# A re-contextualisation of the prehistoric pottery from the Surrey hillforts of Hascombe, Holmbury and Anstiebury

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This new study of the prehistoric pottery assemblages from the Surrey hillforts of Hascombe, Holmbury and Anstiebury repositions them within the context of a growing Surrey and regional pottery database. The assemblages, which incorporate material belonging to three prehistoric and one Romano-British pottery tradition, suggest a chronology for the hillforts quite different to that advanced by their excavator. In addition, evidence for the long-distance movement of fancy decorated jars into and out of the county demonstrates the probable existence of a network of previously unsuspected regional connections, which reach as far as the West Country, while an exploration of the use and discard history of pottery at Hascombe indicates that there were discrete activity zones and middens on site. The positive results of the study suggest that a new and fuller understanding of the Surrey Iron Age is within our interpretative grasp.

## Introduction

The three pottery assemblages from the Surrey hillforts of Hascombe, Holmbury and Anstiebury provide a key resource for understanding the Iron Age in Surrey, comprising as they do a number of largish, mostly well-stratified context groups, which incorporate both a wide range of pottery fabrics and pottery forms (figs 1–6; appendix). These are the sorts of groups that archaeologists long for, since it is mostly through comparisons with them that she or he will date and put into a meaningful social context the everyday groups most of us deal with most of the time. It is a surprise therefore to realise how rarely the assemblages are cited. None is, for example, in the most recent edition of Barry Cunliffe's *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (2005), where mention of the sites is restricted to a list in the back; nor are they widely referred to in recent specialist reports on pottery of that date. Why is this?

There are three obvious reasons. The first is F H Thompson's dating of the three sites, the abandonment of which he associated with the coming of Julius Caesar. He clearly recognised the traditions to which most of the pottery from them belongs - Cunliffe's saucepan pot continuum and what Thompson calls 'Wealden' (an historical term best discarded) – but his attribution of these to the encounter period was, even in 1979, highly tendentious (Thompson 1979, 299). To an archaeologist familiar with Iron Age pottery from the region, the actual date, which is probably earlier than Caesar's birth and certainly earlier than his 55 BC foray across the English Channel, is obvious from the published illustrations alone, but to those who do not deal in pottery, or whose specialist knowledge lies outside the region, these sites must seem chronologically dangerous ground. Secondly, saucepan pottery and its associated forms remain rare locally and few assemblages belonging to the tradition have been published. The principal reason, however, is that Thompson's report is oldfashioned. The study of prehistoric pottery has moved on since his day and much of what we would now take for granted in a pottery report is absent from his. In particular, his descriptions evince no real understanding of fabrics and we can draw no inferences from them about resource procurement or make any meaningful comparisons across sites of the sort referred to above, not within Surrey proper, or across its borders. Nor is there the detailed contextual information needed, for example, to explore fully Iron Age discard, a recurrent theme in contemporary archaeology. Happily, however, the assemblages themselves have survived more or less intact (of the illustrated prehistoric vessels, remarkably few important sherds have disappeared) and it is possible now to make good some, if not all, of these omissions.

With the exception of two undated fabrics, the assemblages are divisible into four chronological groups: three prehistoric and one Romano-British. The earliest of these, which occurred at Hascombe and Holmbury in very small quantities, but not at Anstiebury, comprises post-Deverel-Rimbury (PDR) pottery, datable to the early 1st millennium BC (the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age). The next – and the most clearly defined – is that which incorporates the saucepan pottery referred to above. It dominates the Hascombe and Holmbury assemblages and was present in small quantities at Anstiebury. It is dated to some time between 400 and 100 cal BC (the Middle Iron Age – MIA). The third prehistoric group comprises 'Eastern Atrebatic' (locally Sussex grog-tempered) and 'Belgic' or 'Aylesford-Swarling' pottery. It forms a major part of the Anstiebury assemblage. Chronologically, these latter traditions impinge on the Romano-British period but they first appeared as much as 100 years earlier, during the Late Iron Age (LIA), and it is likely that some of the pottery belonging to this tradition from Anstiebury is of this early date. Finally, interleaved with LIA material, Anstiebury yielded up a sizeable Early Romano-British (ERB) assemblage incorporating a number of very early but nonetheless post-conquest vessel forms. Each of these groups is associated with a distinct chronologically diagnostic fabric suite.

# Post-Deverel-Rimbury: the earliest pottery from the hillforts

PDR sherds were residual in MIA or later contexts at both Hascombe and Holmbury (tables 1 and 2). They do not date the hillforts *per se*, but by placing the earliest use of the two sites in the early 1st millennium BC their identification usefully contributes to an ongoing discussion of the chronological origins of hillforts in south-east Britain (eg Hamilton & Manley 2001; Needham 2007).

## REGIONAL CONTEXT

PDR pottery from south-east England, including Surrey, is divisible into three broadly sequential typological groups: plain wares, which comprise assemblages such as that from Green Lane, Farnham (Elsdon 1982); 'developed' plain wares, such as those from Stanwell (O'Connell 1990) and perhaps Weston Wood, Albury (Russell 1989), and decorated wares, which dominate the PDR assemblages from Brooklands (Hanworth & Tomalin 1977), Hawk's Hill, Fetcham (Cunliffe 1965), and Sandown Park, Esher (Burchell & Frere 1947). Plain wares date to between *c* 1150 and 950 cal BC and developed plain wares, *c* 950 and 800 cal BC (essentially the Late Bronze Age). Decorated wares cannot be dated closely using radiocarbon. However, insofar as they are a development of the previous groups, and on a number of sites are stratified above them, they must date to some time after 800 cal BC (the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age) (Needham 1996, 134–7). Across the region, the different typological/period groups are associated with different fabric suites. In north Surrey this phenomenon is seen in the increasing use over time of sandy fabrics and the reduced use of flint in tempering fine wares (see the fabric descriptions from the aforementioned sites).

## THE POST-DEVEREL-RIMBURY POTTERY FROM HASCOMBE AND HOLMBURY

The PDR pottery, which was not isolated in Thompson's original report, comprises a handful of sherds in two fabrics: sparsely but coarsely flint-tempered from Hascombe (MCF), and sandy from Holmbury (QI) (tables 1 and 2). No PDR pottery was recovered from Anstiebury. The first of these fabrics is characteristic of the PDR tradition as a whole throughout the South East. It has analogues in all three typological groups, while the sole morphologically diagnostic sherd in it (fig 3, no 31), although clearly belonging to the tradition (the thin body and rough finger-finish are characteristic), is untypical of PDR pottery locally, and cannot be dated with precision. The sandy fabric from Holmbury, however, is both typical of Surrey late PDR pottery and occurs in an angular form (fig 4, no 34) widely characteristic of the

tradition's decorated phase and can be dated with some confidence to the centuries immediately following 800 cal BC. A second Holmbury sherd, now missing (Thompson 1979, fig 24, no 6), probably belongs to the same phase of the tradition.

### A closed assemblage: saucepan and 'associated' pottery types

For our understanding of the prehistory of Surrey – and beyond – the most important period group from the hillforts is that belonging to the MIA, in particular the assemblage from Hascombe. This group, although derived from a number of different features and a range of different feature types, appears largely uncontaminated by pottery of other periods. For Hascombe and Holmbury, it provides clear dates both for their main occupation and their abandonment, and shows Anstiebury, which has a much longer Iron Age chronology, to have been settled at this period. It also shows all three to have belonged, albeit selectively, to a single network of resource procurement that extended as far as Cornwall and included both Sussex and parts of the Lower Thames Valley, and within which there is reason to believe Hascombe played a central role.

All of these – the abandonment of hillforts in the MIA, their participation in a far-reaching network of trade and/or exchange, Hascombe's possible role as a central-place – show Surrey to belong to an Iron Age tradition already widely recognised across south-central Britain (Cunliffe 2005; Morris & Woodward 2003, 293).

In addition, the stratigraphically closed nature of the individual context groups comprising the Hascombe assemblage allows us to flesh out our knowledge of Surrey MIA pottery beyond the saucepan pot and the decorated curviform jar. In terms of the pottery present there is no question of a specialist use for the site since, for example, it includes both fine and coarse fabrics and vessels of several different types and sizes, while what we can reconstruct of its contextual associations are not easily construed in ritual terms. This by contrast invokes an Iron Age at odds with that championed by contemporary archaeologists, who see MIA hillforts not only as central but also as special places, and everyday life during the period as in some way ritually charged (Bowden & McOmish 1987; Gwilt & Haselgrove 1997; Poole 1996 etc).

#### SURREY MIDDLE IRON AGE POTTERY FABRICS

The saucepan and associated pottery is represented by a suite of twelve fabrics (table 1; colour pl 1, nos 1–13). These are broadly divisible into 'fine', 'fine to medium', 'medium', and 'coarse' wares. For the most part these have good regional parallels in contemporary assemblages, which, when placed in a broader typological context (see below), show that during the MIA, pottery was being transported both into and out of the area. Two coarse ware fabrics however are currently known only from Hascombe, while a distinct shelly coarse ware (colour pl 1, nos 15–16 – the progenitor of an Anstiebury ERB fabric DS) common north of the Surrey Downs, is absent from all three assemblages. Both this and the relative proportions of the twelve fabrics regionally (table 3) place the assemblages in a distinct regional group of their own.

Readers uninterested in the minutiae of Iron Age pottery fabrics may wish to skip to the following section (Typological context).

#### Fine wares

Fine wares (table 1), which are very much in a minority within the group as a whole (tables 2 and 4), are represented by three sandy fabrics used for 'S-profile' jars: *GLA1* and *GLA2*, which incorporate a black sand assumed to be glauconitic (it is impossible to identify glauconite with certainty after firing – Peacock & Williams 1978, 58), and *FQM* (colour pl 1, no 13), which incorporates fine mica. All three fabrics were burnished.

Table 1 Prehistoric and Roman pottery fabrics from the three hillforts. Light grey = fine ware; light to medium grey = fine to medium ware; medium grey = medium ware; medium to dark grey; medium to coarse ware; dark grey = coarse ware.

Fabric code	Description	Inclusions	Dating evidence	Numbered vessels
		PDR		
Q1	Dark grey core, dark grey brown interior surfaces and either dark grey brown or buff exterior surfaces. 7–8mm thick	20–30% fine to medium quartz sand (0.25–0.5mm); 2% fine to medium sand-sized (0.25–0.5mm), sub-round, red iron oxide		34
MCF	Dark grey core and dark grey or red brown to buff surfaces. 5–9mm thick	5–10% medium sand to small granule- sized (0.25–3mm) burnt flint	PDR forms	31
		MIA		
GLA1	Grey core, with a greeny yellow tinge, yellow brown interior surface, and dark grey exterior surface. Single 9–12mm thick sherd	5–7% medium to coarse quartz sand (0.25–0.75mm); 40–50% fine sand- sized (<0.25mm) black 'pisolithic' iron oxide/glauconite	Probable MIA form	23
GLA2	Grey core, with a greeny yellow tinge, and dark grey surfaces. 6–7mm thick	Common to abundant but not precisely quantifiable medium to coarse quartz sand (0.25–0.75mm); 3–5% fine sand- sized (<0.25mm) black 'pisolithic' iron oxide/glauconite	MIA form. Stratified below ERB assemblage	40
FQM	Browny grey core and dark grey surfaces. 4–7mm thick	Abundant but not precisely quantifiable fine quartz sand (<0.25mm); 1–3% medium quartz sand ( <i>c</i> 1mm); <1% fine sand-sized muscovite; 1–2% medium to coarse sand-sized (0.5–1mm) red iron oxide	MIA form/ decorative traits	15 & 25
DC1	Friable and light, frequently with a soapy grog-like feel. Very dark grey core and either yellow brown or dark grey surfaces. 4–8mm thick	10–15% medium to coarse sand-sized (0.25–1.5mm), sub-angular, yellow brown/orange powdery nodules (decalcified calcareous stone – in a handful of sherds belonging to pot 9, this is not decalcified, and looks like a greensand). At the surface the powdery nodules have a reddish hue or are represented by sub-angular voids	MIA form/ decorative traits	1, 3, 5, 9-12, 16, 17, 20-1, 26-7, 32-3, 36, 39 & 42
FMF1	Dark grey brown core and dark grey surfaces. 9–11mm thick	2% medium to coarse sand-sized (0.25–1.25mm) burnt flint; 2–3% coarse sand-sized (c1mm), rounded, red iron oxide; common to abundant but not precisely quantifiable fine quartz sand	MIA form	24
FMF2	Hard. Grey core and buff to grey or dark grey surfaces. 4–8mm thick	Common but not precisely quantifiable fine or fine to medium quartz sand (<0.25–0.75mm); 5–10% medium to very coarse sand-sized (0.5–1.5mm) burnt flint	MIA form/ decorative traits	2, 4,13, 29 & 30
GAB	Light grey to yellow grey core and ochre surfaces. Two very abraded sherds. 5–7mm thick	10–15% fine sand to small granule- sized (<0.25–2.5mm), angular to rectangular, off-white feldspar and sparse but not precisely quantifiable sand-sized (0.25–0.5mm) unidentified dark and translucent mineral/rock fragments	Glastonbury Ware	18

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Fabric code	Description	Inclusions	Dating evidence	Numbered vessels
V	Hard. Grey core and grey to yellow brown surfaces. Two 7–9mm thick sherds. Vitrified equivalent of DC1	10% medium to coarse sand-sized (0.25–0.75mm), sub-angular, unidentified rock fragments; <1% powdery voids (analogous to those in DC1); very rare coarse sand-sized (c 0.75mm), sub-round, iron oxide inclusions	MIA decorative trait	48
DC2	Very soft/friable and light. Buff core and heavily pitted and crazed buff surfaces. 7–10mm thick	7–10% medium to very coarse sand- sized (0.25–1.5mm), sub-angular, brown (earth-like) nodules, probably comprising decalcified calcareous stone	MIA–LIA form	8
DC3	Dark grey core, dark grey interior surfaces, and dark brown to red brown exterior surfaces and exterior margin. 7–9mm thick	Common but not precisely quantifiable sub-round, fine to medium quartz sand; <1% medium to coarse sand- sized (0.5–1.5mm), sub-round, red Fe oxide; 3–5% medium (0.25–0.75mm) and occasionally very coarse (2mm) sand-sized, sub-angular to angular, yellow brown/orange powdery nodules (decalcified calcareous stone). At the surface the inclusions often have a reddish hue or are represented by voids.	MIA forms/ decorative traits	19, 22, 28 & 49
FCF	Very dark grey core, very dark grey interior surfaces, and dark grey or red brown exterior surfaces. 5–10mm thick	Common but not precisely quantifiable fine to medium quartz sand; 5% medium to very coarse sand sized (0.5–2mm), round, red iron oxide; 3% medium sand to (very rarely) small granule-sized (0.25–5mm) burnt flint.	MIA associations	14
Q2	Variably coloured. 6–8mm thick	20–25% medium to coarse rounded quartz sand (0.25–0.75mm)	MIA form	None
DC4	Very soft/friable and light. Dark brown core and yellow brown surfaces. 7–9mm thick. A coarse variant of <i>DC1</i>	20% medium sand to large granule- sized (0.25–4mm), sub-angular to sub- round, yellow brown/ orange powdery nodules (decalcified calcareous stone). At the surface the inclusions often have a reddish hue or are represented by voids	Similar tempering to MIA fabric <i>DC1</i>	7
		Undated (probably MIA)		
GFe	Soapy – roughly finished. Dark grey brown core and either dark grey to dark grey brown or orange surfaces. <i>c</i> 10mm thick.	Sparse to common but not precisely quantifiable medium quartz sand ( $c$ 0.25mm); medium to coarse sand-sized (0.5–1.5mm), sub-round, red Fe oxide; unquantifiable grog	See text	None
GS	Soapy – roughly finished; grey core and grey to buff surfaces. Dark grey carbonaceous flecks visible against its lighter grey core. 9–11mm thick	Sparse but not precisely quantifiable coarse sand-sized (0.75mm) grog; 3–5% shell		None
		LIA/ERB		
G2	Soapy. Grey core and surfaces. Dark grey carbonaceous flecks visible against its lighter grey core. 6–7mm thick	20–25% medium sand sized (0.25–0.5mm) angular grog; very rare coarse sand-sized buff stone (? greensand); wholly unquantifiable quartz sand	LIA–ERB decorative traits. Different Anstiebury distribution to	50 & 52

#### Table 1 (contd)

Fabric code	Description	Inclusions	Dating evidence	Numbered vessels
G1	Soapy. Dark grey or brown core and dark grey to red buff surfaces. 4–7mm thick	20–30% medium sand-sized (0.25–0.5mm) angular grog	unequivocally ERB wares	37–8, 47 & 51
		ERB		
RBFQ	Red brown core and grey surfaces. 5–7mm thick	Common but not precisely quantifiable fine to medium quartz sand with mica	ERB forms	53
AH	Hard. Light grey core and grey surface and margin. 5–6mm thick	25–30% fine to medium (c 0.25mm) quartz sand	ERB forms	45, 61
RBQ	Grey to brown grey core, grey surfaces and variably present grey buff to brown interior and exterior margins. Buff surfaces where burnt. 5–7mm thick	25–30% medium (0.25mm) or medium to coarse (0.25–0.5mm) quartz sand	ERB forms	41, 44, 54–60
DS	Grey core and orange/buff surfaces and margins. 8–9mm thick	10–20% coarse sand to small granule- sized (1–2.5mm) platy voids/shell casts; rare but not precisely quantifiable fine quartz sand (<0.25mm)	Stratified with or above ERB sandy wares	43

Analogous glauconitic fabrics occur across the south central and south-east regions, from Hampshire, where they are associated with saucepan pottery (Cunliffe 1984, 245), through Sussex (east of the Arun), where they are associated with late PDR and saucepan pottery (Seager Thomas 2005, table 7; 2008a, 41), Greater London and Essex, where they occur in forms identical to those from Hascombe and Anstiebury (Peacock & Williams 1978, 58; Sidell *et al* 2002, 43), and Kent, where they are associated with both MIA and LIA pottery types (Couldrey 1984, 38–40; Pollard 1988, 31). A vessel in a glauconitic fabric from Hawk's Hill's pit 10 is similar in form to vessel 15 from Hascombe (colour pl 4).

Fine sandy fabrics in forms similar to those in which FQM occurred at Hascombe, have a wide distribution focused on the Lower Thames Valley and Essex. The closest contemporary analogues known to the author are from Hawk's Hill (Cunliffe 1965, fig 9, no 10) and London (Kensington – Seager Thomas 2003, fabric Q2).

### Fine to medium wares

The fine to medium wares are represented by five fabrics: *DC1*, present at all three sites; *Q2*, present at Holmbury and Anstiebury, and *FMF1*, *FMF2* and *GAB*, present at Hascombe only (tables 2 and 4).

Dominating the assemblages from all three sites is fabric *DC1*, tempered with calcitic rock (greensand and, perhaps, other calcareous stones), which has now mostly turned to powder (table 1; colour pl 1, nos 1–4). It was frequently decorated, appears always to have been thinbodied and burnished, and was used for saucepan pots, curviform jars with out-turned rims and narrow, pinched-out bases and, in two cases, what best reconstruct as 'S-profile' jars. Very similar decalcified fabrics are known from a handful of West Sussex sites (there are unpublished examples from Roundstone Lane, Angmering, for example), London's Lea Valley (colour pl 2) and Holmbury St Mary's Felday enclosure, the 'Eastern Atrebatic' form of which may have implications for our understanding of the fabric's chronology and provenance (colour pl 4); similar non-decalcified fabrics are present in MIA assemblages from at least three other Surrey sites (colour pls 1, no 14, 2 and 4; table 3) and are common in Sussex, particularly on sites east of the river Arun (colour pl 2; Seager Thomas 2005, table Table 2 Quantification of post-Deverel-Rimbury, Middle Iron Age and undated prehistoric pottery fabrics from Hascombe and Holmbury, showing fabric date and context *terminus post quem*.

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DC4				I	I	I	Ι	223	I	I	I	I	Ι	I	I	I		I	Ι	I	Ι		I	Ι	I	21
FCF				I	I	198	I		I	I	217	I	Ι	I	I	I	9	I	Ι	Ι	Ι		I	Ι	I	I
DC3				I	I	I	Ι	I	I	I	I	I	1057	19	I	I	I	I	200	I	Ι		I	I	I	I
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2 – fabric C). MIA sherds from Hawk's Hill, in which fine calcitic rock and grog are mixed (colour pl 4), possibly result from the recycling of similar calcitic rock-tempered fabrics.

Q2, which was rare on the hillforts, is widely paralleled in MIA assemblages from elsewhere in the county (table 3). In contrast to many of these, the fabric at Holmbury and Anstiebury was roughly finished (cf Hawk's Hill: Cunliffe 1965, fig 6, pit 2, no 1).

Hascombe's flint-tempered FMF2 (colour pl 1, no 12) was restricted to finely burnished and decorated saucepan pots. Although occasionally present in Surrey, notably in the MIA assemblages from Tongham (table 3), where we see the same apparent focus on saucepan pots, analogous 'fine' but densely flint-tempered fabrics are not widely characteristic of its MIA pottery, but they are the dominant type both in West Sussex and south-east Hampshire, where fabrics identical to FMF2 are widespread and where saucepan pots in these fabrics occur on many sites (Seager Thomas 2005, table 2).

Gabbroic *GAB* (colour pl 1, nos 7–8), which was classified as flint-tempered by Thompson (1979, 287), and so previously escaped notice, comprises two very abraded sherds from a medium-sized decorated jar. Originating in south-west Cornwall (Peacock 1969), its only parallel in the South East comes from Chilgrove Roman villa, West Sussex (colour pl 4), where it was associated with flint-tempered saucepan pottery of the sort present at Hascombe (Cunliffe 1979, 184).

The final fine to medium ware fabric, FMF1 (not illustrated), is represented by a single sherd belonging to a large, roughly burnished, jar – a rather different class of vessel to the others in this group. At first sight this sparsely tempered fabric would seem more at home in a PDR assemblage than in an MIA one, but a handful of parallels for the form in which it occurs, and a similarity in 'feel' between it and MIA sandy and sandy flint-tempered fabrics from West Clandon, confirm its later credentials.

### Medium and coarse wares

Medium and coarse wares are represented by four fabrics (DC2, DC3, FCF and DC4 – table 1). The decalcified fabrics DC2-4 (particularly DC4) are clearly related to DC1, although in no case does the original temper survive in an identifiable form. DC2, which has a distinct cork-like fracture (colour pl 1, nos 5–6), is represented by sherds from a very large burnished jar. DC3 (colour pl 1, nos 9–10) has a rough sandy feel and is roughly burnished or unburnished. It was used for saucepan pots, the best-preserved examples of which are thicker and more coarsely made than those in fine to medium ware fabrics and are presumably heavier-duty wares. DC4 (not illustrated), a very coarse equivalent of DC1, is represented by a single small, roughly finished, jar.

Flint-tempered *FCF* (colour pl 1, no 11) is sandier than *FMF1* and *FMF2* and more sparsely tempered than *FMF2*. At Hascombe it occurred burnished, possibly in a globular form. (The rim of the vessel cannot now be identified, but Thompson's illustration – fig 2, no 14 – bears an uncanny resemblance to a previously unacknowledged rim in fabric DC1 – fig 2, no 11 – and there must be a suspicion that he conflated two different vessels.) Analogous fabrics are present amongst the earlier IA pottery from Tongham, while fabrics similar to DC3 and *FCF*, with medium quartz sand and red iron oxide inclusions, are present in a number of north Surrey MIA assemblages, including those from Ashford Prison (Seager Thomas 2006, 67), Ottway's Lane, Ashtead (unpublished), and Brooklands (Hanworth & Tomalin 1977, 23) (table 3; Seager Thomas 2006, 67).

DC2 and DC4 have no parallels known to the author.

### TYPOLOGICAL CONTEXT

Since the 1970s Barry Cunliffe's concept of a saucepan pot continuum comprising a number of different regional style zones, which together cover much of central and south-east England, has underlain most studies of MIA pottery typology conducted within the region – including

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Calcitic rock & medium to coarse quartz sand	12.5	11	I	I	I	T	7	I	I	I	I	I		I
Shell	1	I	I	I	13	7	43	I	I	I	I	I	I	47
Fine-medium quartz sand	I	7	I	14	9	13	7	17	4	I	I	I	I	I
Medium–coarse quartz sand	12.5	4	20	41	53	20	I	17	17	21	I	I	7	9
Quartz sand & red Fe-oxides	I	I	I	18	I	ŝ	I	33	7.5	14	I	I	I	I
Glauconite	12.5	4	I	I	18	9	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	29
Flint	I	15	I	6	I	33	I	I	51	50	86	83	86	1
Flint & medium–coarse quartz sand		4	I	18	9	T	14	I	20	14	I	I	7	I
Grog	12.5	4	20	I	I	13	I		I	I	I		I	I
Gabbro	I	4	I	I	Ι	I	I	I	I	I	14	I	I	I
Number of pots:	8	27	5	22	17	62	14	9	53	14	7	9	14	17

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that of F H Thompson (1979, 299). The three hillforts lie to the south of the area covered by his Hawk's Hill–West Clandon grouping (Cunliffe 2005, fig 5, no 5). As Thompson acknowledged, however, the range of pottery types and the decorative motifs present in the assemblages from the hillforts are more extensive than those cited by Cunliffe and are not easily accommodated within his scheme. Indeed, growing evidence for the trade and/or exchange of pottery across the region suggests that, as currently framed, it may not be viable at all. Nonetheless it is likely that some kind of analogous – albeit more fluid – regional



Fig 1 Middle Iron Age pottery from Hascombe. DC = decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabric; B = burnished; FMF = fine to medium flint-tempered fabric. Scale 10cm (drawings: adapted from Thompson 1979, figs 24 & 25)

grouping of these vessels is appropriate. For example, MIA forms from other regions such as the globular bowl (not to be confused with the curviform jar, a form to which this name has occasionally been applied – eg Lowther 1945) and the (lipless) convex-sided jar, seen in Surrey groups of similar date from the north (Ashford Prison and Hawk's Hill – Cunliffe 1965, fig 6, no 1; Seager Thomas 2006, figs 50, no 5, 53, no 6, and 56, no 1), are absent, while the ratios of different pottery types to each other, particularly decorated saucepan pots to decorated, fine to medium ware curviform jars, stand out as regionally distinct (8:5 at



Fig 2 Middle Iron Age pottery from Hascombe. DC = decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabric; B = burnished; FCF = sparse fine to coarse flint-tempered fabric; FQM = fine sandy fabric with mica; GAB = (Cornish) gabbroic fabric; S = smeared. Scale 10cm (drawings 9–10, 12 & 14–19 adapted from Thompson 1979, figs 24 & 25; drawing 11: author)



Fig 3 Early 1st millennium BC (31) and Middle Iron Age pottery (20–30) from Hascombe. DC = decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabric; B = burnished; FMF = fine to medium flint-tempered fabric; GLA = glauconite-rich fabric; FQM = fine sandy fabric with mica; RB = roughly burnished (*not* Romano-British); MCF = medium to coarse flint-tempered fabric; F = fingered. Scale 10cm (drawings 20–22 and 25–31 adapted from Thompson 1979, fig 25; drawing 24: author)

Hascombe as opposed to 10:1 at Tongham, 4:1 at Norton, East Sussex, more than 4:1 at Hawk's Hill and 0:20 at Torberry, West Sussex). This accords well with the fabric evidence outlined above for the existence of a regionally distinct pottery group focused on the hillforts.

Readers uninterested in the minutiae of Iron Age pottery typology may wish to skip to the following section (Dating the pottery).

#### The saucepan pots

The Hascombe assemblage incorporates sherds from at least eight saucepan pots in three fabrics, of which six can be meaningfully reconstructed. A highly fragmented pot in DC1, reconstructed by Thompson as two different pots (1979, fig 24, nos 13–14), is decorated on the upper body with thinly drawn curvilinear 'swags', and below a slightly out-turned rim with a series of thin horizontal lines and impressed dots (fig 2, no 12, and colour pl 2). The lower body of a pot in FMF2 is decorated with more elaborate swags, comprising broader lines and impressed dots (fig 1, no 2). Three other pots in the same flint-tempered fabric are decorated with broad curving lines on the body (fig 1, no 4, and colour pl 2) and broad horizontal lines below a simple rim (figs 1, no 4, and 3, no 30; colour pl 2) and above a slightly expanded base (fig 3, no 29). A pot in DC3 has a tooled circle on the base and a horizontal line just above it (fig 3, no 28), and another, which was also split into two by Thompson (1979, fig 25, nos 5–6), a broad groove below a pronounced out-turned rim (fig 2, no 19).

There is no obvious parallel for this group of pots – either from Surrey or elsewhere. However, many of the individual vessels and decorative traits comprising it have analogues locally and, in particular, in assemblages from Sussex.

Broad swags are very much part of Cunliffe's group, occurring on a West Clandon saucepan pot, which is tempered with calcitic rock (colour pl 2), and a Wisley roundshouldered jar (Lowther 1945, fig 3, no 34). Simple, thinly drawn swags and broad horizontal and curving lines, like those in the Hascombe assemblage, are combined in another calcitic rock-tempered vessel, a saucepan pot from Carne's Seat in West Sussex (colour pl 2), and are present on pots from nearby Findon Park and Park Brow (Fox & Wolseley 1928, fig 6a; Wolseley et al 1927, fig 15). Hascombe's vessel 4, moreover, has exact flint-tempered parallels in West Sussex assemblages from, for example, North Bersted (Bedwin & Pitts 1978, fig 18, nos 88 and 89) and the Trundle (Curwen 1929, pl 13, no 155; see also pl 2 from Torberry hillfort). Curvilinear designs consisting of a pair of solid lines with a row of dots inbetween are known from as far afield as Blewburton Hill, Oxfordshire, which vielded a much reproduced example (eg Harding 1974, fig 68), but they are also present in the assemblage from Hawk's Hill, on a globular jar in a coarse sandy fabric (Cunliffe 1965, fig 6, no 1), and on saucepan pots and curviform jars from across Sussex (Findon Park, Newhaven, Norton, Park Brow and the Trundle – Curwen 1929, pl 12, no 143; Fox & Wolseley 1928, fig 9a; Hawkes 1939, fig 4; Seager Thomas 2005, fig 16, no 9; Wolseley et al 1927, fig 14).

#### Convex-sided jar

Holmbury yielded a roughly finished convex-sided jar with a slightly waisted and slightly outturned rim (Boyden 1958, pl 2 – not reproduced here). The type is common in MIA pottery assemblages, particularly from the Lower Thames Valley and the surrounding area, where it occurs frequently in coarse sandy fabrics similar to that in which it occurs as Holmbury (Q2). Approximate published parallels come from Ashford Prison (Seager Thomas 2006, figs 55, no 2, and 56, no 4), Brooklands (Hanworth & Tomalin 1977, fig 23, no 210) and Hawk's Hill (Cunliffe 1965, fig 7, no 5).

## Curviform jars

Round-shouldered jars with narrow bases and out-turned rims are a common, albeit minority, component of saucepan pot assemblages from Wiltshire to Sussex, although once more, the present assemblage has no group parallel, either in terms of the numbers or the types present. The reconstructable pots – eight in all – are of three broad types: undecorated with a pronounced out-turned rim (fig 3, no 27), decorated with an out-turned/bead rim (figs 1, nos 1 and 5, 2, nos 9–10, 4, no 32; colour pl 3), and decorated with a pronounced out-turned rim (fig 2, no 11). The vitrified sherds from Anstiebury (fig 6, no 48) may belong to one or

other of these latter types, but it is possible that their sinuous form, rather than being typological, is the result of the intense burning to which they must have been subjected. In addition, a handful of rim sherds with similar out-turned/bead rims (figs 1, no 3 and 5, no 42) might be undecorated variants (or fragments) of the middle group. All were fashioned from *DC1*.

The first of these types, reconstructed here from Thompson's (1979) figure 25 (nos 15 and 17), is closely paralleled by a calcitic rock-tempered pot from Ottway's Lane, Ashtead (colour pl 4).

The decorated out-turned/bead rim form has Surrey parallels from Tongham (in flinttempered and sandy fabrics – Jones in prep, figs 6, no 62 and 7, no 88), West Clandon (in a very friable sandy, flint-tempered fabric – Frere 1944, fig 2, no 1) and Wisley (Lowther 1945, fig 2, no 29). The form was present at Highfield, Wiltshire (Cunliffe 2005) and, possibly, on the Caburn hillfort in East Sussex (Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl 12, no 83 – the illustrated sherd itself is lost and its exact form cannot now be checked). The decorated, pronounced out-turned rim form occurred at Hawk's Hill (Cunliffe 1965, fig 14, no 1), Wisley (Lowther 1945, fig 3, no 30) and at Newhaven (Hawkes 1939, fig 4, nos 1–2), where the upper profiles resembled that of Hascombe's vessel 11. The decorative motifs employed on these vessels, and the parallels for them, are similar to those discussed above (see *The saucepan pots*).

# Glastonbury Ware

Hascombe's Glastonbury Ware jar comprises two sherds in fabric *GAB*. Owing to their abraded condition certain reconstruction of these is impossible but the slightly out-turned rim, the horizontal platform between the neck and body, and the 'slashed' cordon (fig 2, no 18, and colour pl 4) are all typical traits of the tradition in Cornwall (eg Elsdon 1989, fig 7, no 1).



Fig 4 Early 1st millennium BC (34) and Middle Iron Age pottery (32, 33 and 35) from Holmbury. DC = decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabric; B = burnished; Q = sandy fabric. Scale 10cm (drawings adapted from Thompson 1979, fig 24)

#### Large and coarse ware jars

Hascombe's large jars (figs 1, no 8, and 3, no 24) have imprecise parallels in assemblages from Little Waltham in Essex, which may be earlier than the Hascombe assemblage (Drury 1978, figs 42, no 12, 47, no 164, and 48, no 208), Bigberry in Kent, which incorporates later forms (Thompson 1983, figs 11, no 44, and 12, no 88) and, in a different fine flint-tempered fabric, the MIA assemblage from Tongham 4 (Jones in prep, fig 9, no 134).

The small coarse ware jar from Hascombe is very abraded and can no longer be completely reconstructed. Thompson's reconstruction (fig 1, no 7) has an approximate parallel from Hawk's Hill (Cunliffe 1965, fig 7, no 5), while surviving rim sherds from it, which are more pointed than that illustrated in Thompson, suggest comparison with a small jar in a coarse shelly fabric from West Clandon (Frere 1944, fig 3, no 12).

#### S-profile jars

Two different 'S-profile' jar forms can be distinguished, one with a thin out-turned neck, which occurred in FQM (fig 2, no 15) and – possibly – DC1 (fig 5, no 39), and one with a thicker out-turned neck, which occurred in two slightly different glauconitic fabrics (unillustrated vessel 23 and fig 5, no 40). In addition Hascombe yielded a fragment from a pedestal base in DC1, which might belong to an S-shaped jar or a curviform jar of the sort discussed above (fig 2, no 17).

The S-profile form is similar to that of the curviform jar, and although usually finer, should probably be considered part of the same typological family.

Formerly considered diagnostic of the 'Wealden Culture', a local mid 20th-century term that took in much of what we would now call the Iron Age (Cunliffe 2005, 13–15; Ward-Perkins 1944, 144–6), it in fact has a wide distribution across south-east England, in particular Greater London, Essex and Kent, where it frequently but not always forms part of a diagnostically MIA suite (Couldrey 1984, fig 15, nos 16 and 18; Curwen & Curwen 1927, pl 9, no 59; Drury 1978, fig 48, nos 202–3; Grimes & Close-Brooks 1993, fig 27, no 46; Seager Thomas 2006, fig 52, no 2; 2008b; Sidell *et al* 2002, 339, no 33; Thompson 1983, fig 11, no 78; Ward-Perkins 1944 fig 12, nos 1–2; Wilkinson 1988; Wolseley *et al* 1927, fig 11 etc). The fabrics in which it occurs are usually sandy and frequently glauconite-rich (eg Hawk's Hill – colour pl 4).

### DATING THE POTTERY

Given the fact that no fewer than seventeen radiocarbon dates are associated with it (Hamilton & Manley 2001, table 4; Thompson 1979, tables 1–3), the pottery assemblage from Hascombe ought itself to be a key source for dating the period. The problem is that most of the radiocarbon dates with good pottery associations are too late, in some cases by centuries, with the remainder too wide to be of any use, and there must be a strong suspicion that the site was either disturbed at a later date or – more likely in view of the apparently stratigraphically closed nature of the assemblage – the dated samples contaminated by younger material. The site is useful for dating, but only indirectly, through cross-comparisons between the forms and fabrics that comprise it, and radiocarbon-dated analogues for these from elsewhere.

The principal source for the dating of pottery belonging to or associated with the saucepan pot continuum is a series of radiocarbon dates from Danebury hillfort, which suggests a lifespan for the continuum of around 300 years. At its earliest these place undecorated saucepan pottery in the 4th century cal BC and the *floruit* of decorated saucepan pottery in the 3rd or even the 2nd century cal BC (Cunliffe & Orton 1984, fig 5, no 1). It is unlikely that saucepan pottery impinged much on the following century, at least in Wessex and the south-east, but the rare co-occurrence of saucepan pottery with LIA wares or early amphorae on sites such as Tongham (Poulton 2004, fig 4.7b), Hengistbury Head (Cunliffe & Brown 1987, 305) and Torberry hillfort (Cunliffe 1976, fig 20), and the late form of the Felday jar, which is in a saucepan pot fabric (colour pl 4), may indicate that the continuum extended up to this later period. Three radiocarbon dates from East Sussex confirm this broad chronology for that county, and provide a date for its calcite rock-tempered fabric (Norton – Seager Thomas 2005, 95).

For the remaining fabrics, and those vessel types that were not present at Danebury such as the curviform and 'S-profile' jars, there are no good radiocarbon dates, and discussion of their exact position within the Iron Age continues (eg Champion 2007). In particular, there is a suspicion – not proven – that the 'S-profile' jar appeared before the saucepan pot, and survived longer. (The form is present in the Early–Middle IA assemblage from Little Waltham, Essex, and a Middle–Late IA assemblage from Bigberry, Kent – Drury 1978; Thompson 1983.)

Many of the forms in the present group, however, have good decorated saucepan pottery associations elsewhere, and/or frequently occur in groups from outside the saucepan pot continuum that are stratigraphically separable from earlier Iron Age PDR traditions and later Iron Age 'Belgic' traditions. An assemblage from London's Lea Valley, for example, includes a saucepan pot in a decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabric (colour pl 2), a glauconitic fabric identical to *GLA2* and several sandy, S-profile jars (Seager Thomas 2008b), while that from Little Waltham incorporated glauconitic fabrics, vessels similar to Hascombe's medium ware shouldered jar, and S-profile jars identical to the types and in similar fabrics to those distinguished at Hascombe and Anstiebury (Drury 1978). There is little doubt therefore that they were present somewhere in the region during the MIA.

For all three assemblages, however, dating rests finally on whether that from Hascombe was, or was not, closed stratigraphically. Given the definition of the traditions that preceded and followed saucepan pottery, it is unlikely that they would have been represented at Hascombe primarily by chronologically ambiguous forms and fabrics. Presumably therefore it was closed and the bulk of the material comprising it – including the ambiguous forms and fabrics – is of MIA date. Specifically, the author would suggest a date some time around the 2nd century BC, later than the earliest MIA material from multi-phased Surrey sites such as Ashford Prison and Tongham but of the same approximate date as that belonging to the later phases of the MIA occupation of these sites and that of MIA sites like Hawk's Hill and West Clandon.

#### POTTERY USE AT HASCOMBE

When considering pottery use at any site it is essential to distinguish between functional and regional diversity. Although belonging to the same broad tradition, the later assemblage from Hascombe differs subtly from many other Surrey and regional MIA assemblages. An interpretation that sees in this a different role for the site is not without appeal, for it is consistent with the idea that hillforts were special-places. But, although not identical, the fabrics and forms comprising the assemblage belong to the same classes as the fabrics and forms absent from it, and it can be assumed therefore that their use was similar. In terms of the pottery assemblage at least, Hascombe was not a special-place.

The MIA assemblage comprises mostly middle-sized vessels. As such it is typical of the period: when compared to earlier, PDR traditions and later, 'Belgic' traditions, MIA pottery was used for fewer things or individual pots were used for more things (cf Hill 2002, fig 13, no 3).

The preference displayed on site for curviform jars with closed mouths and narrow bases, which would not have been suitable for cooking or large-scale storage, over saucepan pots, the shape of which would have allowed a wider range of possible uses, and the domination of the assemblage by a fabric (DCI) associated with these, appears to confirm that the use(s) to which these were put was limited. Moreover, the recurrent association of saucepan pots

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Colour plate 1 Surrey MIA fabrics. Hascombe: 1-4 = fabric DC1 (3, partially non-decalcified – pot 9); 5-6 = DC2; 7 & 8 = GAB (Cornish Glastonbury Ware); 9-10 = DC3; 11 = FCF; 12 = FMF2; 13 = FQM. Ottway's Lane, Ashtead: 14 = calcitic rock-tempered fabric (C). West Clandon: 15-16 = shelly fabric. Scale x2 (photographs: author)



Colour plate 2 Surrey and regional saucepan pots. C = calcitic rock-tempered fabric; B = burnished; DC = decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabric; FMF = fine to medium flint-tempered fabric. The orange sherd belonging to the saucepan pot in DCI from Hascombe was burnt (oxidised) after it was broken. Scale 10cm (photographs: author)



Colour plate 3 Middle Iron Age curviform jars in decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabrics (*DC1*) from Hascombe and Holmbury. Many of the sherds comprising the Hascombe vessel were burnt (oxidised) after they were broken – note in particular the colour difference between joining sherds. Scale 10cm (photograph: author)



Colour plate 4 Other Surrey and regional MIA and 'possible' MIA pots. GLA = glauconite-rich fabric; B = burnished; C = calcitic rock-tempered fabric; GC = grog(?) and calcitic rock-tempered fabric; GAB = (Cornish) gabbroic fabric; DC = decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabric. The late attribution of the Felday jar suggests a Wealden source for fabric C/DC. Scale 10cm (drawings: author and adapted from Cunliffe 1979, fig 68; photographs: author)

and curviform jars on site, and the infrequent association of these with coarse and large vessel types, suggests that the use of saucepan pots and curviform jars was similar or closely related.

Saucepan pots and/or curviform jars were recovered from almost every trench excavated at Hascombe (ie from across the site), whereas coarse wares and large vessels, which probably would have been suitable for cooking and/or large-scale storage, come from trenches behind the south-east rampart only, indicating the possible existence of different activity zones on site. This view is broadly confirmed by the distribution of quern fragments, which were present in only four trenches.

#### THE PROCUREMENT OF POTTERY DURING THE MIDDLE IRON AGE IN SURREY

Previous work on pottery fabrics (mostly petrological in nature) has suggested the existence of three strategies for the procurement of pottery during the MIA: wholly specialist, where pottery produced at a restricted number of locations was distributed widely; local, where pottery was produced and distributed locally; and mixed, where there was a combination of both local and regional distribution. Surrey – insofar as it figured in this scheme at all – fell somewhere between the mixed and the local systems (Morris 1994, fig 3; Morris & Woodward 2003). It is clear from both the foregoing analysis, however, and those conducted by the author on other Surrey and regionally proximate assemblages (Seager Thomas 2005; 2006), that the county in fact belongs firmly in the mixed group. For the three hillforts, the evidence for this lies in both the pottery's fabrics and typology.

Despite the evidence for a distinct regional pottery group focused on the hillforts, to a specialist familiar with MIA pottery from across south-east England, the Hascombe assemblage has a distinctly Sussex feel. Fabric DC1 with close parallels from Surrey, Sussex and possibly Greater London (table 3), but not beyond, was present on all three sites, while Hascombe's principal flint-tempered fabric (FMF2) and the forms in which this occurred on site, are most closely paralleled in West Sussex (another pot thought to have been imported from this general area was found at Ashford Prison – Seager Thomas 2006, fig 50, no 7), which has long been known as the source of both Hascombe and Holmbury's querns (Peacock 1987, 81). It is also striking that the only known parallel from the region for Cornish Glastonbury Ware (GAB), itself a very exotic find, comes from Chilgrove, in West Sussex, within the known distribution of West Sussex flint-tempered saucepan pottery and 12km as the crow flies from that county's quern quarries. However, the relative abundance of calcitic rock-tempered pots in different parts of the region (table 3), the identification in some of these of greensand, the possibility of an extended currency locally (at Felday – colour pl 4), the close similarity between DC1 and the coarse ware, DC4, which appears to be restricted to Hascombe, and the absence from Sussex assemblages of decorated curviform jars in calcitic rock-tempered fabrics similar to those found on the hillforts, suggests the likelihood of a north Wealden, rather than a Sussex source for them. Thus pottery was both going to and coming from Sussex. (The possibility of a Surrey source for FMF2 suggested by the identification of wasters among Tongham's flint-tempered saucepan pots - notably in the 'log ladder' pit (Poulton 2004, fig 4.7b) – can, for the moment, be set aside since the distortion on which these identifications are based, which in each case results from the vitrification of the clay body of the pot, could as easily result from post-firing burning as misfiring.)

Additionally, the Hascombe and Anstiebury assemblages incorporate minority glauconitic (GLA1 and GLA2) and sandy (FQM) fabrics, which, although roughly paralleled in assemblages from sites across the South East, occur in forms that are most characteristic of the Lower Thames Valley.

There can be little doubt that the foregoing reflects specialisation in pottery making and procurement, although this does not seem to have extended to coarse wares. The concentration of three exotic fabrics on Hascombe suggests the possibility that it had a central role in this similar to that postulated for MIA hillforts elsewhere (Cunliffe 2005, 390). It is, however, impossible as yet to untangle the roles of trade, gift exchange, the broadening of

the territories from which raw materials for pottery making were obtained, family-itinerant industry, and/or the movement of families with their possessions during the period – all of which have been cited in explanation of analogous resource procurement systems – at least not with certainty. If DC1 and its analogues are indeed the same, and we do not yet know this for sure, trade is the only logical explanation for its widespread distribution. If a particular fabric occurs in a restricted range of forms (such as the saucepan pot), if the sedimentological parameters of a fabric are limited, or if a particular fabric is best represented in assemblages from another region, as with Hascombe's flint-tempered fabrics and Sussex's calcitic rock-tempered fabrics, this also supports the trade hypothesis. On the other hand, the presence of unequivocal Sussex forms at only one of the three hillforts and one or two other Surrey sites is consistent with the idea of the movement of people and their possessions. It is hoped that further analyses of this and other types will resolve these issues. In the meantime, however, the available evidence strongly suggests the existence of a flourishing trade in pottery in the region during this period.

#### RITUAL OR RUBBISH?

Hascombe and Holmbury's pits were excavated in their entirety and the pottery assemblages from them are probably more or less complete. As such they provide good evidence for the nature of pottery deposition within them. Individual context assemblages are divisible into two broad groups: those comprising a handful (or less) of mostly featureless sherds, and those comprising many large sherds from one or more reconstructable pot(s). Only one pot was complete (fig 2, no 9 and colour pl 3), while one very large jar was represented by a single sherd only (fig 3, no 24); different groups were associated with different combinations of other finds (vessels 7 and 8 – quern fragments and a fragment from a triangular loomweight; vessels 9-14 - quern fragments, clay slingshots and grain; vessels 15-19 - a single quern fragment; vessels 20-22 - two or three class I potin coins); individual pots in them were represented by both burnt and unburnt sherds (colour pls 2–3), most incorporated sherds from vessels that could not be reconstructed and at least one, residual PDR sherds. This is of interest because it corresponds neither to what would be expected of simple discard, nor what would be expected of 'ritual' deposition.

At this point we really need more data. If sherds from individual pots were clustered together, or had a structured relationship to the other finds with which they were associated, we might have inferred that they were 'placed', as opposed to 'thrown' into the features from which they were recovered (cf Hill 1994, 4). On the other hand, a melange of different pots and other categories of finds would be better explained in terms of the casual scraping up of rubbish (eg Seager Thomas 2005, 98 and fig 10). But we do not have this sort of detailed contextual data.

What is clear, however, is that between breakage and final deposition, most of the pots in the assemblages went through an intermediate stage, during which some sherds were burnt, sometimes intensely, and others dispersed. An obvious mechanism for this is the midden. After breakage, pottery was taken to a midden or, in view of the different distribution of pot types on site, perhaps one of several scattered around the site (there is no need to invoke a comparison between these and the well-known monumental middens of East Chisenbury and Potterne, which belong to a different period and were on a very different scale), where it was burnt and mixed with other rubbish, before being redeposited in a disused pit. The latter may have occurred piecemeal, as individual pits went out of use (cf Seager Thomas 2008a, 40, 46), or as part of a single act of levelling and clearance on the abandonment of the site (cf Hamilton 1985; 2003, 78). The present author's preference is for the first. But whichever, it clearly has implications for our understanding of the different pottery context assemblages from the site, and the dating of the features from which they come, since individual middens would most likely contain material belonging to more than a single episode of pottery using activity, while final deposition may have occurred long after the pottery was first discarded.

# **Undated pottery**

Two grog-tempered fabrics cannot be dated with certainty. The first of these, *GFe*, was present on all three sites (tables 2 and 4). Given its presence at Hascombe and Holmbury, neither of which yielded demonstrably LIA or Roman pottery, it seems likely that it is of early 1st millennium BC or MIA date, the earlier date recommended by its on-site associations (which always included PDR fabric types – table 2), the later by a recent report of a grog-tempered saucepan pot from Anstiebury (Jones 2008, fig 6, no 1) and the identification of similar, albeit finer, equivalents in MIA form in the Hawk's Hill assemblage (eg Cunliffe 1965, figs 5, no 4, and 10, pit 6, no 11). Individual MIA sherds from the assemblages studied here probably do contain grog, but it is impossible to isolate them as such, and, *contra* Thompson (1979, 285–9), none of the fabrics definitely associated with MIA pottery forms can safely be characterised as grog-tempered. The second, GS, occurred at Anstiebury only, where its principal association was with fabric *GFe* and MIA fabric *CO* (table 4). There must be a strong suspicion therefore that it too is of MIA date. However, its association with GFe and CQ is insecure (it occurred on a surface rather than in a pit), and, whereas grog tempering is untypical of MIA traditions in south-east England, it is wholly typical of LIA traditions, and present at Anstiebury in pottery of LIA type. Again therefore it is impossible to date with certainty.

# Late Iron Age or early Roman?

At the far end of the chronological range, the mixed LIA/ERB assemblage shows the ditch at Anstiebury to have been open until the introduction into the area of unambiguously Roman pottery, that is to say after the Claudian conquest of AD 43, when it appears deliberately to have been filled in (see Thompson 1979, 303). The mixing on site of the LIA group with material of Roman date (table 4) rules out further detailed analyses.

## LATE POTTERY TRADITIONS

The surviving later-dated pottery – all of it from Anstiebury – can be divided into three typological/fabric groups: grog-tempered, which was associated with native 'Eastern Atrebatic'/Sussex grog-tempered and 'Belgic' forms, sandy, present in ambiguous 'Belgic' or ERB and fully romanised form, and decalcified shelly, which shared the sandy fabrics' associations (table 1).

## Grogged wares

Two grog-tempered fabrics, G1, a medium ware and G2, a sandy fine to medium ware, comprise two ends of a continuum of grog-tempered fabrics present on site. Two sherds in G1 were decorated with narrow tooled arcs or 'eyebrows' (fig 5, nos 37–8), a typical Sussex grog-tempered form, and both the fabric and the decorative motif are widely paralleled in pottery belonging to this tradition from East Sussex to the Lower Thames Valley (the aforementioned Ottway's Lane, Ashtead, site, Ewell, Horsted Keynes, Norton, etc – Cotton 2001, fig 5, nos 7–10; Hardy 1937, 255 and figs 3–12; Seager Thomas 2005, fig 19, no 30). G2 occurred in both Sussex grog-tempered (fig 6, no 52) and 'Belgic' form (fig 6, no 50). Thompson (1979, 260) cited a close Horsted Keynes parallel for the former (Hardy 1937, fig 25) but G2 itself is untypical of Sussex grog-tempered traditions and in Surrey has so far been distinguished only in the assemblage from Hawk's Hill (by the writer). Both the 'Belgic' form, however, in this case a round-bodied cordoned jar, and the sandy grog-tempered fabric, are closely paralleled in Kent (eg Cliffe – Kinnes *et al* 1998, fig 23, no 46; Pollard 1988, 31) and in assemblages from sites north of the Thames.

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#### Sandy wares

This group comprises a small range of mostly unoxidised, medium and medium to coarse sandy wares of generic ERB type (*RBQ*), a hard, light grey sandy ware from Alice Holt (*AH*), and sherds from a single vessel in an oxidised, slightly micaceous, fine sandy fabric (*RBFQ*). The forms in which these occurred on site are all ERB and they have close parallels in these forms from a number of ERB sites in the region. A necked jar with a sharply carinated shoulder in *RBQ* (fig 6, no 54), for example, has an exact parallel, in terms of its form and fabric, from Ashford Prison (Malcolm Lyne says that this too comes from Alice Holt, equating it with his Alice Holt type 1-20 – Lyne & Jefferies 1979, 22), while the jar in *RBFQ* (fig 6, no 53) is very similar to pots in an analogous micaceous fabric from Reigate Road, Ewell (FMIC – Cotton 2001, fig 7, nos 36 and 47).

#### Decalcified Shelly Ware

The single reconstructable pot in fabric *DC* from Anstiebury (fig 5, no 43), a large closed mouth jar with a flat-topped rim, has close local parallels in the ERB assemblage from Purberry Shot, Ewell (Lowther 1949, fig 18, no 23), and in the assemblage from Ottway's Lane, Ashtead, where it was loosely associated with the Sussex grog-tempered ware sherd referred to above. The fabric was also present at nearby Reigate Road, Ewell (Cotton 2001, 13). Attributed to a source in the Woolwich Clay, analogous fabrics in different forms, however, had a wide currency in the areas bordering the Lower Thames Valley/Thames Estuary during the LIA and ERB periods, where they are variously known as Essex shell-tempered wares (STW), North Kent shell-tempered wares, Thames Estuary shelly wares etc (Pollard 1988, 31, 39–40; Sealey 1996, 55–7; Tyers 1996, 183–4).

#### DATING THE ASSEMBLAGE

Dating the later assemblage at Anstiebury is complicated by the fact that there was no clear stratigraphic succession between these later fabrics on site. Grog-tempered sherds (fig 6, nos 50-2), which might be expected to be early, occurred high in the stratigraphic sequence of the site and in direct association with fabrics *RBQ* and *DS*, while *RBQ*, which might be expected to be late, occurred close to the bottom of the sequence (fig 5, no 41). Furthermore, in different places and at different times, analogous fabrics – and sometimes forms – have been claimed by both Iron Age and Roman specialists. However, individual context assemblages from the site were mostly dominated by grog-tempered sherds or by *RBQ*, or a combination of *RBQ* and *DS* (table 4), which allows the possibility that one group did indeed succeed the other.

Less clear is when this succession occurred: at the Roman conquest or later?

According to Chris Green (1980, 72), Sussex grog-tempered traditions date from the 1st century BC, and continue more or less unaltered into the ERB period. The evidence for this lies in the existence of large Sussex context and site assemblages, which have yielded Sussex grog-tempered pottery only (eg Hamilton 1977, figs 50–2) or a mixture of Sussex grog-tempered pottery and ERB pottery (Green 1976), and the presence in some of the former of a few types not represented in the latter – Green specifically mentions rouletting, a variant of which is present in one of the few Anstiebury groups that did not include Roman pottery (fig 5, no 37; table 4). The same is essentially true for 'Belgic' pottery, although in its case the proposed early dating is tighter, for the evidence includes associations with imported pottery largely absent from the Sussex database (Green 1980, 72; Thompson 1982). The onus therefore is on the Roman specialist to tell us when sandy fabrics came to dominate assemblages locally.

Stratigraphically, the earliest sherd in *RBQ* from Anstiebury is a necked jar from one of the lower fills of the main ditch (fig 5, no 41). It is just possible that this pre-dates the conquest



Fig 5 Middle Iron Age (36, 39, 40 and 42), Late Iron Age/early Romano-British (37–38) and early Romano-British pottery (41 and 43–5) from Anstiebury. *DC* = decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabric; *B* = burnished; *G* = grog-tempered fabric; *GLA* = glauconite-rich fabric; *RBQ* = Romano-British sandy fabric; *DS* = decalcified shelly fabric; W = demonstrably wheel-thrown; AH = Alice Holt; Q = Iron Age sandy fabric. Scale 10cm (drawings: adapted from Thompson 1979, fig 7)

- it is not obviously wheel thrown, and, although the type is essentially an ERB one, approximately similar forms do turn up in 'native' assemblages from the region. The trouble is, as we have seen, these are themselves transitional. The best internal evidence remains the grouping apart on site of grog-tempered and sandy sherds, and the unambiguously pre- to early-Flavian Roman form of most of the remaining feature sherds comprising the later group



Fig 6 Middle Iron Age (48–49), Late Iron Age/early Romano-British (50–2) and early Romano-British pottery (53–61) from Anstiebury. V = vitrified possible calcitic rock-tempered fabric; DC = decalcified calcitic rock-tempered fabric; G = grog-tempered fabric; B = burnished; RBFQ = Romano-British fine sandy fabric; W = demonstrably wheel thrown; AH = Alice Holt. Scale 10cm (drawings: adapted from Thompson 1979, fig 8)

(fig 6, nos 53-60 - cf Cotton 2001, figs 6 & 7). The sandy wares date from not long after the conquest and it follows that the grog-tempered wares are of conquest or pre-conquest date. This view is consistent with those of specialists from neighbouring areas who believe that sandy fabrics were of little importance prior to the conquest (Pollard 1988, 40–1; Sealey 1996, 55).

## Conclusion

It perhaps seems surprising that a collection of pottery known for so long should now yield so much that is new to the county's archaeology: early 1st millennium BC activity on two of the three hillforts, a major network of MIA regional and inter-regional exchange, and the possible central role of Hascombe in this, etc. However, it is nothing compared to what might be expected of similar analyses applied to the remainder of the region's under- and unstudied database. The importance of the foregoing lies not so much in this author's inferences as in the further-reaching interpretative possibilities they suggest: what here is 'strongly suggested', would there perhaps be confirmed or refuted. F H Thompson's chronologies of the three hillforts and the cultural inferences he drew from them were wrong, and have led workers either to misplace Surrey during the Iron Age or avoid it altogether, with the result that it is sometimes absent from or distorted in the wider record, but he nonetheless generated an invaluable resource for future generations of archaeological researchers.

The Iron Age in Surrey therefore is 'up for grabs'.

For its pottery, the obvious next steps are the re-examination of the other extant assemblages comprising the published database which, collectively, are certain to yield important data on pottery fabric and assemblage composition (chemical analyses of the clay matrices of the region's calcitic rock- and flint-tempered fabrics, to ascertain whether they are indeed the same, would be particularly useful), and the full analysis and publication to the research community of the massive database generated by developer-funded archaeology within the county. As a start, the Surrey County Archaeological Unit promises the publication soon of a number of prehistoric sites in an English Heritage-funded monograph series, although not of those that regional Iron Age specialists would most like to see. But above all, the author would like to see a return to the field in the hope that it will yield up further caches of Iron Age pottery and the recording of these in a way sympathetic to the needs of modern archaeological interpretation. We might then have a realistic stab at the rest of the Iron Age.

## APPENDIX

### **Catalogue of feature sherds**

#### HASCOMBE

#### Rampart area

Tail of the rampart (trench 75/1, layer 14)

- Rounded, out-turned rim and shoulder of burnished round-shouldered jar decorated with shallow oval impressions and broad burnished lines. Fabric DC1. Highly abraded dark brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.9.
- 2 Base and burnished lower body of saucepan pot decorated with shallow oval impressions and broad burnished lines. Fabric *FMF2*. Highly abraded brown to orange exterior surfaces; dark grey interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.10.

Surface against entrance revetment (trench 77/1, layer 6, and trench 77/4, layer 5)

3 Rounded, out-turned rim of burnished roundshouldered jar. Fabric DC1. Dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.1. 4 Rounded rim and upper body of burnished saucepan pot decorated with very broad burnished lines. Fabric *FMF2*. Dark grey to brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.1.

Ditch fill (trench 77/7, layer 4)

5 Rounded, out-turned rim and shoulder of burnished round-shouldered jar decorated with shallow circular impressions and narrow burnished lines. Fabric *DC1*. Dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig. 25.12. (Note: the label with this sherd describes it as coming from 'below rubble'; the number given is that of the rubble itself).

#### Site interior

- Lower fill of hearth (trench 75/6, layer 4)
- 6 Rounded, out-turned rim of burnished roundshouldered jar or saucepan pot decorated with a broad burnished line below the rim. Fabric DC1. Dark grey exterior and very weathered dark grey interior surfaces. Not illustrated by Thompson.

Upper fill of pit (trench 75/8, layer 3)

- 7 Base and lower body of roughly finished convexsided jar with out-turned 'bead' rim (the rim illustrated by Thompson has been damaged and is no longer reconstructable). Fabric *DC4*. Buff exterior and dark grey interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.16.
- 8 Rounded, out-turned rim and upper body of burnished, very large round-shouldered jar. Fabric *DC2*. Very weathered/abraded buff surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.17.

Upper fill of pit (trenches 75/5 and 77/7, layer 4)

- 9 Complete profile of burnished round-shouldered jar with rounded, out-turned rim and expanded, slight pedestal-base, decorated with oval impressions and narrow burnished lines. Fabric DC1. Dark grey to yellow brown surfaces (the latter burnt after breakage). Thompson's fig 24.11 (Thompson's text refers to a complete jar).
- 10 Formerly complete profile of burnished roundshouldered jar with rounded, out-turned rim and expanded base, decorated with narrow burnished lines. Fabric *DC1*. Yellow brown surfaces (burnt *after* breakage). Thompson's fig 24.12.
- 11 Rounded, out-turned rim and shoulder of burnished round-shouldered jar decorated with shallow oval impressions and narrow burnished lines. Fabric DC1. Highly abraded dark grey brown surfaces. Not illustrated by Thompson or wrongly illustrated by him with pot 14.
- 12 Rounded, slightly out-turned rim, upper body and base of burnished saucepan pot decorated with shallow oval impressions and narrow burnished lines. Fabric *DC1*. Dark grey brown exterior and very weathered dark grey brown interior surfaces; weathered yellow brown (burnt) interior and exterior surfaces (these two groups of sherds were illustrated separately by Thompson). Thompson's figs 24.13 and 24.14.
- 13 Flat base of burnished saucepan pot. Fabric FMF2. Grey to buff exterior and dark grey interior surfaces. Not illustrated here or in Thompson (identical to Hascombe vessel 29).
- 14 Base and lower body of burnished round-bodied jar with out-turned neck (the rim/neck illustrated by Thompson is missing). Fabric *FCF*. Abraded red brown exterior and dark brown interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.15.

Middle fill of pit 1 (trench 77/6, layer 4)

- 15 Rounded rim, out-turned neck, and shoulder of burnished round-shouldered/S-profile jar. Fabric FQM. Lightly abraded (possibly trowel damaged) dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.3.
- 16 Rounded, out-turned rim and upper shoulder of roughly burnished round-shouldered jar. Fabric DC1. Weathered dark grey to dark grey brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.4.

- 17 Pedestal-base. Fabric *DC1*. Very weathered yellow brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.7.
- 18 Flared neck, raised collar and rounded upper shoulder of a Cornish Glastonbury Ware jar, burnished and decorated on the collar with oblique lines. Fabric *GAB*. Highly abraded buff surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.8.
- 19 Formerly complete profile of roughly finished saucepan pot with rounded, out-turned rim, decorated with a broad burnished line below the rim. Horizontally finger smeared or wiped upper, exterior surfaces. Fabric *DC3*. Lightly abraded dark grey brown to yellow brown surfaces (the latter burnt *after* breakage). Thompson's figs 25.5 and 25.6.

Lower fill of pit 2 (trench 77/6, layer 5)

- 20 Base of saucepan pot. Fabric *DC1*. Very weathered dark red exterior surface; dark grey interior surface. Thompson's fig 25.9.
- 21 Burnished body sherd decorated with narrow burnished lines and stabbed dots. Fabric *DC1*. Abraded dark red surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.10.
- 22 Burnished body sherd decorated with narrow burnished lines. Fabric DC3. Dark red exterior and dark grey interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.11.

Lower fill of pit (trench 77/12, layer 5)

- 23 Flared neck of burnished, probable roundshouldered/S-profile jar. Fabric *GLA1*. Dark grey exterior and grey to buff interior surfaces. Not illustrated here or in Thompson (identical to vessel 40 from Anstiebury).
- 24 Out-turned, rounded, internally bevelled rim and upper shoulder of large burnished shouldered jar. Fabric *FMF1*. Abraded dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.13 (appears to have been conflated by Thompson with 23, above).

Topsoil above pit (trench 77/13, layer 2)

25 Burnished body sherds decorated with narrow burnished lines. Fabric FQM. Abraded dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.14.

Topsoil and layer above pit (trench 77/13, layers 2 and 3)

26 Rounded, out-turned rim and upper shoulder of probable saucepan pot. Fabric *DC1*. Very weathered and abraded yellow brown surfaces (burnt *after* breakage). Thompson's fig 25.16.

Fill of pit (trench 77/13, layer 5)

27 Rounded, out-turned rim, upper shoulder and expanded base of roughly burnished roundshouldered jar. Fabric *DC1*. Lightly abraded dark brown to dark grey surfaces. Thompson's figs 25.1 and 25.17.

- 28 Lower body of roughly burnished round-bodied(?) jar decorated with narrow burnished lines. Fabric DC3. Abraded dark grey brown to red brown exterior and dark grey interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.19.
- 29 Base and lower body of burnished saucepan pot decorated with broad burnished lines. Fabric *FMF2*. Abraded grey to buff surfaces.

Layer below topsoil (77/14, layer 2)

- 30 Rounded rim of burnished saucepan pot decorated with broad burnished lines. Fabric FMF2. Lightly abraded dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.21.
- 31 Square rim and flared neck of roughly fingerfinished PDR-type shouldered jar. Fabric MCF. Dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 25.20.

#### HOLMBURY

Rampart area

Inner ditch fill (74/2, layer 15)

32 Formerly complete profile of burnished roundshouldered jar with rounded, out-turned rim and expanded base, decorated with shallow oval impressions, stabled dots and narrow burnished lines. Fabric *DC1*. Dark grey brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.12 (note: the context number on the sherds indicates that this vessel comes from above Thompson's 'massive rubble', not below it, as he says in his published text).

Site interior

Layer above hearth (74/5, layer 2)

33 Rounded, out-turned rim of round-shouldered jar or saucepan pot. Fabric DC1. Very weathered and abraded dark grey to yellow brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.4.

Fill of pit (74/7, layer 3)

- 34 Flared neck with internally rounded rim of burnished PDR-type shouldered jar. Fabric Q1. Dark grey brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.7.
- 35 Base of burnished jar. Fabric *DC2*. Abraded red brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 24.8.

#### ANSTIEBURY

Inside rampart

Old land surface (72/1a, layer 7)

- 36 Rounded, out-turned rim of round-shouldered jar. Fabric *DC1*. Abraded dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.3.
- 37 Burnished body sherd decorated with thin burnished lines. Fabric G1. Abraded red brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.1.

38 Burnished body sherd decorated with thin burnished lines and small, stabbed dots. Fabric *G1*. Abraded dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.2.

Buried layer (72/6, layer 2)

39 Out-turned neck of burnished, possible roundshouldered/S-profile jar. Fabric DC1. Highly abraded dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.5.

#### Rampart complex

(Note: many of the published layer numbers for sherds illustrated by Thompson, which he describes as coming from the main ditch, do not correspond with the numbers on the labels accompanying the sherds, although, where there are context descriptions, these suggest that they are the same deposits. The numbers and descriptions given here are those accompanying the sherds).

Face of ditch 1 (73/4, layer 2)

40 Rounded rim and flared neck of burnished roundshouldered/S-profile jar. Fabric *GLA2*. Abraded grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.8.

Lower stony fill of ditch (72/1a, layer 39)

41 Round shouldered, necked jar with bulging neck and bead rim. Fabric *RBQ*. Highly abraded dark grey brown to red brown exterior and abraded dark grey interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.10.

Fill of ditch 1 (72/1a, layer 37)

42 Rounded, out-turned rim of round-shouldered jar. Fabric *DC1*. Highly abraded dark grey brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.16.

Upper stony fill of ditch 1 (72/1a, layer 36)

- 43 Flat-topped externally bevelled rim of large burnished closed-mouth jar. Fabric *DS*. Abraded yellow brown surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.14.
- 44 Bead rim and upper shoulder of wheel-thrown closed-mouth jar. Fabric *RBQ*. Grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.13.

Fill of ditch 1 above 36 (72/1a, layer 12)

45 Sharply carinated, wheel-made necked bowl with cordon at the angle between the upper shoulder and neck. Fabric *AH*. Light grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.10.

Upper rubble fill of ditch 1 terminal, south (73/3, layer 4)

- 46 Externally rounded, flat-topped rim and slightly flared neck of burnished jar with internal fingering. Fabric *Q2*. Lightly abraded dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 7.18.
- 47 Externally rounded, flat-topped rim, slightly flared neck and rounded upper shoulder of large burnished jar. Fabric *G1*. Abraded dark grey surfaces. Not illustrated here or in Thompson.

Upper rubble fill of ditch 1 terminal, north (73/4, layer 4)

- 48 Two body sherds decorated with circular impressions and burnished lines. Fabric V. Burnt grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.20.
- 49 Concave shoulder of roughly finished jar decorated with burnished lines. Fabric *DC3*. Red brown exterior and dark grey interior surfaces. Thompson fig 8.23 (left).
- 50 Rounded roughly burnished body of cordoned 'Belgic' jar (not wheel thrown). Fabric G2. Lightly abraded dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.19.
- 51 Body sherd decorated with burnished lines. Fabric *G1*. Abraded dark red grey exterior and heavily weathered and abraded, buff interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.23 (right).

Layer overlying ditch 1 terminal, north (73/4, layer 3)

52 Eastern Atrebatic/Sussex grog-tempered body sherd decorated with thin burnished lines, and with applied, fingertip-impressed cordon. Fabric *G2*. Abraded red brown exterior and dark grey interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.21.

Lower fill of ditch 2 (72/1b, layer 11)

- 53 Rounded shoulder, neck and bead rim of wheelmade necked bowl decorated with horizontal groove at maximum girth. Fabric *RBFQ*. Red grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.25.
- 54 Sharply carinated shoulder, neck and bead rim of wheel made necked jar with cordon at the angle

between the upper shoulder and neck. Fabric *RBQ*. Dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.24.

- 55 Neck and bead rim (with groove on top) of wheel made necked jar with cordon at the angle between the upper shoulder and neck. Fabric *RBQ*. Burnt and abraded grey exterior and buff interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.26.
- 56 Neck and expanded rim (with groove on the outside and possible lid seating) of wheel made necked jar with cordon at the angle between the upper shoulder and neck. Fabric *RBQ*. Abraded grey exterior and burnt and abraded, buff interior surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.30.
- 57 Bead rim and upper shoulder of closed-mouth jar. Fabric *RBQ*. Burnt and abraded buff surfaces. Thompson's fig 32.
- 58 Complete profile of wheel-made shallow dish/'dog bowl' with cordon at the internal angle between the vessel's side and base. Fabric *RBQ*. Dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.35.
- 59 Complete profile of wheel-made shallow dish/'dog bowl' with carination below the rim. Fabric *RBQ*. Dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.36.
- 60 Rounded shoulder, decorated on the shoulder with burnished chevrons, neck and double-bead rim with lid seating of large, wheel made jar with cordon at the angle between upper shoulder and neck. Fabric *RBQ*. Dark grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.31.
- 61 Upright neck and bead rim of wheel-made necked jar. Fabric AH. Light grey surfaces. Thompson's fig 8.27.

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