

# Iron Age

## by Stewart Bryant

For the purposes of this review, the Iron Age has been divided into two sub-periods:

The Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition and the Early Iron Age (800–400/300BC)

The later Iron Age (400/300BC to AD50)

In addition, a further sub-division has been made for some aspects of settlement and artefacts, between the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition (800–600BC) and the Early Iron Age (600–400/300BC).

### I. The Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition and the Early Iron Age (800–400/300BC)

#### Artefacts

The beginning of this sub-period is marked by the ending of bronze hoards and the deposition or discard of metalwork on settlements (see also Brown, this volume). This provides a reasonably distinct chronological horizon in Essex and Hertfordshire at the end of the 8th century (Burgess and Needham 1980). There is however evidence that hoarding in the Fens, Norfolk and Suffolk continued slightly later (Thomas 1989).

After the 8th century, apart from the occasional item of metalwork, artefacts which can be dated securely to points within this sub-period are generally rare within the region. Pottery assemblages are dominated by flint-gritted wares, the majority of which are coarse ware jars. The forms and fabrics tend to be long-lived and in some parts of the region persist well into the later Iron Age (see below and Barrett 1980; Saunders 1972; Bryant 1995; Davies 1996; Sealey 1996, 47). Decoration of this group, where it occurs, is mostly restricted to cabling and finger-tipping around the shoulder and rim.

The fine wares comprise thinner-walled forms which frequently have burnished surfaces, and in contrast to the coarse wares, vary across the region, both in terms of their form and their chronological development (Bryant 1995 18–21; Davies 1996; Sealey 1996). However, in the transitional Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age period (c. 800–600/500) the fine wares show a broad stylistic similarity, with each site displaying minor variations of vessel form. It is only from about 600/500BC that the distinctive and characteristic Early Iron Age fine ware localised styles are clearly recognisable in some parts of the region (N. Brown pers comm.). The most notable of these are the carinated and decorated bowls of the Chinnor/ Wandlebury style (Cunliffe 1978, 39) which occur in the Chilterns and south Cambridgeshire from about 500 to 300BC. The bowls also frequently have foot-ring or pedestal bases and were clearly influenced by the contemporary vase carines pottery of the Marne area of France (Bryant 1995, 21). Examples of closer and more faithful copies of the elegant vase carines style angular pots have also recently been found at Fordham, Cambridgeshire (J. D. Hill pers. comm.).

In Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk and North Cambridgeshire, Early Iron Age fine wares are represented by the plainer angular bowls of the Darmsden style (Cunliffe 1968; Cunliffe 1978, 39; Davies 1996) and the distinctive West Harling style carinated bowls. The latter are generally less common than the Darmsden bowls but are nonetheless present in a number of pottery assemblages from Norfolk and Cambridgeshire (J.D. Hill pers comm.). The Darmsden bowls appear to have a longer currency than the Chinnor/Wandlebury bowls and recent evidence has suggested that they probably originated in the Late Bronze Age (Brown 1988a, 272; Sealey 1996, 47; Martin 1993). Late Bronze Age origins for the West Harling bowls is also indicated by their association with a Halstatt C razor at Hills Road, Cambridge (J.D. Hill pers. comm.). Although the accurate dating of most sites within the sub-period is problematical (within 150–200 years), it is possible to make a crude distinction between those sites with pottery assemblages which include distinctive fine wares (the period from c. 600/500 to 300BC), and those sites which either do not have fine wares or which include fine wares which are not locally distinctive (the period from c. 800 to 600/500BC). However, even this very general and crude division is at present problematic for the areas which do not possess easily classifiable Early Iron Age fine wares such as parts of Norfolk and southern Hertfordshire.

It is likely that most pottery in the region was produced locally within 10 kilometres of the home base (Morris 1996, 41). This is particularly the case with the coarse wares which form the bulk of most assemblages. It is however possible that some of the East Anglian Early Iron Age fine wares were exchanged over longer distances, in the same way that some of the contemporary haematite-coated and scratched-cordoned bowls from Wessex were (Morris 1996). The characteristics of the East Anglian fine wares — the clays, tempering and decoration — make the location of production sites by techniques such as petrological analysis and the detailed study of finishing techniques more problematic than is the case with Wessex. However, the detailed examination of the evidence for the long-distance exchange of fine wares in East Anglia is a potentially fruitful area for future study in the region.

#### Settlement Patterns

##### *The Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age Transition (c. 800-600/500BC)*

Current evidence suggests that the distribution of settlement across the region at this time was sporadic, with locally distinct clusters of sites occurring on the lighter soils along the river valleys and the Fen-edge. There is also some evidence of limited colonisation of the edges of the extensive boulder clay areas of the region (see below).

In Hertfordshire, a number of sites are known from the Chilterns including Blackhorse Road, Letchworth (Moss-Eccardt 1988), the Weston Hills, Baldock (Hutchings and Richmond 1995); Whiteley Hill (Bryant 1994); Wilbury Hill (Applebaum 1949); Gadebridge (Bryant 1995, 19)



Figure 5 Location of places mentioned in text: Iron Age

and the Bulbourne valley sites of Bottom House Lane, Crawleys Lane and Pea Lane (McDonald 1995a). Settlements are also known from the valley of the river Lea at Cole Green in Hertford (McDonald forthcoming), Foxholes (Partridge 1989) and Turnford (Bryant 1995, 19).

In Suffolk, sites dating to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition also appear to be concentrated on the lighter soils and along the principal river valleys. In particular, a recent study of the sandy Breckland soils has demonstrated a relatively dense concentration of settlement evidence (Sussams 1996). In Essex there is also clear evidence for extensive arable and pastoral landscapes in the Chelmer and Blackwater terrace gravels, continuing on from the Late Bronze Age proper (Brown, this volume; Martin 1988, 68; Brown and Lavender 1994; Wiltshire and Murphy 1993). Few settlements are so far known from Norfolk although the Breckland area to the east of Thetford, at the southern edge of the county, appears to have favoured settlement of this period (Davies 1996, 67) including the site at West Harling (Clark and Fell 1953). The distribution of sites in Cambridgeshire indicates that clusters of settlements existed where the major rivers entered the Fens (J.D. Hill pers. comm.). Sites are known from the Fen-edge at Langwood Farm West (Evans 1995) and Wicken (Bray 1992). Settlement can also be reasonably inferred from the activity at the Flag Fen ritual complex and the presence of planned field systems at Fengate (Pryor *et al.* 1992). In addition to the Fen-edge clusters, evidence is beginning to accumulate for settlement along the Ouse Valley from sites such as Brampton in Cambridgeshire (Malim and Mitchell 1993).

There is now a significant body of evidence from Hertfordshire and Essex for an expansion of settlement along the edges of the boulder clay plateau during the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition. Recent excavation at Thorley near Bishop's Stortford on the Hertfordshire Essex border (McDonald 1995b) and at Stansted and Broads Green in Essex (Brown 1988b), have produced evidence of substantial settlements. There is also evidence from pollen at Stansted for an intensification of tree clearance associated with arable farming from about 3000BP (see V below and Wiltshire 1991).

In addition, there is some evidence for settlement on the Suffolk clay lands. Sites producing flint-gritted wares — which could date from the later Bronze Age to the later Iron Age — are known from the edges of the boulder clay plateau in parts of Suffolk (E. Martin pers. comm.). The distribution of later Bronze Age flint and metalwork on the Suffolk clay lands also suggests that significant settlement was occurring from the Late Bronze Age at approximately half the density known on the lighter soils (C. Pendleton pers. comm.).

#### *The Early Iron Age (c. 600–400/300BC)*

Evidence from the region indicates that the settlement pattern in the Early Iron Age was probably similar to that of the preceding Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition, with a concentration on the lighter soils and along the river valleys, and with some exploitation of the boulder clay areas.

In Essex there is an interesting local pattern with a marked concentration of Early Iron Age sites around the Blackwater Estuary which contrasts with an apparent absence of settlement in the adjacent Chelmer valley

(Brown 1996, 33). This may be an example of the more general pattern of local clustering of settlements in the region during the later Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (J.D. Hill pers. comm.).

In Hertfordshire, a number of Early Iron Age sites are known from the Icknield Belt of the Chilterns (Matthews 1976; Bryant 1995, 20–21) and a possible further expansion of settlement along the edge of the boulder clay is indicated at Stansted in Essex (Brown 1996, 33). There is also evidence for an increase in settlement activity on the Fen-edge in Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire during the Early Iron Age (Evans 1992).

In Suffolk, the settlement pattern is also generally the same as it is for the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition with some extensive Iron Age linear settlements which include Early Iron Age material recently revealed along the edges of the Gipping and Finn valleys, adjacent to the boulder clay (E. Martin pers. comm.) There is some evidence of exploitation of the lighter soils of the Brecklands and Sandlings in Suffolk during the Early Iron Age, although this is generally restricted to those areas which are within easy reach of water (Martin 1988, 68). This is also supported by pollen evidence which indicates that substantial clearance was taking place from about 2500BP (see below and Bennet 1983).

In Norfolk, as with the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition, the quality of the evidence is generally poor, although there is more of it and there are signs that the settlement pattern had become more firmly established (Davies 1996, 67). A site is also known in the north west of the county at Redgate Hill, Hunstanton (Wymer 1986). Andrew Rogerson's recent detailed study of two areas of West Norfolk has revealed a significant contrast in terms of the density of Iron Age sites, between the clay areas — which have few sites — and areas off the clay — which have a much higher settlement density (Rogerson 1995).

#### **Settlement Morphology**

The majority of settlements which are known from the region are unenclosed (Champion 1994, 131). The relatively high visibility of enclosed sites from aerial survey in comparison with unenclosed sites tends to reinforce the impression that most were unenclosed. Typically the open settlements consist of post-built round-houses, two and four-post structures and pits. They also usually cover more than one period of occupation, and are spread over a relatively large area. Published examples include Foxholes (Partridge 1989) and North Shoebury (Wymer and Brown 1995). However, most sites are only known from relatively recent excavations, and consequently few have yet been published (information from County SMRs; Bryant 1995, 17–21; Davies 1996)

The predominance of open sites in the later Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is a notable feature of East Anglia which contrasts with some other regions, especially Wessex, where unenclosed sites tend to be the norm (Hill 1996; Collis 1996). However, a small number of Late Bronze Age enclosed sites are known from the region. The class of Late Bronze Age circular enclosures represented by Springfield Lyons (Buckley and Hedges 1987), Mucking South Rings (Jones and Bond 1980), Great Baddow (Brown and Lavender 1994) and Whiteley Hill, Herts (Bryant 1994) is now well known (see Brown, this volume and Brown 1996, 30). The settlement at West Harling, Norfolk is situated within an oval enclosure

(Clark and Fell 1953), that at Lofts Farm within a rectangular enclosure (Brown 1988a) and a 'D' shaped enclosure is known at Broomfield, Chelmsford (Atkinson 1995b). The Late Bronze Age ringwork sites do not on current evidence appear to have continued into the Early Iron Age when enclosed sites seem to have been even rarer except for a few hillforts (see below).

### **Ritual and Burial**

The deposition of inhumations within settlements, either as complete bodies or as fragmentary remains, occurs in the region from the Late Bronze Age and continues throughout the earlier Iron Age, although the number of burials does not appear to be as high as in Wessex or the Upper Thames Valley (Whimster 1981; J.D. Hill pers comm.). Where they are present, the human remains are also typically associated with animal remains and other specially placed deposits (J.D. Hill pers comm.). Examples of complete inhumations from the region include a crouched burial from a storage pit at North Shoebury, Essex (Wymer and Brown 1995), a crouched burial from Southend Airport (Holgate 1996) and two crouched burials, one with a chalk plaque and one with two iron beads, from a shaft at Grimes Graves, Norfolk (Mercer 1981, 16–18).

Cremations also occur occasionally in the region during the later Bronze Age/Early Iron Age, usually as unaccompanied urned or un-urned burials. Five un-urned cremations were recovered from small pits at the Late Bronze Age site at Broads Green, Essex. Four of the cremations were also located close to a small rectilinear structure which may have been a shrine (Brown 1988b). Several urned cremations of Late Bronze Age date are known at Lakenheath in Suffolk (Needham 1995) and an example of a small cemetery of un-urned cremations situated adjacent to a settlement was recently excavated at Gadebridge, Hertfordshire (Herts SMR: 7981).

## **II. The Later Iron Age (400/300BC–AD50)**

### **Artefacts**

#### *Pottery*

The transition from the Early Iron Age to the later Iron Age is marked by a general change across most of the region in pottery styles and manufacturing techniques. The widespread use of flint as a tempering material, which had been taking place for possibly one thousand years in some parts of the region, was gradually replaced by sand and shell. More rounded profiles were also adopted in place of the angular forms of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age pottery (Bryant 1995, 21–22; Davies 1996; Sealey 1996, 50). However, the chronology of this change cannot be demonstrated with any degree of precision and is likely to vary within the region between 400 and 300BC. Also, in parts of Suffolk it seems likely that Early Iron Age pottery styles continued to be made well into the later Iron Age, and at Burgh in Suffolk an unabraded sherd of pottery of Early Iron Age type was even found alongside Gallo-Belgic and Roman pottery (Martin 1988, 39 no.28).

In Norfolk and the northern parts of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, there is a general conservatism in pottery manufacture and use during the later Iron Age, with hand-made sand and shell tempered forms continuing in some areas into the 1st century AD and the Roman period.

This means that pottery is of limited use as a dating tool, and other datable artefacts are also rare on sites in this part of the region until the 1st century AD. The dating of most later Iron Age sites before the appearance of Roman pottery and brooches is therefore problematic at present.

In Hertfordshire, Essex and south Suffolk, wheel-thrown pottery appears to have been adopted during the 1st century BC, although the date of its introduction into the area is still not known with any precision. Datable imports also occur occasionally with burials and on occupation sites from the early 1st century BC. An imported Dressel 1a amphora dating to the early 1st century BC accompanied a Welwyn burial at Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986, 53), and fragments of similar amphora are known from Gatesbury, Braughing (Partridge 1980, 113), the Airport Catering site at Stansted (Sealey 1996, 51) and Elms Farm, Heybridge (Sealey 1996, 50).

Towards the end of the century the importing — and copying — of significant quantities of pottery from Gaul together with the widespread appearance of datable brooches, also allows a relatively fine degree of chronological resolution for most later Iron Age sites within the area. It is possible therefore that the period of use of sand and shell tempered pottery was relatively short in some parts of Hertfordshire and Essex, and within Hertfordshire sites producing this type of pottery are relatively rare at present (Bryant and Niblett forthcoming).

The situation regarding the adoption of wheel-thrown pottery in Cambridgeshire appears to be less straightforward. At Wardy Hill, Coveney, 80% of a large assemblage dating to the first half of the 1st century AD comprised hand-made forms. However, these were also mixed together with wheel-thrown forms indicating that they continued to be made at the same time as the wheel-thrown forms were being used (Evans 1992b; J.D. Hill pers comm.). A similar situation may also be occurring at Werrington (Mackreth 1988) and at Hinxtion in south Cambridgeshire, wheel-thrown pottery was being used for burial urns during the 1st century BC (Alexander and Hill 1996) whilst contemporary domestic settlements continued to use hand-made forms (J.D. Hill pers comm.).

These examples suggest that the adoption of wheel-thrown pottery and other Late Iron Age cultural elements may have been a complex process, with traditional practices occurring alongside the new innovations. That the adoption of wheel-thrown pottery was not a uniform process, especially on some rural sites, is demonstrated by a ditch at Wendens Ambo in Essex, which contained hand-made pottery alongside imported Roman forms but did not produce any local wheel-thrown wares (Hodder 1982, 10–11).

Research combining settlement and artefact studies together with numismatics is likely to be the best method of understanding the processes involved in the adoption of 'Aylesford Swarling' cultural elements. The potential for this approach has been demonstrated recently by Edward Martin for Suffolk, where the division between the north and south of the county in terms of the adoption of cremation burial and imported pottery is particularly marked (Martin 1988, 68–73). This almost certainly reflects the cultural differences between two of the major later Iron Age tribes of the region; the Icenii — whose territory is known to have included Norfolk and north Suffolk, and the Trinovantes — whose tribal territory is known to have included Essex and south Suffolk. The

validity of this tribal division of Suffolk is also reinforced by the distribution of Icenian and Trinovantian coins and the characteristic Icenian horse harness fittings (Martin 1988).

#### *Coinage and metalwork*

East Anglia is noted for its later Iron Age coinage, which provides one of the most important sources of evidence for the period. This has been emphasised by recent reviews of the evidence (Haselgrove 1987; 1993; 1996) and by Martins' analysis of the evidence for Suffolk (Martin 1988, 70). The region is important for understanding all three of the chronological phases of Iron Age coinage identified by Haselgrove (1996). In particular, it has produced some of the earliest imported and locally produced British coinage, including a large proportion of the early cast bronze 'potin' coins, and is probably the most important region for the study of inscribed coinage (Haselgrove 1996).

The region also contains some of the most important sites for excavated coin finds including four of the seven sites in Britain which have produced more than one hundred coins: Baldock, Braughing, Colchester and Harlow (Haselgrove 1996). The potential of excavated coins has been highlighted by Haselgrove (1987; 1996) who has shown that they can be used, amongst other things, to attest shifts in settlement occupation, provide information on the status of sites and contribute to the understanding of coinage circulation patterns (Haselgrove 1987; 1996).

A number of finds of Iron Age metalwork are known from the region, mostly dating from the 1st century BC. Ornamental horse harness fittings and the decorative chariot fittings known as 'terrets' are widely distributed within the tribal area of the Iceni in Norfolk and north Suffolk (Martin 1988, 68; Davies 1996). Likewise, the large numbers of gold and silver torcs from Norfolk and Suffolk can also be identified with the Iceni (Davies 1996, 72).

There are a number of metal vessels from the Fen-edge and the marshes on the Norfolk/Suffolk border (J.D. Hill pers comm.). A small number of Late Iron Age swords and fragments of swords and scabbards have been found, including several from the south east Fen-edge near Peterborough (J.D. Hill pers comm.), a La Tène II sword from Stoke Ferry, west Norfolk (Davies 1996, 73), a La Tène III sword from Springfield Lyons (Stead 1987) and a La Tène III weapon hoard including swords from Essendon in Hertfordshire (Esmonde Cleary 1995; Stead pers comm.). A Late Iron Age sword fragment was also found together with an important hoard of twenty-three Late Iron Age blacksmithing tools in a former course of the River Lea at Waltham Abbey in 1967 (Sealey 1996, 58).

The fact that most of these metalwork finds are from wet or watery contexts and do not appear to be associated with settlements indicates that they were probably deposited as ritual or ceremonial offerings.

#### **Ritual and Burial**

The burial rite of cremation was introduced into the region probably during the later 2nd/early 1st century BC. The earliest cremations in the region on current evidence appear to occur in Hertfordshire and south Cambridgeshire from sites such as Baldock (Stead 1987) and the recently excavated site at Hinxton in Cambridgeshire

(Alexander and Hill 1996). However, the rite does not appear to have spread to Essex until after 50BC (Sealey 1996, 57–8), and to the rest of the region until probably the late 1st century BC or the early 1st century AD.

Where present, Late Iron cremation burials can provide evidence of social stratification, ritual and ceremonial practices and the emergence of a wealthy elite. The wealthiest burials, including those previously known as the 'Welwyn Type' (Stead 1967) and also including those recently excavated at Folly Lane (St Albans) and Stanway (Colchester) (Niblett 1992; Crummy 1993), together form one of the most important groups in Western Europe. The region also includes a large proportion of the national sample of Late Iron Age burials including the cemeteries at King Harry Lane (Stead and Rigby 1989) and Verulam Hill Fields (Anthony 1969) in St Albans. There is also a large and diverse sample of Late Iron Age burials at Baldock (Burleigh 1995).

There is growing evidence for the presence of significant numbers of Late Iron Age inhumation burials in the region. Inhumations appear to occur in low frequencies alongside cremations in large cemeteries, particularly King Harry Lane (Stead and Rigby 1989, 80, 204, 207) and Baldock (Burleigh 1995 and pers comm.). Several small inhumation cemeteries have also been discovered in recent years on the river Thames in Essex, at Mucking and Ardale School (Going 1993, 19; Wilkinson 1988, 37–8).

The appearance in the archaeological record of sites and areas within which activities of a ritual and ceremonial nature were carried out is a feature of the later Iron Age, and East Anglia contains some of the most important examples known from Britain. The large enclosed area at Snettisham in Norfolk where a number of gold torcs and other metalwork were deposited seems likely to have been a ritual site (Fitzpatrick 1992; Davies 1996, 78) and other ritual sites in which large quantities of metalwork and coins were deposited are known at Essendon in Herts (Esmonde Cleary 1995; Bryant and Niblett in press), and Harlow in Essex (Bartlett 1987). A Late Iron Age palisaded enclosure is known to pre-date the Roman temple at Ivy Chimneys, Witham, Essex (Sealey 1996, 59), and evidence for ritual activity is increasingly being recognised within settlement sites in the form of deposits of artefacts and the construction of shrines and other structures, frequently associated with burials. Such sites are known at Stansted (Bedwin and Brooks 1989), Verlamion, St Albans (Bryant and Niblett in press), Baldock (Burleigh 1995), Colchester (Crummy 1980), Thetford (Gregory 1991), Barnham (E. Martin pers comm.) and possibly Burgh (Martin 1988). A probable shrine is also known at Little Waltham, Essex, dating to the 3rd century BC (Drury 1980, 52). Sealey has recently drawn attention to finds of human skulls and skull fragments from several settlement and ritual sites in Essex which do not seem to be from burial contexts, including Harlow, Stifford Clays and North Shoebury (Sealey 1996, 50–1). It is suggested that these might represent part of a wider cult of the severed head which was practised in southern England during the Iron Age,

#### **Settlement Evidence**

There is evidence of expansion and intensification of settlement in most parts of the region including the boulder clays of Norfolk (Davies 1996, 68) during the later Iron

Age, and settlement is known to varying degrees of intensity over most of the soils and environmental zones in the region. The exceptions are the heavy clay areas (the clay-with-flints in Hertfordshire, the London Clay areas of Hertfordshire and Essex and the boulder clay area of Suffolk) and the lighter soils of Suffolk which do not have easy access to water. However, there is some evidence that settlement of the Suffolk clays does take place towards the end of the Iron Age (E. Martin pers. comm.).

In Norfolk there is some limited evidence of an expansion onto the boulder clay areas of the county (Davies 1996) and in Cambridgeshire recent fieldwork has revealed a substantial rural settlement on the clay at Foxton (Macaulay 1995), indicating a similar expansion there. In the Fens, there is general evidence for an expansion of settlement from sites such as at Haddenham Delphs (Evans and Serjeantson 1988), Cat's Water, Fengate (Pryor 1984), the defended Fen Island enclosure at Wardy Hill, Coveney (Evans 1992a), and Tort Hill, Sawtry (Walsh 1995).

There is evidence for a move towards larger, nucleated settlements in some parts of the region from the 4th to 2nd centuries BC. In Essex, Little Waltham (Drury 1978), Mucking (Going 1993) and the later Iron Age phase at Lofts Farm (Brown 1988a) can probably be classed as hamlets and an extensive industrial site has also recently been discovered on the boulder clay at Wymondham in Norfolk (Davies 1996; Ashwin forthcoming). The settlements at Barley (Cra'ster 1961), Wendens Ambo (Hodder 1982) and West Stow (West 1990) are also substantial and may fit in with this pattern of increasing size.

During the 1st century BC, large settlement complexes or 'oppida' appear in some parts of the region (see Davies 1996, 78 for a recent working definition). They have produced evidence for the presence of a wealthy elite, and for a range of non-agricultural activities including iron and pottery production, exchange of luxury goods and ritual activity. It is however clear that a large proportion of the area within the larger settlement complexes consisted of dispersed occupation and it can therefore be assumed that agriculture was a significant — if not the dominant — activity carried out within them.

A number of large Late Iron Age settlement complexes are known in Hertfordshire and Essex including Verlamion (Bryant and Niblett in press), Baldock (Burleigh 1995), Braughing (Partridge 1981), Cow Roast (Morris and Wainwright 1995), Welwyn (Bryant and Niblett in press), Camulodunum (Crummy 1980) and possibly Heybridge Atkinson 1995a). The extent and nature of the Late Iron Age occupation at Kelvedon (Clarke 1988; Rodwell 1988) may also indicate the presence of a large settlement complex there. The complexes extend over a significant proportion of these counties and appear to be a dominant settlement type during the Late Iron Age (Bryant and Niblett forthcoming).

The density of Late Iron Age settlement complexes is lower in the rest of the region, although several have recently been identified in Norfolk, at Thetford (Gregory 1991), Ashill (Gregory 1977; Davies 1996) and Caistor St Edmund (Davies 1996).

Recent research is also beginning to identify large tracts of relict Late Iron Age landscape in some parts of the region. Extensive field systems which may date to the Late

Iron Age are known from the Scole/Dickleburgh area of Norfolk (Williamson 1987) and also at Yaxley in Suffolk (E. Martin pers. comm.).

### Settlement Morphology

A higher proportion of settlements appear to have been enclosed in the later Iron Age although unenclosed 'open' sites were still common in Norfolk (Davies 1996, 68) and an open site is known at West Stow, Suffolk (West 1990). Square and rectangular enclosures seem to have been the most common type and occur in most parts of the region. They seem to have had a wide range of functions, from domestic at Gorhambury (Neal 1992 *et al.*), Werrington (Mackreth 1988) and Kelvedon (Rodwell 1988); possibly defensive at Thornham, Warham Burrows and Wighton (Gregory and Gurney 1986) and ritual at Barnham (Pl. III; Martin 1979). The large enclosures at Burgh (Martin 1988) and Fison Way, Thetford (Gregory 1991) were also probably multifunctional although the importance of the ritual role of these sites is increasingly being recognised (Davies 1996, 77). Some circular and oval enclosures are known at Wardy Hill, Coveney (Evans 1992a) and Codicote, Hertfordshire (Burleigh, Went and Matthews 1990).

The domestic architecture of the later Iron Age is comprised primarily of round-houses, typically represented by circular or penannular eaves-drip gullies. These are most common during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, and large numbers are known from sites in Essex such as Little Waltham (Drury 1972), Mucking (Going 1993) and Wendens Ambo (Hodder 1982). Recent excavation along the line of the Norwich Southern Bypass has also revealed several sites with round-houses (Ashwin and Bates forthcoming).

An innovation in house design occurs towards the end of the Late Iron Age in Essex and Hertfordshire with the appearance of rectangular buildings on some sites. However, as Sealey has recently pointed out, the structural evidence for these buildings tends to be ephemeral and is only found where deposits have not been significantly damaged (Sealey 1996, 60). Sites where good preservation has allowed evidence of such buildings to be recovered include Skeleton Green within the Braughing complex (Partridge 1981) and Kelvedon (Eddy and Turner 1982, 8–9; Rodwell 1988, 15, 20–1, 132–3).

### Industry

#### *Iron working*

There is some evidence that large-scale iron smelting was taking place in some parts of the region. A recent survey at Cow Roast and Ashridge has identified an extensive area of iron working on the Chiltern clay plateau adjacent to the Bulbourne valley (Morris and Wainwright 1995). The evidence occurs over an area of 10 square kilometres within a complex of settlement enclosures and field systems, and it seems likely that iron working was taking place on a part-time basis. A settlement at Park Farm, Wymondham on the boulder clay of Norfolk has also produced evidence for iron smelting, as well as antler and horn working (Davies 1996, 68). The absence of domestic occupation indicates that the activity was probably undertaken on a part-time or seasonal basis here too (Davies 1996).



Plate III Aerial view of the enclosure at Barnham, Suffolk, July 1979. *Photo: R. D. Carr*

### *Salt*

Evidence for salt production is known from Essex, where large numbers of 'Red Hills' are known along the coast. The Red Hills are made up of the remains of salt-drying containers and other industrial refuse. Over 300 sites are known and although most are of Roman date, it is clear that many began during the Iron Age (Sealey 1996, 61).

The evidence from iron and salt suggests that industrial production was a part-time activity for a significant proportion of the later Iron Age population in some parts of the region. At present the evidence is localised and is largely restricted to the most archaeologically visible processes. However, it seems inherently likely that other industrial activities, common on continental Late Iron Age oppida, such as pottery production, cloth weaving and bone, glass and stone working (Collis 1984), were also taking place particularly within the large settlement complexes.

### **III. Hillforts**

The hillforts of the region appear to fall into two reasonably distinct groups. The first group have a localised distribution along the 'Icknield Belt' of the Chiltern Hills and include Ivinghoe Beacon (Cotton and Frere 1968), Maiden Bower (Matthews 1976, 161), Wilbury Hill (Applebaum 1949) and Ravensburgh Castle (Dyer 1976). They are spaced at regular intervals, and all have produced evidence of relatively dense internal occupation. Ivinghoe and Wilbury probably began in the Late Bronze Age, but the main period of activity seems to be in the Early Iron Age, with some occupation continuing into the Middle Iron Age (Bryant 1995, 24–5; Bryant and Burleigh 1995).

The second group of hillforts occur in Norfolk, Cambridgeshire and Essex, are few in number and widely scattered. They appear to begin later than the Chilterns hillforts and have generally produced little evidence of internal occupation. The hillforts in Norfolk are geographically restricted to the west of the county and where excavation has taken place, have indicated a date range from the 5th to the 1st century BC and little in the way of internal occupation (Davies 1996, 75). There may also be a relationship between the Norfolk hillforts and the large Late Iron Age rectangular enclosures such as Warham Burrows and Thornham, with the latter possibly replacing hillforts (Davies 1996).

In Cambridgeshire, recent research has identified a group of hillforts, including Wandlebury and Arbury Camp, which all have a similar, circular form and a general lack of internal occupation (French and Gdaniec 1996; Evans 1992). The large multivallate circular defended Iron Age enclosure at 'The Auburys' in Hertfordshire can also be added to the list of unoccupied sites (Bryant 1995, 24). However, the circular fort at Borough Fen, Cambridgeshire (Pl. IV) has produced evidence for relatively dense internal occupation (RCHME 1994). The function of the few Essex hillforts is also unclear. They have a dispersed and sparse distribution in the county and in terms of date, probably start in the Early Iron Age, with some continuing to be occupied into the later Iron Age (Sealey 1996).

The general absence of occupation within this group of hillforts and the possible association of the Norfolk hillforts with Late Iron Age enclosures of ritual function, suggests that the hillforts too may have served a primarily ritual function. Certainly, the functional models for hillforts of defence and social storage do not appear to fit the evidence for these sites.



Plate IV The circular fort at Borough Fen, Cambridgeshire. *Photo and copyright Ben Robinson 1994*

#### IV. Linear Monuments

Iron Age linear monuments are being recognised as a class of monument widespread in the region, which has considerable potential for the further undersanding of social and political developments during the Iron Age. The range of monuments of this type within the region also makes it an important area for study.

In the Hertfordshire Chilterns short lengths of multiple ditches are situated at regular intervals along the Icknield Belt at right angles to the Icknield Way. Some may originally have been constructed during the Bronze Age but it is clear that most continued to be used and remodelled during the Iron Age (Dyer 1961; Bryant and Burleigh 1995). A large cluster of similar short lengths of multiple ditches to the east of Baldock appears to be associated with the Late Iron Age settlement complex there (Burleigh 1995). The well known linear earthworks at Verlamion and Camulodunum, some of which are massive, also appear to have been associated with the large settlement complex or 'oppida' (Bryant and Niblett forthcoming; Hawkes and Crummy 1995). Davies has recently suggested a Late Iron Age date for several large linear earthworks in Norfolk (Davies 1996, 75–7).

#### V. Environment and Economy

by Peter Murphy

Sustained woodland clearance, which intensified throughout the Bronze Age, continued through into the Iron Age. At Scole, a renewed phase of major woodland clearance in the late Iron Age or early Roman period, by  $2105 \pm 35\text{BP}$  (OxA-6119; CAL [2 sigma] 110 BC–70 AD),

resulted in removal even of valley floor alder (Wiltshire, in prep.). On the Thames terraces, the lime decline is thought to have been of Iron Age date (Scaife 1988). Micromorphological and pollen analysis of a buried soil beneath a hillfort rampart at Asheldham Camp provided evidence for pre-fort cultivation and downslope soil movement, in an open agricultural landscape with little woodland, apart from hazel scrub (Macphail 1991; Scaife 1991).

In the Breckland, substantial clearance occurred from about 2500BP, and heath vegetation spread from about 2250BP (Bennet 1983). Wet Fen-edge and river terrace sites with palynological and macrofossil evidence for open grassland and fen vegetation were also settled (*e.g.* Haddenham Delphs (Evans and Serjeantson 1988), Cat's Water (Pryor 1984), Borough Fen (French and Pryor 1993: 68–73), Chigborough Farm (Wiltshire and Murphy 1993). At Wardy Hill, Coveney, the defensive ditches of an enclosure have produced thorns and fruitstones of hawthorn and bramble, with pollen of hawthorn-type, bramble-type and undifferentiated Rosaceae, indicating a defensive thorn hedge (Murphy and Wiltshire, in prep.). Surprisingly, the ditches of Stonea Camp produced evidence for the immediate proximity of oak trees (Murphy 1992a; Wiltshire, in prep.). Late Bronze Age to Iron Age wooden structures on the Essex coast have provided data on species composition and management (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995).

Charred Iron Age crop remains have been reported from sites throughout the region (published reports include Green 1985; Jones *et al.* 1982; Murphy 1988a; 1991; 1992b). Predominant crops were emmer, spelt and six-row hulled barley, with lesser amounts of bread-type wheat, rye, wild or cultivated oats, peas and flax/linseed at

some sites. There is evidence for changes in production though time: at Maxey a shift towards spelt production through the Iron Age was inferred; at Wendens Ambo emmer and barley were frequent in Iron Age contexts, rare thereafter, being replaced by spelt. The latest charred deposit dominated by emmer so far known from the region came from a Middle Iron Age feature at Asheldham Camp. Pit storage of cereals was inferred from Fison Way, Thetford and suspected at Rectory Road Orsett, whilst charred deposits from Asheldham Camp were thought to indicate above-ground storage of wheat as spikelets and barley as grain.

Many of the excavated sites in the region were located on neutral to acidic sands and gravels so that bone was preserved differentially, if at all (e.g. Fison Way, Thetford, (O'Connor 1992)), or were on too small a scale to yield adequately large assemblages (e.g. North Shoebury (Levine 1995)). The material from the Stansted sites has not yet been published. Haddenham Delphs produced a very unusual bone assemblage, with cattle, sheep and pig, but also beaver, swan and pelican, attesting to the exploitation of fen resources, whilst Cat's Water yielded bones of domestic stock, fish and wildfowl. From Edix Hill, Barrington, Davis (1995) reports a Late Iron Age bone assemblage of sheep (50%), cattle (26%) and pig (15%) with other domesticates and wild species. Sheep seem to have been kept primarily for meat. At West Stow, Iron Age contexts produced a bone assemblage dominated by cattle and sheep/goat with few pigs, the low frequencies of the latter probably reflecting the scarcity of pannage in the predominantly heath landscape of the Breckland (Crabtree 1989, figs 3–4 and 107).

In the Fens a widespread transgressive overlap resulted in deposition of the 'Upper Silts' or 'Terrington Beds' with its maximum extent around 1800BP (Waller 1994, 75–9), associated with numerous Iron Age saltern sites. The 'Upper Clay' of the Yare Estuary reflects landwards extension of estuarine conditions from about 2000BP (Coles and Funnell 1981). On the Dengie peninsula, the location of Late Iron Age/Early Roman 'Red Hills' in relation to fossil landscape features has permitted outline reconstruction of contemporary coastlines (Wilkinson and Murphy 1995, 199). Occasional bones of marine fish and small quantities of marine mollusc shell have been reported from coastal sites (Jones 1986; 1995).

## Acknowledgements

The author would like to thank J.D. Hill for commenting on an earlier draft of the paper.

## Bibliography

- Anthony, I. E. 1968 'Excavations in Verulam Hills Fields, St Albans, 1963–4', *Hertfordshire Archaeol.* 1, 9–50
- Applebaum, E. S., 1949 'Excavations at Wilbury Hill, an Iron Age Hillfort near Letchworth, Hertfordshire', *Archaeol. J.* 106, 12–45
- Atkinson, M., 1995a 'Heybridge, Elms Farm', in Gilman P. J. and Bennet A. (eds), 'Archaeology in Essex 1994', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 26, 250
- Atkinson, M., 1995b 'A Late Bronze Age Enclosure at Broomfield, Chelmsford', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 26, 1–25
- Alexander, M. and Hill, J. D., 1996 *The excavation of a Late Iron Age cemetery at Hinxton, Cambridgeshire*, Cambridge Archaeol. Unit Rep. 159
- Ashwin, T. M., forthcoming 'Excavation of an Iron Age site at Park Farm, Silfield, Wymondham', *Norfolk Archaeol.*
- Ashwin, T. M. and Bates, S., forthcoming *Excavations on the Norwich Southern Bypass, 1989–91*, E. Anglian Archaeol.
- Barrett, J., 1980 'The pottery of the Late Bronze Age in Lowland England', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 46, 297–320
- Bartlett, R., 1987 *Harlow Temple Excavations 1985–6: an Interim Report*, Harlow Museum Occ. Paper 1
- Bennet, K. D., 1983 'Devensian late-glacial and Flandrian vegetational history at Hockham Mere, Norfolk, England. I Pollen percentages and concentrations', *New Phytol.* 95, 457–87
- Bond, D., 1988 *Excavation at the North Ring, Mucking, Essex*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 43
- Bray, S., 1992 *Bronze Age features at Dimmock's Cote Road, Wicken, Cambridgeshire County Council Archaeol. Rep.* 67
- Brooks, H. and Bedwin, O., 1989 *Archaeology at the Airport: The Stansted Archaeological Project 1985–89*, (Essex County Council)
- Brown, N., 1988a 'A Late Bronze Age enclosure at Lofts Farm Essex', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 54, 249–302
- Brown, N., 1988b 'A Late Bronze Age settlement on the boulder clay: excavations at Broads Green 1986', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 19, 7–14
- Brown, N., 1996 'The Archaeology of Essex, c. 1500–500 BC.' in Bedwin, O. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Essex: Proceedings of the 1993 Writtle Conference*, 26–37
- Brown, N. and Lavender, N.J., 1994 'Late Bronze Age sites at Great Baddow and settlement in the Chelmer Valley, Essex', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 25, 3–13
- Bryant, S.R., 1994 'Whiteley Hill, near Royston: a Late Bronze Age Ringwork?', *Hertfordshire Archaeology* 11, 26–9
- Bryant, S.R., 1995 *The late Bronze Age to the middle Iron Age of the North Chilterns*, in Holgate, R. (ed.), *Chilterns Archaeology: Recent Work*, 17–27 (Dunstable)
- Bryant, S.R. and Burleigh G., 1995 'Later Prehistoric dykes of the eastern Chilterns' in Holgate, R. (ed.), *Chilterns Archaeology: Recent Work*, 92–5 (Dunstable)
- Bryant, S.R. and Niblett, R., forthcoming 'The late Iron Age of Hertfordshire and the North Chilterns' in Gwilt, A. and Haselgrove, C. (eds), *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, Oxbow Monograph
- Buckley, D.G. and Hedges, J.D., 1987 *The Bronze Age and Saxon Settlements at Springfield Lyons, Essex: an Interim Report*, Essex County Council Occ. Pap. 5
- Burleigh, G., 1995 'A late Iron Age oppidum at Baldock, Hertfordshire', in Holgate, R. (ed.), *Chilterns Archaeology: Recent Work*, 103–112 (Dunstable)
- Burleigh, G., Went, D. and Matthews, K., 1990 *An Archaeological Evaluation at Hollard's Farm, Codicote, Hertfordshire*, (North Herts District Council)
- Champion, T., 1994 'Socio-economic development development in eastern England in the first millennium BC', in Kristiansen, K. and Jensen, J. (eds), *Europe in the*

- First Millennium BC, Sheffield Archaeol. Monogr. 6
- Clarke, C. P., 1988 'Late Iron Age enclosures at Kelvedon: excavations at the Doucecroft site 1985–6', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 19, 15–39
- Clark, J.G.D. and Fell, C.I. 1953 'The early Iron Age site at Micklemoor Hill, West Harling, Norfolk', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 19, 1–40
- Coles, B. P. L. and Funnell, B. M., 1981 'Holocene palaeoenvironments of Broadland, England', *Spec. Pubs. Int. Ass. Sediment* 5, 123–31
- Collis, J. R., 1984 *Oppida: earliest towns north of the Alps*, (Sheffield)
- Collis, J. R., 1996 'Hillforts, enclosures and boundaries', in Champion, T. and Collis, J. R. (eds), *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, 87–94 (Sheffield)
- Cotton, M. A. and Frere, S. S., 1968 'Ivinghoe Beacon Excavations, 1963–5', *Rec. Buckinghamshire* 18, 187–260
- Crabtree, P. J., 1989 *West Stow, Suffolk: Early Anglo-Saxon Animal Husbandry*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 47, 115
- Cra'ster, M. D., 1961 'The Aldwick Iron Age settlement, Barley, Hertfordshire', *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* 57, 22–46
- Crummy, P., 1980 'Camulodunum', *Current Archaeology* 72, 6–9
- Crummy, P., 1993 'Aristocratic graves at Colchester', *Current Archaeology* 132, 492–7
- Cunliffe, B., 1968 'Early pre-Roman Iron Age communities in Eastern England', *Antiq. J.* 48, 175–91
- Cunliffe, B., 1978 *Iron Age Communities in Britain*, (2nd ed.)
- Davies, J. et al., 1991 *The Iron Age Forts of Norfolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 54
- Davies, J., 1996 'Where Eagles Dare: the Iron Age of Norfolk', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 62, 63–92
- Davis, S. J. M., 1995 'Animal bones from the Late Iron Age site at Edix Hill, Barrington, Cambridgeshire, 1989–91 excavations', Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 54/95
- Drury, P.J., 1978 *Excavations at Little Waltham 1970–71*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 26
- Dyer, J. F., 1961 'Dray's Ditches, Bedfordshire and Early Iron Age territorial boundaries in the Chilterns', *Antiq. J.* 118, 32–42
- Dyer, J. F., 1976 'Ravensburgh Castle, Hertfordshire', in Harding, D. W. (ed.), *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland*, 153–9, 421–3 (London)
- Eddy, M. R. and Turner, C. E., 1982 *Kelvedon: the Origins and Development of a Roman Small Town*, Essex County Council Occ. Pap. 3
- Esmonde Cleary, A. S., 1995 'Roman Britain 1994', *Britannia* 26, 354
- Evans, C., 1992a 'Iron Age Research Priorities', *Fenland Research* 7, 8–10
- Evans, C., 1992b 'Commanding gesture in lowlands: the investigation of two Iron Age ringworks', *Fenland Research* 7, 16–26
- Evans, C., 1995 'Langwood Farm West and Environs', *Fenland Research* 9, 3–11
- Evans, C. and Serjeantson, D., 1988 'The backwater economy of a fen-edge community in the Iron Age: the Upper Delphs, Haddenham', *Antiquity* 62, 360–70
- French, C. and Gdaniec, K., 1996 Wandlebury Hillfort, Cambridgeshire, 1995: the training excavation of the University of Cambridge: summary report 2
- French, C. A. I. and Pryor, F. M. M., 1993 *The South-west Fen Dyke Survey Project 1982–86*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 59, 138
- Going, C.J., 1993 'The Iron Age' in Clark, A. J., *Excavations at Mucking vol. 1 The Site Atlas*
- Green, F. J., 1985 'Evidence for domestic cereal use at Maxey', in Pryor, F. M. M. et al. *Archaeology and Environment in the Lower Welland Valley*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 27, 224–32
- Gregory, A., 1977 *The Enclosure at Ashill*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 5, 9–30
- Gregory, A., 1992 *Excavations at Thetford, 1980–82, Fison Way*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 53
- Gregory, A. and Gurney D., 1986 *Excavations at Thornham, Warham, Wighton and Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 30
- Haselgrove, C., 1987 *Iron Age Coinage in South-East England: The Archaeological Context*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 174
- Haselgrove, C., 1993 'The Development of British Iron-Age Coinage', *Numismatic Chronicle* 31–64
- Haselgrove, C., 1996 'Iron Age coinage: recent work', in Champion, T. and Collis, J. R. (eds), *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, 67–86 (Sheffield)
- Hawkes, C. F. C. and Crummy, P., 1995 *Camulodunum II*, Colchester Archaeol. Rep. 11
- Hingley, R., 1984 'Towards social analysis in archaeology: Celtic society in the Upper Thames Valley', in Cunliffe, B. and Miles, D. (eds), *Aspects of the Iron Age in Central Southern Britain*, 72–88 (Oxford)
- Hill, J. D., 1996 'Hillforts and the Iron Age of Wessex', in Champion, T. and Collis, J. R. (eds), *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, 95–116 (Sheffield)
- Hodder, I. A., 1982 *The Archaeology of the M11. Excavations at Wendens Ambo*, (Passmore Edwards Museum, London)
- Holgate, R., 1996 'Essex c.400–1500BC', in Bedwin, O. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Essex: Proceedings of the 1993 Writtle Conference*, 15–25
- Hutchings, P. and Richmond, A., 1994b *Baldock Bypass: Fields 231, 232, 233 — Weston Hills, Archaeological Evaluation Report*, Heritage Network New Series 2
- Jones, A. K. G., 1986 'Fishbones', in Wymer, J. J. 'Early Iron Age pottery and a triangular loomweight from Redgate Hill, Hunstanton', *Norfolk Archaeol.* 39 (2), 286–94
- Jones, A. K. G., 1995 'Fishbones and amphibian remains', in Wymer, J. J. and Brown, N. R. *Excavations at North Shoebury: settlement and economy in south-east Essex 1500BC–AD 1500*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 75

- Jones, G., Halstead, P. and Morse, V., 1982 'The carbonised seeds', in Hodder, I. *The Archaeology of the M11. Excavations at Wendens Ambo*, 50–4 (Passmore Edwards Museum, London)
- Jones, M.U. and Bond, D., 1980 'Later Bronze Age Settlement at Mucking, Essex', in Barrett, J. and Bradley, R. J. (eds), *Settlement and Society in the Later British Bronze Age*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. 83, 471–482
- Levine, M., 1995 'Animal bone', in Wymer, J. J. and Brown, N. R. *Excavations at North Shoebury: settlement and economy in south-east Essex 1500BC–AD 1500*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 75
- Mackreth, D.F., 1988 'Excavation of an Iron Age and Roman enclosure at Werrington, Cambridgeshire', *Britannia* 19, 59–120
- Macphail, R., 1991 'Soil report', in Bedwin, O. 'Asheldham Camp — an early Iron Age hillfort: the 1985 excavations', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 22
- Malim, T. and Mitchell, D., 1993 *Neolithic Ditches and Iron Age Settlement at Thrapston Road, Brampton 1992*, Cambridgeshire County Council Rep. 81
- Martin, E., 1979 'Suffolk Archaeological Unit Excavations 1978', *Proc. Suffolk Inst. Archaeol.* 34, 218–20
- Martin, E., 1988 *Burgh, The Iron Age and Roman Enclosure*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 40
- Martin, E., 1993 *Settlements on Hill-tops: Seven Prehistoric Sites in Suffolk*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 65
- Matthews, C.L., 1976 *Occupation Sites on a Chiltern Ridge. Part 1: Neolithic, Bronze Age and Early Iron Age*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 29
- McDonald, T., 1995a 'The A41 Project' in Holgate, R. (ed.), *Chilterns Archaeology: Recent Work*, 120–3 (Dunstable)
- McDonald, T., 1995b 'Thorley, Bishop's Stortford: an archaeological excavation', (unpublished report, Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust)
- McDonald, T., forthcoming 'Excavations at Cole Green, Hertford', *Hertfordshire Archaeol.*
- Mercer, R. J., 1981 *Grime's Graves, Norfolk, Excavations 1971–72: Volume 1*, 16–18 (London)
- Morris, E., 1996 'Artefact production and exchange in the British Iron Age', in Champion, T. and Collis, J. R. (eds), *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, 41–66 (Sheffield)
- Morris, M. and Wainwright, A., 1995 'Iron Age and Romano-British Settlement, Agriculture and Industry in the Upper Bulbourne Valley, Hertfordshire: an Interim Interpretation' in Holgate, R. (ed.), *Chilterns Archaeology: Recent Work*, 68–75 (Dunstable)
- Moss-Eccardt, J., 1988 'Archaeological Investigations in the Letchworth Area, 1958–1974', *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* 77, 35–103
- Murphy, P., 1988a 'Cereals and crop weeds', in Wilkinson, T.J. *Archaeology and environment in South Essex: rescue archaeology along the Grays By-Pass, 1979–80*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 42, 99–100
- Murphy, P., 1991 'Cereals and crop weeds; charcoal', in Bedwin, O. 'Asheldham Camp — an early Iron Age hillfort: the 1985 excavations', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 22, 31–5
- Murphy, P. 1992a 'Stonea Camp, Cambridgeshire: plant microfossils and molluscs from the Iron Age fort ditch fills', Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 58/92
- Murphy, P. 1992b 'Plant remains and the environment', in Gregory, A. *Excavations at Thetford, 1980–82, Fison Way*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 53, 175–181
- Neal, D.S., Wardle, A. and Hunn, J., 1990 *Excavation of the Iron Age, Roman and Medieval Settlement at Gorbamby, St Albans*, English Heritage Archaeol. Rep. 14 (London)
- Needham, S., 1995 'A bowl from Maidcross, Suffolk; burials with pottery in the post-Deverel-Rimbury period', in Kinnes, I. and Vardell, G. (eds), *'Unbaked Urns of Rudely Shape', Essays on British and Irish Pottery for Ian Longworth*, Oxbow Monogr. 55, 159–71
- Needham, S. and Burgess, C., 1980 'The Later Bronze Age in the Lower Thames Valley: The Metalwork Evidence' in Barrett, J.C. and Bradley, R.J. (eds), *Settlement and Society in the British Later Bronze Age*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 83, 437–68
- Niblett, R., 1992 'A Catuvellaunian chieftain's burial from St Albans', *Antiquity* 66, (253), 917–9
- O'Connor, T., 1992 'Small vertebrate remains', in Gregory, A. *Excavations at Thetford, 1980–82, Fison Way*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 53, 175
- Partridge, C., 1980 'Excavations at Puckeridge and Braughing 1975–79', *Hertfordshire Archaeol.* 7 (1989), 28–132
- Partridge, C., 1981 *Skeleton Green. A late Iron Age and Romano-British Site*, Britannia Monogr. Ser. 2
- Partridge, C., 1989 *Foxholes: a Multiperiod Gravel Site*, (Hertfordshire Archaeol. Trust)
- Pryor, F. M. M., 1984 *Excavations at Fengate, Peterborough, England: The Fourth Report*, Northamptonshire Archaeol. Soc. Monogr. 2, Royal Ontario Mus. Monogr. 7 (Toronto/Leicester)
- Pryor, F. M. M. et al., 1992 'Special section: current research at Flag Fen', *Antiquity* 66, 339–51
- RCHME, 1994 The Iron Age enclosure at Borough Fen, Cambridgeshire, (Unpublished archive report)
- Rodwell, K. A., 1988 *The prehistoric and Roman settlement at Kelvedon, Essex*, Counc. Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 63
- Rogerson, A., 1995 Fransham: an archaeological and historical study of a parish on the Norfolk boulder clay, (Unpublished PhD University of East Anglia)
- Saunders, C., 1972 'The Pre-Belgic Iron Age of the Central and Western Chilterns', *Archaeol. J.* 128, 1–30
- Scaife, R.G. 1988 'Pollen analysis of the Mar Dyke sediments', in Wilkinson, T.J. *Archaeology and environment in South Essex: rescue archaeology along the Grays By-Pass, 1979–80*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 42, 109–14
- Scaife, R.G. 1991 'Pollen analysis of the Iron Age land surface', in Bedwin, O. 'Asheldham Camp — an early Iron Age hillfort: the 1985 excavations', *Essex Archaeol. Hist.* 22, 35–6
- Sealey, P.R. 1996 'The Iron Age' in Bedwin, O. (ed.), *The Archaeology of Essex: Proceedings of the 1993 Writtle Conference*, 46–68
- Stead, I.M., 1967 'A La Tène burial at Welwyn Garden City', *Archaeologia* 101, 1–62

- Stead, I.M., 1991 'The Snettisham Treasure: excavations in 1990', *Antiquity* 65, 447–65
- Stead, I.M. and Rigby, V., 1986 *Baldock: the Excavation of a Roman and Pre-Roman Settlement 1968–75*, Britannia Monogr. Ser. 7
- Stead, I.M. and Rigby, V., 1989 *Verulamium: the King Harry Lane Site*, English Heritage Archaeol. Rep. 12
- Sussams, K., 1996 *The Breckland Archaeological Survey*, (Suffolk County Council)
- Thomas, R., 1989 'The Bronze-Iron transition in Southern England' in Frensen, S. and Thomas, R., *The Bronze Age Iron Age Transition in Europe*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Int. Ser. 263–86
- Waller, M., 1994 *The Fenland Project number 9, Flandrian Environmental Change in Fenland* E. Anglian Archaeol. 70, 353
- Welsh, K., 1995 'Iron Age and Roman Settlement Remains near Tort Hill, Sawtry', *Fenland Research* 9, 57–9
- West, S. E., 1990 *West Stow, Suffolk: the Prehistoric and Romano-British Occupations*, E. Anglian. Archaeol. 48
- Whimster, R., 1981 *Burial Practices in Iron Age Britain*, Brit. Archaeol. Rep. Brit. Ser. 90
- Wilkinson, T. J., 1988 *Archaeology and Environment in South Essex*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 42
- Wilkinson, T. J. and Murphy, P., 1995 *Archaeology of the Essex Coast I: The Hullbridge Survey 1*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 71, 238
- Williamson, T., 1987 'Early co-axial field systems on the East Anglian boulder clays', *Proc. Prehist. Soc.* 53, 419–31
- Wiltshire, P. E. J., 1991 'Palynological analysis of British Rail sections at Stansted Airport, Essex', Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 8/91
- Wiltshire, P. E. J. and Murphy, P., 1993 'An analysis of microfossils and macrofossils from waterlogged deposits at Slough House and Chigborough Farms, near Heybridge, Essex', Ancient Monuments Laboratory Report 66/93
- Wymer, J., 1986 'Early Iron Age pottery and a triangular loomweight from Redgate Hill, Hunstanton', *Norfolk Archaeol.* 39, 286–96
- Wymer, J. J. and Brown, N., 1995 *Excavations at North Shoebury: settlement and economy in south-east Essex*, E. Anglian Archaeol. 75