

THE FÉCAMP-STYLE REFORTIFICATION OF HIGH ROCKS

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In 1974, Iron Age studies received a major blessing from the publishing house of Routledge & Kegan Paul, who were safely delivered of twins. These were strictly non-identical, however, being Prof. Barry Cunliffe's *Iron Age Communities in Britain* and Dr. Dennis Harding's *The Iron Age in Lowland Britain*. (For an extensive and rigorous review of their virtues and short-comings, see *Archaeol. Journal* vol. 131 (1974), pp. 392-7). Whilst "comparing and contrasting" them I found both repeating the view that the refortification of High Rocks hill-fort¹ is in the Fécamp style and should be associated with Belgic influences. I wish to examine this point a little.

The Fécamp type of fortification was identified in 1938-9 by the late Sir Mortimer (then Dr. R. E. M.) Wheeler and Miss K. M. Richardson² as a distinct form peculiar to an area of N. France lying between the Seine and the Marne. They wrote: "The characters of the type are these: (a) a preference for commanding promontories, which are cut off by a huge rampart, 20-30ft. high, and a broad, flat, or bluntly rounded, canal-like ditch, with steep external sides sometimes reinforced by a small counterscarp bank . . .; and (b) formidable entrances often flanked by bold in-turns of the main rampart."³ The general interpretation after examining a number of French hill-forts was that these and other, complementary forms of defence (*muris Gallicus*) represented anti-Roman constructions, built specifically for thwarting Caesar's battering-rams in the campaigns of 58-51 B.C. An article in *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. XXI (1941) foreshadowed the main, post-war publication and Ward Perkins was able to cite it as a parallel when interpreting his findings at Oldbury, which he published in 1944.⁴ The specific analogy is to Site 4, the N.E. gate, where the original entrance was realigned. External earthworks complicated the approach—a "hornwork" and an "outer earthwork"—including some timbering (fencing or palisades, perhaps). The stone-rubble rampart, faced with clay, was covered by sand and faced with stones. A dry-stone wall near the top suggested a fighting platform, with a palisade behind indicated by a large posthole. The rampart's face swept smoothly down to the flat-bottomed ditch below, covering in the earlier hollow ditch with its tail. Wheeler and Richardson returned the compliment by citing Oldbury in their definitive publication.⁵

In his second report on excavations at the Caburn, Dr. A. E. Wilson in 1939 had drawn attention already to the similarity of the apparently contemporary, wide, flat-bottomed ditches at Oldbury and his own site.⁶ Wilson again made the parallel in 1955, but now he brought High Rocks in⁷ as Money had called attention to the apparent similarity of the ditches there to the Oldbury ones.⁸ These views were taken up and expanded further, to include the hill-fort at Hammer Wood, Iping, by Mrs. M. Aylwyn Cotton in her paper "*Observations on the Classification of Hill-forts in Southern England*," read in December 1958⁹: Boyden's report appearing a few weeks later.¹⁰ One of her principal themes was that the finding of ramparts separated by wide, flat-bottomed ditches could be seen as a positive sign of those Belgae too discontented to stay in Gaul under Roman

rule—or, at least, of their descendants—responding with similar structures to the arrival of Claudius' Army of Conquest in A.D. 43. Her definition of this hill-fort group's characteristics needs noting, however, as they differ in subtle but significant ways from Wheeler and Richardson's originals.

She took Oldbury as her type-site, it being the best excavated one off the Chalk in S.E. England: she considered the non-Chalk hill-forts of Essex, Herts, Kent, Surrey and Berks. had what seemed a different cultural and structural sequence from those on it.¹¹ Only the Oldbury II phase concerns us here. In it, earlier dump-construction banks were rebuilt or partial bivallation occurred, and entrances were elaborated. Three sub-classes were seen: Oldbury II *strictu sensu*, High Rocks II and Caburn III.

The first one had heightened ramparts, now stone-crested, overlying the earlier ditch, its own was wide-bottomed and there were additional earthworks at the main entrance. Although the ramparts were high, in the Fécamp manner, this was chiefly because they lay on top of the Oldbury I bank; a "huge rampart" was not a required feature.

The High Rocks II sub-class differed in that, as the original bank "was too close to the edge of the sandstone outcrop to permit of an additional outer defence," the inside of the Period I bank was cut away to make a flat-bottomed ditch and the Period II rampart built inside it. The stone cresting of the latter was found tumbled into the Period II ditch. An inturned entrance with elaborate outworks was built on the side of easiest access. At Hammer Wood, Iping, there was again stone cresting fallen into the ditch. The Caburn III defences had a new bank with a palisade, set in the former ditch, and a new flat-bottomed, wide one outside.

Certain problems were foreseen.

- a) The bulk of the sites chosen were then but sparsely excavated, and included nothing like all the region's hill-forts.
- b) There was a ninety years' lapse between the building of the last Gaulish Fécamp-style hill-fort and the date of Oldbury II and Caburn III. (These latter had early post-Conquest Roman pottery in the first silts to form in their new ditches).
- c) While it is possible to identify the centres of the areas settled by these Belgae in Britain, the defences there do not have these characteristic forms of rampart.

In 1957, meanwhile, Money had returned to High Rocks. He got round to exploring the main entrance in 1960-61: however his final report, covering five years' work, obviously took time to prepare and only came out in 1968 in volume 106 of the Sussex Archaeological Collections. The fact that his 1961 results contradicted his 1940 ones in some crucial respects was thus unknown—or, at least, unpublished—at a time when Hawkes was writing his paper "New Thoughts on the Belgae."¹² Having endorsed the view, first put forward by Hachmann (*pace* Harding, p. 12), that Fécamp-style rampart building was peculiarly localised in that province assigned by Caesar to the "Belgian" tribes, Hawkes cited with approval Mrs. Cotton's paper as presenting the hill-fort evidence for Belgic extension into "maritime" Britain (Caesar's own phrase)—whilst re-emphasising the pitfalls. He credited her with seeing the flat-bottomed ditch model as primarily Kentish Belgic. Yet, with the supplementary sites she tentatively put forward later in her paper (Squerries Camp: St. George's Hill, Weybridge; Caesar's Camp, Easthampstead; Grimsbury, Hermitage), she covered an area that was not Primary Belgic at all: but Wealden in contrast.

The next major reference to the theme is in Cunliffe's paper delivered at the 1971 Southampton Conference in honour of the late Sir Mortimer Wheeler.¹³ We find High Rocks classed among those hill-forts "which show signs of defensive measures, or at the least intensive

occupation, at the time of the Roman invasion of A.D. 43" (p. 67) and marked, along with the Caburn, Oldbury, Hulberry and Bigberry, on his Fig. 19 as "defended" in the invasion of A.D. 43-47. As there was no Roman pottery found in a context suggesting a direct anti-Roman date for the Period II defences—the only Roman-period sherds coming from inside the fort¹⁴—one must assume he was drawing on the rampart style for his evidence and following Mrs. Cotton, like Prof. Hawkes, Cunliffe omits Hammer Wood, Iping, however, neither marking it as "defended" or "undefended" on Fig. 19.

We now come to the books I referred to in my first paragraph. Cunliffe's references are more extensive, so I shall give Harding's first. There is a seven line summary of Hawke's 1968 paper on p. 12. On p. 65, Fécamp-style ramparts are regarded as certainly tactical, as opposed to *glacis*-fronted dump ramparts. He cites Avery's view¹⁵ that the latter were adopted, on the fringes of the Belgic settlement areas in a late-second-to-early-first-century context, for the speedy defence of centres threatened by refugees turned out by the Belgae. A further discussion of the points made by Hawkes occurs on p. 73; while on p. 225 he raises the contentious view that the Catuvellauni were a native, not a Belgic tribe, and that the Fécamp-style ramparts, concentrating "south of the Thames, notably at Hammer Wood, High Rocks, Oldbury and the Caburn," represent Belgic defences in an anti-Catuvellaunian context.

Cunliffe refers implicitly to the Fécamp-style ramparts at High Rocks on p. 72, noting a "wide flat-bottomed ditch." Fig. 5:7 shows profiles of Fécamp-type earthworks at High Rocks, the Caburn¹⁶ and Oldbury. The first is derived from the section at Money's Site F¹⁷ but the width of the inner, Period 2 ditch is exaggerated. In the text there is again a reference to the Period 2 rampart being "within the earlier defences," as there was "little space on the plateau outside to fit in the new circuit." Profiles of the ramparts near to the gate, which cut off the neck of the promontory, are not chosen for illustration, however. Having found a flat-bottomed ditch at Danebury, which can be given a firm post-A.D. 30 date, and noted a similar ditch in the just-post-Conquest fortification at Silchester, he concludes (p. 73): "That Fécamp defences were in use at the time of the invasion may now safely be accepted."

In the discussion on p. 92ff of tribal regions, the fact that "several of the East Sussex and Wealden sites, like those of Kent, show evidence of continuous occupation" is taken to support the idea that a fragmentation of the earlier Atrebatian territory was taking place in the first century A.D. As part of this, he suggests that the Weald and the Downland east of the Ouse had thrown in their lot with anti-Verican groups to the eastward, by the time of the Roman arrival; hence the need for the storming of the Caburn in order to consolidate the regime of Cogidubnus and with it the flank of the Second Legion pushing down to the South-West.

Oldbury, High Rocks and the Caburn are quoted again specifically on p. 122 as parallels to the hill-forts in the West Country which were defended against the Roman Army, the Fécamp-style defences being given as the identifying feature. Finally, on p. 250, High Rocks and Hammer Wood are chosen as representatives of the Wealden-style hill-forts, making optimum use of the characteristic dissected countryside by occupying promontories. Plans of the sites, based on Money (1968), Fig. 2 and Boyden (1958—not the quoted 1957), Fig. 1, appear as Fig. 13:16 on p. 253. Earlier and later phases are not distinguished.

Although two further major hill-fort studies¹⁸ appeared in 1976, neither discusses the topic of Fécamp-style defences and I believe the above summarises fairly the published discussion about my subject. From it, I hope the following development of ideas can be seen.

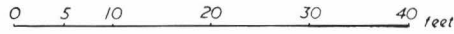
- a) The Fécamp-style defences were recognised as having both definite chronological and cultural significance in Northern France.
- b) Parallels were seen in the "maritime" region of Britain to which emigrating/invading groups crossed from Gaul.
- c) Excavation results at Oldbury and the Caburn suggest the transfer of dates from a Caesarian to a Claudian invasion context, even though this raises a credibility gap over the persistence of ideas. (N.B. Ward Perkins (1944, p. 141) did not believe this gap ever existed, since the classic French camps were occupied until the second quarter of the 1st century A.D. by native settlements).
- d) Money's 1940 results lead to the inclusion of High Rocks among the group, purely on stylistic grounds.
- e) The identification of a hypothetical Kentish Belgic group of hill forts, characterised by stone-crested ramparts and wide, flat-bottomed ditches, having influences stretching even to the far western Weald and the Kennet valley possibly, is suggested by Mrs. Cotton.
- f) The Kentish Belgic group idea receives strong endorsement from that authoritative source, Professor Hawkes.
- g) Cunliffe and Harding take up Mrs. Cotton's ideas and Hawkes' endorsement of them, and weave them strongly into their major textbooks. Cunliffe quietly drops Hammer Wood from the group, however, and makes an odd choice when illustrating High Rocks.
- h) Harding posits that Fécamp-style ramparts are an anti-Catuvellaunian measure. Cunliffe hovers between anti-Roman, anti-Catuvellaunian and anti-Verican explanations, but dates them firmly to the second quarter of the first century A.D.

If the reader has followed me thus far, he may have sensed that I am not altogether happy about the state of affairs, particularly on what has been written in two books destined to become the text-books for Iron Age students for the next quarter century. I do not quarrel with many of the ideas put forward in what I have quoted. What worries me is that the implications of Money's 1968 publication for the validity of Mrs. Cotton's 1958 hypothesis seem still to have been overlooked, along with the validity of the diagnostic features she claimed for the group as a whole. In the present discussion, it is fitting to concentrate on the Sussex aspects, of course, leaving aside the ones with significance only further afield.

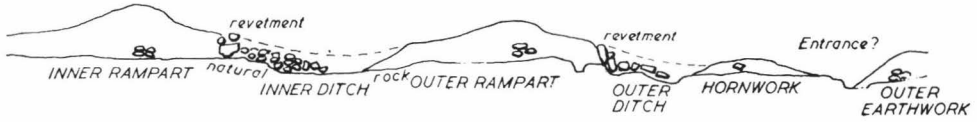
One must start by the differences in interpreting High Rocks which must be made on the basis of Money's 1940 interim report and his 1968 final one. Fig. 1a shows the section he gave in his first, while 1b shows one, at the opposite side of the entrance, from his second. The features of section 1a which are most important are the flat-bottomed inner ditch, the tumbled revetments, the "hornwork" and the "outer earthwork." These are obviously suggestive of links with Oldbury, even though the outer ditch is hollow and the position of the flat ditch, supposedly to thwart the practice of rapidly filling up a ditch with brushwood, is oddly placed behind ramparts which could be taken in precisely this way. The revetments do not help to give the ramparts that gentle, smooth face which defeated a Roman battering ram, either. They have a sharp foot and lie behind berms, even on the inner rampart. This is quite unlike the facing at Oldbury and even less so the true stone cresting at Le Chatellier, Duclair, the *only* one of the French hill-forts where Wheeler reported finding it (Fig. 1c, 1d).

The outer ditch in Fig. 1a looks hardly worthwhile; but the 1968 report shows it to have been sectioned (by a narrow trench) across a causeway of very hard rock.¹⁹ Fig. 1e gives a truly typical section.

HIGH ROCKS: after Money, fig.2(1941) & fig.5(1968)



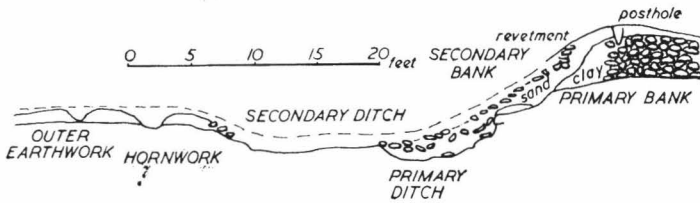
(a) Section A-B, 1940



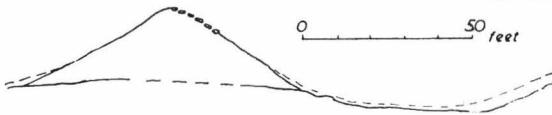
(b) Section at Site J, 1960-1



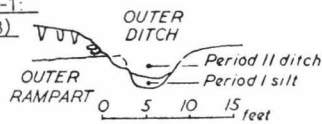
(c) OLDBURY: after Ward Perkins, Pl. XXXI



(d) Le Chatellier, DUCLAIR: after Wheeler & Richardson fig.2



(e) HIGHROCKS, Site E, 1960-1: after Money, fig.13(1968)



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Fig. 1

The “hornwork” and “outer earthwork” need not detain us long, for, in Money’s own words, they “were found in 1960/61 to be natural clay and stone, and not in any way artificial.”²⁰ This is not to say that they were not present when the hill-fort was in its prime, but they were not germane to its defences.

When we compare Figs. 1a and 1b now, mentally erasing the “hornwork” and “outer earthwork” and deepening the outer ditch on the former, it is only surprising how the shape of the inner ditch differs. The 1940 section, made left of the entrance when facing towards the camp, certainly shows the flat bottom which caused the Fécamp analogy—via Oldbury—to be made. Fig 1b’s section, made roughly the same distance the other side of the entrance, shows no features whatever that would suggest analogies in that direction. Are we dealing with a camp built by schizophrenics—a semi-Fécamp one? (Or, since the left-hand outer rampart isn’t of Fécamp style, a demi-semi-Fécamp affair??).

The answer Money provided is much more sober. “The ground on which the entrance lies slopes down from north to south and is situated at the junction of the clay and the sandstone. . . The builders, therefore, were working sometimes in rock, sometimes in clay and sometimes in a mixture of the two. On one side of the entrance, for example, the outer ditch . . . was cut out of the rock, whereas a few yards away on the other side it was dug from the clay.” He goes on to say that the Period I ditches were cut U-shaped regardless of the underlying material, in Period II they were adapted to it.²¹ Further away to the left of the entrance, at Site K, the inner ditch was again met with and, though wide and shallow, its shape was not easy to determine: this was due to its base being “very uneven, with the rock cut away in places by quarrying and projecting in others.”²² Might this not be just another case to add to those, noticed by Feachem,²³ where the hill-fort ditches were not completely excavated? This could happen either through lack of time, manpower—or inclination.²⁴ One is tempted to speculate whether the relatively inconsequential ditches at High Rocks in Period II may not be explained by the reconstruction Money offers of the contemporary ramparts.²⁵ If the posts sticking up between the stones stood higher and were pointed,²⁶ more than enough problems would be posed to anyone trying to climb the defended bank. (Such a facing would, of course, have been wrecked by a Roman battering ram: but I—for one—don’t believe that was a consideration when they were built). That wooden *chevaux de frises* were used in the defences of hill-forts has been summarised best by Harbison.²⁷

I now want to turn my attention to the section Cunliffe chose to illustrate the Fécamp features of High Rocks. I have already made the point that his Fig. 5:7 exaggerates the Period II ditch’s width. My view is based on Money’s comment that, though the inner rampart had been faced with blocks of sandstone, “All this revetment and part of the dumped rampart material was nevertheless found to have collapsed into the ditch.”²⁸ The profile published suggests this stone facing rose behind a narrow berm, leaving a shallow, U-shaped ditch. The ditch shape given by Cunliffe, besides being at a location which Wheeler and Richardson said was never occupied by Fécamp-style banks and ditches—viz. around the slope—hardly recalls the *locus classicus*.²⁹ It is only fair to add that Money himself claimed an analogy between these Period II defences and Fécamp-style ones.³⁰ One may be allowed to suspect, perhaps, that this was somewhat out of *pietas* towards the preparer of his specialist pottery reports, Mrs. Cotton.

One of the features which caused comment by Mrs. Cotton,³¹ Money³² and Cunliffe³³ is the way that the Period II defences, at places like Site F in particular, lay inside the earlier ones. This is really not so surprising when it is noticed that the contour lines on the general plan³⁴ show, beyond Site F, a drop of 50ft. over a horizontal distance of a little over 100ft. Ramparts *outside* the earlier

ones would have been hopelessly impractical, incapable of unopposed reinforcement etc. The wonder, surely, is that the first defences weren't built along the crest of the hillside, occupying the optimum position. One's own movements inside the fort would then be hidden from the enemy, who would have to make the ascent of the full slope under observation and probable attack. Yet it is an undoubted fact that these promontory hill-forts on the sandstones and gravels of South East England often have just a ditch cut down the slope and a bank thrown outwards i.e. on the down-hill side, on all but the neck of the promontory. Sites where this definitely occurs are the Caesar's Camps at Easthampstead and Farnham, St. Ann's Hill, Chertsey, States House Camp at Medmenham and, for its outer defences at least, Hammer Wood, Iping.³⁵ High Rocks differs in that the rampart is inside the ditch: at the first three sites I give, personal observation shows the inner face of the ditch was merely made very steep, up to the front of a low bank on the crest, and the outer, counterscarp bank was given steep sides too. At the Farnham site, in fact, there seems to have been just a very steep bank cut round the northern sides, without any ditch at all.

Having disposed of the "elaborate outworks" which Mrs. Cotton claimed High Rocks showed, it is a pity one cannot decide either way about the "inturned entrance." Money's plan³⁶ does show an apparent ridge running back left of the inner rampart's entrance, but into an area where no excavation was permitted in 1960-61. As it is, the base of this "spur" was found to be disturbed; the masonry lining the entrance passage does not follow it and it could be a more recent feature. On the bank opposite no such spur was recorded and the stonework just seems to blunt the rampart's end. As no Period II gate was located, this could lie at the end of an entrance passage which, being set obliquely, would have a longer left-hand than right-hand wall. A slightly more massive earthen bank would then have lain left of the passage, without the entrance being specifically inturned.

Whilst on the topic of interpreting High Rocks, I feel something needs to be said about Mrs. Cotton's use of the term "stone crestring." She refers to it as a feature of the Oldbury II group in subclasses *a* and *b* (Oldbury II, High Rocks/Hammer Wood). The implication seems to be that this crestring is a further trait of the Oldbury II hill-fort group. If so, it is a somewhat tenebrous notion: the only hill-fort Wheeler and Richardson illustrate as having any sort of solid stone (as opposed to chalk rubble) facing on the rampart-front is Le Chatellier, Duclair.³⁷ Here there was a capping of flints, one stone thick, from the very crest to a quarter way down the front, retained at the lower end by a single line of chalk blocks; parallels were quoted at Oldbury and Poundbury in the report.³⁸ Apart from the use of stones to face the rampart material, it is difficult to see why the analogy needs to be drawn. At Le Chatellier it is merely superficial capping, while at Oldbury it is part of a revetted, flat-topped fighting platform having a timber palisade behind, the stone spread extending down to the verge of the ditch. Ward Perkins could not make up his mind whether this spread is tumble from above or deliberate cladding. It seems best to allow for the top of the revetment wall to have gone and perhaps a stone pavement for the platform, but to regard the rest as a real facing reinforcing the Period II mound material. This, it should be noted, was sand, whereas the primary bank was stone with a clay front. Surely we do not have to invoke invasion hypotheses to account for people getting the idea that stones are intrinsically more stable than sand?

At High Rocks we again meet stones in the Period II defences. But they are not "crestring." Money's conjectural reconstruction does not have any stones on the crest at all but only on the forward face.²⁵ At Hammer Wood, Boyden favoured an interpretation of stones covering the rampart fronts and inner face of the ditches. Along with the wide separation of the ramparts across the ridge, the stonework was a feature Mrs. Cotton saw as pointing to an Oldbury II/Fécamp link. She called it "stone crestring" again, which is really very misleading, though its Fécamp associations

are weakened, perhaps, if it is termed "revetting." And, though the ramparts do lie far apart across the ridge, they were fronted by V-shaped ditches, not flat-bottomed ones.

Now, what does this add up to in summary?

My personal view is that High Rocks' refortification does not, of itself, argue for its inclusion in any group of hill-forts derivative from the Fécamp-style group in northern France. This sets it apart from Oldbury and Caburn, where apparently convincing parallels can be drawn in that particular direction and where anti-Claudian dates may fairly be postulated, if not proved.

The dating of High Rocks II cannot be fixed really precisely, for no associated contemporary material was found. Some possible scenarios, as Money and Cunliffe have pointed out, are Cunobelin's take-over of Kent in the A.D. 20s, the break-up of Verica's kingdom centred on the Chichester area around A.D. 40, or the Roman invasion of A.D. 43. It could, however, be a relic of some more local conflict and it could be, quite conceivably, of earlier date. The lack of evidence of Belgic penetration into the Wealden area, as evidenced by the pottery found at High Rocks,³⁹ must surely argue against Harding's suggestion that the Fécamp-style hill-forts mark Belgic resistance to counter-attack from *indigenous* Catuvellauni.⁴⁰ And without High Rocks (and Hammer Wood) in between, Oldbury II and Caburn III represent a pretty sorry "group" for Harding to rest his case on. Similarly, without High Rocks, the Caburn III defences must sustain on their own Cunliffe's attractive concept of disruptive elements requiring Roman suppression in A.D. 43.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is a pleasure to record the assistance I have received, in my researches for this paper, from Reading Reference Library and Reading University Library. I am grateful to James Money and Michael Fulford for constructive comments on earlier drafts of this paper—whose idiosyncracies remain firmly mine.

¹ J. H. Money, "Excavations in the Iron Age Hill Fort at High Rocks, near Tunbridge Wells, 1957-1961," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (hereafter abbreviated to *S.A.C.*), vol. 106 (1968), pp. 158-205.

² R. E. M. Wheeler and K. M. Richardson, *Hill-forts of Northern France* (1957).

³ *ibid.*, p. 11.

⁴ J. B. Ward Perkins, "Excavations on the Iron Age Hill-fort of Oldbury, near Ightham, Kent," *Archaeologia*, vol. 90 (1944), pp. 127-176.

⁵ *op. cit.*, pp. xv, 77.

⁶ A. E. Wilson, "Excavations at the Caburn, 1938," *S.A.C.*, vol. 80 (1939) p. 194.

⁷ *Idem*, "Sussex on the eve of the Roman Conquest," *S.A.C.*, vol. 93 (1955), p. 77.

⁸ J. H. Money, "An interim report on excavations at High Rocks, Tunbridge Wells 1940," *S.A.C.*, vol. 82 (1941), p. 108.

⁹ M. Aylwyn Cotton, in: S.S. Frere ed., *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain* (1961), pp. 61-8.

¹⁰ J. R. Boyden, "Excavations at Hammer Wood, Iping: 1957," *S.A.C.*, vol. 96 (1958), pp. 149-163.

¹¹ Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

¹² C. F. C. Hawkes, "New thoughts on the Belgae," *Antiquity*, vol. 42 (1968), pp. 6-16.

¹³ B. W. Cunliffe, "Some Aspects of Hill-forts and their Cultural Environments," in: D. Hill and M. Jesson eds., *The Iron Age and its Hill-forts* (1971), pp. 53-69.

¹⁴ Money (1968), pp. 191-2.

¹⁵ D. M. E. Avery *et al.*, "Rainsborough, Northants, England: excavations 1961-5," *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.*, vol. 33 (1968), p. 292.

¹⁶ The correct source for the Caburn profile is:—A. E. Wilson "Excavations in the ramparts and gateway of the Caburn, August-October 1937," *S.A.C.*, vol. 79 (1938), Pl. 1. The timber revetment, shown in plan and section in Pl. 1, and reconstructed in Fig. 12 on p. 186 there, which is reminiscent of Oldbury II, is ignored.

- ¹⁷ Money (1968), Fig. 3.
- ¹⁸ D. W. Harding ed., *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland* (1976); J. Forde-Johnson, *Hillforts of the Iron Age in England and Wales: a survey of the surface evidence* (1976).
- ¹⁹ Money (1968), p. 162.
- ²⁰ loc. cit.
- ²¹ *ibid.*, p. 178.
- ²² *ibid.*, p. 170.
- ²³ R. W. Feachem, "Unfinished Hill-forts," in D. Hill and M. Jesson, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
- ²⁴ This last is the only explanation for the partially-dug ditch in front of Hadrian's Wall at Limestone Corner (Sir Ian Richmond, ed., *Handbook to the Roman Wall*, 12th edn. (1966), p. 98-9), with a garrison stationed at nearby Chesters for over 200 years.
- ²⁵ Money (1968), App. E, pp. 201-3 and Fig. 18.
- ²⁶ As is postulated at Niederneuendorf, Germany: see C. F. C. Hawkes, "Fence, Wall Dump, from Troy to Hod," in D. Hill and M. Jesson, *op. cit.*, Fig. 1c.
- ²⁷ P. Harbison, "Wooden and Stone *chevaux-de-frises* in Central and Western Europe," *Proc. Prehistoric Soc.*, vol. 37, Pt. 1 (1971) p. 195ff.
- ²⁸ Money (1968), p. 164-5.
- ²⁹ Wheeler and Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 63 and Pl. XXVIII.
- ³⁰ Money (1968), p. 165.
- ³¹ Cotton, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
- ³² Money (1968), p. 164.
- ³³ Cunliffe (1974), p. 72.
- ³⁴ Money (1968), Fig. 2.
- ³⁵ Boyden, *op. cit.*, p. 153.
- ³⁶ Money (1968), Fig. 14.
- ³⁷ Wheeler and Richardson, *ibid.*; also R. E. M. Wheeler, "Hill Forts of Northern France: . . .," *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 21 (1941), p. 265-70. esp. Pls. LV & LVI.
- ³⁸ K. M. Richardson, "Excavations at Poundbury, Dorchester, Dorset, 1939," in *Antiquaries Journal*, vol. 20, (1940), p. 433 and Pl. LXXI Site G.
- ³⁹ Ward Perkins, *op. cit.*, p. 138-9.
- ⁴⁰ Boyden, *op. cit.*, p. 153-4.

In the four years which have elapsed since this paper was written, two events related to its theme have occurred. Firstly, Frere's *Problems of the Iron Age . . .* has been reprinted. More significantly, a second, revised edition of Cunliffe's *Iron Age Communities . . .* appeared in 1978. References in this paper are to the first edition throughout; however, the views subjected to criticism all appear unaltered in the second, although a rearrangement of chapters and contents means that page numbers do not correspond. A concordance follows, giving first/second edition entries:— p. 72/283; Fig. 5:7/13:28; p. 73/283; p. 92/93; p. 122/130; p. 250/263; Fig. 13:16/13:17; p. 253/269.