University of Reading

Visual Culture and ‘decoration’ in Iron Age Britain: Seeing Beyond Metal

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Sarah Downum

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ABSTRACT

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Metalwork has completely dominated our view of Iron Age decoration/art. This study, therefore, aims to broaden our study to include ceramics, antler/bone, stone, and wood – to examine the interplay between decoration on those different media and enhance our understanding of Iron Age visual culture. This study asks: What role did decoration serve, and what can it reveal about social connections and visual communication? Did different materials present similar forms of visual expression, and were these used to define Iron Age communities? How did artistic expression change during the later Iron Age and into early Roman Britain?

Expanding on previous visual recording methods, this research examines decorated material from three different 'style zones' within Southern Britain, from c. 6th century BC to 2nd century AD. The decorated artefacts are compared based on their decoration, material, location, and time period.

I argue that similarities and differences in motif selection, based on a general decorative scheme, suggest a level of social interaction and communication, in regard to individual/communal identity, regional allegiance, tradition/resistance, etc., whereby changes within society directly affected the decoration found on different materials, forms, and sites. While different materials and artefact types presented different forms of visual expression, they all played a role in establishing social boundaries, both within and between communities. This is most notably seen during the later Iron Age and early Roman Britain when different decorated materials demonstrated either a return to 'traditional' styles or an adoption of new ones.

I conclude that the decorative choices present on the different materials act as a visual response to social change, representing a varying interest in resisting or accepting this change, as well as a growing standardization and general accessibility, particularly through the use of non-metalwork which would have reached a wider audience.

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DATA AVAILABILITY STATEMENT

Data supporting the results reported in this paper are openly available from the University of Reading Research Data Archive at https://doi.org/10.17864/1947.000421.

All data supporting this study are provided as supplementary information accompanying this paper. Accompanying dataset consists of:

Decorated Pottery Database – Access Database

Decorated Antler/Bone Comb Database – Access Database

Decorated Stone/Wood Database – Access Database

Decorated Metal Database – Access Database

Reference Database – Excel spreadsheet

DECLARATION OF ORIGINAL AUTHORSHIP

Declaration: I confirm that this is my own work and the use of all material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Sarah Downum

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1: INTRODUCTION

The identification of Iron Age art and its subtle visual qualities has proven to be highly significant for the study of these communities. Within Duncan Garrow, Chris Gosden, and J.D. Hill's edited volume *Rethinking Celtic Art* (2008), the authors demonstrate how art shapes the "human experience and social relations between people" (Garrow et al. 2008, 9), and emphasize that this imagery should be acknowledged for its social impact, rather than simply looked at for its aesthetic or practical qualities. While analysing a large database of decorated metalwork, Garrow and Gosden further determined that Celtic art "links communities that might otherwise be different in most aspects of the archaeological evidence" (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 29) and plays a strong role within prehistoric society. By reviewing a larger body of material and analysing the subtle visual choices and changes within decorated assemblages, links can be better observed and understood.

Iron Age art and its social associations were further emphasized within Jody Joy's 2011 publication, in which he asks the important question: 'Why Decorate?' (Joy 2011, 206). This question alone has had an immense impact on my own research. As decorated artefacts generally make up only a small proportion of all material assemblages, it can be assumed that these pieces represented an active choice taking place within a wider social network. The small percentage of decorated objects further suggests that access to these items would have been limited and privileged. Through a deeper evaluation of the overall schemes and specific visual changes, the intentions behind this decoration can be revealed. This then lead to Joy's subsequent questions: "Who was the audience of art"? and "who understood the grammar and rules of decoration?" (*ibid.,* 211). By asking these questions, we can begin to understand the intentions behind decoration, their imbued social connections, and how this reflects back on the individuals or communities who actively engaged with these decorated forms. Joy concludes that regional and material similarities in decoration derive from a "conservative decorative repertoire", with independent decorative choices made based on "particular social concerns at the time" (*ibid.*, 219). An overview of decorative features found on various materials, artefacts, and regions over time can reveal the role this 'conservative' imagery played in social negotiations.

Yet, the story of this material culture is often told primarily through decorated metalwork. By continuously focusing on metalwork, however, our understanding of these prehistoric communities becomes highly restricted. As Joy further stressed, "metalwork is often privileged over art on other media" (*ibid.,* 205), but this should not be the case. Non-metal decoration should not simply be considered 'folk art' (*ibid.,* 211) as it also performs a role within deeper social negotiations. Therefore, a thorough evaluation of other materials, and an acknowledgement of their everyday significance within prehistoric communities, is required to better understand more local levels of social engagement and visual responses to change. Only through a detailed analysis of all decorated material (Figure 1.1), can we begin to understand and interpret the extent to which traditional and evolving decorative schemes were taking place within Southern Britain during the Iron Age.

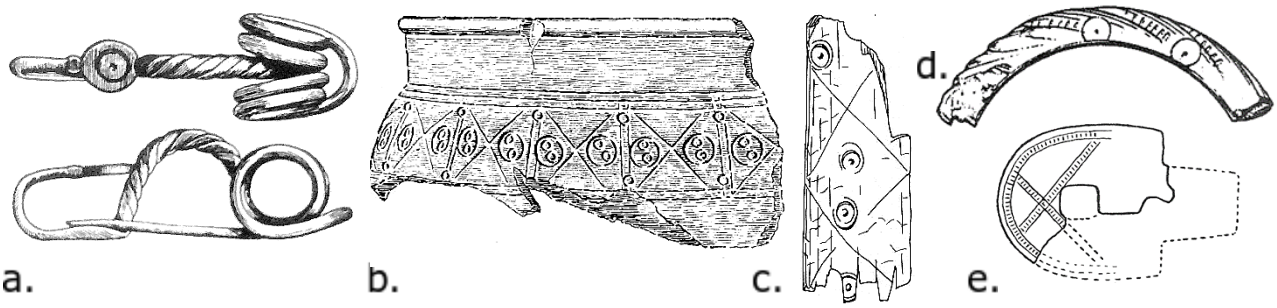


FIGURE 1.1 DECORATED MATERIAL INCLUDED WITHIN THIS RESEARCH: METAL (A. M244), POTTERY (B. C486), ANTLER/BONE COMBS (C. A316), STONE (D. S25), AND WOOD (E. W33). ORIGINAL SOURCES FOUND IN ACCOMPANYING REFERENCE DATABASE.

1.1 THESIS INTENTIONS

My thesis aims to continue and develop Joy's work by focusing on the materials not often discussed within previous insular studies, namely decorated pottery, antler/bone combs, stone, and wood, and look at the meaning behind their decoration and the connections between them. While previous research into Iron Age 'art' has typically focused on metalwork, non-metal objects would likely have reached a wider audience and created a more local impact. More recent research, such as Helen Chittock's thesis *Pattern and Purpose in East Yorkshire* (2016), has begun to address the issue of non-metal decorated material, but with a focus on specific regions. Chittock's work, in particular, focused on the Middle-Late Iron Age within East Yorkshire through a comparison of style patterns/categories, purpose categories, depositional context, and broad dates on a range of materials. A more in-depth analysis of her conclusions can be found in Section 2.4. Similar to Chittock's thesis, I examined a range of decorated materials, but instead of focusing on a particular site or county with only broad chronological comparisons, I looked at a variety of sites within the larger southern British region, focusing on particular materials – pottery, antler/bone, stone, and wood – and their changes throughout different occupational phases. Therefore, the intention of my research is to both compliment previous research while also closing the gap within insular visual culture studies by focusing on a larger selection of material and examining their specific decorative motif associations. Similar to Garrow and Gosden's *Technologies of Enchantment* (2012), this research takes an object-centred approach within insular Iron Age studies, looking specifically at decoration and its potential social connections, but expanding on previous material studies to include a greater range of decorated materials and analyse their subtle visual changes. To this effect, I will be looking at motif trends and their connections to different materials, artefacts, regions, time periods, and communities. By examining specific decorative features, I will be able to demonstrate how visual changes are a reflection of bigger social influences and address my research questions: What role did decoration serve, and what can it reveal about potential social connections and visual communication? Did different materials present similar forms of visual expression, and were these used to define Iron Age communities? How did artistic expression change during the later Iron Age and into early Roman Britain, and what does this reveal about social responses to change? To understand the full extent and importance of decoration within Iron Age Britain, we must first understand its presence on materials less often found and discussed.

Prior to an in-depth analysis of the different material assemblages, a few hypotheses were initially formed. As decorated metalwork is often considered 'art' while 'primitive' materials, such as pottery, are not, I believed that decoration on non-metal would be rather plain and homogenous between the different materials. I also expected there to be more regional associations, with the greatest distinction occurring between eastern and western sites within the later Iron Age due to increasing Roman influence in the east. Finally, I believed that later Bronze Age and earlier Iron Age

art would persist into the later periods but then abruptly end following more Roman influence regardless of the material in which the decoration was found. Whether these expectations are found to be true will be determined in the following chapters.

To begin this research, it was necessary to first determine the study region from which sites would be chosen. In order to provide a geographical focus in which to make general comparisons, I chose to concentrate specifically on the southern half of Britain as material from the whole of Britain would be too large to fully examine and a lot of material has been found within this general area. To this end, my research focuses on Barry Cunliffe's (2005) three main southern style zones: the Eastern, Central Southern, and South-Western zones. For the pottery analysis, specific case study sites were chosen based on the richness of their material assemblages and whether they contained multiple periods of occupation from which to internally compare. These three sites were then used for the other material assemblages, where applicable, while additional sites were added to increase the number of examples within smaller material assemblages. Further information about this selection can be found in Chapter 3.

Unfortunately, due to the size and diversity of the different materials, particularly for the pottery and antler/bone comb assemblages, I have only been able to examine the information and images provided within site reports and previous literature. While my intention was to visit several of these collections within museum and heritage sites, restrictions introduced due to Covid during the course of my PhD have repeatedly prevented this from happening. Even without Covid restrictions, however, it would not have been possible to visit and personally examine every item and fragment. Nevertheless, a large selection of material, totalling 2,014 decorated objects, has been examined and analysed. The following chapter outline will briefly describe how this material assemblage was divided within this current thesis.

1.2 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This thesis has been divided into 13 chapters, including this initial introductory chapter, with the majority focusing on specific materials and associated decoration. Chapter 2 provides an overview of existing literature and approaches to Iron Age 'art,' focusing primarily on previous debates, including those centred around the intention of prehistoric art and style, the way this material has been categorised, regional and material biases, and how the decoration can reveal who used these objects. Following this overview, Chapter 3 covers my approach to the material, including how the data was selected, how it was collected, and how it was analysed. Within this section, I highlight the parameters of this research, such as its regional divisions, material inclusions, and time frames, while also discussing the overall objectives of my research.

Although my research focuses primarily on the role of non-metal decorated material, a broad overview of metalwork decoration was first needed in order to construct a full comparative picture. For this reason, Chapter 4 focuses on decorated metalwork within the southern regions of Britain. The artefacts selected for this general overview are taken primarily from Jope's *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles* (2000), with further chronological information taken from Garrow and Gosden's *Technologies of Enchantment* database (2012).

Overall, my material analysis places the greatest emphasis on non-metal materials, primarily pottery, antler and bone combs, wooden artefacts, and stone. Pottery has been more thoroughly examined as it has a much larger representation compared to the other sites. It also serves a role within more local levels of consumption and engagement and is often used as a chronological signifier. An in-

depth evaluation of this material is covered within Chapters 5 to 9, focusing on three case study sites. Chapter 5 begins by introducing the material with a discussion around previous approaches, techniques, and site overviews. Chapters 6 to 8 evaluate the material from each site: Danebury, the Meare Lake Villages, and Dragonby respectively. The decorated pottery from all three case study sites is then compared within Chapter 9. This last chapter covers the general decorative trends taking place between the different sites and regions, the overall connections to form, fabric, and time period, and the potential social relationships.

Antler and bone combs are then addressed within Chapter 10. As with pottery, an overview of the material and any previous discussions is covered first, followed by a deeper analysis of the decorated material based on connections between its decoration, shape and construction, regional associations, and chronological divisions. Subsequently, Chapter 11 presents an analysis of two separate material studies: stone and wood. These materials have been combined as they have a much smaller number of decorated examples. Again, stone and wood were analysed in much the same way as the other materials so that a comparative study could be made.

The final two chapters within this thesis, Chapter 12 and 13, bring together all the materials, artefacts, and decorative traits discussed in the previous chapters in order to build a picture of Iron Age visual culture as a whole. Through this final comparative analysis and discussion, I address my initial research questions, focusing on what decoration, particularly in regard to more subtle motif choices, tell us about the social and communal dynamics which existed within southern Iron Age British society. I argue that different motif selections, based on a general decorative scheme, were used as a form of communication, in regard to individual and communal identity, tradition, resistance, etc., whereby changes within society directly affected the decoration found within and between different materials, forms, and sites. While different factors played a role in the imagery depicted on the different materials, they all demonstrate a change occurring around the later Iron Age, either in a return to ‘traditional’ styles or an adoption of new ones. Overall, the ambiguous nature of Iron Age decoration played a key role in establishing social boundaries, both within and between these prehistoric communities.

2: PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS

Decorative art has been a focus within Iron Age material culture studies since August Wollaston Franks first termed the word 'Celtic' in 1858 (Garrow 2008, 185). Typically, 'Celtic' society is thought to begin in the 5th century BC, at the beginning of the La Tène period. However, if we are to review the entire Iron Age, this date will need to be extended back to the Hallstatt period and the 8th century BC. During the later Iron Age, the Roman Republic, led by Caesar, first attempted to conquer southeast Britain in 55 and 54 BC. Yet, a more enduring invasion did not take place until AD 43, initiated by Claudius (James and Rigby 1997, 74). It was eventually pushed further north and west by later emperors. While the Iron Age itself is generally seen as ending with Roman occupation, the main visual features and significance of 'Iron Age' art often persist past this period.

Overall, insular Iron Age art is typically non-representational, non-naturalistic, and abstract (Laing and Laing 1992, 42; Figure 2.1). It is constantly evolving but maintains the visual guidelines of abstraction and movement. In contrast to visual realism created by classical artists, Iron Age art represented intellectual realism, as labelled by Laurent Olivier, whereby time is part of the emerging image. Instead of attempting to reproduce reality from one point of view, Celtic artists wanted to depict an ambiguous image based on multiple viewpoints through different points in time (Olivier 2020, 101-2; Ginoux 2020, 127). While it was influenced by foreign artistic models, these imported styles and techniques were adapted to fit within an established and distinctive visual formula, which could be modified and reinvented (Hunter et al. 2015a, 31; Hunter and Joy 2015, 59). Because of this preference for abstraction, most Iron Age art is considered purely pattern, but as will be illustrated, these patterns potentially contain deeper social meanings and significances (*ibid.,* 30). The following review focuses on previous discussions around the categorisation of both material culture and its associated art, regional biases, the use of art, the use of style stages within chronological and typological divisions, consideration of decorated non-metals and previous bias towards metalwork, and what the material can reveal about who used these artefacts.

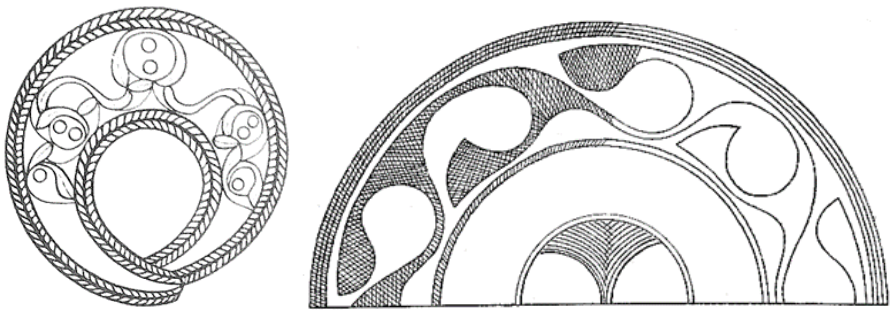


FIGURE 2.1 NON-REPRESENTATIONAL ART ON METAL (LEFT: M59) AND POTTERY (RIGHT: C541).

2.1 CATEGORISATION OF 'ART'/MATERIAL CULTURE

Throughout previous studies, archaeologists have presented different methods for classifying Iron Age material. These classifications range from broader categories covering a large variety of material to more specific ones, such as an object's particular role or location within a community. These materials are significant for what they can reveal about different groups and individuals, and within

certain theoretical frameworks material culture and people are ontologically connected, as expressed particularly in the Actor Network Theory. Within this theory, there is a strong relationship and balance between objects, people, ideas, etc., so that both humans and objects have an equal role (Latour 2005, 72; Garrow and Gosden 2012, 26-7). Therefore, the ways in which materials were categorised can potentially reveal similar connections to individual or communal divisions.

REGIONAL AND DEPOSITIONAL DISTRIBUTION

Regional distribution patterns are one example of a broad classification system. This is particularly illustrated in Fraser Hunter's 1997 work on 'Iron Age Hoarding in Scotland and Northern England'. He divides Scotland and Northern England into the main hoarding areas: north-east Scotland, southern Scotland, and northern England, which were further divided by artefact types. Within these categories he compared the regions by their main artefact type, local versus imported or Roman material, the size of the hoards, and their contexts. Within his later work (2001), Hunter narrows his focus to four regions of Scotland ('Southwest,' 'Southeast,' 'Northeast,' and 'Atlantic'), and further categorises them by depositional context, such as burial, settlement, or hoard (Hunter 2001, 294). Instead of focusing purely on hoards he draws conclusions from a wider material base with a narrower regional disbursement. He further categorises these objects by artefact type, such as toilet instrument, gaming piece, etc., with particular attention to their material. A regional and depositional approach to the material record has allowed archaeologists to study more general patterns within particular areas, which can then help to determine any connections or social significances within these patterns. However, archaeologists must keep in mind when interpreting the material record that our current classification systems might not reflect similar systems made by prehistoric people (Garrow 2008, 29), as will be discussed below.

Deposition often affects the interpretations archaeologists make about the material found. For example, certain regional and depositional contexts are typically assigned ritual significance, such as artefacts found within watery contexts. These are seen as possible offerings to the gods and can include different materials, and when they are decorated their motifs often take on a similar ritual interpretation. Similarly, pottery found within burials is often given ritual significance and thought to represent aspects of society beyond their practical functions because of its association with the deceased.

DESIGN AND DECORATION

Material culture has often been categorised by its respective parts and construction. In other words, its overall design. Decoration, therefore, is just one aspect of this design, in which the appropriate motifs and patterns are added based on artistic ideals. Looking at an artefact in such detail allows it to be compared to similar artefact types and placed within typological and chronological phases. It also allows us to better understand the production stages and social interactions required to create each piece.

As the final step within construction, decoration has become a major area of research with its own set of classifications. However, these divisions are not always easy to define. As Garrow and Gosden highlighted, the "variety of 'art'" means that it can be difficult to know "where to draw the line" (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 61) for what is considered art and what is considered elaborate versus plain. Nevertheless, Britain developed its own "flowing organized ornament and interest in imagery" on metalwork during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC (Figure 2.2), which greatly influenced later British styles (Jope 2000, 10, 174). In regard to the decoration itself, certain authors have focused on particular visual features, such as Miranda Aldhouse-Green's (1996) motif classifications: zoomorphic, anthropomorphic, naturalistic, abstract, or minimalistic. Through these classifications,

she reduced art to its essentials. Sir Cyril Fox, on the other hand, began by looking at pattern, style, and quality in order to place the material into separate schools and production workshops (Fox 1958, 29). Both methods of classification, however, allow researchers to draw attention to the prevalence of particular imagery and its material connections.

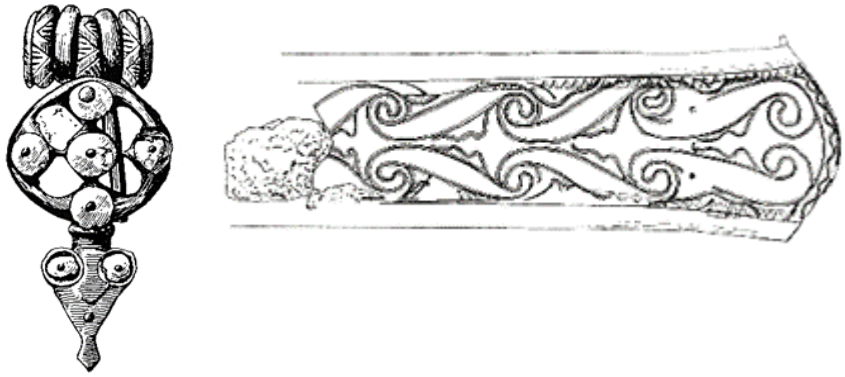


FIGURE 2.2 DECORATED METALWORK FROM THE 4TH TO 3RD CENTURIES BC (LEFT TO RIGHT: M266 AND M22).

Nevertheless, there is debate around the role of decoration: whether it was purely aesthetic or contained deeper social symbolism. Even in current literature, there is support for both sides. According to Mansel Spratling, aesthetics was the basis for art during this period and considered it to be the "means and content of expression" (Spratling 2008, 185). Not only was decoration involved in creating an overall aesthetic, but so too was the shape of the object and the distance from which it was intended to be viewed and truly appreciated (*ibid.,* 186, 191-2). However, art can have multiple interpretations which go beyond simple aesthetic influences. This dichotomy between aesthetics and deeper symbolism is particularly seen on mirrors (Figure 2.3). According to Joy and Melanie Giles, mirrors were not simply vanity tools for high-ranking women, and therefore, their intentions were not purely aesthetic. Based on their use-wear patterns and decorative techniques, other interpretations could be drawn. They concluded that mirror designers created a 'technology of enchantment,' as first termed by the anthropologist Alfred Gell (Gell 1998, 43), through elaborate engraving and embellishment which would ensnare the viewer (Giles and Joy 2007, 24; Giles 2008, 59-60). Through this process, mirrors themselves became purveyors of power and control, and a possible weapon of spiritual captivation. While the imagery is aesthetically significant, deeper meanings and intentions can also be interpreted from its overall design.

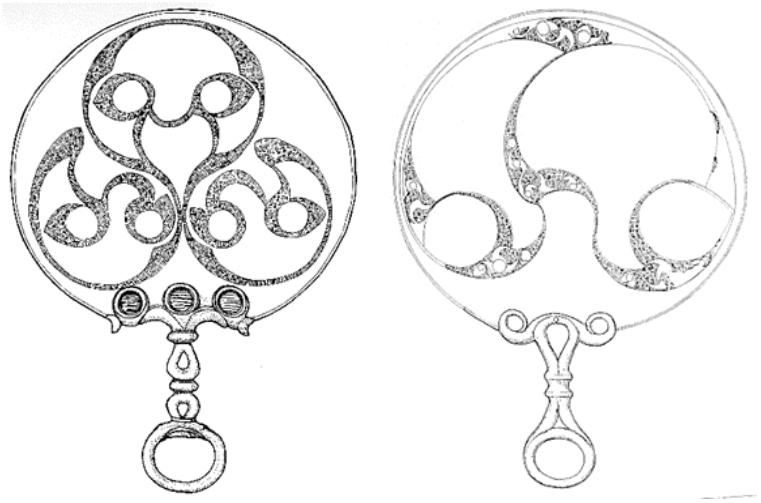


FIGURE 2.3 IRON AGE MIRRORS (LEFT TO RIGHT: M165 AND M170).

Within previous research, the categorisation of material culture has been a constant feature, whether in regard to distribution, time, function, or design. These general categories are often further divided so that more subtle changes within the material can be examined and their social connections evaluated, and many of these divisions have been adopted within this current research. However, certain biases have arisen throughout previous literature in regard to general material assemblages, and more specifically to the decorated assemblages.

2.2 REGIONAL BIASES

When reviewing previous literature, a consistent trend surfaces between continental and 'insular' Iron Age material studies, as well as between southern and northern British research. In most cases, there is a tendency to place emphasis on continental work when discussing overall Iron Age material, and within Britain itself southern work predominates. This is partially because fieldwork often takes place in regions with a higher population density and economic activity, such as southeast England (Bradley et al. 2016, 26). However, these biases are not necessarily representative of past social dynamics but more of modern research.

CONTINENTAL VS. 'INSULAR'

Previous literature continuously elevates continental over 'insular' work for its material origins and artistic influences. For instance, Jacobsthal's initial style stages (1944) only included continental patterns with insular styles being a later addition. While both are considered part of Iron Age Europe, these two regions are treated as separate entities and are typically only placed together when discussing migration, trade patterns, or external influences into Britain. However, as Hunter et al. (2015) emphasize, Britain and its decoration should be considered as another subset of continental Europe, whereby local variations were created out of a growing continental visual repertoire (Hunter et al. 2015b, 274), especially as social and stylistic connections with the continent continued long past the development of an identifying insular style (Joy 2015b, 150-1, 153). Nevertheless, the separation of continental and insular Iron Age art is a consistent theme throughout the study of its material record.

Another consistent problem within previous interpretations of British prehistory is the labelling of insular communities as 'primitive' or 'barbaric' in comparison to the Romans and Greeks. While it is expected that prehistoric literature would portray Iron Age people in this way due to Roman propaganda, it is unfortunate that this stereotype would continue to occur within archaeological literature. Labelling communities as 'primitive' sets them up to be lesser than what they were and prohibits us from fully understanding the significance of their material and social structures. However, archaeologists have begun to move away from this notion in which one style is more advanced than another. As Megaw concisely states, "to term an art style 'primitive' is to do little else than state that its basic vocabulary is not that of our own preconceived artistic viewpoint" (Megaw 1970, 11). Researchers must work to not view prehistoric societies completely through a modern lens as what one community finds important might not be mirrored within another.

Within more recent literature, focus is being drawn towards more insular creations. Hella Eckardt's study of chatelaine brooches is one area where emphasis is placed on insular work. These personal ornaments began to appear significantly in graves and settlements during the later Iron Age and into the Roman period, mainly in the south-east of England. Rarely are they found on the continent, and even then, are considered manufactured in Britain (Eckardt 2008, 118-123). They are not the only artefact unique to Britain but they highlight the importance of not looking at insular material through a 'primitive' lens. Joy's work on Iron Age mirrors also draws attention to the British Isles and

this unique artefact. Within his research he focuses on four regional patterns based on production, design, and deposition: the biography of the mirrors themselves. Each of these regional patterns contain their own significant chronological periods: non-decorated iron mirrors from East Yorkshire between 400 and 150 BC, decorated bronze mirrors from Cornwall between 125 and 80 BC, decorated bronze mirrors in southeast England between 75 and 15 BC, and large decorated bronze mirrors from outside the southeast 'core' between AD 1 to 100 (Joy 2010, 56). While these mirrors differed both regionally and temporally, they illustrate the continuous importance of the material within Britain, separate from continental work. Both of these decorated materials further highlight the flourishing of insular Iron Age art which occurred directly before the Roman conquest on emerging artefact types (Leins and Farley 2015, 124).

SOUTH VS. NORTH

A similar bias is found within the British Isles, with more literature focusing on material from the southeast of England. Following growing Roman influence there was a marked difference in the responses taking place between different regions within Britain, which can be viewed through the decorated artefacts. While this was originally acknowledged through the study of ancient texts, archaeological research has begun to address this disparity through the material record. As James and Rigby highlight, following Roman invasion and occupation, "the political and cultural histories of the two zones were permanently on separate tracks" (James and Rigby 1997, 83), and through material culture we can further understand how these regions were visually responding to this change.

The introduction of 'massive' metalwork is one area in which the north's response to the Roman invasion can be viewed through the material. According to Hunter, this new style was a direct response to "the social threats posed by Rome" and an "example of societies under stress," visually represented by an over-emphasis on native metalwork with a focus on traditional attributes (Hunter 2006, 150). This is most notably seen through objects of personal adornment: the massive armlets, spiralling bracelets, and finger-rings, which drew on earlier styles but in a new and bolder form (Hunter 2014, 327; Hunter 2015b, 150). While this material shows stylistic links to southern Britain and Ireland, these southern influences were adapted to create a new and regional identity (Hunter 2014, 331). Within the material record, a shift occurred between the south and the north immediately prior to and following Roman occupation. Unlike earlier Iron Age periods when material was more widely disbursed, the later period shows a stronger emphasis within the south. However, from the later 1st century AD on, there is a denser distribution in the north (Hunter 2006, 32-3), when the massive metalwork tradition is first evidenced (Hunter 2014, 329, 334). Yet even this bolder style contains local affiliations based on a shared regional scheme, particularly between northern and southern Scotland, although local variations exist within this general divide (*ibid.,* 328). Nevertheless, both prehistoric artists and archaeological literature demonstrate a growing fascination with northern material culture following Roman occupation.

However, the discrepancy between the size and variety of material found in the south versus the north is not solely due to prehistoric circumstances but also likely affected by modern recovery methods. For example, East Anglia has a longer history of metal recording because of the long-term cooperation between archaeologists and metal-detectorists. Similarly, the lack of the Portable Antiquity Scheme (PAS) in Scotland has likely skewed results against this region (Garrow 2008, 22, 25). As my research is based on previous site and material recordings, and therefore focuses on material from the southern British regions, it admittedly does not assist in reducing this bias.

CHANGING APPROACHES

More recently, the growth of 'development-led' archaeology has allowed for researchers to begin overcoming these biases more easily (Bradley et al. 2016, 10), including those between continental versus insular and southern versus northern material. These approaches have led to a significant growth in data and provided more information from regions which were previously not as thoroughly examined, while allowing for a greater number of regions, periods, and materials to be compared and their general trends to be examined, which in turn has allowed for the development of increasingly larger datasets (*ibid.,* 10-11, 325; Champion 2020, 224). One example where this is largely in evidence is the European Celtic Art in Context project by Nimura, Hommel, Chittock, and Gosden (2020). The aim of this project was to look at a wider selection of material from Europe, including the British Isles, into Eurasia. In order to examine such a large body of material, the authors incorporated decorated objects from previous databases and museum recordings (Nimura et al. 23-6). As they were able to pull information from a variety of sources, connections between continental and insular materials could be addressed and previous biases could be re-evaluated. However, this work focuses primarily on metalwork and stone, without the inclusion of other materials, perpetuating another bias towards metal. Although a larger material record has been discovered within southern Britain, these recordings continuously focus on metalwork without necessarily acknowledging the importance of non-metals within these assemblages. The regions with less metalwork might simply have utilized other materials for the same functions. An overall growth in data from excavations, therefore, benefits current research, including my own, as it provides more information about the prevalence of different materials.

2.3 USE OF STYLE IN ARCHAEOLOGY

While style has always been a focus within material studies, the reasonings for its importance have differed throughout previous decades. Before the 1960s, style was typically used to determine regional, chronological, and typological phases, and archaeologists of this period have since been labelled as 'Cultural Historians' (Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 3). Cunliffe's pottery stages (2005) would largely fit within this theoretical framework. Following this period, the arrival of 'New Archaeology' meant that this was no longer a useful approach to style. Instead, style was used to interpret social interaction and exchange. It was particularly useful in charting social change within and between different groups (Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 4), which largely became visible due to the stylistic adoption and adaptation of various stylistic patterns within the material record (Gosden et al. 2014, 3). Style was no longer restricted to the identification of 'types' but became more about context. This period started to view stylistic patterns as "codes for us to read" (Conkey 1990, 9), emphasizing style's role in prehistoric communication. Nevertheless, typology and social interaction continue to be the two main areas of stylistic analysis from which sub-debates exist.

From the mid-1970s onwards, the idea that style possessed a communicative role within both information exchange and the establishment of social boundaries took a stronger hold within theoretical debates (Conkey and Hastorf 1990*,* 4). However, archaeologists continued to disagree over how to interpret the meanings behind these stylistic choices and whether these choices were active, passive, or both. This active versus passive debate has also been described as iconological versus isochrestic style. Iconological style was proposed by Polly Wiessner, Ian Hodder, and Warren DeBoer (Wiessner 1990; Hodder 1990; DeBoer 1990). Under this label, style is seen as a non-verbal form of communication used to negotiate identity (Wiessner 1990, 105-7) and demonstrate additional social information where "'messaging' [is] generated by what is essentially self-conscious, deliberate, and premeditated behaviour… primarily with the intent of identifying and maintaining

boundaries between social groups" (Sackett 1990, 36). By making and using these decorated objects, people were actively renegotiating their personal and/or group identities (Joy 2014, 315). In accordance with this theory lies the interpretive or post-processual theoretical framework in which artefacts are active in their ability to "'represent', 'reflect', 'express', or 'renegotiate' social values or meaning" and can "*mediate* social relationships rather than simply 'reflect' them" (Johnson 2020, 134, 140). Within this process, artefacts act as a language, representing different internal meanings (*ibid.,* 136), and this is further attributed to their decoration.

Through active stylistic interpretations, style was seen as a way to create and exert power by consciously taking control of and manipulating its internal meanings (Hodder 1990, 46; Earle 1990, 81). While it can be functionally controlled, it is also culturally, historically, and relationally determined. For Hodder, style includes the activities of "thinking, feeling, being" that were chosen from a general "way of doing" (Hodder 1990, 45). According to Hodder, regions would have been "characterised by a general essence, or 'spirit' that pervades the data, giving it an overall style" (*ibid.,* 48). The manipulation of internal meanings could be further seen as a process of emulation versus competition, as presented by Hodder, as well as a process of creating individual identity through social comparison and the negotiation of comparative identities, as presented by Wiessner (1990), Florin Curta (2001), and DeBoer (1990). According to Wiessner, these identities can be created due to fear, competition, control, economic gain (Wiessner 1990*,* 109), etc., and are often variable, complex, fluid, and socially constructed (Johnson 2020, 172). These identities, therefore, can be represented and manipulated through their material associations.

Following on from the idea that style represents identity, Curta (2001) re-emphasized and elaborated on Wiessner's theory (1983; 2003) of 'emblemic' and 'assertive' style. 'Emblemic' style "transmits a clear message to a defined target population about conscious affiliation or identity," thereby being representative of group identity, while 'assertive' style is "personally based and carries information supporting individual identity" (Curta 2001, 33). By interpreting Iron Age pottery through this dichotomy, decorative features which are uniform and appear to follow 'traditional' schemes could be labelled as 'emblemic'. This is further emphasized where the same ceramic vessel types are stylistically distinct at different sites, and therefore, visually suggest different group identities. 'Assertive' style, on the other hand, can be seen on decorated artefacts where the motif selections do not follow 'traditional' schemes or where derivatives are found. As 'assertive' style is representative of individual identity, it would be less recognizable within the material record. In all instances, however, stylistic choice is complex, not restrictive, and created through contextual relationships (DeBoer 1990, 82-3), meaning that both 'emblemic' and 'assertive' styles can co-exist within the same material, which may largely prohibit archaeologists from truly understanding what is being represented. Nonetheless, style remains an important method of non-verbal communication as it focuses on identity, particularly in times of stress, competition, hostility, and social change where 'tradition' becomes important (*ibid.,* 33-4, 197). This traditional representation of identity through style is largely intertwined within material culture. The consolidation of certain decorative styles would, therefore, be attributable to the control of an identifiable group. Wiessner, DeBoer, and Curta all see style as a means to identify certain social borders through the context in which it was created and presented, including the creation of typological and chronological boundaries.

Whitney Davis similarly supports the interpretation of style as a form of communication, but through a semiotic point of view. Within this idea, style is comprised of "an individual message within a complex code" and holds within it "informational value" in which intelligibility is required to fully understand it (Davis 1990, 26-7). This concept fits into the theory of Structuralism in which "all human behaviour, including the production and use of artifacts, is held to be like language" (Johnson

2020, 134). However, it would be impossible for archaeologists to fully understand the meanings behind these stylistic choices as "they were never the intended receivers" of those 'messages', especially if we do not understand the contexts in which these 'messages' were determined (DeBoer 1990, 82; Wiessner 1990, 111). Therefore, the full intentions behind this imagery will be inaccessible to us based on current archaeological evidence (Kaul, 2014, 107). From this point of view, history cannot be read from style. Instead, style can only be determined by first understanding the historical and cultural context in which it was created (Davis 1990, 29-30; Wells 2012, 18). In order to gain further knowledge of its role, we must first understand the context of its use on different material forms, at different periods of time, and within different social levels.

In contrast, passive, or isochrestic, theories suggest that style is created simply through the act of making objects in an established way (Conkey 1990, 13). This concept has been primarily presented and supported by James Sackett. Within this theory, style is seen as "the specific, ethnically bounded isochrestic choice assumed by functional form" and is dictated by encultured technological traditions, in which there is a "spectrum of equivalent alternatives, or equally viable options," but which ultimately constrain the amount of decision making allowed (Sackett 1990, 34). Within this theory, stylistic decisions are not made self-consciously, regardless of whether meaning is later attached to those choices by archaeologists or art historians. Although decoration is not as constrained by function as other stylistic factors, it is still held to a certain cultural framework (*ibid.*, 33-4). While I agree that style largely resides in culturally determined variables, I do not agree that this is simply a passive response. Regardless of its intended function, the decision behind what was selected amongst even a small cultural range would still be an active one.

There are problems when taking such an exclusive approach to style. As Margaret Conkey and Christine Hastorf argue, style can often change between active or passive depending on the context. While it may be a passive product of cultural sub-systems, it is still important to ask "Why that style? How did it come into existence? What is 'done' with it? By whom and how?" (Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 13). According to Conkey and Hastorf, style is connected to its social context as it gives materials their social values, and therefore, it must be part of all interpretation (*ibid.,* 1-2). There are certain periods in which either an active or passive approach is applicable, but often times these occur simultaneously. In these cases, an either/or approach is not necessarily appropriate. Similarly, we should not treat this imagery as a form of writing alone for we then fail to take into account the material as a whole and its full social context (Macdonald 2007, 336).

CURRENT DEBATES IN BRITISH IRON AGE AND ROMAN CONTEXTS

While the interpretive theories behind style continuously evolve, earlier views continue to have support amongst the archaeological community, as DeBoer's (DeBoer 1990) re-emphasis on style's role in typological and chronological sequences highlights. Nevertheless, the most common analysis of style continues to focus on its role in maintaining social boundaries and connections (Wiessner 1990; Curta 2001; Webster 2003; Hunter 2010). While most of the following debates were discussed in relation to Roman Britain, they can just as easily be applied to the Iron Age and its stylistic traits. Some of the more recent discussions focus on what style can reveal about its social context. One aspect of this concentrates on the aesthetic qualities of style and the ideas of value and skill within stylistic expression (Figure 2.4). Overall, this debate revolves around the contrasting opinions of Catherine Johns and Sarah Scott over the connections between competence and context. Johns believes that skill and competence are important factors woven into an artefact's context that need to be assessed in order to fully understand the importance of its style (Johns 2003, 9). Within her evaluation, the degree to which artistic expression has been successfully achieved through artistic skill has a connection to the nature of the raw material, the date and place of manufacture, as well

as the intended function of the work (*ibid.,* 14-5). By comparing artefacts of similar date, material, technique, and function, the intention of the artists, as well as the success of execution can be determined. Similar views are expressed by Martin Henig who believes that for us to truly understand the past we need to take an art historical approach towards material culture, which involves acknowledging artistic skill. According to Henig, mistakes, as well as perfection, are important to understanding prehistoric cultures (Henig 2003, 221, 225). However, these views suggest that stylistic choices were being made solely based on aesthetic taste (Johns 2003*,* 17), without regard for deeper meanings involving non-verbal communication and identity. This is problematic as it takes the work out of its social context and is, therefore, not beneficial to understanding why certain features were adopted and adapted to fit within pre-established artistic ideals.

FIGURE 2.4 DIFFERENT LEVELS OF SKILL ON DANEBURY CERAMIC VESSELS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C161 AND C102).

Johns' interpretation of competence approaches the subject largely through an artist-client mentality, but how relevant is this to more local levels of production in which the artist might also be the intended recipient? While Johns focuses on anthropomorphic stone sculptures to support her claims, as it was made for more public presentation, pottery made for household consumption does not necessarily fit within this theory. Instead, the adoption and incorporation of traditional or identifiable visual features might have held more importance to the individual than the skill of execution. Similarly, the process of learning a skill is an important aspect when considering the quality of the work, yet Johns does not seem to include this within her discussion. The process of learning a particular style, such as through a domestic context versus a workshop, can affect the 'quality' of the finished product and how it is received, but the interpretation of its skill is purely a modern one and does not consider that "slavish imitation" can also represent an "unskilled or socially marginal artist" (DeBoer 1990, 103). The process of learning an artistic skill is a long-term one, which involves both imitative as well as creative components. As with any long-term practice, there is always a gradual change as qualities are adopted and adapted (*ibid.,* 102). Therefore, comparing each piece to determine 'competence' does little to provide information about the social contexts in which they were learned and created. Social contexts signified through style cannot simply be understood through the evaluation of skill alone without also acknowledging the active choices taking place to create consistent stylistic schemes. While there will always be different levels of expertise, what is truly significant is the imagery being depicted and what this reveals about identity, group connection, and so forth.

In contrast, Scott believes that competence is not an important factor, instead focusing on an artefact's context, much in alignment with previous views. As she states, "we are able to compare objects in ways that would clearly have been impossible in the past" (Scott 2006, 628), and therefore, the ability to compare the stylistic qualities of a multitude of different artefacts would not have occurred for those who originally created and used them. As Scott's statement highlights, the comparison of skill is more reflective of modern aesthetics and not necessarily of the original intention, and therefore, it is difficult to determine if skill was important in its reception. In this

regard, 'art' as a description is a difficult term to use when discussing style as it gives value to certain objects while removing it from others, as well as placing it on a scale with little relevance to its actual context. Therefore, we should focus on the local impact of an object or style, rather than its value or skill.

Following on from earlier debates, Jane Webster reintroduces the concept of 'active' stylistic expressions for "identity and self-determination" (Webster 2003, 30), but focuses more on the inter-cultural negotiations which created social and artistic changes. Similar to Scott, Webster does not see skill or competence as appropriate fields to be examined as they place limitations on the negotiations actively taking place (*ibid.,* 37). What Johns views as a lack of skill might instead be reflective of pre-established social ideals. Furthermore, Webster rejects the notion of 'Romanization' and replaces it with the concept of 'Creolisation'. Through this model, developments are no longer simply linear and one-directional but occur from every area of society, including local, non-elites (*ibid.,* 26, 37). Comparatively, Hunter proposed three different processes of transition between the Late Iron Age and Roman Britain, based on subtle stylistic developments: Iron Age, Roman, and hybrid styles (Hunter 2010, 91). These categories do not necessarily represent the dominance of one style but instead represent "more subtle patterns of preference" (*ibid.* 101). Going a step further, David Mattingly contrasts the idea of Romanization with the concept of 'discrepant experiences' (Mattingly 2006), in which no single 'Roman identity' existed (*ibid.,* 520). Based on this idea, "diversity is just as important … as elements of homogeneity" and viewing cultural changes simply as examples of Romanization prohibits us from appreciating this diversity (*ibid.,* 15). In contrast to a single Romanized view, 'discrepant identities' were formed based on various perceptions of society and Roman influence, producing "parallel but distinct histories", and could reflect a combination of different factors, including status, location, age, etc. (*ibid.* 17-8). Therefore, stylistic choices and variations during the Iron Age represent a subtle evolution incorporating multiple fields of influence, each indicating a variety of visual expressions. As Curta further highlights, "stylistic messages need not be clear or uniform," and their ambiguous nature may be a desired result to reflect different identities and levels of knowledge or access (Curta 2001, 33).

In contrast to an acculturative model, "free-will, imagination, and creativity" (Webster 2003*,* 27) are acknowledged for the roles they play in affecting stylistic representation. In connection to ideas of style as a means of control and power, Webster acknowledged that it can also be "a process of *resistant* adaptation" (*ibid.,* 42), even going so far as to label it a "weapon," whereby negotiations are constantly being made between the two (*ibid.,* 24). Iron Age artists would have had the ability to produce more Romanized material decoration, but in choosing to adapt rather than fully embrace new methods they continued to maintain 'traditional' forms of identity during these periods of change (Joy 2014, 316). As Hunter states, "in its variability, creativity, adaptation and regional variety, it is possible to see people working out how to live in these changed circumstances" (Hunter 2010, 102). The maintenance of 'traditional' methods of decoration, therefore, served as a sign of visual resistance (Hunter et al. 2015a, 31), not as a sign of 'backwardness' or lack of artistic knowledge and ability. If style can be an expression of power and control then the opposite must also be possible. Through this process, Webster focused more on 'native' reactions to cultural change and how these serve as a form of non-verbal communication by which identity and social connections are continuously 'read' and re-interpreted.

As these theories demonstrate, stylistic influence was a complicated process. Mary Davis and Adam Gwilt (2008) demonstrated how complicated this process could be, both in past negotiations and current interpretations, through their analysis of three stylistic groups within the Late Iron Age and Romano-British periods: Roman military, 'geometric' native, and 'curvilinear' native material (Davis and Gwilt 2008, 149). In regard to the latter two groups, the 'geometric' material is typically made from brass, contains polychrome inlay, and incorporates imported Roman technology. In contrast, the 'curvilinear' material is typically made from bronze, contains red or yellow inlay, and is used for feasting and drinking (*ibid.,* 152, 156-8). As these two groups are largely contemporary, the nature of their competing features is both significant and complex. These elements might have been indicative of competing elites, rapid changes in production (*ibid.,* 159), function, etc., as well as a combination of these different fields. While Davis and Gwilt mainly focus on metal materials of the Seven Sisters hoard (Figure 2.5), their discussion demonstrates how difficult it can be to place different stylistic choices within their larger social context.

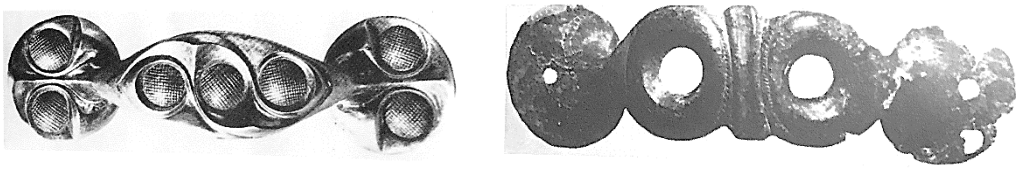


FIGURE 2.5 METALWORK FROM SEVEN SISTERS HOARD (LEFT TO RIGHT: M139 AND M141).

TYPOLOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL ASSOCIATIONS

Beginning with earlier Cultural Historical theories, archaeologists have continuously approached Iron Age 'art' through the formation of typologies, starting with Paul Jacobsthal's original style stages (1944). These stages were divided based on artistic themes rather than artefact types. Within Jacobsthal's 1944 publication, he produced a list of three continental La Tène style stages, focusing on different decorative choices and techniques (Table 2.1). The first stage was labelled the Early Style, which incorporated early classical vegetal motifs and symmetry. This period is defined by the popularity of the 'Celtic' face, as well as other animal representations. The second style was labelled the Waldalgesheim Style and consisted of two-dimensional, asymmetrical, and non-representational imagery, with a focus on classical vegetal motifs. It is often referred to as the 'classic' phase of 'Celtic' art. The third stage was divided into two phases: the 'Plastic' Style, made up of three-dimensional and asymmetrical representations of human, semi-human, or animal forms, and the 'Sword' Style, containing two-dimensional, asymmetrical features primarily depicted on engraved work (Megaw 1970, 22-3; Laing and Laing 1992, 43-73).

TABLE 2.1 STYLE STAGES ESTABLISHED BY JACOBSTHAL (1944), DE NAVARRO (1952), AND STEAD (1996).

STAGE	STYLES	CHARACTERISTICS	DATE
1	Early Style	Vegetal motifs; Symmetry	5th to mid-4th centuries BC
2	Waldalgesheim Style	Two-dimensional; Asymmetry	4th to 3rd centuries BC
3	Plastic Style; Sword Style	Three-dimensional; Two-dimensional	3rd century BC
4		Beginning of purely insular decoration	2nd century BC
5	Mirror Style; Snettisham Style		1st century BC
6		More Roman-influenced decoration	1st century AD

Chronological dates were later added to these stages, generally taken from Jacobsthal's work and later research. From this, the Early Style occurred from the early 5th to mid-4th centuries BC, the Waldalgesheim Style between the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, and the 'Plastic' and 'Sword' Styles both from the 3rd century BC onwards (Megaw 1970, 22-3). Fox took it one step further and gave more specific ranges for the style stages: the Early Style between c.425-300 BC, the Waldalgesheim Style between c.325-250 BC, and the 'Plastic' and 'Sword' Styles from c.275 BC onwards (Fox 1958, xxi). The Waldalgesheim style was the earliest to be taken up in Britain (Stead 1985) and is, therefore, important for the beginning of this visual language within the British Isles. A fourth stage was later added by J.M. Navarro in 1952. These typological stages were then adapted by Ian Stead in 1996 to incorporate British material, creating a total of six style stages (Table 2.1). The fourth stage sees the beginning of purely 'insular' decoration, the fifth stage sees the prevalence of basketry infilling, largely used on mirrors and torcs (Laing and Laing 1992, 101-8), while the sixth stage includes Roman-influenced material. However, problems do arise when using these divisions for material culture studies. In most cases, artefacts contain complex designs that include elements from multiple stages, including the use of older motifs within newer styles, making the categories chronologically misleading and unobtainable (Laing and Laing 1992, 41; Macdonald 2007, 332-3; Foster 2014, 56; Joy 2015b, 148). As Megaw states, "style in itself has no absolute chronological significance" (Megaw 1970, 9), and therefore, the sequential nature of the style stages can often prove fruitless as most of the separating factors are seen within different periods (Macdonald 2007, 333). Iron Age decorative stages are also present throughout vast regions and communities but are given very site-specific titles, such as Waldalgesheim, making it geographically misleading as well.

In addition to these classifications, some authors follow a different approach to 'Celtic' art in Britain and provide separate typological sequences for material from this region. One example is the sequence provided by Fox (1958): Iron Age 'A,' 'B,' and 'C'. Iron Age 'A' focuses on the east and south of Britain between c.450-200 BC and includes early imports from the continent. British Celtic art, on the other hand, is said to begin in Iron Age 'B' and lasts between c.250-0 BC. Iron Age 'C' begins in c.75 BC, overlapping with 'B,' and lasts through Roman occupation, being originally brought over by Belgic migrants from Gaul (Fox 1958, xxi, 40). These stages make up a period referred to by previous archaeologists as 'Early Celtic Art' in Britain. However, this phrasing is also problematic as the classifications for 'Late Celtic Art,' as well as any periods in between, are not referred to when discussing 'Celtic' material culture. Similarly, many archaeologists that refer to 'Early Celtic Art' believe that 'Celtic' art ended with Roman occupation and influence, and therefore, the phrasing would be meaningless. It will, therefore, not be used within my analysis.

Lloyd and Jennifer Laing (1992) take a slightly different approach to these three style periods. They maintain a triple sequence but separate continental and 'insular' material into different phases. Their first stage begins in the 5th century BC on the continent and generally lasts until Caesar's conquest of Gaul. Their second phase also begins in the 5th to 4th centuries, but, in this case, it takes place within Britain and Ireland, and lasts until the Roman conquest by Claudius in AD 43. The final stage takes place mostly in Ireland and occurs between the 5th and 12th centuries AD (Laing and Laing 1992, 11-2). In this approach, 'Celtic' art is seen to have a revival in the medieval period following the end of Roman control. This is in direct contrast to other authors, such as D.W. Harding, who believe that the La Tène styles ended with the Romans (Harding 2007, 5). As Laing and Laing state, Celtic "traditions must have been sufficiently well established to be able to re-emerge after the end of Roman rule in the early 5th century AD" (Laing and Laing 1992, 95). Their classifications support a continued life for Iron Age art beyond political transitions.

In contrast to these general style stages, other authors have focused on style sequences for particular artefact types or refrained from following typological stages altogether. Joy chooses to draw attention to a particular 'mirror style' with its own typological sequence, rather than the general 'Celtic' art stages set out by Jacobsthal. Joy's work was influenced by Fox, who first studied and identified four original 'mirror style' designs: 'Isolated' with two-roundels, 'Isolated' with three-roundels, 'Fused,' and 'Centralised,' in addition to diffused mirrors. Joy elaborated on these initial stages and renamed them bi-roundel, tri-roundel, lyre-loop, lyre-loop with flanking coils, bi-roundel with lyre-loop, and diffused (Joy 2010, 30; Figure 2.6). Chronologically thought to take place between the mid-1st century BC and mid-1st century AD (Megaw 1970, 36), they were placed within these typological categories based on decorative choices and the juxtaposition of positive and negative motifs. According to Laing and Laing, the 'Mirror Style' is one aspect of Stead's style stage V, as it contains the typical symmetry and basketry infilling characteristic of that stage (Laing and Laing 1992, 114). Therefore, while the 'mirror style' contains its own typological divisions, it still belongs within the main style stages. As the literature highlights, it is difficult to move away from a typological sequence once it has been established. Nevertheless, as Philip Macdonald stresses, we need to move away from the traditional classifications of material, as they reflect a simplified version of insular art, in order to address a wider range of topics more connected to the archaeological record as a whole, such as its role within agency, identity, and beliefs (Macdonald 2007, 332-4).

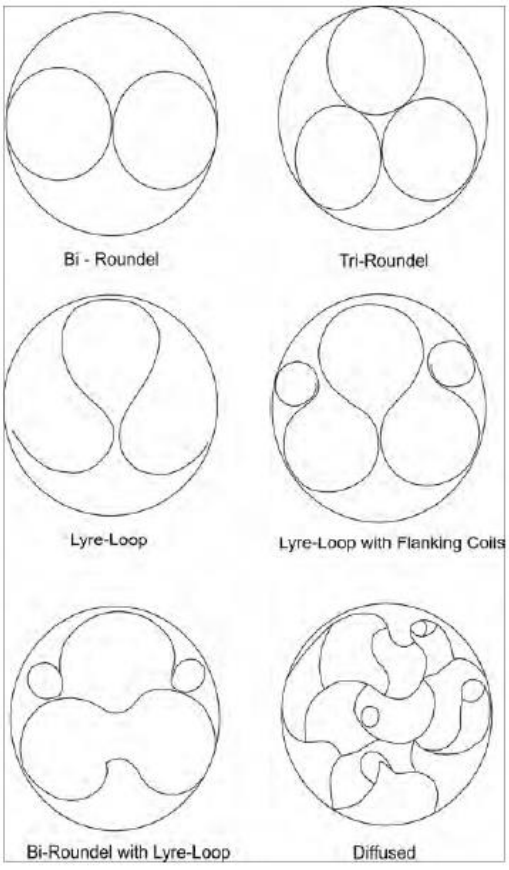


FIGURE 2.6 JOY'S SIX MIRROR DESIGNS (TAKEN FROM JOY 2010, FIGURE 4.11).

Recent radiocarbon dating of this material has further allowed for the previous style stages to be both challenged and tested, particularly through the Bayesian model adopted within Garrow et al.'s *Dating Celtic Art* (2009) and Hamilton et al.'s *The Impact of Bayesian Chronologies* (2015). As Garrow et al. state, "it is impossible to understand the social role of objects and the changes in their forms of

production, use and deposition without a proper dating framework" (Garrow et al. 2009, 94). This work provided the first significant radiocarbon dating programme for decorated British material culture and continued Needham et al.'s (1998) previous work on Bronze Age to early Iron Age dating (*ibid.,* 79-80). Radiocarbon dates were compared to earlier dating for particular artefact types, as well as to Stead's six style stages (*ibid.* 107). While typological classifications tend to provide relatively late dates, thereby assigning a later beginning for insular art compared to that from the continent, radiocarbon dating opens up the possibility of earlier date ranges and considers the residuality of material use (Garrow et al. 2009, 79, 105; Hamilton et al. 2015, 642, 644). Through radiocarbon dating, some insular material was, therefore, seen to occur at similar times to that of the continent (Garrow et al. 2009, 110). This work further concluded that insular decorated metalwork between the 4th and early 1st centuries BC did not follow a strictly successive progression. Instead, a gradual accumulation of motifs was found with no defined end (*ibid.,* 110; Garrow and Gosden 2012, 80), which further throws Stead's style stages into question as multiple styles can be found on a single object.

Nevertheless, difficulties continue to arise when trying to date the material. There can be a large margin of error when radiocarbon dating, and plateaus in the calibration curve within the Iron Age can cause further problems (Garrow et al. 2007). Dendrochronology also requires well-preserved wood which is not a common find (Stead 1996, 5). Therefore, even with the advancement of recent radiocarbon dating, typology is still needed to describe and classify the material, as well as to understand its changing visual connections. While typological stages have been largely critiqued for the generalisations they make, they continue to be utilized when discussing Iron Age material culture for a lack of better sequencing techniques. However, focus should not be placed purely on sequence and typology, as we must continue to keep in mind the potential social-material connections and what subtle visual changes can reveal about this relationship.

IRON AGE DECORATION

While previous approaches to style have all presented compelling arguments, those focusing on style's role as an 'active' non-verbal form of communication in regard to identity, group connection, resistance, and control are more relevant to Iron Age decoration. Just as art itself cannot be used to identify a particular ethnicity, Iron Age art did not reflect a single style or homogenous group (Collis 2014, 26; Hunter et al. 2015a, 35). Instead, the visual connections helped to demonstrate a mixture of various social interactions and exchanges (Hunter et al. 2015b, 277). By looking at stylistic presentations, different material forms, contexts, and distribution patterns, visual forms of communication become more apparent, which can further reveal information about the social contexts in which these objects were created. In order to better understand these contexts, a review of different decorated material forms throughout different levels of Iron Age society is needed to determine if varying visual responses to change were present.

As previously emphasized, prehistoric communities would not have had the ability to compare a vast amount of material, and therefore judgements of skill and competence are often irrelevant when determining social context. However, research into the existence of similar decorative features over diverse regions and periods will allow us to better understand the active choices taking place which are reflected in stylistic themes. Patterns within these stylistic distributions can reveal information about identity, group connection, and resistance or negotiation during periods of change or external influence, particularly within the periods leading up to and during the Roman occupation in Britain. By studying various decorative styles, I can directly address my main research questions, including: What role did decoration serve? Did different materials present similar forms of visual expression, and were these used to define Iron Age communities? Did stylistic forms of communication play a

role in establishing social boundaries or networks of information exchange? How did artistic expression change during the Later Iron Age and following Roman occupation? What does this reveal about social responses to change? By studying non-representational decoration on different material forms, more local and communal responses during the later Iron Age can be traced and understood.

While debates have continuously focused on the intention of style and what it can reveal, the significance of material studies has always been a unifying feature. Style can be a useful tool in determining typological and chronological stages, cultural interactions, and visual forms of communication. This current research applies these previous theories to the decorated material from southern Britain, looking at changes in decoration over time and what this can reveal about its social contexts. But before this can take place, the importance of non-metal artefacts and the overall intention of art must be addressed.

2.4 CONSIDERATION OF ART ON NON-METALS

Throughout previous Iron Age studies, considerable bias has been placed upon decorated metalwork over other materials. The non-metal artefacts that are discussed are habitually considered in relation to metal designs and production techniques (Harding 2007, 8), sometimes as a base or a mould, but more generally as a poorer rendering. While different projects have attempted to evaluate a large collection of Iron Age decorated materials, such as Garrow and Gosden's *Technologies of Enchantment* (2012) and Nimura, Chittock, Hommel, and Gosden's *The European Celtic Art in Context* project (2020), these still tend to focus on metalwork over other materials. Within previous research there is a consistent belief that metalwork is more dominant within the literature because "it was the medium of high-status artefacts of the greatest technical competence" (Harding 2007, 7). Although this is being questioned within more recent studies and is a concept I will challenge in this thesis, it is a perception that still continues to influence present research. Furthermore, most non-metalwork is not as visible within the archaeological record as it is not as easily preserved. For example, even though there is a shared belief that more sculpture would have been made of wood rather than metal (Megaw 2001, 74), the likelihood of wood surviving means that it is not as archaeologically discernible. Therefore, metalwork has remained a focus for research as we cannot make conclusions based on what is missing. Nevertheless, the study of metalwork alone only allows us to understand one area of social interaction (Bradley et al. 2016, 258), and therefore, it is vital to bring attention to a greater range of materials.

Since non-metal, such as pottery, is often connected to metalwork within literature, going so far as terming the phrase 'Metal Style' for French pottery containing similar shapes and motifs to metalwork (Megaw 2001, 98-9), non-metal objects' full significance within prehistoric communities is overlooked. In the same regard, highly decorated metal artefacts are repeatedly referred to as 'fine' art, created by the elite to show wealth, power, and status (Joy 2015a, 46). However, the differentiation between 'fine' art and 'craft' needs to be removed before a true understanding of the decoration can be understood. Richard Bradley addressed this uneven representation in his study of megalithic art. While his work does not focus solely on Iron Age material, it does highlight the discrepancies faced within non-metal material studies. He reiterates the fact that previous literature maintained an ethnocentric view of prehistoric abstract art and continuously separated artists from craft workers based on social evolutionary concepts (Bradley 2009, 10, 15), with no basis on actual prehistoric notions.

Similar to previous divisions between 'primitive' and Roman material are the continuous discrepancies between metalwork and what has consistently been labelled as 'Primitive Art', usually that created in pottery, bone, wood, and stone (Figure 2.7). This is particularly highlighted in Fox's work (1958) where he provides a chapter labelled 'Peasant Art' in which bone, wood, and pottery are included and, as he states, "rarely rise above mediocrity" (Fox 1958, 134). In the same regard, he states that "pot-making is often a woman's craft" (*ibid.*). These two statements alone create a pre-determined image of an artefact's role and rank within society, which must be avoided to truly understand the significance of the material and the imagery upon it. This negative view of decorated non-metalwork is a consistent problem within previous literature. It has been described as 'unambitious' (Stead 1996, 53) or 'mundane' (Harding 2007, 3), thereby denying it its full potential social impact. But evaluation of non-metalwork has already proven significant for understanding prehistoric societies, as these materials represent different areas of production and human connection. Whether this negative representation of non-metalwork is the intention or not, it immediately lessens the importance of the material being discussed.

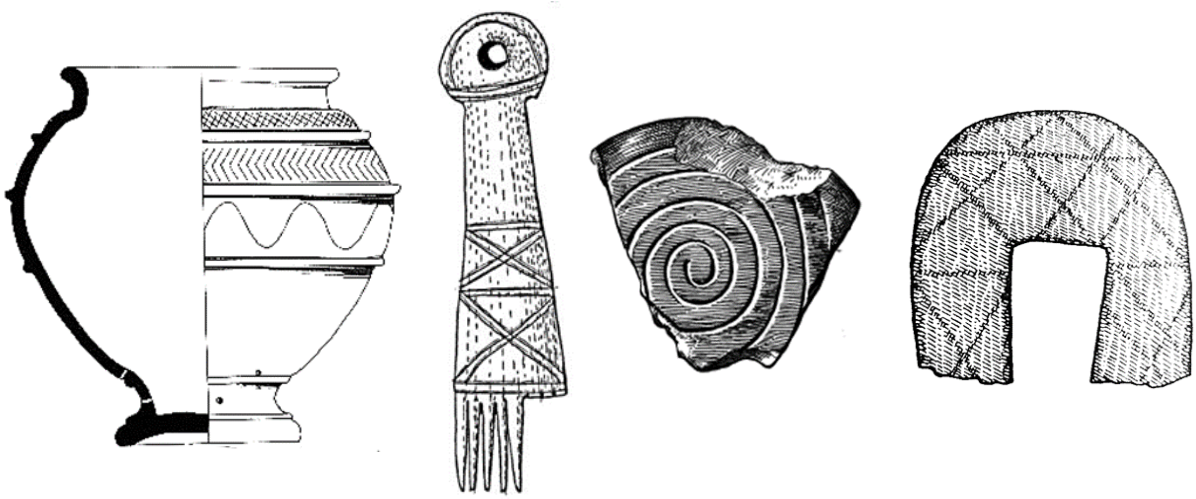


FIGURE 2.7 DECORATED IRON AGE POTTERY, ANTLER, STONE, AND WOOD (LEFT TO RIGHT: C713, A347, S71, AND W14).

However, this bias is not found within all archaeological literature. For instance, Alex Gibson's work (2002) focused on pottery and the regional differences and changes taking place within that specific material. While his work focused more on the construction and decoration of the pottery, the techniques utilized, and the shape of the ceramics, not on the details or interpretation of the material itself, it does highlight the importance of pottery in dating other material and understanding past societies. Pottery can shed light on different social aspects which metalwork alone cannot, such as diet through food residues, social divisions through distributional patterns, possible trade connections or social networks through petrological studies, and social status or identity through deposition (Gibson 2002, 25, 62, 137-8). Gibson divided his research first by region, followed by approximate dates, and then by their function (utilitarian, associative, or spiritual). He concluded that ceramics acquired meaning throughout the lifetime of the pot and its owner(s), and through evaluation of its life history "the status of the ostensibly mundane and utilitarian objects may be elevated" (Gibson 2002, 29). Just as pottery acquired deeper meaning through ownership and use, so too can other non-metal artefacts as they go through their life cycles. Pottery, therefore, is extremely important in understanding past social organisations and values, and it helps to place other material within their chronological, typological, or social contexts.

Niall Sharples' work 'Contextualising Iron Age Art' takes an anthropological approach to non-metalwork through a comparison of patterning and colour in 'Celtic' art to the cattle coats of the

Bodi of southern Ethiopia in order to emphasize that classifications of colour and pattern can be used to structure identity and ritual (Sharples 2008, 203). His work demonstrated that focusing solely on metalwork illogically creates the idea that past societies regarded this material as homogenous and completely different from other artefacts (*ibid.,* 205), when in reality they could have been closely connected. He further emphasized that if decoration, in itself, is meaningful then its use on different artefacts and materials must also be significant in forming social connections and delineating more local identities to different audiences (*ibid.,* 210). Therefore, archaeologists need to be cautious when focusing on metalwork alone as it leaves out the full social picture. Similarly, instead of focusing on just the material and production, focus should also be placed on what the associated imagery can reveal about various social connections.

Helen Chittock further addressed this issue in her work on weaving combs from the Glastonbury Lake Village (2014) and her more recent PhD thesis titled *Pattern and Purpose in Iron Age East Yorkshire* (2016) where she looked at a variety of decorated materials from a particular region in Britain. While her evaluation of weaving combs will be more thoroughly discussed in Section 10.1, her thesis focused on the Middle-Late Iron Age within East Yorkshire through a comparison of style patterns/categories, purpose categories, depositional context, and broad dates on a range of materials, in order to address her main research question: 'What did pattern do?' Based on her analysis, she concluded that pattern allowed people to "play with form, tools, and materials" to both experiment and maintain traditional styles, contributed to the function of objects, including as expressions of identity, and "contributed to the visible accumulation of biographies and itineraries on objects" (Chittock 2016, 292). Her thesis further addressed Joy's question 'why decorate?' (2011; 2015a, 44) and tested his approach. Joy argued that all decorated objects, not just metalwork, should be equally explored as the decision to decorate alone made them socially significant (Joy 2011, 206, 211). As with Chittock's thesis, I have examined a range of decorated material culture, but instead of focusing on a particular region with two broad chronological periods, I looked at various sites throughout the southern British region with various occupational phases, focusing on particular materials – pottery, antler/bone, stone, and wood.

As 'fine' art of one community cannot be used to define that of another, these divisions create a restricted view of prehistoric communities. By focusing on non-metalwork, we can witness different levels of society beyond what is considered the social elite. In fact, non-metal objects would likely have been viewed by a much larger population and been highly significant in everyday social interactions (Champion 2020, 223). This was not a 'primitive' art, but a visual expression of what Iron Age people found to be socially significant (Nimura et al. 2020, 2). My current research, therefore, takes the initiatives of Gibson, Sharples, Joy, and Chittock and attempts to better understand the visual imagery contained on non-metal material culture. By looking at a diverse range of decorated material, the intention of this imagery and what it can reveal about different Iron Age communities within Britain can be addressed.

2.5 WHAT WAS ART FOR?

Throughout material culture studies, authors have repeatedly disagreed over the role of art within society and what it can reveal about the people who created it. While the term 'Celtic' has been problematic for its generalisations about extensive regions and groups, the term 'art' has also proven problematic for its modern pre-conceptions and vagueness (Garrow 2008, 17). We must not restrict the definition or function of art in order to truly understand its role within Iron Age societies.

ACTIVE VS. PASSIVE

Initially, archaeologists, such as Megaw, attempted to look at material culture and art through a more descriptive, rather than interpretative, approach. Megaw approached art forms as individual artefacts (Megaw 1970, 11), reflecting on their context and patterns of construction, but he does not draw his own conclusion for their overall purpose. Later researchers focused on interpreting the material and decoration, drawing attention to the active role it played in communication. Rather than looking at artefacts as 'mute' or passive, useful only in connecting other objects from different periods or places by their similarities in form, decoration, etc. (James and Rigby 1997, 12), archaeologists sought to find deeper interpretations. According to Gosden, objects themselves have agency, with their own life cycles and social power (Gosden 2005, 195), and this agency would similarly be assigned to any added decoration. Objects, styles, and decoration evolve over many human generations, and therefore, over time these objects both actively affect the communities which created them and are affected by them (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 6-7; Gosden 2020, 9-10). Various networks are then created as people decorate objects based on established stylistic schemes, which in turn gives additional significance to the associated objects (Gosden 2020, 10-11, 14). Jope further believed that art actively evoked different responses from individuals and communities, which in turn led to the creation of a distinct insular style based on these visual choices and varied responses (Jope 2000, 10). In other words, the acceptance or rejection of external visual schemes was an active choice used to distinguish oneself from others (Wells 2020, 47), which led to a distinct and identifying style within Iron Age Britain. In turn these objects would give a 'voice' to individuals and communities by acknowledging the active choices being made and the possible meanings behind these choices. This form of visual communication was not only a way to spread particular messages, such as identity, status, and regional associations, but was also representative of possible ideas, beliefs systems, and heraldic associations within a community or individual (Aldhouse-Green 1996, 56; Wells 2020, 42; Maguire 2020, 161). In other words, an active voice and representation were brought to these 'mute' artefacts through their decoration.

SPIRITUAL VS. ORNAMENTAL

Another consistent theme within prehistoric art studies is that the imagery must have represented something 'magical' or 'spiritual,' and anything that does not fit within this frame must have been purely ornamental or aesthetical. Even the production of decorated metalwork has been given a supernatural association, in turn implying a similar status to metal craftsmen (Harding 2007, 14). Often no other possible interpretations about the imagery or artefact construction are provided. As Laing and Laing explained (1992), 'Celtic' art emphasizes transformation, as well as the importance of numerical associations. For example, the number three is symbolised within triskeles, possibly representing fertility and movement, while Janus heads or dragon pairs draw attention to the number two. Shape-shifting imagery of heads morphing into vegetal motifs is continuously found within decoration (Foster 2014, 65) and ties into possible rituals of ambiguity and paradox. Similarly, the refusal to adopt certain imagery popular in other regions, such as realism or narrative scenes, was potentially taboo within society, while the choice to depict other motifs was potentially apotropaic (Giles 2008, 69). It is believed, therefore, that these images must be part of a belief system (Laing and Laing 1992, 18) connecting Iron Age peoples from vast regions.

Aldhouse-Green has been a continuous supporter of prehistoric art as representative of ritual. While she does agree that decoration can serve as symbols of rank, identity, or allegiance, the main emphasis is placed on imagery as symbols of good luck or divine protection (Aldhouse-Green 1996, 66). She draws attention to talismanic motifs, such as solar symbols, as important images representing good fortune and protection, as seen through the use of swastika and triskele motifs

(Aldhouse-Green 1996, 78, 105; Figure 2.8). According to Aldhouse-Green, decoration contained complex information hidden in abstract patterns that were not just representative of communication between individuals and groups but also between "the war-hero and his gods" (Aldhouse-Green 1996, 94-5). This can be further applied to communication with ordinary individuals and gods on more personal ornaments, such as brooches.

FIGURE 2.8 METALWORK DECORATION SHOWING SWASTIKAS (LEFT: M34) AND TRISKELES (RIGHT: M40).

Both spiritual and ornamental interpretations tie into the study of phenomenology. This approach focuses on the way people think, feel, and move through their material world, and how this experience affects that world (Tilley 2005, 201-2). While this is typically applied to landscapes and monuments, the process can similarly be applied to how individuals and communities interact with everyday objects and their stylistic attributes. As Garrow and Gosden state, "what Celtic art demanded of people was highly skilled performance … that were socially powerful in binding or dividing communities" (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 323). This experience of the world could both affect the type of decoration employed and how that decoration was interpreted. According to Gosden, art was not simply a direct reflection of reality but rather helped to shape that reality for those that had the ability to understand it (Gosden 2020, 13). Regardless of the intention behind the art and its application, the way people interact with it over time can define and change its internal meanings.

POLITICAL

Within previous literature it has often been suggested that Iron Age or 'Celtic' art ended after Roman occupation. However, the prevalence of material, particularly in southeast Britain, during the 1st century BC and 1st century AD, suggests that a "complex and dramatic process of political and economic transformation" was occurring through the material and its visual associations (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 77,79). The idea that Iron Age art simply ended further ignores the political role that it played, particularly in areas, such as North Britain, that resisted Roman occupation and influence. As Morna MacGregor stated, "nationalistic pride would naturally dictate a decorative repertoire overwhelmingly 'Celtic' in its content" (MacGregor 1976, 181). Material culture in these regions appears to take on a different visual response to political change in support of traditional imagery. More recent literature, in contrast, has begun to look at regional changes in visual representations as forms of both resistance and adoption, as well as acknowledging that artistic influence and the development of new styles was a two-way process in which Roman material was also influenced by traditionally 'Celtic' styles (Hunter 2015b, 131, 136; Joy 2014, 322). As Hunter explains, instead of an end to this artistic tradition with the coming of the Roman army, there was more subtlety and selectivity in what was decorated within the 'Celtic' repertoire (Hunter 2008, 129-32). Furthermore, changes in decorated metalwork defined "the changing culture of the frontier at a time of flux" with the creation of 'hybrid' material (*ibid.,* 136). Illustrative of this 'hybridization', in which indigenous styles were applied to new forms of metalwork, are beaded torcs, hinged bracelets, and dragonesque brooches (*ibid.,* 134-8; Joy 2014, 319; Figure 2.9). As Joy further states,

this fusion of pre-Roman and Roman techniques led to new and distinctive regional styles, which did not serve a single purpose but were formed through various social negotiations. They were not simply products of Roman colonisation, and therefore, cannot simply be understood as resistance to outside control, as they reflect a complicated process of renegotiation which drew on both external and 'traditional' sources and transformed these styles to form new hybrid identities (Joy 2014, 321-2; Hunter 2014, 336). Instead of viewing these changes as one tradition eliminating another, current discourse is beginning to address the various identities that formed during this time of transition.

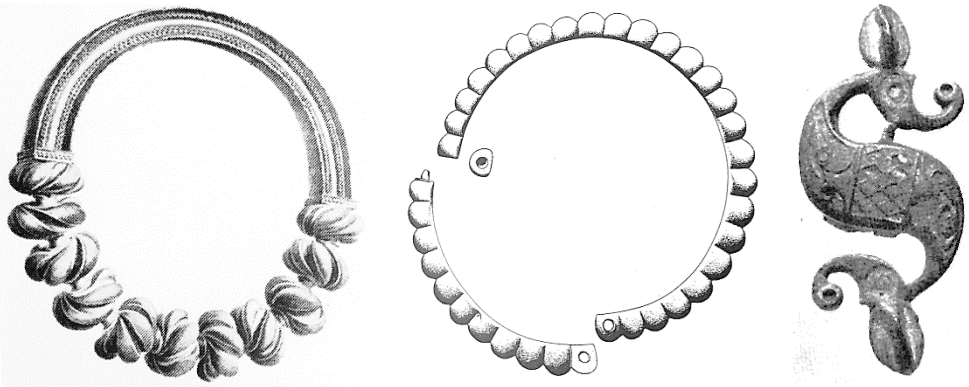


FIGURE 2.9 EXAMPLE OF BEADED TORC FROM ROCHDALE, LANCASHIRE (LEFT: JOPE 2000, PLATE 259B), ARM-RING FROM CLYNNOG FAWR, WALES (CENTRE: JOPE 2000, PLATE 41E), AND DRAGONESQUE BROOCH (RIGHT: M285).

OPPOSITES AND PARADOXES

On a more individual level, the ambiguity of Iron Age art plays a key role in possible initiation rites. As Aldhouse-Green states, it is "an art of paradox, double-meaning, and visual punning" (Aldhouse-Green 1996, 117) which to the untrained eye would appear almost meaningless, but to those initiated into its knowledge might represent an array of hidden information. Furthermore, it was "not an art of fixed or fixable meanings" but one designed to have a strong and variable impact on the viewer (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 5). As with mirror decoration, it was often an art of positive and negative juxtapositions, where motifs blur into others and faces are hidden within foliage. In the case of mirror decoration (Figure 2.2), as Giles and Joy illustrate (2007), the play of positive against negative imagery, through engraving or embellishment, was intended to ensnare viewers and create a "halo-effect" of control over others (2007, 24), whether as a re-affirmation of power by an individual or group. Again, it was created as a 'technology of enchantment' (Section 2.1), as first termed by Alfred Gell in 1998 (Giles 2008, 60). Gell (1998) developed an "anthropological theory of visual art", focusing on the agency of art as a type of 'technology', in regard to the way it influences "human actions, perceptions, and modes of visual creation" (Bradley 2009, 34; Garrow and Gosden 2012, 25-26; Macdonald 2007, 336), and his work inspired many later archaeologists working with prehistoric art. By decorating valuable objects, for example, Hunter argues that the designer or owner made them powerful and symbolic (Hunter 2015a, 105). Giles further adopted this visual ensnarement in her evaluation of martial objects. The emphasis on abstraction and movement within these artefacts often created a repetition of imagery, giving them the appearance of having neither a beginning nor an end, thereby potentially "disorientating the spectator" (Giles 2008, 66). Furthermore, this 'enchantment' could be used to both invoke courage in your group and provoke terror in your enemy, giving it the power to defeat your enemy without having to physically engage with them (*ibid., 68)*. While the imagery alone is aesthetically pleasing, the visual juxtapositions indicate deeper meanings within its design.

PRIVATE CONSIDERATION

Due to its small scale and abstract nature, Iron Age art would also have been intended for private consideration (Laing and Laing 1992, 15) as one would need to be at a close distance to view and understand the designs (Joy 2015a, 48). It is due to its 'visual ambiguity' and 'modest' nature that Spratling believes British art would have been more suitable for private and "quiet contemplation" (Spratling 2008, 194). In a similar fashion, the texturing and tactile nature of its decoration would mean that only those with access to the objects would be able to fully interact with the material and its visual significance (Joy 2015a, 48). While I would not consider decorated metalwork, such as brooches and scabbards, to be 'modest' as their patterns can be very intricate, the small nature of the embellishment on them would require one to be in close proximity for the design to be truly appreciated. It, therefore, becomes clear that not everyone would have had the prior knowledge or access to these artefacts to 'read' or understand the visual information included. Art, therefore, served as a symbol of power through knowledge and access, with a clear separation of those given access to that knowledge and allowed to partake in its symbolism.

PRACTICAL

In contrast to previous approaches, Megaw and Megaw (2001) believe that artefacts, as well as their design and decoration, served a practical role within society. While the art might have served other purposes, its overall function was practical. This does not necessarily mean that it was purely utilitarian, as their definition of 'Celtic' art includes "elements of decoration beyond those necessary for functional utility" (Megaw and Megaw 2001, 19), but that its overall purpose would have been practical to the society in which the object belonged. For example, even material given a ritual significance would have served a practical role through its appeal for protection or help from the gods (*ibid.,* 16). A similar approach to decoration was taken by Joy in his evaluation of mirror design. According to Joy, decoration was not straightforwardly used to portray deeper social connections or to invoke aesthetic responses. Instead, the positive and negative designs manipulated the reflection of light, which in turn reiterated the artefact's overall 'mirrorness' (Joy 2010, 39-40). The consistent use of these motifs to re-enforce an artefact's overall function reflects a widespread knowledge of design composition. Based on this interpretation, changes in design would not be indicative of a typological progression but would reflect changes within the distribution of this decorative knowledge (Joy 2008, 93), as well as the adoption of its practical construction and usage.

While opinions have continuously differed within previous literature over the role of prehistoric 'art', once we address the possible intentions of Iron Age art, we can begin to better understand who used and had access to these decorated objects. The juxtaposition or ambiguity of Iron Age art itself allows for multiple interpretations or 'readings' to be made, both within current research and presumably within prehistoric societies. Through this ambiguity, the imagery had the ability to present various visual meanings which might only have been comprehensible to those with the knowledge to 'read' them or the access to view them. Nevertheless, the diversity of this decoration can reveal how these communities identified themselves within the larger world.

2.6 WHO USED THESE OBJECTS?

By evaluating a greater material assemblage, including decorated non-metalwork, more information about those who created and used these objects can be determined. Combined, this material can reveal information about social influences, including levels of access to visual knowledge, regional and artefactual connections, gender, and patronage. First, however, we must look at the origins of insular Iron Age art. As stated in previous literature, this influence originates from three main sources: the previous Hallstatt period in Britain, the Mediterranean, and Eastern imagery (Hunter and Joy 2015, 78; Wells 2020, 38). While Iron Age art contained many shared characteristics, each region would have adopted imagery from these sources in various ways creating diverse localised styles (Hunter and Joy 2015, 56, 59). Therefore, these influences highlight different types of contact occurring between different regional groups, including trade, migration, marriage, etc. While authors, such as Jacobsthal and Fox, believed the 'Celtic' Iron Age began with the La Tène period, later authors support the idea that it began earlier in the previous Hallstatt period, due to the prevalent depictions of stylized birds, solar wheels, and geometric linear ornamentation (Laing and Laing 1992, 26; Aldhouse-Green 1996, 19). The continuation of these earlier motifs, therefore, would create a continuously evolving connection with the past (Joy 2020, 123). This process would have been gradual, showing slight adaptations and changes throughout its transition, from a naturalistic art to one of exaggeration and abstraction. Adoption of outside artistic influence, however, was a selective process. While Eastern influences can be seen through palmettes (Hunter and Joy 2015, 56; Figure 2.10) and lotuses, and later through the depiction of winged horses and monsters (Laing and Laing 1992, 32), they did not adopt the narrative aspect popular from the Greeks and Middle East (Megaw and Megaw 2001, 20-1). Certain classical or Eastern artistic features, therefore, were either adopted or dismissed based on an established British visual repertoire and independent regional choices.

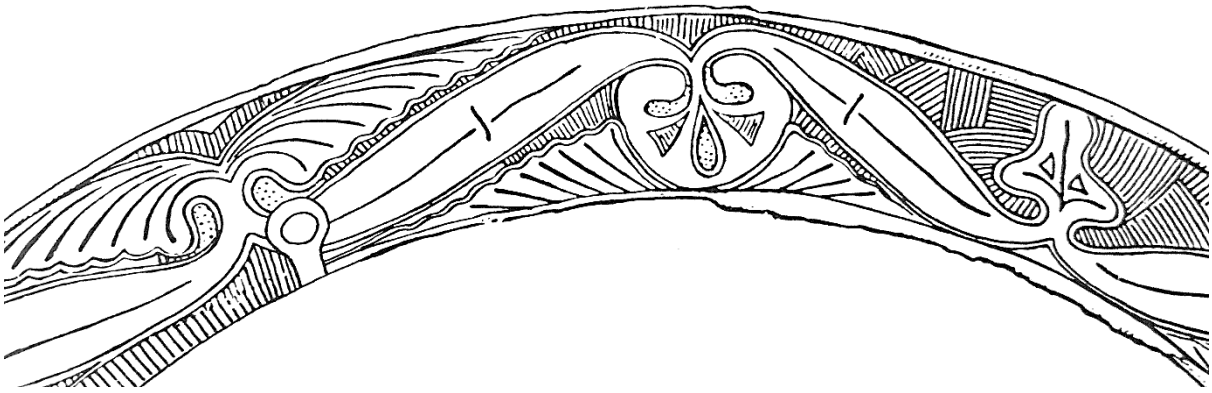


FIGURE 2.10 PALMETTE EXAMPLES ON CERRIG-Y-DRUDION FLANGED 'BOWL' (M23).

INITIATION AND KNOWLEDGE

The type of decoration chosen for both public and private display can reveal further information about the people who used these artefacts. As previously discussed, one theory states that different levels of decorative knowledge must have existed within prehistoric societies as the imagery could be rather complex and ambiguous. Similarly, new and changing styles often drew upon older motifs and patterns, thereby requiring one to have previous knowledge of the origins and development of the present decoration. One's interpretation of the decoration would, therefore, also depend on one's knowledge of its history (Joy 2015b, 159). What was being depicted could only be interpreted and understood by a select few who were initiated into that knowledge (Davis 1990, 26-7; Egri 2014, 83), and therefore, would have been socially restricted (Hunter et al. 2015b, 272). This visual information might be associated with one's individual or group identity, with protection, good luck,

etc. (Aldhouse-Green 1996, 113; Foster 2014, 64), and would have been socially controlled (Bradley 2009, 120; Hunter 2001, 302). Individuals with access to this knowledge might have then been expected to communicate this visual information to the rest of the community (Egri 2014, 83). As with oral storytelling, these images would continuously have evolved as their features were recreated onto different objects based on the artist's memory of what came before (Ginoux 2020, 132). In cases where the decoration is hidden or too small to see from a distance, more personal interpretations can be suggested (Aldhouse-Green 1996, 81).

This further ties in with the prevalence of abstraction in Iron Age art, where different meanings can be read based on the way the imagery is viewed and the viewer's level of knowledge (Aldhouse-Green 1996, 117; Joy 2010, 40). The use of abstract art over realism does not imply a lack of skill but would have been something specifically chosen by the artist and community to connect to a traditional visual style or represent a particular idea that could not be spread through realism (Megaw 1970, 12). It would allow for multiple readings and levels of meaning to occur (Bradley 2009, 44). Therefore, Celtic artists would have adopted motifs and techniques that fit into this existing repertoire of knowledge, and as Bradley suggests, abstract imagery might have been even more important as it would require a special or prior knowledge to understand (Bradley 2009, 44). Furthermore, the fact that similar decorative qualities have been found throughout the continent, including the British Isles, means that this information was potentially accessible to very diverse individuals. By decorating objects based on a similar scheme, these societies could maintain connections which crossed vast geographical regions. Although the meanings behind the imagery were likely not universal, they could adopt motifs and patterns from this visual repertoire to fit their own social ideals (Joy 2015b, 161). These features might then have been adapted to demonstrate a particular identity or affiliation within more local communities that could be understood by those already initiated into that visual information.

VISUAL CONTEXT

Not only can an evaluation of Iron Age decoration shed light on social access, but it can also help us better understand people's perception of their world at this time and their place within it (Wells 2012, 15, 170). According to Peter Wells, in order to understand how people visually understood their world through their decorated material culture, we need to first understand the visual context, or 'visuality', in which it was based (*ibid.,* 32; Olivier 2020, 96). This includes how these objects were decorated, displayed, and used within daily life, and their connections to the natural, social, and political environments in which they were intertwined (Wells 2012, 22, 34). By understanding the 'visuality' of a group we can better interpret how they perceived the world around them. For the most part, this perception of the world is an accumulation of what one has seen before, which influences how one sees the present and in turn affects how others will understand the future (*ibid.,* 22). This again draws attention to the idea that objects have agency and an ability to evoke various feelings and responses. Based on this analysis, decoration would then act as a means of communication to establish relationships between people, their materials, and their natural environments (*ibid.,* 34). Included within this idea of visual context are various 'modes of visualisation' in which it is believed that people at different points in time would have seen their world differently (*ibid.*, 63).

As Wells highlights, the Middle Iron Age and Late Iron Age saw a change in their mode of visualisation. During the Middle Iron Age, new forms of decoration were introduced, such as more curvilinear patterns, which directly tied into a growing connection and interaction with the larger world. A similar change occurred in the Later Iron Age as new and more diverse vessel forms and decorative styles were introduced. This change in visualisation was affected by the increasing

participation in commercial exchange, and the introduction of coins and writing (*ibid.*, 67-9, 174-8). Within both of these periods, this change was gradual as peoples' perceptions and worldviews began to change, which in turn affected their various choices in visual expression. However, through this growing connection to the larger world, groups continuously maintained their individualism through the adaption and transformation of imagery to fit their own social ideals (*ibid.*, 186). Pottery, in particular, plays a significant role in understanding visual context and modes of visualisation as it would have been commonly used and seen by a larger proportion of the population (*ibid.*, 75). It also holds direct connections to the community through food consumption, the natural environment, and the spiritual world through its association with burials (76-7). Whether other non-metal objects hold a similar significance will be examined throughout this research.

BIOGRAPHICAL CONTEXTS

Looking at the history of artefacts specifically, Bradley (2009) addressed the social importance of art through its individual context. His work looks at the context in which art would have been viewed, both during its 'lifetime' and following its 'death,' the history of the work, and the environmental factors surrounding its creation, use, reuse, and deposition, including its rediscovery (Bradley 2009, 41-2). He moves away from an aesthetic approach to a more contextual focus of social engagement. A similar biographical approach was taken by Joy, whereby connections exist between people and their material world through their interlocking life histories, with each being affected by the other (Joy 2009, 542; 2015b, 162; 2020, 112). Through this approach, individuals and artefacts affect one another through the social interactions in which they are involved, beginning during the initial production phases and ending with an object's final deposition. The importance of production has recently been emphasized, particularly in regard to the application of decoration. The choices made during production would reflect knowledge of both the past and of changing social influences. Overall, knowing the social context of an artefact would provide prehistoric people with the power to interpret it, just as it does for present researchers (Bradley 2009, 46-7, 203). In order to understand an artefact's social role during its 'life' researchers have begun to study the use-wear patterns of objects. From an artefact's use-wear we can determine its active role within society, both how it was used and by whom. As the final aspect within biographical studies, deposition can reveal relationships between societies and their material culture. For example, within Joy's research on mirror deposition in burials, he demonstrates that how an artefact was treated, as well as what was deposited alongside it, can be representative of the community's relationship to the deceased (Joy 2010, 77). As is repeatedly emphasised within previous literature, an artefact's role within a burial context is more reflective of the identity adopted by the community than that of the deceased.

By taking this approach to material culture, archaeologists are able to emphasise how art might have affected the viewer. To truly understand who used the imagery and its purpose within society, researchers must first understand its context during each stage of its life. An artefact's importance can evolve through its changing contexts, experiences, and functions, and each time it evolves its social meaning changes (Joy 2009, 540). Similar to this idea, Hodder developed the Entanglement Theory, in which objects are intricately entangled with other objects, humans, and forms of knowledge, and this entanglement only becomes more complex over time (Hodder 2012). In this way, decoration is intricately connected with the objects on which it is found, the individuals who created and experienced it, and the changing meanings behind it based on these evolving interactions. Therefore, both artefact design and decoration are socially embedded, and their examination can help archaeologists begin to understand past social structures.

GENDER

Consistently throughout the literature, there is a tendency to attribute certain artefacts to particular genders, whether this is archaeologically verifiable or not. A main example is martial objects, such as scabbards and swords (Figure 2.11), which tend to be assigned to men (Pope & Ralston 2011, 400). Through artefact attributions, assumptions are made about who used particular categories of material. However, our associations between materials and particular genders are rooted in modern stereotypes which are not necessarily reflective of prehistoric divisions, and oftentimes particular artefacts, such as pottery, and mortuary evidence cannot be gendered (*ibid.,* 401, 407-8; Rustoiu 2014, 164). Just as current communities are not simply copies of one another, variations in material representations throughout the Iron Age likely occurred and must be acknowledged.

FIGURE 2.11 IRON AGE SWORD (LEFT: M17) AND MIRROR (RIGHT: M175).

In regard to female-material connections, there still remains resistance within archaeological interpretations to assign symbols of power to women even when found within the same grave, instead viewing their associated materials as 'bridewealth' (Pope & Ralston 2011, 376-7). Rachel Pope and Ian Ralston studied inhumations from East Yorkshire and Southern Britain and determined that there was little to suggest sex-based differences in burial treatment or a higher association of status items with either sex (Pope & Ralston 2011, 390, 399-400). Instead of being assigned to a particular sex, according to Pope and Ralston, these items might be better labelled as a mark of more masculine or feminine status (Pope & Ralston 2011, 400-401) as they can be found in graves of either sex. Therefore, while mirrors (Figure 2.11) have been attributed to high-status women (Pope & Ralston 2011, 398), this assumption has recently been scrutinized. The belief that these objects represented women is restrictive as many of the human remains found in burials associated with mirrors cannot be sexed. For example, a burial from Bryher in the Isles of Scilly contained a bronze mirror, a sword, and unsexed remains (Giles and Joy 2007, 17). Within this grave, there are conflicting gender-material stereotypes, and a deeper interpretation must be made around this context. Pope and Ralston concluded that, where gender-material associations have been made, masculine and feminine identities can be applied along a "combat-to-contact" spectrum in which masculine identities are more often associated with martial items while feminine identities are found with items related to social networks and allegiances (Pope & Ralston 2011, 408). In a similar manner, Harding believes we should move away from associating certain objects with particular

genders, and instead interpret artefacts as neutral social signifiers. As with mirrors in graves, they would be a part of the funeral ritual itself and do not necessarily represent the personal possession of the interred individual (Harding 2007, 10-1). As previously stated, burials often represent the living community and not necessarily the deceased. Consequently, the material deposited within burials most likely has deeper communal significance, and therefore specific gender assumptions must be avoided.

PRODUCTION

Various forms of production have been addressed within previous literature, particularly in regard to Roman production, which can be further attributed to other people and periods, such as the Iron Age. Looking at the present to understand the past, DPS Peacock examined the hierarchy of Roman pottery production from the simplest to the most complex forms (Peacock 1982, 8). Beginning with household production as the simplest form, this then lead to household industries, individual workshops, nucleated workshops, manufactories, factories, estate production, and finally military/official production, respectively (*ibid.,* 8-11). While these different production schemes are hierarchical, they are not evolutionary (*ibid.,* 50) as multiple versions can occur at the same time or in various orders. Within household production and household industry, also referred to as the domestic mode of production, pottery is typically handmade by women, as a part-time process either to use within the household or to supplement the family income, and it can be rather difficult to determine within the archaeological record alone (*ibid,* 8, 77, 80; Renfrew 1977, 9). In contrast, following workshop production (individual workshops, nucleated workshops, etc.), this activity is typically practiced by men and sees the introduction of the wheel and kiln (Peacock 1982*,* 9-11, 90), regardless of whether it takes place in an urban or rural setting. In the case of Iron Age pottery production, it is likely that the main mode of production would have taken place in the household before the introduction of the wheel due to its distribution and frequently coarse nature. According to Peacock, each mode of production can be distinguished by its location, the different types of vessels, the construction techniques, and their distribution (*ibid.,* 52). The introduction of the wheel and kiln, in particular, greatly affected the quality and quantity of production (*ibid.,* 25), directly changing the type of vessels created and their accompanying decoration. Similarly, as it is typically a fixed object and its use is easily determined through an evaluation of the pottery, it should also be more visible within the archaeological record and reveal further information about the social implications of changing production techniques.

According to Peacock, the modes of production further affect the types of wares produced: coarse versus fine wares. Looking at Roman pottery, coarse wares were typically produced by households or individual workshops, creating a limited range of cooking and storage vessels. These wares typically present local distributions and a strong connection to the local community but are difficult to accurately date (*ibid.,* 90-3, 162). As coarse wares would not require a permanent workshop for their production, however, they could be created and distributed by itinerant workers (*ibid.,* 156). While the idea of itinerant workers was proposed by Jacobsthal, he was unable to prove their existence based on the archaeological record at that time (Gosden et al. 2014, 4). In contrast, fine wares are the product of nucleated industries or more complex modes of production, which produced a greater variety of vessels, travelled further from the source of production, and are easier to date as they change frequently over time (*ibid.,* 99, 114). While production sites are generally difficult to determine archaeologically, an evaluation of various modes of production can reveal information about social and economic means of interaction with direct connections to the material assemblages. Although Peacock focuses on Roman pottery production, this process can be further applied to Iron Age material evidence and provide possible means of interpreting various means of

production, including the associated levels of exchange, production techniques, and adoption of new technology. According to Jennifer Foster, metalwork production would not have been restricted to a few workshops as its distribution was widespread, yet it was also unlikely that an entire community would undertake a single specialized activity (Foster 2014, 65). Therefore, it can be difficult to accurately determine the scale of production based on the type of archaeological material in evidence but looking from present modes of production to understand possible past modes might provide more insight into this process.

PATRONAGE AND DONORS

Within more recent research, focus has been placed on the role of patronage within prehistoric communities. Hunter's work on Iron Age hoarding (1997) illustrates the importance of using depositional contexts, specifically hoards, to determine links between material and possible donors. According to Hunter, hoards with a larger range of deposits, including both local and imported items, would represent a variety of donors, while smaller hoards, with the majority being local items, would represent individuals, households, or smaller social groups (Hunter 1997, 111-5). Similarly, the objects chosen for deposition could reveal more specific information about potential donors, such as decorated personal items being connected to elites (*ibid.*, 115, 119). However, his conclusions are likely indicative of metalwork and not the patronage of other materials, as indicated in his later work which drew connections between regional deposition and elite control of imported goods. Based on this information, patronage was not simply an individual affair, as it could also represent elite groups who possessed greater access, at least in regard to the acquisition of Roman goods in the northern regions (Hunter 2001, 293, 302). Overall, certain authors believe that "Celtic society … became more obsolete in the face of growing Roman power" (Megaw 1970, 21) due to the break-down of patronage in response to Roman control. However, it is more likely that there was a shift in patronage, as the elite adopted or adapted to new styles, rather than a complete end to native stylistic traditions.

The origins of Iron Age art, its production and deposition, its focus on abstraction and ambiguity, and its changing patronage can reveal information about who used these decorated objects. The imagery included on these pieces was actively chosen from internal and external influences in order to fit within an established repertoire which could be read by those knowledgeable in its history and meanings. A review of non-metal decorated material will further reveal information about different levels of Iron Age society.

2.7 CONCLUSION

Within previous studies, debate has continuously focused on the intention and possible meanings behind prehistoric art, the best way to typologically and chronologically divide artefacts, the different ways to categorise the overall material culture, the importance of British 'Insular' art, the importance of metalwork versus other materials, and what we can learn about the people who used these objects.

Before the 1960s, the creation of stylistic divisions dominated the Celtic art discourse, beginning with Jacobsthal's (1944) initial three style stages, followed by additions from de Navarro (1952) and Fox (1958). The 1960s witnessed the beginning of 'New Archaeology' with a focus on style's use in social interaction and exchange between various groups. From the mid-1970s, archaeologists began to also look at the active versus passive role of style within these social interactions, highlighting its use as a non-verbal form of communication. While archaeologists had started to move away from stylistic divisions following the 1960s, a revival of this approach was seen during the 1980s and

1990s. Working with Jacobsthal's original style stages, Stead (1985; 1996) incorporated the British material into these previous sequences. Cunliffe's pottery style stages similarly draw attention back to typological divisions in order to delineate regional and chronological groups. During the later 20th century, studies around insular Iron Age art were largely focussed on the description of the imagery and the maintenance of stylistic sequences, but with little connection to more general archaeological research (Joy 2020, 113). By the 21st century, however, a change of approach was occurring, largely influenced by the work of Gell (1998). Within his anthropological approach, style was created as a 'technology of enchantment' whereby the motifs and overall imagery created relationships between objects and people in the past, present, and future (Joy 2020, 113). Instead of focusing on stylistic divisions, the making of the art, its use, and the social context of its deposition were viewed as more significant for the studies of Celtic art (Champion 2020, 225). Most recently, authors such as Gosden (2005; 2012), Garrow (2012), and Macdonald (2007), have used Gell's approach to look at object agency within Iron Age art, focusing on the social context in which these objects were decorated and presented.

The novelty of my approach to style, therefore, is that it deviates from these previous discussions around Iron Age art. In general, Celtic art studies have not taken into account the larger style debates of the 1990s or analysed insular Iron Age art from these perspectives. My work, however, largely aligns with previous theories proposed by Conkey, Hastorf, Wiessner, Davis, Hodder, and Webster. As Conkey (1990), Hastorf (1990), and Wiessner (1990) suggest, style was actively chosen from a socially established scheme as a form of communication, in order to create identity and social divisions, but which required different levels of access or knowledge (Davis 1990, 26-7). Instead of focusing on stylistic classifications or object agency, I examined the specific decorative features of Celtic art based on a more general Iron Age decorative repertoire and applied the imagery to previous style debates, in terms of how it relates to identity, general 'ways of doing' (Hodder 1990), and so forth. The choice to maintain a decorative scheme, or adapt new imagery to fit within this scheme, rather than adopt new styles, further aligns with Webster's theory of *'resistant* adaptation' (Webster 2003). In association with these theories, my research will focus on the intention behind specific ornamentation, its role in communication and identity, as well as its use in negotiation and resistance, which will be addressed within the following chapters.

Iron Age art has provided previous archaeologists with the necessary information to understand different aspects of prehistoric social organisation, and an analysis of its significance and incorporation on other material sources throughout different time periods will be reviewed within this current research. As with Hunter, I am going to take a more holistic approach to the decorated material, drawing conclusions from a wider material base, with a focus on various artefact types, but with a rather narrow regional disbursement, particularly southern Britain. This will allow my research to look at general patterns and their social connections. While previous literature defined and categorised material and art in a variety of ways, one constant stance revolves around the idea that the full meaning of Iron Age art might "always elude us… for its very intention *was* to confuse and intimidate… to awe, disorientate, and ensnare" (Giles 2008, 74). The hidden meanings within Iron Age artistic traditions and changing adaptations may never fully be understood, but through an extensive review of the life histories of specific motifs, trends can be revealed which may point to deeper social meanings and associations. While Roman occupation did change the make-up of Iron Age communities, reflected in their societal organisations and art, "it was to take more than Roman might and Roman *mores* to totally subdue the art of so resilient a culture as that of the early Celts" (Megaw 2001, 241). 'Celtic' art was not to be erased following Roman occupation, but instead began a new period of visual communication more reflective of differing regional responses.

3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

On the most basic level, this research is not intended to uncover specific messages behind the different motifs and designs, as this is arguably impossible to achieve, but instead to draw attention to visual representations and connections between this decoration, the different materials, the regions in which they were found, and the time periods in which they took place. Not only will this research consider a wide selection of artefact types, but I will primarily focus on non-metal material culture. These types have been divided into four general groups: personal adornment, domestic items, warrior accoutrement, and horse/vehicle gear, largely adopted from MacGregor's 1976 divisions. I am drawing particular attention to decorated pottery, antler, bone, stone, and wooden artefacts, as well as their potential connections and differences, in order to provide information about more local and arguably non-elite levels of society and visual expression. While the artefacts included are not a complete representation of decorated material from all Iron Age sites, the large amount of evidence available from previous site reports and literature covering both Iron Age and early Romano-British contexts has provided an extensive and detailed representation of the overall decorated assemblages. Through an evaluation of this material, it is possible to look at the similarities in design within and between different material types, regions, and time periods.

Through this approach, I will determine whether decorative schemes played a significant role in cultural expressions and exchange, rather than simply fulfilling an aesthetic ideal, whether these motifs and patterns acted as a visual form of resistance during periods of change, or whether they simply represented local expressions based on a 'traditional way of doing' (Hodder 1990, 45). I wish to further question: Was there a deeper meaning behind the selection of specific motifs? While the majority of decoration on Danebury pottery, for example, is geometric, this is not necessarily true for other sites, regions, or materials, and these relationships may reveal more about the intended meanings and connections within these choices. An evaluation of non-metal decorated material can further help us understand whether decorative choices served as interregional social 'languages' where 'messages' were spread through a combination of patterns, as previously proposed by archaeologists Wiessner (1990), Davis (1990), and Conkey (1990). While individual motifs and patterns cannot be read in the same sense as a written language, I support previous views that these decorative features still serve as an expression of different 'messages', both traditional and changing, as well as forms of identity (*ibid.;* DeBoer 1990, 33-4, 197; Curta 2001, 33; Wiessner 1990, 105-7). This can be seen as similar to current representations of group identity, often attributed to age, gender, or status, such as the use of specific colours and symbols to separate one sports team from another.

As previously discussed (Chapter 1), it was first necessary to determine my study region so that possible connections between decoration and community groups could be more easily revealed. I chose to focus my research on Cunliffe's (2005) three main southern style zones: the Eastern, Central Southern, and South-Western (Figure 3.1). While Cunliffe's regional zones are largely based on different pottery styles, his divisions allow for all the materials to be divided by established geographical boundaries (Cunliffe 1984, 233), thereby creating a more inclusive regional study. Overall, specific case study sites were selected from within these regions due to their well-published assemblages with a large number of illustrations – a pragmatic decision in a period of Covid lockdowns – and oftentimes due to their multiple periods of occupation from which to internally compare. For the ceramic element of my research, three case study sites were chosen, one from

each zone: Danebury in Hampshire, the Meare Lake Villages (MLV) in Somerset, consisting of both Meare Village West (MVW) and Meare Village East (MVE), and Dragonby in Lincolnshire. While MLV pottery contains some of the most elaborate decoration, often reminiscent of decorated metalwork, this assemblage is not representative of Iron Age pottery as a whole as most pottery decoration is rather plain in comparison. By only acknowledging the elaborate pieces similar to metal, we risk overlooking the importance of some of the plainer examples, both within MLV and within other sites. Therefore, it is important to compare sites from different regions with extensive pottery collections. For the antler and bone combs, an even greater number of sites were included from these three zones: MVW, MVE, and Glastonbury Lake Village (GLV) for the Central Southern zone; Danebury, All Cannings Cross (ACC), and Maiden Castle (MC) for the South-Western zone. No site had a significant collection of combs in the Eastern zone, and therefore all the available material from that region was examined, accumulating in 16 different sites. As decorated stone and wood are significantly less common than the other materials, a larger selection of sites were chosen. While MLV and GLV contain the most evidence of stone and wood, and therefore were the only sites needed within the South-Western zone, 11 different sites are used for the other two zones. Based on the decorative information collected from these sites, a cross-comparison of the different features and materials is possible. All of the non-metal material was then compared to decorated metalwork, largely taken from Jope's *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles* (2000) and Garrow and Gosden's *Technology of Enchantment* database (2012), without focusing on any particular sites.

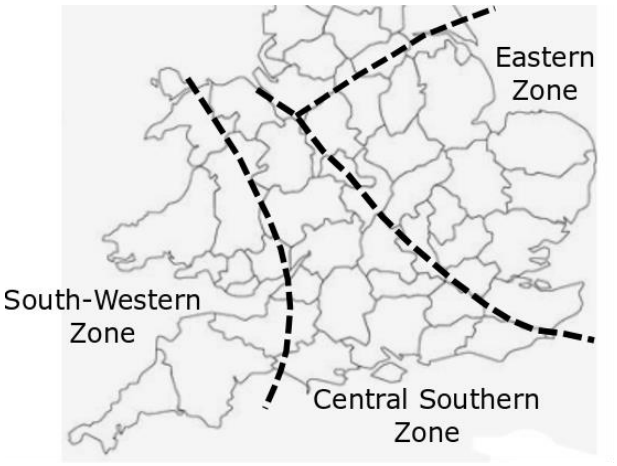


FIGURE 3.1 MAP OF SOUTHERN BRITAIN – DIVIDED INTO CUNLIFFE'S STYLE ZONES (CUNLIFFE 2005, FIGURE 21.2).

By looking at decorative preferences within and between different sites, it is possible to determine local and regional patterns, as well as differences in visual responses taking place between the later Iron Age and early Roman periods. A comparison of different materials further allows us to ascertain whether similar decorative schemes were occurring on all the materials and artefact types, or whether each presented its own unique style. Similarly, a comparison of motifs and patterns over time allows us to determine if a re-emergence of traditional forms of visual expression versus an adoption of new ones during periods of change or upheaval represented a form of resistance or acceptance to the cultural and social changes taking place. We can further determine whether different sites and/or regions remained consistent in their motif choices or utilized different visual responses following these later periods of change and transition. All decorative choices reflect back onto the social contexts in which they were created, providing information about the people that produced and used them.

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

Before evaluating the material, I first created a simplified typology of motifs based on previous literature and a personal evaluation of the material evidence from the sites chosen for this research. My simplified typology (Appendix A) began with an analysis of metalwork, through an evaluation of previous literature including Fox (1958), Jope (2000), Joy (2010), and Garrow and Gosden (2012). Any new motifs were then added to my typology when evaluating the other decorated materials. References to motifs made within previous literature have been incorporated and updated where necessary to create concise terminology and to allow for decorative patterns to be evaluated for more regional comparisons. For example, Sheila Elsdon (1975) provided a useful resource for differentiating between a variety of motifs, including standing and pendant arcs, which have been incorporated into this typology. In general, there is a total of 27 motifs within my Simplified Typology, listed alphabetically from A to Z, with an additional motif labelled as AA (Table 3.1). While these motif labels have been simplified, possible derivatives within these broader categories have been included within parentheses, along with associated illustrations. Basketry hatching has been included within this typology to distinguish it from the simpler linear hatching.

TABLE 3.1 BROAD OUTLINE OF MY SIMPLIFIED TYPOLOGY (APPENDIX A).

SIMPLIFIED TYPOLOGY	MOTIF	POSSIBLE DERIVATIVES
A	Chevron	
B	Lozenge	Complex
		Simple
C	Saltire	
D	Arc	Standing
		Pendant
		Interlocking
		Alternating
E	Scroll	S-scroll
		Comma-scroll
F	Running Scroll	S-scroll
		Yin-yang
		Wave Tendril
G	Running Wave	
H	Triskele	
I	Whirligig	
J	Swastika	
K	Palmette	Classical
		Split-Palmette
		Half-Palmette/Fanned
L	Pelta	
M	Lyre	
N	Trumpet	Single
		Confronted
		Trumpet Coil
		Mirror Style
O	Tricorne	
P	Circled Tricorne	

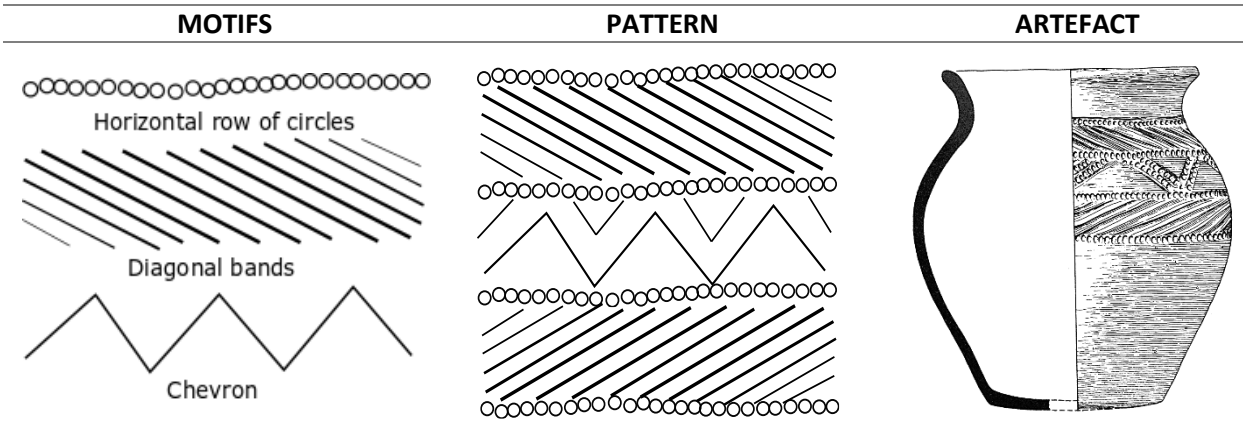


FIGURE 3.2 SCHEMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF MOTIFS VS. PATTERNS (BASED ON MY SIMPLIFIED TYPOLOGY) ON A DANEBURY VESSEL (C23).

Q	Circled Diamond	
R	Comma-Leaf	
S	Keeled	Roundel
		Volute
T	Rosette	
U	Circle	Single
		Concentric
		Ring-and-Dot
V	Bands	Horizontal
		Vertical
		Diagonal
W	Cusp/Fun	
X	Crescent	Half-Moon
		Armadillo
Y	Teardrop	
Z	Swash-N	
AA	Basketry Hatching	

The typology I originally developed was more complex, incorporating both basic and derivative types; however, it has since been simplified so that it can be used for all material assemblages and updated where necessary. As Cunliffe emphasized, overly complex typologies tend "to impose a classificatory rigidity upon material" (1984, 232), and this rigidity is something I wished to stay away from. These motifs were then analysed to determine the percentages in which each occurred during different time periods, within different sites and regions, and on different artefact types and materials. Through this approach, each individual decorative feature, such as chevrons, lozenges, etc., is labelled as a motif. A pattern is defined by an object's entire decoration, which can consist of a single motif or a variety of motif combinations (see Figure 3.2 for an illustration of this schematic division). For my research, decorative techniques are defined as the method by which the motifs are applied to the vessel, such as inscribing, rouletting, etc. This process is associated with the overall surface treatment of the artefacts, which can also include colour-coating, a process that affects the overall appearance and perception of the decoration. While motifs will be the most important feature for this research, the methods of application are also important for understanding how the decoration might have been viewed and experienced.

To determine the relationships between decoration, material type, region, and time period, a data-specific approach was needed in order to observe the motifs and their subtle changes more specifically. As this data collection is taken from various site reports and previous literature, I re-labelled all the artefacts based on their material, followed by a number, representing the order of their recording within my database (see Table 3.2) in order to avoid any overlap or confusion. The full list of all materials, current record numbers, and their original sources can be found in the accompanying Reference Database. All of the data and evidence provided has been gathered from site reports, previous literature, and accompanying illustrations, descriptions, and microfiches. In certain cases, no image was provided within the reports, and in these cases the different motifs were selected based on the included written descriptions. This restriction underlines the main issues presented and biases potentially created from using published and illustrated material alone. For the most part, not all of the decorated material has been published and the representation of decorated versus undecorated objects has not been listed, and therefore, it can be difficult to determine how much of the decorated assemblages are actually being illustrated. Similarly, the illustrated examples that are recorded are not always of the highest quality due to the age of the site reports and technology of the time, and often quantifying the material is difficult due to the number of small artefacts, such as sherds, affecting how the decoration is interpreted. Furthermore, as I wanted to look at a wider selection of material, it was not feasible to cover all the examples from each material. Therefore, certain features might be over- or under-represented within this analysis, likely with a stronger emphasis on more unique examples, depending on what was chosen for illustration and previous discussion. While I originally intended to visit the collections in person, at museums or heritage sites, so that I could test the illustrated representations to their overall assemblages, unfortunately lockdown from the Covid pandemic repeatedly prohibited this from happening. While utilizing the illustrated and recorded material alone does present certain biases, a large and representative sample of each material is, nevertheless, captured so that further in-depth comparisons have been properly made. Overall, I am confident that a representative sample of the decorated materials has been captured within my data, even if the absolute proportions of each decorated assemblage will not necessarily have been reflected 100% accurately within the illustrations from which my data derives.

TABLE 3.2 ARTEFACT LABELS AS DETERMINED FROM MY DATABASES (DECORATED MATERIAL NUMBERS AND ORIGINAL SOURCE NUMBERS RECORDED IN ACCOMPANYING REFERENCE DATABASE).

PREFIX	MATERIAL	NUMBER OF ARTEFACTS IN MY DATABASE
A	Antler/Bone	300
C	Ceramic	1351
M	Metal	286
S	Stone	64
W	Wood	13

Information from the observed decorated artefacts has been entered into four Microsoft Access databases for the different material sources: pottery, antler/bone, wood/stone, and metal. The collection of this data focuses on context, artefact types, forms, function, time periods, and decorative features, including motifs and application techniques, within the various site reports. Therefore, the databases have been divided into categories of general information (site location, occupational date range, etc.), context (artefact date and location on the site), material (form, fabric, etc.), and the decorative features (motifs, placement on the artefact, technique, etc.). While the images have not been recorded within my database, their original sources can be found within the Reference Database.

To fully analyse the material and gain a more complete picture of the type of decoration in use and the similarities or changes occurring between the different time periods and sites, a combined qualitative and quantitative approach has been taken. As a basis for this amalgamated approach, I have chosen to adopt M. Pilar Prieto-Martínez, Isabel Cobas-Fernández, and Felipe Criado-Boado's visual approach for the North-Western Iberian Peninsula (2003) and Cunliffe's coding system established for Danebury and Hengistbury Head (1984). While decorated pottery was the main focus within both approaches, they can easily be applied to decoration from all the material sources.

Within Prieto-Martínez et al.'s research, focus was placed on identifying the formal decorative schemes within Late Prehistory in Galicia, breaking the material down into three levels of visual examination: decorative themes (motifs and general patterns), morphology (composition, direction, etc.), and visibility (Prieto-Martínez et al. 2003, 147-152; Figure 3.3). These features broadly separate the decoration by motifs, positioning and direction, overall composition (disorder versus order), points of view for engaging with the decoration, and whether there is a sense of movement (*ibid.,* Figure 11.6-11.8). Prieto-Martínez et al. further evaluated the formal characteristics of Iron Age ceramics from this region between different time periods, labelled as Iron Age I, Iron Age II, and late Iron Age, focusing on the common techniques, the predominance of certain decorative schemes, the variability of pattern, and overall complexity (*ibid.,* Figure 11.14-11.16). I initially approached my material through a similar process, focusing on the general visual features from each material: what is common versus what is unique, the different motifs and application methods, the positioning and composition of the decoration, etc. I also looked at themes within the decoration, much like those addressed by Prieto-Martínez et al., including visibility, or what the authors refer to as the "pattern of 'visibilisation' and the way of looking imposed by its formal composition" (*ibid.,* 154), within and between the different material sources. Their approach provided a means of visually comparing the material by breaking down the different decorative features into motifs and patterns (Figure 3.3), referred to as decorative elements and schemes by Prieto-Martínez et al., which could then be separated and included within my databases. Therefore, their approach provided the basis on which the data could be thoroughly separated and recorded for a quantifiable data analysis. Not only does it help to separate the individual motifs, but it also proves useful for looking at the broader patterns taking place across different material forms. However, as Prieto-Martínez et al. highlighted, there are certain issues with this approach, namely the general nature of the recordings and interpretations (*ibid.,* 155). While most of these features and changes are determined on a generalized visual basis, allowing for an artefact's decorative features to be easily divided and understood, they have not been statistically analysed. Therefore, to better understand the subtle visual distinctions between the materials, forms, and time periods, it was also necessary to approach the data more quantifiably.

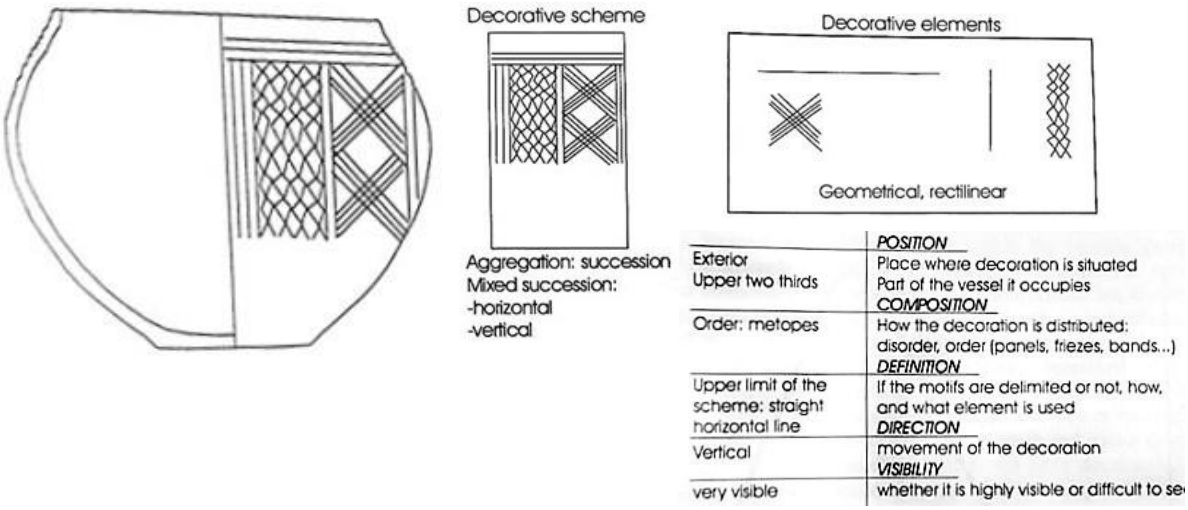


FIGURE 3.3 PRIETO-MARTÍNEZ ET AL.'S EXAMPLE OF DECORATIVE THEMES, MORPHOLOGY, AND VISIBILITY (IMAGE TAKEN FROM PRIETO-MARTÍNEZ ET AL. 2003, FIGURE 11.6-11.7).

In contrast to the formal visual comparisons conducted by Prieto-Martínez et al., Cunliffe's work at Danebury (1984) provided a method of quantifying the material evidence so that comparisons could be made more statistically and used within further ceramic analyses. His approach included a procedure to create a specific code for each object, represented by letters and numbers. This classification system begins with four basic classes of ceramics (jars, bowls, dishes, and saucepan pots), designated by the first letter of each. A vessel is then given a second letter based on its type, such as JA or JB, then a number based on form, and finally subdivided into varieties, which are designated by a decimal point. Following its form, the vessel's fabric can be divided into eight categories based on its inclusions and given a letter between A and H. After these initial categories surrounding its composition, the overall decorative elements are addressed, seen in Table 3.3. It is only from the last application technique, shallow tooled decoration, that Cunliffe provides additional divisions for decorative patterns and motifs (Figure 3.4).

TABLE 3.3 CUNLIFFE'S CODING FOR CERAMIC DECORATION (INFORMATION TAKEN FROM CUNLIFFE 1984, 232-3, 310).

DECORATIVE ELEMENTS		
SURFACE TREATMENT		
	sA	No special finish
	sB	Rough burnishing or finger wiping
	sC	Haematite coating
	sD	Burnishing but streaky and discontinuous
	sE	Fine overall burnishing
APPLICATION METHODS		
	1	Geometric decoration scratched after finishing
	2	Stamped or impressed decoration with a pre-made tool before firing
	3	Fingertip or fingernail impressions before firing
	4	Applied or integral cordons
	5	Shallow tooled decoration
PATTERNS		
	1	Lines only
	2	Dots only
	3	Lines and dots
	4	Glastonbury style deep tooling
MOTIFS		
	a	Horizontal
	b	Diagonal
	c	Cross-hatching
	d	Zig-zag
	e	Chevron
	f	Arc
	g	Swag
	h	Wave
	i	Dimple

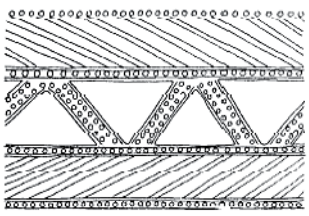


FIGURE 3.4 EXAMPLE OF CUNLIFFE'S DIVISIONS FOR DECORATIVE PATTERNS AND MOTIFS USING TABLE 3.3 ABOVE (CUNLIFFE 1984, FIGURE 6.82).

Therefore, if given the code PA1.1/B/sE5.3af, based on Cunliffe's classifications we could determine that this vessel was a saucepan pot made with fine flint-gritted fabric, contained fine overall burnishing and shallow tooled decoration, which consisted of lines and dots in the shape of horizontal bands and arcs. Within Cunliffe's Table 32 (Cunliffe 1984, 243; see Table 3.4), he

demonstrated how this material can then be analysed based on these classifications so the data can be graphed and visually compared (*ibid.*, Figure 6.3*)*. Focusing on the decoration from ceramic phase 7, the different decorative techniques and patterns were broken down. This process allows us to see what techniques and patterns predominated and changed throughout the ceramic phase 7 sub-phases.

TABLE 3.4 SHERD COUNTS OF DECORATIVE TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS FOR EACH CP7 SUBPHASE (TAKEN FROM CUNLIFFE 1984, TABLE 32).

Decorative techniques	1	74	73	71	72	84
	2	12	7	2	6	4
	3	13	20	26	22	14
	4			1		
Patterns	a	14	13	11	22	8
	b	43	66	54	59	54
	c	5	3	5	2	17
	d	3	3	6	2	14
	e	4			1	
	f	15	6	13	10	10
	g				1	
	h	1	3			
	i	15	6	11	2	7
Subphase		7A	7B	7C	7D	7E

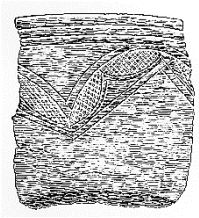
Figures are percentages of total numbers of shallow-tooled decorated sherds

While attempting to adopt a combined quantitative and qualitative approach to this decorated material, a few conclusions were drawn about Cunliffe and Prieto-Martínez et al.'s methods and their application within my research. There were initial problems within these approaches which needed to be addressed and corrected if possible. For example, Cunliffe took a very general approach to decorative ceramics so that his system of coding could be applied to future projects. However, the simplicity of his approach and coding system does not provide a sufficiently detailed reference for visual comparisons as the decoration listed could be in any order or combination, does not mention if bordering was included as a separate motif, does not mention the coverage or direction for 'reading' this imagery, and does not include a full selection of Iron Age motifs. Cunliffe only goes into more detail about the motifs and patterns associated with shallow tooling even though motifs are frequently created through the other application techniques that he lists. While the component parts of the decoration are broken down, they cannot reveal the overall importance of the decoration in regard to visual expressions and social connections. Cunliffe's method, nevertheless, provided a good base from which to quantify the material evidence into percentages which could then be graphically analysed. As a result, this process could be applied to both complete and partial, or broken, artefacts. Prieto-Martínez et al.'s approach, on the other hand, does not provide a means to quantify and statistically analyse the more subtle features, but it does provide an effective means for visually comparing and interpreting the decoration. Therefore, a combination of these two approaches was necessary: a visual comparison of the artefacts allows us to better understand how this decoration would have been viewed and gives us a sense of the possible ways this decoration served as a form of visual communication, while a quantitative analysis of the material allows us to determine how this visual representation changed on a more meticulous and subtle basis. Working with both of these approaches in mind, I visually examined the material focusing on typology, decorative schemes, and visual themes, while also quantifying the data into percentage calculations to be graphically analysed so that the decoration could be numerically compared both individually and collectively in relation to the overall material assemblage.

As Danebury was the first site from which I examined the material and recorded the data, Cunliffe's work became an early element, which was then adapted to fit my own evolving approach. I chose to separate the vessels by their structural (form, fabric, etc.) and decorative features (motifs and patterns) in much the same way, so that their percentages could be calculated and graphed. However, my research goes beyond Cunliffe's initial approach. While his categories were largely adopted, I chose not to codify each piece into letters and numbers as it is not applicable to all pottery sites, nor all materials. Instead, I have chosen to refrain from doing this as I believe that looking at the features individually, along with basing them on my simplified typology, provided a quicker means of visually comparing the material between the different sites and artefact/material groupings. Some of the decorative terms, techniques, and classification labels have also been combined and/or renamed from previous recordings to provide a more inclusive basis for interregional and cross-material comparisons. Therefore, in contrast to Cunliffe's method, my work provides an easier way for other sites and materials to be incorporated. Cunliffe's classifications are largely restricted to the area in which he was researching, so that the forms, fabrics, surface treatments, etc., are not easily adapted for further comparison. While Cunliffe's approach does allow for decorative features to be compared by percentages, this is largely restricted to the ceramic phase 7 sub-phases and does not appear to extend to the other time periods. I have chosen to go beyond Cunliffe's methods, so that the different materials and artefact types can be compared by form, region, and time period in order to give a better indication of Iron Age decorated material culture as a whole. I am not only asking how the decoration changed within a single time period at a single site, but how the decoration changed throughout the Iron Age and into early Roman Britain, and if similar changes occurred at other sites, on other materials, and between different regional zones, as well as how these changing visual expressions are socially connected. After determining the best method for classifying the material, it was then beneficial to apply this typological and methodological approach to different decorated materials throughout southern Britain.

My data collection is based on the illustrations and descriptions included within previous site reports, with all decorative features labelled based on my simplified typology. Each artefact was evaluated and as much information as possible was included. From this data collection, percentages were calculated to determine which motifs were more frequently represented within each temporal phase, upon each material type and respective forms, and throughout and within the different regional zones. From these percentages, graphs could then be constructed to visually analyse the changing patterns. However, before I can address specific decoration connections to the various time periods, regions, and material associations within the following chapters, it is important to first address how this information was specifically analysed. Individual artefacts often included more than one type of motif, which when calculated would have created a representation over 100%. To counteract this issue, *all* of the motif *occurrences* from each analysed group (e.g., pottery, wooden panels, stone spindle-whorls, etc.) were added together, and then the percentage of each motif type was determined on the basis of this larger representation. For example, if three artefacts were analysed, one decorated with chevrons, arcs, horizontal bands, and infilling, one decorated with chevrons, arcs, horizontal bands, diagonal bands, and infilling, and the final example decorated with chevrons, horizontal bands, and infilling, the percentage of chevrons for this group of objects would be 25% (out of all the motifs recorded), arcs 16.7%, horizontal bands 25%, diagonal bands 8.3%, and infilling 25% (Figure 3.5). Further alterations had to be made for decoration to time period calculations. As most of the decorated objects cannot be firmly dated within a single century, and often cross through multiple sub-periods, the numbers for this data analysis had to be taken based on a point system so that a sense of equality could be maintained. In other words, if an object was dated between the 3rd and 1st centuries BC, it would be represented by 1/3 or 0.33 for each of those

three centuries. Similarly, if an object was dated between 50 BC and AD 50, it would be designated with a 0.5 for each of those centuries (when analysis was conducted by century). To gain a more complete picture of the type of decoration in use and the similarities and changes occurring between different time periods, sites, and materials, it was necessary to approach the material using these different modes of classification. The use of Correspondence Analysis was also considered, but due to the inability to obtain a full and detailed account of the data, especially from the pottery, as only published reports could be accessed during periods of continuous Covid lockdowns, it was felt that using Correspondence Analysis would imply a higher level of rigour in the data than was actually the case, and that the broader impressionistic bar graphs would be appropriate and still highly valuable.



Motifs
Chevron
Arc (interlocking)
Horizontal bands (border)
Infilling (hatching)

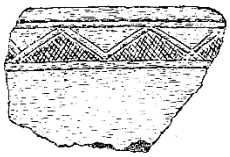
Location
Below rim/Shoulder

Pattern
Geometric and Curvilinear

Motifs
Chevron
Arc (interlocking)
Horizontal bands (border)
Diagonal bands
Infilling (linear)

Location
Shoulder

Pattern
Geometric and Curvilinear



Motifs
Chevron
Horizontal bands (border)
Infilling (hatching)

Location
Below rim/Shoulder

Pattern
Geometric

Total Motifs: 12
Overall representation
Chevrons: 25%
Arcs: 16.7%
Horizontal bands: 25%
Diagonal bands: 8.3%
Infilling: 25%

FIGURE 3.5 SIMPLIFIED EXAMPLE DEMONSTRATING HOW DECORATION WAS ANALYSED USING THREE SHERDS FROM MVW (TOP TO BOTTOM: C593, C597, AND C583).

As previously stated, a few difficulties have arisen during this material analysis, particularly as this research focuses on published reports, and with the additional restrictions from Covid, I was unable to go to the collections and evaluate the full assemblages. In regard to the motif calculations, all of the percentages are based on published illustrations and/or written descriptions rather than on the full quantified assemblages. It can be assumed that in larger assemblages not all of the decorated material will have been illustrated or recorded, and no indication of decorated versus undecorated material has been included; therefore, the quantitative results from decorated pottery assemblages, in particular, need to be treated with caution. Again, this highlights the biases potentially created through the use of illustrated and published material alone. However, this is not necessarily an issue with smaller assemblages, such as bone, as most decorated examples will likely have been illustrated. Different methods of recording and labelling for each site and/or material type are

further found within these previous reports, which can cause an uneven representation. Data was largely dependent on what the researchers considered important at the time, thereby affecting what information could be analysed for this current evaluation. For example, exact dating for specific artefacts has generally not been possible. In the case of pottery, ceramic phases or stages are often only broadly assigned based on the vessel type, such as a jar or bowl. Additionally, some materials, such as antler and wood, are very rarely dated. Nevertheless, while the current analysis is based on published reports and illustrations – a pragmatic decision controlled by an inability to access collections during multiple periods of Covid lockdowns -the information retrieved provides a valuable basis for comparison. It has, therefore, proven more beneficial to look at the percentages of certain features present within the material and how they relate to periods of time, form/function, etc., than to try to determine the total number of decorated examples.

3.2 CONCLUSION

Through the use of previous literature, visual recordings, and my own personal evaluation of the material evidence, utilizing my Simplified Typology (Appendix A), this research will examine decorated material from southern Britain during the Iron Age and into the early Roman periods (c. 6th century BC to 2nd century AD), focusing on Cunliffe's three southern style zones (2005). The decorated artefacts will be compared based on their individual motifs and combined patterns, material, location, and time period, as well as quantifiably graphed so that their subtle differences can be investigated. The creation of an inclusive database, as well as a quantitative and qualitative comparative approach, will allow for more sites and materials to be easily recorded and compared. This in turn will provide the evidence necessary to determine how these decorative forms connected to their wider social contexts. The material evidence will be further discussed both individually and collectively, and from this material social and cultural inferences will be formed. While this approach is intended to elevate the importance of decoration on non-metal material culture, it is not meant to determine specific messages behind this decoration. Instead, decoration is about shared concepts and visual expressions, which can shed light on potential social connections traced through the material evidence. Nonetheless, to gain a complete picture of Iron Age visual culture, a brief overview of decorated metalwork must first occur.

4: METALWORK

Throughout the British Iron Age, metal artefacts were elaborately and skilfully decorated, able to catch the eyes of any potential viewers and intimidate or impress. Their decorative schemes employed a large selection of motifs into various patterns and combinations, often creating further imagery out of their combined formal elements. These general decorative schemes, motifs, and visual patterns will be analysed within this chapter in order to compare these features to other, non-metal decorated materials. First, an evaluation of previous literature, including dating and type divisions, will be provided, along with an overview of my simplified typology (Appendix A). A selection of decorated metalwork will then be examined based on its regional placement within southern Britain, its general and specific artefact associations, and its chronological connections. Many of these impressive items were particularly deposited within the 'southern' region of Britain, highlighting the importance of visual expression within this area (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 64, 73; Garrow et al. 2008, 32-3). For my data analysis, focus was placed on Cunliffe's (2005) southern style zones (Eastern, Central Southern, and South-Western) (c.f. Chapter 3), covering a broad area below and including the counties of Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Staffordshire, including Wales. Object types, descriptions, decorative characteristics, and images have initially been analysed through the use of Jope's *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles* (2000), with additional decorative schemes taken from Joy's *Iron Age Mirrors* (2010). The dating and site type information have largely been gathered from Garrow and Gosden's *Technologies of Enchantment* database (2012).

4.1 PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS

As previously discussed (c.f. Section 2.3), six style stages were proposed for the Iron Age, beginning with Jacobsthal's (1944) three original continental style stages to which Navarro (1952) and Stead (1985) added stages 4-6. However, these categories are not seen as reliable methods for chronologically dating the material, particularly as the decorative features tend to overlap and/or accumulate (Garrow et al. 2009, 107). Overall, there has been a prior tendency to assign relatively late dates for insular material based on typological changes in decoration and form (*ibid.*, 79). However, by comparing radiocarbon dates to typological stages, Garrow et al. (2009) determined that some elements of British Iron Age art appear to better align typologically with earlier continental developments (*ibid.,* 110). Following on from these general categories, more in-depth analysis of specific artefact types has aided in the understanding of insular Iron Age art. According to the deposition and decoration of insular mirrors, there are four chronological periods of mirror deposition, each belonging to a different region and time period: East Yorkshire (400 and 150 BC), Cornwall (125 and 80 BC), southeast England (75 and 15 BC), and larger mirrors outside the southeast area (AD 1 and 100) (Joy 2010, 56). Decoration has been found on all but the first group. While these typological periods do not chronologically overlap, they are largely based on regional associations and show different responses following Roman influence between the southeast and western regions. However, as Joy highlights, this dating was initially based on only four mirrors found with other datable objects and "possibly gives a false impression of distinct time periods of usage and deposition" (*ibid.,* 53), and therefore, we need to be wary of assigning strict chronological dates.

STYLISTIC DATING

Throughout the British Iron Age, gradual and significant decorative changes were taking place. Around the 4th to 3rd centuries BC, most decoration was applied through line ornament. S-scrolls with swelling bodies, palmettes, running waves or scrolls, and geometric ornament were the main decorative features found throughout these earlier periods (Jope 2000*,* 204). By the 2nd century BC, new forms of application, as well as new motifs, began to take hold. For example, embossed relief work was beginning through incorporation into the already established line ornament. While S-scrolls with swelling bodies and running s-scrolls continued to be employed, new motifs, such as the split-palmette and leaves with boss ends began to appear. During this period, unique insular motifs, such as the cusp and keeled roundel, began to be utilized, while the introduction of more embossed decoration also led to the growing presence of figural and abstract representation (*ibid.,* 204-5).

From the 1st century BC, new styles and motifs were again added to the insular decorative repertoire. As emphasized by the 'Snettisham Style,' the introduction of elaborate goldwork relief added new motifs, including small crescents or slender leaves. Instead of swelling S-figures, artists began to employ more pinched S-figures. Additionally, red champlevé enamel and flatter domed bosses on repoussé work became important features of the 1st century BC (*ibid.,* 205-6). From the introduction and evolution of these decorative characteristics, the 1st century AD saw a continuation of earlier traditions, even accumulating in bolder embossed pieces containing these earlier motifs (*ibid.,* 207), some of which would maintain a strong consistency throughout Roman Britain. In addition, some decorative choices, such as abstract representation, enamelling, and openwork decoration, were being increasingly utilized. Not only were earlier traditions maintained following the Roman expedition of 55-54 BC, but production was expanded allowing for more decorated items to reach a wider audience (*ibid.,* 121-2).

While certain decorative features have been traced through different centuries of the Iron Age in Britain, in general, chronology during this period is difficult based on the evaluation of typology alone. Not only do the six style stages for Celtic art tend to overlap, particularly between Stages III and V (Garrow et al. 2009, 94) when insular art really begins to flourish, but typological classifications tend to provide relatively late dates for insular work in comparison to the continent (*ibid.,* 79). Again, based on Garrow et al.'s radiocarbon dating programme, it is likely that certain insular features would have begun earlier, and therefore, better align with those of the continent (*ibid.,* 110). However, this does not necessarily specify how long these pieces would have been in circulation, particularly if artefacts were repaired or reworked. As Jope highlights, the beginning of individual motifs might be determined but the length to which they were used is almost impossible to know as much insular decoration contained a long tradition of use (Jope 2000*,* 221). As the motifs would, therefore, have had a long use-life, the artists would have been able to choose from a strong traditional decorative selection.

ARTEFACT TYPES

Within the present study, metal objects were divided into four main categories: personal adornment, domestic objects, warrior accoutrement, and horse/vehicle gear. Largely adopted from MacGregor's divisions (1976), these categories are labelled as such based on the assumed role that each object played during its period of creation and use. While personal adornment artefacts would have also been found in the home, their main function would be to adorn the body, or in some cases a possible statue, and therefore, would not be restricted to a single setting. Within each of these categories, some of the main artefact types have been chosen for further analysis, and on occasion the earlier and later versions of these objects can be discussed in greater detail. For example, early sheaths, and their respective daggers, already possess distinctive insular features, such as the design

of their chapes with knobbed or openwork decoration, as well as twin-loop suspensions on the reverse (Jope 2000, 17, 20-1). Similarly, early scabbards, and their respective swords, were being made before the 3rd century BC, at a similar time to sheaths, but were largely rare in Britain until the 2nd to 1st centuries BC when they began to replace the use of daggers, and it is during these later periods that distinctive insular designs are more often found (Stead 2006, 32-4, 38-41; Jope 2000, 25-6). In contrast, swords within Stead's Group D, taking place from the 2nd century BC to around the 1st century AD, return to a simpler and more symmetrical visual scheme (Stead 2006, 49,54). It is possible that in the earliest phases of sword use, particularly between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, the elaborate and diverse decorative features represented a more individualistic nature to sword possession, possibly suggesting a higher level of privilege and wealth in comparison to the more general dagger. This individualism is then later replaced by a more standardized form of visual expression associated with swords and scabbards. According to Jope, it is not until later in the 1st century BC that we see a more coherent British style (Jope 2000, 38), further supporting this theory that the social significance of swords changed from the 3rd to 1st centuries BC and became more standardized. There was also a growing tendency to decorate both sides of scabbards, suggesting that the method of handling and carrying these weapons was also changing (*ibid.,* 128) during these periods.

A similar change over time can be seen through personal adornment, particularly with the use of brooches. The production of brooches can be seen from the 5th century BC, but during this time they were more modest in production and ornamentation. It was not until the 3rd century BC that British brooches began to present more elaborate construction and decoration. From this period onwards, decoration could be found on every brooch surface, including the underside, again drawing attention to the idea that this decoration was not necessarily associated with function (*ibid.,* 39) or its viewers, or that its function was changing. It is within these 3rd century brooches that we see the beginning of more three-dimensional modelling and larger embossed insular decoration (*ibid.,* 44). However, much like the earliest brooches, the later British brooches, from the mid-1st century BC, again return to a plainer ornamental scheme (see Figure 4.1 for this transition). These later examples are almost all spring brooches (*ibid.,* 50), reflecting, much like with swords, a growing coherent British style, as well as a decreasing sense of individualism. However, as these plainer brooches were produced in greater numbers (*ibid.,* 151), they also represent a growing availability to a more general population, no longer just accessible to a potentially wealthier or elite group.

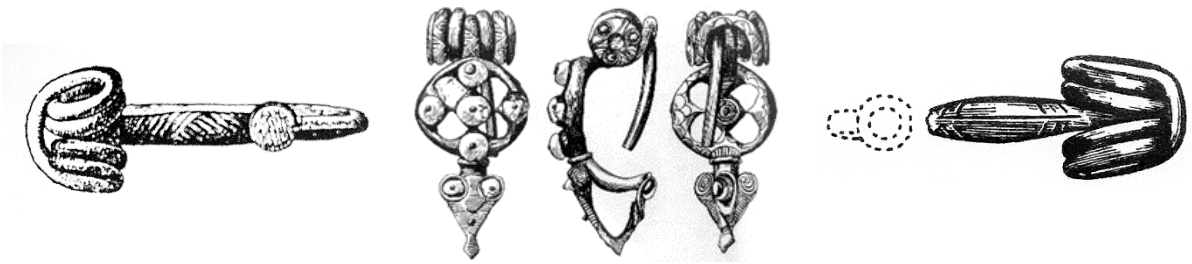


FIGURE 4.1 BROOCHES SHOWING CHANGES FROM EARLIEST TO LATEST (LEFT TO RIGHT: M248, M266, AND M244).

During the 3rd century BC, other types of metalwork also began to take centre stage, primarily shields and torcs/collars. British shields were large and heavy items, made of either bronze or wood/skin with bronze fittings, and contained elaborate decoration, typically taking on an oblong shape with a central spine and end terminals. Based on their size and decoration, they might have served as status symbols rather than purely protection (*ibid.,* 69). They were ornamented with large, embossed relief, in a style bolder than what is typically found on continental Iron Age work, and they contained distinctive terminal roundels on the spine (*ibid.,* 54-7, 247). Due to their decoration and

design, shields became a distinctive feature of insular warrior accoutrement, regardless of their exact function. Torcs, on the other hand, were made of gold, electrum, silver, and occasionally bronze or iron (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 134), and were in production from the later 3rd to the 1st centuries BC. These elaborately decorated pieces were deposited within the Eastern zone of England, largely at Snettisham, from which the term 'Snettisham Style' originates, and Ipswich, although plainer versions have been found in south Staffordshire (Jope 2000, 80-1) and further north in Scotland. These torcs show a similar bold relief ornament to the British shields but on a much smaller scale (Figure 4.2). Later collars from the 1st century AD show a rather dramatic change in personal adornment. These later pieces are heavy, made of bronze, and focused within the southwest and north of Britain (*ibid.,* 148-150). Viewed in conjunction with the massive arm-rings of the north, they show a changing mode of expression and response taking place in these regions.

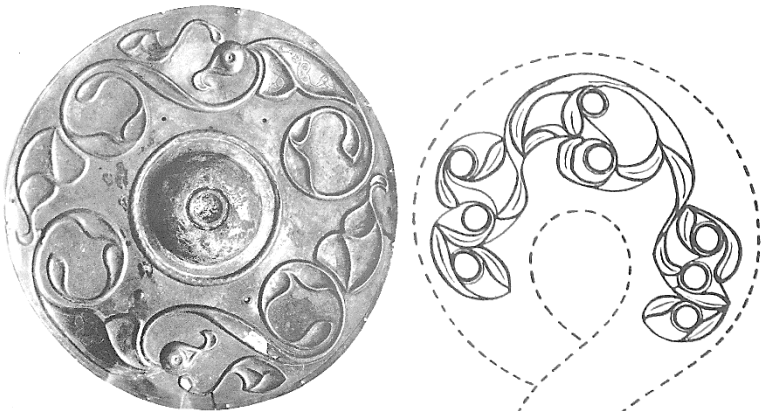


FIGURE 4.2 SHIELD AND TORC SHOWING SIMILAR DECORATION (M35 AND M57).

From the 1st century BC, additional metal objects were introduced, largely considered distinctive to Britain. Many of these items can be classified as 'Domestic Objects,' such as tankards, spoons, and mirrors, and therefore, emphasize a growing significance within this area of Iron Age life. Decoration on tankards is placed on the handle (although in most cases, of course, the tankard body does not survive) but does not affect the objects' function. Spoons, on the other hand, are thought to contain a ritual significance rather than serve as a functional eating utensil based on their design. They are mainly found in Britain and Ireland, with one exception from Gaul (Jope 2000, 288). Decorated mirror-backs, in particular, are a unique British creation beginning around the 1st century BC, with two exceptions found on the continent, although the design and decoration suggest these originated in Britain (Joy 2010, 2). When examined with the ornamented handles, these mirrors demonstrate a combination of three-dimensional and two-dimensional decoration: a feature that becomes important within British imagery. As previously stated, while these artefacts were originally dated stylistically, starting with two-roundels to three-roundels and ending in diffused patterns, these delineations give false representations of chronological patterns as they were based on four mirrors found with dateable artefacts (*ibid.*, 53). Nevertheless, most of the Iron Age mirrors, and all the decorated examples, have been found in the south (*ibid.,* 138). Within this southern region, there are more local characteristics, such as the prevalence of kidney-shaped mirrors in the area controlled by the Trinovantes and Catuvellauni from the later 1st century BC to earlier 1st century AD (*ibid.,* 138,146) slightly below the gold-working area of Snettisham. This division between torcs and mirrors suggests that these two different, but elaborately decorated, objects represented a change from the 3rd to 1st century BC through the importance of certain objects and their relationship to wealth. As Joy fittingly emphasizes, decoration on particular artefacts becomes important at different times in different regions (Joy 2011, 206), as notably seen through the use of mirrors and torcs.

Horse and vehicle gear of the 1st century AD began to demonstrate a similar change in decorative choices. For example, three-link horse-bits with stop-studs were a unique insular object, which began to reflect more "modelled openwork compositions" by the middle of the 1st century AD, according to Jope (2000, 153), again suggesting a potential change in function or handling. Another unique insular design is found on the D-shaped or crescentic terrets used on vehicles of this time. The flat surface of the crescentic terrets allowed for an array of decoration, usually through the use of red enamel and often depicting abstract 'faces' (*ibid.,* 157). At first glance this decoration would typically suggest a symmetrical composition but under greater inspection demonstrates the insular theme of 'deceptive' asymmetry, further discussed below. Strap-junctions and harness mounts were also a common artefact used on horse harnesses during the later 1st century BC into the 1st century AD. Found within the southern and eastern regions of England, as well as along the Scottish borderlands (*ibid.* 295), these items were small but could be elaborately decorated, implying they were intended to be viewed and admired.

4.2 DECORATIVE TRENDS

Throughout Iron Age art, there are a few themes present during this time period, such as an emphasis on ambiguity, symmetry versus asymmetry, and positive versus negative space. In general, an emphasis on ambiguity can be found through the "elusive animation of formal ornament" (Jope 2000, 202). While figural representation is always rare, even during the later periods, abstract representation is broadly adopted and becomes an identifying feature within insular metalwork. While rarer before the 2nd century BC, this allusive imagery became more common throughout the later period, eventually being embossed on more general pieces by the 1st century AD (Jope 2000, 92). It is formed through a combination of different motifs, typically leading to abstract versions of animals, plants, humans, and non-descript 'faces'. In some cases, the entire artefact was used to create an abstract representation, such as the 'dolphin' strap-mounts from Polden Hills (*ibid.* 118; Figure 4.3). While these figures were often depicted through embossed relief, linear engraving could also be utilized. In this case, further ambiguity was created through the manipulation of three-dimensional figures into two-dimensional spaces (*ibid.,* 203). In particular, lyres and keeled roundels were often zoomorphized to create animal and bird heads, respectively. Overall, animals are more frequently represented than humans, with bird heads being the most common allusive image. This is supported within my data, where bird heads make up 37% of all the abstract imagery represented, with humans making up only 14.8%. It has been theorized that certain animal representations were used as emblems for certain groups, such as three-tailed horses on Dobunni coins (*ibid.,* 105); however, certain animals, such as bird heads, are too extensively found to be able to properly determine any community connection beyond an insular one. Not only is ambiguity found through the creation of abstract representations, but within elaborately decorated metalwork it can also be difficult to separate many of the motifs from their larger patterns. Combinations of motifs can often blend together, appear as other motifs depending on one's approach, or combine to form a much larger version of a different motif. Similarly, due to the fluid nature of insular art, as seen through

the combination of running scrolls and connected finials, the imagery can be difficult to separate into its individual parts.

FIGURE 4.3 POLDEN HILLS WATER CREATURE-SHAPED FITTING (M91).

In contrast to the classical focus on symmetry, insular Iron Age decoration shows an increasing interest in asymmetrical ornamentation. Occasionally, symmetrical motifs were adopted from classical works, especially during earlier periods, such as the palmette and lyre motifs taken from Greek art (*ibid.,* 337). However, this symmetry was often manipulated within the overall composition, through a slanting of the motif (*ibid.)* or a change in its particular parts, such as the addition of bird-head finials. While symmetrical work provides a feeling of rest and order, this distinct shift in focus to asymmetrical decoration provides a greater sense of movement (*ibid.,* 200-1). This highlights the belief that insular artists were more interested in movement and unrest, perhaps reflective of the social and political changes taking place during the later periods. While a dichotomy between symmetry and asymmetry has been found within insular art, a mixture of the two is also present. This mixture created a new identifying feature, one that became highly regarded within metalwork decoration. Previously referred to as "balanced dissymmetry" (*ibid.,* 338), I prefer to label it as 'deceptive asymmetry'. In these cases, the decoration is not only mirrored, as would be the case in dissymmetry, but slight changes have also been made to each side so that, while it appears symmetrically mirrored, it is actually asymmetrical on closer inspection, though still balanced (Figure 4.4). The artist is trying to give the impression of mirrored symmetry but includes changes so slight as to deceive the viewer and disrupt the overall image. This 'deception' can be considered a main component of insular art itself, due to its recurring nature, and shows a hidden resistance in adapting to classical schemes.

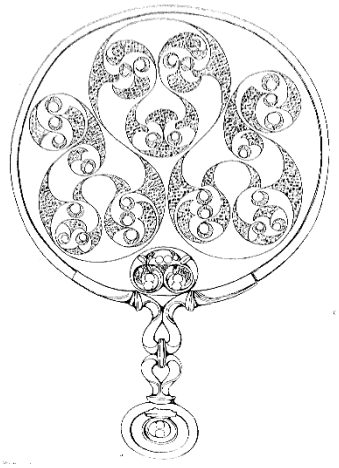


FIGURE 4.4 EXAMPLE OF DECORATED ARTEFACT SHOWING 'DECEPTIVE ASYMMETRY' (M126).

Finally, we can see a strong emphasis on positive and negative space during the later Iron Age. The balancing of these two spaces is most strongly expressed through mirror decoration (Joy 2010, 27) and its characteristic basketry hatching. In both cases, each space (positive and negative) would be formed from the other, thereby creating a balance between foreground and background. In general, negative space was typically designated by texturing done through stippling or hatching. Throughout the Iron Age, different versions of hatching have existed, eventually developing into basketry hatching during the later periods (*ibid.,* 193). This interest in positive versus negative space is further emphasized by the adoption of openwork and red enamel. Being found frequently in Roman design, openwork became a significant artistic device in Britain during the 1st century AD (Jope 2000, 158). During this period, it was found on a number of artefact types, including scabbards and harness mounts (Figure 4.5). By removing sections of the artefact, light, darkness, or even a range of background colours could be viewed through the missing spaces, creating a contrast in metal foreground and 'void' background. Red champlevé enamel became a major contributing factor to insular Iron Age metalwork decoration slightly earlier, from the 1st century BC, and continued on into the Roman period. Originally restricted to red enamel, blue and opaque yellow glasses were eventually added to the decorative repertoire. As Jope highlights, it can be considered "the clearest demonstration of continuous development of the insular crafts into post-Roman times" (Jope 2000, 175). This not only draws attention to its importance during the later Iron Age but also its continuing significance and possible representation of resistance, following Roman influence.

FIGURE 4.5 DECORATED METALWORK SHOWING OPENWORK DESIGNS AND RED ENAMELLING (M111 AND M219).

In addition to general decorative trends, two particular styles developed within 'southern' Britain. These include the 'Snettisham Style' and the 'Mirror Style,' each with its own characteristic motif choices. In regard to the 'Snettisham Style,' the main motifs include basketry hatching (infilling), slender commas, trumpet coils, and raised bosses with three or four depressions on top. Typically, this style is applied through the cire perdue method of casting metal or chasing (Laing and Laing 1992, 110; Megaw and Megaw 2001), and therefore tends to represent a more three-dimensional style. In contrast, the 'Mirror Style' is largely defined by fins, cusps, trumpets (different to those defined as trumpet coils or slender trumpets), armadillo motifs, circled tricornes, and keeled roundels typically engraved through the use of compasses. The overall layout of 'Mirror Style' decoration is emphasized by positive versus negative space, delineated by the placement of basketry hatching (Joy 2010, 24-6; Laing and Laing 1992, 114). While these two styles have obvious differences, there are a few similarities between them, again suggesting a potential connection between the two artefact types and a change in artefact-wealth associations. Primarily, both artefact types took place around the same time period, falling within Stead's Style V, known as the 'Mirror Style' Stage (Garrow et al. 2008, 171; Laing and Laing 1992, 110, 114), and both incorporate keeled roundels, mirror-style trumpets, particularly trumpet-voids, and basketry hatching. In both cases, the motifs utilized within these styles are not unique to the objects from which they were originally defined but can be found on a variety of object types. As Joy highlights, while mirrors are not unique for their use of these style motifs, they are unique for the ways in which they were "combined to

produce characteristic, complex designs" (Joy 2010, 48). This can similarly be applied to other elaborately decorated pieces.

TYPOLOGY

My simplified typology was created based on the main motifs found on metalwork within Iron Age Britain (Appendix A). As Garrow and Gosden highlight, metalwork decoration is "complex and impossible to fit into a straight typological sequence" (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 113), and therefore, chronological dates or sequences were not assigned to specific motifs within my typology. Most of these motifs were taken from previous discussions, but in cases where various terminology was provided slight alterations have been made, or in certain cases new terms have been created. For example, in previous discussions 'whirligig' was used as a broad category to include curling motifs with a number of 'arms', including triskeles, referred to by Jope as a 'threefold whirligig' (Jope 2000, 70). However, as triskeles are such a common feature in Iron Age art, I have separated this motif and used whirligig for any motif with four or more 'arms' (Appendix A: H and I). In this sense, whirligigs are similar to swastika motifs, with the difference lying in the curvilinear versus geometrical flow of the lines. In addition, I have added the term circled diamond to include circles containing four internal arcs forming a 'diamond' shape, similar to the way three arcs form a 'triangle' within the circled tricorne motif.

According to Jope, geometrical patterns are largely seen during the earliest phases of Iron Age art (Jope 2000, 333), consisting of chevrons, lozenges, saltires, as well as horizontal, vertical, and diagonal bands. However, within insular Iron Age art, curvilinear and circular motifs are the main decorative choices taking place during the Earlier Iron Age (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 33). The main curvilinear patterns are based on S-figurations (Figure 4.6), typically formed through the incorporation of the S-scroll (Appendix A: E). When multiple S-scrolls are attached, this can form running s-scrolls (Appendix A: F) or running waves (Appendix A: G). When extended from a central point they can form triskeles and whirligigs (Appendix A: H, I). These motifs give the impression of plant life, a common feature of insular art from the 1st century BC (Jope 2000, 200), as well as one of movement and liveliness to the decorated pieces. In contrast, the classical motifs of palmettes (Appendix A: K) and peltas (Appendix A: L), as well as the lyre motif (Appendix A: M) (Figure 4.7), with their symmetrical layout, tend to create a sense of rest. Palmettes are rather rare in insular art which might be due to their symmetrical and static nature, in contrast to the insular focus on movement.

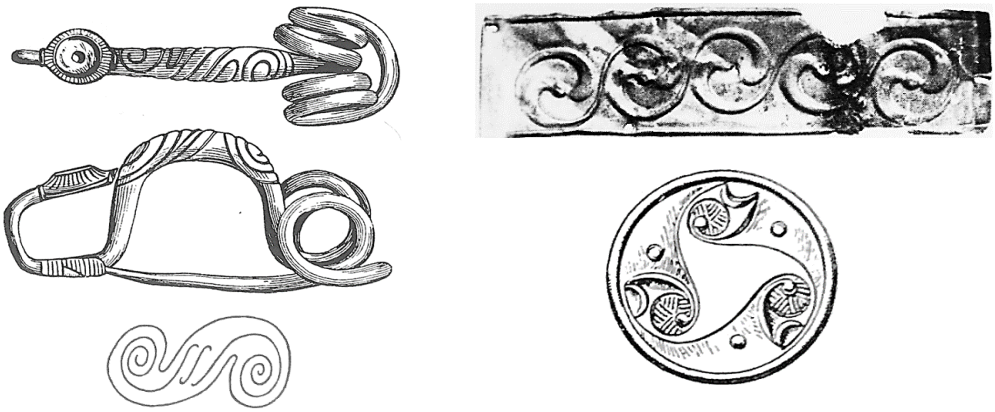


FIGURE 4.6 PATTERNS WITH S-FIGURATIONS: S-SCROLL (LEFT: M242), RUNNING S-SCROLL (TOP RIGHT: M122), AND TRISKELE (BOTTOM RIGHT: M63).

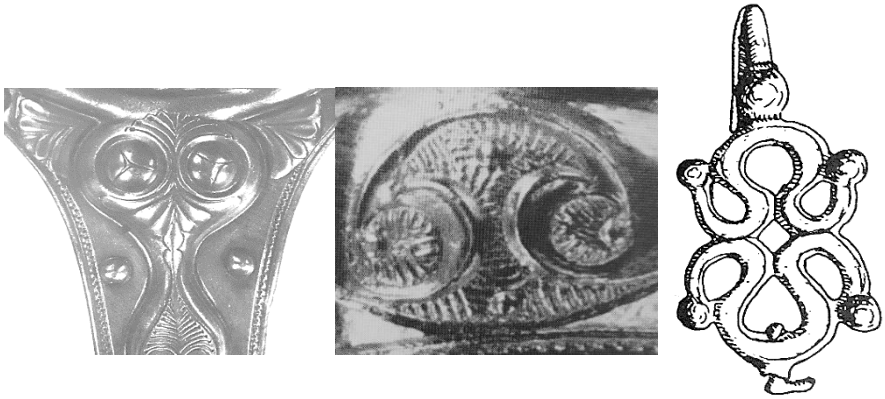


FIGURE 4.7 EXAMPLE OF PALMETTES (LEFT: M30), PELTA (CENTRE: M63), AND LYRES (RIGHT: M288).

In addition to these curvilinear motifs, circular patterns are found throughout Iron Age art in many different forms. They can be depicted as simple ring-and-dot motifs, as concentric circles, or infilled with other motifs, such as tricornes, diamonds, triskeles, and whirligigs. Through a combination of these different motifs, zoomorphic features can be further created, again emphasizing the ambiguous nature of Iron Age art.

Certain motifs are particularly representative of a unique insular style during this period, particularly those belonging to the 'mirror style' or 'Snettisham style'. For example, cusps (Appendix A: W) became an important motif within decorative compositions from the 3rd century BC onwards, later becoming associated with 'mirror style' decoration in the 1st century BC (*ibid.,* 341). Fins are very similar to cusps, being only differentiated by the positioning of its central point. Due to this, these two motifs have been combined within my analysis. Leaf imagery, classified as comma-leaves (Appendix A: R) within my data, was another major contributing factor to insular art, developing as an early feature during the 4th to 3rd centuries BC. The use of this motif is quite broad, being used for 'almond'-shaped eyes, sometimes found with dots or bosses at the end, and formed with both slender and swelling bodies (*ibid.,* 344). Oftentimes they would contain a circle or boss at the end, creating the allusive image of a bird head (*ibid.,* 185-6). Although found in earlier phases on the continent (*ibid.*), 'bird-head' imagery continued well into the later phases of insular Iron Age art, highlighting a continuation of these traditional features. Keeled roundels and keeled volutes (Appendix A: S) also became an identifying feature within British art during the later Iron Age, being developed by insular artists during the 3rd century BC (*ibid.,* 342) and lasting well into the 1st century AD. As with comma-leaves containing circular or boss endings, these motifs were often used to create allusive bird-like images (*ibid.,* 188). Finally, circled tricornes (Appendix A: P) were a very common Iron Age motif found within Britain from the 3rd century BC until the 1st century AD. However, this motif had a very restricted distribution in Britain, with the majority of examples found in the eastern region, slightly expanding to the south-west (*ibid.,* 190).

SPECIFIC ARTEFACT ASSOCIATIONS

From the four general categories used within my analysis (personal adornment, domestic items, warrior accoutrement, and horse/vehicle gear), a majority of the decorated objects (259 out of the total 286 included within my database) were further divided into specific artefact groups (Table 4.1). Artefact types with very few examples were not selected for more thorough comparison but were included within the more general decorative analysis. However, before comparative trends between the specific and general types can be analysed, the common decorative schemes within each specific artefact type must briefly be addressed.

TABLE 4.1 NUMBER OF DECORATED ARTEFACTS EVALUATED FROM THE FOUR GENERAL CATEGORIES OF METALWORK (INCLUDES 259 OUT OF 286 DECORATED OBJECTS CONTAINED WITHIN MY METALWORK DATABASE).

GENERAL TYPES	SPECIFIC TYPES	NUMBER REPRESENTED
PERSONAL ADORNMENT	Brooch	55
	Torc/Collar	24
		Total: 79
DOMESTIC OBJECTS	Mirror	15
	Casket Fitting	15
	Tankard/Cup	19
	Vessels	12
	Spoons	13
		Total: 74
WARRIOR ACCOUTREMENT	Scabbard	23
	Sheath	21
	Shield	15
		Total: 59
HORSE GEAR	Crescentic Terret	14
	Horse-Bit	13
	Strap-Junction/Harness Mount	20
		Total: 47

Brooches

Throughout the Iron Age, brooches went through various changes, both in form and decoration. Their designs could be tied to a particular region, such as the 'Wessex' brooches with their single rows of dots outlined on each side with engraved lines, or to a particular time period, as with the leaf-bow brooches with mirrored concentric arcs during the earlier periods. Within later brooches, openwork plays a stronger role in the overall design layout, as seen on both the catch-plate and bow of the Cold Kitchen Hill brooch, as well as on many 'dragonesque' brooches (Figure 4.8).

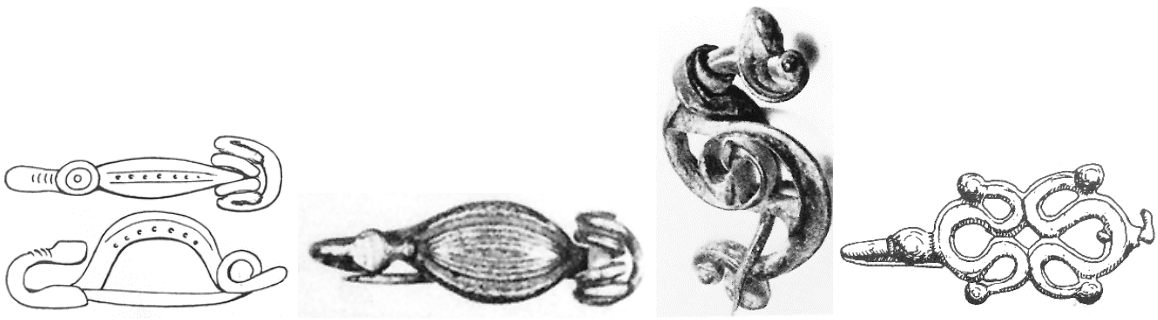


FIGURE 4.8 EXAMPLES OF INSULAR BROOCHES, INCLUDING A 'WESSEX' BROOCH, LEAF-BOW BROOCH, DRAGONESQUE BROOCH, AND COLD KITCHEN BROOCH (LEFT TO RIGHT: M256, M250, M284, AND M288).

In most cases simple geometric and circular ornament is common, as seen through the ring-and-dot or boss additions at the end of foot-returns or the mirrored diagonal bands and arcs. However, occasionally more elaborate examples have been found, such as those containing s-scrolls, running s-scrolls, and coral bun additions, as seen on the Newnham Croft brooch (Figure 4.9). Certain brooches also show a strong visual connection to other artefact types. For example, the high-arched bow brooch from Hunsbury contains mirrored running s-scrolls forming heart-like imagery, much like decoration on the Wisbech sheath (Figure 4.10), with both being found in the Eastern zone. Similarly, tendril scrolls and lyres on some involute brooches (Eastern zone) are reminiscent of the

Standlake scabbard (Central Southern zone) and the Ratcliffe-on-Soar shield (Eastern zone) (Figure 4.11). With the exception of the involute brooches, which have not been dated, the Hunsbury brooch, Wisbech sheath, Standlake scabbard, and Ratcliffe-on-Soar shield are all roughly dated around the 4th to 3rd centuries BC, suggesting a connection between this decoration and its visual meanings, the more easterly regions, and the time periods in which they were produced and ornamented.

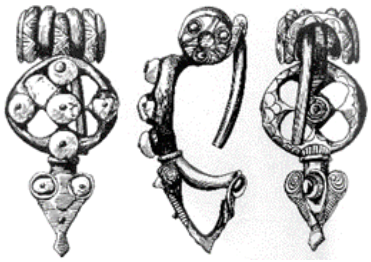


FIGURE 4.9 NEWNHAM CROFT BROOCH (M266).

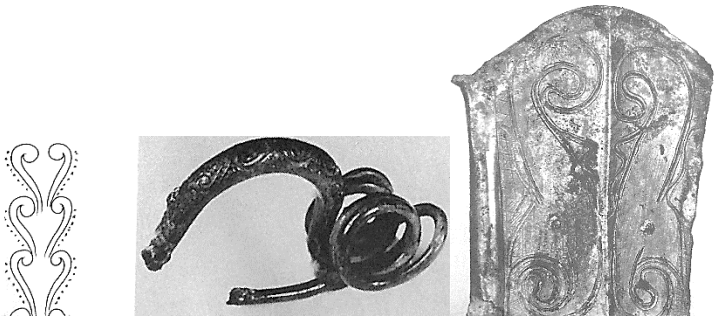


FIGURE 4.10 DECORATION ON HUNSBURY BROOCH COMPARED TO THE WISBECH SHEATH (LEFT TO RIGHT: M240 AND M22).

FIGURE 4.11 A DECORATED INVOLUTE BROOCH COMPARED TO THE STANDLAKE SCABBARD AND RATCLIFFE-ON-SOAR SHIELD (LEFT TO RIGHT: M268, M25, AND M31).)

Torc/Collar

The gold torcs of Snettisham and Ipswich remain one of the most elaborate examples of insular Iron Age art, with their identifiable decorative features found on a number of other artefact types. The ring-terminal torcs of Snettisham often contain basketry hatching, bosses with three or four depressions on top, slender commas, and trumpet coils around and on top of the terminals. What is

also noticeable about the Snettisham torcs is that the background often contains trumpet-voids and basketry hatching, much like mirrors of the same period. These motifs are also found on the Ipswich torcs, but in these cases keeled roundels are more common than trumpet coils. An outline of triskeles is also occasionally found, as seen on the Sedgeford torc terminal and Clevedon buffer torc terminal (Figure 4.12). The later heavy bronze collars provided a somewhat flatter surface on which to decorate so that the ornamentation is less three-dimensional and found along the length of the collar rather than restricted to the terminals (Figure 4.13). This decoration typically consists of running scrolls with raised comma-leaves, keeled roundels, and dimpled indentations instead of bosses.

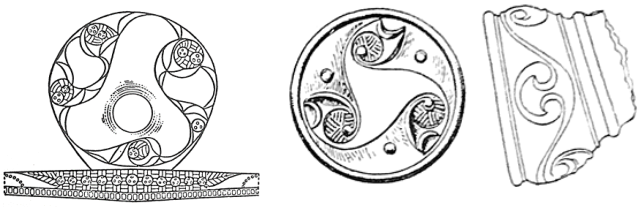


FIGURE 4.12 TORC TERMINALS FROM SEDGEFORD AND CLEVEDON (LEFT TO RIGHT: M55 AND M63).

FIGURE 4.13 LATER HEAVY COLLAR FROM THE ISLE OF PORTLAND, DORSET (M178).

Mirror

Decorated mirror-backs have been thoroughly evaluated and discussed by Joy (2010) and highlight the main motifs and patterns forming the 'mirror style.' In general, this style largely consists of basketry hatching, trumpets, fins and cusps, circled tricornes, crescents, and keeled roundels. Within these objects, the decoration tends to emphasize a play between positive and negative 'void' space, or foreground and background, formed through the application of basketry hatching. Possibly emphasising the reflection of light from the mirrors themselves, the presence and lack of basketry hatching creates a similar altering of light reflected off the metal. The six main decorative schemes, as labelled by Joy (2010; Figure 2.6), appear to be guidelines around which different motifs and patterns orientate (Figure 4.14). Oftentimes, the various layouts create abstract imagery, particularly through the combination of lyre-loop or lyre-loop with flanking coil patterns and the use of keeled roundels for 'eyes'.

FIGURE 4.14 SIX MIRROR DESIGNS AS DETERMINED BY JOY (2010) (TOP RIGHT TO LEFT: M175, M172, AND M173; BOTTOM RIGHT TO LEFT: M166, M170, AND M169).

Spoons

Typically found in pairs, Iron Age spoons are believed to serve ceremonial practices rather than act as functional eating utensils (Jope 2000, 132). This theory is largely based on their ornamentation and the placement of holes on their surfaces. Out of the pairs, one spoon characteristically contained a cross, formed by a single horizontal and vertical band at the centre, while the other contained a small hole near the edge. The flat sections of the spoons tend to be of similar shape and ornamentation, while the handles tend to show more variability through cast relief ornamentation. The most frequent decoration on the handles consists of three-dimensional ring-and-dot motifs with a central boss or rosette (Figure 4.15). However, on occasion, other motifs are portrayed. For example, a pair of spoons from Weston in Bath contains wave tendril scrolls on their handles, reminiscent of the involute brooches mentioned above (Figure 4.15).

FIGURE 4.15 SPOON HANDLE WITH THREE-DIMENSIONAL RING-AND-DOT MOTIF (LEFT: M152) AND SPOON HANDLES (CENTRE: M158 AND M159) RESEMBLING AN INVOLUTE BROOCH (RIGHT: M268).

Casket Fittings

Caskets were wooden containers with metal fittings ('casket fittings') that were thought to have held personal ornaments, such as jewellery; however, no actual evidence has been found to properly support this conclusion (Jope 2000, 132, 283). Nevertheless, this current interpretation places them within the 'Domestic Objects' category. It is these decorated fittings which are addressed here. The shape and length of casket fittings provided a long, flat surface for decoration similar to sheaths, scabbards, and later collars. Due to this shape, running and continuous motifs are frequently found, such as running s-scrolls. In addition to scrolls, keeled roundels, rosettes, and bosses are common motifs employed within the main patterns (Figure 4.16), all formed in three-dimensional relief. Curling volutes, with two or three 'arms' (triskeles), are also commonly seen filling the circular spaces where the s-scrolls meet. In cases where the casket fittings are short and square, rather than rectangular, we can see simple s-scrolls, as well as four comma-leaf motifs, filling these spaces.

FIGURE 4.16 DECORATED CASKET FITTINGS (LEFT TO RIGHT: M122 AND M125).

Vessels

Within this metal analysis, vessel is a broad term that encompasses bowls, buckets, a single strainer, and other non-descript containers. Within the Iron Age, most metal vessels contained a swelling body and vertical rim, often undecorated (*ibid.,* 317). However, the rarity of decoration is also reflected in the low number of vessels recorded. Overall, the number and variety of metal examples is far less than what will be seen for ceramic vessels. As a group, metal vessels have been separated from tankards and cups due to their assumed function and size. Regardless of the way in which these items have been grouped, when decoration is found it tends to be rather minimal, although examples of figural representation are also found on bronze panel coverings of wooden vessels. In general, the boss is the most common motif employed, typically found around the centre of the vessel where the different sections are hammered together (Figure 4.17), therefore serving both a functional and decorative role. One example of a strainer from Welwyn, Hertfordshire has also been found (Figure 4.17). It is believed that this strainer was converted from an imported bowl (Jope 2000, 318), but in doing so a beautiful decorative scene was punched into the surface incorporating s-scrolls, running waves, and a whirligig at the centre.

FIGURE 4.17 METAL VESSELS WITH BOSS, SCROLL, AND FIGURAL REPRESENTATION (LEFT TO RIGHT: M229, M231, AND M74).

Tankards/Cups

Tankard and cup decoration tends to be placed primarily on the handles. These handles are typically cast and employ a variety of motifs, often created through a simple openwork design. Frequently enamel bun settings are also added along the length of the handle, such as that from Welwyn,

Hertfordshire and Seven Sisters, Neath (Figure 4.18). On many of the handles with settings, keeled roundels or circular motifs are created to hold the settings within their centres. In addition to the more common types, two tankards stand out for their elaborate decorations: one from Elvedon, Suffolk and the other from Trawsfynydd, North Wales (Figure 4.18). The Elvedon tankard is the only example within this current collection that contains decoration around the cup itself, while the handles are plain. Within this decorated strip is an openwork pattern containing triskeles within a circular outline. The Trawsfynydd tankard, on the other hand, contains a fine openwork handle formed from a central s-scroll within an almond outline, with two circular triskeles at each end. Within both examples, the main decoration includes circled triskeles in an openwork design.

FIGURE 4.18 BUNNED TANKARD HANDLE FROM SEVEN SISTERS, NEATH (LEFT: M139) AND TANKARDS FROM ELVEDON AND TRAWSFYNYDD (CENTRE TO RIGHT: M131 AND M138).

Sheath

Early daggers and their sheaths have typically been found along the Lower Thames Valley, and for the most part contain rather simple decoration. In some instances, more elaborate decoration is found in the form of chevrons, simple lozenges, or interlocking arcs, with hatched or stippled infilling along the sides (Figure 4.19). Oftentimes, the chapes were then cast in an openwork design to the shape of a pelta or circle with boss terminals. On two occasions we find more elaborate decoration: Minister Ditch and Wisbech (Figure 4.19). Within the Minister Ditch sheath (M11), decoration is found on both the front- and back-plate. The inclusion of decoration on the back-plate suggests that the method of handling daggers and sheaths was changing, but it may also reflect the restrictive nature of viewing this imagery. The Wisbech sheath (M22), on the other hand, depicts mirrored s-scrolls down the length of the sheath with infilled chevrons on each side and a running wave above. Both pieces are more elaborately decorated than the other sheaths and more comparable to later scabbards.

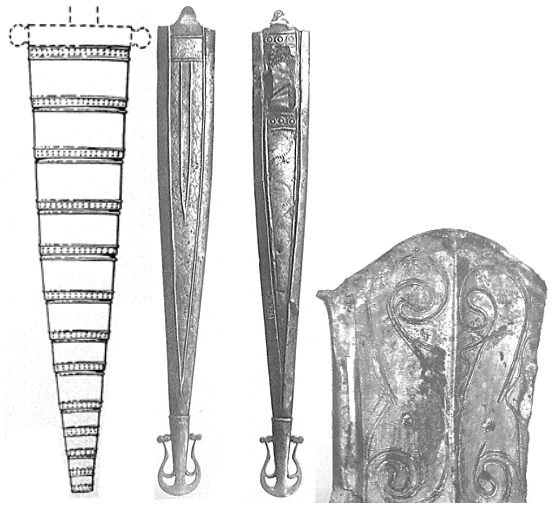


FIGURE 4.19 SHEATH DECORATION, INCLUDING PLAIN (LEFT: M4) AND MORE ELABORATE EXAMPLES FROM MINISTER DITCH (CENTRE: M11) AND WISBECH (RIGHT: M22).

Scabbard

Within scabbards we again see more openwork design on chapes, as well as an increase in decorative variability throughout the Iron Age. On the earlier pieces there is more vegetal motifs in relief, such as the pelta-loop with curling terminals, the running wave tendril scroll, and the running s-scrolls with keeled terminals. Like the Minister Ditch sheath, we also find four-leaf patterns outlined with horizontal bands on the top mounts, as seen on the River of Trent scabbard (Figure 4.20), although in this case the leaves are more detailed. Similarly, like the Minister Ditch sheath, decoration continues to be placed on back-plates, again indicating a change in the viewing or handling of these objects. Not only do scabbards appear to show a continuation of earlier sheath ornamentation but they also appear to be influenced by 'mirror style' decoration, particularly through the use of lyre-loop and diffused designs (Figure 4.20). This adoption of mirror style motifs is further evidenced through the use of trumpets, fins/cusps, circled tricornes, keeled roundels, and basketry hatching, although often in a more three-dimensional or openwork form. Nevertheless, most scabbard decoration appears mirrored down each length of the plate, creating a sense of balance, but with slight differences that produce the insular theme of 'deceptive asymmetry'.

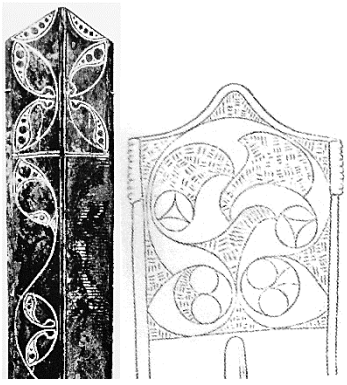


FIGURE 4.20 SCABBARDS WITH FOUR COMMA-LEAVES AND MIRROR-STYLE DECORATION (LEFT TO RIGHT: M27 AND M100).

Shield

As previously stated, the size and weight of shields indicate that they were most likely used as markers of status or affiliation rather than as functional martial items. Their elaborate ornamentation further suggests they were potentially used to intimate or confuse anyone that came

to look upon them (Giles 2008, 74), which can be the case in both martial and ceremonial occasions. In general, shields contain a circular boss with roundel attachments extending to each end. Decoration tends to be placed on the central boss and supporting roundels, typically including the depiction of running scrolls, keeled roundels or comma-leaves with curling ends, and bosses with rosettes, tricornes, or swastikas at their centre. Furthermore, most shields employ a combination of two-dimensional inscribed and three-dimensional relief decoration, as well as allusive imagery created through a combination of motifs, as seen on the Witham, Battersea, and Wandsworth 'Mask' shields (Figure 4.21). Decorative similarities are further expressed on shields from the south-west region, demonstrating a particular connection to 'mirror-style' motifs and to the triskele motif specifically, as seen on the Moel Hiraddug shield mount (M40) and Tal-y-Llyn shield-boss covers and mounts (M42 and M43) (Figure 4.22). Within Tal-y-Llyn, one set of roundels contain 'mirror style' decoration (M42), while another set contains openwork patterns (M43). In both cases, positive and negative fields are demarcated, one through hatching and the other through openwork spaces.

FIGURE 4.21 ALLUSIVE IMAGERY ON THE WITHAM (LEFT: M30), BATTERSEA (CENTRE: M34), AND WANDSWORTH 'MASK' SHIELD (RIGHT: M33).

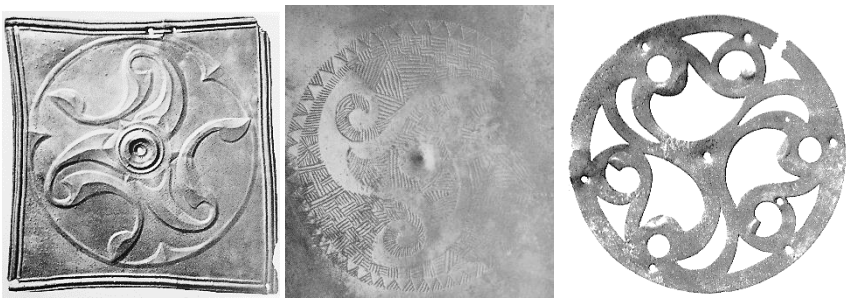


FIGURE 4.22 SHIELD BOSSES FROM MOEL HIRADDUG AND TAL-Y-LLYN (LEFT TO RIGHT: M40, M42, AND M43)

Crescentic Terrets

Due to their flat and wide surfaces, crescentic terrets were decorated with an array of imagery, often consisting of mirrored running scrolls and keeled roundels containing either blue glass or red enamel at their centres (Figure 4.23). There are a few examples which do not follow these decorative schemes, instead employing arcs, lozenges, and connected circles, although these are still mirrored at the centre. Nevertheless, within all of these examples, the use of red enamelling for the background is a main decorative feature, and a distinctive feature of insular art from the 1st century BC onwards. Occasionally blue glass was also incorporated into the central motifs. This juxtaposition of metal and enamelling created a similar sense of positive and negative space already seen through the use of hatching and openwork design, which would have created a similar change in reflection between light and dark spaces.

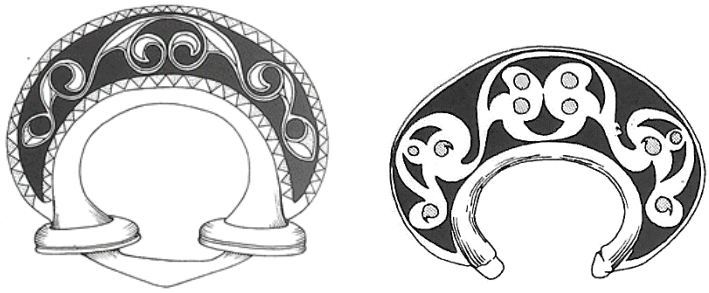


FIGURE 4.23 DECORATED CRESCENTIC TERRETS (LEFT TO RIGHT: M208 AND M211).

Horse-bit

Three-link horse bits were a unique insular artefact developing around the 1st century AD and incorporated its own particular decorative scheme. These items were usually ornamented along the side-links and on or within the outer rings. Within these horse bits, however, two separate decorative schemes appear to have been taking place. Within one scheme, decoration was placed along the outer rings and commonly included rosettes, small bosses, slender commas, and hatching, similar to the decoration seen on the gold torcs of Snettisham (Figure 4.24, M70). On the other scheme, a separate field was created for decoration, including s-scrolls, half-circles, double keeled roundels, and an openwork design with panels for possible settings (Figure 4.24, M203).

FIGURE 4.24 TWO TYPES OF DECORATED THREE-LINK HORSE-BITS (LEFT TO RIGHT: M70 AND M203).

Strap-junction/Harness Mount

Within this category of strap-junction and harness mounts, differences in decoration lie largely in the shape and size of the objects themselves. Small strap-junctions cast in bronze incorporate very simple decorative schemes (Figure 4.25, M183), typically including mirrored crescents with an openwork circle at the centre, though on occasion this central hole is filled with different motifs, such as small bosses, double keeled roundels, or a circled tricorne. Eared harness mounts, on the other hand, are very similar in style and design to crescentic terrets with red enamelled backgrounds and blue glass settings (Figure 4.25, M225). Common within these objects are the use of central openwork decoration, single and double keeled roundels often forming the 'ears' of the mounts, and circular spaces with curling whirligigs or keeling. Within these objects, lyres and 'mirror style' decoration are also frequently employed, such as cusps with attached half-moon crescents and armadillo crescents. While the eared mounts are more highly decorated, both strap-junctions and harness mounts tend to include mirrored crescents with a central openwork plan.

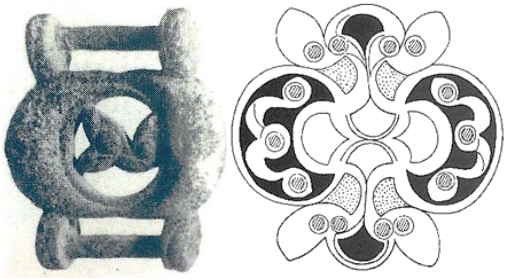


FIGURE 4.25 SIMPLE STRAP-MOUNTS VS. ENAMELLED EARED HARNESS MOUNTS (LEFT TO RIGHT: M183 AND M225).

4.3 ANALYSIS

Images and descriptions of decorated metalwork were examined in order to record the various motifs found, based upon my Simplified Typology. For this detailed analysis, a total of 286 decorated metal artefacts were chosen from within the previously outlined three southern style zones (Eastern, Central Southern, and South-Western). While there were other important decorated metal objects, such as the 'Disney' mirror, they were not included within this analysis as they have an unknown find-spot and, therefore, could not be placed within a specific regional area.

Before additional evaluations were conducted in regard to specific artefact groups, a general decorative overview was produced (Figure 4.26). While a very large selection of motifs was utilized, those with less than 1% representation (lozenges, saltires, swastikas, yin-yangs, whirligigs, circled diamonds, teardrops, and Swash-N motifs) were removed from the graph as this percentage was too small to be beneficial to this current evaluation. Furthermore, horizontal and vertical bands have been combined as these motifs are distinguished purely on directional flow, and therefore often overlap depending on the positioning of the objects. As the graph illustrates, circles make up the majority of decoration on metalwork, likely due to their prevalence throughout the Iron Age and the diversity of their use. This includes single and concentric circles, as well as ring-and-dot motifs. In a similar fashion, bosses make up a larger percentage of decoration as they contain a similar diversity of use. Identifiable insular creations are also more frequently represented, such as keeling (roundel and volute), comma-leaves, and trumpet motifs. Geometric motifs are not as frequently found within Iron Age metalwork. Out of all the motifs, chevrons are only found 2.4% of the time, lozenges 0.6%, and diagonal bands 1.4%. While horizontal and vertical bands are more commonly found, these are largely used for bordering of other patterns or edging around the object. As will be discussed (Section 12.1), this is strongly contrasted to the non-metal decorative patterns seen during this same period.

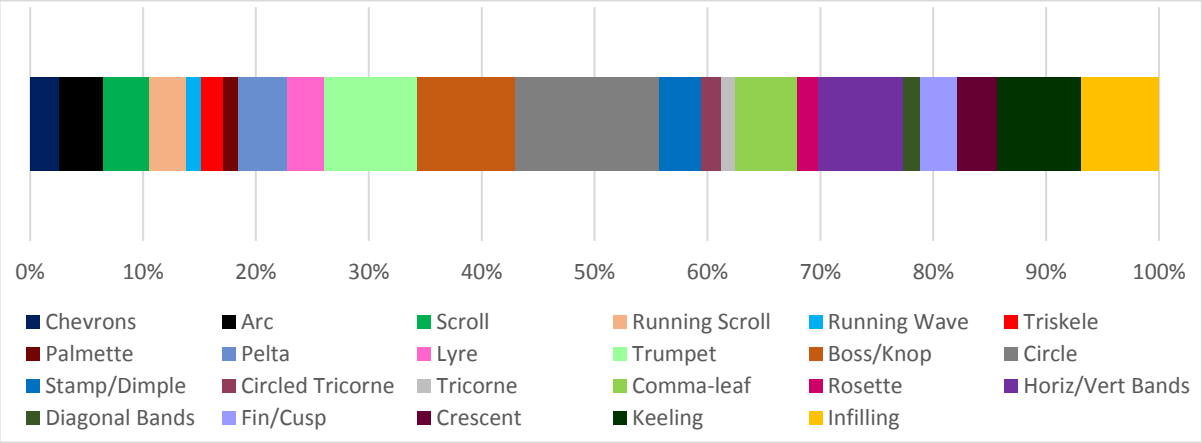


FIGURE 4.26 GENERAL DECORATIVE TRENDS ON METALWORK (BASED ON 286 OBJECTS).

Within this general evaluation, the presence of purely geometric or curvilinear patterns cannot be properly determined as most of the objects tend to incorporate a mixture of the two to some degree. Similarly, in the case of circle and dot/boss patterns, these tend to be found on all objects and, therefore, create an over-representation of mixed decorative patterns. Out of the 286 objects recorded, 82.5% can be classified as a mixture of geometric, curvilinear, and/or circular decorative schemes.

DECORATION TO 'STYLE ZONES'

As previously stated, each decorated metal object was located within one of three regional southern zones. These zones have formed the basis of division for all the decorated artefacts, including those of metal and non-metal, to maintain a level of consistency within individual evaluations as well as broader comparisons. Based on the incorporated decorated metalwork, a much larger representation of 'Eastern' decorated objects has been found, with 50.7% of the total assemblage found in that region. This was followed by the Central Southern zone with 31.1% and the South-Western zone with 18.2%. Even though major sites, such as MLV and GLV lie within the South-Western zone, overall, this area is less represented within this decorated assemblage. This difference is potentially due to the smaller geographical coverage of the South-Western zone compared to the other two, or the potential connections between the central and eastern zones, as well as what was recorded within the literature. However, there is a higher representation of decoration on other materials within the South-Western zone, and therefore, it is possible that the occupants of this region chose different mediums for visual expression. The selection of motifs from each zone can be seen in Figure 4.27.

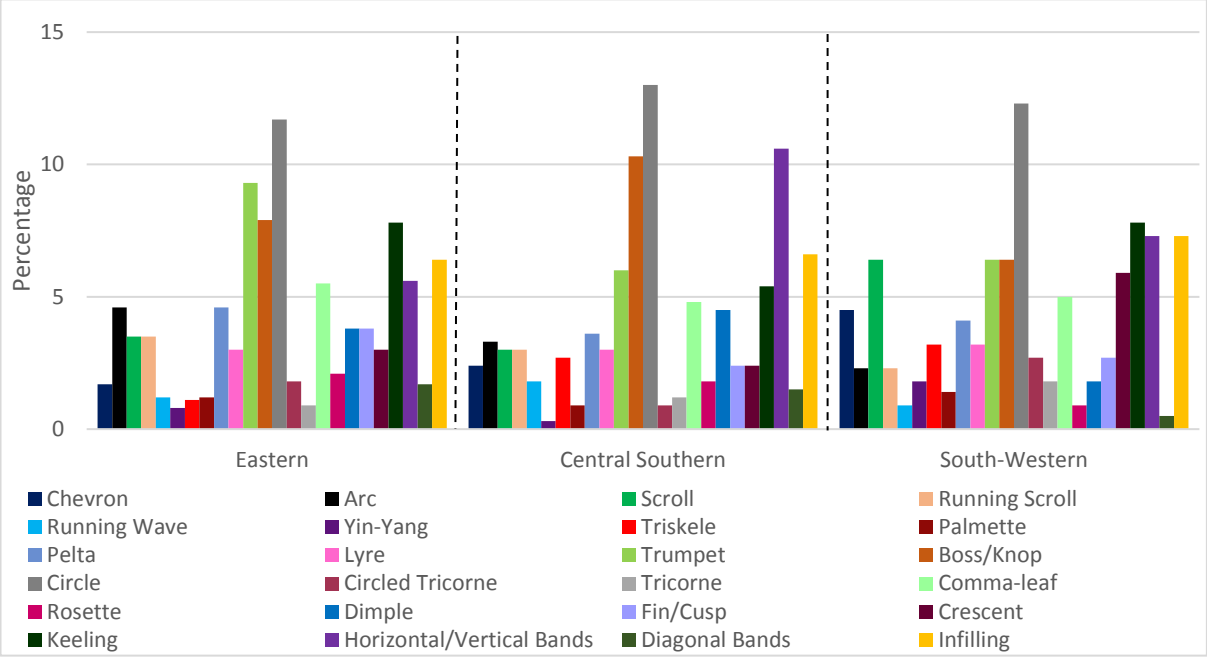


FIGURE 4.27 DECORATION TO REGIONAL ZONES (145 OBJECTS FROM THE EASTERN, 89 FROM THE CENTRAL SOUTHERN, AND 52 FROM THE SOUTH-WESTERN ZONE).

In general, circles are the most prevalent motif within all three zones. This is to be expected as they are the most frequently found motif during this entire period (Figure 4.26). Furthermore, all three zones produced very few lozenge, yin-yang, circled diamond, and teardrop motifs, and therefore, have been removed from the graph. Through a comparison of this material, we can see that there is a stronger emphasis on arcs, trumpets, comma-leaves, and fins/cusps within the Eastern zone. Similarly, whirligigs and swastikas were only found in this zone, although this is represented by a very small number of examples. An emphasis on bosses, dimples, and horizontal/vertical bands is

found in the Central Southern zone. In comparison to the Eastern zone, saltires are only found in this central region, but again this is represented by a very small number. As these motifs are relatively rare, they may simply represent a lack of interest or meaning behind that particular imagery, reflect the greater number of decorated artefacts within the eastern region, or potentially signify a more diverse visual repertoire within this area. Within the South-Western zone, however, we see more chevrons, scrolls, yin-yang, circled tricornes, and crescents. While geometric motifs and tricornes, both circled and alone, are still uncommon, they are more frequently found within this region. Within all three zones there is a large variety of visual expression, with each zone demonstrating a level of choice and individualism.

It is also interesting to look at the distribution of the characteristic motifs of the 'Mirror Style' and 'Snettisham Style'. As both mirrors and gold torcs are more frequently found in the Eastern region, the assumption would be that their characteristic decorative features would also be more common within this zone. Of the 28 decorated mirror-backs listed by Joy (Joy 2010, Appendix F), 13 were found within the Eastern zone, followed by 7 from the Central Southern zone, and only 4 from the South-Western zone. However, the characteristic 'mirror style' motifs (cusp/fin, mirror-style trumpets, armadillo crescents, circled tricornes, and keeled roundels) are not always most prevalent in this region. While fin/cusps, trumpets, and keeled roundels are relatively more common in the east, they are closely followed within the South-Western zone, particularly through the use of keeling. Within this south-western zone we also see more armadillo crescents and circled tricornes. In all instances there is a much smaller percentage of 'mirror style' motifs within the Central Southern zone. This prevalence in the Eastern and South-Western zones is likely due to the smaller number of decorated metal items recorded from the South-West, as well as the main phases of decorated mirror production: those focused in Cornwall from 125-80 BC and those in southeast England from 75-15 BC (*ibid.*, 56). In contrast, the motifs of the 'Snettisham Style' (slender commas, trumpet coils, and raised bosses with impressions) are more frequently found on metal artefacts from the Eastern zone. However, trumpet coils and raised bosses are also frequently found in other zones and demonstrate the adoption of this style onto other metal types. Basketry hatching is a characteristic of both styles, and is found spread rather evenly between the three zones, highlighting the later importance and versatility of this decorative feature, as well as the importance of the juxtaposition between positive and negative spaces within insular Iron Age art.

DECORATION TO GENERAL ARTEFACT TYPES

Within my data collection and analysis, four general artefact types have been emphasised (personal adornment, domestic objects, warrior accoutrement, and horse/vehicle gear). As Figure 4.28 illustrates, certain motifs are generally found in greater quantities throughout all artefact type categories, such as circles, trumpets, bosses, scrolls, keeled roundels, and horizontal/vertical bands. The specific percentages within each group are listed within Table 4.2. If we look at the groups separately, however, we can see some key features from each (Figure 4.29). Within items of 'Personal Adornment' the most frequently used motifs include circles, bosses, trumpets, and horizontal/vertical bands. The only ornament more frequently found within this group is running waves and diagonal bands. The stronger emphasis on these motifs demonstrates a potentially stronger connection to non-metal decoration, particularly through the presence of circles, running waves, and horizontal and diagonal bands on pottery and antler/bone combs. 'Domestic Objects,' on the other hand, more frequently depict peltas, lyres, trumpets, circles, bosses, keeling, and horizontal/vertical bands. Additionally, it has the highest percentage of lyres and bosses. Within 'domestic objects' there is a higher prevalence of figural representation as well, likely owing to the presence of relief modelling on the handles of vessels. However, other than horizontal/vertical

bands, there is very little geometric decoration found on these domestic items. Only on 'Warrior Accoutrement' do we find saltire or swastika motifs, still in small numbers, and within this category we tend to find the greatest variety of decoration. For example, more 'warrior accoutrement' artefacts contain chevrons, arcs, triskeles, palmettes, rosettes, and horizontal/vertical bands. The only motifs which are not in evidence are whirligigs and yin-yang motifs, both relatively uncommon. Only three main artefact types are included within this group (scabbards, sheaths, and shields) illustrating the diversity of decoration expressed on a small selection of items. Finally, items labelled under 'Horse/Vehicle Gear' show a higher prevalence of scrolls, trumpets, circles, peltas, comma-leaves, crescents, and keeling. Unlike the three previous groups, bosses are not as common on horse or vehicle equipment. These visual qualities are potentially tied to the ways in which they were positioned and viewed, as well as to the people that would have access to the objects themselves.

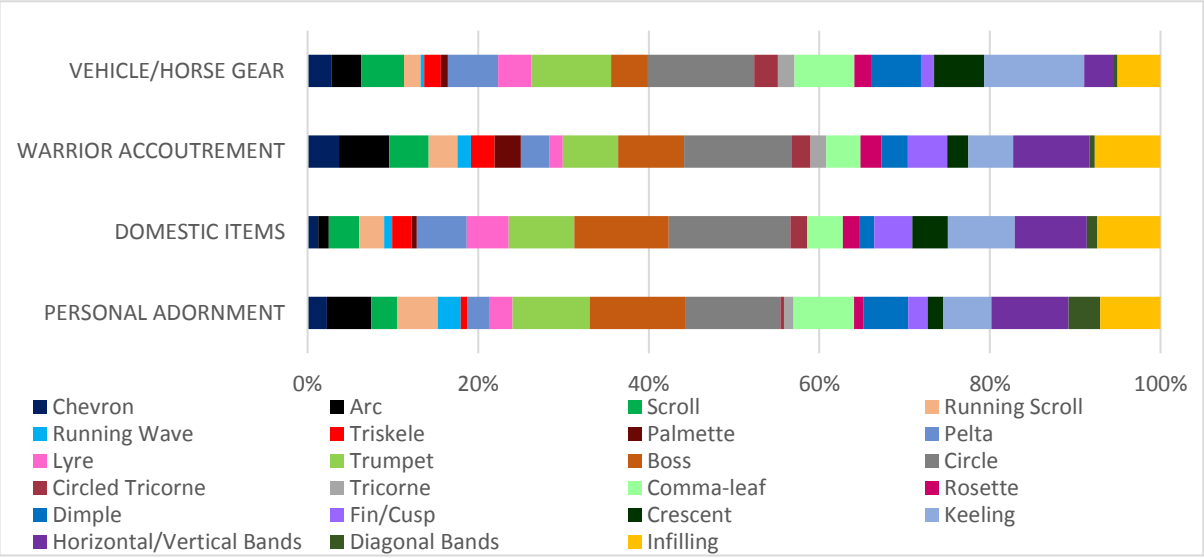


FIGURE 4.28 DECORATION TO GENERAL ARTEFACT TYPE (TOTAL MOTIFS - PERSONAL ADORNMENT: 255 MOTIFS; DOMESTIC ITEMS: 299 MOTIFS; WARRIOR ACCOUTREMENT: 309 MOTIFS; HORSE/VEHICLE GEAR: 251 MOTIFS).

TABLE 4.2 GENERAL ARTEFACT GROUPS – DATA FOR FIGURE 4.27 (NUMBERS ARE PERCENTAGES).

	PERSONAL ADORNMENT	DOMESTIC ITEMS	WARRIOR ACCOUTREMENT	VEHICLE/HORSE GEAR
CHEVRONS	2.2	1.2	3.6	2.7
LOZENGE	0.4	0	0.9	1.1
ARC	5.1	1.2	5.7	3.4
SALTIRE	0	0	0.3	0
SWASTIKA	0	0	0.3	0
SCROLL	2.9	3.4	4.5	4.9
RUNNING SCROLL	4.7	2.8	3.3	1.9
RUNNING WAVE	2.6	0.9	1.5	0.4
YIN-YANG	0	2.2	0	1.1
TRISKELE	0.7	2.2	2.7	1.9
WHIRLIGIG	0.4	0.6	0	0.4
PALMETTE	0	0.6	3	0.8
PELTA	2.6	5.6	3.3	5.7
LYRE	2.6	4.7	1.5	3.8
TRUMPET	8.8	7.4	6.3	9.1

BOSS	10.9	10.6	7.5	4.2
CIRCLE	10.9	13.7	12.3	12.1
CIRCLED DIAMOND	0	0.3	0.3	0.4
CIRCLED TRICORNE	0.4	1.9	2.1	2.7
TRICORNE	1.1	0	1.8	1.9
COMMA-LEAF	6.9	4	3.9	6.8
ROSETTE	1.1	1.9	2.4	1.9
DIMPLE	5.1	1.6	3	5.7
FIN/CUSP	2.2	4.3	4.5	1.5
CRESCENT	1.8	4	2.4	5.7
KEELING	5.5	7.5	5.1	11.4
TEARDROP	0.7	0.9	1.2	0
SWASH-N	0.4	0	0	0
HORIZONTAL/VERTICAL BANDS	8.8	8.1	8.7	3.4
DIAGONAL BANDS	3.6	1.2	0.6	0.4
INFILLING	6.9	7.1	7.5	4.9

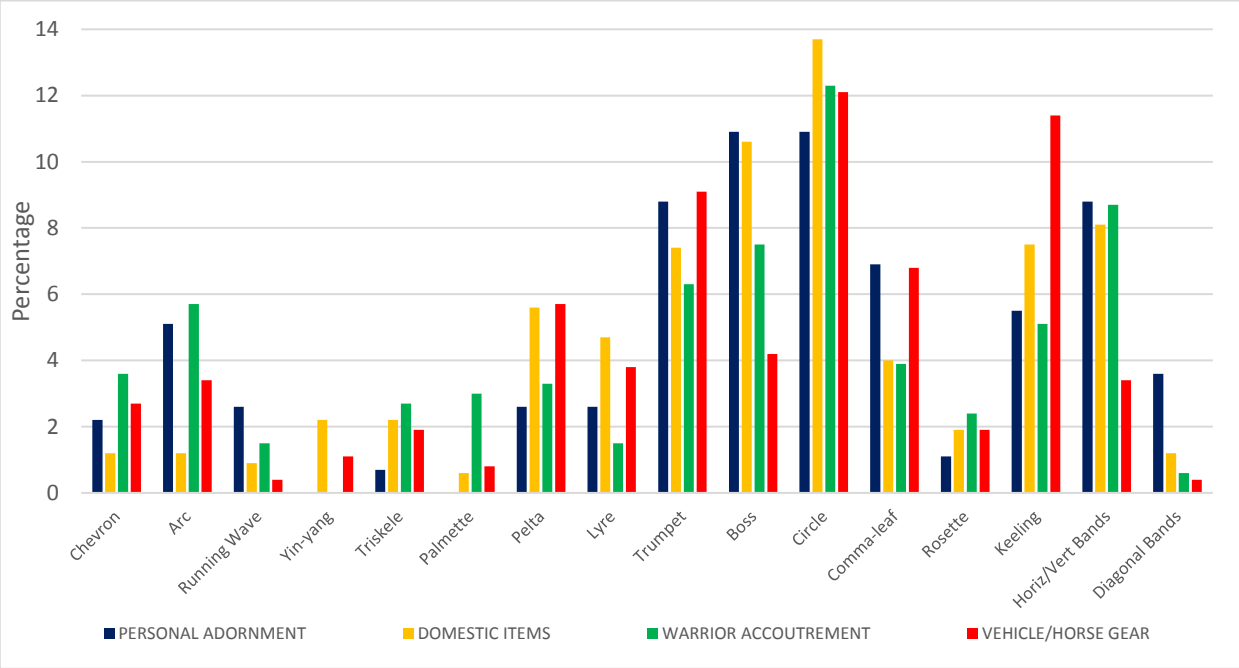


FIGURE 4.29 KEY DECORATIVE MOTIFS FOUND ON THE FOUR GENERAL ARTEFACT GROUPS (TOTAL MOTIFS SAME AS FIGURE 4.28).

DECORATION TO SPECIFIC ARTEFACT TYPES

As previously stated, within each general category, certain types were more represented than others and have been selected for more in-depth analysis. These specific artefact types were chosen in cases where at least 10 or more decorated examples were illustrated and recorded. The specific artefact groups from each general category, with number of decorated examples, are listed within Table 4.1. These artefacts also extend through multiple time periods and regional zones. Based on a deeper evaluation of this material, further decorative trends can be extrapolated and analysed.

Many of the artefacts listed contain such elaborate decoration that it can be difficult to determine any specific or consistent decorative trends; however, certain features can be highlighted (Figure

4.30). Based on this information, the only motifs which are found on all artefact types include peltas, circles, and infilling. Similarly, circles and bosses prove to be one of the most frequently represented motifs, followed by keeling, infilling, and horizontal/vertical bands. In contrast, there are a few motifs which have only been found on a single artefact type, such as saltires on sheaths, swastikas on shields, and swash-N motifs on brooches; however, this is represented by a very small number of examples (one each). Most of the other motifs are found upon multiple types belonging to a variety of artefact groups.

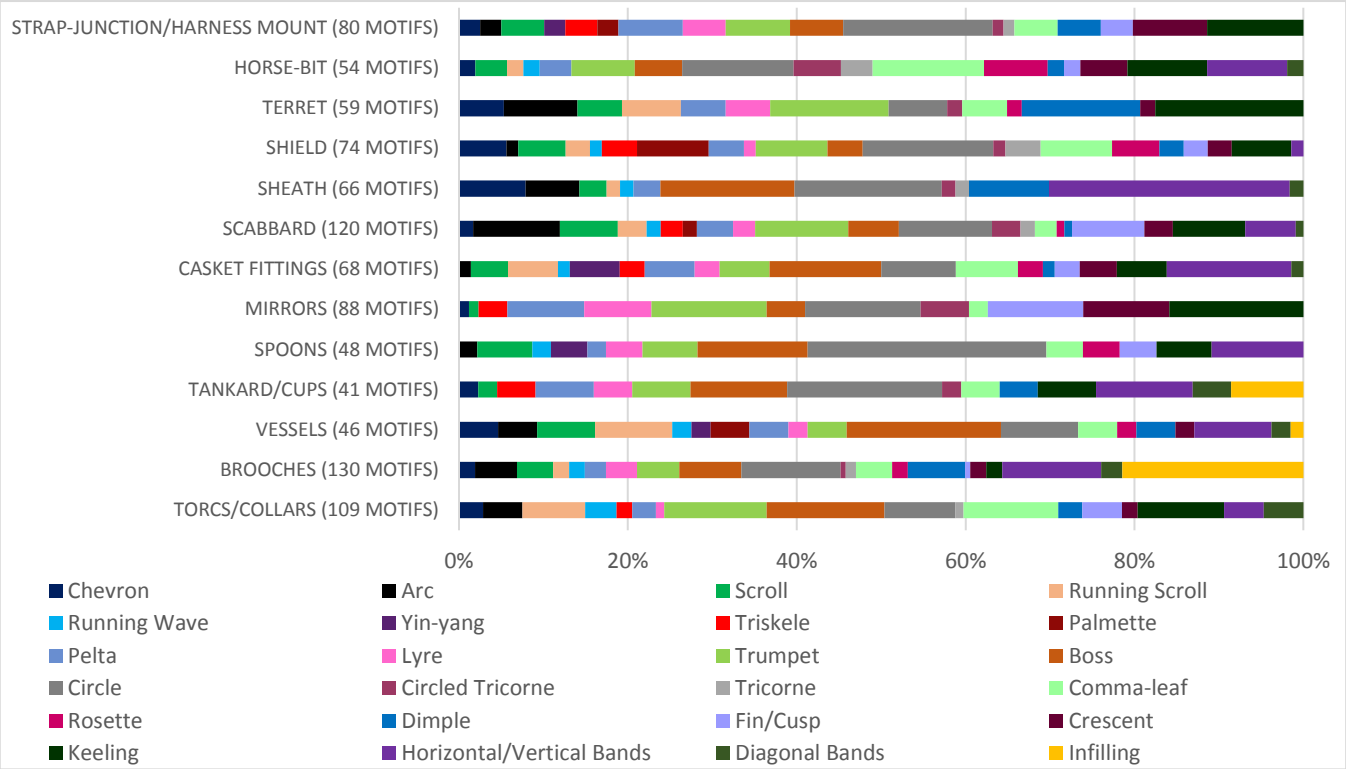


FIGURE 4.30 DECORATION TO SPECIFIC ARTEFACT TYPES (BASED ON 259 OBJECTS).

Within the 'Personal Adornment' category, a diverse selection of motifs was utilized, forming individualistic, elaborate, and well-decorated pieces through an array of ornamental combinations. On torcs/collars this most often consists of running waves, comma-leaves, bosses, trumpets, and diagonal bands, while brooch decoration typically consists of circles and horizontal/vertical bands. Trends within the 'Domestic Objects' category contain a similar decorative variability but with an underlying restrictiveness. While mirrors contain the highest representation of 'mirror style' motifs, other motifs belonging to this style, such as circled tricornes, keeling, and lyres, are more often found on items labelled as 'horse gear'. Casket fittings, on the other hand, tend to use horizontal/vertical bands, circles, and bosses. In contrast, vessels, including bowls and buckets, contain the highest percentage of scrolls, running scrolls, and bosses, along with a greater occurrence of figural representation. While tankards/cups contain a high representation of triskeles and diagonal bands and spoons contain a high representation of scrolls, both artefact types most frequently include circles, bosses, and horizontal/vertical bands, reflective of the rather restricted and plain decorative schemes often found. Within the 'warrior accoutrement' category, each specific type tends to present its own visual scheme. For example, sheaths have a greater representation of lozenges and horizontal/vertical bands, thereby aligning with the earlier use of geometric patterns, shields contain a higher percentage of triskeles, tricornes, comma-leaves, and palmettes, and scabbards contain a high percentage of arcs, scrolls, and fin/cusps. Rather than being restrictive, shields demonstrate a greater range of motif combinations, frequently used to create abstract

representations. As a whole, items of 'Horse/Vehicle Gear' contain a variety of motifs, but within specific artefact types their decoration can, again, appear rather restricted. For example, crescentic terrets contain the highest percentage of trumpets, dimples, and keeling, but it is also missing many common motifs, such as horizontal/vertical and diagonal bands, triskeles, and bosses. Similarly, strap-junctions and harness mounts do not contain any examples of horizontal/vertical or diagonal bands, nor any examples of running scrolls or waves. While it appears that motif selection on horse-bits was also restrictive, this artefact type had a much smaller surface on which to decorate, and therefore, it is interesting that such a motif range was employed. In general, however, 'horse/vehicle gear' was more regulated in regard to its ornamentation.

DECORATION TO DATE

Where data was available, an analysis of the relationship between decoration and date was also conducted (Figure 4.31-4.33). However, this could only be done for objects in which the date was provided, accumulating in 177 objects out of the full assemblage of 286 (61.9%). The difficulty in chronologically dating these objects was due to a number of reasons, including the fact that they were likely used long after their date of manufacture, they were often remodelled and repaired, and that most of the design and decorative schemes appear consistently throughout the Iron Age (Garrow and Gosden 2009, 105; Jope 2000, 6). In regard to the decorated objects within my analysis, the available dates are based on Garrow and Gosden's *Technologies of Enchantment* database (2012), and occasionally from Jope's object descriptions (2000) and Stead's work on scabbards (2006). While the 6th to 5th century BC is included within this analysis, it is represented by a very small percentage of objects, only 1.8%, which were typically selected because they potentially date as far back as 450 BC, according to Garrow et al.'s database. Out of the artefacts that could be dated, most decorated metalwork belongs to the 1st century AD (42.8%) followed by the 1st century BC (20.4%). The percentage of decorated metal objects is much less in the periods preceding and following these two centuries.

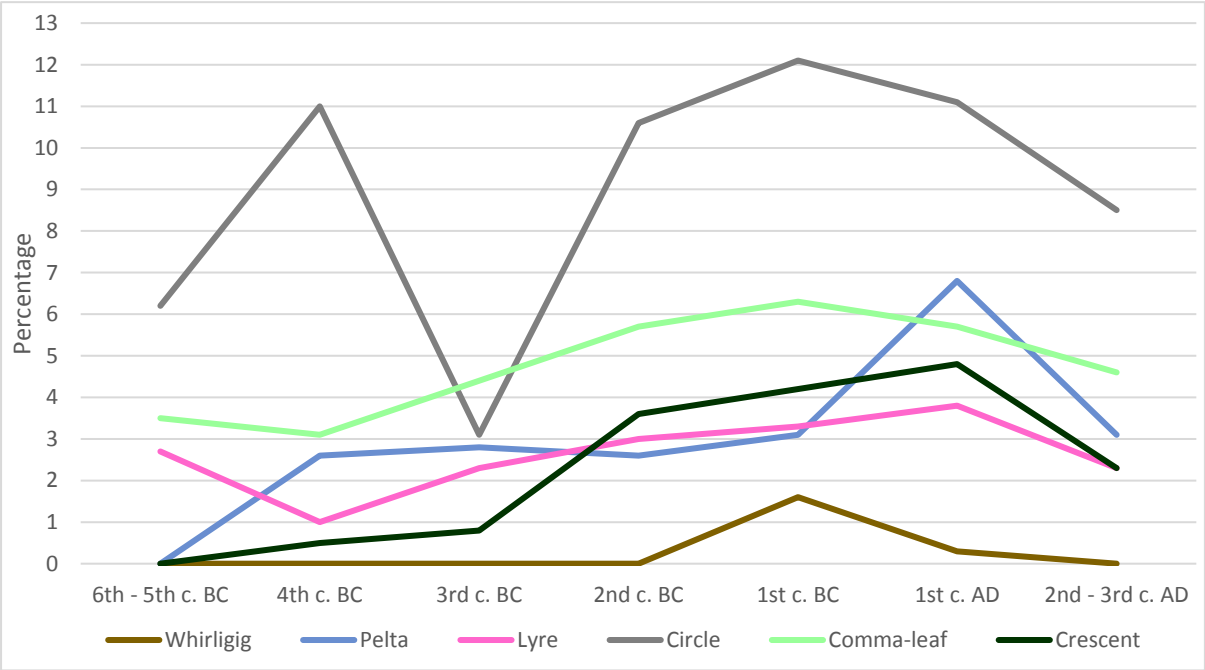


FIGURE 4.31 DECORATIVE MOTIFS WITH THE HIGHEST FREQUENCY DURING THE 1ST CENTURY BC OR 1ST CENTURY AD (BASED ON 177 ARTEFACTS: 1.2% FROM 6TH-5TH CENTURY BC, 7.8% FROM 4TH CENTURY BC, 10.2% FROM 3RD CENTURY BC, 11.3% FROM 2ND CENTURY BC, 21.9% FROM 1ST CENTURY BC, 40.6% FROM 1ST CENTURY AD, AND 7% FROM 2ND-3RD CENTURY AD).

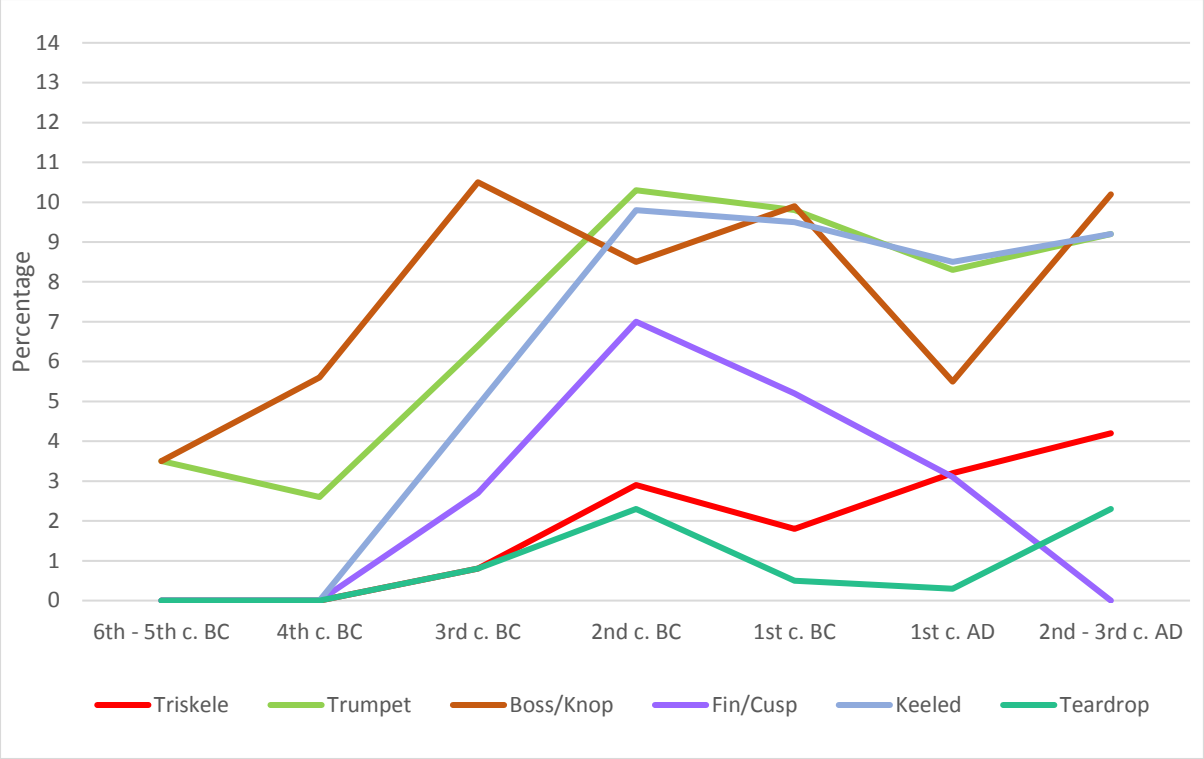


FIGURE 4.32 DECORATIVE MOTIFS WITH A PEAK AROUND THE 2ND CENTURY BC AND A POTENTIAL REVIVAL FOLLOWING THE 2ND CENTURY AD (BASED ON 177 ARTEFACTS; C.F. FIG 4.31).

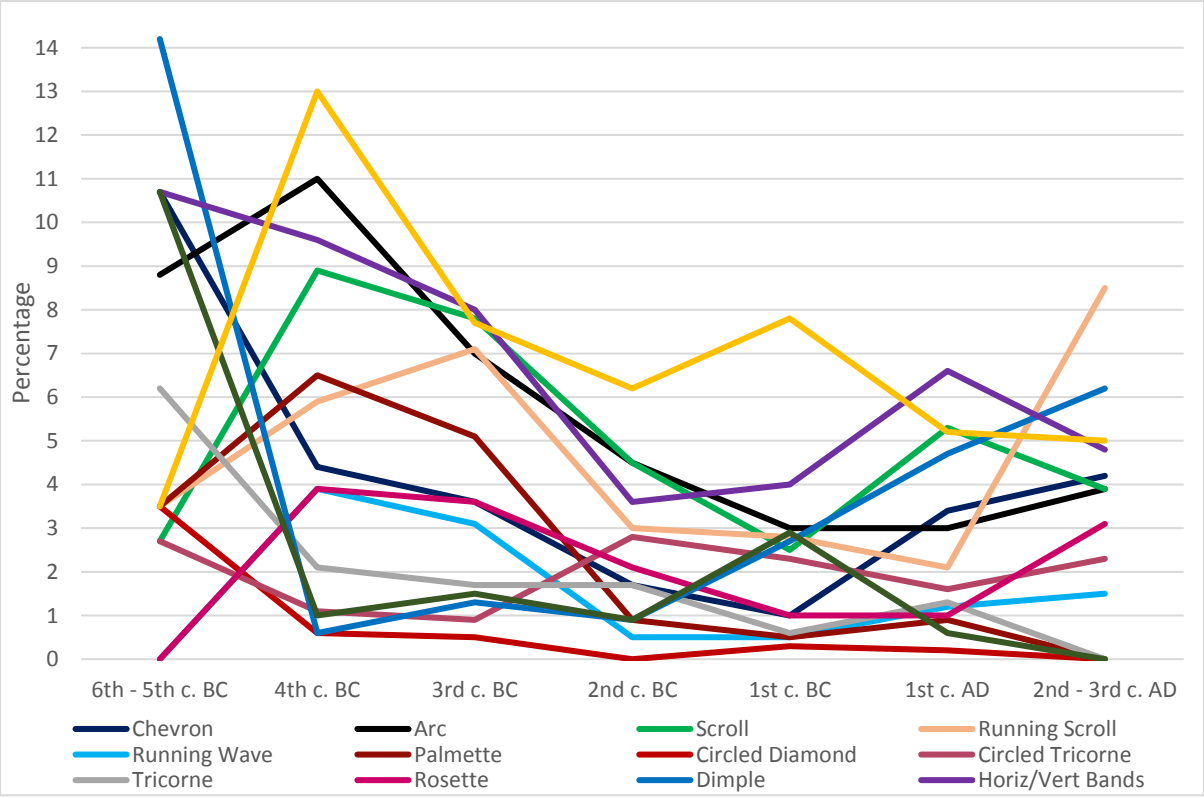


FIGURE 4.33 DECORATIVE MOTIFS WITH A HIGHER PREVALENCE IN EARLIER PERIODS (4TH CENTURY BC AND BEFORE) AND A LATER REVIVAL (BASED ON 177 ARTEFACTS; C.F. FIG 4.31).

While circles were consistently employed throughout the whole of insular Iron Age art, an increase can be seen during the 4th century BC and again during the 1st century BC, followed by a gradual decline (Figure 4.31). A similar 1st century BC peak is found on whirligigs and comma-leaves; however, these two motifs do not present an earlier peak. In a similar, but slightly later, fashion, other motifs see a strong increase during the 1st c. AD (Figure 4.31), around the time of Roman occupation. These include peltas, lyres, and crescents. Additional motif peaks are expressed around the 2nd century BC, as seen through the use of triskeles, trumpets, bosses, fin/cusps, keeling, and teardrops (Figure 4.32). Bosses are slightly different in that their highest peak is in the 3rd century BC and again in the 1st century BC. In the case of keeling and trumpets, this prevalence remains relatively steady following this period. Within this group of motifs, with the exception of fin/cusps, further revivals are seen after the 2nd century AD. While this potentially suggests a revival of 'traditional' forms of visual expression, it might also simply reflect the smaller number of examples. The fact that crescents peak during the 1st century AD while fin/cusps peak much earlier during the 2nd century BC is interesting in relation to their ties with 'mirror style' decoration. According to Joy, decorated mirror-backs first began in the south-west around the 2nd century BC and would, therefore, align with the peak of fin/cusp motifs. However, as the main phase of decorated mirror-backs takes place during the 1st century BC, it would suggest that there were multiple examples of fin/cusps found on other types of metalwork before the main onset of 'mirror style' designs. Crescents on the other hand, have a later peak, suggesting that this motif gained favour following its main introduction on mirror-back decoration.

In contrast to peaks during the later Iron Age phases, certain motifs show the greatest frequency in the earliest periods, around the 5th and 4th centuries BC, with a gradual decline to their lowest point around the 1st century BC, followed by a slight increase (Figure 4.33). This pattern can be seen with chevrons, arcs, scrolls, running waves, rosettes, and horizontal/vertical bands. A similar situation is seen through the use of palmettes, tricornes, and infilling, but in these cases, there is no significant increase in the later periods. Occasionally, there is a slight revival of use during the 1st century BC instead of a drastic decline, as seen through the use of diagonal bands and circled diamonds.

Based on this evidence, certain motifs tend to decrease at the time that other motifs increase in use. It appears that the geometric motifs were an earlier feature of insular Iron Age decoration, with occasional re-introductions around the time of growing Roman influence. In contrast, the motifs that are typically identified as insular creations are seen to increase in use from the 2nd century BC, eventually declining after Roman influence. Taken as a whole, there is a general decline in motif variation following Roman occupation, with the exception of bosses, dimples, rosettes, running scrolls, arcs, and chevrons. This potentially represents a return to an art of simplicity, motionlessness, and order. It can, therefore, be interpreted that these decorative features were greatly affected by the visual 'romanization' of insular metalwork. However, the fact that running scrolls saw a strong increase after the 1st century AD suggests that active choices were still being made to maintain certain traditional aspects of movement and fluidity during a period of growing change.

4.4 CONCLUSION

Within insular Iron Age art, decoration tended to emphasize movement, ambiguity, and the combination of invention and tradition. These decorated metal pieces created a sense of expression and visual communication that went beyond pure aesthetics, allowing for a variety of responses from the viewer while also creating a canvas for the artist, owner, or community to express themselves. As Jope states, these objects and their imagery created "a coherent language for

transmitting ideas not always so simple or naïve" (Jope 2000, 9). With the introduction of foreign innovations and art, the choice to adopt or adapt certain features was an active response taken by the individuals that created and possessed these changing pieces. This insular individualism was most strongly expressed between the 2nd and 1st centuries BC with the introduction of new motifs and the altering of others. It was following this period that motifs at their prime began to decline while others began to re-emerge. Furthermore, later examples show a return to more static ornamental schemes, largely through geometrical and singular patterns, potentially as a response to 'romanization'. However, this decreasing sense of individualism was also tied to a growing coherent British style which provided a greater availability to a more general population. This is most visually seen through the return of plain brooches in greater numbers during the mid-1st century BC. Nevertheless, traditional insular motifs did not disappear, instead maintaining a level of consistency, though in lower numbers. This further suggests that Iron Age methods of visual expression were not identical and continued to exist long after Roman occupation and influence. Whether this is seen on non-metal decorated materials will be explored in the following chapters.

5: POTTERY

Within Iron Age material studies, pottery has typically taken a back seat to metalwork and its social and cultural impact. Discussing metalwork alone, however, does not permit a full understanding of decoration's role within communities, nor how this visual language was shared. It places importance on a select few artefacts while inhibiting our understanding of this exchange of 'language'. Pottery, on the other hand, has proven to be an important material source for prehistoric studies as it is one of the most common finds, once fired it is 'virtually indestructible', it is a main chronological signifier, and it can be used to demonstrate both gradual and rapid changes taking place on a social level (Gibson 1997, 5). Ceramic decoration allows visual messages to reach a broader audience on a more local level than metalwork, and its combination of different motifs, the positioning of decoration upon it, and the frequency in which these differences occur allow for both individual and communal 'messages' to be spread, potentially relating to themes such as status or affiliation (*ibid.,* 6). Just as metalwork studies have received numerous typological evaluations, the same has been done for ceramic material culture in order to better understand the visual forms of representation people actively chose to make on a more local level. Previous discussions around pottery's typological and chronological associations, its production and exchange, potential functions, and social and cultural approaches will first be covered within this chapter, followed by a general assessment of its decoration, including its visual significance. While this chapter is intended to introduce the material, more in-depth and cross-comparative analyses, focusing on three case study sites, will take place in the following chapters.

5.1 PREVIOUS APPROACHES

Through an evaluation of the different levels of ceramic production, from the material source, inclusions, and manufacture, as well as its different uses, deposition, and possible reuse, pottery can reveal layered information about chronology, settlements, economy, and social interactions, such as seasonal and ritual activities (Hancocks 2003, 100-1; Woodward and Hill 2002, 1). As ceramics are reflective of the people that created and used them, each of these areas of analysis accumulate into a social and cultural examination. Pottery decoration, while similarly important for the role it has in revealing information about prehistoric people, has been retained for its own specific evaluation.

TYPOLOGY AND CHRONOLOGY

Chronology has always been of upmost importance to prehistoric scholars, often based on a mix of typological and scientific methods. Pottery, in particular, has played a significant role in the chronological and typological dating of material. Through pottery analysis, Cunliffe (1974) set out his style zones, which used ceramic forms, fabric, and surface decoration to divide Britain into different regional categories (Cunliffe 2005, 87) based on typological separations, and these zones have largely remained the standard divisions for archaeologists studying the British Iron Age. While Cunliffe originally divided Britain into five zones: the South-Western, North-Western, Eastern, North-Eastern, and Central Southern (*ibid.*), my research focuses on the three southern zones (Figure 5.1). These regions were given chronological divisions based on different ceramic elements, including form and fabric (Cunliffe 1974; 2005; Willis 2002, 8-9). As Cunliffe demonstrates through the creation of his style zones, pottery is one of the best materials to determine chronological or typological divisions as it is relatively common compared to other material forms, it is easily

manipulated in its plastic state but lasting in its final state, and its use in stratigraphical studies allow rates of change to be more easily mapped (Cunliffe 2005, 87). Through stratification, the variability in pottery may be identifiable, and therefore, comparable to another site's material (Willis 2002, 8), allowing for the recording of both gradual and rapid variations. Other typological approaches have been proposed for dating ceramic assemblages, including seriation. This method suggests that groups with a high frequency of similar pottery types would have a similar date range, thereby making the presence or absence of a particular type significant.

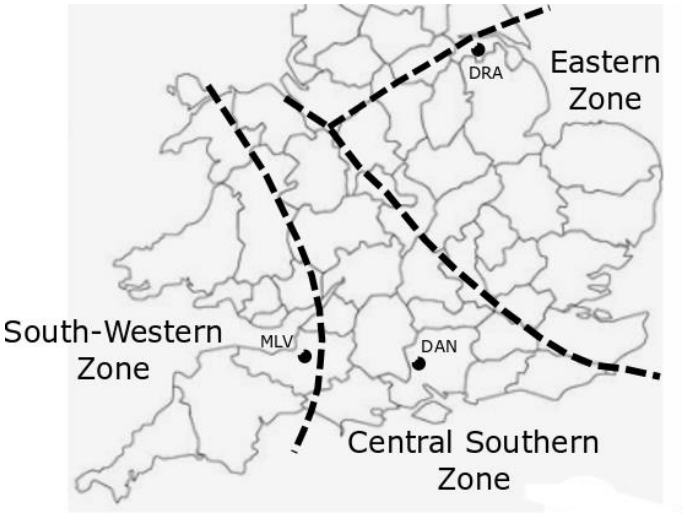


FIGURE 5.1 MAP OF POTTERY CASE STUDY SITES.

However, problems do arise when trying to use typology to chronologically date material. Oftentimes more distinct style zones have been created for the southern and central regions due to the greater representation of material evidence, in comparison to most northern regions which are often considered 'aceramic' (Hill 2002, 76-9). However, it is possible that ceramic traditions in these northern regions were continuing for longer periods of time, that material rubbish was being removed, or that less archaeological excavation has taken place, and therefore, the material has gone under-represented (Willis 2002, 17-18). Similarly, material evidence is more abundant during the later Iron Age, and therefore, has allowed for more refined dating during this period. Further 'chronological distortions' exist through the use of long-living or curated pottery, whereby its manufacture, or use date, might not match the occupation of the site, stratification levels might be too thin for accurate contexts (*ibid.,* 5, 7), and similar pottery types and decoration might be adopted at different periods on different sites. While typological classifications were originally used as chronological signifiers, the evolution of scientific research has allowed for new methods of dating. Radiocarbon (C14) dating uses organic material to determine broad chronological frameworks, which can suggest the 'lifespan' of a ceramic tradition, but the flat calibration curve between 800 and 400 BC means that there still remains a lack of understanding for Early Iron Age chronological dates. Luminescence dating can also be used to suggest a date based on the original firing of a vessel (Willis 2002, 11-14). Both of these methods can be beneficial to areas in which typological sources are less chronologically relevant, such as the northern regions. Nevertheless, it is likely that each regional style developed in its own way within its own chronological framework (Elsdon 1975, 41), and therefore, it is important to look at case studies in which local ceramic patterns can be researched and compared to different regional groups.

PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, AND EXCHANGE

The study of ceramic production is not only beneficial for understanding prehistoric methods of construction, but also for understanding the connections taking place both locally and externally, as well as socially and culturally. As Gibson highlights, the choice of inclusions within ceramics can suggest a deeper social significance based on different forms of symbolism, social levels, magical properties (Gibson 2002, 35), or familial connections. Distribution and exchange can reveal further information about possible social exchanges taking place during this time, particularly through the study of pottery. Within pottery research, there are multiple levels of production, distribution, and exchange dealing with the acquirement of materials, the locations of production, socio-economic choices, and contexts of exchange, which parallel the multiple economic levels within prehistoric societies (Hamilton 2002, 38). Each of these levels provide further information about deeper social connections, including who had access to certain materials and locations, whether these resources were shared or privileged, and how materials and production techniques were chosen and used, all of which reflect both practical and ideological choices being actively taken by prehistoric peoples (*ibid.,* 39). In turn this can reveal information about individual and communal identity, as well as regional allegiances. Overall, the complexity of pottery and its production has a connection to the complexity of social and economic structures within the community in which it was found.

FUNCTION AND USE

As pottery was created to be used, and potentially reused in various ways, it is important to understand its' function before placing it within a wider social context. The study of pottery can reveal further information about activities taking place on a site, the location of these activities, how food was processed and consumed, its role within areas of life and death, and how social groups might have been organized (Morris 2002, 54-5). The shape and size of vessels, as well as use-wear evidence, such as abrasion and limescale residue, can provide helpful clues to understanding its function. Similarly, residue analysis using gas chromatography and mass spectrometry can reveal a vessel's contents by determining what has been absorbed into the inside of the vessel (Cramp 2008, 53; Gibson 1997, 237), while ethnographic studies can provide links to similar vessels (Morris 2002, 58-59). Occasionally, decorative features can provide further information about a vessel's function, particularly through the use of surface treatments, such as scratching or scoring, which allow for a pot to be more easily held (Hill 2002, 80). Ruth and Vincent Megaw (2001) further highlighted that most Iron Age art is found on everyday objects and that this art largely served practical purposes, not just aesthetic ones. These everyday objects were not restricted to metalwork, and therefore, their interpretation also plays a role in understanding decorated pottery (Megaw and Megaw 2001, 16), and whether it held a higher role within society than is currently appreciated.

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL APPROACHES

Through a reinvention of the Cultural Historical approach, greater focus has been placed on the style, ritual, and social implications of prehistoric pottery (Hill 2002, 76). As Gibson stated, "pottery, more than any other prehistoric artefact, puts me in touch with the people of the past" (Gibson 2003, vii) as it is a direct reflection of the community in which it was created and/or used, and based on this idea archaeologists have interpreted the social and cultural meanings behind pottery's creation, decoration, and use. It is also within this approach that the concept of 'pots equal people', as well as the old-fashioned invasion theory (Gibson 1997, 14), began to take hold, which suggested that the introduction of new ceramic styles meant the introduction of a new group of people. While largely supported earlier on, this approach came under criticism following the 1950s and 1960s (MacGregor 1976, 11) as it regarded prehistoric people of Britain as unimaginative and easily overtaken, without considering the innovations possible on a local level. Similarly, the introduction

of new production and decorative techniques did not mean the end of traditional forms of decoration. As MacGregor emphasized, "traditions die hard and often, in adversity, linger the longest" (MacGregor 1976, 189), and these decorative patterns could have continued whether or not the 'messages' associated with them changed or whether individuals retained the knowledge to understand them. Through ceramic studies it also became apparent that certain regions and communities appeared 'aceramic' during different periods of time. This 'aceramicness' is not necessarily reflective of a 'lesser' or 'backwards' economy (Hill 2002, 76, 78), but may instead reflect the existence of pottery alternatives, such as basketry or leather, which do not tend to survive well in Britain. Similarly, climate, seasonal periods, levels of communal sedentism, pottery's function within a community, and different methods of food consumption can all contribute to an apparent 'aceramicness' within different regions and time periods (*ibid.,* 78). Periods of 'aceramicness' may also exist within a community which previously produced it, and therefore, this reflects an active choice being taken due to various unknown factors.

CONCLUSION

Within Iron Age archaeological studies, ceramics have the potential to reveal multiple levels of social organization and interaction. As previous research has shown, reviewing typology and chronology, production and distribution, function and use, as well as the context of the material allow for interpretations to be made about cultural and social organizations, economy, internal and external changes, and settlement structures. All of these categories further accumulate into a study of the social and cultural nature of the community or communities in which they were intricately involved. The particular choices being made during an artefact's production, use, and eventual 'death' contained meanings and social significances that were passed between individuals, thereby creating a form of material communication. This form of communication was visually enhanced and emphasized by the presence of decoration.

5.2 POTTERY DECORATION

As with the shape and function of pottery, ceramic decoration also served an important role in understanding prehistoric people, beyond simple aesthetic taste. It's colour, texture, and pattern can reveal possible information about kinship or status, spiritual life, and interrelations (Woodward and Hill 2002, 2-3), as well as reactions to political change and outside influence. To better interpret these visual intentions, an evaluation of the possible decorative features is needed. Different archaeologists have attempted to create ceramic decorative typologies, but these divisions tend to reflect specific sites with their own particular material evidence. Often these ceramic decorative typologies provide very general descriptions, only include a small range of motifs, or largely reflect decorative techniques rather than motifs and patterns. As previously emphasized, it is beneficial to approach the decoration more generally so that the major changes in technology taking place are not overlooked (Macsween 2003, 130), while also allowing more subtle details from different sites to be determined.

Approaching decoration as a visual 'language' allows one to interpret what the creator(s) or owner(s) of a vessel were hoping to communicate. As previously discussed in Chapter 3, various motifs and methods of surface treatment have been evaluated to better understand the visual 'messages' and overall patterns within the material evidence. Therefore, information from previous literature and different regional sites has been updated and incorporated into my Simplified Typology (Appendix A) and database so that a greater selection of ceramic material from the British Iron Age can be included. This allows for new material, regions, and sites to be easily integrated and

compared. A more inclusive decorative typology will allow future archaeologists to better interpret and compare their material assemblages to the patterns experienced within British pottery as a whole.

'WHY DECORATE?'

Within his work ''Fancy Objects' in the British Iron Age' (2011), Joy proposes an important question: "Why decorate?" (Joy 2011, 206), and this question can be aptly applied to my material research. As most Iron Age artefacts were not decorated, we must question the intention behind those artefacts that were decorated (*ibid.).* Decoration would have served an active role in negotiations of identity (*ibid.*), both on an individual and collective basis. While certain objects might have been representative of a social elite, this cannot be the sole explanation for all decorated materials. Ceramics, in particular, would have served more local representations of identity, allegiance, and status. Another important question to ask is 'Who made the decorative choices?' There is no reason to record the data if no attempt is made to connect it to the people who actively created and used it, as well as to understand why. Throughout previous literature, different explanations for why pottery was decorated have been proposed. While it is not possible to truly know the intentions of prehistoric people, archaeologists are still able to make interpretations about their intentions based on the material. According to Gibson, decoration may have served both a functional and representational role upon ceramics. Due to this, he supports using the term 'surface treatments' instead of decoration as it allows the patterns to serve both roles (Gibson 2002, 51). As a functional tool, roughened surfaces may have allowed a vessel to be more easily handled, which is largely supported through the occurrence of scratched wares. In contrast, the patterns may also have contained deeper meanings. As J.D. Hill highlights, "pottery's great flexibility of form, surface treatment and decoration offer considerable potential as a medium for displaying 'messages' of all kinds" (Hill 2002, 80). An examination of these features allows for possible 'messages' to be read and interpreted and different forms of identity to be determined. It can be used to commemorate events, reflect group identity, or "identify certain segments of the population whether locally, regionally, or even hierarchically" (Gibson 2002, 51-3). Just as ceramics are thought to contain emotional or communal value, so too can the decoration upon the vessels.

Reviewing previous literature's approach to decorated metalwork also provides insight into the possibilities of decorated pottery. The belief that 'Celtic art' is largely a form of 'visual communication' is held for both material forms. Previous archaeologists' interpretations of the importance of decorative 'messages' on metalwork can, therefore, be transferrable to other materials. Richard Bradley's work (2009) reinforces the idea that if art serves as a means of communication, then there must have been "people in a position to interpret them" (Bradley 2009, 46-47). As most decoration was abstract, he argues that only a select few would have possessed the knowledge to understand the explicit motif and pattern combinations depicted, and different levels of knowledge may have existed (*ibid.,* 119). The belief that knowledge was acquired and necessary to understand the decoration is also seen within decorated pottery. These patterns are abstract and repetitive, but the singular presence of motifs or combination of motifs into different patterns was intentional, and therefore, possessed meaning that could be 'read.' It not only can reveal shared regional, communal, or group identities, but may also reflect personal identities, as seen through its use in burial rituals. These group identities may be based on status, gender, family allegiance, etc., though it is important to not make modern assumptions about these roles.

Pottery vessels themselves contained a personal history made up of their birth (manufacture), the different functions they held during life, and their eventual death (deposition). As with other material forms, ceramics were used, damaged, repaired, curated, and deliberately 'killed' (Barclay

2002, 93), with decoration remaining a consistent factor. During each of these phases, the decoration would have played a role in determining the 'messages' being expressed through their adoption and adaptation. To evaluate a vessel's history, it is important to look at its decoration and the history of these visual choices, both within a community and beyond it. However, as with the concept of 'aceramicness', there are also periods in which pottery is decorated and others in which it is not, both within a single site and between different sites. This is not consistent between regions, nor is it always the case within communities. As with the lack of pottery during different periods, the lack of decorated pottery is not necessarily reflective of a community on a lower cultural level but may have many contributing factors. The presence and degree of decoration on pottery, as well as the absence of decoration, may each have held different meanings in relation to cultural identification (Barclay 2002, 85). Sometimes what is not there may have as much to say as what is there. Equally, where do we draw the line between simple and complex decoration? This is a division biased on the side of the researcher and has no relevance to what decorative patterns or techniques were important to prehistoric people. While we subconsciously apply more importance to decoration that we find to be more complex, this is not necessarily the case for those who actively created and viewed these different decorated pieces.

MOTIFS

Within British Iron Age pottery decoration, motifs can be divided into general categories of geometrical, curvilinear, or circular. Previous literature has largely adopted these terms to divide the visual imagery regardless of whether further detail about the actual motifs and patterns placed within these categories is discussed. These categories will continue to be used as a basis for general description (Section 3.1), from which the motifs and patterns can be further defined. While most authors fail to explicitly define and illustrate the motifs they are referencing, Gibson and Ann Woods (1997) have provided detailed definitions for different motifs, so that discrepancies within previous literature on Iron Age pottery can be better understood and interpreted. As Gibson and Woods state, the "finer study of the minutiae of decoration, style and fabric may reveal local regional variations and cultural groupings within more general styles" (Gibson and Woods 1997, 6), and their work provides an excellent base on which to begin this comparative study. Their vocabulary not only elaborately describes motifs, but it also provides more detail about the different ware types, the style stages highlighted by Cunliffe (1974), the different fabrics available, the decorative patterns and techniques, and the scientific processes involved in ceramic production.

In order to further avoid any possible discrepancies, individual motifs have been addressed within my Simplified Typology (Appendix A). Geometric motifs include those from Appendix A: A-C, J, V, and AA. There is a greater variety of curvilinear motifs (Appendix A: D-I, K-T, W-Z), although some of these are not found on pottery, but are characteristic of the other materials, which will be discussed in the following chapters. On a general level, chevrons and horizontal bands are typically the most common geometrical motifs depicted. Horizontal bands can be produced through the use of different techniques but are often used to border or bind decorative patterns. Within curvilinear decoration, different varieties of the arc motif are most commonly found, which can be depicted as standing, pendant, or interlocking. Interlocking arc motifs have repeatedly been referred to as 'leaf' motifs due to the shape made from the empty spaces left between the arcs, as well as a reference back to the classical lotus leaf. Circular motifs largely consist of ring-and-dots and concentric circles. Overall, chevrons, lozenges, standing and pendant arcs, scrolls, horizontal and vertical bands, and cordons are the most widely expressed motifs included within Iron Age pottery discussions.

As with other forms of decorated material, general motifs can evolve into different derivatives of their initial forms. As Sheila Elsdon highlights, one bowl from Frilford, dated to the Middle La Tène

period shows a derivative of interlocking arcs (Figure 5.2). Instead of simply combining pendant and standing arcs into one pattern, the artist has split the two forms into half arcs to fill the spaces, forming what Elsdon refers to as 'split' interlocking arcs (Elsdon 1975, 11). According to Elsdon, this is "the true Celtic imagination at work, dividing the stylized motif into component parts and re-combining them to greater effect" (*ibid.*). She further draws attention to the use of the 'wavy line,' or running wave (Appendix A: G), as another derivative to the general arc pattern and "another example of taking a pattern to pieces and re-combining it" (*ibid.,* 22). Both of these examples show the process of adopting a pattern, understanding its basic form, and adapting it to fit a different purpose. In other words, to express a different 'message' through a recognizable design. This process is repeatedly seen in metalwork but is expressed differently within pottery production. For example, the adaption of the classical lotus and palmette motifs are broken down into abstraction, just as they are within metal decoration, but are turned into abstract friezes made of circles and arcs within the Eastern La Tène ceramic tradition and into 'leaf', scroll, and whorl patterns within the Western La Tène ceramic tradition (*ibid.,* 42-3). While taking different approaches to the adoption of the classical lotus and palmette pattern, each region actively altered the work into abstraction, therefore fitting the pattern into a similar tradition, just one with individualistic results.

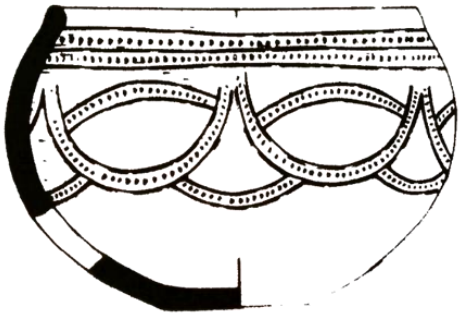


FIGURE 5.2 VESSEL FROM FRILFORD, UPPER THAMES REGION (ELSDON 1975, FIG. 10, NO.1).

Characteristically, ceramic decoration moves in a horizontal direction around the entirety of the vessel, though this is not always the case. Often times this is assumed when the pattern moves in this direction even when the whole vessel has not been preserved; however, there are examples that bring this assumption into question and illustrate that this movement was not always followed. For example, two vessels from Blewburton Hill in Oxfordshire have patterns that abruptly end (Figure 5.3), and according to Elsdon, this is recognized to be a deliberate choice made by the potter (Elsdon 1975, 9). The ability to continue the pattern existed, but the potter actively chose to break from this tradition. Additional choices made by prehistoric potters appear to stray from typical representations of motifs and patterns. On some occasions the decoration appears clumsy and crude, it does not evenly line up or meet, or it appears to be of a lower quality or possibly an earlier model. However, instead of representing the skill of the potter, this might instead represent the importance of the motifs and patterns themselves within prehistoric ceramic traditions. Quality might not have been as important as the overall pattern choices presented upon pottery, with "the message being more important than the medium" (Megaw and Megaw 2001, 19). Similarly, no practice pieces appear within the material record. The reasoning for this is uncertain, but it may be that only 'perfect' pots could be fired or that any evidence of a learning process lies within the sherd collections, and therefore, is undetectable (Gibson 2003, vii-viii). However, this would further highlight the idea that the decorated pots which do remain were chosen and thought to be of adequate quality for their intended result. The 'crude' pots might not have been considered as such, as long as the intended visual 'message' was expressed.

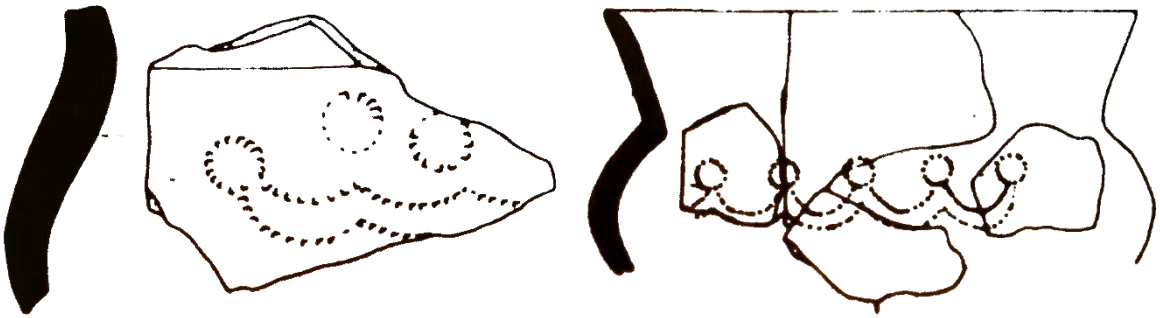


FIGURE 5.3 EXAMPLES OF HORIZONTAL DECORATION NOT CONTINUING AROUND THE ENTIRETY OF THE VESSEL FROM BLEWBURTON HILL, OXFORDSHIRE (ELSDON 1975, FIG. 9, NO. 5 AND 9).

Once combined, the different motifs available were able to create a large variety of patterns in which prehistoric communities could express and spread visual 'messages.' These patterns can either be bordered by horizontal bands or remain unbounded. While individual motifs might highlight connections between communities or people, these connections grow even stronger when similar patterns were created through the use of motifs in particular arrangements. These visual 'messages' might have signified positions within society, alliances, ancestral connections, gender relations, etc., though it would be unrealistic to attempt to directly associate individuals with particular decorated material.

TECHNIQUES

The types of surface treatment employed can greatly affect the type of decoration chosen, and therefore which visual messages were included. On one side we have applied decoration, in which clay is added to the surface of a vessel. This applied decoration comes in different forms, such as cordons and rosettes (Gibson 1997, 88-9). On the other side, decoration can be created through the removal of clay from the surface of the vessel, which Gibson refers to as either furrowing, incising, or impressing. Furrowing can be seen as the opposite of cordoning whereby horizontal bands are delineated by the removal of clay created by dragging a blunt instrument through soft clay to produce rows of parallel grooves (Figure 5.4). Incisions are created by dragging a sharp instrument through leather-hard clay while impressions are created by pressing a tool into soft clay. Impressions as a means of application come in many different forms, largely affected by the different tools being utilized. These instruments are commonly made out of cord, comb, bird bone, reed, and shell, or fingertip/nails can be used (Woodward 2002, 111-112). Similar to comb impressions, rouletting is seen as a form of impression that involves rolling a toothed wheel along the surface of wet clay, commonly in the shape of circles or squares, and typically acts as the basis for motifs or as infilling within the overall pattern (*ibid.*, 167, 192, 242). When repeatedly used, these different forms of impression can create both geometric and curvilinear motifs and patterns or be used as infilling (hatching) for background spaces.

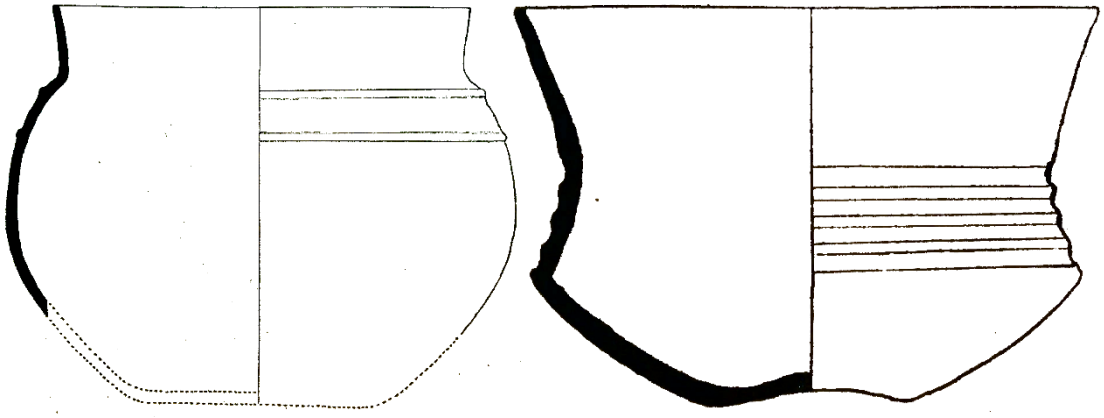


FIGURE 5.4 VESSELS WITH CORDONING (LEFT) AND FURROWING (RIGHT) (BASED ON CUNNINGTON AND CUNNINGTON 1923, FIG. 30.3 [LEFT] AND 28.1 [RIGHT]).

While surface treatment represents the process by which motifs were applied, it can also serve as a form of decoration in its own right. For example, burnishing, rustication, and fingertip/nail impressions are all surface treatments, as well as patterns of decoration. Burnishing is created by rubbing leather-hard clay with a rounded tool, typically in short, linear strokes, which compacts the surface of the vessel (*ibid.,* 115). This technique can be executed over the whole of the vessel or intermittently. Much like this process, rustication describes the roughening of a surface for functional and/or decorative purposes (*ibid.,* 243), and is often found in later periods with no other accompanying decoration. Rows of fingertip/nail impressions, on the other hand, are continuously found on earlier vessels with no other accompanying decoration. In this regard, these decorative features serve as both application techniques, as well as decoration in their own right.

While tools for decoration would have been an important feature within ceramic production, the materials used to create them were usually perishable, and therefore, are not as visible in the archaeological record. However, symbolic associations have been attributed to these implements through their connection to the decoration. According to Woodward, there are oppositions between the wild and the domestic within the decorative tools. For example, flint and bone can potentially be attributed to the domestic sphere, while animal bones might relate to the wild, as well as align with magical attributions. Similarly, cord impressions may relate to water activities, such as fishing and boat building (*ibid.,* 114-115). In cases where symbolic associations are attributed to these tools, these connections would then be transmitted into the overall decoration through the artist's choice in material. While Woodward's work may not include all forms of application, it does highlight the large amount of techniques used during this time, as well as possible social implications around the tools needed to produce them.

In a similar fashion to the burnishing of pottery, the application of iron oxides during different firing stages produced different ceramic colours, which in turn may contain their own visual messages. For example, the use of haematite, a red iron oxide, is used extensively within the Iron Age to create yellow, red, or brown coloured clays (Gibson 1997, 181). The main question archaeologists must ask, therefore, is why prehistoric potters would choose to change the colour of their pottery? While it is not a technique used for the application of motifs, it can help to emphasize the decoration depicted. Similarly, the occasional presence of painted decoration found on pottery served as a means for using colour and pattern to emphasize similar visual 'messages,' though this field is less extensive than incised or impressed decoration.

INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL VESSEL LOCATION

A different approach to the concept of 'pots equal people' is applied to the different parts of a vessel. In particular, it is a common belief that pots are reflective of the human body as they are given names such as shoulder, foot, body, etc. It has been proposed that this connection stems from the two essential human requirements, food and water, which are both contained within pottery (Woodward and Hill 2002, 1-2). In relation to the importance of the human body to pottery, different regions appear to express different preferences for the location upon the vessel in which decoration was included, with a predominance on the shoulder.

Regional location also appears to be connected to the type of decorated pottery at different periods of time. Previous literature has highlighted that subtle differences in decorative choices do exist between regions, referencing back to Cunliffe's original five style zones. North of the Thames appears rich in flowing patterns, rosettes, and arcs. In contrast, in the Northern and Western Isles of Scotland, decoration is made up of cordons and fingertip impressions (Gibson 1997, 73, 76). However, again we see that many of these differences are focused on general patterns, geometrical versus curvilinear, or on the technical application of the patterns, such as incised versus impressed, rather than on the specific motifs, their combinations, and their subtle changes.

5.3 CONCLUSION

Through an evaluation of pottery decoration, it becomes apparent that certain motifs and patterns are depicted more regularly and last throughout a longer period of time. The repetition of motifs and the variety of patterns available on pottery follows a similar decorative repertoire that allows for visual 'messages' to be transferred and understood by those versed in the knowledge to understand them. However, when conducting this research on pottery and its decoration, it is important to place the material into its proper social context and be cautious of making modern assumptions about its creation and use. Comparing material to present innovations takes away from the significance that would have been ascribed to these materials, including their decoration, from the people first experiencing them. Previous research has not always provided adequate evaluations of ceramic decoration, nor placed importance on ceramics within prehistoric studies. Nevertheless, past research, even when focused on metalwork, provided directions from which to ask questions and make interpretations about other decorated materials and their visual 'messages'. From this research, more concise categorisations have been created, which have been accumulated from previous work and updated where necessary, so that typological sequences within different style zones and time periods can be more fully understood. This typology has been applied to decorated pottery from three case study sites, each examined within the following chapters, which will allow for further comparisons to other decorated materials to take place.

6: DANEBURY POTTERY

To better understand Iron Age ceramic decoration in southern Britain, I have chosen to first examine one of the more thoroughly explored sites: Danebury hillfort. Not only has this site provided an extensive collection of ceramics, but it also provides a well-stratified sequence, enabling detailed typological dating. Danebury (Figure 6.1) is a hillfort located on the Wessex chalk downlands between the county border of Hampshire and Wiltshire, placing it within Cunliffe's Central Southern style zone (Cunliffe 2000, 9). The first recorded archaeological excavation there took place in 1858, directed by Augustus Franks of the British Museum, working with the Society of Antiquaries, investigating a pit uncovered by a local gamekeeper. Full excavations, however, did not begin until 1969, when Barry Cunliffe conducted two phases of excavations until 1988. During these two phases, over half of the site was excavated, eventually then expanded by the Danebury Environs Project until 1996, whereby additional focus was placed on the surrounding environment (Cunliffe 2000, 9-10; 2005, 428).

The hillfort itself was constructed of three main ramparts and divided into multiple occupational periods: an early Iron Age, middle, late, and latest occupational period, roughly correlated to ceramic phases (CPs) 1-3, 4-5, 6-7, and 8. The site appears to have been densely occupied during the early and late phases, with extensive reconstruction of the defensive structures during this later period. Within the latest period, around the middle of the 1st century AD, the fort was no longer strongly defended, and the population declined (Davis 2013, 359). However, it does appear that there was a late refortification during ceramic phase (CP) 9, possibly during the time of the Roman conquest (Cunliffe 1984, 549-550). Furthermore, during this final phase, Danebury was reorganized into rectangular ditched enclosures, suggesting a possible social and political restructuring (Cunliffe 2000, 124; 2005, 427-8).

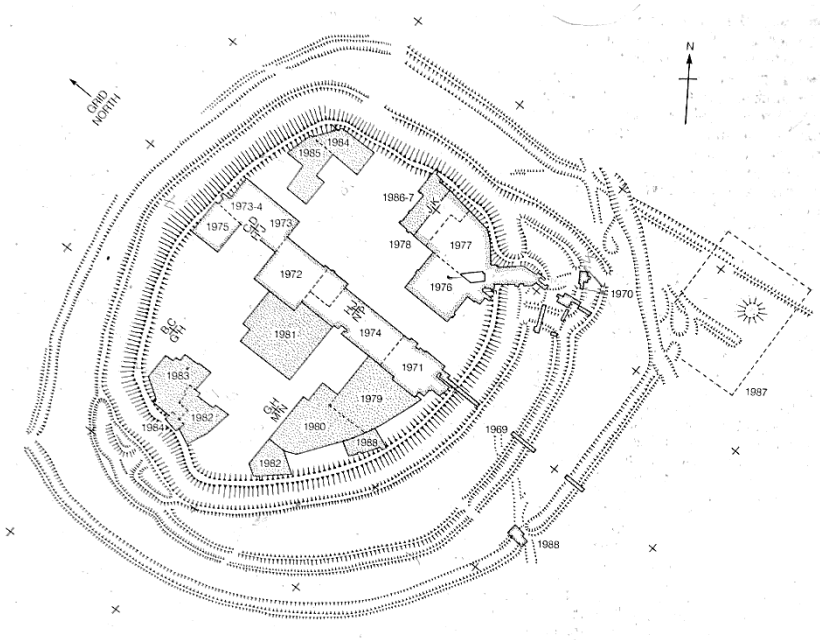


FIGURE 6.1 DANEBURY HILLFORT SITE PLAN (CUNLIFFE 1995, FIGURE 1).

6.1 PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS

Initial data collection and analysis for Danebury's ceramic assemblage was conducted between 1984 and 1995 and recorded within multiple site reports titled *Danebury: An Iron Age hillfort in Hampshire*. The site produced a total of 158,000 sherds from 1757 pits, 1054 spread layers, and 735 other contexts (Cunliffe 1995, 53-4). Overall, the pottery was characterized by the different forms, fabrics, and surface finishes, including decoration, into a coded system of classification (Cunliffe 1984, 231). Analysis of the ceramic assemblage within its stratigraphy provided additional evidence for Cunliffe to separate the material into ceramic phases (CPs), initially determined through objective observation within "a matrix of subjectivity" (Cunliffe 1984, 233) and later adjusted to incorporate new calibration curves and Bayesian statistical analysis (Cunliffe 1995, 53-4). Based on this information, Danebury has proven to be a good site to begin data comparisons as the ceramic evidence is very substantial compared to other sites, has undergone significant changes during its occupation, and the CPs have been well defined within the reports and provide an excellent basis on which to separate the decorated pottery.

From Cunliffe's discussion of the decorative features, forms, and fabrics he principally draws connections to larger ethnic groups, both within the region and beyond it, placing them within his style zones. Through this process, the association of decorated ceramics with "communal identity" meant that "pottery styles become a surrogate for ethnicity" (Cunliffe 2005, 87). Based on the pottery, Danebury was positioned first within the Early All Cannings Cross group (around the 8th to 7th centuries BC), followed by the Later All Cannings group (around the 7th to 6th centuries BC), the All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill group (around the 5th to 3rd centuries BC), and later by the Yarnbury-Highfield style and the St. Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down style, both around the 3rd to 1st centuries BC. Danebury is the only site in which these two later styles are found together (Cunliffe 1984, 256). Finally, the site belonged to the Atrebatic style until the end of its occupation, from the 1st century BC to the Roman period (Cunliffe 2005*,* 233), although occupation would have been sporadic during this time (Cunliffe 1984, 258).

In addition to placing ceramics within their regional groupings, changing regional influences within its material can also be charted through a comparison of the different types of decorative treatments and fabrics. During the earlier period of occupation, around 550 to 450 BC, ceramic material from Danebury and the surrounding sites is thought to have been produced in the Salisbury region: within a Wiltshire-centred territory. Additionally, there were two types of vessels that came from slightly outside the immediate area: red-finished wares and glauconitic sandy wares. Within the red-finished wares, the fabric consisted of brickearth clay, with the closest source coming from the Salisbury region in Wiltshire, while the closest source for glauconitic sandy wares comes from Compton Chamberlayne, also in Wiltshire (Cunliffe 1984*,* 245). According to Cunliffe, "if decorated pottery is symbolic of ethnicity, then Danebury had changed its allegiance sometime in the 4th century from the west to the east" (*ibid.*, 562), and around 300 to 100 BC a change in production can be seen with the introduction of the saucepan pot. This change was accompanied by the adoption of new decorative preferences, such as horizontal zones of slanted cross-hatching between horizontal rows of dots (Figure 6.2) typically associated within the St. Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down style (*ibid.,* 254) in Hampshire (Cunliffe 2000, 178), east of Danebury.

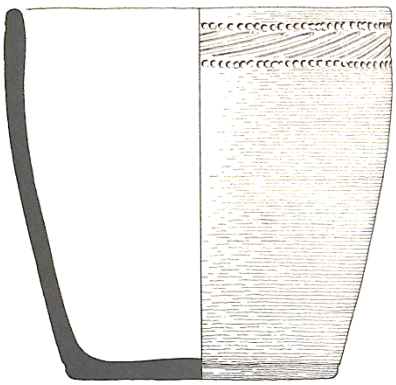


FIGURE 6.2 DANEBURY VESSEL DEPICTING THE TYPICAL ST CATHERINE'S HILL-WORTHY STYLE (C118).

Danebury's ceramics were further discussed within Niall Sharples and Elaine Morris's (Sharples 2010) analysis on pottery production and exchange within Wessex as a whole. Morris emphasized that ceramics were exchanged to maintain relationships between communities and suggested that the quality of the pot was not as important as the social relationship created around it (*ibid.,* 111-2). In this sense, ceramics and their decorative features were intended more for local consumption and representation in contrast to the long-distance systems indicated through metalwork exchange. Morris further assigns community significance to the functional role of ceramics and their potential contents. Their use for storage, cooking, and serving food indicates a more local impact (*ibid.,* 115), whether for local exchange or daily use, and therefore ceramic vessels would hold a more direct connection to local relationships and means of expression. Consequently, different vessel forms would be used within different levels of social interaction, such as larger vessels for more communal food preparation compared to smaller vessels for individual levels of consumption. Based on these connections, the decoration ascribed to these vessel forms would hold a similar social connection and demonstrate an "increasing social control over food consumption" (*ibid.,* 298) in much the same way that was previously described by Cunliffe.

DECORATION

Pottery analysis within the Danebury reports partially addressed the associated decoration through a system of categorizing the different types of decorative features found, separated by methods of application, techniques, and patterns (Figure 6.3). This typological scheme was initially adopted in 1975, created specifically for Danebury and its surrounding sites, in order for the material to be easily codified and decorative features on the pottery to be easily categorized. The initial methods of application were first divided into geometric decoration scratched after finishing; stamped or impressed decoration; fingertip or nail impressions; cordons; and shallow tooled decoration (Cunliffe 1984, 233). Geometric scratched decoration is largely restricted to red-finished bowls, while stamped or finger impressions are rather rare at Danebury, with only one example of fingernail impressions found. Shallow tooled decoration is the most common form of application, particularly during CP7, and it is only within this category that more detailed techniques and patterns are listed. In the cases where multiple motifs are present on a single vessel, these would be separated by a slash, as seen in the IIa/If examples in Figure 6.4. While his typology was simplified in order to avoid any "classificatory rigidity" (Cunliffe 1984, 232) placed upon the material, there still remains some discrepancy within the terms and how they are applied. As can be seen in a comparison of Figures 6.3 and 6.4, zigzags and chevrons are both listed even though the difference between them is not specified or illustrated; I would classify these two as the same motif. Additionally, on some occasions horizontal lines are coded separately from other motifs, while on other occasions they are altogether excluded, but Cunliffe does not explain this difference. Therefore, while these features include motifs, forms, and techniques in much the same way as my own method of recording, I have taken a slightly different approach to the typological descriptions and features to try to circumvent this type of inconsistency.

Decorative techniques
1 lines only
2 dots only
3 lines and dots
4 Glastonbury style deep tooling

Patterns
a horizontal
b diagonal
c cross-hatching
d zig-zag
e chevron
f arc
g swag
h wave
i dimple

FIGURE 6.3 CUNLIFFE'S DECORATIVE SUB-SECTIONS (CUNLIFFE 1984, VOL. 2, 243).

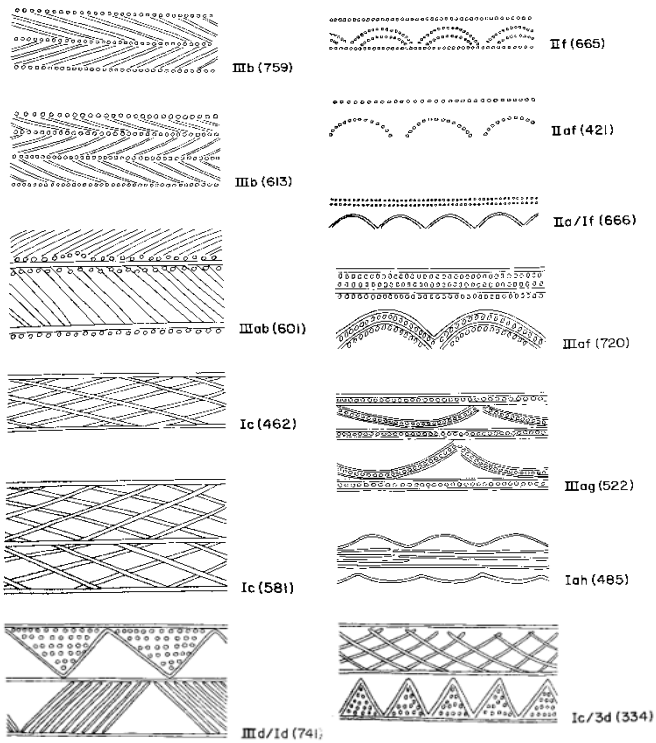


FIGURE 6.4 SHALLOW-TOOLED MOTIFS BASED ON CUNLIFFE'S SCHEME (CUNLIFFE 1984, VOL. 2, FIG. 6.81-6.83).

CERAMIC DATING

Danebury produced a closely stratified collection of partial and fragmentary ceramic vessels, allowing for "a much clearer definition of style change and greater precision in dating" (Cunliffe 1984, 233) than many other sites. The available stratigraphy, as well as an analysis of assemblages from the surrounding region and evaluation of different decorative features, allowed Cunliffe to create CPs for stylistic dating, accumulating in a total of nine phases (Table 6.1). Towards the end of CP7, in the early 1st century BC, the use of the potter's wheel was adopted allowing for new innovations in creating and decorating vessels, including the return of cordons to the body (Cunliffe 1984, 233,248). Certain phases were initially defined purely based on decoration, such as between CP6 and 7, but were later more accurately divided through reliable calibration curves and Bayesian statistical analysis (Cunliffe 1995, 53-4). While this later dating assigned AD 20 as the end date for CP7, Cunliffe still surmised that 50 BC was a better choice as this matches the start date for CP8 (*ibid.,* 17-8). Cunliffe's conclusions, however, suggest that there was no chronological overlap between CP7 and 8, which is unlikely. Nevertheless, both radiocarbon dating and Cunliffe's evaluations have been included within Table 6.1, with CP7 demonstrating both end dates. Based on Cunliffe's analysis, there was also no recognizable break in occupation from around 550 to 50 BC (Cunliffe 1984, 258; Davis 2013, 369), with sporadic occupation following this period. These CP divisions have been adopted within my database to provide a basis on which to compare decorative changes within Danebury over time. According to Cunliffe's initial analysis, certain decorative features were characteristic of different CPs. Amongst the most notable are scratched-cordoned bowls from CP3 and decorated saucepan pots from CP7 (Cunliffe 1984, 234). However, as with any sequential division, there are discrepancies as particular stylistic features would likely have overlapped during different phases. CPs were also selected based on the latest dateable sherd within a particular site feature (Cunliffe 1984, 234), which might not provide an accurate date for their production and use as these sherds might have been residual or strays. Due to this dating method, it is likely that there will be an over-representation of earlier phases due to the residual and overlapping nature of the material.

TABLE 6.1 DANEBURY CERAMIC PHASES AND RESPECTIVE DATE RANGES (CUNLIFFE 1995).

CERAMIC PHASE	DATE RANGE
1-2	550-470 BC
3	470-360 BC
4-5	360-310 BC
6	310-270 BC
7	270-50 BC/AD 20
8	50 BC – AD 50
9	AD 50 – Roman Britain

In his evaluation, Cunliffe focused most thoroughly on CP7 (c. 270-50 BC/AD 20). He established that the percentage of decorated sherds increased from the first sub-phase 7A (at 4%) to the last sub-phase 7E (at 14.1%) (*ibid.,* 243). He then further divides the sub-phases 7A to 7E into his typology by decorative techniques and patterns, providing percentage means from this material. Cunliffe concluded that technique 1 (lines only) and pattern B (diagonal) predominate in all of the sub-phases (*ibid.,* Table 32). As this example demonstrates, Cunliffe's typology provided a good basis on which to begin quantifying and comparing the data (Section 3.1).

FORM

Cunliffe's analysis of vessel form found that there was a rather restricted range of vessel types throughout most of Danebury's phases, as is similarly seen through my data (Table 6.2; Figure 6.5). While his basic classes were initially made up of jars, bowls, dishes, and saucepan pots, later additions included lids and bases ('other'), and as with any rigid division, discrepancies and overlapping can occur, particularly in cases where only a small fragment was found. However, only decorated vessels which were assigned dates have been considered within this table. According to Cunliffe, there was a wider range of forms and fabrics found during the earliest phases of occupation (CP1-3), although this is not seen through the general divisions outlined in Table 6.2. Vessels from CP4-5 show a higher degree of standardization. A greater variety of vessel forms was again utilized after CP6, finalized by the introduction of Roman inspired forms after CP8 (Cunliffe 1995, 54-55; 2000, 120-2). One possibility behind the lack of variety between CP4-5 is the use of other materials, such as wood, in place of ceramics (*ibid.*).

TABLE 6.2 DANEBURY VESSEL TYPES (%) BY CERAMIC PHASE (BASED ON 355 DECORATED VESSELS FROM MY DATA COLLECTION: 118 JARS, 113 BOWLS, 12 DISHES, 93 SAUCEPAN POT, AND 20 'OTHER').

	CP1-3	CP4-5	CP6	CP7	CP8	CP9	
JAR	15.7	9.7	13.9	43.1	17.6	-	100.0
BOWL	55.3	31.4	2.7	7.5	1.8	1.3	100.0
DISH	8.3	19.4	15.3	57	-	-	100.0
SAUCEPAN POT	-	-	31.2	67.2	1.6	-	100.0
OTHER	-	-	-	57.5	10	32.5	100.0
TOTAL FROM SITE	**16.3**	**12.8**	**16.0**	**44.9**	**7.7**	**2.2**	**100.0**

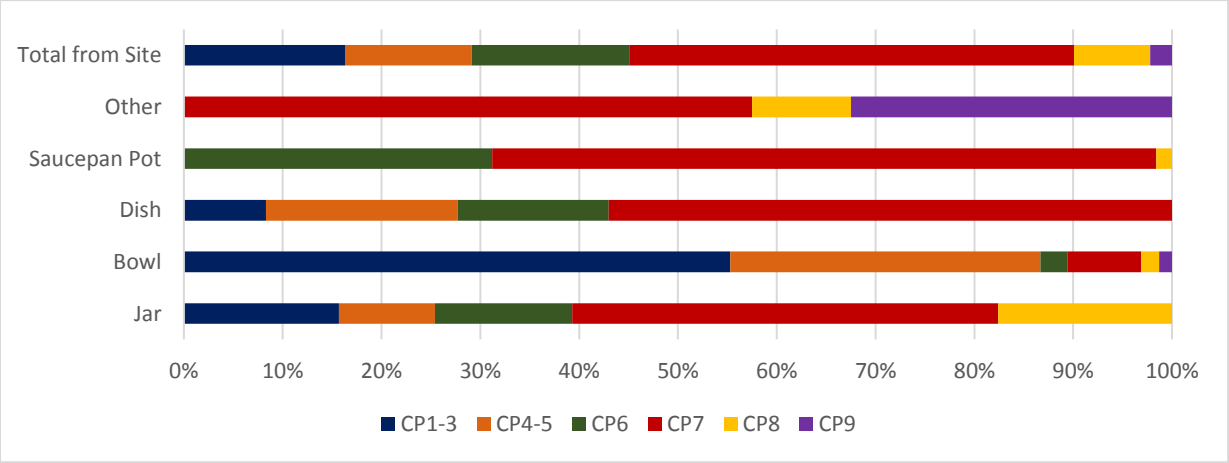


FIGURE 6.5 DANEBURY VESSEL FORM TO CERAMIC PHASE (CP) (BASED ON 355 DECORATED VESSELS: SAME AS TABLE 6.2).

Within Cunliffe's report, different decorative features have been ascribed to specific vessel forms. For example, scratched decoration is largely restricted to haematite-coated bowls, later re-termed 'red-finished wares' as different methods were used to create this coloured surface (Cunliffe 1991, 278), at Danebury and placed within the All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill style, dating from the 5th to 3rd century BC (Cunliffe 1984, 254). This decorative technique is typically used to create small continuous rows of chevrons below the rim of the vessel (*ibid.,* 309). In comparison, shallow-tooled decoration around the shoulder of the vessel is a common feature in CP7 but can continuously be found throughout Danebury. Another example, according to Cunliffe, are the glauconitic sandy wares, including flared dishes, saucepan pots, and everted rimmed jars. These vessels show a restricted range of motifs that continuously depict arcs with shallow impressions at their basal

points (*ibid.,* 245; Figure 6.6), typical of the Yarnbury-Highfield style. The features present are typical of CP7, providing an established component for this time period at Danebury. By looking at distinctive decorative features present on the vessel forms, Cunliffe was able to chart possible distribution patterns, implying a degree of interchange. He argued that while there appears to be "small socio-political territories based on hillforts" that can be viewed through changing style affiliations, these are only gradual changes, suggesting "the absence of centralized ceramic production" (*ibid.,* 256). Finally, the later Atrebatic pottery shows considerable innovations in ceramic technology through the introduction of the potter's wheel, yet their decorative features continue to follow preceding local traditions, including the renewed use of horizontal cordons (*ibid.,* 256; Figure 6.7), demonstrating an interest in maintaining traditional decorative schemes during these periods of change. Decorated pottery within Danebury followed a "fairly restricted (and possibly rigorously controlled) range of motifs" that were "used in a variety of combinations" (Cunliffe 1995, 55). While the motifs themselves might have maintained some level of consistency, the variety of combinations and ceramic types can reveal more information about potential visual expressions. Whether these conclusions can be supported by my current data collection and analysis will be determined below.

FUNCTION

According to Cunliffe, ceramic vessels were largely used for the storage, preparation, and serving of food (Cunliffe 1984, 249). During the earlier phases (CP1 to 7) distinctions could be made between coarse and fine wares. The coarse wares would have been more porous, and therefore more suitable for the cooking or storage of solid foods (Cunliffe 1984, 248). Fine wares, as they were less porous, would be suitable for a greater variety of food materials, including liquids. During the later phases (CP8 and 9), new forms were introduced, including amphorae, platters, and flagons, which would have taken on the roles of previous forms or presented new functional capabilities. Looking at specific vessel forms, larger jars were most likely used for storage and cooking, while smaller, finer vessels, such as bowls, were more likely used for the serving of food or liquids due to their finer fabrics and decoration. Dishes, while of finer quality, were not very common at Danebury, but potentially functioned as cream setting trays according to Cunliffe (*ibid.,* 249), or could have been used to serve food with a flatter surface for cutting. Within the category of jars, Cunliffe also proposed possible functions based on the shape of the rim. He suggested that vessels with out-flaring rims were designed to allow a fabric or skin to cover them, possibly used for a range of food storage, including milk, meat, or cereals. Those with incurving rims, on the other hand, might have been used for the heating of liquids, as the incurving would allow a cooler surface for condensation to take place (*ibid.,* 249). Regardless of assumed function, however, almost all decoration was placed in locations easily viewed while in use, and there are only three examples where this is not the case: once under the base (C115) and twice along the inside surface (C290 and C291).

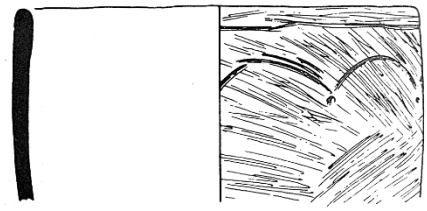


FIGURE 6.6 DANEBURY CERAMIC VESSEL - SAUCEPAN POT FROM CP7 WITH ARCS AND SHALLOW DIMPLES AT BASE (C158).

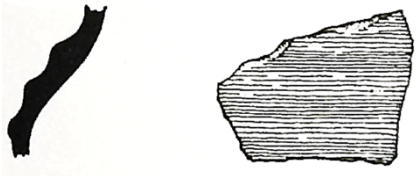


FIGURE 6.7 DANEBURY CERAMIC SHERD FROM CP8 TO 9 (C1370).

FABRIC

In addition to form, Cunliffe further categorized the material by fabric, into eight main types: A. coarse grit-tempered; B. fine flint grit-tempered; C. shell-tempered; D. sandy; E. fine smooth clay with no aggregate; F. chaff-tempered; G. grog-tempered; H. oolitic limestone-tempered. While sand-tempered fabrics (fabric D) tend to dominate the ceramic assemblage overall (Cunliffe 2000, 80), it is found most predominantly in the earliest phases, with fabric B being more commonly found in the latest phases. Both are equally represented during the middle period. Therefore, it appears that the popularity of fabric changed gradually over time between these two types (Cunliffe 1984, 236-7). However, as with form and CP, overlap between the fabrics can be found, and denominations were largely determined based on the fabric or fabrics that were most predominant, even if multiple types were present (Cunliffe 1984, 308).

In regard to the source of the fabrics, before 100 BC (between CP1 and 7) most vessels were locally sourced and could have come from within 10 km of the site (Cunliffe 1984, 244-5). During this earliest period only a small number of vessels were imported, and both prepared clay and wasters have been found at Danebury, suggesting evidence for local pottery manufacture (Cunliffe 1984, 438). There were also two types of vessels that came from slightly outside the immediate area: red-finished wares and glauconitic sandy wares. Again, the closest source for red-finished wares comes from the Salisbury region in Wiltshire, while the closest source for glauconitic sandy wares comes from Compton Chamberlayne, also in Wiltshire (*ibid.,* 245). However, after this period, between CP8 and 9, a new selection of imported vessels was introduced, including vessels in a black sandy fabric, grog-tempered imitation butt-beakers, and Mediterranean amphorae (*ibid.,* 247) reflecting "a massive system of social and economic readjustment consequent upon the development of long-distance trade (Cunliffe 1982)" (*ibid.,* 259). Through the fabric choices taking place at Danebury, we can witness the gradual adoption of more international levels of exchange and influence.

6.2 CURRENT EVALUATION

While Cunliffe largely focused his in-depth analysis on shallow-tooled decoration within CP7, I will be comparing all motifs, including those created through other application techniques, over all phases, looking at different associations between decoration, form, fabric, and time period. Within this material collection, I have examined and cross-compared these different features in order to analyse the connections between visual expression and social change within Danebury's occupational periods, as well as between the different regions/style zones and materials in the following chapters. Furthermore, instead of codifying the vessels and their associated decoration, I have chosen to list and describe the decorative features so that their visual impact can be more easily understood and compared, as well as more easily assessed with other materials and site assemblages. Utilizing my simplified typology (Section 3.1; Appendix A), each individual motif was recorded, along with the general patterns (geometric, curvilinear, circular), the position and direction on the vessel, etc. The most common motifs have been included within the graphs below. Overall, I have analysed 365 decorated vessels, including sherds, based on the pottery illustrated and recorded within Cunliffe's Danebury reports (1984, vol.2; 1991, vol. 5; 1995). This decorative analysis is based on my personal examination of the illustrations included within the site reports and microfiches, as well as any descriptions provided. While the published reports do not list, nor illustrate, all of the decorated sherds from Danebury, and is therefore only a portion of the decorated pottery from this site, it still serves as a valuable representation of the full range of motifs identified at Danebury.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ASSEMBLAGE

As discussed above, the ceramic assemblage from Danebury largely consisted of jars, bowls, and saucepan pots, with a small selection of dishes. There are additional types of vessels, including lids, bases, and later Roman inspired pots, but these numbers are very small, and therefore, have been grouped into an 'other' category. Overall, the majority of the pottery comes from the Later Iron Age, in particular CP7 (270-50 BC/AD 20), with only a few Romano-British pieces from CP8 and 9, although overlap would likely have occurred. Out of the decorated examples assigned to a CP, around 45% were dated to CP7, in comparison to only 10% from CP8 and 9 (Table 6.2; Figure 6.5). The high presence of pottery, particularly decorated pottery, during this late Iron Age period highlights the importance of visual expression around this time.

FORM AND FABRIC

Vessel forms at Danebury were largely determined by the relationship between height, width, and shape of the neck, body, base, and rim (Table 6.3). Overall, the main forms included in this report are jars, bowls, and saucepan pots, with a representation of around 32%, 31%, and 26%, respectively. Dishes have also been included but make up only around 3% of the overall decorated assemblage. While a few lids have also been recorded, these were found undecorated, and therefore, are not included within my analysis. Within the site reports, these vessels were further divided and codified into types, sub-forms, and varieties, as previously discussed, but for this analysis only the general categories have been included in order to remain consistent between the different case study sites. Specific sub-types will briefly be discussed in relation to their more common decorative features and how these relate to the more general categories.

TABLE 6.3 DIMENSIONS OF THE DIFFERENT VESSEL TYPES (NUMBERS ARE PERCENTAGES), INCLUDING DATA FROM TABLE 6.2 (CUNLIFFE 1984, 232).

VESSEL TYPE	DIMENSIONS	TOTAL % (ALL CPS)	CP1-3	CP4-5	CP6	CP7	CP8	CP9
JAR	Height greater than the max diameter.	32	15.7	9.7	13.9	43.1	17.6	-
BOWL	Height less than the max diameter.	31	55.3	31.4	2.7	7.5	1.8	1.3
DISH	Height less than the max diameter; Max diameter at the rim.	3	8.3	19.4	15.3	57	-	-
SAUCEPAN POT	Height roughly equal to the max diameter; Vertical profile.	26	-	-	31.2	67.2	1.6	-

Fabric inclusions were also well recorded within the Danebury site reports. Out of the decorated examples recorded within my data collection, 242 were labelled with specific fabrics. As with form classifications, there were both basic and sub-classifications for each fabric, consisting of eight main types (A-H), as listed above. However, as with the vessel forms, only the basic fabric classifications have been utilized for this comparative analysis. This is largely owing to the fact that not all of the

vessels were provided with sub-classifications. Out of this decorated material, the largest proportion (around 44%) contained sandy inclusions (Fabric D). This is followed by vessels with fine flint grit-tempered inclusions (Fabric B) at 33% and fine smooth clay with no aggregates (Fabric E) at 18%. All of the other fabrics are represented by less than 3% of the decorated assemblage, with oolitic limestone-tempered material (Fabric H) having no representation (Table 6.4). This does not necessarily mean that no limestone-tempered vessels were decorated as, unfortunately, not all of the material was provided with a fabric classification. However, this does support Cunliffe's statement that fabrics B and D were the most common type found at Danebury, similarly expressed within the decorated and non-decorated assemblages, and point to more local sources of manufacture.

TABLE 6.4 FABRIC REPRESENTATION (%) WITHIN THE DECORATED ASSEMBLAGES (BASED ON 242 ARTEFACTS).

FABRIC	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
REPRESENTATION	2.5	33.1	0.4	44.2	18.2	0.8	0.8	0

DECORATION

In regard to the specific decorative schemes at Danebury, and their methods of application, a diverse but restrictive range of motifs and techniques were employed. The specific motifs and combinations are based upon my simplified typology (Appendix A). One of the first things recorded for the decorated ceramic assemblage at Danebury was the general pattern: geometric, curvilinear, circular, or a combination. Classification was then followed by specific motifs, typically consisting of multiple types on each vessel. Through an analysis of this material, certain visual schemes were determined. Overall, there is a preference for geometrical patterns at Danebury, making up roughly 85% of the total decorated assemblage. This is followed by a mixture of geometrical and curvilinear patterns at around 10%. Purely curvilinear patterns only occur around 4% of the time, representing a very small percentage and a rather uncommon feature, and argues against Cunliffe's statement that arcs with dimples were frequently found in CP7.

At the site, application techniques included scratching, inscribing (shallow-tooled), rouletting, burnishing, and cordoning. Overall, inscribing made up over 50% of the decorated examples recorded, followed by cordoning at around 20% and scratching at almost 17%. The other types of application are uncommon in comparison. However, two of the main types of application – scratching and inscribing – were largely restricted to different periods of time. While inscribing is overwhelmingly the most common form of application at Danebury, it was not particularly used until after the earliest periods of occupation, following CP3. Before this phase, scratching was more prevalent, but as this was a shorter period in comparison it is not as strongly represented. These temporal changes will be further discussed below.

According to Cunliffe, Danebury can be placed within the All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill style of the 5th to 3rd centuries BC, the St Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down style of the 3rd to 1st centuries BC, and the Yarnbury-Highfield style of the same latter period. All of these styles have accompanying decorative features which can be identified within the Danebury assemblage (Figure 6.8). During the earlier period (All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill style), red-finished scratched-cordoned bowls (Figure 6.9) were abundantly found at Danebury, typically containing chevron motifs (Cunliffe 1984, 254,309). Along with the decoration, other forms of surface treatment, such as colour-coating, further affected the appearance of ceramic vessels, and would have influenced how the overall decoration was viewed. For example, these red-finished wares of the earliest phase would have provided a very different appearance to other vessel forms, and their introduction would have been rather striking in

comparison to the other earlier, more rudimental fingertip impressed pots. In contrast, the later St Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down style was commonly defined by a "horizontal zone of oblique cross-hatching between horizontal rows of dots" (*ibid*, 255,310; Figure 6.2). In this case, oblique cross-hatching refers to what I have labelled as diagonal bands. The Yarnbury-Highfield style, on the other hand, is identified through the use of shallow-tooled swags, arcs, or waves, sometimes accompanied by shallow dimples (Cunliffe 2000, 122-3; Figure 6.10). All of these features are some of the most common motifs at Danebury, as seen in Figure 6.8. However, as the graph demonstrates, the features of the All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill and St Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down styles – cordons, chevrons, diagonal bands, and horizontal bands – are much more prevalent throughout Danebury. Again, we find the curvilinear patterns, including the running waves and arcs of the Yarnbury-Highfield style, are relatively infrequent in comparison.

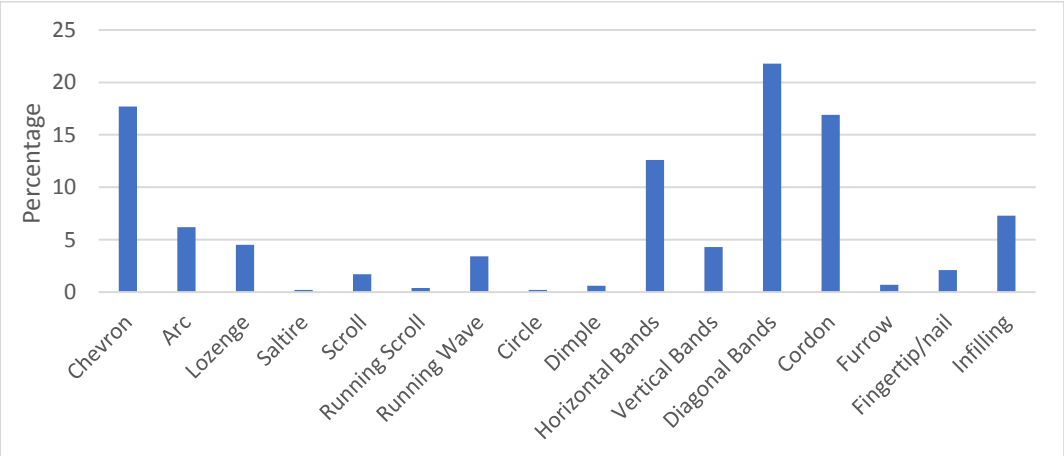


FIGURE 6.8 MOTIF REPRESENTATION ON DANEBURY CERAMICS (BASED ON 365 VESSELS).

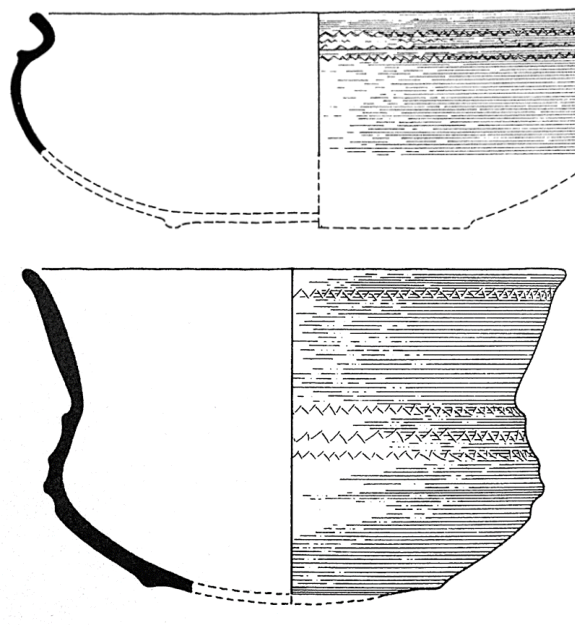


FIGURE 6.9 SCRATCHED-CORDONED BOWLS FROM DANEBURY (LEFT TO RIGHT: C95 AND C62).

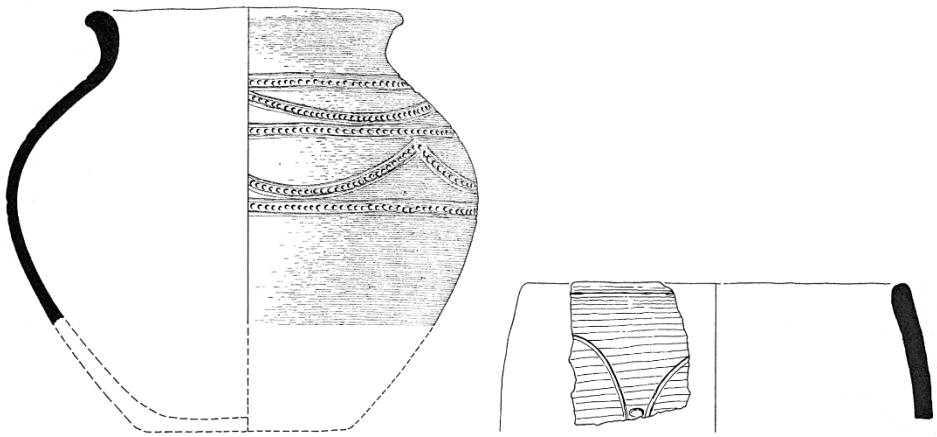


FIGURE 6.10 DANEBURY VESSELS WITH ARC DECORATION (LEFT TO RIGHT: C24 AND C166).

Overall, the most common patterns found at Danebury include sloping diagonal bands bordered by linear or dotted horizontal bands. While the St Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down style is known for horizontal rows of dots, more often than not these diagonal bands are enclosed in linear borders. These diagonal bands can often be found in mirrored connected rows, almost as if forming a braided pattern (Figure 6.11), which are often represented by two or three connected rows, typically with the top row sloping down to the right. Only in a few cases is this direction reversed. Therefore, it appears as if there was a rather strict scheme when utilizing this decorative motif. On four occasions, we also find more elaborate versions of this pattern, but in these cases the mirrored diagonal bands are bordered by infilled dots and separated by a different motif, most commonly a chevron pattern (Figure 6.12). If two rows of mirrored diagonal bands are present then only a separating chevron is depicted, but if three rows are employed, then the last two rows are separated by an empty space. All of these examples appear to follow a single decorative scheme, suggesting a restrictive repertoire or a single designer. In one case, the bottom row of diagonal bands is hastily applied and does not

match the quality of the above decoration. It is possible that this was a separate addition by someone learning the craft or was a later addition needed to fulfil a visual scheme.

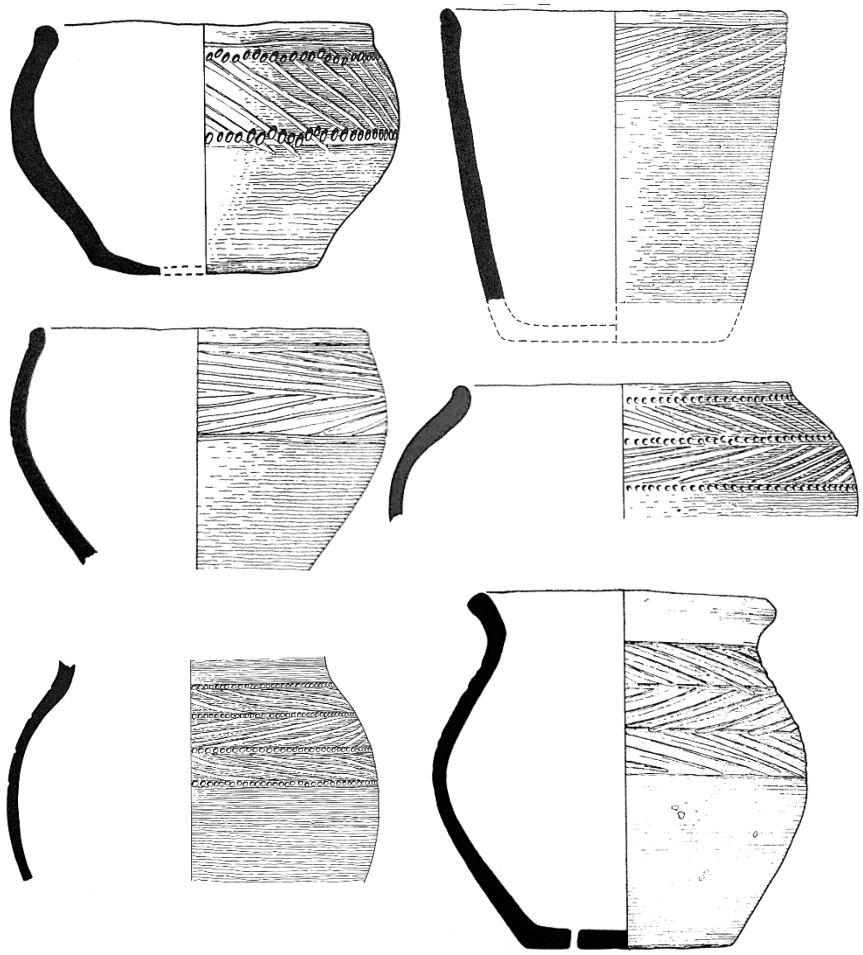


FIGURE 6.11 DANEBURY CERAMIC DECORATION SHOWING SINGLE, DOUBLE MIRRORED, AND TRIPLE MIRRORED DIAGONAL BANDS (LEFT TOP TO BOTTOM: C137, C100, C217; RIGHT TOP TO BOTTOM: C231, C11, C268).

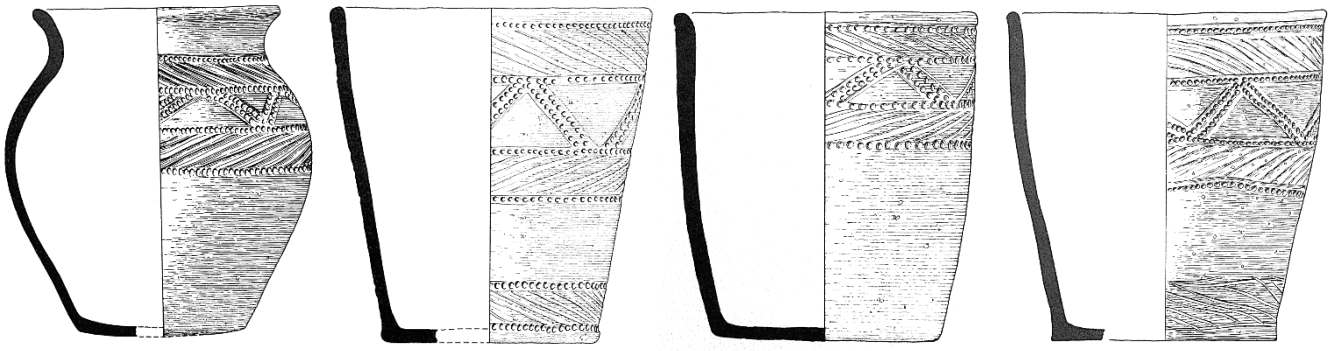


FIGURE 6.12 DANEBURY CERAMIC DECORATION WITH MIRRORED DIAGONAL BANDS BROKEN BY CHEVRONS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C23, C121, C127, AND C238).

Horizontal rows of dots used as the only form of decoration is another common feature. These can stand alone in continuous rows or be bordered by horizontal linear bands (Figure 6.13). Additionally, cordons are not purely found associated with the earlier scratched chevron bowls. In multiple instances, they are found without any other accompanying decoration (Figure 6.14). In both cases, the motifs were used as accompanying features, as well as patterns in their own right.

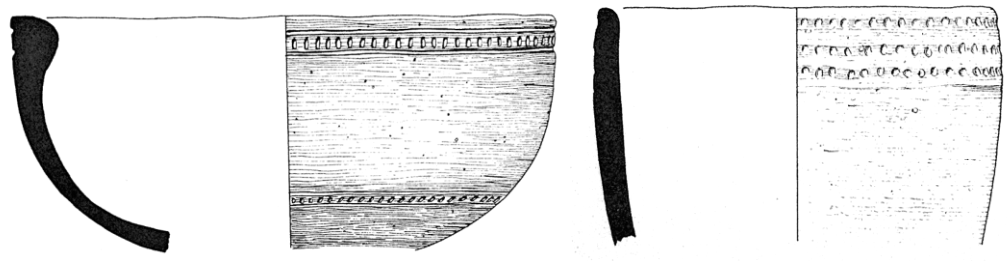


FIGURE 6.13 DECORATED VESSELS WITH HORIZONTAL ROWS OF DOTS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C116 AND C122).

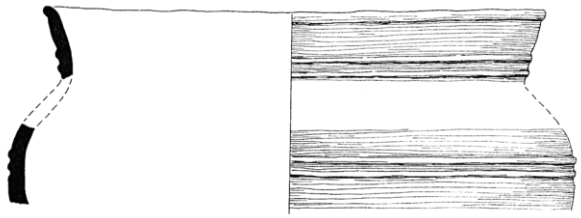


FIGURE 6.14 CORDONED VESSEL (C94).

Most of this decoration is found on the upper half of the vessels, particularly below the rim and above the shoulder. Occasionally, the decoration is found along the top of the rim. This is typically represented by fingertip impressions during the earliest phases, moving down to the shoulder of the vessel later on. There are a few instances in which vertical and/or horizontal bands are inscribed along the rim top, but this is relatively uncommon in comparison. Overall, the decoration is typically depicted in places that would have been easily viewed while in use. However, on two occasions the decoration would have been hidden if the vessel was filled. This interior decoration has been found on a carinated cup and a platter (Figure 6.15). Both of these examples are dated to CP9 (AD 50 to Roman Britain) and do not belong to the classical Iron Age vessel types. Therefore, it appears that decoration along the interior, where it would likely be less visible, was a later addition within Danebury, and potentially suggests a change in function or social use for these artefacts during this later period. Another unique example is seen on a hemispherical dish dated to CP7 (Figure 6.16). This vessel contains an inscribed running wave around its full body, as well as four large dimples on the base. These four dimples appear to play both an ornamental, as well as functional role by allowing the dish to be placed upon a surface while still maintaining its rounded profile. This further demonstrates the strong connection between decoration and function expressed on these ceramic vessels.

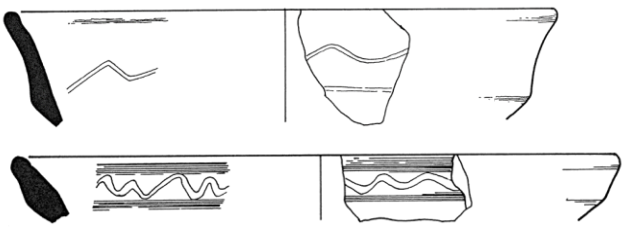


FIGURE 6.15 TWO EXAMPLES OF INTERIOR DECORATION (LEFT TO RIGHT: C291 AND C290).

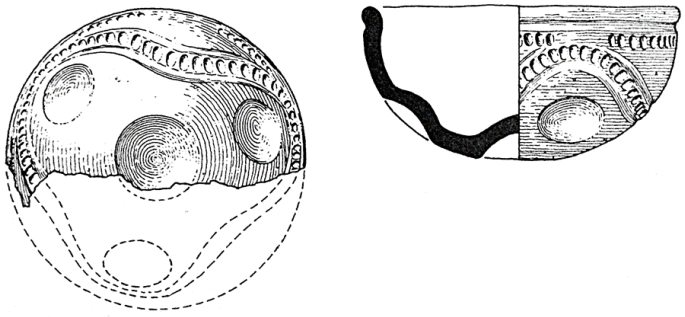


FIGURE 6.16 EXAMPLE OF BASAL DECORATION (C115).

6.3 ANALYSIS

One of the central aims of this research was to determine possible connections between decoration and time, form, and fabric: the central features that unite and define pottery assemblages. It is only through a detailed account of this material that patterns can emerge in which to compare different sites and regions. Furthermore, by evaluating the prevalence of particular motifs and their combinations, as well as their connections to pottery's central features, we can better determine potential connections with other material sources, such as antler, bone, wood, and stone, as discussed in the following chapters.

DECORATION TO DATE

In general, different motifs were more prevalent during different periods of time, as Figure 6.17 illustrates. For this analysis, the CPs have been grouped into phases 1-3, 4-5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 in order to keep with Cunliffe's sequencing based on radiocarbon dating (Cunliffe 1984, 242). The later phases have not been grouped together to maintain his divisions, but also due to the number of examples from each. CP8 and 9 have also been kept separate as this is an important time period for discussion. However, as not all CPs have an equal number of decorated vessels, it is important to keep in mind the relative quantities for each period when analysing this data (Figure 6.17). As Figure 6.18 illustrates, chevrons and cordons were the most prevalent motifs during the earliest CPs, but their importance drastically drops following CP4 and 5. While cordons drop off more drastically, both motifs see a rise again during CP8 (Figure 6.19), an increase similarly seen with horizontal bands. Finger impressions are also seen in the earlier phases but completely disappear after CP5. Rows of diagonal bands, on the other hand, rise during the middle phases, becoming most prevalent on decoration during CP6 and 7. A similar prevalence during these middle phases is expressed by arcs, lozenges, and infilling (Figure 6.20) although to a lesser degree. In contrast, there is a sharp rise in vertical bands, scrolls, and running waves during CP9 (Figure 6.21) when Roman vessels were introduced into the site.

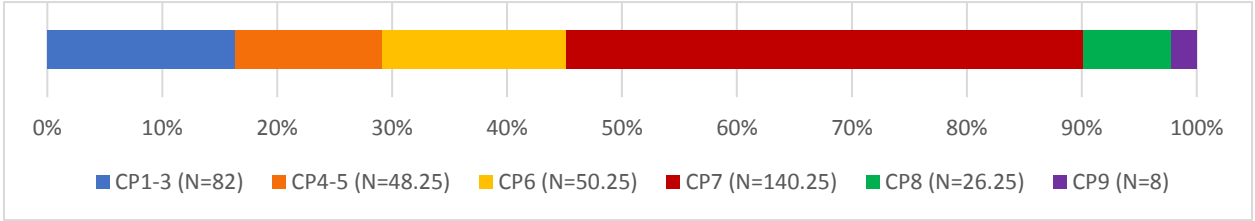


FIGURE 6.17 RELATIVE PERCENTAGE OF DECORATED VESSELS WITHIN EACH CP (BASED ON 355 VESSELS FROM MY DATA COLLECTION).

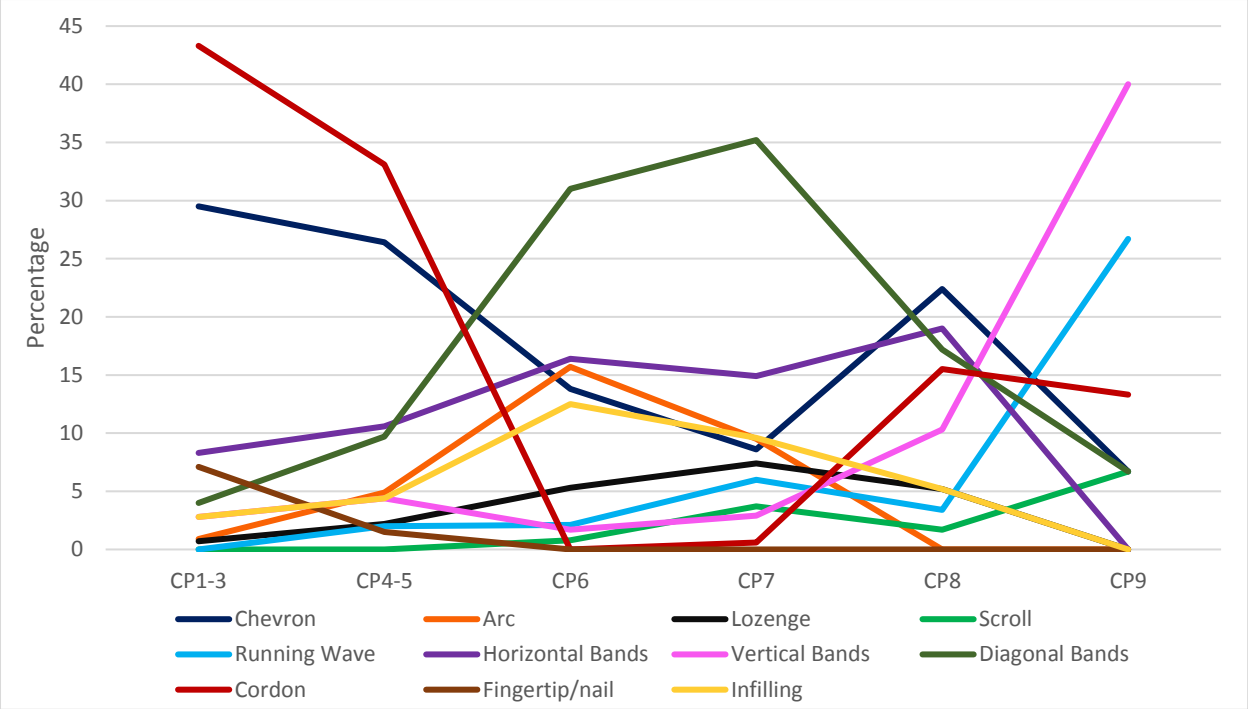


FIGURE 6.18 DANEBURY CERAMIC DECORATION IN RELATION TO CP (BASED ON 355 VESSELS).

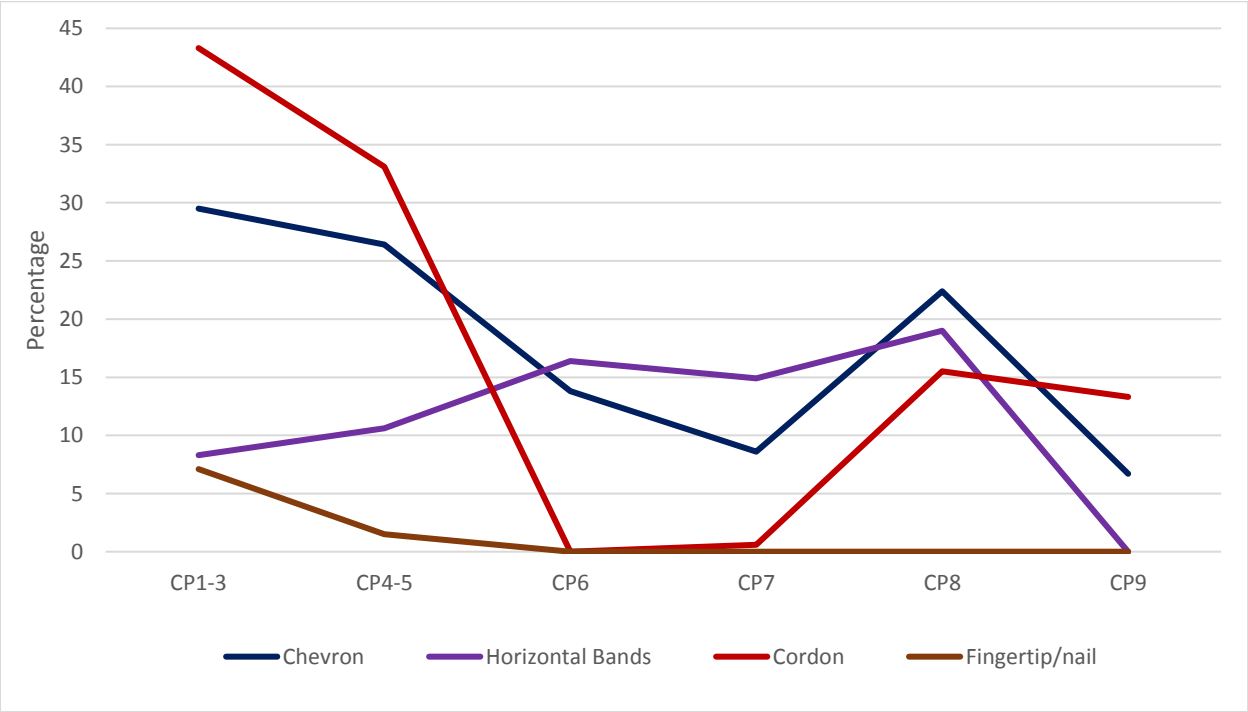


FIGURE 6.19 DANEBURY CERAMICS – MOTIFS WITH HIGHEST FREQUENCY IN EARLY PHASES.

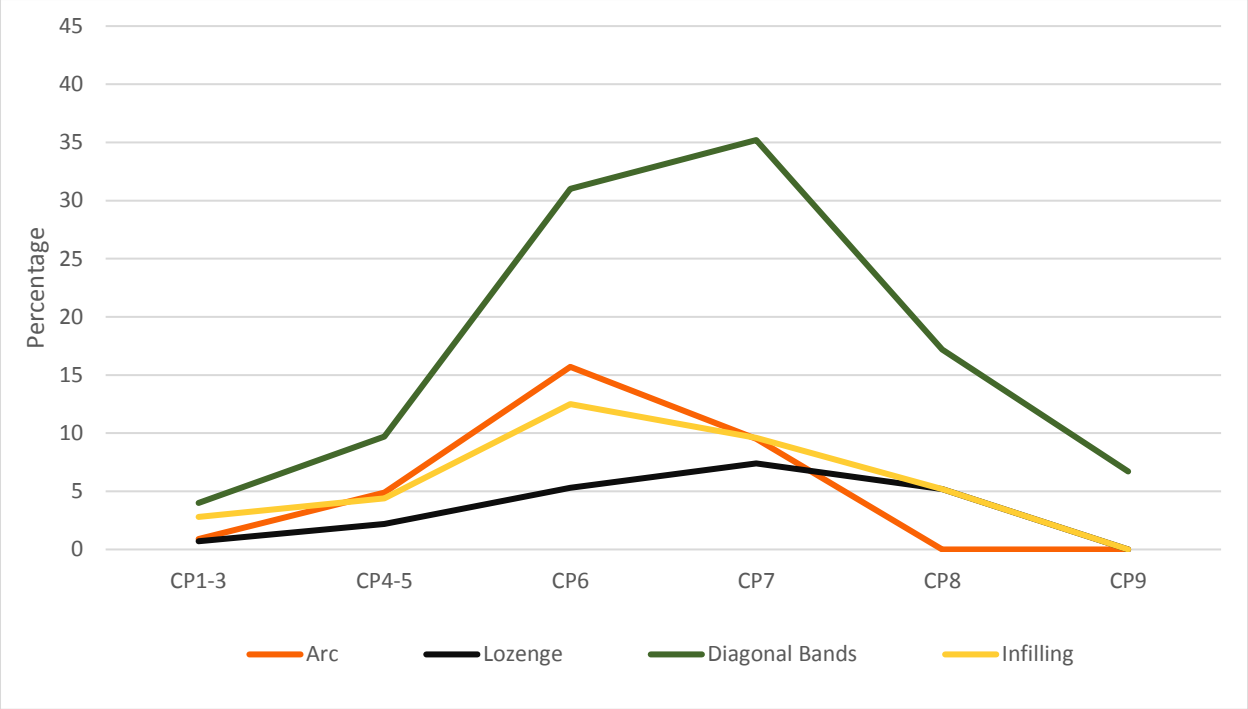


FIGURE 6.20 DANEBURY CERAMICS – MOTIFS WITH HIGHEST FREQUENCY IN MIDDLE PHASES.

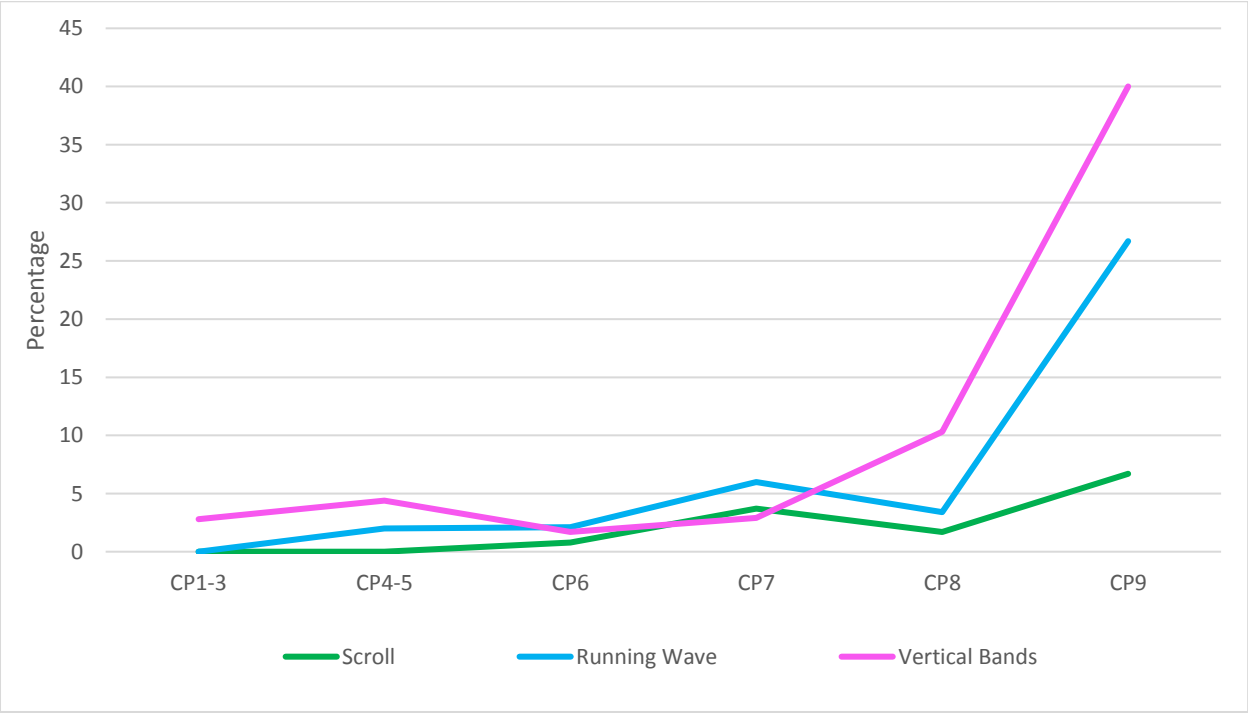


FIGURE 6.21 DANEBURY CERAMICS – MOTIFS WITH HIGHEST FREQUENCY IN LATER PHASES.

Through a detailed evaluation of this data, it is possible to test previous conclusions about the pottery decoration found at Danebury. The results both support and partially contradict these previous deductions. According to Cunliffe, radiocarbon dating of the common scratched-cordoned bowls suggested an early 6th to 5th century BC date, placing it within the earliest occupational phase. This is greatly reflected in my data, as chevrons and cordons are the most common decorative features during the earliest phases (CP1-3). Both of these motifs see a further revival during CP8 but with slight alterations. According to Cunliffe, shoulder cordons were a form of decoration introduced

during the early 1st century BC from north-western France (Cunliffe 1984, 248) which can account for their re-emergence. Similarly, the use of the potter's wheel meant that horizontal bands or cordons to the body of vessels became easier to produce, which accounts for their increase during this later phase. While the method of applying the motifs and their placement on the vessels changed as inscribing overtook scratching and the potter's wheel was introduced, a strong connection is demonstrated between these two designs, possibly suggesting a linked meaning or source.

Additionally, there were new decorative choices occurring around 300-100 BC (CP7), which is supported within my data analysis. According to Sharples, in reference to the entire Wessex region, the quality and distinctiveness of ceramics declined during the 4th century BC but experienced a period of renewal at the beginning of the 3rd century BC (Sharples 2010, 125). However, this interpretation by Sharples does not leave a long period of time in which this decline could have occurred, and in reality, would overlap multiple CPs. Within the decorated assemblage, certain motifs do start to disappear during the 4th century BC, as the graphs illustrate, but they are replaced by other motifs which become identifiable features of Danebury's ceramic assemblage, particularly diagonal bands. A renewal of motifs is then expressed at the beginning of the 3rd century BC, and as Figures 6.18-6.21 illustrate, significant decorative changes appear to take place during CP7 or immediately after. Following this phase, all the motifs appear to drop off except for chevrons, scrolls, running waves, vertical bands, and cordons which experience periods of rejuvenation. Diagonal bands take the largest fall: initially making up over 35% of the decoration at their highest peak in CP7, and then drastically dropping off. Therefore, CP3 and 7 can be seen as periods in which visual expression and imagery were going through a transformation.

Furthermore, Cunliffe's application of certain decorative features to CPs is supported through the data. For example, he states that scratched decoration is representative of CP3 while decorated saucepan pots are representative of CP7. As chevrons make up the majority of scratched decoration, which are at their peak between CP1 and 3, dropping immediately afterwards, a strong connection between this motif, its particular method of application, and phase can be made. While chevrons see a revival around CP8, this would not have been scratched into the vessel after drying but inscribed beforehand (see Figure 6.22 for a comparison of application methods). Similarly, saucepan pots contain the greatest percentage of diagonal bands, being on 40.5% of decorated saucepan pots, which see their peak in CP7. Therefore, the prevalence of this motif during this period is largely connected to the introduction of this new vessel form. As there are gradual decorative changes taking place following CP3, Danebury's earliest phase of occupation, CP7, and CP8 when a new range of Roman inspired forms appear at the site (Cunliffe 1995, 54), we can assume that decorative changes mirror societal changes, whether in regard to changing fashions, technologies, or spheres of influence. A more detailed analysis of the decorative changes taking place over different sites will help to verify this interpretation.

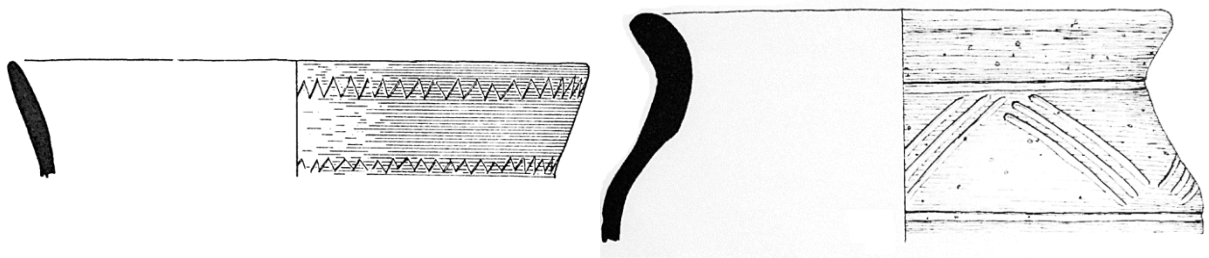


FIGURE 6.22 DANEBURY DECORATION SHOWING SCRATCHED VS. INSCRIBED CHEVRONS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C72 AND C40).

DECORATION TO FORM

Further connections can be drawn through an evaluation of vessel forms and their respective decoration. As Figure 6.23 illustrates, there are four main vessel types found at Danebury: jars, bowls, dishes, and saucepan pots. The 'other' category has been included for the less common types, such as amphorae. Cunliffe's belief that decorated pottery at Danebury followed a restricted range can, therefore, be more-or-less seen within my data. As the bar chart highlights, diagonal bands are the most common motif found on jars and saucepan pots. In contrast, chevrons are more commonly found on bowls, while horizontal bands make up the majority of motifs on dishes.

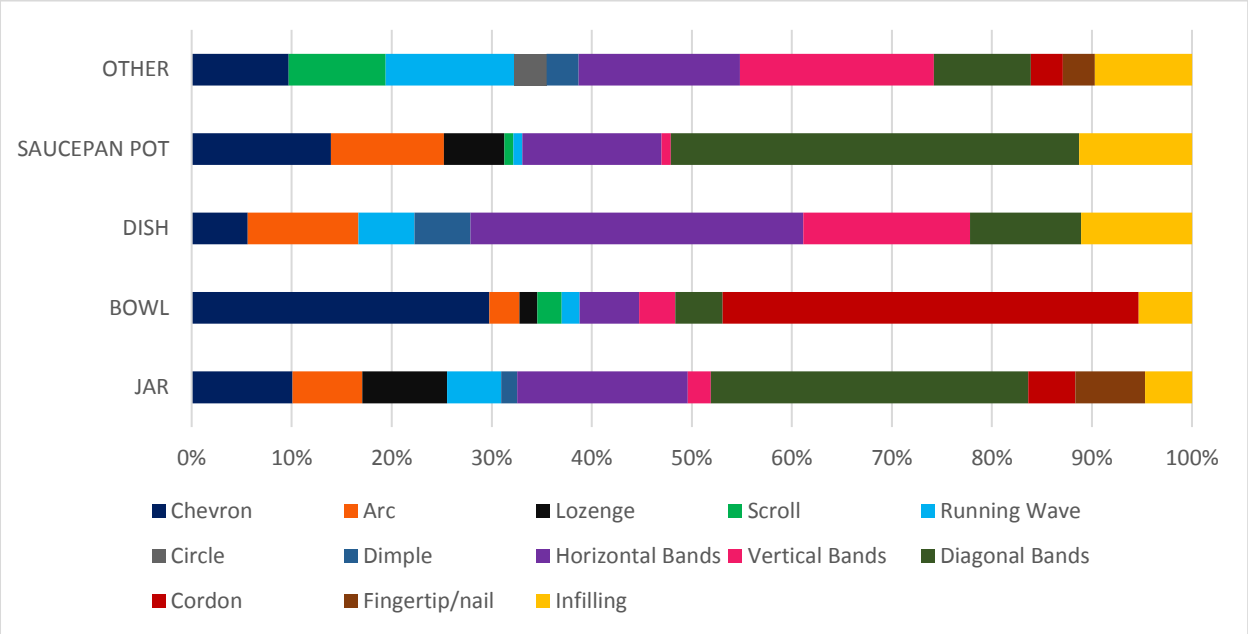


FIGURE 6.23 DANEBURY CERAMIC DECORATION TO VESSEL FORM

When evaluating this material, it is also important to keep in mind that not all vessel types are equally represented throughout all the CPs. As Table 6.2 highlights, there are certain periods within Danebury's occupation in which different forms were more prevalent. For example, the majority of decorated vessels are found within CP6 to 7, and therefore, evidence from this period will be more strongly represented in comparison to other phases. Through a comparison of Figures 6.18 and 6.23, diagonal bands are established as the most common motif during CP7, as well as most commonly found on saucepan pots. However, it is also important to recognize that saucepan pots were introduced between CP6 and 7 and were not present after this period (Table 6.2); therefore, the increase in diagonal band motifs is potentially a product of this introduction. Equally, through a comparison of the figures, chevrons are most prevalent within CP1-3 and show their largest percentage upon bowls. However, as Table 6.2 demonstrates, bowls are the most common vessel form during the earliest phases, drastically decreasing afterwards, which is largely mirrored within chevron decoration. It would, therefore, be appropriate to attach the prevalence of chevron motifs to the use and decline of the bowl form. Nevertheless, while there may be fewer decorated vessels within particular phases, the evidence available is still visually expressive, and therefore, can provide valuable information.

The physical shape and surface area of vessels might also have affected the decoration upon it. Dishes have less vertical space, and therefore it would be reasonable that horizontal bands are the most common motif, as Figure 6.23 suggests. However, scratched decoration, typical of early bowls, would also be applicable. Therefore, why are horizontal bands more dominant? Similarly, the size

and shape of the other forms would allow for a larger variety of motifs, and therefore, physical form as a determining factor is not as reliable. It is possible that certain decorative features were more suitable for different vessel forms, but this will be more thoroughly determined through a regional comparison. Overall, it is still important to consider why the introduction or decline of certain vessel forms, as well as their shape, might affect the prevalence of decorative patterns. Due to the fact that decoration was so strongly connected to the type of vessel, it would not have been based on aesthetic preference alone. Was it, therefore, also visually representative of its social function?

As function is largely determined by form, we are able to draw further connections between function and decoration. Keeping in mind the previous application of function to vessel form, if we look at Figure 6.23 again, we can see that larger cooking and storage vessels typically contained diagonal bands, followed by horizontal bands, while finer and more well-finished vessels, specifically bowls, used for the serving of food or liquid contained mostly chevrons and cordons. Dishes, another potential vessel for the serving of food or liquid, was instead decorated typically with horizontal bands, highlighting that it was used to serve a different type of food or liquid, such as cream, as proposed by Cunliffe (Cunliffe 1984, 249). Within the site report, there are only three vessels recorded with basal perforations, only one of which is decorated (Figure 6.24). While the two undecorated examples are both saucepan pots, the decorated example is a globular jar with mirrored diagonal band motifs. However, it is possible there were other examples from this site, but the bases are now missing, and therefore, comparisons cannot fully be drawn. In all of these examples the storage, preparation, and serving of food was typically represented by rows of either diagonal, horizontal, or chevron motifs, with a smaller proportion of the other motif types spread throughout, re-emphasizing a restricted and controlled decorative scheme within Danebury.

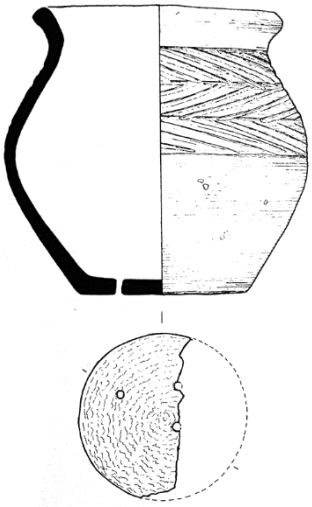


FIGURE 6.24 DECORATED VESSEL WITH PERFORATED BASE (C217).

DECORATION AND FABRIC

As previously discussed, out of the eight main fabrics at Danebury, fabrics B, D, and E were most frequently found within the decorated assemblage, and therefore, only these three have been selected for further evaluation (Figure 6.24). While Fabric A does makes up 2.5% of the decorated assemblage, it is worth keeping in mind that this represents only 6 examples, and therefore it has not been included within the graph as it would be over-represented in comparison. As Figure 6.25 illustrates, chevrons and cordons are most commonly found on vessels with fabric E, fine smooth

clay with no aggregates, and based on the data they are more commonly found on the red-finished cordoned bowls with scratched decoration. Cunliffe surmised that these vessels came from a single manufacturing centre in the Salisbury region, in Wiltshire, due to their brickearth clay inclusions (Cunliffe 1984, 245). As previously discussed, these vessels and the decoration were most commonly found during the earliest periods of occupation. If this is correct, then it is understandable that this particular fabric would be attached to these decorative features, again demonstrating a restrictive decorative scheme and emphasizing a direct connection between fabric, form, decoration, and time period, as well as regional and social relationships.

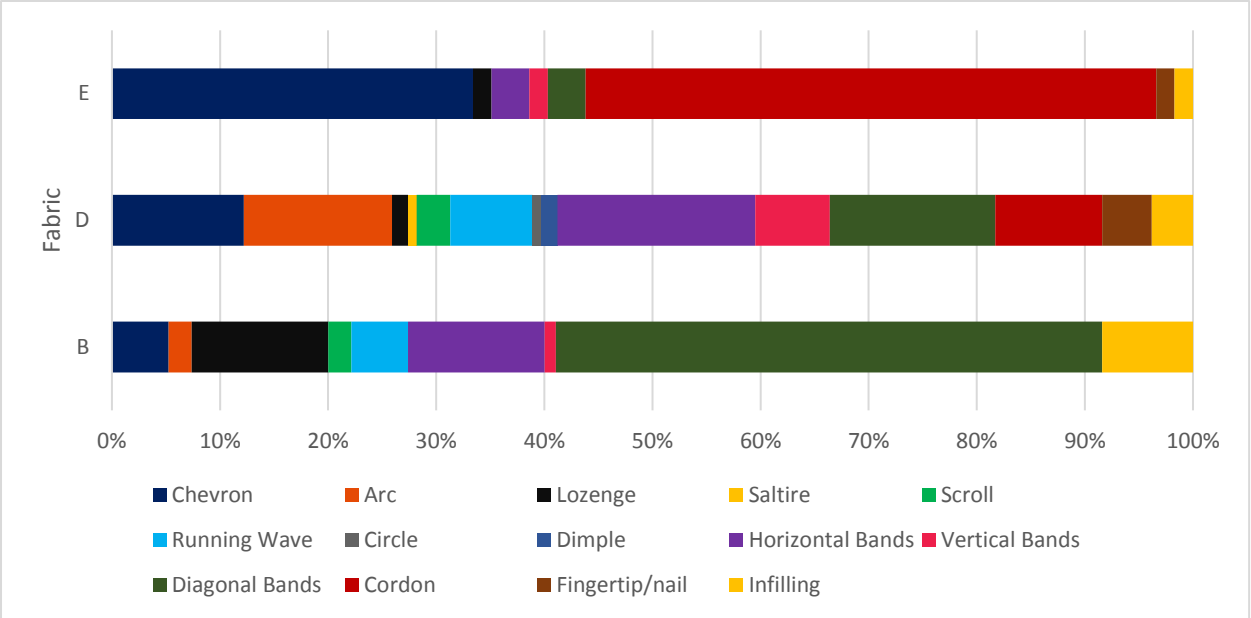


FIGURE 6.25 DANEBURY CERAMIC DECORATION TO FABRIC (REPRESENTING 80 EXAMPLES FROM FABRIC B, 107 FROM FABRIC D, AND 44 FROM FABRIC E).

Fabrics B (fine grit-tempered) and D (sandy) demonstrate further connections to CPs. While fabric D was the most common overall, it was more prominent in the earlier phases, eventually being overtaken by fabric B. Therefore, these two main fabrics can be associated with earlier and later types of pottery within Danebury, based on their changing prevalence. What we do see, between these two fabrics, is that fabric D contained a much more varied decorative scheme. Additionally, fabric D has a larger selection of arcs, chevrons, and cordons, which are not present on fabric B vessels. Diagonal bands, on the other hand, are very prominent on vessels with fabric B, in addition to a growing emphasis on lozenges and infilling. As fabric D was found during the earliest periods, it is reasonable that it shows a stronger connection to fabric E and the scratched cordoned bowls. Fabric B, on the other hand, greatly demonstrates the decorative changes taking place during the later periods, as well as supports the previous conclusions that Danebury changed regional alliances from the west to the east during the middle phases. However, while there are strong connections between changing spheres of influence and the main fabrics and decoration being utilized at the site, these changes would have taken place gradually over time.

6.4 CONCLUSION

On a basic level, the nature of the stratigraphy at Danebury and the number of decorated ceramics from the site has meant that deeper connections between decoration, form, fabric, and function, in relation to possible social and regional networks, can be better analysed and understood. Through a visual analysis and quantitative evaluation of this material it becomes apparent that Danebury ceramics followed a rather restricted and controlled decorative repertoire based on a general "way of doing" (Hodder 1990, 45). Overall, chevrons, cordons, diagonal bands, arcs, and horizontal bands remained the most prominent motifs throughout the site's occupation (Table 6.5), in particular the use of diagonal bands in mirrored connected rows, forming a type of braided pattern (Figure 6.26). In almost all cases in which this motif was found, the diagonal bands are sloping in the same direction, and in the more elaborate cases the same overall pattern is always expressed. Based on this visual information, it appears that Danebury potters followed a decorative script that was rarely modified. Nevertheless, varieties of these motifs were found, and their methods of application are seen to change between the earlier and later periods. The most apparent changes take place from the earlier phases (CP1-3, 4-5) and later CP7. As Table 6.5 demonstrates, scratched chevrons and cordons are prevalent during CP1-3, with a continuing but smaller representation in CP4-5. In contrast, many of the other key decorative features are found in CP7, particularly diagonal bands (mirrored and in single rows), arcs, linear horizontal bands, lozenges, and dotted infilling. The introduction of the potter's wheel during this later phase would likely have contributed to this change. As Cunliffe originally stated, the Atrebatic period, after the 1st century BC, brought along an innovative change through the use of the potter's wheel, which greatly affected the application of decoration but not necessarily the choice in decoration. Instead, a revival of traditional motifs, such as chevrons and cordons, from the earliest periods were re-introduced. Even after the introduction of newer imported vessel forms, such as amphorae, a major change in visual expression was not found.

TABLE 6.5 DANEBURY, KEY DECORATIVE FEATURES TO CP (VESSELS DATED TO MULTIPLE PERIODS WERE ROUNDED TO THE NEAREST WHOLE NUMBER).

CP	1-3	4-5	6	7	8	9	TOTAL
SCRATCHED CHEVRONS	32	16	-	-	-	-	48
INCISED CHEVRONS	1	2	9	12	4	-	28
CORDONS (ALONE)	22	9	-	-	3	1	35
CORDONS (WITH SCRATCHED CHEVRONS)	26	13	-	-	-	-	39
FINGER IMPRESSIONS	8	1	-	-	-	-	9
DIAGONAL BANDS (SINGLE ROW)	4	4	11	35	3	-	57
DIAGONAL BANDS (MIRRORED)	1	3	9	29	2	1	45
LINEAR HORIZONTAL BANDS	3	3	5	14	5	-	30
DOTTED HORIZONTAL BANDS	5	2	4	8	2	-	21
SCROLL	-	-	1	7	1	1	10
RUNNING WAVE	-	1	1	10	1	2	15
ARCS	1	3	8	17	1	-	30
LOZENGE	1	1	3	14	2	-	21
DOTTED INFILLING	1	1	8	13	2	-	25

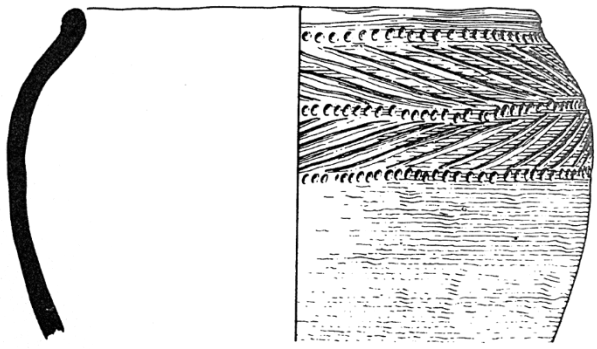


FIGURE 6.26 DANEBURY CERAMIC VESSEL SHOWING MIRRORED DIAGONAL BANDS (C7).

These changes not only reveal a shift in aesthetics and ceramic innovations, but, along with charted changes in fabric and form, demonstrate altering regional allegiances, connections, and functions. As Cunliffe summarizes, potters were able to create various visual effects through the manipulation of standardized fabrics and surface treatments (Cunliffe 1984, 248). Not only do the materials demonstrate changes taking place during the later occupational phases, but the presence of decoration in general highlights the effects of Roman influence. As previously emphasized, around 45% of the total decorated examples from this data collection came from CP7, while only 10% came from the following CP8 and 9. The site was both densely occupied and experienced a reconstruction of the defensive structures around CP7, so one possible interpretation is that this growth and liveliness in ceramic decoration during CP7 was a direct response to both the growing population as well as the growing influence of outside sources, enhanced by the introduction of the potter's wheel. However, during the latest phases, the site was no longer strongly defended nor occupied (Cunliffe 2000, 124; Davis 2013, 359), and therefore it might not have possessed the resources or people necessary to continue making such elaborately decorated pottery.

Overall, strong connections were found between the material forms, fabrics, time periods, and decoration. For example, during the earliest phases (CP1-3), red-finished bowls, scratched chevrons and cordons, and Fabric E are at their peak, dropping immediately afterwards. Again, Cunliffe concluded that these vessels came from a single centre in the Salisbury region (Cunliffe 1984, 245). In contrast, during CP7, saucepan pots, inscribed diagonal bands, and Fabric B were most prevalent, demonstrating a complete re-organization of pottery construction. While there is a range of cross-over within these features, there appears to be a relatively controlled scheme taking place with strong regional influences. In both the earlier and later phases, the prevalence of one feature (form, fabric, decoration) is largely attached to the prevalence of the others. Therefore, all these features have been cross compared to determine potential connections between visual expression and social change within Danebury. From this, it can be surmised that these decorative changes mirrored societal ones, either in connection to changing aesthetics, allegiances, or outside influences. As Danebury's decorated ceramics have become associated with ethnicity and local connections, I intend to determine whether these relationships were similarly expressed throughout the other case study sites.

7: MEARE LAKE VILLAGE POTTERY

In addition to Danebury, an evaluation of pottery from a neighbouring region will allow for more extensive comparisons to be made. It is only through a comparison of decorated pottery from multiple case study sites that social connections to decoration can be more thoroughly explored. To this effect, the Meare Lake Villages (MLV) were selected from Cunliffe's South-Western zone (Cunliffe 2000; Figure 7.1). MLV consists of two separate Iron Age settlement sites: Meare Village West (MVW) and Meare Village East (MVE). Both lie within the north-eastern Brue valley, directly above the contemporary path of the River Brue and near the current village of Meare in Somerset (Bulleid 1953, 1,10). However, at the time of Iron Age occupation, the river would not have passed directly by the villages. Instead, MLV would have sat on the edge of a raised bog, which had sufficiently dried allowing for settlement. Meare Pool would have been located north of the site, as a smaller version to its later Medieval recordings. At the time of occupation, the sites would have physically been separated by either a swamp or open water without direct physical access between the two settlements (Coles 1987, 6,7,235).

Excavations were first performed at MVW by Harold St. George Gray and Arthur Bulleid between 1910 and 1933, with the exception of six years around WWI and three seasons affected by excessive water. The excavations uncovered 40 dwelling sites/mounds, as well as their surrounding areas (*ibid.*, 1), consisting of around 4875 sq. metres, roughly half of the settlement site. This was later continued by Michael Avery in 1968, whereby another 134 sq. metres was unearthed. Final excavations took place under the direction of the Somerset Levels Project beginning in 1977, uncovering around another 167 sq. metres (Orme et al., 1981, 12, 13). Following excavations at MVW, Bulleid and St. George Gray turned their attention to MVE initially between 1933 and 1938, again resuming in 1948 by Gray alone until 1956 (Coles 1987, 6). During their excavations, approximately 2114 sq. metres were uncovered, roughly 30% of MVE (*ibid., 9)*. As with MVW, excavations at the eastern site were continued by Michael Avery in 1966, shortly before he moved

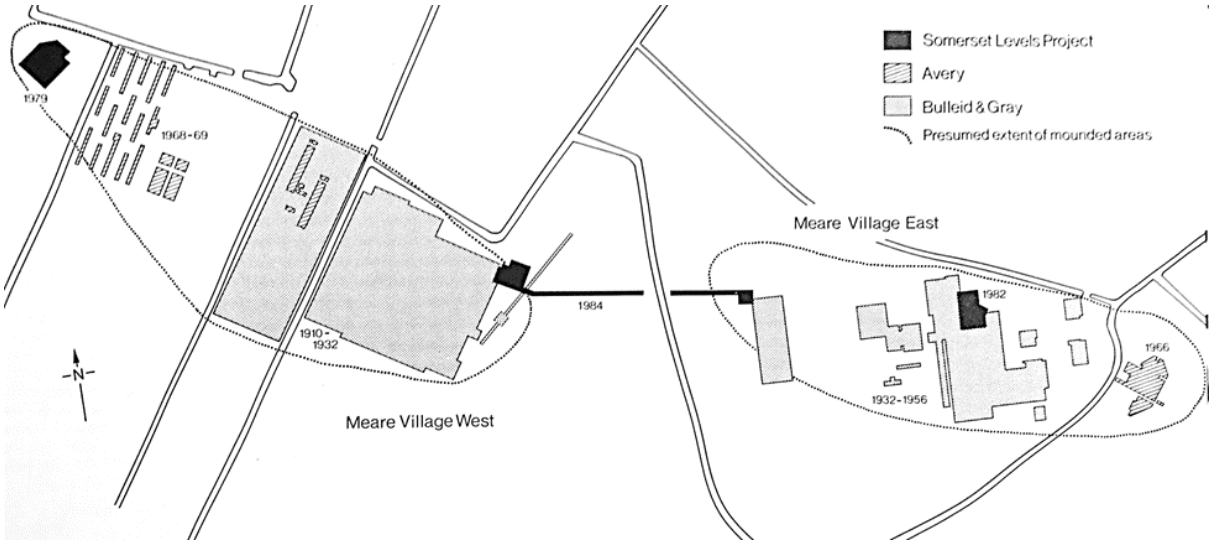


FIGURE 7.1 MEARE LAKE VILLAGE SITE PLAN (COLES 1987, FIGURE 1.2).

his attention to MVW. He further opened another 162 sq. metres (Orme et al. 1981, 13). Reports from Bulleid and Gray's excavations at MVE, as well as the material uncovered, went largely unpublished; therefore, this work was consolidated into the Somerset Levels Papers, no. 13, 'Meare Village East' by J.M. Coles (1987). Through these excavations, it was determined that the eastern site contained 51 low 'mounds' bound by rhynes (drainage ditches). The Somerset Levels Project continued at the site in 1982, uncovering roughly another 150 sq. metres, and again in 1984 with a cutting to connect the two sites. The purpose of this final excavation was to look at any possible relationship between the East and West sites and determine if "any structural or cultural material existed between the two" (Coles 1987, 9,16,235). As with Bulleid and Gray's initial discoveries, however, no structural connection could be found (*ibid.).*

Throughout the various excavation phases at MLV, the type of site has been a focus of debate. Bulleid and Gray initially believed the sites to be a village with the mounds representing possible living structures. In contrast, Avery later postured that the mounds were actually created by rubbish and that possible dwellings had not yet been discovered. He further suggested an earlier occupational start during the Bronze Age. This debate largely stemmed from previous excavation and recording methods, as well as the locations where the material was found. When the mounds were initially excavated by Bulleid and Gray, layers within individual mounds were rarely compared to those from adjacent mounds, and the spread of layers outside of these mounds were often lost due to the excavation and recording methods in place (Coles 1987, 16). Due to these limitations, there was a lack of adequate stratigraphy within the site. Later excavations determined that sherds from a single pot could be found spread throughout different stratigraphical layers, thereby making a typological chronology difficult as well (Ormes et al. 1981, 47). In turn, this made the need for re-analysis of the sites necessary to determine the occupational periods more accurately. Later excavations undertaken by the Somerset Levels Project have returned to initial interpretations of the site as a settlement, in contrast to the mounds' use as rubbish dumps (Orme et al. 1981, 14), and more in-depth radiocarbon dating has been conducted by Orme, Coles, Caseldine, and Bailey (1981 and 1987) for both areas (Table 7.1), allowing for an initial occupation during the Iron Age to be firmly established.

TABLE 7.1 RADIOCARBON DATES FOR MVW AND MVE (BASED ON COLES 1987, TABLE 7.5 AND MY OXCAL CONVERSIONS).

OCCUPATION	DATE BP	ERROR	"BC"	CALIBRATED BC DATE RANGE (95% CONFIDENCE)
PEAT AND WOOD ASSOCIATED W/CENTRAL PEAT FLOOR (MVW 1979)	2280	80	330	734-111 BC
ELM PLANK ASSOCIATED W/LOWER HEARTH (MVW 1979)	2130	60	180	362-3 BC
ELM WOOD FROM NW AREA (MVW 1979)	2170	70	220	384-52 BC
BRUSHWOOD AT BASE OF OCCUPATION (MVW 1978)	2200	70	250	397-61 BC
OAK STAKE (MVW 1978)	2130	90	180	386 BC - AD 25
CHARCOAL LAYER BELOW UPPER HEARTH (MVE 1982)	2080	60	130	352 BC - AD 55
CHARCOAL LAYER BELOW LOWER HEARTH (MVE 1982)	2090	70	140	257 BC - AD 55

According to Cunliffe's style zones, MVE lies within the Glastonbury-Blaise Castle Hill phase and the Glastonbury ware types-Group 2 phase, thereby giving the site a date range between the 3rd century BC and 1st century AD (Cunliffe 2005, 106,634). While occupation would have occurred simultaneously on the Meare sites from the Middle to Late Iron Age, dating from wood, peat, and charcoal found on both sites point to an earlier occupation at MVW. Dates taken during later excavations performed by the Somerset Levels Project during 1978, 1979, and 1982, determined both bp and bc dates (Coles 1987, 247), which I have converted to their respective calibrated BC dates using the OxCal program (Table 7.1). These results highlight a possible occupational date range for both sites between 4th century BC and 1st century AD. However, the radiocarbon dating also highlights that MVE was most likely occupied slightly later than MVW. Coles has suggested, based on environmental and structural evidence, that MVE is potentially an expansion of MVW, created roughly 50-100 years after initial occupation (Coles 1987, 249). Due to a small number of Romano British artefacts found at the top of the clay spreads (one of the later occupational layers), the changing environmental factors through increasing floodwaters, and the radiocarbon dates provided, it has been suggested that the site was largely abandoned in the 1st century AD and then only sporadically occupied until the 4th century AD (Coles 1987, 247).

Regardless of previous debates and discrepancies, the wealth of material found at the site has been universally acknowledged. However, the meaning behind the types of material discovered at Meare, compared to other wetland and dryland sites, is still disputed. Whether this represents the type of wealth that would have been found on more sites, if not for scavenging or erosion, or whether sites rich in material culture, such as this, are representative of communities with higher status individuals (Coles 1987, 239) is still unknown. One possibility presented in previous discussions is that the sites served as seasonal social and political centres as MLV is located between the suggested Dobunni and Durotriges boundaries (*ibid.,* 251). Therefore, its quantity of artefacts might reflect a concentration of activities in which these objects are of great interest. A comparison of the decorated material culture from both sites will further aid in this discussion.

7.1 PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS

At MLV, pottery has been found within a variety of contexts: on and inside mound clay, under mounds, in hearths, in the black earth, in foundations, as well as in inadequately stratified areas (Coles 1987, Table 7.3). The ceramic assemblages found within MVW and MVE present strong similarities in form, fabric, and decoration, which suggest a strong link between the sites even while no structural link has yet been found. Just as sherds from a single pot were found spread throughout different layers, sherds from single vessels have also been found spread throughout both sites, such as C358 and C384 from MVE which are thought to belong to the same vessel as C501 and C549 from MVW (*ibid.,* 208; Figure 7.2). Comparisons between the material will further highlight a strong connection between both Meare sites. However, there are major differences between the decorative qualities of both sites, particularly with unique motifs found at MVW. As Coles states, while pottery at the site appears to have been a major industry, it was perhaps more inward-looking (*ibid.,* 241), and therefore, this internal industry might have played a larger role in the visual expressions taking place between the different sites. Due to these differences, it is important to ask what social factors might have affected the adoption of particular decoration at MVW and not at MVE, considering the close proximity between the two, and what these unique visual expressions on everyday objects might represent.

MVW POTTERY

Pottery at MVW was first addressed by Arthur Bulleid (1948); however, at this stage no attempt was made to categorize the material by class-type-form-variety or fabric divisions. These types of classifications were not attempted until review of the MVE material. Occasionally, the artefact descriptions did include a Type number, which referenced back to categories given in the author's previous Glastonbury Lake Village (GLV) report. As Bulleid and Gray had just completed excavations at GLV, this was largely a source of information about form and fabric for MVW as well. While the pottery was described in detail throughout the different site reports, their methods were not always similar. Therefore, it was necessary to combine and alter certain methods of classification so that both sites could be more evenly compared to one another, as well as to the other sites and materials.

Following on from Bulleid and Gray's Meare report, research was further conducted by the Somerset Levels Project, where most work on the pottery was examined by C. Sturdy, K. Campbell, and S. Rouillard (Orme et al. 1981, 45). Within this report, fabric and vessel types were assigned and grouped. As Table 7.2 demonstrates, fabrics were determined by the typical inclusions and then further compared to the types of vessels in which they were common, whereby certain functional interpretations were included. These largely revolved around whether vessels were considered 'fine' or 'coarse' wares. According to Orme et al., fabric 1 was used specifically for fine wares as it was the most common type used in the production of bowls. Fabric 2 was also thought to be a 'fine' ware material; however, this was expressed mostly within jars instead of bowls. Fabric 7, however, was found to only represent one vessel which had been broken into four sherds (*ibid.,* 48-9); therefore, connections between fabric and form are not necessarily possible due to a lack of evidence for this particular fabric. While fabrics have been assigned to different vessel types, the function of each was not addressed. Analysis by Orme et al. (1981) further determined that later periods of occupation saw a growing preference for bowls, which were largely considered 'fine' wares. They suggested that this was potentially a reflection of change in activity on the site (Orme et al. 1981, 67). However, fine wares and decorated pottery have been found in all layers of the site (*ibid.,* 68), and therefore this interpretation can be thrown into question as Orme et al.'s analysis is only reflective of one section of the site.

TABLE 7.2 MVW FABRIC TYPE CATEGORISATIONS (BASED ON ORME ET AL. 1981, 48-9).

FABRIC TYPE	INCLUSIONS	VESSEL TYPE	'FINE' VS. 'COARSE' WARE
FABRIC 1	Quartz, sandstone, silt	Bowls (most common fabric type)	Fine ware
FABRIC 2A	Vegetable tempered (difficult to distinguish between 2b by eye)	Jars	Fine ware
FABRIC 2B	Vegetable tempered (difficult to distinguish between 2a by eye)	Jars	Fine ware
FABRIC 3	Clay, grog	Jars or buckets	Coarse ware
FABRIC 4	Material with irregular voids on surface	Jars or buckets	Coarse ware
FABRIC 5	Not distinguishable from Fabric 1 petrologically	Jars or buckets	Coarse ware
FABRIC 6	Not distinguishable from Fabric 1 petrologically	Jars or buckets	Coarse ware
FABRIC 7	Small grits, limestone	One vessel from MVW	Coarse ware

Initial interpretations for the decorative quality of pottery at Meare were proposed by Bulleid. He believed that hand-made pottery first appeared in 1st century BC (Bulleid and Gray 1948, 15). His work largely compared MLV pottery to that from Maiden Castle (MC), where dating was more firmly established; therefore, similar date ranges were assigned to Meare. Within this report, Bulleid highlighted some of the major decorative features found at MVW, particularly the presence of decorated bases, pot covers, and lugs. He further highlighted the unique motifs, such as triskeles and back-to-back 'crescents' (arcs) (*ibid.,* 18,19-21) that are commonly found on bases at MVW but have yet to be found at MVE. Similarly, according to Bulleid, a lot of MVW examples resemble metalwork decoration, such as the creation of 'palmettes' through a combination of arcs and running waves (*ibid.,* 21). These characteristics are a more common feature of MVW decorated pottery than MVE (or Danebury). Later reports further highlighted that decoration at the site was free-hand and the presence of stamps, etc., had not been discovered (Orme et al. 1981, 55).

MVE POTTERY

The pottery at MVE has been evaluated by S.E. Rouillard as part of the Somerset Levels Project, using both previous reports by Bulleid and Gray (1948) and new material uncovered through the project (published in 1981, 1983, and 1986). Analysis was largely based on approaches from the Danebury report (Coles 1987, 185), which has proven useful for my current evaluation of the material. Fortunately, while some of the pottery from the earlier excavations has been lost (Rouillard 1987, 183), the material evidence that remains and has been recorded is a good representation of the larger assemblage.

Similar to Danebury, the entire ceramic assemblage was labelled according to class, type, form, and variety, with main class divisions including jars, dishes, and bowls. As Rouillard further stated, bowls labelled as BA2.1 may also be referred to as the commonly termed 'saucepan pot' due to their near-vertical sides, thereby providing Meare with the same vessel categories as Danebury. The labelling of fabrics for this assemblage was adapted from the denominations initially assigned for MVW. However, certain fabrics have been consolidated or omitted from previous reports. Both fabrics 5 and 6 have been omitted within later discussions as they were initially used simply as sub-groups of Fabric 1. Similarly, Fabric 7 has been omitted as it represents only a few sherds from MVW, and therefore does not apply to MVE. In contrast, fabrics 2a (vegetable tempering), 2b (microcrystalline limestone), 2c (calcite), 4A (highly vesicular fabric), and 9 (large inclusions) have all been added to discussions of MVE pottery. In regard to the decoration, vessels were labelled based on their general decorative components. These were labelled A through E: A. geometric patterns, B. curvilinear patterns, C. combination of geometric and curvilinear, D. unusual examples, including cordons, and E. decoration found on rims or bases. Previous reports about this material emphasized that the decorative features were not reflective of a chronological order, but instead spanned the entire occupation of the site (*ibid.,* 210-217).

Based on the later excavations conducted by the Somerset Levels Project, Rouillard focused on four mounds from MVE to conduct a more detailed analysis of the ceramic material evidence: Mounds 1, 14, 28, and 30 (1987). These were chosen due to the quantity of material within each. Within these mounds, the common fabric types and decoration, as well as their connection to vessel forms, were discussed. In all of the four mounds, fabrics 1 and 2b/c appeared to be the most common, particularly for decorated vessels. Similarly, all of the decorated vessels appear to depict a similar repertoire of motif. While none are identical, neither are they truly unique (Rouillard 1987, 199-203). However, out of these four mounds only 7% of the total pottery assemblage was decorated, and as Rouillard states, "there is no reason to suggest that this figure would not apply to the whole assemblage" (*ibid*, 183, 199). While only a small representation of the overall ceramic assemblage, it

is important to ask why this selection of pottery was chosen for decoration and what additional meaning it may contain.

Out of the four mounds, only Mound 14 had, for the most part, been stored by layer, which allowed for more in-depth evaluation of the material. Within this mound, decorated vessels have been created from almost all of the fabric types, with 4A and 9 being the exceptions (*ibid.,* 203-6). From Mound 14, sherd C384 was found, which joins with C358 from Mound 51, and was thought to be from the same vessel as C501 and C549 from MVW (Figure 7.2) due to their similar design (*ibid.*, 208). If these sherds are not representative of a single vessel, then it is possible that they represent a single potter (*ibid.,* 206). This sherd is, therefore, of high significance as it demonstrates a direct relationship between the two sites, whether representative of a single vessel or a single potter. Furthermore, a change in decoration can be viewed within Mound 14 due to its detailed stratigraphic recording. From this material assemblage, it appears there was an increase of decorated sherds within the clay floors, suggesting an increase through time. As the stratigraphy of both sites works upwards from peat, black earth, clay, to topsoil (Orme et al. 1981, 18-9), it indicates an increase in decoration during later contexts of the site. Occupation would have initially taken place on the dried peat, continuing onto the black earth. Clay would have been brought onto the site during later periods in order to provide a raised and drier area for occupation (Rouillard 1987, 236). This potentially suggests an increase in the use of decoration, as well as an increase in variety of motifs, during the later occupational periods. According to Rouillard's analysis, this suggests that the decorative features found on C383, C394, and C393 (Figure 7.3) are representative of popular style choices during the later phases (*ibid.,* 208), yet they might also simply be representative of an increase in decoration in general on this mound. A comparison with other mounds would, therefore, be necessary for this to be supported. Furthermore, as versions of these features are continuously found, it is reasonable to deduce that most of the motifs and fabrics were in contemporary use throughout occupation of the overall site, including Mound 14. With these features in mind, it is likely that the material evidence at MVW would have similar interpretations.

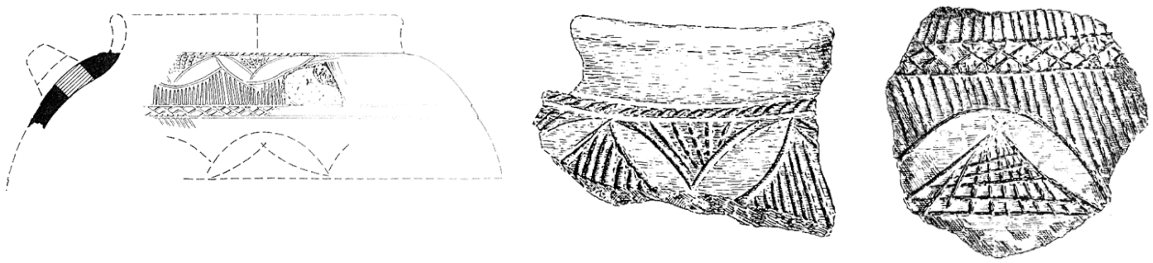


FIGURE 7.2 POTTERY SHERDS FROM THE SAME VESSEL (LEFT TO RIGHT: C384, C501, AND C549).

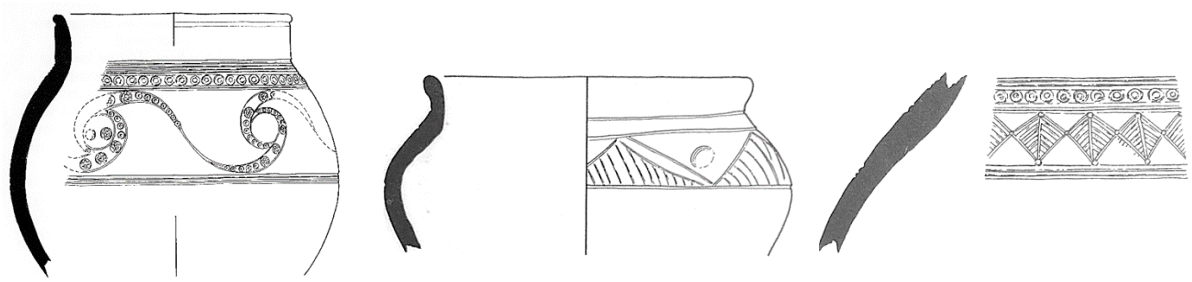


FIGURE 7.3 MVE POTTERY FROM LATER PHASES, ACCORDING TO COLES (1987) (LEFT TO RIGHT: C383, C393, AND C394).

7.2 CURRENT EVALUATION

One intention of the Somerset Levels Project at MLV was to "test the relationship of Meare West to Meare East" (Coles 1987, 9), and through a detailed study of the decorated material culture from both sites I intend to further this evaluation. These comparisons focus on the connections between general and specific vessel types, fabrics, and decorative features, such as individual motifs and overall patterns. Based on these categories, the two MLV sites were evaluated separately and as a whole. However, due to a lack of reliable stratigraphic records at these sites, an analysis of vessel form over time is not possible. Similarly, initial occupation for these two sites has been placed within the Middle Iron Age where separation of dates is already difficult. Therefore, for this review, the decorated pottery has not been separated into ceramic phases and interpretations based on date are not yet available.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ASSEMBLAGES

The overall ceramic assemblage at both MVW and MVE consists of jars, bowls, and dishes. No vessels were initially labelled as saucepan pots within the earlier reports, but later work within the Somerset Levels Project labelled BA2.1 (bowls with near-vertical sides) as an equivalent, and therefore these forms have been similarly converted within my database. Vessels were typically recovered from mounds at both sites, with the exception of five examples from MVE found in cuttings or as stray finds. Due to the recording methods from MVW, there are 36 vessels with unknown contexts but as the rest of the pottery is found from mounds it is reasonable to deduce these examples would be as well. Out of the two sites, 316 decorated vessels have been examined, including 184 from MVW and 132 from MVE. These vessels are taken from the different site reports as a representation of the overall assemblage. As with Danebury pottery (Section 6.2), this decorative analysis is based on my personal examination of the illustrated material included within the site reports, along with any descriptions provided. Overall, these recorded illustrations aid in the comparative interpretation of MLV's decorated pottery assemblage.

Decoration at Meare tends to be created either through shallow tooling, impressions, including rouletting, stamps, and/or burnishing, incorporating the use of a variety of tools, including fingertips. Burnishing is also a very common surface treatment found at the sites. The technique of scratching decoration, as found at Danebury, has not been utilized at MLV most likely due to the later start of occupation. Through a combination of these techniques, a multitude of individual motifs, as well as patterns, has been found. These patterns tend to be geometrical, curvilinear, or a combination of the two, with main components incorporating motifs such as chevrons, arcs, lozenges, and horizontal, vertical, or diagonal bands. The overall patterns may be bordered, as well as infilled by basketry hatching or linear bands. While decoration tends to move horizontally around the shoulder of the vessel, decorative features can extend over any surface. For example, decorated bases are a feature found at both MVW and MVE and tend to contain circular borders around the base edge. Overall, my analysis focuses on decorated ceramics from the Later Iron Age; however, where vessels have been assigned to either the Roman period or the earlier Iron Age, these have also been included to better compare the visual changes taking place over time.

FORM AND FABRIC

Meare pottery was assigned a coded form, adopted from the MVE descriptions based on class-type-form-variety (see Appendix C for Rouillard's classification). While these were provided in the MVE report (1987), the codes for MVW were determined from type numbers and the detailed descriptions provided in the Bulleid and Gray reports (1948, 1953). As different classification labels were provided for MVW and MVE, I chose to convert all pottery into the standards set for MVE to

maintain a level of consistency. Fabrics for MVW were also converted to those assigned to MVE as these were more recently updated, and therefore more consistent. This process of 'conversion' and associated results is described in Appendix D.

DECORATION

As previously stated, the decorated pottery at MVE makes up only around 7% of the entire assemblage from the site. While this is only based on the material excavated as to date, and only from MVE, it is reasonable to conclude that this percentage is representative of the full assemblage from both sites, and therefore is valuable for an interpretation of the decoration. To create consistency within my evaluations, decoration was first separated based on general classifications, such as geometric versus curvilinear, as well as linear versus dotted. Further details were then included, such as individual motifs, possible borders, location of the decoration on the vessel, application techniques, and surface treatment. While the decorative features within my simplified typology (Appendix A) largely remained the same as that initially gathered from the Danebury assemblage, Meare presented a few unique motifs that needed to be further incorporated. This largely included triskeles and saltires within MVW ceramics, which not only represent a unique visual expression within MVW, in comparison to the other sites within my research, but also represents direct connections between ceramic and metal decoration.

Based on the ceramic evidence, both MVW and MVE portray a strong commonality in decorative choice. From a general perspective, both sites show a preference for geometric patterns over curvilinear ones, with both containing geometric patterns around 40% of the time. However, MVE has a greater interest in purely curvilinear patterns (37%) compared to MVW (29.9%), while MVW tends to prefer a combination of the two (26.7%) in comparison to MVE (16.7%). Furthermore, both sites show a strong preference for decoration located at the shoulder, or just below the rim, of the vessel, with an overwhelming 63.5% located in this area. Rim top, full body, and base decoration follow shoulders in preference, with bases more prevalent at MVW and rim tops at MVE. Within the decoration itself, one of the most common patterns found on both sites is a bordered pendant arc infilled below with diagonal bands (Figure 7.4). Additional common patterns include rows of bordered alternating arcs (Figure 7.5), incorporating both standing and pendant arcs, which are typically infilled with diagonal bands and do not meet at the points. Interlocking pendant arcs in which one row appears to be located behind the other, and therefore disappears behind the front motif, is also common between both sites (Figure 7.6). Chevrons, which are occasionally angled, and simple lozenges with infilled cross-hatching are also common motifs found within both sites (Figure 7.7). These can be found in single rows, in multiple identical rows, and attached to rows of different motifs.

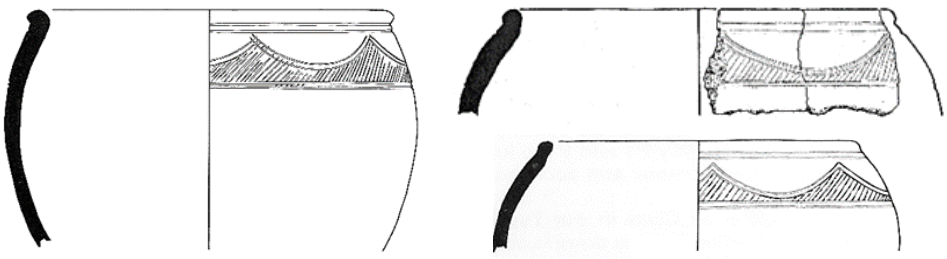


FIGURE 7.4 MLV POTTERY WITH PENDANT ARCS INFILLED WITH DIAGONAL BANDS (LEFT: C450; TOP: C638; BOTTOM: C458).

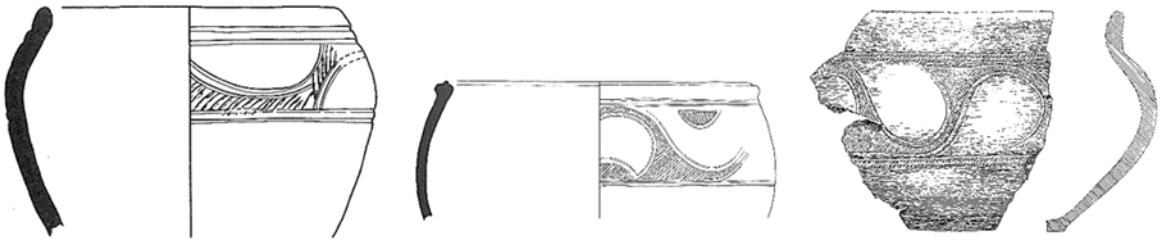


FIGURE 7.5 MLV POTTERY WITH ALTERNATING ARCS AND MOTIF DERIVATIVES (LEFT TO RIGHT: C351, C379, AND C522).

FIGURE 7.6 MLV POTTERY WITH DISAPPEARING PENDANT ARCS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C392, C545, AND C581).

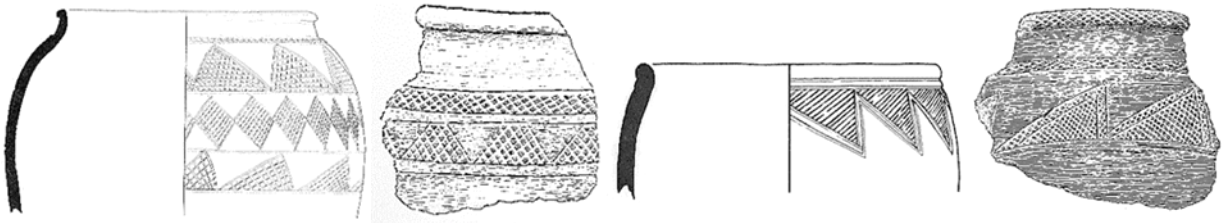


FIGURE 7.7 MLV POTTERY WITH CHEVRONS, LOZENGES, AND ANGLED CHEVRON MOTIFS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C348, C487, C386, AND C619).

Within MVW and MVE, different versions of the running scroll (Figure 7.8) are also consistently present. While none of the running scrolls are identical, they exhibit similar characteristics. Frequently these include large circles supported by trumpet motifs within which are often found ring-and-dot motifs. Occasionally these circles also contain a saltire at the centre (Figure 7.9), which is unique to Meare, and they are often bordered above by multiple horizontal linear bands and a horizontal band of ring-and-dot motifs. However, this style of bordering has also been found attached to other patterns.

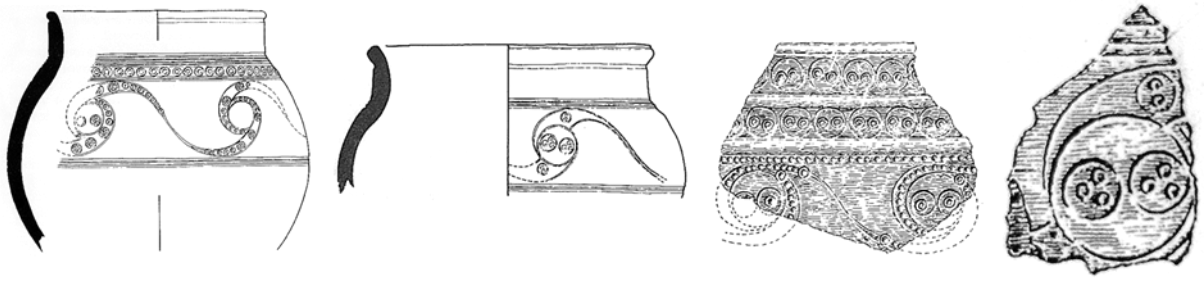


FIGURE 7.8 MLV POTTERY WITH DIFFERENT VERSIONS OF THE RUNNING SCROLL (LEFT TO RIGHT: C383, C454, C496, AND C577).

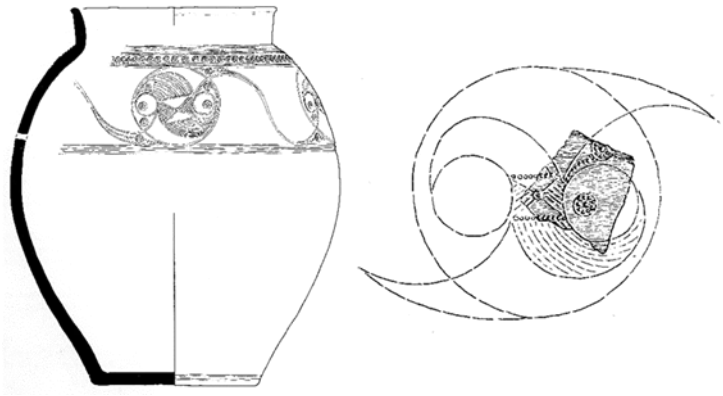


FIGURE 7.9 MLV POTTERY WITH RUNNING SCROLLS AND SALTIRES (LEFT TO RIGHT: C365 AND C507).

Finally, decorated bases appear throughout both sites, and these maintain certain qualities in all that have been excavated. These include single mirrored arcs (Figure 7.10), as well as double interlocking arcs, sometimes forming either a 'leaf' or crescent-like motif (Figure 7.11), and often overlapping at the centre. This overlapping can be infilled or remain empty, but if the surrounding base is infilled, the overlap typically is as well. The decoration on the surface of the vessel does not appear to affect whether the base was decorated nor the choice in motif, but all of these bases are consistently bordered by a circular band around the edge.

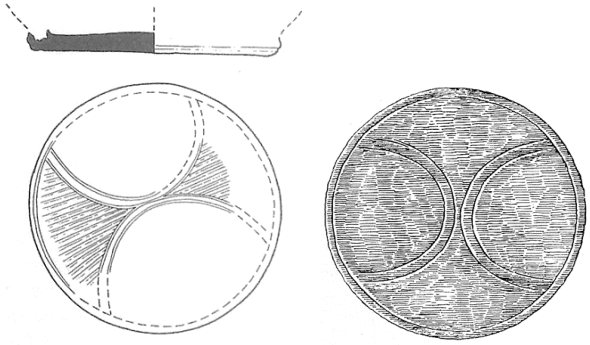


FIGURE 7.10 MLV BASES WITH MIRRORED ARCS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C388 AND C515).

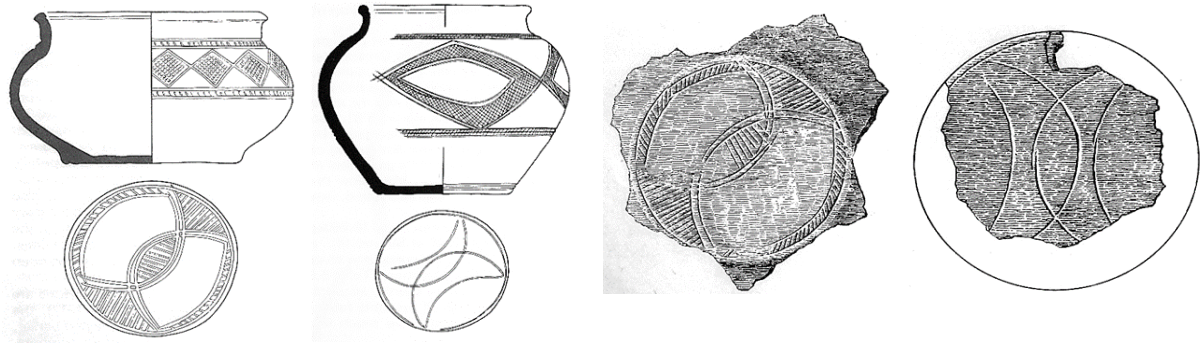


FIGURE 7.11 MLV BASES WITH 'LEAF'-LIKE AND 'CRESCENT'-LIKE INTERLOCKING ARCS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C377, C380, C513, AND C512).

While both sites exhibit various similarities, there is also particular imagery found in MVW that sets it apart. One unique feature is the presence of 'palmette' style motifs (Figure 7.12), which consist of running waves above and pendant arcs below, typically meeting in a circle at the arc points and infilled between the two motifs. Similarly, there are multiple vessels which contain a row of saltires across the shoulder (Figure 7.13). This motif consists of a square with an 'X' at the centre, forming four triangular spaces, and is typically separated by double vertical bands. These saltires can be

infilled within alternating triangular spaces, as well as contain concentric circle motifs at the centre of the 'X' or along the vertical separating bands. Another unique feature is the presence of triskeles found on bases at MVW (Figure 7.14), which consist of a triple-armed motif with single arcs at the points where the triskeles meet the circular border. This motif tends to be infilled with cross-hatching inside the triskele bands and between the arcs and border. C515 and C514 further exhibit a motif unique to MVW (Figure 7.15), which is difficult to describe. It incorporates a running wave with standing arcs attached above where the wave dips. Both of these two examples also contain bases with mirrored arcs that do not fully overlap, which may suggest a single potter for both vessels and/or a decorative combination expressed specifically at this site. Finally, at MVW are decorated lids, characterized by a unique running scroll motif or interlocking arcs, and decorated lugs (Figure 7.16).

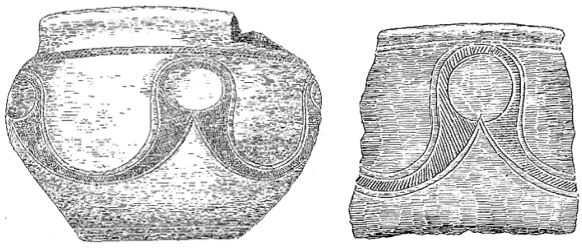


FIGURE 7.12 MVW POTTERY WITH PALMETTES (LEFT TO RIGHT: C628 AND C558).

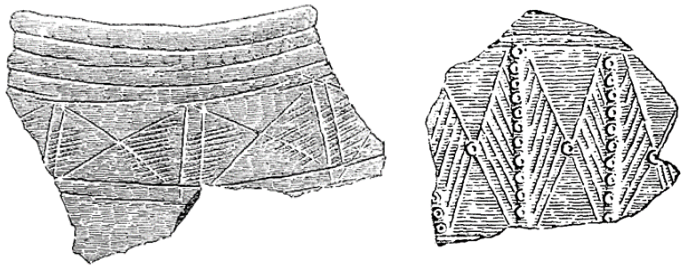


FIGURE 7.13 MVW POTTERY WITH SALTIRES (LEFT TO RIGHT: C604 AND C508).

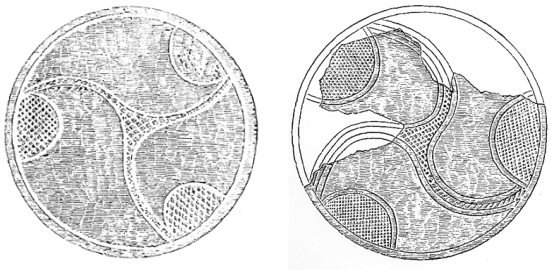


FIGURE 7.14 MVW POTTERY WITH TRISKELES (LEFT TO RIGHT: C543 AND C534).

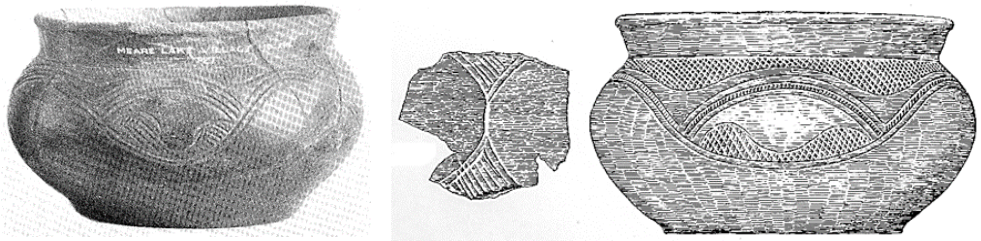


FIGURE 7.15 MVW POTTERY DEPICTING A UNIQUE MOTIF COMBINATION (LEFT TO RIGHT: C515 AND C514).

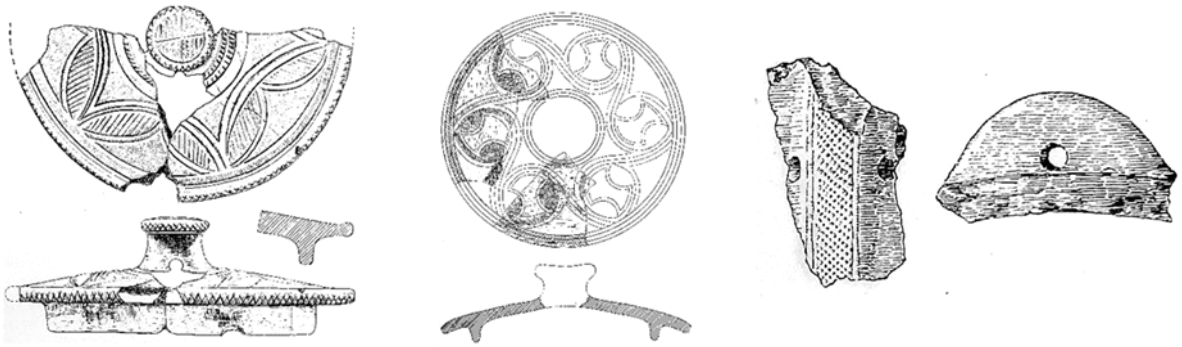


FIGURE 7.16 MVW DECORATED LIDS AND LUGS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C531, C529, AND C560).

7.3 ANALYSIS

Previous evaluation of the material evidence from the four mounds at MVE highlighted connections between fabric, form, and decoration. The material evidence further determined that decoration was generally found on three fabrics: 1, 2c, and 9 (Rouillard 1987, 199-203), and that the decoration tended to reflect the nature of the vessel itself. For example, more detailed decoration was found on vessels of fabric 1 and 2c, with less intricate decoration found on the irregular surfaces created by fabric 8. These suggestions by Rouillard are largely supported within my data analysis. As Figure 7.17 illustrates, Fabrics 1, 2c, and 9 are consistently found throughout all decorated vessel types, with Fabric 1 being the overall majority. Similarly, while Fabric 8 makes up a large majority of dishes, the actual number of dishes is low and there is only one example from this fabric type, which is simply decorated around the rim (Figure 7.18). However, the fact that more intricate decoration is included on vessels with Fabric 1 might be an oversimplification due to the overall prevalence of this fabric type.

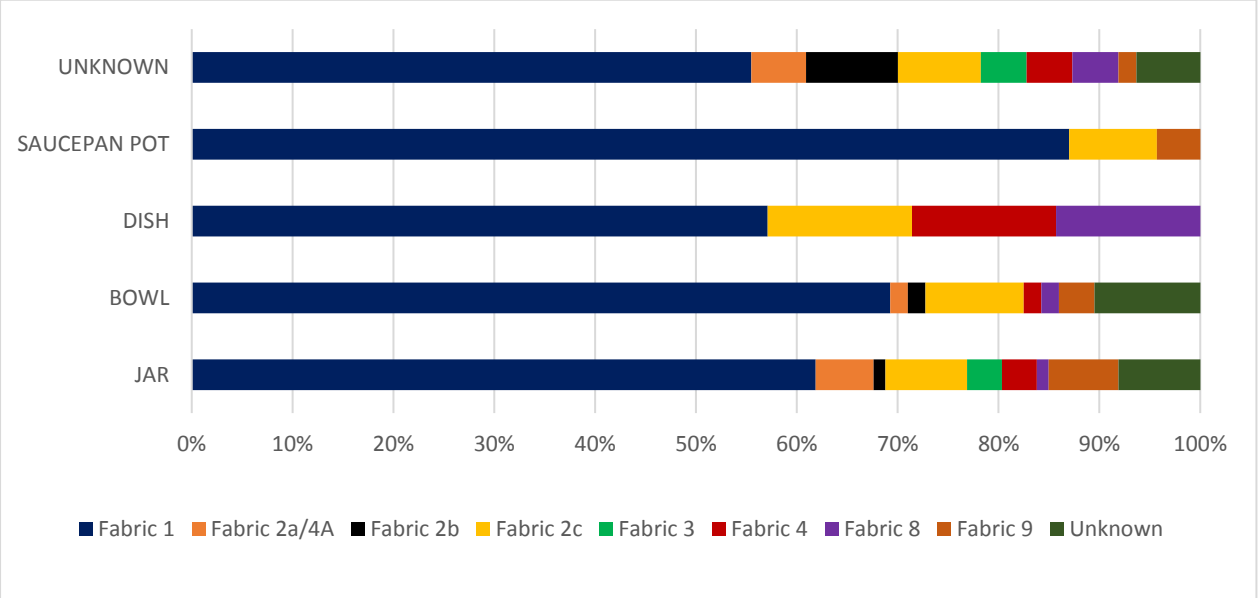


FIGURE 7.17 MLV, VESSEL FROM TO FABRIC TYPE (BASED ON 316 VESSELS: 78 JARS; 111 BOWLS; 6 DISHES; 23 SAUCEPAN POTS; 98 UNKNOWN).

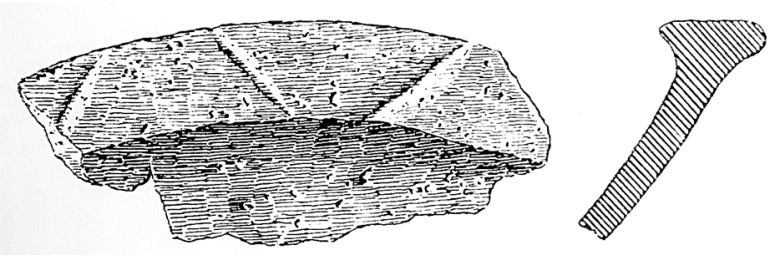


FIGURE 7.18 DECORATED DISH MADE FROM FABRIC 8 (C571).

Decorative styles were similarly linked, in certain regards, to the different vessel forms, as seen in Figures 7.19 and 7.20. The unknown vessels include those which could not be accurately identified due to their sherd size, and for this in-depth analysis only those which have been identified will be discussed. Within the decorated pottery at MVW (Figure 7.19), all vessel types demonstrate a strong preference for arcs, diagonal bands, and infilling. While saucepan pots contain the highest representation of arcs, this is closely followed by bowls. In contrast, jars contain the highest representation of horizontal bands and circles. Dishes typically depict chevrons, arcs, running scrolls, diagonal bands, and infilling, with these motifs demonstrating an even distribution on this vessel type. The surface of the vessel would likely have played a part in these decorative choices, particularly with dishes, as the available space would determine what could be depicted. However, as arcs also appear on these vessels, surface space is not always a determining factor, as these motifs would likely have been more difficult to inscribe on smaller surfaces, yet they have a roughly even distribution across all vessel types. Similar to MVW, there is a high representation of arcs and infilling at MVE (Figure 7.20). In contrast, however, all MVE decorated vessels contain a much higher percentage of lozenges and horizontal bands. Furthermore, within the MVE assemblage, saucepan pots contain the highest representation of running scrolls, running waves, and diagonal bands. Dishes, on the other hand, contain the highest representation of chevrons, arcs, and lozenges, although there is much less variety on this vessel type than was found at MVW. There is also a high representation of chevrons, arcs, and lozenges on bowls, but to a lesser degree than that of dishes. As these two graphs demonstrate, while motifs were often similar between the two sites, the connection between motif and vessel form was not. A comparison of the decorative features between the two sites can be seen in Figure 7.21. As this graph highlights, each site had a slightly different preference for motifs based on vessel forms. While a higher percentage of arcs, lozenges, and horizontal bands were found at MVE, more saltires, circles, vertical bands, and cordons were found at MVW. Running waves are most frequently found at MVW, with the exception of saucepan pots which shows a stronger prevalence in MVE. Nevertheless, both sites show a large variety of motif choice within their pottery.

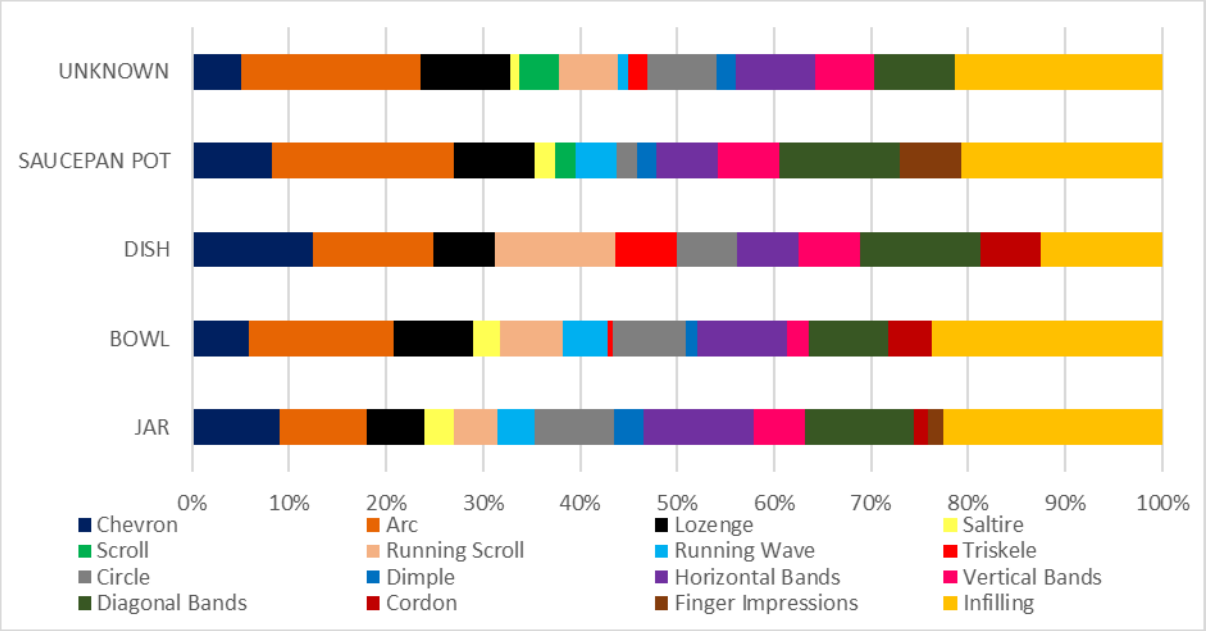


FIGURE 7.19 MVW, DECORATION TO FORM (BASED ON 184 VESSELS: 53 JARS, 66 BOWLS, 4 DISHES, 19 SAUCEPAN POTS, 42 UNKNOWN).

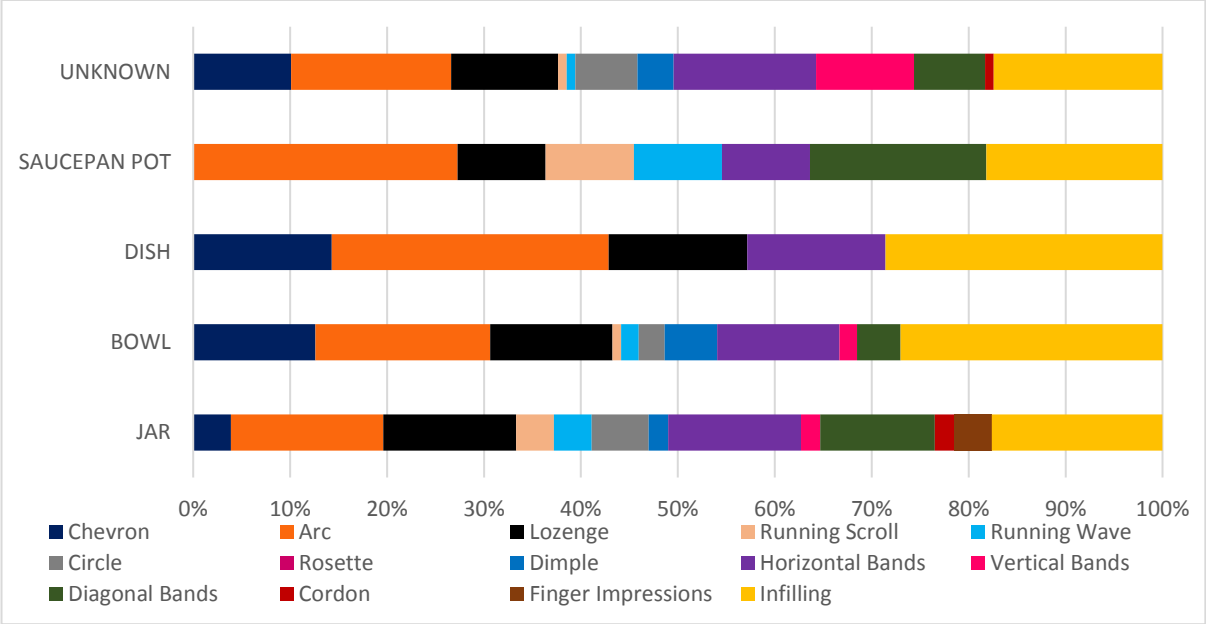


FIGURE 7.20 MVE, DECORATION TO FORM (BASED ON 132 VESSELS: 25 JARS, 45 BOWLS, 2 DISHES, 4 SAUCEPAN POTS, 56 UNKNOWN).

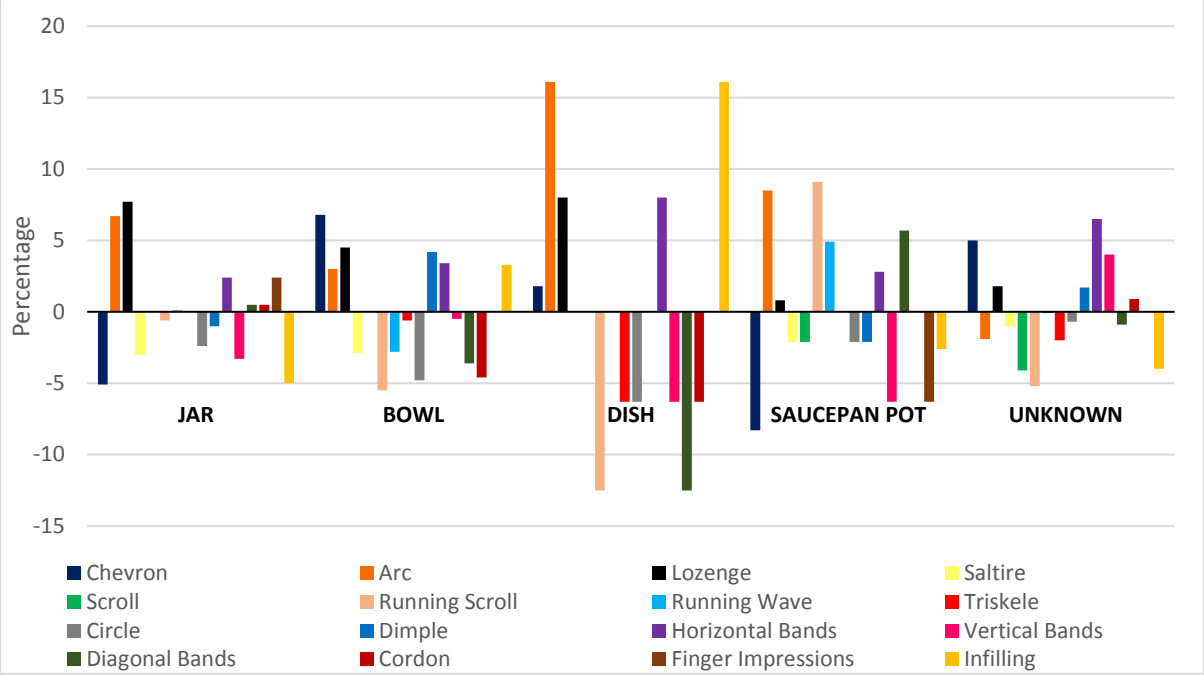


FIGURE 7.21 DECORATIVE COMPARISON FROM BOTH SITES: MVW REPRESENTED BY THE NEGATIVE PERCENTAGES AND MVE BY THE POSITIVE PERCENTAGES (184 VESSELS FROM MVW AND 132 FROM MVE). +/- PERCENTAGES CALCULATED BASED ON THE SUBTRACTION OF MVW PERCENTAGES (FIGURE 7.19) FROM MVE PERCENTAGES (FIGURE 7.20).

In regard to specific vessel shapes, certain types do appear to show preferences for specific decorative patterns. According to Coles, JD vessels (tripartite globular jars with well-formed necks) often contained scroll designs associated with dots, such as on C365 and C454 from MVE, while pendant arcs tended to be found on BC vessels (bipartite bowls with rim diameters approximately equal to base diameters), such as C466 and C450 from MVE (Coles 1987, 185, 219). However, his evaluation presents multiple inconsistencies, most notably with the fact that C365 and C454 are not identified as JD types within the vessel records from the same report, nor is C450 recorded as a BC type. Instead, these have been labelled as JG2.1 (jars with curving low shoulders, upright neck profile, and beaded rims), BD2.1 (globular bowls with upright necks and beaded rims), and JC2 (barrel-shaped jars with upright rims) respectively (*ibid.,* 187, 190, 195), matching neither the listed conclusions nor each other. This alone throws his analysis into question.

Through a detailed evaluation of the material presented, however, certain decorative qualities do appear to be associated with particular vessel types (Table 7.3). For example, standing arcs are overwhelmingly associated with bowls, with one exception of a jar from MVW (C490). Similarly, there are motifs found only on bowls or jars with upright or near vertical rims or necks. These motifs include alternating arcs and overlapping pendant arcs where one row disappears behind the other, as shown in Figures 7.5 and 7.6, and running scrolls associated with ring-and-dot motifs. What is striking within the material is that neither the MVW saltires or 'palmettes', nor the decorated bases, show any preference for a particular vessel type. One interpretation is that the motifs were not tied to functional roles but instead reflected a different social aspect, or none at all. None of the decorative features are found on a single vessel type. Instead, selection for decoration appears based more on the shape of the vessel, as seen on vessels with upright necks or globular frames, rather than the general vessel type. In other words, decoration was not determined based on whether the vessel was a jar, bowl, or saucepan pot, but rather whether a vessel had an upright or near vertical neck, etc. This contrasts with Orme et al.'s conclusion for Meare that no direct

correlation was found between bowl-shape and type of decoration present (Orme et al. 1981, 49), as both MVW and MVE tend to decorate vessels with upright necks or globular shapes.

TABLE 7.3 MLV DECORATIVE PATTERNS ATTRIBUTED TO SPECIFIC VESSEL TYPES (BASED ON THE MOST COMMON DECORATIVE PATTERNS).

Class	**Jar**						**Bowl**					**Dish**			**Saucepan Pot**	**Total**
Type	J	JA	JC	JD	JE	JG	B	BA	BC	BD	BG	D	DA	DC	BA2.1/JA2 = PB	
Pendant Arcs			1		1	1			6	1						10
Standing Arcs			1						2	3	1					7
Alternating Arcs			2			1			1							4
Mirrored Arcs						1	2						1		1	5
Disappearing Arcs			1								1				2	4
Interlocking Arcs					1	3				2	1					7
Mix of Arcs							1		1				1			3
Scroll design with dots	1			1		2			2	4						10
Scroll without dots				1						2						3
Running wave				1		1				2					2	6
Diagonal bands				2		2										4
Chevrons			1		2	3	2		4	7	1		2		1	23
Lozenges			1	2	2	1			3	6	1				3	19
Chevrons + Lozenges						2				5						7
Chevrons + Arcs			1			1	1				1				4	8
Saltires				1		1	2		1	2					1	8
Triskeles							1						1			2
‘Palmette’						1	1				1				1	4
Unique	1					2	1			5			1		2	12

Coles further determined that particular vessel types could be associated with particular fabrics, such as BC types with fabric 2c, JG types with fabric 3, and JE and JC types with fabric 4 (Coles 1987, 219). However, it was not specified how many vessels were examined for each type, the percentages, or how many of these were decorated. Similarly, the results were only reflective of ceramics from MVE. Therefore, further analysis of the relationship between decorated vessels and fabric types within both sites was necessary. Based on my data evaluation of the two sites, connections were found between the decorated vessels and fabric types (Table 7.4); however, these were different to those previously concluded by Coles. While fabric 1 is the most common, it is most frequently used for decorated BD types, making up 25.5% of the material, particularly with regards to BD2.1 vessels, followed by BC and JG types at 17.4% and 16%. Similarly, decorated pottery using fabric 2c has a relatively even representation between BA, BC, BD, and JE types, while decorated pottery in fabric 4 is typically found on BD or JE vessels. However, it does not appear that the other

fabrics have any connection to particular decorated vessel types. While the prevalence of bowls in fabric 1 does support Bulleid and Gray's initial assessment, this does not necessarily mean that these vessels contained more intricate decoration in comparison to the other vessel types as the other fabrics do not have anywhere near the number of decorated examples. The belief that more intricate decoration is found on finer vessels is, therefore, thrown into question as most decorated forms are overwhelmingly found with fabric 1 (Table 7.4) and the decorative features appear to be present on a variety of types.

TABLE 7.4 MLV, VESSEL FORM TO FABRIC (BASED ON 206 EXAMPLES WITH DEFINITE FORM AND FABRIC TYPE).

CLASS	TYPE	1	2A/4A	2B	2C	3	4	8	9
JARS	J	3			1				
	JA	1	1						1
	JC	12	1	1		1		1	
	JD	6	2		1	2			3
	JE	6	1		3		2		
	JG	24			2			1	4
BOWLS	B		1		3				1
	BA	19							
	BC	26			2				
	BD	38		2	4		3	1	3
	BG	6	1		1			1	1
DISH	D								
	DA	3			1		1		
	DC	1							
	DG							1	
SAUCEPAN POT	BA2.1/JA2 = PB	4			2				
TOTAL		149	7	3	20	3	6	5	13

7.4 CONCLUSION

From excavations conducted first by Bulleid and Gray, continued by Avery, and then finalized by the Somerset Levels Project, MVW and MVE have become important sites for Iron Age research. Together they cover a period extending from the Middle Iron Age into the early Roman period, and therefore, provide a visual reflection of these changing social and political times. As with Danebury's pottery assemblage, strong connections were found between the decoration, fabric inclusions, and shape of the vessels, although this is not identically expressed between the two sites. While the material was not provided dates, and therefore did not allow for visual comparisons over time, the close proximity of the two MLV sites did create a new opportunity whereby more local comparisons could be conducted, in contrast to the other two case studies included within this report. Overall, the ceramic record supports a close relationship between the two sites with certain decorative patterns spread throughout both, as well as a universal preference for fabrics 1, 2c, and 9 on decorated vessels. Based on the key decorative features (Table 7.5), both sites demonstrate a relatively even representation of standing and pendant arcs, chevrons, lozenges, horizontal bands, and linear infilling. However, from here MVW tends to present a more varied decorative scheme, with a higher representation of interlocking arcs, running scrolls with circles/stamps, diagonal bands, and basketry hatching. More unique motifs, such as triskeles, saltires, and palmettes also tend to be found at MVW, providing it with an independent identity from MVE while also connecting it to more decorated metalwork.

TABLE 7.5 COMPARISON OF KEY DECORATIVE FEATURES FROM EACH MLV SITE.

MOTIFS	MVW	MVE	TOTAL
STANDING ARCS	14	13	27
PENDANT ARCS	13	13	26
INTERLOCKING ARCS	22	11	33
ALTERNATING ARCS	4	7	11
DISAPPEARING ARCS	3	2	5
RUNNING SCROLL WITH CIRCLES/DOTS	13	4	17
CHEVRONS	33	28	61
LOZENGES	36	35	71
LINEAR HORIZONTAL BANDS	30	28	58
MIRRORED DIAGONAL BANDS	12	4	16
NON-MIRRORED DIAGONAL BANDS	26	14	40
BASKETRY HATCHING	48	22	70
LINEAR HATCHING	38	36	74
DECORATED BASES	9	3	12

Based on this information, it is, therefore, worth asking: Why are certain decorative features stressed more at MVW than MVE, considering their close proximity? One interpretation is that these two sites were different cultural centres with different communities and forms of expression. Both sites would have selected from a general decorative scheme, and therefore, their strong similarities would unite them within the larger MLV community while their visual differences would allow for separate identities. Another interpretation is that these visual forms of cultural expression began at MVW, possibly due to its earlier occupation dates or the presence of a main ceramic production centre or ceramicist at MVW, thereby forming MVE as the peripheral settlement. In both of these cases the decoration would have originated at MVW before gradually making its way to MVE. Finally, it is possible that a greater variety of material has not yet been found at MVE due to its smaller excavation size. As Coles stated, “through the passage of time much has been lost, damaged or made less reliable than as originally seen or found” (Coles 1987, 235). Nevertheless, through the material record that does remain, connections can greatly be seen through the visual expressions left behind. It is obvious that there was a strong relationship between the two sites, largely due to their close proximity, but also likely reflective of a growing and connected community of people. Whether these sites were occupied by the same community or not, they are nevertheless illustrative of a group of people connected through their material culture. Similar connections within the final case study site must now be explored.

8: DRAGONBY POTTERY

My final ceramic evaluation examines the decorated assemblage from Dragonby. The addition of this final case study site allows for a vast selection of decorated pottery from the South-Western, Central Southern, and Eastern zones to be compared based on their forms, fabrics, and decorative preferences over time. Located in North Lincolnshire, between the River Humber and Trent, lies the settlement site of Dragonby (Figure 8.1). Although placed along the Jurassic Zone, on a field of iron ore, there has been no direct evidence for its exploitation during the Iron Age (Stead 1997, 316), with most production focused on ceramics.

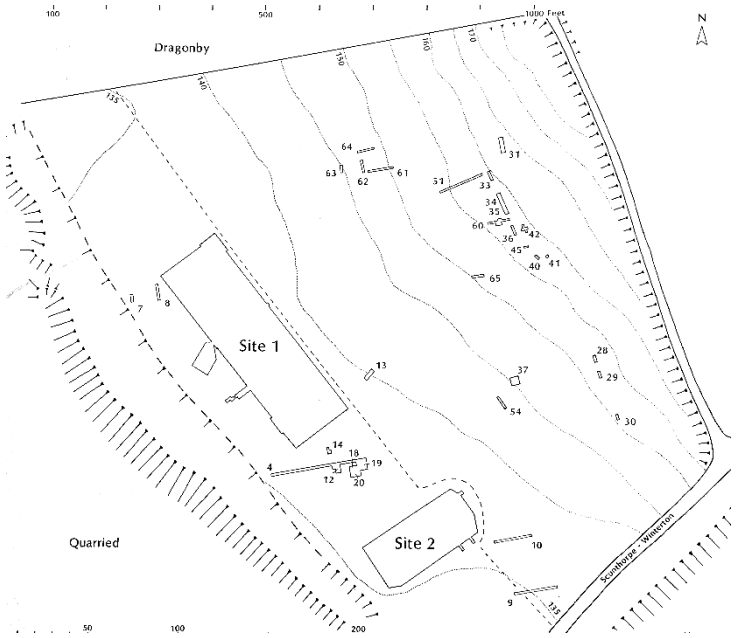


FIGURE 8.1 DRAGONBY SITE PLAN (MAY 1996, FIGURE 1.3).

The site was initially evaluated by the Scunthorpe Museum through surface collecting and digging, which produced a small amount of pottery. A more in-depth excavation was then conducted by R.H. Arrand in 1963 and Jeffrey May between 1964 and 1973 (May 1996, 397). During May's excavations, around two tons of pottery was discovered, largely dating to the Iron Age and Roman periods. Very few complete vessels were found at the site, with only two nearly complete examples discovered to date (Figure 8.2). In contrast, vessels were typically used, broken, and then dumped into ditches or left on the surface of the site (*ibid.*, 397, 403). As May highlighted, the amount of domestic debris discovered at Dragonby has left little doubt that a large number of people settled here during the Iron Age (*ibid.,* 599).

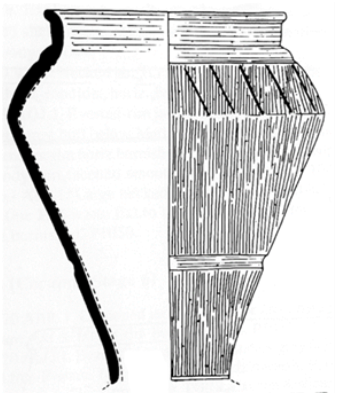


FIGURE 8.2 ONE OF TWO NEARLY COMPLETE VESSELS FROM DRAGONBY (C670).

In order to establish a relative chronology at the site, typological and stratigraphical analysis, as well as thermoluminescence dating, was undertaken for the ceramic assemblage. Based on style analyses, Cunliffe assigned the Sleaford-Dragonby style to the site. Within this style there is both an earlier phase, pre-50 BC, and a later phase, around 50 to 10 BC (Cunliffe 2005, 639). Following this style stage, the site was then influenced by the Aylesford-Swarling group after the middle of the 1st century BC, presenting a range of types broadly similar to vessels from Belgic Gaul (*ibid.* 116). To conduct the thermoluminescence dating, four samples were taken from different stratigraphical locations, and this material suggested that the Iron Age occupation of the site began much earlier, possibly as far back as 550 BC, and continued much later, after AD 180, than originally thought (May 1996, 438-442). As May concludes, the thermoluminescence dating suggested an occupational start "at least as early as the 3rd to 2nd centuries BC" (*ibid.,* 400), and therefore, I have maintained this relative start date throughout my evaluation. However, most of the material, particularly the decorated material, dates to the 1st centuries BC and AD. Previous authors also determined that a single, continuous occupational phase likely occurred at Dragonby, as the chronological and typological phases largely overlap. While occupation of the site does cover a broad period overall (May 1996, 397), for my research I am focusing on its Iron Age occupation, beginning just before the 3rd century BC, and its continuation into the early Roman period.

8.1 PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS

At Dragonby, ceramic evidence was typically found in gullies, ditches, or pits, some of which can be further considered wells, water holes, or quarries for making pottery or daub (May 1996, 605). Most of the illustrations included within the Dragonby report come from sherds and were produced by A.K. Gregory, with additional images added by S.M. Elsdon, K. Fearn and May (*ibid.,* 445). Through previous evaluation of the material, May determined that while the Dragonby Iron Age assemblage was just as large as the later Roman assemblage, the earlier period contained a much greater variety of form and decoration (*ibid.,* 398; Figure 8.3). Due to the large ceramic assemblage from Dragonby, it has also been proposed that a production centre may have existed within the site. Neutron activation analysis further suggested one of the most common fabrics from the area, F-ware, was locally produced, while seven Roman kilns and waste dumps have been found in or around the site (*ibid.,* 579-80). Together, this again suggests a production centre close to Dragonby during the Iron Age and immediately afterwards.

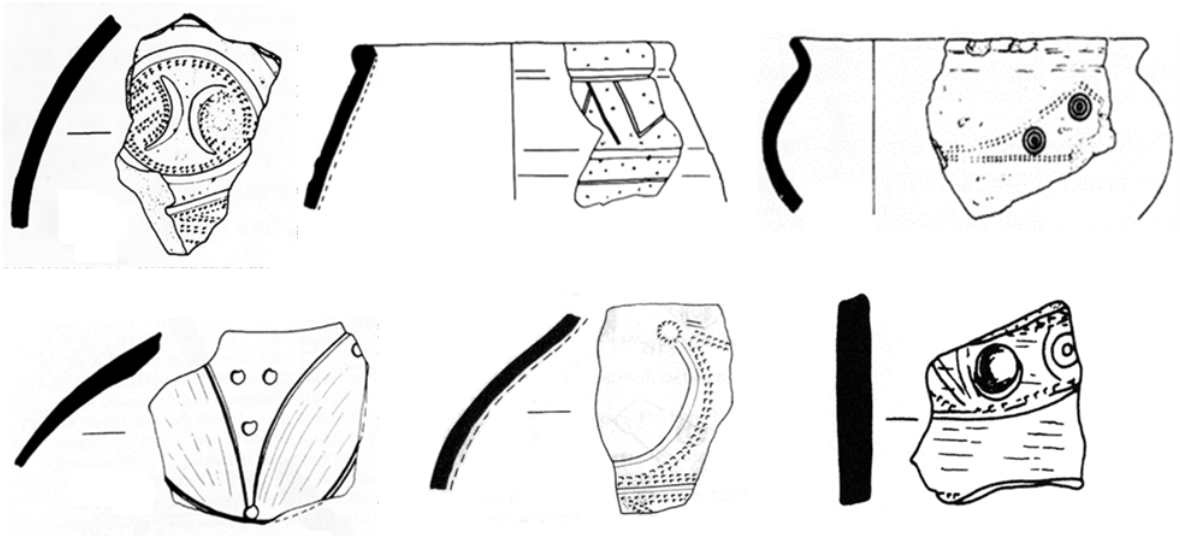


FIGURE 8.3 A SELECTION OF IRON AGE DECORATED SHERDS FROM DRAGONBY (TOP LEFT TO RIGHT: C699, C776, C844; BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT: C924, C926, C708).

Original interpretations of the pottery revolved around two phases of pottery production and their potential social significance (May 1996, 621), representing a very old-fashioned approach. It was concluded that the earliest Iron Age occupation was characterised by people who created hand-made pottery reminiscent of the La Tène II type. This group was then overtaken by invaders, who introduced wheel-made pottery reminiscent of La Tène III type similar to that found at Aylesford, which was further interpreted to suggest that Dragonby was a potential offshoot of the invasion mentioned by Caesar (*ibid.*). However, after more extensive excavation, this initial and outdated interpretation has been questioned and replaced. Changes were seen as gradual developments instead of absolute divisions based around the invasion of La Tène III Belgae in the 1st century BC. Rigid divisions were no longer accepted, as certain vessels that were originally used to define later periods were found in earlier ceramic stages (CS), such as wheel-made pedestal urns and bowls. These were seen as "nothing more than older forms modified by new technology" (*ibid.*). The ceramic sequence was, therefore, characterised by small modifications in form, fabric, surface treatment, and decoration through the introduction of new technology (*ibid.*), instead of the old-fashioned invasion theory.

CERAMIC DATING

Through the preparation of stratigraphical matrix diagrams by JR Samuels in 1983, as well as detailed visual analyses, key ceramic sequences were identified, which were then applied to the full pottery assemblage (*ibid.,* 400). Through this analysis, Samuels differentiated between 11 ceramic stages (CS). These stages have been useful in providing relative timescales for the ceramic assemblage, but they do not straightforwardly correspond with fixed chronological dates. There are also difficulties with the divisions as no date ranges are provided before CS5. Therefore, for CS1 to 4, I have provided a broad date range beginning around the initial occupation of the site, which according to the thermoluminescence dating again suggests a date at least around the 3rd century BC (*ibid.*). The date range for CS1 to 4, therefore, begins roughly around the 4th century BC and ends when CS5 begins in the 1st century BC (Table 8.1). Following on from these divisions, five 'Horizons' were assigned by A.K. Gregory and J. R. Samuels for the Romano-British ceramic material, with 'Horizon I' overlapping with CS10 and 11, and 'Horizon II' beginning towards the end of CS11 (Table 8.2). These were, again, largely based on stratigraphical and typological relationships. The difference between ceramic stages and 'Horizons' is largely based on whether emphasis was placed on Iron Age or Romano-British pottery traditions (Gregory 1996, 513). In general, most ceramic evidence has been

placed between 1st century BC and 1st century AD. For my research, I have only incorporated pottery up to the end of 'Horizon III', which concludes during the early 3rd century AD, as I am only focusing on decorative changes taking place during the early Roman period.

TABLE 8.1 DRAGONBY CERAMIC STAGES (BASED ON MAY 1996, FIG.19.3)

CS	DATE RANGE
1-4	c. 4TH – 2nd centuries BC
5-6	1st century BC
7-9	Early 1st century AD
10	Pre-Flavian
11	Late 1st century AD

TABLE 8.2 DRAGONBY 'HORIZONS' (BASED ON MAY 1996)

HORIZON	DATE RANGE
I	Mid-Late 1st century AD
II	Late 1st – Early 2nd century AD
III	Early 2nd – Early 3rd century AD
IV	3rd century AD
V	4th century AD

Through previous evaluations of the material over the different ceramic stages, certain characteristics were determined (Table 8.3). May concluded that as the stages progressed, the spontaneity and originality that was present in the earlier stages was gradually lost to more contained decoration (May 1996, 407-8). This is potentially due to the introduction of the potter's wheel and its growing use. For example, the most elaborately decorated vessel, C672, was found in CS1 (Figure 8.4). This urn has six rows of decoration, with rouletting being the main method of application. However, this vessel is unique within the Dragonby assemblage, based on its form, fabric, and decoration, and is more reminiscent of certain Danebury ceramics (Figure 8.5) than other vessels from Dragonby. These examples have similar decorative outlines, containing multiple decorative rows, and they are dated to similar periods of time as C672: CP6 to 7, roughly 310-50 BC. After CS5, however, free roulette patterns are no longer present, and it disappears as a main decorative feature following CS7, being largely replaced by tooled decoration. Furthermore, we first see evidence of the potter's wheel in CS5. This stage was a potential intermediary phase between hand-made and wheel-made pottery, as certain examples appear to be originally hand-made but then finished on a turntable giving the appearance of a completely wheel-made vessel. However, it was not until CS6 that true wheel-made pottery appeared, only becoming common for fine-ware vessels after CS9 (*ibid.,* 403-7).

TABLE 8.3 DRAGONBY CERAMIC STAGES AND ASSOCIATED CHARACTERISTICS (BASED ON MAY 1996, 403-7).

CS	DATES	MAIN FORM TYPES	HAND-MADE VS. WHEEL-MADE	DECORATIVE QUALITIES
1	4th – 1st century BC	Angular pedestal urns, cordoned jars, and slack-profile coarse-ware jars	Hand-made	Very elaborate decoration; free roulette decoration; circular stamps
2		Necked jars with shoulder bulges, slack and S-profile coarse-ware jars	Hand-made	Roulette decoration common
3		Small necked jars with shoulder bulges	Hand-made	Roulette decoration accompanied by stamps and some combing
4		TG5, 6, and 16	Hand-made	Stamped, rouletted, tooled lattice and chevron decoration; decorated bases appear
5	1st century BC	TG5, 6, and 16	Hand-made and wheel-finished	Rouletted, tooled lattice and chevron decoration; cross-decorated bases
6		Jars with large bulges and large rolled-rim storage jars appear	Begin of wheel-made pottery (small quantity)	Scored and combed decoration (No rouletted decoration)
7	1st century AD	Beginning of concave-sided jars; necked jars with shoulder bulges	Wheel-made (small quantity) and hand-made continue	Scored and combed decoration; Last stage where rouletting present; 'maggot' stamps on cordons
8		Concave-sided jars of TG10, cordoned barrel-shaped jars of TG8; appearance of micaceous terra nigra	Wheel-made becomes common	Vertical stroke burnishing on lower part of vessels
9		Gallo-Belgic or Gallo-Belgic influenced pottery appear; TG4, 8, and 15	Wheel-made fine-wares	Tooled lattice decoration common, as well as tooled chevron and diagonal bands; diagonal ('herringbone') stamps
10	Pre-Flavian	Imitation butt-beakers, bead-rim ovoid and globular jars, necked jars	Wheel-made fine-wares	Lattice decoration, crescentic stamps
11	Late 1st century AD	Imitation butt-beakers, terra nigra plates, necked bowls, cups with rounded bases, large bead-rim jars	Wheel-made fine-wares	Combing

FIGURE 8.4 DRAGONBY VESSEL (C672).

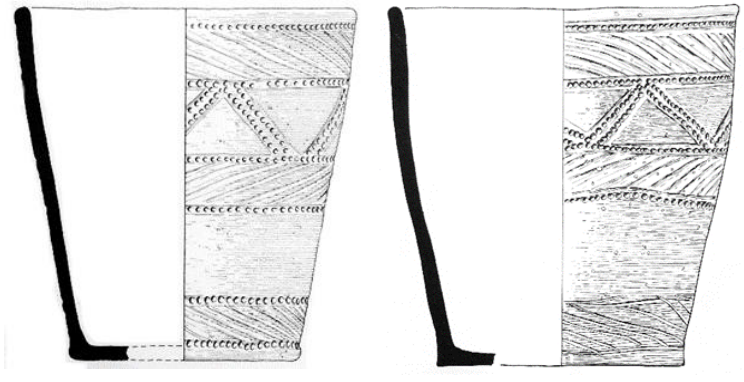


FIGURE 8.5 DANEBURY VESSELS (C121 AND C238).

Additional changes took place during the Romano-British 'horizon' phases. As Horizon I largely overlaps with the end of the Iron Age ceramic stages, the ceramic assemblage during this period still consists of Iron Age, Gallo-Belgic, and Roman types deposited together. For example, during the

later ceramic stages and early Iron Age 'horizons' we see the reintroduction of rouletting but in a more Romano-British style, as seen through C759 and C1332 (Figure 8.6). This suggests that Roman decorative influence and adaption began before Roman vessel traditions were fully adopted. Horizon II further moves away from Iron Age types with the first occurrence of Roman coarse wares, as well as blue-burnished grey-wares, although there is still a high proportion of Iron Age decorative styles. The blue-burnished grey-wares become the main fabric of the subsequent horizons. Finally, Horizon III sees both the introduction of 'Proto-Dales Ware', which is a new style of shell-filled jars, and grey ware barrel jars, as well as an increase in Samian pottery.

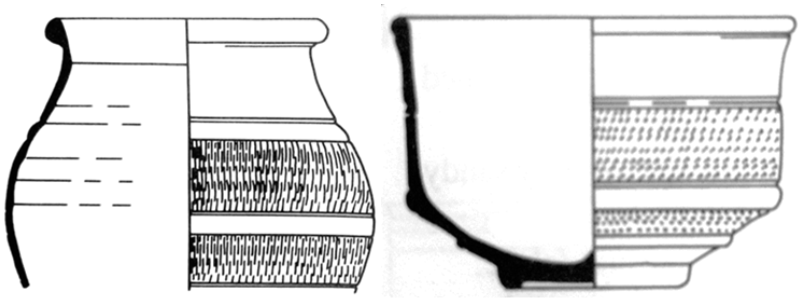


FIGURE 8.6 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH ROULETTING, REPRESENTING CS9 AND HORIZON I-III (C759 AND C1332).

As CS10 and 11 overlapped with the initial 'horizon' periods, the Iron Age ceramic traditions, both in regard to form and decoration, continued well into the Roman period (*ibid.,* 407). While these may be examples of residuality, the quantity of evidence, as well as the similarities in decoration between the two groups, suggest that Iron Age decorative 'traditions' were a thriving and continuous means of expression for the people of this community.

FORM

A great variety of forms have been discovered at Dragonby, consisting of both the general types found at other sites (jars, bowls, and dishes), as well as additional forms, such as imitation vessels. One interpretation is that this greater vessel variety reflects a larger range of functions and social significances (May 1996, 411), but it is also possible that other sites simply used a larger amount of non-ceramic material for food preparation and storage. These vessel types, as seen in Table 8.4, show potential connections between form, fabric, and ceramic stages; however, they were only based on the Iron Age ceramic assemblage. Furthermore, unlike the other two sites, certain type groups (TG) for Dragonby were assigned based on possible similarities in function, such as TG1, 5, and 20. Within TG1 we see small cups and bowls, which were grouped together because they fit within the hand, and therefore, were thought to be for drinking. The finer vessels of TG5, on the other hand, were grouped due to their large size and were thought to be used for the storage of liquids. The coarse wares of TG20 were similarly thought to be used for storage and cooking (May 1996*,* 412,414). Where function could not be determined, form was used as a divisionary guideline for these groups. However, because these vessels are not grouped by shape or dimensions, as seen at the other sites, these type groups could visually overlap. For example, some of the larger jars within TG16 would normally be grouped with other storage jars, but because they have been made with a finer fabric they have been grouped separately (May 1996, 416). While an overwhelming majority of the type groups are made of finer fabrics, this is not necessarily reflected in those that are also decorated.

TABLE 8.4 DRAGONBY TYPE GROUPS (BASED ON ELSDON 1996, 413-6).

TG	VESSEL TYPES	FINE VS. COARSE WARES	FABRIC TYPES	CS
1	Small cups and bowls	Fine	All fabrics except A and C	1-9/10
2	S-profile jars	Fine	C, D, and F (hand-made)	1-9
3	Pedestal urns	Fine	All fabrics but C	1-8
4	Small necked jars and bowls	Fine	All except A; Early hand-made, later wheel-made (merge into RB forms)	2-11
5	Cauldrons and globular jars	Fine	B and F	All
6	Everted rim jars and bowls	Fine	Mostly F and G; Early hand-made, later wheel-made	3-9
7	Handled jars	Fine	All in E, or coarse F-wares	6-11
8	Bead-rim ovoid jars	Fine	Usually in G or J	4-9/10
9	Narrow long and short necked jars and flasks	Fine	Mostly G, J, and K	4-11
10	Carinated and concave-sided cups and jars	Fine	All in G and J; Usually wheel-made	7-10
11	Imitation butt- and barrel-beakers	Fine	G and J	9-10
12	Jar with bulges or corrugations	Fine	D, F, and G; all hand-made	1-7
13	Jars with cordons	Fine	7 fine wares in fine F and G; 4 coarse wares in B, E, and coarse F	1-5
14	Jars with angular profiles	Fine		
15	Large necked jars and bowls	Fine	Fine in F and G; coarse in E, coarse F, and L	3-9
16	Tall jars with everted rims	Fine	E, F, G, and L	3-7/8
17	Cordoned flasks, jars, and bowls	Fine	Mostly in fine G	4-9
18	Large jars with flared rims, pyriform or rounded profile	Fine	F, G, E, and L	6-11
19	Small and medium jars with stubby rims and slack profile	Coarse	In coarse E and F	All
20	Jars, typically large or medium (sub-divided)	Coarse		All

As Table 8.4 demonstrates, certain connections were made between the type groups, fabrics, and ceramic stages. Most of the forms begin within the earliest ceramic stages and span throughout a majority of the Iron Age occupation. There are a few examples where the forms then merge with Romano-British types, as with TG4 and 18. In the case of TG10, these vessels appeared suddenly in CS7 (early 1st century AD), while TG12 and 16, on the other hand, conclude during this stage. Therefore, it can be interpreted that certain changes in vessel forms were taking place during the later 1st century BC and early 1st century AD, a time when Cunliffe believes style groups changed, likely reflective of social changes simultaneously taking place.

In the same regard, connections can occasionally be drawn between the type groups and their decorative characteristics. According to Elsdon, while both TG2 and 4 tend to be decorated with rouletted, burnished, and incised motifs, there was more decorative freedom expressed in TG2, in contrast to the formalisation of decoration in TG4 (Elsdon 1996, 413-4). This same formalisation was further characteristic of TG11, occurring during CS9 to 10 (early 1st century AD to the pre-Flavian period) (*ibid.,* 414). It was surmised that earlier decorated vessels tended to have more elaborate

curvilinear patterns, with more formalised decoration becoming the norm in the later phases. This will be further reviewed below.

FABRIC

Initially, seven fabrics (A- to G-wares) were assigned by May, later extended to L-wares by Tony Gregory and M-wares by Elsdon. H-ware was eventually removed as it merged with G- and D-wares, leading to a total of 11 visually defined fabrics (Table 8.5). As with vessel forms, these fabrics were assigned based on visually defined divisions, with coarse E-wares making up a majority of the Dragonby assemblage (May and Elsdon 1996, 416,418). Overall, crushed shell filler remained a common inclusion at Dragonby, with the exception of A- and some K-wares, and was a main feature of late Iron Age pottery in Lincolnshire (*ibid.,* 418). The fabrics were further evaluated petrographically by A. Middleton based on an examination of 22 sherds. Out of this analysis, three main classes of fabrics were determined: 1a/1b, 2, and 3a/3b. Only A-wares were associated with a petrographically defined fabric: Fabric 2 (sand base with fossiliferous limestone). Fabrics 1a and 1b represent shell gritted fabrics, while 3a and 3b contain sand (*ibid.,* 422). In general, the petrographically defined fabrics overlap within the visually defined fabric groups (Table 8.5).

TABLE 8.5 DRAGONBY FABRIC TYPE CATEGORIZATIONS (BASED ON MAY AND ELSDON 1996, 418-422).

FABRIC TYPE	INCLUSIONS	COLOUR	VESSEL TYPE ASSOCIATIONS (IF AVAILABLE)	PETROGRAPHICAL FABRIC
A	Sandy with small sparse calcite filler	Light grey to light brown	-	2
B	Sandy with medium and very fine crushed shell	Sepia or dark grey/brown	-	1a
C	Shell filler crushed medium fine (more profuse than B-)	Brown	-	1a
D	Sandy with very space and finely crushed shell filler (larger pieces on surface); grog	Black	-	1a/1b/3a
E	Profuse and very large, crushed shell filler; glauconite	Buff to light brown	Majority of coarse ware jars, mainly used for cooking pots	1a
F	Soft; with profuse and finely crushed shell filler; grog	Sepia/dark grey/black	Pedestal urns and necked bowls	1a/1b
G	Sparse and fine shell filler; grog	Red to buff	Usually wheel-made	1a/3b
J	Sand-based fine ware with sparse and fine shell filler, coarse with large shell fragments; grog and glauconite; some burnt out vegetable matter	Buff to light red	-	1a/1b
K	Hard and fine sand filler	Black	-	1a
L	Very large and profuse shell filler; grog and glauconite	Red/orange	-	1a
M	Thicker and heavier version of J-ware; grog	Dark grey	Large bead-rim globular jars	1b

Based on their stratigraphical locations, Dragonby fabrics were further defined chronologically. May and Elsdon determined that A-wares make up the earliest fabric, beginning in the early or middle Iron Age. B-, C-, and D-wares make up the second wave of early fabric types, while F-, G-, and M-wares tend to make up the middle and later ceramic stages. J-wares were one of the latest fabrics still possessing a shell filler. K-wares were similarly late but possessed a sand filler. According to May and Elsdon, shell filler within fine wares tended to become smaller and less profuse over time, eventually being replaced by sand as pottery became more 'romanized' (*ibid.,* 418). However, these changes might similarly be due to "technical requirements, to changing traditions or, possibly at some stage, to regional trading patterns" (*ibid.,* 418), which will be further evaluated by the decorative features.

DECORATION

Within the Dragonby report, Elsdon broadly separated the decoration into curvilinear and rectilinear patterns, with most decoration found around the shoulder of the vessels. The rectilinear patterns have been labelled as 'geometric' within my research. Elsdon further provided 39 categories for the main decorative patterns (cf. Elsdon 1996a, Fig. 19.14-19.16) as shown in Figure 8.7, as well as labels for the common base patterns (*ibid.,* Fig. 19.17) and the different types of stamp decoration (*ibid.*, Fig. 19.13). The stamped and rouletted decoration is reflective of a common regional feature associated with Lincolnshire. The use of the roulette wheel as a major method of application is particularly prominent at Dragonby, in comparison to the other case study sites where it only serves a minor role, typically as infilling (*ibid.,* 434-6). At Dragonby, rouletting can occur in single- or double-toothed form and is used on a variety of vessels, particularly during the Iron Age phases. Burnishing also served a major role within Dragonby, being used as both background and for the decoration itself, in contrast to that found at Danebury and MLV. The use of burnishing created a glossy effect (*ibid.,* 445), which further added to the visual representations taking place.

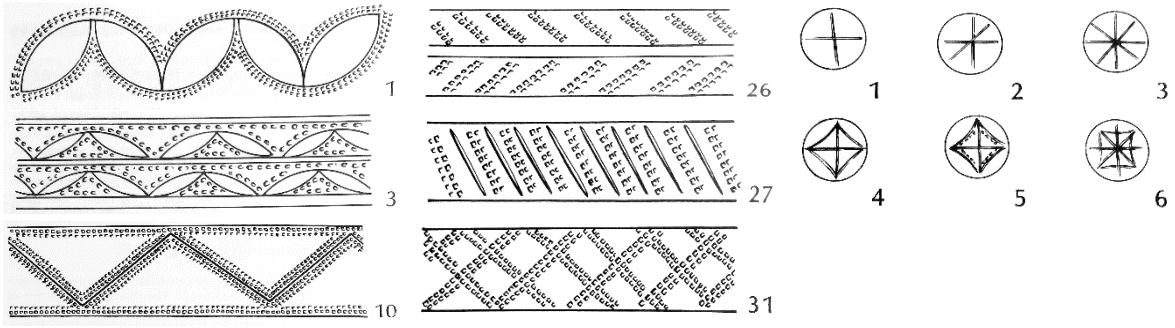


FIGURE 8.7 A SELECTION OF THE MAIN DECORATIVE PATTERNS AND DECORATED BASES AT DRAGONBY (ELSDON 1996A, FIG. 19.14-19.16).

These 'patterns' were further classified based on connections between decorative schemes and the vessel types in which they are most commonly incorporated (Table 8.6), occasionally further divided between fine and coarse wares. Patterns 32-33 and 35-39, however, are not associated with any particular vessel, but are largely found on flat cordons. These pattern delineations can also be deceiving as some of them are only represented on a single vessel. According to Elsdon, double square-toothed rouletting, circular and oval stamps, and burnished decoration are common on fine wares, while combing, scoring, and crescentic or 'maggot' stamps are common on coarse wares (*ibid.,* 428-9). While a large example of the decorative patterns has been identified by Elsdon, no tool associations have yet been found. However, she stated that there are certain vessels in which the same tool impression has been identified, as seen with C672 and C952 (Figure 8.8), potentially representing a single potter or production centre, or the formalisation of tool production (*ibid.,* 429).

However, it is also possible that these are just similar motifs created through tools with equal dimensions.

TABLE 8.6 ELSDON'S PATTERN CATEGORIES FOR DRAGONBY (ELSDON 1996A, FIG.19.14-19.16, 433).

PATTERN	VESSEL TYPE	CHARACTERISTICS (WHERE AVAILABLE)
1-12	Shoulders of globular and omphalos-based pots	Patterns are free, varied and elaborate due to available space; Curvilinear patterns common
13-17	Small bowls and jars	Free curvilinear patterns common
18	Globular urn	Rouletted diagonal bands (similar to 26)
19-25	Flat shoulder cordons of coarse ware jars	Non-circular stamps on flat shoulder cordons and tooled chevrons common
26	Pedestal urns or cordoned jars	Rouletted diagonal bands on alternating cordons
27-31	Wide-mouthed corrugated jars	Only 2 vessels decorated – rouletting common
34	Shouldered jars	Tooled pendant arcs

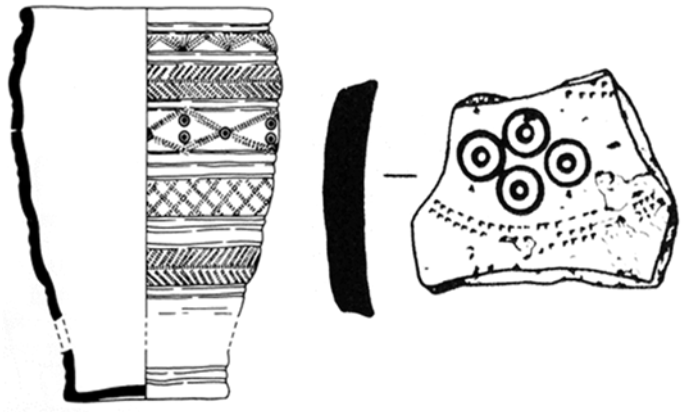


FIGURE 8.8 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH THE SAME TOOL IMPRESSIONS (C672 AND C952).

Overall, Elsdon determined that Dragonby decoration placed an emphasis on curvilinear patterns, with geometric patterns typically confined within well-defined zones or cordons. Most decoration appeared to be rouletted, with tooled decoration consisting of either lozenges on cordons, chevrons, sometimes infilled, and diagonal bands. These tended to be found within the later ceramic stages. Within both curvilinear and geometric patterns, however, a variety of stamps were employed, with circular stamps often occurring in groups of three and non-circular stamps often confined to flat cordons on coarse ware vessels (*ibid.,* 434). Upon review of Dragonby's decorated pottery, however, discrepancies within these conclusions have been found.

8.2 CURRENT EVALUATION

As with the previous case study sites, comparisons within this analysis focus on connections between form, fabric, and overall decorative features, including individual motifs and application techniques. As the material was examined stratigraphically, as well as typologically, I was also able to compare these qualities chronologically, which will aid in later comparisons with Danebury ceramics. The decorated ceramic material from Dragonby, therefore, has been evaluated both as a whole and by its respective form, fabric, and ceramic stage categories.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ASSEMBLAGES

The ceramic assemblage at Dragonby consisted largely of jars, bowls, and dishes, as seen at the other two sites. However, major differences have been found as well. Compared to Danebury and MLV, Dragonby has a larger variety of vessel types but does not contain any saucepan pots. New vessel types include amphora, beakers, cups, including tazza, urns, and platters. For my research, I have combined tazzas with cups, and platters with dishes, due to their similar forms and associated functions, and as there is uncertainty in the initial report itself. Most of the pottery discovered was deposited in pits, ditches, or gullies. Unlike the other two sites, there is a large selection of early Romano-British vessels, in addition to Iron Age ones. While the original reports do not provide the proportion of decorated versus undecorated pottery, there is a much larger selection of decorated examples at Dragonby, compared to Danebury and MLV, from which to examine, allowing for a more extensive analysis and providing a greater selection from which to study visual responses during periods of change. From Dragonby, a total of 670 decorated ceramic vessels – 338 from an Iron Age context and 332 from a Romano-British context – have been examined and incorporated into my research based on my personal examination of the illustrations included within the site reports and any accompanying descriptions.

Decoration at Dragonby tended to be applied through burnishing and impressions, including rouletting and stamps, with inscribing forming a secondary, and largely later, role. Often times, burnishing either outlined the unburnished decorated zone or was the main means of decorative application. As at MLV, no evidence of scratched decoration has been found, again probably due to the later occupation of the site compared to Danebury. Through the use of these application techniques, different motifs were applied to the vessel surface. Again, these tend to be either geometric, curvilinear, or a combination of the two. The main motifs utilized at Dragonby include running waves, arcs, lozenges, and horizontal, vertical, or diagonal bands. Within this final motif, the rouletted diagonal bands consistently slope left, suggesting a standard decorative procedure for the selection and application of this motif. Overall, these patterns can be bordered, either through linear bands, cordons, or horizontal burnishing, as well as infilled or outlined by rouletting. Decoration tends to move horizontally, typically around the top half of the vessel, although there are many examples where decoration was included solely on the bottom half of the vessel, under the rim, on the base, or on the interior.

FORM AND FABRIC

Overall, the main form types at Dragonby include jars, bowls, and dishes, with a smaller selection of cups, beakers, and urns. While type groups were provided a coded number, as seen in Table 8.4, the form classifications were not sub-divided based on the shape or size of the vessels, nor were dimensions provided in which to convert them to other coding systems; therefore, they do not provide as much information as listed for Danebury and MLV. There are also inconsistencies within the assignment of type groups as not all of the Iron Age material was provided a code, with entire vessel forms being overlooked, such as ‘stubby rim jars’. In addition, these codes were created and listed only for the Iron Age material, and therefore, only general type names, such as jar or beaker, were provided for the Romano-British material. As a result, more specific structural and functional form comparisons are difficult between the Iron Age and Romano-British periods. It bears to question the reliability and benefit of the form divisions when not all of the material can be incorporated. However, where the specific type groups have been provided, the relationship between these sub-classifications and their decoration/chronology will be further discussed. In general, however, the broad type classifications will be utilized for comparisons.

Fabric inclusions for the Iron Age material were, for the most part, well recorded and provided with visually defined categories (Table 8.5), with most types consisting of either sand or shell filler. However, as shell filled fabrics tended to be replaced with sand filled fabrics during the later phases, being representative of a 'Roman style fabric' (Gregory 1996, 523), the overwhelming preference for sand would likely skew any comparison between the decorated vessels of these periods. From the decorated ceramics excavated from Roman contexts, around 59% of them are made from a sandy fabric, with unknown or unlisted fabrics following with 26.6%. Only 14 examples of decorated vessels from the report contained a shelly fabric. Similarly, there is potential for further discrepancies with the Romano-British fabrics, as the fabric divisions were rarely assigned to material from this period, similar to the inconsistency seen within the form divisions. As it is largely only possible to compare both periods based on the main fillers, more specific comparisons of fabric will be restricted to vessels placed within the Iron Age stylistic traditions. Only general comparisons are, therefore, possible for all of the phases together.

DECORATION

The decoration discussed is based on all illustrated sherds (as well as descriptions provided within the report), accumulating into a total of 670 decorated examples. Motifs and combined patterns have, again, been defined based on my simplified typology (Appendix A). While not a full representation of the decorated material from the site, the large amount of evidence available from both Iron Age and Romano-British contexts provide an extensive and detailed representation of the overall decorated assemblage. Through an evaluation of this material, it is possible to look at the similarities in design with the other two case study sites, as well as to examine the characteristics that appear to specifically define Dragonby. To maintain a consistent evaluation of the decorated ceramic assemblage, the general pattern (geometric, curvilinear, circular, or a combination) was first recorded for each vessel, followed by the specific motifs found and the different application methods used. Where available, further data has been incorporated, including possible borders, the location on the vessels, colour, and additional surface treatments, such as burnishing and smoothing.

Through an analysis of the decorated pottery, common choices were recorded throughout the occupation of the site. Overall, Dragonby shows a general preference for geometric patterns over curvilinear ones. Throughout both periods, geometric patterns were used around 78% of the time, which is similarly reflected when the Iron Age and Roman periods are examined separately. This analysis is based on the vessels currently reported; however, it contradicts Elsdon's conclusion that emphasis was placed on curvilinear patterns (Elsdon 1996, 434). This discrepancy in results is partially due to my inclusion of single horizontal bands as decoration, as well as horizontal bands for bordering, which make up a portion of geometric patterns within my data. I do not believe that horizontal bands alone were considered decoration within the original Dragonby report, only as boundaries for other motifs/patterns. I have chosen to include horizontal bands, regardless if other motifs are present, as they were actively applied to the vessels and do not serve a functional or structural role. However, even when single horizontal bands with no other decoration are removed from the analysis, geometric patterns still make up 74.6% of the Dragonby assemblage. Furthermore, there is a higher preference for decoration placed at the shoulder or top half of the vessel, being selected 76% of the time, which agrees with Elsdon's initial conclusions. Unlike Danebury and MLV, there are only two examples of decorated rim tops, only three cases of decorated lids, and interior decoration was only found on 4.9% of the decorated vessels at Dragonby.

Based on the decoration itself, one of the most common motifs incorporated at Dragonby is inscribed horizontal bands, whether in single or multiple rows, typically around the shoulder, with no other motifs present (Figure 8.9). This is seen consistently within the Iron Age and Romano-British periods, but as stated above was not previously discussed. As this is a very simple decorative choice, it is interesting to ask: why was this motif included? There must have been intention behind it regardless of its simplicity, as it is one of the most prevalent decorative choices taking place at the site; and therefore, represents an active choice being made by the potters. Occasionally, multiple rows of rouletted bands are depicted instead of inscribed versions (Figure 8.9), and this can be interpreted as a more delicate version of the original pattern. Rouletted horizontal bands are also typically bordered above and below by incised horizontal bands.

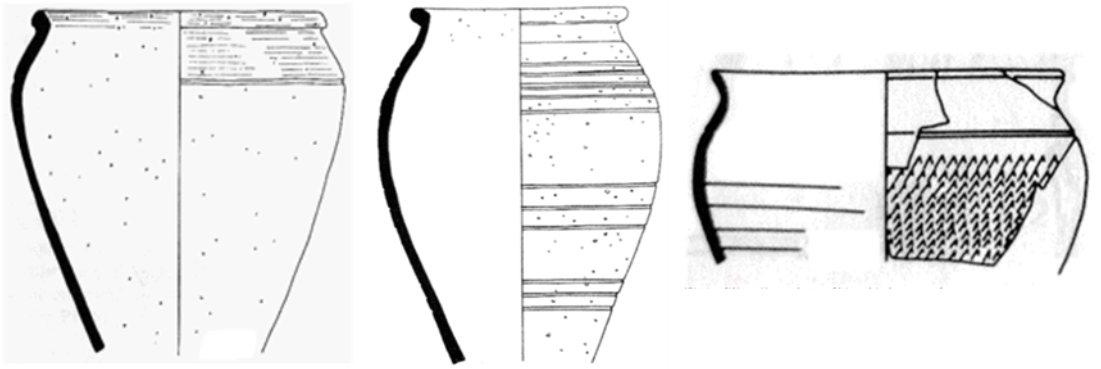


FIGURE 8.9 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH HORIZONTAL BANDS: SINGLE, MULTIPLE, AND ROULETTED (LEFT TO RIGHT: C678, C766, AND C746).

In addition to horizontal bands, lozenges are another common motif, both in simple and complex forms (Figure 8.10); however, the location in which they were incorporated on the vessel changed from the shoulder region in the Iron Age to almost the entire vessel during the Roman periods. Lozenges located on the shoulder, as well as the whole vessel, are often the sole decoration included, with those on the shoulder commonly bordered by cordons. Occasionally they are also found in two to three identical rows or in combination with different motifs.

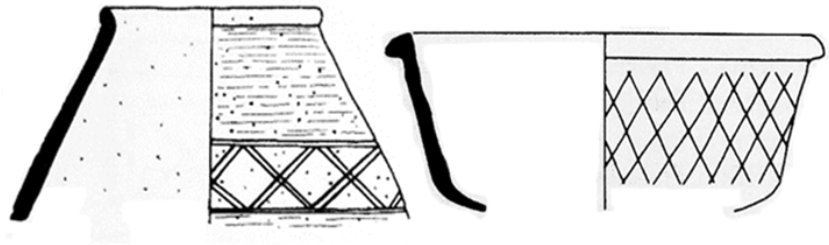


FIGURE 8.10 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH LOZENGE: SIMPLE (C909) AND COMPLEX (C1074).

Another common motif is the running wave, which presents further changes over time. Originally applied with a roulette wheel during the Iron Age, the motif is later inscribed during the Roman period (Figure 8.11). Free and uneven application is a frequent characteristic of the earlier rouletted style, as seen most visibly on C847 and C901. As rouletting was most likely impressed on the vessel through the use of a wheel, curvilinear patterns would have been difficult as the wheel would have formed right angles (Elsdon 1996, 428). Therefore, where the roulette wheel was lifted and replaced is frequently visible on the vessel as the motif tends to overlap itself. This would not have been an issue with later incised versions.

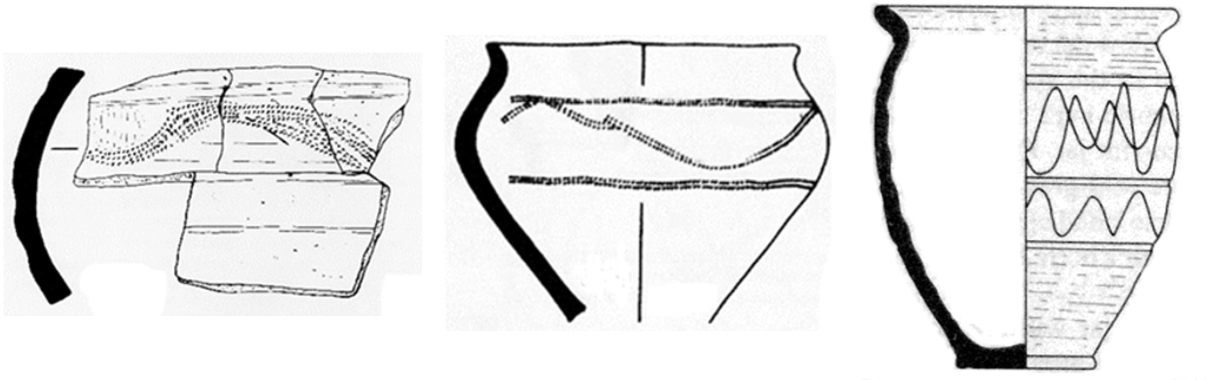


FIGURE 8.11 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH RUNNING WAVES: ROULETTED (LEFT TO RIGHT: C847 AND C901) AND INSCRIBED (C1029).

Chevrons are another popular motif at Dragonby, often portrayed in multiple stylistic combinations. They have been found rouletted with a ring-and-dot motif below the top point, 'fanned' as seen below the rim on C672, in a simple form, on the interior of vessels, etc., (Figure 8.12). Two jars were decorated by a single row of chevrons bordered by a linear band below and horizontal burnish above (Figure 8.13) and were both made of E-ware fabric with the same structural form, which potentially suggests a single potter with a stylistic preference or a possible form, function, decoration connection at the site. While typically found on Iron Age vessels, one example has been found from Horizon III (Figure 8.14), representing at least a small continuity of this motif.

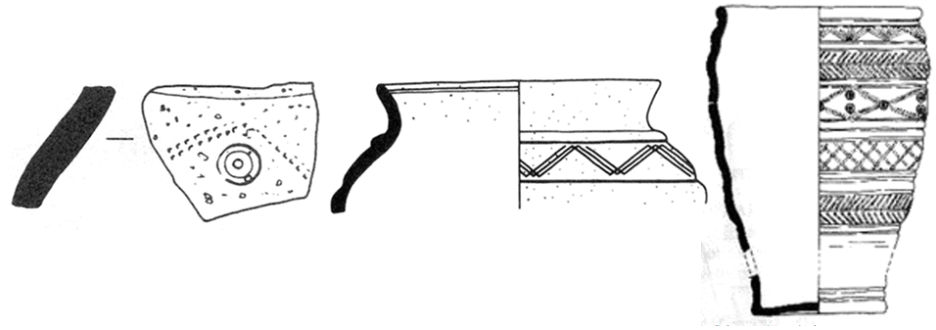


FIGURE 8.12 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH CHEVRONS: WITH RING-AND-DOT MOTIF (C946), STACKED (C719), AND 'FANNED' (C672).

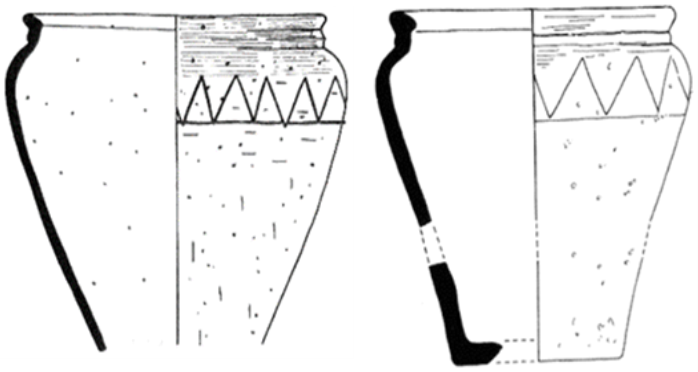


FIGURE 8.13 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH SIMILAR FORM AND DECORATION (LEFT TO RIGHT: C739 AND C741).

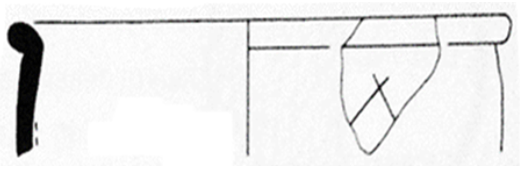


FIGURE 8.14 HORIZON III VESSEL WITH CHEVRON DECORATION (C1054).

Finally, stamps are a common form of decoration found at Dragonby. While different varieties of stamps are present, circular stamps are the most common, particularly depicting double or triple ring-and-dot motifs. However, these are typically only found on Iron Age vessels, with the exception of one. Within the Iron Age, 'maggot' and crescent stamps are also occasionally found. In contrast, Roman period vessels tend to depict a wider variety of stamps, including rectangular, 'leaf', 'rosette', letters, as well as stamps created through a combination of shapes (Figure 8.15).

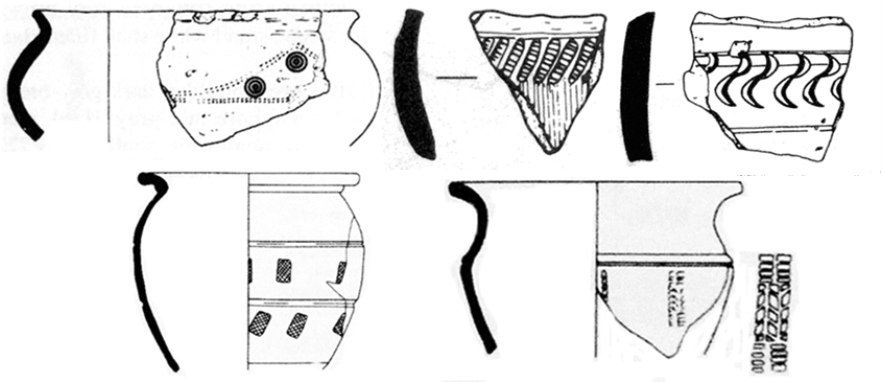


FIGURE 8.15 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH STAMP DECORATION: IRON AGE (TOP LEFT TO RIGHT: C844, C957, C960); RB (BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT: C1109, C1154).

In addition to the frequent decorative choices taking place at the site, it is also common to find various versions of a particular motif on a single vessel. For example, vessel C1059 (Figure 8.16) only depicts the running wave motif but does so through different styles. This is most commonly found through single rows of horizontal bands, lozenges which cover almost the entire vessel, and running waves.

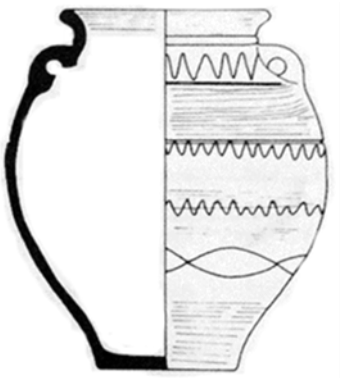


FIGURE 8.16 DRAGONBY VESSEL WITH MULTIPLE VERSIONS OF SAME MOTIF (C1059).

Within Dragonby there are also unique qualities that largely separate it from the other two sites. This is particularly experienced through the presence of interior decoration (Figure 8.17). While single horizontal bands are not unheard of at the other sites, the prevalence of more intricate patterns is a distinct change. There is one earlier example of an interior pendant arc, but the majority of interior decoration originated with either single horizontal bands or finger impressions on jars during the earlier stages. More elaborate patterns consisting of angled and infilled chevrons and running waves are later found on dishes and flat bowls during the Roman period, as well as multiple stacked horizontal bands found on 'folded' jars. Interior chevron decoration tends to be infilled above with vertical or diagonal bands, with one exception, and where elaborate decoration is found on both sides of the vessel, single running waves are consistently found on the exterior even if the interior is geometric. Similar interior decoration has been found at Danebury (Figure 8.18), equally portraying running waves on both sides of the vessel; however, this tradition was not as common as only two examples have been discovered.

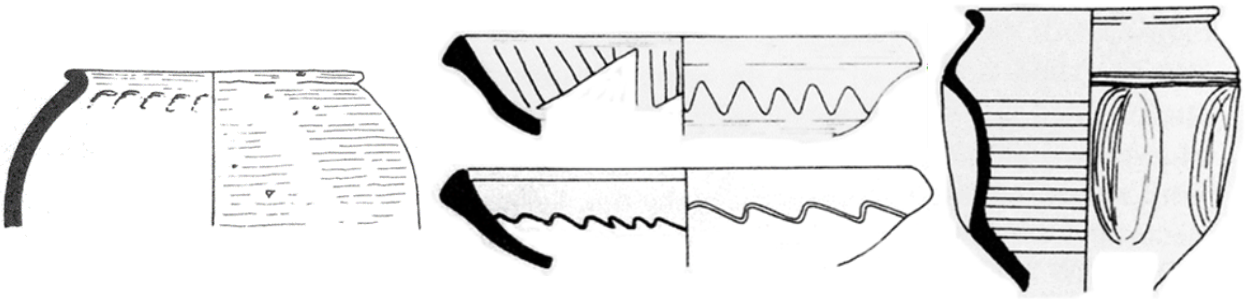


FIGURE 8.17 DRAGONBY, VESSELS WITH INTERIOR DECORATION: FINGERTIP (C1296), CHEVRON (C1076), RUNNING WAVE (C1078), MULTIPLE HORIZONTAL BANDS (C1092).

FIGURE 8.18 DANEBURY VESSELS WITH INTERIOR DECORATION (LEFT TO RIGHT: C291 AND C290).

As most of the interior decoration is rather elaborate and takes place on dishes or flat bowls, the intention must have been for the decoration to be viewed. However, the addition of contents within these vessels would have prevented the full visibility of this decoration. Therefore, one interpretation is that the vessel was meant solely for display, or that the visual importance of the decoration was intended to be viewed before or after the contents were included.

Dragonby further presented a selection of decorated bases. While decorated bases have also been found at MLV, the patterns used are very different. Dragonby decorated bases tend to incorporate crossing linear bands typically forming four to eight 'arms', presented either alone or inside four arcs, whereas MLV decorated bases tend to depict mirrored arcs forming 'leaf' or 'crescent' motifs (Figure 8.19). While arc motifs were used within both sites, the overall patterns are vastly different. However, the bases at Dragonby greatly resemble a decorated knob found at MVE (Figure 8.20). Therefore, while similar decorative choices were being made, they are not necessarily being applied to the same type of vessel, and therefore, not necessarily with the same meanings behind them. However, like decorated interiors, decorated bases would not have been easily viewed. Therefore, visual 'messages' in which immediate access to the intended meaning, such as identity, affiliation, etc., would not appear to be the motivation behind these visual choices. In contrast, if the decoration was intended to represent function or contents, it would not need to be viewed while in use, and therefore, would still be applicable on decorated bases. Another interpretation is that the vessel was not intended to be placed upon a flat surface, instead to be held or positioned upon its side.

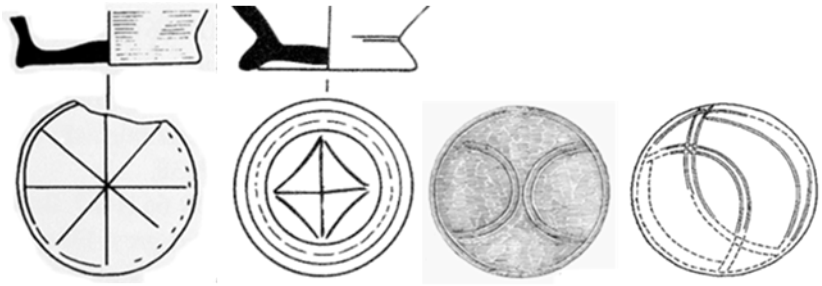


FIGURE 8.19 DECORATED BASES: DRAGONBY LEFT (C863 AND C985); MLV RIGHT (C515 AND C371).

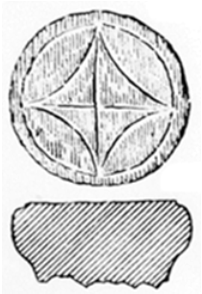


FIGURE 8.20 DECORATED KNOB AT MVE RESEMBLING THE BASES AT DRAGONBY (C353).

Finally, rustication (Figure 8.21) is a common feature that presented itself during the Roman periods and was not found at Danebury or MLV. This is most likely due to the later occupational phases at Dragonby and its connection to the Roman military. Vessels with rustication, generally considered cooking pots, have typically been associated with the Roman military, and according to Elsdon, this technique was further "absorbed into the local ceramic traditions of Lincolnshire and South Yorkshire" (Elsdon 1996, 576). Therefore, this decorative feature represents one visual response to and adoption of Roman influence expressed at Dragonby and its surrounding region.

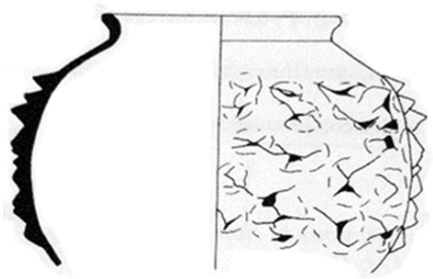


FIGURE 8.21 DRAGONBY VESSEL WITH RUSTICATION (C1011).

8.3 ANALYSIS

Through an evaluation of the decorated ceramic vessels at Dragonby, it was possible to observe stylistic patterns within the decorative choices. For example, Elsdon states that about 25-50% of the decorated vessels are rouletted (Elsdon 1996, 428). Even if we are only considering the Iron Age ceramic assemblage, this conclusion is not found within the illustrated examples. Based on the 670 decorated vessels analysed, only 12.8% of these were rouletted, in contrast to 26.7% which contained burnished decoration. However, it is possible that the rouletted examples did not have an equal representation within the report illustrations, and therefore, have not been included within this calculation. Further connections between form, fabric, and time period in relation to the decoration will now be drawn from my current data collection and compared to conclusions within the previous reports.

DECORATION TO FORM

The material evidence illustrates that there are certain connections between decoration and general form (Figure 8.22). Within this comparison, only the major forms were included. Amphorae were not included as they are imported and only two have decoration. Jars and bowls are the most prevalent decorated type, at 340 and 131 respectively, followed by dishes with 33 vessels and beakers with 32. Overall, each vessel type contained a variety of motifs, with horizontal bands being predominant. There is only one vessel type, excluding the 'unknown' category, where the major decorative motif is not a horizontal band: urns. By removing horizontal bands (Figure 8.23), we see that decoration on bowls largely consists of lozenges and vertical bands, dishes consist of running waves, while jars have a more even distribution of decorative choice, with a slight preference for running waves, lozenges, and vertical bands. Rustication is only found on jars, but this is a later Roman attribute associated with the Roman military. Cups appear to show a similar preference for running waves and

vertical bands, along with a strong emphasis on zoomorphic decoration; however, this is only represented by two vessels.

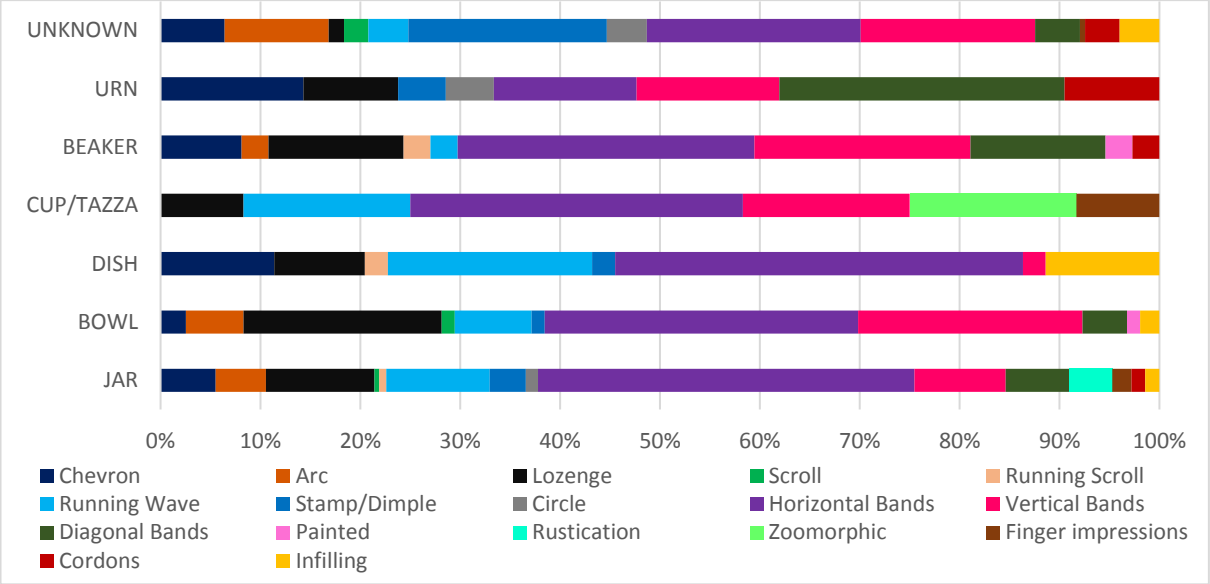


FIGURE 8.22 DRAGONBY, DECORATION TO FORM (BASED ON 340 JARS, 131 BOWLS, 33 DISHES, 32 BEAKERS, 9 CUPS, 13 URNS, AND 110 UNKNOWN VESSELS).

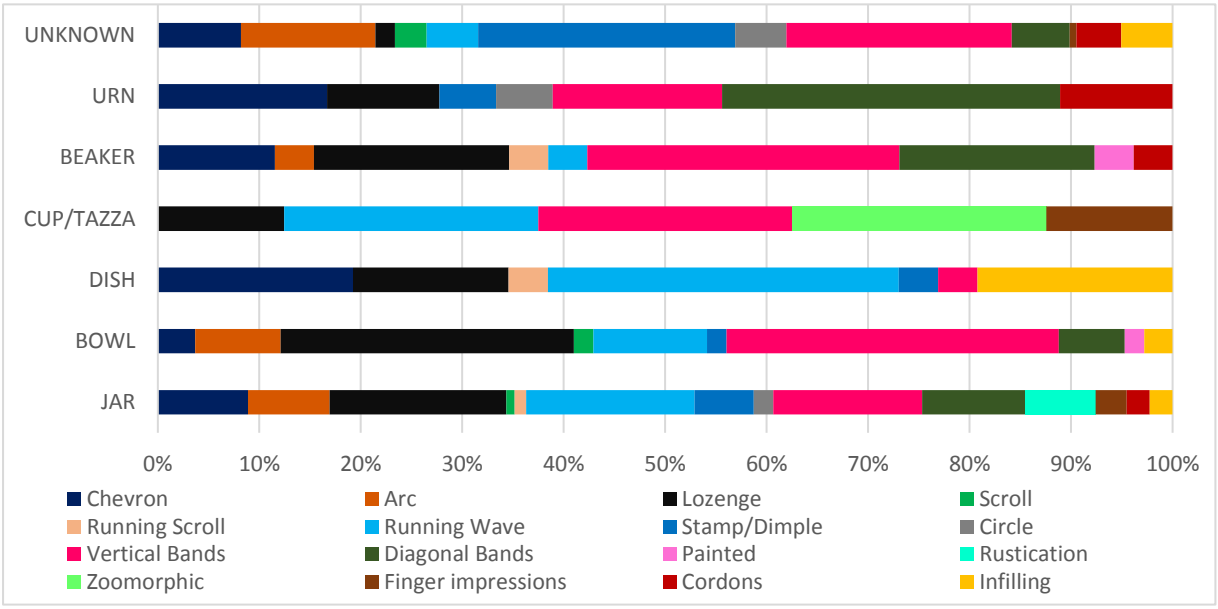


FIGURE 8.23 DRAGONBY, DECORATION TO FORM, EXCLUDING HORIZONTAL BANDS (SAME AS ABOVE).

Most previous conclusions drawn by Elsdon focus on the placement of decoration on the vessel, regardless of type, such as burnished bands and incised lozenges around the neck, burnished vertical bands below the girth, and cross-and-arc patterns followed by double crosses on bases (*ibid.,* 433). These deductions can be similarly viewed within my analysis. Shoulders present a variety of rouletted and tooled decoration, but as this location is the most common, at 76%, it is not surprising it would have a greater variety. In addition, Elsdon stated that all-over decoration on raised cordons is rare, confined to wide-mouthed urns (Figure 8.4). There are other examples of all-over decoration, but these are not confined to raised cordons. Most of the other all-over decorated examples consist of vertical burnishing in the earlier phases or complex lozenges during the Roman periods. Elsdon further stated that bases decorated with burnished crosses are most commonly found on foot-ring jars (*ibid.,* 429), which is largely supported within my data. There are, however, additional vessels

that Elsdon does not state, including one example of a dish (C831). Nevertheless, burnished crosses on bases forming 'arms' are typically found on foot-ring or pedestalled jars and bowls.

In regard to the relationship between decoration and the specific Type Groups provided within the Dragonby report, certain connections can be drawn. Prevalence of decoration within specific type groups can be viewed in Table 8.7. However, the Roman period vessels were not included in this division, and TG numbers were not provided for all of the Iron Age examples; therefore, this only represents 128 of the total 670 total decorated vessels. Regardless, out of the ceramics that were assigned a TG, single horizontal bands are present in almost all of the groups, with no single dominating type. The second most prevalent motif is vertical bands along the bottom half of the vessel, typically burnished; however, around 65% of these vessels belong to TG4, which includes small necked jars and bowls. TG4, 5 and 20 contain the most decorated examples, and this may further aid in understanding the connection between decoration and function.

TABLE 8.7 DRAGONBY, COMMON DECORATIVE FEATURES TO TYPE GROUPS.

TG	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	14	15	16	18	19	20	TOTAL
ROULETTED DIAGONAL BANDS												1							1
MIRRORED DIAGONAL BANDS					2						1	1							4
VERTICAL BANDS ON BOTTOM HALF				15	4							1		1			1	1	23
VERTICAL BANDS (NECK/SHOULDER)				4	1	1	1		1		3			2				1	14
SINGLE HORIZ. BAND		1				1			3	1			1	1			3	14	25
MULTIPLE HORIZ. BANDS				1					1					1	1	3		4	11
LOZENGE (NECK/SHOULDER)	1	1	1	5		1	1				1								11
RUNNING WAVES		2			1														3
CHEVRONS		1		2		2		1										3	9
PENDANT ARCS				1	2													1	4
INTERLOCKING ARC		1			4											1			6
STANDING ARC WITH STAMP																			
CIRCULAR STAMPS		1																	1
NON-CIRCULAR STAMPS																		1	1
INTERIOR DECO	1				1				1			1		1					5
DECORATED BASE (CROSSING)				3		1													4
DECORATED BASE (ARC-CROSS)				1															1
COMBINATION				1	2			1				1							5

As previously discussed, TG1, 5, and 20 were assigned based on presumed similarities in function as cups, cauldrons, and coarse ware cooking/storage jars. Cups (TG1) could be held in the hand, and therefore were interpreted as drinking vessels, cauldrons and globular jars (TG5) were thought to store liquids, while a wide range of coarse ware jars (TG20) were interpreted as storage and cooking vessels (Elsdon 1996, 412). Based on these connections, it can be seen that vertical burnishing on the bottom half, as well as interlocking arcs are common on globular jars and cauldrons for liquid storage. Within this TG, some of the more intricate decoration from Dragonby is also found, as seen particularly through vessels C712, C713, C816, C886, C887, and C903 (Figure 8.24), consisting of interlocking arcs and combinations of different motif rows. Therefore, one interpretation is that some of the vessels thought to hold liquids were meant for more public display, potentially during feasting or as a sign of individual or communal wealth. Free-flowing rouletted running waves are also found (Figure 8.24, C847), which are not evenly applied, likely due to the difficulty in using a roulette wheel. This potentially suggests that the visual 'message' was more important than the skill of application or that not all of the vessels were for public view. In contrast, TG20 most often depicts horizontal bands, either in single or multiple forms. While TG20 has been further sub-divided in the site report, they have been combined here as the overall motif preferences are more or less equally expressed. One identifying feature, however, is in sub-group 20i where the horizontal bands are very tightly inscribed down the length of the vessel, therefore, possibly signifying the storage of a particular item compared to the other sub-groups, although this cannot yet be determined. However, as TG1 is largely undecorated, with only two examples, no pattern has been detected in connection to cups.

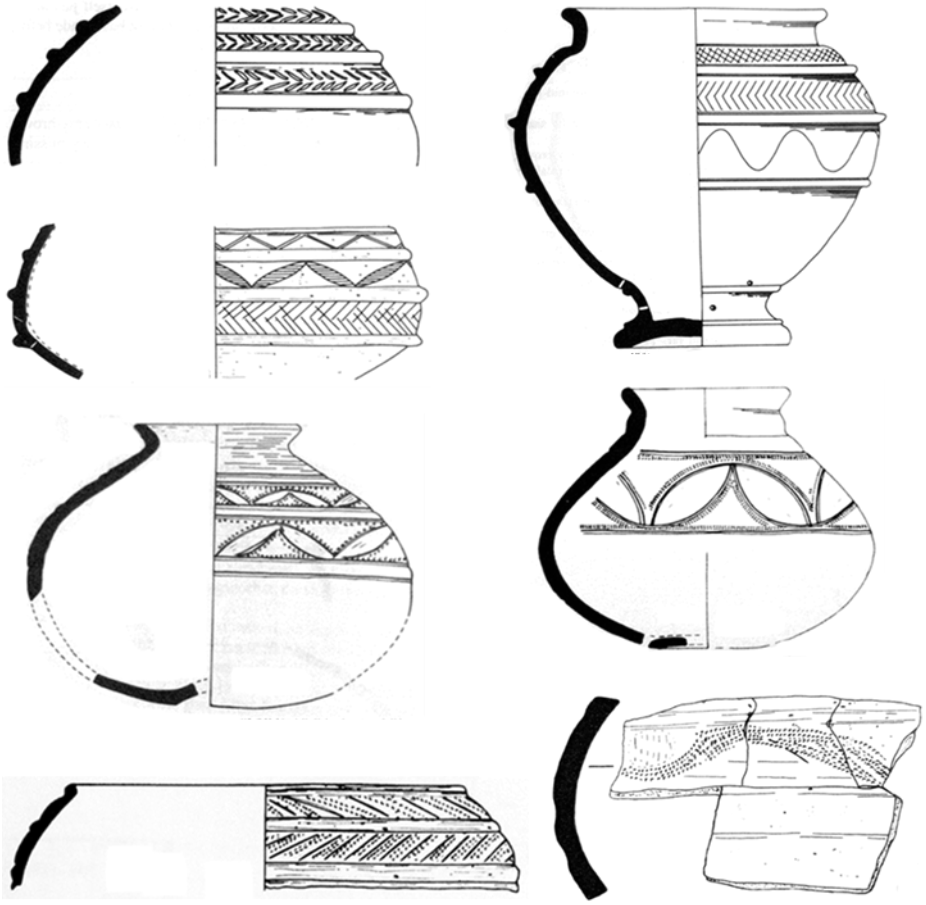


FIGURE 8.24 DRAGONBY, TG5 VESSELS (LEFT TOP TO BOTTOM: C712, C816, C887, C903; RIGHT TOP TO BOTTOM: C713, C886, C847).

DECORATION TO FABRIC

Previous evaluation of the Dragonby pottery assemblage highlighted that out of the 11 visually classified fabric groups, E-wares made up around one-third or one-half of the total assemblage. In regard to fine wares, F-, G-, and M-wares were common within the middle and later ceramic stages, in which F-ware was most abundant (*ibid.,* 418). However, in regard to the decorated evidence, F-wares are overwhelmingly represented, followed by G-wares, and finally E-wares (Figure 8.25). Out of these three main fabric groups, F- and G-wares tend to represent fine ware vessels, while E-wares make up the majority of coarse ware pottery. While E-wares do not make up one-third of the decorated assemblage, they do continue to represent a large proportion. Therefore, it appears that decorated fabrics follow similar patterns and representations to the full decorated and undecorated assemblage, maintaining that shell was a distinctive feature of Iron Age pottery in Lincolnshire (*ibid.*, 418). However, while E-wares are significant, they are largely only found on jars, with a very small percentage within bowls. In contrast, F-wares tend to have a more even distribution within the decorated assemblage, and therefore, possess a wider association. The prevalence of F-wares is most likely affected by its local production, further representing the creation of a local identity. In contrast, G-wares appear to be a significant feature of cups, but unfortunately only one cup was recorded with an assigned fabric, and therefore, is not a reliable basis for comparison. Jars and bowls are further significant as they possess fabrics not expressed on the other forms, specifically C-wares found only within bowls and L- and M-wares only within jars, excluding the 'unknown' category. However, again, this may be based purely on the fact that jars and bowls make up the majority of decorated vessels, 51.6% and 19.8% respectively, within these fabric groups.

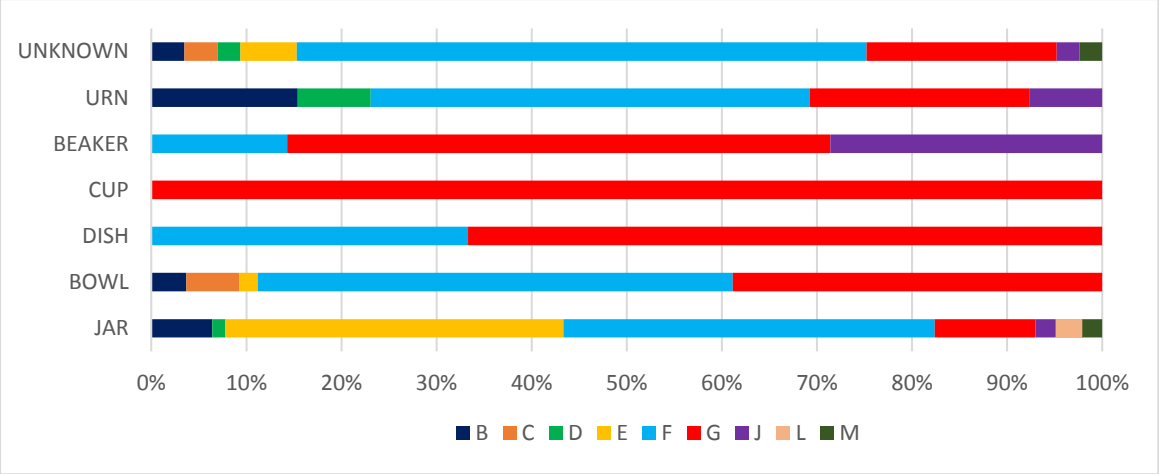


FIGURE 8.25 DRAGONBY, FABRIC TO FORM (BASED ON 141 JARS, 54 BOWLS, 3 DISHES, 1 CUP, 7 BEAKERS, 13 URNS, AND 85 UNKNOWN VESSELS).

This evidence is based solely on the vessels which were assigned a fabric group, representing 273 out of 339 decorated vessels from the Iron Age assemblage. Fabric groups with zero decorated examples were excluded from this graph. Additionally, Roman period vessels were not included in these previous fabric divisions, and as 'Romanized' fabrics are typically sandy, comparison is not easy within or between these periods. According to petrological analysis, in comparison to the visually defined fabric groups, only D- and G-wares belong to both shelly and sandy fabrics groups. However, if a vessel is assigned as a D- or G-ware, it is often not specified into which petrological group this might refer. It does not appear that any D-wares, regardless of filler, are decorated similar to later Roman period vessels. While there is one G-ware (Figure 8.26, C736) which resembles later full-body lozenge decoration, it is not possible to determine if this fabric was similarly sandy. This earlier lozenge-decorated vessel is also the only cup represented by fabric, which places it in contrast to the

later full-body lozenges found on dishes and flat bowls (Figure 8.26). Therefore, comparisons between the Iron Age and Romano-British stylistic fabrics are challenging, if not impossible, at the present moment.

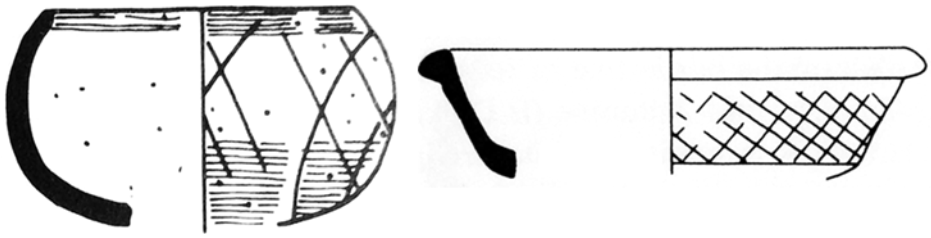


FIGURE 8.26 DRAGONBY, EARLY FULL BODY LOZENGE (LEFT: C736) COMPARED TO LATER FULL BODY LOZENGE (RIGHT: C1085).

DECORATION TO DATE

Previous analyses by May and Elsdon (1996) drew multiple connections between the decoration and the various Iron Age ceramic stages and Romano-British horizons, which have been re-evaluated through my current analysis. Figure 8.27 illustrates the decorative preferences expressed through each phase from the Iron Age into early Roman Britain. This data is only based on vessels which could be dated, representing 525 out of the 670-total recorded. As shown in the graph, horizontal bands were the most prevalent motif throughout the majority of the phases, only being replaced by vertical bands between CS5 and 7. These vertical bands largely consist of stroke burnishing on the bottom half of the vessels, and they begin to gradually decline following CS6, disappearing in Horizon II, with a slight revival in Horizon III. If we remove horizontal bands and vertical bands (Figure 8.28), we see that diagonal bands were frequent in the earlier phases (CS1-4) but largely decline by the Roman periods. Running waves, in contrast were less frequent earlier on, being non-existent in CS5, 8 and 9, but drastically increasing in the later 1st century AD to become prevalent in the Roman periods. Most of the other motifs (lozenges, chevrons, arcs, and stamps) see gradual changes in expansion and decline throughout the earlier periods, with only lozenges and running waves increasing to become dominant in the Roman periods.

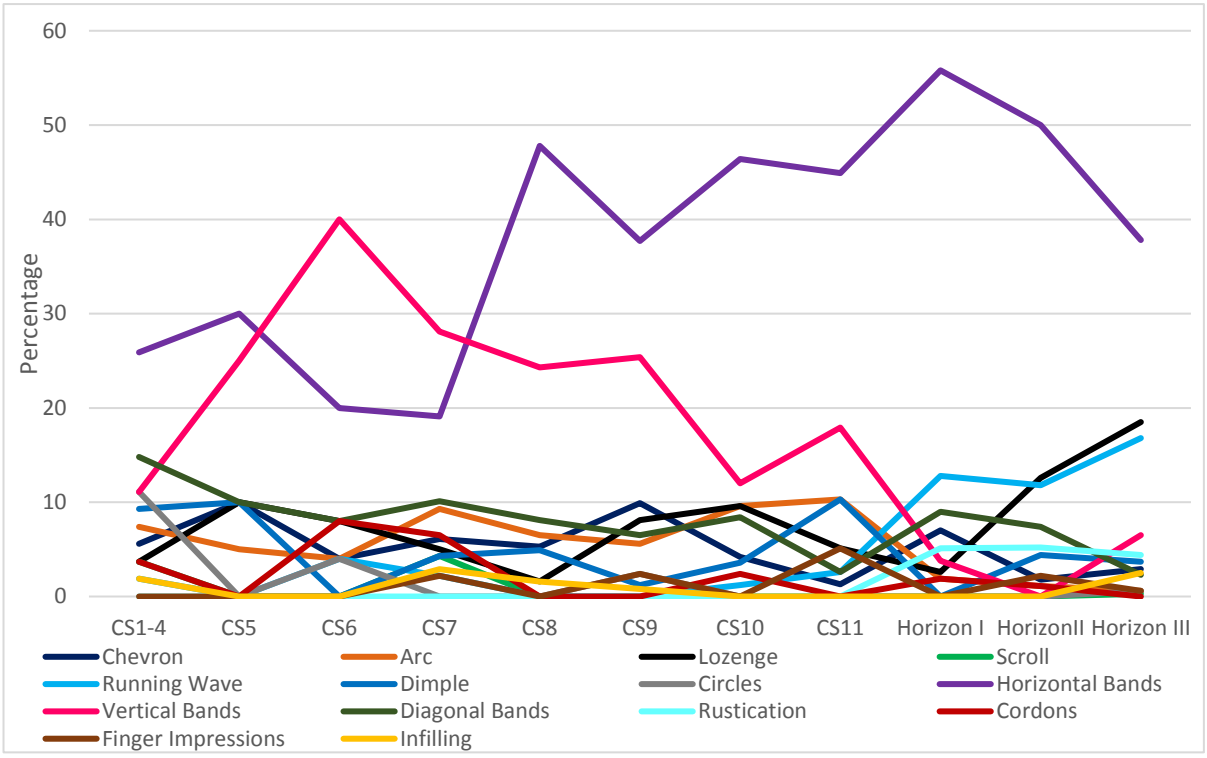


FIGURE 8.27 DRAGONBY, DECORATION TO DATE (REPRESENTING 27 VESSELS FROM CS1-4, 15 FROM CS5, 17 FROM CS6, 31 FROM CS7, 18 FROM CS8, 36 FROM CS9, 32 FROM CS10, 15 FROM CS11, 20 FROM H I, 38 FROM H II, AND 271 FROM H III).

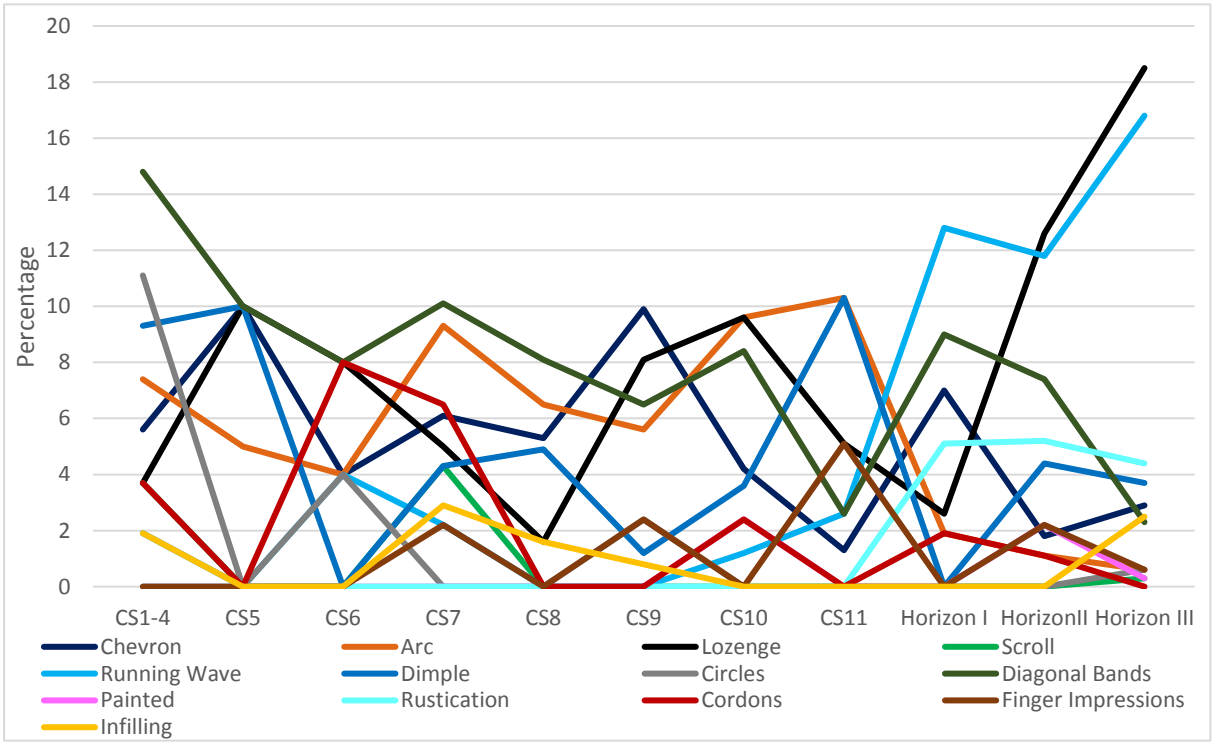


FIGURE 8.28 DRAGONBY, DECORATION TO DATE, EXCLUDING HORIZONTAL AND VERTICAL BANDS (SAME AS ABOVE).

Furthermore, as CS10 and 11 (Late Iron Age) are understood to overlap with Horizons I and II (Early Roman), we are able to compare the decorative identities between the two style groups. As Figure 8.29 highlights, there are many features which are expressed between both, specifically the preference of horizontal bands. However, if we again ignore the overwhelming prevalence of horizontal bands between all the stages (Figure 8.30), the visual contrasts between the Iron Age and Roman style choices become more apparent. As this figure illustrates, vertical bands, arcs, and stamps were prevalent during the later Iron Age stages, with particular emphasis in CS11, while running waves, chevrons, and rustication were prevalent during the Roman 'Horizons'; however, rustication has only been found during the Roman periods. In contrast, lozenges and painted decoration decline during this overlapping CS11 and Horizon I period, with a returning significance within Horizon II. As the later ceramic stages and earlier horizons overlapped, these decorative choices potentially represent identifying features between the two periods, as well as independent visual responses and expressions taking place during a period of social change.

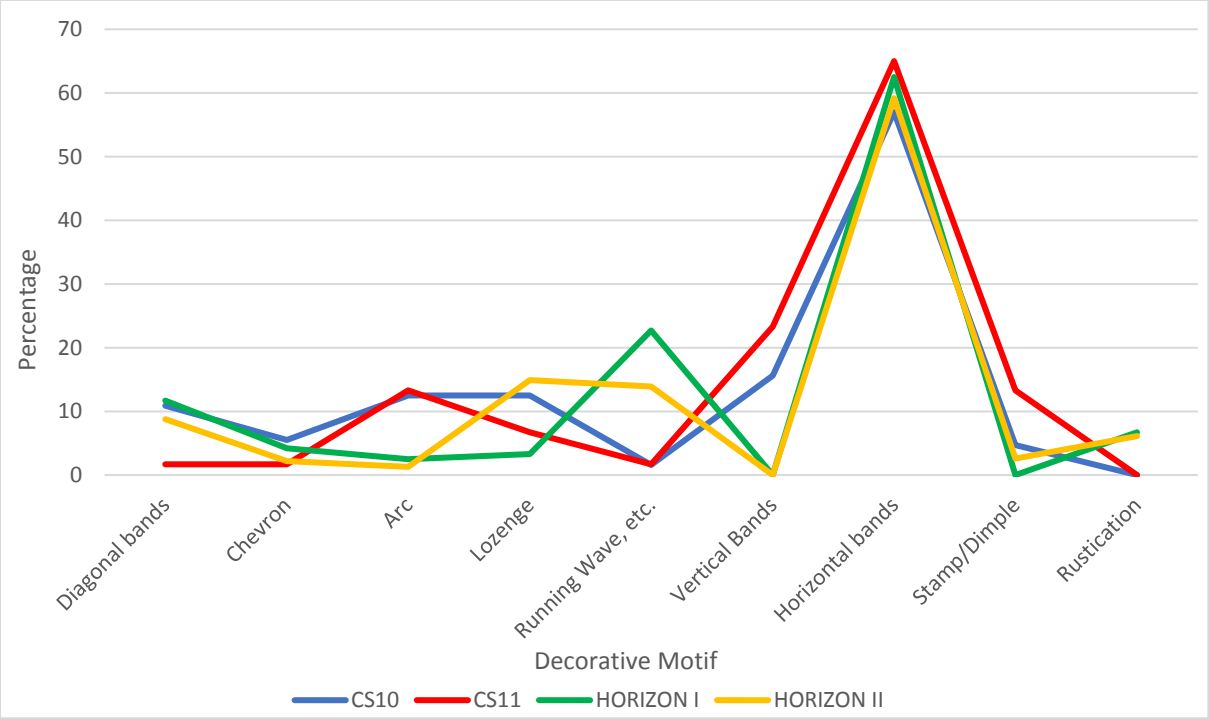


FIGURE 8.29 DRAGONBY, CS10/11 COMPARED TO HORIZONS I/II (OVERLAP IN 1ST CENTURY AD).

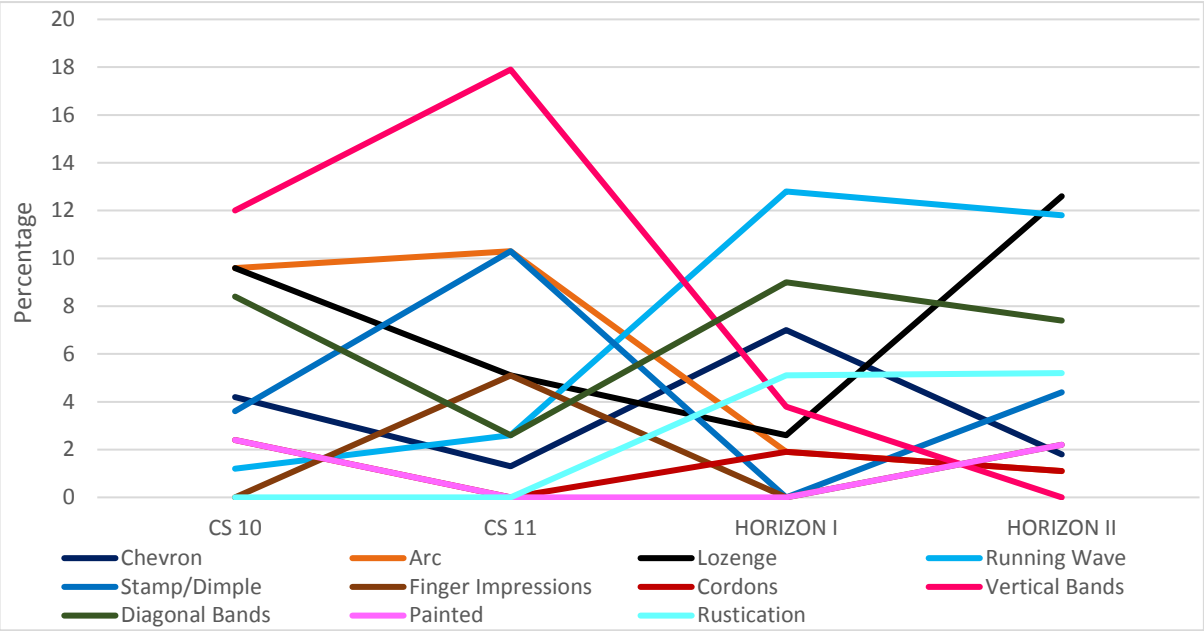


FIGURE 8.30 DRAGONBY, CS10/11 COMPARED TO HORIZONS I/II (EXCLUDING HORIZONTAL BANDS).

If we look at specific decorative features, we can see other patterns throughout the ceramic stages. According to Elsdon, more elaborate decoration was generally earlier, being gradually replaced by simpler patterns largely represented by incised lozenges and chevrons within cordons during the later phases (*ibid.,* 434). However, this is a complicated analysis as the elaborate decorated vessels, largely represented by a small selection of examples, namely C672, C699, C713, C886, and C887 (Figure 8.3-4 and 8.24), reflect modern preconceptions of skill and design, but are not necessarily reflective of past expressions of meaning. However, it does appear that there is a greater variety of motifs in the earlier phases, which typically declines during Roman periods, with the exception of running waves and lozenges.

Additionally, Elsdon stated that circular stamp decoration was only found between CS1 and 3, while semi-circular and 'maggot' impressions occurred on flat cordons after rouletting (*ibid)*. This is, for the most part, supported by the vessels which could be dated, with one exception from CS6 and one later example from Horizon III. Furthermore, most non-circular stamps occur in CS7 or later, therefore after rouletting ends. However, again, this is a complicated analysis as most examples of circular stamps occur on sherds which have not been dated, and therefore, could potentially be placed within any stage. This discrepancy is further seen with decorated bases, which Elsdon stated were rare in later phases. While this has been supported, most of the vessels are not securely dated. Elsdon further concluded that rouletting in free patterns was only found between CS1 and 4 or 5 but rouletting in diagonal bands continued until CS7, ending around the time wheel-made pottery was introduced (*ibid.)*. This is only partly supported within my data. While rouletted diagonal bands do appear to conclude within CS7, curvilinear rouletting has been found within CS7, with one example dated to CS10 (C785). This is a sherd, and therefore, the decoration can be disputed, but overall, it appears to depict a rouletted pendant arc. This conclusion is, again, complicated as 'rouletting in free patterns' allows for a variety of definitions. Therefore, discrepancies are largely found within Elsdon's decorative interpretations due to an oversimplification of the pattern descriptions, the lack of specific information provided within the report, and the exclusion of certain vessels and motifs. As

not all of the ceramic material has been included within her evaluations, these conclusive interpretations cannot be fully supported.

8.4 CONCLUSION

Ceramic evidence found during the excavations at Dragonby provide important information about the changing connections between decoration, form, and fabric from the Iron Age into the early Roman period. The amount of decorated ceramic evidence available from both Iron Age and Romano-British contexts allows us to compare the decorative qualities from both periods, and therefore, witness the visual responses taking place during times of continuing social change. These changing decorative features can be seen within Table 8.8 below. Certain decorative features are found throughout both periods, such as the continuing presence of single horizontal bands and lozenges, as well as the preference for decoration around the shoulder of jars and bowls. However, there are major differences between the two, particularly seen through the fabrics and the introduction of different motifs and applications, such as running waves and rustication. These differences are particularly visible during overlapping periods (CS10/11 and Horizon I/II) where Iron Age and Romano-British stylistic vessels can be defined by the presence or absence of arcs, running waves, and vertical bands. However, while 'free' rouletted decoration appears to fade within the later ceramic stages, a re-introduction through incised running waves, both single and interlocking, appear within the Romano-British material (Figure 8.31). This re-introduction of free-flowing motifs potentially represents a similar social response focusing on 'traditional' themes.

TABLE 8.8 DRAGONBY, KEY DECORATIVE FEATURES TO CS/HORIZON (VESSELS WHICH ARE DATED TO MULTIPLE PERIODS HAVE BEEN ROUNDED DOWN FROM THE ORIGINAL DECIMAL POINT).

CS/HORIZON	1-4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	H1	H2	H3	TOTAL
SINGLE HORIZONTAL BANDS	4		1	1	4	7	7	3	4	9	53	93
LOZENGES	2	2	2	2		3	4	1	1	6	60	83
ROULETTED RUNNING WAVE			1	1								2
INCISED RUNNING WAVE	1						1	1	2	3	15	23
VERTICAL BANDS	3	2	5	9	4	9	4	2			19	57
ARCS	3	1	1	4	1	2	4	2	1	1	2	22
STAMP	5	2		2	1	1	2	2		2	12	29
RUSTICATION									1	2	14	17

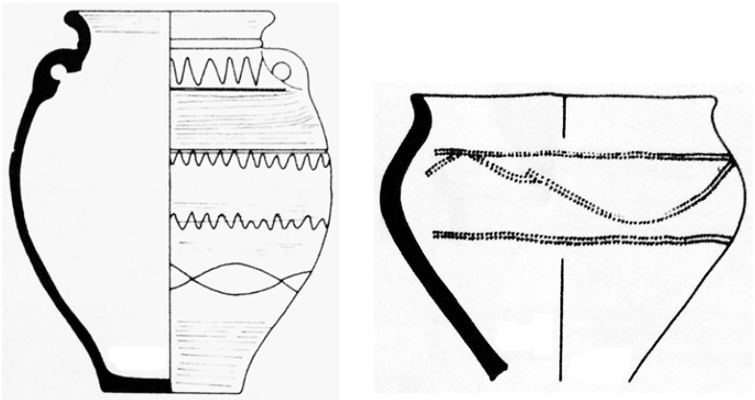


FIGURE 8.31 DRAGONBY, COMPARISON OF LATER (LEFT C1059) AND EARLIER FREE-FLOWING DECORATION (RIGHT C901).

Looking at the decorated ceramic evidence from the Iron Age periods specifically, particular connections between form, fabric, ceramic stage, and decoration become apparent. As decoration tended to take place on jars and bowls, specifically within TG5 and 20, which have been assigned to the storage of liquids and cooking/storage vessels respectively, connections between function and decoration have also been drawn. While most motifs start to fade as occupation moves from the earlier to later ceramic stages, lozenges, and running waves see a revitalization, in addition to the continued prevalence of horizontal bands. This increase in running waves and continued focus on horizontal bands might simply be tied to the increased use of the potter's wheel. This would have allowed these motifs, in particular, to be easily and quickly applied. Nevertheless, as single horizontal bands are the most common motif, they should not be interpreted simply as an insignificant addition. Instead, their employment must be inferred as an active choice, regardless of their simplicity. It can, therefore, be interpreted that these revitalized, yet evolving, motifs and patterns were reflective of society's response to social and political changes taking place from growing Roman influence, particularly seen through the introduction of rustication originally associated with the Roman military (Elsdon 1996, 576). The relationships and responses between the changing Iron Age and Roman periods can be greatly seen through these visual expressions left behind. While major changes were occurring, specifically through the introduction of new vessel forms, the move from shell to sand fabrics, as well as changing decorative motifs and treatments, a strong traditional visual response can also be witnessed throughout, likely reflective of a communal response, both resistant and adaptive.

As all three case-study sites have now been evaluated in detail, their decorative schemes can be analysed as a whole. Following on from these individual evaluations, a comparison of motif choices and application techniques between the three sites will be discussed in the following chapter, along with possible connections between decoration, vessel forms, fabrics, and time periods. An assessment of this material will set the stage for the inclusion of other non-metal decorated materials, specifically antler/bone, stone, and wood.

9: POTTERY COMPARISONS

Taken individually, the decorated pottery assemblages from Danebury, MLV, and Dragonby reveal important information about the way people visually expressed themselves and created 'communal identities.' Taken collectively, these decorated ceramics allow for connections to be drawn between these regional groups, as a way to visually differentiate and connect them. To better understand the visual connections between these regional groups, a comparison of general decorative trends from each case study site will first be conducted, encompassing the main motifs, patterns, application techniques, and overall visibility. This will be followed by an analysis of Iron Age decorated pottery based on connections to vessel form, fabric, and time period. Finally, an overview of general themes identified through the decorated pottery assemblages will be discussed, focusing on production, tradition versus adaptation, individuality versus standardisation, and the intention behind this decorated material. The similar pottery forms and decoration within these different regions and time periods suggest a basic level of exchange of ideas and materials, whether that exchange was more local or regional. This does not necessarily mean that ceramics were being exchanged over a long-distance, but that ideas and decorative schemes were travelling between different groups. Through the material collected within this analysis, connections can be found based on their associated visual 'expressions', which will further provide information about the people and communities which created and used these objects.

As previously discussed, one case study site was chosen from each of Cunliffe's three southern style zones – MLV from the South-Western zone, Danebury from the Central Southern zone, and Dragonby from the Eastern zone – so that various decorative trends could be regionally compared and analysed for possible connections to social change. Each of these sites was chosen due to their large ceramic assemblages and the high quality of recorded information available. Altogether, these three sites cover the majority of the Iron Age and early Romano-British periods, beginning as early as the 6th century BC at Danebury (Figure 9.1). While occupation at Dragonby continued further into the Roman period, I have chosen to only look at pottery dated to the 3rd century AD or earlier as my focus is primarily on the Iron Age and visual reactions to early Roman influence. Based on these case study sites, a total of 1,351 decorated vessels was recorded: 316 from MLV, 365 from Danebury, and 670 from Dragonby. While the occupation of these sites was not chronologically contemporary, there is overlap, particularly during the later Iron Age (1st century BC – early 1st century AD), which allows for comparisons to be made.

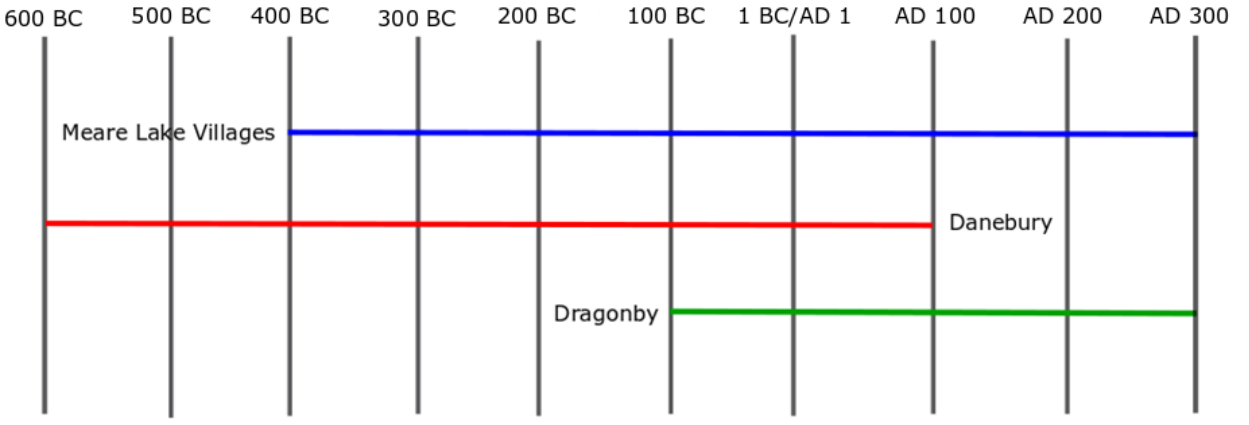


FIGURE 9.1 OCCUPATIONAL DATE RANGES FOR THE THREE CASE STUDY SITES.

9.1 DECORATIVE TRENDS

Before the decorated pottery assemblages can be further analysed, it is important to ask: how do the decorative schemes across the three sites compare to one another? On a basic level, pottery from the three sites tends to follow a rather restricted decorative repertoire, typically consisting of chevrons, arcs, lozenges, horizontal, vertical, and diagonal bands (Figure 9.2). In addition to these main motifs, we also find other types, such as scrolls, running waves, stamp/dimples, and cordons, but in smaller numbers. Based on first impressions, the general decorative patterns (geometrical, curvilinear, circular, or a combination) included on this material is also similar. At Danebury and Dragonby, purely geometric motifs and patterns make up the majority of the pottery assemblages (Table 9.1). In contrast, MLV presents a more even representation of these general patterns. While geometric motifs are still slightly more common, the different patterns are more-or-less equally represented and often combined.

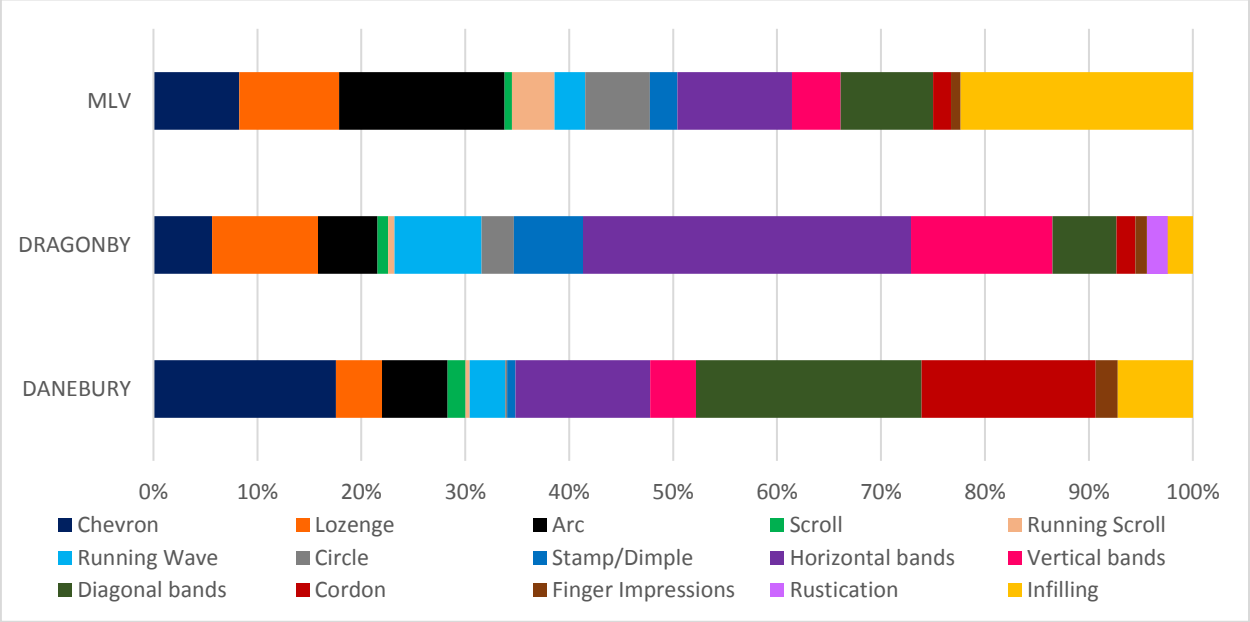


FIGURE 9.2 DECORATION TO SITE: DANEBURY (365 EXAMPLES), DRAGONBY (670 EXAMPLES), AND MLV (316 EXAMPLES).

TABLE 9.1 GENERAL DECORATIVE PATTERNS FOUND AT THE THREE SITES (NUMBERS ARE PERCENTAGES).

GENERAL PATTERNS	DANEBURY	DRAGONBY	MLV
GEOMETRIC	85.4	78.4	41.8
CURVILINEAR	4.1	13.4	27.8
CIRCULAR	0.3	0.2	0.3
COMBINATION	10.2	8.0	30.1

In regard to the application of the decoration, however, we begin to see major differences between the three sites (Figure 9.3). While all three tend to place decoration at the top half of the vessels, particularly around the shoulder or below the rim, their techniques for doing so show a level of individuality. During the earliest occupational phases at Danebury, scratching was the most common application method, eventually replaced by inscribing. There is no evidence of scratching at Dragonby or MLV, potentially due to their later occupational phases as this was a rather early feature. At Dragonby, on the other hand, decoration is mostly burnished, rouletted, or inscribed during the Iron Age. However, as with Danebury, inscribing becomes the most prevalent application method during the later Iron Age and early Roman periods, likely due to the introduction of the potter's wheel during the 1st century BC. Stamped decoration is another common feature at

Dragonby, present throughout its occupation, and together with rouletting, is a common regional feature found in Lincolnshire. In the case of rouletted and burnished decoration, these methods only serve a minor role at Danebury and MLV. At MLV there appears to be an almost even use of impressions, inscribing, and stamps; however, this information was not as well recorded in previous reports, and therefore, is only based on 38 examples in which particular application methods were provided. Overall, these sites show a stronger preference for inscribing, but the incorporation of other techniques draws attention to their regional and chronological differences.

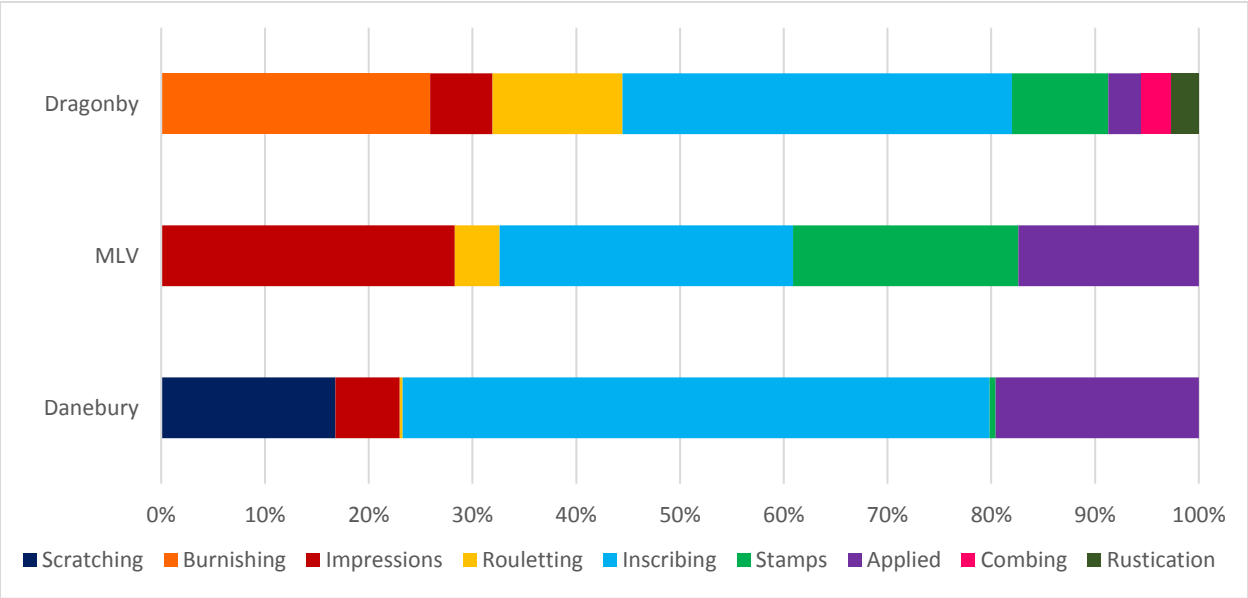


FIGURE 9.3 DECORATIVE TECHNIQUE TO SITE (BASED ON 322 FROM DANEBURY, 38 FROM MLV, AND 493 FROM DRAGONBY).

If we look at Figure 9.2 again, we can see additional differences between their visual schemes. While most of these motifs are found throughout the three sites, each site demonstrates a particular preference. Within Danebury, diagonal bands in mirrored connected rows, bordered by horizontal bands, either linear or dotted, have become an identifying feature of this site (Figure 9.4). First occurring in CP3, this decorative pattern became most prevalent in CP7. In relation to this design, one theory involving Iron Age pottery decoration suggests that it represents various aspects of stitching with "diagonal lines representing the thread [and] the shallow dots being the needle holes" (Cunliffe 2005, 489). This theory is supported by the later St Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down style found at Danebury, identified with this exact pattern. An elaborate example of mirrored diagonal bands has also been found on a vessel from Dragonby (Figure 9.5). While the overall pattern is not the same, the Dragonby vessel demonstrates similar rows of mirrored diagonal bands. However, in this case the decoration is rouletted rather than inscribed. As this demonstrates, each potter was basing their decoration on a 'similar way of doing' (Hodder 1990, 45), or similar message, by attempting to recreate the act of 'stitching'; however, their methods for doing so took on a level of individuality.

FIGURE 9.4 DANEBURY CERAMICS WITH MIRRORED DIAGONAL BANDS (C100 AND C217).

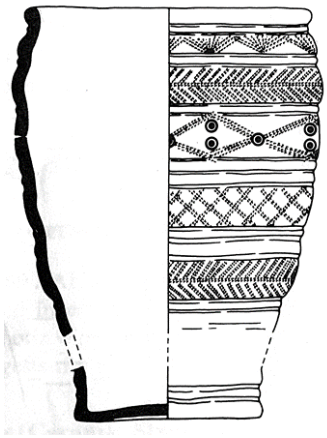


FIGURE 9.5 DRAGONBY VESSEL WITH SIMILAR 'STITCHED' PATTERNS (C672).

Overall, most decoration at Dragonby consisted of horizontal bands in single or multiple rows, vertical bands, lozenges, and running waves. In the case of the latter two motifs, their general depictions change from the Iron Age to the Roman periods. For lozenges this change is signified by its location on the vessel: from the shoulder to one of overall coverage (Figure 9.6), potentially representing a direct connection between its increasing size and importance. Running waves, on the other hand, see a change in their method of application (Figure 9.7). During the Iron Age this motif is produced by a roulette wheel, creating a free-flowing and uneven pattern. During the Roman period, however, the decoration is inscribed and more rigid, signifying an introduction to more standardization and simplicity.

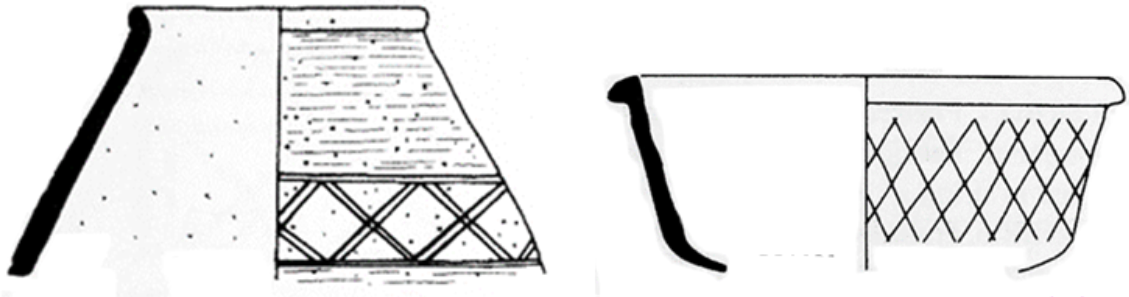


FIGURE 9.6 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH LOZENGE DECORATION: SIMPLE (C909) AND COMPLEX (C1074).

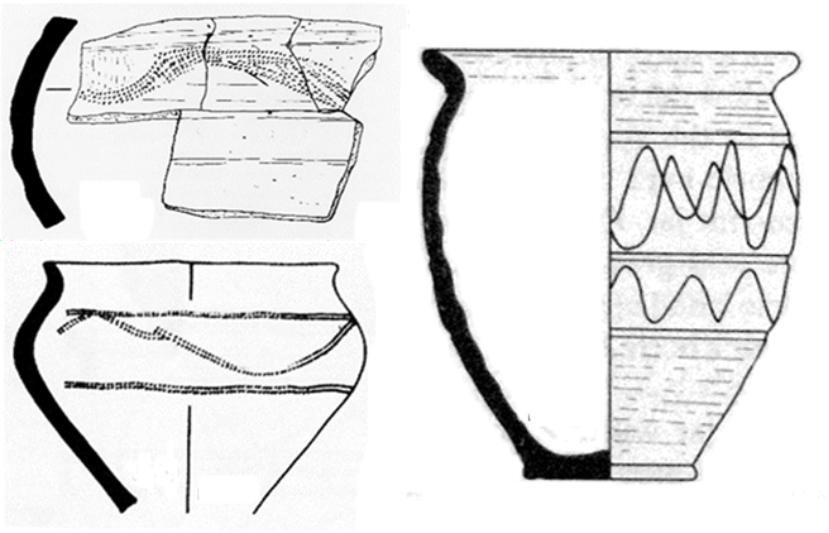


FIGURE 9.7 DRAGONBY, VESSELS WITH RUNNING WAVE DECORATION: ROULETTED (TOP C847 AND BOTTOM C901) AND INSCRIBED (RIGHT C1029).

In contrast, the most common motif used at both MLV sites is the arc, formed into a variety of patterns, including bordered pendant arcs filled below with diagonal bands, bordered alternating arcs typically infilled with diagonal bands, and interlocking pendant arcs in which one row is located and disappears behind the other (Figure 9.8). In addition to arcs, simple lozenges with infilled cross-hatching and running scrolls are also consistently found. While running scrolls are not one of the most common decorative choices at the site, this motif is more often found at MLV compared to the other two sites. This motif is typically found with large circles supported by trumpet motifs, often with ring-and-dots inside (Figure 9.8). Along with these patterns, infilling is most frequently found at MLV, included in 21.9% of its decorated assemblage.

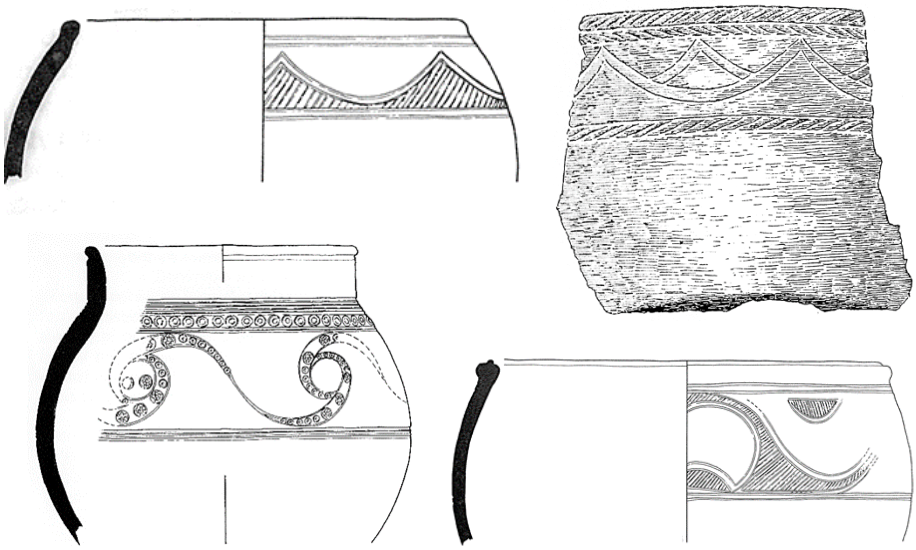


FIGURE 9.8 MLV VESSEL DECORATION (TOP LEFT TO RIGHT: C458, C545; BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT: C383, C379).

In addition to the more common decorative choices taking place at the three sites, distinctive motifs, patterns, and application methods have been found. For example, at Danebury finger impressions are rare while scratched chevrons are common. At MLV, the more unique features are often found within MVW, such as decorated lids and lugs which are not found at the eastern site. Additionally, a lot of MVW examples show stronger associations with metalwork decoration, such as triskeles, saltires, and palmettes (Figure 9.9). Not only are these features unique based on a comparison

between the three main sites, but they also highlight a strong separation between the two associated MLV sites, which are so close in proximity (spatially and chronologically) and often considered together. Decoration at Dragonby is rather unique for its variety of application techniques not commonly used at the other two sites, such as its diverse variety of stamps (Figure 9.10). During the Iron Age this mostly consisted of circular stamps, particularly in double or triple ring-and-dot structures, 'maggot', and crescent stamps. During the Roman period a greater variety of stamp forms was in use, including rectangular, 'leaf', rosette, and lettered stamps. Additionally, rustication and folding are distinctive techniques found at Dragonby (Figure 9.11), identified as P and Q within Appendix A. Neither of these techniques were found at the other two sites, most likely due to the later occupational phases at Dragonby and its connection to the Roman military. As previously emphasized, rusticated vessels are generally considered cooking pots associated with the Roman military and became intertwined in the ceramic traditions of Lincolnshire and South Yorkshire (Elsdon 1996, 576). The fact that these two techniques became a dominant feature at Dragonby points to a distinctive and independent response to Roman influence: an adoption not found at the other two sites.

FIGURE 9.9 MVW DECORATION DEPICTING TRISKELES (C543), SALTIRES (C604), AND PALMETTES (C628).

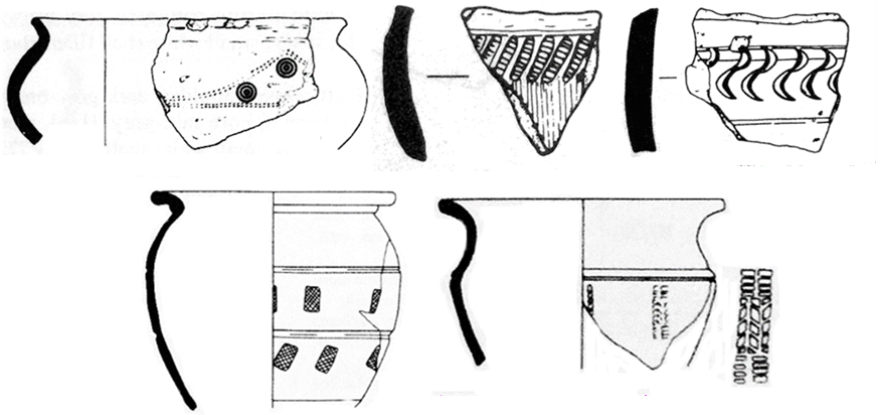


FIGURE 9.10 SELECTION OF STAMPS FROM DRAGONBY (C844, C957, C960, C1109, C1154).

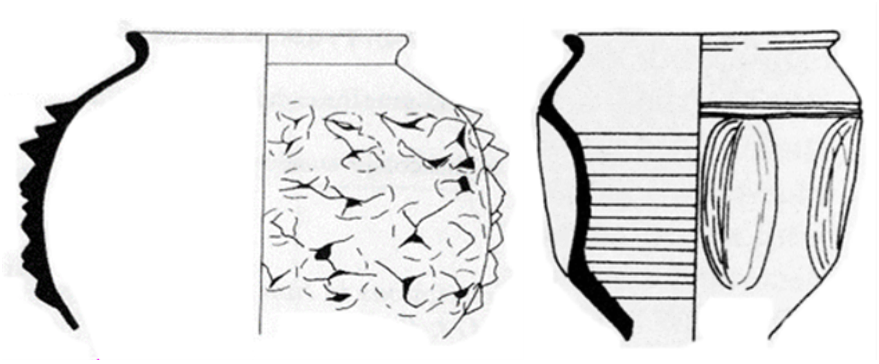


FIGURE 9.11 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH RUSTICATION (C1011) AND FOLDING (C1092).

While decoration was typically placed in locations which would have been easily viewed while in use, such as along the shoulder, this was not always the case. On multiple occasions, decoration has been applied to the interior or base of the vessels, and in these unique instances it appears that clear external visibility was not a contributing factor in the decision to decorate. Most of these examples have been found at Dragonby and MLV. Within Dragonby, I have recorded 33 cases of interior decoration, typically found on dishes or flat bowls. This interior decoration tends to include chevrons infilled above with vertical or diagonal bands, and in cases where the vessels are decorated on both the interior and exterior, the exterior decoration consistently depicts single running waves (Figure 9.12). There are around 28 examples of interior decoration at MLV, but in all of these cases the decoration consists of a single horizontal band, likely used to form a beaded rim (Figure 9.13). While there are only two vessels with interior decoration from Danebury, they show visual similarities to the Dragonby examples (Figure 9.14). For instance, when both the interior and exterior are decorated, the exterior consistently depicts running waves. The Danebury examples are found on a carinated cup and a platter, both of which belong to CP9 (AD 50 to the Roman period). It appears, therefore, that decoration with restricted visibility at Danebury did not appear until the latest occupational phase, suggesting that visual representation in regard to social function was changing following Roman influence. This visibility was either not important for the understanding of the intended messages or the process of holding or viewing these objects was changing, such as a shift from public to private viewing. While interior decoration would be more visible on bowls and flat dishes, the addition of any contents within them would cause this visibility to be greatly reduced. One possible interpretation, therefore, is that these vessels were meant for public display and not the serving of food or liquid. Another possibility is that the decoration was meant to be viewed before contents were added or after they were removed. In either case, the accessibility to this decoration and its intended messages would have been greatly restricted.

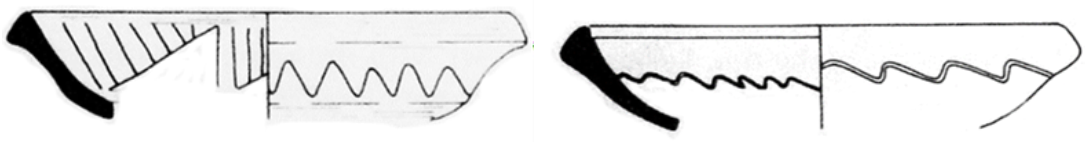


FIGURE 9.12 DRAGONBY VESSELS WITH INTERIOR DECORATION (C1076 AND C1078).

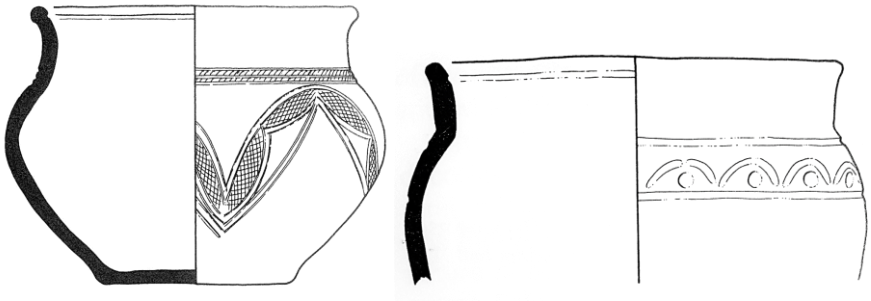


FIGURE 9.13 MLV VESSELS WITH INTERIOR DECORATION (C349 AND C374).

FIGURE 9.14 DANEBURY VESSELS WITH INTERIOR DECORATION (C291 AND C290).

As with interior decoration, decorated bases are more frequently found at Dragonby and MLV, particularly at MVW. On these sites, I have recorded 32 and 22 examples of basal decoration, respectively. However, between these two sites, the choice in motif and pattern is very different. Dragonby bases typically incorporate crossing linear bands forming four to eight 'arms', presented alone or inside four arcs (Figure 9.15a). MLV bases, on the other hand, typically incorporate mirrored arcs forming a 'leaf' or 'crescent' motif (Figure 9.15b). What is interesting about the material from MLV is that the decorated bases do not appear to show a connection to a particular vessel type. This suggests that in these cases decoration was not necessarily tied to social function as its visibility to the public would be restricted, instead signifying a limited social accessibility to the imagery. While the basal decorations between the two sites differ, a decorated knob from MVE (C353) was found that greatly resembled the bases from Dragonby (Figure 9.16). It appears that similar decorative choices were not always being applied to the same vessel forms, but certain visual characteristics and means of expression were reaching a wider regional audience. At Danebury, on the other hand, only one example of basal decoration was recorded (Figure 9.17): a hemispherical dish containing large dimples. However, in this case the decoration served both an ornamental and functional role, allowing the dish to stand on a surface while maintaining its rounded shape. Together, all of these examples emphasize that immediate visibility was not the single motivating factor behind the decision to decorate. Their intended meanings and representations, such as signifying one's identity, social position, affiliation, etc., would not have been as immediately accessible. From this a few interpretations can be drawn. Primarily, it represents a restricted knowledge or access to the visual information. The decoration might also have been included with a more functional significance in mind, representing its intended use and contents, and therefore, would not need to be visible while in use. It might also suggest that the vessel was not intended to be placed upon a surface in the standard way, but instead to be held or positioned at a different angle. All of these interpretations suggest a connection between decorative expression and changes in social function.

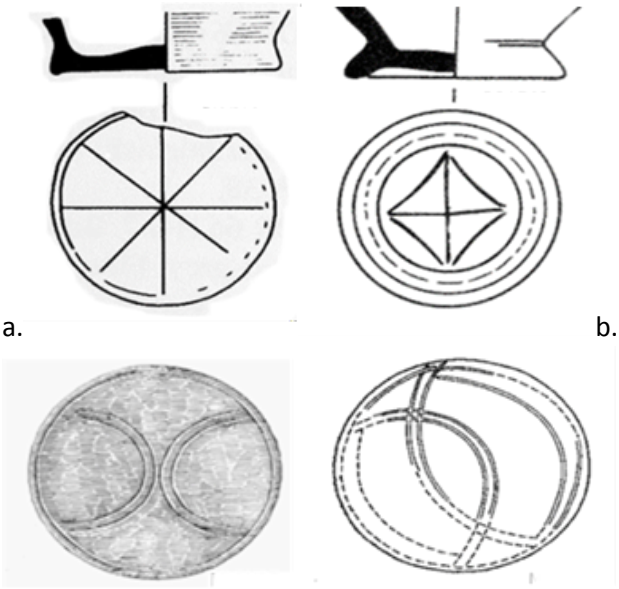


FIGURE 9.15 DECORATED BASES FROM A. DRAGONBY (C863 AND C985); B. MLV (C515 AND C371).

FIGURE 9.16 DECORATED KNOB FROM MVE RESEMBLING BASES FROM DRAGONBY (C353).

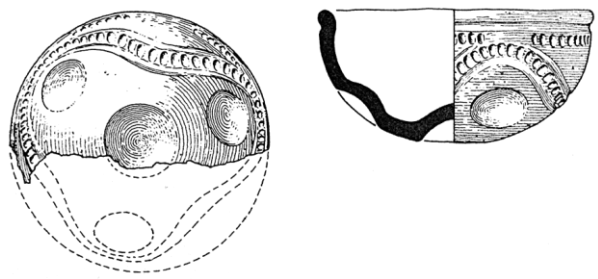


FIGURE 9.17 DECORATED BASE FROM DANEBURY (C115).

What this data shows, therefore, is that Iron Age people from these sites shared a general decorative scheme from which different visual choices could be made. While this general decorative scheme did allow for a certain level of standardisation, through the incorporation of similar motifs, there remained a level of communal identity or individuality. This is particularly expressed through the decorative techniques employed at each site, such as scratching at Danebury and rouletting or rustication at Dragonby, as well as the different motif combinations taking place. Overall, similar schemes were occurring but with different adaptations or interpretations, even within sites which are often discussed in conjunction (MVW and MVE). While this imagery was not always accessible to the entire community, the main decorative choices provided a means to both unite and differentiate.

9.2 ANALYSIS

The decorated ceramic material was initially examined based on its visual properties, including the motifs, surface treatment, etc. It was then recorded within my database so that the information could be quantifiably graphed and compared. Decorated pottery from all three sites was recorded, the information was analysed, and graphs were created to better visualize how the decorative features related between the different forms, fabrics, and chronological settings. Through a detailed comparison of this material, we can better understand how these sites visually expressed themselves, both as a whole and individually, and how this particular material compared to the other material sources.

DECORATION TO FORM

The shape of the different vessel types, their surface space, and the different methods of construction would have greatly affected the decoration included, as the available space would affect what could be depicted and new innovations would affect the ease of application. For example, dishes have less vertical space, and therefore it is understandable that horizontal geometric patterns would be more common. In contrast, the other vessel forms have more surface space, and therefore, provide for a greater variety of motifs, although this is not always the case. However, in regard to the vessel types, it is important to ask: How much did the forms affect the kind of decoration applied to them?

Overall, across all three sites, jars, bowls, and dishes make up the main vessel forms (Figure 9.18). Jars are most frequently found at Dragonby, representing around 51% of the total decorated assemblage within my collection. In contrast, bowls are more frequently found at MLV, followed by jars, while jars and bowls have a more-or-less equal representation at Danebury. Only at Danebury do saucepan pots make up a larger percentage of decorated vessel types (25.5%), in comparison to the smaller 7.3% and 0% found at MLV and Dragonby; however, due to their importance within Iron Age ceramic and chronological comparisons they have been included within this analysis. A larger variety of vessel forms were later introduced, particularly around the Roman occupational periods, such as cups and urns at Dragonby and carinated cups and butt-beakers at Danebury. While there is a greater variety of types at Dragonby, potentially representing a more diverse range of functions and social connections, as well as a greater proportion of Roman pottery, this might simply suggest that other, less preservable, material for food preparation and storage were being utilized at Danebury and MLV. For this analysis, these additional types will not be discussed as they do not often overlap between the sites, they are not as frequently decorated, and they have been discussed more thoroughly in previous chapters. Following on from these site-type associations, we can determine if similar connections between form and decoration were present within all three sites.

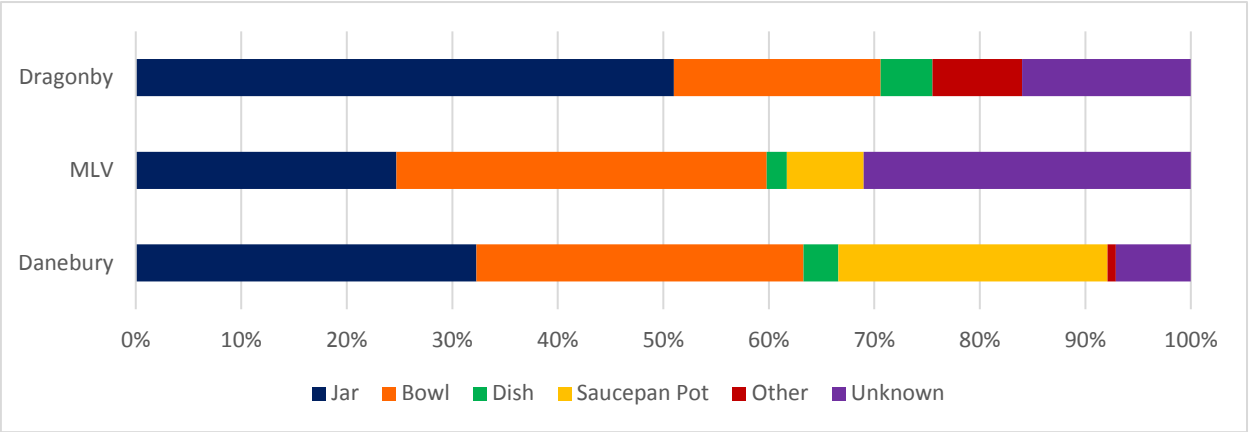


FIGURE 9.18 CERAMIC FORM TO SITE (BASED ON 365 FROM DANEBURY, 316 FROM MLV, AND 670 FROM DRAGONBY). 'OTHER' REPRESENTS FORMS NOT INCLUDED WITHIN THE MAIN FOUR GROUPS.

While similar vessel types were present within each site, this was not necessarily mirrored in their decorative connections, as Figure 9.19 demonstrates. Horizontal bands were omitted in the previous Dragonby pottery discussion, but they have been included within this comparison to provide a more accurate representation between the three sites. As the graph demonstrates, this motif continues to be a more prominent feature at Dragonby. Furthermore, at Dragonby, jars experience a relatively even distribution of motifs, with a slightly higher preference for running waves, lozenges, and vertical bands. Rustication has only been found on jars, again demonstrating a connection to the Roman military cooking pots. Bowls, on the other hand, commonly depict lozenges and vertical bands, while dishes mostly depict running waves, with a greater occurrence of chevrons and infilling. This is in contrast to the patterns found at Danebury, where chevrons are typically found on bowls, horizontal bands on dishes, and diagonal bands on jars and saucepan pots. At first glance, Danebury and MLV look relatively similar and appear to show a much stronger connection than Dragonby, particularly through their use of chevrons, arcs, and infilling. However, upon closer inspection there are many differences between them, most strongly expressed through bowl decoration. At Danebury, bowls largely depict chevrons and cordons, an early feature of the site, while MLV tends to have a more even representation of motif choice, and a much greater use of infilling. There is also a much stronger representation of diagonal bands on jars and saucepan pots at Danebury, again a later identifying feature.

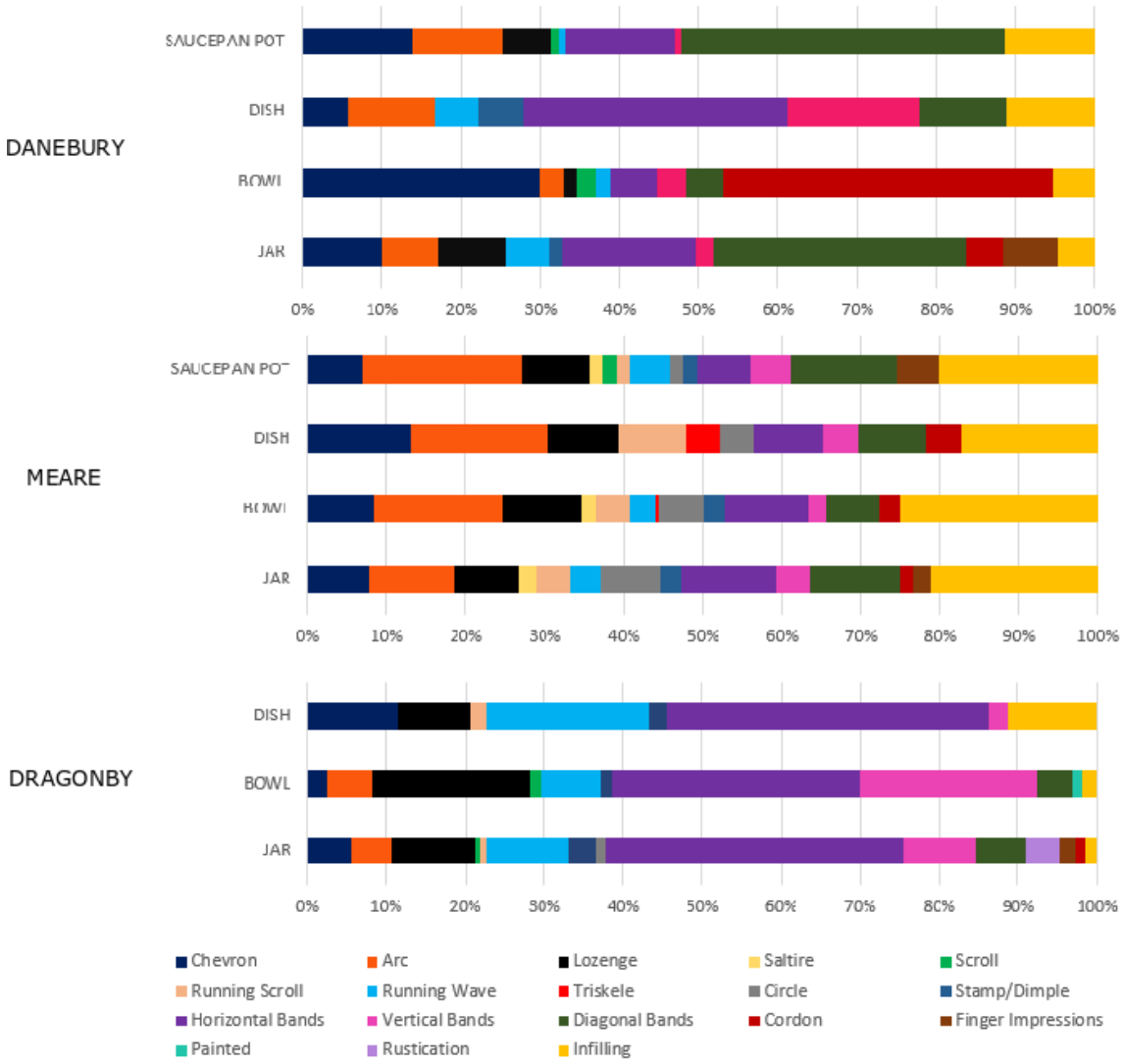


FIGURE 9.19 DECORATION TO THE MAIN CERAMIC FORMS (BASED ON 365 DECORATED EXAMPLES FROM DANEBURY, 316 FROM MLV, AND 670 FROM DRAGONBY).

Within the two MLV sites there also appears to be a more-or-less even distribution of motifs within the different vessel types, with a few exceptions. For example, scrolls are only found on saucepan pots, and this vessel type shows a greater presence of finger impressions. Dishes, on the other hand, do not contain saltires, running waves, or stamps/dimples. Additionally, while it appears that dishes contain a much larger selection of triskeles compared to that found on bowls, both are representative of a single example. Nevertheless, differences are expressed between the two MLV sites. On the one hand, MVW generally shows similar connections between motif and vessel form as that seen when the two sites are combined. MVE, on the other hand, shows a much more restricted selection. At MVE, for example, the variety of decoration on saucepan pots is greatly reduced, with no presence of chevrons, scrolls, circles, dimples, or vertical bands. This restriction is similarly expressed on dishes where triskeles, running scrolls, circles, vertical and diagonal bands are no longer found, and on jars where cordons are only found. Saltires, scrolls, and triskeles were only found at MVW. Again, the differences in visual variation between the two sites is interesting as they are so close in proximity and would likely have been in constant contact. This further suggests that there was additional meaning behind the decoration which was restricted to the community or individuals in MVW and not accessible to those in MVE.

As previously emphasized, the storage, preparation, and serving of food on a more local level is considered the main function of ceramic vessels. Function has been further assigned based on the size of the vessels and the quality of the fabrics. Cunliffe suggested that larger jars would more likely have been used for storage, while smaller and finer vessels would have been used for the serving of food and liquids (Cunliffe 1984, 249). Due to their construction and fabric, coarse wares would have been more porous, and therefore not suitable for holding liquids. Finer wares, on the other hand, would have been less porous, and therefore suitable for a greater variety of contents. While not found as frequently, dishes would typically be created out of finer materials, and it is on these vessels that more elaborate interior decoration was found. In this regard, decoration would further assist in creating a visual representation of the intended social functions and possible contents. The connections between decoration and function can be further interpreted from the three sites. At Danebury, larger cooking and storage vessels typically contain diagonal bands, followed by horizontal bands, while finer vessels tend to contain chevrons. Food serving vessels, on the other hand, contain mostly horizontal bands. At Dragonby, decorative features have been selected based on the quality of the vessels. For example, rouletting, circular and oval stamps, and burnishing are commonly found on fine wares, while combing, scoring, and crescentic stamps are common on coarse wares. Regarding particular decorative features, vertical burnishing on the bottom half of vessels and interlocking arcs are commonly found on vessels thought to be for the storage of liquids, such as with globular jars and cauldrons (Elsdon 1996, 412). Some of the more elaborate decoration has also been found on these types. As previously stated, this potentially indicates that these vessel types were meant for more public display, to hold liquids for public consumption, and therefore, visually contained more communal significance. At MLV, decoration was mostly found on fine-ware bowls, regardless of motif choice. In contrast to the other sites, decorative features have not been selected based on general vessel types but instead on particular vessel features, such as the occurrence of vertical necks or globular frames. This is similarly expressed in Dragonby, where bases decorated with burnished crosses forming ‘arms’ are typically found on foot-ring or pedestalled jars and bowls. Therefore, in these cases both function and form affect the decoration.

Just as decoration was potentially used to identify a vessel’s practical function, it could also be used to represent its social function, as their use for storage, cooking, and consumption indicates a more local impact (Sharples 2010, 115), thereby representing more communal relationships and means of expression. Different vessel types would have been used within different levels of society, either within the larger community or on a more individual basis. The decoration placed upon these vessels, therefore, would hold similar social connections and be visual reminders of these connections. This further suggests that the imagery was more important than the quality of execution, evidenced by the variety of skill found on single vessels. Again, this would indicate that the visibility of the decoration would have played a significant role. If the decoration was intended as a visual ‘message’ within the local community, in regard to its social function or other meaning, then it is interesting that in some cases these visual ‘messages’ were greatly restricted. It, therefore, suggests that not all imagery was accessible to the entire community and that different social levels existed, even if this is purely an individual versus communal separation.

Overall, this data demonstrates that the type of vessel greatly affected the type of decoration employed, beyond what the surface space allowed. For the most part, certain communal divisions and functional associations were tied to the connections between decoration and form, particularly where visibility of the decoration was limited or where different levels of skill were included on a single pot. Although each site presented its own variation of these connections, even between the two MLV sites, this nevertheless shows that people from these communities were actively assigning particular visual features to particular vessels based on their social and functional roles.

DECORATION TO FABRIC

Although the general vessel types at each site are relatively similar, their fabrics are quite different, and therefore, it is difficult to thoroughly compare their decorative connections. Nevertheless, it is important to consider whether fabric inclusions affected the type of decoration applied to pottery. Even if each site demonstrates a preference for distinct fabrics, the general associations between decoration and fabric changes can be identified and analysed.

At Danebury, eight fabric types were defined. During the earliest phases the material was dominated by sandy fabrics (fabric D), largely prevalent through the entirety of Danebury's occupation, while fine flint grit-tempered fabrics (fabric B) gradually dominated in the latest phases. Each of these fabrics shows connections to different forms of decoration (Figure 9.20). On the earlier vessels with fabric D inclusions, the decoration was more varied with a larger selection of chevrons, arcs, and cordons. The later, fabric B, vessels, on the other hand, demonstrate a stronger preference for diagonal bands: an identifying feature of Danebury. Following on from these two fabrics, fine smooth clay with no aggregates (fabric E) is also commonly found, but to a lesser extent. As with fabric D, these inclusions are found in vessels from the earliest period, in particular the red-finished scratched cordon bowls commonly decorated with chevron motifs. As both fabrics D and E are of the earlier phases, it is understandable that they share decorative characteristics. What is noticeable about this material is that decorative changes strongly correlate to changes in fabric, along with additional connections to form and regional relationships.

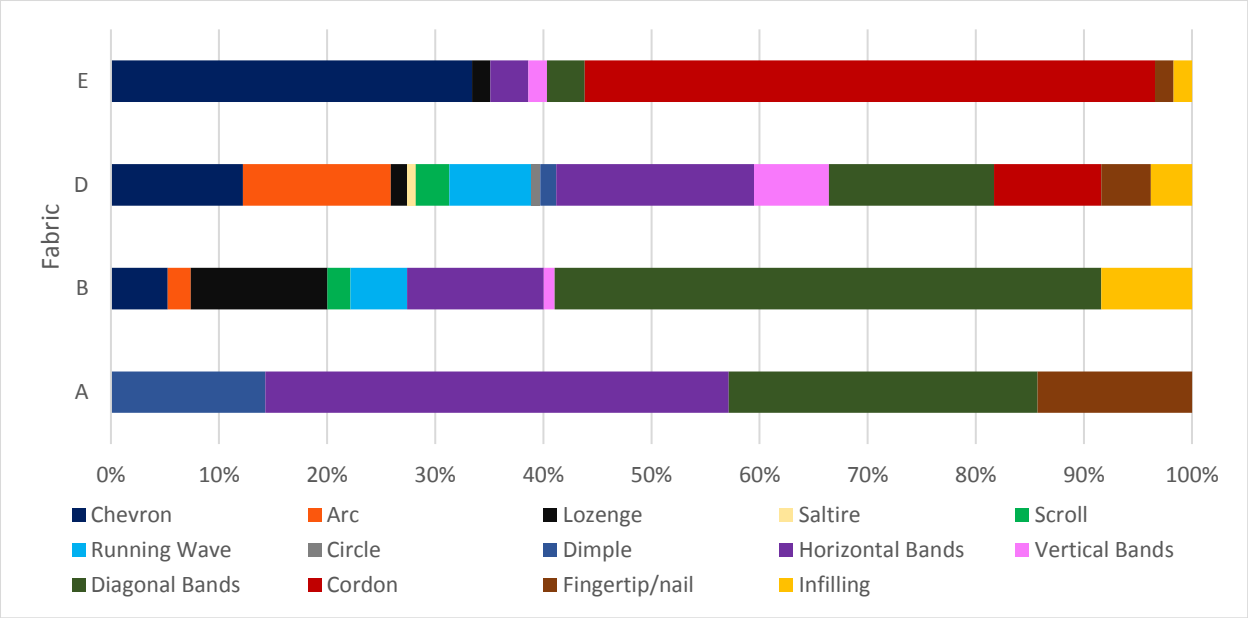


FIGURE 9.20 DANEBURY CERAMIC DECORATION TO MAIN FABRIC INCLUSIONS

Within the Dragonby reports, 11 fabrics were defined for vessels with an Iron Age context. Out of this material, coarse vessels with profuse and very large, crushed shell filler (fabric E) make up the greatest quantity of the total pottery assemblage (May and Elsdon 1996, 416-8). However, in regard to the decorated assemblage specifically, profuse and finely crushed shell filler (fabric F) is more common, followed by vessels with sparse and fine shell filler (fabric G), and then E-wares. These three fabric types have been further assigned to different vessel forms (Table 9.2), as well as associated with particular motifs (Figure 9.21), allowing for more in-depth analysis of fabric-form-decoration connections. The earlier shell fabrics show a strong preference for horizontal bands, vertical bands, and arcs, but overall, the coarser wares of fabric E show a much higher preference for

horizontal bands. In contrast, this preference begins to decrease with the finer fabric F vessels. As the fabrics become of finer quality, arcs and vertical bands begin to increase, particularly on those with fabric G inclusions. As fabric G tends to be associated with wheel-made pottery, it can be assumed that this is a slightly later fabric type and, therefore, would point to a gradual increase in decorative variation during the later Iron Age. As pottery became more 'romanized' (May 1996, 418), shell fabrics were replaced by more sand filled fabrics. Later introduction of Roman coarse wares saw the further introduction of new fabric types, including blue-burnished grey-wares during Horizon II (late 1st century AD – early 2nd century AD), which became the main fabric of the later periods. The fabrics listed and analysed within the initial report were only assigned to vessels with an Iron Age context, and therefore, it is difficult to compare these features to later Roman fabrics as these have not been provided.

TABLE 9.2 DRAGONBY MAIN FABRIC TYPES FROM THE DECORATED ASSEMBLAGE (BASED ON MAY AND ELSDON 1996, 418-422).

FABRIC TYPE	INCLUSIONS	VESSEL TYPE ASSOCIATIONS
E	Profuse and very large, crushed shell filler; glauconite	Majority of coarse ware jars, mainly used for cooking pots.
F	Profuse and finely crushed shell filler; grog; soft	Pedestal urns and necked bowls
G	Sparse and fine shell filler; grog	Usually wheel-made

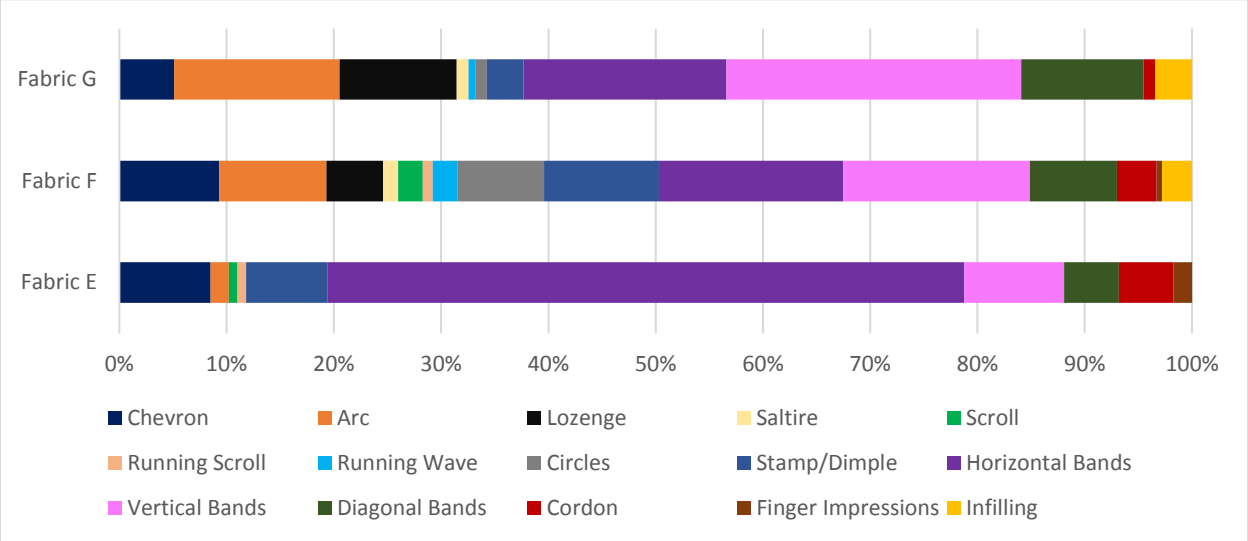


FIGURE 9.21 DRAGONBY CERAMIC DECORATION TO MAIN FABRIC INCLUSIONS.

As both Danebury and Dragonby can assign fabric use to particular time periods, we are able to see how the popularity of different fabrics and their regional connections gradually changed. The prevalence of sandy fabrics during the earliest phases at Danebury is in direct contrast to its later occurrence at Dragonby. In further contrast, shell-tempered fabrics are only found on 0.4% of the decorated vessels at Danebury but make up the majority of earlier decorated vessels at Dragonby. In both cases, there was greater decorative variation on ceramics with an Iron Age context, regardless of their association with sand or shell inclusions, than found in later Roman contexts.

At MLV, nine fabrics were identified between the two accompanying sites; however, certain fabrics were omitted or combined within the different reports making overall analysis difficult. These were often attached to the different vessel types, such as fabric 1 being most commonly used for bowls and the other fabrics for jars or buckets. Within the assemblage, decoration is generally associated

with three fabrics: quartz, sandstone, silt (fabric 1); calcite (fabric 2c); and fabrics with large inclusions (fabric 9) (Rouillard 1987, 199-203). Overall, fabric 1 is most frequently found, being overwhelmingly represented within 72% of the decorated assemblage, including in vessels with the most intricate decoration. The fabric with the next highest representation (2c) only makes up 8.3% of this assemblage. Therefore, decorative comparison between fabrics is difficult due to the much higher prevalence of fabric 1. Furthermore, unlike the other two sites, ceramics at MLV have not been evaluated based on date, and therefore, the fabric changes over time cannot be analysed.

As this information highlights, fabric inclusions do appear to have affected the type of decoration applied to pottery, particularly through their associations with vessel forms and regional and temporal relationships. This is most intricately witnessed through the earlier fabric E ceramic inclusions found at Danebury, which were thoroughly connected to the red-finished scratched cordon bowls with chevron decoration. While MLV was not able to provide chronological connections to the fabrics, Danebury and Dragonby further demonstrate that earlier fabrics contained a greater decorative variability, gradually becoming more simplified following Roman influence. What this potentially suggests is that there was more individuality expressed by people of the Iron Age, which eventually became more standardized, either due to a growing Roman ideal or simply the effects of mass production through the growing use of the potter's wheel.

DECORATION TO DATE

While it is generally understood that decoration changes over time, more in-depth evaluation of the particular motifs and patterns prevalent within different areas is needed to better understand both the broad and subtle changes taking place during the Iron Age and early Roman period, and what these changes can reveal about further social connections. Through a comparison of this material, various questions can be addressed: How does ceramic decoration change over time and when is this change visible? Is this change similar at the three sites or do different responses occur? As with the previous sections, a cross-comparative analysis of decorated pottery from the three sites will allow us to answer these questions.

Throughout the British Iron Age, various innovations were introduced that greatly affected pottery production and decoration. At the beginning of the 2nd century BC, the saucepan pot was developed throughout central southern Britain, creating what is known as the 'saucepan pot continuum', based on similar straight-sided vessels (Cunliffe 1984, 254). Due to their restricted presence within Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and Somerset, these vessel types were not found at Dragonby. Additionally, the introduction of the potter's wheel during the 1st century BC in certain regions brought further innovations in pottery construction and the application of decoration. However, this did not necessarily affect overall choices in decorative motifs. In contrast, oftentimes a revival of earlier motifs and styles occurred through this new means of application. For example, at Dragonby, the introduction of this "new technology" simply allowed for older methods of decoration to be modified (May 1996, 621), such as moving from rouletted running waves to that of inscribed. Old decorative styles were similarly re-introduced at Danebury, including the return of cordons.

Post-excavation analysis at MLV did not focus on dating of the material or relevant stratigraphy (Coles 1987, 16), and therefore, no relative dates were provided which could be used for a comparison to Danebury and Dragonby material. If the occupation of the site was shorter in span it might be possible to compare the material to the other sites based on general time scales, but as the site spans such a long period it is not practical. Nevertheless, it appears that decoration increased during the later periods of occupation, based on its greater frequency within the clay floors, and as

Rouillard determined, the different decorative styles spanned the entirety of the site's occupation (Rouillard 1987, 210-7). Therefore, time was not a factor in the type of decoration found.

As only the Danebury and Dragonby reports provide adequate dates which can be used to examine and compare their decorated pottery assemblages (Figure 9.22-9.23), these two sites have been used for further analysis. Nine ceramic phases were provided for Danebury, spanning from 6th century BC to 1st century AD (Cunliffe 1995). During these phases, a change in regional alliance occurred sometime around the 4th century BC, with direct connections changing from the west to the east (Cunliffe 1984, 562), which can be similarly traced through the decoration (Figure 9.22). During the earliest periods we find scratched cordoned bowls decorated with chevrons, largely connected to vessels with fabric E inclusions. Again, it was surmised that these vessels came from the Salisbury region, west of Danebury, due to these inclusions. However, during the later periods the ceramic styles were divided between the St Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down style with rows of diagonal bands bordered by horizontal rows of dots and the Yarnbury-Highfield style with arcs, waves, and dimples. While Danebury continued to have some connection to the west through the Yarnbury-Highfield style, the majority of ceramic decoration points to a new alliance with the east through the more prevalent St Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down style. Both of these styles show distinct visual representations which can be directly tied to their changing regional alliances.

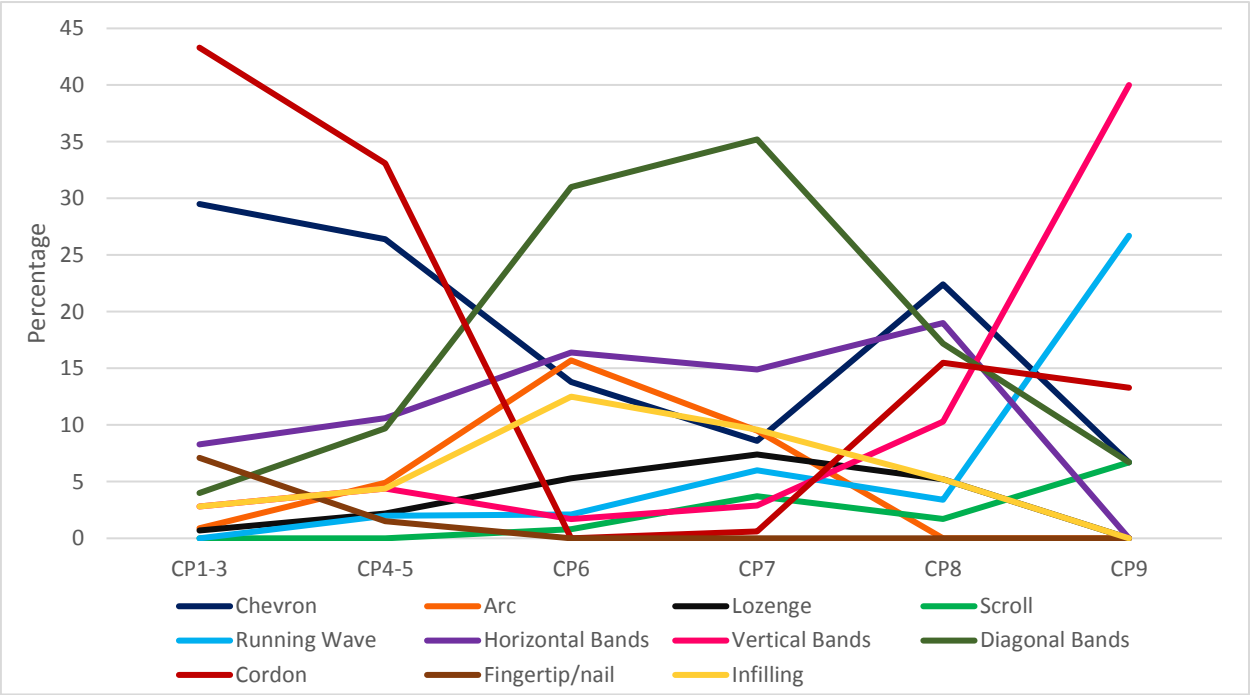


FIGURE 9.22 DANEBURY CERAMIC DECORATION TO CERAMIC PHASE.

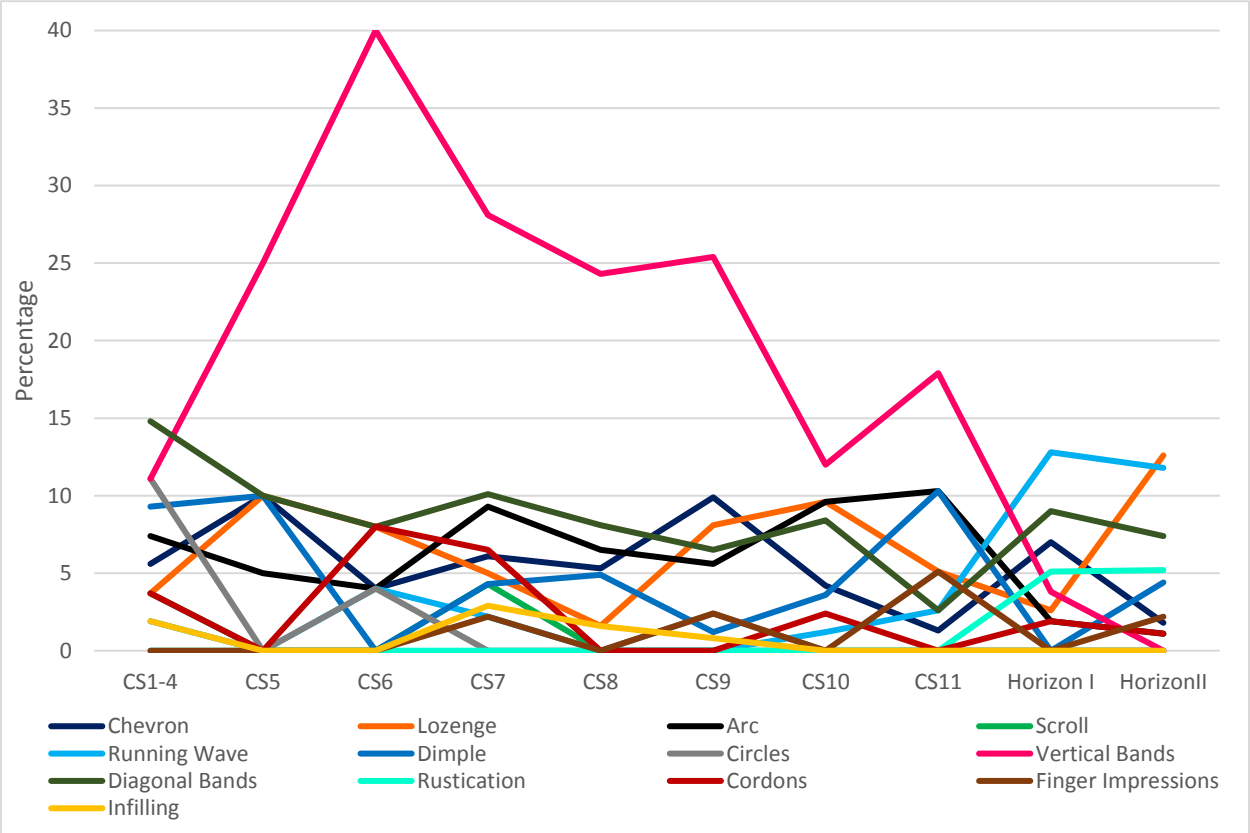


FIGURE 9.23 DRAGONBY CERAMIC DECORATION TO CERAMIC STAGE (HORIZONTAL BANDS NOT INCLUDED).

In contrast, 11 ceramic stages were provided for Dragonby, spanning from 2nd century BC to the late 1st century AD, with additional Roman 'Horizons' lasting into the 4th century AD (May 1996). Although the divisions for the ceramic phases and stages greatly differ, they do often overlap, as outlined in Figure 9.24. For the purpose of this comparison, I have removed Horizon III (early 2nd –

early 3rd centuries AD) from the Dragonby graph (Figure 9.22) as it is greatly beyond the occupational periods at Danebury. As the occupation of Dragonby continued well into the Romano-British period, a larger number of vessels were found during the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, and it is because of this period that the site has such a large pottery assemblage. While a later Roman occupational period also occurred at MLV, it was only sporadically occupied at this time, and therefore, there is not as much ceramic evidence.

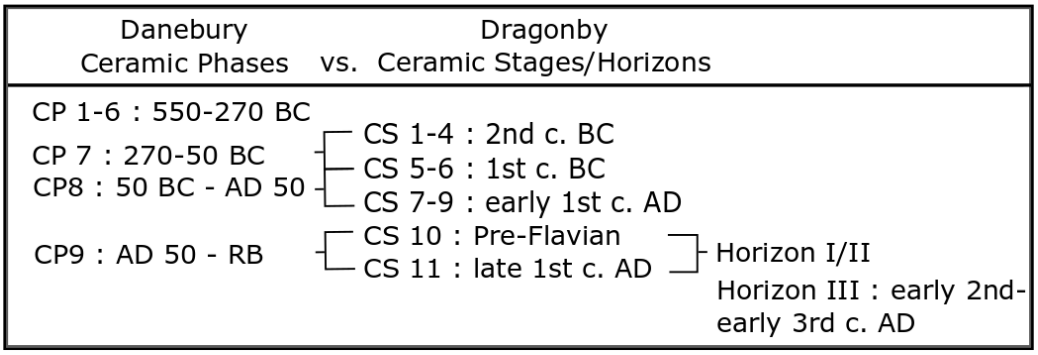


FIGURE 9.24 COMPARISON OF DANEBURY CERAMIC PHASES TO DRAGONBY CERAMIC STAGES/HORIZONS.

Further analysis of the decorated assemblages from Danebury and Dragonby, over the course of their occupation, allows us to better understand the different visual responses taking place between the eastern and western regions of southern Britain. During the earliest occupational periods at Danebury, particularly between CP1-3, the most common motif was the chevron. However, as Figure 9.24 highlights, occupation at Dragonby did not begin until after this period, and therefore, it is not entirely surprising that this motif does not hold such a prominent position within the Lincolnshire site as chevrons would have potentially gone out of importance before this point. Nevertheless, the re-introduction of chevrons during the later phases at Danebury is also not mirrored at Dragonby, highlighting regional differences in 'traditional' forms of visual expression. Again, the introduction of the potter's wheel saw new innovations in ceramic construction and decoration, accompanied by a renewed interest in older, more 'traditional' motifs, such as chevrons and cordons. However, in the case of the Danebury motifs, their re-emergence was quickly erased during the later Roman period. There was a similar re-emergence of 'traditional' motifs during the later phases at Dragonby, as seen through the re-introduction of earlier running waves within the Romano-British material. While their methods of application changed from rouletted to incised, likely due to the introduction of the potter's wheel, the actual motifs and their free-flowing nature remained. Both of these sites demonstrated a similar interest in older means of visual expression following growing Roman influence, around 1st century BC and 1st century AD, however, in the case of Dragonby, this decoration did not disappear following this period. In fact, running waves increased in importance at Dragonby during this later period, in addition to an incorporation of vertical bands and scrolls.

Overall, most ceramic decoration at Danebury was found during CP7 (270-50 BC/AD20), and it is within this period that diagonal bands are most frequently recorded. It is also during this period that saucepan pots were introduced; the vessel type most often associated with this motif. Therefore, the higher prevalence of diagonal bands at Danebury, points to the direct introduction of this vessel type during this later period. It is also around this time, or immediately after, that other motifs experience either a rise or fall. For example, scrolls, running waves, and vertical bands all see a rise following CP8, while arcs, lozenges, and diagonal bands see an immediate decline. During the later Iron Age, not only was the hillfort densely occupied, but it was also undergoing defensive reconstruction. Following on from CP8, however, the occupation of the site greatly decreased, possibly a direct response to encroaching Roman occupation. Therefore, it appears that decorative

changes at Danebury mirrored social changes, expressed through the pottery being used and displayed. This change in visual expression around CP7 and 8, however, was not similarly expressed at Dragonby, potentially because occupation at Dragonby was just beginning around this time. In contrast, there is a much more varied use of motifs within Dragonby, with most experiencing a fluctuating level of representation throughout the occupation of the site. There are a few exceptions to this, particularly seen through the greater use of scrolls, circles, and infilling during the earlier phases and running waves and rustication during the later 'Horizons'. What we do find at Dragonby, however, is a visual contrast between the overlapping later 'Iron Age' (CS10/11) and 'Roman' vessels (Horizons I/II). In particular, arcs and vertical bands are more prevalent within Iron Age vessels of this period, while running waves and rustication are more prevalent in Roman inspired vessels. Furthermore, throughout the ceramic assemblages at Dragonby, it appears that the earlier phases saw more variety and freedom within their decorative selections, being replaced by more restricted schemes during the later Roman-inspired periods (May 1996, 407-8). Free rouletted decoration decreased after the 1st century BC (CS5), with the technique altogether disappearing after the early 1st century AD (CS7). Rouletting is again introduced during the later 1st century AD, but the once free and flowing nature has been replaced by a more formalized Roman style. The introduction of the potter's wheel and changes in application methods are significantly responsible for this change yet cannot be the sole contributing factors. Diagonal bands were also frequent during the earlier phases, between CS1-4, declining in use by the Roman periods. Based on this date range, diagonal bands increased in importance around the same time at both sites, during the later Iron Age, and both decreased after more Roman control. Therefore, while Danebury and Dragonby demonstrate a few visual connections, particularly through the use of diagonal bands, their visual responses greatly differ within the later Roman periods.

Overall, pottery decoration gradually changed over time due to shifting regional alliances, outside influences, etc., most notably during the later Iron Age. While changes occurred around similar times at the different sites, the specific motif changes express a level of communal identity and distinctive visual responses. In particular, the differences between Danebury and Dragonby pottery during the later period highlight varying social responses taking place within these diverse regions. The pottery collections at Dragonby, for example, largely increased during the Roman period, with direct visual connections to material used by the Roman military; therefore, it is no wonder that Dragonby's pottery assemblage increased during this later period. Danebury, on the other hand, was densely occupied with a large ceramic assemblage during the later Iron Age, but its occupation and pottery drastically decreased during the early Roman period, suggesting a different response to encroaching Roman control. It appears, therefore, that the people within these communities had contrasting reactions to growing outside influence, which was actively reflected within their decorated pottery. While one group embraced Roman influence and adapted its ornamentation and forms, the other visually 'fought' against it.

9.3 CONCLUSION

Through their decorated pottery assemblages, each site created a sense of identity. This is most notably witnessed through the earlier and later phases at Danebury in which earlier red-finished scratched cordon bowls decorated with chevrons are replaced by later saucepan pots with mirrored rows of diagonal bands. Not only do these particular vessels demonstrate direct connections between time period, form, fabric, and regional alliances, but they are also not experienced at the other two sites. Dragonby further expressed its own regional identity through the use of rouletting, burnishing and rustication. The use of these application methods, particularly that of rouletting,

evolved at Dragonby and changed through the introduction of new innovations. MLV, in contrast, utilized more arcs and infilling, often in a variety of unique and elaborate combinations. Pottery from this region also demonstrates greater similarities with decorated metalwork, particularly through the use of triskeles, saltires, and palmettes. Unfortunately, due to the post-excavation recording methods at MLV, this decorated material was not analysed based on its potential chronological connections; however, its presence throughout the different occupational layers points to its continuous importance within this community. Nevertheless, all of these visual identities derived from a shared decorative scheme, which connected groups of people, who were likely not in constant contact or exchange, through their visual expressions left behind. While the previous chapters focused on local pottery assemblages within specific sites, a comparison of all three sites has allowed for further interpretations to be made and different themes to be identified.

PRODUCTION

First, it is important to ask what the decoration can tell us about how production was organised? While it is not possible to identify the presence of workshops, some of the decorated material does suggest a single potter. Again, this draws attention to the standardized decorative scheme found at Danebury, primarily witnessed through the use of mirrored diagonal bands and the four matching vessels incorporating this style (Figure 9.25). As previously discussed, one of the four more elaborate pieces also contains decoration with two different levels of skill (C238). While the top half of the design is well-executed, the row of diagonal bands at the bottom does not match, suggesting this section was added at a different time by a different inscriber, either by someone learning the craft or as a last-minute addition so that a distinct decorative style could be maintained.

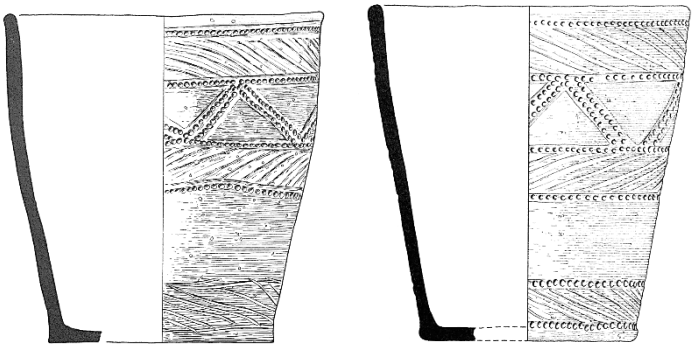


FIGURE 9.25 DANEBURY DECORATED VESSELS – LEFT: DIFFERENT LEVELS OF SKILL (C238); RIGHT: AN EVEN EXECUTION (C121).

At Dragonby there are two vessels in particular that suggest a single potter. Both of these jars are made with fabric E inclusions and depict a single row of chevrons bordered by a horizontal linear band below and horizontal burnishing above (Figure 9.26). At MVW, similar connections are expressed by two vessels exhibiting a motif particular to that site (Figure 9.27). In addition to the main pattern, both of these vessels contain decorated bases with mirrored arcs. As all of these examples highlight, the consistency in motif selection and overall pattern potentially suggests the use of a single potter, particular function association, or standardized style.

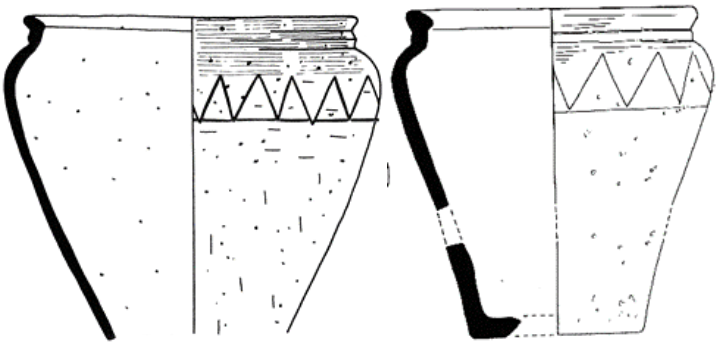


FIGURE 9.26 DRAGONBY VESSELS SUGGESTING A SINGLE POTTER (LEFT TO RIGHT: C739 AND C741).

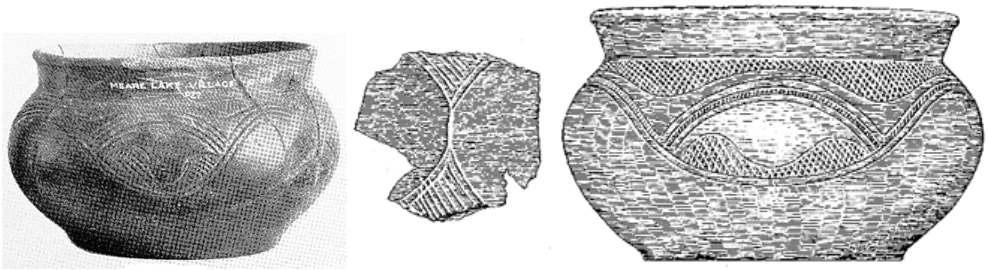


FIGURE 9.27 MVW VESSELS SUGGESTING A SINGLE POTTER (LEFT TO RIGHT: C515 AND C514).

TRADITION VS. ADAPTATION

By comparing the material based on decoration and time period, a continuation of 'traditional way[s] of doing' (Hodder 1990, 45) during the later Iron Age can be identified, through a re-introduction of earlier motifs and decorative forms. While a revival of these earlier decorative schemes may simply represent examples of residuality, the large number of examples most likely suggests that Iron Age visual 'traditions' were a thriving and continuous means of expression for the members of these communities. Furthermore, this desire to continue with past visual 'traditions' was expressed regardless of location. Following Roman occupation, however, this visual continuation was not equally conveyed. At Danebury, for example, there was a drastic drop in decorated ceramics, while at Dragonby there was a continuation of decorated ceramics with an increasing connection to the Roman military. In contrast to Danebury, decorative traditions at Dragonby continued alongside the introduction of new visual forms, demonstrating an act of adaption rather than resistance. As will be discussed in Section 12.2, this theme of tradition versus adaptation is not just found within pottery but crosses through various materials.

INDIVIDUALITY VS. STANDARDISATION

Within this decorated material, there is also a strong sense of individuality versus standardization, or in other words, free flowing versus strict rigidity. This can be specifically seen in the decorative trends taking place at Dragonby. As previously stated, there was a greater variety of form and decoration during the earlier periods, including the use of curvilinear flowing rouletted motifs, replaced by a stricter decorative scheme around the 1st century BC and into the Roman period. While rouletting was re-integrated during the 1st century AD, its overall decorative style changed, becoming more standardized (Figure 9.28). One interpretation is that this earlier style was representative of a higher level of individuality during the Iron Age that was not expressed after Roman influence. Even within Iron Age assemblages, however, a level of standardization can be identified. At each site a diverse but restricted selection of motifs was utilized based on a general 'way of doing' (Hodder 1990, 45), or a general decorative scheme. For example, at both Danebury and Dragonby, the use of mirrored diagonal bands in rows suggests a standard decorative process

for incorporating this motif: when more than one row of mirrored and connected diagonal bands was employed, the direction in which these bands slope is rather uniform. As diagonal bands are one of the most common motifs at Danebury, there is more evidence for this connection. They most frequently slope down to the right, and only in a very small number of cases is this direction reversed. Similarly, at Dragonby, rouletted diagonal bands consistently slope left, although this is based on a smaller number of examples. There is further evidence of Iron Age standardization on the decorated bases at MLV and Dragonby, but in these cases the standardization appears more connected to the specific sites and does not cross these regional boundaries as each site has very different styles.

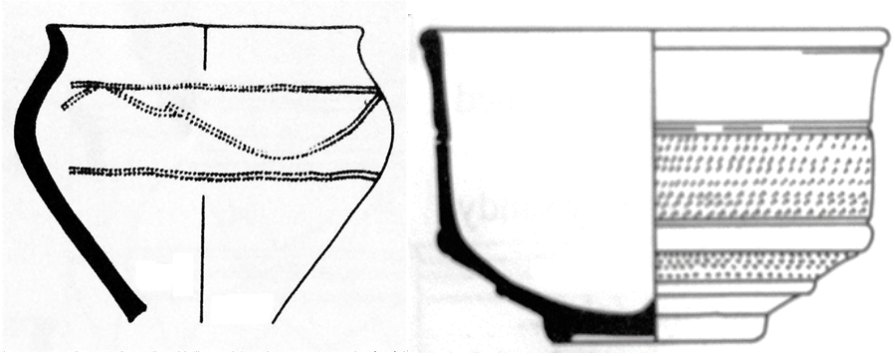


FIGURE 9.28 DRAGONBY EXAMPLES OF EARLIER ROULETTING (C901) VS. LATER ROULETTING (C1332).

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN DECORATION, FORM, AND FABRIC

It is also important to ask how decoration, form, and fabric were interlinked? The ceramic material at Danebury most explicitly demonstrates a connection between form, fabric, and decorative choice, as well as chronological and regional connections. As previously emphasized, earlier red-finished scratched cordoned bowls are most often found on vessels with fabric E inclusions. These vessels were commonly decorated with chevron motifs and were thought to come from a single manufacturing centre in the Salisbury region of Wiltshire (Cunliffe 1984, 245). Fabric D, another early fabric type, shows a similar preference for chevrons and cordons, while later vessels made from fabric B demonstrate a change in decorative selection to the use of more diagonal bands and lozenges. The change to fabric B took place around the same time that regional alliances at Danebury were believed to have changed from the west to the east. Taken as a whole, it becomes apparent that these features were significantly intertwined with one another, and through them a rather restrictive decorative scheme was taking place based directly on a vessel's form, fabric, and time period, as well as on Danebury's regional and social relationships. At Dragonby, similar connections were drawn between the main fabric types associated with decorated vessels (fabrics F, G, and E), relevant time periods, vessel forms, and possible functions.

WHY DECORATE POTTERY?

The study of decorated pottery directly links back to Joy's question: 'Why decorate?' (Joy 2011). As Joy suggested, decoration was an important and active choice used in "the creation of social differentiation" and identity (*ibid.,* 206), including on objects often considered "folk art," as they involved the transformation of "natural materials into cultural ones" (*ibid.,* 211). Given that most artefacts were undecorated, the ones that were decorated would have been noticeable, allowing for their subtle changes to be more easily recognised (*ibid.,* 206, 211). Leading on from Joy's question, it is important to ask: why was pottery decorated? Asking this about pottery allows us to focus on the "potential motivations" behind its specific decoration and the "social implications" it created (*ibid.,* 206). For example, some vessels contained very simple decoration, particularly through the use of

single horizontal bands, and therefore, it is interesting to consider why this decoration was even included. If it is not representational then what purpose did it serve? There must have been intention behind it regardless of its simplicity, as it represents an active choice taking place. In a similar fashion, it is important to consider why certain decorative features appear to be a separate or last-minute addition, as seen on the vessel from Danebury (Figure 9.25, C238). Was it simply trying to maintain a particular style established by an independent potter, did it serve as a training vessel, or was it a necessary addition to maintain a social 'message' which we cannot fully understand? As Morris emphasized, ceramics would have been exchanged to maintain community relationships, and therefore, the quality of the pot might not have been as important as the social relationships formed around it (Sharples 2010, 111-2). In this same sense, the quality of ceramic decoration would not have been as important as the meaning behind it, and therefore, the later addition of less skilled decoration might have been required to fulfil its intended 'message'. I would, therefore, suggest that ceramic decoration did not simply serve a functional or aesthetic role but instead contained a more social objective, whether serving as a visual 'message' or means of expression on a communal or individual level, as a way of responding to Roman influence through its re-introduction or adaptation, or as a way to visually connect to both the immediate community and other surrounding regions. While a general decorative scheme united these Iron Age communities, the selection of independent motifs and styles at each site acted as a means of sharing particular 'messages' both within and outside the community. Whether similar visual messages were expressed on other materials will be investigated in the following chapters.

10: ANTLER AND BONE COMBS

The identification of decorative schemes on antler and bone combs has proven to be as important as decorated pottery for a comparative visual analysis of Iron Age Britain. A detailed account of this material allows for connections between decoration and society to be further explored. To make these connections, I will first provide an overview of the previous discussions and debates about this particular artefact type, including its established forms and function. This will be followed by an evaluation of the particular sites or regional assemblages used within my analysis, looking at the common forms and decorative features from each site. Finally, a more thorough analysis of the decoration will be conducted in a similar fashion to decorated pottery (Section 9.2), focusing on connections between decoration, comb type, material, location, and time period.

Sites and artefacts for this analysis have again been confined to Cunliffe's South-Western, Central Southern, and Eastern zones (Figure 10.1) to maintain overall consistency between the different materials. Within both the Central Southern and South-Western zones, three sites were chosen for further analysis. Most of the case study sites from the pottery evaluation were further used for this discussion, including Danebury, MVE, and MVW, as a large selection of well-documented antler and bone combs were discovered. The exception to this is Dragonby from which no combs have currently been found. In addition to these previously outlined sites, additional assemblages have been incorporated from Maiden Castle (MC), Glastonbury Lake Village (GLV), and All Cannings Cross (ACC). These sites were chosen as they contain a majority of the combs found in Southern England, as well as large internal assemblages in which to construct good comparisons. However, while the Central Southern and South-Western zones were a haven for case studies with large comb assemblages, the same cannot be said for the Eastern zone. As no sites contained a large collection of examples, the entire region was evaluated, thereby requiring a greater number of sites. Overall, 16 sites with decorated antler and bone combs were selected for the Eastern region, primarily taken from Christina Tuohy's PhD thesis titled *Prehistoric Combs of Antler and Bone* (1995b).

FIGURE 10.1 MAP OF ANTLER/BONE COMB CASE STUDY SITES – SOUTH-WESTERN: MLV (MEARE LAKE VILLAGES), GLV (GLASTONBURY LAKE VILLAGE); CENTRAL SOUTHERN: ACC (ALL CANNINGS CROSS), DAN (DANEBURY), MC (MAIDEN CASTLE); EASTERN: AP (ABINGTON PIGOTTS), ASH (ASHWELL), DG (DUMPTON GAP), HAS (HASLINGFORD), CH (CHERRY HINTON), HUN (HUNSBURY CAMP), IPS (IPSWICH), LAK (LAKENHEATH), MF (MALTON FARM), NAS (NASSINGTON), RAI (RAINSBOROUGH), SUD (SUDBURY), THE (THETFORD), WAN (WANDLEBURY), WER (WEREHAM), WOR (WORTH).

Overall, it has proven difficult to accurately date antler, as it is quite porous and, therefore, does not often have a sufficient amount of carbon for accurate dating (Tuohy 1995, 39). Due to this, comb dating is often based on broad occupational phases (Figure 10.2) or associated artefacts. Within this report, only Danebury provided a complete list of date associations, which could be used for further analysis. Based on my data analysis of Danebury, most decorated combs belonged to CP7 (270-50 BC), representing 50% (21 examples), following by CP6 with 15.5% and CP8 with 13.1%. While not all of the combs were given dates at MC, the previous authors did conclude that most decorated combs were found within Wheeler's Iron Age B phase or Sharples' phase 6. The prevalence of decorated combs at Danebury and MC only narrowly overlaps and does not provide enough evidence for conclusions to be drawn around a general predominance of decorated combs within Britain at a particular time.

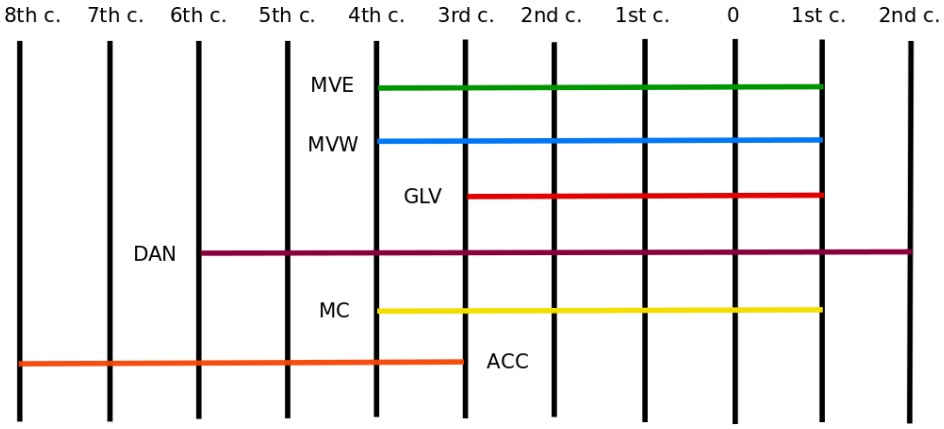


FIGURE 10.2 OCCUPATIONAL DATE RANGES OF ALL SITES, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF SITES FROM THE EASTERN ZONE.

10.1 PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS

While weaving combs are a common material found throughout Iron Age Britain, they are most frequently found within the area commonly referred to as 'Wessex'. According to Sharples, this term roughly covers the "high uplands of north Wiltshire to the low sheltered coastal plain of Hampshire," encompassing Dorset and the eastern region of Somerset (Sharples 2010, 15), and therefore, would include all the sites evaluated within this analysis, except for those from the Eastern Zone. Due to the frequency of comb finds, it is often theorized that this type of comb in Britain originated within this area. However, this occurrence may simply be more reflective of a larger amount of excavation having taken place within this region. A greater variety of comb types has also been found within this area, with Type 1 combs (Table 10.1) rarely found outside this region (Wheeler 1943, 298). Therefore, regardless if 'Wessex' is accepted as the 'origin' of the British weaving comb, it is continuously considered a "centre of diversity" (*ibid*) for this particular material culture.

Within her PhD thesis, Tuohy (1995b) conducted a detailed evaluation of weaving combs, focusing on their wear patterns, manufacture, and decoration to determine possible associations with individuals or groups (*ibid.,* 5-6). She determined that the majority of examples consists of antler, represented by 537 out of the total 571 combs in evidence, compared to only 28 from bone, and a further 6 from whalebone (*ibid.*, 87). The process of acquiring this material, either through the collection of naturally shed antler or through the hunting of it specifically (Bulleid and Gray 1917, 435), however, is difficult to ascertain. Most of the antler was sawn off the beam, and therefore the evidence of its collection has been removed. If the material was collected through natural shedding, then the deer would need to be observed regularly during the shedding season, as the material can

quickly decay (Tuohy 1995a, 143). Previous experiments with this material also suggest that soaking it in water, as well as boiling it, was required before the antler could be shaped or ornamented as it typically became dry and hard soon after its initial collection (*ibid.,* 144). If the soaking process was not done, the decoration would appear as rough scratched designs (*ibid.,* 148) rather than the elaborate ornamentation we find. Both of these factors suggest a specialized process of acquiring and manipulating this material, as well as the privilege of time necessary to create and decorate these combs, outside of basic communal tasks.

TYPES OF COMBS

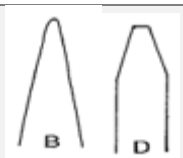
While combs can be different, based on their size, form, and decoration, they are made up of three main parts: the butt-end, the shaft/handle, and the dentated end (the teeth) (Figure 10.3). Occasionally, there are two dentated ends instead of a separate butt-end (referred to as Type 5 – see Table 10.1). Usually, the combs are wider at the dentated and butt ends, and often the antler is shaped to form a straight comb, though they can follow the original curve of the antler; however, this is less common. In some instances, there are perforations within the combs, typically found as single circular holes at the butt-end. On a few combs, the perforation is located at the centre of the shaft, but this is typically only found on combs in which both ends are dentated. One interpretation is that these perforations were used for hanging the combs either on a loom or on a person, through the use of a rope or leather strap (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 270).

FIGURE 10.3 SECTIONS OF A COMB (A194).

Combs have been classified primarily by the shape of the butt-end, with the exception of Type 5 and 6. Type 5 is represented by a lack of butt-end in exchange for double dentated ends. The type divisions were originally provided by Harold St. George Gray for GLV and then extended for MLV. Following the additional classifications provided in the MLV report, seven types of combs were listed with their respective qualities (Table 10.1); however, these are very general categories. For example, Type 4 includes both rounded and square ends as long as there is no obvious enlargement, while Type 7 includes anything not included in the previous categories. Within her research, Tuohy further divided the combs into more specific ranges of types and provided visual examples (Tuohy 1995b, Fig. 35). These were labelled from A to T and can roughly fit into the St. George Gray categories, although no letter is provided for double-dentated combs nor for those which were still in the process of manufacture. However, within Tuohy's illustrations, there are seven types that do not fit into any of St. George Gray's previous categories. Table 10.1 provides the initial classifications along

with the additional Tuohy subdivisions in which I have placed them. While Types 6 and 7 are included within this table, they are rarely if ever seen at most sites. Unlike pottery forms, there appears to be a more restricted number of types found on combs, likely due to the lesser flexibility of the material. Since Tuohy's divisions are more specific but lack labels for double-dentated combs and those in the process of manufacture, I have chosen to adopt both methods of classification. For example, where a type is listed as 3H it fits both within Gray's Type 3 and Tuohy's Type H. Together, these two approaches cover the majority of combs found within the sites used for this current analysis, and therefore, provide a good basis on which to maintain equal comparisons.

TABLE 10.1 COMB TYPES (BASED ON BULLEID AND ST. GEORGE GRAY 1911, 274-282; 1948, 64-5; TUOHY 1995B, FIG.35).

ST. GEORGE GRAY TYPES	DESCRIPTION	TUOHY TYPES
1	Angular or pointed handle butt-end	
2	Oval or rounded enlargement at butt-end	
3	Square or oblong enlargement at butt-end	
4	Squared or roughly rounded butt-end (no enlargement)	
5	Dentated on both ends	-
6	In process of manufacture	-
7	Those not falling into any above classification but still complete	  

Not found within any of the classifications, however, lies a unique butt-end design which St. George Gray referred to as a "typical Late-Celtic style" (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 274), likely due to the curving forms often seen in later Iron Age metalwork (Figure 10.4). Here he is referencing comb A215 from GLV. However, this style can also be seen on four examples from MVW (A67, A74, A77, and A66) and one example from Danebury (A301). It appears that this style might be a derivative of Type H from Tuohy's classifications, but from the examples listed the butt-end style does not form a separate

decorative enlargement. Instead, there is no break between the shaft and butt-end. Therefore, I consider these to be unique examples belonging to Type 4H. Comparing example A67 from MVW to A110 from MVE, we can see direct similarities in shape and decoration at the butt-end, but in the case of A110, there is an obvious break between the two parts of the handle. However, I would consider both to qualify under St. George Gray's heading of a 'typical Late-Celtic style.'

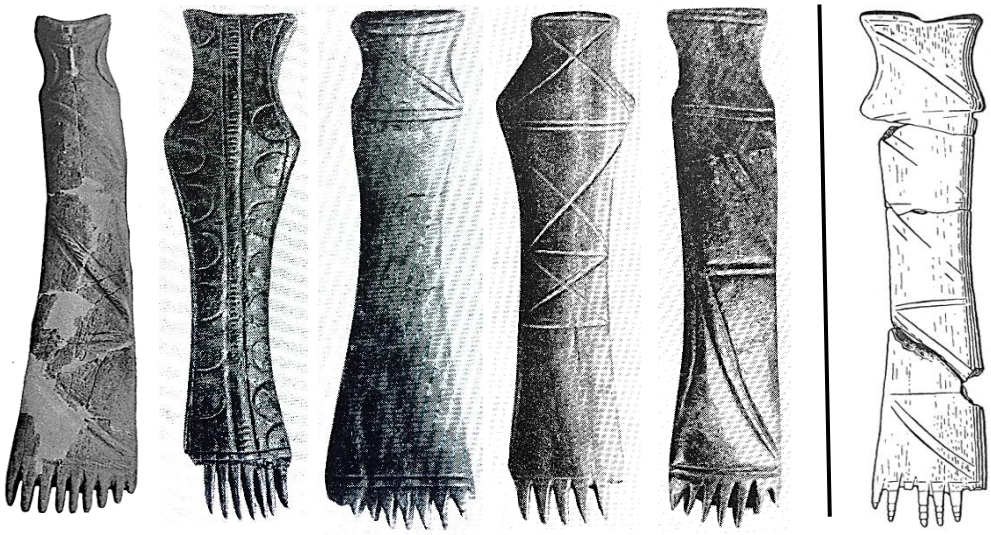


FIGURE 10.4 COMBS CLASSIFIED UNDER ST. GEORGE GRAY'S 'LATE-CELTIC STYLE' (GLV: A215; MVW: A66, A67, A74, A77) COMPARED TO A110 (MVE).

Although most combs can be placed into one of these groups, they are still based on arbitrary classifications as one type can, and often does, merge into another. These typological classifications also have no relationship to actual chronology and are, therefore, just a way of separating the combs into groups. Nevertheless, this method of classification is a useful approach to understanding regional connections, as well as any identifiable choices taking place at each site.

FUNCTION

While antler and bone combs have been a focus of discussion owing to the variety of their forms and decoration, their precise function has been a constant topic of debate, and due to this even the term comb is one of questionable relevance. Over the years, this debate has tended to focus on the practicality or impracticality of using these combs as a weaving tool. Originally supported as an implement to thrust warp threads apart on an upright loom during weaving, Ling Roth in 1934 contradicted this belief by stating the shape and material of these combs would have negatively impacted the weaving process. Roth believed that the concavo-convex shape would cause the warp threads to become distorted and drawn out of position, and additionally stated that the cancellous tissue on the objects would cause friction. In contrast, Roth compared these artefacts to ones used by the 'Eskimo' for skin-dressing and suggested that the artefacts served a similar purpose for the skin-dressing of animals, allowing for its roughness (Roth 1934, 135, 138; Sellwood 1984, 377-8), as previously suggested by ET Stevens in 1870 (Roth 1934, 131). Additionally, Roth stated that if one is to support its use as a tool for the beating in of the weft on a loom, than the term 'weaving comb' is misleading and should instead be referred to as a "toothed beater-in" (Roth 1934, 129). In a similar fashion, it has been proposed that these tools could have been used for the combing or removal of hair/wool, such as from sheep, to then be used for weaving (Cunliffe 2005, 485), or as tools for the preparing, eating and serving of meat (Coles 1987, 53), in addition to being used as weaving instruments. While Roth's stance was also supported by Hodder and JW Hedges, other experimental and ethnographical approaches continuously support the earlier conclusions of these objects as

weaving implements. For example, PJ Reynolds experimented with bone weaving combs and found that no great pressure was placed on them while being used to push the weft into position before the material was beaten. JP Wild in 1970 stated that similar combs were currently used in Central America and could, therefore, easily have been in use during this time (Sellwood 1984, 377-8). Discussions around function have further focused on wear patterns, particularly regarding the teeth. As Lyn Sellwood highlighted, the breakage of teeth might suggest that they were re-cut, as seen on combs in which the teeth overlap the decoration. However, as the teeth are the most vulnerable part of the comb, it can be difficult to determine whether this damage occurred during use or after being discarded (*ibid.*, 372). With wear to the teeth in mind, it was further proposed that the parallel grooves found on teeth suggested combs were turned at right-angles to the weave, which could explain the breakage of teeth and smoothing on the outside of the combs. However, as Sellwood points out, if this were the case more signs of this type of wear would be expected (*ibid.,* 388). In discussing the combs found at GLV, Tuohy suggested that while these items might have served a purpose associated with weaving, they were not specifically used for the warp-weighted style of weaving (Tuohy 1995a, 151). Instead, she proposed that the combs were used for "making braids, ribbons, or narrow strips of material" and that they could similarly have been used to produce "ornamented weaves" (*ibid*, 148). She supports this theory through the presence of wear on the inside of the outer teeth, in contrast to wear on the outer side of the teeth which would be expected from weaving of larger pieces of cloth (*ibid).*

The use of the objects as weaving combs has been suggested in all of the case study sites chosen for this evaluation. Only Sharples questioned this analysis as no combs were found at MC with other textile-associated objects, but he did state that this could just reflect an association with different aspects of textile production (Sharples 1991, 244). In contrast, Harold St. George Gray stated there can be little doubt that these tools were used during weaving as the locations in which most combs were found at MVW also produced a number of other weaving artefacts. Most notably, in Mound VII there were around 28 combs found, in addition to clay loom-weights, 34 spindle-whorls, around 20 'bobbins', and around 12 gouges, all thought to be associated with the weaving process (Bulleid and Gray 1948, 62-3). Therefore, the evidence of its function lies in its connection to other objects of a defined use. As its use as a weaving comb is still largely considered the main function, the term has continued to be adopted for my evaluation.

DECORATION

Along with Tuohy's (1995) evaluation of weaving combs, Chittock further addressed the issue of 'art' versus 'craft' within combs from GLV (2014). Through her analysis, she concluded that the high level of decoration on GLV combs with various levels of skill suggest there was communal participation within comb production, but that the different motif combinations suggest a level of individual style relating to the use of this material (Chittock 2014, 315, 318, 320). In comparison to decorated pottery and metalwork from southern Britain, however, combs have a much smaller variety of motifs, contributing to their greater consistency in pattern, although this does not argue against communal participation nor individual style within this more restricted decorative scheme. In general, decoration can be found on the whole comb, above the teeth, at the butt-end, or as a combination of the previous two. For my discussion, each comb will be addressed with the butt-end at the top and the teeth at the bottom, so that the decoration is viewed and described from this point of view (see Figure 10.3). It is from this orientation that horizontal and vertical bands have been defined. Both geometric, curvilinear, and circular patterns were found, but the individual motifs chosen were more restricted. The circular patterns largely consist of ring-and-dot motifs, which are presented in various sizes, containing up to three rings, and with different spacing

between the rings and the dots. The geometric patterns, on the other hand, have a larger motif selection, typically consisting of chevrons, lozenges, diagonal bands, or saltires moving down the length of the handle. While chevrons and lozenges tend to run freely down the handle, diagonal bands and saltires tend to be bordered and separated by horizontal bands, creating a number of zones down the shaft. Occasionally, these different motifs are also found in combination. One feature which has not been universally accepted as decoration within the reports is horizontal bands placed immediately over or overlapping the teeth. In some instances, this was thought to simply represent a 'guiding-line' for cutting the teeth (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 274), therefore not ornamental, and is particularly expressed as such when no other decoration is present. While this interpretation can be understood when only a single horizontal band is found, its use as a purely functional aspect is drawn into question when two or more bands are depicted. If one band was for 'guiding' the teeth, the extra band(s) would not be necessary. As its use as a 'guiding-line' alone has not been fully evidenced, I have chosen to include it as a motif as it does not add to the overall function of the comb and was actively inscribed upon the object.

Occasionally, the cutting of the teeth overlaps the decoration, as seen on A51 from MVW (Figure 10.5), and it is believed that this represents a re-cutting phase. The original teeth would not have overlapped the decoration, but due to use and wear it was necessary to recut them, thereby crossing over the decoration, in order for the comb to be continuously used. As re-cutting is largely only visible where decoration is present and we can see that it overlaps, it is difficult to determine if this re-use was restricted to the ornamented varieties. However, it has also been suggested that the decoration was included before the teeth were cut and that this is why they overlap in some instances (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 271). Combs found still in the process of manufacture (Type 6) do not shed any light on this question. Six combs of Type 6 were found: one from MVW and five from GLV (Bulleid and Gray 1911, Plate XLVI; 1948, 81). Out of these six examples, only one possessed teeth or decoration (A239), and in this instance the only decoration was a single horizontal band above the teeth. The other five examples lack both. In this case, this horizontal band might have simply served as a 'guiding-line' as Bulleid and Gray would suggest. Regardless, this order of application – ornamentation before finalising the teeth – does not seem logical if the cutting of the handle was already occurring. Therefore, I would support the theory that the overlapping of decoration emphasizes a re-cutting phase and continued use of this tool.

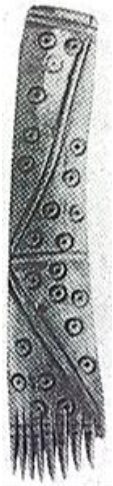


FIGURE 10.5 COMB A51 FROM MVW.

In general, inscribing with the use of a knife or awl-type tool was the main method of application likely used for the creation of geometric patterns. The process of applying the ring-and-dot motifs, on the other hand, has been the focus of some debate. While the symmetry of the circular ring-and-

dots suggest that an implement was used, it is difficult to tell the exact application method as no tools have been found. Different theories include the use of a centre-bit as a guide (Tuohy 1995a, 148), a compass-drawn method, or impressing the ring-and-dot motifs through the use of a "large punch" (*ibid.*). St. George Gray suggested both the centre-bit and a compass-drawn method for the combs at GLV due to "the clean and correct manner in which the various dot-and-circles have been cut" (St. George Gray 1911, 273). All of the above options would require the material to first be softened through the process of soaking in order for the antler or bone to be workable.

In some instances, the decoration appears to be in relief, likely caused by the application of larger and deeper cuts on the surface of the combs (Tuohy 1995a, 148). For example, one comb from GLV, A215 (Figure 10.6), depicts diagonal bands in slight relief formed by grooves on each side. Not only is this comb unique through its relief decoration, but it also contains a unique butt-end belonging to St. George Gray's "typical Late-Celtic style" (Gray 1911, 274). Both form and decoration, therefore, show direct connections with other material objects: the shape to metalwork and the decoration to pottery.

FIGURE 10.6 COMB A215 FROM GLV.

Regardless of the variety and method of application, the fact that a majority of antler and bone combs were decorated supports the idea that these objects did not serve a purely functional role. The production of these combs would have required time to produce, as the material would need to be collected and made malleable, and the addition of decoration would have only added to this production time. Similarly, decorating these objects would not have directly aided in their functional roles, so the decoration must have served a different, visually significant purpose.

10.2 CURRENT EVALUATION

As with previous discussions around decorated pottery (Chapters 5-9), the comparisons within this section will focus on the three southern zones of England and any possible relationships between form, time period, location, and overall decorative features. Various sites were chosen to allow for comparisons to be made within these decorated comb assemblages. While these objects have not been individually dated, their placement within certain occupational timeframes, as well as their association with other dateable artefacts, allows for these decorative features to be further discussed with chronology in mind. However, unlike the evaluation of decorated pottery, more sites were selected to provide a larger basis for comparison. Combs were not as common as pottery,

regardless of the presence of decoration, and therefore, more sites were needed to increase the number of examples available. Similarly, it has been necessary to incorporate more sites in areas where combs were rare, particularly within the Eastern zone. By including more sites from different areas, it has been possible to evaluate this decorated material culture as a whole, as well as between different sites and regional groupings.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ASSEMBLAGES

As previously stated, three sites were chosen from both the Central Southern and South-Western zones, including the sites originally used within the previous pottery evaluations (MLV and Danebury). The two additional sites from the Central Southern zone include All Cannings Cross (ACC) and Maiden Castle (MC), while GLV has been chosen as an additional site for the South-Western zone. Unlike the other two regions, the Eastern zone did not produce any site with a large selection of well-documented combs. Therefore, a wider range of sites was needed to meet this demand for an equal representation and comparison. Detailed descriptions of the comb assemblages from the Central Southern and South-Western zones can be found in Appendix E.

According to the initial site reports, there was a total of 130 combs from MVW, 88 from MVE, 89 from GLV, 43 from MC, and around 72 from Danebury. Tuohy mentions 52 combs found at MC, but as I am only going by the Wheeler and Sharples reports, my numbers are slightly lower. This information is also not fully discussed within the ACC site report, and what is mentioned does not provide much clarification. Cunnington stated that there were seven bone combs but only provided images for 10 antler combs, seven of which were decorated (Cunnington 1923, 24, Plate 11). Therefore, only the seven decorated antler combs have been included within my discussion.

Sites with substantial assemblages of decorated bone and antler combs proved more difficult to find within Cunliffe's Eastern zone, and therefore, a larger selection of sites was evaluated from this region (Table 10.2). Tuohy's thesis (1995b) was utilized to determine which sites from this region had decorated combs. Overall, combs were found from a total of 20 sites within the Eastern zone. Out of the 20 total sites, however, only 16 produced decorated examples. Within these 16 sites, 24 decorated combs were evaluated (Table 10.2). The relative disparity between the Eastern Zone and the other two southern zones, with regard to both decorated and undecorated combs, potentially reflects differences in cultural systems (Cunliffe 2005, 83). However, this does not indicate that the Eastern Zone was materially poor as other materials, which do not preserve as well as antler or bone, may have been used to create the same results. It is also worth noting that some soil types prevalent in the Eastern region do not preserve bone well, in contrast to the chalklands of Wessex for example.

TABLE 10.2 COMBS FROM CUNLIFFE'S EASTERN ZONE (BASED ON TUOHY 1995B).

COUNTY	SITE	TOTAL COMBS	DECORATED COMBS
CAMBRIDGESHIRE	Abington Pigotts	2	1
	Haslingford	1	1
	Cherry Hinton	1	1
	Gog Magog	3	0
	Hauxton	1	0
	Linton	1	0
	Malton Farm	1	1
	Nassington	1	1
	Wandlebury	3	1
HERTFORDSHIRE	Ashwell	1	1
KENT	Dumpton Gap	1	1
	Highstead	1	0
	Worth	1	1
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE	Hunsbury Camp	9	6
	Rainsborough	2	2
NORFOLK	Thetford	2	2
	Wereham	1	1
SUFFOLK	Ipswich	1	1
	Lakenheath	1	1
	Sudbury	2	2
TOTAL		36	24

Out of these combined sites, a total of 193 decorated combs were recorded from the South-Western zone, 83 from the Central Southern zone, and 24 from the Eastern zone (Table 10.3). As Coles stated, almost half of all the combs from Britain come from the Somerset Levels (Coles 1987, 105), incorporating the two MLV sites and GLV. This is even further suggested within my decorated assemblage, in which over half (64.3%) of the decorated combs come from these three sites. The overwhelming concentration of combs within this region suggests a local production centre which might have served a local as well as regional exchange network (*ibid.,* 242), covering more than just the South-Western area.

TABLE 10.3 COMPARISON OF ZONES, SITES, AND NUMBER OF DECORATED COMBS.

ZONE	SITE	NUMBER OF DECORATED COMBS
SOUTH-WESTERN	MVE	53
	MVW	80
	GLV	60
TOTAL		**193**
CENTRAL SOUTHERN	ACC	7
	Danebury	45
	MC	31
TOTAL		**83**
EASTERN	16 different sites (see Table 10.4)	24
TOTAL		**24**

This selection of decorated combs from southern Britain provides a sense of what was happening within this material form during the Iron Age and highlights the general distribution patterns of these often beautifully decorated pieces. It gives an impression of the visual connections between decoration and form, date, region, etc. While some sites show evidence of more localized production centres, other sites demonstrate evidence for domestic production and repair. The general distribution of these artefacts, as well as the elegant decoration found on the majority of combs, further highlights the importance of weaving in Southern England, even if little evidence can be found of the finished textiles.

FORM

As Figure 10.7 illustrates, a variety of comb forms and shapes across the different sites were being produced. The number of decorated combs within each form type can be found in Table 10.4. These types are largely determined by the shape of the butt-end. In general, there was a wide representation of the different types, with each extending to different sites included within this report. Again, I have chosen to combine the numerical and alphabetical forms of classification, which is evident within the table below. Type 4 Unknown represents combs where it was difficult to determine if the butt-end was curved or edged, while Type 4H represents those that have the "typical Late-Celtic style" as described by St. George Gray (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 274) but which have no obvious enlargement.

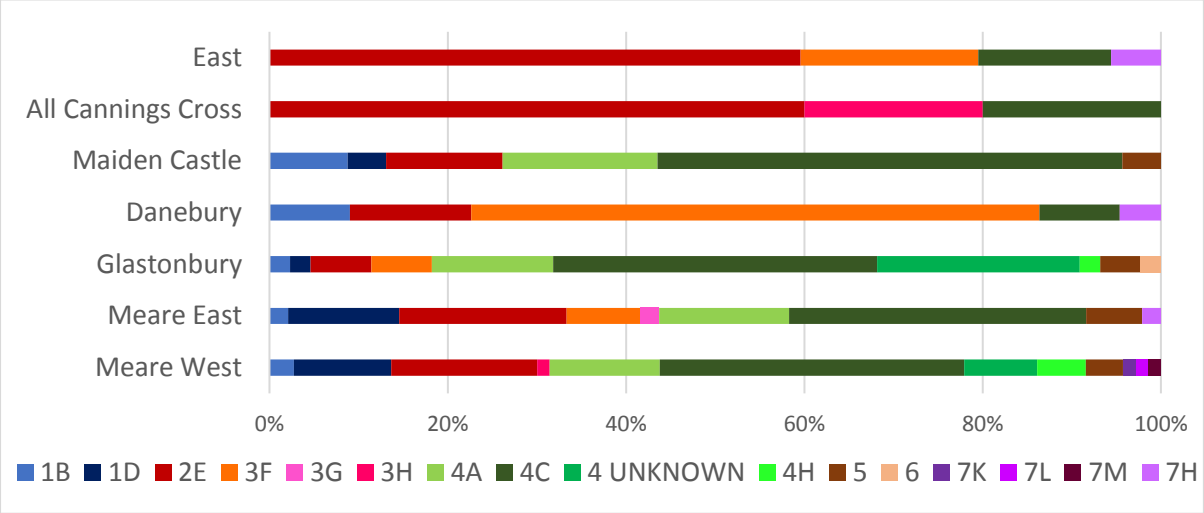


FIGURE 10.7 COMB TYPES IN RELATION TO DIFFERENT SITES (NOT INCLUDING COMBS WITH UNKNOWN FORM TYPES).

TABLE 10.4 TOTAL NUMBER OF DECORATED COMB FORM TYPES FROM EACH SITE (BASED ON 300 COMBS).

	MVW	MVE	DAN	MC	GLV	ACC	EAST
1B	2	1	2	2	1	0	0
1D	8	6	0	1	1	0	0
2E	12	9	3	3	3	3	12
3F	0	4	15	0	3	0	4
3G	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
3H	1	0	0	0	0	1	0
4A	9	7	0	4	6	0	0
4C	25	16	2	12	16	1	3
4H	4	0	0	0	1	0	0
4 UNKNOWN	6	0	0	0	10	0	0
5	3	3	0	1	2	0	0
6	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
7K	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
7L	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
7M	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
7H	0	1	1	0	0	0	1
UNKNOWN	7	5	22	8	16	2	4
TOTAL	80	53	45	31	60	7	24

As the MLV sites have the largest assemblage of combs, both decorated and undecorated, they similarly contain the widest range of forms in comparison to the other sites. Even though there is a wide representation of types at MVW the majority of combs tend to belong to Type 4 in which the butt-end is squared or roughly rounded with no obvious enlargement. This is followed by a strong representation of Type 1 combs with an angled or pointed butt-end, as well as Type 2E combs with a circular enlargement. Additionally, there is a wide selection of unique types at MVW which are often not found anywhere else. This includes Types 7K, 7L, and 7M, represented by a single comb each (Figure 10.8), along with the highest representation of combs labelled under St. George Gray's "typical Late-Celtic style" (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 274). Not only does MVW contain the widest range of forms, but the more uncommon examples as well, likely aided by its larger decorated assemblage.

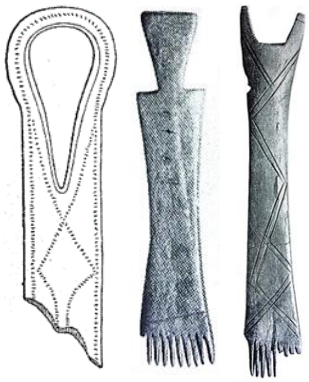


FIGURE 10.8 COMBS FROM MVW REPRESENTING (LEFT TO RIGHT) TYPES 7M (A36), 7L (A62), AND 7K (A71).

As with MVW, there is a greater proportion of Type 4 combs (Figure 10.7) found at MVE. This is followed closely by Types 1 and 2E. However, unlike MVW, more Type 3 combs exist at MVE with the more common squared butt-end enlargements. None of the more unique examples are found at MVE, but there is one example of the 7H type with a unique curvilinear enlargement similar to Tuohy's H type. As Coles states, "the combs are highly polished, decorated carefully, and individual

in shape and ornamentation" (Coles 1987, 106). The delicate nature of the decoration and individual shapes may further represent personalization of the combs to the ones who owned and used them, regardless of their function.

As with the MLV sites, Type 4 is the most common shape found within the GLV decorated assemblage, specifically those with a more squared end (4C). However, unlike the comb assemblages from the previous MLV sites, there were no unique combs belonging to Type 7, but combs were found in the process of manufacture (Type 6). While five of these combs were discovered, only one presented any decoration. At MC, the comb types closely resemble those seen at GLV. According to Wheeler's earlier analysis, he found that the majority of combs belonged to Type 4, with particular emphasis during the Iron Age B phase (Table 10.5) (Wheeler 1943, 298), when occupation at the site was at its peak. This demonstrates a growing interest in weaving combs during the later phases of occupation. Additionally, there are features reminiscent of MLV types, such as the lack of Type 3F as seen in MVW and the lack of the unique Type 4H as seen at MVE. What appears to stand out from this information is that MC shows a stronger connection to the three South-Western sites than it does to closer sites from the Central Southern zone. As occupation at MC is more closely aligned with that at MLV and GLV, the similarities in types might be more reflective of chronological preferences; and therefore, the preferential differences at Danebury would also connect to its chronological placement.

TABLE 10.5 MC DATE PHASES (BASED ON WHEELER 1943, 5; SHARPLES 1991, 57-99)

WHEELER 1943	DATE RANGE	SHARPLES 1991	PERIOD
IRON AGE A	4th – mid-1st century BC	Phase 5	Early Iron Age Fort
IRON AGE B	Mid-1st century BC – early 1st century AD	Phase 6	Extended Fort
IRON AGE C	Early to late 1st century AD	Phase 7	Late Iron Age
		Phase 8	Early Roman
		Phase 9	Late Roman

Just by looking at Figure 10.7 it is visibly evident that the comb assemblage at Danebury was very different to that at the other sites. In general, Danebury possessed a few unique qualities that set it apart. For one, unlike the other sites, Type 4 is not the most common shape. Instead combs with rectangular butt enlargements (3F) are most commonly found, followed by Types 2E and 1. Type 3 combs are uncommon at the other sites, with the exception of the Eastern zone. This may largely be due to the geographical separation between Danebury and the Central comb sites (Sellwood 1984, 377-8). Furthermore, it does not contain any unique forms, double dentated combs, or combs in the process of manufacture. Therefore, out of the sites included within this report, Danebury holds the most homogenous assemblage in both size and form. This homogeneity may be reflective of a difference or limit in function, a specialist form of weaving, a restriction on the methods of manufacture, or a regional identity at the site.

As secure dating is also available for the material from Danebury, it is possible to align this assemblage with specific occupational time periods. According to previous reports, the most common type of combs, those with square or rectangular butt-ends (3F), were typically only found in the later phases of occupation, while Types 2 and 4 only appear during the earliest occupational phases, specifically CP1-3 (6th to 4th centuries BC) (Sellwood 1984, 372; Coles 1991, 354). In regard to the decorated examples (Figure 10.9), type 3F combs are found spread throughout the phases with emphasis during the later 3rd and 1st centuries BC. Decorated types 2E and 4C are only found during the earliest phases, in alignment with previous reports, while type 7H is only found during the later

phases, although this is represented by a single example. The prevalence of type 3F combs throughout Danebury's occupation might be due to its larger representation (15 in total compared to 3 or less for the other types); however, type 1B has a similar prevalence even with its much smaller representation. Therefore, while the style of combs did evolve over time, comb decoration at Danebury remained an important feature throughout its occupation.

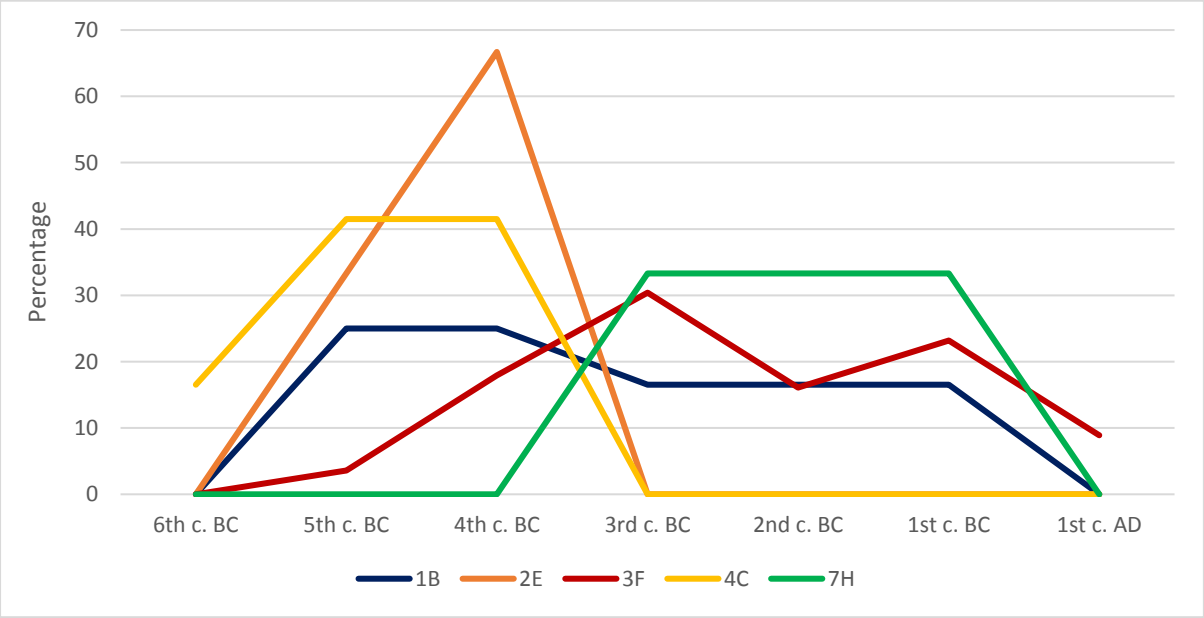


FIGURE 10.9 DANEBURY DECORATED COMB TYPES TO CHRONOLOGICAL DATE (BASED ON 23 EXAMPLES: 2 OF TYPE 1B, 3 OF 2E, 15 OF 3F, 2 OF 4C, AND 1 OF 7H).

As with Danebury, the ACC assemblage shows a much smaller range in size and shape, as well as a unique type preference, compared to the other sites. Most combs contain a circular butt enlargement, in contrast to the overwhelming preference for type 4 at the other locations. However, the exact numbers for these differences are quite close, with only 3 combs representing type 2E and one representing type 4 (Table 10.4). This smaller range of shapes is also likely affected by the much smaller number of combs within the collection. As the larger variety of forms at the two MLV sites is most likely affected by their larger number of combs overall, the opposite is also likely true for ACC.

Finally, there is a much smaller range in types found at the 16 Eastern sites than has been found within the other sources, again likely owing to the total number of decorated combs discovered. However, as these combs come from a range of sites, with most possessing only one or two examples, it is interesting that these different sites would have such close similarities in shape. Overall, combs with butt enlargements make up a majority of the examples, first by those with circular enlargements (2E) followed by those with squared versions (3F) (Figure 10.7). Very few contained type 4 ends, aligning with the more independent collections found within the Central Southern zone. It can, therefore, be interpreted that the South-Western Zone was more diverse but consistent as different comb forms likely originated within this region, particularly at MLV, while the other sites from different regions were able to adopt a smaller selection of comb characterisations which they found to be preferable.

DECORATION

In contrast to pottery, the majority of antler and bone combs were decorated (Figure 10.10). It is important, therefore, to ask why this occurs. The use of a smaller variety of motifs, or the smaller number of this particular artefact type, can potentially suggest an autonomous meaning behind this method of visual representation. Evaluation of decoration on antler and bone has been approached in the same manner as pottery. Each motif was addressed separately when visible on the objects. While Tuohy numbered the general decorative patterns (Tuohy 1995, Fig. 35), as seen in Figure 10.11, I have chosen to simply list the different motifs so that visual comparisons can be more easily made, as well as for more specific patterns to emerge. Most of Tuohy's numbered patterns reflect only one motif choice, and therefore, there is not much difference in the approaches; however, in certain instances, particularly where a variety of motifs were employed, a visual description can be a helpful tool for comparison. As Figure 10.12 emphasizes, geometric patterns make up the majority of decorated combs within southern Britain, being represented 69.9% of the time, particularly through the use of horizontal and diagonal bands and chevrons. Only 11.7% of the combs are decorated with purely circular patterns, particularly through the ornamentation of ring-and-dot motifs, with a combination of patterns occurring most often.

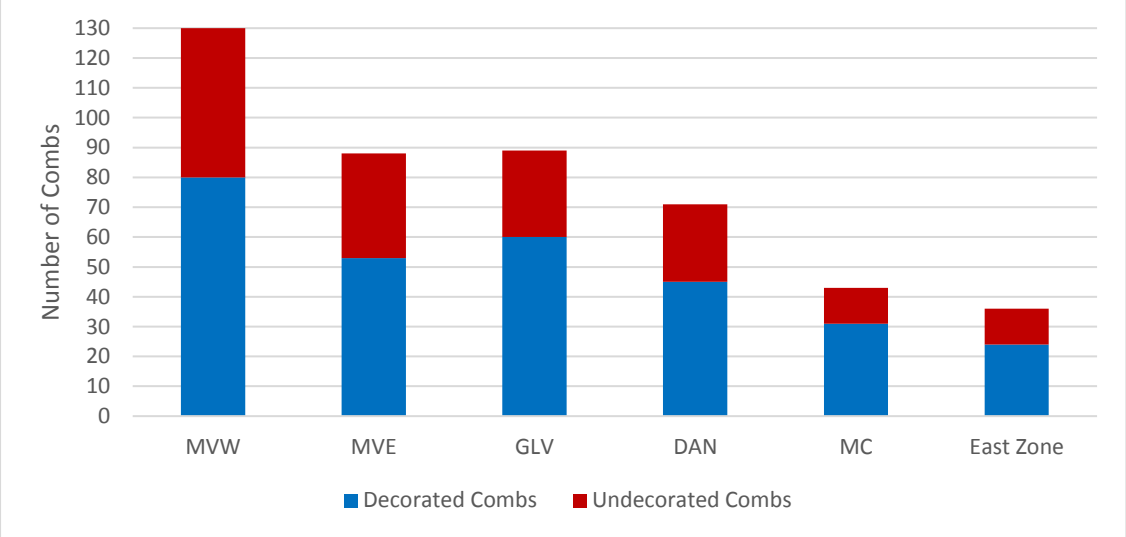


FIGURE 10.10 DECORATED VS. UNDECORATED COMBS (TOTAL: 293 DECORATED, 164 UNDECORATED). ACC NOT INCLUDED AS THE TOTAL NUMBER OF COMBS HAS NOT BEEN PROVIDED.

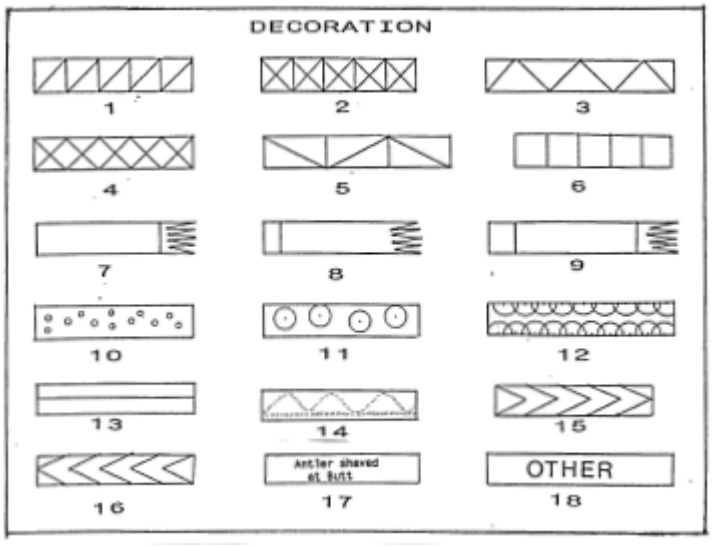


FIGURE 10.11 TUOHY'S DECORATIVE CLASSIFICATIONS (TUOHY 1995, FIG.35).

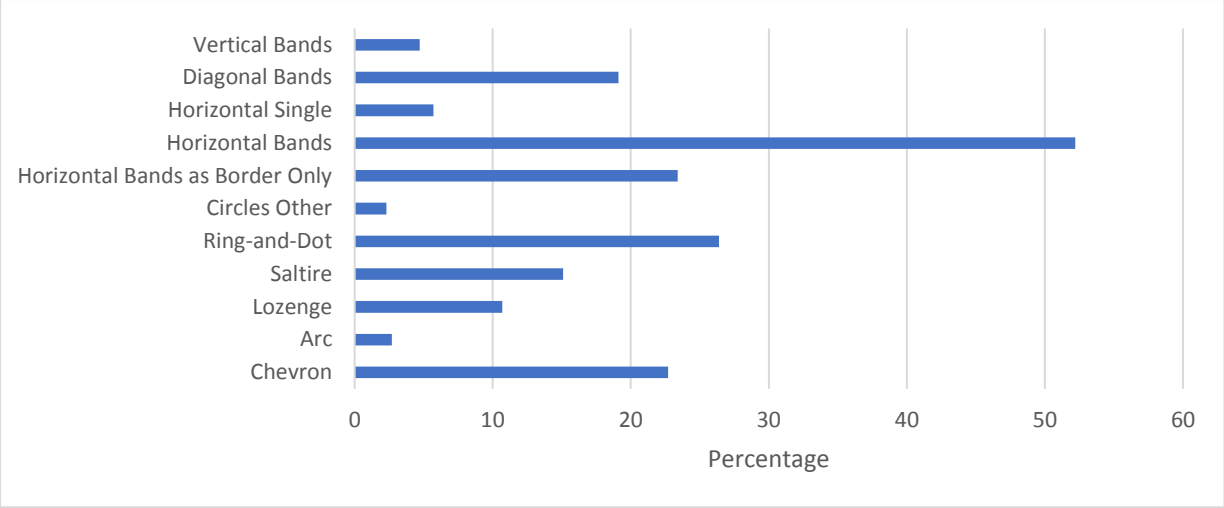


FIGURE 10.12 GENERAL COMB DECORATION FROM SOUTHERN BRITAIN (BASED ON 300 DECORATED COMBS).

According to Tuohy, there are two unique forms of decoration found on weaving combs consisting of a 'Meare style', typified particularly at MVW, and a 'Meare variant', based at MC (Tuohy 1995a, 97, 101). The original Meare style is largely defined by deeply inscribed, evenly spaced linear and parallel lines. Without the ability to view these combs in more detail, however, it is difficult to visualise this style as it is not defined by particular motifs but by the execution of the ornamentation, and the published images do not usually portray any significant difference in application techniques. Nevertheless, Tuohy listed 56 combs under the original Meare style, including 14 from MVW and 15 from MVE. Some of these examples have been illustrated in Figure 10.13. According to Tuohy, the MVE examples were not as well executed as those from MVW, and most of the combs found outside MLV have a much stronger resemblance to those found at MVW (*ibid.,* 97); however, again, this is difficult to verify through the imagery alone.

FIGURE 10.13 DECORATED COMBS WITH THE 'MEARE STYLE,' ACCORDING TO TUOHY (LEFT TO RIGHT: A5, A71 FROM MVW; A130 FROM MVE; A269 FROM MC; A219 FROM GLV).

The decoration discussed within this analysis is based off the descriptions provided within the different site reports, as well as my own personal observations from the published images. While the total comb assemblages have been noted, only the decorated examples will be evaluated within the following discussion. These decorative features are, again, based on the same simplified typology (Appendix A) utilized for Iron Age pottery. It has been possible to incorporate almost all of the decorated combs from each site as these are typically the ones chosen for illustration within the reports, and in general there are fewer combs per site than pots. Through an analysis of the

decorated comb material, the common features and unique qualities of each site will be highlighted. By first evaluating the decorative features from each site, it will then be possible to view the similarities and differences between them.

MEARE VILLAGE WEST

St. George Gray, in his analysis of MVW combs, suggested there were only 73 decorated combs found at the site, in contrast to my 80; this difference is potentially due to my inclusion of single horizontal bands above the teeth as decoration and not just as a 'guiding-line' for the cutting of the teeth. Within my data collection, six combs contain only a single horizontal band above the teeth, while one comb contains a single horizontal band above the teeth and at the butt-end, thereby leaving 73 combs with more elaborate visual features. In general, the combs show a preference for geometric patterns, with 73.8%, over curvilinear, circular, or a combination. While my inclusion of single horizontal bands has slightly increased this percentage, even without these combs, geometric patterns would still be represented 66.3% of the time. In addition, the decoration tends to be depicted on the full comb from teeth to butt-end, being present on 55% of the decorated combs. This is distantly followed by decoration only found above the teeth at 20%. Based on the individual motifs and combinations, there are particular decorative features found throughout the site. The most frequent geometric patterns include chevrons, as well as double diagonal bands in bordered zones down the length of the shaft (Figure 10.14). The most common circular pattern, on the other hand, includes ring-and-dot motifs in rows down the handle, occasionally associated with other geometric patterns. In many of these cases, the ring-and-dot motifs are relatively large with a bigger space between the circle and dot, not as often found at the other sites, as seen on A69 (Figure 10.14).

FIGURE 10.14 DECORATED COMBS FROM MVW DEPICTING CHEVRONS (LEFT: A53), DIAGONAL BANDS (CENTRE: A77), AND RING-AND-DOT MOTIFS (RIGHT: A69).

In addition to the common features found within MVW, three combs depict decoration in relief: A45, A66, and A77 (Figure 10.15). Two similar combs have been found at GLV (A215) and MC (A271) (Gray 1948, 65). Within these examples, the incising of the motifs created raised bands which stand out from the surface. There are two examples which also appear particularly elaborate: A65 (Figure 10.16) and A66. They are both highly decorated and were found to be touching and crossing one another within Mound 35 (*ibid*). Furthermore, there are a few unique combs that do not seem to have parallels within the other sites (Figure 10.16). For example, A36 is unique in both decoration and shape. It contains a large raindrop-shaped perforation, which follows the overall shape of the

comb. This perforation is outlined by a dotted pattern much like rouletting found on pottery, which also follows the edge of the comb and connects to the internal dotted decoration. This comb is not only unique but also demonstrates a connection to ceramic decoration. A similar pattern can be seen on another unique comb, A65, where dotted decoration, much like rouletting, has formed rows of a stepped pattern. There are also 2 large circular perforations found side-by-side within the circular enlargement at the butt-end. While the method of application is similar to A36, the overall result is unique. Another uncommon example includes comb A78, which depicts partial ring-and-dots motifs or inward facing arcs inside a larger circular motif. The larger circle appears to act as a guiding line for the outside ring-and-dots as the larger circle overlaps the central dots of each smaller ring. This might represent a comb used for practising the application of the ring-and-dot motif. There is, however, a chevron row at the butt-end of the comb which might have been for a similar practice or was part of the original design.

FIGURE 10.15 COMBS WITH DECORATION IN RELIEF (LEFT TO RIGHT: A66 AND A77 FROM MVW; A215 FROM GLV; A271 FROM MC).

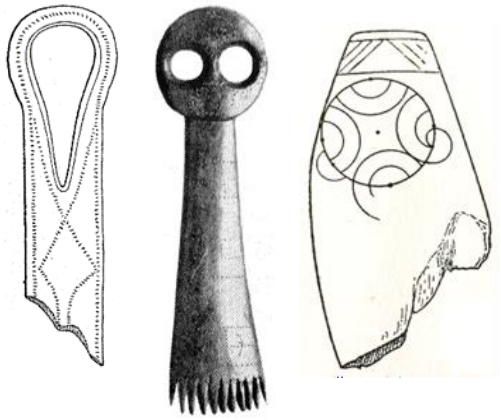


FIGURE 10.16 UNCOMMON DECORATED COMBS FROM MVW (LEFT TO RIGHT: A36, A65, A78).

While not unique to MVW alone, there are particularly interesting examples that are more prevalent within this site. These include combs with circular butt enlargements (Type 2E) decorated with central perforations or ring-and-dot motifs at this end (Figure 10.17). Both the shape of the comb and the circular perforations and/or decoration created the appearance of a 'human'-like figure with a circular head and circular eye(s). In many cases within MVW, the comb is curved at the top of the shaft where it immediately meets the butt enlargement, creating the appearance of 'shoulders'. While this attribute is not always seen within these combs, it is a feature most frequently found at

MVW, being incorporated on at least six occasions. It has only been found at two other sites: two from MVE and one from Haslingford. Those without the 'shoulder' feature are more generally found throughout the other sites. Decorated whalebone combs, another unique feature to MVW, are also often found with this 'human'-like shape. This might further suggest that whalebone combs served a particular function with visual associations. However, as it can be found on other materials, it might also be reflective of a particular comb maker or of a specific role commonly practiced at MVW, but which we are not yet able to determine.

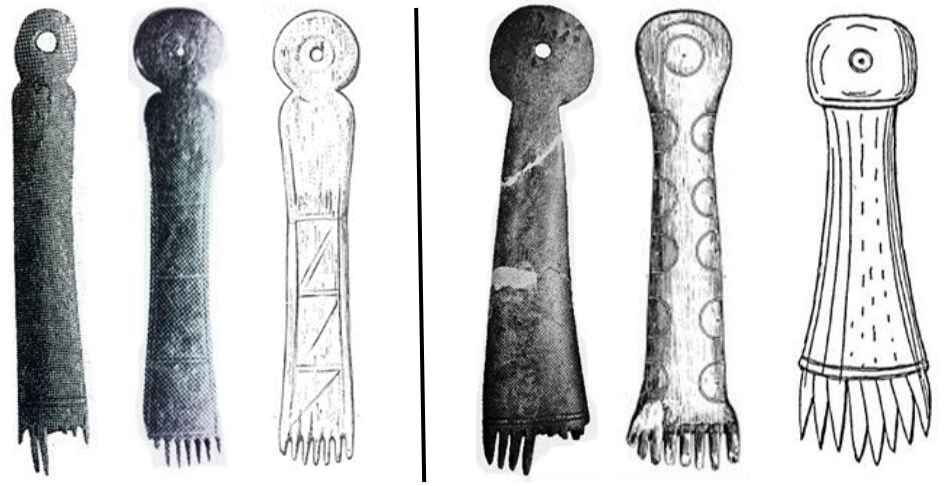


FIGURE 10.17 'HUMAN'-LIKE DECORATED COMBS – LEFT: THOSE WITH 'SHOULDER' FEATURES (LEFT TO RIGHT: MVW A26, A75; MVE A92); RIGHT: THOSE WITHOUT (LEFT TO RIGHT: GLV A217; MC A279; THETFORD A344).

MEARE VILLAGE EAST

Similar to MVW, geometric patterns make up the largest percentage of comb decoration at MVE, with 77.4% of the assemblage. None of the combs at MVE depict a single horizontal band above the teeth without any other decoration that would affect this percentage. Additionally, most combs (62.3%) contain decoration over the full surface. Overall, MVE has a slightly higher percentage of combs with geometric patterns covering the full surface, compared to that found at MVW. While this does not mean that comb decoration was 'plain', it does suggest that there was less variety of decoration at MVE compared to its neighbour.

Common decorative traits have also been found within MVE through a comparison of individual motifs. Again, the most common motifs include chevrons and diagonal bands in zones down the length of the handle with no accompanying curvilinear or circular motifs (Figure 10.18). However, unlike the other Meare site, there are very few purely ring-and-dot patterns, and often these are incorporated with other motifs. Instead, there are many combs in which multiple rows of horizontal bands are the only decoration found (Figure 10.18). Similarly, while combs with 'human-like' features have been discovered, including those with rounded 'shoulders' and those without, they are much less frequent compared to the MVW assemblage.

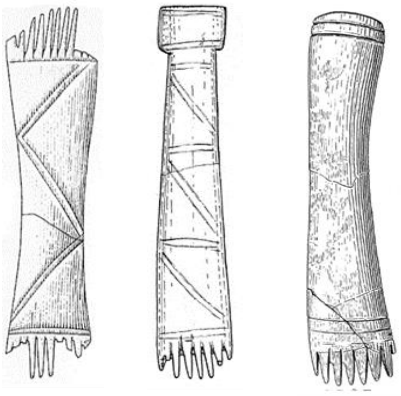


FIGURE 10.18 COMMON DECORATION ON MVE COMBS (LEFT TO RIGHT: A98, A102, A105).

There are also a few unique examples at MVE that are not found elsewhere (Figure 10.19). For example, A106 contains a rounded butt enlargement which might have been originally shouldered at the top of the shaft. Within this enlargement there are five triple ring-and-dot motifs, one at the centre and four placed at each cardinal point. Much like the potential practice comb, A78, there is a linear border around the edge of the enlargement that crosses through each centre of the outside ring-and-dots. This decoration, therefore, demonstrates one method in which this type of circular imagery could be created to make smooth and even motifs. Another unique example includes A127 which contains multiple horizontal rows of ring-and-dot motifs, mostly half rings moving along and attached to the horizontal bands, which act as a means of separating the circular designs into rows. Due to this, the ring-and-dot motifs are often mirrored and alternating on each side of the horizontal bands. While the bands often go through the central dots of the circular motifs, this is not always the case, and the decoration does not appear as evenly executed, or with as much expertise, as that found on A106. A131 is another unique example that includes two saltires, one at the butt-end and one above the teeth, which are both bordered by multiple horizontal bands, as well as infilled within the left and right triangular spaces. While common within ceramic decoration, infilling is not as commonly found on comb assemblages; therefore, a connection between the two materials is evident.

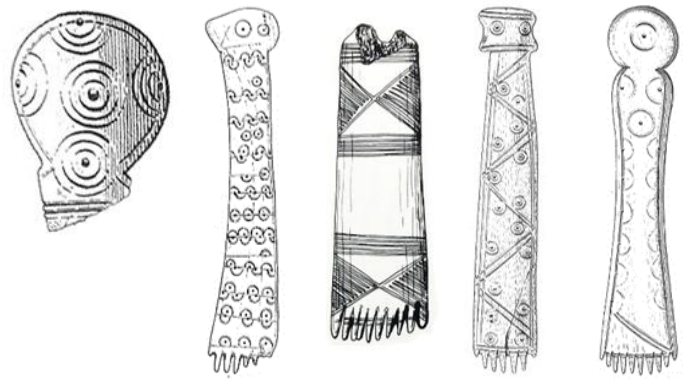


FIGURE 10.19 UNCOMMON DECORATED COMBS FROM MVE (LEFT TO RIGHT: A106, A127, A131, A82, A112).

In addition to A106 and A127, there are two particularly elaborate combs, although they are not necessarily unique in regard to their decorative choices. These include A82 and A112 (Figure 10.19), which further contains the 'human-like' outline. Within these four examples, ring-and-dot motifs have a strong placement within the decoration, which is not particularly found in the overall assemblage. The fact that these combs are more elaborately decorated might signify that they

served an important communal role, that they were intended to be more prominently displayed, or that the person who owned them had a higher position within society or simply liked the motif.

GLASTONBURY LAKE VILLAGE

Similar to the other sites from the South-Western Zone, GLV shows a stronger preference for geometric patterns, being represented on 58.3% of the decorated combs if single horizontal bands above the teeth are not included. While this is still a majority, it is a smaller representation than that found at MLV. In contrast to the previous two sites, there is a higher percentage of circular motifs discovered at GLV. In a similar regard, decoration covering the full surface of the comb is still most frequently represented, but this is found only 30% of the time, closely followed by decoration above the teeth at 23.3%.

While GLV is located within the same region as MLV, it does present its own particular style. At GLV, ornamentation tended to include lozenges down the length of the shaft or saltires placed either down the shaft or only above the teeth, the difference purely being whether there is linear separation between the diamond spaces (Figure 10.20). An elaborate version of the ring-and-dot motif can also be found on the bone comb A187 (Figure 10.20). Within this comb the ring-and-dot motifs are deeply inscribed and are placed on each side of a diagonal band inside separate zones. The rings are so evenly executed that a specific tool must have been used to achieve this result. While there are combs with circular enlargements and central 'eyes,' none of these include the MVW 'shoulders'. However, there is a similar preference for rows of horizontal bands, like that at MVE, or ring-and-dot motifs, as found at MVW, though not typically combined. This is interesting, as there does appear to be a strong relationship between GLV and the previous two sites, with a possible slight reliance on more MVE characteristics.

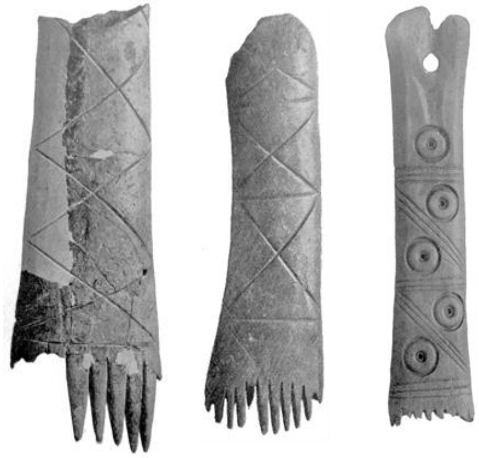


FIGURE 10.20 COMMON DECORATED COMBS FROM GLV (LEFT TO RIGHT: A238, A199, A187).

Along with the more common styles, there are a few unique examples that are not found repeated within GLV or at the other locations (Figure 10.21). Comb A197, for example, has a circular enlargement at the butt-end decorated with overlapping arcs which face inwards and continue around the edge of the enlargement. There are two saltires down the shaft, which is not necessarily unique, but these are bordered by additional overlapping arcs which is an uncommon decorative feature. While circular patterns are commonly found on comb assemblages, curvilinear motifs, such as arcs, are not typically depicted. Another unique example includes A218, which has been decorated by a simple lozenge down the length of the shaft created with singular rows of ring-and-dot motifs. As on the previous combs A106 and A127, the linear line of the lozenge passes through each central dot of the ring-and-dot motifs, thereby acting as a guiding line for the main decoration.

FIGURE 10.21 UNCOMMON DECORATED COMBS FROM GLV (LEFT TO RIGHT: A197, A218).

DANEBURY

According to the various Danebury reports, the majority of decoration consisted of only circular motifs, followed closely by linear patterns (Coles 1991, 354). Of the 45 decorated combs that I evaluated, 40.9% were geometric, 36.4% were circular, and 22.7% were a combination of the two. While this does not show an overall preference for circular motifs, it does show that there was a greater preference for circular patterns in comparison to the other sites, as well as a more frequent interplay of the two general types of decoration. However, there remains a preference for decoration depicted on the full surface of the comb, with 47.7%.

In regard to the main decorative patterns found at Danebury, there is an overwhelming presence of 'compass'-drawn ring-and-dot motifs (Sellwood 1984, 371-2) in rows down the handle. While this typically consisted of only one outer ring, occasionally multiple rings are present (Figure 10.22). Regardless, the patterns found contain the same basic principles. While rows of ring-and-dots were found at other sites, the prevalence at Danebury of circular decoration re-emphasizes the uniqueness of this site. However, as Sellwood stated, while there is a similarity in visual expression within Danebury, this does not mean that the decorative patterns were 'standardized' to any degree (*ibid.,* 372) as individual characterizations still occur. There are two combs that depict similar decoration which is unique to Danebury: A312 and A349 (Figure 10.22). Both combs contain a single row of ring-and-dot motifs that form a chevron pattern. These are similar to the other examples where circular motifs were used to create typical geometric patterns, however in the case of the Danebury combs they are not guided by linear bands through the central points. Another example belongs to comb A300. Although only a fragment of a circular butt-end, this enlargement contains a central perforation surrounded by multiple circles. This is a unique decorative feature that utilizes the shape of the butt-end to create a stronger circular effect.

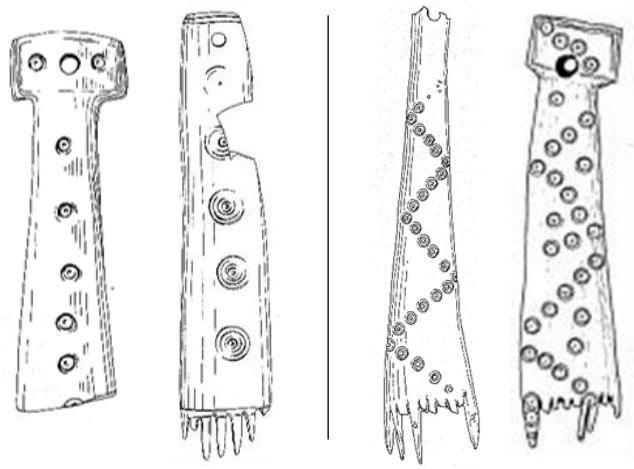


FIGURE 10.22 COMMON COMBS FROM DANEBURY (LEFT: A313 AND A311); UNCOMMON COMBS (RIGHT: A312 AND A349).

MAIDEN CASTLE

As previously mentioned, Tuohy defined two unique centres of comb-making, in which MC produced the Meare Variant type. She stated that this variant used the same designs as the original Meare type, but in this case the decorative lines were cut finer to achieve this goal (Tuohy 1995a, 249). Therefore, it can be assumed that MC would follow the same general trends found at MVW. Overall, there is an overwhelming preference for geometric patterns, with 90.3% containing only this general pattern. If we are to remove combs with only a single horizontal band above the teeth, this percentage would only decrease to 83.9%, still a much larger proportion than found at the other sites. Furthermore, there is almost an equal representation of decoration covering the full surface of the comb to decoration found only above the teeth, at 45.2% and 41.9% respectively.

Based on particular motifs and patterns found at MC, a few common features stand out. These are most frequently geometric patterns represented by chevrons down the handle, diagonal bands in zones down the handle, or rows of horizontal bands (Figure 10.23). It is much less common for combs to be ornamented with circular patterns within this assemblage. In general, the decorative trends are relatively similar to Meare; however, there is much less variety found at MC. While the combs typically depict common motifs, there are a couple of unique examples as well, including A270 and A279 (Figure 10.23). Both of these combs have ring-and-dot motifs in rows down the handle with ring-and-dots similarly at the butt enlargement, and both form unique shapes around the teeth and/or butt-end. A270 is particularly unique as it has a circular butt enlargement that is edged at the bottom corners forming a ‘mushroom’-like shape.

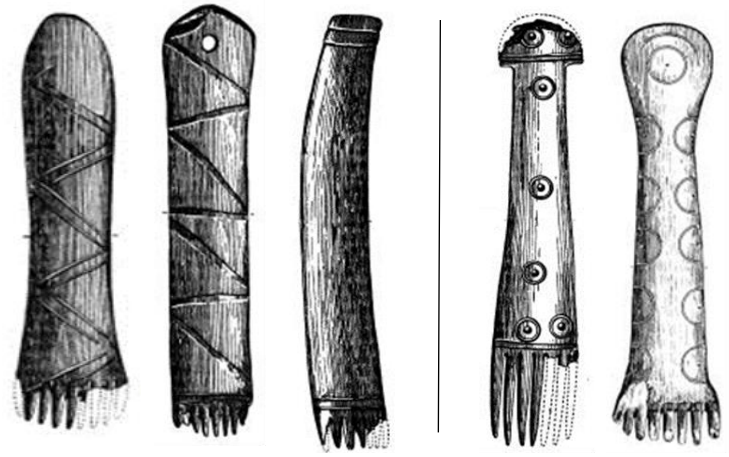


FIGURE 10.23 COMMON COMB DECORATION FROM MC (LEFT: A267, A271, A276); UNCOMMON COMB DECORATION (RIGHT: A270, A279).

ALL CANNINGS CROSS

As there is less evidence at ACC, with only seven decorated examples provided within the report, it is difficult to determine general trends in much the same way that is possible at the other sites. However, certain features can still be analysed. Like the other sites, excluding Danebury, there is an overwhelming preference for geometric patterns, being represented 85.7% of the time, with most ornamentation taking place over the full surface. However, unlike the previous assemblages, there are no combs with purely circular patterns, and only one example where geometric and circular patterns are combined.

While it is difficult to compare the general decorative trends at ACC due to the size of the assemblage, braid-like decoration reminiscent of rope or basketry is common. A243 contains a single row of diagonal bands above the teeth, while A245 contains the same decoration above an infilled saltire motif, both giving the appearance of rope (Figure 10.24). A247, on the other hand, depicts an overlapping saltire below a complex lozenge giving the appearance of basketry. While simple lozenges are common at other sites, the complex version of the motif is a unique quality which is more strongly reminiscent of weaving and basketry.

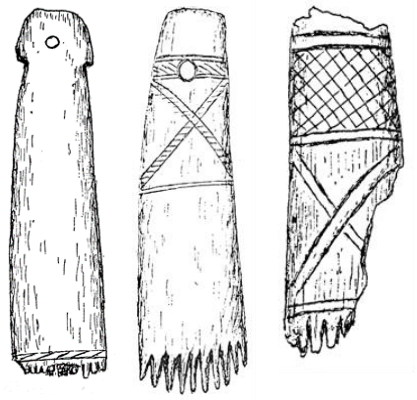


FIGURE 10.24 DECORATED COMBS FROM ACC WITH BRAID-LIKE ORNAMENTATION (LEFT TO RIGHT: A243, A245, A247).

Eastern Sites

Out of all the Eastern sites from which combs were found, many only had decorated examples, although in most cases this was represented by a single comb. Overall, there were only four sites with no decorated examples, as seen in Table 10.2. Out of the sites where decorated combs were found, 79.2% of these contained only geometric patterns. As with ACC, none of the combs contained purely circular or curvilinear decoration; however, 20.8% of the combs did present a mixture of geometric and circular imagery. Similarly, like MC, while more combs contained decoration over the full surface, this was closely followed by decoration found only above the teeth, with a coverage of 45.8% and 33.3% respectively.

While this assemblage represents combs found at 16 different sites, and therefore cannot be evaluated the same way as the other singular sites, certain general patterns and features can be determined. Within sites with more than one comb, these tend to show common decorative features. For example, the two combs found at Thetford both contain 'human'-like shapes and decoration with a central ring-and-dot 'eye' at the circular enlargement (Figure 10.25). This enlargement is more squared than typical 2E examples, but the edges are still slightly rounded to belong within this general category. The two combs found at Sudbury further contain their own common traits as both combs depict a simple lozenge down the handle with ring-and-dot motifs

placed within the corners of the diamond and triangular spaces (Figure 10.26). However, A341 has a particularly unique enlargement, combining both a circular and squared shape with a saltire motif within, different not only to the other Sudbury comb but to combs from other sites as well.

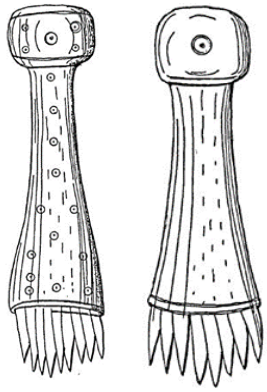


FIGURE 10.25 DECORATED COMBS FROM THETFORD, NORFOLK (LEFT TO RIGHT: A343, A344).

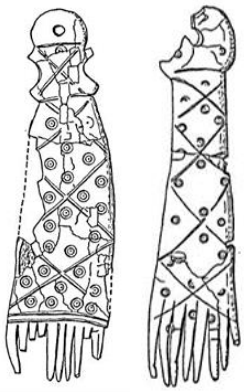


FIGURE 10.26 DECORATED COMBS FROM SUDBURY, SUFFOLK (LEFT TO RIGHT: A341, A342).

Hunsbury is interesting in the fact that six different decorated combs were found, the most from any of the Eastern sites. Within this assemblage, the majority of combs are decorated with only horizontal bands, typically in single or double rows above the teeth. There is one example with diagonal bands in zones down the handle: the only example with non-horizontal bands as the main motif. The only other site with more than one decorated comb is Rainsborough, but in this case the two combs do not have similar decorative attributes (Figure 10.27). Within the sites with a single decorated comb, saltires appear to be the most common motif, either above the teeth or on the enlargement. In most cases only geometric patterns are found, with the exception of A346 (Figure 10.28), which contains the only circular ornamentation, consisting of single and double ring-and-dot motifs, with the exception of the Thetford and Sudbury examples.

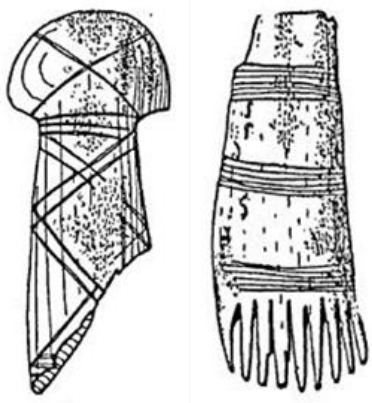


FIGURE 10.27 DECORATED COMBS FROM RAINSBOROUGH, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE (LEFT TO RIGHT: A339, A340).

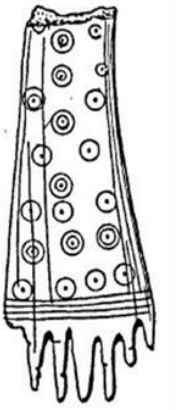


FIGURE 10.28 CIRCULAR DECORATION FROM WEREHAM, NORFOLK (A346).

10.3 ANALYSIS

By evaluating the recorded decorated comb assemblages from a variety of sites throughout Southern England, it has been possible to determine stylistic patterns particular to different sites and regions. Based on my data, consisting of 300 decorated antler and bone combs, further connections were drawn between the decoration, comb types, material, and time periods. As previously stated, geometric motifs make up the majority of comb decoration, even after removing those that only contain a single horizontal band above the dentated end, and therefore looking at the assemblages in such general terms does not provide much comparative information. However, by evaluating the specific motifs and combinations, as well as their direct correlation to the shape of the comb, more interesting associations between sites and regions can be determined.

DECORATION TO TYPE

The comb assemblages from these sites demonstrate certain correlations between the decoration and the shape of the comb. As previous reports have emphasized, most of the comb assemblages, regardless of site, were decorated. In more practical terms, it can be inferred that these objects were so frequently decorated because they provided a straight and malleable surface on which to decorate, typically much larger than other antler and bone objects. However, in more ornate and abstract terms, the social significance of these combs within and between different communities can be better understood through an evaluation of particular decorative features and their relationship to comb types, locations, and functions. As with the previous pottery discussions (Section 9.2), it is important to consider how much the different comb types affected the kind of decoration applied to them. While pottery decoration was greatly affected by the type of ceramic vessel, based on its potential social and functional roles, this was not necessarily the case for antler/bone combs.

As previously stated, I have chosen to evaluate the combs with the butt-end at the top and the dentated end at the bottom. In most instances the decoration moves down the length of the comb regardless of the type of ornamentation. A total representation of type form based on my complete decorated comb assemblage from all sites can be viewed in Figure 10.29. Those with unknown types have been excluded. As the graph illustrates, the largest majority of combs belong to Type 4, representing those with a squared or rounded butt-end with no obvious enlargement. Overall, it appears that 4C (squared butt-end) was particularly prevalent. While this may be reflective of a significant and active choice, I would more likely surmise that this was due to the nature of cutting the comb. A straight edge would require less time and skill than curving the edges or carving a separate shaped enlargement, and therefore, would likely be the easiest and most convenient form to choose. However, second to this shape of comb is Type 2E with a circular enlargement. Unlike Type 4C, this comb shape would require much greater skill, time, and malleability of the comb in general. Therefore, the most convenient choice was not always the favourable one. This may represent different skill levels being of similar importance within communities or that different types represented different functions, with 4C representing a type of comb more often used within these communities. Types 5, 6, and 7 are rarely decorated. In the case of Type 6, combs in the process of manufacture, and 7, unique examples, this rarity would be assumed due to the nature of their categories.

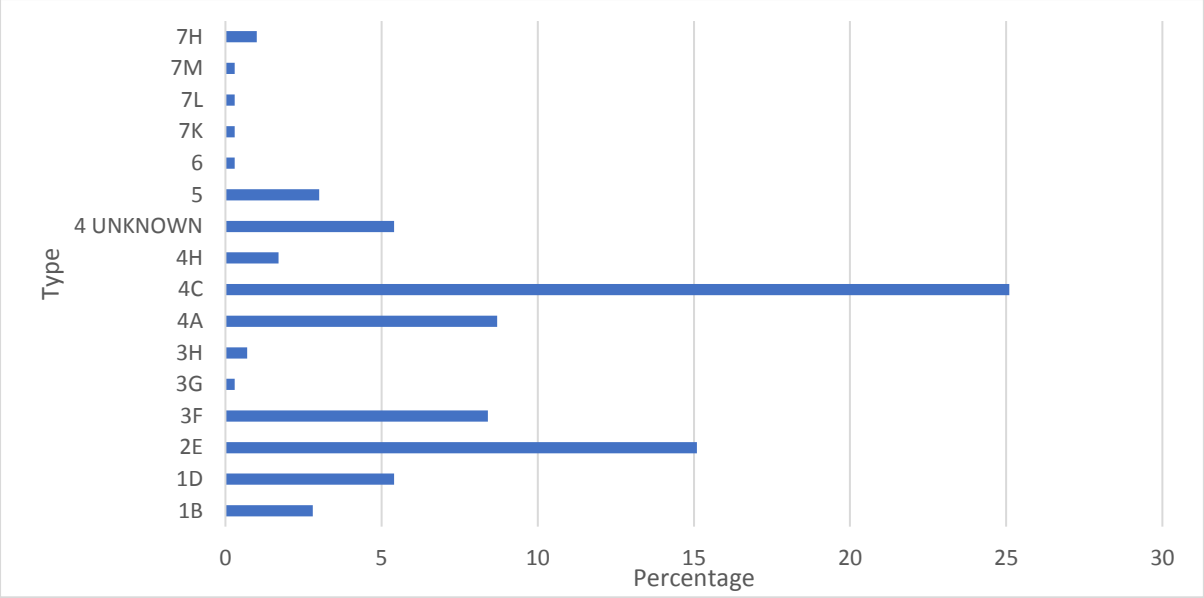


FIGURE 10.29 PERCENTAGE OF EACH COMB TYPE FROM THE 300 TOTAL DECORATED COMBS (BASED ON 1B: 8; 1D: 16; 2E: 45; 3F: 25; 3G: 1; 3H: 2; 4A: 25; 4C: 75; 4 UNKNOWN: 16; 4H: 5; 5: 9; 6: 1; 7K: 1; 7L: 1; 7M: 1; 7H: 3).

More specific conclusions can be drawn by directly evaluating the comb types and respective decorative features, as illustrated in Figure 10.30. The most homogenous decoration is found on Types 6, 7K, 7L, and 7M, with each containing only three types of decoration or less. However, again, this is expected as these types are represented by very few combs, with most having only one example. Unlike the other unique examples, 7H (a variant of St. George Gray's 'typical Late-Celtic style') has a slightly greater variety of decorative choices taking place. The combs more directly associated with Gray's 'Late-Celtic style,' Type 4H, show an even greater variety in decorative choice. Within these connected types (4H and 7H), none of the combs simply contain a single horizontal band above the teeth. All combs within this collection contain a combination of motifs running down the length of the handle. 4H combs, however, contain additional motifs – arcs, diagonal, and vertical bands – which are not found on those with the added enlargement. While these combs are unique in comparison to the other types, they do not follow a homogenous decorative repertoire. Therefore, this potentially indicates that they served a different function from the more common types; however, their decorative variability suggests the ornamentation was not necessarily reflective of this function. If we evaluate the remaining comb assemblages without these unique outliers, other patterns become visible. Generally, the most common types, 4 and 2E, contained the largest variety of motifs with a relatively even distribution, which is perhaps to be expected. These are also the only types in which arcs were incorporated.

In general, there is a direct correlation between an increase in the number of combs within each type and an increase in the overall variety of decoration employed. Even where combs with circular butt enlargements occur, there does not appear to be any dramatic increase in circular decoration. While it might initially be assumed that the features would largely rely on the shape of the comb, with particular attention to the type of butt-end, the data shows that the decorative choices being made were, in fact, not affected by the type of comb beyond general patterns of popularity.

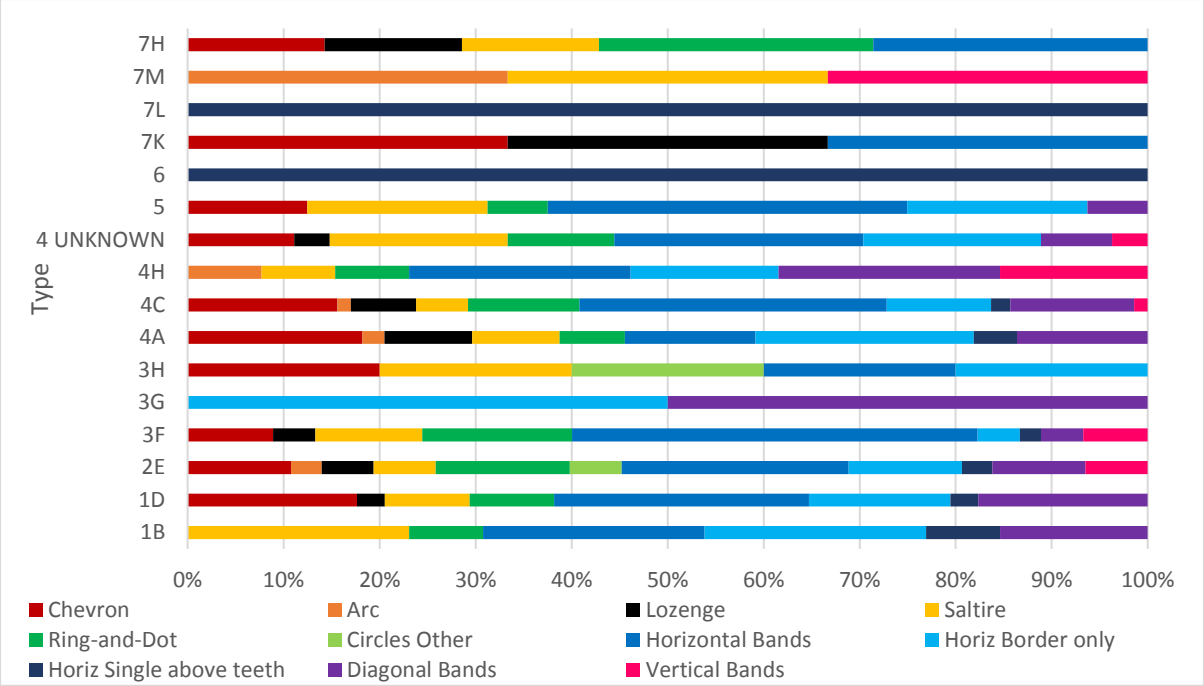


FIGURE 10.30 DECORATIVE MOTIFS FOUND ON EACH COMB TYPE (BASED ON 300 DECORATED COMBS: NUMBERS SAME AS FIGURE 10.29).

DECORATION TO MATERIAL

While not as many materials are used to create antler/bone combs as that found in pottery production, it is still important to ask: did the different comb materials affect the type of decoration applied? As previously discussed, the majority of combs were made from antler, likely due to the greater resilience of this material compared to bone (Sellwood 1984, 371). Even within the ACC report, where the total number of bone artefacts greatly exceeds that of antler, there is still an overall preference for antler in comb production. In general, antler is used around 92% of the time for the production of decorated combs, according to my data. Due to the preference for antler, however, it has proven difficult to date these artefacts as antler is more porous than bone, and therefore, provides less carbon to make an accurate determination (Tuohy 1995, 39). In addition, because of this overwhelming preference for antler, it would be difficult to make any thorough evaluation about the relationship between the materials and the decoration.

Of the four decorated examples made from whalebone, there is a unique shape to these particular combs, with one exception: A123 (Figure 10.31). While belonging to the common 2E style, the curvature of these combs at the top of the shaft places them within the 'human'-like categorisation with 'shoulders'. In contrast, the undecorated whalebone combs do not follow this same shape but do appear to follow their own specific outline. As the undecorated combs are not part of my data collection, they have not been given 'A' numbers and have retained the numbers provided within Tuohy's report. The similarity in shape of whalebone combs suggests that they served different functional roles depending upon the presence or lack of ornamentation.

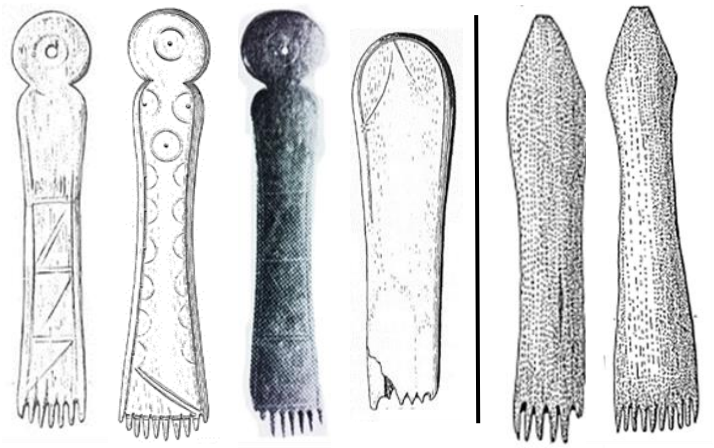


FIGURE 10.31 COMBS MADE FROM WHALEBONE – LEFT: DECORATED (LEFT TO RIGHT: A92, A112, A75, A123); RIGHT: UNDECORATED (LEFT TO RIGHT: MVE45, MVW34) (TUOHY 1995A).

While ceramic fabric inclusions are seen to have affected the type of decoration applied based on associations with the pottery forms, different time periods, and changing regional alliances, particularly at Danebury, these same connections cannot currently be made for decorated comb assemblages. Similarly, it is difficult to establish whether decorative variability increased or became more standardized through changing material associations because of the prevalence of antler over bone. It is only on whalebone that we can determine that the particular material used affected both its final shape and the type of decoration applied.

DECORATION TO LOCATION

Each site included within my report contained a decorative scheme specific to that community, even if that scheme was relatively similar to another. Through an evaluation of specific motifs at each site, associations between the regions/sites and the decoration employed can be more thoroughly addressed. Unlike the decorated pottery analysis, which presented only one site per style zone, a greater number of sites for decorated combs can help to determine potential regional identities or associations. As Figure 10.32 illustrates, and as previously emphasised, the decorated combs from MVW, MVE, and GLV contain very similar decorative representations. Within these assemblages, the motifs are, for the most part, evenly incorporated. Therefore, it would appear that there was a common decorative scheme within the South-Western Zone. As previously proposed, this potentially suggests that a variety of combs were developed here as more forms, decoration, and identifiable application methods have been found within MLV, particularly at MVW, or that there was a central production centre at these site. Regardless of whether the combs themselves originated within the region, the strong similarity in form and decoration signifies a regional connection that was visually identifiable in everyday communal objects. Although not belonging to the South-Western Zone, MC lies relatively close to this western region and contains a similar decorative selection. As previously suggested, this aligns with Tuohy's description of a 'Meare Variant' style based at MC, and, again, demonstrates a connection beyond the immediate regional zone.

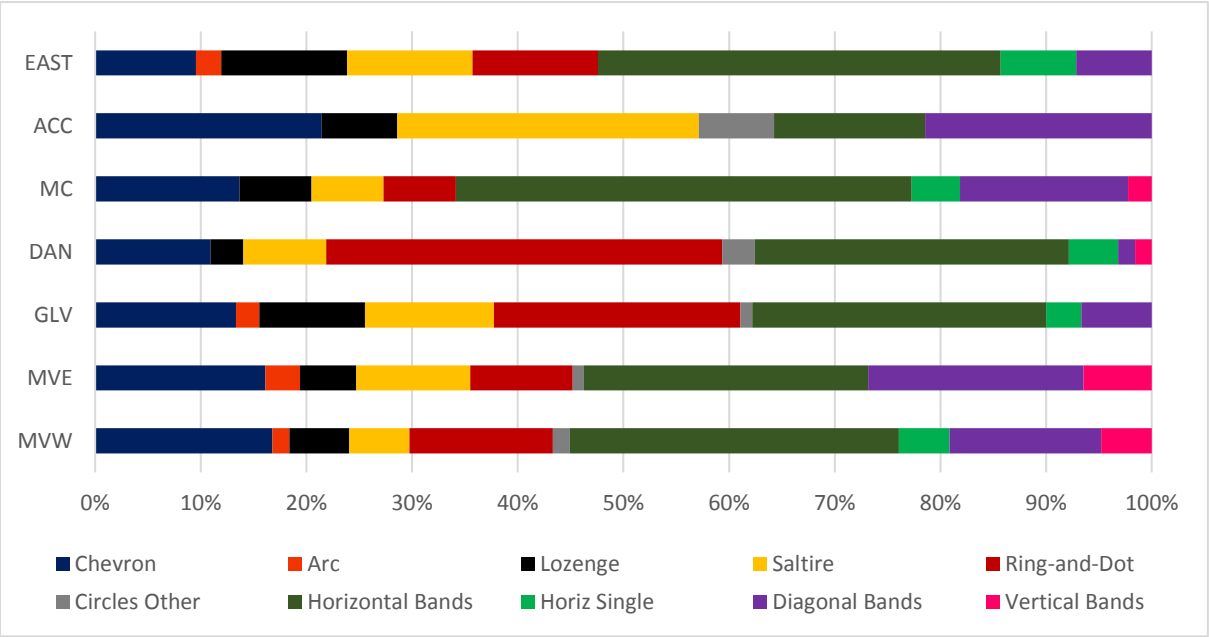


FIGURE 10.32 COMB DECORATION TO SITE (BASED ON 80 FROM MVW, 53 FROM MVE, 60 FROM GLV, 45 FROM DANEBURY, 31 FROM MC, 7 FROM ACC, AND 24 FROM THE EAST).

In contrast to the similarities expressed within the South-Western Zone, this regional identity is not as easily found within the Central Southern or Eastern Zones. As with the unique forms found at Danebury, ACC, and the Eastern sites, there was a similar individuality to their decorative choices. Again, Danebury expressed a preference for circular patterns, specifically the ring-and-dot motifs; a greater representation than found at any other site. Similarly, ACC contained a much larger percentage of saltire decoration (although the small sample size should be noted). The decoration found at these sites is not only different to the other zones but to each other as well. Therefore, it would appear that site identity was more important than regional identity within this zone. However, again, this might be more reflective of the periods in which these sites were occupied. The motifs within the Eastern Zone appear to be very similar to those found within the South-Western Zone; however, as the previous discussion highlighted, this is not necessarily reflected in a regional style. As the Eastern Zone represents 24 decorated combs from 16 sites, the overall patterns do not give the impression of an even representation throughout this region, but again this is affected by its comparatively smaller sample size. However, if taken together, a similar decorative scheme between the Eastern sites and GLV appears to be most evident.

Overall, it does appear that associations can be made between the regions and their decorative choices, although this is not equally expressed within the three style zones. While the South-Western zone shows a strong visual connection between the main sites – GLV, MVW, and MVE – the Central Southern and Eastern zones do not present a similar regional identity. Instead, decoration from the Central and Eastern sites suggests more site-specific identities, with MC and some Eastern sites being more visually reflective of a South-Western style. It may, therefore, be surmised that these decorative features were adopted from an original centre of comb production but that each site adapted these features in different ways.

DECORATION TO DATE

Out of the 22 sites included within this analysis, only Danebury provided specific dates for the entirety of its comb assemblage, and therefore, it is only within this site that connections between decoration and time period could be evaluated (Figure 10.33) and certain questions could be asked: How does comb decoration change over time and when is this change visible? Unlike the pottery analysis (Section 9.2), I was not able to determine whether specific decorative changes were similar at all the sites with decorated combs as full dates could only be determined from one site. While Wheeler did provide dates for some of the combs at MC, Sharples did not include dates within his report, and therefore, I have chosen not to incorporate the MC comb assemblage within this analysis. Within the Danebury site reports, all material culture, including combs, was classified by date into the same ceramic phases as discussed in the pottery chapter (Table 10.6). Out of the 45 combs included within this report, 21 of these belong to CP7 (46.7%). No examples were found within CP5 or 9, and therefore, these phases have been removed. As the graph illustrates, only horizontal bands and ring-and-dot motifs were found within the earliest periods (CP1-2), maintaining their high representation throughout the remaining phases. Following the earliest periods, ring-and-dot motifs decline but eventually return to become the most frequent form of decoration during the period of greatest comb use (CP7). It can, therefore, be interpreted that the renewal of ring-and-dot motifs directly correlated to the increase in comb usage. Furthermore, during the later phases, most motifs began to decline while single horizontal bands above the teeth, as well as vertical bands, began to increase. It appears that while more decorative variability was expressed in the later Iron Age periods (from CP6 onwards), this variability began to greatly decrease by the time of growing Roman influence, possibly representing a greater standardisation of visual representation.

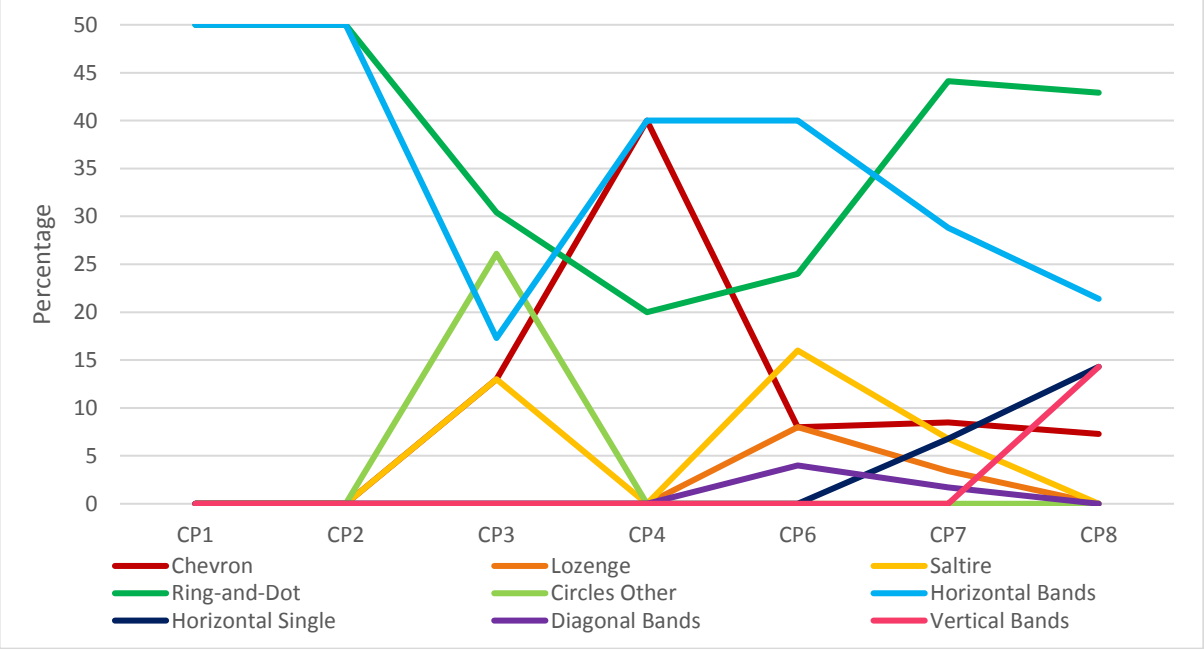


FIGURE 10.33 DANEBURY COMB DECORATION TO CERAMIC PHASE (BASED ON 42 EXAMPLES: 0.33 FROM CP1, 0.33 FROM CP2, 5.33 FROM CP3, 3 FROM CP4, 6.5 FROM CP6, 21 FROM CP7, 5.5 FROM CP8).

TABLE 10.6 DANEBURY CERAMIC PHASES AND DATE RANGES.

CERAMIC PHASE	DATE RANGE
1-2	550-470 BC
3	470-360 BC
4-5	360-310 BC
6	310-270 BC
7	270-50 BC/AD 20
8	50 BC – AD 50
9	AD 50 – Roman Britain

While only Danebury provided dates for its entire comb assemblage, the prevalence of ring-and-dot motifs was not equally expressed at the other sites, and therefore, the chronological associations cannot be adopted for the other case studies. Only the general dates of occupation between the six main sites (Figure 10.2) could be used for further decorative comparisons. I have chosen not to include the sites from the Eastern Zone as a single occupational phase is not easily determined due to the number of sites. As previously discussed, Danebury and ACC presented comb assemblages with very different decorative patterns to the other sites (Figure 10.32), and as Figure 10.2 demonstrates, they also contain the earliest occupational phases. In contrast, the decorated comb assemblages from MVW, MVE, GLV, and MC have relatively similar occupational dates, as well as similar decorative representations. Although MC belongs to the Central Southern Zone, it has a closer visual relationship to the South-Western sites, particularly through what Tuohy refers to as the 'Meare Variant' style (Tuohy 1995a).

Overall, it appears that the decoration employed at each site had a stronger correlation to the time period in which it was presented than to any regional connections, as greater visual individuality is found within comb assemblages from sites with earlier occupation phases (Danebury and ACC). In contrast, those with similar, later phases (MVW, MVE, GLV, and MC) present a more-or-less standardised decorative scheme, although with internal levels of individuality. Based on Danebury, in particular, comb decoration changed more specifically around the same time as pottery decoration, during the mid- to late Iron Age (CP6 and 7), with an increase in variability directly connected to an increase in comb usage during this later period. Following this phase, a decline in variability can be attached to a growing standardisation, further expressed within other material sources.

10.4 CONCLUSION

Based on the results from my collection of 300 decorated combs from Iron Age Southern Britain, different connections between form, material, time period, location, and decoration have been drawn. A selection has been chosen to demonstrate specific decorative characteristics found and how they relate within and between different Iron Age sites, largely based on reports with excellent comb assemblages. As MVW, MVE, and GLV share many features within these categories, a regional identity can be inferred through this form of visual representation for the South-Western Zone. However, as has been repeatedly demonstrated, this type of regional identity was not expressed within the Central Southern Zone. In contrast, Danebury and ACC show independent identifying features, while MC appears to have adopted a more South-Western style of comb decoration. The Eastern Zone similarly presented its own particular comb assemblage. While the main regional decorative choices were reflective of a South-Western style, each site presented its own visual

identity. Many of these Eastern decorative features were found at only one site, and in cases where more than one comb was found, they presented similar comb forms and decoration.

Not only do these patterns reflect regional and local identities, but they also demonstrate the significance of this particular artefact within Iron Age communities. These antler and bone combs would have required both time and training to produce at the skill level present. It would have required the seasonal acquisition of antler, a workspace, as well as time to create them around other required domestic activities. Furthermore, re-cutting of the teeth highlights that these combs were not always easy to acquire or create, and therefore, it was important to preserve them for longer use (Tuohy 1995a, 187-8). Applying decoration to these combs, as is more often seen than not, would greatly add to the time and skill necessary to create these exceptional objects. Therefore, the production of antler and bone combs would not have been a simple domestic craft activity. As the presence of perforations for suspension and the inclusion of elaborate decoration demonstrate, these objects were intended to be viewed so that their quality could be appreciated. The associated decorative skill might also reflect the importance of weaving within the community, as well as the importance of those who employed these objects. Therefore, they would have been used by and representative of Iron Age local and regional communities. These communities actively adopted and adapted these different decorative features to visually represent specific activities and roles within their community, and over time these choices were used to signify more local and regional identities as well. Following on from decorated antler/bone combs, decorated stone and wood must also be examined to gain a more holistic view of the impact of decorated material culture within Iron Age society.

11: STONE AND WOOD

One of the central aims of this chapter is to draw attention to two material forms less often represented in discussions around decoration: stone and wood. These materials present their own particular styles and motif choices, while remaining within the general decorative repertoire on which my Simplified Typology is based. Taken collectively, these decorated materials are not only interesting for the ways in which their decorative choices differ from one another, but also in the ways that they visually connect to previously discussed materials. As with previous chapters, I will begin with an overview of prior discussions about the material, including artefact and decorative associations for both stone and wood. This will then be followed by a more detailed analysis of their decorative trends, focusing on connections between decoration, artefact types, materials, regional zones, and time periods, where applicable. Throughout this chapter, stone and wood are evaluated separately, as well as together, to better understand their visual impact.

To determine potential connections and trends, focus was again placed on Cunliffe's three southern style zones (Cunliffe 2005), culminating in a total of 13 sites (Figure 11.1). Materials, artefact types, and decorative characteristics for stone and wood were based on findings from the case study sites included within previous chapters, as well as all sites and stone/wood artefacts mentioned within Jope's *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles* (Jope 2000). As with the preceding chapters, rare figurative representation, such as human and animal sculptures, will not be included within this analysis. While many stone and wooden objects have been found in this style, the focus of this work is intended to highlight the importance and continuous use of abstract imagery and decorative motifs within Iron Age art through a variety of mediums.

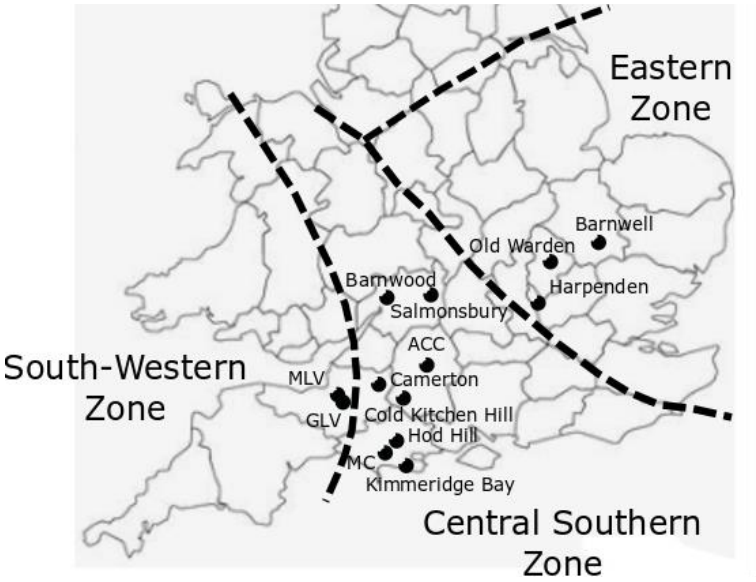


FIGURE 11.1 MAP OF DECORATED STONE AND WOOD SITES USED WITHIN THIS ANALYSIS.

11.1 PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS

In general, decorated stone and wood have not been discussed to the extent of other material types. This is likely due to the fact they are less frequently found, particularly in cases where ornamentation is also included, and therefore, a much smaller selection of artefacts is available. It is for this reason that the two very different materials have been grouped together in this current analysis. Nevertheless, previous literature still draws attention to the importance of these two materials within Iron Age society, emphasizing that preservation does not provide an accurate representation of the extent that these items would have been used within prehistoric communities.

STONE

Within Iron Age material culture, different types of stone were used to create objects with a variety of functions, including items of personal adornment, food or drink consumption, weaving, etc. These largely consist of shale, chalk, or limestone, but other materials, such as igneous rock, have been found. However, for this data analysis, materials labelled as either stone or rock have been grouped together as 'Stone'. First and foremost, shale is a type of rock related to clay, capable of being split, and can be found widely throughout Britain (Denford 1995, 14). This material was commonly used, likely due to its hardness which allowed for it to be easily manipulated, it was lightweight making it easier to wear, and it could be highly polished (*ibid.).* One source of shale has been more thoroughly utilized and discussed within prehistoric studies: Kimmeridge shale. This shale is found within the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset and locally has been referred to as 'Blackstone' due to its dark colour. Not only was this material carved during both the Iron Age and Roman periods to create well-executed pieces, but it was also utilized as a source of fuel (*ibid.,* 14-5), demonstrating its diverse role and significance during these times.

In 1936, Henrietta Davies excavated seven trenches within a 240-yard section along Kimmeridge Bay, focusing on the upper five feet of the cliff, and found two periods of shale production: one from the Early Iron Age and one from an early period of Roman occupation (Davies 1936, 200-1,203). During the Early Iron Age, shale artefacts were hand-cut and hand-worked, while use of the lathe and flint chisels became widespread during the later Roman phase (*ibid.,* 212-3; Denford 1995, 23). As with the introduction of the pottery wheel, lathe-turning aided in the shaping of shale and the application of ornamentation through a rotary movement. Denford later analysed a large body of shale objects and found that most artefacts in this material dated to the Roman period (around 50%), followed by the early Iron Age (35%) (*ibid.,* 79, 154). He further determined that shale was typically used to create arm-rings during both periods (*ibid.,* 80), but that very few were decorated during the Early Iron Age (only 1%). While the percentage of decorated arm-rings does increase in later periods, this percentage is still much smaller than that of undecorated examples (Denford 1995, 170-1). In most cases, the decoration was restricted to simple line patterns, cordoning, and occasionally ring-and-dot motifs, which is likely due to the nature of the material, as shale easily flakes (Jope 2000, 323).

While the greatest concentration of shale artefacts is located within Wessex, near the Central-Southern and South-Western regional border (Figure 11.1), most frequently in Dorset, Somerset, Hampshire, and Wiltshire (*ibid.,* 189), concentrations of shale arm-rings have typically been found on the South-Western side (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 254). Examples of decorated vessels, such as bowls or platters, have also been found made from shale, but this is relatively uncommon and typically found in the Eastern zone during the early 1st century AD (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 255; Jope 2000, 322). While shale artefacts have generally been discovered throughout Britain, there is an interesting lack of examples from the farthest south-western counties, such as Cornwall and Devon, as well as from Kent, West Sussex, and Wales.

In addition to shale, limestone, including chalk and Liassic limestone, was a significant material used and decorated within Iron Age Britain, most notably for the creation of spindle-whorls. However, in these cases, as with shale, very few pieces are decorated. For example, at MVW, 216 spindle-whorls were discovered during Bulleid and Gray's excavations (1948, 89); however, out of this large collection, only around seven were found with decoration, and even in these cases the decoration is minimal, largely consisting of radial notches. Similarly, at MVE a total of 184 spindle-whorls were discovered, largely of Liassic limestone, sandstone, or chalk (Coles 1987, 157), but only around six were decorated. At MC around 59 spindle-whorls were found during Wheeler's initial excavations (1943, Plate XXXIII, fig. 99), mostly of chalk, with a further 15 chalk spindle-whorls found during Sharples' later excavations (1991, 212). However, out of this entire collection, only around 10 examples are decorated. As this data indicates, these artefacts were widely used but not commonly decorated, and therefore, those with decoration likely held a significance beyond their immediate function.

WOOD

As with stone artefacts, decorated woodwork was created from a variety of sources, such as ash or oak (Jope 2000, 320). In general, wood has been used for a variety of functions, including the backing of shields, scabbards, and buckets. However, in these cases metal coverings would have been decorated and not the wood itself, and typically the wood would not be visible. It is only in a few instances, such as the examples from GLV, in which the wood was the main decorated material. In other cases, we also find wooden human sculptures, but again these have not been included within this discussion as this research focuses on more abstract visual expressions. From GLV, the items discovered include decorated wooden vessels, such as buckets or tubs, panels, and frameworks for looms.

Similar to shale construction, hand-carving and, later, lathe-turning were practiced in the creation of wooden artefacts (*ibid.)*. Lathe-turning would have been particularly useful for the finishing or decorating of vessels. Following construction of the pieces, the decoration would then be incised or burnt into the wood (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 311). Not only do these pieces present elaborate decoration with a high level of skill, but they also demonstrate similar patterns to other materials. As Joy demonstrated, one wooden vessel from GLV (Figure 11.2, W5) contained particularly good examples of 'mirror' style motifs (Joy 2010, 47), reflected in its use of hatching and positive and negative cusps. It is interesting, therefore, to consider the relationship between these two very different materials. While hatching was also a common feature of pottery from this region (Section 7.2), other 'mirror' style decoration, including cusps, does not appear to be as identifiable outside of these two materials.

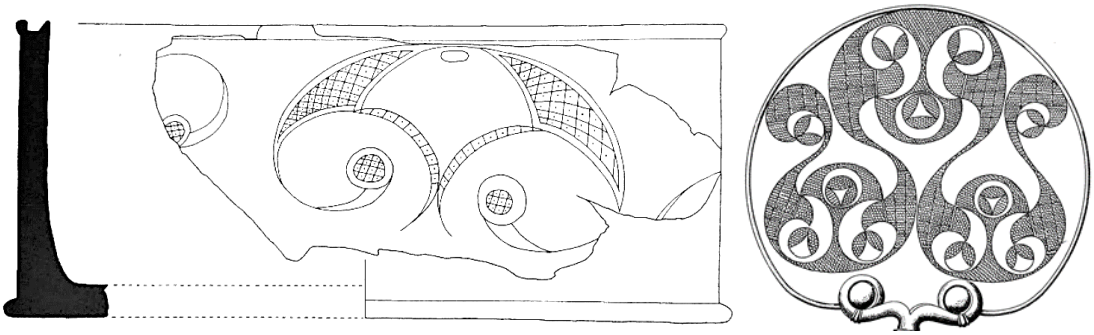


FIGURE 11.2 WOODEN VESSEL FROM GLV AND COLCHESTER MIRROR-PLATE (LEFT TO RIGHT: W5 AND M162).

Certain problems with studying wooden artefacts have also consistently arisen. One of the main difficulties regards its dating practicalities. In general, the wood itself is likely to be older (in radiocarbon terms) than the final artefact it was used to create, and therefore, the artefact itself would appear to be older than the time period in which it was actually used (Garrow et al. 2009, 99, 104). Another issue, as stated above, is its poor rate of preservation. Because wood does not survive as well as other materials, such as metal or ceramic, its representation is disproportionately lower than its expected use during this period (Stead 1996, 92). The material itself would have been readily and easily available, and therefore, would likely have been utilized to a much greater extent than what we find in the archaeological record. Not only has there been issues in its context, but also in the way that it has been viewed and analysed throughout previous discourse. Even in 1958, this material was still being labelled as 'peasant' art (Stead 1958, 133), separating it from the skill it would have required to create and ornament, as well as the significance it would have held within society. As Bulleid and Gray stated, the presence and study of this material "not only throws considerable light upon the skill and capabilities of the inhabitants, but also upon the art and state of culture of pre-Roman Britain" (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 310). As it would have been more readily available and accessible to the general population, it would also have been more significant as a local means of expression.

Due to its marshy environment, the greatest collection of decorated wooden artefacts from Britain has been found in the Somerset region, particularly at GLV (Jope 2000, 320). Within my data collection, all decorated wood was found at this site. According to Bulleid and Gray, "the preservative nature of the peat surrounding and underlying" (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 310) the site allowed for these highly perishable artefacts to be better preserved. From this site, a total of 15 wooden vessels were found (*ibid.,* 311), of which I have recorded 7 decorated examples, in addition to five decorated loom-frames and panels.

11.2 DECORATIVE TRENDS

Among the wooden decorated objects included in my research, there is a mixture of geometric, curvilinear, and circular motifs. In most cases, the decoration is continuous, either around a vessel or along a panel. However, due to the small selection of wooden examples, 13 in total, most contain individual styles and patterns, and it is difficult to determine the presence of a general scheme. One characteristic that does appear frequently within wooden vessels is the presence of hatching, but unlike that found on other material forms this hatching contains a dot within each 'squared' section (Figure 11.2). Whether this is a style found specifically at GLV is uncertain. On other examples, stylistic similarities to ceramic vessels can be found. For example, Figure 11.3 shows a wooden vessel with a style reminiscent of pottery from Danebury, with its mirrored diagonal bands forming a braided pattern. Figure 11.4, on the other hand, shows an interesting style within decorated woodwork, which is similarly reflected on a ceramic vessel from MVE. These two vessels portray a simple lozenge incorporating arcs and hatched infilling, although differing in their specific placement within the overall pattern. Nevertheless, both appear connected through this particular combination of motifs.

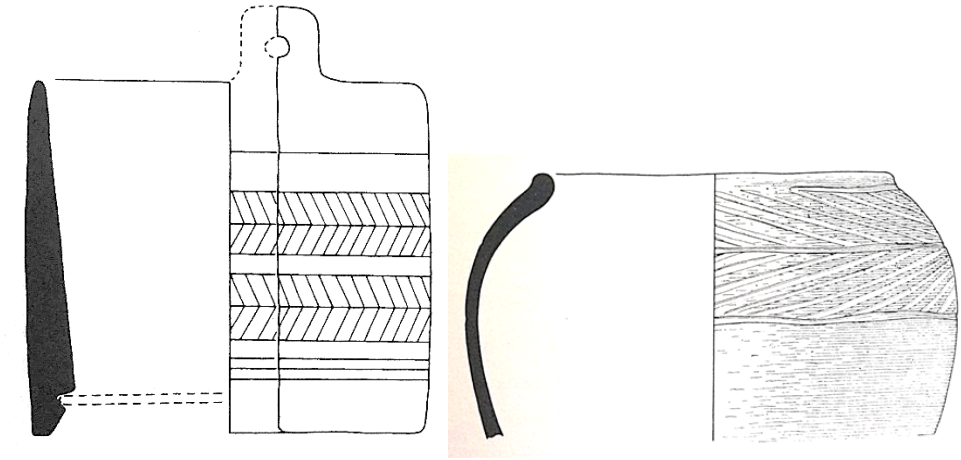


FIGURE 11.3 WOODEN VESSEL FROM GLV AND CERAMIC VESSEL FROM DANEBURY (LEFT TO RIGHT: W10 AND C12).

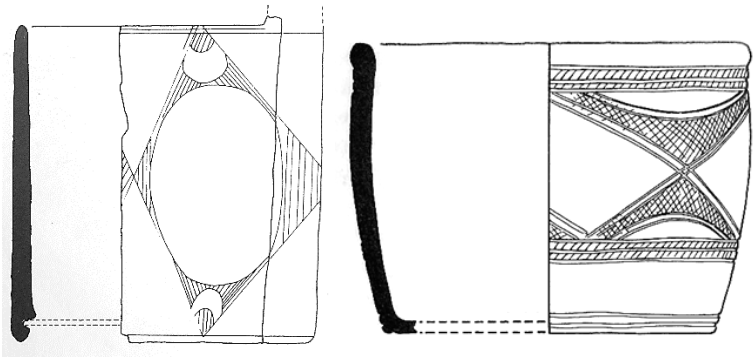


FIGURE 11.4 WOODEN VESSEL FROM GLV AND A CERAMIC VESSEL FROM MVE (LEFT TO RIGHT: W11 AND C354).

Similarly, connections to ceramic decoration are found on decorated stone objects. For example, we again see cordoning as a major decorative feature, particularly on shale vessels and arm-rings (Figure 11.5), although the methods of applying this type of decoration would have differed between each material type. In both cases, this motif can be considered as horizontal bands in relief, creating a three-dimensional form. While most stone decoration is relatively plain, focusing on horizontal bands, diagonal bands, and circles, occasionally more elaborate pieces have been discovered. For example, on one limestone 'ritual' object from Barnwood, Gloucestershire (Figure 11.6), we find a broken-back triskele form on each side and base, infilled with parallel bands. These are separated by a vertical chevron, infilled in alternating triangular spaces. On another example, a white limestone spindle-whorl from Camerton, Somerset (Figure 11.6), we again find an infilled triskele on top with a running s-scroll along the side. Both objects are formed from limestone and demonstrate greater possibilities in ornamentation in contrast to the flakier material of shale.

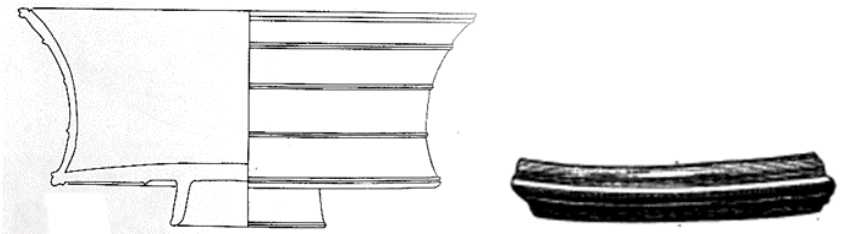


FIGURE 11.5 SHALE VESSEL FROM BARNWELL, CAMBRIDGESHIRE AND ARM-RING FROM MC (LEFT TO RIGHT: S18 AND S74).

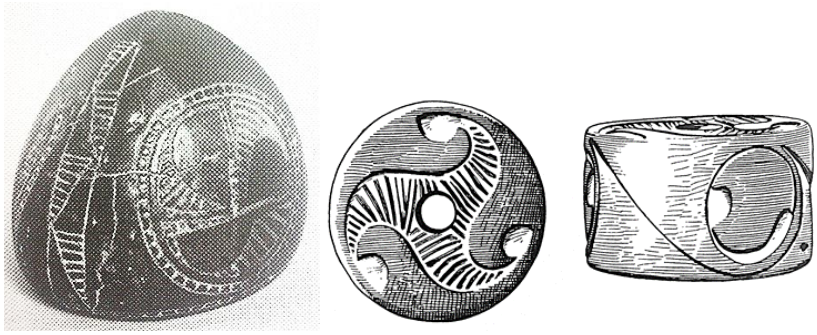


FIGURE 11.6 DECORATED 'RITUAL' OBJECT FROM BARNWOOD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE (LEFT: S2) AND SPINDLE-WHORL FROM CAMERTON, SOMERSET (CENTRE AND RIGHT: S4).

As with previous material considerations, decoration on stone and wood demonstrates a variety of motifs and combinations (Figure 11.17), which can all be referenced within my simplified typology (Appendix A). Within both materials, overall preference is placed on geometric motifs, through the use of horizontal, vertical, and diagonal bands, as well as chevrons and lozenges. Occasionally, curvilinear patterns are found, particularly scrolls, running scrolls, and trumpets. Nevertheless, due to the smaller number of decorated objects within both these materials, the number of objects containing these curvilinear patterns is relatively small, with only a few examples in each case. A comparison of these materials and their decorative characteristics also reveals significant differences in the selection of particular motifs. While both materials demonstrate the greatest preference for horizontal bands, particularly on stone, stone also shows a predilection for diagonal bands and circle motifs. Wood, on the other hand, utilizes more chevrons, lozenges, and infilling, with occasional preference for circle and cusp motifs, as previously discussed in relation to 'mirror' style decoration. Overall, wood shows a much greater emphasis on infilling than stone. While this may simply be reflective of the nature of the material itself, it may also reflect a social connection between woodwork and other artefacts with this decorative feature. In addition, considering the number of decorated wooden artefacts reported from GLV, the diversity in motifs is significant. While only 13 objects have been recorded for my wood analysis, these items contain the same overall number of motifs as the much larger stone assemblage. While the decorative choices do not appear as limited as those on antler and bone combs, it is still relatively restrictive in its visual schemes.

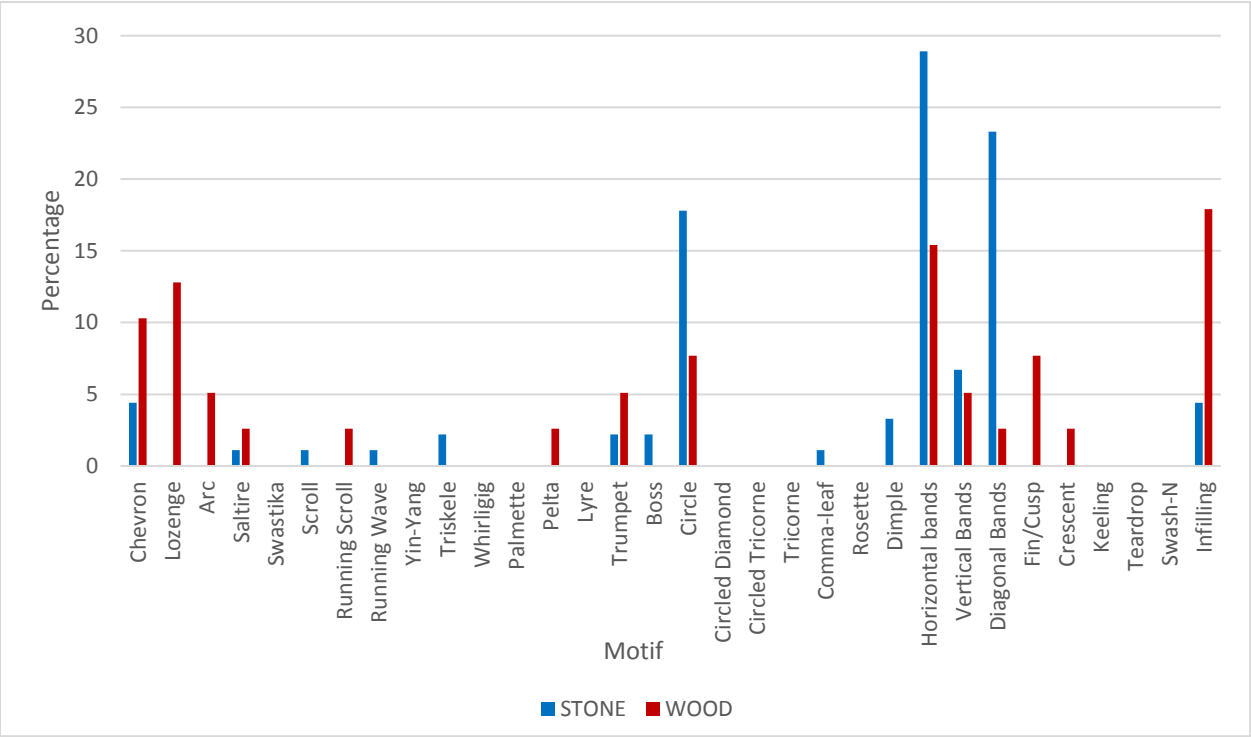


FIGURE 11.7 COMPARATION OF DECORATION FOUND ON STONE AND WOOD (BASED ON 64 DECORATED STONE AND 13 DECORATED WOOD OBJECTS).

ARTEFACT ASSOCIATIONS

When considering the entire assemblage of decorated stone and wooden artefacts, one factor stands out: there are limited types of artefacts chosen for decoration within each material form. Decoration on stone artefacts, for example, is typically found on shale arm-rings and vessels or limestone and chalk spindle-whorls. Occasionally other items, such as 'ritual' objects are found, but this is much less common than the previous categories. Decoration on wood is similarly found on vessels but can also be found on loom frameworks and panels. Again, this is only reflective of the wooden material found at GLV where preservation allows these interpretations to be made. While both materials demonstrate decoration on vessels, the vessel types appear to differ within each. For stone, the vessels tend to be labelled as vases, while the wooden vessels tend to be labelled either as tubs or buckets. Similarly, the decoration on each material vessel is vastly different. Shale vessels largely contain only horizontal cordoning or incised bands. Wooden vessels, in contrast, depict very elaborately incised and burnt decoration, focusing on a greater variety of motifs including running scrolls, peltas, chevrons, arcs, hatched infilling, etc. (Figure 11.8). On wooden vessels there is a larger diversity of decorative choices taking place. These differences would imply a distinction in function and significance between the two forms and their materials, as well as the implications behind their visual choices. Wood would have also been a much easier material to decorate than stone, allowing for its more elaborate styles.

FIGURE 11.8 WOODEN VESSEL FROM GLV (W6) AND SHALE VESSEL FROM OLD WARDEN, BEDFORDSHIRE (S15).

Within each artefact type, there were also certain decorative features that were consistently seen. For shale arm-rings, diagonal bands forming cable-like patterns are more commonly found (Figure 11.9). In contrast, spindle-whorls – which could easily have been decorated in the same way – tend to contain simpler decoration through the use of single circles around the central hole or incised horizontal bands along the sides (Figure 11.9). Occasionally more elaborately decorated spindle-whorls can be found typically containing chevron patterns, and in one instance depicting a triskele and running s-scroll (Figure 11.6). These might have served more significant or ornamental roles than their plainer alternatives.

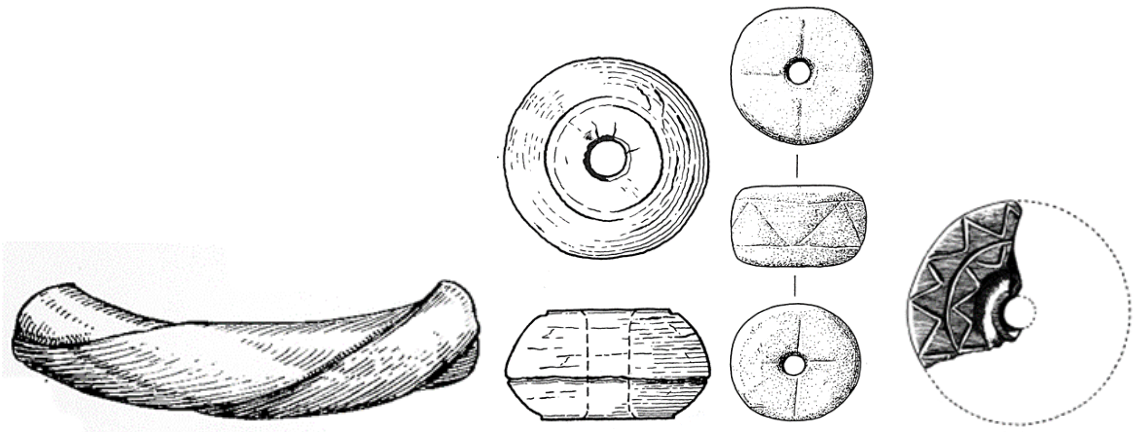


FIGURE 11.9 STONE DECORATION – LEFT TO RIGHT: ARM-RING FROM MVW (S22); SPINDLE-WHORL FROM MVE (S55); SPINDLE-WHORL FROM MVE (S57); SPINDLE-WHORL FROM MC (S66).

As previously stated, wooden vessels contained a diverse range of motifs, from geometric chevrons to curvilinear scrolls, with each vessel showing a different pattern to the next. In the same fashion, the two wooden panels depict very different patterns. While both show purely geometric schemes, they do so in very different ways. For example, one is ornamented with a stepped pattern containing simple and complex lozenge infilling, while the other contains triangular forms with vertical lined infilling on the outside (Figure 11.10). Both demonstrate a level of skill but without a discernible decorative scheme attached to their function.

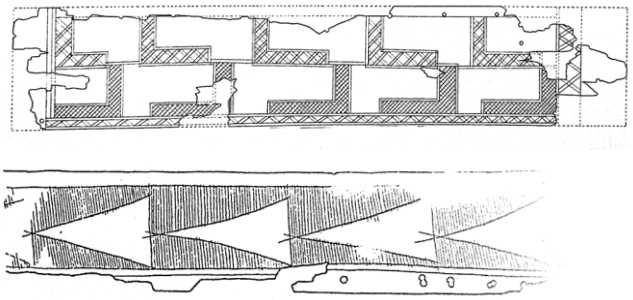


FIGURE 11.10 TWO WOODEN PANELS FROM GLV (LEFT TO RIGHT: W8 AND W9).

11.3 ANALYSIS

In total, I have recorded 77 decorated objects from southern Britain: 64 of stone and 13 of wood. Previous case study sites were initially investigated for any decorated objects created from these materials, with further additions taken from Jope's *Early Celtic Art in the British Isles* (2000). Within the following graphs, horizontal and vertical bands have been labelled separately, with the inclusion of cordoning under the general title of 'horizontal band' as it represents a three-dimensional version of this motif. While cordoning has not been separated within the figures, it has been discussed more thoroughly for the artefact and material types on which it is found. Only the motifs found on decorated stone and wood have been included in the following graphs, based on the larger typology, as the full decorative repertoire is much more restricted than that found on decorated metal and pottery.

STONE

Within decorated stone there were three main artefact groups: arm-rings (27 examples), spindle-whorls (24), and vessels (8). Therefore, decorated stone has been found in categories of personal adornment and domestic objects. Within these groups, all the arm-rings and vessels are made of shale, while the spindle-whorls typically consist of either limestone or chalk. As Figure 11.11 illustrates, these three main artefact types demonstrate very different preferences in decoration. Spindle-whorls show the largest diversity in motifs, as well as the greatest use of vertical bands. In contrast, shale vessels demonstrate the smallest variety of motif choice, with almost all vessels containing horizontal bands, excluding one example, with 71.4% of these forming bands in relief, also referred to as cordoning. This contrast is interesting as spindle-whorls contain a much smaller surface on which to decorate, but as shale is a flaky substance, this might have restricted the use of more elaborate designs. However, since arm-rings show a greater variety in motif choice, this cannot purely be the reason. But again, the decoration on arm-rings largely consisted of diagonal and horizontal bands, with cordoning making up 60%. Therefore, it would appear this decorative restriction was more reflective of the material than its social significance.

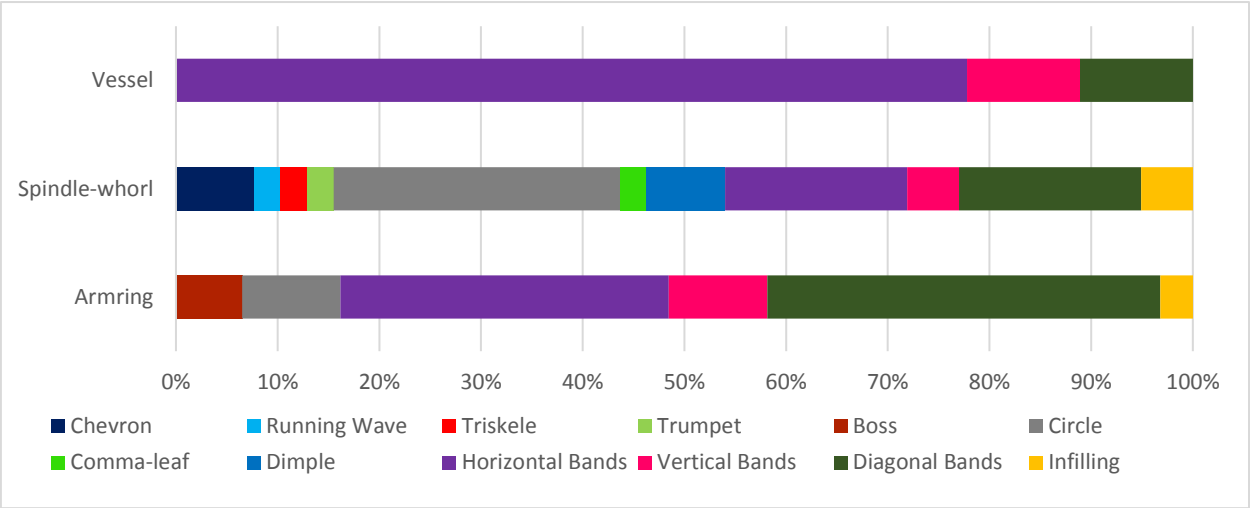


FIGURE 11.11 STONE DECORATION TO ARTEFACT TYPE (BASED ON 8 VESSELS, 27 ARM-RINGS, AND 24 SPINDLE-WHORLS).

Based on the particular materials used for decorated stone (Figure 11.12), shale is most frequently ornamented but incorporates a relatively restricted decorative selection. Limestone and chalk, on the other hand, contain much fewer examples but a much higher rate of motif selection, particularly on limestone. Furthermore, only limestone objects contain any curvilinear motifs, such as scrolls, running waves, triskeles, etc., and all of the motifs listed are more-or-less evenly represented with only diagonal bands having a slightly higher rate of use. The other materials, in contrast, are decorated largely with geometric motifs, particularly horizontal and diagonal bands. This higher rate of motif variability on limestone and chalk is likely due to the material itself as it is easier to carve than the other stone types. Within this comparison, the 'other' category is represented by a very small number, and therefore, this information is likely not the complete picture. However, what is interesting about this category is the lack of horizontal bands, or cordoning, which appears to be a main feature within the other groups.

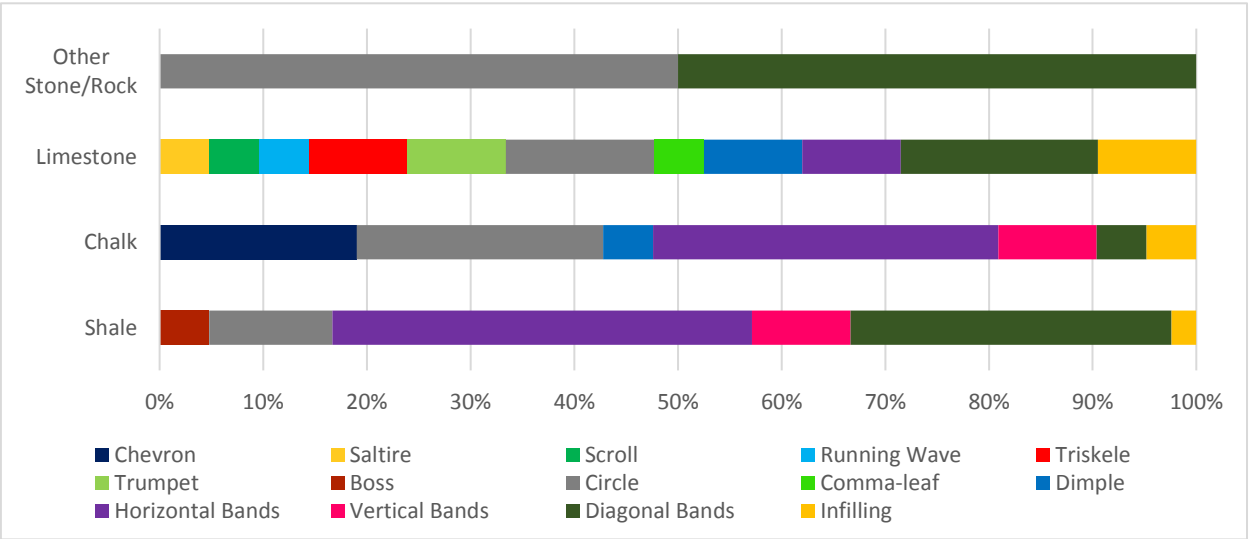


FIGURE 11.12 STONE DECORATION TO MATERIAL (BASED ON 37 SHALE, 13 CHALK, 10 LIMESTONE, AND 4 'OTHER' STONE OBJECTS).

Decorated stone artefacts were further divided into the three southern style zones (Cunliffe 2005) in which they were found: the Eastern, Central Southern, or South-Western zone (Figure 11.13). These decorated objects are most frequently found in the South-Western zone followed closely by the Central Southern zone. If we are to compare these two regions specifically, it is interesting to note that while the Central Southern zone has less examples than the farther western area, it has a greater variety of motif use, and it is only in this central zone that curvilinear patterns are found, such as scrolls, running waves, triskeles, etc. However, most of the decorated shale recorded within my data collection was found in the south-western zone, and as stated above, this material was rather restricted in its use of decoration, either due to the nature of the material or the types of artefacts that were created. Similarly, as shale is the most common material, its greater placement in the south-western zone creates a stronger representation within this region, and most of these case studies are found in sites located very close to the central-southern border, as well as very close to the natural source of Kimmeridge shale in Dorset. In contrast to these two zones, the Eastern zone has a very small representation of decorated stone objects, with only four examples within this collection. These are all shale vessels decorated with horizontal cordoning. While this is a very small sample of decorated stone, interestingly these vessels are found on multiple sites and are shaped into a variety of forms. As Jope emphasized, while the main deposits of shale are found in Dorset, the few shale vessels from that region are "not of such fine design as those of the well-clustered more easterly group" (Jope 2000, 322). While the decoration of the Eastern zone might not be as elaborate as those from the Central Southern or South-Western regions, their creation and ornamentation were nevertheless significant.

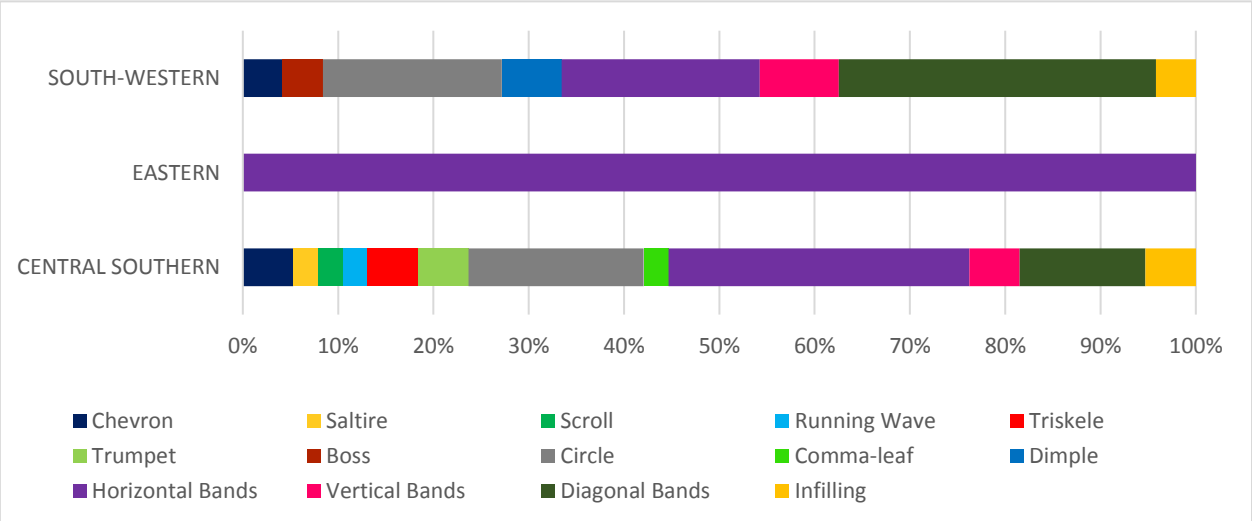


FIGURE 11.13 STONE DECORATION TO STYLE ZONE (BASED ON 24 FROM THE CENTRAL SOUTHERN, 4 FROM THE EASTERN, AND 36 FROM THE SOUTH-WESTERN ZONE).

Regarding the possible connections between decoration and time period, MC is the only site where dates were provided for most of the artefacts, and therefore this case study site has been used for a more local interpretation. These dates were taken from Wheeler and Sharples' site reports (Wheeler 1943; Sharples 1991), which can be viewed in Table 11.1. Out of the 18 total decorated examples from each report, 15 were provided with broad dates. However, as with any dating, there are potential problems, particularly as there are only a small number of stone artefacts which can be used for this chronological analysis. Nevertheless, there are a few things that can be gathered from this information even if the sample size is relatively small. For example, at MC, stone objects were only decorated with chevrons, scrolls, circles, and horizontal, vertical, or diagonal bands. However, based on the date of these objects, there was a larger selection of motifs utilized during the earliest

period (Iron Age A or Phase 5) (Figure 11.14), although this higher motif variability is potentially due to the longer date range provided. Following this period, during the later Iron Age, many of these motifs begin to disappear with the exception of horizontal bands (including three-dimensional cordons). Similarly, during the later period scrolls begin to appear, although this is only represented by a single example. Nevertheless, a change in decorative choice was taking place over time, at least at this particular site, with more variety of decoration in earlier phases and the introduction of curvilinear patterns during later ones. It can be assumed that similar changes were taking place at other sites, but this cannot be determined at present.

TABLE 11.1 IRON AGE DATE RANGES FROM MC (BASED ON WHEELER, 1943; SHARPLES, 1991).

WHEELER 1943	DATE RANGE	SHARPLES 1991	PERIOD
IRON AGE A	4th – mid-1st century BC	Phase 5	Early Iron Age Fort
IRON AGE B	Mid-1st century BC to early 1st century AD	Phase 6	Extended Fort
IRON AGE C	Early to mid-1st century AD	Phase 7 Phase 8 Phase 9	Late Iron Age Early Roman Late Roman Period

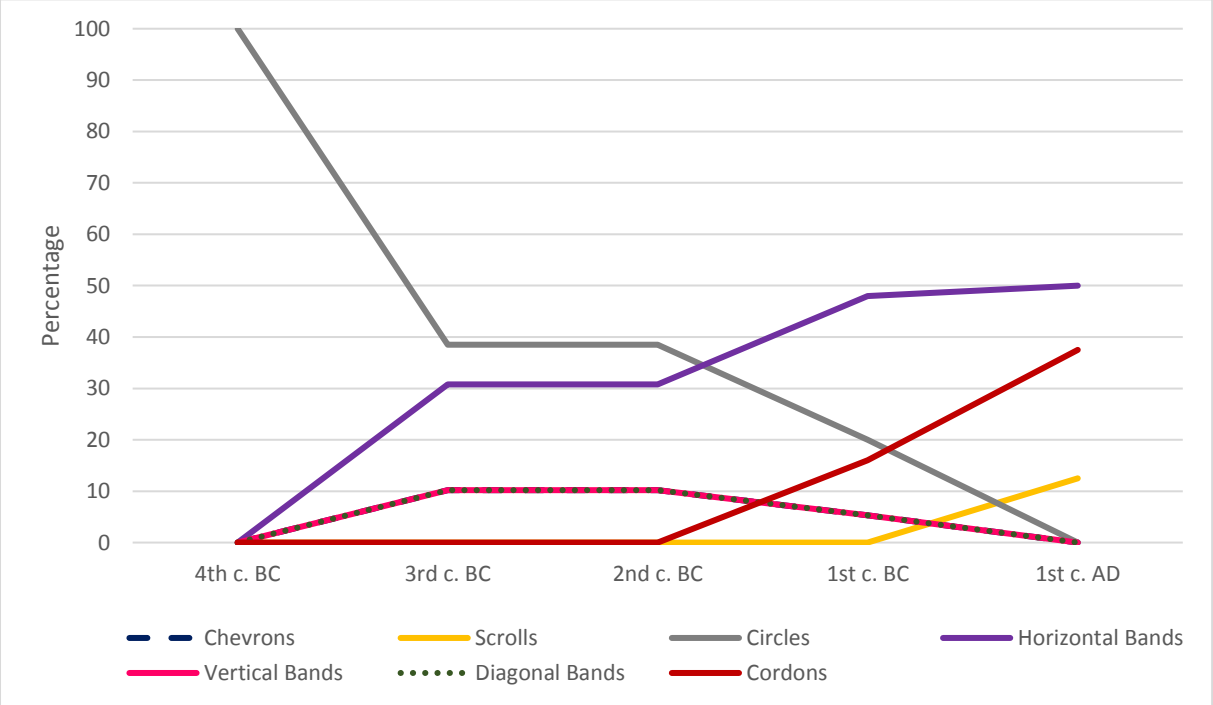


FIGURE 11.14 STONE DECORATION TO DATE AT MC (BASED ON 15 STONE OBJECTS). CHEVRONS, VERTICAL BANDS, AND DIAGONAL BANDS ARE EVENLY REPRESENTED, AND THEREFORE THEIR LINES OVERLAP.

WOOD

Within wooden material culture, decoration is also found on particular artefacts. These largely fall into groups of domestic use, such as vessels and loom frameworks. Vessels are the most common type of decorated wooden object and accordingly have the greatest variety of motif (Figure 11.15). From this diverse motif selection, various patterns have also been created, through a combination of geometric, curvilinear, and circular motifs. Decorated loom frameworks also demonstrate a combination of patterns, but geometric patterns remain the overwhelming majority, with the inclusion of arcs being the only exception. Decorated panels, on the other hand, focus purely on geometric motifs, much like ornamentation found on the majority of stone objects. According to Jope, these panels might have been used as sides for rectangular boxes, with the holes along one side potentially used for fixing to another surface (Jope 2000, 321). While the vessels and panels were likely used to hold different items, their overall function is one of containment. In addition, there is one object of unknown function, which has been decorated with lozenge and horizontal bands. As with the wooden panels, this item contains only geometric motifs, and therefore it is possible it served a similar function.

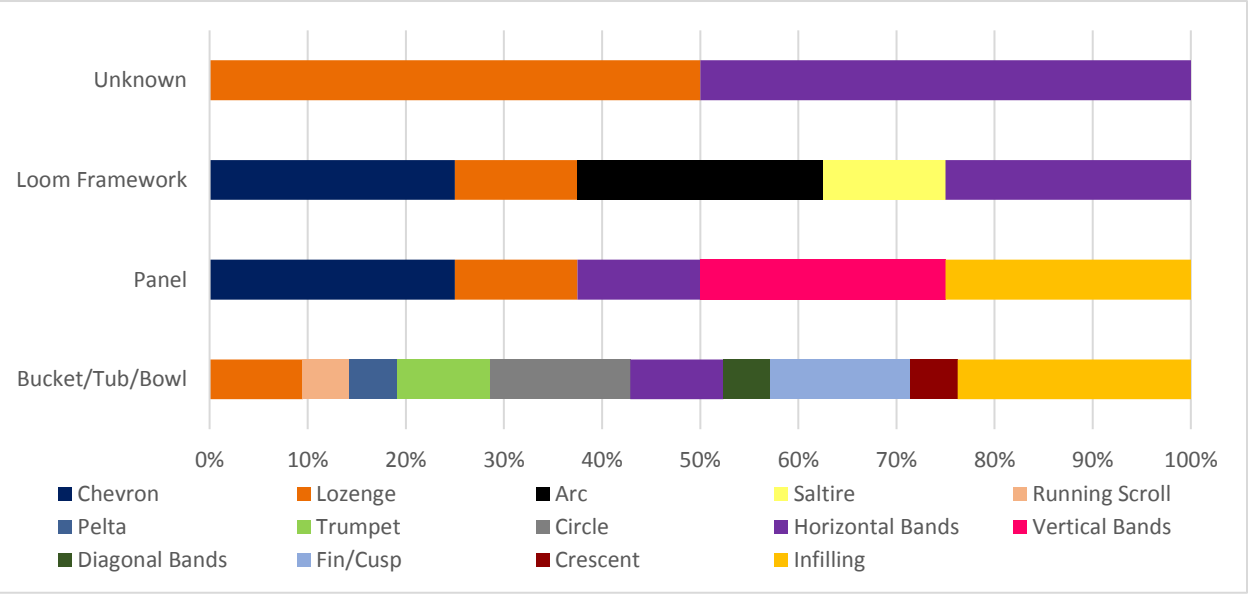


FIGURE 11.15 WOODEN DECORATION TO ARTEFACT TYPE (BASED ON 7 BUCKET/TUB/BOWLS, 2 PANELS, 3 LOOM FRAMEWORKS, AND 1 UNKNOWN OBJECT).

While it was possible to make further connections between decoration and material, region, and time period for stone artefacts, this is unfortunately not the case for woodwork. As previously stated, it is difficult to accurately date a wooden object as the wood itself is likely older than the construction and use of the artefact, and therefore connections to date have not been formed. Preservation of wood is also difficult, being best preserved in peat bogs or crannogs (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 310). Due to this, all the decorated wood in my analysis was found at GLV, and therefore, connections to regional style zones cannot be determined as all examples come from the South-Western zone. Similarly, there is not enough data recorded regarding the types of wood being used for these decorated objects to make a reliable interpretation. It will not be possible, therefore, to include these three comparisons due to a general lack of evidence.

11.4 CONCLUSIONS

The above comparison of these two material types demonstrates that while Iron Age decoration on these materials was based on a general decorative typology or scheme, the choices within this were greatly variable. Indeed, this choice extended further to the types of artefacts chosen for decoration. For example, stone materials show a strong preference for geometric patterns, particularly found on vases, spindle-whorls, and arm-rings. Wood, on the other hand, demonstrates a greater use of curvilinear motifs, as well as a greater variety of motif choice in comparison to the size of its assemblage. In both cases, we find that vessels remained a significant artefact on which decoration was included and would have been an important form of visual expression through its more local and general means of display. In a similar fashion, each material showed a decorative connection to ceramic vessels found within Danebury and MLV. Not only is the elaborate decoration found on wooden vessels similar to ceramics, but it also demonstrates a strong connection to more elaborate metal pieces, such as the Colchester mirror. While this material is not as greatly represented due to its lack of preservation, it nevertheless suggests a high level of significance based on the skill and time required to decorate these pieces in such a detailed fashion. As both materials demonstrate, the importance of ornamentation was not restricted to elite representation but allowed for more local expressions to take place, whether this be in plain or elaborate forms. Now that the various materials have been analysed, an evaluation of Iron Age visual culture as a whole can be more thoroughly explored.

12: COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

Having examined in turn the decoration on metalwork, ceramics, antler/bone, stone, and wood, it is time to compare the different media so that the commonalities and differences in the way visual language was used can be further explored. By comparing decoration on different materials, we can better understand how individuals, communities, and regional groups visually expressed themselves, particularly during periods of social change. To make these social connections, I will first compare the different materials – pottery, antler/bone, stone, wood, and metal – based on their main decorative features and material constraints. This will then be followed by a more detailed comparative analysis of the different materials, their general artefact types, regional associations, chronological connections, and decoration.

In order to make a multi-material analysis, a total of 2,014 decorated objects has been evaluated, including 1,351 ceramic vessels, 300 antler/bone combs, 13 wood objects, 64 stone objects, and 286 metal objects. While the specific artefact types and site associations have been addressed in the previous chapters, this final analysis will focus on more general comparisons to better understand Iron Age decorated material as a whole. As previously discussed through decorated metalwork, all these materials belong to four general artefact groups: personal adornment, domestic objects, warrior accoutrement, and horse/vehicle gear, although the non-metals belong solely to categories of personal or domestic use.

12.1 MATERIAL COMPARISONS

Within this analysis, five different materials were individually analysed for their decorative schemes and associations. These next few sections will address how motif choices, and therefore visual 'messages', were affected by the different materials, artefact types, and/or time periods, thereby addressing the questions: Did different materials present similar forms of visual expression, and what role did this decoration serve? While the focus for this research lies primarily on non-metal decorated materials, it was still necessary to evaluate decorated metalwork to gain a more complete picture of Iron Age art. Ceramics were a particular focus for discussion due to their prevalence, functional and social significance, and chronological indicators. Nevertheless, all of this material provided evidence of more local means of visual expression by demonstrating shared and diversified visual traits and potential levels of social accessibility and engagement. A comparison of the different materials and their decorative motifs is found in Figure 12.1. In some cases, horizontal and vertical bands were combined as the selection of these motifs changed depending on the orientation of the object and how it might have been held or displayed. In these cases, they have been included solely as horizontal bands for the benefit of this graph. This is largely only found for my metalwork and

comb analysis as the direction was not necessarily implied, a large variety of artefact types were discussed, and it does not greatly affect the overall motif percentages.

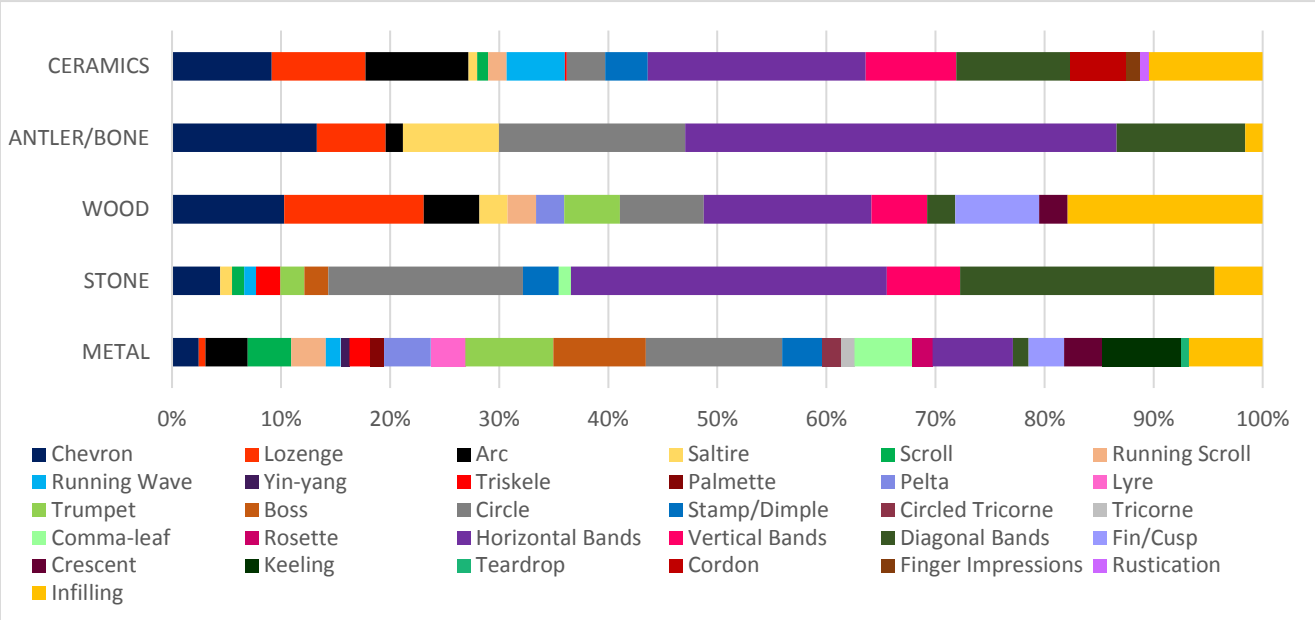


FIGURE 12.1 DECORATION TO MATERIAL (BASED ON 1351 CERAMIC VESSELS, 300 ANTLER/BONE COMBS, 13 WOOD OBJECTS, 64 STONE OBJECTS, AND 286 METAL OBJECTS).

In contrast to the other materials, a higher representation of antler/bone combs were decorated, at almost 70%, although this is likely attributed to the smaller number of comb examples overall. While these combs are more commonly decorated, the motif variability is less in comparison to the other material types. Therefore, it is interesting that there is less variety on objects which are more commonly decorated, and potentially suggests a level of standardization. However, most reports do not provide a complete reference to the number of decorated versus undecorated examples, and therefore, accurate rates of decoration for the other materials are unknown at this time. While wood is thought to be mostly undecorated, its low rate of preservation potentially affects how much of the decoration we can currently see. In the case of limestone and shale, there is also a much smaller representation of decorated examples at the sites included within this study. Out of the ceramic decoration, only MVE provided a figure for the proportion of decorated examples, at around 7%. If we were to use this representation for all pottery, then only a very small percentage would have been decorated. In these cases, the objects would have been widely used but not commonly decorated, and the fact that decoration was not a universally common practice suggests that those items which contained decoration may have held a higher or different level of social significance beyond their basic function.

As Figure 12.1 illustrates, metalwork contained the greatest variety of motif selection and stylistic combinations, followed by ceramics, stone, wood, and finally antler/bone combs. Ceramics, in particular, contain the greatest variety of application techniques, including different methods of texturing, such as rouletting, scoring, and burnishing, which greatly add to the decorative styles but are not necessarily applicable on the other materials. While cordoning is an identifiable method of application within ceramic decoration, it is also found repeatedly on shale arm-rings, although through a different methods of application, thereby emphasizing a three-dimensionality to Iron Age art within both of these materials.

Looking at the motif selections more specifically, horizontal bands and circles make up the majority of all decoration regardless of material. However, only on metalwork are circles more common than horizontal bands, likely due to the diversity of circle motifs (single, concentric, and ring-and-dot) found on this material. Pottery decoration, on the other hand, tends to focus on chevrons, lozenges, arcs, and horizontal, vertical, or diagonal bands. While MLV typically contained more arc motifs, in various patterns, overall pottery decoration is overwhelmingly geometric. The most frequent decorative patterns on antler/bone combs included chevrons, diagonal bands or saltires in zones bordered by horizontal bands, rows of multiple horizontal bands, and ring-and-dot motifs. Within wood decoration, there was a greater mixture of geometric, curvilinear, and circular motifs on individual objects rather than a preference for one. This decoration most frequently depicted chevrons and lozenges in continuous rows, as well as hatched infilling. Although this material consists of a small number of examples, all from a single site, there is a diverse range of motifs and pattern combinations creating multiple unique styles. In contrast, stone decoration was relatively plain, focusing on horizontal or diagonal bands and circles. While some of these materials were less elaborately decorated than others, this does not mean that they represented a simple domestic craft. Regardless of the overall design, they would have required time, space, and skill to produce and decorate, as well as the necessary periods of teaching in which to continue these traditions.

Representations of a unique insular style were further established within metalwork decoration, typically around the 4th to 3rd centuries BC, and particularly associated with the later 'Snettisham style' and 'Mirror style'. Motifs belonging to this insular style tend to include cusps or fins, comma-leaves and other leaf imagery, keeled roundels, circled tricornes, and basketry hatching (Joy 2010, 341; Jope 2000, 185-6,188) (see Appendix A: W, R, S, P, AA). In the case of comma-leaves and keeled roundels, these are often connected to allusive bird-head imagery and ambiguity, common within Iron Age art. While some of these features have only been found within metalwork decoration, such as circled tricornes and keeled roundels, the other motifs have been found on non-metals. Other recognisably insular features have been identified through non-metal materials. St George Gray established a 'Late-Celtic style' for comb decoration, based on a curving butt-end (Figure 12.2), which is often associated with later Iron Age metalwork (Bulleid and Gray 1911, 274). In both of these styles, the focus is placed on a curving form.

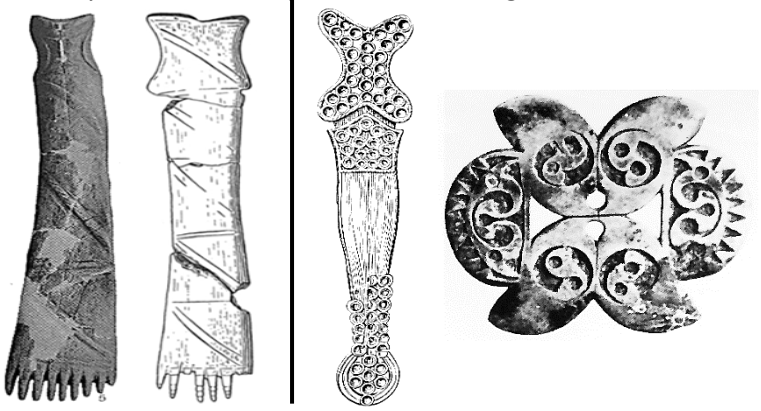


FIGURE 12.2 'LATE-CELTIC STYLE' COMBS (LEFT: A215 AND A110) AND SIMILAR DECORATED METALWORK (RIGHT: M17 AND M223).

While Figure 12.1 highlights the main differences between the materials, similarities in motif execution have also been found. For example, similar s-scrolls were depicted on pottery, metalwork, and a limestone spindle-whorl (Figure 12.3), although when looking at the graph this motif is a relatively uncommon feature. In addition, mirrored diagonal bands are a common feature of insular Iron Age art, most frequently emphasized in Danebury's ceramic decoration, but also found on

antler combs, a wooden vessel from GLV, and shale arm-rings. Although in this latter case they are not mirrored.

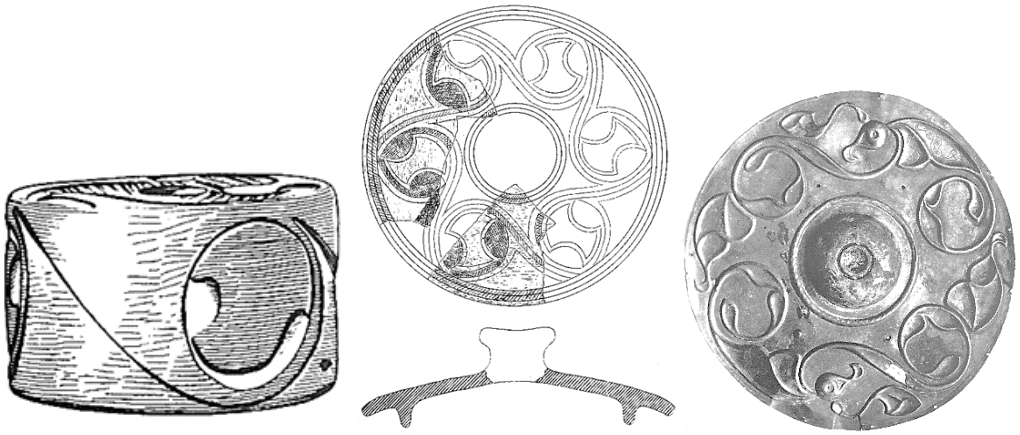


FIGURE 12.3 SIMILAR S-SCROLL DESIGNS FOUND ON STONE (LEFT: S4), POTTERY (CENTRE: C529), AND METALWORK (RIGHT: M35).

As previously discussed within the Danebury ceramic material, certain motifs were theorized to visually represent stitching (Cunliffe 2005, 489). This is particularly seen with rows of diagonal bands, representing the thread, with attached dots, representing the needle holes. Similarly, when the diagonal bands are mirrored, they form a braid-like pattern. While this is a common feature on Danebury ceramics (Figure 12.4), it is not the only site or material in which this interpretation can be applied. Not only are diagonal bands with dots an identifying feature of the St Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down style, but this design is also found on ceramics from the Eastern zone at Dragonby; however, in this case the design is rouletted rather than inscribed. Similar patterns consisting of mirrored diagonal bands are found on wooden vessels, again forming a braided pattern, while shale arm-rings often contain cordoned diagonal bands forming a cable-like pattern, giving the appearance of twisted rope (Figure 12.4). Directly connected to the process of weaving, combs depict similar decoration, such as braid-like motifs reflective of rope or basketry (Figure 12.4). In addition to braided patterns, both combs and pottery occasionally depict overlapping arcs, further reminiscent of stitching (Figure 12.5). In all cases, it appears the designs were based on a general decorative scheme – stitching or weaving – but were adopted differently based on the material, creating various levels of individuality.

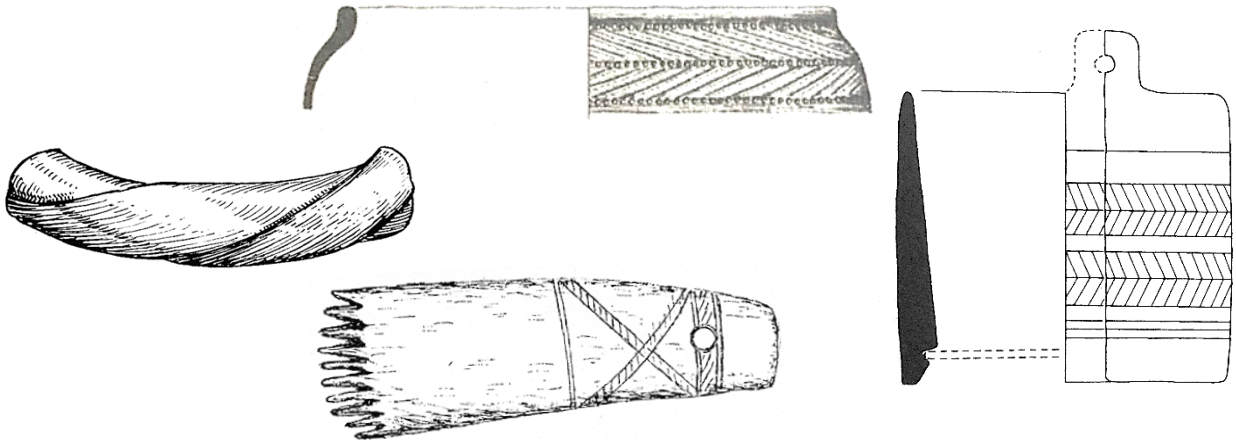


FIGURE 12.4 DECORATION REMINISCENT OF STITCHING FOUND ON POTTERY (TOP: C329), STONE (LEFT: S22), ANTLER (BOTTOM: A245), AND WOOD (RIGHT: W10) - DIAGONAL BANDS.

FIGURE 12.5 DECORATION REMINISCENT OF STITCHING FOUND ON COMBS (LEFT: A197) AND POTTERY (RIGHT: C166) - ARCS.

NON-METAL VS. METAL DECORATION

When evaluating the decoration on various materials, it is also important to ask: did metals and non-metals present similar forms of visual expression? The dichotomy of these two broad material types can potentially reveal information about different levels of visual communication within these prehistoric societies. Non-metal artefacts, such as pottery, antler, bone, wood, and stone, would likely have served as 'common' objects with potential significance in everyday life. It can reasonably be assumed that non-metal objects were generally used at a more local level of consumption and display, with connections to daily activities and community relationships, in contrast to the longer exchange systems associated with metalwork. Materials, such as wood and clay, would have also been more readily available, and therefore more accessible to the general public. In this way, decorated non-metals served as a significant means of expression for the local community, with the possibility of representing both individuality and regional connections. While previous literature tends to focus on non-metal's resemblance to metalwork, in regard to decoration, this demonstrates an unconscious bias which draws focus away from the autonomous importance of non-metal visual imagery.

In regard to general decorative schemes, non-metal material shows a preference for geometric motifs and patterns in contrast to metalwork which contains more curvilinear and circular decoration. This is an interesting element considering the contrasting emphasis on movement and rigidity displayed on Iron Age decoration. While we should not simply look at metalwork as the genesis of all Iron Age art, it is important to compare the visual similarities between metalwork and other materials. Based on a visual analysis, ceramics show the strongest connections to metalwork, particularly at MLV. This is most notably seen through the addition of circled tricornes, triskeles, saltires, palmettes, and the running scrolls found on its lids and bases (Figure 12.6). However, the decoration on wood and stone similar to that found on metal is also significant as decorated wood and stone have a much smaller assemblage size. For example, one wooden piece draws close parallels to the 'mirror style' found on metalwork (Jope 2000, Plate 312a; Bulleid and Gray 1911, fig. 128), while another contains a running scroll in a vegetal style, similar to metalwork from the

Waldalgesheim period (Figure 12.7). Similarly, two stone objects, one of shale and one of limestone, both contain triskeles, with the limestone spindle-whorl containing an additional running scroll around its side (Figure 12.8). Both of these motifs are common within metalwork decoration. Antler/bone combs demonstrate further visual similarities to metal decoration, particularly through the creation of abstract representations. In some instances, combs with circular butt-ends decorated with one or two openwork circles or ring-and-dot motifs create the appearance of 'human'-like shapes. The construction of these 'human' shapes is not identical to the creation of 'faces' within metalwork decoration, but the stylistic idea is still reminiscent of these abstract forms. Why these allusive human shapes were created is unknown, but their inclusion on different materials suggests there were different levels of social engagement or access within the communities in which this type of design is found. Therefore, it is possible that in order to truly appreciate these decorated combs, a specific level of knowledge around their history was first required. The connections between ambiguity and access will be further discussed in Sections 13.1.

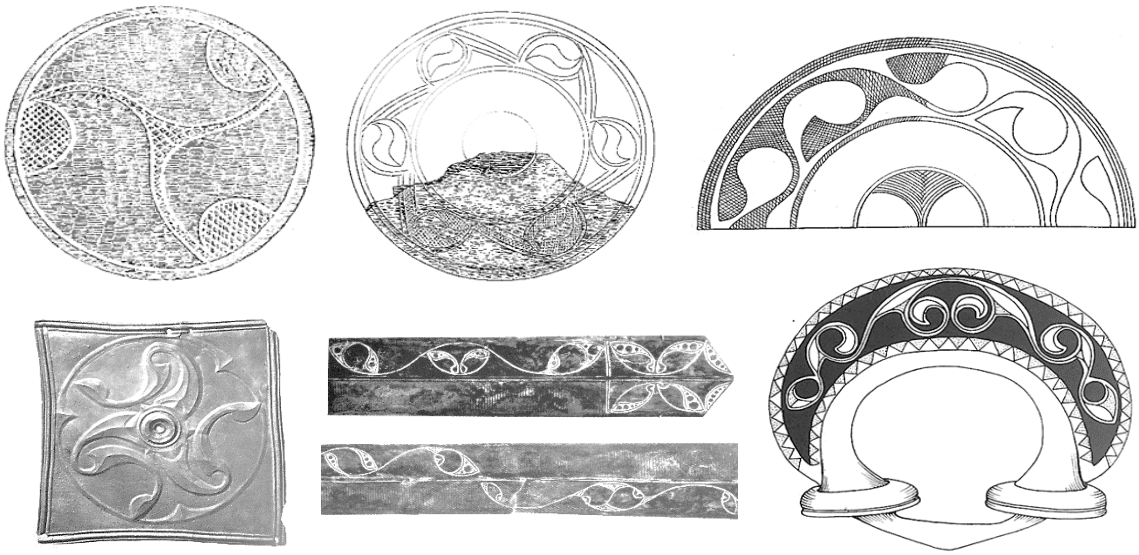


FIGURE 12.6 SIMILARITIES IN DECORATION BETWEEN POTTERY (TOP LEFT TO RIGHT: C543, C528, C541) AND METALWORK (BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT: M40, M27, M208).

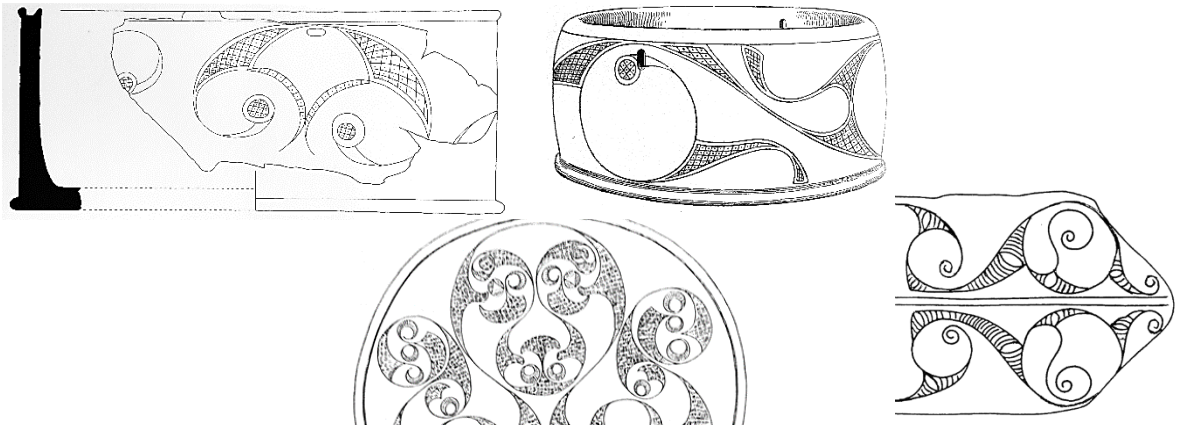


FIGURE 12.7 SIMILARITIES IN DECORATION BETWEEN WOOD (TOP LEFT TO RIGHT: W5 AND W6) AND METAL (BOTTOM LEFT TO RIGHT: M95 AND M166).

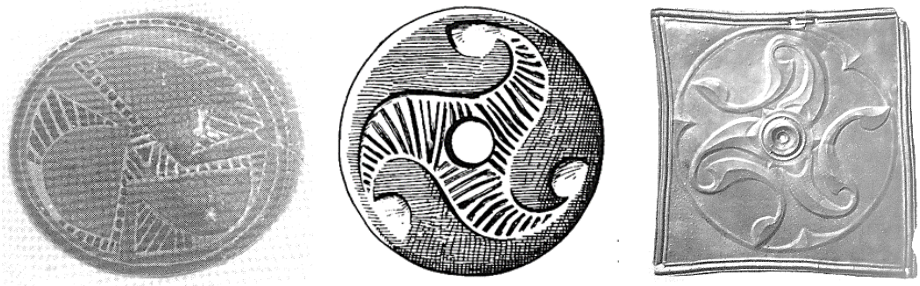


FIGURE 12.8 SIMILARITIES IN DECORATION BETWEEN STONE (LEFT: S2; CENTRE: S4) AND METAL (RIGHT: M40).

MATERIAL CONSTRAINTS

While social connections, traditional styles, and functional roles played a significant part in the selection of decoration, the material itself would also have influenced these choices. Similar to my original research question, we can further determine how the material might directly affect the decoration. Differences in surface texture, surface space, and elasticity of the material would have affected what decoration could be employed and how it was applied, while accessibility and preservation of the material would affect what evidence is available for analysis. Pottery is relatively easy to manipulate and shape, the material is relatively easy to acquire, and it allows for a variety of application techniques. Similarly, metal can be manipulated with heat, allowing for both two-dimensional and three-dimensional forms. Although decorated wood has a small representation, the material itself would have been easy to decorate and manipulate, suggesting a larger collection existed but has not been preserved. Therefore, it makes sense that these three materials have the greatest variety of decoration. Antler and bone, on the other hand, would need to be soaked before the material could be decorated, and if this was not completed then the decoration would appear scratched, similar to scratched pottery decoration applied after the material has hardened. The collection of antlers would likely have been a seasonal activity, and therefore would also require special planning and excess time to collect, manipulate, and decorate. However, regardless of the time required and seasonal access to the material, the majority of antler and bone combs were decorated.

In the case of stone, the specific material type would affect the decorative possibilities. Overall, objects of shale, chalk, or limestone are most frequently decorated. However, what is notable is the difference between these three types. While shale is commonly used to create larger vessels, likely

due to the hardness of the material and its lightweight quality, the decoration is rather plain. This is most likely owing to its flaky nature. Spindle-whorls, on the other hand, were made from chalk or limestone, softer materials, and contain the greatest variety of stone decoration even though they have a smaller surface on which to decorate. These objects demonstrate how the material directly affects the use and variety of decoration. The fact that some of the less malleable materials are commonly decorated highlights the importance of their ornamentation.

DECORATION TO FORM

While specific artefact types and their associated decoration can be found in Appendix F, all of these assemblages can be further grouped into four general categories: personal adornment, domestic objects, warrior accoutrement, and horse/vehicle gear. Although decorated metalwork can be placed into all four groups, the other, non-metal, materials tend to belong solely within personal ornaments or domestic items. I did not find any decorated non-metal objects belonging to military accoutrement or horse/vehicle gear, and therefore, a complete comparative analysis within these fields cannot be made at this time. As the metal objects within these two categories were thought to impress or intimidate the viewer, a comparison with non-metals from these fields in the future might be able to provide further insight into the intentions of non-metal decoration. It is also important to keep in mind that I have not included all ceramic or antler/bone artefacts but am focusing on particular artefact types with a large representation, namely vessels and combs. Nevertheless, based on the general artefact group associations, we can further ask: did these artefact groups present similar forms of imagery regardless of the particular material employed?

Within personal ornaments we find shale arm-rings, along with metal brooches, torcs, and collars. While personal items of metal are some of the most elaborately decorated Iron Age objects, shale arm-rings are one of the plainest, typically consisting of diagonal bands and cordoning. Within domestic items, on the other hand, we find wooden, shale, and pottery vessels, along with limestone and chalk spindle-whorls, wooden panels, wooden loom-weights, and antler/bone combs. This is in addition to metal vessels and casket fittings. In regard to the process of weaving or textile production, we find evidence from multiple material sources: antler/bone combs, limestone and chalk spindle-whorls, and wooden loom-weights (Figure 12.9). While antler/bone combs have a larger representation than the other materials, they have a rather restrictive decorative repertoire. Wooden loom-weights are similarly restrictive in their decorative choices, solely consisting of chevrons, lozenges, arcs, saltires, and horizontal bands. But, again, we must keep in mind this consists of only three examples. Limestone and chalk spindle-whorls also have a small representation, but their decoration contains a large diversity of motif selection even though they have a small surface on which to decorate. Although combs, spindle-whorls, and loom-weight frames are all considered part of the weaving process, their decorative choices are vastly different (Figure 12.10). It does not appear that there was an overall decorative scheme attached to this activity, at least not one that is visually obvious.

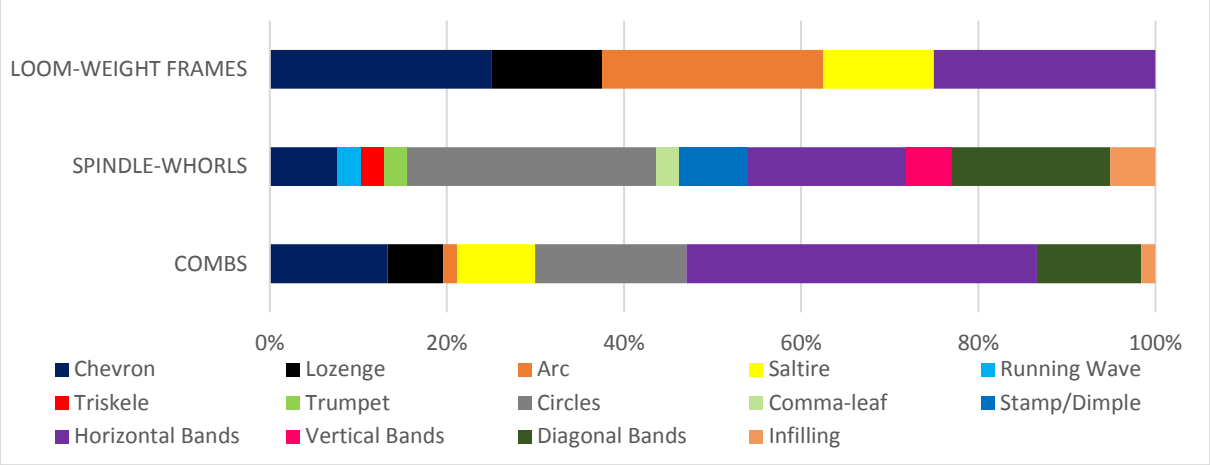


FIGURE 12.9 DECORATION TO WEAVING IMPLEMENTS (BASED ON 300 COMBS, 24 SPINDLE-WHORLS, AND 3 LOOM-WEIGHT FRAMES).

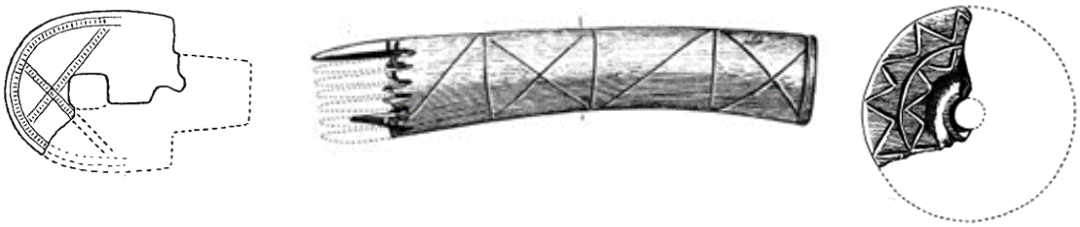


FIGURE 12.10 WEAVING AND TEXTILE INSTRUMENTS: WOOD (LEFT: W33), ANTLER (CENTRE: A280), STONE (RIGHT: S66).

Wooden panels and casket fittings (Figure 12.11), on the other hand, typically provide long flat surfaces on which to decorate, and therefore the patterns are generally continuous. Within metal casket fittings this continuous decoration is typically curvilinear and contains a much greater diversity of motifs, consistent with typical decorated metal artefacts. Wooden panels, on the other hand, solely depict geometric patterns, consisting of chevrons, lozenges, horizontal and vertical bands, and infilling. As it was relatively easy to decorate wood, especially on a flat and long surface, the smaller variety of motifs suggests that wooden decoration was much more restricted; however, it is also important to keep in mind that decorated wooden panels are represented by only two examples, and therefore, more variability might have existed during this period. Furthermore, decoration on metal fittings is typically three-dimensional, while that on wooden panels is two-dimensional. In both cases, the objects are considered parts of wooden containers (Jope 2000, 132, 283, 321), but the contrasting styles suggest different social connections, functions, or contents.

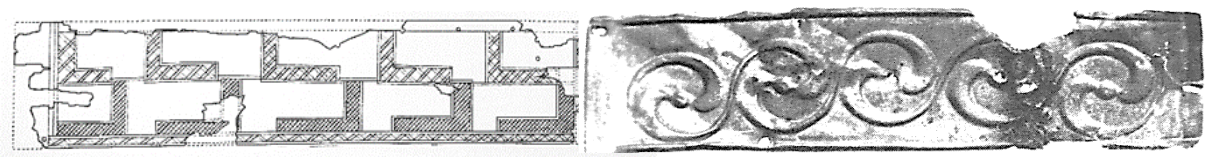


FIGURE 12.11 WOODEN PANEL (LEFT: W8) VS. METAL CASKET FITTING (RIGHT: M122).

Throughout most of the materials I have evaluated, vessels have remained a significant artefact on which decoration was incorporated and would have been an important canvas for visual expression due to its more local and communal means of engagement and display. Differences in vessel decoration can be viewed in Figure 12.12. For this graph, cordoning has been separated from horizontal bands for stone vessels to better compare this three-dimensional style with that found on other materials. Similarly, horizontal and vertical bands have been separated on metal vessels as the orientation is easily determined. Out of these vessels, those made of ceramic contain the greatest variety of decoration, along with some of the most elaborate patterns (Figure 12.13). The quantity of

pottery evidence would also have greatly contributed to this fact. While it appears that vessel decoration is a lot more variable on metals, this was based on a much smaller number of examples, and overall decoration was relatively minimal (Figure 12.13). Those with more elaborate decoration tended to be found on wooden vessels with decorated bronze panels. If in the shape of a tankard or cup, this decoration tended to be restricted to the handles. Stone vessels contain the smallest variety of decoration, typically restricted to horizontal or diagonal bands and cordoning (Figure 12.13). Occasionally, however, similarities between the materials have been found. For example, both mirrored diagonal bands forming braided patterns and similar lozenge/arc patterns with hatched infilling have been found on both wooden and ceramic vessels (Figure 12.14). While the overall placement and construction of these motifs and patterns does differ between wooden and ceramic vessels, they are connected through these two particular styles. There are further similarities between stone and ceramic vessels through their interest in cordoning (Figure 12.15); however, wooden vessels are much easier to decorate than stone, and therefore, more elaborate decoration reminiscent of pottery has been found. In these cases, both wooden and ceramic vessels appear to draw visual inspiration from a similar source, or from one another.

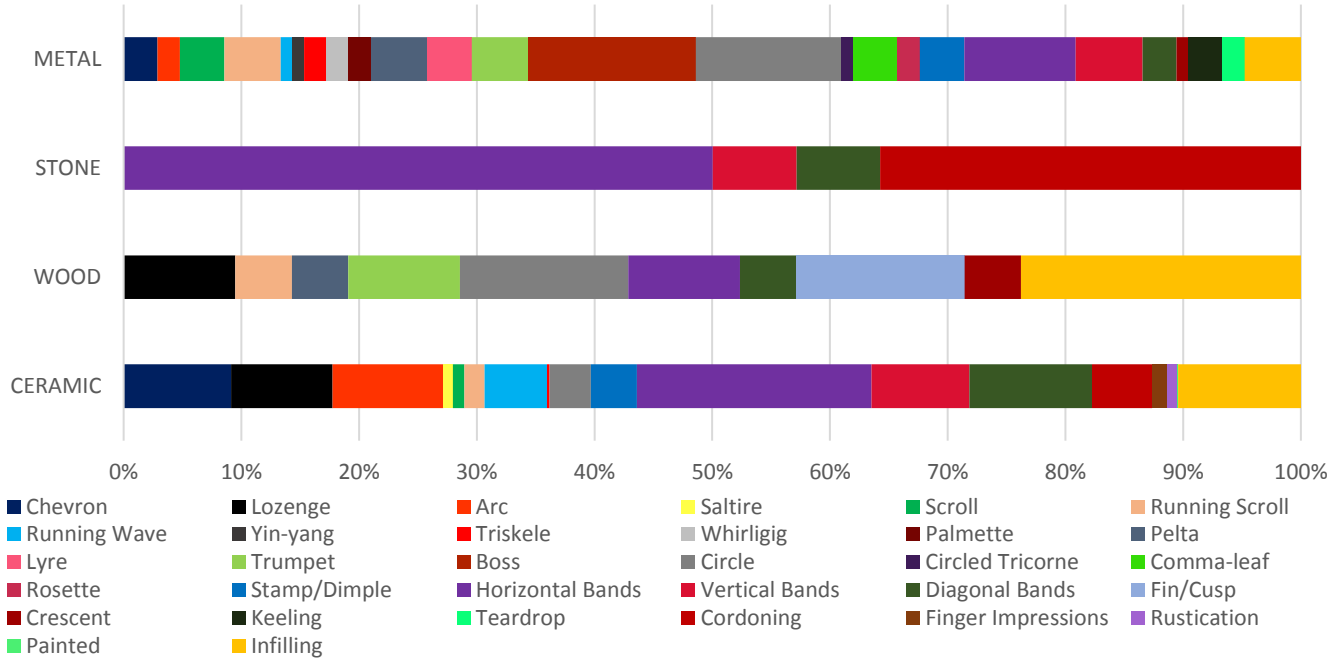


FIGURE 12.12 VESSEL DECORATION MADE FROM METAL, STONE, WOOD, AND CERAMIC (BASED ON 33 OF METAL, 8 OF STONE, 7 OF WOOD, AND 1351 OF CERAMIC).

FIGURE 12.13 VESSELS MADE FROM CERAMIC (TOP LEFT: C383), METAL (BOTTOM LEFT: M161), AND STONE (RIGHT: S15).

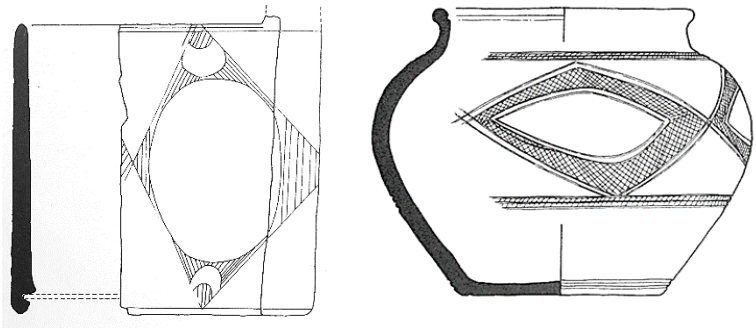


FIGURE 12.14 SIMILARITIES IN DECORATION BETWEEN WOODEN (LEFT: W11) AND CERAMIC VESSELS (RIGHT: C380).

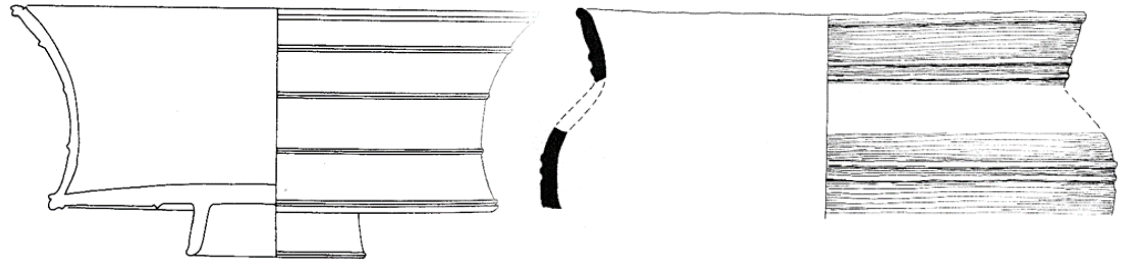


FIGURE 12.15 SIMILARITIES IN DECORATION BETWEEN STONE (LEFT: S18) AND CERAMIC VESSELS (RIGHT: C94).

Within all the materials and artefact types, the decorative features would have been influenced by the ways in which the objects were positioned, viewed, and used. In this way, decoration would have a direct connection to an object's intended function. In the case of vessels, ceramics contain the greatest number of examples, along with a more diverse range of shapes and sizes, and this likely represents a greater variety of functions and/or contents. While each of the different materials and artefact types largely contain similar motifs, the frequency in which they were employed and their different combinations, patterns, and styles suggest a selective process for decoration-artefact associations. In all cases of non-metal decoration, however, these objects would have served a more local impact through communal and individual levels of engagement and use. Therefore, the visibility of the decoration would directly reflect how communities or individuals engaged with these objects, drawing attention to further restrictions in accessibility. Overall, the decoration and its associated objects would have contained practical, as well as social, functions.

DECORATION TO DATE

Due to their continuous and residual use, material constraints, and widespread presence, accurately dating non-metal artefacts has proven rather difficult, with the exception of most ceramics. Consequently, a comprehensive decoration to date comparison cannot be made for all materials at this time. In the case of antler/bone 'combs', out of the 22 sites selected, only the Danebury report provided dating for all of its combs, and in the case of the wood assemblage no chronological information was determined. Within my collection, pottery has the highest percentage of available dates, at 62%, while metal and stone have only 38% and 31% respectively. Nevertheless, from the material that has been dated, certain conclusions can be drawn in regard to my initial research questions: How did artistic expression change during the later Iron Age and into early Roman Britain? What does this reveal about social responses to change?

As changes in motif selection are largely specific to particular sites or materials, it is beneficial to look at more general patterns and periods in which changes are occurring. Often, the most significant changes occurred around the 1st century BC, particularly as new innovations, techniques, and styles were introduced, such as the use of lathe-turning and the potter's wheel. At Danebury, for instance, both defensive renovations and decorative changes occurred around CP7 (270BC – 50BC/AD20), during a period of growing Roman influence. Not only was trade opening up between Britain and the Mediterranean during this time, but migration and international connections were continuing to grow, leading to both structural and visual changes (James and Rigby 1997, 74). It is also during this phase that the greatest prevalence of decorated pottery and combs are found. Further changes occurred during CP8 (50BC – AD50), around the time of the Claudian invasion in AD 43 within the southeast (*ibid.*). Similar changes can be seen within the other materials.

In general, decorative motifs and visual expressions changed between the later Iron Age and early Roman period (Figure 12.16). Insular Iron Age art was typically more geometric during the earliest Iron Age periods, with an increasing variability during the middle and later Iron Age. During this later period, we also see the re-introduction of earlier motifs. Oftentimes, a contrast between earlier free-flowing patterns and a later rigid or standardized style can be found as variability greatly decreases following the 1st century AD. This contrast is directly witnessed within the Dragonby pottery assemblage. While earlier periods saw a greater interest in scrolls and rouletted running waves at this site, this was later inscribed and more standardized; likely aided by the introduction of the potter's wheel. This change from earlier individuality to one of standardization is similarly experienced within stone decoration at MC. During the earliest periods there was a larger variety of motifs, followed by a singular preference for horizontal bands during the later Iron Age, and an increase in scrolls during the Romano-British period. An evaluation of growing standardization will be discussed in Section 13.1.

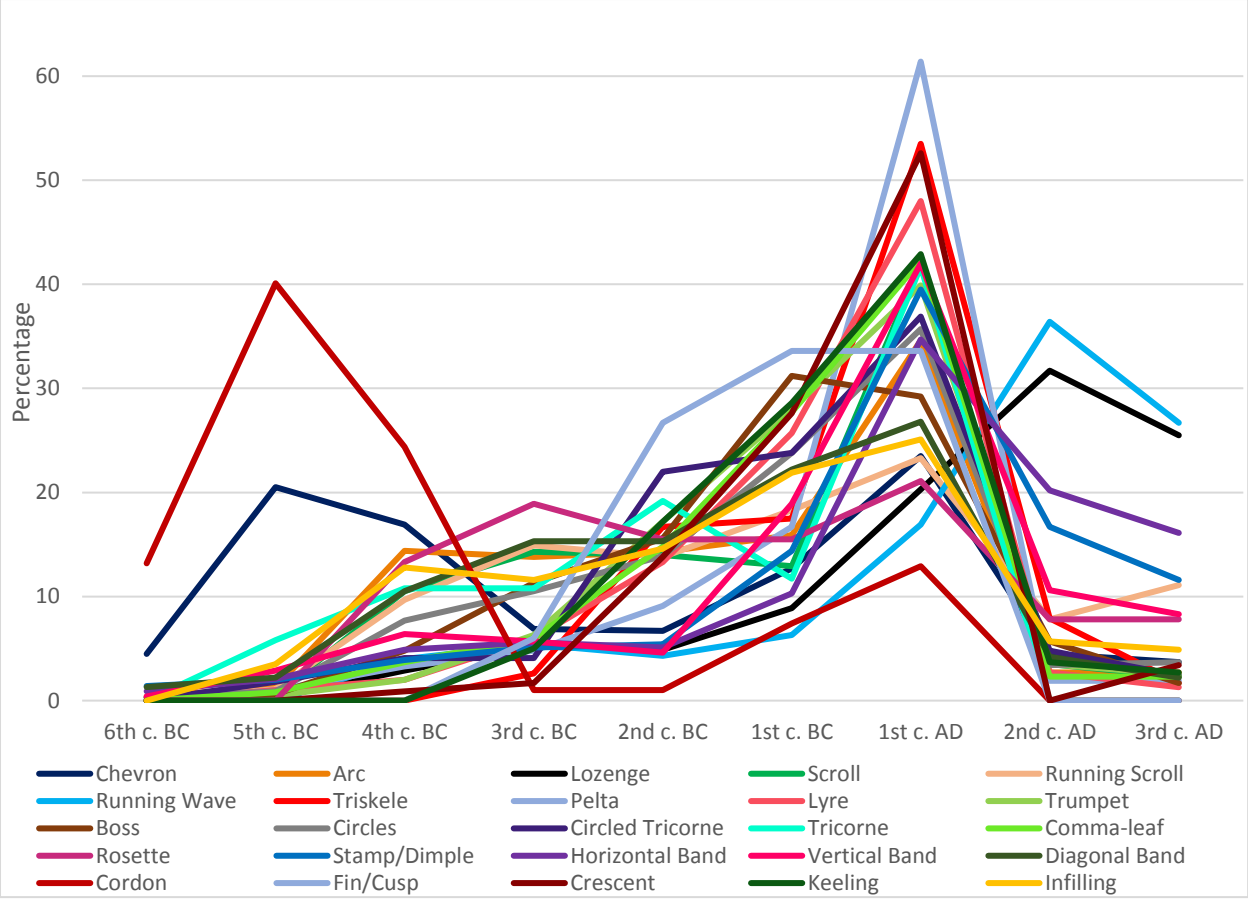


FIGURE 12.16 TOTAL DECORATION TO DATE - BASED ON ALL ARTEFACTS/MATERIALS WITH ASSIGNED DATES (883 FROM POTTERY, 17 FROM ANTLER, 20 FROM STONE, AND 178 FROM METAL).

Within metalwork decoration specifically, new motifs and styles were introduced during the 1st century BC, including the 'Snettisham' and 'Mirror Styles', along with an increase in other motifs around this same period or immediately after. For example, comma-leaves, circles, and trumpets see a peak during the 1st century BC, while an increase in peltas, triskeles, and crescents occurs during the 1st century AD. During this later period, chevrons, arcs, scrolls, running scrolls, rosettes and horizontal/vertical bands are similarly revived from earlier periods. A similar revival of chevrons on Danebury ceramics is expressed slightly earlier during the 1st century BC. Within the comb assemblages, ring-and-dot motifs were prominent in earlier periods and again gained in frequency during Danebury's CP7 and 8 (270 BC – AD 50). Shale artefacts see a similar change occurring around the 1st century BC or 1st century AD when lathe-turning was introduced (Davies 1996, 212-3), allowing for previous designs to be more easily applied.

Overall, there was a revival of 'traditional' motifs occurring around the same time within the different sites, materials, and artefact groups, most notably around the 1st century BC or 1st century AD when these decorated materials were most frequently found (Figure 12.16). This was a period of growing social change, and therefore, the revival of older or 'traditional' styles can be interpreted as a visual response to this change. The adoption of new motifs, on the other hand, would also suggest a visual response to change, but with a different message. While certain Roman motifs, application methods, and styles were incorporated within certain regions during these later periods, such as rustication on later Dragonby ceramics, the adoption of these decorative features was a selective and subtle process (Hunter 2008, 129-132), and therefore, provides "an excellent example for working through in a more material fashion how things shape people" (Gosden 2005, 197).

According to Gosden, objects have agency and shape the way people experience their world. Based on his theory, decoration influenced by continental styles would slowly have been adapted into the Iron Age repertoire through a gradual increase in contact and exchange, which would have taken place long before Rome conquered Britain, and over time this decoration would have become socially powerful (*ibid.,* 194). Just as imagery can be a reflection of society, society can also be affected by its subtly changing material world. While the revival of older styles or the adoption of new ones demonstrates a direct visual response to a changing society, potentially in response to a growing Roman influence, this cannot be the only explanation for this evolving imagery, particularly in areas where visual changes were occurring earlier than the Roman conquest or where direct Roman contact had not yet occurred.

While the sixth stage of Jacobsthal, de Navarro, and Stead's original style stages (Table 2.1) focused on an increase in Roman-influenced decoration, a continuation of earlier traditions has also been found (Jope 2000, 207). According to Jope, this period saw the maintenance of earlier decoration through the expansion of new production innovations in metalwork (*ibid.,* 121-2). Innovations in non-metal decoration, however, was brought about a century earlier during the 1st century BC, most notably through the introduction of the potter's wheel for ceramics and lathe-turning for stone and wood. Therefore, not all style changes should be attributed to foreign influence. Local changes in allegiance also affected decorative styles, as seen within Danebury's ceramic production. Together, new innovations, local relationships, and the changing role of objects within society can be just as responsible for the emergence of new designs or the revival of earlier ones.

DECORATION TO STYLE ZONE

As with previous comparisons, the material was further grouped by regional, or style, zones (Eastern, Central Southern, and South-Western). Within these divisions further decorative connections were drawn, as seen in Figure 12.17, addressing my initial research questions: Was visual expression used to define Iron Age communities, and were these regional expressions affected by the type of material employed? Although decorated wood is only found at one site and decorated pottery is restricted to a single case study site from each style zone, certain conclusions could be drawn between decoration and the three styles zones. As this graph demonstrates, the three regions presented a more or less equal representation of motifs, with a slightly greater preference for arcs and infilling in the South-Western zone, chevrons and cordons in the Central Southern zone, and running waves, stamps/dimples, and vertical bands in the Eastern zone. On this general basis, it does not appear that decoration was used to define larger regional Iron Age communities to any notable extent.

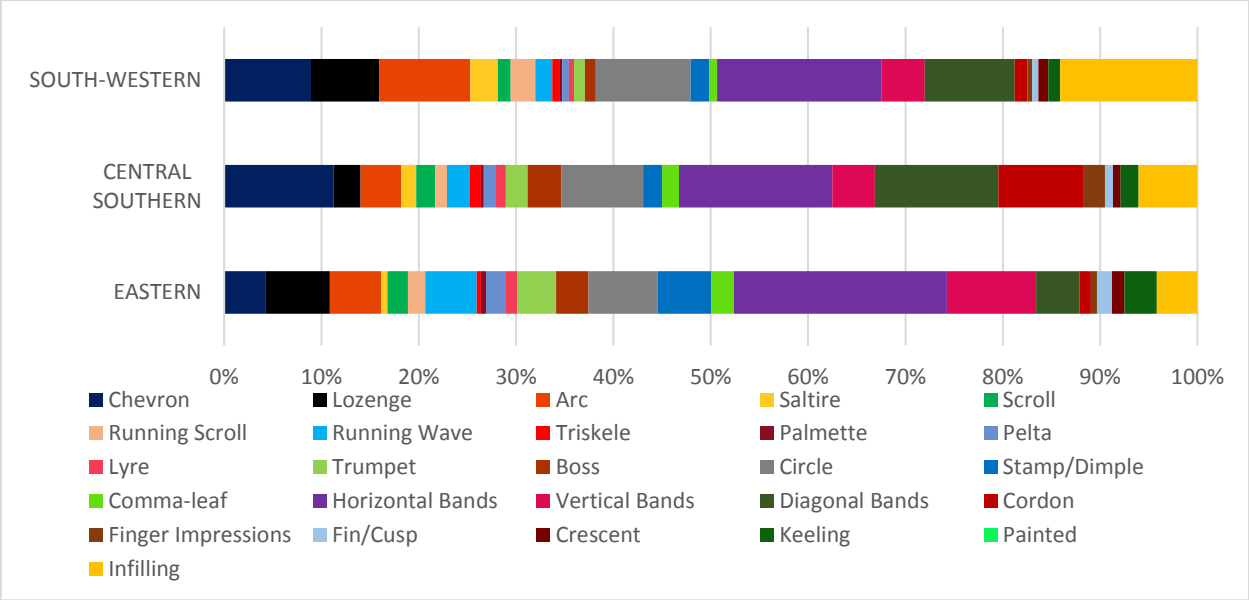


FIGURE 12.17 DECORATION TO CUNLIFFE'S STYLE ZONES, FROM ALL MATERIALS (BASED ON 843 OBJECTS FROM EASTERN ZONE, 561 FROM CENTRAL SOUTHERN ZONE, AND 610 FROM SOUTH-WESTERN ZONE).

If we look at the material individually within each zone, however, more visual contrasts can be observed (Figure 12.18). As all of my decorated wooden objects are found within a single site from the South-Western zone, they have been excluded from this comparison. In the case of combs, the 'Wessex' region, covering certain areas from both the South-Western and Central Southern zones, is considered a "centre of diversity" (Wheeler 1943, 298) for this material, and therefore, it is not surprising that these areas present the largest collection of comb decoration. However, based on a general evaluation of comb decoration, the choices appear relatively even within each zone. What cannot be seen in this graph is the decorative influences that are further connected to the 'Wessex' region, particularly around MLV and GLV of the South-Western zone. As previously discussed within antler/bone decoration (Section 10.3), not all sites demonstrated a strong visual connection within their particular regions. For example, MC and Eastern combs show a stronger resemblance to MLV and GLV examples, while Danebury and ACC were largely individualistic in style. In all these cases, regional diversity can be seen as a response to both interaction and isolation (Bradley et al. 2016, 331). Comb decoration, therefore, serves to create both regional and local identities based on

particular motif selection, with more unique combs found during the earlier phases in the Central Southern zone, eventually replaced by a more standardized South-Western style.

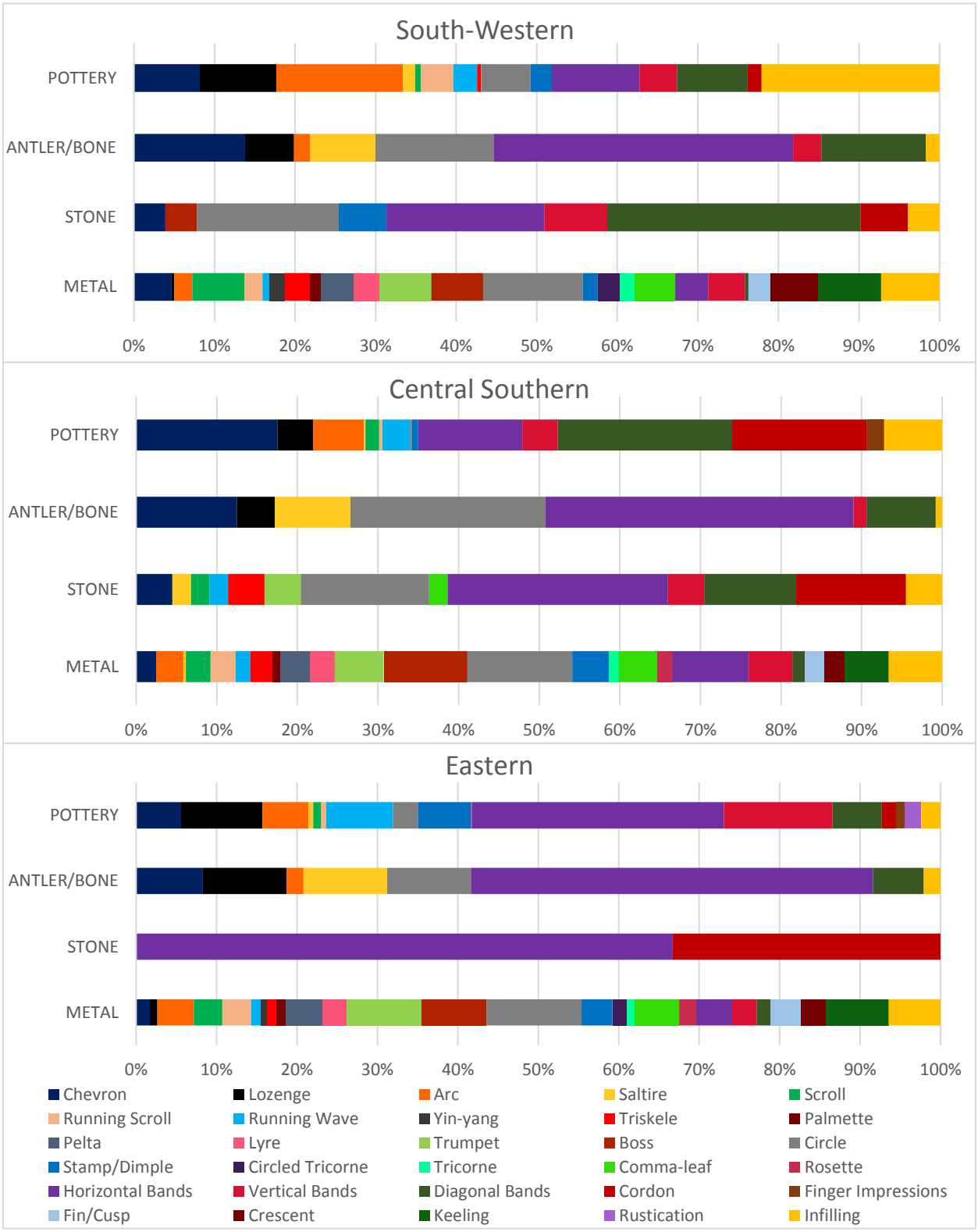


FIGURE 12.18 MATERIAL TO DECORATION BETWEEN THE THREE STYLE ZONES (SOUTH-WESTERN: 316 CERAMICS, 193 ANTLER/BONE, 36 STONE, AND 52 METAL OBJECTS; CENTRAL SOUTHERN: 365 CERAMIC, 83 ANTLER/BONE, 24 STONE, AND 89 METAL OBJECTS; EASTERN: 670 CERAMIC, 24 ANTLER/BONE, 4 STONE, AND 145 METAL OBJECTS).

While the Eastern zone presents the smallest variety of decoration on stone, it also contains the greatest variety of decoration on metal. Undeniably, this is partially due to the size of each material assemblage within this zone. However, in the case of the Central Southern zone, there is a much larger variety of motif selection on stone even though it does not contain the highest number of examples, and therefore the size of each collection cannot be the only cause for this decorative disparity. The influence of the Romans on later Iron Age objects would have also affected the prevalence of decoration and the choice of motif. The closer connections and direct control of the Romans in the Eastern zone would, therefore, likely have increased the variety of motifs as new forms were introduced and adopted. This is also seen through ceramic decoration, as the Eastern zone is the only area analysed in which rustication was a prominent feature during later periods, again expressing a direct connection to the Roman military. The lack of motif variety on stone might further point to a growing Roman influence in the East through a more standardized and restricted style (Section 13.1). From another point of view, it can also suggest that each region had a unique engagement with the different materials and assigned different levels of social importance to them. While the decorative choices found on Iron Age objects have always hinted at a level of individuality, regional comparisons can further identify different visual responses occurring on a variety of materials during later periods of growing Roman influence. Overall, the decorative repertoire was relatively similar between the different regions and suggests a level of regional interconnectivity; however, the associations between motifs and material types was not identical, instead reflecting individual or communal identities defined by the prevalence of particular motifs and patterns selected from a general decorative base.

12.2 CONCLUSION

Within Iron Age Britain, decoration went beyond simple aesthetics or function. It represented shared cultural expressions and exchange which can be traced through the material evidence. Each motif and its various combinations contained visual ‘messages’ that could reveal information about the societies which actively created and displayed them. Similarities in decoration across different materials, regions, and time periods suggests that there was a basic level of exchange and social interaction occurring between various groups, whether that be locally or more regionally. While this does not mean that long-distance systems of trade were needed for this to occur, it does show that different groups across various regions were adopting their particular visual imagery from a general decorative scheme. As Garrow and Gosden fittingly state, “creating similarity within difference seems key to these assemblages” (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 313), exemplified by the various adoptions of this general decorative repertoire. Differences in decoration across these materials, artefacts, regions, and time periods, however, suggest that visual expression was also used as a form of communication, in regard to identity, tradition/resistance, regional and communal associations, etc., with various levels of accessibility. Based on connections between the decoration, materials, artefact types, regional zones, and time periods, various themes and theories have been identified and applied to Iron Age art, which will be addressed within the following chapter.

13: DISCUSSION

Iron Age decoration contained shared visual expressions which crossed between materials, artefacts, and people. Through a comparative study of the material evidence, focusing on individual motifs and their various associations, the social implications of this decoration can be better understood, whether as a reflection of communal relationships, independent preferences, or external influences. An emphasis on abstract and subtle imagery within Iron Age decoration further suggests the potential for various visual 'messages' within these changing schemes. This chapter seeks to demonstrate how non-metal decoration was just as socially significant as art on metalwork, representing a thriving and continuous form of visual expression and representation. To better understand the significance of Iron Age art as a whole, I will first highlight various themes found while assessing the decorated assemblages. Following on from this thematic discussion, I will then apply the data to previous theoretical debates. These themes and theoretical interpretations traverse the different materials and allow us to draw attention to the underlying social connections within Iron Age decoration.

13.1 THEMES

Through a detailed account of the various decorated materials, different themes have been articulated. While not all the materials are equally represented, a comparative approach, focusing on non-metal decoration, allows for deeper connections to be drawn within more local levels of society. The following themes were determined as significant when evaluating the various materials, artefacts, and associated decoration, particularly because they address my original research question: What role did decoration serve, and what can it reveal about potential social connections and visual communication? They are based on my own interpretations of the decoration, supported by previous literature. All of these themes focus on the main visual characteristics of the decoration itself, which in turn affect the way it is 'read', while also looking at how the decoration might have been controlled by Iron Age people. In general, these themes reveal information about social engagement and access, how Iron Age people interacted with and viewed their environment and associated materials, the meaning behind later standardization in imagery, and the significance of 'traditional' motifs in response to social change. It is only through a cross-comparison of various materials that these interpretations can be fully addressed.

VISIBILITY/ACCESSIBILITY

Who was the audience of these visual expressions? While the process of decorating an artefact as a means of visual expression suggests that it was intended for a wider audience, this is not always the case, as seen on internal and basal ceramic decoration, later scabbard black-plates, and brooches decorated on all surfaces (Figure 13.1). In these cases, it appears that immediate visibility was not necessarily a requirement for the application of decoration or the reading of its internal 'messages'. Instead, access would be restricted to an individual or smaller group as the decoration would need to be viewed up close or at a specific angle for its meaning to be experienced and potentially understood. The decoration, therefore, might have been intended for more private consideration due to its small and abstract nature. It also suggests that a social hierarchy existed around particular materials and their associated decoration, creating a restricted knowledge and accessibility around this manner of visual expression.

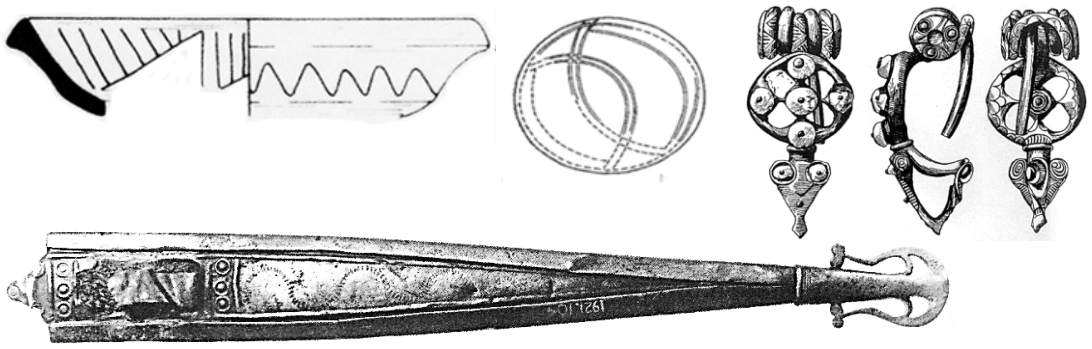


FIGURE 13.1 EXAMPLES OF HIDDEN DECORATION (TOP RIGHT TO LEFT: C1076, C515, M266; BOTTOM: M11).

Based on my ceramic analysis, internal and basal decoration is most notably found at MLV and Dragonby. 33 cases of interior decoration and 32 of basal decoration have been found at Dragonby, while 28 cases of interior decoration and 22 of basal decoration have been found at MLV. In all of these cases, decorative connections have been identified. For example, chevrons and running waves are continuously associated with interior decoration at Dragonby, while horizontal bands are found at MLV. Within basal decoration, Dragonby typically incorporated crossing bands with four arcs, while MLV included mirrored arcs forming 'leaf' or 'crescent' motifs. Therefore, this internal and basal decoration was potentially restricted and controlled, affecting what motifs could be included. In both cases, the addition of contents would have directly affected the visibility of this decoration. Again, one interpretation is that these artefacts were intended for more public display instead of the serving of food or liquids, while another suggests a more personal appreciation of the visual imagery in a single home. If used for public display, the elaborate internal and basal decoration might be used to impress viewers, which could only take place if no contents were included, or before or after contents were added. Regardless, a level of accessibility and comprehension of the decoration would be required to fully appreciate its visual associations, which could be used to identify function, communal ties, personal style, social affiliations, or even wealth.

A few interpretations can be taken from this reduction in visibility within both ceramic and metal decoration, most notably that it directly reflects a restricted knowledge or access to particular information, thereby drawing light on different levels of social engagement and access. As Davis emphasized, style held "informational value" which would require prior knowledge to understand (Davis 1990, 26-7). Another possibility is that the decoration was used to directly identify its intended function or contents as visibility would then not be required for the general population. This would, again, tie into the idea that the hidden decoration, and associated artefacts, were for more private consideration within an individual's home, in contrast to one of more public display. A final interpretation is that these artefacts were not intended to be placed or held in the modern, standard way. As we cannot fully comprehend the context of this decoration, it is also impossible for us to fully understand its intended meanings. Nevertheless, if this decoration was intended as a local means of visual expression, then a level of accessibility and understanding would be required for it to fill its intended role, although this does not mean that it was accessible or comprehensible to every individual. This leads to an additional question: does accessibility point to elitism? While decorated metalwork is often considered an element of the elite, this is not typically applied to ceramics. However, considering the small number of decorated ceramics compared to non-decorated examples, the existence of decoration must have held a level of social significance. Whether this would signify an 'elite' or wealthier group is not necessarily the case, however, as it could apply to various unknown social groups. Either way, decoration was not necessarily accessible

to or utilised by the entire community, and distinctions between individual and communal levels of understanding around these visual expressions would have existed.

ABSTRACTION/AMBIGUITY

Is the abstraction and ambiguity of imagery, often associated with metalwork, also visible on other material culture? While this is one feature which is most prominently and elaborately expressed within metalwork, often created through the manipulation of three-dimensional and two-dimensional ornamentation, it is found in a variety of forms on other material types, particularly within antler/bone comb and curvilinear pottery decoration. In general, figurative representation depicts images and shapes which are clearly derived from recognizable sources, such as animal or human forms, while abstract representation is more allusive (Figure 13.2). It bases its images on combinations of different motifs or curvilinear patterns to create the appearance of hidden figures, such as animals or humans, often in more subtle ways (Jope 2000, 202; Garrow and Gosden 2012, 5). These allusive and abstract forms highlight the ambiguous nature of insular decoration, in which "there is no simple beginning or end to decorations" and from which "multiple readings" can be constructed (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 42, 317). Within metalwork, this ambiguous and allusive imagery is largely rare before the 2nd century BC but becomes more frequent during the later periods (Jope 2000, 120-2), developing into an identifiable feature of later insular work. These abstract motif combinations can take the form of animals, plants, humans, and unidentifiable 'faces', with bird heads being the most popular form within metalwork decoration.

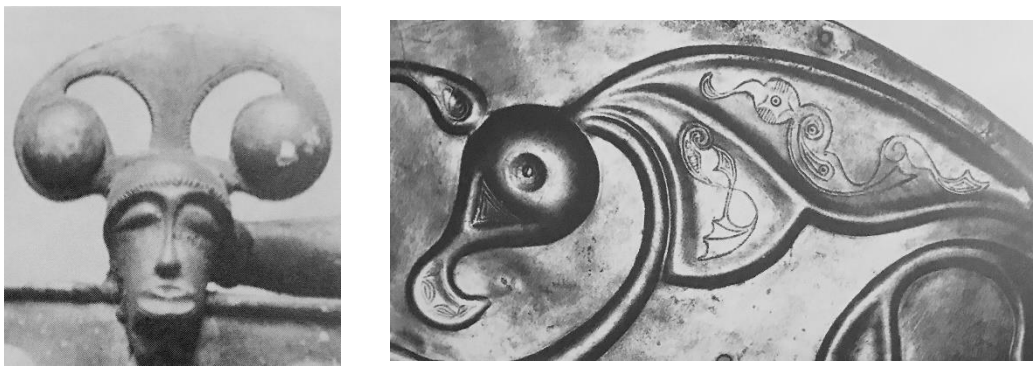


FIGURE 13.2 FIGURATIVE VS. ABSTRACT IMAGERY (LEFT TO RIGHT: M74, M35).

In the case of antler/bone combs, there are a few examples which combine the shape of the comb and its decoration to create an ambiguous human-like or unidentified animal form (Figure 13.3a). All of these examples contain a circular butt enlargement with either central perforations or central ring-and-dot motifs. On nine of these examples (six from MVW, two from MVE, and one from Haslingford), the handle is curved where it immediately joins the butt-end, creating the additional appearance of 'shoulders' (Figure 13.3b). If these combs were intended to represent 'human' forms, then their function and social roles are largely put into question, particularly in relation to their possible connections to weaving. Did they represent a particular type of weaving, a different social level within the weaving community, or were they simply an individual's style of choice? The latter option is unlikely, as this style has been found on various sites within different style zones.

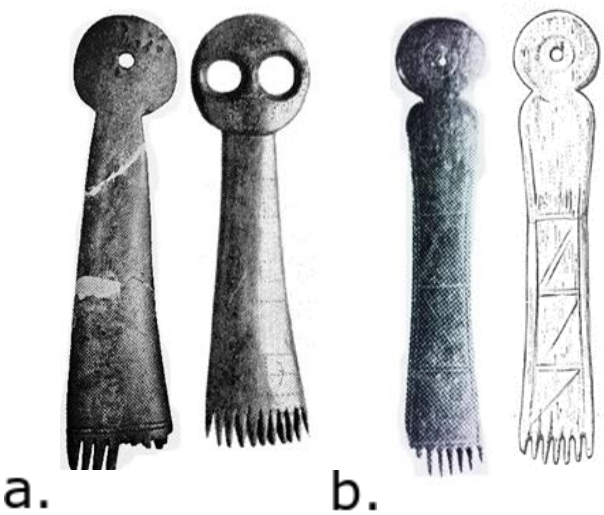


FIGURE 13.3 ABSTRACT 'HUMAN'-LIKE REPRESENTATIONS ON ANTLER COMBS – A. NO SHOULDERS (LEFT: A217, RIGHT: A65), B. WITH SHOULDERS (LEFT: A75, RIGHT: A92).

Motifs, their various combinations, and how these might be viewed further contributed to the ambiguous nature of insular Iron Age art. As there are several motif derivatives, it is often difficult to separate individual motifs from their larger patterns. In addition, different motifs can appear very similar depending on one's interpretation, combinations of motifs can blend together making it difficult to accurately identify them, and motifs can combine to form a larger version of another motif. This is a feature most often seen on decorated metalwork, suggesting that decoration on this particular material was used more often as a means to deceive or impress the viewer. However, it can be found on non-metal imagery as well, particularly on pottery (Figure 13.4). Because of the ambiguous nature of this decoration, the imagery often blends together and makes the intended messages difficult to understand. As non-metal decoration was generally more straightforward in presentation, and therefore more 'readable', it might be assumed that the imagery was intended to express more personal and communal significance. In either case, a level of accessibility and acquired knowledge was, again, required.

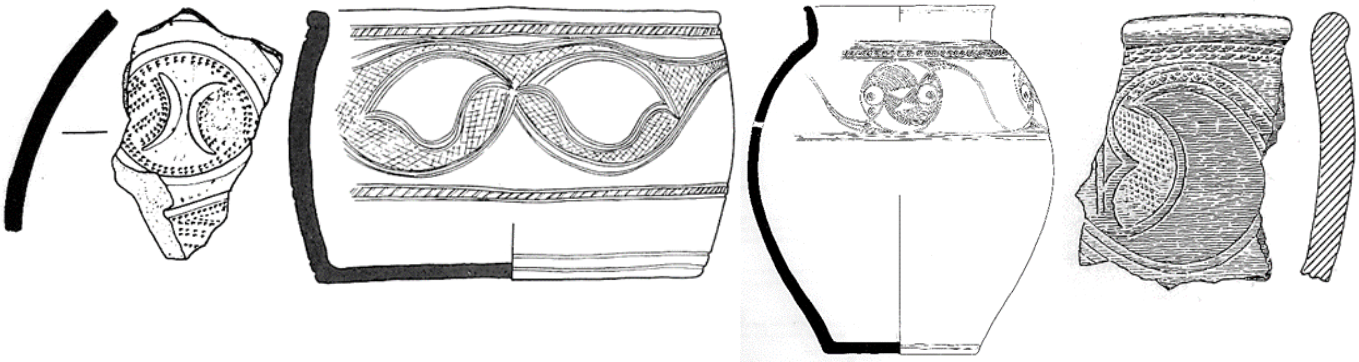


FIGURE 13.4 ALLUSIVE DECORATION ON CERAMIC VESSELS (LEFT TO RIGHT: C699, C353, C365, C623).

On the topic of ambiguity, there is a further juxtaposition between symmetry and asymmetry expressed within insular material culture. While symmetry often creates a feeling of rest and control, asymmetry provides a sense of movement and fluidity, and is more often incorporated within insular pieces. This juxtaposition may also suggest contrasting ways of viewing the world: one which embraced the free-flowing and ambiguous nature of the materials/environment and one which sought to control it. For the most part, insular Iron Age decoration shows an increasing interest in asymmetrical ornamentation; however, in most of these cases it is hidden behind a false symmetry

(Joy 2010, 36), created through the manipulation of subtle changes. This manipulation led to a new identifying insular feature, which I refer to as 'deceptive' asymmetry. Within this type of decoration, the viewer is deceived to believe the pattern is symmetrical, but on closer inspection subtle changes lead the eyes in different directions. However, to create this deception a level of balance remains within the ambiguous imagery. This is most notably seen in mirrored decoration (Figure 13.5). In this sense, 'deceptive' imagery can be used to impress or intimidate the viewer, while at the same time signify a visual resistance to classical schemes. Later Roman inspired ornamentation, on the other hand, was more rigid with a greater focus on symmetry and control. The re-introduction of geometric motifs immediately before or after Roman occupation on some materials, such as metalwork and pottery, suggests a return to an art of simplicity, motionlessness, and control. However, a continuation of flowing running scrolls applied through later innovative styles, as seen within Dragonby pottery, also suggests that active choices were being made to maintain 'traditional' aspects of movement and liveliness in response.

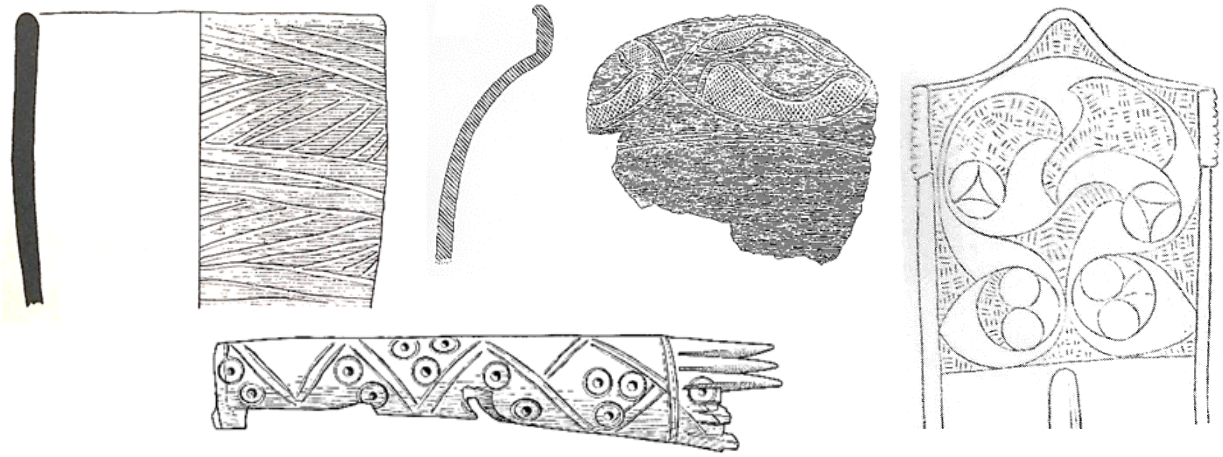


FIGURE 13.5 EXAMPLES OF DECEPTIVE ASYMMETRY ON POTTERY (TOP LEFT AND CENTRE: C149 AND C520), METAL (RIGHT: M100) AND ANTLER COMB (BOTTOM: A254).

INDIVIDUALITY VS. STANDARDIZATION

To what extent is there a movement towards standardization within the imagery on the different materials over time, and what does this suggest? Perhaps the rise in standardization meant that maintaining a central 'message' was more important than individuality within the later periods, or perhaps it simply became easier with the introduction of new innovations. Motifs, patterns, and styles have continuously demonstrated a level of individuality within Iron Age art; however, following 50 BC, decoration and artefact construction began to take on a new level of standardization, which would have greatly affected social relationships and everyday practices (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 82,152). This increase in standardization during the later Iron Age can be traced through an evaluation of motif changes over time, most notably seen on antler/bone combs. As combs possessed the smallest variety of motifs, they also contained the greatest consistency in decoration, even during the earlier periods. At Danebury, while the number of combs increased during the later periods, their variety of decoration decreased, suggesting a growing standardization of ornamentation and control over this particular material. Within this material, there were additional levels of standardization found within the Eastern examples. Sites in which more than one decorated comb was found tend to display very similar decorative styles, consisting of similar motifs and comb shapes (Figure 13.6), and these styles do not cross between different sites. However,

these are represented by very small numbers and might simply reflect a single creator within each site. Nevertheless, this decoration served as a means of local identity within a larger region.

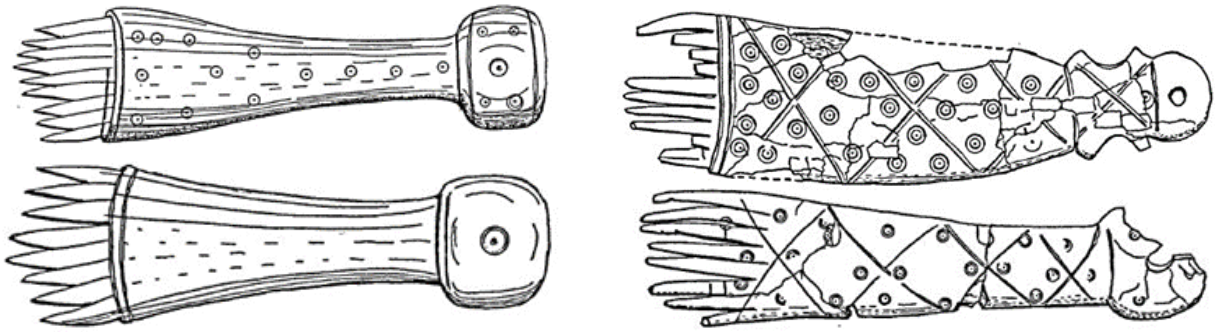


FIGURE 13.6 DECORATED COMBS FROM THETFORD (LEFT - TOP A343, BOTTOM A344) AND SUDBURY (RIGHT – TOP A341, BOTTOM A342).

Within metalwork, earlier swords were more individualistic before the introduction of a more "coherent British style" (Jope 2000, 38, 151). This was further expressed through brooch production in which earlier examples presented more individual designs while later pieces were typically plainer (*ibid*, 151). It is, therefore, worth asking: does greater motif variety automatically suggest more individuality and identity? This question can be directly applied to ceramic decoration at Dragonby. During the earlier phases of occupation, stamps were used to create triple ring-and-dot, 'maggot', or crescent motifs, but during the Romano-British period, a greater variety of stamps were utilized (Figure 13.7). While it might seem as if this points to a growing individuality in stamp use, the process of using stamps is itself a standardized practice as it allows for identical motifs to be easily and repeatedly created. Increased variability, therefore, does not always signify increased individuality. Another example of this is witnessed through the change from rouletted running scrolls to inscribed running waves at Dragonby. While the main motif remained the same, the process by which it was applied became more regulated and less free flowing. As this further highlights, levels of standardization increased due to the introduction of new innovations, such as the potter's wheel, but individuality did not necessarily decrease. These new innovations would have only made it easier to create the 'traditional' designs, and as Jope points out, this growing standardization was further attached to a growing availability for a more general population as it became easier to mass produce (*ibid.*). Additionally, not all materials presented greater variability in decoration during the earlier phases. Mirrors are one material in which standardization seems to have played a consistent role. As Joy highlights, there were six main decorative schemes (Joy 2010) with a range of motifs defining the 'mirror style'. While these motifs could be combined and orientated to create a sense of variability and individuality, they were based on a general level of standardization in which decoration was selected from a defined scheme.

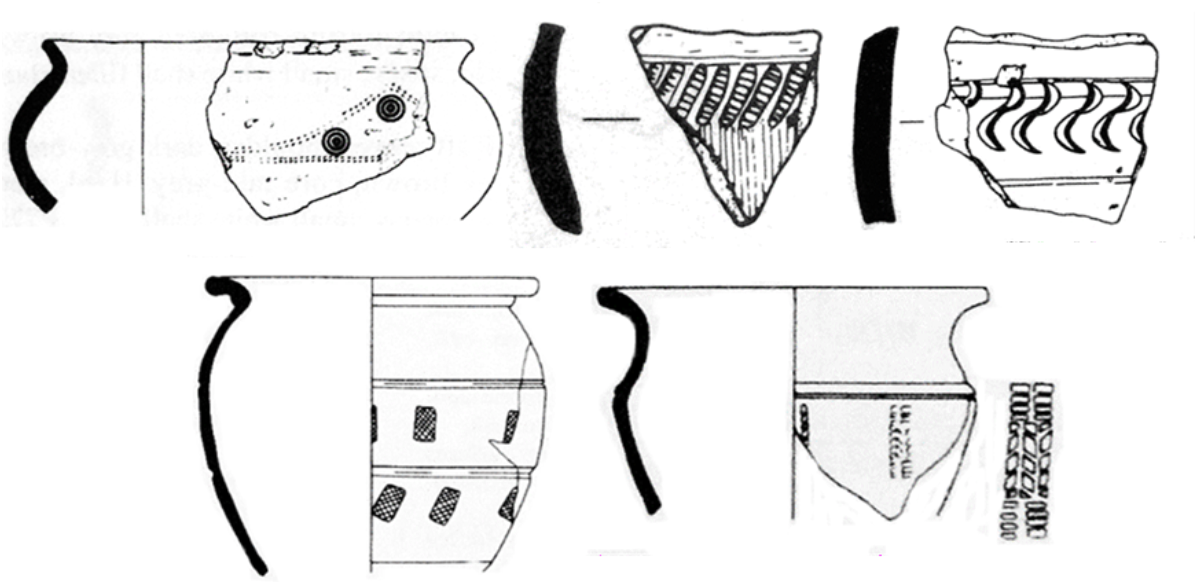


FIGURE 13.7 EXAMPLES OF DRAGONBY POTTERY STAMP DECORATION: EARLIER (TOP – LEFT TO RIGHT: C844, C957, C960); LATER (BOTTOM – LEFT TO RIGHT: C1109, C1154).

The variability or standardization of decoration can further highlight the social significance of these materials. As previously emphasized, Gosden proposed that objects have agency (2005), and therefore, by fashioning objects "*en masse" (*Gosden 2005, 208) – in this case decorated objects – "their subtle interactions with masses of people" (*ibid.,* 194) allowed for particular visual messages to be spread more easily to a greater number of people. As Gosden further suggested, "by looking at styles and corpora of objects we can see that the crucial context for an object is other objects of the same style" (*ibid.,* 197), and through this accumulation of objects with similar styles, people are socialized into these "particular material worlds" (*ibid.*). It is through this growing standardization that the material world can more easily shape and unite different communities. Moreover, Garrow and Gosden suggested that there might not have been "any need for originality, as there is surrounding modern art today" (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 317), and therefore, standardization of ornamentation might simply have been an easier way to get a message across to a greater number of people. An increase in standardization due to new innovations would have allowed for more mass production and consumption of materials and their decoration, making the visual imagery accessible to a greater number of people. In a similar regard, if objects were intended for ceremonial purposes, then it is reasonable to assume that their decoration would have been controlled in order to maintain the appropriate messages. This again draws attention to the elaborately decorated vessel from Danebury which contains two rows of differently executed patterns (Figure 6.11, C238). While this might simply be a learning vessel in which the top is done by a teacher and the bottom by someone learning the craft, its identical appearance and structure to other vessels from Danebury suggests that its decoration was following an established scheme. These pieces are relatively identical in their motif choice, decorative structure, and execution. It can be understood, therefore, that in order for an intended message to be visually expressed and identified, a level of standardization had to be maintained so that the audience could appreciate the visual meaning. In other words, the imagery was more important than the quality. Overall, however, each material, artefact type, and site presented distinctive decorative styles which represented a level of individuality and group or personal identity, accompanied by an increasing accessibility.

RE-INTRODUCTION OF 'TRADITIONAL' DECORATION

A resurgence in 'traditional' decoration was observed in the later Iron Age on multiple material types, but what does this re-introduction mean? As the comparisons between decoration and time period highlight, growing Roman influence and control did not signify the end of 'Iron Age' art. In contrast, a re-evaluation of 'traditional' styles emerged, and as Hunter suggested, a "hybrid material" was created (Hunter 2008, 136). During the later Iron Age period, the introduction of new innovations, such as the potter's wheel or lathe-turning, was accompanied by a renewed interest in earlier forms of visual expression and communication, such as the shift from rouletted to inscribed running waves seen on Dragonby pottery and the shift to more polished shale arm-rings. In all cases where dating is available, elements of this revival can be found. Unfortunately, this does not include stone and wood objects as dating is rather difficult for these materials. In the case of decorated antler/bone combs, this re-introduction of 'traditional' motifs during the later Iron Age is largely restricted to ring-and-dot motifs. This motif was also popular during Danebury's CP1 and 2 (550-470 BC), but then drastically declined until it was revived in CP7 (270 BC – 20 AD). Horizontal bands and saltires also experienced a revival at Danebury, but this revival took place much earlier around CP6 (310-270 BC), therefore before Roman influence. Within metalwork, motifs largely identified as insular creations, such as comma-leaves and basketry hatching, increased in prevalence around the 2nd century BC, eventually existing in conjunction with the return of more 'traditional' motifs.

Following more Roman control, however, most of the decoration that thrived in the later Iron Age periods quickly saw a dramatic decline (Figure 12.16), and in the case of combs no decoration has been found after AD 50. Therefore, it is during these later periods, when Iron Age and Romano-British styles began to overlap, that we find different visual responses. This is most notably seen through ceramic decoration from Danebury and Dragonby. At Danebury, the revival of earlier motifs, largely consisting of chevrons and cordons, was quickly erased during the Roman period (around 1st century AD), along with a significant decline in ceramic production. Decoration that peaked during later periods at Dragonby, however, did not experience a major decline. Instead, this Eastern site saw an increase in ceramic construction accompanied by an increase in decoration associated with the Roman military, specifically rustication. While both sites went through a revival of earlier motifs around the same time, Dragonby visually incorporated later Roman styles into its decorative repertoire while Danebury appears to have visually fought against this hybridisation and its associated social changes.

As the decoration demonstrates, 'traditional' insular motifs did not fully disappear in later periods, instead often re-emerging around times of great social change, and therefore, the motifs that do survive or re-emerge must have been significant. While these might represent examples of residuality, the consistency across different materials and artefact types suggests that Iron Age visual 'traditions' were a thriving and continuous means of expression whereby "new and old coexisted in an intermingled manner" (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 109) throughout the Iron Age and during periods of later Roman influence. As this further highlights, decorative changes often mirrored societal ones, in regard to either changing aesthetics, innovations, allegiances, outside influences, or more subtle social significances.

13.2 THEORETICAL APPLICATIONS TO DATA

Evaluation of this material can be further applied to previous theoretical approaches to style. These theories largely focused on the active or passive selection of decoration, its function within society, and its historical context, further emphasizing the role of decoration in regard to social connections and visual communication. Based on an in-depth analysis of different materials, particularly non-metals, and their specific motif selections, these theories are both supported and contradicted.

ACTIVE VS. PASSIVE

The concept of art as an active or passive process was a central topic within previous theoretical debates, often labelled as iconological or isochrestic style. As an active (iconological) process, style is controlled by its cultural, historical, and relational contexts. The imagery is manipulated by the artist to create visual forms of communication (Wiessner 1990, 105-7), such as individual or communal identities (DeBoer 1990; Wiessner 1990; Curta 2001). In this way, decoration is actively chosen from a socially established scheme. Within different periods, including those affected by social change, the choice to adopt or adapt decorative styles was an active response by individuals or communities ascribing meaning to their material culture. Looking at style as a passive (isochrestic) process, on the other hand, it is constrained by function and established traditions (Sackett 1990, 34). It is created by making objects in established ways (Conkey 1990, 13), and therefore, the decoration is not selected but pre-determined. For example, pottery decoration which is uniform and appears to follow 'traditional' schemes would largely be considered passive, aligning them with a communal repertoire. The associations between decoration and function seen on ceramics would further align them with a passive process. Pottery decoration which depicts derivatives of a 'traditional' scheme might be considered more active in nature. However, as Conkey and Hastorf emphasized, these two processes often occur simultaneously (Conkey and Hastorf 1990, 13). In both cases, it appears that decorative style was based on established 'ways of doing', which were expressed differently by different communities. Within non-metal decoration we often see this hybridisation of active and passive style, particularly if we look at decoration which was depicted in a similar fashion on various materials as this imagery would have been actively chosen from an established repertoire. Nevertheless, the choice to maintain or alter from a traditional, established scheme would have been a socially active one.

GENERAL 'WAYS OF DOING' AND '*RESISTANT* ADAPTATION'

This control over decoration based on an established scheme, ties into Hodder's theory in which decoration is culturally determined based on a general "way of doing" (Hodder 1990, 45). In other words, while an active choice was being made it was still based on a pre-determined selection, and therefore, there is a level of control over what decorative choices can be made. This can be seen through pottery decoration associated with different vessel functions. For the most part, determining the lifespans of individual motifs has been difficult as much insular decoration contained a long tradition of use and did not change in a predictable manner; therefore, while its use might disappear on one artefact, it can still be present on others. Due to this long tradition of use, artists would have been able to choose from an accumulative decorative repertoire (Garrow and Gosden 2012, 152). While each site or community would have been connected through this restricted visual repertoire, they would have been able to maintain a level of individuality based on their unique visual choices.

Furthermore, different visual and social responses taking place at different sites and regions can be revealed when these visual choices shift. The manipulation and re-introduction of 'traditional' motifs during the later Iron Age on all materials suggests that decoration did not solely represent local

identities based on a "traditional way of doing" (*ibid*) but could also visually communicate different levels of resistance or assimilation during periods of change. As the decoration on Danebury and Dragonby ceramics suggests, the changing or continuous selection of motifs can visually reveal how communities responded to a growing Roman influence during these later Iron Age periods. However, it is only by first acknowledging the existence of a general style and evaluating the imagery associated with it, that visual changes become noticeable, and therefore, significant.

Tied into this idea of decoration's role in resistance and negotiation during periods of social change lies Jane Webster's theory of "*resistant* adaptation" (Webster 1990, 42). Again, if we look at Danebury's ceramic decoration compared to Dragonby's, between the later Iron Age and into the early Romano British periods (Figures 6.16 and 8.28-30), it becomes clear that different visual responses were occurring around this overlapping period. Within both of these sites, motifs that once dominated began to drastically decline while less prominent motifs reappeared. This change can similarly be seen on other decorated materials (Figure 10.33), including metalwork (Figures 4.31-2). However, in regard to the ceramic assemblages at Danebury and Dragonby in particular, there is a contrast between the re-emergence of earlier 'traditional' motifs at Danebury and the adoption of new Roman styles or methods of production at Dragonby (Section 9.3). The re-introduction of older and more 'traditional' forms of decoration can, therefore, be viewed as a form of visual 'resistance' to social change, in contrast to one of integration.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

While decoration served as a form of visual communication, based on particular motif selections for different artefacts, materials, sites, regions, and time periods, was there a limitation to what this visual imagery could reveal? In relation to this question, Whitney Davis's theory that style can only be read from history, not the other way around, can be explored. According to Davis, style can only be understood by first determining its historical and cultural context (Davis 1990, 29-30). In other words, we can connect decorative and social changes only because we are already aware of the latter. However, in certain instances we can see that important decorative changes were occurring but cannot necessarily attach them to specific social changes. This is especially seen in areas where written records are not available, such as Iron Age Britain. For example, decorative changes occurring during the later ceramic phases at Danebury (CP7-8), through the rise and fall of different motifs, can be attached to social changes occurring due to growing Roman influence. Earlier decorative changes occurring around CP3 (470-360 BC), however, cannot be attached to any such obvious, specific social motive, although one must have occurred. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that if we can make connections when we know what social changes were occurring, we should also be able to make similar connections when we do not have any specific information or evidence of these social changes/motives. Even without the context as a base, we can determine that a social change was taking place based on shifts in visual forms of communication, emphasized by specific alterations in motif choices.

13.3 CONCLUSION

The study of Celtic art has primarily been told through the lens of decorated metalwork. This thesis has sought to redress the balance by examining a wider range of decorated material culture, expanding on Joy (2011) and Chittock's (2016) previous approaches, but doing so within a larger regional framework, in order to see what could be viewed within the wider environment. Examining this material more holistically, focusing on its various themes and theoretical applications, leads us again to Joy's question: 'why decorate?' (2011), which in turn brings us back to my original question: what role did decoration serve, and what can it reveal about potential social connections and visual communication? Some materials and objects contain very simple decoration, such as single horizontal bands or cordons, so what was the intention behind these additions? Regardless of its simplicity or elaboration, there must have been purpose behind it as it was an active choice being repetitively made by different artists, on different materials, and at different sites and time periods. It is also worth noting that decoration, particularly on pottery, was rare in comparison to undecorated and plain examples. Therefore, vessels which were decorated must have held some significance beyond their basic function. I would surmise that the addition of these motifs and patterns allowed for particular social 'messages' to be communicated, whether that be in simple or more elaborate forms. These design choices would have served as an interregional and local 'language' where ideas could be spread through the motifs that were selected out of the more general Iron Age style. As discussed within Danebury ceramics, the various levels of skill on a single decorated vessel suggest that the 'message' itself was more important than the skill of execution.

From this we can address another research question: did different materials present similar forms of visual expression? While all of the materials discussed within the previous chapters contained imagery selected from a general decorative repertoire, certain motifs, patterns, and application techniques could be attributed to particular materials and artefact groups (c.f. Section 12.1). The most elaborate decoration, nevertheless, is often found on metalwork and pottery, which contain certain similarities between them, such as curvilinear patterns. Overall, however, it appears that imagery was largely determined by different material and size constraints, as well as regional and chronological associations. This then bring us to my final question: how did artistic expression change during the later Iron Age and into early Roman Britain, and what does this reveal about certain responses to change? Regardless of the material in question, the greatest visual response takes place between the 1st century BC and 2nd century AD (c.f. Section 12.1). However, it is worth keeping in mind the lack of reliable chronological dates for certain materials, which might affect these results. Nevertheless, visual expression and the choice of motif changed between the later Iron Age and early Roman period, influenced by new techniques and levels of standardisation, as well as various responses to social change.

In addition to my overarching research questions, it is also worth considering my original hypotheses surrounding the importance of Iron Age decorated materials. Prior to my data collection and analysis, I expected non-metal decoration to be rather plain and repetitive between these materials, in comparison to more elaborate metalwork, as previous literature tends to emphasize this dichotomy. However, this was found to be largely unsupported. While metalwork does contain the greatest variety of motif selection, non-metal decoration is by no means plain. I was surprised to find that most antler/bone combs were decorated, oftentimes with interesting and unique carvings, while pottery, in particular, contained a beautiful mixture of individualised and standardised styles. All of the non-metal materials discussed displayed imagery which should not be overlooked. Following this assumption, I also expected later Bronze Age and early Iron Age art to persist into the later Iron Age, but I did not expect it to continue into the Roman period in any considerable manner.

Again, this was found to be largely unsupported. While the visual imagery and motif selection did drastically change following a general spike in Iron Age decoration during the later 1st century BC and early 1st century AD, Iron Age methods of decoration did not completely disappear following more Roman control. In contrast, certain 'traditional' features re-emerged, which can be considered a direct visual response during this period of social change, were adopted into a new 'hybrid' style, and continued throughout the Roman period. Finally, I expected there to be greater regional distinctions, particularly during the later Iron Age due to increasing Roman influence, which leads to my final research question: were different decorated materials used to define Iron Age communities? While distinct visual associations were found between the different regions based on the various decorated materials, this separation was not necessarily based on regional connections or 'tribal' associations.

The traditional view of 'tribes' within Britain originates from post-conquest Roman texts, primarily through Ptolemy's *Geographia* in the 2nd century AD, and suggests that tribal structures hardly changed from the later Iron Age (Moore 2011, 335-6; Leins 2012, 1, 39). While previous scholars have attempted to match tribal names from written sources to the material evidence, most notably through coinage and pottery (Leins 2012, 5), these associations are now being questioned. Problems associated with its use stem from both classical and contemporary sources. Within classical sources these 'tribal' delineations would have required Roman mapping of Britain, in which they would be used as an instrument of colonial power and manipulated to reflect a particular narrative, and therefore, not necessarily reflect how Iron Age people actually classified themselves (Moore 2011, 340-4). The use of the term would also have been manipulated to fit contemporary social ideas, which have been projected back onto the data, and oftentimes lead to an association with 'primitiveness' (*ibid.,* 337-8). Furthermore, the use of the term is ambiguous, as it could reflect a number of identities and associations, and there is little within the archaeological record to support these 'tribal' identities (*ibid.*, 341-2).

In contrast, it is suggested that 'social interaction', including the materials associated with this interaction, would have taken place on a more local level within individual communities rather than on a larger 'tribal' scale (Leins 2012, 39). Oftentimes the distribution maps for various materials would have overlapped, demonstrating more fluid social networks and individual power bases rather than overarching tribal identities (Moore 2011, 345). The distribution of material, therefore, might reflect continuous social and economic connections, family relationships, short-term alliances, or limited sources of resources and expertise, including itinerant artists (Leins 2012, 67-71). One example where the material culture has been prioritised over the written sources to determine community networks and possible interaction can be found within Cunliffe's style zones (2005). However, as materials could also be manipulated by different people or groups based on various social contexts, it cannot be used as a reliable indicator of social or 'tribal' identity unless the particular social context in which the material was used is first determined. Therefore, the distribution of material cannot reliably indicate the boundaries of particular groups (*ibid.*, 12). This can be further witnessed within my data analysis. Decorated combs, in particular, emphasize more temporal, rather than regional, connections to decorative features, as well as a possible source of decoration within the Meare region. Decorated pottery also demonstrates very local visual repertoires associated with particular fabrics (regional alliances), forms, and time periods, although this data only reflects three sites within larger regional areas. Overall, my material analysis demonstrates more local responses to change during the later Iron Age, tied to smaller communities rather than any larger 'tribal' authority.

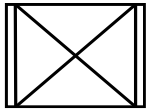
Overall, insular Iron Age art continuously emphasized movement, ambiguity, and a combination of invention and 'tradition'. Together these features draw attention to how Iron Age people viewed their world and interacted with their materials and environment, particularly with more everyday non-metal objects. As these materials would have been more accessible, especially after the introduction of new innovations in production, their surfaces would have become an important canvas for visual expression, which in turn could reach a wider audience and allow for more visual representations of different groups, personal identities, or forms of resistance through a revival of 'traditional' imagery. However, as we are looking at this from a present mindset and 'way of doing' we do not have the context in which to fully grasp these 'messages'. This is not to say that the motifs themselves were used as a visual representation of a verbal language, but that they were used as a means of visually expressing oneself, demonstrating one's individuality or connection to a certain group. Throughout different materials and artefact types, the application of ornamentation and its social importance demonstrates that it was not simply restricted to elite representation, but instead allowed for more local forms of communication/expression to be created and shared, both throughout the Iron Age and into later periods of growing Roman influence.

APPENDIX A:
SIMPLIFIED TYPOLOGY

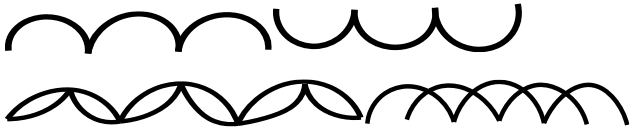
A. Chevron

B. Lozenge (Complex vs. Simple)

C. Saltire

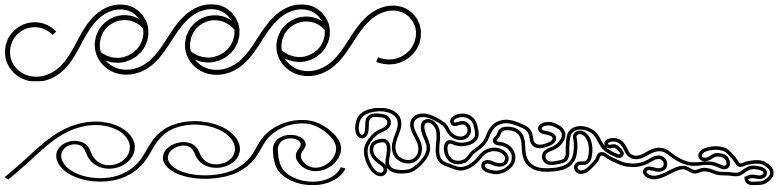


D. Arc (Standing, Pendant, Interlocking, Alternating)



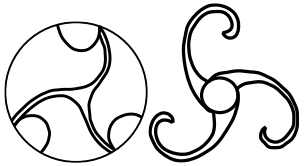
E. Scroll (S-Scroll, Comma-Scroll)

F. Running Scroll (S-Scroll, Yin-Yang, Wave Tendril)

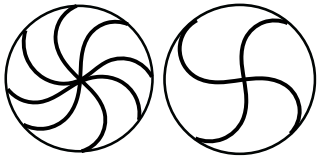


G. Running Wave

H. Triskele

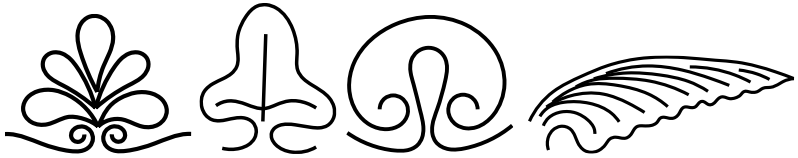


I. Whirligig



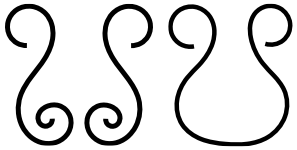
J. Swastika

K. Palmette (Classical, Split-Palmette, Half-Palmette/Fanned)



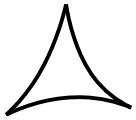
L. Pelta

M. Lyre



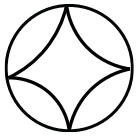
N. Trumpet (Single, Confronted, Trumpet Coil, Mirror Style)

O. Tricorne

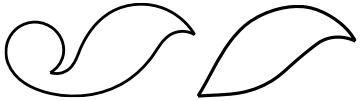


P. Circled Tricorne

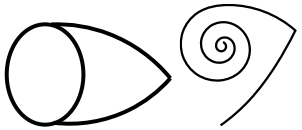
Q. Circled Diamond



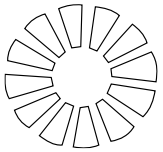
R. Comma-Leaf



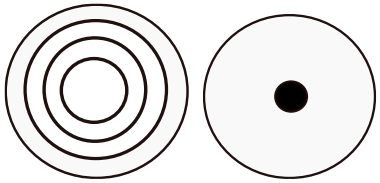
S. Keeled (Roundel vs. Volute)



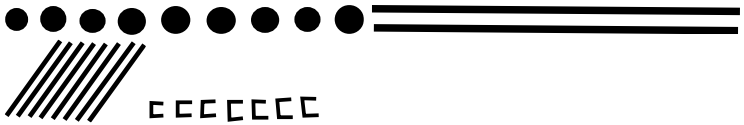
T. Rosette (3-Dimensional)



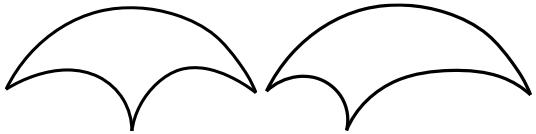
U. Circles (Single, Concentric, Ring-and-Dot)



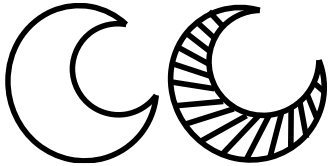
V. Bands (Horizontal, Vertical, Diagonal)



W. Cusp/Fin – Mirror Style



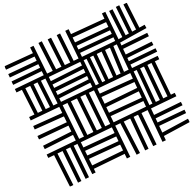
X. Crescent – Mirror Style (Half-Moon, Armadillo)



Y. Teardrop – Mirror Style

Z. Swash-N

AA. Basketry Hatching



APPENDIX B: SITE ABBREVIATIONS

SITE	ABBREVIATION
ALL CANNINGS CROSS	ACC
THE GLASTONBURY LAKE VILLAGE	GLV
MAIDEN CASTLE	MC
THE MEARE LAKE VILLAGES	MLV
MEARE VILLAGE EAST	MVE
MEARE VILLAGE WEST	MVW

APPENDIX C: ROUILLARD'S CLASSIFICATIONS FOR MVE POTTERY

"CLASS:

Jar. Height usually greater than maximum diameter; rim diameter usually less than maximum body diameter; normally bipartite or tripartite division of profile.

Bowl. Height equal to or less than maximum diameter; normally bipartite or tripartite divisions of profile.

Dish. Height less than maximum diameter; maximum diameter usually at rim.

TYPE: There are six Types, lettered from A-H, excluding the letters B and F to avoid any confusion with Class B bowls, and the F designation of fabric types.

A Usually fairly straight-sided vessels; maximum diameter often at rim.

C Bipartite vessels with rim diameters approximately equal to base diameters; greatest girth at waist forming barrel-shaped jars and globular bowls.

D Tripartite globular vessels with well-formed necks; greatest girth at waist.

E Bipartite or tripartite shouldered vessels, with high and usually slight shoulders, and maximum diameter at shoulder; rim fairly distinct without forming necks.

G Tripartite shouldered vessels with well-formed necks; greatest diameter normally at shoulder, which is usually well pronounced.

H Bipartite or tripartite vessels with greatest diameter below the waist.

FORM: The Type letter is followed by a Form number, which in some cases is the only possible classification.

1 Everted profiled or rims.
2 Upright or near vertical rims or necks.
3 Inverted rims or necks.

VARIETY: When a variety can be recognised it is given a number following the Form number." (Rouillard 1987, 185)

APPENDIX D: MVW AND MVE POTTERY 'CONVERSION' PROCESS

Within the MVE report, Rouillard assigned the type numbers originally given in Bullied and Gray's report to their respective codes (Rouillard 1987, Table 5.1), such as Type I signifying vessel type JG2.2, which greatly contributed to the evaluation of pottery types from MVW. These were, therefore, all converted into the standards set for MVE to maintain consistency. Within my data analysis, and relevant graphs, I have converted vessels labelled as BA2.1 bowls to 'saucepan pots' due to their vertical sides, as suggested by Rouillard (Rouillard 1987, 185). Similarly, jars labelled with near-vertical sides (JA2.1) have also been given this new denomination to maintain uniformity between the different case study sites. However, the presence of these vessel types within MVW and MVE remains low compared to the other forms.

While assigning fabrics to these vessels, certain discrepancies were found due to the earlier recording methods of Bulleid and Gray, as well as from the lack of sufficient information within the reports. Due to this, Fabrics 2a and 4A, based on classifications provided by Rouillard (1987), have been combined as the descriptions in the literature do not provide enough information to separate between the two without physical evaluation and as both types are mostly determined by the presence of voids. While occasionally it is specified which fabric is present between the two, they have been combined to remain consistent. Similarly, when different fabrics were listed for a single vessel, or in cases where different fabrics were possible due to the descriptions provided within previous reports, each option has been recorded for analysis.

Unlike the MVE material, which was provided with exact fabric types, the MVW fabric selections will likely exhibit some inconsistency as they were based largely on my personal interpretation of the information provided within the literature. While the material shows a preference for Fabric 1, which is largely the case regardless, the exact number might be slightly over-represented as this type was chosen wherever quartz, grit, or stone were mentioned, unless specified as large inclusions. Another example of this is the data for Fabric 9. This fabric type was chosen when inclusions were described as large or over 4mm, based on size ranges presented in Rouillard's report. If the inclusions were around 3mm then both 1 and 9 were selected as this is between the designated size ranges set out in the report.

APPENDIX E: COMB ASSEMBLAGE DESCRIPTIONS

MEARE VILLAGE WEST

Site specific information can be found in Chapter 7.

A particularly high number of combs, including fragments, were found during the excavations at MVW: around 130 in total. Out of this total, at least 80 contained decoration (61.5%). Within MVW, particular concentrations of combs have been found, largely spread over 11 mounds (Tuohy 1995a, 230). This is most significantly seen on Mound 7 where 28 combs were found within several levels, representing 21.5% of the total assemblage (St. George Gray 1948, 64). The large concentration of combs within particular areas suggests a possible production centre within MVW. While no attempt was made to individually date the combs, they were found on all levels, further suggesting their use throughout the site's occupation.

MEARE VILLAGE EAST

Site specific information can be found in Chapter 7.

Within MVE, around 90 combs were discovered by the end of the 1987 excavations. Out of this total, 53 (58.9%) are included within my analysis. As with MVW, the distribution of the comb assemblage is focused within a few mounds, particularly Mounds 13, 17, and 22, and start during the earliest occupational periods (Coles 1987, 243, Fig. 7.6). Similar to the neighbouring MVW, the concentration of combs in particular mounds suggest potential areas of production, although not necessarily taking place at the same time.

DANEBURY

Site specific information can be found in Chapter 6.

At Danebury, a total of 71 combs were discovered (Sellwood 1984, 371; Coles 1991, 354), with 45 of these combs decorated and included within my analysis, or 63.4%. However, a high percentage of these combs are of an unknown type (around 50%) owing to the fact that many were found in fragments and/or with the butt-ends missing – the part of the comb most often used to determine the type. Furthermore, there are no concentrations of combs (complete or in fragments) found at the site, and antler waste is not commonly found. Based on this information, there is no direct evidence to suggest any part of Danebury was specifically used for the manufacture of combs, or antler and bone in general, and therefore, antler and bone combs were likely brought in from elsewhere. Nevertheless, the comb assemblage is most frequently found within Danebury's later phases of occupation.

GLASTONBURY LAKE VILLAGE

Much like MLV, GLV is a settlement site located in Somerset, within Cunliffe's South-Western zone. The site is also considered a 'Lake Village' as it was constructed on top of an area of muddy or boggy ground (Cunliffe 2005, 266), lying on top of a bed of peat within what is thought to have been a marshy lake or swamp. Most excavation of the site was conducted by Bulleid and St. George Gray between 1892 and 1907 (Cunliffe 2005, 266), prior to their excavations at MLV. Evidence for Iron Age occupation of the site supports a mid-1st century AD end date based largely on a lack of Romano British material (Coles and Minnitt 1995, 174). Later re-analysis of the artefactual evidence points to an initial occupation between the 1st and 2nd centuries BC, particularly through the presence of a single potin coin dated from the late 2nd to 1st centuries BC and a large number of brooches dated to the 2nd century BC (*ibid.,* 177). Based on structural evidence, an even earlier date around 250 BC has been proposed (*ibid.,* 178).

From GLV, 89 combs have been found. Out of these, 60 were decorated (67.4%) and thus have been included within my report. These artefacts were found relatively evenly distributed among the mounds, in contrast to MVW and MVE, with at least 1 to 2 combs found within 30 mounds (St. George Gray 1911, 269-270). Out of the 90 mounds on the site, 54 of these contained antler, including waste. The fact that they are not found congregated within any particular mound suggests a "domestic rather than industrial" production (Roth 1934, 149; Tuohy 1995a, 225), although Tuohy (1995a) asserts that there is evidence to suggest manufacturing took place during the latest phases of occupation, when work became more seasonal as permanent occupation began to largely decline (Tuohy 1995a, 226). One interpretation, therefore, is that combs were originally acquired from MLV to be used domestically within GLV, thereby not requiring a main area of production at this site.

MAIDEN CASTLE

Located in Dorset, within Cunliffe's Central Southern zone, lies the hillfort of MC (Wheeler 1943, 14). The main excavations at MC began in 1934 by REM Wheeler, Tessa Verney Wheeler, and Lieut. Col. CD Drew, lasting four seasons until 1937 (Wheeler 1943, 4,8), with additional excavations conducted by NM Sharples from 1985 to 1986 (*ibid.,* 46). MC was initially occupied during the Neolithic period but was abandoned following the early Bronze Age until it was reoccupied during the Early Iron Age, around the end of the 4th century BC (*ibid.,* xix). Wheeler originally divided this later period into three phases (Wheeler 1943, 5), which were then further divided by Sharples into 11 phases based on site stratigraphy (Sharples 1991, 57-99) (Table 10.1). Within these phases, the Iron Age occupation began in Phase 5, coinciding with Wheeler's Iron Age A phase, while phase 9 represents the late Roman period and abandonment of the hillfort around AD 70 (Sharples 1991, 43). Dating of the later period was largely reliant on pottery, as well as comparisons with similar sites from southern England (*ibid.,* 102, 105).

Within the comb assemblage, a total of 43 antler and bone combs have been found from the various excavations. 31 of these are decorated (72.1%). As with the other sites, the majority of combs were created from antler (Wheeler 1943, 297; Sharples 1991, 234). Within the initial Wheeler excavations, decorated combs were found most frequently from the Iron Age B phase (mid-1st century BC to early 1st century AD) than from the earlier Iron Age A (4th to mid-1st century BC) or later Iron Age C (mid- to late 1st century AD) phases, although one of the more elaborate examples (A266) is from the earliest context (Wheeler 1943, 298). This was similarly seen within the later Sharples' excavations, whereby most combs were found belonging to phase 6 (Sharples 1991, 236). Based on the antler and bone findings, however, no evidence has been discovered to suggest a main production centre as the

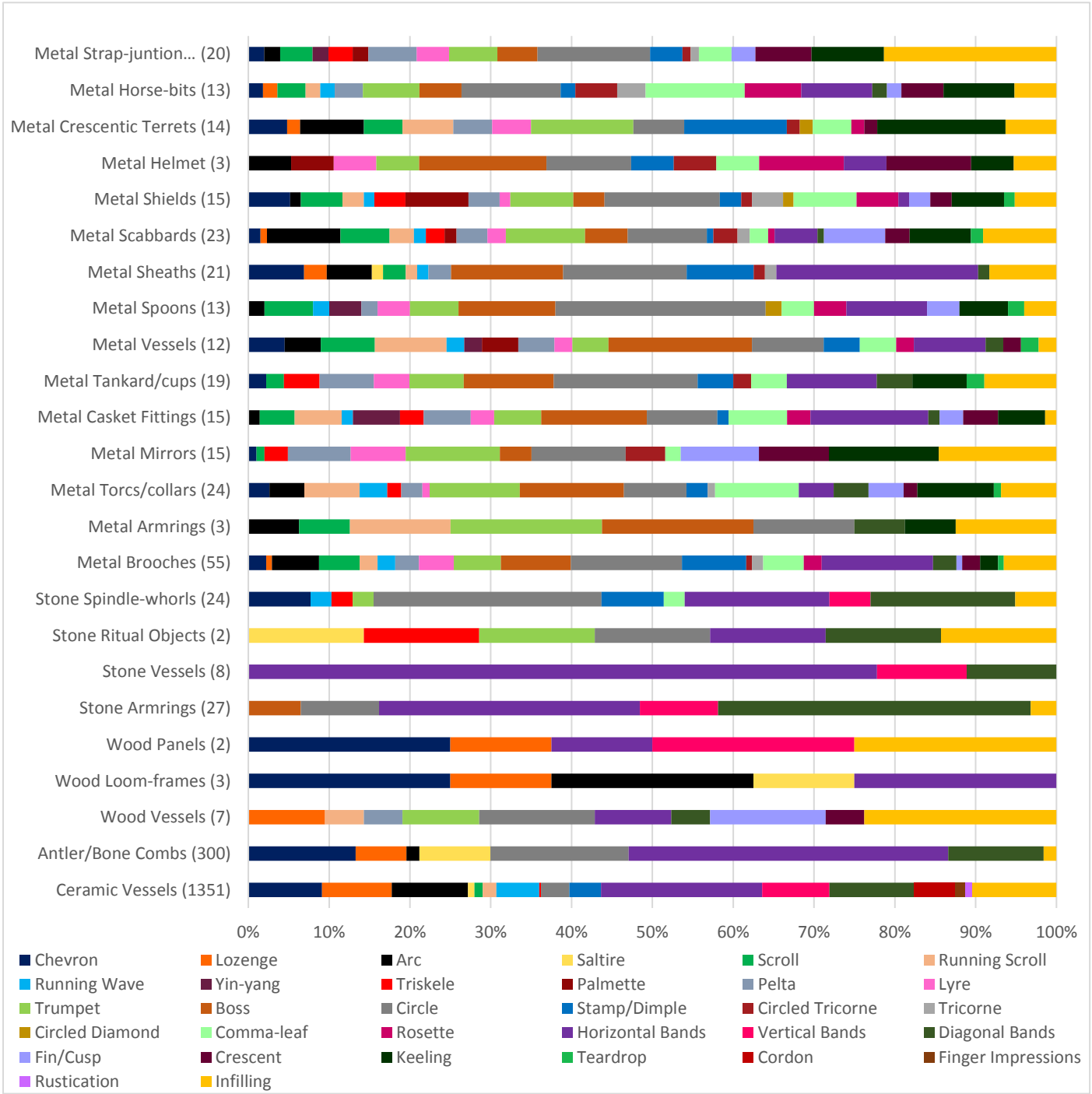
material, including both combs and waste, is scattered throughout the pits (Tuohy 1995a, 220). Again, this may suggest more domestic production compared to the MLV sites.

ALL CANNINGS CROSS

Located within Wiltshire, the site of ACC lies near the current city of Devizes, within Cunliffe's Central Southern zone. This open settlement represents one of the earliest Iron Age locations, and therefore, presents an important site for Iron Age British studies as it is potentially the first to yield "decided evidence that the Hallstatt phase of the Early Iron Age has a definite and distinct place in British archaeology" (Cunnington 1923*,* 15). It similarly demonstrates the importance of non-hilltop enclosures within the Wessex region (Cunliffe 2005, 383). ACC was initially excavated by Benjamin and Maude Cunnington in 1911, and then again from 1920-1922 (Cunnington 1923, 11). The original excavations determined that ACC was likely occupied between 500 and 300 BC due to the artefacts discovered, including a swan-neck pin typically dated to the 5th century BC (*ibid.,* 17), along with two bronze brooches found dating to the La Tène I period. No objects were found dating later than the 3rd century BC. Similarly, the rectangular nature of the settlement structure points to an earlier date of occupation, in contrast to later circular dwellings (*ibid.,* 18-9). Cunliffe's later evaluation, based on the pottery and comparisons to other sites, placed ACC initially within the Early All Cannings Cross group, dated from the late 9th or early 8th century BC (Cunliffe 2005, 90, 247). This was then followed by the Later All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill group from the 5th to 3rd century BC (*ibid.,* 92, 99). It is from these conclusions that an 8th to 4th century BC occupation date has been provided within Figure 10.2.

Out of the full material assemblage, 464 examples of worked bone artefacts and 50 of antler were discovered, including 7 bone combs listed and at least 10 antler combs illustrated within Cunnington's report (Cunnington 1923, 23, Plate 11). Tuohy's later analysis of the ACC combs only added one additional antler comb to the collection (Tuohy 1995a, 1). Due to the smaller extent of excavation at the site, there is a relatively large proportion of bone artefacts compared to the other sites; however, the amount of antler artefacts is extremely small (*ibid.,* 23). Within this collection, at least 20% of all the worked antler found consisted of weaving combs, highlighting the significance of this material for this particular object type. Furthermore, as ACC belongs to the earliest Iron Age period and is the only site within this discussion occupied during this time, it helps to demonstrate the possible evolution of this particular material, as well as its form and decoration, from its earliest style.

APPENDIX F: DECORATION TO ARTEFACT TYPES



DECORATION TO ARTEFACT TYPE (FROM CERAMIC, ANTLER/BONE, STONE, WOOD, AND METAL). EXCLUDING OBJECTS WITH ONLY ONE EXAMPLE OR OF UNKNOWN TYPE.

APPENDIX G: GLOSSARY

ABSTRACT REPRESENTATION
Does not attempt to represent external reality but rather seeks to achieve its effect using shapes, colours, and textures.

ALLUSIVE
Using or containing suggestion rather than explicit meaning; indirect reference.

AMBIGUOUS
Having several possible interpretations or meanings.

ANTHROPOMORPHIC
Ascribing human form or human attributes to nonhuman things.

APOTROPAIC
Designed to avert evil.

BURNISHING
Form of pottery treatment in which the surface of the pot is polished before firing through the use of a hard smooth surface. After firing, it creates a shiny surface.

CHASING
Relief-work done with tracers or punches on the front face (Jope 2000, 212).

CIRE PERDUE
Method of casting bronze, in which a mould is formed around a wax pattern, the wax is then covered with clay and heated, molten bronze is poured into the clay and solidified.

'DECEPTIVE' ASYMMETRY
Imagery first appears symmetrical, but on closer inspection subtle changes lead the viewer in different directions. Asymmetrical but with a level of deception and balance.

DISSYMMETRY
Lack of symmetry; symmetry, but in opposite directions (mirrored).

ELECTRUM
An alloy of gold and silver; amber coloured.

ESCUTCHEON
An ornamental or protective plate, around a keyhole, light switch, handle, etc.

FIGURATIVE REPRESENTATION
Depiction of images and shapes which are clearly derived from recognizable sources.

HATCHING
Engraving technique used to create texture and/or background. Linear hatching includes the use of parallel lines placed closely together. Basketry hatching includes the use of crossing parallel and perpendicular lines placed closely together (c.f. Appendix A: AA).

ICONOLOGICAL
Theory in which style acts as an active, non-verbal form of communication used to negotiate identity, as proposed by Wiessner, Hodder, and DeBoer (1990). In contrast to Isochrestic style.

INFILLING
Material or imagery that fills in or is used to fill a space.

INSCRIBING
Method of applying decoration on a leather-hard vessel with a rounded point, before firing. Also referred to as shallow-tooled decoration.

ISOCHRESTIC
Theory in which style is passive and created through the act of making objects in an established way, as proposed by Sackett (1990). In contrast to Iconological style.

MINIMALISM
Style characterised by extreme simplicity.

NATURALISM
Realism in art; c.f. Figurative Representation.

ONTOLOGY
Branch of philosophy that studies the nature of existence; deals with the nature of being.

REPOUSSÉ
Modelling of sheet metal with punches, usually hammered. Used only for work done outwards from the reverse side (Jope 2000, 212).

ROULETTING
Method of applying decoration formed by rolling a tooled wheel along a surface.

SCRATCHING
Method of applying decoration with a fine point after firing.

SHALE
A fine-grained sedimentary rock that forms from the compaction of silt and clay-size mineral particles, commonly called mud.

SEMIOTIC
Relating to signs and symbols; how signs and symbols create meaning.

ZOOMORPHIC
Having the form of an animal.

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