

Social transformations from the Middle
Bronze Age to the Middle Iron Age in Central
Southern Britain

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Abstract

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The Later Prehistory of Wiltshire is included within social models built on the neighbouring counties of Dorset (Sharples 1991a) and Hampshire (Cunliffe 1984a) or general accounts of southern Britain (Barrett 1980b; Brück 1999a; Hill 1995a; Rowlands 1980). These focus on hillforts, bronze or independent farmsteads. Utilizing the wealth of new data accumulated by developer funded work, this study re-examines the evidence using a landscape scale approach influenced by community studies.

It reveals that current approaches fail to explain the evidence from the study area. Towards the end of the Bronze Age, there is a trend towards transhumance with seasonal, pastoral camps and linear earthworks. Coinciding with the fall from grace of bronze as social mediator, animals became one way through which relations were negotiated. The trend continues into the Earliest Iron Age when large midden sites around Pewsey indicate the exploitation of iron deposits. The middens become centres of craft production for these transhumant communities and facilitate the growth of a broad affinity across the region.

The supremacy of the middens lasts as little as 200 years before new sources of iron, continental imports and recycling cause many to be abandoned. However, the contacts made between communities at these sites facilitate the mobilization of the labour required for hillfort construction. The rationale for their construction varies according to the prevailing social and economic needs but most of these goals are achieved by the Early Iron Age when most are abandoned. The developed hillforts of the later Middle Iron Age are different to their forebears, sit within an otherwise unsettled landscape and indicate a rise in the level of conflict along the western margin of the area.

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

1.1 Social change and Later Prehistory: research aims

‘Are we any closer to understanding how Iron Age societies worked across Europe? ...the analysis of how such communities were organised has lagged behind the massive increase in raw data now available for studying the period. It argues that our aim should be to produce ever richer, more detailed and accurate interpretations of social life in Iron Age Europe.’ (Hill 2006).

‘Understanding Iron Age societies should be the study of agriculture, the politics of production and subsistence and the strategies employed to change the shape of societies.’ (Hill 2007).

The first quote comes from a paper by JD Hill where he readdresses the study of Iron Age society. Whilst the paper develops his previous arguments against the existence of highly-ranked societies during the British Iron Age, it does raise two important new points. First our understanding of how Later Prehistoric societies were structured has developed little since the mid 1990s, even though a huge amount of new data has emerged, largely as a result of PPG16. Second, it is important to focus upon the dynamics of communities which differentiate them and ultimately create differently ‘shaped’ societies. The second paper quoted, was presented by Hill at the ‘Western Europe in the First Millennium BC’ conference held at Durham University. In this talk, he deliberated on non-hierarchical societies but noted that an important access point into studying how the ‘shape’ and structure of societies, varied was through the key processes through which they reproduced themselves biologically and socially.

This thesis builds upon the issues raised by Hill and aims to develop exactly the kind of wider understanding of Later Prehistoric social organization that Hill has argued for, employing central southern England as a case study. Thanks to a long history of research excavation, this region has been used to develop interpretations for the Later Prehistoric period for the best part of a century. It is also one that has benefited from developer-funded archaeology since 1990, filling major gaps in the work and providing a basis from which to challenge these established interpretations.

It will look at changing patterns of settlement distribution, land division, agricultural regimes and social interaction. It is particularly pertinent to conduct such a study of this

region because of the amount of information available. *Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning* (PPG16), now replaced by *Planning Policy Statement 6: Planning and the Historic Environment* (PPS6), ran for just under 20 years. Out of a total of 228 sites discussed here, 100 resulted from work undertaken due to PPG16 (Table 1.1). Substantial new data has become available in both published and unpublished literature across a variety of areas that had never previously been targeted by research-driven projects, redressing a heavy bias to specific types of site, notably hillforts. A study of this scale is therefore timely and fits well with an emerging trend towards community-focused studies during this period (Davis 2010; Moore 2006).

My approach is built upon the understanding that there is a dynamic relationship between social organization and the landscape. Social activities tend to produce physical structures which shape interaction. Social structures are fashioned by the interaction which constitutes them. Thus a thread can be drawn from social organization to the constant reworking of the landscape. All the elements of life and human action are interconnected and feedback into communal structures, identity and interaction (Moore 2006:1).

There are remarkable changes to both the landscape and material culture reflected in the archaeological record for Prehistory. These, in turn, must indicate a transformation in the structures of society and the systems inherent within it. This does not necessarily imply development or progress within society, but does suggest that the conditions of life, such as social organization, production, consumption and social reproduction which created the material traces of artefacts and patterns within the landscape changed constantly throughout this period.

Communities are constituted by a web of overlapping interactions that often extend beyond the limits of what might be considered their physical boundaries (Arensberg and Kimball 1940). It is therefore important to study them at appropriate scales, both geographically and temporally. This work will conduct a landscape-scale study, focused on but not limited to Wiltshire, from the Middle Bronze Age to the Middle Iron Age to look at these changes within society.

In particular I have the following research aims:

- To examine how people's lives were structured through a range of activity-based relationships, dominated by the agricultural regime that extended beyond the scale of the household.

- To investigate how the scales of labour and movement inherent within such regimes dictated social interaction.
- To establish how the nature of these forms of social interaction changed over the period with sites and material culture employed to mediate these transformations.

1.2 The study area

The study area focuses on Wiltshire and its immediate environs including parts of Berkshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire. The preliminary phase of investigation covered an area approximately twice the size, but this was reduced due to the huge number of sites, which would have allowed only peremptory investigation. The precise boundaries result from a variety of factors. Personal interest is one, resulting from a long-standing involvement in the archaeology of the Vale of Pewsey, which lies at the centre of the study area both chronologically and geographically. A desire to understand the factors that led to the creation of the Earliest Iron Age middens, their influence on later patterns and how they were situated socially within the wider landscape, was fundamental.

The study area has a diverse geography with areas of dry chalk downland divided by a series of valleys. Both zones show considerable variation with some downland (such as that around Salisbury), consisting of low, gently undulating land currently under arable cultivation, whilst higher areas capped by clay with flints (such as the Great Ridge near Wilton or the Ridgeway around Barbury Castle), have rougher vegetation and have never seen arable cultivation. The valleys also vary in size and geology. The Salisbury Avon, Bourne and Wylve are narrow chalk valleys; the Bristol Avon and the Upper Thames Valley are broad and predominantly clay with areas of gravel terrace; whilst the Vale of Pewsey is broad with outcrops of Lower Greensand. As a whole the region offers great potential to study variations in agricultural practice, through which differences in social organization and the conditions of life can be discerned.

The study area has been divided into six sub-regions (Figure 1.1): 1) the Middle Avon Valley; 2) the North-east section of The Salisbury Plain Training Area (NESPTA); 3) the Wylve Valley; 4) the Vale of Pewsey; 5) the North Wessex Downs and 6) the Upper Thames Valley. This division was made to break-up the study into smaller, easier to manage sub-regions that would aid data management, allow maps to be produced at a meaningful scale, facilitate analysis and allow comparison across the region as a whole. The division of the region into these sub-regional groups was a matter of expedience and it should not be assumed that they formed distinct social groups or that there was no interaction or influence between

them. These sub-regions cover most of the study area with three exceptions. These were the Nadder and Ebble Valleys, a portion of the Bristol Avon Valley and the area to the east of the Bourne Ridge. These areas were ultimately excluded due to lack of space, though in all three cases they represented interesting groups of sites that offer potential for future study. The division was made on two main criteria: distinct geographical land blocks and concentrations of archaeological activity. With the exception of the NESPTA, the sub-regions are centred on valleys with a division of the downland that lies in between. The NESPTA sub-region reflects the wealth of sites known there. Although the smallest of all the sub-regions, it has the third highest number of sites, a result of two large research projects. This concentration in such a small area made it more appropriate to study it as one unit rather than split between the Middle Avon Valley and Vale of Pewsey sub-regions, even though strong links can be drawn between all three.

1.3 Chronology

Chronologically this study focuses on the period from the Middle Bronze to the Middle Iron Age or roughly 1500-150BC. These dates were chosen to place the Earliest Iron Age midden sites in the Vale of Pewsey at the heart of the discussion, providing the opportunity to draw out long-term trends leading to their development and the repercussions of their abandonment. Dating during this period faces a number of problems, of which the best known is the plateau on the radiocarbon calibration curve between 800 and 400 BC. This creates wide date ranges for radiocarbon dates and has led to continued dependence on traditional dating techniques such as ceramic typologies. Although these are ultimately grounded by radiocarbon dating of the material from Danebury (Cunliffe 1984b), dating remains a major area of concern in this region (Sharples 1998:59). Most of the sites included in this work are dated using ceramics as a starting point with many having no alternative dating methods applied. Of the sites that have been radiocarbon dated, most have only a small number of samples leaving opportunities for errors to creep in (*ibid.*).

When using ceramic typologies some of the forms witnessed in Wessex are stable with little innovation over long periods of time. Changes between ceramic traditions are, in most cases, unlikely to be sudden and certain forms will have date ranges that overlap. The best example of this is for the ceramics of the Early and Middle Iron Ages in the Upper Thames Valley where some sites are dated upon fabric percentages of the whole assemblage rather than an actual change in forms (Timby 2001:21-22).

Cunliffe's ceramic sequence for Wessex is set out into a series of ceramic phases (cp). This sequence may not be completely relevant to all areas of Wiltshire. A lack of settlements in some parts may result from an extended chronology for some forms combined with an absence of others. This issue may not be resolved until a series of sites in central Wiltshire with intensive, unbroken occupation throughout the Iron Age are excavated and the deposits and ceramics recovered from them, thoroughly dated through independent methods (Sharples 1998). The 10,000 sherd assemblage from Battlesbury Bowl, stretching from the 8th to 3rd century BC (Ellis and Powell 2008) offers potential for the future, but needs to be augmented by more sites that verify the typology and cover the later stages of the Middle Iron Age.

Bearing these concerns in mind, this section will outline the current ceramic typologies that form the dominant method of dating sites across the study area. For the Bronze Age, bronze typologies are important dating tools; but with the exception of spot finds, the rarity of this material on sites (particularly settlements) means that it plays a relatively minor role in the dating system laid-out here. As such, less detail will be paid to the bronze chronologies than to the ceramics. The comparative chronologies are laid-out in Figure 1.2. Where the term 'later' Bronze Age is used it refers to both the Middle and Late Bronze Age.

1.3.1 Middle Bronze Age

The Middle Bronze Age is regarded as synonymous with the use of Deverel-Rimbury Wares in the south of Britain. These represent a broadening in the range of vessels and are currently believed to have been in use between c. 1500–1150 BC. Although coarse wares are largely uniform across southern Britain, six regional groupings have been identified for fine wares with almost no overlap seen between the different styles, though more restricted distributions can be seen for the everyday wares (Figure 1.3 and Figure 1.4) (Ellison 1980:129-130). Deverel-Rimbury ceramic forms vary little over this 400 year period so bronze typologies are used to subdivide it. Under this scheme the prevailing metal work style at the beginning of this period, termed Acton Park, is replaced around 1400BC by the Taunton phase which is itself replaced by the Penard stage around 1200BC (Taylor 1993:23).

1.3.2 Late Bronze Age

A change in ceramics to Post Deverel-Rimbury Plain wares between 1150-1000 cal BC is accepted to represent the junction between the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. This is roughly

coincidental with the Wilburton bronze tradition gaining supremacy over the Penard tradition (Needham 1996:135). During this period we see the introduction of new vessel forms such as bowls and to a limited extent cups. The fine fabric distinction of the earlier period is not matched in the latter and the fine ware component is now filled by bowls (Barrett 1980a:303). Decoration is rare on all forms, thereby giving the tradition its name, and it is often hard to differentiate Plain Ware sherds from undecorated Deverel-Rimbury body sherds. The Wilburton metal work phase continues for approximately 100 years before it is replaced by the Ewart Park-Blackmoor/Carps Tongue traditions. The latter part of this tradition, Ewart Park/Carps Tongue is characterized by intensive hoarding activity across southern Britain and is considered to be symptomatic of the decline of bronze as a strategic and social commodity (Needham 2007:53).

1.3.3 Earliest Iron Age

Around 800 BC a new ceramic style appears across Wessex known variously as (Early) All Cannings Cross or Post Deverel-Rimbury Decorated Ware. This period has traditionally been considered to represent the transition between the Bronze and Iron Ages and there is some uncertainty over whether it should be classed as part of the Bronze Age or Iron Age tradition. This results in the widespread use of the term Late Bronze/Early Iron Age. Confusion extends to site reports with the use of a variety of terms to place the material chronologically. As with other regions of Britain it is important to follow up descriptions of the material used to date these sites to avoid dating to a vague 600 year period (Champion 2007:296). By 800 BC there had apparently been a dramatic decline in the amount of bronze in circulation, even though few iron artefacts are deposited. In terms of bronze, there is only a short period of overlap between Late Bronze Age metalwork proper (Ewart Park) and All Cannings Cross Wares (Needham 2007:42) with the final phase of bronze types represented by the Llyn Fawr tradition (O'Connor 2007). Overall this period can be considered synchronous with the switch from bronze to iron but is perhaps best considered as heralding the start of the Iron Age and this work will use the term Earliest Iron Age to describe it. Cunliffe divides the All Cannings Cross ceramic tradition into Early and Late phases (cp1/cp2). This is an arbitrary division based upon the relative proportions of large jars to bowls and the amount of haematite coated wares at Danebury (Cunliffe 1984b:254) although a similar situation was noted at the deeply stratified deposits at Potterne (Morris 2000a:161).

1.3.4 Early Iron Age

By the 6th century BC, the All Cannings Cross wares had evolved into the All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill tradition. Cunliffe's All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill Ware is now subdivided into three ceramic phases, starting with the highly characteristic scratched cordoned bowls (cp3) and ending with non-haematite coated bowls and barrel jars (cp5). There is an intermediate phase of plain round shouldered bowls (cp4) either separating the two phases or running concurrent with cp5. In the Upper Thames Valley the ceramics follow that of Wessex for the All Cannings Cross Wares, but form the boundary area between All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill wares and the Long Wittenham-Allen's Pit group (Figure 1.5) (Cunliffe 2005:101); at Battlesbury Bowl the Early Iron Age is represented by the Phase 2 material and is dated to 600-350BC (Every and Mephram 2008:58-59).

1.3.5 Middle Iron Age

Middle Iron Age ceramic styles attain a broad uniformity across much of southern Britain with regional differences being defined through small variations in profile, decoration or fabric and typified by saucepan pots and simple jars (Cunliffe 1984b:233). Cunliffe divides the period into two ceramic phases, the first cp6 dominated by plain, undecorated saucepan pots and the second cp7, starting around 250BC, with a larger percentage of decorated saucepan pots (Cunliffe 1984a:13). With the divide largely based upon percentage variations in assemblages, it is a highly qualitative division rather than a distinct hiatus. Cp7 continues through to c. 100BC. Cp6 and cp7 are known collectively as the Yarnbury-Highfield tradition in Wiltshire or the Southcote-Blewburton tradition in the Upper Thames Valley (Figure 1.6). The ceramics grow out of earlier traditions and the boundary between Early and Middle Iron Age ceramics is not clear-cut, especially in the Upper Thames Valley (Stansbie *et al.* 2007:27), where a decrease in the use of calcareous shell or limestone fabrics with an associated rise in the percentage of sandy fabrics is considered to signal the move into the Middle Iron Age (Timby 2001:21-22; Jones 2007a:47). This is reflected in the Wiltshire assemblages where the bulk of ceramics during the Middle Iron Age are made from sandy, glauconitic fabrics, a characteristic that divides the Yarnbury-Highfield style from the flint tempered wares of Hampshire's St. Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down tradition (Brown 2000:122; Raymond 2006:112).

1.4 The necessity of this study

The study area has attracted a large amount of research in the past resulting from an interest in the henge monuments and ritual landscapes of Stonehenge and Avebury, augmented by the results of PPG16. However, whilst Wiltshire is geographically part of Wessex, the social models that have been constructed have either been centred on neighbouring counties or were geographically broad. In both instances the influence of the Wiltshire data has been minimal. Cunliffe's theories, whilst transposed across central southern England have been built upon Danebury, Hampshire and sites in its hinterland whilst Niall Sharples' work (1991a) has concentrated on Dorset. The Oxfordshire section of the Upper Thames Valley has been extensively discussed (e.g. Hingley and Miles 1984; Lambrick 1992), but until the last 15 years there has been insufficient information to assess the Wiltshire/Gloucestershire section. A new volume (Lambrick 2010) incorporating this area shows the timeliness of this study but arrived too late for inclusion in my work. Barrett, Rowlands, Hill and Brück have covered a very broad geographical area that has allowed them to cherry-pick data that fits their theories and neglect or bury data that does not. The accumulation of 20 years of developer funded work means that a wealth of new and different forms of information is now available, so that we can progress from hillfort or settlement focused studies and place Prehistoric life in its relevant spatial context.

A key area of this research is the Vale of Pewsey middens. The Earliest Iron Age is poorly understood and seen as a high research priority (Haselgrove *et al* 2001:31). The midden sites lie at a transitional period in Later Prehistory and so tend to fall between discussions of the Bronze and Iron Ages, whereas this study covers a long period that bridges both. The duration of the study period allows the middens to be placed into the context of developments that led to their creation and trace the impact that they had on the ensuing Early and Middle Iron Ages.

Ultimately, this work investigates a number of research priorities highlighted in both national and regional agendas. Namely it follows a landscape approach that synthesises recent fieldwork, to look beyond the boundaries of settlements at the wider 'inhabited zones' of daily activity, to see how different groups within society interacted seasonally and spatially (*ibid.*:14; Hill 1998).

This research addresses an important gap in our knowledge both regionally and chronologically. It moves beyond studies focused on either hillforts or the confines of the settlement and thereby provides a detailed assessment of the inner workings of society.

1.5 Layout of the thesis

The study area provides excellent potential for establishing the conditions of life and social organization in Later Prehistory and their influence on landscape change. The following chapter will look at the current understanding of Prehistoric society. In Chapter Three, I set out the theoretical background to my argument for a move to the study of society at the level of the community along with a statement of methodology and how the study was undertaken. Chapters Four to Nine deal with the archaeology of the six sub-regions. Chapter Ten draws together the material evidence from these regions and Chapter Eleven traces the changing social relations across the region as a whole and how these inform us as to the reworking of the landscape.

Area	PPG16		Research 1950+		1900-1950		Pre 1900		Total
Middle Avon	13	35%	9	24%	13	35%	2	5%	37
NESPTA	6	16%	27	71%	5	13%	0	0%	38
Wylfe	15	56%	6	22%	6	22%	0	0%	27
Pewsey	16	46%	12	34%	6	17%	1	3%	35
North Wessex	3	8%	17	44%	20	51%	0	0%	39
Upper Thames	47	90%	4	8%	0	0%	0	0%	52
	100	44%	75	32%	50	22%	3	1%	228

Table 1.1- Regional breakdown of PPG16 sites versus other projects.

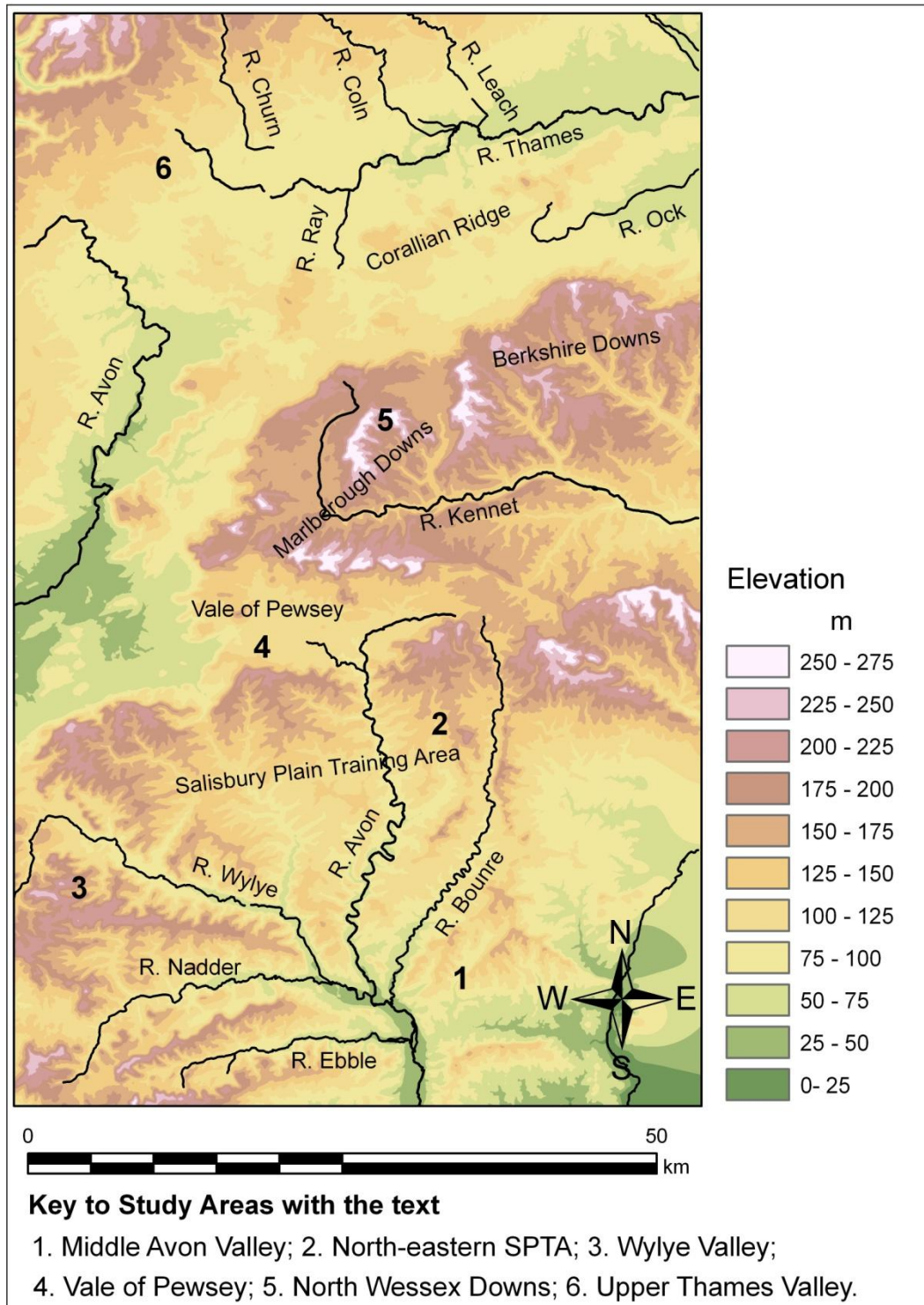


Figure 1.1- Study area with sub-regions.

BC	Continental S. Germany	Bronze work tradition	Wiltshire ceramics	Period
1500		Acton Park		
1400	Reinecke D			
1300		Taunton	Deverel - Rimbury	Middle Bronze Age
1200	Halstatt A1			
1100	Halstatt A2	Penard		
1000		Wilburton		
900	Halstatt B1	Ewart Park / Blackmoor	Plain Ware	Late Bronze Age
800	Halstatt B2/B3	Ewart Park / Carps Tongue		
700	Halstatt C1a			
600	Halstatt C1b		All Cannings Cross	Earliest Iron Age
500	Halstatt C2	Llyn Fawr	Early CP1 Late CP2	
400	Halstatt D			
300	La Tene A		CP3	Early Iron Age
200	La Tene B		CP5	
100	La Tene C		Yarnbury-Highfield Wares	Middle Iron Age
			CP6 CP7	

Figure 1.2- Comparative chronologies for the Later Prehistoric period in Central Southern Britain.

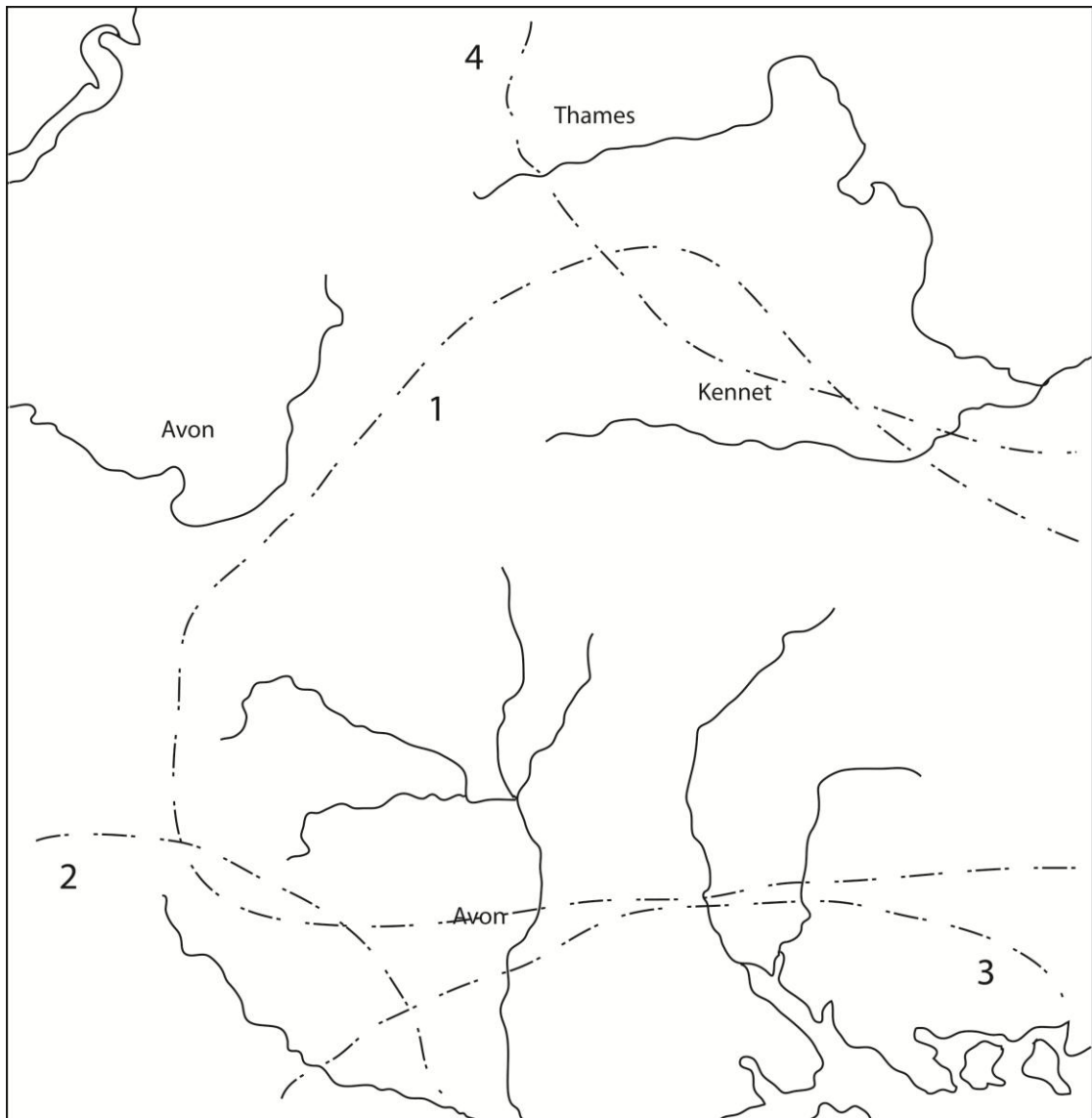


Figure 1.3 – Regional distributions of Deverel-Rimbury fine wares (adapted from Ellison 1980, figure 2, 131). 1 – Type 1 Globular Urns, 2 – Type 2 Globular Urns, 3 – Type 3 Globular Urns, 4 – Thames Jars.

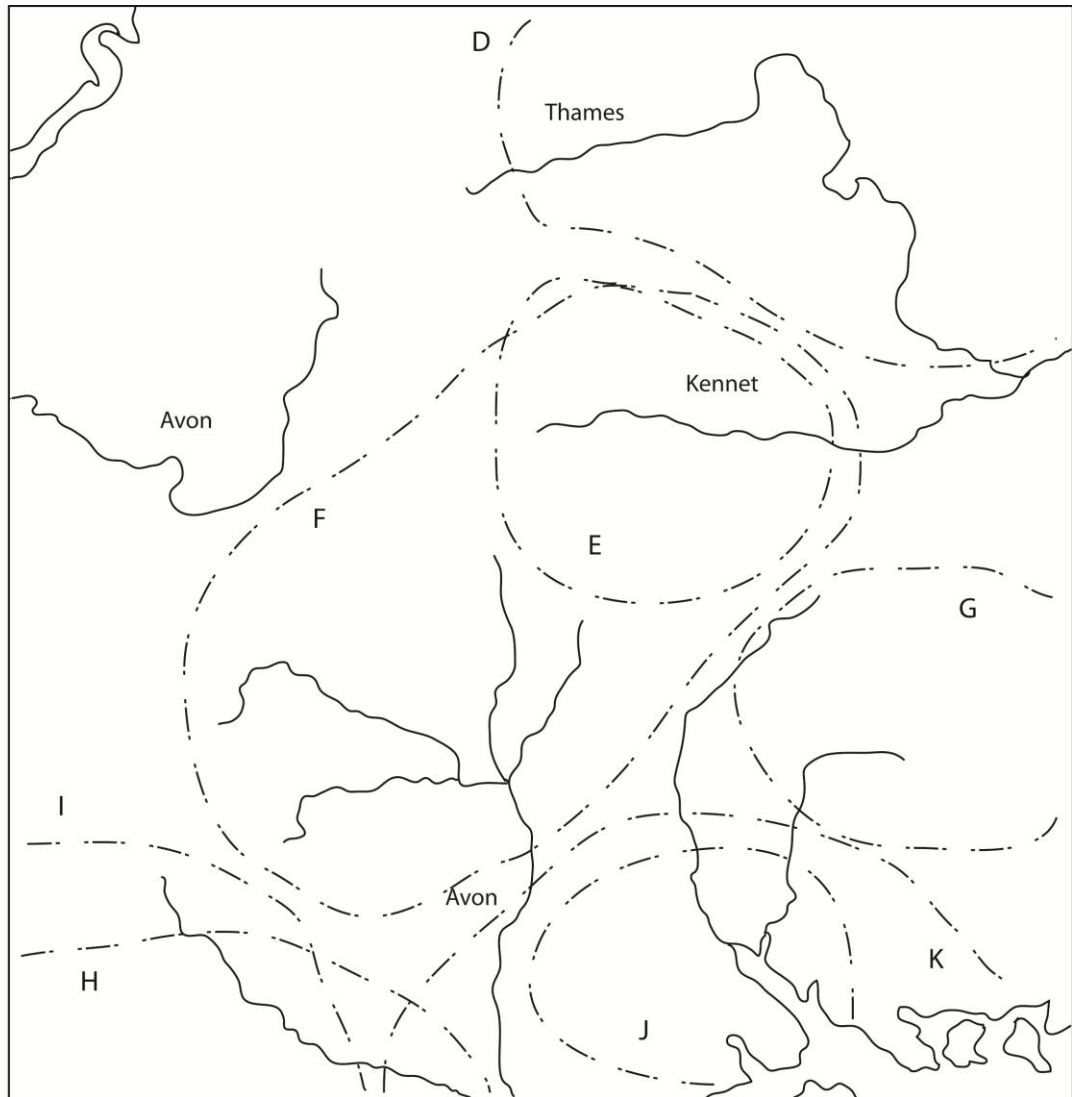


Figure 1.4 – Regional distributions of Deverel-Rimbury everyday wares (adapted from Ellison 1980, figure 2, 131). Categories as divided by Ellison.

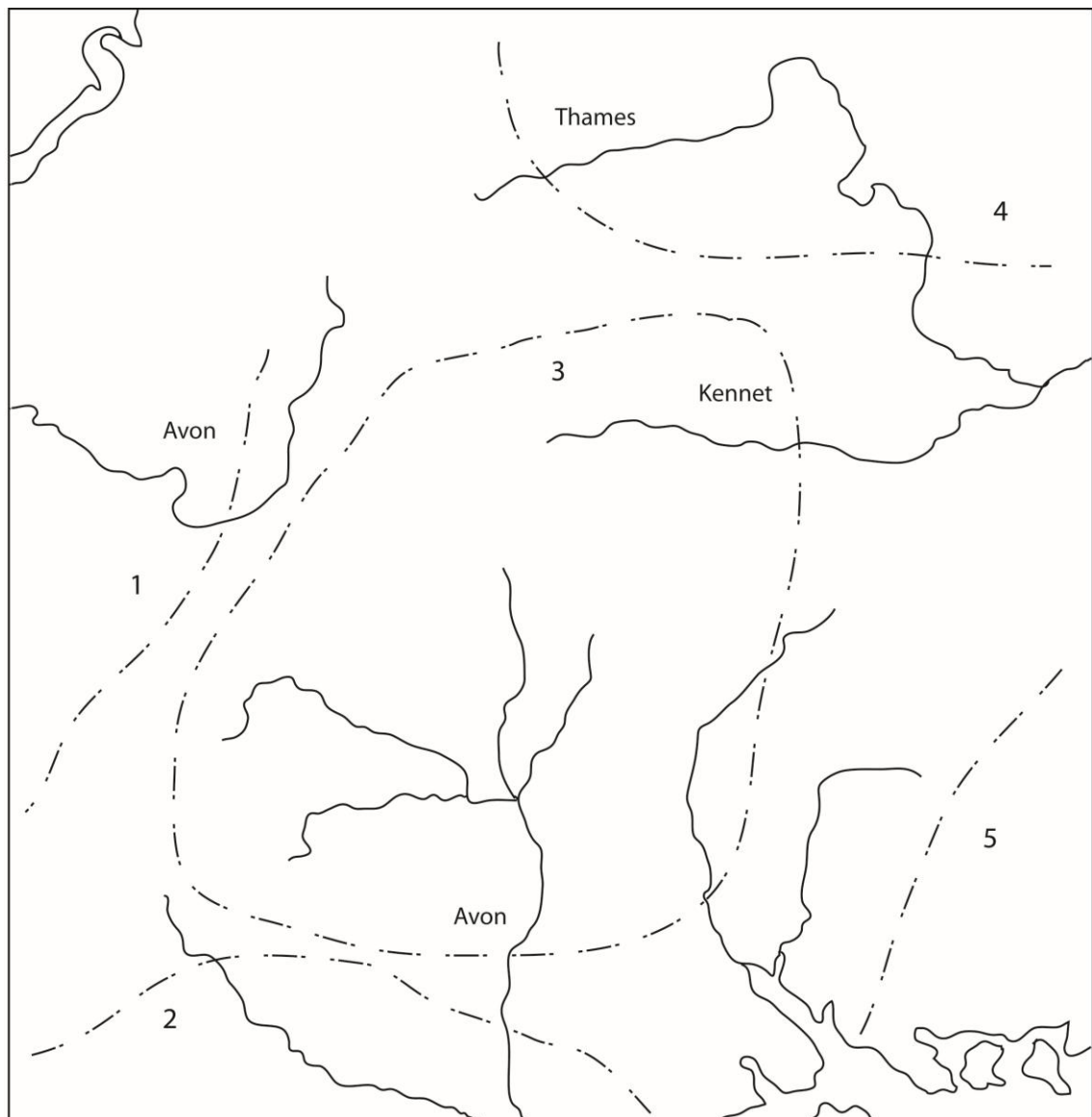


Figure 1.5– Regional distributions ceramics from the sixth to fifth century BC. 1. All Cannings Cross-Meons Hill Wares (Somerset variant); 2. All Cannings Cross-Meons Hill Wares (Dorset variant); 3. All Cannings Cross-Meons Hill Wares (Wiltshire-Hampshire variant); 4. Long Wittenham-Allen's Pit Wares; 5. Chinnor-Wandlebury Wares. (developed from Cunliffe 2005, figure 21.4, 592).

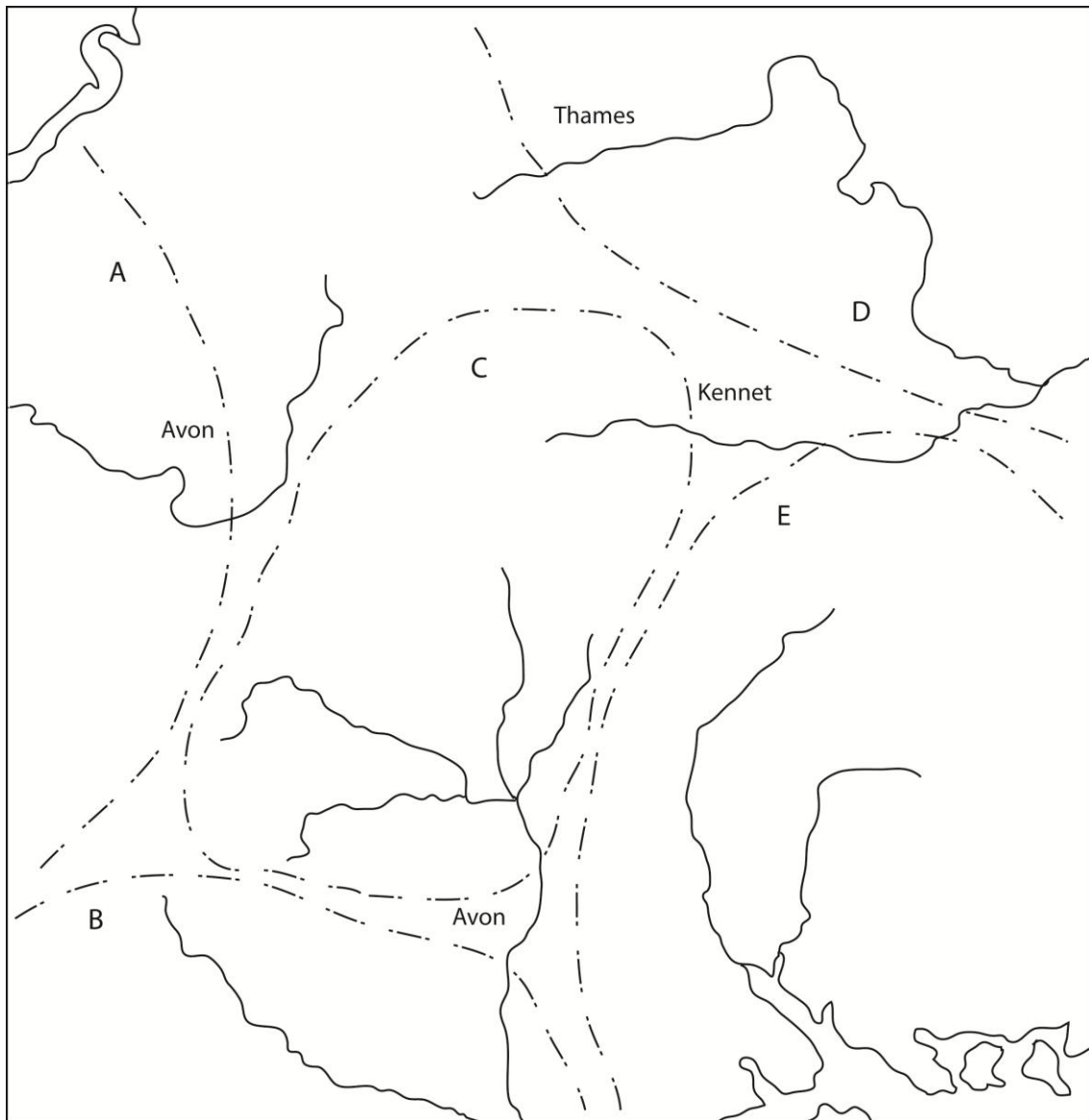


Figure 1.6- Regional distributions ceramics from the fourth to second century BC. A. Glastonbury-Blaise Castle Hill Wares; B. Maiden Castle-Marnhull Wares; C.Yarnbury-Highfield Wares; D. Southcote-Blewburton Wares; E. St. Catherine's Hill-Worthy Down Wares. (developed from Cunliffe 2005, figure 21.4, 592).

Chapter 2 - Current models for Later Prehistoric Society

Current models for social organization in southern Britain usually tackle the Bronze and Iron Ages as separate entities and are subject to differing theoretical approaches. Thematically, there are two dominant approaches; the first involves narratives of power focused upon the circulation of bronze in the Bronze Age (Rowlands 1980) and control of hillforts in the Iron Age (Cunliffe 1984a), the second upon the independent household as the minimum social unit. This chapter will consider the models in succession, noting some of the broad issues with each.

2.1 Rowlands and Barrett

For the Bronze Age Rowlands (1980) and Barrett (1980b) put forward complementary ideas to explain the patterning of bronze hoards, the growth in coaxial field systems during the Middle Bronze Age and their abandonment during the Late Bronze Age. These theories involve status and wealth being acquired through the acquisition and redistribution of bronze. This is underpinned by networks created through marriage alliances and systems of gift exchange with both fundamentally footed by the production of agricultural surpluses. Gift exchange takes a number of forms such as economic feasting, exchanges of marriage partners or exotic goods and in some theatres of social enactment all three may be combined to varying degrees. It involves a temporal displacement of reciprocity with the receiver benefiting immediately from the exchange, but having a future reciprocal obligation to the giver (Barrett 1989:308; Rowlands 1980:20). The ability to host feasts is dependent on the agricultural output of the host, who expects their expenditure to be returned with interest. The economic feast will have a number of benefits attached to it, such as receipt of gifts in return, increased influence or power in a community (Bourdieu 1977:171-83) or the attraction of a labour force (Hayden 1996:130). The exchange of marriage partners in an exogamous framework may be used to structure alliances and/or a flow of goods. These alliances would provide both parties with an advantage by increasing the size of the group upon which they could call for seasonal labour, building projects, and help in times of need. They would also be used to secure the supply of bronze in the larger system of bronze exchange.

Of the exotic gifts for this period it is believed that the most sought-after was bronze, which may be consumed through further gift exchange, reworking into artefacts or deposition

in riverine environments. Status is thus negotiated and renegotiated through several means. The transformation of bronze into artefacts could benefit the receiver in a number of ways dependent upon what the material is used for. When turned into tools they may provide greater agricultural efficiency, thereby allowing an increase in agricultural output. When turned into items of personal adornment such as dress pins they differentiate the wearer through their appearance. Lastly, if turned into weapons such as swords they may provide the bearer with the status of a warrior caste and provide the means of attaining influence through martial display or force of might. Gift giving is inherently competitive and stricken by inflationary forces and its consequences (Brück 2000:275). Exotic gift exchange and the exchange of marriage partners provide the receiver with the potential to increase their wealth through similar mediums and after the initial debt has been made good they may exploit this to compete directly with the original gift giver.

Gift exchange is driven by agricultural output and access to resources, meaning that if society were driven by a desire for power, there would be an intensification of agricultural production. Barrett suggests that this intensification of agricultural production is characterized by the laying-out of formal coaxial field systems on the downs, indicating more intensive processes of land management to maintain soil fertility, along with the introduction of new forms of technology such as the ard (Barrett 1994:144-8). The greater investment in certain plots of land inevitably leads to a change from a perceived communal tenure of land to a household tenure with individual families supplanting the community as landowners. This closes access to land and labour through a reduction in the extent of the community to which the group perceives that it belongs (*ibid.*:144-5). A highly competitive system of gift exchange would lead to the growth of the identity of individual households, as distinct from that of the community. Everybody in the system would come under pressure to produce larger and larger agricultural surpluses. It is perceived that the light chalk soils would quickly become degraded and combined with a climatic downturn would lead to reduced yields. This in turn would create a crisis on the downs where they were no longer able to meet their obligations with trading partners on the coast and in the Thames Valley. Cut off from the supply of bronze, it is envisaged that large areas of the downs were abandoned and put over to pastoral use, reflected by the construction of linear earthworks (Barrett 1980b:91), perhaps as the consequence of land entering the exchange system (*ibid.*:90).

Fundamentally these theories set out to create a social model to explain changes in the landscape and the distribution of bronze. It is an economic model whereby power and hence social status is reproduced through the manipulation of a commodity. Although quite old and having already come under significant criticism by Brück (2000), it still remains in use. Yates in his study of Bronze Age field systems (2007) highlights the abundance of field systems in the 'buffer' zone of the coast and Thames Valley to emphasize its agricultural capacity and support the validity of the model. The laying-out of formal coaxial field systems, together with evidence of colluviation is taken to represent intensification of agricultural activity on the downs. These arguments for agricultural intensification are far from clear-cut. Geo-archaeologists have argued against a distinct widespread colluvial horizon for this period (Bell 1982:138; Allen 1992:44), raising questions as to how intensive the 'intensification' actually was. The laying-out of coaxial field systems in itself only represents 'a change in the mode and organization of production, this does not necessarily imply any enhancement in the productivity per capita' (Brück 2000:277). Anthropological studies suggest that it is rare for social groups to move location due to soil degradation, but rather that social, ideological and political reasons lead to migration well before the soil is exhausted (Orme 1981:74). It is also apparent that the subsistence farmer aims to minimize the extent of their losses rather than to deal in probabilities of maximization (Netting 1974:44). The concept of Bronze Age people intensively exploiting the land to fulfil social objectives and wreaking environmental disaster is therefore problematic and possibly a western construct planted upon the past (Brück 2000:275-6). In part it may belie modern concerns with climatic changes and the impact of environmental over-exploitation.

We also have to be clear what goods are being exchanged for initial importation of bronze from the continent. Middle Bronze Age shipwrecks at Langton Bay and Salcombe (Muckelroy 1981) suggest that large quantities of metal were being imported but grain from the arable fields highlighted as evidence for this trade would not appear to provide a viable commodity for large-scale exchange across the channel. Textiles and hides would be more appropriate agricultural trading commodities (Bradley 2007:232) though this does not discount the exchange of other commodities such as precious metals, hunting dogs, slaves or marriage partners. Bearing this in mind, the settlements making the initial trades with the continent would be looking to stockpile these commodities. In such a system, we might expect these to be exchanged down the line for bronze to support the initial transaction. The creation

of arable fields is therefore somewhat irrelevant to this argument. Yates has taken this into account and argued that the creation of metalled tracks for stock and new animal management systems in the Thames Valley, represents intensification by virtue of allowing more animals to be managed efficiently (2007:120). However, such facilities may simply reflect a change in the mode of production rather than intensification. Whilst such structures are found in a few of these lowland, valley locations they are far from widespread and may represent relatively local innovations and time-saving ideas.

This theory is fundamentally attempting to explain the pattern of bronze distribution around southern Britain. In reality, even Rowlands admits that 'there is little evidence besides the metalwork' to support it (1980:35). As its basic starting point it assumes that bronze was the most sought-after commodity. It assumes that bronze had been commoditized and functioned as a 'proto-currency' (Shennan 1993:62). Whilst this model goes some way to explaining how the metal could circulate around the country it fails to adequately link it to agricultural production or investigate society at a broader level of daily interaction. It is therefore of questionable value in trying to explain social structure.

2.2 Brück

Brück's model argues against this earlier paradigm focused upon the manipulation of economic resources to achieve social gain. At the heart of her model is the independent household, a small co-habiting, extended family's desire to retain a distinct identity from the wider community which it tries to achieve both spatially and economically. This desire is manifested in the architecture and spatial arrangements of settlements, with the lifecycle of the household intimately connected to that of the settlement (Brück 1999a:146). Activities are spatially ordered and reordered around the settlement which grows with the size of the household and contracts as children leave and is finally abandoned with the death of the inhabitants (*ibid.*).

Brück's theory revolves around a standard model of Middle Bronze Age settlements as discrete enclosed entities. The enclosure of these sites is taken to suggest a symbolic definition of the inhabitants as distinct from that of the surrounding countryside (*ibid.*:153). The deposition of rubbish in the enclosing ditch, when associated with concepts of decay and reincorporation, makes this a liminal place by drawing attention to the danger involved in transgressing it (*ibid.*). This is further emphasized by the elaboration of entrances to create a

symbolic relationship between the settlement and its inhabitants, as opposed to the outside wider community (*ibid.*:154). One reason suggested for this is the reduced mobility of groups during the Middle Bronze Age, requiring them to formalize and objectify a 'set of more permanent spatial and social relationships' (Brück 2000:288). Drawing on evidence that few of the Middle Bronze Age settlements excavated so far show signs of an uninterrupted sequence of repair or reconstruction in the same location, Brück postulates a lifespan for these settlements of perhaps as little as 30 – 100 years (Brück 1999a:149). Thus, although space was constantly undergoing the process of re-ordering, the longevity of the space itself was limited to the lifetime of the household with no heritage allowed to develop (*ibid.*). This suggests that the unity of the household was a very temporary affair, with new households formed by offspring quickly gaining independence and assuming a certain degree of indifference to their kin as they construct their own settlements and barriers. As the offspring move from their family home to colonise new locales, new blocks of fields are laid out and the original settlement contracts and finally falls into disuse. The process of laying-out new fields when a new household gains its independence, together with the uniformity of the coaxial field systems is taken to imply co-operation with neighbouring groups during construction and reflect land holding at the level of the community (Brück 2000:290-1). Each new generation leaves their parents and establishes new fields, so no lasting family bond is established with the land. This prevents tenure for the land being appropriated by individual families. Brück does not attempt to answer whether the initial fields remain under production or whether they return to pasture but by extension, the fields are inferred to have a lifespan similar to the settlements. Brück notes that these households are still inextricably tied to working with their neighbours in seasonal activities such as harvesting or to share and negotiate access to communal resources (1999a:159). In this example the desire for independence is to reduce their reliance and hence reciprocal obligations to the wider community. As with Barrett *et al.* (1991:225) the evidence for burials with storage vessels is taken to indicate an increased emphasis on fertility and reproduction as a strategy to increase independence (Brück 2000:290).

The Middle Bronze Age pattern is seen to continue into the Late Bronze Age, with settlements housing only small kinship based groups with a relatively short lifespan (Brück 2007:26). There are several factors that are noticeably different in the later period though. As the Late Bronze Age continues we see an increase in the diversity of activity sites into such

forms as early hilltop enclosures and middens. These sites extend the ordering of space beyond that of the mere domestic settlement to the wider community, with a concentration of activities like metalworking regularly taking place at middens but rarely in other types of settlement (*ibid.*:26). The larger range of sites is taken to imply a desire to order and define activities spatially along with the people that undertake them (*ibid.*). The new forms of site are connected to communal use, with midden sites and early hilltop enclosures linked with seasonal communal gatherings. It is hypothesised these large-scale communal building projects were used to construct local and regional identities, allowing labour to be pooled and expertise shared (*ibid.*:31). Although most Late Bronze Age settlements are considered to have had short life spans, some sites are much longer lived. This indicates a twofold division of attachment to place and the short lifespan of most settlements suggests that tenure was still retained at a level beyond that of the household. The longer episodes of use and rebuilding at communal sites suggest continuity with the past, continually negotiating and renegotiating the community's identity and link with the landscape (Brück 2007:31). The construction and reworking of these sites, displays to the surrounding community, the support and resources that the hosting group are able to call upon and acts like a barometer to signal their relative success (*ibid.*). The seasonality, in evidence at some of the large midden sites, is used to suggest that power and status may have been redefined throughout the year as activities and roles fluctuated with the annual cycle (*ibid.*:34).

The strongly independent households' model suffers from a number of theoretical problems. In his work on the Meuse-Demer-Scheldt region of the Netherlands, Gerritsen also hypothesises a high degree of residential mobility and flexible communal relationships (2003:236), however in contrast to the well developed field systems of the chalk downs, only ephemeral traces of fields have been identified (*ibid.*:188). It suggests that the Wiltshire fields were exploited for a much longer period than their brethren in the Netherlands. There is no reason to believe that new generations would be eager to flee from the confines of their parents. This would be to deny the implications of the household lifecycle that would periodically leave them dependant on the assistance of others, and prevent the support that proximity to kin provides. As a model it reflects modern concerns with individuality and the tendency for increasing independence of children from their parents. Thus it is as much a result of Western ethnocentricity as the models that Brück argues against. The theory is founded upon assumptions that the small enclosure is the dominant settlement form, it is of

short duration and that there is a constant colonisation and abandonment of land. This implies that there would be a large number of small rectilinear enclosures evenly distributed throughout the field systems. This is not immediately apparent and there would not appear to be enough small enclosures to account for all the field systems. A solution would be that a large number of open settlements also existed and may in fact have formed the majority. Open forms of settlement are known and some later Bronze Age settlements may have fluctuated between open and enclosed phases (McOmish 2005). The implication of this open element of settlement form is not dealt with, but if enclosure reflected a desire for independence could we say the reverse for open settlements? Lastly, as Brück's model is advanced into the Late Bronze Age, large groups of people start congregating together to undertake communal projects such as the construction of early hilltop enclosures or the activities that lead to the creation of the large midden deposits. Why this sudden change happens or how the labour force was mobilized to undertake such projects is not attempted.

2.3 Cunliffe

Cunliffe's model for Iron Age society revolves around an understanding of the role of hillforts, as influenced by 20 years of excavation at Danebury. As such, it is based upon the sequences of occupation and abandonment witnessed at five hillforts. The major changes during the Iron Age are illustrated through these sequences.

The stereotypical 'Celtic' society as inferred from Classical texts on Gaul and medieval Irish literature, is central to the society that Cunliffe promotes. It is presumed that an aristocratic elite exists within the society of the Iron Age. Hillforts appear to develop out of communal structures, initially for the purposes of stock management and then communal grain storage while high status families reside in elite residences set apart through monumentalization of their boundaries. The aristocratic elite usurp the community as primary landholder and livestock owner after the breakdown of the alliances associated with the cross-channel bronze trade (Cunliffe 1984a:30). The social trauma of the movement of land and animals from public to private hands causes a rise in conflict during the Early Iron Age that is reflected by hillforts. These are appropriated by the elites towards the end of the Early Iron Age and assume the role of central places for the accumulation and redistribution of resources (Cunliffe 2003:166).

By the Middle Iron Age many of these early hillforts have been abandoned whilst those that remain in use are characterized by a significant development of their defences often beyond purely defensive requirements. Some have an entrance blocked and/or the addition of hornworks, along with a massive increase in the size of the circuit both in terms of height and the addition of extra ramparts. Some new hillforts are established during the later phases of the Middle Iron Age on virgin sites (Cunliffe 1984a:25). The complexity in the form of these hillforts is taken to correspond with the dynamics of the prevailing socio-political system and hence status (*ibid.*:27). Results from the Danebury Environs Programme suggest an almost complete abandonment of surrounding settlement coincident with increasingly intense activity within the hillfort during the period 300-100BC. Here Danebury is a densely inhabited defended settlement 'under the authority of a coercive power', that controls its immediate surroundings (<10km), with more distant areas managed from satellite farms (Cunliffe 2000:185). He acknowledges that some areas of central southern Britain are situated away from developed hillforts and that this would lead to a less centralized social system (*ibid.*).

Cunliffe accepts that 'superficially' it may appear that there is little except size to differentiate Danebury from the surrounding farmsteads but suggests a number of features that denote it as having a distinctly different status. These include its abundance of grain storage facilities, calculated at twenty times that of nearby farmsteads, the distance which some of the grain was brought, the existence of craft specialization and the large quantity of an exotic good, in this case salt, coming into Danebury (Cunliffe 2003:166). The large grain storage facilities were required to store a tithe levied by the elite at the hillfort. This was used to support the elite, a range of specialized craftsmen and exchange for non-locally attainable resources such as iron, salt, shale and quernstones (*ibid.*:143). In addition to grain, spun wool was accumulated at Danebury for weaving into cloth, forming another exchangeable commodity. Imported goods received in exchange for grain and textiles, were then redistributed out to the client farmsteads. Receipt of these determined by the farmsteads' continued participation in the system of clientage and contributions in terms of grain and wool. The place of the farmsteads in society is barely considered beyond a superficial policy of ranking the status of sites by size to create a hierarchical model, with lesser nobles in median enclosed settlements and freeman farmers in the small enclosed and open settlements (*ibid.*:167).

Cunliffe's model has come under a lot of attack, principally over the claim of a hierarchical society with an aristocratic elite during the Early and Middle Iron Ages (Hill 1995a, 1995b, 1996) and the association of elite groups with hillforts raises issues of its applicability to the regions that lack hillforts.

The existence of a ruling aristocracy is a fundamental tenet of Cunliffe's theories and ultimately can be traced back to the literary sources. The existence of a pan-Europe standard 'Celtic' society and the validity of transplanting proto-historic and historic societies onto Iron Age Wessex has been widely criticized (Collis 2003; Hill 1995a, 1996; James 1999).

Moving beyond the purely morphological size and form of settlements, little of the material that has been recovered supports hierarchical ranking between sites (Sharples 1991a:259). The faunal assemblage from Danebury is largely indistinguishable from other downland sites (Hill 1996:98), implying the lack of differential cuisine or feasting there. For the Early Iron Age there is also little or no evidence for redistribution (Sharples 1991a:259). Evidence for craft activities is found on most Iron Age sites in Wessex in densities similar to or greater than those at Danebury, challenging its role as a specialized production centre (Marchant 1989; Hill 1996:99). The large numbers of structural features within Danebury do not necessarily relate to a large amount of material remains either in terms of artefacts or animal bone when considering the length of occupation at the site (Hill 1996:101). In particular the faunal data represents the annual slaughter of three sheep, one cow and a pig, raising questions as to the intensity of occupation and how representative the material is (Haselgrove 1992:408). Cunliffe's model of a hierarchical society reflected through settlement morphology with a system of clientage and redistribution has therefore been largely dismantled.

2.4 Sharples

Niall Sharples' model of Iron Age society is based upon field work in and around Maiden Castle in Dorset. At its core is a society filled by communities that lack aristocratic elites. He suggests that during the Earliest Iron Age, there is a shift in competition from individuals controlling bronze supplies through the manipulation of alliances and trade routes, to the level of communities competing over agricultural resources (Sharples 1991b:84). Controlling areas with access to a range of agricultural resources such as good arable and pastoral land allows the communities self-sufficiency, the ability to support larger populations, be more competitive and obtain additional resources in the future. These areas are therefore the most

desirable and are protected through the construction of hillforts (Sharples 1991a:259). Sharples sees hillforts as defensive structures with enhanced grain storage facilities and dense occupation that act as communal power bases (*ibid.*:257). Competition over land is played-out through warfare, threats, martial display and deterrents (Sharples 1991b:88). Agricultural resources may also be manipulated through potlatch systems, with the result that successful communities draw resources from their neighbours for the continual upgrading of their hillfort and the abandonment of the neighbouring ones (Sharples 2007:180). The hillforts of successful communities become highly developed through this process with the resulting scale of the hillfort and the investment of resources that it represents coming to form the medium of competition (Sharples 2007:181).

Criticism of Sharples model has been nowhere near as vociferous as that of Cunliffe. It stresses the equality of households within the communities and draws attention to an underrepresented dynamic within society, that of warfare. It offers the explanation that a lack of hillforts in certain areas, results from those areas consisting of only one ecological zone and hence not being able to support a sufficient population to construct or support a developed hillfort (Sharples 1991a:260). However, as Haselgrove rightly points out there is no need to assume that warfare was not as prevalent in these zones to negate the need for hillforts (Haselgrove 1992:413), or that areas such as the Thames valley lacked sufficient population to construct hillforts. The model relies on Sharples' definition of a hillfort as a densely occupied, permanent, defended settlement although it is accepted that these factors vary over time (Sharples 1991a:257). It is clear though that many sites that we currently classify as hillforts do not meet these criteria. Whilst many have circuits that are substantial enough to be termed defensive, not all have evidence of permanent occupation. At some, short-lived occupation may be explained away by the community falling under the sphere of influence of a neighbouring group; however some, such as Segsbury show long projects of rampart renovation but with minimal habitation of the interior (Lock *et al.* 2005).

2.5 Hill

Hill's model for the Iron Age assumes that the farmstead is the main unit of society and therefore more representative of society than the hillfort. This society is based upon locality rather than kinship and as a result kin group power bases are unable to develop (Hill 1995:51). The lack of kin groups prevents the formation of lineages and the construction of powerful

marriage alliances, producing a weakly-bonded society (Hill 1996:105). Each household owns sufficient land for its own subsistence needs, allowing it to control its own means of production with communal resources such as rough pasture, complementing rather than being essential to household production (Hill 1996:105). The dispersed pattern of settlement on the Wessex downland is symbolic of this self-sufficiency and isolation (Hill 1996:111). Without an ultimate landholding responsibility, the power of the community is weak and plays little role in the daily or even yearly activities of the household. However to reproduce themselves biologically and socially, they need to interact with the wider community. Hillforts were constructed as places where this could happen, being the venues for social and religious rituals that facilitate social and biological reproduction (Hill 1996:105). The absence of hillforts in locations such as the Thames Valley is explained by the greater density of sites and hence population in these areas, increasing the level of face-to-face contact (Hill 1996:111). Hill's more recent papers have posited a less isolationist view of the household, accepting that such a social unit would have been situated within the dense set of social relationships, reciprocal obligations and mutual dependence of the community (Hill 2006:174-175).

This model is based upon several assumptions that are open to question. The main issue is that the household is considered largely as a unitary isolate. The model portrays the community as a weakly-bonded entity because the web of relations and interaction within which the household was situated, did not form 'an organic whole' (Hill 1996:105). Hill's communities are based upon locality rather than kinship and so, without strong kin links, are considered to be only weakly bonded. Whilst shared locality is not enough for the maintenance of community, the only reason that could prevent interaction is the dispersed nature of settlement on the downs. However, historically many regions with a dispersed settlement pattern have had no problem in maintaining a strong sense of community (Arensburg and Kimball 1940; Rees 1950). No reason is offered for kinship having so little role within the community and this is seemingly at odds with many societies where kin groups contrive to maintain locality for the benefits of assistance that it provides (Fleming 1985:133). This unsupported assumption, that there were no strong kin groups, is used to prevent the households from forming power bases through marriage alliances, thereby preventing powerful kin groups from forming (Hill 1996:106). Hill therefore presents us with a circular argument of the type that he regularly condemns Cunliffe for.

Another factor that is used to keep community weak, is private land ownership that allows households to control their own means of production. This is contentious with some suggesting that there is no evidence for individual landholding during the first millennium BC (Sharples 2007:175). Indeed if the practice of enclosing settlements during the Iron Age reflects the concerns of the inhabitants to state their independence, the spatial definition of the settlement area may actually imply communal ownership of land outside of it. Hill notes the variance of settlement densities between valleys and downs as a factor in hillfort construction on the downs and their absence from river valleys. Settlement on Cranborne Chase however does not appear to be any denser than that of neighbouring areas of downland, with hillforts noticeably absent, whilst the dense settlement of the Upper Thames Valley are unenclosed. Such generalizations mask the fact that most hillforts are not constructed in the centre of downland areas but at the boundaries between the valley and downland. Thus, in contrast to being features of downland they are features of transition between valley and downs. Lastly, Hill is unable to account for the phenomena in Middle Iron Age Wessex of developed hillforts that sit within otherwise unoccupied landscapes.

Although many problems surround Hill's theories as we have seen from his comments that open this work, little progress has been made since the mid-1990's and as Fitzpatrick feared in 1998, we have merely replaced one orthodoxy with another (Fitzpatrick 1998:13).

2.6 Summary

This chapter reviewed the dominant social models for the Bronze and Iron Ages in central southern Britain. The two broad thematic approaches either look at high level power systems or at independent households. The models that focus on control of the bronze trade or hillforts are a top-down approach and although they do include other levels of society, the lower echelons that would have formed the bulk of the population are largely silent. Interaction between units within society is based upon subordinate/insubordinate power relations and changes usually result from competition between elites. For the independent household models, the presence and role of the wider community is largely played down. The study of the household has allowed a greater use of agency theory within archaeology as well as the exploration of gender roles, providing the basis for the investigation of the social and psychological significance inherent in settlement layout and structure. However, whilst these small-scale studies of daily life have had a major impact on our understanding of the past, they

have prevented us from linking this to broader social developments in terms of social scale, geographical range and temporal duration (Gerritsen 2004:144). The result of these two dominant discourses is that we fail to investigate the majority of social structure and interaction within Prehistory.

Chapter 3 - Community - theory and application

In the previous chapter I noted how the main approaches to the study of Prehistoric society focus on two different factors, the first on independent households and the second the manipulation of power through bronze supplies and hillforts. The approach taken in this study is that society is structured by the relationships between the individuals. These relationships are constituted by the interaction between them, principally the activities that they undertake together. Whilst agency is fundamental to this system, to understand how society works we must look at the system at an appropriate scale within which these relationships are bound.

Community is increasingly entering the archaeological literature of Prehistoric Britain as a term to describe a social unit (for instance Bradley and Yates 2007; Brück 2000; Collis 1996; Cunliffe 2005) but with little attempt to explore what use of the term actually means (Andrew Fleming's work - 1985, 1988, 1989 - is a notable exception). When archaeologists discuss community it is all too often with a nostalgic image, hearkening back to Tönnies's theories of *Gemeinschaft* and his social evolutionary perception of community thick with tradition and cultural values, rooted in locality (1963). In post-processual archaeology its use seems to have been adopted as a politically correct term to replace processual terminology connected to clans, tribes and chiefdoms. In part this is because these terms themselves carry evocations of social evolutionary theory and tick-lists of attributes (Service 1962). The use of community as a category of social grouping without definition in archaeological terms avoids the explicit addition of attributes to the social units that they describe, but allows the reader to attribute their own ethnocentric perceptions of what is meant by community. The term is freely used but the only real attempt to understand the mechanisms of community in the Prehistoric period was made by Fleming (1985), principally related to his work on the Dartmoor Reeve systems (Fleming 1988). Community as a subdivision of society is, 'inextricably and problematically embedded in the wider social and cultural contexts, the antithesis therefore to antecedent characterizations of primitive societies as unitary isolates' (Amit 2002:2). Its current usage in archaeology without definition is therefore usually meaningless and misleading. More widely, the study of community has become increasingly important in New World archaeology (Kolb and Snead 1997; Canuto and Yaeger 2000) as well as European studies of Prehistory (Knapp 2003; Gerritsen 2003; 2004). These works consider research on community essential to the understanding of past societies because it forms the

primary medium between small biological units such as the household and larger social formations such as the tribe or nation (Knapp 2003:559; Kolb and Snead 1997:609).

This chapter will review the sociological and anthropological work upon which studies of community are based. It will explore some of the areas where these studies have focused particular attention, how communities are structured, impact upon identity and create the archaeological record. It will provide an archaeologically relevant definition of community and posit the methods by which I will investigate community and ultimately Prehistoric society.

3.1 Themes within studies of community

Anthropological and sociological research has identified a number of themes that are central to community as a social institution. Locality, communication, morality, tradition, practice and identity, are highly interrelated facets that come together to immerse the individual within a framework of behaviour and identity to create a sense of belonging (Cohen 1982a; 1982b).

People tend to create an attachment to the place where they live and this attachment they share with their neighbours. Interactions take place within this landscape and social meanings become attached to places as a result (Scherer 1972:13). The social meanings attributed to places in turn become a resource that can be drawn upon by the community (for example Basso 1996) and provide the context for interaction (Duncan 1989:247). The attachment to place that is shared by members of the community creates unity, as does the shared knowledge of the social meanings attributed to it. Communication or interaction is fundamental to the creation and maintenance of community and in pre-modern societies is inextricably linked to locality. When people share a location they come into regular contact with each other, providing the opportunity for the exchange of information and the sharing of knowledge about each other. As they accrue a detailed interpersonal knowledge, more complex relationships are able to develop to create shared perceptions of empathy and affinity (Amit 2002:18). Locality alone is insufficient for the creation or maintenance of community, as it is the relationships that are created through interaction that are fundamental. It is essential for the relationships to be realised; locality thus denotes a spatial relationship to interaction and community (Massey 1984).

All communities have an unspoken code of practice for acceptable and unacceptable behaviour as well as the ways that 'things should be done', what Bourdieu termed as *habitus* (1977:81). It is rarely expressed in concrete rules but results from the accretion of decisions

and value judgements made by the community over a long period of time (Sarup 1994:103). Often termed tradition and considered synonymous with historical longevity, these customs usually have more recent origins (Arensberg and Kimball 1940:35; Hobsbawn 1983:1). The practice of attaching historical significance, real or exaggerated, to certain social structures, activities or events therefore reflects the perception of the community as a timeless entity (Cohen 1982b:23).

The interaction between individuals is ordered through a medium of performance informed by the individuals' *habitus*. Whilst the exchange of information between members allows or maintains affinity, actions are continually judged against the group's customary modes of practice and the community's moral code (*ibid.*:103). This does not restrict the individual to a single course of action but bounds a range of different acceptable practice (Cohen 1978:468). It is through practice, informed by *habitus*, that material culture and socialized space are reproduced over time spans exceeding that of generations. Thus a common knowledge is transmitted over and above that of the individual and household, explaining how a community reproduces itself socially (Goodman 1999:151). Whilst daily and routine actions are performed by individuals, together they are characteristic of a larger social grouping. This does not deny the agency of individuals who may personalise their actions, but these actions are only meaningful and natural within the wider context of the community (Bourdieu 1977:159-171). In part, a customary way of practice evolves from individuals within a community, finding a method of action that functions within their social and environmental surroundings. This is not to assume that customary practice is inflexible, as there will be a range of acceptable performance, but every deviance will be judged. If the deviation is castigated the social norm will be reinforced but if it goes unpunished precedence is set for future transgression and a possible shift of the boundaries of performance (Sarup 1994:103). It is therefore through practice that agency of the individual is linked to the structuring of larger social institutions (Barrett 2000). Transgression of the community's customs without ratification will initially cause the individual to be considered 'odd' by their fellows and if social castigation is insufficient to rectify their behaviour they will tend to be ostracised (Tuan 1980:175). Gossip or the exchange of information about other individuals within a community is integral to the maintenance of community. People are judged by what is known about them and this is a powerful mechanism for maintaining social conformity and creates an incentive for concealment (Cohen 1978:450).

The characteristics of a community will be defined by the interaction of its component social groups, the identities of its members, its moral code, history, subsistence patterns, landscape and interaction with neighbouring communities. Whatever the particular qualities that characterise a certain community, the group itself may not be overtly conscious of them, as they are intimately tied into the daily conduct of the members' lives. It is only when a community is confronted by another community with different characteristics or values that they are in turn confronted by their own identity and an assessment as to the essence of their community (Cohen 2002:167). The identity that the community adopts and projects will be a simplification of the actual character experienced by its members and may consist of characteristics that are considered exclusive or in opposition to those of neighbouring communities (Cohen 1982a:8). Communal identity is therefore never a simple recognition of its members' cultural similarity but can be constructed around concepts of exclusion and otherness (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:13). This idealization of the community's identity is usually experienced as a misrepresentation by its members but once fed back into the community may lead to a change in core values over time (Cohen 1982a:8).

As the individual is immersed within the world of the community, it provides them with a source of identity and a frame of reference (Cohen 1985:118; Yaeger 2000:124). Individuality is recognised and legitimised within strict limits according to the community's core values and will be explained with reference to their structural associations (Cohen 1982b:24). The community therefore strives to preserve the impression of the individuality of its members, yet as these identities are reflections of the community's idealised core values, it sustains its own collective identity, whilst subordinating that of its members to it (Cohen 1978:455).

Ultimately society is filled with social institutions such as family, friends and activity groups with locality, communication, morality and custom intersecting all these institutions. Together they produce the feeling of belonging to one's community (Cohen 1982a, 1982b, Bourdieu 1990). A further phenomena is that of imagined communities where an individual feels belonging to a group with which there is little or no physical contact such as those surrounding internet chat groups or nation states (Amit 2002:6; Anderson 1983). In Prehistory these ideas can be attributed to a supra-communal social unit, the members of which are aware of and share enough common traits with to feel belonging but have little physical

interaction with. Belonging to the imagined community of a supra-communal unit would be created in opposition to other groups with whom they share less common traits.

Understanding community and hence society can be reduced to an investigation of the interactions through which its members conduct themselves and the framework within which they operate. This is tied-up within the structuring groups within which the individual finds themselves placed.

3.2 Communal structures

Household, neighbourhood, kinship, lineage, knowledge, hereditary status and activity groups are all social institutions that structure the character of individuals; combined they constitute the community as a whole. Many of these groups share similarities with the community that they make up. They may have identifiable localities (like a kin group with a certain valley or shepherds with upland pasture), have a particular morality or code of behaviour, and share information through interaction. The specific moralities and behavioural codes fall within the realms of those of the wider community.

The household represents the co-habiting members of a house, although interpretations are usually based around narratives of an extended nuclear family, perhaps with several generations living under the same roof. In general, household sizes fall into a narrow band, as even in societies where the family may legally be polygamous, at the household level they tend to be monogamous (Goody 2000:2). The lifecycle of a family, starting with two adults and growing as children are born and shrinking as children leave or members die, means that the size of the family and hence labour capacity fluctuates. The tendency for cohabiting extended families is often contrived to minimize the effects of these fluctuations or may result from other factors such as restricted access to land, inhibiting the establishment of new residences. Systems of fosterage may allow families to place children with households, where they can learn subsistence skills and act as an additional source of labour (Arensberg and Kimball 1940; Rees 1950). These children are usually from related or neighbouring families and their circulation often increases the bonds between families (Goodman 1999:150), balances labour with production and facilitates the circulation of knowledge and skill.

Kinship is usually considered as biological relatedness to certain individuals or families. However, this is an over-simplification and kinship also has social and cognitive elements

beyond that of basic biology (Cohen 1982b:28). Societies may only recognise certain degrees of kinship, such as cousin, after which individuals may be referred to as 'related'. Even in unilateral descent groups, there is always a reckoning of consanguinal ties through both parents (Goody 2000:2), effectively uniting two kinship groups for that individual. Kinship ties must be kept alive through regular communication, failure to do so can in some cases lead to their relegation to "relatedness". Alternatively, distant relations that are particularly active in communication may be included in an acknowledged kin group. The same may be true for biologically unrelated individuals such as godparents or particularly close family friends, who may sometimes be termed fictive kin (Goodman 1999:150). As such, kinship relations outside of the nuclear family are usually grounded more in acknowledgement than actual biology. Members of kinship groups recognise the interdependent rights and obligations of physical, material and moral support that membership entails. As a result, households tend to look to their kinship groups for assistance, as a first line of recourse in times of trouble. Kin groups therefore form the primary medium for insurance policies as to subsistence and development.

Neighbourhood is the result of locality and regular actualised social involvement between nearby households. Because of their proximity, households in neighbourhood groups are ideally placed for the pooling of labour and resources for economic purposes that are beyond the ability of the individual household (Fleming 1985:132). As neighbourhood groups are based upon proximity, each household will be the centre of their own neighbourhood group. This means that they will in turn be members of neighbourhood groups based upon other households, leading to the creation of a system of overlapping groups (Figure 3.1) (Rees 1950:94; Fleming 1985:132). For children leaving their family's household it is desirable to establish their own houses near to the family domicile, so that active communication and assistance can be maintained (Cohen 1982b:30; Fleming 1985:132). The result is that neighbourhoods usually contain a high degree of kin, although this is not exclusive (Cohen 1982b:29). As with kinship, neighbourhood groups have an ideological element that entails rights and obligations of assistance and usually form the second source from which a household will seek assistance in times of trouble.

Knowledge groups are generally limited to certain members of the community who have specialist knowledge in certain activities, such as metalworking, medicine or religion. Here the bond between members is not so much in shared activity or even a physical relationship but in actual knowledge that separates them from the remainder of the

community. Entry into such groups is usually the result of a long process of initiation or apprenticeship and may be limited to certain age, gender or kin groups (Edwards 2005). The elderly may also form such a group in societies that value the knowledge that these individuals have collected over many years (Chadwick 2004:236), often connected with judgements on inheritance claims, land disputes and other areas concerning lineage, oral tradition and lore.

Status groups refer to hereditary elites and class systems closely associated with kinship and lineage. Where inheritance of status occurs it is usually inferred that the abilities by which this group is differentiated, such as leadership or martial prowess, are themselves also inherited. Such a structural group need not exist in every community, as in some societies leaders may be elected because of qualities they have shown during their lives (Bell and Newby 1971:24). The activity-based nature of these roles may also lead to changes in status and power throughout the year as the emphasis on certain activities changes (Galatay and Johnson 1990:24; Netting 1974:29).

Activity groups consist of individuals which come together to undertake certain tasks and achieve certain defined goals (Bell and Newby 1971:36). These range from full-time employment to seasonal events such as fruit picking or sheep shearing. Factors that affect the profiles of these groups include the duration, regularity, location, risks, rewards and degree of separation involved with the tasks (Brück 2007:31). They typically involve the greatest variability in terms of mobility, seasonality and age/gender divisions of any of the structural groups within a community (Chadwick 2004:202). Variation in distances travelled, locations visited and timing of the visits would lead to distinctly different experiences of the landscape and community that would only be exacerbated by age and gender differences (Brück and Goodman 1999:12). In general the greater the isolation and duration of the activity, the more knowledge the members will attain of each other and the stronger the ensuing bond that develops. Variability in these factors would moderate the people that they met and the degree of contact and hence ties that were formed.

From this, we can see that a community will be constructed from many smaller structural groups, all of which will have demands on the individual that are sometimes in conflict (Bourdieu 1977:81). In general archaeologists have been good at identifying these structural groups but there has been a failure to trace the effects of where these intersect and how this ultimately forms the wider community. Individuals will be aware of their membership of these different factions and the conflicting stresses will shape them and their interaction

between the groups and with members of other groups. The stresses caused by plurality of group membership will usually be mediated through the community's moral code, in turn mediating their experience of community (Cohen 1982a:16). The archaeological record, whether in material culture or larger manifestations in the landscape, is representative of the junctures between these structural groups and the continual negotiation of the inherent tensions between them (Hodder 1982:186-188). It is representative of not just the structural groups, the community and the individual but also of the moral code that holds the whole together. Whilst everyone will have a differential experience of community through variations within their structural relationships, the commonality of *habitus* allows them to work together. It also means that although their experiences are different enough to create unique individuals, their experiences are similar enough to create what is a recognisable group identity (Bourdieu 1977:86). They are often imparted with the characteristics that are publicly attributed to these groups and so the individual is treated as the product of their social structural associations (Cohen 1982b:24).

The strength of social bonds that bind individuals together into larger social groups results from the amount of time spent together, the intensity, the intimacy and the reciprocity of the relationship (Granovetter 1973:1361). The bonds or ties can be broadly categorized as strong, weak, negligible and absent. Negligible ties reflect only a nodding relationship with recognition but little or no interaction and/or knowledge of each other whilst an absent tie is self-evident. These categories tend to have little importance on social groups under normal circumstances but play an important role in times of danger or catastrophe. Strong ties reflect long periods of time spent together and hence a high degree of interaction, with individuals sharing a significant amount of knowledge about each other with the desire to lend assistance in need. They are usually associated with close kin, neighbours and friends and tend to be confined within small social groups of strongly-bonded individuals (Blau 1974:623). By definition, strong ties involve a high degree of reciprocity, and hence these groups form the primary medium for assistance and insurance in times of trouble and hardship, providing a minimum level of economic security to their members (Granovetter 1983:212). Weak ties result from less contact but still denote a degree of interaction and social knowledge of each other. These usually result from participation within structural social groups, undertaking specific infrequent activities. A person's weak social ties are likely to belong to other social groups who are strongly bonded. Weak ties therefore provide an opportunity for bridging

between different small, strongly-bonded social groups, although it is important to note that not all weak ties will act as social bridges (Granovetter 1973:1376). These social bridges integrate the individual and their core social group into the wider society and are important in the flow of information and innovation. People are most likely to share new information with their strong ties, so news will quickly circulate around their small strongly-bonded social groups. Whilst this is good for maintaining the strong bonds of the group, they are only likely to receive information on the group itself, unless it comes from an external source, typically through a weak bridging tie. Information coming through a weak tie is therefore less likely to have been heard before and be novel to the group (Granovetter 1973:1366). As a result, a group with lots of strong ties but few weak bridging ties is likely to be isolated from new information and ideas, and unlikely to be able to pass them on when they themselves generate them (Granovetter 1983:202). Thus, weak bridging ties are essential to the flow of information and innovation, as they allow access to new ideas and provide more social opportunities. Ideas diffused through weak bridging ties are likely to travel over greater social distances, reaching more people in less time than when passed through strong ties (Granovetter 1973:1366). Strong ties are not irrelevant to the spread of innovation, though, as new information is more likely to be given credence when it comes through a strong tie and this applies equally to the uptake of innovations (Weimann 1980:12 cited in Granovetter 1983). So for a community to avoid isolation, it needs to maintain a healthy mix of both strong and weak ties, most importantly weak bridging ties, between the social groups that constitute it and with social groups from other communities (Granovetter 1973:1378).

3.3 Community, movement and interaction

The pathway is usually viewed in functional terms, facilitating the movement of labour, goods and information between two places (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:60). Movement has an energy cost and a benefit to the participants in economic, social or mental terms. For these reasons the investigation of travel has previously been studied in terms of cost minimization versus opportunity maximization (*e.g.* von Thünen 1966; Chisolm 1962; Christaller 1966; Carlstein 1982; Paynter 1982). The flaw in these works is that humans rarely consider their actions or landscape in such simplistic mathematical terms. A whole range of social factors apply and even subordinate the purely economic (Stone 1991:344). Recent archaeological work has been more sympathetic to these factors, helping to redress the balance (*e.g.* Chadwick 2004; Cummings and Johnston 2007; Tilley 1994; Zedeño and Stoffle 2003). Movement is

fundamental to life. It has a role in the creation of knowledge and identity, it structures social interaction, has a liminal nature, implications for non-travellers, and is important in the spread of innovation. Travel precipitates encounters with the new, facilitating the generation of knowledge and the awareness of social identity. It provides the opportunity for communication and is consequently important to both intra and inter-community dealings. It dictates when, where and how often contact and hence interaction will take place. In landscape studies where we look beyond the boundaries of individual sites it is implicit that journeys take place between the settlement and resources such as fields, water and woods to name but a few.

Journeys may have a connection with the group's morality and code of practice. For instance historically in North America, the Sault Ste Marie Ojibway would send boys on vision quest paths to envision their future roles in life, a task aided by the seclusion and hardship of the journey (Zedeño *et al.* 2001); similar vision quest practices connected to coming of age are noted with the Australian Aborigines of the Western Desert (Myers 1986). Basso (1996) writes that the Cibecue Apache of Arizona use features in the landscape to teach moral lessons on the conduct of behaviour and everyday life. The journey through their landscape is therefore also a journey of knowledge with features acting as mnemonics for important moral lessons.

Movement is usually, though not always, pre-empted by the functional requirement to undertake an activity, though who takes the activity and where it takes place are determined by social factors. Activities may be drawn along social factors such as age, gender and status (Brück and Goodman 1999:12; Brück 2007:32; Chadwick 2004:202), leading to differential experience that may vary over the course of the year and a lifetime. Certain paths are associated with the activities that are undertaken at their destination or whilst being traversed (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:61). So, just as different people undertake different activities, different people take different paths and different journeys. The routes that people undertake sequentially order the places that they visit, the people that they meet, the activities they undertake and the experiences they accrue. Journeys provide the opportunity for the creation of new relationships or the renewal of existing ones and so are important in the creation and maintenance of weak bridging ties between different strongly-bonded social groups. Contact and renewal of these relationships is associated with the exchange of news and information and provides an excellent opportunity for the spread of innovation. Thus more opportunities

are available for the proliferation and uptake of new technology in a highly-mobile society, than in an immobile isolated one (Granovetter 1973:1366).

It is not only people who undertake journeys. Animals and material culture also move and can attain their own distinct identities as a result. The perceived identity of animals is often tied-up with that of their breeders and the landscape of their origin (Gray 2002), whilst artefacts carry associations of their function and makers. Nevertheless, a new identity may accrue with their transactional history and the journey they have taken (Ingold 1986:182). When they are taken out of context, a new meaning may be attained that bears little resemblance to that assigned them by their creators (Hodder 1982:202).

In a world without instruments for the measurement and monitoring of time, the passage of the day is punctuated by a routine of daily activities, just as the year is ordered by the demands of the agricultural calendar. During a journey, the individual is removed from their normal domestic routine and may acquire the feeling of being outside of time (Curtis and Pajczkowska 1994:199). Whilst it is now accepted by some that paths form places of their own (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:59), for the traveller the experience is of being between places, origin and destination (Delanty 2003:142). The result is that the traveller experiences the physicality of a place between places and outside of the normal strictures of time. These liminal aspects of travel may only be limited to the initial stages of the journey as a new set of routines becomes adopted and life on the road becomes a form of dwelling in itself. It is for these reasons that the existence of nomads is not, at least for them, to be considered as liminal. For nomads, their daily routines are based upon travel, and if home is to be defined as the place where one best knows themselves (Rapport and Dawson 1998a:9), then their home is on the road and they never leave it (Rapport and Dawson 1998b:22). For non-nomads, the liminality of the journey is not limited to those that take it. For more sedentary members of the community, travellers away from home are in a liminal state. Until they return their fate is unknown. The members of the community at home are linked mentally by their memories of the travellers but also more physically by the road by which they left. The path is therefore a mnemonic of their departure and a tenuous connection to their continued existence. Return brings closure and conclusion but the journey lives on through the experiences, knowledge and objects acquired during it. Stories of the journey allow non-travellers to experience it for themselves, bringing faraway places home (Minh-ha 1994:22), facilitating vicarious travel, experience, knowledge and interaction for the sedentary (Dawson and Johnson 2001:320).

With movement goes pause. Periods of pause and rest, punctuate the journey and lead to the creation of place. Pause may be connected to a physical need to recuperate energy or with a need to undertake certain activities. The regularity of pause in certain locations over time gives these places history and meaning (Zedeño and Stoffle 2003:61) and is usually connected with the activities undertaken there. The material traces left by previous visits act as a guide to where to pause and how to conduct oneself (Evans 2003:78). Repeated periods of pause in a certain location lead to the creation of place and in turn fashion future use in a more permanent way.

3.4 An archaeological definition of community

Marx rightly stated that 'a community has no actual existence except in the assembly of its members' (1979:98) and this lack of quantitative substance has resulted in continual problems over definition. In 1955 Hillery reviewed 94 definitions that had been posited for community, finding that the only common ground to be found was that they all involved people (1955). There was however general, if not unanimous, consensus that community concerned social interaction, had a connection with specific areas of land and involved common ties between its members (*ibid.*). One definition put forward by Arensberg was of community as a minimal territorially-based aggregate, which is able to maintain itself and reproduce its key cultural traits over time (cited by Lipe 1970:86). Later work has moved away from looking at community as a bounded entity but rather as an overlapping and cross-cutting network of social interaction (Gerritsen 2004:141). That is, a series of dynamic processes that draw people together into a system of belonging rather than something that can be physically identified and counted. If we return to Hillery's work, we can see that most consensus was reached over social interaction within certain areas of land, that lead to common ties developing between its members. Retaining a spatial dimension is therefore important, even if community can no longer be seen as a bounded institution with members of different communities sharing affiliations, albeit unequally, with members of more than one community due to their structural associations. The observation made by Arensberg that communities need to be able to reproduce themselves socially and biologically over generations means that they need to be self-sufficient entities, even if in practice they are not isolated from wider realms of interaction. In pre-modern societies this would be true economically and fits well with Fleming's tertiary level of social organization which is 'the socio-political group occupying a

defined territory that contains a broad enough array of resources to satisfy the economic aspirations of its component groups and... defend the territory' (Fleming 1985:132).

If we put these features together we are able to see community as the result of its component parts. It is a social institution made up of many different structural groups for whom it is a source of identity and referent to behaviour. It is situated within a territory that satisfies the economic requirements of its structural groups whose interaction reproduces the community socially and biologically. The self-sufficiency of the community does not always entail that it acts in isolation from the communities that surround it, but that it has the ability to reproduce itself over time without wider interaction if required to do so.

3.5 Methodology - the investigation of Prehistoric communities

One of the main problems when looking at communities in the archaeological record is that we are trying to study a social concept or entity with no physical existence, using the material traces that were left behind (Knapp 2003:570). The current line of academic debate shows that communities are the result of webs of social interaction resulting from individuals undertaking activities. These activities shape the world around them through the manipulation of space and material culture. Site architecture, spatial organization, material culture, landscape setting and environment are all social artefacts that construed meaning to the people that visited these locations and structured their social world (Wandsnider 1992:286). Archaeology has tended to focus on the site, which has become the standard unit of study and its inhabitants equated with communities even though the fit between these is at best dubious (Kolb and Snead 1997:612). Inevitably communities utilize space beyond the boundaries of sites as currently defined (Neustupný 1998). Sites should therefore not be studied in isolation, but with reference to the relationships with other sites and the surrounding landscape. They should be seen as elements that define the inhabitants' relationship within the broader structure of the community (van Dommelen *et al.* 2005:58). To do this we must investigate all the activities that structured the landscape and provided a sense of community, from subsistence practices, movement and seasonality to domestic activities (Gerritsen 2004:147).

In his 2006 paper, Hill, readdressing the issue of social structure during the European Iron Age notes 11 key areas of divergence that could lead to distinct social structures (2006:178). These are:

1. Differences in agricultural strategies;
2. The nature and size of kinship groups;
3. Size and composition of households;
4. Size and composition of the local community;
5. Variations in control of property between households and kin groups;
6. Variation in the balance between household and the larger community;
7. The proportion of households involved in communal decision making;
8. The formalization and acknowledgement of social inequalities;
9. If ancestors are employed as a cultural or political resource;
10. The way that land and agricultural output was employed as a cultural and political resource;
11. The institution of the warrior and the use of violence.

Whilst these were proposed for the investigation of individual societies, many of the points are equally relevant for studying communities and will be used as entry points into interpretation of the archaeological record. Table 3.1 sets out these factors and some of the possible means by which we can start their investigation. It also includes a range of problems that are involved with such assumptions, although this is by no means a completely exhaustive list. As all are qualitative their interpretation can be problematic but by drawing upon a number of lines of inquiry the interpretations can be strengthened.

This work aims to investigate most of the factors suggested by Hill in an attempt to study community and shifts in social organization. Particular focus will be made on:

1. Differences in agricultural strategies;
2. The nature and size of kinship groups;
4. Size and composition of the local community;
6. Variation in the balance between household and the larger community;
10. The way that land and agricultural output was employed as cultural and political resource;

The following lines of inquiry are best investigated through lines of evidence, such as funerary or settlement structure, not followed in this work due to word count constraints. Where insights have been gained through other authors, they will be included but in general will receive less attention.

3. Size and composition of households;
5. Variations in control of property between households and kin groups;
8. The formalization and acknowledgement of social inequalities;
7. The proportion of households involved in communal decision making;
9. If ancestors are employed as a cultural or political resource;
11. The institution of the warrior and the use of violence.

What follows is a discussion of the available data and the uses to which it is put. Whilst some of the data has a variety of often contrary interpretations, it is through the combination of data that a final interpretation can be reached.

To conduct a comprehensive landscape study I gathered data on site location, chronology, structural components, material culture assemblage, floral, faunal, environmental data and geographical data. These were obtained from a variety of sources with the relevant county Historic Environment Records (HER) databases forming the core data record against which other information was indexed. These records were acquired through electronic exchanges and site visits to the local offices and, during the later stages of the work, through online web-based databases. Whilst these records are extensive they rely on the information provided to HERs, often leading to vague, misleading or even incorrect statements regarding sites. This is particularly true for site chronology and location. Whilst ideally all the sites within the region should be recorded on the HER database this is not always the case and this data was augmented by information from other sources with the Later Prehistoric Pottery Gazetteer being particularly useful. The benefit of the latter was that the data often had more precise dating and location information and so in a number of cases was used instead of the HER data. In most cases this regarded sites where structural information was also available, allowing some interpretation as to function. A final source was the Grey Literature Database maintained by the Archaeological Investigations Project which was especially useful for identifying developer-funded work in the last few years.

Find spots were obtained for a variety of objects and material, most pertinent of which were bronze hoards and individual finds along with pottery located singly or during investigation of sites dated to periods different to that of the pottery. For Wiltshire there are only a relatively small number of bronze hoards known and for spot finds of individual bronze

objects HER records were often too vague as to type and chronology to make either useful in this study without a significant time investment. I did not consider this information to be of sufficient benefit and as a result these were not plotted further. This data does however represent a potential line of future enquiry. Pottery find spots also suffered from vague chronologies but, due to the larger number of find spots, represented a substantial body of data. This information usually represented background scatters of pottery on sites of other periods or small amounts of material recovered during fieldwalking. Interpreting this data is not straight-forward because it is usually outside of context. In some cases it may derive from a habitation or area of activity which has so far eluded discovery or from an activity with which no structural features are associated, such as the manuring of fields. This data has been included on maps showing site locations and distributions to illustrate locations where activities that lead to the deposition of ceramics took place even though we are unable to discern the specific nature of the activities themselves. I feel this is valid as it augments our knowledge to the physical extent of activity and through its inclusion in soil led to an enculturation of the landscape (Evans 2003:81).

It was important to conduct the project based upon sites for which we had firm criteria and location information and for this reason certain sites were disqualified. The HER records often make reference to sites or pottery as 'probably Iron Age'. For many sites this is the sum of information available and where, after further work, I have been unable to establish a chronology for a site it has been removed from the study.

A large number of undated enclosures are known from aerial photographs and inevitably some of these will turn out to date to the study period. Efforts have been made to build settlement typologies in Wessex (for instance Palmer 1984) based upon size and morphology but dating them without tying them into finds on the ground is problematic (Bewley 1994: Chapter 3; Taylor 1999:30). Even when cropmarks are located in the same area as material recovered from fieldwalking it can be erroneous to assume a relationship between the two (*ibid.*). Thus in this study the material recovered during fieldwalking has been assumed to be the primary indicator of site and age rather than the presence or shape of cropmarks.

An important area of this study is that of agriculture and the activities and interaction that are tied-up with it. Subsistence being a universal factor has arguably left the most widespread affects upon the landscape and provided the major impetus for interaction within Prehistory. Allocation of land and how it is put to use in terms of agriculture, will inevitably

dictate whether people will come into contact with their neighbours, how often and under what circumstances. For example, animal management may require stock to be driven to seasonal pastures away from the immediate area of the settlement, or to be watered daily or twice daily. Such journeys may take them through land belonging to one or more of their neighbours or bring them into contact with people taking similar journeys themselves. This may be observed through the settlement distribution, proximity to surface water and tracks or features that direct movement. The labour demand of agriculture in conjunction with the household lifecycle unavoidably means that additional help is required from outside of the household at certain times of the year whether from a cohabiting extended kin group, itinerant labourers or from neighbours. Such labour requirements usually tie households within webs of reciprocal obligations, strengthening the influence of community.

3.5.1 Settlement patterns and agriculture

The first attempt to understand how agricultural activities were distributed was made by geographers such as von Thünen (1966) and Christaller (1966) looking at the work in terms of effort and movement minimization. Their premise was that movement had costs in terms of time, energy and opportunity, which are traded off against economic returns. The result is the activities that produce the highest returns, receive the most labour and are located closest to the farmstead to minimize the amount of time spent travelling and maximize the time available for labour. As we get further away from the farmstead the amount of labour spent on agriculture diminishes as do the returns. The result on a flat featureless plain is a series of concentric rings of land use around the farmstead or town. Von Thünen studied a 19th century estate at Tellow that had fields interspersed among those of their neighbours. He found that on average labourers would travel just over 1km (on a straight line basis or an actual distance of about 1.25km), or about 16 minutes, to work on fields (von Thünen 1966:57). Taking this further, whilst we would expect the majority of fields farmed from a unit to be within that 1km radius of the farmstead, we would expect the farm to be regularly exploiting fields up to 2km away. These classic geographic works on land use would also suggest that the land closest to the farmstead would be that which required the most intensive labour, typically garden or vegetable agriculture that required frequent weeding and watering, while the amount of labour expended upon a field would fall off dramatically with the distance required to travel to it. The additional labour spent removing weeds or adding manure, would mean that the land closest to the farmstead would produce the highest returns (Chisholm 1962:40). Once a

labourer has reached a location, they undertake their activities before returning to the farmstead. The further from the farmstead they go, the more time that is spent travelling and the less time that is available to undertake the labour. There is therefore a limited distance that they are able to travel and undertake a minimum amount of work before having to return home. The result is that the labourer is placed within an activity-prism for certain kinds of labour, limiting the maximum distance that they can travel and complete tasks within a day; this in turn restricts the uses to which land can be put around a habitation site (Carlstein 1982:39). Where labourers set off from a site in the morning and return to it in the evening, an activity-prism can be defined as the area around the site within which most normal activities such as agriculture can be undertaken within a day, without an excessive amount of time being spent on travel.

For animal management the distances may be much greater as we shift through sedentary to transhumant regimes. Human pastoral strategies are dependent upon the available pasture and the numbers of animals being managed with the resultant variable being either how far away from the settlement animals are maintained or how far animals are driven every day. In some systems it is more economical for the people managing the flocks or herds to travel daily to where the animals are pastured rather than to drive the animals themselves. This system may use satellite sites, that vary from field barns to store equipment, shelter from inclement weather or overnight if necessary to full blown seasonal camps (*ibid.*:131).

One such model in Scandinavia termed the *seter* system focused upon the production of milk and milk products. It exploited distant *seter* pastures in the summer months with animals kept locally during the harsher winter months. When these pastures were situated up to 2km from the settlement animals might be driven out and back again in the same day (*ibid.*:132). Where the pasture was 3-4km from the farmstead, the animals would remain static but the people travelled daily to and from the pasture, at 6-7km distance people would overnight away whilst at 9-12km you would expect to find a full-blown *seter* system of seasonal satellite sites (*ibid.*). This illustrates how the gradual shift from a sedentary agro-pastoral system to a transhumant one is driven by the requirement for pasture and ultimately the number of animals being managed. It is one example of how time and distance to resources such as pasture will shape the pattern of the subsistence regime that is undertaken. It shows that it is reasonable to expect a majority of animals to be managed within 4km of the farmstead under a normal sedentary agricultural regime.

If we accept that activities drive the size of the activity-prism of individuals, then for a sedentary agricultural regime, we would expect the inhabitants of a settlement to have a normal activity-prism with a radius of up to 4km or an hour's travel. Most arable related activities would be undertaken within 2km of the settlement although the most intensively worked fields would likely be within 1km. Where land more than 2km away was exploited it is most likely to have been involved with the management of animals. These distances reflect travel undertaken to perform habitual agricultural activities, rather than the distances that the individuals could travel in reality. Much greater distances may be traversed for more unusual activities such as raw material acquisition, trade or social events. It should also be noted, that animal management strategies such as transhumance produce similar patterns around sites to those of more sedentary regimes. The difference comes with the fact that the site around which labour is undertaken itself shifts through the year.

The most fundamental factor affecting which areas are farmed and hence the average distance that farmers travel to work is land tenure. Whilst large tracts of land under single ownership may appear to be the most efficient in terms of management and exploitation, most systems of inheritance actively prevent this from happening (Goody 2000:48). Land tenure systems are a reflection of the social system within which they are situated (Netting 1974:40) and so can be prone to rapid change over the period of a generation (for instance see Palmer 1999). In many cases, there will be a patchwork of varied landholding across an area, providing not only the opportunity for interaction between households but forcing co-operation between neighbours for things such as access or boundary maintenance (Glasser 1977:67).

It is therefore rare for a farmstead to hold tenure over all of the surrounding land as per the models of von Thünen and Christaller. A dispersed pattern of tenure is much more the norm. It has also become apparent that the movement minimization model is far from universal and that social factors will always be the ultimate deciding factor on where certain activities take place (Stone 1991). This can vary from casual labour choosing to work for one farm rather than another or because of social prescription of certain locations. For these reasons, using simple site catchment analysis around a settlement creates an overly simplistic and erroneous view of land use (Hodder and Orton 1976:231-236). If we do assume residents on farmsteads are situated within activity-prisms, we can chart out the area which those activities might reasonably be expected to take place. Mixed agriculture is considered to be

the primary agricultural regime practiced in the study area during the period. There is however variation in the emphasis of production between arable and pastoral and the means employed to achieve these goals. For this scheme we might expect 1km to be the average distance from the farm for which a labourer would travel, with most activity on arable land to be undertaken within 2km. The activity-prism for animal management would vary, depending upon the type of animal and whether they were being exploited for meat, wool or dairy, but would normally extend up to 4km. Transhumant regimes would also involve activity-prisms of up to 4km but with periodic relocation to new sites. If we map these for each of the settlements we are able to see how these inevitably lead to crossovers with the prisms of neighbouring settlements. This shows areas where there is the likelihood of a high proportion of intermixed tenure and the opportunity for regular contact between neighbouring farms. The sites were plotted in ESRI® ArcMap™ 9.2 using British Ordnance Survey data downloaded from EDINA Digimap and using the projected geographic coordinate system: GCS_OSGB_1936. Buffer zones were created around habitation sites to represent activity-prisms and allow an idea of the proximity of sites to each other (Figure 3.2).

These maps have a number of fundamental disadvantages. Firstly, they infer temporal concurrence of the sites when only a broad lifespan is known. Secondly, this creates a representation of the world, the sites, the people and animals that dwelt within them as being stationary. The creation of buffer zones around sites however, attempts to represent the 3-dimensional time-space activity-prism within which the occupants of these settlements were situated. It shows the probable time bounds of movement within which the residents at a site undertake activities. When mapping these zones or activity-prisms, I am trying to show the potential for interaction between the residents at a site with their neighbours rather than actual land use. Where settlements' day-prisms intersect within the 1km or 2km zones there is a high potential for interaction, especially during arable production activities. If the intersection is within the 2-4km zone the interaction will be more infrequent resulting from activities such as tending animals. If there is no crossover of day prisms, i.e. the settlements are more than 8km away from each other, it means that interaction would probably be very infrequent, dictated by larger scale animal movement, resource acquisition or even communal projects. The distribution of sites, also provides some idea whether households were actively seeking isolation or were drawn into closely situated neighbourhood groups. These interpretations are augmented by knowledge of the features in the surrounding landscape

such as the site's place in field systems, relationship to linear earthworks or surface water. It can be combined with data from settlements of animal bone and botanical assemblages to try and discern the agricultural strategies that settlements were participating in and in turn give us some idea as to how land was managed and controlled.

3.5.2 Sites

For excavated sites, a second stage of investigation involved researching site reports. A basic requirement was to establish function, the surrounding environment and information on economy, industry and daily life. In some cases published data was available whilst for others reports had been placed with the Archaeology Data Service (ADS). For unpublished sites interim reports were studied during trips to the relevant HERs. These reports rarely covered much information beyond site plans and dating information based upon ceramics but unpublished sites were usually smaller works where assemblages such as flora and fauna were too small to be meaningful. Thus, whilst the grey literature reports were invaluable in locating, dating and establishing the functions of sites they did not always add a great deal to the study of human conditions in the past.

The sites offer a number of lines of enquiry. First was morphology, the structures and spatial organization. Enclosure, or the lack thereof, has been seen as important throughout the period to indicate independence, define ownership, provide defence and prevent incursion or excursion of animals, wild and domestic (Brück 1999, 2000; Hill 1995a, 1995b). The structural arrangement of a settlement has been used to investigate organization within the household (Clarke 1972; Drewett 1979, 1982) although these have now been widely discredited (Brück 1999a; Pope 2007). In more simplistic terms, the size and number of contemporary roundhouses in a settlement may provide some idea as to household size and the constituents of the settlement. In general terms, a larger roundhouse could house more people and with an increase in size, we might expect to see an increase in the degrees of kin and additional household members that are housed. Where a site shows habitation of two or more roundhouses at the same time we might expect that these were housed by related kin households although as the number of contemporary roundhouses rise we might expect that the degree of separation between households would rise.

3.5.3 Environmental data

Animal bone, botanical and environmental assemblages provide information on a variety of factors. Animal bone data can be used to indicate what animals were reared, what they were reared for (Payne 1973), diet, settlement populations (in the case of East Chisenbury see Bagust 1996), feasting (Albarella and Serjeantson 2002) and as a store of wealth (Parker Pearson 2000). Botanical remains can provide information as to what plants are being exploited, which ecological zones they are being grown in, crop processing strategies and feasting (Campbell 2000; Hillman 1981; Jones 1985; Stevens 2003; van der Veen 1992; van der Veen and Jones 2007). Both data sets are prone to biases caused by taphonomic processes and depositional practice, but provide useful information to flesh-out the life of a settlement's inhabitants. It is when the data for a group of sites across a region and time are combined, that trends become apparent and this material is most constructive. Mollusc data is also important in this region, providing useful details as to the ecological zones surrounding a feature and thus information as to land-use or abandonment. For each of these types of data the initial analyst's views are reported largely unchallenged except where obvious alternatives can be posited. A higher level analysis is given of the group data in Chapter Ten.

3.5.4 Material culture

The material culture recovered from a settlement can also be used to build up a picture of the lives led by the inhabitants. Certain objects such as spindle whorls or loomweights are associated with particular craft activities, and can be used to gain some insight into the range of crafts that were practised on site (Marchant 1989). It has also been argued that concentrations of certain types of craft production on a site may be indicative of centralized production and the status of the site (Cunliffe 2003; 2005). Other objects may have been sourced from outside of the region such as certain types of stone, briquetage or exotic items. These have been brought onto the site through some means and can be indicative of trade and gift giving within or between communities. It has also been argued that a wealth of such material on some sites and absence from others can be taken as evidence of centralization and a redistributive economy (*ibid.*). Sometimes such gifts may be associated with the status of the individuals on the sites, as can the presence of weapons, horse or chariot gear and objects of precious metals.

3.5.5 Tying it all together

When looking at settlement density and land use, activity-prisms allows us to identify where there are opportunities for regular interaction between individuals from different settlements, the nature of that contact, its possible frequency and wider implications on the structure of space. It is however the context of the broader material culture from the settlements and the landscape setting which is able to inform us as to the nature of community. This project will explore the arrangement of activities across the study area, along with their spatial and temporal associations. Activities in this case are defined as actions that leave a trace in the archaeological record. This includes, but is not limited to, residence, subsistence, economic, and ritual, all of which are linked together through time, movement and interaction. It is not unique in the methods that it uses for the reconstruction of activities in the past and is similar to many other landscape scale, archaeological studies (for instance Chadwick 2004; Fleming 1988; Pryor 2001; Rossignol and Wandsnider 1992).

3.6 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the theory behind studies on community and how they may be pertinent to examinations of Prehistory. Although community is constructed from many cross-cutting structural groups, it is the minimum self-sufficient social unit and is therefore a fundamental, though hard to define, social institution. For the individual, it is essential to concepts of practice, the creation of identity, and forms the basis for interpreting the world around them. As the fundamental unit of society, it is fitting that this is the scale at which we investigate Prehistoric societies. Current models of social organization, dominated by attempts to confirm or deny the existence of social elites, draw our attention away from areas of study that are equally if not more worthwhile. They fail to address some of the key themes of what it is to be human and inhibit our ability to understand the reproduction of society over generations. Community can be best understood by looking at evidence on a landscape scale but is not dependent upon new large scale environs type projects. For most areas of Britain there is a large body of published data which is being augmented by developer funded work. Together this offers ample opportunity to understand society in terms of the interaction from which community is constructed and lives structured.

Chapters Four to Nine will look at the evidence from each of the sub-regions in turn applying the approach described above. A brief review of the geography will be followed by a

thematic discussion on landscape division and utilization, settlement form and distribution, the material aspects of habitation, economy and industry. This data will be drawn together to discuss the activities and agricultural regimes that were practiced, the interaction and organization that these involved and how they structured the lives and relationships of the study area's inhabitants.

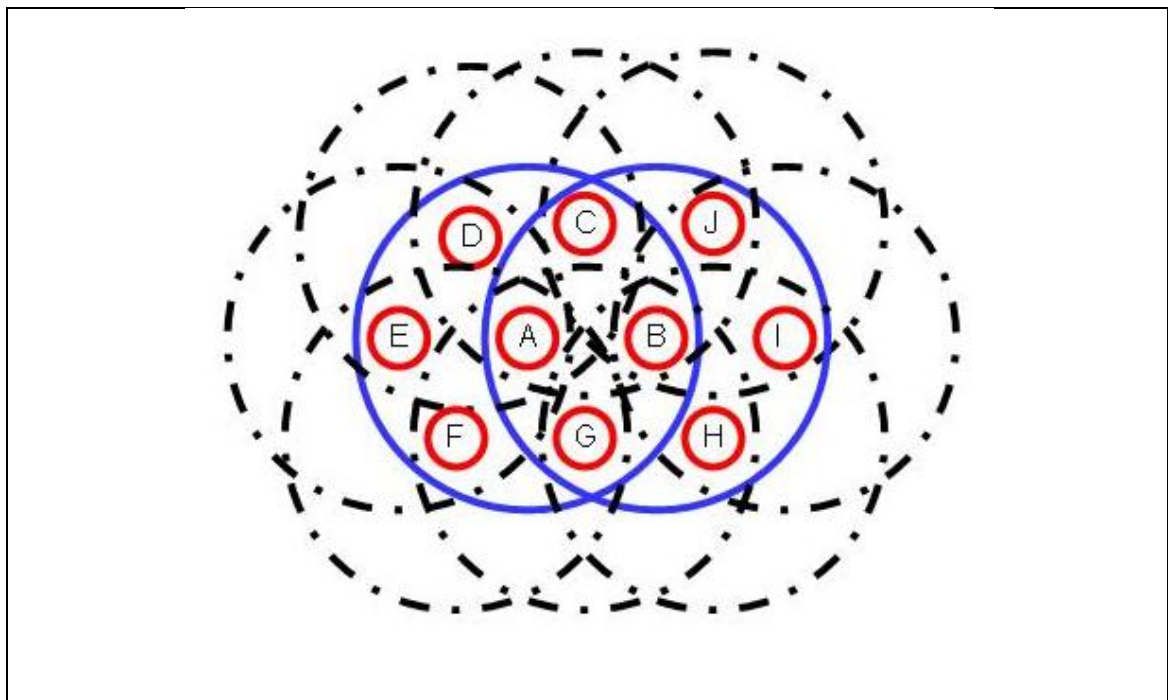


Figure 3.1- The overlapping nature of neighbourhood groups. Household A's neighbourhood group consists of households B, C, D, E, F and G. Household B's neighbourhood group also consists of households A, C, and G, but includes J, I, and H instead of D, E and F.

	Settlement / site	Problems
Differences in agricultural strategies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Animal bone assemblages – proportions of domesticates, death profiles. Botanical assemblages – range of plants exploited, ecological zones exploited, crop processing strategies. Material culture assemblages - range of crafts. Environmental data – surrounding ecology. Site distributions – density of sites, proximity to water, range of ecozones. Landscape features – morphology of field systems, ‘empty’ areas, linear earthwork divisions. Non-settlement activity sites – temporary camps, enclosures. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Taphonomic processes and depositional practice. Chronological relationship of sites. Changing water table. Partiality of known sites.
The nature and size of kinship groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Size of roundhouses. Number of contemporary roundhouses. Density of settlements. Tracks or roads linking settlements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chronological relationship of roundhouses. Assumption that roundhouse size equates to household size. Chronological relationship of sites. Partiality of known sites.
Size and composition of households	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Size of roundhouses. Number of contemporary roundhouses. Funerary practice. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chronological relationship of roundhouses. Assumption that roundhouse size equates to household size. Assumes cemeteries represent social units – households, kin groups.
Size and composition of the local community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Density of settlements. Size of settlements. Open/enclosed settlements. Size of communal constructions – hillforts, hillfort boundaries, linear boundaries. Tracks or roads linking settlements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Chronological relationship of sites. Partiality of known sites.
Variations in control of property between households and kin groups;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Density of settlements. Linear earthwork and field system morphology. Open/enclosed settlements. Locations of funerary practice. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Patterns of ownership can shift rapidly without any necessary changes in landscape morphology.
Variation in the balance between household and the larger community;	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Open / enclosed settlements. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Assumption that boundaries reflect household/ community tensions.

The proportion of households involved in communal decision making	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Exotic artefacts. ▪ High status artefacts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Assumption that status or material wealth can be associated with decision making.
The formalization and acknowledgement of social inequalities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Exotic artefacts. ▪ High status artefacts. ▪ Settlement morphology. ▪ Funerary rites. ▪ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Actual lack of inequality versus denial of social inequality? ▪
If ancestors are employed as a cultural or political resource	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Funerary rites. ▪ Locations of funerary practice and human remains. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Status in life reflected in status in death? ▪ Difficulty in separating political from cultural.
The way that land and agricultural output was employed as cultural and political resource	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Animal bone data - feasting, animals as a measure of wealth, contra trade item. ▪ Botanical data – feasting, contra trade item. ▪ Hillforts – control over what agricultural resources. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Unable to link these traces to the other half of the transaction either trade, influence or labour. ▪ Assumes a military rather than social function for hillforts.
The institution of the warrior and the use of violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Weapons – including sling shot. ▪ Evidence of violence on human remains. ▪ Hillforts – evidence of attack, defences, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Lack of human remains. ▪ Inability to spot flesh wounds. ▪ Destruction through violence or decommissioning?

Table 3.1 - Hill's (2006) key factors for investigating social structure, along with possible archaeological indicators and a sample of their problems split between settlement and landscape studies.

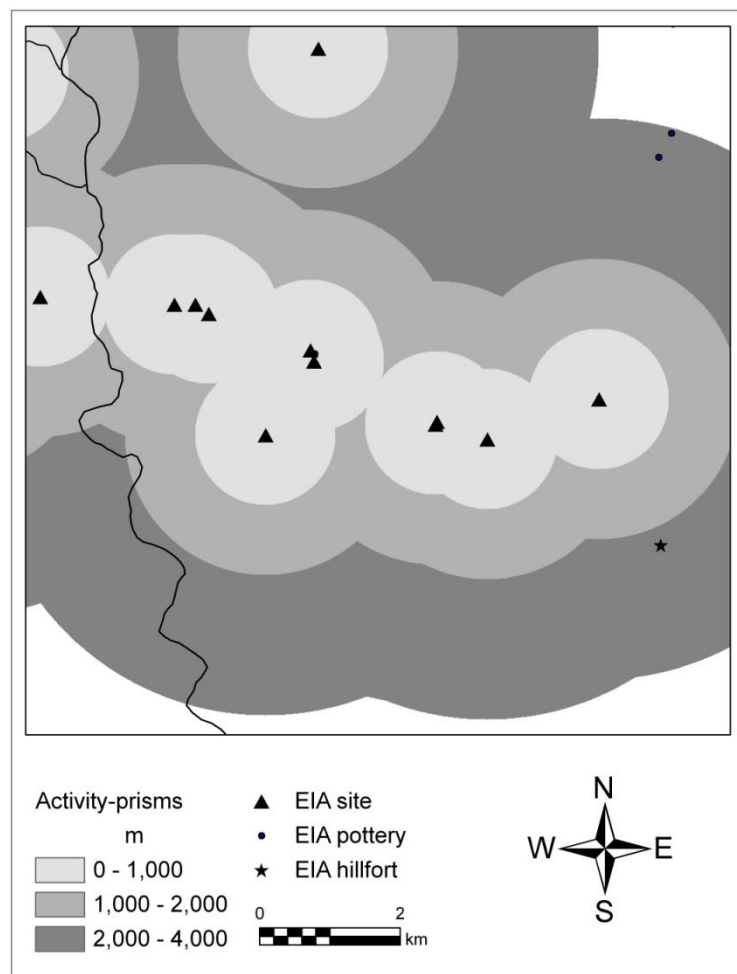


Figure 3.2- Activity-prisms surrounding settlements to indicate zones of possible interaction.

Chapter 4 – Middle Avon Valley

This chapter looks at the archaeology of the Middle Avon Valley at the south eastern edge of the study area, in particular the area around Salisbury and the Avon's confluences with the Rivers Bourne, Wylde, Nadder and Ebble. The majority of land in this sub-region is downland formed from the Upper Chalk beds which weather into a thin loamy soil (Barron 1976: 116). The modern town of Salisbury lies at its heart though surprisingly little archaeological data is recorded for its suburbs reflecting its development prior to the 1980's and lack thereafter. At the northern edge of this sub-region lie the small towns of Durrington and Amesbury and the small garrison towns of Larkhill and Bulford. As such this area is one of the more populated of the study area and it is surprising that PPG16 only accounts for 35% of the sites. It is situated immediately south of the military SPTA and so has been subject to more destruction through modern farming but even so archaeology is still visible as cropmarks. The presence of Stonehenge has attracted a wealth of antiquarian to modern research though the antiquarian research has been of poor quality with few records whilst modern research has focused on the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age.

The sub-region has been extensively mapped through aerial photography during the National Mapping Programme which has illustrated a wealth of Prehistoric field systems. The Stonehenge Environs has been intensively fieldwalked providing evidence for some pottery scatters. Excavations have been mostly research driven with Little Woodbury (Bersu 1940) representing the best example. A couple of industrial projects away from urban areas have uncovered sites of interest such as Rolleston Grain Store (AC Archaeology 1996) and the Pains Wessex Factory site in High Post (Wessex Archaeology 1995a; 1996c) but the building projects that have led to the most site finds have been a series of linear watching briefs for gas pipelines (Catherall *et al* 1984), water mains (Musty 1959a; Algar and Truckle 1973; Trott 1991; Lovell 1999; Powell *et al* 2005) or road improvement schemes (Bond 1986; Wessex Archaeology 1994a). The linear nature of these works provides a cross section across the landscape and archaeological record but the thin width provides only a partial glimpse of sites. These projects can add to our knowledge of the spatial distribution of sites but provide little information as to their morphology, economic base or lifestyle.

4.1 Land division

The Middle Bronze Age is considered to be the period when we first see the widespread appearance of field systems in southern England (McOmish *et al* 2002) and whilst coaxial field systems are noted across most of this area dating them remains difficult. Aerial photographs suggest the presence of Prehistoric field systems across Cockey Down, Boscombe Down, Porton Down, Maddington Down, Lake Down and Durrington Down to mention only a few areas. At Fargo Wood to the north of the Stonehenge Cursus a later Bronze Age settlement was set within the lynchets an earlier field (*ibid.*:198). To the south of the Winterbourne Stoke crossroads two linear earthworks cross a 120ha block of fields respecting some but slighting others. This has been taken to suggest that parts of the system are of later Bronze Age date and Richards believed that the field patterns would have suited stock management (1990:278). The nearby Wilsford Shaft produced evidence for the surrounding land being used for both arable and pastoral (Bell 1989). Snail data from Bronze Age features to the north of Old Sarum matched this with both grassland and broken earth loving species present (Powell *et al* 2005:272). Pre-Iron Age fields have been identified around Odstock and Britford near Little Woodbury (Bond 1986; Wessex Archaeology 1990; 1994a; 1997a) whilst at Bodenham Hill the Iron Age enclosure was contemporary with the adjacent field system (Bartlett and David 1984:205).

Linear earthworks are usually considered the next phase in land division. These do not form the coherent patterns here that they do in other parts of Wessex. Several long stretches run between the River Bourne and the main Quarley linear running north/south. One of these crosses the partially enclosed Middle Bronze Age settlement of Boscombe Down East closing what had apparently been an open side (Stone 1936). It is unlikely that the completion of enclosure through the construction of the linear earthwork was fortuitous and it may have been reused in the later period perhaps as a corral. At Boscombe Down Sports Field, a linear ditch was flanked by postholes spaced at 1m intervals with Early and Middle Iron Age pottery from its upper fills (Wessex Archaeology 1996b). The implication is that the ditch itself is pre-Iron Age and was flanked by a fence. A different situation was found at Winterbourne Dauntsey where a broader and flatter ditch was flanked two rows of postholes and produced Early Iron Age pottery (Stone 1934). It is suggested that the ditch formed a hollow way for moving animals through an area of arable fields (Hawkes 1939:146). Another link between

linear earthworks and transit routes was identified at Britford where a series of tracks were identified alongside a Late Bronze Age linear (Wessex Archaeology 1997).

The evidence supports the notion that many of the field systems are of later Bronze Age date, although there is the possibility of a later Early Iron Age system around Bodenham Hill. Most linear earthworks appear to have a Late Bronze Age origin. Others may have been constructed as late as the Early Iron Age but there is the possibility that may result from regular cleaning. It appears that towards the end of the Bronze Age there was a shift in the pattern of land division and probably land use. The pattern, observed by Richards to the south of Winterbourne Stoke Crossroads, suggests that rather than a complete reorientation of practice we are seeing an adaptation of the earlier system of division to a more pastorally focused regime.

4.2 Settlement

With the confluence of so many rivers, set against a regional background of dry chalk downland, it is unsurprising that there is a wealth of settlement evidence around the Middle Avon Valley and it has the second highest density of Middle Bronze Age settlements in the study area (Figure 4.1). Early academic excavations focused on standing earthworks at Boscombe Down East (Stone 1936) and Thorny Down (Stone 1941) whilst the excavation of the Durrington 'Egg' (Cunnington 1929) was one of the first to be based upon observations from aerial photography. The excavation of such sites led to the opinion that small sub-rectilinear enclosures were the standard morphology of Middle Bronze Age settlements (Ellison 1981), a belief that still persists (Brück 2000:285). This observation does hold true in the Middle Avon Valley. Excavation at the Rollestone Grain Store in Shrewton revealed a small Middle Bronze Age enclosure with a pond (AC Archaeology 1996). Deverel-Rimbury ceramics were also recovered from a sub-circular enclosure labelled LDP109 by the Wessex Linear Ditches Project (WLDP) (Bradley *et al* 1994: 139) whilst the Stonehenge Environs Project excavated a Middle-Late Bronze Age settlement at Fargo Wood that reutilized field lynchets for its boundary (Richards 1990:198). However, the construction of a water main across Old Sarum Spur did identify an open Middle Bronze Age settlement (Powell *et al* 2005) and another was excavated to the southwest of Fargo Wood (SMR reference SU14SW179).

Thorny Down is the only one of these settlements for which we have some idea of the internal organization but there are several competing interpretations. The most recent assessment suggests twelve structures over two phases with four roundhouses in the first phase and four in the second (Ellison 1987:386). Two structures were identified in the pipeline trench on Old Sarum Spur, the first a 7.5m diameter roundhouse and the second a rectangular structure 5m wide by at least 12.6m long formed by three parallel rows of postholes (Powell *et al* 2005:269). The observation for both of these sites is that they formed small self sufficient mixed farming units for a small extended family. The only exception is the Durrington 'Egg', an ovoid shaped enclosure attached to a series of other enclosures through a broad ditched trackway (RCHME 1979:xii). Although a number of postholes were observed, they failed to form any coherent patterns. Very few finds were identified leading to the suggestion that the site may have fulfilled a specialized role in stock management (Richards 1990:279).

The wealth of Middle Bronze Age sites contrasts sharply with a dearth of Late Bronze Age settlements (Figure 4.2). Two open settlements are known at Winterbourne Stoke Crossroads and South of Ford Road. At the former, three roundhouses with diameters of 5m, 6.5m and 8.5m were uncovered along with evidence for the replacement of some postholes suggesting a long period of occupation (Richards 1990:208). At the site to the south of Ford Road another three roundhouses were uncovered over a 40m stretch of a pipeline trench, with diameters of 4.2m, 7.5m and 8m (Powell *et al* 2005:270-271). It is likely that these form part of a much more extensive settlement. Both sites are larger and longer-lived than their predecessors but because of their open nature were only located through chance. It appears that the standard form of Late Bronze Age settlement is open in character providing one explanation for the lack of known sites.

The Earliest Iron Age sees no continuity with the Late Bronze Age in this area. All of the Late Bronze Age sites have been abandoned by 800BC and what we see are a series of open sites with a small number of pits and the occasional posthole (Figure 4.3). On Porton Down, Idmiston two small pits were found to contain pottery from the beginning of the Iron Age (SMR record SU23NW203) (Anon 1971:190). At Camp Down, excavation in advance of a water main uncovered 15 features over 190m. These were mainly small pits but included a posthole associated with Earliest Iron Age pottery (Algar and Truckle 1973:130). Area Q, Boscombe Down West had a working hollow and two pits that could be dated to this period

(Richardson 1951:136-9) whilst an Earliest Iron Age occupation layer was found at Witherington Ring indicating a restricted occupation period (Anon 1960:398). At Odstock Road, Britford two pits dated to the Earliest Iron Age were found next to a contemporary linear earthwork and track (Wessex Archaeology 1997). On Cockey Down excavation for two water mains produced the best structural evidence from an Earliest Iron Age settlement in the sub-region with a 9m diameter roundhouse (Trott 1991:118) and a sub-rectangular, six post structure (Lovell 1999:33).

There is better evidence for continuity into the Early Iron Age (Figure 4.4). It is apparent that both Cockey Down and Area Q on Boscombe Down West continue through into the Early and Middle Iron Age. On Cockey Down a 1.8ha enclosure replaces the open settlement continuing through to the early part of the Middle Iron Age before being abandoned before the 3rd century BC (Trott 1991:118).

Cockey Down is morphologically similar to Little Woodbury and Bodenham Hill. Little Woodbury is probably the best known Iron Age settlement in this region and was considered the typical domestic unit in Wessex, emblematic of what Hodson termed the 'Woodbury Culture' (1964). Excavation of one third of the 1.6ha enclosure revealed 190 pits, a large number of two and four-post structures and two roundhouses of diameters 10m and 15m (Bersu 1940). Established between the 7th-5th centuries BC, the excavators suggest its abandonment before the 1st century BC (Brailsford 1948:2), although Cunliffe has suggested that very little Middle Iron Age material was recovered and that the site was abandoned early in the Middle Iron Age (2005:251).

Great Woodbury lies 450m to the west of Little Woodbury enclosing an area of about 4ha. Geophysical survey identified a considerable amount of activity within the enclosure as well as an associated field system (Gaffney and Gater 1990). Excavation here has been limited to a single cutting across the ditch which proved to be almost 7m wide and 3.6m deep leading some to classify it as a hillfort (Bersu 1940:107). Ceramics suggest an origin late in the Early Iron Age with Middle Iron Age ceramics showing longevity if not continuity (*ibid.*:109). This implies a period of overlap in the use of Little and Great Woodbury though Cunliffe posits that Great Woodbury would be better dated as a Middle Iron Age construction replacing Little Woodbury and representing a rise in the status of the occupants (Cunliffe 2005:252).

Bodenham Hill, at 2.4ha, is the largest of the Little Woodbury style enclosures and also has antennae ditches that lead down into the Avon Valley. It sits on the northern boundary of a field system with Grims ditch appearing to end 1km to the west. The outer ditch and the ten excavated pits dated to the Early Iron Age (Borthwick and Canham 1984:160) with geophysical examination showing a further 150 pits (Bartlett and David 1984).

Other types of enclosure are utilized in the Iron Age with a small 0.2ha, rectilinear enclosure at Downbarn West producing both Early and Middle Iron Age ceramics (Fowler *et al* 1965:58-59). At Durrington Walls, excavation revealed traces of Iron Age occupation within the walls of the henge and to its southwest (RCHME 1979:xii). Geophysical prospection indicated that the northern half of the enclosure contains a large number of pits (David and Payne 1997). Some Early Iron Age ceramics were also recovered from the nearby Packway enclosure, none were from primary contexts, few internal features were identified and it remains unclear whether the enclosure is of Early or Late Iron Age date (Wainwright and Longworth 1971:328). On the balance most activity would appear to be Late Iron Age in date although its earlier material has led to its inclusion here.

At Boscombe Down West occupation at Area Q continued through the Early and Middle Iron Age in an open settlement whose structures included 16 pits and a 'working hollow' (Richardson 1951:129). 500m to the south in Area R, a further group of 30 pits were uncovered whose material also extended from the Early to Middle Iron Age (*ibid.*:130). Large numbers of pits were observed in other areas of the airfield but not excavated and it appears that the habitation zone covered a very large area. Excavation of a linear earthwork that approaches these produced Early Iron Age ceramic sherds suggesting some contemporaneity (AC Archaeology 2001:11).

Another large open site was discovered at Highfield in the mid-19th century. A total of 69 pits were identified, although it seems likely that many more went unobserved. The site had a long chronology but the majority of the pits were late Early Iron Age and Middle Iron Age (Stevens 1934). A site was discovered nearby at Tinker's Pit, Quidhampton with a number of pits that contained Early Iron Age pottery (Green 1961:35). 1.5km to the southeast of Old Sarum, three Early Iron Age pits were encountered on Bishopsdown during the laying of a pipeline. Only one pit was excavated, producing material that appeared to indicate habitation,

including worked bone, a spindle whorl and a lump of scrap bronze (Musty 1959a:181). A later excavation in 1992 found another 26 pits (AC Archaeology 1992).

Three poorly understood sites can be seen to be established in the Middle Iron Age (Figure 4.6). About 1.6km to the northwest of Little Woodbury a road extension uncovered a settlement on Harnham Hill. It appears that it had started as an open settlement that later underwent enclosure (Piggott 1939:513). The ceramics at the time were originally considered to be Early Iron Age, but redating by the Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group (PCRG) now suggests a late Middle Iron Age date (Collection ID 2059).

At East Winterslow, an excavation by school children in 1953 uncovered pits, a ditch and a roundhouse that produced bead-rimmed Middle-Late Iron Age pottery. It was never published and it is even unclear whether this was an open or enclosed site. Work on the Pains Wessex Factory site in High Post, uncovered an extensive settlement that extended from the Middle Iron Age through to the Romano-British period (Wessex Archaeology 1995a; 1996c). The site consisted of a number of postholes, pits and ditches with aerial photographs suggesting that it was enclosed for at least some portion of its lifetime (Anon 1997:154-155).

There are seven sites classified as hillforts in this sub-region though it is not apparent whether they can all be dated to this study period. Old Sarum, Figsbury and Vespasian's Camp have all seen limited excavation but can be dated to the Early Iron Age. Early Iron Age ceramics have also been recovered from Ogbury. Limited excavation of Great Woodbury indicated its construction late in the Early Iron Age continuing through into the Middle Iron Age though its classification as a hillfort is debatable. Two further sites at Clearbury Ring and Odstock Copse are undated and probably constructed after the Middle Iron Age but are included for reference.

Old Sarum lies on a high detached hill overlooking the Avon enclosing an area of about 12ha. During the medieval period it formed the original site for the city of Salisbury during which time it was significantly reworked. Excavation of the outer circuit showed evidence for two phases of construction with the first in the Early Iron Age and the second in the (Late) Iron Age C period (Montgomerie 1947:135). A second series of excavations discovered an original entrance that had been blocked in the Late Iron Age (Rahtz and Musty 1960:364), while a tunnel cut into the castle mound uncovered what was thought to be an Iron

Age pit when it reached the old ground surface (Montgomerie 1947:132). The intensity and duration of Iron Age occupation is unknown and much of the evidence was probably destroyed during the medieval period.

Figsbury Ring is a small 6ha hillfort sitting on a south facing chalk spur. A smaller circular enclosure sits within the main bank and ditch which has been suggested as an earlier henge monument (Guido 1982:21). The recovery of a Late Bronze Age leaf shaped sword from within Figsbury hints that the site has attracted human attention if not habitation during several periods (Cunnington 1927:51). A cutting through the ramparts indicated two turf lines within the bank representing two phases of refurbishment after its construction (*ibid.*:56). All the ceramics recovered from the bank and ditch however belonged to the All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill style placing all phases within the Early Iron Age (*ibid.*:49-51). Maud Cunnington found six hearths within the hillfort but failed to identify any postholes associated with them. It is possible these were situated centrally within unidentified roundhouses. Artefacts were limited to several fragments of saddle quern and a small piece of iron slag.

Vespasian's Camp is a 15ha univallate hillfort on a spur overlooking a meander in the Avon, with naturally steep sides to all but the north (Hogg 1975:286). Road widening through the rampart showed two phases of construction, with the first relatively insubstantial rampart dating to around 500BC (RCHME 1979:20). The phase one enclosure saw the build-up of a 1m thick deposit behind the rampart (Hunter-Man 1999:50). The rampart was heightened about a hundred years later but occupation ended soon after with all the ceramics dating to the Early Iron Age.

Ogbury Camp is a large 25ha univallate hillfort situated on a chalk spur with dry valleys to the north and south and overlooking the Avon to the west. There is a gentle slope to the perimeter on all but the northwest side and the approach to the east facing entrance is across level ground. Grinsell collected Early Iron Age pottery from rabbit scrapes along the perimeter (Grinsell 1957:265) but the site is clearly multi-phased. Crop marks within the interior indicate elements of a field system that were still extant in the early 19th century (Colt-Hoare 1812:220), although it is unclear whether they preceded or post dated the construction of the enclosure. Three enclosures are identifiable as crop marks in the area surrounding Ogbury Camp though these are undated. One in particular was still visible as earthworks at the time of Colt-Hoare and was excavated by him, producing Early Iron Age

pottery. However, there is some disagreement over which site this relates to and none have turned up any finds during fieldwalking (SMR record SU13NE204, NMR record 218339).

4.3 *Nature of habitation*

Our knowledge of the conditions of habitation throughout the period in this sub-region is largely dependent upon the size of the excavated area and the date of excavation. Unfortunately as the standard of excavation has improved with time, the excavated area has tended to reduce, so we are left with many challenges when piecing the conditions of life back together again. Grey literature sources are useful in siting the locations and patterns of sites but they fail to add much on the conditions of habitation. The material culture recovered from the sites in the Middle Avon Valley is set out in Appendix 1.2.

There is only modest evidence for craftwork and industry at any of the later Bronze Age settlements. Weaving was indicated at Thorny Down by the presence of two loomweights whilst a needle was the only piece of worked bone that was found (Stone 1937:660). Two spindle whorls were recovered from Ford Road as evidence for spinning (Powell *et al* 2005:271). Iron slag was recovered from what appeared to be an undisturbed context in the ditch of Boscombe Down East and its presence could not be explained by the excavator but is presumed to be intrusive (Stone 1936:484).

A similar problem is encountered with the Iron Age sites although it is apparent that many demonstrated a small amount of industry. The most prolific find was spindle whorls recovered from eight sites. Eleven were found at Little Woodbury (Brailsford 1949) and ten from Boscombe Down West (Richardson 1951) whilst the remainder of sites produced one or two at most. Loomweights were only recovered from three Iron Age sites. At least twenty three were found at Little Woodbury (Brailsford 1949), seven across the Boscombe Down West sites (Richardson 1951) and seven at Highfield (Stevens 1934). These were also the only sites that produced bone tools that could be associated with weaving, with a single weaving comb from Little Woodbury (Brailsford 1949), twelve bone shuttles from Boscombe Down West (Richardson 1951) and eight bone shuttles and three combs from Highfields (Stevens 1934). Metal working evidence was rare but demonstrated by a crucible fragment at Boscombe Down West (Richardson 1951) and single pieces of iron slag from Bishopsdown and Figsbury Ring.

The production of Middle Iron Age pottery is also indicated by the presence of wasters and saggers from Highfields (Stevens 1934:597).

Many of the sites were excavated before detailed analysis of the material was standard with relatively small animal bone assemblages recovered from modern excavations (a full breakdown can be found in Appendix 1.1). Few animal bones were recovered from either Old Sarum Spur or Ford Road but those that were found consisted of the main domestic animals (Powell *et al* 2005:272). The Middle-Late Bronze Age assemblage from Fargo Wood mainly consisted of cattle and sheep with few pigs (Richards 1990:198). Bodenham Hill is the only Iron Age site in this group to have any published faunal data but this consists of a mere 173 identifiable bone fragments (Sutton 1984). It has a relatively high proportion of pigs (39% as opposed to 31% cattle and 30% sheep) but it is possible that this is a bias caused by the small assemblage size.

A similar problem is encountered with the archaeobotanical data with little evidence recovered from any of the Bronze Age settlements around the Middle Avon Valley. Both Old Sarum Spur and Ford Road produced small amounts of charred barley and emmer wheat along with the seeds of common arable weeds (Powell *et al* 2005:271-272). In contrast, at the Durrington Egg charred barley grains were recovered in 'some quantity' (Richards 1990:279). All of the carbonized grains recovered from Little Woodbury were barley and there appeared to be no wheat (Brailsford 1949:167). Three samples from Area Q on Boscombe Down West from Early Iron Age pits produced traces of Emmer and Spelt wheat along with barley (Richardson 1951:165).

From the limited evidence, it is hard to reconstruct the economic strategies within which the sites operated. This is particularly true with the Earliest Iron Age sites with few turning up any material that had a domestic appearance. For the Early and Middle Iron Age most sites appear to have been producing material to satisfy their own domestic needs. In terms of subsistence, there is nothing to suggest that they took part in anything other than mixed agricultural regimes that met their own requirements. The artefactual material recovered is uniform across most sites and unsurprisingly the most extensively excavated sites of Little Woodbury and Boscombe Down West produced the most artefacts. Figsbury is the only hillfort in the area that has received more than a cursory excavation but there appears little difference in terms of the material that was recovered from here and the settlements.

4.4 *Landscape and society*

The first excavations in the sub-region focused on physical earthworks and these sites dominate the early records. More recently developed funded archaeology has led to the discovery of a range of open sites whose existence was previously unsuspected. It is therefore highly likely that many others remain undiscovered and that a true distribution map would show a more densely packed landscape.

The Middle Bronze Age settlements are, with the exception of Old Sarum Spur and the site to the southwest of Fargo Plantation, small enclosures set within an associated field system. This matches well with what is cited as the standard settlement morphology for this time (Ellison 1981:424). There is a consistent relationship between the settlements and water for although Old Sarum Spur and the Durrington Egg are situated less than 0.5km from dependable water sources all the other settlements are 2-3km from rivers or streams (Figure 4.7). This is mirrored in their spacing with most sharing 2-4km activity-prisms with each other (usually separated by 4-8km). It matches a pattern for isolated settlements that control their own arable land but shared pasture with neighbours. Interaction may have been infrequent with the main point of contact occurring with the management of animals. Exceptions are the three sites that lie in the northwest corner of this area. The two Fargo Plantation sites are situated almost exactly 1km from each other whilst the Rolleston Grain Storage site is just over 2km from both. The fact that the site to the southwest of Fargo Plantation is open and situated so close to a known enclosure raises the possibility that open settlements are heavily underrepresented. However, the Fargo Plantation site does continue through into the Late Bronze Age and may be later in date than the other two sites rather than contemporary. Thorny Down contained more bronze artefacts than other settlements, including a bracelet and a spearhead but this probably reflects its complete excavation. There is therefore little in terms of material culture or site morphology that can be used as a proxy for variance in social status between sites. The settlement distribution appears too thin to support Brück's pattern of rapidly shifting occupation but it is also too widely spread to account for all of the known fields. Thorny Down at least appears to have a long and complex history that seems at odds with concepts of short-lived settlements.

Fewer Late Bronze Age settlements are known but as these appear to be open sites this probably relates to their lack of visibility rather than a reduction in the overall density of

settlement in this sub-region. As our knowledge of Late Bronze Age settlements is grossly inadequate, very little can be said about the pattern with any confidence (Figure 4.8). At Ford Road, three roundhouses were located in a 40m stretch of pipeline trench and it is apparent that many more may be located to either side. This is a pattern picked up in the tank track at Dunch Hill (Andrews 2006) and Quebec Farm (Ellis and Powell 2008) with Shorncote Quarry perhaps giving us some idea of what these sites may actually have looked like (Hearne and Adam 1999). The social implications of this change from predominately enclosed to open settlement is not dealt with by Brück. If, however, enclosure is seen as an act of separation and independence, open settlements could in turn be viewed as an acceptance of the settlement's place within the wider community.

Only a few more sites have been dated to the Earliest Iron Age period than to the Late Bronze Age. These appear to be unenclosed and so underrepresented for similar reasons. There is no continuity from the Late Bronze Age into the Earliest Iron Age. Cockey Down is the only site to produce evidence for a roundhouse and most are represented by a small number of pits and occasional postholes. The Odstock Road, Britford site, with three shallow pits beside a linear earthwork and track (Wessex Archaeology 1997), does not appear to represent a settlement in the same terms as we would normally recognise them. The combination of features would suggest that they relate to an activity connected with the linear boundary and the track. Similar dated sites have been identified in the NESPTA and Wylve Valley. The abundance of this type of site during the Earliest Iron Age suggests that there has been a shift in agricultural strategies to a more transhumant focused regime (Tullett 2010). With large portions of communities moving around with animals for at least part of the year we would expect to find many temporary or seasonal camps and fewer permanent settlements. Little material is recovered from these sites and we must turn to the large contemporary sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey to test this hypothesis. Of the known sites, all are located within 1km of water with the exception of Boscombe Down West which is around the 2km mark (Figure 4.9).

For the Early Iron Age most of the known settlements are situated within 1km of a dependable year round surface water source (Figure 4.10). There is an even distribution with one to two settlements between each of the main rivers. Most share an overlap in the 1-2km activity-prism (separated at a distance of 2-4km apart) with an even distribution and raising

the probability that there was regular interaction between them. The rivers are relatively shallow, slow flowing; the valley floors would have been much wetter and possibly marshy along some stretches. Though not strictly a restriction on determined movement, they are visual barriers and probably acted as land divisions. Although the limited evidence is unable to show that all these sites were in contemporary use, the even distribution makes this assumption attractive. Boscombe Down West and Downbarn West share a similar relationship to their southern counterparts with an overlap at the edge of their 2km ranges. Field systems are known across all of this area and whilst most open settlements appear to be situated within the systems, the three enclosures of Little Woodbury, Cockey Down and Bodenham Hill are all situated on their edges. For both Little Woodbury and Bodenham Hill, antennae ditches point towards the valley floor and it is tempting to see these features as helping to facilitate the movement of animals between the settlement and water or pasture in the valley. Cockey Down does not possess antennae ditches but an undated double-ditched track lies near to its eastern boundary, leading circuitously into the valley. The pattern suggests a mixed agricultural regime across the sub-region during the period but perhaps with those sites situated on the edges of the field systems actively exploiting the wetter valley floor environments. None of the Early Iron Age sites produced material culture that was significantly richer than any other. The only exotic find was a single blue glass bead from Little Woodbury (Brailsford 1949:165). This is a pitiful amount compared to the other sub-regions and cannot be explained by the extent of excavated areas. It is hard to argue that any of them represent a high status settlement.

All of the dated hillforts are situated within 2km of a water supply but their spatial relationship to settlements is more variable. Greater Woodbury is situated only 400m to the west of Little Woodbury and Ogbury also potentially has nearby settlement. The Highfields and Bishopsdown settlements are within 2km of Old Sarum with Vespasian's Camp just over 2km from Durrington Walls and Figsbury Ring 3km from Cockey Down. Unlike many of the other areas none of the hillforts are situated on Late Bronze Age linear earthworks.

Our knowledge of occupation and activity at these hillforts is extremely limited, preventing much discussion of their use during the period. The build up of midden material behind the bank of Vespasian's Camp implies a role corralling animals but a lack of investigation of the interior means we are unable to comment further. Figsbury may have seen

some occupation whilst geophysical examination of Great Woodbury also shows occupation. It does not seem likely that any of these housed large or particularly rich inhabitants during the Early Iron Age. Only Great Woodbury produced any Middle Iron Age material but again does not appear to represent a large settled hillfort like Danebury. Neither is there any evidence to support the concept of a redistributive economy centred on any of these hillforts.

By the early Middle Iron Age, the number of sites has reduced but there is some continuity (Figure 4.11). Cockey Down, Little Woodbury and Highfield continue as does the small site at Downbarn West. A second settlement at Boscombe Down West is the only new site. The only hillfort with any evidence of use is Greater Woodbury (Cunliffe 2005:251) with no Middle Iron Age activity confirmed at any of the others. The distribution of the sites maintains an even spacing with an overlap at the 1-2km of the activity-prism. As we move into the 3rd century BC, the sites at Downbarn West and Cockey Down are abandoned but new sites are established at Pains Wessex Factory, Harnham Hill and East Winterslow (Figure 4.12). The excavation along the route of the Old Sarum Water Pipeline revealed occasional scatters of Middle Iron Age pottery in Romano-British ditches on Camp Hill, the Western Coombe and along the Portway (Powell *et al* 2005:274-275). No Iron Age settlement features were identified and it appears that this represents material redeposited as part of agricultural activity showing that cultivation continued in these areas.

It is apparent there is reorganization in terms of settlement location and by the late Middle Iron Age some areas appear to be farmed but the sites from which this was conducted cannot currently be identified. It is pertinent to note that the area around Stonehenge whilst still populated during the Middle and Late Bronze Age sees very little activity at all in the Iron Age. Even ceramics are only recovered from areas skirting the area. There may be some reuse of Durrington Walls for settlement but Stonehenge which would have remained a visually dominant feature was avoided possibly because its standing stones represented 'powerful magic' (Sharples 2010:27-28).

Comparison of the sub-region with Sharples' model is hampered by a lack of modern research at these hillforts. They appear to have gone out of use before the Middle Iron Age. The only site with some evidence of continuity is Great Woodbury which arguably comes late in the sequence, may in fact be a large settlement rather than a hillfort and does not show the elaboration of a developed hillfort. The settlement record shows that the hillforts were

created in an area that was already fairly densely populated. Many of the settlements show continuity of use through the period and there is little sign of population upheaval between the Early to Middle Iron Age. Although it is accepted that violence and conflict would have been an inherent part of society it does not appear to have been reflected in the hillfort record.

The settlement data does not fit well with Hill's model (1995a) of small largely self-sufficient farmsteads occupied by extended families. Their distribution is not widely dispersed in the way that he suggests facilitates a social independence and creates the impetus for hillfort construction. All of the sites are situated close enough to at least one other known settlement. Taking the reasonable assumption that settlements are underrepresented, it is clear that the inhabitants would have had regular contact with each other. We can reasonably expect that there was a degree of interdependence between them for access to land and probably also labour especially at times such as harvest or ploughing.

There do not appear to be enough known settlements to support the labour requirement for the construction of so many hillforts. This would suggest that labour was shared and exchanged between different communities. This system of gatherings to construct and maintain the wealth of hillforts in this area would have bound the neighbouring communities together into a web of reciprocal obligations and duties (Sharples 2007). The work aspect is often eased by turning it into a social event accompanied by the sharing of food and drink (Dietler 1996:105). They would have provided ideal opportunities for socializing, the exchange of knowledge, exchange of goods, development of affinity and gaining spouses. The scope of this affinity is perhaps reflected in the pottery styles for the region that show a broad unity. It is unlikely that these communities formed distinct political groups but the polymorphous nature of encounters would have led to a varied experience of the community from site to site. The refurbishing of hillforts throughout the Early Iron Age would have created sufficient connections between the people of this sub-region which in turn ultimately negated the need for hillforts. Their decline may reflect the ensuing reduction in levels of conflict in this region. Although the number of known settlements declines from the Early Iron Age to the early part of the Middle Iron Age a larger upheaval is apparent as we reach the later part of the Middle Iron Age, the reasons for which are not immediately apparent.

4.5 Summary

This chapter looked at the archaeological evidence for Later Prehistoric activity around the Middle Avon Valley. This shows a stable, settled landscape with some quite long lived farmsteads evenly distributed across the area. The Middle Bronze Age settlements follow what is considered to be a typical morphology of small enclosures that have mostly fallen out of use by the Late Bronze Age when open settlements dominated. The small number of known settlements doubtless results from their reduced visibility. Field systems cover much of the downland and in many instances can be shown to be of later Bronze Age date though some evidence exists for cultivation through the Iron Age.

Linear earthworks are shorter here than other sub-regions with longer stretches limited to the north. There is also no association between hillforts and linear earthworks. The Earliest Iron Age shows a shift to a transhumant system with many temporary camps and few permanent settlements. It shows a rise in the importance of animals and may be linked to developments around the Vale of Pewsey. This transhumant system may be limited to the Earliest Iron Age although hillforts may reflect an evolution of this system in the Early Iron Age. Hillforts are limited to this period, and the gatherings that constructed and maintained them would have strengthened ties between neighbouring communities. A settlement hierarchy could be constructed in the region with the hillforts, Little Woodbury enclosures and open settlements but none of the sites produced what we might consider as rich or exotic finds. It seems more likely that settlement morphology was a result of personal choice and agricultural considerations. The density of settlement might also argue against Hill's model as we would expect regular contact between the members of the communities.

The picture that emerges for this sub-region for most of the Iron Age is of farmsteads of roughly equal status, involved in a mixed agricultural strategy. The even distribution of sites across the region shows stability although it is accepted that many more would have existed with a denser settlement pattern. This would imply a group of communities that enjoyed regular contact with each other allowing the ongoing reproduction of their society.

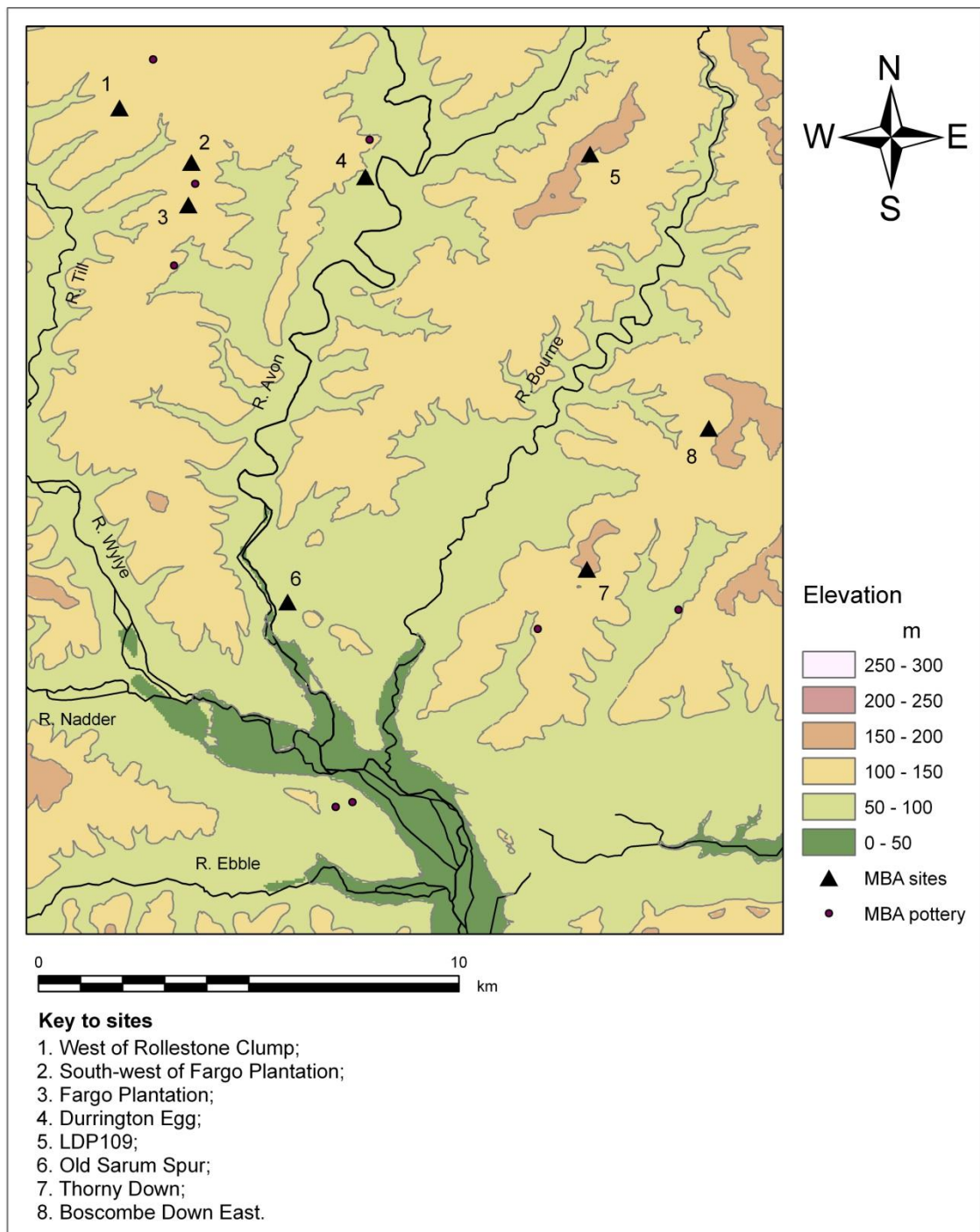


Figure 4.1- Middle Bronze Age sites in the Middle Avon Valley.

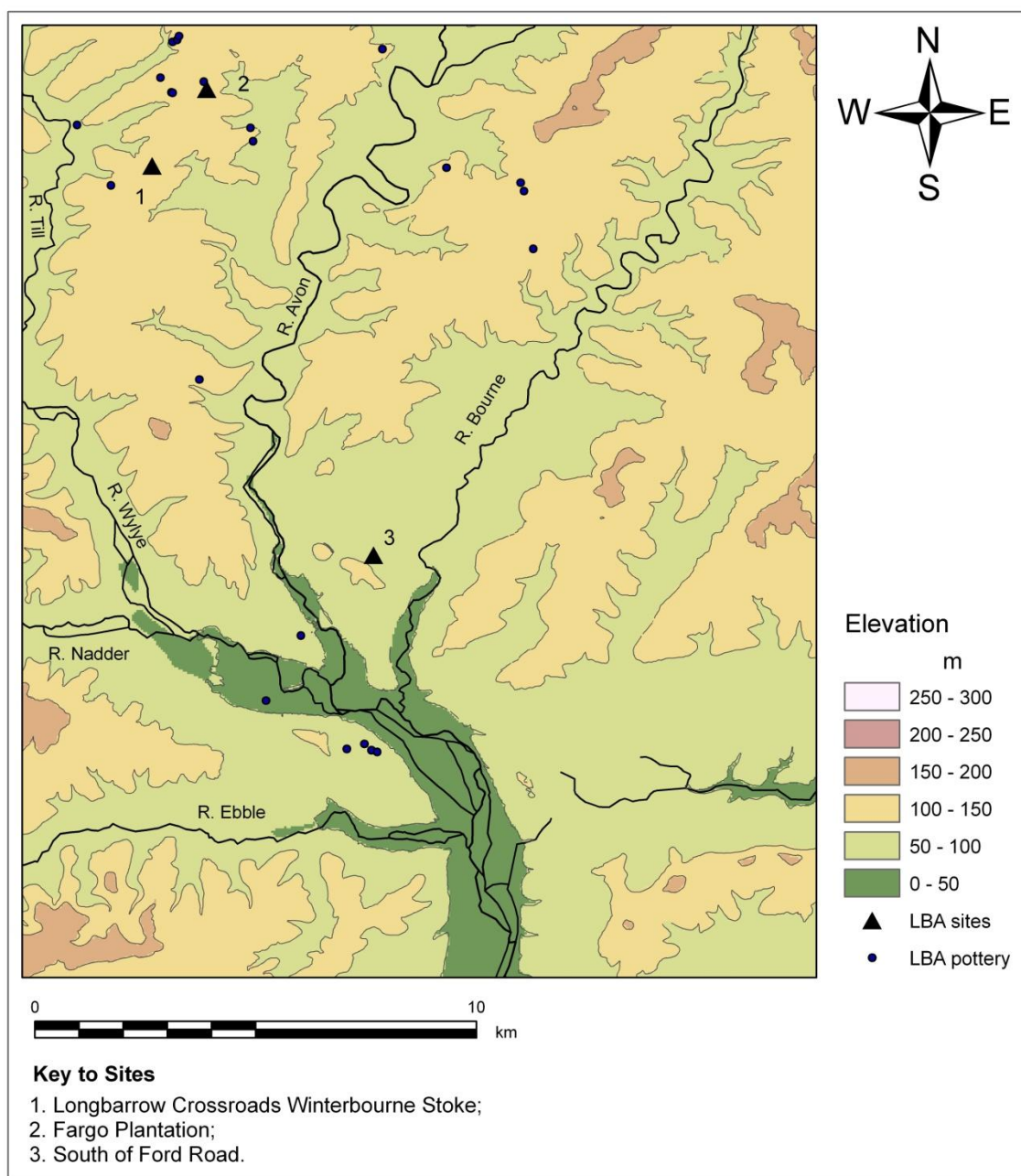


Figure 4.2- Late Bronze Age sites in the Middle Avon Valley.

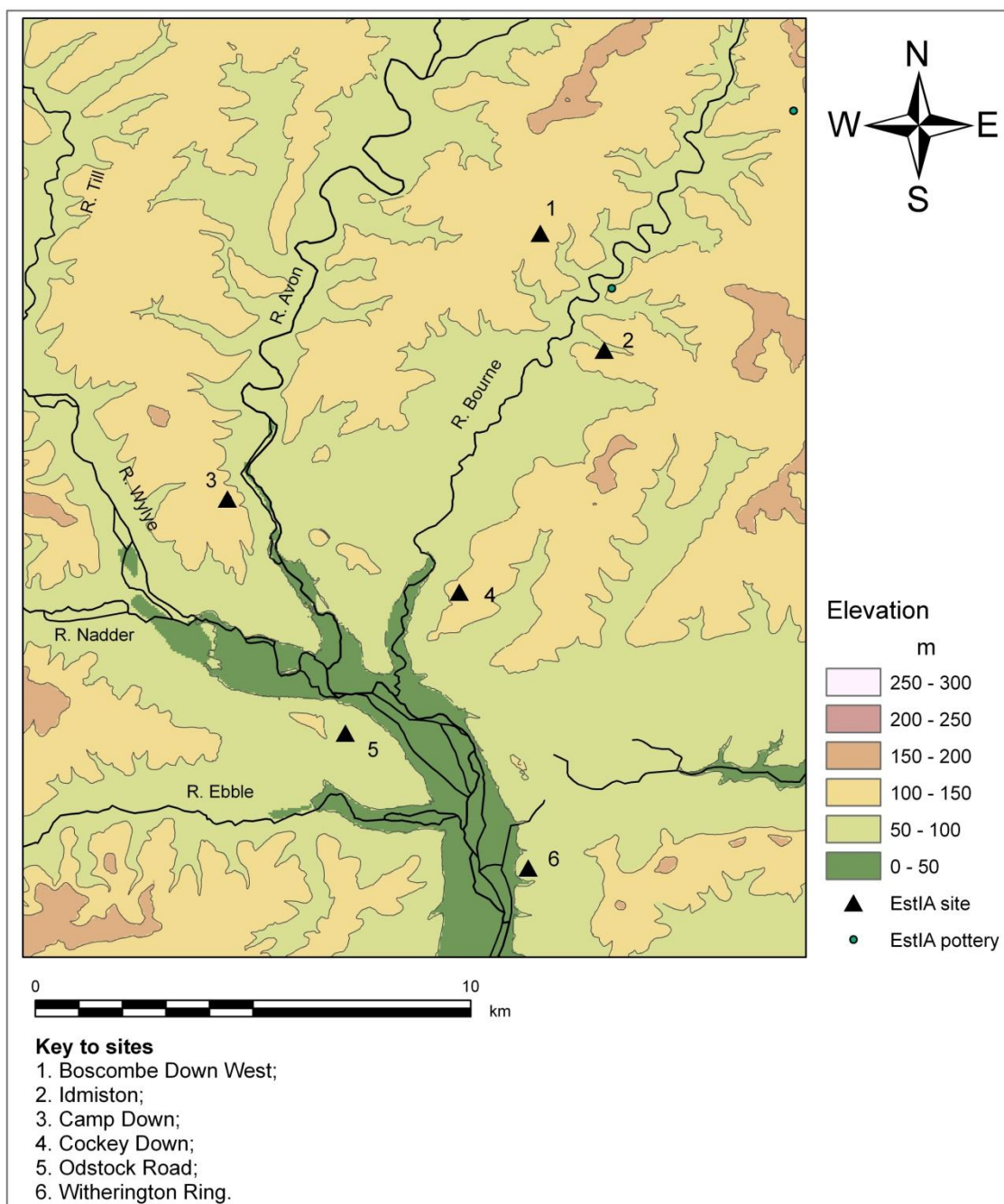


Figure 4.3- Earliest Iron Age sites in the Middle Avon Valley.

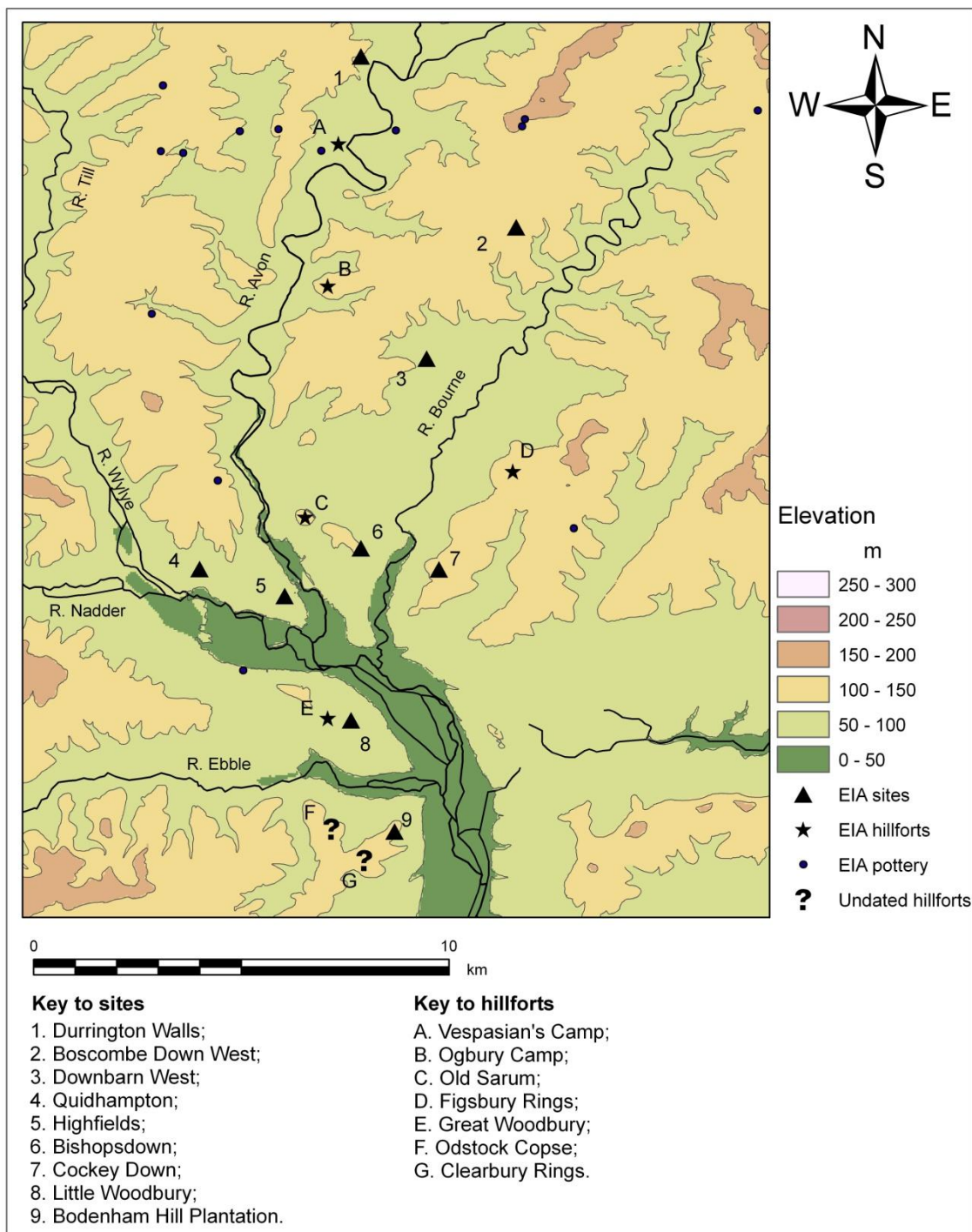


Figure 4.4- Early Iron Age sites in the Middle Avon Valley

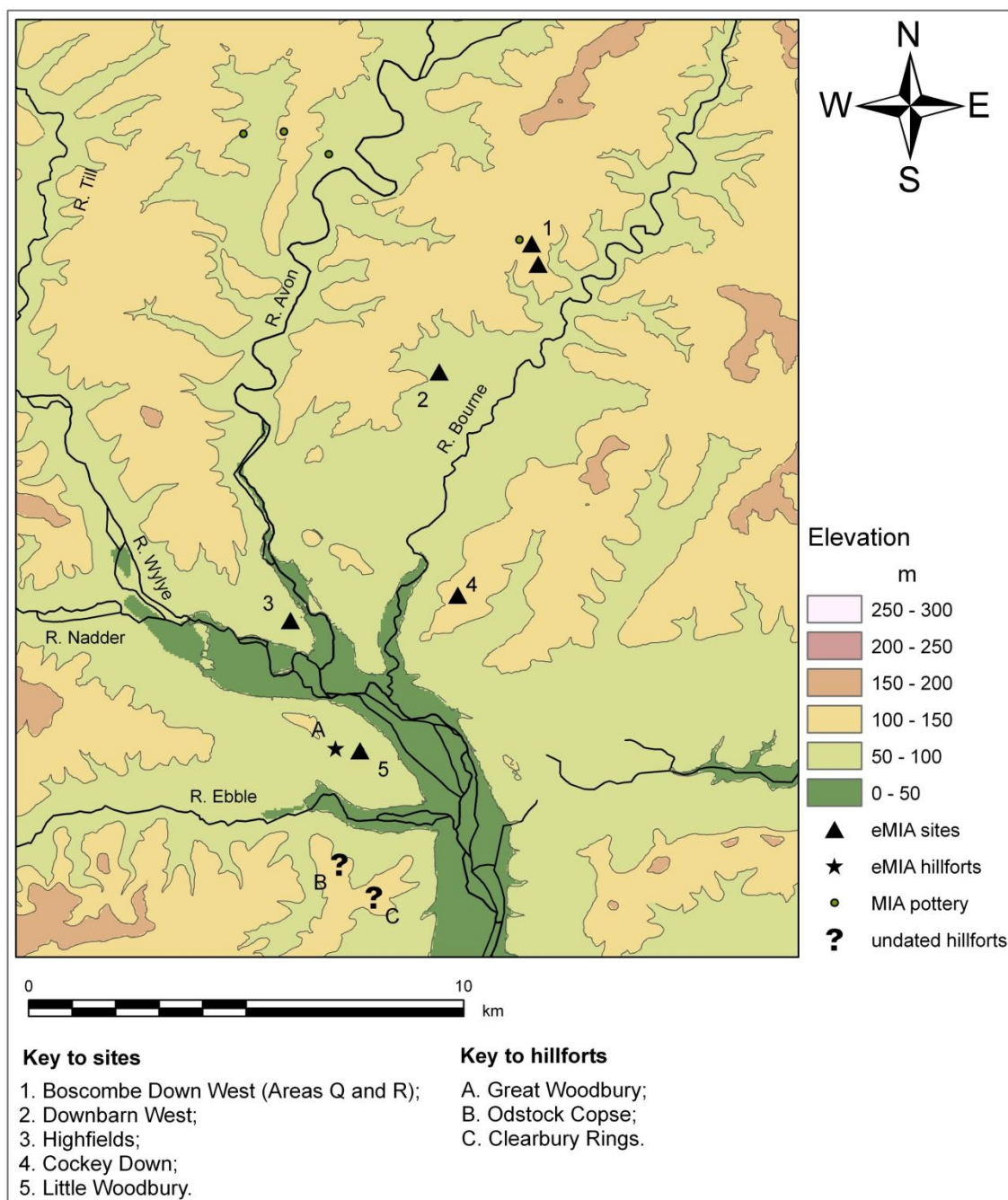


Figure 4.5- early Middle Iron Age sites in the Middle Avon Valley.

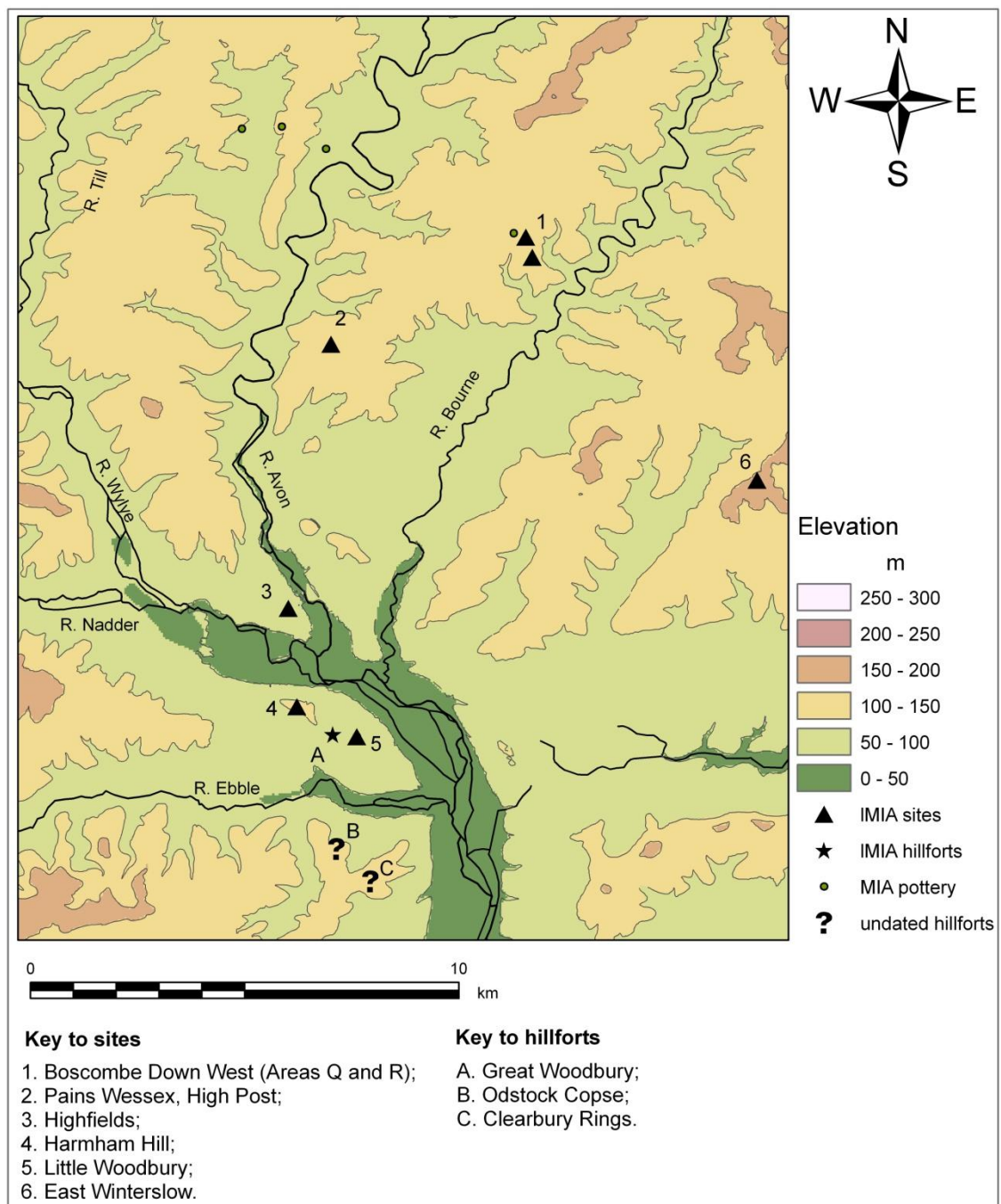


Figure 4.6- late Middle Iron Age sites in the Middle Avon Valley.

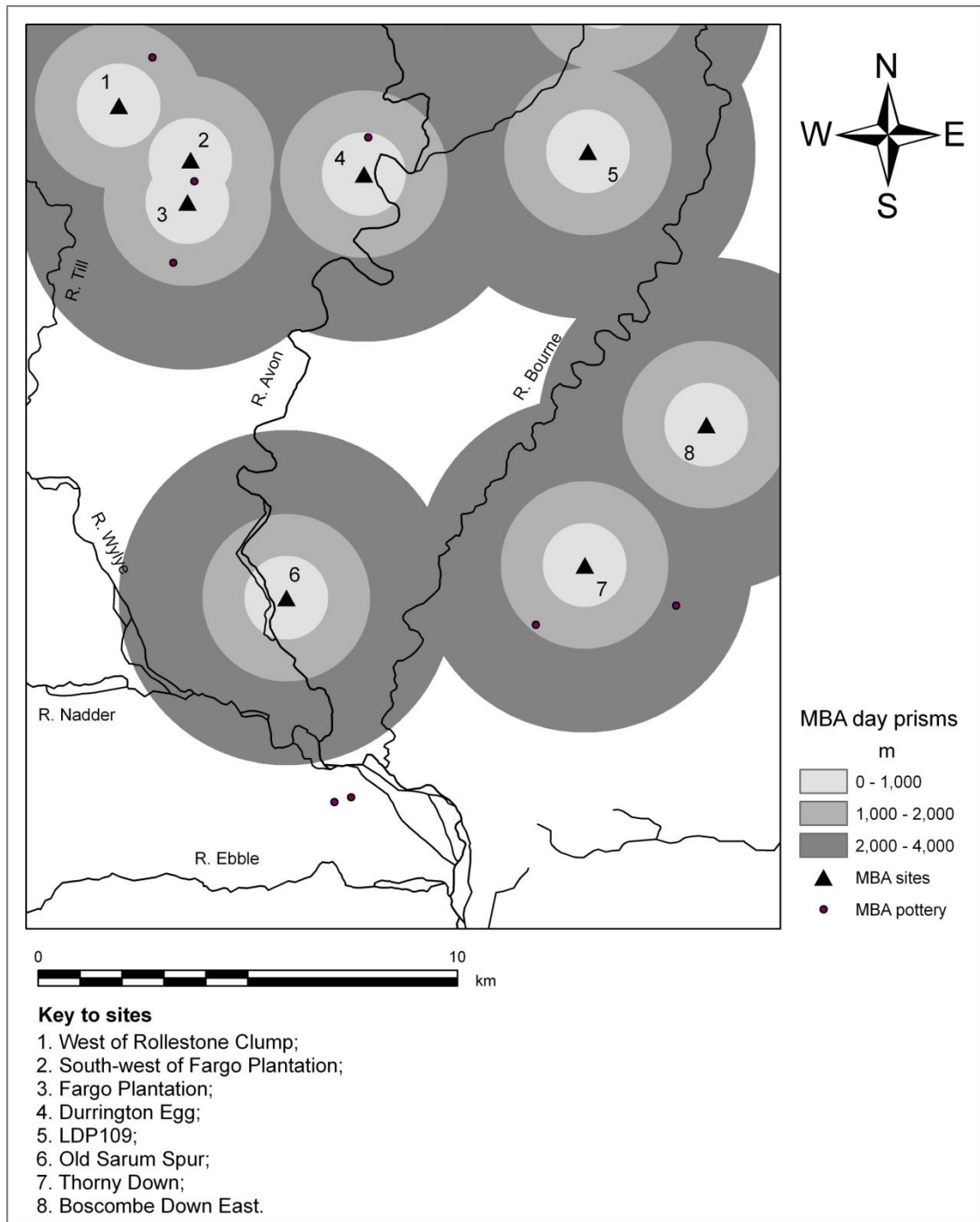


Figure 4.7- Middle Avon Valley Middle Bronze Age site activity-prisms.

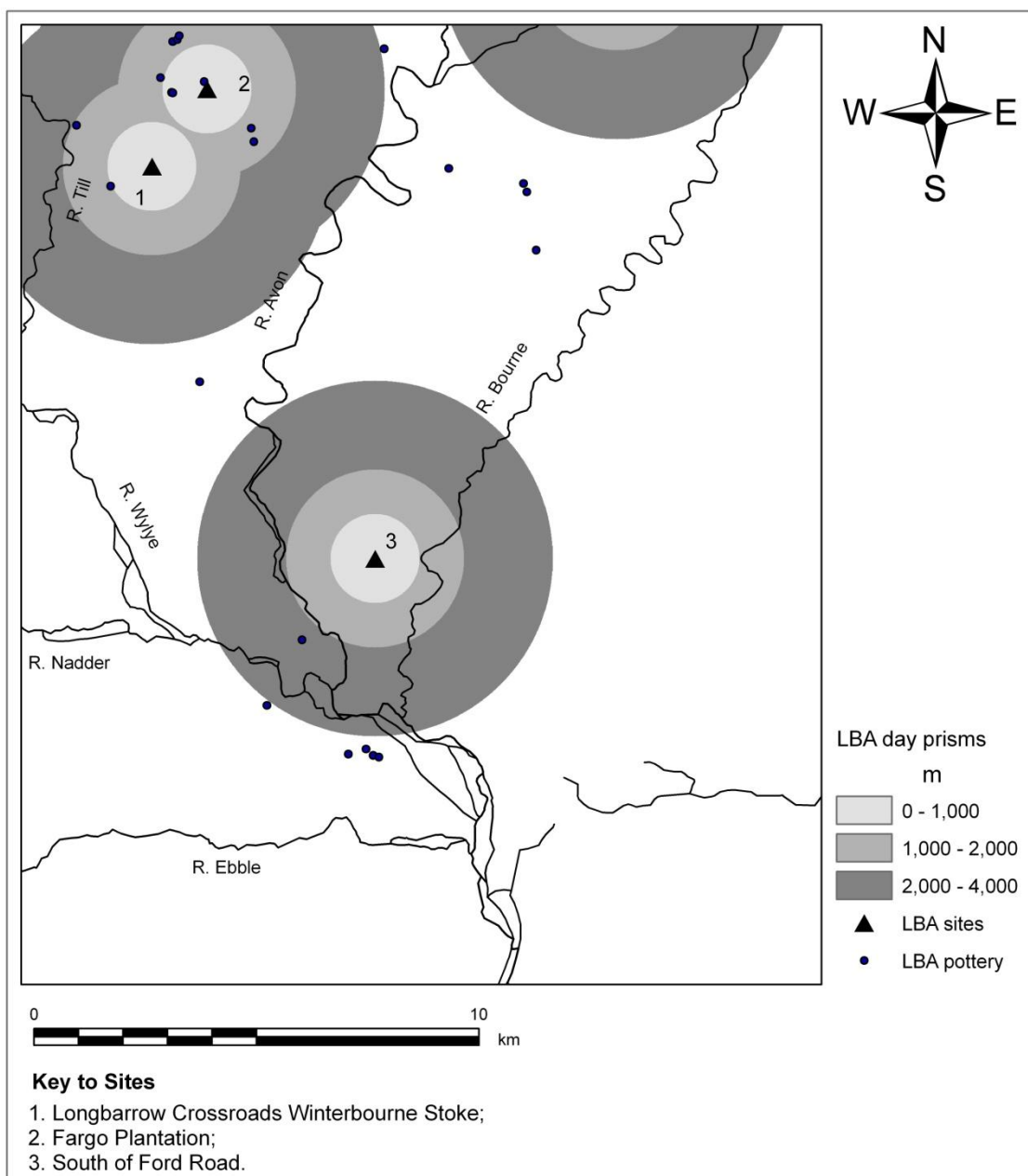


Figure 4.8- Middle Avon Valley Late Bronze Age site activity-prisms.

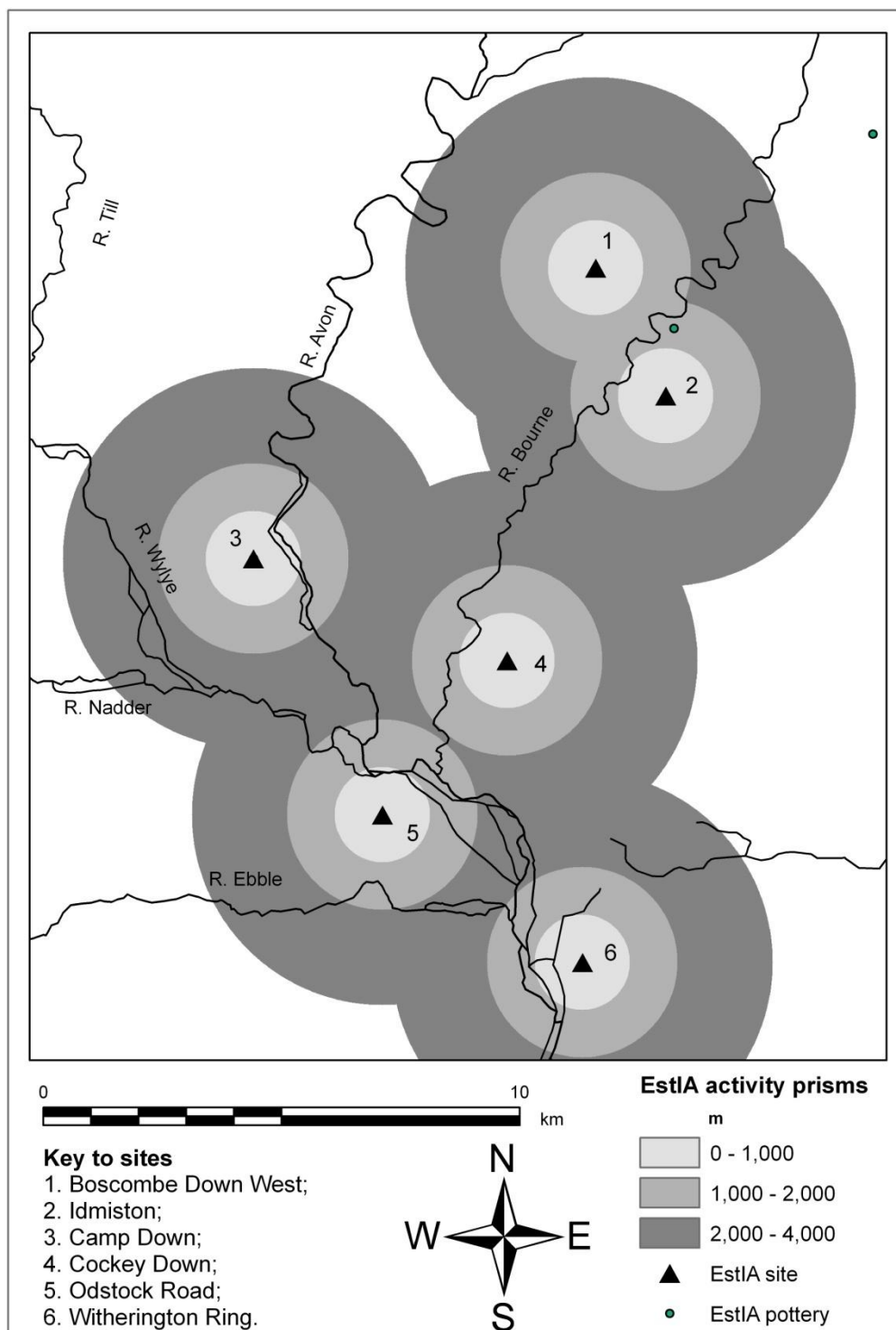


Figure 4.9- Middle Avon Valley Earliest Iron Age site activity-prisms.

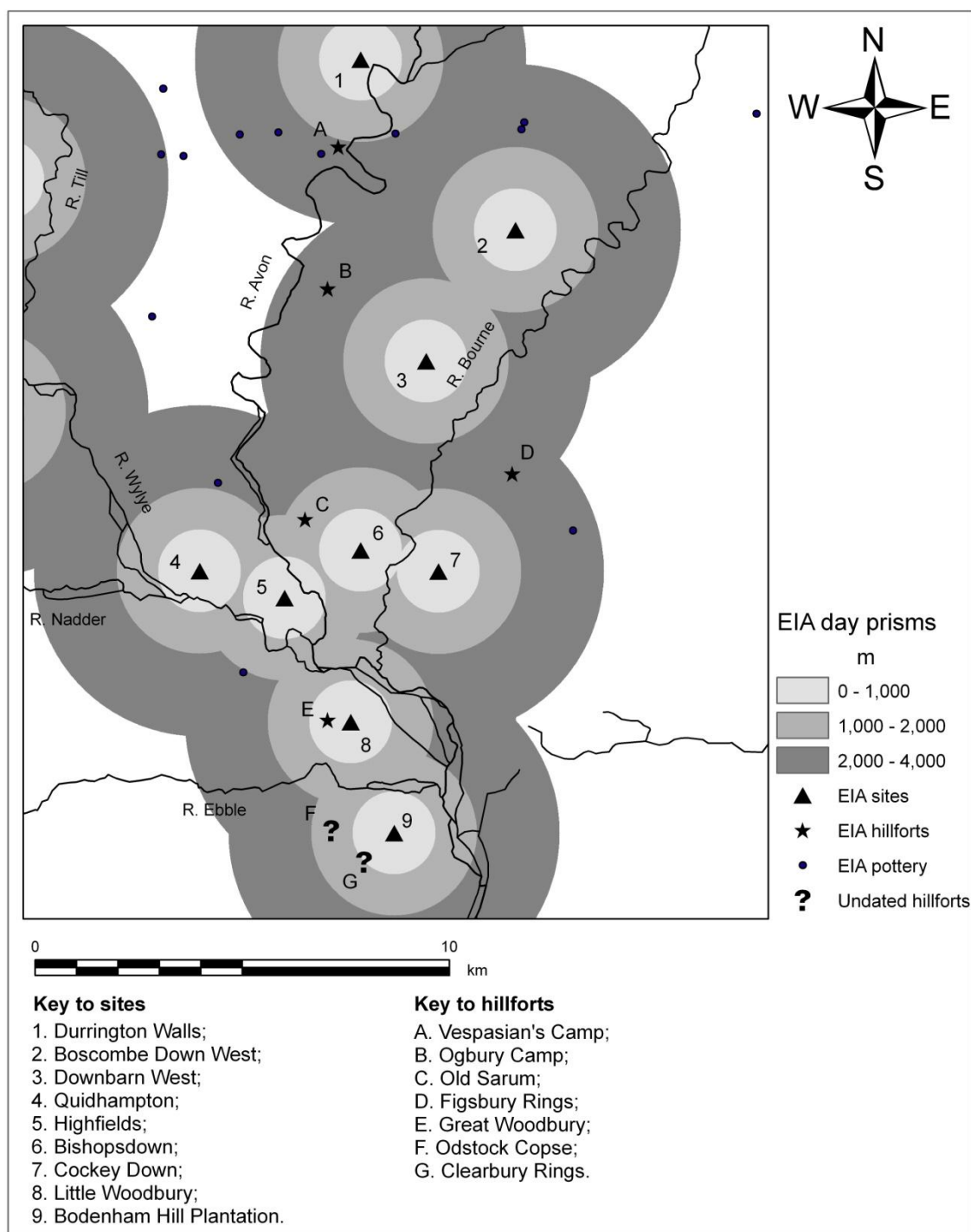


Figure 4.10- Middle Avon Valley Early Iron Age site activity-prisms.

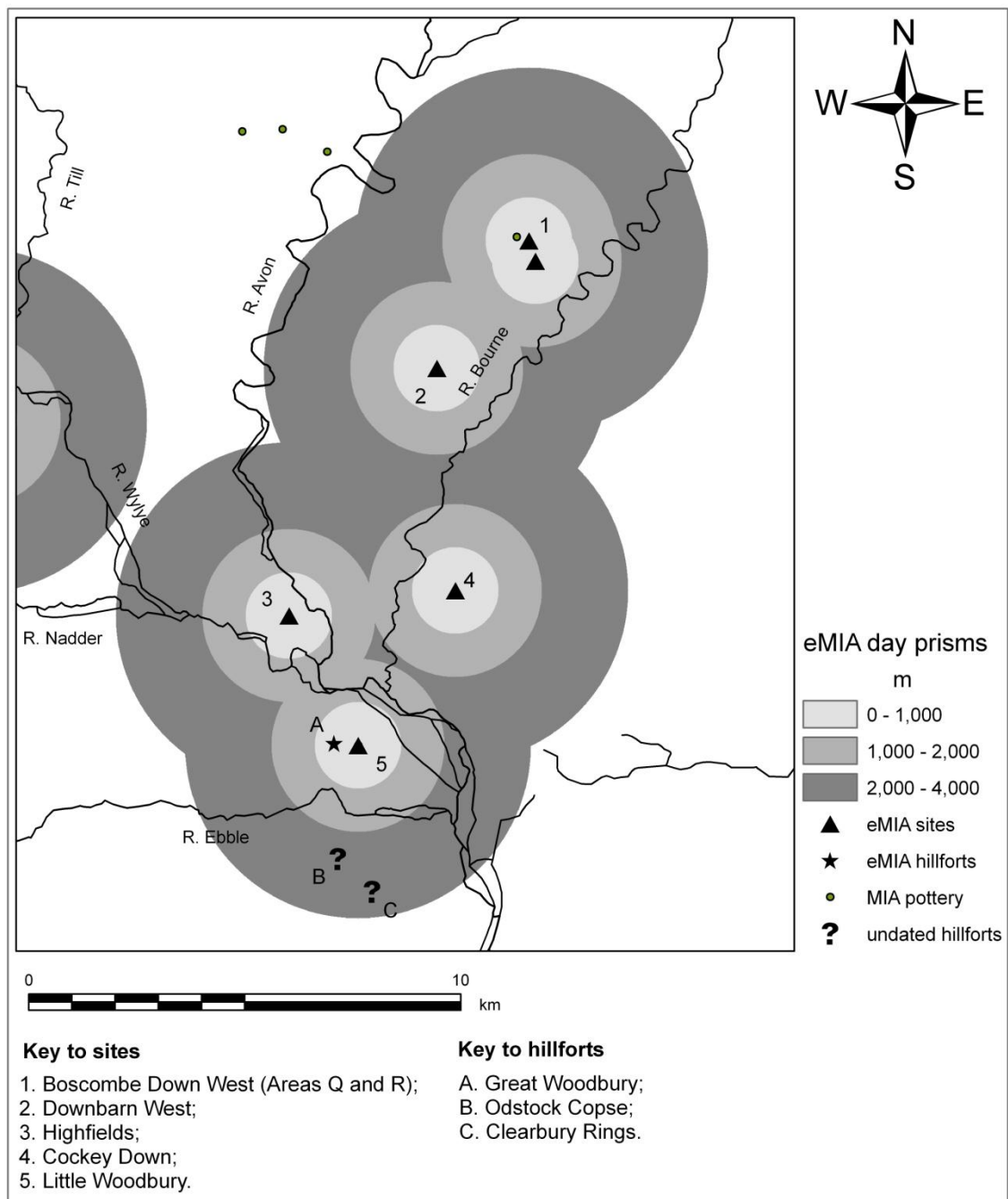


Figure 4.11- Middle Avon Valley early Middle Iron Age site activity-prisms.

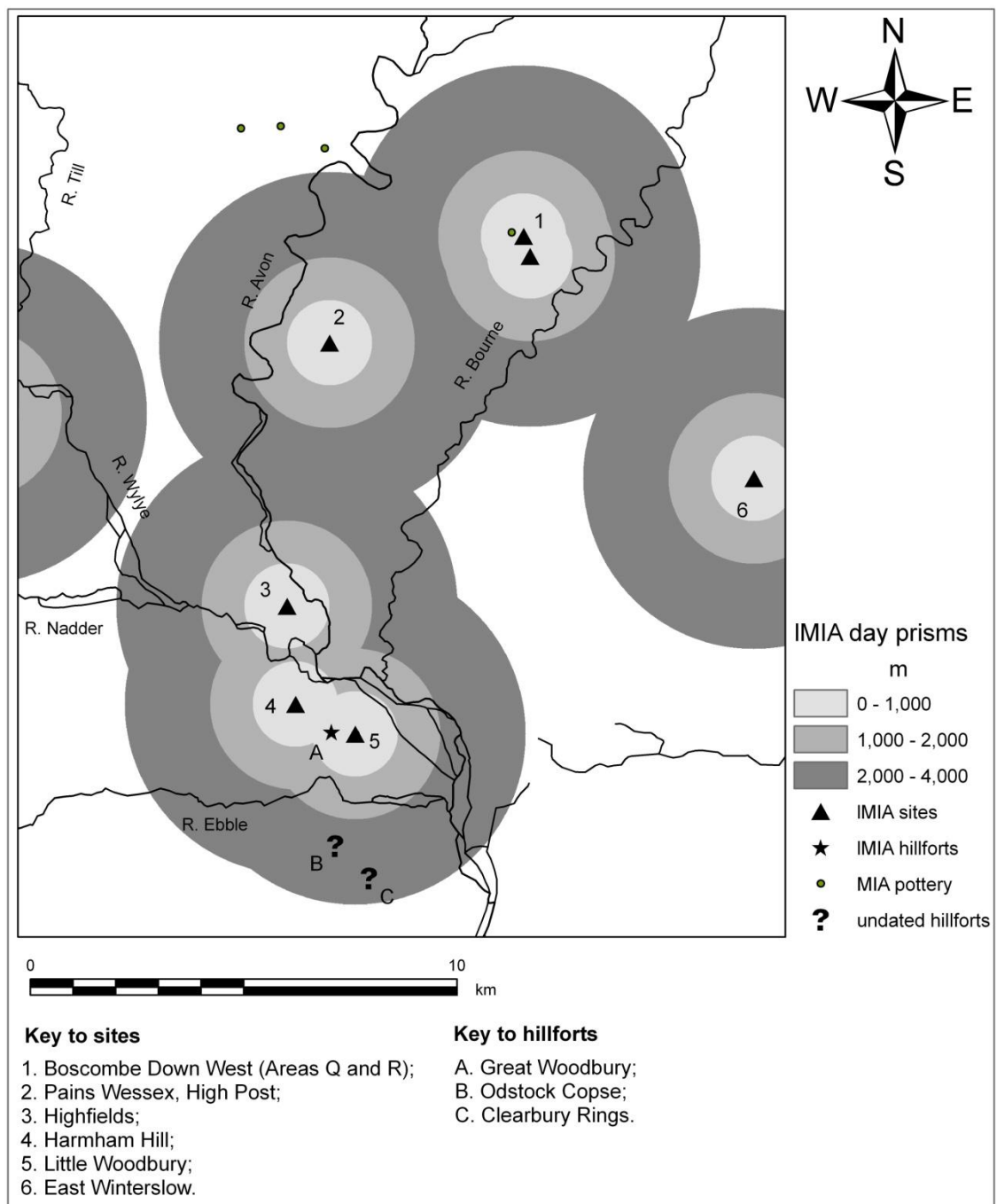


Figure 4.12- Middle Avon Valley late Middle Iron Age site activity-prisms.

Chapter 5 – North-east Salisbury Plain Training Area

The North-east Salisbury Plain Training Area (NESPTA) covers an area stretching from the central part of the Training Area through to the River Bourne bounded by the Vale of Pewsey in the north and Durrington and Bulford in the south. The Avon and the Bourne form the main watercourses, whilst the valley of the Nine Mile River extends northwards into the area although this modern winterbourne currently only flows from Brimmerston Down at the southern edge of the area. The highest part of the Salisbury Plain lies in the north of this area though the ridge between the Bourne and Nine Mile River valleys rises to 220m in one place where it was used to site Sidbury Camp. It is underlain by Upper Chalk and is one of the drier parts of the study area reflected by the lack of historical villages away from the river valleys. Most of the NESPTA lies in the military training area with live fire ranges to the north of Bulford and Larkhill. The stewardship of the army in this region has preserved many archaeological traces as upstanding earthworks but a lack of archaeological intervention has left most of these undated.

Previous research was mostly conducted by Maud Cunnington at a small number of high profile sites and its use as a military training ground has limited the amount of PPG16 excavation with the second lowest number of PPG16 sites in the study area. It has however been subjected to two large survey projects. The Wessex Linear Ditches Project (WLDP) (Bradley *et al* 1994) focused on the later Bronze Age in the southeast portion of the sub-region. The Settlements and Landscapes of Salisbury Plain Project (SLSP) (Fulford *et al* 2006) covered the sub-region as a whole and though it revealed several additional Bronze Age sites, it focused on the Iron Age and Romano-British period. These have more than made up for the lack of earlier or developer funded work and the NESPTA represents the third largest concentration of sites in the study area.

5.1 Land division

Large areas are covered by field systems with evidence for fields being constructed and reused throughout the period (Bradley *et al* 1994; McOmish *et al* 2002; Fulford *et al* 2006). Excavation of a field boundary at Dunch Hill produced Deverel-Rimbury Wares, suggesting a Middle Bronze Age date (Andrews 2006:54). Just to the north, a wheel rutted track beside another stretch of field boundary was sealed by Earliest Iron Age material and was taken to suggest a

Middle or Late Bronze Age provenance of the field boundary (Bradley *et al* 1994:49-50). At Lidbury Camp the Early Iron Age enclosure is constructed over fields which are also cut by a Late Bronze Age linear earthwork (McOmish *et al* 2002:56). Many of the field systems in the northern part of the area are thought to be Romano-British in date (Fulford *et al* 2006) although in some cases later cultivation has led to earlier fields being masked. Both Chisenbury Trendle and Lidbury Camp overlie earlier fields. Early to Late Iron Age pottery was recovered from most of the field lynchets around Chisenbury Warren suggesting that the fields originated in the Iron Age although their final overall form may result from the Romano-British period (*ibid.*:89). To the south of Netheravon Airfield on Figheldean Down lies a 1497ha block of fields where there is some evidence of later cultivation (McOmish *et al* 2002:63).

The NESPTA area has a particularly well developed linear earthwork system. Its eastern part is heavily demarcated by linears that run south from Snail Down to Beacon Hill. The northern part of this group divides the land into several small blocks. Five linear ditches focus on the hill upon which Sidbury Camp was constructed whilst the southern section lying between the Nine Mile River and the River Bourne consists of a few long stretches that create a small number of large blocks (Bradley *et al* 1994:19). Trenches across these ditches around Dunch Hill and Brimmerston Down at LDP092 and LDP098 produced small assemblages of later Bronze Age wares and only a single sherd of Iron Age pottery and were taken as evidence of their construction in the Late Bronze Age (*ibid.*:53-56). In some areas such as Snail Down or Tidworth Down it is clear that these ditches cut across earlier fields and at the Tidworth Golf Course asymmetrically sized lynchets either side of one linear suggest that cultivation continued on one side but not the other (McOmish *et al* 2002:54).

Another group of linears can be seen to run east-west along the 150m contour line around which most of the area's Early Iron Age settlement is situated. Transcription of aerial photographs around the Coombe Down North enclosures (Figure 5.1) shows a complicated palimpsest of field boundaries and enclosures. A track lies between enclosures SP042A and SP014A on an alignment mirrored by a modern path. A second track is situated at the termination of this, the enclosures forming its southern boundary (Fulford *et al* 2006:26). The fields are thought to be later than the enclosures but this is yet to be confirmed through excavation and some elements of field system and enclosures appear co-ordinated suggesting a degree of contemporaneity. The pattern of linear earthworks here is interesting in that they match the pattern of settlements with a general east-west alignment. Some but not all of the linears alluded to by McOmish, Field and Brown (2002:52) run along the edges of field blocks

or trackways and if we accept that these fields are Late Iron Age or Romano-British, in date as suggested by Fulford *et al* (2006), then it is tempting to assume that the linears may also date from this period. However, as seen on Coombe Down North, some of the major linear elements are co-ordinated with the settlements implying a degree of contemporaneity.

5.2 Settlements

Many sites in this region were identified by fieldwalking during the two major research projects but few have been excavated. A number of undated enclosures exist in and around the area of Dunch Hill which based on size and morphology are assigned a Middle Bronze Age date by the WLDP (Figure 5.2). The two paired enclosures LDP102A and LDP102B were probably two elements of the same settlement and along with sub-circular enclosure LDP108 produced Deverel-Rimbury pottery (Bradley *et al* 1994:139). Late Bronze Age settlement (Figure 5.3) is also attested through scatters of Plain Ware ceramics at The Pennings, (Raymond 2006: 106) and sites around Dunch Hill given the codes of LDP092, LDP102 and LDP112 (Bradley *et al* 1994:139; McOmish *et al* 2002:70-71). Several large Plain Ware assemblages were also collected to the east of the River Bourne just outside of this area (Raymond 2006:106).

The only excavated later Bronze Age site is Dunch Hill, at the head of the Nine Mile River and the seasonally flooded Bourne Bottom. Excavation of an 8m wide trench over a distance of 300m, uncovered four roundhouses with diameters ranging from 7-7.75m, two four-post structures, five fence lines, a number of small pits and other unassigned postholes (Andrews 2006). This excavation lies between two Plain Ware scatters at LDP081 and LDP103 which indicate the settlement covered a total area of 4-5ha. The small ceramic assemblage covered the Middle and Late Bronze Age, supported by radiocarbon dates from a nearby cremation at 1450-1210 cal BC and charcoal from a roundhouse at 1320-1000 cal BC (*ibid.*:71).

The midden deposit at East Chisenbury covers 3.5-4ha and is over 2m deep in places. It has been dated, by ceramics and a Llyn Fawr axe, to between 750-600BC (McOmish *et al* 2010:83-84). The midden is made up of organic rich, dark earth, containing large amounts of ceramics, animal and human bone, artefacts and inclusions of ash, charcoal and chalk to varying degrees. The majority of the deposit is formed by indistinct dumping episodes with ill-defined boundaries, distinguished by variation in the density of inclusions within the matrix. Analysis of the deposit suggests that the major component was sheep dung both burnt and decomposed (Macphail 2010). There are a series of chalk floors within the deposit and a

number of pits and post holes in association with two clay ovens at its base (McOmish 1996:73). Only 8m² has been excavated but yielded a rich array of finds including eleven spindle whorls, eleven pieces of worked bone, glass, amber and chalk beads and a shale armlet (Morris 2010). Over 8,000 sherds of pottery and a large animal bone assemblage of which 1,447 fragments were identifiable to species were also recovered.

There is evidence for a number of other Earliest Iron Age sites (Figure 5.4) but they are poorly understood with few structural elements. Morphologically similar sites are found around the Middle Avon and Wylve Valleys and it is probable that they represent the temporary camps of transhumant groups. In most cases they form the foundation for more permanent settlement in the Early Iron Age. The Coombe Down North SP14B enclosure was cut in an area containing two pits with Earliest Iron Age ceramics (Fulford *et al* 2006:30). At Everleigh (SP023) 27 sherds of Late Bronze Age Plain Ware were recovered whilst the Iron Age assemblage fitted well with a broad 8th – 5th century BC date (Raymond 2006:103). The ceramics recovered from the primary and secondary ditch silts were 7th–6th century BC in date (*ibid.*:93) implying that the site was enclosed in the Early Iron Age but the excavation did not extend into the compound to investigate the nature of the occupation. At Dunch Hill a midden consisting of Plain Ware and Early All Cannings Cross Wares was found overlying a trackway with wheel ruts although no associated settlement was identified (Bradley *et al* 1994:50). Elsewhere, Earliest Iron Age pottery is noted from Lidbury Camp though a lack of stratigraphic records prevents the actual relationship between this early pottery and the settlement being established (Raymond 1994:89). At the Knoll Plantation, Collingbourne Ducis a 2m x 2m test pit in a cropmark enclosure uncovered two sherds of pottery and a posthole (Anon 1997:153).

Most of the Early Iron Age sites (Figure 5.5) are situated on gentle slopes with a general southern aspect. Enclosure appears to be the norm though the potential for bias caused by their greater visibility in turn attracting excavation is highlighted by the construction of the track SPTA 10c. Excavation in advance of this 1.8m wide, 850m long pathway, revealed a total of 55 features 100m to the south of the Lidbury Camp enclosure. These included large and small pits, postholes, ditches, gullies and a hut circle appearing to represent an open settlement (Wessex Archaeology 1996a:i). The narrow width of the trackway restricted the number of features that could be excavated but one small pit produced Early and possibly Middle Iron Age ceramics along with a piece of worked Kimmeridge shale and a quantity of

animal bone (*ibid.*:3-4). The intensity of features in this area raises the possibility that it was part of an extensive area of open settlement.

The nearby enclosure at Lidbury Camp incorporates two lengths of linear earthwork into its circuit with only a short period of time passing between the construction of the ditches and the enclosure (Cunnington 1919:15). The enclosure ditch is substantial compared to other contemporary settlements leading some to classify it as a promontory fort along with the inference that this reflects the high status of its inhabitants (Cunliffe 1984a:18). Cunnington noted that the ceramics were later than the earliest phases at All Cannings Cross, were more abraded and in general had a higher proportion of coarse wares to fine wares than the former site (Cunnington 1919:22). Only eleven pits were discovered and most finds came from the enclosure ditch. Though no postholes were identified, this was not unusual based upon the standards of excavation at the time. The relationship between these nearby sites is unclear although as we become increasingly aware of extramural settlement outside a number of prominent enclosures it is tempting to see them as contemporary. An asymmetrical status relationship is possible between the two sites but this is not obvious in the material culture. Alternatively, the enclosure may have been associated with certain activities rather than actual settlement. This would explain the low density of features but its function does not appear to have been for grain storage as hypothesised for other such enclosures unless the excavator failed to identify a large number of four and six-post structures. A third option is that there is a chronological difference between the two sites, with the inhabitants of Lidbury Camp outgrowing the enclosure and moving to the south where there were no restrictions to growth.

Chisenbury Trench, enclosing an area of 2ha with east and west facing entrances is classified by some as a small hillfort (Grinsell 1957:265), though it is more appropriately defined as an enclosed settlement. Excavation of the bank uncovered two hearths, a loomweight and three spindle whorls, along with a quantity of All Cannings Cross-Meon Hill style ceramics that appeared to have been freshly broken prior to burial during the bank's construction (Cunnington 1932:3). The site overlies an earlier field system and parch marks just outside the boundary appear to denote the presence of pits, suggesting an earlier open phase (McOmish *et al* 2002:69).

The 27.5ha hillfort at Casterley Camp is dated to the Late Iron Age although three Early Iron Age pits were also identified (Cunnington and Cunnington 1913:77). This may reflect a small settlement but the standard of excavation at the time was not sufficient to confirm

this. A similar problem exists with the two sites alternately grouped under the heading of 'south of Rowden Castle' or 'south west of Upavon Aerodrome' from which amateur archaeologists recovered a quantity of Early Iron Age ceramics and other artefacts (Grinsell 1957:69).

A trial trench across the 100m diameter sub-circular Watchkeeper UAV enclosure on Upavon Airfield recovered sherds of 5th-4th century BC pottery from slumped bank material and Middle Iron Age ceramics were found in the deposits above this layer (Wessex Archaeology 2007:5-6). Nine pits were revealed but none were excavated and geophysical examination identified a large number of pits suggesting intensive activity within the enclosure. Excavation of a 180m diameter sub-circular enclosure to the north of Widdington Farm (SP052) produced a number of Early Iron Age sherds from the primary silts of the ditch though it appears to have continued in use through to the early Middle Iron Age (Raymond 2006:93).

Coombe Down has a number of areas of activity; Coombe Down North has three interconnected enclosures (SP014A, SP014B and SP042A) whilst a bivallate enclosure is situated 500m to their east at Coombe Down South (SP009). The Coombe Down North enclosure SP014A covers an area of about 1.9ha. Excavation of this ditch uncovered two earlier, smaller ditches within the line of the later boundary. The earliest of these small ditches produced a small assemblage of Late Bronze Age Plain Ware ceramics whilst the large enclosure ditch contained a beaded rim from a developed saucepan pot that was prevalent from 310BC onwards (Raymond 2006:98-99). A second enclosure, SP014B lay inside of SP014A. This ditch cut a small pit containing Earliest Iron Age material with a second larger Earliest Iron Age pit located on the inside of the ditch (Fulford *et al* 2006:30). Amongst the ceramics from this ditch was a tripartite-shouldered long necked bowl from the 6th century implying an Early Iron Age date (Raymond 2006:100). The Coombe Down North SP042A enclosure lies adjacent to SP014A and covers an area of about 1.4ha. A small scale excavation recovered Late Bronze Age to Middle Iron Age sherds from the enclosure which was given a Middle Iron Age construction date (Fulford *et al* 2006:30; Raymond 2006:98).

The SP009 Coombe Down South enclosure covers 4ha and is bivallate for two thirds of its circuit. A geophysical survey shows a number of small ditches running between the inner and outer ditches. There are concentrations of pits, along with apparently empty areas giving the impression of a well ordered site with functional divisions (Fulford *et al* 2006:33). It was established as an open settlement during the Early Iron Age, undergoing enclosure late in the

period and continuing in use into the early part of the Middle Iron Age (Figure 5.6) (Raymond 2006:100). The inner ditch, at 5m wide and 4m deep was a substantial barrier. The smaller outer ditch with its subdivisions guided people through a number of zones prior to entry of the settlement. This was probably connected to the corralling and management of animals immediately outside of the main area of habitation (Fulford *et al* 2006:41). The site was apparently abandoned during the 3rd century BC and remained unoccupied until the Romano-British period (Fulford *et al* 2006:41).

Sidbury Camp sits at the junction of six linear earthworks, suggesting that it was superimposed at the apex of a number of pre-existing territories (Bradley *et al* 1994:39). A cut across the inner bank indicated two phases of construction. At the base of the second lay a band of charcoal with a small pit that produced ceramics dated to around 250BC (Megaw 1967:116). The first phase of construction is undated, but All Cannings Cross wares were recovered from primary contexts in the surrounding linear earthworks, raising the possibility of Early Iron Age settlement in the area (Bradley *et al* 1994:89). Certainly there is a lot of activity in this period connected with the surrounding linear earthworks. The second ditch of the linear that approaches Sidbury from the north was dug during the Early Iron Age and other of the linears show evidence for recuts at this time (*ibid*:143). The double linear heads towards the contemporary enclosure at Everleigh while another is situated on nearby Snail Down. Middle-Late Iron Age pottery was recovered from tree throws and animal disturbance within the two rectangular enclosures that constitute the Snail Down site (Figure 5.7) (Fulford *et al* 2006:45). Late Middle Iron Age ceramics were recovered from Chisenbury Field Barn suggesting a date after 250BC with occupation continuing into the Late Iron Age (Raymond 2006:93). Of similar age are the banjo enclosures that lie to the south-west of Beach's Barn where large quantities of Middle Iron Age to Romano-British ceramics were found (Fulford *et al* 2006:51; Harding 2007). At Church Ditches a 50m x 50m square enclosure was excavated by the Piggotts producing Middle Iron Age sherds from the primary silts (Grinsell 1957:99). The excavation remains unpublished but what appears to be a hut scoop lies 20m to the east of the enclosure raising the possibility that it replaced an earlier open settlement (McOmish *et al* 2002:91). In the Avon Valley, field walking over the Romano-British site to the north of Fifield Folly (SP130) also recovered quantities of Middle Iron Age pottery indicating the presence of a settlement (Fulford *et al* 2006:22).

5.3 Nature of habitation

A full breakdown of artefacts recovered from sites in the NESPTA can be found in Appendix 1.3. With only a single excavated Bronze Age site we have at best a partial view of this period. Artefactual evidence suggests spinning and weaving at some Late Bronze Age sites. Two loomweights were recovered from Dunch Hill (Andrews 2006:57-59), whilst two loomweight fragments and two spindle whorls were discovered during fieldwalking Late Bronze Age ceramic scatters from the Shipton Plantation. A further spindle whorl was also recovered from amongst the scatter of Plain Ware pottery from Furze Hill (Allen and Seagar Smith 2006:122).

For the Iron Age there is an increase in the amount of evidence for craftwork. Like all of the middens, East Chisenbury produced a lot of evidence for spinning with eleven spindle whorls. A worked bone assemblage of two bone awls, eight points and three blades could indicate leather working. The lack of loomweights, bone shuttles or combs may reflect the small area excavated (Morris 2010). Other Iron Age sites in this area have produced a small but consistent number of loomweights, spindle whorls and worked bone that might be associated with the secondary products of animals. Lidbury, the most extensively excavated of the sites in this sub-region, produced ten loomweights, one spindle whorl and ten bone implements (Cunnington 1919). Three spindle whorls and one loomweight were recovered from Chisenbury Trendle (Cunnington 1932). A limited amount of evidence for metal working was also recovered with iron slag coming from Lidbury Camp (Cunnington 1919) and the Middle Iron Age deposits at Coombe Down South (Andrews and Sim 2006:130). Overall metal finds were few and far between whilst exotic items were restricted to two sites. Amber and glass beads along with a shale armlet were found at East Chisenbury and three pieces of Kimmeridge shale from Lidbury Camp and a single piece from the site to its south.

The lack of modern excavations limits the amount that we can say about animal management regimes. At Dunch Hill the assemblage was too small for meaningful discussion but included the remains from the major domesticated species along with a roe deer metatarsal (Smith 2006). The only sites with substantial bone assemblages are East Chisenbury and Coombe Down South (Appendix 1.1). The East Chisenbury midden deposit is by far the largest containing 1446 bones identifiable to species. A quantity of neonatal lambs were identified implying that sheep were lambled on site, with 34% of sheep killed by the age of 6 months (Serjeantson *et al* 2010:64). The sheep profiles matched the model for milk production, though a mix of milk and meat seems most likely (*ibid.*). The cattle figures only

show one animal making it to maturity but due to the smaller number of cattle mandibles recovered this figure is to be treated with more caution (*ibid.*). When the figures are extrapolated over the 100 year period of the site's life it appears that 2550 adult sheep, 1250 lambs, 600 cattle and 450 pigs were being slaughtered annually (*ibid.*:63). The estimated meat yield would have been able to feed a fulltime population of at least 756 (Bagust 1996:67). As the major component of the deposit was sheep dung both burnt and decomposed, we can be sure that many sheep were brought on to the site on a regular basis. A lack of pig faeces at East Chisenbury is matched by much lower numbers of pig bones than at the other midden sites but the absence of cow and horse dung is not and we must assume that these were raised off site. East Chisenbury attests to the importance of animals, particularly sheep during the Earliest Iron Age. The figures suggest that there was a significant influx of sheep and presumably people at certain periods of the year. The size of the slaughter would infer the existence of herds that would exceed the capacity of the immediate environs of East Chisenbury. It fits the data from elsewhere that a transhumant regime was being practiced and in this case East Chisenbury formed a more permanent settlement in the system.

At Coombe Down South, sheep/goat accounted for 58% of the Early Iron Age assemblage compared to 31% for cattle and 11% for pig (Powell *et al* 2006:181). Over time sheep/goat and pig reduce to 47% and 8% whilst cattle numbers increase to 45%. It is unusual to see the cattle numbers increase at the expense of sheep but the figures fall within the range identified by Hambleton for Wessex (1999:46). The cattle numbers include few young or old animals with the majority killed off in their third year, suggesting that the herd was mainly exploited for meat rather than secondary products (Powell *et al* 2006:182-4). The age profile for sheep implies a mixed meat/wool regime (*ibid.*:189).

The lack of excavation presents similar problems when it comes to look at arable regimes. A small assemblage of five emmer and twelve barley grains were recovered from Dunch Hill (Hinton 2006). Samples from East Chisenbury show the presence of both wheat and barley along with wheat glume bases indicative of small scale processing, though an alternative is that it represented stable waste from a byre (Carruthers 2010). In addition a large legume fragment, probably from a Celtic bean, and three apple/pear pips were identified giving some hint of a broader diet.

5.4 Landscape and society

When dealing with the settlement distribution in this area we must be aware that a large part of it lies in the military training area and whilst features such as enclosures are known they are undated. Historically a lack of water has led to this area being farmed from villages in the Avon valley. After Parliamentary enclosure, field barns were constructed to compensate for the distances being travelled but unlike other parts of the Salisbury Plain no farms were established here and there is little evidence for most of this area ever having seen settlement (McOmish *et al* 2002:119). Open settlements are known amongst the NESPTA group, usually underlying settlements that were later enclosed such as Chisenbury Trendle or Casterley Camp. We have few PPG16 excavations and the research projects have tended to focus on readily identifiable enclosures meaning that open settlements are probably under represented.

Later Bronze Age settlement is mostly situated along the hills overlooking the Bourne Valley with the north and western areas apparently empty. In part this reflects the concentration of research by the WLDP but the sites discovered by the SLSP also tended to be located in the eastern area. Later farming may have masked some Bronze Age sites; at Lodbury, there are hints of earlier activity whilst around Dunch Hill a lack of Iron Age, Romano-British and medieval activity may account for site visibility. Investigation of the Bronze Age is hindered by a lack of excavation but the pattern allows us to make some observations. Later Bronze Age sites are located along the Nile Mile River Valley. The Middle Bronze Age settlements are all within 1km of at least one other settlement (Figure 5.8), although it is possible that Dunch Hill is later than the other two. This pattern continues into the Late Bronze Age (Figure 5.9) and although the Pennings site is a little further away it still shares a 1-2km activity-prism with Dunch Hill and LDP102. All of the sites maintain a close relationship with water, implying that they were specialized units concerned with the management of sheep or small numbers of cattle (McOmish *et al* 2002:70-71). The density of settlement in contrast to the empty north and west indicates that proximity to neighbours was not an issue and may even have been actively pursued. The overall pattern indicates a community that pursued proximity presumably due to the benefits that this entailed in terms of labour, security and sociality. Potentially there were blood connections between these households and with sites so close we might infer that the fields in this region were a patchwork of tenure. There would have been regular interaction between households and the shared knowledge and affinity that arise from such encounters. Without more excavation we are not able to comment on the

relative wealth or status of the sites but Dunch Hill covering an area of 4-5ha appears to have been successful either in terms of being long-lived or as a large settlement. This is much larger than those of nearby and earlier settlements suggesting that Dunch Hill represents a significant departure. It probably represents several extended families living together over a number of generations in an open settlement. The implication is that these were strongly bonded households and their relationship with the wider community meant that they felt little need to divide themselves from it by enclosing their settlement.

The start of a large process of broad landscape reorientation can be seen as initiated through the construction of a series of linear earthworks around the eastern part of this sub-region. These are associated with Plain Ware ceramics and so may have been constructed by the inhabitants of sites such as Dunch Hill but there is little evidence for occupation continuing much after their construction. Only a single Iron Age sherd was recovered from the ditches in this area whilst the midden at Dunch Hill consists of three Early All Cannings Cross sherds mixed with 291 sherds of Plain Ware (Bradley *et al* 1994:50). Whilst the Plain Ware assemblage is doubtless connected with the sprawling Dunch Hill settlement it is not certain that the All Cannings Cross Ware is and may result from a later revisitation of the site.

The WLDP's interpretation of the ditches in this area was that they represented the formalization of pre-existing territories although this was short lived as they coincide with the final phase of settlement. Their suggestion is that this reflects the growth of territories beyond that of the individual settlements leading to displacement (Bradley *et al* 1994:137). The exact location of the new settlements is not stated though there are several hints to the use of Sidbury Camp (*ibid.*). Broader interpretations of linear earthworks vary but there are two main camps attributing territorial (Cunliffe 1991:35; Ford 1982; McOmish *et al* 2002:64) or economic functions (Arnold 1972; Bowen 1978:120; Brück 2007:31). The WLDP takes the former position though it seems more likely that with the large scale abandonment of settlement in this area shortly after, an economic function may be more appropriate indicating a broad change in land use. The linear earthworks divide the land into blocks of pasture and facilitate the movement of animals across the downs and towards the Bourne and Nine Mile Rivers. The construction date of Sidbury Camp is unknown but its position in the linear system makes it tempting to see it built soon after them probably in the Earliest Iron Age. This would match sites situated on linear ditch networks such as Danebury, Martinsell and Quarley Hill. If this is the case, the first phase construction may have been much slighter, possibly palisaded as at Quarley Hill (Hawkes 1939:168-169). If Sidbury was constructed early in this sequence

then there is no reason not to believe Cunliffe's hypothesis that similar to these sites it fulfilled some role in communal stock management (2004:69).

Later Bronze Age settlement was mostly situated on the ridge overlooking the Bourne Valley with no settlements identified to the northwest. The switch into the Earliest Iron Age shows a reorientation of this system with a more dispersed pattern to the north (Figure 5.11). East Chisenbury dominates the sub-region in this period and is more usually compared with sites such as Potterne and All Cannings Cross in the Vale of Pewsey. The other contemporary sites in the NESPTA are much simpler affairs with few physical structures so far identified at any of them and in comparison it could be argued that East Chisenbury represented an elite centre in terms of scale and finds. It is clearly larger than a mere farmstead whilst the other sites are of a much more temporary nature and may have had subsidiary functions in relation to it. The distribution pattern is evenly spread with sites set at about 4km from each other. The settlement make-up initially supports the idea that this region was being exploited for animals but this is one of the driest parts of the region with little access to water between the two major valleys. The question of water supply is very pertinent on this area of Salisbury Plain and it appears unlikely that the historical use of dew ponds extended back to the Iron Age whilst they are also considered insufficient for watering cattle (see Gingell 1992:3). Ponds are found in a number of locations across the downs usually in conjunction with Romano-British villages, most pertinently in this case to the south of the Romano-British village on Coombe Down South. Their association is however with Romano-British features rather than Iron Age and on current knowledge we believe that most ponds date from this period (McOmish *et al* 2002:10). The depression within Lidbury Camp is a prime candidate for an Iron Age pond but upon excavation it was found to lack a clay lining or signs of puddling that would signify its use as a pond (Cunnington 1919:13). It also fails to retain water today. Wells are not widely known in the area prior to the Romano-British period (Field 1999:31) although the Middle Bronze Age Wilsford shaft is hypothesised as a well (Ashbee *et al* 1989:150), as is an unexcavated shaft found to the north east of Knook Castle that produced Earliest Iron Age pottery from its upper fills (Ellis and Powell 2008:174); possibly this area was used to rear sheep, which have a lower water requirement than other animals.

Apart from East Chisenbury, the sites could be temporary habitations for people managing animals or even as the Prehistoric equivalent of field barns, used to store equipment and shelter works during inclement weather. This pattern is also apparent in other downland areas such as the Wylde Valley. There is evidence to suggest that East Chisenbury was engaged

in a dairy regime and that the build up of byre material resulted from the regular stabling waste of sheep brought in for milking (Serjeantson 2007). This is the principle reason for the build up of material though there are questions as to why this rich source of manure was not dispersed onto fields. Brück suggests that set against a background where control over trade networks has been superseded by control over agricultural output, the accumulation of the middens at Potterne and East Chisenbury acted as stores of fertility which were symbolically augmented by the inclusion of human remains (Brück 1995:262). Whilst this is self evident it does not explain why this store of fertility was never used unless we conclude that there was some form of competition in their creation and maintenance. A more functional answer would be that with the nearby fields devoted to pasture for dairy animals there were no nearby arable fields for the manure to be easily transported to. It is clear that East Chisenbury, along with the other midden sites, represents a huge escalation in agricultural output. Huge numbers of animals must have been managed to support the annual slaughter, something that is compounded by the number of large midden sites that are known in the area. These numbers are beyond the management capabilities of a few households or even a single community. We must see this as the product of several communities stretching beyond the boundary of this sub-region. It is the culmination of a process of large scale settlement and landscape reorganization with East Chisenbury acting as the sedentary centre of a transhumant regime. With a concentration of population it provided fertile grounds for the exchange of knowledge and craft technology, although which crafts took place there were quite selective. Turning wool into spun yarn was a core practice at all of the middens in terms of the material culture that has been recovered but there is less evidence for weaving. At East Chisenbury this is reflected by nine spindle whorls versus no artefacts associated with weaving.

Whether there was a difference in status between the people that lived and worked at East Chisenbury is unclear, but it would be strange if there wasn't. In terms of exotic goods it was very rich and pieces of amber and Kimmeridge shale were recovered along with a glass bead. This shows that the site was able to acquire exotics that had travelled long distances. The site's status would also have been based upon its role at the heart of its community as a repository of knowledge and a centre of craft production but the short-lived nature of the settlement, perhaps as little as 100 years would imply that either this was not successfully transferred generation upon generation or that its relationship with its neighbours was much more dynamic.

The pattern of Early Iron Age settlement builds upon that of the preceding period. Most are situated along the 150m contour and there is a close relationship with the linear earthwork system (Figure 5.12). The regular arrangement of settlement across this region connected by earthworks would be a very visual manifestation of the texturing process identified by Evans (2003:87). It would create clear divisions of north/south, up/down and draw the eye to the east and west towards the valleys. Several Early Iron Age settlements are constructed upon the fleeting remains of Earliest Iron Age camps. These undoubtedly originated from periods of pause taken during journeys connected to the management of animals. The patterns of pause were informed by the material remains that were left behind at the end of these visits that created visual markers for the next stay (Evans 2003:81). Over time the repeated stays made these locations suitable for more permanent settlements and they then move from seasonal to year round usage. None show evidence for habitation on the same scale as East Chisenbury and it appears that the population dispersed out from this centre.

Most Early Iron Age settlements are situated within 2km of at least one other site and many are within 1km (Figure 5.13). The only exception to this is Sidbury hillfort lying just over 2km away from the Everleigh settlement however this is not an unusual relationship when compared with those in the Middle Avon Valley to the south. This proximity raises the likelihood of interaction and co-operation between them in a number of the tasks undertaken during the annual agricultural regime. Only Widdington Farm is located within 1km of surface water although the Watchkeeper UAV site at Upavon Airfield, Rowden Castle, Chisenbury Trendle and Longstreet Down enclosures are all within 2km. Of the other enclosures Coombe Down North is 4.3km and Coombe Down South 4.5km from surface water. The latter sites raise an interesting problem and belong to a handful of settlements that lie more than 4km from surface water. Studies of agricultural practice show that 4km tends to be the furthest that you would move animals to pasture from a home base on a daily basis due because of the time limits that it would place upon those activities. If we assume that there were no alternative sources of water available but that there was a higher water table and a wetter climate we would expect these sites to be at the edge of the 4km zone. This would mean that the occupants of these sites would have to travel up to 4km to obtain water for themselves and their livestock. This is a long daily trek for people to undertake even using a horse and cart to carry the water, because it takes people away from other tasks. A daily drive of animals for more than 4km to water and then the same distance back is also counterproductive because

all the time they are being driven they are burning calories and are not eating. It is also relevant to note that whilst sheep need less water than cattle, and get most of their water requirements from their feed, they do still require to be watered on a daily basis during dry summers.

Evidence from Britford (Wessex Archaeology 1997) and Winterbourne Dauntsey (Stone 1934:451) in the Middle Avon Valley noted the coincidence of linear earthworks with tracks. At Dunch Hill the WLDP found a wheel-rutted track topped with Late Bronze and Early Iron Age material alongside one linear earthwork (Bradley *et al* 1994:50). A similar situation at Quarley Hill led CFC Hawkes to observe that the linear earthworks formed ‘a boundary when thought of transversely, a road when thought of lengthways’ (1939:147). The study of these features has focused upon their role as boundaries and barriers, neglecting their role as redirecting and structuring movement. Elsewhere I have argued that the construction of linear earthworks through the complex field systems would have acted to open up the landscape and promote movement at the end of the Late Bronze Age (Tullett 2010). In the northern part of the NESPTA the earthworks are mostly congruous with the fields and in some cases seem to mark the edge of some blocks. This pattern changes in the area of Beach’s Barn on the way to joining the linears on Haxton Down that in turn join the Sidbury North double linear. These cut across earlier fields and direct movement up to the hillfort at Sidbury. If we accept that the major linear elements are contemporary with the Iron Age settlements then the settlements themselves are situated along trackways that connect them with each other and the Avon valley to the Bourne. Subsidiary elements structure movement in a secondary fashion, southwest to northeast or from lower land with evidence of field systems to higher rougher pasture where evidence for fields is patchier. Initially it is tempting to think of these in the terms of the medieval strip parishes that are preserved all over this part of Wiltshire, but this would be erroneous as the settlements in the centre are excluded from the water bearing valleys. We might expect the occupants to traverse these tracks every day as they go and fetch water for their domestic needs along with journeys connected to other activities. This would take them past their neighbours allowing the opportunity for interaction, the exchange of news and gossip, reinforcing the feeling of shared locality. They would be vital to the maintenance of the community in this sub-region. These journeys would be activity driven and probably divided along age and gender lines (Brück and Goodman 1999:12). They would define which members of the community commonly encountered each other and would vary contact over the course of the agricultural calendar and the lifetimes of the travellers.

Cunliffe sees Lidbury Camp as a possible high status enclosure (Cunliffe 1984a:18). This is principally based upon the scale of the defences, but the only Early Iron Age sites that produced exotic material were Lidbury Camp with three fragments of Kimmeridge shale and the area to the south of Lidbury, which produced a single fragment of shale. Lidbury Camp also produced ten loomweights compared to solitary finds at Chisenbury Trendle, Coombe Down North and Coombe Down South. Along with five bone shuttles, this suggests that weaving was important, although the recovery of a single spindle whorl could indicate that it was situated further along the *chaîne opératoire* than sites such as Chisenbury Trendle or Coombe Down South. It was one of two sites (the other was Coombe Down South) that produced evidence for iron working during this period. All this evidence could be taken to support Cunliffe's supposition but if it was an aristocratic centre it was short-lived and was conceivably superseded by its neighbouring open site. Overall the large number of finds recovered from Lidbury Camp probably reflects the larger area that was excavated; 675m² compared to 250m² at Coombe Down South and 166m² at Coombe Down North.

Accepting that some communities and cultures reflected their identity through material culture such as ceramics (Hodder 1982:186), the situation of Sidbury at the edge of a ceramic style zone might imply that it was placed at the edge of a cultural group (Cunliffe 2000:177-181; Fulford *et al* 2006: 200). The construction of a hillfort in such a location could be taken to imply some military function and if so it may have been successful because there is little change in the line of the ceramic style zone during the Iron Age in this area. Sidbury was constructed upon a linear earthwork and whilst this could be seen as a political boundary it is usually taken as the best example of a spinal and subsidiary linear earthwork arrangement for the division of land into individual agricultural units. This supports the notion that its original construction may have resulted from some requirement of the community's agricultural policy. It is not at the heart of an area of settlement but rather at the edge of it and is unlikely to have fulfilled a role for the centralized storage and redistribution of products from the community. A lack of excavation however prevents us from seeing whether it was intensively occupied perhaps usurping the primacy of East Chisenbury. It could be taken that this area partly fits Sharples' militaristic model of society but with the protection offered by Sidbury allowing normal settlement to blossom in its shadow.

The dense settlement in this area does not fit the pattern of dispersed settlement that Hill suggests for his model. The situation is more similar to that of the Upper Thames Valley (Chapter Nine) and the regular contact and interaction experienced by its members would

negate Hill's requirement for a hillfort to facilitate the interaction and social reproduction of unfamiliar households. The existence of a hillfort in the area supports the idea that social reproduction is not the sole function of these sites and that further explanation would be required for their absence from the Upper Thames Valley. Settlement is denser to its west than its east. It is highly likely that much of the land along the western side of the Bourne Valley was exploited from Sidbury which it defended from incursion from across the valley.

By the beginning of the Middle Iron Age a number of the settlements such as Lidbury Camp, Casterley and Everleigh have fallen out of use. Widdington Farm, the Watchkeeper UAV site and the Coombe Down enclosures continue in use whilst it is possible that settlement continues to the south of Lidbury. The distribution of sites retains its general pattern of occupation along the 150m contour. These are more spaced out with only the Coombe Down enclosures being within 1km of each other (Figure 5.14). There is little to suggest that the mode of interaction between the settlements has changed from the earlier period but by the second half of this period this layout has completely changed. None of the settlements that had been occupied during the Early Iron Age were still occupied by the latter part of the Middle Iron Age (Figure 5.15) though the settlement to the west of Chisenbury Field Barn is only several hundred metres to the south of the enclosures at Chisenbury Trendle and Watchkeeper UAV. They are further spaced out with all but Church Ditches being around 4km from its neighbours. All seem to have unchallenged access to land within a 2km radius and land in their 2-4km activity-prisms lying in the valleys. That the sites themselves are established on previously unsettled locations is a clear statement that this is a break with the traditions of the past and unlike the previous model there are no clear well travelled routes linking them together. It does not preclude contact and interaction between them but suggests that the underlying rationale for this contact will have changed along with the regularity, intensity and affinity generated through it. The even distribution of sites suggests a complete reorientation of the landscape with land tenure moving into private hands. During the Earliest Iron Age the land required to rear so many animals was in general ownership and as settlements fossilized out of transhumant camps in the Early Iron Age it is probable that it remained under group control rather than instantly moving to individuals. The regular interaction between these sites would have kept the community ethos strong. The static settlement pattern into the early part of the Middle Iron Age meant the land continued to be worked by the same households, generation after generation. This potentially created a situation where land was nominally controlled by the community but in reality was popularly

considered as privately owned. The later Middle Iron Age shows a complete break with previous concepts of landholding in this region, perhaps with a rationalization on a par with that of parliamentary enclosure. We see a pattern of independent settlements potentially with unrivalled access to land although without any of the sites having been excavated it is unclear whether this would have been a reality or a desire. It represents a weakening of the influence of the community. As contact between these groups reduces, weakening the bonds and affinity between households, the community's loss of control over certain resources would also reduce its influence over the households. The late Middle Iron Age pattern accords with Hill's model, but it is clear that the hillfort at Sidbury had been long established by this point. This is not to deny that the function of Sidbury was open to change throughout its lifetime and it is possible that during the later stages of the Middle Iron Age it fulfilled a role that facilitated the social reproduction of the community.

5.5 Summary

The NESPTA is the smallest sub-region covered in this thesis but has a wealth of information available for it. The majority of this results from two projects organized by the University of Reading. The control of the land by the Ministry of Defence has restricted development of the area and as a result very little work has been undertaken under PPG16. That said it has led to the discovery of important open settlements at Dunch Hill and to the south of Lidbury Camp.

For the later Bronze Age settlement is mostly situated on the ridge overlooking the Bourne Valley and Nine Mile River Valleys. Settlement is closely spaced along this ridge with proximity suggesting a close community, engaged in a mixed agricultural regime. Towards the end of the Late Bronze Age there is a complete reorientation of the landscape. The traditional area of mixed agriculture in the eastern and southern part of this sub-region is overlain by a series of long linear earthworks. Settlement abates in this area soon after and we see a large centre established at East Chisenbury. These reflect a change in the main drive of the agricultural regime from sedentary mixed agriculture to transhumant mixed agriculture where the management of large numbers of animals is central to the economy. The scale of the animal and human numbers indicated by East Chisenbury shows that we are dealing with large herds and presumably land managed at the level of the community.

Several small camps connected with this transhumant system are established but during the Early Iron Age grow into settlements in their own right. This coincides with the

abandonment of East Chisenbury and a shift away from transhumant to more sedentary mixed agriculture. The landscape and settlement pattern in the Early Iron Age still indicates that there was regular contact between members of the community, a pattern that continues into the early part of the Middle Iron Age. Contact and interaction would have taken place along the series of linear earthworks that connected the sites through shared agricultural activities. The landscape is completely reorganized by the late Middle Iron Age with the settlement pattern appearing to indicate a shift in landholding systems. This reflects a weakening in the strength of the community in favour of the household.

Sidbury, the only hillfort in the sub-region, is situated at the heart of one system of linear earthworks and may have been established to facilitate a communal programme of animal management. Its positioning is clearly tactical and situated on the Wiltshire side of a ceramic boundary it probably also fulfilled a military and possibly trade role. Sheltering a pattern of quite dense settlement to its west, it is not central to the community and therefore unlike either Hill or Cunliffe's models. A variety of functions would best explain its role not least that it was a defended settlement that exploited the resources along the eastern margin of the sub-region and protected those to its west.

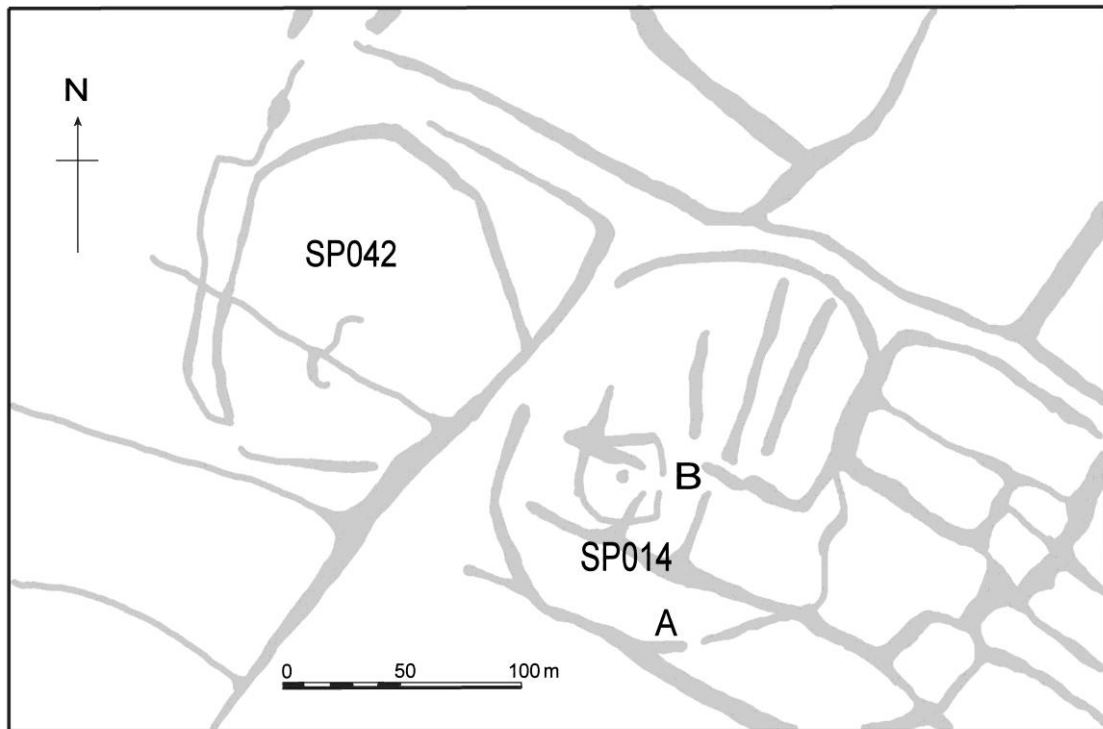


Figure 5.1- Cropmarks around the Coombe Down North enclosure complex (after Fulford et al 2006:26).

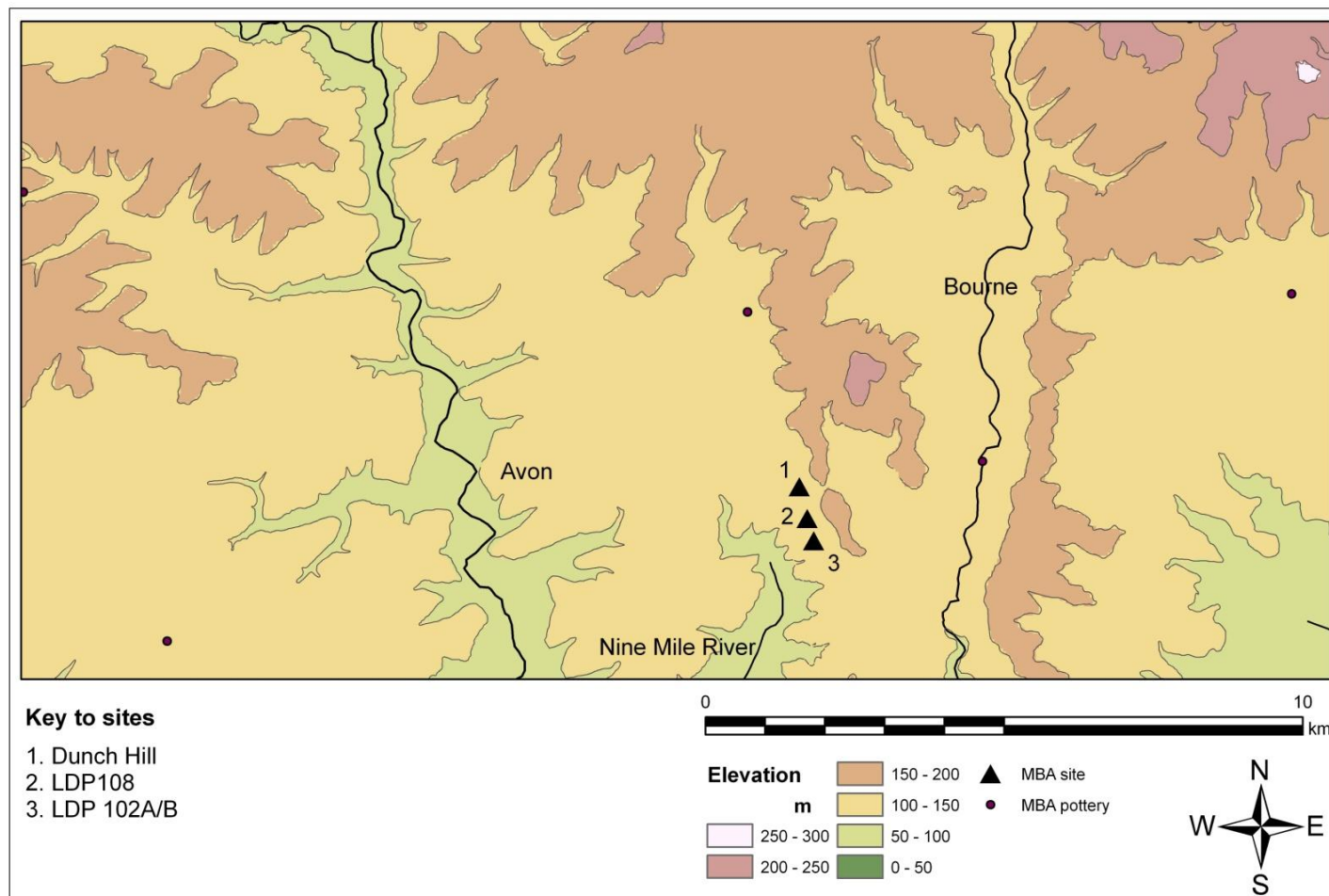


Figure 5.2- Middle Bronze Age sites in the NESPTA.

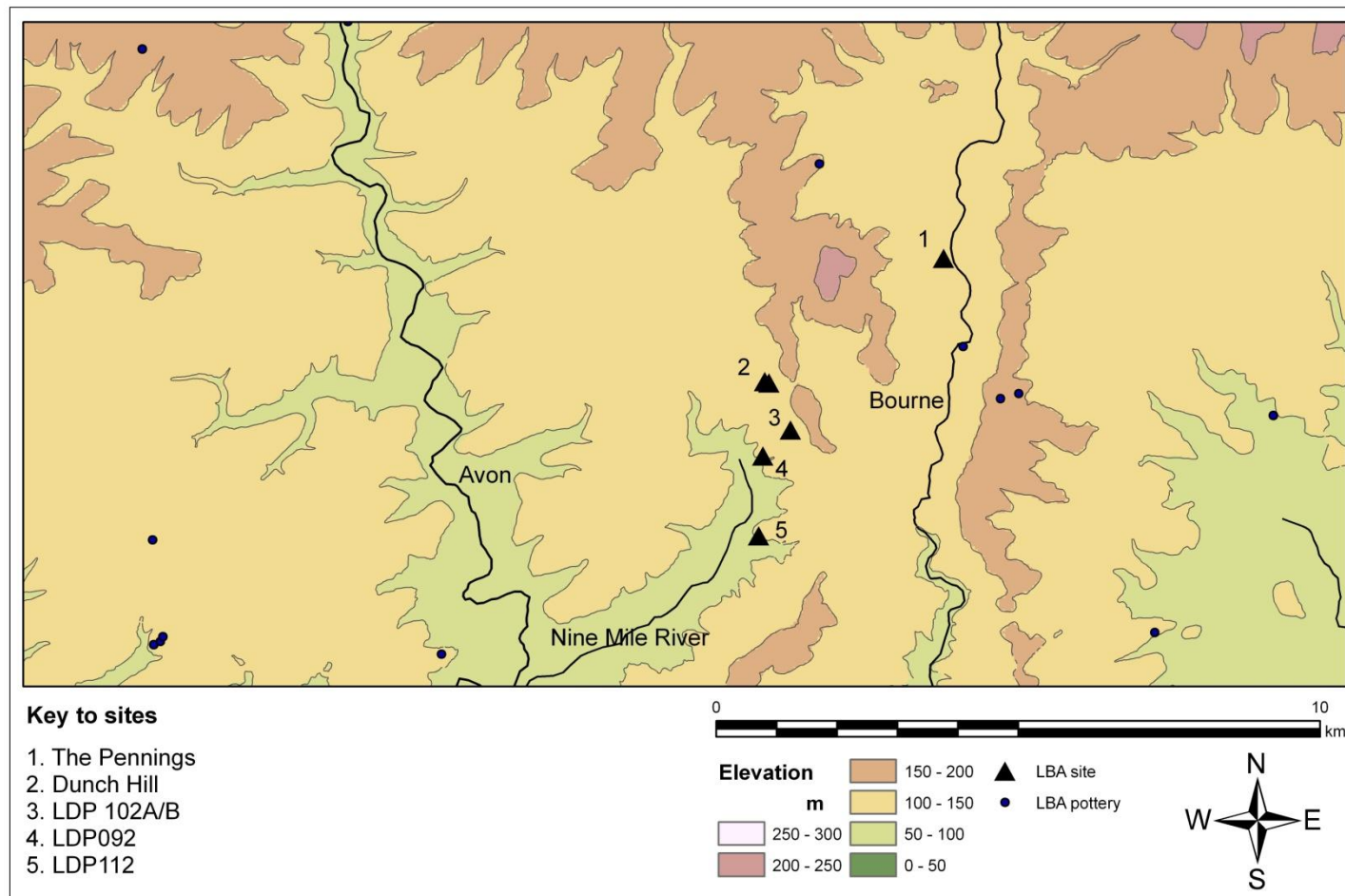


Figure 5.3- Late Bronze Age sites in the NESPTA.

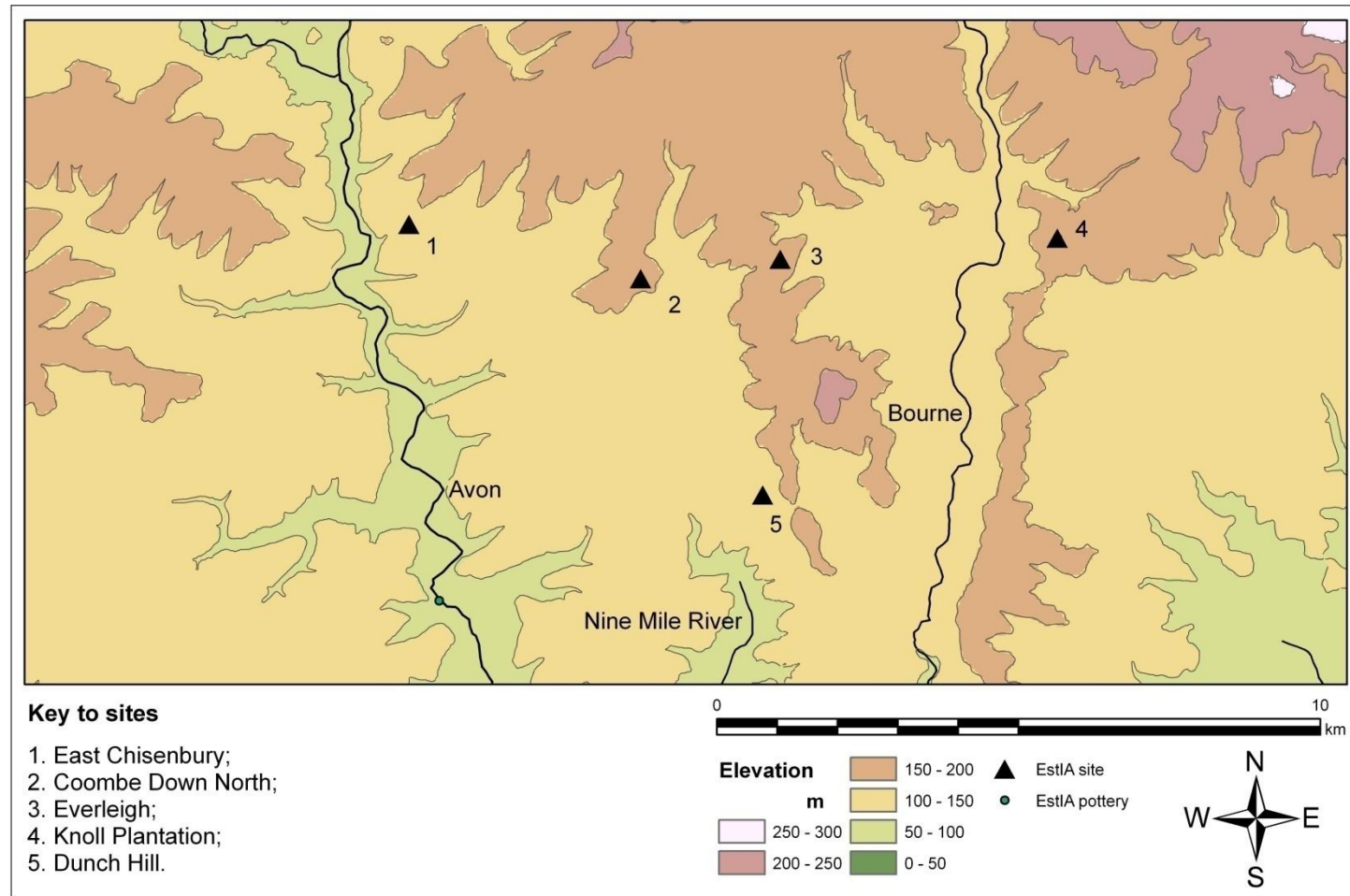


Figure 5.4- Earliest Iron Age sites in the NESPTA

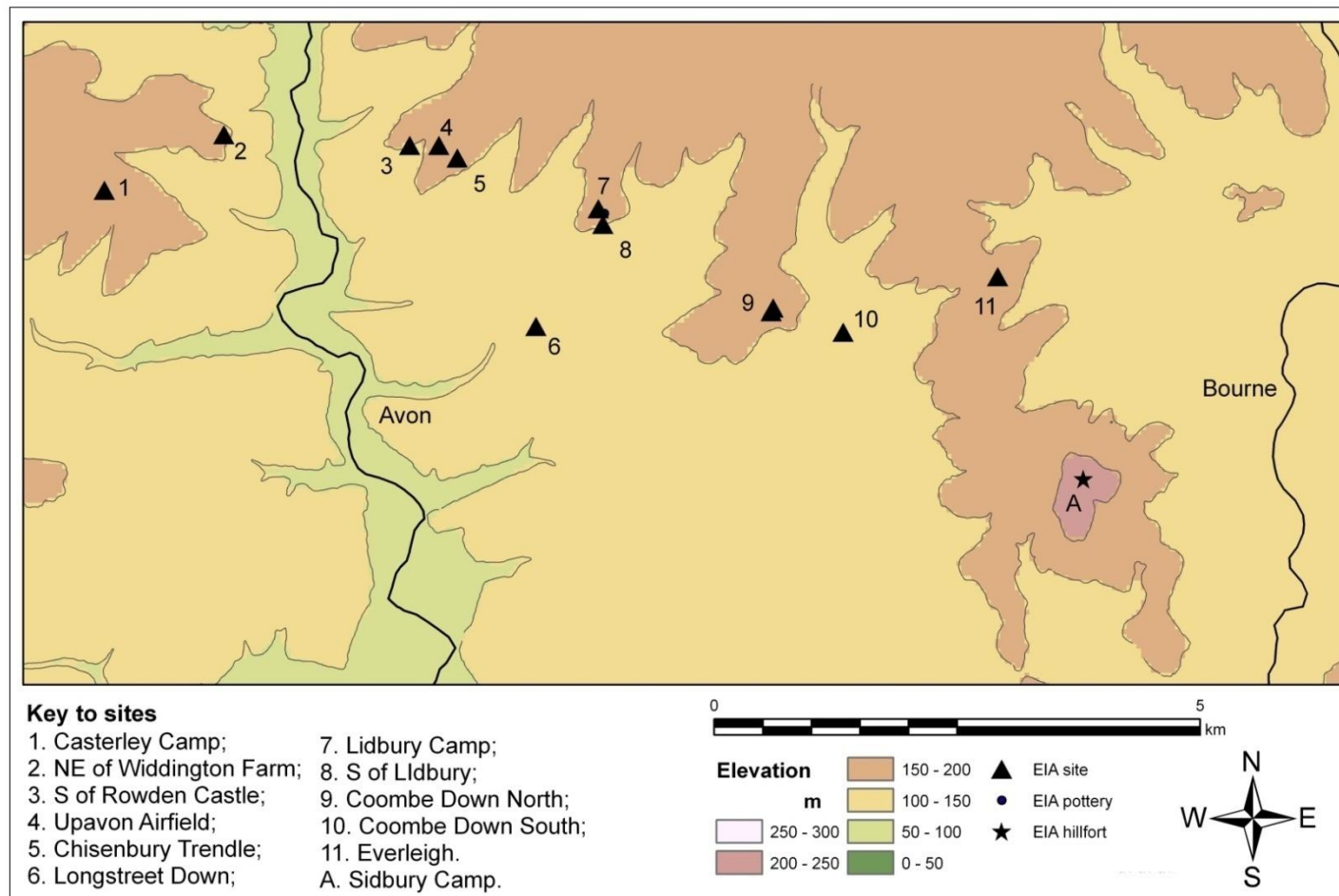


Figure 5.5- Early Iron Age sites on the NESPTA.

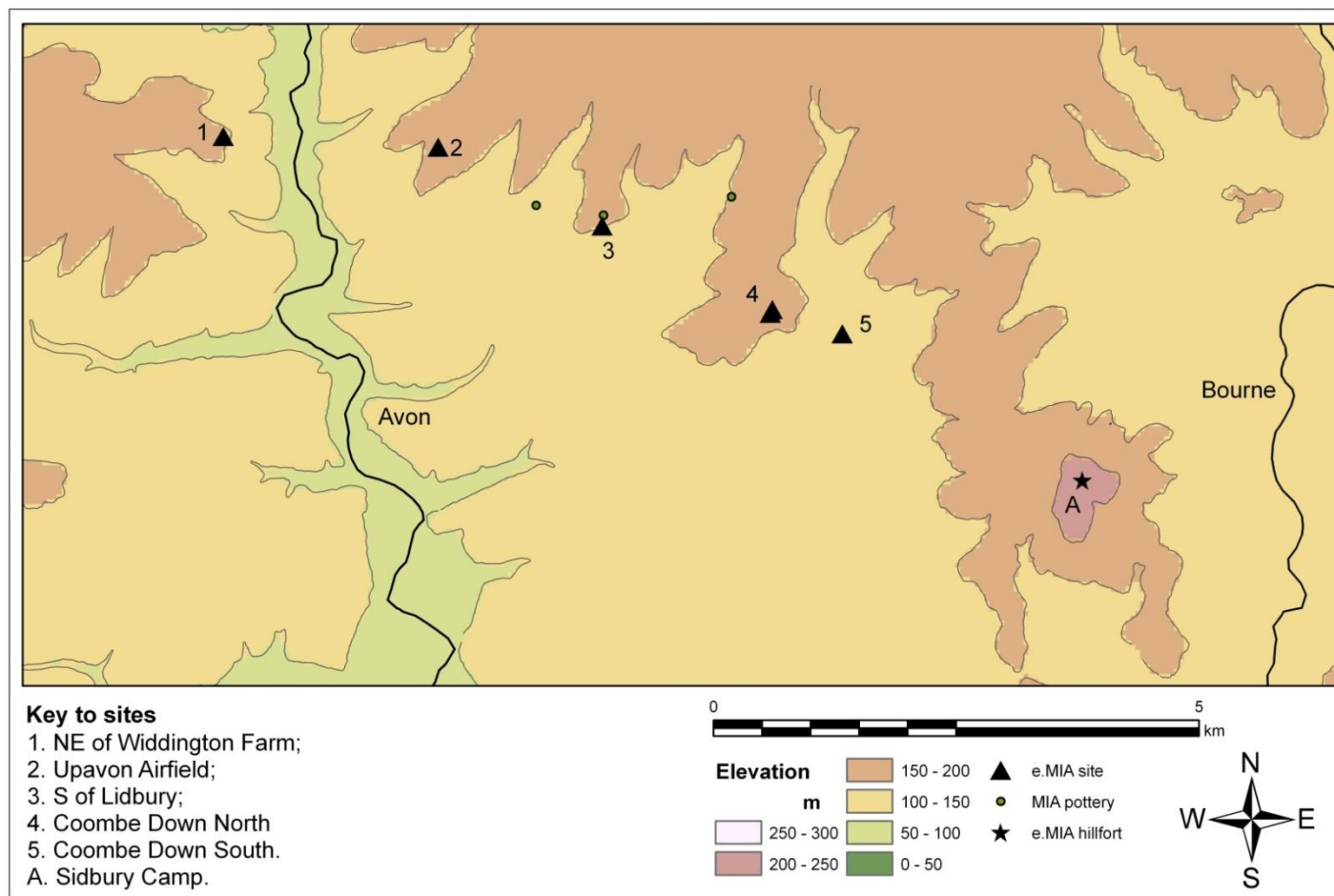


Figure 5.6- early Middle Iron Age sites on the NESPTA.

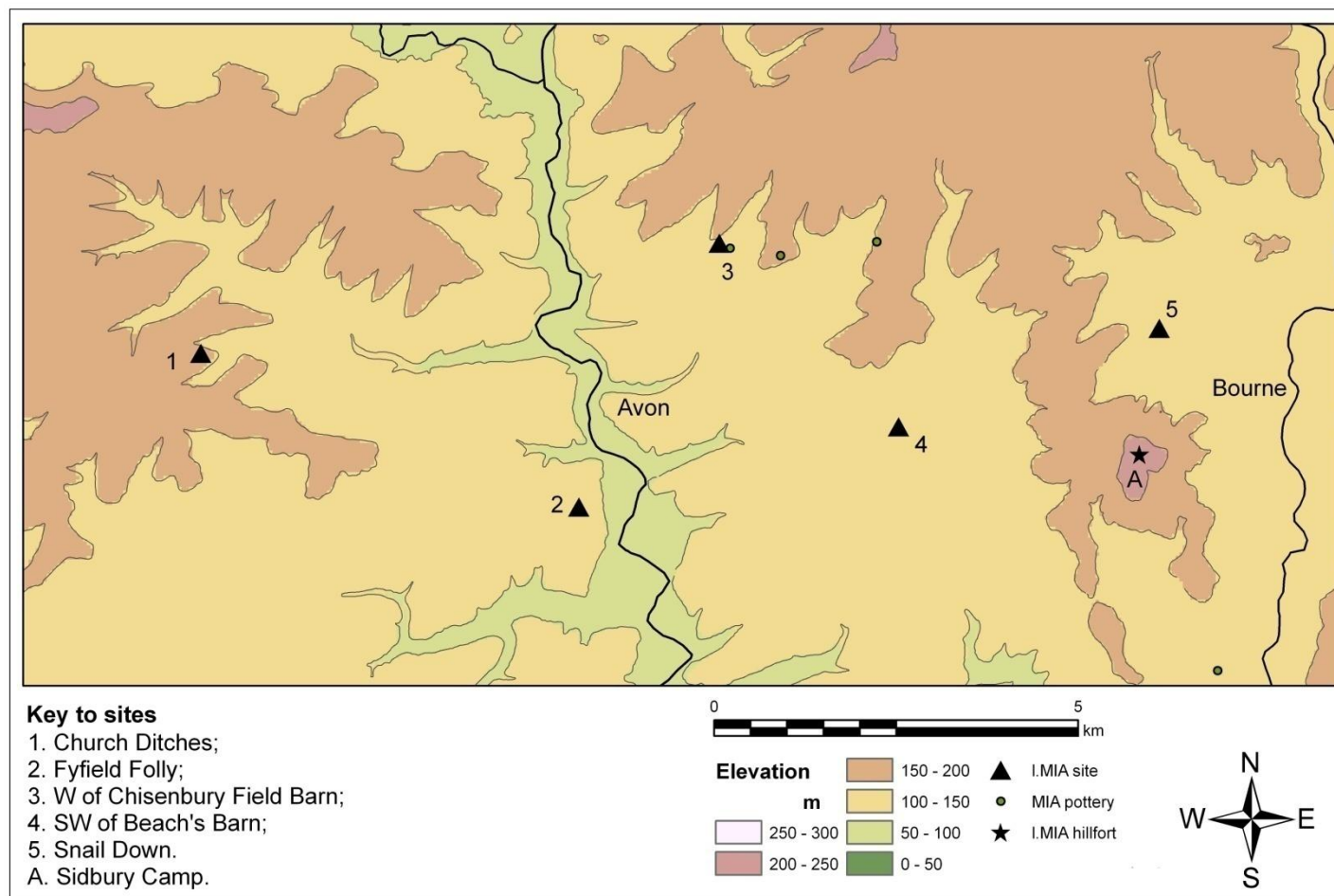


Figure 5.7- late Middle Iron Age sites on the NESPTA.

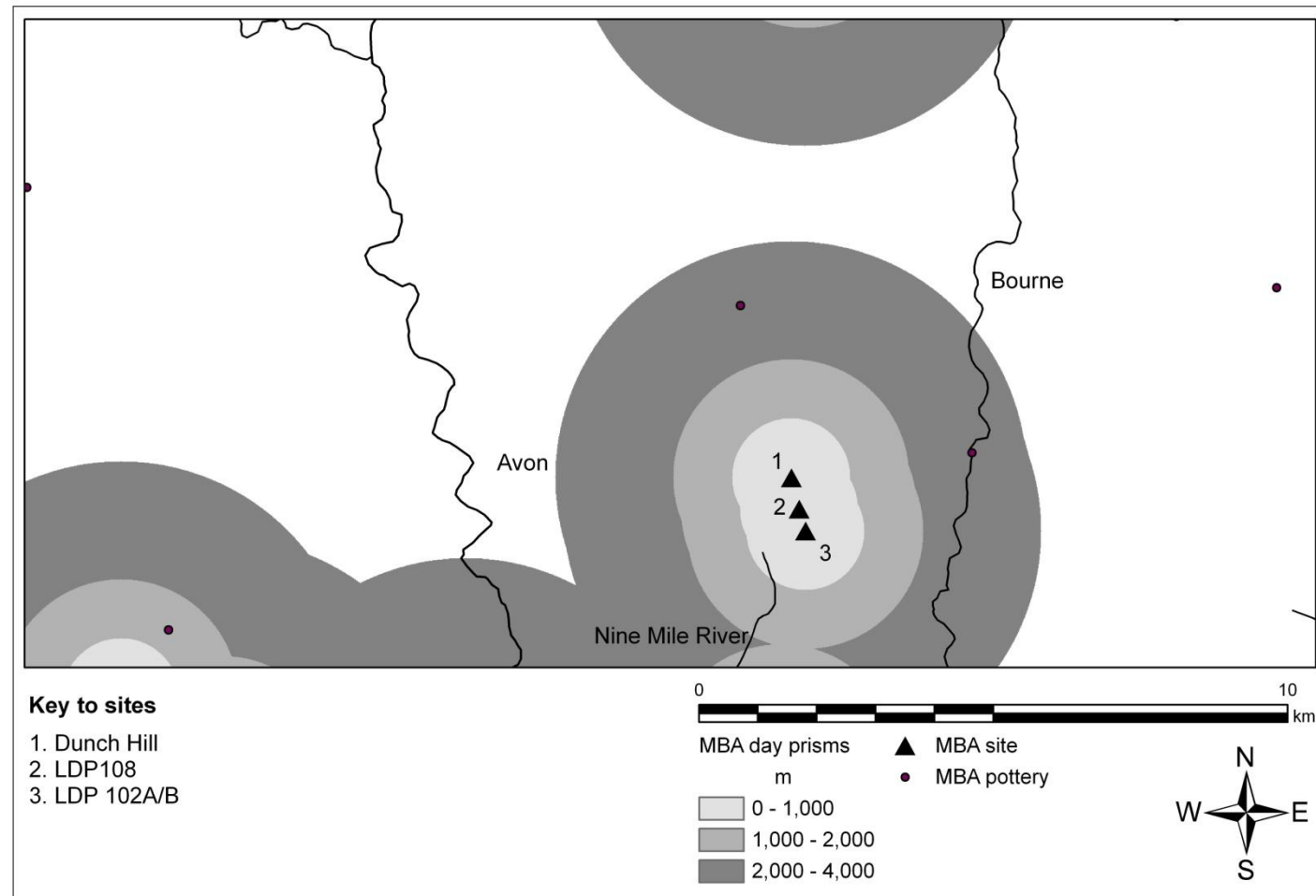


Figure 5.8- NESPTA Middle Bronze Age site activity-prisms.

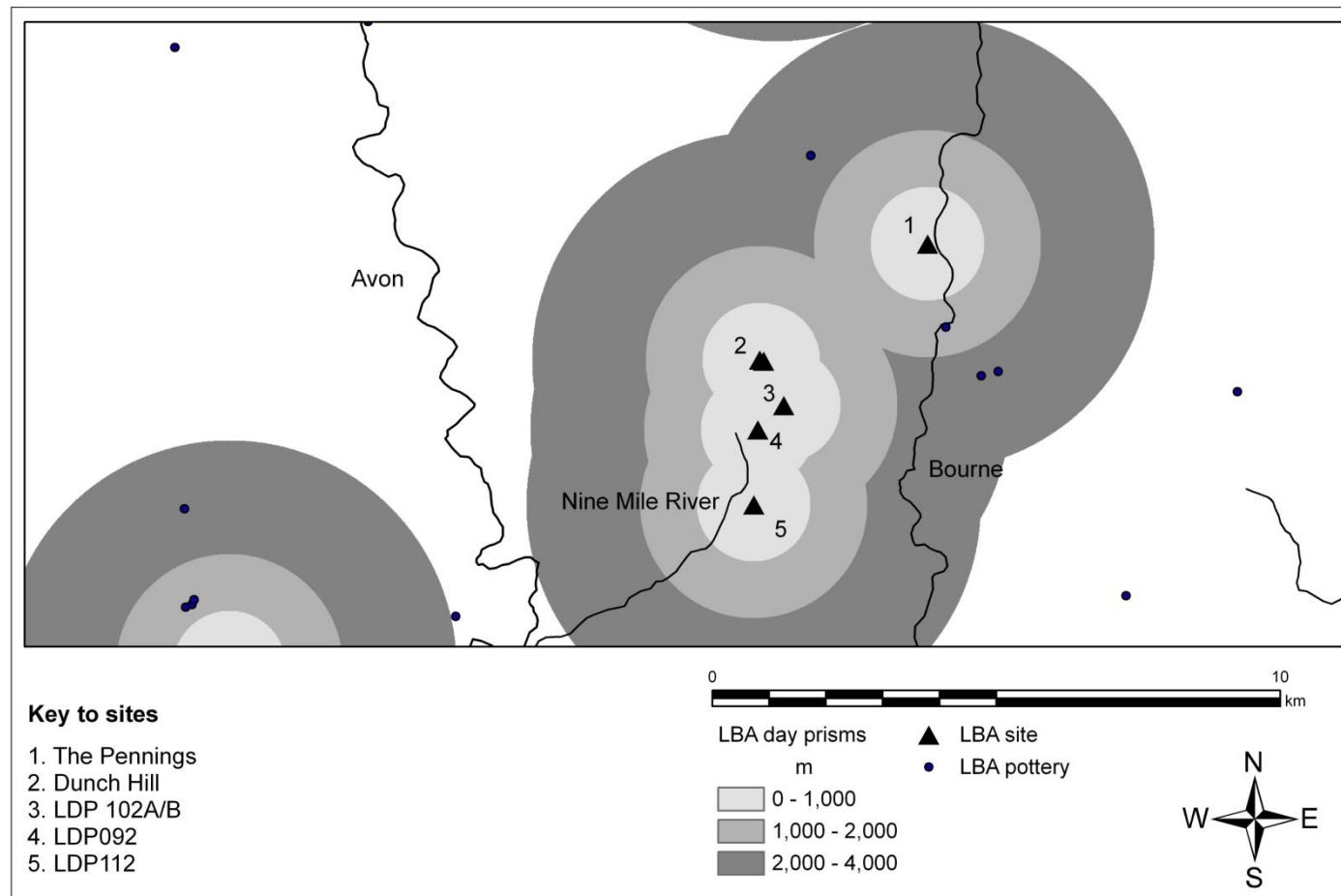


Figure 5.9- NESPTA Late Bronze Age site activity-prisms.

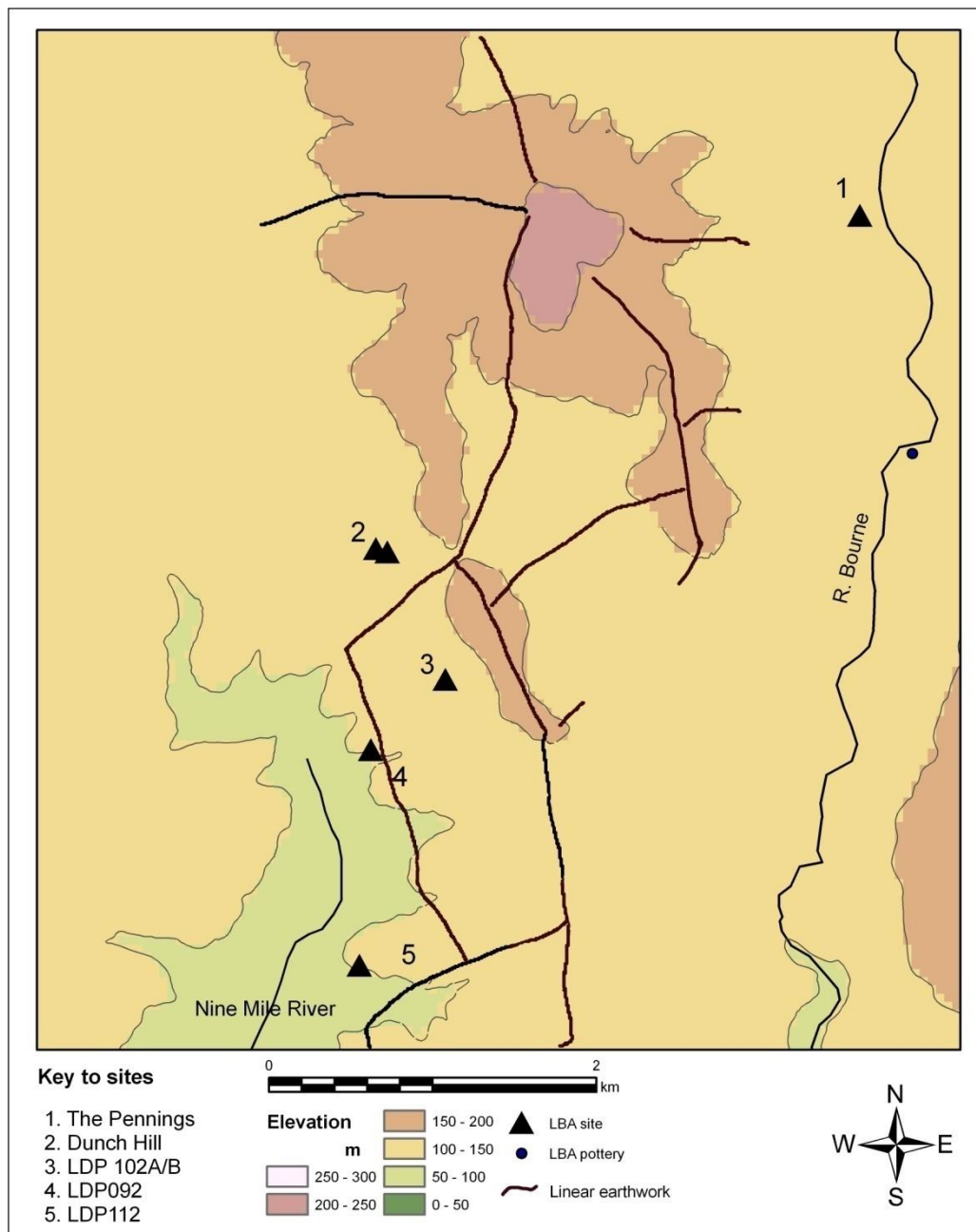


Figure 5.10- The relationship of the main linear earthworks around Dunch Hill with Late Bronze Age sites.

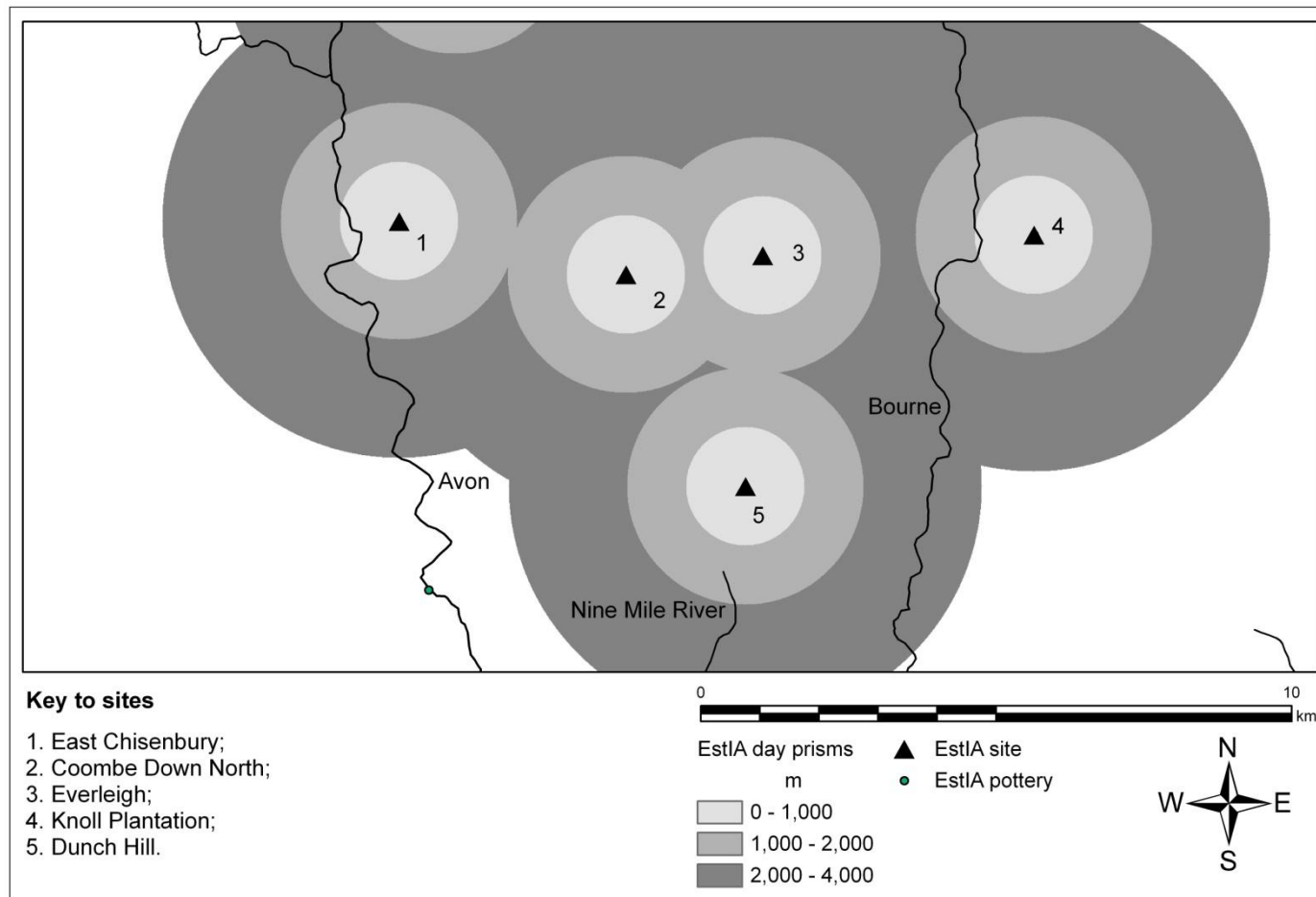


Figure 5.11 - NESPTA Earliest Iron Age site activity-prisms.

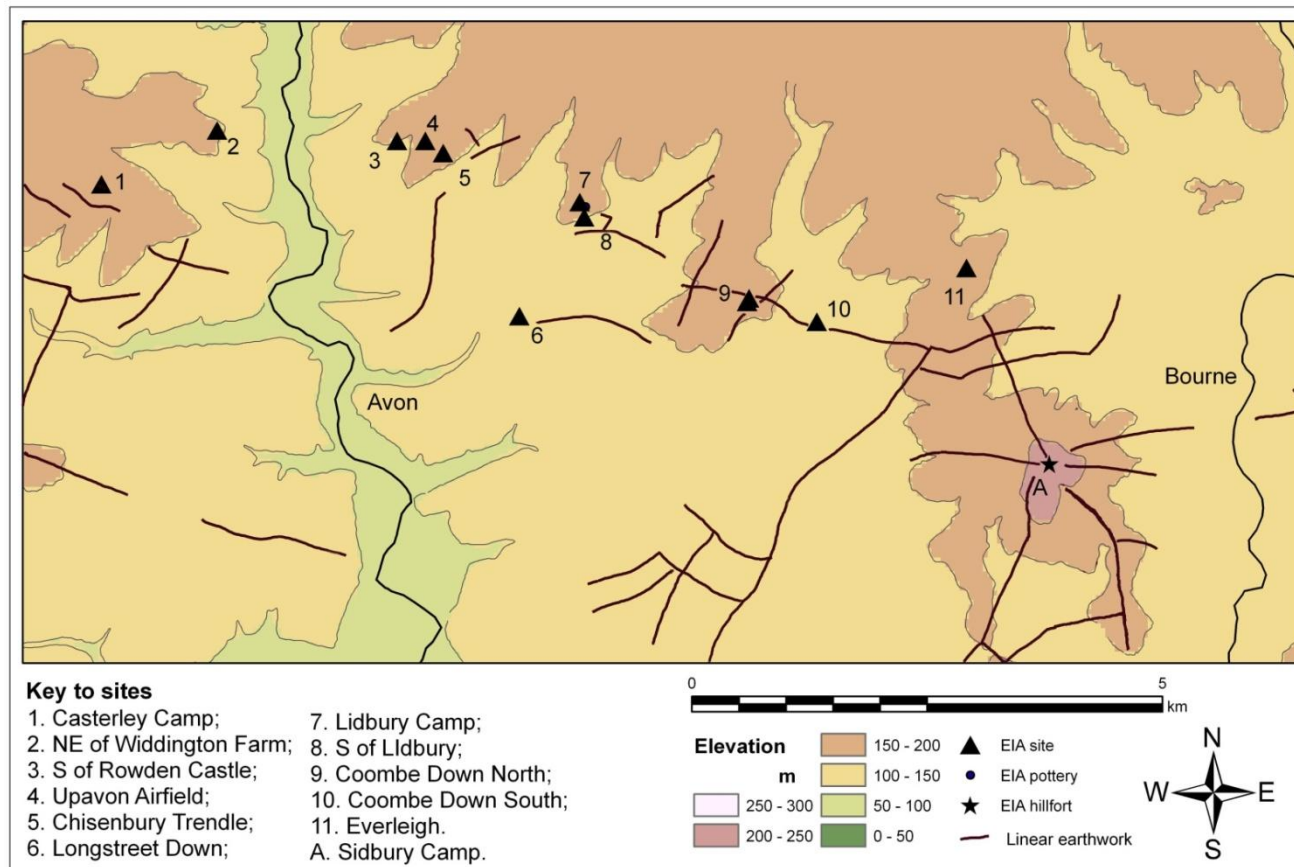


Figure 5.12 – The relationship between linear earthworks and Early Iron Age settlement in the NESPTA.

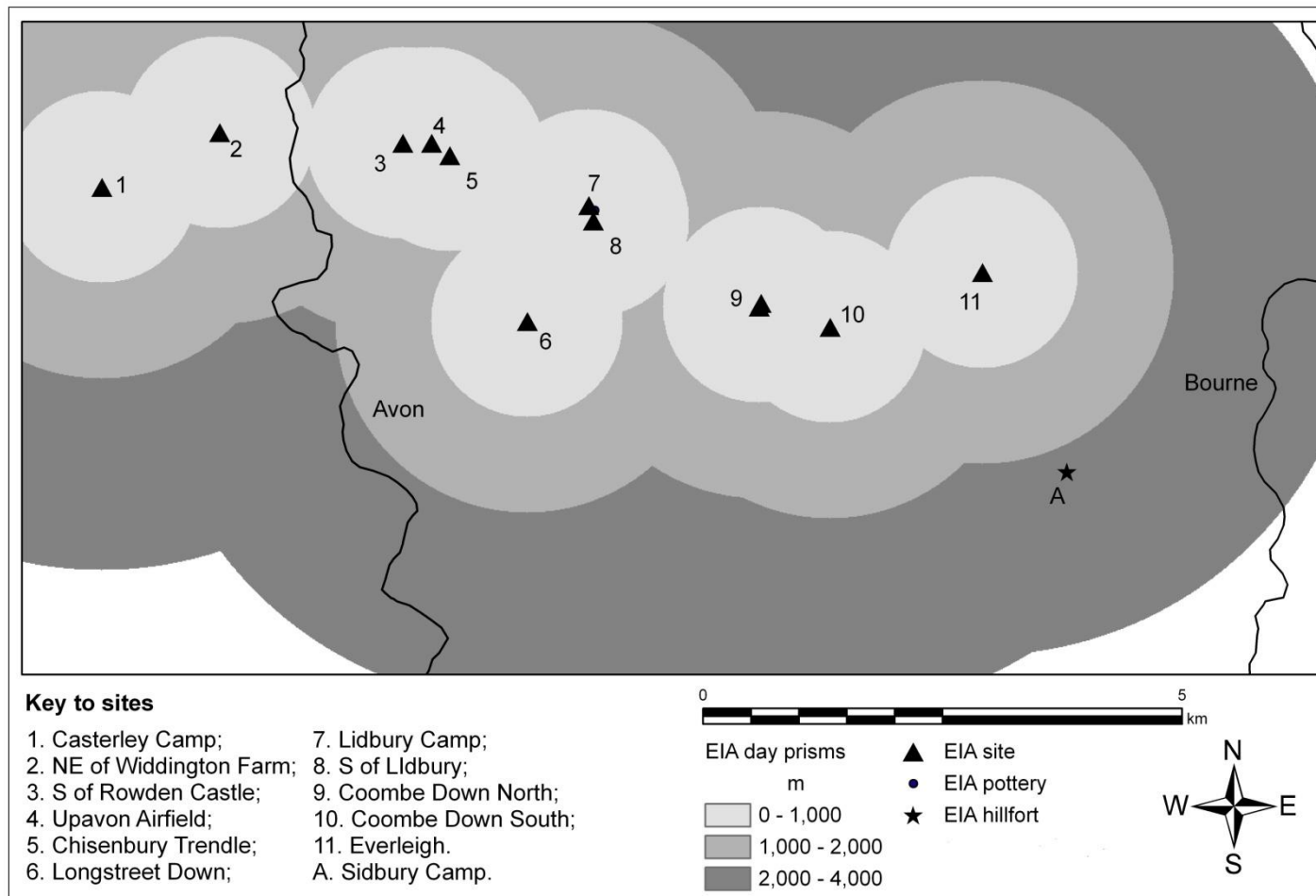


Figure 5.13- NESPTA Early Iron Age site activity-prisms.

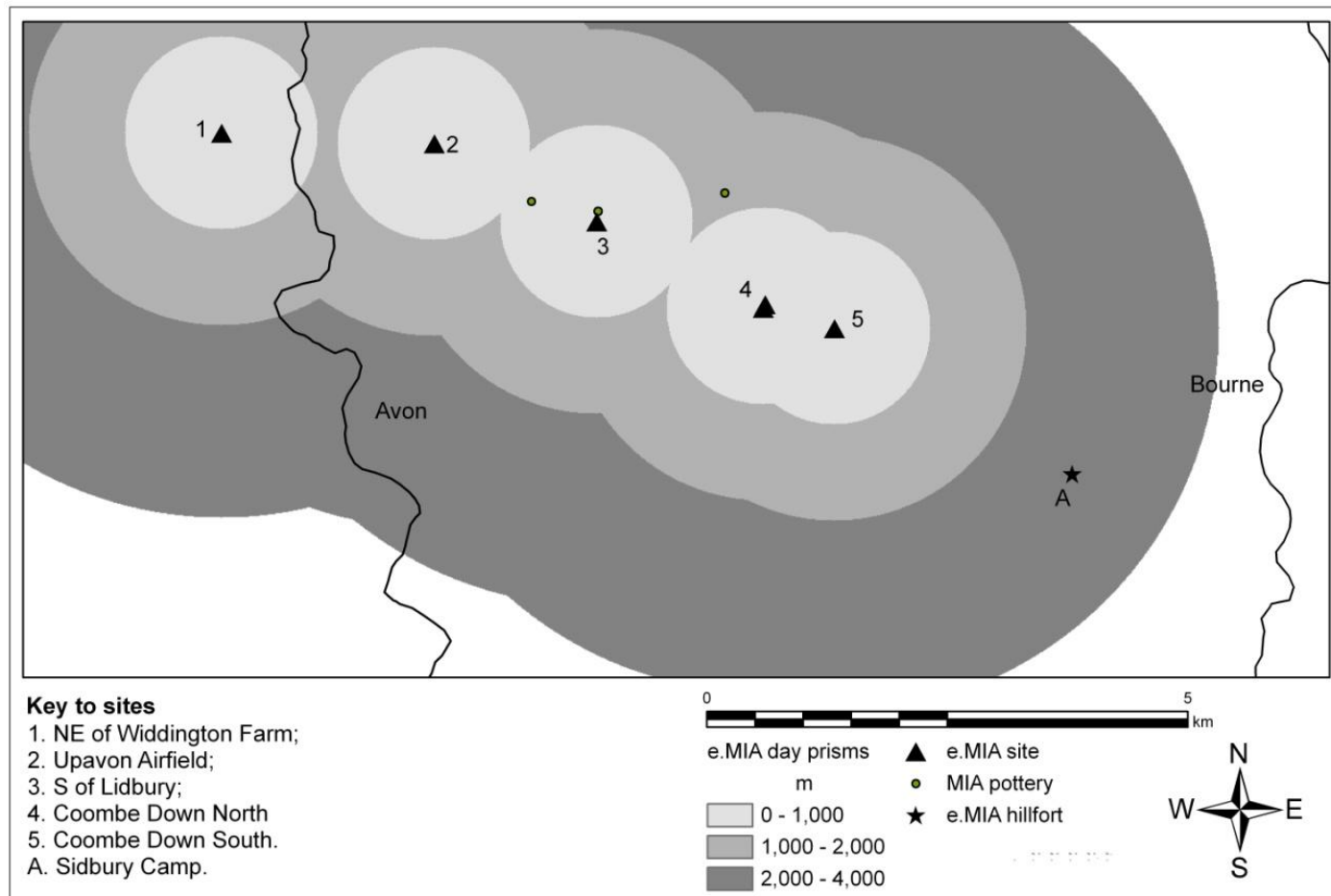


Figure 5.14- NESPTA early Middle Iron Age site activity-prisms.

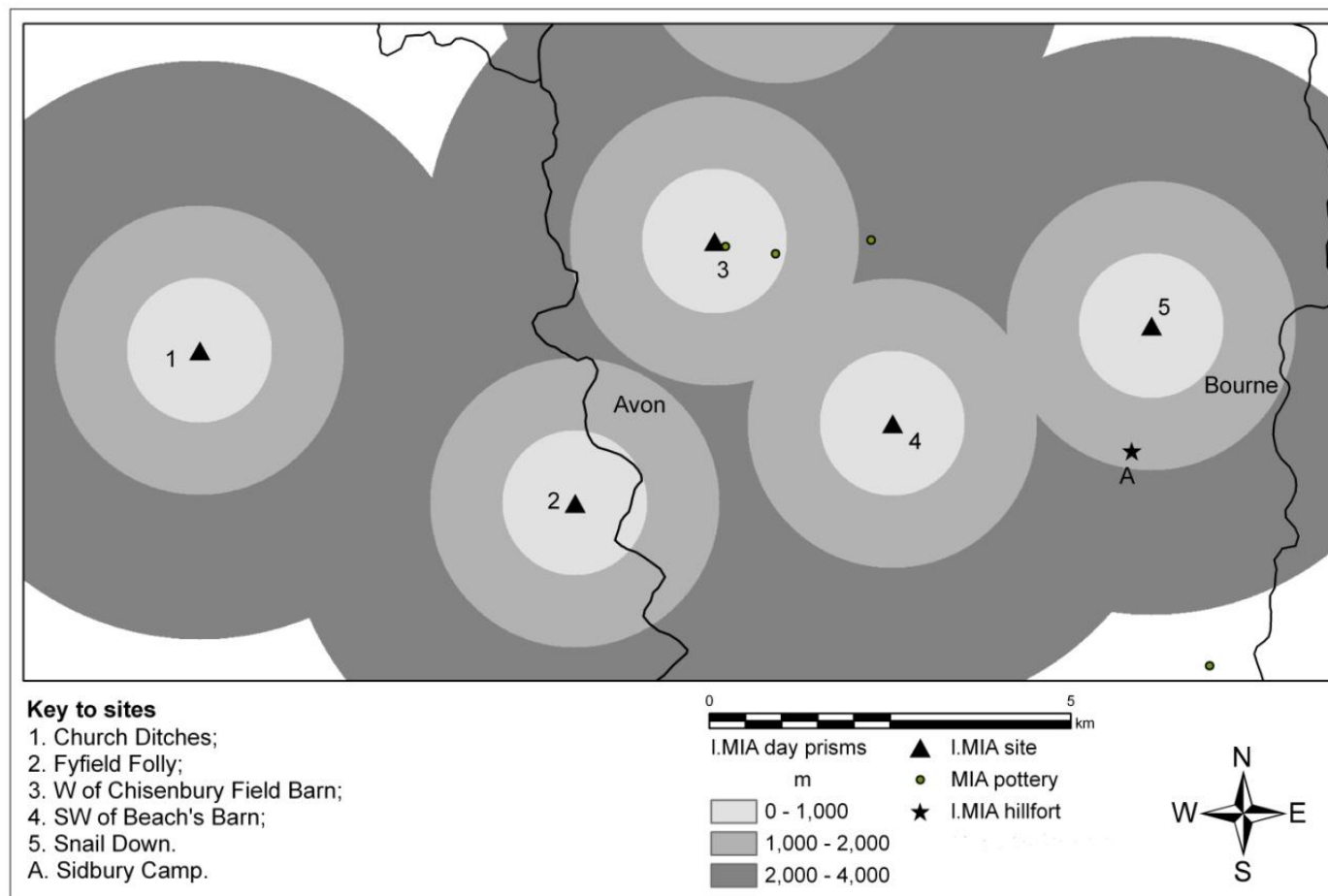


Figure 5.15- NESPTA late Middle Iron Age site activity-prisms.

Chapter 6 - Wylve Valley

The Wylve Valley runs from the Wiltshire Vale along the southern edge of Salisbury Plain, joining the Avon valley around Salisbury. The River Wylve is joined by the Chitterne-Imber Brook and the River Till running south from Salisbury Plain and the River Nadder from the southwest. As with the Vale of Pewsey and the Ebbel and Nadder Valleys, the Wylve Valley runs along the axis of an eroded anticline in the chalk. The majority of the area is underlain by Upper Chalk with Middle Chalk outcropping to the western edge along with Lower Greensands. The valley itself is quite narrow and modern villages are largely confined to it, the downland to north and south being mostly devoid of settlement. Whilst the valley is the locus of a number of small villages the only major settlement in the area lies as the valley opens out from the western margin of the chalk downlands at Warminster. The northern area forms part of the SPTA and without surface water was devoid of historical settlement. This has preserved archaeological features as earthworks but prevented dating of these through archaeological methods. On the southern margin lies the Great Ridge which is capped by clay with flints in places. The poorly drained clay can lead to the accumulation of leaf litter and the development of heathland in places such as Stony Hill (Barron 1976:118). The ridge is covered by a series of earthwork complexes but based upon current understanding, most of these date from the Late Iron Age and Romano-British period (Corney 1989).

Although many earthworks are known few have been excavated and prior to the 1990's we knew relatively little about the area. PPG16 has changed that with 56% of the excavated sites resulting from developer funded work. In particular the Southern Range Road (SRR) has had a major impact and as the route actively avoided known enclosures the majority of the sites were previously unsuspected open settlements.

6.1 Land division

Field systems are known on the downland either side of the valley but the majority are found upon the SPTA. On Horse Down, one field boundary ditch produced a fragment of Deverel-Rimbury Ware from the secondary fill, whilst the body of a teenage female from a field ditch was dated to 1520-1400 cal BC (Ellis and Powell 2008:185). The Middle Bronze Age settlement enclosure at Willis's Field Barn also cuts an earlier ditch assumed by the excavators to represent an earlier land division or field boundary (*ibid.*:163). Other ditches in this field block

regularly produce small amounts of abraded Late Bronze Age and Earliest Iron Age sherds implying that cultivation of the fields on Horse Down started during the Middle Bronze Age and continued into the early part of the Iron Age (Ellis and Powell 2008:187).

A number of linear earthworks can be found around the Wylfe Valley. Those along the Great Ridge to the south are usually assigned a Late Iron Age or Romano-British provenance (Corney 1989). The northern linear earthworks are dominated by the Old Ditch, the western part of which stretches 16km across the SPTA forming the spinal element for a number of subsidiary ditches running down into the valley. To the east of Battlesbury Bowl these subsidiary ditches are roughly every 500m with the field systems congruous to them. The arrangement appears to form small territories with a mix of different types of agricultural land (McOmish *et al* 2002:64). For much of its length this earthwork forms a boundary between field systems to the south and rougher pasture to the north. It consists of a bank and ditch that varies in width from 4-7m and to the west of Breach Hill is accompanied by a second smaller ditch on its northern side that varies between 1.5-2.5m in width (Birbeck 2006:83-87). The excavators considered that the two ditches were contemporary although OSL dates were 2355-1715BC for the northern ditch and 1225-745BC for the southern, a date supported by the presence of a single sherd of Late Bronze Age Plain Ware (*ibid.*). The snail evidence provides conflicting data. Those from the northern ditch suggest an environment of scrub and long grass, those from the south suggest first open grassland and later short grazed grassland and arable cultivation (Allen 2006:94). This supports the idea that these ditches formed a boundary between different types of land use (Birbeck and Allen 2006:100) but the argument for contemporaneity is less convincing. More likely is that the Old Ditch in this area was a Late Bronze Age construction that monumentalized a Middle Bronze Age ditch.

6.2 Settlement

The only known Middle Bronze Age settlement is Willis's Field Barn (Figure 6.1), a small enclosure containing several pits. Several cattle skulls and articulated cattle vertebrae were found in one of the ditch terminals whilst other finds include two pieces of worked flint, fragments of greensand and sarsen querns, a worked bone point and two pieces of unworked shale (Ellis and Powell 2008:154-163).

A number of probable Late Bronze Age settlements have been identified on the northern edge of the Wylfe valley (Figure 6.2). Just to the east of Quebec Farm, a possible

hearth, two pits, two post holes and an irregular gully were identified (Ellis and Powell 2008:167-169). 431 sherds of Plain Ware were recovered, with a single piece of shale and charred spelt wheat and hulled barley (*ibid.*:171-174). About 100m to the south, a group of Late Bronze Age pits and ditches were found which probably belonged to the same settlement, suggesting that activities associated with it were dispersed over quite a large area (*ibid.*:174). Another settlement broadly dated to the later Bronze Age is found just to the northeast of Kill Barrow, Chitterne consisted of ten pits and several postholes and hollows with finds including hammerstones, rubbers and fragments of querns (Wessex Archaeology 1995b).

At the western end of the SRR chain 80/5, 87 a group of seven pits were recorded over a stretch of 100m. Most of these produced Earliest Iron Age material but one also included a small Late Bronze Age pot (Ellis and Powell 2008:175). The excavators suggest that this represents a settlement that lay just outside of the excavation, whose main period of currency fell in the Earliest Iron Age (*ibid.*). Whilst this observation is probably true this site illustrates a phenomena noted to the east of Battlesbury Bowl where sites with few structural features spread over a relatively large distance, exhibit activity through the Late Bronze Age and into the Earliest Iron Age (Figure 6.3). At Boreham Farm Bungalow, two pits and two post holes were excavated next to a seasonal palaeochannel that had started to silt up around the time that the small Late Bronze and Earliest Iron Age pottery assemblage was being deposited (*ibid.*:141).

Nearby, to the southeast of Battlesbury Wood, a ring gully and several postholes were excavated. The excavators assumed that the ring gully represented a roundhouse and although it was undated some of the nearby postholes contained both Late Bronze Age and Earliest Iron Age ceramics (*ibid.*:144-147). These features lay between two silted palaeochannels (*ibid.*:142). Whilst other finds such as animal bone and fired clay suggest habitation, it is unusual to construct a roundhouse in such close proximity to streams. The material traces recovered from these last two sites are slight and considering their relationship with streams it is tempting to see these as fulfilling some seasonal pastoral function. A similar site can be found to the south of the Old Ditch to the west of Breach Hill. Along a 550m stretch of the earthwork were found eight pits, four post/stake holes and three hearths (Birbeck 2006:87). These were largely undated although Late Bronze Age sherds were recovered from two of them and in the vicinity of several others (Loader and Mephram 2006). 300m to the

north of Quebec Barn, was a large 7m diameter shaft, of which only the top 1.8m was excavated (Ellis and Powell 2008:169). It was located at the head of a dry valley and contained Late Bronze Age, Earliest Iron Age and Romano-British pottery in its upper fills. It is tempting to see similarities between this and the Wilsford shaft with possible functions including either a well or ritual function but without excavation this cannot be explored further. These rather ephemeral sites have a restricted repertoire of material culture without the build-up of domestic material that is seen at most settlements. They appear to have connections to linear boundaries and streams and taken together, appear to represent the seasonal camps of transhumant herders. Two more permanent settlements are also known at Codford Circle and Cow Down.

The 3.6ha univallate circular enclosure at Codford Circle overlooks the Wylve valley to the south and Chitterne Brook to the west. Aerial photographs seemed to indicate an internal ditch running within the interior, but a small scale excavation proved that it consisted of a complex series of pits (Allen and Gardiner 2006: 3). It is a pattern that contrasts with other later Iron Age sites that have a zoned pit distribution. One of these pits had a dark, greasy basal layer, rich in charcoal and burnt sheep and cattle rib bones, along with a loomweight and fragment of an iron pin or awl (Gardiner and Allen 2009:83). Dated to the Earliest Iron Age through ceramics, the excavators suggest that the deposit represented the remains of Iron Age barbecues. These were placed straight into specially dug pits without having been subjected to exposure from the elements (*ibid.*:87). The deposit was capped with a layer that contained abundant flint and animal bone, pottery and two further loomweights. This layer has the appearance of chalk from the pit's creation mixed with domestic waste from the topsoil lying on the surface. These factors suggest that they relate to one of a series of specific feasts, the residues of which received special treatment. This suggests the congregation of groups here and perhaps this could signify members of the wider community coming together at the end of the seasonal transhumant cycle. Based on the present limited evidence, the site had fallen out of use before the establishment of the open settlement at Battlesbury Bowl (*ibid.*).

Cow Down, Longbridge Deverill consists of three enclosures, two of which are connected and another 100m away which appear to have similar chronologies (Hawkes 1961:347). For the Earliest Iron Age period it appears that there were four large roundhouses of diameters 11.6m, 14.6m, 15.2m and 17.4m, three working hollows and six pits (*ibid.*). One

of these roundhouses had burnt down and as a result formed the basis of several studies of roundhouse organization (Giles and Parker Pearson 1999; Parker Pearson 1996). A further 70 pits were dated to a later Middle Iron Age phase when the site was reoccupied.

Battlesbury hillfort, at the western end of the valley, is believed to be a late Middle Iron Age construction (Ellis and Powell 2008:134). The majority of the Iron Age, occupation is focused at Battlesbury Bowl along a 500m chalk spur that connects the hillfort to the downs. Aerial photographs show a series of enclosures and other crop marks within Battlesbury Camp, on Slack Hill to the west of Battlesbury Bowl and outside of its eastern entrance (*ibid.*:133-134). The first evidence for settlement dates to the Earliest Iron Age and continues uninterrupted through to the 3rd century BC (Every and Mephram 2008:60). The site consists of 198 pits, 725 postholes and six ditches that form the eastern limit of the site (Ellis and Powell 2008). There are four discrete clusters of features and although features belonging to all periods were found in all groups, the earliest postholes and pits are mostly found at the northern end of the site and the latest towards the south (*ibid.*:25, 31). Molluscan evidence points to a grassland environment with no sign of change across the whole period, implying that the site saw continuous occupation that inhibited the regrowth of more scrubby vegetation (Allen 2008:123). The excavation covered a tiny fraction of the ridge and only the eastern boundary of the settlement was located. Maud Cunnington's limited excavations within Battlesbury Camp uncovered nine pits with a similar artefact composition to that recovered from the ridge (Cunnington 1924:368). The Battlesbury Bowl settlement could well have covered most of the ridge and Battlesbury Hill prior to the construction of the hillfort (Ellis and Powell 2008:133), but the hillfort is unexcavated and the exact relationship between the two, chronologically and spatially is unknown. Only two roundhouses were identified though the sheer number of postholes suggests that others must have existed. Charcoal from the central hearth of roundhouse 6159 produced a date of 410-180 cal. BC and was associated with Middle Iron Age ceramics (Ellis and Powell 2008:25, 28). It had a diameter of c. 7.1m whilst a posthole arc which represented the internal ring of roundhouse 4792 was 5.6m in diameter (*ibid.*:29).

Mancombe Down, just over 1km to the northwest of Battlesbury, also sits on a spur of chalk jutting out from Salisbury Plain. It is a small univallate enclosure that covers about 0.4ha (Figure 6.4) and is associated with Early Iron Age pottery. Limited excavation failed to identify any pits within the enclosure and the excavators concluded that none existed although it

yielded a domestic-looking artefact assemblage that was consistent with it having functioned as a small farmstead (Fowler *et al* 1965).

Scratchbury hillfort lies 2km to the southeast of Battlesbury Camp, on a spur jutting out from the downland. It is univallate and encloses 17ha, compared to the 9.7ha of the multivallate Battlesbury (McOmish *et al* 2002: 75). A circular enclosure, truncated by a later boundary and ploughing into a D shape, lies within the main enclosure. An excavation of this inner enclosure turned up Iron Age pottery (Annable 1958: 17) but it has been argued that this was not from the primary fills of the ditch and that sequence of modification supports a Neolithic date (McOmish *et al* 2002:32). Between 70-100 hut platforms were identified and surveyed by English Heritage, a figure made all the more significant by the fact that a large area of the interior has been flattened by later ploughing (*ibid.*:76). Ellis and Powell (2008:10), suggest Scratchbury was constructed first and then abandoned in favour of the more defensible position at Battlesbury. The ceramics show that Scratchbury is Iron Age in date, though it is currently impossible to narrow this down further. Morphologically a large univallate hillfort would suggest an Early Iron Age date, making it contemporary with the settlement at Battlesbury Bowl.

A series of enclosures have been identified to the west of Winterbourne Stoke and south of Parsonage Down. Excavation of an oval enclosure revealed a number of pits, postholes and a roundhouse gully associated with Early Iron Age pottery (SMR record SU04SE208). Other contemporary pits were found 200m to the west (Newall 1927). No Middle Iron Age pottery at all was recovered from the site. The site is set within an extensive area of coaxial fields though these are undated.

Yarnbury is a multivallate hillfort lying at the southern end of a flat spur linked by way of a dry valley to the Wylfe, 3km to the southwest. Until 1916 the site was used for a biannual sheep fair that can be dated back until at least the medieval period, and the sheep folds are still clearly visible. The main circuit consists of three ramparts that enclose an area of 11.5ha with an east facing entrance protected by an outwork bastion whilst breaks in the ramparts to the west and the north are probably later additions. Inside is a circular ditched enclosure covering 5.2ha with evidence of a west facing gateway. The 4m deep ditch appeared to have been backfilled relatively soon after its construction and there was no sign of the lower half having been weathered (Cunnington 1933:200), whilst pits were cut into both the levelled bank and filled ditch. The lowest layers of the ditch contained scratched cordoned bowls

suggesting an Early Iron Age date for its construction (*ibid.*:203). Two pits lie beneath the bank of the innermost enclosure but yielded no datable evidence. Other pits produced Middle Iron Age pottery and some Late Iron Age and Romano-British wares.

A 1986 RCHME survey of the interior produced evidence of over 130 structures, the majority were 7 to 15m in diameter and apparently set within compounds. Yarnbury has had a long period of discontinuous use from the Early Iron Age through to the 20th century. These compounds appear similar to Late Iron Age/Romano-British occupation at nearby Casterley Camp (Cunnington and Cunnington 1913) and Castle Ditches (Corney and Payne 2006:106) and Maud Cunnington suggested a construction date for the main works between the Julian and Claudian invasions (Cunnington 1933:204). This idea was put forward without any investigation of the outer circuit and set against a theoretical background where hillfort construction was seen as reactionary to a series of continental incursions. It is unclear whether Yarnbury had an open period after the infilling of the inner ditch and the construction of the outer perimeter although the suggestion that an earlier entrance had been blocked (Corney and Payne 2006:139), would suggest extension of the enclosure towards the end of the Early Iron Age or within the Middle Iron Age to increase the available habitation area, although this may have been enlarged during later periods to the multivallate structure that we now see.

Knook Castle lies on the higher downland of Salisbury Plain but unlike the other examples, it is situated on an area of flat downland. At 1.7ha it is the smallest hillfort on Salisbury Plain and is only categorised as such due to the substantial nature of its univallate bank and ditch (McOmish *et al* 2002:76). It has a simple entrance in the south east of its perimeter and can clearly be seen to overly an earlier coaxial field system. No excavation has taken place here but it is assumed that it has a Late Iron Age date.

All the Wylde Valley sites described so far have been situated on or around the northern margins of the valley but to the south there are a large number of earthworks, many of which date to the Late Iron Age, forming what Corney termed “the Nadder-Wylde Ridge complex” (Corney 1989:116). These include Bilbury Rings, Hanging Langford Camp, Church End Ring, Hamshill Ditches, Stockton and Ebsbury Copse/Grovely Works and although of an essentially late date, earlier traces have been uncovered from all except Hamshill.

At Bilbury Rings, Early Iron Age material was recovered from the old ground surface between the Romano-British outer circuit and Late Iron Age inner circuit of this large multivallate hillfort, leading to the suggestion of an earlier open settlement (Anon 1963:33).

Hanging Langford Camp is a Late Iron Age/Romano-British settlement linked by way of a ditch to a banjo enclosure at Church End. Although the majority of material is of a late character, both Iron Age A and B material was present, suggesting extended occupation throughout the Iron Age (Figures 6.5 and 6.6), although the intensity of this earlier occupation is far from clear (Grinsell 1957:269). Ebsbury Copse, also known as Grovely Works, occupies a northeast facing spur that juts out into the Wylfe Valley. It is a large enclosure, although some sections of it appear to be missing, either destroyed or never completed, whilst others consist of a series of three ramparts. A range of field lynchets were identifiable though most are evidently medieval. The main enclosure produced Late Iron Age ceramics but Early and Middle Iron Age material was recovered from a smaller sub-circular enclosure inside the main circuit (*ibid.*:36).

At Stockton, a series of Late Iron Age and Romano-British earthworks sit upon the ridge and slope that runs into the Wylfe Valley with Grims Ditch marking their southern boundary. Further north on a northeasterly facing chalk spur, road construction uncovered two areas of activity with an 11m featureless zone dividing them. The excavated area had been truncated by up to a metre in places, limiting the surviving features to 77 pits of which 16 were excavated, although the pits extended beyond the cutting and so more may have existed. (Saunders 1997). The ceramics date to 400-300BC (*ibid.*:24). Stockton may represent a short lived open settlement practicing a mixed agricultural regime. The excavators hypothesise that it was inhabited by a small extended family, but this seems at odds with the duration of the site when combined with the number of pits. It is possible that later material was removed by the truncation, whilst it is clear that the area of occupation continues outside of the excavated zone. This suggests either a larger settlement or more likely a settlement with a longer chronology.

Lastly, also situated to the south of the Wylfe valley but not part of Corney's Nadder-Wylfe Ridge Group, is Cow Down, Longbridge Deverill. Although most noteworthy for its four large Earliest Iron Age roundhouses, occupation abates in the Early Iron Age (Anon 1963:32). The site is then reoccupied in the late Middle Iron Age with Iron Age second B ceramics that include plain saucepan type pots and some rare pedestal based forms being recovered from 70 pits (Hawkes 1961:347). No roundhouses or other structures are noted as belonging to this period and the earthworks do not appear to have been reworked. The material from the pits was of a domestic nature including carbonized grain, animal bone, clay sling bullets, bone

tools, loomweights, spindle whorls and occasional iron objects including a sickle and a ring headed pin (*ibid.*).

6.3 Nature of habitation

As with all of the sites across Wiltshire the quality of excavation and published results vary greatly. In general the standard of published information is poor. The SRR report has helped but these sites and Battlesbury Bowl in particular dominates the discussion as a result.

Little artefactual material was recovered from Bronze Age sites and hence we have little idea as to the range of crafts practiced at these sites. In particular most of the Earliest Iron Age sites do not produce domestic looking assemblages. We have a slightly clearer picture for the Iron Age. Textile production (see Appendix 1.4) is attested at many sites. To the north of the Wylfe, spindle whorls have been recovered from Mancombe Down, Yarnbury and Battlesbury Bowl to indicate spinning. Loomweights were recovered from Codford Circle, Battlesbury Bowl and Yarnbury, whilst finds of three bone shuttles and two combs testify to weaving at Stockton. It suggests a higher degree of weaving than spinning with only four spindle whorls recovered from Battlesbury Bowl compared to 21 loom weights, six bone shuttles and three combs. Evidence for leather working is absent from most sites except Battlesbury Bowl where it is mostly indicated by the presence of pointed bone tools. A small amount of iron slag was recovered from Stockton but better evidence was recovered from Battlesbury Bowl where both smithing and smelting was identified in all phases with 1098g slag from Earliest/Early Iron Age contexts and 2483g from Middle Iron Age contexts (Mephram and Andrews 2008:44).

Only Battlesbury Bowl has good published faunal data. Sheep/goat dominated the assemblage followed by cattle, pig and then horse as is common for most Iron Age sites. Sheep figures rose slightly from the Earliest/Early Iron age period from 50.3% to 54.2%, as did horse from 3.1% to 6.7%, while cattle fell from 32.7% to 27.1% and pig from 12.5% to 7.7% (Hambleton and Maltby 2008:86). It should be noted that the number of identifiable elements reduced across the period from 4935 to 3528. In terms of age profiles, only 50% of sheep/goat made it past their first year and almost none made it to six years of age, a pattern which without a major exploitation of juvenile animals between one and a half and two years would suggest a mixed regime with emphasis on wool/dairy rather than meat (*ibid.*:88). Cattle saw a high young kill off with only 50% of animals making it beyond eighteen months of age but with

the remainder making it to adulthood and even old age, a pattern which again points to a mixed regime perhaps with a slight dairy focus (*ibid.*:90). The horse assemblage consisted mostly of adult animals as is common for Wessex during this period (Maltby 1994:10), but also included a small number of juveniles and a neonatal foal from a Middle Iron Age context suggesting that horses may have been reared on site (Hambleton and Maltby 2008:90).

Plant remains from Willis's Field Barn represented plant processing waste, most of which had been dumped in the enclosure ditch, but did also include hazelnuts (Ellis and Powell 2008: 161). Spelt wheat and barley were recovered from the Quebec Barn site. These were associated with weed seeds and chaff leading to the interpretation that grain had been stored in a semi-clean state (*ibid.*:171-174). One of the features from the Boreham Farm Bungalow site that contained Late Bronze Age pottery also contained 16 charred cereal grains and 236 charred hazelnut shell fragments (*ibid.*:141) indicating that wild resources continued to be exploited alongside domestic ones throughout the later Bronze Age.

At Battlesbury Bowl charred plant remains suggest that spelt wheat and hulled barley were the main crops. Oats were grown in smaller quantities with wheat as a maslin both autumn and spring sown whilst a small quantity of peas were also recovered (Clapham and Stevens 2008:95). The bulk of the waste came from the final processing stage of grain that had been stored as semi-clean spikelets immediately prior to its use in food preparation (*ibid.*:101; Madella 2008:115). This situation is comparable to Danebury and contrasts with the smaller settlements looked at by the Danebury Environs Programme (Clapham and Stevens 2008:102). This raises the possibility that the crops stored at Battlesbury had been grown and processed elsewhere and then transported here for storage (*ibid.*). Alternatively these differences could imply a variation between the crop processing and storage practices between larger and smaller settlements that reflect the availability of labour and division of labour (*ibid.*). In particular it could reflect real differences or fluctuations in the seasonal labour availability between the sites.

Both these factors could point to Battlesbury Bowl as a communal site drawing in resources either as crops or labour from other smaller sites. If true this raises an interesting possibility as it would mean that the site was drawing in communal resources or obligations prior to the construction of the hillfort. Some of this may be accounted for as resources required for constructing the later hillfort although it does not discount a possible relationship with the unexcavated enclosures on the spur that have been identified by aerial photography.

We must bear in mind though that a similar pattern where the botanical remains are dominated by material from the later stages of processing is identified at the Iron Age sites of Segsbury, Latton Lands and Groundwell West in the Upper Thames Valley.

6.4 *Landscape and society*

The sites in and around the Wylve Valley include a range of both enclosed and open sites. Open settlements have been uncovered when later enclosures that overlie them have been excavated such as at Bilbury Rings, or due to development such as at Battlesbury Bowl which suggests the possibility that open settlements are underrepresented in the record. At the same time there are a number of undated enclosures on the downs to the north and south of the valley, some of which may have Later Prehistoric provenance.

The existence of only a single Middle Bronze Age settlement is at odds with the widespread evidence for fields. It is possible that many of these were exploited from valley settlements that have so far avoided detection, that other open settlements exist on the downs or that the area was farmed from outside of the region.

More Late Bronze Age sites are known (Figure 6.7). Two of these near Kill Barrow and Quebec Farm are purely Late Bronze Age. The fact that two areas of activity were picked up at Quebec Farm 100m apart may suggest that the settlement itself was of a substantial size, perhaps comparable to that at Dunch Hill or Shorncote Quarry, or as hypothesised for Ford Road. More typical however are the four open sites that have a limited range of structural features and are to be found next to linear features both streams and linear earthworks. These may represent low intensity settlements where many more identifiable signs of settlement lie outside of the excavated area. Their association with streams and linear earthworks however argues for a role connected with animal management and if so an alternative explanation is that these represent temporary or seasonal camps associated with transhumant regimes. That most of these also contain Earliest Iron Age wares (Figure 6.8) may suggest that they are later than the settlements at Kill Barrow and Quebec Farm and represent a trend towards a transhumant exploitation of the area. In particular there are two concentrations of activity, one around Battlesbury and one along the Chitterne Valley. More recognisable permanent settlement probably existed though their location is speculative.

Our knowledge of Codford Circle is based on the complete excavation of a single pit making wider interpretation questionable but it does appear to have some strange features.

The surface material is of a domestic nature whilst the lower levels appear to indicate a special event or feast. Transhumant regimes involve a lot of co-operation between different elements within a community and indeed between different communities. The people managing animals are rarely drawn from a single household or manage the animals of a single household (Halstead 1996:35). Fundamentally there is a pooling of labour, resources and animals between households within a neighbourhood or kin group though these often coincide (Fleming 1985:133). Transhumant regimes also speak of collaboration over land allocation and rights of passage through the intervening land of neighbours. The regime is punctuated through a series of partings and meetings which may be negotiated through the sharing of food (Tullett and Harrison 2008) or feasts (Evans 2003:175). The deposit at Codford may represent one such episode, bearing testament to the congregation of activity groups that had been dispersed for long parts of the year. Codford's situation at the junction between the Wylfe and Chitterne Valleys suggests that it is placed at a pivotal point in the landscape, the agricultural year and the journeys that they involve. Soon after it fell out of use, Battlesbury Bowl was established as a permanent settlement. The large roundhouses of Cow Down, Longbridge Deverill may also indicate a sedentary site with a relatively large cohabiting group that was also probably established after the abandonment of Codford Circle.

By the Early Iron Age occupation has developed to the point where a small number of sites show concentrations of activity that dominate the region (Figure 6.9). Scratchbury and Yarnbury appear to be later developments. We might therefore expect that the establishment of these sites reflects the fall of the transhumant regime in this sub-region. Unlike some of the other sub-regions none of the Earliest Iron Age sites, with perhaps the exception of Battlesbury, grew into an Early Iron Age settlement. A survey of Scratchbury's interior suggests that the hillfort was intensively occupied, presumably during the Early Iron Age and perhaps into the early part of the Middle Iron Age. This matches the evidence from Battlesbury Bowl and Yarnbury. There is a concentration of activity around the northwest margin of the valley with Battlesbury Bowl and Mancombe Down about 1km from each other with Scratchbury just over 2km from Battlesbury. Yarnbury is more isolated being about 3km from the nearest known settlement to the south of Parsonage Down. A further neighbourhood group can conceivably be identified in the southeast margin of the valley with Bilbury Rings and Hanging Langford Camp about 1km apart. Units within these three neighbourhood groups are so closely spaced that we would expect that they maintained regular contact, which in its most

obvious form consisted of nucleated settlements at Scratchbury and Battlesbury. Contact between these neighbourhood groups is less obvious. The land in between is mostly devoid of Early and Middle Iron Age settlement and excavation of the SRR produced only a small quantity of Early Iron Age pottery whilst the amount of Middle Iron Age ceramics were negligible (Ellis and Powell 2008). This supports the idea that habitation was focused within these groups and that the area was exploited through a low input regime. In this case the distance from the settlements would suggest its use as pasture, perhaps with the Chitterne Brook providing some form of natural division.

At Battlesbury Bowl most of the weed seeds originated from chalk/base rich soils implying that the crops were grown on the downland field systems to the north though a small number from poorer sandy soils indicated a limited exploitation of the valley floor (Clapham and Stevens 2008:95). Acidic soil loving bracken, blink and common rush were also found implying that wetland valley areas were utilized (*ibid.*:101).

To the northeast of Battlesbury and Scratchbury, is the Old Ditch West linear earthwork that can be traced discontinuously for up to 16km (Figure 6.10). It runs along a ridge of downland, starting off on the High Downs to the north of Mancombe Down in the west and ending by the Chitterne Brook in the east. The Old Ditch separates the main area of coaxial fields to the south from areas largely devoid of features to its immediate north. The area to the south [of Old Ditch West] is subdivided by a number of subsidiary linear earthworks that run down from the spinal element into the dry valley. These subsidiary elements often continue to the north of Old Ditch West but fade out after a hundred metres or so. This pattern appears to divide land put aside for arable from that for pasture though the area to the north of the Old Ditch West is the driest area of Salisbury Plain. The subdivision of this land by subsidiary elements appears to indicate an ordered landscape but no Iron Age settlements have been identified here. Whilst several undated enclosures are apparent on the spur around Scratchbury and Battlesbury it seems more likely that the land was farmed from these two sites. Additionally the subsidiary linears would form access-ways from the dry valley to the higher downland. Further along the valley around Knook and Codford, many tracks seen today, run across the valley and are associated with barrow groups (Gardiner and Allen 2009:85). The authors acknowledge that there is a chicken and egg problem regarding the dating of the tracks but that their associations may suggest that they are at least Early Bronze Age and by inference continued in use throughout the Later Prehistoric period.

In the early Middle Iron Age (Figure 6.11), the majority of settlements lie on the south side of the valley towards its eastern end, although the character of this occupation is unclear. North of the river the settlement at Yarnbury outgrows its original enclosure, the ditch is filled in and occupation expanded. Our limited information suggests that the site was fairly intensively occupied throughout the Middle Iron Age and into the Late Iron Age and during this period no contemporary settlements are known in the immediate area. It is possible that this was an open settlement much like that at Battlesbury Bowl but it seems more likely that the larger boundary was established soon after the infilling of the inner. Field systems cover much of the surrounding area and there are no obvious enclosures within its hinterland though this does not rule out the possible existence of unidentified open settlements. Current evidence suggests that settlement was focused on the hillfort at this time. Occupation of Battlesbury Bowl ends during the 3rd century BC, potentially coinciding with the construction of the hillfort further along the spur. Settlement north of the Wylfe during the later stages of the Middle Iron Age is focused purely around the hillforts (Figure 6.12). To the south, the pattern of occupation is largely unchanged with relatively dispersed open and enclosed settlement spread along the chalk ridge.

No sites are considered to be particularly aristocratic although the Early Iron Age site on Cow Down, Longbridge Deverill was noted for its succession of large roundhouses. Battlesbury was the only Wiltshire site away from the Thames Valley from which briquetage was recovered. However, the single fragment found on this site hardly denotes a large degree of contact with salt producing areas. The material does however, show limited connections to the west. The hillforts have complex histories with Battlesbury Camp replacing a large open settlement, Yarnbury originating as a settlement enclosure that was later greatly enlarged to hillfort proportions and Scratchbury where there is evidence for large numbers of hut platforms. It suggests that settlement in the northern margins of the Wylfe valley was concentrated into a small number of relatively large proto-villages. Smaller settlements do exist but the sites do not fall into a recognisable site hierarchy. As we progress through the Iron Age this pattern is simplified with all settlement on the northern margin of the valley situated at hillforts or sites that later became hillforts. The growth of these hillforts could be hypothesised as relating to the rise of elite communities matching Cunliffe's model. The evidence from the archaeobotanical assemblage matches that from Danebury, suggesting grain was either centralized at Battlesbury Bowl or that it had access to greater levels of labour

than other sites. This does not need to be explained through recourse to Cunliffe's ideas of tithes, centralized storage, bonded labour and redistribution. Battlesbury Bowl appears to have a relatively large fulltime population and by the Middle Iron Age there are no nearby farmsteads exploiting the area. Furthermore, it is a blow to ideas of site hierarchy that all this material is recovered from an open settlement rather than a hillfort.

The concentration of later activity at the hillforts might be taken as supporting Sharples' Dorset model, where communities control land through the construction of hillforts. The growth of Yarnbury beyond its initial boundaries and the extension of its defences into more monumental forms is similar, albeit on a smaller scale, to that at Maiden Castle. The possibility that Yarnbury was home to a particularly victorious community is however unlikely. The existence of the large open settlement at Battlesbury Bowl would suggest that the chief reason for the construction of Scratchbury was not because of a large degree of conflict in the region. The trend for hillforts opposes the rest of Wessex where most hillforts are constructed in the Early Iron Age and abandoned by the Middle Iron Age. It appears unlikely that neighbouring communities were being conquered and subjugated. Additionally, Scratchbury is considered as being placed in a location whereby it would be unviable as a military defence (McOmish *et al* 2002:75) and although this perhaps suffers from viewing ancient defences in terms of modern warfare it does suggest that defence was not a primary factor in its location. The ultimate abandonment of Scratchbury is explained by movement of the community to the more defensible position at Battlesbury Camp, but this would infer that they already maintained affinity with the group at Battlesbury Bowl.

At both Battlesbury and Yarnbury, it appears that early settlement ultimately led to the construction of the substantial hillfort defences. The reason for this is hard to discern but the data from Battlesbury Bowl may provide an interesting insight. The faunal data suggests that it operated a largely dairy regime, an idea supported by the presence of burnt stabling waste and herbivore dung (Macphail and Crowther 2008:132). If the inhabitants conducted this on any kind of scale it would require additional labour for the twice daily milking. This would concentrate labour and explain the larger size of this settlement. They exploited a large area around the settlement for both arable and pastoral activities, probably indicating a scale of co-operation not seen elsewhere in the study area since the abandonment of the midden sites. Whilst the early small neighbouring settlements such as Mancombe Down probably recognized affinity with the inhabitants of Battlesbury there is no reason to expect that one

held supremacy over the other. Indeed it is possible that some of the small Early Iron Age settlements did not perform the whole range of domestic activities; the Mancombe Down enclosure for instance did not contain any pits. Consequently, as the period progressed, larger sites such as Battlesbury reached a critical mass where it drew in members of the community leading to the abandonment of the small farmsteads. Whilst the initial trigger for the nucleation appears to be related to the fundamentals of the agricultural regime in which they participated and the possible draws of a kin dominated group, there is no reason to presume that this was the sole aspect of this move. Many social factors should be taken into account. The companionship afforded by a group, affinity shared between members of a possible extended kin group, the greater security in times of sickness, external danger, scarcity or even old age are all factors that would have affected the decision. This concept works well for Battlesbury but not enough is known of the sites at Yarnbury and Scratchbury to confirm that a similar process happened here.

The settlements on the southern side of the valley are dispersed and are all situated 5-6km away from the nearest hillfort at Yarnbury. They are situated across the river but this is a shallow slow-flowing river with plenty of fording locations and there is no reason not to suppose a connection between these and Yarnbury. Hill's model is unable to explain why, if settlement is mostly situated to the south rather than Yarnbury, the hillfort was created there rather than the Great Ridge. However, the pattern could easily support the system hypothesised by Cunliffe with settlement concentrated within the hillfort and more distant regions being farmed from satellite locations (Cunliffe 2000:185). Their position in this model dictated not so much by their distance from Yarnbury but their topographical setting on the Great Ridge in sight of the hillfort. Without further excavation we are unable to comment further on the exact nature of the relationship between these sites.

6.5 Summary

For the Bronze Age the majority of evidence along the Wylfe Valley consists of field systems and linear earthworks. Few settlements are known but as we approach the transition to the Iron Age there is an expansion of activity sites connected with animal management. The patterns suggest a high degree of residential mobility through the later Bronze Age with a degree of transhumance. The sites at Codford and Cow Down are more sedentary parts of this system. Members of these sites probably took part in the journeys associated with this system

and the meetings that ensued allowing a broad affinity to develop across the sub-region. The Early Iron Age heralds the first large settlements at Battlesbury Bowl and probably Scratchbury and Yarnbury with activity concentrated at these sites. This pattern ultimately fossilizes into the hillforts at Battlesbury and Yarnbury. In contrast, settlement on the southern side of the valley remains in the form of small farmsteads, though as we progress into the Late Iron Age (outside the scope of this study) these too develop into hillfort-like structures.

This pattern does not fit into a neat settlement hierarchy. The hillfort at Scratchbury and nearby open settlement at Battlesbury Bowl appear to both be intensively occupied whilst the lack of small farmsteads on the northern part of the valley does not match with Hill's Wessex model. With the main period of hillfort construction falling late in the Iron Age this region is unlike any other part of the study area. These sites are unlikely to relate to different communities in conflict as to construct a new hillfort so close to an existing one at Scratchbury could surely not be achieved without leading to hostilities. Instead I propose that the settlement pattern can be explained in relation to the agricultural regime with which the groups engaged. The nucleation of population here results from a choice made to pursue a certain economic course; this route was not forced upon them but was one that they chose to undertake. The economic regime was able to support the nucleation and had other benefits which in turn made this concentration of probably blood-related members viable.

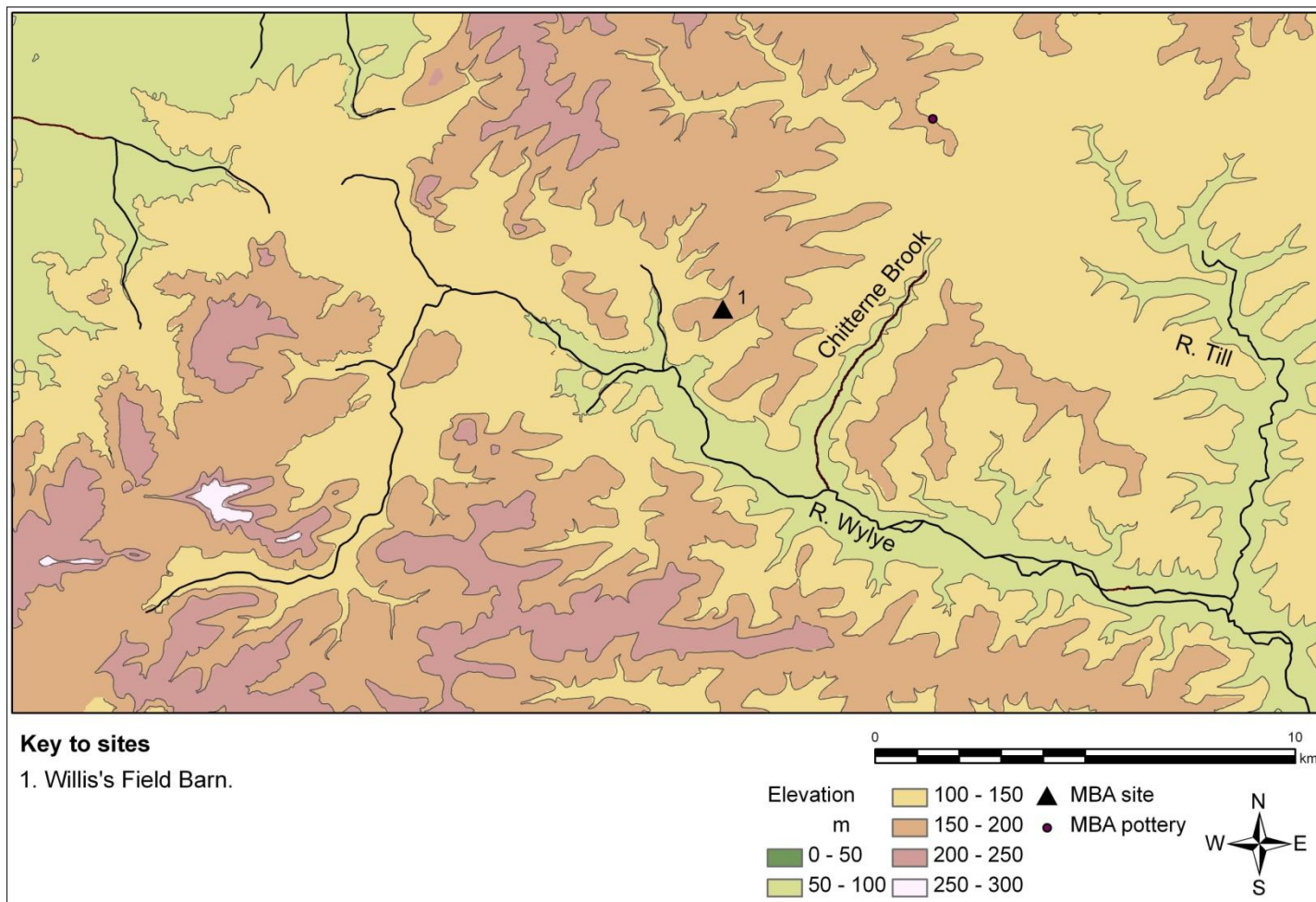


Figure 6.1- Middle Bronze Age sites in the Wyllye Valley.

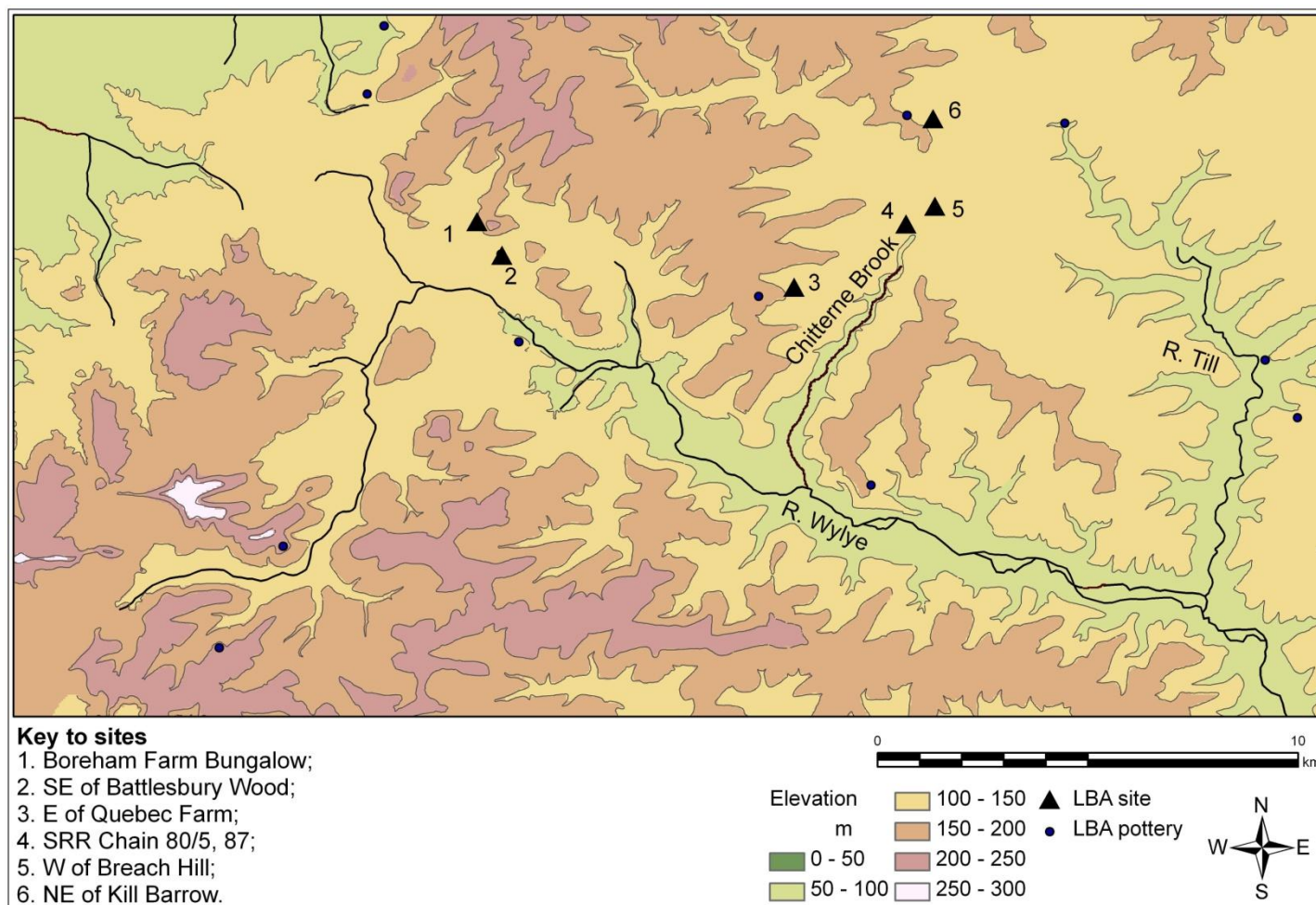


Figure 6.2- Late Bronze Age sites in the Wyllye Valley.

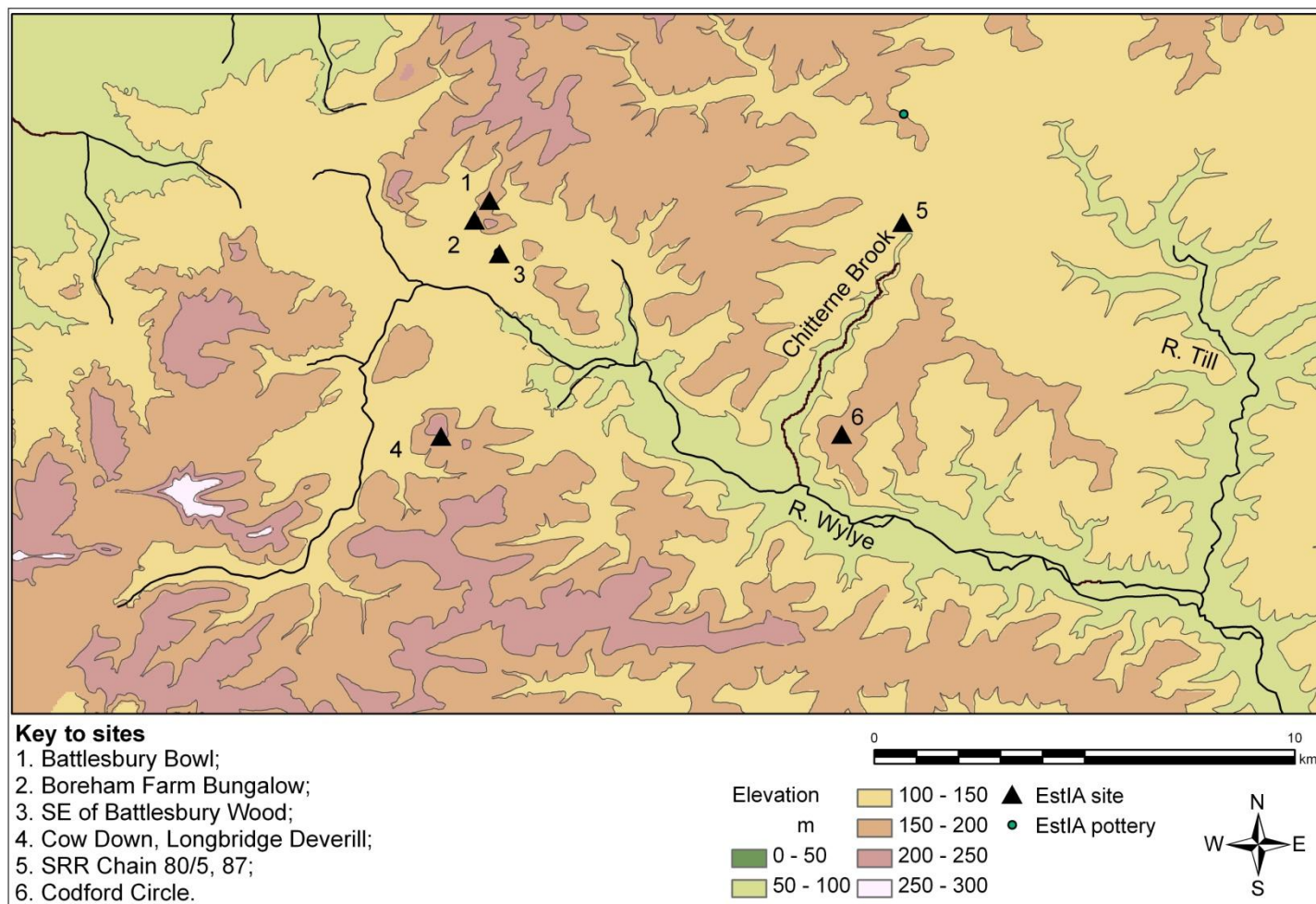


Figure 6.3- Earliest Iron Age sites in the Wylly Valley.

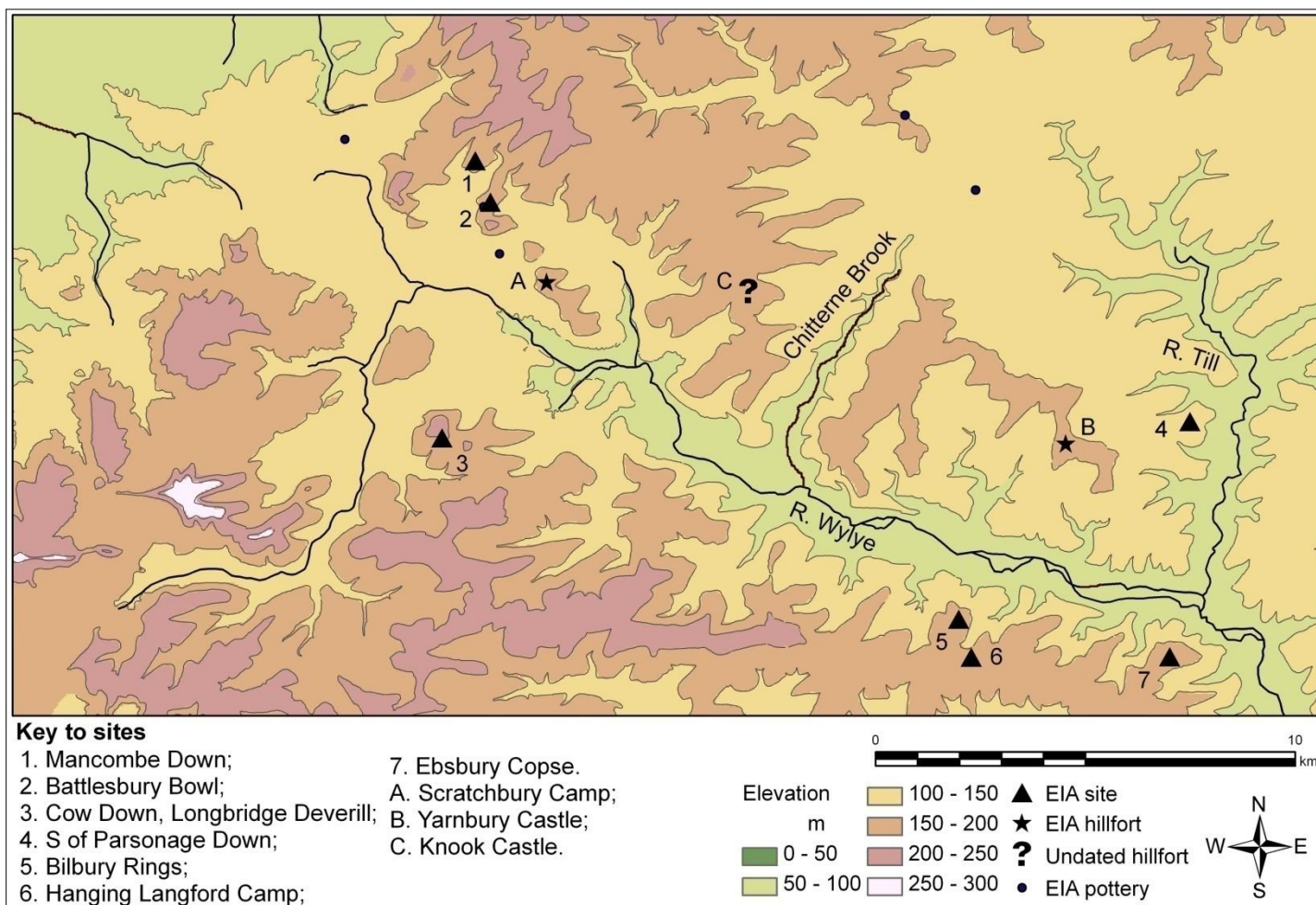


Figure 6.4- Early Iron Age sites in the Wylze Valley.

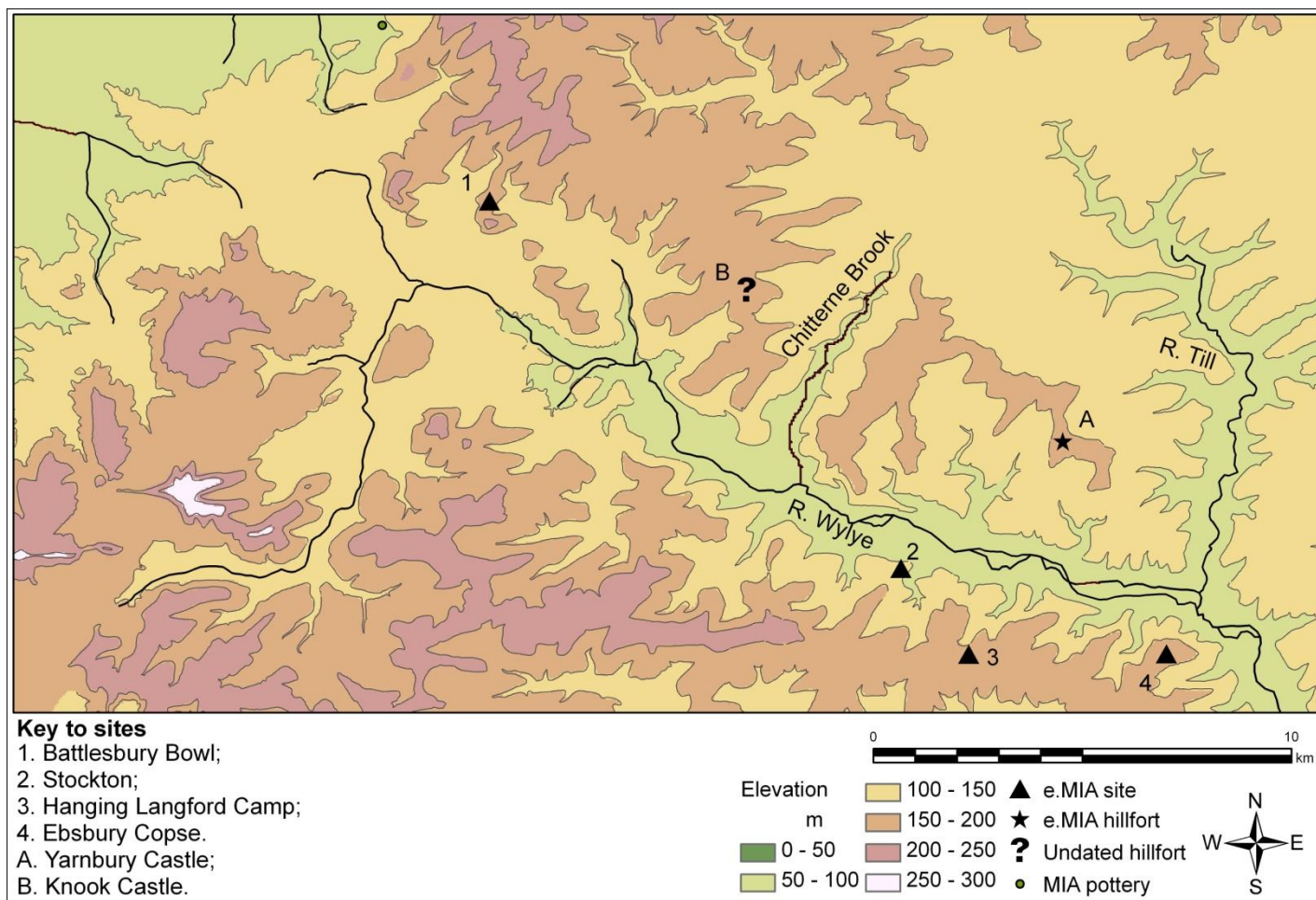


Figure 6.5- early Middle Iron Age sites in the Wyllye Valley.

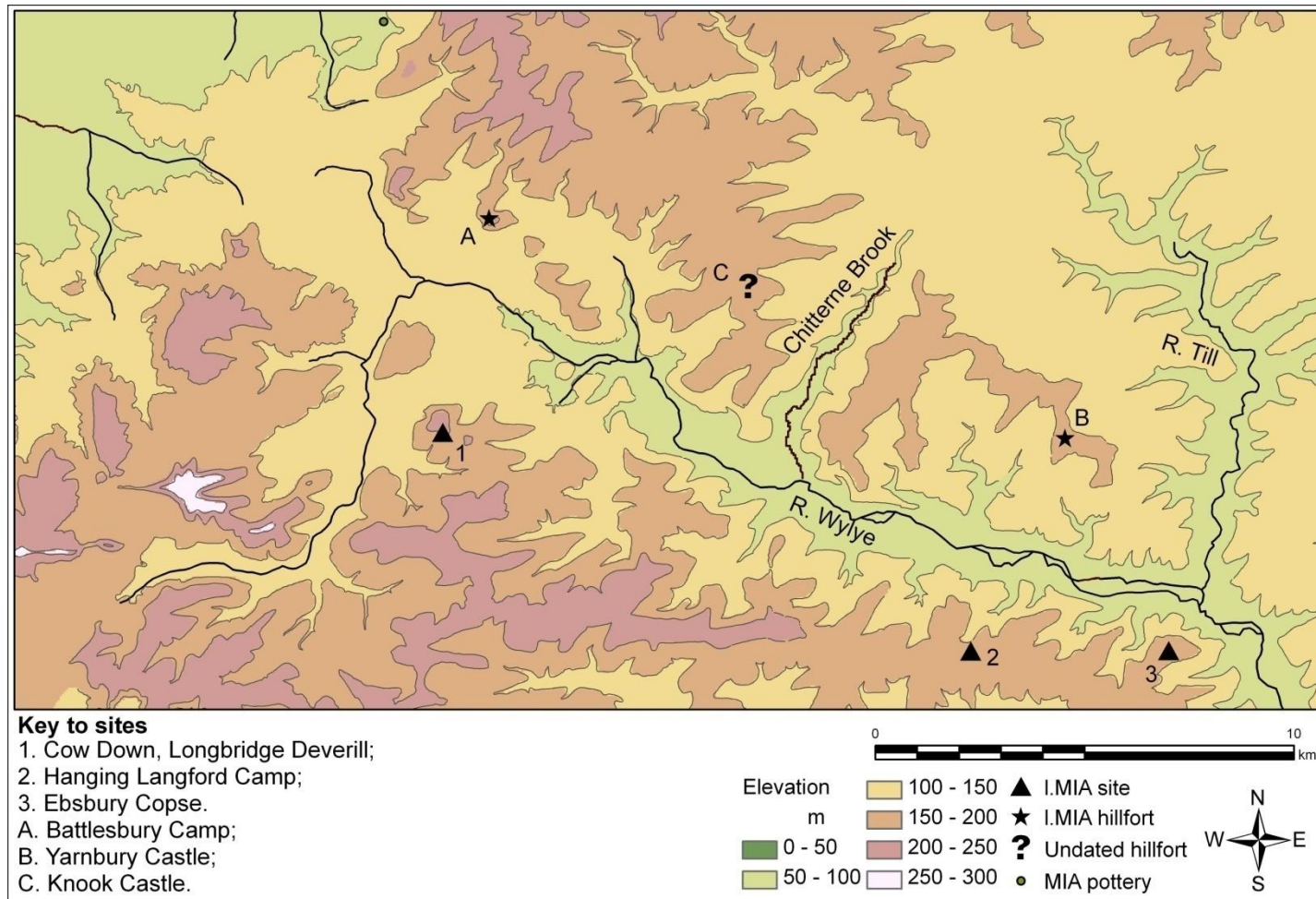


Figure 6.6- late Middle Iron Age sites in the Wylfe Valley.

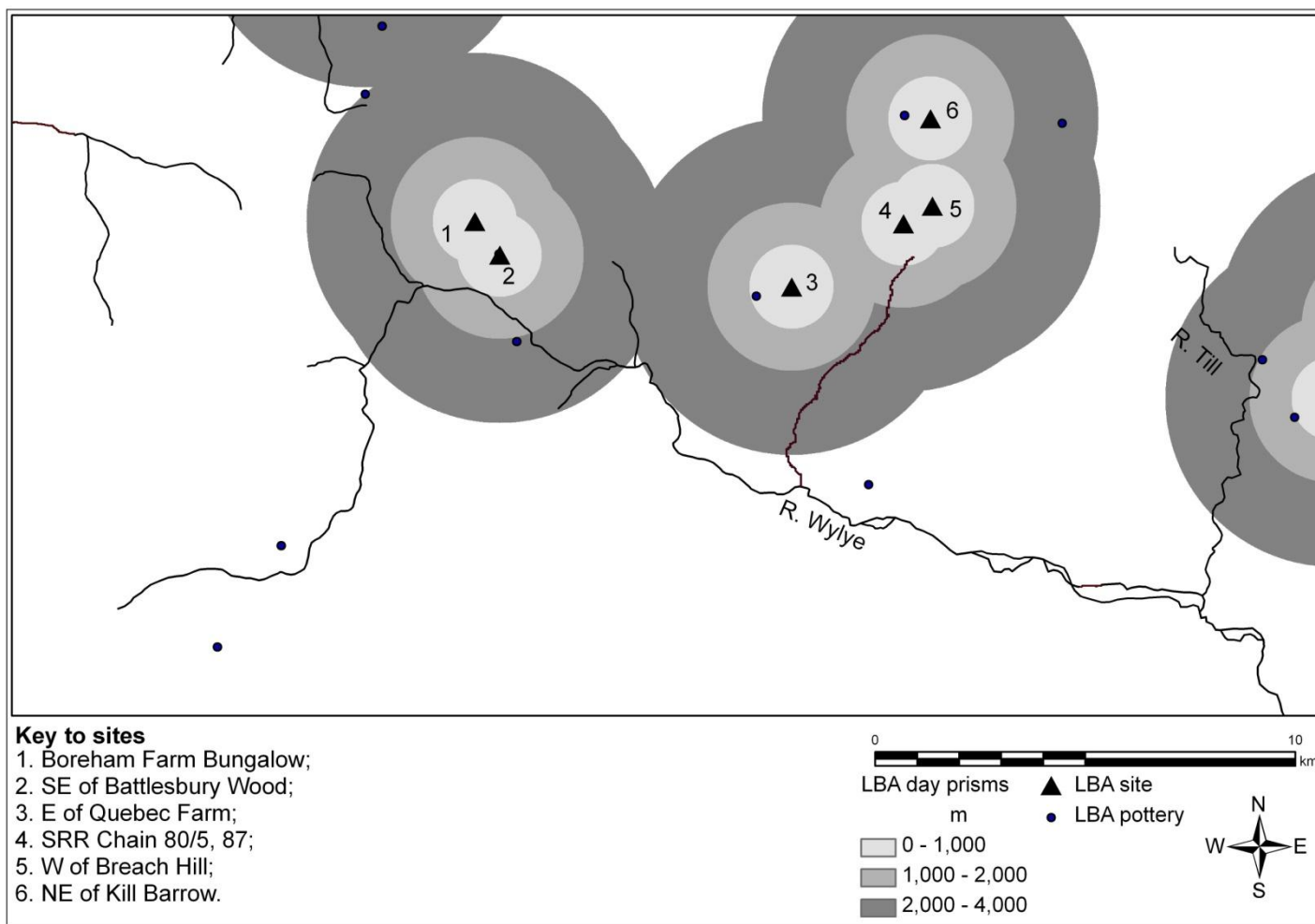


Figure 6.7- Wyllye Valley Late Bronze Age site activity-prisms.

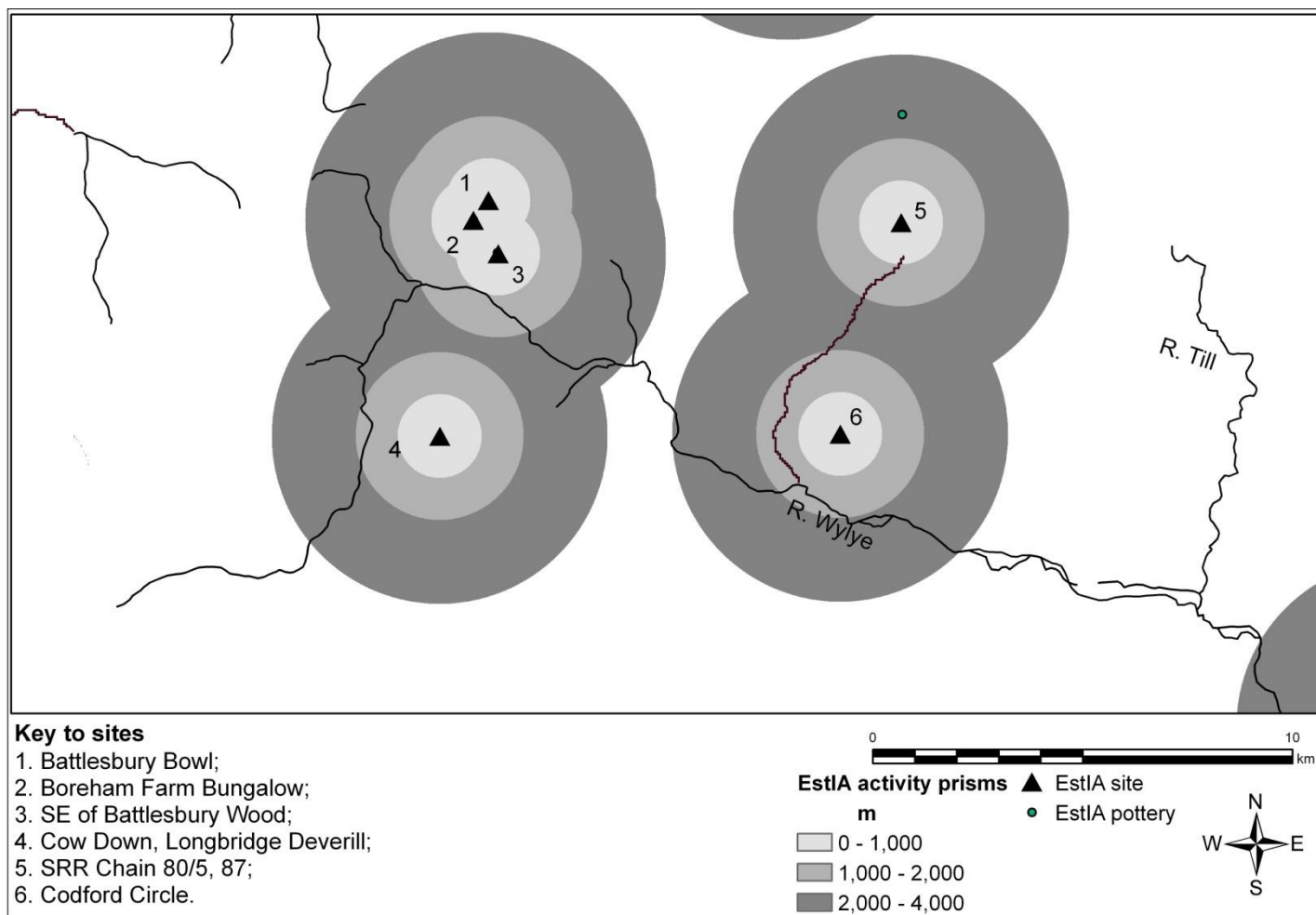


Figure 6.8- Wylve Valley Earliest Iron Age site activity-prisms.

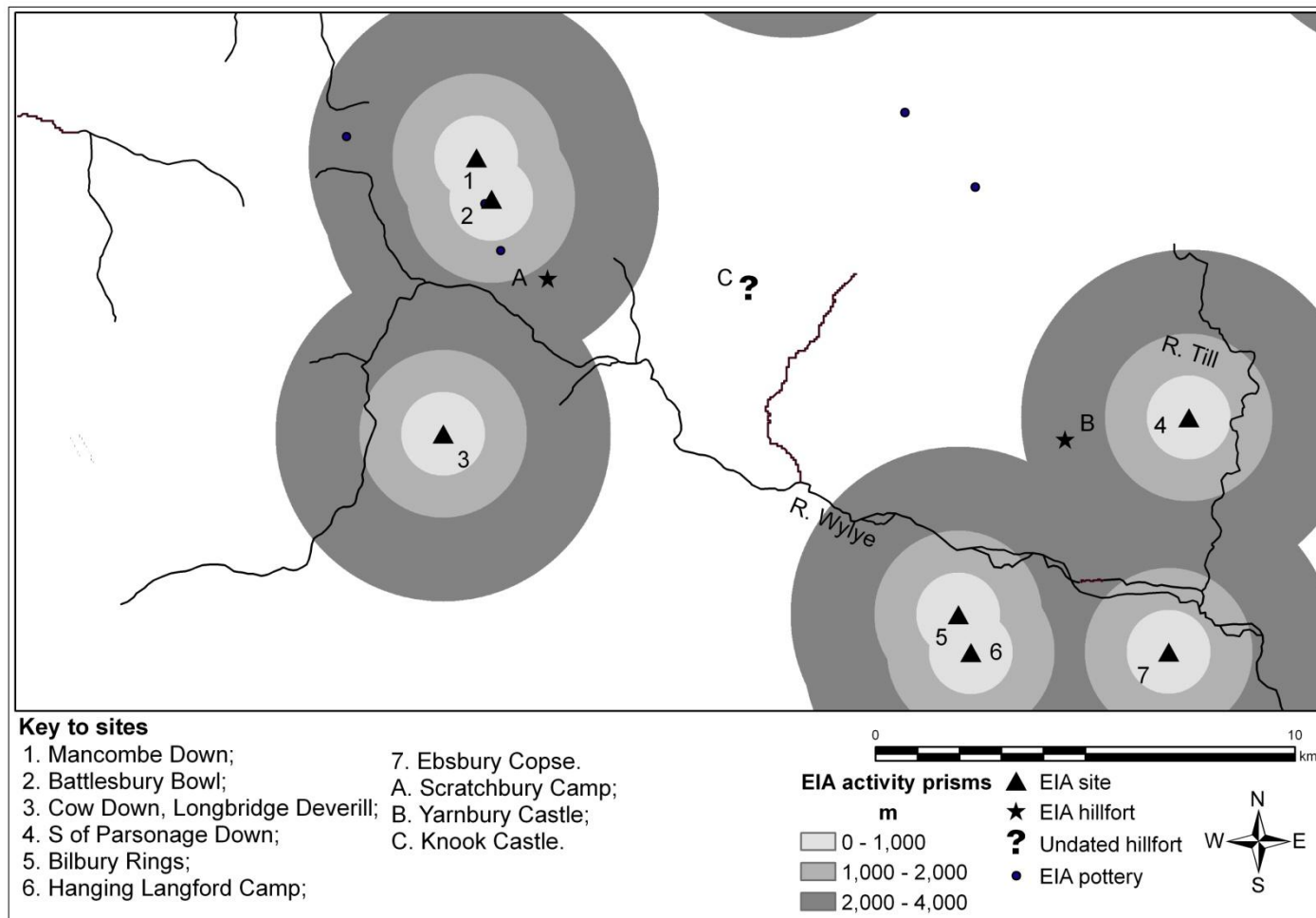


Figure 6.9- Wyllye Valley Early Iron Age site activity-prisms.

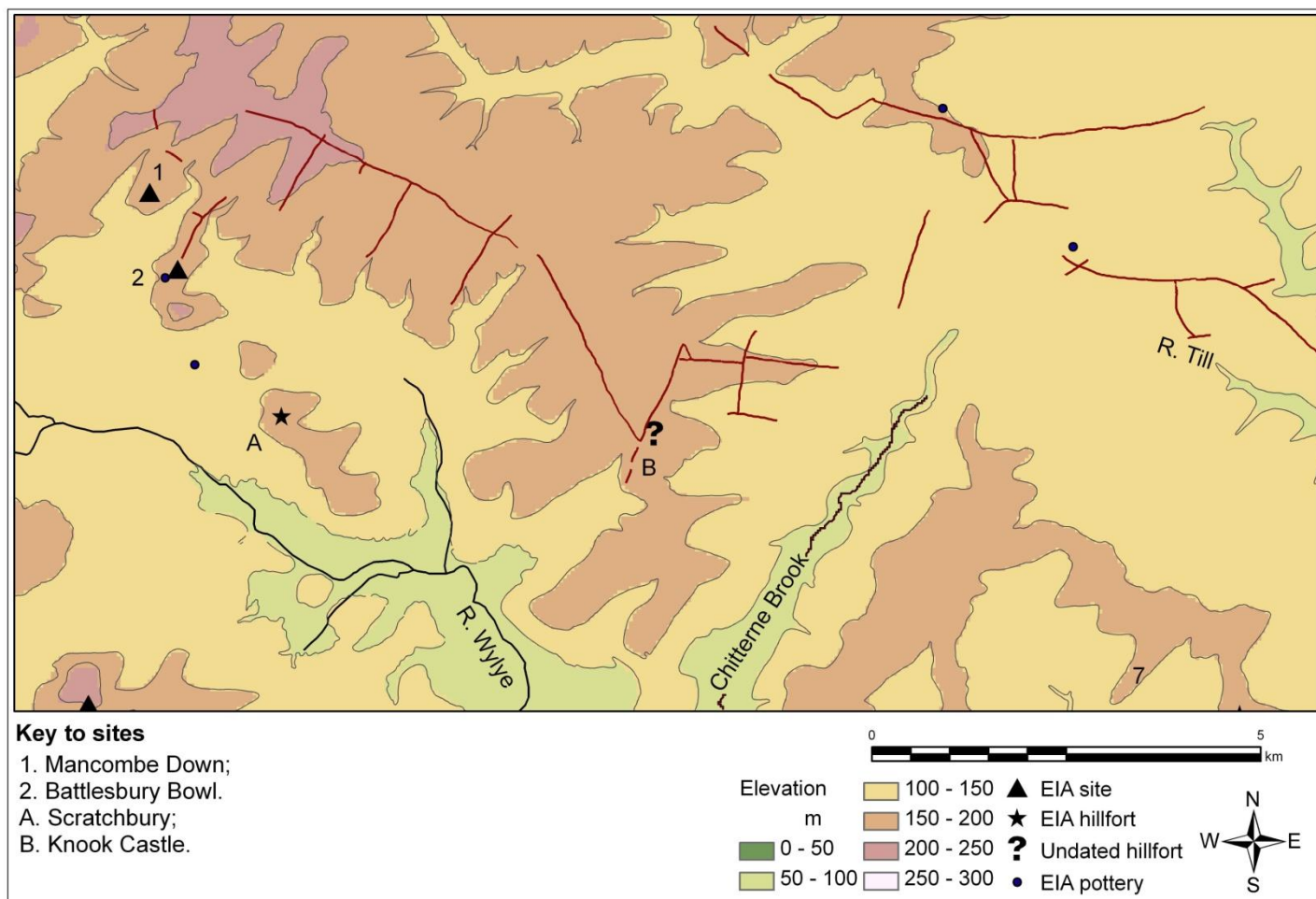


Figure 6.10- Linear earthwork system on the northern margin of the Wylve Valley.

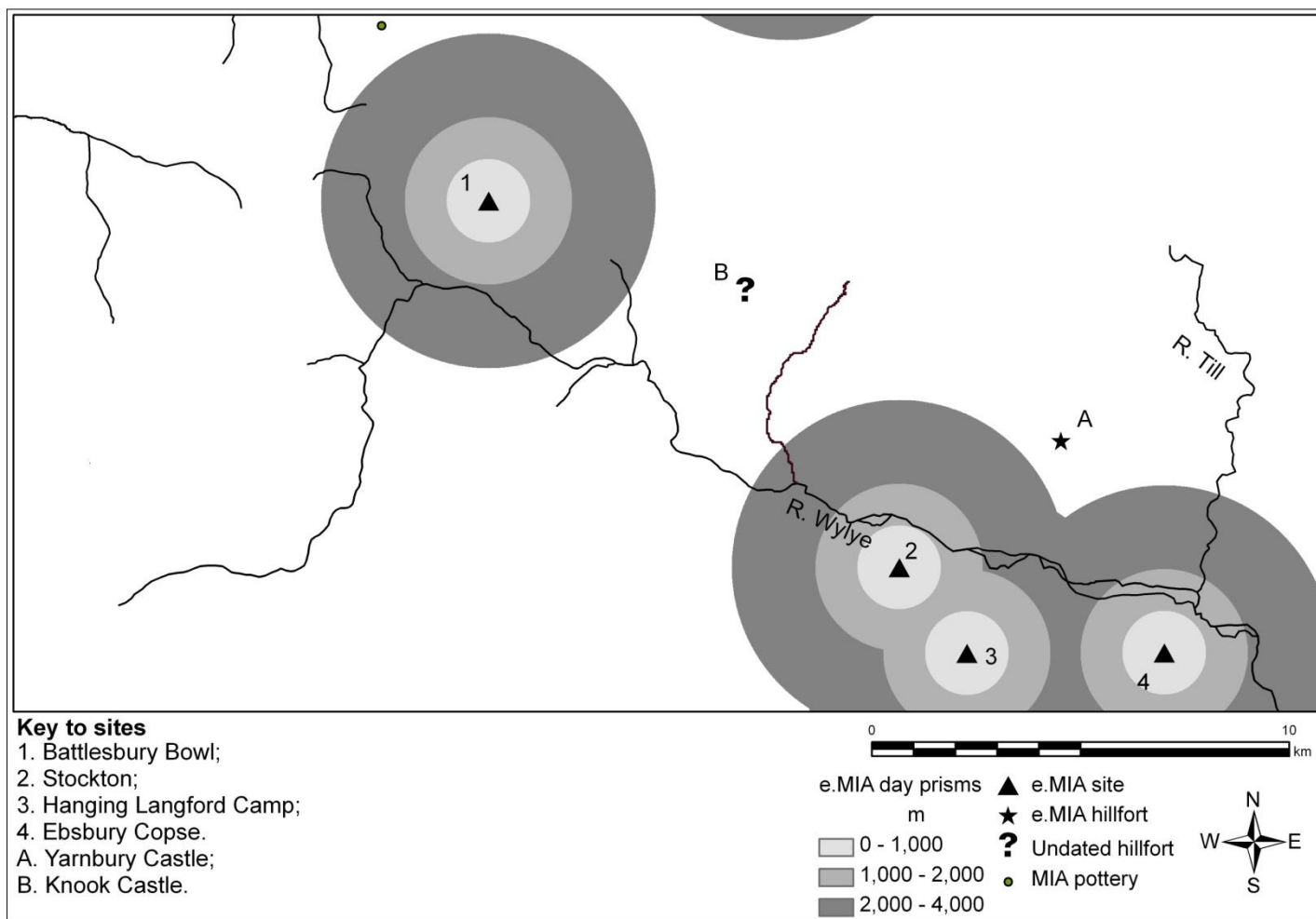


Figure 6.11- Wyllye Valley early Middle Iron Age site activity-prisms.

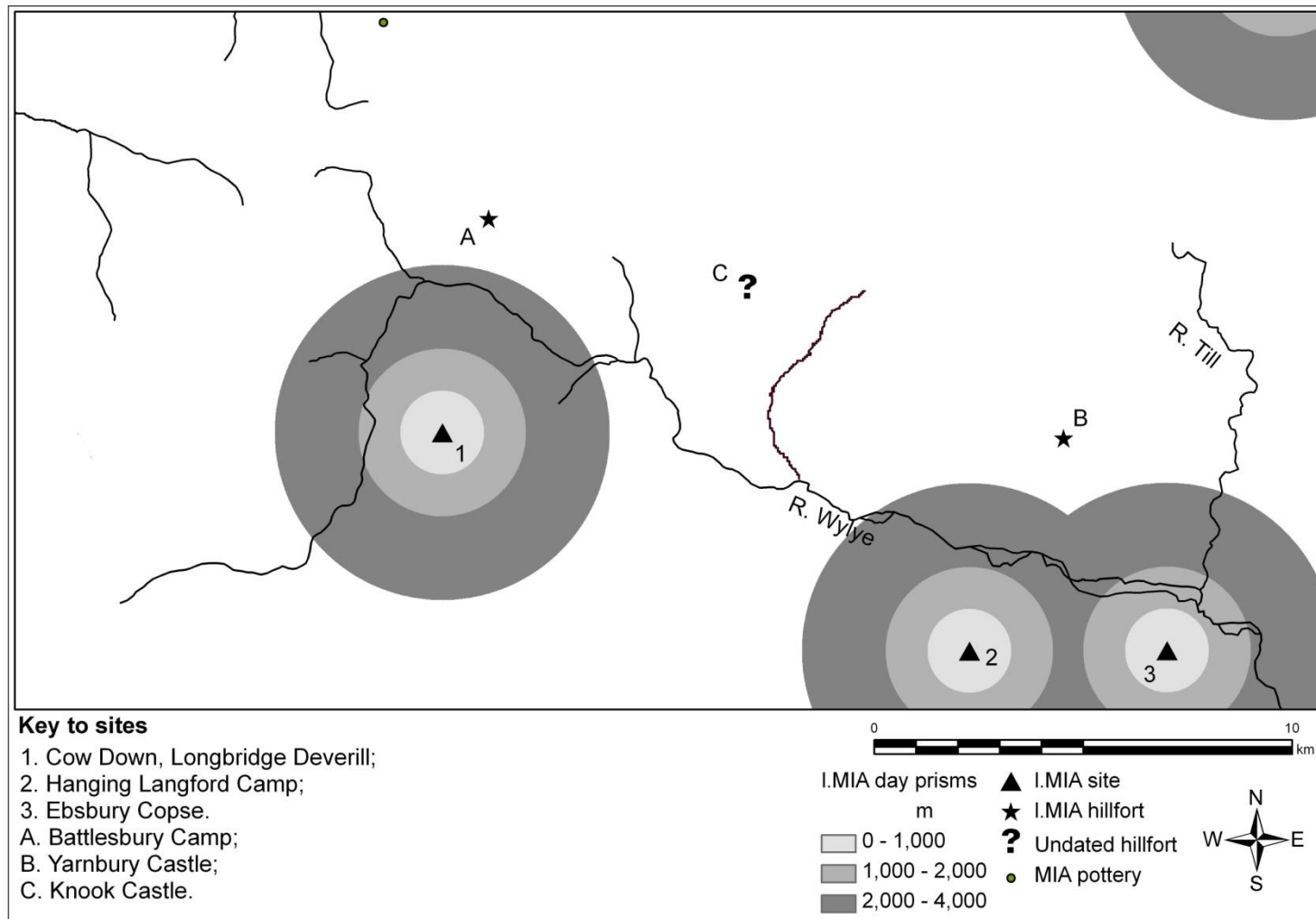


Figure 6.12- Wyllye Valley late Middle Iron Age site activity-prisms.

Chapter 7 - Vale of Pewsey

The Vale of Pewsey lies between the chalk downs of Salisbury Plain and the Marlborough Downs. Strictly speaking the Vale extends from Burbage in the east to Devizes in the west where it opens out into the Wiltshire Vale, but for the purposes of this study, sites up to the (Bristol) River Avon are included. The Vale is formed from the eroded core of an anticline with the Upper and Middle Chalk layers forming the scarps to north and south, the Lower Chalk forming a bench within the valley and Lower Greensand and alluvium within the centre (Chandler 1991:14). In contrast to the surrounding downs, the Vale has many springs with streams flowing both west to the join the Bristol Avon and south to the Salisbury Avon. A large area of marsh known as Cannings Marsh lay to the south of Bishop Cannings and historically the centre of the valley was very marshy (*ibid.*:91).

Prior to PPG16 the known archaeology was mostly confined to the downland margins. All Cannings Cross was an obvious exception but it wasn't until the discovery of Potterne that the importance of the Vale truly started to be understood. PPG16 has had a significant impact here, accounting for 46% of the known sites although fieldwalking research driven by a hunt for new 'middens' has also improved our knowledge of what was until recently a neglected and poorly understood region.

7.1 Land divisions

There are no proven Prehistoric field systems in the Vale itself, though there are several groups on the flatter downland around Bishop Cannings Down. Traces of fields extend along the downland immediately to the north but they are less clear than their brethren on the Marlborough Downs perhaps indicating a shorter duration of exploitation. These have a ladder like character, running in strips from the chalk escarpment rather than the coaxial pattern found elsewhere (McOmish 2005:136). Field systems can be traced on the downland immediately south of the valley and the Middle Bronze Age settlement on Easton Hill appears to be associated with its own system (SMR record SU25NW632). Fields may not have been restricted to the downs, and at Potterne the midden was found to overlie a Middle and Late Bronze Age field (Lawson 2000:258), whilst soil marks may indicate a field system to the west of All Cannings Cross (SMR record SU06SE651). To the west of the Vale, on the banks of the Bristol Avon, field boundaries dated to the Middle Bronze Age were discovered at Trowbridge (Graham and Davies 1993:16) and at Brickley Lane, Devizes, elements of a field system were

dated to the Iron Age (Poore *et al* 2002:220). Whilst our knowledge of fields is mostly based upon those that were left as fossils on the downs, we should expect that a portion of the dry areas of the valley would also have had fields but that these have been obscured or obliterated by their continued exploitation.

A number of linear ditches are known on the southern edge of the Marlborough Downs (Figure 7.1). The largest of these is the Wansdyke that runs across the study area along the area of high downs. This is usually dated to the early medieval period (Chandler 1991:39) but some stretches may have replaced earlier Prehistoric sections (Field 2001:61). Certainly, in addition to the Wansdyke, there are several other sections of ditch that run east/west along the ridge. Most prominent of these are stretches around Martinsell, one of which was used for the enclosure's northern boundary. Tan Hill, the highest point in Wiltshire, appears to form an important element in this system and is defined as a plateau by a number of ditch sections. There are also a succession of earthworks that run north/south from the escarpment edge. These divide discrete areas of downland in a similar way to the subsidiary elements seen on Salisbury Plain, with the southern escarpment forming the spinal element of the system (Kirkham 2005:151). Most of these earthworks are between 0.5 and 1km in length. Two are situated between Tan Hill and Milk Hill, running to the Kennet Valley, whilst another fragmentary stretch runs north from Tan Hill to Oldbury. In some cases these linear ditches appear to provide access to the interior of the downs from the valley. To the north of Milk Hill, a coombe that provides easy ascent is flanked by earthworks as you attain the downland. 1km to the west, two small stretches of east/west linears kink to form a funnel that leads to further linears and the Kennet.

7.2 Settlements

There is little known Middle Bronze Age settlement around the Vale of Pewsey (Figure 7.2). The best published site, Bishops Cannings Down, lies on the northern margin of the valley and was unenclosed. It consisted of at least two phases, each of which was represented by a single round house (Gingell 1992:7-10). Finds include eight fragments of bronze including a fragment of a rapier, a piece of a knife and an awl. There were also seven pieces of worked bone and a stash of fossil Kimmeridge bivalve fragments, possibly for use as a temper in pottery manufacture (*ibid.*). Bishop Cannings is the only strictly Middle Bronze Age settlement identified around the Vale but four sites have produced material of both Middle and Late Bronze Age character (Figure 7.3). A large spread of later Bronze Age sherds was recovered

from an area of earthworks and barrows on All Cannings Down (Swanton 1987:13). A smaller number of sherds were recovered from a small rectilinear enclosure on Harestone Down (Meyrick 1947:258). Nearby at Knap Hill, Alton, a Late Bronze Age site was identified through a pottery scatter (Anon 1997:151). To the western-most extremes of the valley at Blenches Mill Farm, Heywood, a number of pits, post holes and a length of curvilinear ditch were associated with later Bronze Age pottery (SMR record ST85SE161). To the north, at Palmers Close, Hilperton, an enclosed Late Bronze Age site was identified with a series of pits, postholes and two multiphase circular gully built structures (Anon 1998:157). At the other end of the valley on Easton Hill, Meyrick recovered a sizeable collection of both Middle and Late Bronze Age pottery though most were of the earlier period (Swanton 1987:16) (SMR record SU25NW150).

The plateau enclosure at Tan Hill is undated but the site, historically the location of an annual horse fair (Peake 1939:434), appears to have been important throughout Prehistory. A series of finds have been reported, mostly from unreliable sources. These include Neolithic polished stone axes, an Early Bronze Age bronze axe, a Middle Bronze Age gold torc (Gray 1909:436), a Middle Bronze Age spearhead and a Late Bronze Age axe, pin and bracelet (Barber 2005). It is entirely possible that its role as a fair had ancient roots, leading to the chance loss of personal items, or that it formed the location for informal artefact deposition. Another option is that like Martinsell it fulfilled a role within animal management regimes but it never seems to have functioned as a settlement.

In the Earliest Iron Age we find the first strong evidence for settlement in the valley itself. Large middens have been identified at Potterne, All Cannings Cross, Stanton St. Bernard, Westbury, Black Patch, Steeple Ashton and Erlestoke whilst on the margins of the valley large midden deposits have been uncovered on Roughridge Hill and Martinsell (Figure 7.4) (McOmish 1996:69). Martinsell is variously described as a hillfort (Corney and Payne 2006:118) or early hilltop enclosure (Cunliffe 2004:75) and utilizes a stretch of linear earthwork for its northern boundary. This may suggest a degree of contemporaneity for the two but their exact relationship is unknown. Geophysical survey showed that the interior was devoid of features (Corney and Payne 2006:121). Giant's Grave sits on a chalk spur jutting out into the Vale to the west of Martinsell. It consists of a substantial cross-ridge dyke and a shallow scooped ditch that follows the contour, although aerial photographs hint at a large circular feature within the boundary. The site is hypothesised as a ridge-end or promontory fort (Cunliffe 2004:72), although it hasn't been excavated. It too is dated by the spread of midden material that starts just outside of the cross dyke and extends eastwards towards Martinsell for a stretch of

several hundred metres. Fieldwalking produced animal bone, an iron awl, a loomweight and a large collection of mostly Earliest Iron Age pottery, although a small amount of Early Iron Age material was also recovered (Meyrick 1947:256). The midden on Roughridge Hill is thought to cover an area of up to 5ha (McOmish 1996:73). The pottery is Earliest Iron Age, with other finds including animal bone, worked bone and antler as well as a whetstone (Robinson and Swanton 1993). All of this was set within the usual black earth midden matrix. Erlestoke Detention Centre was excavated in 1963, with only patchy records surviving for publication in 2002 (Foster and Roddham 2002). A collection of largely Earliest and Early Iron Age pottery was discovered along with a 'dark charcoal filled layer', although this was associated with a saucepan type pot (*ibid.*:118). It is unclear whether this site is of a similar character to Potterne or East Chisenbury but it appears to represent a less intensive settlement. Middle Iron Age pottery was also recovered but we cannot be sure that occupation was uninterrupted throughout the entire period.

Augering in advance of the eastern by-pass at Westbury discovered a large midden deposit comparable to that at Potterne, covering an area of over 3.7ha (Anon 2005:356). On the downs 5.7km to the southeast sits the hillfort of Bratton Camp which also has clear views of the site at Steeple Ashton. It is a bivallate hillfort enclosing an area of 9.3ha with entrances to the south and northeast. The southern exit is protected by hornworks whilst the north-east has an annex projecting 50m out from the main line of defences along a gentle spur. This spur forms a natural route of passage between the Vale and the downs and the 'ancient' Port Way runs through the entrances. The site was excavated by Jeffrey Whittaker in 1775, who recovered Roman and Saxon coins along with a large number of pebbles (Colt-Hoare 1812:55). These pebbles have been interpreted by Grinsell as sling stones (1957:45); probably indicating an Iron Age date, but no datable finds have survived the original excavation. The morphology of the defences suggests occupation in the Middle and Late Iron Age though an earlier date for its inception cannot be ruled out.

Oliver's Camp is a relatively slight univallate hillfort lying to the northwest of Bishops Cannings. It is situated to the north of a narrow coombe that provides easy passage between the downs and the valley, a fact that is highlighted by the presence of a number of hollow ways (Corney and Payne 2006:128). Excavation of the bank produced confusing results, with evidence for two internal turf lines in some places but not in others (Cunnington 1908:429-430). Postholes found under the bank probably represent evidence for a box rampart similar to that found at its neighbouring hillforts on the Marlborough Downs. Five hearths were

observed during the excavations three of which were located under the rampart indicating a pre-hillfort phase of activity. Though the majority of ceramics were of an Earliest Iron Age date it could be argued that this open phase was Late Bronze Age. Geophysical examination of the interior turned up no obviously contemporary features (Corney and Payne 2006:130) and it seems apparent that its period of use was relatively short.

In Easton parish to the southwest of Easton Clump, Meyrick recovered a large collection of Earliest Iron Age ceramics suggesting the existence of a settlement on the southern ridge overlooking the valley (Swanton 1987:14), something that has been confirmed by recent fieldwalking (SMR record SU25NW207).

The best excavated and published sites so far remain All Cannings Cross and Potterne. All Cannings Cross was excavated either side of the Great War by the Cunningtons and at the time revolutionized our understanding of the earliest stages of the Iron Age in southern Britain. The site is situated on the Lower Chalk bench, at a foot of scarp location. Rybury Hill with its hillfort bounds the site to the north whilst the Clifford's Hill spur bounds it to the east. Maud Cunnington uncovered 75 pits, five chalk pavements and at least two four-post constructions over a total excavated area of 0.6ha (Cunnington 1923). C.F.C. Hawkes thought that he could identify at least one roundhouse that the Cunningtons had missed amongst the features (J. Barrett pers. comm.). A large artefact assemblage included 461 pieces of worked bone, evidence for quern production and iron working. All Cannings Cross forms the ceramic type site for the Earliest and Early Iron Age in central southern Britain and it is arguably the longest lived of all the large midden sites with some Middle Iron Age pottery having been identified within the assemblage (Cunliffe 1973:420). In three cases, the chalk platforms were located next to oblong areas displaying a significant degree of burning eight to ten inches deep. This was taken as evidence that these were yards located next to rectangular buildings that had burnt down (Cunnington 1923:57). It is possible that these functioned as workshops or byres but no postholes were identified to confirm the presence of structures. Two gallons of slag were recovered from the vicinity of one and it is possible that they were connected with iron ore processing.

Rybury hillfort was heavily mined for chalk during the historical period and as a result barely any space in the interior has escaped destruction. It covers an area of 1.4ha with a very slight bank and ditch with traces of a second in places and it has been posited that it originated as a Neolithic causewayed enclosure (Curwen 1930:38). It is undated and so badly mutilated it probably never will be, but the slight nature of the defences led Grinsell to suggest

that it represented a cattle enclosure rather than a true hillfort (1957:261). Rybury possibly represents an early hilltop enclosure that reused an earlier structure but if so this would make it a very small example. It is however considered contemporary with the settlement at All Cannings Cross and Bradley has suggested an arable/pastoral division of activities between the two sites (Bradley 1971:76). 2km to the east of All Cannings Cross at Stanton St. Bernard lies another large midden deposit which displays similar characteristics. At 2ha and up to 1.5m deep, it is smaller than the other sites and may be shorter lived in duration. It produced large ceramic and animal bone assemblages but a more restricted repertoire of artefacts. A pit and chalk platform, both constructed within the midden matrix, were identified during the limited excavations as was a posthole situated at the base of the deposit.

Another hillfort is known at Chisbury Camp on the north-easternmost margin of the valley. It is bivallate and in places trivallate with a number of possible entrances, now much affected by modern activity. A water pipeline laid in 1932 revealed pits containing wheelthrown Iron Age C pottery (Cunnington 1932b). It has since been confirmed that all the pottery belonged to the conquest period (PCRG collection ID:2054) but this does not necessarily date the first phase of the defences and an earlier date for their inception cannot be ruled out. A further hillfort is usually hypothesised at Broadbury Banks on the northernmost edge of Salisbury Plain. It consists of an incomplete curl of ditch and bank and is usually hypothesised as an unfinished hillfort although some believe that this is just a fortuitous stretch of hollow way (McOmish *et al* 2002:81).

The large midden deposit at Potterne sits on top of a Late Bronze Age soil that contains Plain Ware ceramics but it is apparent that the period of midden accumulation is solely of Earliest Iron Age date (Needham 2007:43). Archaeomagnetic dating of two hearths at the base of the dark earth deposit suggest an inception date of between 800-650BC (68% confidence) (Clark 2000). The midden covers an area of 3.5ha and is up to 2m deep, containing a variety of pits, postholes, hearths and fence lines along a road (Lawson 2000). Finds included large bone and pottery assemblages along with 247 pieces of worked bone, 186 pieces of copper alloy and a range of exotic material including a gold bracelet (*ibid.*). Analysis of the midden deposit suggested that there was no single process behind its formation. Instead it was a mix of material accumulated through the dumping of partly decomposed or burnt herbivore (cattle and horse) stabling waste and domestic waste, representative of corralled animals trampling with continued scavenging by pigs and dogs (Macphail 2000:70). This contrasts with East Chisenbury where the major component was sheep dung.

All Cannings Cross and probably Erlestoke continue through the Early Iron Age before abandonment in the early part of the Middle Iron Age whilst Martinsell was abandoned soon into the Early Iron Age (Figure 7.5 and Figure 7.6). At the western end of the valley, to the north of Heywood House, a series of working hollows, postholes and shallow pits indicates the presence of a settlement, the main phase of which was Early Iron Age (Anon 1988:180). Only a few new settlements are known and largely through fieldwalking rather than excavation and so evidence is patchy. At Cats Brain on the southern side of the valley, a series of cropmarks were walked and produced a large assemblage of thick bodied jars and fine haematite coated wares (SMR reference SU15NW201). What the cropmarks represented or their relationship with the pottery scatter wasn't ascertained. Another Early Iron Age settlement was identified by Colt-Hoare just to the south-west of the Marden Henge (Colt-Hoare 1821:5). On Thorn Hill to the north of Stanton St. Bernard an Early Iron Age settlement was identified through ceramic scatters by Meyrick (1947:258) whilst nearby at the foot of Knap Hill an assemblage of Early Iron Age pottery is also probably indicative of a settlement (SMR record SU16SW205; HER monument number 969801). On the southern scarp at Pewsey Hill sits a simple circular enclosure. A dry valley to the south provides easy access between down and valley. The area is covered by coaxial field systems and a ditch that runs parallel with these fields runs through its eastern entrance before exiting south (Thompson 1971:63-66). The site was occupied through the Early to Middle Iron Age with other finds including a sarsen saddle quern, several hammerstones, a chalk loomweight and five small lumps of iron slag (*ibid.*:66-71).

At Brickley Lane, Devizes (Figure 7.7) a series of features, including a 19m diameter drip gully for a roundhouse, a series of postholes and 70 pits were dated to the late Middle Iron Age although only the southern and western margins were located with any confidence (Poore *et al* 2002). A small range of finds included an iron brooch, sickle and pick-head and in general the site was considered to represent a modest farmstead.

7.3 Nature of habitation

Our knowledge of habitation in this region is dominated by the large assemblages from the middens and so largely restricted to the Earliest and Early Iron Ages. Bishops Cannings Down is an exception and a range of craft activities can be shown to have been conducted here in the Middle Bronze Age. Bronze working is indicated by a bronze casting droplet and a bronze sprue-cup from a mould. Textile production was evidenced by a small worked bone

assemblage including a needle, a gouge and two points whilst the presence of fossil shells for temper supports the idea that pottery was manufactured on site (Gingell 1992).

The midden sites contain a sizeable amount of worked bone with a wider repertoire of bone tool types than recovered from most other settlements. Of the 461 pieces from the original excavation at All Cannings Cross, there were 38 rib knives, 36 pointed implements, 41 needles and 27 thin blades which have been linked with leatherworking activities (Cunnington 1923:23-24). At Potterne, eight rib knives, 39 pointed tools, nine awls and five needles were recovered. A large number of spindle whorls are found at the midden sites: 58 at All Cannings Cross and 62 at Potterne. However the number of loomweights is not exceptional, with only six from All Cannings, two from Stanton St. Bernard and seven from Potterne. Two combs and nine shuttles were recovered from Potterne and seven combs and 123 scoops or shuttles from All Cannings Cross supported the fact that weaving still took place on site. The only other sites to show evidence of weaving were Pewsey Hill, where a solitary loomweight was recovered (Thompson 1971) and Erlestoke Detention Centre, where eight loomweights were found (Foster and Roddham 2002:122). A spindle whorl, rib knife and bone scoop were also recovered from the latter site.

A large volume of ceramics was recovered from the midden sites but the assemblages are typical for settlements at this time with the exception of the number of vessels with perforated bases. The occurrence of these vessel types is extremely rare until the Late Iron Age (Gingell and Morris 2000: 153). These were probably used in the preparation of a specialized foodstuff, perhaps as a strainer of curd in the manufacture of cheese.

At All Cannings Cross, 1360 rounded hammerstones provide strong evidence for the large scale manufacture of querns on site (Cunnington 1923:26). Humphrey (2007) suggests that the flint assemblage from Potterne was used for butchery purposes. Shale rough-outs, found at both All Cannings Cross (four) and Potterne (14), indicate that this material was also being worked at certain of the middens, though the lack of large lumps of waste material or small fragments from the wet sieving would suggest that this was not a major activity at either location (Wyles 2000).

Copper alloy finds are numerous at both All Cannings Cross and Potterne, while All Cannings Cross has many more iron finds than any of the other sites. A large number of iron finds at Potterne were rejected as intrusive Romano-British and medieval material (Cleal and Lawson 2000), whilst All Cannings Cross has a longer chronology. Evidence for iron working has

been confirmed at All Cannings Cross and Potterne and metal working slag has been recovered from derived contexts at Stanton St. Bernard. At All Cannings Cross approximately two gallons of iron working slag were recovered. Analysis suggested that the slag originated from a fairly pure rather than a siliceous ore which could have been sourced locally from the Lower Greensand outcrop at Seend (Cunnington 1923:53). Seend sits on top of a small ridge formed by an outcrop of Lower Greensand and Seend Ironstone is a component of this outcrop. It is a very rich iron ore but there is no evidence from Seend itself to suggest exploitation until the 19th century (Bradby 1981:87).

The material from the middens shows that they were centres of production. Many of the industries involved secondary animal products resulting from the large numbers of animals brought to the sites. It also suggests that they were important for the manufacture of other items such as iron objects and querns.

The coincidence of an apparent population explosion in a region with large resources of surface iron-rich ore during the period transiting between Bronze and Iron Ages has not escaped attention (Barrett and McOmish 2009). It is possible that the large midden deposits are connected with the mining and refinement of iron, perhaps representing resources being sucked into an area with an 'iron rush' similar to those of the nineteenth century gold rushes of California and Australia. The large midden deposits would therefore represent animals brought into the area to feed craftsmen with either meat or dairy products, allowing the development of other ancillary crafts with animal secondary products. While iron was a new product the region would be fairly rich but its assimilation as an everyday product with intensive recycling and new sources of iron being located could explain the abandonment of many of these sites as we enter the Early and Middle Iron Ages.

The Middle Bronze Age animal bone assemblage from Bishops Cannings Down contained the main domesticates with cattle predominating. The high proportion of calf represented in the assemblage suggests a dairy regime where a large number of males were culled in their first year (Maltby 1992:141). Sheep in contrast had a significant proportion killed in their first and second years with the rest making it through to maturity, suggesting their exploitation for meat (*ibid.*:142).

A huge amount of animal bone is contained within the deposits at the midden sites. Of 134,000 bones and bone fragments recovered from Potterne, 11,511 were identifiable to specific species (Appendix 1.1) (Locker 2000:101). Here the earlier half of the deposit (zones 8-

11) has roughly equal numbers of cattle, sheep/goat and pig bones but for the second half pig numbers remain static, cattle numbers fell from 31.6% to 19.5%, and sheep/goat numbers rose from 33.1% to 46.1% (*ibid.*:102). Comparison of ageing data with Payne's hypothetical model for agricultural regimes (1973) shows an intermediate result for cattle, suggesting that they were maintained for a variety of purposes but with a surplus at meat producing ages (Locker 2000:115). The sheep/goat data had peak kill-offs at 6, 18, 30, 36 months suggesting evidence for autumn culls but that overall these animals were kept for a mixed product profile. The percentage of pigs at Potterne is particularly high when compared to the other midden sites. These vary from 13.9% at Stanton St. Bernard, to 12.1% at East Chisenbury to only 6.8% from the recent excavations at All Cannings Cross. Sheep/goat dominate all of these sites in even higher percentages than at Potterne. The age profiles of the sheep/goat assemblages are of note with 25% killed between the age of two and six months and a further 30% between six and twelve months at Stanton St. Bernard (Tullett and Harrison 2008). It has been suggested that this reflects a mixed dairy and meat producing regime, a pattern matched by the figures from East Chisenbury (Serjeantson *et al* 2010).

The only later site with an animal bone assemblage large enough for analysis was Brickley Lane, Devizes. 161 bones from 629 could be attributed to specific species. Sheep predominated and nearly all were below two years of age, implying a meat producing regime. Cattle were the second most numerous but were from mature animals suggesting that they had probably been kept for traction purposes (Charles 2002a).

Archaeobotanical analysis is only available for two sites making comparison largely irrelevant. At Potterne, hulled barley and wheat were recovered in roughly equal proportions. The material represented at least the later stages of crop processing containing weed seeds and chaff. The environmentally specific weed taxa showed the crops had mostly been grown on the local Lower Greensand and damper Gault Clay soils to the west (Straker 2000:91). The charred and mineralized plant remains from Brickley Lane, Devizes contained spelt wheat, hulled barley and oats. Large quantities of spelt wheat glume bases and weed seeds suggest cereal processing on site (Pelling 2002). Of more note however, was that somewhere in excess of 10,000 charlock brassica seeds were recovered from two pits appearing to indicate deliberate cultivation for its oily seeds (*ibid.*).

7.4 *Landscape and society*

Middle Bronze Age settlement is mostly situated along the northern margin of downland that overlooks the valley (Figure 7.8). They have a regular spacing and all fall into the 1-2km activity-prisms of each other although the westernmost of these sites, Bishops Cannings Down, probably predates the other two and had been abandoned by the time of their inception. They sit within or close to field systems though the intermittent nature of these fields seems to reflect post-depositional practices rather than an actual absence. The other two Middle Bronze Age settlements at Easton and Blenches Mill Farm are apparently isolated although soil marks show that the Easton settlement was situated within a field system. Blenches Mill Farm is also located close to Trowbridge where Middle Bronze Age fields and pottery have been recovered, suggesting that it was probably only one of a number of small settlements. This pattern continues into the Late Bronze Age with the addition of the site at Knap Hill which shares 1km activity-prisms with Harestone Down (Figure 7.9). The valley appears to be mostly devoid of settlement but with the exception of Harestone Down all are open settlements and if this is the dominant form of settlement, more may remain undiscovered. It is however, also possible that the waterlogged nature of the valley bottom deterred settlement during this period.

The settlement patterns identified for the later Bronze Age in and around the Vale of Pewsey appear to indicate a predominance of open rather than enclosed settlements. The most apparent concentration of sites is on the downland on the northern margin of the valley, although the western end may also have been well populated at this time. The sites are situated relatively close to each other and so may not fit Brück's pattern of isolated enclosed settlements. Bishops Cannings Down was comparatively rich in fragments of bronze as are its neighbours to the north, suggesting that this results from the excavation programme by which they were investigated rather than actual wealth. In terms of settlement architecture, the two areas with settlement groups both include a single site that is enclosed (Harestone Down and Palmers Close) but it is not immediately apparent that these are of a different status to their neighbours. There is no evidence for either a series of socially isolated households or a ranked society in this region. We might however see the groups on the southern margins of the Marlborough Downs linked into the communities further to the north. At the same time the settlements to the west may have been part of communities with a greater focus around the (Bristol) Avon River and valley.

All Earliest Iron Age sites are open and these have now been identified throughout the valley (Figure 7.10). They are equally distributed through the valley with junctions in the 2-4km day prisms. This distribution continues to the south and the sites around Lidbury share 2-4km day prisms with Blackpatch and Easton. Exceptions are the two large midden sites of All Cannings Cross and Stanton St. Bernard, spaced less than a kilometre apart separated by the chalk spur that rises up to Clifford's Hill. Being situated in and around the Vale, it is of little surprise that all the sites are within 2km of surface water though most were closer. Most of the midden sites were situated close to the valley margins, well placed to exploit a range of ecological zones from the wet marshy zones, to the spring lines on the lower chalk bench and the rougher downland pasture.

The rapid expansion of settlement in the area during the Earliest Iron Age represents a different set of challenges to the existing social models. They show concentrations of population, exotic items and craftworking activities. In many ways they superficially meet many of the functions that Cunliffe associates with developed hillforts of the Middle Iron Age (Cunliffe 1984a). They appear to draw in resources from a wider area of the landscape than their immediate environs, in this case animals and exotic goods. They are centres for craftwork activities with a possible redistribution of a number of products to neighbouring groups. The number of exotic goods infer that they were of higher status than contemporary non-midden sites. The main problem is that rather than distributed evenly across the landscape these sites are found only in one region, mostly 4-8km from each other. They have no defensive features or settlement architecture that could be associated as awe-inspiring and so do not appear to harbour social elites that were in direct competition with each other. Based on current understanding however, Potterne has produced a far greater quantity of material that could be considered exotic. At All Cannings Cross 12 fragments of Kimmeridge shale and three glass beads were recovered, but at Potterne 88 pieces of shale were found along with seven glass beads, a jet bead, seven pieces of amber, a gold bracelet and a further fragment of gold. Potterne could possibly reflect a richer site than All Cannings Cross but it is shorter lived with no obvious successor site. An alternative explanation would be variations in the quality of excavation with many small finds potentially being missed at All Cannings Cross. On morphological grounds, Cunliffe suggests that the earthworks at Giant's Grave could represent a ridge-end fort that housed a local elite family (2004:72), but the site is only indirectly dated and cannot even be proved to have been settled.

The size of the midden deposits provides us with an alternative insight into the wider community. The large numbers of animals, whose bones are included with the deposit, indicate the existence of huge herds of animals that would be required to support the annual slaughter. For dairy regimes the land closest to the settlement is usually allocated as paddocks along with lush summer pastures around watercourses that may be too boggy at other times of the year. This division of land allows the lactating animals plenty of water and nutrient-rich grass whilst keeping the distance that they have to travel to a minimum. However the size of herds argues against a solely dairy regime as they would require more land than available in the Vale. The Animals must have been managed outside of this area and, especially for the huge numbers of sheep, the implication is that some of the unsettled downland was used to rear sheep that were eventually brought to sites such as All Cannings Cross, Potterne, Bishop Cannings and Stanton St. Bernard for slaughter. Seasonality in the bone assemblage suggests that sheep were brought into the Vale in the late summer and autumn.

Halstead notes that whilst sedentary mixed farmers maintain small herds, those operating within a transhumant regime are likely to have much larger herds which is an impetus for the cycle of movement between available pasture (Halstead 1996:23). The implication is that the large midden sites testify to the existence of transhumant farmers during this period. Around the study area, a number of Earliest Iron Age sites represent temporary or seasonal sites associated with pastoral activities. The division of linear earthworks on the northern side of the valley emanate from the valley margin and proceed into the downs. These could be interpreted in two ways, firstly that they delineate pasture between different farming groups based in the valley or that secondly they were used for moving animals from the downs to the valleys. It has been suggested that a number of these would be better thought of as hollow ways cut by the regular movement of animals between downs and valley (Paul Tubb pers.comm.). The herds are too large to be owned by a single household and it is likely that they belonged to a group of families and had been combined to facilitate their management.

As centres where people congregated, they would have provided opportunities for the exchange of knowledge, information and skills across what at other times during the year were widely dispersed communities (Brück 2007:35). This period corresponds with the adoption of a more varied repertoire of ceramics. These are, in contrast to the preceding period, highly decorated with an emphasis on forms focused on the preparation and service of food (Barrett 1989:312). Public consumption of food obviously played a significant role with

these groups and it is possible that this was an important medium through which groups of weakly bonded individuals were brought together to cement unity within and across communities (Tullett and Harrison 2008).

It is surely no coincidence that the midden sites are situated in a valley containing very rich surface iron ore deposits at the point in time where iron technology is adopted. For increasingly wealthy communities, benefiting from the exchange of iron, animals might be an ideal form of payment and store of value for their wealth. Most of the midden sites appear to have a 1-200 year lifespan and this may represent the period when this region dominated iron production and the time that it took for other regions to locate their own sources and build up their stocks.

By the Early Iron Age, occupation in the western part of the valley had declined to the sites at Heywood and Erlestoke, but remained widespread in the east (Figure 7.11). The sites in the valley are now more like settlements than the large middens but their number reduces throughout this period and by the Middle Iron Age the valley is once again mostly empty of settlement (Figure 7.12 and Figure 7.13). Ostensibly, contact between sites would remain in the area of management but there are now large, apparently unsettled areas in the valley. These are spread out around the valley and whilst Pewsey Hill is situated close to a number of the settlements in the NESPTA sub-region, All Cannings Cross and Erlestoke are both left isolated. This is exacerbated by the later stages of the Middle Iron Age when only Brickley Lane, Devizes, and possibly Pewsey Hill are occupied.

We have a patchy understanding of the hillforts that edge the valley with no firm dating evidence for either Rybury or Bratton Camp. Both Martinsell and Oliver's Camp have an Earliest Iron Age provenance, and are possibly connected with the management of animals. With the proximity of All Cannings Cross and Rybury it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there was some form of connection between them, either in co-existence fulfilling complementary functions or that Rybury succeeded All Cannings Cross when it was abandoned. Bratton Camp however never had any settlements situated closer to it than 4km and may in fact have more in common with the line of late Middle Iron Age hillforts that line the edge of the downs on the northern side of the Wylve Valley in that it appears to sit in an otherwise uninhabited landscape during the Middle Iron Age. Occupation of Bratton Camp may therefore bear similarities to Battlesbury. Providing a defence from western incursion and providing a stable base from which to exploit the valley in the later period.

7.5 Summary

Later Bronze Age activity around the Vale of Pewsey appears to have mostly been situated on the northern scarp overlooking the valley and at the western end in the Wiltshire Vale. The situation changes dramatically in the Earliest Iron Age when there was an apparent explosion of activity. This is linked with the iron ore resources situated within the vale and the adoption of iron technology. A couple of the sites have produced exotic finds and may fulfil functions that are later attributed to hillforts. They drew in resources from a wide hinterland, were centres of production and probably involved with the distribution of some products such as wool and iron. Social differentiation is not obvious and the proximity of sites with rich finds does not lend itself to a site hierarchy model. The animal bone data from the midden sites signifies the existence of a transhumant pattern of animal rearing, probably on the downs to the north and south and possibly as far north as the Upper Thames Valley. They acted as stable centres that allowed the reproduction of the core aspects of community, allowing interaction between disparate members, the sharing of news, knowledge and innovation and in turn would have been central to the generation of a regional affinity. The 'success' of the region was relatively short-lived as other regions found alternative iron supplies and settlement once again diminished through the Early Iron Age and into the Middle Iron Age. The creation of the hillforts across Wiltshire is more emblematic of their real success. The supra-communal relations forged at the middens meant that by the Early Iron Age, communities were able to call on large amounts of labour from groups spread across the landscape.

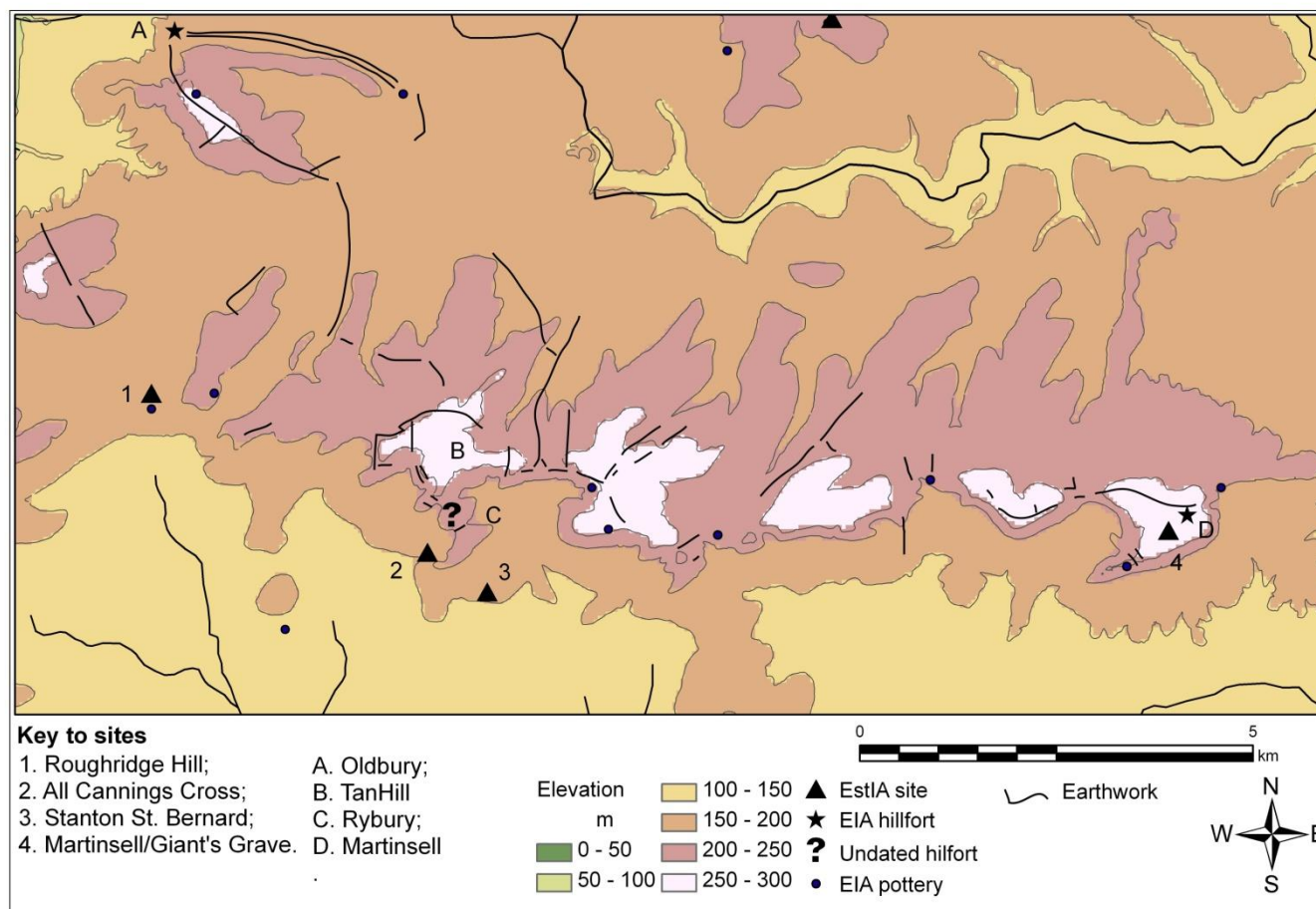


Figure 7.1- Linear earthworks on the northern margins of the Vale of Pewsey.

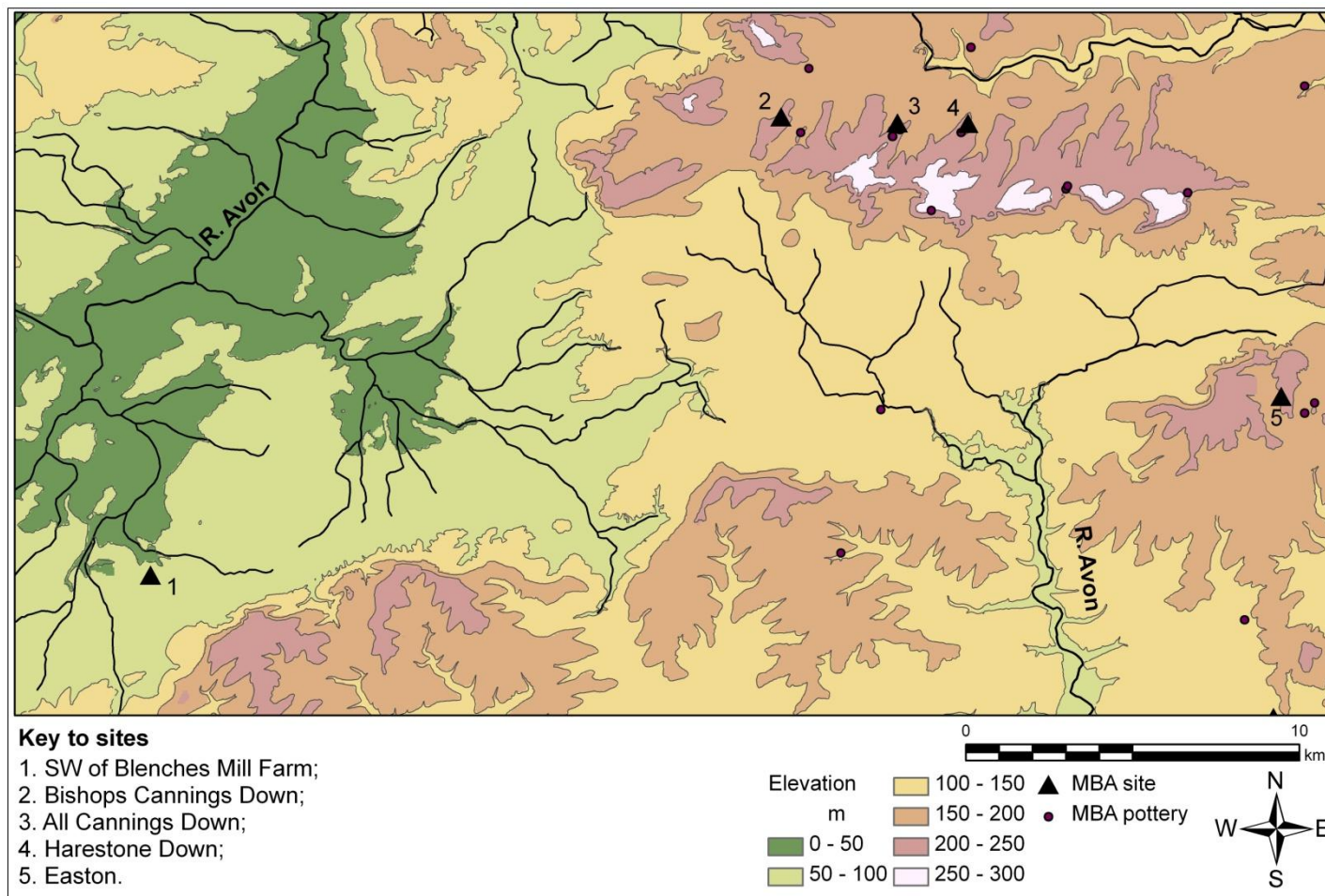


Figure 7.2- Middle Bronze Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

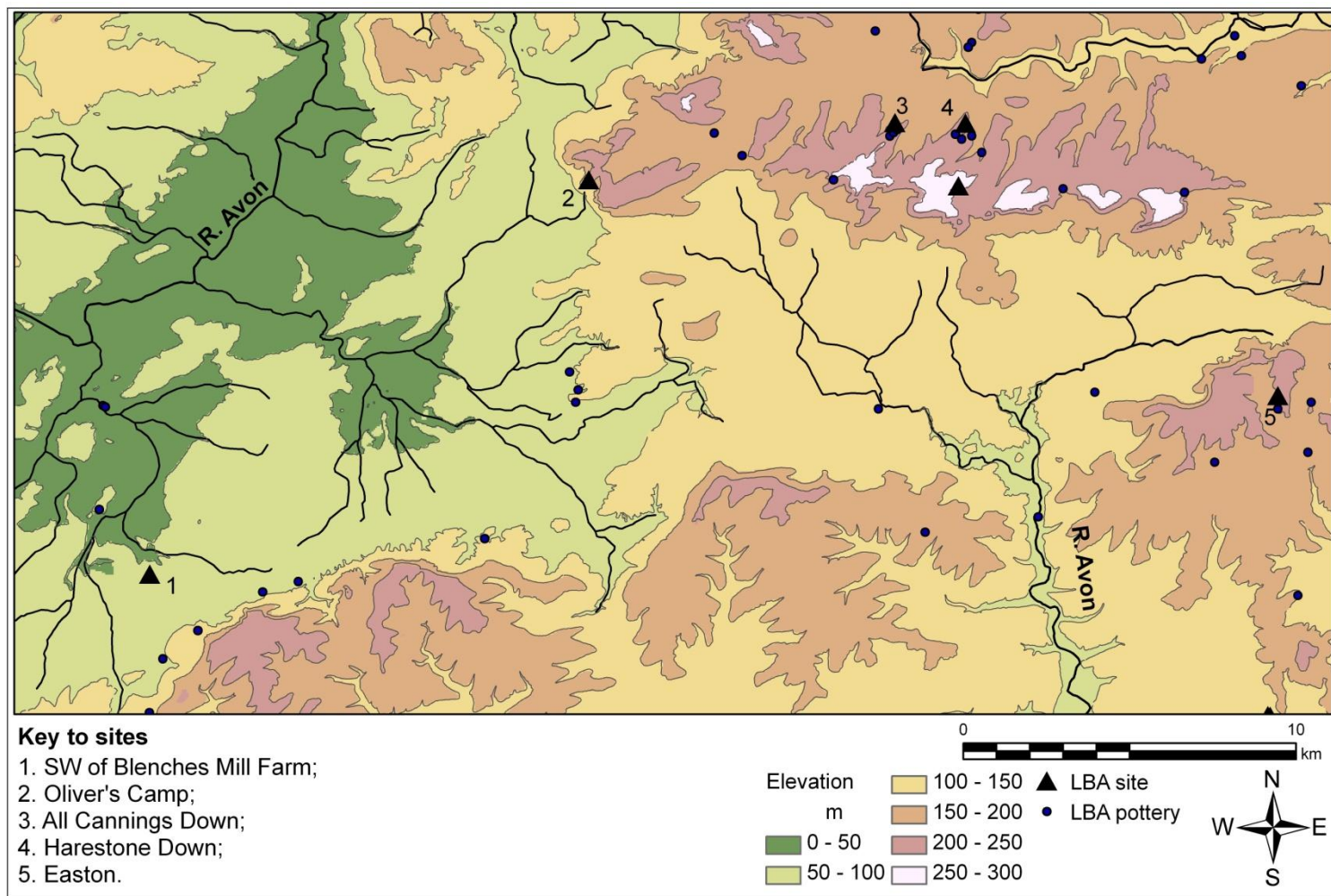


Figure 7.3- Late Bronze Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

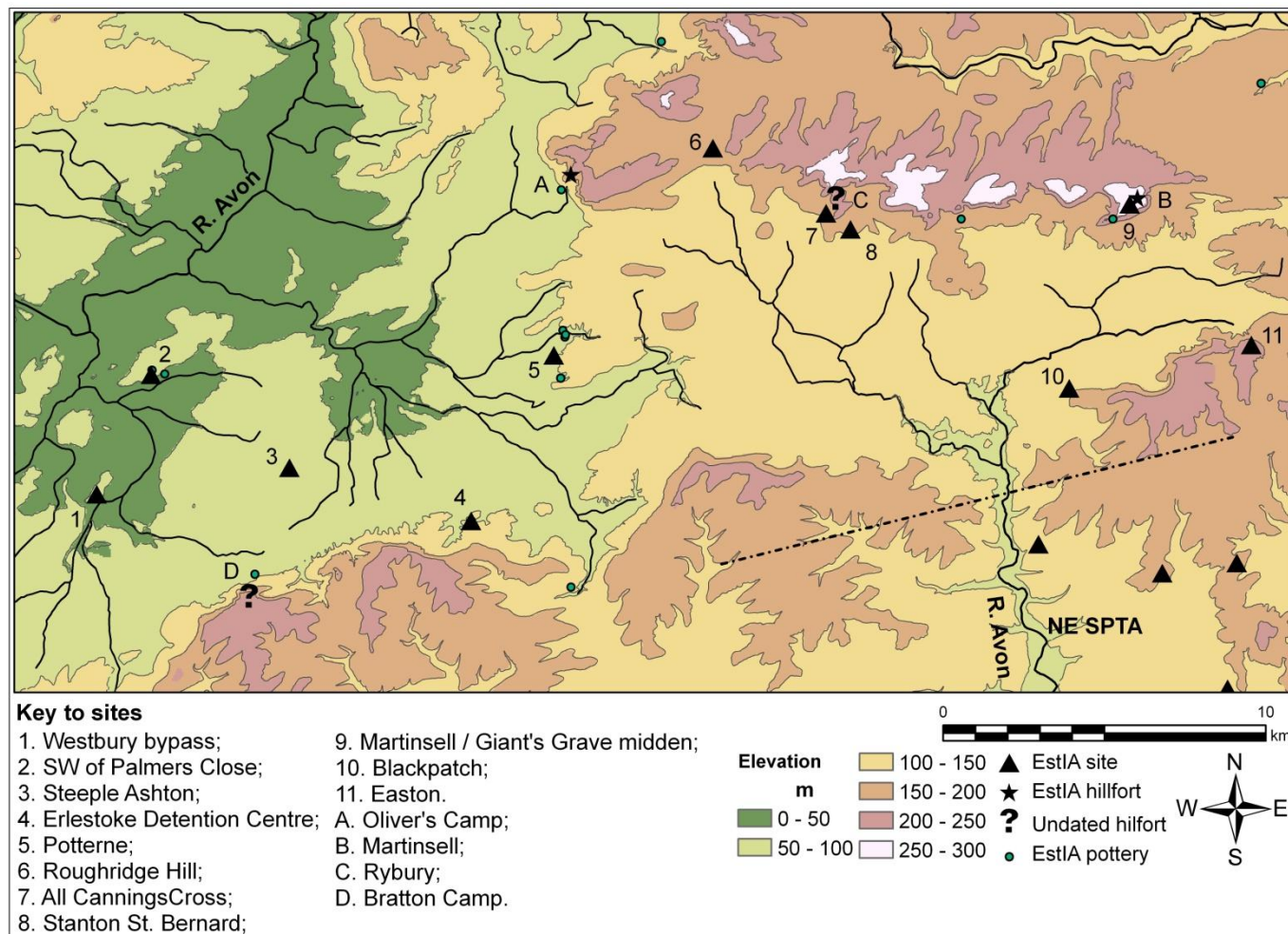


Figure 7.4- Earliest Iron Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

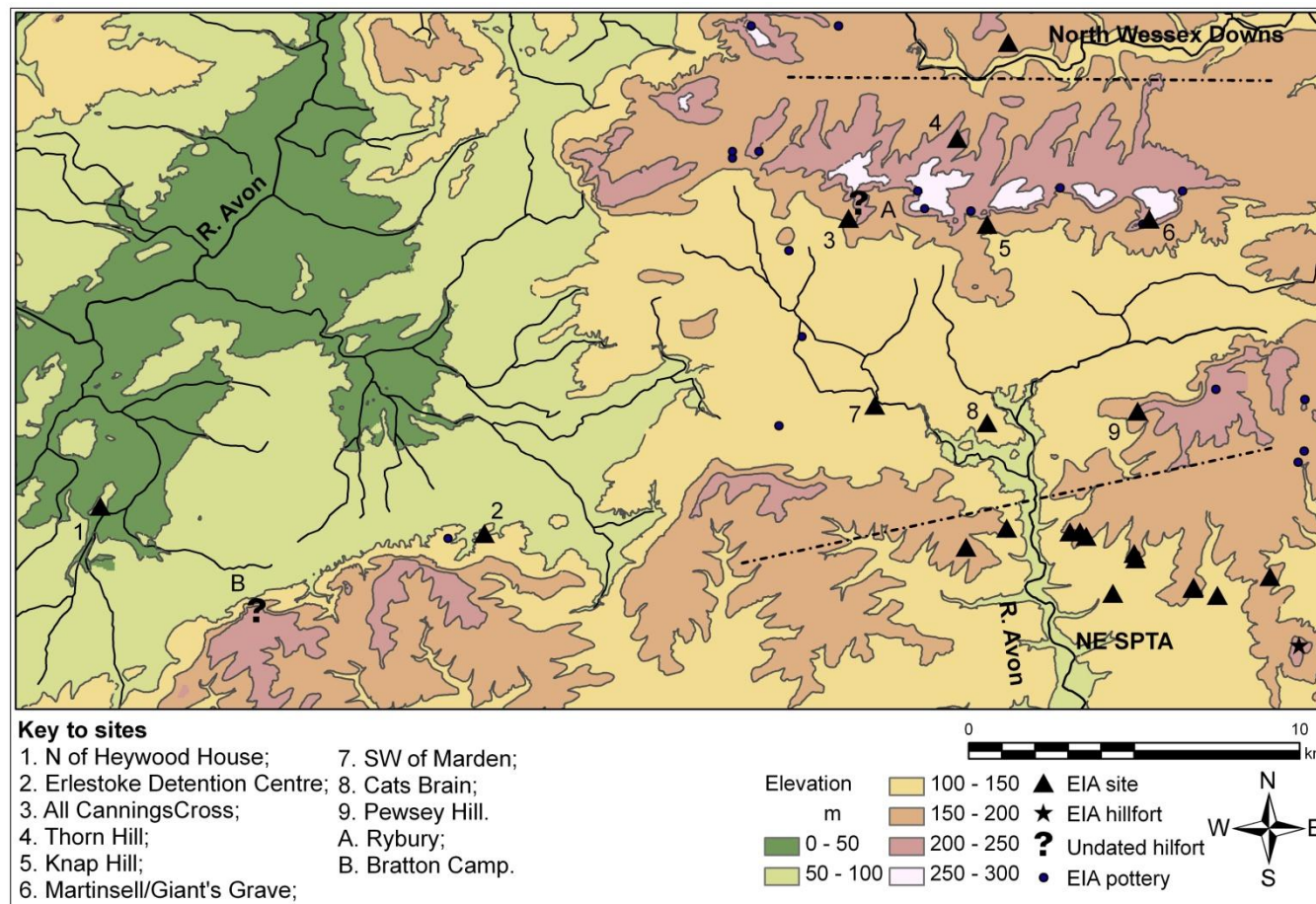


Figure 7.5- Early Iron Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

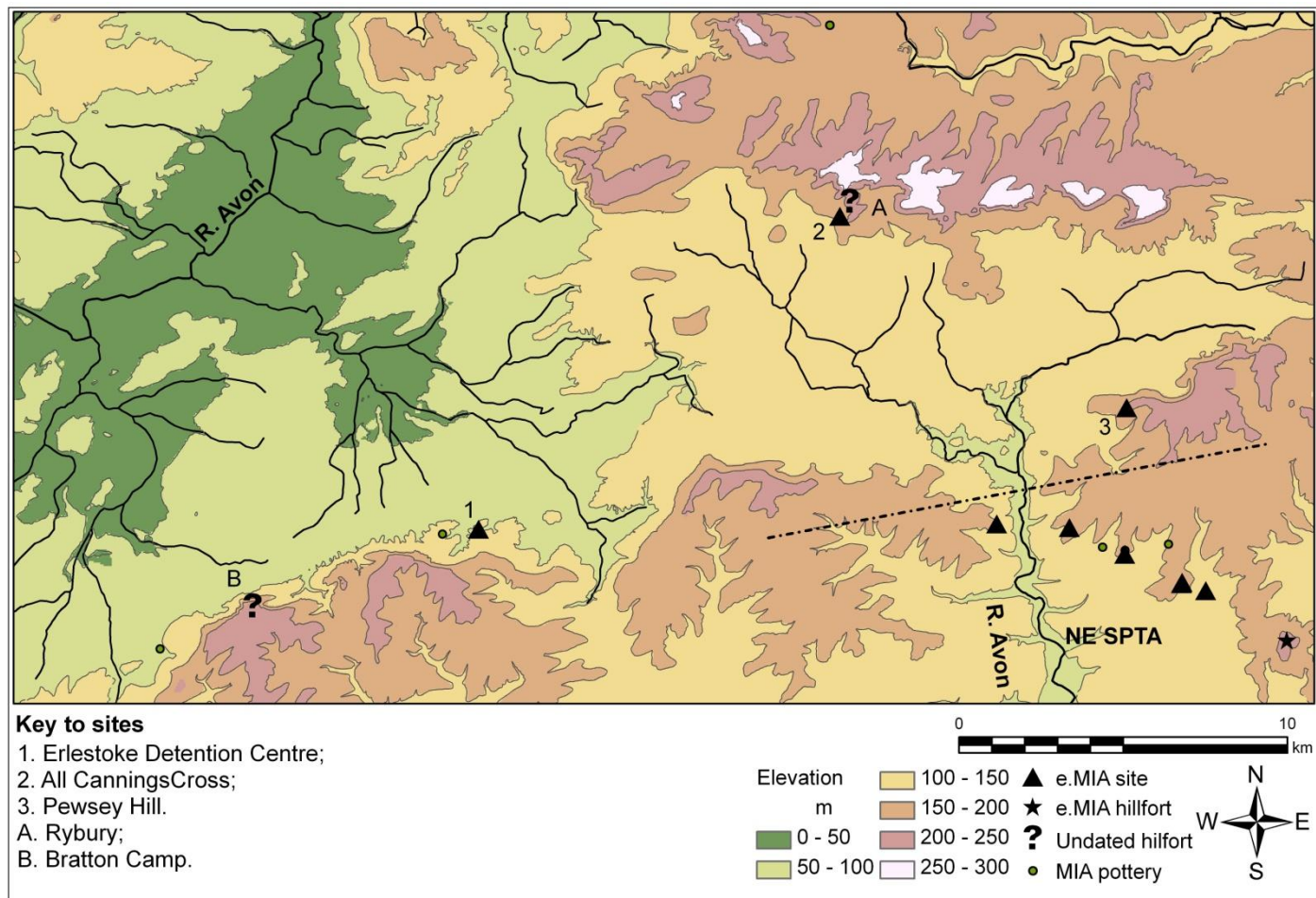


Figure 7.6- early Middle Iron Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

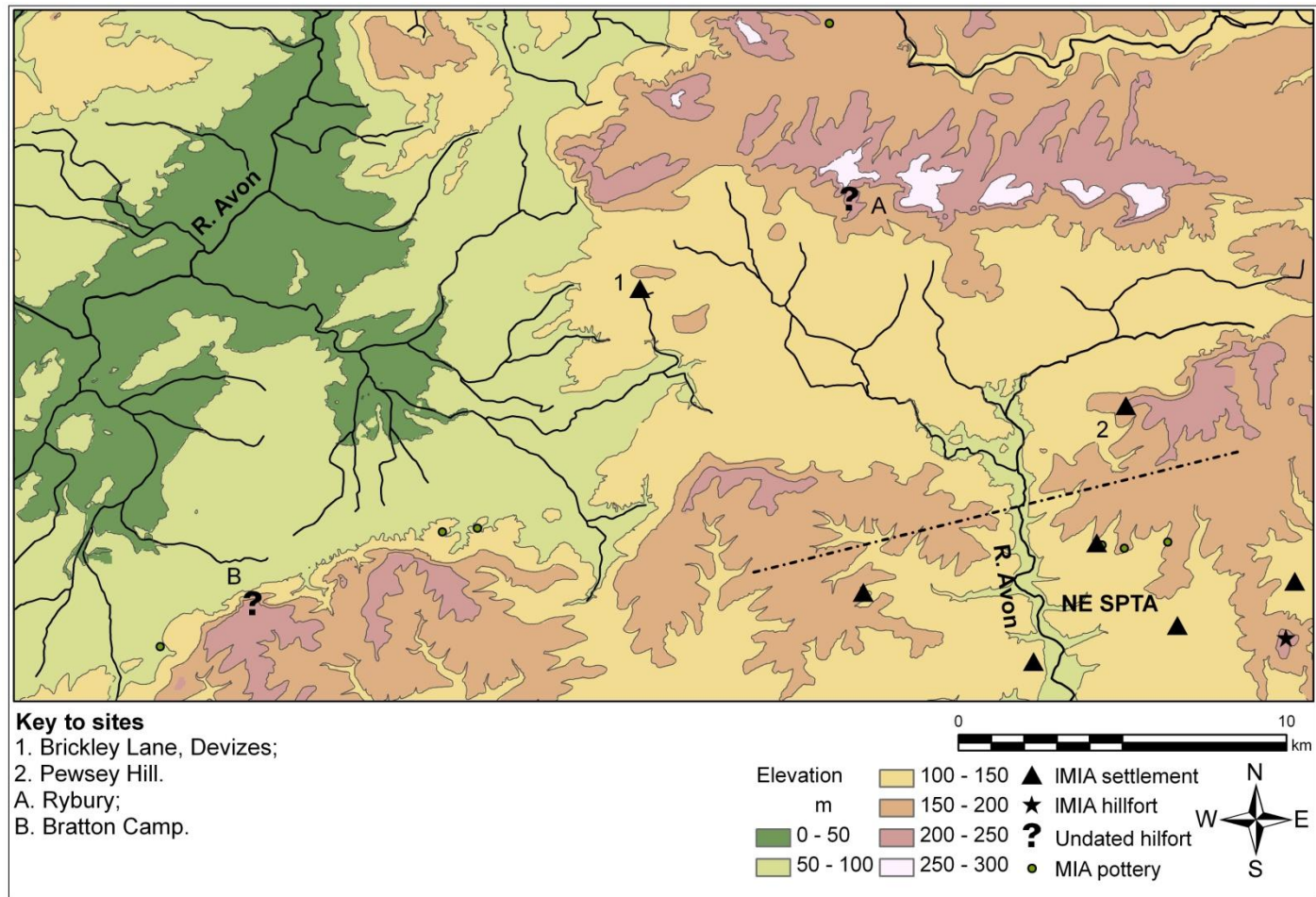


Figure 7.7- late Middle Iron Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

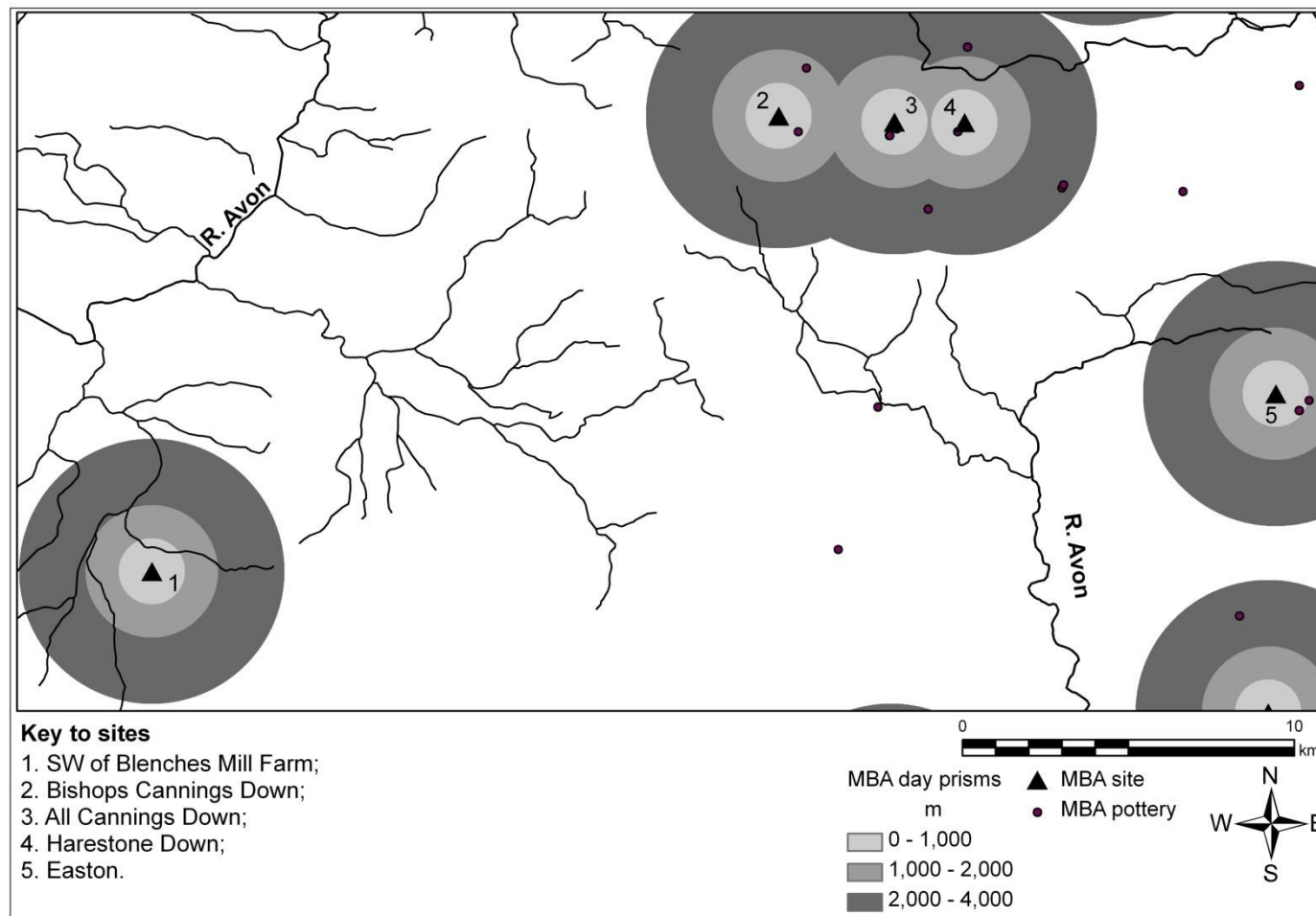


Figure 7.8- Activity-prisms of Middle Bronze Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

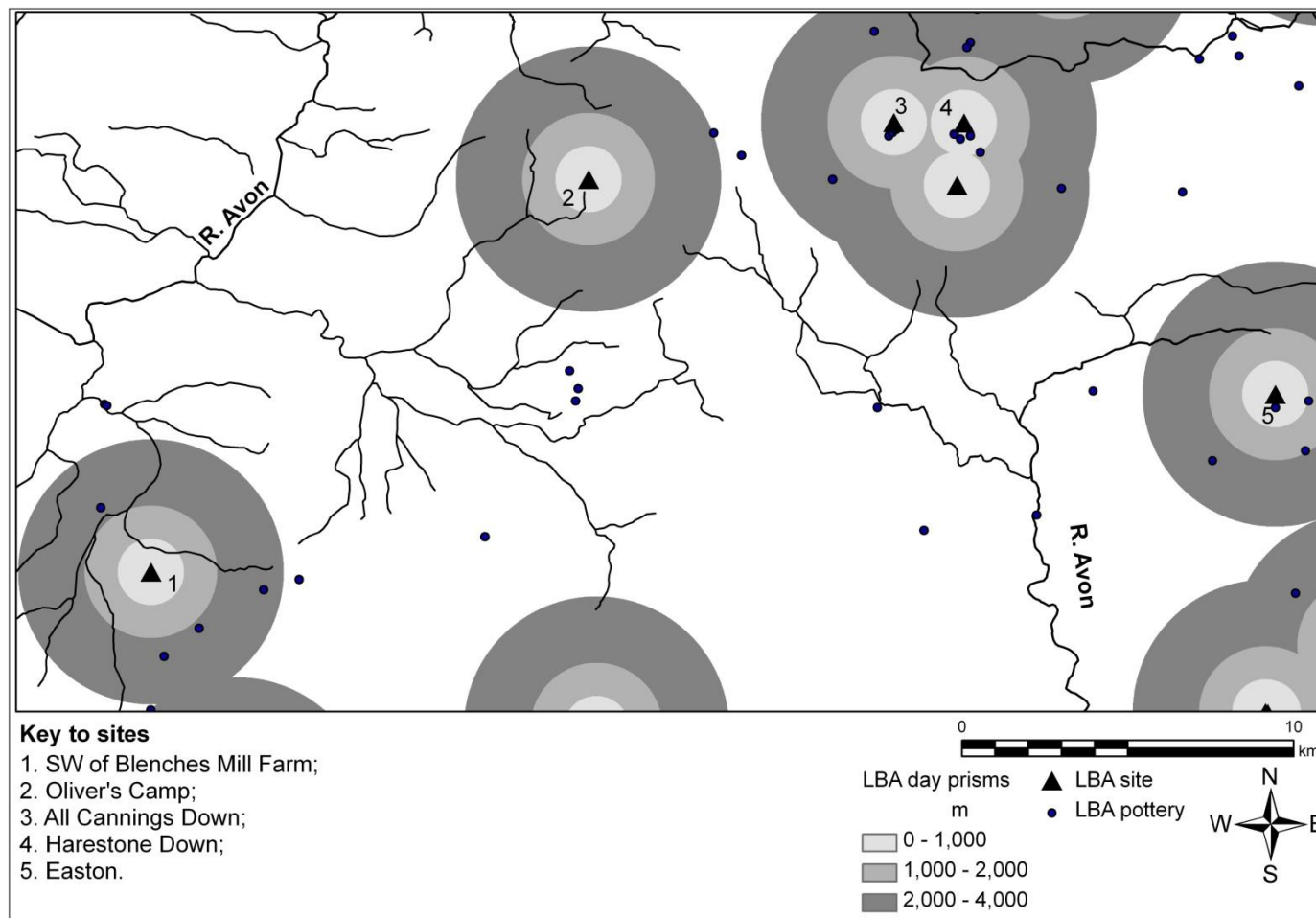


Figure 7.9- Activity-prisms of Late Bronze Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

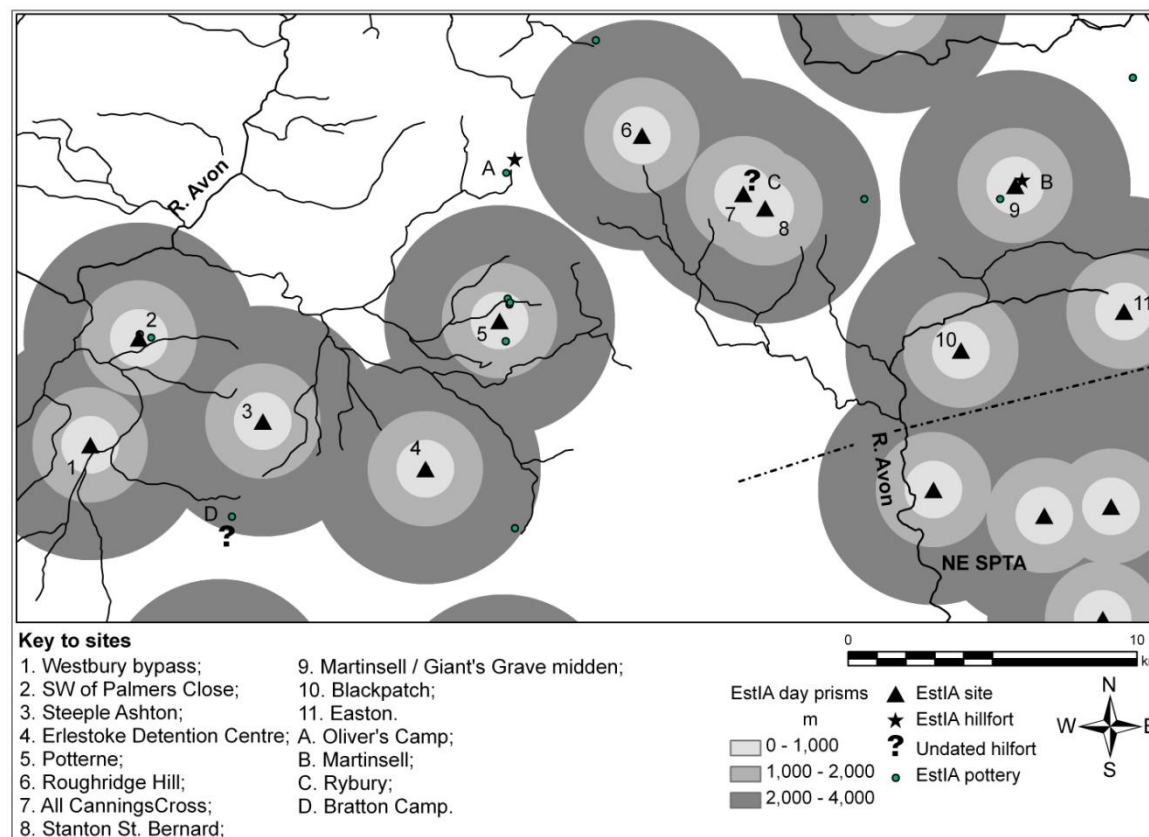


Figure 7.10- Activity-prisms of Earliest Iron Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

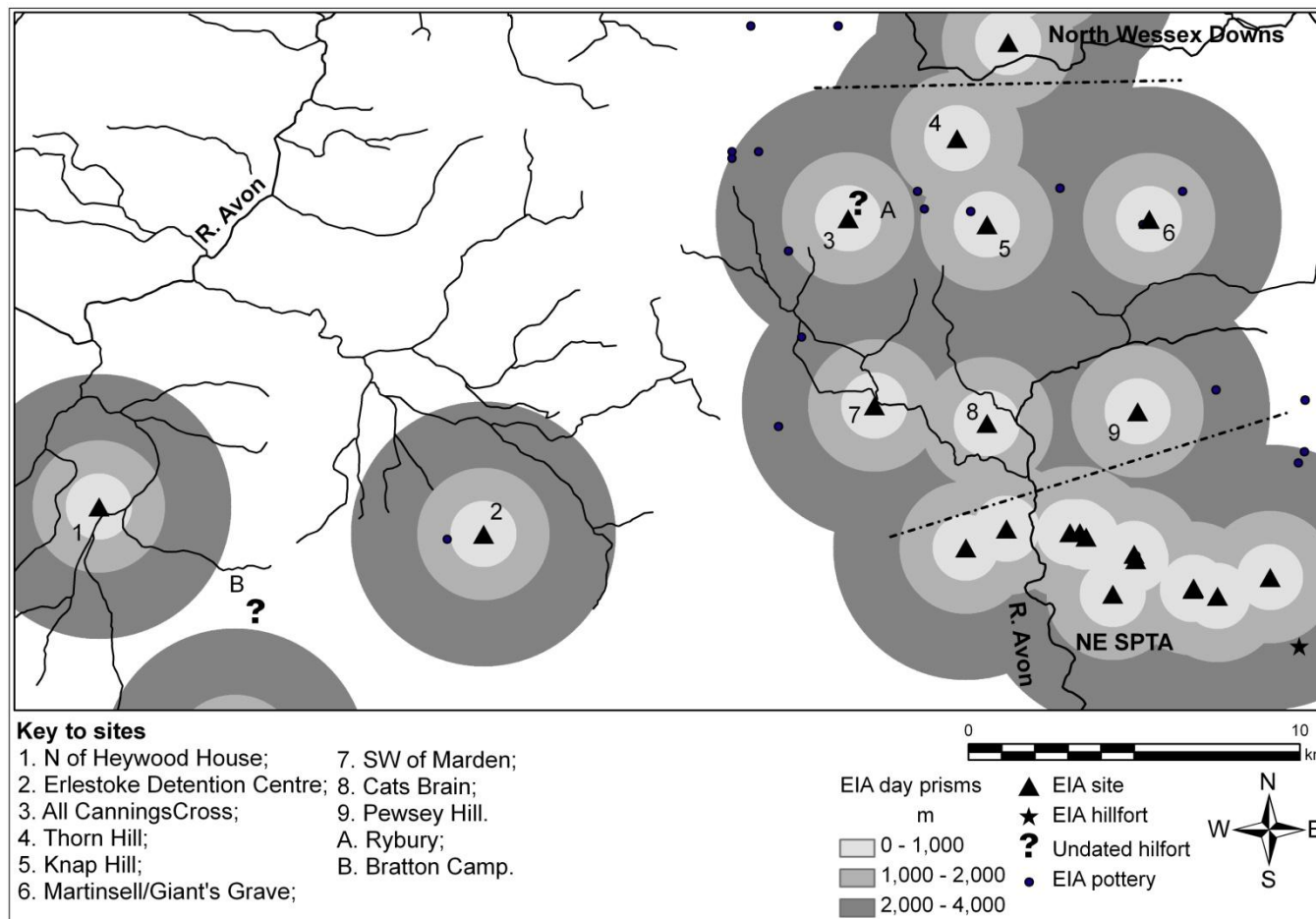


Figure 7.11- Activity-prisms of Early Iron Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

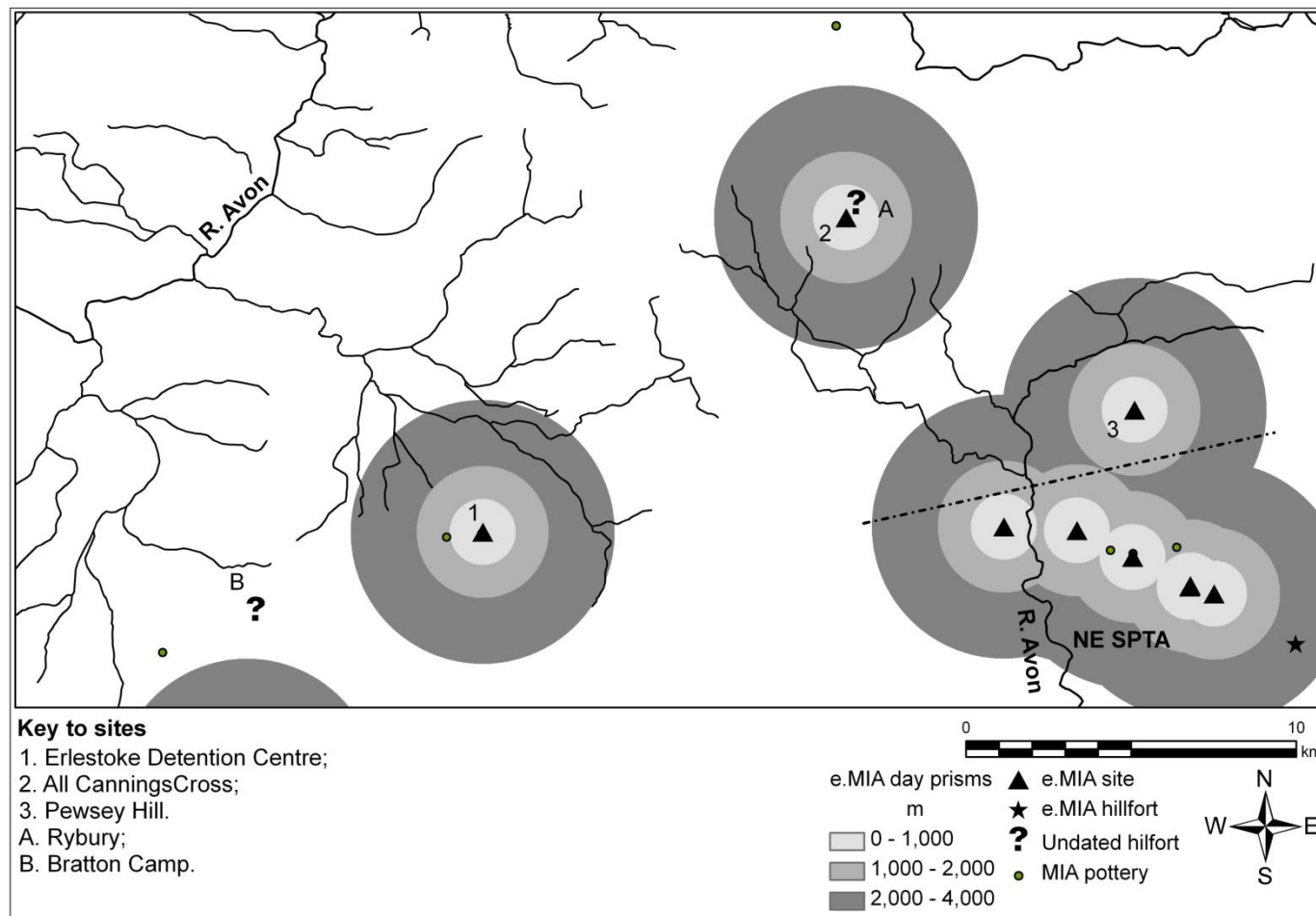


Figure 7.12- Activity-prisms of early Middle Iron Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

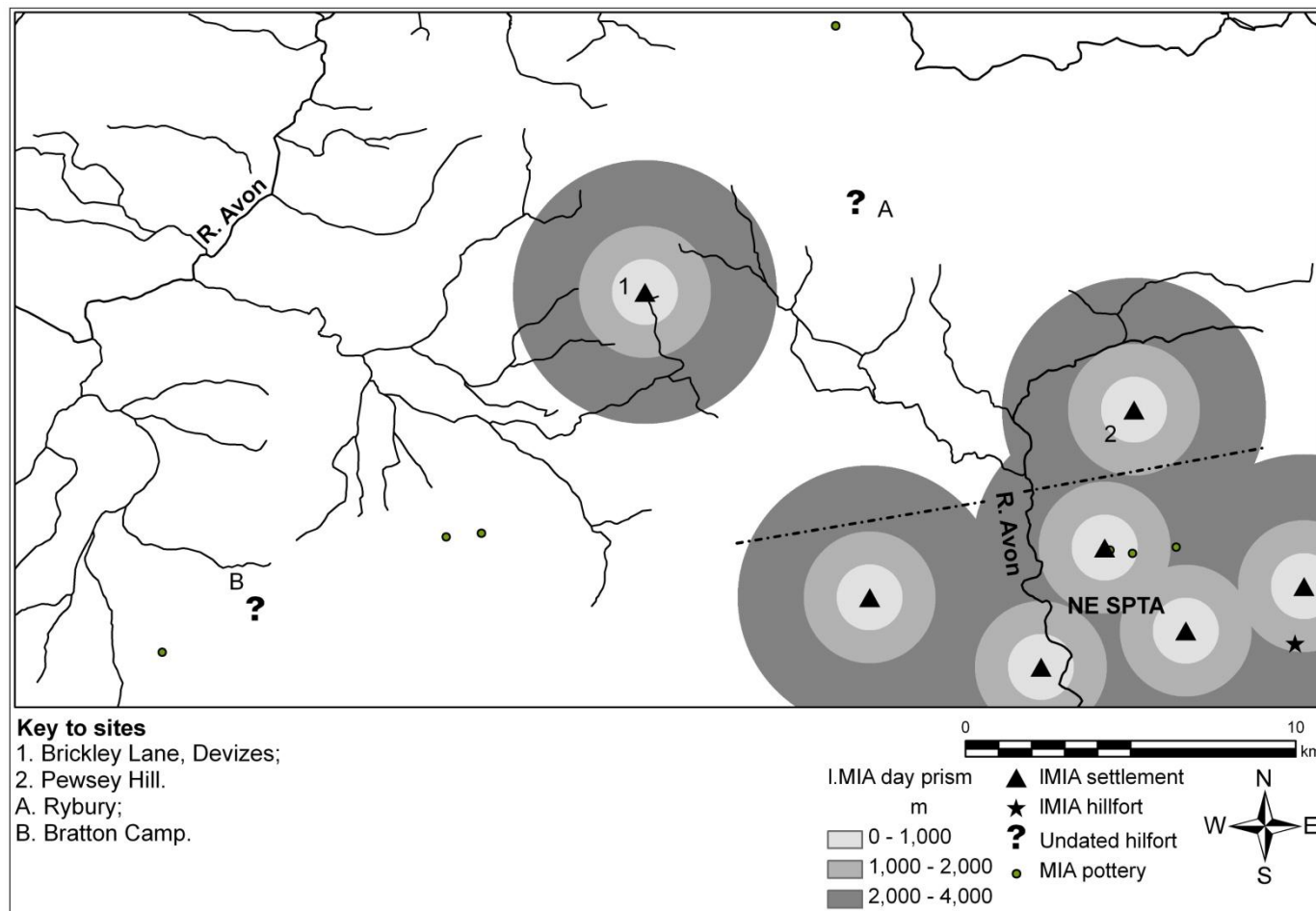


Figure 7.13- Activity-prisms of late Middle Iron Age sites in and around the Vale of Pewsey.

Chapter 8 - North Wessex Downs

The North Wessex Downs consist of the Marlborough and Berkshire Downs forming the northernmost margin of the area traditionally labelled as Wessex. The area is bounded by the Vale of Pewsey to the south and Thames Valley to the north with the River Kennet forming a valley through the midst of the downland block. Although now little more than a winterbourne, with the higher water tables of the Prehistoric period (McOmish *et al* 2002:10), it is likely to have formed a dependable year round water supply as would the Rivers Og and Lambourn. The edges of the downs consist of a steep scarp slope making a pronounced boundary. Sarsen stones or grey wethers are still found in some isolated areas such as Fyfield Down though they are likely to have been much more prolific in the Prehistoric period. The soils in this region are mostly thin rendzinas but some of the higher areas of down such as Totterdown are capped by clay-with-flint deposits (Geddes and Walkington 2005).

Our knowledge of the archaeology in this sub-region has profited from its association with the Avebury Henge monument. Several programmes of research have focused on the small enclosures that dot the downs (Gingell 1992; Piggott 1942), notably the fieldwalking activities of local archaeologist Owen Meyrick (Swanton 1987). In contrast, there has been a dearth of developer funded excavation and PPG16 has had the least impact of all the study area.

8.1 Land division

Prehistoric fields cover most of the Marlborough Downs from Rockley and Preshute Downs in the north to Overton Down in the south. There is a notable absence of fields in the bowl within which Avebury Henge sits. These fields are largely dated through their sequence with other monuments; they are younger than most roundbarrows but older than the later Middle Bronze Age settlements at Rockley Down and Deans Bottom (McOmish 2005:134). The field systems southeast of Avebury have a different appearance to those further north. Although associated with background scatters of Bronze Age ceramics, they may have a Romano-British date (Fowler 2000:227; McOmish 2005:136). It is possible that these Romano-British fields overlay or have destroyed earlier field systems.

The Berkshire Downs are notably different to the Marlborough Downs. Excavation has shown that contrary to early perception (for instance Rhodes 1950), most of the fields we see

today are of Romano-British date (Bowden, Ford and Mees 1993). This is not to deny that Prehistoric fields do still survive there but it suggests that cultivation took place at a smaller scale than in other areas of Wessex. Environmental evidence from the earliest enclosure at Rams Hill, dating to the end of the Middle Bronze Age, suggests that it was constructed within an area of old grassland that had started reverting to woodland (Evans 1975:145). There was evidence for cultivation inside of the enclosure after the Late Bronze Age occupation had ended (Bradley and Ellison 1975:65). The Iron Age bank covered a plough soil containing later Bronze Age ceramics, which had been sealed by a turf line and then a layer of refuse connected with the construction of the bank (*ibid.*:67). This shows that although no physical traces of fields remain as either upstanding earthworks or crop marks around Rams Hill, cultivation was still being conducted. Between Mere End Down and Lang Down, southwest of Segsbury, the East Garston Down linear earthwork appears to respect some fields but cut across others (Figure 8.1). It suggests that some fields predate the Late Bronze Age linear (Bowden, Ford and Mees 1993:124). This warns us against assuming that the first wave of cultivation on the Berkshire Downs is dated solely to the Romano-British period.

The Berkshire Downs were divided up by long linear earthworks during the Late Bronze and Earliest Iron Age (Ford 1982) with the longest running north/south from Liddington, Uffington and between Rams Hill and Segsbury (Figure 8.2). A group exist to the west of the Lambourn valley, which Ford suggests created valley based communal territories, with longer linears defining the territories of a larger social group (*ibid.*:17). Although Segsbury is not obviously linked to a linear earthwork system a narrow ditch was discovered running from the eastern entrance and could be traced as a crop mark for over 100m to the east (Lock and Gosden 2005b:88). Another group of linears are situated to the west of Alfred's Castle but these form large fields or enclosures, presumably fulfilling a pastoral function. Liddington Castle is similarly situated, with the Bican Dic running south from the camp for at least 6km whilst a second approaches the hillfort from the southwest and terminates just before the blocked western entrance (Corney and Payne 2006:113). At Uffington, a linear ditch abuts the southern side of the hillfort ditch and upon excavation appeared to have been kept clear up to the Romano-British period (Barclay *et al* 2003:248).

The distribution of linear earthworks on the Marlborough Downs is distinct from those on the Berkshire Downs. In general, these consist of short stretches of ditch on scarp-edge locations or longer stretches that define large areas of pasture or fields (Kirkham 2005). One

long stretch of earthwork does run up to the western scarp to Oldbury Castle dividing the fields of North Down and Bishops Cannings Down from those of Cherhill Down. To the north of Oldbury, a pair of linears run east/west along the ridge before curving south to mostly encircle the field system on Cherhill Down. The northern block of downland fields are also encircled by a later earthwork that cuts non-conformably across some fields on the southern edge of Rockley and Ogbourne Maizey Downs, with the rough high downland ridge forming the northern boundary. Linear earthwork F4 runs northeast from Avebury across Lockeridge Down and Totterdown. For its western half, fields are laid congruously to either side of it but after passing the Ridgeway and reaching the higher downland it marks the northern boundary for field systems on Overton and Fyfield Downs (Fowler 2000:224). This is not to deny the existence of fields between the Ogbourne Maizey Down and Totterdown linears, but that they are confined to very small and fragmentary areas, perhaps indicating that they were extensions of agriculture that never quite took hold.

8.2 Settlement

The Marlborough Downs has produced extensive evidence for later Bronze Age settlement (Figure 8.3 - Figure 8.6). Most of this comes from Meyrick's fieldwalking and a number of probable settlements are highlighted by concentrations of pottery (Swanton 1987). An enclosure at Preshute Down is linked to the higher downland by a stretch of earthwork that probably originated as a trackway for the movement of animals (Piggott 1942:50). Ogbourne Maizey Down consisted of a small square enclosure with the builders utilizing earlier field lynchets (*ibid.*:52). If this site is comparable to those of Rockley Down and Dean Bottom it may have been constructed late in the Middle Bronze Age. Three enclosures on Ogbourne Down were less regular with all having either two entrances or large gaps in their perimeters (*ibid.*:54). Due to the small scale of the excavations, few finds beyond pottery, animal bone and flint were made. Dean Bottom produced both Deverel-Rimbury and Plain Wares implying that habitation extended from the later part of the Middle Bronze Age to the early part of the Late Bronze Age (McOmish 2005:134). It was rich in bronze objects, producing ten fragments (Gingell 1992:106) and although no structures were encountered in the excavations, five hut platforms could be observed cut into the hillside (McOmish 2005:134). Pottery from both periods was also recovered from Rockley Down, but with an emphasis on later material (Gingell 1992:94). A further Middle Bronze Age site is hypothesised upon morphological

grounds at Manton Down, which is a small square enclosure set within a field system and like the other examples utilizes an earlier lynchet (Fowler and Blackwell 1998:60).

The earliest known settlement on the Berkshire Downs is Rams Hill. The initial occupation consisted of an open settlement with one roundhouse dating from the 13th century BC with a second possibly dating to this pre-enclosure phase (Needham and Ambers 1994:238). This was followed a century or two later by the construction of the first circuit which was renovated and strengthened a further two times during the Late Bronze Age (Bradley and Ellison 1975:9-47). A further three oval structures, six pits and ten four-post structures were thought to be contemporary with this enclosed phase (*ibid.*:50-55). A large number of features originally interpreted as root holes have since been reinterpreted as stake-holes though they have eluded attempts to discern obvious structures within them. They do cluster either side of the road and complement the Late Bronze Age structures suggesting contemporaneity (Reid 1987). The ten four-post structures appear to support the idea that grain was stored at Rams Hill, but not a single grain of cereal was recovered from the sixty environmental samples that were taken (Willis 1975). Additionally, there are no material traces such as querns or rubbers to support the idea that it was even processed here (Bradley 1986:45). An alternative function for these structures was as temporary shelters or to store fodder. Little material culture or animal bone was recovered from the site suggesting that it was neither intensively settled or a focus for communal activities such as feasting (Needham and Ambers 1994:241).

On the Marlborough Downs the only site to fall purely within the Late Bronze Age was excavated at Burderop Down just off the Ridgeway. It is linked to the Ogbourne enclosures by a linear earthwork and trackway (Gingell 1992:38). The site consisted of a metalled surface and three four-post structures with central hearths. No walls were identified and the excavator interpreted these as open-sided roofed structures rather than roundhouses (*ibid.*:46). The site was rich in bronze finds, producing 33 fragments, including six pins, a needle, two pairs of tweezers and three awls (*ibid.*:106-109). It also produced ten pieces of worked bone, a spindle whorl and a variety of worked stone. This wealth of finds and lack of roundhouses led to its interpretation as either a market or production centre (*ibid.*:157). The site's association with the Ridgeway is further used to hypothesize its role as a seasonal camp feeding and sheltering drovers moving animals along the Ridgeway (*ibid.*). The normal range of activities associated with settlements was conducted here and it is more likely that the site

represented a medium sized farmstead. The lack of walls may result from truncation or that the roundhouses were more temporary constructions than neighbouring sites. The wealth of finds however would argue that it was occupied year-round rather than seasonally.

Late Bronze Age activity on the Berkshire Downs is rare but the sites that are known were unenclosed and discovered by chance. Russley Down was identified due to a concentration of Plain Ware ceramics during a survey of a nearby linear earthwork (Ford 1982:6), whilst Weathercock Hill was spotted as a ceramic and flint scatter (Bowden, Ford and Gaffney 1993:79-80). Although there were no identifiable structures it was relatively rich in finds, including a shale bracelet and five fragments of bronze, including the hilt from a Wilburton Phase sword (*ibid.*:77-78).

There is no continuity between Bronze and Iron Age sites. An open settlement was established in the 9th century BC at Overton Down (ODXI) that underwent enclosure a century later (Figure 8.7) (Fowler 2000:82-91). There were a series of roundhouses, pits and postholes associated with the enclosure but the settlement was abandoned by the mid 6th century BC, when the area reverted to fields and was placed back into arable cultivation (*ibid.*). This period of cultivation was short-lived, lasting no more than a century or two before reverting to grassland. No Middle Iron Age material was recovered from the area.

Ceramics from Tower Hill show that it was contemporary with the first phases of occupation at Uffington in the 8th century BC (Barclay *et al* 2003:255). Unlike Uffington however, Tower Hill was an open settlement with a lot of structural remains including three or four roundhouses and several four-post structures (*ibid.*:257). The site was initially identified during the recovery of a hoard of 92 pieces of bronze that had been placed within the entranceway of one of the roundhouses (Miles *et al* 2003:155). The hoard included 22 complete and 24 fragmentary socketed axes along with eight casting jets and 19 pieces of scrap (*ibid.*) The positioning of the hoard in a shallow scoop was interpreted as a convenient storage place with the overall implication that bronze working was taking place on-site (*ibid.*). Apart from the hoard few artefacts were recovered and the site was possibly occupied for as little as a century (Barclay *et al* 2003:257).

Just to the southwest of Overton ODXI, the Headlands site (also known as North Farm), West Overton may represent a similar settlement (Figure 8.8). It is a circular enclosure approximately 120m in diameter, situated off of the main area of downland at the edge of the Kennet Valley. A trackway from the higher downland approaches one entrance flanked by

antennae ditches. This combination has been taken to imply that the site fulfilled a role in stock management (Fowler 2000:225). Geophysical survey indicated a large number of pits and possible roundhouses within the interior and surface collection has produced large unabraded sherds of All Cannings Cross Wares (*ibid.*:56).

On Fyfield Down there appears to be an open Early Iron Age site, largely masked by a later Romano-British settlement. Meyrick recovered a number of Early Iron Age sherds whilst pits were identified on its northern side (Meyrick 1947:260). A further Iron Age settlement was excavated by Colt Hoare in Preshute parish but the dating of the site and even its location are unknown (Chadburn and Corney 2001:22). What is apparent is a move south from the concentration of later Bronze Age activity to an area closer to the Kennet Valley. Changes elsewhere, support with Fowler's interpretation (Fowler 2000:255), that this reflects a greater emphasis on animal management in the region.

Evans *et al* noted a lack of Iron Age archaeology in the Kennet Valley itself (1993:190), whilst no Early and Middle Iron Age material has been recovered from the area of the Avebury Neolithic complex (Bowden 2005). It is possible that a ditch probably constructed during the first half of the 1st millennium BC was used to isolate the monument (Gillings *et al* 2008:229). However, there is no evidence for scrub and woodland generation showing that it continued to be exploited for grazing (*ibid.*:199).

With the exception of hillforts, no other Iron Age sites have been firmly identified on the Marlborough Downs (Fowler and Blackwell 1998:54). It is suggested that enclosures around Wroughton Copse on Fyfield Down may represent Iron Age settlements (Chadburn and Corney 2001:22) and other enclosures have been identified to the north of the Marlborough Downs though none have been securely dated (Bowden 2005:158). The only other dated site is situated off of the main area of downland at Wroughton Airfield, where an evaluation by Oxford Archaeology revealed traces of Early Iron Age roundhouses and other post built structures and pits within an enclosure (Bashford 2006).

Most Iron Age activity is restricted to a series of hillforts along the edge of the downs (Figure 8.9-Figure 8.10). These are mostly situated on or around the modern route of the Ridgeway, although Oldbury is situated on the western margin of the Marlborough Downs and overlooks the Wiltshire Vale rather than the Upper Thames Valley. Most activity is limited to the Early Iron Age, although some like Liddington Castle, Uffington and Rams Hill also produce small amounts of material from the Earliest Iron Age.

Oldbury is situated on the western edge of the Marlborough Downs on Cherhill Down covering about 9ha. It has a complex constructional history, being bivallate on its downland facing side with an internal division suggesting it had been extended. There are two probable entrances, the eastern of which has a complex series of foreworks. A magnetometer survey of the interior picked up indications of at least 20 circular gullies, possibly representing roundhouses, up to 150 pits and a slight ditch that creates an inner enclosure of the northernmost part of the hillfort (Corney and Payne 2006:127). On typological grounds, it is hypothesised that this ditch is a later feature (*ibid.*). Informal digging within the enclosure has produced a large amount of Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age material along with some later Iron Age and considerable amounts of Romano-British pottery (*ibid.*:124).

At Liddington Castle a small trench shows up in some areas of the geophysical survey, possibly indicating that the first phase of enclosure consisted of a timber palisade (*ibid.*:118). This was not picked up in excavation but it is possible that its line is hidden by the rampart in places. This probably coincides with the Earliest Iron Age as does the first box rampart which was followed by three further phases of dump ramparts (Hirst and Rahtz 1996:29). The ceramics fall into two main phases, the first three rampart phases are of 7th century BC date whilst the last is comparable to Cunliffe's CP4 and CP5. No Middle Iron Age material was recovered (Corney and Payne 2006:113). This suggests that the hillfort was constantly being reworked and remodelled in its early life. A magnetometer survey showed an extensive but low density of features including pits and possible roundhouses, including one up to 18m in diameter (*ibid.*:114). This implies that it was never intensively occupied, however an early 20th century excavation found a black earth layer that was up to two foot deep in places (Passmore 1914:577). Excavation in 1976 confirmed the existence of this layer behind the rampart but not elsewhere in the interior. The western entrance was blocked during one of the dump rampart phases and one computer generated model for the Ridgeway predicts that it originally ran through Liddington Castle, suggesting that its original role was linked to the Ridgeway (Bell and Lock 1999:95). A small number of artefacts were recovered from Liddington Castle including three spindle whorls, 111 sling shots, fragments of sheet bronze, 70 pieces of sheet iron with bronze rivets, a bronze awl and a bronze earring (Hirst and Rahtz 1996). The fragments of sheet metal are reminiscent of the twelve Iron Age cauldrons found in a large pit near Chiseldon in the Og valley between the hillforts of Barbury and Liddington (Winterburn 2008). 1.2km to the northeast of the hillfort, nine pits and a roundhouse were

uncovered on Liddington Hill in advance of the construction of the M4. Only two pits were excavated and these produced Early Iron Age ceramics, a spindle whorl and a small amount of animal bone (Fowler and Walters 1981:119). Excavation of Chiseldon Barrow Number One found evidence of fires, animal bone and crushed 'Iron Age' pottery. No structural features were identified and it was interpreted as a temporary camp (Passmore 1928:242).

Barbury Castle sits on the path of the Ridgeway along the northern scarp of the Marlborough Downs. It is a bivallate developed hillfort, covering an area of 5ha, with opposed east and west entrances. It has a forework in front of the eastern but not western entrance. The northern part of this forework is cut by the outer ditch of the main defences and when a section of rampart was levelled during the Second World War, Keiller was able to identify an episode where the rampart had been heightened (Corney and Payne 2006:99). The current form of Barbury therefore results from a complex series of events. An otherwise unrecorded excavation of the 19th century, recovered Middle and Late Iron Age ceramics and a range of iron tools including a knife, six sickles, a hammer, seven awls, five rings and four spearheads (MacGregor and Simpson 1963). Meyrick recovered Early Iron Age sherds here (Grinsell 1957:94) but the majority of pottery is Middle-Late Iron Age (PCRG Collection ID4949). An earthwork survey of the interior by the RCHME recorded terraces and crescentic back-scarps possibly representing 35-40 hut circles whilst a magnetometer survey showed a dense scatter of pits throughout (Corney and Payne 2006:102). There is limited evidence to suggest that Barbury was originally constructed during the Early Iron Age which would make it comparable to the other Ridgeway hillforts. Unlike them its second entrance was never blocked and it appears to have seen relatively dense occupation during the Middle and Late Iron Age. The Ridgeway runs through both of Barbury's entrances and movement along this route may have been central to its rationale.

On the Berkshire Downs, chalk quarrying at Knighton Hill uncovered a number of pits that were rich in animal bone and charcoal, along with a single stone spindle whorl and later Early Iron Age coarse ceramics (Piggott 1927:517). A possible hillfort, Hardwell Camp, is situated nearby, almost at the foot of the slope making it virtually indefensible (Tingle 1991:46). The enclosing banks and ditches form an irregular shape and the site is undated but is assumed to be contemporary with the other Ridgeway hillforts. The Ridgeway currently runs to the south of Knighton Hill but Bell and Lock's reconstructed route places it on the edge of the southern rampart of Hardwell Camp (1999:93).

The other settlement on the Berkshire Downs is Alfred's Castle. This hexagonal enclosure sits amongst a network of linear earthworks and is some distance from the nearest field systems to the east around Weathercock Hill (Lock and Gosden 2000:90). Whilst the circuit at Alfred's Castle is significant enough to have it classed as a hillfort, it is small at 1.2ha and sits within a bowl (Corney and Payne 2006:81). The National Mapping Programme has shown that it is surrounded by nine large, simple, single ditched enclosures within the basin that cover an area of 3km². These originated in the Late Bronze Age and continued in use into the Early Iron Age (*ibid.*:82). Excavation uncovered a large number of pits and a 10m diameter roundhouse. Spindle whorls were found in large quantities, along with carbonized grain, loomweights and bone tools (Lock and Gosden 2000:85). Unlike Uffington and Segsbury, the pits here have a beehive profile (Lock and Gosden 1999:50) and contain consistently higher quantities of artefacts, perhaps indicating that beehive and cylindrical pits had different functions and social connotations (Daly *et al* 2005:125). Post-excavation analysis is still underway but the site is believed to have been established during the 6th century and occupied throughout the Early Iron Age. Some of the initial reports suggest Middle Iron Age material was recovered, but a review of the ceramics by the Prehistoric Ceramics Research Group implies that we are dealing with largely Early Iron Age material (PCRG Collection ID2496). It was suggested that Alfred's Castle had a specialist role in sheep management based upon the large number of spindle whorls and loomweights recovered along with its position away from fields within a system of large enclosures (Lock and Gosden 2000:92).

The Iron Age enclosure at Rams Hill covers an area of 2.8ha with a single phase dump rampart. The Early Iron Age ceramics recovered, match those from Liddington Castle and had a Wiltshire rather than Berkshire or Oxfordshire Thames Valley affinity (Cotton 1962:50). No definite Iron Age features were identified during the excavation of the inner enclosure suggesting that either it was largely empty or that they were located around its edges (Bradley and Ellison 1975).

The first phase at Uffington starts around the end of the Earliest Iron Age and continues into the Early Iron Age. Little activity has been identified in the interior, consisting of only one four/six-post structure and several pits (Barclay *et al* 2003:250). The eastern entrance was blocked when the original box rampart was replaced by a dump rampart in the Early Iron Age and occupation seems to have ended by 400BC (*ibid.*:249-251). A small quantity of Middle Iron Age pottery has been recovered (Corney and Payne 2006:97), but no structural features

have so far been linked to this period (Barclay *et al* 2003:251). Many activities that are associated with hillforts, such as crop storage and textile production were found at Uffington but in very low proportions (*ibid.*:250).

Segsbury is univallate and, covering an area of 12ha, is the largest of the Ridgeway hillforts. The circuit appears to have been developed over five separate phases with the earliest represented by a small ditch on the northern side and a palisade on the southern (Lock and Gosden 2005a:141). Ard marks were observed under the rampart whilst the palaeosoil contained snails that were tolerant of ploughing and grassland, with no shade loving species (Ingham and Robinson 2005b:121). Prior to the construction of the rampart the area had been grassland with the ard marks associated with rampart creation (Lock and Gosden 2005b:99). Each new phase of circuit building saw the boundary slowly grow in monumentality until the major phase four construction event that produced a 7m wide box rampart. This marks a distinct divergence from earlier phases in terms of scale. Dating evidence is sparse, but a tentative date of the late 4th century BC is tentatively hypothesised (Lock and Gosden 2005a:144). A magnetometer survey showed up to 20 circular gully features, and some concentrations of pits in what is otherwise a sparsely occupied interior (Payne 2005). Excavation uncovered three circular gullies interpreted as the remains of light roundhouses and a series of pits. Whilst finds from the pits formed the majority of the recovered material, they were largely devoid of artefacts and had only one or two fills (Lock and Gosden 2005a:145). The ceramics formed the majority of material and lacked the Earliest Iron Age component identified from other Ridgeway hillforts. The bulk of the pottery was of Early Iron Age, the remainder of Middle Iron Age (Brown 2005:115). All of the ceramics, regardless of period were highly fragmented, badly abraded and had a mean sherd weight of just 6g. This suggests reworking on the surface for some time prior to final deposition (Daly *et al* 2005:128). Few artefacts were recovered but did include 644 sling shots, mostly from a single pit (Roe 2005). There is an apparent contradiction between the low level of activity represented by structures and material culture, with the highly abraded nature of the ceramics and the size of the ramparts. The excavators' interpretation is that Segsbury was used seasonally for meetings between people that lived elsewhere. One possibility is its use for sheep markets where the corralling or penning of animals caused the ceramics present on the surface to become highly fragmented (Lock and Gosden 2005a:148). Aerial photographs and magnetometer survey show disturbances outside of the southern entrance that may be a concentration of pits and

crescentic features representing an extra-mural settlement (Corney and Payne 2006:139). Without excavation, it is impossible to tell whether the features represent an area of natural disturbance or human settlement but it is possibly a further example of settlement outside of an Iron Age enclosure.

The other possible Iron Age sites on the North Wessex Downs are the hillforts at Forest Hill Farm and Membury that are situated away from the north facing scarp. Forest Hill Farm is best known for extensive finds of Romano-British building remains and is contentious as a hillfort. Membury is a univallate structure covering an area of 13.8ha. It has a northeast facing entrance with flanking outworks whilst a southern entrance is much simpler, lies on the parish boundary and may be a much later addition (Cotton 1962:42). A circular structure 12m in diameter has been noted on aerial photographs (NMR OS/72224 0047-8 15-JUL-1972), possibly representing a roundhouse. No excavation has been conducted here with only non-descript 'Iron Age' sherds having been recovered (Anon 1990:227). The current interpretation is that it was constructed in the 1st century BC (Ministry of Works 1961 Ancient monuments in England and Wales).

To the southeast of Segsbury 14 'banjo' enclosures were identified by the National Mapping Programme but these are undated (Winton 2003) and only two are situated in the study area. Excavation at other banjo enclosures has shown that they are usually dated to the latter stages of the Middle and Late Iron Age and contain a range of structural features that suggest no single function (Cunliffe 2005:247). For the Oxfordshire examples, Hingley has distinguished types that contain a habitation area and those that fulfil a role within animal management (Hingley 1984). Most of the simple enclosures investigated by the Maddal Farm Project on the downs to the east of the study area proved to have a Romano-British date (Gaffney and Tingle 1989), although it is acknowledged that some banjo enclosures such as Nettlebank Copse, Hampshire have proved to have an Early Iron Age phase (Cunliffe and Poole 2000). As these sites are undated they have been excluded from this survey.

8.3 Nature of habitation

There was a low level of evidence for leather working during the later Bronze Age, with two bone points and two awls recovered from Dean Bottom and six points, two needles and two awls from Burderop Down (Gingell 1992). There is even less evidence of spinning with a single spindle whorl recovered from Burderop Down and none for weaving (*ibid.*). More bronze has

been found on settlements on the Marlborough Downs than anywhere else. At Burderop Down evidence for bronze working included three fragments of a socketed axe mould, a crucible fragment, two pieces of casting waste, a bronze droplet and a lump of dross (Gingell 1992:109-111).

For the Iron Age evidence for craft and industrial activity remained low with the exception of Alfred's Castle (see Appendix 1.6). One to two spindle whorls were recovered from each of Knighton Hill, Liddington Castle, Liddington Hill and Segsbury with no evidence for weaving except for a solitary bone comb at Segsbury. Metal working was limited to three sites and at Segsbury this consists of a fragment of a crucible recovered from a pre-hillfort feature (Lock and Gosden 2005a:45-7). At Tower Hill the positioning and make up of the bronze hoard was considered representative of on-site bronze working, although no other evidence was recovered (Miles *et al* 2003:155). The only site producing evidence for iron working was Liddington Castle where smithing slag was recovered from two Early Iron Age contexts (Hirst and Rahtz 1996:47).

Although only published through interim reports, Alfred's Castle differs significantly from its neighbours. The material appears to show a settlement with a range of craft working. Large quantities of spindle whorls and loomweights were found along with worked bone. It suggests that there is a clear functional difference between it and the hillforts.

Large animal bone assemblages were recovered from Rockley Down, Dean Bottom and Burderop Down (see Appendix 1.1). Sheep formed the majority of bones in all cases though cattle were also well represented. Pig numbers were low compared to many of the later sites as was horse. At Dean Bottom a high proportion of the cattle present were calves and taken to imply some degree of dairy production (Maltby 1992:141). The cattle at Burderop Down were older implying either a different management regime or that a different range of animals were brought to the site for consumption (*ibid.*:142). The latter idea fits with Gingell's ideas that it was a seasonal market. The sheep populations from Rockley Down, Dean Bottom and Burderop Down showed a high mortality rate in the first and second years with the remainder making it to maturity (*ibid.*). This suggests they were mostly reared for meat.

Only 179 animal bones from Uffington Castle were identifiable to the major species. Sheep and cattle were equally well represented and no neonatal bones were recovered (Ingram 2003:188). Another small bone assemblage from Liddington Castle was dominated by sheep and consistent with neighbouring sites at Uffington and Segsbury (Hirst and Rahtz

1996:51). Sheep also dominated at Liddington Hill, with the majority having been slaughtered by the age of 18 months (Fowler and Walters 1981:123). At Segsbury, the small animal bone assemblage was 87% Early Iron Age and 13% Middle Iron Age. Sheep at 61% were the major component of the Early Iron Age assemblage, with cattle at 18% and pig at 14% (Mulville and Powell 2005:118). Neonatal cattle were present whilst tooth data for sheep suggests that the majority were from individuals aged between 2 and 12 months (*ibid.*:117). The fusion data was consistent with a large kill-off in the first and second years suggesting that the regime focused on meat production (*ibid.*). The animal bone assemblages from all of the hillfort sites are dominated by sheep. At around 60% of the identifiable assemblage, Segsbury and Uffington match other hillforts like Battlesbury. The Segsbury data shows that most were slaughtered in their first or second year, a pattern taken to infer a focus on a meat producing regime and a similar pattern to that identified from the pits on Liddington Hill.

Soil samples from Dean Bottom produced 305 grains of barley and a single grain of wheat. They had been deposited as a cleaned sample with no processing waste (Carruthers 1992). The figures for Burderop Down were lower, but again barley predominated with 13 grains compared to a solitary wheat grain (*ibid.*). A small charred plant assemblage was recovered from Uffington and indicated that barley was brought to the site as hulled grain. Wheat was stored as spikelets and dehusked and cleaned when needed for use (Robinson 2003:193). Only a small amount of carbonized plant remains were recovered from Segsbury with an absence of chaff implying that it had been processed away from the excavated areas, or before being brought there (Ingham and Robinson 2005a:120). There is a general absence of beehive pits and or four/six-post structures that are hypothesised as grain stores. This pattern is identified at the other excavated Ridgeway hillforts suggesting a difference in activity and function. Beehive pits are also associated with the highest density of artefact deposition and this was put forward as one reason for the restricted artefact repertoire (Daly *et al* 2005:125).

8.4 Landscape and society

With the exception of Rams Hill and Weathercock Hill we are largely unaware of the extent of settlement on the Berkshire Downs during the later Bronze Age. The picture of settlement on the Marlborough Downs is very different. Fieldwalking by Meyrick has revealed a pattern of extensive later Bronze Age habitation between Marlborough and Barbury Castle. This

concentration may have been repeated in other areas but masked by later Romano-British and medieval activity but the difference between the Marlborough and Berkshire Downs however does appear to be a real one. The environmental evidence for the Berkshire Downs suggests that it was mostly rough grassland during this period (Evans 1975; Ford 1982).

Excavations have shown a time-depth to the Marlborough Downs system with the enclosure at Preshute Down One predating the fields and that at Ogbourne Maizey Down placed within an existing field (Piggott 1942:51-52). Trackways form an important component of the area connecting them to the wider landscape (Figure 8.4). The enclosure at Preshute Down One lies at the foot of a steep slope and it is connected to the summit of the spur by a double-ditched track (*ibid.*). Another path leads southwest from this enclosure to that at Preshute Down Two. The later enclosure at Dean Bottom lies in the upper margins of its field system (Gingell 1992:156), suggesting that access to the higher downland was important for all of these settlements. The lack of division on the higher downs suggests its use as communal rough pasture freely accessible from most of the sites. A major trackway can also be seen in the centre of this system running southeast towards the River Og valley and the most reliable year-round water source. The dominance of sheep in the assemblages matches the expectations of a downland farming unit but ceramic scatters show that the fields were regularly manured for arable production (Gingell 1992:156). On Ogbourne Down three Middle Bronze Age enclosures sit within an area of fragmentary field remains. The majority of ceramics recovered from this area are later than the enclosures possibly indicating a role for the enclosures in animal management before an extension of arable production into the area in the Late Bronze Age (Figure 8.5).

For both the Middle and Late Bronze Age the area to the north of Marlborough shows the highest density of settlement noted in the study area with most sites situated under 1km from at least one of their neighbours. These settlements are linked to each other through trackways implying that proximity was contrived. Such a pattern may be indicative of mixed agriculture with an emphasis on arable production where there is a requirement for regular assistance from neighbours. To the east of the Marlborough Downs there are a series of Late Bronze Age sites evenly dispersed across the downs but at distances of 5-7km from each other implying a greater focus on animal management in these areas (Figure 8.11). Larger quantities of bronze have been recovered from the Marlborough Downs sites than elsewhere but they are largely undifferentiated and do not show a clear hierarchy. The density of settlement does

not appear to fit with Brück's model of households actively seeking independence from their neighbours (Brück 1999a:160). It does however, fit well with concepts of neighbourhood groups and we should expect that there was a high degree of co-operation between these households, amongst which labour and resources could be pooled for certain activities.

The Later Bronze Age saw a shift in the focus of settlement and the number of sites reduces with the area appearing to have been abandoned after the construction of the linear earthwork to the southeast. The evidence from Burderop Down suggests that people were moving through the area along the Ridgeway which was unencumbered by field divisions. Rams Hill is a unique site in the region but its redating to the Late Bronze Age (Needham and Ambers 1994) undermines Ellison's hypothesis that it formed a pivotal role in the distribution and circulation of Middle Bronze Age artefacts (Ellison 1981:424). The function of Rams Hill remains uncertain, but nothing recovered suggests that it was the residence of an elite. The proportions of its boundary at a time when most settlements were unbounded is strange, but a social explanation remains most likely.

Earliest Iron Age site distributions are dramatically different (Figure 8.12) and there is no continuity between sites. The sites are all unenclosed and with such a low level of developer funded work, are probably significantly underrepresented. On the Marlborough Downs, establishment of the Overton Down ODXI site heralds a small concentration of activity that continues into the Early Iron Age, whilst the Berkshire Downs sees the first of any readily identifiable phases of settlement. Tower Hill and Overton are permanent settlements but the distribution of sites around 6-7km distant from each other (Figure 8.11) would suggest that they represented a series of largely independent units for whom animal management and the maintenance of adequate pasture was important. It is at the beginning of this period that many of the linear earthworks were created and probably towards its end that the foundations of the first hillforts were laid. It supports the hypothesis that the change between the Late Bronze Age and the Earliest Iron Age in this region is representative of a change of focus from arable to animal management.

The spatial distribution of Early Iron Age sites around the North Wessex Downs (Figure 8.13) is very distinct. Primarily of note is the positioning of the hillforts along the main northern scarp edge although two groups can be identified. Firstly are those situated at the terminal of linear earthworks such as Liddington and Uffington which appear to be established in some form in the preceding period. Secondly, those that are situated in a territory

surrounded by linear earthworks such as Oldbury, Barbury and Segsbury which, based upon current knowledge, are established later in the Early Iron Age. Settlements also tend to fall into one of two categories, those around the northern scarp and those situated in the central downland. Those around the ridge are unenclosed sites situated about 7-8km apart and within 2km of a hillfort. Those on the downland are usually enclosed and up to 5km from the nearest hillfort. Perhaps more importantly, all except Alfred's Castle are situated close to the Ridgeway.

The Middle Iron Age sees a further retrenchment, with activity only identified at Barbury, Segsbury and perhaps Alfred's Castle. Very little pottery has been recovered for this period anywhere in this sub-region. The geophysical survey and morphology of Barbury classify it as a developed hillfort, probably intensively occupied during the Middle Iron Age and comparable to Yarnbury and Danebury. The environmental record for the Iron Age does not show scrub or woodland regeneration (Fowler 2000:208; Allen 2005:79) and it appears that Barbury is a focus of settlement in the region with large parts of the downs exploited through transhumant regimes from this location.

The area of the Marlborough and Berkshire Downs is a typical area of Wessex and should be suited to the theories of Cunliffe, Sharples and Hill. We have a large number of hillforts constructed during the Early Iron Age, reducing to two, Segsbury and Barbury, in the Middle Iron Age. This latter stage is marked by a change in the regional affinity of Segsbury's pottery to Wiltshire (Brown 2005:116) which is soon after abandoned. Barbury continues in use to become a developed hillfort. At a superficial level this pattern matches what we would expect from both Cunliffe's and Sharples' models where one community comes to dominate their neighbours. However, most hillforts here are significantly different from what are considered to be the normal patterns, with no evidence for substantial grain storage capacity and little evidence for a density of early settlement. They produce a restricted repertoire of artefacts and do not appear to have functioned as craft centres. Alfred's Castle possibly fulfils the criteria for one of Cunliffe's elite centres with a substantial circuit and evidence for craftwork in contrast to the surrounding area. Without the full publication, it is impossible to comment further other than its location appears isolated rather than at the centre of a hierarchical settlement pattern. The pattern also varies from the model proposed by Hill. Whilst settlement does seem widely dispersed, it is clear that the hillforts do not sit at the centre of settlement groups and are instead positioned at the junctions between different

ecozones and along routes of movement. The divisions on the downs create large blocks of land and do not reflect the resources of individual landowning farmsteads with small flocks of sheep. Instead they represent large blocks of communal pasture that must have been managed and farmed co-operatively by groups of people.

Use of the hillfort and acts of renovation maintain and renew the social relationships that it embodies. In this way it is similar to Hill's ideas that the hillfort is central to social cohesion. A continual reworking of the boundary at many of the hillforts, four phases at Liddington, two at Uffington and five at Segsbury, a pattern matched by Barbury, often contrasts with sparse activity within them. The Hillforts of the Oxfordshire Ridgeway Project has suggested that the act of hillfort construction creates an arena of interaction for socially dispersed groups that would draw them together through the creation of affinity (Lock and Gosden 2005a:134). The creation of the hillfort is therefore a socially constructive act, aimed at creating bonds across and between communities. The pattern also fits Sharples' model of competitive potlatch hillfort rebuilding whereby communities compete to create bigger and more impressive hillfort defences (2007). These connotations would have been implicit within the act of construction but would not have been the rationale for their initial construction which must have been more functional. Uffington and Rams Hill are situated closer together than many of the other hillforts and therefore may have had different functions. One interpretation for Uffington, with its association with the White Horse, is that it had a religious significance connected with the cleaning of the chalk figure (Lock and Gosden 2005a:150). Segsbury, probably the last hillfort to be built in this sub-region, was established in an area of virgin grassland. The excavators believed that its construction was the spearhead of the area's colonization, part of the acculturation process as space was turned into place (Lock and Gosden 2005a:141), although they maintain that its ultimate function was as the site of a seasonal sheep market (Daly *et al* 2005:132). Segsbury's function as an animal market and fair leads to the regular, perhaps annual gathering of the community under superficially economic circumstances, but again underlying this gathering are the social bonds that are created and renewed within the boundary of the hillfort. The massive phase of reconstruction in the Middle Iron Age infers a large increase in the amount of labour that could be called upon, possibly implying that the social relations it embodied now extended over a much greater area (*ibid.*:149).

The hillforts have the feel of communal structures, fulfilling pastoral functions as well as controlling movement along the Ridgeway. In spatial terms Uffington may represent a slightly different kind of phenomena and may in conjunction with the White Horse form, as Gosden and Lock suggest, a part of a ceremonial site (2005a:150). The role of the hillforts in movement seems apparent and may have facilitated the movement of animals along the Ridgeway to more distant regions. It raises the question of whether communities from some distance away were exploiting the downs or whether the animals reared by communities on the downs were produced for more distant markets. Communities are commonly associated with features that are considered core to their existence and this is promoted in terms of an identity (Cohen 1978:453; Gray 2002:41). For this area the main area of focus in terms of labour investment is connected with the management of sheep, and the landscape is textured for these activities (Evans 2003:197). For people moving through the region via the Ridgeway it is this texturing that is most apparent and could be taken to symbolize the communities of the region. Thus the identity of these communities would be intimately tied up with their animals and the land upon which they were raised (Chadwick 2007). By the Middle Iron Age most of the downs lack any archaeological evidence as to how they were exploited. It seems safe to assume that the downs continued to be used as pasture but the role fulfilled by many of the hillforts appears to have become redundant.

8.5 Summary

The archaeological evidence indicates that the Marlborough Downs were densely populated during the later Bronze Age, presumably partaking of a mixed agricultural regime with a slight arable focus. Animal management probably remained important and the distribution of sites to the east implies that this area may have been mostly exploited as pasture. The density of habitation shows a well developed community, where proximity was important to the reproduction of society through shared labour and culture. The Berkshire Downs in contrast appear to have been exploited as grassland from geographically dispersed settlements. The Earliest Iron Age sees a complete translocation of activity whereby a small number of settlements are established away from the Bronze Age heartland. Some of these continue into the Early Iron Age, when a series of hillforts are constructed along the northern scarp. Otherwise most of the downs appear devoid of permanent settlement throughout the Iron Age. The pattern that emerges is one where communities exploit the downs for the large scale management of sheep. The hillforts are intimately tied into this regime and support

movement along the Ridgeway which may also be connected to the animals. Whilst some of the settlements of the hillfort constructors can be seen to lie just off of the area of downs in the Early Iron Age, by the Middle Iron Age these have been abandoned as have many of the hillforts. Whether this indicates that both downland and the foot of scarp locations are bereft of habitation is unclear, but it would appear that the downs themselves are still being exploited as pasture. This picture does not fit well with any of the current models but appears to reflect the exploitation of an economic resource by the community rather than individual households. This region has however received the least developer funded work of any in the study area. In other regions such as the Wylde Valley, Upper Thames Valley and Vale of Pewsey, PPG16 led work has continued to uncover open settlements from all periods that had previously gone unnoticed. Without a similar scale of activity in this area we have broadly the same information that was available 20 years ago and are unable to write a narrative vastly different to that produced by Gingell in 1992.

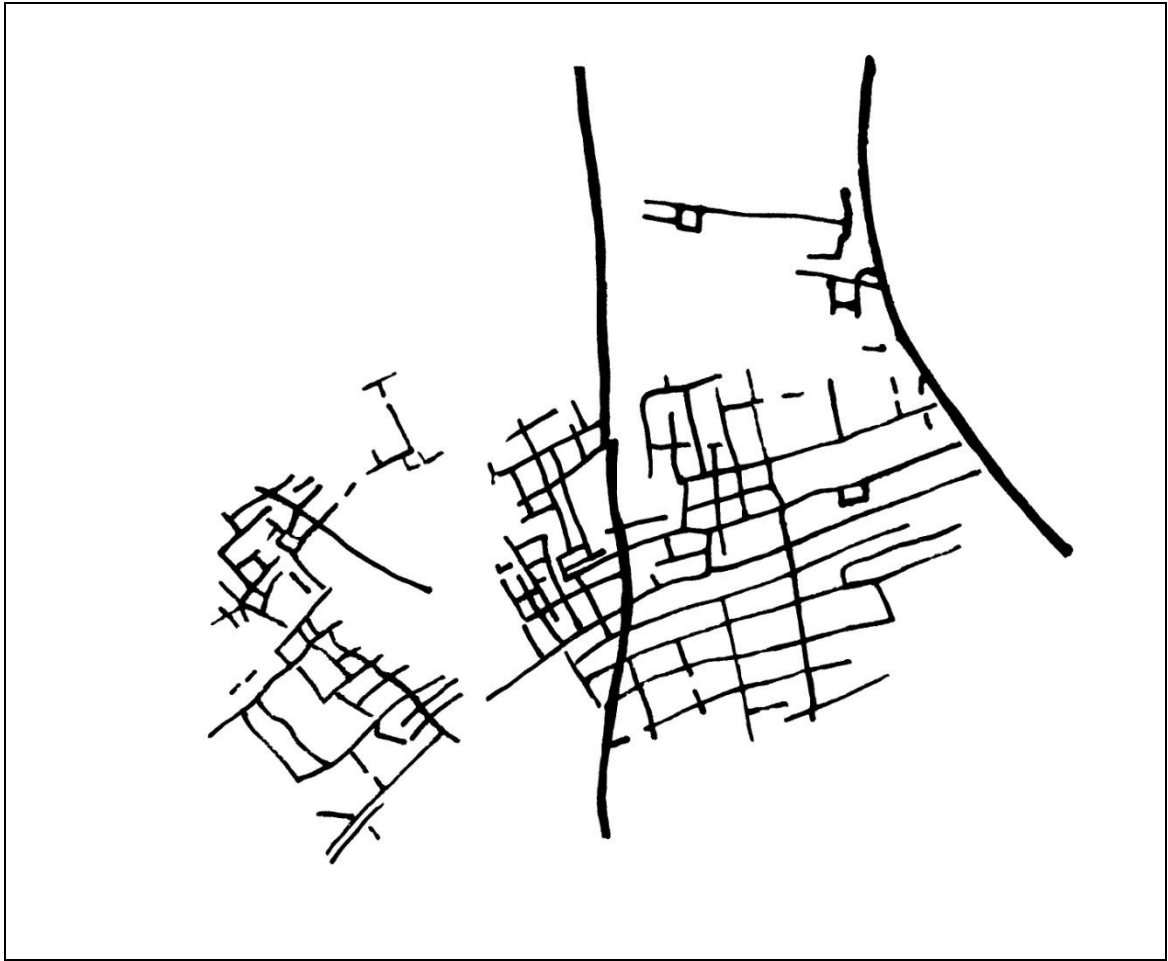


Figure 8.1- East Garston Down linear earthwork between Mere End Down and Lang Down southwest of Segsbury, the earthwork appears to respect some fields but cut non-conformably across others suggesting that it pre-dates some fields and post-dates others.

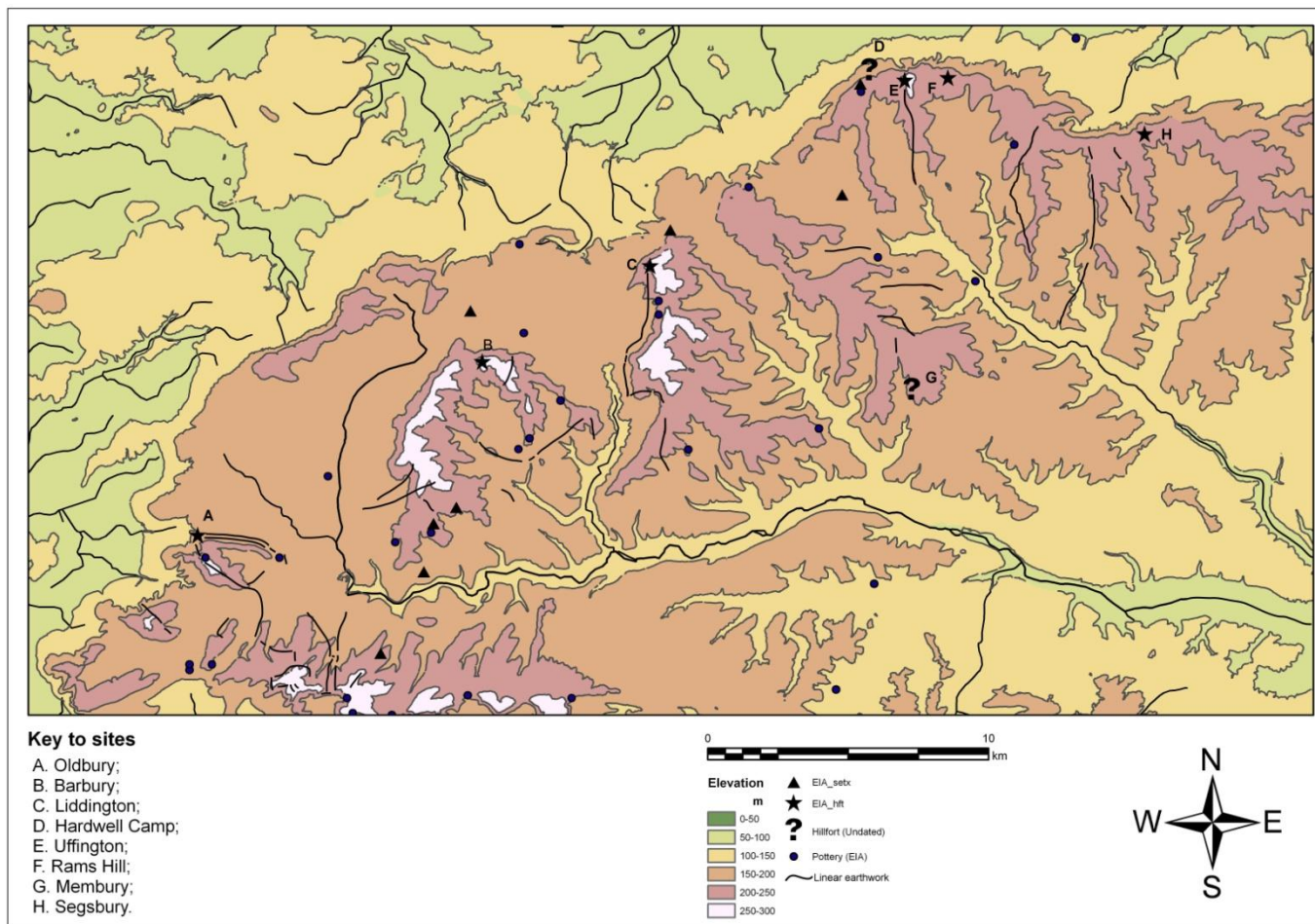


Figure 8.2- Linear earthworks on the North Wessex Downs.

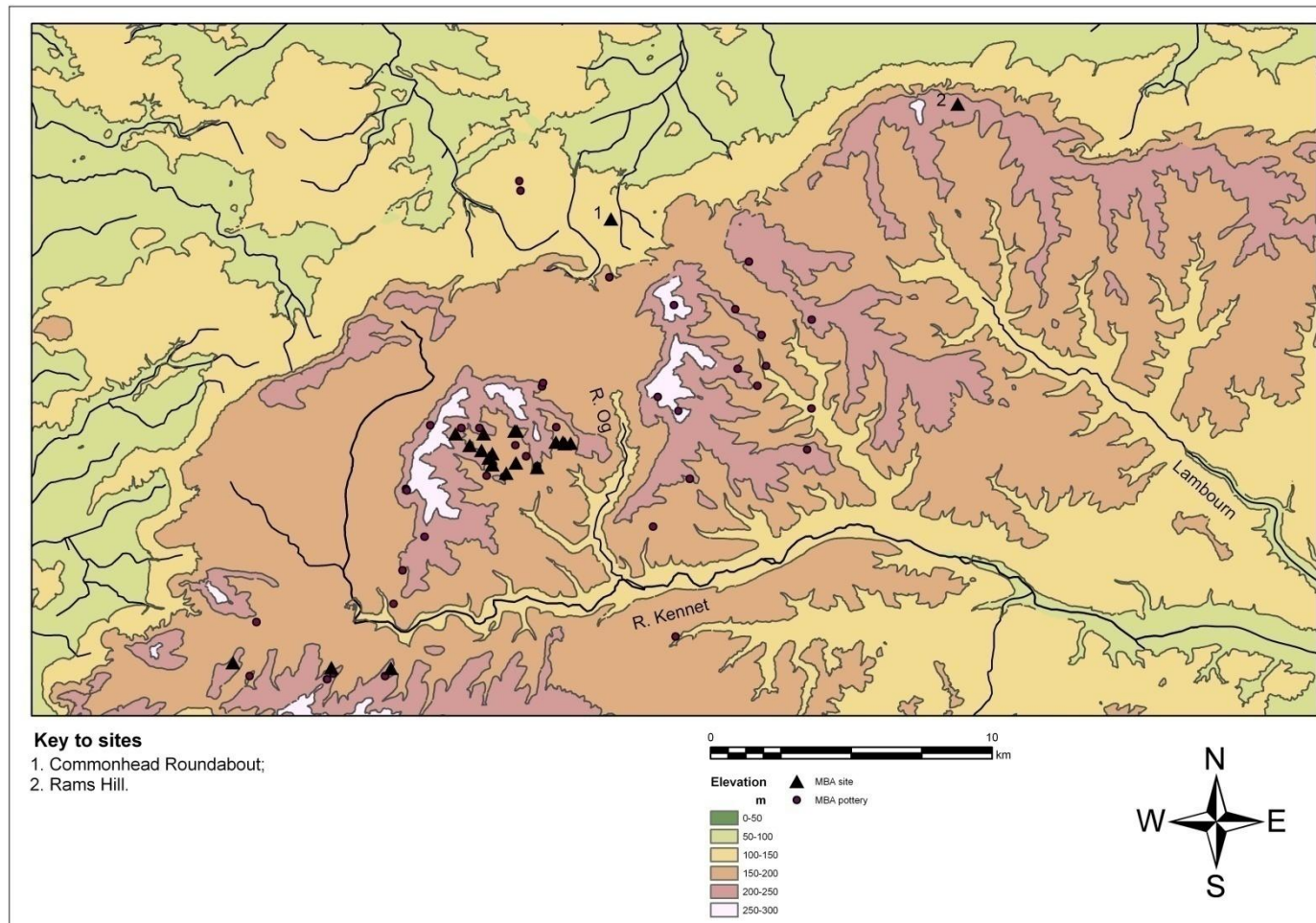


Figure 8.3- Middle Bronze Age sites on the North Wessex Downs.

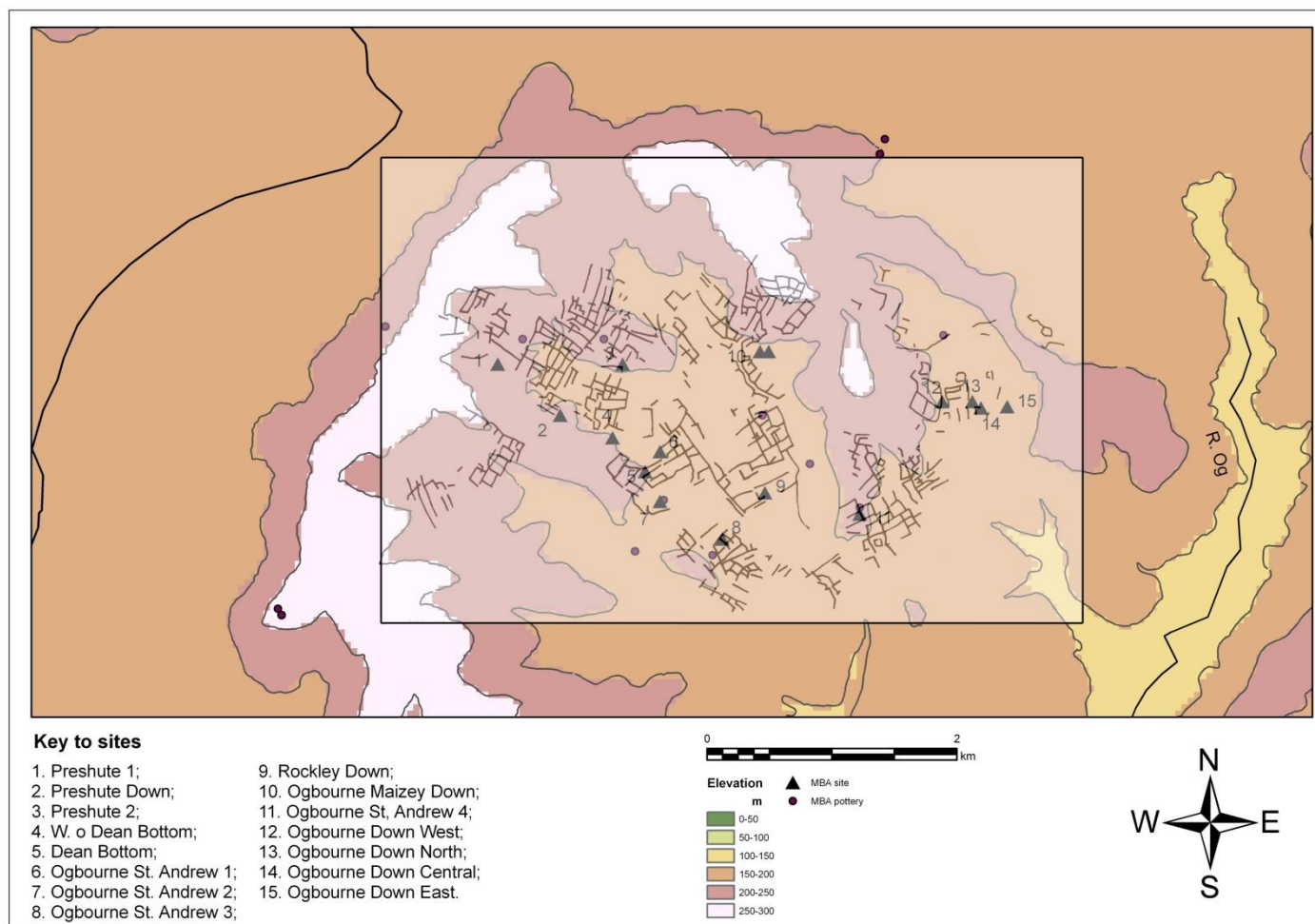


Figure 8.4- Middle Bronze Age settlement and field systems on the Marlborough Downs to the north of Marlborough.

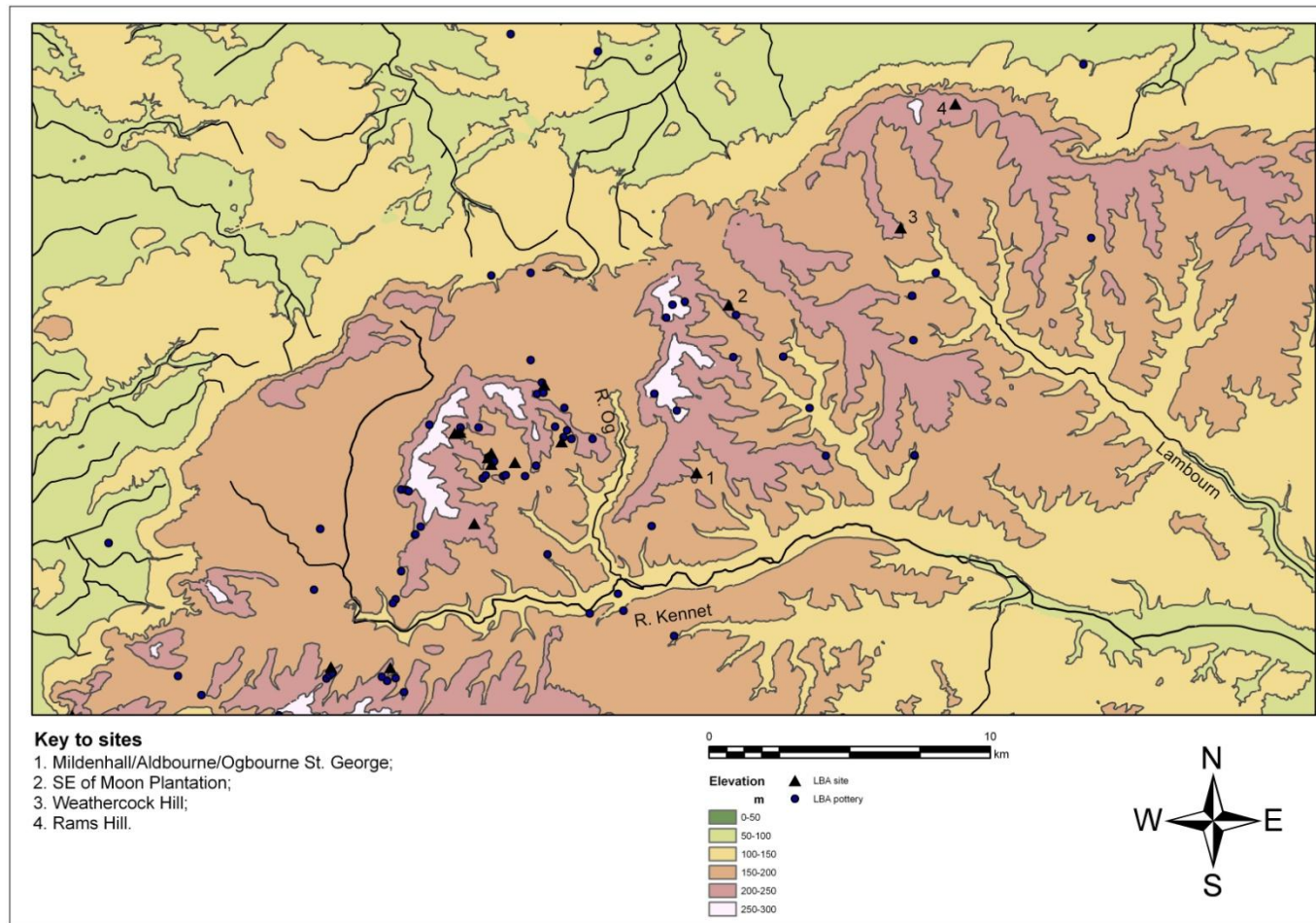


Figure 8.5- Late Bronze Age sites on the North Wessex Downs.

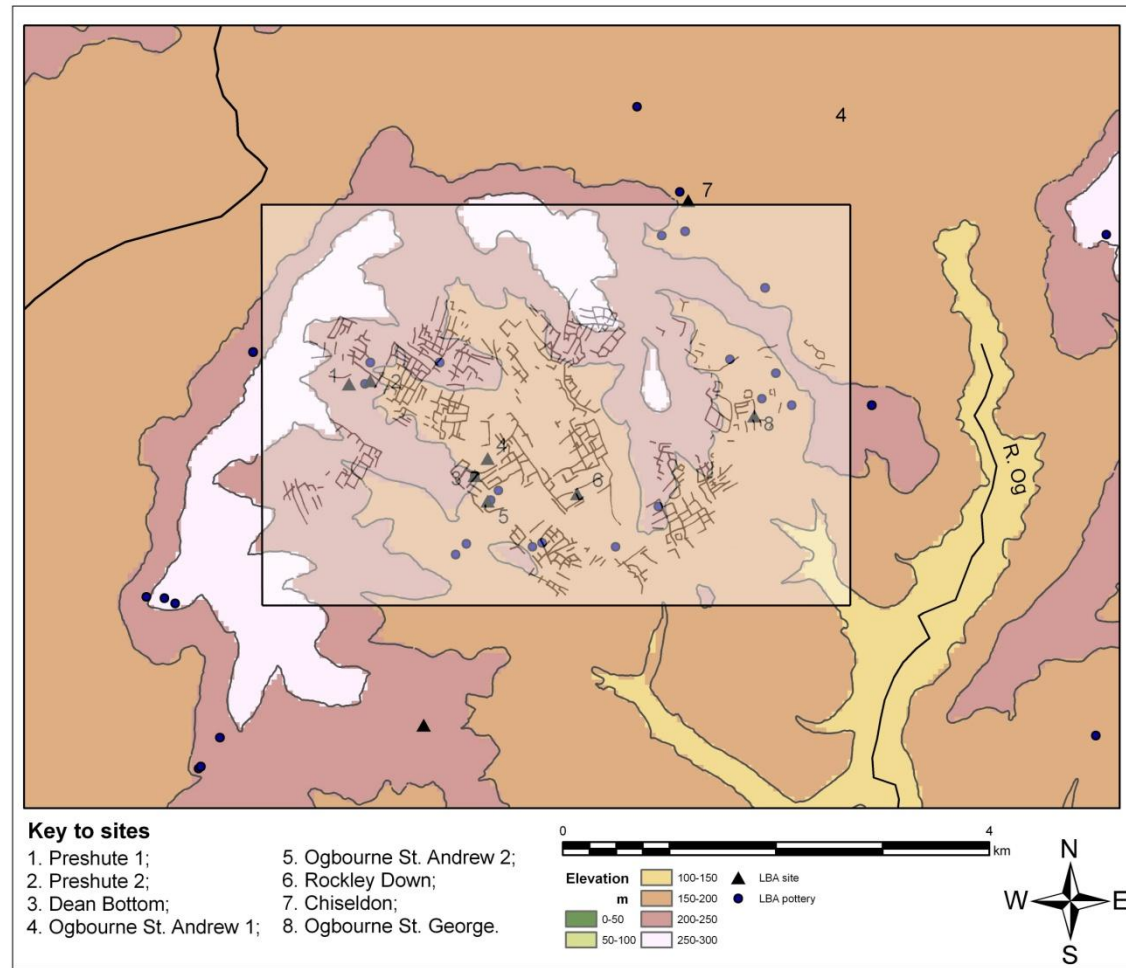


Figure 8.6- Late Bronze Age settlement and field systems on the Marlborough Downs to the north of Marlborough.

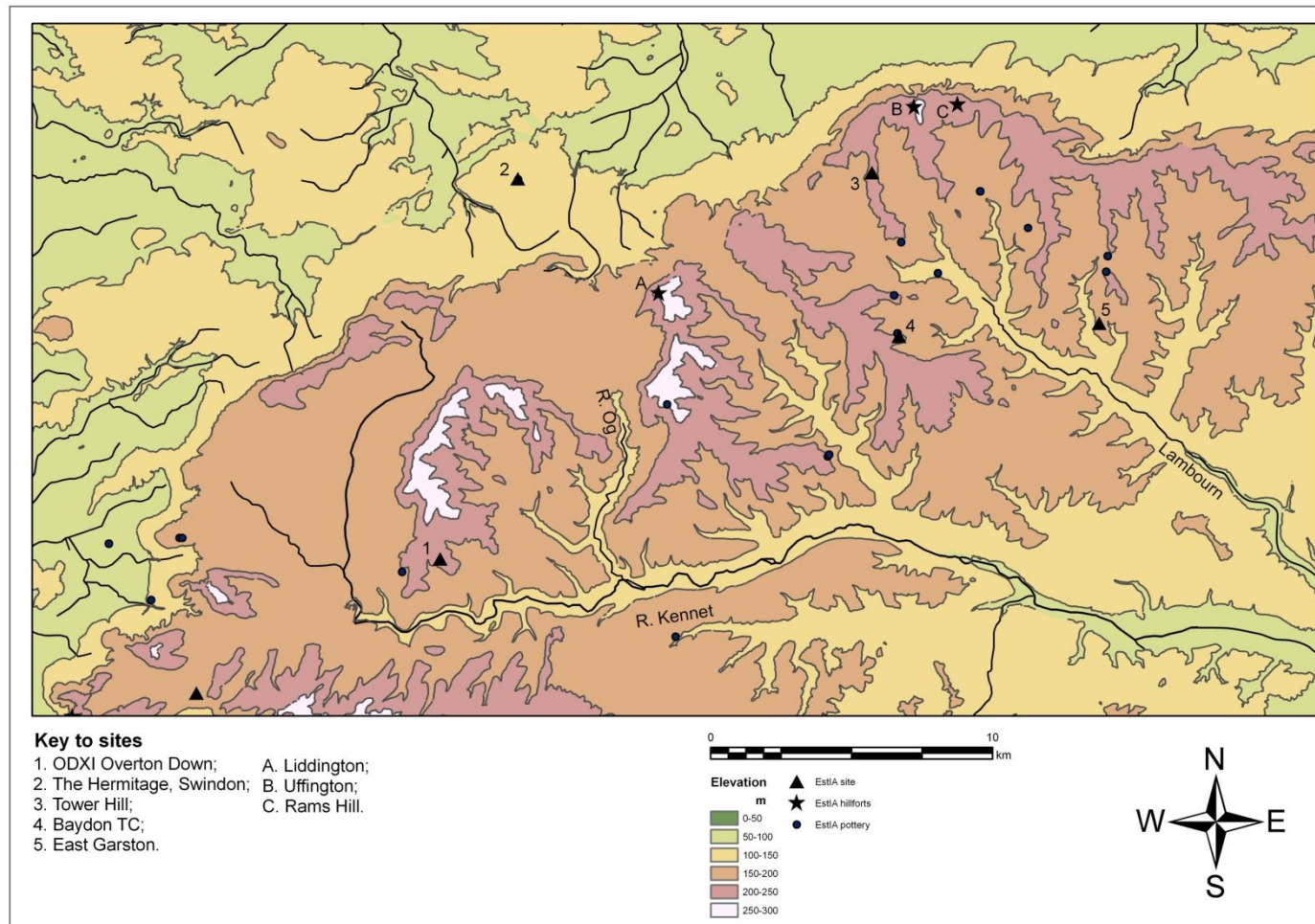


Figure 8.7- Earliest Iron Age sites on the North Wessex Downs.

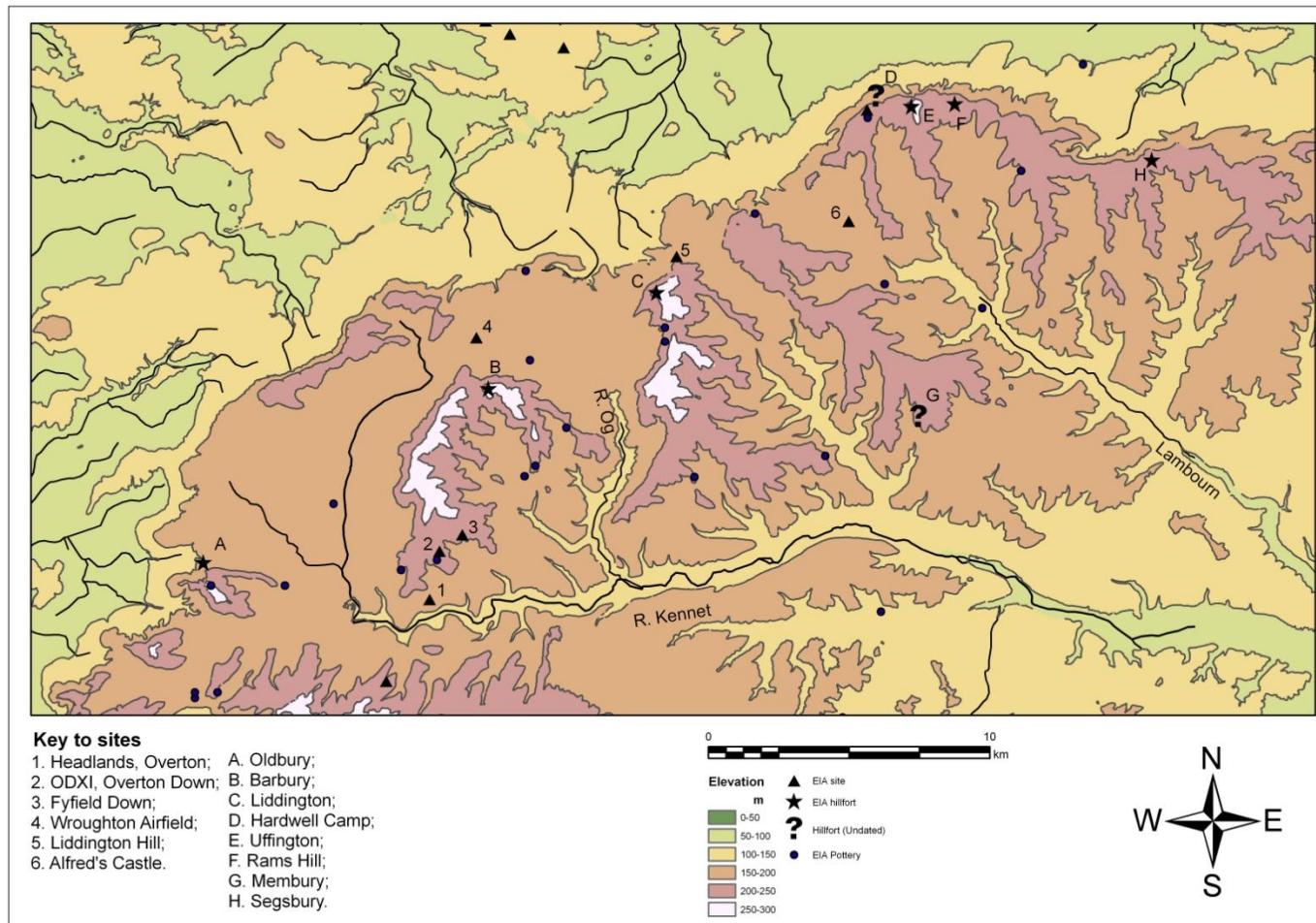


Figure 8.8- Early Iron Age sites on the North Wessex Downs.

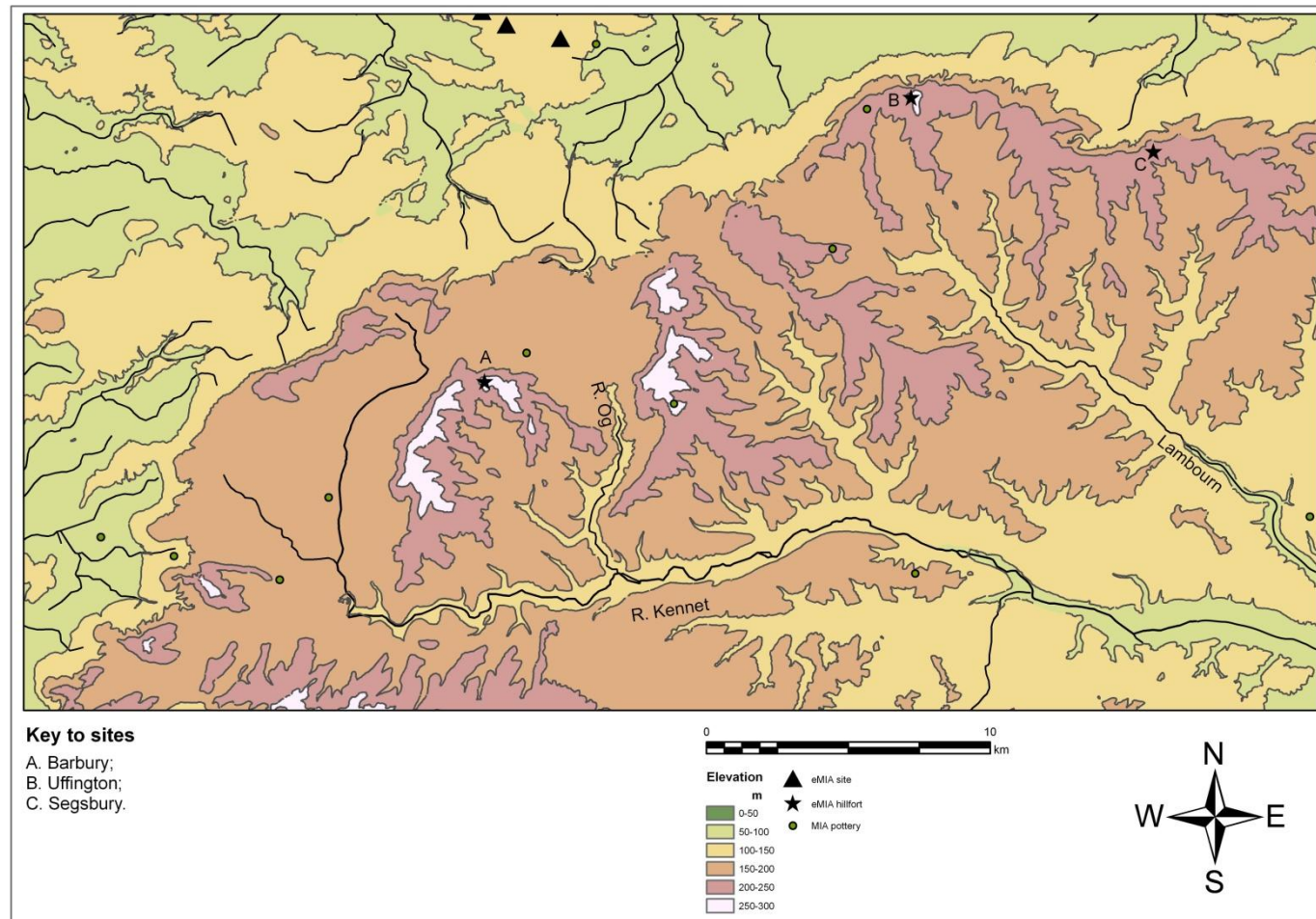


Figure 8.9- early Middle Iron Age sites on the North Wessex Downs.

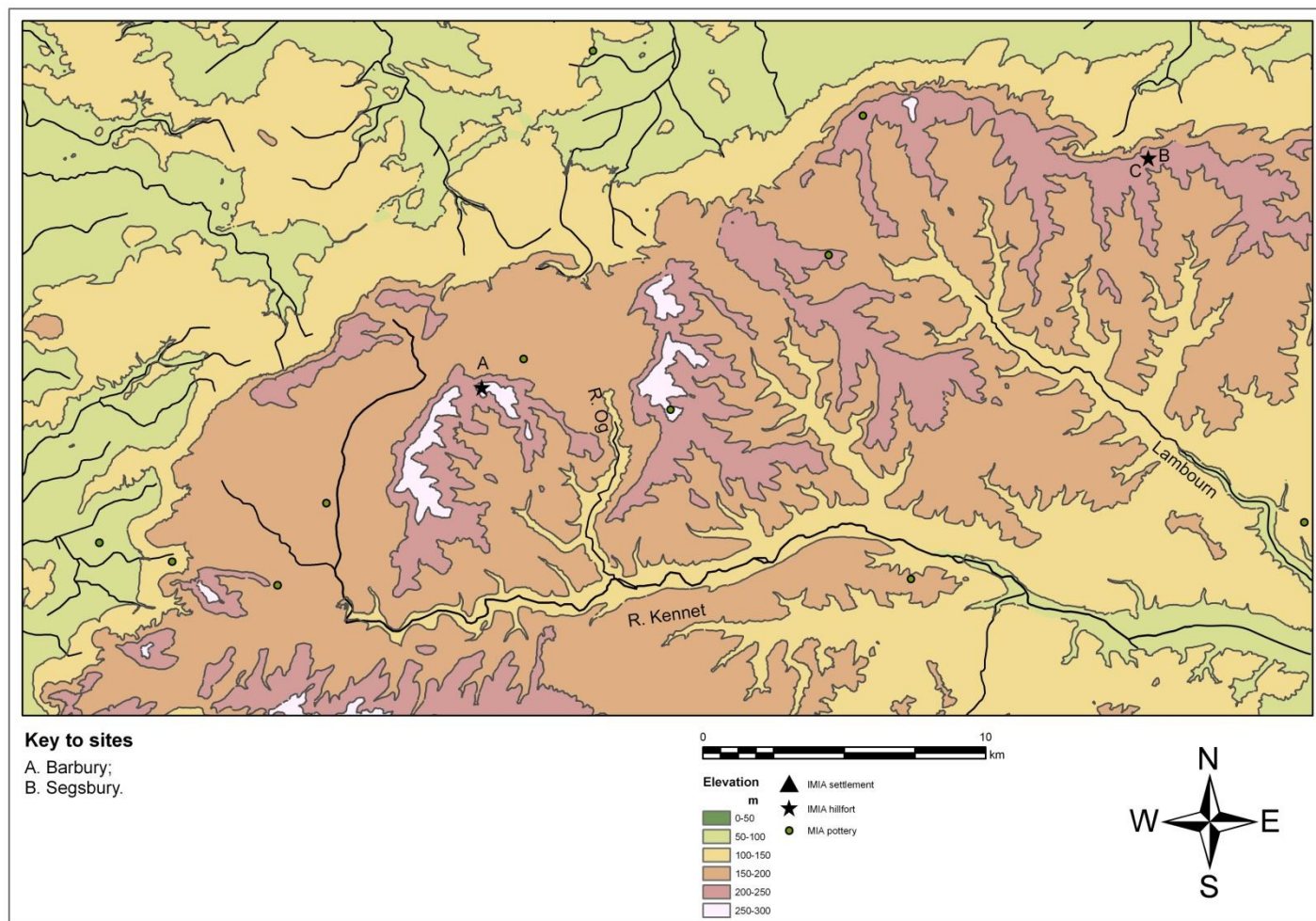


Figure 8.10- late Middle Iron Age sites on the North Wessex Downs.

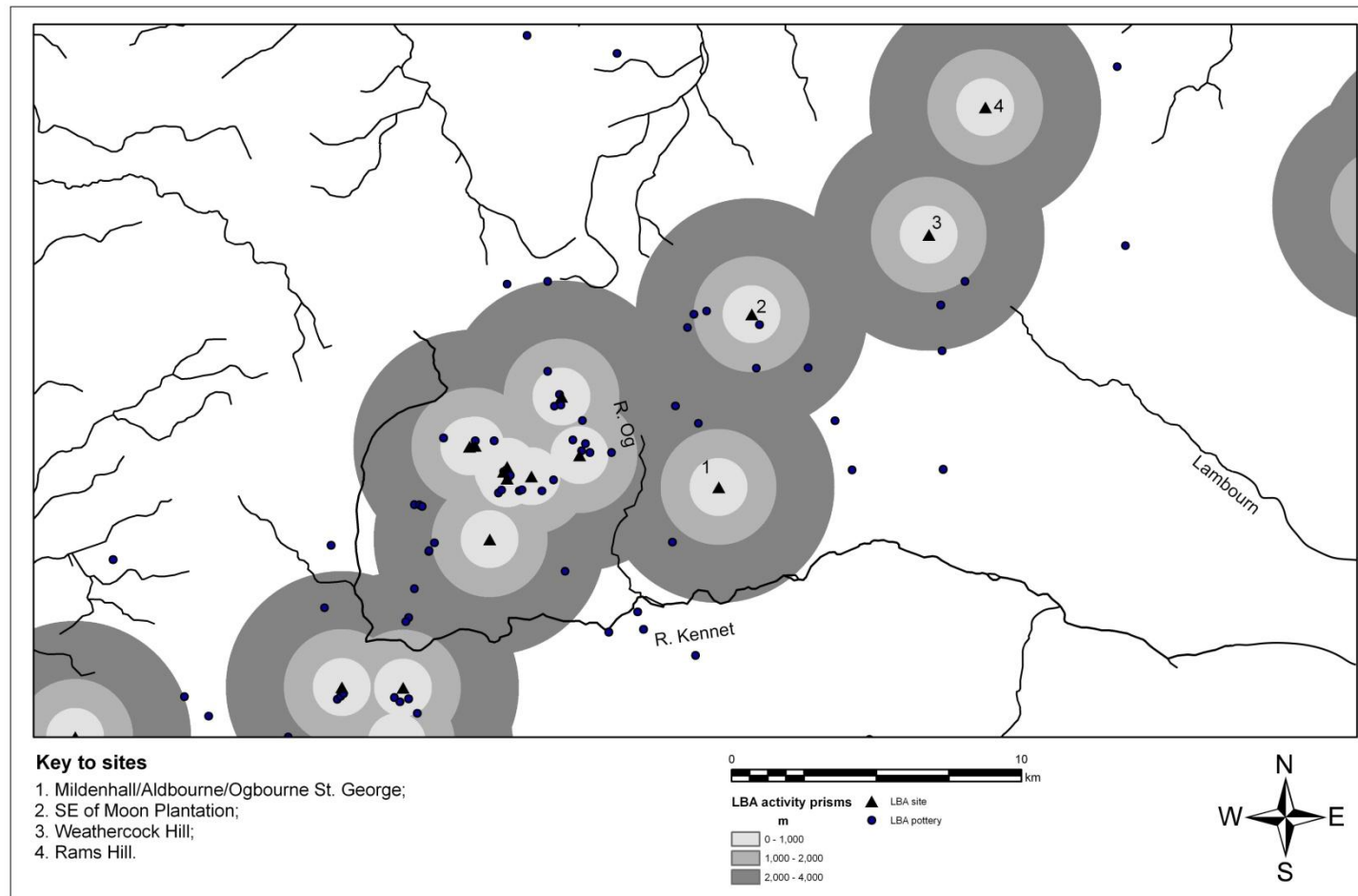


Figure 8.11- North Wessex Downs Late Bronze Age sites with activity-prisms.

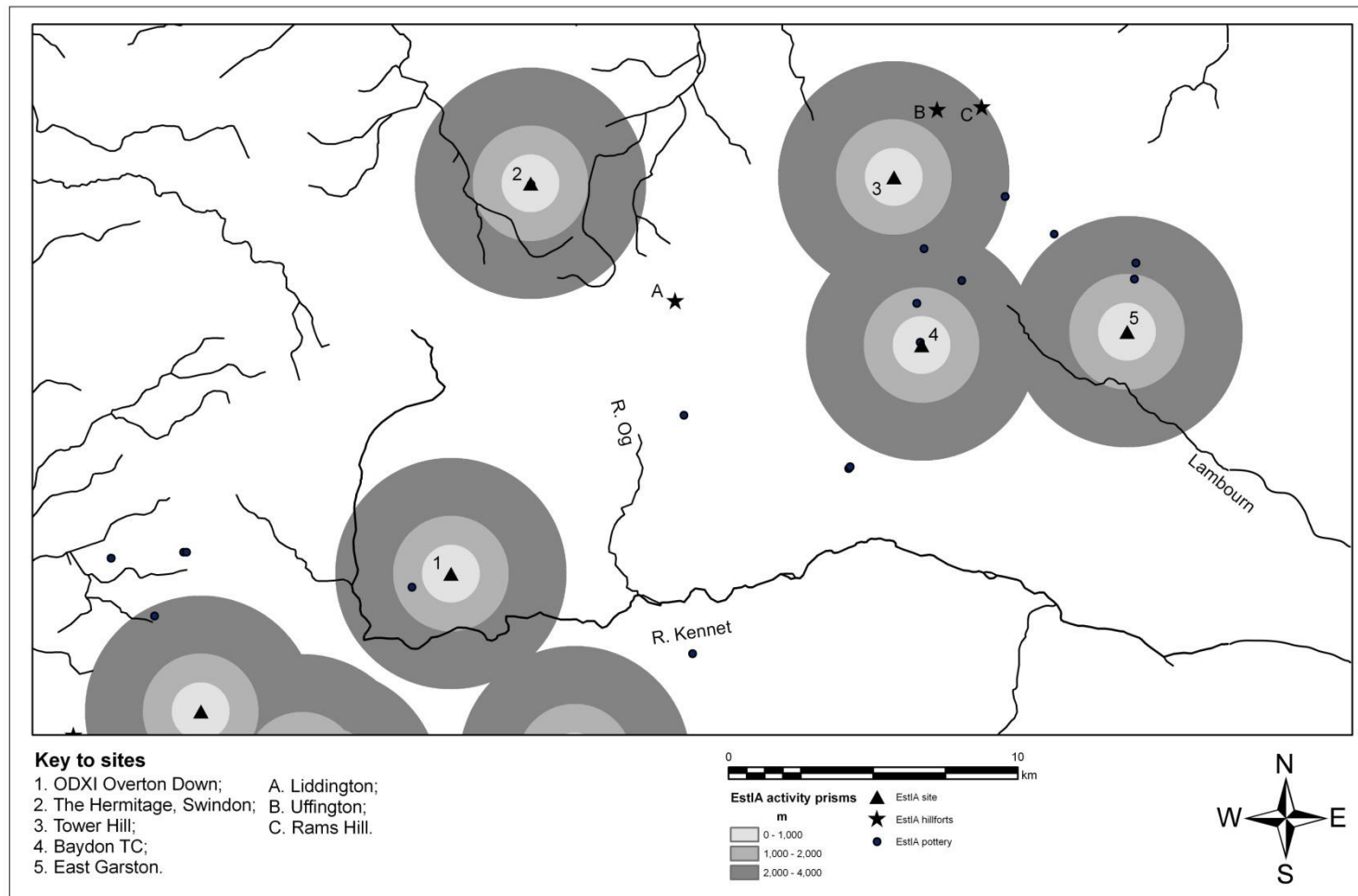


Figure 8.12- North Wessex Downs Earliest Iron Age sites with activity-prisms.

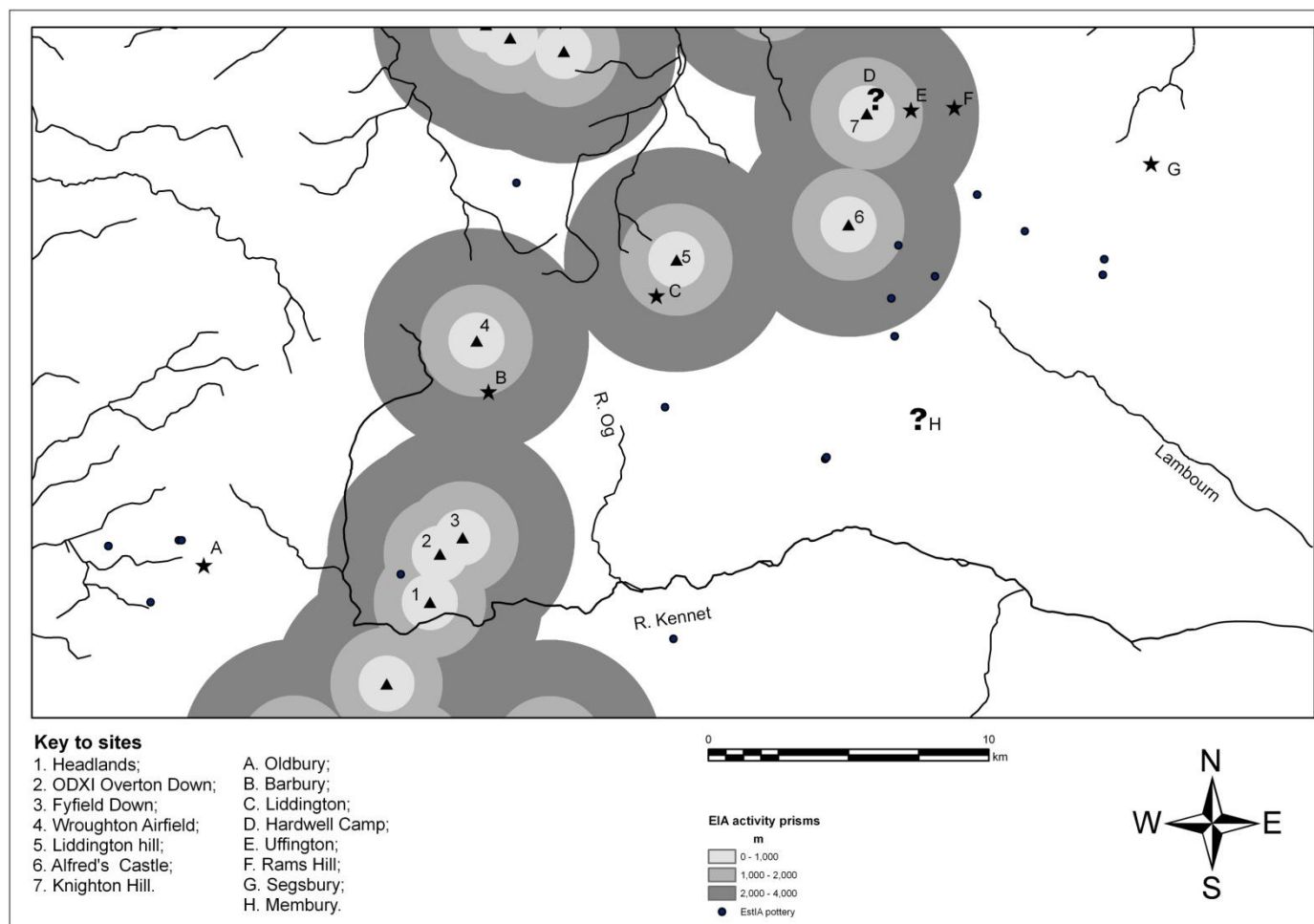


Figure 8.13- North Wessex Downs Early Iron Age sites with activity-prisms.

Chapter 9 - Upper Thames Valley

The Upper Thames Valley forms the northern boundary of the study area and covers the source of the Thames through to the east of Lechlade around the county boundaries of Wiltshire and Gloucestershire with Oxfordshire. The geology is more varied than many of the other regions. The margins of the Thames are flanked by a series of well drained gravel terraces. South of these are poorly drained Oxford Clays that give rise to a gently undulating landscape that runs up to the Corallian Ridge. This is a ridge of limestone that runs northeast from Swindon up to the Thames. Between the Corallian Ridge and the Marlborough Downs lies a second area of clay, a Kimmeridge Clay belt that forms a flat area of pasture. The Upper Thames Valley region consists of two groups of sites. Those located alongside the Thames, discovered as a result of gravel extraction or in the case of Latton Lands, road widening and those situated along the Corallian Ridge. This pattern ultimately reflects the underlying geology as the gravel terraces and Corallian Ridge are most conducive to forming visible cropmarks. In contrast the clay belts are not suited to forming clear cropmarks with the result that only one excavated site is known. Very little archaeological research had been conducted in this part of the Upper Thames valley until the 1960's when Roughground Farm and the Loders, both around Lechlade, were excavated. Even then it was not until the 1970's that large scale investigation started with the quarrying of the Cotswold Water Park along the banks of the Thames. Most sites have been excavated and published to modern standards with their plans completely revealed even if the features have only been sampled. This area has benefited most from PPG16 and the Aggregates Levy with 47 sites excavated as a result of developer funded work. Prior to 1990 only four sites were known.

A large number of crop marks are known along this part of the Thames (Benson and Miles 1974) but mostly from the northern than southern bank. The large number of crop marks suggests that the dense occupation seen in some parts, probably extended over much of its length. The southern bank of the Thames is largely devoid of crop marks and excavated settlements though this reflects slight differences in drift geology that mask the archaeology and has not promoted the gravel extraction experienced to the north. It seems likely that the southern bank would have been as densely populated as the north and so a large number of sites are missing.

9.1 Land division

Although most of the woodland in this sub-region had been cleared by the Middle Bronze Age (Robinson 1992:53) little evidence has been found for physical land division prior to the Late Bronze Age. At Latton Lands, cereal pollen from waterlogged deposits in a pond in its entrance suggests that arable production was taking place within 500m of the site (Huckerby 2004:137-8). No evidence of field systems was noted but later medieval ridge and furrow matched the alignment of the enclosure raising the possibility that later field systems respected earlier Middle Bronze Age examples or that the enclosure remained a feature in the landscape when fields were formally laid out. In the Vale of the White Horse just to the east of this study area it was thought that the clay soils had deterred early arable cultivation but a survey to the southwest of Abingdon found an extensive area of Middle Bronze Age fields (Hearne 2000). There is no reason why such systems should not have extended westwards into this sub-region.

At Shorncote Quarry a series of undated fence lines were discovered adjacent to the Late Bronze Age settlement and were cut by a Middle Iron Age ditch (Brossler *et al* 2002:57). Whilst they may relate to a Late Bronze Age system, they may equally date to an early Middle Iron Age land division. The first widespread evidence are Late Bronze Age ditches along the banks of the Thames at Cotswold Community School (Wessex Archaeology 1994b:3), Lechlade; sites at Butlers Field, Gassons Road and Allcourt Farm (Oxford Archaeological Unit 2001); and a double pit alignment consisting of 164 pits, that runs for at least 140m at Cotswold Community (Oxford Archaeological Unit 2000:4).

Further linear ditches are constructed in the Early Iron Age at Roughground Farm (Allen *et al* 1993), Dryleaze Farm, Latton Lands, Eysey Manor Farm, RAF Fairford and Lady Lamb Farm (Yates 2007:41). At Totterdown Lane, field systems lie directly to the south of the settlements (Pine and Preston 2004:78), whilst the Middle Iron Age fourth phase at Groundwell West was associated with a fence line, presumably a field boundary that could be traced for at least 95m (Walker *et al* 2001:17). Two different phases of fields were also identified to the south of the Shrivenham Iron Age enclosure (Birbeck 2001:228).

The lack of Middle Bronze Age settlement is consistent with the absence of coaxial field systems. The creation of linear earthworks during the Late Bronze Age matches the pattern noted elsewhere. These tend to be smaller than their brethren on the downs and

seem comparable to subsidiary linears using the river as the spinal element. Few field blocks have been identified and instead we have a series of large enclosures. This is consistent with the use of the first gravel terrace being mainly used for rearing animals and never coming under intensive arable cultivation.

9.2 Settlement

Middle and Late Bronze Age settlement was long thought to be sparse in this region (Hingley and Miles 1984:64), but several examples are now known (Figure 9.1). At Horcott Pit, four Mid-Late Bronze Age roundhouses were discovered (Pine and Preston 2004:1), whilst at Cotswold Community, Middle Bronze Age features were scattered across the site. These consisted of three waterholes, several pits, segmented ditches, a fenced enclosure and two circular post built structures and were interpreted as a shifting settlement (Oxford Archaeological Unit 2000:3-4). 5km east, at Latton Lands, a settlement defined by two lengths of ditch contained two roundhouses though truncation of the site may have removed further structures (Stansbie and Laws 2004:139).

Late Bronze Age sites are also elusive (Figure 9.2). Some form of occupation appears to have continued at Cotswold Community scattered over a broad area (Laws 2000; Oxford Archaeological Unit 2000) and one pit was confirmed as Late Bronze Age at Cotswold Community School (Wessex Archaeology 1994:3). At Roughground Farm Late Bronze Age activity was indicated by a series of large pits presumed to represent the activities of 'semi-nomadic pastoralists' (Allen *et al* 1993:195). The Plain Ware settlement at Shorncote Quarry was dramatically different to these sites. 42 circular structures were identified on a badly truncated site. Several hundred postholes were also identified and the excavators believe that as many as 30 more roundhouses may have existed. Of the 42 identified, 17 fell in the size range of 4-6.5m in diameter and 25 were larger than 7m in diameter. It is unclear how many of these roundhouses were in use at any one time but assuming 42 structures spread evenly over a 200 year period with a roundhouse lifespan of 30-100 years as suggested by Brück (1999a:149), we would have a minimum of 6 and a maximum of 21. Brück's figures are based upon relatively dry chalk downland sites and with the wetter conditions experienced on the first gravel terrace a roundhouse's life expectancy would probably be on the lower end of this scale. Assuming that not all structures were identified we should realistically expect the site to have had six to ten roundhouses standing at any one time. If roundhouse size is crudely

equated to function with the small structures representing ancillary buildings, it implies two to four workshops/storage huts to four to six domestic dwellings. Although these calculations are crude, they suggest that Shorncote Quarry represented a relatively substantial nucleation of people. 42 contemporary pits were also identified. Some were found to have rings of post holes around part of their circuit, suggesting that they had associated structures (pit 1127 - Hearne and Heaton 1994:29-30; pit 228- Brossler *et al* 2002:42; pit 2842 - Hearne and Adam 1999:54). One of the pits was associated with dung beetles and a lack of insects associated with human settlement (Robinson 2002:77). They are thus interpreted as waterholes for animals within a functionally zoned landscape (Brossler *et al* 2002:80).

Earliest Iron Age activity is restricted to two main sites, an enclosed settlement at the unpublished Gasson's Road/Butler's Field site, Lechlade (LPPG collection ID 1858 and 1860) and a new site at Latton Lands (Figure 9.3). Established during the Earliest Iron Age it continued in use through the Early Iron Age and into the Middle Iron Age although perhaps with some breaks in occupation. Earliest and Early Iron Age activity is spread out in three main areas over a 14ha site with at least 12 post built roundhouses, 28 four-post structures, 12 pits and two waterholes (Powell *et al* 2008). By the Middle Iron Age there were two main areas of activity with eleven penannular gullies possibly associated with roundhouses (*ibid.*:22-24). Later in the Middle Iron Age the whole area was reorganized with the construction of a major north/south boundary. It included an elaborate gateway with three sets of double post holes and flanking antennae ditches and was associated with a series of large enclosures (*ibid.*:25-30). This denotes a change in use from habitation to animal management. The northern area of Middle Iron Age activity is delineated by an east/west boundary with evidence for recutting. A series of enclosures and a waterhole were associated with iron and copper-alloy working residues (*ibid.*:40-41). Waterlogged plant remains from the waterhole show that the area was nutrient rich, subject to trampling and situated within a hedged environment (Griffiths 2008:107-8). Insect remains also suggest that the waterhole was located within an area of pasture (Robinson 2008).

By the Early Iron Age (Figure 9.4) a new site was established at Roughground Farm consisting of a single roundhouse associated with scatters of postholes and pits (Allen *et al* 1993:36). At Cotswold Community 13 roundhouses were identified with 22 rectangular post-built structures, pits and waterholes (Oxford Archaeological Unit 2003). At RAF Fairford a series of pits, postholes, a fence line and a possible roundhouse gully were uncovered in

association with Early Iron Age ceramics across a large area. It suggests a managed agricultural landscape with extensive but low density settlement (Hoad 2006:53). At the Lodors, Lechlade, five Early Iron Age pits were identified (Darvill *et al* 1986:36). The ceramics had affinities with material from both the Oxfordshire part of the Upper Thames Valley and the Cheltenham region to the north west and was noted for the high proportion of burnished wares (*ibid.*:42).

At Roundhouse Farm, Marston Meysey, Iron Age activity stretched over an area of 55ha (Oxford Archaeological Unit 1991). The earliest features here were an Early Bronze Age barrow and two linear earthworks that led towards a now silted palaeochannel. Several areas of Early and Middle Iron Age activity were identified, apparently representing four separate settlement entities. Clusters of postholes, without obvious roundhouses, were dated to the Early Iron Age. Ceramics and animal bone were recovered from these locations but no other types of artefacts, suggesting a restricted range of domestic activity (*ibid.*:16-17). This activity is connected with movement between the palaeochannel and the higher gravel terrace, probably for the management of animals, and the restricted artefact repertoire and lack of roundhouses could suggest that that occupation was seasonal. The Middle Iron Age phase saw groups of roundhouses constructed in similar areas to the Early Iron Age activity and intercutting postholes implies that some were repaired and rebuilt (*ibid.*:11-13).

The ceramic typology of the Upper Thames Valley shows little change from the middle of the Early Iron Age making it difficult to assign some sites definitively to either the Early or Middle periods (Stansbie *et al* 2007:27). There is a decrease in calcareous fabrics in favour of sandy wares (Timby 2001:21-22), but this only allows a broad notion of whether the assemblage is earlier or later rather than date individual sherds. Some sites are therefore assigned this broad Early to Middle Iron Age date, denoting that precision is difficult but also that both periods are probably represented (Figures 9.4, 9.5 and 9.6).

This situation is seen at Warrens Field, Claydon Pike where three gravel islands surrounded by relict watercourses and marshy areas on the Coln flood plain are occupied in turn from the late Early to Middle Iron Age (Miles *et al* 2007:25). Occupation shifted eastwards from island three to island one with at least 23 roundhouses identified, although stratigraphically it is believed that only three or four would have stood at any one time (Jones 2007b:59-61). All three phases have linear ditches associated with them, in some instances appearing to define causeways through marshier ground to the north. Small amounts of Malvernian ware from c.65km away as well as Droitwich briquetage from c.70km away were

recovered (Morris 2007:50). Querns and rubbers were also sourced from non-local sources ranging from 37-64km away (Roe 2007:53). The two largest ceramic vessels with evidence of cooking residues had diameters of 360mm and 380mm, and could have held up to 30 litres (Jones 2007a:49). This has led to the suggestion that there was preparation and consumption of meals on a communal scale (*ibid.*). However, the vast majority of cooking vessels are much smaller than these implying that in general, meals were prepared and consumed on a smaller scale.

The Early-Middle Iron Age enclosure at Coln Gravel Pit, starts with a 15.9m diameter roundhouse and four pits. Later in the Middle Iron Age, activity shifts to a slight ridge of drier land to the north, with three sub-circular roundhouse enclosures (Stansbie *et al* 2007:36). The enclosure ditch yielded waterlogged plant remains of stagnant water species (*ibid.*:52-53). Pollen samples from this ditch indicated an open landscape (*ibid.*:57). The soils were nutrient rich and together with a limited reliance on plant resources was taken to indicate a pastoral related function for the site (*ibid.*:56). The small amount of material recovered from the site is symptomatic of sparse activity over its lifetime, perhaps indicating that it was used for the management of animals rather than settlement or that it was only seasonally occupied.

At nearby Thornhill Farm, four roundhouses were identified amongst three foci of activity that were punctuated by broad ditches and small enclosures (Smith and Muir 2004:149). Waterlogged macroscopic plant remains representative of open grassland with disturbed, dung enriched soil, suggest it was never intensively inhabited (*ibid.*:151). No Droitwich briquetage was recovered but a single Malvernian tempered vessel was (Timby 2004b: 94). Occupation shifted over the lifetime of the site, but the material suggests that like Coln Gravel there was only generalised activity here perhaps representative of a specialized pastoral unit (Jennings *et al* 2004:15).

At Totterdown Lane (East site), Horcott, there were two concentrations of Middle Iron Age activity with at least ten roundhouses. There were several phases of development with enclosed settlement to the south being superseded by an open settlement 150m to the north (Pine and Preston 2004:90). Contemporary field systems were laid out to the south of the settlements and a hoard of iron currency bars broadly dated 250-50BC were discovered on a presumed boundary during the excavation of the west site (*ibid.*:45).

At Spratsgate Lane, Shorncote, two areas of Middle Iron Age activity were recognised, one enclosed (Areas B and C) with evidence for at least four roundhouses and one

open (Area D), though the open area may have functioned more as an area for animal management rather than actual settlement (Vallender 2007:40-41). The pottery was in good condition with crisp breaks and included 50 fragments of Droitwich briquetage along with fragments from two Malvernian tempered vessels (Morris and Crosby 2007). The ceramics showed two phases of activity with the earliest represented by ceramics made from local materials and the latter by large amounts imported from some distance to the north, east and west (*ibid.*:27). Even though the excavators suggest that this was a domestic centre there is no evidence for craft production at Spratsgate Lane.

Middle Iron Age activity at Shorncote Quarry comprises a single roundhouse with a 'domestic' range of material (Brossler *et al* 2002:81). A number of Middle Iron Age waterholes, linear ditches and fields were discovered with three phases of landscape division and redivision (*ibid.*:82). The positioning of the waterholes in relation to the fields suggests a spatial/functional division of the site with pastoral land to the west and human occupation to the north (*ibid.*). Material from the roundhouse included 17 fragments of Droitwich briquetage (Brown 2002:68). A pit lined with burnt clay may be a kiln or bowl furnace. This would argue that it is a domestic site but does not necessarily preclude its occupation on a seasonal basis.

The Cotswold Community site excavated by Thames Valley Archaeology, 500m to the east of the pit alignment, apparently had three adjacent roundhouses represented by penannular drip gullies (Figure 9.7). These were linked by two short lengths of ditch to a field system. Roundhouse 1001 had seven postholes running parallel between the northern and southern entrances, appearing to channel movement between the two. Although there may be a time depth to the site, the elements produce a 'symmetry and unity' implying near contemporaneity, rather than three successive constructions (Oram and Ford 2007:10). It is interpreted as a specialized animal processing area rather than habitation. This argument is strengthened by the positioning of posts within the ditches that may have held gates to regulate movement through the system. To justify the construction of all these components it must have saved a significant amount of time or allowed complex activities to be undertaken by fewer people. The implication is that large numbers of animals were managed in the area by the group that controlled this site.

At Cleveland Farm, Ashton Keynes, six small enclosures and at least 12 roundhouses were located within a series of boundary ditches, trackways, fields and areas of open pasture (Powell *et al* 2007:6). Most of the roundhouses are spatially discrete. Some are situated within

small enclosures whilst others stand in the open. Few features such as hearths, four-post structures or ovens were identified with little evidence for craftwork (*ibid.*:18), though two fragments of Droitwich briquetage were recovered. Environmental evidence from Middle Iron Age contexts reflected a hedged landscape and there was evidence that the ditches had held standing water and may have been subject to occasional flooding. Material from enclosures and pits did not provide evidence for plants that were clearly indicative of human occupation (*ibid.*:17). Again there is an apparent contradiction between the structural evidence that is suggestive of a settlement, with a lack of domestic artefacts and environmental evidence that argues against habitation. Cleveland Farm may therefore in fact represent either a specialist pastoral unit or a seasonally occupied site.

The best known sites on the Corallian Ridge are situated around the Groundwell area of Swindon. At Groundwell West, occupation started around the 6th-5th centuries BC with an open settlement of five roundhouses with several pit groups (Walker *et al* 2001:43). Later, possibly after a short period of abandonment, the site underwent enclosure with a series of large pits dug around the inner line of the enclosure ditch. Thirteen were excavated with six showing signs of having held substantial posts. The third phase of activity saw an extension to the enclosure. The roundhouses of the second and third phases are more dispersed than the first and had fewer artefacts associated with them. Small amounts of slag were recovered from phase two and three features. The site's enclosure, the monumentalization of the boundary and its association with metalworking has led to the suggestion that its function had shifted from residential to ceremonial (*ibid.*:45). It is unclear whether after phase three the site was abandoned but the next phase sees a complete reorganization. In the Middle Iron Age, a new enclosure was created ignoring the previous boundaries. It had a distinctly domestic character with a single roundhouse and pit group. All the material, with the exception of a fragment of Kimmeridge shale from an undated feature was locally derived and the ceramic assemblage contained very few fine wares (Timby 2001:23).

900m to the southeast of Groundwell West, at the foot of the Corallian Ridge lies Groundwell Farm. Here the water table is only 0.5m below the surface and this prevented pits being dug, but seven four-post structures were identified. It is a multi-ditched enclosed settlement with similarities to a banjo enclosure. The main enclosure had two ditches with later antennae ditches flanking the entrance and a smaller enclosure tacked on to the rear. On excavation, it was found to have a complex history of ditch construction over the lifetime of

the site. The initial habitation started just before the 5th century BC and had ended by the 3rd century BC (Gingell 1982). Its occupation would therefore be contemporary with Groundwell West. Evidence was found for four large roundhouses ranging from 12m to 19.5m, however only one could have stood at any one time (*ibid.*:41-46). The ceramics have affinities with both Wessex and the Upper Thames Valley with imported ceramics from both south Wessex and the Malvern Hills (*ibid.*).

The other known Iron Age settlement in Swindon is the Triangle Site. Here ditches, pits and postholes were identified across a raised plateau. Concentrations of animal bone and pottery suggest a domestic site with most of the material dated to the Early Iron Age but continuing into the early Middle Iron Age (Cullen 2004).

Castle Hill is the nearest hillfort, enclosing an area of just over 3ha. It stands on the northern edge of the Corallian Ridge with excellent views to the north across the Thames. It is univallate on its northeastern side where it utilizes the break of slope and bivallate to the southeast and southwest (Grinsell 1957:263). A magnetometer survey revealed what appeared to be a number of storage pits whilst Early Iron Age pottery has been recovered from the southern side of the rampart (Hogg 1979:209).

Badbury Hill Camp is located just to the north of the Farringdon Ridgeway, an ancient road mentioned in Saxon charters (Huntingford 1936:161). It encloses an area of 3.6ha (Cotton 1962:48). The boundary consists of a slight bank and ditch and although it is occasionally included in descriptions of hillforts the scale of the perimeter is too slight. Fieldwork over a three year period working on the damaged western rampart recovered 128 sherds of pottery. Although the assemblage included some Romano-British and Late Bronze Age sherds the majority was of Early Iron Age date (Anon 1983).

Finally, situated on the Oxford clays in the Vale of the White Horse, on the watershed between the Rivers Ock and Cole we have the settlement at Shrivenham. The enclosure covered an area of 1.35ha with the ditch around the southern entrance showing four phases of construction and reconstruction. Five pits were associated with the southern entrance including a number of burials. One contained a cow and trepanned human skull placed side by side (Birbeck 2001:229). One probable roundhouse was identified but not investigated further and ceramics indicated that the settlement had existed from the 5th-3rd centuries BC (Scully 1992:148).

9.3 Nature of habitation

Most of the archaeology in the Upper Thames Valley has resulted from large developer funded projects. This has included the largest open area excavations undertaken across the study area and although restrained by sampling strategies we might reasonably expect large artefact assemblages. However this is not the case (Appendix 1.7). At the Middle Bronze Age Latton Lands, the artefact assemblage consists of two loomweights (Stansbie and Laws 2004:119-126). Shorncote Quarry is the largest excavated Late Bronze Age site in the study area but finds were relatively sparse. They included fragments of several loomweights (Hearne and Heaton 1994:31-2; Brossler *et al* 2002:45) and part of a clay mould for a Ewart Park ribbed socketed axe (Morris 1994b:45).

This scarcity of finds continues into the Iron Age. The Lodgers, Lechlade produced two loomweights and a bone shuttle (Darvill *et al* 1986:43) and Latton Lands a single loomweight (Edwards 2008b:71-72). These were the only Early Iron Age sites that produced evidence for weaving. There was scattered evidence for iron smithing with small amounts of slag recovered from Coln Gravel (Stansbie *et al* 2007:40), Totterdown Lane (Pine and Preston 2004:45), Cleveland Farm (Powell *et al* 2007:18) and Groundwell West (Walker *et al* 2001:26). Evidence for both iron and copper alloy working was evidenced by iron working slag and two crucible fragments with traces of copper oxide from Middle Iron Age features at Latton Lands (Powell *et al* 2008:40-41) and at Groundwell Farm bronze working was identified through casting droplets, mould flashes and a small amount of bronze slag (Gingell 1982:63-67).

Evidence for spinning was absent from all of the Upper Thames Valley except for Cleveland Farm, where five spindle whorls were found (Powell *et al* 2007:18) and Groundwell Farm (Gingell 1982:63-67) and Shrivenham (Scull 1992:148) both produced a solitary spindle whorl. Weaving is better attested in the Middle Iron Age with three loomweights recovered from Latton Lands (Edwards 2008b:71-72), two at Totterdown Lane (Pine and Preston 2004:45), five from Warrens Field (Cool 2007) and three from Shrivenham (Birbeck 2001:229), whilst Groundwell Farm also produced a bone shuttle (Gingell 1982:63-67). No evidence for industry or craftwork was recovered from Thornhill Farm or Spratsgate Lane whilst a possible bowl furnace was the only evidence for industry at Shorncote Quarry.

There is a relative paucity of material from the Upper Thames Valley compared to sites to the south on the chalk. There is very little evidence for spinning but weaving is better

attested from the Middle Iron Age onwards. This reflects the lower percentages of sheep represented in the faunal assemblages for the region (see below) and suggests that the sheep farmed in the valley were not done so for their wool. It raises the possibility that spun yarn, or more likely woven cloth was traded from other regions such as the downs, Cotswolds, or even units based on the second gravel terrace. Few sites produce typically domestic assemblages and it seems that either most sites were only seasonally occupied or that they were connected with pastoral practices rather than habitation.

The animal bone data (Appendix 1.1) from Middle Bronze Age Latton Lands, has few sheep in an assemblage dominated by cattle (Hamilton 2004:128-133). Fewer bones were recovered from Late Bronze Age Shorncote Quarry, but the assemblage also mostly consists of cattle with low numbers of sheep (Allen and Montague 1994:47; Symons 1999:66-67). The animal bone assemblages for the Early-Middle Iron Age settlement at Latton Lands are also dominated by cattle. The figures suggest they were exploited for a range of products with 78% still alive by the age of 3-4 years during the Early Iron Age but that by the Middle Iron Age there was a greater emphasis on meat production with this figure falling to 57% (Poole 2008:136). Juvenile cattle and horse were identified but sheep juveniles were absent, leading to the suggestion that they may have been raised off site under a transhumant regime (*ibid.*:144). At Warrens Field, most of the cattle were culled between 6 and 30 months with a particularly heavy mortality between 26 and 30 months (Sykes 2007:54). 30% of sheep were culled between 6 and 12 months with less than 10% surviving beyond 3-4 years (*ibid.*:55). No foetal or neo-natal animals were identified. The specialist suggests that the assemblage as a whole, represents a mixed transhumance regime with animals being lambed or calved at a time when they were away from the settlement (*ibid.*). At Totterdown Lane, a very small assemblage was dominated by cattle but the presence of young animals was taken to indicate that sheep, cattle and pig were all reared locally (Pine and Preston 2004:78).

At Groundwell West, sheep and cattle figures were both high but were clearly part of different exploitation strategies. Over 65% of the cattle were slaughtered in adulthood, suggesting that they had been used for traction and dairy. For sheep, there was a pattern of slaughter between one and four years implying a regime focused on meat production (Hambleton 2001:32-3). The nearby site of Groundwell Farm had fewer cattle and more sheep (41%) and pig (42%) (Coy 1982). The high percentage of pig bones may reflect the position of the site between lighter arable soils and a clay vale providing large areas of pannage (Gingell

and Fasham 1982:73-74). A low age range for the pigs however suggests that these were for domestic consumption. The animal bones recovered from Shrivenham saw all domesticates represented although there were significantly different distributions by species across the site, suggesting differences in butchery and disposal patterns (Birbeck 2001:232).

Contrary to early work (for instance Hambleton 1999), many sites produce evidence for neonatal and juvenile animals, with young cattle and sheep being recovered from Cleveland Farm, Spratsgate Lane, Totterdown Lane and Groundwell West whilst Latton Lands only had evidence for juvenile cattle. Cattle are the best represented species in the area and the Upper Thames Valley has the highest cattle figures in the study area. An exception is Groundwell Farm where very low cattle numbers result from the large number of pig bones (Coy 1982). There is a degree of variation in the husbandry regimes hypothesised for each of the sites but in general the primary focus is meat production rather than secondary products.

Whilst much of the evidence suggests that the Upper Thames Valley was being exploited for pasture, there is evidence from the earliest settlement to indicate that arable crops were being grown nearby. Cereal pollen was recovered from the Middle Bronze Age pond at Latton Lands, indicating cultivation within 500m of the settlement, supporting the notion that the inhabitants were engaged within a mixed agricultural regime (Huckerby 2004). It was however, the only direct evidence for cereal cultivation from any of the sites. At the Late Bronze Age Shorncote Quarry settlement, small amounts of cereals were recovered, but chaff was only recovered from the southern part of the settlement (Ede 1994:47; Ede 1999:67).

The Early-Middle Iron Age settlement at Latton Lands produced few charred plant remains that represented the final stages of crop processing (Griffiths 2008:109). The rarity of this material along with evidence for weed seeds from waterlogged areas has been taken as evidence that arable production was of marginal importance (*ibid.*). The archaeobotanical assemblage from Warrens Field also contained few grains and was dominated by weed seeds and chaff, leading to the suggestion that it was an arable consumer rather than producer site (Straker *et al* 2007). It appears that grain was grown away from the wetter land on the first gravel terrace. The Groundwell West botanical remains were also dominated by material from the later stages of crop processing (Stevens and Wilkinson 2001:38) but in this case the weed seeds included wetland species indicating that some crops at least were grown on lower lying soils around the river channels north of the site as well as the calcareous soils to the south

(*ibid.*:40). The archaeobotanical remains from both Warrens Field (Straker *et al* 2007:56) and Groundwell West (Stevens and Wilkinson 2001) were largely dominated by chaff and weed seeds, with lower percentages of cereal grains. Under the model proposed by Jones (1985) this would suggest that both were arable consumer sites; the methods proposed by Stevens (2003) that they were sites with access to only household labour for crop processing and under van der Veen and Jones' model (2007) that these sites only dealt with small quantities of grain. For Warrens Field all of these interpretations are possible with what appears to be a site focused on pastoral production. We might expect them to either produce just enough grain for domestic consumption or even import some onto the site. For Groundwell West, situated on prime arable land we would not expect them to be classified as a consumer site but they might still have limited access to labour which would in turn imply a lower level of production and consumption.

With the exception of a single fragment from Battlesbury Bowl, the Upper Thames Valley is the only part of the wider study area where briquetage has been recovered. Salt production is thought to takeoff as a part time or seasonal activity in Britain during the Iron Age from sites on the coast or locations with salt deposits (Morris 1994a). Whilst the presence of briquetage on a site is not considered as evidence of salt production it is thought that some briquetage travelled with salt when it was being traded. All of the briquetage recovered from the Upper Thames Valley is hypothesised as having come from Droitwich, 60-70km to the north (Morris 2007:50). The quantities recovered varied with 50 fragments from Spratsgate Lane, 28 from Warrens Field, 17 from Shorncote Quarry and two from Cleveland Farm. The significance of briquetage appearing on these sites is hard to define. It does provide a tangible link between this area and the salt works of Droitwich, though the small quantities recovered need not reflect the quantities of salt moving around. Further links between these regions include the presence of small numbers of Malvernian tempered vessels recovered from Warrens Field, Thornhill Farm, Spratsgate Lane and Groundwell Farm. Most ceramics for the Early Iron Age were produced from locally available materials. As we progress through the Middle Iron Age, sites such as Spratsgate Lane see increasing amounts of pottery brought on to the site from the north, east and west but not the south (Morris and Crosby 2007:27). The lack of ceramic affinity between the sites in this region and those further south on the downs is interesting. It should be noted that all of the Upper Thames Valley sites are situated on the northern bank of the Thames and might be expected to have a more northerly connection

although the Thames for much of its length here is relatively small and would not form much of a boundary. It remains to be seen what affinity sites on the southern bank might hold but on the Corallian Ridge there is a more mixed assemblage with, for instance, Groundwell Farm producing both Malvernian and southern Wiltshire style pottery (Gingell 1982).

9.4 *Landscape and society*

By the Middle Bronze Age (Figure 9.8), the Gloucestershire/Wiltshire section of the Upper Thames Valley was mostly established grassland and whilst the Latton Lands settlement matches the expectations of a standard farming unit (Brück 2000:285) the sites at Horcott Pit and Cotswold Community are open. The household at Latton Lands appears to be practicing a mixed agricultural regime with evidence for cereal growing within 500m of the site (Huckerby 2004:137-138). These sites do not exhibit long lifespans and it does not appear that the First Gravel Terrace had a large full time population. The presence of extensive areas of grassland suggests that the area was exploited in a mostly pastoral regime beyond the scope of the settlements. The absence of constructed boundaries suggests that the area was exploited by a combination of groups from other areas. The Latton Lands ceramics included both flint and fossil shell tempered wares with affinities with both Wessex and the Cotswolds (Timby 2004a:119-125). It implies that the inhabitants of this site had wide contacts.

Brück has suggested that in the Early Bronze Age society was highly mobile traversing the land to exploit seasonal resources (Brück 1999b) and this region would fit this pattern of land exploitation. The lack of development here could suggest that rather than see a pattern of sudden sedentism, some areas continued to be exploited seasonally. With transhumant groups coming to the region from further afield, probably during the summer months, the potential arises for different groups to encounter each other, form links, share information and knowledge. The same groups would have returned to the same pastures year after year, allowing opportunities for weak ties to be created. The lack of identifiable camps suggests an extensive, low intensity pastoral regime.

Environmentally, there is little change moving into the Late Bronze Age. Evidence of settlement is limited to scattered features such as pits with few traces of permanent occupation (Figure 9.9). Shorncote Quarry, with at least forty two roundhouses, is an exception and suggests significant longevity and nucleation. In this respect it shares similarities with large settlements at Reading Business Park, Dunch Hill and perhaps the site to the south

of Ford Road and that to the east of Quebec Farm. No contemporary fields were discovered at Shorncote Quarry, although there was some evidence for spatial division along functional lines based upon the distribution of waterholes and 750m to the south, ditches and a pit alignment were found at Cotswold Community. The material culture from Shorncote Quarry includes a number of loomweights and evidence for bronze working, suggesting that this site was more than just a seasonally occupied, low status settlement. The site does not adhere to the image of the quiet isolated backwater presented by Barrett (1980b) or Yates (2007). The ceramics have affinities to material from the Marlborough Downs, Brean Down in Somerset and Aldermaston Wharf and Knights Farm in Berkshire (Mephram 1999:62). If it is an isolated example it appears that at least one community was seeking a new solution to the exploitation of different ecological resources.

Earliest Iron Age activity is sparse (Figure 9.10) though there is a partitioning of grassland around Lechlade. These may have denoted tenurial boundaries or used to move animals. At Roughground Farm scattered pits and postholes around one such linear fit well with the image of transhumant visitors. Most of the communities operating along the Upper Thames Valley appear to have continued to operate a partly transhumant policy with activity groups, moving animals to summer pasture around the rivers.

For the Early Iron Age on the Corallian Ridge, the Groundwell and Triangle sites are established within 1-2km of each other (Figure 9.11) suggesting that land was interspersed and that their inhabitants interacted on a regular basis. Further along the ridge are Badbury Hill and Shrivenham but these are more dispersed at over 4km from each other, probably indicating sporadic contact. This situation is exacerbated for Shrivenham as we move into the early part of the Middle Iron Age when it appears completely isolated (Figure 9.12). By the later stages of the Middle Iron Age there is no evidence for any settlement in this part of the study area (Figure 9.13).

Along the furthest reaches of the Thames, Early Iron Age occupation is dispersed with sites at Cotswold Community, Latton Lands and Roundhouse Farm spaced 5-6km apart. Dense occupation is however seen between Fairford and Lechlade. The sites at Warrens Field, Coln Gravel, the Loders, and Roughground Farm all share 1km day prisms with at least one other site. Moving into the early part of the Middle Iron Age there is an expansion of activity around the Cotswold Community Park as occupation expands outwards to Shorncote and Spratsgate Lane. Activity around Roundhouse Farm appears to expand from its Early Iron Age

roots to cover up to 55ha (Oxford Archaeology Unit 1991). There is a slight retreat around Lechlade as Roughground Farm and the Lodgers appear to be confined to the Early Iron Age, but the sites of Warrens Field and Coln Gravel carry on throughout the Middle Iron Age and are added to by the Thornhill Farm site. The space between the Roundhouse Farm and Fairford sites is filled by activity around Totterdown Lane. Along the banks of the Thames, all of the sites established by the start of the Middle Iron Age carry on through to the later stages of the Middle Iron Age.

Evidence for animal management is well attested in the Upper Thames Valley although for some sites this may have been seasonal. Linkage into larger regional animal management systems is hinted at by the lack of neonatal and juvenile remains at sites such as Warrens Field (Sykes 2008) but this really only shows that young animals were not brought to a small densely settled island rather than transhumance. There is good evidence for the area being used as pasture at places such as Shorncote Quarry (Brossler *et al* 2002:81), Latton Lands (Robinson 2008), Coln Gravel (Stansbie *et al* 2007:57) and Thornhill Farm (Smith and Muir 2004:151). There is evidence for structures that facilitated animal management at Cotswold Community (Oram and Ford 2007) and the Middle Iron Age phase at Latton Lands where a complex series of gates and ditches open into an area of small enclosures.

There is little industry associated with the area, in particular the low level of textile production suggests there were other sources for this material, negating the requirement to make their own. With a lack of craftwork activity and with a series of apparently specialized pastoral units it is unlikely that they were independent units and implies that they were parts of a larger whole. The proximity of many of the sites to each other would imply a large amount of contact and interaction. Most are associated with tracks running northwards and this would seem to indicate where the communal groups that they claimed affinity to lay.

Concentrations of sites around Lechlade and the Cotswolds Community area reflect the large scale gravel extraction in these parts. For the Middle Iron Age there is an even split between sites with a specialized pastoral or non-habitation role and those that produce ample evidence for occupation. Around Cotswolds Community, Spratsgate Lane and Cleveland Farm appear to be well established settlements whilst Cotswolds Community and Shorncote Quarry may have more functional uses. The same may be apparent around Lechlade where Warrens Field and Totterdown Lane are obviously settlements whilst Thornhill Farm and Coln Gravel appear more functional.

Lambrick sees the colonisation of the Upper Thames Valley as the result of arable expansion onto existing pasture and in turn intensification of pastoral production as evidenced by the appearance of water holes, enclosures and specialized farms during the Middle Iron Age (1992). With the new evidence there are clearly a number of problems. The first phase of intensive land use may be seen around Lechlade in the Late Bronze Age with the creation of a series of linear ditches. More extensive exploitation occurs in the Early Iron Age although it is true that the introduction of innovative animal management practices can be seen in the Middle Iron Age at Latton Lands and Cotswolds Community. Secondly, there is very little evidence for expanding arable production for any of the period in the Wiltshire/Gloucestershire, Upper Thames catchment area. Outside of this region, to the south on the Marlborough Downs, there is a contraction of arable as field systems appear to be turned over to pasture. We are therefore seeing an expansion in pastoral rather than arable. This pastoral expansion once again raises the possibility that prestige and wealth were measured through head of cattle or sheep. The Upper Thames Valley is distinctly different to the rest of the study area and it is reasonable to expect that the different patterns we observe can be translated into social systems that differed from their downland brethren. The social models discussed for the downland systems are entwined with the requirement to account for the existence of hillforts but for the Upper Thames valley, where there are no hillforts, the models have to account for the absence of hillforts.

Cunliffe proposes a twofold division of permanent settlement exploiting a range of different ecological zones (floodplain, first and second gravel terraces) that requires the co-operation of the community (Cunliffe 2005:257). It is left hanging whether this implies a more egalitarian society than that posited for Wessex but the model has a strongly hierarchical feel to it. The zoning of activities and excess grain storage facilities of large settlements on the second gravel terrace has more than a passing resemblance to the typical hillfort. In material terms there is little evidence to support the idea that there were rich settlements in the way that we would define them in a modern sense.

Groundwell West and Latton Lands both produced a single piece of Kimmeridge shale whilst a glass bead was recovered from Totterdown Lane. None of these would necessarily constitute particularly rich sites in terms of material culture and there are no sites with concentrations of craft production. If however Cunliffe is right and there was a division of settlement status and functionality between the first and second gravel terraces, we would

expect the higher status sites to lie on the second gravel terrace where there has so far been little work. Therefore the lack of 'rich' sites on the first gravel terrace would not necessarily disprove this model.

Sharples does not attempt to apply his model to the Upper Thames Valley, but he suggests that areas such as Cranborne Chase may lack hillforts because they do not have access to a sufficient mix of arable and pastoral resources to support a large enough population (Sharples 1991a:260). This idea cannot be extended to the Upper Thames Valley where the inhabitants had access to a wide range of ecological zones and which appears to have supported the densest Iron Age settlement in the study area. It is also prime land that would be in high demand and as a result attract conflict. This is again contradicted by the absence of defended sites and enclosed settlements.

For Hill it is settlement density in the Upper Thames Valley that leads to a difference in social systems between this and Wessex, although both are of an egalitarian character (Hill 1996:111). This elevated density allows regular contact between the inhabitants allowing social reproduction of the community on a daily basis. This negates the need for a space, *i.e.* a hillfort, to be specifically set aside for communal activities. Hill's model fits the pattern so far observed and the density of settlement would lead to frequent contact between the inhabitants.

If we were to accept a connection between many hillforts in the Early Iron Age and communal pastoral functions in areas on the margins of communal pastoral land we might discern another difference between the two areas. The high density of sites in this region may indicate that land and animals were owned and managed privately rather than communally. In an area where land was at a premium, such as that of the Upper Thames Valley it is probable that communal land resources would come under pressure and move into private hands. With a lack of communal land the power of the community to regulate land division would be diminished and ultimately lead to all land moving into private hands. The Early Iron Age sees the first large scale exploitation of this part of the Upper Thames Valley, and presumably when land passed into private ownership. This combination of private management of animals on private land versus communally managed herds on communal land is perhaps the key to this problem. For communal herds, communal structures were constructed to facilitate the management of large numbers of animals. For the small groups managing their own animals more imaginative solutions such as the triple roundhouse structure at Cotswolds Community

were required. Although in private hands, the land would still be a patchwork of tenure, ensuring regular contact between members of the community. The members would still require the assistance from time to time of their fellows and there is no reason to expect that their experience of community was 'weaker' than that of their Wessex counterparts. Although this system of animal management would imply less mobility than in other areas and hence a smaller group to which they felt affinity, the presence of Droitwich briquetage and Malvernian Wares indicates that they participated in regional trade systems (Morris 1996:51), providing a mechanism through which affinity within a larger group might be realized. In areas such as the North Wessex Downs it was animals that moved long distances and through which communal identity was bound up, but in the Upper Thames Valley it was objects such as briquetage and pottery that undertook the journeys and through which the characteristics of the larger group identity were reproduced.

9.5 Summary

The archaeological evidence for the Upper Thames Valley is biased by geological considerations in terms of visibility and the areas that have been excavated and so our knowledge of the area is limited to the northern banks of the Thames. It shows a picture of expanding settlement during the Early Iron Age that was built upon initial Late Bronze Age foundations. This reached its fruition in the Middle Iron with a densely settled landscape. It suggests a distinctly pastoral focus with little evidence for industry or arable production. This probably reflects their situation on the first gravel terrace and we might find that settlements on the second gravel terrace filled these voids.

I propose that communities in this region were, like their Wessex brethren, largely undifferentiated in terms of status. The pattern of dense settlement suggests that the members of the community were in regular contact with each other, but that unlike some of the other areas in this study, managed animals on a smaller scale than communal level. The implication is that pressure on land availability pushed what had been communal land into private ownership in the Early Iron Age. This micro-level of animal management is reflected in the landscape by a prevalence of small paddocks rather than large hillfort type enclosures seen in the North Wessex Downs sub-region.

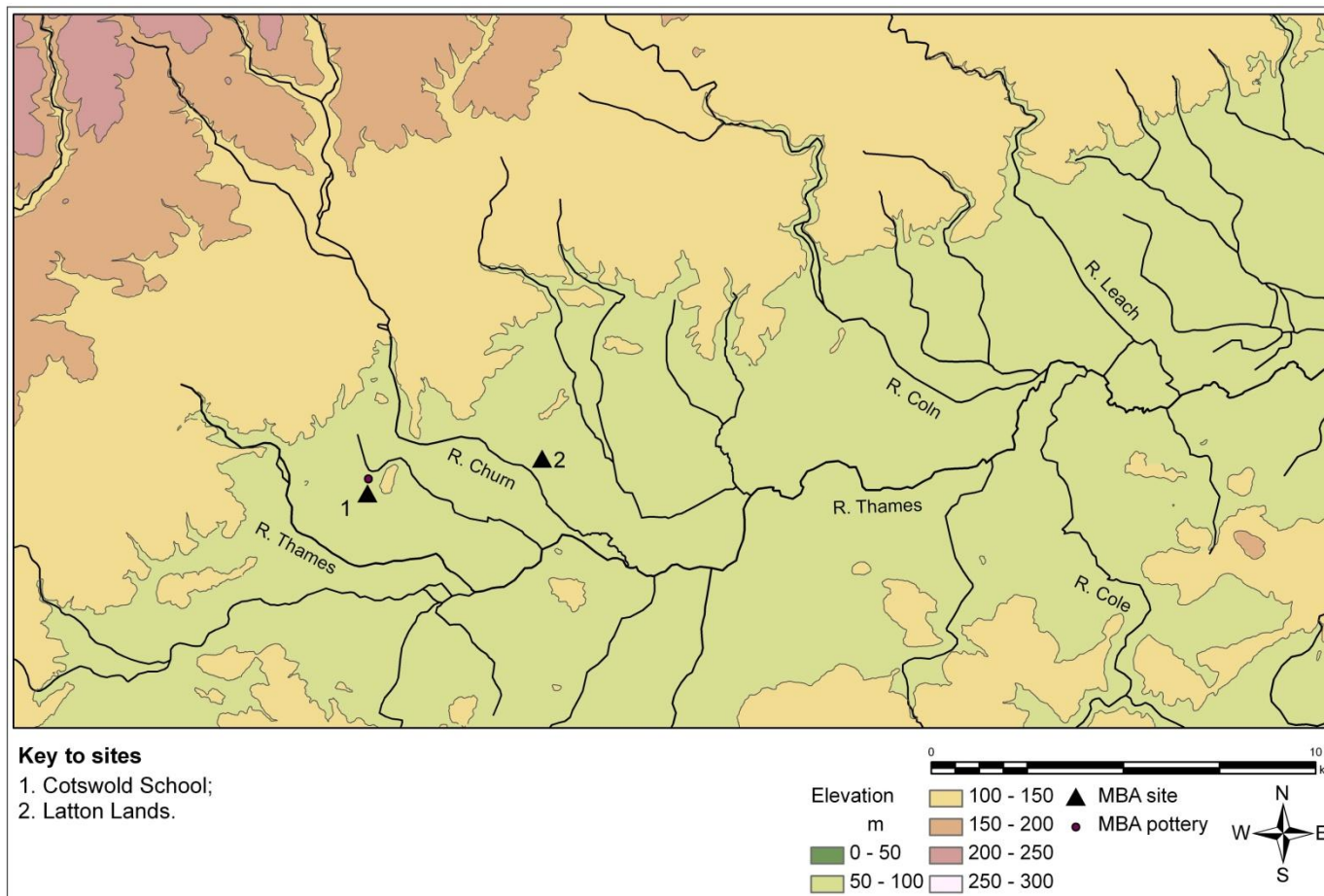


Figure 9.1- Middle Bronze Age sites in the Upper Thames Valley.

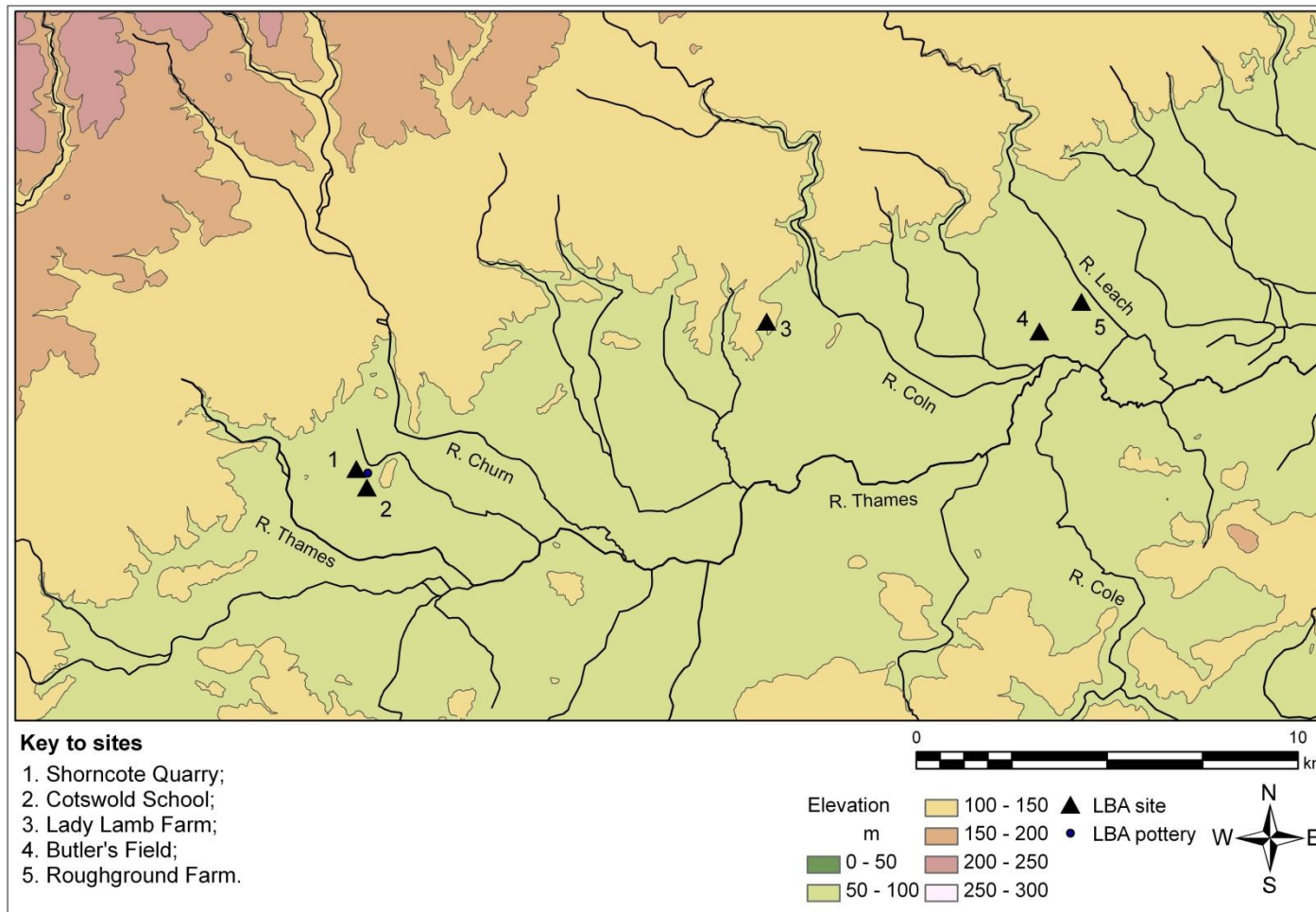


Figure 9.2- Late Bronze Age sites in the Upper Thames Valley.

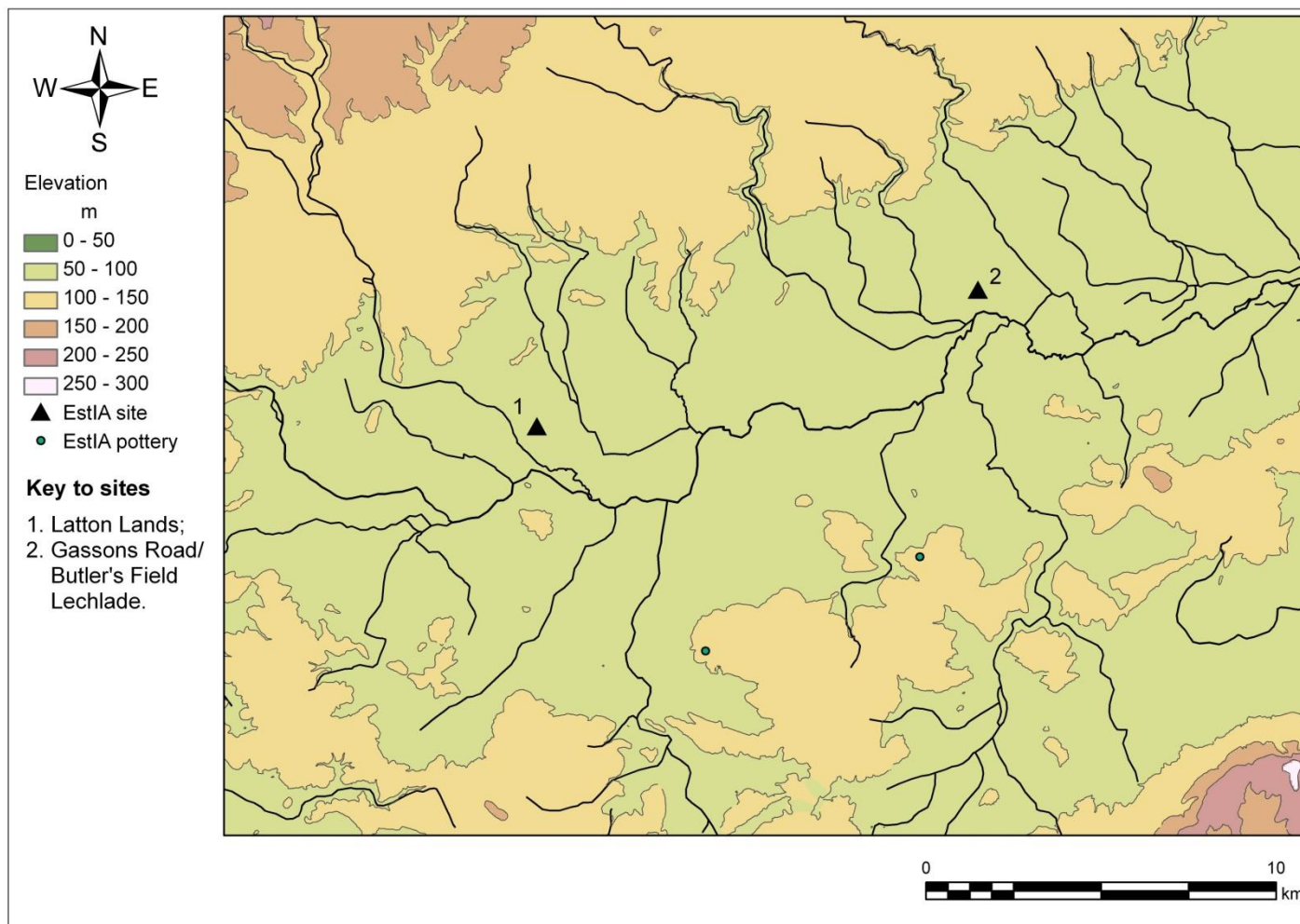


Figure 9.3- Earliest Iron Age sites in the Upper Thames Valley.

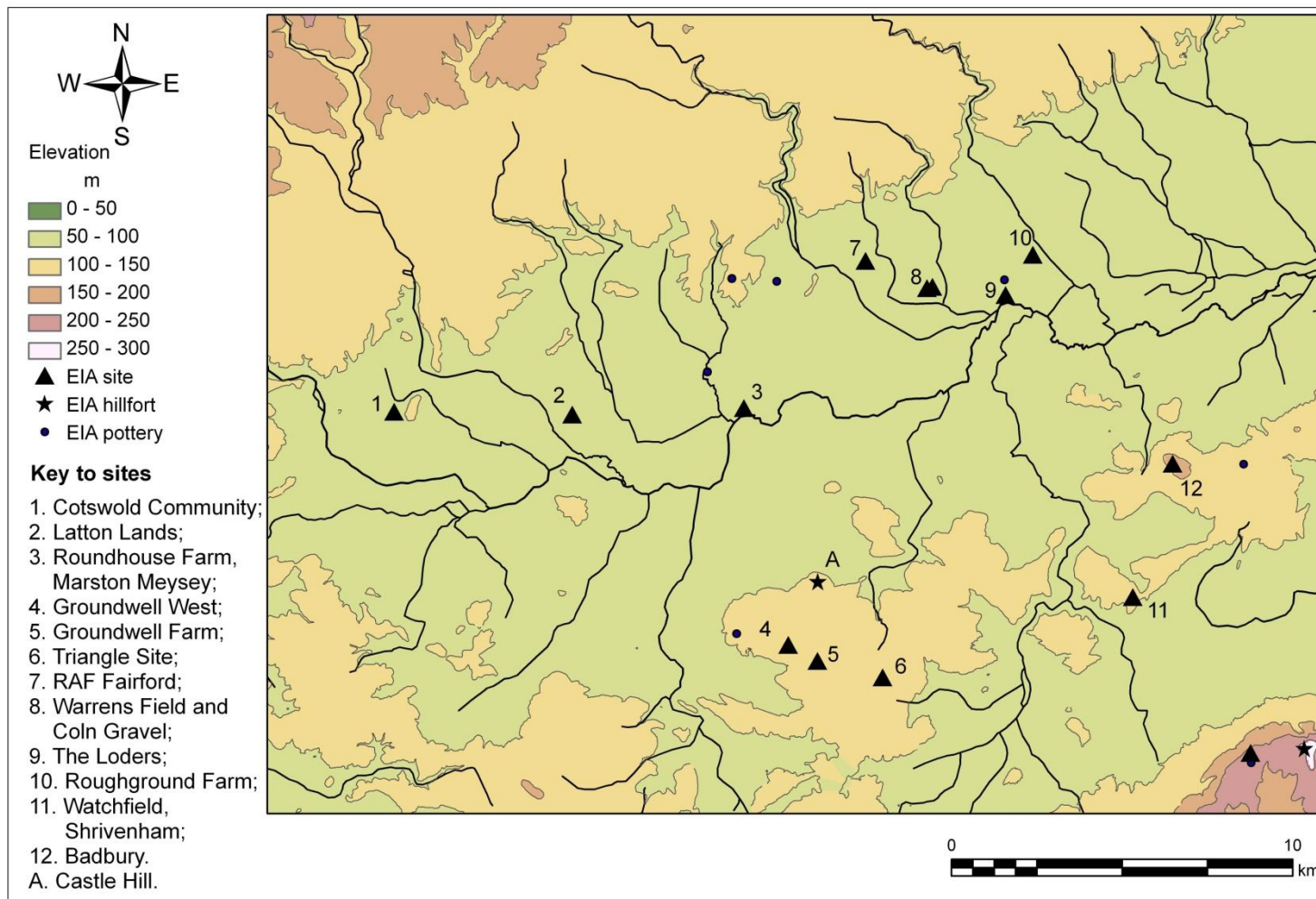


Figure 9.4- Early Iron Age sites in the Upper Thames Valley.

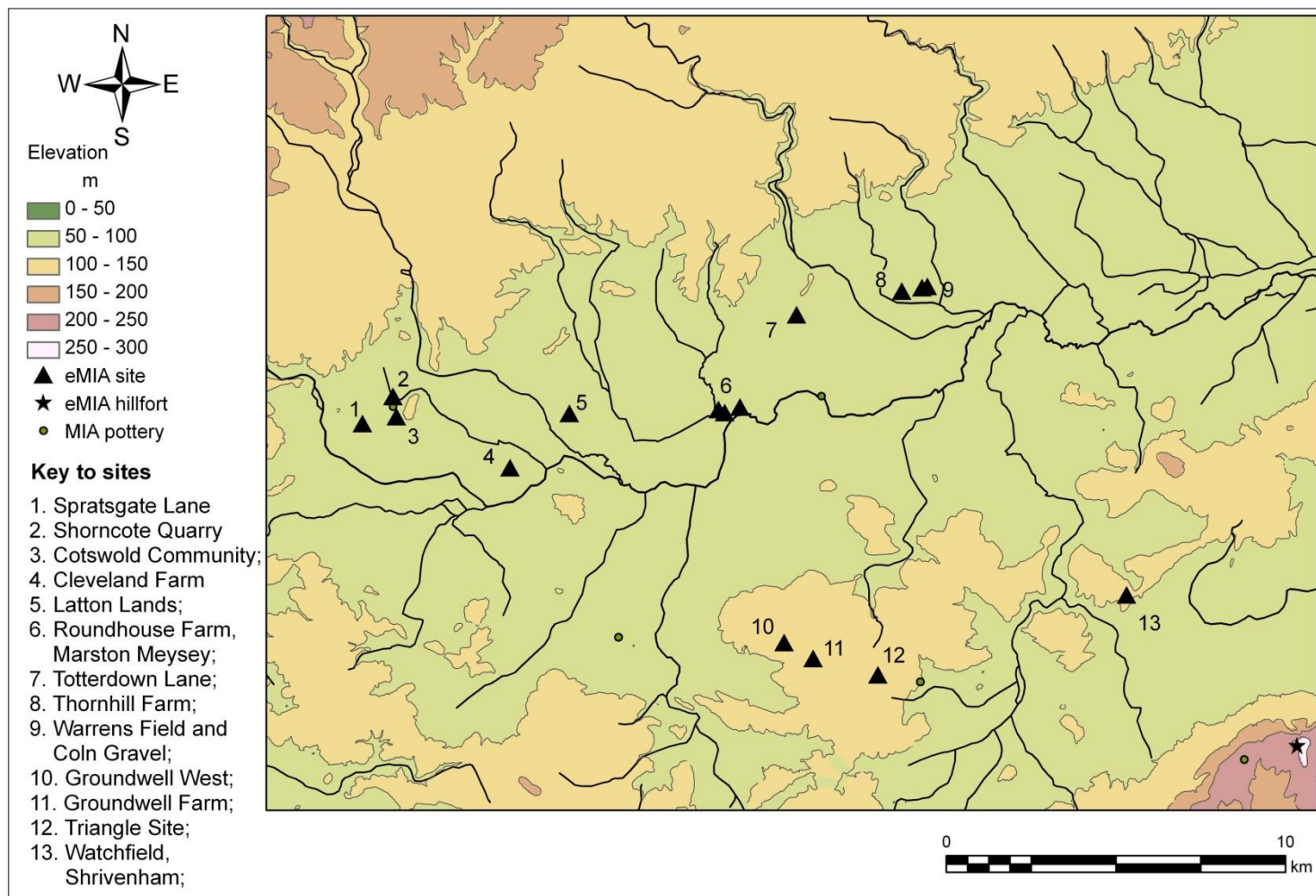


Figure 9.5- early Middle Iron Age sites in the Upper Thames Valley.

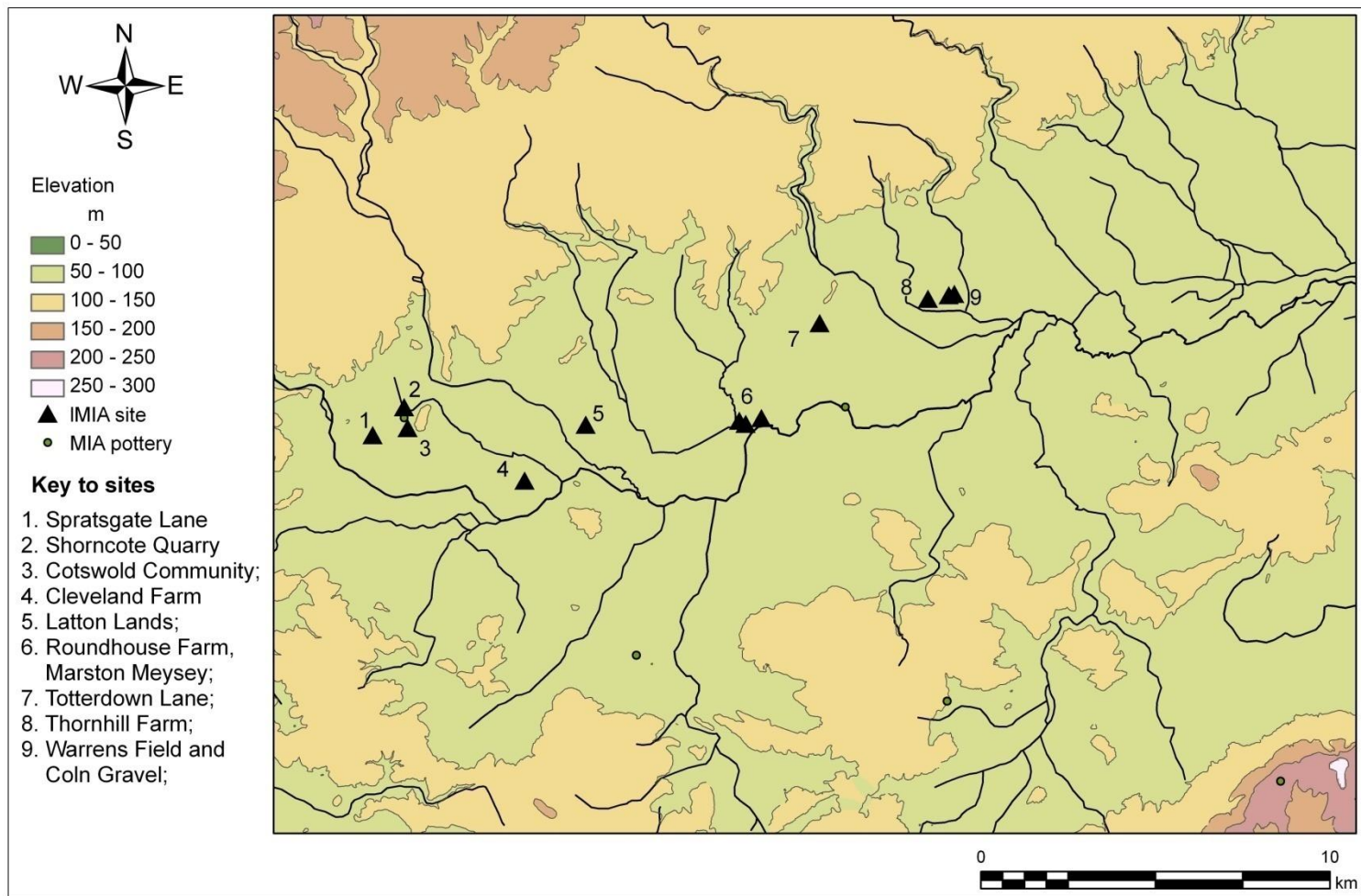


Figure 9.6- late Middle Iron Age sites in the Upper Thames Valley.

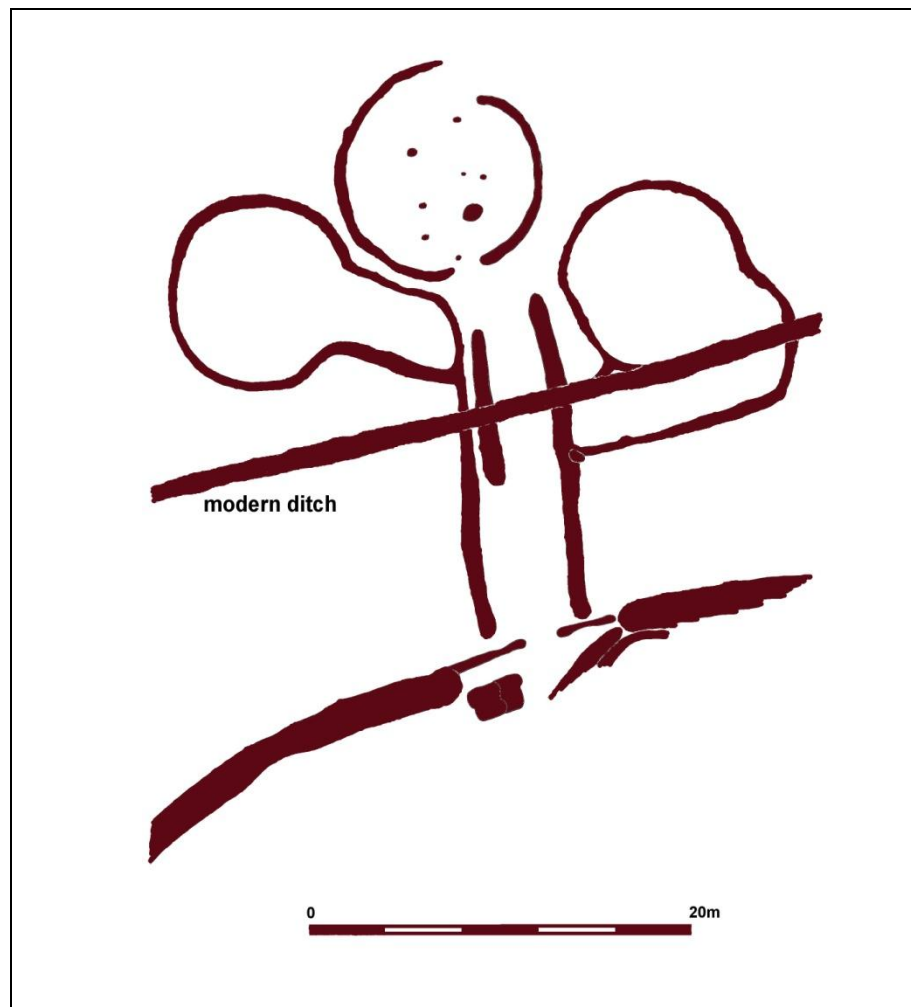


Figure 9.7- Cotswold Community (redrawn from Oram and Ford 2007).

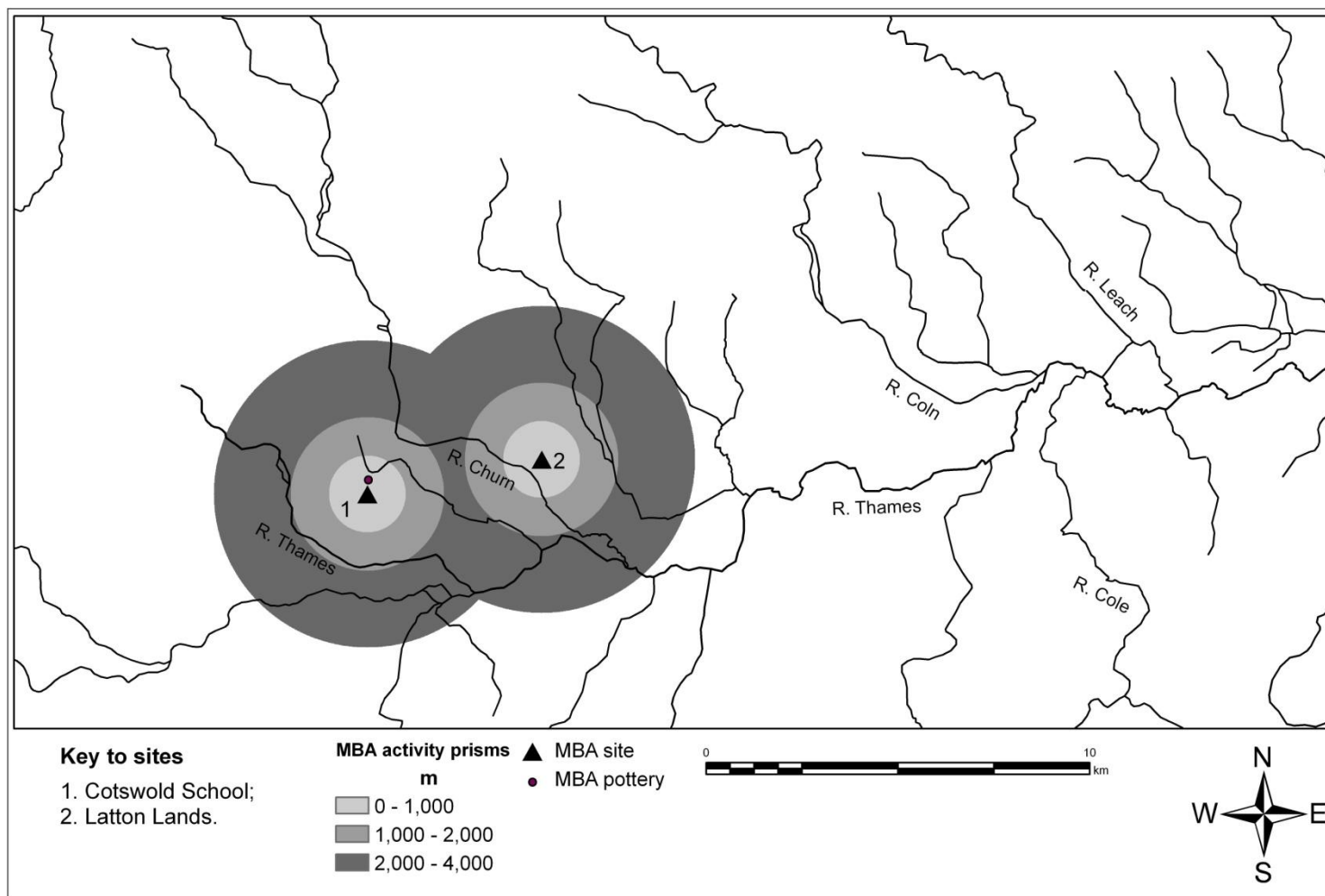


Figure 9.8- Upper Thames Valley Middle Bronze Age sites with activity-prisms.

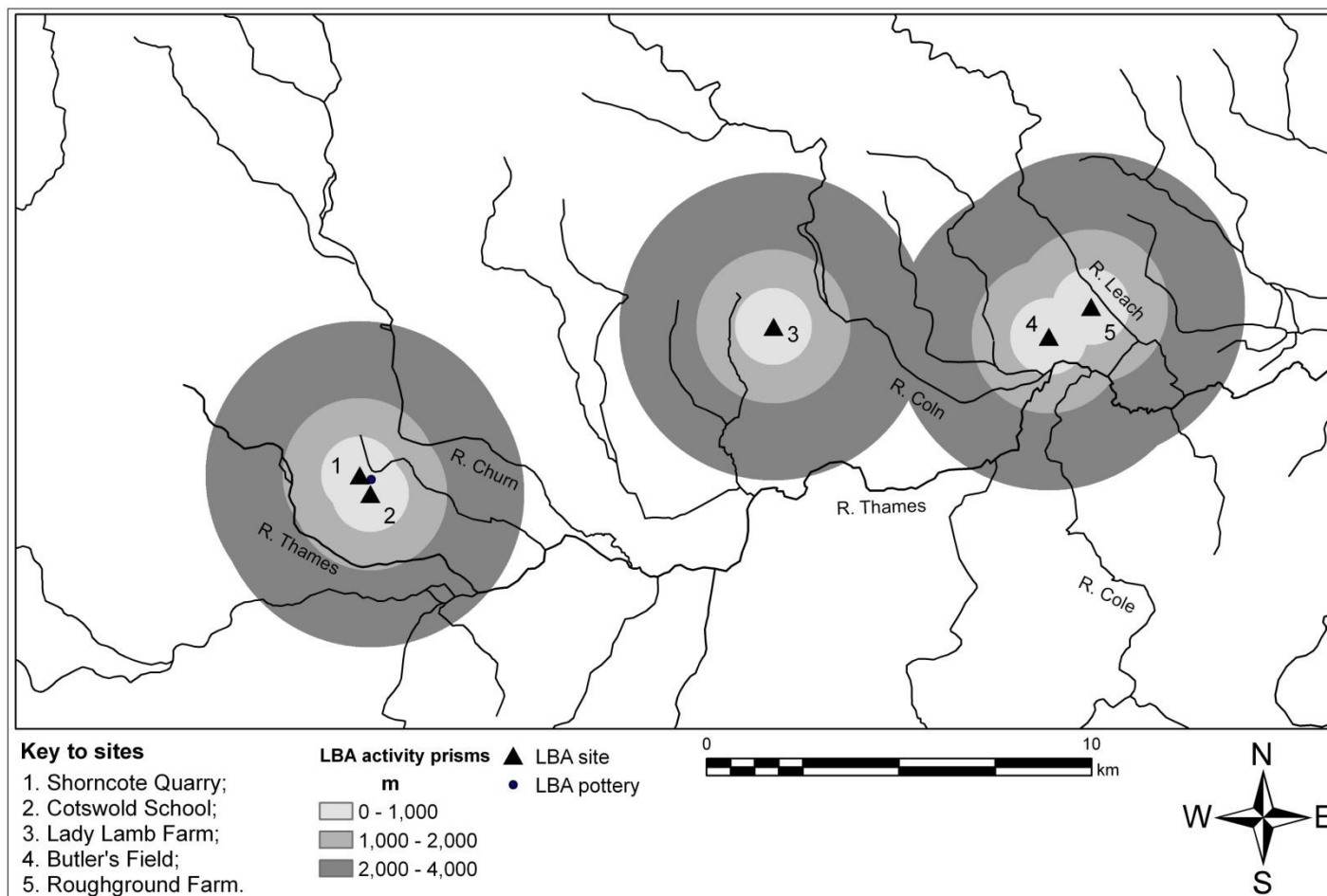


Figure 9.9- Upper Thames Valley Late Bronze Age sites with activity-prisms.

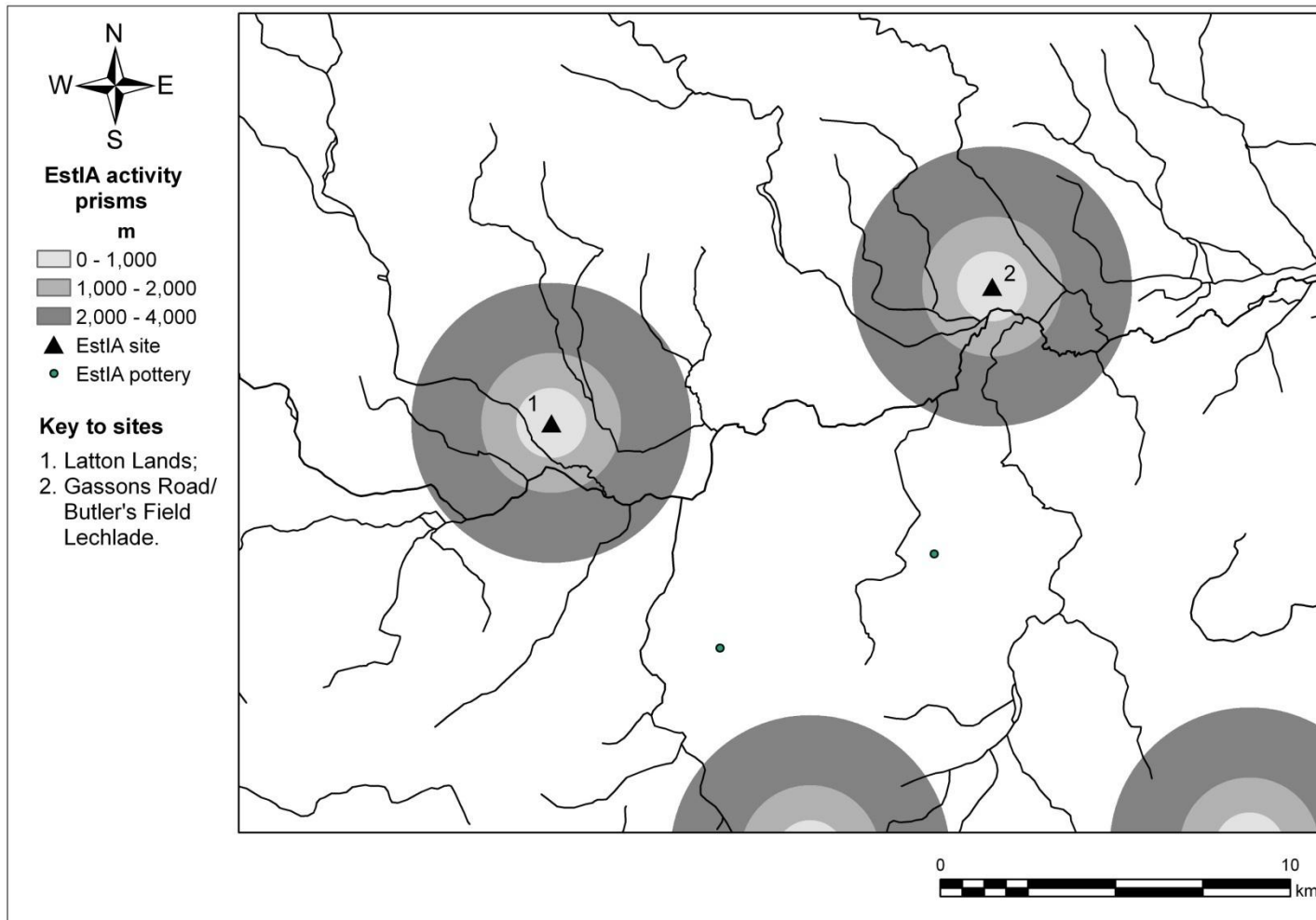


Figure 9.10- Upper Thames Valley Earliest Iron Age sites with activity-prisms.

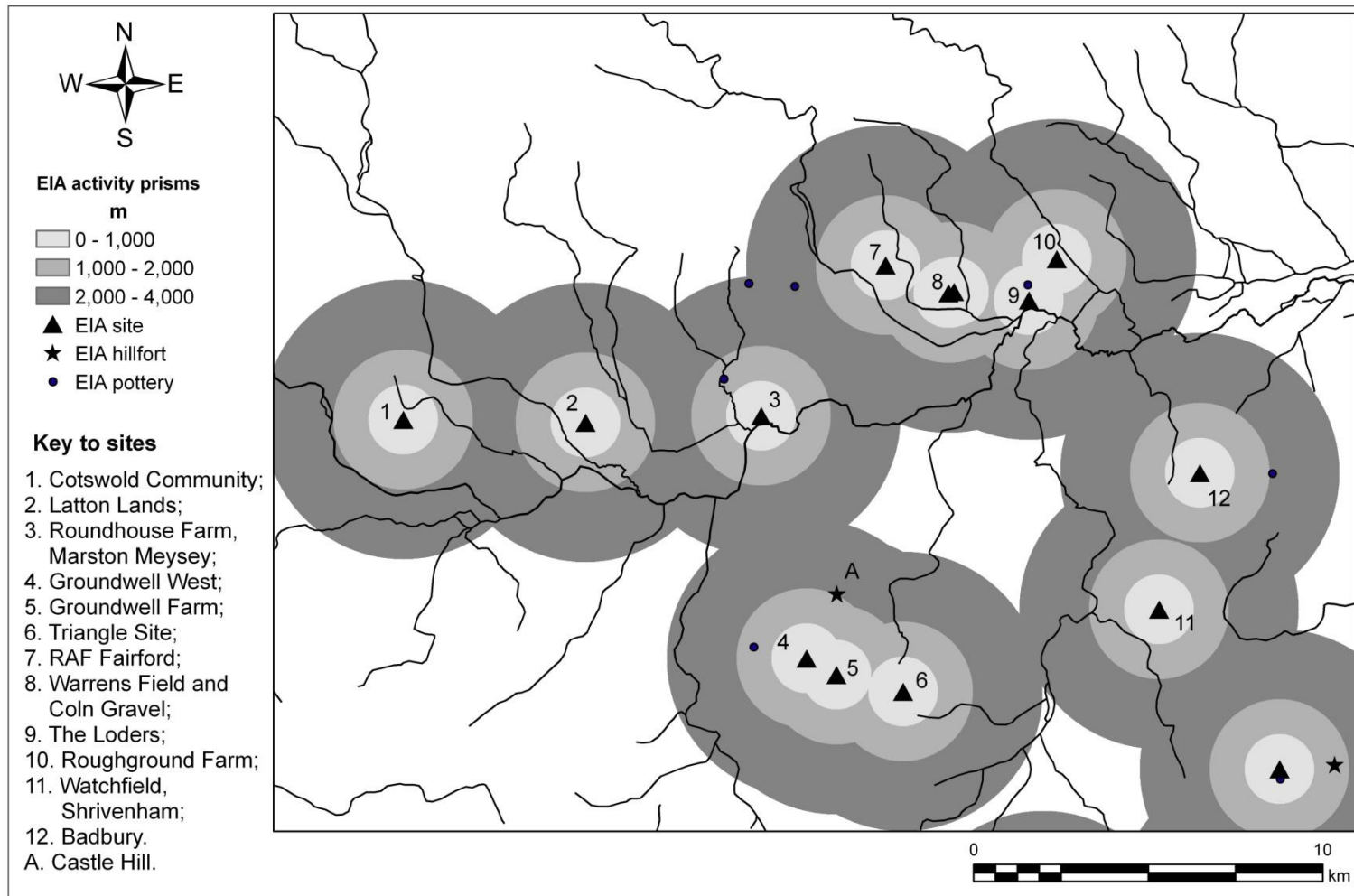


Figure 9.11- Upper Thames Valley Early Iron Age sites with activity-prisms.

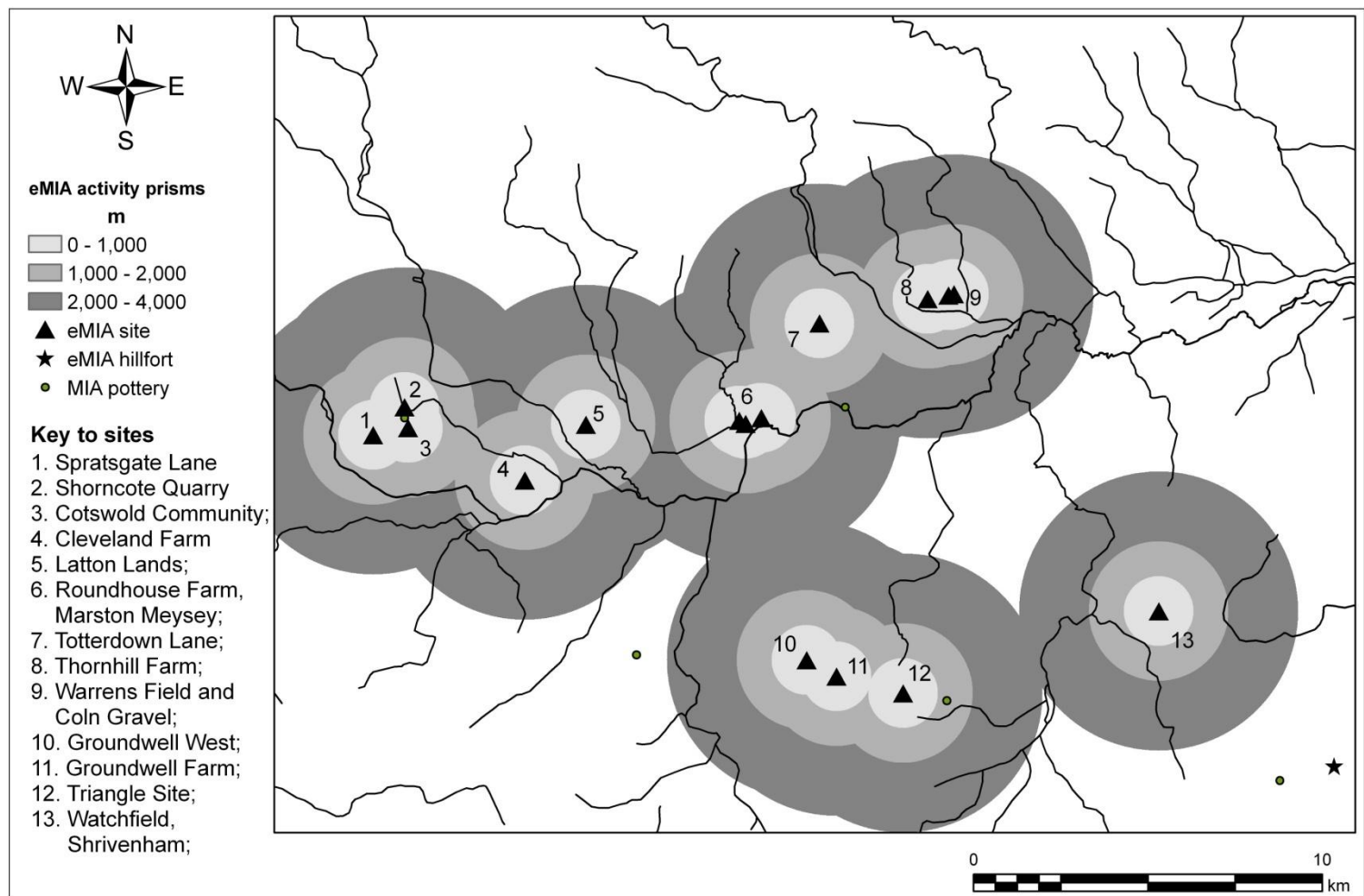


Figure 9.12- Upper Thames Valley early Middle Iron Age sites with activity-prisms.

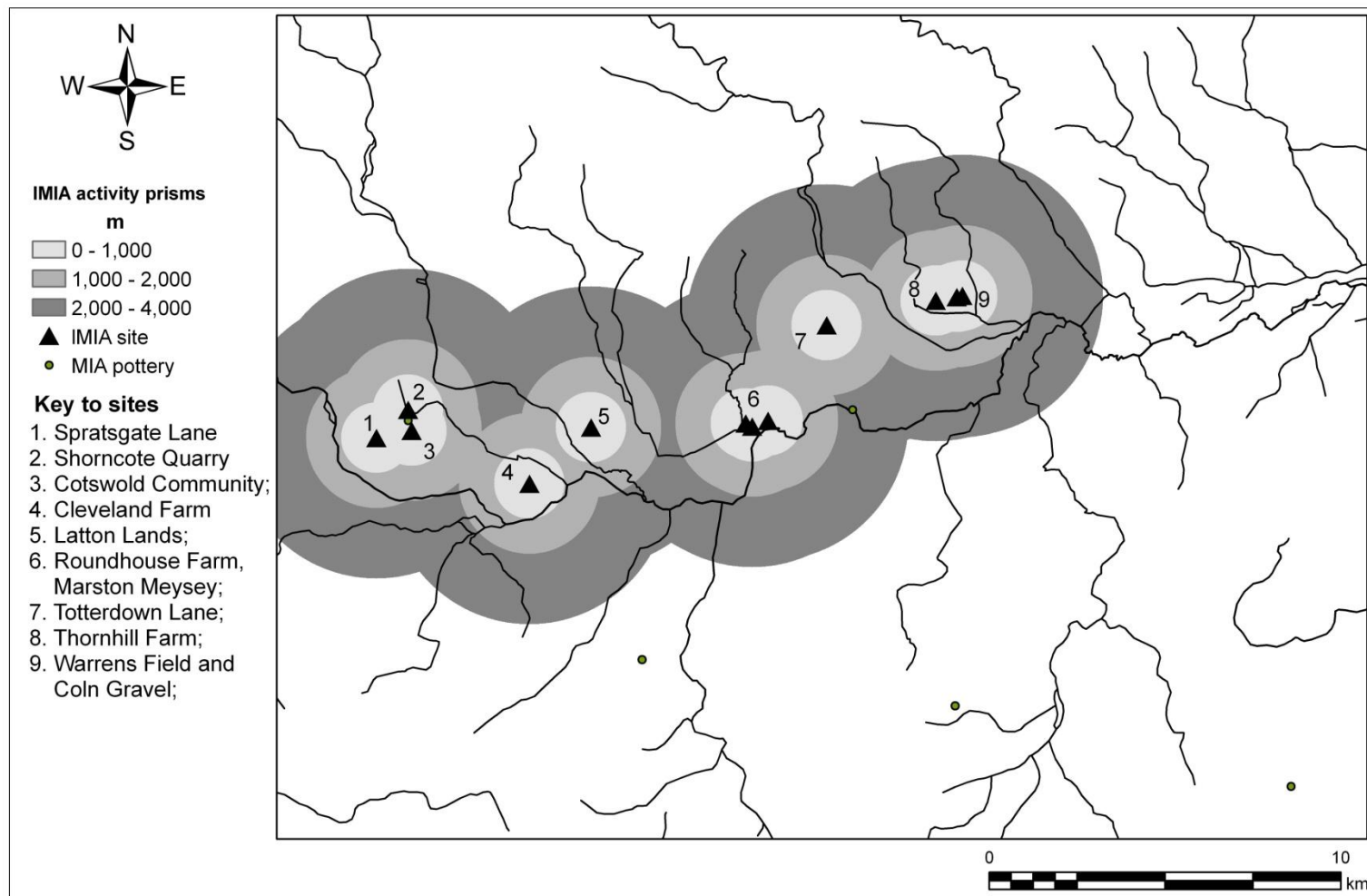


Figure 9.13- Upper Thames Valley late Middle Iron Age sites with activity-prisms.

Chapter 10 – The materiality of life in Later Prehistory

The previous chapters reviewed patterns of landscape utilization and conditions of life across the study region during Later Prehistory. This chapter will summarize the cultural and subsistence patterns revealed through material traces and draw out their social implications for discussion in the final chapter.

10.1 Farming and diet

It is usually implicitly assumed that most settlements during Later Prehistory practiced a variation on mixed agriculture. However, the Iron Age is often proposed as the period when we first see forms of specialized farming, such as specialized pastoralist units along the Thames (Lambrick 1992). Cunliffe argues for a gradual increase in sheep in central southern Britain connected with the spread of arable agriculture on the downs (Cunliffe 1991:380). He sees the hillfort as central to this arable expansion, acting as a centre for the storage of the community's grain and playing a pivotal role for the community in activities such as lambing or calving during the agricultural calendar (*ibid.*:388). The hillfort has therefore taken over the role of certain activities for the whole community that were previously conducted individually at each farmstead. In the study area, a principle problem with this view is a lack of evidence for large scale storage facilities at the excavated hillforts. Late Bronze Age Ram's Hill is the only hillfort to have four-post structures in any quantity and no carbonized grain has been recovered to support the hypothesis that they functioned as raised granaries.

For the Upper Thames Valley, specialized production on the first and second gravel terraces is argued, with sites on the first terrace rearing animals and those on the second focused on arable production. A general lack of young animals is taken to indicate a transhumant regime, with animals being born and managed for part of the year on the Cotswolds (Cunliffe 1991:391). As Lambrick emphasises (1992:85), land exploitation along the Upper Thames Valley is not homogenous; he sees the increasing use of the area as resulting from arable expansion, putting pasture under pressure. As a result, pastoral production undergoes a process of intensification utilizing waterholes, enclosures and settlements specialized in animal management during the Middle Iron Age. Most of the Upper Thames Valley sites in this study are situated on the first terrace and do not appear to play a role in arable production.

10.1.1 Animal management strategies

Faunal data for the study area reflects the results of human activity in terms of the original economy, depositional activity and the recovery practices of archaeologists along with taphonomic processes. These vary from site to site along with the identification biases of individual researchers. The percentages of animals therefore reflect biases produced through different excavation strategies, a particular problem on small excavations. We are faced with at best a partial picture of the economy. That said, the recovered assemblage can reasonably be assumed to be representative of the original death assemblage allowing broad interpretations of economic strategy to be made (Hambleton 1999:11-13). Reports on pre-1970 excavations contain little on the faunal data and do not include any numerical breakdowns (*ibid.*:13). This is unfortunate because this period typically includes the excavations that uncovered the largest areas of downland sites. Figure 10.1 provides a breakdown of the available faunal data for excavated sites in the study region. Samples with fewer than 150 identifiable elements are included in Appendix 1.1 for information, but excluded from discussion. For the Middle Bronze Age sites with more than 150 NISP are limited to Bishops Cannings Down and Latton Lands, with cattle predominating at both. Compared with the Iron Age figures, generalized comments about a long term change from cattle to sheep appear valid (Cunliffe 2004:70). However, these numbers may reflect the ready access to surface water at both sites and might not be directly comparable to the three Late Bronze Age sites. These show much higher figures for sheep at the expense of cattle but are situated on the downs away from surface water and hence better positioned to rear sheep than cattle.

For the Earliest Iron Age the main change, apparent at all sites but All Cannings Cross, is the rise in pig numbers. At Potterne, they account for as much as 33% but elsewhere the figures range between 12-14%. Potterne is unique during this period, the larger proportion of pigs being offset by smaller percentages of sheep, perhaps reflecting its position in the centre of the Vale of Pewsey. This shows that sufficient resources existed to feed greater numbers of pigs. This could reflect larger areas of pannage, the use of dairy by-products such as whey or even that the pigs could root about in the rich refuse on the large midden mounds. For the other sites, there are slight rises in the proportions of sheep (59-67%) with a concomitant fall in cattle numbers (20-29%). This is true even of sites with ready access to water such as All Cannings Cross and East Chisenbury.

The midden sites contain the bones of huge numbers of animals and represent the annual slaughter of thousands of animals per site. This is particularly true of sheep. Up to

3,800 were slaughtered annually at East Chisenbury alone, a scale of slaughter that implies that huge numbers were reared in the region to maintain/increase herd size. Serjeantson (2007) sees the build up of the dark earth matrix of the middens as the product of regular corralling of animals, as seen in dairying activities. At East Chisenbury, All Cannings Cross and Stanton St. Bernard the age profiles of sheep match that of a regime with an emphasis on dairy production (Serjeantson *et al* 2010; Tullett and Harrison 2008).

The immediate environs of the middens are not large enough to maintain big enough herds to support this rate of slaughter. It suggests that large numbers of animals were reared elsewhere and brought to the site. The presence of temporary camps to the north of the Wylfe and along the Middle Avon Valley may be connected with this system, as may the uninhabited areas of the North Wessex Downs. A degree of seasonality in the faunal data implies that animals were brought to the Vale in late summer and autumn. This coincides with the harvest and in turn suggests that the activities conducted around the Vale were more important than arable production.

For the Early and Middle Iron Age, Hambleton's '*Animal husbandry regimes in Iron Age Britain*' is the seminal work (Hambleton 1999). In Wessex sheep predominate, accounting for 40-70% of assemblages, followed by cattle at 20-50% and finally pigs 0-20% (*ibid.*:46). In the Upper Thames Valley, patterns were slightly different with roughly equal numbers of sheep and cattle, both at around 30-60% and a similar number of pigs at around 0-20%. The numbers for sheep and cattle in the Upper Thames Valley sample falls within the ranges noted for Wessex and cannot be seen as a grossly differing strategy of animal management (*ibid.*).

Site type does not obviously affect the patterns except for Wessex hillforts, which exhibit higher sheep percentages (*ibid.*:56). An increase of sheep in the Wessex sample from the Early to Middle Iron Age could indicate a shift to specialization in sheep secondary products such as wool along with an increasing need to manure arable land (*ibid.*:59). Overall whilst these figures mask broad variations across the region, they were taken to support Cunliffe's idea of a correlation between arable expansion and an increase in sheep on the Wessex downs. The Upper Thames Valley figures are similar to Wessex, excepting the dominant meat production profile for cattle, which must indicate large numbers of cows in the valley. It cannot be taken as supporting or refuting Lambrick's model.

Of sites with more than 150 NISP, only three fall outside Hambleton's ranges. At 19%, the percentage of cattle in the Early Iron Age assemblage from Segsbury is just below the 20% minimum, whilst at 61% the value for the Latton Lands Middle Iron Age assemblage is just

above the expected upper limit. The site that really stands out is Groundwell Farm with its high proportions of pig (Early Iron Age 31% and Middle Iron Age 38%) and correspondingly low figures for cattle (14% and 17%). The best explanation for this is the location of the site between light arable soils and heavier clay woodland that would have provided extensive pannage for pigs (Gingell and Fasham 1982:73), although this unusual animal mix is not reflected in the assemblage from nearby Groundwell West (Hambleton 2001).

The Upper Thames Valley has the highest proportions of cattle, whilst the downland sites have higher percentages of sheep especially the hillforts, although the site with the highest proportion of sheep is All Cannings Cross. Coombe Down South (SP009), on one of the driest parts of Salisbury Plain, has high cattle figures for the area though within Hambleton's ranges. What is more notable about this site is the reduction in sheep from the Early to Middle Iron Age and corresponding rise for cattle. The non-Upper Thames Valley data is dominated by Early Iron Age assemblages and so this point cannot be satisfactorily confirmed at other sites. One further point of note is that Spratsgate Lane and Warrens Field both have high values for horse at 15% and 16% of the identifiable assemblages. As few Upper Thames Valley sites have evidence indicating that they functioned as permanent centres of habitation, the large numbers of horse remains at two of them might indicate that horses were important for animal management in the Middle Iron Age. At earlier sites like the middens involved in managing large numbers of animals, horse remains are rare, as they continue to be on the later sites on the downs.

Table 10.1 shows the presence of neonatal or juvenile (less than 6 months old) animal bones recovered from excavated sites. Contrary to Hambleton (1999:391), a higher proportion of Upper Thames Valley sites are associated with very young animals than other parts of the study area. This is particularly true for cattle but it is also seen for sheep.

Table 10.2 sets out the animal management regimes inferred in the site reports. Most of the Upper Thames Valley sites were seen as exploiting cattle and sheep primarily for meat. This reflects their position on the first terrace where animals of prime meat bearing age were being consumed and these sites have little evidence of textile production (see below). The presence of juvenile and neonate animals at many of these sites indicates that animals were being reared on site or close by, supporting the hypothesis that these farms were focused on intensive animal management regimes. It also refutes the basis of the argument that the Upper Thames Valley was exploited through a transhumant regime. The patterns for the chalkland sites show that animals were exploited for the whole range of their products and this is also reflected in the evidence for textile production. Fewer juvenile and neonates are

found on these sites suggesting that animals were reared away from the settlements in a less intensive regime.

There is less evidence for transhumant regimes from the Early Iron Age onward, but areas of the North Wessex Downs still appear uninhabited. Less developer funded work in this region may have prevented the discovery of ephemeral seasonal pastoral camps, although the hillforts could have supported transhumant groups. Elsewhere, from the Early Iron Age most downland sites were apparently managing their animals to fulfil their own domestic requirements in terms of sustenance and secondary products.

10.1.2 Crop Management

The problems with faunal assemblages in the study area are also faced by the botanical data, with many sites dug prior to the development of these lines of analysis or in small scale developments. A lack of good archaeobotanical data is perhaps the one area where there is an important gap in our understanding of the study area.

In the later Bronze Age, barley generally outnumbers all other cereals in southern Britain (Cunliffe 1991:34; Bradley 2007:192). The same pattern was observed in this study. Barley can be used as a foodstuff but its two main uses in the modern world are as fodder and for beer. Whilst there is no reason to suspect that these were the two main uses in the later Bronze Age, barley's flexibility was probably important. One reason why farmers historically grew crops such as barley or maize, commonly perceived as fodder, was that in normal years they were used to feed animals but were there to fall back on for human consumption in times of crisis (Halstead 1996:23). It is also possible that beer was important in Prehistory both as a staple and a mechanism for social co-ordination and labour mobilization (Dietler 1990). In tribal societies, alcohol can be an important means of mobilizing labour to work fields and conduct large communal building projects. The preponderance of barley at this time might well reflect the importance of animal management and possibly of beer as a means of raising labour. The recovery of large amounts of barley from the Durrington Egg supports its interpretation as a site with an important role in animal management. The importance of barley reduces through the cross-over into the Iron Age and though wheat predominates it remains an important crop.

Various theories have been advanced to explain Iron Age archaeobotanical assemblages. Hillman (1981) proposed a dichotomy between producer and consumer sites, with producer sites having a higher proportion of waste from the early stages of crop

processing. M. Jones (1985) supported the producer/consumer division and suggested that producer sites would have a higher proportion of clean grain. Stevens (2003) believes that the producer/consumer dichotomy is erroneous and instead looks to social organization to explain differences between assemblages. In his model, households without recourse to additional labour won't spend so much time processing the crops prior to storage. Sites with access to communal labour will be more likely to bulk process crops, in the fields during harvest prior to storage. Thus the range of processing waste is linked to the amount of labour that a site was able to mobilize. Finally van der Veen and Jones (2007) suggest that the more grain that is stored at a site, the more chance that it will be involved in an accident, get burnt and so preserved. Grain rich assemblages represent sites where a large quantity of grain was stored.

At Groundwell West, small weed seeds were found along with grain and chaff, suggesting it had been stored prior to many of the processing stages (Stevens and Wilkinson 2001:39). At Warrens Field, the material was dominated by chaff and weed seeds rather than cereal grain (Straker *et al* 2007:55). Very small amounts of either grain or chaff were recovered from Latton Lands with the implication that only small amounts were processed there (Griffiths 2008:109). At Battlesbury, most of the weed seeds were large, implying that grain was stored after it had been extensively processed (Clapham and Stevens 2008:101). Segsbury and Uffington both produced small assemblages of clean grain, with little chaff (Ingham and Robinson 2005a:120; Robinson 2003:193).

With six sites, the sample is too limited to draw anything but cursory conclusions, especially as the assemblages from Latton Lands, Uffington and Segsbury were also very small. That said there does appear to be a dichotomy between the hillfort and non-hillfort sites, if we categorize Battlesbury Bowl as a hillfort-like settlement. Its charred remains were from grain that had been through most of the stages of processing prior to storage. The remains from the non-hillforts appeared to be grain stored prior to some of the later processing stages. This mirrors the Danebury Environs Programme where many of the surrounding settlements produced evidence for the early stages of processing whilst these were absent at Danebury (Campbell 2000:54).

Whilst this could be said to support Cunliffe's idea that cleaned grain was stored at hillforts, there are a number of problems with such interpretations for the study area. Firstly the data do not relate to a single hillfort and the settlements that surround it. The sites with the early stages of crop processing waste are in the Upper Thames Valley whilst the hillforts are on the chalk downs. Segsbury and Uffington show no evidence for large scale storage capacity and the assemblages are interpreted as grain brought to the hillfort by people that

were not resident (Ingham and Robinson 2005a:120; Robinson 2003:193). In these cases, people visiting the hillforts to conduct other activities such as attending a sheep market, brought the grain with them for their own consumption or possibly to trade. Such an interpretation is not appropriate for Battlesbury Bowl with what appears to be ample storage facilities. Analysis of the soil however suggests that most of the pit fills consisted of the phytolith rich material from burnt straw, interpreted as burned cereal processing waste (Macphail and Crowther 2008:132). This may imply that the variation in charred assemblages may relate to preservation factors at this site rather than economic strategies or access to labour.

10.2 Craft and industry

Production and consumption of goods is a complex process and will not be dealt with here in great detail. For most products, there were potentially two basic forms of production operating. Firstly, household manufacture to satisfy domestic demands, accounting for the majority of production; secondly, local specialized production with a limited distribution network. On top of this we have external trade, usually for more exotic goods such as amber, jet or coral (Cunliffe 1991:444), although with the exception of Kimmeridge shale, these remain very rare finds. The full breakdown of artefacts can be found in Appendices 1.2-1.7.

10.2.1 Textile production

Artefacts associated with the manufacture of textiles include spindle whorls for spinning wool into yarn; loomweights, bone combs and bone shuttles for weaving; and rib knives, bone points and awls for processing hides. What we term as loomweights may have other functions such as thatch-weights or net-sinkers, whilst forms of weaving that do not use a vertical loom will not necessarily leave behind any visible traces (Marchant 1989:6). Some forms of cloth are produced from vegetable fibre whilst turning wool into felt does not require either spinning or weaving and would leave no archaeological traces (Ryder 1981:202). For the later Bronze Age very little artefactual material concerning textile production is recovered from any settlements, suggesting that only low levels of woven material was produced on site for household use or that alternative methods of cloth production were used.

The Earliest Iron Age sees a distinct change in practice. The middens are testament to the slaughter of huge numbers of animals for meat. A large quantity of wool and hides would have been by-products of this activity. It is not surprising that these were utilized rather than allowed to go to waste and there is ample evidence for textile processing at these sites. The

worked bone and flint assemblages indicate leatherworking was widely practiced. Large numbers of spindle whorls are recovered from All Cannings Cross, Potterne and (in relative terms) East Chisenbury, suggesting that spinning was a regular activity. There is less evidence for weaving but this is still much higher than the sites that precede them and many of those that follow. The differential between spinning and weaving may imply that a portion of spun yarn left the site before being woven. Weaving is more labour intensive than spinning and it may be that seasonal variations in available labour led to spun yarn being traded. Alternatively, weaving could have formed a seasonal activity at a time when many people were away from the midden sites.

As this period is hypothesised as being dominated by transhumant agricultural regimes, it is not surprising that more permanent settlements such as the middens were centres of craft work. The middens are concentrations of people as well as processes and would have facilitated the exchange of knowledge and craft techniques (Brück 2007:35). This would be another means through which affinity between these people would be created and the bonds of community strengthened. Participation in these circles of knowledge, the material that was produced and the way it was worn would be a physical link with the wider community, indicating membership and inclusion.

The Early and Middle Iron Age sites rarely produce similar quantities of material as the midden sites, although a large number of loomweights were found at Battlesbury Bowl over a much longer duration. Some broad differences can be identified across the region for the Iron Age. Spindle whorls are commonly recovered from sites on the chalk albeit in low numbers but are rarely found on sites in the Upper Thames Valley (Figure 10.2). This is particularly significant when considering the large scale excavations on Upper Thames Valley sites compared to the more limited investigations elsewhere in the study area. Spinning was infrequent at sites in the Upper Thames Valley whilst in the rest of the study area it was almost ubiquitous. Weaving was conducted at most of the Salisbury Plain sites probably representing household production (Figure 10.3). This evidence was absent from the Marlborough and Berkshire Downs, with the exception of Alfred's Castle and perhaps Barbury. There was some evidence for weaving at the Upper Thames Valley sites but again this probably represents a smaller scale of activity than that on Salisbury Plain. For the Upper Thames Valley this supports the assumption that many of the first gravel terrace sites were not independent and self-sufficient farming units but subsidiary animal management elements of communities situated on higher gravel terraces. Whilst this model works well in theory, unless sites on higher gravel terraces are identified and excavated it remains speculative. For

the Iron Age on the downs it appears that textile production was probably universal to satisfy household demands; production on the scale of the middens is not seen again during the period. There is the possibility that some of the downland sites produced excess spun wool and this may have been traded with other regions that lacked this commodity such as the Upper Thames Valley.

10.2.2 Pottery

Most pottery was probably produced locally for domestic consumption, although only two sites produced possible evidence for pottery manufacture. At Middle Bronze Age Bishop Cannings Down, a cache of fossil shells was interpreted as destined for use as temper in pottery manufacture (Gingell 1992:75). The only Iron Age site with evidence for pottery manufacture was Highfields near Salisbury where 'saggers' were recovered (Stevens 1934:597). This site lies within the limited outcrop of brickearth that is particularly associated with the manufacture Early Iron Age scratched cordoned bowls (Cunliffe 1984:20). Whilst this material was used in most of the fine ware pottery manufactured, there is currently no evidence for centralized production. The Earliest and Early Iron Ages is synonymous with the introduction of red finished 'haematite' coated wares. Three methods were used to obtain this finish, the most common of which was the application of a clay slip although a haematite or limonite coating is occasionally identified (Middleton 1987:257). The process of producing and firing the slip was highly technical and more advanced than the application of a simple haematite coating and shows a level of expertise that was previously unknown (*ibid.*). It indicates that the production of ceramics underwent a dramatic development during the Earliest Iron Age.

The Earliest and Early Iron Age ceramics are distinct from those that preceded them with a wider range of forms and greater decoration. Both Needham (2007:55) and Sharples (2007:181) suggest that the mechanisms of pottery distribution and form were part of the new package of commodities and values that were adopted to fill the social void left by the redundant bronze trade. The pottery shows more emphasis on the preparation and public service of food (Barrett 1989:312). This in turn suggests that larger numbers of people were eating together if only periodically, with pottery forming an important means for social integration and the expression of status distinctions (Tullett and Harrison 2008). The food need not be the rationale for these meetings as they probably revolved around agricultural, industrial or building projects. This is the period when most hillfort construction takes place and it is probable that food, drink and the pottery it was served in, as a means of mobilizing

labour, was integral to this building programme. It implies that society was bonded through regular interaction and the public consumption of food. The recurrent contact would have allowed affinity to develop amongst the groups and allow a supra-communal identity to grow.

These pottery styles decline during the fourth century and are replaced by poorer quality wares with less emphasis on the service of food. It shows that this arena was no longer utilized to such a degree (Sharples 2007:177). This coincides with the abandonment of the majority of hillforts and there were fewer reasons to mobilize large amounts of labour.

10.2.3 Salt

The most obvious material difference between the sub-regions was the presence of briquetage at the Upper Thames Valley sites and its absence everywhere else with the exception of a solitary piece from Battlesbury Bowl. It appears that the Upper Thames Valley sites were involved with a salt trade that originated at Droitwich 75km to the north, forming the southern boundary of this trade. The presence of briquetage in the Middle Iron Age contexts at four sites does not appear to represent a huge trade but does share a similar distribution of Malvernian Ware. The Malvernian Ware distribution reaches slightly further south than that of Droitwich briquetage with two sherds recovered from Groundwell Farm though it is possible that salt vessels and Malvernian Wares moved in similar exchange networks. With only one or two vessels per site however it does not represent a huge trade. The absence of briquetage in the rest of the study area implies that it wasn't within the sphere of the Droitwich salt trade. There is also no evidence of a salt trade with sites on the south coast either unless this trade did not include the travel of briquetage with the salt.

10.2.4 Metalworking

There is no evidence for large scale bronze working at any one location in the study area. Evidence does appear in small quantities at many later Bronze Age sites and may have been conducted either by the households themselves or by itinerant travellers but this study is not able to make further comment.

Very rich iron ore sources are found around the western end of the Vale of Pewsey at Seend, Westbury, Bromham and Mere (Dr. R. Doonan pers. comm.) but the earliest date that any of these areas can be associated with iron working so far is the Roman period (Robinson 1994:22). Earliest Iron Age sites are situated close to the outcrops at Seend and Westbury. Lower Greensand ore recovered from All Cannings Cross was suggested as having a source at Seend and provided evidence that the ore was being prepared on site (Cunnington 1923:53).

Large quantities of slag were also recovered with one deposit, consisting of about two gallons (*ibid.*:63). It is unclear whether these finds come from the Earliest Iron Age layers but there is no reason to suppose that the inhabitants did not refine iron from ore throughout the Iron Age. Evidence for smelting is rare in Iron Age Wessex, in 1994 Ehrenreich was only able to identify four sites including All Cannings Cross and more speculatively Little Woodbury (Ehrenreich 1994:16). To this list we can now also include Battlesbury Bowl where most of the slag was from smelting and doubled in quantity from the Early to Middle Iron Age (Mepham and Andrews 2008) but no iron smelting evidence was recovered from Potterne. It is strange that the Vale of Pewsey with such rich supplies of iron ore appears to be intensively exploited in the Earliest Iron Age with activity dramatically falling off into the Early and Middle Iron Ages.

Some of the other, currently unexcavated midden sites, such as Roughridge Hill or Steeple Ashton, may, however, have lifespans on the scale of All Cannings Cross rather than Potterne, whilst the modern town of Westbury may have destroyed more extensive evidence for Iron Age iron smelting. Given the nature of the process and its resource demands, ore roasting and smelting, it is also possible that it was conducted at the periphery of sites and so escaped the main focus of excavation. The evidence suggests that iron ore from the western part of the Vale of Pewsey was exploited and smelted at a small number of sites though others probably existed. Whether this iron resource was exploited year round or seasonally is unclear, though comparison with other specialized extraction industries such as salt suggests that it was undertaken by non-specialists at slack times in the agricultural cycle (Haselgrove 1999:125). Seasonality identified in the midden bone assemblages may indicate an influx of population in late summer and early autumn. Whilst the majority of arrivals would have been involved with animal management it is probable that a portion were extracting and smelting iron.

Evidence for smithing is more widespread (Figure 10.4). There are concentrations in the Vale of Pewsey and the Upper Thames Valley but for the latter this is probably biased by the fact that most of the sites fall later in the period than other regions. The North Wessex Downs turned up very little evidence for iron smithing and this supports the hypothesis that this region was exploited by people from outside of its environs who worked metal elsewhere. In general, many sites turn up only a small amount of smithing slag showing that it was conducted as small scale enterprise to support household demands. Figure 10.4 also shows that there is very little evidence to connect iron working with hillforts.

10.2.5 Stone

Stone is recovered from all of the sites and usually consists of either worked stone or burnt stone. Burnt flint is found in varying quantities at most sites but predominates on the chalk downs where flint might reasonably be expected to be found in greatest quantities. It is thought to have some role in food preparation (Sharples 2010:69) but nowhere do we find burnt mounds or the quantities of burnt flint found in Berkshire locations such as Reading Business Park. The sites are also located away from nearby water sources and may have fulfilled a more complex function. Burnt limestone has a more restricted distribution and is largely confined to sites in the Upper Thames Valley such as Warrens Field and Shorncote Quarry where it is usually found in conjunction with metal working waste (Hearne and Heaton 1994:51).

Worked stone falls into a number of categories based either on function or material. These include worked flint, shale, hone stones, spindle whorls, weights and quernstones. From the Middle to Late Bronze Age the use of flint appears to decline along with the skill exhibited in its production (Humphrey 2001). It is probable that many cobble tools were not recognised as working objects in older excavations. Little flint is recovered from Iron Age sites and much of it is interpreted as residual. This trend is considered to continue through the Early and Middle Iron Age where it is considered to have been used for tasks such as butchery, bone working, leather working and more specific to Potterne, shale working (Humphrey 2007:155).

Querns are found in varying amounts at almost all sites. These are mostly manufactured from the stone that is available within the region although not necessarily local. Typically these are sarsen and Lower Greensand. It is rare but not unknown for stone from more distant sources to be found. At Battlesbury most of the stone was from local sources but Pennant Sandstone from the South Wales/Bristol areas suggests more dispersed contacts (Legge 2008:46). A small number of Red Sandstone fragments were recovered from Early Iron Age contexts at Widdington Farm (Fulford *et al* 2006:22) and Middle Iron Age contexts at Warrens Field (Roe 2007:53) whilst over a hundred fragments were recovered from Cleveland Farm (Wessex Archaeology 2007b:18). The nearest source for the Red Sandstone in the Forest of Dean is 60-70km from the Thames valley sites showing that this material was being sourced, or more likely exchanged over considerable distances.

Some locations such as Coombe Down South have concentrations of stone fragments (Every 2006:136), whilst other sites such as Battlesbury Bowl (Harding 2008:45), All Cannings Cross (Cunnington 1923), Lidbury Camp (Cunnington 1919), Pewsey Hill (Thompson 1971:66-

71) turn up hammerstones for dressing quernstones. The inference is that in at least some cases the raw material was acquired and brought back to the settlement before being worked. This would suggest that such resources where they were local such as the sarsen or greensand were freely available for all to obtain and that no specialist quern producers existed, an observation matched for this period in West Sussex (Peacock 1987). The exception to this is All Cannings Cross where 1360 hammerstones were found (Cunnington 1923:26). It implies that as with many other crafts All Cannings Cross was a production centre for querns.

10.3 Conclusions

This chapter reviewed the material conditions of life in the study area during the Later Prehistoric period. It supports some of the broad hypotheses made by Hambleton, Lambrick and Cunliffe while refuting others.

The data support the idea that the first gravel terrace sites in the Upper Thames Valley were specialized animal management units for as yet unidentified communities. Contrary to the previous models, the presence of neonate and juvenile animals at many of these sites negates the argument for transhumance. Sites producing arable and craft goods to support these units must have been situated much closer, probably on the second terrace.

For Wessex, the figures show that the majority of Iron Age production was on a small scale for domestic consumption. There is no evidence for centralized production at hillforts although these may have been connected with the communal management of sheep during the Early Iron Age. That the majority of animals appear to be reared away from the immediate precinct of the downland settlements supports this hypothesis.

The final stages of the Late Bronze Age and the Earliest Iron Age are of completely different character to the rest of the Iron Age. There is good evidence for seasonal congregations at the Vale of Pewsey middens. This data principally revolves around the animal numbers but the rationale is connected to iron production. The influx of animals and a dairy regime was instigated to support these workers. Most of the region operated a system of transhumance and with so few permanent sites, the middens formed important centres of craft production. With a dispersed population the middens were integral to the maintenance of affinity across communities. The gatherings allowed the sharing of knowledge between groups and the creation of weak ties that precipitated the spread of innovation and technology. The meetings were negotiated through public consumption and the development of a new range of ceramic wares ensued. The period created the ties across groups of

communities which were exploited in the Early Iron Age for the construction and maintenance of the region's hillforts.

In the final chapter these ideas are developed within the broader pattern of land use, division and settlement patterns to define the dominant social trends through the period.

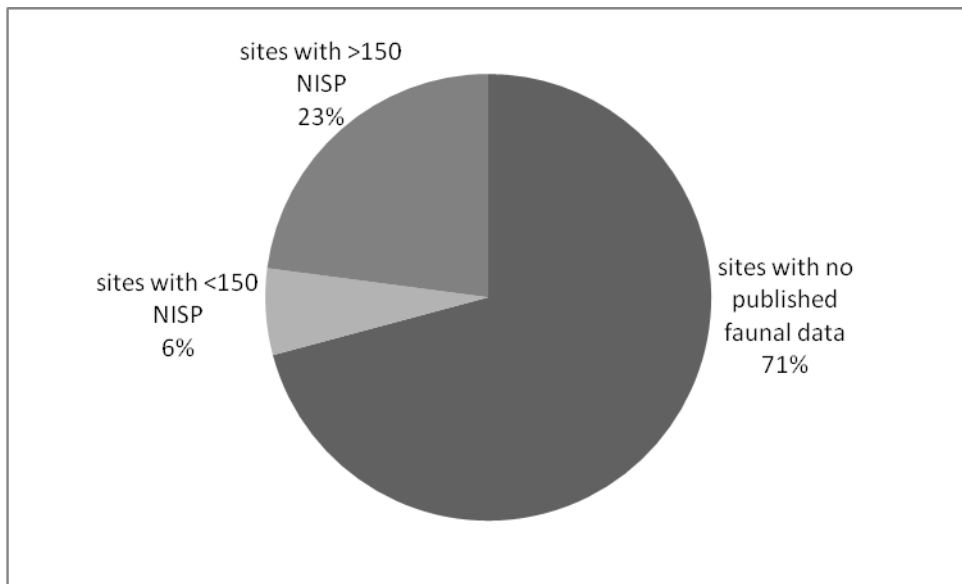


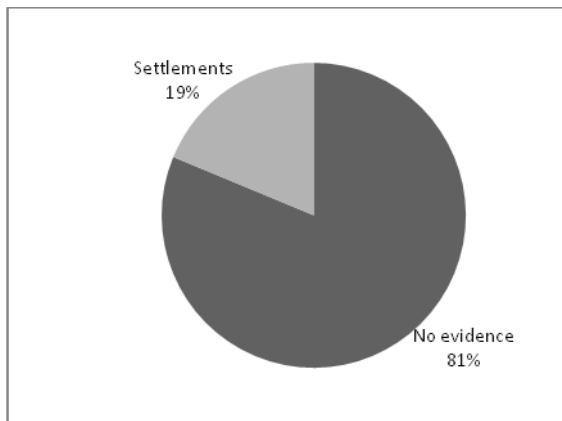
Figure 10.1- Faunal data for excavated sites.

	Period	Neonatal / juvenile remains			
		Cattle	Sheep / Goat	Pig	Horse
Middle Avon Valley					
Bodenham Hill Plantation	EIA		x	x	
NESPTA					
East Chisenbury	EstIA		x		
Coombe Down South (SP009)	E/MIA	x			x
Wylve Valley					
Battlesbury	E/MIA				x
Vale of Pewsey					
All Cannings Cross (2003/04)	Est/EIA		x		
Stanton St. Bernard	EstIA		x		
North Wessex Downs					
Segsbury	E/MIA	x	x		
Upper Thames Valley					
Latton Lands	EIA	x			x
Latton Lands	MIA	x			x
Totterdown Lane, Horcott	MIA	x	x	x	
Spratsgate Lane	MIA	x	x		
Cotswolds Community Ashton Keynes (TVA excavation)	MIA	x	x		
Cleveland Farm	MIA	x	x	x	
Groundwell Farm	E/MIA	x	x		

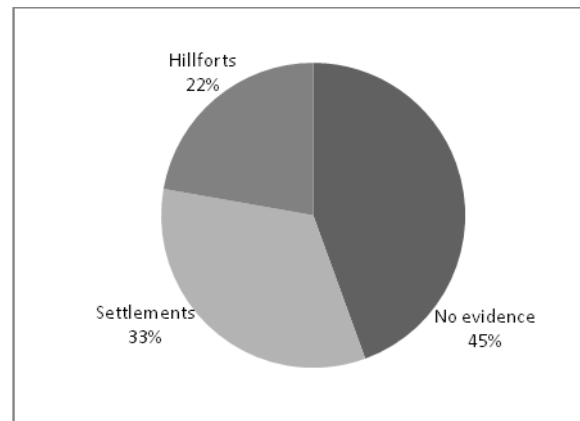
Table 10.1 - Presence of neonatal bones recovered from sites.

	Period	Management regime	
		Cattle	Sheep / goat
Wylve Valley			
Battlesbury	E/MIA	Dairy / mixed	Wool / dairy
Vale of Pewsey			
All Cannings Cross (2003/04)	Est/EIA		Wool / dairy
Stanton St. Bernard	EstIA		Wool / dairy
Brickley Lane, Devizes	IMIA	Traction / milk	Meat
NESPTA			
East Chisenbury	EstIA	Traction	Wool / dairy
Coombe Down South (SP009)	E/MIA	Meat	Meat / wool
North Wessex Downs			
Overton Down ODXI	Est/EIA	Milk / traction	Meat
Segsbury	E/MIA	Meat	Meat
Upper Thames Valley			
Latton Lands (excluding animal burials)	EIA	Mixed	Meat
Latton Lands	MIA	Meat / secondary products	Meat
Spratsgate Lane	MIA	Meat	Meat / secondary products
Warren's Field	MIA	Primarily meat but also secondary products	Primarily meat but also secondary products
Cleveland Farm	MIA	Meat	Meat
Groundwell West	E/MIA	Traction	Wool / meat
Groundwell Farm	E/MIA	Milk / traction	Meat

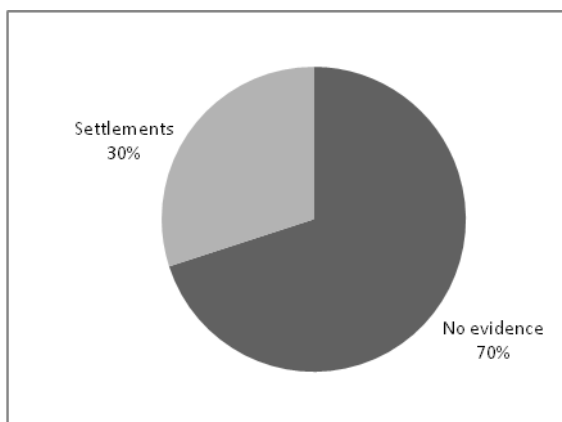
Table 10.2- Animal exploitation regimes identified in site reports.



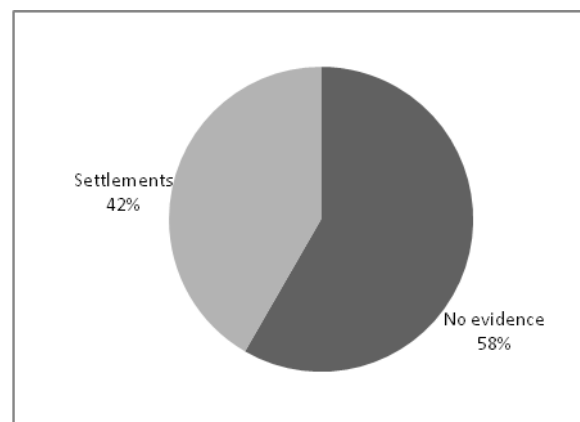
Upper Thames Valley



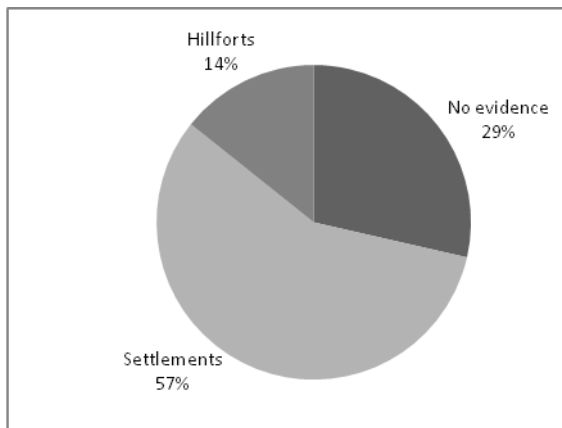
North Wessex Downs



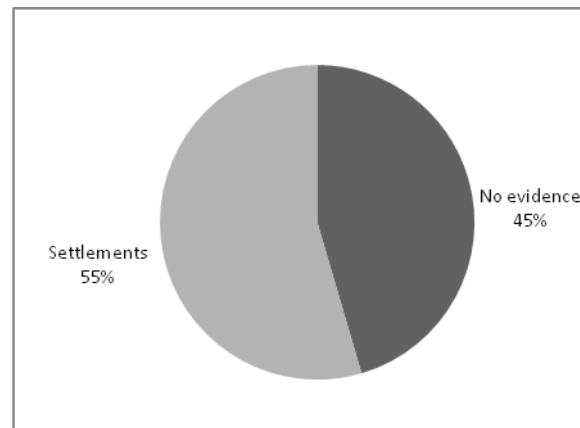
Vale of Pewsey



NESPTA



Wylve Valley



Middle Avon Valley

Figure 10.2- Evidence for spinning at excavated Iron Age sites.



Figure 10.3 - Evidence for weaving at excavated Iron Age sites.

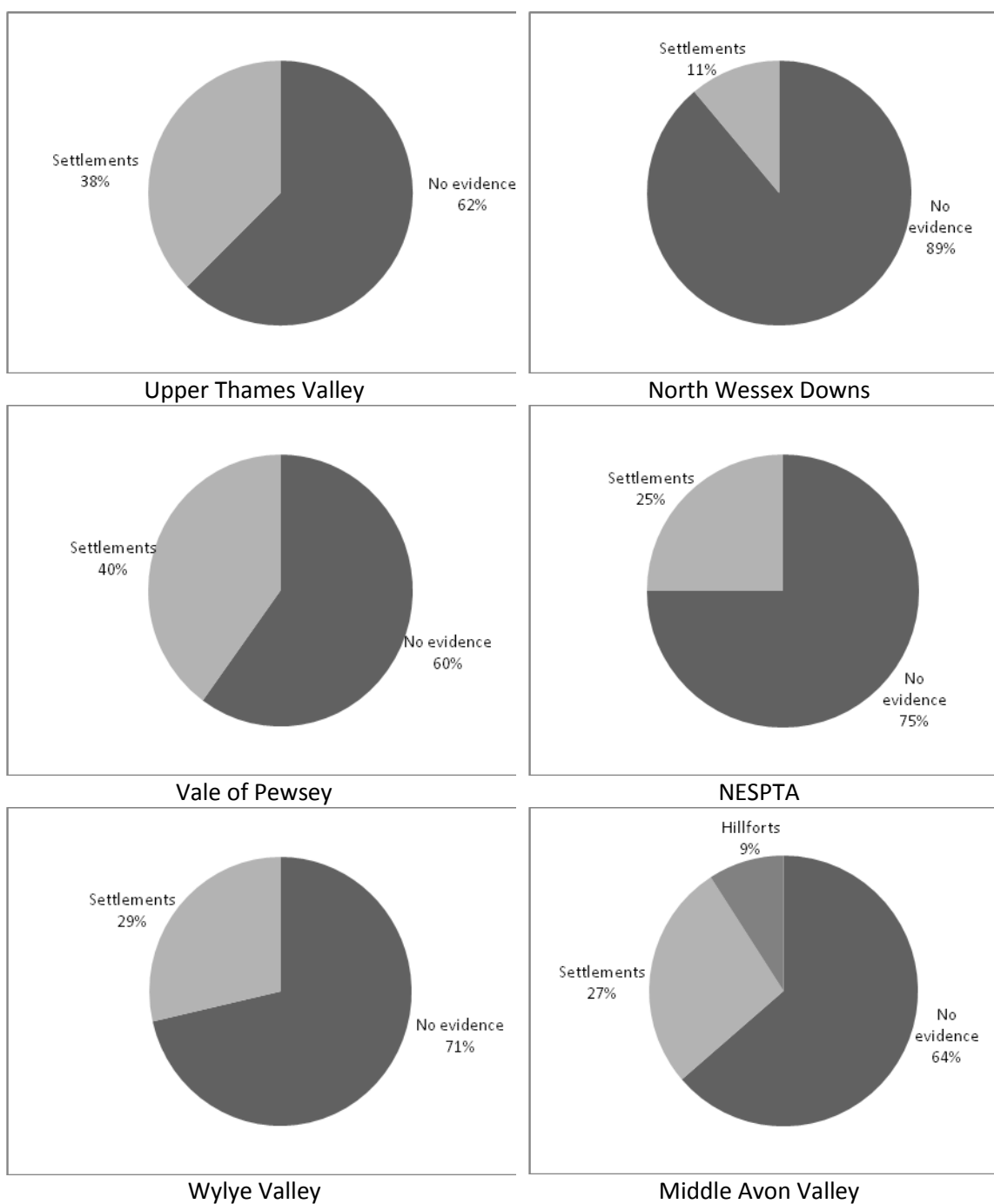


Figure 10.4- Evidence of metalworking at excavated Iron Age sites.

Chapter 11 - Conclusions

The preceding chapters have sought to identify social patterns in the material traces left behind in the material culture, subsistence regimes and landscape. This chapter will draw these together to look at changing social conditions and the means by which the inhabitants of the study area dwelt in their world, interacted and reproduced themselves socially. In particular it will address the research questions of:

- How people's lives were structured through a range of activity-based relationships, dominated by the agricultural regime that extended beyond the scale of the household.
- How the scales of labour and movement inherent within such regimes dictated social interaction.
- How the nature of these forms of social interaction changed over the period with sites and material culture employed to mediate these transformations.

It will conclude with a review of the study of community and how developer funded archaeology is essential to the study of this topic in Later Prehistory.

11.1 Social systems and the landscape

11.1.1 The Bronze Age

Whilst the conventions of the belief system at the heart of the community will have guided the placement of settlements, optimal siting for the agricultural regime within which they were set, would have been very important. Once established, continuity should thus be the norm and discontinuity the exception that needs explanation (Cunliffe 2000:129). Abandonment of a single settlement in the scheme of things may be trivial but changes in the settlement patterns across a region will be more significant. This can be related to catastrophic events and social upheaval as well as broad changes in agricultural practice that are impetuses for new settlement models to emerge. It is probable that what we 'as archaeologists see as distribution maps were understood in their entirety by the communities of the time' (Evans 2003:93). A lack of finesse in our dating of sites means that what seem to be stable patterns of settlement may have been subject to sudden changes or fluctuations over time. In addition, what appear to be dramatic changes between periods may have taken place over several hundred years as part of a gradual process of reorientation.

The intensity of activity varies across the study area by period. Concentrations of Middle Bronze Age settlement are found on the Marlborough Downs, the eastern part of the SPTA near Dunch Hill and around the Middle Avon Valley (Figure 11.1). For the latter sub-region, most are set within small enclosures but elsewhere the pattern is more varied with open and enclosed settlements in roughly equal numbers. Almost all of these settlements were located on the chalk downland and activity on the valley floors was limited to two settlements along the Thames and one along the (Bristol) Avon.

On the downs, settlements are associated with contemporary field systems and mixed agricultural regimes. The valleys remained under grass after clearance in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age without forest regeneration. This suggests their ongoing exploitation as pasture. The presence of charred hazelnut shells at southern Middle Bronze Age sites implies that wild resources continued to be utilized. Brück's model, whereby a standard form of enclosed settlement is equated with a desire for independence among young colonizing families, is clearly far too simplistic. Although these enclosures do predominate around the southern fringes of Salisbury Plain the pattern elsewhere is more varied. The act of enclosure may denote a desire to define the settlement where land is owned and physically controlled by the household from that of the wider landscape under communal ownership. An alternate interpretation draws on the seasonal movements of activity groups within the community and varying functionality of sites. It has been suggested that some settlements on the downs might have functioned as little more than field barns, providing facilities for people based in valleys to work land too far away for daily travel (D. Field pers. comm.). In such a case, enclosing the site might reflect functional considerations. In other areas such as the eastern SPTA around Dunch Hill or on the Marlborough Downs the density of settlement suggests that rather than seeking isolation, households actively sought out proximity to other members of their community. In these locations the density indicates that the benefits of close neighbours outweighed the drawbacks. Such a pattern could be explained by these areas pursuing a mixed agricultural regime with a particular focus on labour intensive arable production. This would allow assistance to be lent and received from neighbours during particular activities, such as harvest. Each of the areas has ample room outside of the immediate concentration of settlement that could be used as pasture, but the fact that this is away from the habitation area suggests that this was not a primary concern when it came to location.

As we progress into the Late Bronze Age, there is a degree of continuity with many of the enclosed settlements originating late in the Middle Bronze Age (Figure 11.2). These appear to be slowly replaced by open settlements that are under-reported. The scale of

activity at some of these settlements is much greater than anything that preceded them. Shorncote Quarry probably represents a long lived village-like settlement; whilst the linear excavations around Dunch Hill, Quebec Farm and Ford Road uncovered a large number of features in a narrow transect and may be similar. If so, they represent larger settlements than ever before. Based upon current knowledge there appears to be one of these large settlements per region. With the underrepresentation of Late Bronze Age settlement we are unable to say whether this is a true pattern. It is uncertain if these larger open settlements represent population growth but there does not appear to be the cataclysmic population crash hypothesised for other regions of Britain (e.g. Burgess 1985). These sites present us with an apparent conundrum. Brück suggests that Middle Bronze Age enclosures are short-lived, thereby denying the role of community. The act of enclosure however is a statement of permanence, orientating one's place in the world. The Late Bronze Age open settlements are however bigger and longer lived. They do not state their permanence in the landscape through enclosure, but their longevity implies that they are at ease with their ownership of land, place in the landscape, connection to place and role within the community.

Towards the end of this period and into the Earliest Iron Age, we see the construction of linear earthworks. Their function varies widely across the region. On the first gravel terrace of the Upper Thames Valley they can be seen as tenurial markers used to denote areas of pasture. They indicate that this resource, in what was still an open landscape, was starting to come under pressure. A similar explanation would account for the earthworks on the Berkshire Downs. Unlike these regions the Marlborough Downs and Salisbury Plain were already heavily demarcated with field systems by the Late Bronze Age, and some of the linear earthworks can be seen to surround blocks of fields. Along the northern margin of the Wylde Valley, the linear earthworks appear to not only divide parcels of fields but also to delimit these from open pasture to the north. The 16km long Old Ditch West exhibits the scale at which some communities acted, indicating the width of their influence if not the depth.

The large open settlements appear coincidental with the creation of linear earthworks in the region and the initial shift to a more pastorally focused regime. Concentration of households at these sites would have resulted from the increasing need to amalgamate the remaining labour for arable activities as more members of the community were drawn away to manage animals. After the abandonment of these sites there is a hiatus of fixed settlement on both the Marlborough Downs and Salisbury Plain, with large areas being turned over to pasture. This is a further indication of the growing importance of animals to society and possibly developing pressure on pasture.

Brück's models can be supported by the Middle Bronze Age evidence from some sub-regions. The Middle Avon Valley, with its small enclosed settlements, could be used to support ideas of a society consisting of largely independent households but it is apparent that open settlement is vastly underrepresented. In other areas such as the NESPTA and the Marlborough Downs the density of settlement suggests that proximity to neighbours, who probably shared blood ties, was activity sought out. Brück's ideas for the Late Bronze Age data are better supported with ample evidence to show a growth in the size of groups that undertook activities together, but no attempt is made to explain the transition between her models.

It was the dearth of Late Bronze Age settlement, construction of linear earthworks across earlier field systems, reorientation of settlement by the Early Iron Age period, and a desire to explain the distribution of bronze, that underpinned the ideas of Rowlands (1980) and Barrett (1980b). Barrett's work on Late Bronze Age pottery (1980a) has helped expand the number of settlements identified as has developer funded archaeology. Rather than an abandonment of the downs there is a visible change in settlement morphology. It is also apparent that linear earthworks do not represent a single process. These changes appear to occur at the same time that there is the deposition of large quantities of scrap bronze during the second half of the Ewart period (900-800BC), marking the end of the supremacy of bronze (Needham 2007:53). Theoretically the amount of bronze in circulation was at its highest just before large stocks were offloaded (*ibid.*:49). It suggests a rapid move away from bronze during the later stages of the Late Bronze Age. The main tenets of the model regarding the flow of metal into and around the country remain valid, but they cannot be used to explain changing agricultural and settlement patterns in Wessex. For the circulation of bronze it is essential to maintain exclusive spheres of exchange and interaction. It is probable that these relationships had a greater social value than the actual metal being exchanged. Bronze through its exchange, thus fulfilled a social role in the maintenance of relationships and interaction and hence the reproduction of society itself. At the same time it could have performed a role as a stable storage of wealth. Other models for the transition between bronze and iron involving a bronze crisis (for instance Ehrenreich 1994:16; Bradley 1988:255-256) do not stand up to scrutiny. With the redundancy of bronze, a new social value system would have been required, as well as some impetus for interaction between communities to allow their reproduction. Needham suggests that 'iron could not have played the pivotal social role envisaged for late bronze'. It is unlikely that the introduction of iron was the cause of bronze's fall from grace (Needham 2007:54). His interpretation is that iron was part of a new

system of values and methods of interaction that suddenly replaced bronze (*ibid.*). The introduction of highly decorated ceramics, displaying complex symbolism is one potential surrogate for the negotiation of social interaction along with its use in the manipulation of food surpluses in political arenas (*ibid.*:55). What is apparent from Wiltshire is that there is an upsurge in the scale of animal management from the later stages of the Bronze Age. Beyond the region many sites of this period exhibit dark earth layers on a much smaller scale to that found at the middens (*ibid.*:46). This indicates that a greater emphasis was being placed on animal management across southern Britain. In the scheme raised by Needham, animals fulfil a mute role in the system. They are a source of secondary products and of the food through which social relations are reproduced. However, I maintain that animals had always played an important role within society and the negotiation of social relationships. The fall from grace of bronze saw animals assume a central role in social reproduction that was augmented by these new products. Animals fulfil a range of roles in traditional societies beyond the merely functional. The number of animals can be used as an indicator of wealth and they form an integral part in some systems of wedding exchanges (Chadwick 2007:136). They are an important impetus behind interaction. This goes beyond their day-to-day management to include meetings concerning annual round-ups, markets and exchanges that bring people together. Interaction is the key to the reproduction of society and the resulting structure. The escalation of transhumance and the ensuing social structures to support it would have been the main factor behind the changes seen in the archaeological record but more importantly they were the main means through which society reproduced itself. In addition, animals have a symbiotic identity with that of their rearers and the landscape in which they are reared. Their temperament, hardiness and quality of their products (meat/milk/wool/hides) are a means through which communal identity can be expressed (Chadwick 2007; Gray 2002). Thus, whilst they were key to social reproduction during this period, they allowed new mediums of expression to be developed, creating communal and regional identities.

11.1.2 The transition to iron

Whilst there is continuity between settlement in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages, there is little from the Late Bronze Age into the Earliest Iron Age. No Late Bronze Age settlements grow into Earliest Iron Age sites. Several midden sites can be seen to develop on top of soils containing Late Bronze Age ceramics, but none have yielded evidence for contemporary habitation. In some cases, a texturing process through the inclusion of ceramics into the soil may have been a pre-requisite enculturation of an area prior to its establishment as a midden. There is also an observable shift in the locations of areas where settlements are found in the

landscape (Figure 11.3). On the Marlborough Downs the focus of activity moves south to Overton Down, possibly signalling the end of a process of gradual desertion of the area south and east of the Ridgeway. This appears to be linked to a greater focus on animal management regimes (Fowler 2000:225). In the NESPTA there is a general move in settlement north and westwards, whilst the Vale of Pewsey sees a rapid expansion of activity.

The demands of PPG16 mean that modern archaeology is site focused. The need for quick interpretations, has led to the continuing acceptance of the dominant site focused social models such as that of Hill (1995a). There are many other types of site that do not conform to modern perceptions of what a settlement should be. The Late Bronze Age sites of the Wyllye Valley and more widely the Earliest Iron Age are good examples. Many sites of this date do not have the range of structural features such as roundhouses that we would normally associate with year-round settlement. For their interpretation, we need to move away from the almost implicit belief that the inhabitants of a site spent the entire year living at a single settlement. Instead members of households, if not the entire household itself, may have moved between different sites as dictated by the agricultural calendar (Fitzpatrick 1997). The small collections of random postholes, occasional pits and hearths, represent activity areas. Their relationship with streams, linear earthworks and trackways as well as the lack of contemporary settlement suggests that these are the temporary camps of groups moving through the landscape. This would in turn support the idea that towards the end of the Late Bronze Age and into the Earliest Iron Age a transhumant regime was being practiced, the scale of which was such that it has left tangible traces behind.

The Earliest Iron Age follows the trend of the Late Bronze Age for open settlements. The main sites with concentrations of activity during this period are the large midden deposits around the Vale of Pewsey. Here a large quantity of domestic waste is mixed amongst stabling waste and fodder. Extrapolation of the available bone data over the lifespans of these sites points to the existence of large numbers of people with many resident at these locations. This is not currently supported by the structures identified so far and it must be assumed that many lie outside of the area of the midden deposit itself and have escaped discovery as research has focused on the artefact rich deposit. The size of herds required to support the annual slaughter at so many large sites would be beyond the means of individual households and are at the scale of entire communities if not larger social groups. Whilst a resident population of animals would be required for the build up of dung to form the dark earth matrix, the valley itself would not be of sufficient size to support all of the animals represented by the bone assemblages. We must assume that many were reared on the downs to the north

and south. The temporary or seasonal camps that we find at places such as Breach Hill, Boreham Farm Bungalow or Coombe Down North, would fit well with those used by herders moving their animals around the downs. Many of the early hillforts constructed during this period have a clear relationship with the linear earthwork systems. In particular, the construction of the Ridgeway hillforts at Liddington, Uffington, Rams Hill and possibly Barbury (Figure 11.4) during the Earliest Iron Age was probably connected to the system of transhumance that was operated, along with the marshalling and movement of large numbers of animals.

The specialized dairy production carried out at the midden sites, along with the growth of herd numbers represented in the archaeological record, reflects an intensification of food production. This may have been to support larger populations in this sub-region and possibly account for the reduction in visible year round settlement in other areas. The concentration of these sites in one valley must point to some intrinsic factor that led to their growth here but not elsewhere. Unlike other parts of the study area, the Vale of Pewsey has many minor streams that flow from the spring-lines of the chalk escarpments. It is ideal for the management of lactating animals that require large quantities of water. Secondly the valley has a number of outcrops of iron rich ores.

It is surely no coincidence that the middens start to accumulate around the time of the adoption of iron tools in an area with rich, readily worked sources of iron. No evidence of extraction dating to the Iron Age has been found, but as many sources are at the surface, their extraction would leave little trace after later Roman or medieval exploitation (Ehrenreich 1985:20). The combination of factors imply that a connection between these sites and iron extraction in the valley exists (Robinson 1994:22). Evidence for the smelting of Lower Greensand iron ore was found at All Cannings Cross (Ehrenreich 1985:19), though from what phase of the site it was recovered is unknown. The rise of decorated vessels of the All Cannings Cross Ware tradition, exhibit an increasing range of forms associated with the preparation, presentation and consumption of food. Display during consumption was becoming increasingly important, probably reflecting greater numbers of people eating and drinking together than previously. It shows that although animals were the primary impetus for the meetings and interactions of groups, food was a primary medium through which resident and transhumant groups negotiated their meetings. This would have been especially important if these gatherings were infrequent and punctuated by long periods of separation (Tullett and Harrison 2008).

The repercussions of the introduction of ironworking in this region are hard to escape. For the bronze trade, the study area, away from fertile soils, the coast and large riverine communication routes, would be at a distinct disadvantage (Barrett 1980b:86). The fall of the bronze trade and its replacement by animals as a socially significant commodity would help redress this imbalance but the rise of iron as the preeminent metal with sources at the heart of the study area would reverse the relationship in these core/periphery models. Whilst iron ore sources are widely available across Britain it would take some time for these to be identified. There would be a period where supplies would be scarce, have a high intrinsic value and a limited number of people with the skills required to source and work it. The political position would be reversed and wealth and resources flow into the area. This would be short lived as other supplies of iron ore were identified around the country and iron stocks built up through a combination of increased production, external supply and recycling. The 1-200 year period when middens were at their height perhaps represents this short-lived period of wealth. This boom supported a range of craft activity at the large middens and sucked in animal resources from a large area. These would have been exchanged for iron and craft goods and to feed the influxes of people connected with iron extraction. Seasonality in the bone assemblages suggests that Autumn in particular was a period of intense activity around the middens.

Animals remained at the heart of the reproduction of social relations during this period but it is clear that the locations at which this interaction took place were shifting. A new range of sites were being created during this time, augmenting those of the previous period. Central in this region were the middens in the Vale of Pewsey that are testament to the interaction of huge numbers of people and acting as repositories of knowledge and craft work. They show an escalation in the scale of social meetings and hence the groups with which an individual could claim affinity. In a similar way, the early hillforts although associated with pastoral functions also show this increase in the scale at which society was working. Their construction indicates the operation of supra-communal co-operation and interaction to achieve communal goals. Their construction and maintenance would have required inter-communal participation further facilitating social interaction between these groups, even if their regular use was limited to a sub-regional community. At the same time we see the more ephemeral pastoral camps that are again evidence for tiered scales of interaction. Although materially they reflect the activities of small structural groups, the regime that they represent suggests a much higher scale of interaction in the negotiation of pastoral landholdings, rights of passage and access that allowed the whole system to function. These tiered scales of

interaction are the principle reasons why the dominant models fail to accurately reflect society at that time, as based upon a limited scale of inquiry they fail to pick up so much of the interaction from which society was constructed.

11.1.3 The Iron Age

A couple of the large midden sites continue into the Early Iron Age but overall it appears that there is a huge reduction in activity in the Vale of Pewsey (Figure 11.5). On the NESPTA some of the settlements develop out of earlier open sites which are later enclosed, but otherwise there is little continuity of settlement between these periods. In the Vale of Pewsey there appears to be redistribution of settlement but across Salisbury Plain and the Upper Thames Valley there is a shift from ephemeral, probably seasonal or mobile camps to fixed, year round settlements focusing on mixed agriculture. Open settlement continues to dominate the record in the Upper Thames Valley and the Vale of Pewsey which still have a greater role in animal management than arable production. Where there is a greater density of settlement such as the NESPTA, enclosed settlement is the norm with the high density here probably reflecting a more arable focus, something that would be suited to the rarity of surface water. In the Wylve and Middle Avon Valleys, settlement is evenly distributed but with a lower density to that seen in the NESPTA. In these areas there is a balance between open and enclosed sites. The patterns support the hypothesis that each settlement was exploiting a range of ecological zones within a balanced mixed agricultural regime. The appearance of grain storage pits and four post structures on settlements during the Early and Middle Iron Ages also indicates that arable production was assuming a greater prominence.

On the North Wessex Downs there is a reorientation of settlement with earlier areas appearing to be abandoned in favour of new sites situated on or at the foot of the scarp often close to the Ridgeway and its hillforts. The dual entrances of these hillforts suggest that they still fulfilled some important function with regard to movement along the Ridgeway. However, while their boundaries are almost constantly redeveloped during the Iron Age there is no evidence from either Liddington or Uffington to suggest that they were densely occupied or used to store large quantities of grain. They contain few four-post structures and the pits that do exist tend to be small and cylindrical rather than the beehive or barrel forms that are associated with grain storage (Daly *et al* 2005:125). Dark earth build ups behind the rampart at Liddington (Hirst and Rahtz 1996:21) might point to a continuing role in stock management. These hillforts fit well with Sharples model of communal competition through the conspicuous consumption of resources in their construction, reconstruction and maintenance (Sharples

2007:180), although they lack many of the internal structures that he would use to define a hillfort. However, towards the end of the Early Iron Age both Liddington and Uffington have entrances blocked and appear to fall out of use shortly after. By this stage their role in facilitating the movement of people and animals along the Ridgeway had ended and perhaps this route now catered for fewer travellers and/or animals, again signalling a downturn in transhumance. Uffington has been hypothesised as fulfilling a religious and ceremonial role in the region (Lock and Gosden 2005a:150) but there is little to support this other than its position next to the White Horse. Segsbury is built in the Early Iron Age and also shows contradictory evidence as to its use. The number of internal structures is low compared to the work required on its boundary. The ceramics are highly abraded possibly caused by trampling but unlike Liddington and Vespasian's Camp there was no dark earth build-up. This has led its excavators to interpret the site as fulfilling a social role connected with sheep markets (*ibid.*:148). In contrast with Sharples' model of communal competition, they see it as complementary to the activities undertaken at Uffington and so part of the same communal system (*ibid.*:150).

The lack of hillfort excavations prevent an adequate understanding of their functions in most of the study area, but in the Middle Avon Valley there is a large programme of hillfort construction during the Early Iron Age (Figure 11.6). That these develop in areas where we see the greatest development of fixed settlement is telling. The earlier transhumant regime would have meant that large areas of land were being exploited on a seasonal basis. Fluid systems of access and use would have been required for this to operate effectively. Moving to a more sedentary system of land use where arable played an increasing role, would have needed more fixed systems of tenure. The construction of new hillforts away from the earlier linear earthwork systems indicates a tension in this shifting pattern of tenure and sedentism. Whilst these hillforts may indicate a rise in conflict in the region, their construction would have required the labour of non-resident groups. The participation of these groups in the construction of the hillforts would have helped legitimate the new land claims and hence negotiate the changing social systems and providing another means through which social ties between the communities of the region were cemented. It would provide the means for the spread of the ceramic styles that visually unify the Wiltshire region. These activities may have been deliberately structured as social events to ensure participation of individuals from further afield. A possible analogy are the barn raising events amongst the Amish communities whereby the construction of the barn acts as a form of economic redistribution, symbolizes the unity of the community and ties everybody into a web of mutual aid (Hostetler 1980:246-

8). Fundamentally, attendance at such events creates the opportunities for individuals across a region to meet and attain affinity and a sense of belonging within the community. Such events create a range of reciprocal obligations that tie the participants into relationships spread across the community. Thus an Amish family may be unable to construct a new barn on their own, but by the community coming together their needs are met whilst the community gets the opportunity to socialize, renew their bonds, repay and create new sets of reciprocal obligations. Whilst at first it appears that the winners are the hosts who acquire a new barn, the community as a whole is strengthened by the activity.

None of the hillforts along the Avon were intensively occupied although Vespasian's Camp had a build up of dark earth behind the rampart (Hunter-Mann 1999:50) that could imply a continuing role within animal management regimes. Two phases of Early Iron Age construction were identified at both Vespasian's Camp (RCHME 1979:20) and Figsbury Rings (Guido 1982:21) but only one at Old Sarum (Rahtz and Musty 1960). This is fewer than those on the Ridgeway, and it is possible that the hillforts in this region became redundant first, as the social ambitions behind their construction were achieved.

Along the northern margin of the Wylve Valley, which had never been intensively settled, the hillforts have a different character. Both Scratchbury and Yarnbury were intensively occupied from the Early Iron Age. The establishment of large settlements within the walls of Yarnbury and Scratchbury along with the open settlement at Battlesbury Bowl may represent a concerted effort of colonization. The settlements in this case functioned as villages poised near the junctions between valley and downs to exploit a range of ecological zones. This pattern continues into the Middle Iron Age and by the end of the period the region appears to be farmed from the developed hillforts of Battlesbury Camp and Yarnbury, which sit in an otherwise unsettled landscape. The charred plant remains suggest that grain was stored at Battlesbury in a cleaned form similar to that at Danebury where it was assumed to represent grain brought to the site from outlying farms (Campbell 2000:54). Battlesbury Bowl does not have outlying farmsteads, but does have access to substantial labour and this may reflect the exploitation of a substantial area of arable land from a large settlement. Cunliffe, whilst noting that there is little material evidence for social elites within sites such as Danebury, suggests that leaders must have existed within these large settlements (2000:184). This is true but it is important to draw a distinction between positions of power pertaining to dynasties with inherited offices, and those that are fluid, achieved through one's abilities in societies with few social rules to safeguard the position of authority remaining in certain

families. Currently there is no material evidence to support the existence of hereditary elite at any of these sites.

Settlement on Salisbury Plain shows a great deal of continuity between the Early Iron Age and the early Middle Iron Age (Figure 11.7) but this stability belies the abandonment of the hillforts in this area. By the late Middle Iron Age in the Middle Avon Valley (Figure 11.9), there has been a reconfiguration of settlement with a number of sites falling out of use. There is growth in the number of settlements, especially with regard to open settlement. Some are situated within 1-2km of neighbours but settlement is generally more dispersed in the later period. This is a situation matched in the area to the north in the NESPTA. Here the reorientation of settlement is dramatic and the distinctly dense linear pattern of earlier periods was replaced by fewer, evenly spaced enclosures. It seems that systems of land ownership had changed with land settled, which had previously lain empty as pasture. This was accompanied by a shift in the agricultural regimes moving towards a more balanced mixed agricultural system. It probably represents a shift from communal systems of land ownership, albeit nominally, to a permanent move to private land ownership.

In the Vale of Pewsey, the decline in settlement continues through into the early and then late Middle Iron Age by which time the valley appears to be largely unsettled. It is possible that Bratton Camp functioned as a developed hillfort and was densely populated, exploiting the downland to the south and a portion of the otherwise empty valley. A similar pattern exists on the Marlborough Downs to the north where Barbury Castle appears to be densely occupied through the Middle Iron Age. This pattern is not repeated on the Berkshire Downs, where Segsbury is the only other site seeing any form of occupation in the Middle Iron Age. Here there is less evidence for internal occupation, although this contrasts with the massive amount of labour required reworking the perimeter into a 7m wide box rampart, and then shortly after between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC into a dump rampart (Lock and Gosden 2005b:104-110). Without any nearby settlements, or much internal occupation, where this labour force came from is a mystery. This escalation in the size of the boundary coincides with its dominant ceramic styles changing from a Berkshire to a Wiltshire style (Brown 2005:116).

The Iron Age sees the prescription of settlement around the henges at Stonehenge and Avebury with no activity taking place in the vicinity of either of these locations. However, the two large henges at Durrington Walls and Marden both have nearby habitation. It is likely that it is the stone circles, rather than the earthworks or any memory of their previous use,

which lead to this reaction. As Sharples states, the stone circles that were poorly understood locations, seen as magical and taboo (2010:27-28).

In the Upper Thames Valley, there is a rapid expansion on the first gravel terrace and the Corallian Ridge from the Early Iron Age. Two different styles of regime appear in operation. Along the Corallian Ridge sites probably practiced a mixed agricultural regime with arable focus. This pattern continues into the early part of the Middle Iron Age before being completely abandoned in the later stages of the Middle Iron Age. If this area continues to be exploited it is done so from outside of the area, possibly from Barbury Castle. Along the Thames itself we see a gradual increase in the number and density of sites. This pattern shows stability throughout this period with almost all of the sites showing features characteristic of a pastoral focus. The latter sites are all situated on the northern banks of the Thames and it seems likely that they were situated within communities that looked northwards to the Cotswolds. The best explanation is the same functional division between gravel terraces discussed for the Oxfordshire part of the Upper Thames Valley (Hingley and Miles 1984; Lambrick 1992). No site hierarchy can be devised for this area, though there are some sites that are more developed than others. Warrens Field, Cleveland Farm, Totterdown Lane and Spratsgate Lane all produced ample evidence of habitation. Particularly large ceramic vessels that had been used for cooking were found at Warrens Field (where two vessels could have held up to 30 litres) (Jones 2007a:49) and Totterdown Lane (Pine and Preston 2004:59). It seems likely that at certain times of the year, groups of people may have been eating together at these sites. With the exception of briquetage there are also fewer exotic finds than at many of the downland areas. It appears that the first gravel terrace focused on a specialized animal management regime, conducted on a smaller scale than that of the downs. This continues through the Iron Age with little change in the settlement pattern or land ownership. Without the changes seen on the downs it appears that there was little impetus for the creation of hillforts in this sub-region either for the management of communal herds or to negotiate shifting patterns of landholding and access.

Under Hill's model the main pattern of settlement on the downs is portrayed as being dispersed and isolated, leading to an independence of mind that is expressed in many ways but most visually through the construction of boundaries around settlements (Hill 1996:104). This pattern is hard to locate in the study area. In most cases, settlements are situated within 2-4km of each other with households in some locations, such as the NESPTA, seeking proximity to neighbours. There are exceptions, and the same region in the later Middle Iron Age along with the Middle Avon Valley shows more dispersed settlement, usually at a distance

of 4-8km. Furthermore, the NESPTA is mostly occupied by enclosed settlements (four out of five) and appears to have a contemporary hillfort at Sidbury. The Middle Avon Valley does not fit this pattern with mostly open settlements (six out of seven). This propensity for unenclosed settlement is also seen elsewhere such as the Vale of Pewsey where enclosed sites are unknown. Some sub-regions also appear largely uninhabited but for a hillfort with apparently dense occupation. Hill's model cannot account for such occurrences and even Hill's latest papers (for example 2006) do not attempt to address similar observations, arising as a result of the Environs Programme for the late Middle Iron Age at Danebury.

None of the sub-regions follow the exact patterns identified by Cunliffe where there are six settlements situated between 2.25-4.5km from Danebury in the Early Iron Age most of which are abandoned in the Middle Iron Age (Cunliffe 2000; 2008). There are also four neighbouring hillforts 6-8km from Danebury although their contemporaneity varies. Around the Marlborough Downs the construction of hillforts is coincidental with the decline of settlement when under Cunliffe's model hillforts should be fulfilling centralized storage roles for the community. These hillforts are of a different character to Danebury and even Barbury Castle, the closest match, retains its paired entrances. Along the Wylde Valley the hillforts enclose large settlements that farm the available downland and whilst Yarnbury is similar to Danebury for most of its life it appears to have sat within a largely unsettled landscape. Throughout the period there is no evidence for a site hierarchy matching the pattern he puts forward. It is hard to define what constitutes a wealthy settlement if not through simplistic morphology. In material terms the richest sites are, ironically, the open settlements of the Vale of Pewsey such as Potterne and All Cannings Cross that also acted as centres of craft production. The concentration of these sites in one small area rather than evenly dispersed across the region also fails to meet the logical extension of Cunliffe's ideas that the power of an elite would be through the control of the surrounding land and the agricultural output that could be harnessed from it.

Sharples' ideas also appear to have problems as the pattern he identified for Dorset is not repeated. In Dorset, there is a continuity of settlement from the Late Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age; the neighbouring hillforts of Poundbury and Chalbury are much closer at a distance of only 3.5km and 5.5km from Maiden Castle; and Purbeck, the area with the highest density of settlement, has no hillfort (Sharples 1991a:257-258). The North Wessex Downs are perhaps the closest to matching the pattern but the hillforts themselves are of a different character to the Dorset equivalent. His more recent theories concerning competition through the conspicuous consumption of resources through the reworking of hillfort perimeters do fit

well with the Ridgeway hillforts. They are however unable to progress our understanding of society in the Middle Avon Valley.

11.1.4 Conclusions

Throughout the period under study, no two sub-regions have identical patterns of habitation and land use. It shows the way communities interacted with, exploited and understood their place in the landscape was highly regional and shifted over time. For the Middle Bronze Age there are clear concentrations of settlement in the NESPTA and the Marlborough Downs whilst other areas such as the Upper Thames Valley and the Vale of Pewsey were largely bereft of permanent settlement. A dichotomy between empty grassland exploited for pastoral purposes and dense settlement in regimented field systems for arable production can be drawn with pasture exploited through transhumance. A lack of known seasonal camps need not detract from this argument as these travellers may have shunned fragile ceramics and been constantly on the move so that no archaeological traces have been left behind. A shift through the Late Bronze Age to larger open settlements and more obvious seasonal camps that may have been exploited year on year reflects an increasing emphasis on animals and possibly pressures on pasture. This shift may have been influenced by the deteriorating climate that would have produced rich grassland but was probably the result of social factors. The fall from grace of bronze as a mediator of social reproduction, led to the adoption of new packages used in social negotiation. Animals were a social medium that became central to this new system and, more than iron, supplanted bronze. Society was reorganized to focus upon their management and they formed the principle rationale behind the meetings through which society itself was bonded and thus reproduced itself.

The escalation in pastoralism provided the excess resources required to start exploiting the rich mineral resources in the Vale of Pewsey, in turn bringing with it an expansion of craft production and relative wealth to the region. The early hillforts (Figure 11.4) probably originated to support this pastoral regime but grew to become socially meaningful sites. As some communities settled down into more sedentary lifestyles in the Early Iron Age, tension may have arisen over new land rights. This is probably the main motivation behind the construction of the new series of hillforts that both protected the communities and tied them into webs of mutual obligation with their neighbours. The exchange of labour between different communities in their construction and refurbishment created networks of social obligations and ties of affinity that in turn allowed a supra-communal identity to develop. On Salisbury Plain and the Middle Avon Valley, Early Iron Age households gained a greater

attachment to place and are longer lived than their predecessors. They have an arable focus but these regimes cannot be divorced from those of their neighbours to the north. It is probable that this longevity of settlement and participation with a regional social group, led to a shift to a new tenurial regime as land moved into private hands. Tenure is a system that is adapted by society to suit its organizational demands (Netting 1974:40) and this change probably occurred over many years as rights went unchallenged. This need not be either socially disruptive or a cause of conflict, as tenure fundamentally adapts to support the prevailing social demands. Regional identity is best illustrated along the western margin of the SPTA. Unlike other areas, it is dominated by developed hillforts in the late Middle Iron Age (Figure 11.10), situated so close together it would be erroneous to see these as in competition with each other. The size and density of occupation supports the idea that these functioned as defensive sites. They are close to the western margin of the Wiltshire ceramic zone and this may possibly have been a zone of raiding and conflict with their neighbours to the west.

11.2 Reflections on the concept of ‘community’, its use within archaeology and the impact of developer funded archaeology

In this work I set out to review existing social models for the later Bronze Age and the Iron Age for southern Britain against the evidence from Later Prehistoric Wiltshire. All five have faced varying degrees of criticism. Hill and Brück’s models which focus on the household through the study of settlements fail to account for social reproduction, the influence of household members beyond the confines of the settlement boundary or wider society’s influence on the household. Barrett’s and Rowland’s presume that society was primarily organized for the acquisition of bronze rather than more mundane activities such as subsistence. Sharples’ and Cunliffe’s focus on certain understandings as to the role of hillforts although functions appear to vary from site to site and fail to account for regions where no hillforts exist.

It is important to study society at a scale that covers the gamut of social interaction that can in turn account for all of the features that are expressed in the landscape. I have suggested that the community is the appropriate level for which to investigate society as it is the minimum, self-sufficient social unit bridging the gap between agency and general society. They are constructed from a number of formal and informal, nested structuring groups that are maintained through interaction. Interaction is ultimately the most important factor within communal organization underpinning the lives of its members. Most of the archaeological

traces that we see whether material culture, sites or landscape organization result from activities related to interaction between individuals or social groups. These traces are informed by the moral code and identity of the community and great potential exists for the study and identification of these within archaeology.

Whilst the form of the landscape results from many intangible factors, it owes a great deal to the way it was exploited under subsistence regimes. As Barrett points out '...the agricultural system was not the rational response of a social totality to given ecological conditions. Rather it was a complex field of action where people reproduced relations of affinity and obligation between themselves and others, and endowed the natural world with cultural values' (Barrett 1989:314). From this it is clear that there will be a correlation between landscape, subsistence patterns, social interaction and hence social organization. This study focused on the activities which led to the creation of the archaeological record. From this the structural groups and the interaction between members that created the record can be discerned. These give us a picture of the larger social groups such as communities their aims, goals and social drivers. The scale of these varies widely from those around the settlement to more long distant journeys connected with transhumance. It demonstrates a variety of social structures over what are quite small distances.

As we have seen in the previous chapter each of the current models for Later Prehistoric society appear to fit parts of the evidence from some of the sub-regions for certain periods. None fit all areas during a single period or even certain sub-regions over the longer duration. This is because the scale at which communities operate can vary widely over time and space. These models therefore fail to count for all the evidence because they are tied into a fixed scale of analysis that can never be appropriate for all regions and all periods. For these nuances to be identified we must move away from fixed scale investigations such as those focused on hillforts or settlements. For the same reason, the models that cherry pick data across a wide area fail to pick up sub-regional nuances. All in all, the pattern observed for the study area mirrors that most recently envisaged by Hill: 'Most Europeans at that time lived in societies that created different settlement patterns, economies and belief systems, and our evidence implies that potentially very different social forms resided in close proximity to each other.' (2006:172).

An understanding of how communities are constructed, operate, innovate and reproduce themselves is central to the investigation of society. Studying the varied patterns of activities represented in the archaeological record is key to such endeavours. Inevitably, these stretch far beyond the boundaries of the settlement and this is most fundamentally why other

models fail. The interplay between settlements and their relationship with the landscape that they exploited and gave meaning to, allows an understanding to be developed of the interaction implicit in their foundation, maintenance and ultimately abandonment. These operate at a range of scales based upon the structural groups that are responsible for their use. A fixed scale of enquiry, such as of the household, can therefore identify only certain of these groups and at best provide only a partial picture of society.

Working with the concept of community in archaeological investigation of society can be challenging, but is now well established for the New World and Europe. Although the use of the term 'community' is widespread in British archaeology, most lack enough knowledge about its fundamentals to enable its study beyond that of a settlement group. Great potential exists for a reinvestigation of the wealth of data available for many aspects of community. Like this study, it may involve a study of the scales of interaction and the structuring groups that make up society. Other areas such as how identity, moral codes and an understanding of one's place in the world are played out through material culture and the way that space is structured at sites and in the landscape offer other exciting lines of enquiry. However, such studies must also take into account that these operate at a range of scales dependent upon the structuring groups that they represent and the sphere of interaction within which they are mobilized.

As Table 11.1-2 show, not all regions have benefited from PPG16 to the same degree. The biggest winner is the Upper Thames Valley where due to gravel extraction, road projects and housing development, PPG16 excavations account for 92% of the known sites. In the last 20 years, the number of sites has grown from four to exceed those of all the other regions. Developer funded work has also greatly expanded our knowledge of sites in and around the Wylfe Valley and the Vale of Pewsey where they represent 56% and 46% of known sites respectively. The impact has been less dramatic in other regions. The North Wessex Downs remain mostly open countryside with few large development projects resulting in PPG16 work accounting for only 8% of known sites. The number of PPG16 sites in the NESPTA is also low, at only 16%.

This trend is likely to continue and our knowledge of the Upper Thames Valley will doubtless surpass that of the other areas in this study. Chronologically, PPG16 initially appears to have had most effect on Iron Age studies but this is dominated by the make-up of the Upper Thames Valley sites. Removing them from the equation it is clear that the greatest impact has actually been with the Late Bronze Age and Earliest Iron Age with sites consistently being revealed across all regions as a result of developer funded archaeology. These sites are

mostly open and can in some areas consist of quite ephemeral seasonal camps and so are rarely picked up in research excavations unless they underlie a later enclosure. Rather than the pattern of abandonment once hypothesised (Cunliffe 2004:74) we can now see a shift in settlement morphology to support a changing agricultural regime.

Community is not a bounded entity and the complex set of interactions from which it is formed stretches beyond the level of the settlement. Developer funded archaeology offers a great deal of potential for its study. However, when such excavations are incorporated into studies of society, the focus usually remains on newly discovered settlements that are familiar and easily understood. This is largely at the expense of more confusing and ephemeral evidence for other kinds of activity. This approach will continue to replicate the existing narratives of society upon which current models are based as they fail to look at the varying scales at which communities operate.

It is the more ephemeral traces of behaviour that offers the most potential for future study. These are rarely picked up in any kind of excavation other than developer funded work. Even then they are almost entirely overlooked, largely unstudied and poorly understood. However, they display a scale of activity and interaction not identified elsewhere and so must be integral to any future study of society. This will allow a better understanding of the range of interaction upon which society reproduces itself to be developed.

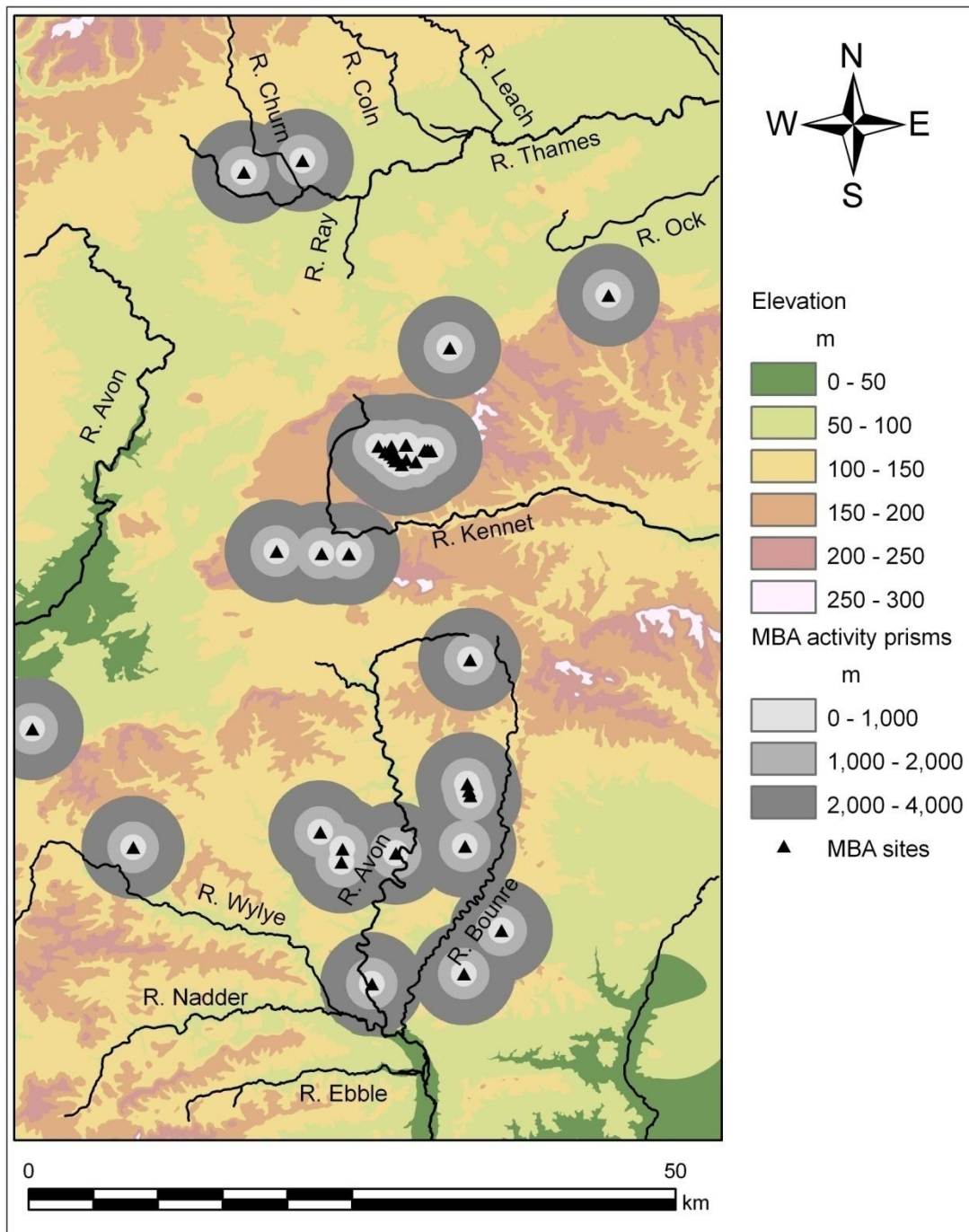


Figure 11.1- Middle Bronze Age sites in the study area.

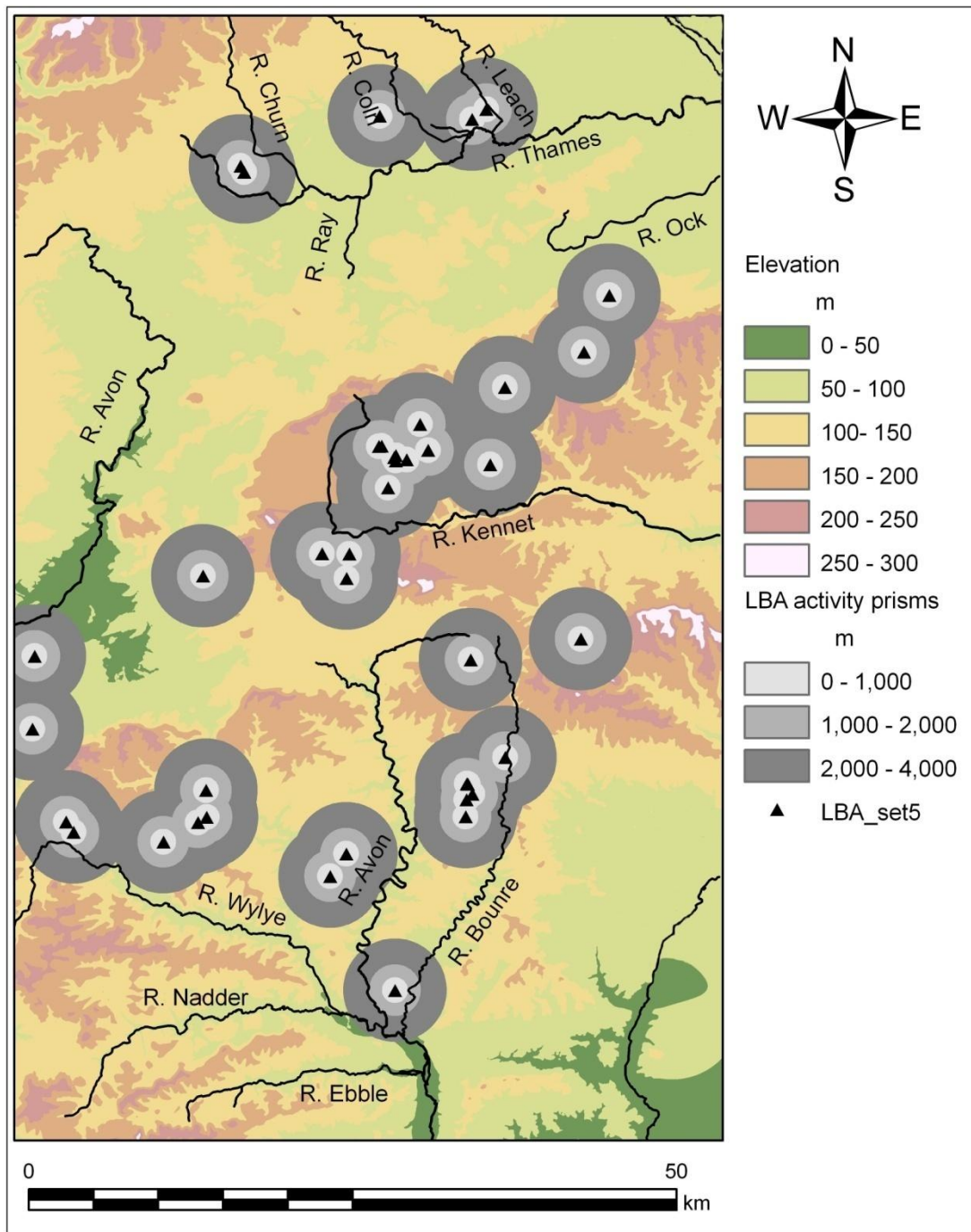


Figure 11.2- Late Bronze Age sites in the study area.

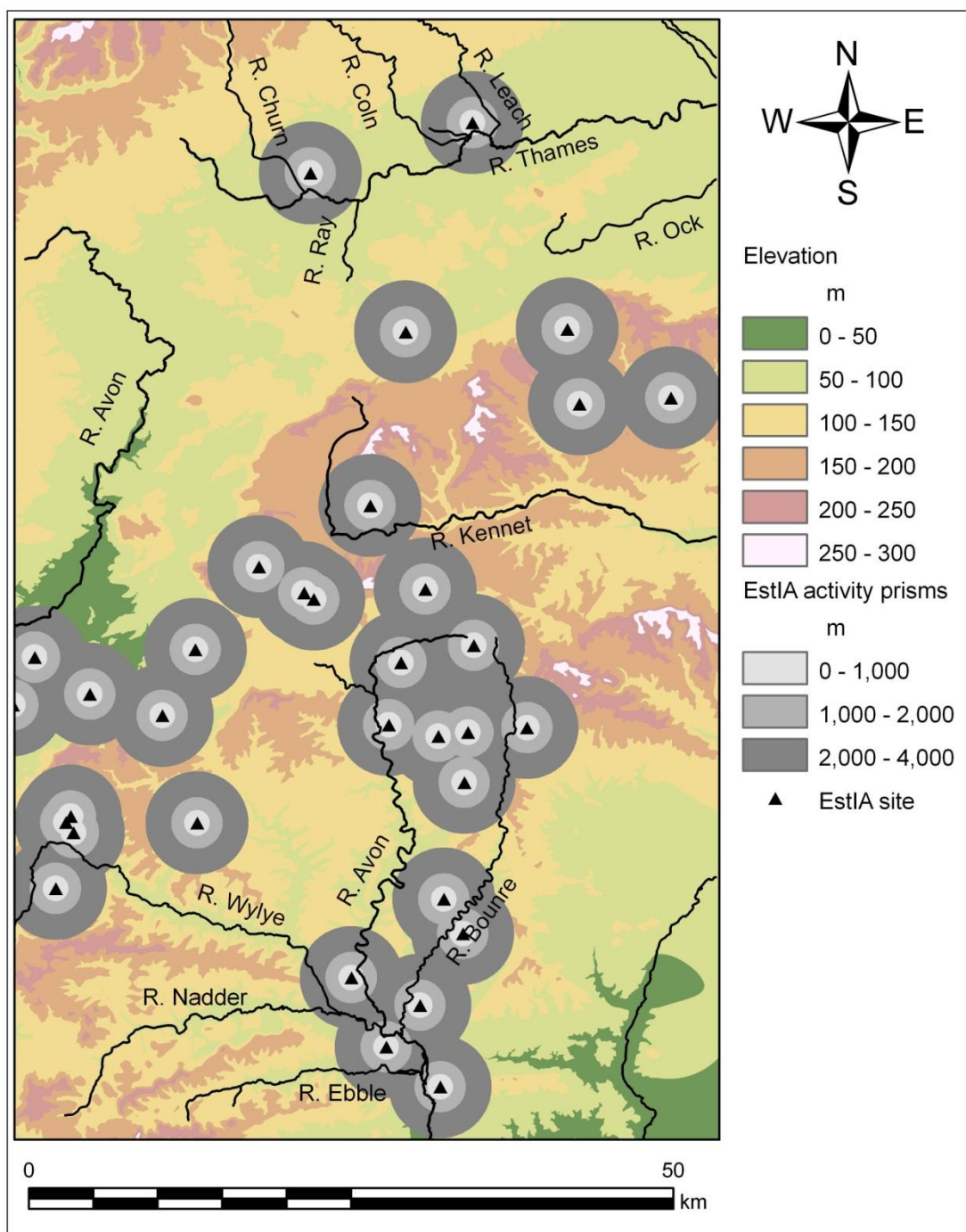


Figure 11.3- Earliest Iron Age sites in the study area.

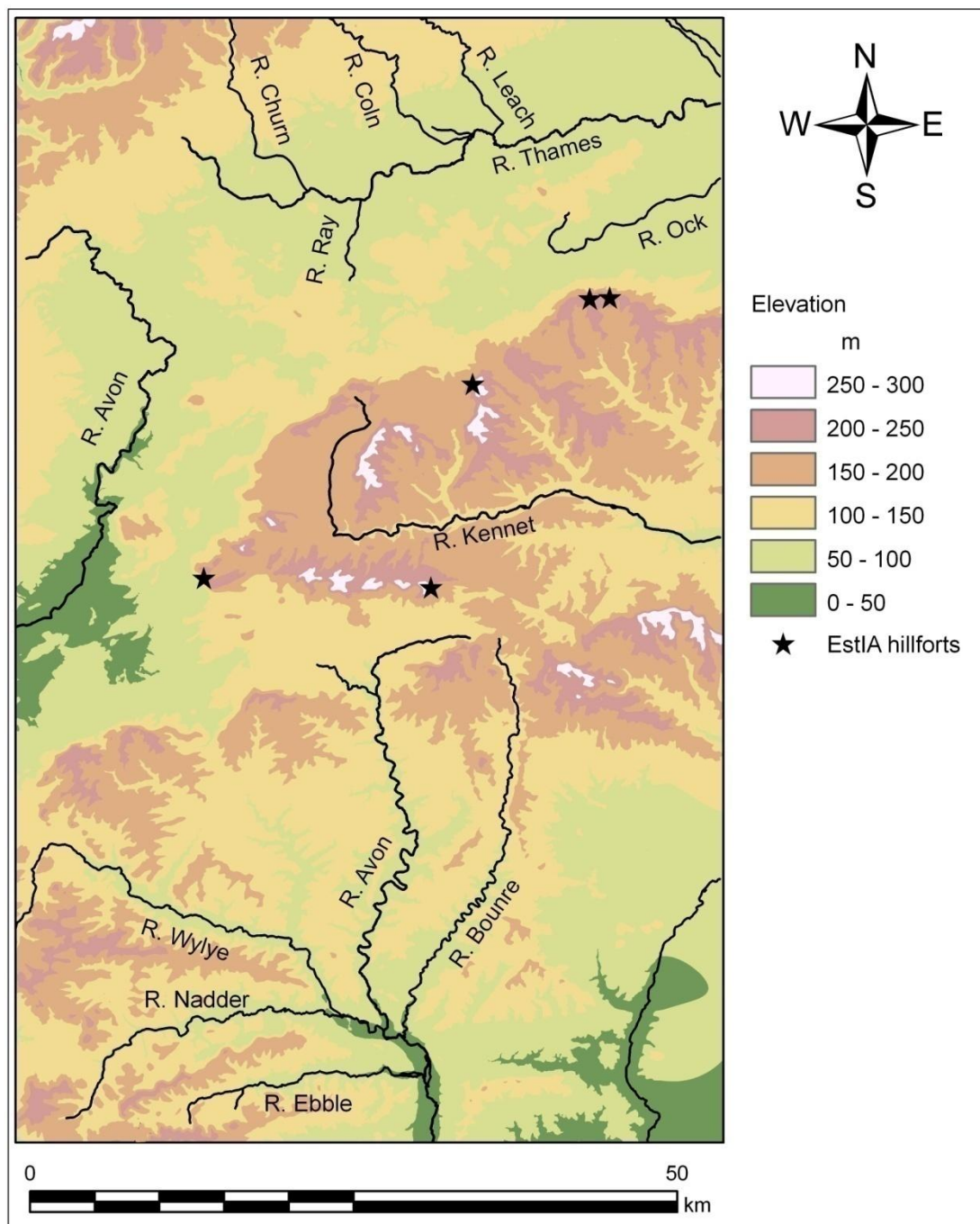


Figure 11.4- Earliest Iron Age hillforts in the study area.

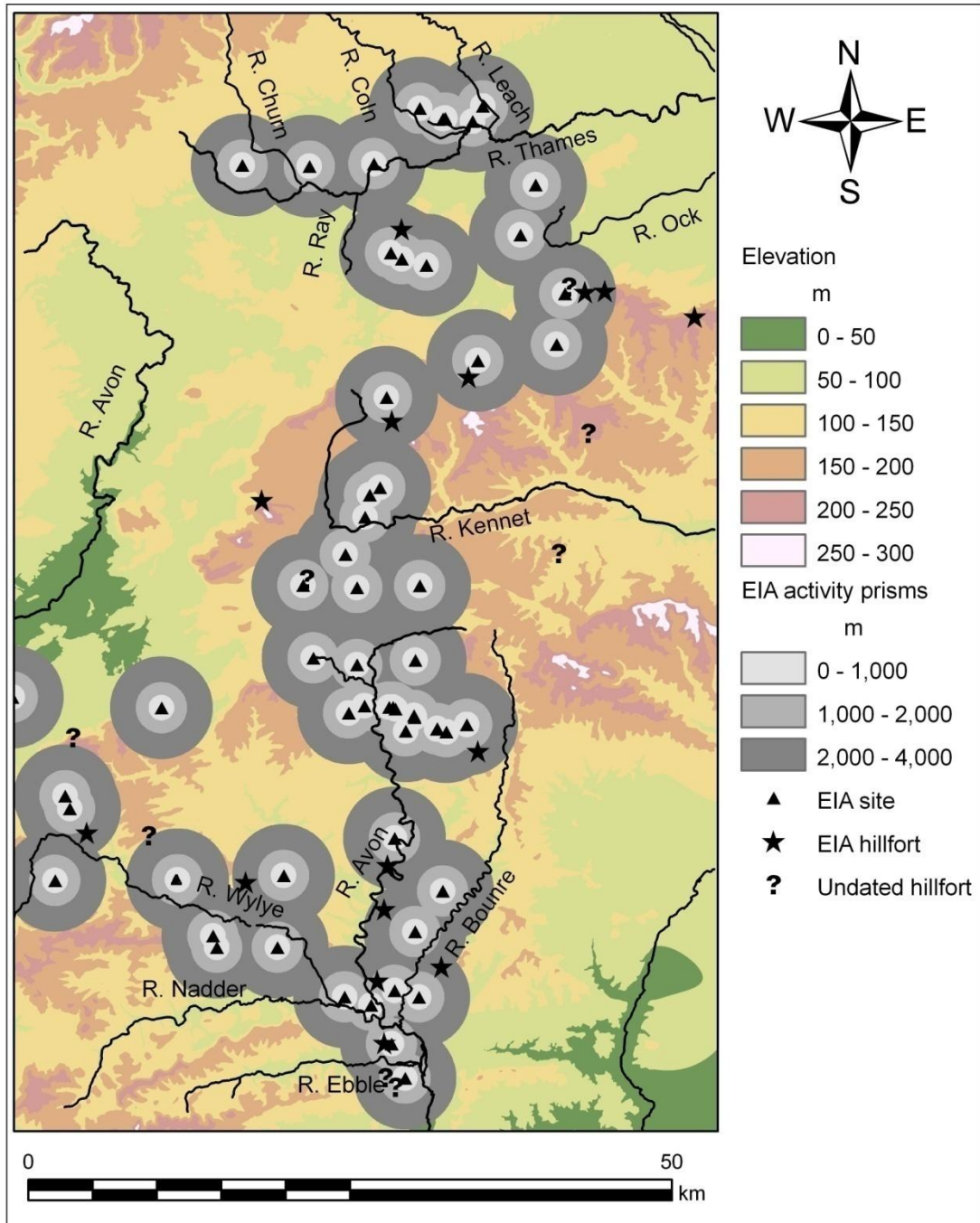


Figure 11.5- Early Iron Age sites in the study area.

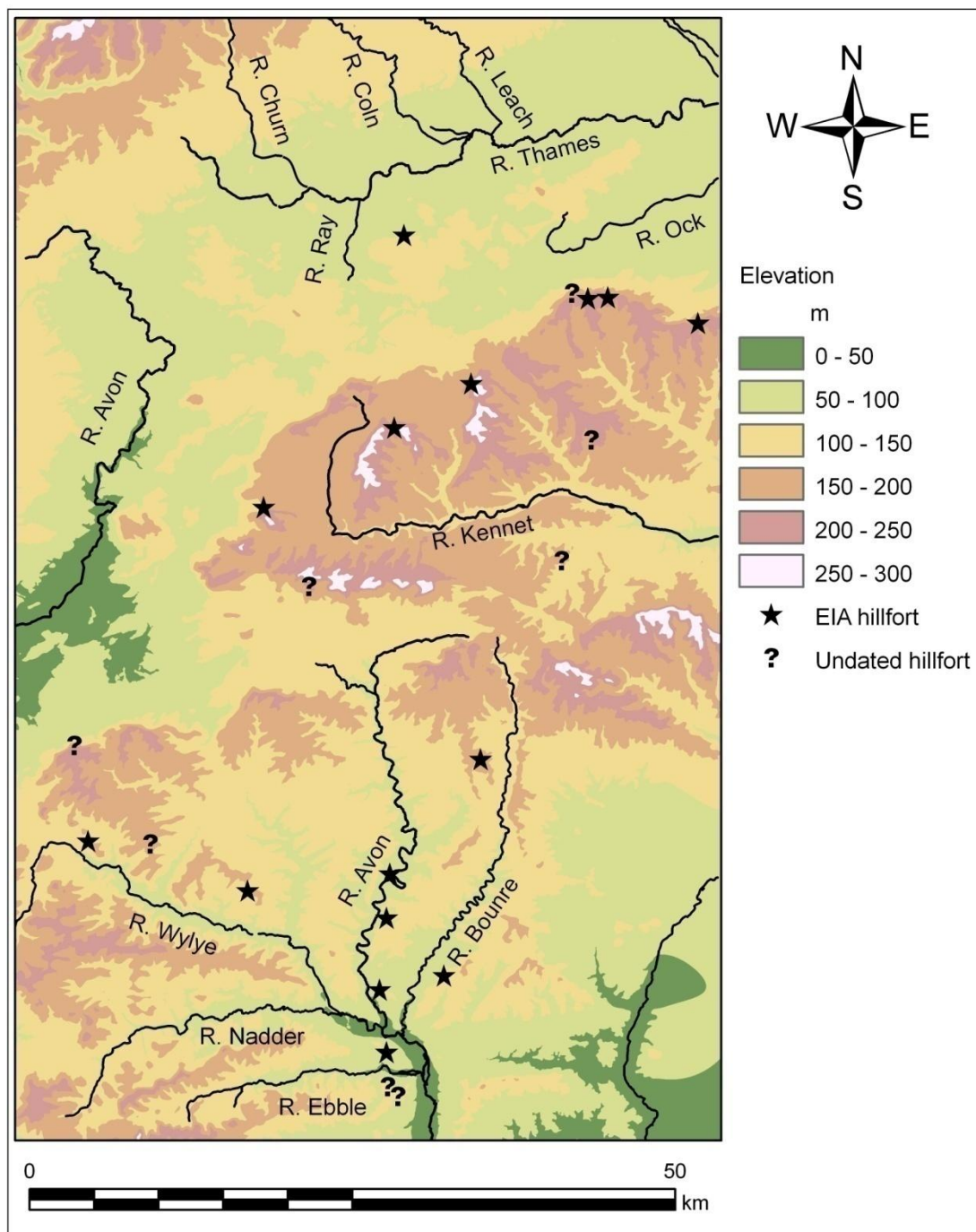


Figure 11.6- Early Iron Age hillforts in the study area.

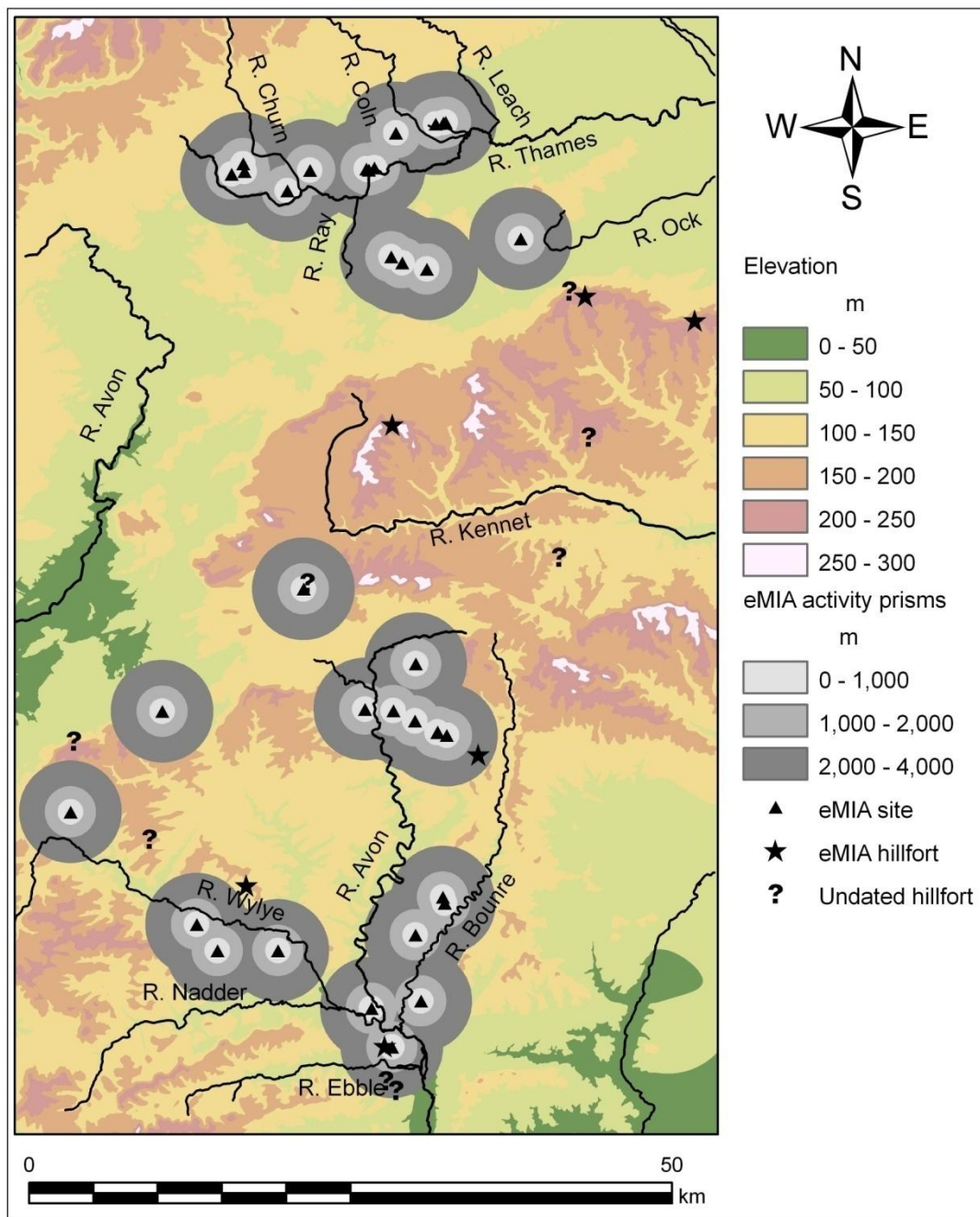


Figure 11.7- early Middle Iron Age sites in the study area.

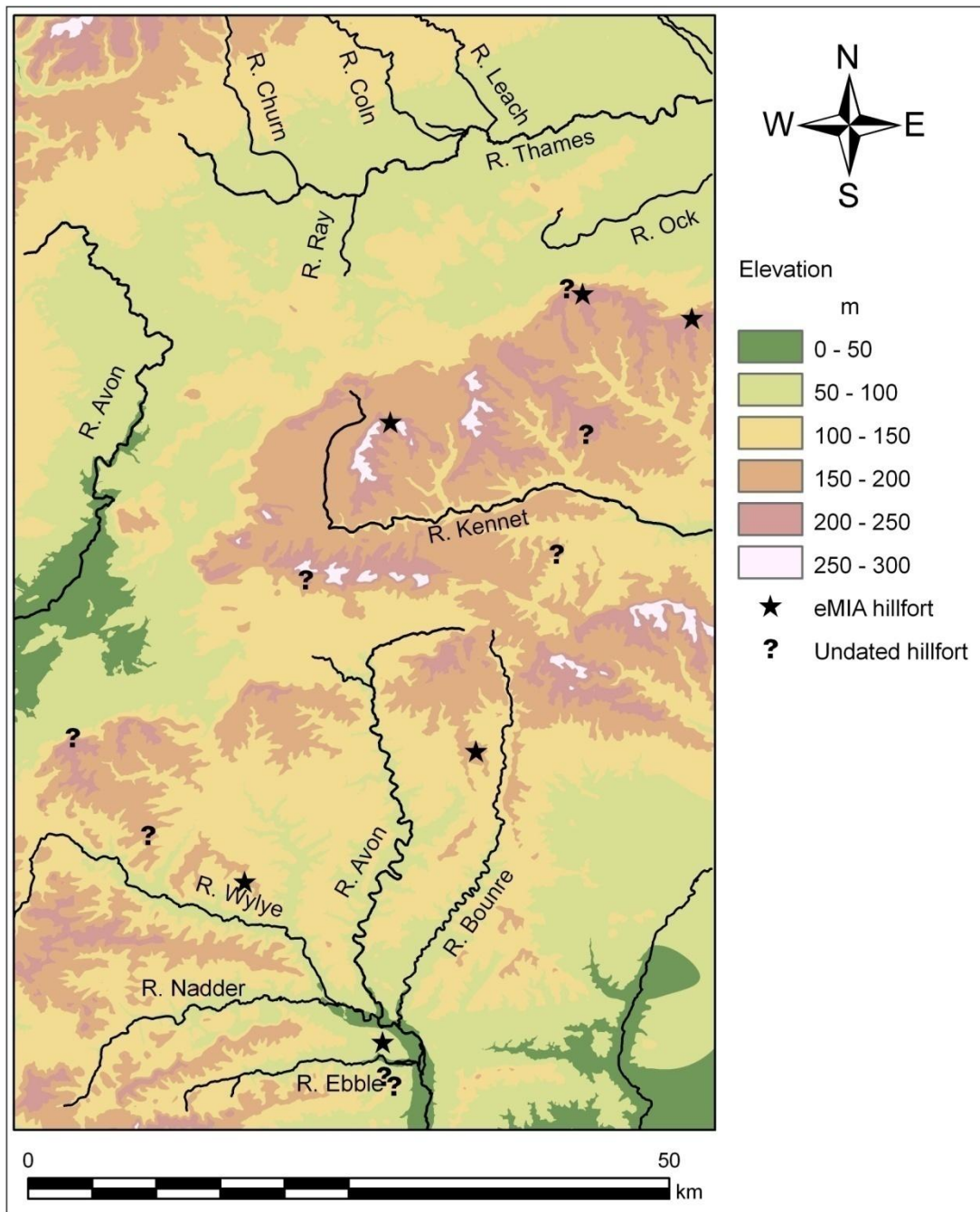


Figure 11.8- early Middle Iron Age hillforts in the study area.

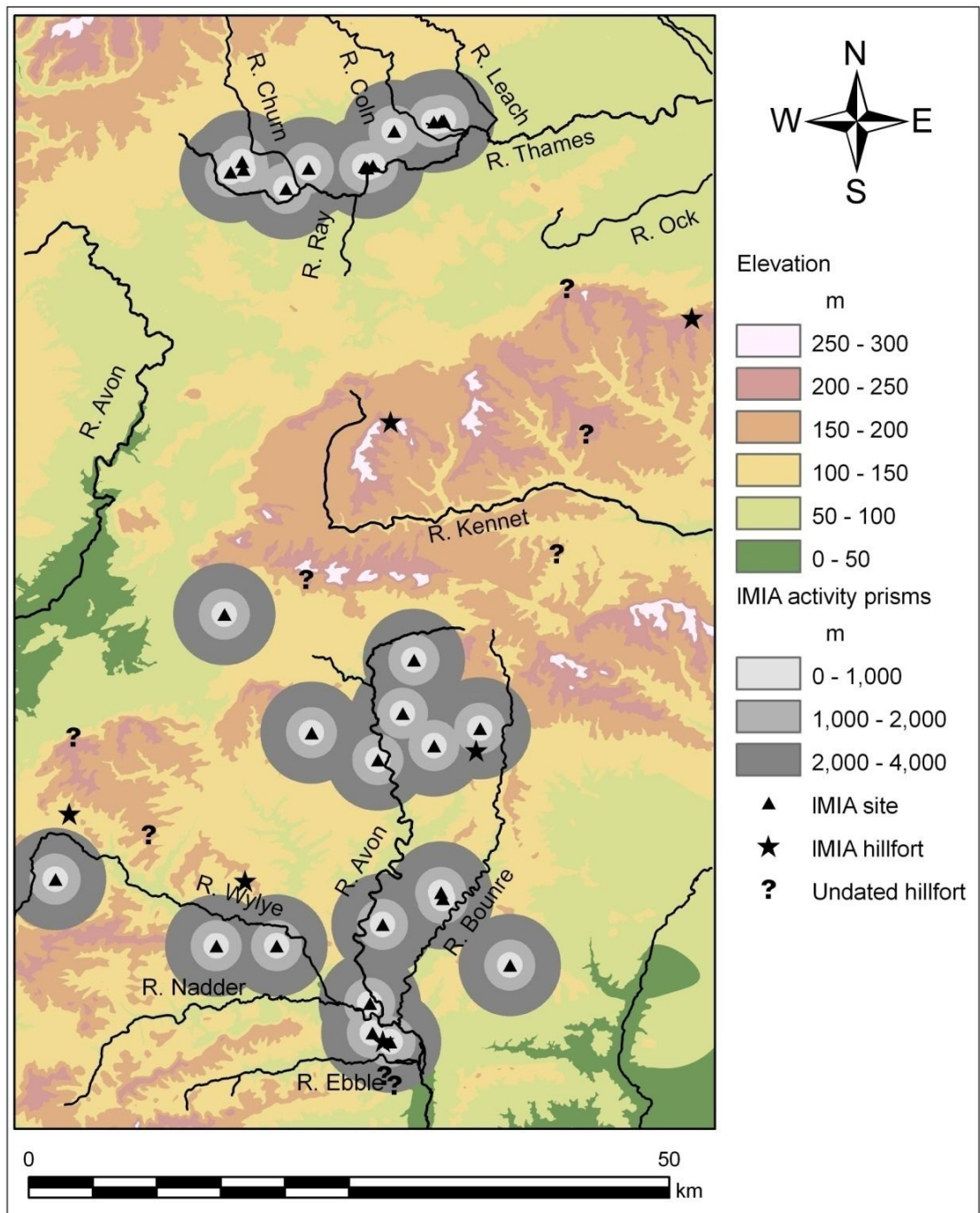


Figure 11.9- late Middle Iron Age sites in the study area.

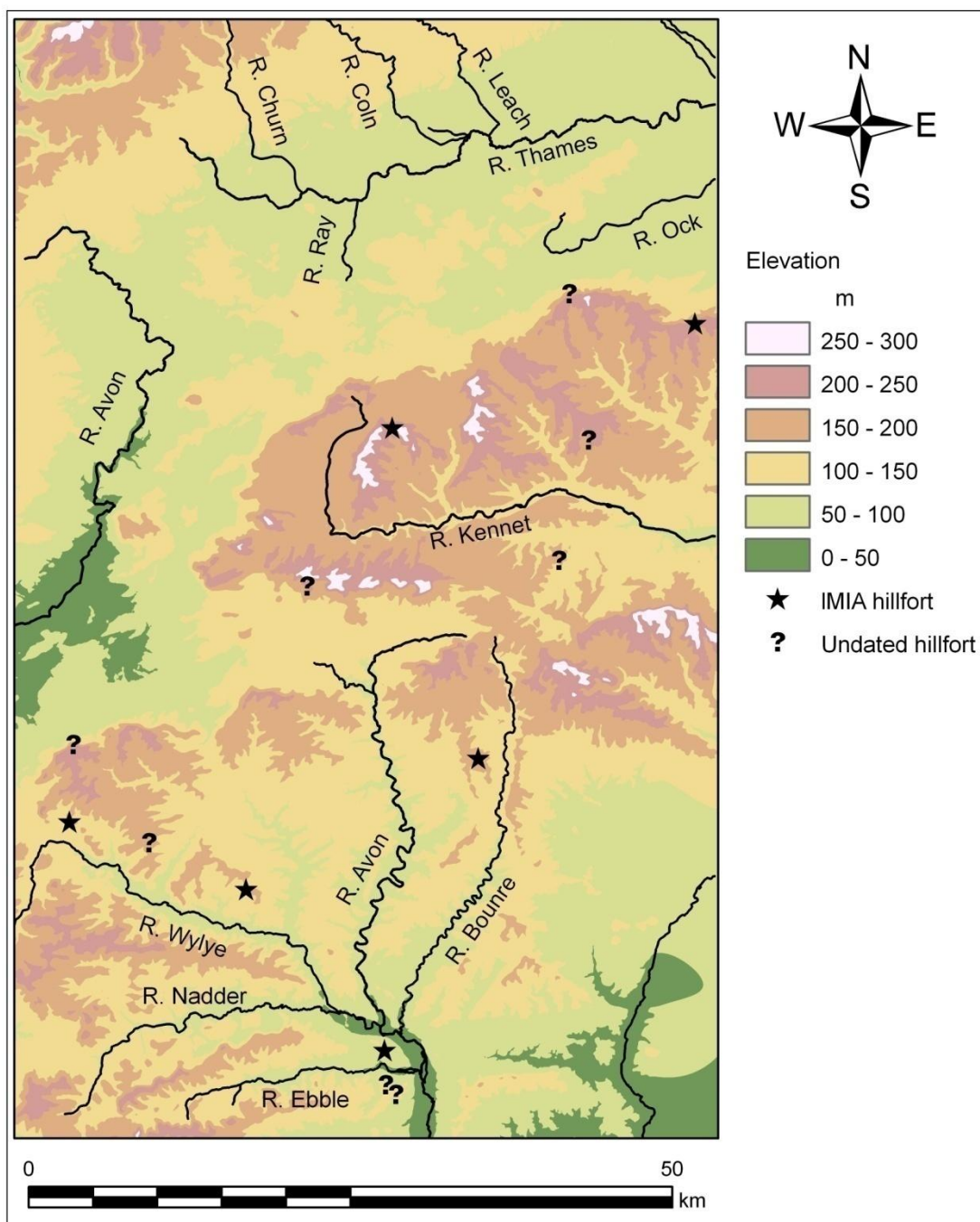


Figure 11.10- early Middle Iron Age hillforts in the study area.

Area	PPG16		Research 1950+		1900-1950		Pre 1900		Total
Middle									
Avon	13	35%	9	24%	13	35%	2	5%	37
NESPTA	6	16%	27	71%	5	13%	0	0%	38
Wylfe	15	56%	6	22%	6	22%	0	0%	27
Pewsey	16	46%	12	34%	6	17%	1	3%	35
North									
Wessex	3	8%	17	44%	20	51%	0	0%	39
Upper									
Thames	47	90%	4	8%	0	0%	0	0%	52
	100	44%	75	32%	50	22%	3	1%	228

Table 11.1- Regional breakdown of PPG16 sites versus other projects.

Area	PPG16		Research 1950+		1900-1950		Pre 1900		Total
MBA	8	24%	15	45%	10	30%	0	0%	33
LBA	16	41%	11	28%	12	31%	0	0%	39
EstIA	16	47%	16	47%	2	6%	0	0%	34
EIA	25	43%	18	31%	13	22%	2	3%	58
eMIA	21	60%	7	20%	6	17%	1	3%	35
IMIA	14	48%	8	28%	7	24%	0	0%	29
	100	44%	75	33%	50	22%	3	1%	228

Table 11.2- Period breakdown of PPG16 sites versus other projects.

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Appendix

	Period	Cattle	Sheep / Goat	Pig	Horse	Red deer	Roe deer	Dog	Total	Total CSP	Unidentified / Other	Large Mammal	Medium / Small Mammal	% Cattle /CSP	% Sheep /CSP	% Pig /CSP
Middle Avon Valley																
Bodenham Hill Plantation	EIA	50	48	62	13	0	0	0	173	160	1338	n/a	n/a	31%	30%	39%
NE SPTA																
Dunch Hill	LBA	2	13	1	2				18	16	n/a	n/a	n/a	13%	81%	6%
East Chisenbury	EstIA	396	808	175	33	13	7	14	1446	1379	n/a	n/a	n/a	29%	59%	13%
Coombe Down South SP009	EIA	126	237	45	14	1	0	2	425	408	237	84	296	31%	58%	11%
Coombe Down South SP009	MIA	149	155	27	32	0	1	39	403	331	218	73	120	45%	47%	8%
Wylve Valley																
Battlesbury Bowl	Est/EIA	1607	2588	627	149	18	7	66	5062	4822	n/a	n/a	n/a	33%	54%	13%
Battlesbury Bowl	MIA	875	1918	263	214	6	1	146	3423	3056	n/a	n/a	n/a	29%	63%	9%
Mancombe Down	EIA	6	25	0	0	0	0	0	31	31	n/a	n/a	n/a	19%	81%	0%
Vale of Pewsey																
Bishops Cannings Down	MBA	1272	750	47	13	2	1	7	2092	2069	n/a	n/a	n/a	61%	36%	2%
Potterne (zones 4-7)	EstIA	1010	2392	1659	59	22	8	37	5187	5061	n/a	n/a	n/a	20%	47%	33%
Potterne (zones 8-11)	EstIA	1650	1731	1655	62	37	9	78	5222	5036	n/a	n/a	n/a	33%	34%	33%
Stanton St. Bernard	EstIA	95	313	67	6	0	0	0	481	475	n/a	n/a	n/a	20%	66%	14%
All Cannings Cross (2003/04)	Est/EIA	105	277	29	10	0	1	3	425	411	n/a	n/a	n/a	26%	67%	7%
Brickley Lane, Devizes	IMIA	53	91	10	6	0	0	1	161	154	629	0	0	34%	59%	6%
North Wessex Downs																
Dean Bottom	LBA	1183	1897	143	36	6	0	109	3374	3223	n/a	n/a	n/a	37%	59%	4%
Burderop Down	LBA	1235	2604	328	55	2	8	10	4242	4167	n/a	n/a	n/a	30%	62%	8%
Rockley Down	LBA	135	171	12	8	0	0	3	329	318	n/a	n/a	n/a	42%	54%	4%
Liddington	Est/EIA	97	216	42	10	7	0	5	377	355	4	156	452	27%	61%	12%
Overton Down ODXI	Est/EIA	377	411	75	81	2	3	0	949	863	42	n/a	n/a	44%	48%	9%
Segsbury	EIA	45	156	36	13	2	0	3	255	237	1063	4	6	19%	66%	15%
Segsbury	MIA	4	21	1	1	0	0	0	27	26	133	0	1	15%	81%	4%
Uffington	EIA	32	84	23	3	5	2	3	152	139	383	33	96	23%	60%	17%
Uffington	MIA	9	12	2	2	0	0	2	27	23	190	2	16	39%	52%	9%
Upper Thames Valley																
Latton Lands	MBA	478	27	16	2	9	0	3	535	521	1229	n/a	n/a	92%	5%	3%
Shorncote Quarry	LBA	50	5	1	3	0	0	0	59	56	530	83	3	89%	9%	2%
Groundwell Farm	EIA	140	536	309	22	1	1	3	1012	985	0	342	1348	14%	54%	31%
Groundwell Farm	MIA	315	851	711	58	0	0	2	1937	1877	0	704	2031	17%	45%	38%
Groundwell Farm (all IA)	IA	556	1881	1288	88	0	0	13	3826	3725	0	1366	4690	15%	50%	35%
Groundwell West	E/MIA	302	333	107	25	0	2	5	774	742	n/a	n/a	n/a	41%	45%	14%
Latton Lands (excluding animal burials)	EIA	75	25	10	29	5	0	0	144	110	159	140	92	68%	23%	9%
Latton Lands (including animal burials)	EIA	1088	25	10	152	5	0	21	1301	1123	159	140	92	97%	2%	1%
Latton Lands	MIA	205	104	27	51	17	0	1	405	336	294	806	262	61%	31%	8%
Totterdown Lane, Horcott	MIA	57	15	3	5	2	0	1	83	75	n/a	n/a	n/a	76%	20%	4%
Thornhill Farm	MIA	41	9	4	18	0	0	1	73	54		658	38	76%	17%	7%
Cotswolds Community Ashton Keynes (TVAS excavation)	MIA	27	74	10	27	1	0	0	139	111	n/a	n/a	n/a	24%	67%	9%
Spratsgate Lane	MIA	322	272	56	114	1	0	3	768	650	715	840	210	50%	42%	9%
Warren's Field	MIA	330	279	34	121	0	0	13	777	643	3009	n/a	n/a	51%	43%	5%
Cleveland Farm	M/LIA	288	178	36	0	0	0	6	508	502	n/a	n/a	n/a	57%	35%	7%

Appendix 1.1 - Faunal data from the study area.

	LDP108	LDP102A/B	Dunch Hill	LDP092	LDP112	The Pennings	East Chisenbury	The Knoll Plantation	Dunch Hill (Midden)	Everleigh	Coombe Down North (SP014A/B)	Libbury Camp	South of Libbury Camp	Chisenbury Trench	Upavon Airfield	Longsheat Down	Casterley	South of Rowden Castle	Coombe Down South (SP009)	Coombe Down South (SP009)	NE of Widdington Farm	Sidbury Camp	Coombe Down North (SP042A)	W of Chisenbury Field Barn	SW of Beach's Barn	Snail Down, Collingbourne Ducts	Church Ditches	N of Fyfield Folly
	MBA	M/LBA	M/LBA	LBA	LBA	LBA	EstIA	EstIA	EstIA	Est/EIA	Est/EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	eMIA	E/MIA	E/MIA	MIA	IMIA	IMIA	IMIA	IMIA	IMIA	IMIA
Spinning																												
Spindle Whorls	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weaving																												
Loom weights	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	10	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bone Shuttles	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Combs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leather working																												
Knives / Rib knives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worked ribs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pointed implements	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	Some	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bone Awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bone Needles / pins	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Some	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thin blades	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iron awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Evidence for metal working																												
Bronze	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Iron	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Briquetage																												
Sherd count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weight (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Items of personal adornment																												
Bronze penannular brooches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze Earring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze bracelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze pins	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze rings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze Fibula	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iron Brooches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Exotic items																												
Kimmeridge shale	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glass bead	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gold bracelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gold fragments	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coral (bead)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Amber	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 1.3 - Material culture recovered from the NESPTA sites.

	Willis's Field Barn	East of Quebec Farm	West of Breach Hill	NE of Kill Barrow	SRR Chain 80/5, 87	SE of Battlesbury Wood	Boreham Farm Bungalow	Codford Circle	Cow Down, Longbridge	Deverill	Mancombe Down	Bilbury Rings	Scratchbury	S of Parsonage Down	Hanging Langford Camp	Battlesbury Bowl	Yarnbury	Ebbury Copse	Stockton	Cow Down, Longbridge
	MBA	LBA	LBA	LBA	LB/EstIA	LB/EstIA	LB/EstIA	EstIA	EstIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	E/MIA	E/MIA	E/MIA	E/MIA	E/MIA	eMIA	IMIA
Spinning																				
Spindle Whorls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y	1	0	0	0	0	4	3	0	0	Y	
Weaving																				
Loom weights	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	Y	0	0	0	0	0	21	2 + fragments of others	0	0	Y	
Bone Shuttles	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Y	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	3	0	
Combs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	2	0	
Leather working																				
knives / Rib knives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	Y	
Worked ribs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Pointed implements	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	
Bone Awls	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	
Bone Needles / pins	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	1	0	
Thin blades	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Iron awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Evidence for metal working																				
Bronze	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Iron	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	Y	N	
Briquetage																				
Sherd count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Weight (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	n/a	0	0	0	0	
Items of personal adornment																				
Bronze penannular brooches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze Earring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze bracelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze pins	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Y	
Bronze rings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	
Bronze Fibula	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Iron Brooches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	Y	
Exotic items																				
Kimmeridge shale	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	
Glass bead	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Gold bracelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Gold fragments	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	
Coral (bead)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Amber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Appendix 1.4 - Material culture recovered from the Wylve Valley sites.

	Bishop Canning's Down	All Canning's Down	Horseshoe Down	SW of Bleches Mill Farm	Easton 197	Oliver's Camp	Westbury Bypass	SW of Palmer's Close - Hilberton	Steeple Ashton	Protterne	Roughridge Hill	Stanton St. Bernard	Blackpatch	Easton 128	Martinsell / Giant's Grave	Erlestoke Detention Centre	All Canning's Cross	N of Heywood House	Thorn Hill	Knap Hill	SW of Marden	Cats Brain	Pewsey Hill	Brickley Lane Deveres
	MBA	M/LBA	M/LBA	M/LBA	M/LBA	LBA	EstIA	EstIA	EstIA	EstIA	EstIA	EstIA	EstIA	EstIA	EstIA/EIA	Est/MIA	Est/MIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	E/MIA	IMIA
Spinning																								
Spindle Whorls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	62	0	0	0	0	0	1	58	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weaving																								
Loom weights	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	2	0	0	0	8	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
Bone Shuttles	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	1	123	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Combs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Leather working																								
knives / Rib knives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	40	0	0	0	0	0	1	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Worked ribs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	38	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pointed implements	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	37	0	3	0	0	0	0	36	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bone Awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bone Needles / pins	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	25	0	1	0	0	0	0	41	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Thin blades	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	28	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iron awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Evidence for metal working																								
Bronze	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N
Iron	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N
Briquetage																								
Sherd count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Weight (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Items of personal adornment																								
Bronze penannular brooches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze Earring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze bracelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze pins	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze rings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bronze Fibula	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Iron Brooches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
Exotic items																								
Kimmeridge shale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	88	0	0	0	0	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Glass bead	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gold bracelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Gold fragments	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Coral (bead)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Amber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Appendix 1.5 - Material culture recovered from the Vale of Pewsey sites.

[illegible]

	Luton Lands		Cotswold School	Shorncliffe Quarry	Lady Lamb Farm	Roundground Farm	Gasson's Road/Butler's Field	Luton Lands	RAF Fairford	The Lodges	Castle Hill	Badbury Hill Camp	Shrivenham	Triangle Site	Groundwell Farm	Groundwell West	Coln Gravel Thornhill Farm	Thornhill Farm	Totterdown Lane, Horcott	Shorncliffe Quarry	Warren's Field, Clayton Pike	Roundhouse Farm, Marston	Mepey	Luton Lands	Spratsgate Lane	Cleveland Farm
	MBA	M/LBA	LBA	LBA	LBA/EstIA	EstIA	EstIA/EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	EIA	E/MIA	E/MIA	E/MIA	E/MIA	MIA	MIA	MIA	MIA	MIA	MIA	MIA	MIA	MIA	MIA	MIA
Spinning																										
Spindle Whorls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Weaving																										
Loom weights	0	0	3	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	5	'large number'	2	0	0	0	
Bone Shuttles	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
Combs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0	0	0	0	0
Leather working																										
knives / Rib knives	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Worked ribs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Pointed implements	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bone Awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bone Needles / pins	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Thin blades	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Iron awls	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Evidence for metal working																										
Bronze	N	N	Y	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	N	N	N	
Iron	N	N	?	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	N	Y	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	Y	N	N	Y	
Briquetage																										
Sherd count	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	17	28	0	0	50	2		
Weight (g)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	351g	0	0	0	0		
Items of personal adornment																										
Bronze penannular brooches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze Earring	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze bracelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze pins	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze rings	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Bronze Fibula	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Iron Brooches	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Exotic items																										
Kimmeridge shale	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	
Glass bead	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Gold bracelet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Gold fragments	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Coral (bead)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Jet	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
mber	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	

Appendix 1.7 - Material culture recovered from the Upper Thames Valley sites.