

Iron Age metalwork object hoards of Britain, 800 BC – AD 100

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Abstract

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This thesis investigates Iron Age metalwork object hoards from Britain (800 BC – AD 100), identifying geographical and chronological patterns in hoard contents, landscape location and depositional processes. This significantly advances our understanding of object selection and the practices surrounding deposition in different times and places.

Results demonstrate some continuation in depositional practice from the Late Bronze Age through to the Earliest Iron Age with a shift to site-focused deposition in the Middle Iron Age. From the Roman Iron Age (after 150 BC) object hoards were deposited at an increasingly diverse range of sites, with a wider variety of object types represented. A new object form, the coin, was introduced to Britain in the second century BC and this thesis examines the findspots of both object and coin hoards to identify similarities and differences in deposition.

Two case study areas, south-west and south-east England, were selected to explore local variation in hoarding practices, in particular the relationship between metalwork hoarding and other forms of deposition, including burial of material on settlements, and contemporary finds from graves, rivers and shrine sites.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Aims and approach

This thesis explores the contents and deposition of Iron Age metalwork object hoards, 800 BC – AD 100. The Iron Age sees a number of changes: in this period, new object types such as currency bars, wine vessels and coins appeared as well as the introduction of a new metal, iron. These changes are all reflected in the hoarding record. Much of the object record from the Iron Age is comprised of the objects found within hoards and an understanding of their selection and eventual burial provides both a better understanding of the archaeological record as well as of the hoards themselves. These data provide a framework for investigating depositional practice, and will also provide a basis on which future studies can be grounded.

This thesis addresses the following four questions:

1. What can the contents and burial contexts of hoards tell us about their meaning and significance for Iron Age people?
2. How do the character and frequency of Iron Age metalwork hoards in Britain vary regionally and temporally?
3. How do hoards interact with other forms of deposition?
4. Were Iron Age coin hoards treated, deposited and perceived in the same way as other metalwork hoards?

The nature of CDA projects encourages PhD candidates to shape their own approach to a broader project brief, developing their own focus and research questions. In this case, the original brief included the option to compare object hoarding trends with Continental patterns and with British coin hoarding, to examine the transitions from the Bronze Age and into the Roman period, or the interaction of hoarding patterns with social and economic changes throughout the Iron Age. Not all of these themes were possible within the scope of this four-year project and the author chose to focus on relationships between object hoarding, coin hoards and other forms of deposition, developing selected case studies which made it possible to examine these areas in depth. The finished thesis goes beyond the original brief to explore object hoard creation and the potential significance behind some these processes. The structure is outlined below.

To better understand hoarding patterns, this thesis takes a number of methods/approaches:

- **creation of the first database for Iron Age hoarding in England, Scotland and Wales**

Iron Age object hoard data have never previously been compiled on a national scale, with previous studies examining hoarding through regional, object or metal-specific lenses. This dataset was compiled from both published and unpublished hoards of three or more metal objects.

- **identification of national Iron Age hoarding patterns**

Through interrogation of the database and the division of the Iron Age into four main periods: Early Iron Age or EIA (800–400 BC), Middle Iron Age or MIA (400-150 BC), Early Roman Iron Age or ERIA (150–1 BC) and Late Roman Iron Age or LRIA (AD 1-100), I identified chronological trends in the types of objects hoarded and in their burial contexts. This is explored in Chapter 4.

- **comparison with coin hoards**

Iron Age Britain did not have an integrated monetary system and it seems likely that coinage carried a number of meanings and uses beyond simply currency. Several studies (e.g. Nash 1978, 1981; Haselgrove 1987; Roymans 1990, 2004; Hill 2007; Moore 2007) have examined the use of coinage for ‘non-commercial’ payments, including the payment of dowries and the reinforcement of social hierarchies and networks through gift giving. This thesis notes that three times the number of coin hoards to object hoards were buried during the RIA and that coin hoards were also consistently larger in terms of the number of objects. Links between object and coin hoards have been previously discussed; there is a particular association between coins and torcs leading to the suggestion that torcs and coins were socially and economically interchangeable (Creighton 2000: 31; Fitzpatrick 2005). It is also possible that these objects circulated as a ‘separate economic sphere of prestige goods’ (Farley 2012: 15). The inclusion of coins in hoards was briefly addressed by Garrow and Gosden (2012) but only where they were associated with Celtic Art objects.

From the import of the first gold coins in the third century BC and growing insular production from the second and first centuries BC, coinage composed an integral part of

both single find deposition and hoarding practice in the Iron Age. Numismatics and artefact studies are often treated as separate subjects (for notable exceptions see Bradley 1998: Chapter 3; Hutcheson 2004; Farley 2012) and this thesis aims to reintegrate the two through comparison of findspots and assimilation with other depositional practices (Chapters 5 and 6). Hoards containing both objects and coins are also explored to see if particular objects or peoples hoarded these objects together (Chapter 4-6).

- **regional studies to integrate object metalwork hoarding data with the discussion of coin hoarding and grave goods**

Exploration of the depositional contexts of both coin and object hoards was not possible on a national level within the confines of this thesis. Two case study areas were selected to examine wider forms of deposition: coin hoards, water deposition, shrines and grave goods. Area 1 (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and South Wales) and Area 2 (Essex, Greater London, Hertfordshire, Surrey and Kent) are explored in depth in Chapters 5 and 6. Area 2 contained many of the first coin hoards in Britain and is the region with the earliest production of insular coinage. Area 1 offers a strong contrast to the widespread coin use in Area 2, with relatively few coin hoards until the Roman conquest – or indeed after.

- **cataloguing and investigation of the associated material, including containers**

Previous studies of hoards have rarely considered the associated objects (notable exceptions being Hingley 2006; Garrow and Gosden 2012), although some researcher have explored pit deposits which contain a range of material (e.g. Hill 1995b). This study has recorded any containers, packing materials or non-metallic items accompanying both coin and object hoards, a topic previously unexplored particularly on a national scale. Motivations for the use of containers, arrangement, non-metallic associated items are explored in Chapter 7.

The structure of the thesis takes the following form: this chapter outlines the aims, approaches and research questions of this thesis, Chapter 2 provides a survey of earlier work on Iron Age hoards and demonstrates how the thesis is situated within previous research. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology for data collection and explores possible biases in the information assembled as part of this study. Chapter 4 provides an overview of Iron Age British object hoarding and a summary of Iron Age coin hoarding in Britain, from which I have identified a number of chronological, contextual and content patterns for

object hoards. Two case studies, Areas 1 and 2, are presented in Chapters 5 and 6. These investigate the interaction of coin and object hoards in the South-East and the South-West, providing a more integrated study of depositional practices in these areas. These examine grave goods and water deposition alongside object and coin hoarding to identify local practices. Chapter 7 examines the processes involved in hoarding step-by-step; beginning with the selection of the metalwork objects, I take two case studies to examine drivers for selection: one regional (Norfolk-Suffolk border) and the other considering the deposition of Bronze Age objects with Iron Age hoards. The rest of the chapter surveys choices and processes pre-hoard deposition such as container choice, fragmentation and the accompanying selection of pottery, bone and organic material. These choices combined with evidence of arrangement and marking the site of deposition provide insights into the drivers and potential motivations for hoarding. Chapter 8 summarises conclusions from the overview and case studies and suggests avenues for further research.

Scene setting

The period covered by this thesis, 800 BC–AD 100, saw a number of changes including the use of a new metal (iron), the reintroduction of gold, the development of coinage, and the Roman invasion. The following section provides a very brief overview of changes in deposition, settlement and the artefact record during the Iron Age: the background against which hoarding occurred.

Settlement, hillforts and shrines

Settlement patterns vary both chronologically and regionally throughout the Iron Age. Settlement data are relatively sparse for the EIA, though evidence has been noted in Kent during creation of the Channel Tunnel (Champion 2016), and also at Kestor in Devon (Fox 1954).

Hillforts were first built and developed in Britain in the Bronze Age but most belong to the Iron Age, with a particular focus in the south and south-west. The term encompasses a wide range of sizes and forms, with many sites being situated on the crest of hills. Surrey saw occupation and building in hillforts from the end of the Bronze Age onwards, but other regions do not demonstrate the same continuity. In Wessex many hillforts were abandoned in the early MIA with several exceptions, such as Danebury and Maiden Castle which underwent major modifications in this period (Cunliffe 2005: 388–396).

Conversely, Kent and Surrey saw the construction of hillforts in the MIA with occupation often continuing into the LRIA (as potentially seen at Bigbury, discussed in Chapter 5).

From 400 BC onwards, some regions see a movement from open to enclosed settlement sites (Knight 2007; Moore 2007; Giles 2007) but there is great regional variation in terms of settlement. Areas such as East Anglia saw a relatively high density of settlement (Hill 2007) whereas in the south-east the absence of settlement in the MIA with increases in the ERIA/LRIA period have led to suggestions of population change and/or movement, for example at Baldock (Stead and Rigby 1986: 84) and Braughing (Partridge 1981; Potter and Trow 1988). The Severn-Cotswolds, east and south-east of England, areas which had seen little occupation, saw an increase in settlement creation (Moore 2006; Hill 2007), perhaps owing to higher population numbers (Hill 1995a: 61-2). However, in Essex, a decline in the number of roundhouses has been used to suggest a sharp contraction in population size (Sealey 2016).

From the second century BC, a number of new site types emerged such as *oppida* and shrines. Discussion continues on which sites constitute *oppida*, the definition of which is based on both descriptions in ancient sources and continental examples (Champion 2016). The term encompasses a broad range of sites, which often occupied important locales in the landscape and were used by a range of groups for both ritual domestic purposes (see Garland 2017). Shrine sites with buildings and physical structures also appear in this period and were mainly focused in the south-east of England. These are discussed further in Chapter 5. My research suggests that hoards were deposited at almost all sites types outlined above, the only (current) exception surprisingly being *oppida*.

Iron Age Society

There is great debate over the nature of social organisation in Iron Age Britain, and it is likely that there was great regional and chronological variation. Until the 1990s, Cunliffe's (1984: 549–562) suggestion of an Irish medieval style kingship, is based on work at Danebury, was common. This aligned with the written records describing the period post-Roman conquest. These tribal groupings were frequently projected back onto the LIA, possibly partly as a result of Caesar's mention of *civitates* which is often translated as 'tribes'. These were often identified through coinage distributions, though Leins (2008, 2012) demonstrated that is inaccurate and distribution is only suggestive of circulation. Cunliffe's theories were critiqued by Hill (1995, 1996) and later papers suggest more

egalitarian structures drawn from anthropological models such as Crumley's 'heterarchy' (1995) or Sharples' application of grid and group model for examining societies based on work by Mary Douglas to the Wessex hillforts (Sharples 2010: 292–294). Sharples' model was applied to the MIA Wessex hillforts whereas other discussions of societal hierarchy (or lack thereof) tend to be less regionally specific. Creighton (2000) suggested bands of horsemen supporting chief-like figures in the south-east from the MIA onwards in parallel with similar developments on the Continent.

The prestigious grave goods from the MIA Arras burials in East Yorkshire and from the LIA graves in the south-east but also in Cornwall suggest the distinction of individuals, but these honours may have been conferred on them by those burying and may not be accurate representations of a life lived.

Artefacts

Most of our knowledge of many forms of Iron Age metalwork is derived from hoards and river finds. Few furnished burials are known during the eighth to fifth centuries BC in Britain (Haselgrove and Hingley 2006: 149) and even in the later part of period, furnished burials are limited to certain areas (above) and contain a restricted range of objects, and metalwork is rare on settlement sites. Our incomplete knowledge of metalwork in the archaeological record affects how we perceive and interpret hoards. It is generally recognised that hoards represent a conscious association of objects but often discussion presumes that we know the full range of objects available for the depositors to select from, including organic material. Joy (2016) explored elements of selection involved in hoard composition through a study of two of the Snettisham hoards. Whilst focusing on older or transformed objects within the hoards, Joy raises this issue for hoards in general. Even within the supposed categories such as 'household goods' or 'harness fittings', there is the potential for a wider range of available artefacts than displayed within the archaeological record. Both Joy (2016), Garrow and Gosden (2012: Chapter 6) and Bradley (2013: 126) have noted this selective use of object types. This wider range is demonstrated through finds such as the moulds from Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979) and a wooden bowl from Orkney (Lisle 2018).

The artefact record demonstrates a number of changes from the Bronze Age, including the emergence of new forms of copper alloy axes in the EIA. Iron was found in the archaeological record during the Bronze Age, increasing in frequency in the EIA, but does not appear frequently within the archaeological record until the MIA. Iron was included in

EIA hoards, making a relatively rare appearance in the form of sickles, spearheads and other tools. These were usually included in hoards mainly containing bronze objects suggesting, on current evidence, the inclusion of these rare iron objects did not fit into the hoarding priorities of that period. Iron begins to appear in the record in quantity in the MIA, in the form of tools, currency bars, and personal items such as brooches. Champion (2016) notes the increasing specialization of pottery production in certain areas in the MIA (Morris 1994, 1996) and the centralization of quern production (Peacock 1987) also began during the MIA period. The MIA also sees the reintroduction of gold, having been absent since the Late Bronze Age.

An increase in the range of object types in circulation is seen throughout the RIA with imports bringing a number of new object types focusing on personal adornment and dining/drinking. These items were included in both graves and hoards. Both coin and object hoards typologically dated to ERIA indicate a huge increase in the amount of gold in circulation. The inclusion of Republican *denarii* in coin hoards and minting of Iron Age coins made from Roman silver (Farley 2012) suggest an exponential increase in the amount of silver entering Britain, a metal not previously seen in circulation. Other items demonstrate more local or regional variation in their designs, such as brooches (Adams 2013; Booth 2015) and terrets (Lewis 2015). Horse-gear increasingly focused on display, with many forms and fittings adapting their design with an increased surface area to incorporate enamel and elaborate decoration.

Coins

Overviews of Iron Age coinage can be found in Haselgrove (1993) and Fanello (2016). These are summarised in Fig 1.1. Coinage was produced on the Continent from the early third century BC (Haselgrove 1993; Polenz 1982), but Iron Age coins only regularly appear in the archaeological record in Britain from the later second century BC onwards. It is likely that the first coins to arrive in Britain were quarter staters from Picardy, the region from which the later Gallo-Belgic issues originated (Fitzpatrick 1992). These probably date to the third century BC (Haselgrove 1993: 35). The first systematic imports were those of the gold Gallo-Belgic coinages (A-F), which inspired insular copies. Gallo-Belgic types A and B appeared in the later second century, with further types appearing in the first century (Haselgrove 1993: table 1). Later types saw a drop in the purity of the metal (Haselgrove 1993: 39).

‘Potins’, a cast, copper alloy coinage, were the earliest British coinage produced in any volume. They began to be manufactured in the second century BC in Kent, with distribution beyond the Thames, Haselgrove 2006: 19). The initial design was based on bronze coins from Marseille but the following issues may demonstrate regional variation and ties (Holman 2000, 2005, 2016). The British potin series were divided between (a) the Kentish primary/Thurrock types (likely dating c 150-100 BC), and (b) the Flat Linear potins (c 100-50 BC) that derive from them (Holman 2016). The large hoards of Kentish primary/Thurrock types from Folkestone, Thurrock and Alkham are discussed further in Chapter 6. I follow Holman (2000, 2016) and Haselgrove (2006) in this dating, De Jersey (2014) ascribes a much later date for the Kentish primary potins.

Haselgrove		Duration	Coin types	Overview
Period	Phase			
1	1	Mid / Late C2 BC	Earliest systematically imported gold coinages; Gallo-Belgic A and B.	Imported Gallic gold and potins, and the earliest British potin production.
	2	Late C2 BC	Later Gallo-Belgic A gold imported. First insular production (cast bronze potins).	
	3	Early C1 BC	British Class I flat linear potins. Latest Gallo-Belgic A and Gallo-Belgic C gold imports, but overall little gold imported.	
2	4	c 80-60 BC	Class I/II Flat linear potins. Gallo-Belgic and DC gold imports. First British gold, e.g. British A, B, C, D, F, G.	Later potins. Gallic imports and first British gold.
	5	c 60-50 BC	Class II Flat linear potins. Gallo-Belgic E and F, and British gold derivatives Qa and La.	Early gold recalled and reminted as British L and Q in the ST/SE and NT.
	6	c 50-20 BC	Earliest British struck bronze and limited silver. Latest British potins. Legends rare (e.g. Commios).	Creighton's 'dynastic' period with Roman client kingdoms in the south of England, (ST, NT) issuing inscribed coinage with Classical imagery in bronze, silver and gold. Systems differ in the WE, SW, NE and EA.
3	7	c 20 BC – AD 10	Inscribed coins in the SE, ST, NT, e.g. Tasciovanus, Addemomarus, Dubnovellaunos, Tincomarus.	
	8	c AD 10-40	Inscribed coins in the SE, ST, NT, e.g. Cunobelinus, Eppillus and Verica. Also inscriptions in NE and EA.	
	9	c AD 30-45	Some overlap with phase 8. ST issues including Epaticcus and Cara, also some EA and NE issues.	

Figure 1.1 British Iron Age coin phases from Farley 2012: fig 2.1.

The first 'insular copies' or British-produced gold types appeared in 80-70 BC at latest, and used import Gallo-Belgic coins for their metal source (Cowell 1992; Northover 1992) with designs similar to those seen on imported coinage: the head of Apollo on the obverse, and a horse on the reverse. Coin producing regions were the Midlands, East Anglia, the south west and the south east (fig 1.2). The metals, iconography and weight standard varied from region to region. Inscriptions were present on some coinage issues by the end of the first century BC, these inscriptions are believed to have been the names of individuals though circulation is no longer believed to denote tribal territories (Leins 2012).

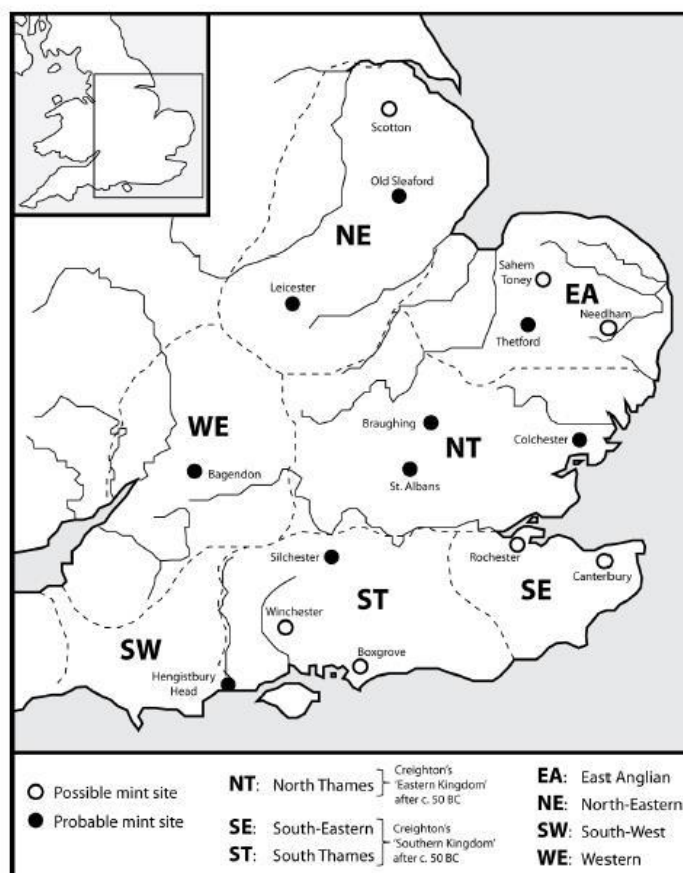


Figure 1.2 Iron Age coin producing regions from Farley 2012: fig 2.1

Other types of deposition

Iron Age metalwork hoarding occurred against a background of single metalwork finds, animal/human bone, pottery and other object deposition. Iron Age river deposition continues patterns seen during the Bronze Age throughout Europe, the rivers Thames and Nene seeing a particular focus into the first millennium BC (Bradley 1998). Recently the

Thames finds have been linked to possible riverine excarnation (Hingley 2018: 21). A range of items were recovered from the Thames including swords, shields, helmets, horse-gear, pins and coins. Bodies of water were also popular locations for deposition, particularly in Wales, at Llyn Cerrig Bach, and in Scotland, at the Blackburn Mill and Eckford Loch. These finds appear to date to the LRIA (as defined here) and in the case of the Loch finds, into the second century AD. Repeated deposition at wet sites throughout the Iron Age occurred at sites with structures or platforms such as Flag Fen. This form of deposition is integrated with object and coin hoarding data in Chapter 6.

Single finds of metalwork occur throughout England, Scotland and Wales. Understandably no comprehensive study has been done of such finds owing to the volume of data so it is uncertain whether they demonstrate patterns similar to those of hoards – as seen with single coin finds (Leins 2012) – or a focus on rivers. Individual currency bars are frequently found in similar contexts to currency bar hoards (Hingley 1990, 2005), and single finds of brooches and horse-gear have been subject to recent typology studies demonstrating potential depositional associations (Adams 2013 and Lewis 2015).

Structured deposition, where material is deliberately deposited through specific behaviours or activities, has been noted at settlements and hillforts, and at sites which appear to be unassociated with structures. This took a variety of forms: pottery, bone, organic material or metal items were deposited. These could be combined or occur alone. The first discussion of the Iron Age occurrences of this was of the hillforts of Wessex (Hill 1995b), further occurrences have been noted at hillforts including Danebury (Hampshire) and Ham Hill and also unenclosed settlement sites such as Orchard Hill (Greater London).

Midden sites were mounds containing organic material, animal bones, shells and sometimes other items and may have had ritual meanings. Middens were identified at EIA sites such as All Cannings Cross (Wiltshire) and Potterne (East Chisenbury) (Lawson 2000; see also Brück 2006: 303), and also in the LRIA settlements of Scrooby Top (Nottinghamshire), Dunston's Clump (Nottinghamshire) and Lingwell Gate Lane, West Yorkshire (Chadwick 2004: 102) and Chadwick linked them to the finding of later 'special deposits' (*ibid*).

Objects were often placed in graves to accompany the dead. As with those found in hoards, in rivers, pits, and middens, these were subject to careful selection. As with other forms of deposition, grave goods demonstrate chronological and regional variation. These

range from brooches or pottery accompanying the body to large assemblages of silver ware, wine and other imports such as at Welwyn Garden City (Smith 1912) or the Arras chariot burials in Yorkshire (Stead 1979). These forms of deposition in Areas 1 and 2 are considered in greater detail in Chapters 5 and 6.

Rome and Britain

Caesar's expeditions of 55 BC and 54 BC provide the first recorded contact with Rome, although indirect contact was occurring for some time preceding this. Following Caesar it is likely that good relations with particular communities were established and that sons of leaders went to be educated/act as hostages in Rome (Creighton 2000). Roman influence in the first century BC and first century AD can be seen in the increasing use of inscriptions and Romanised imagery on coins (Creighton 2000). Imports of Italian wine had been arriving in Britain since the second century BC, supplemented in the first century BC by copper alloy and silver drinking vessels and strainers. These arrived alongside variety of other items including a Gaulish late La Tène helmet from Canterbury (Farley et al 2014) and increasingly large quantities of other imports such as Gallo-Belgic pottery and brooches. After a false start under Caligula, the conquest of Britain was declared completed under Claudius in AD 43. The south-east and Midlands appear to have accepted Roman rule readily with the north, west and later East Anglia providing more challenges to the Roman army. In reality, it took much of the first century AD to subdue the new province and the island was never entirely conquered. New administrative structures were imposed through the creation of *coloniae* (high ranking Roman towns) and *civitates* (administrative regional capitals) along with the Roman forts. Despite these upheavals, depositional practices continued as demonstrated by hoards such as Polden Hill (Somerset) and Santon (Norfolk) which were deposited post-AD 60. The thesis examines hoarding until to AD 100 to incorporate these hoards.

Chapter 2: Research Background

Introduction

This thesis examines patterns of object hoarding throughout the Iron Age, incorporating coin hoards and other depositional practice data. This chapter sets out the background to this research and is split into four sections: the first part explores early finds and hoard studies, with the second examines object-focused approaches including fragmentation, object biography and ethnographic theory. The third section provides an overview of other forms of depositional practice with the final section outlining more recent approaches and interpretations.

Early finds and hoard study

The first recorded Iron Age hoard was discovered in 1737 in Middlebie, Scotland. Hoards from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were often found through agricultural works, gravel extraction and peat digging or through natural events such as flooding or rock falls, these finds were often originally misidentified with some items thought to be prisoner shackles (Polden Hill) or used as cucumber frames (Milbur Camp). These finds were rarely immediately published and hoards appeared in the minutes of regional antiquarian meetings and journals (e.g. Hoare 1827; Brent 1861). Discussion of hoards was often driven by their contents, particularly situated within wider discussion of object types, rather than motivations for burial (e.g. Anderson 1905; Amery 1906). A bibliography for each hoard can be found within the database. Finds began to be collated and discussed in the twentieth century with summaries of Iron Age finds in regional journals (e.g. Clarke 1939). Whilst the invasion hypotheses attached to material culture did not enter discussion until Evans' publication of the Aylesford burials (1890), early hoards were sometimes interpreted to be the result of violent interactions or as grave goods (Colt Hoare 1827; Brent 1861). There is the potential that some could have been massacre deposits such as those found at Ham Hill (Colt Hoare 1827). Hoards have received relatively little attention at a general level, with many investigations focusing on individual hoards/site or particular object types, metals or regions. The first study of a group of hoards was by Piggott (1953), selecting three ironwork hoards from southern Scotland first recorded by Curle (1932) – from Blackburn Mill (Berwickshire), Carlingwark Loch (Kirkcudbrightshire) and Eckford (Roxburghshire) – for detailed discussion. This study of the character, content and significance of the hoards inspired Manning's catalogue of Romano-British ironwork hoards (1972). Manning emphasised the continuation of ironwork deposition

from the Iron Age to the late Roman period and summarised the contexts in which the hoards were found and changes between the periods. His study excluded currency bars, recently studied by Allen (1967), but explored both ritual-votive and safekeeping motivations of hoard burial. Hoards (or groups of objects) were first suggested to have votive connotations by Fox with the discovery of the objects at Llyn Cerrig Bach (1946: 68-72). This concept was further explored by Manning for ironwork hoards (1972) and reached wider audiences with discussions by Bradley (e.g. 1982, 1990, 1998).

More recent interpretations and synthetic approaches

This movement towards ascribing votive or ritual motivations to hoards influenced the introduction of the 1996 Treasure Act, replacing the previous Treasure Trove law. This Act removed the necessity of interpreting the motivations of object or hoarding depositors as key to determining whether the objects were Crown property or could be kept by the finder.

Studies of hoards have regained popularity in the last twenty years but particularly in the last ten. This may be owing to the increased ease of access to information with the digitised records of the HERs (Heritage Environment Records), the creation of the ADS (Archaeology Data Service) and the increase in finds through the implementation of the PAS (Portable Antiquities Scheme) and its online database, and PPG16.

The last five years have seen large, funded projects examining both object and coin hoarding. These include the Coin Hoards of the Roman Empire Project, part of the *Oxford Roman Economy Project* (University of Oxford), De Jersey's corpus of Iron Age coin hoards (2014) and *Crisis or continuity. Hoarding in Iron Age and Roman Britain with special reference to the 3rd century AD* (a joint British Museum and University of Leicester project, publication forthcoming). This last project had two Collaborative Doctoral Award theses attached to it one examining Iron Age object hoards (this thesis) and another on Roman hoarding (Sycamore 2018). The *Technologies of Enchantment* Celtic Art project (University of Oxford) also included hoards within its remit, but only included hoards that contained decorated objects deemed Celtic Art and focused on the end of the Iron Age. The outcomes of this project are discussed further below.

Recent examination of hoarding practice usually draws on at least one of the following strands: particular object or metal types, regional groupings, or contexts to explore the significance of these hoards for Iron Age peoples. All have highlighted fascinating deposition patterns but without a British pattern of deposition in which to situate them.

Several recent studies have a regional focus, or integrate hoarding and deposition in regional studies (e.g. Sharples 2010 for Wessex). In PhD theses, Farley (2012) and Hutcheson (2004) examined the landscape context of hoards from the Midlands and Norfolk respectively; they are among the few studies to integrate coin hoards with single object finds and object hoards. These regional studies also explored the interaction of this deposition between object type and landscape features (Hutcheson 2004: 45, 46). Hunter (1997) examined hoarding in northern England and Scotland, situating finds within community practice as discussed below.

Other studies focus on specific objects or metals, taking a contextual approach to the placement of object types (Hingley 1990, 2005) or metals (Hingley 2006; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006). Haselgrove (2015) notes the increase in the conspicuous consumption of metal work and a new emphasis on dryland deposition in the later Iron Age, arguing that the watery context or broken nature of many finds indicates non-recovery. Haselgrove and Hingley (2006) took a broader approach, examining multiple item assemblages as well as hoards. Through analysing these data they noted chronological and regional trends with 'core zones' for early but also multiple deposits. Hillforts and enclosed settlements were a particular focus in the Severn-Cotswolds-Wessex region. Elsewhere finds were focused on 'liminal' areas suggesting that these forms of deposits were 'ritually motivated' (*ibid*: 154).

Hingley's (2006) study spanned the Iron Age and Roman period and noted the strong prevalence of iron deposits on boundaries (also previously noted for currency bars, Hingley 1990). However, he stresses the importance of examining each deposit in its context carefully before studying the general patterns but also cautions against potential biases within the data collection (particularly with regard to Roman sites) and suggests further studies be conducted.

Other surveys are object or period specific. Davis (2014) studied hoards deposited in contested regions of Britain in the first century AD and selected four hoards to analyse the context, design and metallurgy of the objects with a specific focus on hoards containing horse-gear in the LRIA. Boughton (2015) and O'Connor (2007) examined the EIA. Boughton's thesis took an object specific focus on the form of EIA axe types and their deposition as single finds and within hoards. Boughton also reevaluates the symbolic nature of the axes. O'Connor's study (2007) provides a survey of the EIA material and chronology with a discussion of distribution and object types such as swords, axes and razors.

Typologically-focused studies of spearheads and terrets include detailed discussion of single find and hoard depositions of these items to interrogate their meanings to communities (Inall 2015; Lewis 2015). Further object focused studies include those of currency bars (Hingley 1990; 2005) and torc and gold coin hoards of central Europe (Fitzpatrick 2005). Fitzpatrick took an object-centric approach, concluding that these hoards have votive meanings, and that inconclusive metallurgy tests on the torcs and coins undermine the suggestion that the torcs operated as paleo-money (2005: 170). Many of the coins deposited with the torcs appear to have celestial connotations and are often at the edges of their distributions suggesting they were selected for these characteristics (*ibid*: 172). The links between the coins and similarities in the form of the hoards suggest trading between communities in these items. Context is mentioned only briefly in the conclusion where Fitzpatrick notes the majority of these finds are associated with water sites or demarcated sanctuaries. Yet it is unclear whether the biography of these torcs was similar throughout Europe. As Fitzpatrick points out, they were also included in burials but it is unclear whether this occurs in the same regions or whether torcs had different 'lives' before their deposition.

Hingley (1990; 2005) has interrogated the contexts of British iron 'currency' bars to interpret their potential meaning. The frequent deposition of these objects in settlement pits and ditches was viewed as a means of defining boundaries, as these had close links with sword shaped currency bars. Plough-shaped bars in boundary contexts or landscape represented ritual which demarcated the boundaries of settlement, thus 'bounding' communities with the size of the offering reflecting the size of community (*ibid*: 198). Hingley links this to the idea of conspicuous consumption and suggested that these constitute offerings to the gods. These groups are found more frequently in larger numbers; only 14 from 55 sites are single finds (the total number of objects is 1,574). These cannot have been accidentally buried as they are too large to be missed (*ibid*: 184, 188). Hingley views these objects as transformative- their end form still undetermined- potentially adding to or defining their significance to these communities. The production of iron objects can also be invested with meaning, as explored by Hingley (1997). In the article, Hingley draws attention to the similarities between surface mining of iron ore and ploughing in order to sow seed, and the drying of the wheat in ovens and baking of iron to remove impurities.

Two studies provide more synthetic approaches to object deposition: Bradley (1998) examining the Bronze Age and Iron Age, and Crease (2015) surveying structured deposition in the Iron Age-Roman transition, identifying diversity both in water deposits and other forms of depositions in two distinct regions of Britain. Bradley notes the links

between graves and hoards during the Bronze Age, with an absence of Late Bronze Age graves potentially driving a focus on wet deposition sites. He suggests changes after the EIA, the focus changing to agricultural items, bone deposits and food or organic offerings linked to fertility (Bradley 1988: 258; Bradley 2005).

Hoard interpretations

The grouping and burying of objects has been practiced in Europe for over 5,000 years, having been traced as a practice from hunter-gatherers (Bradley 1996: 306). The use of the term 'hoard' to describe a group of objects has itself been debated, owing to the connotations it has acquired over the years. Haselgrove and Hingley (2006) suggest the French word 'dépôt' as more neutral, and 'cache' has been used for other periods (e.g. Becker 1993; Houlbrook 2013). However, the question most often asked concerns the motivation for hoarding, with discussion divided over utilitarian or votive motives for burial (e.g. MacGregor 1962; Manning 1972; Fitzpatrick 1984; Millett 1995; Johns 1996), mirroring parallel debates within Bronze Age hoard studies (Bradley 2005: Chapter 3).

Various literary records have been cited (summarised in Bland 2015) to demonstrate that motivations for the burial of objects was often for safekeeping. Pepys' inability to find the hoards (of gold, wine and cheese!) that he secreted in his back garden during the Great Fire of London is frequently cited as supporting the argument for safe keeping. This burial of items for safekeeping continues into the modern day. A number of hoards have appeared in the news in recent years such as the French heir who found 3.7 million euros in gold bullion secreted about the house (BBC News 2016), an elderly flood evacuee in Germany who sent rescuers to retrieve a box containing a five-figure sum from his garden (O'Neill 2016) or gold hidden in a piano (BBC News 2017), all of which suggest safe keeping or evasion from the authorities. Yet if these were buried for safekeeping, why were they not recovered (Fontijn 2002: 14)? Despite these instances, we cannot assume the same motivations for past hoards, or the same motivation for all hoards of a specific period. Particularly with the hoarding of metalwork objects within the Iron Age, current evidence suggests that these events were relatively sporadic, increasing in the RIA. Patterns in deposition have also been noted (Hingley 1990, 2005, 2006; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006).

Several studies explore the communities or social forces and structures driving these depositions. Sharples (2010) examined the iron hoards of the hillforts of Wessex, situating this form of deposition within a social community process. Suggesting that the hillforts may have been constructed through a potlatch arrangement and a community

organisation categorised by Mary Douglas' grid and group system, Sharples links hoarding and deposition at hillforts with the community focus seen in the construction of monuments. Hunter (1997) reassessed the contents of certain northern British hoards demonstrating that the contents were of native manufacture and not buried by Romans or 'Celtic auxiliaries' as long thought; from this, he argues that hoarding shows strong regional variation in community practice (*ibid.* 120-2).

The 'Technologies of Enchantment' project (Garrow and Gosden 2012) took a more object focused approach, but mapping of object connections stressed hoards' usefulness as 'snapshots' of links among communities. Contextual analysis of hoards containing Celtic Art identified different patterns to ironwork hoards (e.g. Haselgrove and Hingley 2006) and led to the suggestion that 'hoards were not the wealth of the elite of material for a smith to recycle, but elements of a dispersed community of people linked through artefacts' (Garrow and Gosden 2012: 192). As will be discussed in this thesis, Creighton's (2000) bands of horsemen and charioteers – a development also seen on the Continent – fits well with the increase in elaborately decorated horse-gear within the RIA and may relate to their deposition. Lewis proposes that the relative absence of terrets from graves (presumably excluding Arras) and number within hoards would suggest 'social' rather than a 'personal identity' for this object type (2015: 260). Extending this, would suggest communal connotations for later hoards, a theme explored in Chapters 3 and 5.

Studies of other periods provide useful lenses through which to view Iron Age deposition and hoarding. Shanks and Tilley suggest that longstanding ritual would reaffirm and legitimise social structures (1982: 152). Similar to this concept of social control was the concept of competitive consumption, which may also have had the effect of regulating the metalwork supply (Bradley 1998: 258; York 2002: 90; for conspicuous/competitive consumption see also Sharples 2010).

Coin hoards

As mentioned in Chapter 1, coins appeared for first during the Iron Age and were quickly integrated into deposition practices. Many previous studies have noted Iron Age coinage's likely 'non-commercial' role and use for social obligations and contracts (e.g. Nash 1978, 1981; Haselgrove 1987, 1993; Roymans 1990, 2004; Hill 2007; Moore 2007). Similar meanings beyond the purely economic have been explored for the emergence of money in the Classical world (e.g. Kurke 1999; von Reden 2003; Seaford 2004) and its use within Roman spheres (e.g. Aarts 2005).

The micro-topography of Iron Age coin hoard findspots was examined by de Jersey (2014) in his corpus of Iron Age coin hoards – the first since Allen (1960) – revealing a marked preference for deposition on the crest of hills and on eastern hillslopes (De Jersey 2014: Chapter 5). Associations between coin hoards and other objects have also been explored. De Jersey lists the objects associated with coin hoards (*ibid*: Chapter 6) and Fitzpatrick (2005) and Creighton (2000) discuss the relationship between torcs and coins, suggesting that torcs may have been used to create coins and vice versa. Wider object associations between coins and torcs, horse-gear, and silver and gold ingots were noted by Garrow and Gosden (2012) and coinage probably played an important part in a wider prestige object network and system of exchange (Farley 2012).

Other forms of deposition

Watery deposits

Several probable or possible Iron Age hoards have been recovered from wet sites (Chapter 6). Numerous watery deposits have been found dating to the Bronze Age (Bradley 1990, 1998; York 2002), particularly the Late Bronze Age, continuing with less frequency into the Iron Age (Fitzpatrick 1984; Bradley 1990, 1998). Differences between dryland and water deposits have increasingly been questioned for both the Bronze Age and Iron Age (Fitzpatrick 1984; Bradley 1998; Yates and Bradley 2010). A recent study by Crease (2012) examined water structured deposition situating it within the context of other depositional practices, which all see a focus on both liminal and occupied sites.

Structured deposition

Structured deposition is often omitted in discussions of hoarding. The concept of the continued deliberate placement of objects within pits was first raised by Richards and Thomas (1984) in a study of later Neolithic Wessex. This idea has roots in previous research but they were first to coin the term ‘structured deposition’ (Garrow 2012: 86). The amount of rubbish at Neolithic henge sites implies a ‘domestic’ purpose (Richards and Thomas 1984: 189). To avoid the undefined use of ritual, they argued for the definition of ritual activities as involving ‘*highly formalised, repetitive behaviour, we would expect any depositional patterns observed in the archaeological record to maintain a high level of structure*’ (*ibid*: 191). Hill (1995b) developed these ideas further with his study of Iron Age pits in Wessex, isolating characteristics to help identify ‘special’ and ‘non-average’ deposits (1995b: 27, 34) and emphasising the

importance of understanding these deposits as the 'structuring principles' do not disappear even if we term the evidence 'non-ritual' (199b5: 101).

In revisiting the work of Richards and Thomas as a starting point for his discussion of structured deposits, Garrow (2012: 90) points out that no timeframe is identified in deposition practices on sites; it is often unclear whether all deposition foci were in use at the same time. Archaeologists must take a more critical approach when understanding the circumstances for deposition. Whilst avoiding a simplistic division between ritual and mundane (as criticised by Brück 1997), material culture patterning must also be viewed as a structured form for the disposal of site rubbish. Garrow points to the fluctuations in a rubbish recycling site in Newcastle; peaks in the numbers of aluminium cans in February were not linked to higher usage at these times but to discard practice. In a response, Fontijn (2012) agreed with the need for closer examination of 'odd deposits' and 'material culture' patterning but also reemphasised the life of the object before it was placed within the ditch, and also notes that objects can continue to have use lives after having been broken (*ibid*: 121). Finally, Chadwick (2012) suggests that all later prehistoric and Romano-British structured deposits should be interpreted in cosmological or social terms. This is actually very similar to Garrow's view, as Chadwick defines cosmological not only as relationships with the supernatural but also the social structure and practices of society.

Single finds

Many of the above studies examined both hoards and single finds. As a result of metal detecting and the Portable Antiquities Scheme, the number of single finds has increased exponentially. Over 1,388,583 objects from all periods have been recorded, including 23,757 Iron Age objects (e.g. brooches, horse-gear, vessel mounts etc) and 45,606 Iron Age coins, with Leins (2012) using both single finds and hoards in his research on Iron Age coinage.

Several studies emphasise the importance of single finds as carrying similar meanings to larger hoards (for the Bronze Age, Bradley 1998, 2013; Fontijn 2002; for the Iron Age: Hutcheson 2004; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006; Leins 2012), but owing to limitations of time, investigation of single finds is beyond the parameters of this project.

Shrines

Iron Age ritual foci are often split, broadly, into natural locations (i.e. springs, rivers and forests) and shrine or temple sites (Cunliffe 2005: 57). This thesis will demonstrate that settlements and hillforts were also integral to the deposition of hoards and other deposits from the MIA onwards. However, the emergence of clearly demarcated

special sites from the MIA onwards, but particularly during the ERIA and LRIA, was of particular importance in the deposition of objects in general and coinage in particular.

The emerging shrine sites were a particular focus for coinage deposition, this association is seen both in Gaul (Derks 1998: 183) and in Britain (e.g. Hutcheson 2004, 2007; Bradley 2005). Bradley (1990: 188–9, 2005) interprets deposition at formal shrines as a movement away from conspicuous consumption and towards the emergence of a contractual relationship with the gods, a practice seen in Roman religion. The standardised form of coins enabled this exchange contract.

Recent theoretical approaches to hoards

Collection, selection and object biography

The selection of objects for hoarding is rarely addressed for Iron Age hoards (notable exceptions are Garrow and Gosden 2012; Joy 2016), but with some discussion in other periods (see Hansen 1996–8; Dietrich 2014). Joy (2016) took a broader approach examining the processes before the hoard was buried in the storage, selection and potential discard of items before their hoarding. He presented two case studies examining the biographies of Snettisham hoards F and L.

Discussion of selection often takes an object biographical approach. This approach originated with single finds (e.g. Joy 2009) but has more recently been applied to hoards. Garrow and Gosden (2012: 157) take this approach, noting that objects contained within hoards are unlikely to be household debris and examining their biographies may reveal reasons for the selection. This study also briefly addressed the non-metal components of hoards. Biography and patterning has also been explored for the Seven Sisters hoard (Gwilt and Davis 2008) and for late Iron Age horse-gear hoards. The deposition of Bronze Age objects as single finds and hoards was explored by Hingley (2007) with a focus on the single finds owing to a lack of context of the hoard sites. Suggestions for their selection and meaning are further discussed in Chapter 7.

Other studies take a more object-based approach. Looking at the Bronze Age in the Netherlands Fontijn (2002) focussed on the context in which objects were placed, combining object and landscape biography, the concept of memory driving object selection, deposition and associations of objects. Deposition in the landscape is interpreted as removing personal connections and forming new links with memory and landscape (*ibid*: 239). Use traces were detected on axes, spears and swords and these were not just items whose significance was derived from exotic materials (*ibid*:

212). Furthermore 'foreignness' for these objects is subject to perception as it is unlikely that Bronze Age peoples necessarily knew the distance objects travelled (*ibid*: 32). His discussion of the finds examined both types and context to fully understand the potential motivations behind deposition.

Fragmentation

Examination of Early Bronze Age axes shows that some continued in circulation even when their use-life was over (Moyler 2007). Bronze and Iron Age hoards often combine both the fresh cast and the used (Langton Matravers, Ulverston, Wanborough). Groups of broken items were long identified as 'founders' hoards' (Bradley 1998: 147; 2005), yet recent discussion interprets them as more in line with Chapman's fragmentation theory (Bradley 1998: foreword; Chapman 2000, 2007; Nebelsick 2000; Fontijn 2002; Dietrich 2010). Chapman's work (e.g. 2000, 2007) introduced and developed concepts of deliberate fragmentation, accumulation, and enchainment of objects, exploring how this related to social structure and personhood. In this thesis, fragmentation is considered as one of the processes in object hoard creation (for fuller discussion, see Chapter 7). To a certain extent, this follows and addresses the same issues as Chapman's work on deliberate fragmentation, accumulation and structured deposits but current fragmentation evidence from Iron Age hoards does not easily lend itself to exploring the same ideas of personhood and reciprocal social relationships explored Chapman.

Discussion of Iron Age fragmentation has so far focussed on specific objects or groups. Garrow and Gosden (2012) studied the deposition of 70 late Iron Age hoards containing fragmentary and non-fragmentary 'Celtic art'. They found that 59 % of selected hoards contained complete objects, and 41 % fragmentary objects. 53 % contained both complete and fragmentary objects. Only 11 % of hoards contained incomplete items compared with 36 % with complete objects (Garrow and Gosden 2012: 173). Over 50 % of bridle bits and horse rings were damaged or fragmentary but the study also raised the interesting question as to what constitutes a 'whole' terret set. Frequently used in sets of five, only four of 17 hoards contained 'full' sets of 5 (Garrow and Gosden 2012: 177). Much depends on how these items were used and viewed previous to deposition. Spearheads were the least likely objects to be broken but there were only 17 on the database. Whilst the metal itself was undamaged, damage could have been done to the shaft which may not be visible in the archaeological record. It is unclear within this survey how many objects were deliberately damaged before burial or were broken during use and included. However, no interpretation was offered for the

breakage of these items. We must remember, as noted by Hill (1995b), that some items may be broken through everyday use.

Fitzpatrick views the fragmentation of the torc as part of the process transferring the object to the supernatural. In retaining part of the torc, the fragment could be used in 'an act of recreation' (2005: 173). Joy (2016) noted the recombination of broken torcs, wire and other fragments, possibly providing them with new stories. Examples as noticeable as these reconfigured torcs are quite rare. The act of placing coins in a cow bone at Sedgeford could perhaps be interpreted as combining objects into a new transformative assemblage through the enclosing of the group in an unusual object (Dennis and Faulker 2005). In the Netherlands, fragments of axes were found hammered into the socket of an axe (Fontijn 2008). Examples of these axes have been found in Britain such as Figheldean and East Rudham. However, during the Iron Age, precious metal and iron appear to show an increase in number and broken items in this period.

The chronological span of this project means that some of the hoards included are often termed 'Romano-British'. Previously there was a divide in Iron Age and Roman archaeologists' interpretation of hoards, particularly those containing precious metal, after the conquest. As Bland (2015) notes, it is with the advent of written records – but perhaps the perception of an increasingly monetised society – that the motivations for the burial of valuable becomes 'rational'. As seen above, some scholars view object hoards as having potential for votive or ritual motivation in their concealment and have investigated these motivations (Hobbs 2006; Lee 2009). However there is still disagreement and debate within Roman studies (see Johns 1994, 1996; Painter 2015).

The above provided a brief survey of some of the recent approaches to Iron Age hoarding which have informed the methodology, outlined in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This thesis aims to provide the first national survey of metalwork object hoards deposited in Iron Age Britain from 800 BC to AD 100, examining the content context and landscape locations of these hoards and answering the following questions:

1. What can the contents and find contexts of hoards tell us about their meaning and significance for Iron Age people?
2. How do the character and frequency of Iron Age metalwork hoards in Britain vary regionally and temporally?
3. How do hoards interrelate with other forms of deposition?
4. Were Iron Age coin hoards treated, deposited and perceived in the same way as other metalwork hoards?

To facilitate this, I constructed a database (Appendix 1) listing the types, metals, findspots, find circumstances and locations of the objects. The data for content and context were given quality ratings so that inadequate information could be weighted appropriately within the discussion. Construction of the database, the data quality ratings and parameters of data collection are outlined below.

To gain a better understanding of how object hoards interrelate with coin hoards and other forms of deposition, my thesis focuses on two case study areas; Area 1 in south-west England and South Wales and Area 2 in south-east England. Wherever possible, the findspots of coin hoards were also considered, in order to examine whether coin and object hoards fulfilled similar functions, as well as mapping the spread of coin hoarding through Britain.

Definition

To ensure clear parameters for the study, and for any future comparisons, the term 'hoard' had to be defined. The term had become increasingly closely associated with objects of precious metal, 'treasure', within both academic circles and the media. Responding to issues and potential solutions raised by Haselgrove and Hingley (2006), alternative terms were considered such as 'deposit' and 'dépôt' as these suggest the deliberate nature of these collections of objects and remove the safe-keeping connotations often associated with hoarding. The term 'deposit' more easily incorporates non-metalwork assemblages and associated items such as animal, human and ceramic material, which may have had similar motivations behind their

burial and placement. Furthermore, it provides a neutral term for the examination of repeated deposition at both sanctuaries and in river or watery places. However, deposit has its own associations with the unintentional discard of objects. With these arguments in mind, this thesis will use the term 'hoard' as defined below.

Haselgrove and Hingley (2006) also raise problems regarding the interpretation of collections of objects. There are difficulties in distinguishing objects, which become 'accidentally associated' from those which were given a deliberate association. In many situations, it is unclear whether objects were once part of a larger deposit (in some cases undiscovered or unreported) or are genuinely stray or single deposits. Groups of objects may be created artificially if items are reburied either in antiquity or more recently. With this in mind, they focus on groups of five or more objects (Haselgrove and Hingley 2006: 148).

There are often similarities in how single finds and collections of objects are deposited (Fitzpatrick 1984; Haselgrove 1987; Hingley 1990), as Haselgrove (1987) demonstrates for gold coinage single finds and small groups (2006: 147). Whilst there are strong arguments for viewing many single items as deliberate deposits (Fitzpatrick 1984; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006; Haselgrove 1987, 2005; Farley 2012), this would on a national scale, at least provide an unmanageable dataset.

For the purposes of this research, a hoard is defined as the demonstrable association of three or more metal objects, where there is a strong probability that they entered the record as a group. On excavated settlement or dry-land sites these will be items found together in one context, but in agricultural contexts they are determined as being found within a 100-metre radius to allow for plough scatter or dredging. This definition interprets fragments of one object as a single item and not a group of associated items, as frequently objects are broken and not all pieces deposited.

My definition of three or more objects draws on the current Treasure definition of two or more metal base prehistoric items constituting a Treasure case. Three or more items are more likely to be illustrative of a deliberately assembled and deposited collection. They also provided a manageable dataset which could be collated and analysed within the scope of the PhD. The cut-off date for the integration of new hoards into the database was 30th November 2016.

Excluded sites and information

Certain finds and sites were not included in the main database as they (likely) do not represent a single hoarding event. These were recorded in a supplementary data set

for comparison as they may demonstrate other forms of 'ritualised' deposition behaviour. These include wet or riverine sites (e.g. the Thames, Fiskerton, Llyn Cerrig Bach) which often see repeated deposition from the Bronze Age onwards, and selected formalised 'shrine' sites (e.g. Hayling Island, Hallaton), a later Iron Age development.

So-called 'massacre deposits', where bodies and objects were apparently left in situ after episodes of fighting and destruction (for example at Cadbury Castle and Ham Hill), and grave goods were not recorded in the dataset but will be broadly discussed to contextualise finds in the case study areas and those areas without hoard deposition.

Other groups of objects have also been omitted, for a variety of reasons, one example being the so-called grave group from Welshpool (Boon 1961). Whilst no human bone was found with the deposit, general consensus is that this is a grave group (e.g. Pearce 1999; Garrow *et al.* 2009: 119). The dates also place it at the end or beyond the chronological scope of this study. The Newstead pit deposits have been included despite doubts expressed in the original publication (Curle 1911) as to whether they were hoards rather than accumulations of material. Recent reassessment suggests that the Newstead deposits were highly structured and deliberate (Clarke 1997). This, combined with the likelihood that they were deposited as one event, merits their inclusion. The hoard at Inchtuil is also included within this study as it fulfils the criteria of being more than three metal objects deliberately deposited as a single event. Nails are increasingly recognised as having significance to the depositor (e.g. Dungworth 1998).

The coin hoards used for comparison in this study were those forming De Jersey's corpus (2014) and in the IARCH database (available online). These were not included in the object dataset. To compare with the object hoards, only coin hoards of three and above were used in this study.

Other datasets were used as comparanda; these were mainly drawn from the PAS database. The distribution maps for the Later Bronze Age hoards were created using post-2005 data from the PAS online database and Maraszczek (2006). These are not exhaustive, nor were they intended to be so, but are provided to give a general sense of change and continuity from Late Bronze Age hoarding patterns through to the Earliest Iron Age and beyond into the rest of the Iron Age. The hoards were collected from the PAS database through collating searches on Ewart Park, Late Urnfield, Carps Tongue, Wilburton and Late Bronze Period for hoards. All these results were merged

and the duplicates removed, creating a list where coordinates attached to place names were generated for Marasczek's data (2006).

Sources

To ensure that as many recent hoards as possible were included, the following resources were also consulted:

Published corpora

This study drew on a range of publicly accessible sources and catalogues such as the Celtic Art database (Gosden and Garrow 2012); other studies of decorated metalwork (MacGregor 1976; Jope 2000); doctoral research by Hutcheson (2004), Boughton (2014) Davis (2014) and Lewis (2015); and various previous studies of Iron Age hoards (Manning 1972; Hingley 1990; 2005; 2006; Hunter 1997; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006; O'Connor 2007; Haselgrove 2015).

Heritage Environment Record

All HERs were contacted and requested to run a search for 'hoard' from 800 BC–AD 100. Structuring of their databases meant that it was not practical to search for objects found in the same context on a site or the term 'deposit'.

Out of the 78 English HERs contacted, only five were unable to reply. This may lead to underrepresentation in Bath and North East Somerset, Dudley, Buckingham, Lincoln and Yorkshire Dales. Furthermore, the Dorset HER records have not been fully digitised potentially leading to underrepresentation.

For Wales, I contacted the National Museum of Wales and used the online Coflein database. For Scotland, *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* from were consulted (to 2016) via ADS along with two online databases: the RCHME Canmore database and SCRAN for the National Museum of Scotland.

Portable Antiquities Scheme

The Portable Antiquities Scheme database was searched for 'hoard', 'assemblage' and 'deposit'; adding five extra hoards not already contained within published literature (e.g. Hutcheson 2004). Using the online mapping function on the PAS database, I also examined find heat maps (clusters of finds) to look for previously unrecognised hoards. Hoards recorded on the PAS database include those potentially scattered by the plough. In all cases subsequent contact with the Finds Liaison Officers indicated that the higher densities of objects were the focus of concentrated metal detecting rallies or disturbed cremation burials, not hoards within the definition of this thesis. The fact that

no additional hoards were identified during this investigation process demonstrates high level of effectiveness of the PAS recording system.

Treasure

The master Treasure list in the PAS head office at the British Museum and Scottish Treasure Reports were consulted to ensure that Treasure process cases were included and archaeological units operating in the case study areas were also contacted to cover more recent discoveries.

Groups listed as 'Prehistoric Assemblage' within the Scottish Treasure reports were excluded owing to the lack of additional supporting data.

Source and date bias

The majority of recently discovered hoards (88 % of Iron Age coin hoards discovered since 1971 (De Jersey 2014) and at least 22 % of object hoards) were found through metal detecting. As these compose a large proportion of the finds with landscape contexts, it is important to consider possible biases and limitations of the data. Increasingly, hoards are left in place after their discovery and excavated in situ by archaeologists allowing crucial additional information to be recovered, but this has not always been the case. The accuracy of the map coordinates of the finds varies enormously with some finds comprising parish centred grid references.

Constraints such as land use, gaining landowner permission, and topography affect the chances of recovery by metal detecting and thus our perceived distributions of finds (Robbins 2012). Certain regions and landscape types have lower levels of metal-detector finds, including non-agricultural land, higher ground - where it is generally harder to detect - and parks or scheduled monuments where detecting is forbidden. Conversely, there seem to be noticeable clustering around caravan parks (Robbins 2012), demonstrating a correlation of certain hobbies and holidays.

Individual habit or practice also influence finds. Detectorists may continue to search when they find coins but may not when they uncover other objects. Densities of metal detecting clubs and landscape or finds preference of detectorists will also affect the data collected (Robbins 2012).

The structure of the PAS may also influence the data set. Kent, Norfolk, the West Midlands, North Lincolnshire, the North West and Yorkshire were pilot areas from 1997 for the PAS scheme and so have had a longer period of collection of information. Continuity of staff within the PAS enables good relationships with metal-detecting

organisations and so has resulted in an increase in the number of objects recorded (Robbins 2012: 48), particularly the numbers of coin hoards.

Beyond the PAS, there is a concentration of hoards and finds more generally in south-east England. This may reflect more sustained pre-development archaeological investigation and also intensive agricultural activity having led to the disturbance and recovery of hoards. Such factors need to be considered in any discussion of whether fewer hoards in certain counties or regions demonstrate true absence in the archaeological record.

The law and nature of recording varies on Treasure cases across England, Scotland and Wales, which has potentially created biases. In Scotland, for example, all finds count as Treasure Trove and there is no Portable Antiquities Scheme, although significant finds are reported in the yearly Treasure Reports and others in *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland*. This may however mean that metal detectorists are perhaps less willing to report finds.

This project also has a number of biases imposed by the author for clarity. For example, any attempt to create a single definition of what constitutes a hoard will necessarily impose a bias on the collection and interpretation of the topic. This study focuses on three or more metal objects which appear to have been buried contemporarily, excluding smaller, single or non-metallic deposits which may have carried similar meaning for Iron Age peoples. Whilst this definition of a hoard is a modern category and so produces a limited picture of the whole spectrum of depositional activity, it allowed the project to be kept at a scale which could be completed within four years and provides an otherwise absent national dataset for metalwork hoards. This definition remains an aspect to be aware of when using the data.

Chronological divisions (outlined below) are also artificial constructs imposed on this database, though they broadly follow changes in the settlement and technological record and fit with much of the hoard dating. However, the broad potential date ranges for some find types (often 300 years or more) mean that some of the hoards cannot be dated to even these broad periods. The imposition of these periods enabled some patterns to be discerned for Iron Age hoarding, but it is unlikely that Iron Age people would have viewed chronology in a similar manner. There is also the potential that with dating refinement for the hoards and refinement in the chronological periods, these patterns could be adjusted.

Database

The data were input into an excel spreadsheet (Appendix 1).

Object categories

Hoards were given wider category tags to better investigate if certain object types were frequently combined. Whilst remembering that any such categories are modern-imposed interpretations and objects and groups could have had wider networks of associations and meanings, the following groupings were used:

Group	Object type
Harness, strap and chariot fittings	Hub fittings, nave bands, linch pins, bridle bits, terrets, strap fittings etc
Dining/drinking equipment	Cauldrons, cauldron chains, ladles, saucepans (paterae), drinking vessels
Weapons	Swords, shields, spears, daggers
Tools	All woodworking, agricultural and metalworking tools. Hammers, iron axes post-600 BC, saws, adzes, coulters, gouges, scythes, sickles, pokers, tongs, files
Axes	Copper alloy axes 800–600 BC. These were separated from the 'tools' group as they may have been non-functional items.
Ingots	Lead pigs, copper bun ingots, precious metal ingots, billets
Currency bars	
Copper alloy sheet	Fragments of copper alloy sheet
Casting waste	Casting waste, sprues, any metalworking debris
Box fittings and keys	Hinges, keys, seal boxes, locks
Personal ornaments	Pins, brooches, jewellery, torcs, rings, bracelets, dress fittings, earrings
Figurines/Miniatures	Models, figurines and miniatures
Razors	
Mirrors	
Writing equipment	Styli
Other	Items not included in above

Context

Simplifying the contexts of hoards so that they can be easily compared could be problematic. As we do not fully understand the motivations driving the burial of objects, we cannot identify with certainty features that defined the findspot or where there are competing features, which of them may have taken primacy. I have therefore rated the security of both the find context and the composition of hoard. This allows me to

analyse different hoard compositions based on the level of certainty of the find spot information.

Locational information of the hoards

Each hoard was given a quality rating for composition and context using a system similar to the one devised for the British Museum/University of Leicester coin hoards project. Composition rates the quality of information on the integrity of the hoard and its contents. Did all the objects survive? Have any objects been inadvertently added at the time of discovery or later that were not originally part of the hoard?

The context rating qualifies how secure the provenance of a hoard was and the accuracy and precision of the coordinates for mapping the location. This allows the extraction and analysis of the higher quality data and investigation of how lower grade data adds to and influences the pattern. Adoption of the rating system allows for better integration of different data sets for comparison and for later incorporation into the Portable Antiquities Scheme online database. The ratings are outlined below.

Composition category

- 1 Poor (e.g. description of items or simple listing with no items surviving)
- 2 Fair (e.g. description of items, drawings and some surviving)
- 3 Good (e.g. metal detector find)
- 4 Excellent (e.g. items found during excavation or area later excavated, e.g. after a metal detector find).

Contextual/location category

- 1 Poor (e.g. antiquarian record of a hoard with general area recorded).
- 2 Fair (e.g. records where a farm, field, hillfort or street name known).
- 3 Good (e.g. detailed antiquarian or other account, perhaps with a map; excavation with some stratigraphic information, drawings and/or photographs).
- 4 Excellent (e.g. modern controlled excavation with full plan/section drawings, photographs, context sheets, all stratigraphic relationships etc).

For example, the Appleford currency bars (Brown 1971) were found during gravel extraction in 1967. These are rated '2' for context as it unclear where in the quarry the currency bars were found. The composition of the hoard is also rated '2' as the find circumstances mean that further items may have been easily missed. Examples of a

'3' rated hoard would be the finds excavated from Newstead by Curle published in 1911. Four rated hoards are those from Danebury, Bury Hill and Ham Hill.

Site categories

Where hoards were excavated from sites, I have recorded any features (e.g. pit, scoop or ditch) as well as the site type (e.g. Roman fort, hillfort, settlement).

Chronology and periodisation

Where available, independent dating has been used for hoards. This could be radiocarbon dates from the objects or associated materials, or contextual and stratigraphic dating evidence from excavations. In the absence of independent evidence, stylistic or typological dating assigned to the objects from the literature has been used. As many hoards have broad dates, this project divides the Iron Age into four periods: Earlier Iron Age (800–400 BC), Middle Iron Age (400–150 BC), and Roman Iron Age (150 BC–AD 100), the latter subdivided between earlier (150–1 BC) and later (AD 1–100).

The Earlier Iron Age contains relatively few hoards and distinct changes in types and the numbers of finds can be seen from 300 BC onwards, marking the change to the middle Iron Age. As Earliest Iron Age (EtIA) hoards (800–600 BC) are included in this study, these were compared against the broad distribution of Bronze Age hoards.

The term Roman Iron Age is used rather than late Iron Age in recognition of the growing Roman influence on British Iron Age societies from c 150 BC. 150 BC, rather than the traditional 100 BC, was selected for the start of this period as this better fits with the stylistic dates of the torcs of the ERIA and the beginning of coin hoarding in Britain. Furthermore, Roman contact can be seen from a relatively early date and a longer Roman Iron Age enable better analysis of changes in the record. Britain is not completely conquered after AD 43 and so, to represent this transition more fully, the period ends in AD 100. The period of Roman contact is broken into two parts, Earlier (150–1 BC) and Later (AD 1–100), to better distinguish patterns among the large number of hoards assigned to this 250-year period. Initially indirect and confined to import goods such as Dressel 1 Italian wine amphorae, Roman cultural influence intensified greatly from the end of the first century BC as a result of the diplomatic and economic contacts set in motion by Julius Caesar's invasions. These were exemplified by the of Gallo-Roman style brooches, the use of brass for the manufacture of decorative metalwork, the copying of Roman table wares and drinking vessels and the adoption of Roman imagery on coins (e.g. Creighton 2000).

Even after AD 43, the military conquest of Britain and imposition of Roman civil administration over Britain was a long drawn out process and was only partially successful. Scotland north of the Central Belt was only ever exposed to intermittent campaigning and for much of the Roman period southern Scotland was for the most part subject to indirect control rather than permanently garrisoned. In examining object hoards, it is not possible to draw a sharp line between Iron Age and Roman, chronologically or geographically. Many hoards deposited after AD 43 were clearly deposited by indigenous people according to existing practices and beliefs, whether or not they were formally under Roman rule at the time; conversely hoards of stylistically Iron Age object occur regularly on Roman sites but we cannot be sure of the identities of those responsible for depositing them. Nevertheless a terminal date of AD 100 is adopted for the purposes of this study.

Owing to the issues inherent in dating metalwork and the lack of contexts for many hoards, the possible dates for deposition sometimes stretch across two, sometimes even three, of these periods. Consequently hoards dated securely to a particular period are mapped and discussed first, with hoards with broader dates integrated in the latter section of the period overviews. This inability securely to date hoards represents a significant problem for the Iron Age, particularly for ironwork hoards.

The coin hoards in this study are more easily dated but, as with objects, few Iron Age coin hoards are independently dated. In most cases, we rely on the received numismatic dating of the coins, which can be contentious, or where available that of associated Roman issues. These are more closely dated, but like the Iron Age coins, only provide a *terminus post quem* which relate to the creation of the hoard rather than to its deposition. The combination of these two factors means that it is difficult to create a deposition narrative of how these coin and object hoards were buried and exactly how they may interact chronologically.

Both coin hoards with a combination of Roman and Iron Age coinage and those containing only Roman issues have been included in this study. All these hoards have *terminus post quem* up to AD 90, and so could have been buried pre-AD 100. This study aimed to examine hoarding changes across the period and to exclude all 'Roman' coin hoards would have distorted our understanding of hoarding patterns in the Iron Age. All coin hoards (up to and including a *tpq* of AD 90) and all object hoards, regardless of site type, have been included in this study.

The discussion examines broad chronological changes and also provides regional breakdowns (divided by modern administrative area). The decision to use counties

reflects our uncertainty of the extent and boundaries of the political units and communities operating and changing across the Iron Age. As much of the data is recorded according to county, this also simplified the data gathering process and means that data can be more easily accessed and utilised by future researchers.

The Technologies of Enchantment project obtained a series of radiocarbon dates on samples from Celtic art objects in an attempt to obtain independent dating evidence for these objects and so refine their chronologies. The objects successfully tested include several items from Iron Age hoards, although samples from the Snettisham hoards and the Asby Scar sword gave suspect dates (Garrow et al 2010: 95). The Balmaclellan mirrors had already been dated as part of the radiocarbon programme at the National Museum of Scotland (Garrow et al 2010: 95). The Snettisham ingot hoard (Hoard M) has a date range extending in the Roman period (cal AD 1–130) potentially suggesting a greater longevity to activity at the site (*ibid*, 105) whereas the dates for the torc hoards F and L were earlier than expected; 370–110 cal BC for L and 370–160 cal BC for hoard F (Garrow et al 2010: 119). Nothing dateable survived from the Salisbury hoard, but material from an associated pit gave dates between 400 and 200 cal BC, suggesting a *terminus post quem* for the hoard. All of these dates have been included in the database.

Geographical scope

My thesis first provides a discussion of Iron Age object hoards examining their site type, metals and contents through England, Scotland and Wales. Coinage hoarding data is discussed and general patterns noted in Chapter 4. However, the interaction of object hoarding with other forms of deposition such as coin hoards and grave goods are explored in Chapters 5 and 6, which contain my case studies Area 1 and 2. The two areas were chosen to provide a contrast, Area 2 saw the first coin hoards and coinage production in Britain, whereas Area 1 saw limited or no coin hoarding amongst a varied object hoard record. Archaeological units in the two areas were contacted to ensure no new finds were missed, records for accessioned objects were consulted for Bigbury (Kent) at Canterbury, Maidstone and Manchester museums and I visited the Torquay Museum to examine the Holne Chase currency bars and Milber Camp finds.

Area 1

The first case study looks at Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and South Wales. Cornwall has a prolific history of hoarding during the Bronze Age, after which only four object hoards are known for the Iron Age, with four or five coin hoards appearing at the end of the period. Devon has two hoards of currency bars and a small group of animal

figurines at Milber Camp. Both Somerset and Gloucestershire have higher numbers of object and coin hoards but all dated post 300 BC. South Wales has a strong tradition of hoarding starting in the Bronze Age which continues through the Iron Age, with breaks, before resurgence in the Later Roman Iron Age.

Communities in this area, particularly Cornwall, Devon and South Wales, appear to have been resistant to use and hoarding of coinage almost to the end of the studied period. This provides a strong contrast with my second case study area.

Area 2

My second case study examines Kent, Essex, Greater London and Hertfordshire. Again, there is variation in hoard deposition type and chronology. Hoards dating to the EIA are present in Kent, Surrey and Essex with only Kent and Essex continuing to see hoarding into the LRIA. This study area is where we see the first few coin hoards appearing in the record and I explore how this impacts any patterns of object deposition. There is also a wide range of non-hoard settings evident for the deposition of objects in this area, such as rivers and shrines.

Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the processes associated with object hoard creation drawing on object hoards from throughout Britain.

Approach

This thesis uses a model which assumes Iron Age peoples ascribed value to deliberately placed objects and that the manner in which these objects were selected, treated, grouped and deposited reflects wider social concerns. The combination of objects and the contexts in which they were buried reflect both their landscape and their political and social worlds. This is explored in Chapters 4–7. A discussion of object selection in Chapter 7 takes a more biographical approach to this aspect of hoard creation. Chapter 7 also includes discussion of other processes surrounding hoarding, such as fragmentation and arrangement of objects.

Chapter 4: National Overview

Introduction

This chapter surveys all 241 Iron Age object hoards from Britain, dated to the period 800 BC–AD 100. The hoards are summarised by broad period in Tables 4.2–4.7 below. A full listing with additional information and references is provided in Appendix 1, organised by county. Each hoard was given a unique identifier, prefixed H (e.g. Llyn Fawr = H85). Having broadly characterised the data, I will discuss the hoards by chronological period, examining object types and points of landscape deposition. A more thematic approach will then be taken to examine metals, landscape, findspots and contents.

The 241 hoards range unevenly in date over the Iron Age: 47 date to the Early Iron Age (EIA: 800–400 BC), 17 to the Middle Iron Age (MIA: 400–150 BC), 20 to the Early Roman Iron Age (ERIA: 150–1 BC) and 88 to the Later Roman Iron Age (LRIA: AD 1–100). Two sites very prominent in these two last groups are Snettisham (Norfolk) in the ERIA, with 13 hoards (H154–160, H162, H170–174) and Newstead (Borders) in the LRIA, with 21 hoards (H9–H23, H25–H30).

Figure 4.1 shows the number of object hoards for each period. Calculating the average number of hoards per year (dividing the total of hoards by the number of years in each period) provides a similar result. The LRIA has the highest number of hoards buried per year (0.88). The figure for the entire EIA would be 0.12, but can be adjusted to 0.24 to reflect the fact that all the hoards attributed to this horizon in fact cluster in the 200 years between 800–600 BC. The ERIA sees a lower number of hoards per year (0.13) followed by the MIA (0.07).

As indicated in Chapter 2, hoards do not always sit easily within the periods defined here and their possible deposition date spans some centuries; 41 hoards could have buried either in the MIA or during the RIA (400 BC–AD 100), whilst 28 RIA hoards cannot be precisely attributed within this period. Too much weight should not therefore be placed on the numbers of hoards per year for the shorter periods.

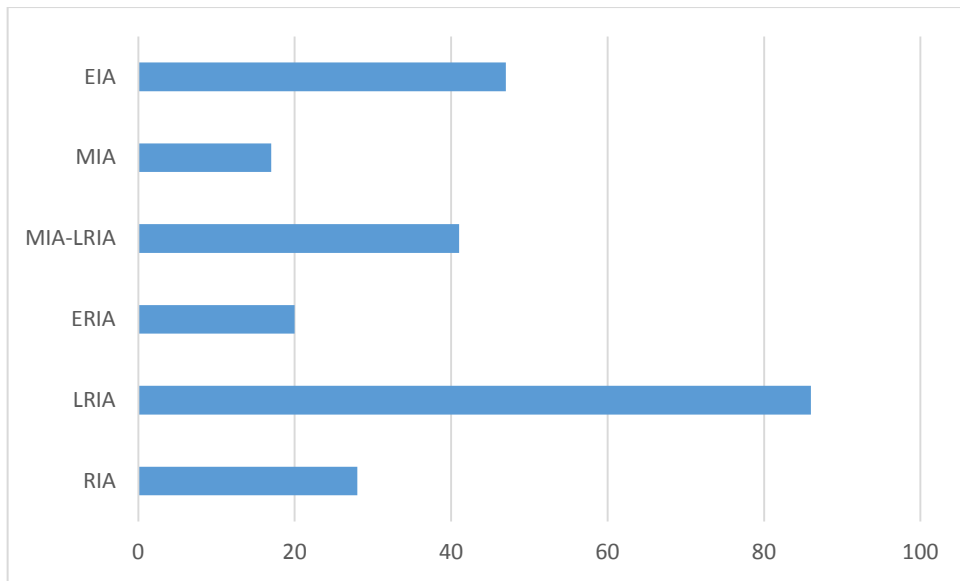


Figure 4.1 Numbers of Iron Age object hoards for each period (total: 241).

Geographical and topographic distribution of the dataset

Iron Age hoards are found throughout Britain (Fig 4.2) but there are notable clusters in East Anglia and the south-west. As will be demonstrated in the chronologically structured discussion below, hoarding distributions change over time.

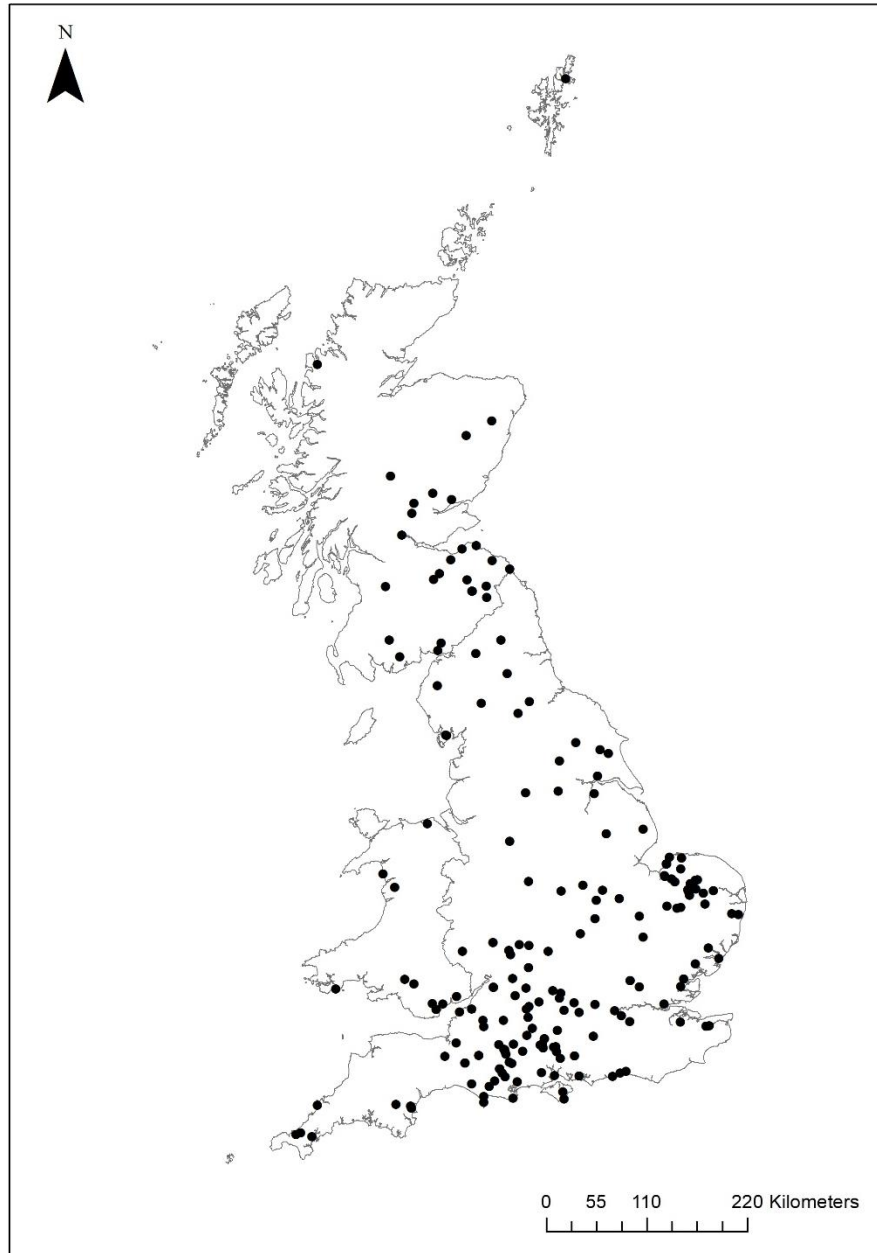


Figure 4.2 Map showing all Iron Age object hoards (Total: 241). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

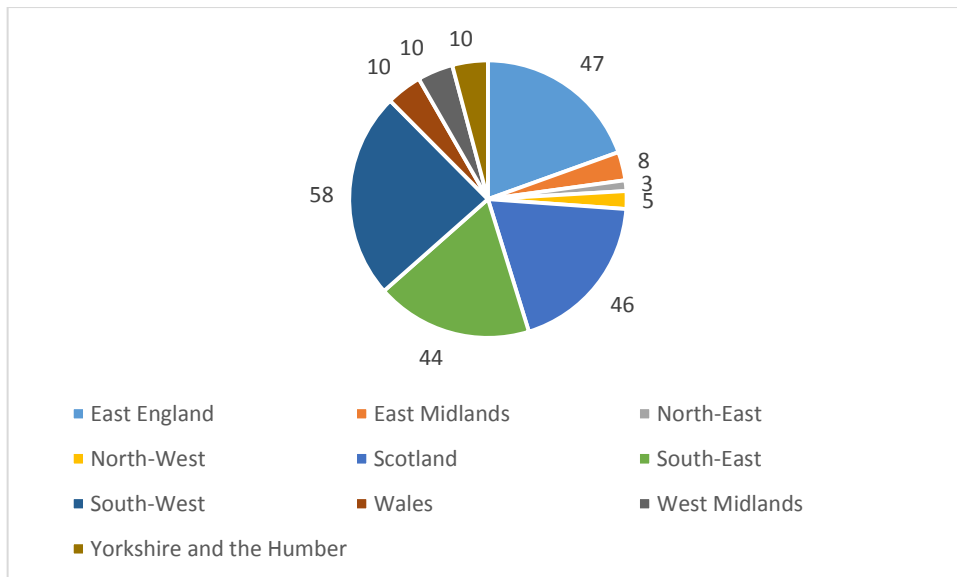


Figure 4.3 Regional totals of object hoards from Britain (total: 241).

Some sites produce multiple hoards. A regional breakdown shows high numbers of object hoards in east, south-east, and south-west England and in Scotland (Fig. 4.3). Coin hoarding shows some overlap, with a majority also found in the east, south-east and south-west of England but few from Scotland.

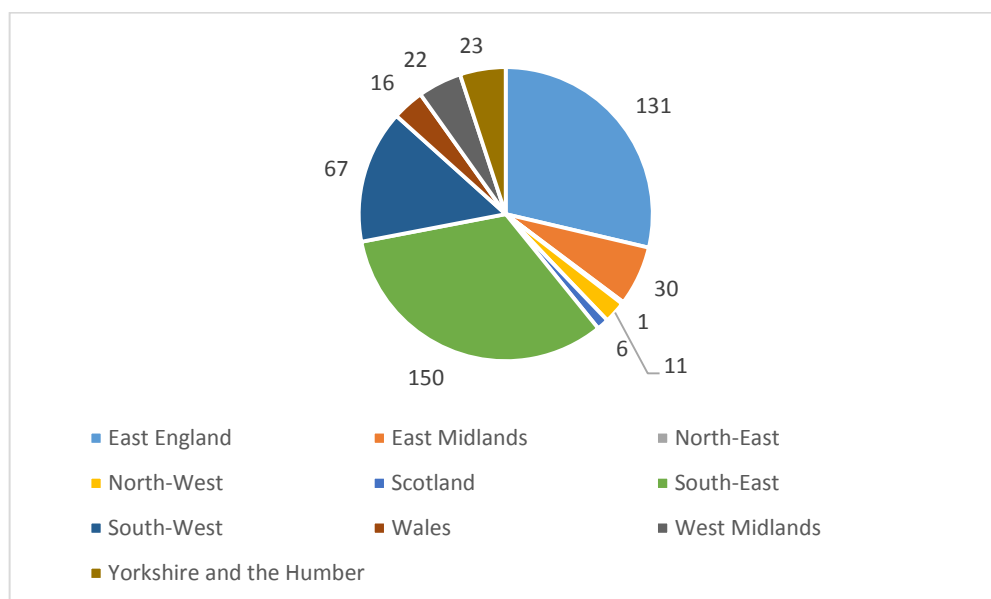


Figure 4.4 Regional totals of all coin hoards, both Roman and Iron Age (total: 457).

The density of recovered hoards thus varies throughout Britain. The highest densities are in Wessex and Norfolk. Similar clustering can be seen on maps of metal detector finds (Fig 4.5, cf. Robbins 2012), but comparison with Figure 4.2 demonstrates that large numbers of metal detector finds are present in areas showing little or no

evidence of Iron Age object hoarding. Thus, at least some aspects of the hoard distribution are more likely to be a genuine ancient pattern rather than recovery bias.

Object hoards are mainly focused on lowland areas, with some exceptions in Wales, Scotland and northern England (Fig 4.6). As Robbins (2012) and others have noted, metal-detected discoveries are virtually confined to lower altitudes, with excavated finds more evenly distribute and providing finds at higher altitudes which go some way to fill the picture (Fig 4.7). Hoards found through building work also tend to be from lower-lying land. The results of the IARCH project show broadly similar patterns for coin hoards (Bland et al. forthcoming).

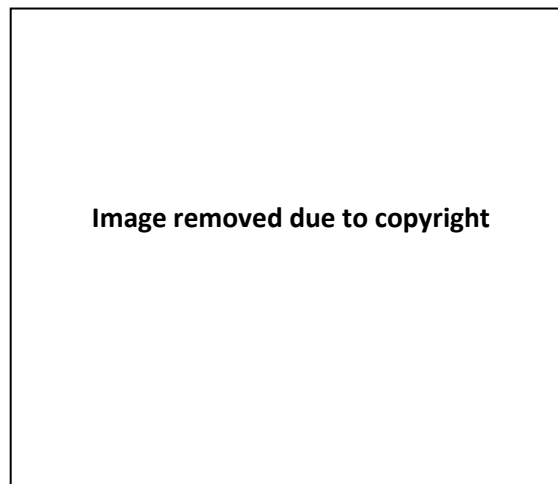


Figure 4.5 Distribution map showing all finds recorded on the PASD (correct to September 2009). After Robbins 2012: fig 1.7.

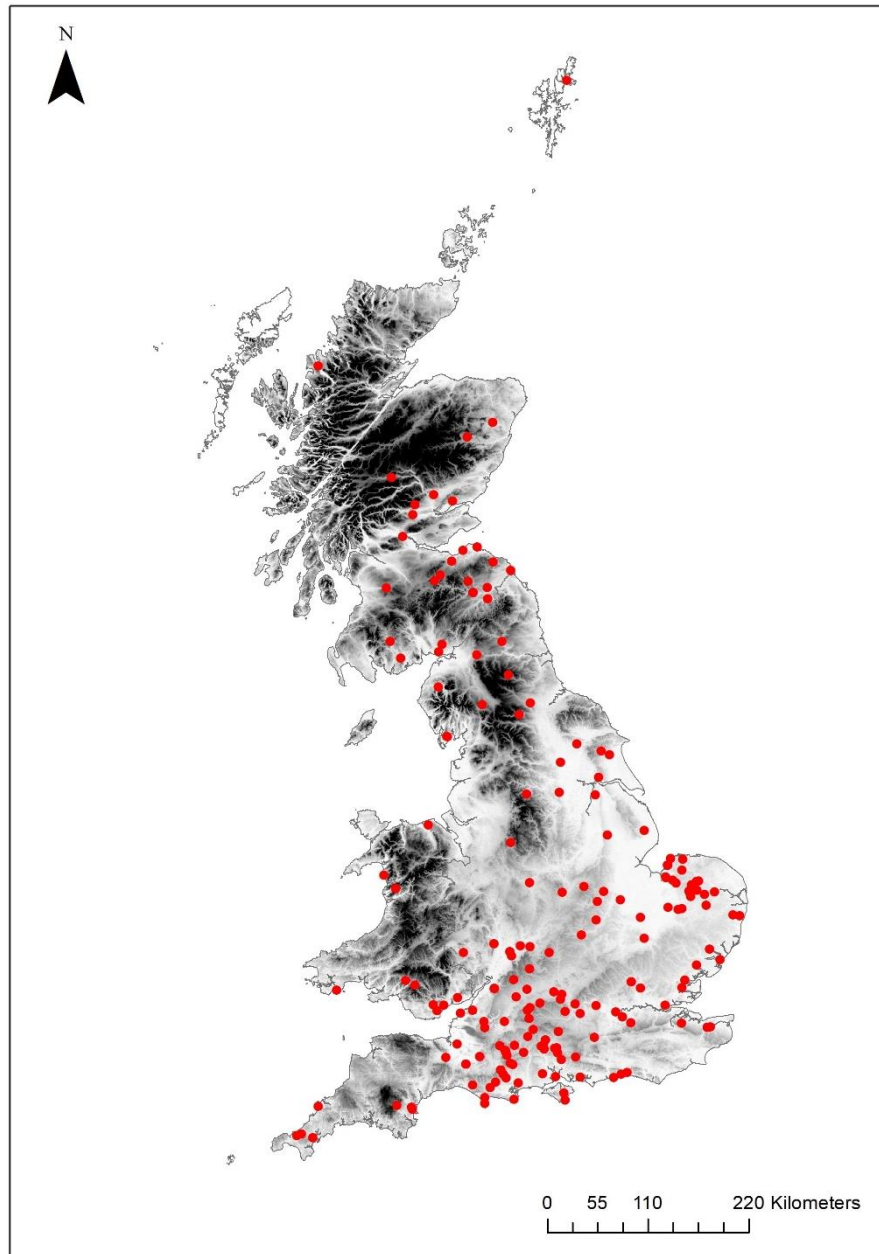


Figure 4.6 All Iron Age object hoards plotted against topographical background. Darker areas are higher ground (total: 241). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

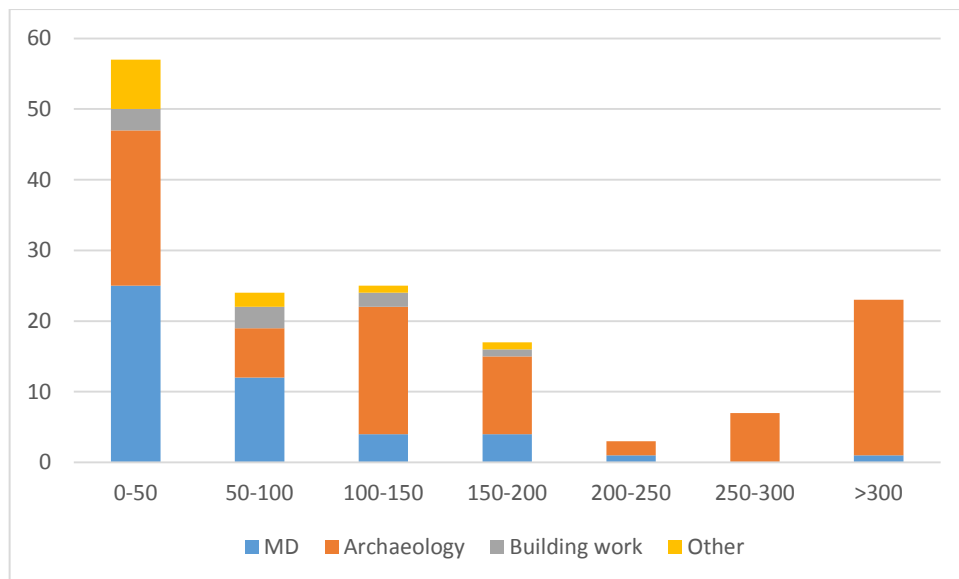


Figure 4.7 Object hoard discovery method organised by height above sea level (total: 156 of 241).

On the assumption that many Roman roads broadly followed earlier prehistoric routes through the landscape, we can look at the relationship between object hoards and communication arteries, using Roman roads as a proxy. Iron Age object hoards with a context rating of 3 or 4 are, on average, found 4.5 km away from Roman roads. For the ERIA the average distance is 2.4 km, and for the LRIA 4.6 km – which may seem counterintuitive, but is skewed by the number of hoards from Scotland and Wales (e.g. Inchtuthil, Manorbier) which are some distance from Roman roads – which were also far fewer in these largely upland regions (Fig 4.8).

Iron Age hoards with a context rating of 3 or 4 average 1 km distance from a river or water source, though there is some subjectivity here in terms of what is recorded as a water source. There is some change during the Iron Age. EIA hoards matched the national average with an average distance of 1 km, but in the MIA this rises to 1.3 km. ERIA (0.9 km) and LRIA (0.7 km) finds are lower than the average, perhaps reflecting an increase in wetland/river deposition.

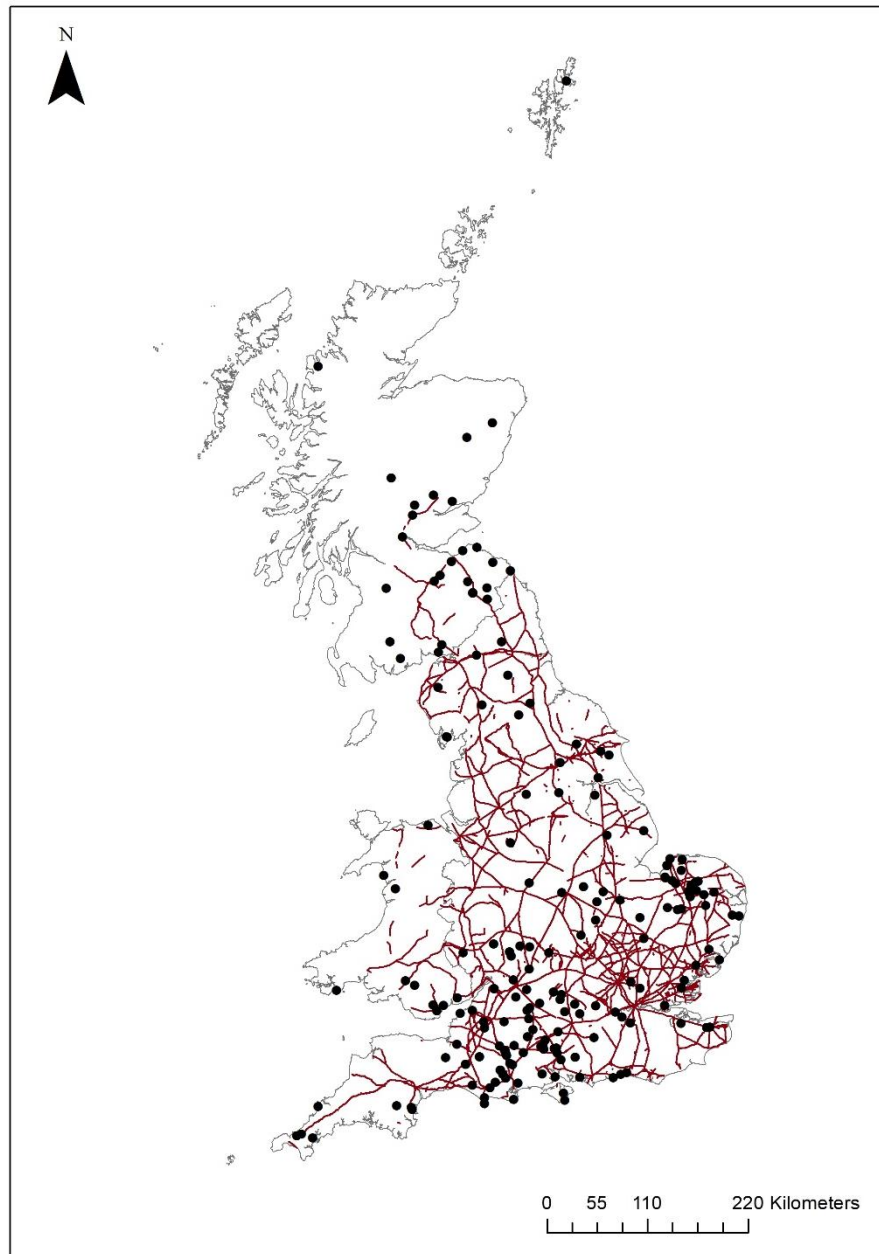


Figure 4.8 All Iron Age object hoards mapped with Roman roads (Total 241). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

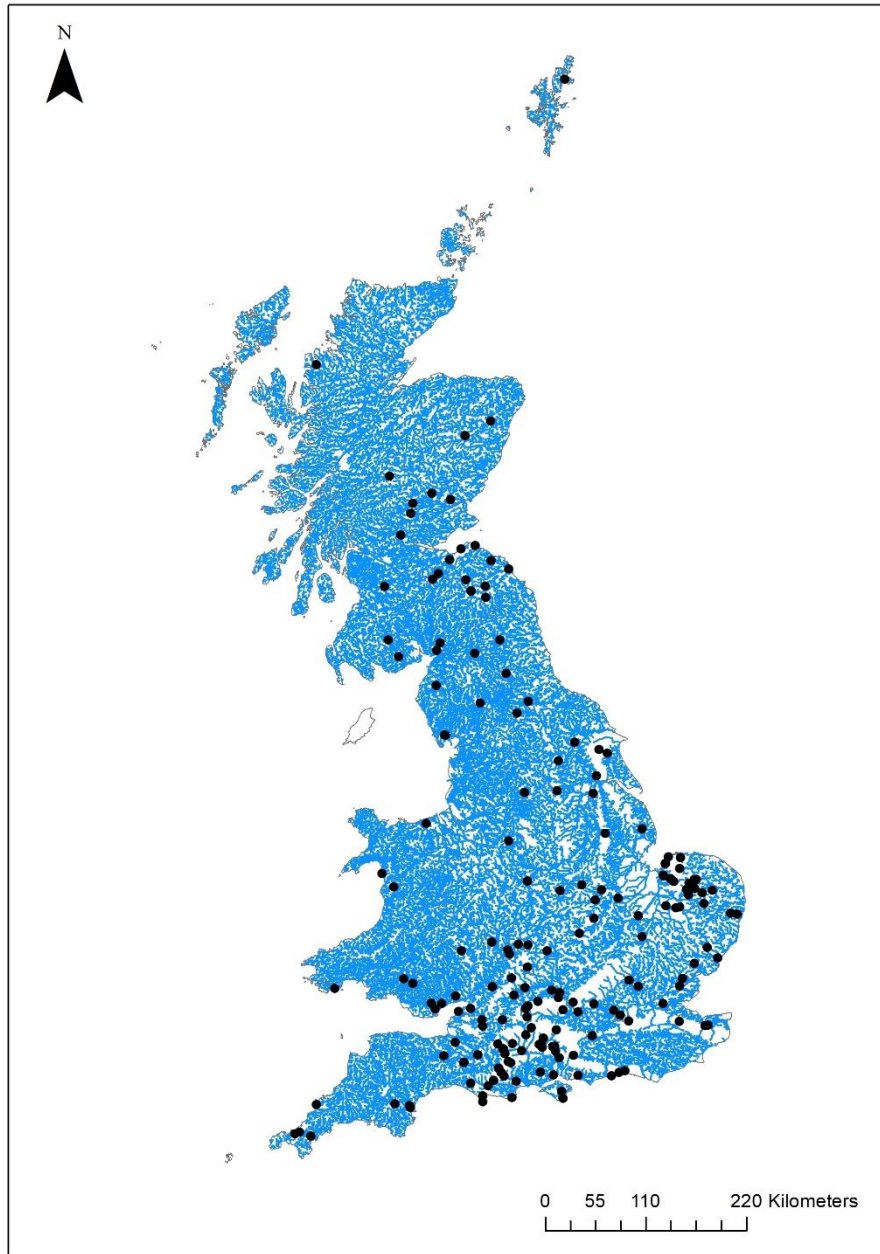


Figure 4.9 All Iron Age object hoards mapped on waterway information (Total: 241). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Methods of recovery

Iron Age hoard finds have been recorded since the mid-eighteenth century (see H72), with 62 (26 %) found pre-1900, 117 (48 %) pre-1960 and 59 (25 %) since 1960. Only one hoard cannot be given a find date (H67). Fig 4.10 shows the hoards in these three time-slices by method of discovery.

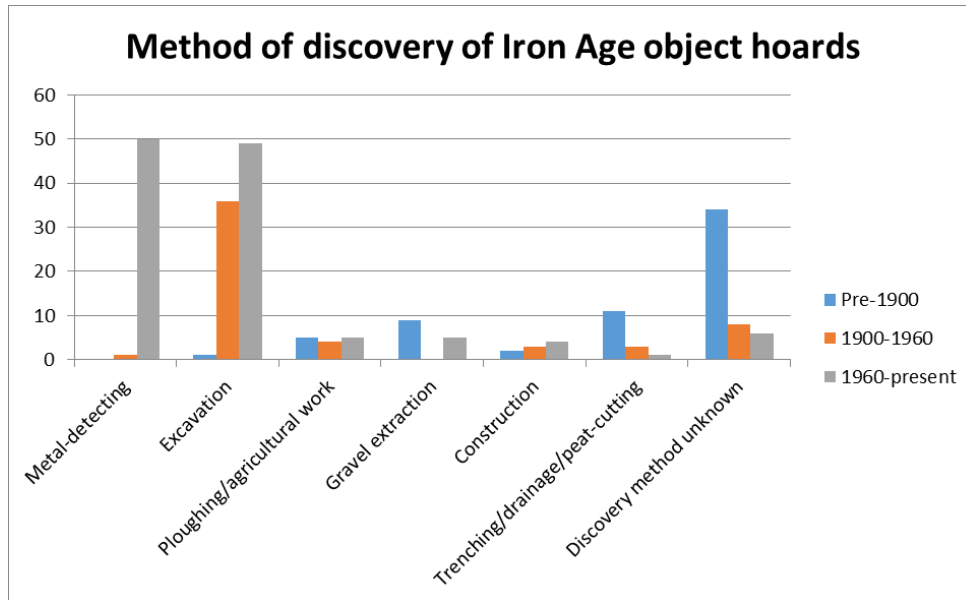


Figure 4.10 Method of discovery of hoards (Total number of hoards: 238)

Just over half the dataset (55 %) are either metal detected finds since 1960 or excavated finds post-1900. The excavated hoards are spread throughout Britain, with 21 found at Newstead in Scotland, but display a particular focus in the south (100 hoards, 40 %). 31 excavated hoards were initially metal detector finds, followed up with more or less extensive excavations, with 30 found in 2000 or after.

Of 113 excavated hoards, nine were discovered during pre-construction excavation. The majority, particularly those where there are multiple deposits as at Hod Hill (Dorset), South Cadbury (Somerset), Ham Hill (Somerset), Uley (Gloucestershire), Newstead (Borders), were the result of excavations led by societies, institutions or prominent individuals. The agricultural and metal detector finds at Snettisham (Norfolk) and Essendon (Hertfordshire), were later excavated. All these excavated sites have yielded a range of deposits in terms of size, metals and types.

In the last 15 years, the picture for the earlier Iron Age has changed considerably owing to nine new finds dating to the Earliest Iron Age and the important MIA finds at Leekfrith (H208) and Chiseldon (H223). Mainly concentrated in the south, these have provided valuable additional information about the possible landscape settings of EIA hoards.

160 hoards (66 %) have context findspot ratings of 3 or 4 (Fig 4.11), whereas only 149 (61 %) have a composition rating of 3 or 4. A number of the hoards, although antiquarian finds had good findspot data but with less precise information on the composition of the hoard.

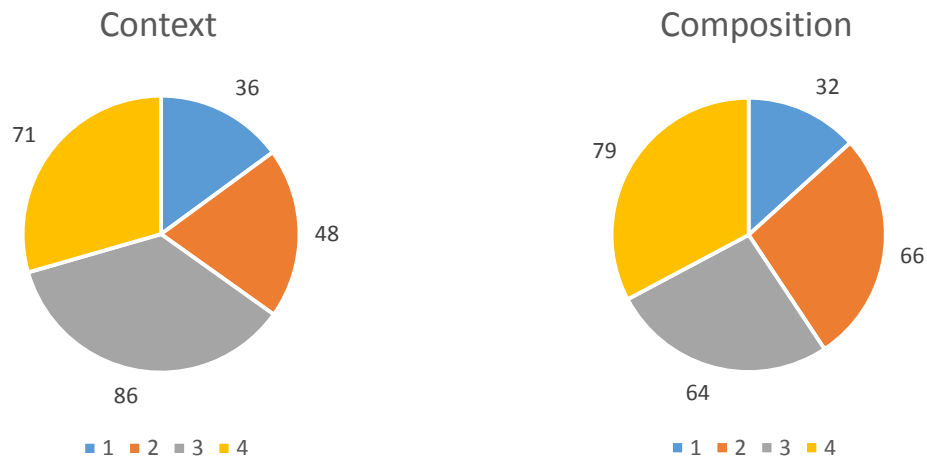


Figure 4.11 Context and Composition ratings for all Iron Age object hoards (total: 241).

Three hoards have been omitted from the discussion owing to their anecdotal nature. Fendoch (H194) is almost certainly an ironwork hoard but was stolen *en route* to Glasgow after its finding at the Fendoch Roman fort. It has been likened in nature to those of Carlingwark Loch (H70) but was never examined or its contents fully recorded. Two other finds from Corrieknowles (H71) and Eaton Bishop (H119) seem likely to have been Iron Age hoards but this cannot now be verified. At Corrieknowles a farmer turned all iron items, bar a 'brass battle axe', into husbandry tools. It seems likely from the description that this was the site of a Roman camp. The hoard from Eaton Bishop is based on an eighteenth-century account, relating how a river bank burst and the items were discovered. The description of items and combination of bronze axes with iron tools could suggest an Iron Age date.

An outline of chronological trends

As was demonstrated in Fig 4.1 above, the hoards are spread unevenly across the Iron Age. The highest densities are seen in the 200-year period of the EtIA (Earliest Iron Age) and in the LRIA. Hoards which can be dated to a specific period will be discussed below, but to give a broad-brush picture, the 241 hoards are broken up here into three groups (G1, G2 and G3) in Table 4.1:

	No. of hoards	No. of objects	No. of hoards per year
Late Bronze Age: 1000–800 BC	550	-	2.75
Group 1 (G1): EIA and MIA 800–150 BC	64	2368	0.1
Group 2 (G2): MIA/RIA 400 BC–AD 100	41	1024	0.08
Group 3 (G3): RIA 150 BC–AD 100	136	2493	0.54
Coin hoards buried during the RIA	456	45,555	1.8

Table 4.1 Summary of hoards by period

To more easily compare rates of hoarding, the number of hoards for each period group was divided by its length in years (as defined in Table 4.1). As Table 4.1 shows, G3 sees the highest intensity of hoarding across the Iron Age (0.54). As discussed below, this is combined with a high number of coin hoards also entering the archaeological record in this period. G1 is considerably lower at 0.1 and a sharp decrease from the level of hoarding in the LBA (Chapter 2). As will be discussed below, the MIA has relatively few hoards compared to other periods. G2 comprises hoards that cannot be closely dated within a range of around 500 years, but is comparable in density to G1. Many of these hoards contain currency bars which cannot be ascribed any narrower dates without contextual dating, but this analysis suggests that many of them are of MIA date rather than later.

Findspot information is depicted in Fig 4.12. For each period group (G1-3), 11–15 hoard sites have no findspot information. All periods have deposition at wetland/wet sites, settlements and hillforts. With the wetland/river sites, G1 sees more of a focus on rivers and lakes with the many G3 hoards focused on wetland/boggy areas in northern England and Scotland. The nuances of these changes are explored below and in the case studies. G1 and G3 contain a number of hoards with no demonstrated association with settlement or any distinctive landscape feature. 35 G1 and 61 G3 hoards were unexcavated making any association with human activity difficult. On the other hand, whilst 27 G2 hoards were unexcavated, currency bar hoards are often found in boundaries and ditches leading to a strong settlement/hillfort focus. Deposition in the RIA reflects the appearance of new site types from Roman forts (the Newstead hoards provide most of this bar) to shrines and ‘significant places’ (this bar is dominated by the Snettisham and Essendon hoards).

Turning to regional chronological and findspot patterns (Figs 4.13–4.14), most areas have evidence of EIA object hoarding, but only a few demonstrate MIA events. Almost

all areas, excluding the East and West Midlands, see an increase in hoards in the LRIA. This is particularly strong in Scotland, east, south-east and south-west England.

The majority of hoard finds do not demonstrate a strong association with human activity and a considerable number also have no information on their findspot, with only 25 % of hoards excavated (Fig 4.10 above) thus allowing investigation of the hoarding findspots. Most regions demonstrate a range of findspots fairly evenly distributed between wetlands, settlements and hillforts. Peaks in hillfort deposition are seen in the South-West and the South-East where there is a higher density of hillforts and more excavations have been undertaken.

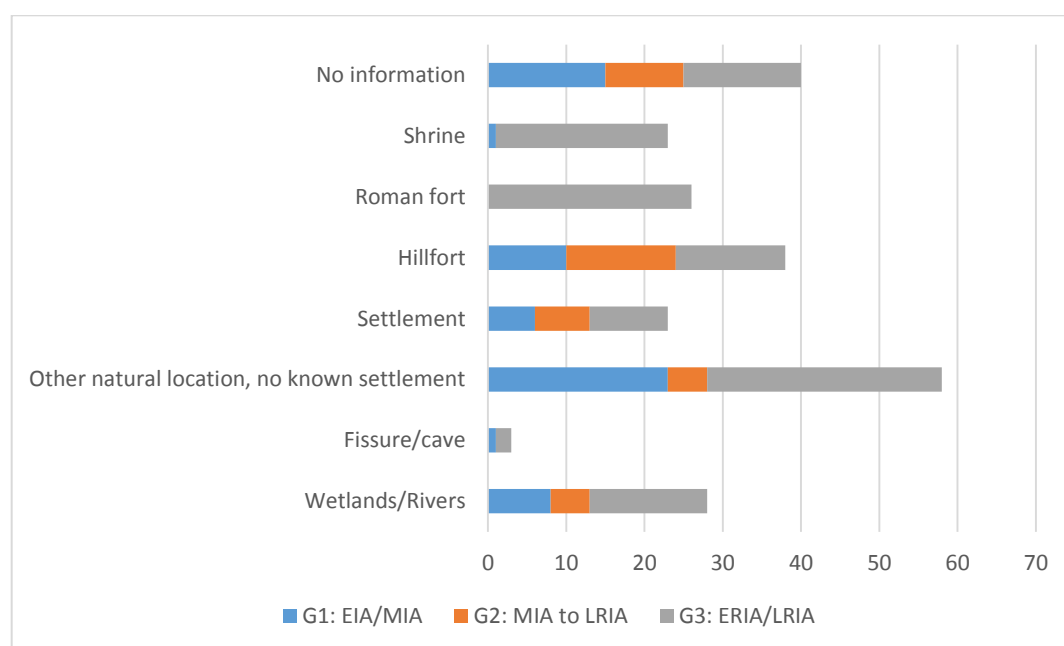


Figure 4.12 Findspot information for all object hoards (Total: 241)

Hillforts appear as hoard deposition sites throughout Britain to varying degrees, with the exclusion of the North-West, Eastern England and Yorkshire and the Humber – all areas with relatively fewer hillforts. Scotland sees a range of sites with a focus on wetland and Roman forts (the Newstead hoards constitute the majority of these finds).

The hoards contained a wide range of objects, which have been grouped into categories for analysis. There appears to be no strong preference in types of objects hoarded; horse-gear is the most popular inclusion followed by weapons, tools and axes and personal ornaments (Fig 4.15). Bronze Age/EIA axes make up a surprising proportion of the total given that they appear in only three hoards after the Earliest Iron Age. Ingots were always part of a wider hoard group with tools, personal ornaments and miniature/figurines almost always accompanying other items. Combinations of hoarded objects for each period are explored further below.

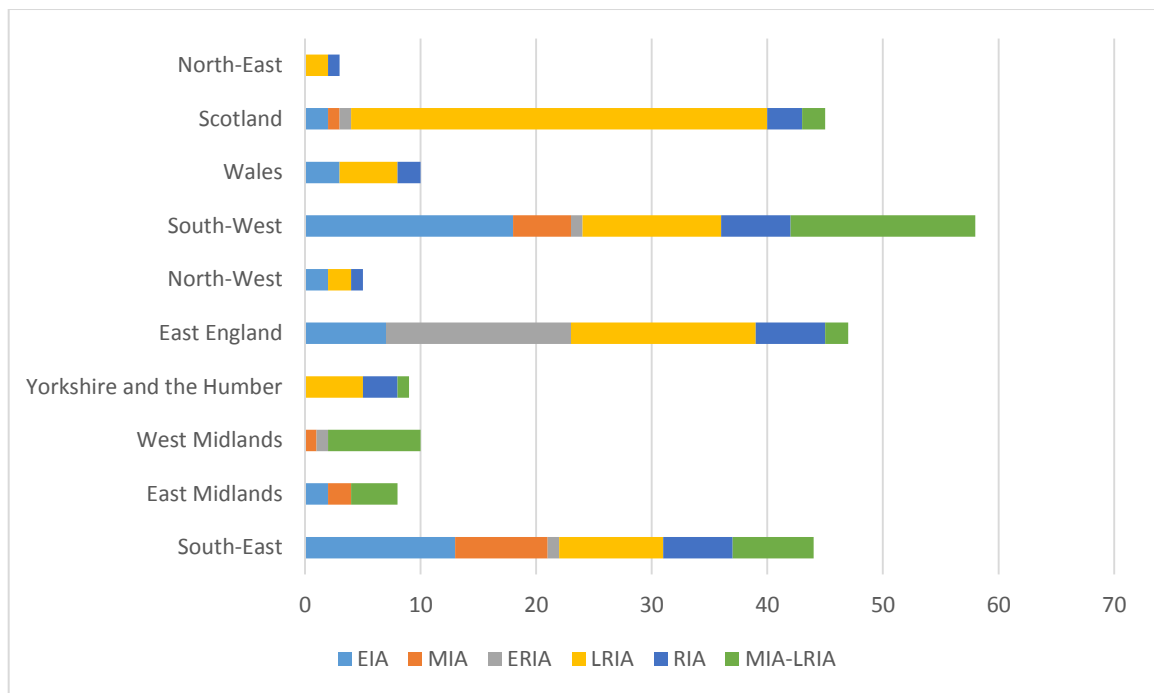


Figure 4.13 Chronological distributions of Iron Age object hoards in Britain (total: 241).

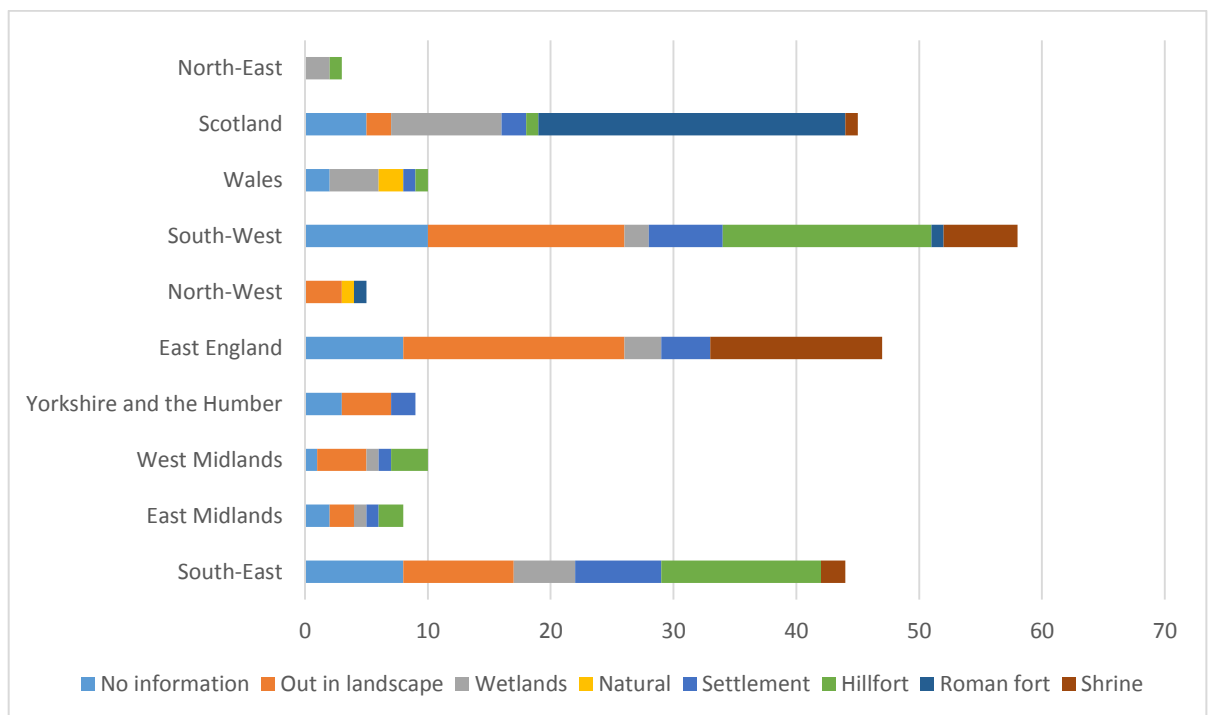


Figure 4.14 Findspots for Iron Age object hoards of Britain (total: 241).

Hoarding did not occur in isolation but against a wider pattern of depositional practices throughout the Iron Age such as objects accompanying the dead and single finds both at wetland and dryland site. Non-metallic objects such as organic materials, flints, bone and pottery were also deposited. The association of non-metallic objects with metalwork in hoards is explored in Chapter 7.

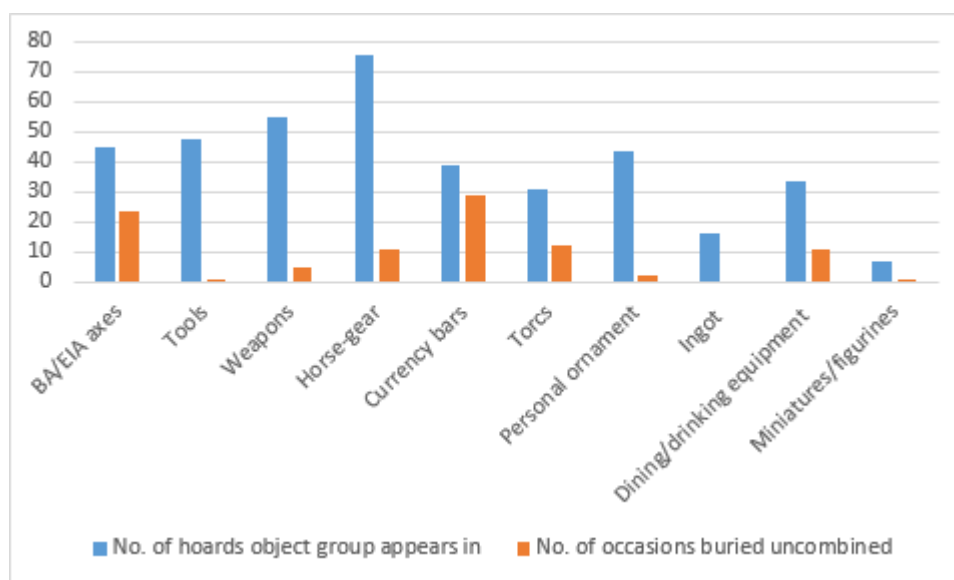


Figure 4.15 Number of Iron Age object hoards containing each object group (total: 241).

The following discussion splits the object hoards into four main chronological groups: Early Iron Age, Middle Iron Age, Early Roman Iron Age and Late Roman Iron Age. Some hoards do not sit comfortably within these periods and are explored separately in Middle Iron Age–Roman Iron Age and Roman Iron Age sections. These sections present and discuss the findspot, contexts and contents of object hoards through maps, charts, tables and object webs to demonstrate chronological patterns of hoarding for the Iron Age.

Early Iron Age (800–400 BC)

Earliest Iron Age (800–600 BC)

Bronze Age hoarding patterns peaked in the LBA (1000–800 BC) with the number of hoards declining sharply in the EIA period. The LBA saw 370 hoards (recorded by Maraszek 2006), to which can be added a further 180 hoards recorded on PAS, making a total of 550 over a 200-year period. By contrast, the 400 years of the EIA produced only 47 hoards, including those noted as transitional by Boughton (2015) and all attributable to the first two centuries. These finds and their contents are summarised in Table 4.2, along with information on the circumstances and location of the discovery, the nature of the dating evidence. Further details and references can be found in the Appendix. The EIA was originally termed the Llyn Fawr period after the lake in south Wales in which two cauldrons containing iron versions of three Bronze Age artefact types – sword, spearhead, sickle – were found along with various bronze objects (H85) but this period is now more widely referred to as the Earliest Iron Age. However, iron objects and evidence of their manufacture in Britain are found as early as 1000 BC suggesting iron was in circulation towards the end of the Bronze Age but was not yet selected for inclusion within that hoarding tradition (Brett et al 2003: 20, 36–7; Collard et al 2006).

Hoards deposited in the Earliest Iron Age are fewer in number than in the Later Bronze Age but represent important changes in practice. Compared to the heavily fragmented hoards of the Late Bronze Age, those of the Earliest Iron Age tend to contain considerably fewer broken items. Certain hoards, such as Tendring (H80), Figheledean (H229) and Kings Weston Down (H33) and Hindon 2 (H231), contain broken axes, though not in the numbers seen during the Later Bronze Age, e.g. Boughton Malherbe and Bunwell (both Norfolk), Chrishall, Grantham (Lincolnshire); for further examples see Maraszek 2006, Volume II).

Code	Hoard Name	County	Dating	Size	Context	Site type	Comp	Cont	Objects
H33	Kings Weston Down	Bristol	T	24		Unassoc.	3	3	20 socketed axes, 18 fragments, 3 casting jets, cauldron rim fragment and part of a possible socketed sickle.
H36	Carn Brea	Cornwall	T	3	terr	hillfort	2	3	3 axes.
H37	Gwinear	Cornwall	T	40		Unassoc.	2	3	Over 43 axes found together.
H38	Mylor, Falmouth	Cornwall	T	33		Wetlands/ wet site (Intertidal)	4	4	33 unused Sompting axes found in EIA pot.
H39	Porthcothan	Cornwall	T	39		Unassoc.	4	4	39 ingots, found in EIA pot.
H44	Skelmore Heads, Urswick	Cumbria	T	6	Natural-fissure	Unassoc.	3	2	6 axes found, 2 survive.
H45	Ulverston	Cumbria	T	3		Unassoc.	3	3	3 axes.
H51	Blandford	Dorset	T	6		No info	2	1	2 axes, a (type uncertain) blade fragment of socketed axe and two socketed gouges.
H52	Eggardon	Dorset	T	7	barrow?	Unassoc.	2	2	Socketed axe (3 ribs) and socketed axe (1 rib on face) and 4 other socketed axes.
H61	Langton Matravers	Dorset	T	373	former grain pit	Unassoc.	3	3	373 axes and 404 fragments.
H62	Portland	Dorset	T	9		No info	2	2	11 axes.
H63	Thorneydown Farm	Dorset	T	14		Unassoc.	2	2	9 socketed axes and 5 socketed gouges.
H64	Tincleton	Dorset	T	18		Unassoc.	2	2	18 found axes, 6 survive.
H77	Dovercourt	Essex	T	15		No info	1	1	15 socketed axes.
H80	Tendring	Essex	T	88		Unassoc.	3	3	3 winged axes, 8 socketed axes, 21 fragments, 5 sword fragments and 1 sword hilt, 1 gouge, 1 cauldron lug, 1 copper alloy mould frag, 41 casting waste, 6 fragmentary copper bun ingots.
H83	Leckwith nr Cardiff	Vale of Glamorgan	T	11		Wetlands/ wet site (Intertidal)	2	2	A socketed axe, 5 socketed chisels, socketed sickle with single broad, part of blade of socketed sickle, a razor and a razor, cap of chariot-pole.

H85	Llyn Fawr	Rhondda Cynon Taf	T	24		Wetlands/ wet site (Lake)	3	3	6 copper alloy axes and 1 fragment, 3 sickles (1 iron), 3 gouges, 1 razor, 2 harness fittings, a winged harness fitting, 1 fragment similar to the winged harness fitting, rectangular plate harness fitting, copper alloy belt-hook, socketed spear-head (iron), 2 cauldrons.
H87	St Mellons	Cardiff	T	25		No info	2	2	25 axes.
H110	Fawley area	Hampshire	T	68		Unassoc.	4	4	68 axes.
H112	Nether Wallop	Hampshire	T	13		Unassoc.	2	3	At least 13 complete or fragmentary socketed axes.
H113	New Forest	Hampshire	T	16		No info	1	1	14 or more axes
H122	Poolewe, Gairloch	Highlands	T	8		Wetlands/ wet site (Wetlands)	2	2	3 axes, cauldron handle, 2 unclassified axes, hollow annular ring, penannular ornament with trumpet-shaped terminals.
H123	Arreton	Isle of Wight	T	13		Unassoc.	3	3	11 Late Bronze Age cu-alloy socketed axeheads and 2 unidentified cu-alloy objects.
H124	Ventnor	Isle of Wight	T	4		Wetlands/ wet site (cliffs)	2	3	30 axes.
H125	Stockbury	Kent	T	7		Unassoc.	4	4	1 copper alloy horse-bit, 1 fragment of a copper alloy ingot, 1 ring, 1 harness fitting and 2 axe/chisel blade fragment.
H134	Ketton, Rutland	Leicestershire	T	18		Unassoc.	2	3	1 socketed knife, 16 socketed axes and 1 ingot.
H137	Branston	Lincolnshire	T	10		No info	2	2	10 axes.
H143	Cringleford	Norfolk	T	>2		No info	1	1	2 or 3 axes.
H145	Dereham	Norfolk	S	4		Unassoc.	3	3	An incomplete harness mount. 2 joining fragments of the central sword (oval section) .
H146	East Rudham	Norfolk	T	23		No info	4	3	23 axes.
H148	Hoe	Norfolk	T	14		No info	2	1	10 socketed incl. south-eastern ribbed and a linear faceted example and four pieces of ingot metal.
H163	Watton	Norfolk	T	7		Unassoc.	2	3	7 linear faceted axes.

H189	Tower Hill, Ashbury	Oxfordshire	T	92	threshold to hut, settlement	Settlement	4	4	92 objects; 22 complete socketed axes, 24 fragments from socketed axes, 6 complete and 5 partial rings, 2 partial bracelets, a piece of coiled strip, part of a ring-headed pin and 2 partial rods, 8 pieces of casting jets, 19 pieces of scrap, one small unidentified fragment and one possible piece of slag.
H190	Lamancha, Newlands	Peebleshire	T	3		No info	2	1	3 Armorican axes.
H214	Kingston	Surrey	T	4		No info	2	2	4 Sompting axes and gold ring.
H217	Ferring	West Sussex	T	18	Possibly close to a platform	Wetlands/ wet site (wetlands)	2	4	10 axes, a socketed leather-working knife, part of belt/strap attachment and 2 sword blades fragments.
H218	Sompting	West Sussex	T	20		Unassoc.	3	3	Parts of 1 cauldron and sheet copper alloy fragments from others, a phalera and 17 socketed axes incl. Sompting and linear-faceted types.
H229	Figheledean	Wiltshire	T	25		Unassoc.	2	3	25 socketed axes, most unsharpened and unused
H230	Hindon	Wiltshire	T	82		Unassoc.	4	4	82 socketed axes and other items: 39 copper alloy rings, 34 copper alloy axes, 2 copper alloy bracelets and bangles, 3 iron spearheads, 1 iron sickle, several copper alloy sheet metal fragments.
H231	Hindon 2	Wiltshire	T	16		Unassoc.	4	4	1 sickle fragment, 1 socketed axe fragment, 1 triangular blade fragment, 1 ingot fragment, 5 casting sprues, and 1 small un-diagnostic metal object along with 1 gold sheet fragment and copper alloy casting waste fragments.
H232	Manton Copse, Preshute	Wiltshire	T	10		No info	1	1	10 socketed axes- 3 axes same mould, 2 axes also same mould.
H233	Melksham	Wiltshire	T	9		Wetlands/ wet site (river)	3	3	3 socketed copper alloy spear heads, copper alloy dirk blade and 2 iron spearheads. 3 phalerae.
H235	Tisbury	Wiltshire	T	9		Unassoc.	3	3	MBA side-looped socketed spearhead (2 fragments), spearhead tip (large amount of blade and socket missing), incomplete socketed gouge, 2 fragments of a socketed gouge (not necessarily the same object), an awl and 3 fragments of max 3 axes.

H236	Vale of Wardour	Wiltshire	T	115		Unassoc.	4	4	114 objects fragmentary and complete: 2 rapiers, 7 swords, 29 spearheads, 9 socketed axes, 8 palstaves, 1 flat axe, 15 socketed gouges, 12 other woodworking tools, 6 sickles. 6 knives, 2 chapes, 5 dress pins, 1 bracelet/collar, 1 ring, 1 button, 1 toggle, 1 strap fitting/end, 2 razor and 6 unidentified objects.
H24	Yattendon	West Berkshire	T	59		No info	2	1	Flat axe, 2 palstaves, 3 axes, Carps tongue blade, 2 Ewart Park hilts, 1 blade, 29 spearheads, 6 gouges, 4 knives, 3 chisels, conical ferrule, collared disc, 4 sheet fragments.
H149	Crooksbury Hill	Surrey	T	6		No info	2	1	6 axes.

Table 4.2 Early Iron Age hoards

Key to Tables 4.2–4.7

Dating: C = contextual; R = radiocarbon; T = typological; S= stylistic

Unassoc. = Unassociated with human activity

Regional and landscape distribution

EIA hoards are spread throughout Britain with clusters apparent in Cornwall, Wessex, Norfolk, the coast of West Sussex and with a small group in southern Wales. All these areas had previously seen Bronze Age hoarding, Norfolk and West Sussex have prolific Bronze Age hoarding, whereas Wessex, south Wales and Cornwall see slightly lower levels. A relative lack of EIA finds from Somerset and Gloucestershire mirrors an absence of hoards in this area in the LBA.

LBA hoards occur in central England and Scotland but in both areas there is an almost complete absence of EIA hoarding evidence, with only two EIA hoards from the whole of Scotland. However, this absence of hoarding evidence is not an absence of metalworking, since a metal working site was found on Skye (High Pasture Cave, Uamh an ard Achadh (Skye), Birch and Wildgoose 2006). One hoard was found on the north-west coast (H122), an area which had not seen previous activity. The presence of axe moulds at mounds at Dunagoil (Bute, Bute Museum 1919.A.45) for casting Sompting axes suggests a wider circulation of these objects than hoarding patterns show.

East Anglia and the Thames estuary contained high densities of LBA hoards with bands across central England. Further concentrations of LBA hoards were also seen in the Humber and East Riding. In the EIA, hoarding appears absent in these areas (Figs 4.16–4.17).

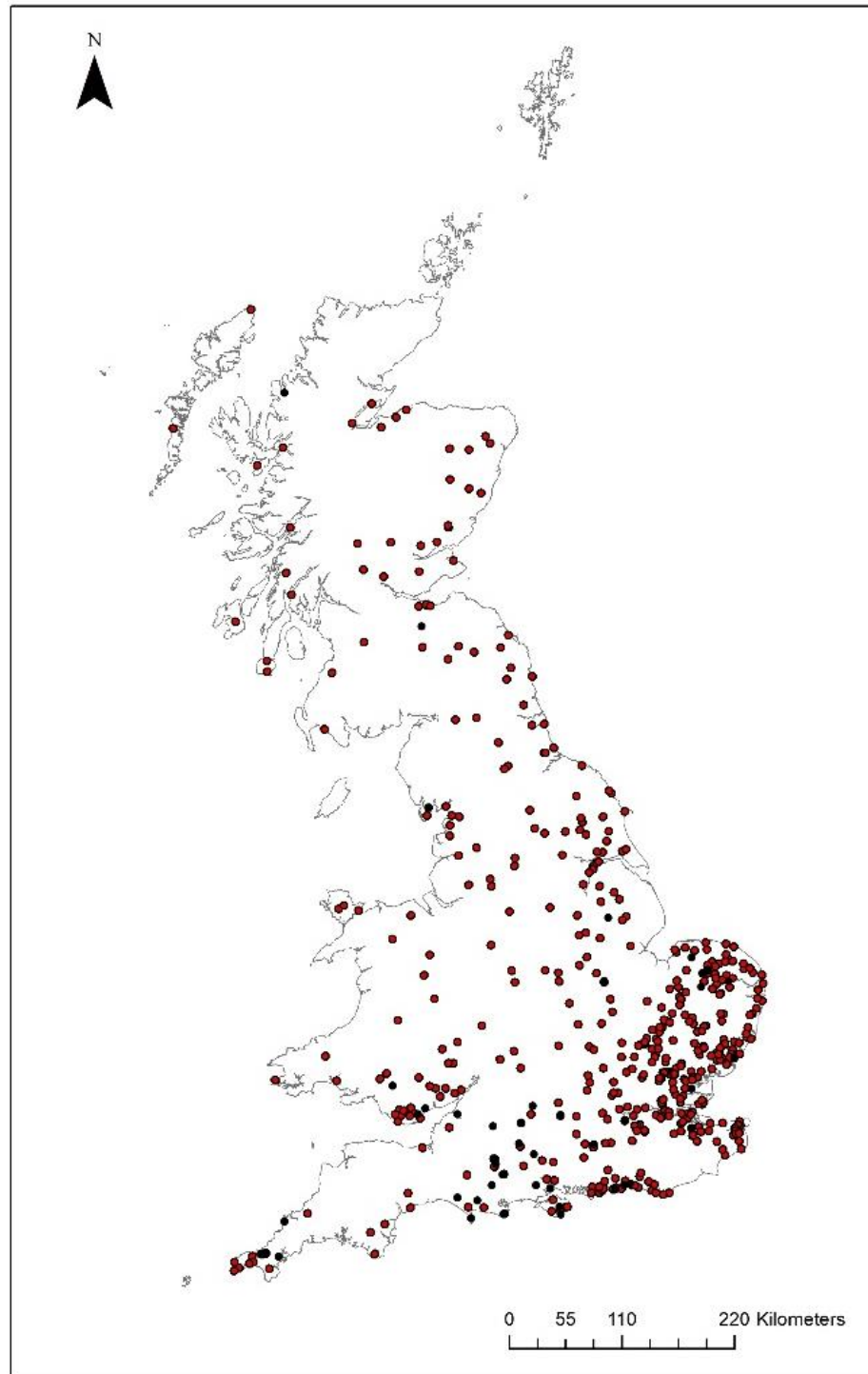


Figure 4.16 Late Bronze Age hoards (from Maraszek 2006 and PAS database, total: 535). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

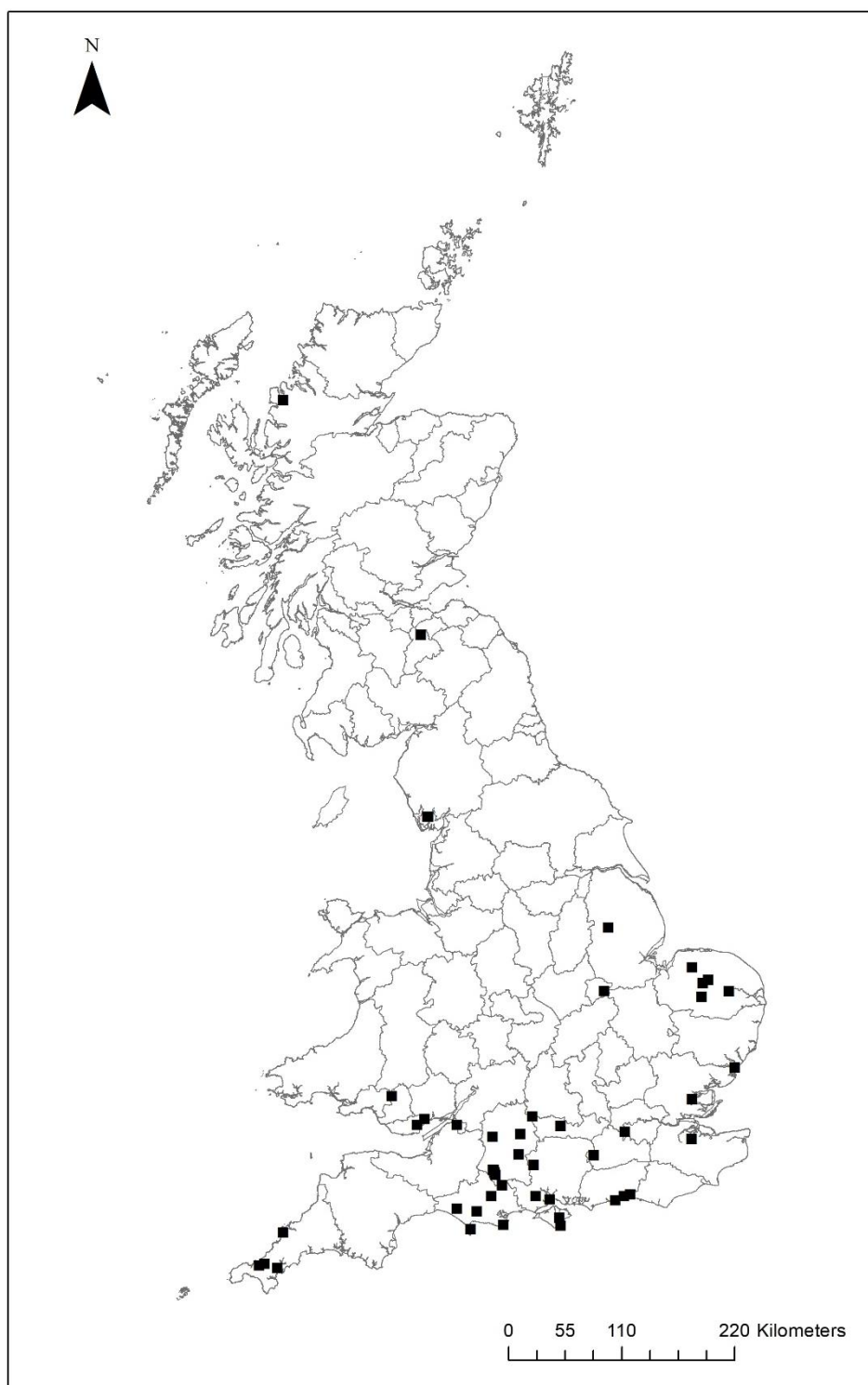


Figure 4.17 Earliest Iron Age hoards (total: 47). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

As in the Late Bronze Age, on current knowledge few EIA hoard findspots are associated with human occupation (Fig 4.18). Tower Hill (H189) is the only hoard in this period known to be deposited on a potentially contemporary settlement; this sizeable hoard was buried at the threshold of the house, but it is unclear whether this occurred while the site was occupied or after it was abandoned (Coombs 2003).

Six hoards (15 % of the EIA total) have a primary wet landscape location. This varies from wetland/boggy ground to rivers and lakes. Six (15 %) EIA hoards are within sight of barrows or ancient earthworks. These include the axes buried at Carn Brea (H36) within Neolithic ramparts, and deposits buried in the vicinity of barrows and tumuli such as Eggardon (H52), Kings Weston Down, Hoe (H148), Figheledean and the two Hindon hoards (H230–H231). Potentially the burial of these items may be linked with these older sites and monuments and their incorporated myths and linked understandings of their wider landscape (see Hingley 2009). It is worth noting however that several of these hoards were found in the heavily occupied prehistoric landscape of Wessex where it is quite difficult to avoid being in sight of an ancient monument and at 15 % of hoards, this may represent coincidence rather than deliberate association.

The majority of hoards appear to have no association with human activity or settlement, but this may be owing to the lower numbers of excavated hoards.

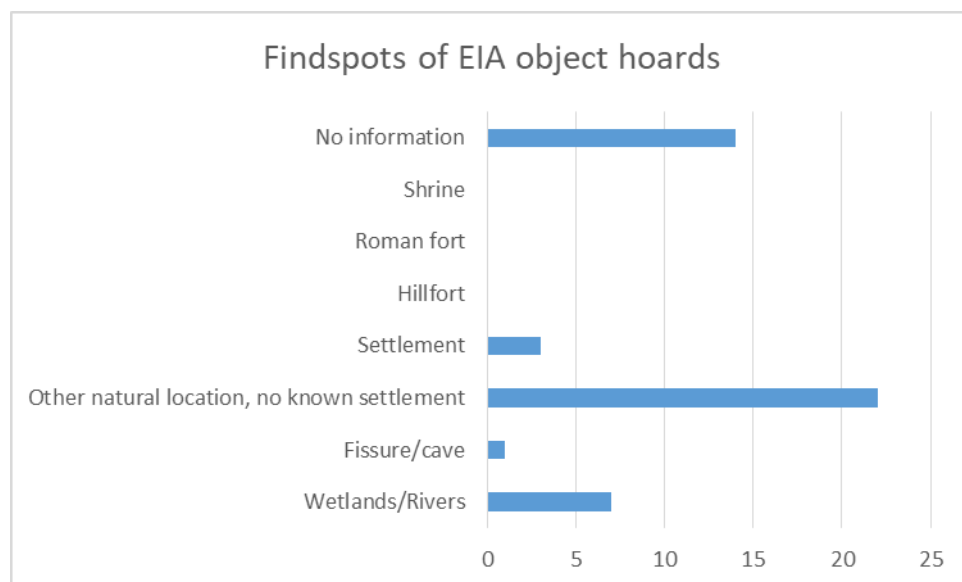


Figure 4.18 Contexts of Earliest Iron Age object hoards (total: 47).

Objects types

For all they are taken as indicating the start of the Iron Age, surprisingly little iron is found in EIA hoards. The Llyn Fawr hoard contained an iron sickle, socketed spearhead and a sword, manufactured using techniques which make these items appear very similar to their bronze counterparts. The sickle and spearhead reference local types whilst the sword reflects international design. The only other hoards containing iron are Melksham (two spearheads, H233), Hindon 1 (three spearheads, H230) and Tisbury (possibly two daggers, H235). Ferring (H217) and Sompting (H218) may have contained iron objects. From a minimum of 1334 objects contained within these EIA hoards, 0.6 % were iron. Iron is found in other deposits from 1000 BC. However, despite the number of copper alloy axes hoarded in the preceding Bronze Age (see Maraszek 2006) and in the EIA, EIA hoards do not contain iron axes. These are currently only recorded as single finds (Boughton 2015) and, as noted above, iron objects in these hoards tend to be bladed weapons. There does not seem to be a geographical or contextual pattern to iron's inclusion in hoards. Despite other changes in hoarding practice (smaller hoards and fewer fragmented items) iron is only rarely included. Current evidence suggests that this a deliberate separation of the materials perhaps stemming from an unwillingness to incorporate a new material into these practices. Some iron, mainly in the form of tools, was deemed appropriate for deposition but the hoards continued to focus on the copper alloy axe form.

The predominant object type in EIA hoards is the copper alloy axe. This does not register in the object web (Fig 4.19) as many of the axe hoards were uncombined with any other object type. These new EIA types of axe represented a change from the LBA in terms of size (smaller or larger) and shape, and very few are left undecorated (Burgess 1972: 267–8). This may demonstrate an increased focus on appearance, potentially with the emphasis of form over use (Boughton 2015). Some examples of these EtIA axes, such as at Mylor, bear few signs of use and many are also buried with the casting cores still in the sockets, meaning that they cannot have been hafted, and therefore used. The high tin content – over 20 % – means the axes shatter easily and may not have been useable. Previous studies have suggested that these axes may have functioned as ingots, similar to the hoarded Continental Armorican axes, which also occur in object hoards found in England (as ingots Briard 1965; Bradley 1990: 119; British axes as ingots see Pearce 1983: 120–1, 253). I follow Boughton (2015) and Roberts et al (2015) in arguing that these changes suggest that rather than being used for as ingots for trade, the axe form was becoming increasingly symbolic

(Boughton 2015: 71) and a means of distinguishing them was the artificial silver colour consciously imitating iron (Roberts et al 2015: 376–8).

Axes appear to be the most numerous hoarded items in both the Late Bronze Age and the Earliest Iron Age (Boughton 2015: 20) with 24 EIA hoards contain solely axes. Of the other 25 containing a range of items, only the Dereham hoard (H145) did not contain any axes. Neither axe-only nor mixed hoards are concentrated in any specific region, although Cornwall does contain mainly axe hoards (Fig 4.17). Axes and axe fragments comprise a minimum of 96 % of items in the hoards (this includes the fragmented axes), but this percentage is not exact as antiquarian records often note a range in the number of axes found rather than a precise number.

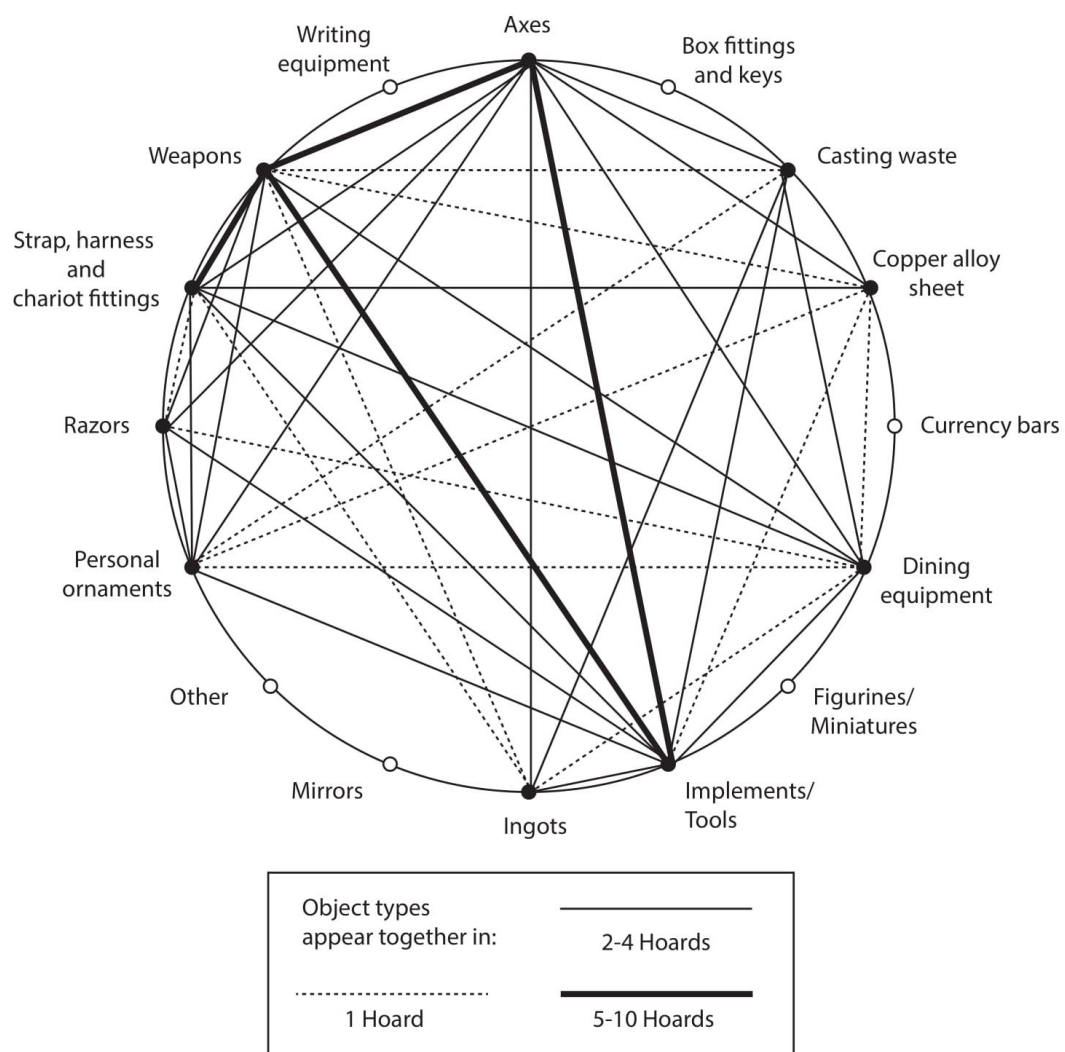


Figure 4.19 Object web illustrating the contents of hoards (total: 45).

The tools included in these hoards appear predominantly to be those associated with woodworking. These appear either only with axes or within wider groups of objects. Tools continue to be deposited both in hoards and in graves throughout the Iron Age. However, the majority of those deposited are iron tools. Razors are no longer included in hoards after the Earliest Iron Age, but they also disappear as single finds suggesting a change in object usage.

Swords appear in six hoards, always heavily fragmented, as at Llyn Fawr, with both blade and hilt fragments included in the hoards. The Bronze Age saw significant numbers of swords deposited both in rivers and hoards (York 2002). However, from the end of the EIA onwards, swords are rarely included in hoards and mainly deposited as single finds in both dry land and riverine contexts. Swords appear less common in the EIA generally, with some watery deposits of daggers, and more rarely deposited than in the Bronze Age (Stead 2006).

Spearheads appear to be predominantly found in hoards on hillslopes and in watery contexts at Llyn Fawr (Glamorgan), Hindon, Melksham, Tisbury and Vale of Wardour (all Wiltshire) and possibly Danebury 5 (H107 see Table 4.3 below). The Tisbury spearhead dates to the Middle Bronze Age and must be a curated find. Of 29 copper alloy spearheads found in the Vale of Wardour, at least nine date to the Middle Bronze Age and others to the Late Bronze Age. The spearheads found at Hindon, Llyn Fawr and Melksham are made of iron and are the only iron items in the hoards. Spearheads are frequently included in the mixed groups of objects containing axes but are never deposited with axes alone. Spearheads continue to be deposited throughout the Iron Age, both as single deposits and as part of hoards. Overall there does not appear to be a martial emphasis, which is something seen more frequently with Bronze Age hoards.

Containers were sometimes used for EIA hoards, having appeared periodically with LBA hoards such as Minnis Bay (Kent) or Allhallows (Kent). Pottery containers were used at Mylor (H38) and Porthcothan (H39) in Cornwall. Cauldrons regularly occur in Bronze Age hoards and this pattern continues throughout the Iron Age, (see discussions of Chiseldon, Glenfield and others below). The two cauldrons at Llyn Fawr were deposited whole along with items such as cauldron chains and hooks. Complete cauldrons are included hoards throughout the Iron Age and their function as containers rather than objects within the hoard is discussed further in Chapter 7. Other than at Llyn Fawr, cauldrons in Earliest Iron Age hoards were deposited heavily fragmented. Cauldron single finds are often intact (Joy 2014). The fragment types vary; in some

hoards there is a focus on the cauldron body and in others the top and rings of the cauldron. This does not appear to vary according to region; at Poolewe, Highlands (H122, cauldron ring), and at Tendring (the lug still attached to the rim), Kings Weston Down (part of cauldron rim). At Sompting the majority of body fragments from one cauldron and significant parts of another were deposited.

The inclusion of horse harness is another component of Bronze Age hoards, which continued throughout the Iron Age. It appears in three EIA hoards (Llyn Fawr, Stockbury and Dereham). This is quite a diverse selection; the horse-gear in Llyn Fawr may have continental connections. At Stockbury (H125), the deposit is considerably smaller than the average EIA hoard (usually 30 objects), and was comprised of two blade fragments, a harness fitting, bridle, one ring and one part of an ingot. A Late Bronze Age hoard containing 27 fragments of axes, swords and ingots was deposited approximately two hundred metres away (2011T456; 2012T79). Dereham (H145) is another small hoard containing three sword fragments and one piece of horse harness. Two EIA hoards (Melksham, Leckwith) contain chariot fittings. Undiagnostic rings from other hoards were likely horse-gear, but this is not certain. Hoards with potential horse-gear are Hindon, Poolewe, and Tower Hill. It is difficult to assess the importance of horse-gear in these hoards, as the types vary so wildly. The imported horse-gear in Llyn Fawr and the phalerae at Melksham and Leckwith suggest items of importance. The Stockbury hoard contained imported horse-gear and its importance in the local area is underlined by the deposit of further EIA horse-gear in the next field. As can be seen from Fig 4.19, it was most frequently associated with weapons, usually spear heads. Perhaps as this could be more easily used without dismount or simply as spearheads were a more popular inclusion in EIA hoards.

Three hoards (Vale of Wardour, Hindon and Tower Hill) contain bracelets and pins, and the Vale of Wardour hoard also contains a toggle and button. With the exception of the possible Whitelot Bottom hoard (West Sussex), the inclusion of jewellery and dress items is not something we see recurring until 300 BC onwards.

Five EIA hoards contain items imported from the Continent (Boughton 2015: 188). They are spread through Wales and Southern England: Tower Hill, Sompting, Llyn Fawr, Leckwith and Stockbury. Seven hoards contain imported Armorican axe forms: Carn Brea, and Gwinear (H37) in Cornwall; Danebury 5, Fawley (H110), Nether Wallop (H112) in Hampshire; Ventnor on the Isle of Wight (H124) and Lamancha in Peebleshire (H190). These imports demonstrate the continued importance and

existence of networks with a focus on the axe form, integral to many recovered hoards of this period, alongside other imported items.

Another element of memory and forging links can perhaps be seen in the mould links between the hoards. Several hoards contain groups of axes made from one mould (e.g. Mylor, Figheledean Down, Tower Hill; Bruns and Needham 2008, Huth 1997, 275, no. 23; Coombs 2003;). Mould links also occur between hoards; an axe from the Skelmore Heads hoard (H44) was made from the same mould as an axe from the nearby Ulverston hoard (H45; Boughton 2015). It is unclear whether these mould links between hoards demonstrate an awareness of other hoarded items in the local area but is further explored in Chapter 6.

Copper alloy bun ingot hoards, usually considered a Late Bronze Age phenomenon as at e.g. Tregonning, Breage (Cornwall), continued into the EIA. As with their EIA counterparts, the proportion of ingots in these hoards varies greatly. The Porthcothan hoard of bun ingots (H39) was found in Early Iron Age pottery suggesting the continuation of this hoarding practice from the Bronze Age. Currently there does not appear to be a pattern in their combination with other objects.

Summary

Although based on a small sample, the general distribution of EIA hoards in Britain is similar to Late Bronze Age, but with gaps in central and northern Britain. The hoard form underwent a number of changes: hoards are smaller in size and fewer in number than their LBA counterparts. There is also a change in focus in terms of the objects buried, possibly indicating a change in technology as well as choice, with an absence of palstaves and increased focus on tools, though axes continue to make up a sizeable proportion overall. Martial items such as swords appear less frequently than in LBA hoards. Other than Stockbury and Tendering, spearheads are the main martial objects included in EIA hoards. As with the axes, these too are all made of bronze. Fig 4.19 shows a strong focus on bladed items – axes, weapons, tools – and these objects are often combined. The increased emphasis on tools could suggest a more communal element to these hoards, particularly as there is decreasing focus on explicitly martial objects, such as swords.

The absence of iron from these hoards is surprising. Whilst iron was used for tools, it seems likely that it could not fulfil the same requirements as the copper alloy axe did in both LBA and EIA hoards. Whilst single finds of iron axes are known, the iron appears to be symbolically represented in hoards through the silvery sheen of the EIA axes. The hoards appear to demonstrate a continued focus on the axe as a status object.

There is also surprisingly little gold in these EIA hoards (one scrap from Hindon). That said, there are relatively few LBA gold hoards and most LBA gold objects were single finds of penannular rings. These used small amounts of gold spread over bronze cores. The condition of selected objects also demonstrates strong similarities to Late Bronze Age practices with the inclusion of deliberately damaged items such as at Hindon, newly cast or unused items such as at Mylor or mould links between hoards such as Figcheldean or Mylor. However the levels of fragmentation are lower than those seen in the Late Bronze Age.

Early Iron Age (600–400 BC)

After the Earliest Iron Age (800–600 BC), there appears to be a break in hoarding practice, or at least our recovery of the hoards. Only one hoard, Whitelot (West Sussex) might date to the remaining 200 years of the Early Iron Age. At Hemingford Grey, West Cambridgeshire (TEA27, A14 Road Improvement Scheme) two iron bars or pokers were found with pottery elsewhere on the site providing a date of 600–350 BC (PAS treasure case 2017 T548), confirmed by unpublished radiocarbon dates (C. Haselgrove pers. comm.). This perhaps suggests smaller deposits for the rest of the EIA. This break in hoarding mirrors well the absence of other archaeological evidence for changes until the start of the Middle Iron Age, to which several hoards have been securely dated.

Middle Iron Age (400–150 BC)

From 400/300 BC, changes can be seen in the archaeological record. This period saw some building of hillforts in south-east England (Hamilton and Manley 2001) and redevelopment of existing hillforts in Wessex (Cunliffe 2005: 388–396). There was also an increase in the range and volume of material culture with some pottery and quern production becoming standardised and specialised (Morris 1994, 1996; Peacock 1987). Iron appears more frequently in the record, both in hoards and as site finds, particularly in the form of currency bars. The object hoarding evidence increases throughout the MIA coinciding with this period of change. The MIA also saw the emergence of distinctive burial rites in East Yorkshire. This region, like many others in Britain, contains no hoarding evidence for the MIA; the focus here was on commemorating individuals within the community rather than on potentially community focused hoarding activities (discussed below). Many of these Arras burials also demonstrate a similar focus on horse-gear, also seen by the hoards below.

Up to 59 object hoards could be of Middle Iron Age date but many contain types of object such as currency bars cannot be closely dated on stylistic or typological grounds and were not in contexts that allowed closer dating. Some of these could therefore have been deposited after 150 BC, although none contained types of object that are definitely later than the Roman conquest. This leaves 17 hoards that can be firmly dated to the Middle Iron Age by various methods (Table 4.4). Danebury 1–5 are all associated with cp7 pottery with a date range of 270–50 BC (Cunliffe 2019) but it seems likely on stratigraphic grounds that all five hoards were deposited during the MIA and they are included in the discussion here.

The 17 hoards form two discrete geographical groups; one in the Midlands (Leicestershire, Staffordshire) and another in Wessex, with an outlier in Blair Drummond (Fig 4.20). They were found in various ways: Glenfield, Danebury, Bury Hill and Burrough Hill during excavation, and Salisbury, Blair Drummond and Leekfrith by metal detectors and later excavated. Burrough Hill, Bury Hill, Chiseldon and Glenfield are radiocarbon dated to this period, Danebury and Houghton Down dated from associated pottery and the others on typological grounds.

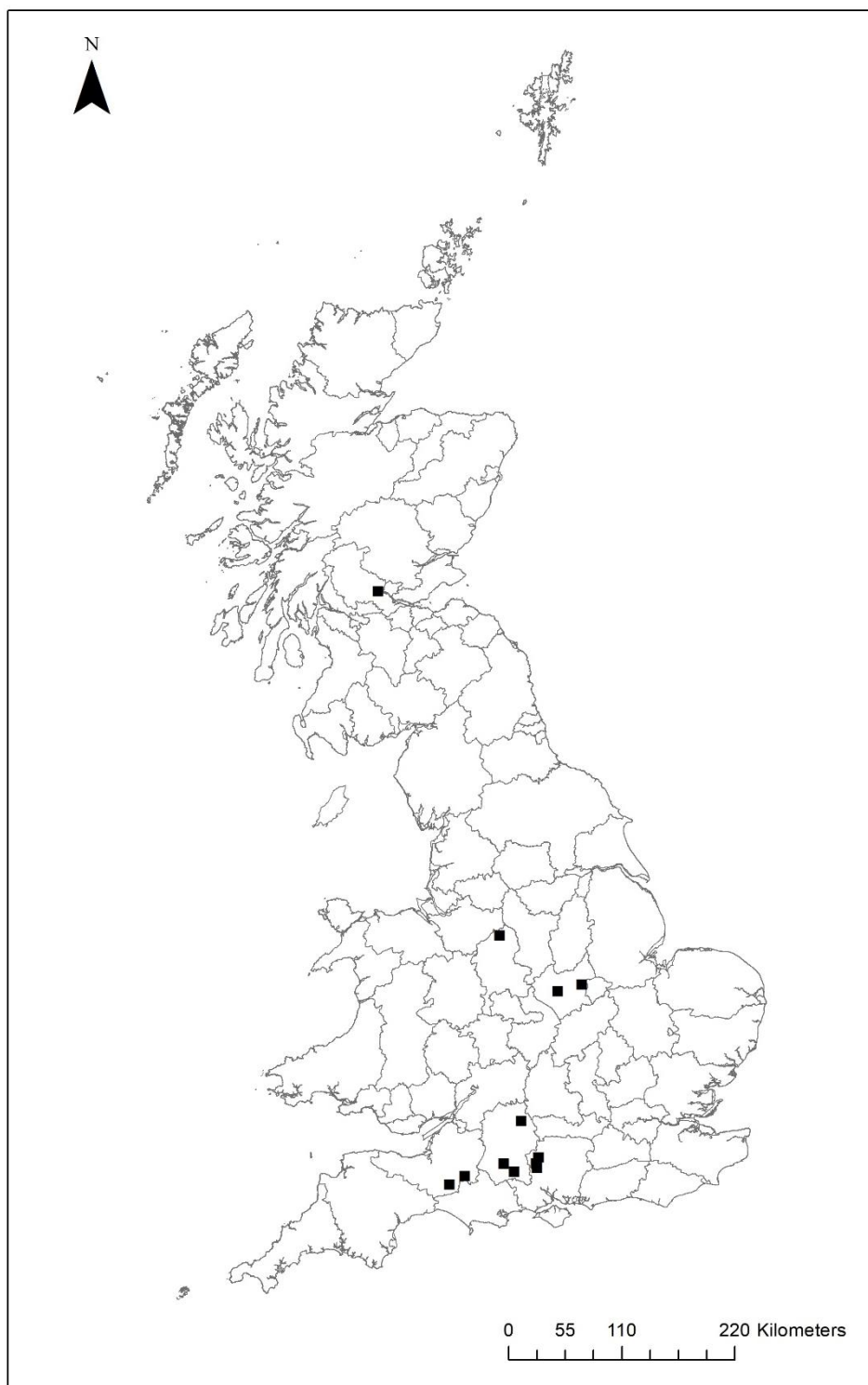


Figure 4.20 All Middle Iron Age object hoards (total: 17). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Code	Hoard Name	County	Dating	Size	Context in site	Site type	Comp	Cont	Objects
H101	Danebury 1	Hampshire	C	21	under a house in CS22	Hillfort	4	4	21 complete currency bars.
H105	Bury Hill 1	Hampshire	R	16	pit 45, basal layer (10)	Hillfort	4	4	5 bronze terret rings, an iron knife, a bronze stud, an iron adze, an iron ring, a bronze bodkin head, an iron spear, an iron cleat, 2 bronze rings and two bronze strap junctions.
H106	Bury Hill 2	Hampshire	R	7	pit 24, basal layer (9)	Hillfort	4	4	A pair of iron linch pins, an iron nave binding, 2 iron rings, 2 iron fragments, 3 bronze sheet fragments.
H107	Danebury 5	Hampshire	C	19	pit 1007; sealed by rampart extension	Hillfort	4	4	Flat axe (Type B, Coles and Case), axe with cast flanges, dirk or short rapier, spearhead, upper part of hilt of a flange-hilted sword, 2 Hallstatt C razors, 1 complete Sompting axe, 2 blade axe fragments, one Amorican axe fragment, pin (?), 2 'chisel's, 1 chisel, chisel or punch, 3 fragments.
H108	Danebury 4	Hampshire	C	9	pit (ph 8857, cp7)	Hillfort	4	4	2 nave hub bindings, 1 bridle bit, 1 bridle ring, 1 (bucket?) handle, 2 rings, 2 clamp/brackets.
H109	Danebury 2	Hampshire	C	8	pit (F68, cp7)	Hillfort	4	4	2 cauldron hooks, latch lifter, rod handle, punch? currency bar frag, 2 iron bars.
H111	Houghton Down, Stockbridge	Hampshire	T	3	pit (G331) from interior of site,	Settlement	4	4	Incomplete iron adze or chisel, incomplete saw, knife and tapering fragment of rod and metal casting waste.
H118	Danebury 3	Hampshire	C	3	pit (2261, dated cp7)	Hillfort	4	4	1 plain bronze ring and 2 bronze terrets, 2 iron rings in bronze casings, 1 decorated with a series of raised parallel lines another with impressed dots. 1 terret is ribbed with 20 segments.
H133	Burrough Hill	Leicestershire	R	16	pit behind roundhouse	Hillfort	4	4	2 linch-pins and 3 terrets (rein-rings). The strap-fittings include 2 'miniature terrets', 3 toggles and a figure-of-eight strap-union. 2 small copper-alloy rings may have been strap-fittings, or they could have been part of a container or bag.
H135	Glenfield, Kirby Muxloe	Leicestershire	C	4	enclosure ditch; settlement	Settlement	4	4	17 cauldrons deposited in roundhouse gully, 4 in a group.
H201	Ham Hill 3	Somerset	C	3	Pit 1541	Hillfort	4	4	A sword shaped currency bar, wheel-rim,

									spearhead, loom weight, pin/nail.
H204	South Cadbury 1	Somerset	C	18	Pit D 630A, in rampart	Hillfort	4	4	Currency bar, axe, complete saw and fragment, large knife, 2 small knives; tip of blade knife, probable adze socket, 4 reaping hooks, 3 awls.
H208	Leekfrith	Staffordshire	S	4		Unassoc.	3	3	3 complete gold torcs and a gold bracelet.
H210	Blair Drummond	Stirling and Falkirk	S	4	roundhouse	Shrine	4	4	4 torcs.
H223	Chiseldon	Wiltshire	R	12	pit	Unassoc.	4	4	12 cauldrons
H228	Batheaston	Wiltshire	T	301		No info	2	1	5 palstaves, 2 socketed axes, 1 tanged spearhead, 1 socketed spearhead, 1 arrowhead, 2 daggers, 1 chape, 8 tanged chisels, 2 socketed gouges, 16 awls, 3 tweezers, 94 straight shanks dress pins, 44 swans-necks pins, 11 La Tène I brooches, 30 penannulars, 3 other brooches, 2 cauldrons (?), 6 looped buttons, 35 small rings, 2 triskeles, 1 wheel pendant, 1 pendant disc, 1 binding, 2 discs attached to wires, 1 riveted boss, 1 looped disc, 2 studs, 19 unclassified.
H234	Salisbury	Wiltshire	R	535	former grain pit, settlement	Settlement	2	4	Stead (1998) includes the material attributed to 'Gloucestershire' by MacGregor 1987, 17–18, Group 1, pl. 9 and Huth 1997, 274 no.9. 4 flat axes, 6 flanged axes, 9 palstaves, 173 socketed axes, 46 spearheads, 1 arrowhead, 7 chapes, 12 tanged knives, 8 socketed knives, 7 notched butt knives, 10 misc. knives, 29 tanged chisels, 2 lugged chisels, 3 socketed chisels, 2 flanged chisels, 30 socketed gouges, 4 socketed tools, 5 socketed hammers, 1 looped hammer, 11 awls/punches, 1 anvil, 2 sickles, 17 razors, 2 sickles, 16 pins, 24 miniature shields, 46 cauldrons, 1 socketed axe, 1 miniature currency bar ?, 4 cones, 9 ferrules, 2 'moustaches', 1 pendant, 5 buttons, 7 discs, 10 ornamental frags, 17 other frags, 6 casting waste, 1 hone-stone

Table 4.3 MIA hoards (Key as Table 4.2)

Object types

The MIA hoards contain a variety of different objects, some representing continuation of traditions seen in the EIA. A much wider range of materials were deposited in this period, including increased amounts of gold and iron alongside copper alloy. There was also an increased variety in object groups (e.g. cauldrons, torcs, horse-gear, tools, multi-period hoards), despite the fewer number of hoards.

Houghton Down (H111) is the earliest MIA iron hoard. An incomplete chisel and saw, knife and tapering metal rod were deposited with metal-working waste within a burnt layer in a pit. It is believed that these may have been associated with metalworking areas (Cunliffe and Poole 2000a). These were the earliest tools found on site and were dated fifth to fourth century BC.

At Glenfield (H135), a hoard of eight cauldrons was deposited in the ditch of a roundhouse with four in a group at the southern terminal of the gully. Three further cauldrons were found on the site and cauldron parts were deposited at intervals in the rest of the surrounding ditch. These cauldrons had had a long use-life and were patched and decorated making each distinctive. Other structures and ditches at Glenfield also saw deposition, such as a currency bar, complete sword, pins, and a horn cap. Radiocarbon dating provided dates of fourth and third centuries BC.

The deposit of cauldrons at Chiseldon (H233) has been dated to the later fourth to third century BC. This hoard and the Glenfield find bridge the absence otherwise seen in cauldron deposition in the mid-first millennium BC (Baldwin and Joy 2017). There is little bone or organic matter associated with the pit and the cauldrons may not have been deposited after feasting, but to symbolise past gatherings. Two recently butchered ox skulls were found within the pit were radiocarbon dated to the later fourth to third century cal BC. Chiseldon is also unique in terms of its size - consisting of over seventeen cauldrons. Before Glenfield (Thomas 2019), the largest deposit of complete cauldrons had been the two found at Llyn Fawr.

The Blair Drummond hoard (H210) shows a combination of traditions and influences. Two of the four torcs are of a twisted ribbon type now dated to the Iron Age (Warner 1993, 2003, 2004) found in Scotland and Ireland. The other torcs show Continental influences; one is similar to tubular torcs with lobes found in south-western France but was probably manufactured locally (Hunter 2018: 434). Halved in antiquity, it demonstrates similarities to an Irish example (Hunter 2018: 433–4; Cahill 2010; Fig 4). The final torc melds Iron Age and Mediterranean influences. The eight twisted gold wires and loop terminals are familiar from other Iron Age torcs, but the use of filigree

and chain to link the terminals is reminiscent of Mediterranean craftwork (Hunter 2018: 435).

Leekfrith (H208) is also typologically dated to the period 400–250 BC. The torcs are similar in design to examples from eastern France and western Germany but the gold signature may indicate that, like Blair Drummond, they were locally manufactured (Farley et al 2018: 112–23). Beyond the typology, there is nothing to suggest a deposition date as the torcs were not associated with any settlement, structure or burial.

The Salisbury hoard (H234) was reconstructed by Ian Stead (1998) after being dispersed by nighthawks amongst antiquities dealers. The hoard, containing over 500 items, had a wide range of items curated or rediscovered from the MBA onwards. These included several forms of axes and a range of tools and missile points (Stead 1998: fig 8, G108). Items contemporary with the date of deposition were also included when the hoard was reburied around 200 BC, including a large number of miniatures of shields, cauldrons and a socketed axe. This date is not based solely on the stylistic grounds of linking the shields to Mill Hill, as the pit into which the hoard pit was cut, gave a radiocarbon date of the fourth to second century cal BC (400–350 cal. BC (50.9 %), 300–210 cal. BC (44.5 %), Garrow et al 2009: 88, Appendix 1, 119).

The findspot of the 'Batheaston' hoard (H228) is unknown but Stead suggests Wyllye, Wiltshire as a likely location (Stead 1998: 121–2). Like Salisbury, the hoard contained a combination of Bronze Age items, miniatures and other items. However, in contrast to Salisbury, it also contained 138 pins and 44 brooches, providing a wealth of dating evidence (Adams 2013). As with Salisbury, this combination of items is discussed further in Chapter 7.

The objects in Danebury 5 (H107) belong typologically to the Earliest Iron Age, but the hoard itself was potentially reburied or at least disturbed during construction work on one of the hillfort's ramparts (Britton et al 1984). It is impossible to know whether any of the objects were removed before redeposition. Unfortunately, excavation does not always provide answers to dating and contextual questions. One group of objects was found in a 2.5m cluster and likely originated from a pit partly sealed by a rampart. The rampart extension was approximately dated to the fourth century BC. Owing to the proximity of the pit, excavators suggested that the items were washed down.

The hoards of this period range widely in size, Batheaston and Salisbury, containing 301 and over 535 objects respectively, contrast strongly with the smaller deposits seen at Houghton, Leekfrith and Blair Drummond.

Two horse-gear hoards provided radiocarbon dates placing them in the MIA with a small possibility that they are early RIA, so I have included them in the discussion on MIA developments. At Burrough Hill hillfort (H133), a collection of horse-gear and horse grooming gear were deposited in a pit along with casting waste (Farley et al 2017). Whilst perhaps representing continuation in terms of objects deposited, (horse-gear was a frequent inclusion amongst Bronze Age hoards, and it is likely that some of the undiagnostic rings in the Earliest Iron Age hoards represent separated horse-gear) this is the only hoard containing horse and chariot gear which has been securely dated to the Middle Iron Age. The possible inclusion of the grooming gear (though the items could be leatherworking tools, for example) is so far unique and it suggests that Burrough Hill, like the hillforts in the west, placed great importance upon horse breeding and horse care. Radiocarbon dates on four samples from the associated charred organic remains gave a combined date of 350–90 cal BC (95 %) and probably between 210–120 cal BC (68 %), fitting with the MIA period and putting it close in date to the Bury Hill deposits.

Bury Hill 1 and 2 (H105–H106) were two sizeable horse-gear deposits found in pits inside the hillfort in close proximity to other pits and structures. Radiocarbon dating gave a date of 210–50 cal BC, giving a probability weighted towards the Middle Iron Age. Both pits contained a large amount of charcoal, suggesting that a chariot may have been burnt and the remains placed in two pits approximately 30 metres apart (Cunliffe and Poole 2000b: Microfiche section 2: B7), though Garrow and Gosden (2012: 285) noted the presence of other material in the pit such as large amounts of pottery and animal bone along with loom weights. Excavation demonstrated elements of structuring with burnt wood and metal artefacts at the base, relatively few finds in the central section and then further deposition of horse-gear (Cunliffe and Poole 2000b: 80). The deposit may have been contemporary with the last phases of nearby Danebury (Cunliffe and Poole 2000b: 100). Bury Hill saw a much higher than usual deposition of horse bone compared with other excavated assemblages, 48 %, suggesting a focus on equine management at the hillfort (Cunliffe and Poole 2000b: 70).

The remaining four Danebury hoards contain metalwork of MIA form and were all from the Late Hillfort associated with cp7 pottery (270–50 BC: revised Cunliffe 2019). These deposits contained a range of items and greatly varied in size. A hoard of 21 currency bars (Danebury 1, H101) was concealed under a roundhouse near to the ramparts and dated contextually. A currency bar fragment (Cunliffe 1984: 149) found elsewhere on the site was associated with probable cG1–3 pottery, potentially providing a date pre-

470 BC but the pottery was not considered securely identifiable. The other hoards contain a range of items: Danebury 4 focuses on horse-gear with nave bands buried alongside bridle rings (H108). Danebury 3, which is smaller, contained three terrets (H118). Lastly Danebury 2 contained a currency bar fragment, latch lifter and other iron components (H109). Single iron objects were found in other 'special fills' (Poole 2001b). The metalwork object hoards match patterns seen elsewhere on site, as 16 times more iron items were found in the period 300–100/50 BC than during the EIA (Sharples 2010: 134). A similar rise in iron deposition was noted at the end of the second century BC at Maiden Castle (*ibid*). At Ham Hill hillfort, a sword shaped currency bar, wheel-rim and spearhead were deposited in a MIA pit containing much pottery and animal bone, including a dog-burial, between an enclosure and a roundhouse c 250 m from the ramparts (Ham Hill 3, H201). The large ironwork hoard from South Cadbury hillfort was also in a pit, but this time in the ramparts (South Cadbury 1, H204). The hoard comprised part of a sword shaped currency bar and several iron tools (an axe, saws, knives, reaping hooks and awls) and was associated with bone, antler, and wood objects and clay bullets.

These pit deposits sit within a wider context of deposition at hillfort and settlement sites which included non-metallic deposition such as pottery, carved bone, human and animal bone. These were often deposited in ditches or pits and various studies have argued for the structuring of these deposits and beginning with Wessex (Hill 1995b). Often non-metallic items were deposited in the same contexts and features as the metalwork items, this is seen at Bury Hill and Danebury but potentially also at Salisbury, see below and Chapter 7.

The finds from these hoards can be broadly placed into five groups: ornaments, cauldrons or feasting equipment, horse/chariot gear, and curated Bronze Age objects and tools. These are relatively rarely combined (Fig 4.21). Currency bars are omitted from this discussion as so few are dated to the MIA alone. Current evidence suggests a resurgence of hoarding after a break in the mid-first millennium BC and the new hoarding practice seemingly reflects different concerns. The gold ornaments and curated hoards (see Chapter 7) contain objects which were unusual – either through their rarity (the Bronze Age and miniature objects) or the new designs, material and techniques through which they were made (gold torcs), and which emphasise long-distance and diachronic connections rather than everyday activity. The horse-gear deposits and cauldrons reflect roles and identities at specific sites (hillforts, route ways, settlements). Bury Hill, Burrough Hill and some of the Danebury deposits show a very strong connection with horse-gear, and Chiseldon shows a focus on feasting. At

Houghton Down, the incomplete tools combined with the metal waste may reference the production processes occurring at the site. The identities selected for emphasis in these deposits could be subject to flux and change, as seen by the wide range of items at Glenfield. Or hoards may contain multiple facets, as with the feasting references suggested through miniature cauldrons at Batheaston and Salisbury.

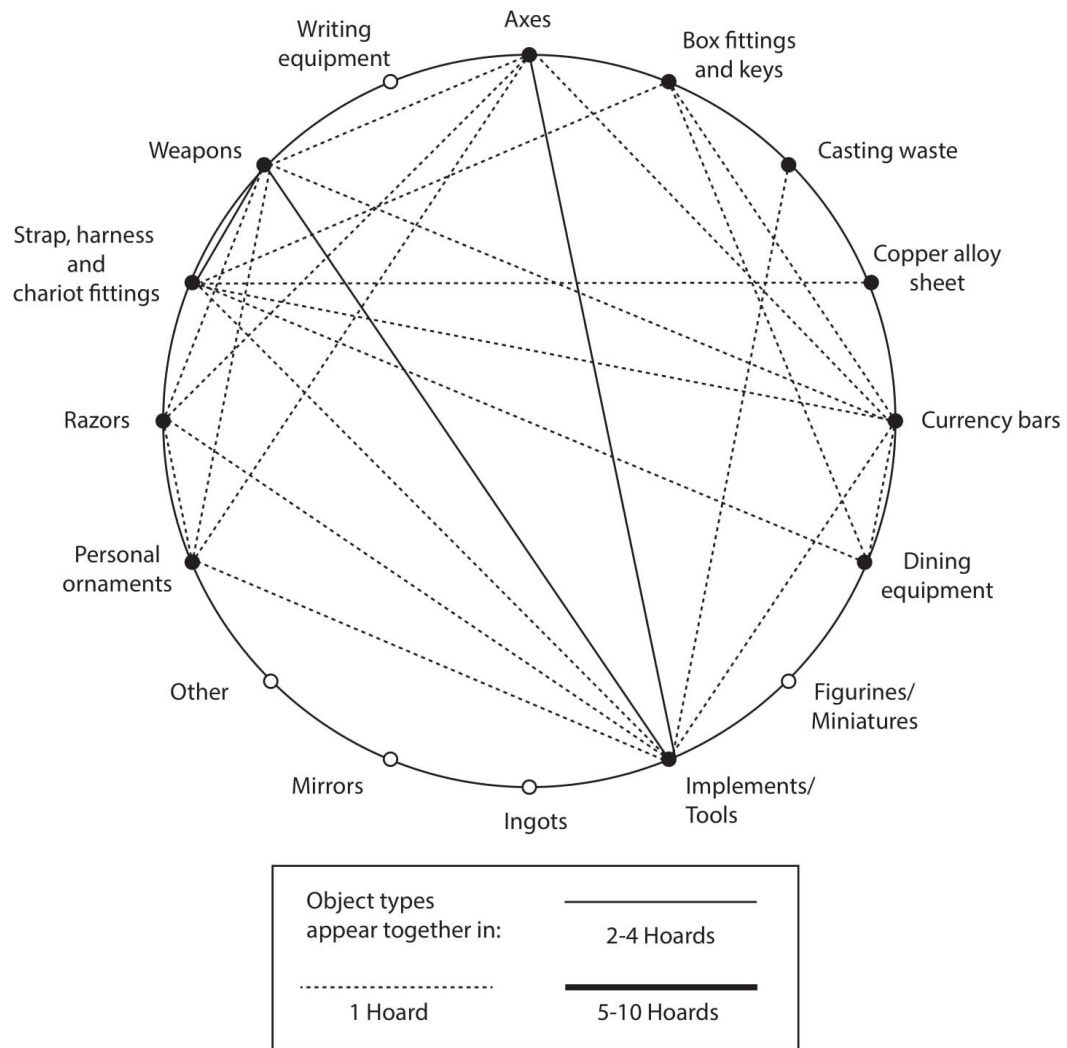


Figure 4.21 Object web illustrating the contents of Middle Iron Age hoards (total: 17).

Regional and landscape distribution

Many of the hoards discussed in this section were either excavated in situ or the findspot was excavated later. The hoards demonstrate a focus on settlements and hillforts (Fig 4.22).

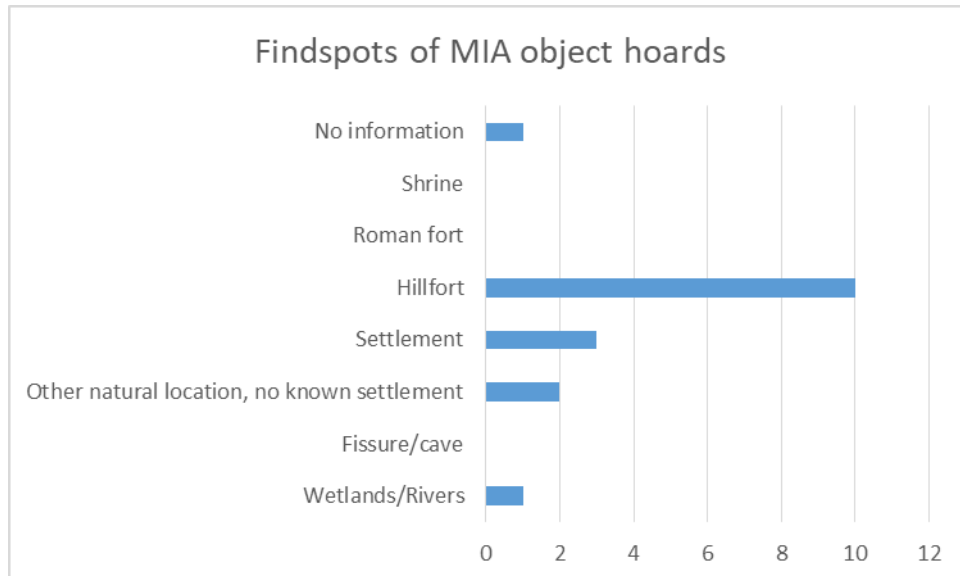


Figure 4.22 Contexts of Middle Iron Age object hoards (total: 17).

Ten hoards were found on hillforts, five from Danebury, several of them in pits. Some were associated with the perimeters (e.g. Danebury 5, South Cadbury 1), whilst others were from pits in the interior (e.g. Bury Hill, Burrough Hill, Ham Hill 3). Houghton Down was found in a pit with metalworking waste in the site interior. There appears to be a strong focus on the houses and structures in the MIA. Blair Drummond was deposited inside a circular structure and Glenfield in the gully of the roundhouse. Danebury hoards 1, 3 and 4 also focus on structures: they were found in pits or post-holes within roundhouses located close to the rampart. At Burrough Hill, the hoard was placed in a pit at the back of a roundhouse but also close to the rampart.

Although much of the evidence was destroyed by the nighthawkers, the Salisbury hoard was apparently packed into a small pit cut into the edge of an infilled storage pit, which contained pottery – including several more or less complete vessels – and part of a calf skeleton (Stead 1998: 69–71). It is unclear whether the positioning of the hoard was based on prior knowledge of the existence of the preceding pit, but this seems likely. The findspot was associated with a settlement probably abandoned at least a century previously. The storage pit into which the hoard was inserted was one of a cluster on a small plateau overlooking the river and Salisbury plain. Approximately twenty metres to the west, a group of Bronze Age objects were found in a shallow

feature, including the remains of a possible 'trumpet', two bronze spearheads and a chisel (*ibid*: 70–1). Both findspots lay outside a ring ditch revealed by magnetometry (*ibid*: 62–3, figs 3–4), which Stead suggests might be the remains of a Bronze Age barrow (*ibid*: 111). The second group of objects relates closely to the items in the main hoard, suggesting they may have had a common source. They are not included as a separate hoard here, as there is no evidence for their date of deposition.

Excavation of the site of the Blair Drummond hoard demonstrated it was deposited within a circular wooden structure on a gravel terrace, with very little evidence for occupation other than charcoal in a hearth feature. The combinations of these features have led to the suggestion that this was some form of shrine or special site, occupying liminal land between two water courses (Hunter 2010: 437–8).

Glenfield – excavated ahead of housing development – consists of around 25 roundhouses and several enclosures and was occupied from the Late Bronze Age through to the Middle Iron Age (Saunders 2010; Thomas 2018). Crucibles and metalworking waste have been found but it is likely the site was seasonally occupied, as it was surrounded by rivers, making it difficult to reach and frequently flooded or at least boggy. This raises the question as to whether it should be viewed more as a wet deposition site. The settlement was redeveloped in the Middle Iron Age, probably at the same time as the deposition of the cauldrons, when the previous clusters of houses were razed and replaced with individual roundhouses with enclosure ditches. The excavators noted that deposition was mainly focused in these ditches, with a particular focus in the southern terminals of these enclosures. The gully containing eight cauldrons was associated with a structure of different construction to the other MIA roundhouses, and set slightly apart. All of the hoards were found on a hillside.

Chiseldon provides a strong contrast, as there was no evidence of any association with a structure or settlement (Fitzpatrick et al 2017: 12). The excavation suggested occupation during the Neolithic and Bronze Age with possible evidence for some form of monument or structure. Whilst the monument may not have remained by the time of the burial of the hoards, the authors argue that the memory of the site being venerated in some form may have persisted (*ibid*: 13). The site sits on a ridge probably providing a route between two hillforts, GIS analysis suggests that it was potentially a route between the two (*ibid*: 12).

These are all distinctive hoards and with such a small sample, caution is needed in drawing similarities between earlier periods and each other. The sample shows

diverse geographical range with a concentration in the Midlands, two in Scotland and the remaining scattered across the south.

The hoards dating to this period range in metal, object types and deposition context. There does however appear to be a shift to deposition at occupation sites, such as hillforts or enclosed settlements. This differs from the seemingly isolated, though often unexcavated, landscape locations of Early Iron Age hoards, which are hardly ever associated with structures or settlement. Some of the object inclusions reflect similar concerns to those seen in the Bronze Age and EIA, including the burial of cauldrons and horse-gear. Chiseldon and Glenfield see the continuation of the deposition of cauldrons from the Bronze Age and EIA and at Glenfield, we see large numbers associated with a settlement or a seasonally occupied site. Particularly at Chiseldon, deposition seems to be more linked to feasting with the inclusion of the ox skull. No bone was associated with the Glenfield hoard but the deposit of so many cauldrons in one gully seems to be significant. In these deposits, it cannot be argued that the cauldrons acted as a hoards container. Both groups were deposited in pits or gullies associated with settlement, whereas single finds of complete cauldrons are generally in boggy or wet contexts (Joy 2014: 333).

Salisbury, Batheaston and Danebury 5 contained Bronze Age objects that were circulating centuries prior to other objects included in the hoards. The reburial in the MIA of Bronze Age artefacts with contemporary objects mirrors some Earliest Iron Age hoards such as the Vale of Wardour, although the MIA hoards differ from the EIA cross-period hoards in that Salisbury and Danebury 5 were both associated with occupation sites – although Salisbury had been abandoned by the time the deposit was made

The imported items from Leekfrith and imported techniques and skills evident in the Blair Drummond torcs demonstrate the existence of networks through which objects, raw metals such as gold, and technical knowledge, could circulate. These also demonstrate that gold was beginning to circulate again (below). These hoards support the notion that contacts with the Continent had continued or at least were resurrected in the Middle Iron Age, as this is the first evidence of the circulation of gold, other than the scrap at Hindon, since the Bronze Age. The hoards from Houghton and Danebury 2 are our earliest dated ironwork hoards (the EIA find from TEA 27 on the A14 in West Cambridgeshire, already noted above, falls outside the definition of hoard adopted here, since it contains just two items) and included tools, a feature also seen in Bronze Age and Early Iron Age hoards. However, it is unclear whether the use of iron for

objects changed their perception by those burying them and so their meaning. The objects from Houghton may have been associated with an area of metal working on the site. The focus on hoarding currency bars and iron tools reflect continued into later periods, for example the LRIA hoards at Waltham Abbey (Essex) and Bigbury Camp (Kent).

A range of sites have revealed evidence of MIA hoarding; the majority of these are linked to settlement but all demonstrate evidence of human activity separate to the deposition of the hoards. Gold, copper alloy and iron were all buried at these sites in the form of torcs, tools, currency bars, horse-gear and cauldrons. The gathering and nature of these items suggest a communal nature to these deposits, as the cauldrons, tools and horse-gear represent group activities. The locations – at hillforts and other occupied sites – could suggest an element of spectacle, further evidenced by the apparent burning of the chariot at Bury Hill, and careful placement of the cauldrons at Chiseldon.

Summary

The hoards dating securely to the Middle Iron Age are quite diverse both in metals and forms; they are the cauldron deposits from Chiseldon and Glenfield, horse-gear from Burrough Hill, and an iron hoard from Houghton Down. There is also a focus on deposition on settlements or occupied space: particularly ditches associated with settlements as at Glenfield. Many of the hoards were deposited on hillforts.

These hoards appear to have a strong site and activity focus as represented through the diverse groups of items deposited: the cauldrons suggest communal cooking and feasting, the horse-gear suggests horse training. The tools reference transformation of the landscape either through agriculture or the use and maintenance of social resources (wood). It is unlikely that these activities would be undertaken alone; the selection of objects for MIA hoarding implies they were community-focused. This is further emphasised by the findspots at sites often associated with gatherings of people such as at hillforts and settlements. This fits with the communal-focused societies suggested for Wessex in the MIA and the potential use of potlach labour to construct monuments such as hillforts (Sharples 2010). Hillforts sites such as Danebury, Hod Hill and Bury Hill, alongside other non-hillfort sites such as Glenfield, saw further metallic and non-metallic deposition, suggesting further gatherings for the deposition of these objects. The boundaries of these sites were reinforced by hoard placement within or close to the earthen banks and ramparts of settlements and hillforts (Danebury, Burrough Hill and Glenfield), including the majority of the currency bar hoards.

The horse-gear buried at Danebury, Burrough Hill and Bury Hill could mark the emergence of the warrior bands on horseback suggested for Britain and elsewhere in Europe (Creighton 2000: 16–19). At this point, the hoards are mainly focused on hillfort sites but Creighton (2000: 18) noted the potential use of some *oppida* for horse rearing. These sites tend to date to the RIA. Horse-gear continued to be hoarded and LRIA hoards often contain elaborately decorated horse-gear often incorporating coloured enamel. The size and style of these terrets and strap fittings changed in order to incorporate such decoration, denoting the importance of display. The hoards of the MIA do not share these characteristics but could potentially be one of the early points of its development.

MIA hoards demonstrate a variety of networks both long distance and more local, through the exchange of gold and on a smaller scale the selection and circulation of cauldrons and currency bars. Despite the increase in iron usage in the MIA, no metalworking tools were deposited until the LRIA (below). Metalworking waste accompanied the Houghton Hill hoard in the MIA, with current evidence suggesting it became a more popular inclusion in the LRIA. A large group of hoards which may date to the MIA but also to the RIA mainly consist of iron implements and/or currency bars. The dating unfortunately cannot be refined any further. Despite that, many are associated with hillforts or structures.

Up to three coin hoards belonging to this period are known. The first is an antiquarian find in 1771 of an unknown number of Greek silver coins from Pontefract, West Yorkshire (IARCH-47670B; Bland 2018: no 1). From the description, the coins were issues of Hieron II of Syracuse (270–215 BC). There is no context and it is unclear how soon after minting the coins were deposited – assuming that the find is reliable, and they were not in fact a collector's items from the Grand Tour. The second is a scattered hoard of four Gallo-Belgic A gold staters and quarters dating found by a detectorist in the Stansted Mountfichet area, Essex (Bland 2018: no 7; IARCH-62EAED). Large numbers of these coins were imported from northern France from the mid second century BC onwards. This find is mainly remarkable as the only – but very small – hoard of solely Gallo-Belgic A coins found in Britain, although they occur in some later hoards, as at Snettisham. The third find consists of three Armorican gold staters attributed to the Veneti from the beach at Gurnard, Isle of Wight, also a detectorist find (Bland 2018: no 3; De Jersey 2014: no 129). Armorican gold coins are rare in Britain but the coincidence of finding three of them in the same place seems too

great for them not to be a hoard. De Jersey dates the coins later, but they could well have reached Britain in the second century BC.

Middle Iron Age – Late Roman Iron Age (400 BC–AD 100)

As already indicated 41 hoards cannot be dated more closely than to the MIA–RIA, of which 30 contained currency bars. They are set out in Table 4.5 and mapped on Fig 4.23.

Including five hoards firmly dated to the MIA and four from the RIA, ERIA and LRIA (Table 4.6 below) – at Bearwood, Dorset (H65), Camerton, Somerset (H197), Ditches, Gloucestershire (H88) and Hayling Island, Hampshire (H102), a total of 39 hoards are known containing currency bars, of which 29 are restricted to currency bars, whilst in 10 hoards, currency bars are combined with other objects. This data set matches that of Hingley (1990, 2005), with finds of 1–2 currency bars excluded. Currency bars functioned as a store of worked iron and likely functioned as ingots. The currency bar form can still be split into the broad groupings of sword and plough, though Crew identified over 20 sub-types of currency bar at Danebury (1995: 346). Whilst acting as a store of metal, Hingley argued for a range of other meanings for communities (1990, 2005), this is discussed further below.

Of the 29 hoards consisting only of currency bars, two were associated with riverine contexts, ten have no findspot information and at least sixteen were associated with some form of settlement or hillfort (Fig 4.24). Addington in Berkshire (H4) might perhaps be added to this list. This pattern follows that identified by Hingley with finds in central England mainly associated with settlement (2005: 190–1). 16 hoards were associated with settlements or structures with 10 having context/location ratings of 4. All but Ham Hill 3 (Table 4.3 above) were deposited in or in close association with boundaries of the settlements.

Code	Hoard Name	County	Dating	Size	Context	Site type	Comp	Cont	Objects
H4	Addington Road	Berkshire	T	6	shallow scoop; possible settlement	Settlement?	4	4	6 currency bars, some broken.
H5	Maidenhead Bridge	Berkshire	T	7 or 8		Wetlands/wet site (Wetlands)	2	2	Seven or eight currency bars.
H32	Muircleugh	Borders	T	5		No info	3	1	5 leaded bronze knobbed terrets.
H34	Granchester	Cambridgeshire	T	8		Wetlands/wet site (River)	2	2	Leaf shaped currency bar hoard.
H48	Holne Chase	Devon	T	12		No info	1	2	A hoard of c12 currency bars. Bars mainly broken by the finder.
H49	Coffinswell	Devon	T	94	small pit-unassociated with settlement	Unassociated with human activity	4	4	Hoard of 80 currency bars; the original deposit might have been 100 or more as some were ploughed out.
H54	Hod Hill 1	Dorset	C	9	enclosure 36; hillfort	Hillfort	3	3	Two bronze chapes, bronze ring, 4 catapult heads, iron blade and an iron lancehead.
H55	Hod Hill 2	Dorset	C	6	hut 60; central bank; hillfort	Hillfort	3	3	Bronze fittings for a wooden vessel, La Tène II iron brooch, iron spiral ring, sickle or knife, socket and iron spearhead.
H58	Hod Hill 3	Dorset	C	7	pit 15a; hillfort	Hillfort	3	3	Bronze toggle, group of iron objects, object of uncertain use, strip, object with some resemblance to spade binding, two points, 1 blade.
H59	Hod Hill 4	Dorset	C	17	hillfort	Hillfort	3	3	17 currency bars.
H60	Hod Hill 5	Dorset	C	6	hillfort	Hillfort	3	3	6 currency bars.
H67	Milborne Stileham	Dorset	T	18		No info	1	1	18 currency bars.
H68	Spettisbury	Dorset	T	5	north east ditch/pit nr rampart; hillfort	Hillfort	2	2	5 currency bars, 2 fibulae, 3 spiral rings, 9 spearheads (IA), 4 spearheads (Roman), 2 chapes, 1 cauldron, ploughshare, 9 scabbard fragments, 2 knives, bucket handle, 1 shears, circular disc, 2 keys, 1 sword.
H71	Corrieknows, Annan	Dumfries and Galloway	none			No info	1	1	An account records a number of arms were discovered on Corrieknows farm. The farmer melted all iron implements down into farm tools, only a 'brass battle-axe' survived.
H89	Salmonsbury 1	Gloucestershire	T	147	hillfort	Hillfort	2	2	140–7 sword shaped currency bars.

H96	Totterdown Lane, Horcott	Gloucestershire	T	10	small feature, near later enclosure boundary	Settlement	4	4	c. 10 currency bars. Number unknown as welded together.
H103	Winchester 2	Hampshire	T	4		No info	1	1	4 sword shaped currency bars (3 complete, 1 almost complete) .
H104	Worthy Down	Hampshire	T	13	from a pit, likely edge open settlement	Settlement	4	3	13 currency bars.
H114	Old Down Farm, Andover	Hampshire	T	6	pit 2420 in the internal W area of enclosure	Settlement	4	4	socketed iron gouge, 2 bronze-coated iron linch pin, fragment sickle blade, 1 complete and 1 currency bar fragment and two bronze fragments.
H117	Crawley	Hampshire	T	3	Barrow?	No info	1	1	3 sword-shaped currency bars.
H119	Eaton Bishop	Herefordshire	none	20		Wetlands/wet site (River)	2	2	Antiquarian account of a possible hoard.
H136	Frodingham	Lincolnshire	T	4		No info	2	2	4 currency bars.
H166	Swanton Morely	Norfolk	S	10		No info	1	1	2 bridle bits, one cavesson, 2 mounts and 5 terrets.
H179	Burton Latimer	Northamptonshire	T	83		No info	1	1	83 currency bars, 1 survived and was sword shaped.
H180	Gretton, Corby	Northamptonshire	T	48	pit into previous pit alignment	Unassoc.	4	4	48 currency bars.
H181	Hunsbury hillfort	Northamptonshire	T	9	hillfort	Hillfort	1	3	8 or 9 currency bars.
H182	Orton Meadow	Northamptonshire	S/T	15		Wetlands/wet site (River)	3	3	7 currency bars, 2 currency bar fragments, 3 swords (one bent), 1 (decorated) spearhead, latch lifter and 'ladle'.
H184	Appleford, Vale of White Horse	Oxfordshire	T	6		Wetlands/wet site (River)	1	1	6–12 currency bars. Only one currency bar and one sword survived.
H188	Madmarston hillfort	Oxfordshire	T	20	settlement- pit just behind inner rampart	Settlement	3	3	12 currency bars, axe head and sickle was found behind inner rampart, a square sectioned bar, 'poker', 2 pairs of bridle bits. On top of stone layer- socketed chisel and flanged plate.
H200	Ham Hill 2	Somerset	T	70	hillfort	Hillfort	3	2	70–80 currency bars.
H205	Stantonbury Hill	Somerset	T	4	hillfort	Hillfort	2	3	2 reaping hooks, one ploughshare and an axe head.

H207	Cambria farm	Somerset	T/C	3	postholes of rectangular structure	Settlement	4	4	3 iron spear heads thought to be of IA date (assigned date through IA pottery found with them).
H216	Meon Hill, Stratford-upon-Avon	Warwickshire	T	394	hillfort	Hillfort	2	2	Currency bars.
H222	Minety	Wiltshire	T	100		No info	1	1	Uncertain number of currency bars.
H227	Barbury Castle	Wiltshire	T	5	hillfort	Hillfort	1	1	1 iron knife, 6 iron sickles, 3 iron spearheads, 1 spear ferrule, 1 iron nave hoop, 4 iron rings, 1 penannular ring 1 spiral ring, 7 awls, 1 iron loop cased in bronze, hammerhead and anvil.
H237	Beckford	Worcestershire	T	10	under surface of yard, within enclosed area	Settlement	4	4	10 currency bars and slag spit shaped type.
H238	Bredon Hill 3	Worcestershire	T	1	Hillfort	Hillfort	1	1	Currency/iron bars found in C18th.
H239	Malvern 1	Worcestershire	T	150		Unassociated with human activity	2	2	Spit shaped currency bars.
H240	Malvern 2	Worcestershire	T	150		Unassociated with human activity	2	2	100 with c 50 more in frags, spit-shaped currency bars.
H241	Middle Littleton	Worcestershire	T	104		Unassociated with human activity	2	2	104 currency bars.
H242	Bredon Hill 3	Worcestershire	T	3	within possible building at back of rampart	Hillfort	1	4	Iron pin, clamps, harness hammers from horse bit.

Table 4.4 Hoards dating to the MIA or RIA (Key as Table 4.2)

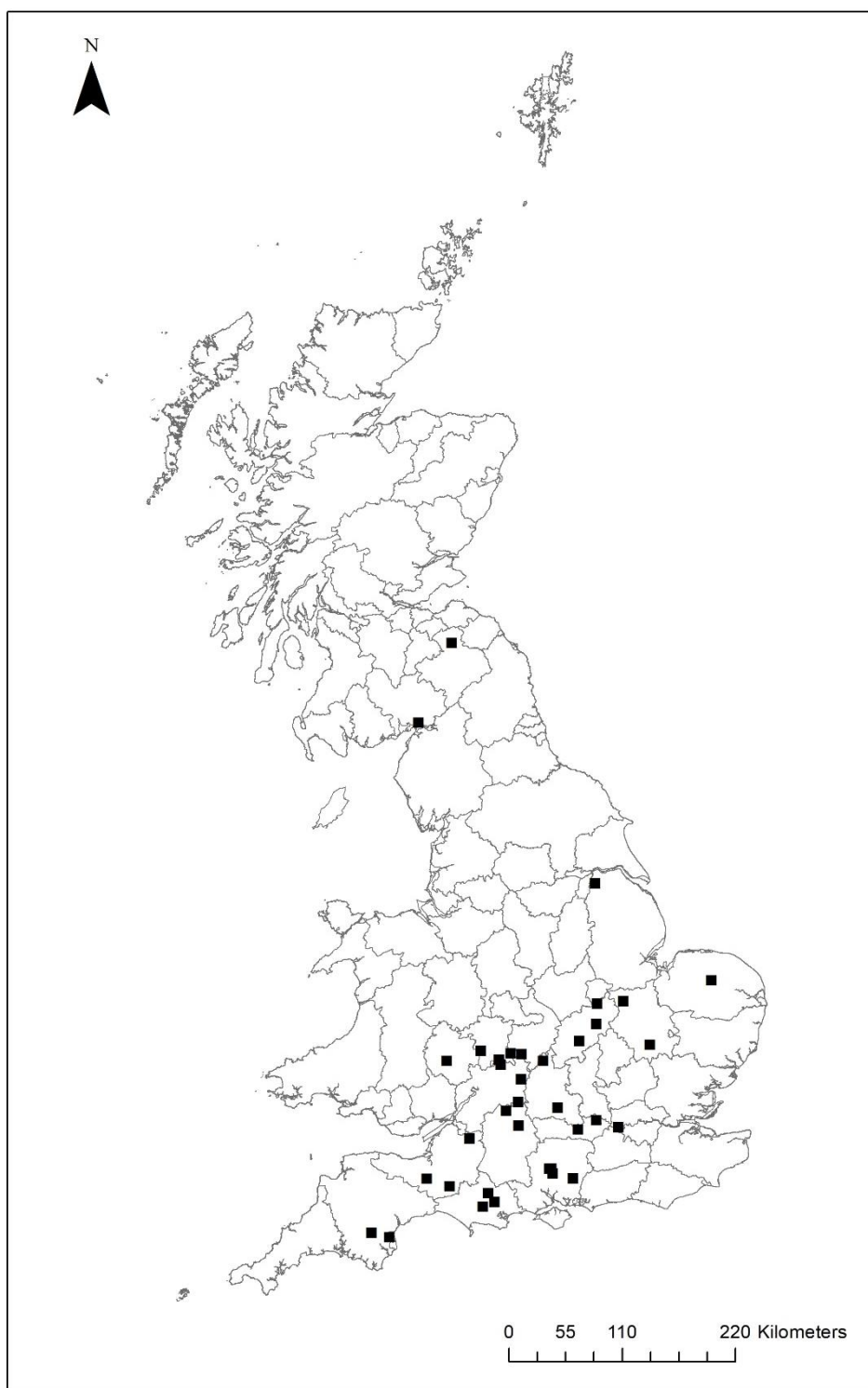


Figure 4.23 Object hoards dating to the Middle Iron Age to the Late Roman Iron Age (total: 41). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

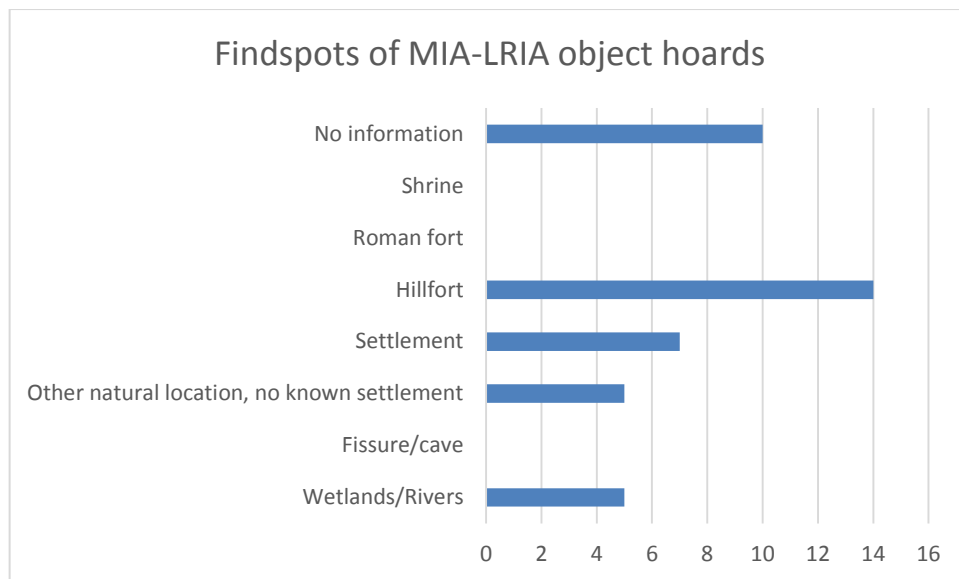


Figure 4.24 Contexts of object hoards dating to the Middle Iron Age to Late Roman Iron Age (total: 41).

Currency bars are combined with other items in 10 hoards throughout the Iron Age. Tools are the most popular inclusion in these mixed item hoards (seven occurrences), with weapons following (five occurrences) and dining or horse-gear (both three occurrences). The weapons in the hoards range from swords, chapes or scabbards – Appleford (H184), Orton Meadows (H182) and Spettisbury (H68) – to spearheads (Ham Hill 3). The miniature currency bar in the Salisbury hoard was combined with a variety of Bronze Age objects and other miniatures. The similarity of the currency bars to swords and plough shares was noted by Crew (1995: 277), but only two mixed hoards certainly contain sword blades (Orton Meadows, Appleford). At Spettisbury, this deposit is mixed with many other items (keys, shears, brooches, rings, spearheads) and was posited as potential massacre deposit. In this context, the link with swords is more tenuous given the wide range of objects deposited. The tools combined with currency bar hoards do not demonstrate a focus on agriculture as might be expected given the focus of plough vs sword forms for currency bars. Sickles and knives seem to be the most popular inclusion (three instances) with gouges, axes, saws and adzes also included in hoards. Both the tools and currency bars in these hoards vary in degrees of completeness; in four hoards, at least one currency bar was fragmented. Whether the remainder of the bar was incorporated into another object or deposited elsewhere is unknown. Currency bar fragments on non-iron working sites should be viewed through the lens of ritual associations of metal workings (Hingley 1997, 2005: 196, 207) and occur both on occupied sites (South Cadbury, Somerset) and ritual sites (Hayling Island, Hampshire), as well as a single find from Llyn Cerrig Bach on Anglesey, also noted by Hingley (1990, 2005). The deposited fragment was

“frozen” whilst the remainder of the bar could be deposited elsewhere or incorporated into other objects.

Within these seven tool and currency bar hoards, the maximum number of currency bars was normally five (at Madmarston there are 12 currency bars), contrasting with the large numbers of currency bars buried on their own. Also, where identified, these currency bars types were identified as ‘swords’ rather than ‘plough’ forms (Madmarston, South Cadbury). Other iron items have been interpreted as representing the currency bar form – such as the wheel-rims from Ham Hill 3 and at Orchard Hill, Greater London (H97, Table 4.7 below) and the weights in the Stantonbury hillfort hoard (Somerset, H205. These weights are discussed further in Ch. 5). However, a review of the data does not suggest that is the case in other hoards, as there is an absence of standardised weights of tools or fragmented wheel rims.

Currency bars may have carried meaning beyond their use as metal stores. Hingley (1997) has stressed their links to the agricultural cycle and metal working and also suggested that the currency bar may be seen to have liminal associations, ‘being halfway between the materials collected (nature) and the objects produced (culture)’ (2005: 197), essentially harnessing the potential for the transformative power before the finished objects have been birthed into being. Broadly, Hingley interprets the sword and the plough defending and defining the boundaries (2005: 198–9) with martial action needed to support and/or define agricultural development. However, these bars may represent a wider theme of transformation and ownership. Marks can be made on the land through killing and violence or defence of land, but, further to this, I would suggest that occupation and ownership are made visible to the viewer through the crops and working of wood, as shown through the tools incorporated in these mixed currency bar hoards. The definition of the boundary is made with an object imbued with potential, whose use is not yet set. Even the plough or sword form does not yet define the end-use of the raw metal. This ambiguity encapsulates the boundary which often expands outwards into undefended agricultural fields and workings but looks back to an enclosed homestead. Whilst the currency bar is split into two main forms: the sword and the plough, it has the ability to be reworked and transformed into any form of tool which could mark the landscape.

Despite the potential for representation of the metal working cycle and perhaps associated links to fertility, no hoards are associated with metal working tools or any metal working debris. Testing of currency bars from the Gretton, Danebury and Beckford hoards indicated that these were made in batches and deposited together

(Hingley 2005: 186) perhaps suggesting that this process was imbued within the objects in the mind of the depositor/s.

11 hoards without currency bars date to the MIA–RIA. Three were found at Hod Hill (Dorset) and three at other hillforts – Barbury Castle (Wiltshire), Stantonbury Hillfort (Somerset) and Bredon Hill (Worcestershire). These hoards, along with Cambria Farm, Somerset, contained mainly iron items. Swanton Morely, Norfolk and Muircleugh, Borders contained horse-gear.

The Stantonbury hoard was a collection of tools, horse-gear and weapons found by metal detector and the hillfort has not been excavated. The Barbury Castle hoard is a collection of items donated in 1875 to Marlborough College Museum with no information on the findspot (MacGregor and Simpson 1963: 394). There is a possibility that these items were unassociated. The finds from Bredon Hill were well published by Hencken but the report is unclear whether the finds were associated or stray finds within the roundhouse (Hencken 1939: 30).

Three hoards from Hod Hill belong to this group. These contained iron objects such as tools, spearheads, horse-gear and currency bars were deposited on site but more often focused on the roundhouses with a broad date of MIA–RIA. All three were deposited in enclosures within the hillfort. Two were deposited in adjacent pits: one pit, 15c, had a separate upper fill added containing a human skeleton, a neighbouring pit 15b contained a female skeleton with a neonate along with items interpreted as grave goods (Richmond 1968: 43). The associations of the third hoard are less certain as the report lacks clarity as to whether the objects were associated. Deposited in enclosure 36, it contained chapes with parallels to the Polden Hill hoard, potentially giving it a date in the LRIA. It also contained catapult bolts, an iron blade and spearhead. This fits more with deposits seen at the end of the first century AD. Enclosure 36 saw a range of other deposits including eleven ballista bolts. Added to these were two currency bars found at the hillfort and two groups of slingshots (see Richmond 1968).

Early Roman Iron Age (150–1 BC)

This period saw continued change in settlement patterns with the emergence of *oppida*, coastal settlements, and many other settlements becoming increasingly nucleated (Champion 2016: 156). Coin hoards dating to this period increase exponentially and there is also an increase in material culture and finds. Imports reveal a focus on eating and drinking through new pottery forms, amphorae and dining vessels. There is an increase in grave evidence dating to this period with the continuation of cremation but with the practice of inhumation becoming increasingly popular. The goods associated with human remains, particularly in the South East, become richer with imported goods also featuring, possibly as status symbols or as dining became increasingly associated with the act of burial (Hill 2007). Southern societal structure may have become formalised by this point, with the roles of chieftains and hierarchical societies being established (Creighton 2000; Champion 2011). In the last quarter of the first century BC, inscriptions become widespread on coinage, evidencing the influence of contact with Rome and a possible change in social structure.

20 hoards date to the ERIA. The majority were found at Snettisham, where as well as ten recognised hoards, there are two groups of loose or mixed finds (Table 4.5). Apart from East Anglia, hoards are scattered from Dorset to Peebleshire, with one in Staffordshire (Fig 4.25). Many of the hoards contain precious metal items, with the dominant metal being gold, and several included coins. The hoards in this period have stylistic rather than contextual dates. Two finds from Snettisham (H156 and H162) have been included in the tables below as there is potential for them to be hoards in their own right. Their composition rating is low to indicate the uncertainties surrounding their deposition.

Code	Hoard Name	County	Dating	Size	Context in site	Site type	Comp	Cont	Objects
H65	Bearwood	Dorset	C	4	base of enclosure ditch	Settlement	4	4	An iron object and 4 currency bars.
H116	'Winchester' (Owslebury)	Hampshire	S	10		Unassoc.	4	4	2 gold bow brooches, one still with chain attached. Second pair of gold bow brooches. 2 gold undecorated bracelets (one broken in half) and 2 torcs (one smaller).
H154	Snettisham B	Norfolk	S	24	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	3	2 loop terminals twin strand torc, 1 multi-strand with multi-loop terminals, 11 ingot rings, 9 Gallo-Belgic A–C coins, 1 Gallo-Belgic D/C coin, metal strands, lumps, ribbons.
H155	Snettisham C	Norfolk	S	158	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	4	3 multi-strand with buffer terminal torcs, 5 ingot rings, 145 and potin coins, rings, metal strands/ribbons/lumps.
H156	Snettisham B & C	Norfolk	S	37	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	2	4	13 loop terminals twin stranded torcs, 6 multi-stranded and multi-looped terminals, 16 ingots, 1 straight ingot, 1 triangular ingot, metal strands.
H157	Snettisham E	Norfolk	S	4	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	4	1 multi strand with ring terminals, 1 multi strand with buffer terminals, 1 hollow bracelet, 1 Gallo-Belgic D/C 1.
H158	Snettisham F	Norfolk	R	219	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	4	31 loop terminals with twin strands, 16 multi-strand with multi-loop terminals, 7 multi-strand with loop terminals, 5 multi-strand with ring terminals, 15 multi-strand with buffer terminals, 8 multi-strand with cage terminals, 36 hollow tubular torques, 85 ingot rings, 3 straight ingots, 2 loop terminal bracelets, 1 solid bracelet, 1 sheet metal artefact, metal strands/ribbons/lumps, 9 Gallo-Belgic A–C coins.

H159	Snettisham G	Norfolk	S	21	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	4	4 loop terminals twin strands, 3 loop terminals multi-strand with multi-loop terminal, 2 multi-strand with ring terminals, 8 multi-strand with buffer terminals, 4 ingot rings.
H162	Snettisham loose finds	Norfolk	S	19	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	2	3	8 loop terminals twin strands, 1 multi-strand with ring terminals, 3 multi-strand with buffer terminals, 3 hollow tubular torque, 3 ingot rings, 1 solid bracelet, metal strands/ribbons/lumps, many loose coins.
H167	Bawsey	Norfolk	S	4		Unassoc.	2	2	2 buffer terminals, twisted bar torc, twisted bar torc, 125 frags of single and double torc wire, strap union.
H168	Ipswich (Belstead Brook)	Suffolk	S	6		Unassoc.	2	3	6 gold torcs found, 5 as a group and 1 two years later, 1 has plain ring terminals, other 4 are decorated.
H169	Narford	Norfolk	S	6		No info	2	2	Gold/electrum torc fragment. The buffer terminal had braided wire attached, with parts melted. Other parts of torcs were also fused to these. 6 to 8 other torc scraps found at same time. Further torc frags sold by nighthawkers.
H170	Snettisham A	Norfolk	S	4	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	4	4 gold hollow tubular torcs; 3 almost complete and 1 frag. Gritstone.
H171	Snettisham H	Norfolk	S	7	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	4	2 loop terminals twin strands, 1 multi-strand with multi-loop terminals, 4 multi-strand with buffer terminals.
H172	Snettisham J	Norfolk	S	7	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	4	2 loop terminals twin strands, 1 multi-strand with multi-loop terminals, 2 multi-strand with loop terminals, 2 multi-strand with buffer terminals
H173	Snettisham K	Norfolk	S	7	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	4	3 loop terminal twin strands, 1 multi-strand with multi-loop terminals, 1

									multi-strand with loop terminals, 2 multi-strand with buffer terminals.
H174	Snettisham L	Norfolk	R	21	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	4	2 loop terminals twin strands, 4 multi-strand with multi-loop terminals, 2 multi-strand with loop terminals, 6 multi-strand with ring terminals, 6 multi-strand with buffer terminals, 1 multi-strand with cage terminals.
H191	Netherurd	Peebleshire	S	4		No info	1	1	Hoard of 1 ring terminal from a multi-strand torc, 2 loop terminal torcs, 1 flat terminal torc and c. 40 spherical Gallo Belgic XB coins.
H209	Alrewas	Staffordshire	S	3		No info	3	3	3 torcs.
H213	Wangford	Suffolk	none	5		No info	1	1	5 torcs.

Table 4.5 ERIA hoards (Key as Table 4.2)

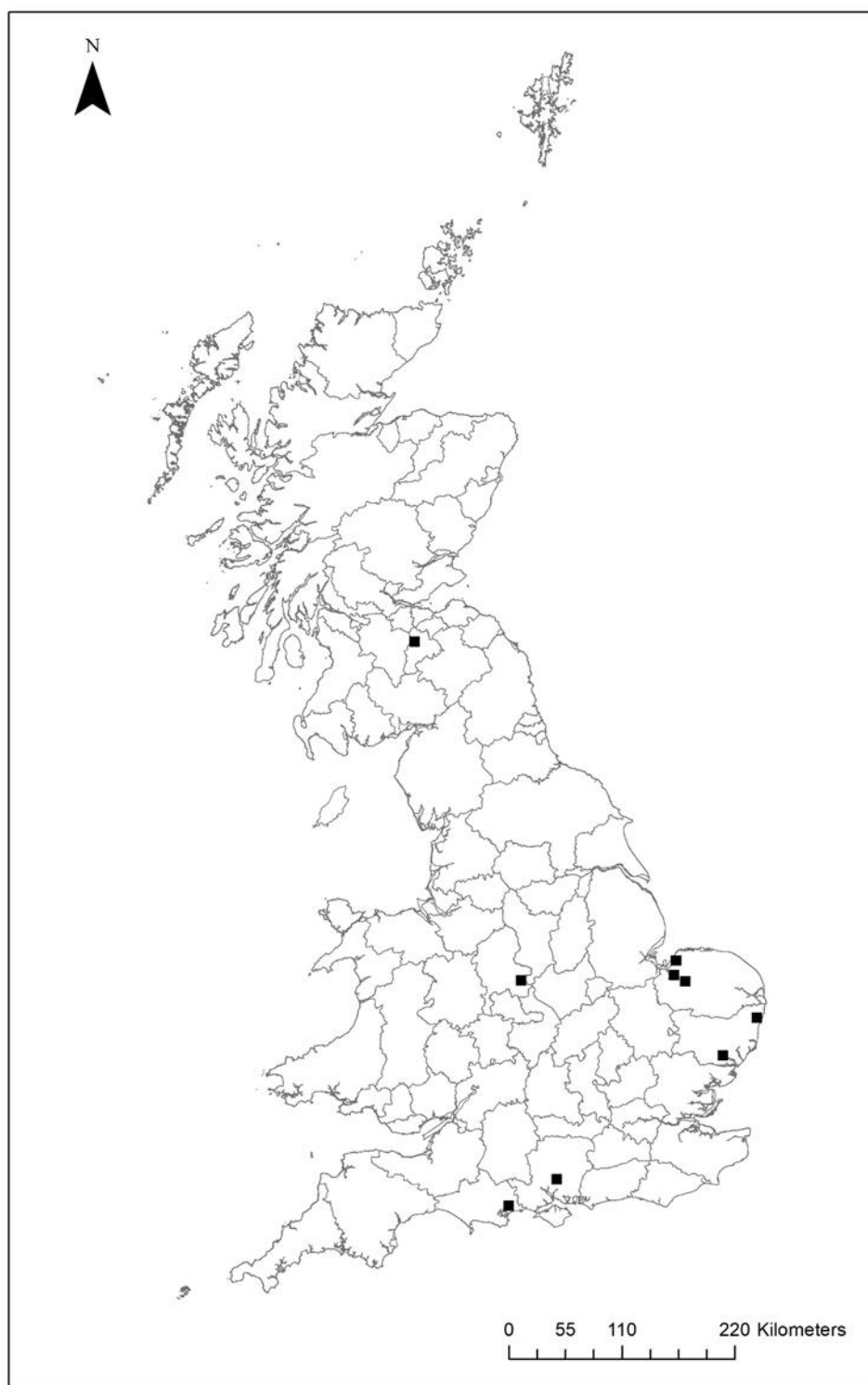


Figure 4.25 Object hoards dating to the Early Roman Iron Age (total: 20). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Regional and landscape distribution

Although Snettisham saw construction of an enclosure and possibly a temple in the Roman period (Hutcheson 2004), the site appears to have been unmarked in the MIA and ERIA. Of the remaining hoards (Fig 4.25), Bearwood (H65) – mentioned in the previous discussion of currency bar hoards – is the only find from a known settlement. Alrewas (H209), Narford (H169), Wangford, H213) and Netherurd (H191) have no secure findspot, though Netherurd was likely found on Shaw Hill. The Ipswich torcs (H168) were found in building work and houses were built on the findspot. Excavation of the findspot of the ‘Winchester’ hoard, actually found in the parish of Owslebury (H116), revealed no evidence of contemporary human activity or settlement. The same is true of Bawsey (H167).

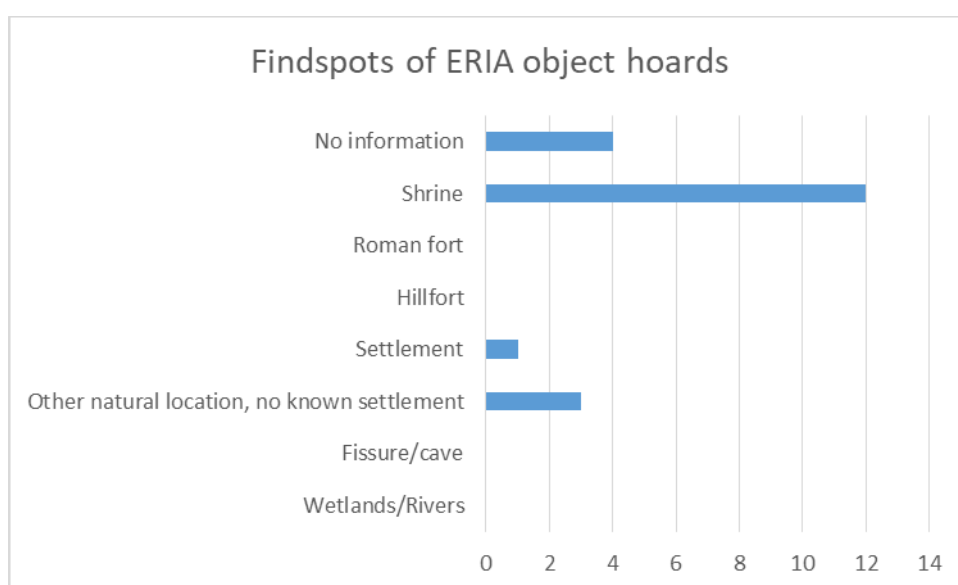


Figure 4.26 Contexts of Early Roman Iron Age object hoards (total: 20).

Object types

As already mentioned, torcs are the predominant object found in hoards of this period and most Iron Age gold torcs appear to date to this period. The Wangford torcs were melted down soon after discovery. Ipswich contained solely torcs but was uncovered by mechanical digger. Four of the Snettisham hoards (A, H, J, K) contain solely torcs and further hoards contain predominately torcs. The remaining hoards from Snettisham, ‘Winchester’ and Netherurd contain torcs accompanied by other items. The ‘Winchester’ hoard contained two pairs of gold of La Tène D2 boss-on-bow brooches (*Knotenfibeln*), with one pair connected by a chain, two gold bracelets and two torcs. Netherurd contained two loop terminal torcs, a flat terminal torc, a terminal from a multi-strand torc and c 40 spherical gold Gallo-Belgic XB coins. Snettisham

sees a number of different combinations of fragments, ingots, bracelets and coins alongside a number of different torcs types (Fig 4.27).

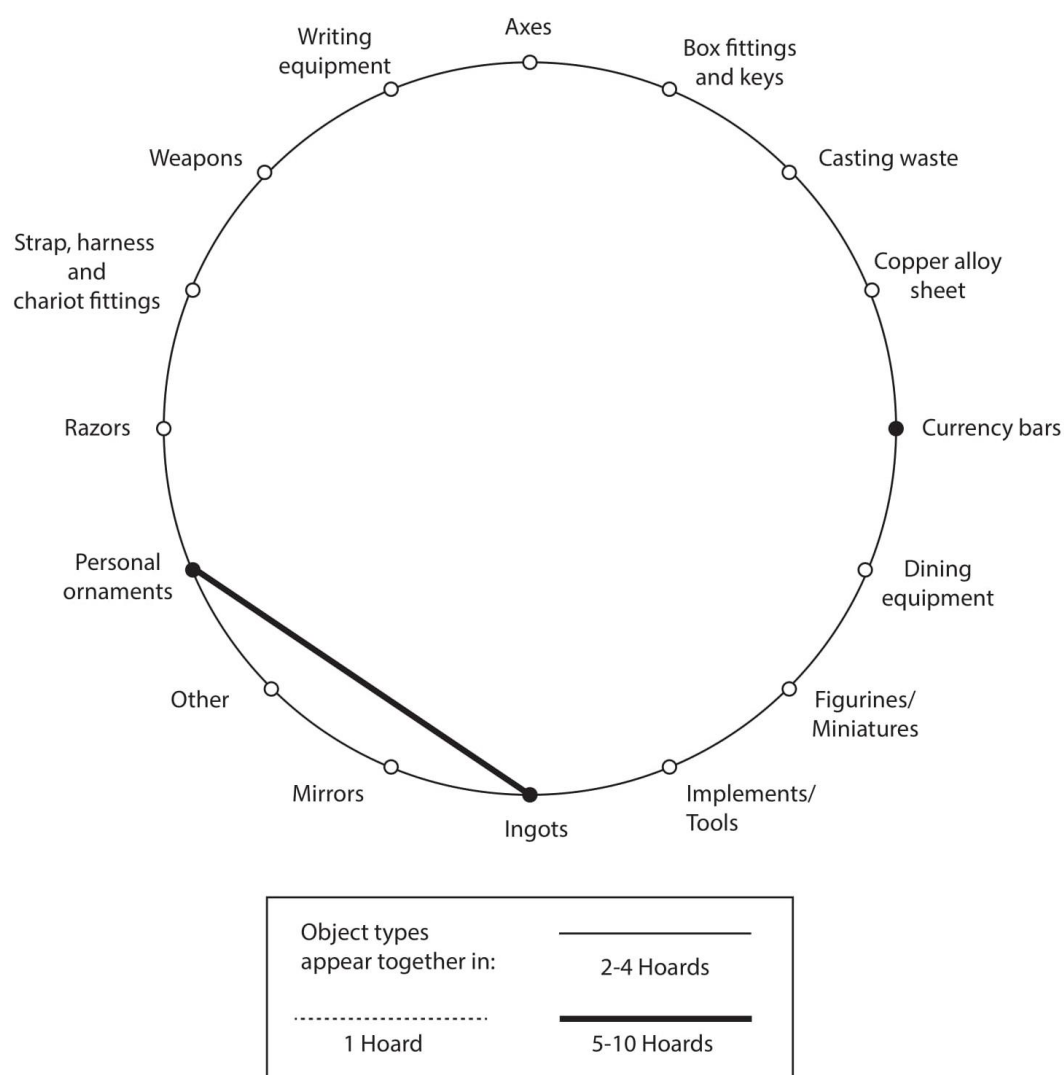


Figure 4.27 Object web illustrating the contents of Early Roman Iron Age object hoards (total: 20).

External links are demonstrated with the design of these torcs. The two torcs from the 'Winchester' hoard demonstrate Mediterranean techniques, including granulation and the flexible wire chain construction of the torcs. La Tène D2 boss-on-brooches are also rare in Iron Age Britain and could represent imports. At Snettisham, four gold tubular torcs formed Hoard A along with a gritstone. This torc type may have been imported from the Continent and was rare in Britain, found mainly on coastal sites such as Sheringham, Norfolk. The torc hoards of this period demonstrate the continued circulation of precious metal jewellery throughout Iron Age Europe, continuing from the Leekfrith and Blair Drummond hoards buried in the MIA. The coins included in these hoards also demonstrate the circulation of precious metals; Netherurd, Snettisham

hoards B, E and F, and the less closely dated deposits from Essendon (Table 4.7 below) all contain Gallo-Belgic coinage. In the case of Snettisham E, one of the coins was found inside a tubular torc.

The combination of torcs and coinage and disappearance of torcs from the record in the LRIA period may suggest that those torcs were turned into coinage. Their combination with ingots (Fig 4.27) would further support this. The interchangeability of these two items has been suggested previously (Creighton 2000; Fitzpatrick 2005) and Farley (2012: Chapter 3) has suggested the existence of prestige networks through which these precious metals circulated for the creation of both torcs and coins, although these networks appear to have changed in the first century AD (*ibid*: Chapter 4). That the torcs may have been transformed into coinage is supported by small torc fragments found with coin hoards at Sheringham (Norfolk), Maldon (Essex) and Folkestone (Kent), discussed in Chapter 6. The hoarding of complete and largely complete torcs and coins together occurs at only four sites in this period: Snettisham, Essendon A (Table 4.7 below, H120) 'Winchester' and Netherurd, but the tradition is seen throughout Iron Age Europe (Fitzpatrick 2005 lists 25 sites).

The practice, as seen at Snettisham, of reworking imported items appears to be imitated by non-precious metal hoards. The use of brass for beaded torcs at Lamberton (Borders, H8, Table 4.6) could represent a similar experimentation with the new materials entering the area in volume, though this was not buried with coinage. Scottish copper alloy armlets are very similar in design to ring torcs in the overall shape and decoration on the terminals, with ring torc-style holes occasionally filled with decorative enamel. Some of these massive armlets were created from melted Roman imports (Tate et al 1985; Hunter 1997).

Summary

The hoards dating to the ERIA demonstrate a focus on torcs and the resurgence of the burial of gold items, particularly in the south and east of England. This mirrors the explosion of coin hoarding in which large amounts of gold were deposited, particularly in the south. Experimentation with new forms and metals continued into the LRIA.

Coin hoards in the ERIA

A total of 456 coin hoards are recorded for the RIA (dataset from Bland 2018), which have been split into the same periods as the object hoards for analysis. These have been split according to *terminus post quem* date, with ERIA coin hoards discussed below and LRIA coin hoards with LRIA object hoards. As Figure 4.28 shows, based on

the *terminus post quem* given by the latest coins in a hoard, there are notable peaks in hoarding around 50 BC, 20 BC and AD 50. This will be discussed further below.

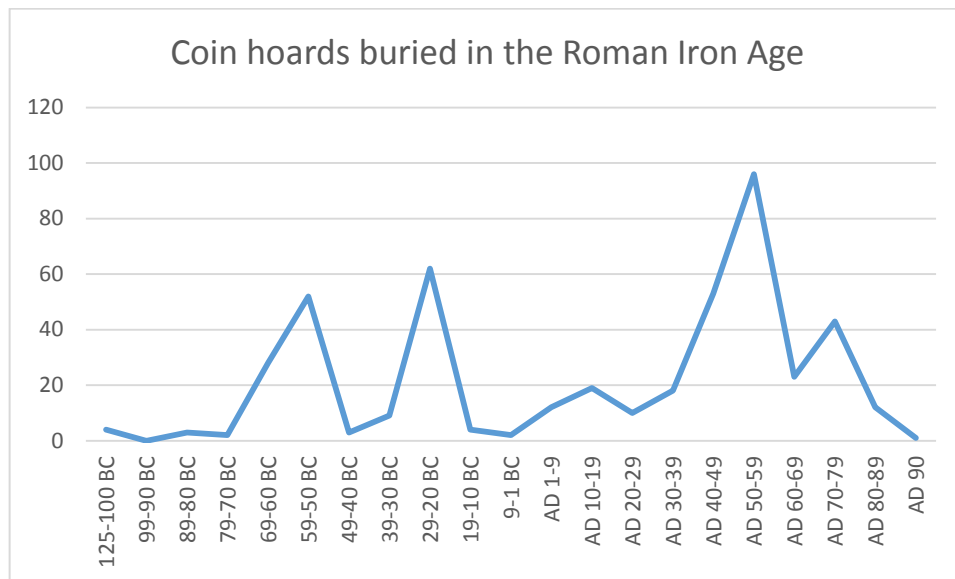


Figure 4.28 Coin hoards buried in the RIA according to *terminus post quem* issues (Total: 456)

A total of 169 coin hoards have *tpq* dates of up to 4 BC (the hoards from Stansted and Gurnard discussed earlier are included in this total, as they are not securely dated to the MIA). The hoards are spread throughout England, Scotland and Wales but with a general concentration south of the Fosse Way. There are particular clusters in the Wessex area, East Anglia, in the Thames estuary and following the length of Thames (Fig 4.29). Other distributions also show associations with rivers, such as the Great Ouse in Norfolk and the Ouse in North Lincolnshire. As Fig 4.30 shows, hoards with *tpq* issues up to 50 BC were close to river courses. This might suggest deposition sites associated with rivers but also the main routes of travel for both the concept and the precious metal. Outliers occur in Cornwall and Lincolnshire where current evidence suggests an absence of object hoards in this period. Both Cornwall and Lincolnshire coins hoards contained imported coinage, but whilst Cornwall continues this focus throughout the period the Lincolnshire coin hoards later contain locally-produced, north-eastern issues.

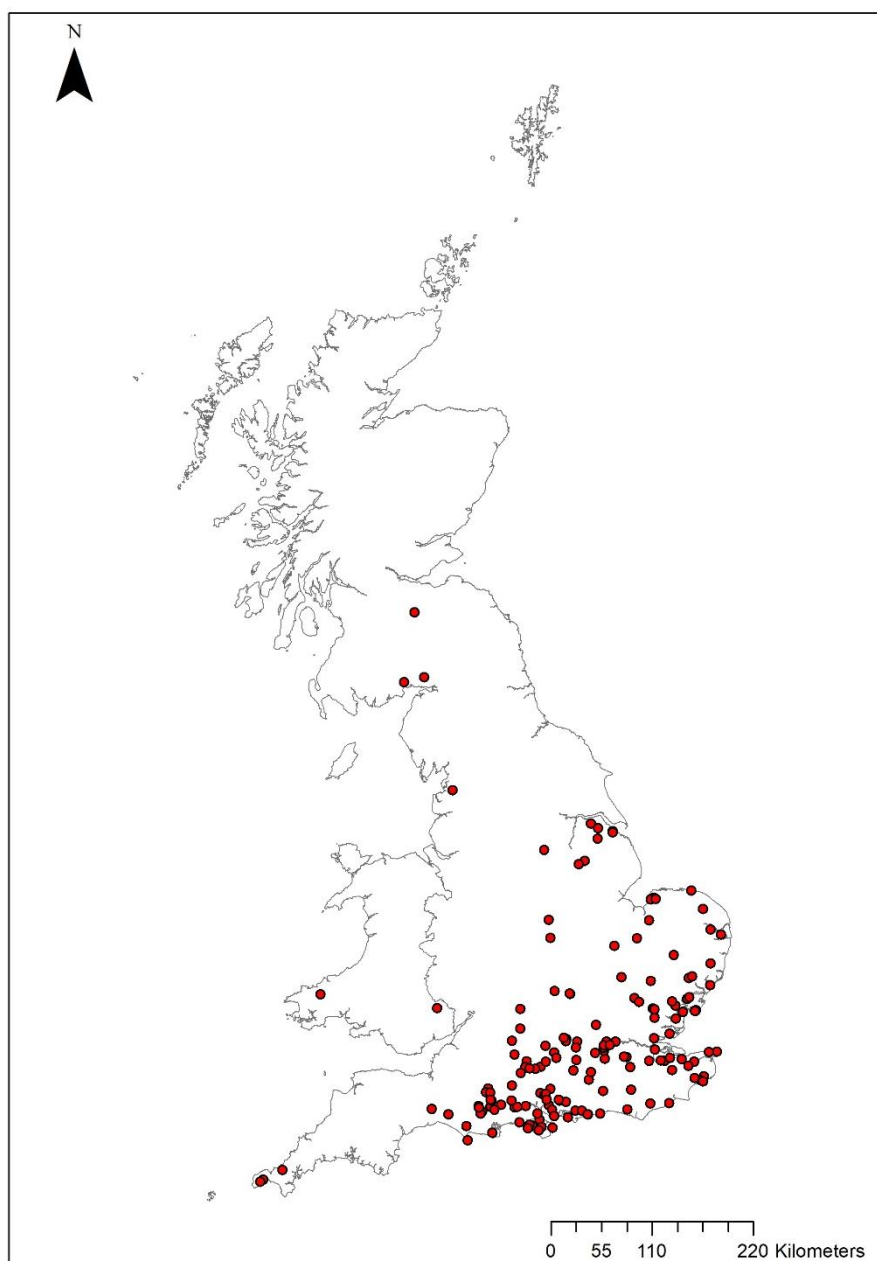


Figure 4.29 Coin hoards dating to the Early Roman Iron Age (total: 169). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

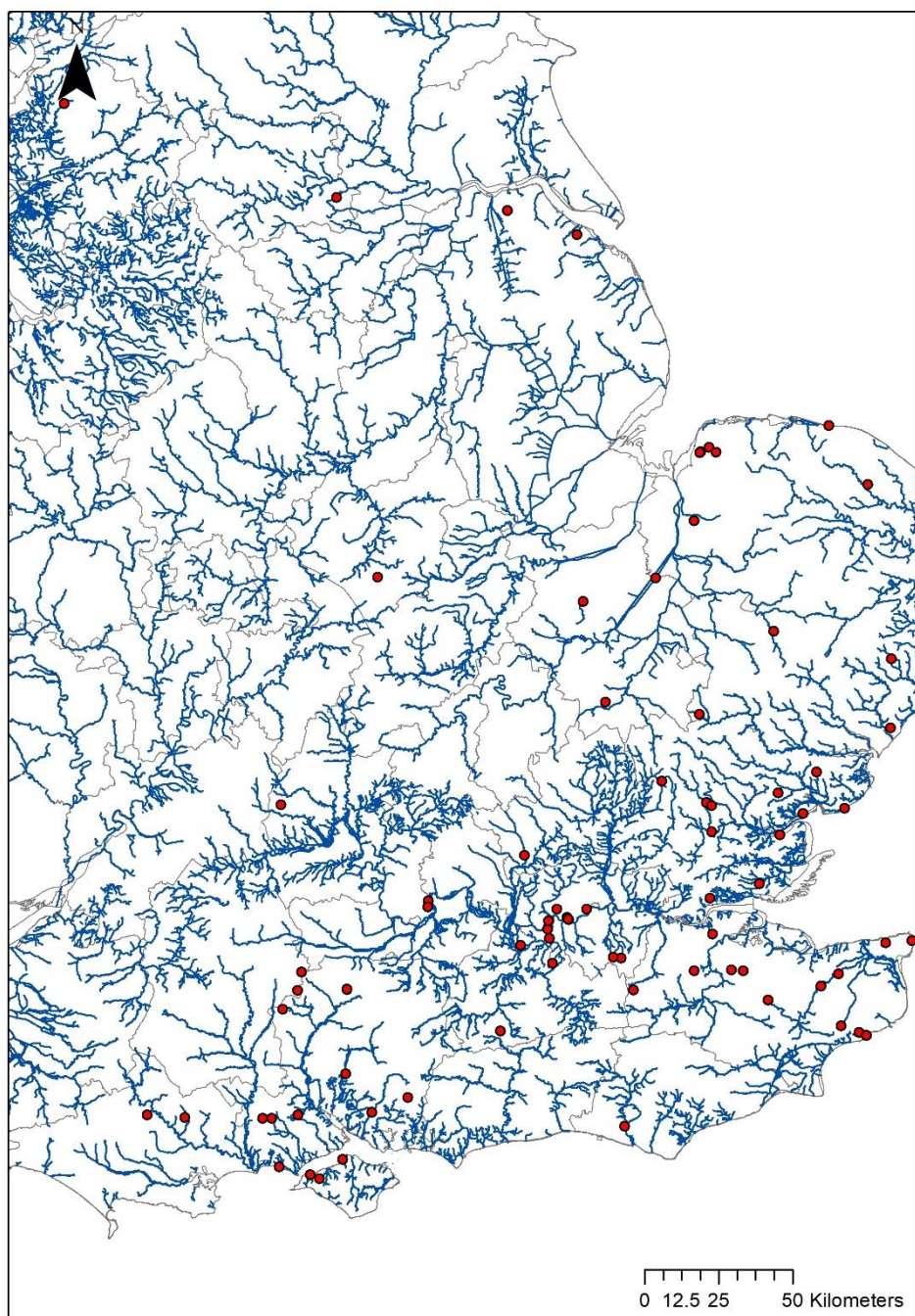


Figure 4.30 Distribution of coin hoards with tpq dates to 50 BC in relation to rivers. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

The ERIA sees two peaks in the coin hoard *tpq* date (Fig 4.28 above), the first c. 50 BC with 78 hoards containing these issues and the second c. 20 BC with 62 hoards. Overall these two peaks comprise 85 % of hoards buried in the ERIA. Unfortunately coin hoards containing either early Gallo-Belgic issues or the first uninscribed British issue are difficult to date closely, which that earlier peaks are not showing clearly. The peak at c. 50 BC appears to be driven by a number of late Gallo-Belgic or potin hoards deposited over a much larger area with concentrations in the South-East. The peak at c. 20 BC was comprised of an increased number of hoards containing British issues only, particularly of the Durotriges. The focus shifts from the Thames estuary to West and East Sussex and Surrey, and there is a continued focus in Wessex and an increase in the coin hoards of the south-west.

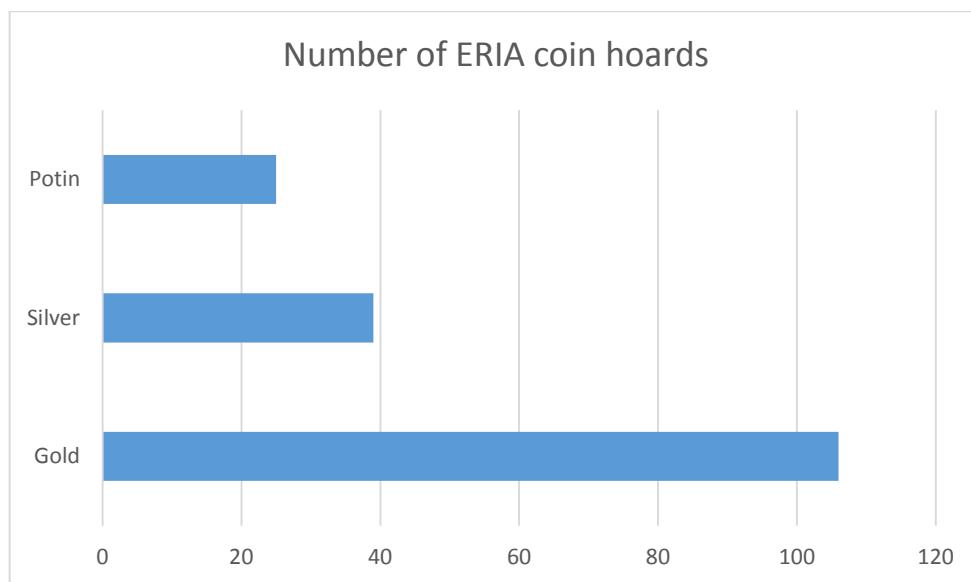


Figure 4.29 ERIA coin hoards by metal (Total: 169)

Gold is by some way the most hoarded material in both object and coin hoards (Fig 4.31). Gold hoards account for 63 % of all ERIA coin hoards (106/169), and gold coins are hoarded twice as often as other coins (Fig 4.32; gold coins: 2831, silver: 1120, potin: 1485). Until 20 BC, coin hoards are relatively rarely mixed materials. Only 11 hoards contain both gold and silver and these combined hoards are seen in areas where there are also silver hoards, such as Wiltshire-Hampshire-Dorset and Isle of Wight-West Sussex. Silver issues do not appear to be hoarded beyond their local circulation.

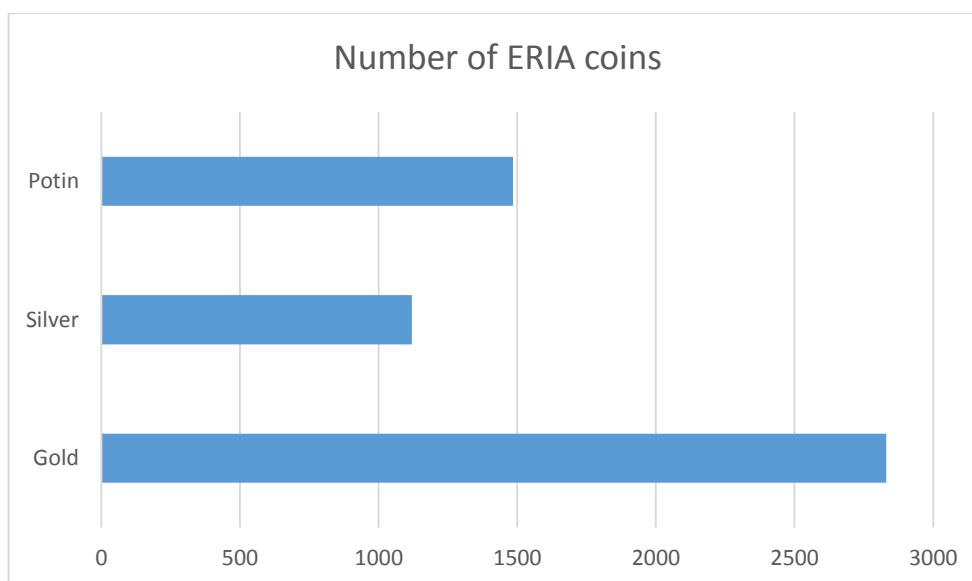


Figure 4.30 Total numbers of coins buried in ERIA hoards by metal (Total: 5436)

Silver coin hoards appear in the record from 85 BC but are considerably rarer than gold hoards (39 occurrences). These are mainly confined to the areas outlined above. 39 silver coin hoards have a *tpq* before the end of the ERIA period. 31 of these have *tpq* dates of 20 BC.

Potin coins were hoarded at 25 sites and the quantity (1485) is similar to silver coins. Potin was much more rarely combined with other metals – one hoard with gold issues, another with Roman Republican silver coins (Lyminge, Kent IARCH-F7EFAE). The distribution is focused in the South-East with outliers at Snettisham (IARCH-2EA094) and Takeley (Essex, IARCH-529DD6).

Of the 19 excavated ERIA coin hoards, nine findspots demonstrated definite or possible evidence for human occupation, such as an enclosure ditch (Sedgeford, Norfolk IARCH-44F34A), inside enclosures or earthworks (Ringwood, Hampshire IARCH-1DCC70; Southend-on-Sea IARCH-D1F78E), associated with pits (Hascombe, Surrey IARCH-CD9D97; Keston, Greater London IARCH-96BBCF) or structures (Takeley/Stansted, Kent IARCH-529DD6; North Foreland, Kent IARCH-72903F). Others were potentially associated with human occupation such as the presence of large amounts of pottery (Compton, West Sussex IARCH-B5D06E) or close to a hillfort (Godshill, Hampshire IARCH-BE0E9C).

Only 16 hoards were given a '4' location/context rating by the IARCH project and none had been excavated so any association with non-visible archaeological features is unknown. Two potin hoards were associated with rivers (Putney, Greater London IARCH-FF3E9D; Upper Thames, Greater London IARCH-111EF7) and a third may

have been associated with a spring (Thurnham, Kent IARCH-6B27AF). Two were associated with heavily drained land which may have been boggy or wetland when the hoards were deposited (Southease, East Sussex IARCH-349B73; Aylesbury Area, Buckinghamshire IARCH-35AE75); both were also near rivers. A further four hoards associated with rivers are all in the South-East potentially suggesting a shift in deposition practice when objects such as helmets, swords and shield were deposited in the rivers. Nationally single finds have been noted in close association with rivers (Leins 2012) perhaps suggesting a more widespread association between coinage and watery places. Five coin hoards were found on flat ground and four on hillslopes, none of them excavated. The 16 hoards discussed here comprise only 9.6 % of the ERIA dataset and so the contexts in which they were found are not necessarily representative of the dataset as a whole, so caution should be exercised.

Comparing the findspot data reveals a focus for ERIA coin hoards on sites with evidence for human activity/settlements and watery deposition, a pattern not reflected in ERIA object hoarding. The hoarding locations do not initially appear to overlap. With the addition of the broadly dated RIA object hoards to the ERIA and LRIA object hoards, the picture is further developed. Coin hoards appear beyond regions which see torc hoarding as well as in many of the regions which demonstrate evidence of torc hoarding (ERIA torc hoards: Suffolk, Norfolk, Hampshire; RIA: North Lincolnshire). Object hoards in the South-East mainly saw a martial focus and several coin hoards contained fragments of torcs (see Chapter 6). Generally, torcs are believed to have declined in usage as coinage became increasingly popular. However, both the ERIA object and coin hoards demonstrate a concern with precious metals, conveying power through the control and display of metals in the form of wearable objects and/or giftable objects. The torcs conveyed status to the wearer whilst the coins conveyed power through imagery, literacy and the act of giving. Any remaining gold torcs in circulation could have been a visual reminder of gold minted coinage. Equally coins may have carried association with the torcs from which they were made.

An incredible amount of gold was buried compared to the previous periods. Over 2778 gold coins were buried. The PAS records the average weight of a stater at 5.72g giving a rough estimate of nearly 16 kg of gold coin entering the ground in hoards. 9954 Iron Age staters and 4969 quarter staters are recorded as single finds on the PAS, of which at least half belong to the ERIA. At a conservative estimate, these coins add a further 32 kg, suggesting upwards of 48 kg of precious metal was deposited in the ERIA.

High tin copper alloy, used for many of the highly decorated objects in hoards such as horse-gear, was also used to make the first coinage produced in Britain. In this instance it is likely that the sheen of these potin coins evoked silver rather than being directly linked to status objects such as horse-gear. Potin and gold coinages evoked command of networks to secure this raw material, in a similar manner to the display and burial of torcs in the same period.

Later Roman Iron Age (AD 1–100)

88 hoards can be dated to the period spanning the Roman invasion of southern England and subsequent expansion into Atlantic and Northern Britain (Table 4.6). They occur throughout Britain (Fig 4.33), with concentrations in areas such as Yorkshire and County Durham which had little previous evidence of hoarding. 36 hoards were found in Scotland, 21 of them at the Roman fort at Newstead (H9–H23; H25–H30). Hoards occur at other Scottish Roman military sites in this period, including Loudoun Hill (H73), Strageath (H195), Inchtuthil (H215) and possibly Fendoch (H194). Roman sites further south also contain hoarding evidence, both military (Nether Denton, H43) and civilian (Colchester, H78).

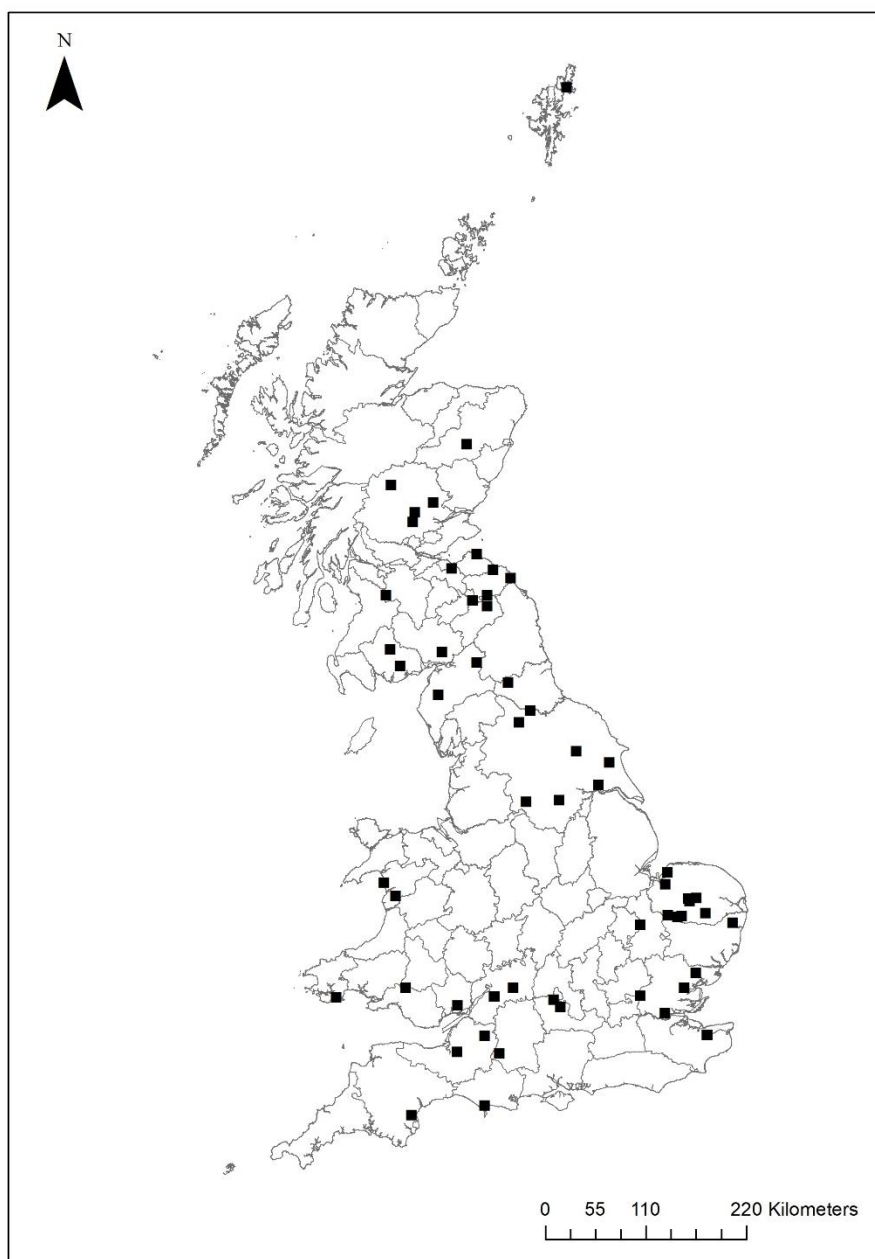


Figure 4.31 Object hoards dating to the Late Roman Iron Age (total: 88). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Code	Hoard Name	County	Dating	Size	Context in site	Site type	Comp	Cont	Objects
H1	Aboyne	Aberdeenshire	T	3		Unassoc.	2	3	3 armlets, 2 horse bits and a Roman shallow dish.
H6	Blackburn Mill	Borders	T	65		Wetlands/wet site (Lake)	2	2	Cauldron rim and side, patera, ingots and tools. See Appendix.
H7	Eckford	Borders	T	35		Wetlands/wet site (Lake)	3	3	Range of tools and other items. See Appendix.
H8	Lamberton Moor	Borders	T	22		Wetlands/wet site (Wetlands)	1	1	1 Dragonesque brooch, 2 head-stud brooches, 2 spiral finger rings and a beaded copper alloy torc.
H9	Newstead 1	Borders	C	16	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	Horse-gear, tools and other items. See Appendix.
H10	Newstead 10	Borders	C	16	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H11	Newstead 11	Borders	C	7	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H12	Newstead 12	Borders	C	4	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H13	Newstead 13	Borders	C	8	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H14	Newstead 14	Borders	C	25	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H15	Newstead 16	Borders	C	11	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H16	Newstead 17	Borders	C	4	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H17	Newstead 18	Borders	C	8	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H18	Newstead 19	Borders	C	4	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H19	Newstead 20	Borders	C	3	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H20	Newstead 21	Borders	C	4	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H21	Newstead 22	Borders	C	7	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H22	Newstead 23	Borders	C	3	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H23	Newstead 24	Borders	C	12	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H25	Newstead 4	Borders	C	3	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H26	Newstead 5	Borders	C	4	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H27	Newstead 6	Borders	C	17	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H28	Newstead 7	Borders	C	96	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.

H29	Newstead 8	Borders	C	4	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H30	Newstead 9	Borders	C	3	pit - Roman fort	Roman fort	4	3	See Appendix.
H31	Stichill,	Borders	T/S	3		No info	2	1	2 armlets and 1 hinged collar.
H35	Colne Fen	Cambridgeshire	T/S	3		No info	1	1	3 baluster ferrules and 2 crescentic linch pins.
H40	Upper Weardale	County Durham	T	3		Wetlands/wet site (Wetlands)	2	2	2 pans and a ladle.
H41	Castle Howard	North Yorkshire	T	5		Wetlands/wet site (Wetlands)	2	2	5 copper alloy paterae.
H43	Nether Denton	Cumbria	T	77	Roman fort	Roman fort	2	3	Knobbed terret, 4 'bronze rings' and 71 coins.
H46	Embleton, Cockermouth	Cumbria	T	6		Unassoc.	1	2	3 spearheads, 2 swords and 1 decorated copper alloy scabbard.
H50	Milbur Camp	Devon	T	4	inner ditch; hillfort	Hillfort	4	4	3 bronze figurines - duck, crow and seated stag and a ball.
H53	Greenhill, Weymouth	Dorset	T	10		No info	1	1	Horse-gear, tankard handle, tweezers, listed in Appendix.
H69	Balmaclellan	Dumfries and Galloway	R	9		Wetlands/wet site (Wetlands)	3	2	Copper alloy mirror, decorated copper alloy plate, and at least 4 pieces of copper alloy plates
H70	Carlingwark Loch	Dumfries and Galloway	T	73		Wetlands/wet site (Lake)	2	1	Tools, horse-gear, weapons. See Appendix.
H72	Middlebie	Dumfries and Galloway	T	28		Wetlands/wet site (Wetlands)	2	1	7 horse bits, 5 strap junction/harness pieces and 11 terrets.
H73	Loudoun Hill	East Ayrshire	C	30	Roman fort	Roman fort	2	2	1 pickaxe, 1 hammer, 1 spearhead, 2 tyres, more than 24 hub rings and clamps (number unknown).
H74	New Mains, Whitekirk	East Lothian	S	3	settlement	Unassoc.	3	4	Bracelet, horse bit and beaded torc.
H75	South Cave	East Riding of Yorkshire	T	39		Unassoc.	4	4	5 swords with decorated copper alloy scabbards and 33 iron

									spearheads bundled beneath.
H78	Fenwick treasure, Colchester	Essex	C	13	house in a settlement; Roman colonia	Settlement	4	4	3 armlets, a chain necklace, 2 bracelets, a silver armlet, a bag of coins, 2 pairs of gold earrings and 4 gold finger-rings.
H79	Lofts Farm, Great Totham, Maldon	Essex	T	14	hut gully; settlement	Settlement	4	4	Hoard of scabbard chapes and bindings and ring with La Tène decoration.
H81	Waltham Abbey	Essex	T	23		Wetlands/wet site (River)	2	2	11 blacksmiths tools (5 tongs, 3 anvils, possible sledge hammer, file and poker) 6/7 carpentry tools, fragment of a cart tyre, broken socketed hook, billhook and a fragmented sword.
H82	Orsett 'Cock'	Essex	C	6	fill of inner ditch; settlement	Settlement	4	4	6 spearheads.
H86	Seven Sisters, Neath	Neath Port Talbot	T	37		Wetlands/wet site (River)	2	1	Tankard, horse-gear, casting waste, ingots, weights, scrap metal.
H88	Ditches, North Cerney	Gloucestershire	C	10	entrance to hillfort	Hillfort	4	4	c.10 currency bars.
H90	Uley 1	Gloucestershire	C	6	ditch; shrine	Shrine	4	4	Iron projectile head, 3 bolt heads, rosette bronze and penannular brooch.
H91	Uley 2	Gloucestershire	C	10	ditch; shrine	Shrine	4	4	8 iron projectile heads, 2 Dobunnic coins, scraps of copper alloy sheet.
H92	Uley 3	Gloucestershire	C	5	ditch; shrine	Shrine	4	4	3 iron projectile heads, fragments of iron, penannular brooch.
H93	Uley 4	Gloucestershire	C	3	ditch; shrine	Shrine	4	4	Brooch, probable iron stylus, decorated copper alloy strip.
H94	Uley 5	Gloucestershire	C	4	ditch; shrine	Shrine	4	4	2 iron projectile heads, spiral headed pin object, scraps of copper alloy.

H95	Uley 6	Gloucestershire	C	3	ditch; shrine	Shrine	4	4	2 iron bolt heads and other frags of iron.
H99	Tal-y-Llyn	Gwynedd	T	19	Natural - under boulder	Natural	3	3	4 ornamental copper alloy frags, possible shield midribs, 6 discs or frags, copper alloy disc and part of a Roman lock.
H100	Ynys-Gwrtheyrn	Gwynedd	T	5		No info	2	2	5 bronze cooking utensils, one containing a hoard of coins.
H127	Bigbury 1	Kent	T	53	likely rampart or entrance; hillfort	Hillfort	2	2	Ploughshare, coulter, cattle-goad, horse-bit and tire
H128	Bigbury 2	Kent	T		likely rampart or entrance; hillfort	Hillfort	2	2	Cauldron handle, snaffle bit, rods, ring and hooks.
H129	Bigbury 3	Kent	T		likely rampart or entrance; hillfort	Hillfort	2	2	Sickles, iron rings, ferrule of a bronze staff and an engraved bronze buckle.
H130	Bigbury 4	Kent	T		likely rampart or entrance; hillfort	Hillfort	2	2	Spear heads, a tanged dagger, hammer heads, an iron axe, sickles, billhooks and ploughshares
H131	Bigbury 5	Kent	T		likely rampart or entrance; hillfort	Hillfort	1	1	Iron objects (unknown).
H132	Bigbury 6	Kent	T		likely rampart or entrance; hillfort	Hillfort	1	1	Ironwork found in the museum stores (contents unknown).
H140	Langstone, Newport	Monmouthshire	T	4		Wetlands/ wet site (wetlands)	4	4	2 bronze bowls and a bronze wine strainer.
H141	Hockwold (Blackdyke Farm)	Norfolk	S	7		Unassoc.	4	4	5 silver goblets compacted pre-burial.
H150	Quidney Farm B	Norfolk	T	5	pit- enclosure	Settlement	3	3	Copper alloy horse bits, and iron and copper-alloy linch pin, a pair of iron manacles and fragments.
H152	Santon	Norfolk	S	107		No info	3	3	Horse-gear, personal ornament, vessel fragments and a cauldron.

									See Appendix.
H153	Shipdham, Whinbury, Breckland	Norfolk	T	3		Unassoc.	3	3	2 terrets and a bull's head vessel mount.
H160	Snettisham M	Norfolk	R	1		Unassoc.	3	4	Metal strands loops and ribbons.
H161	Carleton Rode	Norfolk	S	3		Unassoc.	4	3	Linch pin head, one copper alloy terret and a fragment of copper alloy harness mount and 2 linch pin feet.
H164	Nr Kings Lynn	Norfolk	S	3		Unassoc.	3	2	2 enamelled flat-ring terrets and miscellaneous flat ring terret.
H165	Ovington, Saham Toney	Norfolk	T	7		Unassoc.	2	2	5 terrets, a quadrilateral plaque and circular pendant.
H175	Quidney Farm A, Saham Toney	Norfolk	S/T	8	settlement	Settlement	3	3	5 bronze terrets or harness rings, a roundel, a plate brooch and an iron axe head
H177	Fremington Hag	North Yorkshire	S/T	75		Unassoc.	1	2	Horse-gear (see Appendix).
H178	Stanwick (Melsonby)	North Yorkshire	S/ T	355	Enclosure	Hillfort and associated earthworks	2	2	Vessels, mail armour, weapons, binding, personal ornaments, metal working waste: see Appendix.
H186	Frilford	Oxfordshire	C	4	pit in IA round-house; later shrine	Shrine	4	4	Bronze votive sword and shield, a fragmentary iron spear-head.
H187	Hagbourne Hill	Oxfordshire	T	6		Unassoc.	1	1	Horse-gear, ring-headed pin, and coins. Bronze Age items.
H192	Manorbier	Pembrokeshire	S	8	settlement; poss. structure: linear rubble, flag stones	Settlement?	3	3	Su, 2 dippers, 2 strainers. Frags of possibly 2 flat-bottomed dishes and a cauldron.
H193	Bunrannoch, Kinloch	Perth and Kinross	S	5		Unassoc.	1	1	Armlet, bracelet and 'some smaller articles'.
H194	Fendoch	Perth and Kinross	none	15	Hillfort - potentially in marshy section	Hillfort/Roman fort	1	3	3 'pots or kettles', 3 heads of spears, sword blade, 3 pairs of bits, 2 pairs of shears and a

									spoon/ladle.
H195	Strageath	Perth and Kinross	C	9	ditch at cross-roads	Roman fort	4	4	Scythe blade, 3 (1 fragmentary) axe heads, 4 iron ingots, lead pig.
H196	Fetlar	Shetland	S	6		Wetlands/wet site (Wetlands)	1	1	6 massive armlets.
H197	Camerton	Somerset	T	311	likely Roman fort/camp	Roman fort	2	2	3 currency bars with Roman felling and a pick axe.
H203	Polden Hills	Somerset	S	83		No info	2	2	Horse-gear, personal items and weapons.
H211	Brandon (Pinefield's)	Suffolk	S	4		Unassoc.	2	2	Wine strainer, pan (patera), situla and cauldron.
H212	Westhall	Suffolk	S	25		Unassoc.	3	3	Horse-gear, animal figure disc, bronze and iron frags, iron spearhead, 4 pebbles, fragments of bronze vessels.
H215	Inchtuthil	Tayside and Fife	T		Square pit in fabrica	Roman fort	4	4	Nearly 10 tons of nails (at least 875,428 examples) some used and 9 wheel tyres, used not all complete
H220	'Brookfield', nr Wakefield	West Yorkshire	S	6		Unassoc.	3	4	Copper alloy strainer, 5 bracelets (2 pairs and a singleton) and ceramic vessel of LIA or ER date.
H221	Honley	West Yorkshire	T	27		Unassoc.	3	3	Seal box, 2 miniature terrets and 18 IA & Roman coins, bronze brooch.
H224	Kingston Deverill	Wiltshire	S	5		Unassoc.	3	3	3 pans (paterae), 2 strainers, all copper alloy.
H240	Skerne	East Riding	S	18		No information	2	2	1 fragmentary beaded torc and 17 coins.
H241	Elginhaugh	Midlothian	C		Pit in barracks	Roman fort	4	4	1, 362 nails.

Table 4.6 LRIA hoards (Key as Table 4.2)

Regional and landscape distribution

The LRIA sees the continuation of deposition associated with structures or sites, but the range of site types is wider than previously (Fig. 4.34). Hillforts and settlements continue to see deposition, however shrine sites such as Uley (H90–H95) and Frilford (H186) also emerged. As noted above, Roman forts become a focus for military and civilian deposition. The main focus for deposition at forts is Scotland, but the practice is also seen in Cumbria at Nether Denton (H43). Hoarding continues in the South-West including Wales (see Chapter 5), South-East (see Chapter 6), and East Anglia (see Chapter 7). There is an absence of hoards from the Midlands, though this area did see some MIA hoarding.

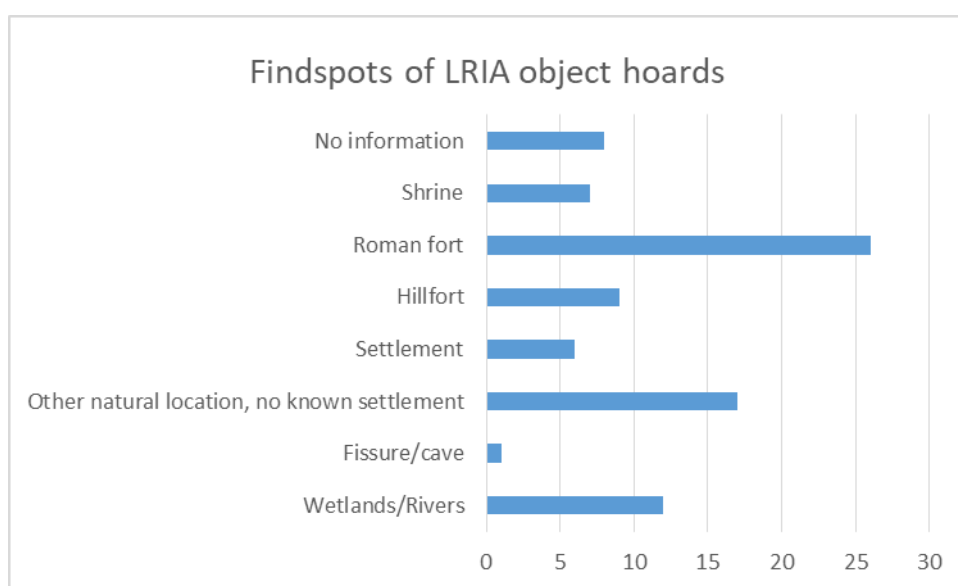


Figure 4.32 Contexts for object hoards dating to the Late Roman Iron Age period (total: 88).

Object types

Imports begin to appear frequently in hoards, but there is a wide diversity in the objects buried and hoard combinations.

Six hoards contain solely horse-gear (chariot gear, horse harness, strap fittings). Three of these hoards were in Norfolk, one in Cambridge, one in Kent and another in Dumfries and Galloway. Otherwise horse-gear is combined with additional objects; these tend to fall into two groups. Hoards containing mainly copper alloy items tended to contain the decorative items used for display: Hagbourne Hill (H187), Fremington Hagg (H177), Polden Hill (H203) and Seven Sisters (H86), whereas those containing iron often also included tools: Bigbury Hill (H127-132), Eckford (H7) and Carlingwark Lock (H70).

There is increased evidence for sword concealment, seen at sites such as Embleton (H46), South Cave (H75) and Stanwick/Melsonby (H178) (and in two hoards dating to

the RIA: Ashby Scar, H42, and Birtley, H183). Embleton and South Cave were similar in composition: both consisting of swords, scabbards and spears. Weapons were also buried in Essex: a set of shield bindings and rings, likely from a scabbard, were found in a gully associated with a roundhouse at Lofts Farm (H79). Spearheads were deposited in the enclosing ditches of Orsett Cock (H82) and a sword fragment was deposited in a box in a river at Waltham Abbey (H81). Spears were also deposited at Orchard Hill (H97) and at Bigbury Camp (H127-132). The pattern in the South-East is discussed further in Chapter 6. Swords appear concentrated in northern England, where they are hoarded but do not appear in graves. In the south, swords, when deposited, were grave goods or river deposits. There seems to be an increased focus on horse-gear or spears in hoards of this period. The manner of burial suggests Continental influences, and this too may have influenced the burial of swords (e.g. Lexden, Brisley Farm etc). The hoards reflect an increasing martial character compared to both the MIA and to broadly dated RIA hoards, perhaps reflecting growing uncertainty and the threat of the Roman invasion but might also be linked to the development of a hierarchical society and the emerging kingship (Creighton 2000; Hill 2007: 30).

Hoards increasingly involved brooches and non-torc jewellery, though base metal torcs continue to appear in hoards such as Polden Hill (iron and brass) and Skerne. These items linked with the communication of personal and regional identity appear in the hoards throughout the country. Brooches had been deposited in large numbers from the MIA onwards, at sites such as Kingdown in Somerset and Grandcourt in Norfolk (Adams 2013, Chapters 7 and 8). From the ERIA onwards, brooches were selected for deposition at shrine sites such as Hayling Island. LRIA hoards contain a range of both imported and locally produced items. Fenwick (H78) contained a child's necklace (bulla) along with male and female bracelets and earrings, clearly Roman imports. The Honley hoard (H221) contained a head-stud brooch and the 'Brookfield' hoard (H220) five bracelets. All these hoards demonstrate the effect of close contact with the Roman army and related settlements. Fenwick was buried within the confines of the *colonia*, under a Boudican destruction layer and may be connected to a high-ranking military official. The Honley and 'Brookfield' hoards in West Yorkshire were both found in proximity to Roman forts and the bracelet and coins from Honley and single wire bracelet from the 'Brookfield' hoard suggest close connections with the army to procure these items. Polden Hill contained bracelets, rings and brooches. The penannular brooch fits regional patterns of the South-West (Booth 2015) whilst the brass Polden Hill type combines a regional type usually found in the Midlands with a

metal strongly linked to Roman imports. Stanwick/Melsonby (H178) contained possible bracelet and brooch fragments. Brooches begin to be included with coin hoards in this period and are distributed throughout the country – Ash-Cum-Ridley (Kent IARCH-B36949) South Oxfordshire (Oxfordshire IARCH-52EBCD), Hotham (East Riding IARCH-662D77) and possibly Nunney (Somerset IARCH-461BFD) and Norton Subcourse (Norfolk IARCH-4A1AC1). All but Hotham contained at least one denarius. Alton B (Hampshire IARCH-2CE72C) contained a ring and penannular bracelet – both likely imports.

Roman contact or at least contact with Roman objects appears to have provided a catalyst for hoarding north of the Fosse Way through into Scotland. Yorkshire sees a particular focus on hoards negotiating this new identity with the inclusion of imported or new object forms as at Honley and 'Brookfield' (further discussed in Chapter 7). However, some object hoards contain solely imports (e.g. Castle Howard, H41).

This combination of the native and new extends beyond the ironwork hoards to Aboyne, (H1, horse-gear and saucepans) and Lamberton Moor (H8, beaded torc with saucepans). Not all Roman objects arrived in these hoards intact, Hunter notes that Roman imports were melted to create new expressions of identity such as the massive armlets (Hunter 1997). Other hoards such as New Mains (H74) and Stichill (H31) also contain massive armlets accompanied by collars or torcs, or other imports in the case of Aboyne (Aberdeenshire) and Bunrannoch (H193, Perth).

In the case of Scotland, current evidence suggests relatively few hoards of three and above items for much of the Iron Age. When these hoards were discovered, as in the case of Blair Drummond (H210) and Netherurd (H191), they incorporated well-travelled objects. As discussed above, Blair Drummond contained a torc demonstrating potential local manufacture inspired by south-western France. Another hoard, Netherurd, contained imported Gallo-Belgic coinage alongside a gold torc terminal with close ties to objects from Southern Britain, suggesting that hoarding was driven by imported goods.

Summary

A new site type, the Roman fort, emerges in this period throughout Britain, but with deposition mainly focused in Scotland, such as Newstead, Loudoun (H73) and Inchtuthil (H215). The hoards vary in terms of context and size. The Loudoun Hill tool hoard was found during quarrying and any contextual information was lost. Similar in form was the Strageath (H195) hoard, this was found inside the east gate, in a ditch at the intersection of *via sagularis* and *via decumana*. The Inchtuthil hoard was

composed of over 7 tonnes of nails. At Newstead, finds were spread across a number of pits both inside and outside the fort. Curle attributed the pits to a closure event at the end of the life of the fort (Curle 1911: 113–15). Reassessment suggested that there might be ritual motives or structuring to the pits (Clarke 1997; contra Manning 2006).

Roman Iron Age hoards (150 BC–AD 100)

28 hoards were dated broadly to the RIA, with no further date refinement possible. The object hoards were spread throughout Britain (Table 4.7, Fig 4.35).

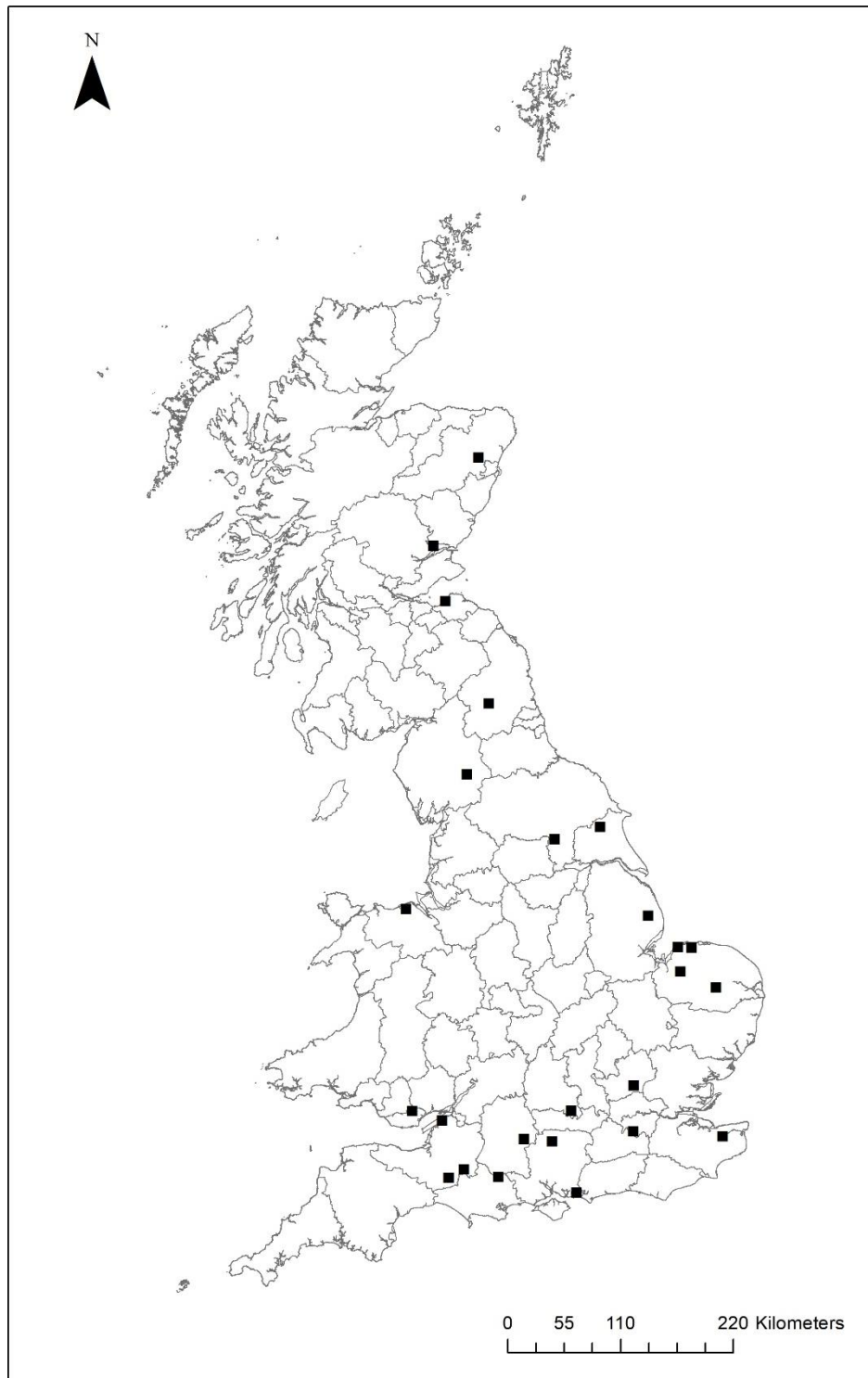


Figure 4.33 Object hoards dating to the Roman Iron Age (total: 28). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Code	Hoard Name	County	Dating	Size	Context in site	Site type	Comp	Cont	Objects
H2	Hill of Crichtie	Aberdeenshire	T	8		Unassoc.	2	2	Horse-gear and pins.
H3	Hurly Hawkin	Angus	T	4	settlement: broch	Settlement	3	3	Personal ornament.
H42	Asby Scar	Cumbria	R	5		Unassoc.	3	3	Weapons.
H47	Moel Hiraddug	Denbighshire	S	4	under collapsed rampart; hillfort	Hillfort	3	3	Weapons.
H76	Garton Slack	East Yorkshire	C	3	pit, in settlement	Settlement	4	4	A hoard of tongs, poker and paddle.
H84	Lesser Garth, Pentyrch	Cardiff	T	11	Natural. 200 yds from cave opening.	Unassoc.	3	3	Horse-gear, 2 iron knives, latch lifter, billet, chisel, cauldron ring and staple, cauldron hanger and chain.
H97	Orchard Hill	Greater London	T	3	shallow sub- rectangular pit	Settlement	4	4	Iron nave hoop, an iron spearhead, and a chasing hammer head.
H98	Hounslow Hoard	Greater London	T	28		No info	2	2	5 figurines (boars and dog), cu alloy wheel, head dress frag, BA items.
H102	Hayling Island	Hampshire	C	25	shrine	Shrine	4	4	Horse-gear, currency bars and brooches.
H115	Whitchurch, Basingstoke	Hampshire	T	16		Unassoc.	2	3	Possible multi-period hoard.
H120	Essendon A	Hertfordshire	S	14	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	3	torc (in 28 pieces), 7 pieces of gold, 6 gold ingots. Gallo-Belgic D coins.
H121	Essendon C	Hertfordshire	S	18	enclosure (shrine)	Shrine	3	3	Weapons cache.
H126	Marlowe Car Park	Kent	C	48	pit, close to roundhouse	Settlement	4	4	Horse-gear.
H138	Ulceby	Lincolnshire	S	7		No info	2	2	3 copper-alloy bridle fittings (fragmented), 3 gold torcs and a gold bracelet (fragment).
H139	Longniddry	Lothian	T	4		Wetlands/wet site (Intertidal)	3	3	Horse-gear, jewellery.
H142	Burnham Thorpe	Norfolk	S	3		Unassoc.	1	3	A coin, brooch and a copper alloy ring.
H144	Crownthorpe	Norfolk	S	7		Unassoc.	3	3	Strainer bowl, patera, 2 shallow bowls, saucepan and 2 drinking cups.

H147	Gayton Thorpe	Norfolk	S	3		Unassoc.	3	3	Horse-gear.
H151	Ringstead	Norfolk	S	15		Unassoc.	3	3	Horse-gear, possible shield mount, 2 rivets and 3 sheet metal fragment, bronze cake.
H176	Bilbrough, Selby	North Yorkshire	S/T	8	potential for human activity but uncertain	Settlement?	3	3	Horse-gear.
H183	Birtley	Northumberland	C/S	7	Hut II of Iron Age hillfort	Hillfort	3	3	Sword and spear, a number of spearheads and at least 2 knives or daggers.
H185	Checkendon	Oxfordshire	T/S	3		Wetlands/wet site Wetlands)	3	3	Copper alloy bridle-bit side link, harness brooch, copper alloy toggle.
H198	South Cadbury 4	Somerset	C	11	entrance	Hillfort	4	4	7 latch-lifter keys.
H199	Ham Hill 1	Somerset	T	3	close proximity to enclosure earthworks	Hillfort	2	2	Lance, skulls, spearheads with articles of brass and iron.
H202	Ham Hill 4	Somerset	C	13	hillfort	Hillfort	4	4	Assorted items, see Appendix.
H206	Walton Castle	Somerset	S	2		No info	1	1	Parts of 2 gold torcs found with other items, now lost.
H225	Collingbourne Kingston	Wiltshire	S	4		Unassoc.	3	3	Horse-gear.
H226	Woodcuts Common	Wiltshire	T	3	ditch; settlement	Settlement	3	3	One half of a pair of iron shears, iron knife missing tip and second complete iron knife.

Table 4.7 Object hoards that cannot be more closely dated than within the RIA

Key as Table 4.2

These hoards are found in a variety of contexts, led by natural locations (Fig 4.36) and contain a variety of different items; horse-gear, weapons, torcs, tools and items related to drinking/dining. Horse-gear is the most popular inclusion in these hoards, appearing on its own three times and with other items on ten occasions. Horse-gear was seen previously in the MIA, but few later hoards containing horse-gear have been excavated so that any continuing association with settlements or roundhouses remains uncertain. Weapons were included in six hoards, swords were contained in two (Birtley, Asby Scar, and the 'iron swords' at Moel Hirradug, H47) making them either contemporary with or forerunners to depositions such as South Cave. Spears and shields were the other inclusions in this group, potentially channelling similar stresses to the graves in the South-East (see Chapter 6). Of the three tool hoards, two of came from settled/occupied contexts. The tool hoard from Garton Slack (H76) was associated with a cemetery and that from Woodcuts Common (H226) was in the centre of a large enclosure with a number of other finds.

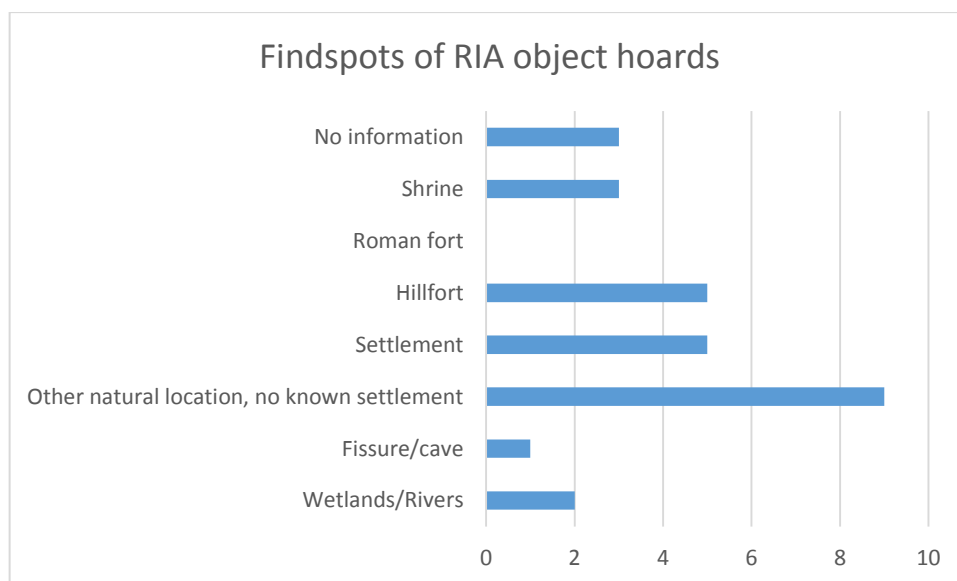


Figure 4.34 Contexts of Roman Iron Age object hoards (total: 28).

Coin hoards in the LRIA

Coin hoarding occurs relatively constantly throughout the LRIA, with a *tpq* peak around AD 40–50. 287 hoards date to this period, their distribution adding to the clusters seen in the ERIA but also showing further diffusion beyond the Fosse Way with hoards appearing in the Midlands and in Yorkshire for the first time (Fig 4.37).

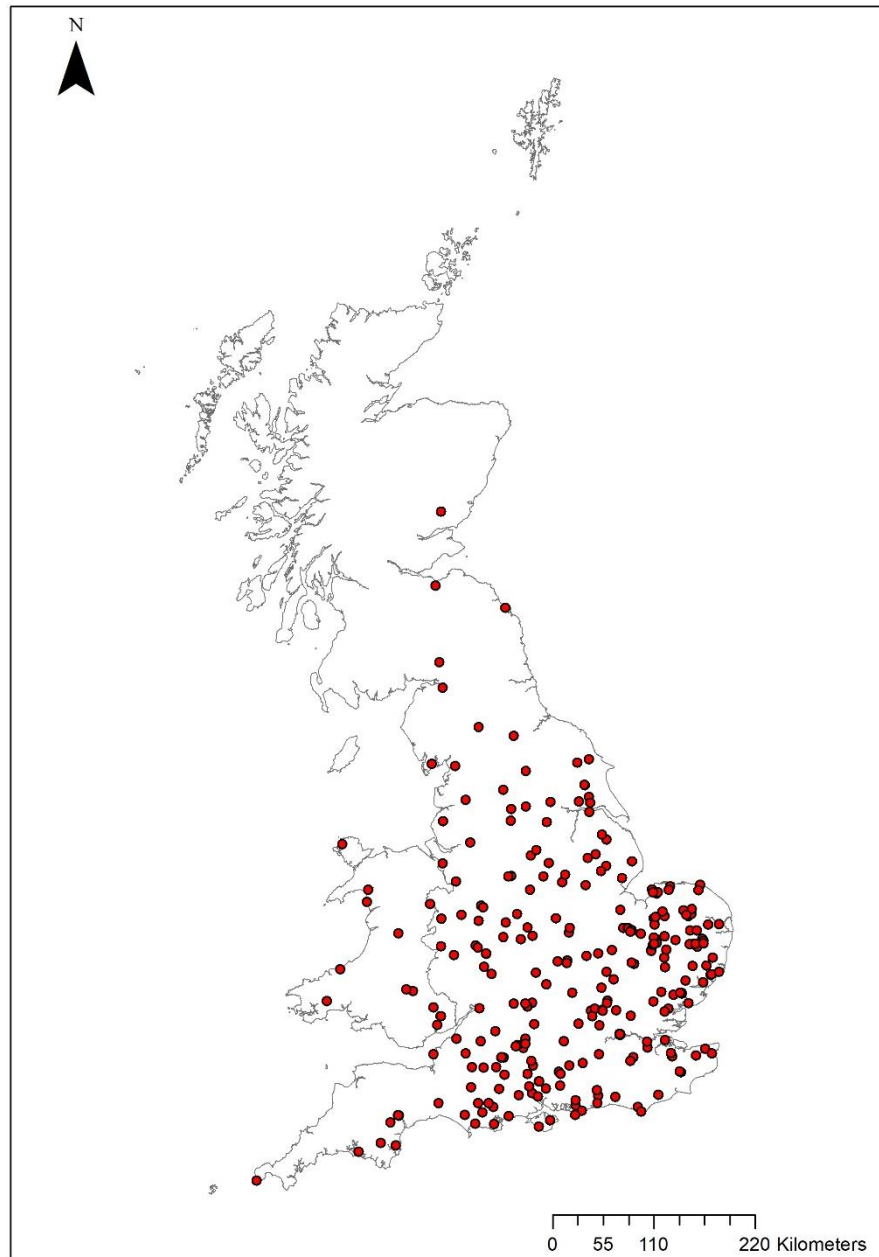


Figure 4.35 Coin hoards dating to the Late Roman Iron Age (total: 287). Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

In the LRIA, silver and copper alloy become the predominant metal in coin hoards, a change in focus from the ERIA. However, there is an increase in both coins and hoards buried in this period compared to the ERIA, 113 hoards contained gold issues (with 60 containing solely gold issues), 92 containing solely silver, and 38 copper alloy hoards (Fig. 4.38). The coin hoards were larger in size with 4,303 gold coins, 12,952 silver coins and 1124 copper alloy coins were deposited (Fig. 4.39) and the remaining hoards were more mixed in content than the preceding period, with 52 hoards containing gold and silver and 16 being trimetallic (Fig 4.38). 25 hoards combined copper alloy and silver only. Five hoards contain no information on their contents. Beyond the conquest, the financing needed for supply and troop payment for the Roman army led to Roman coins entering the country in large volumes.

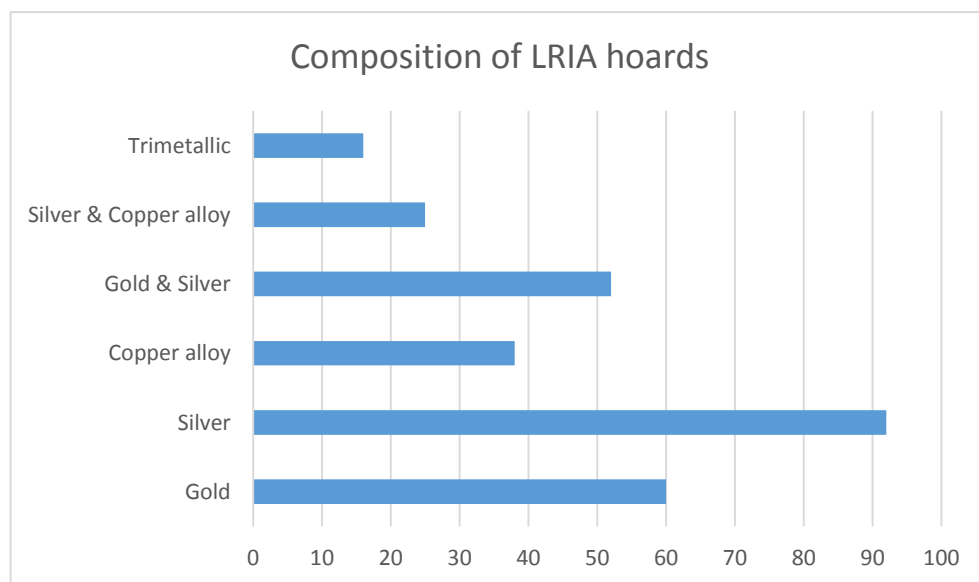


Figure 4.36 LRIA coin hoard composition by metal (Total: 283, 3 without information on contents).

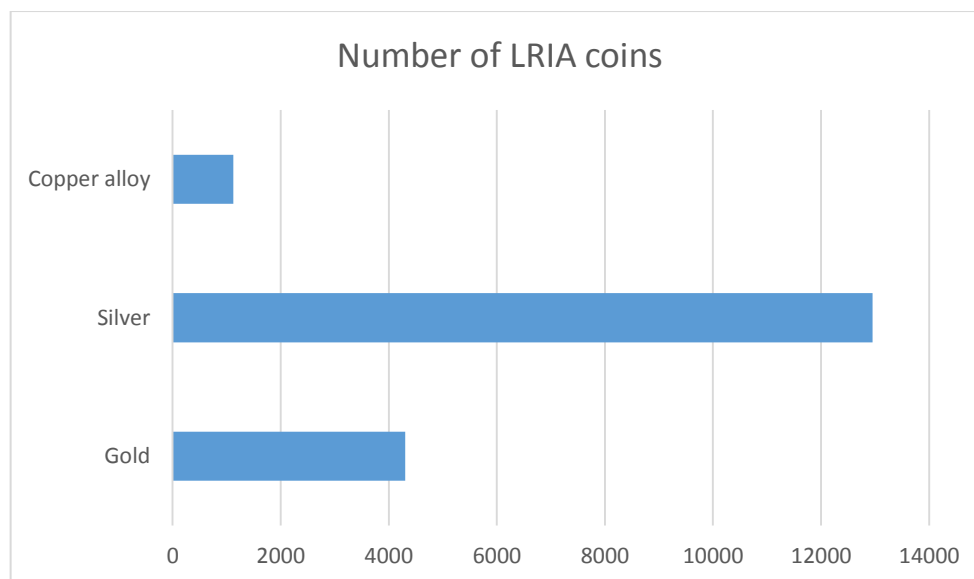


Figure 4.37 Number of coins buried in LRIA hoards by metal (Total: 18,379)

Coin hoards with *tpq* up to AD 50

Pre-conquest, gold remained a focus for Iron Age coinage into the LRIA with 98 hoards containing gold issues buried with dates *tpq* AD 50 containing 4121 coins. Whilst the number of hoards is similar to the ERIA (105 hoards), these were buried over a 50-year period (AD 1–50) and contain almost double the number of gold coins. Gifts of gold bullion from the Romans have been suggested in this period and the inscriptions, imagery and switch to red gold are seen to reflect links with Rome (Creighton 2000). The hoards begin to incorporate inscribed issues from AD 10 onwards and hoards closing with issues of AD 40 were dominated by Cunobelin and Verica.

Silver sees the largest increase in this period with 9087 silver coins in 113 hoards up to AD 50, with several hoards containing large quantities of Republican and Tiberian denarii. By contrast 611 copper alloy coins are present in 29 hoards. Hoards are found throughout Britain other than north-western Britain and County Durham. Again, the increase in silver has been linked to Roman bullion and increased exposure to Republican denarii.

Of 35 coin hoards recorded as excavated, nine were associated with some form of settlement or human occupation. The sites represent a wider range than seen in the ERIA: two were found at shrine sites (Ashwell, Hertfordshire IARCH-53A29F; Colchester, Essex IARCH-E68947), two associated with settlement (Fordingbridge, Hampshire IARCH-1CB081; Stonea Grange I, Cambridgeshire IARCH-D29DB8), one with a cave (Derbyshire Dales IARCH-9F464A) and another coming from a pit in a Roman fort (Richborough, Kent IARCH-B19A3A). Two were associated with less

tangible evidence of human activity: an Iron Age ditch (Sutton, Suffolk IARCH-BB6CBF) and a pit filled with burnt daub, pottery and animal bone (Weston by Welland, Northamptonshire IARCH-5DD02B).

*Coin hoards with a *tpq* after AD 51*

After AD 51, coin hoards are dominated by Roman issues although the well-known horizon of Icenian hoards containing both Iron Age and Roman silver issues has once again been linked to the Boudiccan revolt and the events of c AD 60/61 (Talbot 2017). This is not to say that there was a clear divide between the periods, and that these hoards could not have been buried contemporaneously.

Of 34 excavated coin hoards for this period, 19 were associated with structures or human activity. Three were found in graves or cemeteries (Exeter, Devon IARCH-4072D1; West Smithfield, Greater London IARCH-C626EB; St Albans, Hertfordshire IARCH-DA330F), four in shrine or temple contexts (Hallaton, Leicestershire IARCH-D4642F; Ashwell, Hertfordshire IARCH-332AC7; St Helena School Colchester, Essex IARCH-051E84; Wanborough, Surrey IARCH-ABD376), four at forts (Usk, Monmouthshire IARCH-A4C2C5 and IARCH-E4C1D9; Exeter, Devon IARCH-33EE7C; Caerleon, Newport IARCH-70FD85) and nine in settlement contexts (Williams and Griffin Colchester, Essex IARCH-D00411; Colchester (Culver St site J), Essex IARCH-D77965; CID90, Greater London IARCH-CB1DB1; Eriswell, Suffolk IARCH-89CA85; Scole Norfolk IARCH-79A0A0; Canterbury (Beaney Institute), Kent IARCH-A32DCF; Springhead, Kent IARCH-229A0B; Verulamium (Insula XIV, Room 33), Hertfordshire IARCH-D36254). These settlement contexts were Roman in nature.

Coin hoards including other items are found across Britain, and not confined to shrine sites or at the edges of coin distributions. A range of items were combined with coin hoards, brooches and jewellery being the most popular; this is unsurprising given the deposition of brooches and coins at many shrine sites through the country. Fragments of torcs and ingots are another frequent inclusion, but terrets and horse-gear only occur occasionally (e.g. at Nether Denton, H43). These combined object and coin hoards do not tend to follow a 50:50 split but rather are the inclusion of one to three objects with a number of coins. Four coin hoards contained evidence of metalworking: one from Saxilby (Lincolnshire) and three from the Isle of Wight. This was seen in LRIA object hoards at Stanwick/Melsonby (H178) and Seven Sisters (H86).

Whatever the functions of Iron Age coinage, it does not seem have been the foundation of an integrated monetary economy. There clearly was a huge investment in precious metals, perhaps mirroring that the use of torc hoards as a display/status

symbol. Whilst torc burial appears rare in the LRIA (torcs are stylistically dated so this picture could change), the use of coinage as a display medium increased. Over double the amount of precious metal was invested in minting gold and silver coinages. This increase occurs around the introduction of coin inscriptions and increased use of Roman imagery (Creighton 2000) and is likely also linked to Roman gifts of bullion. Copper was added to the gold producing a distinctive colour, perhaps to sustain this minting (Creighton 2000). This mirrors perceived changes in the hoarding patterns where there is a continued focus on horse-gear but an increase in the imports included in hoards. Perhaps this indicates increased status through their ownership and their burial in hoards, as well as in graves as seen in the first century BC.

Conclusions

One of the key points highlighted in this study is that object hoards from the Middle Iron Age onwards were frequently associated with some form of structure or settlement, in several cases these were discovered during site excavations. Whilst there may be other reasons for site selection now beyond our understanding, the trope that Iron Age object hoards were buried 'out in the landscape' is incorrect in many cases. Re-examination of the evidence demonstrates the number of hoards associated with settlement, hillforts, structures and other human activity from the MIA onwards.

This chapter has also revealed a number of chronological trends. The Earliest Iron Age hoarding shows some continuation from Bronze Age hoarding with a continued focus on certain parts of Britain and the hoarding of axes, but there are distinctive differences in the condition of the items hoarded. These were often either newly cast or heavily and probably deliberately fragmented. Despite this period being termed the EIA, there is little iron included in these hoards and its use was usually confined to a single spearhead or tool. However, the silvery appearance of many tin-rich EIA copper-alloy axes may reference the shiny silver appearance of iron. The apparent break after 600 BC may in future be filled in by new discoveries but at present a genuine absence seems likely. Hoards continue to focus on axes and horse-gear and tools were a popular inclusion. The martial character of Bronze Age hoards is not seen as strongly in the EIA, with only two hoards containing any swords and six containing spears.

The Middle Iron Age saw changes in settlement and an increase of material culture in circulation. Gold re-enters the record and iron was hoarded in increasing quantities. Hoarding evidence suggests a resumption of socially-driven depositional practices. This seeming restart is matched by the deposition of single objects, such as brooches. MIA brooches occur at excavated settlements, deposited in scattered groups or singly

in features such as pits and gullies (Adams 2014: 170). This contrasts with more frequent stray finds of EIA brooches although this could also be influenced by differences in metal and metal detecting preferences (ibid). Hoards appear focused on sites demonstrating evidence of human activity, mainly hillforts and settlements. A variety of object types were buried in this period: torcs, cauldrons, tools and horse-gear. Whilst a diverse range of object types were buried, they all suggest the existence and command of large and smaller scale networks to create them (the torcs and cauldrons particularly demonstrate a high level of skill) and gather these objects for burial.

Torcs aside, these MIA hoards have a communal focus, fitting with seasonal or permanent gatherings at hillforts and settlements. Many of these hoards suggest a sense of ceremony in their deposition, such as the careful arrangement at Chiseldon and the burnt chariot at Bury Hill. It seems likely that hoards aided the formation of – and reinforced – local, site-based identities such as the strong links to horse rearing at Bury Hill and feasting at Glenfield and Chiseldon. Many sites evidence other forms of deposition besides metalwork hoarding.

From the Early Roman Iron Age onwards, the data demonstrate an increase in the number and types of hoarded objects. However, the hoards dated stylistically to the ERIA are mainly of one type: precious metal torcs. These were hoarded with a range of objects including other jewellery, ingots and, in the case of Snettisham and Netherurd, coins. This is also when coin hoarding takes off in Britain with hoards spread throughout southern and central Britain. Relatively few hoards contain both coins and objects; these mixed hoards do not demonstrate a particular geographical or topographical distribution and occur across Britain. A range of other objects accompanied coin hoards but the most frequently included items were jewellery, ingots and horse-gear. The torcs and coins represent a substantial amount of precious metal in circulation in Britain in this period and their burial was a conscious removal of this asset from circulation. The torcs demonstrate a variety of different treatments in their removal from circulation. Some were buried intact as at 'Winchester', Ipswich and likely Wangford; others such as Ulceby, Bawsey, Narford, Netherurd and Snettisham demonstrate fragmentation, and at Snettisham, fusion and incorporation with other objects. Similar treatment is not evidenced in coin hoards of the period. Though different, both torcs and coins communicate the status of the holder or wearer. Both demonstrate evidence of maintenance of their yellow-gold colour and their combination in hoards throughout Europe has led to the suggestion that they were part of a wider

exchange system (Farley 2012) and one may have been used as raw material for the other.

Later Roman Iron Age hoards demonstrate a much wider range of object types. LRIA hoards contained fewer torcs; these were replaced by martial items, horse-gear and imported goods possibly communicating status. The versatile coin – portable, intrinsically valuable and imprinted with images – continued to rise in popularity. Imported goods usually took the form of dining equipment, their inclusion in hoards reflecting wider changes in the archaeological record, with imported pottery forms and metalwork vessels increasingly included in graves in the first century BC. A number of hoards (including those dateable only to the RIA) demonstrate a focus on martial equipment and horse-gear. The RIA and the LRIA saw a number of sword deposits, a trend not evidenced since the fragments contained in EIA hoards. These could reflect the uncertainty around the time of the Roman invasion or a change in the presentation of the individual, as evidenced by a number of martial burials dating to the first century BC/first century AD (Inall 2016). The horse-gear could represent a continuation of trends seen in the MIA, and the persistence of horse and chariot bands as suggested by Creighton (2000). These hoards appear to be no longer focused on hillforts, many of which had now been abandoned, and have a much wider geographical spread throughout all of Britain.

Chapter 5: Area 1: The South-West (Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and south Wales)

As explained in Chapter 3, two areas were selected for more in-depth study, one focused on the South-West, the second on the South-East (Fig 5.1). Area 1 comprises Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, Pembrokeshire, Neath, Bridgend, the Valleys, Carmarthenshire, and Monmouthshire, whilst Area 2 covers Essex, Kent, Surrey, Hertfordshire and Greater London. These two areas were selected to provide a contrast in terms of settlement patterns, coin hoarding and interactions with other regions including the Continent. Area 2 saw the earlier introduction of coinage and a high number of coin hoards buried contrasting with the fewer and later coin hoards in Area 1. In both study areas, I examine the landscape contexts of coin and object hoards to investigate whether the objects have similar origins to the coins, whether they were buried in the same landscape contexts and subjected to the same processes pre-burial.

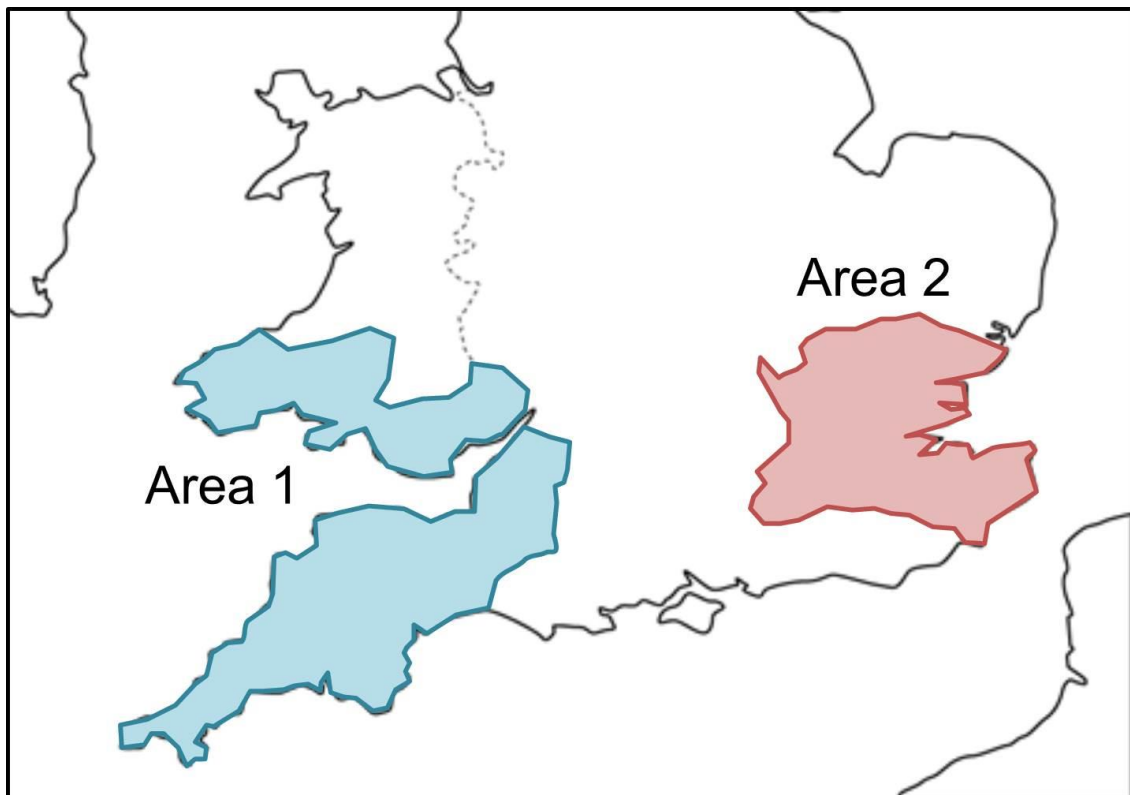


Figure 5.1 Location of case study Areas 1 and 2

These case studies cover broad geographic areas as Iron Age object hoarding is relatively rare; surviving hoard evidence suggests an object hoard for every 31 years in Area 1 and one for every 43 years in Area 2 over the 900-year period of study (800 BC–AD 100). After the introduction of coinage in the later second century BC, coin hoarding vastly outstrips object hoarding throughout Britain with roughly 2.3 coin hoards for every object hoard. Across Area 1, the density of object hoarding is one per 825km² compared with an average from England, Scotland and Wales of one hoard per 935 km². The counties with the highest densities of hoarding in Area 1 are Somerset with one hoard per 379 km² and Glamorgan with 415 km².

28 coin hoards are known in Area 1, 11 with mainly Iron Age issues and 17 with Roman issues only. Dorset and Gloucestershire which saw higher levels of Iron Age coin hoarding are both excluded, as explained below. The Roman coin hoards were included as the period of study extends to AD 100. I considered it important to map the changes as Roman coins became the dominantly hoarded coinage by the end of this period.

Area 1 was selected as a contrast to the Thames estuary. Generally speaking both sides of the Bristol Channel see later use of coinage than the South-East, especially the Welsh side of the Severn. However, as Leins' mapping shows, whilst the majority of Western/Dobunnic and South-Western/Durotriges coin finds were centred on Gloucestershire and Dorset respectively, both distributions encroach well into what is now Somerset (Leins 2012: figs 4.64 and 4.69) and it is possible that some coinage was minted there. Other unifying factors include the similar geologies of Cornwall, Devon and south Wales and the exposure to some similar external influences, such as contact with Armorica.

The following section gives a brief outline of the geographical, topographical and settlement features of Area 1 before discussing object and coin hoards in greater detail. Several sites are selected for more in-depth analysis to compare the different types of object deposition in the region.

Physical environment

The South-West comprises a variety of geologies. Cornwall and Devon are mainly Devonian and Carboniferous sandstones with igneous intrusions at Bodmin and Dartmoor National Parks, and at the Penwith and Lizard Heritage coasts. Other than these outcrops, the landscape is relatively low-lying, rising to create moorland at Exmoor national park. These counties are also strong metal ore bearing regions which have been mined from the prehistoric period through to the twentieth century. Natural

features – such as the Lizard – suggest that the copper and other ores may have been collected from visible seams on the surfaces. Hammer stones in museum collections give some idea of the tools used (Fitzpatrick et al 2008: 122). There is scant evidence of Iron Age iron ore exploitation on Exmoor though sites at Sherracombe Ford and Sindercombe Farm have given radiocarbon date from the first century BC and first century AD, and iron slag was discovered at Timberscombe (Glover 2016). The area produces relatively thin soils creating difficulties for arable farming. Over 1,649 square kilometres of Devon are designated as National Park meaning that there has been limited building (and metal detecting) since 1951. The majority of recent object hoard finds were discovered by metal detecting or research excavations, but road schemes such as the A30 (e.g. Manning and Reed 1994) are revealing more of the archaeology in the region.

The geology and coastline of Cornwall and Devon show strong similarities with south Wales (Fig. 5.2) and parts of the South Welsh coast – mainly Monmouthshire, Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire – are also composed of Devonian and Carboniferous sediment rocks. This influenced the construction of sites, particularly promontory forts. These similarities will be further discussed below.

Somerset's geology is diverse, with limestone giving way to central wetlands and towards the west, Devonian sandstone. The low-lying central ground, known as the Somerset Levels, was frequently flooded until sea wall construction in the Roman period (Rippon 2000). The coastal plains are interrupted by the limestone Quantock and Blackdown Hills in the south. Caves, gorges and underground rivers were created by water reaction with the limestone. Some of these caves have been a focus for deposition and possibly even occupation such as Wookey Hole, Cheddar amongst others. The county is cut by many small rivers many of which feed into the Bristol Channel.

The geology along the Glamorgan coastline is very similar to that of Somerset, both sides largely composed of Jurassic and Triassic rocks. The same Jurassic bedrock forms the Somerset Levels and the Gwent levels. The intruding Carboniferous limestone formed cave systems, many of which saw deposition during the Neolithic, Bronze Age and Roman periods. These low-lying areas contrast with the areas to the east such as Monmouthshire, where, as mentioned, the geology is more similar to Cornwall and Devon.

The landscape across Area 1 is varied with hills and moorland in Cornwall and Devon, and low-lying levels in Gwent and Somerset which contrasts with river valleys and upland areas elsewhere in south Wales.

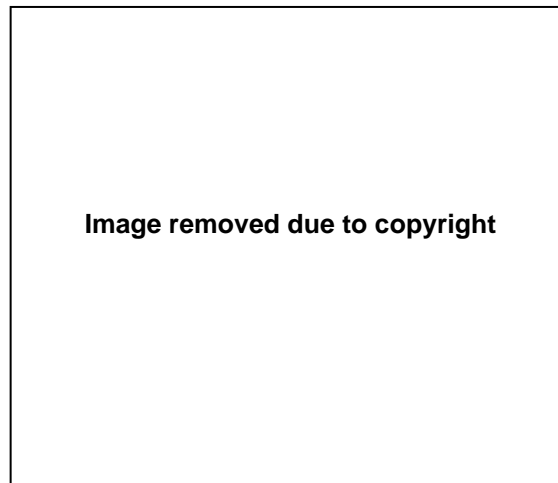


Figure 5.2 Map showing the geology of the UK

Archaeology

The archaeology demonstrates great variety in terms of settlement and artefact distribution. Many of the Iron Age settlement forms are unique to the south-west and often demonstrate strong links with regions beyond Britain. In view of the variability, the archaeology is discussed county-by-county.

Cornwall's archaeology demonstrates a strong regional character with fogous, rounds and cliff castles and inhumation in cist graves. Cliff castles are focused on the coast together with those of north Devon and south Wales. Their use is unclear but their form suggests importance as construction in these often-remote locations would have taken a large investment of time and people. They appear to be a MIA or earlier tradition (Sharpe 1992; Herring 1994) and demonstrate links between Cornwall and Armorica (Cunliffe 2005: 203); pottery from these sites indicate similarities with Continental cordoned ware. The presence of cordoned ware suggests a date in the first century BC, indicating continued occupation through the later Iron Age (Cunliffe 2005: 203), and connections with southern Britain and north-western France, but not Devon.

Fogous (Christie 1979; Maclean 1992) are subterranean structures most frequent in western Cornwall. Their use is unknown and suggestions range from ritual, to defensive but also include food preservation. This form is also seen in Armorica.

Rounds are settlements enclosed by a circular bank and ditch, rarely covering more than one or two hectares. The emergence of the round has been dated to after 400 BC, but Henderson (2007) argues for an EIA date bringing them in line with other round forms seen in Scotland and elsewhere. There may be 750–1000 rounds in Cornwall and bordering sections of Devon, but without excavation their dating is difficult (Thomas 1966b: 88–90; Johnson and Rose 1982: 285). Many were occupied in the Roman period and excavations at Trethurgy Round demonstrated continued use into the sixth century AD (Quinnell 2004).

Another settlement form specific to Cornwall is the courtyard house. Its development appears to have started from about 100 BC and continued after the Roman conquest (Quinnell 1986: 120). These structures are often discovered in enclosed settlement or rounds, such as at Porthmeor and Goldherring. There are two examples in unenclosed settlements, at Carn Euny and Chysauster.

Recent research has demonstrated that settlement patterns are more varied than previously thought. The National Mapping programme highlighted probable open

settlements in Camel estuary, reinforcing patterns already identified in West Penwith (Fitzpatrick et al 2008: 129). An Iron Age site was also identified outside Looe (Krakowka 2018). Excavation at Threemile-stone showed an open settlement contemporary with nearby rounds (Gossip 2005). Some sites were later enclosed, such as the surrounding wall built at Bodrifty in 150 BC.

Cornwall also has a series of hillforts. One, Carn Brea, demonstrates evidence of occupation from the Neolithic period, when a torr enclosure was built. These walls were later reused as the basis for an Iron Age hillfort with roundhouses at the centre (Dudley 2008). Cornwall may have had an earlier Roman presence than previously believed (Nowakowski et al 2009) with several forts discovered near to Bodmin. These have been linked to the control of mineral resources in the region. Certain objects have been identified as closely linked with a regional identity in the Iron Age and into the Roman period such as the neck ring and certain brooch types (*ibid*; Thomas 2015). Areas of Cornwall and Devon appear relatively enigmatic owing to the paucity of surviving or recovered structures and metal material culture. However, when items are recovered they are often within the category of 'Celtic Art' (e.g. the Isle of Scilly grave with mirror and sword). The metals and designs of these items suggest contact with wider networks for the movement of craftspeople, items and ideas.

There is relatively sparse information for settlement patterns in Devon but there is certainly some overlap with the settlement types noted in Cornwall. Recent PPG16 excavations and the National Mapping Project will provide a better understanding of the record in the future. The construction of the A30 has provided the opportunity for excavation and has discovered MIA enclosures such as Sowton, Devon.

Despite a current absence of any EtIA sites in Devon, several EIA settlements are known, such as Kestor, Foale's Arrishes and Gold Park (Gibson 1992). Kestor, dating from fifth and fourth centuries BC, also provides evidence for metal working – forging and smelting in a bowl furnace – as part of a wider settlement of huts, fields and trackways (Fox 1954). More recent excavation for the A30 Honiton-Exeter bypass revealed settlements occupied for much of the Iron Age (Butterworth et al 1999). These were all unenclosed settlements though one example, Blackhorse, was enclosed in the later Iron Age. A penannular gully and roundhouse were radiocarbon dated to 410–240 cal BC at Langeland Lane (*ibid*: 136). Devon and Cornwall settlements show some similarities such as the composition of groups of fields dotted by circular huts (Cunliffe 2005: 279).

Numerous multiple-enclosure settlements apparently dating from c. 400–200 BC onward are known in lowland Devon and east Cornwall (Cunliffe 2005: 280). Cunliffe lists their characteristics as being on elevated ground, usually overlooking water sources, and ranging from 0.2–1.6 ha with bank and ditch and one entrance (*ibid.*: 280–1). Examples include Milber Camp, the findspot of an RIA hoard (H50), and Clovelly Dykes, with a series of enclosures added to its western side. Some of these sites yielded finds such as a dagger handle and spindle whorls at Milber Camp, and glass beads, bronze armlets and wine amphorae dating to the first century BC/AD at Castle Dore (Fitzpatrick 1985; Henderson 1985). Cunliffe notes that the building of these enclosures would have needed a significant investment of people and time (2005: 285).

Multiple ditched settlements in Devon show continuity from the third or second century BC into the first century AD. Some hillforts, such as Milber Camp, demonstrate signs of occupation beyond 100 BC and into the Roman period. As with Cornwall, there is relatively little evidence for metal material culture in Devon but where it does exist; there are items of high quality such as the Holcombe mirror and the Rose Ash bowl. Connections are further demonstrated through the amphorae fragments found at Castle Dore.

Much of Devon, over 954 km², is dominated by the national parks of Dartmoor and part of Exmoor (201 km²). Whilst some archaeological investigation has been done on this area, its preservation from 1951 onwards has limited metal detecting and building, reducing opportunities to discover archaeology.

Somerset also has a varied settlement record. The Somerset levels preserved and likely influenced the building of unusual occupation sites. Glastonbury and Meare sit on wetland between the Mendips and Quantock hills. The site at Glastonbury started in the second century BC with five dwellings growing to eighty houses by 100 BC. The settlement was enclosed by a palisade which may also have held a foundation in place (Cunliffe 2005: 266). The structures were varied in their design; some with a series of clay floors, hearths and porches; others without hearths or in some cases, walls. The site was eventually abandoned owing to the rising water level (Cunliffe 2005: 269). The two Meare settlements were built on several mounds and may have served as a gathering point for fairs; material cultures finds were rich (including evidence for glass bead making) but the structures were relatively fragile and do not suggest permanent occupation (Cunliffe 2005: 269).

The levels are bounded by a sweep of hillforts. The South Cadbury environs project has demonstrated a wide patchwork of smaller settlement sites round the hillfort many of which show similar deposition to the nearby hillfort (Tabor 2008). Other than this and excavation of the Lake Village, information on settlement types is sparse. Banks and ditches enclosed the settlements of Bradney and Bawdrip but others were unenclosed, such as at Cannard's Grave, Shepton Mallet (Birbeck 2002). Some sites demonstrate continuity through to the Roman period such as Camerton (Wedlake 1958) and the pits along the Ilchester–Odcumbe pipeline (Newman et al. 2001). In the Avon valleys, settlements were enclosed by banks and ditches contrasting with the more open settlements seen in the Upper Thames (Cunliffe 2005: 258). Twentieth century excavation focused on hillforts, although the introduction of PPG16 saw an increase in the investigation of lowland sites and settlements through development (Fitzpatrick et al 2008: 128).

In northern Somerset, the limestone geology created natural caves which saw deposition and potentially even occupation from the Palaeolithic onwards. Whilst these do not fit the hoarding definition for this project, excavations at Read's Cavern suggests midden-form depositional practice during the Iron Age (Marucci and Kerns 2012). Bryant (2011) reassessed the evidence for deposition in Mendip caves and suggested a range of functions for them including ritual and mundane usage.

The south Welsh landscape has parallels with south-west England, particularly Cornwall (Cunliffe 2005: 292), and sees a number of similarities in the settlement types built and used throughout the area. Multiple-enclosure settlements comparable to those in the South-West are found throughout south Wales.

Glamorgan has a number of promontory forts, mirroring patterns in Cornwall, Brittany and elsewhere (Cunliffe 2005). Further up the Bristol Channel, Gwent has relatively few promontory forts (Cunliffe 2005: 2). The Glamorganshire coastal forts (e.g. High Penard, Bishopston Valley Fort) contained sherds of South-western decorated ware but otherwise very little in the way of material culture (Cunliffe 2005: 207). Mynydd Bychan (first century BC – Flavian) and Whitton (AD 30–second century AD) both circular houses replaced later in stone. Both were enclosed, Whitton by a ditch and Mynydd Bychan by a wall. Wheel pottery of a south-eastern design but created from local material, demonstrates continued connections with south-east England (Cunliffe 2005: 207).

South Wales has a number of hillforts ranging in size from small (<1.2ha) to large (1.2–6ha) and over 170 hillforts with an enclosed area of smaller than 0.4ha. It seems likely

that the majority would date to the Iron Age but many demonstrate signs of Roman occupation, for example Walesland Rath (Pembrokeshire) was in use until the third century AD. Excavations found a possible tower, gate and two entrances. Sites such as Cogyan Camp yielded two bronze bracelets, and the animal bone assemblage shows a mainly cattle-based diet likely supplemented with fish and shellfish (Cunliffe 2005:208–9).

Similarities can be drawn between the Sudbrook and Llanmelin (Monmouthshire) hillforts and those in Wessex (Cunliffe 2005: 207). Both continued to be occupied beyond the Roman conquest and show connections to the east with finds of south-eastern pottery. South-eastern Wales hillforts have been relatively little explored with 23 sites excavated (Gwilt 2007: 298).

Monmouthshire contains 40 polygonal, oval, circular and sub-rectangular enclosures (Gwilt 2007: 300) with the Vale of Glamorgan containing a number of univallate and multivallate defended enclosures (Driver 1995; Evans and Driver 2000; Howell 2001). However, the south-west uplands appear to have an absence of upland settlement (Locock 2000; Gwilt 2007: 300) though Gwilt suggests the potential for wooden dwellings leaving little trace (*ibid*: 301). The sand dunes at Merthyr Mawr Warren (Bridgend) revealed a seasonally occupied settlement EIA–MIA (Fox 1927). Another sand dune demonstrated occupation from MIA–RIA at Radyr (Cardiff) (Grimes and Hyde 1935).

Unenclosed settlements dating to the RIA are seen in south-east Wales at Biglis, Vale of Glamorgan and Caldicot, Monmouthshire (Parkhouse 1988; Vyner and Allen 1988). There appears to be a relative paucity in settlement in Glamorgan and Gwent with 60 non-hillfort settlements identified (Evans 2002).

The Gwent levels were tidal saltmarsh during the Iron Age. Inundations drove settlements inland and to higher ground, as at Goldcliff where timber houses and 18 walkways were found (Bell and Neumann 1997: 26). Roman occupation saw the building of sea walls which prevented sea incursions and sections of the Gwent Levels were drained. High levels of horse bones in the area suggest the area may have been used as Roman cavalry grazing meadows (Anon 2018).

Area 1 hoards overview

This section provides an overview of the data, examining object types and contexts chronologically. The following sections will explore these patterns in greater detail on a county by county basis. 26 object hoards are known in Area 1: four in Cornwall, three in Devon, 12 in Somerset and Bristol and seven in south Wales (Figure 5.3, Table 5.1).

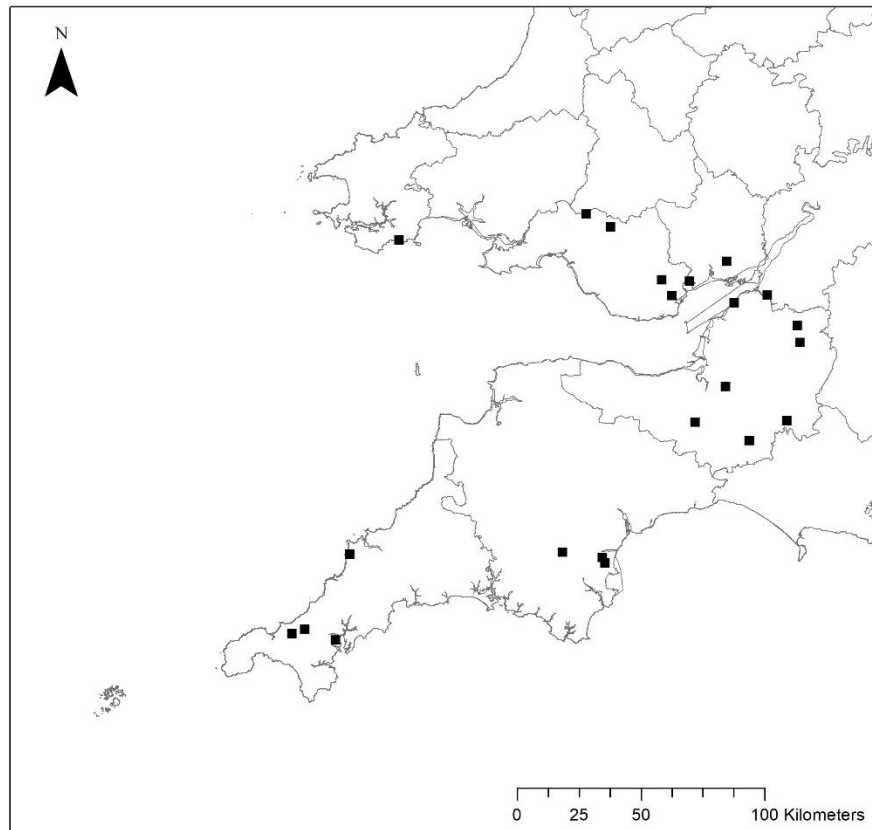


Figure 5.1 Map showing object hoards for all periods in Area 1. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Code	Hoard Name	Period	Size	Site type	Object categories
H33	Kings Weston Down	EIA	24	Unassoc.	Axes, tools?, dining equipment.
H36	Carn Brea	EIA	3	IA hillfort, Neolithic torrs enclosure	Axes.
H37	Gwinear	EIA	40	Unassoc.	Axes.
H38	Mylor, Falmouth	EIA	33	Wet: Intertidal	Axes.
H39	Porthcothan	EIA	39	Unassoc.	Ingots, CA waste, CA point.
H48	Holne Chase	MIA–RIA	12	No information	Currency bars.
H49	Coffinswell	MIA–RIA	94	Unassoc.	Currency bars.
H50	Milber Camp	LRIA	4	Hillfort	Figurines.
H83	Leckwith	EIA	11	Wet: Intertidal	Axes, tools, horse-gear.
H84	Lesser Garth, Pentyrch	RIA	11	Unassoc.	Horse-gear, tools, ingots, dining equipment.
H85	Llyn Fawr	EIA	24	Wet: Lake	Axes, tools, razor, horse-gear, belt-hook, weapon, cauldrons.
H86	Seven Sisters, Neath	LRIA	37	Wet: River	Weapons, horse-gear, drinking equipment, CA casting waste, ingots and other items.
H87	St Mellons	EIA	25	No information	Axes.
H140	Langstone	LRIA	4	Wet: Wetlands	Dining and drinking equipment.
H192	Manorbier	LRIA	8	Settlement?	Dining and drinking equipment.
H197	Camerton	LRIA	311	Roman fort	Currency bar and tools.
H198	South Cadbury 4	RIA	11	Hillfort	Latch lifters.
H199	Ham Hill 1	RIA	3	Hillfort	Weapons, unknown items.
H200	Ham Hill 2	MIA–RIA	70	Hillfort	Currency bars.
H201	Ham Hill 3	MIA	3	Hillfort	Currency bar, wheel-rim, spearhead.
H202	Ham Hill 4	RIA	13	Hillfort	Unidentified items.
H203	Polden Hills	LRIA	83	No information	Horse-gear, weapons and personal items.
H204	South Cadbury 1	MIA	18	Hillfort	Currency bar, tools and non-metallic items.
H205	Stantonbury Hill	MIA-RIA	4	Hillfort	Tools.
H206	Walton Castle	RIA	2	No information	Torcs.
H207	Cambria farm	MIA–ERIA	3	Settlement	Weapons.

Table 5.1: Object hoards for Area 1.

Fig 5.4 shows a breakdown of the quality ratings for Area 1 hoards. Overall, the proportions are similar to the national pattern for data quality (see Fig 4.11), 65% have 3 or 4 ratings in location and composition enabling better discussion of findspot and hoarding contents.

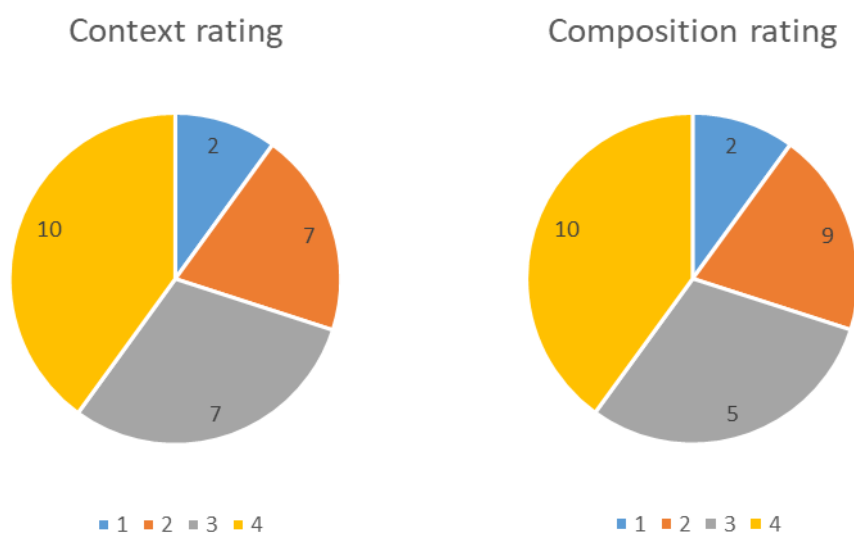


Figure 5.4 Composition and Context ratings for hoards in Area 1.

The primary metal hoarded was iron with 11 hoards containing solely this metal, followed by 10 copper alloy hoards and finally with one gold hoard (Clevedon/ Walton Castle H206). Four hoards contained both iron and copper alloy. Two hoards, Polden Hill (H203) and Seven Sisters (H86) also contained brass alongside the other copper alloy objects.

Eight of the 10 hoards containing solely copper alloy were dated to the EIA, the other two were dated to the LRIA and found in south Wales and Devon. The iron hoards were predominately composed of tools or currency bars and all (bar Holne Chase (H48), with no certain findspot, and Coffinswell (H49)) were focused on settlement or hillfort sites. This fits well with the pattern observed throughout Britain where iron hoards are overwhelmingly associated with settlement sites.

The eight provenanced EIA hoards are split: three are unassociated with human settlement, one at a settlement and four hoards from wet or wetland sites. The axe hoards from Mylor (H38), Gwinear (H37) and Carn Brea (H36), both Cornwall and St Mellons (H87, Cardiff) fit into the British recovered hoard pattern with a focus on axes being hoarded. The ingot hoard from Porthcothan fits more with previous Late Bronze Age activity in Cornwall, rather than EIA patterns, LBA ingot hoards were found at Kendijack, Gillan and Mount St Michael's. The remaining Welsh hoards Leckwith (H83), Llyn Fawr (H85, south Wales) and Kings Weston Down (H33, Somerset)

demonstrate a greater variety in their contents. The Kings Weston Down hoard contained a tool and casting waste alongside the axes. Whereas the Llyn Fawr and Leckwith hoards contained weapons, horse-gear, tools and axes. Both hoards continued a focus on bladed objects however the axes made a considerably smaller fraction of the total than seen in other EIA hoards. Both were found at sites associated with water: Llyn Fawr was found in peat during the construction of a reservoir, suggesting a previously waterlogged deposition spot; Leckwith was found on an intertidal floodplain. It is quite possible that the selection of these spots inspired a wider range of deposition compared to the dryland sites seeing the deposition of predominately axe hoards in this region. This may be a local pattern, however across Britain 19 other EIA hoards show a greater variation than just axes in their composition, only three of which are associated with wetland or river sites (Melksham H233, Poolewe H122 and Ferring H217).

Other than in south Wales, hoards from the MIA onward are overwhelmingly associated with settlement sites and hillforts (Fig. 5.5), found in ditches, post-holes or just beyond the enclosure ditches. Iron objects found on hillforts and settlements are nearly all in Somerset, with the hillfort deposits at Stantonbury (H205), South Cadbury (H204) and Ham Hill (H199-202) spanning the MIA and the ERIA.

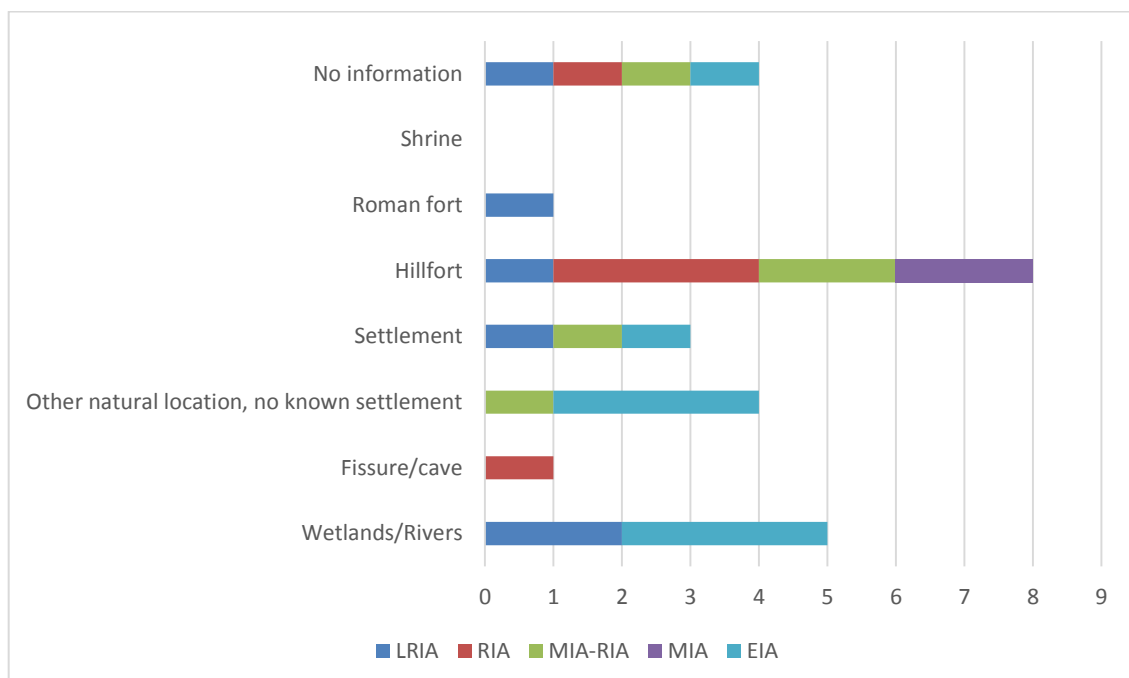


Figure 5.5 Findspots of object hoards in Area 1.

The iron hoards from hillforts demonstrate a variety of contexts, some diverging from the noted association of iron with ditches and ramparts from the fourth to first centuries BC (Hingley 2006). The earliest MIA deposit was three spearheads buried in a posthole in an enclosed settlement at Cambria Farm. The structure was eventually burnt down. The spearheads were hafted, as wood was found in the sockets, suggesting potential for previous use. Ham Hill 2 (H200) and 3 (H201) were recovered from pits at the centre of the hillfort, their association with the nearby enclosure or roundhouse is unclear. The findspots of Ham Hill 1 (H199) and 4 (H202) are unclear. There is no further information for Camerton and Stantonbury other than that they were associated with the settlement and hillfort.

Some hoards follow the association with ramparts as seen elsewhere in Britain (Hingley 2006). South Cadbury 1 (H204) came from a pit associated with the reworking of the ramparts) and South Cadbury 4 (H198) consisting of a latch-lifters was found at the south-west entrance (Barrett et al 2000; Hingley 2006).

Currency bars were present in six hoards. None of the currency bars found in this case study were found with dateable material or features and so have been broadly dated to the MIA–RIA. Hoards containing currency bars were focused in Devon and Somerset, with the two in Devon containing only currency bars. Somerset demonstrates more variation, with a hoard of 70–80 currency bars found at or outside the Ham Hill hillfort. A hoard containing a currency bar was found in a pit inside the hillfort, and the section of wheel rim found alongside it was believed to have been selected to mirror the form of the currency bar buried with it. South Cadbury I included the upper part of a sword-shaped currency bar along with bladed tools (H204).

A hoard from Camerton (H197), very likely first century AD, contained three currency bars overlain by a Roman felling and pick axe. The hoard was metal detected pre-1990s and no locational information was available when these items were accessioned. The Stantonbury hoard contained two unused reaping hooks of almost identical weight. This has led to the suggestion of 'standard sized iron blanks' weighing a quarter of a standard-sized currency bar (Jackson 1990: 67). Their inclusion with a used ploughshare, a form imitated by currency bars, only adds weight to this assertion. This use of non-currency bar objects to suggest currency bars has also been noted at another hoard, Orchard Hill (H97, Greater London). It was suggested that the nave band fragment represented currency bars. Survey of other items in the database has found no similar examples.

The Lesser Garth (H84) hoard contained a large bronze terret but was otherwise dominated by iron items (knives, horse-gear, and cauldron chains). This shows some similarities to the deposit at Ham Hill with the inclusion of the bridle, a number of knives and other tools. However, its burial was just outside a cave with no settlement or hillfort links. In other ways, it reflects the selection seen in south Wales at that time, but with more of a focus on iron. It includes horse-gear – a linch pin, terret and bridle – similar to that types which were buried in the Seven Sisters hoard buried in a similar period. The cauldron chain potentially reflects the prominence given to the serving of alcohol or feasting as seen at Manorbier (H192, alcohol preparation items buried with a cauldron) or the firedog and other items buried at Welshpool (Boon 1961).

Five hoards contained mainly bronze items: Seven Sisters, Polden Hill, Manorbier, Milber Camp (H50) and Langstone (H140). Whilst these four hoards vary widely in size from three to 83 items, they all reflect outside contact in the form of Roman imports. Manorbier contained imported items used for the preparation of wine and Langstone contained a wine or alcohol strainer with native design and Rose Ash style bowls which demonstrated strong parallels with the South-West. Seven Sisters and Polden Hill contained Roman horse-gear alongside items of local manufacture. Both of these hoards demonstrated evidence of object manufacture: Seven Sisters through the inclusion of the casting waste and ingots and Polden Hill through the reunion of terrets from the same crucibles. Contents and findspots of the hoards will be discussed further in the section below.

South Wales and Cornwall

Broadly speaking, in terms of hoard evidence, Area 1 falls into two groups: Southern Wales and Cornwall, and Somerset and Devon. In the sections which follow, I will give a detailed chronological breakdown of hoard patterns in these two areas, comparing and contrasting object and coin hoard depositional practices and further exploring themes of the settlement-based deposition. As noted above, Cornwall and south Wales show evidence of shared networks through pottery forms and some similar settlement forms but they also demonstrate parallels in the hoarding rhythms. They both saw EIA deposition after hoarding in the LBA followed by an apparent absence of MIA hoards and both saw the slow uptake of coinage.

Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age

Both LBA to EIA Cornwall and south Wales demonstrated relatively high levels of hoarding in the Late Bronze Age, and with hoarding continuing into the EIA. Cornwall had 14 hoards of three or more objects dating to the LBA (list from Knight 2018: table

9.3). They are focused mainly on the coastal areas of Cornwall with concentrations towards Penzance, these concentrations showing a similar geographical distribution to the EIA hoards. The hoard discoveries on coast and hilltops fits well with the Cornish EIA hoard findspots. The hoards range in size from three objects to 53. However, ingots followed by socketed axes were the most popular items contained in LBA Cornish hoards (Knight 2018: 365). The LBA hoards all contain a range of objects – cauldrons, gouges, casting waste, swords, superficially contrasting to the EIA axes or ingots hoards. The axes in the LBA hoards are frequently broken whereas the EIA, where information survives, show a range of practices. Axes ranged from new cast (Mylor), intact (Carn Brea) with only the miscast axes and axe fragments in the Gwinear hoard suggesting a continuation of LBA practices continued to some extent.

There is no comprehensive discussion of the LBA hoarding for south Wales owing to the volume of LBA discoveries in the last 20 years: almost 50 LBA hoards were concentrated in south-east Wales (Gwilt et al 2013: 10). A study of Gwent noted both wet and dry findspots for these hoards, though even the dryland hoards demonstrated a focus on river confluences (Gwilt 2004: 121). A number of hoards contained a range of items beyond axes such as tools and/or swords (*ibid*: 113, 114). Some LBA hoards contained imports, such as the French blade fragment in the hoard from Glascoed (*ibid*: 118), this pattern was also seen the EIA with the Llyn Fawr hoard.

Two Cornish EIA hoards demonstrate a focus on sites associated with water and another two have associations with Neolithic or Bronze Age monuments and structures. At Mylor, 33 freshly cast axes were deposited in an EIA pot. The Mylor axes were either deposited soon after production or kept for some time in an unused state. The flashings were never removed, 32 of the axes were made in the same mould and many still have their cores inside. Another axe was found in the same field and it seems likely that this was removed and distributed by ploughing.

Mylor may have commanded views of a tidal inlet, depending on tree cover. On the opposite side of the inlet are the remains of what might be a Bronze Age barrow or a medieval quarry and spoil heaps (HER 50710). A round was located nearby (HER MCO50057). These are usually considered to date to the later first millennium BC onwards, although as noted above, Henderson (2007) has argued for an earlier starting date; if so, the earthwork could have been in existence when the Mylor hoard was buried.

The hoard at Porthcothan was a bun ingot hoard, these are usually ascribed an LBA date. However, in this instance, it was contained in a pottery vessel attributable to the

EtIA, demonstrating the continuation of tradition from the LBA, where ingots have been found included with axes at St Levan (PAS ID: CORN-E8DF11) and St Buryan (PAS ID: CORN-37D710). It may also suggest that some hoards currently dated to the Later Bronze Age on typology alone may, in fact, date to the EtIA. Bronze Age ingot hoards had also been found at Kenidjack, Gillan (Tylecote 1967) and St Michael's Mount (Herring 2000), considerably further south. The hoard again was located near an inlet and near to spring, close to the coast but not overlooking as in the case of Mylor.

Two southern Welsh hoards may also have been associated with wetland or wet contexts, as seen with the LBA hoards of this region. The Llyn Fawr hoard, discovered in 1909–1913, was found in peat, suggesting wetland or a lake and the find report records the presence of 'cut timbers' potentially suggesting some form of platform (Crawford and Wheeler 1921). However there were no associated illustrations and the find site is now a reservoir so it is unlikely there will ever be any certainty on this issue. The combination of objects deposited is very unusual: six axes, sickles, gouges, horse-gear and two complete cauldrons. Furthermore many of the items deposited also show evidence for links with the Continent, Boughton has drawn links between the cheek-pieces and phalerae from the cemetery at Court-St-Étienne, Belgium (2015: 196).

The Leckwith hoard was found on an intertidal plain, between the rivers Taff and Ely in 1928. The hoard contained two axes, a sickle and sickle blade, four chisels, a chariot-pole top and razors, all made of bronze. In many ways, the hoard demonstrates similarities to the Llyn Fawr hoard discussed above as both contain razors, horse-gear and axes deposited in a wet site. Both contain a Sompting axe, the others may have been made from the same mould template (Boughton 2015) and razors of a similar type. However, the Leckwith hoard differs in that it contains no iron, no imports and the primary item is bladed tools.

The third hoard from south Wales, St Mellons, has no secure location information and so cannot be included in this discussion.

The remaining two hoards from Cornwall appear to be associated with unusual rock formations which became focuses for human activity from the Neolithic onwards. The EIA axe hoard from Gwinear is usually referred to in association with the round there, however records suggest a findspot of '200 yards' or c 180 metres from this feature. As mentioned above, rounds were usually dated to the Late Iron Age or the Romano-British period but there is the potential that it may be a Bronze Age form. The round at

Gwinear (HER 29565) has not been excavated so it is difficult to discern whether this is a round or some other form of enclosure.

However, it seems very likely that the Gwinear hoard may have been associated with a natural rock formation called 'Giant's Rock' (HER 29648). The formation is not identified on any maps or satellite pictures but was recorded on a visit to the site, suggesting a name from local tradition (*ibid*). Neolithic flakes have been found near the rock formation suggesting importance, or at the very least a focus, pre-Bronze Age/Iron Age transition. Evidence for Bronze Age black flint arrowheads have been found at the top of one of the escarpments (HER MCO1808) suggesting continued activity in the area. The hoard site is between steeply rising valley sides and the landscape now criss-crossed by drains suggesting that it may have been boggy at time of deposition, potentially also making it a wet site. The hoard could have been deposited anywhere in this area, however proximity to the rock formation appears to have been prioritised.

Within 3 kilometres of the Gwinear deposit is another hoard dating to the EtIA. These axes were also associated with a natural rock formation. However, the landscape setting was somewhat different. Carn Brea is a granite outcrop 738ft above sea level, commanding views of the surrounding area and both coasts. The remains of an extensive Neolithic torr enclosure are still apparent today and so it seems likely that they would have been apparent in the LBA/EtIA when the hoards were buried outside. Arrowheads demonstrate some occupation during the Bronze Age, but so far there is no strong evidence for occupation in this period. Roundhouses on the plateau demonstrate that the area was occupied into the Iron Age, quite possibly with Iron Age development of the torr enclosure (Mercer et al 1981: 8). There is evidence for mining on the side of Carn Brea, and this may be one reason for its continued occupation, with the unusual rock forms providing another.

Middle Iron Age onwards

After the EIA, object hoard evidence ceases completely in Cornwall for the remainder of the Iron Age. There are some Roman hoards, such as the pit deposit from Bossens Fort (Ashmolean Museum AN1836.p126.146), but these are not numerous. The reasons for this cessation are unclear; the occurrence of Bronze Age and EIA hoards suggests that it not through an absence of metal detecting, though perhaps the later Iron Age site focus may have been different to that during the LBA–EIA. Single finds show coverage across the majority of Cornwall. The pattern of modern Iron Age hoard recovery in Britain suggests a focus moving to settlement sites and structures in this

period, yet excavation of Iron Age sites both through research and PPG16 information have not revealed new hoards suggesting that this absence is likely owing to a genuine pattern.

Roman Iron Age hoards

South Wales also sees a break in the MIA but there is resurgence in the recovery of hoards dating to the RIA. These bronze hoards are either associated with boggy sites (Seven Sisters: horse-gear, helmet, tankard handle and Langstone: strainers) or hillslope/near cave (Lesser Garth: horse-gear, iron items) and again are quite diverse in the items deposited. As mentioned above, this provides a strong contrast to the data elsewhere in Britain which sees a focus on deposition at sites associated with settlement or human activity/occupation. Object hoards from south Wales also often contain items associated with drinking and dining, fitting with contemporary patterns throughout England and Wales (Chapters 4 and 7).

The findspot of the Seven Sisters (Port Talbot) hoard was uncertain, it was found when a river burst its banks and later investigation of the hoard suggested proximity to rivers and wetland (Davis 2014: 141). This suggests a similarity to the patterns seen in the LBA and EIA. However there can be no certainty of location. The hoard contained a helmet, two harness hooks, one horse bit (3 link derivative), six strap junction or harness mounts (a combination of Iron Age and Roman forms), two knobbed terrets and five tankard handles. The items were mainly horse-gear, demonstrating the focus on horses and, in this hoard, a number of highly decorated and/or enamelled pieces. The hoard combines items with either Roman geometric decoration or traditional Iron Age design on the horse-gear with five tankard handles.

The Lesser Garth hoard was found whilst during topsoil removal at a quarry. The objects were found just over 180m from a cave opening. The cave saw Bronze Age and Roman to early Medieval deposition of objects and skeletons but there are no traces of use during the Iron Age (Gwilt et al 2016). However, sporadic use of caves during the Iron Age (e.g. Nanna's Cave, Caldey Island, Pembrokeshire, Culver Hole (Three Chimneys Cave), Llangennith Llanmadoc and Cheriton, Swansea) increased during the Romano-British period (Branigan and Dearne 1991), the Iron Age hoard burial close to the cave entrance at Lesser Garth represents a burgeoning interest in caves as deposition site. The hoard contains an unusual combination of objects compared to other hoards from south Wales, with higher numbers of iron objects compared to the bronze, and often decorated objects, seen in other southern Welsh

contemporary hoards. Lesser Garth contained one bossed and enamelled terret and several iron items: a bridle bit, linch-pin, two knives, latch lifter, billet, chisel, cauldron ring and staple and a cauldron hanger and chain. It is the only later Iron Age Welsh hoard, so far, to contain knives or tools. Some of these items are much more similar to the collections of objects seen deposited on hillforts, yet Lesser Garth does not appear to have been associated with any form of settlement.

The site at Langstone, Newport in Pembrokeshire may potentially be a site of repeated deposition. Excavation suggested a watery deposition site (the site was water-logged) with a gravel mound, the mound may have held some significance or a focus for those depositing at the site (Gwilt and Lewis 2009). Deposition continued into the third and fourth centuries AD when a Roman villa was built (Gwilt and Lewis 2009). A strainer and two Rose Ash bowls were found by a metal detectorist here. The bowls and strainer appear to have been part of a set; the strainer sits easily with the two Rose Ash bowls. The base of the strainer is decorated with a perforated triskele design. Gwilt argues that owing to the form and design of the strainers and bowls, this set was likely in use during the Roman invasion and likely has a deposition date of AD 47–48 (Gwilt and Lewis 2009). A tankard was found 25m away and other items such as a terret, trumpet brooch and coin of Constantine have also been found at the site suggesting further deposition but not in association with the hoard listed above.

As outlined previously, the Langstone hoard evidences external contacts in the Roman object formed combined with the native design (Gwilt and Lewis 2009) and the Rose Ash bowl demonstrate links with the south-west (Gwilt and Lewis 2009) but also the form shows an awareness of developments or participation in networks with Armorica. The Rose Ash bowl is believed to have links with ceramic forms used there (Cunliffe 2005).

The functions of the strainers are unclear. It has been suggested that they were linked to wine drinking and serving but relatively few have been residue tested. One found in the Doctor's Grave, in Colchester, contained traces of Artemisia, used in medicine but also to induce visions (Crummy 2007). Further strainers have been found in another Welsh hoard, Manorbier. This hoard was found on a promontory and the strainer was found along with a basin, two dippers, two flat vessels and this hoard was contained in an iron rimmed cauldron (Chapman *pers. comm.*). A spring was present near the site. The hoard appears to be of a similar, though likely later, date to the find at Langstone, dating to around AD 100. The promontory may have been a good site for a defended

settlement (Chapman *pers. comm.*), though a spot lower was selected for Manorbier castle. The findspot has proximity to several springs providing fresh water, though there was not one on the promontory spot (according to OS maps). The hoard sat inland from a number of bays and the surrounding landscape shows evidence for monumentalisation and occupation from the Neolithic/early Bronze Age onwards. An Iron Age promontory fort is sited under two kilometres further along the coast, with evidence of hut circles on the inside and an Iron Age enclosure was identified close to Manorbier station.

The inclusion of such a number of tankard handles in the hoard from Seven Sisters is unusual in recovered Iron Age hoards, but it fits well with the pattern of hoarded objects in south Wales. A complete wooden tankard with bronze, enamelled handle was also deposited nearby at the Langstone hoard site. The importance of tankards fits into a wider focus in south Wales on the preparation of alcoholic drinks. Many hoards in this period contain items which were associated with drinking, like the strainers at Langstone and strainers and cauldron found at Manorbier. The Lesser Garth hoard is different in nature, containing far more iron items such as tools but it contains a cauldron ring and staple, hanger and chain. The association of a cauldron at Manorbier and at Brandon (Suffolk) with strainers and other items, support Joy's assertion that cauldrons could be used for the preparation and serving of large amounts of alcohol (Joy 2014). Evidence from graves in south Wales does not show the same focus on feasting and alcohol preparation. Grave goods are confined to individual displays with neck rings and brooches and, in an antiquarian find, helmets. A new find of a chariot burial (BBC News 2018) suggests a focus on horse-gear on the individual in Pembrokeshire, whereas horse-gear currently appears to be confined to hoards in the south-east of Wales. Broadly speaking hoards reflect display and communal feasting whereas, previous to the chariot burial find, graves had suggested a focus on ornament and dress.

The findspots associated with water appear to be at odds with the settlement focused hoards elsewhere in Britain from the Iron Age onwards. 422 southern Welsh hillforts have undergone some excavation (Lock and Ralston 2017: Query run for dates 800–400 BC, 400 BC–AD50) suggesting a genuine absence of hoard deposition at these sites. In south Wales perhaps the deposition of large groups of metalwork were considered inappropriate for these sites. There certainly appears to be specific selection in the human bone deposited at settlement and hillfort sites (Davis 2018: 68–

9), suggesting that some forms of structured deposition were practiced, despite the absence of metalwork hoards.

Coin hoards

Whilst Cornwall has produced no Iron Age object hoards post-EIA, evidence suggests a varied and diverse range of items entering and being deposited in Cornwall, just not in hoards. Published finds suggest a focus on imitation of Continental types with local manufacture, possibly at Mount Batten (Thomas 2015). Thomas also argues for an increasing focus on the self and presentation with the local manufacture of mirrors and the increase in the types and volume of brooches in the early Roman period (Thomas 2015). The deposition of objects appears similar in form to the Arras culture of East Yorkshire, in that the burial of impressive objects accompanied the dead, rather than in groups as hoards. The Arras culture is frequently dated to 400–200 BC and so is separated by both time and geography, this focus on individual belongings appears significant. Both in Yorkshire and in Cornwall, the treatment of coinage appears to have been an exception to this rule. There may be scope to suggest that there is more of a focus on the association of objects with individuals, rather than groups of object hoards as seen elsewhere in Britain. The current archaeological record suggests a suspension in object hoarding in the greater part of the Iron Age but elaborate objects are still deposited in graves, and in the case of Nornour, deposited on an island. Several cist graves contain brooches, and there is also evidence for the maintenance of trade networks through highly elaborate items such as the St Keverne mirror, or the sword and mirror burial from Bryher Hill farm, Scilly Isles. There has been some suggestion that the creation of the cist cemeteries and goods buried with individuals hints at burgeoning hierarchy and development of an elite order (Johns 2002-3). If this is the case, the imported coinage outlined below may have functioned in a similar manner to coin deposits seen elsewhere in Britain as forms of display and the command of networks. The absence of object hoarding otherwise in Cornwall suggests that coins fulfilled a role and carried meanings separate to other object types in the region.

Cornwall did not mint coins nor was it particularly close to a coin producing area, yet with the introduction of coinage to Britain, it appears that Cornwall may have begun to hoard again. However, unlike the South-East, the evidence suggests object hoarding did not to restart. Four, or potentially five, coin hoards can be dated to the Iron Age (Fig 5.6). One, or potentially two hoards, were found on Carn Brea (IARCH-DB722C). Borlase's account could suggest two hoards or one that was dispersed and found in two groups several days apart (De Jersey 2014: 87). There may have been over 200

coins in total, both imported Gallo-Belgic issues and insular North and South Thames types (De Jersey 2014). This potential repeated deposition combined with the EIA axe hoard suggests that this hilltop Neolithic fortified site retained long-term significance for the Iron Age peoples of Cornwall. The site continued to be a focus, shown by the deposition of a number of Roman coin hoards and the construction of a fourteenth century chapel. The summit commands views of the surrounding, mostly flat area and views of the sea. The landscape in the surrounding kilometre or so radius is marked with Bronze Age standing stones and barrows.

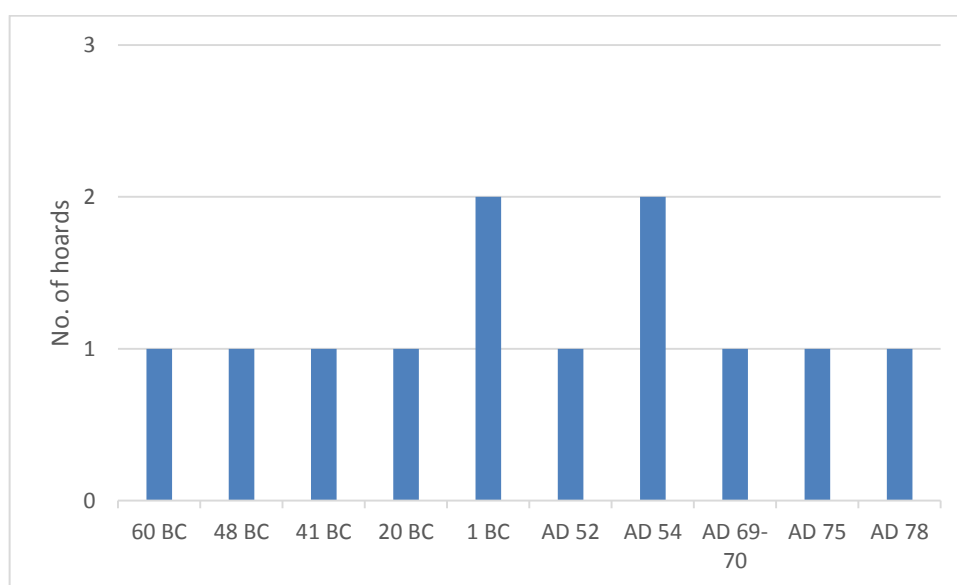


Figure 5.6 Dates of coin hoards recovered from Cornwall

The remaining Cornish hoards were discovered near Paul (IARCH-96220F), St Levan and with potentially two found at Penzance (IARCH-654DBD, IARCH-46CD88). The hoard from Paul contained 43 North Italian drachmae. Very little was known of its find circumstances and more recently some concerns were raised on its authenticity though Allen seemed convinced of its findspot. Another hoard of Continental bronzes was found at Penzance, arriving at the British Museum in two separate batches. Allen suggested that these coins may not have been from the same deposit (1960: 280), suggesting two hoards were buried. The coins were listed as cast bronze units from East and West central and Belgic Gaul. Another hoard, this time of British Q staters, was found also supposedly found at Penzance. There is little information on these two or even three hoards and I follow De Jersey (2014) in including them but also deeming them ‘unreliable’.

However, a recent hoard discovery from St Levan has added some credibility to the unusual mixes of coins. The St Levan V hoard is the earliest in a series of Roman coin

hoards found in a relatively small area, dating through to the third century AD. This hoard has a closing date of c AD 69–70 with an issue of Galba mixed with several different Iron Age issues (Atrebates, Dobunni, Belgic and possibly Armorican). This combination of coins may have entered Cornwall with a Roman soldier (PAS ID CORN-D6A344), as it contains Republican coinage, issues of Mark Antony and Claudius. Coins of Galba included in this hoard, are fairly uncommon in Britain (186 recorded in hoards and as single finds on PAS) suggesting some of sort of military connection. The hoard was buried on the edge of a hill, overlooking the sea, near a spring. St Levan is on the furthest tip west of Cornwall looking out into the expanse of the Celtic Sea, looking out upon the Scilly Isles. One of which, Nornour, saw the emergence of a LRIA/Roman shrine site at which many coins and brooches were deposited first to late fourth centuries AD (Butcher 1978).

The St Levan area saw much deposition in the Bronze Age and the findspot overlooks prehistoric barrows and field systems. Just over 500 metres to the west is an Iron Age cliff castle, the interior demonstrates no evidence of occupation (HER 28278) though excavation has been limited. There is evidence for cupped stones in the area along with beach boulders which may suggest a courtyard house (HER 28307.10 and 28307) in the near vicinity of the hoard site. Just over 500 metres away from the coin hoard, in a line running roughly west to east, were found one Bronze Age ingot hoard, a Roman sestertii hoard with issues dating from the first through third centuries AD (PAS ID CORN-DC395B), and a third century radiate hoard found slightly further north west (PAS ID CORN-37F578). These three were found near a spring and overlooking a cove, demonstrating not only continued deposition in the area but the selection of similar landscape locations.

Interestingly in Cornwall there is a focus on the deposition of non-insular coin hoards, although three of the four hoards have no information on findspots. The imported coins suggest selection, with a focus on external coinage when British Iron Age coins occur as single finds. The presence of imported coinage further supports Cornwall's position within extensive trading networks.

Currently no Iron Age coin hoards are known from south Wales. Gwilt notes single finds of 32 Iron Age coins from other parts of Britain or Gaul and 12 Greek coins. These are mainly in south-east Wales, suggesting that coinage was entering circulation in small quantities there but was not hoarded in the Iron Age.

Coinage starts to be hoarded in Wales with the coming of Rome. Eight Roman coin hoards with a probable pre-AD 100 deposition date have been found in south Wales.

The main focus is in Monmouthshire, with five hoards in the county and two in the Newport area. The remaining two were from further south-west, one in Newport and two from Pembrokeshire.

A hoard was found in the legionary fort at Caerleon, near Newport. The first, of five aurei, had a closing date of AD 75. Found in 'the lowest Roman layer beneath the black occupation soil of the stone barracks: they were in a hollow in the soil on the side of the trench, 4 ft. 6 in. below the modern surface' (Caerleon (Trench 11, Myrtle Cottage), Newport IARCH-70FD85).

Three heavily worn Roman Republican denarii were found at Llanvetherine, Monmouthshire (IARCH-C1B42D). Three more hoards were found at Usk, Monmouthshire with termination dates of AD 54. The first was discovered near the Via Principalis in the Usk legionary fort reports recorded that the hoard had been disturbed in antiquity, leading them to be scattered along the trench (IARCH-A4C2C5, Manning 1981: 32, 194G). The closing issues were Claudian denarii issued for Drusus the Elder and an issue of Claudius and Agrippina. The second hoard (IARCH-E4C1D9) consisted of five dupondii (Antonia type) and 2 asses (Minerva type), all counterfeit and worn or much worn. These were probably buried c. AD 64 in a pit inside the fort. A third hoard has issues with a *tpq* AD 77, found in an unstratified context (IARCH-713A68). It consisted of four aes coins all minted in Lyons with two issues of Titus being the latest dated coins in the hoard (Boon 1982: 17 C).

One of two hoards known from Pembrokeshire dates to AD 79. It was an antiquarian find and consisted of silver issues dating up to Vespasian (IARCH-4B4539). The second was found on the Prescilly mountains, with evidence nearby for a Roman road. According to the antiquarian record, it comprised an urn containing 'issues of Caesar' and so cannot be closely dated to any emperor (IARCH-CF5D24). Both hoards were dispersed and sold on fairly soon after being found with no further record.

The weight of evidence would suggest that the majority of coin hoarding in south Wales was undertaken by Roman soldiers bringing their coinage with them to forts and settlements. As many of these hoards are antiquarian finds with little surviving evidence or findspot information it is difficult to be certain of the number of hoards or coins (see also Guest 2008). There is also a possible bias in the data, since coins hoards concealed on higher ground (such as the hoard from Prescilly) are with rare exceptions unlikely to be found by excavation or metal detecting, but it is difficult to know how much this skews our data.

Summary

Both Cornwall and south Wales saw strong similarities in hoarding patterns in the EIA, demonstrating a continuation of the earlier Bronze Age hoarding patterns. Cornish EIA hoards appear to focus on the reuse of older monuments dating from the Neolithic and/or Bronze Age. In south Wales, deposition spots associated with water appear to have run from the LBA into the EIA. Both Cornish and southern Welsh hoards demonstrate a focus on imported items: Cornwall with the Armorican axes hoards (Gwinear, Carn Brea) and Llyn Fawr with the potentially imported horse-gear. Both areas see a break in the MIA, with current evidence suggesting metalwork deposition restarts from the ERIA onwards. These later southern Welsh hoards appeared to be associated with water, reflecting similar concerns to the EIA, but providing a strong contrast to the settlement focus seen elsewhere in Britain. Evidence at settlement sites suggest the deposition of selected human bone (Davis 2018) rather than metalwork deposits. Whilst Cornish objects hoards do not resume in this period, communities in Cornwall hoards mainly imported coinage from the ERIA onwards. This fits with the pattern seen in Wales, where many of the hoards contain imported objects. Two of the Cornish hoards are focused on places which had seen previous deposition (St Levan and Carn Brea) but it is unclear whether this was actually a factor in the selection of deposition spot as both sites had Iron Age structures within sight.

Somerset and Devon

Somerset and Devon also see some similarities in deposition practice. Both counties show a focus on iron from the MIA onwards and, in many cases, hoards were deposited in or near settlements. However, whilst both counties have LBA hoards, only Somerset has shown any evidence of EIA hoarding.

Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age

Eleven LBA hoards were buried in Devon but no EIA hoards are known. Whilst Devon's LBA hoards often contained a range of items, the main object type was ingots, which appear in seven hoards demonstrating similarities to the single item hoards seen in EIA in Cornwall. These are mainly focused on the southern coast of Devon, whilst the Porthcothan ingot hoard was found on the north Cornwall coast. All the LBA hoards were focused in the south of Devon, a distribution pattern which continues into the Iron Age.

Somerset shows a lower level of hoarding in the LBA compared with Devon. Three hoards date to the LBA in Somerset: one gold and two containing a mix of items. The gold items, from Brean Down, were found on the coast, whilst the other two hoards

were found in low-lying areas. The site of the EIA Kings Weston Down Hoard provides a contrast to these low-lying areas, as it was found on a hilltop associated with barrows used during the LBA–EIA transition. The hoard contained 28 fragments of Sompting, Armorican and other axes with metal working waste. The fragmentary nature of the hoard is not unique but is unusual compared with other Early Iron Age hoards, which can be fresh from the mould (for example Mylor, Cornwall). This fragmentary pattern fits well within the LBA patterns seen throughout Britain, as outlined in the Earliest Iron Age section in Chapter 4 (and covered by Knight 2018).

Middle Iron Age onwards

As with other areas of Britain, there was a brief break after the EtIA with hoarding resuming during the MIA. The MIA hoards were predominately iron and appear to be associated with occupation. Deposition continues to be focused on hillforts: both single deposits (Stantonbury Hill) and or repeated hoarding events (Ham Hill and South Cadbury) and, where excavated, these are part of wider patterns of deposition. Hoards have also been found at Cambria Farm, an Iron Age settlement, and several have possibly been found at Camerton, probably the site of a Roman town. Many of the hoards were found associated with ditches or postholes, perhaps suggesting demarcation and/or foundation deposits.

The hoard of three spearheads at Cambria Farm (H207) has no secure date, but the spear form suggests a MIA–RIA date (PAS ID SOM-B98F21), fitting with the occupation of the site (Mason 2009: 205). It is quite unusual for the hoarding patterns of Area 1 as it contains weapons. It seems likely that this iron deposit functioned as a foundation deposit as it was excavated from a post hole packed with stones and pottery. The site at Cambria Farm (Somerset) had been occupied during the Neolithic and there was evidence for burnt mounds during the Bronze Age. Cambria Farm sits on a plateau overlooking a stream (Somerset Heritage Service Newsletter 2009). The report records five large roundhouses (17m) and three potential rectilinear structures which are thought to date from the later prehistoric period (Mason 2009: 205). There have been many Iron Age finds from the site including pottery, iron shears and a brooch (dating to 300 BC) (Somerset Heritage Service Newsletter 2009), though the report does not outline any evidence of pottery or bone deposition. The site continued to be occupied into the Roman period with burials dating to the second and third century AD.

Repeated deposition took place at the hillforts of South Cadbury and Ham Hill. These hillforts were both excavated and so it is possible to discuss these hoards within the wider context of deposition at these sites.

Ham Hill hillfort, situated on a sandy limestone hill, sits at 120m above sea level with commanding views of the surrounding countryside and Parrett and Yeo valleys. Evidence was found at the site suggesting activity likely starting in the Mesolithic and continuing through the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (Slater and Brittain 2011: 6, 17). The hillfort ramparts appear to have been started in the LBA or EIA (dated by pottery sealed beneath the ramparts) and were extensive from the outset (Slater and Brittain 2011: 7-8). Quarrying began in the Roman period, but it was the removal of stone for building in the nineteenth century which saw the discovery of objects and the advent of excavation. This activity saw the removal of archaeology along the western side, but excavations and geophysics have been undertaken on the surviving internal areas and the ramparts (Slater and Brittain 2011: 7-8). Geophysical survey of the surviving extent of the hillfort revealed an extensive system of roundhouses, enclosures and paddocks within the confines of the ramparts (*ibid*: 1). A three-year excavation programme, undertaken by the Cambridge Archaeological Unit (interim reports, Slater and Brittain 2011), focused on some of these areas.

Deposition was not limited to metal items at Ham Hill; 52 sling stones forming a deposit were excavated from the western terminal of the gully of a roundhouse (*ibid*: 24). In 67 pits nearby, combinations of bone and pottery were frequent deposition groups (*ibid*: 24-26). These groups took many different forms and often combined organic matter, human or animal bone, pottery and sometimes metal items. Fragments or whole skulls appear to be a popular deposit at Ham Hill: both animal and human (*ibid*: 26). Human skeletons and body fragments were uncovered in the rampart ditches along with the bodies of neonates (*ibid*: 27). Two complete canine skeletons, articulated horse leg and articulated cow leg were deposited on site along with pits containing large amounts of pottery and animal bone (*ibid*: 26-27). These pits were separated by the excavators into four groups according to maximum and minimum widths and depths (*ibid*: 24). Interestingly, the smaller shallower pits, 'A', were predominantly unassociated with 'special deposits' but still contained large amounts of animal bone and pottery (*ibid*: 24, 25-26). Those categorised as 'B' saw special deposits related to fragments of human or animal skulls included amongst pottery and other animal bone deposit (*ibid*: 25-26). Pits termed 'C' contained iron objects alongside skull finds demonstrating further curation of particular parts of the animal

(*ibid*). 'D' pits were much fewer in number and contained burnt grain, cereals, iron items, human and animal bone (*ibid*).

Two hoards were previously found at Ham Hill. The earliest was found before 1827 and was recorded by Colt Hoare. He refers to arrow heads and lances found, a bridle was illustrated and full chariot wheel along with hub caps/nave type items. There is the possibility that this may be a massacre deposit (as seen at Maiden Castle and South Cadbury) as Colt refers 'a skull [sic] with a barbed arrow transfixed' alongside other human bone (Colt 1827: 42). Very little information is available for the distribution of finds – though Colt Hoare does mention that they were found in a gully suggesting perhaps a deliberate placement in either a natural or man-made feature.

Two further hoards were found during the recent excavations by Cambridge Archaeological Unit (Slater and Brittain 2011), one containing a bent currency bar, iron wheel-rim, iron spearhead, and a pin/nail. The hoard was buried in a pit with several non-metalwork items including a loom weight and throughout the pit 997g of ceramics and 373g of animal bone were found. In an upper layer, a billhook was deposited and above this, a dog skeleton (*ibid*: 51). This pit was in close proximity to a large Iron Age rectangular enclosure. Publication of the site and discussion is forthcoming yet in an interim report, it was noted that whilst the ironwork hoard fits well with other known large ironwork hoards including Danebury and Bury Hill, it also demonstrated several different stages of deposition, with further iron objects deposited at different points in the pit fill perhaps suggesting a return to add new items (Slater and Brittain 2011: 54-55).

A further hoard was found on the base of pit 1593, part of pit group 1, containing a total of 13 iron tools, horse-gear and other objects, including a worked antler knife (Slater and Brittain 2011: 27). Throughout the remaining fill were another 12 objects (*ibid*). In the same pit group, another pit contained a latch lifter and a dog skeleton.

The multivallate hillfort of South Cadbury – also known as Cadbury Castle – which covers seven hectares on the summit of a steep-sided limestone hill, was also a focus for iron deposition (Barrett et al 2000: xiv). Finds suggest occupation through the Neolithic and into the post-Roman period. The site underwent limited investigation by St George Gray in 1913 and more extensive excavations led by Alcock in 1966–73 (Barrett et al 2000: 3).

The hillfort has a rich deposition record, with a large number of animal and human bone deposits, massacre deposits and a possible midden. The principal hoard South

Cadbury 1 (H204) consisted of a currency bar, axe, saws, knives, reaping hooks and other iron tools were found in the area behind bank 1. The hoard was accompanied by two bone toggles, a bone weaving comb, antler hammer, bone pin, shale platter, wooden object, wooden bowl fragment, carved stone object and an unrecorded number of clay sling stones. Identifying associated archaeological features with this hoard has proven problematic as the excavators noted that many of the features had been cut into, and then subsequently filled with, the same black earth. Post-holes and pits can mainly be identified when they cut into the natural. Unfortunately, the hoard pit was damaged when a new post-Iron Age pit (D630A) was dug into it (Barrett et al 2000: 83). The excavation report does not assign the hoard a date, but if it predated Bank D, a MIA date is possible. Inhumations (a grave and collection of sling-shot) were also found on the boundaries (Barrett et al 2000: 83, 92), it was suggested that these part of a wider practice of marking the boundaries at the hillfort (*ibid*: 83).

Some items appear to have been wrapped in straw but the report does not specify which. The burnt material, still hot when deposited, caused the fusion of the slingstones to the saw. Another deposit was also wrapped in straw, this was a billhook associated with Bank 2. The position of South Cadbury suggests that it was not a foundation deposition but was still likely associated with the definition of the boundary (Barrett et al 2000: 59, 83).

South Cadbury contains a massacre deposit, similar to those seen at Bredon Hill (Hencken 1938) or Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943). This was centred on the south-western gate of the hillfort, with in situ burning in the guard room and outside the gate (Barrett et al 2000: 106). Human remains, brooches, ornaments, and weapons/armour were all found in this area. Some of the remains had been burnt on a pyre suggesting a number of stages to the deposition of the massacre deposit. All of the remains were eventually covered in (*ibid*: 115). Radiocarbon dates from these areas provided dates of 40cal BC–90cal AD (GU646) and 10 cal BC–120 cal AD (GU649) (*ibid*: 106). As stated in Chapter 3, massacre deposits were not included in the list of hoards for this project. However, it is worth noting that in this instance, some of the objects (six spearheads and one bolt) show signs of deliberate destruction. This is unusual compared with other massacre deposits and suggests a deliberate curation of these few artefacts rather than abandoned in flight and left in situ. Objects were scattered down the passage way and within the gate, with a discreet deposit of weaponry present. The majority of these objects were brooches, with some burnt likely suggesting that they may have been on the pyre with bodies. The bone from the massacre deposit included a selection of burnt skull fragments and unburnt feet and

hands. From the gnaw marks and other evidence, it was suggested that the bodies may have exposed for a period (Barrett et al 2000: 110).

There was also a separate and discreet hoard of keys and latch lifters. It is unclear whether these were added later – as the deliberately broken or burnt items from the massacre have – or whether they were gathered during the attack on the gate. Excavators have also suggested that it may have been the way of demarcating the boundary after the attack (Barrett et al 2000: 144).

Elsewhere at South Cadbury, in an area strongly connected with metal working, a series of fragmented objects – some with intentional damage – were deposited and associated with a rubbish layer and other animal burials. There appeared to be deliberate breakage amongst the cauldron, bucket and weaponry fragments (Barrett et al 2000: 300–1) and the bucket and cauldron fragments appear to be grouped.

Both South Cadbury hoards are strongly linked to construction and change at the hillfort, South Cadbury 1 (H204) buried close to the ramparts and South Cadbury 4 (H198) was in close proximity to the main gate and possibly part of a wider massacre deposit there. A number of other redefinition or foundation deposits were noted on the site (Barrett et al 2000: 83). Both deposits were associated with burnt or heated material and contained fragmented items. Again, mirroring object fragmentation elsewhere at the hillfort as outlined above.

Hoarding also occurs at smaller settlements such as the foundation hoard (found in a posthole) at Cambria Farm and potentially a number of deposits at Camerton. The site was heavily metal-detected in the 1980s with very little locational information recorded. The area had previously been excavated by Wedlake, but in 1980 the farmer deep-ploughed the field which probably brought finds to the surface, which was when metal detecting started (Jackson 1990: 14).

The Camerton assemblage (in the British Museum) comprises 310 objects, 177 copper alloy and 101 of iron, the rest are silver, pewter lead and glass (Jackson 1990: 16). Jackson records that of these 125 copper alloy objects are dateable, with 75 % giving a date of mid-first century AD, and 15% 100 BC–AD 100 (1990: 18). Much of the metalwork dates from the mid first century AD. The unusual composition of the finds suggests a post-conquest Roman fort (Jackson 1990).

Three currency bars, a Roman felling-axe and pickaxe appear to have been buried together (H197). A further four objects may have been grouped: a ferrule, tethering

stake, ploughshare tip and ploughshare (Jackson 1990: nos. 256, 228, 221, 258). Six Iron Age coins were found (*ibid.* 15) but are not mentioned elsewhere in the report. It seems likely from accounts collected by Jackson (1990) that there may have been further hoards within this large group of objects.

Jackson (1990: 20) also records the deposit of a La Tène axe head no. 229, and notes that these feature in many ironwork hoards such as South Cadbury 1 (H204), Madmarston Camp (Fowler 1960: 41–3), Hod Hill (British Museum BEP 1975.701,106) and Hunsbury (Fell 1936) amongst others. Jackson suggested that they may be a Roman fort closure deposit, as seen at Newstead (1990: 22). The composition is similar to Hod Hill and other post-conquest finds (*ibid.* 16) but 21 items were ‘damaged or forcibly removed’ (*ibid.* 230–1). These damaged items fit with hoarding in Somerset but also patterns seen throughout Britain.

The restart of MIA hoarding in Devon appears to fit with the pattern of Iron Age hoarding throughout England, Scotland and Wales, with all three hoards possibly associated with some form of structure or settlement. Details are poor as they were either antiquarian finds or the immediate area was unexcavated. Two are large deposits of iron currency bars, both likely associated with monuments. The Holne Chase camp hoard, found by gamekeeper in 1870, was deposited between the hillfort and the river. A dozen iron currency bars were found, placed between two stones. Most were discarded at the time, but some surviving fragments were brought back to form a cucumber frame. It was only a few years later, when an antiquarian was given a tour of the greenhouses, that the currency bars were removed to a museum and eventually identified (Amery 1906). Without a secure findspot, it is unclear how close to the hillfort the hoard was originally.

The second currency bar hoard, excavated at Coffinswell in 1994, may have been associated with structures or an enclosure. Excavation found the currency bars in a pit unconnected with any other archaeological features. However, copper alloy slag, a fragment of copper alloy ingot and a quern stone fragment were found during excavation suggesting a nearby settlement or hill wash (Gale 1992: 3). In the adjacent field, there is a rectangular 50m x 50 m enclosure dated as prehistoric but with no further information (HER MDV52031). The potential for association with a structure was mentioned in the report but was not part of the excavation remit so presently the currency bars cannot be securely linked to it.

Iron deposits were identified on the east and south parts of Dartmoor, with rich deposits in the Ilsington area and on the Haytor surface (Todd 1987: 154), also at surface were those of Holne Chase the site of a find of currency bars (Todd 1987: 155). There are several smaller deposits of (one or two) currency bars throughout Devon, underlining the importance of the object type in this area.

A tool hoard from Stantonbury Hillfort may be related to currency bar hoards. The hoard consisted of a small number of iron objects, two sickles, one early Roman axe head and a ploughshare, which were assigned a date of 200 BC to AD 200 on the basis of their typology (Jackson 1990: 16, cat 308–11). The hoard only contained four objects but has a total weight of 1252.5g. The weights of the two reaping hooks are very close, perhaps suggesting a standardised weight, in line with the ‘comparatively standardised sword-shaped currency bars, which weight about 20–22oz (Allen 1967: 320)... [These weights] are almost exactly four times the weight of the reaping hooks (143g = c5.1oz)’ (Jackson 1990: 67). It is possible that this deposit could parallel the currency bars deposits noted at Ham Hill and in Devon, above.

The hoard was recovered as a metal detector find from Stantonbury Hillfort. The hillfort sits on an isolated limestone outcrop, with views of the surrounding area. The hillfort has univallate ramparts but much has been modified with its later inclusion into Wandsworth Dyke. The exact findspot was not given by those who discovered the items and was recorded as ‘found in a field adjacent to the hillfort’ (Jackson 1990: 16, cat. 308-11). The uncertainty surrounding its location means it cannot be securely identified as a boundary- defining deposit or otherwise.

Roman Iron Age hoards

Three hoards in Somerset and Devon, dating to the ERIA and LRIA, did not contain iron. These hoards, in different ways, demonstrate the networks and imports in the area in this period. These come from a variety of sites, only Milber Camp was excavated whereas Polden Hill and Clevedon / Walton Castle have no information on their findspots.

At Milber Camp (Devon) a group of small, fine bronze animals were buried in the inner ditch of the hillfort. The site has been excavated on several occasions, 1937–38, and 1964, and series of further excavations for planning applications (1993, 2009 and 2015).

The 'camp' is a multivallate hillfort with 'sub-rectangular central enclosure...surrounded by two further dump ramparts, the intervening spaces being 25–30m across' (Todd 1987: 166), on a hillslope overlooking Torquay. The enclosure is now dissected by A380. The camp fits into the hill-slope enclosure pattern centred on northern and western Devon, stretching into central and east Cornwall (Todd 1987: 167). A univallate enclosure termed the 'Roman Camp' uses the south-east outer rampart as part of its defences (Vachell 1964), though both pre-Roman and early-Roman pottery has been found at the site (Fox 1949/50: 37–38). An urned cremation in the ditch dates to the first century AD and postholes and ditches suggest continued occupation. The most recent excavations have identified possible Roman field divisions within the RIA hillfort (Ellis 2015: 24), if confirmed, these further demonstrate continued occupation and cultivation at the site.

The 1937-8 excavations, led by Lady Fox, examined the inner enclosure ramparts. Signs of occupation such as charcoal and Iron Age 'B' pottery were found in the inner area of the camp. Several objects were found from the ditches of the hillfort; a clay slingshot, loom weight, an iron handle to a dagger and an unidentified iron object. However, on the final day of the 1937–8 excavations, the soil was removed from the inner ditch by workman and three bronze animal figurines (a duck, a stag and a raven) and a small metal ball were discovered. From the excavation account, the worker who found them stated they were in a group. Iron Age pottery was found at the bottom of the same ditch but from the excavation plans, appeared to be unassociated.

Several publications have speculated as to the origins and functions of the animals but none have discussed their manufacture methods. This stag, duck and nightjar were modelled very differently. The duck, was rendered in the traditional Iron Age stylistic tradition, whereas the stag and nightjar are much more classical or realistic in their design. However, the duck and stag appear to have very similar manufacture methods. There is a lozenge or oval shaped hole in the flat bases of the figures and the insides of the bodies are hollow, with solid heads. The metal figurines appear to have been cast whole rather than in two halves as they show no evidence of join lines on the outside or the inside of the figures. The nightjar or raven was created using different methods: the body and head of the bird were created first, with the modelled wings attached after, possibly with some form of solder.

Animal figurines are relatively rare in hoard groups, the only other free-standing figurines occurring in this manner being buried in the Hounslow hoard. However, it is believed that some of the Hounslow figures were attached to a helmet or other object

and one has a loop, likely for suspension. Previous studies, such as Jope (2000), assume that the Milber Camp animals fulfilled a similar function. However, the underside of these figurines show very little evidence for having been attached to another object, with no evidence of solder or other fixing at the bottom of the items. Examination of the raven could not take place as it was glued to a plastic mounting plate. At most, it would appear that they could have been attached to the tops of poles. A leopard figurine from Wiltshire potentially demonstrates similarity in manufacture with a rectangular opening in the body, possibly to conserve bronze and enable the figurine to balance on the base found with the leopard (PAS ID WILT-5A8A35). In this instance is clear that it was part of the casting process, as the base would have blocked any access to the cavity. The Milber Camp items show much stronger similarities to items of Roman manufacture than those found in Britain, perhaps suggesting Iron Age and Roman style objects made for import or that a local craft-worker experimenting with techniques.

The remaining finds from Somerset, the Clevedon/ Walton Castle torc and Polden Hill hoard are exceptional both in Somerset and in Britain. Clevedon/ Walton Castle consists of a gold torc terminal decorated with La Tène scroll and basket work patterns. The findspot for this is not exact but it may have been associated with the Iron Age hillfort now on the site of Walton Castle. The Clevedon/ Walton Castle torc terminal and twisted wire body were found in association with other items, which were lost before the hoard was acquired by the British Museum. The Museum register records '20 g of gold' disappearing into the melting pot of Parson and Son, Bristol, but gives no further details other than the find was made 'near Walton Castle, Clevedon'. The terminal and torc body were possibly sections of different torcs but it is unclear whether they were separated pre or post-deposition. Like other gold hoards buried in the ERIA in Britain, they demonstrate the command of networks to obtain these items of status or to commission their creation. As with the animals of Milber Camp, these were unusual items demonstrating the networks available to their owners.

The Polden Hill hoard burial suggests more of an explicit community focus and ceremony in the burial of the objects. It was found in 1800 whilst ploughing but the exact findspot remains uncertain. There is no one 'Polden Hill', though there is a ridge named Polden Hills near Quantock. The possible findspot has been discussed by Brailsford (1975: 222) and also Davis (2014). First reporting of the hoard by Harford (1803: 90–91) would place it just above Edington. Comments in the British Museum register for the hoard, mentions communication with Clarke and Dewar (on separate

occasions) and suggest a findspot on or near Knowle Hill, Bawdrip for the hoard. An Iron Age settlement was located east of Bawdrip and evidence for Roman occupation was found overlying it (Baggs and Siraut 1992).

The hoard consists of 83 objects, predominately bronze or brass and many are highly decorated, often with enamel. 57 are horse-gear or horse related with the remainder being personal ornaments (bracelets, brooches, a torc), or tools, and there are also several unidentified items (Davis 2014: 95). The Polden Hill hoard has recently undergone analysis and reassessment (Davis 2014: Chapter 6) which suggests several of the harness sets in the hoard were made contemporaneously. Davis suggests that these were dispersed for use – some were incised and decorated – before being reunited pre-burial (*ibid*). It does suggest that the memory of the creation of the metalwork was retained and may have been instrumental in the reunification of the objects. We do not know the quantity of items made at this time making it difficult to know whether these were the only items to be created and then reunited.

It is also worth noting that some of the items in the hoard were deliberately broken and/or burnt. Reports of a burnt section on the cinder at the bottom of the pit suggest that the items were burnt in situ (Harford 1903: 92). Whilst the finds have since undergone restoration work, Davis has managed to identify some evidence of the burning in the surviving enamel (Davis 2014: 135). Whilst this phenomenon is discussed in Chapter 7, there appears to be a pattern specific to the ERIA/LRIA in Somerset. It does not appear to be material or object specific as the South Cadbury 1 iron tool hoard (H204) also demonstrated evidence of heated material: the excavation report notes the inclusion of burnt material and a high degree of heat had fused the clay sling stones to the iron saw (Barrett et al 2000: 62). At Camerton, several items demonstrated evidence for burning (an iron reaping hook and strigil; Jackson 1990: cat. 265, 275) but as there is no context for the find, it is difficult to know if these were related to a destruction layer or underwent burning for other reasons.

It was not only metalwork items which were burnt in Somerset. Burnt flint was noted at Kingsdown, which was a site of later deposition, but not of object hoards. Two currency bars were placed in the ditches as was an iron spud (digging stone) or ard. The site also saw an unusually high frequency of brooch deposition (St George Gray 1930: 81). The amount of flint was not quantified and there was no context (mole hill finds), so the process cannot be known. At Ham Hill, two of the pits contained burnt grain; one of the burnt grain deposits had large stones placed on top, not dissimilar to

the deposits at South Cadbury. In another, stones and burnt clay were arranged to create a hearth, though there was no evidence for use as such (Slater and Brittain 2011: 27). Whilst burning has been noted throughout Britain, there does appear to be a concentration in Somerset both in terms of the treatment of metalwork and other objects on sites associated with deposition.

Several items in the Polden Hill hoard were deliberately broken before burial (Davis 2014: 79, 89); this treatment is also seen in other Somerset hoards and the rest of the Britain (see Chapter 7). If the fragmentation of Clevedon/Walton Castle and Polden Hill happened immediately pre-deposition, it suggested the need for tools and possibly skill. The breakage of these items would potentially have underlined the show of conspicuous consumption taking place. The Clevedon/Walton Castle torcs suggest the actions of an important individual or several individuals, rather at odds with the tool hoards deposited at the hillforts. The Polden Hill hoard fits more with the hillfort model, though containing bronze objects and imports, the bridle sets from similar crucibles and the volume of horse-gear and brooches suggests a community focus. The burning in situ further communicates the sense of group activity.

The animal figurines from Milber Camp are much more enigmatic. Their placement suggests a concern with boundaries, also seen some of the iron hoards in Somerset. The variety of designs suggests an accumulation over a period or contributions from individuals. It seems unlikely they arrived as a group. The excavation did not suggest a history of metalwork or non-metalwork deposition at the site, as seen with other hillforts.

Within this area there is a focus on iron deposition, mainly dateable to the RIA. Smaller deposition groups of one and two items in Devon demonstrate a continued focus on iron deposition. Excavated finds suggest deposition sites were predominately associated with settlement. This association with settlement fits with patterns seen elsewhere in Britain. Currency bars were found in Devon and Somerset. Hoards in Somerset appear to be focused with elevated settlements, usually hillforts. These sites see repeated deposition of both metallic and non-metallic items (e.g. pottery, bone). Somerset's hoards also demonstrate the continued importance of horse-gear, first seen at Ham Hill in the MIA, highly decorated items and some Roman items were found in the LRIA Polden Hill hoard. As noted in Chapter 4, these horse-gear items fit into a wider pattern of deposition seen throughout Britain perhaps linked to the warrior bands suggested by Creighton (2000). These hoards demonstrate the progression of

these items into the highly decorated items seen at Polden Hill. These hoards demonstrate evidence for communal activities, seen in the MIA, with the hoarding of tools and large amount of horse-gear. The deposits at Cambria Farm and South Cadbury mark foundation or redevelopments of these structures but these would have been communal activities involving large scale investment of time and resources (Sharples 2010). Display and the importance of imports are suggested from the elaborately decorated items in the Polden Hill hoard and the imported figurines from Milber Camp.

Coin hoards

14 hoards dating to the RIA were found in Somerset and Devon, 9 of these contained solely Roman issues. Hoarding begins relatively late with the first *tpq* 20 BC (Fig 5.7), with a peak in coin hoards with an AD 54 *tpq*.

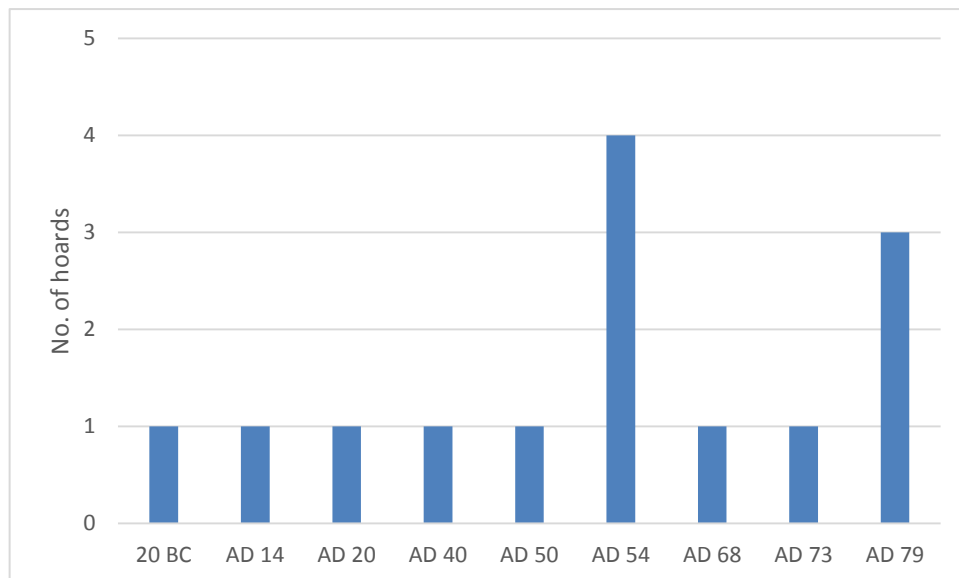


Figure 5.7 Dates of coin hoards of Somerset and Devon

The three known Iron Age coin hoards from Somerset demonstrate variety in the manner of burial but all contain which may have been minted in neighbouring Gloucestershire and Dorset, or even in Somerset as coin production cannot completely be ruled out here. The first Iron Age hoard, Farmborough (IARCH-B61C55, De Jersey 2014: 220), was contained in a hollow flint stone (these flint containers are discussed further in Chapter 7). This hoard contained 62 Iron Age gold CORIO issues dating from AD 5–20. The hoard was initially an undeclared treasure find and as such, the original findspot is unclear. Chadwick has suggested two possible sites, both on flattish ground, one near a spring and another near a stream or possible sink hole.

These two early hoards (Wamborough, Farmborough) see a focus on flint in their manner of deposition; the Wamborough hoard (also known as Chard, IARCH-402478) was found in a mound of flints with a bronze axe ('celt') nearby (De Jersey 2014: 222). Again, we have no secure findspot and the account is unclear as to whether the flints were worked or this was a flint container, as at Farmborough. It could be that the hoard was buried near some form of cairn or burial chamber, and that this 'celt' was a grave good. A similar 'pile of stones' was found in the centre of the Kingsdown Camp and, on excavation, found to be a burial cairn (St George Gray 1930).

Two Iron Age coin hoards were associated with settlement/hillforts. At Abbas Combe, a small hoard of uninscribed South-Western bronze staters, was associated with a pit containing Iron Age and Roman sherds with three ditches nearby (De Jersey 2014: 219; Somerset HER 55106). Excavators suggested that this may be a settlement linked with the earthworks 300m from the hoard site. This is the only verified hoard in the study area which can be securely linked to a settlement or occupied site.

Another hoard from Mountbatten (Devon) also appears to be connected with settlement/human activity. De Jersey (2014: no. 29) notes the potential for two coin hoards having been found here. The accounts are confused and De Jersey suggests two possible reconstructions: one hoard found in 1830 may have contained Dobunnian silver units, upwards of six Coriosolite staters, and quarter staters of the Coriosolites and Redones. Another contained Dobunnian staters and possibly Armorican or Durotrigan silver staters. Other coin finds from the site may or may not have been part of the hoard. De Jersey gave it a context/finds rating of just one out of five for poor detail.

The hoards containing Roman issues also focus on settlement, fitting with the pattern seen in Colchester and London in this period. One was found in Catherine St, Exeter and was deposited within the Roman fortress (IARCH-70DAA5). Excavations at Catherine Street revealed a villa but the associated fourth century mosaic suggests a later date for its construction than the burial of the hoard. Some structural finds demonstrate evidence for a watch tower and defences dating to the first century, suggesting that the hoard was deposited on the limits of the fortress. Another hoard was found in the excavation of the timber buildings just outside the south gate of the Exeter Roman fortress (IARCH-33EE7C). This was in the demolition layer for these buildings. Incomplete records of Roman hoards exist for elsewhere in Devon (Paignton, Devon IARCH-BEA934; Christow, Devon IARCH-ADF982) and the City of Bristol (Sea Mills IARCH-1F362A).

Roman gold issues (Augustus, Nero and Drusus), silver denarii of Vespasian and also a cornelian ring were found whilst quarrying at Brean Down hillfort (IARCH-866EC1, Somerset). This hillfort sits on a peninsula jutting out into the Bristol Channel, separating the Bridgewater Bay from Weston Super Mare. The HER record states that Brean Down 'is not a hillfort in the usually accepted Iron Age fashion' (HER 10115). Radiocarbon dating suggested a LBA date for its construction and evidence for Roman and possible post-Roman occupation has also been discovered.

A further hoard was found at Dean Prior, four sestertii were found as single finds and their proximity classes them as a hoard (IARCH-D0C29A). No metal detector finds have been found in close proximity to the findspot. Another hoard, not further discussed owing to the parameters of this study, was found with a cremation burial.

Two hoards from Somerset were contained in urns. The first was discovered in 1860 whilst ploughing in Eleven Fields, Nunney (IARCH-461BFD). A bronze brooch of uncertain type was also found at about the same time but it unclear whether the hoard and brooch were associated. The pot contained a mixture of Iron Age and Roman coins; ten gold and 232 silver Dobunnic issues with three Roman silver denarii and four bronze coins from the Republic through to Claudius (De Jersey 2014: 221). The hoard was discovered on the ridge at the highest point of the field.

There is very little information on the coins in a hoard found in 1831 'in the vicinity of Leigh House' at Winsham (Somerset, IARCH-4BBC9F); the record states only that the coins were contained in an urn and were issues of Claudius. There is some debate as to whether the coins were gold or not (contra Chard).

Summary

Generally the Iron Age coinage hoarded in Somerset was native to the south-west, whereas the hoard at Mount Batten in Devon likely contained a mix of Continental and local issues. The Somerset coin hoards contrast with the object hoards which were mainly associated with hillfort or settlement sites (with the exception of Polden Hill), potentially suggesting a different focus.

The Stantonbury Hill hoard sees a focus on standardised weights, perhaps mirroring currency bar hoards seen elsewhere. Currency bars were popular deposition choice in the Severn-Cotswolds region, also an area which saw early concentrations of coin hoards (see Fig 4.29 (ERIA coin hoards)). This potentially could reflect an interest in the use of standardised forms of deposition (i.e. currency bars and coins) across site types in this region. Devon saw very little in way of Iron Age coinage hoards and it was

post-Roman conquest that hoards appear in any number in the record but containing Roman issues and mainly confined to Roman sites. The burial of currency bars and the figurines all took place in relatively small region (15 miles) and in proximity to Somerset and Dorset, areas which saw frequent object (particularly iron) deposition. The potential coin hoard from Mount Batten was deposited at a port, close to Cornwall. It is possible that these different forms of deposition emulated of their nearest neighbours, to the east and west. However future finds would clarify this picture. A number of themes can be identified in the coin hoards of Somerset with the first two hoards apparently associated with flint and find sites ranging from association with water to settlement. Post-conquest hoards still contained Iron Age and Roman issues forming a contrast to those found in Devon, where hoards containing all Roman issues do not appear until the second century AD.

Object hoarding in Somerset and Devon demonstrates a strong focus on settlement, particularly hillforts. These deposits begin in the MIA and continue through to the LRIA, with a focus on iron objects, particularly currency bars and tools. Horse-gear appears in hoards during the LRIA, as seen in hoards in south Wales, but otherwise the contents of hoards in Somerset and Devon are quite distinct from those in south Wales.

Conclusions

Within Area 1, there is no unity in object or coin hoarding patterns. Hoarding evidence from Wales and its absence in Cornwall does not parallel the association with settlements and human activity demonstrated by evidence elsewhere in England, Scotland and Wales. However, the object and coin hoards from Somerset and Devon demonstrate strong association with settlements and other sites with evidence of human activity, these sites often see repeated deposition. Across Area 1, hoards contain imports of different types, an inclusion found elsewhere in Britain during the LRIA. This is seen in particularly in the object hoards, but also in the Cornish coin hoards. Despite the relatively few hoards from Area 1 suggesting that hoarding may have been a rare event, the object types include those related to group activities such as tools, horse-gear and drinking or feasting equipment. Whilst these suggest communal activities, the elaborately decorated horse-gear, tankards and strainers of the LRIA suggest a means of distinguishing individuals and communicating access to limited materials such as enamel or glass, brass and imported goods (both metal and alcoholic). The burning and the reunion of horse-gear at Polden Hill, the repeated hoards at hillfort sites and related foundation deposits and the continued single finds at

Langstone all suggest an element of spectacle to these depositions potentially involving a gathering of people.

Whilst Area 1 demonstrates access to objects (including coins) from both Britain and abroad deposited as single finds, yet current evidence suggests omission of these object types when hoards were assembled. Despite the presence of coin single finds in south Wales, evidence for coin hoarding does not appear until the Roman period where it is mainly associated with Roman settlement. In strong contrast, the hoarding patterns in Cornwall, despite an absence of object hoarding evidence, show a distinct enthusiasm for burying imported coinage. Meanwhile coin hoard patterns in Somerset follow national patterns, contain insular issues and, later, Roman coinage.

The south Welsh object hoards demonstrate a focus on dining and drinking items within object hoards, this intensity is not as clear in other areas of England, Scotland and Wales (bar perhaps Norfolk). Object hoards of Somerset focus on horse-gear from the MIA onwards, with deposits associated with occupied sites on higher ground. These practices seen in Somerset resonate with wider patterns found in Britain, as discussed in Chapter 4. At South Cadbury, Stantonbury and Polden Hill hoards demonstrate evidence for extreme heating or burning. These patterns do appear to be localised but other instances have been recorded throughout Britain.

The hoards of Area 1 demonstrate a variety of different methods of hoarding: structured deposition with non-metallic objects at hillforts, one-off hoarding events of items used for feasting horse-gear and display as at Polden Hill, Langstone, Seven Sisters and Pentrych and repeated deposition at significant sites at Langstone. There is no defined practice in each area and the hoards often appear to represent one-off localised practice, with the main unifying factor being the apparent need to bury objects in the ground.

Chapter 6: Area 2: The South-East: Essex, Kent, Surrey, Greater London and Hertfordshire

Area 2 is focused around the Thames estuary and its hinterland, covering Essex, Kent, Surrey, Greater London and Hertfordshire. This region sees the first production and deposition of coins (Kent), providing a contrast to the predominantly coin-free Area 1. The South-East maintained strong links with the Continent throughout the Iron Age and into the Roman period, which appear to have had an influence on hoarding practices. Area 2 sees a range of different deposition types: in graves, in rivers and in the emerging later Iron Age shrines sites. This case study aims to contextualise hoards within these other forms of deposition.

Area 2 covers approximately 7042 km², and contains 19 Iron Age object hoards spanning the 900 years to AD 100, along with 101 coin hoards (33 of which contain solely Roman issues). This equates to one object hoard per 370 km² and one coin hoard per 70km². This is a higher density than Area 1 but Area 2 is only one-third of the size. Whilst Area 2 has a number of Bronze Age hoards, only four EIA hoards have been recovered spread across Kent, Essex and Surrey. Current evidence suggests a break in object hoarding in Area 2 during the MIA with resumption in the LRIA across all counties other than Surrey.

Physical environment

The landscape is generally flat. A ring of higher ground encircles the Thames basin with hills and ridges in Essex, river valleys and flatter land in Hertfordshire and Surrey. The area is intensively inhabited today with a population of 15.5 million, with the greatest density in London (8.7 million). Some areas have fewer settlements such as the Weald in Kent and the marshes lining the Thames estuary and on the Essex and Kent coasts.

Essex, Greater London and Hertfordshire lie on low permeability clay with white limestone flanking to the NNW and SSE, forming the Chilterns and the North Downs (see Fig 5.1). The Thames cuts through this white limestone from the North Sea and the remainder of its course is on clay. This low-lying ground in London has enabled excellent preservation of organic material. None of the geology in Area 2 contains mineral or ore bearing rocks, in contrast to Area 1. Sand and gravel are the main mineral resources and their extraction has revealed some hoards (e.g. Bigbury). The

Thames basin contains a number of rivers and tributaries such as the Lea and the Fleet. These provided useful route ways for travel inland.

North Kent is created from a continuation of the clay making up Greater London. Beyond this, much of Kent is separated from the Thames basin by a white limestone band, part of which forms the North Downs and another section, the Kent Downs. Kent continues to be cut by a series of ridges which lie east–west, channelling movement through the county. The North Downs and a Greensand ridge are divided by the Vale of Holmdale. This Greensand ridge is separated from the High Weald by the low-lying Low Weald. Coal was mined in parts of Kent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. With higher water levels during the Iron Age, the Isle of Thanet was an island. The county is cut north to south by two rivers, the Medway and the Stour. There are marshy low-lying areas either sides of the Thames, such as at Rainham but also wetlands at Romney. Kent's coastline provided a number of places which may have acted as harbours for prehistoric ship traffic (Dover, Folkestone and Hythe, Wilkes 2004: 114).

Surrey lies on a mix of geologies. To north is the Bracklesham and Thames Group, a clay, silt and brickearth base continuing that seen in the Greater London area. The Thames cuts through this whilst heading NNE through Surrey. The rest of Surrey is cut by several different geologies running east to south-west across the county. These are created from the tail end of the white chalk band running through the southern part of Greater London and north Kent. This is bordered by a thin layer of Gault and Upper Greensand followed by wider bands of Lower Greensand and Wealden Group bedrocks. It is the Greensand which forms the Surrey Hills.

Archaeology

More is known about Iron Age settlement patterns in Area 2. The amount of building in the region and infrastructure projects such as HS1 have led to a sharp increase in settlement pattern data. A number of similarities are apparent across Area 2 in the type of settlements (open, unenclosed and defended/hillforts) and the emergence of shrine sites.

In Greater London, a degree of continuity from the LBA through to the EIA is demonstrated through sites such as Caesar's Camp/Bensbury and Warren Farm, Romford (HER no: Gz HV1). EIA pottery was found above the LBA hoard at Petters Sports Ground (O'Connell 1986; Needham 1987: 123).

Timber structures dating to the EIA have been excavated at Richmond Terrace, Westminster (Andrews and Merriman 1986) and Nine Elms, Vauxhall (Cohen 2011, 132). LBA and EIA settlement is seen in the hillforts such as Shoebury Camp and Asheldham Camp in East Essex. E-MIA roundhouses running alongside the river Chelmer floodplain provide evidence for the rise of smaller settlements (Cunliffe 2005: 266). Otherwise there is relatively little evidence of EIA settlement, yet pottery concentrations and pits suggest activity at a variety of locations such as Heathrow Runway 1 west extension (Canham 1978), Hunts Hill Farm, Upminster (Greenwood 1997: 155), Beddington Sewage Works, and also Brooklands, Weybridge (Hanworth and Tomalin 1977) and Old Malden (Hanworth 1987).

Often the EIA may be difficult to identify owing to an ephemeral footprint (Champion 2011). However, a number EIA sites were located on the North Downs in Kent during the HS1 project. EIA sites have also been located elsewhere as at Turing College, University of Kent (Lane 2014: 19). In Essex and Hertfordshire, EIA sites cluster in the Blackwater Estuary with activity also at Stansted (Brown 1997: 33) and in the Icknield area (Matthews 1976; Bryant 1995: 20–21).

MIA sites have been found in Hertfordshire and Essex, yet MIA pottery from sites such as Tollesbury Creek demonstrate that salt production was occurring in this period (Germany 2004) suggesting seasonal occupation. There is also some evidence for MIA occupation from pottery at Elms Farm, Essex and Apsley, Hertfordshire and the enclosure and trackways at Lodge Farm, Essex (Germany 2007). At Lodge Farm, roundhouses with trackways in Middle Iron Age, this was preceded by Middle Bronze funerary or ritual site.

Relatively little evidence for MIA occupation has been found in Kent. The ring ditch and field systems excavated at Wrotham provide some evidence for continuity into the MIA with EIA and MIA occupation and MIA cremations (Hayes and Malim 2012). Excavation at Hockers Lane, Kent revealed a series of enclosures, initially curving enclosure gullies later joined by a rectilinear enclosure with roundhouses (Lawrence 2006).

Compared to the rest of Area 2, Greater London has a comparative wealth of MIA settlement evidence. Two types of settlement can be dated to this period. Large open settlements are seen at Hunt's Hill Farm, Upminster (Greenwood 1997), Caesar's Camp, Heathrow (Grimes and Close-Brooks 1993) and Perry Oaks, Heathrow (Evans 2007). These contrast with the defended sites at Uphall Camp, Ilford (Greenwood 1989) and Holwood Hill, Keston (Piercy Fox 1969).

There is relatively little evidence for the pre-conquest occupation of the future Roman London (Perring 2011: 249), but Sidell (2008: 68) has noted crop cultivation. He has also highlighted the possibility that the area was used for riverine excarnation with items such as the Battersea shield and Waterloo helmet functioning as grave goods (Hingley 2018: 29–30).

At Lofts Farm, Maldon (Essex), the earliest of two settlements comprised a ring ditch, hearth and pits, whilst the later phase was composed of fourteen ring ditches, aligned with a trackway and an enclosure surrounding some of the huts. This settlement dated from the third/second centuries BC to the first century AD. Other sites, such as the enclosed and unclosed settlements at Stansted Airport Catering site also saw occupation throughout the Iron Age (Havis and Brooks 2004). However, a sharp decline in roundhouse occupation has been noted in Essex after the MIA, leading Sealey to suggest an almost 50 % decrease in population in the RIA (Sealey 2016).

Massive earthworks appear in different forms in Essex, Hertfordshire and Kent in the RIA. Mainly clustered in western Kent, these earthworks took the form of hillforts seen at Oldbury, Caesar's Camp, Squerryes, High Rocks, Loose and Castle Hill, Kent. Bigbury Camp, located near Canterbury in north-east Kent, is the only outlier to this group (Bates 2017: 22–3). All these sites have ramparts dating to the RIA (*ibid*) suggesting a general trend in Kent. Activity in the Colchester area shows formalising of ownership of the landscape with the construction of the earthworks at Gosbecks and Sheepen and the development of the oppidum (Champion 2011). After the Roman conquest, the Claudian fortress was developed into a *colonia*. Other oppida in Essex

and Hertfordshire grew to become towns in the Roman period such as Verulamium, Colchester, Braughing, Grenville Road, Braintree and Great Chesterford.

The RIA sees an increase in the number of sites identified in Kent such as the Farningham pits and enclosures (Philp 1984: 7–71) and Highstead, Chislet (Bennett 2007: 289) sees several occupation phases from the Bronze Age through to the Roman period. St Edmunds School excavation also demonstrated occupation throughout the Iron Age and Roman periods.

A combination of open and enclosed settlements continued into the RIA throughout the south, west and east of London. Smaller enclosures were also noted at Imperial College Sports Ground, Harlington (Crockett and Nowell 1998), Farningham Hill (Philp 1984), Lower Warbank, Keston (Philp 1991) and Beddington Sewage Works.

Rectangular enclosures became widespread during the RIA. Rectangular forms were seen in the EIA in Kent, but not elsewhere (Bennett 2007: 290). These enclosures, found at Moor Hall Farm, Rainham and Gun Hill, Tilbury may have parallels with some sites on the Continent (Greenwood 1997: 160).

Settlements elsewhere in Hertfordshire and Essex see continuation into the Roman period such as Friars Wash and Breakspeare. An RIA enclosure at MAFF Ware Road, Hoddeson demonstrated evidence of continued use of the cremation cemetery in the first and second centuries AD. Many of the sites around St Albans and in central Hertfordshire see breaks in the archaeological record c AD 60.

Cemeteries, some with rich grave goods, occur throughout Essex, Kent and Hertfordshire, many of them demonstrating evidence for Continental contacts. The earliest was at Mill Hill, Deal where a grave containing an inhumation, sword, shield binding, decorated headdress and other items was dated to the MIA (250–150 BC; Stead 1995), one of 42 inhumations and five cremations in a multi-period graveyard that continued into the RIA (Parfitt and Ambers 1995). In the RIA, several different burial traditions emerge. One, termed 'Aylesford Swarling' was characterised by pottery found throughout Essex, Hertfordshire and Kent but also applied to grave goods accompanying the dead. These cremation graves often contained a wide range of goods, but always a wooden bucket with decorated iron or copper alloy bands. First noted in Aylesford, Kent in 1888 (Evans 1890: 386), these have been found throughout Area 2 at Swarling (Kent), Baldock (Hertfordshire), Old Warden (Essex), Harpendon (Herts) and Greater Chesterford (Essex).

Another specific burial rite was mainly confined to the Welwyn area; these were sizeable pits containing high-status grave goods but with no mound covering the pit. The graves often included imports such as amphorae and also imported and locally made dining vessels. Graves containing rich goods dating from the late first century BC to the mid-first century AD are also known at Stanway and Folly Lane, around Colchester and Verulamium. At Brisley Farm (Kent), two inhumations with shield boss and swords were found in separate square-ditched enclosures, the pottery dates them to AD 10–50. The nearby Iron Age cremation cemetery was in use from 50 BC–AD 50 and funeral feasting at the warrior burials continued into the early Roman period (Johnson 2003).

The RIA also sees an increase in the types and range of depositional practices, with some examples appearing to have been influenced by Continental connections. This is seen not only through burial, but also the emergence of formal shrines, often forerunners to Roman temples. These include Elms Farm (Essex), though deposition was mainly non-metallic, Stansted Airport, Baldock Folly Lane (Hertfordshire), Ivy Chimneys (Essex), and Harlow (Essex). Whilst the function and definition of shrine sites is debated (Smith 2013), they certainly represent a focus of activity from the first century BC onwards. Sites of deposition were also created in Kent, at Springhead and Worth. All but Stansted and Elms Farm see continued use into the Roman period. The MIA/RIA ‘shrine’ at Caesar’s Camp, Heathrow could potentially be added to this list of Iron Age shrines, though the structure could also be dated to the Romano-British period (Grimes 1948; 1961; Grimes & Close-Brookes 1993, 312–18. *Contra* Peterson 2013).

RIA deposition is also seen at religious sites or temples such as Essendon, Hertfordshire, and Wanborough, Surrey. This is part of a much wider development, effecting an area extending from southern England (e.g. Hayling Island, Hampshire) to the East Midlands (as at Nettleton, Lincolnshire and Hallaton, Leicestershire).

Area 2 hoards overview

This section provides a broad overview of object hoarding patterns in Area 2, followed by a county by county discussion. 19 object hoards and 101 coins hoards buried between 800 BC and AD 100 were recovered from Area 2 over an area of 7042 km². Figure 6.1 shows the quality ratings for the contents and context of the 19 object hoards, which are listed in Table 6.1. The context ratings reflect the split between antiquarian finds and excavated hoards within Area 2.

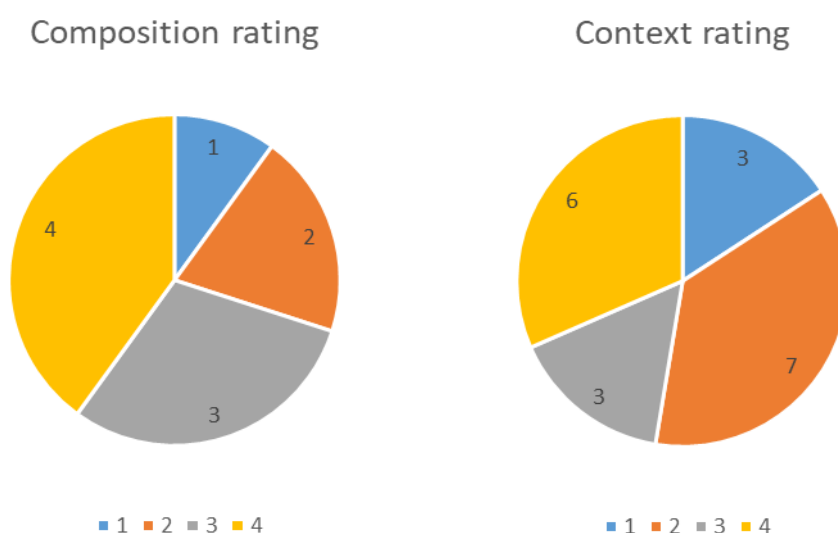


Figure 6.1 Quality ratings for the 19 object hoards in Area 2.

Four hoards date to the EIA, one to the ERIA, ten to the LRIA (six of these were from Bigbury (H127-132), and four to the RIA. Coin hoards were buried from the later second century BC onward. As with the EIA hoards found all across Britain, EIA hoards from this area contained copper alloy objects. Iron dominated the later hoards and two hoards contained gold items.

Code	Hoard Name	Period	Size	Site type	Object Categories
H77	Dovercourt	EIA	15	No information	Axes.
H78	Fenwick treasure, Colchester	LRIA	13	Settlement	Jewellery and coins.
H79	Lofts Farm	LRIA	14	Settlement	Weapons.
H80	Tendring	EIA	88	Unassoc.	Axes, CA casting waste, dining equipment, weapons and ingots.
H81	Waltham Abbey	LRIA	23	Wet: River	Tools, horse-gear and weapons.
H82	Orsett 'Cock'	LRIA	6	Settlement	Weapons.
H97	Orchard Hill	RIA	3	Settlement	Horse-gear, weapon and tool.
H98	Hounslow	RIA	28	No information	Figurines, head dress fragment and BA items.
H120	Essendon A	RIA	14	Shrine	Torc and ingots.
H121	Essendon C	RIA	18	Shrine	Weapons.
H125	Stockbury	EIA	7	Unassoc.	Horse-gear, ingots and axes.
H126	Canterbury, Marlowe Car Park	RIA	48	Settlement	Horse-gear.
H127	Bigbury 1	LRIA	53	Hillfort	Horse-gear and tools.
H128	Bigbury 2	LRIA		Hillfort	Tools, horse-gear and dining equipment.
H129	Bigbury 3	LRIA		Hillfort	Tools and other items.
H130	Bigbury 4	LRIA		Hillfort	Weapons and tools.
H131	Bigbury 5	LRIA		Hillfort	Iron work found in museum collections and labelled as from the site.
H132	Bigbury 6	LRIA		Hillfort	As above.
H214	Kingston	EIA	4	No information	Axes and gold ring.

Table 6.1 Object hoards for Area 2.

The hoard findspots are shown in Figure 6.2. EIA hoards were focused in Essex (three) and Kent (one). None of the EIA hoards have been excavated and so they lack contextual information. Two were metal detected finds and two were antiquarian finds with no secure findspot. The two antiquarian finds were dominated by axes, though Kingston (H214) also contained a gold ring. The Tendring (H80), and Stockbury (H125) hoards, both metal detector finds, contained a wider mix of items. Stockbury contained no axes, only sword fragments and horse-gear, and at Tendring axes were included along with sword fragments, cauldron lugs, ingots and casting waste.

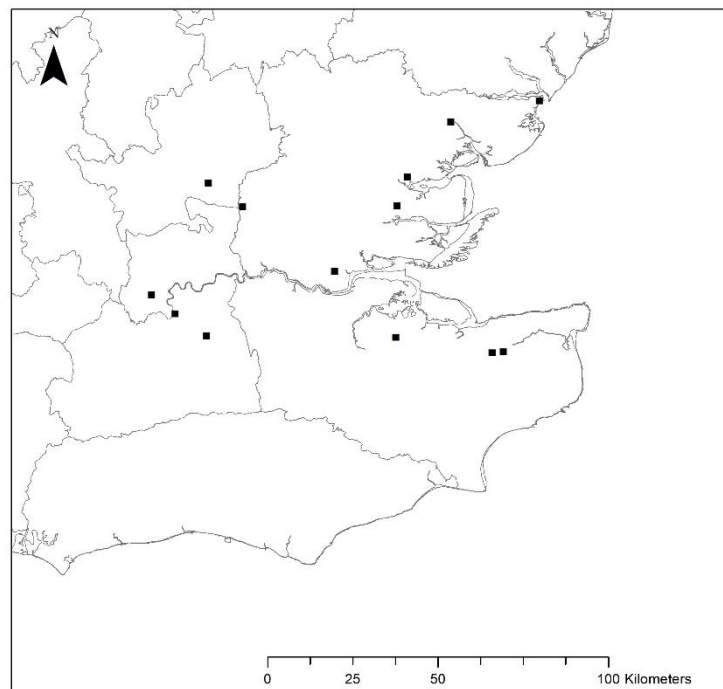


Figure 6.2 Map showing Area 2 object hoards. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

There is an absence of recovered hoards dating to the MIA, with hoarding resuming in the RIA. One hoard dated to the ERIA, the Hounslow hoard (H98) from Greater London. The hoard contained a number of copper alloy animals, some of which may have previously been fixings on a helmet or other objects. Stead suggested as series of fragments was a headdress not dissimilar to those found at Mill Hill, Deal (1995). The hoard may have contained a range of Bronze Age objects (it is unclear whether the two hoards were found together). The hoard is dated based typologically on the rendering some of the animal figures to the first century BC or AD (Julia Farley, *pers. comm.*).

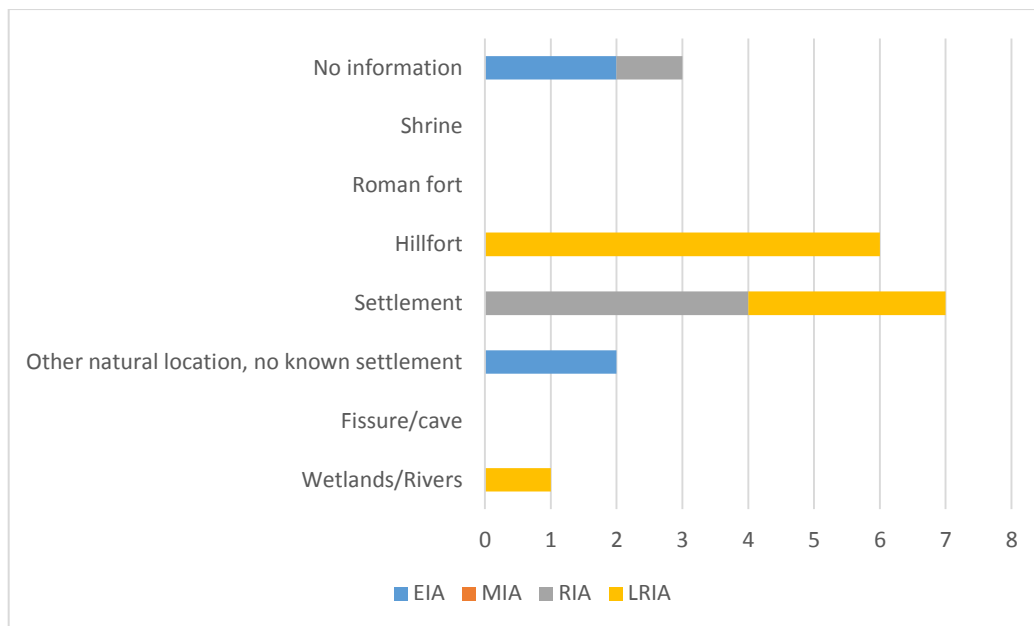


Figure 6.3 Contexts of Area 2 object hoards (total: 19).

Eleven hoards dating to the RIA/LRIA contained solely iron, with two containing both iron and copper alloy. One hoard contains only copper alloy objects. Gold hoards include the torc and coin deposits at Essendon (H120-121) and a Roman jewellery and coin hoard from the Fenwick store redevelopment at Colchester (H78).

Where excavated, RIA hoards are overwhelmingly found to be associated with settlements and often structures (Fig 6.3). Thirteen were found in enclosures or bounded spaces; of these six (Bigbury) were closely associated with the enclosure ditch, two were associated with an enclosure with no signs of settlement which may have had religious connotations (Essendon), and four were in or closely associated with dwellings. Only one hoard dating to the RIA was not found associated with human occupation and this was the Walthamstow Abbey hoard (H81) from a river, unusually buried in a box.

Hoard dating to either the RIA or the LRIA contained a range of different items. Weaponry and horse-gear were popular in this area, usually in the form of iron. Essex sees a focus on weapons: Orsett Cock contains spears (H82), Lofts Farm shield fittings (H79), and the Waltham Abbey hoard contained a broken sword along with a range of tools. The Colchester Fenwick hoard is the only exception in Essex containing jewellery, coins and a Roman veteran's *armilla*. In bordering Hertfordshire, at Essendon, a cache of weapons was found separated from the deposits of torcs and coins also found at the site. The hoards buried in Greater London appears to reflect both the object types buried in Essex and those of Kent in the combination of a hammer, spearhead and nave hoop (H97). Kent sees much more of a focus on horse-

gear with the almost complete Roman horse-gear set from Marlowe (H126) and the several hoards deposited at Bigbury containing horse-gear along with tools and spearheads.

Areas other than Surrey see resurgence in hoarding possibly contemporary with the start of coin hoarding, possibly suggesting external influences or a change in values and/or practice with the arrival of this imported form. Despite this resumption in object burial, as can be seen from the overwhelming number of coin hoards discovered, coinage becomes the hoarded object of choice. However, other areas potentially not subject to the same influences and the same level of contact also see an increase or revival during this period (as discussed in Chapter 4).

Some hoards in Area 2 often reflect different concerns to the contemporary grave goods; the first century BC Aylesford-Swarling burials in Kent and Essex contained dining and drinking items, potentially reflecting the status afforded to the dead by those burying them or associated with funeral feasting (evidence of funeral feasting see Ralph 2007). This inclusion of imports continued into the LRIA as seen at the graves at Lexden, Folly Lane and Stanway, all Essex. However, as discussed in Chapter 7, dining vessel hoards and those containing cauldrons are only found outside Area 2 suggesting a deliberate decision not to hoard such material in the South-East. However, some hoards and graves contain similar items. The RIA spears at Orsett Cock and the shield or scabbard bindings at Lofts Farm, the sword included in the Waltham Abbey hoard, daggers from Bigbury (Kent) and sword deposit from Essendon (Hertfordshire), reflect some of the same concerns seen in grave goods at this time such as at Springfield Lyons (Essex), Brisley Farm (Kent) and Playgolf site near Colchester (Shimmin 2014).

The following section places the hoards within the context of deposition using specific case studies in each county to explore how hoard deposition fits in with other kinds of deposition. In Kent, I explore the repeated horse gear and tool deposits at Bigbury, arguing that these may reflect a focus on group identity and activities. In Essex, watery deposition from the Thames is considered to consider the wider context of the Waltham Abbey hoard and case studies from both Essex and Hertfordshire explore the relationship between hoards and grave finds through the case study of spears and martial objects in Essex, and the relationship between hoard finds from Essendon and contemporary burials in Hertfordshire.

Kent

Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age

Bronze Age hoarding in Kent is prolific with 34 hoards, and a particular focus of deposition around Thanet Island. Multiple deposits were found at Dover and Aylesford. Hoard evidence falls sharply with only one hoard terminating in the EIA, at Stockbury. Compared with the sizeable deposits of the Bronze Age, this hoard is small containing only four objects. However, it demonstrates links to Bronze Age practice in the types of objects included and its landscape location. Two LBA hoards (PAS ID KENT-0F1181 and KENT-916575) were been found within 100m of the EIA object hoard. Both these hoards contained heavily fragmented items, including the axe and ingot fragments seen at Stockbury. The site commanded views over the surrounding countryside and like many of the Iron Age hoard was close to a water source, though without direct association it is difficult to know whether this was a factor in the selection of the site. The horse-gear of the Stockbury hoard was unique in Britain for this period, and it is likely the first of its kind in Britain (KENT-CD6A33). The hoard contains items seen in other EIA hoards such as fragments or tools.

Late Roman Iron Age

Hoarding restarts in the LRIA, in the north-east of Kent. The first six hoards were found at a hillfort, Bigbury Camp, and contained horse-gear, shackles, cauldron chains, tools and a dagger. Bigbury Camp is irregular in shape, varying in defences from bivallate to univallate (Thompson 1983: 238). Occupying 10.7 ha, it sits on a plateau overlooking the Great Stour and modern Canterbury and has been the focus of investigations by Boyd (1902), Jessup and Cook (1936), Thompson (1983) and, most recently, Bates (2017). The site has received much attention as it has been suggested as the site of a battle with Julius Caesar in 54 BC (Hawkes 1977: 159–60; Holmes 1907: 678–85; also Thompson 1983: 16).

Fifth to third century pottery found underneath the ramparts suggests activity predating hillfort construction (Thompson 1983: 254) and the hillfort appears to have been occupied, though the extent of this is difficult to determine, owing to challenging excavation conditions (building, gravel pits and the forests on site: Thompson 1983: 240–3). Thompson's excavations demonstrated the presence of a roundhouse and waterhole; the waterhole was infilled deliberately between 100–50 BC rather than being left to silt up (Thompson 1983: 250, 256). The site also demonstrated evidence for metalworking with the discovery of an anvil in the roundhouse annexe. This was not associated with a structure and it seems that it was an outdoor smithy with a windbreak for shelter (Thompson 1983: 252).

There appear to have been at least four, and in all likelihood upwards of six, hoards of ironwork deposited at Bigbury. In many ways, these resemble some other hillfort deposits seen in Chapters 4 and 5. Yet in quantity, Bigbury surpasses them. Given the evidence for iron working at the site, it is possible that these items were manufactured at Bigbury; with the advancement of metals testing it may be possible to confirm this.

The hoards were removed through gravel extraction and, whilst some items were recorded by antiquarians, it is difficult to reconstruct the groupings. The six potential hoards are split across three museums (Canterbury, Maidstone and Manchester) and the full list of identifiable objects was published by Thompson (1983) with the results of his recent excavations. Four different deposits seem almost certain, with Jessup recording two possible further groups found in the collections at Maidstone Museum. He notes that these groups were most likely but not certainly from Bigbury. The first group, found in 1861, consisted of a ploughshare, coulter (vertical blade on a plough), cattle-goad, horse-bit and tyre (Boyd 1902). Soon after, a cauldron handle, snaffle bit, rods, ring and hooks were exhibited to the British Archaeological Association in 1862. Loom weights were discovered with this second group of objects as well as a burnt patch extending for up to 12ft. A third group, found in 1866, contained complete sickles, iron rings, a ferrule and an engraved bronze buckle. Some of the sickles still had wood in the shafts and the group were found with the remains of a 'Roman cinerary urn' (Brent 1861). Brent believed that these hoards were Roman grave groups and published them alongside other items he considered Roman grave remains (*ibid*). The 1866 hoard was found on a patch of burnt ground the extent of which was unrecorded in this instance, potentially relating it the hoard from 1862. An 1895 find, contained spear heads, a tanged dagger, hammer heads, an iron axe, sickles, billhooks and ploughshares. These have not been included in previous studies such as Hingley (2006) or Humphreys (2017). From examination of the listings of the objects in each of the three museums, it seems likely that the finds groups were larger than initially reported by Brent and Hussey. Full listings based on a reordering of Thompson's 1983 article with likely object groupings are available under Bigbury 1 in the database.

There is some discrepancy in the marking of the general findspot for the Bigbury hoards. Thompson records it as further east on his plan. Thompson does not record where he gained this marker from. However, Hussey marks the findspot on his map as the southern gravel pit where the ramparts were ploughed out, a little distance from Thompson's cross. Hussey notes that the rampart was levelled and the land grubbed (Hussey 1874: 15).

The Blockley brothers' 1981 excavations focused on the southern part of the ramparts and found a 'layer of charcoal, covered by a deposit similar to the rampart material' (Blockley 1989: 46). It was suggested that these could be the remains of Caesar's attack (Blockley 1989: 241). Radiocarbon dating, with the most recent calibration curve, suggests the charcoal dated to between 101 BC and AD 244 (Bronk 2014). Unfortunately there is no way to ascertain whether the charcoal deposit is the same which stretched under the ironwork hoards found 1862 and 1866, as noted above. Blockley's trenches were only 160m from the hoards findspot marked by Hussey (1874). The dating of the layer does fit well with the dates assigned to the hoard by Manning (1972) and Thompson (1983). Grog-flint tempered pottery excavated above the charcoal layer was assigned a first century BC date and that above the reduced ramparts was given a date at the end of the first century BC. It is possible that the hoards were buried during a time of great change at the hillfort after a period of destruction. If Bates' surmise is correct and that absent section of rampart may have held a gateway (2017: 185–7), I would suggest that the hoards' burial at this spot would suggest strong parallels with deposits at other hillforts.

There is potential for further deposits at the site other than the four to six hoard groupings. A possible intentional deposit was an iron ploughshare within a ring of postholes (Thompson 1983: 246). The ploughshare is larger than most objects deposited as single items (for example, see the billhook from Cadbury; Barrett et al 2000). Excavation by Thompson found a large waterhole, with a capacity of 20,500 litres, which was deliberately infilled in one event. Radiocarbon dating of the charcoal found in the pit places this infill in the period 130 BC \pm 45 and AD30 \pm 35 (Thompson 1983: 251). Potentially an action contemporaneous with the burnt layer identified by Blockley (1989) outlined above. This waterhole contained a number of copper alloy and iron items, though it is unclear whether these were deliberately placed or whether they were already present within the material being moved. As the reports suggest these objects were not found in association, they have not been included in the hoard database.

Despite the presence of Dressel 1 amphorae and slave chains, suggesting links with overseas trade, the objects buried at Bigbury all appear to have strong British parallels rather than Continental links. Items such as the linch pins correspond to the vase headed type with distributions throughout the south, Yorkshire and Scotland. The double-headed snaffle bridle bits are a type found throughout Britain. As mentioned, the presence of an anvil could suggest some of the iron items found at Bigbury may have been made there.

One aspect of deposition at Bigbury that remains unusual is the absence of coins. Large numbers of local potin coins were deposited on sites throughout Kent, for example at Worth. Given this, it is unusual that no coins were found at Bigbury. Excavations at Canterbury of a site possibly contemporary with Bigbury, yielded plentiful coin finds, showing that they were in circulation locally. Elsewhere there does not appear to have been a distinction between coins and objects in hoarding practice in Kent. Large sections of Bigbury remain unexcavated or metal detected so there is the possibility that further hoards and either single coins or hoards could be discovered in the future, changing our understanding of hoarding at the site.

Kent also sees a strong focus on horse-gear; the Bigbury hoards contain both bridle bits and strap fittings as well as a possible terret ring and linch pins for chariot. An almost complete set of tinned Roman horse fittings were discovered in the top of a pit at Marlowe Car Park (H126).

As with Bigbury, the Marlowe horse-gear hoard was associated a period of change at the settlement. A collection of horse-gear was found in a leather bag sealed underneath a Claudian-Neronian destruction layer in Canterbury. More than 38 items were found, almost enough to reconstruct a complete set of horse-gear. It is unusual that such a set can be almost entirely reconstructed; other horse-gear hoards demonstrate a selection of the items in the hoard. The hoard was mainly composed of bronze horse harness with tinning for decoration, and represents an incomplete set of harness fittings from one horse (H126).

Found in 1979 in the top of a backfilled storage pit (Blockley et al 1995: MII, B (430)), the Marlowe harness hoards was deposited in a grey clay backfill with some small layers of stones. The infill suggests that the pit was gradually filled in over time, with the horse-gear concealed in the final context. The pit was next to a contemporary building, and was later capped by a Roman street. The site also yielded the remains of pellet moulds, potins and a Gallo-Belgic gold coin. Fragments of amphorae were also found. The authors suggested that the hoard may have lain unnoticed in the material used to infill the pit or that the items were liberated from the Romans in battle and were disposed of post-conquest (Blockley et al 1995). Excavators suggested that they were concealed during or shortly before the pre-Roman invasion/conquest of the area when their ownership by a native may not have been considered expedient. Whilst the motivations for deposition can never be certain, there is no reason to assume that the horse-gear was not a deposit in a similar manner to those at Lofts Farm, buried in the gully of a roundhouse, possibly as a closing deposit for the end of the settlement.

As in Essex, cemeteries in Kent often demonstrate evidence of grave goods, with a focus on swords and other unusual items. These graves do not contain the horse-gear or tools more commonly seen in hoards. A martial focus is suggested from the Mill Hill cemetery (first–second centuries BC), where one grave contained a sword, shield and crown, and a cremation from Canterbury was contained in a mid-first century BC bronze helmet (Farley et al 2014). The LRIA Brisley Farm site had two venerated graves containing weapons (including spearheads).

Kent graves also contain martial aspects communicated through swords and shields and, in the Aylesford Swarling graves, imported items demonstrating personal status. The Bigbury hoards appear to reflect group aspects of some of these themes: spearheads were included, as in graves, but the focus was more firmly on horse-gear with the inclusion of with nine pieces of horse and chariot gear, the majority of which were linch pins. The focus on horse-gear fits with a wider pattern of horse-gear deposition in Britain from the end of the MIA into the RIA, possibly linked to the rise of cavalry groups supporting powerful individuals (Creighton 2000: 15–20). Creighton's evidence mainly centres these finds on hillforts (Creighton 2000: 15-20), and the finds from Bigbury could be added to this group, but also RIA and LRIA horse-gear object hoards can also be seen in Norfolk and Suffolk could also fall under Creighton's '*comitates*'. Bigbury differs from these other groups with a focus on iron horse-gear and mainly linch pins, where terrets and strap fittings are usually more popular in horse-gear hoards in this period. Horse-gear and items relating to dining/drinking were sometimes combined – as seen in Seven Sisters (Glamorgan), Santon (Norfolk) and Westhall (Suffolk). The combination of cauldron chains with the potential firedog fragment and cauldron sections could reference community feasting, as seen in the MIA at Chiseldon and Glenfield and contrasts with the smaller pottery forms found in graves. The finds from Bigbury likely reflect a group identity and activities, similar to patterns seen in Britain in the MIA, and in contrast to the grave goods of the period.

Essex, Greater London, Hertfordshire and Surrey

The hoards of these counties show some overlap in hoard contents, water-based deposition and spear deposition in boundaries but contrast with patterns seen in Kent. However, as the patterns are still relatively distinct, the discussion will remain county based.

Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age

As with Kent, a number of LBA Essex sites have been identified such as Frog Hall Farm Fingringhoe (Brooks 2002), Springfield Park Chelmsford (Manning and Moore

2004), and Hatfield Heath–Matching pipeline (Guttmann 2000). At least 53 hoards were found in Essex dating to the LBA with a number of sites seeing repeated deposition such as the hoards at Grays, Leigh and Shoebury.

One hoard found in Essex can be attributed to the EIA, Tendring. The majority of the finds contained in the Tendring EIA hoard were typologically Bronze Age, apart from a section of sword which brings the date of the hoard into the Earliest Iron Age. The hoard was a recent metal detector find and the findspot was not excavated so it remains unclear whether the hoard was associated with any form of structure or settlement. Hoarding data follows current settlement and other archaeological patterns – both in Area 2 and across Britain – with a relative absence of evidence from the MIA.

Roman Iron Age

The hoards of Essex are really quite varied in terms of metals and types but mainly date after 100 BC, and more usually after AD 1. The Waltham Abbey hoard was a wooden box of intentionally broken tools and sword fragment, submerged in the River Lea. The tools have more in common with the wet deposit sites of Lincolnshire, but the unusual use of a container to deposit the hoard indicates a single deposition event. The wet deposit sites at Flag Fen, in contrast suggest continued deposition over a long period.

Otherwise in Essex, the focus of hoard deposition is on settlement and the deposition of weapons. At Lofts Farm, a set of scabbard chapes and a decorated ring were buried in the gully of a roundhouse. Excavators believe the hoard was deposited after the site had been abandoned, and suggested that the hoard's deposition was not directly linked to the presence of cremated bone in the ditches. Ditch deposition at cemetery sites is seen elsewhere in Essex, as is discussed below. The burial of the scabbard components without associated swords is unique for hoarding in Britain as elsewhere swords are always included in the deposit (see South Cave (H75), Birtley (H183), Embleton (H46), Asby Scar (H42)) and a scabbard usually accompanied swords to the grave (see Kelvedon and Brisley Farm).

At Orsett Cock, there was a deposit of iron spearheads, most in a group with one as a single find deposited in the ditches of a settlement during its fortification, which is dated to the conquest period. The spearheads were covered with a burnt layer of material from the reworking of the ditches (Carter 1998: 167), it is possible that the deposit was related to reworking of the boundaries or it may have functioned as a foundation deposit.

Graves in Essex also see single finds or groups of spearheads deposited in this period. A group of five spearheads was deposited at the Playgolf site near Colchester (Shimmin 2014) with a cremation dated to AD 25–60. The cremation and deposit were excavated from a pit on the western side of an enclosure, which enclosed other cremations. The spearheads from Playgolf are different from the later Orsett Cock examples, as they are longer, more lance-like and believed to be local examples (*ibid*). Spearheads were also deposited in a ditch at the Stanway burial site. Other burials also contained spears such as a burial at Kelvedon and the likely cremation burial at Springfield Lyons. In the case of the latter, the pit at the centre of a Bronze Age enclosure included a pot (without cremation), a spearhead and a sword and scabbard which had been bent almost circular. This practice of bending the sword is mainly seen on the Continent. The sword at grave at Kelvedon was also bent circular (Sealey 2007), perhaps also suggesting an imported practice. Spearheads and shield fittings are one of the few objects which cross the divide between grave goods and hoarded objects in LRIA Essex. Their use both in the grave but also to demarcate the limits of cemetery sites fits with the use of iron objects more generally to define boundaries (as noted by Hingley 2006), but the use of spearheads in this way appears to a phenomenon confined to Essex.

Elsewhere spears were found in 31 hoards throughout Britain with a broad chronological and geographical spread. Spearheads contained in the Earlier Iron Age hoards (such as Hindon (Dorset H230), Melksham (Wiltshire H233), Vale of Wardour (Wiltshire H236), Tisbury (Wiltshire H235) and Llyn Fawr (Glamorgan H85)) are frequently Bronze Age types and rendered in bronze; some Bronze Age spearheads also survive in the mixed period hoards of Batheaston (Wiltshire H228), Whitchurch (Hampshire H115) and Hagbourne (Oxfordshire H187), indicating a decision to include them. Spearheads were found included in the Essendon deposit in neighbouring Hertfordshire as part of a weapons cache, which also included several swords and a shield. A large bundle of spearheads were also found underneath the swords at the South Cave hoard (East Riding) and a spear accompanied swords at Birtley (Northumberland). Hoards containing spears were associated with a range of settlements sites: such as hillforts and enclosed settlements, but they have also been found on sites that have been categorised as Iron Age shrines (Frilford H186, Hayling Island H102), this deposition practice continues forward into the Roman period where they are frequent inclusions amongst ironwork hoards (Humphrey 2017: 388).

Deposition of object hoards at settlements continued post-conquest. The Fenwick hoards, Colchester, a box of bracelets, earrings and Roman silver and copper alloy

coins were excavated from beneath the AD 60 destruction layer at the Colchester *colonia* and excavators inferred that it was likely buried for safekeeping during the Boudican rebellion. The contents of the hoard are strikingly 'Roman': a bulla, an armilla and two pairs of Roman earrings perhaps suggesting a veteran with accompanying female relative(s) or partner. The types of objects within the hoard are distinct from those hoarded elsewhere in Essex or in Britain and this is a rare example of a case where it is possible to ascribe a safekeeping motivation to the hoard. It is the earliest object hoard from a securely Roman site but is distinct from the groups of objects buried in the first century at Roman fort sites. These hoards, mainly focused in northern Britain, contain tools and martial objects rather than personal items as seen here.

Water deposits in the Thames

River deposition has long been recognised throughout Europe from the Bronze Age onwards, with several studies covering this wide area (e.g. Bradley 1998; York 2002). Two rivers provided high numbers of Iron Age finds in the UK: the Witham (Lincolnshire) and the Thames. The Thames especially has also demonstrated a high number of Bronze Age finds and to a certain extent deposition continues through into the early Medieval period and beyond. Iron Age finds are considerably fewer than their Bronze Age counterparts but show careful selection in the types of objects deposited. A number of elaborate or 'status' finds have been found in the river, for example the Waterloo helmet, Battersea shield and Hammersmith horse fittings were also found during dredging. Fitzpatrick's paper (1984) identifies a range of objects deposited other than swords. Spears (40) and swords (28) were followed by coins (20) and fibulae (16) (Fitzpatrick 1984: fig 12.1), with other find types numbering below ten. It is likely that other objects such as pins may also have been deposited but their chance of recovery is slim. The river mud often contributes to a high-level of preservation, particularly for bronze objects, however as many of these objects were found through dredging contextual and so dating material is often lost. Some of these items may have been associated with a form of riverine rite or burial tradition. The items deposited fit with those seen in martial graves in the period and the spearheads and scabbards also fit with hoarded items.

As noted by Fitzpatrick (1984) and Stead (2006), rivers see high levels of sword deposition. Stead lists 274 sword related objects in his catalogue, 171 in the south. Of the 274 finds, 45% were found in rivers, six percent in graves with 49% found on sites or as single finds. The vast majority of these come from the Thames (49) and three from its tributary the Lea, 25 from rivers draining into the Wash (14 from the Witham

and eight from the Nene, two from the Lark and one from the Wissey) one from the Trent which drains into the Humber. It is difficult to be exact as swords cannot be closely dated, but Stead suggests increased in deposition in Thames in the earlier period (350–150 BC) with a decrease in the later period 150 BC–AD 50 (2006: 80). The higher numbers for the Thames could be the result of commercial dredging, and collecting by nearby museums, or could represent a real concentration of deposition in the river. Hunter has also noted the absence of dredging in the north potentially suggesting that there may be the potential for finds in future (Hunter 1997: 11). Given the focus of hoards such as Carlingwark Loch in lakes this does not seem unlikely.

Some items elsewhere were chance finds, such as the head of the Claudian bronze statue from the river Alde in Suffolk (British Museum BEP 1965, 1201.1). This may have been a one-off deposition event related to the destruction of the statue during the Boudican rebellion. Whilst only limited dredging has taken place elsewhere, other sites have evidence for water-related deposition. The Llyn Cerrig Bach site in North Wales shows deposition over several centuries, with swords, currency bars and animal bones amongst the wide range of items thrown into the water (though some have argued for evidence of a shipwreck, Roberts 2002). Sites such as Flag Fen (Peterborough) and Fiskerton (Lincolnshire) demonstrate evidence for repeated deposition from a wooden platform.

It is worth noting that in Area 2 and nationally, 18 Iron Age coin hoards have been discovered on beaches and below cliffs, as at Folkestone, Kent (IARCH-E48348), suggesting that coins were also sometimes included in practise surrounding watery deposition. Coastal hoarding stops abruptly at the start of the Roman period.

[Contextualising the Waltham Abbey hoard](#)

The Waltham Abbey hoard is unusual owing to its composition and placement; it was found during gravel quarrying beneath the water table in 1982. Its composition is unusual given that it contains iron tools, carpentry tools, a fragmented sword and a bronze Llyn Cerrig Bach type pin. It is this pin which gives the deposit its likely post-conquest date (H81). The exact findspot is uncertain but the preservation of the wood does suggest a waterlogged context. Object combination in the hoard is unusual as it combines a treatment and group of objects; weapons, tools and ornaments are not frequently found together in wet contexts, and the box suggests a single deposit event. Iron tools are more frequently found in the boundaries of settlements or in hillfort pits, though a large number of tools were found at the causeway site on the Witham at Fiskerton, Lincolnshire (Field and Parker Pearson 2003).

The handles of the tongs and the poker from the Waltham hoard were bent round in a manner similar to the sword bending seen at Springfield. However, the file in the hoard was left unbroken and the sword was fragmented rather than bent as seen with some grave goods. In this hoard there appears to be no clear process for the damage of these items. However, this form of tool deposit appears to be rare in Essex, though agricultural tools and some woodworking tools were deposited at the Harlow temple, possibly contemporaneously. There, the woodworking tools were interpreted as having been left by the builders of the temple (France and Gobel 1985: 90), but there is no reason these could not have been deliberate deposits. Arguably other deposits see fragmentation. The Lofts Farm hoard contained fittings likely removed from their organic sides body and the Orsett Cock spearheads may have been removed from their shafts pre-deposition. Items in graves demonstrate signs of deliberate damage: the sword from Springfield and items from the Lexden grave (Foster 1986).

Approximately ten miles south of the Waltham Abbey, another Iron Age deposit was found. This Lockwood Reservoir deposit consisted of a horse-bit (previously identified as cauldron chain, new identification based on online collections and Jope 2000: 272–3), one sword in a scabbard, and a sword and separate scabbard. The second sword and scabbard do not appear to belong together as damage to the sword does not correspond with any damage to the scabbard (Stead 2006: catalogue 24). The sword with no matching scabbard had a cut into the upper section of the blade, no studies have been undertaken so far to determine whether this damage was deliberate or associated with deposition. The swords appear to be otherwise intact. These deposits may have been associated with a structure or platform; the timbers were identified as a crannog by Hatley (1933) who also mentions another structure found in Banbury lock in 1900. It seems likely that had these structures survived they may have been identified as trackways or platforms. Most wooden trackways found in London have been identified as Bronze Age, with the exception of one found at Southwark, which was rebuilt during the Iron Age. The high concentration of Iron Age pottery 'from a variety of periods' and a high density of animal bone would suggest that even if the platform was no longer maintained the spot continued in significance. The next reservoir to Lockwood, Low Maynard, saw deposition in the Bronze Age with several tools (NHER MLO142 and MLO139), possibly associated with a wooden pile dwelling or crannog structure but also an Iron Age iron axe (NHER MLO139) and cauldron base (NHER MLO248 now Waltham 1, in Joy 2014: 337 and dated from the fourth century BC to the first century BC).

Both the Lockwood and Maynard finds were unexcavated as they were discovered during the construction of the reservoirs during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It is unclear whether the objects were deposited at a similar time and so neither site has been included as a hoard in the database. It does suggest that area continued in importance during the Iron Age and that Waltham Abbey fitted into a wider pattern of deposition in the Lea, mirroring that occurring nearby along the length of the Thames from the Bronze Age onwards (York 2002; Fitzpatrick 1984) but also patterns of fragmentation seen in the deposition record of Essex.

Beyond Essex, the closest parallel to the Waltham Abbey hoard would be the objects found at Orton Meadow, Northamptonshire. This included a range of iron items such as a latch lifter, three swords, seven currency bars and a ladle. Whilst not tools, the latch lifter and currency bars are iron objects not frequently deposited at wet sites. The site was not excavated and so it is unclear whether these were a discrete deposit or represent repeated deposition. Fiskerton (Lincolnshire), a site of repeated deposition, also shows some similarities with the collection at Walthamstow. The number of items is larger but also contains weapons alongside tools associated with woodworking and metalworking. Some of these tools may have been selected as they were highly decorated, either on the blade or handle. Other objects were also excavated such as bindings, bronze decorative pieces, worked wood and bone also survived. The similarities in terms of site location wet and marshy surroundings and the combination of object types is striking, but there is approximately 150 miles and several centuries between the two sites and so it seems unlikely that there would have been any direct influence. Furthermore whilst neither Orton Meadow nor Fiskerton demonstrate evidence that they were a single deposit, the Waltham Abbey hoard was deposited in a wooden box and so must have been a single event.

Despite the inclusion of the sword, Waltham Abbey would initially appear to be distinct from other contemporary deposits in Essex. However, it fits within a wider form of water-based deposition seen in the immediate area, the Lea, but also in Britain. The use of a container marks it as unusual and a certain single event, circumstances not usually seen with wet sites.

The Waltham Abbey hoard apart, the objects found in hoards in Essex demonstrate a strong correlation with those deposited in contemporary graves and shrine sites. The resurgence in hoarding in the LRIA had a martial focus, as seen by the hoards at Lofts Farm, Orsett Cock and the sword included in the Waltham Abbey hoard. These reflect items included in the burials and surrounding features such as Kelvedon and Lexden

but also graves more broadly throughout Hertfordshire and Kent suggesting the presentation of a more martial RIA society in this region.

Surrey

Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age

After the nine LBA hoards discovered, two hoards dating to the EIA have been recovered from Surrey. These were both antiquarian finds with little information on their findspots (Kingston and Crooksbury Hill). These were both small axe hoards of four and six axes. Object hoarding evidence ceases after this point with coin hoards buried with *tpq* dates from 50 BC onwards, but these were not numerous compared to other counties in Area 2.

Single finds

However, single finds were found in the Thames in Surrey such as an enamelled terret at Runnymede (British Museum BEP 1909, 0503.1), a sword found during gravel extraction at Shepperton (British Museum BEP 1995, 0704.1) and the Chertsey shield (British Museum BEP 1986, 0901.1). The focus appears to have been on the deposition of objects in the Thames and within graves. Single object deposition also occurred at dry land sites such a latch lifter deposited at the entrance to a roundhouse at Weybridge, and other pit deposits both metal and organic at the site (Hanworth and Tomalin 1977).

As with Hertfordshire (below), excavation at Wanborough found evidence for prehistoric use of the site, possibly centred on tree veneration. LRIA activity is suggested by a hoard with *tpq* issues of AD 50–60. The Iron Age coins included 11 gold, four gold plated and over 350 silver issues (it may be a dispersed Atrebatian hoard, also containing Republican and early issues. Frere et al 1986: 424). The site continued in use into the Roman period, with the construction of two Roman temples and use during first through fourth centuries AD (O'Connell and Bird 1994). The site was heavily metal-detected by night-hawks leading to the removal of thousands of coins, so records of the hoards are incomplete.

Greater London

Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age

Greater London saw a number of hoards recovered dating to the LBA but no continuation through to the Iron Age. Seventeen hoards dating to the LBA were found in the Greater London, some sites had multiple depositions such as Croydon and Hornchurch. However hoarding evidence does not extend into the EIA.

Roman Iron Age

Beyond the single find river deposits noted in the sections above, two hoards dating to the RIA have been recovered from the Greater London area.

One hoard may have been buried close to the Thames and have some association with water. The Hounslow hoard contained a headdress, potentially Bronze Age objects, a wheel figurine and several animal figurines. The hoard was discovered in c 1864 whilst trenches were dug in a field in Hounslow, but unfortunately the location was never noted. The original records suggested two separate hoards; Augustus Wollaston Franks records the finder stating that the finds were found in two different parts of the field (Franks 1865: 90–95) and notes that the objects have different patinas. Stead (1995) reassessed the finds in view of the Salisbury hoard and suggested that they could have been buried as one group. In this case, the Hounslow hoard sits within the phenomenon of multi-period hoards, where objects belonging to earlier eras were incorporated with those of much later periods. This is more fully discussed in Chapter 7. The combination of items at Hounslow suggests a deposit of different nature to the contemporary hoards of Area 2, more similar to the second century AD deposits at Wanborough also containing a headdress, though the rendering of the animal figurines suggests a broadly RIA date (Julia Farley *pers. comm.*).

Examples similar to the Hounslow headdress are seen elsewhere in Area 2 such as Mill Hill, Deal (Kent), and a chain example is known from a second century AD context at Wanborough (O'Connell and Bird 1994). The inclusion of the animals is also unusual. The only similar hoard group is from Milber Camp in Devon, likely of a similar date. The inclusion of Bronze Age objects, the wheel and headdress at Hounslow reflect a much wider range of objects than the Milber Camp deposit (of three figurines). The Hounslow findspot does place it close to Thames and so it may relate to a wider pattern of deposition with the potin hoards on the eyots (small islands) in this area.

The LRIA Orchard Hill hoard fits more into the national patterns for the LRIA and those seen in Essex and Kent. The deposit contained a spearhead decorated with bronze appliqué, an iron nave hoop and a hammer. The material has been interpreted as a 'deliberate pars pro toto' deposit (Hunnisett 2011). It is unlikely that the wheel was deposited with the majority of its wooden structure, the spearhead's wooden shaft would have had to be broken to place it at that angle within the pit, and the excavators suggested that the hammer may have been used as part of a set (likely in conjunction with a sledge hammer). As such all objects could be seen to be in some way fragmented (Hunnisett 2011).

A number of pottery and bone deposits excavated at Orchard Hill, as for hillforts in the South-West, appear to be part of a wider pattern of deposition in pits on the site. Whilst only a section of the enclosed farmstead was excavated, two Iron Age–Roman enclosures and a Bronze Age ring work/ enclosure were recorded nearby. 91 pits dating to the RIA were identified in the course of excavation (Hunnisett 2011: 14) with 12 containing animal bone group: sheep, goat or horse as well as canine bones. One contained two dogs with the legs intertwined and a number of puppy skeletons (Anon 2011: 15). One canine skeleton had a smashed pot on the skull and was covered with a layer of cremated animal bone (Pit 3535). The majority of animal bone pits were within the enclosure boundary, though several pits were found beyond it. Other deposits included a pit containing a range of material including a whetstone, spindle whorls, pottery and two partial pots as well as metal working cast off and hammer scale.

Usually pottery deposits are mainly sherds. The inclusion at Orchard Hill of a partial pot, with evidence of organic material possibly for binding and repair, with the hoard and another on site potentially suggests a localised deposition practice. Complete pot deposits were located at Hunts Hill Farm (Greenwood 1997: 156) and Heathrow Runway 1 west extension (Canham 1978), Moor Hall Farm, Rainham (Greenwood 1982), and from a pit at Farningham Hill (Philp 1984). Potentially these sections of pottery at Orchard Hill could reference the complete pot deposits seen in Greater London as these traditions are distinct from the smaller sherds more commonly deposited at Iron Age sites.

The Orchard Hill hoard reflects combinations of martial ironwork and the tools seen in both Essex and Bigbury, Kent but on a smaller scale. The decorated spear has similarities to another (British Museum BEP 1938, 0504.1) in the British Museum, found in the Thames. This demonstrates the range of sites which were considered

appropriate for one object type in a small area (Essex and Greater London). The fragmentation, even as *pars pro toto*, of items fits well with patterns seen in Essex, Kent and Greater London. As seen in hillforts, this deposit at Orchard Hill sits within a wider practice of deposition of both metallic and non-metallic objects.

Hertfordshire

Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age

Twelve LBA hoards were found in Hertfordshire, and as elsewhere in Area 2 there were multiple hoards at some sites (e.g. Pirton). As with Surrey and Greater London, there is no hoarding evidence for the EIA.

Roman Iron Age

The RIA site of Essendon provides the main evidence for object hoarding in Hertfordshire. The site saw at least nine groups of coins, torcs or weapons deposited, probably between c 100 BC– AD 40. Scatter/hoard J was later, containing a number of first and second century AD bronze coins. The hoarding site is large, spread over more than fifty square metres, and was enclosed by a ditch, though excavation suggested it may have been backfilled soon after its creation. Similar to the spear boundary deposits in Essex, spears were found deposited in the Essendon ditch along with brooches, pottery and charcoal. Beyond this boundary deposit, hoarding at Essendon is distinct from other object hoards in Area 2. Torcs were hoarded along with coins in one of the hoards on the site. Ploughing made the reconstruction of the hoards difficult and as such only three are relatively certain. Hoard A contained torcs, an ingot and coins possibly Gallo-Belgic D quarter-staters. Hoard B was a coin hoard with issues of Gallo-Belgic E, British QB and British QC. Hoard C contained a number of weapons: swords, scabbards, shields and a dagger. Group D consisted of staters and quarter staters of Tasciovanos and Cunobelin. Several more concentrations were identified as E, F, G, H and J. Group H contained four Roman denarii, and Group J consisted of a scatter of 10 worn Roman bronzes of first and second centuries AD. The remaining groups consisted of mainly Iron Age issues. The weapons cache appears to have been deposited in a wet or boggy environment, close to an enclosure ditch. The weapons cache is unlike any deposit currently known in Britain and has more similarities with weapon deposition on the Continent. Fitzpatrick noted that one of the daggers in the deposit had Continental parallels (*pers comm.*). The gold Essendon torcs are of unusual type not frequently found in Britain, these tubular sheet torcs have only been found on two other sites in Britain, at Snettisham and Sheringham (Stead 1991: 447; IARCH-1526E2).

Essendon shares similarities with the temple at Wanborough which also saw large scale deposition of gold and silver coinage, probably in a series of deposits. Burnt animal bone and pottery was also found at Wanborough though this may be related to later activity (O'Connell and Bird 1994). The site at Wanborough saw a number of structures emerge formalising the deposition site (O'Connell and Bird 1994). Whilst Essendon appeared to remain a focus for deposition into the second century AD, other than the temporary ditches, the site does not show any evidence for structures.

Beyond Essendon, Hertfordshire has not revealed any more evidence of object hoarding. However, objects often accompanied the dead. The Hertfordshire burial record suggests a number of powerful individuals with a focus on feasting and imports, with the potential for conspicuous consumption through the provision of food and drink for family, friend and dependents. Within five kilometres of Essendon, the Welwyn Garden City burial was excavated. Buried in the mid-first century BC, possibly contemporary with some of the hoards at Essendon, the grave contained wine amphorae, imported silver vessel, glass gaming tokens and a number of items connected to expressing status. This demonstrates that other imported forms, like the weapons and coins above, were deposited contemporary and in proximity to Essendon.

As discussed below, a number of coin hoards with fragments of torcs have been found in the Area 2, particularly in Kent. Torcs and coins is a combination found both in Britain and in Iron Age Europe (see ERIA, Chapter 4, Fitzpatrick 2005). Essendon fits the pattern with the torcs buried in a fragmentary state. The site sees a range of coinage deposits including Gallo-Belgic D, Tasciovanus and Cunobelin coins along with denarii (IARCH-4CEA4B). The inclusion of imported gold coins and a likely Continental torc form fit with the imported goods denoting status included in the Welwyn graves. Current evidence would suggest that throughout the Iron Age no coins or torcs were included in graves. This does not appear to be a chronological regional pattern, perhaps suggesting a communal act for the deposition of these objects but also potential taboos or rules governing their final deposition.

The remaining Hertfordshire coin hoards have a *tpq* of the first century AD (excluding those with no find information), if the coinage at Essendon was deposited relatively soon after the issues were minted, it would make it the only evidence for large groups of deposited coinage in the first century BC in Hertfordshire. As discussed below, coinage deposition in the first century AD saw a focus on shrines and enclosed sites.

Summary

Object hoarding in Area 2 sees concentrations in Essex, north-east Kent and RIA Greater London, with an absence of hoarding from the LBA/EIA onwards in Hertfordshire and Surrey. These deposits reflect a range of contexts and objects but all sit within local and national patterns of deposition, which was not seen in Area 1. Hoards in Essex either reflect watery site deposition seen both in the Thames and at other sites in England, Scotland and Wales (Walthamstow) or fit with the national pattern of association with settlement (Lofts Farm, Orsett Cock and Colchester). This association with settlement is seen at Orchard Hill (Greater London), Bigbury Camp and Marlowe (Kent). All of these hoards contain weaponry and horse-gear reflecting a martial focus in this area in the RIA, paralleled by the single finds and graves in Essex, Kent and Hertfordshire. The inclusion of horse-gear and tools in the Kent hoards suggests a group identity and activities, given the association with structures, this may be site focused. The hoards at Essendon reflect national changes with the emergence of shrine sites and repeated deposition. The association of a weapons deposit with this type of site is unique in Britain but fits with the martial deposits of the region and the increase of RIA sword hoarding in Britain.

Coin hoards

100 coin hoards, extending chronologically from the second century BC to the first century AD, are known from Area 2. Coin hoards closing up to AD 90 are considered in this section. The first hoards, closing between c 125 and 70 BC, are centred on Essex and Kent (IARCH-62EAED; IARCH-7CE5FA). In London, Surrey and Hertfordshire, no hoards are known from the mid-first century BC. There is potential however that at least one hoard from Essendon may be pre-60/50 BC (IARCH-4CEA4B).

The earliest hoards consist of either Gallo-Belgic and/or early British uninscribed gold types or potin coins. They are predominately in Essex, Kent and Greater London with one each in Surrey and Hertfordshire.

Given the shift towards settlement related deposition for many object hoards from the MIA onwards, but particularly the first century BC onwards, it is interesting that coin hoards are buried in a range of contexts. Only 20 have been excavated and 13 of these contained solely Roman issues. Only three Iron Age coin hoards are associated with a known context. It is not until the first century AD that the regions sees the deposition of coin hoards at demarcated shrine sites, such as Wanborough (IARCH-E3821C), Essendon and possibly Wheathampstead (IARCH-73A91B).

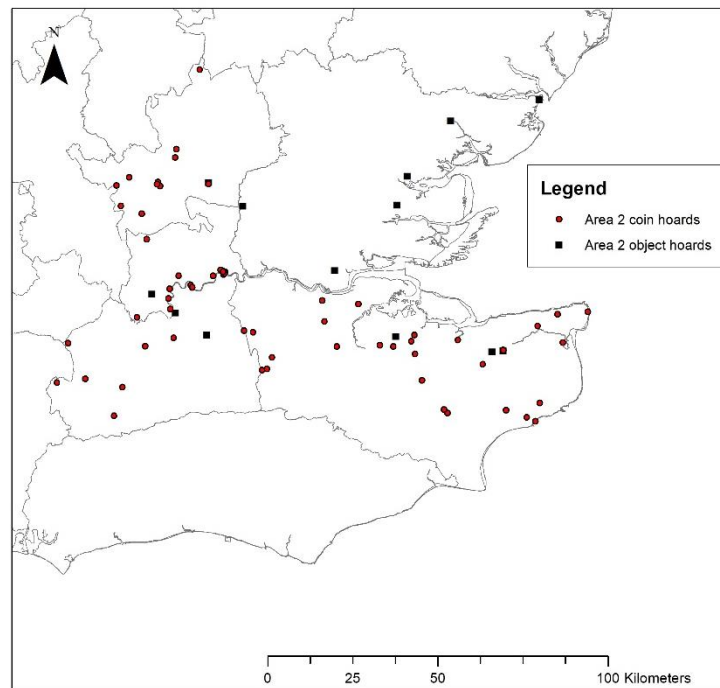


Fig 6.4: Coin and object hoards for Area 2. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

From AD 40 onwards, coin hoards are dominated by Roman issues and associated with Roman settlements or forts. This is not unexpected given the new issues needed to pay soldiers and a coin driven economy developing in the new towns, forts and colonies.

The coin hoards are treated on a county by county basis as this was how the data was collected, but it also reflects the distribution of certain more localised coinage types such as potin.

Essex

Thirty-one coin hoards date to the Iron Age. The terminal dates show some clustering, with nine having closing dates around 60–50 BC, three around 10 BC and fifteen in the period AD 35–55. The issues were mainly gold in the Iron Age, bar one potin hoard found at Stansted, with the later hoards being mixes of lower denomination Roman issues and Iron Age coins.

Essex contains some of the earliest, securely provenanced coin hoards from Britain, comprising a group of three Gallo-Belgic Aa class 4 gold staters and a quarter stater dating from 175 BC to 125 BC found in the Stansted Mountfichet area (Chapter 4; IARCH-62EAED). The hoard was discovered with a metal detector and was not excavated. It sits on the edge of plateau, several hundred metres away from the River

Stort. A hoard of 2000 potins from Thurrock was also very early in date, and may precede the Stansted Mountfichet find, with a date of late second to early first century BC (IARCH-95E1ED). The hoard site was unexcavated but the drains in the surrounding area may suggest a wetland deposition site. This appears typical of Iron Age coin hoards in Essex; of the pre-conquest hoards, only one can be associated with a settlement: the hoard of potins found in a roundhouse gully within an enclosure at Stansted Airport Catering site.

Of the 31 coin hoards, 17 were found through metal detecting, and none of these had any archaeological investigation of the findspot afterwards. Six coin hoards were discovered through archaeological investigation: five in the Colchester area and one at Stansted Airport. The remainder were found through agricultural/building work or the circumstances of discovery were unknown.

Ten hoards were discovered in Colchester, all with closing dates after AD 40. Seven were associated with an enclosure or occupied site but one was found in the river Colne 'near Colchester'. Another site may be suggestive of a 'significant place': Marks Tey has two coin hoards in the local area and whilst both are antiquarian finds with no findspot information (IARCH-E4F4AA, IARCH-359BD3), De Jersey (2014) suggested that this may represent a multiple deposition site. This is not unlikely given the huge deposits at Wanborough, multiple coin and objects deposit at Essendon and multiple deposits at sites elsewhere in Kent.

Essex sees a number of sites termed 'shrines'. There are shrines dating from the Middle Iron Age at Little Waltham and the RIA at Stansted Airport Catering site, although the potin hoard was associated with a roundhouse and not the shrine. In the later Iron Age, Harlow becomes a focus of deposition, and coins rather than objects become the most deposited objects at this site. It also sees a number of special deposits such as a skull deposited with an iron spearhead and bronze ring.

Five coin hoards spanning the first centuries BC and AD, appear to have associations with water. Five were found on the coast, usually on the beach, but none of these were excavated finds. The hoards may have been deposited on or in the cliff and been eroded to the beach. Most object hoards (other than Waltham Abbey) were deposited close to the coast or close to the source of rivers/inlets leading to the sea (see Fig 6.2).

Hoard issues post-dating AD 37 tend to be a mix of metals. Prior to this, gold was the predominant metal in coin hoards with the exceptions of the potin hoards at

Thurrock and Stansted (IARCH-529DD6). PAS single finds of Iron Age coins in Essex demonstrate a focus on copper alloy issues (1628 from 2941 recorded coins) followed by gold (887) with only a small proportion of silver (262 coins recorded). This suggests that the hoarded coins were carefully selected and not necessarily a reflection of those in circulation at the time.

Current evidence suggests the avoidance of settled sites for coin deposition which is at odds for object hoard deposition in Essex. Object hoarding appears confined to the western and eastern edges of Essex, with coin hoards spread in a band horizontally across the county. Coin hoards started well before the object hoards reappear in the record, in the LRIA. Coin hoarding and the inclusion of objects within graves continued for much of the first century BC before the object hoards reappear in the first century AD. However, despite the volume of coin hoards deposited object hoards remain few in number. Those in Essex appear to be linked to external events: the possible abandonment of the site at Lofts Farm, the changing boundaries at Orsett Cock and the deposition for safekeeping at Colchester. Object hoards were not fulfilling the safe requirements.

Kent

A large number of the Kent coin hoards have a poor quality rating for the context. Only 15 of 27 coins hoards currently recorded have findspots which can be discussed in any detail. The remaining eight have no information at all on their findspots.

Kent saw 3798 Iron Age coin single finds: 565 gold finds, 295 silver coins, 1363 potins and 1335 copper alloy. Eight of 20 Iron Age hoards were potin hoards, over one third of hoards buried, and twelve hoards contained solely or mainly gold. This would suggest that hoarded coins did not reflect the single finds potentially in circulation at that time, and were instead carefully selected for deposition.

The earliest hoards deposited are potin hoards, the earliest date have *tpqs* of 70 BC Folkestone II (Shepway, IARCH-7CE5FA) though it could be much earlier such as the second century BC. Potins were found scattered down the side of Round Hill, Folkestone and may have had some association with the round on the summit. The Thurrock hoard (dating to the late second–early first century BC was deposited on the Essex–Kent border). A recent find from Alkham (PAS ID BM-AACEAA) of 189 potins may have a similar date to Folkestone II. Twelve hoards cluster with *tpq* of 60 and 50 BC, these are mix of gold issues – Gallo-Belgic and uninscribed – and potin hoards. Two of these hoards, both with a 60 BC *tpq* date, were concealed in flint globular containers (discussed Chapter 7). Both contained uninscribed gold issues.

The first coin hoards in Kent appear to be associated with springs or boggy ground and this is a pattern which continues into the Iron Age and Roman period with a continued association with springs or the sea. Four were associated with water in some form. These were potin hoards with a closing date after 50 BC: one (Thurnham, IARCH-6B27AF) was potentially associated with a spring, Lyminge (PAS ID BM-AACEAA) was deposited on a gentle slope overlooking a brook, Broadstairs (IARCH-72903F) was a potin hoard associated with a structure but this likely lay in a promontory fort overlooking the sea. Other hoards from this period (with one or two ratings for composition and findspot) may also have some association with the water/sea: one, found at Folkestone (IARCH-E48348), contained Gallo-Belgic issues and a torc fragment, another, a potin hoard found at Birchington (IARCH-38DDE0), was found on the cliffs of Thanet.

In the LRIA hoard at Great Chart (IARCH-8C441C), with closing issues of Vespasian, this association with water was repeated. There appear to have been multiple deposits in this boggy area, potentially suggesting a site of some importance. Worth, a site of coin and miniature weapon deposition, is now surrounded by landscape cut with drains suggesting that the surrounding area may have been boggy and more wetland in nature perhaps similar to Great Chart.

From the MIA onwards, object hoards throughout Britain do not demonstrate a definite association with water with the exceptions of Orton Meadows and Waltham Abbey though watery places continue to be important as sites of repeated deposition. The association with water appears to be strongly linked to coin hoards in Kent and Greater London.

Four coin hoards had a closing date of AD 10, and five hoards were buried with closing dates between 50 BC and AD 9. These contained a range of issues, including imported potin coinage and gold issues.

Another temporal cluster of (five) hoards occurs with closing dates of AD 40–AD 54, some of which may have been linked to the Roman invasion. A hoard of 37 aurei found at Bredgar (IARCH-75460A) suggests a Roman army, if not officer presence; the coins were stacked on their edges suggesting that they were buried in their packed ‘saucisses’ or ‘rouleaux’— as they are termed in French reports. Excavations near Bredgar provided evidence for a RIA/Roman enclosure settlement with cremation cemetery active into the first century AD, but no evidence of a Roman military activity. From this point, the majority of the hoarded coinage is Roman. The final hoard with this closing date is buried at Great Chart, Ashford which contains a mix of Iron Age

gold Cunobelin issues and silver units of Amminus, along with Roman Republican denarii and one of Flavian date. Other than the Flavian denarius, it is more reminiscent of hoard composition with earlier closing dates.

Six coin hoards were associated with settlements or structures: Folkestone above, Bredgar and Broadstairs as mentioned above, and hoards in the floor deposits at Springhead (IARCH-229A0B), and one in a pit at Richborough (IARCH-B19A3A). Another hoard with a closing issue of Nero was found in central Canterbury (IARCH-A32DCF) in the remains of a house.

Several sites show evidence of repeated deposition: Westerham where two hoards may have been deposited (IARCH-25235C, IARCH-13CA2F, though De Jersey records a third in the area), Springhead (a shrine site), Chartham (IARCH-90B39B) where three hoards were deposited, and Folkestone and Lyminge, where two hoards were deposited. The hoards at Springhead appear to date later in the period. At Westerham, the deposition is spread across a relatively long period, if the closing dates of each hoard represent dates of deposition.

As with Essex, Kent sees several multiple coin hoard deposits. A long-lived association with place can be seen in the emergence of sites which see repeated deposition over long periods such as Worth, Springhead and Stoke amongst others. The findspot for the coin hoard from Stoke (IARCH-860996) was unclear but De Jersey believes that the spring was the most likely findspot for these coins (Holman 2005: 275; De Jersey 2014: 151, Stoke). There is the potential for multiple deposits owing to the wide date range (De Jersey 2014: 151, Stoke).

This concept of repeated visits to and veneration of a particular site has been addressed by studies throughout prehistory (for example Chadwick and Gibson 2013). However, this form of landscape engagement appears particularly prevalent in Kent. For example, at Brisley Farm, the original burials suggest that the people continued to visit the site to feast and deposit items (Stevenson 2012). The deposits at Bigbury cannot be fully reconstructed but they too suggest a series of deposits, similar to sites like Ham Hill (H199-202) and South Cadbury (e.g. H198) but seemingly larger in volume.

However, as in Essex, LRIA object hoards appear closely linked to changes at settled sites something that is not reflected in the coin record. Kent sees a number of mixed object and coin hoards more so than elsewhere in Area 2. The combinations suggest integration within regional depositional practices and bolsters our understanding of

object hoarding. Fragments of gold torc were deposited along with coin deposits at Westerham, gold wire and twisted bars at Folkestone and a brooch at Ash-cum-Ridley. The nighthawked coin hoard site at Stoke may also have contained torc fragments. Torcs fragments have been found with other coin hoards such as Sheringham and Snettisham (Norfolk) and Maldon (Essex), but Kent sees a surprising number of hoards buried with parts of torcs compared to elsewhere. Three or four of the 38 hoards were found with fragments of torcs. Where the parts have been recorded, it would appear that these were often from the body of the torc and not the terminals. They are often combined with gold Iron Age coinage. Sections of torc combined with coins have been found elsewhere in Britain (Netherurd, Peeblesshire and Sheringham, Norfolk). The hoards at Essendon and Snettisham contained a number of whole torcs with the coin deposits. Kent sees a concentration of these deposits but this combination fits deposition practice in eastern Britain and a number of incidences of coins and torcs have been noted in Iron Age Europe (Fitzpatrick 2005).

Lyminge sees sizeable deposits of potin hoards. Unusually, the second hoard contained a well-worn Republican denarius dating to 90 BC (although, as noted in the Treasure Report, these were in circulation until the first century AD) along with 27 Kentish primary potins, which are probably even earlier in date. It is unclear whether these represent a series of deposits or one dispersed hoard. A Colchester two-piece brooch was found with the deposit; this is at least 130 years more recent than the Roman denarius or the potins, suggesting that there may have been mixing.

Purely object hoards were confined to settled sites whereas a number of coin and object hoards appear to be unassociated with human activity. These patterns combined with the production and burials of high numbers of potin hoards are particularly unique to Kent.

Greater London

The Greater London coin hoards also show some association with water, particularly the potin hoards. 23 coin hoards have been found in the Greater London area. 12 cluster in the 60/50 BC date range, the next 11 date from AD 54 onwards. If closing dates represent actual dates of burial, there is an absence of hoard evidence spanning almost 100 years.

Of the 12 hoards with *tpq* dates of 60/50 BC, only one contained Gallo-Belgic issues, with the remainder consisting of potin coins. Four hoards have no information on find sites but the other hoards demonstrate a range of site. Six potin hoards were associated with the river, with little information on their findspots.

Of the remaining hoards, one is a small hoard of four potins with Iron Age pottery in a pit at an Iron Age settlement at Keston (IARCH-96BBCF). There is some uncertainty as whether the coins came from this pit, or were disturbed from an earlier pit which it cut. The site later become a Roman Villa. The other hoard was associated with a steep escarpment near Addington (IARCH-E444D3).

11 hoards have *tpqs* from AD 54 onwards, two have no information on findspot and two appear to be clearly associated with structures: the Cheapside hoard (IARCH-CB1DB1) associated with clay and timber buildings and the Lime Street hoard (IARCH-793CD8) with burnt structures. The remaining hoards all have findspots clustered over the City of London. As this was where early Roman settlement was centred, it seems a fair assumption that in cases where no further information is available that they were likely associated with early Roman London.

The location of the Iron Age Greater London coin hoards demonstrated a continued focus on the Thames. Other areas, such as Kent, have shown an association of potins with water, but not to the same extent. This pattern may not reflect purely a potin association; the site had seen continued object deposition from the Bronze Age onwards. The deposits may represent the importance of the Thames as a means of travel, sources of food and natural barrier. Burials were noted on eyots (small islands) in the Thames during the Iron Age and the Waterloo helmet or Battersea shield potentially may be grave goods linked to riverine excarnation (Hingley 2018).

324 Iron Age PAS coin single finds were recorded from the Greater London area: 62 were gold, 22 silver, 199 potin and 33 copper alloy. This predominance of potins may be a reflection the high number of potin hoards buried in the Greater London area in the first century BC.

The deposition of coin hoards likely follow the focus seen in single finds seen earlier in the Iron Age. The key deposition site is the Thames, hoards are either clustered along its length or on the borders of Greater London all with *tpqs* of 50 BC potentially suggesting a short-lived but intensive episode of hoarding. Could this be a form of conspicuous consumption as suggested for the Bronze Age river deposits by Bradley (1998) and York (2002)? Coin hoard evidence would suggest a break of almost 100 years before coin hoards were deposited again. Here the move is clearly towards the new Roman settlement, the primary context suggesting a complete change in practice though the proximity to the river is still a factor which must be considered.

Surrey

Coin hoarding began relatively late in Hertfordshire and Surrey and shows the later association with structures seen in Essex and occasionally in Kent. The seven Surrey coin hoards date relatively late compared to the other coin hoards finds from Area 2. The first closing dates are around 50 BC, in hoards found at Hascombe (IARCH-CD9D97) and Sunbury (IARCH-C69928). Three had closing dates after 20 BC: Farnham (IARCH-CA24AF), Wonersh (IARCH-5BDED1) and Camberley (IARCH-E1FA03). The remaining two post-date the conquest with closing dates after AD 50.

The coin hoards are overwhelmingly associated with human occupation and usually with structures of some form. Only one hoard had no information on its findspot, Camberley. Later excavation of the site near the discovery of the Farnham hoard found pits containing pottery, this suggests contemporary activity, however fleeting. The Sunbury-on-Thames hoard did not appear to have any associated structures but the association of burnt flint and animal bones again suggests human activity. The hoard from Hascombe was found in a pit in the hillfort.

Three hoards were associated with temples, two of them at Wanborough (IARCH-ABD376, IARCH-E3821C): a small early Roman hoard associated with the early circular temple on site and literally thousands of Iron Age and Roman coins to Claudius found under a burnt layer of debris with a headdress dated from c AD 50–AD 150. Owing to the removal of most of these latter coins by detectorists without recording, it is unclear if these represent a single deposit or several separate hoards, but on analogy with the Hallaton shrine, the latter seems most likely (e.g. Haselgrove 2005). The third hoard is from Wonersh near Farley Heath; it may be related to the temple there, but details of the provenance are unclear and this attribution will never be certain.

From the 919 recorded PAS finds of Iron Age coins in Surrey, only six single finds pre-date 50BC. The other 628 finds assigned a date on their records all date from 50 BC onwards. Unsurprisingly, hoarding is likely contemporary with the minting of coinage in the area and apparently an influx of coinage from surrounding and other regions (for example Corieltavi SUR-A7A9A and Cantii KENT-DD218E). In this instance, hoarded material appears to reflect the volume and metal content of coinage deposited as single finds and is more representative of circulation than other counties in Area 2.

Hertfordshire

Hertfordshire has 12 known coin hoards. The earliest has a terminating issue of c.50 BC, but there is no information on the findspot. Coins no later than AD 10 were buried

in a cremation burial at King Harry Lane (IARCH-DE3CCA) and the remaining hoards have closing dates from AD 37 onwards. Two hoards were buried in cemeteries and three were unassociated with any built features – one on a flat slope, one close to the River Gade, another overlooking a stream.

The remaining five hoards were associated with structures, and four of these with closing dates of AD 40 and AD 54 are associated with 'significant' sites. At Ashwell, two hoards were found: one with two spearheads, a copper alloy fragment and a sherd of glass in an enclosure (IARCH-53A29F) and another was a small group of Claudian copies (IARCH-332AC7). A series of coins representing several deposits have been found close to the supposed Wheathampstead *oppidum* (IARCH-73A91B), leading to the suggestion of a possible temple. An uncertain number of groups of coins were found at Essendon, discussed above. The fifth hoard was a small hoard of coins were found in the floor of Room 33, Insula XIV in Verulamium (IARCH-D36254).

Hertfordshire sees 1632 Iron Age PAS single coins finds: 481 gold finds, 226 silver, 49 potin and 853 copper alloy units. The hoard finds were predominately combinations of gold and silver with two potin hoards. Again, hoarded finds demonstrate selection compared to those appearing as single finds.

Summary

Kent and Essex contain the earliest coin hoards both in Area 2 and Britain. These included both potin and, in Essex's case, Gallo-Belgic coinage. Hoarding began later in Surrey, Hertfordshire and Greater London with the first hoards containing issues with a *tpq* of 50 BC. Whilst Greater London contained solely potin hoards, Hertfordshire and Surrey's find records contain none. There are a number of unifying factors in the deposition, with Surrey, Essex, Kent and Hertfordshire all containing evidence of multiple depositions and/or the emergence of shrine sites. Greater London is distinct with the coin hoards show an almost exclusive focus on the Thames. This focus on wet sites could demonstrate a feature focus or a wider theme of deposition. A number of coin hoards from Kent were found from boggy or wet sites and this appears to continue through to the deposition of Roman coins. Otherwise, coin hoards containing Roman issues demonstrate a strong shift to sites associated with human activity, usually Roman forts and coloniae. Providing a strong contrast to the Iron Age coin hoards and object hoarding record (exception, Fenwick hoard from Colchester). Greater London and Surrey coins contained in hoards reflect circulation whilst Hertfordshire, Essex and Kent show distinction between single finds and those coins included in hoards.

There is strong contrast in object and coin hoard deposition sites, with object hoards focused on settlement sites and almost completely dated to the LRIA (with the exception of the Hounslow hoard – RIA in date). Compared to the volume of coin hoards, the reappearance of object hoarding does not match in form or volume, being mainly confined to the iron items and with a maximum of three object hoards per period, per region. There appears to be much more a focus on imported grave goods and the use of coinage in this period as forms of display to the community.

Discussion and conclusions

Three themes emerge from examining this region: the association with wet sites for deposition, the contrasts and similarities between hoards and graves, and the emerging shrine site becoming a focus for coin deposition.

Wet sites hold importance for both object and coin hoards. The Waltham Abbey hoard, deposited in the Lea, was a part of a wider pattern of deposition in this section of the Lea but also potentially the Thames (for river deposits linked to burial see Hingley 2018). The objects in the hoard, whilst showing some similarities to the damaged and bent objects otherwise deposited in Essex, shows closer similarities with deposits at Orton Meadows or Fiskerton. However, despite the river focus for objects, when coin hoards are associated with water their location is coastal.

Many earlier coin hoards, frequently potin hoards, in Kent demonstrate an association with boggy or wet sites. This contrasts with the location of the LRIA object hoards, which are usually associated with settlement sites. This water association continues with the potin deposition in Greater London, mainly centred on the Thames. Potentially the silvery sheen of the potin mirroring that of the water made it an appropriate item for deposition in watery deposits. In the case of the Thames, the deposition of hoards on the river margins and on eyots occurs within a wider framework of single find deposition either prior to or contemporary with the coin hoarding. It is likely that the Hounslow hoard was also associated with the Thames. Roman hoards continue to be buried near to the river but this is likely owing to the emerging Roman settlement on the Thames rather than a conscious riverine focus.

The object hoards in Kent contrast with the grave good record. Primarily they demonstrate a focus on horse-gear, one not reflected by the martial items seen in the graves at Canterbury, Dumpton Gap (Whimster 1981: no 31.2), Mill Hill, Deal and Brisley Farm. Marlowe contained Roman style fittings for one horse whereas at Bigbury the focus was on chariots, with seven linch pins along with other fittings found.

The deposition of horse-gear at this hillfort fits well with Creighton's concept of horse bands. The other items in the hoard also demonstrate a group focus with a number of cauldron chains suggestive of group feasting. The slave manacles suggest trade with other regions or abroad but again groups would have been needed to corral and subdue slaves.

There appears to be a much closer correlation between hoards and grave goods in Essex and Hertfordshire, particularly spearheads. In Essex, spearheads were used as accompanying grave goods but also to demarcate the boundaries of burial sites. This practice was not confined to the dead, at Orsett Cock a group of spears were deposited in an infilled ditch and single finds in Hertfordshire suggest a similar practice. The collection of chapes at Lofts Farm fits with the scabbards found in Essex's martial graves, though in graves there is always an accompanying sword. A number of martial graves were also found in Hertfordshire dating to the first century AD (Baldock, St Albans, Welwyn Garden City, Folly Lane; Niblett 1999) and likely the RIA (Little Amwell, Hertford Heath; Whimster, 1981: 375) and those at Welwyn Garden City contain a range of imported goods conveying the status of the deceased. These concerns were combined at the Essendon site, where a weapons cache containing shields, swords and a dagger was found separate from the imported torc fragments. In both hoarding and burial, a quantity of valuable goods were removed from circulation as a form of conspicuous consumption. The weapons may have been a communal expression of identity (with the deposition of seven swords) but the fragmented gold torc buried with the coins, potentially suggests an individual aspect to the coin burials.

The repeated coin hoard deposition at Essendon is a theme seen throughout this area with multiple hoards found at Colchester, Wanborough, Ashwell, possibly Farley Heath and Wheathampstead. Whilst no coin hoards were found at proven Iron Age shrine sites in Kent, several sites see repeated deposition, such as Westerham, Charnham, Folkestone and Lyminge, with similar sites in Essex, including Marks Tey. None of these sites were excavated so it remains a possibility that these could be associated with formalised shrines or that the memory of the hoards marked the landscape. Object hoards are not associated with any of these sites, though some do see single finds such as miniature weaponry or brooches. Other than at Bigbury, object hoards do not see repeated deposition in the South-East.

Object hoards and coin hoards appear to operate with distinct traditions with little overlap in context in the second century BC when coinage was introduced to Britain. In the LRIA coin hoard deposition moved towards settlements and shrines but still

appears distinct, with a focus on new shrines and repeated deposition at certain sites, patterns not seen with object hoards. This fits with the wider occurrence of shrines in Britain and presence of multiple coin deposits as at Snettisham and Hallaton, though known shrines appear to be concentrated in southern Britain. In Area 2, other than in Kent, coins were rarely hoarded with other objects; Ashwell, Essendon, Wandsworth and Brentford II are the exceptions. The introduction and use of this new object type did not lead to it being integrated in the existing sporadic hoarding traditions; rather the separate hoarding traditions developed in parallel and coin hoarding was incorporated into new site types such as shrine sites. These shrine sites also saw object deposition, particularly of small personal items such as brooches (exception being Hayling Island (Hampshire) with currency bars, horse-gear etc). Where object hoards have been excavated, there is a trend towards deposition at settlement sites or those associated with human activity. This is particularly strong in the South-East where shrine sites are most concentrated. Both sets of deposition appear concern display, the object hoards focus on martial identity whereas coin hoards appear to suggest command of resources and networks through the obtaining, processing and minting of metals. This form of display using coinage appears considerably more popular.

Chapter 7: How to build a hoard

Previous hoarding studies have focused on object typology, dating, burial motivations, and context. As this national overview and previous studies (e.g. Hingley 1990, 2005, 2006; Hutcheson 2004) have demonstrated, particular metals or objects are associated with certain landscape types. However, these associations are not present for every object type nor reflected in every hoard. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, there is great variation over space and time. My database demonstrates the diverse range of hoarded objects, drawn not only from Britain but from the Continent. This chapter will examine some of the potential reasons for their inclusion and also look at various practices which unite hoards that otherwise, in terms of their contents, could be perceived as different.

This chapter aims to take a broader view of the making of a hoard: object selection (including non-metallic objects), choices associated with containers, the processes associated with deposition (including fragmentation and burning), and finally the marking of the hoard location.

Object selection and biography

Hoards provide a snapshot of contemporary practices and networks, captured when these objects were placed in the ground. None of the hoards within this study has provided secure evidence for recovery or adaptation after the initial deposition event, except the pit deposits (as seen at Danebury (Hampshire, eg.H107-8, H118), South Cadbury (Somerset, H204) and Bury Hill (Hampshire, H105-6) where further deposits were made in the pits). However, the later adaptation of other hoards cannot be entirely ruled out. As noted by Joy (2016), the process of hoarding began pre-deposition, when a group of objects were gathered and potentially stored, possibly over a period of time. They may have been stored together within a context or within a container, or perhaps brought together by individuals immediately pre-deposition. The objects included reflect active choices, constrained only by the pool of objects available and social *mores*. The following section will explore some of the themes in those items hoarded during the Iron Age. To a certain extent, the collection and gathering of objects has been addressed by other studies (e.g. Garrow and Gosden 2012, Ch. 5; Joy 2016; for other periods see Dietrich 2014; Hansen 1996–8). However, this chapter will review the current dataset of British Iron Age hoards from the perspective for the first time, and place this within the wider context of depositional practices.

In the following section I consider some of the more unusual object types which tended to be chosen for inclusion in Iron Age hoards: unused objects and metalworking waste, imported objects, and curated or heirloom objects. In each case I consider the significance of these pieces in the wider context of the hoards in which they appear.

Unused objects and metal working

A number of hoards demonstrate links to metal working, through the inclusion of casting waste, newly cast objects or objects sharing a mould or a similar metal source. Decisions on colour or the metal contents taken during manufacture, may also have driven the choice to hoard these objects.

EIA hoards continue a tradition from the Bronze Age where a number of LBA hoards were buried with casting waste (LBA hoards: Ebbsfleet IV and Birchington, Kent), although moulds were no longer included in the EIA. Kings Weston (Bristol, H33), Tendring (Essex, H80), Tower Hill (Oxfordshire, H189), Hindon (Wiltshire, H231) and Salisbury (Wiltshire, H234) were all buried with casting waste. Unfortunately none has been tested to see whether it related to items within the hoard. Casting waste was associated with several non-EIA hoards including Seven Sisters (Neath, H86), Houghton Down (Hampshire, H111), Burrough Hill (Leicestershire, H133), Stanwick (North Yorkshire, H178) and Newstead (Borders, H19). At Quidney (Norfolk, H151-2), crucible fragments, smithing debris and cinders found in a pit very close to the findspot were evidence for non-ferrous metalworking onsite. An anvil was found at Bigbury Camp, though it is unclear whether its deposition or use was contemporary with the hoards there.

The EIA also saw the continuation of LBA tradition with the burial of hoards containing several axes from the same mould. One example is the hoard from Mylor (Cornwall, H38) where the axes were deposited as cast and almost all from the same mould. Mould links could sometimes be seen across hoards such as at Ulverstone (H45) and Skelmore Heads (H44), in Cumbria. Here it is harder to extrapolate whether these are conscious decisions made to create deliberate links through hoards or whether, particularly with the axes, the number of axes made from that one mould was so high that it was inevitable that several would surface different hoards.

There appear to be fewer newly cast objects buried in the later Iron Age. Post-400 BC, objects appear to often have circulated pre-burial and it is likely that new

associations and connections were formed during their use-lives that were separate from their making. The main object type deposited without any form of circulation is coinage, with large numbers seemingly being deposited in the ground just after being struck (Talbot 2015). However, some LRIA hoards seem to show that links between objects manufactured together were referenced even after objects had been in use for some time. A terret from the horse-gear hoard from Saham Toney (Norfolk, H165) matches one found at Carleton Rode, Norfolk (NWHCM Accession nos: 1847.66.3 and 2006.349). Both have identical decoration and enamelling leading to the suggestion that they were part of the same set. Links can also be seen within hoards; at Polden Hill (Somerset, H203) it appears to have been a conscious decision to reunite objects with similar patination (Davis 2014: 116). Several items appear to have been casted at the same time but signs of wear suggest they were used before being reunited and buried as part of the hoard (*ibid*: 137).

The EIA also saw experimentation with the colour of copper alloys, using high tin alloys to create a silvery appearance in a number of EIA axes. This author follows Boughton in suggesting that this may be in imitation of the new metal, iron (discussed in Chapter 4). Brass was increasingly included in hoards of the LRIA, in Scotland particularly, some brass objects had been melted to create local object forms. Adaptation of appearance could also take place post-casting; Davis identified bridle bits from the Polden Hill hoard which were customised through the addition of a patina (Davis 2014: 110). Their appearance may have influenced their inclusion within the hoard.

As discussed in Chapter 4, Roman metals imported into Scotland were sometimes turned into objects expressing local identities, such as brass beaded torcs and armlets. The metal's origin, and in the case of brass its appearance, may have driven the choice to hoard these objects, affecting their significance and meaning.

Some objects may have decoration or patination which no longer survives. The anaerobic conditions at Fiskerton enabled the preservation of decoration on an iron knife, hinting that some of the iron hoards may have contained decoration no longer visible owing to corrosion. These elements that are no longer present may have played a significant part in their selection as hoard objects.

Imports and Roman influences

As noted in Chapter 4, imports were frequent inclusions in LRIA hoards but had appeared in hoards from the EIA onwards. The LRIA also saw a number of these items appearing in contemporary graves (see Chapter 6: Area 2). In some instances, these imports strongly contrast with other items within the hoard. For example, horse fittings from the Seven Sisters hoard (H86) could be divided into two groups: those decorated with a geometric design made from imported metals and the more traditional Iron Age designs seen previously within Britain (Davis and Gwilt 2008: 149–51). These artistic divisions were supported by metal analysis which demonstrated high levels of brass, an imported metal in this period, among those objects deemed Roman in style (Davis and Gwilt 2008: *ibid*).

Some imports – vessels and strainers associated with alcohol preparation – appear to have held a particular significance. Dressel 1 amphora finds demonstrate that wine was arriving in Britain from 150–135 BC (Carver 2001: iii and table one). Yet the evidence for drinking vessels dates considerably later, mainly to the first century AD. These often imitated Roman designs but were often locally produced. Nine hoards are composed mainly of drinking vessels or bowls and strainers (Table 7.1). These are spread throughout the country (Fig 7.1), with no apparent concentrations apart from possibly in East Anglia (Hockwold (H141), Crownthorpe (H144), Pinefields (H211)). 'Brookfield' (H220), Santon (H152) and Westhall (H212) all contain items associated with wine or alcohol preparation and serving. These hoards are otherwise quite distinct, containing a mixture of tools, horse-gear, brooches and other items.

Dining vessels in other materials were also hoarded: a pottery cauldron with pottery animal strainers was also found at Ardleigh, Essex (Erith and Holbert 1975). Amphorae were also used as funerary urns at sites such as Aston Clinton (Buckinghamshire) and Lindsell (Essex), this practice became increasingly popular in the Roman period (Callender 1965) and drinking vessels were included in graves particularly in the South-East (Hill 2002). In the core areas of wine importation, vessels were incorporated into Roman style cremation burial practices. Beyond the core, vessels were instead incorporated into indigenous hoarding practices, suggesting the development of a mixed local tradition around these objects.



Figure 7.1 Location of hoards containing drinking items. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Code	Hoard	Period	Objects
H211	(Pinefields, Bennett's) Brandon, Forest Heath	LRIA	Wine strainer, inscribed saucepan and drinking vessel with a bronze cauldron
H212	Westhall	LRIA	Horse-gear, vessel fragments, personal ornament.
H220	'Brookfield'	LRIA	Copper alloy strainer, 5 bracelets and ceramic vessel
H224	Kingston Deverill	LRIA	3 saucepans and 2 strainers. One with 'P. CIPI POLIBI' markers mark on the handle
H144	Crownthorpe	RIA	Strainer bowl, saucepan, bowls, saucepan and two drinking cups.
H40	Upper Weardale	LRIA	Two pans and a ladle.
H41	Castle Howard	LRIA	5 copper alloy saucepans with P CIPI POLIB inscription.
H152	Santon Downham	LRIA	Horse-gear, dining equipment, brooches, vessel equipment
H140	Langstone, Newport	LRIA	2 bronze bowls and a bronze wine strainer
H141	Blackdyke Farm, 'Hockwold Treasure'	LRIA	5 Italo-Greek silver goblets
H192	Manorbier	LRIA	A dish, 2 dippers and 2 strainers. Fragmentary objects were likely two flat-bottomed dishes and a cauldron
H100	Ynys-Gwrtheyrn	LRIA	5 bronze pans, one contained coin hoard
IARCH-4F0B4A	Pennal	LRIA	'huge brass pann' with Roman coins

Table 7.1 Object hoards containing items associated with alcohol consumption

The exact use of strainers remains unclear. Traditionally believed to be for the preparation and serving of wine, tests on the strainer from the Colchester doctor's grave discovered traces of Artemisia, suggesting a medicinal or hallucinogenic use for this strainer (Crummy 2007) and perhaps others. Testing of other finds (such as Manorbier (H192), Langstone (140) and 'Brookfield' (H220)) may shed further light on the use of these items.

The wine strainer hoards, as mentioned, were mainly distributed in Wiltshire, Norfolk and South Wales with one in West Yorkshire. This, however, does not match with Carver's record of Dressel 1 and 2–4 forms (2001: fig 3, fig 4 and appendix 1). Excluding the hoards from South Wales and northern England, strainer hoards are found on the borders of the main distribution of Dressel 1 & 2–4 finds which are concentrated in Area 2 and on the Isle of Wight and the Hampshire/Dorset coast (Carver 2001: fig 3, fig 4 and appendix 1). Where the concentration of amphora sherds is strongest, wine straining equipment was not hoarded but included as grave goods. The main exception is Santon Downham (Suffolk) where wine-related items were hoarded along with brooches, horse harness and Roman armour.

The wine strainer hoards in Wales are focused mainly along the coast. Manorbier and Langstone (approximately three miles inland) were deposited

relatively close to the coast, as is usual for southern Welsh hoards. However, some caution is advised, since these areas appear to be the most heavily metal detected areas, with inland areas much less well explored. Both hoards incorporate 'native' elements in the design of the strainers (Gwilt and Lewis 2009), in the case of Manorbier a decorated plate was attached to the bottom of the saucepan (*ibid*). Interestingly two other hoards containing vessels combined with Roman coins, likely dating to the LRIA, were found in Gwyden. Both were antiquarian finds and so locational and composition data are patchy. The Ynys-Gwrtheyrn Farm hoard (H100) contained Republican, Augustan and Vespasianic coinage along with five Roman vessels (probably with at least one saucepan). Another was found at Pennal (IARCH-4F0B4A), Gwyedd, pre-1693 where a 'huge brass pann' was found with Roman coinage (issues of Julius, Augustus and Tiberius). The hoard from Pennal seems likely to be associated with the Roman fort in the area and both hoards, like those from South Wales, were associated with the coast or coastal inlets suggesting imports.

The vessel hoards from Norfolk come from within a very small radius and were likely contemporary: Hockwold and Brandon (H211) were buried within five miles of each other. The remainder were under 40 miles away from these. The number of hoards of buried contemporaneously within such a small area is unusual compared with hoards in other parts of Britain. Hockwold is unusual not only for the skilled manufacture of the silver cups, which have strong similarities to examples found in Pompeii, but also owing to their destruction before deposition: the handles were removed and the cup bodies crumpled. The Brandon hoard was comprised of copper alloy vessels, including a strainer, an inscribed basin and a vessel with wooden remains, all found within a large cauldron of bronze. Whilst united by the function of the contents for preparing and serving alcohol in groups, these two hoards are quite different in form, one being of elaborately decorated precious metals and the other a mix of Iron Age and Roman forms. The nearby site of Thetford shows high numbers of butt beakers compared to other sites (Ralph 2007), perhaps suggesting feasting or conspicuous consumption at the site. The focus on wine can also be seen in other contemporary hoards within a c 40 miles radius of Brandon. In the case of Crownthorpe, 30 miles away, and likely contemporary with the other two hoards, the two copper alloy cups were deposited whole and possibly on a temple site along with a strainer, a patera, a pan and two bowls. The Crownthorpe cups were imported, but at a later point the 'Celtic'-style birds were added to the

handles. Santon and Westhall were buried c 40 miles from Brandon and included a wider range of items. Westhall contained horse-gear, a section of a socketed iron spearhead, fragments of bronze vessels and sections of a possible strainer. Buried within a cauldron, Santon contained horse-gear and chariot pieces, decorated fragments, dress items, tools, strainer parts, fittings from a box, scales, and weights and ten brooches.

Several coin hoards in the Norfolk and Suffolk border area may also demonstrate a focus on wine consumption (see Fig 7.2). Many hoards, where enough pottery survives for identification, are from East Anglia. These demonstrate a strong focus on imported drinking vessels and local copies of butt beakers and globular beakers. The coin hoards associated with these forms all contain closing issues dating to c AD 40–50. Numismatically there does not appear to be a pattern as the hoards vary both in size and coin types. The contemporary closing date for these hoards may explain the similarities in pottery containers if all were drawn from the same pottery pool. However, it is worth considering whether there were other reasons for their usage. A concentration of such similar hoard containers is not seen elsewhere in Britain during the Iron Age and the butt beaker and globular beaker forms have been associated with alcohol consumption. The type appeared at nearby Fison Way, Thetford, a site given special significance and possibly associated with feasting (Ralph 2007). These forms are relatively rare in Norfolk (Hill 2002).

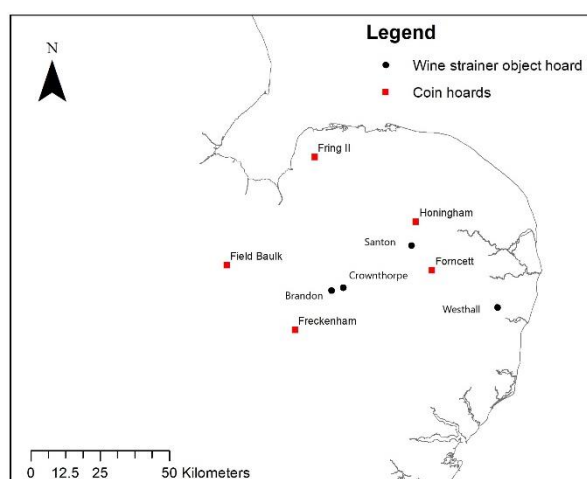


Figure 7.2 Coin and object hoards containing items associated with alcohol consumption. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

The cluster of alcohol-related objects are somewhat removed from the horse-gear and the torc hoards to the north and east of the grouping. The horse-gear hoards are mainly centred where the terret concentrations are strongest, as demonstrated by Harlow (see Figure 7.3).

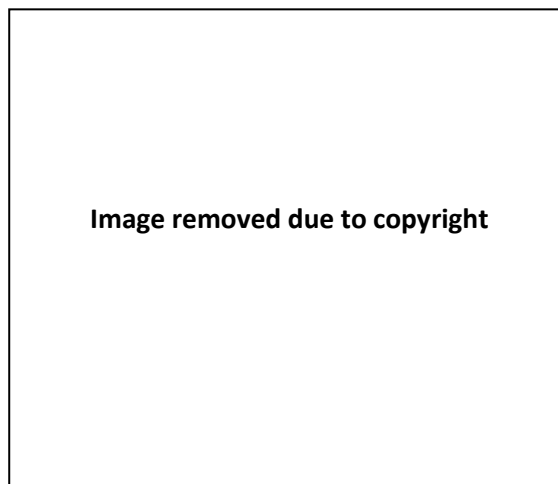


Figure 7.3 Terret distribution in Norfolk, from Harlow 2018: fig 2.

Drinking carries a social significance, perhaps linked to the imported wine or production of alcohol and the control of these networks. The inclusion of drinking items within hoards is similar to the MIA hoards which emphasised communal gatherings and identities (Chapter 4). The strainers and imported items suggest an awareness of Roman/Gallic style drinking practices and emphasise wider connections with the Roman world. The hoards contrast with the use of these items in burial practice in the South-East but in Norfolk and the west they appear in hoards – perhaps further emphasising the communal aspect, or different local forms of depositional practice.

That these items were often, but not always, buried without other items suggests that Iron Age peoples were selecting sets of socially significant, often imported, material which reflected contemporary local concerns around consumption, status and shared social practices/community. These appear to be reflected in the inclusion of both metalwork and pottery forms within the hoarding practice but also structured deposition (e.g. Fison Way, Thetford).

Multi-period hoards

Some hoards are 'multi-period' containing objects which are considerably older than their counterparts within the group, e.g. containing items dating to the Bronze Age. This is not a phenomenon occurring solely in the Iron Age but across periods (see Davis 2018; Boughton, Knight and Wilkinson 2019). Within Iron Age hoards, these older objects can broadly be split into two groups:

1. 'out-of-time' objects

These are objects dating hundreds of years previously, usually to the Bronze Age. These have likely been found in the course of agriculture or monument construction and possibly curated for a time pre-burial.

For example, the Salisbury hoard (Wiltshire) was an undeclared metal detector find dispersed on the antiquities market. Ian Stead tracked the items, leading to several arrests, and the items are now in the British Museum collections. This was the first hoard to confirm the existence of multi-period hoards. Previous finds were antiquarian and so there was uncertainty as to whether the objects were actually associated.

Most of the objects in the Salisbury hoard appear to have been curated. It contained at least 535 objects, 78% (415 objects) dated to the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age; almost half were socketed axe with the remainder being dirks, rapiers spearheads and tools. The range and number of Bronze Age items suggests a number of hoards or finds brought together. These were combined with 72 Iron Age miniatures of shields, cauldrons, a wheel and a currency bar. Excluding coin hoards, the Salisbury hoard is one of the biggest hoards deposited in the Iron Age.

Examples of hoards containing 'out-of-time' objects have been marked in Table 7.2 below.

2. heirloom or antique objects

These usually pre-date their counterparts in the hoards by one or two hundred years. It is unlikely that they were buried previous to their inclusion in the hoard and they were likely preserved through kin-groups or circulated through community networks.

The 'Brookfield' hoard, discovered near Wakefield, contained a wine strainer, ceramic vessel and five bracelets. Four of these bracelets comprised 2 pairs.

One pair was much worn and the second pair in much better condition. The type was found in Arras graves and Kings Barrow, North Staffordshire and dated to the early La Tène period (Lock et al 2014: 86), potentially dating at least 200 years before the introduction of the wine strainer. The strainer and fifth bracelet pushed the closing date of the hoard to the first century AD. The triskele pattern on the strainer combines the Roman import with native decoration (as seen in Wales) and the single wire bracelet is almost identical to those found at Vindolanda (Farley and Wilkinson 2017). The hoard appears to encapsulate the multi-faceted identities of the late first century AD. The Vindolanda-style bracelet demonstrates close links associated with the Roman army but the Arras bracelets demonstrate a curation of the past and the potential for heirloom objects. The combination of these items evidences new items in circulation and changing priorities. It is likely that the importance of the hoard was elevated through the age and networks through which the older objects had moved.

The only other identified example of an ‘heirloom’ object was found in Snettisham, Hoard L (H171), where radiocarbon dating and examination of use-wear suggests that several of the torcs would have been at least one generation older than the other items they were deposited alongside. Among the oldest items was the so-called ‘Grotesque torc’, which may have belonged to great-grandparents or great-great-grandparents of the individuals burying the hoard (Joy 2016: 249–50).

Code	Hoard	Period	Objects
H234	Salisbury	MIA	183 socketed axes, 54 weapons, 37 knives, 100 tools, 1 anvil, 16 pins, 62 miniatures, 17 razors, 55 other objects, casting waste and hone-stone.
H98	Hounslow	MIA–RIA	6 figurines, head dress fragment, 2 copper alloy ornamental fitting, pin fragment, 8 axe, 6 palstaves, 2 knives, and a spear-head.
H203	Polden Hills	LRIA	Horse-gear, seven brooches, torc, 2 bracelets.
H236	Vale of Wardour	EIA	114 objects fragmentary and complete. 40 weapons, 10 axes, 41 tools, 6 knives, 5 dress pins, 2 razors, 1 bracelet/collar, 1 ring, 9 other objects.
H235	Tisbury	EIA	Middle Bronze Age weapons, 4 tools, and 3 axes.
H107	Danebury	MIA	4 weapons, 2 razors, 7 axes, pin (?), 4 tools.
H228	Batheaston	MIA	7 tools, 2 axes, 7 weapons, 26 tools, 3 tweezers, 182 pins and brooches, 2 miniatures, 71 other objects.
H171	Snettisham L	ERIA	Torcs and bracelets.
H220	‘Brookfield’	LRIA	Copper alloy strainer, 5 bracelets and ceramic vessel.
H115	Whitchurch, Basingstoke	RIA	A gold lock-ring ring, a gold ring fragment and a copper alloy spear tip. Silver torc fragment, a lump of silver, six cu-alloy fragments and five miniature bronze axes.

Table 7.2 Multi-period hoards containing out-of-time objects.

Circulating objects

The process of gathering and hoarding objects did not occur in isolation but alongside the deposition of single finds at settlement sites. Hingley was the first to study this phenomenon when applied to curated or 'out-of-time' objects and viewed the reburial of these objects with contemporary objects or within new structures as an effort by their depositors to link contemporary activity to the genealogical and mythic past of the land (2009). His study examined both single finds and their inclusion within hoard groups but owing to the absence of contextual information for the hoards, their discussion was relatively brief. Focusing on the excavated single finds suggested a link between the deposition of these items and sites which demonstrated signs of earlier Neolithic or Bronze Age occupation prior to their Iron Age use. Similar instances which emerged more recently include the fragments of two Middle Bronze Age spearheads at Hallaton (Score 2011: 67), though their association is not certain as they were not found within any features. At Wanborough, where thousands of gold coins were deposited, a Middle Bronze Age palstave and spearhead were brought to and buried at the site (O'Connell and Bird 1994: 98–9). These Iron Age depositions were made at sites where repeated object deposition suggests importance for the local community and, in some cases, potentially beyond.

It was not exclusively metal curated items that were brought to and deposited at Iron Age sites; flint and stone tools also appear but as they are more difficult to date, they are rarely discussed. At Uley (Gloucestershire) and Hallaton (Leicestershire) Mesolithic and Bronze Age flints were deposited during the Iron Age. At Uley, they were included with other deposits. A Neolithic or Early Bronze Age stone axe was deposited within a hut at Bredon Hill (Henckel 1937: 87; date from Douglas Mitcham *pers. comm.*) and the site later saw the deposition of ironwork hoards. At Filchampstead, Cumnor, Oxfordshire a Neolithic axe was also deposited (Hart 2012). The manner of deposition is unlike that of any other objects: it was placed in an oak and alder box with a horse pelvis, iron slag and Middle to Late Iron Age pottery. The fill also contained organic matter: barley, hazelnuts, cherry pips and perhaps water. These examples suggest that these early prehistoric flint and stone objects were recognised to be 'other' in some form and were brought to sites for inspection and deposition. Particularly in the case of Filchampstead, these objects were removed from circulation in an extreme manner compared to others deposited around the same time.

Multi-period content hoards

As can be seen, from Figure 7.4, multi-period content hoards are mainly found in the south, with a focus in Wiltshire. Outliers are found at Snettisham (Norfolk, H171),

'Brookfield' (Yorkshire) and potentially at Hounslow (Greater London, H98). As evidenced from the examples above, the collection and sometimes curation and deposition of Bronze Age objects was a practice found in various areas of the country and does not appear to be specific to one particular region. Evidence does not suggest a unified practice, even within the Wiltshire area.

Selection of objects

Some multi-period hoards demonstrate the wide networks through which objects were gathered. The Vale of Wardour hoard (Wiltshire, H221), contained over 114 objects: a mix of sword fragments, dress items, sickles and axes, dating from the Early to Late Bronze Age (PAS database WILT-E8DA70). The LBA socketed axe types consisted of South Eastern, Everthorpe and Meldreth types usually concentrated in Yorkshire, East Anglia and Kent but not frequently found where the hoard was recovered in Wiltshire, or even in surrounding areas of central southern England (Boughton 2015: cat 1388–1392). The inclusion of Blandford, Sompting, Tower Hill and American axes is more reflective of the hoarding practices of the local area in the Bronze Age (ibid). The Salisbury hoard (Wiltshire) contained at least 535 objects, 78% of which dated to the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age. Almost half were socketed axes, with the remainder dirks, rapiers, spearheads and tools. It also contained a high number of Portland axes, which are only found in the modern county of Dorset (Boughton 2015: 203), suggesting that much of the material was gathered from a wider local area before being reburied at Salisbury. The wide range of dates of the items suggests the potential recombination of several hoards. Care was taken with their placement of the objects, demonstrated in the careful fan-shaped arrangement they were found in (Stead 1998: 110). Whilst most of the axes show little sign of reuse or handling, use-wear marks on several suggest someone attempted to re-sharpen them before their burial. These efforts were unsuccessful (Boughton 2015: 207). The majority of the Bronze Age objects included within these hoards are bladed (a pattern noted for EIA hoards in Chapter 4) – with the exception of Batheaston, which includes a large number of pins. The hoards also often represent a number of different periods (see Salisbury above), either suggesting that found those in the Iron Age were already from Bronze Age mixed hoards or were composed from a variety of different finds or hoards.



Figure 7.4 Locations of multi-period hoards. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Whilst similar motivations may have driven reburial, and the behaviour appears concentrated in Wiltshire, there appears to have been no 'correct' manner for reburying curated Bronze Age objects. With multi-period hoards spread across the south of England, it seems unlikely that they were all buried according to the same model. The composition of each hoard does not suggest common practice in size, site or object types. However there do seem to be a common theme; several of the Bronze Age hoards were recombined with objects of an 'enigmatic nature', these miniatures do not appear in other Iron Age hoards. Despite geographical and temporal divides these hoards contain Bronze Age and miniatures, where other Iron Age hoards do not.

All the multi-period hoards dating to the MIA–ERIA are unified by the inclusion of miniatures alongside the Bronze Age objects. Salisbury contains cauldrons, shields and potentially a tiny currency bar, Hounslow a wheel and animals (possibly previously attached to a helmet), Batheaston (H224) contains a wheel and a cauldron and a potential hoard at Whitchurch (H100), contains miniaturized axes.

The inclusion of miniatures appears significant as these items often turn up on shrine sites or at least sites of deemed significance such as Nettleton, Lincolnshire (Farley 2011), Worth in Kent (Hawkes 1940) and Frilford in Oxfordshire (Bradford and Goodchild 1939, H186) suggesting symbolic or potentially cosmological significance for these items. Miniatures represent 'significant items': those associated with power, war and feasting. The wheels may represent chariots or have some form of religious significance. These miniatures increase in popularity into the Roman period where they have been recorded by the PAS in most counties. Their use in these 'special' places and then their combination with these unusual deposits would suggest more than coincidence.

The Whitchurch hoard, a recent PAS find, could potentially be a multi-period hoard as Middle and Late Bronze Age objects were found in the same location as RIA objects. It also contained miniaturised items, the dating of the axes within the hoard remains uncertain, and Whitchurch's Bronze Age objects differ to those in other hoards: two gold lock-rings and copper alloy spearhead. These objects were combined with an Iron Age tankard binding or shield clip, silver lumps and a silver torc fragment, along with five copper alloy miniature axes. Unfortunately these axes cannot be dated securely.

Several of the multi-period hoards contain miniatures which demonstrate evidence of wear, suggesting that they had not be created purely as a reaction to the Bronze Age objects. The miniature cauldrons demonstrate at least three different types of construction (noted in more detail by Kiernan 2009), whereas shield manufacture show

more uniformity – hollow bosses with a riveted handle affixed behind the boss. Tests on the shields from Salisbury demonstrate different chemical markers suggesting that the shields were not made from the same batch of metal (Stead 1991). One miniature cauldron fragment from Salisbury was catalogued as ‘riveted repair plate’ (British Museum BEP 1998, 0901.148) and does not match any examples of the handle fittings. As the fragment is no longer associated with its cauldron it is impossible to tell whether this was a genuine repair or cosmetic to imitate the repairs on cauldrons as seen at Chiseldon (H223) and Glenfield (H135). One of the Salisbury shields also was subjected to a repair suggesting that it may have been displayed or used pre-deposition (Kiernan 2009: 170). Kiernan noted marks on the inside of the cauldrons which suggest use, perhaps even that food had been served from them (2009: 170).

The animals from the Hounslow hoard (Greater London), included alongside Middle to Late Bronze Age objects, and are stylistically very different. Some demonstrate plate attachments which might have fixed them to a helmet or other item. These too were gathered to be buried with the hoard rather than created solely for burial.

Items such as the miniature wheels included in the Batheaston and Hounslow hoards show no evidence of being attached to other objects though there is evidence of wheels being incorporated into headdresses and other items. Images of a wheel headdress are found on Atrebatian coinage (O’Connell and Bird 1994: 93–105) and on decoration at Orange’s triumphal arch, both cited by Kiernan (2009: 14). However, as Kiernan (2009) notes, wheels for wearing have some form of attachment. The wheels from Hounslow (British Museum BEP 1864,0501.11) and Batheaston (not included in Kiernan’s study) have no such attachments making them more likely to be ritual forms as noted by Kiernan at sites such as Nanteuil-sur-Aisne, Ardennes, France, amongst others (Kiernan 2009: 17; Lambot 1989).

Some of the miniature items buried with Bronze Age objects reflect object types buried in other Iron Age hoards. The collection of miniature cauldrons from Salisbury were buried in a similar period to the Chiseldon cauldron hoard c 35 miles away. Whilst potentially coincidental, the miniature forms could be reflecting similar concerns to those entangled with the Chiseldon cauldron hoard. Kiernan noted that marks from inside some of the cauldrons could indicate use (Kiernan 2009, 170), it is possible that consumption from the cauldrons mirrored the collection and usage of the Chiseldon cauldrons pre-deposit.

This is strengthened by the forms of miniature cauldrons buried at Salisbury. The full-size Chiseldon cauldrons have been assigned to Group II in Joy’s typology (2014: 33),

(parallels Eggers type 5). Some of the deeper miniatures from Salisbury were categorised as Eggers types 4 and 5 (Kiernan 2009, 171 citing Eggers 156, pl. 2). Stead noted parallels between the miniature cauldrons at Salisbury and possibly those found at Batheaston. The cauldrons at Batheaston are more fragmentary but have a similar depth to some of the Salisbury cauldrons, perhaps suggesting imitation of the new (and potentially regional) cauldron type identified by Joy at Chiseldon (Joy 2007: 37).

It is possible that through the collection of these diverse groups of material, Iron Age communities were trying to order and structure their past and present. From the single finds data and the contexts in which they were found, it seems that older past objects were viewed with importance and likely utilised for constructing narratives surrounding both past and present, conferring importance on their depositors. The combination of these 'out-of-time objects' with miniatures may reflect a way of categorizing and controlling the world, with objects representing the present and the past both imbued with cosmological importance.

These hoards cannot currently be tied to changes in the archaeological record, and it may be that the finding of the out-of-time objects themselves precipitated a hoarding event or, as in the tumulus at Lexden, death or community change instigated the burial of these unusual groups.

[Into the Roman period](#)

The practice of depositing curated objects continued into the Roman period, with the deposition of Bronze Age objects at sites such as Ashwell, Hertfordshire (Jackson 2018). Coinage may also have been reburied for similar reasons to the multi-period object hoards. Reburial has been suggested for the find at Donhead St Mary (Wiltshire, IARCH-45AFC3), a hoard of Iron Age coinage. The pot containing the coins has a typological date after AD 200 (De Jersey 2014: 7). South-Western staters and quarter staters are usually dated to the period c. 60–20 BC and whilst it is not impossible that they remained in circulation until this point, their burial more than two centuries later without Roman types being included was unlikely and unusual. In addition, few Iron Age coin hoards are associated with hillforts; this appears to be a later, Roman phenomenon. The location of the hoard within twenty kilometres of Salisbury and Vale of Wardour hoard (and potential proximity to Batheaston) is noteworthy, placing it in the same region as two Iron Age hoards with reburied Bronze Age objects. It could thus represent a continuation of the tradition into the Roman period but we cannot be certain.

These hoards represent a snapshot in time however the ripples of these out-of-time objects continued to be felt throughout the Iron Age and onwards into the Roman period. The number of miniatures grew considerably under Roman occupation but interestingly the miniature socketed axe forms continued alongside the introduction of the miniature Roman form. Some of these have been securely dated to the Iron Age, such as one from an Arras grave (Stead 1979), but Robinson believed them to be Roman and identified concentrations in Wiltshire (1995). Examination of the PAS database demonstrates that these objects have now been found throughout England. This may suggest an attempt to combine power or status conferred to the holder of the object through ownership and the miniaturisation of the past form.

The full size 'out-of-time' objects continued to be found, circulated and deposited in the first century BC and AD, for example at the Lexden tumulus (Essex) and at Hayling Island (Hampshire). Whilst imports are relatively frequent inclusions in both hoards and graves goods, current evidence would suggest that 'out-of-time' objects are mainly confined to hoards during the Iron Age. Other than the Bronze Age palstave at Lexden, Bronze Age objects in the Iron Age appear only on sites and in hoards potentially suggesting that their meanings or associated myths were associated with community and they were not usually fixed to one person.

Accompanying objects/ associated non-metal items

Whilst the focus on this thesis has been the metalwork items within hoards, a number of hoards contain other items such as pottery, bone, stone and organics. The following is a brief overview which the aim to provide a more holistic discussion of deposition and the pre-deposition processes of selection. Organic materials are discussed under containers as they frequently function as packing materials.

Pottery

Thirty hoards were associated with pottery (see Fig 7.5), five of these contain amphorae. It is beyond the scope of this project to examine the types of sherds associated with hoards though any future study has the potential to refine the dates of these hoards.

Where pottery has been identified, it can be informative of the values of the depositor(s). In the case of South Cave (H75), the hoard was covered with large sections of oil amphorae (Evans 2003). The presence of oil not only suggests contact with those who could supply Roman goods but also an awareness of Roman-style dining and a wish to include it in the local diet. Both the Salisbury and Orchard Hill (H97) hoards were also associated with large fragments of pottery. The Salisbury hoard was inserted into the top of a pit, in which two crushed vessels and a calf skeleton had already been deposited (Stead 1998: 170). It is unclear when the metalwork was added to the top level of this pit and whether the concealers were aware of the items below. As discussed in Chapter 6, the complete sections of pottery buried with the hoard found at Orchard Hill fitted a wider theme of pottery deposition in Greater London. Complete pottery containers are discussed below. The complete ceramic vessel found with the 'Brookfield' hoard is discussed in the containers section below.

The remaining hoards were associated with fragments of pottery and, as with the hoards outlined above, were deposited in pits or ditches. Whilst the majority of these hoards were focused on settlement/occupied sites (Cambria Farm (H196), Orchard Hill, Salisbury and Ham Hill (H188)) two were found at later temple sites (Uley (H232) and Frilford) and two were found unassociated with any settlement (Chiseldon and Kingston Deverill (H239)).

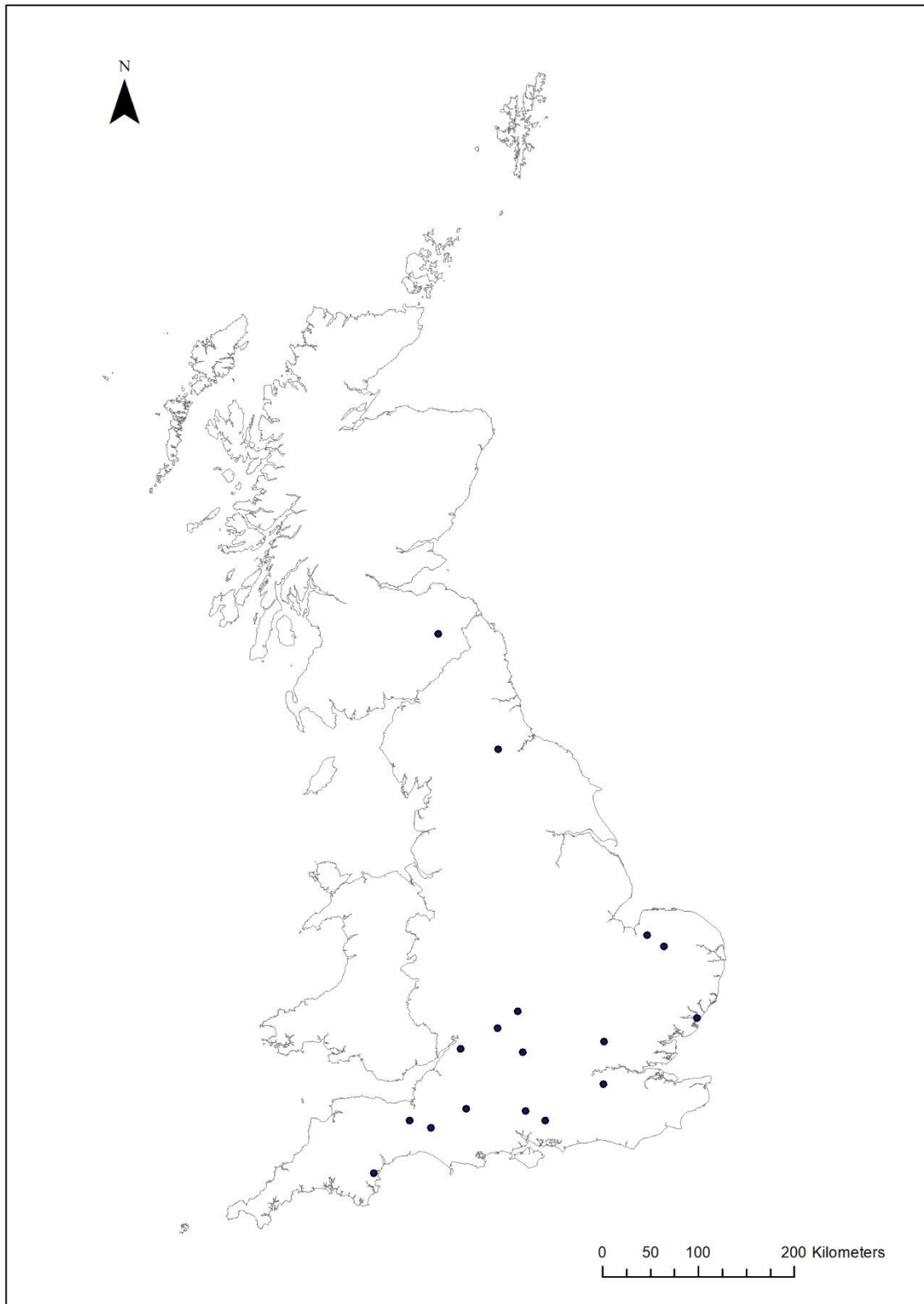


Figure 7.5 Hoards associated with pottery. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

At Cambria Farm (Somerset), 'later prehistoric, rock-tempered sherds' were found in the base of a posthole with three iron spearheads and stones for packing (PAS ID SOM-B98F21). It's unclear whether these sherds formed part of the packing materials or part of the foundation deposit. At Frilford, pre-conquest pottery sherds were found alongside a miniature sword and spear and broken iron spearhead, in an infilled pit (Bradford and Goodchild 1939). At Uley, which like Frilford later became a temple site, an almost complete amphora was found with the iron spearhead deposit. Otherwise the pottery associated with the miniature locally produced and found on sites in the region (Woodward and Leach 1993: 303–33).

At Ham Hill, the pit deposit was accompanied by pottery and bone. There was relatively little pottery deposited compared to other pits at the site. All hoards deposited on hillfort sites demonstrate evidence for pottery deposited in pits (though at South Cadbury it is the pottery is likely to be 'intrusive'; Barrett et al 2000: 62). At Bury Hill, large amount of pottery were deposited in the pits containing the hoards, and was amongst the largest amounts deposited on site. However, these were not considered special deposits compared to elsewhere on site (Cunliffe and Poole 2000b: 39). At Hod Hill, it is unclear whether pottery was associated with the deposits as Richmond records the pottery dating but does not outline whether it was associated with the hoards or was elsewhere in the pit (Richmond 1968: 39–41). No record for associated pottery either with the hoards or in the pits could be found at Danebury, despite deposition elsewhere on site.

Milber Camp (H50) was noted to have pottery in the base of the ditch, unfortunately as it was not excavated it is unclear whether it was associated with the animal figurines. The cauldrons at Chiseldon were associated with some small pieces of pottery, burnt flint and organic matter (Higbee, Mephram and Stephens 2017: 65). The Kingston Deverill report noted the inclusion of pottery sherds with the hoard but no further information was available.

Surprisingly few sites demonstrate clear evidence for the association of pottery and hoarding except in the case of pottery vessels used as containers, see below. Overwhelmingly these are associated with sites which have evidence of occupation, often suggesting material close to hand. However, these are often hoards discovered through excavation or where the site was later excavated. Perhaps leading to a bias in the hoards outlined above.

Bone deposition

Deliberate selection of animal bone appears vary between different features and settlement types (for example in Wessex, Hill 1995; Innes 2016). A number of excavated sites containing hoards revealed evidence of bone deposition (e.g. Orchard Hill, Essendon, Stanwick/Melonsby, Danebury and Hallaton) where bone was deposited adjacent to the hoards.

In all, twenty hoards were associated with the material bone, the majority of them (11) at Newstead (Fig 7.6). Most of the hoards associated with bone were found in the course of excavation and on settled sites, with four exceptions: Santon, Chiseldon, Kingston Deverill and Hockwold. In four cases these were items of worked bone: cheek pieces, pins, combs and toggles (Newstead (H24), Greenhill (H53), Hod Hill (H59), South Cadbury (H193)). At Santon, two pieces of bone were wrapped in bronze, their function remains unclear. At Honley (H210), the section of bone contained with the hoard may have functioned as a container, discussed further below. Nine hoards contained complete and fragmentary bone, these were all pit deposits and were excavated at Newstead. Hoards at Ham Hill (H191), Worthy Down (H97) and Old Down (H95) all contained bone within the pit. At Chiseldon, two ox skulls were placed at the centre of the cauldron deposit. The ox skulls were exposed and so probably displayed for some time before burial with cauldrons (Higbee, Mephram and Stevens 2017: 66). However, fragmented bone fragments from the pit demonstrated no evidence for gnaw marks suggesting prompt burial (ibid: 65). Hockwold hoard (Norfolk) may have been deposited with bone but it was undated and there is no further information for Kingston Deverill other than bone was found with the vessels.

Whilst human bone is deposited on the sites where hoards are deposited (e.g. Danebury, Ham Hill) it is rarely associated with hoards other than at the massacre deposits at Maiden Castle and South Cadbury. The only exception to this were the pits at Newstead where human bone were associated with armour fittings.

Bone appears to be incorporated within hoards in a range forms: as a container at Sedgeford (IARCH-44F34A) and Honley (discussed below), in several instances worked bone formed objects within the hoard and in others the bone appears to mainly incidental to hoard deposition or was part of wider structured deposition practices onsite. In no instance is there clear evidence of these having formed feasting or food offerings with the hoards.

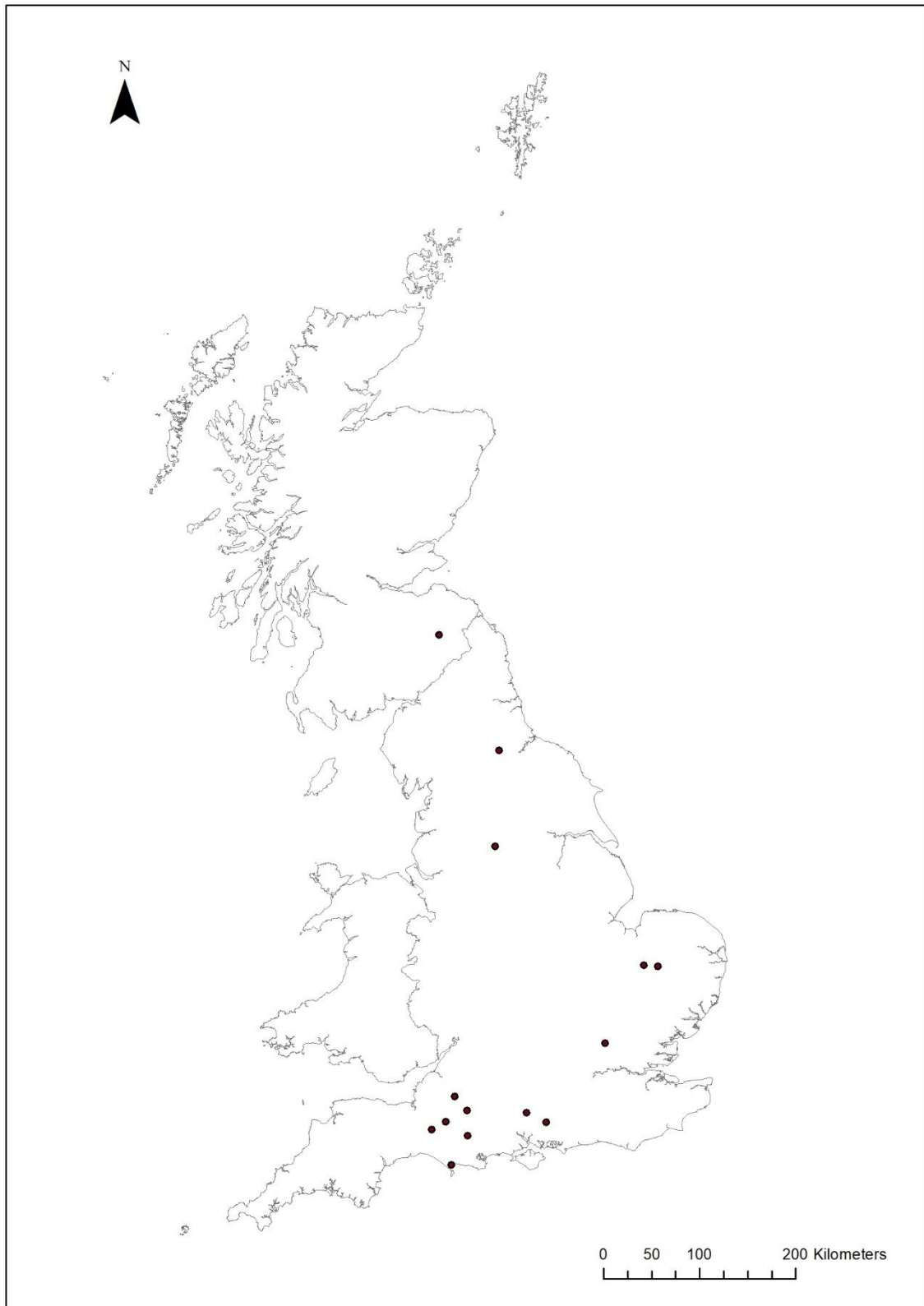


Figure 7.6 Hoards associated with bone. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Stone and flint

The phenomenon of the deposition of Neolithic and prehistoric flints has been noted at Roman sites (Chapter 4; Ferris 2012). Various studies have examined their deposition, with wide ranging opinions as to how they were deposited at the sites. Within this study there are a number of sites and hoards which also contain flints (see Fig 7.7).

Slingstones caches have been noted as hoards, such as Danebury (Poole 1995) and South Cadbury (Barrett et al 2000). However, it is rare that these are associated with metalwork hoards. Their (destructive) involvement in other, non-metalwork deposits was noted by Poole at Danebury where they were used to break animal bone/bodies: perhaps some form of ritual or target practice (Poole 1995: 262), this potentially casts a different view of the hoards of slingstones seen at Maiden Castle and elsewhere. At South Cadbury (H198), clay slingshot, were included with a deposit including burnt matter, and heat from the burnt material fused to the iron items. The non-metallic items within the hoard were fragmented but with parts missing suggesting that they were not broken in situ by slingstones and the nothing in the Cadbury report suggests similar practices to Danebury. However, the possibility of a non-warfare use of these slingstones remains.

Other stone objects associated with the hoards includes whet-stone like objects found within the EIA hoard at Stockbury (Kent, H125) and in later hoards such as Salisbury (Wiltshire). The whet-stone from Salisbury could have been included in a Bronze Age hoard, given that this likely is where many of the axes etc were collected from. Given the high numbers of bladed objects in other EIA hoards, it is unusual that a sharpening implement was included in a hoard containing only two blade fragments. Westhall (Suffolk) contained four polished flint stones, in addition to the flint used to hold the top plate in place, securing the hoard. Their use is unknown. A range of other stone items were also included in hoards, such as a gritstone found with Snettisham hoard (H170), and unknown stone items were included with the Hurly Hawk hoard (H3). Fragmentary querns stones were also noted: three from pits at Newstead (H13, H26, H30), another with the Balmaclellan hoard (H69), and two at shrine site at Uley (Gloucestershire) and Frilford and one at a hillfort, Hod Hill (H55). All but Hod Hill (MIA-LRIA) date to the LRIA and it is curious that quernstones found in metalwork hoards were associated with a range of sites, whereas otherwise the deposition of querns is very much focused on hillforts.

Stones were also used to secure the hoards. A dish, used as lid on the pile of Westhall hoard objects, was secured by a large unworked flint. Whilst here its use may have

been practical, the inclusion of flint may suggest a previously unrecognised significance to communities burying items. A similar method was used to secure the Ynys-Gwrtheyrn hoard. As discussed below, some coin hoards have an air of novelty in the manner in they are secreted. Heavy stones are often placed on or under hoards; this occurs from hoards dating to the Earliest Iron Age (Hindon, Gwinear, H37) with instances in the Bronze Age too. In the Iron Age, this appears to be most frequently associated with currency bars. The currency bars from Holne Chase Camp (H48) were found under a large stone and possibly resting another. The Ham Hill (Somerset, H200) currency bars and the Hill of Crichtie (Aberdeenshire, H2) hoards were found also found under a large slabs. Others were found packed under rubble such as the mixed iron object and currency bar hoard at Madmarston (H188). This deposit appears to have been sealed with the placement of two iron tools on top.

Ten hoards were found in hollow flints, in a way not unlike a modern piggy bank, with a wide range in the number of coins concealed. These are discussed in the container section below. Stone, like bone, was included in a number of forms within hoards. It was used to secure arranged items but also as included as objects within the hoards. As with bone, there appears to be no specific popular item or combination these objects were associated with. Given the focus on pit deposits and their suggested links to fertility (e.g. Cunliffe 1992, 1995; Hill 1995; Parker Pearson 1996 and Fitzpatrick 1997), it is interesting that quernstones were rarely associated with metalwork deposition at hillfort sites but with Roman forts or shrines.

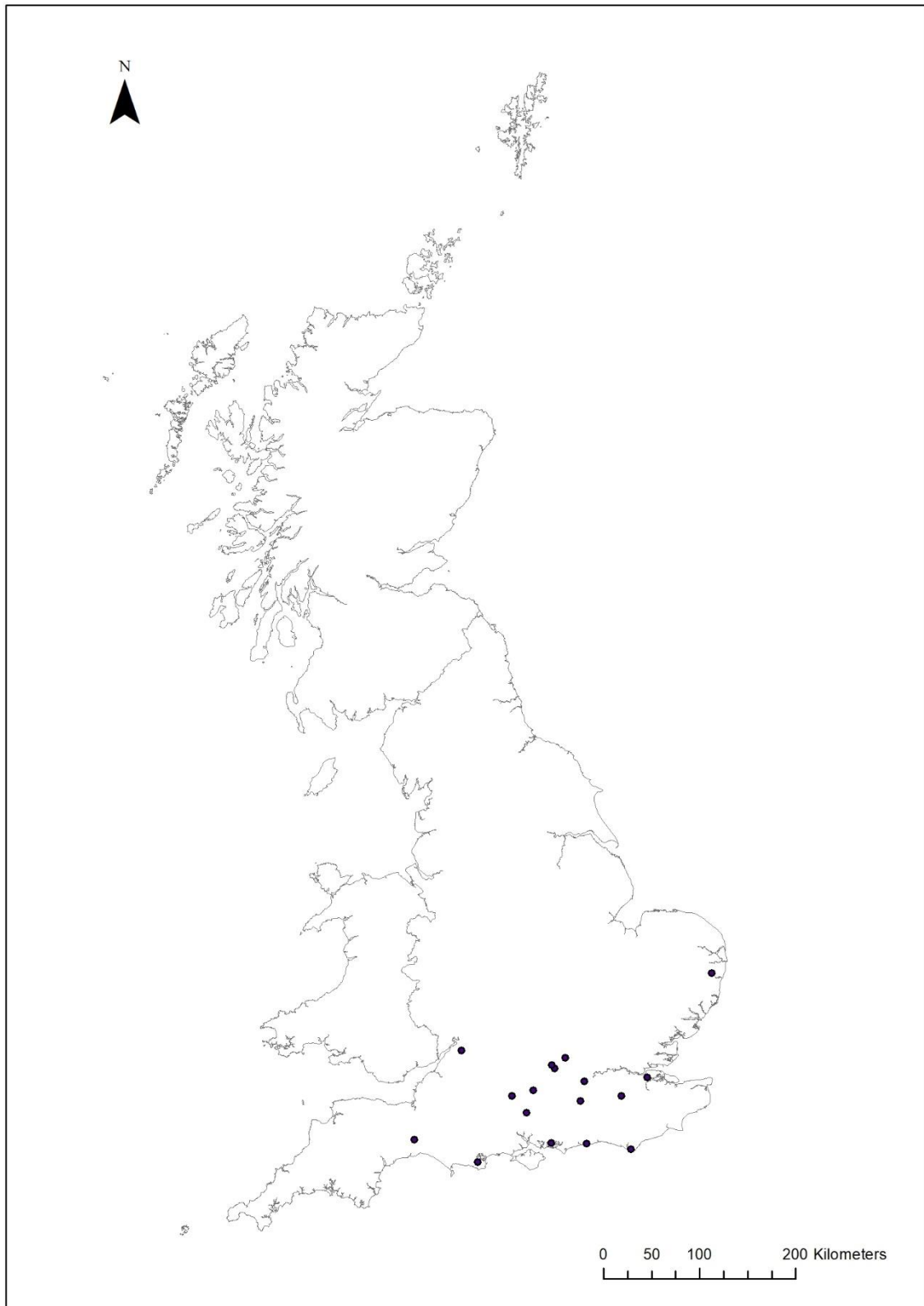


Figure 7.7 Hoards associated with flint and stone. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Discussion

The metalwork hoards discussed in this thesis were not buried in isolation but were accompanied with a range of non-metallic items including bone, stone and pottery sherds. These were not random inclusions and often, as was outlined within Chapters 5 and 6, were part of wider single finds or non-metallic deposition elsewhere on site. In many cases, these could be considered examples of structured deposition, either in the sense of being 'odd deposits' or, more commonly, 'material culture patterning' – the two general forms of structured deposition outlined by Garrow (2012). In the latter case, these align with Hill's (1995b, 113) definition of structured deposition as an 'explicit articulation of key classifying principles through the deposition of material in particular parts of sites'.

Hoards frequently contained either worked bone or fragmentary unworked bone remains, with unworked bone being by far the most popular inclusion. The latter did not appear to be food remains included alongside the hoard, rather representing samples of several different animals. In some instances, such as Chiseldon, these items demonstrated potential display before their inclusion in the deposit.

Pottery also demonstrated clear instances of deliberate selection such as the large pottery fragments at Orchard Hill and the oil amphorae sherds placed over the South Cave hoard.

Sixty-six hoards contained pottery, bone, flint or other organics with 16 more given careful placement pre-burial. This is more than a quarter of the dataset and given the relatively low proportion of excavated object hoards demonstrates a significant sample.

The metalwork hoards alone demonstrate not only careful selection of three or more metal objects and pre-deposition treatment (see above) as well as careful arrangement (see below) in their burial. The instances of non-metallic additions to the hoard further support the concept that these should be considered structured deposits similar to those noted by Hill (1995b) in Wessex and more broadly discussed in Chapter 2.

Containers and their selection

This section examines the selection and use of containers, as part of the hoard deposition process. Compared to other periods, containers were not a popular choice for Iron Age object hoards. After the introduction of coinage in the second century BC, a range of containers were utilised for this new object type. In a sense, hoards are frequently 'contained' by the pits in which they were buried. Surviving containers add to our understanding of how the objects may have been arranged and transported to the deposition site. The information in this study can never be complete, as in some cases the container was not always preserved along with the hoard. For example, in the case of the New Forest axe hoard (H113) a container was recorded with the discovery but was subsequently lost or remained unrecovered. With other hoards the finder did not always record or recall how the items were arranged in the ground. Seventeen Iron Age object hoards demonstrate evidence of being contained inside pots, boxes, bags or cauldrons but there is a chance that this total would have been much higher if more hoards had been discovered under excavation conditions. Coin hoard containers have been included within the following discussion to illustrate and contrast. Fig 7.8 illustrates the geographical distribution of these hoards.

Object hoards found in pottery are predominantly dated to the Earliest Iron Age. These include New Forest, Mylor, Dovercourt (H77), and Porthcothan (H39). At Porthcothan, the hoard's Earliest Iron Age pottery form was associated with what would otherwise have been categorised as an LBA bun ingot hoard. This demonstrates some continuity with LBA practices (for example, Birchington and Isleham), though some LBA hoards were too large to be contained within a pottery vessel. As mentioned previously, we have no further information on the New Forest container other than that the axes were found inside and that the vessel no longer survives. Even when the vessels are mostly complete and/or identifiable, we often have very little understanding of their potential use pre-hoarding other than their forms.

After the Earliest Iron Age, the only object hoard associated with a pot was the 'Brookfield' hoard, outlined above. However, in this instance, a bronze strainer was balanced atop the pot and five bracelets were found interlinked below the pot. The pot was of a size which could have easily contained the bracelet leading to the suspicion that this may have been a cremation burial yet no bone was found in association with the objects or in the excavated surrounding area. It may be that the ceramic vessel contained alcohol associated with the strainer.

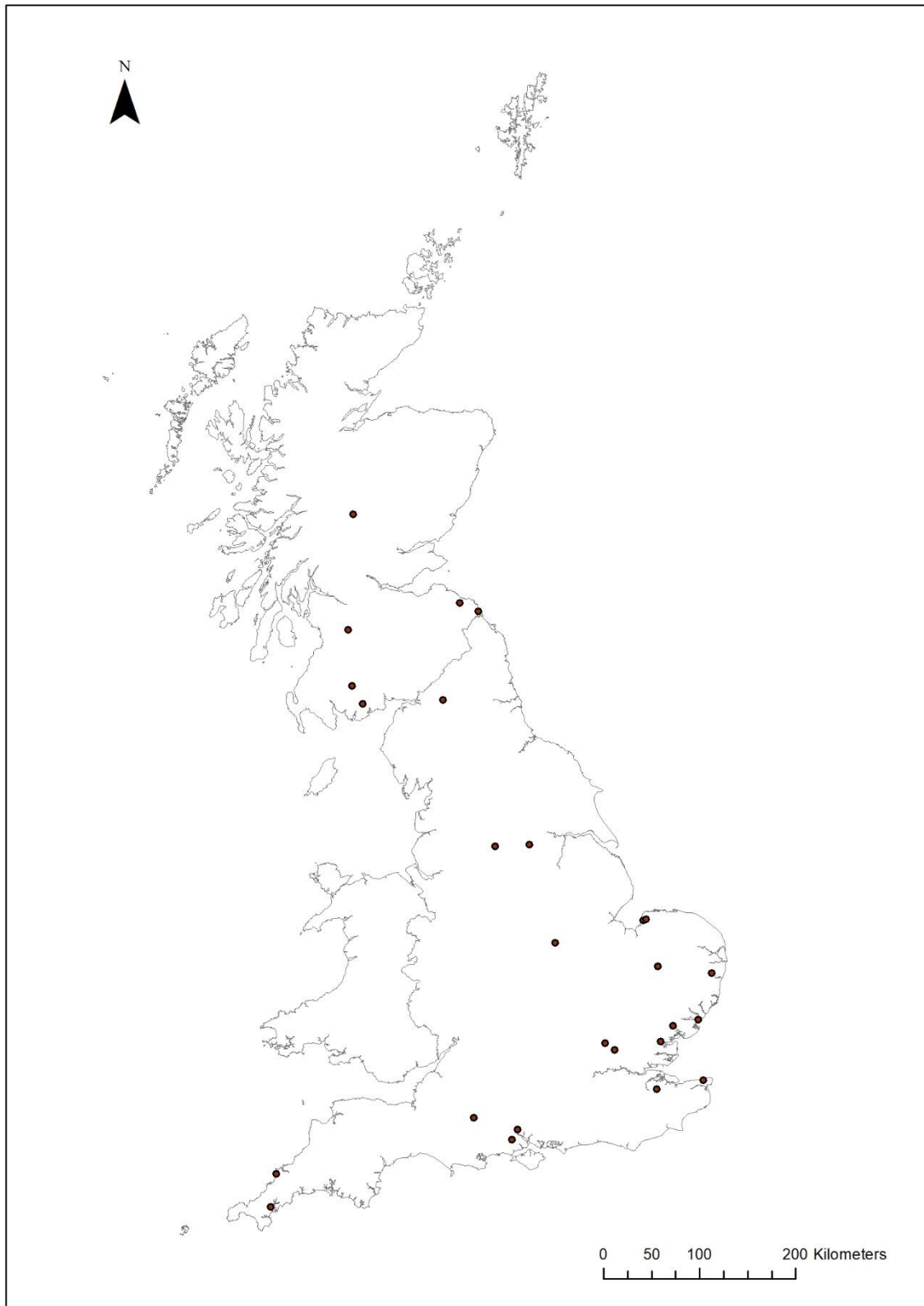


Figure 7.8 Coin and object hoards with containers. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Pots appear to have declined in popularity as a container for object hoards after the Earliest Iron Age, the 'Brookfield' hoard being the exception. However, pottery vessels see a resurgence in popularity with the introduction of coinage and its subsequent hoarding. Twenty-two of '350 or so' Iron Age coin hoards were found associated with pottery containers (De Jersey 2014: 1, 8). Where enough pottery survives, four have been identified as beakers (March I IARCH-6E4728, Honingham IARCH-9804C4, Lakenheath IARCH-F7BCFC and possibly Fornsett St Peter IARCH-59E201), two of which were based on imported forms (March I, Honingham). These finds show a strong concentration in Norfolk, with an outlier in Suffolk. These appear to show a strong focus on imported drinking vessels and local copies of these types. The vessels fall into two main groups: butt beakers and globular beakers, and all the deposits appear to have a closing date of c AD 50. The links to drinking vessel hoards deposited in the Norfolk area have been outlined above.

Several hoards utilised cauldrons as the container for other objects. These are Santon (Norfolk), Carlingwark Loch (Dumfries and Galloway, H70), Blackburn Mill (Borders, H6) and possibly the hoard from Brandon (Suffolk). The items at Santon were placed inside the cauldron. The Carlingwark Loch hoard, dredged from the bottom of a lake by fisherman, was purported to have all the items contained within one cauldron. One Blackburn Mill cauldron contained all the items from the hoard, with another cauldron inverted on top. In the Chiseldon hoard (Wiltshire), the cauldrons were empty, left intact and arranged in a pit. In the latter case, the cauldrons themselves composed the hoard, rather than containing it. Joy has suggested that in the hoards contained within cauldrons, the objects contained represent the food/substance of the feast (Joy 2014). This seems particularly apt imagery for Santon and Brandon, given the contents of the hoards and the potential regional practice outlined above.

There are two other instances of a metal container for a hoard: from Nether Denton (H43) and Westhall. The Nether Denton hoard, consisting of a knobbed terret and coins, was found in a lead vessel whilst building a vicarage on the site of a Roman encampment, but what happened to this hoard after discovery is unclear. The circumstances – metal container, Roman coinage, and deposition spot – are very similar to that of the Corbridge coin hoard, buried later, but enclosed within a metal jug. The Westhall hoard was placed within a large metal dish before being covered with a plate, held in place by a flint stone. The hoard also included pieces of fragmented vessels.

It is unclear from the account of the Bunrannoch hoard (H193) whether the container was metal or pottery, the account only lists it as 'broken' and so abandoned. The hoard contained an armlet, a bracelet and several mysterious 'smaller items' now all lost (Anderson 1904). Snettisham hoard F (H158) was probably contained within a helmet; the type is unusual but its fragmentary state makes it difficult to discern its age (Joy 2016).

Boxes were also used to contain both object hoards and coin hoards but evidence of use outside these contexts is relatively scarce. The first possible box was excavated at Burrough Hill (H133), and may have contained the horse-gear and comb which was buried in a pit at the hill fort. The iron tools found in a river at Waltham Abbey (H81) were found with the remains of a box. The dimensions of the box are unclear as the site was not excavated. The hoard is sizeable, over twenty-three items, and so it seems unlikely that the box would have contained all the items. From the ERIA, Snettisham Hoards B and C (H154-5) are believed to be associated with the remains of boxes, as Clarke identified nails and possibly wood in the vicinity as indicating the remains of a box (Clarke 1954: 35). The LRIA Fenwick hoard (H78) was buried in the Claudian *colonia* at Colchester, possibly under a house, and is very 'Roman' in nature consisting of coins, two pairs of earrings and bracelets. It is a combination of objects not found elsewhere in Iron Age hoarding and it seems likely that this hoard was hidden as a form of safekeeping before the destruction of the town in AD 60/61. Several of the hoards contain fittings or hinges for boxes, yet these appear to have been dismantled at some point before burial (Balmaclellan, Santon), as these hoards were all unexcavated, no further information is available.

Hoards found in boxes included at Birchington IARCH-38DDE0 and Colchester 1 IARCH-C37203 coin hoards, whereas the Upton hoard may have been found in two barrels.

Boxes rarely survive and so it is difficult to determine whether they were used in specific circumstances or for purposes other than storage of items. Other than at Santon, very little in the way of casket fittings were found suggesting that any decoration or adornment would have been carved or painted. Wood was utilised in high status items such as tankards and buckets.

Thirteen coin hoards have been found within spherical hollow flints. As De Jersey has demonstrated, all but one were found on chalk bearing areas where flint is most frequently found and so cannot be regarded as a travelled or unusual material, (De Jersey 2014: Chapter 2). These containers show very little signs of working, if at all,

and flint would be a difficult stone to hollow particularly through such narrow openings for the coins. The lack of evidence of knapping or worked marks on the body of these items suggests to the author that these flint containers were naturally occurring, forming when silica gel was attracted by and hardened around sponges in the chalk bed. The sponges decayed, leaving behind their flint 'shell'. These 'shells' are still frequently found during field walking today and often mistaken for fossilized seeds or dinosaur eggs. It seems likely these were also found during ploughing in the Iron Age and the small naturally occurring holes widened to enable coins to be placed within the stone. My examination of the Westerham I (Kent IARCH-25235C) flint container shows evidence for two holes. The smaller of two appears to be entirely natural and unworked and likely too small for coins to pass through. The second is larger and shows evidence for having been artificially enlarged. The top of the entrance is much rougher and a surrounding section shows evidence of chipping. The inside of the container retains a greyish white layer. It is currently unclear what the significance of these hollow flints might have had to Iron Age peoples. Flint does appear relatively frequently within hoards, see discussion above, however these containers did not have the shiny appearance of flint. To the contrary, their outer surface was often a dull brown. It seems more likely that it was the unusual nature of these items which inspired their usage as hoard containers. Modern day finders have also been fascinated with these objects so it is not unreasonable to assume that their often almost-perfect spherical shape captured the attention of their ancient finders.

In the case of coin hoards, bone was also used as a container. At Sedgeford, a group of Gallo-Belgic gold coins were found within a cow bone. Hill's account (1896) of the Honley hoard, buried in the Flavian period but containing five Iron Age coins, suggests that the coins may also have been buried within an ox bone. The coins were not found *in situ* and it is possible that they may have been in a further organic container.

Sometimes, particularly in cases of excavation, evidence is left of fabric containers for the hoards. The earliest is that of Hindon, dated 800–600 BC. The staining and arrangement, or lack thereof, of the axes, suggested the hoard was placed in a bag within a pit. Later deposits in bogs in Scotland had excellent survival of material; the diamond twill-textile which encased the Balmaclellan mirrors and sheet parts is now preserved in the National Museum Scotland. The report of the discovery of the Lamberton hoard (H8) records that material was found but that it crumbled when handled and so it was not retained. There is some suggestion of fabric wrappings for coin hoards at both Hallaton and Thurnham, however no material remains. The suggestion for Thurnham is that as there was no evidence for a pit cutting containing

the potin issues, so it seems probable that they were placed within an organic pouch and left in the ditch. It seems likely that there were more organic containers than discussed here and as 117 (48%) of the finds were pre-1950, evidence may have been missed.

The use of organic containers might be suggested by other items within the hoard such as seal-boxes or miniature terrets. This is a potential answer in the case of the Honley hoard which contained Roman and Iron Age coins, one fibula with a ring to attach a chain, two miniature terrets and a seal box within an ox bone (Hill 1897), similar to the cow bone containing gold coinage at Sedgeford. The bone was largely decayed when found but Hill (1897) stated that it was large enough to have originally contained the hoard.

However, a seal box – unidentified at the time of the 1897 publication – was also included in the hoard. The seal box is without parallels, other than an unprovenanced example found 'near Colchester' (Andrews, pers. comm.). Whilst these are frequently associated with literacy and securing documents (Holmes 1995: 392; Derk and Roymans 2002: 91; Crummy 1983: 103–4; Neal, Wardle & Hunn 1990: 130), none have ever been securely associated with wax tablets (Andrews 2012: 2). A recent study on British seal boxes suggested that the seals may also have sealed packages of valuable objects as it was more effective than a beeswax seal (Andrews 2012: 11) and this practice has parallels with a continental coin hoard (Gilles 1994). Seal boxes were certainly in use in Canterbury by the AD 70s (Andrews 2012: 74 cat, 0077) and from the coin evidence, this seal could date from a similar period. This use for seal boxes may also be seen in the Roman Snettisham Jeweller's hoard where it is believed that two linen sheets sealed the top of the pot (Johns 1997). Coinage in a pottery container at Fring also appears to have been sealed with a cloth (Chadburn and Gurney 1991: 219).

The Honley seal box was not included in the recent study of British seal boxes (Andrews 2012) but I would suggest that these objects were packaged in the manner suggested by Andrews: in a leather bag held closed with a seal box. This package may or may not have fitted within the ox bone and, though sheer speculation, the seal bag seems more likely to have contained the Roman coins. It seems likely that the two miniature terrets may have functioned as fasteners for the package. In other incidences, miniature terrets have been used to tighten belts and other fastenings (Palk 1992: 71–2).

Other coin hoards have similar associated strap fittings which may provide evidence for material containers. A recent hoard find from Lincolnshire was found with a fitting which mirrors the potential usage for miniature harness fittings, to act as a fastener for an organic container (Riseholme, Lincolnshire, PAS ID LIN-EB6C54).

There is great variation within the use or absence of containers in hoarding. It must also be considered that depositor may have viewed the pit or feature as confining the hoard, negating the need for anything else. As demonstrated at Snettisham, even within one site there was variation in the containers used (helmet, box, uncontained). The introduction of coinage (and the Roman conquest) led to an increase in the forms of containers used such pottery, flints, bone and seal box-secured packages.

Packing material/natural containers

A number of hoards were found containing organic material, in most cases this functioned as packing material. Fig 7.9 illustrates the findspots of these hoards. The distribution of these hoards The Mylor hoard of axes was found to have bracken within the pot, and even a caterpillar. This organic material survived owing to the high lead content of the axes. We cannot be certain that the addition of bracken was not accidental as the pot was placed in the ground but it does seem unlikely given how full the pot was when buried. The MIA Chiseldon hoard also shows evidence of packing materials, with some soft packing material at the base of the pit and used in amongst the cauldrons. Other deposits also contain organic inclusions. Excavation of the South Cadbury hoard demonstrated that clay sling shots had been wrapped in straw and an iron tool found at the site was also wrapped in straw and deposited as a single find. In Yorkshire, excavation of the South Cave weapons cache showed that the bundles of spear heads and swords were placed on bracken or straw (Evans 2003). This packing shows care. It seems reasonable to assume that the straw and bracken were local to the burial of the hoard, but to the author's knowledge, no tests have been conducted or there are no environmental studies to compare with.

The use of organic packing material continued into the Roman period for both coin and object hoards. Flowers were found with the bronze vessels (cauldron, scale pan, bronze vessels) in the Pewsey Vessel hoard (WILT-0F898C). Chaff from spelt-wheat grains survives owing to the tightly packed nature of the coins in the Selby hoard. Such rare discoveries perhaps suggest that more organic material may have been incorporated into these hoards than survives.

Organic materials were also used to bind currency bar hoards. At Coffinswell (Devon), the hoard of currency bars were found bound with organic materials but also probably

packed with bracken (Gale 1991: 2). The hoard from Ditches was bound with iron wire and possibly leather. The other hoards bundled together likely had organic ties to keep them together (e.g. Totterdown (H96), Salmonsbury (H89)).

Three other hoards contained organic matter unrelated to the packing or arrangement of the hoard. Santon contained leather, beeswax and glass. Lofts Farm contained the possible remains of a leather bag and a grey substance, as yet unidentified. Eaton Bishop contained a red substance which burned brightly when lit by the antiquarian finders.



Figure 7.9 Hoards with organic remains. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Discussion

The use of a container for the burial of a hoard may suggest that items were gathered together beforehand, to fill the container. The filled container could have been transported to the burial site and placed into the ground. This would remove some of the ceremony of each individual placing their item into the deposition feature. Studies of Bronze Age hoards (e.g. Stevens 2008) have suggested that the encasing of metal objects within other containers was intended to evolve the life cycle of the object; the objects were crafted in moulds of wood or clay and so similar materials were used at their deposition.

Cauldrons have been suggested to have almost transformative properties as a container. Joy (2016) suggested that collections of objects in metal containers such as vessels or cauldrons, became representative of food stuffs and a form of conspicuous consumption. This ties well with cauldron-contained finds from Norfolk, though evidence for feasting is sparser in the areas surrounding Blackburn Mill and Carlingwark Loch. Both of these hoards mainly consisted of iron items and were deposited in wet or wetland sites perhaps suggesting another significance for cauldron use.

It is impossible to know how the Iron Age finder interpreted each flint sphere used as a container for coinage. They may have been viewed in the context of the Bronze Age hoards, flints and Neolithic stone axes as objects related to an unspecified past (see the out-of-time discussion above). On the other hand, their finding in the tilled fields may have linked them and the coin hoards to agricultural production. It is possible that the finding of these containers precipitated a hoarding event. The contents do not demonstrate any particular inclusion of unusual or exotic coinage. The hiding of the coinage, as the sphere acts a 'piggy bank', may have added to the ceremony of hoarding or the illusion of the hoard vanishing twice: once into the stone and then into the earth.

It is also informative when an object is chosen not to contain items. At Hallaton, some coins were deliberately placed next to an inverted helmet suggesting a 'conscious decision' not to use the helmet as a container (De Jersey 2014: 9). Perhaps the pit or ditch was considered enough in most cases.

Comparison of hoarding containers with the containers and wrappings used in burials demonstrates a similar variation and absence of uniformity. Methods for securing organic wrappings also vary, techniques such as stitching or organic ties and toggles may not survive but some bodies show evidence of organic wrapping secured by a

brooch (Giles 2012; Adams 2013). This is also seen with the Canterbury helmet cremation (Farley et al 2017). As outlined above, organic containers appear to use miniature terrets, strap fittings or seal boxes. This may represent practicality in providing an efficient means of securing a fabric container but the use of brooches, seen in graves, may have been too personal for use in hoarding contexts.

Coffins were not a common occurrence in the Iron Age, appearing on current evidence to be mostly confined to Yorkshire. At Pocklington, Yorkshire a wooden box was lowered over the body after it had been placed in a grave along with other examples from Yorkshire (Giles 2012). Other potential boxes/coffins found in Yorkshire graves had previously functioned as the cart body, carrying the deceased into the afterlife (Lewis 2015). Beyond Yorkshire, wooden structures have been suggested for lining the insides of graves at Aylesford and Welwyn garden city in the South-East. These rites do not match with the distribution of hoards encased in boxes suggesting no consistency of practice but rather individual choice driving container selection.

Cremation became an increasingly popular method for the disposal the dead in Western Europe from the third century BC. The reduction of the body to burnt fragments potentially necessitated containers to hold these remains before and during burial. The practice of cremation becomes increasingly popular after 150 BC in Britain, a study of southern burial practice (Lamb 2018) demonstrated that overwhelmingly the cremated remains were buried in the container rather than being left directly in the soil. Cremation is not the most prevalent practice within Lamb's dataset.

The data for this sample is dominated by the Westhampnett, West Sussex cemetery which provides 63% of Lamb's sample and does not reflect national practice. At this cemetery, cremations were largely buried in organic containers (Fitzpatrick 1997). The remaining sample for southern Britain demonstrates 55% of cremations were contained, with pottery forming the majority of containers (Lamb 2018: 220). However, in small number of cases buckets, boxes and caskets were also utilised (ibid: fig 158). This variety in the choice of container or use at all, reflects the variance seen in coin hoarding. A relatively small sample were confined by pottery or other containers and these container concentrations rarely match the contained cremations (where data is available in the south).

There are some practical parallels between the containing of coin hoards and the containing of the bodies or ashes of the deceased, but there appears to be no direct connection between these practices in any of the areas studied. These hoards are not being treated as people.

Processes associated with deposition

The previous section discussed potential issues driving the selection of metalwork objects, their associated organic materials and their containers, or absence thereof. This section aims to address the processes some of these objects underwent prior to their deposition and examines them in the wider context of the treatment of other items in the Iron Age archaeological record.

Fragmentation

Fragmented objects occurred in just over a third of object hoards. It is often unclear whether this fragmentation happened years prior to their selection, immediately before or even at the time of deposition. Previous literature examining fragmentation was outlined in Chapter 2, and fragmentation is explored here in terms of deliberate breakage rather than how fragmentation might relate to concepts of enchainment and personhood (for this see Chapman 2000, 2007).

Survey of this dataset suggests that 88 of 241 hoards contained fragmentary items. The most frequently fragmented object were axes dated to the EIA. This high proportion is mostly owing to the large numbers of fragmented axes within the Langton Matravers hoard (H61) which contained 404 fragmentary axes. This high proportion likely reflects the LBA influences on the fragmentation of objects included within hoards. Sixteen hoards dating to the earliest EIA contain items which were deliberately fragmented, not solely confined to axes. For example, at Melksham (H223), it seems likely that a spear from the hoard was used to pierce the phalerae. Fragmentation does not seem to be a regional tradition as the hoards were spread throughout Britain.

The second largest group of fragmented items are currency bars, though it is unclear whether they were fragmented pre-burial, or whether damage occurred post-deposition. Most of the hoards which contained fragmented items contained high proportions of iron objects, the exception to this were the 16 EIA hoards mentioned above. It was rare, in non-EIA hoards, that the majority of the items within the hoards were fragmented. Iron was the most frequently broken metal but reports rarely identified, or were able to identify, whether this had been done deliberately pre-deposition.

The Waltham Abbey hoard (Essex) contained a number of objects that were deliberately broken or bent pre-deposition. Part of a sword was deposited, a poker was bent and the arms of a pair of tongs were deliberately bent upwards, making them unusable. This treatment was seen at other wet hoarding sites such as Carlingwark Loch (Dumfries and Galloway) where the sword tips were broken and Orton Meadows

(Northamptonshire, H182) where swords were bent. Even when weapons and tools were part of deposited groups in watery deposits, some were still deliberately damaged, as seen at wet sites such as Fiskerton and at the burial at Springfield. The deliberate destruction of weapons and tools was a relatively widespread practice not solely restricted to hoards.

Eight, 33%, of the precious metal torc hoards contained fragmented torcs, the majority of which came from Snettisham (Norfolk) but also other sites such as Essendon (Hertfordshire, H120), Bawsey (Norfolk, H167), Narford (Norfolk, H169), Clevedon (Somerset, H206), Netherurd (Peebleshire, H191) and Alrewas (Staffordshire, H209). This does not include the fragments of torcs buried with coin hoards. The Alrewas torcs were broken and tied together pre-burial. Clevedon and Netherurd saw the removal of a terminal. Some of the torcs found at Snettisham had been broken and also fused to other items. This fusion process was not seen with other hoards within the Iron Age, though reports suggest this may have been the case at Bawsey (Norfolk HER 3326). In the precious metal torc hoards, where torcs remained intact, gold bracelets or brooches were broken (e.g. a brooch in Winchester (Wiltshire, H116), a bracelet in Ulceby (Lincolnshire, H138)) perhaps suggesting a form of conspicuous consumption of non-torc items in the burial of these symbols of status.

Other precious metal hoards also contained fragmented items. At Hockwold (Norfolk), the cups were deliberately dismembered before being buried along with two sets of handles which did not belong to vessels within the hoard. One hoard at Hallaton (Leicestershire) contained several silver-plated helmet cheek pieces which had been removed from their helmets. The odd number of cheek pieces suggests that not all the cheek pieces from each helmet were deposited.

The fragmentation of hoarded items, particularly iron and copper alloy objects, demonstrates an investment of time and skill. Heat, and but also the appropriate tools, would often be needed to cause the level of damage seen. The reasons for the breakage or maiming of objects is unclear. Particularly in the cases of the precious metal items, this destruction could have represented a form of flamboyant display if held as a community event. It is unclear whether this fragmentation (and in the case of Snettisham, fusion and recombination of objects) happened immediately pre-deposition or whether the items circulated or were displayed for a period in their new form. Undeposited fragments may have been incorporated into new items, and the memory of the event may have travelled with them.

Arrangement

Whilst the idea of structured deposition (discussed above in this chapter, and in Chapter 3) is most commonly concerned with object selection, the arrangement of objects in the ground is also an essential aspect which marks out some deposits as special, or deliberately structured. Where recorded or when excavated, a number of hoards demonstrate evidence of careful arrangement in their burial, these are displayed in Fig 7.10. This is a pattern seen from the EIA onwards, for example the Gwinear (Cornwall) EIA axe hoard was laid out in rows. From the account, the Gwinear hoard was deposited in a stone-lined cist structure, laid out in rows. This structure may have mimicked cist inhumation burials found elsewhere during the Bronze Age in Cornwall. Without excavation of the findspot, it is difficult to confirm these similarities and there are the obvious caveats of time difference, though cist burials do continue into the Iron Age. This contrasts with the EIA hoard from Hindon which appears to have been placed in a bag before burial. A similar careful arrangement may have been created in the burial, of the multi-period of the Salisbury hoard; the detectorists stated that the axes were arranged in a fan-shape (Stead 1998: 110).

A large proportion of currency bar hoards were antiquarian finds, creating a dependency on these accounts for how these hoards were aligned or arranged, information which is often incomplete. Yet some, such as Middle Littleton found in 1822, state the bars were found arranged 'butt to point' in a pit (Cox 1979). Several hoards found more recently and/or excavated examples (Danebury 1 (H101), Addington (H4), Coffinswell, Totterdown (H96)) demonstrate a range of practices in their deposition. At Coffinswell, analysis of the 94 currency bars demonstrated they were grouped into eight bundles, each of eight to eleven, bound with twisted or plaited organic material, perhaps fern (Gale 1991) and the pit had been lined with bracken. The bars were arranged on a NNE–SSW orientation but the top layer had been hit by the plough which had bent one bar and fragmented others. At Ditches (Gloucester, H88) the currency bars were found in three bundles: two in groups of three and one group of four. The bindings have not survived and therefore it seems likely that they were organic. Similarly, Madmarston and Salmonsbury (H89) survived in bundles, again without the traces of their bonds. Whilst these bundles could be created by the feature, organic or metal binding where it survives suggests a conscious decision of the depositor(s). Current evidence suggests no rule or standard practice in the number for each bundle.

Arrangement of items is seen within other hoards. At Camerton (H197), the currency bars had been carefully laid over a Roman axe and pickaxe. This information comes from the metal detectorists who found them so there is no further detail on what kind of feature these may have been derived from.

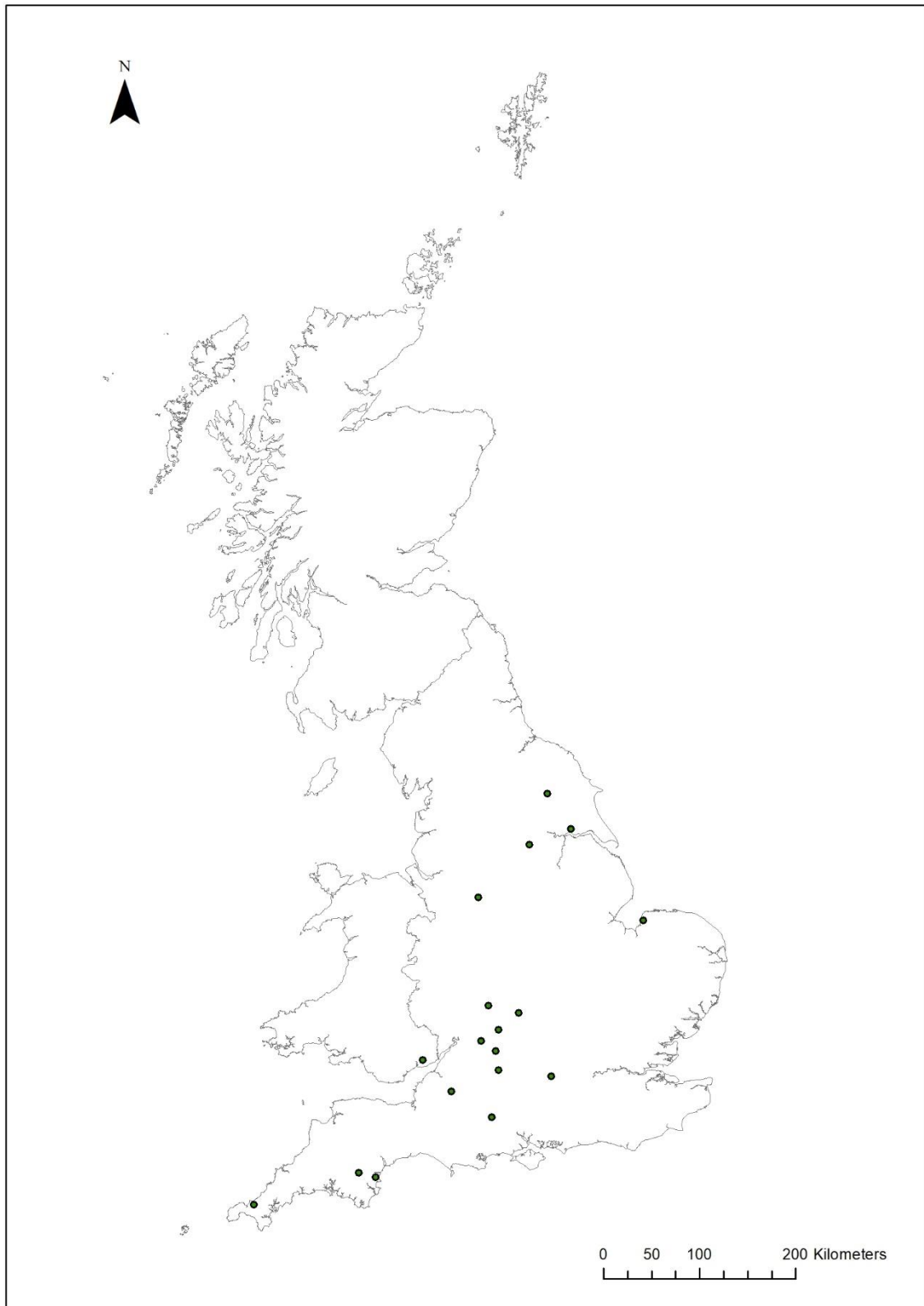


Figure 7.10 Hoards demonstrating evidence for arrangement. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

At Chiseldon, the hoarded cauldrons were placed in a pit along with an ox head or skull. A slightly off-centre space would suggest that someone stood in amongst the cauldrons in the pit and placed them whilst they were handed down by others. For the Leekfrith torc hoard (H208), hit marks from the plough suggest these gold torcs were nested together and were parted by a tractor. The 'Brookfield' hoard from Yorkshire also shows studied arrangement: careful interlocking of bracelets with a complete pot placed on top, with an inverted strainer crowning the top of the pot. At Langstone, the items were placed in a line in a ditch. The number of items contained within the two dishes of the Westhall hoard suggest that the items may have been organised in the ground before the top dish was secured with a stone.

Structuring of hoards according to colour appears to have taken place in some cases at Snettisham (H171), where torcs were placed in the ground according to the colour of the precious metal; gold at the bottom of the pit, then silver and electrum and finally bronze on top. Interestingly this does not appear to have been replicated elsewhere. To a certain extent this structuring can also be seen within the South Cave weapons cache, where a group of spearheads were seemingly bound together and placed on bracken or plants and then five swords, with the most-highly decorated uppermost, were placed in a bundle on top. The pit was cut into a settlement ditch and laid at right angles across this feature.

The careful placement of objects is as close as we may ever come to understanding any ceremony that may have accompanied the burial or concealment of these hoards. The arrangement of these objects pointing towards natural features or in patterns suggests more ceremony and thought than hurried concealment in a time of crisis.

Discussion

As with the burial of a person, it may be that the public burial of a hoard provided an opportunity for display, the reaffirmation of community relationships, networks and hierarchies as well as the creations of new relationships and orders. As a generalised comparison, there seems to be no direct correlation between inhumation or cremation of the dead and object or coin hoards. East Yorkshire, famed for its richly furnished graves in the MIA, contains few Iron Age hoards, neither objects nor coins. However, in the South-East, there are not only the furnished graves of Welwyn and Aylesford but coin and object hoards with a particular focus in Essex. The gathering and act of burial of grave goods does not provide a direct correlation with the act of hoarding (broadly noted in other studies such as Bradley 1998).

The fragmentation and burial of objects such as precious metal objects such as torcs, horse-gear, tools and swords, must have represented a heightened and symbolic event either related to the metal or to object form. There appears to be no hard and fast rule as to which items are broken within hoards suggesting individual choice.

Many of the hoards also demonstrate evidence for careful arrangement or structuring, as seen with pit deposits in Wessex (Hill 1995b). The arrangement of hoarded objects stretches across the Iron Age and suggests care and ceremony, possibly in front of a group, rather than a hurried action for concealment.

Burnt stone and heat

There also seems to be an association of some hoards with heated stone, suggesting that was integrated into the hoard deposition process. The geographical distribution is illustrated in Fig 7.11. This was a practice noted in the Bronze Age, noted the association of Middle and Late Bronze hoards in the South-East with burnt flint mounds (West Sussex, Dunkin 2001), along fresh water sources such as springs, streams and rivers (Yates and Bradley 2010: 43). The hoards were often deposited beyond the limits of the worked flint scatters of these burnt mounds (*ibid*). Burning was also present in other forms such as the burnt earth beneath the LBA Great Yattendon hoard from Berkshire. This practice continued into the Earliest Iron Age with the hoard at Ferring (H217) found placed on burnt flint lenses and charcoal samples.

Burnt flint was also found in association with coin hoards; at both Shorwell (IOW, IARCH-DF1EE5) and Sunbury on Thames (Greater London, IARCH-C69928). There appears to be no regional tradition of associating burnt flint and coins or burning in general in these areas. It is possible that these flint inclusions came from a nearby hearth.

Other types of stone were also subject to extreme heat. As mentioned above, at South Cadbury clay sling shots were heated to a high temperature and then placed into a hoard pit. It would appear that the sling shots were still at a high temperature when added to the pit as they fused to the saw blade included with the hoard. A broken quern stone included with the South Cave weapons cache was burnt; Evans suggests that it had been used as part of a hearth but the stone may have burnt during an entirely separate event, perhaps associated with deposition (Evans 2003).

Burnt ground was also found in vicinity of the Westhall hoard but finds of Roman pottery, coins and a lamp may suggest that this was linked to later activity on the site. At Worthy Down (H104), burnt flint was found in the fill of the ditch above the currency bar hoard and then further 'pot boilers', horse, pig, sheep and ox teeth and bone and pottery was found slightly east and ten inches below the hoard. Burnt material and stones were included within the deposit at Chiseldon and it seems likely that this may well have been from a fire or pit. It is unclear whether these were from a feasting event pre-burial as the associated ox skulls had been exposed for a period of time before burial (Baldwin and Joy 2017).

As discussed in Chapter 6, items from Bigbury Camp (H127-132) appear to be associated with an episode of burning at the hillfort. There is potential for another entrance to the hillfort (Bates 2017) where the Bigbury hoards were found, and burnt

patches were noted by antiquarians under Bigbury hoards 3 and 4 and during the excavations by Blockley (1981), suggesting a burning of the gate or other complex. This association of destruction, potential remodelling and metalwork deposition fits with several western and south-western hillforts: South Cadbury (Hingley 2006: 226), Maiden Castle and at Bredon Hill, Worcestershire (Sharples 1991: 41; Hingley 2006: 226). It would appear that the objects were deposited after the burning incident as opposed to it occurring in situ. The deposits mark this change rather than participating in the event.

Some objects demonstrate evidence of burning. Burnt objects were found at Camerton, however the location and association of these objects were not recorded by the metal-detectorists so it is unclear whether any of these items were associated and/or associated with a destruction layer or whether they were burnt pre-deposition.

Whilst the Polden Hill hoard was not excavated, the account of the discovery remarks that the base of the pit was burnt along with burnt material (Harford 1903: 92). Examination of the horse-gear from the hoard provided evidence of burning pre-burial (Davis 2014: 135). The burning at the base of the pit strongly suggests this happened in situ. Burning has been noted at two other sizeable hoards containing horse-gear: Stanwick (Fitts 1999) and Seven Sisters (Davies and Spratling 1976). At Bury Hill hillfort, a deposit of horse-gear was found amongst a significant amount of carbonised wood, suggesting that the chariot was fired with the terrets attached. The chariot was split between two pits suggesting that it was burnt elsewhere (Gosden and Garrow 2012: 284). This was seen with other non-hoard deposits: in a pit at Danebury, excavators found doors burnt in situ. It is unclear whether iron fittings were incidental or an intended inclusion. The horse-gear hoard at Burrough Hill may also have been burnt in situ.

The association of objects with the act of burning takes a variety of forms with hoards. Some finds appear to commemorate acts of destruction (through fire) whilst other objects were subjected to this act. Burnt objects were found in a variety of contexts and both burnt in situ or the remains moved. This burning suggests an element of spectacle to the deposition of hoards potentially with communities gathering to observe. Depending on the amount of smoke generated this is something which may also have been noted from a distance. It is unclear whether the act of burning would have been associated with the creation of pyres and burning of bodies. Several hoards with burnt or heated items were from hillforts and large settlement sites, where this act might have a hearth or even feasting context.



Figure 7.11 Object hoards showing evidence for burning. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Remembered sites

Once objects had undergone one, some or all of these processes they were deposited as a group. At some sites the site was marked or was in a distinctive location (see Fig 7.12): at Hindon (Dorset) a posthole next to the hoard suggests a markers while the Tal-y-Lyn hoard was buried at the mouth of a cave.

As discussed in previous chapters, a number of hoards were associated with settlements, in particular roundhouses (Tower Hill (H189), Danebury 1 (H101), Burrough Hill, Birtley (H183), Glenfield (H135), Cambria Farm and Lofts Farm (H79)). Hillforts and settlements such as Orchard Hill saw repeated deposition of non-metallic items. Some settlement sites saw repeated metalwork deposition such as Snettisham, which appears to have had no enclosure ditches until the first century AD, a pattern also seen at Essendon. At both sites deposition appears to have started in the first century BC, well before any attempt to define the site was made. Other, unexcavated antiquarian sites appear to likely have seen repeated coin hoard deposition despite an absence of marking features such as Westerham (Kent) and Marks Tey (Essex). Later sites evidence repeated hoards associated with enclosure ditches, palisades or structures such as Hallaton (Leicestershire) and Wanborough (Surrey).

These hoards all represent the exceptions to the unmarked hoard story. There is potential for more ephemeral markers which left no archaeological trace but it is likely that these hoards were more commonly a remembered event within a general location. The increase in deposition in settlements/hillforts/sites related to human activity may skew this picture as whilst the hoards were not marked as such, they were associated with roundhouses or ramparts.

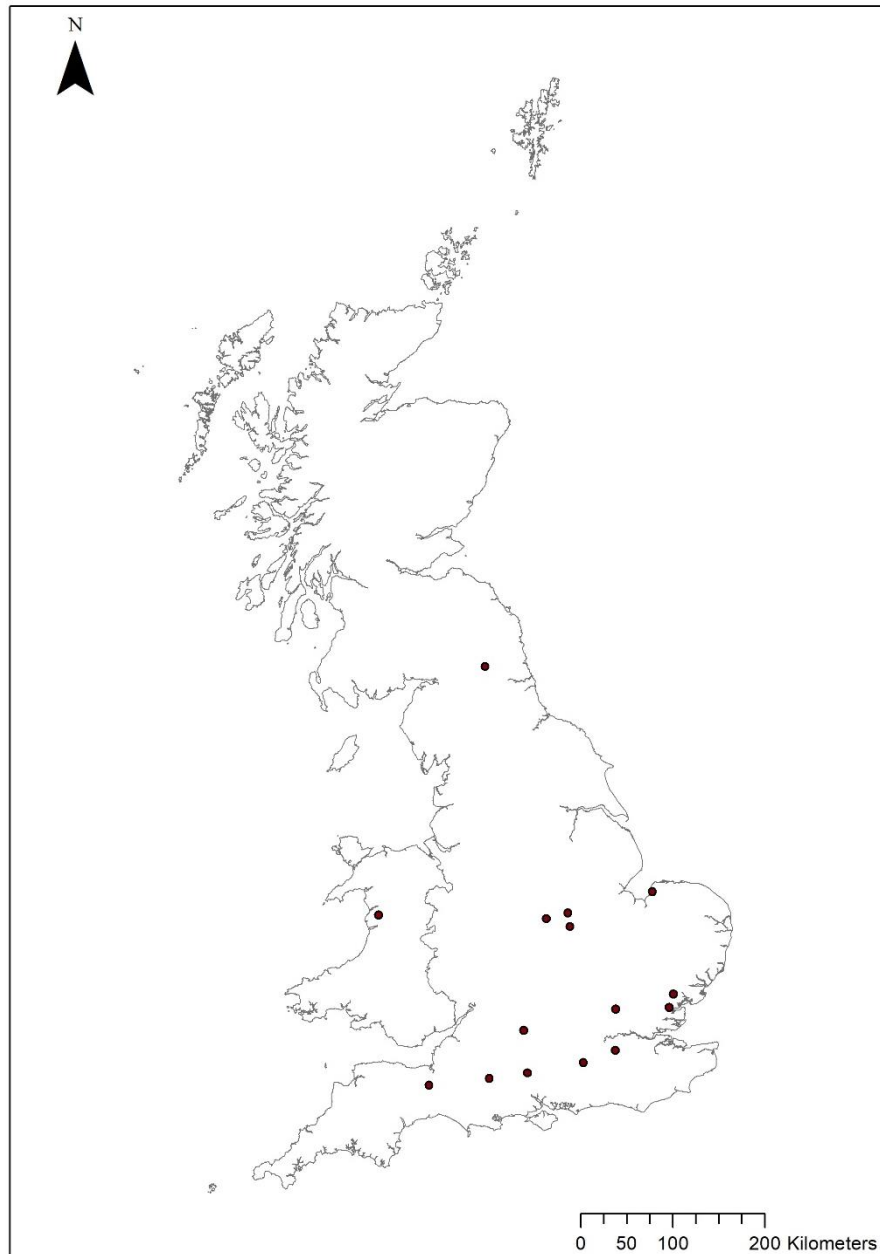


Figure 7.12 Map of remembered/marked hoard sites. Figure was produced by the author using data from Ordnance Survey (© Crown Copyright/database right 2014. An Ordnance Survey/EDINA supplied service).

Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed some processes and practices associated with object hoarding in Iron Age Britain. As demonstrated above, there was no 'right' way to create a hoard; each hoard appears to have been 'picked and mixed' from the processes outlined above. There are parallels with the practice of burying bodies, in that fewer hoards/bodies were buried during the Iron Age compared with other periods, containers moved in and out of popularity (even with processes such as cremation, containers were sometimes considered optional), objects were sometimes fragmented which arguably may have parallels with excarnation and the dismemberment of the body, and the fire was sometimes used in the pre-deposition process as for cremation. The selection and arrangement of objects has parallels across both practices and the similarities in object selection have been discussed in Chapter 5 (Area 1) and Chapter 6 (Area 2). However, there does not appear to be clear case for pseudo-burials in the action of hoarding. Hoarding and burials vary according to region; Norfolk sees prolific hoarding in the RIA but very little in the burial record. However, a number of hoards were found in Essex and there is a rich burial record. Compared to the LBA and the Roman period, the Iron Age sees much lower numbers of burials and recovered hoards suggesting a change in practice in these periods.

The evidence has emphasised the degree of careful packing and arrangement seen in some of the hoards. The binding of currency bars may be for ease of transportation as there appears to be no current patterning in the contents of each bundle. Organic material was associated with a number of hoards both as packing materials and as contents. Hopefully increased excavation will reveal further evidence and the choices made by the depositors.

With relatively few Iron Age hoards from Britain, the collection of objects and their burial appears to have been a rare event. The patterns of object types deposited throughout the Iron Age changes, though there does appear to be a sustained inclusion of horse-gear. Unsurprisingly, hoarding reflects the changing objects in circulation and this chapter selected several themes seen in this selection of objects. Some hoarding appears to be reactive to found objects – particularly those 'out-of-time' objects – but also the hollow flints used to contain coins. It is unclear how these finds were woven into the belief systems of these communities, but the finding of these objects may have driven their eventual deposition.

This discussion has highlighted the performative act of hoarding, with the processes of fragmentation, arrangement and burning of items potentially occurring in front of

groups or communities. The roles played by these individuals (contributor/onlooker) may not have ended with the burial of the hoards as they may have become visitors to a remembered site.

Hoarding was integrated with other forms of deposition; for example the boxed hoard at Waltham Abbey fits into the repeated riverine deposition seen both locally at sites throughout Britain. Hoarding within Norfolk in the LRIA suggests a focus on imported dining and drinking goods (both metalwork and pottery) for both coin and object hoards. This suggests a more integrated practice or belief system than is seen elsewhere in Britain at any point in the Iron Age. Hoards fit into wider non-metallic depositional practices: bone, pottery and stone often accompanied metalwork hoards or were found elsewhere on these sites. This is a pattern seen particularly at hillforts and settlement sites (Orchard Hill, Danebury, Bury Hill, South Cadbury, Ham Hill) suggesting an integration of practice and continued deposition at these sites.

Chapter 8: Conclusions

My thesis has compiled a national database of object hoards for the British Iron Age (800 BC–AD 100). From this dataset, I have investigated the contexts and contents of object metalwork hoards. A range of approaches were taken to interrogate this dataset, including:

- comparison of these object hoards with coin hoards and other forms of depositional practice to better understand the relationship of object hoarding to these forms of hoarding and deposition
- cataloguing and research of associated material, including bone pottery and containers
- a survey of national patterns to identify chronological changes in Iron Age object hoards
- two regional studies to integrate object metalwork hoarding data with coin hoarding and grave goods. This revealed regional attitudes to coin hoarding and deposition and the siting of hoarded objects within wider practices of deposition within these two areas.

The database and the above approaches have provided answers to the following questions (fully outlined in Chapter 1):

[What can the contents and burial contexts of hoards tell us about their meaning and significance for Iron Age people?](#)

Examination of the object hoard contents has demonstrated a number of items and trends which may suggest significance for their depositors.

The contents of hoards fluctuate over the period with spikes of copper alloy axes in the EIA, torcs in the ERIA and weapons in the LRIA and RIA. However, there are constants: horse gear, tools and feasting/drinking items appear to be deposited regularly throughout the Iron Age. All of these groups demonstrate changes in form and sometimes metal. Horse-gear appears to go full circle with display item such as phaleræ included in EIA hoards, fewer decorated items in the MIA and then elaborately decorated items in the LRIA. The forms of tools change as does their metal composition: copper alloy dominate the EIA record with occasional iron sickles. From the MIA onward, tools are mainly of iron and used for woodworking or agricultural purposes as opposed to metalworking. Vessels and cauldrons linked to feasting and

drinking are found throughout the Iron Age, with a focus on cauldrons in the EIA and MIA, and imported vessels usually associated alcohol consumption in the LRIA. Whilst these objects may have been imbued with various meanings in different regions and times, they appear to represent a focus on group activities which could be used to reinforce social bonds, potentially through inclusion or exclusion. Those who had the skills and access to command or keep horses, provide goods for feasting or drinking and issue invitations, or those who had the skills to wield the tools.

A small section of hoards in the LRIA show a strong focus on dining/drinking vessels; a particular concentration was noted within a 40 mile area in Norfolk. This focus on vessels applies both to object hoards and to containers for Iron Age coin hoards. This suggests the social significance of drinking in this area, perhaps linked to the imported wine or production of alcohol, in a manner similar to the feasting focus seen in the MIA (Chapter 4). The strainers and imported items suggest an awareness of Roman/Gallic style drinking practices. The hoards contrast with the use of these items in burial practice in the South-East but fit into the group focus seen in the deposition in the horse-gear at the time. That these items were often, but not always, buried without other items suggests that Iron Age peoples were selecting sets of socially significant, often imported, material which reflected contemporary local concerns around consumption, status and shared social practices/community. These appear to be reflected in the inclusion of both metalwork and pottery forms within the hoarding practice but also structured deposition (e.g. Fison Way).

Currency bars have received thorough treatment by Hingley (1990, 2005). They display a strong association in the Severn/Cotswolds area with boundaries and liminal places. I would suggest a refinement of Hingley's theory of the role of sword and plough currency bar forms in defending and defining boundaries (2005: 198-9), with martial action being needed to support and/or define agricultural development, as these bars represent a wider theme of transformation and ownership. The definition of the boundary is done with an object imbued with potential, whose use is not yet set. Whilst the currency bar is split into two main forms: the sword and the plough, it has the ability to be reworked and transformed into any form of tool which could mark the landscape. This ambiguity encapsulates the boundary which often expands outwards into undefended agricultural fields and workings but looks back to an enclosed homestead.

The selection, collection and inclusion of BA objects and their inclusion into hoards suggest that through the collection of these diverse groups of material, Iron Age

communities were trying to order and structure their past and present. This practice appears particularly prevalent in Wiltshire with object, and potentially coin, hoards including these 'out-of-time' objects deposited throughout the Iron Age. From the single finds data and the contexts in which they are found, it seems that old objects were viewed with importance and likely utilised for constructing narratives surrounding both past and present, conferring importance on their depositors. As noted in Chapter 7, combination of these 'out-of-time objects' with miniatures may reflect a way of categorising and controlling the world, with objects representing the present and the past both imbued with cosmological importance.

There seems to be an element of spectacle to many hoards, suggesting community or group involvement (Chapter 7). The fragmentation of objects, if occurring immediately pre-deposition, would have required time, heat, force and skill. For the bending of swords and torc destruction, these would have been element of spectacle particularly also given the likely significance of these objects.

Further elements suggesting spectacle include burning prior to hoard burial, as seen at Bury Hill and Melsonby/Stanwick, or *in situ* at Polden Hill. Other hoards demonstrate careful arrangement of items. This is seen in hoards across periods, as at Gwinear in the EIA, Chiseldon and possibly Leekfrith in the MIA, and in a number of ERIA and LRIA hoards. Some hoards also demonstrate evidence of packing materials, also suggesting care but, dependent on blooms and material, the colours contrasting with the metal work. These factors do not appear to all hoards, but do suggest group involvement in these depositions.

It should be noted that here that in this thesis it has been necessary to create a limited definition of what constitutes a hoard, and for reasons of the volume of data it was not possible to consider single finds or non-metal assemblages at a national scale. As discussed in Chapter 3, this creates a bias in the data since the idea of a metalwork hoard of three or more objects is of course a modern category projected onto the archaeological evidence. It is likely that in many cases deposits of a single object, or two objects, could have held many of the same connotations for Iron Age people as a larger hoard. Likewise, as explored in depth by Hill (1995b), non-metalwork deposits often seem to have been the foci of similar practices and processes. Single finds and other forms of deposition were explored in more detail at the regional level for the case study areas, and the relationship between these forms of deposition in these areas is discussed below under research question 3. In some cases, approaches incorporating

broader depositional practices for particular object types might provide fruitful avenues for future research (see below).

How do the character and frequency of Iron Age metalwork hoards in Britain vary regionally and temporally?

This thesis has demonstrated that hoarding in the Iron Age was actually a relatively rare occurrence, providing the quantification that one object hoard was deposited, on average, every 5 years in this period. There doesn't appear to be the same impetus to bury hoards as seen in the Bronze Age and the Roman period. However, object hoarding occurred alongside a number of other forms of deposition, one of which was coin hoarding. Coin hoarding became increasingly prolific from the ERIA onwards, on average, two every year.

As discussed in Chapter 4, this thesis identified a number of temporal and object hoard composition patterns. These are derived from relatively small numbers of hoards, as few hoards could be dated specifically to the EIA/MIA/ERIA/LRIA periods of this study, but they do provide interesting changes across the Iron Age.

Many aspects of EIA hoarding mirror those seen in the Late Bronze Age, but hoard size is smaller and much less frequent with 47 EIA hoards buried between 800–600 BC, compared to 550 Late Bronze Age hoards over a similar length of time. Although based on a small sample, the general distribution of EIA hoards throughout Britain and the axe-dominated contents are similar to patterns seen in the Late Bronze Age. However, the distributions show absences in large parts of central and northern Britain. EIA hoards demonstrate continuities in contents from the Late Bronze Age being mainly axe-dominated and the continued inclusion of horse-gear and cauldrons. However, there are also differences in composition: the objects see less fragmentation than their Late Bronze Age counterparts and some comprised newly cast or at the very least, unused objects. The composition shows a less martial character with fewer swords and other weapons included in hoards, possibly mirroring the increase in dagger deposition and reduction in swords at wet sites.

Despite being the beginning of the Iron Age, relatively little iron was included in EIA hoards. On the rare occasions these are included, the object types were tools and spearheads. The dominant focus of these hoards appears to be axes. As Boughton (2015) suggested, it is possible that the silvery colour of the axes reference the new metal type.

There appears to be a break in object hoarding and most other forms of deposition until the MIA. At this point, the focus of hoard deposition appears to change with the

majority associated with some form of human activity or structure. Hillforts appear to be the dominant site type. This period saw a number of changes in object and metal types. For the first time, iron becomes the dominant metal, deposited in the form of tools, and gold is reintroduced to the record. The object types appear to be grouped by activity: tools, horse-gear, cauldrons and torcs/jewellery. Tools, horse-gear and cauldrons suggest community activities, this concept further reinforced by their finding at settlement and hillfort sites. The gold torc and jewellery hoards provide a different focus. These objects evidence the long-distance networks to transfer the skills and raw metal or objects themselves to create the torcs seen at Leekfrith and Stirling.

ERIA hoards were dominated by Snettisham (Norfolk) and were mainly typologically dated. The hoards were almost exclusively composed of precious metals and torc, jewellery, ingot and coin combinations. These hoards potentially demonstrate the emergence of the prestige exchange networks suggest by Farley (2012). These do not appear to show a particular site preference as relatively few have been excavated.

This period saw an explosion in coin hoarding with hoards appearing throughout England, mainly confined to south of the Fosse Way. The first hoards of insular potin coins likely date to the second century BC and are found in the south-east. In the ERIA, insular precious metal coins were produced in various regions of southern and eastern England (see Fig 1.2). These hoards quickly came to dominate the record compared to object hoards. These hoards are not simply confined to shrines, with hoards in the south-east demonstrating an association with wet or coastal sites, and a lack of association with human activity.

Hoard dating to the LRIA show a further increase, with significant numbers associated with Roman forts and wet sites in Scotland. Imported items dominate object hoards in this period; these are frequently imported vessels linked to drinking or feasting in copper alloy or silver and see particular concentrations in northern Britain, Norfolk and Wales. Concurrent with this form of display, a number of horse-gear hoards can be dated to the LRIA or RIA containing objects with an increased surface area to display elaborate decorations. Coin hoards increase in size and number in this period, possibly forming a separate but related sphere of display. Torc hoards are now relatively scarce and, when included, torcs are fragmentary. However, torcs typologically dated to the ERIA could have been deposited in the LRIA. Whilst these hoards appear to focus on display and extended networks, the deposition of brooches and single finds could represent a democratisation in participation at special sites. Coin hoards are relatively rare at shrines and later temple sites (exceptions are

Wanborough and potentially Farley Heath) though they are seen at sites with enclosures but no certain structures (Essendon, Snettisham) suggesting that that the displays and potential bargaining with these deposits did not always occur at clearly demarcated (to the uninitiated observer) sites.

69 hoards can only be dated to the MIA/RIA or to the undifferentiated RIA. Hoards dating to these two periods are dominated by currency bars and horse-gear respectively. Currency bar hoards are discussed below but the horse-gear fits patterns seen in the LRIA.

How do hoards interact with other forms of deposition?

Object hoarding occurred against a tapestry of single finds, structured deposition, coin hoards and water deposits. In a number of cases, these forms directly overlapped.

Hoards at hillfort sites, but also at some settlements e.g. Orchard Hill, have repeated structured deposition events contemporary with, or post-deposition of metalwork hoards in pits. These take the form of bone, pottery and other single metalwork finds. In Area 1, some metalwork hoards demonstrate association with the building and modification of earthworks. A number of other non-metalwork deposits may also be related to this (e.g. Cadbury Castle, Barrett et al 2000: 83). At sites throughout Britain and across periods, we see structured deposits of single finds, bone and pottery indicating that hoarding was placed firmly within deposition patterns. These hoards were predominately of iron, with large numbers of copper alloy items much less likely to be found with bone or at these hillfort or settlement sites at all.

Hoarded objects from Area 2 demonstrate a martial focus, reinforced by grave goods seen particularly in Kent and Essex. Otherwise graves in this area see a focus on imported goods, which is not reflected in the hoarding record apart from torc fragments, certain coinage issues and a dagger from the Essendon hoards. In Essex, two distinct patterns were identified in deposition patterns: the inclusion of spearheads and deliberate fragmentation. Spearheads were used in a variety of depositional contexts. They were found in hoards and as single finds in both settlement and burial contexts. They are also buried as grave goods. This investigation processes prior to hoard deposition demonstrates some similarities to burial practices – in the range of processes objects underwent and the non-standardised nature of practices. However, these hoards do not appear to be acting as pseudo-burials.

The Walthamstow hoard, deposited in a box and clearly a single deposition at a watery site, may be seen against a pattern of single find deposition in the Lea but more widely in the Witham and Nene. However, the destruction of some of the items resonates with

the fragmentation seen elsewhere in Essex in both grave goods and hoards. Deposition of potin hoards along the Thames and on the eyots (islands) may have had similar associations as the single finds found during dredging suggesting continuity in the importance of place.

Area 1 saw a series of choices which suggest a conscious decision not to bury objects. In south-east Wales, a number of hoards demonstrated a focus on imports and horse-gear but grave goods and coin hoards are absent from the area. Single finds suggest some coinage arriving but no Iron Age coin hoards have yet been found. Coin hoards containing Roman issues appear to be associated with Roman sites until the second century AD. Cornwall, despite a handful of graves containing elaborately decorated mirrors or swords, rejected object hoarding altogether after the EIA. However, the coin hoard evidence suggests a focus on hoarding imported coinage from Gaul and northern Italy. Integration of other forms of deposition with the object hoarding record in Areas 1 and 2 (Chapters 5–6) have provided a better understanding of the selection or indeed rejection of objects in these areas.

Owing to the (time) constraints of this thesis, single finds were not systematically investigated during the project. Examination of single finds would bolster our understanding of the site and object selection for larger group deposits (hoards) as well as structured deposition.

It is unclear whether the fragmentation, burning and choices of container are consciously linked to processes of human burial such as excarnation and cremation. Whilst theoretically the two might be linked, there is no direct evidence to compare these two contemporary practices or suggest any conscious associations in the minds of Iron Age peoples. Generally other than Kent and Essex in the RIA, Britain rarely sees a rich burial record contemporary with object hoarding (for the BA; see Bradley 1998).

Were Iron Age coin hoards treated, deposited and perceived in the same way as other metalwork hoards?

In short, the evidence presented here suggests not. The volume at which coinage was produced and included in hoards (457 hoards, over 49,550 coins) over a 250 year period within this study did not see an equivalent increase in object hoards. Coinage spread quickly throughout Britain with coin hoarding increasing in the LRIA. This was not purely owing to introduction of Roman coinage after the Claudian conquest, more coin hoards were buried with a *tpq* of AD 1–50 than coin hoards with a *tpq* of 150–1 BC. Coinage was clearly fulfilling needs that object hoarding could not.

Of a total of 690 object and coin hoards, only 37 hoards (5%) contain both objects and coins. As noted in Chapter 4, they are not confined to the peripheries of coin hoard distribution but found throughout Britain, with little in the way of site or metal focus. A number of objects were popular inclusions with coins in hoards: torcs (fragmentary or complete), ingots, dress/jewellery items and horse-gear (cf Garrow 2008; de Jersey 2014). All these items show a broad range of types associated with the coins: horse-gear ranges from a single terret to complete sets, the brooches vary from La Tène D forms to Romano-British types and the torcs vary in both metal and form with imported gold forms found at Sheringham and Essendon but brass knobbed torcs at Lamberton Moor.

As noted above, Farley (2012) has suggested prestige exchange networks of torcs, ingots and coins through which these objects circulated. Potentially horse gear may have been part of these. Imported metals were used to create new objects – the relationship of torcs and coins was suggested by Creighton (2000) and Fitzpatrick (2005); a hammered coin may be the first step in the creation of sheet gold (Marsden 2010); and the first insular gold coin issues were almost certainly made from melted-down imported Gallo-Belgic coins. Subsequently, the continued minting of coinage was likely supported by huge gifts of bullion from Rome and it has been suggested that the switch to silver was linked to its perceived association with Rome. Silver *denarii* were present in many Iron Age hoards and the imitation of Roman coin imagery suggests an emulation of iconography.

The use of imported metals for objects of display and prestige was not confined to precious metals. Hunter (1997) identified object hoards in Scotland containing artefacts made from imported metals. I believe that the brass torcs from Lamberton Moor and the massive armlets (similar in form to torcs) represent similar patterns to the torc hoards and torc fragments seen in the South-East.

There are relatively few similarities in the treatment of coin hoards and object hoards. Relatively few coin hoards display the fragmentation seen in RIA object hoards, for example some items within Polden Hill, but also with torc-plus-coin hoards in the South-East (Chapters 4, 6). Only a small proportion of coin hoard find sites have been excavated, hindering discussion, but the data point to associations with natural sites or shrines, patterns not seen with the object hoards of this period (although object hoards of this period are also rarely excavated). A proportion of coin hoards in Area 2 appear to be multiple deposits (e.g. Essendon, Wanborough, possibly Mark's Tey) and as many as 62 hoards may show repeated deposition, considerably higher than object

hoards for the RIA (exceptions being the object hoards at Newstead, Essendon and Snettisham, some of which also contained coins).

This thesis has demonstrated some selection in coins hoarded versus coins lost or deposited as single finds. Hertfordshire, Kent and Essex demonstrate differing proportions of gold, silver and potin issues deposited compared to those included within hoards, perhaps an indication of the same kind of selection processes seen within object hoards.

Whilst single finds of objects (e.g. personal ornaments such as brooches) and coins may perform a similar function at shrines and temples, it is unclear whether these objects carried similar meanings when deposited beyond their confines. This is an area for future study. However, it is rare to find object hoards at shrines. Exceptions are Uley, Ashwell, Hallaton and Hayling Island and objects were deposited later at Wanborough, during the second century AD. Sites with no permanent markings or enclosure do see object hoards and combined object and coin hoards (Essendon, Snettisham). Repeated deposition is also seen with coin hoards but sites where this occurs see only single object deposition or no object deposition, rather than object hoards.

Post-conquest coin hoards increasingly contain solely Roman issues with the vast majority focused on Roman forts and settlements, demonstrating a contrast with the more limited practice found during the Iron Age. The hoards became increasingly trimetallic, a composition seen very rarely with Iron Age hoards (Chapters 5–6). The Roman conquest demonstrated a strong shift in coin hoarding practice, a pattern not reflected in object hoarding (mainly owing to the broader dates).

Future research

Our understanding of hoarding will evolve as new finds are discovered, allowing us to refine or adapt the patterns outlined above. There are a number of other avenues for research: single finds and smaller find groups were not included and a widespread study of these would contextualise both object and coin hoarding alongside other forms of deposition. Investigation of single finds would enrich our understanding of structured deposits throughout the Iron Age and deposition at the emerging temple/shrine sites of the first century AD.

This thesis has taken an interpretative approach to the national database to extract patterns and identify overarching themes for Iron Age object and coin hoarding. Much could be gained from a more theoretical approach to the data. Chapter 7 identified the

processes enabling hoard creation, many of these processes were identified through object biography approaches taken in original publications or typology studies. It would be fruitful if this approach could be applied to future finds (where time and funding allows).

The process of hoard creation also raises a number of questions: were these objects included owing to their material, or the processes involved in their creation (see Hingley 1997)? In the small sample of object hoards from the MIA, objects appear to be separated by metal type. To a certain extent this continued into the ERIA; hoards attributed to this period are mainly of torcs/jewellery and therefore precious metal. However, a plethora of hoards cannot be securely dated to one period suggesting that this pattern is perhaps not as clear-cut as first thought, and would benefit from further examination and study.

Assemblage theory might be usefully applied to hoarding studies in future, examining the groups from the enmeshments beginning with the conception and creation of the object through beyond its deposition with other enmeshed objects.

Whilst the Technologies of Enchantment project did implement a radiocarbon testing programme, re-examination of associated pottery or radiocarbon dating of associated bone could aid improvements in hoard dating (radiocarbon plateau permitting). Whilst many more recent finds have been excavated in situ, and this is likely to continue going forward, it would be helpful to excavate the sites of stray finds or re-excavate those from earlier periods such as Worthy Down or Santon Downham.

Exploration of object types such as strainers and their use for substances other than alcohol and the sensory effects of passing the liquids through these strainers would provide another interesting avenue for research and might suggest further reasons for their inclusion in hoards in the first century AD.

There remains much potential for future work on hoarded objects themselves, their relationships, and the processes by which they were grouped and incorporated into the archaeological record. This topic which has been the substance of archaeological discussion and debate for over 150 years, both in the Iron Age and beyond, and will undoubtedly continue to intrigue researchers well into the future.

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