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Wheathampstead revisited

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by ISOBEL THOMPSON

In 1936 R. E. M. Wheeler published material he had found as a result of an investigation of the earthworks at Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire, in 1932, since they seemed in some way to be connected to Prae Wood to the south-west by a linear cross-country dyke. The site, at TL 186133, is a high elongated oval plateau on the 300' contour, bounded on the east by a ditch that is partly natural and on the west by a still very impressive bank and ditch known as the Devil's Dyke (Wheeler and Wheeler, 1936: 19–22, Plates V–IX, for the site; and 149–150, Plates XLIX–LIII, pottery and small finds). Wheeler's treatment of the site, with only six pages and ten plates devoted to it, was that of a prologue to his much fuller but still not exhaustive publication of his excavations at Prae Wood and Verulamium.

The published excavation of Wheathampstead comprised a section across the western earthwork and the clearing out of two short lengths of ditch inside the enclosed area at 'Site C' on the plan, Plate V of the 1936 publication. No further excavation within the earthwork has taken place, although there has been a recent rescue excavation to the north, across the River Lea, by staff of the Verulamium Museum. The material found there, as yet unpublished, is clearly related to Prae Wood pottery.

Wheeler published 25 vessels from Wheathampstead, a continental Nauheim bronze brooch, an iron knife with hooked end, triangular clay loomweights, a clay spindle-whorl, and a small bronze strip, bent double, described as a pair of tweezers. The site is interesting and important because the pottery is clearly typologically earlier and more crudely made than the Prae Wood pottery, and because the associated objects support an early date in relative terms. There is no influence from Gallo-Belgic (or other continental) forms; the Nauheim brooch is well known as a first-century BC type on the continent, much used for dating the final La Tène phase; the loomweight has a long life in the Iron Age. The tweezers are described by Wheeler as 'of the elemental type which is familiar on Late Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Roman sites'. These will be considered in more detail below.

A re-examination of the material was prompted by the discovery of three of the published vessels, together with some unpublished ones, in the basement of the Institute of Archaeology. More unpublished pottery was examined in the stores of the Verulamium Museum, and the published vessels too were reconsidered, particularly with regard to fabric and method of manufacture.

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Plate I. Westward view of ditch shown on Wheeler's plan at 'C'.

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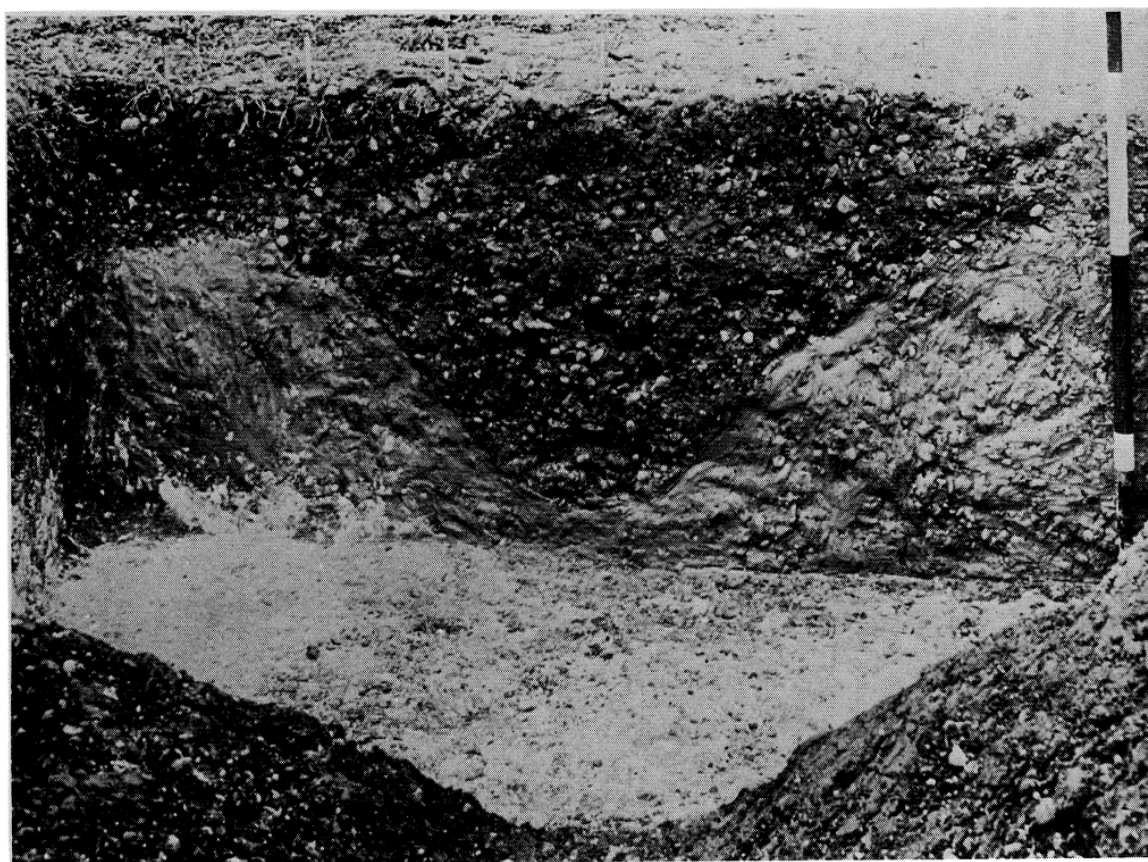


Plate II. Close-up of section seen in Plate I.

The unpublished material is presented below: it will be seen that some could be assigned to 'Area A', and some to the 'Sump ditch'. Neither of these descriptions corresponds to the plan, Wheeler's plate V, and there is, unfortunately, no written documentary record of the excavation. The 'Sump ditch' can only, from the plan, refer to the length of ditch marked 'C'; it might be assumed that 'Area A' refers, then, to the Devil's Dyke section. This, though, seems an odd term for a ditch section of this size, and this point is considered further below. Wheeler refers in the text to 'two shallow drainage-ditches' within the enclosure (1936: 19): the second ditch meets the first at right-angles, but the plan indicates that the second was hardly touched by the excavators.

Wheeler's plate VI seems to have been taken from the western end of the 'Sump ditch', looking south-east along its length, and stopping short at the edge of the crop. But what is the large hole in the foreground in which the pickaxe stands? An unpublished photograph on a lantern slide (no. 4184. Plate I) in the Institute of Archaeology shows a view back along the ditch from the opposite end, and beyond to the trees edging the Devil's Dyke. The deeper hole, however, does not appear, and

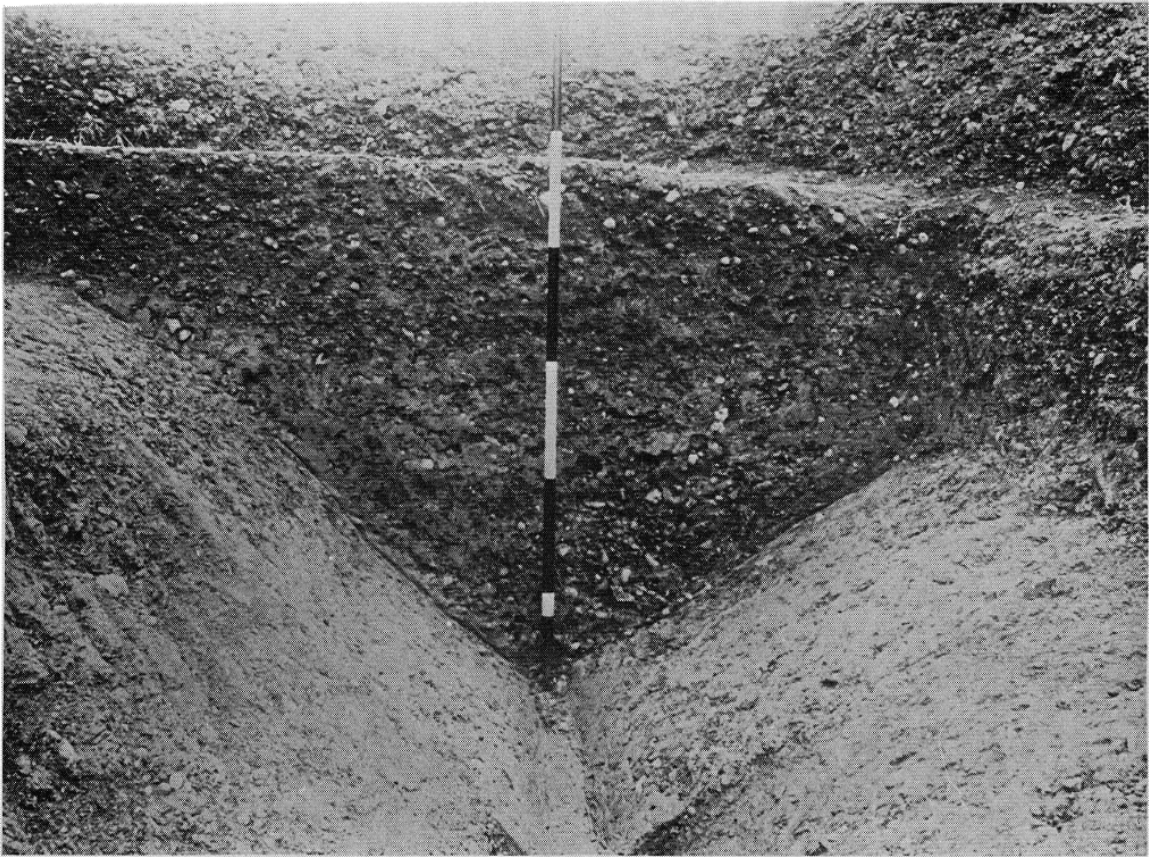


Plate III. V-shaped ditch section; exact location unknown.

the ditch section, about two feet deep as in the published photograph, shows clearly behind the ranging rod. An area has evidently been cleared on each side of the ditch at this point to get a clear view of the section, and a close-up of this box-trench is also extant in the Institute lantern slide collection (no. 4182, Plate II). A third slide (no. 4183, Plate III), shows the section of a V-shaped ditch that is $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep and is clearly not the same ditch at all. Its exact relationship to the first ditch is quite unclear, unless we suppose that the first ditch was further cleared beyond the box trench to the right-angled junction shown in Wheeler's plate V. The deeper hole in the foreground of Wheeler's plate VI remains unexplained, as does its position in relation to the box trench, which may have been nearer the middle of the ditch's length. If the hole were dug at the same spot as the box trench, I think we might assume that the continuation of the first ditch beyond where it showed in section in the west wall of the box trench would have been indicated by a dotted line on the plan, as Wheeler has done for the second ditch. What the precise relationship of the two ditches was at the T-junction shown on the plan remains unknown.

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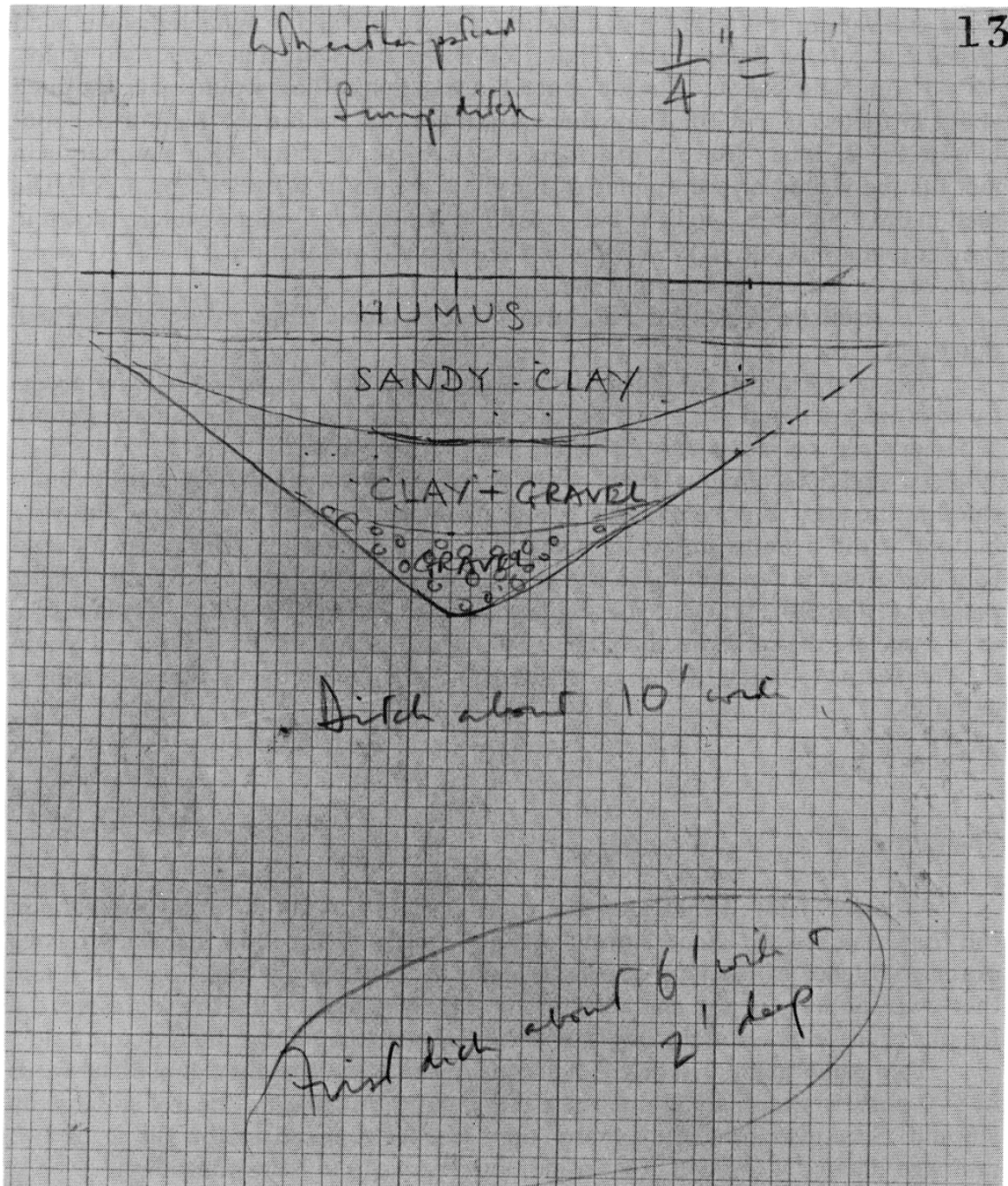


Plate IV. Section drawing of ditch shown in Plate III.

In one of the Verulamium excavation notebooks kept by Wheeler in the 1930s, and now in the Verulamium Museum, is the only other record of the Wheathampstead excavation: it is a sketch of a section, clearly labelled in Wheeler's own hand 'Wheathampstead, Sump ditch' (Plate IV). But which is it? There are two scales, '1/4" = 1"' and 'Ditch about 10' wide', but taking the first of these would make the ditch about 17 feet wide, not 10. A note beneath adds to the confusion: 'First ditch about 6' wide and 2' deep'. There is no evidence for a re-cut; this 'first ditch' description in fact fits the visible measurements of the ditch shown in Wheeler's plate VI. The section drawing, then, ought to correspond to the other, V-shaped ditch, shown in the photograph (Plate III). Visually they correspond and the 'ditch about 10' wide' scale can be seen to be the right one.

These ditches, however, must be further considered below in conjunction with other evidence.

The section across the Devil's Dyke is shown on Wheeler's plate VII, and seems to have accumulated only two or three feet of silt in the pre-Roman period. Wheeler's section is not very detailed: the photograph of the inner bank section, Wheeler's plate IX, cannot reveal any detail although two phases are possibly indicated in the section drawing. Apart from its impressive size, a hearth at the very bottom of the dyke was its chief point of interest, 'underlying the rapid silt' and containing one pot-sherd of the same kind as the rest, 'wheel-turned, i.e. Belgic, pottery' (1936: 20). Wheeler goes on to state that 'this well-stratified sherd enables us to associate the construction of the earthwork directly with the occupation within it'. This seems to imply that no other sherds were found in the section through the defences.

The pottery

Wheeler (1936: 149) states that 'sherds of upwards of 500 pots were found in the trial trenches at Wheathampstead. They mostly occurred in the filling of two drainage ditches of the type already familiar at Verulamium and Colchester, and there was nothing in the character of the filling to suggest that it represented a lengthy process. The pottery may therefore be regarded as substantially of one date'.

Two points might first be made: it can be seen below that the figure of 'upwards of 500 pots' is a misleading one since the extant pottery is not nearly so large an amount. Secondly, note the phrase 'they *mostly* occurred in the filling of two drainage ditches' – implying that some pottery was found elsewhere.

Figs. 1–4 illustrate the pottery not published by Wheeler in 1936. The notation AB stands for Dr Birchall's pottery types (Birchall, 1965); and Cam. for Camulodunum types (Hawkes and Hull, 1947). The bracketed numbers are those of my own pottery catalogue.

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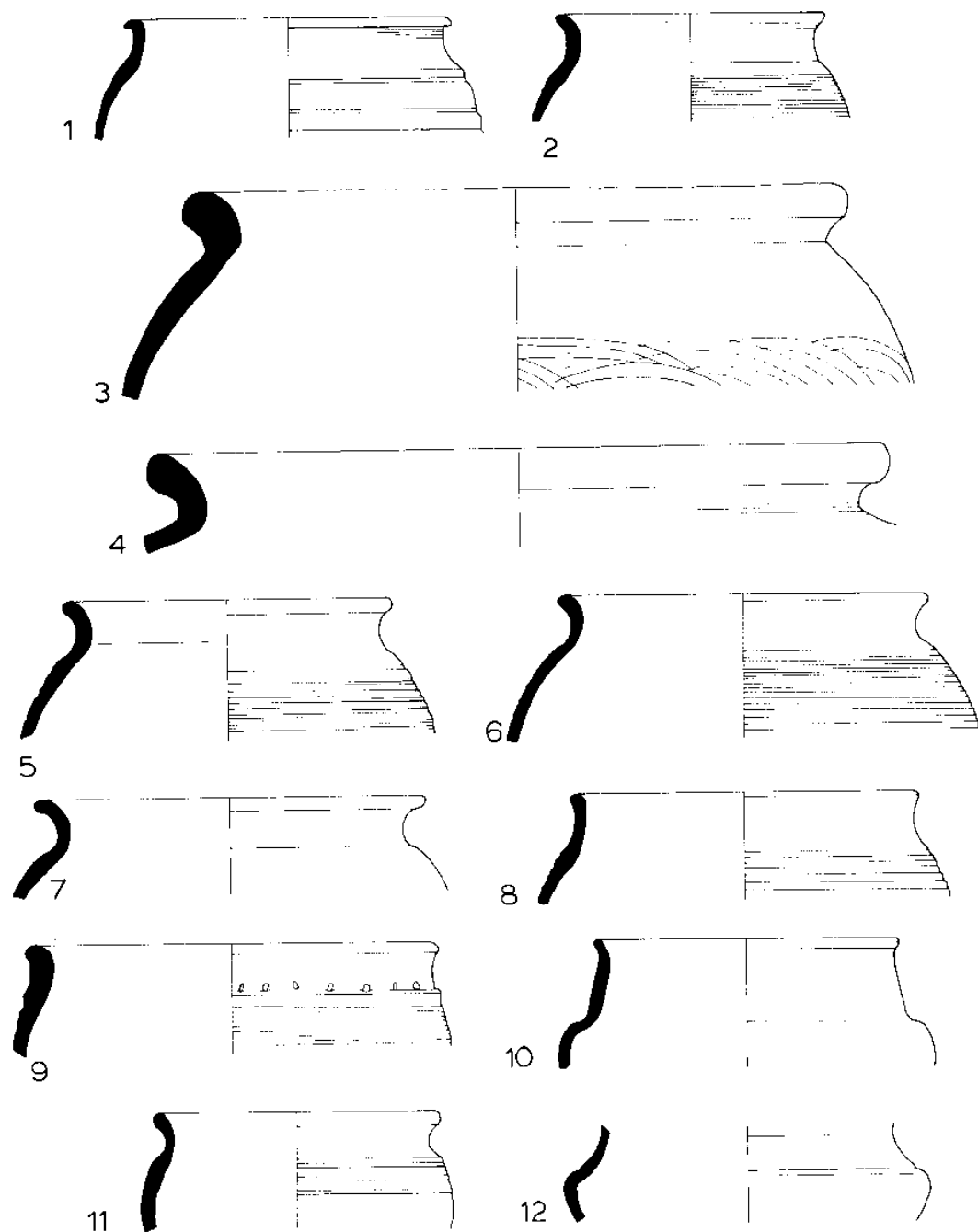


Fig. 1 Area A. Layers 1, 2. Scale 1:4.

Area A, L.1 (Fig. 1)

1. (250) 'Wheathampstead 1932. DD 32 Area A 65-66 L.1 (79)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Buff grog-tempered fabric with patchy buff-grey inner and grey outer surfaces, outer smoothed, shallow cordons, tooled between. Worn rim. Not conspicuously wheel-made; many slight surface irregularities. A small jar with shallow irregular cordons. The curious little everted rim is unusual for Wheathampstead. Not very many pots with true cordons here, and no good parallels except in a very general way. The potter is not yet using the possibilities of cordoned, wheel-turned shapes that produce the wide, high-shouldered, elaborately cordoned familiar jars: this one is flat-shouldered and shallow.
2. (258) 'Wheathampstead 1932. DD 32 Area A 65-64 L.1 (76)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1/8). Brown grog-tempered fabric, softish, brown inner surface and tooled dark grey-brown outer surface, regular wheel-made rilling. One of the rilled jars so very common on Hertfordshire settlement sites of the late Iron Age.

Area A, L.2

3. (272) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 Area A 33-32 L.2 (62)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1/26). Storage jar, well-made, by hand, grey-brown grog-tempered fabric with pale reddish smooth inner surface and buff outer surface, grey over rim, smoothed, with swirling combed pattern on body. A rather better-made storage jar than usual, and an unusual shape without a neck.
4. (273) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 Area A 34-33 L.2 (62)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1/27). Storage jar rim, hand-made but made well and turned to finish, reddish grog-tempered fabric with tooled dark grey surfaces. A standard storage jar rim of a long-lived type, but not well catered for in the Camulodunum series. Cf. Wheeler's published vessels nos. 23-25, below, with comments.
5. (254) 'Wheathampstead 1932. DD 32 Area A, L.2 45-46 (48)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Softish brown grog-tempered fabric with red below brown smoothed inner surface and dark grey shiny outer surface, heavy rilling. Wheel-made. It can be seen how standard these rilled jars are. The wheel was presumably essential for their manufacture.
6. (253) 'Wheathampstead 1932. DD 32, Area A L.2 51-52 (15)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Reddish brown grog-tempered fabric with smooth brown matt inner surface and patchy dark grey rilled outer surface with red on neck, worn from dark grey. Regular wheel-made rilling. See nos. 2, 5, etc.
7. (261) 'Wheathampstead 1932. DD 32 Area A 42-41 L.2 (57)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Pale grey grog-tempered fabric, brownish inner surface and grey outer surface worn to buff in patches. Wheel made, neatly finished. This is a Cam.221, and shows that not all the Wheathampstead pots are coarse and summary with rough surface treatment and irregularities. Cf. Wheeler's published vessel no. 10, with comments, below. This one, however, has a more unusual flaring neck: the type is nearly always closer to upright. (Cf. Faversham Group III, 220 - Philp, 1968: 80).
8. (259) 'Wheathampstead 1932. DD 32 Area A 47-48 L.2 (16)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Grey grog-tempered fabric with brown inner surface and tooled grey outer surface, deepish rilling, probably wheel-made. See above, nos 2, 5, 6, but this has a flatter profile than usual.
9. (271) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 Area A 32 L.2 (31)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Dark grey grog-tempered fabric with buff surfaces, very smooth but not polished inside, rough outside. Probably wheel-made, but uncertain. An example of the rilled and stabbed small jars found here, less well made and more roughly finished than the thinner, curved, everted-rim jars with rilling that last until the conquest period. This one has an even flatter profile than usual, with faint surface horizontal rilling and an irregular row of shallow depressions made with a rounded instrument.
10. (256) 'Wheathampstead 1932. DD 32 Area A L.2 50-55?'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Black fabric with small grits, rim much damaged and quite roughly made, not on fast wheel. Roughish worn red-grey inner surface and tooled dark grey outer surface. This tall-necked plain jar, which may be compared with Wheeler's published pot no. 9, is a Prae Wood type as well, related to Cam.221 but distinguished by the long neck. There is a similar example in the unpublished pottery from Baldock; and cf. Verulam Hills Field no. 9 (Anthony, 1968: Fig. 3). Not common outside Hertfordshire.
11. (249) 'Wheathampstead 1932 Area A 32 51-52 (15)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1/9) Pale grey grog-tempered fabric with patchy buff-brown inner surface and reddish-brown worn rough outer surface. Feels highly fired, and nowhere smooth. Wheel-made. A small and rather rough version of the rilled jars.
12. (267) 'Wheathampstead 1932 Area A (32)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1/4.) Grey grog-tempered fabric with grey surfaces, tooled on outside, rim broken off. Wheel-made but not too hard. Drawn because the exaggerated curve and sudden change in angle is very unusual amongst the Wheathampstead pots; related to the Cam.221 group.

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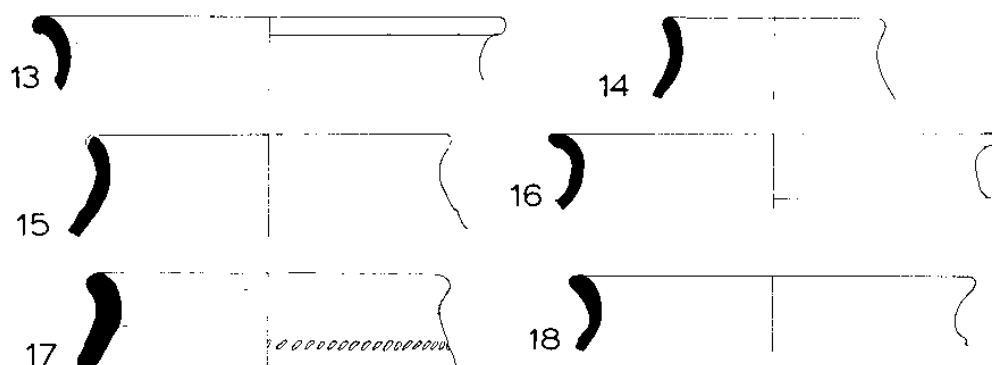


Fig. 2. Area A (ungrouped). Scale 1:4.

Ungrouped (Fig. 2)

13. (354) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 44-45 (49)'. (Ver. Mus.) Example of one of the two main rim types, rolled. Dark brown fabric with black and other grits, dark grey inner surface, burnished inside rim, and grey outer surface burnt orange-buff at rim. A Cam.221.
14. (359) 'Wheathampstead (58)(59)(62) 34-33'. (Ver. Mus.) Buff-grey grog-tempered fabric with pale grey surfaces, tooled outside but not burnished. Cam.221. These out-turned rims not as common generally as the upright kind, but not particularly rare.
15. (355) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 44-45 (49)'. (Ver. Mus.) A very small example of the other rim type. Unlike much of the pottery this is hand-made, black, probably not grog-tempered; rough dark grey inside and burnished black outside. It does not seem to belong to the same potting tradition as the rest of the pottery.
16. (356) 'Wheathampstead (58)(59)(62) 34-33'. (Ver. Mus.) Thick hand-made coarse dark grey fabric, shows pale yellow inclusions on inside grey rough surface, tooled burnished dark grey outer surface. Compare the other stabbed pots, and especially the comments on no. 9; and cf. also the particular pattern of no. 22.
17. (358) 'Wheathampstead (58)(59)(62) 34-33'. (Ver. Mus.) Brown grog-tempered fabric with pale grey below grey surfaces, tooled on outside. Plain upright rim: cf. Park Street, Site R, no. 3 (Saunders, 1961). Like a rough version of the common plain jar Cam.221, or Cam.223 (Grubs Barn I, nos. 1, 3, 4, 13 (Rook, 1970b), and a few Kent examples).
18. (357) 'Wheathampstead (58)(59)(62) 34-33'. (Ver. Mus.) Pale grey fine grog-tempered fabric, orange below pale grey surfaces, smooth on outside. Plain slightly everted rim with just the beginnings of a cordon.

Sump ditch (Fig. 3)

19. (274) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 Sump ditch NE side L.2 (119)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Storage jar rim, broken off along neck line. Grey coarse grog tempering, tooled dark grey surfaces, well made but slightly irregular rim, turned. Large plain storage jar type.
20. (539) 'Wheathampstead DD 32, Sump ditch NE side L.2 (105)'. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/25.) Perhaps partly hand-made. Lumpy dark grey grog-tempered fabric, dark grey surfaces with some red inside, neck burnished dark grey outside. Pattern somewhat smudged and worn below indents on shoulder. See under no. 9 above. This has all the characteristics of this typologically very early group.
21. (367) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 Sump ditch, NE side, 10?-100. L.2 (132)'. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/32.) Hand-made, thick dark grey fabric with grog and white grits, pale yellow-buff surfaces, smoothed on outside. Cam.229, quite large and thick; cf. one of the unpublished Baldock pots; and Wheeler's published pots nos. 2, 3 (q.v.). Canterbury, Rose Lane, no. 7, is very similar (Frere, 1954).
22. (360) 'Wheathampstead DD Sump NE side (122)'. (Ver. Mus.) Brown-grey grog-tempered fabric, probably hand-made, grey surfaces, burnished outside. Plain rim that could belong to a variety of jar shapes, but unusual here for the flattening just inside the rim.
23. (252) 'Wheathampstead 1932. DD 32 Sump NE side L.2 (122)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Brittle grey-brown grog-tempered fabric with grey worn to red on inner surface and tooled grey outer surface. Quite well made, probably on wheel. Thin and quite elegant; apart from the shallow cordons would not be out of place at Prae Wood. An ancestor of the type Cam.218, which is not particularly common in Hertfordshire.

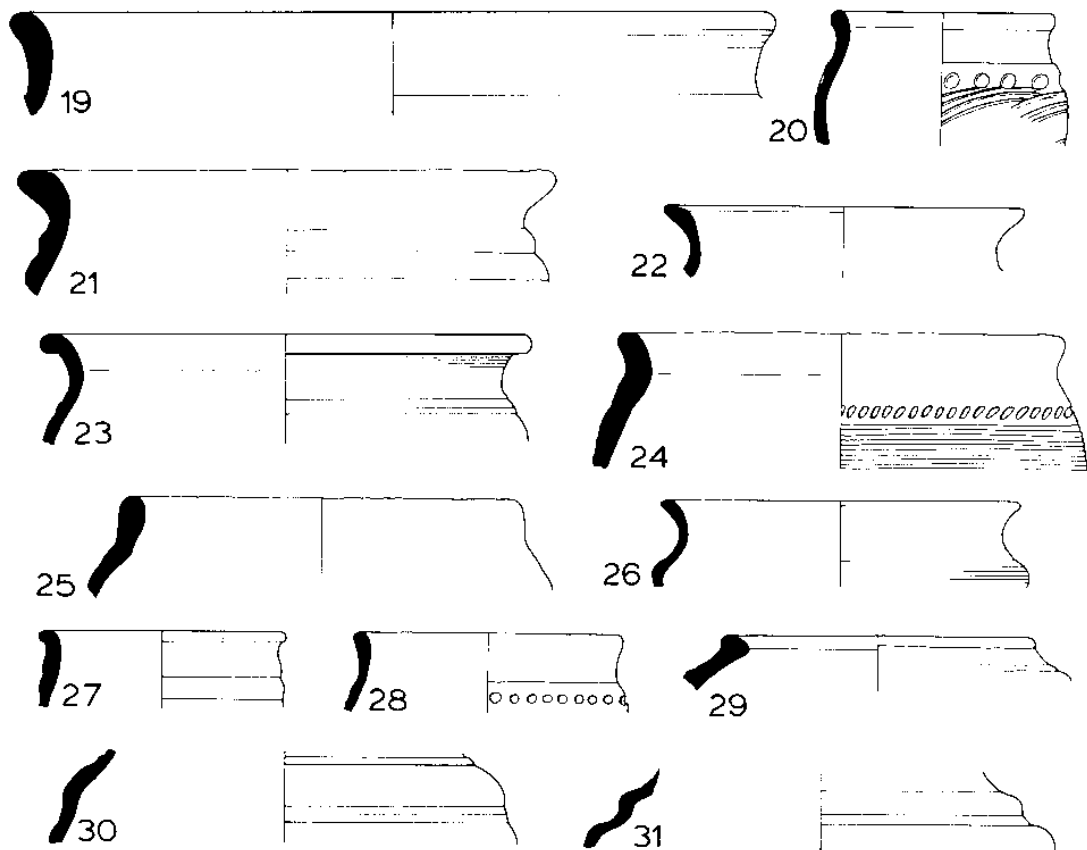


Fig. 3. 'Sump Ditch'. Scale 1:4.

24. (255) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 Sump ditch L.2 NE side 115.105'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Hand-made, softish dark brown-black, with inclusions, black and pale, large and round, probably grog, dark brown surfaces, roughly tooled on outside. See under no. 9 above.
25. (366) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 Sump ditch L.2 NE side (115)'. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/3? broken away.) Hand-made, dark brown fabric with black and tiny white grits, smoothed dark grey-brown surfaces. A rough closed form that has few parallels. Cf. Loose 1911, nos. 10 and 11 (Kelly, 1971), and other Kent versions of Cam.255 – Bridge Hill, Canterbury, no. 3 (Watson, 1963: Fig. 14); Minnis Bay, Well 10, E (Champion, 1976: Fig. 16); Margate (my cat. no. 31, although this does not have the upright curve). These Kent examples are roughly decorated with combing, but the Wheathampstead pot has no signs of this.
26. (251) 'Wheathampstead 1932. DD 32 Sump ditch L.2 105'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Softish, brown grog-tempered fabric, worn tooled grey inner surface, tooled grey outer surface. Irregular rim, not made on fast wheel. Cf. Nutfield no. 3 (Rook, 1968b); would come under the Cam. type heading 264, 'cooking-pot with simple rim': this was intended to cover a wide range of such a basic shape and is not as it stands a very satisfactory type.
27. (264) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 Sump ditch NE side L.2 (122)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Waster? Much distorted piece but rim keeps straight so perhaps a usable pot. Overfired black and no visible temper. Dark grey surfaces, slightly lumpy on inside. A small version of a Cam.229 sub-group found mostly in Kent but also at Braughing, and close to Wheeler's published Wheathampstead vessel no. 8. Cf. Braughing (unpublished, my cat. no. 139); Loose 1911 nos. 3–6 (Kelly, 1971); Canterbury, Rose Lane no. 28 (Frere, 1954). A very close parallel can be found in the Langenhoe pottery (Red Hill III, my cat. no. 115), but this is Roman.

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28. (362) 'Wheathampstead DD Sump NE side (122)'. (Ver. Mus.) Hand-made black fabric with pale buff inclusions showing on inner surface, dark grey with red patch, and burnished black outer surface. See no. 9 above.
29. (361) 'Wheathampstead DD Sump NE side (122)'. (Ver. Mus.) Hand-made, grey grog-tempered fabric with buff smooth inner surface and burnished dark grey outer surface, irregular tooling. This closed form is the only one of its kind at Wheathampstead; Prae Wood versions exist but are harder, better made, and do not have incipient cordons. There is a sub-group of Cam.229 that this may be related to; but these are finely made and quite standard in shape. The coarser, round, high-shouldered jars with club rims are common at Canterbury (Rose Lane, 20-25), but again always with combing.
30. (269) 'Wheathampstead DD 32 Sump ditch'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Grey-brown grog-tempered fabric, grey surfaces, tooled outside, entirely usual hardness. Like no. 31; these two a very unusual form for Wheathampstead.
31. (270) 'Wheathampstead DD Sump NE side L.2 (122)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Brown grog-tempered fabric, grey surfaces, worn but originally well-defined cordons. Drawn because these cordons, even somewhat exaggerated, are unusual here, and commoner at Prae Wood.

Unmarked (Fig. 4)

32. (368) (Ver. Mus. 47.2/24.) Coarse pale grey grog-tempered fabric with large inclusions, buff inner surface, actual original surface worn away; dark grey smooth outer surface, not shiny. Wheel made. Holes drilled after firing. A storage jar of the usual type but somewhat small.
33. (365) (Ver. Mus.) Grey grog-tempered fabric with greyish-brown surfaces, tooled outside. Rim of a Cam.221, small and precise. Several of the Canterbury (Rose Lane) jars have such short upright necks (Frere, 1954: figs. 3 and 6, nos. 4, 51, 54).
34. (263) (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Greyish grog-tempered fabric with dark grey inner surface worn to red, dark grey tooled outer surface. Worn red rim, once tooled. Presumably wheel-made. Might be a small cup of some sort, but unusually deep overhang on rim, and cups with such a rim shape are rare. Cf. Verulamium Group B, no. 58 (Wheeler, 1936: Fig. 18); and a group of cups like Cam.234.
35. (266) (Inst. Arch.) Small storage jar, coarse soft grey grog-tempered fabric with buff surfaces, untreated. Cf. no. 21 above: thicker, coarser versions of published pots nos. 2 and 3.
36. (262) (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Grey grog-tempered fabric with brown inner surface worn to red, dark grey-brown outer surface, tooled on neck, regular filling. Very similar to nos. 37 and 39.
37. (268) (Inst. Arch. B.I.1/7). Brown grog-tempered fabric with dark grey smoothed inner surface, red over rim, dark grey outer surface, tooled neck and rim, heavy rilling. Wheel-made; rough below rilling. The curved, more graceful form of the rilled jar.
38. (265) (Inst. Arch.) Brown-grey grog-tempered fabric with tooled dark grey surfaces, perhaps made on a slow wheel, softish and lumpy. A break at the inside point of neck, a weak point. Very like Wheeler's published pot no. 12.
39. (536) (Ver. Mus. 47.2/15.) Dark brown-grey lumpy grog-tempered fabric with reddish grey inside and dark grey outside, at least partly wheel-made as neck and rim show, with combed decoration. Not burnished, but smooth neck. The flatter-profiled form of the rilled jars, as above.
40. (257) (Inst. Arch.) Sandy-feeling grey grog-tempered fabric with buff inner surface and grey outer surface, roughish to touch. Wheel-made. Diagonal stabbing. One of the stabbed jars as above.
41. (364) (Ver. Mus.) Brown grog-tempered fabric with roughly smoothed grey surfaces. Plain coarse jar without neck; cf. Cam.256, with parallels (large and small) in Essex (Danbury, Great Chesterford); Hertfordshire (Lockleys 55; Brickwall Hill ditch 1 no. 6, large and combed); and Kent (Snargate 4-6; Faversham group 1, 173; Minnis Bay, Well 30, C). A very basic, simple form. (For Danbury, see Hull, 1937: no. 14; Great Chesterford, Rodwell 1976: Fig. 16 no. 21; Lockleys, Ward Perkins, 1938: Fig. 8; Brickwall Hill, Rook, 1970a; Snargate, Kelly, 1968: Fig. 1; Faversham, Philp, 1968: Fig. 23; Minnis Bay, Champion 1976: Fig. 17).
42. (363) (Ver. Mus.) Brown soft grog-tempered with grey surfaces, tooled outside. Very unusual small bowl form, and the only shape of this kind at Wheathampstead.
43. (260) (Inst. Arch. B.I.1.) Pale grey fine grog-tempered fabric, brown worn to reddish inner surface and grey smooth unshiny outer surface, wheel-made; not especially hard. Another everted jar rim with incipient cordon, not well defined.

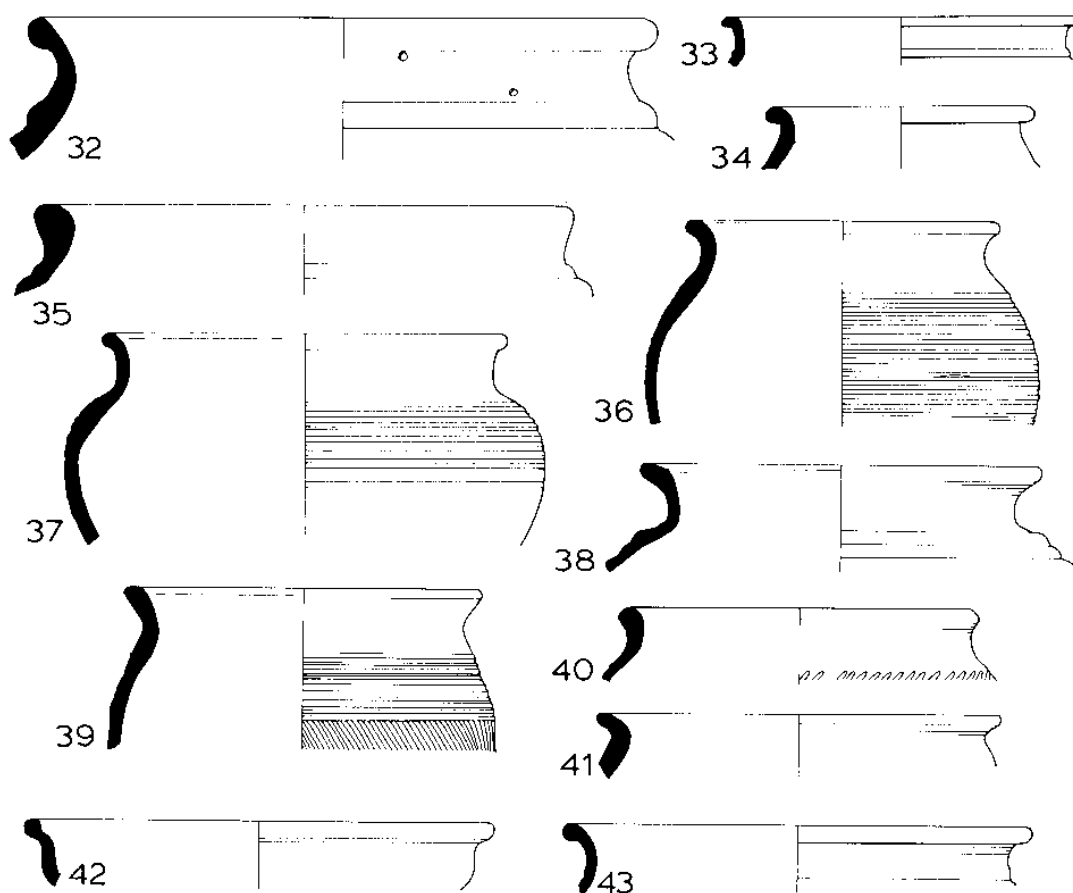


Fig. 4 Unmarked Pottery. Scale 1:4.

Vessels published by Wheeler in 1936

Those assignable to 'Area A' or the Sump ditch' are as follows:

Area A: nos. 10, 20, 23.

Sump ditch: nos. 3, 7, 13.

None of the other published vessels have any marking other than 'Wheathampstead 1932'. Some I have not been able to locate in either the Institute of Archaeology or the Verulamium Museum: nos. 4 and 6, plain bases; nos. 21 and 22, rim fragments; and no. 24, a storage jar rim that may have become mixed up with no. 23, since they are very similar.

1. Fine brown grog-tempered fabric, well made on the wheel, dark grey surfaces, originally some burnishing on outside. (Ver. Mus.) This type of cordoned, corrugated tall jar with everted rim is uniquely represented here, although there are some corrugated sherds as seen above. It is not particularly uncommon elsewhere on later sites. The Camulodunum series does not cover these large fine jars since forms 231-3 quite definitely comprise only the

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narrow-mouthed necked flask versions, and not the wider-mouthed, and commoner jars. They usually have slightly more neck than this one is allowed, but cf. Berkhamstead (Thompson and Holland, 1976: Fig. 3 no. 65), Verulamium Group B no. 52, and Verulam Hills Field (Anthony, *op. cit.*, nos. 5 and 6). None of these jars is particularly early, and the general type is a long-lived one, in Hertfordshire, Essex and Kent, although less common in Kent. The curious stunted pedestal foot, however, seems to be confined to Wheathampstead, where true pedestals did not occur.

2. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/9.) Brown-grey fairly fine grog-tempered fabric, darker grey surfaces, some burnish on the outside. Now mostly lost below the stabbing. Very like no. 3, but slightly narrower and taller neck. The rippled neck is quite common on these Wheathampstead jars, and since it is less precisely made than the firm cordons, in a softer fabric, it is a typologically early feature, reflecting less skilled workmanship on the part of the potter. The stabbing around the wide part of the shoulder is also an early feature, common at Wheathampstead. It is only found on such rippled jars at Wheathampstead and is more common on rilled and combed smaller jars like nos. 17-19 below. Both rippling and stabbing, however, are not invariably early features. The round jar shape with rippled shoulders would be one of the sub-groups of 229 in the Camulodunum series. Cf. Aylesford (AB 44, 54, 74); Minnis Bay (Well 30, F: Champion, 1976: Fig. 17); Chart Sutton, Stodmarsh Road, and Canterbury (3 vessels drawn by me, Kent pots of late pre-conquest and early Roman date, harder and more precise in fabric and shaping); Maidstone (Hayne's Garage, Kelly 1963: 195, no. 2); Braintree (AB 197); Billericay (AB 165); Heybridge (AB 194); Little Hallingbury (AB 142).
3. 'Sump ditch NE side 118'. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/13.) Once restored, now in pieces. Grey-buff small grog-tempered, grey surfaces, some polishing on neck. Hole drilled after firing. A large, wider-mouthed version of no. 2; the same comments apply, but cf. also new unpublished pots from early levels at Baldock, of the same standard of firing and shaping. Also Heybridge (AB 140) and Swarling (AB 6). Apart from these softer, brittle and more roughly shaped vessels from Wheathampstead and Baldock the type does not occur in Hertfordshire as yet: the highly fired, regularly rippled variety found in Kent (in chance contexts) derives from the same sort of ancestry but has the influence of the fast wheel. In Hertfordshire the rippled variety does not last. It is not yet clear how the Essex examples, as common as in Kent, develop.
4. Not found. The curious stunted pedestal found at Wheathampstead, possibly reflecting earlier Iron Age antecedents and not really connected with the true pedestal bases.
5. 'Wheathampstead 1932, 86'. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/19.) Brown grog-tempered fabric, dark grey outside surface but red-grey inside. Definitely wheel-made. Hole drilled after firing. Normal slightly beaded base; these holes quite common generally.
6. Not found. Plain base.
7. '129 DD 32 S Ditch NE side'. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/23.) Grey-brown grog-tempered fabric, grey surfaces, darker outside, once some burnishing. Fairly coarse but well-formed. Interesting and unique form. From shape at break it probably did have a pedestal foot. It belongs to a group of unique vessels with high pedestals that stand beside but in contrast to the quite common and well-defined type Cam.210, of which Hertfordshire has its own distinct series. This vessel is interesting for its precise attention to shape and its corrugated wall, revealing a lot of care in its manufacture.
8. (Ver. Mus.) Coarse dark brown-grey. Some polish but much restored, and this can add a spurious shine to the surface. Restoration makes it impossible to be certain of the fabric. One only, according to Wheeler; this is a plain but interesting shape that is another sub-group of form Cam.229, of tall plain two-angled jars with rippled upper part. Like the other rippled form above, it has several parallels in Kent: Swarling (AB 33); 'Canterbury' (my cat. no. 86); Sturry Hill (my cat. no. 103); Minnis Bay, Well 30, B (Champion, 1976); cf. also Heybridge (AB 195). Verulamium Group B no. 44 possibly represents a later Hertfordshire version. The Swarling pot is from Grave 17, accompanied only by a tall version of the ubiquitous form Cam.221.
9. (Ver. Mus.) Pale grey-buff, coarse, probably grog temper showing where worn, patchy. As Wheeler says this looks as if it is a copy of a metal vessel: it would be a more natural shape in that material. It can be regarded also as a long-necked version of Cam.221; several of these long-necked pots occur at Prae Wood in the unpublished material, and, for example, Group B no. 42 (Wheeler, 1936: Fig. 15). Baldock also has some unpublished examples. But the height of the neck and the small diameter of the base, as well as the thin walls, make this a unique vessel.
10. 'DD 32 Area A LII 48-40 (29)'. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/12.) Grey grog-tempered fabric, grey smooth surfaces, burnished outside. Small hole bored after firing through middle of neck. A

- Cam.221, a plain type which occurs with only slight variations at Crookhams (Rook, 1968a: no. 1); Grubs Barn (Rook, 1970b: Fig. 2 no. 8); Lockleys (Ward Perkins, 1938: no. 37); Brickwall Hill (Rook, 1970a: ditch 3 nos. 4 and 18); St Albans (Corder, 1941: nos. 2 and 3); Prae Wood (Wheeler, 1936); Welwyn Grammar School (Arnold, 1954: nos. 4, 5, and 15); Berkhamsted (Thompson and Holland, 1976: nos. 15, 26, 27, 29 etc); Braughing (Holmes, 1954: no. 11, Fig. 6), all settlements; Swarling (AB 1); Loose (Kelly, 1971: Fig. 11 no. 13); Canterbury (Williams, 1947: Fig. 5 no. 6); and Faversham (Philp. *op. cit.*, nos. 194, 220, 230), all settlements except the first; Great Wakering cemetery (AB 150, 152); Danbury (Hull, 1937: 10); Gun Hill (Drury and Rodwell, 1973: no. 107); and so on: a long-lived and undatable form, very popular but mostly found in settlements.
11. "DD 90-122". (Ver. Mus. 47.2/14.) Now in pieces. Grey brown grog-tempered fabric with grey surfaces, smoothed and slightly spalled on outside. Burnished rim. A jar of the shape of Cam.221, but with a rippled shoulder. No. 12, and no. 36 of my own drawings above, have this, but it is otherwise unusual. Cf. Great Wakering I (AB 151). It can be seen that the general group of forms that comprise Cam.229 is made up of much close variation reflecting the imprecise character of the rippling on these pots.
 12. (Ver. Mus. This is marked as no. 11 but there is no doubt about its being no. 12.) Fairly fine brittle brown grog-tempered fabric, dark grey surfaces. Much restored and now in pieces. See no. 11 above. This is a wider, more bowl-like variety of the same basic shape.
 13. '4 DD 32 Sump ditch'. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/20.) Very brittle and crumbling coarse brown grog-tempered fabric with grey surfaces, once some tooling on shoulder and neck. A ripple-shouldered version of the tall round jars that are like Cam.231-3. This is quite a plain and well-proportioned specimen, but in a brittle, crumbling fabric that should have been fired a little higher. Cf. Heybridge (AB 140); it has a similar shape. Berkhamsted no. 65 (Thompson and Holland, 1976) represents the more regular and commoner version with true cordons. The Prae Wood collection has cordons, not ripples.
 14. (Ver. Mus.) Very coarse patchy orange-grey fabric, like coarse Prae Wood jars. 6 holes drilled in base. Cf. no. 19 below, small plain jar shapes of coarse fabric and combed (and stabbed) surface treatment. A coarse fabric but with no. 15 the 'dominant type'. The standard shape of the Hertfordshire rilled jars, like nos. 15-16, but small. This coarse ware type hardly appears outside Hertfordshire; elsewhere different shapes are popular. In Kent it is mostly the type known as Cam.258: in Essex the small everted rim type Cam.264 is a counterpart to this small vessel here, and can be large and even stabbed according to the Sheepen report (Hawkes and Hull, 1947: 270), but it is essentially late and often post-conquest at Camulodunum, with few parallels elsewhere.
 15. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/6.) Coarse gritty dark brown-grey, grog-tempered, grey coarse outside with orange below, grey inner surface. See remarks on nos. 14 and 16.
 16. 'Wheathampstead 1932'. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/17.) Coarse pale grey, grog-tempered, buff-grey inner surface and patchy dark-grey-buff outside, well made with fine decoration. This may be a 'coarse ware' type but it can be just as well made as the burnished and cordoned jars. This typical artefact of Hertfordshire settlement sites has a long life, since it is here fully developed, alongside the rougher, plainer form represented by no. 18, and is common at Prae Wood, Crookhams, Brickwall Hill (see below), Grubs Barn, Braughing, Lockleys, Welwyn Grammar School, Puddlehill (Matthews, 1976: Fig. 119, nos. 1-4), and Berkhamsted, etc. It is not an Essex form at all until after the conquest, when it spreads and becomes very regular with sharp, deep, regular wheel-formed rilling. One more pre-conquest example survives from Danbury, however (Hull, 1937: no. 13), and some horizontal combing occurs at Essex settlements such as Gun Hill (Drury and Rodwell, 1973: no. 30) and Kelvedon (Rodwell, 1976: no. 8) but on plainer shapes. Horizontal combing is commoner in Kent, but again on locally popular shapes such as Cam.258, and not on the everted-rim jar form like the vessels under consideration here.
 17. (Ver. Mus.) Much restored coarse and possibly hand-made jar of patchy grey-buff fabric. A coarser version of no. 16, with prominent finger tip stabbing and swirling brush-marks. This jar is more or less complete, which is unusual. The type is an early one that survives only in its large thick storage-jar version; but that carries on to the end of the first century AD at least, mostly still in the pre-conquest fabric and treatment. See also nos. 18 and 19.
 18. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/10.) Very coarse probably hand-made dark fabric full of large pale grits and other rubbish, roughly executed decoration. This is the type which represents the very beginning of the grog-tempered pottery series, although it is not always grog-tempered and as in this case is often hand-made. Its occurrence is therefore important for purposes of relative dating, and, unfortunately, the detection of the residual element, for these coarse stabbed upright-rim jars are not always found in early contexts. However, there are several at Wheathampstead, both hand-made and wheel-made. There are more than the 'two or

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three' mentioned by Wheeler. These are the earliest late Iron Age pots in the region, and the type is linked to the earliest of the Prae Wood levels as well (Primary levels, no. 2: Wheeler, 1936: Fig. 9). But cf. Lockleys Fig. 7 no. 20, and Welwyn Grammar School nos. 11 and 12. As might be expected, Brickwall Hill has an example in ditch 1, no. 9. A rim sherd from S. Bassett's excavations at Saffron Walden, Essex, as yet unpublished, has the upright rim, stabbed decoration and rilling, but is in a black and gritty earlier Iron Age fabric. Grubs Barn ditch 1 has several; so have Lockleys, Crookhams, and Braughing (unpublished, from the Henderson Collection in Hertford Museum, and awaiting publication by Clive Partridge). Great Chesterford, too, has a small example (Rodwell, 1976: Fig. 16 no. 18); a large one occurs at Widdington, south of Saffron Walden (Saffron Walden Museum, my cat. no. 205). There is a gap in central Essex; the type occasionally appears in south-eastern Essex, such as in a grog-tempered small version at Orsett 'Cock' (Rodwell, 1974: Fig. 6 no. 17). There is a curious pot published from Southchurch that seems to be an earlier Iron Age example (Francis, 1931: 418), but there is also a shoulder sherd from a stabbed and rilled jar with the early Roman burial from Pleshey (May, 1917: Plate III no. 8). Stabbing does occur in Kent but on very different pots. It also lasts to the end of the first century AD on large but well-made, not coarse, storage jars, for example at Hatfield Peverel and St. Osyth, both Essex (my cat. no. 80 and 112). The type in general is not yet known in Essex nearly as commonly as it is in Hertfordshire, if one counts the Great Chesterford-Saffron Walden area as belonging rather to the Hertfordshire orbit than to eastern Essex.

19. (Ver. Mus. 47.2/5.) Much restored. Coarse dark grey with orange patch low on body, no base. The same shape as no. 14, but with upright rim and stabbing on shoulder. See nos. 14 and 18.
20. 'Area A DD 1.32: 49 × 50'. (Inst. Arch.) Much broken large thin-walled jar, pale grey fabric with large rounded black grog tempering, pale red worn inner surface and well-combed grey hard outer surface, tooled rim. The type is, like no. 17, one of the tall wide-mouthed jars related to Cam.231-3, but only pertunatory cordons, and combed surface. These jars are usually harder and plainer, although softer, decorated versions occur in Essex (Heybridge, AB 196; Lion Point, Clacton, unpublished, in British Museum, my cat. no. 41).
21. Unlocated. Apparently a wide bowl with internally thickened triangular rim and vertical lines incised on outside. But cannot be certain if a deep jar or a shallow bowl. Unusual, whatever; and only the one example here.
22. Unlocated. A plain club-rimmed bowl or jar that looks like Cam.257 but is less deep, and has a wider mouth: i.e. a globular form with the rim finished off bluntly. A fairly widespread coarse type: cf. Park Street; Highgate (Brown and Sheldon, 1974: phase I); several at Canterbury, Rose Lane (nos. 1, 2, 20-22). So plain that it is inevitably long-lasting. Only a single example at Wheathampstead.
23. 'DD 32 Area A 45-38 L.1 (66)'. (Inst. Arch. B.I.1/2; another piece in Ver. Mus.) Pale grey hard wheel-made grog-tempered fabric, grey outside, buff inside, buff rim. Two holes, one each side of piece in Ver. Mus., drilled after firing. This, no. 24, and no. 25 are ubiquitous storage-jar rims of a very long-lasting type, for they occur throughout the Prae Wood sequence in just this form, and are very common elsewhere: slightly everted rim, often a shoulder-cordon, and zig-zag and combed ornament below. It is curious that the common form is not included in the Camulodunum type series, because it does last beyond the conquest, in the same coarse grog-tempered fabric.
24. Not found, but very like no. 23.
25. 'Devil's Dyke, 129'. (Inst. Arch.) Coarse greenish-grey fabric with much large rounded grog-tempering, probably hand-made, rough worn grey inner surface and tooled yellowish-grey outer surface, broad shallow incised decoration. Same type as no. 23 above. The marking 'Devil's Dyke' is different from the other marks on the vessels, and it is possible that this was the 'fragment' found in the hearth at the bottom of the Devil's Dyke section (Wheeler, 1936: 20); all the other vessels from Wheathampstead that are marked have the notation DD 82, for Devil's Dyke 1932.

Undrawn pottery

There were no extra rims labelled 'Area A' but the 'Sump ditch' also contained another storage jar rim fragment from 'L.2 131', and a bag of 25 more rims from

'Sump NE side 122'. Most of these were of the only slightly everted kind, but some were rolled. Two had the stabbed decoration; there were some cordons.

Another bag labelled merely '44-45 (49)' contained 43 small rims, of which four were large storage jars and 16 were the rolled type. Two of these rims were drawn. 15 more rims were labelled '(58)(59)(62) 34-33', and four of these were drawn, above. There were 60 other unmarked rim scraps, three of which appear in the drawn pots above.

All the bases in these bags were plain and flat; one from 'Area A1, Level 1' had a series of holes drilled through it, four of which survived on the sherd; and another similar but unmarked. There were about half a dozen more stabbed sherds, and a number of coarse, reddish soft body sherds from large storage jars with roughly combed decoration, sometimes wavy in pattern. All of these are well represented by the drawn vessels; all are grog-tempered.

There were a few scraps of different fabrics:

3 sherds of a matt black fabric, possibly of an earlier Iron Age tradition;
the flat base of an Iron Age pot, matt black, hand-made, smooth dark grey inner surface and patchy grey-red outer surface (Sump ditch 105');
the flat base of a vesiculated grey fabric with reddish surfaces ('Sump ditch L.2 SW side 108');
one small featureless sandy sherd, pale buff-grey, very gritty;
5 grass-tempered sherds;
one soft bright red sherd.

There was also one thick grey grog-tempered sherd with a group of circles impressed into the clay.

The fabric of the pottery is always grog-tempered except where indicated; sometimes overfiring produces a thick, very black fabric in the break but this is often only a localised patch on the vessel and the tempering shows up somewhere else upon it. The coarser pots show no evidence of having been produced on a fast wheel, but they do have signs, especially around the rim, of a final turning.

Objects other than pottery found at Wheathampstead (Wheeler, 1936: Plate LII)

The *tweezers*: (Ver. Mus. 78.2513, in B6; no marking.) Found 'at a somewhat lower but roughly contemporary level' than the brooch. The illustration shows a small strip of sheet bronze folded double, the ends broken off, broader towards the ends than in the middle. Tweezers, and toilet sets, are known in central Europe from Hallstatt C times, but they are commonest from the beginning of La Tène onwards. They are often found with Nauheim fibulae in continental La Tène III contexts (Déchelette, 1927: 777-780). In Britain they are known, for instance, from Glastonbury, the Queen's Grave at Arras, Birdlip, Oare, Deal, King Harry Lane at St

Albans, and some late Iron Age Welsh sites, Fishbourne and many Roman contexts. The standard form invariably has the centre of the strip bent into a loop, to provide some spring for a good grip, and an anchor for a ring if part of a set. The Wheathampstead object does, in fact, have this leverage, although it does not appear in the drawing, and the shape is not straight, but subtly curved. It is now in two fragments but undoubtedly was a pair of tweezers.

The *Nauheim fibula*: (Ver. Mus. 78.2600, in B7; no marking.) Found 'at a high level in the trench which contained most of the pottery'. The bronze brooch has the 2-turn coil, internal cord, plain open frame foot and flattened triangular bow with incised decoration of the continental Nauheim fibula; it is more like the continental examples than the drawing shows. The Nauheim fibula is the standard type of La Tène D on the continent: its latest context is in grave 44 at the Titelberg, of Augustan date, and it was replaced by new types by the beginning of the first century AD. Its earliest context is not clear; it occurs at Chateaumeillant and the Engehalbinsel, Berne, in the Caesarian period, but not at Alise-Ste.-Reine (Alesia). If it was a female ornament, however, as has been argued, one would not expect it at the battle site. The Nauheim brooch found at Entremont, destroyed in 123 BC, is of the plainer type of simple wire construction, but this single example is not sufficient evidence as yet to push the inception of the Nauheim type much before the Caesarian period on the continent (Collis, 1975: 57). Its occurrence in Britain is as scattered as the tweezers: see Glastonbury (Bulleid and Gray, I, 1911: 192, and Plate XL) and Maiden Castle (Wheeler, 1943: 258 – unstratified). It is not a characteristic of the grog-tempered 'Belgic' pottery sites of south-eastern England, where Colchester brooches and other types beginning in the Augustan period on the continent are typical.

The *triangular loomweights* are a common type found on Iron Age sites all over lowland south-east England, and in Belgium and north Germany (see Champion, 1975: Fig. 2 and appendix giving the distribution). They occur on sites of a fairly wide chronological range in the Iron Age, but rarely on sites whose pottery is the grog-tempered 'Belgic' type of the latest Iron Age in south-eastern England.

None of these objects other than pottery had any surviving indication of their exact provenance. Much searching in the Verulamium Museum produced neither the iron knife nor the spindle-whorl. (The pointed end of the knife has now been found in the Museum, June 1979.)

Beside these published objects, the Verulamium Museum contains a box of daub and fired clay, and another labelled 'charcoal, iron slag, and animal bones'.

The *fired clay* comprises three small bags of featureless lumps of fired clay from Area A, and a collection of unmarked larger lumps of two types. These are large thick pieces with wattle-marks, grey or red, with one more unusual and well-shaped piece (Fig. 5); and one or two long, thin grass-marked pieces of buff clay like the thin slapped-on lining of a kiln or similar structure.

It is perhaps worth recording here that other small fired clay lumps were picked

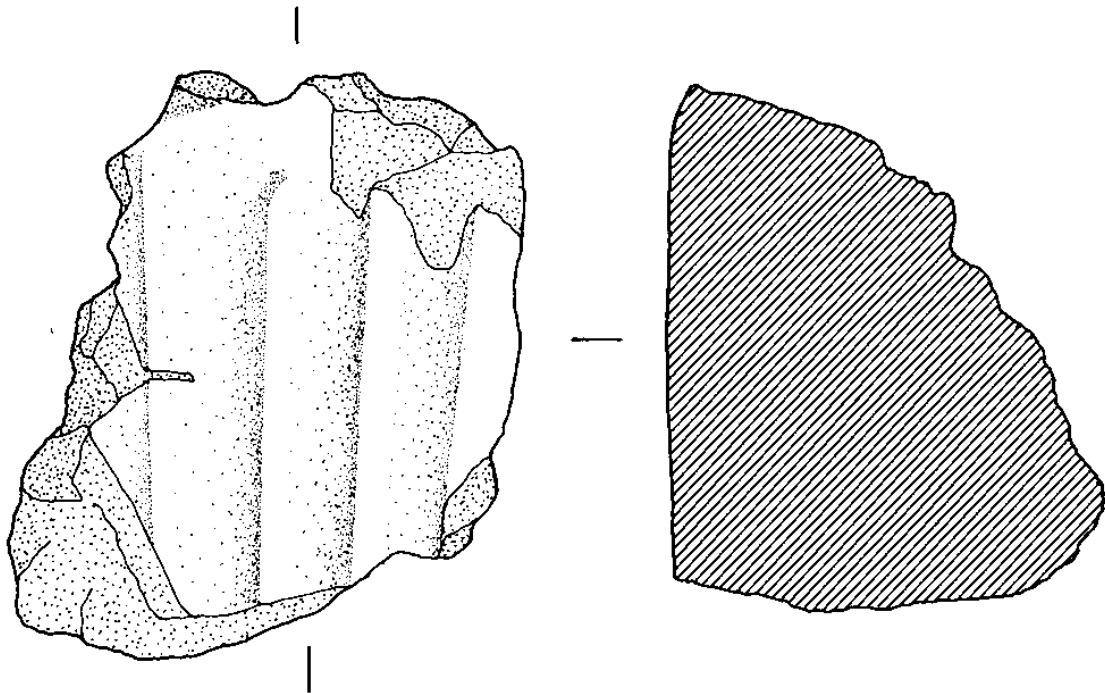


Fig. 5. Unusual piece of fired clay from Wheathampstead: red, brittle, with burnt flint inclusions; edge shaped with a knife. Scale 1:2.

up on the surface of the site by Mr F. H. G. Montagu-Puckle of the Verulamium Museum in 1972, at a spot near the probable south-west corner of the fortification (inf. C. Saunders).

The cremation

As well as a small amount of charcoal from 'Area A 47-46 (20) L.2', and a round lump of iron slag from 'Area A W side 2' 5" under plough', there were two paper bags containing bones. The site's acid soil means that bone does not normally survive, but these fragments appeared burnt, and the larger sample looked surprisingly like a cremation. Both bags were submitted to Mr Don Brothwell at the Institute of Archaeology, who reported as follows:

1. 'DD 32 Sump ditch L.2 (116) 7.10.32'.
 - (a) 3 large fragments of decayed bone shaft plus many very small pieces. Bone could be large (cow/horse) size mammal *or* man.
 - (b) 3 fragments of a tooth or teeth. The morphology indicates a bovid, presumably domestic cattle.
 - (c) 1 piece of pot (this is small, plain, and grey grog-tempered – IMT).

2. 'DD 32 Ditch 3 22.9.32'. Numerous fragments of bone mixed with pieces of charcoal and surrounding earth matrix. Although not one bone specimen is absolutely conclusive, 19 pieces are sufficiently large to show some morphology, from which it may be tentatively concluded that one or more humans are represented. One fragment in particular is strongly suggestive of human tibia shaft. The condition of the bones, white with some fissuring, distortion, and patchy greying, suggests that the material was all cremated.

This putative cremation is a puzzle, since it is entirely unassociated with anything else; and the label is the chief surprise, since this is the first, and only, indication of 'Ditch 3'. If, as Chris Saunders has suggested to me, Wheeler put down several trial trenches within the interior of the fortification, 'Ditch 3' could have been almost anywhere. The piece of iron slag from Area A was found at 2 feet 5 inches 'under plough' so this provides a second indication that Wheeler did probe more of the interior than he showed on the published plan, and also that 'Area A' is definitely not a reference to the section through the defences, which are not under plough, and which in fact seem to have contained no pottery (see above).

The section drawing of the V-shaped ditch (Plate IV) is labelled, by Wheeler himself, the 'Sump ditch', and this is *not* the shallow, rounded ditch in Wheeler's Plate VI and apparently corresponding with the main ditch length on the plan. The latter is undoubtedly what Wheeler calls the 'first ditch' on the section drawing.

It might be useful, at this point, to summarise the indicated features:

1. The main bank and ditch, sectioned at A-B on Wheeler's plan.
2. The main ditch length at 'Site C' on the plan, described as 'first ditch' on the section drawing.
3. The ditch with V-shaped section, sketched by Wheeler and described as 'Sump ditch'.
4. The ditch that is indicated in dotted lines on Wheeler's plan, meeting (2) at right angles.
5. 'Ditch 3', containing the cremation.
6. 'Area A': no details, except that it comprised at least two layers, and was dug at least 2 feet 5 inches deep.

No. (4) could be the same as (3), if Wheeler was inconsistent and the 'Sump ditch' that so much of the pottery comes from is (2), the more substantial feature. (4) could equally be identical with no. (5). In fact, we cannot now be certain of the identity of any of these features except (1).

The compilation of dates given on the bags containing the Wheathampstead finds provides the following:

September 1932:	10.9.32	Area A	(daub)
	12.9.32	Area A	(daub)
	13.9.32	Area A	(daub)
	16.9.32	?	(tweezers)

October 1932: 22.9.32 Ditch 3 (cremation)
 4.10.32 Area A (slag)
 7.10.32 Sump ditch (bones)

(The brooch label is marked 16.xi.32, which seems wrong and should very likely also read 16.ix.32. No other dates have survived; none of the pottery has any associated dates.)

Wheathampstead's context

A date in the second half of the first century BC is indicated for the Wheathampstead finds: there is nothing to show that the site, as known, lasted to the time of the first Gallo-Belgic imports to Britain, and the finds other than pottery also indicate an early date. It is not yet possible to give a date for the beginning of this early period, but there is nothing to suggest that the *terminus post quem* can be placed earlier in the first century BC than the time of Caesar, and the brooch suggests the post-Caesarian period. Wheathampstead's chief chronological interest is not whether it was the stronghold of Cassivellaunus, for there is nothing specific to indicate whether it was or not, and such a supposition does not, besides, cast any light on the absolute dating of these finds. The site, however, is a 'hill-fort' of the kind found on the low eminences of eastern England in the Iron Age, and seems to have been succeeded by the extensive 'oppidum' of Prae Wood: a sequence that happened at other major settlements of south-eastern England in the last 50 years of the pre-conquest period.

Other sites in Hertfordshire, with Wheathampstead, comprise a group of settlements which should relate to the early group of rich burials called the 'Welwyn' phase by Stead (1976: 401). There is material from Baldock and Braughing, and possibly Hertford, which when published should add much to our knowledge of the period. The ditches found at *Brickwall Hill*, Welwyn (Rook, 1970a), are especially interesting because they were found not very far away from the Welwyn and Welwyn Garden City early burials, and because they reveal an interesting sequence. Of four disconnected ditch lengths, ditches 1 and 2 produced pottery comparable to Wheathampstead, and ditch 3 pottery comparable to Prae Wood. Ditch 4 was Roman. And, especially important, part of a 'La Tène II type' fibula with a knob on the bow was securely stratified in Ditch 1.

The excavator suggested that ditches 1 and 2 might have been part of a single ditch; this is possible, but they were widely separated and, while the sample is admittedly not large, the vessels from ditch 2 seem on examination to be better defined, with sharper and more regular grooving and rilling. Ditch 3 has Gallo-Belgic copies, so the rilled jars of the standard Hertfordshire type, just like those at Prae Wood and Crookhams, are here later in date. It seems that these jars do not occur in ditches 1 and 2; also notable is the sudden great increase in the range of interesting

types in ditch 3, with its early attempt at a jug and its unusual pedestalled bowl, a Cam.221 with a pedestal, otherwise unknown. Ditch 1, however, has in no. 9 a specimen instantly recognisable at Wheathampstead, and nos. 8, 10, and 12 are also closely paralleled at Wheathampstead. Brickwall Hill ditch 1 has a greater proportion of the upright-profiled, thickened-rim coarse jars, seen again in ditch 2 nos. 5a and 5b. Ditch no. 6 is an interesting plain large storage jar; ditch 2 no. 9 is the more usual long-lived rim type. Ditch 2 no. 8 is also called a 'storage-jar'.

The non-Wheathampstead types that occur in these two ditches are especially interesting, because each ditch has a true pedestal base. Ditch 1 no. 5 is the usual and very common type Cam.203; ditch 2 no. 11, however, is flat. This is not uncommon either; although it did not occur at Camulodunum there are examples in Hertfordshire, Kent, and Essex, early and late. Ditch 3 no. 13 is very typical; Dellfield, Berkhamsted, no. 60 is another example (Thompson and Holland, 1976: Fig. VII). It seems, then, that the absence of pedestals from Wheathampstead is possibly fortuitous; the sample was not large.

Ditch 2 no. 6 at Brickwall Hill can be compared with Wheathampstead no. 8 and the group of Cam.229 type rims; it can also, however, be postulated as the ancestor of a very distinctive Prae Wood type represented amongst the published Prae Wood pottery by Group A no. 7 (Wheeler, 1936: Fig. 10). Like the rilled jars, this is a Hertfordshire type and is not found elsewhere.

Ditch 2 no. 10 shows that lids are already in use in this early period; and no. 7 is one of the Cam.229 bowls group. This bowl type does have quite a long life but is well represented in early contexts; cf. Verulamium primary levels 3 (Wheeler, 1936: Fig. 9); Grubs Barn I no. 2; Faversham Group I no. 170, but also Group III no. 204 (Philp, 1968). An undated vessel from Hadleigh (Southend, Essex), unpublished (my cat. no. 53), is very similar to the Brickwall Hill example, and there are also similar ones at Gun Hill in the same part of Essex.

It might here be pointed out that, as at Wheathampstead, there are instances at Brickwall Hill of cordoned pots, quite regularly made; although they were not included in the published material. One cordoned jar neck and rim is similar to Grubs Barn I no. 5, but narrower, with a sharper cordon, and without the decoration; cf. also Crookhams 20A. This is essentially a later type, seen on Group B jars from Verulamium, and several of the large jars from Verulam Hills Field (Anthony, 1968).

All of the Brickwall Hill pottery is grog-tempered. It is a pity that the sample from these two early ditches was so small, because we cannot be certain if the greater regularity in manufacture and finish of the ditch 2 pots, and its inclusion of cordoned jar forms, is an indication of a slightly later date or is merely an accident.

Brickwall Hill is in the general area of the early group of 'chieftain' graves, and the short ditch lengths found at *Grubs Barn* (Rook, 1970b), were very close to the Welwyn Garden City grave, with its attendant cemetery. The Grubs Barn pottery also deserves consideration to see how it relates to Wheathampstead and Brickwall

Hill on the one hand, and to the Welwyn graves on the other. The excavator considered the pottery from ditch 1 to date to the first 30 years of the first century AD, but the likeness to the Prae Wood pottery seen by him in the early Grubs Barn pots does not now hold up on examination. There is no sign of any Gallo-Belgic influence, although it was again only a small sample. Nos. 11, 14, 15, 16 and 19 are the coarse, thick, stabbed and rilled type that as we have seen can have a very early relative date. Of the burnished vessels, nos. 1–3 are much thicker and simpler than Verulamium Group B, no. 38, and nos. 6, 12, 13, and 18 have very little to do with the thin, hard, finely made mortar shapes represented by Verulamium Group B no. 35b. The Grubs Barn pots are altogether thicker, softer, and less well defined. No. 8 is a Cam.221, the very common type (cf. Brickwall Hill II no. 8). No. 16 is sharper than the drawing shows, but fired quite hard and black. Nos. 1, 3, 4, and 13 are very similar to Cam.223, which occurred, rarely, at Sheepen in 'thick, native ware' in period I (Hawkes and Hull, 1947: 262); there are two unpublished and unassociated similar vessels from Canterbury and Linton near Maidstone (my cat. nos. 106 and 244). The rather ill-defined detail, however, makes them similar to the bowls of Cam.229 type, to which groups Grub Barn ditch 1 no. 2 is closer. We have already looked at this category under Brickwall Hill ditch 2 no. 7. Grubs Barn no. 5 can be related to Brickwall Hill and Wheathampstead, and to the long-lived cordoned wide-mouthed jar type. No. 6 is a Cam.211 but with only one cordon. It is true that the Verulamium mortar shapes are also part of the 211 group, but it is a large and varied one and the 'mortar' shapes are a particular and specialised type that has not appeared at Grubs Barn. The straight-walled cordoned cups of Cam.211, however, occur at Boxford, Ardleigh, Lexden, Canterbury, Holborough (my cat. no. 245) and even Cheriton and Snailwell: they can thus be both early and late. Grubs Barn Fig. III no. 20 is a similar vessel from the surface around the 'hearths', which are early post-conquest. (For Boxford, Owles and Smedley, 1970: Fig. 15 no. 1; Ardleigh, AB 127; Lexden, AB 176, 177; Canterbury, my cat. no. 99; Cheriton, Tester and Bing, 1949: no. 28, late first century AD; Snailwell, Lethbridge, 1953: Fig. 3 no. 53: 18.)

Ditch 1 no. 7 is a more interesting type, perhaps, because it is Cam.209, the type of cup that was predominant at Swarling. Grave 13 there had three of these cups, as well as two of the common Cam.203 type of pedestal urn and two early fibulae, humped with moulding on the bow, and a 'hood' over the internal cord; the grave also contained the wooden bucket. Grave 18 had another of these cups, with a small, flat-based pedestal urn, one of the corrugated jars exclusive to Kent, and a pair of straight-bow fibulae with fretted catch-plate and external cord.

That the type is not exclusively early, however, is shown by the admittedly less well-defined version in Aylesford 'Family-Circle' grave B (AB 56), which was accompanied by a copy of a Gallo-Belgic platter. This does not however detract from the probably early date of the well-shaped and properly corrugated original Swarling specimens, with good parallels at Stone (Cotton and Richardson, 1941: nos. 6, 8, 9);

Borden (Worsfold, 1948: nos. 3, 4, and 8); Canterbury, Rose Lane (Frere, 1954: no. 37); and Danbury in Essex (Hull, 1937: no. 6); the small cup in the Colchester mirror grave, no. 5 (Fox and Hull, 1948), may also belong, and so may large ones from Wendens Ambo (unpublished), and Lockleys (no. 52). The Grubs Barn version, however, is not as well-defined as these. We can also point to Hertford Heath (Holmes and Frend, 1957: fig. 4 no. 6 – two examples), and Boxford 1966 no. 13 as low walled versions similar to Grubs Barn ditch 1 no. 18. The Hertford Heath ones could, like the Swarling examples, be of an early date. It can be seen that the Grubs Barn ditch 1 pottery could, then, have a date rather in the late first century BC than in the first century AD. How it related more exactly to Wheathampstead and Brickwall Hill it is impossible to say, but it is interesting to compare the early settlement wares with the more-or-less contemporary rich burials nearby.

The main *Hertford Heath* grave has already provided one parallel to Grubs Barn, although, like the Swarling pots, it has true corrugated walls and not false cordons. The standard of shaping, if not the fabric, is generally higher in the cemetery pots: clearly more care was taken over them. Not for the cemeteries were the coarse rilled and stabbed jars, except, oddly, at Aylesford, where their true context has been lost except for Grave X, and there the standard of workmanship is often not very high; and Swarling Grave 4; the accompanying pots need not be particularly late, and the Swarling pot was accompanied by an iron fibula with an internal cord that ought to be early. (The Aylesford grave's associations, however, cannot be taken without some reservations, since it has had to be reconstructed from muddled sources and is not necessarily reliable.)

The Grubs Barn ditch is not likely to be as early as Wheathampstead, since the latter has none of the cup forms, and comes close to Grubs Barn only in the coarse stabbed and rilled jars. This position for Grubs Barn ties in neatly with the nearby chieftain grave, the *Welwyn Garden City* burial, which was particularly rich in pottery but which included a fairly bizarre collection of unique types as a result. Its pre-Gallo-Belgic jugs and platters make it late in the first century BC, although before the introduction of the first true Gallo-Belgic imports. The *Welwyn Garden City* vessels are all grog-tempered apart from the three thought by Stead to be imports, the platters and large jug nos. 29, 30, and 36 (Stead, 1967). Its date, confirmed by the amphorae and the silver vessels, is useful for indicating some dating evidence for those types which do have parallels elsewhere. It is thus only too typical that quite a good parallel, but a unique one, can be found for the curious little cups 14–17 in Verulamium Group C no. 5.

The *Welwyn Garden City* pedestal urns are the usual kind, although the tall narrow necks and cordoning of nos. 1 and 2 are not usual at all. There are no parallels for the narrow necks, but the cordoning can be compared with that on some of the Kent cemetery urns. It occurs occasionally in Essex, notably at Billericay (AB 170, 200, 219), but does not otherwise appear in Hertfordshire. The common shape is no. 3, matched in the four *Welwyn* graves, with a wide mouth and short plain neck on a

large bulbous body and a Cam.202/3 foot. There is a variety of pedestal form at Welwyn Garden City: no. 4 is almost flat but has a slight shaping to show that the shape is not deliberately the flat form. This ill-defined dished kind is not a matter of a late and degenerate form. The Cam.201, the so-called 'dice-box' pedestal seen in nos. 1, 2, 5, and 7, is commonest in the Colchester area (Colchester, Ardleigh, Lexden, Boxford): there is one at Aylesford and one at Swarling, neither with any more datable associations. There are no other Kent instances, and the type is just as rare in Hertfordshire. Like the other Welwyn burials, and others elsewhere, the large pedestal urns are accompanied at Welwyn Garden City by small cups, sometimes with high pedestals: there are here merely more of them. Nos. 8–11 are all Cam.212, and well made and well defined, unlike the Grubs Barn cups, but just like the ones in Welwyn grave A (AB 103) and B (AB 105). These are the earliest of this kind, for most other examples with indications of date are later (Roots Hall, Prittlewell, Essex, my cat. no. 219, early post-conquest, for example), and a version was one of the types made in the conquest period kilns at Highgate (Brown and Sheldon, 1974: Fig. 2).

The other small cups at Welwyn Garden City are more unusual. No. 13 is a Cam.214, which just means an unconstricted 212, but is not a common variation except in a completely plain form and despite two at Aylesford (AB 61, 83) is not closely dated. No. 18 is a good specimen of the Hertfordshire version of Cam.210, the 'mortar' shape, although it may ultimately be linked with the Gallo-Belgic form Cam.51. Nos. 23 and 24 are small versions of the usual Cam.221, and nos. 31 and 32 are a widespread but hitherto unisolated form that is a variety of Cam.249. Welwyn Garden City satellite cemetery has one, no. 5; it can be quite late, because Brickwall Hill III no. 15 is an example of this form, and there is a post-conquest one from Chelmsford. It occurs in Kent at Bexley (Caiger, 1958: no. 9), but is more common in Essex. Welwyn Garden City no. 20 is a variety of this group but has the unique addition of a pedestal; no. 19 could be a unique cordoned version. But nos. 14–17 have only the late Prae Wood parallel given above, while 21 and 22, and 25, are unique. The jugs nos. 33–35 are also unique and belong to the interesting early attempts to make jugs in the grog-tempered fabric, complete with the practice of plugging the handle through the wall of the pot.

While the Welwyn Garden City grave has features that place it late in the period before first introduction of Gallo-Belgic pottery, there is no doubt that it does belong to such an early phase, alongside the four graves in the *Welwyn* cemetery a few miles away (Birchall, 1965: 305–6). These four were much poorer in pottery but A and B both had amphorae and metalwork of similarly later first century BC date, and Welwyn B had two silver cups similar to those in the Welwyn Garden City burial. The pots are very like the ordinary pedestal urns and small cups of the latter burial; Welwyn C has a small jar (AB 107) which strikes the only possible later note in all four Welwyn graves since its shape may be reminiscent of butt beaker shapes. But not all jars with approximately equal rim and base diameter, with the widest part half-way down the pot, need have butt beaker influence. However, the crucial graves

are Welwyn A and B, and Welwyn Garden City. They can be shown to belong to a period in the later first century BC and approximately contemporary with the settlement pottery of Wheathampstead, Brickwall Hill I, and Grubs Barn I. That the makers of Wheathampstead pottery were capable of making fine, well-made, sharply defined pots of the standard of the burial wares can be seen in some of the Wheathampstead pieces, granting the fact that the Wheathampstead pottery may not all have been manufactured at a similar date, and indeed does not seem to have been when one considers the tentative shapes of some of the coarser and less well-made vessels. Grubs Barn ditch 1, however, may be felt to be approximately contemporary with the Welwyn Garden City burial, and the difference in quality is marked. The Welwyn Garden City fabric may be no harder or better than that of Grubs Barn, and the vessels easily broken, but the pots used for burials are more neatly made and show a greater variety of form than the settlement wares. It is interesting, however, that most of the Welwyn Garden City pots show signs of wear on rim and base; they are sometimes distorted and not very even, although they reveal all the signs of their manufacture on the fast wheel. The contrast between the burial and settlement wares of a fairly small area at approximately the same date is very clear: but once the Prae Wood sequence begins in the same area, the difference rapidly disappears, and the settlement wares become much more varied.

Conclusion

It has not been my intention in the above to indulge in destructive criticism of an excavation carried out nearly half a century ago and intended then only as a sidelight on the far more extensive campaign at Verulamium; rather, I would hope that the preceding paragraphs provide some indication of the potential of this site, and its importance at the very beginning of the last phase of the pre-Roman Iron Age in south-eastern England. This period sees the change to a new pottery fabric with grog as a tempering material, and the making of pottery on the true potter's wheel with all the potential that this had for new and exciting shapes and artistic expression. Wheathampstead has produced some of the earliest results of this change that we yet know of, and we still know so little about the site.

There is apparently no plough damage at present of underlying features, since no sherds or other fragments appear on the surface (inf. C. Saunders); but the site should not be forgotten, since it holds out great promise of the light it might shed on this difficult period of transition. The first century BC is murky because the excavations have not taken place that could give us the information we need, about a period when the initiative in trade is about to pass from the Hengistbury area to south-eastern England; and if the opportunity were to arise, Wheathampstead should be given the chance to reveal itself to modern archaeology.

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Abstract

The published finds from Sir Mortimer Wheeler's excavation at the late Iron Age 'hill-fort' at Wheathampstead, Hertfordshire, are re-assessed in conjunction with the presentation of unpublished material from the same excavation. An attempt is made to define, as far as we can now tell, the trenches which Wheeler dug; it is clear that there was more to the excavation than Wheeler's published summary indicated. The pottery is compared in some detail with similar Hertfordshire material, as a preliminary in the writer's comprehensive study of grog-tempered 'Belgic' pottery in south-eastern England. It is concluded that the site has great potential for shedding light on the transition from the hand-made earlier Iron Age pottery tradition to the wheel-made 'Belgic' technique, a change that urgently needs some useful dating evidence.

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