

THE CABURN POTTERY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

BY C. F. C. HAWKES, F.S.A.

I. CABURN I.

THE initial occupation of the Caburn was given in the 1925-6 excavation report as 'Hallstatt', and in his supplementary note on the site's chronology published in 1931 Dr. Curwen defined it more precisely as 'Hallstatt-La Tène I'. In his book of 1937, translating this into the terminology of Iron Age A, B, and C, he assigned to it the earlier phase of A, falling before about 250 B.C. Reviewing the material on which this attribution has been based, together with that obtained in the excavations of 1937-8, we see that it consists exclusively of pottery, and that that pottery falls into two main classes. The first is the familiar coarse gritty ware characteristic of the earlier Iron Age of Lowland Britain, with its well-known preference for simple shouldered form, and sometimes with finger-tip or analogous slashed ornament on shoulder or rim. The second is of finer texture, harder baking, and normally reddish to buff or brown—but occasionally grey—in colour, with a strong preference for carinated forms. The carinations are sometimes plain angles, but more often have a slight offset or groove, which may occur combined with small ribs or cordons, similarly grooved off, on shoulder or neck, and occasionally with a corresponding treatment of the rim. Also, and executed either with such cordons or in their stead, on rim, neck, or shoulder, this ware may be decorated with rows of small slanting incisions or slashes, giving a sort of flattish cable effect, which appears to be a refinement of the finger-tip or slashed ornament of the coarse ware just mentioned.

This finer ware is, as far as is at present known in Sussex, peculiar to the earlier occupation of the Caburn,

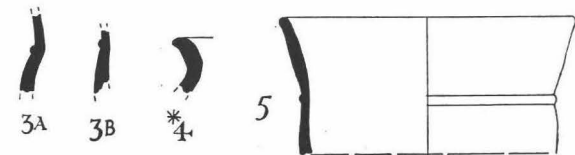
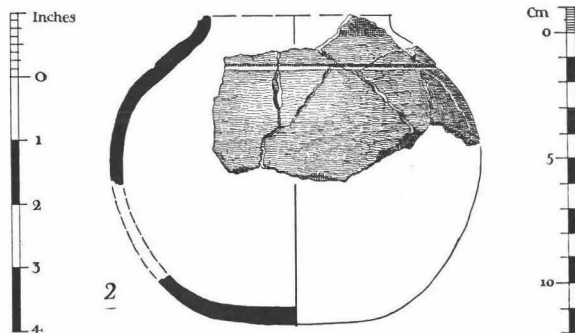
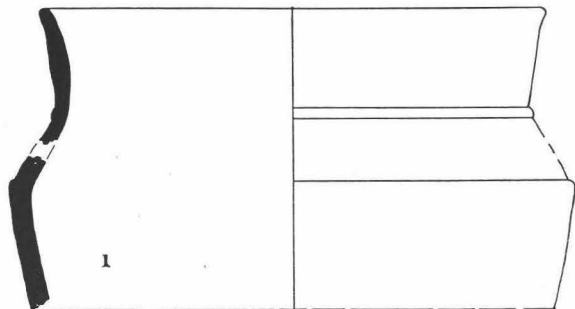


FIG. A. CABURN: POTTERY FROM 1937 HUT-SITE.
All Caburn I except *4 (CABURN II).

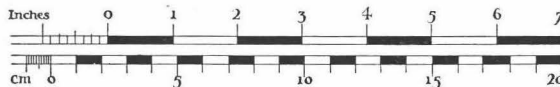
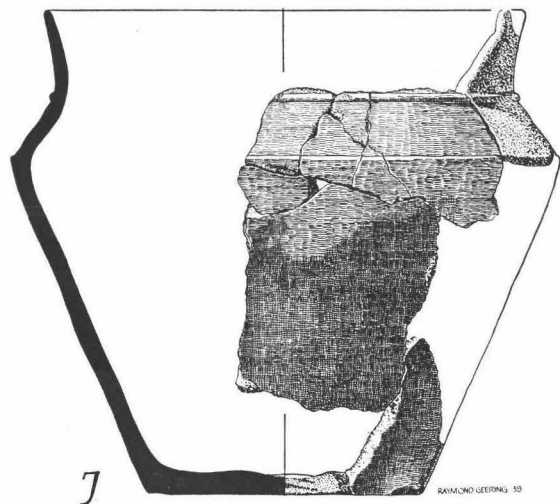
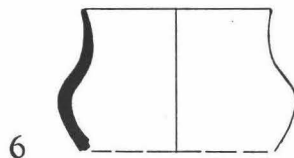


FIG. B. CABURN I: POTTERY FROM CREMATION-BURIAL
IN CUTTING XIII.

and it will be here referred to as 'Caburn I ware'. That it represents a distinct phase in the history of the site has been shown in the last two years by the demonstration that the two hut-sites excavated a short distance inside the entrance contained this ware almost exclusively (Figs. A and C). The only intruders here are two everted rims (Fig. A, 4, and C, 10) and a few plain sherds, of the black burnished ware typical of the later Iron Age occupation, 'Caburn II', which need occasion no surprise, as these two sites are in no way archaeologically sealed, and the intensity of the later occupation makes a few strays in them inevitable. For the rest, the material found gives a good sample of the main features of Caburn I ware. Fig. C, Nos. 8 A, 9, 11, and 12, from the 1938 hut-site, show the distinctive slashed cable ornament, while the 1937 hut-site (Fig. A) is stronger in plain cordoned and grooved forms. Here, too, an affinity for Caburn I ware begins to be apparent with the cordoned and grooved pottery of Iron Age A, or more precisely A 2, in Wessex. The cordoned bowl No. 5 (lower portion missing) seems best taken as a variant of the well-known bowl-form of the Wessex A type-site at All Cannings Cross,¹ and the round-bodied bowl with grooved shoulder, No. 2, recalls *All Cannings Cross*, Pl. 30, 3, and the cordoned equivalent from Meon Hill, Stockbridge, Hants.² The Wessex affinities of Caburn I ware may be seen more plainly in the two vessels (Fig. B) from the cremation-burial in the low barrow discovered beneath the later outermost rampart in Cutting XIII (p. 207), both of the same reddish-brown fabric, blackened in places; the larger (No. 7) has a typical Caburn I neck-cordon and carination-offset, but its general profile, as also that of the smaller (No. 6), may be closely paralleled on the Wessex sites: *All Cannings Cross*, Pl. 41, 3, is a less neat and shoulder-ornamented version of the same form as No. 7,³ while for No. 6

¹ Cunnington, *All Cannings Cross*, Pl. 28.

² Liddell, *Proc. Hants Field Club*, XIII, 1, 27-33, Pl. 26, p. 356.

³ Compare also the Meon Hill piece, *Proc. H.F.C.* XIII, 1, 27-33, Pl. 25, P 166, and the statement, *ibid.*, that a neck-cordon on this form is a common feature there.

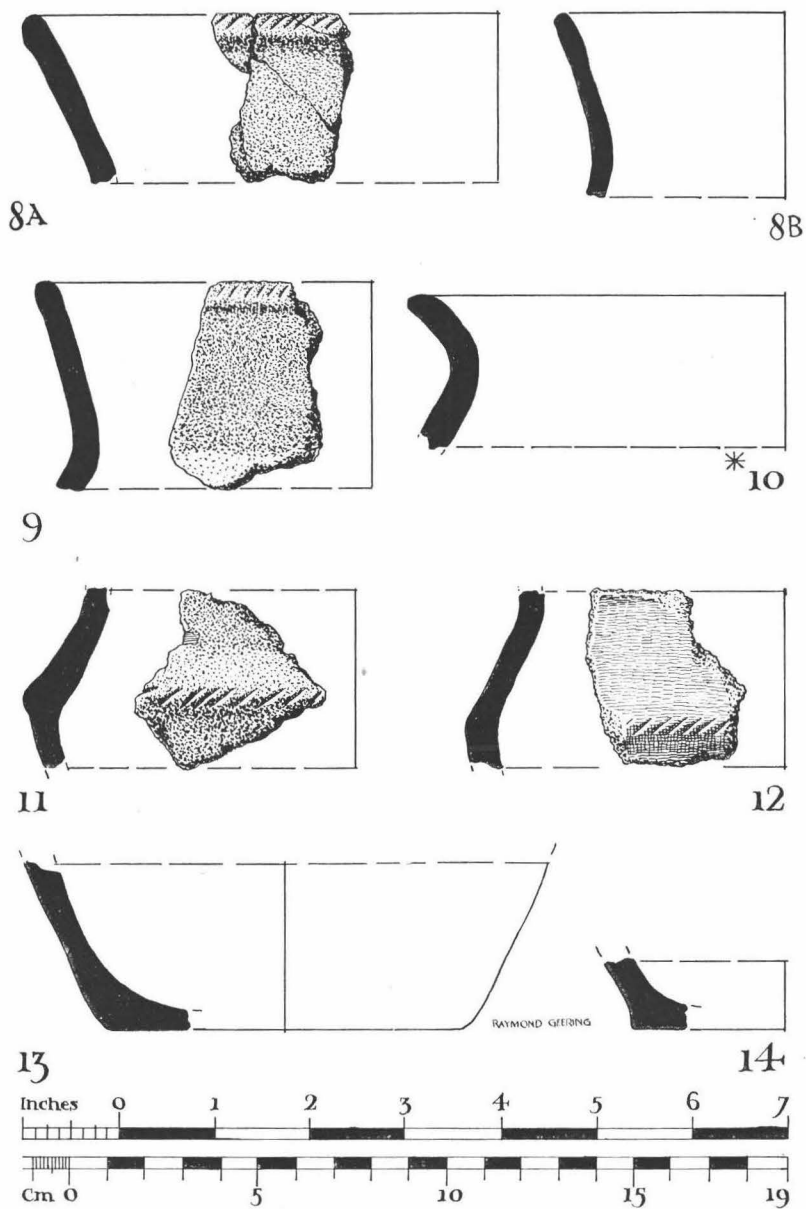


FIG. C. CABURN: POTTERY FROM 1938 HUT-SITE.
 All Caburn I except *10 (Caburn II).

one may compare *All Cannings Cross*, Pl. 28, 9, 14, 16, and 19.

It might be expected that from the total of nearly 150 pits, excavated either in 1925-6 or by Pitt-Rivers in 1877-8 within the Caburn, sealed groups of this pottery—as likewise of that of the site's later occupation, Caburn II—would be available. And indeed in 1931 Dr. Curwen felt able to assign twelve of these pits to his 'Hallstatt-La Tène I' phase on the strength of its presence, the 1925-6 pottery having been kept in the Society's Museum in groups as excavated. Actually, no pit-group appears to contain Caburn I ware exclusively, for sometimes the excavator's inclusion in a pit's contents of material really lying at its mouth will have let in pieces really of later date, and sometimes pits of later date will have stray pieces of this ware, already lying about the site when they were dug, swept into their filling. In the circumstances one cannot suggest using juxtaposition in these pits as archaeological evidence of contemporary association. But after re-examining a selection of the pit-material it seems possible to pick out Pits 90 and 137 as very possibly of the Caburn I period, owing to the strong majority of pieces of this ware preserved in them. It also occurs in Pits 48, 51, 60, 84, 115.¹

In the selection from Pit 90, here taken for reproduction (Fig. D) from Pl. XIV of the 1925-6 Report, Nos. 115-21, whether buff, brown, or grey in colour, are constant in their quality of fabric and well show the typical carination, with the offset groove above-mentioned along it in five cases, while the contemporary coarse gritty ware is represented by a plain piece, No. 124, and by two other pieces of a certain interest. No. 122 is superior to the average quality both in texture and hardness, and in this respect resembles some of the pottery from the Late Bronze Age sites of New Barn Down² and Plumpton Plain B,³ while its finger-cabled plastic shoulder-strip is well in the Late

¹ S.A.C. LXVIII, 1925-6 Report, Pl. XIII.

² S.A.C. LXXV. 160-2.

³ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 1935, 46-57.

Bronze Age tradition, and bears out Dr. Curwen's observation¹ on the survival of that tradition into the

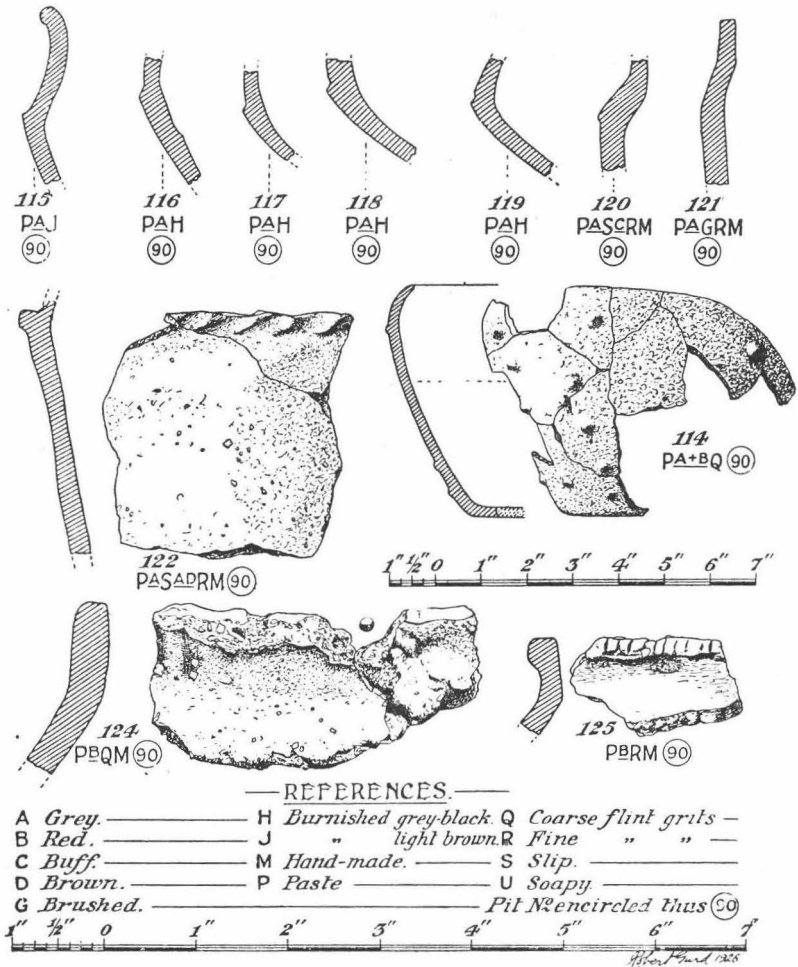


FIG. D. CABURN I: POTTERY FROM PIT 90.
 (1925-6 Report, Pl. XIV.)

Sussex Iron Age. However, this is far more clearly marked on sites where the occupation runs on from Late Bronze Age times and covers the earlier or A I

¹ Curwen, *Arch. of Sussex*, 271.

phase of the Iron Age, without the later continuation into the A 2 phase which we shall find attested at the Caburn: e.g. Kingston Buci¹ and the site on Castle Hill, Newhaven, published elsewhere in this volume (pp. 269 ff.). The other piece from the pit, No. 114, coarser and rougher but equally hard-baked, received special notice in the 1925-6 Report for its warped condition, suggesting it might be a 'waster' from an otherwise unattested kiln, and for its ornament of warts or studs, suggesting imitation of a metal prototype: these cannot at present be exactly paralleled, but the idea is, if anything, a Late Bronze Age rather than an Iron Age one, and though the vessel's intended shape cannot be estimated precisely, it seems to approximate to the bag shape notable among the Late Bronze Age forms at Plumpton Plain site B, and so may perhaps reinforce the notion of a Late Bronze Age survival just perceptible here. There remains No. 125. In fabric this must be classed with the fine-grained red Caburn I ware, though its form is rather that of the contemporary coarse gritty pottery; further, the row of slashes along its rim is precisely intermediate between the slashed equivalent of that pottery's typical finger-tip ornament and the neater rows of incised slashes typical of the fine Caburn I ware as already seen. Much the same thing may be noticed in the A pottery of Hengistbury Head, Hampshire.² The piece may thus serve to emphasize the common Iron Age A character of both classes. The most notable Caburn I vessel from Pit 137, No. 61 of the 1925-6 Report, has now been restored afresh at the University of London Institute of Archaeology by Miss D. Parker and Miss I. Gedye, and is seen (Photo. p. 224) to be closely similar to No. 1 from the 1937 hut-site (Fig. A), having, however, an additional cordon on neck and on shoulder: it was accompanied by a large number of unrestorable Caburn I sherds, and by the pieces shown as No. 73 in the 1925-6 Report, reproduced in Fig. E here, with a partial restoration showing

¹ *S.A.C.* LXXII, 185 ff., 191 ff.

² Bushe-Fox, *Hengistbury*, Pl. x.

a very similar profile with cable instead of cordoned ornament.

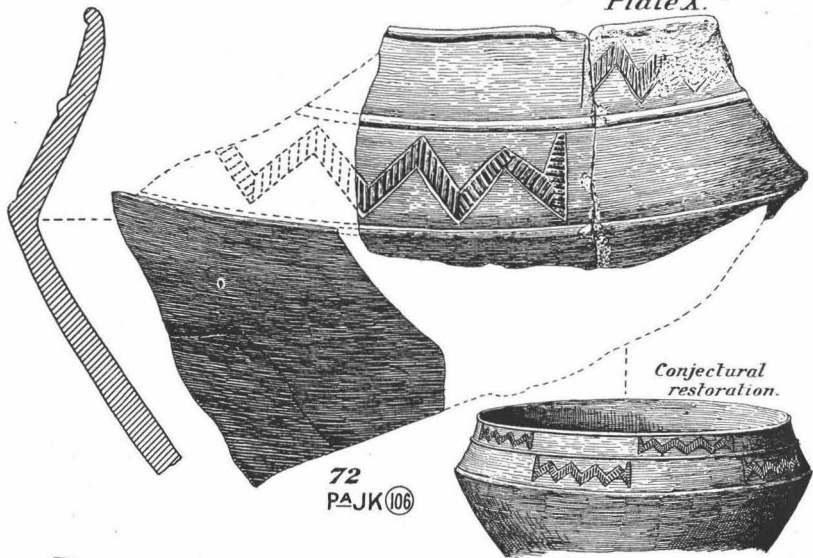
No. 74 on the same plate, Fig. E, a stray find of 1925-6, shows cordons and cable combined, with a biconical profile repeated in the notable vessel, No. 72, where the spaces between the shoulder-cordons were



CABURN I: VESSEL FROM PIT 137.
(1925-6 Report, no. 61, newly restored.)

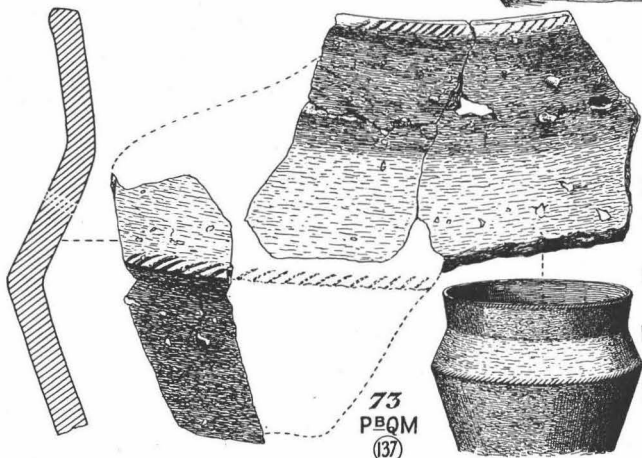
apparently occupied by short lengths, alternately above and below the central cordon, of zigzag hatched-ribbon ornament, sharply incised and filled with white inlay. Here we return to Wessex affinities. This decoration is not paralleled at present in Sussex, though Fig. 13, 6, of the 1937 Caburn Report¹ suggests something analogous, on a similarly carinated bowl; but its general affinity with the sharply incised, white-inlay ornament of All Cannings Cross pottery is obvious, and this Wessex relationship is reinforced by the fact that the vessel has been coated with a thick slip of purple-

¹ *S.A.C.* LXXIX. 189.



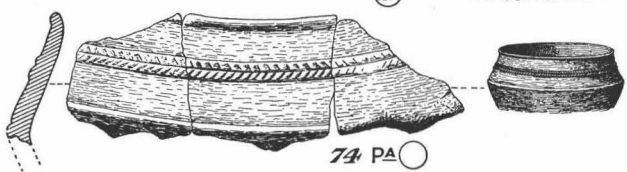
72
PAJK (106)

Conjectural
restoration.



73
PBQM
(137)

- REFERENCES.
- A Grey. ———
 - B Red. ———
 - J Burnished ———
 - light brown.
 - K Hæmatite-coated outside.
 - M Hand-made.
 - P Paste. ———
 - Q Coarse flint grits. ———
- Pit No encircled
— thus (106) —



74 PA (106)

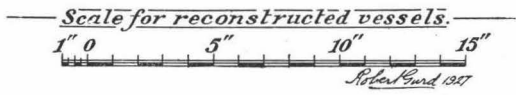
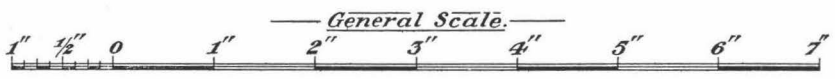


FIG. E. CABURN I: POTTERY FROM PITS 106, 137.
(1925-6 Report, Pl. x.)

red haematite. Now all Caburn I ware seems originally to have been finished with a surface coating of smooth clay, normally fired red or red-buff, though this has frequently worn off to leave the hard sandy paste exposed: the right-hand sherd of Fig. B, No. 7, here well shows this, in contrast to the remainder, to which their surface coating still adheres. And it can hardly be doubted that this was intended to imitate such a haematite slip as is in evidence on No. 72, the underlying motive being, of course, to reproduce the copper-red hue of the bronze vessel, whose high-shouldered angular 'situla' profile is likewise reproduced in this pottery's sharply carinated profiles. Further, whereas neither in Sussex itself nor anywhere else in the south-east of Britain is this combination of haematite coating and incised white-inlaid ornament known to be at home, its prominence at All Cannings Cross can leave no doubt that it is native to the Iron Age A culture of Wessex, with its centre apparently in the north Wiltshire area for which that settlement is the type-site of its period. It is therefore surely permissible to conclude that the development of Caburn I ware was to some appreciable extent due to influence upon east Sussex from the direction of Wessex.

It would, indeed, be going too far to say that the Caburn I repertory of angular forms is as a whole to be ascribed exclusively to this influence. There is, for example, fairly similar angular pottery from the eastern counties—a vessel from Strutton in Suffolk in the Ipswich Museum, a series from West Harling in Norfolk in the Norwich Museum,¹ and some fine pieces from Fensgate, Peterborough, in the collection of Mr. G. Wyman Abbott, F.S.A., shortly to be published by Miss Clare Fell. These are merely selected, as coming fairly close to the Caburn I types, from the range of angular or carinated forms covered by the Iron Age A pottery of south Britain generally; and this, as Mr. H. N. Savory has recently stressed in his study of the early series from Long Wittenham, Berks.,² was inspired by the

¹ *Proc. Prehist. Soc. E. Anglia*, vii. 1, 119-21.

² *Oxoniensia*, ii. 1-11.

high, sharp-shouldered form of the originally Italian bronze 'situla', widely distributed in western Europe during Hallstatt times, and exercising this influence on pottery forms most strongly round the period of transition, in the fifth century B.C., from Late Hallstatt culture to Early La Tène. Carinated pottery is thus present from the start of the Iron Age A succession in south Britain, as it is, in forms sometimes quite like those of Caburn I in a general way, in the contemporary but more sophisticated pottery of the Marne culture of the earlier La Tène times in the north of France. But its early incidence is in some regions less marked than in others, and in Sussex the typically Iron Age A 1 sites of Eastbourne¹ and Kingston Buci² show by contrast the round-shouldered profile of the purely ceramic form-tradition of Hallstatt pottery still dominant. At the earlier of the two Iron Age sites on Park Brow, near Cissbury, again, the influence of the 'situla' is only quite partially apparent.³ In Wessex at All Cannings Cross, on the other hand, angular forms are prominent, and particularly so when the close of the A 1 phase there would seem to be marked by the rise of a particularly fine haematite-coated ware normally decorated with ribs or cordons. To these latter the cordons of our Caburn I ware would appear to be related. Thus our diagnosis of our No. 72, its haematite coating and its white-inlaid incised ornament, is confirmed, and the peculiar Caburn I emphasis on angular profiles may be allowed to come well into place in this whole Wessex connexion. As for absolute chronology, the initial date for Caburn I should thus correspond to the close of the A 1 phase in Wessex, and on present indications it is probably best put about 300 B.C. and no earlier, the period of Wessex influence in Sussex coinciding roughly with the first half of the third century B.C.

Now it is remarkable that of this Wessex influence there is considerably less sign in the central and western regions of the Sussex downland than here in the Caburn

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* II. 354-60.

² *S.A.C.* LXXII. 191 ff.

³ *Archaeologia*, LXXVI. 16-18.

in the east, though it is that way that Wessex lies. In fact, in Iron Age A 1 the style of All Cannings Cross pottery is foreign not only to Sussex but also to the Winchester region of Hampshire, where the earliest fine pottery is plain shouldered ware standing far closer to that of the central Sussex A 1 type-site at Park Brow near Cissbury: compare, for instance, *St. Catharine's Hill*, 97-8, Fig. 10, A 1 with *Archaeologia*, LXXVI. 17, Fig. 6 from Park Brow. In the A 2 phase, when the later, normally cordoned type of fine haematite-coated ware set in at All Cannings Cross and extended into Hampshire, the influence that we have detected in the Caburn I pottery does just appear in west Sussex at the Trundle, where Dr. Curwen has recorded a few pieces of fine red ware, and a few with the Caburn I type of offset-groove carination, or with the row of slashes on rim or shoulder which engendered the Caburn I cable ornament.¹ However, there is nothing to show that at the Trundle this tendency had any sequel corresponding to the abundance of Caburn I ware at our site. And in central Sussex, Hollingbury Camp near Brighton has indeed produced a piece of cordoned pottery, found in one of the post-holes beneath the rampart, fine enough to have suggested in 1932 a comparison with the (really later) B ware of Hengistbury Head;² but Hollingbury Camp was evacuated very soon after it was built, and the known pottery which follows in Iron Age A 2 in central Sussex is different from Caburn I ware altogether. Therefore the individuality of Caburn I ware in Sussex, already indicated above, deserves at this point further stress, as being an individuality developed in isolation. The characters which it derived from the Wessex influence we have seen signs of at the Trundle and, perhaps, at Hollingbury were able to grow on their own into a distinctive, specialized Caburn I pottery style, isolated from that of the neighbouring regions, and thus as peculiar geographically as typologically. The in-

¹ *S.A.C.* LXX. 53-4, Pl. x, 99-100 (fine red); 96-7 (carinations); Pl. xi, 121, 124, 127 (slashing).

² *Antiq. Journ.* XII. 4-5, and 12.

ference must surely be that soon after the Wessex influence had begun, something happened in central Sussex, something intruded into central Sussex, which turned the pottery development there in quite a different direction, and that this something, whatever it was, did not affect the Caburn directly, but isolated it, with the little east Sussex region of which it was the centre, to pursue its own form of Iron Age A 2 development along its own line, in which seclusion led inevitably to specialization.

The situation invites inquiry into the historical context for such a course of events. But first, we have to note the relation between the Caburn I pottery and the Caburn defences. We shall recall below that a number of sherds of it were found from the old turf-line upwards in the Outer rampart, Rampart 2, together with pottery of the later, Caburn II, phase (pp. 259-61, Fig. L); these are evidently simply re-deposited pieces and do not tell us how much earlier than their re-deposit was the date of their manufacture. It was, in fact, considerably earlier. For in Cutting XI A (p. 196) a number of pieces of Caburn I ware, fine as well as coarse, were found under the old turf-line beneath the earlier, inner rampart, Rampart 1, some in one of the post-holes explained above (p. 196) as representing timber structures earlier than and unrelated to it—belonging, accordingly, to the Caburn I phase. The thickness of the turf-line over these and beneath the rampart here points to a considerable lapse of time between their depositing, in the period of the post-hole (i.e. Caburn I), and the construction of the rampart above. Similarly, the nest of pottery fragments found beneath the inner talus of this rampart here, at a low level which can scarcely fail to imply priority to it in time, consisted of coarse Caburn I ware. On the other hand, within the material of Rampart 1 itself, and on the old turf-line under it, in Cutting II, the pottery found in 1937 includes types which will be seen shortly to come appreciably closer to the repertory of the subsequent phase, Caburn II. The site in Caburn I times

was therefore unfortified, and it was not fortified until influences which became fully manifest only in Caburn II times had already begun to penetrate its pottery-tradition. What these influences were will appear as we proceed.

2. THE CABURN AND ITS NEIGHBOURS: PARK BROW, THE CENTRAL SUSSEX INCURSION, AND THE CISSBURY AND WEALDEN CULTURES

We are now in a position to consider the historical context. There is nothing surprising in some reflection by east Sussex of influence from the flourishing Iron Age A culture of Wessex. What is surprising, at first sight, is that at the Caburn this should lead to a specialized local development, isolated from Wessex by a central Sussex area in which things developed differently. Actually, it is the central Sussex area which seems to supply the information. For there, as we have already begun to see, the different turn taken by events was due to some kind of intrusion from without. This should, if our general idea of the situation so far is correct, have occurred at a date about or closely following the turn from Iron Age A 1 in Sussex to A 2, which on the 'dead reckoning' usual in recent years falls somewhere around the middle of the third century B.C., following fairly closely upon the same transition in the Wessex culture-centre, and coinciding roughly with the turn from La Tène I to La Tène II culture on the Continent. And the type-site for the central Sussex Iron Age provides a fixed point precisely at about 250 B.C. for a disturbance which should throw the required light on the matter. That type-site is Park Brow near Cissbury,¹ and the disturbance was the evacuation of the Iron Age A 1 settlement there on the Brow itself ('Park Brow I') for a new settlement at the foot of the slope where habitation continued thereafter until late in the Roman period ('Park Brow II').

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* IV (1924), 347 ff; *Archaeologia*, LXXVI (1927), 1 ff.

Since its publication by Mr. Reginald Smith, the Park Brow I pottery has stood as in the main typically representative of an Iron Age A I rooted in Hallstatt tradition and lasting on as the local British equivalent of La Tène I. The arrival of a more definite increment of continental La Tène I character in the pottery, however, was recognized by Mr. Smith in three distinctive

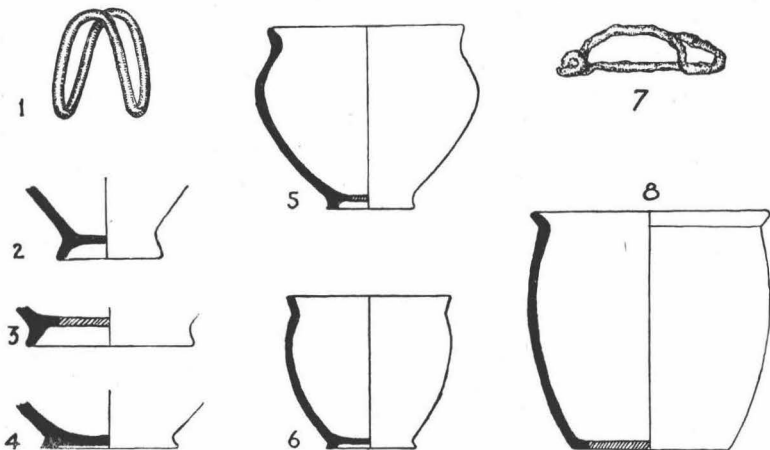


FIG. F. PARK BROW AND FINDON PARK

(after Smith and Fox, by courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries).

- 1, Bent silver ring, Park Brow I ($\frac{3}{8}$). Pedestal pottery ($\frac{1}{8}$): 2, 4, Park Brow II; 3, 5, 6, Findon Park. 7, Iron La Tène I c brooch, with 5-6, Findon Park ($\frac{1}{8}$). 8, 'Saucepan' pot, Park Brow II ($\frac{1}{8}$).

features of the series: the dying-out of fingertip ornament on the coarse ware, the emergence of a smoother finish giving a distinctive 'soapy' feel, and the incoming of a new form—the pedestal base.¹ He confirmed his dating of these novelties by pointing to a peculiar bent ring of silver (Fig. F, 1) found on the Park Brow I site,² of a type plentiful only in the La Tène graves of the Swiss Plateau, where Viollier has shown it to belong typically to the third phase of the La Tène I period, La Tène I c, dated by him from about 325 to 250 B.C.³ 'This discovery', said Mr. Smith, 'is not only a fixed

¹ *Archaeologia*, LXXVI. 19.

² *Ibid.* 19-20, and 11, Fig. J.

³ D. Viollier, *Les Sépultures du second âge du fer sur le plateau suisse*, Pl. 28, Figs. 19-23.

point in the chronology of Park Brow, but a broad hint as to the commercial relations, if not the original home, of these Early Iron Age inhabitants of Sussex'. 'In full agreement with this silver relic', he went on to point out, 'is the iron brooch, also of continental La Tène Ic type (Fig. F, 7), found on the neighbouring and closely related site of Findon Park, two miles distant'.¹ For, as was pointed out by Fox in the subsequent publication of this site,² the occupation there begins at just the same 'Late La Tène I' point, and the brooch was found in a pit with two pots³ (Fig. F, 5-6) whose pedestal bases are typologically just a stage beyond those that attracted Mr. Smith's attention at Park Brow. He was in fact able to illustrate his typological degeneration, by which the pedestal form 'becomes more and more depressed', jointly from Findon Park and Park Brow II. That the move to Park Brow II from Park Brow I coincided with the incoming of the primary form of pedestal base which opens that series is argued by the fact that of the two such pedestals found at Park Brow, one came from each site.⁴ And that from Park Brow II (Fig. F, 2; his Fig. 10 A)⁵ is the closer to the 'degeneration' forms (Fig. F, 3-4): the Park Brow I example, on the other hand (Fig. G, 2; his Fig. 10 B), is the only one from its site, where those forms are unrepresented, the bulk of its pottery being, as has been said, not later but earlier in character. The inference is clear: directly after the first pedestals appeared, Park Brow I was deserted in favour of Park Brow II, and occupation began at Findon Park *de novo*. A further feature of Park Brow II and Findon Park is the apparently gradual emergence of what has been called the 'flower-pot' or 'saucepan' type of pot (Fig. F, 8).⁶ Mr. Wolseley, the excavator,

¹ D. Viollier, *op. cit.* 20 and 11, Fig. G; cf. Fox, *Arch. Camb.*, June 1927, 90, fig. 20, and 111, no. 68.

² *Antiq. Journ.* VIII (1928), 449 ff.

³ *Archaeologia*, LXXVI, 20-1, Figs. 11, 12.

⁴ *Ibid.* 19, Figs. 10 A and 10 B.

⁵ Exact find-place, *ibid.* 9, Fig. F, no. 10 A.

⁶ Park Brow II: *Archaeologia*, LXXVI, 21, Figs. 13-15; Findon Park: *Antiq. Journ.* VIII, 454-7, Figs. 6, 7 a-b, 8 a, 9 a.

referred to this at Park Brow as showing 'new influence':¹ though Mr. Smith suggested treating it as an 'aberration',² one may contend, as will be seen shortly, that it does in fact embody a new influence, the same as that attested by the pedestal base form, whose arrival coincided with the removal from Park Brow I to II and the beginning of occupation at Findon Park.

For the date of that event we have the evidence of the bent silver ring. Finger-rings of this peculiar type are apparently confined to the Swiss Plateau, and there, as Mr. Smith noted, they are known in the majority of cases from graves of La Tène Ic. Viollier in fact lists thirty-one from graves dated to this phase by its typical brooch-form—that represented by our iron example at Findon Park. He cites indeed in addition five cases of association with the brooch of the succeeding La Tène II type; but in three of these (Münsingen 149 and 171, Worb 4) the La Tène I form was still present as well. Thus the 'hang-over' of the vogue of these rings into La Tène II was not only restricted but brief.³ And that the La Tène II period began in the Alpine region about 250 B.C. is proved by the cemetery of Ornavasso on the Italian side of the mountains, where La Tène II brooches appear already fully established at the start of a long series of graves dated by Roman coins from 234 B.C. onwards.⁴ It is notorious that La Tène II brooches on the continental model are rare in Britain, and the slender possibility that the Park Brow ring could have reached this country after their period

¹ *Archaeologia*, LXXVI. 11.

² *Ibid.* 20.

³ Viollier, *op. cit.* 10–11; refs. to graves under Pl. 28, Figs. 21–2.

⁴ Bianchetti, 'I Sepolcreti di Ornavasso', in *Atti della Soc. di Arch. e Belli Arti di Torino*, VI (1895), 79–84, with table of coins. These Ornavasso graves sometimes contain (*op. cit.* 33–4) bent rings rather similar to those just considered, but with this difference: they occur, not on the finger, but lying above the right shoulder of the corpse, and were thus probably worn tied into a 'love-lock' of long hair; their average size, too, is much larger than that of the Swiss finger-rings, from which indeed Déchelette expressly distinguished them as *anneaux huméraux* (*Manuel*, II. iii. 1244, 1266). Even so, of the few of this sort found north of the Alps, the only two in the direction of Britain come from Champs near Auxerre, Dépt. Yonne (Sens Mus.), and their associations are not yet La Tène II, but, as typically with the Swiss rings, Late La Tène I (A. Hure, *Le Sénonais aux Âges du Bronze et du Fer*, 169–70, Figs. 363–4). There is thus nothing here to suggest a reduction of the Park Brow ring's date to La Tène II, and 250 B.C. may stand as the latest reasonable figure for it.

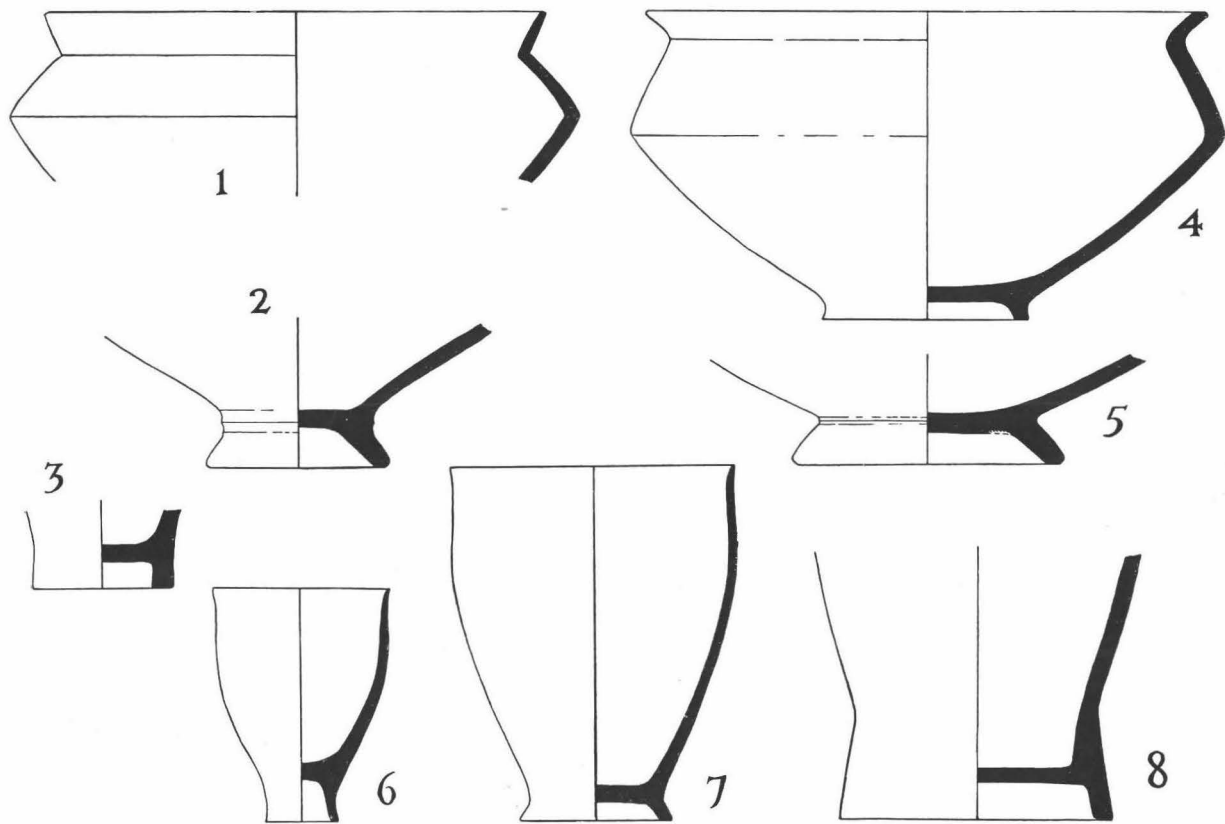


FIG. 6. PEDESTAL POTTERY FROM PARK BROW I (1-3) AND DÉPT. MARNE, N. FRANCE (4-8). Scale 1

abroad had begun seems effectively negatived by the fact that the Findon Park brooch is precisely of the type which dates its Swiss fellows in nine cases out of every ten to La Tène Ic. It is fair to conclude that Mr. Smith's dating to *c.* 250 B.C. is the latest consistent with reasonable probability, especially as there can hardly be any question of a long individual survival for a type of object of this ring's extreme fragility. On the evidence so far produced, then, one may believe that these changes in the life of central Sussex occurred about 250 B.C. and no later.

To what were these changes due? Neither Mr. Smith nor Mr. Wolseley¹ would attribute them to a foreign incursion more readily than simply to foreign trade; but trade is often a weak explanation for a new departure in pottery-type (as opposed to the importation of individual foreign-made pots, which is not here in question), and the introduction of the pedestal form remains to be explained. Now in the initial publication of the Park Brow I site,² where the pedestal base above mentioned (Fig. G, 2) was figured as Fig. 8, two other pieces were published among the pottery, both of fine ware, yellow to black in colour, and found together.

One (Fig. G, 3; *loc. cit.*, Fig. 9) is a stumpy form of pedestal base, to be considered in a moment. Of the other (Fig. G, 1; his Fig. 3) Mr. Smith wrote: 'This vase is remarkably like one from the Marne in the British Museum.' Re-examination in the Museum, and comparison with the well-known Morel collection of La Tène pottery from the Marne there, entirely confirms his view. The Marne region was the cultural centre of La Tène civilization in north France, the hinterland of the coast directly opposite the shores of Sussex: the same civilization extended in the direction of Switzerland, and covered the valleys of the upper and middle Seine and its other tributaries. And in the middle Seine valley was the territory of the Parisii, who, as has long been recognized, must be the parent stock of the tribe

¹ *Archaeologia*, LXXVI. 11, 20-1.

² *Antiq. Journ.* IV. 347 ff., 352-3.

of the same name who brought La Tène culture and the rite of chariot-burial to the Wolds of east Yorkshire. The same movement appears to have spread a martial upper class of La Tène warrior people over the eastern and east Midland counties, while its farther waves reached parts of Scotland and in time north-eastern Ireland too. Is it possible that this movement passed the south of Britain by without leaving any trace of its passage? It has usually been said that the migrants must have found the Iron Age A peoples in possession too firmly rooted for them to be able to make any impression there. But a Celtic warrior migration was not a timid or pacific affair. Celts had already swept through Italy with fire and sword and put Rome to sack, and in this century those who had flooded the Danube basin were likewise overrunning the Balkans and north Greece, to establish finally the Galatian kingdom in the heart of Asia Minor. Attempts upon Britain from the Gaulish coast centred on the mouth of the Seine must have begun by falling upon the shores immediately opposite, and here surely is the explanation of the disturbance in the district of Park Brow, directly in-shore from Worthing and the mouth of the Adur at Shoreham, and of the foreign La Tène trinkets and pedestal pottery found there. The two pieces of Park Brow I pottery just noted, with the pedestal base mentioned previously, are here re-figured in Fig. G, Nos. 1-3, with corresponding types from the Marne opposite them, taken from the Morel collection in the British Museum. The carinated shoulder and everted rim of No. 1, no less than the pedestal No. 2, are seen to point very clearly to these as prototypes, while the stumpy pedestal No. 3 must surely belong to a tall cup or beaker of the sort represented by Nos. 6-8 at the bottom of the illustration. And that this is no isolated phenomenon may be shown from another group of south British Iron Age pottery published by Mr. Smith. The finds from beneath the Romano-Celtic temple excavated by Mr. W. G. Klein at Worth near Sandwich in east Kent include a number of unmistakable Marne

types,¹ while a derivation from the same source was claimed by Mr. Bushe-Fox for the Class C pottery excavated by him at Hengistbury Head in Hampshire,² and a like context may be suggested for the pedestal forms found by Dr. R. C. C. Clay among the Iron Age A pottery at the Fifield Bavant and Swallowcliffe Down settlements excavated by him in south Wiltshire.³ The most northerly find that can be brought into direct connexion with this series is a narrow-footed vase found by Canon Greenwell in a barrow at Risby in Suffolk and now in the British Museum: as the migrants drew away northwards and settled down to the lordship of the barbarous inhabitants of middle-eastern and northern Britain, their effect on the sedentary craft of the potter dwindled, till in Yorkshire they were content with the crude flat-rimmed ware of their native subjects.⁴

But those who in the initial raids on the south coast had effected a lodgement in the Park Brow or Cissbury region of central Sussex, as the evidence here reviewed has suggested, kept recognizable traces of their continental pottery tradition, and furthermore, besides thus accounting for the Park Brow II and Findon Park pedestal series, carried something of the same tradition with them when, in the course presumably of the second century B.C., they expanded inland into the Weald. For 'degenerate' pedestal pottery of just this family has been recognized by Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins as prominent among the wares of the next century excavated by him in 1938 at Oldbury Camp near Ightham in west Kent, and his Report⁵ demonstrates that this is an essential element of what he has named the 'Wealden culture', in which it joined with the tradition of the native Iron Age A of the Wealden district. The finger-printed coarse ware of that tradition there continued side by side with it; but

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* VIII. 81 ff.

² Bushe-Fox, *Hengistbury*, 39.

³ *Wills. Arch. Mag.* XLII. 476-7, Pls. VII, 1-5, and VIII, 2; XLIII. 12-13, Pl. IV, 4, 6.

⁴ e.g. *B.M. Iron Age Guide*, 118, Fig. 129 (Danes' Graves, Kilham).

⁵ To be published in *Archaeologia Cantiana* in 1939.

in the Cissbury region the immigrants' influence upon the native style of pottery was stronger. Hence the discontinuance of finger-printing, and the emergence of the superior 'soapy' finish, noticed by Mr. Smith together with the Park Brow pedestal forms; and hence very probably also came the tendency to constrict the usual Iron Age shouldered profile into the 'flower-pot' or 'saucepan' form above mentioned. For cylindrical vessels, flat-based with a projecting foot, and with a faintly everted or embryonic 'bead' rim, had been early current in the Marne culture.¹ Those were probably ceramic renderings of wooden vessels, and it may well have been through the wooden form that this 'saucepan' shape became naturalized in Sussex, for around the turn of the first centuries B.C. and A.D., when that shape had become widely popular in southern Britain, the same profile in lathe-turned wood has a famous representative in the decorated tub from the Glastonbury Lake-Village, where it is accompanied by many pottery 'saucepans'.²

The suggestion here advanced will explain the Park Brow and Findon Park phenomena and the genesis of the Wealden culture alike, by recognizing that an incursion into central Sussex formed part of the long-familiar movement that brought the east and north of Britain their share of the La Tène civilization of the continental Celts. In the Iron Age A-B-C terminology the culture resulting from that movement is reckoned the initial member of the series comprised under the heading Iron Age B. And if a label is wanted to designate culture-groups of the Park Brow II and Wealden type, formed by the grafting of an element of Iron Age B culture on to a stock of the native Iron Age A, I suggest as convenient the term 'AB', already used by Dr. Curwen in his book with a connotation which can in this way be given a precision previously lacking. It is accordingly so used in the chart he has designed to illustrate this Report (Fig. XI). But the A-B-C terminology is no more

¹ e.g. *Préhistoire*, v (1936), 118-19, Figs. 57.3 and 58, from the La Tène (not the Hallstatt) cemetery of Les Jogasses, near Chouilly.

² Bulleid and Grey, *Glastonbury Lake-Village*, I. 312 (tub); II. 503 ff., Pl. LXXV, xv (pottery).

than a set of symbols for use while we are feeling our way towards the correct identification of culture-groups defined in factual terms of time and space. Now that such culture-groups are beginning to acquire definition of that order, we ought not to hesitate to give them the regional names to which, according to established archaeological usage, they are thereby entitled. Groups so signalized can then be assigned to their appropriate place in the A-B-C series by relating them as species to genus within it. The genus 'Iron Age AB' in Sussex will then include the Wealden culture in the north-west, and in the central area that of Park Brow II and Findon Park, which might very well be named the Cissbury culture. For the dominating site of all that Worthing block of down-land is of course Cissbury Camp, and Dr. Curwen's excavations of 1930 produced pottery that established its initial date¹ as later than the 'Hallstatt' or A I phase of Park Brow I, but early enough to cover a 'La Tène' series of material corresponding to that of Park Brow II; the camp was thus occupied by the people of the 'AB' culture, and must have been their capital citadel.

This does not mean that Cissbury was built by the invaders who brought that culture into existence. There is in fact neither material nor comparative evidence for their having done so; on the contrary, as Dr. Curwen in his contribution to this Report points out (p. 215), the correspondence in date and type between the whole line of major hill-forts in Sussex, and on into Hampshire at least as far as St. Catharine's Hill, suggests very forcibly that all of them—each the 'acropolis' of its own block of downland—were built at the same time for defence against a danger which threatened the whole range of the South Down country at once. That danger can most probably be identified as the continental invasion to which we have here drawn attention. A beginning has recently been made of recognizing a similar phenomenon farther away in Wessex, but it will be sufficient to point out the apparent synchronism

¹ *Antiq. Journ.* xi. 29-30, 32.

between these hill-forts in the region covered by Dr. Curwen's chart. In the west of it the Trundle is at present weak in material of the period including the incursion-horizon, though a rim like *S.A.C.* LXXII. 135, Pl. x. 5 may hint at the presence of a foreign or B element added to the population; and at St. Catharine's Hill, where the entrance-defences of the fort were then allowed to fall into disrepair,¹ there is no more than one similar rim,² though the massive fragment B³ could quite well be explained as a Marne or foreign La Tène derivative. But in the central Sussex area the evidence is plainer: Cissbury will have been taken over as the citadel of the 'AB' culture-group which the invaders' success in this region brought into existence, and which one may suggest calling the Cissbury culture. Next, in the Brighton block of downland, the abrupt desertion of Hollingbury, and the absence of all traces of occupation in the ensuing period, seem to indicate that this region was left for some time after the incursion-horizon depopulated altogether. The evidence from the Castle Hill site at Newhaven is noticed elsewhere in this volume (pp. 277-8); in the downland east of the Ouse, while positive evidence is not to hand from the camp on Seaford Head, we at any rate pass outside the region most directly affected by the incursion, for here we come back to the isolated area of native Iron Age A 2 survival in the culture of Caburn I. It has been seen that the Caburn was still unfortified in this period. But in close proximity to it is Ranscombe Camp, at present unexcavated and hitherto unaccounted for, and it seems likely (since once the Caburn had been fortified, Ranscombe appears superfluous) that the local equivalent—in Dr. Curwen's opinion (p. 215) actually unfinished—of Hollingbury, Cissbury, and the rest, is to be found there, while the Caburn remained an open settlement until a later date.

Our suggestion, then, has been that the Caburn I occupation began not before about 300 B.C., at a point

¹ *St. Catharine's Hill*, 60, 63-4.

² *Ibid.*, 114-15, Fig. 13, AR. 42.

³ *Ibid.* 98-9, Fig. 10, B.

in the history of the Sussex Iron Age A culture when influence from Wessex was beginning to appear, and that about 250 B.C. an incursion of Iron Age B Celtic peoples from the Continent, after first forcing all the South Down peoples to defend themselves by building hill-forts, was successful in establishing a new dominion in the Cissbury region of central Sussex, depopulating the Brighton region, and leaving the Caburn I folk as an isolated group of Iron Age A culture in east Sussex, to develop their pottery in a specialized form of Iron Age A 2 style peculiar to themselves. The quantity of this pottery found by excavation is sufficient to let one believe that the Caburn I culture lasted anyhow into the second century B.C. But it now becomes a question for how long its Iron Age A tradition can have remained uninfluenced by the 'Iron Age AB' Cissbury culture, particularly when, probably before the end of that century, the Cissbury people's expansion created a new 'AB' group farther inland—the Wealden culture of the iron-producing region directly north of the Caburn district.

Bearing on this question we have only one source of material evidence, and that is the pottery found in, and upon the turf-line directly beneath, the Inner Rampart of the Caburn, Rampart 1, in 1937. The most distinctive pieces of this group are illustrated in Fig. H. Allusion has already been made to them on p. 229, where it was remarked, in anticipation of this paragraph, that they would be found to come appreciably closer to the pottery-repertoire of the next or Caburn II phase of the occupation. That this is so can now be made plain. Of the pieces from the old turf-line beneath Rampart 1, No. 15 has the hard, grey-brown, gritty paste of the Caburn I coarse ware, and its flat-topped upstanding plain rim above a prominent shoulder betrays this same tradition. But its neck-profile is curved and not angular, and No. 16, in thicker and rather smoother coarse ware, goes further towards similarity to the Caburn II profiles to be noticed below: one may compare Nos. 31 and 33 on Fig. M (p. 261). As for No. 17, in the same sort of ware, it gives in its everted rim a

strong hint of the shape of the Park Brow and Findon pedestalled forms (repeated in the Wealden culture at Oldbury) of Fig. F, 5-6 (p. 231). From within the make-up of Rampart I itself, No. 18, similar in paste to No. 15 and containing a flake of flint no less than $\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, is still in the Caburn I coarse-ware tradition, but

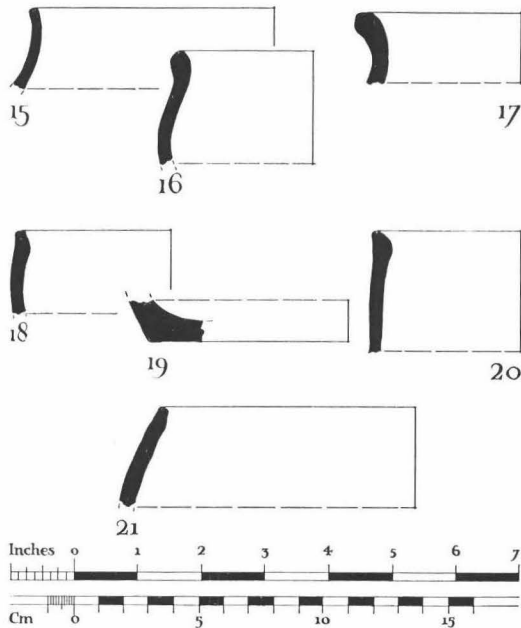


FIG. H. POTTERY CERTAINLY (15-20) OR PROBABLY (21) ANTEDATING CABURN INNER RAMPART.

15-17 from beneath it; 18-20 from its make-up; 21 from Cutting XVI.

despite its slight rim-flattening it has a simplified shape not far from the Cissbury culture's saucepan type (Fig. F, 8, p. 231), to which No. 20, with its slightly lipped rim-form and smoother black ware, approximates still more closely. The base No. 19 is again in slightly smoothed and scarcely at all gritty black ware. Lastly, No. 21, from a position in Cutting XVI on the south side of the circuit of Rampart I whose nature was explained above (p. 206), shows a modified rendering of the carinated shape of Fig. E, 72 (p. 225), in once more very similar

fabric. That these pieces are not isolated phenomena on the site may be seen from comparing Nos. 126, 128-9, 132, 138, 143, 150, 152-3, and 156-7 on Pl. XV of the 1925-6 Report, all of which show in one way or another similar characteristics. It looks then as if by the time Rampart I was constructed the original Caburn I pottery style was dying away, under the influence, evidently from the neighbouring 'AB'-culture folk, which became more fully manifest in the second or Caburn II phase of the occupation. The nature and date of the situation thus suggested will best be considered in a fresh section, dealing with that phase as a whole.

3. CABURN II

To this phase the greater part of the pottery discovered by excavation, particularly from the pits explored in 1925-6, may unquestionably be assigned. Fig. J, selected from Pl. IX of the 1925-6 Report, shows what are its primary forms. In the first place, the 'degenerate pedestal' type of the Cissbury (and Wealden) culture is represented by No. 59¹ (cf. Fig. J), and in the second, the same culture's saucepan type makes its appearance in Nos. 63, 68, and 70. The S-curved profile, with everted rim, of the former is prominent on the site generally: one may compare No. 82 (Pl. XII) of the 1925-6 Report, and in Figs. A and C here Nos. 4 and 10, already mentioned (p. 219) as strays of this period on the hut-sites excavated in 1937 and 1938. As for the pedestal foot, there can be no doubt that this is the prototype of the still slightly raised foot-form of the well-known cross-ornamented bases figured on Pl. XVI of the 1925-6 Report,² an example of which was also found in the Wealden site of Oldbury, Ightham, above mentioned. But there is also further evolution: in our No. 60 the type acquires a sharp angle at the neck, emphasized by a groove and cordon, suggesting the Caburn I tradition, while the

¹ Cf. Curwen, *Arch. of Sussex*, 275, Pl. XXVIII, 1.

² Cf. Curwen, *Prehistoric Sussex*, 46, Pl. XI, 168.

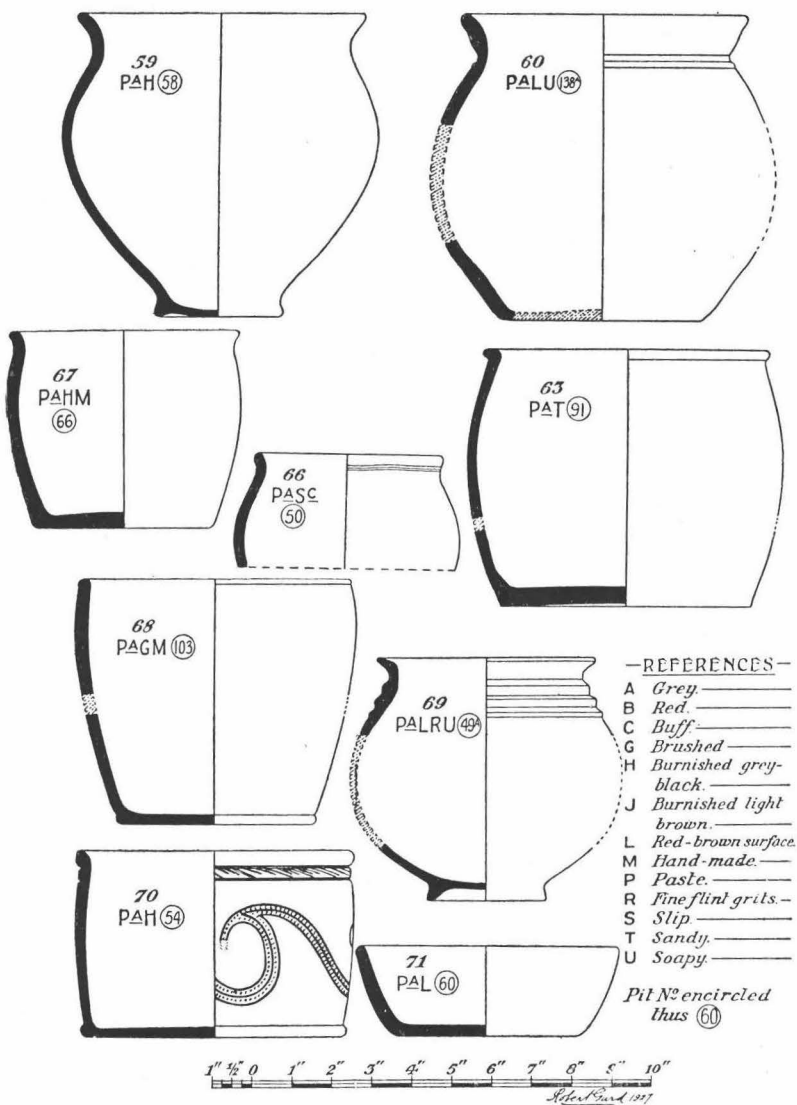


FIG. J. CABURN II: POTTERY FROM PITS EXCAVATED 1925-6
 (from 1925-6 Report, Pl. IX).
 69 is an East-Belgic stray.

pedestal foot here disappears altogether. Similarly, our Nos. 66 and 67 show the saucepan type modified by the acquisition of a slightly humped shoulder, which leads over to the mild S-profile, intermediate between the saucepan type and that of No. 59, which is represented by a large proportion of the plain jars of this period seen on Pl. xv of the 1925-6 Report, and further here by Nos. 31 and 33 on Fig. M.

These last have already been cited in connexion with the No. 16 from beneath the Inner Rampart on Fig. H, where also Nos. 17, 18, and 20 have been seen to approximate to some extent to our everted-rim and saucepan forms respectively. The main distinction between these and the regular Caburn II pottery is in fact rather one of ware: theirs is comparatively coarse and only slightly smoothed, while the regular Caburn II ware is finer and well smoothed to a burnished black (or sometimes buff) surface. It thus becomes natural to ask whether the Inner Rampart, Rampart I, should not in virtue of these pieces in and beneath it be assigned to the beginning of the Caburn II period, rather than to the end of Caburn I. The answer to this question is impossible to give with certainty. For since the Inner Ditch, belonging to Rampart I, was cleaned out at the time of the construction of the Outer Rampart II, there is no decisive pottery evidence from the rapid silting there to supplement the rather meagre material from within and beneath Rampart I shown in Fig. H. It is clear that a time came when the isolation of earlier Caburn I times was brought to an end by the incoming of a culture derived from that of the Cissbury area, or the Cissbury and Wealden areas, to which the Caburn thus became assimilated in what we are calling the Caburn II culture. But this may have happened in either of two ways. Either the Caburn I people were first influenced by their neighbours, in handicrafts such as pottery, and then threatened by them with an aggression which caused them to construct the Inner Rampart and Ditch in a self-defence which proved vain; or, alternatively, they submitted to them without

constructing any defences, and the Inner Rampart and Ditch were constructed by the new masters of the site in an initial phase of their mastery when the site's pottery had not yet had time to take on the Caburn II characteristics in full measure. The poor structure of the Inner Rampart, of simple 'dump' construction over piles of brushwood, recalls the Late Iron Age A 2 'dump' construction of Wessex (e.g. at Maiden Castle), and to that extent supports the first view, that these defences were the last effort of the Caburn I people. But final certainty is not attainable on the existing evidence.

At all events, there can be no doubt that the people responsible for the Cissbury or 'AB' culture came here and created the Caburn II culture in its likeness, just as they came and created the Wealden culture represented at Oldbury, Ightham. And whether it was they or their predecessors who built the Inner Rampart, it remains to assign this event to an approximate date. Mr. Ward Perkins makes the Wealden culture (though not actually the Oldbury occupation) start in the first century B.C., on the strength of the relationship he claims for it with a development in the British Iron Age not hitherto here mentioned—namely, the Belgic or Iron Age C invasion of east and central Kent. The agreed initial date for this is about 75 B.C., and on the evidence of the well-known series of cremation-burials at Aylesford, the Belgic invaders may be taken to have reached the middle Medway valley, bordering on the area of the Wealden culture, within quite a few years from that date. It was this expansion on their part, in Mr. Ward Perkins's contention, which caused the Wealden people to build the first defences of Oldbury, and the associated pottery shows that by then the Wealden culture was already fully formed. The close similarity of its 'degenerate pedestal' pot-form to the parent Cissbury-culture series, beginning as we have seen as early as about 250 B.C., forbids the assumption of too long an intervening gap, and argues the initial formation of the Wealden culture to have been not later than about

100 B.C. The Caburn II culture is essentially a parallel development, and that its formation should be dated at about the same time may be confirmed by certain further arguments. The iron-producing district of the Weald was evidently of economic value to both the Wealden and the Kentish-Belgic peoples, and that the latter, as well as the former, were early concerned to exploit its wealth has been shown recently by the presence of Kentish-Belgic, or East Belgic, pottery on the bloomery site explored by Mr. Ernest Straker at Crowhurst, between Battle and Bexhill, of which Mrs. Piggott has published specimens in *Sussex Notes & Queries*.¹ No. 1 of the pieces illustrated by her has the distinctive corrugated shoulder which, though occurring in degenerate form in the first century A.D. in the Kentish-Belgic cemetery at Swarling (type 19 of Mr. Bushe-Fox's Report),² yet in its best days is most closely paralleled at the Wheathampstead fortress in Hertfordshire,³ shown by Dr. Wheeler to belong to the earliest Belgic occupation of that district, rather before the middle of the first century B.C. If, then, this piece suggests that the Kentish Belgae were already active in the iron district after 75 but before 50 B.C., the Caburn II occupation can be argued to have begun already by that same period, for on Fig. J here, No. 69, found in Pit 49 A at the Caburn in 1925-6, is of exactly this Kentish-Belgic corrugated-shoulder type, in an early form closely paralleled, as Mr. Ward Perkins and Mr. G. C. Dunning have kindly informed me, among pottery in the Boulogne Museum assignable to the Belgic culture of north Gaul of the period in which the invasion from there to Kent took place. This vessel is of course a stray at the Caburn, where Kentish-Belgic pottery is otherwise absent, but its similarity to the Crowhurst piece should show that the Kentish connexion which brought it here lay through the Wealden iron industry. It is to the Caburn II occupation that activity in

¹ *S.N.Q.* VI, No. 8 (Nov. 1937), 231-2.

² Bushe-Fox, *Urnfield at Swarling*, Pl. VIII, 19; cf. p. 26.

³ Wheeler, *Verulamium*, Pl. XLIX, 8.

that industry is pre-eminently to be ascribed. The numerous iron objects, and the traces of iron-working on the site itself, found in the pits excavated in 1925-6, were among the most important discoveries published in the 1925-6 Report (pp. 11-15 there, with Pls. III-IV), and the industrial character of the Caburn II occupation so revealed was emphasized not only in that Report (pp. 44, 46), but by Dr. Curwen in both his books.¹ That this activity was already flourishing in the first half of the first century B.C., and began not later than about 100, is argued by the direct affiliation which the Caburn II shares with the Wealden pottery to the Cissbury-culture series of the preceding period, and is reinforced by the evidence of this pot No. 69 for a connexion with Belgic Kent not later than about the end of that half-century. One may add that among the iron objects just mentioned the sword (Pl. III, 11 of the 1925-6 Report) has the ogival hilt-guard of the earlier (La Tène I-II) type of weapon, and not the straight guard of the La Tène III culture which the Kentish Belgae brought into Britain as Iron Age C. Furthermore, both in Pitt-Rivers's and the 1925-6 excavations were found examples of the tin coins (1925-6 Report, Pl. II, 1-6) which Mr. Derek Allen has shown reason to ascribe to the non-Belgic, pre-Belgic peoples of south-eastern Britain, with a primary date in the opening decades of the first century B.C.² These tin coins would appear to be the south-eastern counterpart of the iron currency-bars of south-western Britain, and it is further worth noting that the lead weight of Pl. v, 35, of the 1925-6 Report (pp. 16-17 there), found in Pit 79, was apparently intended to weigh $\frac{1}{16}$ of the standard 'pound' unit of the currency-bar standard. The tin and lead must have come from south-western Britain, the tin from Cornwall, and it was perhaps that way that the Carthaginian coin found just outside the Caburn in 1926 (1925-6 Report, 8, 57-8) reached the site: its date of minting is c. 200 B.C., though how much

¹ *Prehistoric Sussex*, 47-53, with Pl. XII; *Arch. of Sussex*, 251, with Fig. 74.

² *Trans. International Numismatic Congress, London, 1936*, 351-7.

later it was here lost is of course indeterminable. Taken together, these points suggest that the primary affinities of the Caburn II culture were westward as much as eastward, non-Belgic, and initially pre-Belgic, though it was flourishing, together with the Wealden culture to the north of it, in the period of the first Belgic settlements in Kent. It would probably be unwise to suggest a date for its inception later than about 100 B.C.

Further confirmation of this will appear if we next consider the Caburn II decorated pottery. Two of its distinctive characteristics may be appreciated from No. 70 on Fig. J, a 'saucepan' pot of developed type with double beading at the rim and a projecting foot also grooved off as a beading (cf. *Antiq. Journ.* VIII. 455, Fig. 7, *a*, and 457, Fig. 9, *a*, from Findon Park, and Curwen, *Arch. of Sussex*, Pl. XXVII, 6, from Cissbury itself). The ornamental band is formed of two lines of shallow tooling with a continuous row of dots in the same technique between, and itself has the form of a curvilinear scroll, in this case of conjoined S-curves, such as is characteristic of the Celtic art of the La Tène period in general, and its later manifestations in Britain in particular. It is actually seldom that such a perfect rendering of a La Tène motive is found on the Caburn pottery, but while straight-line patterns are present in plenty, curvilinear design is distinctly prominent. Now in the Iron Age A times decoration on pottery in Britain was typically a straight-line affair, and its history in the later centuries of the Iron Age seems to be one of the progressive adoption of curvilinear motives, side by side with further rectilinear work. In rendering either, the old sharp incision of Iron Age A (cf. No. 72, Fig. E, p. 225) gave place to the shallow tooling of both lines and dots, and the dominating elements of design may be either a double line so executed with a row of dots between, as here on our No. 70, or alternatively a double row of dots with a single line between, or patterns formed of lines only or dots only. The growth of all this in southern Britain generally has yet to be followed out both in time and

space. But the initial impulse in the direction of curvilinear or La Tène pattern, and perhaps to some extent also of shallow-tooled technique, can scarcely be a matter of doubt: it proceeded from the La Tène art introduced into Britain by the Iron Age B invaders of the third century B.C.

Not that these introduced anywhere a ready-made convention of such decorated pottery. The pottery of the Marne culture, and indeed that of the La Tène civilization of the Celts generally, was basically a plain-surfaced ware, which might be and often was embellished with horizontal cordons and girth-grooves, but apart from the special case of actually painted vases, which occur from time to time in the Marne cemeteries, it only bears deliberately planned surface ornamentation in culture-provinces where a tradition of ornamenting pottery in some way or other was already in existence in pre-La Tène times—that is, in the preceding Hallstatt period. Only where La Tène culture spread afield to regions where a Hallstatt tradition of pottery-ornamentation was strong enough to survive into it are we likely to find the La Tène style used for that purpose. This happened to some extent in the East Hallstatt province of central Europe; it happened apparently in north-western France and Brittany; and now we find it happening in southern Britain. The Iron Age B invaders' own pottery-tradition, where they kept any of it at all, was predominantly, as we have seen in the previous section, a tradition of plain ware. But they delighted in decorated metal-work, and no doubt also in decorated woodwork, leather, and textiles. The Iron Age A Briton was thus confronted with a fascinating new art, and little by little he began to imitate its motives after his own fashion. In particular, he—or she—tried applying them to the old Iron Age A craft of pot-decoration. It is impossible in the present context to discuss the rise of the resulting new style outside Sussex. The centres whence the fashion spread are still ill defined, though the patterned bowls inspired by Iron Age B art at

Hunsbury in Northamptonshire will be cited below (p. 283) in connexion with those from Castle Hill, Newhaven. Its chronology is still ill charted; all we can say is that in the first century B.C. it was well and widely established, and that stages of its growth have presumably to be assigned to the second century B.C.

In Sussex the sequence indicated for the Cissbury culture by Fox at Findon Park, from 'Early La Tène II' with simple line-swags to 'Late La Tène II' with regular line-and-dot pattern, may be thought to conform to the general line of development (*Antiq. Journ.* VIII. 455, Fig. 6, *a*; 457, Fig. 9, *a*), and the latter stage at least is clearly recognizable at Cissbury itself, and in west Sussex at the Trundle (Curwen, *Arch. of Sussex*, Pl. XXVII, 6, 9; *S.A.C.* LXX. 49-57, Pl. VIII, 4, Pl. XII, Pl. XIII, 155-6; LXXII. 136-7, Pl. XI, 6-7). From these and from Worthy Down and St Catharine's Hill in Hampshire (*Proc. Hants Field Club*, x, pt. 2, 182-3, Pl. III; XI (*St. Cath.'s Hill*), 113-20, Figs. 13-14) we have a fair range of parallels to much of the Caburn decorated ware. Shallow tooling is now universal; the line-and-dot family of motives, which probably arose from the impact of the derivative Iron Age B style on the Iron Age A incised convention best known in Wessex from All Cannings Cross, is strongly in evidence; and the whole goes together with the refinement of paste and smooth surface-burnishing on which we have already remarked. Pl. XII of the 1925-6 Report gives a good selection of pieces, to which we may add Nos. 30 and 32 on Figs. L and M here; the forms of the vessels so decorated comprise the saucepan type, various more or less convex-sided approximations to it, leading over to a bulbous bowl-form probably partly engendered, like the bead-rim bowls of Iron Age B in Wessex, from a metal prototype, and lastly the everted-rim vase of degenerate-pedestal type, previously in evidence as a plain form only. The extension of ornament to this last type (e.g. 1925-6 Report, Pl. XII, 82), and the unusual development attained by curvilinear patterns, are features in which the Caburn II pottery excels that

of Cissbury or the Trundle. Pl. XI of the 1925-6 Report is shown here (Fig. K) to emphasize this latter point (see especially Nos. 76-9 and 81), and the explanation no doubt is that whereas in western and central Sussex the life of this culture was cut short by the second or western invasion of the Belgae, with their unornamented Iron Age C pottery, that invasion did not reach the Caburn, which thus had time to carry the development of its decorative style farther, into the later first century B.C. and earlier part of the first century A.D.

But in this later period of the Caburn II culture there are traces of a fresh element to be discussed. In his paper of 1938 on the Iron Age site at Crayford in north-west Kent¹ Mr. Ward Perkins drew attention to a group of pottery, previously inadequately recognized, which he assigned to a distinct member of the Iron Age B series of cultures under the name 'South-eastern B'. Of its two leading forms, the more important was a wide-bellied bowl, with either a collar or bead-rim or an upstanding and recurved neck, and a distinctive broad countersunk 'omphalos' base. Several examples of this form occur in east Sussex, two of them complete bowls. One, from the cremation-cemetery at Bormer near Falmer, in the Society's museum, is probably early Roman in date (his Fig. 11, 2): the other, from Saltdean near Brighton (his Fig. 10, 3), has been cited by Dr. Curwen² in connexion with what he has called the 'Asham type', after a find beneath a linchet at Asham near Beddingham³ of vessels of similar form but with a softened neck-profile and a flat instead of an omphalos base. This, the Asham type proper, is obviously simply a derivative, probably no earlier than the Roman conquest, of the Saltdean type of omphalos bowl,⁴ and it is the latter that is here of interest, since it belongs typically to the late stage of the pre-Roman Iron Age that we are considering in connexion with Caburn II. For, though as Dr. Curwen has pointed out⁵ the Asham

¹ *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* iv, pt. 1, 151-68.

² *Arch. of Sussex*, 281, 279, Fig. 81, 2.

³ *S.A.C.* LXXI. 254-7.

⁴ Cf. Ward Perkins, *op. cit.* 155.

⁵ *Arch. of Sussex*, 280.

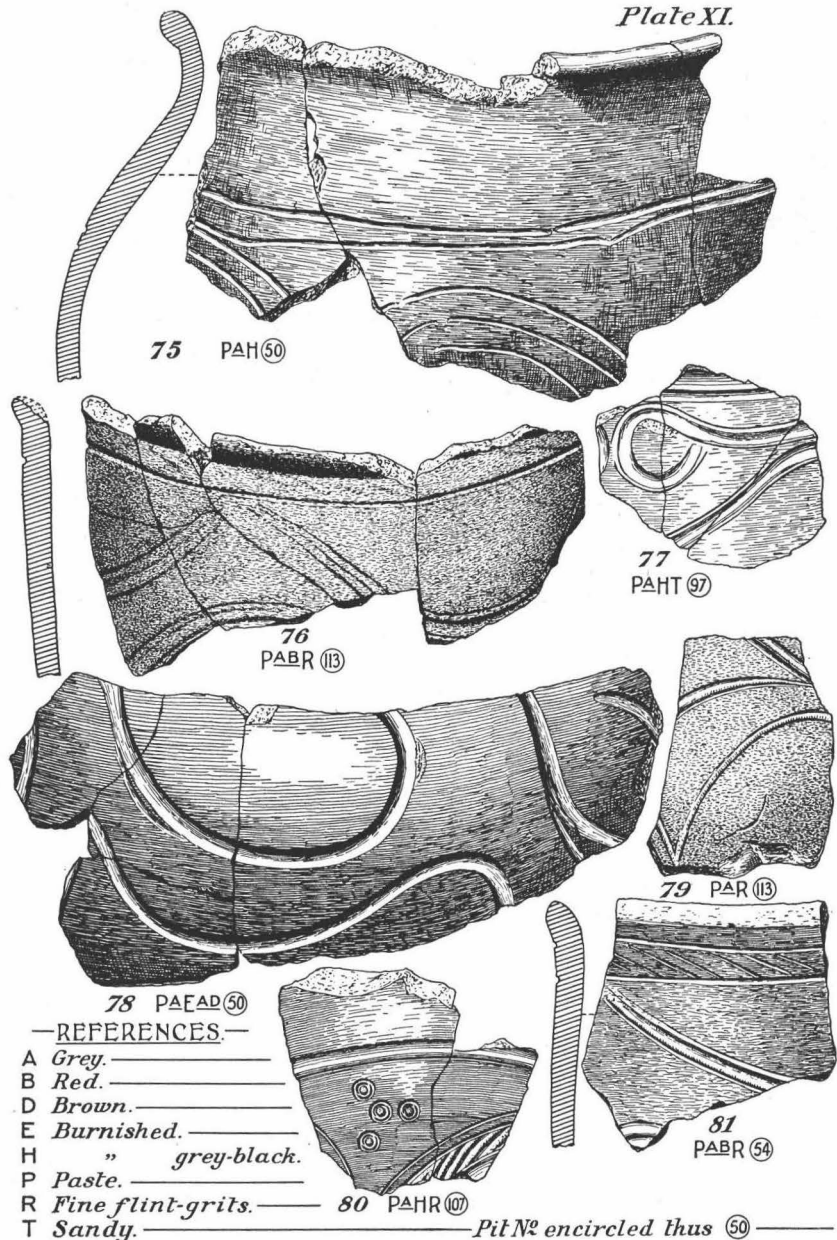


FIG. K. POTTERY OF CABURN II: PERIOD WITH CURVILINEAR ORNAMENT
 (from pits: 1925-6 Report, Pl. XI).

Nos. 75 and 80 show 'South-eastern B' character.

type is absent from the Caburn, an example of the Saltdean form of omphalos base was figured in the 1925-6 Report (Pl. xvii, 174), and it also occurred on two neighbouring sites of this period whose pottery makes interesting comparison with that of the Caburn II occupation, at Horsted Keynes seven miles to the north,¹ and at Charleston Brow four miles to the south-east near Firle Beacon.² Both these sites are rich, furthermore, in the particular form of the period's curvilinear pottery-ornament which is regularly found on the Saltdean type of omphalos bowl (and its derivative the Asham type), and regarded by Mr. Ward Perkins as characteristic of his 'South-eastern B' culture—namely, a frieze of tooled arcs arranged like 'eyebrows' (or alternatively, the arcs may be arranged in interlocking alternation). Now this 'eyebrow pattern' occurs also at the Caburn, and may be seen on our Fig. K, 75. But it is here found not (as far as is known) on omphalos bowls, but on the other of Mr. Ward Perkins's leading 'South-eastern B' forms, the everted-rim type already familiar to us as the degenerate-pedestal pot of the Cissbury, Wealden, and Caburn II cultures. The best complete example of this 'dumpy' and late pedestalled type so decorated is that from Little Horsted Lane, not far from the Horsted Keynes site, figured by Dr. Curwen in his book,³ but it is also well represented at the latter site itself,⁴ and at Charleston Brow,⁵ as well as to a slight extent here at the Caburn.⁶ The element in the 'South-eastern B' complex represented by this dumpy-pedestal or Little Horsted type of pot is then of perfectly straightforward Sussex origin, as Mr. Ward Perkins admitted was possible, despite doubts about its Park Brow and Findon chronology which the preceding section here should now allay.⁷ But its specialized 'eyebrow pattern' remains peculiar,

¹ *S.A.C.* LXXVIII. 253, 265, Figs. 10 and 24.

² *Ibid.* LXXIV. 164-80, Fig. 28 (not in Ward Perkins's list, *op. cit.* 167).

³ *Arch. of Sussex*, 275, Pl. xxviii, 2; cf. Ward Perkins, *op. cit.*, Fig. 11, 1.

⁴ *S.A.C.* LXXVIII. 255 ff., Figs. 4 ff. and 28-31.

⁵ *Ibid.* LXXIV. 170 ff., e.g. Figs. 22, 27.

⁶ And, in the Cissbury culture-area, at Park Brow II: *Archaeologia*, LXXVI. 22, Fig. 16; 24, Fig. 24.

⁷ *Op. cit.* 154-6.

and the omphalos bowl which shares that peculiarity with it has no such local pedigree. It looks then as if, at some time within a century before the Roman conquest, there was an intrusion into east and central Sussex of people who introduced omphalos bowls and the idea of 'eyebrow' pattern, and extended the latter to the dumpy-pedestal pots already there current, by fusion with the Sussex population that made them. That there was such an intrusion is Mr. Ward Perkins's belief, and, with the modification just proposed as regards the dumpy-pedestal pot-type, this belief is surely right. Who, then, were the intruders, and where did they come from?

What distinguishes 'eyebrow pattern'—in fact, all that distinguishes it—within the period's range of curvilinear pot-decoration in general, is its governing idea of geometrical regularity, which stands in marked contrast to the wanderings of a design like that of Fig. K, 78. And this is often enhanced by an important feature of the style not yet mentioned, the embellishment of the spandrels or curve-junctions of the pattern by small stamped circlets, either singly or in groups. An example is shown in Fig. K, 80; the Saltdean urn has them; they occur on several of the 'eyebrow'-patterned pots at Horsted Keynes,¹ as well as on the Little Horsted pot and a number of Mr. Ward Perkins's 'South-eastern B' vessels from Crayford and across the Thames estuary at Canewdon and Langenhoe;² and in the Cissbury culture-area they appear at Findon Park³ and at Kingston Buci, on a vessel⁴ not only with 'eyebrow' but with zigzag pattern, which is better represented again with these stamped circlets at Charleston Brow.⁵ The same thing is found on some sherds from the site of this period at Seaford Bay, recently submitted to me by Mr. C. R. Ward.

¹ *S.A.C.* LXXVIII. 255 ff., Figs. 8, 10, 11.

² Ward Perkins, *op. cit.* 161 ff., Fig. 7, 12; Fig. 9, 5; Fig. 10, 1-4; Fig. 11, 1 (6 here is our Caburn example).

³ *Archaeologia*, LXXVI. 21, Fig. 13 A, third from left.

⁴ *S.A.C.* LXXII. 202-3, Fig. 36.

⁵ *Ibid.* LXXIV. 170-4, Figs. 9, 13-16.

These circlets are highly distinctive. And both they and the regular symmetry of the eyebrow pattern, especially of its more complicated variant with interlocking arcs, are strongly characteristic of some of the famous decorated pottery of the Somerset Lake-Village culture of Glastonbury and Meare. That culture is now recognized to be of mixed origin, and much of its pottery, notably the coarse ware and the decorated saucepan type already here familiar, seems assignable to British 'AB' sources, like the analogous material in Wessex and Sussex, though much more strongly under the influence of the ornament of true B metal-work—the chief focus of the British La Tène style. But the features of the distinctive Glastonbury profile of lip and recurved or upstanding neck above a bulbous body, and of the regular Glastonbury geometric-curvilinear decoration of eyebrow, swag, and interlocking-arc design, in all its delightful variety, have long been compared with the decorated La Tène pottery of Brittany, on which bands of eyebrow, interlocking-arc, and other geometric-curve patterns are characteristic.¹ In particular, the use of stamped circlets forms an outstanding link between the two styles, and the phenomenon is best explained by the supposition that one element in the Lake-Village culture was formed by immigrants into south-west Britain from Brittany. And if that is true of the Lake-Village or 'South-western B' culture of Britain, it is likely to be true also of the 'South-eastern B'. There is no reason to assign the fully-formed Lake-Village culture to a date earlier than the middle of the first century B.C., and it is very possible that its Breton immigrants would be refugees fleeing from the Armorican peninsula after its conquest by Julius Caesar and his lieutenants in the year 56. The Veneti of the Morbihan district of south Brittany, indeed, were so nearly annihilated by Caesar in the famous sea-battle of that year that Dr. Wheeler, in considering recently the possibility that refugees from among them may

¹ e.g. Déchelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, iv. 973 ff., Figs. 663-6.

have come over to found the Maiden Castle or (West) Wessex province of Iron Age B culture,¹ has argued² that there can have been no effective transfer to Britain of the craft of the Venetic potter, so that the bead-rim pottery of that culture is to be explained as a ceramic rendering of the immigrants' bronze bowls. But from parts of Brittany farther from the Venetic centre refugees may well have been able to get away in rather less desperate straits. Though the identity of the Class B and H pottery at Hengistbury Head with the fine wheel-made ware of Le Petit Celland in north-eastern Brittany is best explained by its commercial importation during the half-century before Caesar,³ the decorated wares of Hengistbury actually present several points of resemblance to those we have been discussing,⁴ and, while one can safely say that the reactions of Caesar's Armorican conquest upon south-west Britain are by no means yet fully brought to light, it seems scarcely possible to deny to the Breton analogies in the Lake-Village pottery the probability of a good place among them. And if some groups of Breton refugees reached the coast of eastern or central Sussex also, the intrusive elements in the 'South-eastern B' complex can be explained. The introduction of the stamped circlet convention and a partiality for eyebrow pattern will be their work; and of the associated pot-forms, the dumpy pedestal represents the native tradition with which these innovations fused, while the omphalos bowl, like the Wessex bead-rim bowls of Maiden Castle, is best taken as a ceramic rendering of a bronze bowl prototype introduced at the same time. For apart from anything else, the omphalos base is a purely metallic feature for which the period's pot-

¹ Sometimes called 'Hill-fort B', from its apparent strength in impressive hill-fort sites.

² 'Iron Age Camps in NW. France and SW. Britain' (Interim Report of the Brittany Expedition led by Dr. Wheeler in 1938), *Antiquity*, XIII, No. 49 (March 1939), 58 ff., esp. 74-8.

³ Wheeler, *op. cit.* 78-9 and Fig. 8; cf. Bushe-Fox, *Hengistbury Head*, 34-7 and Pls. XVII-XVIII.

⁴ Classes D, E, and in a more specialized fashion F: Bushe-Fox, *op. cit.* 39-44, and Pls. XI-XII and XX-XXI.

typology cannot otherwise account;¹ the wide-bellied body is distinctive of all the few bronze bowls of the pre-Roman Iron Age known; and though bowls like the Saltdean example have been given an upstanding, recurved neck, very like the Lake-Village type, this can itself be matched on a bronze bowl from the Thames near Battersea in the British Museum (which has a hollow, though not actually an omphalos, base), while other examples² have a bead or collar rim which conforms very well with Dr. Wheeler's thesis of the derivation of the Wessex bead-rims from a metal rim-form like those of the Glastonbury and Spettisbury bronze bowls of this period. It may therefore be regarded as probable that about the middle of the first century B.C. a region stretching from east-central Sussex northwards into north-west Kent, and including the Caburn II culture-area, received a number of refugees from the Roman conquest of some part of Brittany, who brought with them innovations in pottery-ornament that were applied to the dumpy-pedestal pots already in use there, and also to a new type, the omphalos bowl, made in imitation of contemporary bronze vessels which was later modified into the Asham type of early Roman times.

In point of fact there is little to suggest that at the Caburn itself these new arrivals made themselves much felt. As the capital settlement of the region, it was no doubt fully enough populated already, and refugees would more naturally settle in the country round. Thus the small amount of 'South-eastern B' pottery from the site is readily explained. It is paralleled by the paucity of the peculiar plastic-ornamented ware of this same period, with applied clay girth-bands bearing slashed or finger-printed decoration, illustrated in Dr. Curwen's

¹ If the Wotton (Surrey) hoard of bronze vessels were really of this period (*Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xxvii. 76 ff.), one could quote such forms as Figs. 10 and 11 there as to some extent illustrating the prototype required; actually, there can be little doubt that it is of late or sub-Roman age, as Mr. Kendrick has pointed out (*Antiquity*, vi. 162-3). But the existence of bronze omphalos bowls of the desired pre-Roman date need not be doubted: cf. Fig. 14 in the Wotton paper from Lisnacrogghera, N. Ireland.

² Ward Perkins, *op. cit.* 163 ff., Fig. 9, 8; Fig. 10, 1; Fig. 11, 5.

book by an example from Hassocks,¹ but best represented in the east Sussex region, especially at Horsted Keynes and Charleston Brow.² A few examples are to be seen on Pl. XIII of the 1925-6 Report, of which Nos. 105, 106, and 108 are the most typical. The strange recrudescence on this ware of the old plastic, slashed, and finger-tip ornament of Iron Age A and even Late Bronze Age times is perhaps best explained if we assume that when the Caburn II culture was forcibly introduced at our site as above suggested (pp. 245-6), the people of what had been the Caburn I culture, dispossessed from the Caburn itself, found themselves relegated to the surrounding country, where they continued, incorporating elements of the Caburn II and later of the immigrant 'South-eastern B' culture, but retaining an Iron Age A tradition, transmitted through the medium of Caburn I, which issued in this renewal, in altered but still essentially archaic form, of the pottery-ornament of earlier times. That there is so little of this at the Caburn itself compared with the surrounding village sites would be in accordance with this conception, which will be noticed again in connexion with some of the pottery from Castle Hill, Newhaven, on p. 288 of this volume.

We have now reviewed the principal characteristics of the Caburn II pottery, and there is little left to add. It has been shown above (pp. 194-5) that the Outer Rampart (Rampart 2), built in two successive stages and associated with a cleaning-out of the old Inner Ditch and the addition of a broad Outer Ditch, was added to the defences of the Caburn on the north side at the very end of the Iron Age occupation, it would seem certainly as the inhabitants' response to the Roman invasion of A.D. 43. As regards the pottery associated with these works, Figs. L and M make it clear without more ado that pottery of both the Caburn I

¹ *Arch. of Sussex*, Pl. XXVIII, 4; cf. 277-8.

² *S.A.C.* LXXIV. 170 ff., Figs. 17-21, 23-4; LXXVIII. 260, Figs. 25-7. It also occurs at Castle Hill, Newhaven (pp. 280-1, 288), and at the Seaford Bay site mentioned above (p. 255), as well as at Telscombe and Ranscombe, the Dyke, and Kingston Buci.

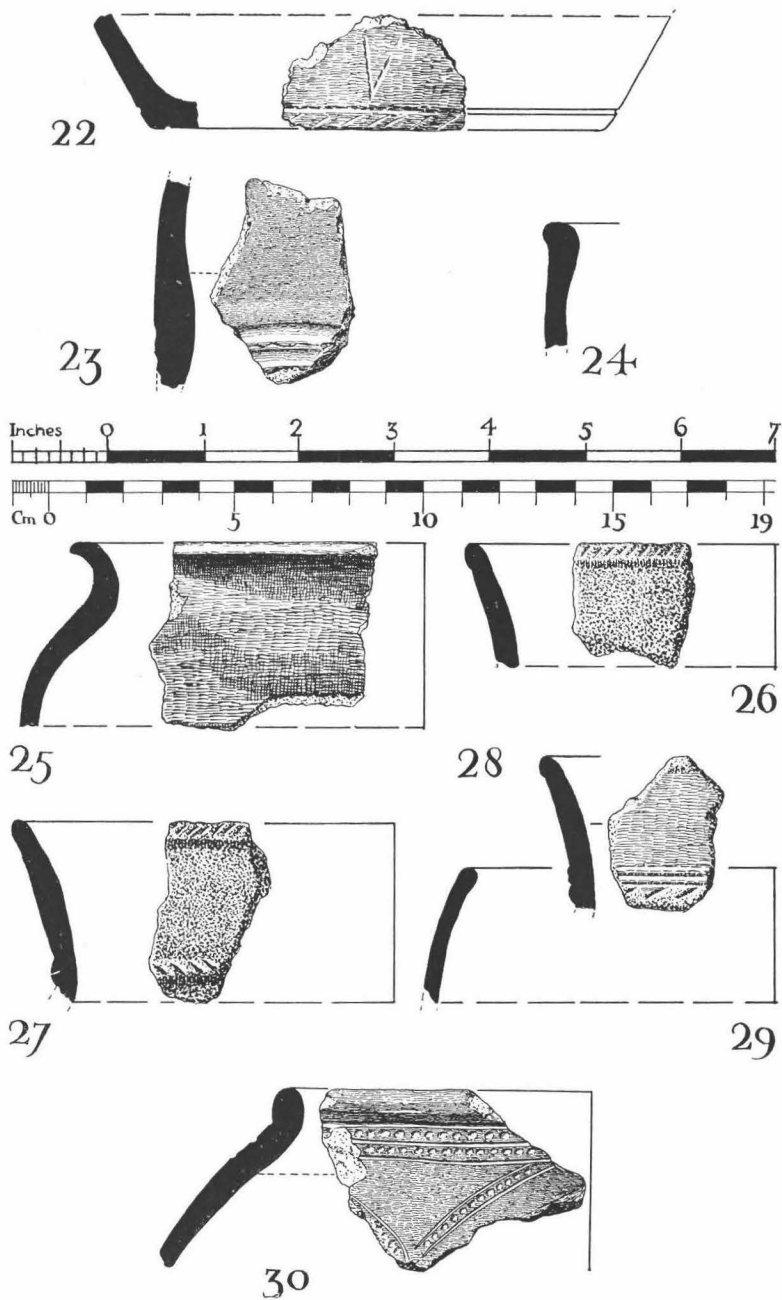


FIG. L. POTTERY FROM BENEATH CABURN OUTER RAMPART.
 Caburn I: 22, 26, 27, 28. Caburn I or II, 29. Caburn II: 23, 24, 25, 30.

and Caburn II occupations was found under and in the Outer Rampart, showing that its construction took place at a date late enough to follow both, and only limited by whatever dating can be assigned to anything found *in situ* in either of the ditches. Actually, attention need only be directed to the scraps of light pink ware found scattered through the rapid silt or talus from the back of the Outer Rampart in the cleaned-out

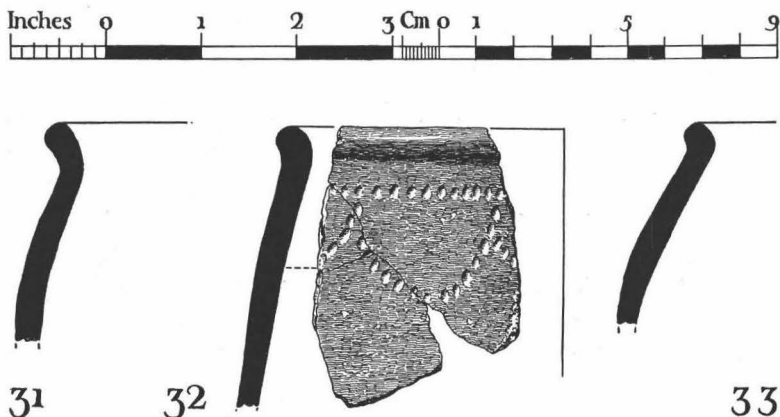


FIG. M. CABURN II: POTTERY FROM BENEATH OUTER RAMPART.

Inner Ditch (p. 200). These are unquestionably from a Roman jug of the soft pink ware in which several types of jug were made in the Claudian period, the age of the Roman invasion and conquest. But there is no evidence of a Roman occupation of the site in directly post-conquest times (the brooch from the 1925-6 excavations¹ need be no later, as the discoveries of recent years at Colchester have shown, than the years of conquest itself): on the contrary, the traces of destruction of the entrance works by fire point to the sack and dismantling of the site by the invaders. Either, then, the scraps of jug are to be connected with the Roman troops who captured the site, or this vessel had reached the site from a Roman source but before its

¹ *S.A.C.* LXVIII, 14-15, Pl. v, 32; Curwen, *Prehistoric Sussex*, Pl. xi, 4; *Arch. of Sussex*, Fig. 73, 1.

actual capture. It has been suggested above (p. 200) that the capture probably followed a year or two after the initial Roman invasion of 43, and if our jug-fragments may be treated on a par with the piece of Roman mortarium found in an analogous position at Oldbury, Ightham, they represent a vessel that reached the site in that interval—say A.D. 43–5. In any case, there is otherwise a complete absence of Gallo-Belgic and other wares such as would indicate effective contacts with Roman culture on the eve of or in the conquest period, though these (p. 290) are present at Castle Hill, Newhaven, Seaford Bay, and even in one case at Charleston Brow. This negative evidence, with the positive evidence of the construction and fate of their outer defences, would seem to show that unlike the pro-Roman King Cogidubnus in Belgicized west Sussex, the Caburn people would make no terms with the invader, and went down fighting to the last.