

THE EARLY IRON AGE SETTLEMENT AT FENGATE, PETERBOROUGH

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Edited and adapted from an original study (1937-9) by

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I. THE SITE

Just outside the eastern boundary of the Borough of Peterborough, beside the suburb of Fengate in the parish of Peterborough Without (Northamptonshire), lies the site which has given the name of Peterborough to one of the major components of the British Neolithic.

Mr. G. Wyman Abbott, F.S.A., who first recognized its importance and who has been recovering and recording its archaeological material for the greater part of the last forty years, began its publication in 1910 with a paper, contributed to *Archaeologia* in combination with Reginald Smith, on its Neolithic and Beaker material,¹ which was followed in 1922 by a second, published in the *Antiquaries Journal*, by Mr. E. T. Leeds.² Mr. Leeds, as well as describing more Neolithic and Beaker pottery, put it on record that Mr. Wyman Abbott's discoveries extended also over later prehistoric times, and in fact represented occupations of the site both in the Neolithic, the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. It is the last³ of these occupations that forms the subject of the present study.

The site's prehistoric remains have all been brought to light in the commercial working of the gravel which, whether fine or coarse, forms its subsoil to a depth of 8-10 ft., the top 18 in. of it mingling with a reddish loam, which sinks in places into natural pockets, sometimes as far down as the underlying stratum of cornbrash. It was this gravel that attracted prehistoric man so unfailingly to occupy the site, forming as it does a low but appreciably rising promontory on the north bank of the river Nene, immediately above the point where it enters the Fens to flow through them eastward to the Wash. The site was thus the first firm and habitable ground, rising

¹ *Archaeologia*, lxii, part 1 (1910), 352 ff.

² *Antiq. Journ.*, ii (1922), 220 ff.

³ Certain Roman trenches have also been recorded by Mr. Wyman Abbott located near Williamson's Pits (see below) in 1925.

He further informs me, that towards the east of the site the latest occupation is of Roman date, about A.D. 200-400, when the Early Iron Age occupation was followed by 'presumably a large farmstead and premises'. C.I.F.

from 12 to 20 ft. above modern sea-level (Ordnance Datum), which would be reached by following upstream along the ancient estuary of the river. It also had tactical strength enough to make it easy to defend.

The succession of occupations which resulted from these natural advantages has greatly confused the site-plan. In addition to loose material including worked flints in abundance, there are Neolithic and Bronze Age pits, and burials both by inhumation and cremation, as well as the pits, numerous trenches, and other disturbances belonging to the Early Iron Age occupation; and these are themselves enough to make it a wonder, as Mr. Leeds remarked, that any of the earlier features survived intact. Actually, as he was also able to record, the Early Iron Age remains are for the most part concentrated in the central portion of the site. This will be seen from the 1927 edition of the 6-in. Ordnance Survey Map (Northants sheet VIII SE.), upon which are marked the positions of the principal discoveries recorded by Mr. Wyman Abbott up to 1923.

It is impracticable to publish with this paper any more informative plan of the Early Iron Age remains. The gravel-workings have brought them to light intermittently over a long period, in the main during the 20 years 1908-27. The most productive have been Williamson's and Walker's Pits in the central portion, but a record also comes from as far north as Tebb's Pits, adjoining Padholme Road, which runs eastwards out of Peterborough town and forms a northern boundary to the site, roughly parallel with Fengate Road on the south or river side. The site as so delimited measures some 750 yds. from north to south, and is of about the same extent from east to west, where its modern boundaries run roughly north-north-east. That on the west, followed by the Borough Boundary, is formed by the line of the Car Dyke, the well-known canal dug in Roman times. It might be that this portion of the Car Dyke followed the line of an earlier defensive work, protecting the site on its landward side where it faces the modern town; but there were Early Iron Age pits on both sides of it, and no other suggestion of defensive earthworks has been disclosed. Nor have the gravel-workings enabled Mr. Wyman Abbott to recognize the emplacements of any ancient structures that will have stood within the occupied area. On the other hand, in addition to the earlier pits and burials, they have revealed a good number of pits to which an Early Iron Age date may be assigned. It is from these, and from the contemporary occupation-material found in them and in the trenches and

elsewhere within the area, that our knowledge of the Early Iron Age settlement is to be drawn. This material enables the age and cultural identity of the settlers to be defined, in broad terms, without hesitation. They were people of the British Iron Age A, who settled here, on arrival from a Continental region of Late Hallstatt culture, apparently towards or about the end of the fifth century B.C.

2. THE IRON AGE AND EARLIER OCCUPATIONS

As will presently appear, that Continental region was most probably the Netherlands. The Iron Age A immigrations were of course neither the first nor the last to reach the country round the Wash from that quarter.¹ Not more than three centuries, indeed, had passed since the same course had been taken by Late Bronze Age immigrations, and a thousand or so years before that the course of the Beaker settlers of the Early Bronze Age had been but little different. It is then interesting at the outset here to note that the sepulchral remains recorded from the site include, slightly to the north-east of the main Iron Age occupation-area, in the first place about 20 inhumation-burials of the Early Bronze Age, disposed in and along an oval ring-ditch, 10-11 ft. wide, 6 ft. deep, and enclosing an area of 38 by 28 yds., and in the second place, intermingled with the inhumations in and along the same ring-ditch, about 130 cremation-burials, one with four bucket-urn fragments of the Late Bronze Age; also, at the east end of the oval was the contemporary crematorium. The association of ring-ditch and Late Bronze Age urn-pottery recalls the case, e.g. of Standlake in Oxfordshire.² And the succession here, as also there, of a settlement of Iron Age A makes it tempting to suppose that the Bronze Age cemetery may have been used also by the Iron Age settlers. The continued sanctity of a burial-place from Early Bronze Age to Late Hallstatt times is a frequent phenomenon in the Netherlands, and the Peterborough Iron Age pottery has close parallels, e.g. from Iron Age barrow-cremations there at Hilversum.³ Moreover, the nature of the contemporary Iron Age A cremations not far away in Norfolk,⁴ notably at the multiple-cremation barrow (encircled by ring-ditch) on Warborough Hill, Stiffkey,⁵

¹ Sir Cyril Fox, *The Personality of Britain*, 4th edn., 15 ff.

² Stephen Stone, *Archaeologia*, xxxvii, part 2 (1857), 363 ff.; Bradford, *Antiq. Journ.*, xxii (1942), 202 ff.

³ Bursch, *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden*,

nieuwe Reeks (hereinafter cited as *O.M.R.O.L.*), xvi (1935), 45 ff.

⁴ R. R. Clarke, *Arch. Journ.*, xcvi (1939), 18-20.

⁵ R. R. Clarke, *Norfolk Arch.*, xxv (1935), 408 ff.

suggest that some of the urnless cremations in the Peterborough ring-ditch may be the work of Iron Age settlers continuing the Late Bronze Age tradition. One may recall that at Chippenham, on the south-east side of the Fens, settlers as late as Iron Age A2 seem to have enlarged and added more secondary cremations to an earlier Bronze Age barrow situated close by their huts.¹

To sum up: the relation between the Bronze Age and Iron Age occupations at Peterborough cannot at present be worked out in detail, especially as so much of the Bronze Age material is still unpublished; but it is reasonable to view the possibilities in the general light of the evidence in the adjoining counties of Norfolk,² Cambridgeshire,³ and Lincolnshire⁴ for some degree of overlap between these periods.⁵

3. THE IRON AGE MATERIAL

To judge by the extant material remains, however, such an overlap cannot be assigned more than a subsidiary part in the make-up of the Iron Age settlers' culture. Their *pottery*, of which the full range and dating will be considered below, includes a good number of coarse-ware vessels ornamented with rows of impressions or incisions, sometimes of finger-impressions such as one so often sees on Late Bronze Age pots (figs. 3, 4, etc.). But most of this impressed or incised ornament is distinctively Iron Age in character, as also, in their high-shouldered situla form, are nearly all the vessels so ornamented themselves. And this is no less true of those few which show the normally Late Bronze Age feature of a 'plastic' applied band round the neck, whether plain (fig. 1, A1; fig. 6, O1; fig. 10, Misc. 5; and one other example only), or with narrow diagonal incisions (fig. 4, G1). On the similar Iron Age A vessels from West Harling in Norfolk this feature is equally rare,⁶ though a good deal commoner at Castle Hill, Scarborough.⁷

¹ C. S. Leaf, *Proc. Camb. Antiq. Soc.*, xxxvi (1936), 134 ff., 149.

² R. R. Clarke, *Arch. Journ.*, xcvi (1939), 12-30.

³ J. G. D. Clark, *V.C.H. Cambs.*, i, 278-93.

⁴ C. W. Phillips, *Arch. Journ.*, xc (1933), 140-6; xci (1934), 97 ff.

⁵ Mr. Wyman Abbott points out that whereas in the pottery some links at least seem traceable throughout the sequence of occupation from Neolithic to Iron Age, despite its successive interruptions by invasion, there is a clear distinction between the Bronze and Iron Ages in the

pits themselves. In no case has he found a Bronze Age pit re-used, or even filled up with material containing Iron Age sherds. Moreover, the black deposit-layers typical of the Iron Age pits, with their charcoal and ash, are quite different from those typical of the Bronze Age, e.g. the greyish layer in the pits containing Beaker sherds.

⁶ *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, vii, part 1 (1932), 113-15.

⁷ Reginald A. Smith, *Archaeologia*, lxxvii (1927), 179 ff.; R. E. M. Wheeler in Rowntree, *Hist. of Scarborough*, 19 ff.; Kendrick and Hawkes, *Arch. in Eng. and Wales*, 150-1, fig. 60, 10-12.

One cylindrical pot with paired finger-impressions (fig. 10, Misc. 1) recalls the Late Bronze Age bucket type on a small scale. The rim of another, larger (fig. 10, Misc. 4), carries the interesting feature of a slanting internal bevel, an earlier native character sometimes found surviving from the Middle into the Late Bronze Age, as at Mildenhall Fen.¹ But the ornament of triangular punch-marks on this bevel is a specifically Iron Age character, which appears also on the situla vessel B1 (fig. 3), and will be seen below to be definitely of Continental Hallstatt origin (p. 219).

The much rarer metal finds support the same conclusion. The outstanding piece, the *iron pin with bronze disc head* from Pit A, will be shown below to belong to the Early Iron Age of the North European Plain. An *iron nail*, found in Pit I, will also be mentioned below. On the other hand the loose finds from the site include a fragmentary *bronze socketed axe*, a typical product of the British Late Bronze Age industry. That that industry continued to produce these and other Late Bronze Age types for Iron Age settlers who had also some (but not much) iron is well known in the north, e.g. at Castle Hill, Scarborough,² and Jarlshof, Shetland.³ But this single fragment recalls rather the blade-fragment found at All Cannings Cross,⁴ of a miscast, unworn, socketed axe which may well only have been scrap metal for re-melting into the small bronze pins, ornaments, etc., current among the Iron Age inhabitants of the site. Mr. Wyman Abbott has also recorded two scraps of *cast bronze waste*, found in Pit D, and another, apparently a 'runner' from a mould, in Pit S, lying inside the pottery bowl, S2 (fig. 7). Bronze was then at least intermittently cast on the site during—apparently—the Iron Age occupation, and, initially at least, metal for this purpose may have been obtained by melting down Late Bronze Age implements. Whether they were also put by the Iron Age settlers to their proper use as implements cannot positively be affirmed.

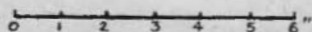
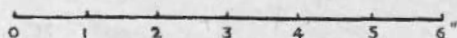
Numbers of *flint implements and flakes* have also been found among the Iron Age material. The most obvious explanation of some is that they are strays from the Neolithic or Bronze Age occupations: they include a leaf-shaped arrowhead of ordinary Neolithic type from Pit B, a plano-convex knife of Early-Middle Bronze Age type from Pit Z, and from at least

¹ J. G. D. Clark, *Antiq. Journ.*, xvi (1936), 29 ff., 37-9.

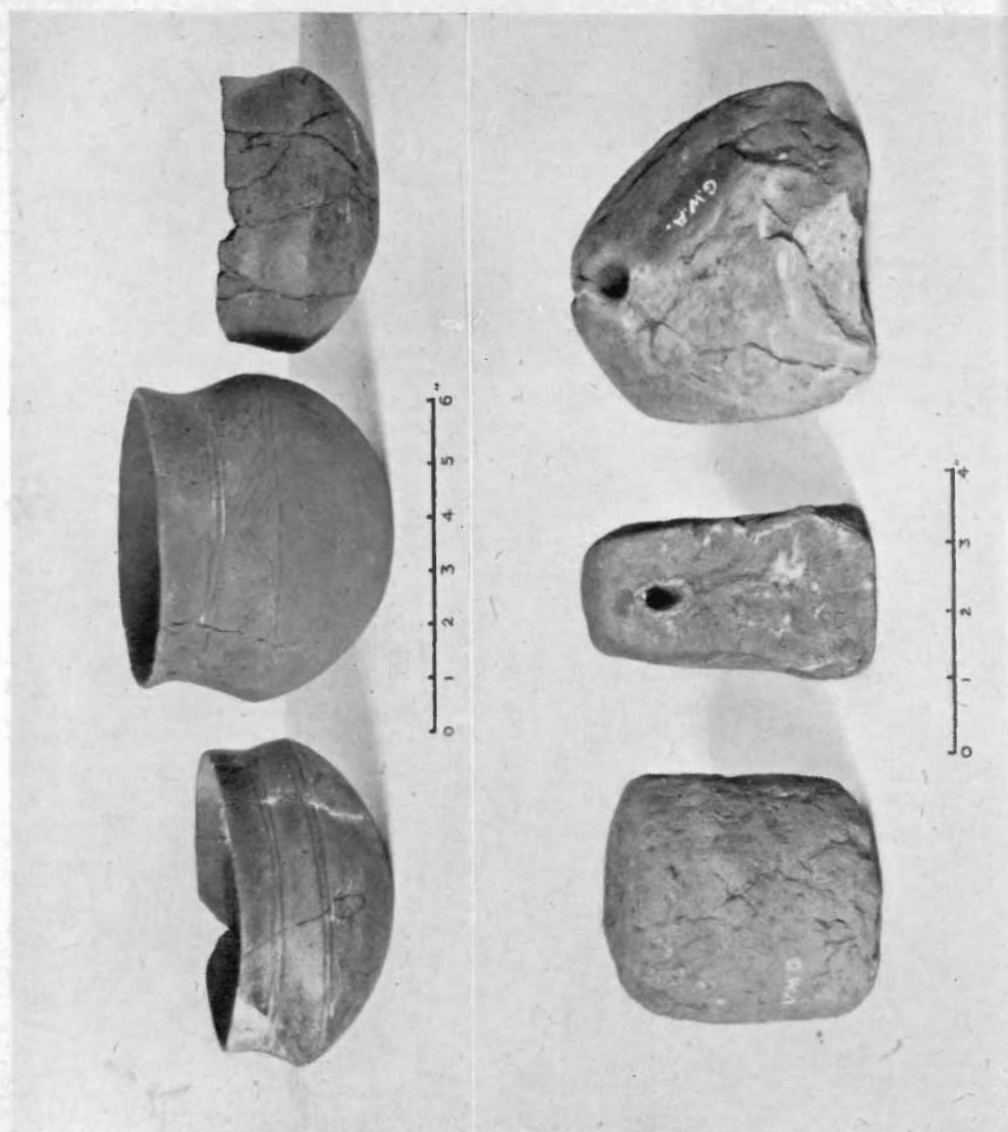
² Smith, *op. cit.*, and Wheeler, *op. cit.*, note 7, p. 191 above; Kendrick and Hawkes, *Arch. in Eng. and Wales*, 149-51; Childe, *Prehist. Communities*, 200-1.

³ Childe, 'Prehist. of Scotland', 181-7; *Prehist. Communities*, 181-6 (based on Curle in *P.S.A. Scot.*, lxvi-viii).

⁴ Cunliffe, *All Cannings Cross*, 17, 118-19, pl. 18, 3.



DECORATED POTTERY: 1, MI (cf. Fig. 5). 2, Q2 (cf. Fig. 6)
(Scales in inches)



DECORATED POTTERY: 1, KI; 2, R6; 3, S2 (cf. Figs. 5, 7)
 CLAY 'LOOM-WEIGHTS': 5 (CENTRE) FROM PIT Q; 4, 6, UNSTRATIFIED (p. 193)
 (Scales in inches)

one other pit barbed-and-tanged arrowheads (one broken in half) of Bronze Age type, as well as various scrapers, etc. and little-worked or unworked flakes. At the same time, it need not be disputed that much flint was flaked and used by the Iron Age people, as was certainly the case in the Breckland on the other side of the Fens, e.g. on Cavenham Heath,¹ and elsewhere in East Anglia.²

Bone implements include a worn point and two rib-knives, both fragmentary, from Pit O: these may both be matched on Iron Age A sites, e.g. All Cannings Cross.³ As well as other bone fragments, all split, there are some of *antler* (red deer; and one from Pit O of roe deer).

Five *loom-weights* (if they are not, e.g. thatch-weights⁴) of baked clay were found. One, unstratified (pl. II, left) is of the more or less cylindrical, vertically perforated type met with in the Late Bronze Age.⁵ Another, unstratified (*ibid.*, right), one from Pit A, and two from Pit Q (*ibid.*, centre), however, are of the truncated-pyramidal form characteristic of the Early Iron Age.⁶ Whether or no these are really loom-weights, evidence of a domestic textile industry is given by two pottery *spindle-whorls*: one from Pit O, flat, about $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. across, with 'hour-glass' perforation, and the other, unstratified, more bead-like, and about $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. across, with roughly cylindrical perforation about $\frac{1}{2}$ in. in diameter.

Pottery apart, the only other industrial remains relate to food-producing. Four stone *saddle-querns*, much worn, were found unstratified. Also, the quantities of *burnt stones* and charred matter found in all the pits probably come not only from cooking-fires, but also from emplacements for the roasting of grain for winter storage, corresponding to the ovens discussed by Dr. Bersu in his report on the Iron Age site of Little Woodbury, Wiltshire.⁷

4. THE IRON AGE PITS AND THEIR PURPOSE

This mention of grain-storage brings us to the question of the purpose of the pits whence most of our knowledge of the occupation comes. The pottery and other material found in

¹ R. R. Clarke, *Arch. Journ.*, xcvi, 37, 27-8; flakes and scrapers (in Brit. Mus.) found with Iron Age A2 pot, *ibid.*, pl. IV, 2.

² *Ibid.*, 36-7. The flints from the Iron Age fort of Hunsbury, Northants, may likewise include contemporary as well as earlier specimens: *Arch. Journ.*, xciii, 73 and pl. x.

³ Cunington, *All Cannings Cross*, pls. 10, 13, 17, 7; on the latter, see pp. 81-2, *ibid.*

⁴ Mr. Wyman Abbott records, from some of the pits, clay with the markings of reed-straw, which may have been thatch.

⁵ E.g. Park Brow, Sussex, *Archaeologia*, lxxvi, 5, fig. D, left; Swanwick, Hants, *Antiq. Journ.*, viii, 331 ff.; x, 30 ff.

⁶ E.g. Lakenheath (*B.M. Iron Age Guide*, fig. 180) and Badwell, Ash, Suffolk, *Antiq. Journ.*, xv, 474-5.

⁷ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, vi (1940), part 1, 53, 62.

them which provides so much of that knowledge must of course have been left in them as rubbish. There can hardly be any question of their having been deliberately dug as rubbish-pits; like the generality of such pits found characteristically on Iron Age A sites, they evidently had a positive part to play in the life of the settlement. The whole question of the purpose of such pits has been discussed by Dr. Bersu in his Little Woodbury report just cited,¹ and his conclusion is that broadly speaking the purpose of all of them was storage of the necessities of life, including no doubt a variety of supplies, but consisting for the most part of grain, previously roasted or parched, in the ovens above mentioned, to prevent germination. For the Iron Age sites of the chalk country of which Dr. Bersu shows Little Woodbury to be in this respect typical, this conclusion naturally entails the rejecting of the older view, that the larger of such pits were actually dwellings. There seems little reason now to doubt that the same holds good of analogous sites on other soils such as the gravel here at Peterborough. No actual remains of grain, however, have been recorded by Mr. Wyman Abbott in any pit or pot.

The circumstances have prevented him from planning the pits accurately, and in most cases from recording their precise dimensions. The total number disclosed is considerable; many, however, contained no archaeological material beyond bones, evidently for the most part of food animals, and the burnt stones and charred matter already mentioned. One small cup-shaped hole, found in 1912, had a lining of clay 4 in. thick; similar small 'artificial pits' occurred at All Cannings Cross, and were thought possibly to have been used for cooking with hot ashes.²

Archaeological material including pottery was found in 26 of the pits, the recorded facts about which are given in the Table opposite. They have been conveniently lettered A to Z. It will be seen that 8 of them are described as 'large', namely A, D, F, G, I, L, U, and Y. Of smaller size were M and R (oval), N and V (saucer-shaped); and B, C, E, H, J, K, P, S, T, and X: 14 pits in all. The size of the other 4 pits, O, Q, W, and Z, is unrecorded.

5. STRATIFICATION IN THE PITS

Under this head Mr. Wyman Abbott has recorded a fact of particular importance, namely, that all the archaeological material found in the pits came from deposits within the bottom 2 ft. of their filling, and nearly always from a layer of dark

¹ *Ibid.*, 48-64.

² Cunington, *All Cannings Cross*, 62-3, 69; pl. 4, fig. 5 e.

TABLE OF PITS A-Z, WITH FINDS

(Wa, Walker's Pits; Wi, Williamson's Pits; Te, Tebb's Pits)

Pit	Found	Size (diameter followed by depth)	Pottery	Other finds recorded pp. 192-3
A Wa	1927	Large, 10' 6", 4' 6"	A2-A6, p. 199	Pin, A1 (p. 197); loomweight; flints.
B Wa	Aug., 1926	Small, 3', 2' 6"	B1-B2, p. 201	Flints, including leaf-shaped arrowhead.
C Wi	12th Nov., 1912	Small	C1-C5, p. 201	2 flints.
D —	—	Large	D1-D3, p. 201	2 fragments cast bronze waste.
E Wi	1926	Small, 3' 6", 2' 10"	E1-E3, p. 203	6 flints (little secondary work).
F Wi	—	Large	F1-F2, p. 203	—
G —	—	Large	G1-G4, p. 203	—
H Wi	10 May, 1920	Small	H1, p. 205	—
I —	—	Large	I1-I2, p. 205	Iron nail (p. 196); flint flake.
J Wi	1924	Small, 4', 3'	J1-J2, p. 205	A few flints
K Wi	July, 1912	Small, 3' 6", 2' 3"	K1-K4, p. 205	—
L —	—	Large	L1, p. 206	—
M Wi	12th Dec., 1912	Oval, 5' 6" (max. ?), 4'	M1-M2, p. 206	2 flint flakes.
N Wi	1924	Saucer-shaped, 6', 3' 6"	N1-N2, p. 207	—
O Wi (S. part of)	—	—	O1-O4, p. 208	Pottery whorl; bone point; 2 bone rib-knives; roe-deer antler; many fragments of bone and partly worked flints.
P Wi	10 Nov., 1912	Small	P1, p. 208	—
Q Wi	1911	—	Q1-Q2, p. 208	2 loomweights.
R Wi	Jan., 1914	Oval, 5' (max. ?), 3'	R1-R10, p. 210	A few partly worked flint flakes.
S Wi	1908	Small, 4', 3' 6"	S1-S3, p. 212	Waste bronze casting-'runner', found inside bowl S2.
T Wa	—	Small	T1, p. 212	Many flints.
U Wi	—	Large	U1-U12, p. 212	—
V Wa	—	Saucer-shaped, 7', 4'	V1-V2, p. 214	3 flints, little worked.
W Wi	11th Dec., 1913	—	W1-W2, p. 214	—
X Wi	1925 'near the Roman trenches'	Small	X1, p. 214	Flake of grey flint, no secondary work but long parallel primary flake-scars.
Y Wi	—	Large	Y1-Y3, p. 214	—
Z Te	1922	—	Z1-Z2, p. 215	Flint plano-convex knife.

matter at the bottom itself. After their period of use was over—i.e. probably when they had become unusable for storage owing to infection with mould—rubbish was evidently shot into them to within this depth, and sealed in by the overlying sterile filling.

Accordingly, the finds made in each pit may be treated as a stratified group. In such a group, rubbish already old at the time of the closing of the pit may naturally sometimes be present; but it is likely that a good proportion, and not seldom the whole, of the material thus found in the bottom of a pit was in simultaneous use in the period immediately preceding the pit's closing. In any case the intrusion of later material into the bottom deposit, once sealed over, may with fairly high probability be excluded from consideration, so that in general the date of the closing of any one pit will broadly speaking be that of the latest datable elements in its contents.

Thus within these limits of certainty, which though not quite absolute are at least readily appreciable, the pottery and other finds in each pit may be approached as an archaeological unity. The finds will then now be described accordingly, and it will therefrom be seen to what extent the evidence of stratification is borne out by considerations of typology.

6. DESCRIPTION OF THE FINDS

FLINT

Implements and flakes: above, pp. 192-3.

STONE

Saddle-querns: above, p. 193.

BAKED CLAY

Loom-weights; spindle-whorls: above, p. 193.

BONE AND ANTLER

Fragments, including rib-knives: above, p. 193.

BRONZE

Socketed axe (fragment); waste scraps: above, p. 192.

IRON: NAIL FROM PIT 1¹

Small iron nail: above, p. 192. Length, $1\frac{7}{8}$ in.; stem, $\frac{3}{16}$ in. thick (max.), tapering to $\frac{1}{16}$ in. at point; head, $\frac{3}{8}$ in. in diameter.

¹ Other iron objects may easily have been found by the gravel-diggers and disregarded.

Fig. 1. IRON AND BRONZE : THE PIN FROM PIT A
(with the pottery (A2-A6) described below).

A1.—Pin with bronze disc head (diameter 1.1 in.) and iron stem (now broken). First published by Mr. G. C. Dunning in his paper 'The Swan's-Neck and Ring-Headed Pins of the Early Iron Age in Britain'. *Arch. Journ.*, xci (1935), 269 ff., 272-3 (fig. 2, 7), 288 (list no. 4).

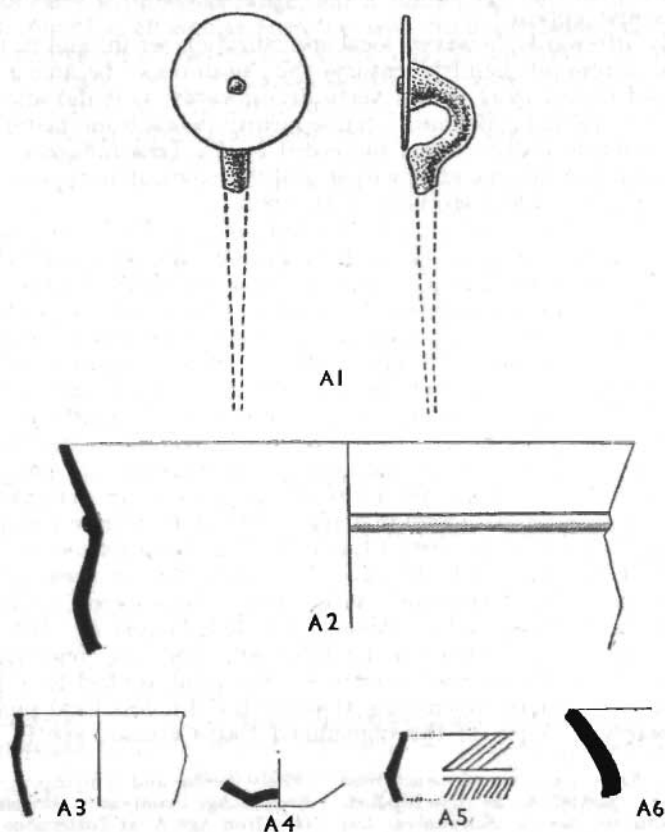


FIG. 1. PIN ($\frac{2}{3}$) AND POTTERY ($\frac{1}{4}$) FROM PIT A.

The pin is revealed as a member of the Swan's-Neck family by the crook in the stem behind and below the bronze disc head. The swan's-neck pin-type is characteristic of the central Hallstatt culture (*Kern-Hallstatt*) of the Continent: it appears in South Germany first in the Hallstatt C of Reinecke's system, and then, with varying head-forms, in D, the 'Hallstatt II' of Déchelette, who cites examples from East France; hence it appears in Britain with the Iron Age A culture of All Cannings Cross.¹

Its use spread also in Northern Europe, with the transition from Bronze to

¹ Ebert, *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte*, (quoting Reginald Smith); pl. 21, 1; xi, 271; Dunning, *Arch. Journ.*, xci, 270; Childe, *Prehist. Communities*, 202-3; Cunington, *All Cannings Cross*, 17, 126

Iron Age culture. In North-West Germany it is typical of the Wessenstedt (first true Iron Age) culture, centred on East Hannover,¹ and in the same period (which is now to be dated in the sixth century B.C.) it appears sporadically in Schleswig-Holstein, marking the arrival of true Hallstatt (i.e. Hallstatt C) influence. That influence has recently been used to divide the Bronze-Iron Age transition there—formerly embraced in Sophus Müller period 9 of the Bronze Age, or Montelius VI—into two stages: an Ultimate Bronze Age, with straight-stemmed pins, and an Initial Iron Age, in which these swan's-neck pins first appear.²

Directly afterwards, however, local specialization set in, and in the ensuing Jastorf A culture (of the fifth century) the 'swan-neck' became a crook stem with a head turned more or less vertically upwards, as it did also sometimes in the West, including Britain.³ Subsequently, when from Jastorf B (fourth century) onwards Hallstatt was succeeded by La Tène influence, the North-West German pins became more varied, and this crook-stem type or *Kropfnadel* was further specialized, especially in Holstein.

Meanwhile, farther east on the North European Plain the same original Hallstatt swan's-neck pins had duly appeared, and encountered the disc-headed and 'sunflower' pins of the outgoing Northern Bronze Age (those in fact that had earlier inspired the sunflower type of this period found in Scotland and Ireland). The result of the encounter was a crook-stem pin with a big disc head set vertically in the 'sunflower' manner, which in the sixth and fifth centuries became widespread in East and North-central Germany.⁴ Most are in bronze, and with the head slightly cupped; but some have a stem of iron, and it is these, as the example figured by Dunning shows,⁵ that provide the closest parallels to the Peterborough pin.

The closest of all, coming rather late in the series, is an example from near Spottau in Lower Silesia, found in a grave with an iron knife and assigned by Petersen to the local equivalent of Early La Tène, towards 400 B.C.⁶ Remote as Lower Silesia seems from Britain, the distribution of these pins actually does reach North-West Germany, where their chronological horizon, in the terms explained above, is late Wessenstedt and Jastorf A. But they were apt there soon to be modified under local influence: e.g. one from Sülldorf in Holstein shows the bronze 'sunflower' disc head applied to a Jastorf-like iron crook stem exactly resembling those of the disc-less local pins from the same cemetery.⁷ A pin of the unmodified East-German type in a westerly

¹ For the Early Iron Age sequence here (Wessenstedt - Jastorf A - B - C - Ripdorf-Seedorf cultures), see G. Schwantes, *Die älteste Urnenfriedhöfe bei Ulzen und Lüneburg* (1911). Cf. also C. Schuchardt, *Urnenfriedhöfe in Niedersachsen*; K. H. Jacob-Friesen, *Einführung in Niedersachsens Urgeschichte*, 104 ff.; P. Zylmann, *Ostfriesische Urgeschichte*, 95 ff.: the stages become gradually blurred (and the pins rarer) as one goes westward into Holland.

² H. Hoffmann, 'Die ausgehende Bronzezeit in Holstein,' in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier des Museums Vorgeschichtlicher Altertümer in Kiel* (1936), 93-108.

One of the leading pin-types of his 'Ultimate Bronze Age' (Beldorf stage) is a small derivative of the vase-headed pins of the Urnfield (Hallstatt A-B) culture of West-Central Europe, which is represented also, in identical form, in what seems a

closely similar and contemporary 'Ultimate Bronze Age' context in Britain, preceding true Iron Age A, at Totternhoe in Bedfordshire: *Antiq. Journ.*, xx (1940), 487-91, fig. 5.

³ Dunning, *op. cit.*, 270 (Ham Hill, Swallowcliffe, etc.).

⁴ E. Petersen, *Die Frühgermanische Kultur in Ostdeutschland und Polen* (1929), 102 ff.

⁵ Dunning, *op. cit.*, 270-2, fig. 1, 6 (from Krielow, Brandenburg: after Voss and Stimming, *Vorgesch. Altertümer Brandenburgs*, pl. I, B).

⁶ Petersen, *op. cit.*, 106, taf. XXX, 6a-b.

⁷ F. Knorr, *Friedhöfe der älteren Eisenzeit in Schleswig-Holstein* (1910), 27, taf. V, 87; cf. taf. IV, 71-4; and for further local elaborations, taf. V, 88-92.

region, accordingly, cannot well be given a retarded date, but should be taken to run true to period.

To sum up, then: the Peterborough pin is of a pure East-German type, which has sometimes been found as near to Britain as North-West Germany. Both there and in its homeland, the type is to be dated between the latter part of the sixth and about the beginning of the fourth century B.C. To judge by the parallel from Sprottau, the Peterborough specimen may fall late rather than early within that range, but it cannot fall outside it.

The only pin of at all similar form (i.e. with sunflower head *and* swan's-neck or crook stem) known elsewhere in Britain is the all-bronze example found with a bronze sword, etc., at Tarves in Aberdeenshire.¹ That is outside the area proper to Iron Age A, and its exact date is harder to fix, though it can scarcely be very far off that of our example: it is presumably a local bronze rendering of the same type.

The Peterborough pin, on the other hand, must be supposed most probably an imported piece of continental manufacture; and, as its broken state reminds us, with its iron stem it can hardly have been a long-treasured heirloom. It may be taken, then, to provide a firm date for the group of Iron Age pottery found with it in, or more probably around the end of, the fifth century B.C.

THE POTTERY

Abbreviations:

All Cannings	<i>The E.I.A. Site at All Cannings Cross Farm, near Devizes, Wiltshire</i> , by M. E. Cunnington (Devizes, 1924).
A.C.R.	<i>The Archaeology of the Cambridge Region</i> , by Cyril Fox (Cambridge, 1923).
Hunsbury	Clare I. Fell in <i>Arch. Journ.</i> , xciii (1936).
I.A.N.S.	R. R. Clarke, 'The Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk', in <i>Arch. Journ.</i> , xcvi (1939).
Maiden Castle	<i>Maiden Castle, Dorset</i> , by R. E. M. Wheeler (Soc. Antiq., 1943).
O.M.R.O.L.	See p. 190, n. 3.
Oxon.	<i>Oxoniensia</i> .
Scarborough	R. A. Smith in <i>Archaeologia</i> , lxxvii (1928).
Scarborough Hist.	R. E. M. Wheeler in <i>History of Scarborough</i> , ed. Rowntree (1931).
W(est) Harling	H. Apling in <i>P.S.E.A.</i> , vii, pt. 1 (1932).

The pottery from Pit A, and that from Pits B-I which is closely comparable with it, will be taken together to represent the 'Early Phase' of the settlement; that from Pits J-Z follows continuously thereafter, representing the 'Middle and Later Phases'. For discussion of the chronology, see pp. 216 ff.

EARLY PHASE (PITS A-I)

PIT A

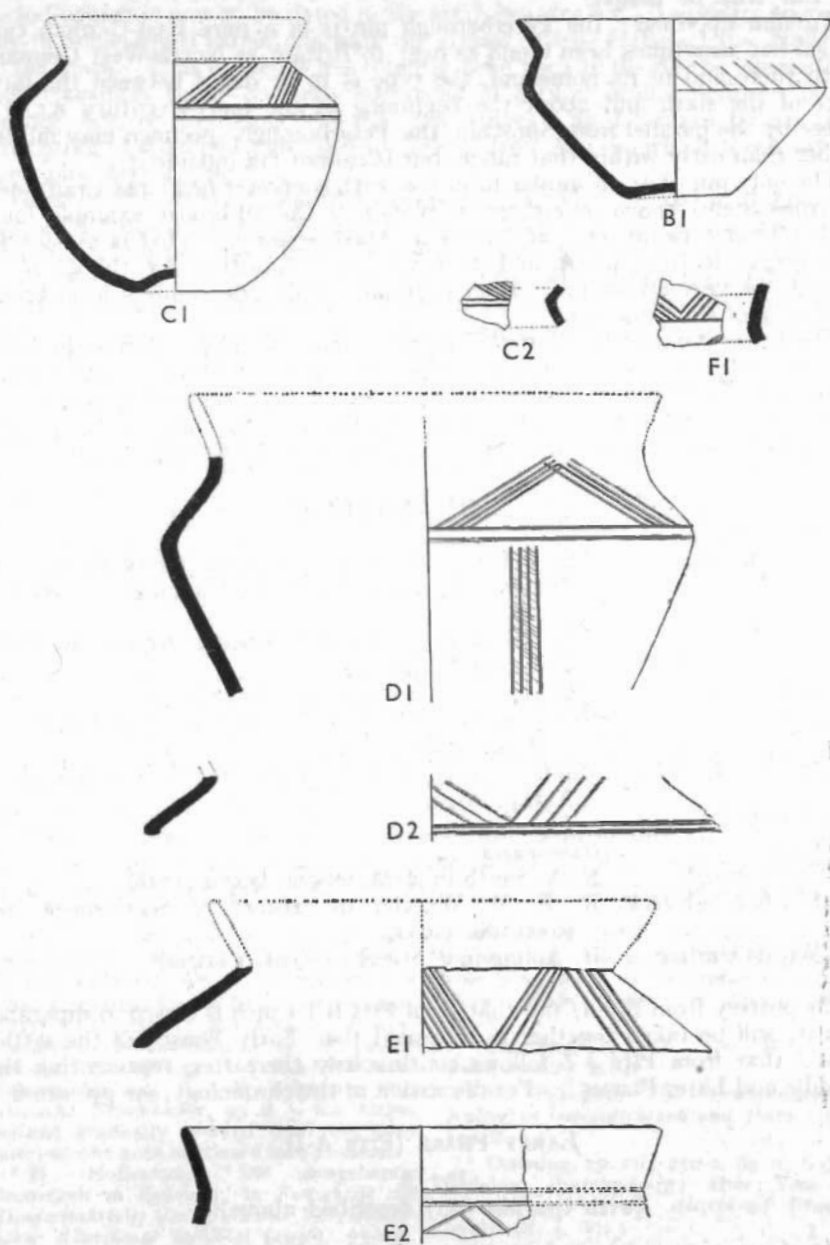
(with the pin (A1) described above)

Fig. 1

A2 Red-brown, gritted; smoothed but now weather-pitted surface. Angular jar, with everted flat-topped rim and applied neck-band: W. Harling, figs. 4, 1.

Also: Flat base, of coarse red ware, d. 5 in.

¹ *B.M. Bronze Age Guide* (1920), 101, fig. 105.

FIG. 2. POTTERY FROM PITS B, C, D, E, F, ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- A3 Dark, coarse, pitted. High but slight shoulder, flat-topped rim. W. Harling, fig. 20. Cf. Harpstedt style, p. 218, below.
- A4 Dark brown, flint-gritted. Omphalos base of bowl, as C1 (fig. 2). St. Vincent (Belg. Luxemburg), Maiden Castle, fig. 54, viii. Cf. All Cannings, pl. 28.
- A5 Dark brown, fine, polished surface. Angular, with incised ornament in 2 horizontal bands, diagonally barred, as C1, etc. (fig. 2).
Also: another, incised more deeply.
- A6 Black, smoothed. Everted flat-topped rim, d. 16.8 in.; as Scarborough, figs. 21, 27.

PIT B

Figs. 2 and 3

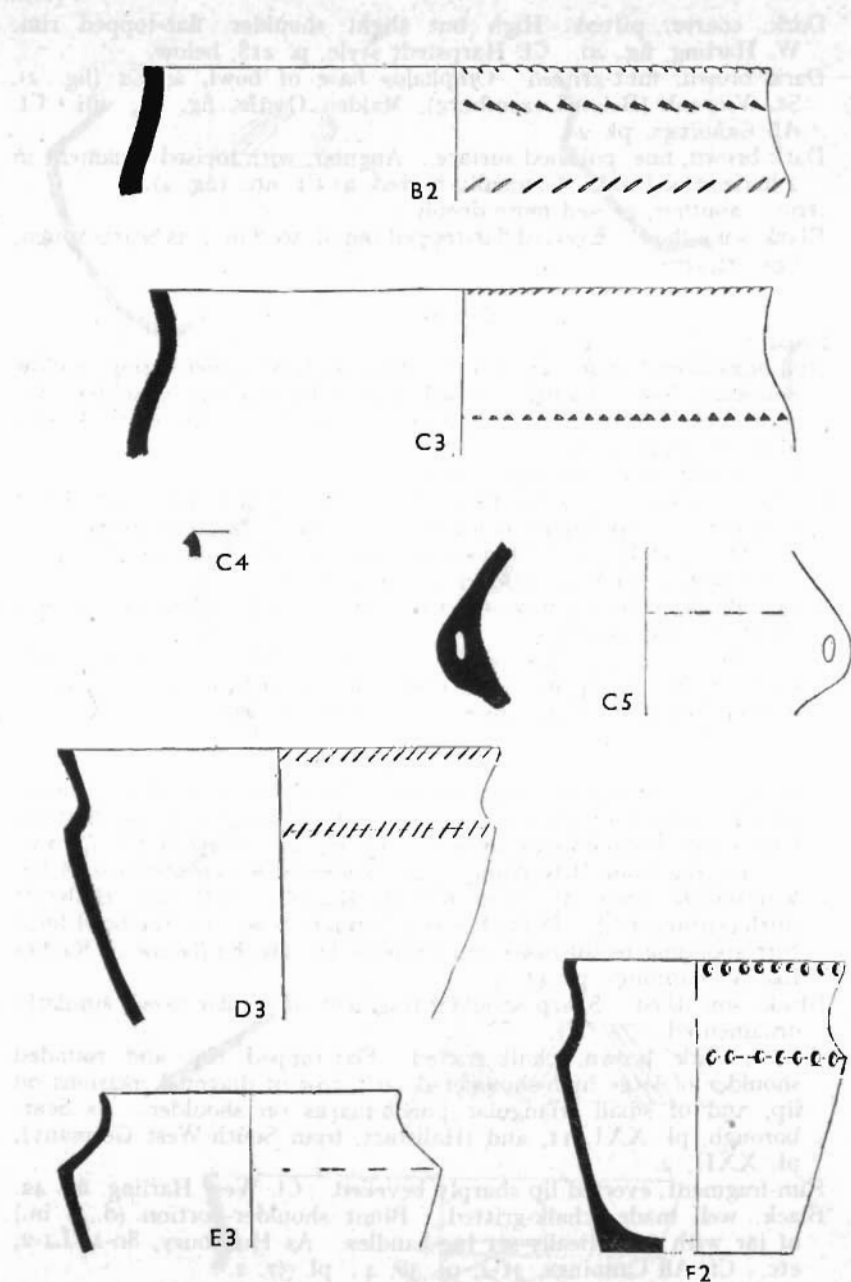
- B1 Red-brown, well made, smoothed. Angular bowl, everted rim, shallow omphalos base. Faintly incised sloping lines above shoulder. Cf. Scarborough *Hist.*, fig. 36 j, from Goirle (North Brabant), Leiden Museum, 1934. 5. 12.
Also: fragment of another, coarser.
- B2 Coarse, brownish, shell-gritted. Low, flat-topped rim and blunt shoulder of large high-shouldered jar; row of diagonal incisions on shoulder and lip, and of deep wedge-triangular punch-marks $\frac{3}{4}$ in. below rim, as on Misc. 4 (fig. 10), p. 192 above.
Also: Black, polished fragment with row of deep stab-marks below a deeply-incised groove.
Also: Small high-shouldered jar like A3, coarse red-brown (black inside); rim d. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in., base (flat, convex within), 4 in.; row of diagonal incisions $\frac{1}{8}$ in. apart on shoulder and rim.

PIT C

- C1 Grey-brown, smoothed; rim missing. Bowl, angular above, hemispherical below, omphalos base. Incised ornament of 5-line diagonal bars above 2 shoulder-grooves (Cf. A5, fig. 1). Cf. *O.M.R.O.L.*, xvi, fig. 40, 10, from Hilversum; also *Nachrichten über deutsche Alterthumskunde*, 1893, 37, from Koblenz-Kastell: both late Hallstatt (fifth century B.C.). Definable as a 'situlate bowl', i.e. the bowl-form corresponding to the taller situla type of D1, D2, E1 (below). Rather like All Cannings, pl. 41, 3.
- C2 Black, smoothed. Sharp shoulder-fragment of similar bowl, similarly ornamented.
- C3 Coarse, dark brown, chalk-gritted. Flat-topped rim and rounded shoulder of large high-shouldered jar; row of diagonal incisions on lip, and of small triangular punch-marks on shoulder. As Scarborough, pl. XXI, 11, and (Hallstatt, from South-West Germany), pl. XXII, 2.
- C4 Rim-fragment, everted lip sharply bevelled. Cf. West Harling, fig. 42.
- C5 Black, well made, chalk-gritted. Blunt shoulder-portion (d. 8 in.) of jar with 2 vertically-set lug-handles. As Hunsbury, 80-2, L1-2, etc. Cf. All Cannings, 31-2, pl. 38, 4; pl. 37, 2.

PIT D

- D1 Grey-brown, chalk-gritted; dark brown smoothed surface. Upper part (lacking rim) of large situla jar; incised ornament; above double shoulder-groove, of 4-line bars in chevron-pattern; below, falling vertically, and shaded by faint diagonal hatching. Cf. D2.

FIG. 3. POTTERY FROM PITS B, C, D, E, F ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- D₂ Reddish, similar. Shoulder-fragment of another; chevron of 4- and 3-line bars above. With these and E₃ (fig. 2). Cf. the early jars from Long Wittenham (*Oxon.*, ii, 5, fig. 2, 2, 6) compared by Savory to the late Hallstatt type of St. Vincent (De Loe, *La Belgique ancienne*, ii, 102, 9). For ornament, cf. C₁.
- D₃ Coarser, black-brown, chalk-gritted. Jar, situlate, with small sharp shoulder below everted flat-topped rim, each with row of diagonal incisions; body incurved below towards a narrow (missing) base. Cf. West Harling, figs. 8, 10, 27, 28.

PIT E

- E₁ Reddish, gritted; surface weather-pitted, but smoothed and black inside. Shoulder-fragment of situla much like D₂; blunter-incised, cruder ornament, chevron of 4- and 7-line bars. See on D₁-D₂.
- E₂ Brown, smooth. Rim-fragment of less sharply-profiled situla, or situlate bowl; incised ornament of 2 neck-grooves and (?) chevron of 1- and 2-line bars below. Cf. All Cannings, pl. 41, 3 (see on C₁); and *I.A.N.S.*, 18-19, pl. I, 2, Creting St. Mary (Suffolk).
- E₃ Grey-brown; reddish burnished surface, pitted inside. Upper part of situlate bowl as West Harling, figs. 37-9.
Also: Part of large rough-surfaced high-shouldered jar with flat-topped rim (d. 16 in.), like C₃, but rim and shoulder with finger-tip impressions as West Harling, figs. 12, 17, 21.
Also: Fragment of flat-topped upright rim of better-made ware.
Also: Fragments of coarse ill-baked pot $\frac{3}{8}$ in. thick.

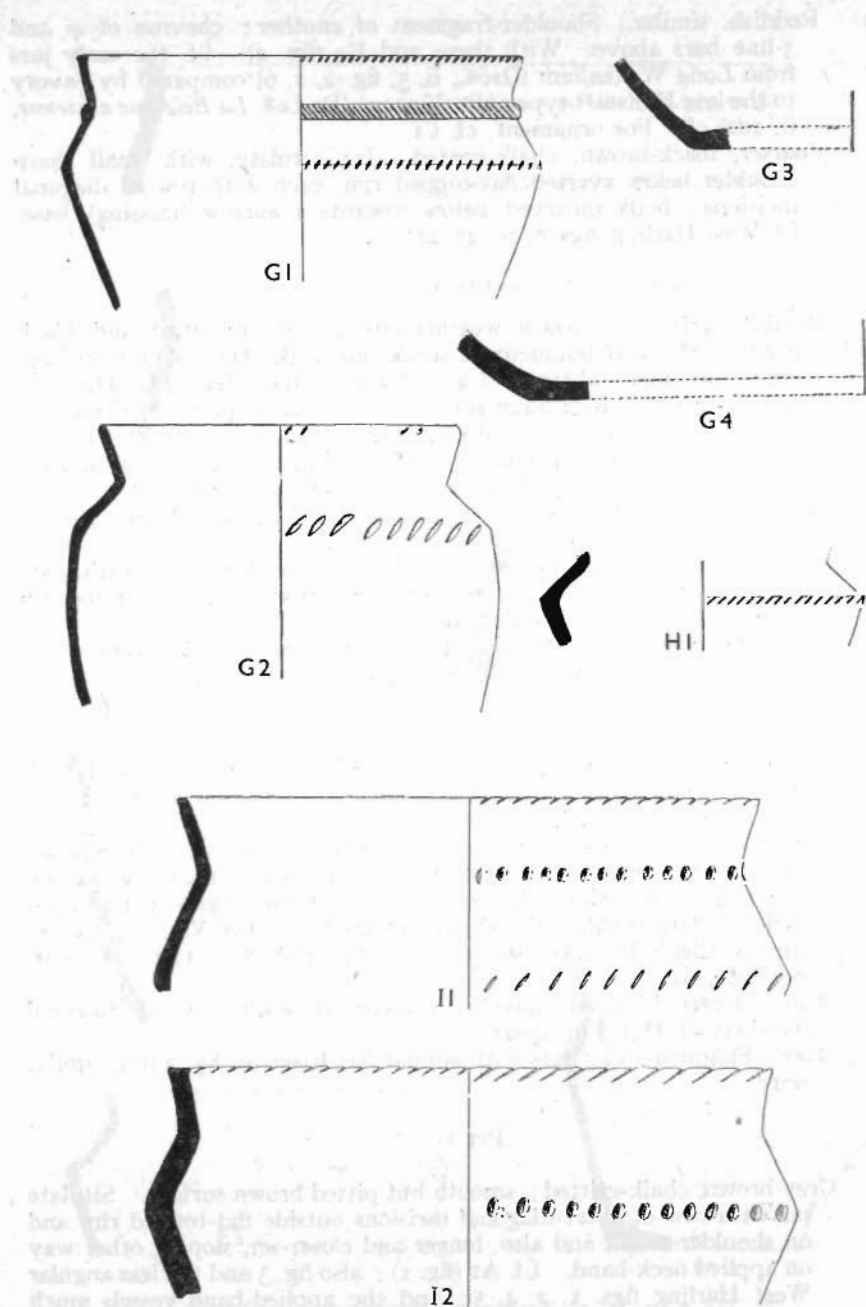
PIT F

- F₁ Dark brown, well made, polished. Shoulder-fragment of bowl with incised ornament of 1 shoulder-groove and chevron of 4-line bars above. Cf. A₅ (fig. 1), C₂, and (?) E₂.
- F₂ Grey-brown, softish; smooth but pitted. Sharp-shouldered jar, bell-mouthed with rows of finger-tip impressions outside flat-topped rim and on shoulder. A good example of the finger-tip jar-type's early situlate profile. Cf. Brantham (Suffolk), *I.A.N.S.*, 24, fig. 4; rim as Allen's Pit, Dorchester, *Oxon.*, vii, 46-8, fig. 11, 1; cf. Scarborough, fig. 52.
Also: Everted round-topped rim-fragment with row of diagonal incisions (cf. D₃), $\frac{3}{8}$ in. apart.
Also: Fragments of 2 jars with similar flat bases (d. 8 $\frac{1}{2}$, 5 in.), similar ware.

PIT G

Fig. 4

- G₁ Grey-brown, chalk-gritted; smooth but pitted brown surface. Situlate jar with row of short diagonal incisions outside flat-topped rim and on shoulder-angle, and also, longer and closer-set, sloping other way on applied neck-band. Cf. A₁ (fig. 1); also fig. 3 and the less angular West Harling figs. 1, 2, 4, 5; and the applied-band vessels much commoner at Scarborough (p. 191, above).
- G₂ Black-brown, soft; red-brown polished surface. Globose situlate jar with row of big diagonal incisions on shoulder, and smaller ones scattered along rounded lip.
- G₃, G₄ Base-fragments of similar ware.

FIG. 4. POTTERY FROM PITS G, H, I ($\frac{1}{4}$)

PIT H

- H1 Black-brown, well made, fine-gritted; black polished surface, rough inside. Sharp shoulder of situlate bowl, with row of neat diagonal incisions. Cf. Long Wittenham, *Oxon.*, ii, fig. 2, 13.
Also: Fragment of another, similar.
Also: Part of large coarse jar with shoulder as G2.

PIT I

- I1 Black-brown, chalk-gritted; surface red, pitted. Everted flat-topped rim, neck, and shoulder of situlate jar; row of finger-tip impressions along neck, and of deep diagonal incisions on lip and (larger) on shoulder-angle. Cf. G1, I2; and situla-profile of D1 (fig. 2).
 I2 Ware as I1, but coarser. Thickened version of same form; lip-incisions larger, neck plain, shoulder with deep finger-tip impressions. Cf. Hauxton Mill, *A.C.R.*, pl. XVI, 9.

MIDDLE AND LATER PHASES (PITS J-Z)

Fig. 5 PIT J

- J1 Black, well made, surface polished; traces of horizontal finger-smearing inside. Shoulder-fragment of carinated bowl, equivalent of the furrowed type well known in Wessex (Hengistbury, pl. XVI, 1-2; All Cannings, pl. 28, 1), but with the broad horizontal furrows replaced by 4 narrow incised lines, in the technique normal to the site. (Cf. K1, M1, and figs. 2, 7, etc.; but here shallower than most). The Wessex-derived convention would be 'early A2' in the Upper Thames region (*Oxon.*, vii, 39-40, on Allen's Pit, Dorchester), and should here likewise be early third century B.C. or thereabouts.
 J2 Coarse, red outside, black inside. Upper part of small slight-shouldered jar; plain flat-topped rim. A degenerate-situlate form, again probably 'A2' at earliest.
Also: Other plain coarse-ware fragments.

PIT K

- K1 See pl. II. Grey-black, well made, surface highly polished. Carinated bowl with narrow flat-topped rim and omphalos base; 2 incised grooves round neck, and at and below sharp shoulder. In shape like the later Wessex furrowed bowls, e.g. All Cannings, pl. 43, 4, and Upper Thames equivalents (omphalos: Allen's Pit, Dorchester, *Oxon.*, vii, 45, fig. 10, 12-13). Date as J1.
 K2 Dark brown, smooth angular shoulder of another (d. c. 8 in.).
Also: Part of handle, black-brown; squarish in section, $\frac{3}{4} \times \frac{3}{8}$ in.
 K3, K4 Grey-brown; high-polished surface almost soapy (in K4, red). Sharp-shouldered vases with (rather sharply-bevelled) bead-rims. Closely modelled on the situla prototype in bronze, this 'bead-rim situla' type is foreign to our Iron Age A; it belongs more primarily to the La Tène I culture of Northern France centred on the Marne (Maiden Castle, 204-5, esp. fig. 62, i and iv). Its intrusion here recalls that of similar Marne types at Worth, East Kent (*Antiq. Journ.*, xx, 115 ff., figs. 1-14) and other evidence of the kind scattered in the south and east, all initially dateable around the mid-third century B.C. (p. 221, below).

If on the strength of this pit-association (p. 196) K1-K2 and K3-K4

are accepted as contemporary, the ascription of K3-K4 to Marnian intrusion about 250 B.C. will fix an important point in the history both of the site and of the native 'A2' pottery represented by K1-K2.

PIT L

- L1 Grey-brown, well made, surface smoothed, tool-marked inside. Carinated bowl comparable to K1 (and cf. All Cannings, pl. 28, 6), but larger

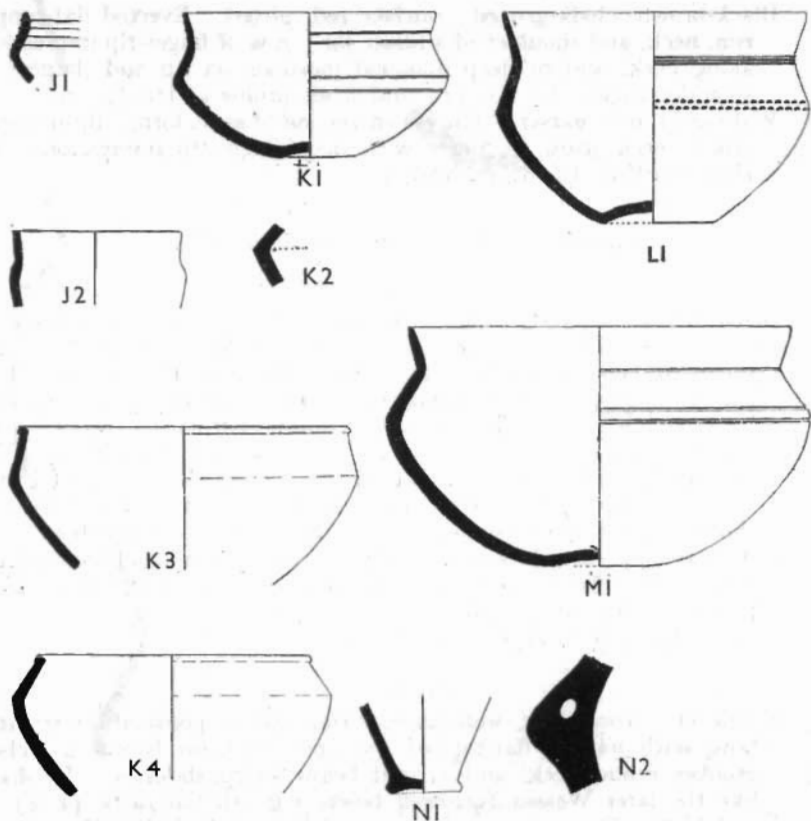


FIG. 5. POTTERY FROM PITS J, K, L, M, N ($\frac{1}{4}$)

omphalos base, triple incised neck-grooving, 2 rows of semi-lunar punch-marks on rather blunt shoulder. Cf. *A.C.R.*, pl. XI, A3, from Grantchester: with the punch-marks contrast the triangular ones of the earlier C3 (fig. 3); analogous crescentic punch-marks are typical of 'A2' ornament on the Upper Thames (*Oxon.*, vii, 59, on no. 46).

Figs. 5 and 6

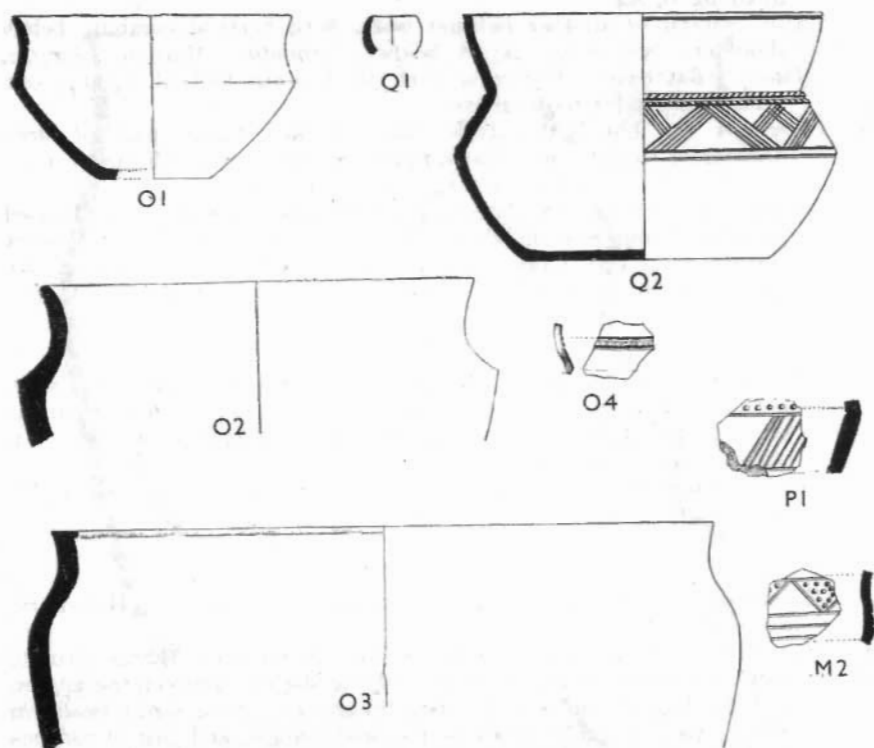
PIT M

- M1 See pl. I. Grey-brown; hard, smooth surface. Carinated bowl very like K1, but larger.

Also: Part of another bowl, of thin red ware.

Also: Part of a larger, coarse pot.

- M2 Hard, thin, flint-gritted; red-brown surface, black inside. Bowl-fragment of gentle profile, with incised ornament of 3 shoulder-grooves below inverted triangles filled with round punch-marks, much as All Cannings, pls. 30, 1; 32, 3; 49, 1. A further reflexion of Wessex style, as in Upper Thames 'early A2'. Cf. O4 (fig. 6).
 Also: Shoulder-fragment of similar ware, brown-black, with incised chevrons, obtuse-angled above shoulder, acute-angled below; of these the same is true: *Oxon.*, vii, 39.

FIG. 6. POTTERY FROM PITS M, O, P, Q ($\frac{1}{4}$)

PIT N

- N1 Coarse, chalk-gritted; surface black, red inside. Pedestal base, slightly hollowed and footed, of small vase. Again a 'Marnian' type (cf. K3-K4); for such intrusive pedestal forms, see *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 230 ff. (Park Brow, etc.); *Antiq. Journ.*, xx, 118 (Worth); and e.g. Hunsbury, 89-90, fig. 11, B1.
 Also: Another pedestal, not hollowed, foot slightly more pinched out; d. $2\frac{1}{2}$ in.
 N2 Coarse red-surfaced black chalk-gritted ware, lug handle. Cf. C5 (fig. 3), and Hunsbury, 80, fig. 8, LI-2.
 Also: Coarse jar-fragment with rough finger-tip ornament on shoulder. Cf. I2.

PIT O

Fig. 6

- O1 Brown, a little stone-gritted; smooth surface. Plain carinated bowl with even neck-curve, rounded lip, flat base. In the 'Marnian' rather than the native tradition, as *Antiq. Journ.*, xx, 117, fig. 1 (Worth: cf. figs. 7, 13, Marne).
- O2 Coarse, flint, chalk-gritted; pitted surface, red outside, grey inside. Upper part of situlate jar; rounded lip, curved neck, sharp shoulder. Cf. E3 (fig. 3), but devolved: as Mount Farm, Dorchester, *Oxon.*, ii, 29, fig. 6, X4.
Also: Sherd of another in finer ware, with vertical combing below shoulder. See on U7 (fig. 8, below); probably 'Marnian' feature.
Also: 3 flat bases, one coarse with pinched-out foot (d. $3\frac{3}{4}$ in.), one small with ankle-groove above.
- O3 Ware as O2, but buff outside, black inside. Upper part of large degenerate-situlate jar; flat-topped rim with inward lip-projection, an 'A2' feature (*Oxon.*, vii, 54, on fig. 12, 6, etc.).
- O4 Black, fine. Sharp shoulder of carinated bowl; above, 2-line incised band enclosing row of white-inlaid round punch-marks, a Wessex feature notable in Upper Thames 'A2'. *Oxon.* vii, 39; and ii, 29, fig. 6, 66 (Mount Farm, Dorchester). Cf. M2 (fig. 5).

PIT P

- P1 Red-brown, gritty, hard. Neck-and-shoulder fragment of bowl, profile as L1 (fig. 5); diagonally-barred band of incised ornament (cf. A5 and fig. 2) below row of round punch-marks. Cf. M2, O4, with the earlier fig. 1-2 pieces.
Also: Fragments of two bowls of fine, thin ware; rims (1) upright, (2) slightly everted.

PIT Q

- Q1 Brown-black diminutive bowl, base missing. On such see Hunsbury, 82, with reff.
- Q2 See pl. I. Brown-black, well made, smooth surfaces. Large situlate bowl with broad flat base, profile bulging slightly between the angles, and flat-topped rim with exterior lip-groove, giving slight bead-rim effect; pair of similar grooves at shoulder-angle, and pair of cordons at neck with opposed-diagonal slashing, giving double-cable effect: between these (1: fig., and *right* on pl.) panel of 4-, 5-, and 6-line chevron-ornament, with smaller 3- and 4-line chevrons inverted in the spandrels (2: *left* on pl.); panel of sideways-pointed multiple-line chevrons, opposed in alternation; the whole executed in shallow tooling.

Such panel-division of ornament was a Continental Hallstatt tradition (South-German/Swiss Hallst. B, C, D pottery and C, D metalwork)¹, and later appears on some Marnian La Tene pottery. The panel 1 design is in the site's established tradition seen in figs. 1-2 (and Q1); panel 2 rather recalls All Cannings, pls. 35, 15; 36, 5, etc., and both accord with the Wessex-derived chevron-motives of the

¹ As Mr. J. M. de Navarro has reminded me, quoting Reinecke in *Altertumer uns. heidn. Vorzeit*, v (1911); Kraft in *Prahist. Zeitschrift*, 1930 (Hallst. B exx., Dottingen,

Württemberg), and Swiss Hallst. B pottery (Ossingen, Landesmus. Zurich). Cf. also Scarborough, 196-7, fig. 57, 1. C.I.F.

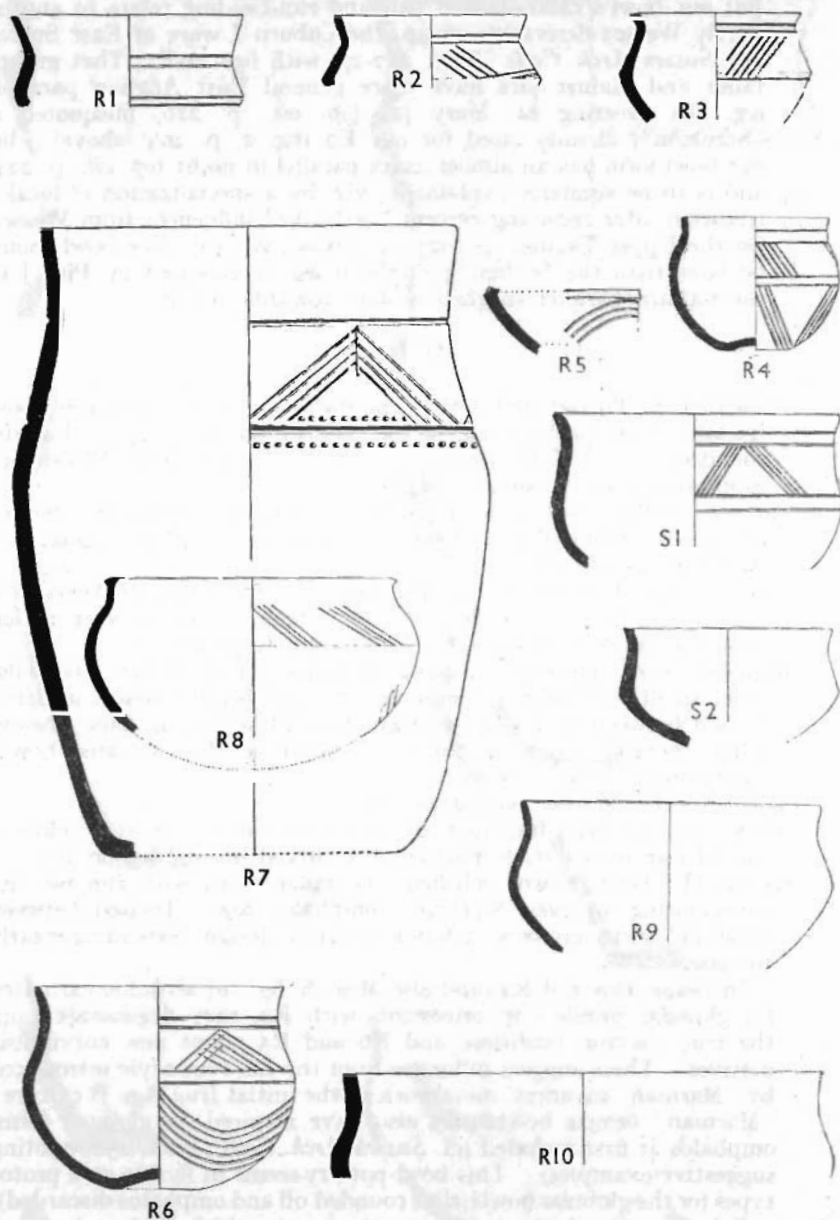


FIG. 7 POTTERY FROM PITS F AND I: (1)

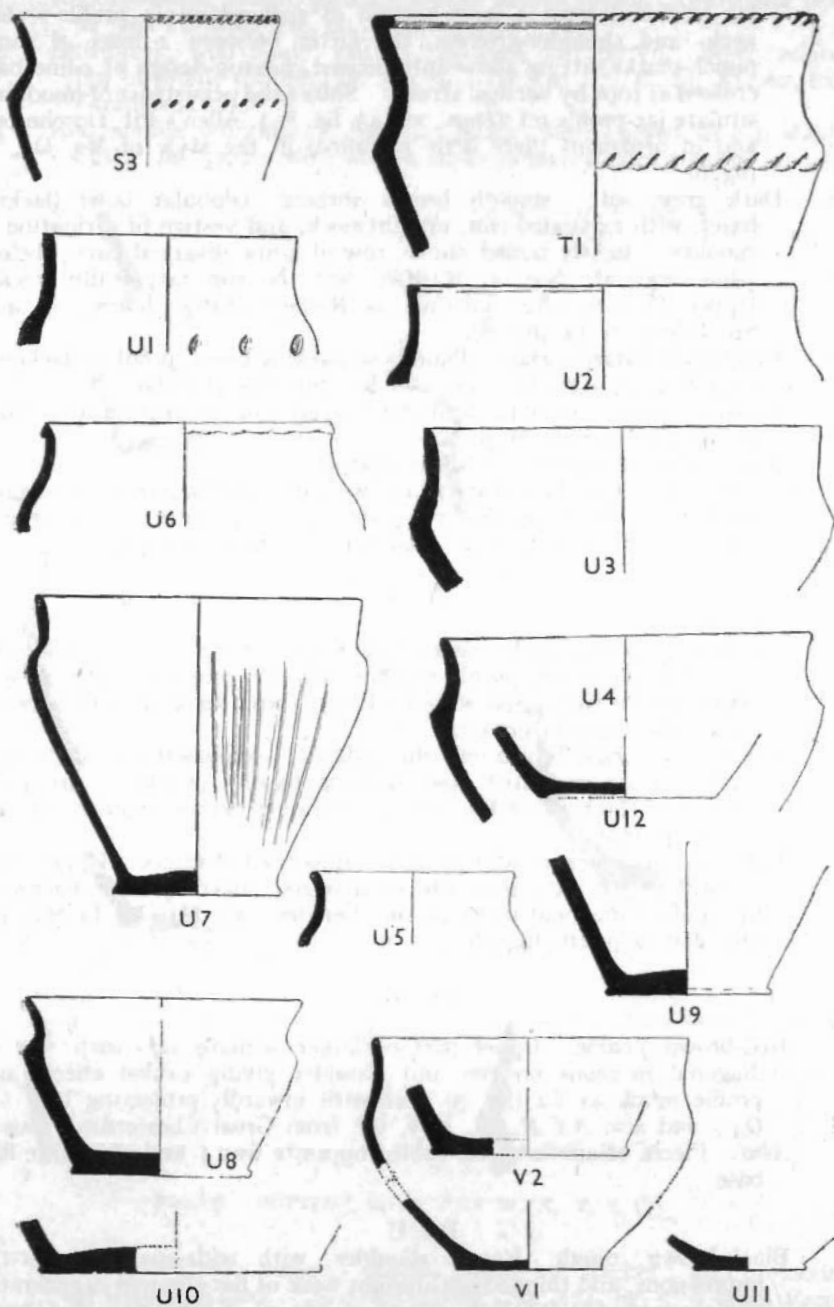
Upper Thames (*Oxon.*, vii, 39, etc.). Cordons are of course typical of the Wessex A2 bowls of cognate shape (All Cannings, pl. 28, 3-4), but our bowl's cable-slashed pair and rim-beading relate to another partly Wessex-derivative group, the Caburn I ware of East Sussex. See *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 217-27, with figs. A-E. That group's taller and plainer jars have more general East Anglian parallels, e.g. the Creeting St. Mary jar (*op. cit.*, p. 226, misquoted as 'Strutton') already cited for our E2 (fig. 2, p. 203, above); but our bowl-form has an almost exact parallel in no 61 (*op. cit.*, p. 224), and is to be similarly explained: viz. by a specialization of local A tradition after receiving certain 'early A2' influences from Wessex. On the Upper Thames analogy, see *Oxon.*, vii, 40. The bowl should be later than the beginning of the phase represented by Pits J-P: the Caburn parallel suggests a date towards 200 B.C.

PIT R

Fig. 7

- R1 Brown-black, flint-gritted; well-smoothed surfaces. Carinated bowl (lacking lower part), small, of the class of K1, etc. (fig. 5), but rim rounded. Cf. *V.C.H. Hunts*, i, 209, pl. 1, 10, from Woodstone (opposite on south bank of Nene).
- R2 Part of similar bowl, reddish; above ungrooved shoulder, chevron design disintegrated into broken asymmetric 2/4-line zigzag. Cf. All Cannings, pls. 28, 7; 41, 3.
- R3 Similar bowl, dark brown (lacking base); everted rim thickened and truncated; ornament of deep-cut 6-line bars sloping between under-shoulder and neck grooves. Cf. All Cannings, pl. 28, 10.
- R4 Rougher ware, red-brown above shoulder, black below. Globular bowl, small, with omphalos base and rim like R3 but almost upright; incised between neck and girth grooves, 5-line sloping bars; below, 4-line chevron design extending (as never on the carinated bowls) right down to base. See on R6.
- Also: Another similar omphalos base.
- R5 Black, fine shoulder-fragment of carinated bowl; incised below 2 shoulder-grooves, arcade motive of 3 curved lines. See on R6.
- R6 See pl. II. Grey-brown, polished. Globular bowl, with rim like R1 surmounting an even S-profile; omphalos base. Incised between neck and girth grooves, 3/6-line chevron design, extending nearly to base.

In shape, this and R4 (and also Misc. 8, fig. 10) abandon carinated for globular profile; in ornament, with R2, they degenerate from the true chevron tradition, and R6 and R5 adopt new curvilinear motives. These suggest influence from the La Tene style introduced by 'Marnian' invaders' metalwork of the initial Iron Age B culture; 'Marnian' bronze bowls may also have inspired the globular form, omphalos at first included (cf. *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 258, quoting suggestive examples). This bowl-pottery seems in fact to give prototypes for the globular bowls (rims rounded off and omphalos discarded), well known for their curvilinear ornament, which appear together with such Iron Age B metalwork at Hunsbury (74 ff., fig. 6), and presently on and far beyond the Upper Thames, their ornament sometimes absorbing South-Western B motives, and extending also to non-bowl forms (e.g. *Oxon.*, iv, 22, fig. 7, Frilford; vii, 40-1; *Sussex Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 249 ff., Caburn; 281 ff., Newhaven; etc.).

FIG. 8. POTTERY FROM PITS S, T, U, V ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- R7 Reddish-brown, hard, slightly chalk-gritted; smooth surface. Tall jar (restored from 2 large pieces) of reduced situla profile; deep neck- and shoulder-grooves, the latter between 2 rows of round punch-marks, fitting above into incised chevron-design of 4-line bars, crossed at tops by vertical stroke. Shows the persistence of (modified) situlate jar-profile (cf. *Oxon.*, vii, 43, fig. 8, 1, Allen's Pit, Dorchester), and of ornament (here little modified) in the style of M2, O4, P1 (fig. 6).
- R8 Dark grey, soft; smooth brown surface. Globular bowl (lacking base), with expanded rim, upright neck, and vestige of carination at shoulder; lightly tooled above, row of 4-line diagonal bars; below, 3-line vertical. See on R2-R6; but the rim (atypically) recalls Upper Thames 'A2' jar-rims as Radley, *Antiq. Journ.*, xi, 401. See below on T1 (fig. 8).
- R9 Red-brown, pitted surface. Plain bowl (lacking base); profile a slackened rendering of (e.g.) L1. Cf. also R6, but less globular.
- R10 Brown, coarse. Shoulder and flat-topped rim of degenerate-situlate jar, as All Cannings, pl. 30, 2.
Also: Part of another, shoulder sharper.

Pursuing the chronology which we have seen beginning to suggest itself from the preceding pits, we can conjecture a date around 200 B.C. for this pit, or at least for its outstanding pieces.

PIT S

Figs. 7 and 8

- S1 Red-brown, poorly made; smoothed outside, rough inside. Globular bowl (lacking base), profile recalling R4, R6 (q.v.), but slacker and gentler in the rim. Spaced-out 4-line chevron design incised between neck- and shoulder-grooves.
- S2 See pl. II. Dark brown-red, flint-gritted; smoothed outside, rough inside. Plain carinated bowl (lacking base); profile a 'dropped' version of the type of R3 (q.v.). Contained waste 'runner' of cast bronze (p. 192).
- S3 Dark brown, black inside, gritted; smoothed surfaces. Upper part of situlate jar, with neat row of diagonal finger-tip impressions on lip, and of diagonal incisions on shoulder. Cf. H1, I1, I2 (fig. 4); also Misc. 9 (p. 216, fig. 11).

PIT T

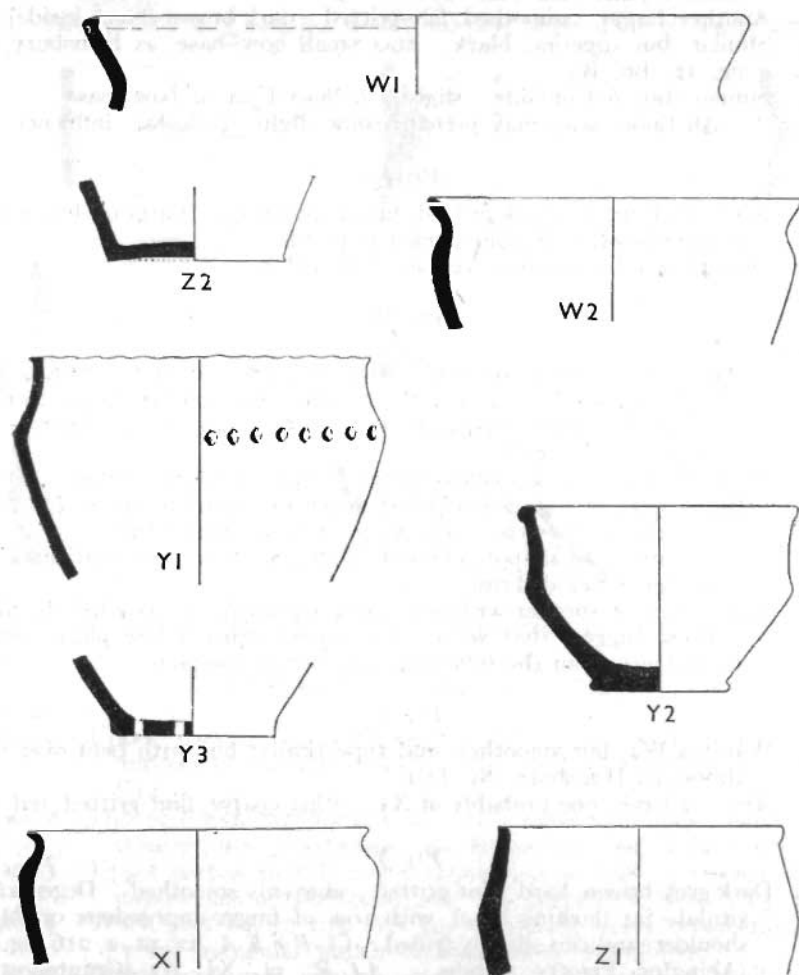
Fig. 8

- T1 Red-brown, coarse. Upper part of larger situlate jar, with row of diagonal incisions on rim and shoulder giving cabled effect, and profile much as F2 (fig. 3), but with inwardly-projecting lip. Cf. O3; and also *A.C.R.*, pl. XIV, C2, from Great Chesterford, Essex.
Also: Pieces of another, rim cabled opposite way; and of a large flat base.

PIT U

- U1 Black-brown, rough. Round shoulder, with wide-spaced finger-tip impressions, and thinned-out upright neck of flat-rimmed degenerate-situlate jar. Cf. *P.S.E.A.*, vi, pt. 3, 371, pl. XXXVII, a, d, j, from Jack's Hill, Great Wymondley, Herts.
- U2 Similar ware. Upper part of similar but plain jar with inward lip like T1 (q.v.).

- U3 Reddish-black, rough, pitted. Upper part of degenerate-situlate bowl, as Jack's Hill, *loc. cit.*, pl. XXXVII, c.
- U4 Buff-black, well made, gritted; smooth but pitted. Bowl, related, but in profile recalling O2 (fig. 6). Cf. also *A.C.R.*, pl. XI, A2, from Grantchester.
- U5 Red, similar but thinner. Similar profile, more curved, as e.g. Maiden Castle, fig. 57, 22 (with brooch made probably third century B.C.), 23.

FIG. 9. POTTERY FROM PITS W, X, Y, Z ($\frac{1}{4}$)

- U6 Black-brown, very coarse. Similar profile but slacker; and projecting lip slightly frilled. Cf. *Antiq. Journ.*, xx, 474, fig. 5, 9, from Ram's Hill, Berks ('A2').
- U7 Grey-brown, hard, slightly chalk-gritted. Situlate jar with simplified pedestal base, expanding up to high rounded shoulder; upright neck, rounded rim, body with uneven vertical combing and finger-striations.

All these features are 'Marnian'-derived. Cf. K3-K4, N1 (fig. 5); *Antiq. Journ.*, xx, 117, figs. 9, 10, 5 (Worth); also *ibid.*, 238. The jar most resembles *I.A.N.S.*, 19, pl. II, 1, from Lakenheath (Suffolk).

- U8 Black-brown, flint-gritted, thick; smoothed surface. Degenerate-situlate jar; footed base, sharp shoulder, thinner everted rim. Cf. Jack's Hill, *loc. cit.*, pls. XXXVI, d; XXXVII, b, e, h.
- U9 Similar but thickened base; rough, coarse, gritted, red outside, black inside; joint with wall visible.
- U10 Another, larger; smoothed, fine-gritted; dark brown (black inside).
- U11 Similar, but superior, black; finer small bowl-base, as Hunsbury, 90, fig. 11, B6, B9.
- U12 Similar, but red outside; slightly hollowed jar or bowl base.

All these bases may perhaps show slight 'pedestal' influence.

PIT V

- V1 Black, well made, chalk-gritted, finger-smoothed. Parts of degenerate-situlate bowl, as R9 but slacker in profile.
- V2 Dark brown (black inside), coarse; base as U8.

PIT W

Fig. 9

- W1 Black, chalk-gritted, smooth. Rim of large jar with inward lip: Cf. O3 (fig. 5), T1, U2 (fig. 8), but more like everted version of the late Upper Thames type as *Oxon.*, vii, 55, fig. 12, 6 (Eynsham); iv, 18, fig. 6, 27 (Frilford).
- W2 Dark brown, coarse, chalk-gritted; finger-worked surface, pitted. Upper part of round-shouldered degenerate-situlate jar as *I.A.N.S.*, 28, pl. III, 2 (Ipswich); *A.C.R.*, pl. XVI, 2 (Newnham).
Also: Part of small pot, blackish, flint-gritted; finger-nail markings $1\frac{1}{8}$ in. below rounded rim.
Also: Part of another with rough finger-printing on rounded shoulder.
 These suggest that we are now approaching a late phase, which the pottery from the following pits should complete.

PIT X

- X1 Ware as W2, but smoother, and type similar but with bent-over rim, almost as Hunsbury, 81, LC1.
Also: 2 bases, one probably of X1; other coarse, flint-gritted, red.

PIT Y

- Y1 Dark grey-brown, hard, flint-gritted; unevenly smoothed. Degenerate-situlate jar (lacking base), with row of finger-impressions on blunt shoulder, and rim slightly frilled. Cf. *P.S.E.A.*, iv, pt. 2, 216, fig. 2A (Abington Pigotts, Cambs.); *A.C.R.*, pl. XI, A4 (Grantchester). Does not look late; but cf. Y2.
- Y2 Grey-black, shell-gritted, smoothed outside. Carinated bowl with footed base (cf. U8) and clubbed rim. Cf. Abington Pigotts, *loc. cit.*, pl. 1B; probably a later version of the Marnian-derived bowl-form O1 (fig. 6).
- Y3 Red-faced brown gritty base, flat with at least 3 perforations, as Hunsbury, 88-90, PB series. The only such base here; Mr. Wyman Abbott has another, of a comb-striated pot (see on U7), from Woodstone just across the Nene.

Pit Z

- Z1 Brown-black, very coarse, thick. Upper part of very degenerate bead-rim situla jar. Cf. K3-K4 (fig. 5), but devolved in parallel with Y2.

Also: Another, similar but thinner.

Also: Another such rim, larger.

- Z2 Red, very coarse (black inside). Jar-base, slightly hollowed and footed.

Also: Sherds of another coarse red pot, finger-smearred inside and out.

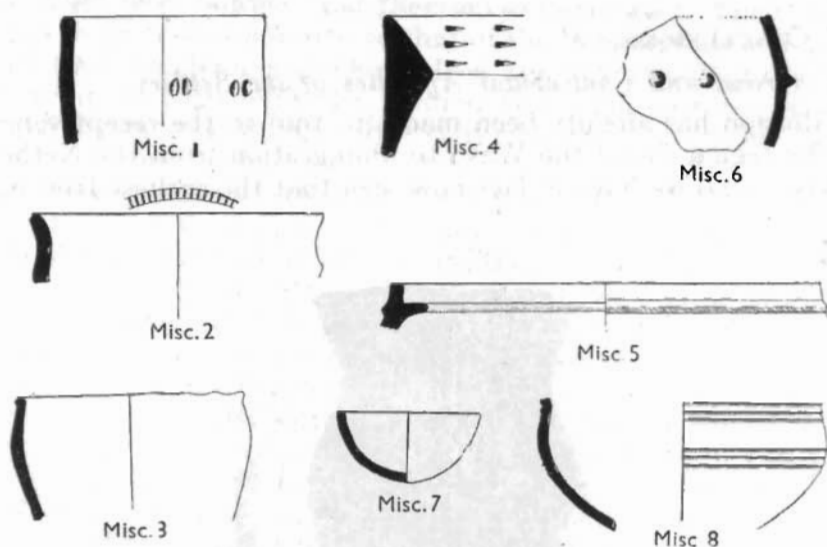


FIG. 10. MISCELLANEOUS UNSTRATIFIED POTTERY (4)

MISCELLANEOUS UNSTRATIFIED POTTERY

Fig. 10

- Misc. 1 Upper part of black-brown cylindrical pot, with paired finger-impressions on side. See p. 192; and cf. Hunsbury, 84, fig. 9, FT1.
- Misc. 2 Top of degenerate-situlate jar, with outbent rounded rim bearing close-set row of incisions. Cf. Hunsbury, *ibid.*, FT4, 8, 10.
- Misc. 3 Upper part of slightly round-shouldered jar with 'pie-crust' finger-impressions on thickened rim. Cf. Hunsbury, *ibid.*, FT3, 7.
- Misc. 4 Thick grey-brown rim with large internal bevel ornamented with wedge-triangular punch-marks. See p. 192 above.
- Misc. 5 Black-faced grey rim of jar with external applied band, as All Cannings, pl. 51, 5, and broad internal ledge, as Hunsbury, 81-2, fig. 8, L5.
- Misc. 6 Part of dark-brown, slightly flint-gritted, smooth bowl with row of small applied bosses, as All Cannings, pls. 29, 2; 34, 14; 42, 1; Hawkes-Myres-Stevens, *St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester*, 99, fig. 10, A3.
- Misc. 7 Small hemispherical bowl, red, gritty.
- Misc. 8 Neck and body of smooth black bowl, with triple neck- and girth-grooves. Like R6 (fig. 7), q.v.

Fig. II

Misc. 9 Dark brown-black, roughly made, miniature version of a situlate jar (cf. S3, etc.), with smoothed surface, flat base, flaring rim with rounded lip, and rounded shoulder with row of saucer-like (finger-?) impressions (cf. Hunsbury, 77, 79, on fig. 10, D15). Diameter of rim $2\frac{3}{4}$ in., shoulder $2\frac{7}{8}$ in., base $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. *Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*

With this sole exception, all the material here published from the site is in Mr. Wyman Abbott's collection.

7. CONCLUSIONS

(a) *Arrival and Continental Affinities of the Settlers*

Allusion has already been made (p. 190) to the receptiveness of the region round the Wash to immigration from the Netherlands. And we have in fact now seen that the earliest Iron Age



FIG. II. UNSTRATIFIED POT, MISC. 9
(Scale in inches and cm.)

pottery from our site indicates beyond much doubt that its original Iron Age settlers came thence. We have recalled that already in the Late Bronze Age immigrants from the same quarter had settled here; and we have noticed certain suggestions that their ultimate residue may have been overlapped in occupation of the site by their Iron Age successors (p. 191)—the two groups of immigrants having doubtless a good deal in common, as derived from broadly speaking the same Continental region. But by the date of the Iron Age arrivals the culture of that region had been very distinctly modified by the diffusion there of bearers of Late Hallstatt civilization from farther inland. Also, in the east, Germanic intruders had arrived from Northern Europe. We can then now form a closer

estimate of the cultural complexion and also the date of the Iron Age settlers at Peterborough, both from the Hallstatt affinities of their earliest pottery, and from the distinctively East German pin so fortunately found together with some of that pottery in Pit A.

The pin (p. 197) is an imported piece, of a type which from its East German homeland might be carried in the first place as near to Britain as North-West Germany. Our Hallstatt settlers were however not themselves Germanic. Their pottery has little or no similarity to that of the Wessenstedt and Jastorf cultures which made the Early Iron Age of North-West Germany, any more than with the kindred Germanic cultures eastward and around the Baltic. But Germanic intruders from the east had in this period spread into the Netherlands themselves, to cover nearly all the country north of the Lower Rhine and east of the Yssel and what is now the Zuyder Zee.¹ Thus the Hallstatt population of the central Netherlands, along and around the Lower Rhine and the Maas, were close neighbours to Germanic territory, whence they might quite easily, upon occasion, obtain objects of value such as a pin of this distinctive type. And its date, most probably rather late in the fifth century B.C., well suits the supposition that it passed in that way into the hands of prospective migrants from the Lower Rhenish population to Britain. For it is with the Lower Rhenish Hallstatt pottery of approximately that period that the pottery found with this pin at Peterborough has its closest Continental affinities. In fact, the Peterborough pin brings a welcome modicum of precision to the dating of the whole scatter of Early Iron Age migration from the Lower Rhenish area to Britain; and appropriately so, since that was no doubt partly caused by the pressure upon available living-space exerted by the neighbouring Germanic intruders.

The scarcity of datable metal objects associated with pottery of the initial British Iron Age is notorious; in particular, bronze brooches of types known to have been current in the contemporary Late Hallstatt civilization of the Continent have often been found in Britain, but never in association with pottery. Several examples are known from East Anglia,² two more from Lincoln,³ and three from Castor on the Nene close above Peterborough;⁴ and such may well have been brought over by immigrants such as the Peterborough settlers. But while that remains uncertain, it is legitimate to stress the value of this

¹ This almost unmodified Germanic culture is well represented in the museums of Groningen, Leeuwarden, and Assen (Drenthe).

² Clarke, *Arch. Journ.* xcvi (1939), 30-3.

³ Phillips, *ibid.*, xci (1934), 99.

⁴ Fox, *Arch. Camb. Reg.*, 72-5, fig. 1.

pin's association, in our Pit A, with pottery that is clearly typical of those settlers' culture in its earliest phase.

Pottery typical of that phase has been seen to occur without recognizably later admixture in all of the nine pits A-I (figs. 1-4), and some of its Lower Rhenish parallels have been already quoted. Such in fact occur plentifully in the region of North Brabant, Gelderland, Dutch Limburg, Utrecht, and South Holland;¹ and there is a good deal of very similar ware also in Belgium.² The Late Hallstatt culture of all this region was a mixed one, formed in the main by fusion between the indigenous Lower Rhenish Tumulus people, and Urnfield ("Hallstatt A") and later Hallstatt groups moving successively down or parallel with the Rhine northwards from inner Europe. There was also a 'Harpstedt' element coming from the east out of Germany, where it is more strongly in evidence within the Germanic territories beyond and farther up the Lower Rhine. Ultimately, the culture came to be influenced on the south by the Early La Tene culture of the Marne. But that can scarcely have been before 400 B.C.; and in the fifth century anyhow the culture is in broad terms clearly definable as a Lower Rhenish province of Late Hallstatt civilization.³

Its parentage of the whole family of coarse shouldered jars, so typical of the initial Iron Age pottery of Britain, received in both the publications of the Scarborough (Castle Hill) material a demonstration which applies in general equally to West Harling in Norfolk and to our site.⁴ The high but slight shoulder, surmounting a 'flower-pot' body, which is characteristic of the 'Harpstedt' element in the Lower Rhenish repertory, seems exemplified by our A3 (fig. 1) and its like. Parallels to the carinated and omphalos-based bowls have been duly cited (see on A4, B1, C1, etc.), and these carry with them their rectilinear incised ornament, which appears likewise on the tall jars of situla form, with their very pronounced type of broad,

¹ Represented especially in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leiden and in the museum of S'Hertogenbosch.

² Cinquantenaire Museum, Brussels. See Baron de Loe, *La Belgique Ancienne*, vol. ii.

³ See, for Belgium (with de Loe, *op. cit.*), E. Rahir, *Vingt-cinq années de recherches*, Brussels, 1928 (La Tene influence, 108). For Holland, Holwerda's *Nederlands Vroegste Beschaving* (1907), and his studies of the De Hamert (nr. Venlo) and Rijthoven urnfields in *O.M.R.O.L.*, vi-vii, must now be read with O. Doppelfeld's article 'Die Hallstattzeit im Niederrheinischen Raum' in *Prähistorische Zeitschrift*, xxv, 1 ff., with W. J. A. Willems' *Een Bijdrage tot*

de Kennis der Voor-Romeinsche Urnenvelden in Nederland (1935), and with various contributions by F. C. Bursch in *O.M.R.O.L.* and by A. E. van Giffen in the *Nieuwe Drentsche Volksalmanack* and elsewhere. Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes however warns me that these will be superseded by Dr. F. C. Bursch's monograph 'Der Stand der Urnenfelderforschung in den Niederlanden,' prepared for publication in the *Berichte der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* (Frankfurt), which the author kindly allowed Mr. Hawkes to study in typescript before the war. C.I.F.

⁴ See references in the preceding section: both publications have illustrations of representative Netherlands material.

high shoulder, repeating that of their metal prototype. As Savory has pointed out in discussing the analogous pottery from Long Wittenham on the Upper Thames,¹ the spread of this form in the North French-Netherlands area is a feature of the transition from Late Hallstatt to Early La Tène times, and the greater prevalence of situla profiles at our site, in contrast to Scarborough, suggests that while the latter site may have been settled farther back in the fifth century B.C., it would be wiser not to propose a date before about 400 for the Peterborough settlers. For West Harling this argument would point to an intermediate date.

In ornament, again, our settlers' lack of interest in the applied 'plastic' neck-band (see on A2, G1), a traditional feature still prevalent at Scarborough, suggests their somewhat later arrival; and here again West Harling seems intermediate. Rows of impressions or incisions remain the typical decoration of the coarser vessels, and our series shows a full range both of finger-tip and incised conventions, with a preference for the latter which is particularly notable when expressed in triangular or wedge-shaped punch-marks (see on B2, C3, Misc. 4, etc.). For these may confidently be derived from the *Kerbschnitt* style of the Hallstatt and earlier Tumulus cultures, well represented in the Lower Rhenish province. The more liberal use of such punch-marks in the early decorated ware of All Cannings Cross is of course another embodiment of the same tradition.

Taken all round, then, the earliest Peterborough pottery may be derived from a stage of the Lower Rhenish culture when Hallstatt tradition was still strong; but its disuse of the 'plastic' applied band on the coarser ware, and its development of the situla profile on the finer, together suggest an initial date rather around 400 B.C. than earlier. This agrees well with what we have seen above of the dating-probabilities of the disc-headed pin (p. 199).

At that date, about 400 B.C., other groups of settlers from the Lower Rhine and Netherlands had already, it would seem, begun to establish themselves here and there along the eastern coasts and up the eastern rivers of Britain: those at Scarborough perhaps among the earliest, at West Harling perhaps a little later. And in the south of Britain also, a similar range of time seems to be covered by further group arrivals, originating rather further south and south-west upon the Continent. Long Wittenham represents one, All Cannings Cross another, both probably roughly contemporary with the groups at Peterborough. It was in fact a patch-work of such groups that

¹ *Oxoniensia*, ii, 1 ff.

made up the earliest Iron Age A culture—sometimes definable as 'A1'—of Lowland Britain.

(b) *Subsequent History and Character of the Settlement*

All these regional groups of our Iron Age A seem to have lived at first a good deal isolated from each other. The Peterborough material affords little, apart from the pottery, that can speak of inter-regional relations. Of the pottery itself the clay may be expected to be fairly local.¹ There is slightly more variety in the materials used for gritting or 'backing' it. Shell was no doubt estuarine and so fairly closely local. Flint is as likely to have been obtained from the site's own gravel-pebbles, or their like, as from the Breckland across the Wash or the chalk outcrop beyond or in the Lincolnshire Wolds. It may have come from any of these sources; but one or other of the latter (unless it was the nearer Boulder-clay) presumably furnished the chalk, the finer grit or powder of which the potters can often be seen to have used in their clay as a *dégraissant*. Traffic in such materials, and in stone for their saddle-querns, can have carried the settlers' economy but little outside the bounds of self-sufficiency. The main testimony of their pottery is the same. It shows that initial establishment of a strictly local version of the Continental tradition they had brought with them, which characterizes the early phase of the settlement exclusively (Pits A-I), and remains, in gradual degeneration, the basic characteristic of its middle and later phases.

But those subsequent phases show us also, and against that background, unmistakable incomings from without. And it is from these—from these, indeed, alone—that something can be gleaned of the settlement's later history and duration. The detailed comparisons that have been made above can be brought together quite briefly in evidence.

In the first place, the oncoming of a middle phase of development is attested, just as for the very similar pottery of the Upper Thames (though to a less pronounced extent), in the adoption and adaptation of shapes and ornamental motives apparently derived from an inland area of Wessex. These have been noticed in a good deal of the pottery from Pits J-P (figs. 5-6); and one must presume that just as these 'early A2' characters reached the Upper Thames over the edge of the northern Wessex chalk escarpment, so they were borne beyond it along the Jurassic Zone of the North Oxfordshire and

¹ Mr. Wyman Abbott in fact records, from some of the pits, lumps of unbaked clay which may have been for pottery-making.

Northamptonshire uplands, to make their impression, somewhat fainter in proportion to the distance travelled, upon the local style of the Peterborough district. The reasons for this diffusion are at present obscure; but a similar movement from Wessex can be detected eastward along both the Surrey and the Sussex Downs,¹ and its reality is not open to doubt.

As regards its date, the evidence for it in Sussex comes from the time immediately preceding the arrival on the south coast of recognizable raiders and invaders with a La Tène culture of 'Marnian' character, datable about the middle of the third century B.C. Signs of these newcomers elsewhere seem to point to their scattering in various bands thinly over a good deal of southern and eastern Britain in the ensuing half-century, after which, while their chief concentration is to be found in the Yorkshire Wolds, they are more dimly perceptible here and there also in East Anglia and in the eastern Midlands. Here, in fact, are the first beginnings of an Iron Age B culture—that is, a La Tène-derived one—in these parts of Britain. Here at Peterborough the 'bead-rim situla' vessels K3 and K4 (fig. 5), the pedestal base N1 (fig. 5), and the further reminiscences of both types thereafter above noted, seem to reflect something of this Marnian intrusion, and to place it in the middle phase of the local culture's development, when the Wessex influences already mentioned had made themselves fully apparent. Since, then, the beginnings of the Marnian scatter must be dated about 250 B.C., the Wessex influences may have begun any time after, say, 300, and the two between them will be responsible for what can be perceived of novelty in the material of our site in the third century.

Towards what will then be the close of that century, the results appear in two ways. First, in a new stylization of the 'A' tradition, the local element compounded with the Wessex, apparent in the remarkable vessel Q2 (fig. 6), as in its East Sussex and East Anglian parallels. Second, and more important, in the development of a new convention of bowl pottery, in which the old sharp profiles give place to a globular form, attributable to the example of bronze bowls probably introduced by Marnian 'B' intruders in the neighbourhood, and the old rectilinear incised ornament gives way to curvilinear decoration, inspired, surely, by the curvilinear motives of the La Tène art represented upon the same intruders' characteristic metalwork.

¹ E.g. S. S. Frere in *Antiq. Journ.*, xxii *Arch. Colls.*, lxxxii (1940), 193, 201-2, with (1942), 129-38; A. E. Wilson in *Sussex* references there cited.

The outstanding evidence for this is that of the pottery from Pit R; and in the tendencies apparent there we may perhaps claim to be able for the first time to recognize the genesis of the Iron Age B and 'AB' styles of pottery-ornament thereafter so prevalent in various parts of the south and the Midlands, and in particular at the classic B site of Hunsbury.

After this, what seem to be the closing phases of the Peterborough settlement (attested by Pits W and X-Z) give us little beyond duller pottery of degenerate character, comparable to that from other sites in the eastern or east-Midland counties equally undistinguished, in which there is little to remark, save a degree of correspondence with the coarser and plainer wares of the Hunsbury series. Either then the settlement came to an end too soon after the preceding phase for any further possibilities, or its inhabitants must be supposed to have sunk outside the reach of the more progressive forces in contemporary Iron Age culture. In either case it looks as if the end came at some time in the second century B.C., and very possibly before the middle of it.¹

Throughout the history of the site, as thus reconstructed, the main character of its material was imparted by its settlers' original Continental culture. But the gradual degeneration of that was diversified by at least some recognizable influences from without; and it is from these, and in the suggestion of their time-relations given by the associations of the pottery in the various pits, that the chief further interest of its material may be said to lie.

That there is no more to be said is above all because, where so little is demonstrable of the social character of such a group, mere archaeological inference from material can do proportionately little to bring its people to life. But where so much remains unexplored as in the earlier and middle British Iron Age, not least in this part of Britain, the recovery and recording of this much may yet be accounted a contribution of some value to prehistory.

¹ Mr. Wyman Abbott remarks that on the other hand, after this date, 'the continuation of settlement is seen in the Woodstone site, about a mile upstream on the south bank of the Nene, and also to a limited extent at Orton Waterville, about 4 miles upstream'. He states moreover that the Woodstone site differs from the Peterborough one in consisting of a stratified layer, to which sequences from various pits contribute.

On the Peterborough settlement in general, he adds: 'It appears that the settlement was always small, and may have decreased in numbers as the community spread, as it seems to have done, upstream and round the Fen islands. I imagine that the waterways were the means of access and travel, almost entirely; and the community could in some respects be compared with the Glastonbury type in manner of living in the fens.'

NOTE

I am grateful to Mr. Wyman Abbott for allowing me to study and draw the Iron Age part of his collection before the War and for his permission to publish this material.

Mr. G. C. Dunning kindly loaned me his drawings, which he had previously made with Mr. Wyman Abbott's permission. These drawings are reproduced in the present publication and are pots B1, C1, D1, D3, E3, F2, G1, G2, K1, K3, L1, M1, R6, R8, U7, Misc. 1, Misc. 3, Misc. 6, and the pin A1.

My thanks are also due to Mr. J. M. de Navarro who read and made suggestions on my original study.

Finally, Mr. C. F. C. Hawkes has edited and made additions to my paper, because I have not been in a position to undertake archaeological study, nor to keep in touch with current archaeological developments, since the beginning of the War. I am grateful to him for taking an interest in my paper and for preparing it for final publication.

CLARE I. FELL.