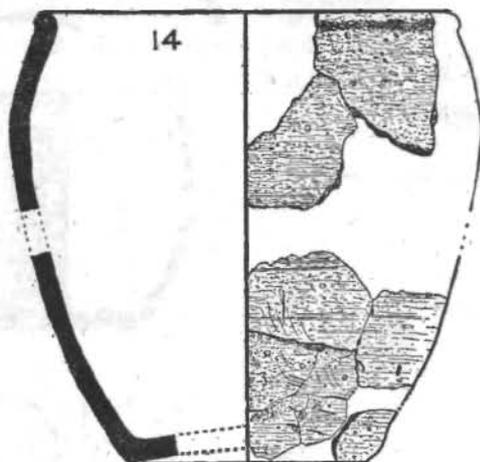


FIG. 4. IRON AGE 'AB' JAR, WEST CLANDON ($\frac{1}{4}$)

12. Small pot, very coarse ware; weak shoulder, attenuated lip. Paste black and crumbling, small shell-grit. Surface very rough, scored in places by vertical striations.

13. Base of large coarse jar, roughly splayed by finger-pressure. Dark crumbling paste, grey interior surface, brown exterior very roughly smoothed in vertical strokes; much shell-grit.

14. Fragments of large jar of coarse ware. Paste grey-black, in places crumbling; much shell-grit. Interior face grey to brown, and smoothed vertically either by finger or by fine brush; exterior face brown.

B. *Stone*. Dr. K. P. Oakley has very kindly examined the sandstone fragments found. He states that there are two varieties:—

(a) Ordinary carstone from the Folkestone beds of the lower Greensand. These beds are present south of the escarpment at Newlands Corner, at Shere and Albury Heath, at a distance of less than two miles.

(b) Wind-facetted carstone, which occurs in the sandy drift on the Bargate beds in the neighbourhood of Godalming.¹ Godalming is about six miles from the site as the crow flies.

This stone had not been worked in any way that was apparent, and it is hard to imagine why it was transported to the site. If metalling for a yard was required, the Folkestone carstone would surely have sufficed. So far as is known, iron was not extracted from greensand carstone²; but perhaps the present pieces were

¹ See Memoir of the Geological Survey, *Aldershot and Guildford District*, 144.

² E. Straker, *Wealden Iron*, 7, 103.

gathered for some other industrial process at present obscure. The wind-faceted carstone fragments might have been used for burnishing pottery. At any rate the eclectic use of stone from Godalming would seem to imply some more than normal need.

(c) *Charcoal*. Miss F. L. Stephens has kindly examined the fragments of charcoal found, and identifies them as Oak, Hazel, and Willow.

(d) *Bones*. Dr. J. Wilfrid Jackson has kindly sent the following report on the animal remains found in the pit.

Ox : Few split bones and fragment of mandible with teeth sockets.

Sheep : Small scapula, pelvis, vertebrae, fragments of slender limb-bones ; mandible with teeth (not adult) ; maxilla and broken mandibles with teeth of lambs. The remains are very fragmentary and all seem to belong to young animals.

Pig : Three fragments of limb-bones ; fragment of right upper jaw with broken tooth ; and two loose lower teeth.

Dog : Right mandible with canine and four other teeth.

Field Vole : Skull and mandible.

Frog : Three limb-bones.

The above are all such as one finds in similar locations. The ox is probably the small 'Celtic' Ox, and the sheep the small 'Celtic' variety. The remains are really too few to say much about.

(e) *Other Finds*.

Fig. 5, 1. Small wedge-shaped iron object.

Fig. 5, 2. Small chalk spindle whorl. This came from the layer of sticky yellow soil, and therefore belongs not to the pit, but to the occupation soil around it.

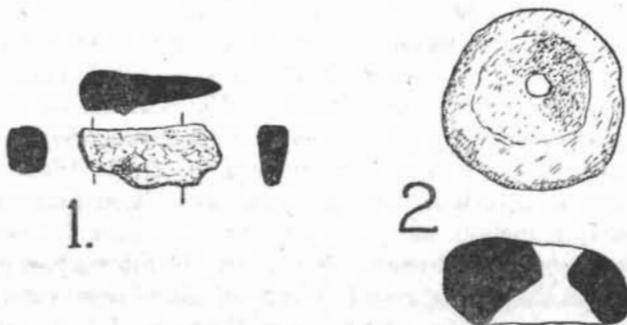


FIG. 5. OTHER FINDS, WEST CLANDON ($\frac{2}{3}$)

DISCUSSION

The site presents interesting contrasts to that at Epsom recently published by the writer,¹ with which we shall see it to be roughly contemporary. At Clandon as at Epsom we have pottery vessels (nos. 11 and 12) indicating the long-surviving traditions of Iron Age A, a culture which in this isolated and backward district survived from late Hallstatt times down to at least the first century B.C.² At Epsom the outside connexions were with the Wealden folk of the south and the haematite province of Wessex ; at Clandon, however, the southern connexion is altogether absent, and the principal outside connexion though westward is with the

¹ *Antiq. Journ.*, xxii, 123-38.

² Cf. a vessel from Oldbury also : *Arch. Cant.*, li, 172, fig. 14, nos. 1, 3.

more definitely La Tène-influenced culture of the later Iron Age in Hampshire. For at this site we may discern three cultural groups in the pottery so far collected. There are the Iron Age A relicts (nos. 11 and 12); the decorated vessels and other sherds of 'AB' character; and the omphalos bowl (no. 2). It may one day prove that a further cultural strain or tradition is indicated by the characteristics of shell-grit backing, but it is unnecessary to invoke such a theory here in the presence of a local explanation.

Of the Iron Age A survivals there is little to add to my remarks in *Antiq. Journ.* xxii, 126ff. It is becoming increasingly clear that Surrey and West Kent were areas which continued, largely unaffected by neighbouring developments, in an unbroken declension of Hallstatt culture well into the first century B.C. Then for a century until the Roman conquest these conservative natives experienced a variety of contacts from different directions which left their material culture enriched to the bounds of recognition.

At this site, vessels 1 and 3 give us evidence of one of these contacts. Hawkes¹ has shown reason for believing that, during the migration years of the third century B.C., 'Marnian' warriors and chiefs established themselves here and there in Lowland Britain² among the peasants of Iron Age A; but their main centres of concentration were effected in the north-east, towards Lincolnshire and above all in East Yorkshire. In the Iron Age B culture of those centres,³ a north-eastern or 'Yorkshire' school of Celtic bronze-work arose; and subsequently the influence of its La Tène-derived decorative style seems to have spread southward, permeating the wider territories of Lowland Britain among which the more scattered groups of 'Marnians' were established, and manifesting itself not now only in bronze work, but also in pottery. In this way Hawkes would explain the pottery that has been called 'AB', as representing a cultural fusion which thus came to cover much of SE. Britain, often with something approaching uniformity.⁴ The evidence for this new influence is found in improved paste and finish, and in fresh form and decoration. Vessels 1 and 3 well illustrate both these aspects (often designated 'La Tène II'). The paste is finer, the surface burnished and soapy; the decoration hints at the forms of Celtic art; the shapes include most notably the 'La Tène II' saucepan pot, so familiar e.g. in Hampshire and Sussex. No. 7 is in the alternative gritty paste, but is otherwise of typical shape, and recalls a similar coarse-ware vessel from Oldbury Hill, Wiltshire (illustrated in *Devizes Museum Catalogue II*², p. 146, fig. 26, 2).

The small omphalos bowl (no. 2) is of a type introduced about the middle of the first century B.C. by the bearers of the 'South-eastern B' culture, who are thought to have been refugees from Caesar's conquest of Brittany in 56 B.C. Their vessels are recognized by this omphalos base, or by a tendency to decoration with geometric arcs of 'eye-brow' pattern or small impressed circlets.

Their remains are particularly plentiful in Sussex (for full distribution, see forthcoming map by A. E. Wilson and G. P. Burstow), and are also found on the fringe of the Essex Coast and along the southern borders of the Thames Valley as far

¹ *Antiq. Journ.*, xx, 115ff, 276ff; *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 230 ff; *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, xiv, pt. 3, 332 ff.

² E.g. Central Sussex, E. Kent, and S. Wiltshire.

³ Ward Perkins, 'Iron Age Metal Horses'

Bits of the British Isles,' *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, v, pt. I (Jan.-July 1939), 173ff, 185ff.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. Hawkes for this most recent exposition of his views. See also his observations on the relevant pottery from Fengate, Peterborough: *Arch. Journ.*, c (1945), 205-8, 210-14, 221-2.

as Silchester (see fig. 8 below). At present the distinctive decoration is common only in Sussex, being found north of the Weald only in London and on the Essex coast; but it is still too early, owing to the paucity of Iron Age material, to say if this has any significance. It need only be added that the distribution of omphalos bases shows a neglect of the Belgic areas of Kent and Wessex indicating a non-Belgic, and thus presumably post-Belgic, settlement.

Normally the omphalos bases are found on characteristic swelling bowls with narrower collar or neck; but smaller examples are not wanting even in Sussex,¹ while north of the Weald close parallels exist from Hulbury,² and especially from Sturry, near Canterbury.³ This last is of particular interest since it was associated with Belgic pedestal urns of late, 'debased' type, and thus gives the connexion with Belgic pot-craft which seems to be desirable to explain its simple curving lip, which is not easy to parallel otherwise; and as our no. 2 has a similar out-curving rim it would be possible to see here too some traces of Belgic influence, though at Clendon these would have come from 'Western Belgic' sources in Hampshire.

The significance and importance of this vessel is now clear. It provides a firm anchor in time by which we may secure the chronology of the whole group of pottery from this pit. That the 'South-eastern B' element (characterized by the omphalos base) arrived not earlier than 56 B.C. seems nowadays widely accepted as a working theory, and this *terminus a quo* is still further reinforced if we are correct in detecting Belgic influence in the rim. 'Western Belgic' settlers are believed to have arrived in this country about 50 B.C., and in Hawkes's opinion early penetrated and settled as far inland as the Loddon Valley on the western borders of Surrey. Pottery characteristic of the culture apparently so established has been found at Farnham and at Cobham. Until further excavations have been made at West Clendon and more material is available, it would not be wise to draw inferences, from the apparent absence of further Belgic traits in its material, for a date early rather than late in the century of their predominance; but a date in the mid-first century B.C. would anyhow appear likely on other grounds, namely the vigour of the La Tène II traditions here, and the presence of the omphalos base itself. For the 'South-eastern B' tradition, as we shall see below, did not last long unmodified. In the Thames Valley in particular the settlers give the impression of having been few and soon absorbed, and by the first century A.D. new types of pot had been born from the fusion of cultures.

PART II. SOME ASPECTS OF IRON AGE AND ROMANO-BRITISH CULTURE IN THE WEALDEN AREA

Some short account has been given above of the foothold obtained in SE. Britain by the 'South-eastern B' settlers. I hope to show below that their contribution to the later cultures in the non-Belgic areas of the region was greater than has hitherto been recognized. Some light is thrown on the subject by the three vessels here published.

¹ *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxiv, 178, fig. 28, from Charleston Brow; base only present, but belonging to small bowl c. 4 in. max. diameter, perhaps like our 7.

² *Arch. Cant.*, li, 166; *Archaeologia*, xc, 171-2.

³ *Antiq. Journ.*, viii, 93-4.

Fig. 6, 1 is in the possession of Mr. C. M. Beeston of Tanglewood, Addington Road, Sanderstead, Surrey, to whose good offices I am indebted for facilities to draw and publish it (1942). It was found in excavations connected with widening and straightening the main road between Hothfield and Ashford, Kent. It is reported to have contained bones

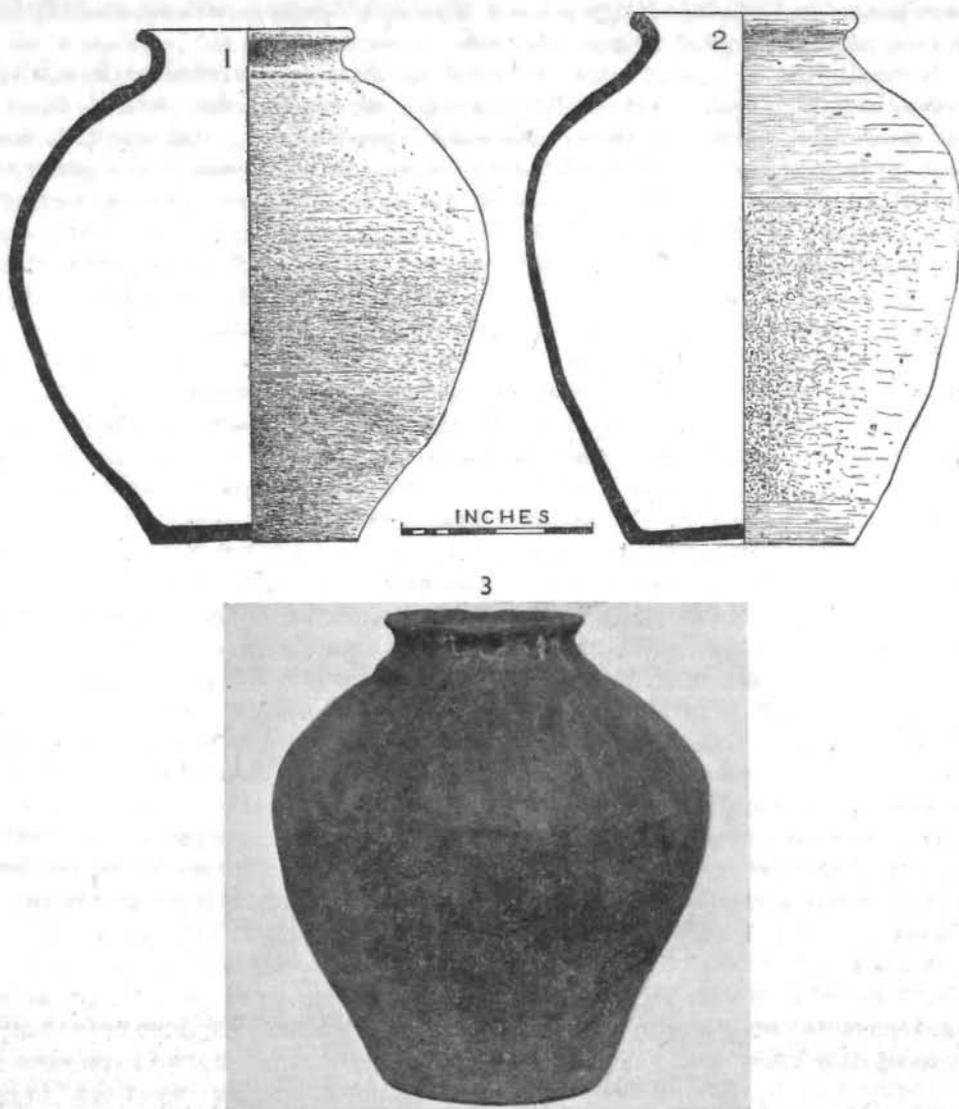


FIG. 6

JARS FROM (1) ASHFORD, (2) TITSEY, AND (3) STONE, NEAR DARTFORD, KENT ($\frac{1}{4}$)

and to have been found with other pots, the whereabouts of which is not known, and with two bronze coins now in Mr. Beeston's possession. Mr. J. Allan has examined the coins at the British Museum and reports that they are unidentifiable except as Roman coins of the second century A.D. (One is possibly of Antoninus Pius.) The pot is nearly intact, some pieces of rim and a fragment near the base being missing; its colour is pinkish brown mottled to dark grey in patches, the neck and rim becoming nearly black. A wide low

cordon divides shoulder from neck; surface smoothed and slightly soapy to touch; the paste while containing some sandy grit is of a quality hardly yet Roman. The vessel is not symmetrical and was not made on a wheel, though perhaps a turn-table was used. To sum up: it is not a type usual in Kent, being by no means purely Belgic in form; on the other hand it more nearly recalls the 'ABC' pottery of Sussex.

Fig. 6, 2 from the Titsey (Surrey) collection in the Guildford Museum (published by kind permission of Mr. F. H. Elsley) was found in 1867. Its exact find-spot is uncertain; it does not resemble any described by Leveson-Gower from the Titsey Roman Villa or elsewhere, but from what we know of his activities is likely nevertheless to have been a local find. It is almost complete and about half full of burnt bone fragments; paste 'porridgy'; much of shoulder and rim smoky black, the rest orange-red; outside smoothed from lip to 4 in. down on shoulder, and again (very roughly) for 1 in. above base, remainder rough matt; paste and ware unmistakably similar to no. 1. The outline is irregular and profile dimpled; inside there are no signs of wheel-marks, but on the contrary slight vertical rippling as if fingers had been drawn upwards inside from base; hence probably hand-made.

Fig. 6, 3. Some idea of the texture of these vessels is given by a precisely similar jar found at Horns Cross, Stone near Dartford²; it was part of a grave group, probably of the early second century A.D., being found with Roman potsherds, and containing imperfectly calcined bones and charcoal fragments. It is now in Maidstone Museum, having been presented by Mr. R. F. Jessup in 1930.

It is immediately clear that these vessels, which for clarity I shall call the *Ashford type*, bear a strong resemblance to the Asham type of pot found in Sussex, whose characteristics³ are a narrow mouth with out-curling lip, low belly, sweeping shoulder, flat base, and sometimes cordons at the neck. This type Hawkes has

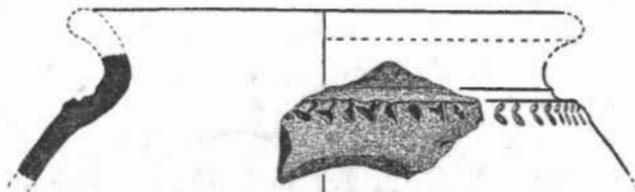


FIG. 7. 'PATCH GROVE' SHERD, ALDWICK ROAD, BEDDINGTON, SURREY ($\frac{1}{4}$)

shown³ to be derived from the larger type of omphalos bowl introduced by 'South-eastern B' intruders from Brittany in Caesarian times. The Asham type grew out of this Iron Age bowl probably not much earlier than the Roman conquest; and it is to these transition years (\pm A.D. 50) that our group, if judged by form and paste alone, should belong.

But in addition to this close family resemblance to the Asham jar, our group has wider ties of relationship and alliance with other late Iron Age ware, in particular to the large jars called by Ward Perkins⁴ the 'Patch Grove' type. These are characterized by a 'porridgy grey ware with orange surfacing' and are normally decorated with horizontal rows of firmly impressed finger-tip jabs or stab-marks in imitation of this, and sometimes by low cordons with finger-printing. Fig. 7 illustrates a specimen recently identified in a collection of pottery dug up in 1921 at Beddington, near Croydon.⁵ The distribution of this type is wider than

¹ *Arch. Cant.*, xliii, p. 1.

² Curwen, *Archaeology of Sussex*, 280.

³ *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 252.

⁴ *Arch. Cant.*, li, 176; *Archaeologia*, xc, 149, 150, 165, 175-6.

⁵ For details of this site see *Surrey Arch. Colls.* xxxvi, 112-13; xxxvii, 59-63; and *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, v, 80-2. For further illustrations of this type see references given in Appendix II.

that of the Asham type proper, for they have been found in Surrey, Kent, and Sussex (see list below, Appendix II). Our group lacks the decoration, but it is of similar paste and ware.

Ward Perkins considered the Ashtead 'Patch Grove' jar to be the 'development under Belgic influence of retarded Iron Age A wares' of Surrey.¹ But the close kinship in paste and shape with the Asham pot would argue a related origin; and the Asham pot we have seen derives from the omphalos bowl, and differs from

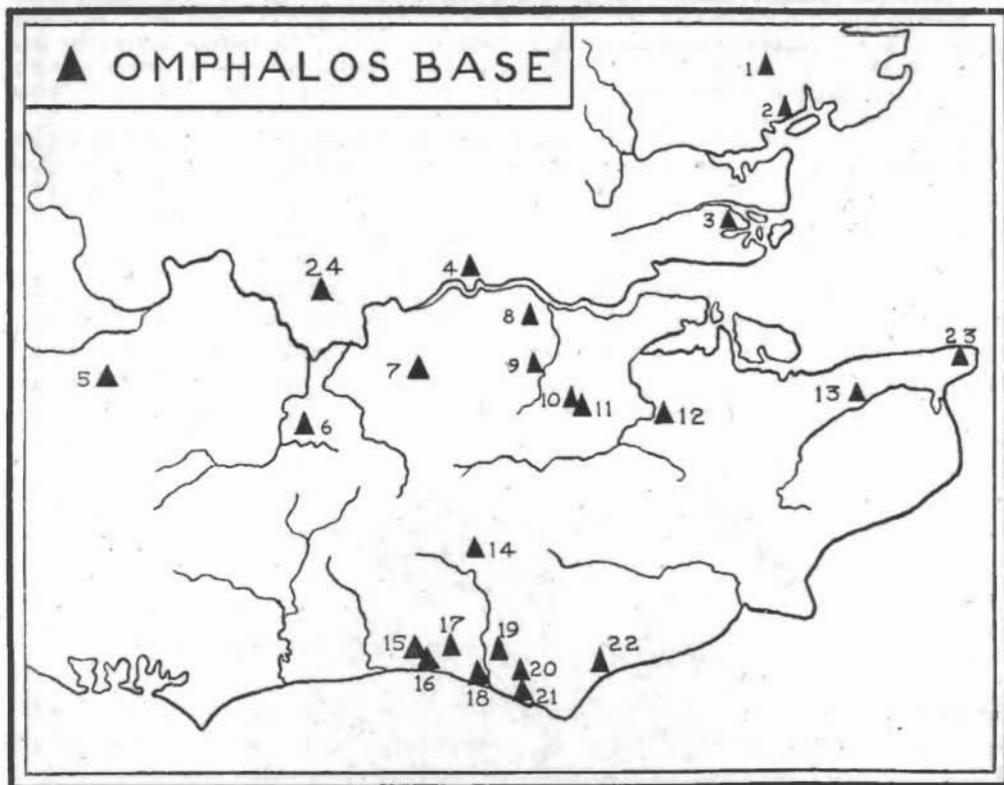


FIG. 8. PERIOD I. 'DISTRIBUTION OF SOUTH EASTERN B' OMPHALOS BASES

it precisely in the manifestation of that 'Belgic influence' (or Belgic-Roman influence) which adapted its neck and shoulder to the regular curves of normal contour, and modified its omphalos base to disappearance point.

Moreover there are very marked similarities between the distribution of this whole family of coarse pottery (both Asham, Patch Grove, and Ashford types: see fig. 9) and that of the omphalos bowls (here re-mapped (fig. 8) from Ward Perkins' lists, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv, 153, 166-7, with additions: for sources, see Appendix I, p. 66). In particular the significant avoidance of E. Kent, Hampshire, and W. Sussex, should be noted in each case. In other words the Belgae were already in possession and strong enough to deflect visitors. Then, too, the omphalos bowl has a wide distribution in south-eastern Britain, and it would be strange were

¹ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv, 157-60.

it to have left descendants in the local pottery types of East Sussex alone. With the recognition of a wider series, the Asham type will fall into place as but one local variant of the family. Only on the Essex coast is there next to nothing to show in the second period; and this is accounted for by the Belgic conquest of the district which had meanwhile taken place.

If it is agreed that these types, the Asham, Patch Grove, and Ashford, possess a connected origin, they will indicate some sort of local non-Belgic culture with a

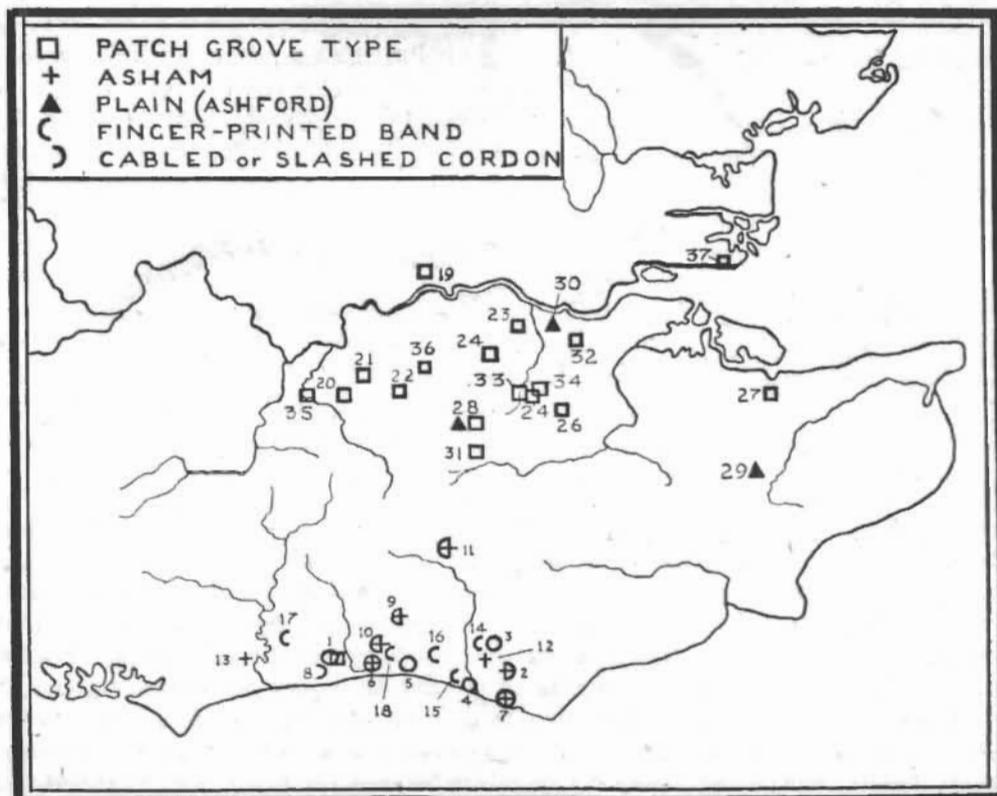


FIG. 9. PERIOD II. DISTRIBUTION OF 'SOUTH EASTERN B' AND KINDRED DERIVATIVES

distribution round the coasts of Sussex and non-Belgic Kent, and along the Lower Thames Valley, derived ultimately from the 'South-eastern B' (Breton) immigrants of the first century B.C., but naturally modified by the powerful and all-pervading influence of its Belgic neighbours, and also, as we shall see, by the 'native' traditions strongly persisting in the final ingredient not till now mentioned.

It will have been noted that the Asham pot in Sussex is a plain jar, or if decorated has trellises or cordons or some such linear design. But the allied Patch Grove type of West Kent and Surrey is decorated with lines of stab-marks or finger-tip impressions. Nor are the Patch Grove jars the only vessels in this region to bear this ornament. Fig. 10 illustrates two sherds from Merle Common, Limpsfield,¹ one

¹ *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xlii, 110, PL XXIII, nos. 3 and 10; here drawn and published by kind permission of Mr. I. D. Margary, F.S.A.

(no. 2) a Patch Grove vessel, the other of similar ware but divergent form; and one (no. 3) from Hooley near Coulsdon¹ which is of a soft flaky ware full of shell-grit. All bear lines of comparable stab-ornament. Now Surrey is known to have been an area of survival for such Iron Age A traits as finger-tip ornamentation; it is natural, therefore, that this should be the area where we find the old technique transplanted to the new type of pot. But in East Sussex also we have contemporary vessels

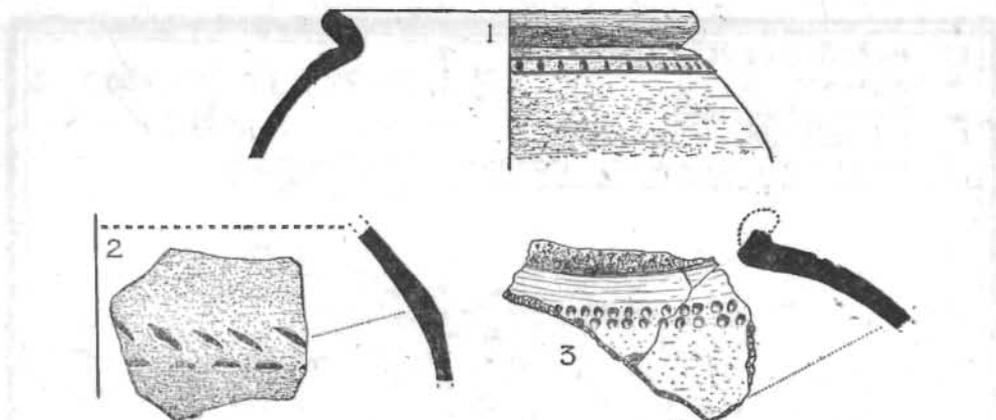


FIG. 10. VESSELS FROM (1, 2) LIMPSFIELD AND (3) HOOLEY, SURREY (1/4)

bearing similar anachronistic forms of finger-tip ornament. The writer has elsewhere alluded² to the difficulty of deriving this ornament by direct descent from the A culture of East Sussex.³ Neither is there at present any hint of continental parallels. It is therefore more reasonable to derive this feature from the other direction, and allow it to be a contribution from Surrey to the culture of East Sussex. The writer has already published grounds for supposing intercourse across the Weald at this time between the two areas. An additional witness to this is the Patch Grove pot from Lancing, a direct intrusion of a Surrey type into Sussex. Unfortunately, few of the Sussex finger-printed sherds are more than fragmentary, but it is quite possible that some at least derive from vessels of Patch Grove or Asham contour. The two surviving whole ones, illustrated by Dr. Curwen,⁴ however, show fusion with other local elements, a fact not surprising in an area so rich in varying traditions of culture as Sussex.

At any rate the map shows that while Patch Grove finger-printing is a Surrey feature, the raised band with finger-printing is a specifically Sussex characteristic, which does not recur across the Weald. If finger-printing came from Surrey, the raised band will have to be accounted for by local conditions in Sussex. What can these have been? The explanation must lie in its contiguity to Belgic Kent with

¹ *Trans. of Croydon Nat. Hist. and Scientific Soc.*, xi, 157; published by kind permission of Mr. W. H. Bennett, F.G.S.

² *Antiq. Journ.*, xxii, 136.

³ Caburn I ware, did, it is true, make use of small slashed cordons, though even these may

have disappeared by the end of the period (see *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 242, fig. H); but the point of the argument lies in the complete absence of finger-printing in Sussex after the early part of Iron Age A times.

⁴ *Archaeology of Sussex*, Pl. XXVIII, 4, 5.

which it was in contact¹ and from which it was influenced to a greater degree² than Surrey. Belgic potters used the wheel, but in East Sussex pottery was not wheel-made, and imitated cordons therefore tended to grosser outline.³ That the aesthetic value of the plain cordon was not appreciated by the imitators is shown by the slashed variety,⁴ where a plaited thong has been combined in idea with the cordon; this seems to imply that the main consideration was to provide added strength at the girth and support for handling the vessels, which are often of great size. The larger bands were not raised from the body of the pot, but were made separately and applied; to be firmly attached, the band would be pressed firmly in with the finger, and, far from being at once smoothed off, would now have added appeal by reason of its resemblance to the riveted joint on a bronze jar.⁵

Some of these considerations are alternative, but not necessarily mutually exclusive; and they do explain in a satisfactory way the otherwise puzzling recrudescence of finger-printed raised bands, without invoking an unbroken local tradition from Deverel-Rimbury times, for which there is no ceramic evidence. They underline at once the isolation which could give rise to regional variation, and the unity maintained by blood or trade, both characteristic of the time and area.

This is not to deny that the Sussex population, as Hawkes has argued, was largely of old stock only recently affected (from c. 100 B.C. onwards) by conquest and immigration. Cordons of a sort had been known in Caburn I, and the fresh technique would thus encounter some familiarity with the cordon idea.

Our conclusions so far are that reasons can be found in the pottery for attributing to 'South-eastern B' a greater share in moulding the cultures of the south-eastern part of Britain, during the last century of the Iron Age, than has so far been recognized. The impact of 'South-eastern B' on Sussex, indeed, has several times been stressed in recent articles, but even here its full expansion will only be fully defined when Dr. Wilson's map of the period's remains is published.⁶ We have shown that it took root also north of the Weald, and that intercourse took place between the two areas despite the forest barrier, doubtless through the agency of the 'Wealden' folk, on to whose culture it grafted itself.

In Sussex its area was somewhat congested by the presence of Belgae on each flank; the same is less true north of the Weald, for though there were still Belgae on each side here, the intervening area stretched from Medway to Mole, with ample living space between.

The more the so-called 'native' culture of the central Sussex-East Surrey-West Kent area is examined, the less does it appear truly native. Its most important elements were contributed first by the intrusive Cissbury-Wealden folk, and later by 'South-eastern B' refugees landing both north and south; it has seemed native

¹ See *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 244, fig. J, 69.

² E.g. Crowhurst Park, near Battle; *S.N.Q.*, vi, no. 8 (Nov. 1937), 231-2; *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxix, 224-32.

³ E.g. *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 290, fig. 6a.

⁴ Curwen, *Archaeology of Sussex*, fig. 81; *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxxi, 161, no. 4.

⁵ Bronze vessels of the period are rare; but cf. raised bands with bosses punched from inside to resemble rivet heads at junction of collar with body on bronze cauldron from the Santon (Downham) hoard, Norfolk (*Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, xiii, Pl. XV, 1), a La Tene vessel dated

c. A.D. 43-50. Also one of similar date from Lamberton Moor, Berwickshire (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xxxix, 372), with a band round the bulge bearing circular bosses beaten up from beneath. Much the same bronze-derived motif is seen on the Saltdean omphalos jar, where we have a row of dots ('rivet-heads'), between two parallel lines (representing a vestigial cordon).

⁶ A. E. Wilson and G. P. Burstow, 'The Evolution of Sussex Iron Age Pottery' forthcoming. The writer is indebted to Dr. Wilson for his generous loan of the typescript.

through the absence of Belgic characteristics, but its only really native elements are those contributed by the A survivals in the Surrey-Kent border regions. In truth, the absence of Belgic characteristics gives the clue to its unity, forged from such diverse elements. For it was essentially a minority culture facing a double Belgic threat of partition; and just as there is reason to suppose its hill-forts built as a reply to the Belgic encirclement, so we can see Belgic influence withstood, until in the last half-century of British independence Belgic trade and Belgic imperialism to some extent broke down the barriers.

ROMAN PERIOD

So far we have considered the pre-Roman implications of this group of wares. But examples are not wanting of all three types surviving into the second century A.D. The Osprige cemetery contained a late Patch Grove urn, and at Hassocks an Asham pot was found with late second century Samian.¹ Thus the association of the Stone vessel with second century pottery and of the Ashford jar with mid (?) second century coins, if genuine, is not unparalleled.² Yet it demands an explanation.

It should be noted that many of these pots were used as cinerary urns (viz. the four from Asham, one from Hassocks, Bormer, and Plaxtol, in addition to the three described in this paper; compare also the omphalos bowls from London and two of the three from Essex). Thus all the vessels with a definite post-conquest (usually second-century) context are associated with the burial rite. This is undoubtedly significant. One must beware at this point of being led to discuss the whole question of the ways and means of Romanization in Britain, and its various degrees of effectiveness in different areas at various dates, however relevant this might appear to an explanation of our problem. But besides the natural conservatism attached to burial rites, we may perhaps allude to the following points in general terms.

Excavations at the Caburn have shown³ that this hill-fort was refortified at the time of the Roman conquest, and Hawkes has inferred that the inhabitants would make no terms and went down fighting to the last. At Oldbury⁴ the same thing happened; and recent excavations at High Rocks, Tunbridge Wells,⁵ have made it possible to consider this as a third site of resistance to the Roman invaders. This suggests that the Wealden area had to be reduced piecemeal⁶; and a military conquest may have retarded civilization as in East Anglia after Boudicca's revolt.

In the second place, these vessels came from an area once covered by the Wealden culture.⁷ This culture did not represent any single tribal unit by the end of the Iron Age, but rather a variegated population of diverse origins. Introduced by the Cissbury-Wealden (Marnian) invaders of the third century, it had come to incorporate aboriginal Late Bronze Age-Iron Age A survivals, as well as more recent 'South-eastern B' (Breton) immigrants, and a few folk from Hampshire and the borders of Wessex, to whom must be added some handfuls of Belgic prospectors. Among such a mixed population, some local variations are inevitable. But pottery

¹ For references, see Appendix.

² Cf. also the Roman pot with finger-printed band from Wolstonbury, *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxvi, 42, fig. 10.

³ *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 200, 261-2.

⁴ *Arch. Cant.*, li, 153, 158; *Archaeologia*, xc, 154.

⁵ *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxxii, 108-9.

⁶ The fortified posts on Stane Street (Hardham, Alfoldean) support this notion.

⁷ Some sites are outside the Weald. But I use the term 'Weald' in a loose sense to include the whole area embraced by the culture, which extended beyond the Downs.

of each of these elements is associated together on one site or another, and it is clearly impossible to think of them as distinct and separate entities. If there was diversity, there was also unity. Over these peoples neither the Regni nor the Cantii can have exercised any very definite sway. On the contrary, we have suggested as one of the causes of their unity a definite antipathy, which may well have resulted in opposition to the policies of king Cogidubnus of the Regni and his Roman allies. The result of such minor opposition could not be in doubt. *Singuli pugnans, universi vincuntur.*

However this may be, there was at any rate no one central tribal organization already established for the Romans to control and convert in accordance with their normal policy of civilization. Nor do we find any urbanized centre in the area, nor indeed any primary roads. Stane Street and Watling Street cut the northern corners of the area; but the other two, the Croydon-Portslade and West Wickham-Lewes roads, diverge from Stane Street and Watling Street respectively. This in itself need not imply much difference in date; but they seem unlikely both on general grounds and on the balance of available evidence to have been constructed before the early years of the second century, for they are founded on the Sussex Iron industry¹ and the prosperity of Sussex agriculture.

Apart from the special case of the Iron Industry, Romanization appears to have affected the region principally through the diffusion of villas north and south of the central forest. The process, no doubt mainly pioneer, may elsewhere have involved the substitution of these mainly small estates during the second and third centuries, in suitable neighbourhoods, for the peasant communities which predominated in the first century. (The evidence admittedly is meagre, but compare e.g. the early burials at Wotton (*Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xxxvii, 220) with the nearby villa at Abinger (*V.C.H. Surrey*, iv, 356); and the villa at Titsey with the various sites at Limpsfield and Godstone.)

But the central area remains empty of finds both on the Surrey and Sussex sides except for the iron. This must early have attracted Roman attention, and seems to have done so especially in the south (e.g. Crowhurst Park). While the stages of its exploitation remain still essentially unknown, at present the expansion in the central area seems to have come in the second rather than the first century A.D. In any case, exploitation does not always make for civilization. The Weald, therefore, remained for one reason or another, skirted rather than permeated by full Roman influence. The adjacent downland also retained strong native Iron Age traditions, best recognized in the 'soapy' first-century pottery characteristic of the numerous central Sussex downland Romano-British villages, and in Surrey to be seen at such sites as Banstead, Chipstead, and Wentworth Way, Sanderstead.² These pre-Roman traditions can still be recognized, though in more Romanized form, in the curious 'finger-clawed' ware found on many Surrey and mid-Sussex sites, and seemingly datable to the second half of the third century³; later, again, they broke out once more in the late 'native' wares of Thundersbarrow, and a

¹ For a discussion of these roads in relation to the iron industry, see Straker and Margary in *Geographical Journal*, xcii (1938), 55-60, with map.

² For Banstead, see *Surrey Arch. Colls.*,

xxxviii, pt. I, 93; Chipstead, *ibid.*, xlvi, 152-4; Sanderstead, *ibid.*, forthcoming.

³ For the form, see the completely restorable example from Ewell, *J.R.S.*, xxxiii (1943), 76, and *Surrey Arch. Colls.*, xlvi, 52, with distribution-list.

kindred soapy gritty pottery found in 1943 at a fourth-century Bath House at Chatley Farm, Cobham, Surrey.

Thus the survival of our 'South-eastern-B'-derived jars into the second century A.D. is seen to be no isolated phenomenon. It illustrates the characteristic conservative tendencies of a peasant culture. The Wealden folk had been anti-Belgic; they seem to have remained unresponsive to the hand of Rome.

APPENDIX I

SCHEDULE OF OMPHALOS BOWLS MAPPED ON FIG. 8

NOTE.—In the case of vessels in Ward Perkins' list (*Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, iv, 166-7) reference is made below only to his paper, where further details will be found.

1. Colchester.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 166.
2. Langenhoe.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 166.
3. Canewdon.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 166.
4. London.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 166.
5. Silchester.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 166.
6. West Clandon.	Above, fig. 2, 2.
7. Carshalton.	<i>Journ. Anthropological Institute</i> , xxxv (1905), 396.
8. Crayford.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 163.
9. Hulbury.	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> , li, 166, fig. 11, 8.
10. Oldbury.	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> , li, 173, fig. 14, 2.
11. Plaxtol.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 167.
12. Maidstone.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 167.
13. Sturry.	<i>Antiq. Journ.</i> , viii, 93-4.
14. Horsted Keynes.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 167.
15. Woodingdean.	<i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i> , vi (1937), 183.
16. Saltdean.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 167.
17. Bormer.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 167.
18. Newhaven.	<i>Sussex Arch. Colls.</i> , lxxx, 285, fig. 5, 1.
19. The Caburn.	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 167.
20. Charleston Brow.	<i>Sussex Arch. Colls.</i> , lxxiv, 178, fig. 28.
21. Seaford.	<i>Sussex Arch. Colls.</i> , lxxx, 298, No. 19.
22. Westham.	<i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i> , viii, 111.
23. Manston.	Information from Mr. W. F. Grimes, F.S.A.
24. Heath Row, Harmondsworth.	Information from Mr. W. F. Grimes, F.S.A.

APPENDIX II

SCHEDULE OF SITES MAPPED ON FIG. 9

Site	Patch Grove	Ashford	Asham	Finger-Printed Band	Slashed Cordon	Reference
1. Lancing	X	..	..	X	X	<i>Sussex Arch. Colls.</i> , lxxxi, 158, 161.
2. Charleston Brow	X	X	<i>Ibid.</i> , lxxiv, 172.
3. Caburn	X	X	<i>Ibid.</i> , lxxviii, pl. XIII, XIV.
4. Newhaven	X	X	<i>Ibid.</i> , lxxx, 289.
5. Woodingdean	X	X	<i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i> , vi, 184.
6. Kingston	X	X	X	<i>Sussex Arch. Colls.</i> , lxxii, 197.
7. Seaford	X	X	X	<i>Ibid.</i> , lxxx, 299.
8. Broadwater	X	Curwen, <i>Arch. of Sussex</i> (1936), 279.
9. Hassocks	X	X	..	<i>Ibid.</i> , pl. XXVIII, 4, 8.

Site	Patch Grove	Ashford	Asham	Finger-Printed Band	Slashed Cordon	Reference
10. Dyke	..	..	X	X	..	Information from Dr. A. E. Wilson, F.S.A. See <i>Sussex Arch. Colls.</i> , lxxvii, 199-201.
11. Horsted Keynes	..	..	X	X	..	<i>Ibid.</i> , lxxviii, 256-60.
12. Asham	..	..	X	..	..	<i>Ibid.</i> , lxxi, 254-7; <i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 165, No. 4.
13. Shepherd's Garden, Arundel Park	..	..	X	..	..	Information from Dr. A. E. Wilson, F.S.A.
14. Ranscombe	..	..	..	X	..	<i>Sussex Notes and Queries</i> , v (1934), 124-5, <i>Sussex Arch. Colls.</i> , lxxvii, 217.
15. Telscombe	..	..	..	X	..	<i>Ibid.</i> , lxxvii, 210.
16. Falmer	..	..	..	X	..	Curwen, <i>Arch. of Sussex</i> , pl. XXVIII, 5.
17. Kithurst	..	..	..	X	..	<i>Sussex Arch. Colls.</i> , lxiii, 222.
18. Patcham	..	..	..	X	..	Information from Dr. A. E. Wilson, F.S.A.
19. London	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Cat. Guildhall Museum</i> (1908), pl. VI, 7 and p. 20, no. 310.
20. Ashtead	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 165, no. 7.
21. Ewell	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Journ. Roman Studies</i> , xxx, (1940), 181.
22. Banstead	X	..	..	..	..	To be published by Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A.
23. Crayford	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Proc. Prehist. Soc.</i> , iv, 160, no. 6.
24. Orpington	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> , li, 179, nos. 3-4.
25. Otford	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Ibid.</i> , nos. 1-2.
26. Oldbury	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Ibid.</i> , 176.
27. Ospringe	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Soc. Antiq., Report on Excavation of Roman Cemetery at Ospringe, Kent</i> , pl. XXXIX, no. 461.
28. Titsey	X	X	..	..	..	Above, p. 58, fig. 6 (2) and <i>Surrey Arch. Colls.</i> , xlv, 98, fig. 3.
29. Ashford	..	X	..	..	..	Above, p. 58, fig. 6 (1).
30. Stone	..	X	..	..	..	Above, fig. 6 (3).
31. Limpsfield	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Arch. Cant.</i> , li, 181; see above, p. 62, fig. 10 (2).
32. Southfleet	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Archaeologia</i> , xc, 176.
33. Twitton	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Ibid.</i>
34. Hale	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Ibid.</i> , 175.
35. Cobham	X	..	..	..	..	<i>Ibid.</i>
36. Beddington	X	..	..	..	..	Above, p. 59, fig. 7.
37. Shoeburyness	X	..	..	..	..	Information from Mr. A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A.