Abstract

Glass Beads in Iron Age Britain

A Social Approach

Elizabeth Marie Foulds

Studies of Iron Age artefacts from Britain tend to be dominated either by the study of metalwork, or pottery. This thesis presents a study not only of a different material, but also a different type of object: glass beads. These are found in a range of different sizes, shapes, colours, and employ a variety of different decorative motifs. Thus far, glass beads have been studied through typology (Guido 1978a) and compositional analysis (Bertini 2012; Henderson 1982), yet a thorough analysis of the social context of glass beads remains absent.

Through an analysis of glass beads from four key study regions in Britain, this thesis aims not only to address regional differences in appearance and chronology, but also to explore the role that this object played within the networks and relationships that constructed Iron Age society. It seeks to understand how they were used during their lives and how they came to be deposited within the archaeological record, in order to establish the social processes that glass beads were bound within.

The results indicate that glass beads were a strongly regionalised artefact, potentially reflecting differing local preferences for colour and motif. In addition, glass beads, in combination with several other types of object, were integral to Middle Iron Age dress. Given that the first century BC is often seen as a turning point in terms of settlements and material culture, this supports the possibility of strong continental exchange during an earlier period for either glass beads or raw materials. However, by the Late Iron Age in the first century BC and early first century AD, their use had severely diminished.

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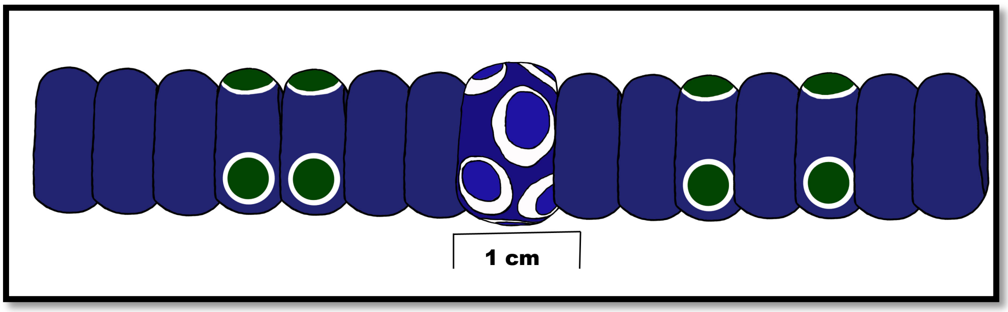

Hypothetical reconstruction of part of the necklace from Wetwang Slack Burial 249 (Hull & East Riding Museum, Hull Museums: KINCM:2010.7.310)

Two Volumes

Volume I

Elizabeth Marie Foulds

Department of Archaeology

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For my mother.

Chapter 1

Introduction

Of all the Britons by far the most civilised are the inhabitants of Cantium, a purely maritime region, whose way of life is little different from that of the Gauls. Most of those inhabiting the interior…clothe themselves in skins. All the Britons dye themselves with woad, which produces a blue colour, and as a result their appearance in battle is all the more daunting. They wear their hair long, and shave all their bodies with the exception of their heads and upper lip.

(Julius Caesar (1st c. BC), Gallic War V, 14)

Most of (northern) Britain is marshy…For the most part they are naked… Also, being unfamiliar with the use of clothing, they adorn their waists and necks with iron, considering this an ornament and a sign of wealth, just as other barbarians do gold. They tattoo their bodies with various designs and pictures of all kinds of animals. This is the reason they do not wear clothes: so as not to cover up the designs on their bodies.

(Herodian (3rd c. AD), III, 14, 6-8)

1.1 Introduction to Research

In many ways we are at a disadvantage for understanding the people that inhabited Britain during the Iron Age (c. 800 BC - AD 43). In the past, textual evidence from classical authors has been taken for granted and presumed to be more-or-less accurate representations of everyday life in Iron Age Britain (Hingley 2011). While seemingly informative and almost ethnographic in nature, these sources are quick to belittle the inhabitants of Britain and construct stereotypes that portray their distant neighbours as outrageously different in both appearance and mannerisms. If these sources were to be taken at face value, they would have us believe that people in the British Iron Age wore no garments or, at best, covered themselves with uncivilised skins (see above quotes). However, the archaeological evidence clearly points to the contrary. Historically, classical texts have provided a framework where the archaeological evidence has been manipulated to fit the textual narratives with little critical awareness. These classical sources have provided the basis for which studies of Iron Age tribal ethnicity and social hierarchy, as well as settlement sites such as *oppida,* have for some time been viewed within both Iron Age and Roman period studies of Britain (e.g. Wheeler's (1954) interpretation of Stanwick in North Yorkshire). Within recent years, these topics have been subject to a growing debate regarding the ways in which we should interpret archaeological evidence, and the applicability and validity of classical sources to supplement our understanding of the past (Collis 2003; 2011; Hill 2011; Hingley 2011; James 1999; Karl 2004; 2008; Megaw & Megaw 1998; Moore 2011; Pitts 2010; Woolf 1993).

If it is not possible to rely solely on the written classical texts in order to understand how the people living in Iron Age Britain dressed, then what kind of evidence do we have available? How can we answer the question: how was visual appearance materialised? Some frameworks for understanding dress might draw on evidence for human representation in art or other objects, but the major source of information is often from burial evidence. During this period in Britain, not only is there limited evidence for human representation in material form, but this is a period in which formal inhumation was limited geographically and to specific periods of time (Carr & Knüsel 1997; Whimster 1981). An even rarer glimpse at the Iron Age body is derived from bog bodies, such as Lindow Man (Stead, Bourke *et al.* 1986) and others from Britain (Turner & Scaife 1995). Although these are rare, they none-the-less provide an unparalleled line of evidence.

Instead, for this period, a study of dress requires a mélange of archaeological sources utilising differing avenues of evidence. In terms of textiles, for example, actual fibre remains are rare, although sometimes found fossilised in metal corrosion. Instead, we look to the manufacturing evidence for textile production, for example: spindle whorls, loom weights, and weaving combs, that demonstrate the craft of this material (DeRoche 1997). Other evidence is derived from artefacts worn on the body. Two types of objects that are perhaps the best known for this period are the torc and the brooch, although other objects were worn, such as finger-rings, beads, and bracelets. Many of these objects were made from a variety of materials, including copper-alloy, iron, glass, jet, and shale. Materials such as gold, silver, and amber were not used extensively throughout the period, but do figure in some limited geographical areas and periods. Artefacts, such as tweezers, and 'nail cleaners' hint that the body was carefully managed (Eckardt & Crummy 2008; Hill 1997), while small mortars and pestles are thought to have been connected to woad-based body paint or tattoos (Carr 2005).

Some of these objects would have been worn in close juxtaposition to the body and communicated to the viewer information about the identity of the wearer, perhaps regionality, community, family, and even the individual, such as gender or age (Roach-Higgins & Eicher 1995). Finally, there is evidence that the manipulation of hair and its presentation in different styles would have been important during this period (Aldhouse-Green 2004). Connections between objects and the human body are not restricted to these objects of dress, as other artefacts worn or utilised by the body may also have communicated information about the individual's identity. For example: a blacksmith wielding his hammer, a farmer holding a plough, an individual holding a sword or shield, or even a person holding a weaving comb would have imparted an immediate notion of the person's identity and role within society. While these objects are no less symbolic of a person's identity, they are tools or utilitarian objects that are much larger in size than the objects that attach to or otherwise modify a person's appearance. This research is primarily concerned with the objects sometimes referred to as objects of adornment, bodily adornment, or body ornaments, although their sole purpose may not have been only to adorn the body.

Materiality during the Iron Age is generally considered to increase throughout the period as evidenced by the somewhat scarce numbers of artefacts in the earlier period, and the larger frequency and broader range of artefacts in the later Iron Age (Hill 1995a). For example, a greater range of pottery is available in the Later Iron Age of southeast Britain compared to earlier periods along with changes in the level of production intensity (Hamilton 2002), and in earlier periods cosmetic implements were relatively scarce compared to the number that are known from the Later Iron Age and Early Roman period (Eckardt 2008). Brooches too have been shown to follow this general trend as Early and Middle Iron Age brooches are rare compared to the examples from Late Iron Age and early Roman Britain (Haselgrove 1997; Jundi & Hill 1997). However, recently excavated sites, such as at Grandcourt Quarry in Norfolk, contradict this pattern, as an exceptionally high number of Middle/Late Iron Age brooches were found at this site. Part of a wider change in foodways and eating habits, these brooches, along with the cosmetic equipment articles, are thought to indicate a changing attitude towards the body and establishing identity through the manipulation of appearance (Carr 2005; Hill 1997). This comes at a time when the archaeological record suggests greater contact with Europe in southern Britain and the circulation of a larger body of material culture after the Caesarian invasion in 55 BC and eventual conquest in AD 43. However, a comprehensive analysis of the differing types of artefacts of dress that cross type and material boundaries is currently lacking.

While many studies of Iron Age material culture related to dress frequently focus on metallic objects (e.g. brooches, pins, torcs, mirrors, cosmetic and toilet equipment), glass beads provide an interesting contrast as they are made from a different raw material. Glass, as with copper-alloys, melts when heated to approximately 1,000˚C, depending on the exact composition (Henderson 1985, 272). Although, from a modern standpoint it would generally be agreed that glass (being silica based) is different from copper-alloy (derived from tin and copper ores), the melting properties of both materials may have meant, within the Iron Age world-view, that these two materials were more closely related than iron (un-meltable at this time, but still manipulated through heat) and copper-alloy. This association is supported by the combination of these two materials on objects such as brooches and some horse equipment. As a material, glass is made through the combination of three key ingredients: silica, soda, and lime. Unlike other meltable materials, the colour and opacity can be manipulated through the addition of oxides and minerals (discussed further in Chapter 2.4.5).

Beads are one of the earliest glass objects to be found in Britain. They are found in very small numbers from contexts that date to as early as the Bronze Age, for example, at the Wilsford G42 Bell Barrow (Guido, Henderson *et al.* 1984a). Some Bronze Age beads are made from another 'glass-like' substance called faience, sometimes referred to as 'Egyptian faience' to distinguish it from a particular type of modern pottery. It is also a silica-based material, although not heated to a molten state as with true glass. Both Bronze Age and Roman period examples (the ubiquitous melon beads) are coated in a blue-green glaze, but they have a rougher texture than true glass and are only opaque. Beads made from true glass, however, are different. They range in size from very small (only a few millimeters in diameter) to very large (several centimeters in diameter). They come in several shapes, are made from different colours of glass, and some are decorated. They are found in Iron Age contexts in extremely large numbers (100+) at three key sites discussed throughout the thesis: Meare Lake Village in Somerset, Wetwang Slack in East Yorkshire, and Culbin Sands in Morayshire Scotland. However, these are unusual compared to the majority of sites discussed throughout the thesis where between one and twenty glass beads would be more usual. Unfortunately, many of the beads that have been recorded to date are old stray finds and can only be generally attributed to a known Iron Age site, or sometimes only to a village or parish.

This study has specifically chosen to focus on glass beads, as opposed to beads made from other materials, or other glass objects, for a number of reasons. For example, other glass objects, namely vessels, are confined to the very latest Iron Age and began to flourish from the Early Roman period (Frank 1982). Roman period glass vessels in Britain have been the subject of a long-standing history of study (Price & Cottam 1998). Glass beads, on the other hand, date to much earlier periods, as they have already been shown to date to Bronze Age contexts (albeit in very small numbers) to the Iron Age, where they occur in much larger numbers (Guido 1978a). Beads made from other materials (i.e. clay, jet, amber, other types of stone; and possibly wood or bone), however, are problematic. They are found in very small numbers throughout the Iron Age and because they lack stylistic characteristics, they are very difficult to date without contextual information (c.f. the 62 examples from Grandcourt Quarry, which may change our perspective on this). In cases where they appear to be deposited within Iron Age contexts, it is unclear as to how they were used in society at that time, or perhaps as to whether they were manufactured at an even earlier date. Interestingly, there does not seem to be a strong tradition of using beads made from other materials that was eventually replaced by what became a tradition for using glass beads. The previous significant period of major bead use in Britain dates back to the Early Bronze Age and the utilisation of intricate jet necklaces (Sheridan & Davis 2002). Therefore, it seems that the use of glass beads during the Iron Age was an entirely new type of bodily adornment, as it not only drew upon a new raw material, but was also formed into a new type of object that were not used in significant amounts immediately prior to this period. In the future, a study that includes beads of other materials will be an interesting area of further research; however, this study has focused on glass beads because glass was a new and colourful material, and because as an object type there was not a precedent for their use.

Despite the recognition of glass beads from Iron Age contexts, there is a limited appreciation of their broader implications. Why were they made in specific colours? How were they used? Where are they found? And more generally, how can we incorporate them into a wider understanding of Iron Age dress in Britain? This chapter will introduce some of the background to the previous approaches to the study of glass beads, followed by a discussion of the aims of this research, and finally a roadmap to the contents of the thesis.

1.2 Introduction to Previous Approaches

In comparison to other Iron Age artefacts (pottery, coins, brooches), the study of glass beads has been largely neglected. Some of the earliest mentions of Iron Age glass beads come from records of donations published in society proceedings (e.g. *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*), but they were also listed within early small finds reports from excavations. However, it seems that glass beads were not considered to be important for dating or understanding site chronology in the same way that other objects, such as brooches or pottery, were used. In most early site reports glass beads were simply listed with the small finds, but analysis or interpretation did not often go beyond this, for example at Glastonbury Lake Village (Bulleid & Gray 1917b).

In the mid-twentieth century, Margaret Guido (1978a) undertook a project to catalogue pre-historic and Roman glass beads from Britain and Ireland. This subsequently led to the creation of a typology based on visual characteristics. This corpus is the only major published work on glass beads from Britain as a whole. Drawing on Guido's typology, Julian Henderson (1982) examined the chemical composition of Iron Age glass beads using x-ray fluorescence (XRF). One of the aims of his research was to use his scientific analyses to expand on Guido's visual classification by adding a composition component. More recently, Martina Bertini (2012) has pioneered work on Iron Age glass beads using laser ablation inductively coupled plasma mass spectrometry (LA-ICP-MS) and 3D-micro-computer tomography and synchraton light. This has allowed her to examine the chemical composition and to map the morphology of Guido Class 13 and 14 beads, which indicates the process of manufacture (all three studies are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2).

Guido's work was an important foundation for future studies of glass beads. Her catalogue alone is a valuable resource as it was nearly complete and presented a fairly accurate list of all known Iron Age glass beads at the time of publication, except for contemporary ongoing excavations. Her distribution maps suggest that the concentration of glass beads across Britain was varied (discussed further in Chapter 2). Generally, southern Britain was distinguishable from the rest of Britain in terms of overall density, but the Somerset area has long been identified as an area where glass beads have been found in particularly large numbers. However, other areas have been recognised as areas of high glass bead density, such as East Yorkshire, and Northeast Scotland. Although, recent finds (e.g. Llandygai in North Wales in Kenney 2008; and Grandcourt Quarry in Norfolk in Malone 2010) suggest that the Britain-wide distribution is continually changing and needs to be re-assessed.

The origins of glass bead manufacture continue to be an enigma. Comparisons with known European material by Guido at the time suggested that some glass beads found in Britain were not found in Europe, leading to the proposition that some of these beads were actually manufactured in Britain. Guido (1978a, 32-7) proposed several possible major production centres (Meare Lake Village in Somerset, Culbin Sands in Morayshire, Glastonbury Lake Village in Somerset, Glenluce Sands in Dumfries and Galloway, Traprain Law and Newstead in the Scottish Borders, and Wilderspool near Warrington), and a number of less probable, but still possible sites (Covesea Cave in Morayshire, and Caerhun in Clwyd). Her propositions appear to be based solely on the density of glass beads at these particular sites. Other examples from Britain bear a striking resemblance to glass beads found in European Iron Age contexts, which was taken to indicate that the movement (migration/invasion) of people could be tracked by the dispersal of glass beads. At the time of her publication, there was very little in the way of other archaeological material that could support the argument that glass bead manufacture occurred in Britain (discussed further in Chapter 2).

Despite the assertion in the Iron Age research framework that the subject of glass beads is an area where a 'substantial understanding has been achieved' (Haselgrove, Armit *et al.* 2001, 22), as with any research, the time that has elapsed since Guido's publication has resulted in many unanswered questions. Since her work, there has been an explosion in archaeological excavation resulting primarily from the implementation of PPG16 in England in 1990 and NPPG5 in Scotland in 1994. Despite the increasing amount of data regarding prehistoric settlements and material culture that this has produced (Bradley 2007), there has been no recent published attempt at creating a major synthesis of recently discovered glass beads, nor has there been any critical discussion of the Guido typology and interpretations (cf. Armit 1991 for Atlantic Scotland).

1.3 Aims of Current Research

As introduced above, a comprehensive understanding of Iron Age dress in Britain is currently lacking. In order to address this issue, the present study focuses on glass beads from this period, to provide a useful contrast to the often metal-dominated studies of artefacts related to dress (e.g. Fox 1958;

Garrow & Gosden 2012; Jacobsthal 1969; Jope 2000; MacGregor 1976; Piggott 1970). However, it is essential to go beyond one type of object and instead to draw on many types in order to understand the full assemblage of objects used in dress throughout Iron Age Britain. Therefore, there are three main aims to this research:

> (1) To undertake a systematic review of the appearance, chronology, and deposition of glass beads;
>
> (2) To place glass beads within the wider context of other objects used in dress;
>
> (3) To develop a narrative of dress in Iron Age Britain.

The first aim not only draws on data regarding the physical appearance of glass beads, but also on the wider circumstances of where they were found. It seeks to answer questions about glass beads, such as: how do they visually appear, what is the date of the context that they were found in, and what kind of sites were they found at. The second aim examines how the beads were used and how they relate to other objects of dress. For this comparative aspect, five other key types of objects are included: brooches, bracelets, finger-rings, torcs, and pins. Finally, the third aim seeks to contextualise beads by drawing together multiple lines of evidence from artefacts (including textiles), and burial data as it is recognized that artefacts should not be seen in isolation.

Although the methodology of research is covered in detail in Chapter 3, it is necessary to mention here that this study is composed of four main study regions. Each of these regions was chosen for very specific reasons as they exhibit their own characteristics of settlement, burial and ritual, allowing for discussions of regional practices and identity (discussed in detail in Chapter 4). The first is 'Southwest England'. This region primarily covers Gloucestershire, Somerset, Wiltshire, and Dorset. The second region is 'East Anglia', which covers the modern counties of Suffolk and Norfolk. The third region is ‘East Yorkshire’, covering the East Riding of Yorkshire and part of North Yorkshire. The last region is northeast Scotland, which covers modern Aberdeenshire, Morayshire, and part of Inverness-shire. Each of these regions are characterised by different types of beads, which were found in different circumstances, and each region has a different history of research.

1.4 Layout of Thesis

The following three chapters form Part I and will set the scene for the analyses. Chapter 2 introduces many of the theoretical concepts that the interpretations are based upon, especially in terms of dress and object studies. In addition, this chapter provides an in-depth discussion on the Guido typology, and the context of other Iron Age glass bead typologies and glass bead studies that cover the European Iron Age. Chapter 3 covers the methodology of research, such as study region selection and data collection. Finally, the last of these preliminary chapters (Chapter 4) addresses the nature of the archaeological resource in each region and implications for a study of glass beads.

Part II discusses the analyses that were undertaken. First, Chapter 5 follows on from the discussion of the Guido typology presented in Chapter 2, by critiquing its use and some of the inherent issues in its construction. With these issues in mind, as well as the aims of this research, a new typology is proposed that is utilised throughout the remainder of the thesis. Chapter 6 uses data obtained for glass beads and analyses regional characteristics of beads, including: size, shape, colour, and decorative motif. This is followed by Chapter 7, which explores the archaeological contexts in which glass beads have been found. Then, Chapter 8 places glass beads into a wider discussion of dress in the Iron Age by examining at the evidence for how glass beads were used. Finally, Chapter 9 forms Part III of the thesis, where the analyses are drawn together in summary and a final interpretation about dress, identity, and Iron Age objects is proposed.

To supplement the main text, there are a number of appendices. Appendix A provides descriptions of each of Guido's types, which is illustrated utilising her figures. As a new typology is proposed in Chapter 5, a complete list of types is provided in Appendix B, which is supported by pictures of examples in the corresponding figures. A full catalogue of the sites, glass beads, and other objects is included on the accompanying CD. All entries are in numerical order using the Database number. There are many references to this number throughout the thesis text, appearing as 'DB****'. However, as this renders finding particular sites or objects near impossible without this database number, two lists have been provided. Appendix C is a list of database numbers by bead type, and Appendix E is an alphabetical list of sites. Finally, distributions of the new types are described in Appendix D along with illustrations.

Chapter 2

Understanding the Past through Artefacts

2.1 Introduction

The study of artefacts is often taken as a given: artefacts reflect past activity. But are artefacts simply the passive by-product of human activity? Or were they used in other, more dynamic ways? Objects become intrinsic to everyday life, but can develop their own biographies and even their own agency (Gosden 2005; Gosden & Marshall 1999). Thus, objects and artefacts are much more than a passive reflection of the past. There is an active social relationship between both objects and people. This chapter explores three key areas of research. First (Section 2.2), it examines the relationship that is built between objects and people through dress. Although defined more thoroughly below, dress refers to both modifications of the natural body, such as hairstyles or nail maintenance, as well as objects that are worn on it, such as textile garments or decorative objects. However, the way in which dress is studied within archaeology and in the wider social sciences disciplines varies. Following this discussion, this chapter will examine the approaches to artefacts within Iron Age studies (Section 2.3). Finally, although discussed briefly in the previous chapter, the third part of this chapter (Section 2.4) will undertake a historiographic approach to the study of glass beads in Britain. This section explores the major typological approach, along with the smaller regional and site based typologies, and two major contributions to the scientific study of late prehistoric glass are also discussed. Finally, this Chapter will also put the study of Iron Age glass beads from Britain into a wider European context.

2.2 People and Objects

This study is not just about objects, nor is it only about people; it is about the relationship built between people and objects. Actor-Network-Theory (ANT) provides a useful way of thinking about interactions between people and objects. While some approaches preference one over the other, ANT puts both on level footing (Knappett 2011). It examines the connections between people and objects and the way in which they interact. However, within archaeology, both of these subjects are usually approached separately, and although this could be viewed as a hurdle for understanding the symbiotic relationship between two seemingly opposed foci of study, by borrowing this concept from ANT we can bring together different aspects of studying people and objects as a way to understand how they interrelate. This thesis is particularly concerned with objects that are worn on the body that form a person's dress. These objects become bound up in the everyday discourses of social interaction and may relate to communicating information about the wearer’s identity.

While this study focuses especially on one type of artefact, it is necessary to place it within its wider theoretical context. Recent object based studies have begun to move beyond form or style (e.g. Dunnell 1978; Sackett 1977; Sackett 1985; Wiessner 1983; 1985) as passive reflections of the past, or passive participants within a system of exchange (e.g. Macinnes 1989). Instead, they have begun to explore new questions that interpret artefacts in a different light. Many of these approaches see artefacts as active, almost living, in which they not only had a biography and agency, but also real meaning during their life, no matter how mundane (Gell 1998; Gosden 2005; Gosden & Marshall 1999; Hoskins 1998; 2006). Expanding on form and style, other studies have recognised the importance of colour and the significance of the use of some colours over others (Scarre 2002; Young 2006). This of course varies from object to object, as well as between materials, but it is no longer possible to ignore the importance of colour and the choices that it reflects. Objects and their colour did not exist on their own outside of the social processes in which they were bound up. Instead they played an integral role in human relations. Here, two main ideas become important. How do objects relate to the socially constructed body? And, how are objects used in order to build dress and identity?

2.2.1 Dress and Society

One of the most tantalising aspects for studying glass beads and other material culture, such as bracelets and brooches, is that these objects were probably worn on the body. Although the evidence for this is limited (see Chapter 7), it does suggest they were used in this way. For example, there are a number of burials from Wetwang Slack, and elsewhere in East Yorkshire, where other dress items (i.e. finger-rings, beads, brooches) were found within individual inhumations, in a way that may reflect how they were used in life (see Chapter 8). However, it remains a possibility that some of the glass beads were not worn on the body throughout the entire span of their life cycles. Nonetheless, this thesis works on the assumption that glass beads were used in this way because they were found in burials, although it is acknowledged that they may have been used for other purposes during the life of each object.

One of the other commonly held assumptions is that beads were worn as a strand of beads placed around the neck. Again, there is little evidence to suggest that all glass beads were used in this way. There are many alternative ways they could have been worn on the body. For example, they could have been worn as a strand of beads on either the wrist or ankle. There are also examples of beads being placed onto copper-alloy rings, for example at Sandwick, Unst in the Shetlands Islands (Unpublished), and PAS find: LON-041951 from Greater London. They may also have been placed onto other metal objects such as bracelets, or they could have been sewn onto garments alone or as part of a larger conglomerate object. They could also have been attached to the ear or placed in the hair as decoration. Ethnographic evidence has shown that bead use varies across cultures, as does its social significance (Sciama & Eicher 2001). Thus we should expect to see some differences in bead use, as well as differences in the interpretation of their significance. Regardless of how Iron Age beads were placed on the body, they would have helped to constitute a person's dress. This section will explore different approaches to understanding the interplay between dress and the body.

There are many different terms related to how an individual or a group of individuals manipulate the body for the senses. Literature may refer to 'dress', 'fashion', 'adornment', 'clothing', 'apparel', or 'costume' when referencing this act. As Entwistle (2000) points out, the terminology employed by various authors often depends on the discipline of study and the goals of their research. Anthropological studies, as she states, are more likely to be concerned with dress or adornment, while sociology is often more focused on fashion as an industry. However, throughout the twentieth century, these perspectives have also changed, even from author to author. For example, two anthropologists, Roach[1] and Eicher (1965, 1), described the words referring to a person's appearance as synonymous, although they emphasised that 'dress' both refers to the 'apparel' worn by people and to the act of 'dressing', while 'adornment' stresses 'the aesthetic aspects of altering the body'. However, their perspective later changed and instead of describing all of these possible terms as synonyms, they preferred the use of the word 'dress' in terms of an individual's "…assemblage of modifications of the body and/or supplements to the body" (Roach-Higgins & Eicher 1992; Roach-Higgins, Eicher *et al.* 1995). This includes everything from changes that modify the body directly, including tattoos, piercing, maintenance of nails, and the

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[1] Mary Ellen Roach is later cited as 'Roach-Higgins'.

way in which hair is arranged, to the supplements, which modify the body through the addition of objects, such as garments and jewellery. They argue that this word suffers least from ethnocentric views of methods of dress and at the same time includes all circumstances for dress, rather than emphasising the extraordinary over the ordinary. Despite their changing definition, it demonstrates some anthropological desire for defining a term that can describe what has assumed to be a universally human ability to modify or dress the body (Entwistle 2000, 42-3).

Utilising their definitions of dress, Roach-Higgins and Eicher take a symbolic interactionist approach to understanding dress. This is one of the dominant approaches to understanding the ways in which people dress, especially within anthropology (Entwistle 2000, 58), which is also common in archaeology. This method of inquiry sees dress primarily as a symbolic mode of non-verbal communication, particularly regarding identity (Roach-Higgins & Eicher 1995, 12). Dress, therefore, symbolises membership to particular groups, such as ethnicity, status, age, or gender.

For the anthropologist, it is perhaps the so-called "universal words" that have been of most interest (Barnes & Eicher 1993; Eicher 1995; Roach & Eicher 1965; Roach-Higgins, Eicher *et al.* 1995). As dress is seen as a system of symbols, this approach 'reads' dress as if it were a text with a straightforward interpretation. For example, in Nigerian Kalabari dress, female dress reflects the five stages of Kalabari womanhood (pre-puberty, puberty, maturity, marriage, and motherhood), while male dress reflects achievements, whether personal, economic or political, and age (Michelman & Erekosima 1993). Because dress represents various stages in Kalabari life and their identity, this status can be communicated non-verbally to the viewer.

While dress could be argued to communicate identity, the symbolic interactionist approach tends to be the dominant interpretation of dress across the social sciences. The approach has been criticised because it focuses on the 'why' questions (Entwistle 2000, 57), for example: 'why do we wear clothes?' and 'why is male fashion different from female fashion'? These types of questions are simplistic in a descriptive sense, as well as reductive in their attempt to be all-inclusive and comparable across the world (Entwistle 2000, 56-7), and do not examine the complex relationship between both dress and body (Entwistle 2000, 56). Instead, Entwistle (2000, 12) proposes a different approach that draws on structuralism and phenomenology in order '…to understand the body as a *socially constituted object…*' and '…dress as an *embodied experience*' (original emphasis).

By drawing on the experience of dress, Entwistle (2000, 11) builds a framework for understanding dress on the premise that it is a '[socially] situated bodily practice' by exploring the relationships between body, dress, and culture. In this sense, dress will vary depending on the social situation, where for example, one might dress differently when going out on a Friday night with friends compared to staying home and doing housework on the weekend. Entwistle does not reject the idea that dress communicates ideas about a person's individual or social identity. Instead, she recognises that dress is far more complex. Fashion is a constant contradiction between the desire to fit in socially, and the need to stand out as an individual (Entwistle 2000, 116). This complex relationship between dress and identity derives from two sources; first, Entwistle draws on Foucault's work, especially on power and knowledge, and second, on Merleau-Ponty's work on phenomenology.

Foucault's work on discourses specifically relates to the body and the power/knowledge dichotomy. Prior to exploring how discourse is used in relation to dress, it will be useful to turn to the body and what is meant by it. In his review of the major approaches towards understanding the body, Shilling (2003) outlines some of the major theoretical trends that have attempted to address what the body means within society. It is only recently that such studies have become more 'explicit' rather than 'implicit' as the body has often been taken for granted rather than providing the centre of study (Shilling 2003, 8, 17). Different approaches have led to different interpretations of bodies within society. For example, the 'naturalistic' approach emphasises the biological basis and especially the biological reasons for differences between the male and female bodies and how this manifests within society.

In contrast to the naturalistic body, Foucault's work and others, such as Mary Douglas and Erving Goffman, are the extreme opposite: the socially constructed body (Shilling 2003). Central to Foucault's work is the idea of *discourse*, meaning communication, especially in relation to knowledge. For Foucault, knowledge creates power, but power does not exist without knowledge (Entwistle 2000, 16). He is interested in '…the body and the effects of power on it' (Foucault 1980, 58), which manifests particularly in his studies on the penal system (Foucault 1979). Although, as Entwistle notes (2000, 20), Foucault was not explicitly concerned with dress or fashion, his understanding of the body and its relation to power has implications for how dress is understood. For her, 'Foucault's account…offers one way of thinking about the structuring influence of social forces on the body as well as offering a way of questioning commonsense understandings about modern dress' (Entwistle 2000, 20). For example, dress is closely linked to ideas of power and gender, even on the fundamental level where concerns about dress can be considered a female attribute and sometimes to be frivolous, while men do not concern themselves with such things (Entwistle 2000, 21-2).

Meskell (2000), however, critiques the use of Foucault's work on power in archaeology, as it render's the body immaterial, rather than drawing on the changing corporeality of the body. To balance this perspective, Entwistle has drawn upon a second source of theory. The work of Merleau-Ponty forms a useful counter-balance to Foucault in that it allows embodiment and agency to be taken into account (Entwistle 2000, 23-8). Rather than seeing the body as passive, through Merleau-Ponty's view we '…come to understand our relation in the world via the positioning of our bodies physically and historically in space' thus allowing us to see that '…our bodies are not just the place from which we come to experience the world, but it is through our bodies that we come to be seen in the world' (Entwistle 2000, 29). For Merleau-Ponty, space is an important concept, because bodies move through space. For dress, this is a useful concept, as 'dress in everyday life is always located spatially and temporally: when getting dressed one orientates oneself to the situation, acting in particular ways upon the body' (Entwistle 2000, 29). Finally, Entwistle also draws on Bourdieu's idea of *habitus*, which is '…a system of durable, transposable dispositions that are produced by the particular conditions of a class grouping' (Bourdieu 1990, 53).

By drawing on these ideas of embodiment, it is possible to understand practices of dress as socially and culturally situated, whereby everyday dress is negotiated between the fashion system, social norms, and the agency to make individual choices (Entwistle 2000, 37). Therefore, Entwistle's structural/phenomenological framework for understanding dress draws, on the one hand, from discourses of the body and power and, on the other hand, from the embodied experience of dress, which results in a study of dress that reflects a situated practice. In relation to the previously mentioned 'reading dress' approach, or symbolic interaction, Entwistle does not entirely reject the possibility that particular approaches to dress can be read or seen as symbols. Instead, she sees dress as being more than this; dress constitutes the embodiment of many different aspects of an individual, which is not limited to their categorical identity such as age, gender, or ethnicity, but can also include a projection of a person's mood, anticipated social setting, or agenda, to name a few possibilities.

2.2.2 Dress and Archaeology

Having reviewed two theories of dress, both found in anthropological literature, it is now time to turn to archaeology. In contrast to the studies discussed above, archaeologists are interested in past societies rather than modern Western, non-Western, or recent historical societies. While these contemporary studies have the benefit of fieldwork within living communities, or access to text and pictorial material, a study of prehistoric dress is at a distinct disadvantage. Those that inhabited Britain during the Iron Age left us with no written texts, the representation of human form is rare, and when it does occur there is little indication of dress. This section will first review how dress and identity have been approached in Iron Age studies and archaeology more generally, and will then discuss the evidence for dress in Iron Age Britain.

Dress, the Body, and Identity in Archaeology

Despite the growing diversity of approaches in the social sciences, studies of dress and objects related to dress in archaeology have a tendency to be limited to two types of discussion. The first is artefact based, typically where only a single type of artefact is researched in depth. For example, when examining Iron Age material culture, studies focus on brooches (e.g. Hull & Hawkes 1987), pins (e.g. Dunning 1934b), or regional artefacts, such as massive armlets in Scotland (e.g. Hunter 2006c; Simpson 1968). These often manifest either as extensive catalogues or lists of objects (e.g. MacGregor 1976), or classificatory studies that attempt to order the variability seen in the artefacts, often within a chronological dimension (e.g. Fowler 1960; Haselgrove 1997; Hull & Hawkes 1987). Other studies take a scientific approach to better understand the technology and chemical composition of the objects themselves (e.g

Dungworth 1996; Henderson 1982). The results of these studies see artefacts as passive by-products of human activity and they simply serve to investigate artefacts on a superficial level sometimes without context. They do not necessarily answer questions about objects such as: how was it used? Or, what did it mean to different people? However, recently there has been a move towards seeing decorated objects, especially metalwork, as more than just chronological markers (e.g. Garrow & Gosden 2012; Joy 2011b), but rather active participants within Iron Age society. However, while these studies have examined a variety of objects, not all are connected to dress, and their aims tend not to explore the understanding of dress as a whole.

The second major type of study found in archaeology, is the application of the 'reading' dress approach, as discussed in Section 2.2.1. In these studies, a variety of different types of data are used for interpretation where possible (textual, visual representation, artefacts), although data from inhumations has generally come to be seen as a reflection of a person's age, gender, status, and any other affiliation. For example, Sørensen's (1991; 1997) work draws on European Bronze Age burial evidence to explore connections between age and biological sex and how dress was constructed through the placement of artefacts in relation to the body.

Despite the previously mentioned criticisms of simply reading dress as a reflection of an individual's identity, this continues to be the way in which dress is understood within archaeology (e.g. Gleba, Munkholt *et al.* 2008; Harlow 2012; Marcus 1993). When a burial is taken to be a clear reflection of an individual's identity in this way, there is little consideration of who buried the individual and the social meaning of the inclusion of the artefacts, the possibility of disguise or altered identity, or whether the artefacts reflect the individual's identity in life. Furthermore, as identity is often discussed in terms of categories of identity, such as gender, age, ethnicity, status, we cannot assume that these categories explicitly existed in the past, but rather need the data to demonstrate that they did.

Thus far, identity has been mentioned, but has not been discussed in detail. From the archaeological standpoint, Díaz-Andreu and Lucy provide a cogent working definition of identity as "…[an] individuals' identification with broader groups on the basis of differences socially sanctioned as significant" (Díaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005, 1). When we talk about identity, we mean an individual person's sense of belonging or attachment to different social groups. Although identity is often studied in terms of categorical identity (e.g. age, gender, or ethnicity), it is recognised that a person's identity is not just one of these categories, but many. These categories are not permanent once they are attached to a person, as they can change over a lifetime. Despite organising their book into the identity categories of gender, age, status, ethnicity, and religion, Díaz-Andreu and Lucy emphasise the need for studies of identity to move beyond this singular approach and examine how an identity is determined from multiple aspects of a person (Díaz-Andreu & Lucy 2005, 9). While it seems that this proposition would be a positive move for identity studies, they continue to limit their ideas to combinations of these identity categories. This creates a very simplistic view of identity, as it is unable to take into account the agency of the individual, or even a group, to act outside of their identity category. Nor does it consider a person's experience in the world and how they construct, maintain, or actively change their identity. As archaeologists work with the remains of past societies, it is often anticipated that the effects of these past social processes will fit into neat, discreet categories. Why should all adult females in Late Iron Age Britain dress as clones or use the same material culture? And, for that matter, why should males?

One of the problems with trying to build an understanding of dress in the past is that we, as archaeologists, are not removed from the contemporary perceptions of body or dress. While they are clearly linked from a modern standpoint, our interpretation of the body in the past is bound to reflect our contemporary viewpoint of its importance within our own societies (Borić & Robb 2008, 2; Shilling 2003). Similarly, Entwistle (2000, 78-81) has stressed that our modern understanding of dress, and especially of fashion, is the result of centuries of development of a specific manner of dress, with the purpose of becoming social mobile. It is, therefore, crucial to recognise where our own culturally intuitive understandings of body and dress originate from, to allow us to be critically reflective when interpreting the past.

Further complicating the relationship between dress, identity, and body are artefacts themselves. Unlike studies of classification and typology, all artefact types cannot be treated the same. Each individual object will undergo a different life pathway, and there is no reason to assume that all objects should be treated in the same way in life or death. This results in differing artefact biographies as objects are used, exchanged, gifted, modified, broken (Gosden 2005; Kopytoff 1986), and finally left in intentional or accidental deposits, later to be subsumed into the archaeological record. Therefore, despite apparent similarity, no two artefacts are ever truly alike.

Bringing together the theoretical concepts of artefact biographies, the body, identity, dress, and studies of artefacts, is the 'reading' dress approach as far as we can take a study of prehistoric dress? Can we take it further using Entwistle’s framework for seeing dress as a situated practice? Judging from recent workshops and conference sessions, this is beginning to happen[2], yet there is still a lack of published literature that critically reflects on the study of dress in the past, and in particular prehistory. This thesis aims to incorporate these new ideas and interpretations by drawing on current approaches to understanding the body, dress, and identity. In this way, it will move beyond reading dress as the goal of study.

Thinking about late prehistoric Britain, would a person's dress be a straightforward display of an individual's identity? Or could they have manipulated it in the ways that Entwistle recognises during the modern period? But perhaps more relevant is the question of the sort of identities that people displayed in Iron Age Britain. Here I want to move away from the strict categories of identity that are so often used. Instead, I will draw on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus,* as it not only envelopes the categories of identity, but it also extends to include much more. For Bourdieu, this is the experience of everyday life in all aspects, where there is interaction between the individual *habitus* (self-identity), and that of the group (group-identity), such as social class (Bourdieu 1990, 60). However, within this shared group identity, the individual *habitus*, or 'personal style' marks out an individual, while at the same time maintaining membership to the group *habitus*. Although Bourdieu (1984) was particularly interested in the effect of different class systems on *habitus*, we can extend this to the more traditional concepts of identity categories. In this way, we can talk about these identity categories, while at the same time recognising that they are multiple in nature and transformational, and are also subject to the actions of the agent as an individual. Therefore, when thinking about identity in Iron Age Britain, I am examining identity in these less strict categorical terms.

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[2] For example: Rags to Riches: dress and dress accessories in social context, Reading University, 21 April 2012; 'Dressing Sensibly: sensory approaches to dress for archaeologists' session at TAG 2012, Liverpool University; and the upcoming session 'Gender Identities in the Making - prehistoric dress and network patterns in a supraregional perspective' at the 19th Annual EAA Meeting, 4-8 September 2013.

Dress in Iron Age Britain

Studies of dress, the body, and identity in Iron Age Britain have been undertaken through a more piecemeal approach, for example, study of a single regional perspective (e.g. Giles 2012; Hunter 2007a), or the examination of a particular artefact type (e.g. Hill 1997; Hunter 2006c). These studies particularly emphasis the status displayed by individuals through the use of material culture, such as emphasising differences between Romans and the native inhabitants of Scotland in the case of Hunter's work. Giles, on the other hand, interprets the evidence in terms of age and gender as well as status within a regional identity. Yet there remains an absence of a method for analysing the construction of dress across the whole of Britain that brings together evidence for textiles, artefacts, human representation, and classical sources (when appropriate) in an effort to understand the changing dynamic of dress during the Iron Age. A Britain-wide approach does not preclude the opportunity for discussions of regional dress; quite the opposite, as it allows us to compare and contrast the evidence in differing regions. This section will review the evidence for dress in Iron Age Britain and the implications for a study of glass beads.

One of the major trends seen in evidence for Iron Age Britain is a general sparseness of material culture at first, followed by incremental increases in the number and variety of artefacts towards the end of the period (Hill 1995a). This is a pattern seen in the study of pottery (Pollard 2002), grooming objects (Eckardt & Crummy 2008; Hill 1997), brooches (Haselgrove 1997; Jundi & Hill 1997), and other objects (e.g. horse equipment, coins, etc.). Changes in material culture, settlements (e.g. *oppida*), methods for treatment of the dead, and possible developments in social stratification have led to the suggestion that there was a dramatic change in society, around the first century BC (Hill 1995a, 78-89). This has been described by some as the result of increased contact with the continent and the importation of exotic or luxury goods (Fitzpatrick 1990;

Haselgrove 1982; Sharples 1990), as well as the Claudian conquest in the mid-first century AD, the effects of which were particularly felt in southern Britain. Whether these new objects were the cause of social change, or merely a reflection of changes already occurring, has been a major area of debate (Fitzpatrick 2001; Hill 2007, c.f. Cunliffe 2005). Nevertheless, the increase in artefacts, especially those related to dress, has been interpreted as reflecting a wider change in attitudes towards the body.

Not only do we find more artefacts related to the care and maintenance of the body, but brooches change in style, become more numerous, and perhaps reflect an increased desire to adorn the self (Eckardt 2008; Hill 1997). However, these ideas primarily reflect the Iron Age of southern Britain and cannot necessarily be said to reflect contemporary changes in the rest of Britain (i.e. Northern Britain and Wales). In the case of Northeast Scotland, changes in material culture do occur, although at a slightly later date, within the first few centuries AD (Hunter 2001a; 2006c; 2007a). Therefore, from a Britain-wide perspective, a degree of caution is needed, as it is not possible to say whether changes in perceptions to the body and the increased use of objects in dress occurred in all regions, or if all objects follow this pattern. The following section will consider the various types of evidence for dress in Iron Age Britain, and the implications for its understanding.

Human Iconography

Representation of the human form could potentially provide an indication of the types of cloth used and the manner in which textiles and other objects were worn, and the way in which the hair was styled. Human imagery was prevalent during the Iron Age on the continent (Megaw 1970). For example, the figures on the Gundestrup Cauldron display several individuals on its panels, in addition to figures of animals (Figure 2.1). The extent that these figures were human, rather than supernatural in nature is not clear, although the large size of some figures (Aldhouse-Green 2001, 114) and the antlers worn by another certainly suggest that the object might depict interactions between humans and divine beings. However, not only do these images show individuals in human form, but they wear torcs around the neck, an object that is found in the archaeological record. Several of the figures also wear close fitting garments (for example see the antler individual in Figure 2.1a), similar to a modern unitard. This suggests that at least some people wore very tightly fitted garments and the detail shown in the repoussé depicts fabric woven in stripes, or an alternating twill/herringbone pattern (see: DeRoche 2012; Mannering, Gleba *et al.* 2012 for examples from both Britain and Dennmark). This seemingly contradicts any assumption that early garments were 'simple' in construction, utilising only large pieces of cloth. The other figure (central individual in Figure 2.1b) is shown with long, possibly arranged hair. There is a smaller figure to the right, who appears to be in the process of grooming the larger figure. This may depict the importance of social grooming, perhaps as a part of everyday life, or possibly in a ritual or servile sense if the figures are divine.

Human iconography in Iron Age Britain, on the other hand, seems to be a much rarer occurrence. The human figure was largely absent in much of the material from Iron Age Britain until the third century BC (Jope 2000, 92). Clear representations of the human form have been found on the remains of the Marlborough bucket, the Baldock bucket, and the Aylesford bucket, while some are more ambiguous, such as the possible face from the 'Grotesque torc' from Snettisham (Garrow & Gosden 2012, 2 and Figure 1.4) and the 'sheet bronze head' from Stanwick in Yorkshire (Jope 2000, Plates 150-1 e-o). All of these focus on the head or the face, suggesting that this was an important aspect of the body in representation.

A very small number of human figurines from Britain represent the whole body. These include wooden figures from various contexts, and a number of chalk figurines found predominately in East Yorkshire. Of the wooden figures, the Roos Carr find is the most elaborately constructed. It consists of four individuals attached to a boat, one of which holds a shield. The eyes of the figures are inlaid with white quartz (Piggott 1951, 17), giving the figures a piercing, yet strange appearance (Figure 2.2). Other wooden figures have been found individually, such as those from Ballachulish in Argyllshire, Dagenham in Essex, and Teigngrace in Devon (Figure 2.3). Other comparable examples have been found at Shercock, Co. Cavan in Ireland and at Montbuoy, Loiret department in France. Although the date of these different figures is unclear, similarities in style between these different figures tie them together, such as the detachable penis on the Shercock and Dagenham figures, and the quartz eyes on the Balachulish figure, which is a feature that is shared with the Roos Carr figures.

Additional details for these figures remain largely elusive, including their date (although Piggott (1951) suggested a Late Bronze Age date) and purpose. However, it appears that most, if not all, of these figures were nude, as evidenced by their visible male genitalia. This suggests that they were not painted or otherwise clothed and that their naked appearance was important. The illustrations and photographs are not clear, but there is no indication of head or beard hair, which is at odds with Late Iron Age European depictions of males. If these figures do represent humans, or divine beings in human form, then it is possible that these figures represent the importance of the unclothed body, perhaps in ritual acts.

In contrast, the chalk figurines, although crudely formed, do illustrate a different level of detail. There are approximately 40-50 figurines, including fragments (Stead 1988). Where their provenance is known, they have been connected with later Iron Age ladder-type enclosures in East

Yorkshire (Giles 2007a; Stead 1988). Examples that are complete, or mostly complete, show details either embossed on the main surface, or engraved into the chalk. For example, Figure 2.4 shows the back of one figure where an arm is reaching for a sword attached to a belt. On the back of Figure 2.5, this belt and sword motif is very lightly engraved into the surface of the figure. Others, such as Stead's (1988) nos. 7, 28, 40, have repeated scratch marks on the surface that may indicate a textile garment or perhaps a woven belt, as on no. 28. However, Stead's no. 38 is the only example where gender has been clearly marked out, although this individual is still depicted as wearing a belt with sword. Nudity, it seems, does not negate the ability to wear a sword, suggesting that this may have been an important feature of the individual's identity.

The wooden and chalk figures were likely created for different purposes. Textile evidence is known from Late Bronze Age Britain (DeRoche 2012); therefore the wooden figures (if Late Bronze Age) appear to be nude for a purpose, while some of the chalk figures are remain clothed or dressed. As very few of these wood and chalk objects have been found in clear dated contexts, it is unclear whether we are seeing regional differences, period differences, or differences of occasion. However, it is interesting that of the wooden figures, only those from Roos Carr have any accompanying objects (shields), while the chalk figures often displayed a sword in scabbard, and possibly garments.

Finally, a combination of head and body iconography can be found on some Gallo-Belgic coins. Allen (1958) has proposed that they can be used to understand aspects of daily life in Late Iron Age (pre-Roman) Britain, including both men's and women's garments and hairstyles. However, some of this imagery is clearly borrowed from early Roman styles, and some of the individuals may be deities (Allen 1958, 55-9). Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether these display Roman, Gallo-Belgic, or British individuals. For example, Allen (1958, 56) pointed out that it is rare for men to be shown with moustaches or beards on these coins, while this feature figures prominently on other representations of the human form. Given that we have limited representations of the human form in Britain during this period, it is difficult to support the coins as evidence for everyday life.

Death and the Body

Turning now to the body in death, Iron Age Britain is usually characterised as a period without a widespread burial tradition (Carr & Knüsel 1997). When compared to inhumations and cremations from the Bronze Age, and the formal cemeteries of the Roman and succeeding periods, this may seem to be the case at first. However, there is clear evidence that methods for treating the dead during this period were highly complex and varied regionally, as well as over time (Whimster 1981). Formal inhumations begin to appear in the Middle Iron Age, as shown by cists and other inhumations from southwest Britain (Dudley 1961; Johns 2006), and crouched pit inhumations in southern Britain (Cunliffe 1984a).

By the end of the Middle Iron Age radiocarbon dates suggest that, in East Yorkshire, the extensive regional square barrow tradition and so-called 'chariot burials' appear (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012). One exception to this is the Newbridge chariot burial outside Edinburgh (Carter & Hunter 2003), which has been dated to substantially earlier (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012), making it both a regional and temporal anomaly. The East Yorkshire burials are often found clustered in cemeteries, such as at Wetwang Slack and Arras. Many of these inhumations have simple grave-goods, such as joints of meat and ceramic vessels. However, some are more elaborate and contain brooches, glass beads, and bracelets. By the Late Iron Age, the 'Durotrigian' crouched burial style was practiced in Dorset, while in other regions, such as in the southeast, cremation became a regional practice. Some of these burials in Dorset also included mirrors (e.g. Langton Herring), while others occasionally contain swords (e.g. Whitcombe burial no 9). Both mirrors and swords are thought to represent high-status burials (Joy 2011a).

The excavated inhumations and cremations by no means form the dominant methods for treatment of the dead. It is clear that not all bodies were placed in inhumations or were cremated prior to burial. Articulated limbs, skulls, and single human bones are not uncommon in pits, which are commonly thought to have been used previously for grain storage. The collection of skulls, whether whole or fragmentary, has been used to suggest the idea of a 'head-cult' in Iron Age Britain (Armit 2012), while human remains in pits may have been an act of propitiation (Cunliffe 1992). In other cases, fragmentary human remains are often attributed to a different treatment of the body - excarnation (Carr & Knüsel 1997). In this process, the body is left exposed to the elements, and it may be that, after natural processes of decomposition have taken place, the remaining bones were collected either for burial or curation. Finally, in a limited number of known cases, certain individuals may have been intentionally placed in bogs at death (Stead, Bourke *et al.* 1986; Turner & Scaife 1995).

The body is clearly not a static entity during this period and differences in practice appear to reflect changes in meaning, both regionally and chronologically. In some instances, it was treated as a whole and remains intact, while in others the body is found in varying degrees of fragmentation. In the majority of cases, it seems that the body does not enter the archaeological record in a visible way. The flexibility and variety in the practice of treatment of the dead attests to the idea that there was not a prescribed practice throughout Britain, but that people were treated in a multitude of different ways. This may have even have been a source of conflict between groups. The body then becomes very important in the discussion of Iron Age Britain, because of the multiplicity of human actions. Burial practice and the treatment of the dead may have been decided within the community, with every decision a deliberate act. Studies of human remains, however, tend to focus on the skeletal evidence itself (e.g. age, sex, health, etc.), as well as the layout of the burial, such as the orientation and position of the body (e.g Whimster 1981). There is little explicit consideration of how differing burial practices reflect Iron Age ideas about the body. Why are these differences present? And what do these different burial practices express? Do they reflect identity, or are there other circumstances that determine the way in which a person is buried?

Although we have evidence for how the body was treated during death, how then do we extrapolate from this to the experience of the body during life? This is especially difficult given that we do not fully understand the differences between how the body was treated in these two states. Artefacts form one physical form of evidence that we can draw on. Although not exclusive to artefacts of dress, these objects by their nature would have been created, held, used, and transformed by the individual or moved between groups, although some (e.g. pots in East Yorkshire, Rigby in Stead 1991a, 105) may have been made specifically for deposition within burials. Artefacts found with an individual have often been used comparatively to understand the status of the deceased. For example, the lavish ‘princess/lady’ inhumation at Vix has been described as high-status in-part because of both the quantity and different types of objects contained within the burial (Pope & Ralston 2011, 383). Examples of high-status burials from Britain include the cart or chariot burials from East Yorkshire, as well as other mirror burials (Langton Herring and Portesham in Dorset, and Birdlip in Gloucestershire), the tumulus burial at Lexeden, and the Welwyn Garden city burial. If the objects that accompanied the body represent the deceased’s belongings in life, then perhaps they do reflect status. However, the selectivity of an inhumation rite suggests that there is much more at play. Does inhumation in itself imply a higher status in comparison to others? To what extent do rare or exotic objects amplify the status of the individual? One last issue is that the archaeological record is biased towards materials that survive better within the ground. This, perhaps, has led to a distorted view of a material hierarchy in the past, coupled with the use of our modern hierarchical systems during our interpretations.

2.3 Artefacts of Dress

2.3.1 Introduction

Artefacts related to dress have been found from contexts throughout the Iron Age in Britain. The brooch is perhaps one of the most extensively studied artefacts, as its evolution over time can be shown to follow a more or less linear pattern (Fowler 1953; Haselgrove 1997; Hattatt 1985; Hattatt 1989; Mackreth 2011). However, there has been less focus on how they were used. Other types of artefacts that were worn on the body include: bracelets, finger-rings, toe-rings, anklets, arm-rings, armlets, pendants, necklaces, neck-rings, and collars. Objects worn on the head as part of a crown or headdress are very rare, although one notable exception is the crown from the Deal Warrior in Kent (Parfitt 1995). Other artefacts were used for the care and maintenance of the body, such as shears, tweezers, ear-scoops, 'nail-cleaners', mirrors, and small pestle and mortars that may have been used for grinding woad.

These artefacts are sometimes found in inhumations, as well as settlements, and occasionally in dry-land hoards. When found in association with human remains they may indicate the way that they were used (e.g. small rings found on the finger-bones), but it is unclear if the body was prepared in a specific way for burial, or appeared as it did in everyday life. Artefacts found as stray finds or within settlements are more ambiguous, as they do not directly indicate the manner in which they were used. While the way that some objects were employed seem obvious, such as bracelets worn on the wrists and brooches pinned together garments, the manner in which they were specifically displayed or used is unclear, and may even have changed over time according to regional traditions.

Textiles and garments made from leather or hide may also indicate aspects of dress. However, evidence for textile production is extremely rare for this period (DeRoche 2012). It is best indicated by spindle whorls and loom-weights found on settlements, although no looms have been recovered (except possibly from Glastonbury Lake Village (Bulleid & Gray 1917a, Plates LII-LVII)). Very few scraps of textiles remain (e.g. Somerleyton in Suffolk, and Skipworth Common in Yorkshire (DeRoche 2012)), but the best evidence is found in the corrosion of metal objects, which were in contact with either plant or animal based materials. However, while these scraps can be analysed in terms of the quality and direction of the spin, and the pattern of weave, the small size of the fragments makes determining the type of garments worn unclear. Brooches were presumably used to connect different garments, but it is also unclear how this was done.

2.3.2 Artefacts and Colour

One aspect of these objects that has not been discussed is that they all have different forms and were made from a variety of materials. Each of these materials has a different quality, some of which can be manipulated, while others cannot. For example, jet is a naturally black substance, but can be polished to create a lustrous surface or abraded to produce a matt surface. Meltable metals (i.e. gold, silver, and copper-alloy) were combined to create different metallic colours that range from reds, to yellows, and silvers as displayed by the coin evidence (Creighton 2000). Fitzpatrick (2005) connects these yellow or golden colours with the embodiment of deities on earth or other connections to the heavens or celestial beings. Complicating some of these objects further is the decoration created through areas of texture, such as hatching juxtaposed with sinuous designs (e.g. mirrors). It is this play with colour, reflectivity of light, and play with shadow through texture that may have created a sense of confusion or even awe when viewed (Gell 1998).

There are two materials that can be directly manipulated to exhibit a fuller spectrum of colour. The first are textiles, which can be dyed through the use of a variety of plant materials, including the famous woad blue. The fragment textile from Skipworth Common in Yorkshire is suggested to be between 20-30% dyed, while a fragment from Burton Fleming burial 20 is thought to be the earliest example of embroidery in Britain and probably employed dyed wool to render the design visible (DeRoche 2012). Colour can also be manipulated on a second type of material: glass. Through the addition of oxides and minerals, glass can change in both colour and opacity from its often natural pale translucent green colour (Henderson 1985; 2000). While glass objects or objects containing glass are found in Iron Age Britain (e.g. beads and inlay on some copper-alloy objects), and it has been suggested that localised production of some objects occurred in Britain (Davis & Gwilt 2008; Henderson 1987; 1989), it is unclear if colour and opacity were manipulated at the time of object manufacture, or whether glass was primarily coloured at an earlier stage with no later alterations. While the colour of some materials can be directly manipulated, and the texture of others can sometimes be altered, it is through the combination of multiple objects that colour and texture come together to create appearance.

The connections between colour and human society have been studied from various perspectives. Development of methods to measure and describe colour is an area of study to itself, as is the study of the biological capacity to perceive colour (Fortner & Meyer 1997). Other approaches seek to understand the connection between colour, language, and cognition. Berlin and Kay's (1999) seminal work has laid the foundation for later studies on this topic, including those in archaeology (Spence 1999). The basic premise is that colour term development follows a universal evolutionary pattern from a simple dichotomy between light (white) and dark (black) to more complex language where terms exist for ten or more colours. There have been numerous critiques of their study from both within the linguistic discipline (Saunders & Brakel 1997), and from the archaeologist's perspective (Chapman 2002).

A third approach to the study of colour examines the symbolic aspects of colour, where a particular colour can represent or communicate an idea. However, Young (2006, 179) critiques this approach as it limits colour to simply reflecting meaning and does not take context into consideration, or consider colour in flux. In contrast, she studies the materiality of colour, which seeks to understand why objects have a particular colour and what the colour does for the object (Young 2006, 175). Through a materiality approach, it is possible to consider the changing nature of colour over time, its context, and the juxtaposition of different colours. Young's (2005b; 2010) ethnographic work on the colour of cars and cultural synaesthesia in Western Australia is a good example of this approach to the study of colour. It is this approach that the discussion of glass colour will return to in Chapter 6.

Within studies of Iron Age Britain, Giles (2008a) has examined the effect of decoration on copper-alloy objects. Some of these were decorated by the inclusion of either coral or red glass. While this decoration would not have been visible from a distance, at shorter range it would have stimulated a culturally learned reaction and interpretation, possibly leading to states of dazzlement, confusion, or even fear (Giles 2008a, 60), especially when viewed on martial objects, such as swords. In contrast, blue glass beads are found in mature female inhumations, which she suggests reflected the age and seniority of the individual (Giles 2008a, 72). Because the context of colour is important, it may be that the use of red on items other than martial objects, such as pins, pendants, and bracelets, or blue used outside of glass beads, such as woad, may have had a different effect on the viewer.

The idea of painting or tattooing with woad is also recognised as a practice during this period. A recent examination of evidence by Carr (2005) suggests that there may have been a change in the use of woad, first as an 'all-over' body paint and then later through the application of intricate designs. This change would have created visible differences in practice perhaps between an older and younger generation. In addition, there may have been an element in terms of resistance against the Romans, whereby individuals concealed their identity or political associations through the application of temporary woad. Alternatively, its application could proclaim an allegiance to a particular group (Carr 2005, 284-5).

2.3.3 Artefacts as Dates

Artefacts have long been instrumental in understanding the phases of prehistory. Prior to the development of scientific dating methodologies (e.g. C^{14} dating), the organisation of artefacts into periods of use and disuse provided a relative framework from which to describe the past. Since the development of radiocarbon dating, coupled with dendronchronology, it has been possible to pinpoint the dates of artefacts, features, and other material within calendrical date range. Within Iron Age studies, absolute dates have not replaced artefact chronologies, and both remain integral to interpreting archaeological evidence. In part, this is due to the radiocarbon plateau between 800 and 400 BC, which results in large error margins and wide date ranges. However, it is also due to the increasingly recognised complexity of both archaeological features in Iron Age Britain (Collis 2008; Hill 1995b), and the concept of time more generally (Lucas 2005).

Understanding the archaeological complexity of time is integral for interpreting the evidence and developing chronologies for understanding the past, as it is the result of past human action. For example, the infill of a pit can be a slow natural accumulation, deliberate complete infill, slow deliberate infill over time resulting in many layers, or a combination of these factors. It can be the result of actions undertaken within the space of a few hours, weeks, months, years, or even decades. In contrast, given the intact nature of many formal inhumations, it is more likely that these were short-lived events that were completed within a few hours to a few days (Collis 2008). The way that we visualise these events is imperative for our interpretation (Collis 2008, 92).

Artefacts have been used to date features and sites in a number of ways. First, there is the horizon, where the presence of certain objects or materials indicates a fundamental change in either technology or material culture. For example, some materials can only be used through the use of new technology (i.e. metal objects would not be expected in Palaeolithic contexts), and coinage developed during a particular period in time (i.e. would not be expected in Neolithic contexts). Long-running types of artefacts can also be seen to change over time, and the manifestation of these changes can be used to date features. For example, pottery is perhaps one of the longest established types of material culture with good survivability. From the macro-scale perspective, we can see it change from the Neolithic to the modern day; however, it is often the micro-scale that is the most beneficial for archaeologists. Iron Age pottery has been heavily relied upon for dating settlements and burials. Brooches are a particular type of object that first appear in the Iron Age, but have also been shown to steadily change in appearance throughout this period (Haselgrove 1997). However, the premise of artefact chronology and resulting typologies is that they expect artefacts to develop in a linear pattern and that they will be deposited in roughly contemporary features.

This brings us to two issues with using artefacts for dating. First, the assumption that artefacts naturally develop linearly; and second, that they will be deposited within a contemporary feature that reflects their manufacture and short use period. Both of these areas are problematic. While some artefacts, such as brooches (Haselgrove 1997), have been shown to develop linearly, Garrow and Gosden (2012) have suggested that the decoration on Celtic Art does not follow a linear development, but instead is an accumulation of patterns and designs. Therefore, caution is needed when studying artefacts and their dates and linearity should not be assumed. In addition, artefact chronologies and their use for dating features and sites are complicated partly by the complexity of time in the past discussed above, but also by the issue of artefacts out of their temporal period. This is often referred to as 'residuality', however, this antiquated term suggests that such an appearance was abnormal and that the practice of artefacts being used outside of their time period goes against the natural consumer behaviour to dispose of 'old' objects and acquire 'new' versions. These so-called residual objects have been discussed recently in two different contexts: Hingley's (2009) discussion of Bronze Age objects found in Iron Age depositions, and Lockyear's (2007; 2012) study of Roman coins. Lockyear's study demonstrated the problems with coin hoards by graphing the date ranges of the coin issues contained within each hoard. In several cases, there were hoards with Republic issues along with late first or early second century AD coins, which suggest that these objects circulated for very long periods of time. Together, these studies suggest that we should not expect objects to be deposited within representative features, and care needs to be taken when extending artefact chronology dates to features, as well as scientific dates to artefacts.

Guido's (1978a) typology was based on the assumption that glass beads could act as type fossils to date archaeological features (typology is discussed more fully in Section 2.4.3). Each of her classes was thought to form discrete period packages of beads that were manufactured, used, and deposited within a short period of time. Residual examples sometimes manifested in Roman period contexts, but she interpreted these as having little meaning. For example, one of her 'Class 2 Welwyn Garden City type' beads, which exhibits complex eyes (see Appendix A) was found in a pit with Romano-British pottery and a Vespasian coin, however she dismisses it as having come from an earlier occupation at the site, rather than continuing to play a role within society (Guido 1978a, 48). This demonstrates the importance of being clear about what is being dated and the importance of being clear about how an artefact is dated. A new analysis of glass bead chronology from the typology approach is presented in Chapter 5, while an analysis of glass bead chronology through an analysis of depositional practices is presented in Chapter 7.

2.3.4 Artefact Production and Exchange

While the previous sections discussed evidence for dress, the relationship between artefacts and colour, and artefacts as dates, this section will examine what we can learn about exchange and production through studies of artefacts. Here, production refers to the resources and steps taken in order to produce an object, while exchange refers to the mechanisms by which they changed hands.

Production of objects has been suggested to be the culmination of a suite of factors: raw materials, location of raw materials, location of production, time investment, and construction; although other socially mediated factors have also been identified, such as the selection of raw materials (DeRoche 1997; Hamilton 2002). The scale that different production occurs at is linked to the level of exchange. Thus, a small household level production will utilise only local resources, requires little equipment investment, utilises only family labour, and produces objects used by the household or perhaps within the community (DeRoche 1997, 20). However, a larger production scale might draw on a larger resource base, perhaps choosing specific resource types over others, might have a more specialised or dedicated workforce, occurs within a designated area, and there is both a larger time investment in production and in tools. DeRoche (1997) suggested that in order to understand the mode of production, it is crucial to understand the technology needed to produce objects, as each will have different requirements.

Exchange then can range from the household/local level to the larger long-distance exchange network. For example, Moore has shown that within the Severn-Cotswolds, Malvern pottery, May Hill querns, and Droitwich briquetage occur at similar sites, which suggests that they may have been exchanged within similar networks (Moore 2007a, 50). Functional models explore exchange in economic terms where items have value and are exchanged for similarly valued objects; however, the actual mechanism for exchange, and the social processes involved remains unclear (Moore 2007a, 50-1). Recently, anthropological literature has been explored to understand exchange less as an economic process, but instead as the social processes and the social bonds that it can create. For example, interpretation of exchange through gift-giving draws upon the work of Mauss (1990 (1950)). Although, as Sharples (2010, 74) points out, it is impossible to see gift-giving in the archaeological record, Moore (2007a, 53-5) shows that by examining the settlement pattern and artefact distributions, it is possible to explore the relationship that inhabitants had with their neighbours through the archaeological record.

In comparison to pottery (Hamilton 2002), metalwork (Dungworth 1996), and querns (Peacock 1987), there has been little study of the evidence for glass bead manufacture in Britain (c.f. Henderson 1992). Evidence for raw glass manufacture in Britain is non-existent, and evidence for glass-working is extremely limited and in many cases unsubstantiated. However, an analysis of the key requirements for glass working suggests that in many ways the process requires similar conditions and tools to those needed for working with copper-alloy. Both materials need to be heated to a similar temperature, and both may have been melted in crucibles at some stages. This is explored further in Section 2.4.5.

2.3.5 Artefacts and Identity

The connection between people and artefacts has long been a topic of discussion. Within the Culture History approach to interpreting the past, artefacts were used to define different culture groups and their boundaries (e.g. Childe 1929; Childe 1940). However, although this approach to interpreting the past has fallen from favour, the connection between material culture and identity has continued to be an area of study (Hodder 1982; Miller 2010; Shanks & Tilley 1987). Hunter (2007a) has argued that within Iron Age Scotland and Northern Britain, patterns in the artefactual record do exist. Rather than viewing these patterns as a static reflection of the past or tribal/cultural boundaries, they are instead interpreted as evidence for different regional identities. Different patterns can be seen at different scales, and also within different groups of artefacts or by the materials utilised (Hunter 2007).

Patterning in the material culture is particularly important for this thesis. This study has examined four very distinct geographic regions by considering the patterns at the macro-level through a comparison of types and characteristics. As is shown in the following chapters, there are patterns in the different types used, the colours, and in the different decorations on glass beads. This may suggest that there were distinct regional identities that were displayed through the use of material culture. This is further supported in Chapter 8 through a comparison of other types of material culture found in the study regions. However, not only are there regional patterns of material culture, but patterns also manifest in the organisation of settlement, boundaries, and in the treatment of the dead (explored further in Chapter 4).

Other types of identity are discussed in terms of the individual identity, such as age, gender, or status. Although burial data varies throughout Iron Age Britain, they have nonetheless formed the basis for discussions of identity. For example, in their discussion of sex and status evidence from burials in Iron Age Britain, Pope and Ralston (2011) suggest that by using grave wealth as an indicator of social status, women were just as likely to attain high status as men, but that these status-based identities were marked out through the gendered use of different types of material culture. Interestingly, they suggest that sex was not a major structuring principle in Middle Iron Age burials (Pope & Ralston 2011, 409), which suggests that men and women both had an opportunity to obtain a differentiated status through other means. Glass beads, it seems, forms a part of this gender package for marking out female identity, as where osteological examination has been carried out, they are never found with individuals thought to be male (discussed further in Chapter 8).

While regional and individual identities form core areas of study, another subject is the changing nature of identities around the first century BC, coupled with the Caesarian and Claudian invasions in southern Britain. It is these events that led to people from the Mediterranean and northern Europe arriving in Britain in large numbers. Many of them inhabited Britain, some as soldiers with the Roman army, as well as others that came to support the army and later settled (James 2001). They brought with them a different material culture and religious practices, new ways for treating the dead, and alternative styles of building, all of which are represented in the archaeological record.

In the past, this has led to an interpretation of a strict dichotomy between the inhabitants of Britain. On the one hand, there were the 'native' inhabitants of Britain, who were barbaric and uncivilised. On the other hand, there were those who identified themselves as Roman and brought their civilised culture to Britain. It was proposed that the native inhabitants took up the Roman way of life and in effect, became more 'Roman'. This process has been referred to as Romanisation (Haverfield 1915; Millett 1990). The implications of this change suggest that the people of Britain wanted to change and adopt a Roman way of life to become more civilised (Hingley 1996, 39). Criticisms of this explanation for social change suggested that the theory of 'Romanisation' was too simple, that it was elite focused, and interpreted the identities during this period in simplistic terms (Hingley 1996; 2005, 14). Some have challenged this perspective by considering resistance to Roman enforced change (Mattingly 1997b). It is also becoming increasingly apparent in our post-colonial world that cultures are not simply one or the other, and we have begun to explore cultural changes in reference to hybridisation and creolisation (Carr 2003; 2006; Webster 2001).

Issues of identity after the conquest become particularly interesting, especially in terms of material culture. Outside of the areas that were more directly impacted by the Roman conquest, the situation is even more complex. Much of the material culture in Northeast Scotland is largely attributed to the first few centuries AD, despite the lack of absolute dates for most of the artefacts. Due to their relatively late date in the Iron Age, artefacts are often described as:

- 'Roman' artefacts in a 'native' context,
- Artefacts of 'native' design, but stylistically influenced by 'Roman' artefacts, sometimes made by recycling Roman objects.

Thus, this interaction between the inhabitants of Northeast Scotland and the Romans becomes an important dynamic for understanding the material culture through contact networks and relationships. It is also interesting, however, that while the settlement architecture suggests continuity during this period and there is an emphasis on limited direct contact between Iron Age and Roman people in Northeast Scotland (except for in violent encounters (Macinnes 1989, 108)), that the material culture does not reflect limited interaction (Hunter 2001c). Instead, it has been noted that much of the Roman material culture found in Scotland is of a very high quality (Hunter 2001c, 301; Robertson 1970, 200). The Roman objects fall into two main categories: artefacts related to feasting and drinking (e.g. pottery, metal vessel), and ornaments, such as beads, brooches, and toilet instruments (Hunter 2001c, 299). In contrast, objects thought to have been made to local tastes, but with a 'Roman' flavour include the massive metalwork tradition, which consists of a number of armlets, and a few finger-rings and strap-junctions (Hunter 2001c, 291). The glass bangles and beads may also be a part of this assemblage, as some have suggested that they were made from recycled Roman vessel glass (Bertini 2012; Stevenson 1956; 1976), although the degree to which the designs were influenced by Roman styles is unclear.

One of the issues with the Roman or Roman influenced material is in the interpretation. What is the significance of these objects north of Hadrian's Wall, in an area that saw only limited permanent Roman occupation? Were they exotic objects that displayed status (Harding 2007, 234)? Or were they merely trinkets or curios (Macinnes 1989, 114)? Again, this relates back to the question of social organisation and hierarchy in Scotland, especially by the time the Romans established Hadrian's Wall. Do artefacts simply reflect status and ethnicity? This not only is an issue in Scotland, but also becomes an interpretive issue for glass beads found in Early Roman or Romano-British contexts in the rest of Britain. What does the presence of these beads say about the identity of the wearer, were they either ‘native’ or ‘Roman’? It seems likely that their identity was a complex combination of identity from multiple aspects of society and cannot be defined in this strict dichotomy.

2.3.6 Summary

Evidence for dress in Iron Age Britain derives from several sources. Pictorial representations of the human figure are rare, and the burial record is limited and inconsistent throughout the Iron Age. Textile evidence is also limited, as are other artefacts made from organic materials, leaving the most prolific types of evidence to be objects made from metals, glass, and stone. So, where does identity originate during this period? Evidence from the human body, or lack thereof, suggests that identities were based on a changing set of criteria that varied regionally and over time, and drew on other socially defined attributes beyond age/sex/ethnicity that we cannot measure or see within the archaeological record. General patterns from artefactual evidence suggest that increasing materiality throughout the Iron Age is indicative of not only changing concepts of the body and how it should be taken care of or displayed, but also an increasing desire to decorate it. The analyses in Chapter 8 will approach dress from a regional perspective, and examine the different types of evidence for dress in each region to understand how dress changes over time, the way in which dress was regionally constituted, and finally provide suggestions on the experience of wearing these objects.

2.4 Glass Bead Study

2.4.1 Introduction

Section 2.2.2 reviewed theories of dress and Section 2.3 reviewed Iron Age artefacts more generally. This section will now specifically focus on Iron Age glass beads and how they have been studied in the past. First, Section 2.4.2 will examine antiquarian attitudes towards glass beads, followed by the dominant typological method for understanding glass beads. It will then discuss scientific approaches to glass beads, the process for glass bead manufacture and evidence for this activity in Britain, and finally a brief examination of the wider European context.

2.4.2 Glass Beads and Antiquarians

Despite their colourful appearance, Iron Age glass beads did not extensively preoccupy antiquarians. One of the earliest discussions is that of Akerman (1852), who published a drawing of some glass beads from a private collection, with descriptions of the items. These were noted to be from a variety of different sites, both in Britain and elsewhere. In 1906, Greenwell published an article that illustrated many of the finds excavated in East Yorkshire. This included an illustration of some of the beads from the Queen's Barrow at Arras (Greenwell 1906, Figure 42).

The remarks on beads in these early publications are purely descriptive. The best example of the consistent recording of beads comes from Scotland, where the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* regularly recorded objects that were donated or bought and subsequently became a part of the National Museum of Scotland's collections. The entries of these acquisitions were often limited to the name of the donor/seller, a brief description, and the town or parish that the bead was found in. Sometimes a description of the activity that led to the discovery was also included such as 'peat-digging' or 'trench-digging'. Finally, two articles were also published in the proceedings that discuss charms and amulets (Black 1891; Simpson 1862). Both articles discuss glass beads, which seem to refer to beads that were later realised to be of Iron Age date.

Within the early antiquarian published literature, there is very little additional indication of interest in Iron Age glass beads. In contrast, many of the finds within museums were acquired during this antiquarian period, so they were clearly known. It seems that there was very little initiative to study them in greater detail at this time.

2.4.3 Guido Typology

Prior to Guido's (1978a) study, a comprehensive understanding of Iron Age glass beads in Britain was non-existent (for regional/site typologies see: Bulleid & Gray 1917a; Dent 1984; Stead 1979). For the first time, her study provided an overview ranging from the Late Bronze Age, through the Iron Age and into the Roman period. At the time, there was no consistent research that separated prehistoric and early historic beads. This presented a problem for her research, and her initial publication was followed by an additional volume dealing with Early Historic glass beads (Guido 1999). Bringing together this quantity of evidence for both prehistoric and Early Historic beads was clearly a massive undertaking, as she was working for the first time with an object that had seen only anecdotal descriptions within the literature. Her study provided the first systematic method for cataloguing and describing glass beads.

As an archaeologist, Margaret Guido in part remains a mystery. She was married to Stuart Piggot, and together in the 1930s they were a part of the team that uncovered Sutton Hoo in Suffolk (Guido 1999, x). Later, after Stuart's appointment in Edinburgh, she undertook excavations at Hownam Rings in Roxburghshire Scotland in 1948 (Piggott 1947-48), later followed by other excavations in the regions (Piggott 1948; 1949; 1953b). These excavations drew heavily on the Hawkes/Piggott (Hawkes 1958; Piggott 1966) framework for the Iron Age and attempted to test them (ScARF 2012, 6). The aims of this excavation were framed in terms of cultures that built and used this hillfort, and would later serve as a model for hillforts in eastern Scotland (Armit 1999). Although she encountered very few glass beads during these excavations, she later credited her study to suggestions by Dr Donald Harden (Guido 1978a, vi), who commented on the small glass bead from Bonchester Hill (Piggott 1949, 129). As Guido's data collection ended some time in the 1970s, prior to publication in 1978, she had spent some twenty years on the catalogue and typology. The influence of the Hawkes and Piggott model are clear within her study, as she often references invasions of different cultures, and the equation of artefacts with particular cultural groups. By the time of publication, much had changed in studies of Iron Age Britain, including Graham Clark's (1966) critique of the invasion hypothesis and the introduction of the 'New Archaeology'. It is unfortunate that despite being such an important foundational work on Iron Age material culture studies, that in terms of the changing theoretical approaches at the time, Guido's publication was already out of date.

Guido's work in effect drew the line between the end of prehistory and the beginning of history for British glass bead studies. This became an overarching theme that pervaded her typology. At its heart, the typology is based on a meaningful and clear distinction between culturally pre-Roman, Roman, and early Historic period beads. Although she admits that there were a few cases where earlier beads were found at later period sites, in general this was not the case (Guido 1978a, 26). Due to the perceived limitation in cross-over of types and extended use of beads, it was thought that the beads could be useful to the archaeologist, which in turn meant that they could be used as type-fossils to date excavated contexts (Guido 1978a, vi). In addition to ascertaining the chronological limits of each type, Guido (1978a, 26) suggested that beads could also be used to '…indicate tribal concentrations, folk movements, and commercial contacts, both within Britain itself and in the wider context of Europe'. Thus, she assumed that not only was each type limited by the length of time it was used, but also by the people that used them.

Within the Guido typology, there is a clear distinction between two main types of Iron Age or 'native' glass beads. There are those from the c. third century BC onwards that were manufactured in Britain, and a group of earlier beads that were manufactured in continental Europe and imported either through commercial contacts or migration (Guido 1978a, 30). Somewhat confusingly, she proposed that some of the beads that resemble the continental examples may in fact have been later copies made in Britain (Guido 1978a, 25). Therefore, the second major division within her typology is dependent on assumptions about where particular beads were manufactured. Throughout the typology, it is suggested, though never explicitly stated, that movement of beads and people was uni-directional: always from continental Europe *to* Britain. The possibility that beads manufactured in Britain might have been a desirable commodity in Europe is a topic that was never entertained. This is probably due to a number of reasons, such as the limited number of published reports on Iron Age excavations in Europe available to Guido, which were also generally of poor quality (Guido 1978a, 4). However, in the case of one particular class of bead (Class 13) she did suggest that similar types can be found on the continent, but she suggested they were only superficially similar (Guido 1978a, 85).

The unidirectional movement of glass beads also enveloped Guido's interpretation of the value of glass beads. She considered them to be highly valuable, luxury items (Guido 1978a, 28). Iron Age Britons had to trade something in exchange for glass beads, but only after their basic living needs had been met (Guido 1978a, 28). Thus, in areas that were poor, this could not happen, although this impoverished state could be the result of two factors: natural environment or enforced by outsiders (i.e. Romans). For example, despite a thriving trade in tin, the miners in Devon and Cornwall were unable to afford luxuries due to their poor environmental conditions and difficulty in acquiring nourishment, while in Norfolk and Suffolk the Romans suppressed the inhabitants after the Boudican rebellion, who then had no resources to trade for glass beads (Guido 1978a, 28). Therefore, Guido suggested that the presence and quantity of glass beads directly reflects the social and political environment. However, current studies consider other mechanisms by which material culture can be exchanged, using both archaeological and ethnographic evidence; for example, through gift exchange (Gosden 1985;

Mauss 1990 (1950); Sharples 2010), the importance of artefact biography (Appadurai 1986; Gosden & Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986), and the idea that material culture does not reflect poverty, but instead reflects social choices (Moore 2007a).

Despite the apparent impoverishment of some areas, Guido (1978a, 28) suggested that there was nevertheless a thriving trade of glass beads amongst the more socially interconnected areas of southern Britain, especially around the Bristol Channel. However, Guido suggests that the influx of glass beads from the continent was unable to keep up with demand. Thus, local manufacturing occurred (1978a, 27-8), probably around the third century BC. In this case, relative glass bead density was used to propose possible locations of manufacture. Two major sites with the largest number of glass beads at the time of Guido's research were Meare Lake Village, Somerset, and Culbin Sands, Morayshire. As the number of finds at both locations exceeded 100 beads of multiple types, these sites are usually considered to be the most significant for local manufacture. In fact, Guido suggested that, due to the similarity in beads from both locations, glassworkers migrated from Somerset to Morayshire to continue their craft, albeit at what she considered to be a lower standard of quality (Guido 1978a, 35, 76, 85-9). Other locations considered to be possible centres of manufacture due to the prevalence of beads include: Glastonbury Lake Village, Somerset, Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire, Traprain Law, East Lothian, and Newstead, Scottish Borders (Guido 1978a, 32-7). Only a few sites have been considered to be glass manufacturing centres based on alternative evidence, such as the raw glass at Hengistbury Head, Dorset (Guido 1978a, 29). Although there is no evidence to suggest that raw glass was manufactured in Britain at this time, other sources have been suggested, such as the re-use of glass armlets, as well as Roman blown and moulded bottle glass (Guido 1978a, 30-1).

By the time of the Roman occupation in Britain, Guido proposed that the use of glass beads changed dramatically. The thriving bead manufacturing industry in Britain diminished and eventually ended around the time of the Roman conquest (Guido 1978a, 29). In addition, the use of 'native' beads also ended and, by the mid-second century AD, only the standardised Roman types were used (Guido 1978a, 37). Large, decorated, and colourful beads only returned after the end of the Roman occupation (Guido 1978a, 29). This is emphasised by the distinction between pre-Roman, Roman, and early Historic glass beads within Guido's framework. The implication of these divisions is that there were distinct 'native' identities portrayed through the use of 'native' beads, while 'Roman' identity was displayed using Roman types. There is little consideration of the heirloom effect and the possibility that these beads continued to have use and significant meaning post-conquest.

Turning now to specifically examine Guido's typology, she was explicit regarding her method. Although there were already a number of seemingly universal approaches to categorising this type of artefact (e.g. Beck 1928; Kidd & Kidd 1970; Van der Sleen 1967), Guido chose not to utilise any of these methods as 'a badly made bead can very easily be removed from the Class or type to which reason and experience tell us it more properly belongs' (Guido 1978a, 4-5). This suggests she thought that a rigorous method for determining the type would have been too strict. Instead, she borrowed from Beck's classification system: form, perforation colour, material, and decoration (Beck 1928), to which she added 'dimensions, translucency or opacity, method of manufacture…some kind of analysis…approximate or exact date of archaeological context in which it was found…and its position in relation to a burial…' (Guido 1978a, 5). As part of this criteria, she identified 16 different decorative motifs (Figure 2.6), 7 methods of manufacture (after Van der Sleen 1967, Table 2.1), and a range of opaque and translucent glass colours.

The results of Guido's data collection led to the creation of 14 Classes and 8 Groups (Figure 2.7). Classes 1 to 7 are types that she considered to be continentally manufactured Iron Age glass beads, or potential British copies. Classes 8 to 14, on the other hand, are British beads manufactured according to local tastes and aesthetics. These classes have chronological and spatial significance, and can be used to date contexts. In contrast, the eight Groups are less precise as examples date to the Iron Age, while other examples even within the same type may date to the Roman period

Table 2.1: List of glass bead manufacture methods (after Guido 1978a, 7-8).

Method	Description
Wound	'The glass cane is melted at one end and folded round a wire'
Drawn	'The melted 'gathering' of glass is worked into a gob and encloses a large air-bubble in the glass. This gob…is then elongated by drawing…cut into lengths…corners polished off…'
Folded	'These are flattened glass canes folded round a wire. The line where the melted ends join is often visible.'
Pressed	'While still half molten the incipient bead is pressed in hexagonal or square or biconical shapes.'
Spiral	'The half-molten canes are wound spirally round a wire which, if tapered, would produce tapered segmented beads of the type common on Roman sites.'
Blown	'Used exceptionally for hollow beads…not invented until first century B.C.…very rare in Britain…'
Hand perforated bead	'Drops of molten glass are perforated with a tool while hot…'

or potentially even later. Group 8 was specifically designated for 'exotic beads of Iron Age date'; however, it is more likely that this served as a miscellaneous category for unique beads. A complete description of each of Guido's classes and groups is given in Appendix A.

Decorative motifs are the main characteristic that define the different groups and classes, with colour playing a secondary role. This is especially apparent in Class 7. This class is defined by similarity in decorative motif (rays or whirls), but divided into sub-types based on colour: Class 7a – blue or purple, Class 7b – brown or yellowish-brown, and Class 7c – other colours. Although Guido expressed that form, perforation shape, and dimensions should be included within the criteria for each type, this was not applied consistently, something that is especially evident in the description of the Class 7 beads (see Appendix A).

For Guido, and other researchers, the typology accomplished a number of goals:

- Beads that appeared to be visually similar were assigned to the same type, and each type had a description. Newly discovered specimens could be added to a type.

- All Guido classes had chronological relevance and could be used to date contexts of sites (Guido 1978a, vi). Each type had a discrete temporal appearance, geographic distribution, and cultural affiliation.

Further complicating this is that many current researchers do not *critically* apply the typology to their own interpretations and rather use it as absolute and final truth. This is a phenomena discussed by Hill and Evans (1972, 235) in which '…[types] become canonised in the literature as 'truth''. Despite how researchers use the Guido typology, she said herself that her typology was in no way final (Guido 1978a, 4). However, the Guido typology has been a valuable tool for archaeologists, as it allows a method of description, dating, and comparison. However, Chapter 5 explores each type and the broader issues encountered within the classification. These analyses show that there are two main problems with the typology: first, the types are imprecise, and are unable to draw out real differences that are evident in assemblages; and second, new types have been discovered that do not fit within the existing typology.

2.4.4 Scientific Analysis of Iron Age Glass Beads

Although much of Henderson's (1982) work on Iron Age glass beads remains unpublished, his PhD thesis used x-ray fluorescence (XRF) to measure the chemical composition of Iron Age glass beads. At this time, Guido's catalogue and typology had been recently published, and Henderson used XRF to determine the extent to which beads within each type were made from similar types of glass (Henderson 1982, 4). This tested the visual classification of beads proposed by Guido through an examination of the homogeneity and variance of glass composition within each type. In addition to approaching beads from a typological point of view, he also examined chemical composition on a regional basis, again to identify homogeneity or discrepancy (Henderson 1982, 4-5). Through these two approaches, Henderson searched for signatures in the chemical composition that could indicate production at different workshops. Theoretically, he proposed that beads with similar chemical compositions were manufactured at the same (or regional) manufacture site.

While this section will not go into the details of Henderson's data and results, it will instead discuss some methodological issues with the technique used for scientific analysis, which may have impacted his interpretations, and his interpretation of the data. Recent work (Bertini 2012, especially Chapter 4) has highlighted some of these: for instance the beam used in the XRF machine is too large to pinpoint specific spots on the surface of the bead to sample, especially in terms of decorative elements; his data only report major and minor elements when trace element studies are becoming important for provenancing sand sources; and the results are not comparable to later studies due to the biases created in his technique. The results presented in his thesis have also led to papers discussing the nature of workshops and craft within Iron Age Britain and Europe (Henderson 1992), possible glass working or bead manufacture locations within Britain (Henderson 1989), as well as contributing to an intense debate on the methods for manufacturing particular glass beads, which Henderson suggests was accomplished with moulds (Henderson 1978; 1980; 1995; Lierke 1995; Lierke, Birkhill *et al.* 1995). This is a topic that will be returned to in Section 2.4.5.

Drawing on the conclusions from his XRF analyses, Henderson (1992) later developed the concept of industrial specialisation within the production of objects in late Iron Age Europe. His argument suggests that society at this time became more centralised, as did production. Iron Age glass working was preformed by craft specialists, meaning that they used specific or rare raw materials, specialised processing methods were introduced, and products were standardised in quality and appearance (Henderson 1992, 104-5). In his interpretation, glass beads were a rare and valuable artefact, because of the distance that the raw material, and in some cases beads, travelled from their point of manufacture. Developing this idea of value further, Henderson (1992) examined the frequency of complex beads in relation to the type of site that they were found at. The implication is that large quantities of complex decorated glass beads will occur at high-status sites, while lower status sites would have fewer examples. There are several critiques that could be made of this interpretation:

1. The data that is examined here is unclear. Presumably, the data from his PhD thesis is drawn on, but it is unclear if he excluded beads from known archaeological sites found as stray/casual finds.

2. The site types do not take the changing nature of a site's enclosure into account. For example, sites which fluctuated between enclosed and unenclosed, and where the size of the enclosure changed over time.

3. Henderson included the plain yellow annular beads (Guido Class 8/this thesis Type 1 Class 10) with the decorated beads in his analysis, but this distorts the data and interpretation. By removing these beads from the lake village category, the percentage of

decorated beads at this type of site is reduced to 42% rather than the 88% total he gives.

4. It is unclear how he derived the total (n=423) of glass beads from the Square Ditched cemeteries. The database on which this thesis is based includes 715 glass beads from the East Yorkshire square burials (not including the 2001 Wetwang Chariot burial).

5. Henderson's analysis generalised all sites based on morphology alone and does not consider the temporal differences between sites.

6. Although the analysis reports a 'N' value for the frequency of each site type, he does not explore the number of sites where glass beads were not found during excavation. For example, presumably the Farming or Minor Settlement category refers to lowland unenclosed sites. Here, 30 beads were found over 19 sites, but the number of excavated sites at the time of publication is not clear.

7. Finally, he does not consider regional differences in site location and deposition. Also, regional differences in archaeological enquiry might also be relevant here.

These seven points suggest that there are some significant flaws with Henderson's approach, and the research presented in this thesis will address the relevant issues by discussing the number of sites excavated compared to the presence of glass beads, and the changing nature of settlement sites over time (see Chapter 7).

Henderson (1992) also developed a model for glass production. Drawing on ethnographic evidence from the Yuroba of West Africa, he suggests that Iron Age glass beads reflect characteristics of identity to the observer. Furthermore, in his example of the beads from Meare Lake Village, he proposed that, because the earlier distribution of glass beads is the same distribution of later coins, it is possible to back-date the tribal boundaries to the period of glass bead manufacture at Meare (Henderson 1992, 125). This is a potentially hazardous conclusion, especially in light of recent research, which suggests a different explanation for the so-called tribal boundaries based on evidence from coins (Leins 2008), and the recognition that there are other possible reasons for social cohesion between settlements (Moore 2011, 351).

Recent scientific work by Bertini has used LA-ICP-MS to analyse the chemical composition of Guido's Class 13 and 14 beads from northeast Scotland (Bertini 2012; Bertini, Shortland *et al.* 2011). This micro-destructive method, along with rigorous methodology, has resulted in a highly accurate method of scientifically analysing the chemical composition of glass, including major, minor, and trace elements. This produces consistent and repeatable results that allows for further discussion of glass typology and provenance, as well as understanding the raw material and the pigments used to alter the colour and opacity of glass. Coupled with 3D-micro-computer-tomography and Synchraton light, Bertini has pioneered a new and innovative way to understand technical aspects of glass bead manufacture. Combined with analyses of both archaeological and experimentally made glass beads, she was able to objectively determine the similarities between archaeological and experimental samples to determine whether the outcome of her glass making techniques yielded similar results. Although her work was limited to only two types of later Iron Age glass beads found in Scotland (many of the same beads are discussed throughout the analysis chapters), future work hopes to incorporate earlier glass beads from Britain into a larger study.

2.4.5 Glass Bead Manufacturing

Glass is an artificial material created through the combination of silica, soda, and lime under high amounts of heat (approximately 1,000˚C). Most glass will be a pale translucent green due to the natural presence of iron oxides within glass. Manipulation of glass colour and opacity can occur at the raw glass forming stage, or later during subsequent melts, through the addition of oxides, minerals, coloured glass, and in some cases by manipulating the atmosphere of the furnace. For example, the addition of cobalt causes glass to turn to a dark translucent blue, copper oxide makes a green-blue glass (although, cuprous oxide (Cu_2O) causes glass to turn opaque red), and manganese can either result in purple or decolourised (true colourless) glass (Henderson 1985).

The process of glass manufacture and object manufacture is very different, and the two processes need not occur in the same location. The actual manufacture of glass can combine different materials from a variety of different sources, and once made, need not require any additional materials other than the tools to work it. In this form, it is possible to transport the glass long distances, as suggested by the approximately 175 glass ingots found on the Late Bronze Age Uluburun shipwreck (Pulak 1998). However, glass beads could also be traded in their finished form, as suggested by the thousands of faience and glass beads found in ceramic vessels amongst other cargo on the Uluburn (Ingram 2005; Pulak 1998).

Although Guido formed her typology based on the assumption that some were made on the continent and others were made in Britain, there was very little evidence that this occurred at the time Guido published her study. Instead, she drew on the frequency and distribution of glass beads throughout Britain to suggest key possible areas of manufacture, most notably, the copious amount of beads from Culbin Sands in Morayshire and from the Meare Lake Villages in Somerset. Other evidence to suggest glass working, although not necessarily glass manufacture, included the large chunks or 'raw glass' (unformed) that were recovered from Hengistbury Head in Dorset, which further attested to the possibility that this activity occurred in Iron Age Britain.

Building on Guido's conclusions, Henderson's (1982) comparison of glass bead chemical composition found that local bead manufacture could be supported at these dense-bead sites. Further supporting this hypothesis was the discovery of a very unusual bead at Meare Lake Village West in 1979, which led to his hypothesis that decorated beads were formed using a mould (Henderson 1981). This particular example (SF2501) is a possible Guido Class 11 chevron bead that was encased in a layer of clay mixed with opaque red glass. He suggested that, through a combination of the *cire perdue* (lost wax method) and the *pâte de verre* technique (applying layers of glass over grooves and then grinding it off to expose a pattern), it would be possible to make these beads. However, it is unclear how this would have worked (Lierke, Birkhill *et al.* 1995), and publication on his experiments that support this method never came to fruition (as cited in: Henderson 1978) and only referred to in later work (Henderson 1981).

Up until recently, the evidence and theories behind glass bead manufacture have changed very little. Two key sites excavated as a part of developer-funded projects have provided new evidence for glass working in Britain. In the south, at 10 Gresham Street in London (Casson, Drummond-Murray *et al.* Forthcoming; Casson & Francis 2002), glass working and probable bead making evidence was found in Roman-period contexts that date to the mid-first century AD. The evidence comprises a fully formed, but unfinished glass bead (with clay core), bead 'wasters', glass 'waste cullet', and white and blue coloured glass threads ('stringer'). Much of this material was found around a hearth situated in a rectangular building, which was set amid roundhouses (Casson & Francis 2002). Interestingly, despite the evidence for glass working, there were no associated tools or equipment that could be connected with the glass industry (Angela Wardle, pers. comm.). In the north, at Culduthel Farm in Inverness (Murray 2007a; forthcoming) a range of glass beads were found along with chips and other fragments of glass (many found through sampling) in opaque red (commonly used for 'enamelling' on metal objects), and other colours was discovered, along with a rod of twisted blue and white glass. While initially thought to be later in date due to the presence of beads that Guido dated to the first and second century AD, the radiocarbon dating suggests that the beads were found in contexts as early as the fourth century BC, although a second century BC to second century AD date seems more likely (Ross Murray, pers. comm.).

Currently, the actual manufacturing process and 'industry' of glass bead making remains wholly unclear for much of Iron Age Britain. Assuming that raw glass manufacturing did not occur, how was bead making organised? Were there in-fact workshops that specialised in the production of glass beads as suggested by Henderson (1992), or were they smaller, local affairs by occasional craftspeople? As discussed further in Chapter 5 and 6, there are glass beads that exhibit very similar qualities, but to what extent does this indicate that the beads were made by the same person, or in the same workshop, or in the same region? Did craftspeople make the same bead repeatedly? And, how were they made? What sort of tools and equipment did the Iron Age craftsperson have available to them? There are a lot more questions that need to be answered on this subject. To this we can also extend the questions to the nature of exchange. Were glass beads manufactured for personal consumption, or were they exchanged with local and distant neighbours? Chapter 7 and Appendix D explore the question of exchange by looking at the distribution of glass beads. However, further work and possible comparisons with other artefact types, such as pottery, are needed to explore this further.

As much of the evidence is unclear, and glass bead making is not a process that many people today would be familiar with, it is useful to discuss this process in a modern setting. Many of the principles would be the same as in the past, as there are fundamental necessities for working glass, such as a heat source. By reviewing this process, the terminology presented in Chapter 3, and the analyses presented in the following chapters will be more comprehensible. Today, modern bead makers create beads through a process referred to as 'lamp-work'[3]. This is in reference to the 'lamp' that was used as a heat source to melt the glass (Lierke 1990; Lierke 1992), although today a torch that burns propane, natural gas, or MAPP gas is used to create a flame. This heat source sits on the edge of the workbench closest to the artist, who sits in front of it, but with the flame directed out from the chest. The artist holds a metal mandrel that is coated in a silica release agent in one hand, and in the other a pre-formed glass rod is held. The artist heats the mandrel and glass rod simultaneously in the flame, and then 'paints' the molten glass onto the mandrel while turning the mandrel to ensure that it is evenly coated. The size of the bead is controlled by the amount of glass added to the mandrel. By continually rotating the mandrel it is possible to ensure that it is perfectly round during applications of additional glass, or during the initial cooling stage.

Different types of decorations can be applied by using very thin pieces of glass, called 'stringer'. These are made by producing a molten glob of glass at one end of a large glass rod. Pliers are then used to pinch the molten glass and quickly pulled away to produce very fine rods. Twists or cables of multi-coloured glass are easily made by twisting together two different colours of stringer with a small amount of heat. This is a feature on some Guido Class 9 and 14 glass beads. These thin glass rods can be applied to the main surface of the bead using the same process as forming the initial bead. This can create straight circumferential lines or wavy lines around the bead. Dots or layered dots ('eyes') can be created by dabbing and layering coloured glass on the surface. This creates an initial bump on the surface, but when re-heated it melts into the surface of the bead (Figure 2.8). Alternatively, they can be left raised on the

[3] This is based on experienced gained in Spring 2009 while working with bead maker and independent lampwork artist Mike Poole, in Todmorden, West Yorkshire. Mike is familiar with Iron Age glass beads and is often commissioned by museums to make replicas for museum exhibits.

surface for a textured effect. Raised dots are not often seen on Britain Iron Age beads, but are a feature of prehistoric beads from Europe.

Without further manipulation, bead shape will naturally be more disc-like (annular) or spherical (globular) depending on the amount of glass added to the mandrel and the amount of re-heating. Use of a 'marver'[4], or graphite block, can further alter the shape of the bead by rotating the molten bead over the flat surface. This can create a cylindrically shaped bead. Grooves can be impressed into the surface of the bead using the corner of the marver, creating melon beads and other shapes. When the bead is finished, it is allowed to slowly cool to prevent shattering. The release agent on the mandrel allows the bead to be removed from the mandrel easily at this point. To finish the bead, modern bead makers anneal them in a kiln. The kiln slowly heats and then cools allowing the surface tension of the glass to be diminished, which reduces the chances of cracking or breaking during the use of the bead. Finally, the bead perforation must be reamed with a tool, which removes any excess release agent from the perforation.

Although the technology used today is not the same as in the past, and we still do not understand the social meaning of glass technology (Lemonnier 1992), the basic principles would still apply. It is essential to have a heat source. Lierke (1990) has suggested the use of oil lamps with a small mouth-blown bellows to create a heat source hot enough to melt glass. However, this would not work, as a mouth-blown bellows would not be oxygen rich and would not burn (Martina Bertini, pers. comm.).

[4]Guido (1978a) made frequent references to marvering, especially in connection to the application of different designs to the beads. For example, a simple eye is marvered into the surface of the beads, meaning that the applied decorative glass is made flush with the surface of the bead by rolling the molten glass onto a smooth stone or other material. However, it is unlikely that this process occurred during bead manufacture in the late prehistoric period, because it would have visibly altered the shape of the bead. Modern glass bead-artisans use a marver or smooth flat graphite block to manipulate the surface of the bead to change the shape of the bead (Mike Pool, pers. comm.).

Alternatively, Jacqui Wood (1991) has suggested that a small clay lamp, originally thought to be a prehistoric cheese mould, may be connected with small craft work. Her experiments have shown that the flame that is created by burning plant matter is intense enough to solder metal. Further testing is needed in the future to determine if this was a viable heat source for glass working. What is clear, however, is that there is no clear evidence to show what sort of heat source was used when making glass beads in Britain.

Other tools that were necessary for making glass beads are the mandrels. These objects might be difficult to recognise, because they could have been simple iron rods (copper-alloy may have melted due to similar melting points). Analysis of a dark substance on the interior perforation of a bead from Culduthel Farm in Inverness revealed the presence of iron (Ross Murray, pers. comm.), while a recently discovered bead from 10 Gresham Street, London from a possible bead manufacture site had a clay core (Casson, Drummond-Murray *et al.* Forthcoming). Usage of a clay mandrel would be nearly invisible archaeologically under most circumstances, but for some reason this bead retained it.

In summary, it remains unclear as to the extent that glass beads were manufactured in Britain. Growing evidence certainly points to the possibility that at least some were in fact manufactured in Britain, as well as the presence of glass on copper-alloy objects. Even the nature of the manufacturing technology is under debate, as there is very little clear evidence. It is hoped that experimental work, continued scientific analysis, and new discoveries will help to explain this process more fully in the future.

2.4.6 The Wider European Context

As with Guido's study, studies of glass beads from the European Iron Age also focused on typology. In contrast to the continent, most glass objects found in British Iron Age contexts tend to be beads, although there are a few examples of bangles that likely originated in Europe (e.g. at Hegistbury Head in Dorset). With the European material, it is difficult to determine the balance of glass bangles versus beads. However, given the amount of published material (e.g. Feugère & Py 1989; Gebhard 1989a; b; c; Guillard 1989; Haevernick 1960; Kaenel & Müller 1989; Roymans & Verniers 2010; Tilliard 1989; Vanpeene 1989; Venclová 1989), it seems that it might be a regional matter, and bangles may at least be found in larger quantities (and variety) than in Britain. Two researchers

Table 2.2: Haevernick's (1960) eight main types of beads (author's translation).

Type	Original Description	Translation
Gruppe 19	Ringperlen mit Grat	Beads with bur or edge
Gruppe 20	Klare Ringperlen mit gelber Folie	Clear annular bead with yellow film
Gruppe 21	Einfarbige Ringperlen	Monochrome or single coloured beads
Gruppe 22	Kleine zarte Ringperlen	Small delicate ring-bead
Gruppe 23	Ringperlen mit Schraubenfäden	Ring beads with 'screw-threads'
Gruppe 23a	Ringperlen mit mehrfachem zichzackfaden	Ring beads with multiple zig-zag thread
Gruppe 24	Ringperlen mit hellgesprenkelter Oberfläche	Ring bead with bright speckled surface
Gruppe 25	Ringperlen mit Gitternetz	Ringbead with net

stand out as the most prolific authors to discuss European Iron Age glass beads: Haevernick and Venclová. Both have focused on glass beads and bangles from typological point of view.

Haevernick's research on both glass beads and bracelets from the middle to late La Tène in Europe has formed a substantial backbone to archaeological research into these objects. Her primary publication (Haevernick 1960) described eight main types of beads, displayed in Table 2.2. As with Guido's work, there is little in the way of interpretation, as the information is purely typological description, along with a catalogue and distribution maps of glass beads throughout

Europe. However, Guido drew on Haevernick's study of glass bangles and beads and, although there is very little overlap, Guido's Class 5 is the same as Haevernick's Gruppe 21 and Guido's Group 1 contains many of the beads Haevernick would describe as Gruppe 24. For Guido, this provided a useful source to compare glass beads found in Britain and Ireland to those from the continent.

Unfortunately, Haevernick died prior to the publication of much of her research on glass beads. This resulted in four posthumous publications (Dobiat, Matthäus *et al.* 1987; Frey, Matthäus *et al.* 1983; Hunter & Haevernick 1995; Zepezauer 1993) that further expand on her 1960 publication. Again, they primarily consist of descriptions of bead typologies, rather than further interpretation. These publications described beads that were not noted in her 1960 publication and included typologies for beads decorated with zig-zag designs, ring eye beads, spiral eye beads, and eye beads.

Venclová's (1990) work continues to follow this typological approach, though she examined glass objects from as early as the Bronze Age. Her work is primarily concerned with glass objects from Bohemia (modern Czech Republic) and addresses beads, bangle, rings, gems, pendants, and vessels. Venclová's study is important to glass bead researchers, because she is explicit in regards to the creation of her typology, and included copious illustrations and watercolours to pictorially describe the appearance of each type, as well as the assemblages of objects. The organisation of her typology was taken as the inspiration for the typology presented in Chapter 5.

There are smaller typologies based on single characteristics, such as the spiral beads described by Zepezauer (1989), and more site based typologies like that described for the Manching oppdium (Gebhard 1989a), and the catalogues for the ongoing excavations at Bibracte (Bride

2005). However, a systematic synthesis for all glass beads in the wider European context, even from a basic typological or catalogue approach, appears to be lacking. This renders a modern comparison of British Iron Age glass beads to continental glass beads difficult without further extensive research to compile data across Europe.

This section has provided an overview of the previous research on Iron Age glass beads in Britain. It has focused on Guido's typological approach, because it has been the basis for subsequent research, namely the scientific analyses of Henderson and Bertini. Finally, it has briefly discussed the continental resources for both glass beads and, to a lesser extent, glass bangles.

2.5 Conclusion

Previous studies of glass beads have laid a substantial groundwork by creating systematic lists of known glass beads and the creation of visual typologies. Thirty years on, however, it is time to re-visit the data and question whether the conclusions proposed by Guido, and later Henderson, continue to stand in light of recent technological advances and theoretical changes to the interpretation of archaeological evidence.
The relationships between the everyday objects of peoples' lives in Iron Age Britain, and the way that they use them in creating their identities and negotiating their bodies, is clearly complex. This chapter has proposed that the traditional model where dress equates to identity can no longer be relied upon to provide a comprehensive understanding of dress in the past. Instead, we must begin to explore new questions, such as: when were particular items worn? What were they like to wear? What was an individual conveying to their audience by wearing this particular object through their dress? Could it be seen from a distance? Or, was it only visible in close encounters? Rather than trying to pigeon-hole objects into categories, such as age and gender (questions that the Iron Age

burial evidence clearly does not suit), the following chapters will begin to explore these issues by thinking about how glass beads were worn, and who would have been able to see them.

This is not to say that previous interpretations were inadequate or fundamentally wrong. However, they were a product of the era in which they were developed. The analyses that form the bulk of this thesis draw on a rigorous methodology (detailed in Chapter 3) with the objective of using both quantitative data regarding the physical characteristics of the beads, in combination with qualitative data, such as colour and the features that beads were found in. Through these analyses, and comparison with other objects of material culture related to dress, it is hoped that not only can dress from this period be reconstructed, but that it will be possible to understand the social nature and experience of dress.

Chapter 3

Methodologies of Research

3.1 Introduction

As introduced in Chapter 1, the aim of the current research is to examine glass beads from Iron Age Britain, and to place them into a wider context. As a result, it draws on traditional artefact analysis, such as form and size, yet concurrently necessitates the development of terminology related to colour and decoration that is specific to glass beads. The research also explores the context of deposition, which requires clear terminology in order to compare sites and features between the regions. The second aim of the research is to put glass beads into a wider dress context. This draws on a number of artefact types, some of which have been studied extensively (e.g. brooches), while others have not (e.g. finger-rings). Therefore, in bringing together these different types of artefacts, it is necessary to ensure that terminology is clear.

This chapter discusses the methodology employed prior, during, and after the collection of data. The material presented here is pertinent to understanding the following data analysis chapters. It will first examine a number of issues identified during two pilot studies. Then it will discuss how the four study regions were selected, followed by a discussion of how the data was obtained and organised within a relational database. The terminology used throughout the analysis chapters is then detailed, and finally, this chapter will discuss the methods used during analysis.

3.2 Identified Issues

The methodology and terminology used here was developed out of preliminary work on glass beads and other artefacts during a pilot study conducted between 2008-09 for a Master's degree (Schech 2009). This study examined the use of glass beads during the Iron Age and Roman period placed broadly within the Tyne-Forth region. One of the interesting results from this preliminary study was that glass beads were more numerous at Roman forts rather than at other settlements, whether Roman or non-Roman in style. From the bead data, there was not a strong difference between 'Roman' identities in this region and what have sometimes been referred to as 'native' identities. However, compared to other types of objects related to dress, they were the most abundant object. A second, smaller, pilot-study was conducted during the initial stages of the present research, which focussed on Northeast Scotland. The aim was to test the proposed methodology that developed out of the MA research over a different region. This methodology was refined further and subsequently used over three additional regions.

It is from these initial analyses that some issues came up that would need to be addressed within a systematic study. Although this study is about glass beads and Iron Age dress, it also seeks to address a number of issues with the study of artefacts. In the past, studies of artefacts have often been limited to catalogues, description of types, and descriptions of their distributions (e.g. Fowler 1960; Fowler 1953; Mackreth 2011; Stead 2006). While these basic studies are clearly needed to provide fundamental information about material culture during the Iron Age (Haselgrove, Armit *et al.* 2001), they need to move beyond these tools in order to develop an understanding of not only production and methods of distribution, use, and finally deposition, but also what we can learn about society through these studies.

A second topic that was identified during the pilot-studies was the use of terminology used to designate chronology or cultural periods. This includes terms, such as 'native', 'Roman', and 'Romano-British', which at times refers to the date of the artefact (i.e. pre-Roman or post-Roman conquest), and at other times refers to the culture of the object (i.e. pre-Roman, post-Roman conquest but non-Roman, or Roman). The issues of identity and cultural interaction during this period has long been a topic of discussion (e.g. Haverfield 1915; Mattingly 1997a; Millett 1990; Webster & Cooper 1996), and while these labels might be convenient, it does create confusion as to how the occupants at these sites thought of themselves. In addition, the idea of degrees of Romanisation further complicates this issue as it is often implied that this was something desirable and the natural course of society. In the case of glass beads, what would usually be considered typical 'Iron Age' examples that have been found on 'Roman' sites are explained as being residual, rather than suggesting that social interactions at such sites may have been more complex than a native/Roman duality (e.g. Hunter 2001c; 2007a; b).

Another area that was identified as potentially problematic was in the quality of the descriptions in written artefact reports. This was encountered during the MA pilot-study, where written descriptions were primarily relied upon. The pilot-study conducted during the initial stages of the current research was able to test the quality of published descriptions by viewing the artefacts first hand. It was quickly discovered that descriptions and illustrations do not always adequately describe the artefacts to the level of detail needed for the analyses to be conducted in subsequent chapters. In part this is due to an unclear understanding of the standards necessary for reporting many later prehistoric artefacts: a clear framework would be of benefit. Furthermore, through visits to museums, unpublished material has been identified that was previously unknown.

One other issue identified was the impact of developer-funded excavations. The MA pilot-study investigated all unpublished reports held in the Historic Environment Record offices in County Durham, Northumberland, and the

RCAHMS that contained evidence for Iron Age or Roman period evidence in this region. Although very few beads were identified in this way, it was unclear if this was a reflection of regional material culture, as Iron Age glass beads are known from the Tyne-Forth in limited numbers from the Guido catalogue. In contrast, the initial pilot-study conducted over Northeast Scotland identified several glass beads that were found during developer-led excavation, including the nationally important site of Culduthel Farm near Inverness. This suggested that there was potential for discovery of glass beads through developer-led excavation and that a systematic review of the literature was necessary.

In order to address these issues a clear and consistent methodology was needed in order to perform a detailed and rigorous analysis of the data. This included the identification of key aspects of glass beads that would be informative through analysis and the terminology needed in order to record data. One of the outcomes of this was the recognition that the Guido (1978a) typology is not suitable for the detailed analyses needed here in order to complete the aims of the study. Chapter 5 presents an analysis of the Guido typology and explains the development of the new typology, which draws inspiration from Venclová's (1990) study of late prehistoric glass beads from the Czech Republic, as well as the recent studies on early historic glass beads (Brugmann 2004; Sasse & Theune 1995). However, the aim of this research is not simply to devise a new typology and catalogue, but to put glass beads into a social context through an examination of how they were used and deposited. This has been a growing theme in on-going and recently completed doctoral theses as seen at recent student conferences[5], and in the recently completed Celtic Art project (Garrow & Gosden 2012) and associated conference proceedings (Garrow, Gosden *et al.* 2008). It is these approaches that the analysis of glass bead context draws upon in Chapter 7.

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[5] Iron Age Research Student Symposium/Seminar held in 2010 at Bradford, 2011 in Durham, 2012 at Southampton, and 2013 at Hull/Bradford.

3.3 Study Regions

Guido's original catalogue contains entries for over 1,000 glass beads that were found from a variety of circumstances up until about the 1970s. During the data collection phase of the current research, it was found that the actual quantity of glass beads within the study regions (to be discussed below) as recorded by Guido, was relatively accurate. Thus, her catalogue could be said to be a relatively reliable reflection of glass beads thought to be of Iron Age date in the 1970s. However, the catalogue has been the only data-set available for glass beads throughout Britain (as Henderson's catalogue was based on Guido's). Although both Guido and Henderson studied glass beads on a Britain-wide scale (and Guido included Ireland), considering the level of detail utilised in the current study this wide-scale geographic approach would be inappropriate. Instead, the appropriate selection of small geographic areas of study are vital.

The study areas were selected through the use of the Guido catalogue, where distribution maps were created using ArcMap software in order to identify high-density regions (Figure 3.1). Therefore, two study regions were selected based on the high density of glass beads as recorded in Guido's catalogue (Figure 3.2). When compared with the distribution maps of each of Guido's classes, two sites stood out. The first was Meare Lake Village, Somerset, and the second was Culbin Sands, Morayshire. Hundreds of glass beads have been found at both sites, although the nature of these finds is notably different (discussed especially Chapter 4). The density of beads at these two sites was not an isolated occurrence, as the surrounding regions also had a proportionally higher density of beads compared to other regions. The first region was termed 'Southwest England' which included most of the modern administrative regions of Dorset, Somerset, North Somerset, South Gloucestershire, Gloucestershire, Northeast Somerset and Bath, Bristol City, and Wiltshire. The second was termed 'Northeast Scotland' and covered the old counties of Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, Morayshire, and Inverness-shire (or the eastern portion of the modern Highland administrative area).

Further analysis of the Guido (1978a) catalogue showed that she did not accurately quantify the glass beads from the Queen's Barrow at Arras and Barrow L at Cowlam, which are both in East Yorkshire. In addition, although the excavations were well underway at Wetwang Slack, these beads were not included in her catalogue. Further investigation suggested that due to the large quantity of glass beads and the inhumation contexts that they were found in, that this region would also constitute an important area of study. This led to the development of a third area of study, which covered the East Riding of Yorkshire, but was extended further west and generally follows the line of the A1(M) in the hope of being able to place the burial evidence into a wider context within the surrounding region.

The first three regions were chosen for study because of the high frequency of glass beads and the likelihood that they constituted a significant element of dress during the Iron Age in those areas. In order to assess whether Guido's distributions remain an accurate reflection of bead prevalence, a final region was chosen. The distribution map formed from Guido's original catalogue highlights a number of seemingly blank areas where glass beads apparently did not occur. This posed an interesting question: might the increasing amount of archaeological investigations since the 1970s, particularly as a result of developer-funded archaeology, mean such variations in distributions were no longer accurate? At the time, initial data from the recent Celtic Art project led by Duncan Garrow (2008) had been published with tantalising distribution maps of Celtic Art, coins, and other objects. These distribution maps indicated East Anglia as an area where metalwork was most widespread. In comparison, Guido's distribution maps of glass beads showed that very few glass beads (many of which were Roman) were found in this region. Due to the discrepancies between metal and glass based artefacts in East Anglia (defined here as Norfolk and Suffolk), this region became an ideal subject for further investigation.

The analyses that follow in Chapters 5 through 8 are primarily based on data collected from these four regions. Each region has different characteristics in terms of regional practice, as will be explored in Chapter 4.

3.4 Data Acquisition and Organisation

Using the four study regions set out in the preceding section, research was conducted in order to understand the nature of glass beads in each region. As the Guido catalogue already suggested that a large numbers of glass beads would be involved, it was imperative that a consistent method be used in order to obtain accurate and quality data.

In order to build a strong organisational foundation, a relational database was created to store data. After utilising Filemaker Pro 10 Advanced database software during the pilot studies, the final database was developed in a Microsoft Access relational database, which consisted of two main tables. The first table contained data about each site (Figure 3.3) and the second table contained data about individual objects (Figure 3.4). They were related in such a way that while viewing the site record it would be possible to view the relevant artefacts. Inclusion within the database followed two main parameters:

1. **Sites:** all sites with Iron Age and/or Roman activity that have been excavated (purposefully excluding non-excavated (i.e. surveyed) sites);
2. **Artefacts**: all artefacts related to bodily adornment from these sites.

To add sites and artefacts to the database, data was obtained from three main sources: published research excavation reports, published and unpublished (grey-literature) developer-funded reports, and from first-hand observations of artefacts. In order to cover as many sites as possible where possible, entire runs of local/regional journals were surveyed for any excavation reports that encountered Iron Age or Roman period material. While many of the larger and more significant commercial excavations are published either as monographs or as journal articles, the majority were not easily available. Therefore, unpublished grey-literature was accessed at Historic Environment Record (HER) offices in England, and at the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland (RCAHMS). In total, it was possible to visit 10 HER offices in England, including:

- Dorset
- Somerset
- Gloucestershire
- Bristol City
- Norfolk
- Suffolk
- North Yorkshire
- North Yorkshire Moor National Park
- Humberside
- City of York

Unfortunately, it was not possible to visit every HER office covered by the Southwest England region for various reasons. HERs not visited include: Wiltshire, Northeast Somerset and Bath, North Somerset, and South Gloucestershire. However, grey-literature reports for the relevant HERs were accessed through the OASIS database available through the *Archaeology Data Service* website. While this does not contain all grey-literature at this time, it did help fill in some of the missing reports from visits that could not be made, or from the sampling strategy.

The final main source for data came from actual examination of artefacts in museums. In total, it was possible to visit twenty-one museums, including:

- British Museum
- National Museum of Scotland
- Museum of Somerset
- Wiltshire Heritage Museum
- Dorchester Museum
- Gloucester Museum
- Poole Museum
- Gillingham Museum
- Bristol City Museum
- Red House Museum (Christchurch)
- Corinium Museum (Cirencester)
- Stroud Muesum
- Ashmolean
- Norwich Castle Museum
- Yorkshire Museum
- Hull Museum
- Marischal Museum (former)
- Forres Museum
- Elgin Museum
- Hunterian Museum
- Inverness City Museum

Again, for various reasons it was not possible to visit all museums that covered the study regions. Those not visited were: the Sheffield Museum, Salisbury Museum, and the Ipswich museum. Nonetheless, the visits proved to be extremely beneficial as the descriptions published in reports could be verified. Data was recorded about each bead on a paper form that was continually improved over the course of the data-collection in order to improve consistency (Figure 3.5), but also to increase the speed and accuracy of recording bead data. Key data included: dimensions, weight, description of colour and decorative motif, shape of perforation, modifications, and completeness. This was accomplished through the use of a digital caliper with a resolution of 0.1mm and an accuracy of ±0.2mm. A digital scale was used with an accuracy of 0.01g up to 100grams. Finally, multiple high-resolution digital photographs were taken of each bead from varied angles in order to ensure full coverage.

All of the data from both written sources and visual analysis was compiled into the two tables of the database. Each artefact had a separate entry even when found together, such as the sometimes large quantities found in inhumation contexts. Through firsthand analysis of the beads, and studies of context, it became clear that each individual bead was, or could have been, treated separately and would have had its own individual biography (Chapter 2). This method ensures that each individual object is considered on its own merits. However, the drawback is that it becomes difficult to examine assemblages of beads found in the same context, such as the proposed necklaces. Therefore, the database was designed in such a way as to allow the selection of individual beads or entire groups of beads from a single inhumation.

Potential issues arose during data acquisition when sites with multiple annual interim reports existed, but where there was no final report. In some cases sites had undergone multiple excavations by different excavators resulting in separate final reports, but for the same site. This was primarily an issue for recording details into the site form in the database. If all literature from a single site was recorded on one record, then there is a risk that it becomes difficult to identify which publication data came from. In the end, each piece of literature was entered into the database separately. For example, for the early twentieth century excavations at Hod Hill, Gray wrote several interim reports based on the excavations/discoveries at the site. Each of these has a separate entry within the database. Similarly, the excavations by Wheeler and Sharples at Maiden Castle in Dorset each have separate entries within the database. This ensures that different recording systems remain separate, and also makes it easier to refer back to the appropriate report when more details are needed. However, when the data was exported out of Access for analysis using SPSS (see Section 3.5), multiple database entries needed to be combined to represent a single record so that each site was represented equally in the analyses.

Within the artefact table, all glass beads and other artefacts related to dress were included that were found during excavation (e.g. brooches, pendants, bracelets, etc.). In addition, other data sources were added for significant artefacts not found through excavation. This primarily included relevant artefacts from the Portable Antiquities Scheme database (2003), Morna MacGregor's (1976) catalogue of Northern Celtic Art, the Celtic Art Database (Gwilt, Joy *et al.* August 2010), and Natasha Hutcheson's (2004) catalogue of torcs for Norfolk.

As with any research methodology, there were a number of issues encountered during the data collection. As mentioned, inconsistencies were real issues that need to be addressed. The following describes some of the issues encountered during data-collection, which may have some bearing on final interpretations:

1. **Inconsistencies in excavation reports**. The data-collection process dealt with 1,699 excavations reports produced over a period of at least 100 years. Over this period, both the excavation and recording

methodology employed changed drastically, and the quality varied between reports. Problems here include: no finds lists, incomplete finds lists, none/partial/vague contextual information, unclear meaning of context numbers, unclear associations between artefact, and unclear understanding of the size and/or location of the excavation (available data explored in **Chapter 7**). These issues hamper the comparability between excavations and sites.

2. **Lack of illustrations in reports.** Developer-funded reports contained very vague descriptions of artefacts discovered and did not always include an illustration.

3. **Additional data on supplemental material**. Up until recently, micro-fiche has been the standard for distributing additional data with excavation reports. Unfortunately, these are easily lost and many texts within university libraries no longer have micro-fiche supplements. Some no longer maintain working micro-fiche readers, rendering such information inaccessible. Therefore, in few cases, detailed data could not be obtained for the database.

4. **Historic Environment Record Office databases.** Many of the HER offices hold their data within the same database software designed for this purpose. However, each HER uses their database differently, meaning that there is little consistency between them. In an attempt to mitigate these different practices, requests were made to each HER for reports on any Iron Age and/or Roman period activity discovered during excavation within their county or unitary authority.

5. **Developer-funded excavation report quantity**. One challenge with accessing developer-funded excavation reports was the sheer quantity of reports that were selected within their database as being potentially relevant to the research. It was not always possible to filter out reports that discussed only desk-based assessment or geophysical survey and concentrate on only excavations. In addition, single sites could be excavated over a period of several years and excavation units could change their aims and methodology creating a confusion of different reports (sometimes it was unclear which report was the final report). While the original aim of the grey-literature review was to include everything Iron Age and/or Roman, in some instances only a sample could be included in the database. Due to differences in the recording methods used in the HER databases and search terms, it is not entirely certain that the sampling was consistent.

HERs that were sampled:

- **Gloucestershire:** Provided a list of all entries that mention 'Iron Age' containing 1,992 entries. Of these, approximately 40% of all reports were randomly sampled, but this resulted in a combination of excavation and other types of reports.

- **Suffolk:** Database unable to extract a list of all relevant Iron Age and Roman period sites. A sample of approximately 75% of the entire grey-literature collection was surveyed, although many of these were of earlier or later periods and therefore not relevant to the present research.

While these issues may have some bearing on the data and final interpretations, it seems likely that, by completing either a 100% survey at each HER, or by visiting the missing HERs, the final interpretation would not be significantly different. The primary reason for including every site that had been excavated where Iron Age and Roman material was found was to assess whether new Iron Age glass beads had been found during developer-funded excavation. In the few cases that this did happen, the reports had already been published either as monographs or in local journals, or I was informed by museum curators, local HER staff, and through other networks. There were in fact very few glass beads encountered in the developer-funded excavation reports that were only added to the database due to discovery at the HER offices. However, the second reason for including every excavation with Iron Age and Roman period evidence was to contrast sites where glass beads had been found, with the negative evidence showing where excavations had taken place, but no Iron Age glass beads had been found. This is also linked to the size of the excavation and the placement of the trenches in relation to either upstanding or known features from geophysical survey. This data is explored in Chapter 7.

3.5 Bead Terminology

As noted in the previous section, the quality of the descriptions of artefacts varied between reports. The typologies designed by Guido (1978a), Stead (1979), Dent (1984), and St. George Gray (Bulleid & Gray 1966) were not consistent between the authors. Therefore, for comparability, consistency and clarification became necessary through the definition of a number of terms. The necessary terminology concerns the description of the physical characteristics of the beads, such as: size, shape, colour, and decoration. However, it was sometimes the case that beads could not be viewed for a variety of reasons, and either the Guido description or other description needed to be relied upon for inclusion in the analysis. In some of these cases it was possible to interpret the meaning of the author and reconstruct their description to the standard as presented in the current research. In other cases, this was not possible and these beads have simply been left as 'unknown' and therefore excluded from some of the analyses.

Glass beads dating to the Iron Age are often very simple in their nature, thus there is very little terminology needed to describe the anatomy of the bead itself. Beads could exhibit an unlimited number of characteristics; however, their one key aspect is that they have a perforation that allows the object to be strung (Figure 3.6). Most beads will have only one perforation, as multiple perforations are often referred to as 'spacer beads' that connect multiple strands of beads together (Figure 3.7). However, caution is needed, as beads and spindle whorls can be misidentified as one or the other (Liu 1978), but it is entirely possible that one object could serve as both during the course of its lifetime. Nonetheless, it is the centrality of the perforation that distinguishes beads from other objects that can be strung, such as pendants (Beck 1928). Depending on the material used to construct the bead, other characteristics such as the size, shape, colour, and motif, will vary. Glass beads in particular can be created to exhibit a wide range of variability among these characteristics.

3.5.1 Dimensions

Description of the size of glass beads is based on three primary measurements (Figure 3.8). As the majority of glass beads from the Iron Age were round when viewed from the perforated end, **Diameter** is used to describe the line that passes through the perforation. In some examples, beads are not perfectly round or they may have had intentional decorative protrusions. In these cases, the maximum diameter was recorded. For beads that were not round when viewed from the perforation end, Length and Width measurements were taken through the perforation (Figure 3.9). In order to make this measurement comparable throughout the database, the larger of length and width were renamed as the 'longest length through the perforation' or LongPerf, and could then be compared with the diameter (Figure 3.10).

The second measurement, called Height, refers to the length from one end of the perforation to the other end. Along with LongPerf, these two measurements provide size-based data for describing the overall size of each bead. Just as the overall size of each bead varied, so too did the size of the perforation. This reflects both the size of the mandrel that the bead was formed on, and the maximum size of the material that could be used to string each bead onto. This measurement is called Perforation Diameter, or PerfDiam, throughout the text.

For beads that were made available for analysis by museums or other organisations, measurements were taken of each bead using digital callipers. Dimensions were then recorded in the database using millimetres. Although the first-hand analysis measurements were preferred over published data, in some cases it was not possible to measure each bead. In these cases the published data, if available, was utilised. Some reports used different terminology regarding the measurement of each bead and in these cases they could usually be interpreted as fitting the terminology used here.

One of the challenges with measuring glass beads stems from their sometimes fragmentary nature. In cases where more than half of the bead remains, it was still possible to take accurate measurements. However, when 50% or less remained estimations would be the result of guesswork. In these circumstances, the photographs that were taken of the fragmented bead can be used to measure the necessary dimensions. With the use of ImageJ software[6], an accurate measurement of the original size of the bead can be easily determined. This software allows the user to open a digital photograph of an artefact and set a scale using the scale bar present within the image. In the example of a circular bead of unknown size, the user can use the circle tool to draw a circle over the bead fragment (Figure 3.11). The programme will then calculate the area of the circle. Using the circle area, it is then easy to calculate the diameter ([(area/)]*2). This method was been tested on photographs of beads with known dimensions and is accurate to within a few millimetres. It can be applied to determine the Diameter or LongPerf of beads, as well as the Perforation Diameter, and when viewed on profile it can be used to determine the Height. In these cases, it was essential to use photographs where the bead was not viewed on an angle in order to minimise distortion and error.

3.5.2 Shape

The terminology used for glass beads largely follows the terms set out by Guido, although she did not define most of them. However, it is important to define the terms here, as they are used consistently throughout the analyses and because other authors will inevitably use different terms to refer to the same shapes (Table 3.1; Figure 3.12). In some cases, particularly with round beads, the shape term is used in conjunction with a Diameter:Height ratio. For example, a perfect sphere would have a 1:1 ratio. A modern 1 pence coin would have a 20.35:1.67 ratio or could be described as 12.19, meaning that the diameter is much larger than the height and is therefore disc shaped. What this describes is the relative diameter compared to the height. Thus all round beads with a value of 1 would be perfectly spherical, while a round bead with a ratio value of 2 would be roughly disc shaped. Beck (1928) used these ratios in his universal approach to classifying bead shape. This

[6] ImagJ Software, Version 1.45s, freely available at http://rsbweb.nih.gov/ij/

Table 3.1 Description of bead shape terminology used throughout the thesis.

Shape	Description
Globular	A roughly spherical bead that should have a Diameter:Height ratio between 1.0 and 1.5.
Annular	A round bead that should have a Diamater:Height ratio between +1.5. A section of the ring should have a roughly D-shaped profile rather than the square-sectioned profile of a cylindrical bead.
Cylindrical	A bead with a round circumference that has a square-sectioned profile. Iron Age examples of this shape of bead usually have a Diameter:Height ratio around 1.5 – 2.0. However, Roman examples are often much longer and can be double or triple the diameter.
Barrel	A round bead that has a longer height than diameter and has a Diameter:Height ratio of 0.9 or less. This bead is not to be confused with the cylindrical type as it does not have any edges and does not have a rectangular cross-section.
Sub-triangular	These beads are roughly triangular in shape, although instead of having pointed ends, they are much softer and rounded.
Truncated-triangle	These beads are roughly hexagonal and appears as though the limbs of a sub-triangular bead were removed.
Melon	This shape is named after the Roman melon beads that are most frequently made from faience, although some glass versions are known. However, this shape is also found in Iron Age contexts. It is composed of a more or less globular shaped bead, and indents are impressed into the surface of the bead and creating valleys and ridges.

Table 3.2: Description of Beck bead shapes (after Beck 1928).

Shape	Minimum	Maximum
Long	---	0.91
Standard	0.9	1.11
Short	1.11	1.52
Disc	1.52	000

Table 3.3: Bead shapes as determined by ratio as used throughout thesis.

Shape	Minimum	Maximum
Barrel	---	0.99
Globular	1.0	1.5
Annular	1.5	

comprehensive guide divided beads into Long, Standard, Short, and Disc beads according to their Diameter:Height ratio (Table 3.2).

This differentiation in shape for round beads is largely followed throughout the analyses, but with some modification (Table 3.3). Beads that have a larger height than their diameter are referred to as barrel beads, globular beads extends from a Diam:Height ratio from 1.0 – 1.5, and annular beads have a Diam:Height ratio larger than 1.5. This method has been especially useful as beads between about 1.4 and 1.7 are often difficult to differentiate between globular and annular beads with these proportions. However, these definitions are completely arbitrary and may not reflect the shape types recognised by the Iron Age glassworker. One might expect that there would be clear distinctions between beads of more spherical shape and those that are more disc-like in shape. However, as the analyses show in Chapter 6, this is not the case. Instead, beads described as globular and annular form a continuous spread between the boundaries of both descriptions. This suggests that the rules for creating bead shapes were not clearly defined. Instead of thinking of these shape terms as permanent and unbending, especially for globular, annular, and barrel beads, it is probably better to think of them as towards one end of the spectrum or another.

3.5.3 Colour

The description of bead colour was perhaps one of the most challenging aspects of this research. A description of glass colour is made up of not only the colour, but also the degree of translucency or opacity as light shining through translucent glass can change the perception of colour. Both colour and opacity are manipulated through the addition of minerals or metal-oxides. Natural glass, or glass that has not been altered, will often appear as a pale translucent green due to iron impurities in the silica (Henderson 2000, 27). It is sometimes referred to as bottle-glass, although this should not be confused with colourless glass that has been decolourised. Discussions regarding glass colour are often restricted to their chemical composition obtained through the use of analytical techniques such as XRF or SEM (e.g. Arletti, Vezzalini *et al.* 2008; Foster & Jackson 2009; Henderson 1982; Linden, Cosyns *et al.* 2009). However, chemical analysis was not a goal of this research project, as it does not describe the way in which a colour was used in combination with other colours. Nor does it aid in our exploration as to how the glass was used or provide data on the wider archaeological context. Colour can also be measured through the use of equipment, such as a spectrophotometer. The pilot study tested the applicability of such equipment with glass beads and, unfortunately due to a number of factors, such as the size of the beads and the minimum size of the space needed for measuring colour, it was deemed unsuitable for this purpose.

Due to the difficulties of describing colour in a non-subjective manner, this study relied on the observations made by the author during first-hand analysis. In many cases this allowed the published descriptions to be confirmed or elaborated where necessary. As a record of observations, the digital photographs were taken with a colour scale bar to help ensure that the photographs were taken under similar lighting conditions, and thus not distorted by lighting. It also allows for material held in different museums to be compared later, as for example the beads from the Queen's Barrow at Arras are split between the Yorkshire Museum and the British Museum. In cases where glass beads could not be viewed for the thesis, written descriptions had to be relied upon. It is possible that many of these are not as precise as those made during the visits; however, until such time that the descriptions can be confirmed, the published descriptions were used to the best of their ability.

Recording colour for glass beads in the database proved to be very difficult. Iron Age glass beads could be monochrome (made of single colours of glass), polychrome (made of more than one colour of glass) with no decoration, or polychrome with decoration. It seemed appropriate to record how the different colours were used on the beads in order to determine whether certain colours were used primarily for one part of the bead, or for another. Therefore, colours were described for the Body of the bead and for the Decorative element of the bead.

The majority of beads encountered during the data-collection were monochrome or made of single colours of glass (explored in depth in Chapter 6). Colour for these beads was recorded as: *Body - Blue – Translucent* (Figure 3.13). A polychrome bead without decoration would be described as: *Body - Colourless- Translucent; Body - Yellow - Opaque*. While a polychrome bead with decoration would be described as: *Body - Blue - Translucent; Decorative - White - Opaque*. One of the problems was this could become extremely complex, and would require multiple (variable) records to describe the colour of each glass bead. Therefore, a sub-table was created within the database record for objects that allowed an unlimited number of bead colours to be recorded.

Initially, it was hoped that the analyses that followed after the colour data-collection would be able to analyse two phenomena related to glass colour. First, it was hoped that colour analysis could examine the use of translucent and opaque glass on beads. However, one of the properties of glass is that there is not always a clear division between translucent and opaque glass, as even thin opaque glass can appear to be transparent. Instead, this property is a continuum of translucency to opacity. Further, the published descriptions of glass colour often did not discuss this property of the glass beads, rendering the data-set very small as only those beads examined first-hand could be relied upon. Related to this issue is the appearance of glass. Guido noted that while some beads appeared to be black they were in-fact created from dark purples, reds, blues, and greens. It was hoped that colour analysis could take this factor into consideration, but again, the data-set would have relied primarily on those beads observed first-hand. The analyses in the succeeding chapters focus on plain colour terms without translucency/opacity, and focus on actual colour of the glass rather than the perceived colour of the glass. However, this ambiguity of glass's subjective colour nature may be cause for further investigation in future research.

3.5.4 Decorative Motif

Guido identified 16 different motifs in her discussion of glass bead appearances (Figure 2.8). However, her descriptions and accompanying images leave out a number of motifs and do not correctly demonstrate how the motifs are used on glass beads. As one of the attributes of physical appearance that will be analysed in the following section, it is necessary to define the different motifs that were found on the beads (Table 3.4 and 3.5; Figure 3.14 and 3.15).

For the majority of these beads, a decorative motif was created by taking a monochrome bead and adding a decorative element to the bead by using an often contrasting coloured glass (Figure 3.16). This decoration is seen on beads with eye motifs, and linear designs, such as circumferential lines or zig-zags/wave motifs. For other motifs, the design is actually integral to the bead form, such as the wrapped or whirl beads. Some of these decorative motifs are continuous, such as the waves and whirls that completely encircle the bead. Others beads are made up of multiple instances of each motif. For example, motifs such as the eye and spiral always occur at least three times on the surface of the bead. The placement on the surface of the bead usually follows three main patterns (Table 3.5, Figure 3.17)

Within the database each bead is recorded as having no motif, or by the specific motif that it displays. As is shown later in Chapter 5, some beads have a simple motif (i.e. just one type of motif), while others have more complex elements that are combined to create motif complexity.

Table 3.4: Description of decorative motif terminology used throughout thesis.

Motif	Description
Simple Eye	This motif was probably created by alternating two different colours of glass. The technique gives the illusion that a ring of contrasting colour is suspended within the body of the glass. An alternative method of producing this type of decoration may have been to take a small ring of the contrasting glass, and to suspend it within the main body of the bead. This alternative method is suggested by some examples where the contrasting glass has weathered out of the bead and leaves a channel and a 'mushroom' of the body glass in the centre.
Complex Eye	This motif is very similar to the simple eye, and was probably made in the same way as the two methods described above, however it is made with four layers of glass rather than two.
Stratified Eye	This motif uses the same technique used for the simple eye, but in a different way. First a large simple eye is made, and then smaller eyes are placed on top of the first large eye.
Concentric Lines	These linear lines are placed around the circumference of a bead and are more or less straight. They usually appear in groups, or combined with other motifs, rather than singly.
Wave/Zig-zag	This motif is a strand of contrasting glass that is applied in a wave or zig-zag pattern usually around the circumference of the bead. It can appear very regular or other examples show inconsistent waves. Usually, they are used singly, but there are some beads where a two-strand wave is used, sometimes in conjunction with other motifs.
Chevron	Multiple zig-zags make up chevron designs that can cover a bead's body. While zig-zags were probably formed by trailing decorative glass in this pattern, many of the chevron beads indicate a different method of decorative process. These beads appear to have been wrapped by one continuous strand of decorative glass, sometimes 10 times around the body of the bead, from one perforation end to the other. Then, a sharp instrument was lightly inserted into the surface of the bead and dragged across. This pulls the body and decorative glass in the direction pulled forming peaks.
Criss-Cross	This design is a combination of both circumferential and vertical lines (from perforation to perforation). The lines form right angles.
Diagonal Criss-cross/Lattice	This is a criss-cross design that has been applied at a 45 degree angle.
Spiral	This design appears to have been made by trailing melted glass on the surface of the bead and then heated until made flush with the surface.
Pinnate	This is called a chevron by Guido, but here it has been re-termed to avoid confusion with the zig-zag/chevron motif. The single example of this has a circumferential line with short strands branching off towards the perforation.
Cable	This is a rod formed by a twist of at least two very thin rods of glass. It is then applied to the bead.
Cable Wave	This is similar to the wave/zig-zag design, but instead it is

	created using a cable made by at least two colours of glass.
Perforation Colour	This is the application of a glass colour around the perforation of the bead. It extends through the perforation and lines the perforation surface. It is often irregular.
Ray	These are lines of glass in a contrasting colour that extend from the perforation and wrap around the circumference edge and back to the perforation on the other side. The lines end up more or less where they started. The inside of the perforation appears messy from the contrasting glass colour.
Whirl	This is very similar to the ray, but instead of being straight lines, they bend around the bead. On the perforation side they form a whirl design, but the circumference view has slanted lines.
Whirl and Cable	This is a more complex whirl design that alternates a cable with a solid line.
Wrapped	Beads that fall under this category are unique. They are mixture of at least two different colours and appear as though they were made from one rod of glass that was wrapped around a mandrel. More complex examples also have a cable incorporated into the rod.
Mottled/Irregular Colour	In some cases, beads exhibit polychromatism; however, there is no formal linear or other applied design. Sometimes, this is deliberate, and creates a mottled design, such as several of the Guido Group 1 beads. However, most examples are completely irregular.
All Over Bumps	These beads are monochrome in colour and are large annular or cylindrical beads with raised bumps covering the surface.

Table 3.5: Other decorative motif terminology.

Term	Definition
Single Circumferential	Individual motifs are placed around the circumference of the bead.
Single Alternating	Individual motifs are placed around the circumference of the bead, but alternate with one slightly closer to one perforation end then the next one is slightly closer to the other perforation end.
Pairs Circumferential	Individual motifs are placed in pairs around the circumference of the bead.
Pairs and Single Circumferential (2-1-2)	Individual motifs alternate placement around the circumference singly and in pairs.

3.6 Chronology Terminology

One of the difficulties in comparing evidence for different areas of Britain during the Iron Age is in the terminology used to discuss chronology. As change through time is tracked by changes in settlement, artefacts, and practices for the treatment of the dead, this can be very regional (e.g. Harding 2004; Moore 2006b). Therefore, a common terminology is needed in order to discuss periods throughout Britain. Here, I have borrowed from J.D. Hill's (1995a) periodisation from his overview of the Iron Age in Britain (Table 3.6). In term of the transition to the Roman period, I have used these terms purely as a short hand method for referring to a date range, rather than the effect of romanisation or level of interaction with the Romans. As it can be particularly difficult to separate out Late Iron Age and Early Roman period activity and these periods overlap, depending on the archaeological evidence for dating, in some cases these periods are combined and in other cases they are left separate.

Table 3.6: Periodisation and date ranges used throughout thesis (based loosely on Hill 1995a).

Period	**Date Range**
Early Iron Age	c. 800 – 450 BC
Middle Iron Age	c. 450 – 100 BC
Late Iron Age	c. 100 BC – AD 43
Early Roman	c. 1st century AD
Romano-British	c. end 1st century AD+

3.7 Analyses

Once the data for sites had been compiled into both database tables, it was necessary to clean-up the database, by checking for consistency and accuracy. Guido's catalogue contained several duplicate entries that needed to be deleted. In addition, it was at times difficult to match up excavation reports to finds analysed at museums. One particular issue relates back to one of the problems discussed in the data acquisition section above. As data about some excavations is only found in short interim reports that did not culminate into a larger final report, these entries needed to be summarised into single entries in order to avoid a distortion in the number of excavations recorded in the database.

Following database clean-up, data was extracted from the database and converted into SPSS files (Windows, version 19.0.0) for analysis. Using SPSS, it was possible to evaluate the data that is discussed in Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8. This was done using a variety of means, depending on the types of data. Bead size analyses were conducted using ranges, averages, and standard deviations. They were also plotted through the use of histograms and scatter-graphs. Other categorical descriptive data, such as colour, decorative motif, and types were compared through the use of bar-charts and tables showing frequencies. Bar-charts and tables were also used to compare sites and material culture. In a few instances, it was possible to carry out a Chi-square test using the data, but in order to make the data valid smaller categories were combined (Fletcher & Lock 2005, 131).

Although every effort was made to examine as many glass beads as possible, as already highlighted in this chapter, this was not always feasible. The number of possible beads for analysis in the follow chapters amounts to 1,788 individual specimens. Many of these were seen first-hand, but for others written descriptions needed to be relied on. In some cases, data was not available to the detail needed for the analysis. In order to be as explicit as possible, for each analysis, the number of beads that were possible to be included in the discussion is stated, as some were left out due to missing data.

Spatial data was explored through the use of mapping software. These maps show the locations, distributions, and density of sites and objects and were created using ArcMap (Windows, ESRI Version 9.3). While exact findspots or sites are known for many examples, there are unfortunately many stray finds that rely on villages or towns to describe provenance. In some cases, these are only known at the parish or administrative district/county level. In these cases, beads have been left out of distributional maps as their area of origin is too vague. In each section the analysis carried out is described in detail.

3.8 Summary

This section has highlighted some of the issues encountered during two pilot-study phases and how they led to the creation of the current methodology. The study regions were selected and defined based on previous known distributions of glass beads. In three cases, the study regions were already known to be areas where glass beads have been found in high frequencies. The final region of study was chosen due to the low frequency of glass beads, but long recognised existence of the deposition of metalwork. Data from these regions was obtained from a number of sources, including both published and unpublished reports, and first-hand study of glass beads. The methodology that resulted from the identification of interpretative issues and testing aims to be as clear as possible about the terminology and the description of glass beads. It has been employed throughout the analysis chapters (Chapters 5 to 8). However, the next chapter will discuss the archaeological resource in the four study regions and the way in which different histories of research and differing practices in the past affect the data available for study.

Chapter 4

The Nature of the Archaeological Resource in the Regions

4.1 Introduction

Study of the Iron Age has not been equally pursued throughout Britain. Instead, for different reasons and circumstances, some areas or time periods are studied more than others. This varies not only throughout the history of research, but also in the methods utilised to approach the study of this period. Despite these differences, it is becoming increasingly clear that there was not a single unifying Iron Age culture, as there is a considerable degree of difference in regional practices (Haselgrove, Armit *et al.* 2001, 22). Four study regions were briefly introduced and defined in Chapter 3: Southwest England, East Anglia, East Yorkshire, and Northeast Scotland. Before turning to an analysis of objects and their contexts in Chapters 5 through 8, it is prudent to ground these interpretations in an understanding not only of the evidence for human activity in each of the study regions, but also differences in the history of research in each region that may affect the interpretations of the available evidence.

This chapter will briefly explore each region under study. It begins by introducing the archaeological resource in terms of the history of research and the impact of developer-led excavations. Then, it turns to different patterns of settlement in each region. For some regions, this is well established, but for others evidence is scarce. Finally, this chapter will examine variances in the patterns for ritual and for the treatment of the dead. Although it is generally considered that the domestic world and ritual aspects of Iron Age life were not separate, but instead intimately intertwined (Fitzpatrick 1997b), this division has been utilised here because it provides a way to organise the material in order to emphasise some of the differences in the dominant sources of evidence. It should not be taken to reflect a point of view on the organisation of the Iron Age world.

Throughout this chapter, it should be clear that the impact of different research strategies and interests of antiquarians and archaeologists have much to do with both the quality and quantity of archaeological data available for analysis, which impacts the analyses presented in the following chapters. For example, relatively few research excavations have been carried out in East Anglia when compared to Southwest England. Yet, the preponderance of artefacts, especially metalwork in the form of coins and torcs in Norfolk, stand out as significant (see especially Garrow 2008). To what extent do these extreme regional differences reflect real patterns? Or, are they simply the result of different practices and recovery strategies?

The impact of developer-funded excavation after the implementation of Planning Policy Guidance (PPG) 16 in 1990 (currently replaced by the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF) and its equivalents in the rest of the UK) can also be seen to affect each region differently (explored further in Chapter 7). This is a result of not only the quantity of the work undertaken, but also the placement of the investigations. With the exception of road or pipeline schemes, excavations are often centred on high-density urban areas and their neighbouring countryside. One of the benefits of developer-funded excavation is that excavations and other archaeological investigations are occurring in areas that would not normally be the subject of research projects (Moore 2006a). Of course the impetus for developer-funded excavation is entirely dependent on the location intended for development and not on the ideal location for filling in gaps in our knowledge. In some areas, such as Northeast Scotland, research excavations have been exceedingly rare, and it is only through the very small number of developer-funded excavations that we can attempt to discuss settlement patterns and artefacts. Research and developer-funded excavations do not provide complete answers on their own, but instead provide a useful counterbalance of data.

4.2 The Archaeological Resource

Within each of the four study regions considered here, there are a number of factors that affect both how and what we know about the Iron Age. Much of this is to do with the history of research, but also the development of archaeology as a discipline. Excavation, and other means of assessing archaeology, has never been as widespread and frequent as it is today, as a result of the need for excavation prior to development. This section will discuss the ways in which the history of research and developer-funded excavation have shaped our understanding of these four regions of Britain, followed by a discussion of some of the key regional themes in Sections 4.3 and 4.4.

4.2.1. History of Research

Southwest England

Upstanding monuments have historically been one of the prime areas of focus for the earliest antiquaries, such as William Stukely and Richard Colt Hoare. These remnants of the past are particularly visible in southwest England, including Stonehenge, Avebury, Silbury Hill, and Iron Age sites, such as Maiden Castle. It is thus probably unsurprising that some of the earliest excavations were undertaken in this region, such as those by Pitt-Rivers (1887-1898) on his estates in Cranborne Chase in Wiltshire, where he uncovered Iron Age material. It was also around this time that Arthur Bulleid and Harold Gray excavated the Iron Age lake villages, first at Glastonbury (Bulleid & Gray 1917a), and later at Meare (Bulleid & Gray 1948a; Coles 1987). The aim of the excavations at Glastonbury was to discover a lake village in Britain similar to the same type of site found in Switzerland (Bulleid & Gray 1917a, 5). Through these excavations, a wealth of material culture was uncovered, especially those made from material that does not normally survive.

Throughout much of the twentieth century, this region has continued to be one of the most thoroughly studied regions in Britain, as well as the test-bed for different excavation techniques and the use of aerial photography. It was particularly through the excavations in southern Britain that Hawkes (1931; 1958; 1959) developed his model of British Iron Age prehistory: the 'ABC' model. Through this framework, he divided England and Wales into 5 provinces, which were further sub-divided into 30 regions. Within each of these regions, he identified a number of cultures, whereby 'A' was replaced by 'B', which was subsequently replaced by 'C'. The mechanism of these changes was the result of migrations and invasions into Britain. This framework, and the reliance on invasion as the prime motivator of change, was later critiqued by Clark (1966); however, this model nonetheless made a significant impact on the interpretation of sites excavated during the mid-twentieth century.

It may be that we can attribute the overall density of glass beads, as shown in Guido's 1978 catalogue and distribution maps, to the early and intense focus in this region. Although quality of contextual data is variable, many of the glass beads from this region were found through excavation, rather than as chance or stray finds through development or agriculture. Although not published until the late 1970s, Guido's study fitted in with the interpretations derived from Hawkes' model for the Iron Age. Thus, in many ways, the archaeology of this region played an important role in the development of the typology.

East Anglia

Until relatively recently, there has been only one major study of the Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk (Clarke 1939), as it seems that antiquarians took little interest in this region. This may be due to the differences in field monuments as the geography of East Anglia is very flat and hillforts do not exist here in the same way as they do in Wessex (Davies 1996, 63). Interest and acknowledgement of the archaeological record in this region began to change at the end of the twentieth century, as evidenced by publications resulting from two conferences (Davies 2011; Davies & Williamson 1999a).

Despite the general lack of both amateur and research excavations in this region, it nevertheless boasts a wealth of material culture. This is primarily attributable to the impact of metal-detecting and intensive agricultural production (Davies 1996, 71). The importance of metal-detecting activity is well acknowledged, as is the relationship between metal-detectorists and archaeologists, which has enabled a good practice of recording finds (Hill 2007, 34; Portable Antiquities Scheme 2003; Worrell 2007, 272-3).

Interestingly, the difference in the level of study between this region and others plays out in the way in which glass beads from this region were understood. Guido (1978a) attributed very few examples to this region, many of which were of non-diagnostic or potentially later types. Perhaps this was partly due to differences in archaeological focus, yet the intense agricultural practice in this area, through which stray beads are often found in other regions, had little impact of our understanding in this area. Despite the good practice of recording material in this region, very few glass beads have been found in this way. This pattern will continue to be seen throughout the thesis, but with one noted exception.

East Yorkshire

The archaeological resource for East Yorkshire in the Iron Age is considered to be rich, but in a different way when compared to the previous two study regions. Lacking hillforts, except for the far western area covered here (e.g. Staple Howe (Brewster 1963)), this region is known for the large numbers of barrow inhumations. It is these barrows that held the attention of antiquarians, such as Stillingfleet (1848), Mortimer (1905), Greenwell (1872; 1906), and others. These early excavators recorded the contents of the inhumation barrows at Arras, Cowlam, and Danes Graves. Although these were some of the larger cemeteries to be excavated, a number of smaller investigations were also undertaken and are summarised by Stead (1965a). More recently, two notable excavation programmes have added significant data to the foundations laid by the antiquarians, as these archaeological inquiries were conducted utilising modern techniques and recording practices. First, were the excavations at Wetwang and Garton Slack, prompted by impending quarry extraction, which revealed over 400 inhumations, and a contemporary settlement (Brewster 1980; Dent 1984). Second, Stead undertook excavations at Rudston, Burton Fleming, Garton Station, and Kirkburn (Stead 1991a). Supplementing these excavations has been the recent discovery of an additional chariot/cart burial with mirror at Wetwang Slack (Hill 2001; The Guildhouse Consultancy 2002). In comparison to the antiquarian excavations, these recent excavations have benefited from osteological analysis of both human and animal bones, scientific analyses of finds, and environmental analyses.

In addition to the excavation data, a major landscape project identified cropmarks through aerial photography (Stoertz 1997). This project has added a significant data-set for understanding the wider landscape, as it has become clear that the excavations in East Yorkshire have been relatively limited in number compared to the number of identified cropmarks (Bevan 1997, 182). From this macro-approach, by examining the entirety of the Yorkshire Wolds long tracks of earthwork boundaries, or dykes, can be seen to cut across the landscape. These boundaries will be discussed further in Section 4.3.4.

The glass beads from the antiquarian's discoveries, as well as those from the more recent excavations in East Yorkshire, continue to be very important for the study of glass beads: more beads were found here than in any other region. Interestingly, most examples were found with inhumations in large numbers, but they were found from very few sites compared to Northeast Scotland or Southwest England.

Northeast Scotland

The nature of the archaeological resource is very different in this region compared to the others examined here. In the past, study of the Iron Age in Scotland has been focused on the borders region (Traprain Law in East Lothian, and other sites (Childe 1933; Childe & Forde 1932; Piggott 1947; 1957; Stevenson 1948)), and in Atlantic Scotland, particularly in connection with the brochs and other megalithic dwellings (e.g. Armit 1991; Barrett 1981; Henderson 2008; MacKie 1965b; 1974; 2008; 2010; Parker Pearson, Sharples *et al.* 1996). This has led to a number of knowledge 'black holes' that have been identified in Scotland (e.g. Cavers 2008; ScARF 2012, 72). Northeast Scotland could be considered partly as a 'black hole' and partly as 'un-sorted' (Haselgrove, Armit *et al.* 2001, 25; ScARF 2012, 88).

While there was some antiquarian interest in Northeast Scotland (e.g. Anderson 1883; Christison 1898), it was really in the twentieth century, when Childe (1935; 1940; 1946) arrived in Edinburgh in 1927 that a narrative developed. Looking at building styles and architecture in Northeast Scotland, Childe (1935) identified the 'Abernathy culture' based on their characteristic 'Gallic fort' structures. By the time that the Hawkesian model became established as a way to frame the archaeological evidence for the Iron Age in England and Wales, it did not include Scotland. Piggott (1966) later developed this model to include Scotland, but acknowledged that the Claudian invasion had less meaning in Scotland and he developed a later period of the chronology that extended further into the first millennium AD. Northeast Scotland was comprised of Piggott's 'Northeast Province', but overall interpretation had not changed drastically since Childe's synthetic publications, even with the advent of radiocarbon dating (c.f. MacKie 1969).

The result of the last century of archaeological inquiry in this region has led to an unclear understanding of the settlement of this region. Many of the artefacts here have been found through casual or accidental means and lack contextual information. This renders many of the characteristic artefacts for this region, including glass beads, very difficult to interpret in the context of wider social meaning.

4.2.2. Impact of Developer-funded Archaeology

The current state of developer-funded archaeology has advanced out of a long-term concern for the effect of development and leisure on cultural heritage since the mid-twentieth century. Government legislation was introduced in November 1990 as PPG16 (later replaced by Planning Policy Statement (PPS) 5 in 2010). Through this government initiation, the developer-funded sector of archaeology has changed the dynamics of excavation in England (and similarly in Wales and Scotland). For example, Croft (2000, 131) has shown that there was a 900% increase in development between 1986 and 1999 as seen by the number of planning applications made, which suggests a similar development in developer-led projects.

Similar legislation was enacted in Scotland in 1994 (NPPG5), and a coinciding dramatic change can be seen in here. In 2002, it was reported that more than half of the excavations carried out in Scotland were the result of developer-funded initiatives (Carter 2002). In 1990, Historic Scotland funded over 70% of the excavations, but this shifted dramatically by 2000 to only 25% of excavations when non-government funders provided the remaining 75% (Carter 2002).

Developer-funded excavation impact is mostly seen in urban areas, where new building construction or development is more likely to take place. Other large-scale works, such as road schemes or pipelines, also prompt archaeological investigation, often covering large areas of land (e.g. Brown, Howard-Davis *et al.* 2007). Thus, its effect is different in each study region (explored in Chapter 7). However, despite the increased amount of excavation and resulting data, timely synthesis of this information is not always undertaken, which in turn results in archaeological stagnation. This was an issue highlighted in the archaeological framework for the Eastern Counties (Medlycott 2011).

Out of all the study regions included in this study, Northeast Scotland has undergone the fewest research excavations. It has really only been through developer-funded excavations that an understanding of the Iron Age has become clear (Phillips & Bradley 2004), such as the growing number of excavations at domestic sites, such as at Kintore (Cook & Dunbar 2008) and Candle Stane (Cameron 1999) both in Aberdeenshire. These studies have involved excavation of both enclosed and un-enclosed sites. This is proving to be especially important for adding depth to an understanding of Iron Age material culture previously based on stray finds. It is through these developer-led excavations that glass beads have finally been found in good contextual circumstances, and some even with radiocarbon dates (e.g. Thainstone and Culdtuhel Farm).

4.3 Patterns of Iron Age Settlement

4.3.1. Introduction

Our interpretations of the Iron Age in Britain are linked to the history of research, research questions, and the nature of the archaeology itself. For example, drawing on the study regions investigated here, the greatest contrast is between the archaeology of Southwest England and East Yorkshire. Both regions have historically been important for research, due to the visible monuments, but the practices represented are very different. In Southwest England, settlements have become the main areas of research, while in East Yorkshire the focus has been on the square barrow inhumation practice. Burials are not absent from Southwest England and neither are settlements from East Yorkshire, but there were clearly different regional practices occurring in the Iron Age. This regionality is important when considering the glass beads from each region. Although further details are provided in Chapters 6 through 8, Southwest England, East Anglia, and Northeast Scotland are regions that have already been identified by Guido (1978a) as being areas where large numbers of glass beads have been found. Although the amount of contextual data varies, these beads have been found in different types of archaeological features that form a part of a regional pattern. In contrast, very few beads were identified in East Anglia by Guido (1978a), although this chapter discusses one important site that has begun to change this perception.

While it is evident that there is a certain amount of regional practice that results in differing material remains, by the Late Iron Age this regionalisation is sometimes viewed as tribalisation. Tribal names have been taken from various classical texts that sometimes describe specific regions that were inhabited by specific groups of people. These tribal groupings have been suggested to be reflected in the coinage distribution evidence (Cunliffe 2005, 190-1). However, there is a danger that using the word 'tribe' uncritically does not permit a wider analysis of the social complexities at the end of the Iron Age (Moore 2011). While some of the discussions in this section mention tribes, or evidence connected with tribes, this is mainly in a descriptive sense as some practices are specifically referred to as their tribal name, such 'Durotrigian burials', or 'Dobunni coins'.

4.3.2. Southwest England

In Southwest England (see Figure 4.1 for major sites mentioned in text), it has recently been suggested that the traditional three period division of the Iron Age is not as meaningful in this region as it is in others (Fitzpatrick 2007; Moore 2007a). Instead, it has been proposed that a two-part division, based on available pottery and settlement evidence and further supported by radiocarbon dates, more accurately reflects the evidence (Moore 2006b). Thus, there is an earlier component that refers to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age transition, and a later Iron Age period covering approximately the fourth century BC until the first century AD. The term 'Late Iron Age' is specifically reserved for referring to the first century BC/AD.

Settlement in the earlier Iron Age is characterised by contemporary occupation at both upland and lowland sites. The lowland settlements are found in river valleys and unlike their upland counterparts, they are not surrounded by a boundary or enclosure. These settlements are often single roundhouses, such as at Lechlade at Roughground Farm (Allen, Darvill *et al.* 1993). Although these settlements were unenclosed, different types of boundaries are found across the landscape. These include large scale field systems, but also pit alignments, as at Ashton Keynes near Shorncote (Hey 2000). In the uplands, however, a number of enclosures are attributed to this period. The earliest of these, often termed 'hill-top' enclosures are early in date and are very slight, but with large defences (Cunliffe 2005, 378; Fitzpatrick 2007, 124). Examples are found at Bindon Hill, Norbury, and Ham Hill. It is unclear what these early hill-top enclosures were used for, as there is little domestic structural evidence; however, there is evidence for four-post structures, which may have been used for storing grain (Fitzpatrick 2007, 134). By the sixth century BC, a different group of enclosures located on hill-tops appear: hillforts. These are different from the earlier hill-top enclosures, as they are smaller, with a single ditch and rampart, but the biggest difference is that the defences are more substantial. Examples include the earliest phase at Maiden Castle, Chalbury Camp, and Yarnbury Castle. Very few glass beads are found at these early period settlements. Instead, one of the earliest examples was found in a midden context (McOmish, Field *et al.* 2010).

By the fourth century BC, settlement in Southwest England changes. In general, this later period is characterised by a need to enclose, but this is manifested in a different way than in the previous period. Many of the hill-top and early hillfort enclosures were abandoned during this period, while others were not only enlarged, but they were developed into a complex system of enclosure defences with elaborate entryways. The later phases at Maiden Castle, Dorset is probably the best-known example of developed hillforts, with an extremely complex and ornate entrance. These sites have been traditionally seen as the homes of elites or other ruling class and formed the core of Cunliffe's (1984b) model for social organisation. However, Hill (1996) has posited that there is very little evidence to suggest that hillforts were any different in status from lowland settlements. Interpretations of hillforts are also engulfed in discussions of warfare and the need for defence (James 2007), while alternative interpretations have suggested that they fulfilled a more symbolic role (Armit 2007; Sharples 1991b). Perhaps related to these changes in settlement during this period is the increased appearance of glass beads at this time.

During the later Iron Age, settlements in the lowlands also changed. Excavated sites, such as Cleveland Farm (Powell, Jones *et al.* 2008), Claydon Pike (Miles, Palmer *et al.* 2007), and Thornhill Farm (Jennings, Muir *et al.* 2004) in the Upper Thames Valley, show evidence for very dense settlement (Hey 2007, 167). In contrast to the earlier Iron Age period, these settlements were primarily unenclosed (Fitzpatrick 2007, 131). However, within these large and dense settlements, boundaries were used to mark out individual households (Moore 2006b, 69). Elsewhere in this region, in the north Cotswolds and Severn Valley, small rectilinear enclosures bound households and are sometimes found clustered, as at Birdlip (Parry 1998) and Temple Guiting (Vallender 2005). It may also be at this time that banjo enclosures were built; although their use is unclear, they may have been for stock control (Moore 2006b). Interestingly, very few glass beads have been found at these sites, although the example from Thornhill Farm is a notable exception.

By the Late Iron Age in the first centuries BC and AD, the southwest is described by some as being inhabited by the Dobunni tribe in Gloucestershire and north Somerset, and the Durotriges in modern Dorset. Traditionally, it is also during this period that the urban or proto-urban centres of political organisation, settlement, and centralised manufacturing appear, forming a different type of enclosed settlement, the *oppida.* There are many critiques over the use of this term for these sites, as well as about their purpose (Moore 2012; Pitts 2010; Woolf 1993). However, it is significant that they do not develop out of established sites, but were instead built in peripheral previously uninhabited areas (Moore 2007a). In the southwest, two sites in particular are considered to be *oppida*: Bagendon and Salmonsbury, both in Gloucestershire. Although these sites are associated with an increase in urbanisation, the glass beads are limited. In addition, the beads from Bagendon are very characteristic of the Early Roman period and other similar examples have been found at Roman towns. The promontory fort at Hengistbury Head in Dorset is also considered to exhibit characteristics similar to these *oppida* sites, such as the evidence for cross-channel trade, although it is earlier in date

(Fitzpatrick 2001). For example, the glass bangle fragments from the site are clearly of continental Iron Age types rather than later Romano-British types.

At many of the sites already discussed in this section, the material culture evidence is limited in part from preservation factors, but also by practices in the past that allowed the material to enter the archaeological record. However, there are two unusual sites in this region that stand out due to the diversity of material culture (Fitzpatrick 2007; Minnitt 2000): Glastonbury Lake Village (Bulleid & Gray 1917a; Coles & Minnitt 1995) and Meare Lake Village (Bulleid & Gray 1948a; Bulleid & Gray 1948b; 1966; Coles 1987). Both of these sites are located in the Somerset Levels, a coastal wetland region.

Although the two sites were broadly contemporary (Glastonbury Lake Village approx. 200-50 BC; Meare Lake Village approx. 300-50 BC, although the precise dates are the subject of debate (Moore 2003, 33)) and only 5km apart, their relationship is unclear. The sites were excavated at the end of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, which unfortunately means that, although Gray brought new excavation techniques that he learned from working with Pitt-Rivers, the recording practices and excavation techniques were not as precise as today's standards. Therefore, interpretation of the site is hampered by these limitations. However, it is still possible to get a general sense of the sites. These sites are vastly different from any other Iron Age settlement in Iron Age Britain. They were characterised by their many mounds in the wetlands, which presumably formed the foundations for structures kept out of the marshland. The material culture that was excavated was incredibly diverse and objects that would not normally survive, such as woodwork, were preserved. In addition, the sites are well known for the hundreds of glass beads found amongst the mounds. The combination of colourless and opaque yellow glass has been considered to be characteristic of the beads found here, and because of their large numbers, Guido (1978a) thought that they may have been manufactured here. Despite other excavations in the similar environmental locations within the nearby Avon Levels (Gardiner, Allen *et al.* 2002), it is the quantity of glass beads, the diversity of other material culture, and the size of the Lake Villages at Meare and Glastonbury that makes these wetland settlements incomparable to other Iron Age settlements.

In general, despite the copious numbers of glass beads found at the lake villages, which in some ways skews the data, glass beads from Southwest England are known from a greater range of different types of sites than any of the other regions considered here. However, it may be significant that these beads tend to be found in very small numbers at each site, which makes it difficult to understand how they were being used, as we may only be seeing how they were used in deposition rather than how they were used on the body. The glass beads from the Lake Villages are a huge contrast to this pattern, as there are a few instances where multiples are found clustered together.

This section has primarily discussed the different settlement patterns in Southwest England. These patterns in settlement are best exemplified by the nature of the settlements in Gloucestershire, however, it is the history of research in this area that helps to provide a balanced view. There are localised differences in the character of the evidence for settlement as highlighted in the resource assessment and research agenda (Fitzpatrick 2007), yet, it is clear that the history of research and contribution of developer-funded archaeology has not contributed equally to all counties. Despite these potential biases, it is the quantity and quality of archaeological data from this region that has enabled researchers to move beyond strict reporting of finds and features, and to really engage with the data in order to explain human behaviour during the Iron Age (e.g. Cunliffe 1984c; Moore 2007b; Sharples 2010).

4.3.3. East Anglia

In comparison to Southwest England, very few sites have been excavated in Norfolk and Suffolk (see Figure 4.2 for major sites mentioned in text). Despite a growing number of developer-funded excavations in the region, interpretations of sites are unable to go beyond a very general 'late prehistoric/Iron Age/Roman' interpretation. As syntheses of the available data have been limited, a cyclical pattern emerges where an increasing number of sites are excavated, but the lack of syntheses means that they cannot be further incorporated into a growing framework of site morphology and chronology (Davies 1996, 64). Further complicating the interpretation of the evidence is the relegation of Norfolk and much of Suffolk to the periphery in the core-periphery model of Later Iron Age Britain (Hill 2007).

The limited excavations have suggested a general pattern in the settlement of this region. In the Late Bronze Age, artefactual evidence in the form of hoards, are found throughout the landscape in Norfolk and Suffolk (Davies 1996; Martin 1999), which may suggest that the settlements also followed this pattern. However Davies' (1996; 1999) model suggests that by the Early Iron Age that settlements were concentrated in the west and gradually moved eastward. The limited identification of Early Iron Age settlement sites is suggested to be due to the unenclosed nature of most sites (Martin 1999, 49-51). However, Davies *et al.* (1999b) and Martin (1999) have identified a few enclosed sites in Norfolk and Suffolk, some of which have been excavated. These are variable in shape, size, and nature of the enclosure. For example, Narborough in Norfolk is an irregular oval, univallate and encloses approximately 6.0ha, while Warham Camp (also in Norfolk) is circular, bivallate, and encloses 1.5ha (Davies 1999, 30-1). In Suffolk, the roughly rectangular double bank and ditch enclosure at Burgh covers 7ha (internally 3.4ha), and at the Barnham, there is a square double ditched enclosure that is much smaller and only covers 1ha (Martin 1999, 59-62).

The relationship between these assumed unenclosed sites and enclosed sites is unclear.

Rectangular enclosed Iron Age sites have also been identified in this region, although most have only been excavated on a very small scale, except for the extensive excavations at the unusual site at Fison Way, Thetford (Gregory 1991). Beginning as early as the Middle Iron Age, this site saw a number of successive building phases. Each phase was more grandiose than the previous until the final phase where the ornate enclosure is suggested to have formed an artificial oak grove. The lack of general domestic debris has led to the interpretation of this site as somehow being connected with ritual activity, rather than as a farming based settlement. Davies (1999) and Martin (1999) have extended the interpretation to other rectangular enclosures in both counties and see parallels with similar rectangular enclosures from continental Europe.

Other evidence for Iron Age settlement in Norfolk is derived from extensive evidence from key areas such as at Thetford, Saham Toney, and Caistor St. Edmund (Davies 1999). This evidence is mainly from find concentrations, rather than bounded settlement evidence, but it suggests that these areas may have been heavily populated (Davies 1999, 33-5). Davies (1999, 33) interprets this evidence as connected with the Late Iron Age *oppida* found elsewhere in southern Britain at this time. Although these sites lack the same linear earthworks that define the *oppida,* Davies suggests that the similarities in material culture, such as large numbers of coins and coinage production, could mean that they served a similar purpose. This interpretation may be falling into the trap of trying to define the evidence in Norfolk and part of Suffolk in terms of the Late Iron Age activity that occurred further south and may be an attempt to de-peripheralise northern East Anglia. Rather than trying to connect these sites to the *oppida*, Hill (2007) refers to these sites as open villages. These were long lasting farms or hamlets that in some cases show consecutive shifting structures suggesting a complex site history formed by unbounded settlements that can cover areas between 10 and 15 km across (Hill 2007, 20).

Hill's interpretation of Northern Anglia differs from the traditional explanations, such as Davies' (1996; 1999) and Martin's (1999). Despite the criticism of the use of core-periphery models to explain the change in material culture and settlement that occurred in southeast England, Hill (2007, 16-7) noted that there has been little attempt to replace the model with interpretations that fit the archaeological evidence more closely. He suggests that the extreme changes that manifested in material culture, burial treatment, and settlement over the course of the Late Iron Age were not driven by increased contact with the continent and the importation of new and exotic material culture, but instead can be traced back into the Middle Iron Age. Thus, the increase in material culture was not the cause of social change, but was a symptom (Hill 2007, 37). The narrative that Hill developed for Northern Anglia and the East Midlands is different from the west to east movement proposed by Davies and Martin. He suggests that open settlements were found extensively in the river valleys from the Middle Iron Age. He describes society at this time as:

> …[giving] the impression of successful agricultural communities practicing mixed farming in landscapes with large open areas of arable and pasture suggesting that the land itself was communally owned or controlled. They tended to have undifferentiated ways of eating, few 'luxuries', and little overt indication of marked distinctions between households or individuals. There is not much evidence for long-distance exchange, except for basic commodities such as iron, salt, or quernstones (Hill 2007, 21).

While permanent settlements were established, not all inhabitants occupied the site throughout the year, as seasonal transhumance would have necessitated members living elsewhere, such as while making salt or herding animals (Hill 2007, 21-2). By the Late Iron Age, other settlements began to fill in the areas between the long established open settlements (Hill 2007, 33-4). These settlements may have begun as satellite settlements from the main occupation, or could have been driven by other social factors, or control over resources, but the key difference is that they were enclosed. Perhaps the move towards enclosure was the stimulus for other social changes that manifested in the Late Iron Age, such as changes in material culture. In Suffolk and Norfolk, these changes did not occur to the same extent as they did in Essex and Kent. However, Hill (2007, 23-37) stressed that rather than seeing the lack of development of exotic material culture as indicating a static passive culture, we should interpret this region as having developed its own region social practices that did not require the same types of material culture as was needed further south.

Despite the models of settlement put forth by Davies and Hill, interpretation of social change and structure and the material culture continues to be hampered by the lack of excavation and synthesis in this region. Glass beads have not been found at any of the sites discussed above. Yet, there is one recently excavated site that will completely change the perception of this area. This is Grandcourt Quarry near King's Lynn (Malone 2010). Final publication of the excavations at this site is forthcoming, however, it is already becoming clear that the site is of national importance and will have a resounding effect on studies of ritual and material culture, due not only to the quantity, but also the variety, of artefacts. The nature of the activity is not clear, as the excavations revealed only part of an enclosure. Outside of the enclosure were a large number of intercutting pits with a pottery-rich fill that also contained an unusually high number of brooches and other decorated metalwork, which along with the radiocarbon dates are key for dating the site. No roundhouse features were discovered through the course of the excavation, although the interior of the enclosure was not the prime target of the excavation, so it may still have a wider settlement context. As will be discussed throughout the following analyses chapters, a large number of glass beads were also recovered through excavation where previously very few examples are known from this region.

4.3.4. East Yorkshire

Keeping issues with biases in our understanding of the Iron Age in East Yorkshire in mind, this section discusses the limited available evidence for settlement in this region (see Figure 4.3 for major sites mentioned in text). Understanding the nature of settlements and social relations is not only derived directly from the settlements themselves, but also from the large-scale dyke boundary systems. These linear earthworks are thought to have been built in the Late Bronze Age. Some of these structures are simple, composed of a single ditch and bank, while others are more complex and are composed of multiple strands of banks and ditches (Bevan 1997, 183). Overtime, the space within these large boundary dykes became increasingly divided and sub-divided until small rectangular parcels of land were sectioned off. Another type of boundary was formed by trackways. Perhaps significantly, these boundaries often incorporated pre-existing monuments such as Bronze Age round barrows or springs, possibly serving as useful landmarks in the landscape (Bevan 1999, 128). It is unclear if these boundaries served a purely functional purpose, such as animal management, restriction of land, or avenues for communication, but it has been suggested that the divisions of the landscape were connected to ideas of community identity and perhaps even reflected social organisation (Bevan 1997; Giles 2007b).

Contemporary settlements within the dyke building period (i.e. the LBA) are thought to have been primarily enclosed sites (Bevan 1997, 184). Four sites on the Wolds have been excavated, including: Grimthorpe, Staple Howe, Devil's Hill, and Thwing. These settlement sites enclose a small area with palisades, earthworks or ramparts, with evidence for roundhouses on the interior, although Thwing was enclosed by a hengiform ditch and only encloses one roundhouse. There is also evidence for 4- and 6-post structures within these sites, and possible storage pits at Staple Howe and Devil's Hill. These sites are all located at the junction between the upland and lowland, and Bevan (1997, 185) suggested that this may relate to the acquisition of resources from different environments. An open settlement in the Vale of Pickering at Heslerton has also been excavated and was contemporary with the dykes. This site has evidence for seven roundhouses, several 4-post structures, and an east-west pit alignment was also revealed.

Bevan (1997, 186) suggested that the dyke building and enclosed settlements were abandoned at the same time that the square barrow inhumation practice began. This change in settlement form may reflect a wider social change around the Middle Iron Age. However, as Bevan (1997, 186) points out, the only known settlement to be contemporary with the square barrow inhumations is the settlement at Wetwang Slack/Garton Slack. Settlement at this site began as an open settlement. There is evidence for 80 roundhouses/round-structures, although it is not clear if they were all in use simultaneously. Interestingly, as the square barrow inhumation practice ended, enclosed settlements return, which again may indicate social change. In this Late Iron Age period, before the Roman invasion, settlements in this region formed a distinctive pattern. These settlements are referred to as 'droveway' or 'ladder' settlements and are sets of small rectilinear ditched enclosures placed long both sides of ditched trackways. This can be observed in the later settlement period at Wetwang/Garton Slack, as well as at Rudston, Bell Slack, Brantingham, and North Cave. They are found to overlay square barrows, which Giles (2007a, 239) suggested may indicate a disregard for existing monuments. Some of these rectilinear enclosures continued to be inhabited into the Roman period, and in some cases, as at Rudston, villas overlay the droveway settlement (Giles 2007a, 239). Thus, there seems to be a change in practice in the earlier Iron Age compared to the later Iron Age. It is unclear what the relationship was between the Early Bronze Age round barrows and the Iron Age square barrows, if any, but up until the end of the Iron Age inhumation practice, the round barrow seems to have been respected in terms of the placement of Iron Age boundaries and square barrows. However, by the end of the Iron Age, there seems to have been a complete disregard for square barrows as settlements were situated on top of the inhumations. It is unclear why these practices changed and should be studied in greater depth.

In contrast to the glass beads from other regions, where they have been primarily associated with settlements or other 'sphere of the living' contexts, glass beads in this region are not associated with these features. In fact, there are very few glass beads found outside of burial contexts, and these date to the Roman period, such as at Rudston Roman Villa, or at Castleford. Even the glass beads from Sutton Common have been found in contexts that suggest some sort of practice to do with the dead, rather than the living. This may demonstrate a regional practice with material culture when compared to other parts of Britain.

4.3.5. Northeast Scotland

Unlike the other regions discussed in this chapter, settlement in Northeast Scotland is primarily explored through survey data (see Figure 4.4 for major sites mentioned in text), which makes interpreting social change and structure more difficult. Extensive surveys were conducted throughout the region, notably in Moray (Jones, Keillar *et al.* 1993). A recent synthesis of various survey work in Donside in Aberdeenshire has highlighted the rich nature of this data, but also demonstrated the wider distribution of identified sites (Halliday 2007).

The settlement architecture in Northeast Scotland is characterised by hut-circles (roundhouses), enclosures, forts or hillforts, and souterrains. In this region, circular structures have been used as early as the Mesolithic period, which may demonstrate a long period of continuity of settlement patterns. These Iron Age domestic structures are found singly and in groups (Halliday 2007, 109). There is also a range of different types of enclosures, including lowland enclosures made from stone walls, and forts or hillforts, and they range in size from very small (e.g. Maiden Castle 0.07ha) to very large (e.g. Tap o'North (e.g. 16.4ha) (Halliday 2007, 92-100).

Although extensive survey data of sites exists for the Northeast, it is unclear how sites relate together in the wider landscape, nor is it often clear how features relate within a given site. In the absence of a specific chronology for Northeast Scotland, the limited excavations and radiocarbon dates are interpreted within the wider trends seen elsewhere in Scotland during the Iron Age (Cook & Dunbar 2008, 11-6). As is characteristic of most of the British Iron Age, settlements in this region appear to be both enclosed and unenclosed (Halliday 2007; Hingley 1992). The general interpretation is that most early settlements were not enclosed, but throughout the first millennium BC they became enclosed, with some even becoming complex enclosures (Cook & Dunbar 2008, 11). In this earlier period, dendrochronology evidence suggests that roundhouses were not maintained over several generations, but rather only represent a period of occupation of about 15 years (Cook & Dunbar 2008, 12). Cook (2008, 12) suggested that this is most likely evidence for a single household moving around the landscape over several generations rather than the inhabitation of larger settlements that lasted for 1-2 generations.

By the end of the first millennium BC, enclosures became less complex and roundhouses were occupied for longer periods with evidence for structure superimposition (Cook 2008, 12). For example, at Wardend of Durris in Aberdeenshire, radiocarbon dates and overlapping features suggest that this was a multi-phase site with occupation ranging from 400 BC to AD 240 (Russell-White 1995). Other settlement sites that date to the end of the first millennium include the successive post-rings at Romancamp Gate, Moray (Barclay 1993) and the post-built roundhouse at Tavelty, Aberdeenshire (Alexander 2000). In contrast, sites, such as Culduthel Farm near Inverness exhibit evidence for a much longer period of occupation from the Middle Iron Age into the Roman period (Murray 2007a, and forthcoming). Settlement sites with evidence for longer periods of occupation may coincide with continual landscape clearance, agricultural intensification, and the use of souterrains for surplus storage (Cook & Dunbar 2008, 12-4; Halliday 2007, 108). Halliday (2007, 109) suggested that the earliest fort enclosures were the largest, and that throughout the Iron Age they became progressively smaller. However, as with most of this settlement evidence, there is very little absolute dating to support this chronology.

The impact of the Roman invasion was very different in Northeast Scotland than in southern Scotland and the difference is especially drastic in comparison to southern Britain. Various campaigns in this region, from those of Agricola in the first century AD to Septimus Severus's campaign in the third century AD, left a series of camps throughout the region (Cook & Dunbar 2008, 16-8), for example, at Deer's Den in Kintore (Alexander 2000; Cook & Dunbar 2008). A single radiocarbon date taken from underneath an enclosure at Berryhill in Aberdeenshire suggested that it was built sometime after AD 20-85, which is tantalising given that it is located only a few kilometres from a known Roman camp (Murray 2002). However, there is a noted gap in the settlement record between the third and sixth centuries AD, which might be the result of the Roman presence in this region (Hunter 2007b, 49).

Interpretations of Iron Age social organisation are dependent on equating large enclosures with higher-status and power (Armit 1997; Cook &

Dunbar 2008, 14; Halliday 2007, 109). It is thought that by the time the Romans campaigned in Scotland that the social system became more hierarchical due to organised raiding parties and growing elites (Cook & Dunbar 2008, 14). Metalwork, or coinage hoards, such as those found at Birnie in Morayshire, have been described as bribes (Hunter 2007b, 27-32), which may indicate that the settlements were seats of some authority. In contrast, Hingley (1992) discussed social organisation in terms of the household unit, rather than trying to equate different types of sites and their enclosures with social hierarchy. He suggests that it may be the interplay between 'substantial' roundhouses and enclosures that demarcate status (Hingley 1992, 39). The interpretation of the possibly contemporary unenclosed settlement at Birnie and the enclosed settlement at Culduthel Farm, will be particularly interesting as enclosure is often connected with ideas of power and control, but the range of artefacts found at both sites would normally be interpreted as high-status. As Hunter (2007b, 49) pointed out, if society at this time was hierarchical, we cannot rely on sites and artefacts to straightforwardly determine which sites were high- or low-status.

Key important excavated sites discussed throughout the following analyses chapters include: Culduthel Farm near Inverness (Murray 2007a, and forthcoming publication; 2007c), Birnie in Morayshire (Hunter 2002a, although final publication is forthcoming, a series of interim reports is available), and Thainstone in Aberdeenshire (Murray & Murray 2006b). Glass beads have been found in all three of these settlement sites through excavation. As the majority of glass beads in this region were stray finds, these sites are particularly important as they help to firmly establish that these beads do date to the Iron Age, rather than later periods. However, as will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 7, not all bead types that are characteristic of this region have been found in excavated contexts, leaving some question about the date of other types. The excavation at Culduthel Farm is important on a national scale, as some of the most convincing evidence for glass working, and in particular glass bead making, has been found at this site. This sort of evidence is very rare in Britain for the Iron Age. In contrast, glass beads were not found during the excavations of the other major sites in this region, but other material culture at these sites was also very rare.

4.3.6. Discussion

This section has given a brief overview of the settlement evidence for each of the study regions and a brief summary of the evidence for glass beads. Patterns suggest that there were periods of enclosure and unenclosure. Although the state of enclosure has often been linked with the status of the site, this is a difficult argument to sustain. As will be shown in Chapter 7, glass beads were only found at a small minority of settlement sites in each region. However, where they are found, they were often associated with roundhouse or pit features, although it is not always clear if this was the result of casual loss, intentional discard of rubbish, or intentional deposition for ritual related reasons.

4.4 Ritual/Treatment of the Dead

4.4.1. Introduction

The Iron Age is at odds with both the preceding period (the Bronze Age) and the succeeding period (the Roman Period). In these other periods, places of ritual and locations for the burial of the dead were clearly differentiated from areas of settlement, such as cemeteries, temples in the Roman period, and in the Bronze Age there are round barrows and henge monuments. Instead, in the Iron Age, aspects of ritual life and domestic life are seen as having been intimately linked (Fitzpatrick 1997b). For example, analysis of doorway orientation has shown that there is often a preference for such openings to be oriented to the southeast (Oswald 1997). In addition, the occurrence of inhumation is a rare regional practice that manifests during specific periods (Whimster 1981). However, even the way in which the burial occurs is not a standard practice, as there are strong regional patterns (Whimster 1981). The evidence ranges from complete skeletons, to articulated segments, to single bones or fragments. Pit burials are defined as inhumations where the body is placed in a pit that probably had some other former function, such as grain storage (Whimster 1981, 10). This has led some to suggest that there may have been some additional element of ritual connected with the placement of human (and animal) remains into pits (Cunliffe 1992; Hill 1995b).

The limited number of such inhumations has led to the suggestion that not everyone was buried during the Iron Age. Some people may have been treated in other ways that did not leave an archaeological trace, and may also explain incomplete articulated portions or isolated human skeletal finds (Carr & Knüsel 1997). When excarnation, or other archaeological invisible treatments of the dead (i.e. river disposal) were practiced, we have very limited evidence to understand past populations through osteological examination, isotopic analysis, or even individual identity through a study of grave goods. The implication is that a study of material culture during the Iron Age must explore the ways in which artefacts were found or not found in association with people. However, there is a danger that only some people were specifically chosen for particular practices, and the reasons behind these decisions may not be obvious.

4.4.2. Southwest England

Burial evidence in the Southwest has been shown to be incredibly varied (Moore 2003). There are a limited number of single inhumations, such as the Birdlip burial in Gloucestershire (Bellows 1881; Green 1949) or the Clevedon cist burial in Somerset (Gray 1942). Other human remains were found in pits, such as the female crouched inhumation at Bourton-on-the-Water in Gloucestershire (Nichols 2006). Others were found on boundaries, and may have been connected with ideas of land ownership (Moore 2003, 154).

In Dorset, a particular type of burial emerged at the end of the first century BC (Whimster 1981, 39) and lasted until the first century AD. Commonly referred to as 'Durotrigian burials', these inhumations are found in southern Dorset, often clustered together in cemeteries (Papworth 2011, 53). These are considered to be a more formal type of burial because the bodies were not placed into pits previously used for grain storage, but instead were placed in pits that were deliberately dug. These individuals were accompanied by grave goods, which often included a pottery vessel (Whimster 1981, 50). Two inhumations from this region stand out: the Langton Herring burial and the Portesham burial, both found along the Dorset coast. These two inhumations each contained a mirror, along with other artefacts. The inclusion of a mirror with a burial is often taken to indicate that the individual was high-status (Joy 2011a).

Other evidence for ritual in Later Iron Age southwest Britain comes from a small number of possible shrines or temples. For example, a small rectangular enclosure with a porch at Cadbury Castle (Barrett, Freeman *et al.* 2000) and small enclosure as Uley West Hill (Woodward & Leach 1993) have both been interpreted as possible shrines.

Glass beads have been found in a very small proportion of known burials in this region. Most important were the glass beads from the Clevedon cist burial and the Langton Herring mirror burial. It is interesting that despite the similar date between the Langton Herring burial and the Portesham burial, and that they both contained a mirror, the remaining artefacts within the burials are quite different (e.g. the Roman copper-alloy strainer). Equally different is the Birdlip burial, which also contains a mirror and other Late Iron Age material (the brooch and copper-alloy vessels), but there was also a several large amber beads, jet beads, and a stone bead. This is extremely unusual for Iron Age Britain, as this is a period for which there is very little evidence for the use of amber (Beck 1991).

4.4.3. East Anglia

Owing to the sparse excavation data, there is very little evidence to suggest how the dead were treated in this region. The general lack of evidence, including very few discoveries made during agricultural activities, may suggest that throughout the Iron Age in Norfolk and Suffolk, the inhabitants of this region primarily engaged in practices that left very little physical evidence (i.e. excarnation). The young adult human skull retrieved from an enclosure at Burgh along with raven bones may indicate that in some circumstances certain bones were retrieved for later burial (Martin 1999, 59-60). However, without further excavation, it is not possible to determine the extent at which this was the general trend. Interestingly, a cart or chariot burial was discovered in 1814 in Suffolk (Martin 1999, 71). Although the nature of this find is extremely unclear, it is tantalising because it could be an extremely southern occurrence of the East Yorkshire style burials discussed further in Section 4.5, or perhaps it was an earlier vehicle burial as with the Newbridge example (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012), which may in fact have continental affinities.

The evidence for wider ritual practice is generally obscured by the lack of excavation data. In terms of sites for ritual activity, one of the possible explanations for the rectangular enclosure at Fison Way near Thetford, Norfolk is that it was a ritual centre (Cunliffe 2005, 565). However, it is the material culture from hoards, or other supposedly votive deposits, that really stand out in this region. The most famous of these are the torcs from Ken Hill near Snettisham. Whether these torcs were deposited in a more functional sense for safe-keeping, or in the ritual sense as a votive deposit has been key for interpreting the activity and for the legal status of the finds (Stead 1991b). However, the idea that these torcs were deposited either for functional reasons or for ritualistic purposes is really detrimental and limiting to understanding Iron Age practice, as Fitzpatrick (1992) argued that the reasons for deposition do not need to be one or the other. As with much of the evidence for Iron Age Britain more generally, there is a mix of both the domestic and ritual in everyday life (Fitzpatrick 1997b). However, in the case of the torc depositions at Snettisham, the site lacks this domestic context and it seems that there is no nearby settlement. Instead, nearby excavations have further identified the area as having some ritual significance from the identification of a nearby Roman temple (Hutcheson 2011).

The practice of hoarding or votive deposits is a widespread occurrence in Norfolk as shown by Hutcheson's (2004) work on coins, horse trappings and torcs. She has shown that in the Later Iron Age there were three main phases of hoards (Hutcheson 2004, 34). The first phase lasts from about the second century to the mid-first century BC. These hoards were composed primarily of torcs. It is during this time that the Snettisham and other torcs were probably deposited, although they were likely manufactured at different times. Dating evidence for deposition is derived from the Gallo-Belgic coins found with the Snettisham hoards. In addition, a very limited number of objects related to horses were deposited at this time. The nature of the hoards in the second phase (mid-first century BC - mid-first century AD) changes, and the objects that were deposited primarily include gold and silver coins of British types. Again, a very small amount of horse equipment is deposited. Finally, the third phase (first century AD) sees an explosion of horse equipment that is found both as single finds and in hoard contexts. There have been a variety of interpretations for the reasoning behind hoarding in particular, including both functional and ritual. However, changes in both the location of the deposition and the objects to be deposited led Hutcheson to conclude:

> …that the practice of burying metalwork and coins in the ground in this region is a continuous, if mutable tradition; the material changes, the perceptions of the landscape changes, but the essential practice remains the same. (Hutcheson 2004, 93)

It may be that in the future, as excavations increase in number and attempts are made at synthesising the data, that the general pattern for domestic ritual in connection with roundhouses (Fitzpatrick 1997b; Oswald 1997) will also be shown to extend to this region.

Glass beads have not been found in either burial or ritual deposition contexts within this region, except for a Romano-British votive pit at Billingford (Wallis 2011) and at Santon Downham (Smith 1908-09). This may be further evidence for the different role of material culture in this region, as metalwork seems to have been of high importance given the quantity from this region. However, as the pottery-rich layers from Grandcourt Quarry with glass beads (discussed in Section 4.3.3) remain unclear, it may be that this unusual deposit was ritual in nature.

4.4.4. East Yorkshire

The treatment of the dead through inhumation provides a particularly rich resource in East Yorkshire beginning in the Early Bronze Age, as round barrows are found throughout the landscape. However, this practice was not continuous from the Early Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Use of round barrows ended in the Middle Bronze Age, by the later Bronze Age there are no contemporary inhumations with the enclosed settlements. As mentioned in Section 4.3.4, inhumation was practiced around the Middle Iron Age around the same time that enclosed settlements were abandoned and unenclosed settlements were established.

These Iron Age barrows had a distinct appearance compared to the Bronze Age barrow practice. As with the round barrows, the Iron Age barrows were formed by a central mound that was placed over the inhumed body. However, they were markedly different in that the mound was bordered by a square ditch (Dent 1999). The actual size of the barrow varied between 3 and 15 meters across and usually only contained the remains of a single individual (Bevan 1997, 186). Within the grave the body was often oriented north-south with the head to the north and facing east and in a crouched position (Bevan 1999, 132). Both male and female inhumations occurred in approximately equal numbers (Bevan 1999, 134). These barrows are found singly or in groups that form a cemetery.

While the square barrow tradition accounts for many of the inhumations found in East Yorkshire, there appear to have been two other less widespread practices. First, there is evidence for a small number of inhumations under small barrows or flat graves that were oriented east-west. In these examples, the body was not placed in a crouched position, but was instead laid flat. The second practice is the famous chariot or cart burials. These elaborate burials were substantially larger than most square barrows and were often placed separately from the main group of inhumations. As with the more frequent burial rite, the interred bodies were often oriented north-south and placed in a crouched position. However, it is the objects that were placed in the inhumations that make these inhumations different from the majority of other burials.

Within the East Yorkshire square barrow tradition, artefacts or grave goods are sometimes found within the grave. In both square burial practices (vehicle and non-vehicle) where the body was oriented north-south a range of different artefacts are found. It is common to find La Tène style brooches, a ceramic pot, and either a joint of sheep or pig, while uncommon finds include tools, vehicles, glass beads, bracelets, rings, spearheads, mail tunic, swords, shields, and mirrors (Bevan 1999, 134). In the east-west oriented graves, a smaller range of objects were found. More common are weapons, tools, and a joint of pig, while less common are ceramic vessels and joints of sheep (Bevan 1999, 134). Bevan (1999) suggested that although males and females are represented equally in the cemeteries, the placement of grave goods within the inhumations was very structured. For example, in female graves, ceramic vessels and joints of meat were placed near the head, while in male graves objects were placed near the pelvis and feet.

The date of the square barrow inhumation tradition has frequently been suggested to last from the fifth to first centuries BC (Bevan 1997; 1999; Dent 1999). Many of the barrows that have been excavated were explored by antiquarians prior to radiocarbon dating. Thus, artefact typologies have been important to ascertain rough dates for the inhumation practice. Brooches are one of the most common artefacts found in individual barrows, although dating is complicated by the fact that they exhibit both continental and insular characteristics (Haselgrove 1997; Hull & Hawkes 1987). In addition, it has been suggested that within cemetery sites a chronology of inhumations can be discerned by the size and placement of the burial. For example, earlier barrows will be larger and widely dispersed with a shallow cut grave, and later barrows were smaller, clustered, and the grave was placed deeply in the ground (Bevan 1997, 187).

Early radiocarbon dates were taken from the excavations at Wetwang Slack (Dent 1984) and Stead's (1991a) excavations in East Yorkshire. Recently, a comparative study examined the available radiocarbon dates from inhumations in East Yorkshire and published 21 new radiocarbon dates from Wetwang Slack (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012). The results suggest that the inhumations at Wetwang Slack occurred over a very limited time frame, from the third to early second centuries BC, while cart or chariot burials formed an even shorter lived practice and were all deposited around 200 BC. This suggests that these burials occurred approximately 200 years after similar practice flourished in France, and thus are unlikely to represent the inhumations of migrants or invaders (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012, 182). Because this reassessment also included material from Stead's (1991a) excavations, it seems likely that these dates could be extended to other square barrow inhumations, although further analysis is really necessary. As many glass beads were found in these inhumations, the implication is that they were later in date than originally thought, and that they are not necessarily the objects worn by migrants from the continent. It does not rule the possibility of incomers out completely, but it renders it less likely.

Finally, as there is little evidence for the treatment of the dead prior to or after the square barrow tradition, a practice of excarnation is often suggested (Bevan 1997; 1999). In contrast to the extensive inhumation evidence that primarily centres on the Yorkshire Wolds, the site at Sutton Common suggests a different practice (Noort, Chapman *et al.* 2007). This site, suggested to date to the fourth century BC, is composed of two opposing multivallate enclosures with a causeway connecting them. Evidence for domestic activity was sparse, but it has been suggested that the site was somehow connected to the dead, perhaps in relation to a cremation practice. This is significant not only for its earlier date, but in that it provides evidence for the treatment of the dead outside of the Yorkshire Wolds core area of study. The process of excarnation itself during the Iron Age, such as where the body is placed in order to undergo the process of exposure is unclear, but has been suggested to take place within the settlement itself (Carr & Knüsel 1997). Therefore, evidence for a possible deliberate enclosure for the dead and cremation in a specified location is significant for understanding a particular regional practice.

This region is especially important for understanding glass beads in connection with individuals, as it is from a small number of these burials that glass beads are found in both small and large numbers. This is a very regionalised practice in comparison to the other areas of study discussed here, not only because of the number of burials, but also for the sometimes large numbers of beads found with the inhumations. This has particularly important implications for understanding how the beads were being used, which is discussed further in Chapter 8.

4.4.5. Northeast Scotland

As there has been very little research excavation in Northeast Scotland, elements of ritual and the treatment of the dead are not understood in any great detail. Given that there is little evidence for burials either as mounds, cairns, or cists that are attributable to this period, it seems that the dead were not buried in features that are recognisable through land survey. It may be that either the dead were not treated in this way, or that any upstanding monuments have been misattributed to other periods.

Other aspects of ritual in the Iron Age are often connected with daily domestic practices and domestic architecture and this may explain the scarcity of evidence for burials in this area (Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson 1996). However, due to the limited amount of excavation in this region, it is unclear to what extent the roundhouses in Northeast Scotland follow this pattern. Hoarding or ritual deposition is another practice that is often interpreted as having ritualistic purposes, particularly in the context of metalwork (Hunter 1997). It is worth mentioning that this practice does occur in Northeast Scotland. Notable hoards include the Roman coin hoards at Birnie in Moray (Hunter 2007b, 27-31) and the deposition of the

Deskford trumpet in a peat bog (Harding 2007, 221; Hunter 2001a; ScARF 2012, 102-3).

Most of the glass beads from this region are stray finds, and the few examples there are have been found in settlement contexts. However, the glass bead found in a post-hole at the entrance to the roundhouse at Thainstone in Aberdeenshire (Murray & Murray 2006b) may suggest that these beads are more than just casual losses within a domestic environment, but instead may have been intentionally deposited in a ritualistic sense.

4.4.6. Summary

This overview of the different practices connected with ritual and with the dead has emphasised the regional variability. Although grave goods were sometimes included with inhumations throughout Britain, the selectivity of individuals chosen for burial makes interpretations about the person's status difficult as it seems likely that there were specific reasons behind decisions to bury some people and not others. The internments of the population at Wetwang Slack and presumably at the others sites, such as Arras and Cowlam, appears to be one of the most consistent practices, at least for a limited period of time, but elsewhere the situation remains unclear.

4.5 Discussion

Each of the regions under study has a distinct archaeological character. For example: Southwest England has been shown to be a region of dense settlement through extensive surveys and excavations. There is a relatively clear understanding of the changing nature of settlements over time, and evidence for technology and manufacturing of objects. In addition, the rich assemblages from the lake villages form an unprecedented, and as yet incomparable, body of artefacts. In contrast, the archaeology of East Anglia is limited by the number of excavated sites, but is overwhelmed by the wealth of metal artefacts. East Yorkshire provides yet another different perspective. Here, archaeological enquiry has focused on the Iron Age inhumation tradition, especially in and near to the Wolds. There has been little research undertaken to place the Yorkshire Wolds into a wider context, except from the linear boundary evidence. Finally, there has been very little excavation in Northeast Scotland, but there is survey data available. In addition, many artefacts found in this region are old finds from the nineteenth and early twentieth century and are the result of agricultural or building activities.

With these differences in mind, two questions become pertinent to the discussion. First, how has the history of research created biases in the data; and second, how does the archaeological resource impact on dress, identity, and the types of beads that occur? To tackle the first question, there is no escaping the fact that different levels of antiquarian interest, archaeological research excavations, and developer-funded excavations have all impacted these regions differently (explored in Chapter 7). Additional data is derived from accidental discoveries through farming and now metal-detecting. Would any patterns in the data be a reliable and accurate reflection of the past? In the context of metalwork found through metal-detection, Hutcheson (2004) tackled this question by examining the distribution of metalwork in Britain and concluded that these were real patterns reflecting past practices, they were not the result of different metal-detecting practices or different recording strategies in different counties. Perhaps for other material we could make a similar conclusions; however, further research needs to be undertaken that covers all of Britain to explore this.

This thesis tackles these questions in several ways. In terms of the regional glass bead data, Chapter 6 shows that there are differences in the number of glass beads found in each region, and Chapter 7 further explores the differences in terms of stray finds versus finds from excavated context. It also tries to answer this question by looking at the number of research excavations in comparison to developer driven excavations, and also takes their size and distribution into account. The results of these analyses will be discussed more fully in the appropriate chapters; however, it is worth noting here that these factors could indeed be affecting our understanding of glass beads and the Iron Age more widely. But again, as Hutcheson demonstrated, there seems to be an underlying pattern in Iron Age activity that differs regionally.

The second question, regarding the archaeological resource and how it impacts the evidence that we have for material culture related to dress, is very complex. The evidence that we have is the result of choices made in the past for intentional deposition, accidental loss, and survival of materials. For many of the finds discussed in this study, it is unfortunate that so many lack context. However, material culture found outside of inhumations is perplexing. How did glass beads come to be deposited in pits or within roundhouses? How much of the material that we have came from intentional acts? And, how representative is this of what people wore? The inhumation evidence on the other hand, provides a different level of detail, but, there is still no shortage of questions. Given that so many glass beads were found in such a small proportion of East Yorkshire burials, how representative of the population were these individuals? Did the objects deposited with the individual even reflect their identity?

It may be that the differences in burial practice, and their associated material culture, throughout Britain is demonstrating differing perceptions of the body at this time. For example, the widespread use of inhumation in East Yorkshire may attest to a tradition where the body as an intact burial was important. The inclusion of a range of artefacts may suggest that identity in this region was just as important in life as it was in death, which may be related to a widespread belief in this region. In contrast, in areas where there is not a strong burial tradition for entire populations, and the body may be left for exposure, the body presumably became fragmented. It was not important for the memory of these individuals for them to remain whole and at a fixed point within the landscape. However, for other individuals this was important. Again, this may be due to a widely held belief, but perhaps in these areas material culture played a different role in portraying identity, as it was not fixed to them in death. Perhaps the buried individuals held a markedly different identity within the community, or their burial marked a specific memory or event.

This chapter has provided a critical synthesis of the Iron Age in each of the four regions under study in this thesis. The history of research and the evidence for Iron Age activity can be seen as defining vastly different regions, however, it is these variances that defined distinctive traditions and diverse identities. Interestingly, the evidence does suggest that there were regional practices that varied over time. The implications for this are that there were regionally based identities, which in turn may have manifested in the use of different material culture related to dress (discussed in Chapter 8). The glass bead evidence as discussed in the following chapters, as well as patterns found with other artefacts of dress, supports this hypothesis.

Chapter 5

Typological Conundrums, Quandaries, and Resolutions

5.1 Introduction

The typological approach has been, by far, the most influential method for interpreting Iron Age glass beads. Although there are minor regional typologies, such as Stead's (1979) and Dent's (1984) for East Yorkshire, it is Guido's (1978a) typology for Britain and Ireland that has had the most influence. This approach covers glass beads during the Iron Age and Roman period that were found throughout Britain, and is most often cited in excavation reports. It is also the foundation for the limited number of subsequent scientific analysis studies on glass beads, such as that of Henderson (1982) and more recently Bertini (2012). However, since the publication of the Guido typology, there has been little critical awareness of the issues surrounding the interpretations of each type. This has become increasingly problematic over the last several decades for a number of reasons. For example, synthetic interpretations of the Iron Age have changed dramatically (e.g. Haselgrove, Armit *et al.* 2001; Hill 1995a); the centralisation of stray finds through the Portable Antiquities Scheme has made some data publicly available and encourages public engagement with artefacts. In addition, areas not normally targeted by research archaeologists have been excavated through rescue and developer-funded archaeology (Moore 2006a) and have contributed significant data, which could potentially alter our understanding of glass beads from Iron Age Britain.

It is therefore necessary to examine the efficacy of the Guido typology to determine how coherent the types are, as well to determine whether it holds up in light of recent discoveries. In order to do this, an analysis was undertaken to test each individual type and then to explore the typology as a whole. The overall conclusions suggested that there are a number of issues with the typology both on the type level, and also with the typological structure as a whole. Thus, a new typology is needed to replace the Guido classification scheme. The background of the typology was discussed in detail in Chapter 2, and the following section will explore some of the issues that have been encountered during the analysis. Rather than discussing each type individually, the analysis discusses similar types as groups. This section will be followed by a more general discussion of the typological issues. It will then propose an interim typology to be used throughout the remainder of the thesis.

5.2 Typological Complications

A discussion of the Guido (1978a) typological approach to glass beads and the background to her study was presented in detail in Chapter 2.4.3. This section presents a critical discussion of her types. It draws on the data contained within her catalogue (corrected where necessary), and data from new finds (Tables 5.1 and 5.2). New additions to the data-set have, in some cases, significantly altered the quantity within each type (e.g. Class 3), although other types have had few or no new additions (e.g. Class 4, Group 3, and Group 4). While some new finds could easily be fitted into the existing typology, others were more difficult, and needed to be assigned based on best fit. Rather than discussing each type in order, this analysis has grouped together types based on shared characteristics, as it is often the case that problems encountered in one type are shared by the other types (see Appendix A for illustrations of each Guido type).

Table 5.1: List of Guido classes and the number of examples recorded by Guido, compared to the number contained in the database that resulted from the current research. It also shows the number of beads that were studied first-hand.

Type	Guido Qty.	DB Qty.	Increase (%)	No. Viewed in Museum	Viewed in Museum (%)
Class 1	76	82	7.9	65	79.3
Class 2	2	5	150	4	80.0
Class 3	29	62	113.7	19	30.6
Class 4	3	3	-	0	0.0
Class 5	12	17	41.7	7	5.9
Class 6	56	75	33.9	19	25.3
Class 7	27	45	66.7	15	33.3
Class 8	Approx. 361	488	35.2	366	75.0
Class 9	49	65	32.7	13	20.0
Class 10	Approx. 57	88	54.3	55	62.5
Class 11	42	74	76.2	54	72.9
Class 12	2	4	100.0	2	50.0
Class 13	48	93	93.8	66	70.9
Class 14	31	44	41.9	28	63.6

Table 5.2: List of Guido Groups and the number of examples included in her catalogue, compared to the number contained in the database that resulted from the current research. It also shows the number of examples that were studied first-hand.

Type	Guido Qty.	DB Qty.	Increase (%)	No. Viewed in Museum	Viewed in Museum (%)
Group 1	11	14	27.2	4	28.6
Group 2	15	16	6.7	4	25.0
Group 3	14	14	-	0	0
Group 4	8	8	-	1	12.5
Group 5	133	299	124.8	167	55.9
Group 6 & 7	609	1949	220.0	609	31.2
Group 8	20	22	10.0	11	50.0

5.2.1 Critique of the Guido Typology

Eye Beads (Guido Classes 1-4, Group 4)

Five types are included in Guido's classification for beads with an 'eye' motif (Figure 5.1). These are beads where dots of glass have been layered in order to create a 'ring-dot' motif. Some are simple and combine two layers of glass, which is a feature on most of these beads; others are more complex and are made from four layers of glass (Class 2). The most complex eye bead is the Group 4 type where a large eye is created with two layers of glass, and then many smaller eyes are placed on top of this. Class 1 is the only type that is further sub-divided into smaller groupings: Type I and Type II.

As all of these bead types use the eye motif, the primary areas of analysis included dimensions, shape, colour, quantity of eyes, and the placement of the eyes on the beads. As only one example of Group 4 could be examined for this analysis, and none of Class 4, there is little more that can currently be said of these types.

The type definition for Class 1 beads, and the sub-types, is too vague, as it in no way accounts for the level of variability seen in size (Figure 5.2), shape, and the number of eyes on each bead (Figure 5.3). Rather than two sub-types, many more types could be defined. The variability in terms of physical appearance is discernible from Figure 5.1.

While there were only two known Class 2 (Figure 5.4) beads at the time Guido's catalogue was published, a recently discovered example clearly fits this description (Figure 5.4b). However, there are an additional two examples from Wetwang Slack that exhibit a more complex four-layer eye motif (Figure 5.4c), but in contrast to the other three examples, these are sub-triangular in shape and were deposited at an earlier date. As this type is primarily defined by the use of colour and the motif type, the definition no longer works in light of these recent discoveries and revision is needed.

Finally, Class 3 beads are loosely defined by the use of the eye motif, and they clearly do not fit with the other types of eye beads. Some are very large and very small (Figure 5.6), others had a mixed number of eyes (Figure 5.7), and others were made from colours other than the blue and white glass that makes up most other eye beads (Figure 5.8). In addition, some of the finds from Wetwang Slack best fit this class definition; however, on their own they are a tightly clustered and consistent group of beads. Therefore, this Class is in need of revision in order to account for the new finds.

Spiral Beads (Guido Classes 6, 10, 13, Group 2)

There are three main types of beads that exhibit the spiral motif: Class 6, 10, and 13, while Group 2 makes up a miscellaneous group of spiral and spiral-like beads. These spiral beads are perhaps some of the most easily recognisable type of Iron Age beads; however, where Classes 10 and 13 are very similar and may have been manufactured in Britain, the Class 6 beads are very large and there are similar beads found in Europe. This influenced Guido's interpretation that the Class 6 beads were manufactured in Europe.

The Class 6 beads are primarily defined by their large blue annular body, and the multiple white spirals placed around the bead (Figure 5.9). Guido further subdivided this class loosely into the 'B variant' for examples that had a double yellow swag in-between the spirals (none of which could be examined in the present research). Despite some of these differences in design, these beads are largely homogeneous in size and shape, but in general there are two main areas of difference. First, on some examples, the spiral is placed on a protrusion (as in Figure 5.9b, c, d). On some examples, this protrusion is very pronounced, and others it is only very slight. Second, although these beads are visually very similar, the actual execution of each bead varies considerably. Some appear to be more finely made (as with Figure 5.9d), while others are less so (for example Figure 5.9c). It is not clear what the significance of these differences is, nor is there a way to objectively measure this feature. Finally, while most of these beads follow a 2-1-2 alternating pattern, Guido also included blue annular beads with spirals around the circumference to this type (e.g. Figure 5.10). Therefore, this class of beads requires consistent analysis and revision in order to account for the variability.

Classes 10 and 13 beads are very similar in their appearance, although Class 10 beads are defined as utilising only colourless and opaque yellow glass (Figure 5.11), while Class 13s can have a body made from any other colour and are found primarily in Northeast Scotland (Figure 5.12). For both classes, Guido does not take the range of shapes into consideration (Figure 5.13), nor does she take the body colour of Class 13s into account (Figure 5.14). For both types, it is interesting that they are both very regional types: the Class 10s are found in large numbers in Somerset and elsewhere in the region, while the Class 13s are found throughout Northeast Scotland, but a larger number have been found at Culbin Sands in Morayshire. It has only been in the last few years that examples of these Class 13 beads have been found during excavation in the Northeast Scotland, which confirms their Iron Age date. In terms of typology, both types need to be redefined in terms of their size ranges and shapes that they occur in (Figure 5.15). For both types, there are very few examples that could be considered to be the 'same' as they demonstrate some variability.

Large Decorated Annular Beads (Guido Classes 7, 9, 14)

These three types of glass beads are all larger decorated annular beads, where most examples are unique. Class 7 beads by definition have 'whirl' or 'ray' designs (Figure 5.16), while Class 9 beads are decorated with a cable twist (Figure 5.17). In some cases this cable twist appears to be more of a wave design, while in other cases it appears very similar to the whirl motif. Both of these types are further sub-divided into different types by the body colour. Guido suggested that Class 7 beads were manufactured on the continent, while Class 9 beads were manufactured in Britain. Close examination of Class 14 beads show some similarities with Classes 7 and 9, while others are very different (Figure 5.18). Although these Class 14 beads were not differentiated into sub-types, it is clear that there are two general groups, but in most cases, each bead is unique. The first possible subgroup is for beads that appear to be very similar to the Class 7 beads, with whirl motifs (e.g. Figure 5.18e-h). In some cases, these beads also incorporate a cable as seen in the Class 9 beads (Figure 5.18e, f). The other possible sub-group are those beads that appear to be made from a multi-coloured cane wrapped around a mandrel (e.g. Figure 5.18a-d). In many cases, the seam where the glass joined together can still be seen, which supports this hypothesis for the method of manufacture.

One of the difficulties with these three types of beads is that despite the similarities in general motif (i.e. 'whirl', 'ray', 'cable', etc.), they exhibit a high level of variability in terms of dimensions (Figure 5.19), the colours utilised (Figure 5.20-5.22), and the actual execution of the bead (see Figures 5.16, 5.17, and 5.18). Guido's typology does not take all of these variations into consideration. In addition, despite their high frequency in Northeast Scotland, there have been no examples of Class 14 beads from excavated contexts in this region as all have been found as stray finds, rendering it currently difficult to maintain an Iron Age date. The region is also known for the Class 13 beads discussed above (for which we now have examples from clear Iron Age contexts). However, Class 13 beads have only been found at the same site as Class 14 beads in four instances: Tap o'Noth, Cawdor Castle, Culbin Sands, and Smithston, none of which were found during excavation. As these beads were not found during excavation, it is unclear if they were manufactured in the Iron Age, or are later in date.

Monochrome Beads (Guido Class 8, Groups 6, 7)

These three types of beads are all monochrome in colour and exhibit no other decoration. It is only the Class 8 beads that Guido could positively attribute to the Iron Age period. Examples of Groups 6 and 7 were sometimes found at Iron Age sites, but their lack of physical attributes rendered identifying them as Iron Age difficult. Many of these plain beads have also been found in Roman and Anglo-Saxon contexts. In these cases, it could be that they were Iron Age beads that were re-used in later periods, or they could have been manufactured at a much later date.

The majority of Class 8 beads are remarkably very similar. They are defined as being annular in shape, and of opaque yellow glass. Despite their apparent homogeneity, two size groups emerge: a smaller group and a larger group (Figure 5.23). Many of these very small examples have only been discovered recently, so it may be that excavation method and environmental sampling may affect the recovery of small sized beads.

The overwhelming number of Group 6 and 7 plain beads highlights the desperate need for critical analysis of these types in order to determine measureable characteristics that may help to indicate date. Many of the recent additions to these types are blue examples that were found during the excavations at Wetwang and Garton Slack.

Other than the dating issue, there are a few other problems with these two types. First, types are defined by shape (annular or globular), then sub-types are defined first by colour, and then by size. However these divisions (other than colour) are more arbitrary than they might initially seem. For example, when all beads of Group 6 and 7 are plotted on a scatter graph (Figure 5.24) clear groups of beads based on shape or size do not emerge from the data as seen for Class 8 beads. Instead, there is a continuum of beads ranging from the very small to the very large, and some are more annular and others are more globular. Most beads cluster around the 1.5 ratio line that Guido suggests as the division between these two shapes. This suggests that in many cases, the exact shape may have been less important during the manufacturing phase of many of these beads, and a strict definition of shape having implications for how a bead is classed may have less significance.

Linear Motifs Beads (Guido Class 11, Group 5)

These two Guido types utilise different linear designs for the decorative motif. Guido's Class 11 beads are a range of different designs, but they are all made from colourless and opaque yellow glass. These beads were called 'Meare variant' beads, due to their similarity to the spiral Class 10 beads, which were presumed to have been manufactured at Meare Lake Village. While this type was consistent in terms of colour, and the breakdown of sub-types is relatively consistent, the definition of a type by colour is inconsistent with many of the other types, especially given that the Guido Class 5 bead types are also made from colourless and opaque yellow glass. In addition, the motif based sub-division of this type is not mutually exclusive. Class 11g beads are colourless with an opaque yellow wave motif around the circumference, but Group 5 beads also feature a wave motif and are sub-divided further by colour. In this case, it is unclear whether all wave beads made from colourless glass and opaque yellow glass should be typed as a Class 11 bead, which implies that they were manufactured at Meare Lake Village; or whether they should be typed as Group 5 beads, which have few chronological associations.

Group 5 beads have a similar situation as seen with the Group 6 and 7 examples. Despite their abundance, the Guido typology offers little more than a way to describe wave beads. With the discovery of large numbers of this type from Wetwang Slack, it is at least possible to date some beads to this period. Further analysis is needed to determine whether all of these beads date to the Iron Age, and whether colour remains the best way to sub-divide these beads into sub-types.

Other Beads (Guido Class 5, 12, Groups 1, 3, 8)

These final glass bead types form a sort of random mixture that do not necessarily relate to each other. The Class 5 beads make up the most coherent group (Figure 5.25). These beads are a large annular bead made primarily from colourless glass, but with a layer of opaque yellow around the inside of the perforation. This gives this type of bead a unique property as when it was new and the surface was unweathered, the colourless glass would have magnified the yellow and it would have appeared to glow. From the available data, examples of these beads are all quite similar, and it is a known continental bead type (Haevernick 1960). However, one new find is significantly different as it is made from colourless and opaque blue glass rather than opaque yellow (Figure 5.26). This unusual bead is the only know example from Britain thus far, and similar types have not been identified from continental Europe. This example renders it necessary to redefine this bead type.

The Class 12 beads are inconsistent as they are loosely defined as 'stud' shaped beads (Figure 5.27). Of Guido's two examples from her catalogue, one was made entirely from opaque yellow glass (DB4228), and the other was made from colourless glass with multiple opaque yellow waves around the circumference. This bead type is primarily defined by the shape, rather than motif or use of colour. To this class, Henderson (1982, 113) added an example from Scotland (DB16813), which he described as 'dumbbell' shaped, but the illustration shows that it does not resemble the two stud beads that Guido identified (Guido 1978a, Figure 116). Another possible example was found at Meare Lake Village West; however, this bead fragment also does not resemble the other two (Figure 5.27b). The uniqueness of each of these examples suggests that rather than defining the type by the 'stud' shape, it should be redefined to reflect the segmented nature of the beads.

Group 1 beads were defined as being the same as Haevernicks' (1960) Gruppe 24. These beads have an all-over speckled appearance. This is true for some of the beads that Guido included in her catalogue (e.g. Figure 5.28), but others that she included do not fit the type description (e.g. Figure 5.29). Therefore, based on the survey of beads from this type, it would be beneficial for an audit of all examples included under this type in order to determine whether they all resemble Haevernick's Gruppe 24 definition.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to view any of the Group 3 beads through the course of the data-collection. In addition, it was only possible to view a few examples of Guido Group 8 beads. From a review of the catalogue and first-hand examination of some examples, Group 8 beads became a designation for miscellaneous beads, where the date was generally unclear. However, this is misleading as the eight beads from the Clevedon Cist burials can be suggested to date to about the Middle Iron Age or perhaps the end of the Middle Iron Age due to the inclusion of a Guido Class 10 (Figure 5.30). There are also now two known examples of a bead that are similar to some European-style bangles (Haevernick's Gruppe 14, Figure 5.31). Thus far, it has not been possible to find a comparable bead in Europe, but the similarity to glass bangles suggests that it may be of a similar date. Other examples of Guido's Group 8 are unclear as to whether they date to the Iron Age, or if they are from later periods.

Chronology

One of the goals that Guido saw her typology achieving is that the resolution of glass bead chronology would be fine enough that it could subsequently be used to date archaeological sites and features. This is based on the assumption that glass beads follow a chronology of typological development similar to that established for brooches where a particular type appears in fewer numbers at first, then a type becomes more popular and appears in greater numbers, and finally its use declines, which is indicated by fewer finds (e.g. Haselgrove 1997). Guido used data from archaeological excavations, site chronology based on the morphological changes of settlements over time, and assumptions about time-lag for objects to be transported from the continent to Britain in order to establish bead dates. Her earliest beads are the continental beads, while the British beads are generally later, but this is not a strict feature of the typology (Figure 5.32). Guido's scheme shows that more of her bead types appeared in Britain prior to the first century BC, although fourteen of her bead types continued in use during this period. Prior to exploring the chronology of bead types utilising the new typology, this section will review the chronology of Guido bead types.

The earliest type of bead was her Class 1 Type I beads, appearing as early as the fifth century BC, and her Class 4 beads appearing in the fourth century BC (Figure 5.33). The first of the possible British-made beads then appeared: the unusual Class 12 beads. At this same time, Guido's Class 1 Type II beads came into use, followed by the British-made Classes 8, 10, and 11 in the mid-third century BC. The early second century saw the introduction of the Class 5 beads, and at this point, the Class 1 Type I beads and Class 4 beads were no longer in use. Classes 6a and 6b as well as Class 7a beads began to be used in the mid-second century BC, but it was not until the beginning of the first century BC that Class 7b and Class 9a-c began to be used. By the end of the first century BC, a number of different bead types discontinued in use: Class 12, Class 1II, Class 6a, Class 6b, Class 7a, and Class 7b. It was also during this period that the Class 2 beads were briefly introduced and quickly discontinued.

In the mid-first century BC the Class 13 beads began to be made in Scotland, and by the end of the first century BC and early first century AD the Class 14 beads began to be manufactured as well. Class 7c beads appeared in the early first century AD, but did not last beyond that century. Finally, the Class 3 beads began to be used by the end of the first century AD and lasted until the end of the second century AD. Most remaining types in use to this point disappeared: Class 5, Class 9a-c, Class 13, and Class 7c. The typology implies that most bead types were in use or were deposited in first century BC/AD contexts, which is a key point that will be returned in Chapters 7 and 8.

Again, part of the problem with her interpretation is that the Guido typology is not detailed enough for this sort of analysis. In addition, it places too much emphasis on the idea of time lag from the continent, which is an idea that

Collis (1994) and others have demonstrated is no longer supported by dating evidence. Finally, as has been demonstrated with Celtic Art (Garrow & Gosden 2012), there is no reason that glass beads must follow a strict progression of types given that they are small and portable. There is some evidence to suggest that the Guido Class 6 beads (Type 1407) had continued significance into later periods. For example, there is the broken example with a secondary perforation from Rudston Roman Villa (DB11630), and two examples from the Anglo-Saxon period: the pendant from Cow Low, Derbyshire (Sheffield Museum J93.704 (Ozanne 1962)) and the pendant recently found with an inhumation at Street House, Cleveland (Sherlock 2012). These finds support the hypothesis that at least some beads were in circulation for long periods of time, or perhaps were manufactured over a longer period of time. In addition, several of the necklaces from East Yorkshire combine beads that are lightly weathered and heavily weathered. This may indicate that the necklaces combined beads that were manufactured with different types of glass perhaps at different times and/or locations, and perhaps they were even passed down as heirlooms. As most beads are not found in inhumation contexts, the regional chronological evidence below suggests that several types have been in use for very long periods of time. Assuming that they were manufactured at relatively similar dates, this could indicate that they were passed through the generations.

5.2.2 General Problems with the Guido Typology

The result of this analysis suggested that in a few instances the types and their descriptions remain valid and useful tools of analysis (e.g. Class 8, 10 and mostly Class 5). However, for the majority of the types there are a number of issues that suggest that the typology needs to be restructured and re-created. This section will bring to light five of the major issues found during the classification analysis.

1. **Not all newly discovered beads fit into the typology.** Some beads can be said to be 'similar' to Type x, or 'bear resemblance to' a

particular type, but they do not fit the type description. In some cases, there is no relevant type despite a clear Iron Age date (e.g. **Figure 5.34**).

2. **Types contain too much variability, they are not specific enough, and not all types are mutually exclusive.** This is an issue for a number of types. Upon viewing a number of examples, it was evident that beads within a Guido Class or Group were different enough that they could be considered to be different types. In effect, the typology over-generalises and makes it appear as if there are a limited number of different bead types and that they are perfect duplicates of each other. This is clearly not the case. In addition, the typology is problematic in places because a bead's physical characteristics could place it into more than one type, rendering any sort of type-based analysis impossible.

3. **Some sub-types have been arbitrarily divided and do not allow for meaningful analysis.** This is particularly a problem for Guido Classes 7 and 9, where beads are simply typed by their body colour, rather than any other characteristic, when it is clear that not all beads within a sub-type are the same. At the same time, this relates to the first issue, as not all newly discovered beads fit within the sub-types. In addition, some types need to be further sub-divided in order to clearly express the amount of variability within them (e.g., Guido Class 14).

4. **There is little evidence to support chronological periods.** Only a minority of beads and bead types were found in well dated excavated contexts, while many have been found as stray finds. In the case of continental bead types, Guido often takes the dates of similar beads from these locations, adds a lag-time to their arrival in Britain, and applies this date to the Class or Group. In the case of British-made beads, she argues southern types, such as those found at Meare Lake Village, will be earlier than those from Scotland because they were dependent on the technology transfer from south to north.

5. **Types do not equal people.** Although Guido avoided the use of tribal names in Iron Age Britain, the way she split the Iron Age beads from Roman beads, and even the 'imported' and 'local' beads, portrays the idea of very different and separate identities between the Romans, the people that inhabited Iron Age Britain, and those in continental Europe.

These five major issues pertain to the typology as a whole. Within each type, the specific issues vary depending on the type definition, the characteristics of the beads, and the available data for each bead.

5.2.3 Discussion

These analyses have highlighted some of the difficulties encountered with the Guido classification and chronology of glass beads. The implications are that Guido's typology cannot be used for meaningful analysis of the archaeological record, or questions of chronology, distribution, deposition, or use. Instead, much of the typology actually masks the details that make these objects so interesting.

5.3 New Typology

As the Guido typology is inadequate for analysing the complex diversity of beads in Iron Age Britain, a new typology was created for use throughout this thesis. This typology necessarily draws on data that is restricted to the four study regions as set out in Chapter 3. As this limits the available data for the typology, it should be considered an interim typology, but it nonetheless will explore one of the ways in which a new all-encompassing typology could be created. It is also necessary to point out that while this typology will have direct relevance to the research questions presented in the current work, it may not apply to other research questions or agendas. However, it is necessary to be explicit in regards to the organisation of the typology so that future researchers can determine whether it fits their needs.

5.3.1 Typology Description

The typology was constructed using data from the four research regions; however, not all beads encountered during the data collection stage have been included here. All beads that are clearly a part of Guido's classes have been included for analysis as it is reasonably certain that they date to the Iron Age, even if some were found in what might be considered Roman period contexts. Beads that would normally be a part of Guido's groups have been included only if they come from archaeological contexts that suggest an Iron Age date. Thus, many stray beads have been necessarily left out of this analysis as it is possible that they may post-date the Iron Age and Roman period. In addition, beads that cannot be classified as one of Guido's types but which come from clear Iron Age contexts have also been included.

Utilising these criteria, 1,788 individual glass beads have been included in the creation of the typology. This covers all but two Guido types: Class 4 Findon type beads, and Group 2 Miscellaneous horned beads. Both of these types were recorded in Guido's catalogue in extremely small numbers (and were supposedly Iron Age), but none were found in the study regions under consideration. Using shape, colour, and decorative motif as the characteristics for defining types, 11 major classes of glass beads have been distinguished, with 162 mutually exclusive types. The structure takes some inspiration from Venclova's (1990) classification of prehistoric Bohemian glass beads, where the simplest beads are considered first, and then they become increasingly more complex in terms of their decorative motif. Within each class are one or more types that vary in a number of attributes. Each type and class is numerically named. Although naming bead types as Guido did after a specific find (the type-find, or ideal form) provides an aid to memory, by using numerical references for each bead type it is possible to remove some of the culture history consequences that have accumulated within the study of glass beads associated with tracking cultures through artefacts. In addition, it removes the idea that there is an ideal form, and that any derivation from this is simply variation, sub-form, or poorly made. By using numerical type designations, it also allows the addition of new types within a certain class to be included with ease rather than forcing beads into types that clearly do not belong together.

In order to design this typology it was necessary to envisage a hierarchy of traits (Figure 5.35a/b). At the top are the simplest traits such as differentiating polychrome and monochrome, while at the bottom are the more complex traits such as specific colour combinations, shape, and specific design motifs. This has resulted in two classes for monochrome beads: Class 1 is defined by a simple shape (annular and globular), while Class 2 beads have more complex shapes (i.e. melon, stud). The remaining classes are polychrome. As the simplest polychrome type, Class 3 beads are different from the remaining classes as they exhibit no particular design or decorative motif. Polychrome beads with a clear design are split into simple motifs and complex motifs. Simple motifs exhibit only one type of motif, such as eyes, or one linear design (Classes 4-10). Complex motifs exhibit two or more motifs (Class 11).

By creating different levels of grouping, analysis can be carried out at both the general and specific level. For example, using this method of classification, it is possible to examine all beads with eye motifs together (Class 4), or to examine one particular combination of characteristics together, for example Type 411. In some cases, it is impossible to know the full details of a specific bead, which is sometimes due to the quality of the report, or because the bead has subsequently been lost. In order to be able to include these beads even at a general level, each class has a dummy type ending in a double zero (*00), which designates beads that can generally be assigned to this type, but there is missing information. In this way, the usefulness of the data is maximized despite an inability to access individual examples.

Size does not play a role in the current interim typology. This is in part due to missing data, either through difficulty in accessing objects or poor objects descriptions in published and unpublished materials, hindering the use of this variable. Although this will not be explored further here, it is worth noting that in many cases, within each type, the beads cluster according to size. If the framework of this typology has a long-lasting applicability for other researchers, it may be worth exploring size data in greater detail. However, as was shown for Guido Group 6 and 7 beads in Section 5.2.1, it should be cautioned that size terms such as ‘large’ and ‘small’ can be misleading and different size groups needs to be demonstrated within the data rather than arbitrarily assigned.

A full list of each type in this interim typology is available in Appendix B. It was not possible to view and measure all beads in detail, and it is likely that further detailed work even within the study regions could substantially alter the organisation. For example, it has not been possible to fully differentiate different types of whirl and ray beads that make up classes 8 and 9 as not enough examples have been viewed and descriptions are often not precise enough to fully impart the exact nature of the motif. In addition, as this typology is only limited to the areas under consideration, further research will add additional types. However, the general structure will provide a framework that can easily be expanded to accommodate them. Overall, the typology set out will provide a tool for which to explore the variability of decorative motif, shape, and colour of glass beads throughout the study regions.

5.3.2 Types in the Study Regions

Southwest England has by far the largest number of types found within the study regions (Figure 5.36), which account for 54% of the total identified types. The most frequently occurring types are Types 110 (n=157, monochrome yellow beads), 102 (n=68, monochrome blue beads), and 1417 (spiral bead with 1 row of 3 yellow spirals on a colourless body, n=53). There are also a number of Type 1003 (n=36) colourless globular beads with multiple yellow chevrons. Other beads are found much less frequently, such as Types 106: monochrome green beads (n=12), 107 monochrome orange beads (n=15), and 410 beads with simple eyes but missing details (n=13). Other types of beads are less frequent.

In contrast, glass beads from East Anglia make up the smallest number of types (n=19), but there is also a small number of beads from this region (n=26). They account for 11% of the total number of identified types. The most frequent type of bead is Type 1407: blue with three rows of white spirals (Figure 5.37). All other beads are much rarer, and most have only single examples of each type.

Beads from East Yorkshire are part of 32 different types of beads (Figure 5.38), which make up 18% of the total number of types. Type 102: monochrome blue beads, are the most frequent type (n=603). Also frequent is Type 901: blue bead with white wave/zigzag (n=121). All other types of beads are found in smaller numbers such as Type 202 (blue melon beads, n=16), 411 (blue globular beads with three eyes made from blue and white glass, n=26), 417 (blue with three eyes formed with green and white glass, n=13), 420 (globular brown bead with three eyes made from blue and white glass, n=12), and 424 (blue with 12 eyes formed from blue and white glass, n=14). The remaining types are rare.

Finally, the assemblage from Northeast Scotland makes up 56 different types of beads (Figure 5.39), making up 34% of the total number of types. The most prolific one being Type 110 (monochrome yellow beads, n=239). All other beads are comparatively rare. However, the uniqueness of many of these beads demonstrates just how diverse beads can be in one area.

5.3.3 Bead Class and Type Analysis

While the above analysis examined the types of beads in each region, the next analysis will examine each class together and compare the frequencies within each study region in order to examine regional frequencies. Class 1 beads are those that are simple monochrome beads made into simple shapes and varying by colour (Table 5.3). Types 102 and 110 are by far the most frequent. However, they are only found in large quantities in Southwest England and Northeast Scotland. While some of these types are found in multiple regions, only Types 104 (brown), 105 (colourless), 108 (purple), and 109 (red) are found in Southwest England.

Classes 2 and 3 are groups of unusual beads. Class 2 beads are monochrome, but with complex shapes, and are much more limited in number than Class 1 beads (Table 5.4). Type 201 is a blue bead with bumps all over that was found in East Anglia and Southwest England. Type 202 are unusual Iron Age

Table 5.3: Frequency of Class 1 beads in the study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
101	3	-	1	-	**4**
102	68	2	603	5	**678**
103	1	-	1	-	**2**
104	4	-	-	-	**4**
105	2	-	-	-	**2**
106	11	2	1	-	**14**
107	15	1	-	-	**16**
108	2	-	-	-	**2**
109	3	-	-	-	**3**
110	157	-	7	239	**403**
TOTAL	**266**	**5**	**613**	**244**	**1128**

Table 5.4: Frequency of Class 2 beads in the study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
201	1	1	-	-	**2**
202	-	-	16	-	**16**
203	1	-	-	-	**1**
204	1	-	-	-	**1**
TOTAL	**3**	**1**	**16**	**0**	**20**

Table 5.5: Frequency of Class 3 beads in the study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
301	5	-	-	-	**5**
302	2	-	-	-	**2**
303	-	-	-	1	**1**
304	-	-	-	1	**1**
305	1	-	-	-	**1**
306	1	-	-	-	**1**
TOTAL	**9**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**11**

blue melon beads found only in East Yorkshire. Finally, Type 203 and 204 represent two unusual beads. The first is a segmented yellow bead, and the second is a stud-shaped yellow bead. Both examples were found in Southwest England.

Class 3 beads are polychrome in colour, but lack a design motif. Some have a mottled colour, and others have layered colours. They also have restricted quantities (Table 5.5). Type 301, 302, 305, and 306 are only found in Southwest England, while Type 303 and 304 are only found in Northeast Scotland.

Class 4 beads are the first of the simple decorated bead classes, and have eyes made from dots of glass (Table 5.6). Class 4a have simple eyes, but in varying numbers placed around the bead. Interestingly, only Type 412, 415, 416, 419, 422, 427, and 429 are found in Southwest England, while Types 411, 413, 414, 417, 418, 420, 421, 423, 424, 425, and 428 are only found in East Yorkshire. The only one of these found in both regions is Type 426. None of these simple eye beads have been found in Northeast Scotland. Class 4b beads are complex eye beads and Types 501 and 503 are found in East Yorkshire, while Type 502 is only found in East Anglia. Finally, Class 4c are compound eye beads and the only example included in this study is from Southwest England.

Class 5 beads are colourless annular beads with a contrasting colour along the inside and side of the perforation (Table 5.7) Two types have been identified: Class 5a (Type 701) with yellow as the contrasting colour, and Class 5b (Type 702) with blue as the contrasting colour. Type 701 has been found in Southwest England and East Yorkshire, while the only example of Type 702 known in all of Britain has been found in East Anglia.

Class 6 beads are described as beads with linear design; however, all of these are simple (Table 5.8). More complex combinations of linear motifs are

Table 5.6: Frequency of Class 4 beads in the study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
410	13	2	9	-	**24**
411	-	-	26	-	**26**
412	1	-	-	-	**1**
413	-	-	4	-	**4**
414	-	-	2	-	**2**
415	1	-	-	-	**1**
416	1	-	-	-	**1**
417	-	-	13	-	**13**
418	-	-	1	-	**1**
419	1	-	-	-	**1**
420	-	-	12	-	**12**
421	-	-	8	-	**8**
422	2	-	-	-	**2**
423	-	-	4	-	**4**
424	-	-	14	-	**14**
425	-	-	2	-	**2**
426	1	-	1	-	**2**
427	1	-	-	-	**1**
428	-	-	1	-	**1**
429	1	-	-	-	**1**
501	-	-	2	-	**2**
502	-	1	-	-	**1**
503	-	-	1	-	**1**
601	1	-	-	-	**1**
TOTAL	**23**	**3**	**100**	**0**	**126**

Table 5.7: Frequency of Class 5 beads in the study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
701	6	2	-	-	**8**
702	-	1	-	-	**1**
TOTAL	**6**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**9**

attributed to Class 11. As 53 different types of beads with this motif type have been identified, this class will be explored in sections. Class 6a are beads with multiple circumferential lines. There are two examples of Type 801 blue annular beads with either white or yellow circumferential lines. One of these is from East Anglia, and the other was found in East Yorkshire. Type 802 are colourless with yellow circumferential lines and are found in Southwest England. These are the only examples of beads with multiple circumferential lines in the study regions.

Class 6b are beads with a single wave. Type 901 is the most numerous and is found predominately in East Yorkshire. Other East Yorkshire versions of this motif include Type 907 and 905. All other examples (Types 902, 903, 904, 908, 909, and 910) are exclusive to Southwest England. Class 6c beads have chevron motifs and cluster according to shape, thus Types 1001-1003 are differentiated by shape. Type 1001 (annular) are found in Southwest England, East Anglia, and East Yorkshire. Types 1002 (barrel) and 1003 (globular) are found exclusively in Southwest England. None of these types of beads have been found in Northeast Scotland. Classes 6d, e, and f are each very distinct examples of specific motifs that have only been found in Southwest England. They all have a colourless body and yellow decoration. Type 1101 has a criss-cross motif made by the yellow glass, Type 1201 has a diagonal criss-cross, and Type 1301 has a pinnate motif.

Finally, Class 6g beads are spiral beads. Thirty varieties of spiral beads have been identified that vary by shape and colour, while more complex spiral beads are listed under Class 11. Out of all the different combinations, only Types 1407 and 1417 occur in three of the study regions. Type 1407 is significantly different to the majority of these beads. It is annular/globular in shape with a blue body and three rows of white spirals placed around the circumference of the bead. Examples of this type have been found in all study regions except Northeast Scotland. Type 1417 is more similar to the remaining spiral beads. This particular type is distinctly globular in shape,

Table 5.8: Frequency of Class 6 beads in the study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
801	-	1	1	-	**2**
802	1	-	-	-	**1**
900	-	-	6	-	**6**
901	10	2	121	3	**136**
902	1	-	-	-	**1**
903	1	-	-	-	**1**
904	1	-	-	-	**1**
905	-	-	1	-	**1**
906	5	-	-	-	**5**
907	-	-	13	-	**13**
908	1	-	-	-	**1**
909	1	-	-	-	**1**
910	1	-	-	-	**1**
1000	3	-	-	-	**3**
1001	4	1	1	-	**6**
1002	1	-	-	-	**1**
1003	36	-	-	-	**36**
1101	3	-	-	-	**3**
1201	1	-	-	-	**1**
1301	1	-	-	-	**1**
1400	9	-	-	15	**24**
1401	-	-	-	1	**1**
1402	-	-	-	2	**2**
1403	-	-	-	8	**8**
1404	-	-	-	1	**1**
1405	4	-	-	-	**4**
1406	1	-	-	-	**1**
1407	8	3	4	-	**15**
1408	1	-	-	-	**1**
1409	-	-	-	2	**2**
1410	-	-	-	3	**3**
1411	-	-	-	7	**7**
1412	-	-	-	2	**2**
1413	-	-	-	1	**1**
1414	-	-	-	1	**1**
1415	-	-	-	1	**1**
1416	2	-	-	-	**2**
1417	53	-	1	2	**56**
1418	3	-	-	2	**5**
1419	1	-	-	6	**7**
1420	1	-	-	1	**2**
1421	-	-	-	1	**1**
1422	-	-	-	2	**2**
1423	-	-	-	4	**4**
1424	-	-	-	1	**1**

1425	-	-	-	4	**4**
1426	-	-	-	1	**1**
1427	-	-	-	1	**1**
1428	-	-	-	1	**1**
1429	-	-	-	1	**1**
1430	1	-	-	-	**1**
1431	1	-	-	-	**1**
TOTAL	**156**	**7**	**148**	**74**	**385**

Table 5.9: Frequency of Class 7 beads in the study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
1501	-	-	-	9	**9**
TOTAL	0	0	0	**9**	**9**

Table 5.10: Frequency of Class 8 beads in the study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
1601	-	-	-	1	**1**
1602	2	-	-	-	**2**
1603	1	-	-	1	**2**
1604	2	-	-	1	**3**
1605	1	-	-	-	**1**
1606	1	-	-	-	**1**
1607	-	-	-	2	**2**
1608	1	-	-	-	**1**
1609	-	-	-	1	**1**
1610	1	-	-	-	**1**
1611	-	-	-	1	**1**
TOTAL	**9**	**0**	**0**	**7**	**16**

Table 5.11: Frequency of Class 9 beads in the study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
1702	1	1	-	2	**4**
1703	1	-	-	1	**2**
1704	1	-	-	1	**2**
TOTAL	**3**	**1**	**0**	**4**	**8**

has a colourless body, and a single row of three yellow spirals placed around the circumference of the bead. Examples of these beads have been found in all study regions except East Anglia, and large numbers have been found in Southwest England. The remaining beads are similar to Type 1417, but vary in shape and colour. Most types are found exclusively in either Southwest England or Northeast Scotland, but Types, such as 1418, 1419, and 1420, are found in both of these regions. These are all colourless beads with yellow spirals, but 1418 is sub-triangle in shape, 1419 is truncated triangle shaped, and the shape of 1420 is unknown.

Classes 7, 8, and 9 are somewhat related as they seem to be mostly formed from either wrapping or twisting a cane around a mandrel. Most examples do not have additional linear or dotted designs applied afterwards, as the design is contained within the cane. Class 7 beads are simple, multi-coloured wrapped beads (Table 5.9). There is no consistency in the colours used to form the beads, but they are only found in Northeast Scotland. Class 8 beads are simple whirl beads that are found only in Southwest England and Northeast Scotland (Table 5.10). Although most varieties are exclusive to either of these regions, suggesting possible regional types, there may be some overlap between Types 1603 and 1604. Finally, Class 9 beads have a ray design (Table 5.11). There is one example from East Anglia, and the remaining examples are exclusive to Southwest England. All these beads from Classes 7 to 9 are annular in shape while any variety is derived from the colours utilised. In the case of the wrapped beads, there does not seem to be any distinction between colours used for the body of the bead, and colours used for decoration, while for whirl and ray beads there is a dominant body colour and smaller amounts of decorative colour. In most cases, with these two Classes the body colour is darker, while the decorative colour is white, yellow, or both.

Class 10 beads are the last of the beads with simple decoration (Table 5.12). These unusual beads have an all-over spotted appearance that is different from the use of dots seen in Class 4. There has been one example each from East Anglia, East Yorkshire, and Southwest England, but none from Northeast Scotland. Unfortunately, the colour data are not available for the East Yorkshire example; however, the other two are both blue with white or white and yellow spots.

Class 11 beads are made from more complex motif combinations, and 49 different combinations of motif and use of colour have been identified. Due to their complex nature, many of these beads at this time appear to be unique. This may indicate a number of possible explanations such as invention, experimentation, or even long distance movement of objects. So, for example Table 5.13 shows the frequency and regions where each of these types have been found. Significantly, Southwest England (n=19) and Northeast Scotland (n=16) have more unique complex beads compared to East Anglia (n=3) and East Yorkshire (n=2). However, there are some bead types for which multiple examples have been found, such as Type 2601 (n=2), 3003 (n=5), and 3014 (n=5). The first is a wrapped black and yellow bead with a cable formed from black and white glass, the second is a blue bead with a blue and white cable wave, and the last is a green bead with a blue and white cable wave. In the case of Type 2601, the two examples were found in Northeast Scotland, but for Types 3003 and 3014, four were found in Southwest England plus an additional example of each from East Anglia.

Through the use of this more detailed typological approach, it has been possible to make relevant comparisons between the material found within different regions that was not previously possible. There are of course some aspects of the beads that have not been taken into consideration at this point, such as the number of turns on spirals, the direction of spirals, the number of lines forming chevrons, or thickness of linear decoration, or size. However, it is possible to continually refine these analyses in the future to look for particular characteristics of beads, which may indicate similar styles of manufacture.

Table 5.12: Frequency of Class 10 beads in study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
1800	-	-	1	-	**1**
1801	-	1	-	-	**1**
1802	1	-	-	-	**1**
TOTAL	**1**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**3**

Table 5.13: Frequency of Class 11 beads in study regions.

Type	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
2101	1	-	-	-	**1**
2201	1	-	-	-	**1**
2202	1	-	-	-	**1**
2301	-	-	1	-	**1**
2302	-	1	-	-	**1**
2303	-	1	-	-	**1**
2304	-	1	-	-	**1**
2306	1	-	-	-	**1**
2307	1	-	-	-	**1**
2401	1	-	-	-	**1**
2501	-	-	-	1	**1**
2502	-	-	-	1	**1**
2503	-	-	-	1	**1**
2504	-	-	-	1	**1**
2505	-	-	-	1	**1**
2506	-	-	-	1	**1**
2507	-	-	-	1	**1**
2601	-	-	-	2	**2**
2602	-	-	-	1	**1**
2603	-	-	-	1	**1**
2604	-	-	-	1	**1**
2605	-	-	-	1	**1**
2701	-	-	-	1	**1**
2702	-	-	-	1	**1**
2703	-	-	-	1	**1**
2704	-	-	-	1	**1**
2705	-	-	-	1	**1**
2706	-	-	-	1	**1**
2801	1	-	-	-	**1**
2802	-	-	-	1	**1**
2901	1	-	-	-	**1**
3000	3	-	-	-	**3**
3001	2	-	-	-	**2**
3002	1	-	-	-	**1**
3003	4	1	-	-	**5**

3005	1	-	-	-	**1**
3006	1	-	-	-	**1**
3008	-	-	1	-	**1**
3009	1	-	-	-	**1**
3010	1	-	-	-	**1**
3011	1	-	-	-	**1**
3012	2	-	-	-	**2**
3014	4	1	-	-	**5**
3015	1	-	-	-	**1**
3016	1	-	-	-	**1**
3017	2	-	-	-	**2**
3018	1	-	-	-	**1**
3019	1	-	-	-	**1**
TOTAL	**35**	**5**	**2**	**20**	**62**

As each of the new types represents unique combinations of decorative motif, colour, and in some cases shape (where there is a clear distinction), they can be used for exploring not only similarities between the study regions, but also differences. Table 5.14 shows a presence/absence chart of every bead type for each study region. Each type is colour coded depending on the number of regions within which it occurs. The majority of bead types (87%) are exclusive to single regions, suggesting that there are many localised types or local variations on types. The most unique types are found in Southwest England (n=66), and Northeast Scotland (n=44), but only 18 from East Yorkshire, and 7 from East Anglia. But there are also 12 types that are found in two regions, 6 types found in three regions, and 2 types found in four regions. In comparison, there are very few types that are found in multiple regions (13%).

5.3.4 Chronology

The following sections will explore the chronology of glass beads on a regional basis. It draws only on excavated examples and utilises a combination of feature, context, artefact associations and radiocarbon dates to assist in establishing earlier and later occurring bead types. Specific contexts will be explored further in Chapter 7. It should be stressed, however, that these dates primarily relate to the deposition date, not the manufacture date or the length of time that these beads were in use. Keeping this in mind, it is interesting to note that the majority of beads were deposited in the Middle Iron Age (Figure 5.40). Prior to this period, only a small number of beads are attributable to earlier contexts. In the Late Iron Age and Early Roman period, almost equal numbers of beads can be confidently attributed to these contexts. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the majority of the Middle Iron Age beads are from the inhumations at Wetwang Slack in the East Yorkshire study region (Figures 5.41 & 5.42). On a general note, one of the patterns emerging shows that glass beads were deposited in Southwest Britain throughout the Iron Age and Early Roman Period, while they occur in East Anglia primarily during the Middle/Late Iron Age, but

Table 5.14: Summary table of presence and absence of new types. (1) Southwest England, (2) East Anglia, (3) East Yorkshire, and (4) Northeast Scotland.

Class	Type	1	2	3	4
Class 1	101	x		x	
Class 1	102	x	x	x	x
Class 1	103	x		x	
Class 1	104	x			
Class 1	105	x			
Class 1	106	x	x	x	
Class 1	107	x	x		
Class 1	108	x			
Class 1	109	x			
Class 1	110	x		x	x
Class 2	201		x		
Class 2	202			x	
Class 2	203	x			
Class 2	204	x			
Class 3	301	x			
Class 3	302	x			
Class 3	303				x
Class 3	304				x
Class 3	305	x			
Class 3	306	x			
Class 4(A)	410	x	x	x	
Class 4(A)	411			x	
Class 4(A)	412	x			
Class 4(A)	413			x	
Class 4(A)	414			x	
Class 4(A)	415	x			
Class 4(A)	416	x			
Class 4(A)	417			x	
Class 4(A)	418			x	
Class 4(A)	419	x			
Class 4(A)	420			x	
Class 4(A)	421			x	
Class 4(A)	422	x			
Class 4(A)	423			x	
Class 4(A)	424			x	
Class 4(A)	425			x	
Class 4(A)	426	x		x	
Class 4(A)	427	x			
Class 4(A)	428			x	
Class 4(A)	429	x			
Class 4 (B)	500				
Class 4 (B)	501			x	
Class 4 (B)	502		x		
Class 4 (B)	503			x	
Class 4(c)	600				
Class 4(c)	601	x			

Class	Type	1	2	3	4
Class 5	701	x	x		
Class 5	702		x		
Class 6 (A)	800				
Class 6 (A)	801		x	x	
Class 6 (A)	802	x			
Class 6(B)	900			x	
Class 6(B)	901	x	x	x	x
Class 6(B)	902	x			
Class 6(B)	903	x			
Class 6(B)	904	x			
Class 6(B)	905			x	
Class 6(B)	906	x			
Class 6(B)	907			x	
Class 6(B)	908	x			
Class 6(B)	909	x			
Class 6(B)	910	x			
Class 6 (C)	1000	x			
Class 6 (C)	1001	x	x	x	
Class 6 (C)	1002	x			
Class 6 (C)	1003	x			
Class 6(D)	1100				
Class 6(D)	1101	x			
Class 6 (E)	1200				
Class 6 (E)	1201	x			
Class 6(F)	1300				
Class 6(F)	1301	x			

Class	Type	1	2	3	4
Class 6 (G)	1400	x			x
Class 6 (G)	1401				x
Class 6 (G)	1402				x
Class 6 (G)	1403				x
Class 6 (G)	1404				x
Class 6 (G)	1405	x			
Class 6 (G)	1406	x			
Class 6 (G)	1407	x	x	x	
Class 6 (G)	1408	x			
Class 6 (G)	1409				x
Class 6 (G)	1410				x
Class 6 (G)	1411				x
Class 6 (G)	1412				x
Class 6 (G)	1413				x
Class 6 (G)	1414				x
Class 6 (G)	1415				x
Class 6 (G)	1416	x			
Class 6 (G)	1417	x		x	x
Class 6 (G)	1418	x			x
Class 6 (G)	1419	x			x
Class 6 (G)	1420	x			x
Class 6 (G)	1421				x
Class 6 (G)	1422				x
Class 6 (G)	1423				x
Class 6 (G)	1424				x
Class 6 (G)	1425				x
Class 6 (G)	1426				x
Class 6 (G)	1427				x
Class 6 (G)	1428				x
Class 6 (G)	1429				x
Class 6 (G)	1430	x			
Class 7	1501				x
Class 8	1601				x
Class 8	1602	x			
Class 8	1603	x			x
Class 8	1604	x			x
Class 8	1605	x			
Class 8	1606	x			
Class 8	1607				x
Class 8	1608	x			
Class 8	1609				x
Class 8	1610	x			
Class 8	1611				x
Class 9	1701		x		
Class 9	1702	x			
Class 9	1703	x			
Class 9	1704	x			

Class	Type	1	2	3	4
Class 10	1800			x	
Class 10	1801		x		
Class 10	1802	x			
Class 11	2101	x			
Class 11	2201	x			
Class 11	2301			x	
Class 11	2302		x		
Class 11	2303		x		
Class 11	2304		x		
Class 11	2306	x			
Class 11	2307	x			
Class 11	2401	x			
Class 11	2501				x
Class 11	2502				x
Class 11	2503				x
Class 11	2504				x
Class 11	2505				x
Class 11	2506				x
Class 11	2507				x
Class 11	2601				x
Class 11	2602				x
Class 11	2603				x
Class 11	2604				x
Class 11	2605				x
Class 11	2701				x
Class 11	2702				x
Class 11	2703				x
Class 11	2704				x
Class 11	2705				x
Class 11	2706				x

Class	Type	1	2	3	4
Class 11	2801	x			
Class 11	2802				x
Class 11	2901	x			
Class 11	3000	x			
Class 11	3001	x			
Class 11	3002	x			
Class 11	3003	x	x		
Class 11	3004				
Class 11	3005	x			
Class 11	3006	x			
Class 11	3007	x			
Class 11	3008			x	
Class 11	3009	x			
Class 11	3010	x			
Class 11	3011	x			
Class 11	3012	x			
Class 11	3013				
Class 11	3014	x	x		
Class 11	3015	x			
Class 11	3016	x			
Class 11	3017	x			
Class 11	3018	x			
Class 11	3019	x			

Key:
- Present in one study region
- Present in two study regions
- Present in three study regions
- Present in four study regions
- Missing details about bead

also in the Early Roman/Romano-British period. Glass beads from Northeast Scotland have only been found deposited in contexts that date to this later period.

Southwest England

The glass beads from Southwest England have been found at 20 key sites that have been excavated and published with a reasonable amount of detail making it possible to assess the date of the context or site as a whole (Figure 5.43). From these sites, 16 new bead types were identified as occurring within excavated contexts. This accounts for 58 glass beads in total. These sites cover activity from the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (East Chisenbury, Wiltshire) until the Late Iron Age/Conquest era (Whitcombe, Dorset burials). Interestingly, there was very little overlap in terms of types, making it difficult to establish sequences without the association of either pottery or brooches. Nonetheless, it was possible to establish some trends in terms of chronology.

Earlier beads in this region include Types 204 and 427. This can be established through associations with Early Iron Age pottery for the first, and for the second with a La Tène I brooch and La Tène I/II pottery[7]. Following this are Types 426, 1431, and 901 through associations with Middle Iron Age pottery. At Maiden Castle, a very unusual bead (Type 2202) was found with Middle Iron Age pottery and Late Iron Age pottery, perhaps indicating a slightly later date. Beads associated with a very late first century BC/mid-first century AD date are those from Langton Herring (Types: 108, 1604, 1704, 2801, and 701). Finally, associated with a range of Late Iron Age and early Roman period brooches and pottery are Types 3003, 3010, and 103.

[7] Although, it is also possible that the brooch was also curated for some time prior to deposition.

Through this analysis, it became apparent that there were three types of beads that were not diagnostic for dating purposes: Types 102, 107, and 110. Both of the first two types would have fallen into Guido's Group 6 and 7 beads that lack decoration and a specific date but in this case they appear in Middle/Late Iron Age contexts into the early Roman period. Type 110 on the other hand, is approximately equivalent to Guido's Class 8 beads. Although Guido proposed that they were manufactured at Meare Lake Village between the mid-third century BC to mid-first century AD there is now evidence to suggest that they date to an earlier period. One example, from the Wheeler excavations at Maiden Castle, Dorset was found with "Iron Age A" pottery (although the context is not clear, the haematite bowls suggest an Early Iron Age date (Gibson 2002, 118)). The other comes from East Chisenbury, Wiltshire where it was found in the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age midden with pottery of the same date. Although the East Chisenbury bead has subsequently been lost, the description fits the Guido Class 8/New Type 110 description. Interestingly though, this type, plus the Type 102, which is found in Middle Iron Age contexts and Type 107 and which is found in Late Iron Age contexts, all continue in use into the early Roman period. Despite earlier dates as proposed for Type 110 and 102, this may be evidence to suggest that beads in this region were circulating throughout society for longer periods of time before finally entering the archaeological record.

Two sites that have so far not been discussed extensively in this analysis of chronology are Meare Lake Village and Glastonbury Lake Village. Almost 300 beads with known contexts have been found at Meare Lake Village, and twenty-four beads with contexts were found at Glastonbury Lake Village. These beads account for thirty-nine different types of beads and they were found in fifty-eight individual contexts. The recording at both sites, and at both east and west excavations at Meare Lake Village, often consists of a mound number, a level, and in some cases the distance and direction outside of the mound. The general interpretation at both sites is that they were lakeside villages built upon mounds and that each mound represents a building that was continuously built upon (Coles & Minnitt 1995). Unfortunately, this makes interpretation of the site very difficult because brooches of La Tène I, II, and III date can be found within a single mound (e.g. Meare Lake Village East Mound 17), and beads characteristic of an earlier date have been found in the same mound as Roman period brooches (e.g. Meare Lake Village West Mound 35). In general, dating these sites through a combination of pottery, brooches, and radiocarbon dates suggests that the activity at both Meare Lake Village West and East was earlier than at Glastonbury Lake Village. Haselgrove suggests a late fourth century or third century BC start date for Meare Lake Village East from the brooch evidence, while the West Village may have been slightly earlier (Haselgrove 1997, 60). Although it is generally agreed that the occupation at Glastonbury Lake Village dates to a period after settlement started at both Meare Lake Village East and West, Coles and Minnett (1995, 178) give a 250-50 BC date, while Haselgrove (1997, 60) has proposed a smaller period of occupation, from the mid-second to the mid-first century BC. Moore's (2003, 33) re-analysis of the radiocarbon dates taken from samples from all three sites is inconclusive about the settlement start dates, but seems to support the end dates. It is unfortunate that only one sample for radiocarbon dating purposes was taken from a mound associated with a glass bead (Glastonbury Lake Village Mound 38), however, not only was this bead not very diagnostic in terms of its physical characteristics, but Coles and Minnett (1995, 178) used this mound as an example of some of the difficulties in interpreting dates from artefacts and absolute dating. Therefore, it is unclear how these absolute dates relate to the glass beads themselves, but instead the site needs to be thought of in terms of broad date spans, rather than as earlier or later phases (c.f. Coles & Minnitt 1995) until further analysis can suggest otherwise.

Despite the issues with dating these sites, there are some patterns that can be observed that are worth exploring. As Guido pointed out, her Class 8 (new Type 110) and Class 10 (most typical is new Type 1417, but there are others), are the most numerous types. Although they are found associated with La Tène I brooches, these also happen to be mounds where they occur with La Tène III brooches (MLVW (Coles & Minnitt 1995) mound 9, MLVE mound 10). However, they do occur together at mounds associated only with La Tène II brooches (MLVE mound 13 and 22). It is with La Tène II brooches that there is a clear association between not only Types 110 and 1417, but also simple monochrome beads 101, 102, and 106, single wave bead Type 908, chevron bead 1003, spiral beads 1407, 1416, 1419, and complex bead 2401. Then, within the La Tène III brooch period, half of these bead types continue and simple monochrome Type 105, 109, simple polychrome Type 305, simple eye bead Type 429, perforation colour Type 701, single wave Type 901, and spiral bead Types 1405, 1418, and 1430 were introduced. Beads from mounds with only Roman brooches are only associated with beads from the La Tène II period. There are 21 other bead types that occur either in mounds without any other diagnostic artefacts or with brooches from multiple periods, making it difficult to assess. The problem here of course is that mounds do not always seem to represent one distinct period of time, but rather are stratified layers of time, as shown by Coles and Minnitt (1995) for Glastonbury Lake Village. However, it does demonstrate that some types of beads were earlier than others, and that one blanket period of bead manufacturing at both sites as suggested by Guido is not an accurate representation of bead manufacturing chronology. In addition, as several bead types are found with both La Tène II and III brooches, this suggests that these beads were in circulation for long periods of time, and that their depositional date probably has little to do with the length of time they were in use, especially given the early date Type 110 at East Chisenbury.

East Anglia

Out of the 26 glass beads that are likely to date to the Iron Age or Early Roman period, 18 come from contexts with an indication of when they were deposited. Most (n=14) come from the Middle/Late Iron Age contexts from the recently excavated site at Grandcourt Quarry (Figure 5.44). This site, which is currently awaiting publication, is unusual in that a large amount of metalwork was deposited along with very rare amber beads, and one of the largest depositions of glass beads at a single site apart from the lake villages in Somerset and the inhumations in East Yorkshire. Most glass beads were found amongst the dense pottery and metalwork deposition layer. Analysis of the metalwork suggests a Middle/Late Iron Age date (Colin Haselgrove, pers. comm.), which is supported by a radiocarbon date taken from the residue on a piece of pottery suggesting a 210-38 cal BC depositional date (Steve Malone, pers. comm.). This includes some very rare types of glass beads such as Types 201, 702, and 1801. Interestingly, there was also an example of a Type 1001 (chevrons), which is a type that has been found primarily at Meare Lake Village. However, it seems that it may have been part of a slightly later deposition at the site. In addition, it is interesting that the two specimens of Type 1407 are vastly different in appearance. One appears to be brand new as the surface retains the shiny gloss of fresh unweathered glass, while the other is very dull and appears to have greater surface weathering, potentially indicating it was manufactured at an earlier date. In general, this site represents the combination of twelve different types of beads at a single site, at a potentially limited period in time.

The remaining beads come from substantially later depositions at two different sites. The first is a Type 3014 from the Santon Downham hoard discovered in 1897. The hoard is generally interpreted as containing a mix of both Iron Age artefacts (enamelled horse equipment) and Roman artefacts (steelyard, patera handle, jug) and thus is dated to the mid-first century AD (Manning 1972). A bead was also found with the hoard. It is green (presumably translucent) with a cable wave design (presumably opaque) made from blue and white glass. This is a typical colour combination, and one of the more frequently discovered types; however, it is usually found in Southwest England. The final site with beads from a datable context is the Romano-British site at Billingford, Norfolk. Here, an unusual hoard of objects was found in a pit containing a copper-alloy torc, a ring (finger-ring?), an unknown ring object (possibly broken), a key, a large stone ring/bead and three glass beads. Two of the glass beads are Type 901, while the remaining one is a Type 106. The pit is associated with a nearly Romano-British settlement, but due to the inclusion of the torc, the pit deposition is dated to the first/second century AD (Wallis 2011).

Despite the limited evidence for glass beads in this region, it is interesting that there is virtually no cross-over of bead types between sites. But this also renders it difficult to understand whether there is a glass bead chronology as glass beads do not really seem to have had a strong role in this area prior to the late third century BC.

East Yorkshire

Most glass beads from East Yorkshire are found in inhumation contexts (Figure 5.45). Two of the most recent excavated cemeteries not only revealed large numbers of burials, but the recording methods also preserved detailed information about the context. This includes the excavations at Wetwang/Garton Slack (Brewster 1980; Dent 1984), and the excavations directed by Ian Stead (1991a) that extended between Rudston and Burton Fleming. Interestingly, these excavations have shown that despite the large number of burials at both of these, at Wetwang Slack (400+) and in the Rudston/Burton Fleming area (200+ inhumations), only 21 had glass beads, of which only seven contained single beads rather than the 'necklaces' found in Cowlam Barrow L or Wetwang Slack burial 284. So, although the East Yorkshire Iron Age is regarded as an area where we can really begin to understand Iron Age society (Jay, Fuller *et al.* 2008; Jay & Richards 2006) and as an area with copious numbers of glass beads that rivals Meare Lake Village in Somerset, their occurrence is actually significantly limited.

Chronology at these sites has depended in part on stratigraphic relationships, but also on brooch chronology. Unfortunately, brooches are not found in every inhumation, and in the case of Wetwang Slack 40 stratigraphic sequences could be defined; the large number of isolated burials creates an increasingly difficult situation for internal site chronology (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012, 164). Dent (1984, 81-2) proposed that there were four phases, and that general patterns in deposition could be observed, especially in relation to the Bronze Age barrow that was incorporated into the cemetery. Chronology in this region has been the subject of a recent paper exploring radiocarbon dates obtained from samples at Wetwang Slack, along with radiocarbon dates from other inhumations and chariot/cart burials in the region (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012). They conclude that whilst the radiocarbon dates for the Newbridge chariot burial date to before c. 400 cal BC and it more plausibly has connections with Iron Age continental Europe (Carter & Hunter 2003, 533; Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012, 182-3), the burials at Wetwang Slack are confined to a periods from the third to early second century BC and thus are clearly later than the similar practice on the continent (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012, 181-2).

This work has also allowed for the regional brooch chronology to be re-assessed, which renders some inhumation sequences more accurate. One of the other issues to come out of this dating re-assessment is that it appears that some objects were already old when placed in the inhumations (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012, 183). This is not a reflection of a time lag as has been assumed before (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012, 169), but it does point out that an artefact's manufacture date is not always contemporary with its depositional date. While Jay *et al* (2012, 162) point to the repairs on the Kirkburn scabbard as evidence that it had heirloom status, the combination of beads with both little and heavy weathering in some East Yorkshire burials may indicate that not all beads were manufactured at the same time and with the same raw material.

Out of the twenty-one inhumations in East Yorkshire with glass beads, it is the Queen's Barrow near Market Weighton that has the greatest variety of glass beads (discussed further in Chapter 7 & 8). Unfortunately, some of the beads are in extremely poor condition. Nonetheless, nine different types can be distinguished. Of these, six are different types of eye beads (Types 411, 421, 424, 425, 426, and 428) while the remaining three are different types of beads with a wave motif (Types 901, 905, and 907). No other group of beads in East Yorkshire inhumations is this diverse and there are very few connections between the types on this necklace with those on other necklaces. The necklace from Barrow L in Cowlam is made up primarily of Type 901 beads with one Type 425 bead. Wetwang burials 274, 284, and 209 all have Type 901 wave beads along with some others, and burial 249 shares Type 421 with the Queen's barrow. However, it is interesting that neither Barrow L, nor the Queen's barrow, utilises Type 102 (monochrome blue) beads that feature in nine Wetwang burials and five Garton Slack/Burton Fleming burials, most often singly, or with no other types of beads. This makes Wetwang burials 284 and 249 significant as they both combine bead types from the Queen's barrow and Cowlam barrow L with the dominant bead type at Wetwang Slack.

Between the Wetwang and Garton Slack/Burton Fleming inhumations, there are six types of beads that do not occur on more than one necklace. For example in Wetwang burial 376, although the unusual melon shaped blue beads (Type 202) are shared with burials 64 and 209, the complex eye beads (Types 501 and 503) do not occur in any other inhumation. It does not seem to be unusual that bead types that do not occur in multiple burials are slightly more complex in design or exhibit traits that are very different to the other beads. For example, while most beads that exhibit a wave/zigzag motif are simple in that they only have one line going around the circumference, Wetwang burial 274 contained a bead (Type 2301) with two zigzags going around the circumference; and burial 236 contained several unusual eye beads (Type 420) made from brown glass with three eyes made from blue and white glass. Both of these bead types are unusual and do not occur in other burials.

In terms of chronology, the Bayesian analysis of radiocarbon dates at Wetwang suggests a very limited period of use between the third and early second centuries BC (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012, 181). Despite both La Tene I and II brooches occurring at both Wetwang Slack and at Cowlam Barrow L (Hull and Hawkes type 1Aa, dates to mid-fifth century to early fourth century BC) it seems that this later date could generally be applied to all of the East Yorkshire burials, as the earlier types of artefacts were curated for extended periods of time. Thus, with few radiocarbon dates to go on, all of the beads in these burials are roughly contemporaneous, potentially even the two unusual beads. In burial 268 there was a single Type 1417, and in burial 102 there was a single Type 1001. Both of these types are generally considered to have been manufactured in the Meare Lake Village area. Although Jay (2006, 661) did not include either of these inhumations in her analysis of stable isotopes, her general conclusion was that most people at Wetwang Slack were not differentiated by the foods that they consumed, and thus likely were all of local origin. This implies that these were not immigrants from elsewhere that brought their bodily adornment with them. However, in the future, these specific human remains would be ideal subjects for further stable isotope study to identify whether they are of local origin or otherwise.

Northeast Scotland

Despite Guido's assertion for the date of several types of glass beads that are found in large numbers in this region, none of the beads she looked at came from excavated contexts. The situation has not improved greatly since then, but there have been some positive developments. At present, 48 glass beads, representing nine types from six different sites have added significant data to the chronological understanding of this region (Figure 5.46). Unfortunately, only two beads have been fully published or made available through grey literature reports. This includes a Type 102 from the Forest Road excavation (Cook & Dunbar 2008) and a Type 1419 from Thainstone (Murray & Murray 2006b). The Midtown Farm bead (Type 1400) is poorly described in a note in *Discovery and Excavation in Scotland* (Stewert & Lythe 1975), and the Clarky Hill bead (Type 110) was found during excavations that are currently underway and interim reports were not available. The excavations at Birnie recently ended; however, final analysis and interpretation are still in preparation. Finally, the glass beads and evidence for glass working at Culduthel were found during commercial excavation at the site (Murray 2007a). Unfortunately, they are also awaiting final interpretation and publication, but radiocarbon data has been made available for this thesis (Ross Murray, pers. comm.).

Despite the issues with establishing a relative or absolute chronology in this region at the moment, there are some trends that can be observed. First, the most commonly occurring type is Type 110. These are found at Birnie, Culduthel, and Clarky Hill. Their presence is not surprising given the 200+ examples reported as stray finds at Culbin Sands. Both Birnie and Culduthel have five different types of beads present at each site, but they overlap in only two types: Type 110 and 1418 (the latter is a colourless bead with three yellow spirals placed around the circumference of the bead of more sub-triangular shape). Although they are not exact parallels, both are similar to three beads from Meare Lake Village West. Other beads at Birnie include a Type 303, an unusual sub-triangular bead made from translucent green glass with yellow glass mixed in, and Types 1403 and 1419 (a type also found at Thainstone), which are both types of spiral beads. Culduthel also has Type 102, a plain blue bead; Type 1418, another type of spiral bead; and Type 2501, a complex form of spiral bead that incorporates a cable of two colours of glass.

Although the context of the Thainstone Type 1419 bead was not directly dated, a radiocarbon date for a similar primary fill post-hole of the same roundhouse gives a date of 30 cal BC – cal AD 130 (2σ, 1940±40, Beta-181169, Murray *et al.* 2006, 11). The overall interpretation of the site suggests that activity was at its peak between the first and second centuries AD. A similar date can be proposed for the late prehistoric activity at Birnie from the brooches, coin hoard, and Roman pottery found at this site (Hunter 2007b, 23-32, and also interim reports). In contrast, the glass evidence for Culduthel Farm now points to a substantially earlier date (Ross Murray, pers. comm.). Contexts for a number of glass beads from this site have been radiocarbon dated, which often suggest a pre-first century AD date. The earliest date obtained points to a fourth century BC deposition date. This suggests that the beads in Northeast Scotland could have been in use substantially earlier than the first/second century AD date suggested by Guido.

This section has so far focused on the beads that have been found in Northeast Scotland; however, it is very interesting that one of Guido's other types of glass beads by which she characterises this region has not been found in any excavated contexts. This is Guido's Class 14 'North Scottish Decorated Annular' bead (covered by new types Class 7, Class 8, and Class 11). This Guido type is incredibly poorly defined (described in Appendix A), however, in general, no two are alike. Because they lack similarity other than possibly their manufacturing method and general a preference for incorporating the colour yellow, they are difficult to pinpoint in date. Excavated examples from Dun Mor Vaul (MacKie 1974), on Tiree, have suggested a second century AD date; however, the dates of brochs are highly contested (Armit 1991; Dockrill, Outram *et al.* 2006; MacKie 1965a; b; 2008; 2010; Outram, Batt *et al.* 2010; Parker Pearson, Sharples *et al.* 1996). Nonetheless, despite the increasing preponderance of glass beads from excavated contexts in Northeast Scotland, it may be significant that none of Guido's Class 14 beads have been found. It is possible that some date to a much later period.

5.3.5 Chronology Discussion

The section above addressed the chronology of glass beads within each region using the new bead typology. It highlights a number of issues and trends within the data; however, the main question to be addressed is: does the archaeological evidence support a chronology of beads? This is to ask, can we see the ebb and flow of bead types gradually coming into use, flourishing, and finally diminishing? The answer, in a word, is no. However, the answer to this question is much more complicated than a simple yes or no. In fact, there are a number of factors at work that complicate a straightforward interpretation from a given dated context that somehow equates to a grand scheme from manufacture to deposition. Yet, it is these dated contexts that provides us with a *terminus ante quem*, which can be expressed as a date range. It is extremely beneficial for determining the approximate date of deposition, but it gives no indication as to when the individual bead was created or how long it was in use prior to its final deposition. This is complicated by processes whereby artefacts are curated by later generations, as has been suggested by the Kirkburn sword (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012, 62), but also demonstrated with Iron Age glass beads found in Anglo-Saxon contexts such as at Street House in Cleveland and Cow Low in Derbyshire. Although these could be considered to be extreme examples, especially in the case of Anglo-Saxon re-use of Iron Age glass beads, the context makes it clear that these objects were curated for long periods of time until they were finally intentionally deposited in inhumations.

Beads found in settlements do not always benefit from the support of the surrounding context that demonstrate that they have been curated for long periods of time. Instead, interpretation typically happens whereby a bead that is considered to be Iron Age is found amongst other artefacts (i.e. pottery or brooches) that support this Iron Age date. The date of these other objects is used to date both the context and the bead (this also happens with radiocarbon dates). Thus, a bead that is found with Late Iron Age pottery is said to date to the same period, as if the depositional act is somehow representative of associated objects. As in the case of glass beads found outside of their designated period, they are explained away as purely 'residual' (e.g. Guido Class 7a beads from post-conquest contexts), rather than actively participating and appreciated within society. This becomes an increasingly significant issue towards the end of the Iron Age and into the Roman period where beads of 'native' tradition are found on 'Roman' sites. But, it is these 'residual' beads that support the idea that they were a curated object and continued to have meaning within post-conquest society, a period that Guido perceived as being an influx of material culture, ideas, and people, and thus an end to pre-Roman ways life.

Instead of creating neat types with discrete periods of beginnings and endings of use, the available data suits a very different mode of thought. Instead of attempting to use the *terminus post quem* as an end date for the use of each type and inferring the original manufacture date for types, it is much more appropriate to use this data to explore depositional practices. Interestingly, there seems to be regional differences in the chronology of glass bead deposition. Taking each region as a whole, there are some general characteristics. In Southwest England, glass beads are deposited in contexts that date to as early as the Late Bronze Age and more commonly the Early Iron Age, and are deposited into the Early Roman period. In stark contrast, glass beads in East Yorkshire are restricted to deposits in the Middle Iron Age. In both Northeast Scotland and East Anglia beads were deposited in the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period, although there is also a possibility that they were deposited earlier in Northeast Scotland, but they differ not only in appearance, but also in that the East Anglian beads demonstrate a greater possible European connection, while the Scottish examples do not (an area for future research). Of course, one of the issues in such an interpretation is the differences in deposition: i.e. either intentional or unintentional loss, and this will be explored further in Chapter 7.

Despite the issues of deposition, and both visible and invisible heirloom effects, using the *terminus ante quem* we can begin to understand glass bead chronology in a general sense. However, caution is necessary. By examining the date of deposition for each bead type where this data is available for multiple beads, it is immediately noticeable that in the case of two types of bead (Types 102 and 110, corresponding to Guido Group 6/7 and Class 8) there is a considerable degree of variability in terms of depositional period. While Guido described Groups 6 and 7 as difficult to ascribe to a fixed period of use, Class 8 beads were thought to have belonged to two production centres from two different periods of time. The Meare Lake Village examples were thought to have been made at this site between the third and second centuries BC (Guido 1978a, 75), while the Culbin Sands examples were thought to date to the first and second centuries AD (Guido 1978a, 76). However, while there are examples found deposited in both earlier and later contexts, some examples can probably be said to date to an earlier period. The single example from East Chisenbury, Wiltshire was found with Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age pottery (McOmish, Field *et al.* 2010), and an example from Maiden Castle, Dorset was found with Early Iron Age pottery (Wheeler 1943). To this can be added the example from Cannards Grave which may have been deposited as early as the beginning of the fourth century BC (Birbeck 2002). Thus there are three examples that have been suggested to pre-date the assumed date of manufacture at Meare Lake Village. This has implications for interpreting this type of bead as a whole.

Typologies, at least in terms of Guido's typology, and the new typology presented here, act as a way to label beads and communicate the fact that two or more objects have a very similar appearance. While this can be extremely useful, there is an assumption that beads that do in fact appear to be similar were made at the same site, possibly even at the same period of time (or within a 200 year period of each other). This seems to be a reasonable explanation on the surface, but given the range of deposition dates in the case of the Type 110/Guido Class 8 beads, can this really be said to be the case? A few possible alternative explanations are that Type 110/Guido Class 8 beads:

- were manufactured at Meare Lake Village, but the date of this activity needs to be pushed back (possibly supported by some of the earlier seemingly anomalous radiocarbon dates (Coles 1987)); later versions were manufactured at Culbin Sands.

- do not form a useful diagnostic bead type, because they were made (and deposited) periodically during the Iron Age, possibly even at multiple locations.

- were manufactured somewhere in the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age possibly in Britain, but equally possibly from Europe, and continued to be used throughout the Iron Age and into the Early Roman period, and some were deposited/lost periodically during this time.

While the first two options are reasonable explanations, the third explanation is more likely. This might seem far-fetched at first glance, but is less so given that the nature of the activity remains somewhat unclear at Glastonbury and Meare Lake Villages, and that some of the earliest occurring brooches date from the La Tène I period. Interestingly, Venclová (1990, 55) noted that hundreds of these small opaque yellow annular beads occur in Hallstatt D/La Tène A graves at sites such as Vače and Stinča in Slovenia, although they continued to be deposited in La Tène C1-C2 contexts, including at Manching. She proposed that they may have been manufactured in this region. Given that more than 100 beads of this type were found at Meare and Culbin Sands, they may have been used in similar ways at the Slovenian Beads. Venclová (1990) suggested that they were used as necklaces or sewn on textiles. These beads are traditionally considered to have been manufactured in Britain, but this type of bead existed outside of Britain much earlier than was previously suggested, and further demonstrates some of the issues with dating glass bead use. Although his sample was small, Henderson's analyses of opaque yellow glass show that there is a similarity between examples in Britain with those from sites, such as Staré Hradisko and Magdalenska Gora (Henderson 1992, Figure 10), which may support an argument for similar sources of raw glass.

This may conclude as a cautionary tale for archaeologists. However, using depositional dates we can establish some general trends throughout the Iron Age. In Early Iron Age contexts, there are several types of plain monochrome beads (Types: 102 and 110, but also 204. The earliest deposited decorated beads are two types of blue and white eye beads (Types 426 and 427), although they were deposited as early as the end of the Early Iron Age. Both of these eye beads have 15 eyes made from blue and white glass on a blue body, but one is more cylindrical in shape while the other is more globular. All of these earlier beads occur in the Southwest England study region, and there are no examples of glass beads deposited in the other study regions.

This changed dramatically in the Middle Iron Age, as all the beads from the East Yorkshire burials were probably deposited during this time. This included a large number of plain monochrome beads (Type 102), the unusual blue glass melon beads (Type 202), a number of decorated beads: eye beads (Types 411, 413, 414, 417, 418, 420, 421, 423, 424, 425, 426, 428, 501, and 503), wave/zigzag beads (Types 901, 905, and 907), other linear design beads (Types 1001, 1417), and a complex decorated bead (Type 2301). While these beads are thought to have been deposited in the earlier part of the Middle Iron Age, other beads in Southwest England were deposited generally at some point during this period as well; however, their occurrence is much more limited. This includes a simple monochrome bead at Maiden Castle, Dorset (Type 107), another at Cannard's Grave, Somerset (Type 110), and a bead from Birdlip, Gloucestershire with an unusual spiral motif (Type 1431).

By the Middle Iron Age, some of the earliest (more reliable) deposits of glass beads occurred at Meare and Glastonbury Lake Villages. This included a range of simple types (Types 101, 102, 106, and 110), as well as a number of decorated types: wave/zigzag (Type 908), chevrons (Type 1003), spiral (types 1407, 1416, 1417, and 1419), and a complex chevron bead (Type 2401). Interestingly, this is potentially problematic as one of Guido's "Meare" type beads was found at Wetwang Slack where it may date to an earlier period than the dates given for their manufacture at Meare Lake Village.

By the end of the Middle Iron Age, or possibly early in the Later Iron Age, the rich bead deposits at Grandcourt Quarry, Norfolk were made. A number of the beads that occur here are not found elsewhere in Britain, or are extremely rare. Again, there are a number of monochrome beads (Types 106 and 201), but the majority are polychrome (Types 502, 701, 702, 801, 1001, 1407, 1801, 2302, 2304). In the Late Iron Age, several bead types found in earlier contexts at Meare and Glastonbury continue to be deposited (Types 102, 106, 110, 1003, 1417, and 2401) but a few other types are not found in this later period (Types 101, 908, 1407, 1416, 1419). In addition, there are some new types that appear at this time (Type 105, 109, 305, 429, 701, 901, 1405, 1418, 1430). Notably, outside of Meare and Glastonbury, most other reliably dated beads from this period tend to be simple monochrome beads such as those from Bredon Hill and Salmonsbury (Types 102 and 107). In contrast, in inhumations such as the recent one at Langton Herring (unpublished), four decorated beads were found (Types 701, 1604, 1704, and 2801) along with an unusually coloured simple monochrome bead (Type 108).

Finally, in the first two centuries AD there are dated examples of bead deposits in Northeast Scotland at Birnie, Clarky Hill, Thainstone, and Culduthel. These beads are restricted mainly to Type 110 and spiral beads such as 1403, 1418, and 1419. There are some more unusual beads such as Type 303 at Birnie, and Type 2501 at Culduthel. Elsewhere in Britain, this is also the period when clearly dated examples of annular beads with cable motifs are deposited such as Type 3014 at Santon Downham, Suffolk, and Type 3010 at Catsgore, Somerset. At this time, a dated example of a Type 110 bead is also deposited at Sea Mills near Bristol. Examples of Type 901 beads have been found at Billingford, Norfolk and in Whitcombe burial 8 in Dorset. There are no clearly dated examples of glass beads from depositions at this time in East Yorkshire.

The relationship between chronology and glass bead deposition is clearly a complicated topic. Not only is there evidence for the potential long term use of glass beads prior to deposition, but the available evidence suggests that there are key regional differences. There are patterns in both the types of beads used and the periods in which they were deposited, and these do vary regionally. Despite these differences, there are some bead types that have been found in multiple regions, although they are not always deposited contemporarily. Interestingly, there does not seem to be a strict chronology in which the earliest beads were the simplest or the plainest, progressively becoming more complicated through the period (Figure 5.47). Instead, plain beads existed alongside the more complex examples. This can also be said more generally of the decorative motifs used (Figure 5.48).

5.4 Discussion

Two main themes have been presented in this chapter. The first relates to typology. Despite the inherent problems with a typological approach to understanding artefacts (Adams 1988; Adams & Adams 1991; Cowgill 1990; Dunnell 1986; 2002; Ford 1954; Ford & Steward 1954; Hill & Evans 1972; Klejn 1982; Read 2007; Rouse 1960; Spaulding 1953; Topping 1987; Whittaker, Caulkins *et al.* 1998), it can provide a useful tool. The benefit is that it allows researchers to communicate about artefacts, as it often acts as a shorthand method for describing certain characteristics and allows the comparison of both similarities and differences. In this sense, typology is an effective means that allows researchers to collaborate, and expand on different aspects of artefact-based research. The danger with typology, however, is that it is not necessarily a one size fits all tool. Differing research questions and aims will give preference to certain aspects over others, thus there is a potentially unlimited number of different typologies that could be created (Hill & Evans 1972). This can also be problematic as typology can become a source of conflict within the research community as competing methods of classification are promoted. It is important to remember, however, that there is no right or wrong way to classify, but it should suit the research questions and avoid classification for the sake of classification.

The present research is concerned with exploring the diversity of glass beads, which probably accounts for the substantially larger number of types than previous typologies. Three prime characteristics were chosen that are thought to contribute greatest to the overall appearance of glass beads, thus allowing differences and similarities to be effectively and consistently explored. A typology in this sense is very different from the goals of the culture history typologies. Although criticisms of the Guido typology have been presented in this chapter, it must be stressed that the new typology presented is not necessarily meant to replace the old typology. Rather, it provides a new way of approaching the material that allows the research questions to be addressed in subsequent chapters.

The second theme of this chapter has been that of dating, chronology, and to a lesser extent, context (further explored in Chapter 7). As the analysis of dates associated with glass beads above suggested, dating is far from straightforward. Instead, there is a complex variety of factors that affect when a bead is deposited into the archaeological record. The depositional date is not necessarily a close reflection of the manufacture date, nor does it indicate the length of time it was in use. This of course is not just an issue with glass beads as it has recently been shown (Lockyear 2012, 197) that coin hoards that were deposited in the first century AD contained coins that were around 200 years old. Although there are differences between coins and other artefacts (as he points out, coins do no break), nonetheless, as long as an Iron Age glass bead remained intact, they could remain in use or in circulation unless social factors suggested otherwise. An analogy between Roman coin hoards and Iron Age glass beads in Britain might not be perfect for a number of reasons, but there is also evidence for copper-alloy hoards of Bronze Age artefacts that were deposited in the Iron Age and the Roman period (Hingley 2009). Whether these objects were curated continuously from the Bronze Age before their deposition is another question; however, it is clear that people in the Iron Age made sense of the past and ancestors in terms of both the landscape and the objects with which they interacted. Again, this emphasises the issue between typology and date. As Hingley (Hingley 2009, 148) points out, artefacts must be understood not only through typology, but also in terms of the context in which they are found (explored in Chapter 7). Despite the issues with the dating and chronology of glass beads, there are clear patterns of temporally different regional depositional practices.

5.5 Conclusion

Typology is just one of the ways to understand the material here under consideration. Although the typological approach will be utilised throughout the remaining chapters, it is felt that it is necessary to understand regional patterns of different characteristics, rather than solely relying on individual types. Thus, Chapter 6 will explore regional uses of the three main characteristics used to create the typology, in attempt to understand regional variations in shape, colour, and decorative motif. Size, in terms of both dimensions and weight, will also be analysed as it relates to how glass beads were made or how they were used, and this may also vary regionally. As discussed above, the context of the artefacts is of importance, not only in understanding the use, but also in terms of understanding when, how, and why an object was deposited into the archaeological record. This will be explored further in Chapter 7.

Chapter 6

Form and Regional Identity

6.1 Introduction

In contrast to many of the other types of late prehistoric British artefacts, glass beads exhibit a range of colours and designs. Perhaps most emblematic of this period is the use of eye and spiral motifs, the colour blue, and a combination of both colourless and opaque yellow glass. Yet even the most cursory investigation of glass beads would lead to the conclusion that there are specific areas where glass beads are abundant in number, and that some characteristics appear to be regional. However, investigations of these patterns have been limited to those undertaken by Guido (1978a), and Giles (2012). While Guido's study was limited to the use of typology, which Chapter 5 has shown is problematic, Giles' study does not put the East Yorkshire evidence into a wider context. This Chapter applies a consistent approach to an examination of four key characteristics (namely: size, shape, colour, and decorative motif), with the aim of developing a regional understanding of glass bead traits.

These four traits were chosen because they have the greatest impact when viewed. When not obscured by other garments, or (perhaps) by hair, larger beads could potentially have a greater visual impact when viewed compared to smaller beads. The delicate construction of some of the smallest beads, however, might have elicited a response of awe from the viewer, especially when strung together. Some of the smallest beads are those from the 2001

Wetwang Slack chariot burial; these are only several millimeters in diameter and height, and if strung together on a single strand of material could have been damaged with little effort. Larger beads, on the other hand, would have been heavy, potentially cumbersome, and may have caused discomfort or restricted movement.

Colour deserves a special mention here, as all of these beads are at least one colour, with some even multi-coloured. Some colours would have stood out to the viewer compared to others, but the context within which they were used would also have had some bearing on their visibility. Darker colours, such as translucent blue, are often so dark that they appear to be black[8]. Although there is little evidence for textiles and even less evidence for the garments worn during this period (DeRoche 2012), if worn against dark coloured clothing (i.e. darkly coloured natural wool fibres, or artificially coloured through a dye process), these dark beads would have blended into the surface of the body. If worn against lightly coloured textiles (i.e. lightly coloured natural wool fibres, or flax), however, these dark beads would have stood out. Other beads combine dark and light colours that have been applied as a decorative motif to the surface of the bead. It is through these combinations of colour and the creation of patterns (sometimes also through shape) that these glass beads are most visually stunning.

By bringing together separate analyses of size, shape, colour, and decorative motif of glass beads, it is possible in examine whether there are patterns in bead selection and/or use. Why do some motifs occur in some regions and not in others? Were there regional colour preferences? Did these beads reflect a local or regional identity? As shown in Chapter 2, a sense of identity

[8] There are some cases where this very dark effect may be the result of the weathering action that has occurred on the surface of the bead. However, while this does affect them to some extent, it is frequently the case that some beads are actually very dark.

derives from a number of sources, but there is evidence for different regional identities in Britain during the Iron Age related to concepts of the body and dress. An investigation of the ways in which these identities were expressed in terms of colour may help to illuminate the clothing they were worn against, or the different designs that were suitable for wear.

While this analysis focuses on four characteristics, there are a number of other specific details that must currently remain unexplored. These include the perforation shapes of the beads, the width of the glass used for linear designs, and the number and direction of turns in spiral motifs. These, and others, are aspects that can be studied at a later date in order to provide additional details on their physical appearance.

Prior to examining these topics, it is necessary to outline the nature of the data concerning beads from the study regions. 1,788 glass beads were included in these analyses, which were all taken from the four regions described in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 and the restrictions of the data-set were described in Chapter 5. Even when examining the number of beads within each region on a very general level, immediate differences are apparent (Table 6.1). For example, East Anglia yielded the smallest number of beads (n=26), which is highly unusual compared to the rest of the regions chosen for study (Southwest England n=517, Northeast Scotland n=363), with East Yorkshire contributing the largest total (n=882). Indeed, out of the total number of beads discussed in this chapter, about half are from East Yorkshire (differences in depositional practices, excavation bias and study region size are discussed in Chapters 7 and 8). The beads from Wetwang/Garton Slack in East Yorkshire account for the majority of beads from this region, and the finds from this site and Grancourt Quarry in Norfolk have begun to significantly alter previous perceptions of glass beads in these regions.

Table 6.1: Number of glass beads per study region.

Study Region	Frequency	Percentage of total
Southwest England	517	28.9
East Anglia	26	1.5
East Yorkshire	882	49.3
Northeast Scotland	363	20.3
TOTAL	1,788	100

As the previous chapter highlights, there are some significant problems with discussing glass beads in terms of Guido's typology, as it really does not adequately express the true diversity existing within this object class. Thus, this chapter will first examine differences in bead shape and make comparisons between the study regions, followed by similar examinations of size, colour, and decorative motif. This will render possible a better understanding of regional glass bead characteristics, which have implications for understanding regional identity, dress, and the materiality of colour.

6.2 Shape

An examination of shape is essential for understanding the regional use of glass beads. Despite the fact that very little evidence exists for bead-making workshops or tools, it is at least possible to infer from some beads that many were made by winding molten glass around a mandrel. Thus, the simplest bead shapes are created: barrel, globular, and annular (see Chapter 3 for definitions and methodology). In some cases these beads have received some post-furnace alternations, probably by grinding them on a stone to create a flat surface on each perforation end. In contrast, the cylinder, segmented, stud, sub-triangular and truncated triangle shapes underwent additional manipulation of the molten glass in order to create each shape. This was probably achieved through the use of additional tools, such as a marver. These shapes were deliberate alterations of molten glass. Discussion of the shape of glass beads is very closely related to aspects of size, notably in relation to the Diam:Height ratio discussed in the previous section (also see Chapter 3 for definitions).

By far the most common shape among the beads included in the present analysis is annular (Figure 6.1), accounting for 72% of the glass beads from these study regions. This percentage reflects the large numbers of yellow and blue annular beads found in three of the study regions. Globular beads account for 16.6% of the total number of glass beads, and the remaining shapes account for even fewer. There are a large number of unknown bead shapes due to the lack of detail in many archaeological reports or inability to gain access to objects in museums. In these cases they were excluded from the analysis.

Each individual region has a bead shape trend similar to that of the overall data set. In Southwest England, for example, the primary shapes are annular and globular (Figure 6.2). There are also a number of barrel-shaped beads, as well as a few cylindrical and sub-triangular. Southwest England has the greatest variety of glass bead shapes compared to the other regions. In East Anglia, almost all beads found could be classed as annular, except for three individual examples (Figure 6.3). Again, East Yorkshire beads are primarily annular, although a significant number of them are globular (Figure 6.4). In this region there is also a rare group of Iron Age melon shaped beads. Finally, beads from Northeast Scotland are predominately annular in shape (Figure 6.5), however, there are a number of sub-triangular and truncated triangle beads that are not found in significant quantities in other regions.

The overall impression is that annular and globular beads are most numerous, principally in Southwest England and in East Anglia (Figure 6.6). Having said this, however, although annular beads are also found in large numbers in Northeast Scotland, globular beads are found in much smaller numbers. Instead, other shapes, such as the truncated triangle, are found in greater numbers. Within the regions studied, there are three shapes that are unique to specific regions. The double segmented bead and the 'stud' shaped bead are both unique to Southwest England, while the melon beads (from Iron Age contexts) are found only in East Yorkshire. In addition, although sub-triangular and truncated triangle beads are found in multiple regions, they are found in large numbers in Northeast Scotland. A similar situation exists for barrel and cylindrical shapes, with barrels mainly found in Southwest England and cylindrical examples usually confined to East Anglia, despite examples existing in other regions.

This data shows that beads that are simplest to make, here the globular and annular beads, are found in large numbers in all study regions. Beads requiring greater manipulation are found in fewer numbers, and in some cases are found in only one region or are more frequent in one region than in others. This may suggest that the annular/globular shape may be more 'universal', and that other complex shapes were the products of local manufacture. In some cases, the presence of particular shapes may indicate some element of exchange or communication with other regions.

6.3 Size

6.3.1 Introduction

Iron Age glass beads range in size. Some are very delicate beads, in some cases less than two millimetres in diameter and less than one millimetre in height, while others are very large and measure more than 50 millimetres in diameter. Despite these extremes, most examples fit into a middle size range: approximately 10-20mm in diameter and height. Here, four primary dimensions of size will be explored: the Longperf (Diameter for most beads), Height, Perforation Diameter, and Weight (see Chapter 3 for definitions and methodology).

Bead size can indicate a number of different things. For example, it might indicate availability of or access to raw materials. This in turn may have implications for the question of glass bead manufacture. Although there is some limited evidence that glass working occurred (Chapter 2.4.5), there is no evidence to suggest that raw glass was being manufactured in Britain. Nonetheless, if we can at least assume that some 'glass working' as opposed to 'glass manufacturing' was occurring within Britain, then there must have been access to raw glass. This is often assumed to have come from continental Europe, or in the Later Iron Age and Roman period from the reuse of broken Roman glass vessels (Guido 1978a; Stevenson 1956, 215; 1976, 50-1). Therefore, some regions in Britain may have had better access to these raw materials than others, meaning that beads were more numerous and perhaps larger where glass was more readily available, and less frequent and smaller where it is difficult to acquire.

If size reflects the availability of raw materials, then it may also be related to status. Glass as a material could be considered a high-status material based on the rarity of glass beads at most sites. Guido (1978a, 28) suggested that glass was a luxury object that could only be obtained by those who had met their basic living necessities. Unfortunately, glass objects are generally not found in hoard contexts, as with coins or torcs. There are some noteworthy exceptions, such as the glass bangle 'hoard' at Broxmouth in East Lothian (Mhairi Maxwell, pers. comm.). Another example is the much later 'votive pit' deposition at the Romano-British site at Billingford in Norfolk, containing glass beads, a fragment of a torc, and other objects (Wallis 2011). Adding to the interpretative difficulty, the general lack of cemeteries in Iron Age Britain makes a comparison of grave goods and dress problematic.

Nonetheless, in the cemetery at Wetwang Slack (which may or may not be representative) only 17 out of the over 400 inhumations contained glass beads. This is a very small proportion of inhumations, and in most cases these beads ranged from small to medium size in both dimensions and weight. On the other hand, 120 minuscule (approx. 1-2 mm in diameter) blue glass beads were recently found in a female chariot burial along with a mirror (Hill 2001). Thus, in a region that is relatively bountiful in glass beads, it is the smallest examples of this craft that were found within one of the most lavishly furnished inhumations. It may be that these minuscule beads were recovered because they were excavated under laboratory conditions, and that in general, small beads are more likely to be missed under normal excavation circumstances. Whether these small beads are the norm for this region or for all of Britain is still uncertain, but it is worth remembering that larger beads may not indicate higher status simply because they used more glass.

The size of the glass bead can also indicate use or potential uses. Although the term 'bead' usually implies that the object is used primarily for adorning the human body, there is no reason why this must be its only function, or that there needs to have been only one method of usage throughout the bead's entire life. There is evidence in Britain for glass beads having been strung on natural fibre string or leather cord, such as the necklaces from Wetwang Slack (Dent 1984) and the possible necklaces from the Clevedon Cist burial (Gray 1942), and Meare Lake Village in Somerset (Coles 1987) may have been treated in the same way. Within the European context there is further evidence for beads being used as necklaces (e.g. the Reinheim burial), as well as being strung on copper-alloy bracelets (e.g. Couilly, Les Jogasses, Grab 72) and their use on fibula (e.g. Roveri, Grab 30). However, these beads are most often small- to medium-sized. In Britain, large beads (i.e. over 10mm) are not usually found in burial contexts, except for the recently excavated mirror burial at Langton Herring in Dorset (unpublished). In this case, the circumstances of the find and later excavations were not able to preserve the placement of the beads in relation to skeletal remains. Thus, it is entirely possible that these rather larger beads were not meant as bodily adornment, but potentially used in some other capacity.

Finally, on a more functional note, it may be that some glass beads have been misidentified and are actually spindle whorls. In shape, whorls differ only slightly from beads, as both are perforated and commonly occur in circular shapes. Size can be of some help here, although it can be very difficult to tell the two apart (Liu 1978, 90). The size and weight of a spindle whorl is dependent on the material of the object, but also on the material being spun (Liu 1978, 90-1). Liu states that some of the smallest whorls can be just 8mm in diameter and less than a gram in weight, while larger ones can be 73mm in diameter and 140 grams in weight (Liu 1978, 90). He also suggests that most beads tend to be smaller than 15mm-20mm in diameter, as they would be too heavy for spinning if they were made any larger (Liu 1978). The perforation diameter is also significant in this case. For beads this measurement refers to the largest size of cord or wire that the bead can be strung onto, while for spindle whorls it refers to the diameter of the spindle that is passed through the perforation. Again, from Liu's (1978, 97) data this measurement ranges from 3mm to 10mm, but most measured between 7mm and 8mm. For Liu, however, the most important way to tell the difference between a whorl and a bead is the context of the find. This is problematic for Iron Age Britain as most of these perforated objects outside East Yorkshire are not found in burial contexts nor with other fibre or textile processing equipment; nevertheless, this does highlight some of the issues associated with the interpretation of late prehistoric artefacts. It is also entirely possible that some perforated objects were used as adornments, charms, and spindle whorls concurrently or on separate occasions.

6.3.2 Size Analysis

Having discussed some of the reasons for investigating regional use of size, the data collected in analyses of glass beads can now be considered. When considering the data set in light of the LongPerf measurement (or diameter in the case of most beads (see Chapter 3)), it is clear that there are differences in the size of beads used within each region. The smallest LongPerfs are found in East Yorkshire (1.3mm) while the largest are found in Northeast Scotland (55.0mm), as is the largest size range (between 2.2mm and 55.0mm, Table 6.2). In all regions except for East Anglia, the smallest beads are under 5.0mm in length. The Southwest England data set has the largest standard deviation, suggesting a high level of variability. The combined histogram (Figure 6.7) confirms that the Southwest England beads have a larger size range than other regions, as do the Northeast Scotland beads; however, it also shows that the most common diameter size for all beads is between 9.0mm and 12.0mm.

Examining the LongPerf measurement for each region, we can see that although the Southwest England beads cover a large range, most fall between 7.0mm and 14.0mm (Figure 6.8). In contrast, although the East Anglia beads form a very small assemblage, most beads are larger in size, between 22.0mm and 26.0mm (Figure 6.9). East Yorkshire, on the other hand, has two distinct sizes of beads: the first between 2.0mm and 4.0mm, the second between 10.0mm and 15.0mm (Figure 6.10). Finally, most beads from Northeast Scotland measure between 9.0mm and 11.0mm although there are two smaller sub-groups, on measuring 3.0-4.0mm, and another 15.0-17.0mm (Figure 6.11). Aside from East Anglia, it is interesting that the

Table 6.2: Descriptive statistics for LongPerf (Diameter) measurement (mm).

Region	N	Minimum (mm)	Maximum (mm)	Mean	Std. Deviation
Southwest England	462	3.0	37.7	13.135	6.7943
East Anglia	25	7.7	30.0	20.788	5.2678
East Yorkshire	466	1.3	31.5	9.557	4.6738
Northeast Scotland	343	2.2	55.0	11.708	5.8372

Table 6.3: Descriptive statistics for Height measurement (mm).

Region	N	Minimum (mm)	Maximum (mm)	Mean	Std. Deviation
Southwest England	430	1.0	23.0	7.490	4.2202
East Anglia	22	3.8	34.0	11.032	6.3705
East Yorkshire	465	0.3	16.2	5.818	3.2013
Northeast Scotland	248	1.0	20.0	6.061	4.2754

Table 6.4: Descriptive statistics for Perforation Diameter measurement (mm).

Region	N	Minimum (mm)	Maximum (mm)	Mean	Std. Deviation
Southwest England	395	1.1	27.0	5.629	2.8911
East Anglia	19	2.0	12.3	9.079	2.9213
East Yorkshire	337	1.0	14.0	4.487	1.389
Northeast Scotland	235	0.9	12.7	3.661	1.6822

Table 6.5: Descriptive statistics for Weight measurement for beads from all study regions (grams).

Region	N	Minimum (g)	Maximum (g)	Mean	Std. Deviation
Southwest England	347	0.1	25.1	1.801	2.5900
East Anglia	19	0.3	12.3	4.505	3.0623
East Yorkshire	167	0.2	5.1	1.160	0.8548
Northeast Scotland	122	0.1	12.5	3.050	2.6903

assemblages from most regions cluster around 10.0mm, although most have a smaller peak around 4.0mm. This suggests that in three of the four study regions there are groups of both smaller and larger beads in use. Possibly owing to its small sample size, the East Anglian beads include a larger proportion of large-sized beads, with only one measuring less than 10mm in length.

A comparison of glass bead height shows a similar level of difference between the four regions (Table 6.3). East Yorkshire again has the smallest height measurement at 0.3mm, while East Anglia has the largest at 34.0mm, as well as the largest range of measurements. Although each region has beads with a minimum height measurement less than 4.0 mm, and large standard deviations, the mean is very different. Again, East Anglia has a larger average sized height, while East Yorkshire has the smallest average sized height. This may be partially explained by the overall shape of the beads and the relation between the diameter and the height (explored below). Combining all the regional data suggests that most beads have a height of 1.0mm to 4.0 mm (Figure 6.12).

Examining the height measurements found within each region individually shows a slightly different picture. Glass beads from Southwest England fall markedly between the 2.0mm and 4.0mm range, but there is a secondary, although less pronounced cluster between 9.0mm to 11.0 mm (Figure 6.13). In addition, there are two very large examples that fall between 22.0mm and 24.0mm. East Anglia has a similar range of bead heights, between 7.0mm and 10.0mm (Figure 6.14). This overlaps slightly with the beads from Southwest England. The histogram shows a very irregular range of sizes, but this is probably due to the small sample size. Similar to the Southwest England beads, the East Yorkshire and Northeast Scotland beads have two clusters (Figures 6.15 and 6.16). In East Yorkshire, the smaller peak is between 1.0mm and 2.0mm, suggesting a very tight cluster of very small beads, while the Northeast Scotland beads are slightly larger, between 3.0mm and 4.0mm, also forming a tight cluster. The larger beads from East Yorkshire fall predominantly between 5.0mm and 8.0mm, while in Northeast Scotland, they fall roughly between about 9.0mm and 13.0mm. The larger Northeast Scotland bead height is not only larger than the East Yorkshire beads, but covers a larger range.

The last dimension analysed in this study is perforation diameter. The smallest perforation diameters are found in Northeast Scotland (0.9mm), while the largest is found in Southwest England (27.0mm, Table 6.4). The beads from Southwest England also have the largest perforation diameter range, covering 25.9mm; however, the other three regions have similar ranges. Interestingly, each region has very different average perforation diameters. Northeast Scotland has the smallest at 3.7mm, and East Anglia has the largest average at 9.1mm. While most perforation diameters overall fall between 3.0mm and 6.0mm (Figure 6.17), the differing regional averages suggest that there may be different regional uses of beads, or that they are being strung onto different sized materials.

While the averages suggest that there are different sizes of perforation diameters within each region - indicating different sized mandrels were used when forming the beads during the manufacturing process, and possibly different uses - by examining individual histograms of the perforation diameters it is clear that there is actually much more homogeneity within the data than is initially apparent. The most frequently occurring measurements within the Southwest England, East Yorkshire, and Northeast Scotland assemblages fall between about 3.0mm and 6.0mm (Figures 6.18, 6.20, 6.21). The most frequent range of perforation diameters for East Anglian beads falls between 11.0mm and 12.00mm (Figure 6.19). This is slightly larger than the major trend seen in the other regions. Again, this could still indicate differences in glass bead use between East Anglia and the other three regions.

While these analyses have examined individual aspects of size, it is also possible to examine combinations of these measurements to gain an understanding of the overall size of beads by region. By plotting the LongPerf and height measurements for all beads within the study regions on a scatter-graph, we can see that while there is overlap between the regions, there are also distinct clusters within the data (Figure 6.22). This graph shows two major groupings within the overall data. The first is very small (Figure 6.22*a*) and incorporates measurements of 2.0mm to 6.0mm in LongPerf and <5.0mm in height. The second major grouping (Figure 6.22*b*) has a larger range involving a LongPerf between 7.0mm and 16.0mm and a height ranging from 3.0mm to about 12.0mm. This is the main cluster that most beads fall within, and although it is wide-ranging, it shows that rather than occupying distinct and consistent size clusters (except for cluster *a*), most beads fall along a more general size continuum instead. It may also be significant that this major cluster is positioned below the 1:1 ratio line, but crosses both the 1:1.5 and 1:2 ratio lines. This suggests that the terminology used to distinguish between 'globular' (spherical) shaped beads and 'annular' (ring or doughnut) shaped beads does not agree with the data. If there were clear-cut distinctions between globular and annular beads, then we would expect to see very distinct clusters on either side of the ratio guidelines. This is not the case. In addition, there are a number of larger outlier beads that neither fit with the main *b* cluster nor form their own large bead cluster. Future research needs to take this into consideration when defining bead shapes.

Using these scatter-graphs, it is possible to examine for size trends within each region. In Southwest England, there are two major size groups (Figure 6.23). Here, both of these groups (labeled *a* and *b*) fall within clear size distinctions. Group *a* has a smaller LongPerf and a smaller height, and is below the 1:2 ratio line. Group *b* is specifically more globular in shape and, although it has a larger size range, it occurs firmly between the 1:1 and 1:1.5 ratio guidelines. Within this region, it seems that there is a clear distinction in terms of both ratio and size. There are, of course, a number of other beads that do not cluster within these groups, some of which are very annular and others that are more ambiguously categorised. In East Anglia, there are two clusters, one below the 1:2 ratio line (*a*) and another that is much larger and crosses the 1:1 and 1:1.5 ratio guidelines (Figure 6.24). In this case, it seems that there is a clear distinction between annular beads and larger beads. However, interpretation is hampered by the small sample size.

Scatter-graphs for East Yorkshire and Northeast Scotland also demonstrate clear size groups. East Yorkshire clearly has a group of smaller beads (Figure 6.25*a*) and a larger size group (Figure 6.25*b*). Both of these groups cross the ratio guidelines, again suggesting that the distinction between shapes is not clear from the data, but rather that they form a continuum. In contrast, the small group of Northeast Scottish beads (Figure 6.36*a*) also crosses these guidelines, but the medium size group (Figure 6.26*b*) tends to be more annular. A substantial number of the Northeast Scotland beads are not a part of these clusters, but are much larger and form a loose cluster spreading from the 1:1 to 1:2 ratio guidelines. Again, it seems that for these larger beads, the important message is that they are large, but do not necessarily conform to a standard size or ratio.

The second type of scatter-graph specifically examines the Diam:Height ratio and perforation diameter. In this case, horizontal clustering indicates similar perforation size, while vertical clustering indicates a similar ratio between diameter and height. The combined regional data shows that there are two major clusters and some examples that do not cluster (Figure 6.27). Cluster *a* is formed from beads with a ratio ranging from nearly 1.0 to nearly 3.5, but their perforation diameter is very small (between 1.0mm and 2.0mm). Cluster *b* has the same ratio range, but with a larger perforation diameter (between 2.0mm and 6.0 mm). Cluster *b* has the largest number of beads by far, and it is interesting that it includes beads from multiple regions; Cluster *a* on the other hand, is primarily composed of beads from Northeast Scotland alone. There are also some additional beads that do not fit with the two main clusters or form clusters of their own. Most of these beads also have a ratio between 1.0 and 3.5, but their perforation diameters are much larger and range from 6.0mm to 27.0mm. These beads are also found in all study regions.

Despite some examples that do not fit the dominant ratio range and perforation diameter range, the normative size range for all regions has a ratio between 1.0 and 3.5 and a perforation diameter between 2.0mm to 6.0 mm. In conjunction with the overall size graph shown in Figure 6.22, this implies that similarly shaped and sized beads are found in all the regions under study. Nonetheless, there are also certain regional trends, and these can be explored by producing graphs of beads by individual study region. For Southwest England there are two main clusters labeled *a* and *b* (Figure 6.28). Both clusters have perforation diameters that range between 2.0mm and 6.0mm, but with Diam:Height ratios. Cluster *a* ratios range between 1.0 and 2.0, while cluster *b* has a ratio range between 2.0 and 3.5. This suggests that in Southwest England, there may be some real differences in shape, although rather than using 1.5 as the dividing line between globular and annular shaped beads, 2.0 may be more apt. Again, there are a number of beads with much larger perforation diameters that do not cluster together.

The East Anglian beads do not follow this pattern. The majority of beads have a larger perforation diameter, between 9.0mm and 12.0mm (Figure 6.29). There is one small cluster that includes five beads of similar ratio and perforation diameter (labeled *a*), but on the whole there is little evidence to suggest a dominant trend. In contrast, the beads from East Yorkshire and Northeast Scotland present a very different picture. The majority of the East Yorkshire beads cluster into one group defined by both ratio (between 1.0 and about 2.5) and perforation diameter (between 3.0mm and 6.0 mm) (Figure 6.30). There are very few beads that do not cluster within this group, suggesting that within this region the distinction between what we would call annular and globular is not clear and that most beads have a very similar perforation diameter. It should be noted that it was not possible to include the 2001 Wetwang Slack chariot burial bead data in this instance as the perforation diameter could not be measured. However, while the ratio of these beads is very similar to those already shown on previous graphs, their perforation diameters are less than 1.0mm. This would have formed a separate cluster by perforation diameter. The Northeast Scotland beads, on the other hand, fall within three main clusters. The first cluster has ratio values ranging between 1.0 and 2.5, but with a very small perforation diameter measuring between 1.0 and 2.0 mm (labeled *a*, Figure 6.31). The second group has a very strict ratio between 1.0 and 1.5 and a perforation diameter between 3.0mm and 5.0 mm (labeled *b*). The third group has a ratio between 2.5 and 3.5 and perforation diameters ranging mostly between 2.0mm and 4.0 mm, but which can be as large as 9.0mm (labeled *c*). This clustering suggests that there are three major groupings within the beads and that they are based on both proportional data and the perforation diameters.

The last size-based measurement to be examined here is weight. Unfortunately, the sample size for this measurement is very limited as weight is almost never recorded in excavation reports. In addition, many museums string together glass beads for display, but doing so makes it impossible to weigh individual beads. Lastly, only the weight of whole or nearly whole beads has been included here. According to available data, each region has beads that weight as little as <0.5 grams (Table 6.5). Beads from East Yorkshire appear to be the most consistent, with a standard deviation of 0.8436. Interestingly, the mean of these beads also suggests that this region has the smallest beads and that East Anglia has the largest. The combined regional histogram shows that beads lighter in weight are most common and that there are fewer heavy-weight beads (Figure 6.32). By comparing this data according to the study areas shows that there are regional characteristics for weight. In Southwest England, most beads fall between 0.1g and 2.0g, but there are also a number of beads that fall between 2.0g and 4.0g and very few that are heavier than this (Figure 6.33). However, there are also examples of beads from Southwest England that could be considered to be very heavy (at 21.9g). In contrast, the East Anglia beads mainly weigh between 2.0g and 5.0g, with the heaviest between 12.0g and 13.0g (Figure 6.34). Similar to the Southwest England beads, the East Yorkshire and Northeast Scotland beads weigh predominantly between 0.1g and 1.0g (Figure 6.35 and 6.36). The range of East Yorkshire beads is much more limited as they rarely weigh more than 4.0g, whereas the Northeast Scotland beads have a second peak between 3.0g and 5.0g. This suggests that the East Yorkshire beads are more consistent (something also seen with the dimension data), while there are two weight ranges for the Northeast Scotland beads.

6.3.3 Size Discussion

Overall, the data for bead size suggests a number of things. While there are several similarities between the study regions, as shown by the overlap in the data, there are also some marked differences. First, the East Yorkshire beads are very consistent in terms of their dimension and weight. There is no clear distinction between beads that would normally be termed annular and those that are globular. This may be related to the context of the finds, which will be explored further in Chapter 8. Second, the Northeast Scotland beads often form multiple clusters based on size and weight. This suggests that there were clearer distinctions between size and shape in this region compared to other regions. The beads from Southwest England also form size-based groups; however, like the East Yorkshire beads, they do not form clear size based clusters. Finally, it is interesting that the East Anglian beads do not consistently follow the general trends seen in the other three regions. This may be due to the small sample size and it may be that, given time for the acquisition of new data, this will change. Alternatively, it may be that this region will have its own characteristics of bead size and weight.

What do these analyses tell us about glass beads? At the beginning of this section, several topics were raised. These include: the issues of regional access to raw materials for those beads manufactured in Britain (although no attempt has been made at this point to determine origin of manufacture, see Chapter 2.4.5); potential indications of status and the idea that glass beads were a luxury; and the ways in which glass beads may have been used as indicated by size. The key question to this research is what does the size of a glass bead indicate about manufacturing, use, and the identity of the people that used them?

The answers to these questions all depend on the context of glass bead finds. This will be addressed more fully in the following chapters; however, it is worth briefly discussing these issues here. Many of these beads have turned up as stray finds throughout Britain, and those excavated from settlements are rarely found in multiples in the same context. However, in the few cases for beads found in the same context either within a settlement or in an inhumation, it can be shown that glass bead size is meaningful. Figures 7.37 and 7.38 show scatter-graphs of glass beads clustered according to their context. The first graph shows beads from Southwest England from five different contexts (three from burials and two from a settlement). The beads from some of these contexts cluster according to similarity in size (e.g. Clevedon Cist burial, MLVE G68), while others do not cluster to the same extent (e.g. Langdon Herring burial).

The East Yorkshire beads are taken from 13 inhumations. In the cases of the Wetwang Chariot burial, Cowlam Barrow L, Wetwang Burial 274, and Wetwang Burial 209, clear clusters are formed. The beads from the remaining inhumations (Wetwang Burials: 376, 284, 257, 249, 236, 210, 155, 139, and the Queen's Barrow) form an overlapping cluster of beads that are smaller than many of the beads from Wetwang burials 209 and 274 and the Cowlam Barrow L.

While this section only briefly delves into the contextual side of analyzing bead size (followed up in Chapters 7 and 8), these clusters of beads found in close association suggest that beads were specifically chosen for their size. Dense clusters represent beads that are all roughly the same size, while outliers would have stood out; not only for their difference in size, but often because of their difference in appearance. On the other hand, looser scatters often form a linear spread, suggesting that there may have been some element of gradation when the beads were strung. Building on this idea, it may also be that these beads were manufactured at the same or a similar time, perhaps purposefully for use in necklaces.

6.4 Colour

6.4.1 Introduction

One of the most interesting aspects of glass beads compared to other artefacts is that the colours of glass are vibrant and bold (the methods used for obtaining colour data are described in detail in Chapter 3). The use of colour on a regional basis has already been hinted at by other authors. Guido (1978a, 79-84) emphasised the combination of colourless and yellow glass in Southwest England by naming two types of beads after Meare Lake Village (Class 10 and 11), as beads with this combination are found in large quantities there. Furthermore, Giles has suggested that the colour blue in East Yorkshire may have some meaning, as this is the dominant colour found at Wetwang Slack (Giles 2008a, 72; 2008b, 72). However, so far there has not been a Britain-wide quantification of glass bead colour for comparison. This section will first examine the general data for the four study regions as a whole, then will specifically examine monochrome beads, polychrome beads, and finally the different uses of colour by region.

Many studies of colour depend on historic and modern linguistic data in order to understand how a population conceives of and internally structures the colours it sees, for example through the utilisation of Berlin and Kay's (1999) colour and language theory. As this is not feasible for the study of Iron Age Britain, it is necessary to use artefacts as a lexicon for understanding the way in which late prehistoric people understood colour during this period. Through an examination of colour, we can attempt to answer a number of questions, including: issues surrounding the colours late prehistoric glass workers had access to, the colours used in combinations and, most importantly, the ways this use of colour varied by region. This is made more complicated, because some beads are monochrome and others are polychrome, leading to difficulties in assessing how frequent a colour is in each region (see Chapter 3 for terminology). For example, a bead that has a blue body with eyes made by layering white and blue glass has three instances of two colours. In addition, in some cases, such as wrapped beads, it is not possible to separate how the colour was used into categories such as body colour and decorative colour. This is because the multiple colours used to form the bead are a part of the bead itself rather than being a separate element. Therefore, during these analyses, wrapped bead (Class 7 Type 1501) colours are all considered to be body colours. There are cases where wrapped beads also incorporate a cable element (Class 11 Types 2601-2605). In these cases, the colours used to create the cable are considered decorative, and the remaining colours are categorised as body colours.

Given the difficulties in providing a quantification of colour use in each region, only a very crude analysis can be provided. By counting instances of colour on the body or as part of the decoration, we can see some general trends emerge from the 1,788 beads for which colour data was available (Figure 6.39). Among all the study regions, blue is by far the most frequently found colour and accounts for nearly half of the data recorded. The next most frequently used colour is yellow, followed by white. Colourless and green beads are also numerous, but some colours, such as blue-green, brown orange, purple, red, and red-purple, are very infrequent. In terms of regional comparisons, while blue is found in all regions, it is particularly characteristic of East Yorkshire beads, along with the use of white (Figures 6.40 and 6.41). Yellow is used mostly in Southwest England and in Northeast Scotland. Colours such as black, brown, green, orange, and red are found in small quantities in most or all regions, while blue-green, purple and red-purple are found exclusively in specific regions. Although this is perhaps a simple method for measuring differences in the usage of colour, it provides an overview of the variety and differences in colour between each of the study regions.

The following sections will specifically examine how colour is used on monochrome and polychrome beads. First, however, it is worth exploring the frequencies of the number of colours on each bead. By analysing the number of colours, it is also possible to explore some of the complexities within bead manufacture. Monochrome beads are by far the most frequent type (Figures 6.42 and 6.43). This is true for Southwest England, East Yorkshire, and Northeast Scotland. Interestingly, despite a small sample size, most beads from East Anglia use two or more colours. As might be expected, there is a relationship between the number of colours and the size of the available samples; there are many examples of beads with one and two colours, and fewer examples with three and four colours. There are no known beads with more than four colours present on each bead.

6.4.2 Monochrome Beads

Many simple beads are made using only one colour of glass (see Appendix B Figure B.1 to Figure B.3 for examples). This means that any variability is tied to their size and shape. Although most tend to be annular or globular in shape, this is not always the case. Out of the 1,788 beads with available colour data, 64% are monochrome; of these, the majority are either blue or yellow (Figure 6.44). Other colours that occur are green and orange, but these appear in much lower quantities. However, there are differences seen between the regions (Figures 6.45 and 6.46). For example, blue beads are found in large numbers in East Yorkshire, while a much smaller number is found in Southwest England. Yellow beads are also found in the Southwest region, but are found more frequently in Northeast Scotland. This suggests that there may have been regional preferences for monochrome beads, or that there was variable access to raw materials if they were manufactured in Britain.

6.4.3 Polychrome Beads

Polychrome beads are much more complex than monochrome beads. This is due to a number of factors. Firstly, numerous colour combinations that have been recorded. As noted above, in the case of the four regions under study, beads tend to use between two and four colours. Second, in many cases, some colours comprise the main part of the bead, or the 'body', while other colours are used in the decorative motifs. Therefore, this section will provide three analyses:

1. A general colour combination analysis for beads from each study region. This will examine colour use regardless of how it is employed on each bead;

2. A more specific analysis of polychrome beads, which examines the colour(s) used on the body of the bead and the colour(s) used as decorative colour within each region. In this case body colours and decorative colours are analysed separately;

3. A very detailed analysis of the colour combinations, which specifically examines the combinations of body colour(s) and decorative colour(s) together from a regional perspective.

6.4.3.1 Colour combinations

The simplest form of analysis of polychrome beads is an examination of the different colours that are combined, regardless of how they are used. Glass beads that incorporate two colours (bi-colour) are the most frequent type of polychrome bead (Figure 6.47, see Appendix B Figures B.4c, B.6h, B.8 for examples). Southwest England and Northeast Scotland have the largest number of colour combinations, with 11 and 13 different arrangements respectively. In Southwest England, colourless-yellow beads are found in large numbers; however, there is also a substantial number of blue-white beads (Figure 6.48 and 6.49). Other combinations which are much less frequent include blue-yellow, colourless-red, and green-yellow. Some combinations are unique and only occur once, such as black-white, blue-green, and red-white. Most colour combinations include yellow or white in some way, although it may be significant there have been no examples of yellow and white combined on the same bead.

Similar to those from Southwest England, beads from the East Anglia are also often blue-white or colourless-yellow, but there are far fewer combinations (Figure 6.50) and they are found in much smaller quantities (Figure 6.51). In this study region, blue-colourless, blue-yellow, and white-yellow are unique finds. Again, all beads incorporate yellow, and there is only one bead that does not. As with most aspects of East Yorkshire beads, there is very little variability in colour (Figure 6.52). The majority of these beads are blue-white, but there are also a small number of green-white beads (Figure 6.53). All of these beads incorporate either white or yellow, although interestingly yellow does not occur as frequently in this region. Finally, the beads from Northeast Scotland are highly variable in terms of their colour (Figure 6.54). Again, every bead uses either yellow or white glass, but predominately yellow glass. In addition, yellow and white do occur on the same bead together. The most frequently occurring combination is blue-yellow, followed by black-yellow, and colourless-yellow (Figure 6.55). Other combinations also occur, including four instances of unique combinations such as red-yellow, white-yellow, and brown-white.

Some of these combinations of bi-colour beads are unique to their study region and are not found elsewhere. For example, the 13 beads made from green-white glass, or the single example of blue-colourless or blue-green glass from Southwest England (Table 6.6). Other combinations are frequent in all study regions, the most obvious being blue-white and colourless-yellow. Almost all of these beads incorporate either yellow or white glass, and the exceptions nearly always have blue glass in them. A study of the

Table 6.6: List of colour combinations used on glass beads made from two colours of glass and the frequency in each study region.

2 Colour Combination	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
Black, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Black, Yellow	-	-	-	15	**15**
Blue, Colourless	1	-	-	-	**1**
Blue, Green	1	-	-	-	**1**
Blue, Red	1	-	-	-	**1**
Blue, White	47	9	199	4	**259**
Blue, Yellow	9	2	-	18	**29**
Bluegreen, White	-	-	-	1	**1**
Bluegreen, Yellow	-	-	1	4	**5**
Brown, White	-	-	-	1	**1**
Brown, Yellow	2	-	-	3	**5**
Colourless, Red	8	-	-	-	**8**
Colourless, Yellow	128	4	2	14	**148**
Green, White	-	-	13	-	**13**
Green, Yellow	4	-	-	8	**12**
Orange, Yellow	-	-	-	2	**2**
Purple, White	3	-	-	-	**3**
Purple, Yellow	-	-	-	2	**2**
Red, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Red, Yellow	1	-	-	1	**2**
White, Yellow	-	1	-	1	**2**
TOTAL	**207**	**16**	**215**	**74**	**512**

frequency of individual colours shows that blue and white are frequent colours in each study region (Figures 6.56 and 6.57). Colourless glass occurs most frequently in Southwest England, but makes up a large proportion of bead finds in East Anglia. Yellow is frequently found in Southwest England and in Northeast Scotland, and proportionately in East Anglia, but not in East Yorkshire. It is clear, from a bi-colour analsysis that blue and white occur as an important combination in beads from all study regions. Colours such as colourless and yellow are frequent in all but East Yorkshire. Other colours play minor roles in all regions.

There are fewer beads with three colours (tri-colour) of glass (see Figures B.11k, B.13e, B.16f for examples). Southwest England and Northeast Scotland have the largest number of tri-colour combinations (16 and 18 respectively). In Southwest England, the most frequently found colour combinations are blue-brown-white and blue-green-white (Figure 6.58). Other combinations occur, and there are 10 different combinations that are unique to the region. Every combination includes yellow, white or both (Figure 6.59). The other dominant colours are blue and green. Beads from East Anglia with three colours are more limited and include one white-blue-green, and two white-blue-yellow beads (Figure 6.60 and 6.61). Although there are very few examples of glass beads from this region, most are either monochrome or polychrome with two colours, as three colour beads are very infrequent and there are no East Anglian examples with four colours of glass. Again, East Yorkshire presents a rather conservative picture, with only three combinations of tri-colour beads (Figure 6.62). They are white-blue-brown, white-blue-green, or white-bluegreen-brown[9]. In all cases, white and blueish glass were combined with a third colour: either brown or green. The white-

[9] Visual analysis of blue and bluegreen suggested that the difference between the two colours was significant enough to use different colour categories here.

blue-green combination occurs most frequently, but white-blue-brown was also found (Figure 6.63). There was only one example of the white-bluegreen-brown bead. Finally, most of the large number of colour combinations from Northeast Scotland (Figure 6.64) are unique in the region and not found elsewhere. Combinations such as white-yellow-green and white-yellow-black occur most frequently, although there are a few examples of five other combinations (Figure 6.65). Similar to the other beads, white and yellow are prominent members of these colour combinations.

Overall, it is the blue-brown-white and blue-green-white combinations that are found most frequently (Table 6.7). Most colour combinations are unique, even inter-regionally. In terms of individual colour frequency, blue, green, and white occur in all four regions and proportionately frequently (Figures 6.66 and 6.67). Yellow also occurs frequently, but as with the bi-colour combinations it does not occur in East Yorkshire. Interestingly, some colours that are not dominant in bi-colour combinations are more frequent in tri-colour ones; brown, green, and (in some regions) black and red. In addition, the use of colourless glass dramatically declines in tri-colour combinations.

Finally, there are 11 beads with four colours of glass (see Figure B.14f for example). Five of these examples were found in Southwest England and six in Northeast Scotland. In each case (Figures 6.68 and 6.70), there is only one bead displaying these characteristics, making each bead unique (Figures 6.69 and 6.71). As with most other colour combinations, white and yellow are common. In the case of the Northeast Scotland beads they occur together, but do not in the Southwest England beads. Overall, as was seen in the other combinations, the colours blue, white and yellow appear most frequently on four-colour beads (Figure 6.72 and 6.73). There are three occurrences of green, and the remaining colours only appear once or twice.

Table 6.7: List of colour combinations for glass beads with three colours of glass and the frequency in each study region.

3 Colour Combination	**Southwest England**	**East Anglia**	**East Yorkshire**	**Northeast Scotland**	**TOTAL**
Black, Blue, Brown	-	-	-	1	**1**
Black, Blue, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Black, Blue, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Black, Green, Yellow	1	-	-	-	**1**
Black, White, Yellow	-	-	-	3	**3**
Blue, Brown, White	5	-	12	1	**18**
Blue, Colourless, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Blue, Green, Red	-	-	-	1	**1**
Blue, Green, White	4	1	15	2	**22**
Blue, Green, Yellow	2	-	-	1	**3**
Blue, Orange, White	2	-	-	-	**2**
Blue, Red, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Blue, Red, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Blue, White, Yellow	3	2	-	2	**7**
Bluegreen, Brown, White	-	-	1	-	**1**
Bluegreen, Green, Yellow	1	-	-	-	**1**
Bluegreen, Red, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Brown, Colourless, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Brown, Green, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Brown White, Yellow	1	-	-	2	**3**
Colourless, Green, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Colourless, Red, Yellow	3	-	-	-	**3**
Colourless, White, Yellow	1	-	-	-	**1**
Green, Orange, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Green, Purple, Yellow	1	-	-	-	**1**
Green, Red, Yellow	-	-	-	2	**2**
Green, White, Yellow	-	-	-	4	**4**
Orange, Red, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Purple, White, Yellow	1	-	-	-	**1**
Redpurple, White, Yellow	-	-	-	2	**2**
TOTAL	**29**	**3**	**28**	**28**	**88**

6.4.3.2 Body Colour and Decorative Colour

The above analysis specifically investigates the combinations of colours utilised on glass beads and explores the frequency of individual colours. It does not specifically examine how the colours were implemented on the beads. Most beads have a linear design, meaning that the body of the bead is formed out of one colour of glass, and the design is formed out of another colour of glass – often contrasting (see Figure 3.14). The following analysis will examine the differences in the ways colour was used on beads within the study regions and compare use between the regions. It will also necessarily incorporate some of the colour combination data used in the previous section, as it sometimes happens that glass beads have multiple body colours or contain more than one colour within their decoration.

Overall, there are only a few colours used frequently for the body of polychrome beads. Of these, blue and colourless appear to be the most abundant based on an examination of regional assemblages (Figure 6.74). In this analysis, blue-bodied beads account for 53% of the beads under study, while colourless-bodied beads account for 27% of beads under study. Other colours, such as green, black, and brown are found occasionally and account for 7.3%, 3.9%, and 3.7% respectively of the studied assemblage. There are a number of colours that are found much more rarely, including purple, orange, yellow, and white. Unsurprisingly, the colours most frequently used as decorative elements on glass beads are yellow (37.1%), followed by white (30.5%) and a combination of blue and white glass (19.8%) (Figure 6.74). As with bead bodies, there are several other decorative colours used, most of which are rarely found more than once. However, decorative colours, such as a green-white and brown-white combinations, occur several times.

The above assessment has provides a very general view of glass beads from Britain as a data set through the lens of the regions selected for study. While there are dominant trends seen on a wider scale, it is also possible to examine the study regions independently in order to determine whether there are regional trends in the use of both body colour and decorative colour. This was done by creating bar charts that show the frequency of each colour in each study region for both body colour and decorative colour. This next section will explore the use of body colour between regions and then decorative colour.

The dominance of blue and colourless glass used in the body of beads can be seen in most regions; indeed in Southwest England this is the main trend (Figure 6.75), where blue and colourless are used in the majority of beads while other colours such as green and a colourless-red combination occur less frequently. Despite a small sample size, blue and colourless glass are also the most frequent colours in East Anglia, although in this area blue beads are more numerous than colourless beads (Figure 6.76). Bead bodies in East Yorkshire, however, are most frequently blue rather than any other colour (Figure 6.77). Here, brown and green beads are less frequent than blue beads, while bluegreen and colourless beads are the least frequent. Finally, beads in Northeast Scotland have the largest range of different colours and colour combinations in the bodies of the beads (Figure 6.78). While blue and colourless glass play a major role in the assemblage of polychrome beads, other colours such as black, green and orange are also frequent. However, there are many colour combinations that are unique to this region, such as blue-brown and green-red.

Although the general view (outlined above) of the combined data suggests that blue and colourless glasses are most frequent, this analysis shows that it differs by region (Table 6.8). While blue-bodied beads are found in frequent numbers in all study regions (most notably in East Yorkshire), colourless beads are most frequent in Southwest England. In addition, colourless glass

Table 6.8: List of colours and colour combinations found on the body of the bead and the frequency in each study region.

Body Colour	**Southwest England**	**East Anglia**	**East Yorkshire**	**Northeast Scotland**	**TOTAL**
Black	2	-	-	15	**17**
Black, Blue, Green, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Black, Blue, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Black, Yellow	-	-	-	4	**4**
Blue	66	3	214	27	**310**
Blue, Brown	-	-	-	1	**1**
Blue, Colourless	1	-	-	1	**2**
Blue, Colourless, Purple, Yellow	1	-	-	1	**2**
Blue, Red	1	-	-	1	**2**
Blue, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Bluegreen	1	-	3	4	**8**
Brown	3	-	12	6	**21**
Brown, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Colourless	129	2	1	14	**146**
Colourless, Green	1	-	-	-	**1**
Colourless, Red	10	-	-	-	**10**
Colourless, Red, Yellow	2	-	-	-	**2**
Colourless, Yellow	-	-	-	4	**4**
Green	12	1	13	13	**39**
Green, Orange	-	-	-	1	**1**
Green, Red	-	-	-	1	**1**
Green, White, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Green, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Orange	1	-	-	4	**5**
Orange, Red	-	-	-	1	**1**
Purple	3	-	-	1	**4**
Red, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Red, Yellow	1	-	-	-	**1**
Redpurple, White	-	-	-	2	**2**
White	1	-	-	2	**3**
White, Yellow	1	-	-	-	**1**
Yellow	4	-	-	2	**6**
TOTAL	**242**	**6**	**243**	**110**	**601**

has a minor presence in East Yorkshire, where only two colourless glass beads have been found. Moreover, while it is easy to point out the high frequency of blue and colourless glass, green beads also occur in all study regions, although in much smaller numbers, while black and brown glass is found in three out of four study regions. Finally, it is the body colour combinations of beads that tend to be unique to different regions, suggesting the reuse of glass or use of scraps.

Turning now to the use of decorative colour, the general analysis above suggests a high frequency in the use of yellow, white, and a blue-white combination. This trend is well illustrated in Southwest England (Figure 6.79). Yellow is by far the most frequent colour used as a decorative element, followed by white and the blue-white decorative combination. Other colours or colour combinations are very infrequent, chiefly those combining three different colours. This trend is also found in East Anglia where yellow is also most frequent, and where white and the blue-white combination are also found in relatively large numbers (Figure 6.80). The other decorative colours differ little from the dominant colours, such as the use of blue by itself or a combination of white and yellow glass. Yellow glass, however, has very little presence in East Yorkshire; instead the colour white and the blue-white combination are the most frequent (Figure 6.81). A green-white combination also occurs, but most combinations, such as blue-green-white and brown-white, are very infrequent. Finally, Northeast Scotland again has the highest variety of colours and colour combinations used for decorative elements (Figure 6.82). Yellow is by far the most frequent colour used there and even white and the blue-white combination are comparatively rare. Again, for this region, most other colours and combinations are unique or only share similarities with a few other examples.

Table 6.9: List of colours and colour combinations found as decorative motif on the bead and the frequency in each study region.

Decorative Colour	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
Black	-	-	-	1	**1**
Black, White	-	-	-	2	**2**
Black, Yellow	1	-	-	1	**2**
Blue	3	1	-	-	**4**
Blue, Green, White	-	-	-	1	**1**
Blue, White	26	5	84	4	**119**
Blue, White, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Blue, Yellow	3	-	-	-	**3**
Bluegreen	-	-	-	1	**1**
Bluegreen, Brown, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Brown	1	-	-	-	**1**
Brown, Green, White	-	-	-	1	**1**
Brown, White	5	-	1	2	**8**
Brown, White, Green	1	-	-	-	**1**
Brown, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Green, Orange, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Green, Red	-	-	-	1	**1**
Green, White	-	-	14	1	**15**
Green, Yellow	3	-	-	2	**5**
Orange, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Purple	1	-	-	1	**2**
Purple, White	2	-	-	-	**2**
Purple, Yellow	1	-	-	-	**1**
Red, White	1	-	-	-	**1**
Red, White, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
Red, Yellow	-	-	-	1	**1**
White	33	5	140	4	**182**
White, Yellow	3	1	-	2	**6**
Yellow	138	7	2	72	**219**
TOTAL	**224**	**19**	**241**	**101**	**585**

As is also true for bead body colour, although most regions follow the general trend explored above, there is a certain amount of regional variability in the use of decorative colour (Table 6.9). For instance, white and the blue-white colour combination are frequent in all study regions except for Northeast Scotland, and yellow does not play a large role in the decorative colour used in East Anglia. Other colours used for decoration are found less frequently, but occur in most study regions; the use of a brown-white or green-white colour combination, for example.

6.4.3.3 Body and Decorative Colour Combinations

The final method used to examine bead-body and decorative colour is a more specific investigation of the ways different colours are combined. The previous section on colour combination took a general approach to exploring this; however, this section will explore how colour was used. This analysis was carried out by creating a list of all beads according to their body colour or colours and the colour or colours used as decoration; bar charts were then generated which display the frequency of each combination of both body and decorative colour. These calculations resulted in charts (Figures 6.83 through 6.92) showing 85 different combinations of polychrome beads, including 11 polychrome combinations of colours without an applied linear motif. These charts show that there are two combinations that are equally frequent (n=129 in both cases); beads that have a blue body and white decoration, found predominantly in East Yorkshire; and beads with a colourless body and yellow decoration, which are found predominantly in Southwest England. Another frequently occurring use of colour is a blue bead-body with a combination of blue and white decoration; these are also found predominantly in East Yorkshire (n=72). Most other combinations of colour are comparatively infrequent, rare, or unique to a specific region. This is true for several specimens in East Yorkshire such as, beads with a green body and white decoration (n=13) or beads with an orange body and yellow decoration from Northeast Scotland (n=6).

6.4.4 Discussion

As suggested by the above analysis of decorative colour, the majority of the combinations studied have either yellow or white glass as the decorative colour. Another interesting result of this analysis is that, out of the 85 different combinations of body colour and decorative colour, there are only six that do not use either white or yellow glass. It may be that white and yellow glass was used as a contrasting colour to make the bead's design stand out to viewers. The other beads that do not use white or yellow glass on them have either red or colourless glass somehow incorporated into the bead. This may have been an alternative method for attracting a viewer's attention.

This section began with the following research objectives: what colours did late prehistoric glass workers have access to? What combination of colours did they use? Most importantly, how does this use of colour vary by region? These analyses have examined use of colour at a general level to understand the frequency of individual colours within the data-set. It has also specifically examined colour combinations, as well as the use of colour for both body and decorative elements on the beads. There is strong evidence for local variability in the preference for some colours over others, as each region has different patterns for the use of colour. For example, beads from Northeast Scotland had the most variability in terms of colour combinations used for both body and decorative colours; in contrast, the East Yorkshire beads demonstrate a more consistent, but otherwise limited, use of colour and colour combinations. As the evidence for bead manufacture in Britain is sparse and it is unclear to what extent glass colour or opacity could be manipulated at this time, as discussed in Chapter 2.4.5, it is unclear if this is in part a reflection of the access to raw materials to alter the glass or access to different colours and opacity of glass. If glass bead making did not occur, then this may be a reflection of different networks of exchange with other communities that did manufacture glass beads. Of course, at this time in Britain, it may not have been one or the other, but if bead manufacturing did occur, some areas could have made glass beads, while others were a part of an exchange network. In either scenario, it is interesting that each region does have a characteristic use of colour, although some are more varied while others are less so. Regardless of how the glass beads were obtained, there was clearly something affecting the colours that were available within a region, either in raw form or finished form (discussed further in Section 6.6).

6.5 Decorative Motif

6.5.1 Introduction

The final aspect of bead appearance under investigation is the use of decorative motifs on glass beads. Unlike manipulation of shape, the motif is a deliberate modification of the appearance of a bead through the application of at least one, usually contrasting, glass colour (see Chapter 3 for definitions and methodology). In most cases, a secondary colour is applied in one of the combinations discussed in the previous sections. Some are created through the use of dots of glass that are layered to create an eye effect. Other motifs are created through the application of linear designs, such as circumferential lines or waves. There are also more complex beads that lack these dot-based or linear decorations; rather the motif is formed through the actual manufacture of the bead. This is the case with some whirl beads, ray beads, and wrapped beads. Many of these beads have been formed by creating a cane or rod of multi-coloured glass, which is then wrapped around the mandrel. Finally, some beads exhibit a combination of these three types of decoration, thereby creating a much more complex motif, such as the whirl-with-cable beads found in Northeast Scotland.

6.5.2 Decorative Motif Analysis

Out of the 1,781 glass beads for which data regarding motif is available, 1,165 (65%) are undecorated. Any variability within these beads is introduced by differences in shape and colour. The remaining 616 beads (35%) exhibit some sort of decorative motif, most of which are very simple, although a small proportion of them are more complex. Most motifs can be described as 'dot-based', 'linear-based', 'wrapped/twisted', 'mottled', 'perforation-colour', or as having a combination of these motifs, which is subsequently defined as a 'complex-motif' (a summary of how general motif types relate to specific type classes is shown in Table 6.10). In the overall data set from all four study regions, the simple dot based and linear based motifs are by far the most frequent (Figure 6.93). However, it is clear that there are differences in the types of motifs employed on beads in different regions (Figures 6.94 and 6.95). The least common motifs are the perforation-colour and mottled-colour based motifs, although proportionately the perforation-colour motif occurs frequently on the beads from East Anglia. There is also a strong polarity between dot-based motifs and linear-decorated beads in Southwest England and East Yorkshire. By studying the raw frequency (Table 6.11) and percentage graphs (Figure 6.94), it is clear that both regions make use of linear designs, while East Yorkshire beads also displays high frequency of dot-based motifs. In contrast, both wrapped/twisted and complex-motif beads are found almost entirely in Southwest England and Northeast Scotland, but are rare or even nonexistent in East Anglia and East Yorkshire.

Table 6.10: Summary table correlating simple motif types with new type classes.

Simple Motif Type	New Types
None	Class 2, Class 2, Class 3
Dot Based	Class 4
Linear Based	Class 6
Wrapped/Twisted	Class 7, Class 8, Class 9
Mottled/spotted	Class 10
Perforation Colour	Class 5
Complex Motif	Class 11

Table 6.11: List of all decorative motifs and their frequency within each study region.

Decorative Motif	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
Applied-spiral	77	-	2	69	**148**
Applied-spiral, Protrusion	5	3	3	-	**11**
Chevrons	44	1	1	-	**46**
Circumferential Line	1	1	1	-	**3**
Complex Concentric-ring	1	3	-	-	**4**
Compound Concentric-ring	1	-	-	-	**1**
Criss-cross	3	-	-	-	**3**
Diagonal Criss-cross	1	-	-	-	**1**
Mottled Colour	1	1	1	-	**3**
Perforation Colour	5	3	-	-	**8**
Pinnate	1	-	-	-	**1**
Ray	3	1	-	-	**4**
Simple Concentric-ring	22	2	97	-	**121**
Spiral-whirl	1	-	-	-	**1**
Wave	24	2	141	3	**170**
Whirl	9	-	-	7	**16**
Wrapped	-	-	-	9	**9**
Zig-zag	-	3	1	-	**4**
TOTAL	**199**	**20**	**247**	**88**	**554**

Interestingly, all six types of decorative motif are found in the Southwest England beads, but the wrapped/twisted, mottled, and perforation-colour beads are not found in all study regions. East Yorkshire has no examples of wrapped/twisted and perforation-colour beads, while dot-based, mottled and perforation-colour beads are not found in Northeast Scotland. This may indicate some differences in local bead manufacture or differences in trade or exchange of goods and the networks through which they were moved. The following analysis will closely examine the specific motifs found within each region, and will then take a comparative approach to examine where specific motifs are found or not found. This will give an indication of the types of motifs used within each region.

In Southwest England, there are 23 different types of decorative motifs; 12 of these are simple motifs, while the rest are more complex (Figure 6.96). As mentioned above, all types of motif are present in this study region. The most common motifs are applied-spirals (n=77), chevrons (n=44), and the cable-wave motif (n=26). In most cases, there was only one example of each complex motif, which may suggest that they were one-off productions. In East Anglia (Figure 6.97), there are 12 different types of motifs, all of which are simple. The most common motifs are applied-spirals (n=3), perforation-colour (n=3), and zigzags (n=3). Ten different motifs, all of which are simple, have been found in East Yorkshire (Figure 6.98). The majority of beads, however, are either simple concentric-rings or waves.

Finally, in Northeast Scotland, there are 12 different types of decorative motifs present, only four of which are simple (Figure 6.99). Interestingly, compared to Southwest England, the frequency of each type of complex motif in Northeast Scotland is different. Whereas in Southwest England there was only one example of each complex design, there were multiple examples of complex designs found in Scotland. The applied-spiral motif is much more frequently found than any other design.

6.5.3 Decorative Motif Discussion

In studying the decorative motifs found in all four study regions, it is clear that there are both similarities and differences among the different designs that occur (Table 6.11). First, the only simple motif to occur in all four study regions is the wave motif. Although there are only a few examples of the wave in both East Anglia and Northeast Scotland, this motif has a strong presence in Southwest England, and a predominant one in East Yorkshire. Most other motifs, such as chevrons, circumferential line, mottled colour, and simple concentric-ring, occur in at least three study regions: Southwest England, East Anglia, and East Yorkshire. The applied-spiral, on the other hand, occurs in all but East Anglia. There are also a number of motifs that only occur in one study region: compound concentric-ring, criss-cross, diagonal criss-cross, spiral-whirl, and pinnate motifs only occur in Southwest England, while wrapped beads only occur in Northeast Scotland. This indicates that there are differences in the types of motifs that occur in each study region, perhaps even a north/south divide.

Complex motifs follow a similar pattern of distribution (Figures 6.100 and 6.101). 13 of the 14 different combinations of complex motifs only occur in one study region, most often in Northeast Scotland. The complex cable wave motif, however, occurs in all study regions, except Northeast Scotland. In addition, there are examples of applied-spiral beads with mottled colours occurring in both Southwest England and in Northeast Scotland. It is also significant that the majority of the complex motifs from Northeast Scotland involve applied-spirals in combination with other additional motifs. In Southwest England, the complex motifs incorporate circumferential lines with other motifs, some linear and others wrapped/twisted. A bead with a combination of both dots and waves was also found in this region, which is a combination not encountered elsewhere.

This analysis of decorative motifs suggests there are a large number of simpler motifs that occur in Southwest England, while a greater number of complex motifs occur in Northeast Scotland. Bead motifs in East Yorkshire are by far the most limited in terms of complexity compared to all regions; even in East Anglia, despite the very small assemblage, there is a greater variety of motifs. There are also strong trends seen within some of the regions; in terms of simple motifs, applied-spiral beads are found chiefly in Northeast Scotland, while simple concentric-rings and wave beads are found particularly in East Yorkshire. Both Southwest England and East Anglian beads have a wider range of variability. Complex motifs, with the exception of the cable-wave, are a product of Southwest England and Northeast Scotland. However, this analysis has only examined four regions within Britain. Although there does seem to be differences between motifs occurring in different study regions, Guido's (1978a) catalogue shows that additional examples of some motif appear in other regions not studied here.

6.6 Discussion

The analyses presented in this chapter have individually explored different aspects of glass beads and made regional comparisons. From this, we can begin to build a picture of each region incorporating this data, in order to understand trends in size, shape, colour, and decorative motif.

Dominant overall regional trends are summarised in Table 6.12. It shows that every region has at least two size categories, but annular beads are the most frequent shape. However, there are not always clear distinctions in

Table 6.12: Summary table of generalised regional characteristics.

Study Region	Size	Shape	Colour	Motif	Type
Southwest England	-Small annular -Med-Large globular/annular	-Annular -Globular	-Yellow -Blue -Colourless -White	-Applied-spiral -Chevrons -Cable waves, -Wave -Simple concentric-rings	-110 -102 -1417 -1003 -107 -106 -410
East Anglia	-Large annular -Large globular/annular	-Annular	-Blue -White -Yellow -Colourless	-Applied-spiral -Perforation colour -Zig-zag	-1407 -102 -106 -410 -701 -901
East Yorkshire	-Small globular/annular -Med-Large globular/annular	-Annular -Globular	-Blue -White -Green	-Wave -Simple concentric-rings	-102 -901
Northeast Scotland	-Small globular/annular -Medium very annular -Large very annular -Large globular/annular	-Annular	-Yellow -Blue -White	-Applied-spirals -Complex -Wrap/twisted	-110 -1400 -1501

shape when it comes to annular and globular/spherical beads. Instead, there is a continuous spread from small to large that covers both of these size ratios. The most frequently occurring colours are blue and white, although yellow is also frequent in all regions except in East Yorkshire. While monochrome beads are the most frequent in all regions except East Anglia, the applied-spiral motif is found in large numbers in both Southwest England and Northeast Scotland. By contrast, in East Yorkshire the wave and simple concentric-ring motifs are more common. Finally, there is some overlap between the most frequently occurring types. For example, Type 110 is found in large numbers within both Southwest England and Northeast Scotland, and Type 901 is found in both East Anglia and in East Yorkshire.

In contrast to the most frequent regional trends, there are many nuances in all aspects of the beads that occur in less frequent numbers within the regional assemblages. For example, two bead shapes are unique to Southwest England: the double segment and the stud. In contrast, while the colour blue makes up a significant proportion of the beads found in East Yorkshire, the blue melon-shaped beads in this region have not been found in any other Iron Age context outside of this region. And finally, within Southwest England and Northeast Scotland, there are a number of complex multi-coloured beads that mix four different colours of glass, although each bead is unique.

With these differences in mind, the question becomes: Why are there such differences between study regions? In part, this may relate to where the beads were manufactured. At least some of these beads were probably manufactured in continental Europe. This seems likely for at least some bead types, given their similarities to European glass beads (e.g. Dobiat, Matthäus *et al.* 1987; Frey, Matthäus *et al.* 1983; Gebhard 1989a; Haevernick 1960; Hunter & Haevernick 1995; Venclová 1990; Zepezauer 1993). Exact parallels for some of the beads, even Guido's 'Continental Types', remain elusive. The hypothesis for actual bead manufacturing in Britain has long been an assumption based on circumstantial evidence, but recently discovered evidence now supports the hypothesis (i.e. Culduthel Farm near Inverness (Murray 2007a) and 10 Gresham Street in London (Casson, Drummond-Murray *et al.* Forthcoming; Casson & Francis 2002)). Just as Continental beads are found in Britain, it may be that future research shows that British beads are found on the Continent.

Regardless of when and where the beads were manufactured (details found in Chapter 2.4.5), there are several stages at which point individuals made a choice. First, at the manufacturing stage, the craftsperson would have chosen the colour, shape, and decoration (if any) to be used. Was only one colour available, or was there a choice between several? Was there an opportunity to change the colour or opacity of the glass before actually creating the bead? Why do some beads have decorative motifs while the majority did not? How were these motifs chosen? Iron Age glass workers continue to be archaeologically invisible, so it is unclear whether they were making the beads for their own use, for use within their own kin-based network, or for others, either more distant kin or those outside of their immediate community network (DeRoche 1997; Hamilton 2002). Second, after manufacture, someone would have used the bead. How did they choose which beads to use? Was it dependent on the colour of the bead, the weight, the size, or the decoration? Was there an idea of fashion, in the sense that particular colours or decorations were more desirable than others, and these were later replaced by other patterns and/or colours? As beads can be combined to create larger objects (i.e. necklaces or bracelets), were multiple beads purposely combined immediately after manufacture to make a single object? Alternatively, were beads partible, i.e. could they be removed from a larger object and exchanged or gifted (Fowler 2004)? Were 'fancier' beads, such as those with combinations of glass colour and use of motifs more desirable than plainer beads? Another aspect of bead selection may relate to the movement of people to Britain or even individuals who traveled to continental Europe and back, perhaps even bringing with them 'exotic' glass beads. At the final stage of a bead's biography, why were beads chosen for intentional deposition? Did the physical aspects of beads affect the fact that they were chosen for inclusion in burials or pits?

Despite our inability to answer many of these questions, it is clear that if we take this data as reflecting real choices and use in the Iron Age some clear patterns do emerge. Contextual analysis will follow in the succeeding chapter. However, it becomes clear that many of the beads that have been found either through excavation or as stray finds are the result of the object entering the archaeological record through deliberate depositional practices. It may be that some bead specimens were neither intentionally nor accidentally deposited, but that they were later melted and reworked into something else, or that they were destroyed through intentionally or accidentally breaking them into small fragments, which then become difficult to identify. Therefore, the examples of beads available for analysis may simply be those objects deemed important or appropriate enough to be buried intentionally in the ground, or those which were interred as a result of chance loss. Chapter 4 showed that the Iron Age human activity in each study region differs and is reflected in different regional practices it may be that the possibility of glass bead deposition within each of these regions is variable. Nonetheless, based on available data we can say with certainty that there are patterns in the use of different glass bead sizes, shapes, colour, and decorative motifs.

One implication of patterns of glass bead characteristics is that they may be reflecting regional patterns or tastes in dress. In Southwest England and in

Northeast Scotland there is an emphasis both on the colour yellow (used on different types of beads from both regions), and the use of the spiral motif. In East Yorkshire, however, the colour blue is prevalent and often occurs on plain beads, wave beads, and eye beads. Giles (2008a, 72; 2008b, 72; 2012, 150) has suggested that in East Yorkshire the colour blue is associated with mature women as blue beads were found primarily in burials with remains that have been determined to be female and elderly. Other inhumations that were excavated, but where an osteological examination of the remains was not possible (e.g. Barrow L at Cowlam, and the Queen's Barrow at Arras) they have been assumed to be female due to the other artefacts found with the body. However, do these blue beads simply reflect age and sex? Within this region, there are very few beads found that were not mostly blue, except for the few translucent green beads found with the Queen's Barrow and one of the inhumations at Wetwang Slack, which had a number of brown beads. In both cases, these were mixed in with other blue examples. Assuming that these beads belonged to the individual that they were buried with, what did the blue beads signify about the individual who owned them?

The rarity of these beads in inhumations contexts, especially compared to the single finds at Rudston and Burton Fleming versus larger numbers of beads at Wetwang and Garton Slack, suggest that the individuals buried with the beads (mostly women), would have stood out against the remainder of the community due to their dress. Whether this style of dress was because they were women or because they were mature (or both) is not readily apparent. However, perhaps what is being reflected is the connectivity of networks between individuals. This is supported especially by the Queen's Barrow necklace, which has the widest range of beads compared to the other necklaces, and by the beads found at Rudston and Burton Fleming, which are not only found singly, but also are furthest away from Wetwang Slack and the inhumations at Arras. Connectivity in this region is further attested by the scale of earthworks, ditched boundaries, and trackways that parceled up the region and probably provided avenues for travel (Bevan 1997, 129).

As an element of dress, it is likely that these beads only made up part of an individual's assemblage of objects worn, as suggested by the textile evidence and other objects of dress discussed in Chapter 2 attested in the East Yorkshire burials by the inclusion of such items. When worn against differently-coloured garments, the colours of the beads would either render them extra-visible through the use of contrast, or allow them to blend in. For example, a dark blue bead with a white wave design would blend into a darker textile or hide garment (although the design would stand out), but if worn against a lightly coloured garment the entire object would both gain visibility and be illuminated by the light background. This idea is developed further in Chapter 8. The different colours of beads that dominate each region suggest that dress may have been constructed differently, and these differences would have led to different regional- or community-based identities through dress.

The motifs used on glass beads are still not entirely understood; there has been much casual speculation on the meaning of the eye motif (Guido 1978a, 22). This motif is not unique to Britain, and is seen on other glass beads (Eisen 1916), and pottery decoration (Gomez de Soto 2003) throughout later prehistoric Europe. It has been shown that this idea of the eye as protector is very old and features in some classical (e.g. Pliny the Elder Book 7 chapter 2) and biblical texts (Dundes 1992). There may be some connection between the eye beads found in the archaeological record and 'evil eye' charms that reflect away bad thoughts. However, it is not clear whether eye motifs were used in this way in Iron Age Britain. These beads have also been likened to Phoenician 'head' beads, and the concentric-ring motif may be an anthropomorphism of the human eye. The concentric-ring, however, may be the same ring-and-dot motif that is found inscribed onto bone objects, such as weaving combs, in Britain and on objects from earlier prehistoric periods in continental Europe (e.g. Herring 2003; Jope 2000 Plate 305f, 313k, n; Joy 2011b). On other objects this motif is repeated over the surface of the item in both regular and irregular patterns, whereas for beads they are most often placed around the circumference or in a 2-1-2 pattern. The spiral motif found on beads, however, does not seem to be employed on other objects made from bone or metal (e.g. Fox 1958; Jope 2000). While much of the highly decorated metalwork of this period (Celtic Art) employs a range of sinuous designs that sometimes draw on classical foliage motifs (Fox 1958; Jope 2000), this spiral motif is not found on these objects.

It may be that these motifs form part of an Iron Age symbology, in which different symbols had a specific meaning, or it may be that their use was flexible and open to interpretation (Garrow & Gosden 2012). Many of the symbols found on these beads depict multiple flowing and moving lines that encircle the object, perhaps causing dizziness or confusion (Garrow & Gosden 2012; Gell 1988). The larger whirl- and ray-type beads would have been hypnotic when spun (perhaps strengthening the idea for their use as a spindle whorl?). It may also be significant that these simple designs are also found in the first few stages of entoptic phenomena, which are seen during altered states of consciousness (Lewis-Williams 1997; Lewis-Williams, Dowson *et al.* 1988; Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2005). However, it seems more likely that at least some of the motifs draw on a much earlier decorative tradition stretching back into the prehistoric period (Wilkins & Herring 2003).

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to explore on an individual basis the data related to four key characteristics of glass beads: size, shape, colour, and decorative motif. The analyses have indicated that while there are some general trends found between regions, and even within each region, nevertheless a closer examination of the evidence is necessary to truly comprehend the levels of inter-regional difference and similarity. This contrasts with other studies, notably Giles' study of bodily adornment from East Yorkshire (Giles 2008a, 72; 2008b, 72). Giles' conclusions emphasised the use of the colour blue and the correlation between this colour and mature women in burial contexts. However, by examining the data by region, it is apparent that while blue does form a significant proportion of the material in East Yorkshire, it also frequently occurs in other regions, thus demonstrating that colour cannot be studied in one isolated region. Unfortunately, burial evidence is scarce for the remainder of Britain; however, the contexts of deposition will be explored further in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Archaeological Context

7.1 Introduction

To understand past human behaviour, it is vital to go beyond simply describing material culture, and begin to engage with an object's context. In the broadest sense of the word, context here refers to the biography of the object, from raw material and production, to use, and finally to deposition. While material evidence can sometimes provide clues about some of these aspects, it is in the depositional context where we can often see the result of human action. The aim of this chapter is to present the find contexts at different levels: distribution, site type, and context type, in order to understand patterns and differences in glass bead deposition.

In the past, the distribution, presence, and absence of glass beads from Iron Age sites has been wrapped up in the idea of social hierarchy and status in Iron Age Britain. Chapters 2 and 4 introduced some of these concepts and some of the key arguments surrounding these ideas. Glass has been considered to be an inherently high-status material (Guido 1978a; Henderson 1992; e.g. as at Thainstone in Aberdeenshire: Murray & Murray 2006b). Thus, objects made from this material were argued to be used by the elites of Iron Age Britain, as they were placed in a limited number of inhumations, and the presence of these elites is reflected in the discovery of these objects at settlements.

There have been several arguments for the relatively high-status nature of glass beads. First, this specific type of object does not immediately contribute towards meeting survival needs, such as food, water, and shelter (Guido 1978a, 28). Therefore, these glass objects would have been a luxury. Second, whether glass beads were manufactured in Britain, or in continental Europe, the original raw material is likely to have originated from very distant locations. In this case, the farther the distance a material travelled from its origin, the higher the status (Henderson 1992, 110). A similar phenomenon can be seen with pieces of coral found in copper-alloy metalwork in Britain, which presumably came from Mediterranean sources (Henderson 1992). Finally, some of the actual oxides and minerals that were added to the glass to manipulate both colour and opacity could render some beads more desirable than others. For example, Henderson examines the frequency of decorated glass beads (which he argues were higher-status than plain beads), by site type in order to determine a hierarchy of different categories of site (Henderson 1992, Table 1). A full critique of this analysis has been provided in Chapter 2; however, it is relevant to point out here that Henderson has included plain opaque yellow annular beads with the decorated types in his analysis, as the high-lead glass would have been high-status (Henderson 1992, footnote on his Table 1). Unfortunately, he has not provided an explanation as to why lead-oxide was high-status. Presumably it is due to a difficulty in acquiring it, but further study is needed in order to assess this hypothesis.

In conjunction with other types of objects, glass artefacts have been used to demonstrate that the items found at supposedly high-status Wessex sites, such as hillforts, are little different from the sites considered to be lower in status (Hill 1996). This suggests that the interpretation of artefacts as an indication of inhabitant status is far from clear and that care is needed when discussing an individual's or a site's status through the presence or absence of certain artefacts. One of the problems with these approaches to status is the assumption that both sites and objects manifested an inherent and constant status, when the role of both potentially varied regionally and throughout time (Haselgrove 1997; Hill 1995b; Hingley 2006). In addition, there is the idea that all examples of an object would have the same meaning, when each individual example would have developed its own life history and meaning. Instead, akin to other studies of Iron Age artefacts (e.g. Joy 2007), we need to consider the biography of the individual object. As will become clearer throughout the following analyses, beads are not all found at the same types of sites, neither are they found in the same features. Rather, it seems that each find is the result of a different biography from the time of manufacture until the final deposition.

Not only does the hypothesis that glass was a high-status material become a problematic argument to sustain, but it also limits our understanding of the interactions between people and objects. The goal of artefact studies is not simply to find high-status examples of objects or people, especially given that there are other factors that affect our visibility of the archaeological record, such as preservation of materials. Ceramics, stone, metals, and glass all have preference in many studies of the past, as they are more likely to survive. Organic materials, such as wood, fur, hide, and textiles, on the other hand, will only survive in specific conditions. This distorts the evidence for materiality in Iron Age Britain. Other factors include the re-use of materials: glass and some metals can be re-melted and used again, iron can be re-worked, and pottery can be broken for use in new pots as temper. Finally, there is a growing body of evidence to suggest that the artefacts that were recovered are the result of intentional deposition (Cunliffe 1992; Giles 2007a; Hill 1995b). Hence, our data is dependent on the act of deposition in the past.

With these issues in mind, this chapter explores data related to context in order to understand the nature of human behaviour during this time. It begins by examining the wider distribution of glass beads and the patterns in glass bead distribution utilising the typology set out in Chapter 5. Then, it closely examines beads found through excavation. Before examining this dataset, this chapter examines the nature of the data in order to determine whether there are biases related to the motivation for excavation. Then, a contextual analysis examines patterns of site type and specific features. Through these analyses, it will be possible to understand how glass beads were treated in Iron Age society, how and where they were deposited, and by using the typology, it will be possible to suggest networks between communities.

7.2 Glass Bead Distribution

7.2.1 Introduction

Distribution maps are a useful method for understanding the geographic locations of artefact finds. In addition, they allow simple comparisons to be made between different types of artefacts or even different sub-types. Guido (1978a) used maps to demonstrate the overall distribution of each of her types across Britain and Ireland, and inferred different ideas about the beads from this type of analysis. For her beads of continental origin (Classes 1-7), she used these maps to suggest where the beads were introduced into Britain, and how they subsequently spread across the country. For beads without continental parallel, which she assumed had been manufactured in Britain, she used distribution maps to demonstrate areas where glass beads were densest, and suggested possible locations for manufacture based on their concentration. She then examined the spread of glass beads as they radiated and diffused out from these areas to suggest how they were moving across Britain and inferred a direction of flow. In some cases, when beads of the same or similar type were found in very distant locations (e.g. Class 8 beads and Class 10/13 beads), she suggested that people migrated from south to north. Henderson has similarly used distribution maps to show the disbursement of opaque yellow glass from Meare and Culbin Sands outwards (Henderson 1982, Figures 37 & 38).

One of the problems with these approaches to artefacts is that they assume that high densities of beads reflect the origin point (manufacturing centre) and that these beads were subsequently deposited in the same location that they were created. The best example is Guido's Class 10 beads, which were found in large numbers at Meare Lake Village and consequently it was suggested that they were manufactured on site (Guido 1978a, 79). Examples found outside of Meare, such as at Maiden Castle in Dorset, South Shields in Tyne and Wear, Culbin Sands in Morayshire, and even an example from Orkney, were explained as a reflection of contact between groups, or spread of people out of Meare (Guido 1978a, 80-1). It is not explained why so many of these beads were deposited at this site supposedly soon after their manufacture. This continues to be the interpretation used in recent reports (e.g. Towrie 2005), which draws on Guido's discussion, with limited critique on the implications for such an interpretation, such as artefact biography.

The next section will present some general background data regarding the distribution of glass beads and the nature of the archaeological record that will underpin much of the analyses presented in the following sections. Rather than seeing the frequency of glass beads in each study region as a reflection of that status of the inhabitants, or the distributions reflecting the origin and spread of beads, this section aims to identify areas of presence and absence, and large-scale patterns of bead characteristics.

7.2.2 Overall Distributions

Each of the study regions that are examined here were chosen for specific reasons (Chapter 3). The resulting distribution map draws on both the Guido (1978a) catalogue and newly discovered examples in the database (Figure 7.1), and highlights a number of changes in our understanding of this object in comparison to the Guido distribution (Figure 3.1). New examples of glass beads continue to be found in the Southwest England region, further building on the already established distribution of beads in this area. In East Anglia, where Iron Age glass beads were previously lacking, there are now not only examples that are typologically identified as Iron Age, but there are also examples that were found in securely dated contexts. In East Yorkshire and Northeast Scotland, continued excavation and accidental finds through metal-detection have both added to the known examples along with excavation context and clear spatial data.

With the overall British distribution of glass beads in mind, within each study region the actual distributions differ (Figure 7.2). The distribution of beads in Southwest England is the most dispersed, although the largest clusters are at the lake villages of Glastonbury and Meare. Smaller clusters are visible on the Dorset coastline and along the south side of the Bristol Channel. Other finds add to the overall density for the region, but in general they are from a small number of sites. In contrast, the concentrations of glass beads in the other three study regions are more localised. In East Anglia, this is primarily in northwest Norfolk at Grandcourt Quarry, and in East Yorkshire, the primary cluster runs between Arras, Wetwang, and Cowlam. In Northeast Scotland, the main clusters are at Culbin Sands and Birnie, and at Culduthel Farm. This pattern is derived in part from the research history of each region as discussed in Chapter 4, but also from the nature of archaeological excavation as discussed in Section 7.3.

The regions under study here are not equal in size (Table 7.1). Interestingly, Southwest England is the largest region, but East Yorkshire has the largest number of beads, which also happens to be the smallest region and has the highest number of beads per square mile (0.2704 beads/mi^2). This suggests that larger areas of study do not necessarily yield an increased quantity of beads, but rather it may reflect differences in regional material culture and perhaps differences in depositional behaviour. Although only a limited number of glass beads have been found in East Anglia, this region is far from devoid of material culture. Instead, it is rich in coins, torcs, and horse equipment (Hutcheson 2004). In comparison, the area covered by the Northeast Scotland study region is well known for its number of glass beads, yet other material culture, such as pottery, is generally lacking. The implications of this analysis suggest that the occurrence of glass beads is not equally spread throughout Britain, but that it is tied to regional patterns of material culture.

Table 7.1: Size of region, number of typed glass beads, and beads per square mile in each study region (all excavated glass beads and stray beads included).

	Size of study region (mi^2)	Typed glass beads (n)	Beads/mi^2
Southwest England	5,701.32	517	0.0907
East Anglia	3,938.22	26	0.0066
East Yorkshire	3,262.34	882	0.2704
Northeast Scotland	5,692.65	363	0.0638
TOTAL	18,594.53	1788	0.09616

7.2.3 Example Distributions

Rather than discuss distribution maps for each type here (found in Appendix D), instead I would like to highlight two examples of how a detailed analysis utilising distribution maps can help to illustrate patterns in the dataset. As shown in Chapters 5 and 6, the eye motif is a particularly common design found on glass beads, as is the colour combination blue and white. Using Guido's (1978a) subdivision of Class 1 beads, the distribution in the study regions would appear as in Figure 7.3[10]. This shows that there is some overlap of both Type I and Type II beads. This might lead to the conclusions that not only are the beads used in these two regions the same, but that there might be some interaction between these distant areas. For Guido, explanations would probably suggest that this was the result of trade, as this type moved from the Bristol Channel or Dorset coast north and eastwards.

In comparison, through the use of the new typology proposed in Chapter 5, a different pattern emerges (Figure 7.4). Here, the distributions suggest that the blue and white eye beads found in East Yorkshire are distinctly different

[10] Only Southwest England and East Yorkshire are illustrated here as these were the only regions studied here where these types of beads have been found.

from those in Southwest England. Out of the thirteen types mapped, one group may exhibit some overlap between the regions. These are Types 421, 422, and 423, which are blue beads with nine eyes made from blue and white glass and the only potential area of variety here is in the shape of the beads. Other types, including: 412, 426, 427, and 429 are all distinct to Southwest England, while Types 411, 413, 414, 424, 425, and 427 are restricted to East Yorkshire. So while Guido's interpretation would suggest that perhaps there was communication between these regions, a more detailed analysis suggests that these regions may have been more isolated or at least had limited direct contact.

The second example breaks away from these typological based distributions to examine the patterns of a particular trait. Chapter 6 demonstrated the preponderance of the colourless and opaque yellow glass combination and the translucent blue and opaque white combination on some decorated beads. By comparing these two different combinations, different patterns in the use of colour emerge (Figures 7.5a and 7.5b). Although the colourless and opaque yellow glass combination is characteristic of the finds from Meare Lake Village in Somerset, there nonetheless are other examples from the study regions, in particular those in Northeast Scotland. In contrast, beads with the blue and white combination are found in dense concentrations particularly in East Yorkshire, but also in Southwest England. Interestingly, only a few examples have been found in East Anglia, and they are almost absent from Northeast Scotland. This may suggest that this colour combination was preferred in two out of four study regions.

Although these distribution maps do not take chronological or other contextual data into consideration, they nonetheless aid in illustrating general patterns. While it is difficult at this point to extract general patterns throughout Britain as only four regions are investigated, the above analyses have demonstrated that by querying particular attributes of glass beads, it is possible to begin to see some patterns. By developing this research database to include additional areas of Britain, it may be possible to see island-wide patterns.

7.3 Archaeological Excavation

Chapter 4 briefly discussed the archaeological resource in each of the study regions, along with some of the key debates and research questions. As shown, not only has there been an increase in the awareness of the diversity of practice, but also that archaeological inquiry has followed diverse paths in different regions. This section will examine the nature of excavation and the data within each region and how it affects the analyses contained in the following sections. In terms of understanding why glass beads are found at some sites rather than others, this section also aims at determining whether this is related to excavation methodology.

As developer funded excavation is a relatively recent development, not every excavation fits into a neat research versus developer-funded dichotomy. Prior to city planning and heritage management initiatives, sometimes archaeological remains were exposed through construction. These isolated object, feature, or site discoveries and/or resulting rescue excavations, have been included in an 'other' category: the resulting excavations are not always comparable to research and developer-funded excavations and reports. The analyses in this chapter specifically do not include sites that have not been excavated (i.e. survey), or random/chance finds from known or presumed prehistoric sites.

The database of sites was compiled by adding a separate record for each text, thus there were 1,699 records in the database that refer to publications or other literature within all four study regions. As some of these records duplicate information from other publications, these entries were summarised into 1,558 excavation events and 1,329 individual sites (Table 7.2). These records form the basis for the subsequent analyses in this section and the remainder of the chapter. All of these excavated sites have met the guidelines for site inclusion as described in Chapter 3, namely that they exhibited activity dated to the Iron Age (or late prehistoric), Roman period, or a combination of both periods.

Table 7.2: Comparison of the number of records in the database, with the number of excavation events, and the number of individual excavated sites.

	Records in database	Excavation events	Excavated sites
Southwest England	929	857	702
East Anglia	401	387	347
East Yorkshire	251	247	226
Northeast Scotland	118	67	54
TOTAL	1699	1558	1329

7.3.1 Glass Beads by Excavation Method

Data for excavated sites comes from both research-based reports and largely unpublished developer-funded reports. The growing number of developer-funded excavations (Figure 7.7) since the implementation of PPG16 in 1990 is reflected in the number of developer-funded excavations compared to research based excavations. Despite an increase in the number of excavations occurring, there is not a comparable increase in the number of glass beads that have been found. Out of all the excavations included in the database, 13.0% of research-based excavations found typed glass beads, while only 1.1% of developer-funded excavations found typed glass beads (Table 7.3). This suggests that developer-funded excavations are less likely than research-based excavations to find Iron Age glass beads. However, this may be the result of different types of sites targeted through research and developer funded excavations.

The impact of developer-funded archaeology can be seen in all study regions (Figure 7.8). In all regions except Northeast Scotland, these excavations account for more than 60% of the excavations in which Iron Age and/or Roman period activity was found. In Northeast Scotland, ‘other’ excavation types, such as rescue excavations, made up nearly 60% of the excavations,

Table 7.3: Table showing the frequency of excavations by type and the frequency of presence or absence of glass beads.

	No Glass Beads Present	Glass Beads Present (not-typed)	Glass Beads Present (Typed)	TOTAL
Developer-funded	995	37	12	**1044**
Research	228	31	40	**299**
Other	162	36	16	**214**
TOTAL	**1386**	**104**	**67**	**1557**

Table 7.4: Table comparing the different types of excavations where typed glass beads **were not found** with region.

	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
Developer -funded	526	346	145	15	1032
Research	174	24	53	8	259
Other	113	12	36	37	198
TOTAL	814	382	234	60	1489

Table 7.5: Table comparing the frequency of different types of excavations where typed glass beads **were found**.

	Southwest England	East Anglia	East Yorkshire	Northeast Scotland	TOTAL
Developer-funded	6	2	1	3	**12**
Research	30	1	7	2	**40**
Other	8	1	5	2	**16**
TOTAL	**43**	**4**	**13**	**7**	**68**

while developer-funded excavations made up 27% of the excavations. As might be expected, typed glass beads were absent from the majority of developer-funded excavations (Figure 7.9a and Table 7.4).

However, the presence of typed glass beads is noted from research-based excavations in Southwest England and East Yorkshire, but from proportionally more developer-funded excavations in East Anglia and Northeast Scotland (Figure 7.9b). The quantity of sites in all cases is very small (Table 7.5). The hypothesis that typed glass beads are more likely to be found during research-based rather than developer-funded excavations is confirmed by a Chi-square test, which suggests that there is strong evidence of an association between the presence of beads and the method of excavation (using data from Table 7.3 X^2=150.726, df=4, p<0.01). The reasons why this should be the case are discussed in Section 7.3.4.

7.3.2 Density of excavations

The history of research and development within each study region affects how and where excavations occur. For example, past research excavations in Southwest England have specifically targeted hillforts and Roman villas, rather than others sites. In contrast, developer-funded excavations are not necessarily intentionally directed at a specific type of site, but are more likely to excavate those that are less monumental, such as enclosed settlements and other/unenclosed settlements. As this chapter combines data from both excavation motivations, it is possible to cover a wider and more varied range of both prehistoric activity and geographic area.

Through a combination of developer-led and research-based excavation, there is the potential to evenly cover a wider geographic area. Instead, excavations cluster, and currently in some of the regions chosen for study here, blank areas remain (Figure 7.10). By mapping the density of excavation events it becomes possible to overlay the locations where glass beads have been found through excavation and as stray finds. Interestingly, despite the dense coverage of excavation events in East Anglia, Figure 7.10b shows that there are very few individual locations where glass beads have been found when compared to Southwest England (Figure 7.10a). In contrast, Figure 7.10d shows that many stray glass bead finds in Northeast Scotland have been outside of the areas that have been excavated.

While the density maps show an overall density of excavations, Figure 7.11 shows the locations of each excavation and differentiates first between whether typed glass beads were present (shape), and second by the type of excavation (colour), and spatially represents the data presented in Tables 7.4

and 7.5. For example, in East Anglia, it highlights just how many developer-funded excavations took place without finding glass beads (green X) and the small number of research based excavations that also did not reveal typed glass beads (red X). Overall, this highlights the effects of both research-based (red) and developer-funded (green) excavations in each region, and the proportion of sites where glass beads were found (circles), which were relatively few.

Both of these maps visually illustrate the distribution of excavations throughout the study regions. While on the one hand it is clear that the excavations are not evenly distributed across the study regions, and are thus perhaps not representative of a random sample, on the other hand it seems that more excavations may not necessarily result in more glass bead finds as shown in a comparison between Southwest England and East Anglia. Instead, it may be that real differences in material culture exist between different sites and between different regions. This idea will be revisited to in the site analysis section and in subsequent chapters.

7.3.3 Excavation Size and Methodology

In part, some of the patterns reflected in the density of finds and the locations where beads have been found could be due to the research methodology as outlined in Chapter 3; however, it may also be reflecting wider patterns in excavation methodology. Not all research and developer-funded excavations are equal. One way that we can approach these differences is by examining differences in the size of the excavation. Some very small developer-funded excavations are limited to only a 1 m^2 area, or less (i.e. test pits). In these cases, it is sometimes difficult to put any material culture or features into context within the surrounding landscape, especially if the excavation is located within an urban environment. On the other hand, large-scale excavations benefit from the potential to put the site into a wider context.

One key difference in the methodology between research-based and developer-funded excavations is that the former has the flexibility to target specific areas of a site to answer specific research questions. For example, many of the early excavations of hillforts focused on the enclosing earthworks in order to understand the chronology of the site, as with Wheeler's excavations at Maiden Castle in Dorset (1943). This methodology introduces biases in the data as excavation of earthworks does not necessarily answer questions about the domestic activities at the site, presumably located in the interior (cf. Cunliffe 1984a). Thus, material culture found in the context of the earthworks is more ambiguous in terms of what practice is being reflected. In contrast, large-scale developer-funded excavations work within an affected area defined by the proposed development. From a review of the grey literature, there are three main methods of excavation within a large area:

- Randomly placed trenches to sample a percentage of the development site;

- Trenches placed specifically to target features located during geophysical survey, sometimes used in conjunction with randomly placed trenches;

- Total site strip and record, but only a pre-determined percentage of the features are excavated. Depending on the type of feature some are 100% excavated while others are only half-sectioned.

All of these methods are utilised in developer-funded archaeology, but do not ensure that a site is dug in its entirety in terms of both surface size and depth.

In the study regions considered here, the size of the excavation was only explicitly stated for 41% of the excavation events, whereas for the remaining sites this information could not be found to be explicitly stated in the report. This was especially problematic for many of the earlier research excavations. Developer-funded excavation reports on the other hand, were sometimes vague as to the dimensions of the areas actually excavated. For example, some commonly encountered issues are that:

- Reports give the size of the area proposed for development, but not the size of the excavated area;
- Reports give the lengths of trenches, but not the widths;
- Reports do not state the dimensions of the areas excavated.

Finally, lack of information about the size of the excavation was unsatisfactory given that developer-funded excavation is currently so prevalent, and the justification for excavation prior to development is to create a record and in some cases to preserve the archaeology. Despite this, reports are leaving out basic facts about the work undertaken.

The available data on the size of the excavations shows a number of interesting trends. First, excavations within each region range from very small (0.1 m^2) to very large (405,000 m^2). Figure 7.12 shows the location of sites for which size data is known. Excavations that are under 5,000 m^2 in size make up the majority of excavations, while there are only a few sites in each region (except Northeast Scotland) where excavations were over 100,000 m^2 in size (Figure 7.13).

Typed glass beads have only been found at excavations where the size of the work was at least 1,000 m^2 (Figures 7.14 and 7.15). This may support the idea that glass beads are indeed very rare in the archaeological record. There are of course other factors that may be at work, such as the placement of the excavation and the sampling program employed as mentioned above; there are also other methodological issues. For instance, many of the recently found glass beads at Culduthel Farm and those from the 2001 chariot burial at Wetwang Slack were extremely small (described in Chapter 6). The glass beads from the chariot burial were excavated under laboratory conditions. It is likely that because of the care and attention given to the excavation, these exceptionally small beads were recovered. At Culduthel Farm, the excavators undertook a number of environmental samples. Of the 25 glass beads that were found at the site, 52% were recovered due to the environmental sampling, and all of the glass beads found through sampling were exceptionally small. Other important finds from this site are the many glass fragments, suggesting that glass working occurred. These finds are incredibly rare and limited in nature. Up until these very small beads were found at these two sites, most Iron Age glass beads were at least 10 mm in diameter and height. These new finds suggest that very small beads might have been more common than once thought and that their absence may be due to the excavation methodology and a limited sieving methodology.

7.3.4 Discussion

This section has aimed to provide some background analysis of the data to be discussed in the following section on site and context types. It has done this through an analysis of different excavation methods in order to provide some understanding as to how excavation practice may introduce biases into the data. It has shown that despite the steadily increasing number of developer-funded excavations, this does not necessarily result in more glass bead finds. However, if this is reflecting real patterns in materiality, then by examining the negative evidence in this way, it is possible to put glass bead finds into a wider context of archaeological activity. That is to say that the number of known Iron Age sites has increased from the addition of developer-funded excavations, and because we do not see the same proportional increase in the number of Iron Age glass beads, it is possible to demonstrate just how rare this type of artefact is.

Other contributing factors to the recovery of glass beads may be related to methodology. This includes the sites chosen for excavation, the placement of the trenches, and full excavation versus sampled feature excavation. In addition, this section has highlighted that the smallest glass beads have been recovered through laboratory excavation and environmental sampling. It may be that more of these miniscule examples have been overlooked due to their extremely small size and that they can only be recovered through systematic methods designed to retrieve things that might otherwise go un-noticed.

7.4 Site Types and Features

Artefact distribution, as shown in Section 7.2, takes finds out of their context and only examines them on a spatial level. By bringing together a detailed examination of artefacts, the type of site that they were recovered from, and the contexts in which they were found, it is possible to begin to develop a regional understanding of Iron Age practices.

7.4.1 Site Type

Considering the debates in Iron Age studies on the relationships between settlement form, social organisation, and value of objects, it is vital to examine not only the sites where glass beads were found, but also where they were not found. This section will consider both the positive and negative evidence for glass beads in order to place the sites with typed examples into a wider context of settlement in the Iron Age. The general patterns were highlighted in Chapter 4; however, this section analyses three aspects of site data. First, the site categories are discussed, and this is followed by a discussion of chronology. Finally, building on Henderson's (1992) work on decorated beads and site type, a comparison is undertaken of site type and glass bead complexity.

7.4.1.1 Categories

As Chapter 4 highlighted, the Iron Age archaeology in each of the study regions exhibit different characteristics. In order to make any analysis of the different types of sites comparable, it was necessary to develop terminology that could be applied throughout Britain. Out of necessity, the terms utilised for these comparisons needed to be simple. The reason for this is to be able to compare:

- Regional forms of activity sites;
- Sites that fluctuate over the Iron Age (i.e. from unenclosed, to enclosed, sometimes with intermittent periods of unenclosure);
- Different types of activity that frequently occur at the same location (settlement/domestic activity, inhumations, and 'ritual');
- Different chronological activity that frequently occurs at the same location ('Iron Age' settlement and Roman fort or villa on the same site).

With these issues in mind, seven terms have been utilised in this analysis. First, hillforts or 'hilltop enclosed settlements', as they are one of the most iconic settlements of this period. These sites were first distinguished from 'other enclosed settlements'. Any other settlement sites, including unenclosed settlements, and sites where it was unclear as to whether an enclosure was present due to the size/nature of the excavation, were categorized as 'other settlements'. These three types of settlement may have had evidence for a wide variety of activity, such as manufacturing and human/animal inhumations or other ritual activity. Where an inhumation exists on its own and not as a part of a settlement, the site is labelled as 'Inhumation/Cremation site only'[11]. 'Roman Villas' and 'Roman Military' sites without evidence for prior Iron Age activity have been labelled as their own categories. Finally, in cases where there are clear signs for late Prehistoric and/or Roman period activity, but the nature of it is unclear, an 'other activity' category was used.

One problem that presents itself when attempting to categorise sites, even generally, is that many of the excavations in East Yorkshire and East Anglia

[11] There have been no glass beads recovered from inhumations found actually within a settlement or within the boundaries of a settlement in the study regions. Where glass beads have been found with a skeleton, it has always been within a more formal cemetery (i.e. East Yorkshire burials, cist burials, South Dorset style burials).

were not able to distinguish between Iron Age activity and Roman period activity. This stems from the difficulty introduced into interpretation when site reports try to categorise sites as 'pre-Roman', 'native style, but Roman period', 'Roman', and 'Romano-British'. Frequently, it is the material culture that is found on a site that is utilised to determine the period and level of 'Romanisation' or other Roman influence (Moore 2007a). Any Roman material culture found on a characteristically Iron Age (or, 'native') site is labelled as Roman period and taken to represent direct contact between 'natives' and Romans. In contrast, a lack of Roman artefacts on an Iron Age site is often labelled as 'native' or 'pre-Roman' in date. While the presence of such evidence can aid in dating at least some of the activity at the site, it really does not demonstrate the extent to which the inhabitants had direct or even indirect contact with 'Romans'. Thus, for simplicity, this research has included all settlements that were not enclosed into the 'other settlement/unenclosed' category.

From these very general categories, most of the excavated sites in the study regions fall into the 'other activity' category (Figure 7.16). This is due to the small size of many of the excavations, as discussed in the previous section. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the 'other settlement/unenclosed' category is the second most frequent, followed by the 'enclosed settlement' category. These general trends are also seen even when taking a regional approach to the data (Figures 7.18). The raw frequency of the different site categories varies in each region, although the percentage chart in Figure 7.18b demonstrates that proportionately similar occurrences of 'other activity' sites and 'other settlements/unenclosed' sites occurred across the different regions.

There are several patterns that emerge that emphasise the differences in the archaeology of each region. First, the number of excavated 'hilltop enclosed settlements' is largest for Southwest England compared to all other regions. Second, inhumation/cremation sites in both Southwest England and East Yorkshire are also more numerous than in East Anglia and Northeast

Scotland. It is worth noting here that the scale of the inhumations differ between regions. In East Yorkshire, inhumations in the cemeteries at Wetwang/Garton Slack and at Rudston number in the hundreds. In contrast, those in Southwest England tend to be more isolated and smaller in scale, such as the mirror burial found at Birdlip in Gloucestershire, and the two mirror burials in Dorset at Langton Herring and Portesham. These patterns reflect the differing regional nature of the archaeology.

Turning now to the sites with typed glass beads, out of the 1,329 sites, they were only found at 4.5% of sites (Table 7.6). The overall frequency of different site categories highlighted the large number of sites classified as 'other activity'; however, typed glass beads were often not found at these sites. Instead, they were found primarily at 'other settlements/unenclosed' sites (n=19) and 'enclosed sites' (n=16). Typed glass beads were also found at a number of 'hilltop enclosed settlements' (n=9) and in inhumation/cremations (n=8). Interestingly, typed 'Iron Age' glass beads were also found at two 'Roman villa only' sites, but not at 'Roman military only' sites[12]. A chi-square test suggests that there is strong evidence for an association between the type of site and the presence of typed glass beads[13] (Table 7.7, X^2=37.881, df=1, p<0.01). In this case, there may be reason to believe that typed glass beads are more likely to be present on specific types of sites rather than others. While in the past this has been connected with status (Guido 1978a; Henderson 1982; 1992), this need not be the case (as explored in Section 7.4.2).

Taking the data for glass bead finds as a whole, they were primarily found at settlement sites, although more specifically a sites with 'other' settlement activity (Figure 7.18). A regional approach assists in highlighting differing

[12] Some of the glass beads from Castleford were found at the civilian settlement, rather than within the fort.

[13] **Table 7.7** shows a condensed version of the data from **Table 7.6**, which was needed in order for the results to be statistically valid.

Table 7.6: This shows the number of different types of sites and whether glass beads were present.

Site Type	No Glass Beads present	Glass Beads Present (not-typed)	Glass Beads Present (typed)	TOTAL
Hilltop Enclosed Dettlement	30	4	9	43
Enclosed Settlement	152	19	16	187
Other Settlement/Unenclosed	322	35	19	376
Villa Only	31	6	2	39
Inhumation/Cremation Site Only	99	10	8	117
Other Activity	525	15	6	546
Roman Military	16	5	0	21
TOTAL	**1175**	**94**	**60**	**1329**

Table 7.7: Showing Chi-square test results for type of site and presence of glass beads. Note that some categories have been condensed in order to create valid results in the chi-square test.

Site Type	No Typed Glass Beads	Typed Glass Beads Present	TOTAL
Enclosed Settlement	205	25	230
Other Settlement/Unenclosed	415	21	436
Inhumation/Cremation Site Only	109	8	117
Other Activity	540	6	546
TOTAL	**1269**	**60**	**1329**

local practices (Figures 7.19 and 7.20). Glass beads in Southwest England are found at the greatest range of different sites, while other regions are more limited. Specific patterns are limited by the archaeology of the region, for example, glass beads were only found at hillforts in Southwest England, because there is a greater number of excavated sites there.

7.4.1.2 Chronology[14]

Just as it was difficult to characterise sites by the type of activity that occurred at them, it is also problematic to characterise sites by the point in time at which they were actively in use. Some sites exhibited activity specific to one period or possible crossover with another period, such as the Middle Iron Age or Middle Iron Age/Late Iron Age. Other sites were much more complex, sometimes with activity from the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age through to the Roman period, although this does not necessarily indicate continuous occupation throughout the year or from generation to generation. There were several other difficulties with this approach:

- Sites or periods described as combined or transitional periods (e.g. Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age), especially for sites at the very end of the Iron Age and early conquest period;
- The term 'Romano-British' is used as a blanket term for anything post-conquest and pre-Medieval;
- Use of non-specific terminology, such as 'Late Prehistoric', 'Iron Age', 'Iron Age/Romano-British', 'earlier' (Iron Age), 'later' (Romano-British);
- Early twentieth century publications that used the Hallstatt or La Téne chronologies, or the Hawkes (1958) Iron Age A, B, and C system.

Where possible, the different chronologies needed to be reconciled into one of the currently accepted models of periodisation used, namely Hill's (1995a) Early (c. 700-450 B.C.), Middle (c. 450-100 B.C.) and Late Iron Age(c. 100 B.C.

[14] This section is approaching chronology from the depositional perspective, while the discussion in Chapter 5 discussed chronology in a broader typological perspective.

–A.D. 43) (although as noted in Chapter 4 there are issues with using this periodisation to address all regions together). The second half of the first century AD and the beginning of the second century AD is considered as the Early Roman period. The Romano-British period follows. In some cases, there is not a distinction between the Romano-British period and the end of the Roman period, but where there is, the late fourth century AD and early fifth century AD are labelled Late Roman. In Scottish Iron Age studies the Roman conquest of southern Britain is not recognised as a major chronological point of change, as the Iron Age in this region is described as having lasted longer into the first millennium AD (Harding 2004); however, I am simply using these terms in their chronological sense rather than in a cultural change sense. Romans did venture north of Hadrian's Wall as part of Agricola's army, and there was short-lived occupation along the Antonine Wall. In addition, there is a growing awareness of the impact of Roman material in non-conquered Scotland (Hunter 2001c; 2007a; b; Ingemark 2003; Macinnes 1989). Even if the presence of Roman artefacts north of Hadrian's Wall was not the result of direct contact, it is clear that there were changes in material culture (e.g. massive armlets). Despite these issues, it is possible to use the available data to give a general character of all the sites included in this study to some extent. This section first examines the date of all sites included in the study, and then will specifically examine the date of sites where typed glass beads were recovered through excavation.

A very raw count of the frequency of the activity from all sites included in this study demonstrates that the majority (by far) of the activity dates to the Romano-British period[15] (Figure 7.21). A regional view of the general chronology follows the main trend seen above. In terms of the frequency, in Southwest England, the number of sites through time steadily increases (Figure 7.22). This trend can be seen in most regions, especially in the

[15] This raw count totals every period of activity from each site. Thus, a site with activity dating to the Middle Iron Age and the Romano-British period will count in two instances to each of the respective periods in the chart.

percentage chart in Figure 7.23. Although the transition periods often demonstrate a decrease in frequency, this is probably a difficulty with the use of periodisation. Generally, we can say that from the available data, there is an increase in the frequency of activity over time in all study regions, resulting in an explosion of activity in the Romano-British period. However, this does not take into account the longevity of the activity as it only counts the frequency of period activity.

Before specifically examining the chronology of sites where typed glass beads were found, it is useful to explore in a general sense the periods of activity where typed glass beads were not found by site type, and where they were found during excavation (Figures 7.24 and 7.25). For the sake of simplicity, the chronological aspects of these charts have been simply divided into 'Iron Age Only', 'Iron Age and Roman/Romano-British' and 'Roman/Romano-British' evidence. Sites that have not produced glass beads span all periods and all site types. Sites that do have typed glass beads associated with them most frequently have evidence of both Iron Age and Roman/Romano-British period activity, although Iron Age only sites also occur. Typed glass beads are found less frequently from sites that only have evidence for Roman or Romano-British period activity, but they do occur at different types of sites and those where the activity is more ambiguous. This only gives a general picture of the types of sites where glass beads occur and do not occur and the periods that they date to. The following section will explicitly examine sites and site phases where typed glass beads were found. Although, here it is worth noting that these beads have been found primarily in enclosed settlement contexts, which were typical for the period.

Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age

Twelve glass beads can be attributed to Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age phases at six sites. All of these sites are in Southwest England (Table 7.8) Of these sites, one site is a hillfort, three are enclosed settlements, and one is a midden site. The types of beads that occur at these sites are very limited, as out of the thirteen glass beads from this period, only four different types are represented. All but one of these beads are a part of Class 1 simple monochrome beads, and the colours are limited to blue, green and yellow. Only one polychrome bead can be attributed to this period, which is from Swallowcliffe Down in Wiltshire (DB4953). Perhaps one of the earliest beads is that from East Chisenbury in Wiltshire (DB8736), where a bead was found securely stratified in the midden deposits (D. McOmish pers. comm.). Another potentially early example of this type comes from Maiden Castle in Dorset (DB4176), where a bead was found in the earlier phases of the site. This group of early glass beads is extremely significant as many bear similarities to beads deposited in later contexts, which possibly suggests that these later beads have different biographies.

Middle Iron Age/Late Iron Age

In contrast to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age period, over 1,000 glass beads from all regions (except Northeast Scotland) can be attributed to the Middle Iron Age/Late Iron Age period. The majority of these beads were found in Southwest England and East Yorkshire, while only one was found in East Anglia. The key difference between the glass beads found in Southwest England and East Yorkshire during this period is that in the former region the sites are all habitation sites, while in the latter most sites are inhumations, although a small minority are from settlements. This reflects the different nature of the archaeological records of these areas and is the result of differing depositional practices.

Not only were the glass beads diverse in Southwest England during this period, but also the same could be said of the sites where they were found (Table 7.9). Three sites can be categorised as general settlements, while three were “lake villages”. Glass beads were also found during enclosed settlement phases at two sites, and a small number were found at hillforts. Out of the 357 glass beads from this region, 88% of the beads were found at both the east and west locations at Meare Lake Village, which also included

Table 7.8 Sites in Southwest England with activity dating to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
East Chisenbury	Midden	1	**Class 1**: Type 110
Gussage All Saints	Enclosed Settlement	3	**Class 1**: Type 102, 106
Pimperne Down	Enclosed Settlement	1	**Class 1**: Type 102
Swallowcliffe Down	Enclosed Settlement	5	**Class 1**: Type 102; **Class 4**: Type 427
Maiden Castle	Hillfort	2	**Class 1**: Type 102, 110

Table 7.9: Sites in Southwest England with activity dating to the Middle Iron Age/ Late Iron Age with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
21 Church Road, Bishop's Cleeve	Settlement	1	**Class 6**: Type 901
Cannards Grave, Shepton Mallet	Settlement	1	**Class 1**: Type 110
Hengistbury Head	Settlement	1	**Class 1**: Type 104
Glastonbury Lake Village	"lake village"	27	**Class 1**: Type 101, 102, 104, 105, 106; **Class 6:** Type 902, 1405, 1407; **Class 8**: Type 1606, 1610
Meare Lake Village (east)	"lake village"	149	**Class 1**: Type 102, 104, 105, 106, 110; **Class 3**: Type 305, 306; **Class 6**: Type 801, 903, 906, 1000, 1001, 1003, 1400, 1407, 1416, 1417, 1419, 1420
Meare Lake Village (west)	"lake village"	164	**Class 1**: type 102, 103, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110; **Class 2**: Type 203, **Class 4**: Type 422, 429; **Class 5**: Type 701; **Class 6**: 901, 906, 909, 1000, 1001, 1002, 1003, 1101, 1301, 1400, 1406, 1407, 1417, 1418, 1430; **Class 8**: Type 1602; **Class 11**: Type 3012
A417 Birdlip Bypass	Enclosed Settlement	1	**Class 6**: Type 1431
Totterdown Lane, Horcott	Enclosed Settlement	1	**Class 2**: Type 201
Bredon's Norton	Hillfort	3	**Class 1**: Type 102, 107
Conderton Camp	Hillfort	6	**Class 1**: Type 102, 110; **Class 4**: Type 426
Chalbury Camp, Bincombe	Hillfort	1	**Class 1**: Type 102
Lidbury Camp, Enford	Hillfort	1	**Class 2**: Type 204
Salmonsbury	Hillfort	1	**Class 1**: Type 102

Table 7.10: Sites in East Anglia with activity dating to the Middle Iron Age/Late Iron Age with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
West Stow	Enclosed Settlement	1	**Class 1**: Type 102
Grandcourt Quarry	Other Activity	16	**Class 1**: Type 102, 106, 107; **Class 2**: Type 201; **Class 4**: Type 502; **Class 5**: Type 701, 702; **Class 6**: Type 801, 1001, 1407; **Class 10**: Type 1801; **Class 11**: Type 2302, 2303, 2304

the largest range of types. Small numbers of beads were found at the remaining sites in this region. Slightly more unusual are the six beads from a hillfort at Conderton Camp in Worcestershire and the three beads from the nearby hillfort at Bredon's Norton. These are unusual due to the quantity when compared to the other sites, where single finds are more common (except for the lake villages). As is shown in the following Section 7.4.2, their presence may be the result of intentional depositional behaviour.

In contrast to Southwest England, the glass beads from East Yorkshire are found at very different sites (Table 7.11). The majority of beads were from cemeteries, or in the case of Wetwang Slack, a cemetery connected to a settlement. It may be that the other sites, such as the complex of barrows at Arras and Cowlam, were also located near to settlements; however, this has not been investigated. Interestingly, at Wetwang and Garton Slack, the only glass beads that were found in the settlement area were found with other inhumations rather than being found in domestic contexts. Most of the glass beads from East Yorkshire burials were found in large numbers in each inhumation, although within some inhumations, such as at Burton Fleming, these were single finds. In addition to the beads from inhumations, two other beads have been found within the Middle Iron Age phase at Sutton Common. One of these was within the ritual enclosure, while the other was in a settlement context.

It is during this period that glass beads first become numerous in East Anglia, with one site with sixteen examples (Table 7.10). Both well-known and previously unknown types are represented in the assemblage. One bead may have been manufactured in Britain, while the remaining beads may have come from continental Europe. The site as a whole is still awaiting final publication; however, it is clear that some unknown activity occurred as the main deposit was a pottery rich layer from which the majority of the beads were found. It may be that the site represents some aspect of ritual feasting, however the site is also unusual in the number of insular Middle/Late Iron Age brooches found.

One other bead was found from a Middle Iron Age/Late Iron Age site in East Anglia (Table 7.10). This enclosed settlement probably dates to this period, as it is difficult to distinguish from later early historic activity. The bead is a monochrome Class 1 Type 102 bead, thus it lacks decorative features that could be used to date the bead visually and is potentially the earliest glass bead in this region. The scarcity of glass beads in East Anglia, and the absence of glass beads from Northeast Scotland at this time suggest that this object did not play a large role in the material culture of these regions, or that the deposition practices were different from Southwest England and East Yorkshire.

Late Iron Age/Early Roman

By the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period, the trend of glass beads that was established in the previous period largely continued in Southwest England, but changed in all other regions (Table 7.12). The number of beads deposited at any one site during this period significantly decreased. In Southwest England during this period, glass beads are found in at a variety of site types; the only difference from the previous period is that they are now found in inhumation contexts as well. It may be significant that these thirty-seven beads are thirteen types of poloychrome decorated beads, and only five types of monochrome beads.

Table 7.11: Sites in East Yorkshire with activity dating to the Middle Iron Age/Late Iron Age with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
Queen's Barrow, Arras	Inhumation	71	**Class 4**: Type 411, 421, 424, 425, 426, 428; **Class 6**: Type 901, 905, 907
Burton Fleming	Inhumations	4	**Class 1**: Type 102; **Class 6**: Type 900
Burton Fleming: opposite Argam Lane	Inhumation	1	**Class 6**: Type 900
Barrow L, Cowlam	Inhumation	64	**Class 4**: Type 425; **Class 6**: 900, 901
Wetwang Slack	Inhumations	678	**Class 1**: Type 102; **Class 2**: Type 202; **Class 4**: Type 420, 423, 417, 418, 421, 410, 413, 414, 501, 503; **Class 6**: Type 901, 1001, 14107, 1417; **Class 11**: Type 2301
Garton Slack	Inhumation/Settlement	35	**Class 1**: Type 102
Dalton Parlours	Enclosed Settlement	1	**Class 1**: Type 102
Sutton Common	Ritual Site/Enclosed Settlement	2	**Class 1**: Type 102

Table 7.12: Sites in Southwest England with activity dating to the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
Hengistbury Head	Settlement	2	**Class 10**: Type 1802; **Class 11**: type 3016
Neigh Bridge, Somerford Keynes	Settlement	1	**Class 1**: Type 101
North Down Farm, Winterborne Kingston	Settlement	1	**Class 4**: type 412
West Overton Down	Settlement	1	**Class 6**: Type 1201
Bagendon	Enclosed Settlement	5	**Class 1**: Type 102; **Class 11**: type 3002, 3014, 3015
Claydon Pike: Warrens field	Enclosed Settlement	1	**Class 11**: Type 3003
Maiden Castle	Hillfort	3	**Class 1**: Type 102, 107, 110
Bulbury Camp	Hillfort hoard	8	**Class 1**: Type 107
Langton Herring	Inhumation	5	**Class 1**: Type 108; **Class 5:** Type 701; **Class 8**: Type 1604; **Class 9**: Type 1704; **Class 11**: Type 2801
Whitcombe, Dorset	Inhumation	10	**Class 1**: Type 107, 110; **Class 6**: Type 901

Table 7.13: Sites in Northeast Scotland with activity dating to the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
Birnie	Settlement	24	**Class 1**: type 110; **Class 3**: Type 303; **Class 6**: Type 1400, 1403, 1411, 1418, 1419
Culduthel Farm, Inverness	Settlement	21	**Class 1**: Type 102, 110; **Class 6**: 1417, 1418; **Class 11**: Type 2501
Thainstone, Kintore	Settlement	1	**Class 6**: Type 1419

Table 7.14: Sites in Southwest England with activity dating to the Early Roman/Romano-British period with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
A419/A417: Birdlip Quarry	Settlement	1	**Class 11**: Type 3012
Camerton	Settlement	1	**Class 11**: Type 3003
Catsgore	Settlement	2	**Class 11**: Type 3001, 3010
Cirencester	Settlement	3	**Class 4**: Type 601; **Class 5**: Type 701; **Class 11**: Type 3000
Haymes, Cleeve Hill	Settlement	1	**Class 11**: Type 3003
Seamills	Settlement	1	**Class 1**: Type 110
Atworth	Villa	1	**Class 4**: Type 410

During this period a number of beads occur from excavations in Northeast Scotland (Table 7.13). As the majority of glass beads from this region are stray finds, these sites are important for the dating of all glass beads in this region. Here, forty-six beads have been found through excavation at three sites, and each of these sites has evidence for settlement in the form of roundhouses, although the question of enclosure is unclear. At Birnie, a search for evidence of an enclosure of the settlement yielded negative results, which considering the scale of excavation suggests that the settlement may have been unenclosed (Hunter 2002b). Interestingly, although the numbers of sites in this region are limited, the quantity of glass beads found at Culduthel and Birnie is larger than the majority of settlement sites found in Southwest England. In part, this may be due to the evidence for glass-working at Culduthel, such as the glass flakes and fragments of bi-coloured twisted rods. Yet, if these twenty-one glass beads were made at the site, then it is unclear why they were deposited as none of the examples were broken.

Early Roman/Romano-British

By the Early Roman/Romano-British period, Iron Age beads are found in even more limited numbers in deposits dating to this period. In Southwest England, the ten beads found in this region were found at settlement sites (Table 7.14). Most of these beads are the more complex Class 11 beads with meandering cables on the surface (Guido's Class 9). There are very few beads of simple design, such as the Class 4 eye bead from Atworth villa, or the compound eye bead from Cirencester. Only one simple monochrome bead was found to date to this period, and this is a Class 1 Type 110 bead from Seamills near Bristol.

In East Anglia, the situation is little different (Table 7.15). Four glass beads were found at two sites. Three of these beads were found in a mixed hoard within a settlement at Billingford in Norfolk, while another bead was found in an early twentieth century hoard discovery at Santon Downham in Suffolk. It is unknown as to whether this second hoard was near to a settlement, or simply placed randomly in the landscape. Nonetheless, the bead was also amongst a number of objects, primarily metalwork, although there may have been a glass bangle fragment. The discovery of glass beads in hoard contexts is unusual, but will be explored further in the next section.

Finally, although no glass beads were found in East Yorkshire in the Late Iron Age/ Early Roman period contexts, fifteen glass beads occurred in contexts dating to the Early Roman/Romano-British period (Table 7.16). Although these beads appear to be Iron Age, their context suggests that they were in use for far longer than many similar examples. For instance, amongst the beads from Castleford were a number of Class 1 plain monochrome beads, including Type 110. The example of a Class 6 Type 1407 bead from the Roman villa at Rudston (DB11630) is unusual as it was broken and re-used

Table 7.15: Sites in East Anglia with activity dating to the Early Roman/Romano-British period with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	N Glass Beads (N)	Type
Billingford	Settlement	3	**Class 1**: Type 106; **Class 6**: Type 901
Santon Downham	Hoard	1	**Class 11**: Type 3014

Table 7.16: Sites in East Yorkshire with activity dating to the Early Roman/Romano-British period with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
Castleford	Roman military/settlement	12	**Class 1**: Type 101, 102, 103, 110; **Class 6**: Type 901
Rudston	Villa	1	**Class 6**: Type 1407
Trentholme Drive, York	Inhumation	1	**Class 10**: Type 1800
Dalton Parlours	Settlement	1	**Class 11:** Type 3008

Table 7.17: Sites in Southwest England with activity dating to the post-Roman/Anglo-Saxon period with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
Burn Ground, Hampnett	Inhumation	2	**Class 1**: Type 110
Cadbury Congresbury	Hill-fort	1	**Class 4**: Type 410

Table 7.18: Sites in Northeast Scotland with activity dating to the post-Roman/Anglo-Saxon period with glass beads.

Site	Site Type	Glass Beads (N)	Type
Coldstone	Structure	2	**Class 6**: Type 1415, 1419

as a pendant. Finally, a very unusual bead was found in an inhumation at Trentholm Drive in York (DB5704). The grey-scale illustration clearly places it in Guido's Group 1/Haevernick's Gruppe 24 beads found in Europe. The occurrence in a Roman period inhumation may further attest not only to beads as heirlooms, but perhaps also the movement of people, possibly over long distances, at this time (Eckardt 2010).

Post-Roman/Anglo-Saxon

Finally, there are a limited number of potential Iron Age beads found in post-Roman/Anglo-Saxon period contexts. These beads may indicate that such objects sometimes stayed in circulation for long periods of time. This probably should not be considered to be too unusual, as there have been two examples of fragmented Class 6 Type 1407 beads found set into metal jewellery pieces forming pendants, found in Anglo-Saxon burials. Examples are known from Cow Low, Derbyshire (Ozanne 1962, Figure 11e) and Street House, Redcar and Cleveland (Sherlock 2012). In Southwest England (Table 7.19), there are two possible Class 1 Type 110 beads found in an Anglo-Saxon inhumation at Burn Ground, Hampnett. There is a fragment of a bead that closely resembles Iron Age eye beads (Class 4) in a post-Roman context at Cadbury Congresbury. In Northeast Scotland (Table 7.18), there were two beads found in a structure that has been termed a 'Pict house' at Coldstone, which were nineteenth century discoveries. Nonetheless, despite the lack of contextual information for most stray finds in Northeast Scotland, in this case these two beads have some degree of context. Whether it was a 'Pict house' is debatable; nonetheless it seems likely that it dated to a later period.

7.4.1.3 Glass Bead Complexity

As discussed in Chapter 6, glass beads that date to the Iron Age exhibit a range of complexity. Henderson's (1992) analysis examined the number of decorated beads by site type, in order to understand site status. A critique of this analysis is in Chapter 2; however, this analysis follows up his work by examining bead complexity in terms of colour and then decorative motif.

Rather than seeing this complexity as a reflection of status, instead it aims to find patterns in deposition.

Colour Complexity

Manipulation of glass at various stages in the glass working procedure can affect the colour and opacity through the addition of oxides and minerals, and by manipulating the atmosphere of the furnace. As suggested by Henderson (1992), some oxides or minerals may have been more difficult to obtain, rendering some colours or opacity rare. In addition, the technique of changing the atmosphere to change the colour may have been restricted specialist knowledge. Both of these types of complexity relate to the raw glass manufacturing process, or subsequent pigmentation of raw glass. By the time the bead itself comes to be formed, depending on available resources, the glass worker may have a choice about the simplicity or complexity of the bead that is created. In terms of colour, the simplest beads are monochrome, while beads that are more complex have two or more colours. The previous chapter established that within the study regions, there were no examples of beads with more than four colours, and even these were rare.

Colour complexity and the number of different types of sites are greatest in Southwest England (Figure 7.26). Here, monochrome beads are proportionally more frequent at hillforts, "lake villages", enclosed settlements, and inhumations. It is at the 'other settlements' where proportionately more polychrome beads are found. Despite the large numbers of glass beads at the lake village excavations, the majority of beads are either monochrome, or bi-chrome, with only a small minority being tri-chrome. The four-colour beads were found at a hillfort and other enclosed settlement sites, and some other miscellaneous sites.

Owing to the small number of glass beads from East Anglia, there were only a few glass beads and fewer site types. In this region, tri-chrome beads found in hoard contexts and 'other activity' sites are most complex (Figure 7.27). Similar to Southwest England, the enclosed sites primarily have monochrome beads, and settlement sites have a very limited number of monochrome and bi-chrome beads. It seems that special activity such as the hoard and the 'other activity' at Grandcourt Quarry account for the beads with the largest number of colours in this region.

Despite the large number of glass beads from East Yorkshire (Figure 7.28), their complexity is also limited. In this region, the overwhelming majority of beads were found in inhumations; however, over 60% of these beads were monochrome in colour. Only a select few were bi-chrome, and even fewer were tri-chrome. The prevalence for the use of monochrome beads is a trend followed at other site types in this region as most beads fall into this category. Despite the proportion of tri-coloured beads at enclosed settlements, in terms of the actual frequency, this is relatively rare.

Finally, in Northeast Scotland, the majority of the small numbers of beads from excavations are limited to either monochrome or bi-chrome appearances (Figure 7.29). As with Southwest England, a small number of tri-chrome beads were also found at hillforts in this region. However, this is extremely rare. Most beads in this region are monochrome in colour, although proportionately there is also a strong presence of bi-chrome beads.

Motif Complexity

Another form of complexity comes from the design on the bead. As in the colour discussion above, monochrome beads are the simplest beads as they do not exhibit a motif at all. A select few do have designs worked into the monochrome glass itself, but this is a very rare occurrence. Other beads without a motif are polychrome, but in these cases they do not utilise the colours in such a way as to create a design. In some cases they are simply layered together, or it may be that a secondary colour contaminated the overall colour. Simple motif beads are those that exhibit only one method of design, such as eye beads or beads with linear motifs. More complex designs are created in part by the combination of multiple types of simple motifs. This may be a somewhat arbitrary method of classifying beads by the level of complexity; however the reason for exploring the data in this way is that the manifestation of different types of techniques on the beads are taken into account. In addition, complex beads are rare, which may suggest that it was not something that was habitual, always technologically possible, or always desirable.

In Southwest England, the most complex beads are found proportionately more frequently at hillforts and sites classed as 'settlements' (Figure 7.30). However, these beads make up the minority of beads at these sites. Beads with no motif account for the substantial majority of beads at all sites, except at 'settlements' where simple motif beads are in the highest proportion. Beads in East Anglia are a mix of primarily no motif and simple motif beads (Figure 7.32). While both occur at settlements, the bead at the enclosed settlement lacks a motif, while the bead found in the hoard has a simple motif. The beads from the 'other activity' at Grandcourt Quarry are a mix of no motif, simple motif, and complex motif, although the simple motifs are in the highest proportion.

In contrast, in East Yorkshire, the majority of beads at all site types have no motif (Figure 7.33) as a high proportion of these beads in inhumations contexts did not have a motif. Simple motif beads are found at enclosed settlements, and Roman military sites; however, their actual frequency is very low. The single bead from the Roman villa and a few examples from inhumations account for the only complex motif beads. In comparison with the previous three study regions, the beads found through excavation in Northeast Scotland are very different in their complexity (Figure 7.34). The majority of these beads were found at settlement sites, and display a mix of beads with no motif, simple motifs, and complex motifs. The beads without a motif by far make up the highest proportion of beads at these sites.

However, at the hillforts, and other sites, beads have either simple motifs, or more rarely complex motifs. This is a significantly different pattern than in the other three regions.

Discussion

As might be expected, simple beads in terms of both colour and decoration are more frequent, while complex beads are smaller in number. It might be expected that the more complex the bead, the more valuable it was, and thus it may indicate higher status or value. Taking the evidence for Southwest England as an example, it is clear that not only are beads from hillforts limited in number, but that they are proportionally some of the least complex examples. Although perhaps not informative about status, glass bead complexity is nonetheless essential for understanding patterns of glass bead use between the regions (Figure 7.34) and at different types of sites (Figure 7.35). Here, two patterns emerge. First, that the unusual nature of the glass beads from East Anglia are highlighted as they peak at a rank of three instead of one, which suggests that the beads found here are unusual compared to the other study regions under consideration. Disregarding East Anglia, each study region is fairly similar in the different levels of bead complexity. Second, that there is a common pattern of complexity found at all site types, which suggests that the range of beads found at each type of site have a similar proportion of both simple and complex beads. This is significant because from both a region wide and site type perspective, there is a common pattern, which suggests that glass beads did not have an inherent status based on physical appearance alone. Instead, it may be derived from a combination of these aspects in addition to the biography of the object. The treatment of glass beads from depositional context in the next section will explore this in greater detail.

7.4.2 Context Type

As with the site type analysis in the previous section, glass bead deposition practices vary between regions. However, just as many settlements change in their characterisation throughout the Iron Age, so too do depositional practices change within each region. The data for glass bead context at the feature level is extremely limited, and while it is known for 73% of the data, the large numbers from East Yorkshire inhumations and the beads from the lake villages skew this figure. Of these, 134 beads were found during excavation, but their context is unclear due to the nature of the final report, and a further 342 beads are simply known as 'stray' finds (usually found during the nineteenth century). This section will compare the different contexts in which glass beads were found for each study region. This will help to explore differences in depositional practices between regions.

7.4.2.1 Regional perspectives

Southwest England

Contextual data is known for 517 glass beads in Southwest England (Figure 7.36). The majority of beads were found in 'mound' contexts from the lake villages. Finds from inhumations and pits were also substantial, but there were also fewer numbers of finds from hoards, roundhouses, and ditches. Comparing the finds from features with site types suggest that most features were a part of hillforts, whether as hoards, pits, roundhouses, or found within the enclosure entrance (Table 7.19). Pit finds figure prominently not only at hillforts, but also in enclosed settlements, and other settlement sites.

Beads found in inhumation contexts that were not associated with a wider settlement context, are instead isolated sites. Chronologically, pit and roundhouse finds seem to be a practice from the Early Iron Age through to the Late Iron Age (Table 7.20). The finds from the lake villages distort the pattern of glass bead deposition, but leaving this aside, the remaining evidence suggests that there was a gradual increase in the number of glass beads deposited from the Early Iron Age to the Middle Iron Age. It is in the Late Iron Age that depositional practices began to change drastically. However, taking the lake village finds into consideration, the peak of glass bead deposition occurs between the Middle and Late Iron Age. The greatest variety of glass bead types was found at both inhumations and lake village mounds (eight different classes; Table 7.21). Class 1 beads are the most numerous and are found in the greatest variety of contexts. This might not be surprising, given the number of Class 1 beads discussed in the previous section. Mounds and inhumations, however, exhibit the greatest amount of variability in terms of the number of different classes found within one feature type.

East Anglia

Despite the small number of glass beads from East Anglia, the context is known for 69% of the twenty-six examples found during excavations (Figure 7.37). The majority of the beads were found in the presumed special deposit at Grandcourt Quarry. Most of these beads were found amongst the dense pottery layer found at the site. Of the remaining four beads from East Anglia, one was from a predominately metalwork hoard, and three were from a votive deposit in a pit (Table 7.22). Unfortunately, there is little else to say regarding these finds, as the final interpretation of Grandcourt Quarry is still awaiting completion and the exact nature of the activity is uncertain.

Other sites include the metalwork hoard, but it was not associated with a settlement. The votive pit on the other hand was found within a settlement and amongst the other objects deposited was a torc fragment and a ring-key. The author interpreted the collection of objects as something to do with circularity as all the objects were round (Wallis 2011, 65). Chronologically, the special deposit was earliest, the hoard is likely to be Early Roman, while the votive pit seems to have been Romano-British in date (Table 7.23). The large number of beads from the special deposit is also reflected in the wide variety of bead types found at the site (Table 7.24). There is a limited degree of type overlap with the other sites at a more general class level. The votive pit contained both Class 1 and Class 6 beads, while the earlier hoard deposit contained a more complex Class 11 bead. Despite the differences in

Table 7.19: A comparison of the frequency of glass beads in different features within different types of sites in Southwest England.

	"Lake Village"	Enclosed Settlement	Hillfort	Inhumation	Settlement	TOTAL
Inhumation	-	-	-	15	-	**15**
Mound	313	-	-	-	-	**313**
Ditch	-	-	-	-	1	**1**
Ditch-enclosure	-	1	-	-	-	**1**
Enclosure entrance	-	-	3	-	-	**3**
Hoard	-	-	8	-	-	**8**
Pit	-	6	8	-	4	**18**
Road	-	-	1	-	-	**1**
Roundhouse	-	1	4	-	1	**6**
Structure	-	-	-	-	1	**1**
Working Hollow	-	-	2	-	-	**2**
TOTAL	**313**	**8**	**26**	**15**	**7**	**369**

Table 7.20: A comparison of the frequency of glass beads in different types of features and the period of activity for sites in Southwest England.

	EIA	MIA	MIA /LIA	LIA	LIA/ER	RB	TOTAL
Inhumation	-	-	-	10	5	-	**15**
Mound	-	-	313	-	-	-	**313**
Ditch	-	-	-	-	1	-	**1**
Ditch-enclosure	-	-	3	-	-	-	**3**
Hoard	-	-	-	-	8	-	**8**
Pit	5	3	2	6	2	-	**18**
Road	-	-	-	-	1	-	**1**
Roundhouse	1	3	1	1	-	-	**6**
Structure	-	-	-	-	-	1	**1**
Working Hollow	-	2	-	-	-	-	**2**
TOTAL	**6**	**9**	**319**	**18**	**16**	**1**	**369**

Table 7.21: Chart showing the frequency of glass beads in different classes with the different features in Southwest England.

	Inhumation	Fort Road	Gully	Hearth	Hoard	Latrine	Mortuary Ring	Pit	Pit-Structure	Pit-Votive	Road	Mound	Roundhouse	Roundhouse-Posthole	Roundhouse-Ringditch	Slot	Souterraine	Special Deposit	Structure	Vicus Structure	Well	Working Hollow	Causeway	Cave	Ditch	Ditch-Enclosure	Enclosure Entrance	**TOTAL**
Class 1	19	-	1	-	8	-	-	8	-	-	-	179	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	3	**226**
Class 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	**3**
Class 3	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**9**
Class 4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**7**
Class 5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**3**
Class 6	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	117	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	**132**
Class 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 8	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**4**
Class 9	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
Class 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 11	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	**11**
TOTAL	**40**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**8**	**0**	**0**	**20**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**311**	**5**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**2**	**2**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**396**

Table 7.22: A comparison of the frequency of glass beads in different types of features and the types of sites in East Anglia.

	Hoard	Settlement	Other Activity	TOTAL
Hoard	1	-	-	**1**
Pit-Votive	-	3	-	**3**
Special Deposit	-	-	14	**14**
TOTAL	**1**	**3**	**14**	**18**

Table 7.23: A comparison of the frequency of glass beads found in different features with the period of activity in East Anglia.

	MIA/LIA	ER/RB	RB	TOTAL
Hoard	-	1	-	**1**
Pit-Votive	-	-	3	**3**
Special Deposit	14	-	-	**14**
TOTAL	**14**	**1**	**3**	**18**

Table 7.24: Chart showing the frequency of glass beads in different classes with the different features in East Anglia.

	Inhumation	Fort Road	Gully	Hearth	Hoard	Latrine	Mortuary Ring	Pit	Pit-Structure	Pit-Votive	Road	Mound	Roundhouse	Roundhouse-Posthole	Roundhouse-Ringditch	Slot	Souterraine	Special Deposit	Structure	Vicus Structure	Well	Working Hollow	Causeway	Cave	Ditch	Ditch-Enclosure	Enclosure Entrance	TOTAL
Class 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**3**
Class 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
Class 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
Class 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**3**
Class 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**6**
Class 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
Class 11	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**3**
TOTAL	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**3**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**14**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**18**

Table 7.25: A comparison of the frequency of glass beads in different contexts with the different types of sites in East Yorkshire.

	Inhumation	Ritual Site	Roman Military	Settle-ment	Roman Villa	TOTAL
Inhumation	857	-	-	-	-	**857**
Fort Road	-	-	2	-	-	**2**
Hearth	-	-	1	-	-	**1**
Latrine	-	-	1	-	-	**1**
Mortuary Ring	-	1	-	-	-	**1**
Pit	-	-	1	-	-	**1**
Pit-Structure	-	-	-	1	-	**1**
Slot	-	-	1	-	-	**1**
Structure	-	-	-	-	1	**1**
Vicus Structure	-	-	-	7	-	**7**
Well	-	-	-	-	1	**1**
TOTAL	**857**	**1**	**6**	**8**	**2**	**874**

Table 7.26: A comparison of the frequency of glass beads found in different contexts with the period of activity in East Yorkshire.

	MIA	ER	ER/RB	RB	TOTAL
Inhumation	856	-	1	-	**857**
Fort Road	-	2	-	-	**2**
Hearth	-	1	-	-	**1**
Latrine	-	1	-	-	**1**
Mortuary Ring	1	-	-	-	**1**
Pit	-	1	-	-	**1**
Pit-Structure	1	-	-	-	**1**
Slot	-	1	-	-	**1**
Structure	-	-	-	1	**1**
Vicus Structure	-	-	-	7	**7**
Well	-	-	-	1	**1**
TOTAL	**858**	**6**	**1**	**9**	**874**

Table 7.27: Chart showing the frequency of glass beads in different classes with the features that they were found in East Yorkshire.

	Inhumation	Fort Road	Gully	Hearth	Hoard	Latrine	Mortuary Ring	Pit	Pit-Structure	Pit-Votive	Road	Mound	Roundhouse	Roundhouse-Posthole	Roundhouse-Ringditch	Slot	Souterraine	Special Deposit	Structure	Vicus Structure	Well	Working Hollow	Causeway	Cave	Ditch	Ditch-enclosure	Enclosure Entrance	TOTAL
Class 1	597	2	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**612**
Class 2	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**16**
Class 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 4	99	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**100**
Class 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 6	142	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**143**
Class 7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 10	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
Class 11	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	**2**
TOTAL	**856**	**2**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**7**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**874**

Table 7.28: A comparison of the frequency of glass beads found in different types of features with the types of sites in Northeast Scotland.

	Settlement	**TOTAL**
Roundhouse-Posthole	1	**1**
Roundhouse-Ringditch	3	**3**
TOTAL	**4**	**4**

Table 7.29: A comparison of the frequency of glass beads found in different contexts with the period of activity in Northeast Scotland.

	LIA/ER	**TOTAL**
Roundhouse-Posthole	1	**1**
Roundhouse-Ringditch	3	**3**
TOTAL	**4**	**4**

Table 7.30: Chart showing the frequency of glass beads in different classes with the different features in Northeast Scotland.

	Inhumation	Fort Road	Gully	Hearth	Hoard	Latrine	Mortuary Ring	Pit	Pit-Structure	Pit-Votive	Road	Mound	Roundhouse	Roundhouse-Posthole	Roundhouse-Ringditch	Slot	Souterraine	Special Deposit	Structure	Vicus Structure	Well	Working Hollow	Causeway	Cave	Ditch	Ditch-Enclosure	Enclosure Entrance	TOTAL
Class 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
Class 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2		1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	**13**
Class 7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**1**
Class 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	**0**
Class 11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	**2**
TOTAL	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**1**	**3**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**2**	**0**	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**6**	**0**	**0**	**17**

depositional date, it is interesting that within this region, all glass beads from an excavated context are from unusual or 'ritual' practices.

East Yorkshire

The context of glass beads from East Yorkshire is known for 98% of the beads from this region. Unsurprisingly, most of these beads are from inhumations (Figure 7.38), but a number were also discovered in other contexts as the site type analysis suggested. A number of beads were found in various contexts within the Roman fort at Castleford, including a road, latrine, hearth, pit, and a slot. In addition, seven beads were from the civilian settlement at Castleford (no further details). It seems unusual that so many of these Iron Age beads are found in these Roman contexts, and may suggested continued local practices into the Romano-British period (Table 7.25), when there are so few beads deposited in the Early Roman/Romano-British period at other contemporary sites. This could be the result of excavation practice and the selection of sites chosen for study. Further beads were found in several other contexts including a mortuary ring and a pit that was part of a structure. In addition, two other beads come from a Roman villa structure and another from a well. However, the majority of the beads were deposited in Middle/Late Iron Age contexts (Table 7.26). These include both inhumations and several other contexts. Inhumations accounted for the highest variety of types found in any one context, while Class 1 beads are found in the largest number of feature types (Table 7.27). There is some overlap between features and the general class of bead found. For example, Class 6 beads were found in inhumations and a pit, and both Class 4 and Class 1 beads were found in mortuary ring contexts. Again, Class 1 beads are by far the most numerous, but they are also found in the widest variety of depositional features.

Northeast Scotland

Finally, in Northeast Scotland, where the majority of beads were stray or unclear in terms of their context, clear context is only known for 5% of the beads from this region (Figure 7.39). Most beads are found in roundhouse ditch contexts, while another example was found in a roundhouse posthole. Unfortunately, the wider context of the site is unknown for most of these beads (Table 7.28). The available data shows that four beads were found in settlement contexts and that these date to the Late Iron Age/Early Roman period (Table 7.29). Class 6 beads are by far the most represented class (Table 7.30). There are only a few examples of other classes in this data. It is hoped that as the final reports for both Birnie and Culduthel Farm are produced, this data will become clear.

7.4.2.2 Depositional Practices

The above analysis suggests that not only are beads found in different depositional contexts, but also this varies regionally. For example, in East Yorkshire the emphasis is on inhumation depositions, while in Southwest England, more beads are found in a variety of settlement contexts such as ditches, roundhouses, pits, or post-holes. However, by examining a specific context type and exploring this cross-regionally, it should be possible to understand some general trends. This section will explore two of the most prolific contexts types: pits and inhumations. But, first, it will explore bead deposition and the number of beads per deposition context.

Group vs. Single Depositions

One aspect that skews some of the general frequency data for glass bead finds is the occurrence of more than one bead per depositional context. In these cases, there seems reason to consider that their existence in the archaeological record could be due to deliberate deposition, rather than casual loss. Of course this does not mean that all single finds were due to chance or accidental loss, as when the context is known, they seem to come from clear features as discussed above. In a general sense, out of the 1,788 glass beads included in this study, 46% were found as single finds (including stray finds), meaning that just over half were found in contexts with at least one other typed glass bead. In this study, there were contexts with fewer than twenty beads (a minimum of two), and at the other extreme was a single context with 120 glass beads (although to this we could also add the 250 Class 1 Type 110 (Guido Class 8) beads from Culbin Sands, however the nature of the discovery is unclear). Figure 7.40 demonstrates the range of contexts with varying numbers of glass beads. Inhumations by far account for the largest concentrations of glass beads in any one context, while other context types account for very few numbers of glass beads.

Glass Beads in Pits

Glass beads have been found in twenty-two individual pits across the study regions in Southwest England, which reflects the nature of the archaeology of this region, and at fourteen different sites (Table 7.31). Multiple pits at individual sites with glass beads are restricted to Maiden Castle in Dorset and Swallowcliffe Down in Wiltshire, where there were six pits at the former and four pits at the latter. Only single pits with glass beads were found at the remaining sites, which also ranged in date as shown in the table.

Unfortunately, the excavation reports are often unclear as to the full contents of the pits, and any relationship between different layers within the pits is sometimes lost. There are a few exceptions, as at Conderton Camp. Although it is not explicit, it is possible to put together data from the report and determine that Pit C had eight layers. The dating at this site was established through a series of radiocarbon dates used to explore the chronology of the pottery sequence established for the site. This particular pit is of indeterminate date as the ceramic sherds were not abundant. Generally though, it was probably Middle Iron Age.

The Romano-British 'votive' pit from Billingford was relatively shallow at 0.21 meters. Fragmentary (possibly oak) wood chips were recovered from the surface and upper fill of the pit (Wallis 2011, 61). The interpretation of this pit as already mentioned; focusing on circularity it may have been a devotional offering to a deity, perhaps sun or sky related (Wallis 2011). One of the interesting aspects about the pit is the order in which the objects were

Table 7.31: List of sites where glass beads were found in pit contexts.

Site	Region	Date	Glass Bead	Pit Contents
21 Church Road, Bishop's Cleeve	SW England	MIA	Class 6 Type 901	MIA pottery
A417 Birdlip Bypass	SW England	MIA	Class 6 Type 1431	MIA pottery, dog skeleton
Cadbury Castle	SW England	-	Class 6 Type 1417	Decorated Glastonbury Ware
Claydon Pike: Warrens Field	SW England	LIA/ER	Class 11 Type 3003	Unknown details
Conderton Camp	SW England	MIA	Class 1 Type 102	Pit with pottery sherds at the bottom, middle layer with a bone pin fragment and an ovate pebble, below the modern turf was a glass bead, iron fragment and iron strip. The pit also contained animal bones and fired clay, but it is not clear which layer they were a part of.
Lidbury Camp	SW England	MIA/LIA	Class 2 Type 204	Bone needle (& frags.), sling stones, burnt clay, rubber fragment, hammer-stone, fossil echinus, pottery frags
Maiden Castle	SW England	LIA	Class 1 Type 110	Utilised pebble, iron blade
Maiden Castle	SW England	LIA	Class 1 Type 107	No other finds
Maiden Castle	SW England	LIA	Class 11 Type 2202	Chalk disc
Maiden Castle	SW England	LIA	Class 6 Type 1417	Unclear other than with Bii pottery
Maiden Castle	SW England	LIA	Class 6 Type 1407	Unclear other than with Bii pottery
Maiden Castle	SW England	LIA	Class 1 Type 106	Unclear other than with Bii pottery
Salmonsbury	SW England	MIA	Class 1 Type 102	Check
South Cadbury	SW England	-	Class 6 Type 1400	Glastonbury Ware
Swallowcliffe	SW England	EIA	Class 4 Type 427	Cu alloy awl, 2 bone gouges
Swallowcliffe	SW England	EIA	Class 1 Type 102	Chalk spindle whorl
Swallowcliffe	SW England	EIA	Class 1 Type 102	Weaving comb, 3 bone gouges, bone awl, sling bullet, chalk spindle whorl

Swallowcliffe	SW England	EIA	Class 1 Type 102	Animal bone, charcoal, pottery, loomweights, bone gouge, antler ferrule, sling stones, 2 iron knives, miniature pottery vessel
West Overton Down	SW England	LIA	Class 6 Type 1201	"occupation material", worn bone point
Billingford	East Anglia	Romano-British	Class 1 Type 106, 2 Class 6 Type 901	Cu alloy key, stone ring, Cu alloy torc, 2 cu alloy rings
Castleford	E Yorkshire	ER/RB	Class 6 Type 901	Trumpet brooch and colourless glass vessel fragment
Garton Slack 14	E Yorkshire	MIA	Class 1 Type 102	Jet ring, fragments of jet, animal rib spatula

Table 7.32: Table comparing the different types of objects found in pits with glass beads.

Site	Pottery	Animal Remains	Stone	Worked Bone/Antler	Textile Production	Iron	Clay	Fossil	Tool	Brooch	Glass Vessel	Torc	Key	Cu alloy Object
21 Church Road, Bishop's Cleeve	X													
Cadbury Castle	X													
South Cadbury	X													
A417 Birdlip Bypass	X	X												
Swallowcliffe	X	X	X	X	X	X								
Conderton Camp	X	X	X	X		X	X							
Lidbury Camp	X		X	X			X	X	X					
Swallowcliffe 22				X					X					
Swallowcliffe 36			X	X	X									
Garton Slack 14			X	X										
Maiden Castle			X											
West Overton				X										
Swallowcliffe 29					X									
Castleford										X	X			
Billingford			X									X	X	X

found and their relative positions. They were not found clustered together at the top or the bottom of the pit, rather they were spread out from the bottom to nearly the top. In addition, both the stone ring and the torc seem to have been placed so that they were standing upright, while the others were placed on their sides. Could this be due to casual placement within the pit such as haphazardly dropping the objects? Or were they carefully arranged in this way?

For the remaining depositions, clear contents are known for 13 pits. The contents of these pits were variable and some contain many objects and some have very few objects (Table 7.32). In depositions where glass beads were found with one other type of object, they occur with pottery, stone, worked bone/antler, or textile tools. More complex depositions contain a myriad of different artefact/ecofact types such as worked stone, tools, ferrous materials, and clay bits. The most frequently found materials are worked bone or antler, but also stone artefacts. Glass beads in pits are primarily found in the Southwest England region, and less so in other regions. While this could in part be reflecting differences in the number and types of sites that have been excavated in each region, it may also be reflecting regional practices. In Southwest England in particular, it seems that glass beads were an appropriate material for deposition within pits, although this seems to have occurred very rarely.

Glass Beads in Inhumations

In the study regions, glass beads were found in a total of 19 inhumations in all regions studied, except East Anglia. Where the details about the inhumation are known, all of these burials are single inhumation contexts, except for the inhumation at Garton Slack (burial 8 and 10 in grave 2) where there were two individuals, although the report specifies that all of the glass beads were clearly associated with only one skeleton (Brewster 1980, 257). Glass beads were found in these burial contexts both singly and as part of small and larger assemblages of glass beads. In addition, many of the inhumations contained additional artefacts, interpreted as grave goods, many of which appear to be personal items. Where the skeletal material has been analysed for biological traits indicating sex, it is always female or possible female. There have been no inhumations with Iron Age glass beads in any of the study regions where the sex is possibly or definitely male. In many of the antiquarian excavations, individuals in burials with glass beads have been assumed to be female as with the Clevedon cist burial, the Queen's Barrow, Arras, and at Barrow L, Cowlam.

Two major inhumation trends are reflected in the regional data. First, in Southwest England (Table 7.33), the inhumations primarily date to the Late Iron Age/Early and Roman/Romano-British periods where this information is clearly known. Unfortunately for the inhumations at Battlesbury Camp, Chedworth, and Teffont Evias a date other than probably 'Iron Age' is impossible to determine from the literature[16]. The three Dorset burials fall within the Late Iron Age/Early Roman ('Durotrigian') tradition. Whitcombe burial 3 only had one glass bead and the only other items in the grave were animal remains (pig and possibly horse), while burial 8 on the other hand, contained both local and imported pottery, and a number of beads that possibly formed a necklace, although the record is not clear. Both inhumations were female, but the richer burial (no. 8) is thought to be the remains of a younger individual than the other (no. 3). This may suggest that age alone does not determine identity, but that it may be dependent on lineage or some other unknown factor.

While the two Whitcombe burials contained objects consistent within this tradition, the Langton Herring Dorset burial contained some unusual artefacts including: a decorated mirror, several stone beads, two brooches, a perforated Roman coin, tweezers, and an armlet or bracelet. Another inhumation accompanied by a mirror was found nearby at Portesham

[16] Attempts to locate the skeletal material from Teffont Evias have thus far been unsuccessful, and it appears that they may have been lost during World War II.

Table 7.33: List of sites where glass beads were found in inhumations in Southwest England.

Site	Glass Beads (N)	Glass Bead Type	Date
Battlesbury Camp	1	Class 1 Type 110	IA
Chedworth	1	Class 4 Type 410	?
Teffont Evias	1	Class 1 Type 102	Iron Age?
Whitcombe (3)	1	Class 1 Type 107	1st century AD
Whitcombe (8)	9	Class 6 Type 901, Class 1 Type 107, 110	1st century AD
Wookey Hole	1	Class 1 Type 410	LIA/RB
Burn Ground Grave 7	2	Class 1 Type 110	Anglo-Saxon
Clevedon	18	Class 1 Type 110, Class 3 Type 301, 302; Class 6 Type 1003, Class 11 Type 3001	IA
Langton Herring	5	Class 1 Type 108, Class 5 Type 701, Class 8 Type 1604, Class 9 Type 1704, Class 11 Type 2801	LIA/ER

(Fitzpatrick 1997a). It was also likely female, but possibly older as her estimated age was between 26 and 45 years old (Fitzpatrick 1997a, 54). Bearing some similarity, the Langton Herring inhumation was possibly female and between 18 and 23 years old (Elizabeth Craig, pers. comm.). It is unfortunate that the context of the find was destroyed during its discovery, and it is unclear how the artefacts were placed in the grave in relation to the body. This may have been especially informative in terms of the glass beads and the perforated Roman coin. Nonetheless, it is clear that the five glass beads from this inhumation were unusual. Four of the beads are large and decorated, while the smallest one is a plain monochrome bead. All of the beads have larger perforation holes, and despite being found in a single context, there is little to indicate how these beads were used. Larger perforations suggest that they were perhaps threaded onto something with a large diameter, or perhaps an organic string (discussed further in Chapter 8).

The final inhumation in Southwest England with glass beads for which reliable data is available is a cist burial from Clevedon in Somerset. Despite being an early twentieth century find, and the bones being destroyed prior to an osteological examination, this inhumation is very unusual. Although the inhumation was contained in a cist, Whimster (1981, 74) did not see this particular cist, or other more northern examples (e.g. Henbury cemetery (Anon. 2005f), as an extension of the tradition centred around Scilly and Cornwall. Instead, he saw it, and others (such as at Birdlip), as a regional independent development. This particular inhumation, although not explicitly stated, was assumed to be female due to the presence of 18 glass beads (Gray 1942). There were no metal artefacts that accompanied the burial, and the only other grave goods were a pebble and a few encrinites. The only hint to the period of the inhumation is that a number of the beads are paralleled at Meare Lake Village. However, several of the beads are very unusual and no other glass beads like these have been discovered as the use of opaque red glass in Iron Age Britain is extremely rare (DB3252 - 3259).

The second major tradition is in the inhumations in East Yorkshire, where they primarily date to the end of the Middle Iron Age - from about the third century BC to the early second century BC (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012) - and it seems reasonable at present to extend this date more broadly across the known East Yorkshire burial tradition, in the absence of other absolute dates. There are a total of 24 known inhumations in East Yorkshire that contained glass beads (Table 7.34). Of these, 75% are located within the Garton/Wetwang Slack settlement and cemetery site. Five of the inhumations contained only one glass bead (burials 17, 102, 268, 270, 277) and another had two glass beads (burial 64). The remaining inhumations had between 18 and 79 glass beads each, while 120 glass beads were with the 2001 chariot burial. Only five of these inhumations had no other grave goods. The remaining 13 inhumations had a mix of different grave goods accompanying the body. Some were limited to just a pot and a sheep bone, while others had objects accompanying them. Stead's excavations at Rudston and Burton Fleming clearly show where the beads were found in relation to the body, although each of the four inhumations with glass beads only contained a single example. In each case it seems that a glass bead was placed on or near the head of the individual, although the only broken

Table 7.34: List of sites where glass beads were found in inhumations in East Yorkshire.

Site	Glass Beads (N)	Glass Bead Type	Date
Trentholme Drive, York	1	Class 10 Type 1800	RB
Burton Fleming BF 19	1	Class 6 Type 900	MIA
Makeshift burial R16	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Makeshift burial R 193	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Makeshift burial R2	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Queen's Barrow, Arras	71	Class 4 Type 411, 421, 424, 425, 426, 428; Class 6 Type 901, 905, 907	MIA
Barrow L, Cowlam	75	Class 4 Type 425; Class 9 Type 900, 901	MIA
Garton Slack 8 & 10 Grave 2 burial 1	35	Class 1 Type 201, Class 4 Type 410	MIA
Wetwang Slack Chariot Burial	120	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Wetwang Slack 17	1	Class 6 Type 1407	MIA
Wetwang Slack 64	2	Class 2 Type 102	MIA
Wetwang Slack 102	1	Class 6 Type 1001	MIA
Wetwang Slack 139	34	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Wetwang Slack 155	42	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Wetwang Slack 209	18	Class 2 Type 202; Class 6 Type 901	MIA
Wetwang Slack 210	70	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Wetwang Slack 236	79	Class 1 Type 102; Class 4 Type 420, 423	MIA
Wetwang Slack 249	75	Class 1 Type 102; Class 4 Type 417, 418, 421	MIA
Wetwang Slack 257	52	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Wetwang Slack 268	1	Class 6 Type 1417	MIA
Wetwang Slack 270	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Wetwang Slack 274	50	Class 4 Type 410, 417; Class 6 Type 901; Class 11 type 2301	MIA
Wetwang Slack 277	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA
Wetwang Slack 284	55	Class 1 Type 102; Class 4 Type 413, 414, 417; Class 6 Type 901	MIA
Wetwang Slack 376	76	Class 1 Type 102; Class 4 Type 501; Class 4 Type 503	MIA

Table 7.35: Frequency of inhumations in East Yorkshire.

Site	Indiv. (n)	Female	?Female	Male	?Male	Unknown	Inhumations with artefacts
Wetwang Slack	446	209	8	142	17	68	96
Rudston (Makeshift cemetery)	200	41	29	34	20	63	104
Rudston (Argam Lane)	19	4	3	5	4	3	9
Burton Fleming	22	3	6	4	3	6	19
Burton Fleming (Bell Slack)	46	6	9	11	4	12	18
Garton Slack	9	4	-	5	-	-	5
Kirkburn	11	4	-	4	-	2	6
TOTAL	753	271	55	205	48	154	257
		326		253			

Table 7.36: List of sites where glass beads were found in inhumations in Northeast Scotland.

Site	Glass Beads (N)	Glass Bead Type	Date
Inglismaldie House	1	Class 6 Type 1420	Unknown

example of a bead was found under pot sherds located near the head of burial BF19 (Stead 1991a, 292 and figure 119).

The Queen's Barrow from Arras, and Barrow L at Cowlam were both antiquarian finds from the nineteenth century excavated by Stillingfleet and Greenwell (Stead 1979). Methods utilised to determine sex of both inhumations are unclear, thus attribution of a female gender was probably due to the accompanying objects rather than through an osteological examination. Both inhumations included a single brooch, and the dates of these brooches have been used previously to date the inhumations. Although brooches are commonly used for dating, the unusual nature of both brooches adds confusion to the interpretations of both inhumations. For now, it may be best to think of these inhumations as late Middle Iron Age as well.

Descriptions of the other objects of dress found in these inhumations are discussed in Chapter 8.

East Yorkshire is well known for the Iron Age inhumation practice and in some cases for the lavish grave goods that accompany the inhumations. In general, some of the most spectacular inhumations have been the Kirkburn sword burial (Stead 1991a, K3), the various chariot burials, and many of the female burials. However, despite our understanding of this region as one where inhumation was commonly practiced in the Middle Iron Age, the grave goods that accompanied the individuals were not standardised. In fact, out of the 753 possible individuals represented at Wetwang Slack and from Stead's excavations at Rudston, Burton Fleming, Garton Slack, and Kirkburn, only 34% had a surviving grave goods (Table 7.35). This ranged from a sherd or two of pottery and/or possibly a pig or sheep bone, to more elaborate burials with brooches, bracelets, finger-rings, and of course glass beads. Only twenty of these inhumations (3%) contained glass beads in any number (excluding antiquarian finds and the 2001 chariot burial). Thus, if these cemeteries are in any way representative of the Middle Iron Age population, then it again hints at the rarity of glass beads. The variety of different types of objects found within the graves may suggest that an inhumation 'package' or standardised set of objects did not exist at this time. Instead, it may be that the objects placed in the graves actually reflect the items used or worn by that person in everyday life.

There is one bead from Northeast Scotland that reportedly was found in a burial cist (Table 7.36). As Chapter 4 demonstrated that there is very little evidence for inhumation in this region at this time, it may be a burial that is much later in date. However, the written description of the bead clearly indicates that it similar to the other triangular spiral beads from this region.

7.4.3 Summary

This section has examined the positive, and in some cases the negative, evidence for where glass beads have been found at the macro- (site) and micro- (context) scale. The pattern of glass bead deposition is different in each of these regions, depending on the local practice and this practice changes throughout the Iron Age. In general, glass beads are often found within settlements (enclosed and unenclosed), and often within domestic features such as near roundhouses or within pits. They are also found in inhumations with grave goods, and it may be that they belonged to the deceased. In either case, the number of sites where they have been found compared to the number of sites discussed here where they have not been found suggests that this object may have been extremely rare. This assumes that the number of glass beads found in the archaeological record is representative of the number of glass beads in circulation at the time. In the case of pottery, it has been suggested that the pottery in the archaeological record represents only a very small proportion of the objects actually in use at the time (Hill 1995b; Willis 1997).

Chronologically, there are very few identified glass beads from Early Iron Age contexts, but the majority of glass beads were found in deposits of the third and second century BC, primarily in Somerset and East Yorkshire. Whether the beads themselves were manufactured in Europe and deposited in Britain, or were made in Britain from European/Mediterranean glass sources, this significant episode of deposition in two different locations (i.e. Southwest England and East Yorkshire) points to a higher degree of continental contact that occurred in the Middle Iron Age. Although such activity is usually attributed to the end of the first millennia BC (Hill 1995a). However, in the case of glass beads, it seems that this pattern ends abruptly just before or around the first century BC, and does not continue in significant numbers into the first century BC/AD. Although the degree to which Britain was isolated throughout prehistory, including the Early and Middle Iron Age has long been a topic of debate (e.g. Cunliffe 2007; Hill

1995a), there is growing evidence to support that Britain was not completely cut off from Europe, and may even have had significant contact with communities across the channel (Cunliffe & de Jersey 1997; Henderson 2008). Water features, such as the Bristol Channel and Humber Estuary potentially played an important role in cross-channel trade (Moore 2003).

7.5 Discussion

There are many ways that glass beads could be explored spatially. This chapter began by examining some of the broad patterns through typology distribution, which has shown that by using a more precise typology there are patterns in the deposition of beads when regions are compared. It then investigated the nature of the data in order to understand the impact of developer-funded excavations on the number of Iron Age beads known. This has shown that despite the large number of excavations there has not been a parallel increase in the number of beads discovered. The reasons behind this are numerous; however, there are two recent developer-funded excavations where glass beads have been found in large numbers that are of national importance (forthcoming, but see: Malone 2010; Murray 2007a). Although final publication is forthcoming for both sites, the finds and context could radically alter our perceptions of these object.

The site and feature analysis compared where glass beads were present and absent. While the discovery of glass beads could be an effect of the size and placement of trenches, this analysis has shown that there is evidence to suggest that glass beads were rare and that patterns of deposition follow regional practices. Finally, analyses of chronology in all sections, and some discussions from Chapter 5, shows that there are several examples of glass beads in Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age contexts, but that there were major depositional episodes in two study regions between the third and second century BC. Even when the beads from the lake villages and East Yorkshire burials are excluded, this trend is still visible. This is significant given the increase in brooch deposition in the Late Iron Age, and is discussed further in Chapter 8 (Haselgrove 1997; Jundi & Hill 1997).

This chapter has shown that there are patterns in the spatial deposition of glass beads in Britain. It is essential to recognise that these analyses only reflect the end of the life history of the beads, and do not represent the changing meaning or changing practices during the active use period of the bead. Therefore, by examining the site type and feature type, we can only consider practices that relate to the individual acts connected with bead deposition.

In terms of bead deposition, the data suggests that there were multiple practices occurring simultaneously. First, beads were included with human remains during in burials. This ranges from a single bead, to several, to just over fifty. The second practice is the occurrence of what is often a single bead within domestic contexts: within roundhouse features, pits, or enclosure ditches. It is this group of finds that is most troubling. How and why did they enter the archaeological record? Is this practice an accurate reflection of the beads that were in circulation during the Iron Age? It is clear that at least some of these beads were not simply discarded; many are unbroken, complete examples. So, if they were not all discarded as rubbish, some may have been accidental losses or even intentional deposits. If this is the case, then it would be difficult to sustain an argument that these beads are representative of all of Iron Age beads, as Hill (1995b) has argued. Although, beads found in these contexts do not demonstrate how the bead was used in connection with dress, it does demonstrate that as an object of dress a bead was sometimes suitable for inclusion within these circumstances.

The finds from the so-called lake villages at Meare and Glastonbury in Somerset present a different problem. The 300+ glass beads found during these excavations are out of proportion compared to the finds from other contexts. Most of these finds were attributed to different mounds, which were thought to be the locations of various habitation structures. Overall, the finds from this site are generally acknowledged as remarkable due to the quantity and preservation, but do they represent an accurate reflection of past activity? Or are these objects wrapped up with the same issues of depositional intentionality as at other sites, despite the level of preservation? This relates back to the processes that created the archaeological record. It is unclear how daily life would have been radically different on the lake villages compared to other non-wetland occupational sites, especially given that they were not communities isolated from the rest of the southwest as demonstrated by the shared artefact types. For glass beads, the large numbers and consistent use of colourless and opaque yellow glass have been used as a basis for the suggestion that manufacturing occurred here (Guido 1978a; Henderson 1982; 1989).Very few examples of these beads were broken, suggesting that they did not enter the archaeological record as rubbish. So, why would so many glass beads be found throughout the site, and why would they enter the archaeological record at the same site where that they were manufactured? Perhaps they too were a part of an intentional, possibly ritual, deposit. Similarly, at Culduthel Farm near Inverness, although the site does have evidence for both glass beads and glass working, why are the beads deposited in presumably the same place that they were manufactured?

Aside from glass beads found in inhumations and domestic contexts or other occupations, they generally were not found in any other contexts, for example: in hoards or in watery contexts. The major exceptions to this pattern are the pit depositions at Billingford in Norfolk and at Santon Downham in Suffolk. Although later in date, it is interesting that these hoards occur in the same region as the torc depositions at Snettisham. Other than the beads from the lake villages, they are not otherwise found in contexts related to water. Perhaps glass beads were unsuitable for inclusion in most hoards.

Given that the circumstances of the bead depositions (in domestic and inhumation contexts) suggest a deliberate act rather than a straightforward reflection of the refuse of daily domestic life, the argument that glass beads were inherently a high-status object or conversely that the status of a site is reflected in the number of so-called prestige objects, is untenable. In the case of glass beads at domestic sites, the presence or absence of glass beads within site features is more a reflection of a particular act at a particular time with the 'correct' material for deposition on hand (Fontijin 2012; Kopytoff 1986). However, as it is this deliberately deposited material and surviving refuse that is available, in some cases it can still demonstrate the interconnectivity between communities, albeit with only the end node of the network known. For instance, beads with the 'Meare' style design and use of colour are found at other sites in the southwest, with two extreme examples considered here in East Yorkshire and East Anglia. The East Yorkshire examples were the only glass beads found in Burials 102 and 268. It is unclear if these possible female burials were from outside the local community as samples from these inhumations were not subject to isotopic study (Jay & Richards 2006). Assuming that these two individuals were local, perhaps these particular beads were valuable or treasured because the items passed through a long network of communities before being acquired by the community that lived at Wetwang/Garton Slack. Or perhaps because the colours were so different from the other beads found in this region, their uniqueness amongst the community created a feeling of value. Long distance trade networks, and the value of particular materials despite the distance from the source, has also been demonstrated for quern stones, which existed alongside the local regional trade of pottery (Moore 2003).

For understanding how dress was created in Iron Age Britain, it is the beads from inhumation contexts that really provide the context for understanding how they were worn on the body. It is through these studies of context that it has been possible to bring together analyses of spatial distribution and the links between different types of beads that will be explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 8

Regional Bodily Adornment

8.1 Introduction

Glass beads are simultaneously both a part and a whole (for fragmentation in archaeology, see: Chapman 2000; Chapman & Gaydarska 2007; Fowler 2004). Strands of individual glass beads can be used to create a necklace, or bracelet, but can also be used together in a myriad of other ways, such as hair ornaments, sewn onto textiles or other garments, attached to other objects, or they could be carried as a curio or trinket. However, multiple beads are not necessary for use, as single beads can be treated in the same way, although with a different effect. The best evidence for how glass beads were used is derived from burial evidence, where beads placed on or around the body and may indicate the method in which they were worn. Despite the scarcity of inhumation burials and their geographic and chronological limitations, combined with the potential that such burials were reserved for certain individuals or circumstances (i.e. the Clevedon cist burial), it is from this data that we can begin to posit a wider understanding of dress during the Iron Age.

While previous chapters have considered glass beads individually in terms of their overall visual characteristics (Chapter 5 and 6), and the context of their deposition (Chapter 7), this chapter will specifically examine the way they were used in connection with the body. By drawing on inhumation evidence, this chapter will first demonstrate how glass beads formed a part of dress and will then put them into the wider context of other objects through an examination of other artefacts included in inhumations. Evidence from settlements that might explain the way in which glass beads were used on the body is rare, but a short examination of the evidence from Meare Lake Village will be given. Following these analyses, regional data for dress, particularly from brooches, pins, torcs, bracelets (including objects described as armlets, anklets, and arm-rings), and finger/toe-rings will be examined to determine patterns of regional dress. Finally, this data will be put into a wider context by a comparison to object distributions listed with the Portable Antiquities Scheme. It is from these analyses that it will be possible to begin to see regional patterns of material culture related to dress, and different regional identities.

8.2 Glass Bead Use

Evidence for the way in which glass beads were used is best derived from the context of the finds (as discussed in Chapter 7). Multiple beads found together may indicate that they were worn together. While this may be true to some extent for groups of beads found together in settlement contexts, their placement may not accurately reflect past practice. However, the presence of multiple beads is unusual (as shown in Chapter 7) and may therefore represent a larger object made from several glass beads. In contrast, beads found in burials, especially those instances with multiple beads, may indicate where on the body they were worn and in what manner, such as the arrangement of beads if strung or sewn to a garment. Unfortunately, this level of clarity is not always expressed in the excavation report, but the location of the beads in relation to the body is more likely to be recorded. Drawing on information from inhumations and settlement contexts, this section examines the evidence for the way in which the beads were used and in the case of inhumation contexts, it also places glass beads into the wider context of dress by comparing the different types of accompanying material culture that may have been a part of the individual's daily dress.

8.2.1. Inhumations

The number of inhumations under consideration, as demonstrated in Chapter 7, is very few. Those of Iron Age date found within the Southwest England and East Yorkshire study regions have only been considered here (the two possible cist burials from Northeast Scotland are unverified), and although many of the beads from Grandcourt Quarry in Norfolk were found in the same rich pottery spread, it is unlikely that they were worn together (Schech Forthcoming-b). This is partly due to the scattered nature of their finds spots at the site, but also because of the range of types and sizes. Even within the large numbers of inhumation burials in East Yorkshire, where this seems to have been the normative practice for a short period of time, the number of inhumations where glass beads occur are extremely rare. As shown in Chapter 7, inhumations with glass beads account for less than 3% of the known individual inhumations in this region. In Southwest England, the burial practice is inconsistent and scattered, suggesting that this was never a standard practice (Carr & Knüsel 1997; Moore 2006b), except perhaps for the Late Iron Age burials in Dorset.

One of the difficulties with interpreting the objects found within these inhumations is it may be that there were specific reasons for individuals in both regions to have been chosen for inhumation and that they may not be representative of the population. Another problem is that the artefacts accompanying the body may not have necessarily been worn by that individual in life. Although these may be a problem and a potential bias in an interpretation of the practices of dress, this issue can be addressed by putting such an analysis into a wider context through an analysis of other objects related to dress from outside inhumation contexts (Section 8.3). This section will examine in detail the beads found in inhumations, evidence for how they were used, and finally discuss the wider evidence for dress through the other material culture included in the inhumations.

8.2.1.1. East Yorkshire Inhumations

Necklace Length

As demonstrated in previous chapters, the inclusion of glass beads within inhumations was not only rare, but the number and types of beads also varied considerably. If strung together as a single strand, the glass beads from each of these inhumations would have formed a necklace of different lengths (contextual comparison of placement in grave that supports that these glass beads formed necklaces is presented below). Necklaces of different lengths would have had different impacts on both the viewer and the wearer (Figure 8.1). A shorter necklace (approximately 355 mm), when worn around the neck, is very snug and potentially could inhibit breathing if worn too tight. A very long necklace (approximately 838 mm) hangs below the chest and is more likely to swing around during movement of the body, and potentially bump into other objects and possibly cause damage to the beads. The number of beads needed to make a smaller or longer strand is dependent on the size of the beads themselves, as well as the consistency in size. Different sizes of beads would also affect the weight of the overall strung object, but in general a smaller necklace will be lighter than a longer necklace.

In East Yorkshire inhumations where more than 1 glass bead was found accompanying the body, only nine out of thirteen inhumations had enough glass beads to form a strand long enough to go around a neck (approx. 355.0 mm, Figure 8.2). Glass beads from Wetwang Slack burials 284, 210, and 257, would have formed a very short necklace or choker that sits right around the neck. Glass beads from Wetwang Slack burials 236, 376, 249, and 274, would have created a necklace of medium length that would sit just below the collarbone. And finally, the Cowlam L necklace and Arras Queeen's barrow would have formed the longest necklaces with the former hanging as low as the mid-sternum, and the latter at the bottom of the sternum.

Table 8.1: Comparison of East Yorkshire burials and bead types. Dark grey highlight indicates bead types that are repeated across necklaces, light grey highlight indicates bead types that only occur singly on one necklace and are not found elsewhere.

Necklace/Burial Context	Type 102	106	202	410	411	413	414	417	418	420	421	423	424	425	426	428	501	503	900	901	905	907	2301	Total
Queen's Barrow	-	-	-	-	19	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	14	1	1	1	-	-	-	10	1	13	-	64
Cowlam Barrow L	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	4	59	-	-	-	64
Garton Slack, G2B1	28	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	35
WWS Chariot Burial	120	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	120
Wetwang Burial 139	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
Wetwang Burial 155	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	42
Wetwang Burial 209	-	-	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	18
Wetwang Burial 210	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
Wetwang Burial 236	63	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	79
Wetwang Burial 249	59	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	1	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	75
Wetwang Burial 257	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	52
Wetwang Burial 274	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	47	-	-	1	50
Wetwang Burial 284	46	-	-	-	-	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	54
Wetwang Burial 376	72	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	76
Wetwang Burial 64	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
TOTAL	588	1	16	8	19	4	2	13	1	12	8	4	14	2	1	1	2	1	4	119	1	13	1	835

Table 8.2: Comparison of different motifs found on East Yorkshire necklaces.

		Motif Type							
		Plain Blue	Plain Green	Melon	Simple Eye	Complex Eye	Wave/zig-zag	Double Wave/zig-zag	TOTAL
Necklace/Burial Context	Queen's Barrow	-	-	-	40	-	24	-	64
	Cowlam Barrow L	-	-	-	1	-	63	-	64
	Garton Slack, Grave 2 Barrow 1	28	-	-	7	-	-	-	35
	Wetwang Chariot Burial	120	-	-	-	-	-	-	120
	Wetwang Burial 139	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	34
	Wetwang Burial 155	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	42
	Wetwang Burial 209	-	-	16	-	-	2	-	18
	Wetwang Burial 210	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
	Wetwang Burial 236	63	-	-	-16	-	-	-	79
	Wetwang Burial 249	59	-	-	-16	-	-	-	75
	Wetwang Burial 257	52	-	-	-	-	-	-	52
	Wetwang Burial 274	-	-	-	1	-	47	1	50
	Wetwang Burial 284	46	-	-	-7	-	1	-	54
	Wetwang Burial 376	72	1	-	-	3	-	-	76
	Wetwang Burial 64	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total		588	1	16	88	3	137	1	835

The remaining four groups of beads (Wetwang Slack burials 155, 209, 139, and the 2001 chariot burial), would not on their own form a length long enough to go around an adult sized neck. Approximately 356 mm is used as the minimum needed to go around an average adult's neck as the modern industry standard. Although it may be possible that the average adult's neck circumference in the Iron Age was smaller than the modern neck circumference, given that the largest of this group of beads would have only made a strand approximately 207.4 mm long, it seems unlikely that they were used in this way. However, the beads from Wetwang Slack burials 139 and 155 were found next to the individual's neck suggesting that they were worn at or around this area. John Dent (pers. comm.) has suggested that the remaining length of these necklaces would have been made up of beads of organic material that has not survived. Another possibility is that they were simply strung onto a material such as a cord or leather thong that was of the necessary length to go around the individual's neck. The result would be a necklace with loose beads that could easily shift around on the threading material possibly creating noise as the beads clacked against each other. Another possibility is that they were not strung, and may have been worn in the hair or sewn onto a garment in the neck or shoulder region.

The beads from Wetwang Slack burial 209 and the 2001 chariot burial were not found around or near the individual's neck. The unusual beads from burial 209 were found scattered over the body and it has been suggested that this individual's death and burial were not closely contemporary and the body may even have been mummified (John Dent, pers. comm.). Therefore, it is unclear how these beads were worn, especially given that these very large beads probably would not have formed a strand long enough to go around a neck. However, it is possible that some of the beads were lost between death and burial, but no other examples of this type of bead have been found in Britain.

The beads from the 2001 chariot burial form another unusual case. This is the only instance in which 120 miniscule glass beads have been found and they were in association with a mirror. It has been suggested that these beads formed part of a tassel that was hung from the mirror or a bag enclosing the mirror (Hill 2001). It is also possible that they were sewn onto a textile or leather bag, as there may not have been enough beads to form such a tassel.

Overall, the necklace length data suggests that most of the glass beads found together would have formed a full strand that would have been relatively short, some just around the neck, others slightly longer. As necklaces, they would have drawn attention to the neck and upper chest region. It is really only the Cowlam L and Queen's Barrow necklaces that are exceptionally long if worn as a single strand, making these two individuals stand out from the rest. These would have drawn attention to a wider area of the upper torso.

Bead Types

When comparing the different types of beads used on these necklaces, it is interesting that there is some overlap of types and others that remain unique (Table 8.1). The Queen's Barrow necklace is exceptional because it is made up of the largest range of bead types compared to all other necklaces. Out of the nine types found on this necklace, three types are shared with other necklaces. Interestingly, the widely occurring Type 102 plain blue beads are not found on the Queen's Barrow necklace, but are found on nearly every other East Yorkshire necklace. Table 8.1 also highlights that there are five types of glass beads that are shared between necklaces (highlighted in grey, Type 410 is a dummy type for beads where details are unclear). This includes the plain blue Type 102 beads, Type 417 blue beads with three green and white eyes, Type 421 blue beads with nine blue and white eyes, Type 425 blue beads with twelve blue and white eyes, and Type 901 blue beads with white zig-zag/wave design. There are also fifteen bead types that only occur on single necklaces where there is no cross-over. In cases where certain bead types are not shared across multiple necklaces the types only occur once, but in others this bead type is repeated.

Bead Dimensions

Further support for the similarity between beads on necklaces within each inhumation can be seen in the dimensions of the beads. This was introduced briefly in Chapter 6; however, this section will take a more detailed approach. Figure 8.3 compares all known bead dimensions from those forming necklaces under discussion in the current section. Some discernible groupings can be seen, such as those from Cowlam Barrow L and Wetwang burial 274, but in general, there is a large amount of overlap particularly around 10 mm LongPerf (Diameter) and 5 mm Height measurements. By singling out specific types, it is possible to search for patterns of bead size between each of the necklaces. For example, the most numerous type of bead is Type 102 plain blue beads. When the dimensions of these beads are plotted, there is much overlap (Figure 8.4) even though visually some of these beads appear to be very different. This demonstrates that these individual plain beads fall a similar same size range and there is not a clear definition of bead size that is apparent between the necklaces. It may be that many of these beads were interchangeable, or that there was little differentiation between these plain beads. In essence, they would have been considered to be 'the same'. There is a similar trend seen for Types 417 (Figure 8.5), and 421 (Figure 8.6), although there are far fewer examples of these to be compared. There are some differences in size, such as the example from Wetwang burial 284 (Type 417), is clearly smaller in diameter compared to those from burials 236 and 274. However, this could be an effect of the small sample size.

In comparison, Type 901 shows a very different pattern (Figure 8.7). Most examples of this type are found in the Cowlam Barrow L and the Wetwang burial 274 forming two distinct size-based clusters with some overlap. Visual comparison of these beads shows that the burial 274 examples are much more weathered, but could in fact be the same as the Cowlam Barrow L beads[17]. Based on dimensions and decorative motif, however, the beads for each necklace were specifically chosen based on size, with the burial 274

[17] It may be that different soil conditions have caused the beads from these two burials to weather differently. This needs to be investigated further.

beads being slightly but consistently larger. The overlap may suggest that either they were made in the same place and same time, but were part of different batches, or that there may have been some trade or interaction between groups of people. Perhaps they were all a part of one large necklace that was later split into two. The similarity in size between the burial 274, 209, and Queen's Barrow Type 901 beads further suggests interaction between people.

Within the Wetwang necklaces, given that all of the inhumations were from a single site that is connected with a nearby settlement, it probably is not unusual for there to be cross-over in different types. However, the more distant connection with the Arras and Cowlam necklaces suggests a wider network of communication and interaction. Within and between these sites, why do the same bead types occur on different necklaces? And, why are there bead types for which there is no comparison? Do these connections between necklaces indicate both local connections and regional networks of people that perhaps exchanged beads either through gifting or other forms of exchange? Would beads that are seemingly unique amongst the necklaces have been consistently recognised and possibly indicate some wider network of communication? This is a question that is returned to in Chapter 9.

Pattern and Repetition

While much of this analysis has focused on individual bead characteristics and bead types, these beads were worn together as part of a larger object, whether as a necklace or other decorative element. One observable pattern is repetition of bead types and in some cases pattern (Table 8.2). Beads from Wetwang burials 139, 155, 210, 257, and 64 were only plain annular or globular beads. All other necklaces had beads with patterns in their entirety or made up a component of the necklace. For example, the Queen's Barrow necklace is made entirely out of beads with simple eyes and beads with wave/zig-zag motifs, the beads from Burial 209 are all melon beads, and the necklaces from burials 236 and 249 incorporate both plain and beads with simple eyes in approximately the same proportion. Unusual motifs are the complex eye from burial 376 and the double wave/zig-zag from burial 274.

Although it is tempting to study beads on an individual basis, it is important to consider how they may have been used. Through repetition and alternation with other types of beads, an overall pattern is created. Partial reconstructions of glass bead necklaces are shown in Figures 8.8 through 8.10 that try to bring out the overall effect of how the necklace would have appeared. Although these are idealised reconstructions, they nonetheless provide an aid in illustrating the dominant trend in their appearance. The unusual melon beads from burial 209 would have created a striking pattern of beads simple in colour, but complex in form when compared to the simple plain blue beads. The thinner sections of each of the lobes may have allowed for greater opportunity for light to be transmitted through the glass and thus increasing their 'blueness'. The necklace from burial 274 is made almost entirely out of single wave/zig-zag annular/globular beads, which when strung together gives the illusion of a multi-component chevron repeating design throughout the necklace. Three beads, however, are different. These include a bead with a double wave/zig-zag, and a bead with three eyes made from white and green glass and another eye bead of unknown description. Perhaps the two eye beads represented the eyes of a face amid the confusion of the moving zig-zagging lines. Beads from burial 249 are primarily plain blue beads, but there are also two different types of eye beads. Most are plain blue beads with three eyes made from white and what appears to be green glass, but there is also one cylindrical blue bead with twelve eyes made from white and blue glass. The repetition of the eye motif gives the necklace an overall 'spotty' appearance. The repetition in the overall pattern suggests that different motifs were deliberately brought together to form a consistent pattern throughout.

In contrast, although not interpreted as having been a necklace or other object worn on the body, we return to the 120 tiny glass beads from the 2001 Wetwang Slack Chariot burial. As it has been suggested that the beads formed a tassel (Hill 2001), two experimental reconstructions with similarly sized beads were undertaken utilising two different methods[18]. First, the strands of the tassel were created where each one was made entirely of beads (Figure 8.11a). As there were only 120 beads, four strands with thirty beads each made a very small tassel (only approximately 55 mm long). With the given number of beads, additional strands would render the overall tassel even shorter. The second method used to make the tassel required more strands, but fewer beads on each strand (Figure 8.11b). Using this method, forty strands were used with three beads on each strand. Here the length of the tassel is not determined by the number of beads, but by the length of the material utilised to string the beads. While the resulting tassel is interesting, and fuller in shape, it is very easily tangled. It is very difficult to interpret these beads as no other beads from this period are as small. However, it seems unlikely that given their size and the small number that they were used in this way.

Hill's current interpretation is that the beads formed the drawstring of the bag that held the mirror, or were directly attached to the mirror's handle (pers. comm.), yet this also seems unlikely. These delicate beads have such a tiny perforation, that only material such as horsehair or individual flax fibers

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[18] Using modern glass beads of approximately the same size: Average Diameter: 2.085mm, Average Height: 1.36mm, from a sample statistically representative of all beads used (n=20) Agresti, A. & B. Finlay, 2009. *Statistical Methods for the Social Sciences,* New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall., 126.

could be passed through. It is unlikely that these beads formed a part of an object that would be put under stress, as it would take very little pressure to snap the fiber and render the beads lost. Even as a tassel, these beads may have been under the same stress. A continuous loop (Figure 8.11c), would be long enough to be tied around a wrist, so perhaps they were used in this way, but placed in the bag for safe keeping. Or, they may have been sewn to the bag or other textile or skin object.

Placement on the Body

The glass beads from the East Yorkshire burials stand out compared to other glass beads found throughout Britain. It is a rare situation that allows interpretations of how they were used and where they were placed on the body. It has already been mentioned (Chapter 7) that the number of inhumations in East Yorkshire where glass beads do occur is very limited compared to the hundreds of inhumations. However, glass beads are only one type of object that was included within the inhumations. In most of these, other objects are found alongside the glass beads including pottery and brooches (Table 8.3). Where gender has been determined through osteoarchaeological methods, inhumations with glass beads have been determined to be female, possibly female, or gender undetermined, suggesting that they were worn predominantly or exclusively by females (see Table 7.37).

Within the East Yorkshire burials the location of the object included in the grave hints at how it was used, or at least in what form it was placed within the burial (Table 8.4). For glass beads, it has been suggested that they were worn as necklaces, because of their location next to the individual. In most cases, they were found next to the head or neck, interestingly with the exception of seven cases. In four inhumations, the beads were found next to the shoulder: Wetwang burials 268, 270 and 277 (single beads), and

Table 8.3: List of sites where glass beads were found in inhumations in East Yorkshire.

Site	Glass Beads (N)	Glass Bead Type	Date	Details
Burton Fleming BF 19	1	Class 6 Type 900	MIA	?sex, 35-45 years old, with large pottery sherds, iron brooch, iron ring on neck, glass bead and iron fragment under pot, sheep bone with pot.
Makeshift burial R16	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	?female, age 25-35, in coffin with a pot in front of face, glass bead under skull near ear, also sheep bone in pot
Makeshift burial R 193	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	?female, age 25-45, cu alloy ring on neck, glass bead on face, iron fragment near right elbow
Makeshift burial R2	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	?sex, age 17-25, pot over ankles, iron brooch in front of face, glass bead between right shoulder and skull, shale bracelet on left forearm, sheep bone beneath skull
Queen's Barrow, Arras	71	Class 4 Type 411, 421, 424, 425, 426, 428; Class 6 Type 901, 905, 907	MIA	Assumed female, with: fibula, pendant, 2 Cu alloy bracelets, gold ring, toilet set, amber ring, Cu ring
Barrow L, Cowlam	75	Class 4 Type 425; Class 9 Type 900, 901	MIA	Assumed female, with: bracelet, brooch, shale bracelet fragment
Garton Slack 8 & 10 Grave 2 burial 1	35	Class 1 Type 201, Class 4 Type 410	MIA	Female, aged 25-30, supine, trussed, beads along chest and behind neck, with: bone ring
Wetwang Slack Chariot Burial	120	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	Female, aged 35-45, Burial with vehicle, horse objects, iron mirror, involute brooch. Beads found in area around mirror, suggested to be a tassel
Wetwang Slack 17	1	Class 6 Type 1407	MIA	?sex, ?adult, crouched, left side. Bronze pin found against skull, glass bead on chest.
Wetwang Slack 64	2	Class 2 Type 102	MIA	Female, 20-25 years, Cu alloy ring with the two glass beads and one amber bead threaded on, plus a pair of tweezers.
Wetwang Slack 102	1	Class 6 Type 1001	MIA	Female, 25-35 years, with jet or shale bead.
Wetwang Slack 139	34	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	Female, 25-35 years old.
Wetwang Slack 155	42	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	Female, 25-35 years old, with: 2 Cu alloy bracelets, possible earring,

Wetwang Slack 155	42	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	Female, 25-35 years old, with: 2 Cu alloy bracelets, possible earring, brooch with possible coral inlay.
Wetwang Slack 209	18	Class 2 Type 202; Class 6 Type 901	MIA	Female, 30-35 years old.
Wetwang Slack 210	70	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	Female, 35-35 years old, with: Cu alloy bracelet and Cu alloy ring with tweezers and 1 bead
Wetwang Slack 236	79	Class 1 Type 102; Class 4 Type 420, 423	MIA	Female, 35-45 years old, with S-brooch and Cu alloy bracelet
Wetwang Slack 249	75	Class 1 Type 102; Class 4 Type 417, 418, 421	MIA	Female, 35-45 years old
Wetwang Slack 257	52	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	Female, 20-25 years old, with: Cu alloy ring
Wetwang Slack 268	1	Class 6 Type 1417	MIA	Female, 25-35 years old, with iron brooch
Wetwang Slack 270	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	Female, 35-45 years old, with La Tène I brooch, 3 iron staples
Wetwang Slack 274	50	Class 4 Type 410, 417; Class 6 Type 901; Class 11 type 2301	MIA	Female, 35-45 years old, Cu alloy brooch
Wetwang Slack 277	1	Class 1 Type 102	MIA	Female, 35-45 years old, with pot and sheep bone
Wetwang Slack 284	55	Class 1 Type 102; Class 4 Type 413, 414, 417; Class 6 Type 901	MIA	Female, 35-45 years old
Wetwang Slack 376	76	Class 1 Type 102; Class 4 Type 501;	MIA	Female 25-35 years old

Wetwang burial 274 (forty-nine beads); two cases where the beads were not in direct association with the body: Burton Fleming burial 19 (single bead under a pot), and the 2001 chariot burial (120 beads associated with a mirror); and finally, Wetwang burial 209 where the beads were found scattered over the human remains (not included in Table 8.4). In these cases it may be that the beads were not worn by the individual at the time of inhumation, because they did not constitute everyday wear, or because although the beads were strongly associated with the individual, they were not worn at the time of death. Alternatively, they may have been added to the inhumation by the community in commemoration of the deceased individual.

Other artefacts included within the inhumations (all form East Yorkshire) include other types of beads made from materials such as amber, copper-alloy, and jet, as well as brooches, pins, bracelets, and finger- or toe-rings. Out of 127 inhumations with artefacts of dress, approximately 78% only contained a single object (Figure 8.12). The 'richest' burial in terms of the number of objects related to dress is the Queen's Barrow, which included eight individual objects and again highlights the unusual nature of this inhumation. By far, the most frequent type of artefact was the brooch (Figure 8.13), and in contexts where only one type of dress object occurs, it is most often a brooch. Necklaces made from beads were relatively rare, with bracelets and brooches occurring more frequently. Object types that occurred even less frequently include pendants, finger-rings, toe-rings, the possible torc, and anklets. So, while comparing the number of inhumations with glass beads to the overall number of known excavated inhumations (400+), it suggests that while glass bead necklaces are extremely rare, there are other objects that occur even less frequently. If the objects included in these inhumations reflect who was using them, then this suggests that very

Table 8.4: Comparison of different artefact types and their location on the body where known from East Yorkshire.

Object	Head	Neck	Arm	Elbow	Forearm	Wrist	Hand	Finger	Knee	Ankle	Feet	Toe	Shoulder	U.Body	L.Body	Body	Total
Amber bead		**1**															**1**
Cu-alloy bead	**2**												**1**				**3**
Cu-alloy Bead/Ring	**1**																**1**
Cu-alloy Ring w/ 3 Glass Beads	**1**																**1**
Glass Bead	**2**	**12**											**4**			**2**	**20**
Stone Bead/Ring	**2**										**1**						**3**
Jet Bead	**1**	**2**															**3**
Cu-alloy Pendant		**1**															**1**
Amber ring								**1**									**1**
Bone ring								**1**									**1**
Toe-Ring												**1**					**1**
Cu-alloy Toe-Ring												**1**					**1**
Anklet										**1**							**1**
Cu-alloy Bracelet					**4**	**4**								**1**			**9**
Jet Bracelet					**1**												**1**
Stone Bracelet					**2**												**2**
Brooch	**1**																**1**
Cu-alloy Brooch	**2**	**1**											**1**	**1**		**1**	**6**
Iron Brooch	**19**	**13**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**1**	**3**		**1**				**7**	**6**	**5**		**61**
Iron Pin	**2**	**1**									**1**						**4**
Cu-alloy Earring	**1**																**1**
Iron Ring		**1**															**1**
Cu-alloy Ring		**2**															**2**
TOTAL	**34**	**34**	**2**	**3**	**8**	**5**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**13**	**8**	**5**	**3**	**126**

few people wore any of these objects, although brooches may have been an object that was more widespread, but only marginally.

So far, this section has only hinted at the location of objects in relation to the body, such as for the reasoning behind describing some groups of glass beads as necklaces. For other types of objects, their location within inhumations confirms their use. For example, larger rings are most often found on wrists and forearms, and smaller rings have been found on fingers and toes. Objects, such as brooches, have been found in a variety of locations on the body (Table 8.4). They are mostly associated with the upper body, including the head and arms, but there are six instances where they have been found in association with the lower body. The moving mechanism of the brooch allows for things to become attached on a semi-permanent basis; however, the type of garments that were attached is unclear. It is assumed that they attached textile or other organic materials, as they are not usually found attached to other objects. Traces of textiles have been preserved in brooch corrosion, which supports the idea that they attached textile garments (e.g. Stead 1991a). The range of possible locations that brooches have been found on bodies makes it unclear as to whether this is reflecting the manner in which garments were attached during life, or perhaps how the body was prepared at the time of burial in a specific way relating to death (ie. a shroud).

Objects found in these inhumations can be broadly defined as being placed in five major zones on the body (Figure 8.14, 8.15). Most objects are found in the head and neck region, followed by the upper body/shoulder, and arm region. Objects are found in the fewest numbers around the lower body and leg/foot region. The implications for this patterning is that people were deliberately wearing objects in places that are more likely to be at eye level, or that could be moved into eye level (such as arm/wrist/hand). These objects might have been important indicators giving information about a person's status, family, connections, or other role within the community. If these objects were only worn at the time of death, then they would still have had some important meaning for the community audience or the interred individual.

8.2.1.2. Southwest England Inhumations

Inhumations in Southwest England with glass beads are few in number. As discussed in Chapter 7, five out of nine inhumations only contain single bead and are not well documented, while another was probably Anglo-Saxon in date, but which incorporated some possible Iron Age beads (Table 8.5). This leaves a total of three inhumations with glass beads likely to have been worn as a necklace (Figure 8.16). On their own, none of these probable necklaces would have made a strand long enough to be fitted around a modern adult neck, as the largest is only 132 mm in length (Whitcombe 8). As with the shorter strands of glass beads from East Yorkshire, it may be that they were worn on a strand of fibre or leather that was long enough to encircle a neck, or that other organic components also made up the necklace, but did not survive, or that they were worn or used in a different way.

Hypothetical reconstructions of all three possible necklaces further demonstrate some issues with interpretation. The Langton Herring beads (Figure 8.17) are almost all very large, and do not form a coherent pattern. The short length formed by the beads strung together and awkward juxtapositions suggest that this may not be how these beads were used (Schech Forthcoming-a). Whereas the frequency of the different bead types in the Clevedon cist burial and Whitcombe 8 burial suggest that they could have formed symmetrical strands of beads (Figure 8.18 & 8.19). Unfortunately, it is only with the Whitcombe burial we have an idea as to where the beads were located in connection with the body. The site report notes that these were found in a cluster next to the left shoulder (Aitken & Aitken 1990, 64). For the other two inhumations, these details have not been preserved.

The strands of beads from the Clevedon cist burial and the Whitcombe 8 burial are symmetrical, which suggests that they may have been purposely combined to form a necklace. As a strand, the Langton Herring beads are perplexing given the sizes, colours, decoration, number of beads, and possible continental connections (and the other objects contained within the inhumation described below). Perhaps these beads were combined for a different reason that for the other two necklaces. These beads may be the embodiment of different relationships or networks coming together and manifesting in one conglomerate object. If this was the case, the realisation of these relationships in material form may have been more important than symmetry or repetition of pattern.

Additional objects of dress were only found in the Langton Herring burial as the only other remains included in the Whitcombe 8 burial were parts of a pig, a bird, and some pottery ('Durotrigian' ware and Samian), and the Clevedon cist burial contained a pebble end encrinites. The Langton Herring burial, however, included a range of object: two brooches, a perforated Roman coin, an armlet or bracelet, three stone beads (included in Figure 8.17), and other objects possibly related to appearance: tweezers and a mirror.

Other inhumations with objects of dress are limited to a small number, most of which are Later Iron Age in date, such as the Birdlip mirror burial in Gloucestershire, the Portesham mirror burial in Dorset, and probably a number of skeletons from Maiden Castle in Dorset. Five inhumations from

Table 8.5: List of sites where glass beads were found in inhumations in Southwest England.

Site	Glass Beads (N)	Glass Bead Type	Date	Details
Battlesbury Camp	1	Class 1 Type 110	IA	19th century find. Cremation burial with two later inhumations later placed next to it. Single bead found on chest of one skeleton.
Chedworth	1	Class 4 Type 410	?	Found in barrow
Teffont Evias	1	Class 1 Type 102	Iron Age?	With inhumation
Whitcombe (3)	1	Class 1 Type 107	1st century AD	Female, 25-30 years old, flexed, with part of pig skull and possible horse jaw
Whitcombe (8)	9	Class 6 Type 901, Class 1 Type 107, 110	1st century AD	Female, 15-17 years old, flexed, with Durotrigian and Samian ware, 19 glass beads, 2 wooden beads, 1 faience bead, fragment of pig jaw and leg bone of domestic fowl
Wookey Hole	1	Class 1 Type 410	LIA/RB	With possible female skeleton
Burn Ground Grave 7	2	Class 1 Type 110	Anglo-Saxon	At least 138 other beads (amber and glass), small knife
Clevedon	18	Class 1 Type 110, Class 3 Type 301, 302; Class 6 Type 1003, Class 11 Type 3001	IA	Assumed female, cist burial, with pebble and encrinites
Langton Herring	5	Class 1 Type 108, Class 5 Type 701, Class 8 Type 1604, Class 9 Type 1704, Class 11 Type 2801	LIA/ER	?female burial, 18-23 years old, with 2 brooches, 1 perforated Roman coin, tweezers, armlet/bracelet, 3 stone beads, and a mirror

Table 8.6: Comparison of different object types and their location on the body in Southwest England.

Object	Shoulder	Arm	Wrist	Finger	Toe	Not with Body	Total
Stone Armlet		1					**1**
Iron Bracelet			2				**2**
Cu-Alloy Bracelets		3					**3**
Cu-Alloy Toe-ring					3	1	**4**
Iron Finger-ring				1			**1**
Cu-Alloy Brooch	3					3	**6**
Beads	11						**11**
TOTAL	**14**	**4**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**4**	**28**

Dibble's Farm in Somerset may be Early Iron Age in date due to the presence of a La Tène I brooch within Burial 47c. As with the East Yorkshire burials, the majority of inhumations contained only single objects, usually brooches (Figure 8.20, Table 8.6). The Langton Herring mirror burial had five objects of dress, which is more than any other burial. However the Birdlip mirror burial contained a larger range of objects, including a copper-alloy vessel and a knife. The placement of objects of dress within the inhumation, where known, focuses generally on the upper body, especially the shoulder and arms, with the lower body playing a minor role (Table 8.6, Figure 8.21). Not only is there a limited number of inhumations for this region, but the range of objects included with the inhumations is also limited.

8.2.2. Non-Inhumations

The number of glass beads found clustered in the same context outside of inhumations is very limited, as shown in Chapter 7. Groups of beads with close associations mainly come from the mound contexts at Glastonbury and Meare Lake Villages. However, there are two problems with the interpretation of these bead clusters. First, at Glastonbury Lake Village, a fragment of a Type 1405 is described as originating from Mound 59. During examination of the beads, it was discovered that this fragment connects to G1, which was found at Mound 62. These two mounds are very close to each other, and unfortunately, there are no further details as to where on the mounds these fragments were found. However, this does highlight one of the problems with the recording method used during these excavations, as it may be possible that the two fragments were found quite closely together, but they were recorded as coming from different mounds. Or, it may be that the context of the finds does not accurately reflect a domestic settlement and there may be other depositional practices occurring, as with structured deposits within pits.

The second major issue with interpreting this finds is also related to recording practices. Plain beads, such as Type 102 beads, are only given a mound number, while decorated beads are given mound numbers plus an additional descriptor, such as ‘near hearth’, or level number. So, while all beads can be ascribed to a mound, not all can be plotted with the information given in the report. Both of these issues present problems when it comes to interpreting the beads as clusters and the practices that they represent. While these problems cannot be overcome immediately, through a detailed analysis of the types of beads, colours, and lengths of strands, it may be possible to suggest whether or not the beads form a coherent group.

From the excavations at Meare Lake Village East, two clusters of beads have been described as necklaces. Catalogue number G68 is a cluster of forty-six glass beads found at Mound 22, and G69 is a cluster of eleven beads found at Mound 47. Neither would have formed a strand long enough alone to go around a modern adult neck (Figure 8.21), and as with other possible strands they may not have been worn as a necklace, or were simply strung onto string of the appropriate length. As a necklace, G68 could have been symmetrical and incorporated four different bead types: Types 110, 1416, 1417, and 2201. The Type 2201 (DB 4289) bead is the most unusual as it is a sub-triangular green bead with opaque yellow double wave with a yellow dot in-between each of the swags, and is at present unique. The reconstruction published in the excavation report (Coles 1987, 85 figure 3.22) and displayed in the Somerset Museum in Taunton (Figure 8.23) shows it being strung in a symmetrical design, but it is unclear if this reflects information at the time of the find or creative interpretation. In comparison, G69 was interpreted as simply a strand of Type 110 beads.

In both cases, these were not the only beads found at these mounds. At Mound 22, there was a total of seventy-one beads (mostly glass, but some amber, jet, and stone), plus other objects, such as fragments of shale armlets, and at Mound 47, there was an additional glass bead and a possible amber bead found outside of the cluster suggested to be a necklace. It is not clear how G68 and G69 relate to the other beads from the mounds, and it may be that they were all a part of a single object.

Other potentially significant clusters of beads found at individual mounds include Mounds 7, 33, and 34 at Meare Lake Village West. By comparing the dimensions of necklaces G68 and G69 with the other bead clusters, some interesting patterns emerge (Figure 8.24). The beads from G68 and G69 both tightly cluster, which may be indicative of their use together as they would have formed a consistent strand of beads. Beads from both Mounds 33 and 34 may have formed strands as there is some clustering, but also because the clusters are diagonal suggesting gradation of size. However, the beads from Mound 7 do not appear to tightly cluster. It may be that these beads were not worn together, or that they were, but did not form a consistent strand of beads, although it is still unclear how beads were worn together.

8.3 Glass Beads in an Artefactual Context

Just as glass beads were found in a variety of contexts, as shown in Chapter 7, so too were other objects of dress. While the above section discussed the different types of objects found in inhumations, this section will explore other objects of dress from outside inhumations in an attempt to understand the changing and diverse nature of dress throughout the Iron Age. The first section will specifically address objects of dress found primarily during excavation and recorded in the database, and will then put the distribution of these objects into a wider context with other Iron Age objects using the Portable Antiquities Scheme database.

8.3.1 Objects of Dress

Within the literature review of Iron Age, Roman, and Romano-British excavated sites, over twenty different types of objects were encountered. In part, this large number of object types is due to inconsistent terminology used in reports, as well as unclear identification of objects. For example circular objects could be described as beads, rings, finger-rings, toe-rings, bracelets, bangles, armlets, and anklets without an indication of how these objects were similar or dissimilar[19]. Finger-rings and toe-rings are implied to be smaller than other rings that were presumably worn on either the ankle, wrist, or arm, however there were some 'rings' that seem to fit neither of these categories and it may be that they were not worn on the body, but instead had a utilitarian purpose. Because of this inconsistency and the abundance of object types, five types of objects were chosen for the focus of this analysis: brooches, pins, finger/toe-rings, wrist/ankle/arm rings, and torcs. These object types are used in the analyses that follow.

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[19] Unfortunately, it was not within the scope of the present research to undertake such analysis, as it would have required systematic measuring of a large number of objects as the diameter of these types of objects are not consistently recorded in the literature.

These five object types form a good foundation for the assessment of dress because they are numerous, some have been the subject of previous study, and because they vary over time or have specific periods in which they flourish in Iron Age Britain. However, although brooches have long been the subject of examination due to their periodic changes in appearance throughout the Iron Age (e.g. Haselgrove 1997; Hull & Hawkes 1987; Mackreth 2011), others have only been the subject of limited or no study. For example, Dunning's (1934b) work remains the primary study on Iron Age pins, although Romano-British pins have been studied more recently (Cool 1990; Crummy 1979). Rings have not been the subject of extensive Britain-wide study, but instead have been discussed in a more localised scope (Calkin 1953; Dent 1984; Mansel-Pleydell 1896; Sydenham 1844), or in the case of copper-alloy bracelets and arm-rings they have been included within wider studies of Celtic Art (e.g. Jope 2000; MacGregor 1976). Torcs also have been studied under the heading of Celtic Art, and a basic typology for the earlier examples was proposed by Stead (1991b) in his report on the Snettisham finds. Later collars and so-called 'beaded' torcs have not been the subject of consistent study outside of the realms of Celtic Art. Finger-rings and toe-rings have never been the subject of study on either regional or national levels, despite their frequent presence.

Due to the nature of the background of the study of each of the five artefact categories, a basic typology has been proposed with the aim of providing a consistent terminology to be used in this study. These have been derived largely on stylistic grounds and future analysis really needs to examine these objects in greater detail. For example, the diameters of larger rings presumably worn on the wrist, ankle, or arm, as well as smaller rings worn on the fingers and toes would help to characterise more ambiguous objects. One of the problems with developing even an interim typology is that objects from each of these artefact types have been made from different materials. For brooches and torcs, these objects are limited to metals, especially copper-alloy and iron, but in the case of torcs, this also includes gold, silver, and electrum. Pins, larger rings and smaller rings have also been made out of bone, stone (primarily shale and jet), and in some cases: glass. It is possible that non-extant examples of pins were made from wood, and other arm or ankle decoration was made from twisted fiber or animal fur (e.g. Lindow Man (Stead, Bourke *et al.* 1986)), but these cannot be considered further here. The typologies developed are defined in Tables 8.7 through 8.10. In the case of brooches, they are simply referred to by their general Iron Age sub-period, such as Middle Iron Age or Early Iron Age. Later Iron Age or Early Roman period brooches (including Birdip, Nauheim and Colchester), have been grouped together under the same heading, while brooches that date from around AD 100 are considered to be Early Roman or Early Roman/Romano-British for the sake of simplicity. These typologies are not meant to be very precise, but to give a very general overview of the different types of objects that were in use.

Although five artefact types were chosen for study in this section, they were not present within each of the study regions in equal number (Figure 8.25). For example, arm/wrist/ankle rings and toe/finger rings were found in their largest numbers in Southwest England, while torcs were more frequent in East Anglia. Each region is skewed by a different site: Southwest England by Meare Lake Village, East Anglia by Ken Hill at Snettisham, and Wetwang/Garton Slack continues to contribute a large number of other objects related to dress in East Yorkshire. In comparison, very few of these types of objects have been found in Northeast Scotland, the most numerous objects being the massive style armlets found throughout the area (Hunter 2006c; MacGregor 1976) along with a number of later period cast pins from Sculptor's Cave in Morayshire (Benton 1931b). This has implications for understanding dress and deposition. By examining the variation within each of the study regions, it will be possible to further highlight regional patterns.

8.3.1.1 Brooches

Besides torcs, one of the most iconic objects of the British Iron Age is the brooch. These objects have been described as the 'safety pin' of the Iron Age due to their articulated pin mechanism (spring or hinge), which permitted the user to attach garments together or objects to garments. These artefacts are frequently used for dating archaeological contexts, especially prior to the advent of scientific dating methods, as their morphology changed throughout the Iron Age (Haselgrove 1997; Hull & Hawkes 1987). Quantification of the frequency of brooch deposition has suggests that the proportion of brooches deposited in different contexts changed throughout the Iron Age (Haselgrove 1997). By the Late Iron Age, not only had the contexts of deposition changed, but the number of brooches that were deposited into the archaeological record had vastly increased. One explanation could be that the use of brooches as a part of dress became more popular; however, it may also be that the behaviour associated with object deposition changed during this period (Haselgrove 1997).

Within the regions studied here, the nature of the brooches and their deposition are variable. For example, in Southwest England, brooches have been found in settlement contexts that date throughout the Iron Age, possibly suggesting that they were used throughout the period. However, in Northeast Scotland they were confined to the period after the Roman invasion in southern Britain. Interestingly, some of the examples, such as at Birnie in Morayshire, are particularly exceptional (Hunter 2007b). In contrast, in East Yorkshire they have been found primarily within the Middle/Late Iron Age square barrow inhumations, where they have added to the long-standing question as to whether the inhumations represent a local population, or whether they were immigrants from continental Europe. The interpretation of these brooches becomes particularly confusing as they can exhibit similarities with continental examples, yet with insular design (Stead 1965a; 1979).

As brooches have been primarily considered in terms of their chronological and morphological traits, there has been little consideration on the regional use of brooches for dress. With other types of artefacts, this is partly due to the relative absence of brooches in some regions, which may relate to the recovery of artefacts through antiquarian and archaeological investigations, but is also related to depositional practices and the types of materials that entered the record. However, beyond the idea that brooches were used to attach elements of dress, there is no real understanding as to how they were used.

In terms of chronology and frequency, the brooches from the four study regions follow the identified pattern of brooch frequency and deposition (Hill 1995a; b; 1997; Jundi & Hill 1997), where there are considerably fewer Early Iron Age brooches compared to Later Iron Age and Early Roman brooches (Figure 8.26). However, by taking a regional approach, it is clear that this trend is not found in all study regions (Figure 8.26). In particular, the brooches from East Yorkshire are probably Middle or early Late Iron Age, while regions such as Southwest England and East Anglia follow the general trend more closely. These differences in frequency may be related to different depositional practices, as Jundi and Hill have suggested that differences in depositional practices may account for the overall pattern (Jundi & Hill 1997, 127), however other possibilities will be explored below.

8.3.1.2 Torcs

One of the most enigmatic objects of the British and European Iron Age, which has been found in perplexing numbers in East Anglia, is the torc. More examples have been found at Snettisham than the rest of Britain. In the absence of other chronologically informative objects, such as brooches, the chronology of this object is dependent on other artefacts. Examples of Gallo-Belgic coins were found in the 'scrap' collections of metal in Snettisham Hoards B, C, and F, and a Gallo-Belgic D quarter stater was found in the terminal of the "Great Torc" from Hoard E. The original date for the deposition of torcs is the last quarter of the first century BC to early first century AD as first proposed by Clark (1939). This date was challenged by Stead (1991b), who suggested that they were deposited in the first quarter of the first century BC. However, drawing on re-dated coin evidence, Hutcheson (2004, 23-4) has pushed the date back even farther by suggesting that they were deposited as early as the second century BC, but possibly as late as the mid-first century BC. Given the strong possibility for an early date of deposition, the implication is that it becomes unlikely that Boudiccea and other inhabitants of East Anglia wore this item at the time of the conquest and rebellion (Hutcheson 2004).

As an object type, torcs manifested in an earlier form as early as the late Bronze Age as part of what has been termed an 'ornament horizon' (Roberts 2007). However, the use of these earlier forms ends before the beginning of the Iron Age, and neck-rings are not found in Britain again until the end of the Iron Age. During this intervening period in Britain, there are very few objects in use that were made from precious metals. The situation is different in continental Europe, where torcs made from bronze are found in fifth century BC female burials. This may suggest that women primarily wore them. However, from the fourth century BC, the gendered use of torcs becomes more complicated, as contemporary depictions show males wearing torcs, although they are not found in contemporary male graves (Eluère 1987).

The reasons for the deposition of the torcs at Snettisham have tended to focus on functional or logical explanations (e.g. Stead 1991b), but, as with coins and horse equipment, the discussion often turns to ideas of power or status. In Britain, these objects are often interpreted as an elite status object (e.g. Cunliffe 2005), due in part to the connections with the continental material, but also because many were made from precious materials (e.g. gold, silver) and some exhibit intricate and delicate decoration. In this interpretation of the torc as an elite status object, the status of the individual wearing the object is reflected to the audience or community through its use. In an alternative approach, Hill (2011, 256) has suggested that rather than reflecting the individuals' status, the torc was a symbol of the community's status.

Both glass beads and torcs have suffered from similar interpretive issues. Are these objects inherently high-status as suggested by Henderson (1992) due to the material that they were made from? Or, because some examples were decorated? One of the downfalls of this approach of interpreting objects, is that it does not take the biography of individual objects into account. For example, the extensive repairs on the 'Grotesque torc' and the continued use of some glass beads despite their broken appearance, may suggest that these individual objects had some greater meaning within the society that actively used them. In addition, the disappearance of the classic Iron Age torc, and the emergence of Late Iron Age and Early Roman beaded torcs and collars, suggests that the continued use of the neck and collar bone area may have been an important area for the display of status. This may also apply to the use of glass beads, although it is interesting that when considering the study regions examined here, both Southwest England and

East Yorkshire have very few, if any, torcs, but glass beads were found in larger numbers. In contrast, in East Anglia there were more torcs, but considerably fewer glass beads. Finally, in Scotland, glass beads seem to occur alongside torcs or other collars, although in Northeast Scotland there are more of the former than the latter. These patterns may suggest that this area of the body may have been consistently used for more elite forms of dress, and so beads and torcs may have been an more important indicator of status than other object types.

Torcs, such as those occurring at Snettisham, occur in a wide variety of styles: loop terminal, buffer terminal, ring terminal and tubular. Other types, such as the beaded torcs and other collar type neck ornaments are presumed to be later due to their style (Jope 2000, 148; MacGregor 1976, 93). Of these torc types, the most frequent is the loop terminal types (Figure 8.28), although even these can vary in their level of ornateness. For example, despite the simple loop terminal on most of the Ipswich torcs, others have cast decoration on their terminals (Owles 1969). Others, such as the Spettisbury loop-terminal torc from Dorset (Hawkes 1940), has plain undecorated terminals. While the majority of torcs come from East Anglia, loop, ring and buffer terminal types are found in both this region and Southwest England where they occur in smaller numbers (Figure 8.29). Beaded torcs, on the other hand have been found in Southwest England and East Yorkshire, while collars are only known from the former. However, additional collars are known from other areas of Scotland, such as the example from Stichill in the Scottish Borders (MacGregor 1976, catalogue 210). The implication, however, is that the earlier types of torcs are primarily a regional occurrence, occurring mainly within Norfolk and Suffolk, and only very occasionally elsewhere in Southern Britain. Later types of torcs have a farther-reaching spread, but take on a new appearance.

Table 8.7: Types of pins.

Type	Description
1	Swan-neck
2.A.1.	Ring-headed made from wire with a straight pin
2.A.2.	Cast ring-headed pin with a straight pin
2.B.1.	Ring-headed made from wire with a bent neck
2.B.2.	Plain cast ring-headed pin with a bent neck
2.B.3.	Fancy cast ring-headed pin with a bent neck
2.C.1.	Ring-headed pin made from wire with an involuted shank
3	Plate headed pin
4	Spiral headed pin
5	Stick pin
6	Miscellaneous

Table 8.8: Types of wrist/arm/ankle rings.

Type	Description
Metal 1	Annular or penannular ring
Metal 2	Overlapping terminal ring
Metal 3	Spiralled ring
Metal 4	Ring with hook closure
Metal 5	Ring with mortise and tenon closure
Glass 1	Continental Type
Glass 2	British Type
Stone 1	Round-ish profile
Stone 2	Plano-convex profile
Stone 3	Triangular profile
Stone 4	Rectangular profile
Stone 5	Circumferential Lines
Stone 6	Inscribed Decoration
Stone 7	Notched ribbed design
Stone 8	Notched and inscribed design
Stone 9	Other fancy types

Table 8.9: Types of Finger- and Toe-rings.

Type	Description
1.A.	Plain annular/nearly annular/slight overlap ring
1.B.	Linear bands on an annular/nearly annular/slight overlap ring
1.C.	Notched decoration on an annular/nearly annular/slight overlap ring
2.A.1.	Plain spiralled wire band
2.A.2.	Decorated spiralled wire band
2.B.1.	Plain spiralled strip band
2.B.2.	Simple decoration on a spiralled strip band
2.B.3.	Decorated expanded mid-section of a spiralled strip band
2.B.4	Ring/dot decoration on a spiralled strip band
2.B.5.	Miscellaneous decoration on a spiralled strip band
3	Double ring
4	Bezel ring
5	Miscellaneous

Table 8.10: Types of torcs.

Type	Description
1	Beaded Torc
2	Loop Terminal
3	Ring Terminal
4	Buffer Terminal
5	Collar
6	Tubular
7	Twisted ribbon

8.3.1.3 Rings (Bracelets, Arm-rings, Bangles, Armlets, Finger-rings, and Toe-rings)

Except for in the cases of Kimmeridge shale rings (Calkin 1953; Mansel-Pleydell 1896; Sydenham 1844), later 'British' type glass bangles (Kilbride-Jones 1937; Price 1988; Stevenson 1956; 1976), and a regional discussions of bracelets from East Yorkshire (Dent 1984; Stead 1965a; 1979), there has been very little study of both large rings and smaller rings.

Larger rings worn around the wrist, ankle, or arm, have been identified in three major types of material: metals (copper-alloy, iron, gold), glass, and stones (shale and jet). Unlike the brooches and torcs, consistent analysis is lacking for this type of object and further research is needed in order to determine the validity of the terms and typology. Nonetheless, the typology presented here provides a starting point for discussing this type of object. Here, the typology has separated objects by broad material group as it is the material that dictates the form and any decoration. For example, while both metal and shale bracelets can be annular, a shale bracelet could not utilise a mortise and tenon closure. Of these types, it is the simplest annular/penannular and 'round-ish' types that are the most frequent (Figure 8.30), while more complex types are less frequent. However, even within the metal annular/penannular type, there is considerable variation in form, but this is something that will need to be investigated in greater detail at a later date. By examining the types by region, a number of trends emerge (Figure 8.31). The Southwest has the greatest variety of types, including most of the shale armlets, and proportionally the majority of these larger rings are made up of shale armlets from this region, while there is a smaller occurrence of glass and metal rings. Metal rings, however, are most frequent in East Yorkshire, especially annular/penannular, overlapping terminal, and mortise and tenon types. All glass rings of continental type are found in Southwest England, while British types are found in Southwest England and

Northeast Scotland (other Romano-British types are found in East Yorkshire, but are not considered here). Without taking time into account, this shows that there are some general trends in the data as to which types are most frequent in different regions.

The trend of smaller rings worn on the finger or toe is very similar to that of the larger rings, although despite some similarities in form, they vary considerably. The two most frequent types of finger-/toe-rings is (1) the annular or nearly annular, or sometimes with a slight overlap group (1.A.-1.C.) and, (2) the spiral group (2.A.1 – 2.B.5) (Figure 8.32). These groupings have been further divided based on decoration and other characteristics of similarity. Within both groups, it is the plainer examples that occur most frequently. The majority of these rings and the greatest variety were found in Southwest England (Figure 8.33). Most other rings were found in East Yorkshire and there were very few from East Anglia and Northeast Scotland.

8.3.1.4 Pins

Finally, pins were also made from a variety of different types of material, but copper-alloy is most common. While carved bone pins are often primarily Roman artefact (Allason-Jones 1989, 132; Croom 2000, 123; Crummy 1979) several were noted from Conderton Camp in Southwest England in an Iron Age context. However, these organic pins were in the extreme minority. While several swan-neck type pins were identified, most pins were ring-head pins. However, despite the similarity in the ring-head feature, they were noted to vary based on whether a bend at the neck was present or not, manufacture from either wire or cast, the bend in the pin-shaft, and the elaborateness of the pin (Figure 8.34) Pins were primarily from Southwest England, but many were also found in East Yorkshire (Figure 8.35). Very few pins were found in East Anglia, which were primarily swan-neck type and other miscellaneous unique types of pins. In Northeast Scotland, only one type was found: the cast ring-headed straight pin.

8.3.1.5 Interpretation

Despite differences in the frequency and the appearance of these objects in each study region, there are trends in the occurrence of these objects over time. The general pattern is that there was less material culture, such as brooches, in the Earlier Iron Age, but that there is a material culture explosion by the Late Iron Age (Hill 1995a). While this could be due to a number of factors including the use of organic materials that are not often archaeologically recognisable, depositional practices, and access to raw materials, this trend is seen in the overall pattern of all these objects presently under consideration (Figure 8.36a). A similar trend is seen with brooches (Figure 8.36f). However, for the remaining objects, this is not the case. Wrist/arm/ankle, finger/toe-rings, and pins all peak in their frequency earlier than the peak for brooches. Instead they peak around the Middle Iron Age and earliest Late Iron Age. This is also true of the earlier torcs (not the beaded torcs or collars), which are thought to date to a period prior to the Roman invasion (Garrow & Gosden 2012, 134; Hutcheson 2004). The implications of this pattern will be discussed below.

8.3.2 Wider Artefact Context

Finally, the last area of comparison is to examine how glass beads are distributed throughout Britain compared to other types of objects. In this instance, a density map of glass beads was created using the corrected and modified version of the Guido catalogue during the initial review of all her sources, and the additions made by the present research in the four study regions. Although the remaining region's data is not yet up-to-date, no other map can be produced at this stage in the research and there is not currently a database that would allow such a map to be created. The current known density of glass beads is shown in Figure 8.37. It highlights the areas where glass beads are densest and omits areas where only occasional examples have been found. Interestingly, it shows that while in East Yorkshire within one area (namely Wetwang/Garton Slack), the density is at the maximum range, while in Southwest England the dense areas are spread out over the region, with two 'hot-spots'. In Northeast Scotland, the single area with the densest area of finds remains around Culbin Sands, and despite a few isolated finds in East Anglia that may have been of Iron Age date, it is now possible to fill in some of the blank areas.

Comparative data was drawn from the Portable Antiquities Scheme database from three main categories of finds: brooches, coins, body maintenance, and horse equipment (Figure 8.38). In all cases, it can be shown that the data is skewed primarily towards eastern Britain, especially around East Anglia, although for brooches there is another dense area in Hampshire, and coins have dense find areas in southern Dorset and also in Hampshire. It may be that the preponderance of finds in East Anglia is due higher levels of metal-detectorist activity and recording practices; however, these objects are all types that become more numerous by the end of the Iron Age and are absent or are only present in very small numbers prior to this period.

8.4 Discussion

This chapter opened by stating that glass beads were both a part and a whole. A single bead is an object on its own, and these are found in settlement contexts, possibly as a part of ritual deposition (as discussed in Chapter 7), and in inhumations. These singly occurring beads might indicate that they were used as single objects. Groups of beads can be brought together to form larger, more complex objects. In burial contexts, these have been suggested to have formed strands that were worn around the neck due to their proximity to the head and neck. In both cases, it is possible that the single or groups of beads might not have been worn by the individual in life, but could have been gifts or tokens of memory deposited by the living with the deceased individual. Thus, although preserved as a single object, they were taken out of the multi-bead context for deposition.

Assuming that the groups of beads did form a neck ornament, estimates have suggested that there were differences in the overall lengths. One potential necklace in particular stands out compared to all other potential necklaces: the Queen's Barrow necklace from East Yorkshire. This particular necklace combines numerous different types, some of which are shared with other East Yorkshire necklaces, and some of which were more unique. It is also the only necklace in East Yorkshire to combine both predominantly blue and green beads. This unusual combination of colours for this region, the long length of the necklace (or at least the large number of beads), along with the other objects in the inhumation, suggests that this individual may have stood out in life just as they did in death. Beads from other inhumations strung as necklaces display patterns of repetition in decorative motif, and in some cases they may have combined beads into a symmetrical pattern of bead shape, colour, and motif.

Just as a bead is simultaneously a part and a whole, they are also only one part of a larger range of objects that constituted dress. As with beads, these objects varied in appearance, geographically, in frequency, and over time. With some of these objects, the way they were worn is clear, such as bracelets on wrists, finger-rings on fingers, and toe-rings on toes. For others, the purpose continues to be less clear. For example, there is little understanding of the types of garments that brooches pinned together, or if they were visible or hidden when worn. Although pins in the Roman period are associated with hair styles (Allason-Jones 1989), they may have been used in the same way in the Iron Age, or perhaps used in a similar way to a brooch. Rings remain particularly ambiguous, as some are too large to stay on fingers or toes, but too small to slip over the wrist. Perhaps they were worn by children, or in some other presently unknown way. It is, however, worth speculating to a point about how they were used, but at the same time question why they did not feature extensively within inhumations. Perhaps they were not always suitable for burial, or the limited burial tradition provided only a small opportunity for objects to become associated with individuals.

Different objects would have emphasised or drawn the viewer's eye to different areas of the body. Two areas of the body have been shown to be most important. First, the area around the head and the neck, where glass beads and presumably torcs were worn. This area, being near the head and thus eye contact, may have been important in terms of the display of objects of dress, and perhaps even other dress practices such as tattooing. This upper-body area is also the region where many brooches have been found, suggesting that this was an area where garments were attached. It may be that this is an area where other organic elements featured, such as textile decoration, furs, pendants or talismans, and cords or other braids.

The second area of display that seems to have been important is the arm, where bracelets were worn on wrists, finger-rings on fingers, and potentially armbands or arm-rings around the upper arm or forearm. These objects imply that these areas of the body would have been exposed in some manner so that the objects could be seen, although in the case of the largest arm-rings, such as the massive armlets from Scotland, they may have been worn over arm coverings. Items, such as finger-rings and bracelets, would have been even more noticeable through gesticulation. Some of these objects may have encumbered movement during physical tasks and may even have made audible noises when bracelets clanked or bumped into other tools, such as quern stones.

The other less prominent and less frequent region of the body where objects of dress have been found associated with is the lower body. Anklets have been found around the ankle, while small rings have been found on toe-bones of some individuals. When standing, these objects would have been less visible in part because they are not near eye contact, but also because they potentially could be obscured from view due to long garments or foot coverings. The presence of rings on toes suggests that total foot enclosures were not worn, and either these individuals went barefoot or that semi-enclosed footwear where the upper surface of the foot was not enclosed was worn. Another explanation might be that this individual died during the summer months when foot coverings were not necessary for warmth. Through the wearing of these objects, the individual's movement may also have been encumbered in walking, running, and performing tasks of physical labour. Some tasks may also have posed a damage threat to these objects. In contrast, other postures, such as sitting on the floor or other furniture, may have rendered these objects more visible.

Dress, then, seems to have varied throughout the Iron Age, and the data hints that there was variation between regions. The East Yorkshire burial data suggests that someone from this region would have dressed differently from someone from another region, say for example, the Southwest of England, or even East Anglia. Although some of these apparent differences could be attributed to differences in excavation practice or even differences in depositional practice, none-the-less, the objects that have been recovered from each of these regions vary rather than suggesting that there was a homogeneous form of Iron Age dress. On one level, these differences in dress may have been connected with regional or local group identity. A member would be recognised by what they wore, while an outsider may have worn different objects, or in a different way, or these objects may have been completely absent.

Identity at both a local and wider level is related to what a person wore. However, even in the East Yorkshire region, for which we have some of the best burial data that may represent a single population around the Middle to Late Iron Age at Wetwang Slack, very few inhumations included these objects of dress, whether brooches, glass beads, or other objects. The rare occurrence of even the most ubiquitous Iron Age artefact within the burials, the brooch, suggests that these might not be objects worn by everyone if this evidence can be taken to be a true reflection of access to such objects. It is tempting to see this differentiation as indicators of different levels of status. Alternatively, perhaps the garments worn by different individuals varied and brooches were not a required closure or attaching mechanism that was needed by every individual. Instead, other objects may have been used that have not have survived. Likewise, perhaps more individuals wore beads made from organic materials, but only those made from glass, jet, and copper-alloy survived.

The East Yorkshire beads that occurred primarily in female inhumations where gender has been determined, have led some to suggest that these beads may have indicated a more specific identity, such as age and gender. Giles (2008a, 72) has suggested that there may a connection between the use of these blue glass beads with maturity and femininity. This may be true, as the data suggests, but these glass beads only occur in a minority of inhumations and could not be said to form a wider pattern (it is also unclear to what extent the Queen's Barrow and Cowlam L barrow were identified as female as they were excavated in the nineteenth century). Instead, the majority of the individuals interred at Wetwang Slack lack these glass beads. Therefore, their use as a symbol of maturity and femininity may have been limited.

Instead, I wish to emphasise two key ideas: first, that there is overlap in types between some of the necklaces in East Yorkshire. This may indicate some interrelated network of individuals on a wider, but still regional scale. Second, although the East Yorkshire practices are often seen as an isolated occurrence and Jay's work on population isotopes (Jay & Richards 2006) and the radiocarbon dating (Jay, Haselgrove *et al.* 2012) suggest that this population were neither immigrants nor were they emulating a contemporary burial practice from the continent, a wide-ranging network is supported by the glass beads that extends from southwest England and to continental Europe. Links between East Yorkshire and the continent may be further supported by the similarities in horse gear found in this region and in the near Continent (Anthoons 2012). In terms of the beads, this is supported by the presence of two beads in the Wetwang burials that can be attributed to the Meare style beads of Somerset (in Burial 102 and 268) and the wider similarity between the East Yorkshire beads and the continent (Venclová 1990). Further research that compares British glass beads with continental examples is essential here in order to assess the similarity more fully.

Finally, the last topic to be addressed here is situation. On the one hand, artefacts from inhumations may reflect daily dress, or burial costume reserved only for this occasion. Alternatively, these objects may have been donations from the community, and may in no way represent the objects worn in life by the individual interred. In addition, we can speculate about the range of objects that may have been worn as dress, but for which we have little direct evidence: fur armbands and textiles to name a few. It does not follow that these extant objects were high-status simply because they survive, because they are made of precious or exotic materials, nor because many of them are beautiful.

The torc makes a good example. This object, with parallels from continental European Iron Age, in the past has been connected with ideas of wealth, power, and status (Champion 1995, 413; Creighton 2000, 31; Davies 1996, 73; Eluère 1987, 23; MacGregor 1976, 93), whether worn by an individual or as a symbol of community status (Hill 2011, 256). While many are made from precious metals, others are made from copper-alloy, and there is a whole range of different types of designs especially around the terminals. The massive armlets from northern Scotland are similar in this respect, although they are made out of copper-alloys and glass. When contextual information is known, torcs come from pit deposits and other domestic features. In either case, their presence in the archaeological record could be due to ritual activity, or in the case of finds amid domestic features they could be the result of accidental loss, especially in the case of fragments. It may be that these objects were chosen for deposition in some cases due to their inherent high-status value.

Due to the physical properties of torcs (e.g. precious metal, highly decorated), they are probably one of the most controversial categories of objects for interpretation. While many torcs outside of Ken Hill at Snettisham are isolated finds, it is the unusual deposition at this site (including possible layering by metal content (Stead 1991b)) where ideas of status and hierarchy come to the fore. However, it is the exceedingly large numbers of torcs at Ken Hill (approximately 168) that suggests that these were objects that were worn by many people. Given that objects, such as torcs, are often seen as being used in the context of a hierarchical society, if all of the torcs at Snettisham were being worn at the time just before deposition, then it argues against the hypothesis for both a hierarchical society and the torc as an object of status. Instead, we are seeing a regional form of dress that is not necessarily differentiated by status through the wearing of a certain type of object, as the whole population cannot be entirely high-status. Therefore, the torc, and perhaps even other collars or impressively large armlets, were objects of everyday dress rather than specifically a status object.

8.5 Conclusion

From the available evidence, differences in dress on the regional level can be defined: in Southwest England, in addition to the use of glass beads, there are bracelets or other larger rings as well as rings for the toes or fingers especially by the end of the Middle Iron Age, and possibly the earliest Later Iron Age. This includes a mix of different raw materials, with shale figuring prominently in the material for the larger rings. In East Anglia, the data suggests that for most of the Iron Age, objects related to dress were rare, except for a limited number of pins, rings and brooches. By the Later Iron Age, the torc plays a prominent role as a neck ornament. In East Yorkshire, in addition to the glass beads, larger rings for arms or wrists as well as pins were most frequent from the end of the Middle Iron Age through the Early Later Iron Age. A range of brooches over a wider period of time can also be attributed to this region, but the heirloom effect is unclear, which may lead to a distorted chronology. Finally, in Northeast Scotland, the available evidence suggests on the one hand that these objects did not play a large role in the creation of dress in this region, but also that a specific type of pin and armlet have been found in multiple locations across this region. Perhaps in earlier periods, the role of dress was fulfilled primarily through non-surviving materials such as furs or other textiles.

This chapter has explored the specific glass beads that have been found in inhumations, other objects found in inhumations, the wider patterns of dress found in the primarily excavated archaeology record, as well as more widespread patterns in other artefact data from the PAS database. It has explored the ways in which dress may have conveyed different identities, from the community to the individual, as a way understanding the meaning behind dress in Iron Age Britain. While the resolution of dress data is unclear in many respects, it is apparent that dress varied on a regional level, but that on an individual level there may have been more at play. For example: the amount of physical labour undertaken, the situation or occasion for wearing these particular items of dress, and finally the posture or other gestures used by individuals, may all have effected the choices and decisions associated with dress. This chapter has built on the data presented in the previous two analysis chapters, and this data will be brought together for discussion in the next and final chapter.

Chapter 9

Glass Beads in their Social Context

9.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to examine the archaeological evidence for dress in Iron Age Britain. It has shown that by drawing on multiple lines of evidence, it is possible to begin to develop a narrative of dress. In general, studies of material culture from Iron Age Britain often focus on the increasing visibility of materiality, which is especially expressed in later Iron Age depositions (Hill 1995a). Growing and strengthening contacts with continental Europe are often cited as the key explanation for change in material culture in the Late Iron Age (Fitzpatrick 1990; Haselgrove 1982). Although the cause and effect relationship for this change has already been critically questioned (Hill 2007), it has become clear that this is not the pattern seen with all material. It has been possible to show that the frequency of glass beads peaked earlier than that seen with brooches (Haselgrove 1997), which along with pottery have been taken to be reflective of material culture patterns. The implication of this result is that materiality may not have been linear, but this may also have implications for understanding the number of artefacts in circulation during this period, as so many of the examples were found in intentional deposits, such as those in East Yorkshire.

The aims of this research focused on three key areas. First, to systematically and critically evaluate the appearance, chronology, and deposition of glass beads; second, to investigate glass beads within a wider context of other objects associated with dress in the Iron Age; and finally, to use the archaeological record to begin to develop a narrative of dress in Iron Age Britain. The following sections will summarise the key themes and expand on the significance for understanding dress and identity during this period, and it will highlight areas where future research could begin to address the questions that remain.

9.2 Glass Beads in Iron Age Britain

Through both a typological approach and systematic analysis of four key physical characteristics, this study has demonstrated that Iron Age glass beads from Britain were extremely diverse. This realisation was not something that was easily apparent from the Guido classification, which in effect obscured the level of variability. No doubt this could simply be the result of different approaches to classification, and the differences produced by 'lumpers' and 'splitters' (Adams 1988, 45). However, I have tried to be as clear as possible as to how the typology was created, and the ways in which it was intended to be used. My interest here was in understanding how aspects, such as shape, colour, and decorative motif, were used and manipulated to create the desired bead.

Beyond typology, the analyses have shown that clear regional patterns are visible in the use of colour and decorative motif. Some regions had a greater range of colours and combinations of colours, while others were more restricted. The colour blue and its combination with white for decorated beads are especially characteristic of East Yorkshire, while colourless and yellow glass beads were found in large numbers in Southwest England. Beads from Northeast Scotland on the other hand, were made from a large variety of colours, but they were consistently decorated with yellow glass. Here, blue and white glasses were used very infrequently. The regional patterns of colour suggest that, if glass beads were manufactured in Britain, then there was limited, if any, exchange of raw material. The use of these colours and combination of colours may have held regional significance, perhaps identifying local inhabitants, versus non-local visitors.

Patterns of decorative motif showed that the applied-spiral and different types of eye beads were characteristic of this period. The spiral was found on large numbers of glass beads from Southwest England and Northeast Scotland, but was not found in the same numbers in East Yorkshire. Instead, in this region, it is eye beads that were predominately found. However, it is unclear why the spiral should manifest itself so distinctly in both Southwest England and Northeast Scotland, and why the eye bead, which is found throughout much of southern Britain, is not a motif found in Northeast Scotland. As with colour, these different motifs may have been reflecting a strong sense of regional identity. Some of the beads probably originated from continental Europe, given some of the visual affinities between these beads. However, the meaning and identity portrayed when worn is unclear. For example, it is unclear if they were imported in the strict commodity sense, or whether they were brought to Britain through movements of people and subsequently became a part of the social interactions through exchange or deposition. In either case, it may be that these beads were recognised as exotic or foreign and may have indicated a message about the wearer.

In all respects, the glass beads from East Anglia are the most anomalous. These beads, although extremely few in number, exhibit one of the highest levels of variability within the study regions. Several of the beads are unparalleled, even when taking Britain as a whole into consideration (based on Guido's catalogue). This has been shown to be true for their appearance, but also for the ways in which they were deposited. Although the evidence is limited in this region, glass beads from secure find contexts have all been found in circumstances that suggest either ritual or otherwise intentional deposition behaviour, which could be reflecting the wider regional practice of metalwork deposition. The earliest example is the beads from Grandcourt Quarry in the Middle/Late Iron Age. Given the evidence for other intentionally deposited artefacts in this region, especially at Ken Hill near Snettisham, perhaps this should not be considered to be too unusual.

From the contextual data, we can see three broad regional patterns. Although not every artefact followed this pattern, glass beads were found in hoard, votive pits, or other special deposits in East Anglia, with inhumations in East Yorkshire, in pits and a limited number of inhumations in Southwest England, and in other settlement features in both Southwest England and in Northeast Scotland. These differing patterns of deposition suggest that Iron Age people were doing different things with glass beads. This patterned deposition occurred at different times in the Iron Age, which reflects both regional and chronological practices. Due to these differing practices, it is possible to suggest that the artefact biography of each of these objects would have been different and it is not possible to interpret the meaning of all glass beads in the same way.

Differences in artefact biography add to some of the difficulty of establishing a chronology of glass beads. There is little evidence to suggest that glass bead types or other characteristics followed a linear pattern of development. Instead, each bead would be a part of the habitus of the community, which may have resulted in deposition. This depositional date does not indicate the length of time that a bead was in use, or the time of manufacture. The depositional practice suggests that most beads were deposited in the Middle Iron Age, but the length of time that the beads were cycling through different communities prior to this event is not clear. Although possible, it is unclear if older beads were melted down to create new beads, thus hampering studies of frequencies, chronology, and type.

As three of the four study regions were chosen due to the high frequency of glass beads from several key sites, there is the danger that this study contains an inherent bias. Hundreds of beads have been found at sites, such as Wetwang/Garton Slack in East Yorkshire, Culbin Sands in Morayshire, and Meare Lake Village in Somerset. In contrast, only a few Iron Age glass beads were initially known from East Anglia, some with dubious contexts. Recently excavated sites (within the last ten years) have found large numbers of finds from these regions, which has significantly added to our understanding of these regions (i.e. Langton Herring in Dorset, Grandcourt Quarry in Norfolk, and Culduthel Farm near Inverness).

It may be that outside of these regions, the beads differ in form and date. This study has not considered the Late Iron Age activity from the Southeast, such as at Kent or Essex. However, a cursory examination of the evidence from sites, such as King Harry's Lane (Stead & Rigby 1989), and Stanway (Crummy 2007) has revealed that glass beads were either absent, or not found in large numbers at these sites. The examples found at King Harry's Lane were plain beads with no decoration (Stead & Rigby 1989). A possible exception being the two fragments of glass beads from the burial in Welwyn Garden City in Hertfordshire (DB5053, DB5054). However, the context of these finds suggest that they were used as games pieces rather than worn on the body (Stead 1967). It is possible, given a wider geographic area of study, that the pattern established in this study will remain as the dominant Britain-wide pattern.

The best evidence for the way in which these glass beads were used is derived from their inclusion in burials. Inhumations covered by this study where the placement of the beads has been recorded include most of the inhumations with glass beads from Wetwang Slack in East Yorkshire, and Whitcombe burial 8 in Dorset. Where context is known, glass beads were often found around the neck region of the individual suggesting that they were probably worn as a necklace. It is likely that beads found with the Cleveland cist burial in Somerset, Barrow L at Cowlam, and the Queen's Barrow at Arras also formed necklaces, although the position was not recorded. While the beads from all of these burials are generally similar in size (approximately 10mm in diameter and height), the Langton Herring beads from Dorset are very unusual. As it was not possible to record the placement of the beads, it is unclear how they related to the body, and thus interpretations of their use are very difficult. Four of the five beads are very large and they do not form a consistent pattern, as with the other necklaces. It remains a possibility that they were worn around the neck, but equally they could have been used as charms or talismans suspended from the mirror, or used as spindle whorls.

The glass beads from burial context give us the best associations between artefacts and individuals. Giles (2012) has already noted the preponderance of blue glass beads associated with mature women at Wetwang Slack, and has suggested that there may be some connection between the beads and mature female identity. However, the inhumations with glass beads accounted for less than 5% of the population at the cemetery. It is not clear if these women were contemporaries, or whether they lived over the course of the use of the cemetery. However, they are representative of such a small section of the population that it seems unlikely that the beads represented femininity or maturity alone, as there were 200 other adult women buried at the site. Instead, I have suggested here that the beads may be representative of a network of connections between different communities, as several of the types found on the Queen's Barrow at Arras have been found on the necklaces at Wetwang. The two 'Meare style' beads found at Wetwang Slack may represent farther contacts, while the unusual melon beads may indicated connections with continental communities.

The blue melon beads are an enigma, as no other examples have been found in Britain. It may be that they are another type that was manufactured in Europe. Alternatively, it may be that these beads were manufactured locally at an as yet unidentified location. In this case, these beads may have represented a sense of belonging to the community, perhaps with ties to nearby communities, such as at Rudston and Burton Fleming. With so many of the bead types isolated to this region, and the small number of individuals that wore them, perhaps they were meaningful to the people of this region and not considered appropriate to trade or exchange outside of the area.

In contrast to the burial evidence, there are the glass beads from settlements and other special deposits. Although they were not closely associated with human remains, they nonetheless are informative about wider discussions of regionality. This thesis has shown that there are strong regional patterns in the use of colours, decorative motifs, and the deposition of glass beads, suggesting that their use indicated a regional identity. However, it is intriguing that there was limited overlap for some physical characteristics, such as the spiral motif occurring in all regions, but with the largest number in Southwest England and Northeast Scotland. Guido (1978a, 76) suggested that this was due to migration of glass workers from Meare to the area around Culbin Sands, although she thought that this was at least several hundreds between the two production centres. Surprisingly, the radiocarbon dates for the glass beads at Culduthel Farm near Inverness suggest that the glass beads, or perhaps glass working, at this site could have been contemporary with the Meare Lake Village activity at the earliest (Ross Murray, pers. comm.). Why the spiral motif was so important for both of these communities is unclear, however, it is interesting that the colour used on the bodies of these beads contrast both light (Southwest England) and dark (Northeast Scotland), but beads from both regions utilised yellow for the decoration extensively.

The implications for this study is that glass beads in the different regions follow different patterns, which may reflect wider patterns of dress and identity. The frequency of these objects suggests that glass beads were an important part of dress in all regions, with the exception of East Anglia. However, the glass beads from the inhumations in East Yorkshire is a reminder that large numbers of beads does not necessarily mean that many people were wearing them. Thus, the hundreds of glass beads from Meare Lake Village may only have constituted a handful of necklaces when strung together. It is this idea of rarity that I now wish to discuss.

This research has shown that despite the growing number of excavations through developer-funded projects that this object type has not similarly increased in numbers. In some cases, this may be due to the size or the location of the excavation in relation to the rest of the site. It could also be down to the type of site that was excavated. Even at the Wetwang excavations, the proportion of any burial with a single or many glass beads in minuscule. Therefore, glass beads seem to be quite a rare artefact. This brings us to a number of issues:

- Is rarity simply an effect of excavation location and methodology, including the lack of sieving, and the bias towards the recovery of metalwork during metal-detecting?
- Is this rarity a reflection of depositional and survival factors and we are seeing a reduced number of glass beads that were in use in the Iron Age?

- Is this rarity reflecting proportionally the real numbers of glass beads in use in the Iron Age?

Research history and excavation factors probably play some role in the material culture found, but it will never be possible to excavate everywhere or recover every shred of evidence. However, it may be that the material culture that has been recovered is the result of specific practices in the past. Willis (1997) and Hill (1995b) have both shown that there is a significant differences between the number of pottery vessels found and the estimated number of pottery vessels in use at any given time. Could glass beads be comparatively similar? Again, this returns to the biography of the artefacts and the inherent partibility of beads and how artefacts should be counted. Pots are quite different in this respect, as we can tell whether a vessel is whole or fragmented. Beads, on the other hand, are simultaneously a part and a whole. If each single bead deposition in a given area actually made up a single object (i.e. a strand of beads), some beads may not have been deposited and remain missing, and others may never be recovered. In any case, it would be impossible to determine whether the beads from different contexts were worn together. However, if they did, then hypothetically, there would be even fewer people wearing glass beads.

Finally, assuming that the glass beads were rare in the Iron Age, what does this mean for how they were treated, or how the people that wore them were treated? Others have suggested that glass beads were 'exotic', a 'luxury' due to their valuable nature (Guido 1978a; Henderson 1992). As they were high-status objects, they were worn by high-status individuals. Glass beads certainly would have had a value in the Iron Age, but does value necessarily equate to high-status? Perhaps status was expressed in more ways than simply by wearing more objects, and was reflected by a person's place in the community and relationships outside of the community, than simply through material culture. For example, Lindow Man was not found with any other associated artefacts that he might have been wearing, other than the fox fur armband and the possible necklace (or garrotte) around his neck (Stead, Bourke *et al.* 1986, 38). However, it was the delicate treatment of his fingernails that suggested that he did not engage in manual labour as they were finely kept (Stead, Bourke *et al.* 1986, 66). Therefore, an individual wearing glass beads may have stood out, but this does not mean that they were higher in status. Glass beads are perhaps best explained as a potentially valuable object, worn by some, that may have reflected regional identities rather than status or other individual identities.

9.3 Dress in Iron Age Britain

Glass beads did not exist outside of a world of other dress artefacts. A general comparison of the changing materiality from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age suggests that concern, display, and manipulation of appearances fluctuated throughout this period (Hill 1997; Jundi & Hill 1997; Roberts 2007). The material record suggests that in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, there was generally less material related to bodily adornment or dress. This period is frequently considered to be one of social change (Hill 1995a). By the Later Iron Age, artefacts worn on the body and those that assist with the care and maintenance of the body become more numerous, such as brooches (Haselgrove 1997; Jundi & Hill 1997), tattooing (Carr 2005) and toilet instruments (Eckardt 2008; Hill 1997). The implications are that there was a changing attitude towards the body, in terms of how the body should by styled, groomed, or dressed.

Glass beads fit in differently with the available evidence. Instead of a major increase in the materiality of the Late Iron Age, this study has shown that for the study regions researched, artefacts were more numerous in the Middle Iron Age, and fewer finds date to the Late Iron Age. Although not one of the object types chosen for the present study, it is interesting that beads made from other types of material (i.e. jet, amber, clay) are not used extensively during this period either. There are a few amber beads from the East Yorkshire burials (Stead 1979), and in general, the use of amber during this period is very restricted (Beck 1991, 105). Grandcourt Quarry is an exception to this pattern as sixty-two amber beads were recovered mostly from the pottery-rich zone during the excavation (Malone 2010) as well as the large amber beads from the Birdlip burial in Gloucestershire (Bellows 1881). In general though, there is not a pre-existing tradition for the use of other types of beads that was subsequently replaced by glass beads, which was then replaced by Roman beads. Instead, the available evidence indicates the development of the use of glass beads emerges independently of a previous tradition.

This study sought to bring together multiple lines of evidence to compare dress in multiple regions. This has shown that even by taking the largest assemblage of artefacts (brooches) into account, most objects appear to have been deposited in the Middle-Late Iron transition, rather than firmly in the Late Iron Age period. Interestingly, there is evidence for objects of dress being worn in the Early Iron Age, such as pins and bracelets (or other arm-rings). While there clearly was a jump in the number of objects deposited between the Early-Middle Iron Age versus the Middle-Late Iron Age, this early period was not devoid of such objects. On the one hand it could be argued that this represents an even earlier increase in continental contact; however, the decline in the use of glass beads and change in material culture by the Late Iron Age further supports that this was a period of fluctuation and redefinition of identities. It may be that brooches came to replace the use of glass beads by the Late Iron Age.

The organisation and display of individuals is a challenging topic for this period due to the lack of burial evidence. However, by examining the wider patterns of materiality, it is clear that there were regional patterns of dress. The evidence for both East Yorkshire and Southwest England suggests that a wide variety of brooches, pins, and bracelets were worn. In East Anglia on the other hand, many of these types of artefacts were rare, or at least overshadowed by the large number of pre-conquest torcs. Other examples were rarely found outside of Norfolk and Suffolk, while in contrast the post-conquest collars were found in all other study regions. There is little evidence for dress artefacts prior to the first few centuries AD (except perhaps some glass beads if the radiocarbon dates from Culduthel are more widely applicable) in Northeast Scotland. It is at this period that we can attributed many of the massive style armlets, which as with the emergence of glass beads, there is little evidence to show that these objects replaced an earlier tradition (unless made from organic material). Overall, the evidence points to a strongly regional character of dress, whether it incorporated a highly material component or not.

Entwistle (2000) emphasised the situational and experiential aspects of dress. While this is difficult to assess for Iron Age Britain, it seems that some tasks would have been challenging when wearing some of the heavier items, such as torcs and collars, bracelets, anklets, and necklaces of glass beads. These individuals may have either removed these objects while undertaking tasks or labour, or they may have been worn for special occasions. On the other hand, if this was a society with different social ranks (not necessarily to the extreme of the hierarchical triangle), then perhaps some individuals did not participate in labour intensive or other activities that may have damaged the objects. In the future, it would be useful to closely examine bracelets and finger-rings to determine whether there is any indication that they were worn while undertaking labour intensive activities. Interestingly, the frequently fragmentary nature of glass bangles may attest to the fact that they were worn while performing activities.

9.4 Areas for Future Research and Conclusion

Building on the results and interpretations of this research, there are several key areas that need to be studied in order to advance our understanding of prehistoric glass, dress, identity, and society during the Iron Age. First, as this research examined in detail four study regions, further analysis would benefit from a wider geographic scope. In particular, a study of the remainder of southern Britain would enable a better understanding of material culture and differing practices especially in the Later Iron Age. Other key areas for further comparison include the East Midlands, Wales, and the Western Isles of Scotland. Ideally, a review of all the evidence for Britain would be beneficial, and could allow wide-scale comparisons of patterns.

Second, as archaeological evidence already suggests that glass beads and other objects either originated or were inspired by continental traditions, it would be beneficial if a systematic comparison between the British and European material was made. Much of the previous work that has been published compares British objects of dress with continental examples, but only consider single artefact types (e.g. Dunning 1934b), artefacts within a small geographic area, and are greatly out of date (e.g. Stead 1965a; 1979). In addition, there is often a preference for the comparison of metalwork, rather than objects of other materials (i.e glass). By undertaking a comparison of a variety of material culture related to dress and display that builds on the present research, cross-channel comparisons of dress and identity will be enabled. This will provide insight into the changing dynamic of Iron Age society in Britain and in continental Europe.

A third area of future research is further scientific investigation of prehistoric glass. The work pioneered by Bertini (2012) through the use of LA-ICP-MS, and other techniques, has already demonstrated the valuable nature of such analyses. One problem that such analyses would be able to assist in answering is in the effects of weathering on glass. The surface of a glass object can be both chemically and mechanically weathered (Newton & Davison 1989). If two beads that were made from the same glass batch were left to be weathered under different conditions, then today they may appear to be more different than they were initially. Chemical analysis would be able to determine the extent of the similarity or differences between glass compositions, despite differing appearances.

Coupled with the scientific investigation is the need for experimental work, which forms a fourth area for future research. Through experimentation, from the creation of raw glass and the manufacture of beads, it would be possible to better understand the tools, techniques, skill, and scope of glass manufacture and working. Through such work, it would also be possible to observe the types of debitage, scrap, or other detritus that may or may not accumulate. These clues may help us to identify such activity in the archaeological record.

Although not so much an area of research, this thesis has highlighted the absolute need for systematic environmental sampling at the very least for identifying otherwise unnoticed small glass objects in the archaeological record. Both the finds from Culduthel Farm and the 2001 Wetwang Slack chariot burial attest to the extremely small size of some examples. These are unlikely to be found in settlement contexts without the aid of sieving.

Supplementing the study of glass beads is the need for comparative studies of other artefacts related to dress. This thesis could only lightly delve into this topic, due to the vastness of the evidence. It has proposed a very basic way of comparing several other types of artefacts. In some cases, typologies already existed that could be used for analysis. However, in most cases this was not possible and a typology needed to be proposed in order to identify Iron Age examples and aid in comparisons. Further studies of this material are needed, and this thesis has highlighted not only this need, but the amount of material that is available for analysis.

Finally, a glass bead is not just an object and neither is simply a dot on a map. They are, instead, the result of a complex mesh of cultural reasoning and practices that do not offer a straightforward explanation. However, practices do emerge from the data as we can see clear patterns that suggest that they were culturally constituted in use and in deposition. From this analysis of four study regions, this suggests that their use not only varied through time, but also regionally.

Appendix A

Description of Guido Types

The Guido (1978a) typology of Iron Age glass beads has been the most significant and most used method for classifying and interpreting this object. As a supplement to the main text, this appendix provides descriptions of each of Guido's types, and additional details, such as their distribution and date where possible.

Class 1

The first bead in Guido's typology is the Class 1 'Arras' bead (Figure A.1a-f), which was named after the finds from Grave L at Cowlam and the Queen's Barrow in East Yorkshire. Guido distinguishes between two sub-types and characterised them as:

> …both [are] normally about 12 mm in diameter and 10 mm height. They are invariably dark blue, decorated with white rings round blue eyes…*Type I* [have] fewer and larger eyes…[and the] white rings have often fallen out and leave only the circular groove around the eye which is part of the ground of the bead…*Type II* [have] many more eyes… (1978a, 46).

The dimensions given are very vague and she does not clearly define their shape, but the dimensions suggest a globular, but not perfectly spherical shape.

Although this type of bead, especially Type II, has been found throughout England, it is especially concentrated in East Yorkshire, but also in the Severn Valley. Guido suggests that parallels between the finds from the Cowlam burial and Queen's Barrow in East Yorkshire and artefacts from Switzerland may indicate a fifth century BC date, while other examples date between the third and first centuries BC. However, she also suggests that they may originate from much further afield: in eight or seventh century Phoenicia, although some may have been copied in Europe.

Class 2

The Class 2 beads (Figure A.1e-f), also called 'Welwyn Garden City' type beads are very similar to the Class 1 beads in terms of colour and design motif. Guido defined them as:

> …rather big, globular beads made out of dark blue glass into which two registers of eyes enclosed by two irregular white circles…These 'eyes' are both very much larger and more irregular than those on the Arras Type beads just discussed (1978a, 48).

The difference between these beads and the Class 1 beads is the larger size and structure of the eye, and the arrangement of the eyes on the surface of the bead. The eyes on these beads are much more complex, whereas the Class 1 bead eyes are made from a layer of opaque white and translucent blue over the translucent blue bead base. The Class 2 bead eyes were made by layering opaque white and translucent blue twice, which created a more complex eye. The arrangement of the eyes on the beads are different from the Class 1 examples, as the illustration shows that they were placed in pairs rather than alternating pair and single eyes. However, at the time of publication, there were only two examples of this type of bead, none of which were complete examples. Therefore, it is unclear if Guido's description is an accurate reflection of this type of bead.

One of the two examples of Class 2 beads was found in the village of Wiggonholt near Pulborough in Sussex in a pit with second century AD Romano-British pottery (Evans 1974). The other example comes from a late La Tène III burial in Welweyn Garden City, Hertfordshire thought to date to the first century BC (Stead 1967). However, the location where these beads were manufactured remains unknown. Guido suggests that they may have come from northern Italy or the head of the Adriatic (Guido 1978a, 48-9). In general, she dates them to the first century BC, although as she pointed out, they could be much older.

Class 3

The Class 3 'South Harting' type (Figure A.1g-h) is the third type of bead where eyes were used for the decorative motif. Guido described them as:

> … fairly large annular beads with a diameter of approximately 20-30 mm and a height of about 15-20 mm. Almost invariably they are made of dark blue glass, and they generally have three equidistant eyes…often of different coloured glass but are always surrounded with an opaque white ring. Occasionally there are only two eyes, and related specimens may have two or more registers of eyes (1978a, 49).

Guido suggested that, although there were similar beads found in France, they have yellow rings of glass instead of white ones. However, in cotrast to many of her other Continental types of beads, she suggested that they may have been manufactured in Britain and then exported to the continent (1978a, 50). This explanation was supported by the larger numbers of these beads found in Britain compared to the continent. These beads are primarily found at early Romano-British sites, although Guido was adamant that they were not affiliated with Roman culture.

Class 4

The Class 4 'Findon' type were the last of the beads with an eye motif decoration (Figure A.1i-j). These were very different from the first three classes, as they are described as: 'opaque yellow beads with two superimposed rows of blue and white eyes' (Guido 1978a, 50). Unfortunately, Guido did not give average dimensions or an indication of the shape of these beads. However, she did state that they are a well-known type of bead on the continent, but that the blue-green versions have not been found in Britain (1978a, 50).

There is much uncertainty about the date of these beads, but Guido suggested a fourth or third century BC date (1978a, 51). However, for the continental examples she gives dates as early as the fifth century BC for examples from Villeneuve Renneville near Épernay, while other examples date from the fourth to second centuries BC. She suggested that they were probably manufactured in the Mediterranean regi,on possibly in the sixth century BC and only survive as heirlooms in the first century BC.

Class 5

These Class 5 'Hanging Langford' beads are very different from many of the types that Guido distinguishes (Figure A.1k-l). They were described as:

> …annular beads…generally about 20 mm in diameter and about 6 mm in height; the straight perforation measures about 10 mm across. Around the perforation on the inner side of the bead, an irregular and discontinuous band of opaque yellow glass has been applied in such a way that it glows through the clear colourless glass… (Guido 1978a, 51).

This description is unusual compared to Guido's other descriptions, as she was very specific by providing a general diameter, height, peroration shape and size. Two other classes in Guido's classification are also made out of colourless and opaque yellow glasses only: Class 10 and 11 beads. Both of these other classes (described in full below) were thought to have been manufactured in Britain. However, despite being made from the same colours of glass, the Class 5 beads distribution does not follow the distribution pattern seen for the Class 10 and 11 beads, thus she proposed that they are their own class. This is supported by similar finds from Continental Europe, which suggested that Class 5 beads must have been imported into Britain. In addition, some examples of bangles that existed in both Europe and Britain exhibited a very similar method of decoration. By combining this data with the continental evidence and finds in Britain, Guido suggested that these date from the second century BC to the first century AD.

Class 6

This bead type, like the Class 5 beads, is also very large, and the first of the types with an applied spiral motif (Figure A.1m-q). Guido described the 'Oldbury' type beads as:

> …roughly 25-30 mm in diameter and rather more annular than globular, about 15-20 mm in height. The perforation…is approximately 10 mm wide. The glass is dark, almost opaque, blue, appearing to be nearly black sometimes unless held to the light. The ornament generally consists of three, more rarely two, registers of trailed and marvered spirals, carefully made in opaque white, or less commonly yellow glass round the circumference of the bead often on small bosses…A variant of the Oldbury Class is here called the Colchester Class (B). It is distinguished by having opaque yellow glass double swags running between the spirals (1978a, 53-4).

Thus, the sub-class *B* is exactly the same as the main sub-type (*A*), except that they have a double yellow swag placed between the spirals (Figure A.1p).

Guido pointed to continental parallels for this bead type, as similar examples have been found in Europe. In general, she suggested a date from about 150 BC until the Roman conquest. From the distribution map, she suggested that they were imported into two primary areas: southeast England and in the Bristol Channel where the beads then spread out through Britain. Some examples have been found as far north as Kilmany in Fife and one was found on the Isle of Coll in western Scotland. However, she did not speculate on the significance of these northern specimens.

Class 7

Guido had termed the Class 7 beads (Figure A.2a-i) 'Celtic whirl' or 'ray' beads because they are:

> …large annular glass beads with whirls or rays in a contrasting colour…applied…on a blue or purple, brown, or light yellow ground and they may have a straight or rounded hour-glass perforation. The whirls or rays emerge from the perforation. In addition some of the beads have circumferential bands of a contrasting colour, usually underlying the whirls (1978a, 57).

The class was sub-divided into three types depending on the main colour of the bead. Thus, sub-type *a* has either a blue or purple ground, sub-type *b* beads are made with a brown or yellowish-brown colour, and finally, sub-type *c* is for all other colours, but mostly consists of green, white or colourless.

Guido suggested that the type *a* beads dated from 150 BC to AD 50 and are found especially around the Bristol Channel area. There are, for example, the specimens from Meare and Glastonbury Lake Villages, but also at Danebury, Hampshire and at Wick Wood in Wiltshire. Type *b* was dated to the first century BC as examples come from Hengistbury Head in Dorset, Welwyn Garden City in Hertfordshire, and Glastonbury Lake Village in Somerset. Guido was unable to attribute a date to the type *c* examples, but they were mostly found in Ireland. Continental examples of whirl or ray beads are always large and annular and have been found in a variety of colours.

Class 8

As with the Class 5 beads, the Class 8 beads lacked decoration (Figure A.2j). Guido described them as:

> …small opaque yellow annular beads…sometimes extremely fine and thin…they seldom exceed 12 mm in diameter…[with] flattened upper and lower surfaces often present around the perforation… (1978a, 73)

These beads were found throughout Britain, although notable concentrations have been found at Meare Lake Village in Somerset, and at Culbin Sands in Morayshire. However, they were notably absent from the eastern half of Britain below the modern Scottish border. Assuming that they were all made at Meare Lake Village, Guido suggested that they originated in the third to second century BC, and that the people who possessed the knowledge for glasswork moved to Scotland and continued making these beads there until Agricola ended their manufacturing. Therefore, the northern examples may date to the same time as the Meare Lake Village examples or may date to a later period: first century BC to early first century AD.

Class 9

Guido described this class as (Figure A.2k-r):

> …annular beads decorated with two-colour twisted cables…sub-divided according to the group colour, as follows: (A) natural glass {translucent green]; (B) cobalt blue or purple; (C) brown or golden brown. All these cable decorated beads are annular in shape, and vary usually between 20 to 30 mm in diameter, and 10 to 15 mm in height… (Guido 1978a, 77)

From Guido's description, the key aspect that sets these beads apart from other beads is the use of the cable as the primary decorative motif. However, some of Guido's Class 14 beads, which are discussed below, also include the use of the cable, it is the way in which it was applied that distinguishes these two classes apart. The three sub-types suggests that the colour choice for this class is limited to translucent green, blue, purple, and browns.

Although Guido discussed the date of these beads individually by sub-type, in general these beads are dated to the first century BC and she suggested that they 'died out' by the first century AD (Guido 1978a, 77). She suggested that they were made somewhere in the south, again possibly around Meare Lake Village, as they are found especially in the Bristol Valley. These glass bead makers moved to Scotland around 50 BC, and continued to make glass beads with cables (Class 14), but they were only poor imitations of the Class 9 beads (Guido 1978a, 79). She also saw a connection between both cable beads (Class 9 and 14) and the manufacture of some glass armlets (Guido 1978a, 78-9).

Class 10

These are perhaps one of the best known of all Iron Age glass beads (Figure A.3a-c). Guido described these beads as:

> …translucent and colourless, usually globular in shape, but some of the spirals were slightly flattened by marvering into a sub-triangular shape. The dimensions of these beads vary from about 9 to 14 mm in height, and 11 to 18 mm in diameter. The perforations are small and neatly made. The

> decoration consists of three carefully wound spirals in opaque yellow glass, occupying almost the whole surface of the bead (Guido 1978a, 79).

This description and the illustrations of the Class 10 beads suggested a fairly homogeneous assemblage.

The date of these beads is largely dependent on the dates of the finds at Meare Lake Village in Somerset, as it is at this site that they are found in their largest numbers. Guido suggested that these beads flourished between 250 BC and AD 50, although their use may have ended earlier due to the influx of the Belgae (Guido 1978a, 81).

Class 11

These are beads that Guido has termed 'Meare variant beads', meaning that they were variations on the Class 10 spiral bead (FigureA.3d-t). She described them as:

> …colourless glass beads decorated with opaque yellow designs. Although the decoration of these 'Meare variant' beads is dissimilar, it is clear that they are all closely related among themselves, and were in all probability produced in the same workshop (Guido 1978a, 81).

She identified 11 different 'variants' according to their decorative motif (Table A.1). For many of these 'types' there is only one example while the most common is type *a*.

As there are so few examples of most of the sub-types, very few dates or date ranges were given. However, on the advice of Michael Avery, Guido suggested that the class *a* beads were contemporary with the Class 10 spiral beads, so this puts them around the mid-third century to the first century BC (Guido 1978a, 82). Again, with the type *g* wave beads, Avery puts these at the first centuries BC/AD (Guido 1978a, 83).

Table A.1: List of Guido Class 11 sub-types.

Sub-Type	Decorative motif
a	Multiple chevrons along the circumference of the bead.
b	Circumferential line with short lines radiating from it.
c	Two circumferential zig-zag lines.
d	Several circumferential lines.
e	Trellis or lattice.
f	Lines running parallel with perforation.
g	Wave running around the circumference.
h	Criss-cross.
i	Whirl motif like Class 7.
j	Spiral design and protrusions like Oldbury beads.
k	Dots on surface.

Class 12

These beads are unusual in their shape, as they appear to be a larger annular bead attached to a smaller one (FigureA.3u-x). Guido describes them as: '…two elements, one larger than the other like a modern collar stud' (Guido 1978a, 84). Of the two known examples, one is made completely out of opaque yellow glass, while the other one is made from colourless glass with opaque yellow zig-zags. This class is entirely based on shape as the former more closely resembles the Class 8 annular beads, although it was found at Lidbury camp in Wiltshire, and the latter resembles several of the Class 11 variants and was found at Meare Lake Village in Somerset.

Despite there being so few examples in this class, Guido suggested a third or second to - first century BC date for this type of bead. Again, as there were no other known examples from the continent, Guido regards these as having been manufactured in Britain (Guido 1978a, 84).

Class 13

These 'North Scottish spiral-decorated beads' are another bead to utilise the applied spiral motif (FigureA.3y-aa). Guido described them as:

> …similar in size (11-22 mm in diameter and 10-18 mm in height), shape, and pattern to the Class 10 [beads]…, but they differ in two main aspects: they more generally show a slightly angular shape …and the bead is never colourless, but … greenish, brown, dark blue or some other dark colour. The spirals are invariably yellow and the perforations small (Guido 1978a, 85).

From her description of Class 13 beads, it is implied that they exactly parallel the Class 10 beads, except that they are more angular, and never colourless.

Although Guido saw a possible connection between the Class 13 beads and their southern inspiration, the Class 10 bead, Guido discounted the possibility that these beads were somehow related to continental examples. The continental versions were descried by Guido as '…more triangular in shape and nearly always on a blue ground' and as only 'superficially similar' to the Scottish versions (1978a, 85). Instead, as with the Class 8 and Class 14 beads, the Class 13 beads were made by glassworkers who migrated from Meare Lake Village in Somerset and began to make 'inferior' beads in northeast Scotland (1978a, 81). She suggested that they began to migrate in the first century BC and that the Class 14 beads date to as late as about the first century AD or perhaps as late as the late second century AD, but that the Agricolan conquest probably put an end to the production of glass beads (Guido 1978a, 81, 87).

Class 14

Guido's final class is the Class 14: 'North Scottish decorated annular beads' (Figure A.3ab-ae). She described them as:

> …no two beads are identical, and it is only by a certain generic resemblance which they share that they can be isolated as a class…The colours are nearly always opaque and include mostly blues, mauves, and browns; an opaque yellow element is present in almost every example. In size they vary from over 30 mm in diameter to a few mm…A closer look at the patterns with which they are decorated shows that these are derived from two elements: whirls or rays as in the Celtic beads of Class 7, and the ladder patterns which are in effect imitation cables (1978a, 87).

Despite differences in colour and decorative motifs, she did not sub-divide these beads into sub-types. She offers little else in the way of description, and as will be shown in the new typology, there is a considerable amount of variability and difference within the Class.

Group 1

Guido (1978a) borrowed this type from Haevernick's (1960) Group 24, which is described as: '…usually blue…spattered with white or yellow dots of varying sizes,…varying from 22-45 mm in diameter and 9 to 19 mm in height…' (Guido 1978a, 59-60, Figure A.4a). Haevernick (1960) catalogues several from Europe, although their main concentration is in the Czech Republic, where Guido (1978a, 60) suggested that they may have been manufactured in the first century BC. In Britain, however, she dates them to around 50 BC to AD 50 (Guido 1978a, 60).

Group 2

These beads were described as 'Miscellaneous spiral-decorated beads' by Guido (1978a, 60, Figure A.4b-f). She gives very little information about these beads, as they do not seem to form a homogeneous group, rather, as the name suggests, they are quite varied. The one unifying characteristic is the applied spiral motif, but they are also united by their difference in appearance to Classes 6, 10, and 13.

Group 3

As with the Group 2 beads, this type is a mix of 'Miscellaneous horned beads, some with eyes or spirals' (Guido 1978a, 60, Figure A.4g-h). Therefore, they do not form a coherent group, nor is it possible to attribute the entire type to a period. Instead, each individual bead needs to be considered by their own evidence.

Group 4

These beads are extremely rare in Britain, but are more common on the continent (Figure A.4i-k). They are called 'Garrow Tor' types after a find from Bodmin Moor, Cornwall (Guido 1978a, 62). They were decorated with eye motifs, but are very different from the motifs found on Classes 1 to 4. Guido (1978a, 61) described them as:

> …generally slightly more annular than globular and about 15 mm in diameter. The classic ground colour is turquoise, but more rarely dark blue and into this ground three fairly large mustard-coloured roundels are inset, surrounded by white rings, and…regularly arranged blue eyes ring with white. These eyes are stratified as in Arras Type II beads.

There are several examples of this type of bead from Britain, and a number from Ireland. However, Guido (1978a, 62) has suggested that the Irish examples do not date to the same period as the British examples as although they use the same motif, they appear to be different. She suggests that they were later copies, although there is nothing to support this later date. The British examples on the other hand, are likened to the examples from the Reinheim princess burial. These beads were thought to date to the fourth century BC, and although larger, were considered to be 'ancestral' to the British examples (Guido 1978a, 62).

Group 5

These beads have a plain coloured body and were decorated with an often contrasting colour forming a wave motif (Figure A.4l-r). They were subdivided into nine main types by the colours used, although sub-type d was further divided into four additional types (Table A.2).

Group 6 & 7

These two groups of beads are not decorated and are primarily made from single colours of glass (Figure A.4t-x). Group 6 beads are annular, while Group 7 beads are globular in shape. They

Table A.2: List of Guido Group 5 sub-types.

Sub-Type	Description
A	Translucent blue annular or globular beads with opaque white or yellow wave.
B	Opaque blue annular or globular beads with blue or purple wave.
C	Green or natural greenish translucent glass annular beads with white, yellow or blue wave
D	'Black' (dark green or other very dark colours, appearing black). (i) Annular with white wave. (ii) Annular with irregular yellow scrawl. (iii) Annular with various coloured waves. (iv) Globular with yellow wave.
E	Opaque yellow annular beads with coloured wave.
F	Opaque annular beads with yellow wave.
G	Translucent 'amber' (reddish-brown) beads with yellow wave.
H	Translucent colourless beads with yellow wave (Same as Class 11G).
I	Translucent greenish gold with yellow wave.

Table A.3: List of Guido Group 6 sub-types.

Sub-Type	Description
i	Large beads of various colours.
ii	Natural greenish translucent glass. (a) Medium (b) Small
iii	(a) Medium translucent green, greenish-gold or greenish brown. (b) Small translucent yellow or greenish-gold.
iv	Blue, translucent or opaque. (a) Medium (b) Small
v	Small translucent 'amber' (reddish-brown).
vi	Small opaque terracotta-coloured.
vii	Small opaque or translucent sky blue.
viii	Small opaque. Other colours, but yellow are Class 8.
ix	Very dark ('black') glass.
x	Colourless

Table A.4: List of Guido Group 7 sub-types.

Sub-type	Description
i	Large globular beads in various colours.
ii	Medium and small globular beads in natural greenish translucent glass.
iii	Medium and small globular beads in translucent or opaque green glass.
iv	Medium and small globular beads in cobalt blue translucent or opaque glass.
v	Medium and small globular beads in sky blue glass, both opaque and translucent.
vi	Medium and small globular beads in yellow or 'amber' (reddish-brown) translucent or opaque glass.
vii	Medium and small globular beads in terracotta-coloured, opaque glass.
viii	Medium and small globular beads in 'black' opaque glass.
ix	Small beads in bright red opaque glass.

have been sub-divided by colour and size (Table A.3 and A.4). Group 6 sizes were defined as: Large – over 30 mm in diameter, Medium – between 15 and 30 mm in diameter, and small – under 15 mm (Guido 1978a, 65). These size groupings are not the same as those used for Group 7 beads. Here, Large – over 15 mm in diameter, Medium and Small are under 15 mm in diameter (Guido 1978a, 69).

Group 8

This is the last and final group in Guido's (1978a) typology of glass beads (Figure A.4y-ae). She called this group 'exotic beads of Iron Age date', but it seems best to describe these beads as otherwise unique as they do not fit in with any of the other type descriptions. As with several of the other Guido Groups, each of these beads included in this type need to be carefully considered on their own merits. Guido suggested that eventually parallels may be found either in Britain or the continent. This is the case for at least one such bead. Her illustration of one of these beads (her Figure 23 no. 7), a bead from Boxford in Berkshire now has a parallel that was found recently at the excavations at Totterdown Lane (Pine & Preston 2002).

Appendix B

Description of New Types

Class 1: Simple Monochrome Beads (Figures B.1 – B.3)

A. Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder Shapes

Type	Shape	Body Colour
101	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Black
102	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Blue
103	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Bluegreen
104	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Brown
105	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Colourless
106	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Green
107	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Orange
108	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Purple
109	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Red
110	Annular, Globular, Barrel, Cylinder	Yellow

Class 2: Monochrome Beads (Figure B.4)

A. Complex Shapes

Type	Shape	Body Colour
201	All over bumps	Blue
202	Melon	Blue
203	Segmented	Yellow
204	Stud	Yellow

Class 3: Polychrome Beads, no design motif (Figure B.4)

Type	Shape	Body Colour
301	Barrel	Colourless, Red
302	Barrel	Colourless, red, yellow
303	Sub-triangular	Colourless, yellow
304	Annular	Green, White, Yellow
305	Annular	Red, Yellow
306	Annular	Red, White

Class 4: Beads with Eyes (Figures B.5 – B.7)

A. Simple Eyes

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
410	Details missing			
411	3 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Globular
412	3 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Cylindrical
413	3 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Annular
414	3 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Sub-triangular
415	3 Eyes	Blue	Brown, White, Green	Globular
416	3 Eyes	Blue	Green, Orange, White	Annular
417	3 Eyes	Blue	Green, White	Annular
418	3 Eyes	Blue	Green, White	Globular
419	3 Eyes	Blue	Red, White	Unknown
420	3 Eyes	Brown	Blue, White	Globular, Unknown
421	9 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Cylindrical
422	9 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Globular
423	9 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Unknown
424	12 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Cylindrical
425	12 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Globular
426	15 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Annular
427	15 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Cylindrical
428	17 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Globular
429	21 Eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Cylindrical

B. Complex Eyes

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
500	Complex eyes but details missing			
501	3 eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Sub-triangle
502	Unknown	Blue	Blue, White	Barrel
503	3 eyes	Blue	Blue, Green, White	Sub-triangle

C. Compound Eyes

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
600	Compound eyes but details missing			
601	3 eyes	Blue	Blue, White	Globular

Class 5: Beads with Perforation Colour (Figure B.7)

700	No details

A. With Yellow

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
701	Perforation Colour	Colourless	Yellow	Annular

B. With Blue

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
702	Perforation Colour	Colourless	Blue	Annular

Class 6: Beads with Linear Design (Figures B.7 – B.13)

A. Multiple Circumferential Lines

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
800	Circumferential lines but details missing			
801	Unknown	Blue	White/yellow	Annular
802	7 lines	Colourless	Yellow	Annular

B. Single wave/zig-zag

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
900	Single wave but details missing			
901	single wave/zigzag	Blue	White	Globular/Annular
902	single wave/zigzag	Blue	Blue	Annular
903	single wave/zigzag	Blue	Yellow	Annular
904	single wave/zigzag	Blue, White	Blue	Annular
905	single wave/zigzag	Bluegreen	Yellow	Annular
906	single wave/zigzag	Colourless	Yellow	Annular
907	single wave/zigzag	Green	White	Globular/Annular
908	single wave/zigzag	Green	Yellow	Cylindrical
909	single wave/zigzag	Yellow	Blue	Annular
910	single wave/zigzag	Yellow	Brown	Annular

C. Chevrons

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
1000	Chevron bead but details missing			
1001	Multiple chevrons	Colourless	Yellow	Annular
1002	Multiple chevrons	Colourless	Yellow	Barrel
1003	Multiple chevrons	Colourless	Yellow	Globular

D. Criss-Cross

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
1100	Criss-cross but details missing			
1101	Criss-Cross	Colourless	Yellow	Barrel/Globular

E. Diagonal Criss-Cross

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
1200	Diagonal criss-cross but details missing			
1201	Diagonal Criss-Cross	Green	Yellow	

F. Pinnate

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
1300	Pinnate but details missing			
1301	Pinnate	Colourless	Yellow	

G. Spirals

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
1400	Spiral bead but details missing			
1401	Single row, 3 spirals	Black	Yellow	Annular
1402	Single row, 3 spirals	Black	Yellow	Sub-triangle
1403	Single row, 3 spirals	Black	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
1404	Single row, 3 spirals	Blue	Green, Red	Unknown
1405	single row	blue	white	Annular/Globular
1406	single row	Blue	White	Globular
1407	3 rows	blue	white	Annular/Globular
1408	single row, 2 spirals	Blue	Yellow	Globular
1409	Single row, 3 spirals	Blue	Yellow	Globular
1410	Single row, 3 spirals	Blue	Yellow	Sub-triangle
1411	Single row, 3 spirals	Blue	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
1412	Single row, 3 spirals	Bluegreen	Yellow	Globular
1413	Single row, 3 spirals	Bluegreen	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
1414	Single row, 3 spirals	Blue, Brown	Black	Unknown
1415	Single row, 3 spirals	Brown	Yellow	Sub-triangle
1416	Single row, 3 spirals	Colourless	Yellow	Annular
1417	Single row, 3 spirals	Colourless	Yellow	Globular
1418	Single row, 3 spirals	Colourless	Yellow	Sub-triangle
1419	Single row, 3 spirals	Colourless	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
1420	Single row, 3 spirals	Colourless, Red	Yellow	Unknown
1421	Single row, 3 spirals	Green	Red, Yellow	Unknown
1422	Single row, 3 spirals	Green	Yellow	Sub-triangle
1423	Single row, 3 spirals	Green	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
1424	Single row, 3 spirals	Green, Orange	Yellow	Annular
1425	Single row, 3 spirals	Orange	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
1426	Single row, 3 spirals	Orange, Red	Yellow	Sub-triangle
1427	Single row, 3 spirals	Purple	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
1428	Spiral, Mottled-colour	Blue, Colourless	Yellow	Sub-triangle
1429	Spiral, Mottled-colour	Blue, Red	Yellow	Sub-triangle

1430	Spiral, Mottled-colour	Colourless	White, Yellow	Globular
1431	Spiral whirl	Blue	Blue, Yellow	Annular

Class 7: Wrapped Beads (Figure B.13)

A. Simple Wrapped.

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
1501	-	Multi	Multi	Annular

Class 8: Whirl Beads (Figures B.13 – B.14)

A. Simple Whirl

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
1601	-	Black	Yellow	Annular
1602	-	Blue	White	Annular
1603	-	Blue	White, Yellow	Annular
1604	-	Blue	Yellow	Annular
1605	-	Brown	White, Yellow	Annular
1606	-	Brown	Yellow	Annular
1607	-	Green	White, Yellow	Annular
1608	-	Green	Yellow	Annular
1609	-	Orange	Yellow	Annular
1610	-	Purple	White	Annular
1611	-	White	Bluegreen	Annular

Class 9: Ray Beads (Figure B.14)

A. Simple Ray Beads

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
1702	-	Blue	Yellow	Annular
1703	-	Colourless	Yellow	Annular
1704	-	Green	Brown, White	Annular

Class 10: Beads with Spots (Figure B.14)

A. Beads with spots

Type	Motif	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
1800	Beads with spots but details missing			
1801	Mottled spots	Blue, White Yellow		Annular
1802	Mottled spots	Blue, White		Annular

Class 11: Complex Motifs (Figures B.14 – B.17)

Type	Motif Combination	Body Colour	Decorative Colour	Shape
2101	Circumferential line, perforation colour	White, Yellow	Purple	Annular
2201	Dot, Wave	Green	Yellow	Sub-triangular
2202	Dot, Wave	Colourless/Blue	Blue, White	Globular
2301	Double Line Zig-zag	Blue	White	Globular
2302	Double Line Zig-zag	Blue	White, Yellow	Annular
2303	Double Line Zig-zag	Colourless	Yellow	Annular
2304	Double Line Zig-zag	White	Yellow	Annular
2306	Double Line Wave	Yellow	Green, Yellow	Annular
2307	Multi Zig-zag stud	Colourless	Yellow	Stud
2401	Chevrons, Circumferential line	Colourless	Yellow	Globular
2501	Spiral, Cable	Colourless	Green, Yellow	Truncated Triangle
2502	Spiral, Dot	Green	Red, White, Yellow	Sub-triangle
2503	Spiral, Perforation colour	Green, Red	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
2504	Spiral, Perforation colour	Redpurple, White	Yellow	Globular
2505	Spiral, Perforation colour	Redpurple, White	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
2506	Spiral, indent	Blue	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
2507	Spiral, indent	Brown	Yellow	Truncated Triangle
2601	Wrapped, Cable	Black, Yellow	Black, White	Annular
2602	Wrapped, Cable	Black, Yellow	Black, Yellow	Annular
2603	Wrapped, Cable	Brown, Yellow	Brown, White	Annular
2604	Wrapped, Cable	Colourless, Yellow	Blue, White	Annular
2605	Wrapped, Cable	Colourless, Yellow	Brown, White	Annular
2701	Whirl, Cable	Black	Blue, White, Yellow	Annular
2702	Whirl, Cable	Blue	Blue, White	Annular
2703	Whirl, Cable	Blue	Green, White	Annular
2704	Whirl, Cable	Brown	Blue, White	Annular
2705	Whirl, Cable	Green	Blue, White	Annular

2706	Whirl, Cable	Orange	Orange, Yellow	Annular

2801	Whirl, Circumferential Line	Purple	Purple, White	Annular

2802	Whirl, Mottled Colour	Blue	White, Yellow	Annular

2901	Ray, Circumferential Line	Blue	White	Annular

3000	Cable-wave but details missing			
3001	Cable-wave	Black	Blue, White	Annular
3002	Cable-wave	Blue	Colourless, Yellow	Annular
3003	Cable-wave	Blue	Blue, White	Annular
3004	Cable-wave	Blue	Blue, Yellow	Annular
3005	Cable-wave	Blue	Green, Yellow	Annular
3006	Cable-wave	Blue, Colourless, Purple, Yellow	Blue, Yellow	Annular
3008	Cable-wave	Bluegreen	Brown, White	Annular
3009	Cable-wave	Bluegreen	Green, Yellow	Annular
3010	Cable-wave	Brown	Blue, White	Annular
3011	Cable-wave	Colourless, Green	Blue, White	Annular
3012	Cable-wave	Green	Black, Yellow	Annular
3013	Cable-wave	Green	Blue	Annular
3014	Cable-wave	Green	Blue, White	Annular
3015	Cable-wave	Green	Blue, Yellow	Annular
3016	Cable-wave	Green	Purple, Yellow	Annular
3017	Cable-wave	Orange	Blue, White	Annular
3018	Cable-wave	Purple	Purple, White	Annular
3019	Cable-wave	Yellow	Blue, White	Annular

Appendix C

List of Database Numbers by Type

Class 1: Type 101

7580	12865	14764	17419

Class 1: Type 102

2837	7571	9778	9824	12007	15811	15858	15922	15968	16031	16126	16182	16182	16451	17128	17309
2985	7575	9779	9825	13613	15812	15859	15923	15969	16081	16127	16183	16183	16452	17129	17373
2986	7576	9780	9826	13615	15813	15860	15924	15970	16082	16137	16184	16184	16453	17130	17374
2988	7577	9781	9827	13616	15814	15861	15925	15971	16083	16138	16185	16185	16454	17131	17375
2989	7581	9782	9828	13735	15815	15880	15926	15972	16084	16139	16186	16186	16455	17132	17376
3014	7935	9783	9829	13736	15816	15881	15927	15973	16085	16140	16187	16187	16456	17133	17377
3017	7936	9784	9830	13751	15817	15882	15928	15974	16086	16141	16188	16188	16457	17134	17378
3171	7938	9785	9831	13755	15818	15883	15929	15975	16087	16142	16189	16189	16458	17135	17379
3766	9131	9786	9832	13756	15820	15884	15930	15976	16088	16143	16190	16190	16459	17136	17380
3784	9741	9787	9833	13758	15821	15885	15931	15977	16089	16144	16191	16191	16460	17137	17381
3786	9742	9788	9834	13780	15822	15886	15932	15978	16090	16145	16192	16192	16461	17138	17382
3788	9743	9789	9835	13883	15823	15887	15933	15979	16091	16146	16193	16193	16462	17139	17383
3893	9744	9790	9836	13920	15824	15888	15934	15980	16092	16147	16194	16194	16463	17140	17384
3927	9745	9791	9837	14759	15825	15889	15935	15981	16093	16148	16195	16195	16464	17141	17385
3928	9746	9792	9838	14762	15826	15890	15936	15982	16094	16149	16196	16196	16465	17142	17386
3934	9747	9793	9839	14766	15827	15891	15937	15983	16095	16150	16197	16197	16466	17143	17387
3996	9748	9794	9840	15056	15828	15892	15938	15984	16096	16151	16198	16198	16467	17144	17388
3997	9749	9795	9841	15090	15829	15893	15939	15985	16097	16152	16199	16199	16468	17145	17389
4286	9750	9796	9842	15782	15830	15894	15940	15986	16098	16153	16200	16200	16470	17146	17390
4291	9751	9797	9843	15783	15831	15895	15941	15987	16099	16154	16201	16201	16471	17147	17391
4309	9752	9798	9844	15785	15832	15896	15942	15988	16100	16155	16202	16202	16472	17148	17392
4782	9753	9799	9845	15786	15833	15897	15943	15989	16101	16156	16203	16203	16473	17149	17393
4954	9754	9800	9846	15787	15834	15898	15944	15990	16102	16157	16204	16204	16474	17150	17394
4955	9755	9801	9847	15788	15835	15899	15945	15991	16103	16158	16205	16205	16477	17151	17395
4970	9756	9802	9848	15789	15836	15900	15946	15992	16104	16159	16206	16206	16478	17152	17396
5867	9757	9803	9849	15790	15837	15901	15947	15993	16105	16161	16207	16207	16479	17153	17397
5868	9758	9804	9850	15791	15838	15902	15948	15994	16106	16162	16208	16208	16480	17154	17398
6892	9759	9805	9851	15792	15839	15903	15949	15995	16107	16163	16209	16209	16482	17155	17399
6895	9760	9806	9852	15793	15840	15904	15950	15996	16108	16164	16427	16427	16484	17156	17400
7522	9761	9807	9853	15794	15841	15905	15951	15997	16109	16165	16428	16428	16486	17157	17402
7523	9762	9808	9854	15795	15842	15906	15952	15998	16110	16166	16429	16429	16487	17158	17408
7524	9763	9809	9855	15796	15843	15907	15953	15999	16111	16167	16430	16430	16488	17159	17492
7525	9764	9810	9856	15797	15844	15908	15954	16000	16112	16168	16432	16432	16489	17160	17493
7526	9765	9811	9857	15798	15845	15909	15955	16001	16113	16169	16434	16434	16490	17161	17497
7527	9766	9812	9858	15799	15846	15910	15956	16002	16114	16170	16436	16436	16491	17162	
7528	9767	9813	9859	15800	15847	15911	15957	16003	16115	16171	16437	16437	16492	17163	
7529	9768	9814	9860	15801	15848	15912	15958	16004	16116	16172	16438	16438	16493	17164	
7530	9769	9815	9975	15802	15849	15913	15959	16005	16117	16173	16439	16439	16494	17165	
7543	9770	9816	9999	15803	15850	15914	15960	16006	16118	16174	16442	16442	16495	17166	
7544	9771	9817	10000	15804	15851	15915	15961	16007	16119	16175	16443	16443	16496	17167	
7545	9772	9818	10001	15805	15852	15916	15962	16008	16120	16176	16444	16444	16497	17168	
7546	9773	9819	10005	15806	15853	15917	15963	16009	16121	16177	16445	16445	16578	17169	
7547	9774	9820	10056	15807	15854	15918	15964	16010	16122	16178	16446	16446	17124	17170	
7548	9775	9821	10538	15808	15855	15919	15965	16011	16123	16179	16448	16448	17125	17171	
7549	9776	9822	11658	15809	15856	15920	15966	16012	16124	16180	16449	16449	17126	17172	
7550	9777	9823	11690	15810	15857	15921	15967	16029	16125	16181	16450	16450	17127	17173	

Class 1: Type 103

13614	14763

Class 1: Type 104

3930	4027	4297	4299

Class 1: Type 105

7579	13921

Class 1: Type 106

3019	3926	3929	3998	4273	4298	7541	7542	9197	9977	13617	13922	16160	16364

Class 1: Type 107

2987	3003	3004	4300	5089	5090	6627	6628	6629	6630	6631	6632	7617	9969	12710	15359

Class 1: Type 108

7556	9989

Class 1: Type 109

7551	7552	16363

Class 1: Type 110

2903	3511	3539	3567	3595	3623	3651	3679	3776	4332	4360	13743	13849	13877	17321
2904	3512	3540	3568	3596	3624	3652	3680	3777	4333	4361	13744	13850	13878	17322
2905	3513	3541	3569	3597	3625	3653	3681	3778	4334	4391	13745	13851	13879	17343
2906	3514	3542	3570	3598	3626	3654	3682	3779	4335	5870	13746	13852	13880	17345
2907	3515	3543	3571	3599	3627	3655	3683	3780	4336	5923	13749	13853	13881	17347
2910	3516	3544	3572	3600	3628	3656	3684	3781	4337	5924	13752	13854	13882	17414
2914	3517	3545	3573	3601	3629	3657	3685	4276	4338	6300	13776	13855	13891	17415
2917	3518	3546	3574	3602	3630	3658	3686	4310	4339	6301	13778	13856	13893	17416
2919	3519	3547	3575	3603	3631	3659	3687	4312	4340	6302	13779	13857	13894	17420
2920	3520	3548	3576	3604	3632	3660	3688	4313	4341	6303	13783	13858	13897	17451
2921	3521	3549	3577	3605	3633	3661	3698	4314	4342	6304	13785	13859	13899	17614
3260	3522	3550	3578	3606	3634	3662	3700	4315	4343	6305	13832	13860	13910	
3427	3523	3551	3579	3607	3635	3663	3701	4316	4344	6306	13833	13861	13913	
3462	3524	3552	3580	3608	3636	3664	3702	4317	4345	6307	13834	13862	13914	
3463	3525	3553	3581	3609	3637	3665	3703	4318	4346	6308	13835	13863	13918	
3464	3526	3554	3582	3610	3638	3666	3706	4319	4347	7607	13836	13864	13919	
3465	3527	3555	3583	3611	3639	3667	3707	4320	4348	7618	13837	13865	14857	
3466	3528	3556	3584	3612	3640	3668	3716	4321	4349	7666	13838	13866	14858	
3467	3529	3557	3585	3613	3641	3669	3718	4322	4350	8736	13839	13867	14859	
3468	3530	3558	3586	3614	3642	3670	3722	4323	4351	13618	13840	13868	14860	
3476	3531	3559	3587	3615	3643	3671	3767	4324	4352	13726	13841	13869	14861	
3504	3532	3560	3588	3616	3644	3672	3768	4325	4353	13733	13842	13870	14862	
3505	3533	3561	3589	3617	3645	3673	3769	4326	4354	13737	13843	13871	14863	
3506	3534	3562	3590	3618	3646	3674	3771	4327	4355	13738	13844	13872	15360	
3507	3535	3563	3591	3619	3647	3675	3772	4328	4356	13739	13845	13873	17316	
3508	3536	3564	3592	3620	3648	3676	3773	4329	4357	13740	13846	13874	17317	
3509	3537	3565	3593	3621	3649	3677	3774	4330	4358	13741	13847	13875	17318	
3510	3538	3566	3594	3622	3650	3678	3775	4331	4359	13742	13848	13876	17319	

Class 2: Type 201

9972	17690

Class 2: Type 202

15862	15863	15864	15865	15866	15867	15868	15869	15870	15871	15872	15873	15874	15875	15876	15877

Class 2: Type 203

7540

Class 2: Type 204

4228

Class 3: Type 301

3252	3253	3254	3255	3256

Class 3: Type 302

3258	3259

Class 3: Type 303

2911

Class 3: Type 304

3418

Class 3: Type 305

13759

Class 3: Type 306

4293

Class 4: Type 410

2731	3179	4272	5199	5239	11659	16079	17367	17369	17371	17450	17502
2832	4200	4733	5201	11334	12005	17366	17368	17370	17372	17501	17503

Class 4A: Type 411

2787	5391	5393	5395	5397	5400	5402	5404	5406	5410	5412	5414	5416
5390	5392	5394	5396	5399	5401	5403	5405	5409	5411	5413	5415	5417

Class 4A: Type 412

15044

Class 4A: Type 413

16131	16133	16134	16135

Class 4A: Type 414

16130	16132

Class 4A: Type 415

2892

Class 4A: Type 416

3999

Class 4A: Type 417

16080	16136	16431	16433	16440	16441	16447	16469	16475	16476	16481	16483	16485

Class 4A: Type 418

16435

Class 4A: Type 419

5161

Class 4A: Type 420

16013	16014	16015	16016	16017	16018	16019	16020	16021	16022	16023	16024

Class 4A: Type 421

5373	5374	5375	5377	16423	16424	16425	16426

Class 4A: Type 422

4397	17280

Class 4A: Type 423

16025	16026	16027	16028

Class 4A: Type 424

2817	5376	5378	5379	5380	5381	5382	5383	5384	5385	5386	5387	5388	11740

Class 4A: Type 425

3345	5398

Class 4A: Type 426

5408	5869

Class 4A: Type 427

4953

Class 4A: Type 428

5407

Class 4A: Type 429

4398

Class 4B: Type 501

16210	16211

Class 4B: Type 502

9965

Class 4B: Type 503

16212

Class 4C: Type 601

3217

Class 5: Type 701

3212	4018	4285	4395	7304	9967	9974	9988

Class 5: Type 702

9973

Class 6A: Type 801

9970	17489

Class 6A: Type 802

4294

Class 6B: Type 900

3015	3016	5507	5508	5510	5511

Class 6B: Type 901

2782	5097	5461	5470	5479	5488	5497	5506	5525	15878	16039	16048	16057	16066	16075	17616
4392	5098	5462	5471	5480	5489	5498	5512	5526	15879	16040	16049	16058	16067	16076	17618
4393	5352	5463	5472	5481	5490	5499	5518	5527	16032	16041	16050	16059	16068	16077	
4741	5353	5464	5473	5482	5491	5500	5519	8518	16033	16042	16051	16060	16069	16129	
4798	5354	5465	5474	5483	5492	5501	5520	9195	16034	16043	16052	16061	16070	17174	
5093	5358	5466	5475	5484	5493	5502	5521	9196	16035	16044	16053	16062	16071	17409	
5094	5371	5467	5476	5485	5494	5503	5522	11741	16036	16045	16054	16063	16072	17439	
5095	5459	5468	5477	5486	5495	5504	5523	11742	16037	16046	16055	16064	16073	17603	
5096	5460	5469	5478	5487	5496	5505	5524	14761	16038	16047	16056	16065	16074		

Class 6B: Type 902

3925

Class 6B: Type 903

13725

Class 6B: Type 904

7933

Class 6B: Type 905

5351

Class 6B: Type 906

4389	7302	7303	13915	17326

Class 6B: Type 907

5359	5360	5361	5362	5363	5364	5365	5366	5367	5368	5369	5370	5372

Class 6B: Type 908

13895

Class 6B: Type 909

4305

Class 6B: Type 910

2771

Class 6C: Type 1000

Class 6C: Type 1001

4365	7538	9978	13763	13917	15784

Class 6C: Type 1002

17410

Class 6C: Type 1003

3251	4364	4369	4372	4375	4378	4381	13732	13765	13769	13884	13906
3931	4367	4370	4373	4376	4379	13730	13757	13767	13773	13887	17411
4005	4368	4371	4374	4377	4380	13731	13762	13768	13782	13888	17412

Class 6D: Type 1101

4306	7300	7301

Class 6E: Type 1201

Not used in data analysis due to error in database

Class 6F: Type 1301

4390

Class 6G: Type 1400

2689	2732	2734	3145	3477	3759	4029	4194	4407	4860	5276	13912
2717	2733	2918	3364	3497	3811	4154	4363	4859	4945	13886	17418

Class 6G: Type 1401

4188

Class 6G: Type 1402

4406	4853

Class 6G: Type 1403

2757	2929	3420	3428	3754	3939	4743	17315

Class 6G: Type 1404

2778

Class 6G: Type 1405

3935	3936	7573	7930

Class 6G: Type 1406

4288

Class 6G: Type 1407

3937	4283	4957	7578	9968	10013	17362	17491
4274	4394	7572	7928	9979	11630	17490	

Class 6G: Type 1408

4287

Class 6G: Type 1409

3165	17565

Class 6G: Type 1410

2891	3008	3163

Class 6G: Type 1411

2912	2926	3009	3079	3740

Class 6G: Type 1412

3162	3164

Class 6G: Type 1413

3733

Class 6G: Type 1414

3366

Class 6G: Type 1415

3301

Class 6G: Type 1416

13828	13890

Class 6G: Type 1417

3757	6927	6932	6937	6942	6946	6950	6954	13724	13747	13770	13784	13898	16030
3770	6928	6933	6938	6943	6947	6951	6955	13727	13748	13771	13829	13900	17327
4270	6929	6934	6939	6944	6948	6952	6956	13728	13753	13774	13830	13902	17407
4362	6930	6936	6941	6945	6949	6953	7932	13729	13766	13781	13892	13903	17413

Class 6G: Type 1418

2913	3783	6931	6940	7539

Class 6G: Type 1419

3300	4792	4944	4974	4979	13901	17314

Class 6G: Type 1420

4147	17406

Class 6G: Type 1421

4530

Class 6G: Type 1422

2761	2863

Class 6G: Type 1423

2864	3269	4173	4960

Class 6G: Type 1424

3751

Class 6G: Type 1425

2748	2749	4414	17311

Class 6G: Type 1426

17566

Class 6G: Type 1427

17564

Class 6G: Type 1428

3469

Class 6G: Type 1429

4983

Cass 6G: Type 1430

6935

Class 6G: Type 1431

8435

Class 7: Type 1501

2685	2758	3248	3266	4278	17567	17569	17570	17571

Class 8: Type 1601

3172

Class 8: Type 1602	
4301	5122

Class 8: Type 1603	
2687	17242

Class 8: Type 1604		
7511	9987	17568

Class 8: Type 1605

4028

Class 8: Type 1606

3933

Class 8: Type 1607

3391	3393

Class 8: Type 1608

17441

Class 8: Type 1609

2688

Class 8: Type 1610

3932

Class 8: Type 1611

3265

Class 9: Type 1702

4781	10014

Class 9: Type 1703

4304

Class 9: Type 1704

9994

Class 10: Type 1800

15704

Class 10: Type 1801

9966

Clas 10: Type 1802

7512

Class 11: Type 2101

4803

Class 11: Type 2201

4289

Class 11: Type 2202

15362

Class 11: Type 2301

16078

Class 11: Type 2302

9980

Class 11: Type 2303

9971

Class 11: Type 2304

9976

Class 11: Type 2305

Not Used

Class 11: Type 2306

13760

Class 11: Type 2307

4296

Class 11: Type 2401

13772

Class 11: Type 2501

3789

Class 11: Type 2502

2759

Class 11: Type 2503

17563

Class 11: Type 2504

3473

Class 11: Type 2505

2752

Class 11: Type 2506

3745

Class 11: Type 2507

3421

Class 11: Type 2601

2686	4962

Class 11: Type 2602

4227

Class 11: Type 2603

2747

Class 11: Type 2604

3749

Class 11: Type 2605

4855

Class 11: Type 2701

2750

Class 11: Type 2702

3758

Class 11: Type 2703

3461

Class 11: Type 2704

3166

Class 11: Type 2705

3168

Class 11: Type 2706

3753

Class 11: Type 2801

9985

Class 11: Type 2802

17320

Class 11: Type 2901

7929

Class 11: Type 3000

2834	3211	4216

Class 11: Type 3001

3154	3257

Class 11: Type 3002

2844

Class 11: Type 3003

3085	4804	12708	16561

Class 11: Type 3004

Not Used

Class 11: Type 3005

3174

Class 11: Type 3006

2841

Class 11: Type 3007

Not used

Class 11: Type 3008

11687

Class 11: Type 3009

7931

Class 11: Type 3010

7894

Class 11: Type 3011

3173

Class 11: Type 3012

4303	11436

Class 11: Type 3013

Not Used

Class 11: Type 3014

2838	4182	4183	4184	4785

Class 11: Type 3015

2840

Class 11: Type 3016

7509

Class 11: Type 3017

9402	9435

Class 11: Type 3018

11258

Class 11: Type 3019

17222

Appendix D

Glass Bead Distribution

Introduction

Distribution of different types has been used in the past to demonstrate areas of clustering and the disbursement of these clusters through a geographic area. Guido (1978a) used such maps to show areas of concentration, which may have indicated either where beads were manufactured, or areas that they were imported from. By illustrating the location of glass beads on this wide scale, it is possible to understand some of the wider patterning of artefact distribution. However, such maps take the object out of its chronological and depositional context. Chapter 7 examined these contexts at both the site and feature level, as well as introduced some new ways of examining the distribution of different aspects or characteristics of glass beads. However, the distribution of types can still help to answer some broad distribution questions. This appendix provides distribution maps for the class beads that have been catalogued under the new system. In some cases, it has been possible to show the distribution of individual types, but in others, the numbers are so few that whole classes are shown together.

Distribution

Simple beads of Classes 1, 2 and 3, have been found in all study regions (Figures D.1-D.5). Class 1 beads, being plain annular/globular beads of many colours, are most frequent in all study regions. In Southwest England there are a few noted concentrations, while many finds are spread throughout the regions. In contrast, beads from the remaining regions are found concentrated in at very few locations. Class 1 Type 102 (blue) bead and Class 110 (yellow) beads are the two most frequent types as shown in Chapter 5 and 6, therefore it is worth examining these two types in greater detail (Figures D.2 and D.3). The Type 102 beads follow the same general pattern as noted in the overall distribution for the class as a whole, while the Type 110 beads are notably different. They are rarely found in East Yorkshire and are completely absent from East Anglia, but they are particularly concentrated in Southwest England and Northeast Scotland.

There have been very few finds of Classes 2 and 3 (Figures D.4 and D.5). Class 2 monochrome beads with more complex shapes, are found in small numbers in all regions except for Northeast Scotland. While Class 3 beads, being polychrome but with no particular design, are found again in small numbers, but only in Southwest England and Northeast Scotland. Beads from these classes are the simplest in terms of the use of colour and decorative motif. They make up a substantial proportion of the beads from all regions except for East Anglia. However, within the remaining study regions, Type 102 were found predominately in Southwest England and East Yorkshire, while Type 110 are found in large numbers in Southwest England and Northeast Scotland. Although it may be possible to further divide these beads by size and shape, the colour implies that there may be some regional preference for bead colour: Southwest England for blue and yellow, East Yorkshire for blue, and Northeast Scotland for yellow. In contrast, there are very few of these beads from East Anglia, where beads are more complex.

Other patterns emerge for the decorated polychrome beads. Class 4 eye beads are found in all regions except for Northeast Scotland (Figure D.6). Despite the concentrations in East Yorkshire and Southwest England, they are also nearly absent from East Anglia except for one recent find at Grandcourt Quarry, Norfolk (DB9965). This particular class of bead is prevalent throughout Southwest England and is found in dense numbers at several key sites in East Yorkshire. There are a number of sub-types within this class and this discussion will not go into great detail about their exact distribution (further details about types are in Appendix B), but it is worth noting that there is very little cross-over of specific types between each region. This suggests that the different types of eye beads are specific to each region, although the boundaries of these distributions will be confirmed through future work that will fill in between the study regions.

Class 5 beads here are the same as Guido's Class 5 beads, except that they have been further divided into two types, as there are now yellow, and blue types. However, there has only been one blue example found (Grandcourt Quarry, Norfolk, DB9973), thus this distribution analysis will not break this down into specific types (Figure D.7). Guido's catalogue suggested that this type of bead is only found in southern Britain, and the data from the study regions confirms this analysis. However, interestingly, it is now possible to ascribe two beads to East Anglia, when previously none had been found from this region. This type of bead continues to be completely absent from East Yorkshire and Northeast Scotland, although there is a very small example thought to have come from Aberdeenshire that is very similar (DB17569). This type of bead is also found in continental Europe and were included in Haevernick's (1960) catalogue (Gruppe 20) and in the Manching (Gebhard 1989a) catalogue. The earliest datable examples included here are the two from Grandcourt Quarry (DB9967 and DB9974), which at their earliest may date to the end of the third century BC, while the Meare Lake Village example (DB4395) is probably end of the second century BC to first century BC. The recent example from the Langton Herring mirror burial (DB9988) is one of the latest examples to be considered here and was probably deposited between the first century BC and the end of the first century AD. Thus it is unclear whether all of these beads came to Britain during the third century BC at their earliest, or whether they trickled and/or possibly were actively exchanged until some of the latest examples were deposit.

Class 6 beads account for many types of beads with single linear designs (more complex examples are discussed in the Class 11 discussion). Here the discussion will be broken into discussions about the distribution of particular motifs (Figures D.8 – D.14). There are only three examples of beads with multiple circumferential lines. One is found at Meare Lake Village in Somerset (DB4294), another was a recent find at Grandcourt Quarry in Norfolk (DB9970), and a third was a stray find from East Yorkshire (DB17489). There may be a connection between the East Yorkshire and East Anglia examples as they seem very similar, but the Southwest England example is in the style of the Meare Lake Village beads (colourless and opaque yellow glass). Beads with single wave/zig-zag motifs are found in all study regions, although in varying quantities and densities (Figure D.9). They have not been found extensively in East Anglia or Northeast Scotland, but they are prevalent in Southwest England and East Yorkshire. Most are blue with a white wave/zig-zag, but other colour combinations will not be discussed here. The earliest datable examples discussed here are ones from inhumations in East Yorkshire, but they are also found in later contexts, such as those from Billingford in Norfolk (late 1st -2nd century AD; DB9195, 9196) and Whitcombe in Dorset (end 1st century AD; DB5093-5098).

Beads with a chevron motif are found primarily centred on Meare Lake Village, although others have been found nearby (Figure D.10). However, recent excavations have discovered examples at Wetwang Slack in East Yorkshire (DB15784), and an example from Grandcourt Quarry (DB9978). The distance between these beads, despite being near mirror images of each other reflects some of the issues discussed at the beginning of this section. Does this reflect direct contact, through trade of goods, or the other usual interpretation for the movement of people: bride-price or female migration due to marriage agreements? Or perhaps it represents the gradual movement of both people and goods through seasonal migrations or gift exchange? Presently it is unclear why these examples are found so far from where they are thought to have been manufactured. This will be explored further in the discussion below.

Beads with criss-cross, (DB4306, 7300, 7301; Figure D.11), diagonal criss-cross (DB17753; Figure D.12), and pinnate (DB4390; Figure D.13) design are restricted to finds from Southwest England. These may be experimental or one-off designs as there are only single examples of the diagonal criss-cross and pinnate beads. A similar situation exists for Class 10 beads (Figure D.18). While single examples have been found in Southwest England, East Yorkshire and East Anglia, it is probably the criss-cross and diagonal criss-cross beads that bear the highest degree of similarity. The East Anglia example is highly unusual and parallel for it in Britain and the continent has not been discovered thus far.

Beads with spiral decoration were found throughout the study regions (Figure D.14). This type of decoration manifests in different ways, but the discussion here will not differentiate between the smaller examples with three spirals and the larger examples with 12 spirals (see Appendix B). Examples of beads with spiral decorations have been found in all study regions, although in varying degrees of concentration and frequency. In East Yorkshire and East Anglia, only a few examples have been discovered. In contrast, the spiral motif makes up a key design found on beads in Southwest England and in Northeast Scotland. Class 11 complex spiral beads are restricted to Northeast Scotland, where there have been several finds (Figure D.19).

While for many classes and sub-classes, there are examples that have been found in multiple regions, Class 7 wrapped beads are found only in Northeast Scotland (Figure D.15). These beads are characteristic of this region, and despite the simple technology used for making these beads, they are not found elsewhere. Similarly, the Class 9 ray beads are only found in Southwest England (Figure D.17). Whirl beads (Class 8), on the other hand are found in both of these regions (Figure D.16). These beads are generally all large annular beads, but it seems that there is very little overlap in-terms of the different decorative motifs found on the beads. This suggests that they may be a regional type.

One final simple type is the Class 10 mottled bead (Figure D.18). This class is made up of beads formerly considered to be Guido's Group 1, but closer inspection of the beads suggests that not all of these beads belong together (see Chapter 5). There are only three known examples that exhibit a mottled surface and only one occurs in Southwest England, East Anglia, and East Yorkshire. The example from Hengistbury Head in Dorset (DB7512) and Trentholme Drive in Yorkshire (DB15704) probably bear the most similar resemblance, although the colours are unknown for the Yorkshire example. These two examples seem to be mottled in the same way that Guido describes for her Group 1, which she borrows from Haevernick (1960). The Grandcourt Quarry example from East Yorkshire (DB9966) is unlike anything seen thus far despite coming from a secure late Middle Iron Age/early Late Iron Age context. The surface is mottled differently than the other two examples and it is unclear if the surface exhibits a pattern and may need to be reassigned to a Class 3 type.

As many of the complex beads are unique examples this section will only consider three of the more numerous motif patterns. Even within each of the groups of motifs discussed here there is still a considerable amount of variation in terms of the colours and execution of the design. However, there are still some broad trends that can be discerned from the data. Complex variations on the spiral motif (Types 2501-2507) are very few in number, but are all found in Northeast Scotland (Figure D.19). All spiral motif beads found in other regions do not exhibit the same level of complexity as seen in this region. Beads with a wave design that are similar to the Class 6B examples, but are different as the wave is not created from a single strand of glass cane. Instead, this design is formed by a bi-coloured cane. Guido suggested that these beads (her Class 9) were the inspiration behind the Class 11 cable-whirl beads (her Class 14; Guido 1978a, 87). However, these beads the cable-wave beads are only found in the southern study regions (Figure D.20) and the cable-whirl beads are only found in Northeast Scotland (Figure D.21). This suggests that there was no cross-over in types, and that the former may not have been the inspiration for the latter, despite the similarity in the decorative feature. This has implications for the dating of these two groups of beads, as it is not necessary for the cable-wave beads to date to an earlier period than the cable-whirl beads. Unfortunately, there are no examples of cable-whirl beads from excavated dated contexts found in Northeast Scotland from which we could attempt to date these beads. But, there are three examples of the cable-wave beads that have been found during excavation, although each is different in the colours used. An example from Claydon Pike in Gloucestershire is potentially the earliest (DB12708) with a date from the first century BC to the early second century AD (Miles, Palmer *et al.* 2007, 83). Both the example from Catsgore in Somerset (DB7894) and the example from Santon Downham in Suffolk (DB4785) date from the early and mid-1st century AD to the 2nd century AD. Therefore, while a later date is suggested, it is possible that they were manufactured earlier as suggested by the Claydon Pike example.

Conclusion

The new typology, as described in Chapter 5, was designed in order to make it clear just how similar or different some beads are. It also permits an analysis of bead distribution patterns at the more general level (Class) and the more specific level (Type). This is beneficial for understanding both broad and particular patterns, although it was not possible to show all of the distribution maps at both the Class and Type level presently. The distribution maps of the new types have shown that by taking this perspective, that there are in fact some patterns in the distribution of glass beads. For example, eye beads are not found in Northeast Scotland, but that the applied spiral motif transcends this boundary and is found throughout Britain. It is hoped that future research will begin to fill in the gaps not covered by the current research.

Appendix E

Alphabetical List of Excavations

DB no.	Site
1. Southwest England	
304	'Amphitheatre' Charterhouse-on-Mendip
800	'Matford', Bradley Stoke Waly, Bradley Stoke
1339	10A, South Marston Park
493	11 West Street, Ilchester
470	2 Amulet Way, Shepton Mallet
349	21 Church Road, Bishop's Cleeve
502	23 Limington Road, Ilchester
778	31 Hadrian Close, Sea Mills, Bristol
779	31 Hadrian Close, Sea Mills, Bristol
1798	32 London Road, Gloucester
465	38 Alstone Road, West Huntspill
528	4 Lister Close, Ilchester
745	40/41 High Street, Tewkesbury
1330	41-51 Eastgate Street, Gloucester
1306	50-56 Chester Street, Insula IX
755	52 Ebrington, Ebrington
1799	54 Barton Street, Tewkesbury
720	56-70 Greet Road, Winchcombe, Cheltenham
1802	6 Buttington Terrace, Beachley, Tidenham
780	75 Sea Mills Lane, Sea Mills, Bristol
781	79 Sea Mills Lane, Sea Mills, Bristol
526	8 High Street, Ilchester
791	80 Roman Way, Sneyd Park, Bristol
650	98-100 Evesham Road, Cheltenham
651	98-100 Evesham Road, Cheltenham
1919	A 303 Stonehenge areas L and O
486	A30 West Coker By-pass
1847	A303 - Sparkford to Ilchester Road improvement: Camel Hill Farm (area B)
1918	A303 Stonehenge area C1
1921	A303 Stonehenge Areas 1, 2, 3, 4
341	A417 Birdlip Bypass
1796	A417 Lechlade Bypass north of Hambidge Lane
1225	A419/A417: Birdlip Quarry

1217	A419/A417: Court Farm
1216	A419/A417: Dunisbourne Leer
1214	A419/A417: Duntisbourne Grove
1207	A419/A417: Ermin Farm
1222	A419/A417: Exhibition Barn
1220	A419/A417: Field boundaries between Latton 'Roman Pond and Street Farm
1215	A419/A417: Field's Farm
1208	A419/A417: Highgate House
1218	A419/A417: Latton 'Roman pond'
1209	A419/A417: Lower Street Furlong
1212	A419/A417: Lynches Trackway IA burial
1213	A419/A417: Middle Duntisbourne
1211	A419/A417: Norcote Farm
1221	A419/A417: Norcote Farm
1206	A419/A417: Preston Enclosure
1223	A419/A417: Sly's Wall South
1204	A419/A417: St Augustine's Farm South
1205	A419/A417: St Augustine's Lane
1219	A419/A417: Westfield Farm
1210	A419/A417:Cherry Tree Lane and Burford Road South
1224	A419/A417:Weavers Bridge
803	Abbot's Leigh
1509	Abbotsbury castle
696	Akeman Court
1496	Alington Avenue, Fordington, Dorchester
184	All Cannings Cross Farm
219	All Cannings Cross Farm
587	Almshouse Lane, Ilchester
555	Alstone Lake Village, Alstone
285	Alstone, West Huntspill
1341	Alton Barnes
372	Amberley
492	Anglo Trading Estate, Shepton Mallet
769	Area 9, Manor Farm, Kempsford
682	Arle Court, Cheltenham
748	Ashchurch Railway Bridge, Ashchurch
190	Atworth Roman Villa
1436	Atworth Roman Villa
1795	Augusta Road, Portland
786	Avonleigh Nursing Home, Stoke Park Road South, Stoke Bishop, Bristol
1413	Badbury
1418	Badbury Promontory Fort, Bradford-on-Avon
182	Bagendon
1280	Barbury Castle, Wroughton
193	Barnsley Park Romano-British Villa
369	Barnwood
362	Barnwood, near Gloucester
1510	Barton Field, Tarrant Hinton

1637	Batheaston
1192	Battlesbury Bowl
1926	Battlesbury Camp
1753	Beach's Barn SP 026
1492	Bearwood, Poole
1789	Beaulieu Heath, New Forest
1917	Beaulieu Raod, Amesbury
1455	Beckhampton
756	Behind the Old Forge Garage, Dymock
1321	Ben Bridge
775	Benbury School, Bristol
1806	Berkeley vale Wind park, Stinchcombe
975	Bestwall Quarry
976	Bestwall Quarry
977	Bestwall quarry
978	Bestwall Quarry
979	Bestwall Quarry
980	Bestwall Quarry
973	Bestwell Quarry
974	Bestwell Quarry
439	Beversbrook Road, Calne
1309	Bewtween School Lane and Stepstair Lane
1787	Bindon Hill, Lulworth
351	Birdlip Burials
316	Bishop's Cleeve Romano-British Settlement
352	Bishop's Palace, Gloucester
1439	Bishopstone, Swindon
1638	Blaise Castle Hill, Bristol
348	Blenheim Farm, Moreton-in-Marsh
673	Blenheim Farm, Moreton-in-Marsh
437	Blunsdon St Andres A419 Blunsdun Bypass
1866	Bokerly Dyke
1504	Boradmayne
1193	Boreham Farm Bungalow Excavation
580	Bos House, Ilchester
1438	Boscome Down West (RAF station)
711	Boughspring Roman Villa
365	Bourton on the Water
367	Bourton on the Water
694	Bourton-on-the-Water: 38 Rissington Road
724	Bourton-on-the-Water: Camp House, Station Road
643	Bourton-on-the-Water: Cotswold Motor Museum
344	Bourton-on-the-Water: Cotswold School
636	Bourton-on-the-Water: Cotswold School
637	Bourton-on-the-Water: Cotswold School
638	Bourton-on-the-Water: Cotswold School
639	Bourton-on-the-Water: Cotswold School
640	Bourton-on-the-Water: Cotswold School

641	Bourton-on-the-Water: Cotswold School
744	Bourton-on-the-Water: Cotswold School Swimming Pool
723	Bourton-on-the-Water: Greystones Farm
750	Bourton-on-the-Water: Greystones Farm, Greystones Lane
738	Bourton-on-the-Water: Lansdowne House, High Street, Lansdown
668	Bourton-on-the-Water: Larch House
707	Bourton-on-the-Water: Larks Rise, Old Gloucester Road
1814	Bourton-on-the-Water: New Sports Hall, Cotswold School
660	Bourton-on-the-Water: Primary School
1531	Bourton-on-the-Water: Salmonsbury
706	Bourton-on-the-Water: Stonecroft, Mousetrap Lane
730	Bourton-on-the-Water: Windrush View, Lansdown
248	Bowden Reservoir Link Pipeine: 1
250	Bowden Reservoir Link Pipeine: 2
249	Bowden Reservoir Link Pipeine: 3
251	Bowden Reservoir Link Pipeine: 4
346	Bowsings, near Guiting Power
1409	Box Roman Villa
1457	Box Roman Villa
1499	Bradford Down, Pamphill
1434	Brail Wood, Great Bedwyn
1381	Bratton
1627	Brean Down
1628	Brean Down
460	Brean Down Chalets
196	Bredon Hill
361	Bredon Hill
499	Brent Knoll
455	Brewery Lane, Charleton, Shepton Mallet
1370	Brickley Lane, Devizes
195	Brislington Roman Villa
357	Brislington Roman Villa
358	Brislington Roman Villa
376	Bristol
1828	Brizen Farm, Shurdington
1513	Broadmayne
635	Brockworth
1489	Brownsea Island
1325	Bruledge Camp
1912	Brynard's Hill, Wootton Bassett
1264	Bulbury Camp Hoard
514	Bullimore Farm, Shepton Mallet
200	Burn Ground, Hampnett, Grave 7
1524	Burton Bradstock
197	Bury Wood Camp
198	Bury Wood Camp
1431	Bury Wood Camp
1432	Bury Wood Camp

572	Bush Marsh, Bawdrip
522	Butleigh
545	Butleigh
725	Butlers Court, Downington, Lechlade
1389	Butterfield Down, Amesbury
680	Buttington Terrace, Sedbury, Cheptstow
1793	Byways, Cleve and Linden, Bathwick Street, Bath
238	Cadbury Castle
296	Cadbury Castle
1286	Cadbury Congresbury
300	Camerton
311	Camerton Early Iron Age Occupation
235	Camerton Romano-British Settlement
247	Cannards Grave, Shepton Mallet
564	Cannington Bypass
1293	Cannington Cemetery
286	Cannington Hillfort
1445	Casterley Camp
581	Castle Farm, Ilchester
552	Castle Hill Wuarry, Cannington
307	Catsgore
292	Catsgore, Somerton
310	Catsgore, Somerton
1271	Chalbury Camp, Bincombe
1800	Charfield Road, Kingswood
808	Charmy Down, Cold Ashton
264	Charterhouse on Medip: prehistoric enclosure
265	Charterhouse on Medip: Roman fortlet
266	Charterhouse on Mendip- earthwork
261	Charterhouse on Mendip-Roman fortlet
262	Charterhouse on Mendip-Roman mining site
1634	Charterhouse-on-Mendip
568	Cheddar Sewage Works
1812	Chedworth Roma Villa
1807	Chedworth Roman Villa
363	Chedworth Romano-British Temple
1411	Cherhill Manor
234	Chesters Roman Villa, Woolaston
1319	Chew Park
1916	Chicksgrove Quarry, Upper Chicksgrove, Tisbury
503	Chilton Polden
1366	Chippenham Western Bypass A4 to A350 Link Area E
1745	Chisenbury Field Barn
1754	Chisenbury Warren SP 072
642	Church Farm, Icomb
309	Church Field, Shapwick
323	Church Road, Bishop's Cleeve
216	Cirencester

356	Cirencester
658	Cirencester Park Polo Club, Daglingworth
1820	Cirencester: 1 Cripps Road
645	Cirencester: 10 Chester Street
1817	Cirencester: 10 Corinium Gate
681	Cirencester: 12 Castle Street
1815	Cirencester: 12 Castle Street
731	Cirencester: 141 Gloucester Street
751	Cirencester: 15 Prospect Place
710	Cirencester: 21 Victoria Road
742	Cirencester: 24 Chester Crescent
647	Cirencester: 29 Church Street
1816	Cirencester: 29 Watermoor Road
704	Cirencester: 29-32 Lavender lane, Trinity Road
655	Cirencester: 3 Corinium Gate
665	Cirencester: 3 St Peters Road
678	Cirencester: 3, 5, 5A & 7 Ashcroft Road
746	Cirencester: 30 St Peter's Road
743	Cirencester: 30 Watermoor Road
732	Cirencester: 31 Victoria Road
1823	Cirencester: 34 Watermoor Road
667	Cirencester: 35 Ashcroft Road
679	Cirencester: 4 Purley Avenue
653	Cirencester: 41 Ashcroft Gardens
721	Cirencester: 45 Purley Road
677	Cirencester: 5 Prospect Place
749	Cirencester: 50 Watermoor Road
676	Cirencester: 50-52 Lewis Lane
757	Cirencester: 52-54 Ashcroft Road
1819	Cirencester: 7 City Bank View
656	Cirencester: 77 Victoria Road
646	Cirencester: 8 Church Street
729	Cirencester: 86 Watermoor Road
659	Cirencester: 9 Corinium Gate
719	Cirencester: 9 Prospect Place
709	Cirencester: 9 St Peter's Road
693	Cirencester: Arkenside Hotel, Lewis Lane
1352	Cirencester: Avenue and Lewis Lane (AY)
1356	Cirencester: Bath Gate Cemetery ICT 69(b), CS 70-74, CT 72-76)
1301	Cirencester: Bingham Hall, King Street
684	Cirencester: Boundary Wall, Watermoor House
1829	Cirencester: Cinema, Lewis Lane
735	Cirencester: Cirencester Cinema, Lewis Lane
669	Cirencester: Cotswold District Council Offices, Trinity Road
1303	Cirencester: Cotswold Mill, Watermoor Road
666	Cirencester: Cricklade Road
657	Cirencester: Foresters Arms, Queen Street
630	Cirencester: Forum Centre, Lewis Lane

714	Cirencester: King's Meadow
703	Cirencester: Kingshill North
722	Cirencester: Kingshill North
1349	Cirencester: Leaholme Gardens (AD-AH, AK-AM)
692	Cirencester: Powell's School
691	Cirencester: Powell's School, Gloucester Street
1355	Cirencester: Roadside Building (CT 72-74)
685	Cirencester: Roman forum/Basilica
686	Cirencester: Roman forum/Basilica
1797	Cirencester: Siddington Road
1353	Cirencester: St Michael's Field (DG-DN, DQ)
1305	Cirencester: Stepstairs Lane
632	Cirencester: The Beeches, Playing Fields, London Road
747	Cirencester: The Corner House, Prospect Place, Victoria Road
654	Cirencester: The Royal Agricultural College
1351	Cirencester: The Sands, Watermoor (BZ, BG)
1304	Cirencester: Theatre, Dollar Street, Thomas Street and Coxwell Street
689	Cirencester: Unitarian Chapel, Gosditch Street
1350	Cirencester: Watermoor Hospital Garden(AW)
683	Cirencester: Watermoor House
739	Cirencester: Watermoor, Church of England Primary School, Watermoor Road
1354	Cirencester: Wuerns House, Kitchen Garden (EA 78)
236	Citizen House, Bath
554	Clatworthy Reservoir
1314	Claydon Pike: Longdoles Field
1313	Claydon Pike: Warrens Field
1805	Cleevelands, Bishop's Cleeve
295	Clevedon
1344	Cleveland Farm, Ashton Keynes
575	Coate's Barn, Greinton
488	Coates Farm, Greinton
490	Coates Farm, Greinton
576	Coates, Barn, Greinton
1358	Cockey Down, Salisbury
270	Codford-Ilchester Water Pipeline: Ashington
271	Codford-Ilchester Water Pipeline: Chilton Cantelo
267	Codford-Ilchester Water Pipeline: Ilchester
269	Codford-Ilchester Water Pipeline: Limington
268	Codford-Ilchester Water Pipeline: Limington Hill
272	Codford-Ilchester Water Pipeline: Yarlington Mill Farm
215	Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverell, Wiltshire
217	Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverell, Wiltshire
1449	Cold Kitchen Hill, Brixton Deverell, Wiltshire
318	Coln Gravel, Thornhill Farm, Fairford
279	Combe Hay
1488	Common Mead Lane, Gillingham
380	Compton Abdale
1639	Conderton Camp

1747	Coombe Down North SP 014A
1748	Coombe Down North SP 014B
1746	Coombe Down North SP 042A
1749	Coombe Down South SP 009
1785	Corfe Mullen
1437	Corsham
1184	County Hall, Colliton Park, Dorchester
1803	Court Road, Brockworth
347	Crickley Hill
1533	Crickley Hill
1426	Cross-dyke on Buxbury Hill, Sutton Mandeville
733	Cutham Hill House, Cutham Hill Lane, Bagendon
758	Dean Farm, Bishop's Cleeve
759	Dean Farm, Bishop's Cleeve
1804	Deerhurst Flood Alleviation
727	Deerhurst House, Deerhurst
276	Dibble's Farm, Christon
544	Dimmer Landfill Site, Alford near Castle Cary
480	Dinnington Roman Villa
1327	Ditches
1328	Ditches
584	Dolphin Lane, Ilchester
588	Dolphin Lane, Ilchester
541	Doltons Farm, Front Street, Chedzoy, Area 6
1203	Dorchester By-pass: Fordington Bottom
1198	Dorchester By-pass: Site 2 (St Georges Road)
1199	Dorchester By-pass: Site 3 (Flagstones)
1200	Dorchester By-pass: Site 6 (Maiden castle Road)
1201	Dorchester By-pass: Site 7 (Fordington Field)
1202	Dorchester By-pass: Site 9 (Bridport Road Ridge)
1480	Dorchester Hospital site C
971	Dorchester Police Station
1295	Dorchester Prison (1-10 Castle Row, North Square)
1296	Dorchester Prison (1-10 Castle Row, North Square)
1297	Dorchester Prison (1-10 Castle Row, North Square)
1468	Dorford Baptist Church, Bridport Road, Dorchester
1813	Down Ampney Estate
1428	Down Barn West, Winterbourne Gunner
1424	Downton Roman Villa
1423	Draycot Farm, Wilcot
1831	Dryleaze Farm Quarry, Siddington
548	Dundon Hillfort
1256	Durrington
1388	Durrington, Avon Valley
325	Dymock: Near Rectory
324	Dymock: Sewage Treatment Works
441	East Chisenbury
1507	East End, Corfe Mullen

1287	East of Corfe River
736	East of Federal Mogul, Lydney
1195	East of Knook Castle
1924	East of Madbrook Farm
558	East of Maidenbrook Farm, Taunton
790	East of Portway, Sea Mills
1343	Easterton
377	Easton, Bristol
560	Edington Clover Close
561	Edington Eastfield
562	Edington Holy Well
1655	Eldon's Seat, Encombe
798	Electricity Lines to Seabank power station, Hallen, Bristol
485	Elworthy Barrows, Brompton Ralph
510	Englands, Charlton Horethorne
1516	Ensbury Park, Bournemouth
1365	Euridge Manor Farm, Colerne
1750	Everleigh SP 023A/B
1360	Eyewell Farm, Chilmark
240	Field Farm, Shepton Mallet
1444	Fifield Bavant Down
1387	Figheldean, Avon Valley
1357	Figheldean, Netheravon
1446	Figsbury Rings
804	Filwood Park, Bristol
797	Filwood Playing Fields, Knowle West, Bristol
1824	Folly Cottage, Coln St Aldwyns
457	Ford Farm
483	Ford Farm, Bawdrip
497	Ford Roman Villa
473	Fosse Lane, Shepton Mallet
557	Fosse Lane, Shepton Mallet
1329	Fosse Lane, Shepton Mallet
589	Free Street, Ilchester
591	Free Street, Ilchester
810	Frocester Court Roman Villa
1189	Frocester Court Site 1
513	Frog Lane, Shepton Mallet
1288	Furzey Island
1484	Furzey Island, Poole Harbour
1842	Gainsborough Building, Bath
287	Gatcombe
1631	Gatcombe
382	George Young Gravel Pit
340	Gilder's Paddock, Bishop's Cleeve
239	Glastonbury Lake Village
1337	Glastonbury Lake village
981	Glebe Allotments, Church Knapp, Wyke Road, Wyke Regis, Wymouth

644	Glebelands, Slimbridge
1844	Glenda Spooner Farm, Brincil Hill Lane, Kingsdon
1782	Gloucester
1792	Gloucester
633	Gloucester Business Park Link Road, Brockworth
634	Gloucester Business Park Link Road, Brockworth
726	Gloucester Business Park, Brockworth
670	Gloucester Music Library, Greyfriars
1783	Gloucester: Kingsholm
1298	Glyde Path Road
1323	Golds Cross Roman Villa
1543	Goldsborough, near Whitby
763	Grange Hill Quarry, Naunton
764	Grange Hill Quarry, Naunton
1391	Great Ditch Banks, Bower Chalke
595	Great yard, Ilchester
1827	Greet Road, Winchcombe
1326	Greyhound Yard, Dorchester
1408	Groundwell Farm, Blunsdon St Andrew
527	Grove Farm Quarry, Pitcombe
327	Guiting Power
306	Guiting Power Iron Age Site
1273	Gussage All Saints
782	Hadrian Close, Sea Mills, Bristol
1318	Halstock
220	Ham Hill
221	Ham Hill
222	Ham Hill
223	Ham Hill
224	Ham Hill
225	Ham Hill
226	Ham Hill
227	Ham Hill
252	Ham Hill
281	Ham Hill
1936	Ham Hill
550	Ham Hill Quarry, Hamdon Hill, Montacute
593	Ham Hill, Mantacute
596	Ham Hill, Montacute
602	Ham Hill, Montacute
1481	Hamworthy
1781	Handley
1435	Harnham Hill
301	Harptree Court, East Harptree, Roman coin hoard
529	Haygrove Farm, Bridgewater
1642	Haymes, Cleeve Hill, near Cheltenham
728	Hazleton, Whiteshoots Hill, Cold Aston
788	Heath House and Highwood House, Stapleton, Bristol

771	Henbury School, Bristol
972	Hengistbury Head
1186	Hengistbury Head
1187	Hengistbury Head
1188	Hengistbury Head
305	Henley Wood
1479	Heron Grove, Sturminster Marshall
1320	Herriotts Bridge
1501	Herston, Swanage
1467	High Lea Farm, Hinton Martell
741	High School for Girls, Denmark Road
1808	Highfield Farm, Tetbury
1414	Highpost, Middle Woodford
605	Hilly Fields, Upper Holway, Taunton
606	Hilly Fields, Upper Holway, Taunton
379	Hinchwick
1519	Hinton St. Mary
1535	Hod Hill
1649	Hog Cliff Hill, Maiden Newton
461	Holy Trinity Parish Church, Street
342	Home Farm, Bishop's Cleeve
753	Home Farm, Ebrington
1810	Homelands Farm, Bishops Cleeve
317	Horcott Pit, Fairford
664	Horcott Pit, Fairford
350	Hucclecote
364	Hucclecote
241	Huntworth Late prehistoric and Romano-British settlement
384	Ilchester
298	Ilchester Roman Coffins
533	Ilchester to Barrington Gas Pipeline: Area 31
536	Ilchester to Barrington Gas Pipeline: Area 80
531	Ilchester to Barrington Gas Pipeline: Site 2
532	Ilchester to Barrington Gas Pipeline: Site 26
535	Ilchester to Barrington Gas Pipeline: Site 62B/63/64
537	Ilchester to Barrington Gas Pipeline: Site 81
538	Ilchester to Barrington Gas Pipeline: Site 82A
539	Ilchester to Barrington Gas Pipeline: Site 82B
258	Ilchester to Odcombe pipeline: Prince's Pasture
257	Ilchester to Odcombe pipeline: Sock Dennis Farm
256	Ilchester to Odcombe pipeline: Wellhams Brook
551	Ilchester to Odcombe water pipeline
273	Ilchester Western Defences and suburbs: Castle Farm
274	Ilchester Western Defences and suburbs: Pill Bridge lane
1167	Ilchester: Almshouse Lane
1170	Ilchester: Bos House, Limington Road
1168	Ilchester: Church Street
1169	Ilchester: Church Street car park

1173	Ilchester: Foss Way South Suburbs
315	Ilchester: Heave Acre
1175	Ilchester: Ilchester Bypass
312	Ilchester: Kingshams Field
313	Ilchester: Little Spittle
1171	Ilchester: no. 12 Free Street
1174	Ilchester: Northover
1172	Ilchester: Rivermead
1176	Ilchester: South Meadows
1165	Ilchester: The northeast defences, Kingshams
1163	Ilchester: The south gate, rectory Gardens
1166	Ilchester: The southeast defences, Limington Road
1164	Ilchester: The West Rampart, no.16 High Street
314	Ilchester: Townsend Close
794	Imperial Park, Brislington, Bristol
773	Inns Court (near), Filwood Park, Bristol
772	Inns Court, Bristol
717	Innsworth
1285	Isle of Portland
586	ITT Sports Field, Ilchester
254	Ivel House, Ilchester
569	Ivel House, Ilchester
1877	Iwerne
563	Jear's Croft, Edington
608	Kempsford Quarry
609	Kempsford Quarry
1530	Kimmeridge
467	Kings of Wessex Community School
501	Kings of Wessex Community School, Station Road, Cheddar
578	Kings of Wessex School, Cheddar
1181	Kingscote
1255	Kingsdown Camp
1441	Kingshill Farm, Cricklade
697	Kingsmead School, Cheltenham
805	Kingsweston Roman Villa, Long Cross, Lawrence Weston
1451	Knap Hill Camp
688	Kyrleside, Dymock
663	Land adjacent to Rose Cottage and 'Winserdine', Dymock
652	Land adjoining former Brockworth Airfield, Brockworth
1839	Land at Bristol Road, Weston-Super-Mare
690	Land At Leckhampton, Cheltenham
662	Land Opposite 2-14 Station Street, Cheltenham
793	Land to the rear of the Rectory, Wellington Hill, Horfield, Bristol
582	Late Roman Cemetery, Ilchester
1338	Latton Lands
1371	Latton Lands
787	Lawrence Weston, Bristol
760	Lechlade Manor, Lechlade-on-Thames

761	Lechlade Manor, Lechlade-on-Thames
1534	Leckhampton Hill
360	Leckhampton Hill, Cheltenham
713	Legg house, Blakeney, Forest of Dead
1500	Library site, Colliton Park, Dorchester
1265	Lidbury Camp, Enford
378	Lillyhorn Villa, Bisley
1460	Little Keep, Dorchester
1635	Little Solsbury Hill camp
1361	Littleton Drew to Chippenham Gas Pipeline: area C
1363	Littleton Drew to Chippenham Gas Pipeline: area D
1362	Littleton Drew to Chippenham Gas Pipeline: area E & F
1364	Littleton Drew to Chippenham Gas Pipeline: area F
547	Littleton Roman Villa
740	Longford
524	Longrun Flood Compensation Scheme, Taunton
320	Lower Mill Farm, Somerford Keynes
648	Lower Mill Farm, Somerford Keynes
649	Lower Mill Farm, Somerford Keynes
381	Lower Slaughter
440	Lower Upham Farm, Ogbourne St George
294	Lufton Roman Villa
525	Lyde Road, Yeovil
1780	Lydney Park Roman temple
585	Lyster Close, Ilchester
1398	M4 Motorway: Badbury, Chiseldon
1394	M4 Motorway: Brotton Hill Wood, Burton
1402	M4 Motorway: Liddington Hill, Liddington
1400	M4 Motorway: Liddington Hill, Medbourne
1396	M4 Motorway: Lydiard Tregoze
1399	M4 Motorway: Medbourne Lane, Chiseldon
1401	M4 Motorway: Medbourne, Liddington
1397	M4 Motorway: Nightingale Farm, Swindon
1404	M4 Motorway: Peaks Down, Wanborough
1395	M4 Motorway: Wall Leaze Wood, Acton Turville, Avon
1403	M4 Motorway: Wanborough Plain Farm, Wanborough
1272	Maiden Castle
1345	Maiden Castle
263	Maidenbrook Farm, Cheddon Fitzpaine
570	Maidenbrook Farm, Cheddon Fitzpaine
783	Mail Marketing International Site, West Street, Bedminster, Bristol
777	Mail Marketing Site, Bedminster, Bristol
436	Malmesbury
1379	Malmesbury
1377	Malmesbury Roman Villa
230	Mancombe Down, Warminster
1412	Manningford Bruce
246	Manor Farm, Castle Cary

1473	Manor Farm, Portesham
792	Marissal Road, Henbury, Bristol
519	Mast Reservoir to Paywell Farm, Blagdon, Priddy
1872	Maumbury Rings, Dorchester
542	Maundown Water Treatment Works, Wiveliscombe
494	Maylands (M5) site, Wellington Without
1257	Meare Lake Village East
1333	Meare Lake village east
1336	Meare Lake Village East 1982
231	Meare Lake Village West
1331	Meare Lake Village West
1332	Meare Lake Village West 1979
1335	Meare Lake Village West 1984
566	Medip Business Park, Shepton Mallet
530	Mendip Avenue, Shepton Mallet
565	Mendip Business Park, Shepton Mallet, Site A
1482	Merchant's Garage, High West Street, Dorchester
1392	Middle Chase Ditch, Bower Chalke
1430	Mildenhall (Cunetio)
339	Mill end Lane, Blakeney
628	Mill End Lane, Blakeney
629	Mill End Lane, Blakeney
484	Mill House, Lopen
1911	Mill Lane, Swindon
671	Millstone Cottage, Bourton-on-the-Water
373	Minchinhampton
801	Moat Farm, Pucklechurch
1925	Money Well - E of Glenmore Farm
1841	Monkton Heathfield, Taunton
1931	Monkton-up-Wimborne
375	Montpelier, Bristol
466	Moor Road, Sutton Mallet
1322	Moreton: M 118
1459	Myncen Farm, Minchington
1462	Myncen Farm, Sixpenny Handley
1476	Myncen Farm, Sixpenny Handley
1477	Myncen Farm, Sixpenny Handley
1523	near Badbury Rings
1440	Near Battlesbury Camp, Warminster
1315	Neigh Bridge, Somerford Keynes
463	Nerrols Farm, Cheddon Fitzpaine
464	Nerrols Farm, Cheddon Fitzpaine
1368	Netheravon
1914	New Sewer Box Vicarage, Box
1539	Newton Kyme, Tadcaster
807	Nimlet, Cold Ashton
546	North and West of 23, Southview Road, Westonzoyland
556	North of Aginghill's Farm, Monkton Heathfield

1490	North of Sutton Poyntz
505	North of Worston Road, Highbridge
1528	North Shore of the Fleet at Wyke Regis
1196	North-east of Knook Castle
604	Northover House, Ilchester
471	Northover Manor Hotel
476	Northover Manor Hotel, Ilchester
481	Northover Manor Hotel, Northover, Ilchester
489	Northover, Ilchester
1382	Norton Bavant Borrow Pit
303	Norton Camp, near Taunton
573	Norton Fitzwarren
275	Norton Fitzwarren Hillfort
1910	Nursteed Farm, Brickley Lane, Devizes
1448	Nuthills, Bowood
1478	Oakley Down, Wimborne St. Giles
1456	Okus, near Westlecote Farm, Old Swindon
1348	Old Ditch Linear Earthwork, Breach Hill, Tilshead
1417	Old Sarum
1415	Old Sarum pipe-line: Bishopdown
1416	Old Sarum pipe-line: Paul's Dene
1373	Old Sarum Water Pipeline Castle Hill
1374	Old Sarum Water Pipeline: Camp Hill
1376	Old Sarum Water Pipeline: Portway and Ford Roads
1375	Old Sarum Water Pipeline: Western Coombe
517	Old School House, Ilchester
245	Old Showground, Cheddar
1310	Old Tetbury Road
754	Oldbury Road, Tewkesbury
1458	Oliver's Camp, Devizes
1425	Overton Down
1433	Overton Downs
1275	Ower
1291	Ower Peninsula
366	Oxenton Hill Camp
1869	Pagans Hill, Chew Stoke
1636	Pagans' Hill, Chew Stoke
1465	Palmers Barn Sandford Orcas
1811	Park Farm, Thornbury
559	Parsonage Farm, Sutton Montis
520	Peart Roman Villa
458	Perrott Hill School, North Perrott
462	Perrott Hill School, North Perrott
477	Perrott Hill School, North Perrott
597	Perrott Hill School, North Perrott
511	Persimmons Homes, Shepton Mallet
1422	Pewsey Hill
1652	Pilsdon Pen

1183	Pimperne Down
1505	Pins Knoll, Litton Cheney
1324	Pipe-line reservoir to Stowey: Knowle Hill Roman site
1915	Pond Farm, Upper Wanborough, Swindon
1475	Portesham
1512	Portesham
1161	Portesham Mirror burial (Langton Herring)
1536	Poter Brompton
661	Poulton Gorse, Poulton
1299	Poundbury cemeteries
1498	Poundbury Pipe-line
1300	Poundbury settlement
1786	Poundbury, Dorchester
1497	Poxwell
553	Priddy, Mendip
330	Pucklechurch to Seabank Pipeline: Crook's Marsh
328	Pucklechurch to Seabank Pipeline: Farm Lane
329	Pucklechurch to Seabank Pipeline: Lower Knole Farm
1525	Putton Lane Brickyards, Chickerell
1474	Quarleston Farm, Winterborne Stickland
280	Quarrylands Lane, Badgworth
326	R.A.F. Fairford
737	RAF Fairford Airfield
718	Rectory Meadows, Church Lane, Rudford
1469	Redcliffe Farm: Site A
1470	Redcliffe Farm: Site C
1471	Redcliffe Farm: Site D
1443	Ridge Green, Shaw, Swindon
983	Rigler Road, Hamworthy, Poole
1485	River Frome pipeline, Worgret
371	Rodborough
353	Roman Baths, Bath
1875	Roman Baths, Bath
297	Roman coin hoard Sandford Hill
1383	Roman Kiln site, Brinkworth
244	Roman Settlement, Charterhouse-on-Mendip
293	Roman Temple at Pagans Hill
574	Roman town, Shepton Mallet
260	Romano-British building at Crimbleford Knap
243	Romano-British Farstead at RNAS Yeovilton
1821	Rosilyn, Knapp Lane, Alvington
491	Rossholme School, East Brent
1822	Rossilyn, Church Lane, Alvington
1929	Roughground Farm, Lechlade
1632	Row of Ashes Farm, Butcombe
508	Royal Naval Air Station (RNAS) Yeovilton
1641	Saitbridge, Gloucester
1794	Saltmarsh drive, Lawrence Weston Bristol

507	Saxon Place, Bath Street, Cheddar
359	Sea Mills
374	Sea Mills
383	Sea Mills
1261	Sea Mills
1266	Sea Mills
299	Shapwick Heath, Roman Coin hoard
984	Shapwick Road, Hamworthy, Poole
1461	Shapwick Road, Hamworthy, Poole
1809	Shawswell Farm, Rendcomb
335	Sherborne House, Lechlade
1463	Shillingstone Roman villa
1491	Shiptson Hill
336	Shorncote Quarry
705	Shorncote Quarry Footpath, Cotswold Community
766	Shorncote Quarry, Somerford Keynes
1347	Showell Farm, Chippenham
1913	Site 10A, Viscount Way, South Marston Park, Swindon
699	Site 501: Honeybourne to Wormington Natural Gas Pipeline
698	Site 504: Honeybourne to Wormington Natural Gas Pipeline
1801	Site A, Lydney
504	Skateboard facility, Ilchester
1515	Sleight, Corfe Mullen
302	Small Down Camp, near Evercreech
1871	Soldier's Hole, Cheddar Gorge
1506	Somerleigh Court, Dorchester
1790	South Cadbury Castle
1791	South Cadbury Castle
319	South Gate Cemetery
1502	South Grove Cottage, Dorchester
1197	South of Foxtrot Crossing
1194	South-East of Battlesbury Wood
1508	Southill, Radipole Lane, Weymouth
521	Spaxton
322	Spratsgate lane, Somerford Keynes
549	St Algar's Roman Villa
567	St Cleer's, Somerton
675	St George's Place, Cheltenham
1191	St Peter's Church, Frocester
776	St. Bede's Catholic School, Long Cross, Bristol
1629	St. Mary's Lane, Portishead
785	St. Monica Trust, Very Sheltered Housing Site, West Street, Bedminster, Bristol
708	Stallards Place, Dymock
288	Star Roman Villa, Shipham
1393	Starveall Farm
472	Stawell
456	Stawell Roman Villa
1472	Stoborough

1846	Stockmoor Village, Bridgwater
1384	Stockton
232	Stockton Earthworks
478	Stoke Lane, Wincanton
479	Stoke Lane, Wincanton
770	Stoke Road, Bishop's Cleeve
1626	Stokeleigh camp, Avon
806	Stonehill, Hanham
809	Stonehill, Hanham
734	Storopack, Newent Business park, Newent
1311	Stratton Watermeadows
435	Strawberry Hill, West Lavington
1517	Strouden Farm, Bournemouth
1317	Stubbs Farm, Kempsford
1526	Studland
368	Summerhill, Naunton burial
1262	Swallowcliffe Down
1447	Swallowcliffe Down
468	Sycamore Lodge East Brent
469	Sycamore Lodge East Brent
1442	Symonds Yat Promontory Fort, English Bicknor
1182	Syreford Mill
687	Tewkesbury Road, Uckington
332	Tewkesbury: Area C
331	Tewkesbury: Area D
622	Thatched Cottage, Wortley
623	Thatched Cottage, Wortley
482	The Chessels, West Coker
579	The Crooked Chimney, Pawlett
523	The Hatcheries, Bathpool, Taunton
1386	The Hermitage, Old Town, Swindon
765	The King's Head, Church Road, Bishop's Cleeve
1640	The Loders, Lechlade
277	The Mound, Glastonbury
590	The Paddocks, West Street, Ilchester
600	The Paddocks, West Street, Ilchester
601	The Paddocks, West Street, Ilchester
345	The Park, near Guiting Power
607	Thornhill Farm, Fairford
1751	Tidworth lynchets SP 004-006
1385	Tockenham
333	Tockington Park Farm
354	Tockington Roman Villa
355	Tockington Roman Villa
625	Totterdown Lane, Horcott
752	Totterdown Lane, Horcott, near Fairford
583	Town Hall, Ilchester
603	Towsend Close, Ilchester

1312	Trowbridge
1340	Truckle Hill
802	Upper Maudlin Street: site 1, 2, 3
1466	Valley of the South Winterborne, Near West Stafford
1359	Vespasian's Camp Hillfort
811	Vineyards Farm, Charlton Kings
1514	Waddon Hill, Stoke Abbott
1518	Waddon Hill, Stoke Abbott
1529	Waddon Hill, Stoke Abbott
518	Wadeford Roman Villa, Combe St Nicholas
1294	Wadham House, 50 High West Street, Dorchester
592	Waggon House, West Street, Ilchester
237	Walcot Street, Bath
1493	Walls, Puncknowle
438	Wanborough, A419 Covingham noise barrier
1420	Wansdyke: Red shore
1752	Warren Hill SP 049
1369	Wayside Farm, Nurstead Road, Devizes
282	Wearne, Huish Episcopi
1755	Weather Hill field system SP 135-142
1928	Wellhead
475	Wells Cathedral Close
474	West Coker Villa Site
1289	West Creech
337	West Drive, Cheltenham: playing field and Rose Cottage garden
1185	West Hill, Uley
259	West Huntspill
343	West Lane, Kemble
1486	West Moors
1845	West of Bath, Newton St Loe
1290	West of Corfe River
716	West of Elm Grove, Ebrington
1464	West of Holway Mill, Sandford Orcas
334	Westerleigh
278	Westland
487	Westlands Roman Villa, Yeovil
284	Westonzoyland
1830	Wetstone Bridge Farm, Marston Meysey
1316	Whelford Bowmoor
1258	Whitcombe
1633	White Woman's Hole, near Leighton, Mendip Hills
242	Whitegate Farm, Bleadon, North Somerset
1372	Whitesheet Down Environs: Whitesheet quarry
498	Whitestaunton Manor House, Whitestaunton
1380	Whitewalls, Easton Grey
291	Wickhouse Farm Roman Burial
1744	Widdington Farm
1825	Williamstrip Park, Hatherop Road, Coln St Aldwyns

1651	Wilsford Bell barrow G42
598	Wincepool Meadow
599	Wincepool Meadow
183	Windmill Hill
1527	Winfrith Heath to Arish Mell Pipeline: SE of Burton Cross
1454	Winterbourne Dauntsey
1927	Winterbourne Monkton
1788	Winterslow
500	Wolf development site, Fosse Lane, Shepton Mallet
1873	Wookey Hole
1874	Wookey Hole
1625	Wookey Hole Cave (4th Chamber)
1870	Wookey Hole, Mendip
1483	Worgret, near Wareham
1162	Worth Matravers, Isle of Purbeck
610	Wortley
611	Wortley
612	Wortley
613	Wortley
614	Wortley
615	Wortley
616	Wortley
617	Wortley
618	Wortley
619	Wortley
620	Wortley
621	Wortley
289	Wraxall Villa
1277	Wycombe
1503	Wyke Regis
495	Yarford, Kingston St Mary
1453	Yarnbury Castle Camp

DB no.	Site

2. East Anglia

1117	'Almacks', Long Melford
1112	'Bramertons', Little St mary, Long Melford
1113	'Bramertons', Little St mary, Long Melford
989	'Clovelly', The Park, Great Barton
1014	'The Island', Marston's Pit, Cavenham Heath Quarry
940	'The Oaks' Harvey Lane, Thorpe St Andrew
941	'The Oaks' Harvey Lane, Thorpe St Andrew
1136	'The Pightle', Needham Market
1114	'Wright's, St Catherines Road, Little St Mary's, Long Melford
850	1 Bell Street, Feltwell
816	10-12 Common Road, Snettisham
876	13 Station New Road, Brundall

821	17 Roman Way, Caister-on-Sea
822	17 Roman Way, Caister-on-Sea
945	2 Church Street, Diss
833	24 Belstead Avenue, Caister-on-Sea
1018	24/25 Churchfield Road, chilton
1120	29, Swanfield, Long Melford
906	3 Minstergate, Thetford
1041	58 Little Eriswell, Eriswell
1863	7-14 Narrow Way, Wenhaston with Mells Hamlet
1054	7, The Highlands, Exning
947	8 Pirnhow Street, Ditchingham
907	8-12 Red Lion Street, Aylsham
908	8-12 Red Lion Street, Aylsham
899	82 School Road, Foulden
842	9 Beacon Hill, Burnham Market
1851	91 Abbey Road, Leiston
839	93-101 Ber Street, Norwich
882	95 Lynn Road, Downham market
996	A.A.C. Wattisham, Great Bricett
891	A11 Attleborough Bypass Sheme
1832	A11 Fiveways to Thetford: ELV 059
944	A11 Roudham to Attleborough Improvement Scheme
1848	A14 Haughley Bends Improvements: gallows field
890	A140 Long Stratton Bypass
951	A143 Scole-Stuston Bypass
430	A149 Snettisham Bypass: site 1515
429	A149 Snettisham Bypass: site 1555
1105	AAFES Gas Station/Shopette/Snack Bar, Douglas Avenue, RAF Lakenheath
1122	Adastral Park, Martlesham, Ipswich
936	Aldeby Quarry, Priory Farm, Aldeby
1065	Aldham Mill Hill Storage Depot, Hadleigh
1004	Alexandra House, Hospital Road, Bury St. Edmunds
959	Allotment Gardens, Creake Road, Burnham market
988	Anglian Water, Norse Avenue Off Site Scheme, Bradfield Combust
1071	Apple Acre Road, Hanchet End, Haverhill
446	Ashill
403	Ashwicken
392	Attlebridge
1063	Barber's Point, Friston
986	Barham Quarry
422	Barnham Enclosure
423	Barnham Settlement (BRH015)
424	Barnham Settlement (BRH017)
1132	Base Civil engineering complex, RAF Mildenhall, The Sports Field
1129	Base Perimeter Road, Mildenhall
1889	Baylham Pumping Station, Anglian Water Pipeline
919	Beach Road, Home-next-the-Sea
841	Beacon Hill Road, Burnham Market

1055	Beech House Hospital, Exning
926	Beetley Quarry, Beetley
454	Billingford Romano-British Settlement
874	Bishy Barnabee Way, Bowthorpe
855	Bittering Quarry Extension, Longham
828	Blackdyke Close, RAF Feltwell
1834	Bloodgate Hill, South Creake
1010	Bloodmoor Hill, Carlton Collville
1056	Brackenbury
917	Braenham Hall Farm, Bradenham site 37098 North Pickenham to West Bradenham Supply Mains
447	Brampton Kiln Field
397	Brancaster
442	Brancaster
853	Brandon Road, Swaffham
854	Brandon Road, Swaffham
449	Brandon Road, Thetford
960	Brandon Road, Thetford
406	Brettenham
843	Breydon water holiday park, Yare Village, Butt Lane, Burgh Castle
991	Bridge House Diaries, Worlington Road, Mildenhall
929	Broome
869	Browick Road, Wymondham
865	Browns Fen, Stoke Ferry
1100	Building 1125 RAF Lakenheath
1103	Building 1155, RAF Lakenheath
418	Burgh
443	Burgh Castle
1074	Burton End CP School, Haverhill
818	Caister First School, Caister-on-Sea
883	Caister Old Hall, Caister-on-sea
401	Caister-on-Sea
444	Caister-on-Sea
858	Caistor St Edmund Roman Villa
417	Caistor St Edmund Romano-Celtic temple
1101	Cambridge Rd, RAF Lakenheath
1012	Carlton Hall, Church Lane, Carlton Colville
1091	Castle Hill, Ipswich
1149	Cedars park, Stowmarket
1150	Cedars park, Stowmarket
1146	Ceders park, Stowmarket
1135	CEVC Primary School, Church Field, Monks Eleigh
1072	Chalkstone Way, Haverhill
1073	Chalkstone Way, Haverhill
1119	Chapelside, 9 Chapel Green, Long Melford
1040	Child Development Centre, RAF Lakenheath
1881	Chilton Development Main, Reinforcement Pipeline Scheme, Chilton
812	Church Avenue, Halvergate

1081	Church Close, Hoxne
856	Church Farm, Church Road, Sea Palling
1069	Church Farm, Halesworth
826	Church Farm, Mautby Lane, Filby
827	Church View Cottage, Flaxlands Road, Charleton Rode
1021	Clare Primary School, Clare
1022	Clare Primary School, Clare
1016	County Farm, Chilton
1017	County Farm, Chilton
846	Coxford Abbey Quarry, East Rudham
830	Crimplesham Replacement Quarry
875	Cringleford Park and Ride
385	Crow Hall Park, London Road, Downham Market
1027	Culford School, Culford
1005	Darmsden
1002	Darmsden Hall Farm Quarry, Barking
1028	Debenham Community Woodland, Debenham
1031	Dennington CEVCP School, Laxfield Road, Dennington
1890	Dennington CEVCP School, Laxfield Road, Dennington
835	Dereham Road, Hempton
881	Ditchingham
1038	Dormitory 937, RAF Lakenheath
956	Dunston Hall Hotel golf course
967	Dunston Hall, Stoke Holy Cross
888	East Bilney Quarry
887	East Bilney Quarry, Beetley
911	East Winch Romano-British Industrial site
1000	Eldo House Farm, Bury St. Edmunds
946	Ellingham Hall Estate, Ellingham
1033	Elveden Estate Coin Hoard
1051	Euston to Cambridge Water Mains Pipeline: BNH 037 - fields 0005,2255
1050	Euston to Cambridge Water Mains Pipeline: BNH 039 - field 7764
1034	Executive Villas, Center Parks, Elveden
857	Fairswell Manor, Fincham
866	Feltwell Road, Southery
867	Feltwell Road, Southery
390	Fincham
451	Fison Way, Thetford
1048	Fitness Centre, RAF Lakenheath
1058	Flixton Park, Flixton
1059	Flixton Park, Flixton
968	Football Training Ground, Trowse Newton
420	Ford Place
1835	Ford Place Nursing Home, Thetford
1128	Former CES Building, RAF Mildenhall
1084	Former Firmin Site, Handford Rd. Ipswich
1085	Former Firmin Site, Handford Rd. Ipswich
1882	Former Smoke House Inn, Beck Row, Mildenhall

892	Former Watton Garden Cenre, Norwich Road, Watton
428	Framlingham
851	Frimstone Carrstone Quarry, Snettisham
852	Frimstone Carrstone Quarry, Snettisham
870	Front Street, Worstead
994	Game Farm, Brandon
995	Games Area, Remembrance Playing Fields, Brandon
1032	Gardeners Walk, Elmswell
1086	Goddard Road, Ipswich
900	Grandcourt Quarry, East Winch
389	Grange Farm, Snetterton
987	Gravel Hill, Barnham
425	Great Bealings
432	Guildhall Street, Thetford, Site 25296
1178	Hacheston
825	Hardwick Roundabout, Kings Lynn
895	Harford Park and Ride, Harford
1070	Haughley Crauford's CEVC Primary School
954	Heath Farm, Postwick
1141	High Street, Orford
1857	Highfield Nursey, Ipswich
916	Hill Farm, Home Hale site 37105: North Pickenham to West Bradenham Supply Mains
1160	Hill Farm, Tuddenham
400	Hoard from Weeting
394	Holmebrink Farm, Methwold
894	Holt House Farm, Wicken
1860	Home Farm, Woolverstone
1102	Hospital zone Maintenance, RAF Lakenheath
893	Howlett Way, Thetford
1080	Hoxne Hoard
886	Hungry Hill, Beetley
918	Huntingfield Hall Farm, Bradenham site 37099North Pickenham to West Bradenham Supply Mains
445	Icklingham
1060	Ingham Quarry, Fornham St Genevieve
1061	Ingham Quarry, Fornham St Genevieve
1062	Ingham Quarry, Fornham St Genevieve
1049	Intermediate School Extension, RAF Lakenheath
1015	Irvine House, main Road, Chelmondiston
1095	Ixworth Pipeline IXT 031
1096	Ixworth Pipeline IXW 044
1137	Ixworth Repeater Station, mill Road, Pakenham
399	Kiln at Thorpe St. Andrew, Norwich
905	Kilverstone, Broom Covert
1068	Lady Lane and Tower Mill Lane, Hadleigh
1067	Lady Lane Industrial Estate, Hadleigh
1856	Lakenheath electric trench between buildings 1106 and 1108

1883	Land adjacent The Street and Holmsey, Green Road Beck Row, Mildenhall
999	Land at Gallows Hill, Barking
1089	Land off Bury Road, Ipswich
1090	Land off Bury Road, Ipswich
1879	Land to North of The Street, Erwarton
912	Langham Point, Langham
1042	Liberty Village Phase V, RAF Lakenheath, Eriswell
427	Little Bealings
844	Little Melton
1110	Little St marys, Long Melford
386	Lodge Farm, Costessey
903	Lodge Farm, Costessey
396	London Road, Thetford
930	Longdell Hills, Easton
931	Longdell Hills, Easton
932	Longdell Hills, Easton
933	Longdell Hills, Easton
934	Longdell Hills, Easton
935	Longdell Hills, Easton
1087	Lovetofts Drive, Ipswich
1029	Low Road Debenham
1030	Low Road, Debenham
388	Lynford Quarry
943	Lynford Quarry, Stanford
904	Mangreen Hall Farm, Swardeston
823	Mangreen Travellers' Site, Harford
1118	Maples, The Spinney, Long Melford
426	Martlesham
815	Massingham Road, Grimston
877	Mayton Wood, Buxton with Lammas
878	Mayton Wood, Buxton with Lammas
879	Mayton Wood, Buxton with Lammas
913	Maytree Yard, Moor Drove, Hockwold-cum-Wilton
1177	Melford Meadows, Brettenham
1850	Mellis Road, Wortham
1653	Micklemoor Hill, West Harling
831	Middleton Main replacement, Grandcourt Farm Scheme, East Winch
1134	Mildenhall PSI 2
909	Mill Drove, Blackborough End, Middleton
868	Mill View Court, Station Road, Snettisham
990	Moreton Hall East, Great Barton, Bury St. Edmunds
1092	Morland Road, Ipswich
942	Muckleburgh Hill to Sheringham Pipeline site 34702
1026	Mulligan's Yard, Cowlinge
1147	Museum of East Anglian Life, Stowmarket
901	Myrtle Road, Hethersett
902	Myrtle Road, Hethersett
405	Needham

409	Needham
1843	Nelson Farm, Ashbocking Road, Witnesham
1020	Nethergate Street Garage, Clare
1853	New Access control, Gate 2, RAF Lakenheath
1077	New Car Park, Suffolk Punch Trust, Visitor Centre, Hollesley Bay Colony
1078	New Car Park, Suffolk Punch Trust, Visitor Centre, Hollesley Bay Colony
1880	New Car Parks at High Lodge, Santon Downham
1104	New Perimeter Rd. RAF Lakenheath
1036	New Tennis Courts, RAF Lakenheath
1052	Newmarket Isolation Hospital, Fordham Road Exning
1053	Newmarket Isolation Hospital, Fordham Road, Exning
957	Norfolk and Norwich Hospital
962	North Tuddenham bypass
395	North Wall, Caistor St Edmund
861	Norton Subcourse Quarry
1043	Norwich Road and Exeter Crescent Road Realignment, RAF Lakenheath
1106	Norwich Road roundabout, RAF Lakenheath
819	Norwich Road, Caister-on-Sea
927	Norwich Road, Caister-on-Sea
928	Norwich Road, Caister-on-Sea
938	Norwich Road, Kilverstone
939	Norwich Road, Kilverstone
1019	Old Dalgety Granary Site, Stoke Rd. Clare
897	Old Hall Hotel, Caister on Sea
898	Old Hall Hotel, Caister on Sea
1124	Old Police House, Beeches Road, West Row, Mildenhall
937	Old Reepham Road, Bawdeswell
992	Orion Business Park, Blackacre Hill, Great Blakenham,
993	Orion Business Park, Blackacre Hill, Great Blakenham,
1057	Orwell High School, Felixstowe
969	Park Farm, Silfield, Wymondham
1143	Park Grove, Euston Estate, Sapiston
985	Part Garden, Church Green House, Low Street, Badingham
836	Pheasant's Walk, Earsham Quarry
1131	PIK Housing, Washington Street, Beck Row, Mildenhall
1013	Poslingford to Cavendish Water Main Renewel
408	Postwick
955	Priory Road, Binham
910	Priory Road, Great Cressingham
817	Queen Annge House, Caistor Lane, Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk
966	Quidney Farm, Saham toney
1037	RAF Lakenheath
1039	RAF Lakenheath, New Dental Clinic
1123	RAF Mildenhall
1001	RAF Wattisham, Great Bricett
1088	Ravenswood (former Ipswich Airport)
1093	Rear of 4 Highfield Approach, Ipswich
1133	Rear of Smoke House Inn, Beck Row, Mildenhall

402	Red Castle, Thetford
1066	Red Hill Road, Hadleigh
387	Red Lion Street, Aylsham
398	Redgate Hill, Hunstanton
820	Redwell Marsh, Holme next the Sea
1858	Refueler Facility, RAF Lakenheath, Lakenheath
1097	Risbridge Home, Kedington
1145	Roman Road at Great hallows, Stoke Ash
1108	Roman Way, Long Melford
1109	Roman Way, Long Melford
393	Romano-British Pottery Kiln at Blackborough End, Middleton
862	Rushford Church, Brettenham
1274	Santon Downham
1121	Satellite Compout, BT Research Laboratories, Martlesham Heath
448	Scole
814	Scole Inn, Scole
1006	Shackerland Hall Quarry, Badwell Ash
914	Short Drove, Downham Market
948	Shropham Iron Age settlment
1024	Shrubland park Estate, Coddenham
1849	Side Green, Mill House, Mill Lane, Alderton
391	Silfield, Wymondham
1878	Site B, Priory Park, Nacton
1130	Smoke House Inn and Skelton's Drove, Beck Row, Mildenhall
1025	Smye's Corner, Shrublands Quarry, Coddenham
1011	South Lowestoft Industrial Estate
1079	Sparrowhawk Road, Holton
837	Spixworth Road, Old Catton
452	Spong Hill, North Elmham
832	Spread Eagle Public House, Barton Bendish
1075	St Felx RB Primary School, Haverhill
1138	St John's House Hospital, Lion Road, Palgrave
1139	St John's House Hospital, Lion Road, Palgrave
864	St Michael's Hospital, Aylsham
433	St Nicholas' Street, Site 1134
952	Stanfield Quarry, Stanfield and Beetley
953	Stanfield Quarry, Stanfield and Beetley
1047	Stormwater Drainage adjacent Rochester Road, RAF Lakenheath
998	Stow Park, Bungay (BUN 042)
411	Stowmarket
1151	Stratford St mary - East Bergholt Pipeline
1044	Street Sweeper Dump Site, RAF lakenheath
963	Strickland Avenue and Station Road, Snettisham
1148	Stuston Common
997	Sutton Hoo
922	Swanton Morely Airfield Beetley & Hoe
923	Swanton Morely Airfield Beetley & Hoe
924	Swanton Morely Airfield Beetley & Hoe

925	Swanton Morely Airfield Beetley & Hoe
921	Swanton Morely Airfield, Beetley
1855	Tanker Access Road, RAF Lakenheath
421	Tasburgh
1083	The Albany
848	The Corner House, Staithe Street, Wells-next-the-Sea
849	The Corner House, Staithe Street, Wells-Next-the-Sea
1111	The Dairy, Hall Street, Long Melford
1009	The Driftway, Capel St Mary
1008	The Driftway, The Street, Capel St. Mary
1116	The Gables, Hall Street, Long Melford
813	The Lodge, North Wootton
860	The Old School, Feltwell
1064	The Old School, Grundisburgh
859	The Old School, The Beck, Feltwell
847	The Rectory, Scole
958	The Warrener, Thetford
450	Thetford
419	Thetford Castle
920	Thompson Hall Cottage, Tompson
412	Thornham
885	Three Score community Residential Development, Bowthorpe
884	Three Score, Bowthorpe, Norwich
1046	Thunderbird Way, RAF Lakenheath, Eriswell
1886	Thunderbird way, RAF Lakenheath, Eriswell
845	Tranquillity, Marsh Lane, Brancaster
1153	Trimley marshes, Trimley St Martin
1152	Trimley St martin
1154	Trinity 2000 Development, Blofield Hall, Trimley St Mary, TYY 026
1155	Trinity 2000 Development, Blofield Hall, Trimley St Mary, TYY 027
1156	Trinity 2000 Development, Blofield Hall, Trimley St Mary, TYY 029
1158	Tuddenham-Playford, Rising Main TDM 007
1007	Ullswater Road, Campsey Ash
838	Uplands, Caister-on-Sea
404	Upper Sheringham
1023	Vicarage Farm, Coddenham
1107	Walk Farm, Levington
410	Warborough Hill, Stiffkey
413	Warham Burrows
1045	Waste Water Treatment Works, RAF Lakenheath
889	Watlington and Tottenhill ('Police House Field' and Conveyor Route)
896	Watlington Quarry
1837	Watton Sewage Treatment Works, Little Cressingham
1888	West Row Primary School, Beeches Road, Mildenhall
1125	West Row Primary School, Rear Extension
1126	West Row Primary School, Rear Extension
1885	West Row Primary School, West Row, Mildenhall
453	West Stow

1891	West Stow, Lackford Bridge Quarry
1094	Westerfield Road, Ipswich
1076	Westfield Replacement/Samuel Ward Extension, chalstone Way, Haverhill
416	Wighton
840	Wimbotsham
1852	Wixoe Pipeline WIX 017
1859	Wyken Hall, Wyken Raod, Stanton

DB no.	Site
3. East Yorkshire	
1761	12 Cave Road, Brough-on-Humber
1772	23 Welton Road, Brough
1776	25 and 27 Welton Road, Brough
1714	716 Acaster Hill, Husthwaite
1763	8 Station Road, Brough
1657	89 The Mount
1573	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: 16 and WW6 (Wetherby Lane)
1572	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: C4SA
1564	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: Church Farm Access Track (CFAT)
1567	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: D (Ferry Fryston)
1570	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: M
1566	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: P, Q, and the Holmfield Interchange
1571	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: R
1568	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: XX15
1569	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: XX19 and XX19.5
1565	A1 (M) Darrington to Dishforth: XX8
1240	A1-Motorway: Holmfield interchange
1723	A165 Reighton Bypass: A-D
1721	A19 Easingwold By-pass
1909	A19/A64 Interchange, Fulford
1553	Aldborough
1584	Aldborough
1675	Apple Tree Farm 1987-1992
153	Arras, Market Weighton
1774	Balk Field, Pocklington
154	Beverley
1612	Bishophill
1552	Blansby Park, Pickering
1690	Blue Bridge Lane and Fishergate House
1555	Bradley Street, Castleford
1606	Brough
1281	Brough-on-Humber (Petuaria)
155	Bugthorpe
1249	Bursea Grange
1252	Bursea House
1604	Burton Fleming
1229	Burton Fleming: Bell Slack

1228	Burton Fleming: opposite Argam lane
156	Calais Wold, Bishop Wilton
1607	Canal Lane, Pocklington
1756	Carberry Hall Farm, Wilberfoss
1390	Castleford
1540	Cat Babbleton Farm, Ganton
1592	Cawood (near)
1542	Cawthorne
157	Cawthrone Camps, Pickering
1563	Caythorpe Gas Pipeline, North Humberside: 3086
1560	Caythorpe Gas Pipeline, North Humberside: Field 0005
1559	Caythorpe Gas Pipeline, North Humberside: Field 7500
1561	Caythorpe Gas Pipeline, North Humberside: Field0035
1562	Caythorpe Gas Pipeline, North Humberside: Near Gypsy Race
1608	Chapel Garth, Arram
1764	Clark's Common Farm, Everingham
158	Cowlam
1574	Cowlam, North Humberside
1581	Crag Bank
1731	Crossgates Farm - Seamer: Area D
1733	Crossgates Farm, Seamer
1734	Crossgates Farm, Seamer
1239	Dalton Parlours
159	Danes Graves, Driffield
1687	DERVENTIO - Roman Stamford Bridge
1589	Driffield RAF station
1556	East Knapton: site C
1557	East Knapton: site E
1558	East Knapton: site F
1595	Eastburn
1609	Eastgate South, Driffield
1719	Eastway Link, Osgodby, North Yorkshire
1894	Ebenezer Yard, Langton Road, Norton, Malton
1590	Feasegate Roman fort
1758	Fernlea, Town Street, Hayton
1895	Firs Plantation, Mill Lane, Scampston
1694	Flatiron Field, Dunnington
1742	Gale Common Ash Disposal site, Womersley
1923	Garton Slack
1230	Garton Station
1665	Germany Beck - Fulford
1771	Glen Garth, Hayton
1577	Great Ayton Moor
1654	Grimthorpe
1713	Harton to Hildenley water pipeline: Hutton Hill Farm
1712	Harton to Hildenley water pipeline: Mount Pleasant Farm
1621	Hasholme
1251	Hasholme Hall Kiln site

1867	Heslerton
1549	High Wold, Bempton Lane, Bridlington
162	Hornsea
163	Huggate
164	Hunmanby
1594	Hunmanby Chariot burial
165	Huntow, Bridlington
166	Hutton Buschel Moor
1544	Interval Tower SW5 and SW defences
1707	Joseph Rowntree School, New Earswick
1231	Kirkburn
1743	Land at OS Field 0006, Main Road, Weaverthorpe
1548	Langeled Receiving Facilities, Easington
1232	Langton Roman Villa, Malton
1775	Lavender House, Welton Road, Brough
1645	Lease Rigg
1646	Lease Rigg
1618	Lockington
1770	Lone Farm, Kilham
1582	Lounsdale valley
1740	Low Farm, Kirby Grindalythe
1762	Lynham's Road, Sewerby
1243	M1-A1 link road: Barroby Lane
1248	M1-A1 link road: Becca Bank
1241	M1-A1 link road: Bullerthorpe Lane
1247	M1-A1 link road: Lotherton Landscape:Dawson's Wood
1244	M1-A1 link road: Manor Farm
1245	M1-A1 link road: Parlington Hollins
1246	M1-A1 link road: Roman Ridge
1242	M1-A1 link road: Swillington Common
1778	Main Street, Beeford
1777	Main street, Burton Agnes
1585	Malton
1710	Malton to Rillington Pumping station: site 2
1711	Malton to Rillington Pumping station: site 7
1759	Mappleton Waste Water Treatment plant and Flow transfer pipeline
1253	Market Weighton By-pass
1554	Melton
1766	Middleton
167	Middleton-on-the-Wolds
1897	Mires Beck Nursery, Low Mill Lane, North Cave
1603	Moor Lane, Stamford Bridge
1668	Moor Mokton to Elvington Pipeline: Field at Stockton Moor West
1622	Moot-Hill, Great Driffield, North Humberside
1722	Muston Road, Filey, North Yorkshire
1757	New Road Garage, 26-27 New Road, Driffield
1738	Newbridge Quarry Extension, Pickering
1736	Newbridge Quarry, Newbridge, Pickering

1599	Newham's Pit, Staxton
168	North Grimston
1586	Pale End Kildale
1583	Percy Rigg
169	Pexton Moor
1760	Pexton Road, Kelleythorpe industrial estate, Driffield
1898	Queen Street South, Withernsea
1643	Rievaulx Bank, N Yorkshire
1576	Rillington
1735	Rillington
1907	Roecliffe
1644	Roxby
170	Rudston
1226	Rudston (Makeshift cemetery)
1234	Rudston Roman Villa
1591	Rudston Roman Villa
1597	Rudston Roman Villa
1227	Rudston: Argam Lane
171	Sawdon
1876	Scarborough
1720	Scarborough ITS: contractor's compound
1620	Scorborough
172	Scorborough Park
1587	Scurff Hall Farm, Drax, near Selby
173	Seamer
174	Seamer Moor
1235	Sewerby Cottage Farm, Bridlington
1737	Sherburn Church-of-England Primary School, St Hilda's Street, Sherburn
1656	Shiptonthorpe
1611	Skeldergate
175	Skipwith Common
1779	Skirlaugh Sewege pumping station and Rising Main, near Beverley
1896	Snuff Mill Lane, Cottingham
1691	South Farm, Kexby
1741	South of West Garth, Cayton
1767	Stamford Bridge Water Pipeline: area D
1768	Stamford Bridge Water Pipeline: area G
1233	Staple Howe
1647	Streethouse, Loftus
1648	Streethouse, Loftus
1238	Sutton Common
1650	Sutton Common
1905	Swillington Brick Works
1715	Teeside to Saltend Ethylene Pipeline site 169
1718	Teeside to Saltend Ethylene Pipeline sites 718
1716	Teeside to Saltend Ethylene Pipeline: site 719
1717	Teeside to Saltend Ethylene Pipeline: site 720
1658	The Ideal Laundry, Trinity Lane

176	Thorganby Common, Skipwith
1619	Walkington Wold
1605	Wansford
1250	Welham Bridge
1765	Welton Quarry
1593	Wetherby
1623	Wetwang
1268	Wetwang Chariot Burial (2001)
1284	Wharram Grange Roman Villa
1283	Wharram Le Street Roman Villa
177	Wharram Percy
1730	Whitewall, Norton
1899	Willows A, Reighton
1739	Wykeham Quarry, West Ayton
1692	York: 1-3 Driffield Terrace
1661	York: 14-20 Blossom Street
1698	York: 2-4 Driffield Terrace, The Mount
1686	York: 28-40 Blossom Street
1703	York: 28-40 Blossom Street
1708	York: 38 Piccadilly
1662	York: 41 Piccadilly
1709	York: 50 Piccadilly
1663	York: 52 Monkgate
1684	York: 59 Low Petergate
1681	York: 70 Low Petergate
1680	York: 72 Low Petergate
1682	York: 81 Low Petergate
1683	York: 93 Low Petergate
1676	York: A1237/B1363 Junction, Wigginton Road, Clifton Moor
1659	York: Adams Hydraulics
1660	York: All Saints School, Mill Mount
1679	York: BHS Store, Feasegate
1705	York: Blue Bridge Lane & Fishergate House, Fishergate
1601	York: Castle Yard
1579	York: Church of St. Mary, Bishophill Senior
1610	York: Church Street
1701	York: Clifton Garage
1678	York: Fetter Lane Electricity Sub-station
1704	York: Heslington East
1702	York: Heslington East, Heslington
1864	York: Hungate
1696	York: Huntington South Moor
1892	York: Ivory Bangle Lady, Sycamore Terrace
1904	York: Marriott Hotel, Tadcaster Road
1667	York: Moor Mokton to Elvington Pipeline: Field at Thorntree Hill, Dunnington
1666	York: Moor Mokton to Elvington Pipeline: Field to the south of Prospect Cottage, Dunnington
1669	York: Moor Mokton to Elvington Pipeline: Rawcliffe Moor

1670	York: Moor Mokton to Elvington Pipeline:Field near Hurns Bridge, Skelton Moor
1706	York: Moss Street Depot
1551	York: Moss Street Depot, Moss Street
1700	York: Moss Street Depot, Moss Street
1550	York: Mullfield Farm, Wheldrake
1677	York: NCP Car Park, 64-74 Skeldergate
1688	York: Platform 1, York Railway Station
1685	York: Regency Mews, Tadcaster Road, Dringhouses
1602	York: Roman Fortress
1689	York: St Oswald's School, Fulford
1693	York: St Oswalds School, Fulford
1614	York: The Fortress: 12-18 Swinegate/8 Grape Lane and 14 Little Stonegate/18 Back Swingegate
1613	York: The Fortress: 9 Blake Street
1615	York: The Fortress: Purey Cust Nuffield Hospital
1671	York: The Fox Public House, 60 Tadcaster Road, Dringhouses
1600	York: The Mount
1695	York: The Mount School, Dalton Terrace
1672	York: The Starting Gate, Tadcaster Road, Dringhouses
1617	York: Trentholme Drive
1673	York: Water Lane, Clifton
1664	York: York Minster Library
1697	York: York Minster Library
1727	Yorkshire Derwent Aquaduct: site 3
1699	Yorkshire Derwent Aqueduct, Duplication Main, Elvington to Riccall: Millfield Farm, Wheldrake

DB no.	Site

4. Northeast Scotland

31	A96 Kintore Bypass
103	A96 Kintore Bypass
104	A96 Kintore Bypass
105	A96 Kintore Bypass
25	Allanfearn
109	Allanfearn
128	Balloan Cottages
72	Balloan Park, Inverness
108	Balloan Park, Inverness
142	Balloan Park, Inverness
34	Berryhill, Oyne, Insch
81	Berryhill, Oyne, Insch
100	Berryhill, Oyne, Insch
106	Birnie
107	Birnie
115	Birnie
116	Birnie
117	Birnie

122	Birnie
123	Birnie
124	Birnie
129	Birnie
136	Birnie
137	Birnie
147	Birnie
148	Birnie
1263	Boghead, Kintore
141	Brackla
1259	Cairnhill, Monquhitter
84	Candle Stane, Insch
110	Candle Stane, Insch
111	Candle Stane, Insch
70	Castlehill, Caulfield Road, Inshes, Inverness
12	Cawdor, Easter Galcantray
14	Cawdor, Easter Galcantray
82	Cawdor, Easter Galcantray
130	Cawdor, Easter Galcantray
131	Cawdor, Easter Galcantray
7	Craig Phadrig
13	Craig Phadrig
77	Craig Phadrig
83	Craig Phadrig
97	Craig Phadrig
76	Culbin Sands
89	Culbin Sands
143	Culbin Sands
144	Culbin Sands
145	Culbin Sands
51	Culduthel Farm, Inverness
54	Culduthel Farm, Inverness
125	Culduthel Farm, Inverness
132	Culduthel Farm, Inverness
138	Forest Road, Kintore
45	Glengarioch, Oldmeldrum
11	Green Castle
73	Green Castle
75	Green Castle
79	Green Castle
80	Green Castle
95	Green Castle
98	Green Castle
1278	Green castle
1279	Green castle
133	Greenbogs, Monymusk
36	Henderson Drive, Kintore
40	Henderson Drive, Kintore

50	Kintore Landscape Project- Bruce’s Camp, Shaw Hill
44	Kintore Lanscape Project: Balbithan Wood (Kintore parish)
41	Kintore School, Kintore
62	Knockomie Hotel, Forres
18	Leitchestown
21	Leitchestown
28	Leitchestown
112	Leitchestown
113	Leitchestown
114	Leitchestown
121	Leitchestown
52	Lochloy
119	Lochloy
120	Lochloy
1276	Mains of Croy
10	Midtown Farm, Drumashie
99	Milton of Leys
15	No-name hut circle
20	Phopachy
22	Phopachy
23	Redcastle
24	Redcastle
26	Redcastle
94	Romancamp Gate
47	Scotsburn, Llanbryde
134	Sculptor’s Cave, Covesea, Morayshire
33	Seafield West, near Inverness
102	Slackbuie to Stratherrick, Inverness
139	Slackbuie, Inverness
32	St Fergus to Peterhead gas pipeline
1932	St Fergus to Peterhead gas pipeline
1933	St Fergus to Peterhead gas pipeline
1934	St Fergus to Peterhead gas pipeline
1935	St Fergus to Peterhead gas pipeline
8	Stoneyfield, Raigmore
46	Sueno’s Stone, Forres
74	Tap o’ Noth
78	Tap o’ Noth
135	Thainstone (kintore parish)
64	The Craw Stane/Barflat, Rhynie
59	The Hillforts of Strathdon Project - Maiden Castle
146	The Hillforts of Strathdon Project - Maiden Castle
85	Tulloch Wood, Forres, Moray
118	Tulloch Wood, Forres, Moray
126	Upper Slackbuie, Inverness
127	Upper Slackbuie, Inverness
43	Uryside, Inverurie
16	Wardend of Durris

86	Wardend of Durris
101	Wardend of Durris
48	Westgate Residential Development Phase 3, Blackhall Road, Inverurie
60	Westgate Residential Development Phase 3, Blackhall Road, Inverurie

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