

**Here Be Dragons: A Contextual Analysis of the Evidence for Society
and Culture in Iron Age Central Western Britain**

**Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University of
Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Edward James Rule**

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List of Abbreviations

CAD (XXXX)	Celtic Art Database (<i>Record number</i>)
Cal.	Calibrated
CWB	Central Western Britain
E	East
EIA	Early Iron Age
E-Med	Early Medieval
IA	Iron Age
ID. No.	Identification Number
HER (XXXX)	Historic Environment Record (<i>Record number</i>)
LBA	Late Bronze Age
LIA	Late Iron Age
MIA	Middle Iron Age
N	North
NE	North East
NW	North West
PAS (XXXX)	Portable Antiquities Scheme (<i>Record number</i>)
RB	Romano-British
S	South
SE	South East
SW	South West
SMR (XXXX)	Sites and Monuments Register (<i>Record Number</i>)
W	West

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Abstract

The thesis will examine the evidence for the construction of social and cultural identity amongst the communities living in central western Britain during the pre-Roman Iron Age. In particular it will examine the extent to which contextual analysis can be used to build a social archaeology for the study region. It will examine the evidence for climate, settlement and material culture for the study region and cross-compare changing patterns and trends inherent in that data as a way to identify shifting social and cultural attitudes. Regional changes in personal and social identity, social organisation and cultural traditions will be identified and mapped for the region through the Iron Age period. It is hoped that this work will establish a robust and intelligible framework for the understanding of Iron Age life-ways in the region and thus finally dispel the myth that central western Britain was a marginal and sparsely populated back-water, on the periphery of Iron Age society in Britain.

Chapter 1- Introduction, History of Research and Research Background

This chapter will introduce the body of the work contained in this thesis. It will briefly consider the history of research in the study region and some of the recent pertinent discussion of contextual approaches to archaeological material. Whilst this chapter is intended to provide a background to the research, it is not intended to be an exhaustive discussion on the history of archaeology or on the development of interpretive approaches to archaeology as such a discussion is beyond the scope of this thesis. Due to constraints of both time and space, discussion of several publications and developments of research have been omitted from this review; those that have been included are the items most pertinent to the discussion of the material from central western Britain. Any other relevant models or hypotheses are referred to in the main body of the work as they become relevant to the material being discussed. This chapter will begin with a brief introduction to the research, followed by a history of the principal points of archaeological development within the study region since the early nineteenth century. Following this is an outline of the wider context of research in contextual archaeology. Finally, a summary will be provided.

Introduction

Research Development

This project covers the area of north-west England and north Wales, which for the purposes of this study has been defined as central western Britain. The area that the region covers is large; incorporating the metropolitan counties of Merseyside and Greater Manchester, the county boroughs of Conway and Wrexham and the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire, Gwynedd and the Isle of Anglesey. It also touches on the neighbouring counties of Derbyshire, Shropshire and Powys. The extent of the study region is shown in figure 1.1. The reason for the selection of this region as the focus of this project was the limited academic engagement with the archaeology of this region (Geary 2001:1-2; Chitty and Brennand 2006:7-8; Hodgson and Brennand 2006:51). Until recently, most of archaeological research in the region has focussed on recording and preservation rather than on research or

understanding (Geary 2001:1; Chitty and Brennand *et al.* 2006:7). Consequently, there is a lack of detailed synthesis of the Iron Age archaeology of the region, which has led to central western Britain often being overlooked in the field of Iron Age studies. This has led to an apparent gap in the archaeological understanding of the region, which has persisted for so long that the absence of a coherent picture for the region has been uncritically accepted as a product of the archaeology of the region, rather than a failing of archaeologists. Recent discussion of the nature of the Iron Age in central western Britain has often dismissed the region as sparsely populated and culturally backwards, especially in comparison to southern Britain (Shotter 1997:60) Cunliffe (2005:34), in evaluating the changes in climate and subsistence practices in the region during the Late Bronze Age-Iron Age transition, has said;

“It is perhaps in causes of this kind that explanations for the apparent retardation in parts of west and north of Britain should be sought. It was in the south and east, where the effects of climate change were slight, that the major economic, technical and social developments took place.”

(ibid.)

Haselgrove (2001:25), in discussing the state of archaeological knowledge of north-west England and Wrexham and Conway, described the region as a ‘black hole.’ This term was used to refer to areas of Britain which lack identified site types or modern investigation;

“...the term ‘black hole’ applies to areas where site types are still ill-defined or unknown and which have seen little or no modern research beyond the site-specific.”

(ibid.)

However, Haselgrove (*ibid.*) was slightly more encouraging with his description of the evidence for the remainder of north Wales, describing it as ‘unsorted.’ In this case ‘unsorted refers to;

“...areas where some significant data are already collated in easily accessible form, but regional frameworks have not been developed, although some research to

that end may be in progress;”

(*ibid.*)

With the publication of several recent excavations in the region and the increase in the reporting of objects due to the Portable Antiquities Scheme, it is becoming increasingly apparent that there is a considerable and growing body of evidence for a fully formed, complex Iron Age community in central western Britain, which had extensive and long-lived exchange links with Ireland and the Atlantic coast, Yorkshire and southern central Britain.

Initially, this research project intended to compare and contrast the archaeological evidence from several regions of Iron Age Britain to examine social and cultural change. To achieve this end, preliminary reviews of the regions short-listed for investigation (the Weald, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire, Wessex and north-west England) were completed. These regions were shortlisted as they represented areas with a long history of research and detailed chronology (in the case of Wessex and Yorkshire), or as they were regions which the author already had a familiarity with from previous research. As the reviews of these regions progressed, it became apparent that to complete the project as originally envisaged would require sacrificing depth for breadth. In order to accommodate a full analysis of multiple regions in the space available would necessitate imposing limits on the evidence analysed. To allow for a more detailed contextual analysis of the evidence, it was decided to limit the scope of the study to one region of Britain. The publication of the research agenda for Iron Age studies in Britain (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001) and the research framework for north-west England (Brennand 2006) demonstrated the need for the re-assessment of the evidence for north-west England and for this data to be placed in the wider context of British Iron Age studies. It was decided to limit the extent of the study to north-west England to attempt to address these aims.

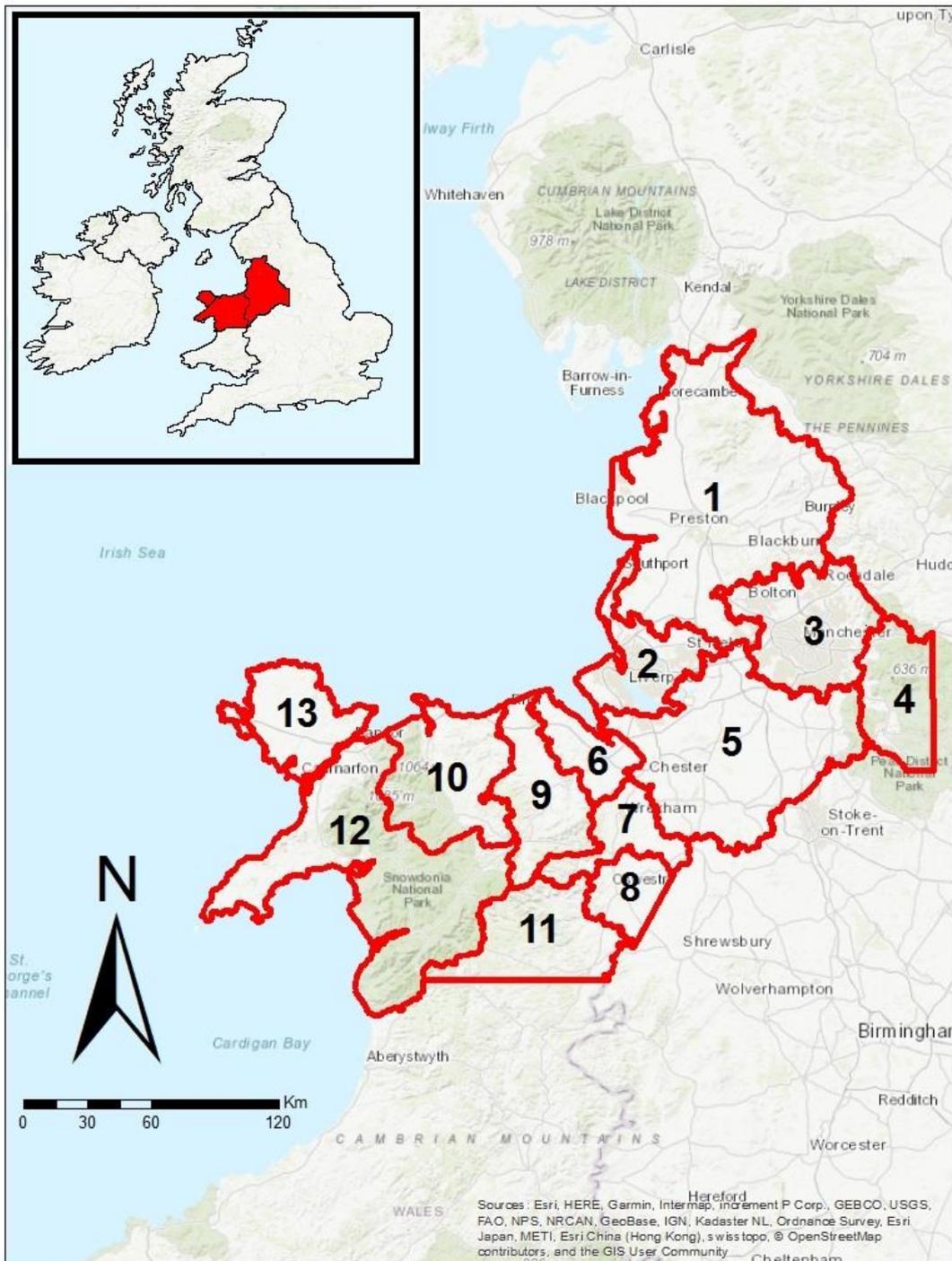


Figure 1.1- Extent of the study region (central western Britain). (1) Lancashire, (2) Merseyside, (3) Greater Manchester, (4) Derbyshire (Partial), (5) Cheshire, (6) Flintshire, (7) Wrexham, (8) Shropshire (Partial), (9) Denbighshire, (10) Conwy, (11) Powys (Partial), (12) Gwynedd, (13) Isle of Anglesey. (Underlying map © 1995-2016 Esri).

In the author's view completing an analysis of changes in society and culture in the region represented a greater challenge and a more valuable contribution to the field of Iron Age studies. A more detailed examination of the evidence for the region was then undertaken. The north west of England, as a study region was defined by Brennand (*ibid.*) and included the modern counties of Cumbria, Lancashire and Cheshire and the metropolitan counties of Merseyside and Greater Manchester. The over-view conducted of the region showed a clear disparity between the evidence for Cumbria and the other regions of north-west England (Cowell 2000c; McCarthy 2000; Cunliffe 2005; Darvill 2010). It also became apparent that there were similarities in the evidence for Iron Age site morphology, roundhouse construction techniques and material culture extending across county and national boundaries into north Wales. As modern county and national boundaries have no relevance to the functioning or extent of Iron Age societies and are used solely by archaeologists and those involved in heritage management to artificially structure research and data, it was decided to extend the area of the project to include north Wales. The definition of north Wales was taken from Haselgrove's (2001) publication and includes the counties of Flintshire, Denbighshire, Gwynedd and the Isle of Anglesey, as well as the county boroughs of Conway and Wrexham. At the same time, it was decided to exclude Cumbria from the analysis, as the differences in the evidence suggest that the social and cultural systems operating in Cumbria were distinct from the rest of central western Britain.

The decision to extend the study region across local government and national boundaries, was taken in order to fully pursue the extent of the evidence for social and cultural groups in the region. However, this has also highlighted issues with data collection, archiving and availability. Different local and governmental authorities utilise different approaches to archaeology, which has led to biases in the archaeological record (discussed in chapter 2). Yet, to fully understand the organisation and extent of groups in the past it is necessary to approach them (and the evidence) in terms of its 'real' extent, rather than be confined by modern administrative boundaries, which are divorced from the archaeological evidence. This has been attempted in the Roman Rural Settlement project to evaluate the

settlement evidence from Roman England (A. Smith 2015). This project was then able to identify new research regions based on chronological and spatial patterning of the available archaeological data, rather than on administrative or topographical areas. Whilst such a project may certainly be a worthwhile endeavour to undertake for the Iron Age in Britain, it is beyond the scope of this work. However, it is hoped that the approach taken within this research may provide insight into the extent and chronological and spatial patterning of the chosen study region and encourage the development of 'evidence-led' research regions.

This Thesis is entitled 'Here Be Dragons,' in allusion to the Medieval practice of illustrating unexplored territories on maps with mythical and dangerous monsters, in this case dragons; one of the earliest known examples of which is on the Lenox Globe (De Costa 1879). This title was chosen to reflect the 'unexplored' nature of the study region in terms of archaeology. It is also an indirect reference to the legend of Lludd and Llyfelys in *'The Mabinogion'* (1949), in which Lludd imprisons the dragons under Dinas Emrys hillfort in north Wales. It can also be viewed as a reference to the Capel Garmon firedog (CAD 400) from the study region, which has been described as a dragon (D. Garrow *pers. comm.*).

Project Definition

The aim of this thesis is threefold (for a detailed definition of project aims and objectives- see chapter 2). Firstly, it will attempt a synthesis of all the available information on the study region to provide a comprehensive overview of the region as a basis for future archaeological investigations. Secondly, it will examine in detail several of the principal archaeological trends evident in central western Britain, including settlement practices, deposition and the construction of personal and social identity, to contextualise the evidence and develop a system for understanding life in the Iron Age of the region. Thirdly, it will then investigate the extent to which changes in the evidence may reflect substantive changes to the social and cultural system of life in the study region. In addressing these aims this research shall direct itself towards investigating several key areas of evidence in the region, as outlined in the *'Archaeological Research Framework for North West England'* (Brennand 2007) and the *'Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales'* (Gale 2003; Longley

2003; Briggs *et al.* 2003). These research agendas have identified the following aims for the region (a more comprehensive breakdown of the aims and objectives of this research is provided in chapter 2);

1. To re-evaluate the evidence for material culture (including Portable Antiquities Scheme data), settlement and deposition in the study region and integrate the evidence into a synthesis of the region (Gale 2003; Longley 2003; Hodgson and Brennand 2006).
2. To analyse whether there were significant changes in the character of settlement between the Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age in the study region (Gale 2003; Longley 2003; Hodgson and Brennand 2006).
3. To thoroughly analyse the material culture in the region, particularly metalwork and evaluate this evidence in terms of the changing construction of personal and social identity (Longley 2003; Gale 2003; Hodgson and Brennand 2006)
4. To correlate the analysis and all available data to produce an integrated and holistic view of life-ways in Iron Age central western Britain.

Structure

To complete these aims the thesis shall be structured into several chapters dealing with different aspects of the Iron Age in the region. Chapter 1 will outline the history of research in the region and discuss the principal research methodologies that have been employed by investigators in central western Britain. Chapter 2 will outline the methodology employed during the preparation of this thesis, including discussion on the collection of data and the integrity of the available sources. It will then continue to discuss how this information has been utilised to generate a more integrated picture of the study region. Chapter 3 will examine the environmental evidence for central western Britain and the evidence for climatic variation. In chapter 4 there will be a discussion of the evidence for settlement patterns and the construction of sites (both physically and conceptually) for the Early Iron Age period in the region. This will be continued in chapter 5 for the Middle and Late Iron Age. In chapter 6 there will be a discussion of the evidence for the more diagnostic pieces of material culture from the study region, as well as an overview of the chronology of this material. Chapter

7 will then provide a contextual discussion of this material, including analysis of how it was produced, utilised and deposited during the Iron Age. Chapter 8 will then provide a discussion of the results of this work within a chronological narrative for the region. Chapter 9 will then conclude this work and briefly consider its viability, applicability and significance of its findings.

History of Research

Antiquarian Investigations (19th century)

Central western Britain has a history of research stretching back to the early 19th century. The earliest published account of archaeological investigations in the region occurred in Ormerod's (1819) *'History of the county palatine and city of Chester.'* Although the work was, like many of the publications at the time, primarily concerned with the history of the leading families of the region, as well as the manorial histories of the county, it also included accounts of several archaeological discoveries, principally the opening of several barrows in the region. Unfortunately, many of these earlier excursions into the archaeology in the region were made in a very casual manner by groups comprised of amateur enthusiasts from the wealthy upper classes. Whilst several learned societies were formed, the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1846 and the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1848 being amongst the first, followed in 1849 by the Cheshire Archaeological Society, most of these organisation's early work was involved in the examination of historical archives and speculative discussion of standing field monuments. Despite these organisations including a number of notable members (such as the Reverend Abraham Hume, George Ormerod, Henry Ecroyd-Smith, William Boyd Dawkins and Joseph Mayer), many of their early publications reflect their roles as essayist clubs and excursion societies. However, this began to change during the 1860's. Although the excavation at Hallstatt had taken place between 1846 and 1862 and the discovery at La Tène had been made in 1858, it was still several years before continental typologies for this material were developed in 1872 (Cunliffe 2005). Yet, even without typologies or chronologies available, the 1860's saw a marked increase in interest in what was then still being referred to in Britain as Late Celtic art. For several decades, fishermen had been recovering objects from

the foreshore at Great Meols on the north coast of the Wirral peninsula. In 1846 a collection of these objects was brought to the attention of the Reverend Hume whilst he was visiting a parsonage in Hoylake, Hume quickly recognised their significance as a collection of prehistoric, Roman and Medieval objects. After a period of investigation, during which the reverend collected further finds from the foreshore and assembled those objects already collected, Hume published his account in the 1863 volume *'Ancient Meols'* (Hume 1863).

Hume's publication was a significant step in the understanding of Iron Age cultures within the region. Although the brunt of the publication was essentially concerned with classifying and illustrating the objects recovered, it also included several features common to modern archaeological reports including a description of the geology of the area and details of the context of the finds. Sadly, by the time that the discovery at Meols was reported very little was left of the structure of the site and although the report drew attention to a number of ancient timbers which were still observable on the foreshore, there was insufficient information to determine the layout or morphology of the site. Nevertheless, the publication of *'Ancient Meols'* sparked growing interest in the pre-Roman occupation of the region. It also documented several of the earliest recorded finds of Iron Age metalwork in central western Britain, including a La Tène 1 arched bow brooch, several pins and first millennium BC coinage. Local societies began to take an increasing interest in the standing field monuments and in the publication and classification of prehistoric finds from the region. However, this increase in study did not produce any coherent theoretical framework for prehistoric societies in the study region, being mostly concerned with the listing of objects and field monuments. Even those few authors who sought to create a wider synthesis of the evidence were operating within a cultural evolution paradigm and were heavily influenced by classical writings on the subject, which coloured much of the earlier interpretations. Progress was also hampered by the lack of a detailed understanding of the chronology of the Iron Age period and pre-Roman archaeology in the region was often simply characterised as 'Celtic,' or 'Late Celtic,' which were terms used almost indiscriminately to refer to both Bronze Age and Iron Age archaeology. This highly compressed chronology for

the Iron Age led to much Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman evidence being conflated to produce a strange chimera of the three periods.

It was not until the closing decades of the 19th century that several of these societies began to take a more thoughtful approach towards investigating the archaeology of the region. One of the first published excavations in the region which utilised a more methodological approach to the investigation of prehistoric remains was conducted by Luck (1895) and concerned the excavation of the Billington cist burial. This excavated a section through a barrow and made detailed recordings both of stratigraphy and the location of finds. It should be noted that even though this investigation was undertaken in a more scientific manner and had specific research objects, *to wit*, the dating of the barrow, the excavator was still primarily interested in the recovery of artefacts. Nevertheless, Luck's recording both of the structure and stratigraphy of the monument and of all recovered finds, marked a watershed in the way that archaeological excavation was conducted in the study region. Although the practice of archaeology was moving forward the theoretical basis was still somewhat muddled. By the end of the 19th century the researchers in the region had, for the most part, caught up with the standard three age description of archaeological cultures in Britain (Lubbock 1865). The Bronze Age had been established as a defined period and was frequently referenced as such in publications, but whilst the term 'Iron Age' was in use it was often substituted for the term 'Late Celtic' or 'British,' both of which are somewhat anachronistic terms and simply add to the confusion surrounding Iron Age studies in the region. It is perhaps not surprising that in this confusion a great many factors of Bronze Age society were still being attributed to the Iron Age and *vice versa*, or that the Iron Age itself was considered to represent only a very short period, immediately preceding the Roman occupation; an idea that was popularised by Professor Boyd-Dawkins (1880).

Early Twentieth Century

During the early 20th century the situation improved somewhat. Whilst there was still a good deal of uncertainty surrounding the chronology of the Iron Age in the study region (which was a factor which was to continue until the 1960's (e.g. Gardner and Savory 1964)), the practice of archaeology within the region was increasingly

becoming the preserve of professional or at least, semi-professional archaeologists. This change led to an increase in both the amount of field investigation and excavation and the overall quality of the work being conducted. The days of hacking into a barrow in search of gold were ending. Baring-Gould and Burnard conducted excavations on Tre'r Ceiri hillfort in 1904 and whilst their investigation was primarily concerned with the recovery of objects from hut-floors in the interior, they did recognise the need for further investigation and a more comprehensive survey of the monument and hillforts in general. Follow up excavations were carried out a few years later by H. Hughes. In 1909, Hughes followed Luck's example in his report of an Iron Age cist discovered at Gelliniog Wen on Anglesey and in the same year undertook excavations on the hillfort site of Braich y Dinas. These initial excavations of hillfort sites in the study region marked the beginning of a series of excavations, focussed on the hillforts in the region, but also incorporating broader themes in settlement archaeology such as Lowe's (1912) report on upland settlement. It was also around this time that Shone (1911) published his account of the prehistoric remains of Cheshire which-although full of the inaccuracies common to the understanding of the prehistory of the study region at this time-is the first attempt at a chronological synthesis of the material, as it was then understood.

The War Years (1914-1945)

During the period between the start of the first and the end of the second World War, the pace of archaeological investigation in the east of the study region declined, though research continued in the west of the study region largely due to the efforts of Mortimer Wheeler, following his appointment as Keeper of Archaeology at the National Museum of Wales in 1920. Several significant discoveries were made during this time and a number of important publications were produced, including Hughes' (1923) re-evaluation of Braich y Dinas, the discovery of the Cerrig y Drudion cist (Ellis Davies 1926) and the discovery of the Llyn Cerrig Bach hoard (Fox 1945), as well as several excavations of hillfort sites. Yet, whilst the significance of these discoveries was appreciated, the overall view of the Iron Age in the region was increasingly one of impoverishment. The glut of excavation at hillfort sites during the first two decades of the century had intended to establish the tribal centres of Iron Age communities

in the region and to uncover evidence of the local ruling elite. But none of these excavations had yielded the sorts of treasures or impressive structures that had been expected. Whilst the notions of hierarchical tribal societies, heavily based on the works of Classical authors such as Caesar (*De Bello Gallico*) and Tacitus (*Annals*), remained intact, the increasing feeling was that the region was a poor second to the richer areas of southern Britain. Hughes (1912) even concluded that many of the excavated structures at Braich y Dinas were probably not inhabited at all, based on a lack of associated finds. Although research into non-hillfort settlement continued in parts of upland Wales, where evidence of stone hut-circles could be seen as visible field monuments, in lower lying areas of Wales and north-west England the low visibility of settlement sites had heavily biased the understanding of the region towards the limited number of hillforts and enclosures.

This attitude towards the Iron Age evidence in the region, particularly in contrast to the far richer Bronze Age and Roman remains, is one which has stuck with studies into the Iron Age in the study region until the present day and is largely attributable to the limitations of the research methodologies employed during the opening decades of the 20th century. The approaches employed not only excluded large fields of evidence, such as faunal remains, midden deposits and stratigraphic sequences from settlement sites, but also sought to directly compare Iron Age cultures in central western Britain with those in southern Britain, as evidenced in the words of Boyd-Dawkins;

“With this exception, the civilisation in Wales in the Prehistoric Iron Age was the same as in the rest of Britain, standing to it as in the same relation to the present day.”

(1912: 93)

The result was that particularly unusual or significant finds were accorded a special status to explain their presence in the region, which put them outside of the regional context. An example of this state of affairs is the hoard find at Llyn Cerrig Bach, which was attributed to druidic practices on the Isle of Anglesey (Fox 1945) and so excluded from activities directly associated with the communities living in the region during the Iron Age. The Llyn Cerrig Bach discovery deserves a particular mention, as it

represents not only a phenomenal collection of Middle and Late Iron Age objects but was also one of the first occurrences of Iron Age material culture in Britain to be described in purely non-functional terms. Fox (1947: 69-70) described the deposition of material at Llyn Cerrig Bach as a series of accumulated votive deposits, associated with ritual or religious activity. Although Fox's work was heavily influenced by the writings of classical authors, the interpretation of the assemblage from Llyn Cerrig Bach in a votive context was an important moment in archaeological studies of prehistoric deposition, which still influences interpretation today (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1984; Bradley 1990; Cunliffe 2005).

The inter-war period saw an increase in attempts to classify the material in the study region and place it into a national chronology. Following Hawkes' (1931) publication of the A, B, C, system for the British Iron Age chronology, this system starts to be employed in all excavation reports and monographs in the region, finally replacing the terms 'Late Celtic' and 'British' in describing the late prehistoric remains and their chronology in the study region. Although this system still offered a relatively short chronology for the Iron Age in the region, it did define the range of Iron Age culture in the region and provide some markers for the establishment of a more detailed regional chronology. Although the introduction of this system was certainly a significant event in the development of British Iron Age studies, its direct and immediate impact on the study region was limited. Although the system was largely adopted for describing the chronology of the region, the merit of the system was that it allowed for regional material to be tested against established southern chronologies and thus could be employed as a tool, not just for dating but also for establishing regional trajectories. Unfortunately, in central western Britain, the validity of the chronological system was simply accepted at face value and the objects of material culture from the region, which might have been used to refine the chronology for central western Britain were often discounted due to their attributions as intrusive finds or 'special cases.'

Post-War Period (1945-1960's)

Following World War 2 there was an increase in archaeological investigation in the east of the study region and continuing research in the west. These investigations

started to concentrate increasingly on the hillfort sites in the region. W.J. Varley was particularly prolific in his excavations on hillfort sites in the east of the region and was assisted in this endeavour by the efforts of Forde-Johnson and J.D. Bu'Lock, whilst in the west of the region work continued on several sites under the supervision of W. Gardner and later A.H.A. Hogg and W.E. Griffiths. In the west of the region many of the excavations concentrated on sites which had been excavated in the pre-war years (usually by the Cambrian Archaeological Association). The purpose of re-visiting many of these sites was not just to continue the excavations, but also to begin to address some of the questions of construction, chronology and occupation, which had been left unanswered by the earlier research. To this end, these new excavations tended to concentrate on the structure of the ramparts and the relationship between the ramparts and the interior structures. Many of these excavations also had the more urgent purpose of recording these sites before they were destroyed. By the 1950's Braich y Dinas had been completely obliterated by quarrying activity and quarrying was also being carried out at Moel Hiraddug and Dinorben, which prompted a series of rescue excavations led by H.N. Savory between 1956 and 1961 (Gardner and Savory 1964).

This approach to hillfort studies was characteristic of the time, not just in the study region, but more widely across Britain such as at Hownam Rings (Piggott 1948) and Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943). The interpretation of the function of hillfort sites within the study region still centred on their role as defensive architecture, consequently a great deal of attention was paid to the construction of gate-houses and the development of the earthworks (e.g. Varley 1936; Forde-Johnson 1962; Gardner and Savory 1964). Much of the analysis of the structure of the earthworks was aimed towards the construction of relative chronologies and tracing common architectural features, from which to infer cultural contact. At this time invasionist theoretical models were still popular and were used to explain different evidential patterns by referencing them to developments on the continent. Although by this time older concepts of regional conflict had been largely dismissed, nevertheless it was still common for the developments in the region to be put into a historical system whereby the inhabitants of the region were little more than extras against the back-

drop of larger socio-political forces being played out across Britain, which ultimately had their origins in Mediterranean civilisations. Much of the evidence for the Early and Middle Iron Age in the region was attributed to the Marnian invasion and incorrectly dated to the 2nd-1st centuries BC, whilst the Late Iron Age sequence was also heavily compressed and attributed to the immediate pre-Roman phase, which was often also conflated with the influence of the Belgic invasion. Almost invariably, the reports on hillforts in the region end with them being 'sacked' by advancing Roman armies in the AD60's, despite many of the region's hillforts having evidence for occupation into the Romano-British period, such as Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964), Tre'r Ceiri (Hogg 1960) and Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1923).

This historic narrative approach was a product of its time and was commonly employed across Britain. Consequently, it is unfair to single out central western Britain as a region stuck in the back-waters of archaeological paradigms. Nevertheless, this theoretical approach did not help to advance the cause of central western Britain as an independent autonomous region, culturally distinct from southern Britain and on its own cultural trajectory. Rather it solidified the view that the region was largely peripheral to developments in other parts of Britain; a view which was subsequently reinforced by the work of Haselgrove (1982; 1987) and Cunliffe (1988) in the definition of 'core' and 'peripheral' zones. This may be due to the assignation of the study region to the 'Highland Zone,' first suggested by Fox (1932; 1943) and later adapted by Cunliffe (1974; 2005), both of which, though possibly un-intentionally, relegated the study region to a peripheral and marginalized region, on the edge of the spheres of influence of the more developed Iron Age cultures in Wessex, Yorkshire and south-eastern Britain. However, even in this midst of this restrictive historical paradigm, developments in the region led several authors to consider (or re-consider) the wider background of the region, albeit on a limited basis. Savory (Gardner and Savory 1964: 12), in his review of the chronological sequence proposed for Dinorben hillfort by W. Gardner, identified a Period 'O' occupation at the site. This was believed to represent the pre-rampart occupation of the site and to mark a watershed between the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age period (identified in the report as Southern Second A). Whilst the dating of this occupation

layer was incorrect in the report, the identification of it is significant (particularly in light of this study), as it can now be more properly identified as the Early Iron Age occupation of the site. This identification marks the first sign in the published archaeological literature for the study region of the growing awareness of a longer and more complex chronology for Iron Age culture in central western Britain.

New Archaeology (1960's onwards)

During the 1960's the development of processual archaeology (e.g. Binford 1968; Clarke 1968; Renfrew 1973) began to change the face of modern archaeological approaches. The introduction of processual archaeology shifted the emphasis of archaeological research from the excavation of specific sites and the cataloguing of the recovered material in order to assign the site to a particular culture group or complex, to wider investigations of social processes and explanatory models of prehistoric societies. Although these approaches were sometimes criticised as being too heavily based in environmental and economic determinism or for being too dependent on scientific analysis, they still represented the development of a new and more engaged archaeological approach to prehistory. Sadly, this approach was slow to catch on in the study region, though the increasing availability of radiocarbon dating was more enthusiastically received. It was not until the 1970's that the developments of the processual school began to be applied in the study region and even then the new approaches only received limited attention. Excavation work at several sites continued, now with the advantage of scientific dating techniques, which finally began to push back the older chronologies of the Iron Age in the study region. By 1971 the sequence at Dinorben had been re-dated to reflect the longer Iron Age chronology (Savory 1971), whilst similar dating was carried out at Moel y Gaer by G. Guilbert (1975), Castle Odo (Alcock 1975) and Castercliffe (Coombs 1982). These dating programs pushed back the sequence of hillfort construction and occupation in the region and began to illustrate the fact that many of the region's hillforts had Bronze Age origins. Yet, despite these efforts the study region still lacked a coherent model of Iron Age society.

Whilst excavation reports produced from this period onwards had a greater awareness of the context of sites in relation to social organisation and larger regional

communities, these factors in the study region were often vague or poorly defined- which was the unfortunate legacy of the focus on hillfort research in the region in the previous decades. Although hillforts certainly represent important focal points in the landscape, without a wider understanding of non-hillfort settlement, the use and deposition of material culture and at least some awareness of the role of social and cultural systems in the region, the hillforts only represent one facet of the available evidence from which it is only possible to draw limited conclusions about wider networks. The limitations of the available data became increasingly apparent during the 1970's and early 1980's and research designs were created to begin to tackle some of the gaps in understanding. Several important pieces of research were conducted during this period. Perhaps the most influential on Iron Age studies in central western Britain was E. Morris' (1985) study on the prehistoric production of salt in Cheshire, which would come to influence understanding of social networks and systems of exchange in the study region over the next thirty years. Several lowland settlements were also identified and excavated using more controlled excavation methodologies, which excavated the whole stratigraphic sequence associated with the settlement, something which had been lacking on many earlier excavations (Pope 2003), in addition to sampling contexts for environmental analysis. Most notably amongst these excavations were the excavations of Erw Wen and Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988). P. Crew (1987) also completed and published his excavations on the hillfort site of Bryn y Castell, which examined iron production in the region.

In 1990, the government published PPG16 (*'Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and Planning'*). This document outlined the need to treat archaeological material as a material consideration in planning and development. This policy employs the 'polluter pays' principle and requires procedures to be put in place to preserve any significant archaeological materials which may be discovered during development of a site. Although this policy has now been superseded by *'Planning Policy Statement 5'* (2010) and then by the *'National Planning Policy Framework'* (2012) in England and by *Planning Policy Wales* (2016), nevertheless it has contributed significantly to the increase in identified archaeological material in central western Britain. The adoption of this policy has led to the identification of

Iron Age sites in the region, such as Brook House Farm in Halewood (2000a), Brook House Farm in Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al* 2002), Chester Business Park (Network 2004) and Oversley Farm (Garner 2007). It can be argued that the implementation of this policy has increased the available data for the Iron Age. However, there are some concerns that the move towards a more commercial approach to archaeology has led to lower standards of investigation and to a move away from research driven approaches (Geary 2003). There is also a concern that commercially excavated sites may not be fully published or integrated into wider regional understanding. Most of the commercially excavated Iron Age sites in the region have received publication, such as Brook House Farm in Halewood (Cowell 2000a) and Oversley Farm (Garner 2007), probably due to the affiliation of the excavators with museums and academic institutions in the region, but some such as Chester Business Park (Network 2004) are only recorded in 'grey' literature.

In 1997 the British Museum launched the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). This scheme aims to record data about individual objects discovered as chance finds or through the activities of metal detectorists and members of the public. Between its formation and 2003, the scheme reported 174, 640 individual artefacts from the regions engaged in the scheme's pilot projects, of these objects, <2% are of Iron Age date (Worrell 2007:373-4). The PAS allows provides a record of artefacts that may not otherwise come to the attention of archaeologists and also facilitates the recording of artefacts from sites which have been extensively damaged or destroyed. Consequently, the PAS data may be the only information available on activities taking place at that location. After the scheme was extended in 2003, the value of the data in addressing the regionality debate in Iron Age studies became more apparent, especially in regions which have not seen extensive archaeological investigation, such as the central western Britain (*ibid.*; 372). However, there are still limitations to the data presented. Due to the majority of finds being the result of metal detecting, the data is biased in favour of metalwork, particularly copper alloy objects. The nature of the material recorded also precludes detailed contextual or stratigraphic information on the finds, which limits their usefulness in archaeological interpretation. But, the

value of the data is that it allows for material to be analysed for its spatial distribution, particularly in regions which have received less archaeological attention. These developments in the investigation of the region signalled the beginning of a more complete and 'joined up' way of thinking about Iron Age society in the study region and reflected a growing dissatisfaction amongst researchers, particularly in north Wales with the lack of a coherent framework for the region. The situation in the east of the study region was slightly different. Although there was a growing body of evidence for Iron Age occupation and society, the prevailing opinion was still one of a marginalized region in the Iron Age, even considering the discovery of the Lindow bog bodies in 1983/4 and the excavation of Great Woolden Hall (Nevell 1989). However, whilst the condition of archaeological evidence for settlement and material culture in the Iron Age in the east of the study region was generally considered to be poor, development in related fields of study were adding to the picture. Amongst these the 'North West Wetlands Survey' is worthy of note. This series of projects conducted detailed assessment and environmental sampling of the wetland environments of north-western England, which resulted in a series of publications by county (Cowell and Innes 1994; Hall *et al.* 1995; Leah *et al.* 1997; Middleton *et al.* 1997; Middleton *et al.* 2014) on the formation history, archaeology and environmental background of the wetlands in the east of the study region. They also included the results of the palynological analysis of the cores taken from these wetlands which provided invaluable data on the environmental history of the eastern part of the study region during the Iron Age, including evidence for several phases of clearance activity and cultivation of cereals. These results were significant for they finally provided a clear indication for the extent of exploitation of the landscape during the Iron Age, and by extension the levels of human activity.

Although the belief that the study region was marginalized from the developments in the rest of Britain persisted until the start of the new millennium in the titles of reports and publications such as '*Living on the Edge of Empire: Theory, Methods and Marginality*' (Nevell 1999) and '*The Late Prehistoric and Romano-British Settlement of the Mersey Basin: A Study in Marginality*' (Nevell 2004), this represented an increasingly untenable position. The identification and categorisation of ceramics for

the west of the study region (Nevell 1994a) had demonstrated that the communities occupying this region were aware of the use of ceramic technologies but had not invested in them as part of their culture. The understanding of the production and distribution of Cheshire salt had demonstrated that there was a well-developed production and exchange network in place during the Iron Age. The survey of the wetlands had shown that there were large enough populations in the region to have a significant impact of the environment. Whilst the increasing identification and excavation of long lived Iron Age sites in the region, such as Brook House Farm Halewood (Cowell 2000a), High Legh (Nevell 2002), Brook House Farm Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002), Duttons Farm Lathom (Cowell 2003), Chester Amphitheatre (Cheshire HER 6994) and Chester Business Park (Network 2004) amongst others, had proven that the hypothesis that the region was barely populated was no longer appropriate. These factors, in association with several publications of new finds of material culture in the region (such as the assemblage from Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993)) led Matthews (1999; 2002) to publish a model for social organisation in the east of the study region. This represents one of the few attempts to produce a synthesis of the available evidence and use it to create a social archaeology for the study region and differs in comparison to the efforts of M. Nevell (1999; 2004) in that it considers the role of production, material culture and social organisation as well as the settlement and environmental evidence.

However, whilst Matthews' (1999; 2002) work was an important step in the development of the regional study of central western Britain, it suffered from several limitations. Firstly, the basis of social relationships and exchange in the east of the study region is believed to be essentially economic and dependent on the trade of Cheshire salt. Economic models of social organisation are deterministic and fail to incorporate other facets of human behaviour, such as social and cultural traditions, individual agency and non-hierarchical organisational structures. They also tend to operate from an assumed value perspective, where they assume that objects or commodities had a recognised and constant value to past societies. These factors tend to lead to economic models giving rise to circular reasoning in the interpretation of past societies. Matthews' (2002:25-7) model also attempts to follow the social

anthropological approach put forward by Kosse (1990) of classifying the social structure of Iron Age societies in the east of the study region based on population size, for which there is very little evidence from the study region. In his research, Matthews (2002:27) proposes an estimate, though it is not made clear what data this estimate is based upon, from which he concludes that the region had a shallow social hierarchy comparable to a 'big man' society. Whilst the region may indeed have had a shallow social hierarchy during the Iron Age, drawing such a conclusion from comparison with population size tables is questionable and has little relation to the evidence from the region. Finally, Matthews (2002:27-8) attempts to tackle the social division of landscape, but again, instead of approaching the problem in terms of the archaeological evidence from the region he makes use of analogy to the Medieval Welsh system of *cantrefs* without offering any supporting evidence for a link between the two systems, which are otherwise separated by a thousand years.

In 2006 and 2007 the '*Archaeological Research Framework for North West England*' was published in two volumes (Brennand 2006; 2007). Although these were intended to be a framework for the direction of the archaeological research in the north west of England, corresponding to the east of the defined study region, many of the issues that they identify equally well apply to the west of the study region. They stress the need for a comprehensive re-examination of older archives to ensure that material has been correctly identified and dated and for this to take place in concert with new analysis of this material. Additionally, they stress the need for increased excavation of lowland settlement sites and a greater effort towards regional synthesis and the development of new narratives for the Iron Age in the region, which incorporate all the available evidence (Hodgson and Brennand 2007:50-4). Some of the proposals made in these publications have been acted upon, with the recent 'Habitats and Hillforts' project in Cheshire, which has seen the re-evaluation and re-dating of many of the hillforts and enclosures in Cheshire (D. Garner *pers. comm.*), along with the re-evaluation and up-coming publication of the Varley archive (R. Pope *pers. comm*) and the University of Liverpool Archaeology Field School research excavation at Penycloddiau. These efforts will certainly help to shed additional light on the function and dating of some of the region's hillforts, as well as providing additional

environmental context through new analysis. Yet, as in earlier periods in the history of research in the region, the focus of these new programs is on the visible hillfort monuments and on re-evaluation rather than on identifying and investigating new sites, or on developing a new integrated contextual framework for the region.

Syntheses of the evidence and models of social organisation are better represented in the west of the study region (e.g. Ghey *et al.* 2007; Karl 2011), though they are usually included in publications dealing with the nature of evidence along the Atlantic coast (e.g. Henderson 2007) and consequently, have tended to only discuss trends within north Wales in general terms. Two recent publications deserve note, McDonald's (2007) publication '*Llyn Cerrig Bach*,' though predominantly dealing with a re-evaluation of the material and context of deposition of the hoard, does include some discussion on the wider implications of this find and an interpretation on the role of the site in a wider regional context. In addition to this is Waddington's (2013) book '*The Settlements of North West Wales*,' which provides a review of the settlement and environmental evidence for the west of the study region and an analysis of wider settlement patterns and their context during the Iron Age period. Whilst Waddington's (2013) book represents an important review of currently available settlement data for north-west Wales, unlike this project, it does not incorporate depositional or material culture evidence. It also does not examine the evidence for social organization or culture, beyond that which is connected to the settlement record. Notwithstanding these two publications and the more general discussions of society and culture in the west of the study region, the west of the region has also lacked a more complete treatment of the evidence for social organisation and change, personal and social identity and culture. These issues have become central to the understanding of Iron Age communities in other parts of Britain (e.g. Moore 2007; Giles 2007a; Pope 2015; Sharples 2010; Giles 2012) and it is a failing of archaeologists and perhaps a greater failing of the organisation of archaeological research generally, that these issues are so poorly understood for central western Britain.

This is a product of the history of research in the region. Investigations which have examined the evidence for personal and social identity and social organization and

change in other regions of Britain are usually based on settlement and landscape evidence, material culture, deposition and funerary remains (e.g. Creighton 2000; Hill 2007; Hunter 2007; Sharples 2010; Giles 2012). The lack of attention that has been paid in the study region to these sources of evidence and to integrating them into a coherent picture of Iron Age activity has impeded the development of the understanding of personal and social identity and organization. The situation has been further complicated by issues with funding and directing research in the study region. In Wales, government funding of recent projects has exhibited a bias against research investigations (Geary 2003:1). Similarly, many archaeologists have seen the rise in developer funded archaeology (since the introduction of PPG16 and Planning Policy Wales) as being counter to the principles of research that the discipline was built on (Brennand *et al.* 2006).

Wider Themes

Most the work carried out in the study region is concerned with the presentation of archaeological data rather than with putting this data into context as part of a broader regional narrative. This is not surprising, as the focus of archaeological work in Iron Age studies in central western Britain has been on excavation rather than on interpretive approaches examining social or cultural criteria. However, the functional approach to the evidence in the study region has neglected the new theoretical approaches to understanding society and culture that have developed over the last four decades and been usefully employed in developing regional narratives in other parts of Britain. These applications include the contextual, aesthetic and biographical approaches to material culture, the role of agency, perception, memory and display in the negotiation of personal and social identity and cosmological and interpretive approaches to the use and division of space and concepts of inclusion and exclusion. This thesis will attempt to address some of these issues (discussed in chapter 2). It is first useful to examine a brief overview of recent developments in these fields.

Personhood and personal identity

The archaeological concept of personhood is a complex issue. Multiple models of personhood and its relationship to senses of 'self' and personal identity have been

proposed. At the most basic level personhood represents a point on a spectrum, the extremes of which are represented by 'divisible' personhood and 'permeable' personhood. Divisible personhood, or individuals, are composed of multiple parts which are constructed through their relationships with other beings, objects and environment. In this sense, they can be divided, as the attributes that compose that individual are partly owned by others. Permeable persons are believed to have a core of attributes that are intrinsically theirs, though they can be influenced by other people, situations, events or environments that can modify these internal attributes (cf. Fowler 2004). The concept of the permeable person is therefore closely related to Bourdieu's (1977) concept of the *habitus*. In Bourdieu's (*ibid.*) view individuals possess a core understanding of their cultural values but, whilst this understanding is largely constant, there is constant renegotiation of these values between individuals within that cultural schema. Consequently, in the case of both the *habitus* and the permeable person, a core of attributes is informed and influenced by external factors. The *habitus* also refers to the material expression of culture and Bourdieu (*ibid.*) saw material culture and values as being mutually reinforcing. The extent to which Iron Age communities were divisible or permeable is a matter of debate and it is possible, even probable, that Iron Age concepts of personhood fluctuated on the divisible/permeable spectrum over time and by region. These relational models of personhood also contradict ideas that personhood is an inherited trait dependent on genealogy and defined solely in relation to the body (Ingold 2000). The reasons that these concepts are important in any contextual approach to archaeological populations are because they affect the way that people view themselves, their world and their bodies, as well as how personal and social relationships and identity are manifested. This can have a substantial impact on archaeologically visible traditions such as the occurrence of personal ornaments, depositional practices and funerary customs, as well as on archaeological interpretations of social and cultural identity, exchange and contact and construction of cosmological models.

How concepts of personhood functioned in the Iron Age in the study region is a difficult question to answer and as has been noted such concepts are unlikely to

remain fixed over time. Nevertheless, this is a key question to answer as concepts of personhood inform both personal and social identity and social organisation, as well as material expression of culture (this question will be more fully explored in chapter 2). The use of personhood in the construction of identity is dependent on the way in which those concepts are reproduced in society (and arguably *vice versa*), in societies where divisible personhood is practiced the outward expression of this divisibility may lead to less archaeologically obvious forms of expression of identity. The divisibility of personhood stresses the role of other agents in the negotiation of self and consequently the expression of this as a form of identity may be subtler and geared towards actions which emphasise the role of the larger collective over the individual. Conversely, in societies where concepts of personhood are more permeable, there may be greater emphasis on the individual as a bounded entity and consequently greater effort made in the display of this identity through personal ornamentation, material culture, expressions of status through display and consumption and in the treatment of remains after death (*cf.* Brück 2006). In the study region there may be evidence for changes in the concept of personhood across the Iron Age period. A precursory investigation of the evidence suggests that there was a move from a more divisible concept in the Early Iron Age to a more permeable concept in the Middle and Late Iron Age, which corresponds to changing settlement, material culture, deposition and funerary traditions (*cf.* Hill 1997). The role of personhood in the study region is important in understanding personal and social identity and will comprise a part of the research aims of this project (discussed in chapter 2 of this work). In considering the construction of personal and social identity, it is necessary to consider both the person and the interactions of the person with other people and society as a whole.

It has been suggested that the nature of personal identity is dependent on human agency, on the actions and interactions of a person throughout their life (Barrett 1994; Giles 2007a: 105; Giles 2012: 31). This leads to a fluid and changing concept of personal identity which, though it may be mitigated by social and cultural traditions within a region, is otherwise highly subjective. This subjectivity increases the importance of contextual and interpretative approaches to understanding identity in

prehistoric communities. The fluctuating concept of identity in prehistoric community has made defining individual and social identity difficult. Material culture, settlement and funerary customs have often been used by archaeologists to identify specific social or cultural groups and in some cases ill-define them, which led to a conflict between those who wanted to use these criteria to establish defined archaeological territories in the Iron Age (e.g. Fox 1943; Hawkes 1959) and those who believed that cultures should be defined solely on the occurrence of specific material culture objects and settlement types (e.g. Hodson 1964; Clark 1966). The basis of this argument ultimately related to the spread of culture and the extent to which social and cultural changes developed from existing systems or else from external influences. Today, it is generally accepted that both these factors may play a role in the negotiation of social and cultural identity and whilst the existence of long-duration, static territories is unlikely, it is acknowledged that mobility and long-distance contact was significant in the introduction of new ideas and in the internal negotiation of identity and position within Iron Age communities (*cf.* Needham 2008). Progressive approaches now use objects of material culture and types of settlement and ritual and funerary traditions to inform more in-depth discussion of the nature of social and cultural identity, as well as to draw out information on the expression of these factors and the understanding and meaning of them amongst Iron Age societies.

Of course, personal identity is not necessarily expressed through archaeologically recoverable articles of material culture. Research conducted by Hill (1997) has stressed the importance of personal grooming and appearance in Iron Age societies, which Hill (1997:103) has used to infer changing attitudes towards the conceptualisation of self-image and the body during this period. Similar work conducted by Aldhouse-Green (2004) has examined the role of hair styles and grooming for personal identity in the Iron Age and has described how other forms of body modification, such as body painting, piercing, tattooing and scarification can be used to convey information and personal identity (Aldhouse-Green 2015). These should not be taken as read, and the evidence for bodily modification from Iron Age contexts is limited, though there may be some evidence that Lindow Man was

painted with blue pigment when he died (Pyatt *et al.* 1991). However, this has now been disputed (Joy 2009b). These identities were likely fluid and probably varied region by region based on the local traditions and social practices. Whilst there is certainly a case to be made for the continued role of personal grooming and bodily modification in the negotiation of personal identity during the Iron Age, it is unlikely that these practices were as long-lived or as consistent as has been proposed for some forms of display of personal identity (*cf.* Treherne 1995).

Material culture

In considering the role of material culture in archaeological analyses of past societies and the role that material culture played in the creation and negotiation of both personal and social identities and the expression of cultural traditions, several methodologies have been established to allow for a more qualitative investigation of the evidence. These approaches are designed to permit the creation of a narrative of objects and to place them in a broader context of their creation, use, exchange and deposition, as well as to evaluate the critical decisions inherent in these processes and to frame the performance of these objects in their social and cultural role. Principally, these methodologies revolve around the concept of aesthetics and the biographies of objects. Object biographies have been discussed extensively by several authors (e.g. Thomas 1996; Tilly 1999; Marshall and Gosden 1999; Peers 1999; Joy 2009a). The role of object biographies in material culture studies is in its use in understanding both the life-cycle of objects from production to use and death and the relationships and accumulated history that the object amasses over the course of its life. The biographical approach to material culture is predicated on the view that objects are not static or inert props, but are active participants in the negotiation of identity, relationships and culture and that this association imbues them with power and with attributes based on their history. Rowlands (1993) has discussed the role of memory in the transmission of culture and material culture can be seen as a mnemonic reference to past events, people or places. Of course, as with people, identity is not static and unchanging for these objects of material culture, but in fact can change considerably over time. It is possible for objects to have multiple biographies at once (Joy 2009a) depending on the personal background, social and

cultural background and level of understanding that the person interacting with the object possesses (*cf.* Spratling 2008).

The role of material culture in the creation and maintenance (and possibly destruction) of personal and social identity cannot be over-estimated. The biographical information contained within objects is central to the conveyance of information regarding allegiance, group affiliation, role within society, concepts of place, social relationships and power (Kopytoff 1986). How these objects are displayed or used can be thought of as a form of theatre and in the same way that stylised masks are used in Classical Greek theatre to identify familiar characters and highly stylised actions and movements are used in Japanese Noh theatre to convey meaning, so these objects are intended to convey social and cultural information within a common lexicon of meaning depending on how they are displayed and used. This does not mean that every object was viewed in the same way or that everyone interpreted the display or use of objects in the same way, but certain objects or the use and practices they were engaged in would have had powerful resonances, even if the subtler meanings varied between individuals. A good example would be the deliberate destruction of an object prior to deposition, if it is assumed that the activities took place at the deposition site, then it may be envisaged that the community would come together at this special or sacred place, which may well be isolated and charged with power by its history, associations and connections with spiritual or ancestral entities (Morris 2000). The wetland site of Llyn Cerrig Bach in the study region saw extensive deliberate deposition during the Middle and Late Iron Age. The site is isolated and there is no associated settlement. During the Iron Age it was an expanse of mere with a small spit or promontory extending out into the water (see figure 1.2), from which depositions may have been made (Macdonald 2007). The isolation of the site, its liminality and historical and spiritual association may all have made it a suitable place for ritual deposition and informed both the actions and understanding of the participants. It may be imagined that a person steps up to the side of the water and draws a sword, light from torches may flash along the blade, emphasising its dangerous power and destructive qualities, as the sword is brought down against a rock and struck repeatedly by the hammer of the smith standing

nearby. Sparks may fly as the metal bites the metal and the power of the sword is released. The ruined sword is then drawn up and hurled into the water, as light dances over the disturbed surface of the lake and the sword sinks out of sight.



Figure 1.2-Llyn Cerrig Bach, Anglesey in 2007. (Image © Porius 1 CC BY-SA 3.0)

Whilst this may be a rather fanciful example, it illustrates the sort of theatrical display which would awe onlookers regardless of their exact feelings about the connections of the object. To those depositing the sword it may represent a treasured heirloom, a tangible link with their ancestors and consequently it may conjure up memories associated with those individuals, which would extend beyond a recognition of their place in society to more personal connections. To other onlookers, the display may represent the status and power of the group offering the sacrifice, as well as conjuring up connections to the power and history of the object, its role in defending the group over the years and the re-assurance that a good sacrifice has been made which will ensure prosperity. Others may look at the event and take in the people, the group to which they belong and be proud and gratified that their group is strong and unified and that they have all come together to participate in this group rite to perpetuate their identity and unity. They may look on the smith, who wielded the hammer, and be impressed by the way that he/she has negotiated with the forces of nature to direct the power of the sacrifice. The smith themselves may be pleased at

having completed the event and may be remembering the sword, perhaps the smith's own ancestor originally produced it, in which case the smith may be remembering them, thinking about the methods of the sword's production or musing on the role of the smith in both the creation and ending of the object. Although these individuals may all have slightly different views on what they just witnessed, they would all share an understanding of what it meant, of the selection of the object and the performance of the ceremony and they would all be touched by it in some way (cf. Bradley 2002; 2005; Fontijn 2003).

But the role of material culture in the construction of identity is not simply confined to such displays. It can also serve in a more functional way to indicate identity. In pre-literate societies, the role of signs and commonly understood visual cues is especially important. During the fourteenth century in England, when a household had brewed a new vat of ale and wanted to sell it they would hang a bushel of wheat from a pole outside the house to let passers-by know that there was ale for sale (interestingly, this is the origin of pub signs). The purpose behind this was to provide a readily identifiable way to signal that ale was available, at a time when only a small proportion of society could read (Mortimer 2009:173). Such signifiers would have been just as important in prehistoric society. The role of objects of material culture in expressing social identity in the Iron Age has been investigated by several authors. Creighton (2000) looked at the way that power and authority was expressed in southern Britain using torcs, whilst Giles (2007b; 2012) has proposed a crafts-person identity for communities in Yorkshire, based on the occurrence of tools in funerary contexts. In Giles' (2007b) view, the role of ironworkers in Iron Age society went beyond the functional and may have had a close association with leadership roles and ritual activity. The expression of such an identity could be most easily facilitated by reference to the most visible and easily identifiable indicators of ironworking, the ironworker's tools. This also touches on the role of material culture in the regulation of social interaction. Spratling (2008) has commented on the requirement of close proximity to view the design or decorative work on many objects of Iron Age material culture. This is significant both in the role that this plays in the creation of personal space and concepts of public/private consumption, but also in the requirement for

interaction between a person and the object they were viewing, creating a contextually and experientially based consumption and appreciation of material culture. Giles (2008) has also discussed the representation of imagery of anthropomorphic figures wearing swords in Yorkshire and the role that such representations have in the conveyance of information of different aspects of identity, in this case that of openness and concealed threat.

Aesthetics and artistic styles and designs have received considerable attention in relation to Iron Age material culture (e.g. Jope 2000; Garrow *et al.* 2008; Garrow and Gosden 2012). The role of design in material culture studies is interesting. Although it was originally considered purely in artistic terms or as an indicator of chronology (e.g. Jacobsthal 1944; Stead 1996; Jope 2000), it is now considered as a reflective device, something which conveys a sense of culture and which will vary in its meaning depending on the background and knowledge of the viewer, which may explain the ambiguous nature of many of these depictions (Spratling 2008). It has also been suggested that the purpose behind such decoration was to create unique objects (Gosden and Hill 2008), which may indicate an increasing level of personal identity and the desire for differentiation in material culture to reflect unique identity. Aesthetics can also represent concerns with different aspects of identity and culture. The occurrence of naturalistic patterns or designs or the incorporation of natural materials may reflect ties to nature or to the natural world or else a desire to control it or harness its power. Specific representations of animal imagery or designs, associated with particular activities or powers may also be significant in the accessing of those powers and in utilising them in the creation and control of social relationships and interactions. Another aspect of aesthetics is the role that the selection and incorporation of materials has on the properties of a piece of material culture, particularly in the way that the use of different colours of material and materials with different reflective properties have been used to convey meaning and display power in Iron Age societies (*cf.* Hingley 1990; 1997; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006; Creighton 2000; Giles 2008a).

Cosmology and landscape

In considering the role of settlement and structure the development of interpretive and cosmological approaches has now surpassed the purely typological and quantitative approaches of earlier research. Ironically, one of the first studies into the cosmology of the household, with regard to orientation, was conducted by Guilbert (1975) on data obtained from the excavation of Moel y Gaer in the study region. It is certainly surprising, given the extremely limited application of post-processual interpretive systems in the study region that the development of this hypothesis should have begun with data from central western Britain, though perhaps less surprising that the impact of this work has left little mark on the understanding of Iron Age societies in the region, with the exception of Waddington's (2013) work. Although the cosmological model has been challenged on numerous grounds (*cf.* Pope 2007), its development marked a new way of approaching settlement, architecture and settlement patterns. Since the introduction of this methodology, division of landscape, settlement duration and continuity, division of space at settlement sites, depositional practices and the life-cycle of the household have all received attention (e.g. Brück and Goodman 1999; Pope 2003; 2007; Bradley 2005; Giles 2007a; Brück 2008; Rees 2008; Sharples 2010; Waddington 2013). These approaches have put settlement archaeology in the context of the life-cycles and social agency of the people making use of these sites. By examination of the layout and structuring of space at these sites, a greater understanding of Iron Age communities' conceptualisation of their environment has been reached and by examining the distribution of sites across the landscape, new insights have been gained about Iron Age subsistence, mobility and land-use patterns, which have fed into the debate on rights of access and land tenure as well as the negotiation of social identity through landscape (*cf.* Moore 2007).

One aspect of landscape use is the location and role of depositional practices. Again, the understanding of these has seen considerable change. Structured deposition is now referred to in terms of depositional context of the material and its symbolic associations (*cf.* Cunliffe 1992; Pollard 2001), rather than as simply 'rubbish.' Central to these concepts are factors such as the landscape or settlement context of the deposition. Certain material culture, particularly iron, has a growing association with

deposition at enclosures and natural places from the Middle Iron Age onwards (Hingley 2006a; 2006b). The deposition of this material at these liminal locations is now put into the context of the symbolic association of this material with concepts such as death and regeneration and agriculture and fertility and in this way, is beginning to elucidate concepts of Iron Age cultural beliefs. Similarly, the treatment of human remains in depositional contexts associated with settlement is now viewed as a factor of social identity and the connection between the occupants and that location, rather than as an indication that Iron Age communities were carelessly disposing of their dead (Bradley 2005). The location and form of depositions within a landscape context were used by Iron Age communities in the establishment of connections with the landscape and in the negotiation of social identity and inclusion/exclusion.

Summary

This chapter has briefly examined the history of research in the study region and some of the wider trends to emerge in the archaeological investigation of personal and social identity and culture in recent times. Whilst this review is by no means exhaustive, it is hoped that it has highlighted some of the issues with the nature of archaeological research into Iron Age communities in the study region as well as some of the prevailing contextual approaches to the evidence that will be examined in the remainder of this thesis. The nature of research in the study region has been somewhat fragmentary and many of the more recent developments in archaeological contextual approaches have gone unmarked, if not unobserved. This is a factor of the nature of research into the Iron Age in the study region, which has largely concentrated on the excavation and publication of individual sites, with only cursory references in the regional background sections and discussions of the wider regional context. The lack of a detailed synthesis for the region and the limited uptake of interpretive approaches to the evidence have perpetuated the view, long held, that the Iron Age archaeological record for the region is impoverished and that Iron Age communities in the region were small and dispersed and comprised mostly of subsistence farmers. There is now sufficient evidence available to refute this

hypothesis and it is hoped that by applying contextual techniques to the data a new regional framework may be devised for Iron Age central western Britain.

Chapter 2- Research Aims and Methodology

This chapter will examine the research aims and objectives of this project. Specifically, it will outline the principal research questions which will be posed of the data set and discuss the methods which will be used to answer these questions. It will also attempt to put these questions within the wider context of the study of the region and of Iron Age research in northern Britain. This chapter will also review the methods of data collection used in the completion of this study and explain both how the data set was compiled and utilised to provide information on the social and cultural factors affecting communities in Iron Age central western Britain. Finally, it will discuss some of the inherent biases in the available data, as well as what actions have been taken to mitigate these biases in the analysis of the dataset and will then conclude with a summary section.

Aims

For the purposes of this study central western Britain (referred to as the study region) is taken to mean the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire, Gwynedd, Isle of Anglesey, the metropolitan counties of Merseyside and Greater Manchester and the county boroughs of Wrexham and Conway. It also includes those areas of the counties of Derbyshire, Shropshire and Powys, which border onto the study region or which have been deemed (through comparison of the settlement evidence and material culture) to have cultural affinities with the study region. The location of the study region is discussed in chapter 1 and shown in fig. 1.1. Publications from conference proceedings on northern prehistory such as *'Northern Exposure'* (Bevan 1999) and *'Northern Pasts'* (J. Harding and Johnston 2000) have helped to draw attention to some of the more pressing issues in the research of Iron Age cultures in northern Britain, which are summarised in part in the *'Archaeological Research Framework for North West England'* (Brennand 2006; 2007) and *'A Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales'* (Longley 2003; Gale 2003). This thesis will attempt to answer some of these questions and in so doing, construct a working model for Iron Age societies in central western Britain. Completing a full and comprehensive analysis of Iron Age society in the study region is beyond the scope of this thesis, but it is hoped that by providing a contextual analysis of the evidence

for settlement and material culture in the region that important markers in the social and cultural construction of Iron Age society can be identified, which can then form the basis of wider research into aspects of the Iron Age in this region. Furthermore, a more detailed analysis of the evidence for settlement and material culture will be able to identify sub-regional trends and perhaps, the basis of local cultural practices and the formation of personal and social identity, which will contribute to the understanding of the negotiation of relationships in Iron Age communities and provide a window on their cultural and cosmological beliefs. It is also hoped that in examining the evidence this thesis will be able to identify those aspects of current archaeological understanding of the region that require more in-depth investigation and so frame questions for future research into the Iron Age of central western Britain.

In pursuing this research, it is important that it address key themes and questions in modern understanding of Iron Age communities, such as the nature of identity and personhood, the construction of self and the role these concepts played in the formation of wider social networks. It is also vital to understand the role that the creation and use of material culture played in the spheres of social relations, display and transformation. The objectives published in the recent research frameworks for the study region (Haselgrove *et al.* 2001; Longley 2003; Gale 2003; Briggs 2003; Brennan 2006; 2007) provide a tool-box to begin addressing some of these issues for the study region. Consequently, the aims and objectives of this thesis have drawn heavily on these published agendas to address some of these issues in this work. The key aims and objectives for this thesis are;

Aim 1: To re-evaluate the evidence for material culture (including PAS data), settlement and deposition in the study region and integrate the evidence into a synthesis of the region.

Objective 1.1: Collect and collate data on Iron Age material culture in the study region, including all available PAS data, current at 2014. Examine and evaluate the available material culture data and compile into a dataset for analysis current at 2014 (see Appendix 1- Iron Age Metalwork from the Study Region)

Objective 1.2: Collect and collate data on Iron Age sites in the study region current at 2014. Examine and evaluate the available site data in terms of completeness and chronology. Identify sites for which there is secure dating evidence and detailed site reports and compile these into a dataset for analysis current at 2014 (see Appendix 2-Sites and Settlement).

Objective 1.3: Collect and collate data on Iron Age depositional practices in the study region. Examine the data for trends in deliberate depositional practices to identify context, chronological trends and patterns in material selection.

Aim 2: To analyse whether there were significant changes in the character of settlement between the Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age in the study region.

Objective 2.1: To evaluate what this means in terms of transformation of social organization.

Objective 2.2: To analyse roundhouse orientation in the study region and assess the implications for the use of cosmological approaches to settlement studies in the region in comparison with other areas of Iron Age Britain (e.g. Guilbert 1975; Oswald *et al.* 1991; 1997; Parker Pearson 1999b; Pope 2003).

Objective 2.3: To examine division of space and deliberate depositional practices in the study region during the Iron Age and investigate the implications for this in terms of social organization and social identity (e.g. Pope 2007; Wells 2007; Sharples 2010).

Aim 3: To thoroughly analyse the material culture in the region, particularly metalwork and evaluate this evidence in terms of the changing construction of personal and social identity.

Objective 3.1: To identify commonalities in the production, use and deposition of objects of personal ornamentation and evaluate whether the evidence from these points towards a shift in conceptions of personal identity and self.

Objective 3.2: To examine spatial and chronological patterns of material culture and determine if there is evidence for different preferences or treatment of material culture which may point to different conceptions of identity and how the body was adorned and presented (Creighton 2000; Hunter 2007; Joy 2011; Pope and Ralston 2011).

Aim 4: To correlate the analysis and all available data to produce an integrated and holistic view of life-ways in Iron Age central western Britain.

Objective 4.1: To examine the evidence for settlement, material culture and depositional practices and determine the commonalities and differences between this evidence to see if there is any indication of changing social organization or concepts of identity.

Objective 4.2: To relate this evidence back to concepts of self, personhood and agency within the region and then compare and contrast with developments in other parts of Iron Age Britain.

Objective 4.3: To evaluate all the available information and suggest a model for social organization and society in the region (Douglas 1970; Hill 2011; Sharples 2011).

Data Selection

To address the above questions a dataset was assembled for the study region. This dataset was divided into two parts, settlement data and material culture data. The evidence for settlement is dealt with in chapter 4 and 5. This data was collected through an extensive search of available published and unpublished reports on excavated settlement in the study region between January 2013 and December 2014. As one of the principal aims of this research is to examine the evidence for changes in social and cultural systems in the study region during the Iron Age period, it was desirable to include only those sites for which there is good contextual information and dating evidence available. Because of this, archaeological sites for which there were no published excavation plans, accurate measurements or stratigraphical information provided were excluded from the primary dataset (though they may be

referred to in individual sections to provide context). Examples of these sites include un-excavated sites identified through field walking, ground survey or aerial survey such as the enclosed sites around the River Mersey at Rainsough (Nevell 1994b), Telegraph Road, Irby, Brimstage (Philpott and Adams 2010:176) and Tarbock (Cowell 2012). Similarly, sites for which there is limited, or no available dating evidence have also been excluded. Dating of the sites used in the dataset has been ascertained either through scientific dating or by relative dating, when the site has yielded enough securely datable material culture from secure contexts for this to be possible. As a further check, site morphology and architectural techniques employed have also been compared to sites of known date (i.e. sites for which multiple radiocarbon and/or archaeo-magnetic dates are available and correlate with both the stratigraphic sequence of the site and recovered material culture) to reveal any anomalies or inconsistencies which may suggest different periods of construction or occupation. Whilst these conditions have excluded several sites in the study region, in the absence of secure dating evidence and contextual and spatial details of sites, the incorporation of these sites could not be supported without compromising the integrity of the overall analysis. Appendix B provides a list of sites discussed in the text, as well as additional data on these sites.

With regards to the material culture in the study region, discussed in chapter 6 and 7, the dataset was assembled from a comprehensive search of excavation reports, catalogues, existing material culture databases (particularly the Celtic Art Database), monographs, Historic Environment Records (HER) and Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) records. This search was conducted between January 2012 and December 2014. Unfortunately, the availability and quality of published records for the region is highly variable. HER records could only be obtained from the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire, Gwynedd, Isle of Anglesey and Powys and the county boroughs of Conway and Wrexham. HER records could not be obtained for the counties of Shropshire, Derbyshire or the metropolitan counties of Merseyside or Greater Manchester. Metalwork represents the most well recorded material from the region, as well as the material for which there is the best dating and contextual evidence. Consequently, metalwork has received priority in terms of

material culture data collection and analysis. A record of the material culture from the study region is available in Appendix A.

The breakdown for the incidence of material culture by source is shown in figure 2.1. As can be seen the Portable Antiquities scheme represents a significant proportion of the dataset and although these records are provided without the contextual information of excavated examples, this project represents an important resource for the identification of material culture and its distribution. During the collection of data for this project, information regarding both the use of Iron Age lithic technology and of ceramics was not prioritised. Whilst there is evidence from several sites in the region for the use of lithic technology in the Iron Age, these lithics are produced out of locally available materials derived from glacial deposits and are largely undiagnostic. They are also often poorly recorded in archaeological reports and guide catalogues to material culture. Whilst efforts were initially made to produce a dataset of lithic material culture from the region, once examined the data proved to be inconclusive and highly biased to a small number of more recently excavated sites. In addition to which the undiagnostic nature of this material made dating of recovered lithics extremely difficult. As a result of these issues lithics will not be extensively discussed in this thesis.

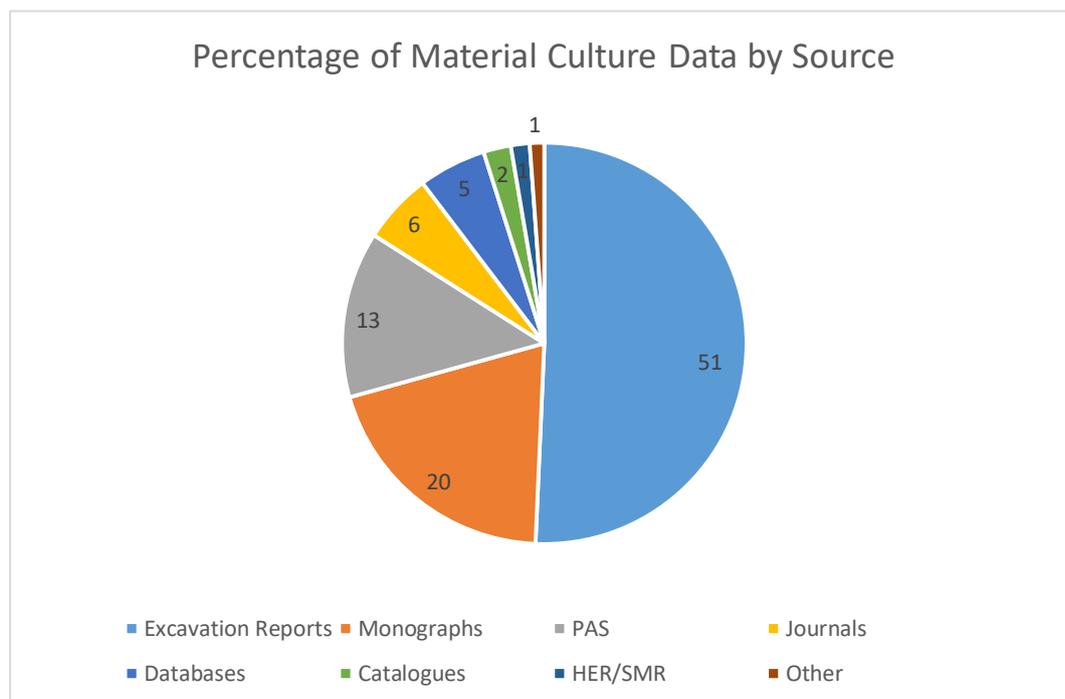


Figure 2.1-Percentage of material culture data by source. N=868.

Similarly, the ceramic basis for the region is not well understood. Very Coarse Pottery (VCP) is reported throughout the study region for the Iron Age period, which is representative of salt making briquetage. Unfortunately, the occurrence of VCP on site does not significantly add to understanding of the social and cultural factors at work in Iron Age central western Britain beyond its intimation of the social networks involved in the production and exchange of salt (which are discussed). The recording of VCP is comparable to that for lithics, in that it is often unreported or else is only reported on briefly. Consequently, incorporating an analysis of this material in this thesis was not considered useful, particularly considering the excellent analyses of this material already available by Morris (1985) and Kinory (2012). Although, the region is not (as previously thought) aceramic in the Iron Age (*cf.* Nevell 1994a; Philpott and Adams 2010:179-180), the occurrence of non-VCP is very limited. A few examples representing individual or small numbers of imported ceramics from Shropshire have been recovered from Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Eddisbury (Varley 1964:90), Maiden Castle (Longley 1987:107) and the Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991), which all appears to be of Early Iron Age date. Other examples of pottery types have been suggested from the region north of the River Mersey for the Middle and Late Iron Age (Nevell 1994b; Cowell 2003; Nevell and Redhead 2005), but again in very small numbers. The limited occurrence of ceramics in the region has led Willis (1999:90) to suggest that communities in central western Britain had an awareness of ceramics but did not utilise them for everyday purposes. This makes it very difficult to quantify or qualify the role of ceramics during the Iron Age in the study region, as the lack of a coherent typology and chronology makes conducting a constructive assessment of the evidence almost impossible. For this reason, the limited ceramic evidence has been excluded from detailed analysis, though it is referred to in the wider discussion.

The remainder of the assembled dataset of material culture represents well dated and recorded finds from the study region. To reduce bias and increase the robustness of the results of the analysis only those objects which were recovered from secure dated contexts or which could otherwise be independently dated typologically were included in the dataset. This led to the exclusion of several objects of uncertain date

as well as several unusual objects which had been tentatively assigned Iron Age dates, but which did not match any known typological form. Wherever possible, objects were dated both typologically and relatively by reference to stratigraphic context or associated radiocarbon determinations. Where relative dating was not possible, such as in the case of objects recovered as isolated finds, multiple authorities on dating by typology and artistic criteria were consulted before a date attribution was made. Several objects within the dataset have been re-dated by the author, this has usually been due to revisions in chronology or typology since the original publication of the object in question but has on a few occasions been the result of incorrect initial dating based on faulty assumptions or misidentification of the object. Where this has occurred, it has been noted in the text. The application of these sampling procedures has resulted in a dataset for settlement of one hundred and fifty-five well dated structures from forty-five sites across the Iron Age period for the study region and a dataset for material culture of eight hundred and sixty-eight well dated objects.

Methodology

As has been noted the dataset was assembled from a comprehensive search of published material from the study region. The collection of the material culture data was begun in January 2012 and completed in December 2014, whilst the collection of site data was conducted between January 2013 and December 2014. Initial collection of data was conducted through published site reports. Subsequently there was an in-depth search of published articles focussing on regional journal publications; the *'Merseyside Archaeological Journal'*, the *'Journal of the Chester Archaeological Society'*, the *'Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society'*, *'Cheshire Archaeological Bulletin'*, *'Archaeology in Wales'* and *'Archaeologia Cambrensis'*. Once consultation with these journals provided data on specific types of material culture, published catalogues and typologies were consulted for additional entries from the region, such as Guido's (1978) work on beads, Hattatt's (1982; 1985; 1988) work on brooches and Stead's (2006) work on swords. More generalised work on material culture in Britain was also consulted such as Jope (2000) and MacGregor (1976). The PAS was extensively searched for additional articles of

material culture from the region. The advanced search option was used with the search criteria for period of 'Bronze Age,' 'Iron Age' and 'Roman' and 'Bronze Age to Roman.' This was completed for each of the counties in the study (selected from the drop-down menu). A complete search of the Celtic Art Database (CAD) was also conducted. The HER records from Lancashire, Cheshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire, Gwynedd, Isle of Anglesey, Conway, Wrexham and Powys were also obtained and searched. Additional entries came from other journals, publications, museum catalogues and archaeological contacts, most notably from Waddington's (2013) gazetteer of sites in north west Wales. The information for the sites and material culture was recorded according to a variety of criteria, as detailed in table 2.1.

Material Culture	Sites
Site	Site
Region	Region
County	Grid Reference
Grid Reference	Structure ID/Phasing
Material	Settlement Type
Type	Construction Method
Class	Period
Description	Date (Cal. BC/AD)
Length (mm)	Internal Diameter (m)
Width (mm)	Height AOD (m)
Diameter (mm)	Landscape Context
Weight (g)	Roundhouse Doorway Orientation
Notes	Notes
Period	Reference
Date	
Reference	
Museum/Collection	
Context	

Table 2.1-Record criteria for data pertaining to material culture and sites for the study region.

Different criteria were used to record information for material culture and sites due to the varying nature of the data being collected. Only well excavated and well dated sites with good contextual information were included in the analysis. However, less well contextualised and less well dated material culture items were included in the analysis. The reason for the differential treatment of the data is due to the fact material culture, even when not well contextualised, can still provide key data on wider styles and traditions.

The dataset, once assembled, was analysed in a variety of different ways. One of the primary tasks of this research was to establish a working chronology for the region. To achieve this, data from settlement sites and material culture was arranged chronologically. Once this was achieved the evidence was sub-divided by type to provide a map of developments in settlement morphology and architectural techniques and of the occurrence of different types of material culture. These identified types of settlement form and material culture were then interrogated to test the validity of these groups. Once these groups had been satisfactorily established and a working chronological model for the archaeological record in the region devised, the individual categories were examined in greater detail to assess emerging trends. The data gathered from this process was then compared with that from the examination of other groups and with evidence available from other regions of Britain for the Iron Age. From this it was possible to identify several concurrent trends within the material and to establish contextual links between them, such as the occurrence of new forms of settlement enclosure and new articles of material culture being deposited at these types of enclosure. Once these links had been tested, with available dating evidence, incidence of finds and distribution of material, then the emerging trends were interpreted in light of current archaeological approaches to society, identity and culture. This allowed for a creation of a model of the study region, which not only showed different trends in personal and social identity and cultural practice throughout the Iron Age period, but also identified sub-regional groupings within this data.

It was necessary to establish a constant chronological framework for the analysis of the material collected for this project. There are several different interpretations of

Iron Age chronology in Britain, which are employed for different purposes. A two-fold division of the Iron Age into Early and Late is often used in examinations of settlement and land-use patterns and the changes associated with them. Whilst material culture studies often use a four-fold division, utilising Earlier, Early, Middle and Late. To this a fifth category is sometimes added; Latest. As this study is dealing with both settlement and material culture, it was decided that the traditional three-fold division would be retained and consequently the Iron Age period in this study is broken down into Early, Middle and Late. There is still some debate amongst archaeologists as to the precise transition between these periods, but for the purposes of this research the periods have been defined as shown in table 2.2.

Early Iron Age	800BC-450BC
Middle Iron Age	450BC-150BC
Late Iron Age	150BC-AD60

Table 2.2-Iron Age chronology used in this study (after Cunliffe 2005; Needham 2007; R. Pope *pers. comm.*)

Biases

Whilst every effort has been made to exclude bias from the dataset, nevertheless the nature of the data that is being examined means that some distortion in the data is inevitable. Due to the acidic nature of the soils in the study region bone and organic materials often do not survive or else are heavily degraded. Because of this it is very difficult to obtain precise indications of the nature of subsistence practices, deposition of faunal remains and disposal of human remains within the study region. Similarly, the nature of archaeological investigation in the study region has introduced biases, which will also be partially reflected in the dataset. The focus of investigation on settlement forms in north Wales means that the evidence for settlement is more complete in this part of the study region, whilst more recent and extensive excavation of hillfort sites and greater uptake of the Portable Antiquities Scheme has meant that the recorded occurrence of material culture is greater in the east of the study region. The number of sites utilised in this investigation is shown by county in fig.2.2, whilst the number of articles of material culture in the dataset is

shown by county in fig.2.3, to illustrate this point. Where biases within the dataset may have a distorting effect on the analysis this has been identified within the text. Statistical tools have been used to minimise these errors and normalise the data where appropriate, such as in the case of direct comparison of two discrete datasets. All radiocarbon determinations are given to one standard deviation calibrated BC/AD, unless otherwise stated. Radiocarbon determinations used in the study have all been calibrated using OxCal 4.22 (Bronk and Ramsey 2009) and IntCal 13 (Reimer *et al.* 2013).

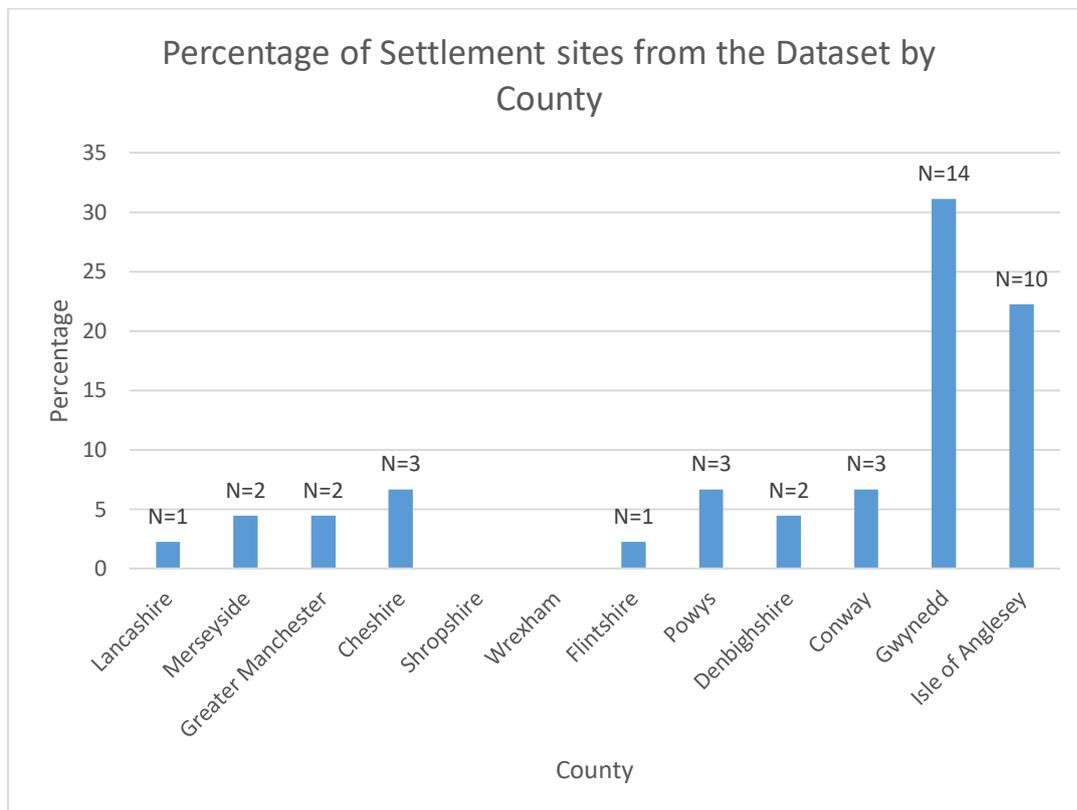


Figure 2.2-Percentage of settlement sites form the dataset by county. N=41.

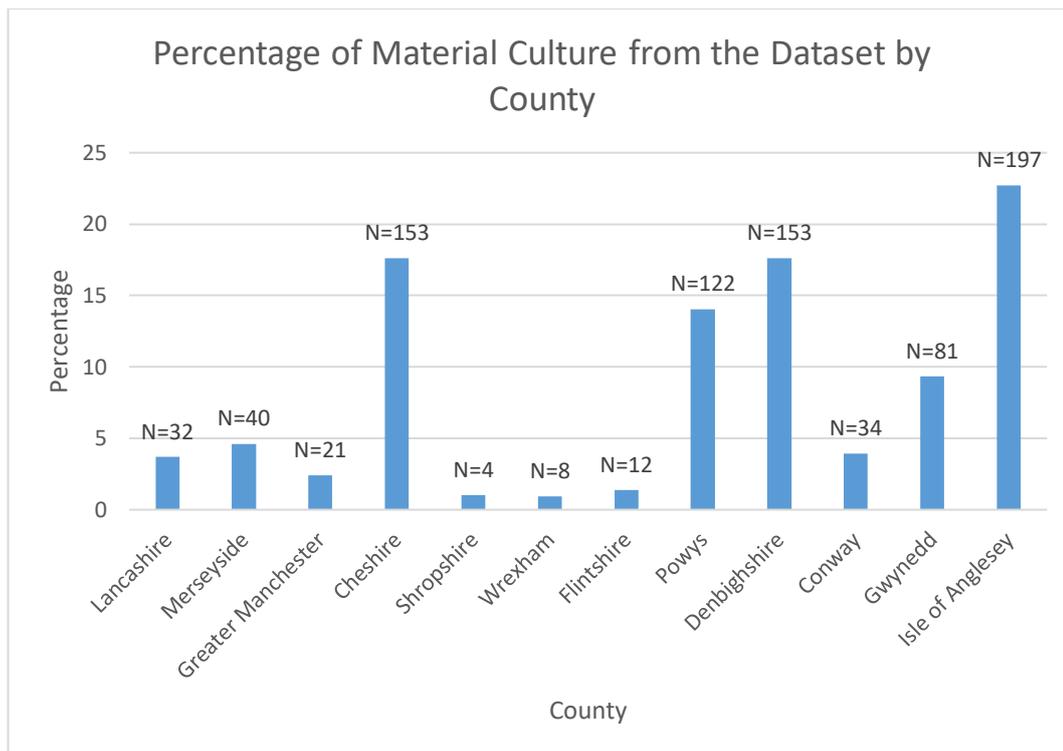


Figure 2.3-Percentage of material culture from the dataset by county. N=857.

Summary

This research attempts to address the imbalance in current understanding of central western Britain in the Iron Age in relation to other regions of Britain. To that end, research questions have been identified which are intended to frame a discussion on the nature of society, social identity and culture in the study region during the Iron Age with a view to outlining a model for understanding of these aspects of communities within that region. To achieve this end, a dataset has been assembled of well-dated, contextually rich sites and articles of material culture for the study region. Whilst every effort has been made to reduce the bias inherent in any archaeological dataset of this type, it must be acknowledged that the archaeological record is not a perfect vehicle for information and biases affecting identification, recovery and analysis of the material cannot be fully excluded. Where these biases may have adversely affected the analysis of the data, this has been noted in the text. However, it is believed that the data assembled still represents a viable and internally consistent dataset for analysis and to address the fundamental, underlying questions regarding the changes in society and culture in the study region, as outlined above.

Chapter 3-Environment and Climate

When considering the development of society and culture in central western Britain, it is impossible to formulate a complete picture without first understanding the environmental and regional context of that area. The first millennium BC has long been recognized as being a period of climatic instability, particularly in north and west Britain. Lamb (1982) suggested that mean annual temperature fell by up to 2°C during the first three centuries of the first millennium and although there was an improvement around 500BC, the climate then grew colder again around 300BC. This coincided with a period which saw marked variations in precipitation rates across the region (Wanner *et al.* 2011), beginning c. 1300BC and reaching its zenith c. 700BC. However, whilst authors such as Burgess (1985; 1989) and Cunliffe (2005:34) have long considered the effects of these climatic deteriorations to have been disastrous for developing Iron Age societies in the north and west of Britain, the picture is not as bleak as it may first appear. This chapter will examine some of these factors in greater detail. It will begin with a brief description of the geographical context of the region. There will then be a discussion of the limits of the available dataset, followed by an examination of how changing environmental factors influenced different landscape zones in the region. Finally there will be a review and discussion of the material and a summary.

Geography and Geology

The study area covers over 1,400,000 hectares and incorporates the counties of Lancashire, Cheshire, Denbighshire, Flintshire, Gwynedd, the Isle of Anglesey and parts of Shropshire, Derbyshire and Powys, as well as the metropolitan counties of Merseyside and Greater Manchester and the county boroughs of Wrexham and Conway. The area is bounded in the east by the Pennine region and in the west by the Irish Sea. The principal upland areas being composed of the Cumbrian fells to the north, the Pennines to the east, the Mid-Cheshire ridge and Clwydian Hills in the southern central area of the study region and the Snowdonia massif and Berwyn mountains to the west. Most of the rest of the study area is comprised of low-lying coastal plains in Lancashire and north Merseyside and the Mersey and Cheshire

basins (see figure 3.1). The area is cut by several major river systems, broadly running east to west, which include, from north to south, the Lune, the Wyre, the Ribble, the Alt and the Mersey, whilst the Rivers Dee, Weaver and Conway run broadly south to north. The underlying bedrock of the region encompasses the Borrowdale Volcanic series from Cumbria in the north, through to Carboniferous limestones which comprise most of north Lancashire and form the headlands of Morecambe Bay in the west and run into the Pennines in the east. The Pennines consist of Millstone Grit and Carboniferous Coal Measures and are cut by several fault lines along their western edge causing steep scarps.

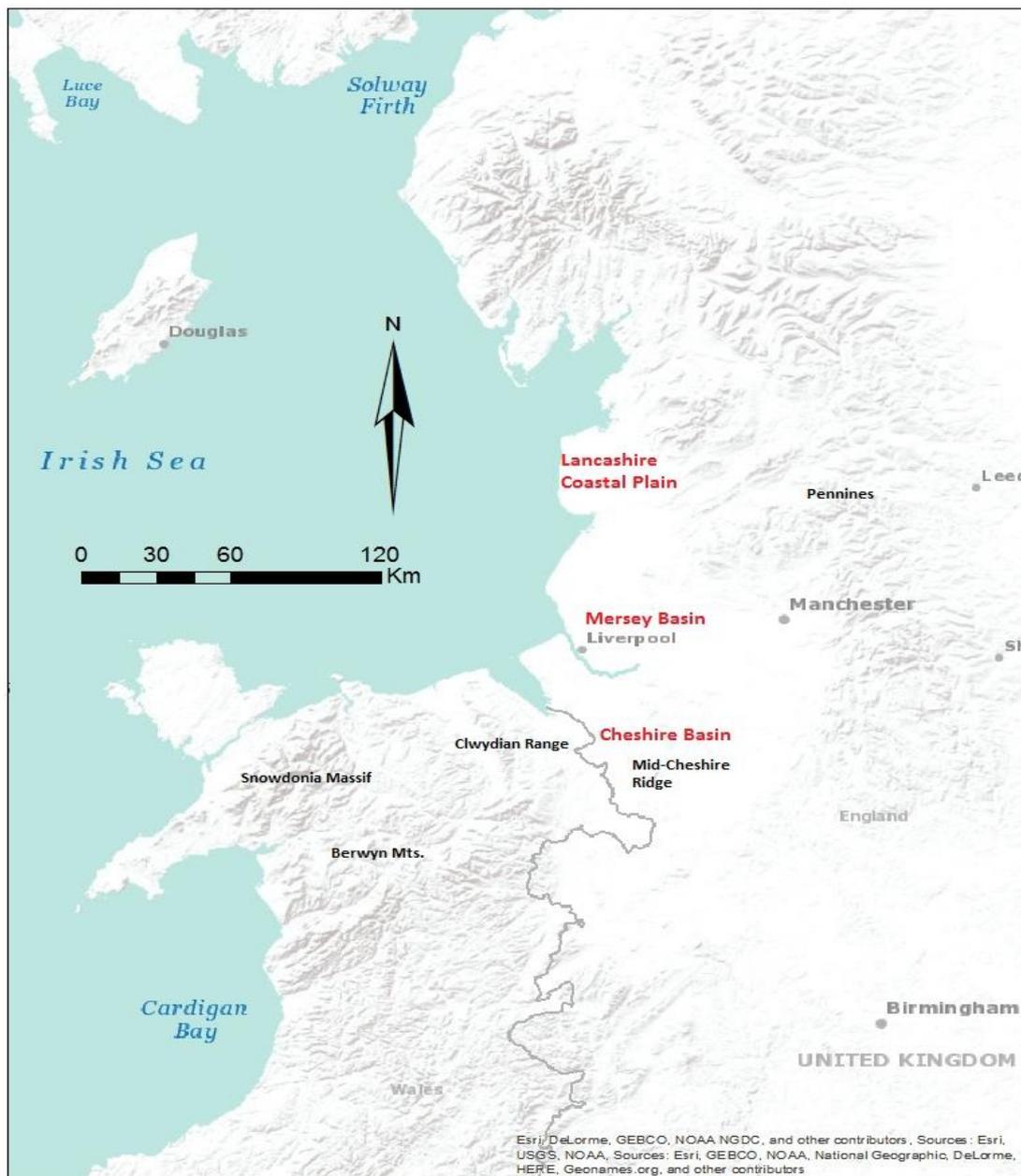


Figure 3.1-Terrain map of the study region (underlying map © 1995-2016 Esri)

The bedrock underlying the south of the study area, under much of south Lancashire, Merseyside and Cheshire, is mostly comprised of Triassic age red sandstones of the Sherwood sandstone and Mercian Mudstone groups, though there are also occasional outcrops of Carboniferous sandstone in some of the eastern parts of the study area, particularly around St. Helens (British Geological Survey 2001). In Wales the geology is mostly comprised of interbedded sandstones and mudstones (the Ogwen group), this gives way to argillaceous mudstones further west. There are

occasional outliers of the Cambrian and Precambrian geological complex and along the western coast of Wales and the Isle of Anglesey there are sequences of metamorphic schists and intrusive igneous rocks (*ibid.*), as shown in figure. 3.2. The drift geology of the region is boulder clay or glacial till, deposited following the last glacial event. This drift geology contains deposits of flint nodules in places and is also significant due to its hummocky character, which contributes to the formation of basin meres due to both the topography and the poor drainage. Of significance within the glacial till are occurrences of glacial sand and gravel, which can lead to raised 'islands' of better drainage (Barrowclough 2007: 28) and which were often exploited for bulk resource extraction in historical times. It was common for such raised islands to develop stands of woodland, particularly *Fagus* (beech) during the first millennium BC (*ibid.*).

The soils of the study region comprise a variety of different soil types, as shown in figure 3.3. Although a comprehensive discussion of variation of soil types in the region is beyond the scope of this work, the quality of soils and their associated drainage would have profoundly impacted subsistence and land-use strategies in the Iron Age. For the purposes of this discussion it is sufficient to note that the east of the study region (Lancashire, Merseyside, Greater Manchester, Cheshire, Denbighshire and Wrexham) are largely characterized by slightly acidic loamy-clay soils (Landis 2017). These soils would have been seasonally waterlogged and slow draining. Also occurring in the east of the region are pockets of wetter permanently water-logged acidic sandy soils, particularly along the coastal plain of south Lancashire and north Merseyside, as well as surrounding the Mid-Cheshire Ridge (*ibid.*). Much of the west of the region is covered with acidic loamy clay soils overlying rock, although there are bands of loamy-clay soils, particularly on the Llyn peninsula and the Isle of Anglesey (*ibid.*). The interaction of people with the landscape is heavily influenced by factors affecting soil fertility and drainage, particularly with regards to the growing season and the different characters of the soils in the region may go some way to explaining patterns of settlement and land-use evidenced in the region during the Iron Age (discussed below).



Image removed due to copyright restrictions

Figure 3.2- Simplified geological map of the study region (after EURARE 2016, contains British Geological Survey Materials © 2016 NERC).

Limitations of Palaeoclimatological and Palaeoecological Approaches

Whilst it is necessary and desirable to understand the ecological and climatological evidence for the study region during the period under discussion, the evidence must also be considered in terms of the limitations of the data. The work of the '*North West Wetlands Survey*' has produced a detailed picture of the moss lands and wetland environments of the North West, but the data is still restricted to a comparatively small number of available samples for these areas. A similar picture emerges for the available plant macrofossil (Hall and Huntley 2007: 37) and wood and charcoal evidence for the study region (Huntley 2010: 16). It should also be noted that available palaeoclimatological and palaeoecological data for the west of the study region is more limited than for the east. One of the principle difficulties with the environmental record in the study region is the lack of securely datable sites.

Comparatively few sites in central western Britain have been the subject of comprehensive radiocarbon assays (Nevell 1999: 17) and although this is now starting to change much of the palaeoecological work carried out, particularly on moss land sites is still dependent on relative dating, either based on the estimation of sediment accumulation or on comparison with other, well dated sites in the area. There are problems associated with radiocarbon dating itself, the curve of the radiocarbon plateau due to sunspot activity, makes resolution of dates during the Early Iron Age period difficult (Needham 2007:42).

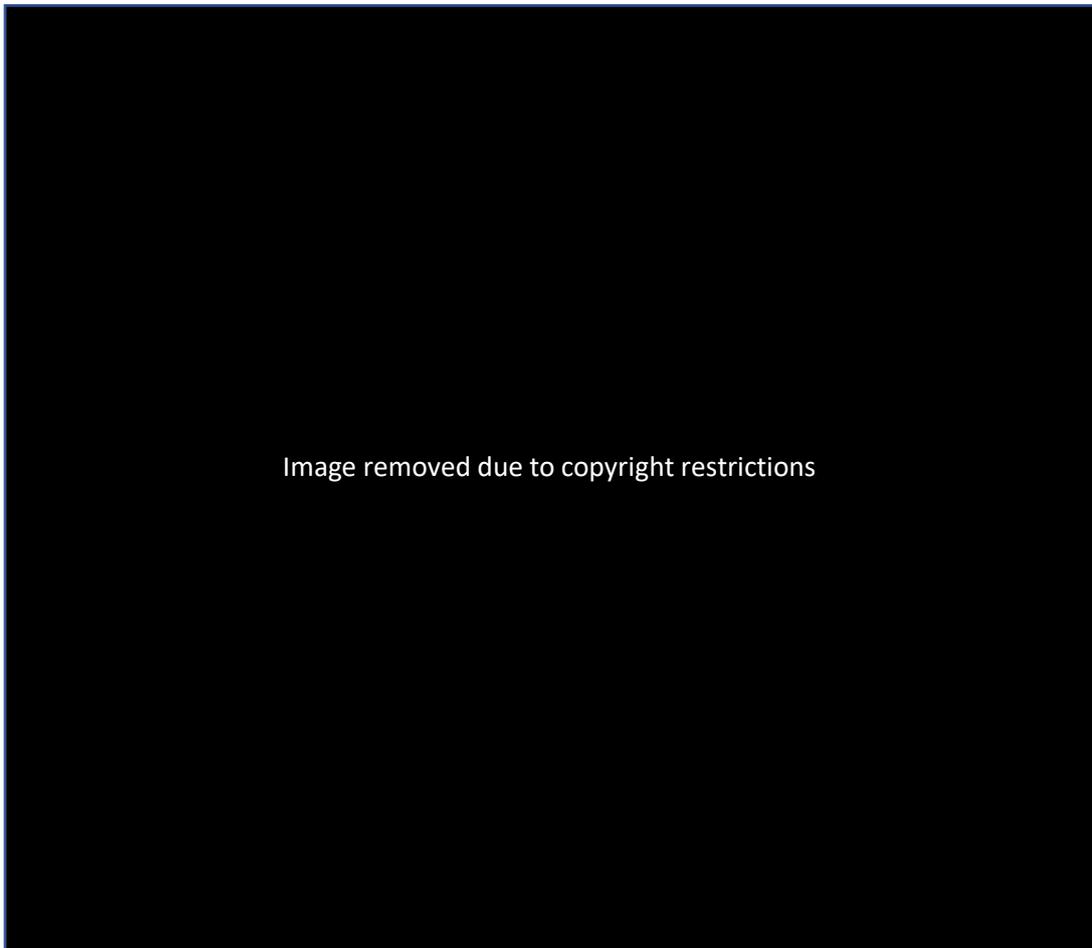


Figure 3.3- Simplified soil characterization for the study region (after Green 2013, contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2012, soil data © Cranfield University (NSRI) and for the controller of HMSO 2012).

There are also problems associated with the truncation, or in some cases complete removal, of stratigraphic sequences, such as occurred along parts of the moss lands of the north Wirral coast, probably as the result of dune building as well as erosion

(Cowell and Innes 1994: 44). In some cases, erosion of the sediment sequence, particularly in upland areas, may have removed all traces of palaeoecological and archaeological material, as has been postulated for several areas of Cheshire around the Delamere area (Leah 1994: 16) and the Peckforton Hills (Harrison 1994: 6). Other problems associated with palaeoecological work, particularly with moss land sampling, is the anthropogenic modification of peat deposits, either through extensive drainage and cultivation which leads to wastage or through peat cutting for use as a fuel source (Hall *et al.* 1995: 3; Middleton *et al.* 1995: 3). Peat cutting has led to the discovery of several bog bodies in the east of the region, such as the Lindow bog bodies (Turner 1999) but the stratigraphic disturbance caused by the peat cutting has made it difficult to determine the stratigraphic sequence or associations of the bodies (*ibid.*). It must also be borne in mind that although these wetland environments formed a series of mesotopes across the study region, they are not continuous. Individual sites would have been subject to local factors influencing the development of the environment, such as drainage, relief and topography, vegetation cover and elevation (Moore 1988: 117). The nature of the reconstruction of the palaeoenvironment is such that large trends are observed and modeled, but smaller events and local variation are missed due to the limits of sampling techniques. These local eco-systems may have persisted for a few generations or for hundreds of years and may have been well known to the human populations living in central western Britain at this time, but due to the limits of current methodologies and the currently poor temporal resolution for this region during the first millennium BC, it is unlikely that these locations will ever be fully identified or comprise part of the palaeoenvironmental models for the study region in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age.

Limits in sampling techniques and resolution also impact the understanding of the chronologies derived from palaeoenvironmental sampling. As Edwards and Whittington (1998: 64) discussed, there are many factors influencing the development of the pollen record. Local environmental changes may be reflected in the record and whilst these may be used to infer the expansion or contraction of an area of cleared land, they could have entirely differing causes, for example an area

of woodland may block the deposition of pollen at a sampling point. In addition to which, spatially discrete clearance episodes in close proximity to each other, especially across overlapping time periods, may give the impression that disturbances were of a longer duration than they in fact were, when in reality each disturbance episode was a short duration event, after which woodland regeneration occurred (Edwards and Whittington 1998: 64). Finally, consideration must be given to what constitutes agricultural land; modern ideas would conjure up an image of open field systems, but this simply may not have been the case in the first millennium BC. Exploitation of wild food resources, small scale cereal plots and pasturing may all occur in regenerated woodland, especially if woodland management is being practiced, as may have been the case at the Early Iron Age sites of Moel y Gerddi and Erw Wen (Caseldine 1990). This method of subsistence could be virtually invisible to certain palynological studies depending on sampling rates, sample site location and availability and extent of activity (Edwards and Whittington 1998: 64).

The final note on ecology, before moving on to discuss palaeoclimate, concerns the analysis of faunal remains. Faunal remains analysis can be very useful, both for providing data on the fauna present and for providing proxy data on the type of habitat that they inhabited. It has been contended that domestic faunal assemblages in the north of England are likely to be heavily dominated by cattle and pig (Mulville 2008: 230), due to less competition for cultivatable land and as cattle are more resistant to wet conditions underfoot (van Wijngaarden-Bakker 1998: 177). Sadly, the faunal assemblages available for the first millennium for the study region are of a poor quality, due to acidic soil conditions, with no large-scale assemblages for comparison (Stallibrass 1998: 53). Consequently, faunal studies provide little meaningful evidence to the understanding of the environment of the study region during the Iron Age. With regards to the palaeoclimate record, the main problem is with relating the datasets available from the recent climatological work in Greenland into local palaeoclimate data for central western Britain. Much of the stable oxygen isotope studies which have been conducted on the Greenland ice cores relate to large scale climate change and have formed the basis for large scale climatic modeling, whilst the local palaeoclimate record for the study region is often based on

interpolation from proxy palaeoecological data and the occurrence of floral macrofossils in the sedimentological record (e.g. Barber *et al.* 2003). Whilst this data is useful and does provide information both on climatic indicators and local context, it is often not as useful at providing evidence for wider scale regional changes in climate and as has already been mentioned, is often only approximately dated. However, within the confines of these limitations, assessment of the local palynological data from the region can provide insight into local anthropogenic activity. This can inform the discussion of small scale regional practices and subsistence strategies within the context of settlement and land-use studies.

Climatic and Environmental Background

By the Middle to Late Bronze Age in central western Britain, the region had already been heavily impacted by local human populations as well as environmental action. The natural flora was dominated by secondary woodland comprising *Quercus* sp. (oak), *Alnus* sp. (alder), *Corylus* sp. (hazel) and *Betula* sp. (birch) following repeated clearance activity from the Neolithic onwards (Barrowclough 2007: 28; Nevell 1999: 16). This has been confirmed at several locations in the study region by reference to available pollen records such as at Ditton Brook in Merseyside (Cowell 2000b: 23), Brook House Farm in Merseyside (Cowell 2000a: 55), Chat Moss in Manchester, Mellteyrn Uchaf (Ward and Smith 2001) and from the Rossendale area in the Pennines (Nevell 1999: 18-20). Extensive clearance, which began in the Early Bronze Age, had largely cleared the upland areas for use as pasture land, causing it to revert to scrub and heath land and eventually to deteriorate into blanket peat bog beginning in the Late Bronze Age. Anthropogenic clearance of the lowland areas was largely concentrated on valley sides and particularly around the estuarine sandstone ridges in Merseyside, though there is also some evidence of human efforts to maintain areas of fen and carr woodland that had developed around wetter coastal zones near Southport in Merseyside and Blackpool in Lancashire (Barrowclough 2007: 31). In addition to which there is a growing case for suggesting that land overlying the Shirdley Hill Sand drift deposits was being preferentially cleared and exploited during the Middle to Late Bronze Age for arable cultivation, particularly of *Cannabis* sp. (probably hemp or hops) associated with the weed *Artemisia* and

slightly later, with cereal crops and *Cannabis* sp. associated with *Matricaria* (mayweed) and *Centaurea cyanus* (cornflower) (Innes and Tomlinson 1991: 12). Secondary woodland, dominated by *Quercus* sp. (oak) and *Alnus* sp. (alder) persisted in valleys in the Pennines and in the interior of the coastal plain (Barrowclough 2007: 30-1).

During the Middle-Late Bronze Age there was a climatic re-alignment, which was to have repercussions for the lives of the people living in the study region. The exact causes of this change are still a matter for debate. Some like to view this as being a result of the Hekla 3 eruption in 1159 BC (Burgess 1985; 1989; Grattan 1998: 27-8). Grattan believes that as well as the impact on the climate caused by particulate and gaseous matter released into the atmosphere by the eruption, the eruption of the volcano could have also led to increased acidification of the soils (in some places below pH 3.0) in northern and western Britain, causing marginalization of land and leading to the formation of acidic peat mires, particularly in soils with a low critical threshold (Grattan 1998: 27-8). However, others, such as Lamb (1988: 22) consider that the climatic decline at or about 1000 BC was due to neo-glacial cooling as a result of the renewed cooling of the Arctic and the resultant changes in the Atlantic circulation. He also suggests that this was the primary driver behind an increase in winds along the west coast from 2000 BC onwards (Lamb 1988: 22). These hypotheses are not mutually exclusive and it is important to consider the environment and climate as a series of interconnected processes and events rather than individual systems. The Hekla 3 eruption hypothesis ties in more closely with the approximate date of 1200 BC for the beginning of the downturn and also goes some way towards explaining the acidification of the soils which, in concert with the increased winds and a decline in mean annual temperatures, led to the formation of ombrotrophic mires. However, it fails to fully explain the causes for the variation in precipitation and wind and the decline in temperature. These are more fully explained by the neo-glacial cooling hypothesis, in terms of climatic readjustment. In consequence, both of these hypotheses will be drawn upon to discuss the changes occurring in the climate and environment for the period under discussion.

Landscape Zones

Upland zones

Lamb (1982: 55) calculated that the mean summer temperature had fallen from 17°C in 1200BC to 15°C by 750BC and that there had been a corresponding increase in both prevailing westerly winds and precipitation. If this is accepted, then it would have impacted the agricultural growing limits quite dramatically. Crowe (1962: 44) had calculated the Altitudinal Lapse Rate for the study region as being a drop of 0.5°C in annual mean temperature for every 70m increase in height. When this is combined with Parry's model (1978: 100-2) it suggests that around 1200BC the maximum growing altitude in the study region may have been as high as 460m AOD, but that this may have fallen by as much as 350m by 150BC to just 110m AOD (Nevell 1999: 17). However, these models have been challenged. Although there is a consensus that there was a climatic shift, which began in the Middle Bronze Age, it has been suggested that the variation in annual temperature was not as extreme as Lamb (1982) had calculated. Calculation of the average temperature anomalies across central western Europe show variations of average annual temperature for the Iron Age period to have been less than 1°C (Davis *et al.* 2003), though this is smoothed out across a large region. It has also been suggested that the belief that the region saw increased precipitation from the Middle Bronze Age is also false and in fact, evidence for lake levels and the population variation of Irish bog oaks strongly suggest that there may have been a particularly dry period during the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition and that there was only a marked increase in precipitation between c. 900BC and 700 BC (Davis *et al.* 2003; Magny 2004; Turney *et al.* 2005; Wanner *et al.* 2011). Figure 3.4 shows Lamb's (1982) predictions plotted against the calculated summer, winter and average temperature anomalies for central western Europe in the Iron Age (Davis *et al.* 2003). Also plotted is the fluctuation of Irish bog oak populations from the research conducted by Turney *et al.* (2005), these are used as proxy indicators for increasing and decreasing precipitation since an increase in bog oak population represents an increase in precipitation.

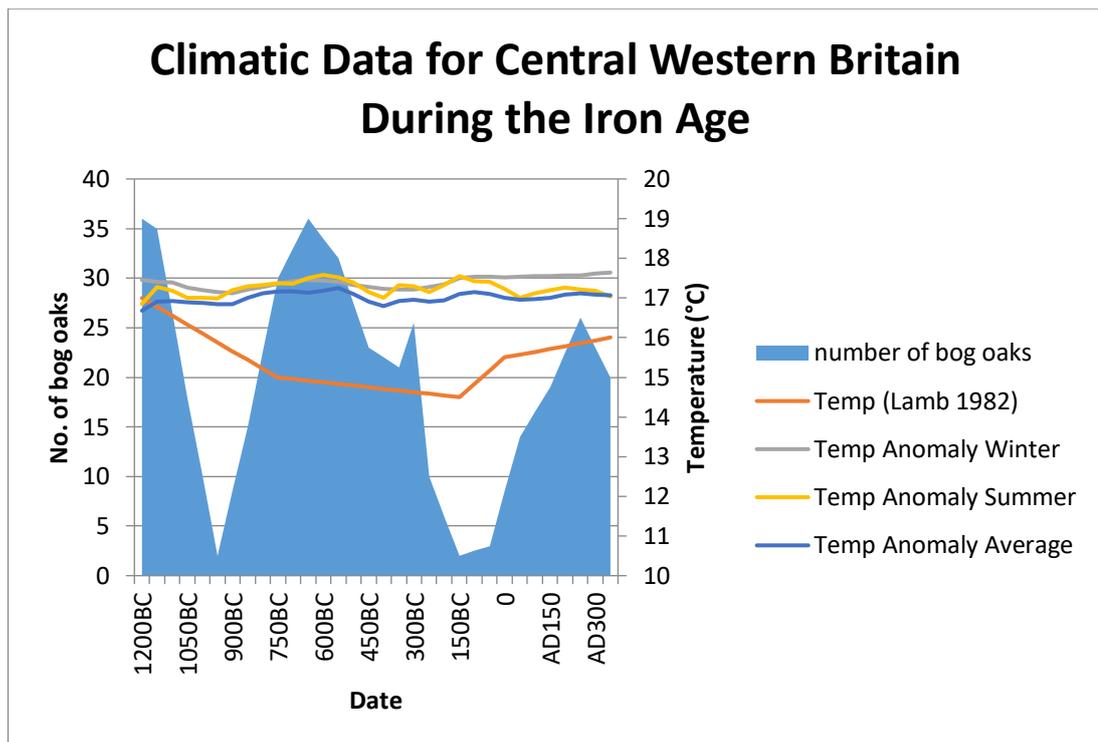


Figure 3.4-Climatic indicators in central western Britain (after Lamb 1982; Davis *et al.* 2003 and Turney *et al.* 2005)

The results are interesting, as the increase in precipitation broadly correlates with the start of the Early Iron Age. Authors such as Burgess (1985; 1989) have suggested that the climatic downturn in the Middle Bronze Age may have been instrumental in the collapse of Bronze Age society. However, it is now generally accepted that any significant shift in climate could have been mitigated by the development of new subsistence strategies on behalf of prehistoric communities (Shanks and Tilley 1987:90; Dark 1999; 2006; Tipping *et al.* 2008). But, whilst the effects of this climatic upheaval could have been mitigated by the implementation of adaptive strategies, these changes may have caused changes in subsistence practices and consequently social organization. So, whilst environment and climate cannot be considered as a direct causal factor of in changes in social organization, they may have indirectly contributed. Whilst the ultimate reaction to the changing climate amongst communities in the study region at the time is debatable, the impact of climate change on the environment is measurable. As well as the reduction in the maximum growing altitude, large areas that had formerly been cleared for pasture of grazing land reverted to thin blanket peat or wet heath during this period and by 600BC the wet uplands were dominated by the species *Ericoid* sp. (heather), *Sphagnum* sp.

(sphagnum moss) and *Cyperaceae* sp. (sedges), although summer grazing, following an alpine transhumance model may still have been possible (Barrowclough 2007: 32).

This is not to suggest that the situation was uniform across the study region. Linear enclosure was being created across Britain from the Late Bronze Age period (Cunliffe 2005; Sharples 2010; Waddington 2013), often in alignment or association with hillforts (Sharples 2010). Although large scale field boundaries are not a feature of the evidence from the west of the study region, there are some tentative examples from the east, specifically Castle Ring in Shropshire (Wigley 2002) Kelsall in Cheshire (Matthews 2002). Arable production is evident, albeit on a smaller scale, from the Early Iron Age. Charred cereal grains, principally Emmer wheat and Barley have been recovered from the site of Brook House Farm; Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002), whilst cereal pollen indicative of Emmer and hulled barley have been recovered from Cefn Greanog II (Mason and Fasham 1998:9) and Erw Wen and Moel y Gerddi (Ward and Smith 2001:31). As has been shown in figure 3.4, there was a general increase in precipitation during the Early Iron Age. This may have led to localized flooding, as has been evidenced in the Cambridgeshire Fens (Pryor 2001), but the variable soil conditions and topography in the study region would have meant that some areas were protected due to elevation and better drainage. It may not be accidental that the evidence for continued arable production comes from those areas in the study region which are at higher altitudes on faster draining soils (see figure 3.3).

There is strong evidence, however, that the increase in upland peat deposits following 1200BC, inundated land above 300 AOD that may have been used extensively for pasturing during the Neolithic and Bronze Age. The development of peat deposits may also have permanently replaced scrubland and heath land that existed prior to the climatic downturn (Tallis 1991; Tallis and Switsur 1990; Tallis and Switsur 1973; Tallis and McGuire 1972). Tallis and Switsur (1983) have suggested that human disturbance of tree cover on higher ground may also have contributed to the development of peat horizons, which may have then quickly spread over the lower gradient, water-shedding slopes of the higher ground, as is postulated for Thurstaston Hill, Wirral (Innes and Tomlinson 2008: 14). There is considerable evidence of human clearance of tree cover by anthropogenic burning, from the study

region. The effect of human led deforestation is now being much more widely considered as a major contributing factor to peat and moss formation, particularly when associated with burning. Whilst deforestation on its own allows soils, particularly thin soils, to be easily denuded, burning, although initially enriching the nutrient content of the soil, ultimately leaves the soil with a lower nutrient content. This prevents the re-establishment of nutrient demanding species and causes the area to remain as open land (Moore 1988: 118; Bostock 1980). In addition to which, charcoal particles, from burning, block the pores in the surface layers of soil. This can render the soil more impermeable to water, reducing the soil permeability by up to 74%, in some cases and thus leading to impaired drainage and to water-logging (Moore 1988: 118; Mallik, Gimingham and Rahman 1984).

Whilst the impact of the loss of higher zones undoubtedly influenced the human populations, their reaction to this loss of cultivatable land was to implement a series of deforestation episodes, which, it is presumed was an attempt to clear additional land for pastoral activities. The earliest recorded clearance of this type is from Deep Clough A in the Rossendale area in the Pennines from the watershed between Holcombe Hill and Harcles Hill at about 340m AOD and is dated to Birk's phase C3 (690-500BC) (Tallis and McGuire 1972: 736-7). This clearance phase is characterised by a decrease in tree pollen numbers, largely dominated by *Quercus*, (oak) *Alnus* (alder) and *Corylus* (hazel) and with smaller amounts of *Ulmus* (elm) and *Betula* (birch), from 75-80% to just 44% of the total land pollen, whilst shrub pollen fell to 6%. In addition to this, herbaceous pollen rose to 49%. Given the absence of cereal pollen, the sharp increase in herbaceous pollen associated with the development of scrub and heath land and the fact that the elevation of this area would have been above the maximum cultivation extent for this period, it is reasonable to infer that the clearance was associated with summer grazing. This pattern of clearance of the upland in association with grazing and pasture land is repeated across the region during the Iron Age, although subsequent upland clearances are dated to the Late Middle Iron Age to the Late Iron Age. This is shown again at Deep Clough A, where, following a short period of woodland regeneration, clearances resumed from the later Middle Iron Age onwards, dated to Birk's period C4 to c. 350BC-AD100. This is

marked by another decrease in tree pollen to 53% of the total dry land sample and a rise in shrub pollen and herbaceous pollen to 19% and 26% respectively (Tallis and McGuire 1972). Also, for the first-time cereal pollen appears in the section, starting at around 2% during the early second century BC (c.125BC) (Tallis and McGuire 1972).

This is complemented by the data from the 'high grounds' of Featherbed Moss and Rishworth Moor in Greater Manchester, for which there is a secure radiocarbon dated framework. Featherbed Moss underwent several minor clearance episodes from the Early Iron Age onwards, but sustained clearance of the area did not begin until the period 351-251 BC (Tallis and Switsur 1973: 726) when there was a marked increase in grass pollen up to 54% of the total dry land pollen sample, with tree pollen dropping to just 30%. This trend continued until the end of the first millennium BC, when cereal pollen occurs at about 1% of the total pollen sample (*ibid.*). At Rishworth Moor, clearances did not begin until after 570-370 BC (Bartley 1975: 378) after which they continued until c. 50BC-AD110 (*ibid.*), ultimately resulting in tree pollen dropping to 15% of the total pollen sample, with shrub pollen making up 10% and herbaceous pollen comprising the rest of the sample. At the end of this period cereal pollen occurs again but makes up less than 1% of the total (Bartley 1975: 378). It is likely that the low values for cereal pollen represent introduction of windblown pollen, possibly from resurgence in higher altitude cultivation following the improvement in the climate after 150BC. Consequently, the data from upland areas for the Iron Age in the study region, seems to point a period of constriction of human utilized zones, following the downturn of the climate from the Late Bronze Age onwards, which led to the marginalization of agricultural land and a resurgence of thin blanket peat deposits across the upland areas, particularly across scrubland and heath land, which had previously been in use for pasturing. Following on from this, episodes of clearance begin, presumably for pasturing, with the earliest being observed at Deep Clough A in the Rossendale uplands from c. 690BC to 500 BC and from 350 BC to AD 290. These dates were obtained by estimating the rate of sediment accumulation above a single dated radiocarbon sample of 1710-1470 BC (Tallis and McGuire 1972:736-7) and are consequently open to interpretation. However, the evidence does seem to point to clearance activity on the uplands

becoming increasingly common from the fifth century BC onwards. This development ultimately culminates in widespread and sustained clearance, which seems to lead on to the beginning of a mixed agricultural and pastoral regime in these regions during the first century BC, albeit one that appears to still be dominated by pastoralism. This has implications for the utilization of hillforts in the study region. In Wessex field monuments interpreted as cattle byres have been identified from the Late Bronze Age onwards. These monuments are often aligned along water sources and do not relate to arable field systems and are believed to have been used for transhumance pastoralism (Bowen 1978:120; McOmish *et al.* 2002). Similar monuments have been identified in north-east Yorkshire (Spratt 1981:95) and the Cambridgeshire Fens (Pryor 1996:321). The prevailing hypothesis is that these sites were laid-out from elevated positions in the landscape, most likely hillforts (McOmish 2002). If this is the case then hillforts may have been functioning as the hub of socially bounded pastoral territories, as suggested by Alcock (1960) for hillforts in the Vale of Clwyd.



Figure 3.5- Upland zones in the west of the region (Snowdonia). (image © Mike Peel CC BY-SA 4.0)

Lowland zones

In contrast to the evidence for the upland zones, the lowlands are well represented, both in terms of environmental investigation and palynology. The Iron Age of the

lowlands of central western Britain is broken down by a major peat recurrence horizon. This has proven to be fairly consistent across the east of the study region. The horizon is dated to 795-595BC (Nevell 1999:17) at Chat Moss in Greater Manchester, 580-420BC (*ibid.*) at Lindow Moss in Cheshire and to 930-690BC at Pilling Moss in North Lancashire (*ibid.*). The recurrence of peat at this time corresponds with the peak of the climatic downturn and appears to show a broad temporal and geographic trend of moving from north to south and of moving inwards from the coast into the interior plain. The resurgence of peat horizons also corresponds to several incidents of anthropogenic activity in the lowlands. As peat and bog spread to encompass low lying secondary woodland, the inhabitants of the region took steps to mitigate the loss of their agricultural and pastoral land. These steps fall broadly into two categories; the clearance of new land and the development of new strategies of living. Although the second of these will be briefly touched on in this chapter, it is the clearance activity which is of primary concern here, as it provides the most evidence for human agency in environmental mitigation. The first incidence of large scale clearance is recorded at Simonswood Moss on Merseyside from between 880-680BC (Cowell and Innes 1994: 160) and then after a period of regeneration continuing more or less consistently from 510-350BC (Cowell and Innes 1994: 160). The inherent limitations of resolution of pollen diagrams should be remembered, however (see above).

The first of these clearances are small scale and are associated with the clearance to open grassland. At this point a continuous *Plantago lanceolata* curve is established. In addition to this there are significant values for *Rumex* and *Pteridium* as well as high values for *Ranunculus* and *Gramineae*, which suggest an open pastoral landscape, the presence of *Artemisia*, *Polygonum* and *Melampyrum* support this and may also indicate that fire was used in the clearance (Cowell and Innes 1994). The presence of species such as *Acer* (maple), *Ilex* (holly), *Fagus* (beech), *Salix* (willow), *Sorbus* (rowan) and *Viburnum* indicate the presence of increasingly open woodland (Cowell and Innes 1994: 159). There is also evidence for some cereal grains from shortly after this clearance episode, though it is possible that these may have been incorporated from another location (Cowell and Innes 1994: 160). The second phase of clearance from

this site was highly intensive. Grass and weed pollens increase sharply and tree pollen drops markedly. Large scale clearance to open vegetation is inferred. There are numerous markers of arable cultivation, both in the form of weed pollens from *Artemisia*, *Caryophyllaceae*, *Chenopodiaceae* and *Senecio*-type, as well as in terms of the presence of crop pollens themselves, such as cereals, *Cruciferae* and *Cannabis*-types. At the close of this phase even the character of the regenerating woodland has changed, now containing much more *Fagus* (beech), *Acer* (maple) and *Carpinus* (hornbeam). The interpretation is an aggressive clearance of woodland in favour of mixed farming (Cowell and Innes 1994: 160). Similar early clearances have also been recorded from Knowsley Park Moss, though on a smaller scale and without the presence of cereal pollen.

The Knowsley Park Moss clearances are generally thought to be the maintenance of open woodland or else small scale local clearances. The clearance at Knowsley Park is dated to 780-660BC (Cowell and Innes 1994: 151). This is also similar to a truncated contemporary sequence from Bidston Moss on Wirral (Innes and Tomlinson 1991: 12). Other early clearances from the study region include Chat Moss A and B from Greater Manchester dated to 795-420BC (Birks 1964: 37-41), Holcroft and Lindow Moss in Cheshire dated to the early first millennium BC (Leah *et al.* 1997) and Godely Brook on Godely Hill, Longdendale in Lancashire, where a basin mire produced a clearance date of 640-520BC (Nevell 1999: 19). Chat Moss shows a decline in secondary, oak dominated woodland at the time of this clearance and a corresponding rise in bracken and plantain pollen, along with an increase in *Fagus* (beech), *Salix* (willow) and *Fraxinus* (ash). At Chat Moss A, tree pollen fell to 58% of dry land pollen with shrub pollen comprising the remaining 42%, whilst at Chat Moss B, closer to the edge of the moss, tree pollen fell to 66% and shrub pollen made up the remaining 34%. At Holcroft Moss tree and shrub pollen accounted for 72% of dry land pollen with herbaceous making up the remaining 28%, whereas at Lindow Moss the figures are 65% and 35% respectively. The occurrence of *Rumex* and *Plantago lanceolata* at both these sites, as well as the presence of other grass pollen suggest a pastoral usage; neither Chat Moss, Lindow Moss or Holcroft Moss have any evidence for cereal pollen from these stages (Nevell 1999: 18-19).

A second phase of clearances then occurs in the Later Middle to Late Iron Age. These are evidenced at Chat Moss A and B in Greater Manchester and at Lindow Moss and Holcroft Moss in Cheshire. At Lindow Moss II this has been dated to the Middle Iron Age from 430-250BC. Tree and shrub pollen levels fell to 74%, herbaceous pollen rose to 23% and cereal pollen accounted for 3% of the dry land pollen total. The presence of weed pollen from *Rumex*, *Plantago lanceolata* and *Gramineae* as well as pollen from wheat and barley suggested to Oldfield *et al.* (1986: 84) that the area had been deforested burned and occupied for farming for a period of centuries. Lindow Moss I showed a similar trend, although not as pronounced, with rises in herbaceous pollen and the occurrence of *Artemisia* and *Chenopodiaceae* as well as isolated *Linum* pollen, suggesting nearby arable cultivation (Birks 1965: 310). At Chat Moss A and B, on the western side of the moss near the Glazebrook Valley, cereal pollen is recorded for the first time from broadly contemporary clearances dated by Birks (1964: 33-4) to the late first millennium BC. Tree pollen declines to 33% in both samples, with shrub pollen declining to 30% and 24% at A and B respectively and herbaceous pollen rising to 34% and 40% at A and B respectively. Cereal pollen comprised 3% of the total at each site and it can therefore be postulated that arable cultivation was going on nearby (Birks 1964: 33-4). Contemporary clearance from Holcroft Moss for the late first millennium is less distinctive, but does show tree pollen declining to 48%, with shrub pollen falling to 17% and herbaceous pollen rising to 35% of the total sample. Once again *Artemisia*, *Chenopodiaceae* and isolated *Linum* pollen occur, which suggest cultivation within a kilometre of the site (Birks 1965: 310). Further evidence of extensive forest clearance in the Late Iron Age is available from around the Mid-Cheshire Ridge, which was almost completely deforested from the Late Iron Age onwards around Peckforton Mere and Bar Mere for the purposes of cultivation (Leah *et al.* 1997: 152).



Figure 3.6- Lowland landscape context in the region (Lindow Moss in 2005). (image © David Kitching CC BY-SA 2.0)

In summary, the lowland utilization of the study region during the Iron Age appears to show a two-fold range of clearance activity around moss land, with the possible exception of Simonswood Moss on Merseyside, which shows fairly continuous usage until the end of the Middle Iron Age (although again see the caveat regarding duration of clearance episodes above). The first stage clearance activity during the Late Bronze Age and Early to Middle Iron Age appears to be largely associated with pastoral activity, whilst the second stage clearances after a further peat recurrence horizon appear to be associated with pastoralism and mixed farming from the Middle to Late Iron Age and into the Roman period. The mires and moss land of the region form a series of mesotopes across the region, but it should by no means be thought that the region was just moss land during the Iron Age. A large range of habitats existed, from well drained and forested land on valley sides to raised bogs, carr and fen woodland and intertidal and coastal wetlands. It should also not be assumed, as some have done (Barrowclough 2007: 32; Hall *et al.* 1995: 119) that the more boggy and wet areas were deserted during the Iron Age. There is considerable evidence for the use of log boats across the region at sites such as Martin Mere in Merseyside, Rufford in Merseyside, Preston in Lancashire, Irlam in Greater Manchester and Arpley

Meadows and Cholmondeley Castle in Cheshire (James 2010; Hall *et al.* 1995; Shone 1911). It is possible that some of these boats may date to the Iron Age period, although those that have been dated have provided only Bronze Age and Early Medieval dates (James 2010). In addition to which there is evidence for the construction of settlement in close proximity to 'wet' sites such as at Great Woolden Hall, which dates from the first century BC (Leah *et al.* 1997: 20) and between Chat Moss and Glazebrook, which dates to the third century BC (Hall *et al.* 1995: 118). It is also conceivable that settlement was being built directly onto peat surfaces, as has been evidenced from the Dutch Iron Age, in which case evidence for such settlement is likely to be ephemeral (van Wijngaarden-Bakker 1998: 173).

Coastal zones

Coastal zones have long been the focus of human activity due to a variety of factors. Firstly, there is the obvious factor of resource acquisition. Coastal zones provide resource rich environments from fishing in the sea and estuaries, to the acquisition of game birds in coastal marshland and estuaries, for the collection of shell fish from mud-flats and beaches and the production of salt from brine. Secondly, coastal headlands and promontories provide good vantage points, ready-made defences in the forms of cliffs, narrow approaches and submerged approaches and act as prominent or meaningful places in the landscape. Coastal zones can also have a cultural significance as liminal places between the land and the sea or as the focal point for activity involving propitiation rites or rites of passage. Finally, there is the obvious point that coastal zones also mark the focus of activity for cross sea trade and external contact, which was certainly of great importance during the first millennium BC in the study region. However, defining coastal zones can be extremely difficult, especially in an archaeological context. This is due to variations in sea level following isostatic and eustatic changes over time, natural changes in coastal morphology due to erosion or accretion and in particular, to identifying the extent of coastal hinterlands. For the purposes of the last point, Jones (1988: 96) defines the coastal zone as 10km for mobile and 5km for sedentary societies. Yet, even with this definition in mind evidence for coastal settlement and exploitation in the first millennium BC and especially during the Middle to Late Iron Age is very tightly

confined, occurring mostly around the Mersey Estuary and Wirral Peninsula (Matthews 2002: fig III I.1). It is important to remember that this may not be a full picture of the evidence; the coastline of central western Britain has changed dramatically since the first millennium BC. For example, it is estimated that there has been erosion on the North Wirral coast, between Leasowe Lighthouse and Dove Point of somewhere in the region of 400m of land (Kenna 1978: 30) and that a spit of land some 940m long may have eroded away from the North East of Dove Point itself (Kenna 1986: 1) and this is just within the last 300 years.

There is the additional problem of sea level change. The sea level in central western Britain fluctuated during the first millennium, rising during the 4th century BC (Cowell and Innes 1994:95). Though this rise did not necessarily directly affect all coastal areas, it may have impacted sites situated in areas which are now underwater or were more prone to coastal erosion (Cowell and Innes 1994: 95; Tooley 1978), such as Meols (Griffiths *et al.* 2007). Finally, sites may have since been obscured by dune movement or due to the formation of moss land or peat deposits. Whilst the vegetation and environment of the coastal zone ultimately gives way to secondary woodland, as already described, the variation across the coastal and peri-coastal zones is quite marked and incorporates many different environments. Raised ground water tables and reduced rates of river flow led to the development of a zone of freshwater environments between the high tide level and high ground (Innes and Tomlinson 2008: 13). This area accepted freshwater from ground run-off and consequently supported nutrient rich freshwater ecosystems, predominantly fen and carr type woodland (as already mentioned) as well as freshwater meres (Innes and Tomlinson 2008: 13). The proximity of these areas to the coastal zone however, also meant that they were occasionally prone to marine transgression events as has been recorded at Bidston Moss, on Wirral (Kenna 1986:21).

The formation of fen and carr woodland in the study region could have been of great importance to the people inhabiting the region. As the wetlands at the foot of hill-slopes became water-logged following seasonal flooding, eutrophic alder dominated woodlands would begin to develop. These woodlands could often be dominated by alder, such as at Ditton Brook in Merseyside (Innes 2000) and it is not unusual at

these sites to find alder pollen comprising over 80% of the total land pollen record. More importantly these habitats represented a valuable potential resource to local populations and it is unsurprising that work may have been carried out to maintain them. Martin Mere and Downholland Moss in Lancashire provide a good example of these types of near coastal freshwater environments and it is perhaps indicative of the focus on these sites, that Martin Mere also represents one of the principle sources of excavated log boats in the study region (Innes and Tomlinson 2008: 14), though these are primarily made of oak (Shone 1911; James 2010). In the zones directly influenced by marine conditions, salt water sand and mudflats developed. These had a silt and clay matrix and although important for shell fish collection, would have been treacherous and prone to submergence at high tide. The upper intertidal zone developed vegetated salt-marshes, in which the deposition of organic sediments would have played a greater role. Around these areas sequences of intertidal and peri-marine peats are often found, particularly around embayment's and river valleys but also around the open coast (Innes and Tomlinson 2008: 13). These often show the remains of ancient woodland or 'submerged forests', such as at Dove point on the Wirral (Kenna 1986) and Alt Mouth, Hightown, Merseyside (Tooley 1978), although, the available dates for these 'submerged forests' put them in the Neolithic period.

The final point of coastal zone habitats to consider, are sand dunes and wind-blown sand. Sand dunes comprise a prominent feature of the Lancashire, Cheshire and north Wales coast today and they would have been even more prominent during the first millennium BC. Although it is difficult to establish the full extent of sand dunes during the period, due to their ephemeral nature, it is believed that sand dunes may have existed along what is now the North Merseyside/South Lancashire coast, due to the proxy dating of archaeological artefacts. Dates of 780-680BC (Innes and Tomlinson 2008: 15) have been established at Murat Street, Waterloo in Merseyside and of 505-265BC at Lifeboat Road, Formby Merseyside (Innes and Tomlinson 2008: 15). It should be remembered, of course, that the dunes themselves may have moved considerably and expanded and contracted in area a number of times over this period (Innes and Tomlinson 2008: 15). Dune systems in the study region often overlie

marine or peri-marine peat sequences and it is interesting to note that Kenna (1986: 14) suggests that dune advance may have resulted in blocking natural drainage and led to the creation of peat forming conditions, in which case the occurrence of coastal peat deposits and dune systems could be interpreted as part of the same coastal environment system, with the dunes forming peat forming conditions and then the peat creating stability for the dune systems. Systems such as this, with dunes backed by shallow water, peat mires or even lagoons, have been proposed for settlement sites at Meols and Hilbre Island on the Wirral (Kenna 1978: 32). Analysis of coastal zone usage is complicated by the ever-changing nature of the zone. With the exception of Meols on the Wirral, direct evidence for occupation on the coast is limited. However, referring back to Jones' (1988: 96) definition of coastal zone incorporates a much greater number of sites within the coastal zone hinterland and within the varying environments found there.

It has been suggested that coastal areas may have been widely utilised both for gathering naturally occurring food resources and for pasturing of animals, possibly even some limited arable cultivation (Cowell and Innes 1994: Jones 1988: 100-1). But the evidence for this is extremely limited, as is the evidence for any concerted modification of the coastal environment in the study region, with the possible exception of fen and carr woodland maintenance and evidence for this is largely Bronze Age in date (Barrowclough 2007: 31). In fact, evidence for human modification of coastal zones during the first millennium is largely absent from much of the region, with the exception of the Wirral Peninsula (Kenna 1978; Kenna 1986; Crawford-Coupe 2008). It has been suggested that the unstable nature of the coastal zones may have deterred people from living there. Indeed, there is earlier evidence for coastal farming communities being devastated by sudden sand inundations (Innes and Cowell 1994: 94) and for later communities being devastated by the collapse of the dune systems (Kenna 1978: 32). Even palynological evidence is difficult to interpret as many of the plant species normally associated with agriculture occur naturally in open coastal environments e.g. *Chenopodiaceae*, *Cruciferae* and *Caryophyllaceae* (Jones 1988: 100). During the first millennium BC the character and climate of the study region changed dramatically, both as a result of natural climatic

factors and as a result of anthropogenic factors. However, it is not, at this point, clear how much of the resultant changes were due in whole or in part to human action and how extensive or indeed extreme the changes were across the entire region. Although the evidence seems to point to considerable modification of the landscape as a result of climate and environmental change and the uptake of a variety of mitigation strategies on behalf of the local human populations in the region in response to these, much of the evidence that is available is for a small number of well preserved sites, which are often geographically separated from each other.



Figure 3.7- Coastal dune environment in the region (Formby) (image © Gary Rogers CC BY-SA 2.0)

Review

Without a more complete and exhaustive survey of the region, it is not known how much of this data can be confidently extrapolated across a larger area and how much of it is indicative of a discrete and distinct environment within the larger region. Whilst there is clear evidence for some extreme examples of environmental modification during the first millennium BC, such as the reduction in maximum growing altitudes, the increase in moss-land and bog environments and marine transgressions along the coastal areas of the Wirral and Sefton in Merseyside, the full impact on the local populations is more difficult to gauge. However, certain things

may be hypothesized or inferred with reasonable confidence. At some point during the Late Bronze age, probably beginning between 1300 BC and 1100 BC, the climate of the study region began a downturn. In all likelihood this was the culmination of a process of neoglacial cooling, which may have begun during the Early Bronze Age or before (Lamb 1988: 22). This process caused a general increase in northerly and westerly winds in central western Britain, as well as a corresponding increase in precipitation and a lowering of the mean annual temperature. This process was probably further exacerbated by the Hekla 3 eruption in 1159 BC, which may have both contributed to this situation and in addition caused an acidification of the soils in northern and western Britain (Grattan 1998: 27-8). With the lowering of temperatures and the increase in precipitation, the ground (particularly where it was poorly drained) began to become waterlogged. This may have been furthered by sediment movement on the coast, causing the silting up or blocking of existing drainage channels. As the ground surface became increasingly saturated the increased acidity of the soils led to the expansion of ombrotrophic mires and peat formation. This situation may have been made worse due to human agency.

Anthropogenic clearance of the uplands, particularly with fire, led to the denudation of the soils, which in the colder wetter climate largely eroded away and gave rise to blanket peat coverage. With the reduction in growing altitudes and the shortening of the growing season, as well as the potential for increased risk of crop disease and reduction in cereal yields, the human populations living in central western Britain appear to adapt their subsistence practices. Populations living on poorly drained and waterlogged soils begin to rely on a transhumant, pastoral model of subsistence. To facilitate their pastoral subsistence practices, the local populations engaged in clearance activities to clear additional grazing and pasture land for their animals, though at this time it is unclear how extensive and intensive this clearance activity was and it is possible that rather than a series of wide spread, large scale clearances, the clearance activity was small scale and more widely dispersed. By the Middle Iron Age the downturn in the climate had reached its maximum extent (Nevell 2004: 5). The local populations appear to be favouring well drained lower altitude sites on valley sides. It is likely that the upland regions were still being used as summer

pasture for cattle, but the exact nature of the subsistence model is still unclear. It is possible that the populations living in the area practiced seasonal mobility or that they had a 'base camp' and subsistence activities were divided along, gender, age or cultural lines, with one group maintaining a year-round camp and another travelling with the herds for part of the year.

It appears that as the climate began to improve during the Middle-Late Iron Age, sedentism, amongst these groups, may have become more widely practiced, as evidenced in the increase in lowland settlement numbers and the emergence of new, more permanent settlement forms (discussed in chapter 4 and 5). Clearance activity continues and evidence for cereal crops begin to become more common in the palynological record. There is also evidence of cleared areas being kept clear and of a change in the nature of woodland regeneration into much lighter, more open woodland. Also, during the Late Iron Age, the first evidence of permanent coastal settlement for the Iron Age occurs. Although it is possible that communities had been living on and exploiting coastal resources since the Bronze Age, there is little evidence for it from the Late Bronze Age to the Late Iron Age in the east of the region. It is probable that the shifting dunes and peri-marine peat surfaces did not represent a particularly attractive habitat to settle in permanently, at least until the climate improved and regional trade became a more enticing opportunity. In the west of the region, evidence for exploitation of marine resources, particularly shell-fish, is more common such as at Ty Mawr (C. Smith 1987), Parc Dinmor (Phillips 1932) and Pant y Saer (Phillips 1934).

It must be remembered that the communities living in the study region during the first millennium were not the helpless victims of their environment. Although there is considerable evidence for climate and environmental change, however widespread it actually was, the people living in the region at the time were fully able to develop strategies to deal with the problems which may arise. These may be as simple as utilizing log-boats to get around and clearing additional grazing land or they could be as complicated as changing the mode of their subsistence to something which has a better return in that environment or relocating to better draining soils. Although the environment impacts and informs the actions of humans, so too does human action

impact the environment and it is flawed to believe the two to be separate.

Summary

The Late Bronze Age saw the beginning of the formation of blanket peat deposits and wet heath on the uplands, dominated by *Sphagnum*, *Ericoid sp.* and *Cyperaceae*. In response to which it seems that the local populations began a series of clearance activities in lower lying regions. As the climate worsened, the uplands were probably abandoned except for seasonal grazing during the summer. The lowlands became wetter and it is likely that populations moved into the upper reaches of the Mersey Basin, though there is some evidence for the continued maintenance of fen-carr woodland in low lying zones near to the coast. As the lower lying regions began to develop widespread peat deposits, possibly made worse by soil depletion and alluviation following clearance episodes, the evidence for agriculture almost completely disappears from the archaeological record. The Early Iron Age appears to have witnessed a move to a heavily pastoral subsistence system and resurgence of peat and to a lesser extent wet heath over most of the low-lying areas of the Mersey Basin and the Lancashire coastal plains. This is accompanied by secondary forest regeneration of *Quercus* (oak) and *Alnus* (alder) around the periphery of the moss-land and on the valley slopes, whilst in wetter areas *Salix* (willow), *Alnus* (alder) and *Fagus* (beech) colonized the drier land. As the climate continued to deteriorate, many of the mosses particularly along valley bottoms, developed into raised bog. Following on from this the local populations began a second and much more intensive series of clearances, starting in the Middle Iron Age and continuing throughout the Late Iron Age and into the Roman Period. These clearances began in the lowlands and are associated with pastoral activity, however as time progressed they spread to upland zones and begin to incorporate evidence of agricultural activity. Regenerated woodland following this period is often of a different and more open character than earlier woodland, with much higher incidences of herbaceous and weeds species. As the clearances progressed the climate began to improve, but many of the established meres and moss lands remained.

Chapter 4- Settlement and Society in Iron Age Central Western Britain 1

This chapter will deal with an examination of some of the broad settlement and architectural trends observed in the study region for the Iron Age period, to examine if the nature of the available evidence can provide insight into changing social and cultural traditions in the region. To do this a selection of sites from the study region will be examined. In order to examine changing trends within the settlement and architectural traditions of the region, only those sites for which there is good dating evidence, from scientific dating or the occurrence of well stratified datable material culture, have been included in the analysis. Whilst this has limited the number of sites in the dataset it is hoped that it will provide more meaningful contextual information regarding changes in practice in the region. The chapter will be broken down by individual period and will conclude with a summary section outlining the principal trends observed from the data.

Early Iron Age

The evidence for settlement in central western Britain for the Early Iron Age is limited. This was a feature of the Early Iron Age settlement record across Britain and northern Europe for a considerable time, however in recent years the development of new surveying technologies and the increase in developer-funded archaeology has started to redress the balance, though it seems that there may be a general pattern of fewer sites in the Early Iron Age across Britain (Haselgrove and Pope 2007: 5). In central western Britain, particularly in north-west England, the lack of Early Iron Age settlement evidence is still a factor. It may be that the sites have left little archaeological trace or they may have yet to be identified, as in the case of St. Chad's Vicarage: Kirkby, which is an Early to Middle Bronze Age site (Adams 1995) which shows signs of activity continuing into the Early Iron Age in the environmental record (Cowell and Innes 1994:160), but which has yet to reveal definitive Early Iron Age occupation evidence (Matthews 2002: 11). The majority of sites dated to the Early Iron Age in the study region are hillforts, with comparatively few non-hillfort sites available for study (listed in table 4.1, see also figure. 4.1). Of the sites that are available for study there is a tradition of continuity of place, in some cases dating back to the Neolithic/Early Bronze Age, as at Llandegai A (Lynch and Musson 2001),

but more usually to the Middle or Late Bronze Age as at Meols (Griffiths *et al.* 2007), Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002) and Crawcwellt West (Crew 1998). This continuity of landscape is not particularly surprising and has been well documented in other regions such as Scotland (Pope 2015), Wessex (Bell 1977; McOmish *et al.* 2002; Sharples 2010) and Yorkshire (Giles 2007a).

Name	ID no. for fig. 4.1	Region	Period	Notes	Elevation (metres AOD)	Reference
Meols	1	Merseyside	MBA-EMed	Coastal settlement	0	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Brook House Farm, Bruen Stapleford	2	Cheshire	LBA-LIA	Unenclosed, lowland settlement	41	Fairburn <i>et al.</i> 2002
Oversley Farm	3	Cheshire	LBA-EIA	Unenclosed lowland settlement	73	Garner 2007
Parc Bryn Cegin E	4	Gwynedd	EIA-MIA	-	60	Kenney 2008
Llwyn du Bach	5	Gwynedd	EIA	-	150	Bersu and Griffiths 1949
Llandegai A	6	Gwynedd	LBA-EIA	Re-used henge	40	Lynch and Musson 2001
Erw Wen	7	Gwynedd	EIA	Double entrance	255	Kelly 1988
Moel y Gerddi	8	Gwynedd	EIA-MIA	Double entrance	300	Kelly 1988
Mellteryn Uchaf	9	Gwynedd	LBA-EIA	-	95	Ward and Smith 2001
Crawcwellt West	10	Gwynedd	EIA-LIA	Ironworking site	300	Crew 1998
Pwll Parc	11	Gwynedd	LBA-EIA	-	40	Ward and Smith 2001
Bush Farm	12	Gwynedd	LBA-EIA	-	91	Longley <i>et al.</i> 1998
Bryn Eryr	13	Anglesey	EIA-LIA	-	70	Longley 1998
Castell Bryn Gwyn	14	Anglesey	EIA	-	10	Lynch 1991

Table 4.1- Non-hillfort sites in the study region for the Early Iron Age.

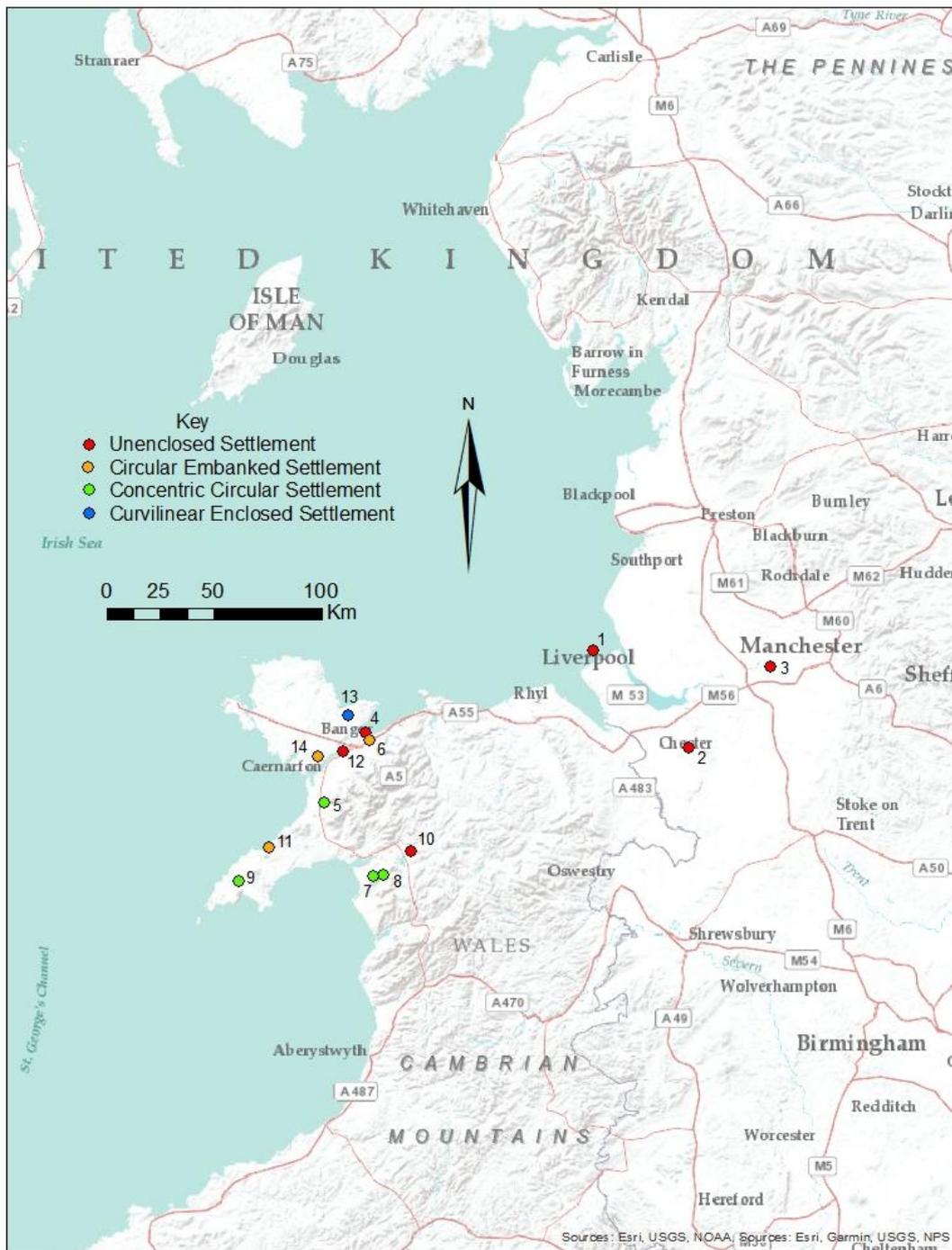


Figure 4.1-Enclosed and unenclosed non-hillfort sites mentioned in the text for the Early Iron Age period in the study region (underlying map © 1995-2016 Esri).

Enclosed and unenclosed settlement

The character of non-hillfort sites in central western Britain is highly variable. Both enclosed and unenclosed sites are evident although there appears to be a slight

preference for enclosed settlement. Fig. 4.2 shows the percentage of enclosed and unenclosed roundhouses from settlement sites for the region during the Iron Age. As can be seen about 68% of Early Iron Age non-hillfort roundhouses in the study region are enclosed, a figure which is comparable to Pope's findings, that more than one in two Early Iron Age houses in north and central Britain are enclosed (Pope 2003; Haselgrove and Pope 2007:5). Care must be taken when using this figure however, as this figure is based on a comparatively small number of known sites. Haselgrove and Pope (2007:5) have suggested that there may be a general pattern of fewer sites in the Early Iron Age, which may be indicative of a general reduction in population numbers or as the result of an aggregation of population, so that more people are living on the same site (see Pope 2015). The pattern in central western Britain certainly seems to be for larger roundhouses to be built during the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition period and into the opening centuries of the Early Iron Age, which is discussed more fully below. Haselgrove and Pope (2007:5) also allow for the comparatively small number of Early Iron Age sites to be due to low visibility either as a result of location of sites, such as in valley bottoms where alluvium might cover the site to a significant depth, thus obscuring aerial survey methods and geophysical survey, or as the result of sites being located only in specific landscape contexts. It is also possible that Early Iron Age structures were more ephemeral or constructed of materials that do not retain a high degree of archaeological visibility, as at Moel y Gaer where organic material may have been used for house walling (Pope 2003).

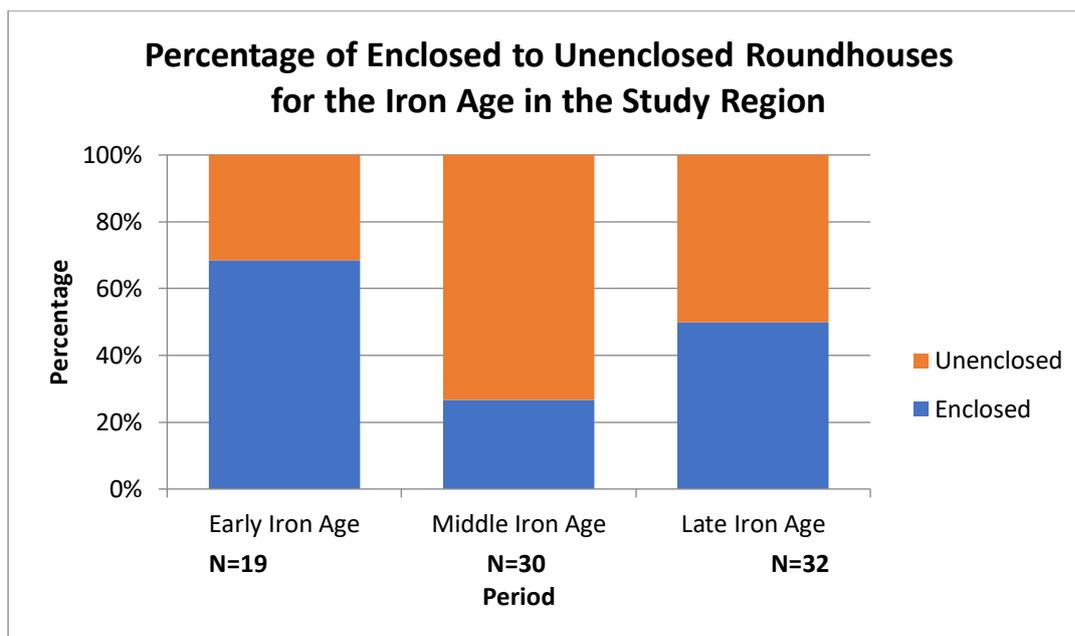


Figure 4.2-Percentage occurrence of enclosed to unenclosed roundhouses from non-hillfort sites for the study region across the Iron Age. N=81.

The limited number of identified settlements in the Early Iron Age in the study region may also be representative of subsistence activity. Even considering subsequent difficulties of identification of Early Iron Age sites such as limited archaeological visibility, the low numbers of identified settlements does suggest that many settlements in the region during this period may have been ephemeral. There is evidence for human activity in the study region during the Early Iron Age in the form of intensive woodland clearance, for example at Simonswood Moss and Knowsley Park Moss (Cowell and Innes 1994), Bidston (Innes and Tomlinson 1991) and Tatton Park (Higham 1986). However, no settlement locations have yet been identified which correspond to these locations even though occupation sites in these locations have been identified from both the Late Bronze Age and Middle and Late Iron Age periods. This suggests that either the occupation sites were at some distance from these activity sites or else that they were temporary occupation sites that were only occupied for a short duration and consequently have left little archaeological trace. Whilst this is speculative, if it were the case it would point to a high degree of mobility amongst local populations in the region at this time and would be consistent with a pastoral, transhumance model of subsistence. It has been suggested that there was an increase in cattle-based pastoralism and associated transhumance in north

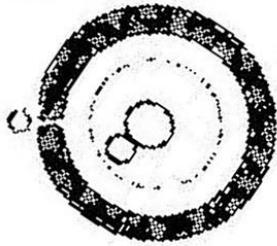
and central Britain (Pope 2003). This would be consistent with the apparent focus on pastoral based subsistence practices in the region during the Early Iron Age (discussed in chapter 3). In this situation the occurrence of larger roundhouses would represent central places, functioning as group aggregation sites and loci for the subsistence activities occurring in the wider landscape context.

Returning to the question of enclosed and unenclosed settlement a more discerning breakdown of the data reveals more detail. The Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition and into the 8th and 7th centuries BC is characterised by a mixture of unenclosed sites, circular concentric enclosures (wherein the roundhouse is arranged in the centre of one or more concentric circular enclosures) and circular enclosures. Circular enclosures are a form often associated with the Late Bronze Age and the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition (c.800BC) as at Pwll Parc in the study region (Ward and Smith 2001) and further afield such as Springfield Lyons in Essex (Buckley and Hedges 1987) and in Ireland at Navan Fort, Downpatrick and Lough Gur (Bradley 2007:216-217). In fact, in the study region the local populations even adapted some existing Neolithic henge monuments to serve as circular enclosures, as at Llandegai A (Lynch and Musson 2001) and possibly Castell Bryn Gwyn (Wainwright 1962; Lynch 1991). The occurrence of other enclosure forms in the region does not become common until the Middle Iron Age, as shown in fig. 4.3. This suggests a continuation, not only of sites but of architectural forms from the Late Bronze Age into the opening centuries of the Early Iron Age and may hint at the continuation of Late Bronze Age traditions in the region. Interestingly the continuation of Late Bronze Age architectural forms in the region also corresponds to the duration of the final deposition of Ewart Park metalwork in the region for example at Beeston Castle and the Breiddin (Needham 1993:42 and Musson *et al.* 1991 respectively). This suggests a survival of Late Bronze Age traditions, at least in part, into the 7th century BC. Conversely, when the character of enclosure shifts during the 6th century BC it coincides with the appearance of the first iron artefacts in the archaeological record of the region as well as the redevelopment of many of the region's hillforts (discussed below).

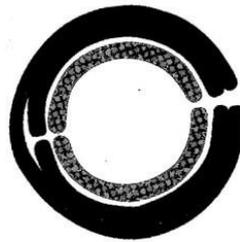
The purpose of enclosure is a matter on which there has been some debate. It has been suggested that enclosure marked sites of particular significance, such as the residences of community leaders or locations associated with group aggregation events (e.g. Brück 2007). In this case the enclosing of a site could be viewed as a form of conspicuous consumption (Brück 2007: 31, Sharples 2010) with raw materials as well as labour being consumed to enclose the site as a demonstration of the significance of the occupants and the number of social obligations they could call upon. More recently Rees (2008:62) has discussed the role of enclosure as a way for a community to leave their mark on the landscape and define an activity area both within the context of the settlement and within the broader landscape. The act of enclosure, in this context, would also mark out the lifespan of the site, with acts of enclosure and re-cutting, as well as particular depositional events marking stages and phases of activity within the life of the settlement and placing the site within the wider temporal and geographical landscape context. If this is the case then it is perhaps not surprising that there is a greater continuity of sites from the Late Bronze Age period, as communities seek to establish themselves within the context of the wider landscape and relate to past associations of occupation. Although the increasing emphasis on enclosure and the shift from circular enclosure to different forms during the 6th century BC likely represents a change in the social organization and cultural paradigm, though the tradition of landscape and site continuity is maintained.

Early Iron Age Enclosure Forms

Circular Embanked Enclosure

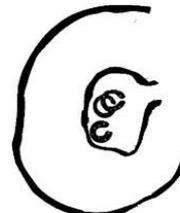


Landegai A



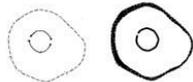
Castell Bryn Gwyn

Circular Concentric Embanked Settlement



Mellterryn Uchaf

Circular Concentric Enclosure



Erw Wen Timber Phase



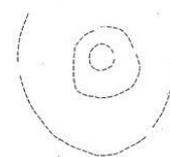
Erw Wen Stone Phase



Moel y Gerddi Timber Phase



Moel y Gerddi Stone Phase



Llyn-du Bach Timber Phase



Llyn-du Bach Stone Phase

Middle Iron Age Enclosure Forms

Curvilinear Stone Enclosure



Coed Uchaf



Foel Dduarth



Ty Mawr



Bodafon Mountain B

Curvilinear Embanked Enclosure



Parc Bryn Cegin N

Rectilinear Enclosure



Gors y Brithdir



Bryn Eryr Stone Phase

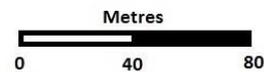


Figure 4.3-Enclosure forms for the Early Iron Age and Middle Iron Age in the study region (after Owen 1872; Bersu and Griffiths 1949; Kelly 1988; Lynch 1991; Longley 1998a Lynch and Musson 2001; Ward and Smith 2001; Waddington 2013).

As has been noted, the 6th century sees the end of the deposition of Ewart Park metalwork and the occurrence of some of the earliest iron objects, such as the swan-necked pin from Beeston Castle, which has a likely 6th century date based on typology (Dunning 1934; Becker and Channing 2007) and context (Ellis 1993: 26), as well as the iron razors from Beeston Castle and Dinorben (Ellis 1993 and Gardner and Savory 1964 respectively), which may also be of 6th-5th century BC date. However, the occurrence of these objects is less conclusive due to the long continuity of this object type (Stead 1993:53; *cf.* Manning 1985) and the lack of detailed contextual

information available for the recovery of these objects in the study region (Gardner and Savory 1964; Ellis 1993:39). Around this time there is a change in enclosure form from circular enclosures to a selection of different types. The larger roundhouses of the opening centuries of the Early Iron Age cease to be built and many sites see rebuilding or re-development phases, often including stone architecture as at Erw Wen and Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988). This period clearly marks a change in the nature of Iron Age society in the region. It is possible that the changes evident in the archaeological record are the result of re-organization of the existing social networks or a response to changing environmental or economic conditions in the region, but these explanations are somewhat reductionist and do not account for either the reasons or the methods of such change or the impact such changes had on the social organization and cultural traditions of Iron Age populations in the study region. A new focus on stone built architectural forms may reflect a greater emphasis on display and a desire to stress both continuity of occupation and permanence. The move towards more varied, stone-built forms suggests that there was an increasing desire to emphasise long-term claims to particular areas by specific social groups, a trend which may have ultimately led to increasing social differentiation and diverging group identity. It seems likely that this development is in line with the formalising of social territories and the expression of control or tenure of areas by specific groups. This suggests that earlier transhumance subsistence regimes were becoming more formalised and regimented. The continuity of wooden architectural forms in the east of the study region may suggest that this increased formalising of social networks was not as prevalent in that region. Alternatively, the east of the study region may have had lower population density or less competition for resources, or there may have been other ways of displaying settlement status and longevity which are not archaeologically visible. It is possible that this is a response to increasing population pressures or the changing availability of landscape resources, though there is not sufficient evidence available to substantiate either of these suggestions at this time. Unfortunately, without more research, identifying the principle causes of this change in social and cultural practices in the region may prove impossible, yet there may be some clues in the settlement record that are worth exploring further.

House size

Fig. 4.4 shows the relative roundhouse sizes for roundhouses from the study region from the Early Iron Age. As can be seen the majority of roundhouses are between 8 and 9 metres in diameter with the mean house diameter being 8.1 metres and a median house diameter of 8 metres, in line with the broader average (Pope 2008). Many of the smaller examples of roundhouses are likely to be ancillary structures and often occur in close association with larger roundhouses such as at Dinorben hillfort (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Llandegai A (Lynch and Musson 2001). The larger examples of roundhouses such as at Llandegai A (Lynch and Musson 2001), Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002) and possibly Bush Farm (Longley *et al.* 1998) are most usually dated to the Late Bronze Age or the opening centuries of the Early Iron Age, which suggests that the tradition of constructing larger houses was a feature of this period. Sharples (2010:119) has suggested that the construction of such large houses was an attempt by the occupants to emphasise their social position within existing Bronze Age traditions, by the creation of large impressive structures. In fact, there is even the suggestion of stone entrance posts for Structure 3 at Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford, which the excavators have also interpreted as being an attempt to convey status, particularly as Structure 3 is a double-ring roundhouse in excess of 12 metres diameter (Fairburn *et al.* 2002:49). Sharples believes that the attempt to convey status in this way was ultimately unsuccessful, accounting for the decline in larger houses during the subsequent centuries of the Early Iron Age (Sharples 2010:119-20).

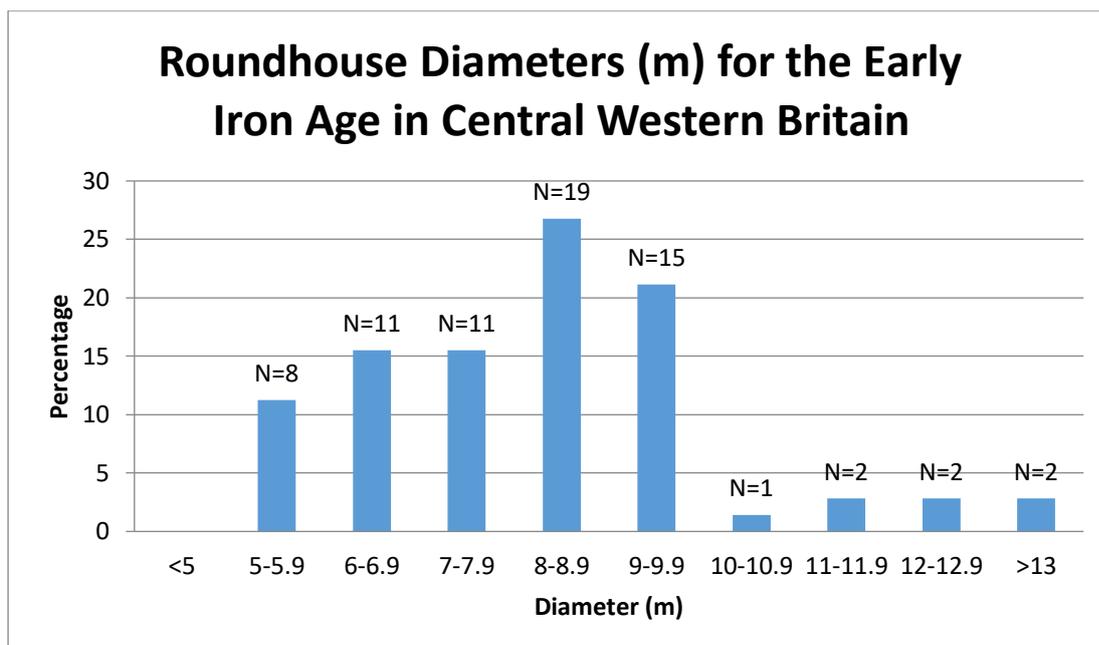


Figure 4.4 Roundhouse diameters (m) for roundhouses from the Early Iron Age in the study region. N=71

It is also possible that the occurrence of larger house structures during the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition and into the opening centuries of the Early Iron Age is a factor of social aggregation. Haselgrove and Pope (2007:5-7) have suggested that there are fewer sites visible in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age of north and central Britain and that this may be explained by an aggregation of people at this time. If this is the case in the study region, then larger house structures could simply be to accommodate larger social groups. Alternatively, they could be part of a wider emerging trend for the administration and distribution of social resources and materials, particularly in relation to the agricultural cycle (e.g. Hill 1995; 1996; Bradley and Yates 2007:100). Karl (2011) has hypothesized that group aggregation of this type is largely comprised of extended kin groups. Service (1966) has also suggested that kinship relations are more important during times of stress and whilst Service was discussing economic stress, the same may reasonably be postulated to include social stressors associated with changing social forms, in which case these larger structures may have been functioning as a locus for extended kin groups, particularly with regard to the redistribution of agricultural resources. Although the principle subsistence pattern for the region appears to be pastorally dominated (see chapter 3), there is some limited evidence for small scale arable production,

associated with long term settlement. Both Llandegai A (Lynch and Musson 2001) and Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002) are associated with the limited production of arable resources. Llandegai A in the form of the occurrence of four-post structures, usually interpreted as granary structures, and Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford, in the evidence for direct (albeit small scale) arable activity (Fairburn *et al.* 2002:38). It should also be remembered that the occurrence of granary structures and quern-stones, whilst providing evidence for the storage and processing of agricultural produce, cannot be taken as direct evidence for production.

However, the dating evidence for the granary structures at Llandegai A is unclear. Whilst several of the structures are possibly contemporary to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age phases of activity, one of the four-post granary structures to the south of the entrance is dated to the 1st to 2nd centuries AD (Lynch and Musson 2001). Lynch and Musson (2001:100) even cast doubt on whether the four-post structures are grain stores, pointing to the likely pastorally based subsistence of the settlement and the lack of quern-stones, they instead offer an interpretation of the four post structures as storage for fodder, hay or other foodstuffs. Similarly, the evidence for arable production at Brook House Farm is limited and whilst arable production was certainly a factor in the subsistence regime at the site, the excavators have concluded that pastoralism was the dominant practice (Fairburn *et al.* 2002:38), paralleling sites in southern Britain such as Reading Business Park in the Middle Thames Valley (Moore and Jennings 1992) and Kemerton in Worcestershire (Jackson 2005), which share a similar layout and morphology.

In interpreting the differences in house sizes and construction for the Early Iron Age in the study region there are a number of factors to consider. Principally the function of the structure in question and whether there is any evidence for coherent architectural traditions or conventions in the region. The similar diameter of the majority of structures from the Early Iron Age in the region suggests that there was some intention to build houses to an approximate size. This may have simply been a utilitarian consideration, though it may also have had greater social significance. There are examples from the ethnographic record of societies which maintain a

degree of equality with regard to individual habitation. The Witsuwit'en and Gitksan of north western Canada, maintain inter-household parity as part of a system of social egalitarianism. Amongst these cultures land tenure is legitimised by responsible and respectful land management and manifested by expending land based resources to fulfil social obligations. Households seek to maintain ideal equality between them to facilitate ongoing reciprocity between their neighbours (Daly 1999:71). However, there is no conclusive evidence for such a system in the Early Iron Age of central western Britain and in any case great care must be taken when inferring from the ethnographic record to past societies. Similarly, the reuse of earlier monument types could be viewed in different lights depending on the social and cultural conventions of the society. Whilst most archaeologists agree that the incorporation of existing monuments reflects a desire to incorporate mythic elements as part of a formula for reaffirming ancestral ties to the landscape (Hingley 1996; Gosden and Lock 1998; Barrett 1999), this could equally well apply to a distinct higher status social group or to a larger social collective. Even the material culture from these larger structures is ambiguous. Llandegai A produced four small fragments of probably Late Bronze Age pottery (Lynch and Musson 2001:73-4) and a stone weight (2001:99). Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford produced fragments from three Late Bronze Age vessels, two domestic vessels and one of possible industrial usage (Matthews 2002:29-31), as well as a number of fragments of Cheshire stony VCP, some of which are likely Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age in date (Morris 2002:31-2) and a stone pounder. Some faunal remains were also recovered, but these were too fragmentary to base any clear conclusion on (Ward 2002:34).

It is not unusual for Early Iron Age structures to be lacking in material culture, which has been well attested in other regions of Britain for the Early Iron Age such as the Upper Thames Valley (Hingley and Miles 1984:63; Allen and Robinson 1993; Lambrick and Allen 2004:141), Lincolnshire and the East Yorkshire Wolds (Hill 2007:20-1). Even the occupation from the 6th century BC at Erw Wen and Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988) produced very little material and the little that was recovered was mostly represented by stone pounders, saddle querns and some flint-work (Kelly 1988: 133-7). It may be thought that the absence of articles of high quality inorganic material

culture would strengthen the case for these larger structures being communal aggregation sites, but it is unwise to make value judgements on what constituted high quality material in the Early Iron Age and in any case it is entirely conceivable that status or position were negotiated through means other than the possession of inorganic material culture forms. Consequently, all that may be said about house size in regard to social differentiation during the Early Iron Age in the study region is that, with the exception of a few larger structures dating to the Late Bronze Age and the opening two centuries of the Early Iron Age, most Early Iron Age structures in the region are of comparable size. By the 6th century BC the construction of these larger structures appears to have ceased in the region, which is comparable to the situation in other regions of Britain such as the Upper Thames Valley, where roundhouse size decreases into the start of the Middle Iron Age (Lambrick and Allen 2004:132-3).

Household architecture and form

Construction of the earliest households in the region at non-hillfort sites appears to have been post- or plank-built architecture, as at Llandegai A (Lynch and Musson 2001), Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002), Parc Bryn Cegin E (Kenney 2008) and the final phases of Mellteyrn Uchaf (Ward and Smith 2001). Around the early 7th- late 6th century BC many structures began to be increasingly plank- and stake-built rather than post-built, as at the site of Erw Wen (Kelly 1988) and the subsequent phase of Crawcwellt West (Crew 1998). It is possible that the switch to different structural techniques was the result of the availability of materials as both Erw Wen (Kelly 1988) and Crawcwellt West (Crew 1998) are at higher elevations (255 metres and 300 metres AOD respectively) and in the west of the study region, whilst the lower-lying site of Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002) in the east of the region continued to utilise post-built construction techniques throughout the Early Iron Age. It has been suggested that the evolution of structural characteristics, from post built to plank and stake-built, may have been the result of concerted attempts to achieve more internal floor space with a greater economy of materials, by removing the need for large internal supporting posts (Lambrick and Allen 2004:142). Similar transitions in structural design are attested from the Upper Thames Valley at sites such as Groundwell Farm

(Gingell 1982), Claydon Pike (Allen *et al.* 1984), Mingies Ditch (Allen and Robinson 1993), and Gravelly Guy (Lambrick and Allen 2004), though in these cases the transition occurs slightly later, with many post-built structures surviving into the Middle Iron Age. This may indicate that the move away from post-built architectural forms was an earlier development in central western Britain than in southern Britain. Interestingly, as structural forms changed in the Upper Thames Valley, there was a corresponding reduction in roundhouse diameters, presumably as a result of the loss of internal post supports, with Middle Iron Age roundhouses at the site of Gravelly Guy averaging 7.9 metres (Lambrick and Allen 2004: 142).

This trend mirrors the developments in the west of the study region, with a move away from post-built architecture in the early 7th century BC and a corresponding reduction in household diameters. This is similar to the situation in Scotland (*cf.* Pope 2015) and may suggest that the west of the study region was engaging with Atlantic architectural traditions. The use of post-built structures apparently goes out of use in Scotland and northern England after 800 BC, with the possible exception of an outlying 5th century example from Kintore in Aberdeenshire (Pope 2015:11). Following the decline of post-built architecture in the Scottish and northern English record there does not appear to be a succeeding phase of stake-walled architecture, indeed Pope (2015:8-10) casts doubt on stake-walled architecture as a major feature of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age architectural traditions, pointing out that reconstructions of stake-walled architecture tend to last no more than ten to fifteen years and that the evidence from excavated examples is often ambiguous and may represent the remains of internal wall partitions or revetting screens rather than supporting elements. Certainly, the evidence of stake-walled structures in the study region is open to interpretation. The chronology of the earliest stake holes at Crawcwellt West is unclear, due to subsequent activity on the site and lack of conclusive dating evidence (Crew 1998:32). The situation is further complicated by the industrial nature of Crawcwellt West as a centre for iron production and by the principal phases of activity being Middle Iron Age, centred around 300 BC (Crew 1998:32; Waddington 2013:255). The earliest structure excavated at Crawcwellt West was in fact a plank-built structure, with stake-built structures appearing later

(Waddington 2013:255). Similarly, the early phase at Erw Wen is plank-built, though also incorporates some stake-built architectural features (Kelly 1988:130), as did the nearby and slightly later Middle Iron Age site of Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988:132).

From the 7th century BC, stone-walled architecture began to become more common in the study region, particularly in the west of the study region, but also at higher elevations in the east, such as at Mellor. The original plank-built roundhouse at Erw Wen (Kelly 1988) was rebuilt in stone and a stone enclosure wall was added. Similarly, at several of the region's hillfort sites such as Meillionydd (Waddington and Karl 2010; Karl and Waddington 2011), the existing timber-built roundhouses were largely replaced by stone walled constructions and a new stone bank between 500-400 BC (Waddington 2013:220). It is possible that the move away from post-built architecture at this time in the study region was the result of the failure of existing networks of social obligation and exchange, perhaps affecting negotiations around managed woodland. It has been suggested (Sharples 2007:178-80; Waddington 2013:18) that the construction of sites was a way of constructing social connections with neighbouring groups by the creation of reciprocal obligations of labour and raw material exchange. If these systems were failing in the opening centuries of the Early Iron Age, then it may explain the change from post-built architecture to stone-built architecture in areas of the study region which did not have access to extensive woodlands as in the case of the upland areas of Gwynedd. However, this is speculative. A much more extensive study on the extent and nature of woodland cover in the study region would be needed before any conclusion could be drawn regarding the extent of access and exchange to timber resources. The other possibility is that the move towards stone architectural forms represents a desire for displaying the permanence of these sites (Waddington 2013:92) and a greater emphasis on display.

Not only are structures rebuilt in stone from the 7th century BC in parts of the study region, but there is also a trend for creating stone and earth enclosures around them, often replacing earlier wooden palisaded enclosures as at Bryn Eryr (Longley 1998) and Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988), or else providing the first episode of enclosure for the site as at Erw Wen (Kelly 1988). The focus on enclosure is interesting to interpret,

although it is a feature that may be reasonably extended back to the Late Bronze Age at sites in the region such as Llandegai A (Lynch and Musson 2001), the redevelopment of enclosure in stone and earth in conjunction with the rebuilding of roundhouses inside them in similar materials is suggestive of an increasing desire to create impressive spaces and to exercise greater control of the space within and around a site (without timber). These enclosures range in size from approximately 30 metres in diameter at Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988) to 80 metres at Llandegai A (Lynch and Musson 2001) as shown in table 4.2, and in spite of their size, only incorporate a small number of centrally located structures. The entrances to these structures line up with the entrances to the enclosure (usually facing east) and thus create a formal entrance into the inner areas of the site as a form of social display (e.g. Bowden and McOmish 1987; Sharples 1991). Similar redevelopments of boundaries and entranceways were taking place at hillfort sites in the study region around the same time, though of a slightly different form (discussed below) and these changes in site structure and morphology are clearly indicative of wider social and cultural shifts in the region during this period in the Early Iron Age, particularly in consideration of the evidence for the first occurrence of iron objects in the region, the end of the deposition of Ewart Park metalworking, and the seemingly greater emphasis on controlling space.

Name	Region	Enclosure Size (ha)	Entrance Orientation	Reference
Erw Wen	Gwynedd	0.09	Unknown	Kelly 1988
Moel y Gerddi	Gwynedd	0.07	East/West	Kelly 1988
Mellteryn Uchaf	Gwynedd	0.64	East	Ward and Smith 2001
Llwyn-du Bach	Gwynedd	0.37	East	Bersu and Griffiths 1949
Llandegai A	Gwynedd	0.2	West	Lynch and Musson 2001
Castell Bryn Gwyn	Anglesey	0.24	East	Lynch 1991
Bryn Eryr	Anglesey	0.3	East	Longley 1998

Table 4.2-Internal size of Early Iron Age enclosures (ha) in the study region.

The division of space and orientation of site elements is a subject which has received considerable archaeological attention in recent years (e.g. Oswald 1991; 1997; Parker

Pearson 1999b) and is a subject which is beyond the scope of this work to explore in detail. Cosmological models of the structuring of space have also received some criticism in recent years for being too restrictive on the interpretation of factors affecting orientation and division of space, especially with regard to environmental factors and for also being unrepresentative of different patterns of orientation and spatial division across differing regions at differing times, due to some problems and biases in the initial datasets that these hypotheses were based on (see Pope 2007 for a full critique). However, one of the first investigators to notice the prevailing orientation of structures at a local level was Guilbert (1975:205) for the study region in question, following his work on Moel y Gaer hillfort (Guilbert 1975) and for that reason if no other the matter deserves some further scrutiny here. Fig. 4.5 shows the orientation of roundhouse doorways for securely dated Early Iron Age structures in the study region. As can be seen a south-eastern orientation is the most prevalent, followed by easterly, much as Guilbert (1975) described for Moel y Gaer and as has also been put forward for households in the valleys of south-east England (Oswald 1991; 1997) and has more generally and perhaps erroneously been taken up for wider trends across the Iron Age in Britain (*cf.* Parker Pearson 1999b). It should be noted that a substantial number of the structures included in the dataset for figure 4.5 were from the original Moel y Gaer dataset, constituting 59% of the data. However, even when the Moel y Gaer data is removed from the analysis, as shown in figure 4.6, the results are the same. Which suggests that Guilbert's (1975) work is applicable to the larger study region for the Early Iron Age. A breakdown of the data included in this analysis can be seen in table 4.3 and table 4.4.

Early Iron Age Roundhouse Orientation With Moel y Gaer Data (%)

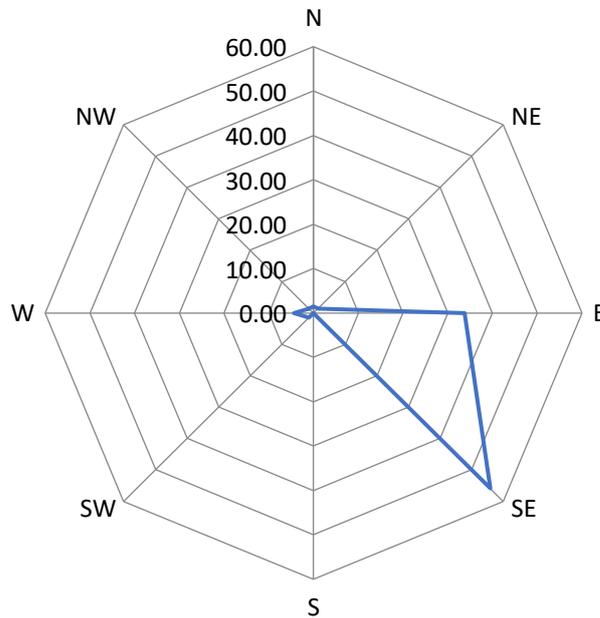


Figure 4.5-Orientation (%) of roundhouse doorways for the Early Iron Age in the study region with data from Moel y Gaer. N=68.

Early Iron Age Roundhouse Orientation Without Moel y Gaer Data (%)

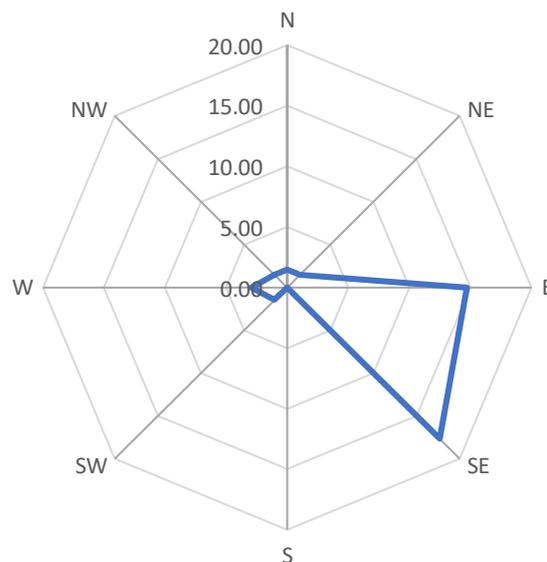


Figure 4.6-Orientation (%) of roundhouse doorways for the Early Iron Age in the study region without data from Moel y Gaer. N=28

Orientation	Enclosed Settlement (No.)	Enclosed Settlement (%)	Unenclosed Settlement (No.)	Unenclosed Settlement (%)	Hillfort (No.)	Hillfort (%)	Total (%)
N	0	0	0	0	1	1.47	1.47
NE	0	0	0	0	1	1.47	1.47
E	6	8.82	0	0	17	25	33.82
SE	5	7.35	5	7.35	28	41.18	55.88
S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SW	0	0	0	0	1	1.47	1.47
W	1	1.47	0	0	2	2.94	4.41
NW	0	0	1	1.47	0	0	1.47

Table 4.3- Break down of data for orientation of roundhouse doorways for the Early Iron Age in the study region by site type, including Moel y Gaer data.

Orientation	Enclosed Settlement (No.)	Enclosed Settlement (%)	Unenclosed Settlement (No.)	Unenclosed Settlement (%)	Hillfort (No.)	Hillfort (%)	Total (%)
N	0	0	0	0	1	3.57	3.57
NE	0	0	0	0	1	3.57	3.57
E	6	21.43	0	0	4	14.29	35.72
SE	5	17.86	5	17.86	2	7.14	42.86
S	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
SW	0	0	0	0	1	3.57	3.57
W	1	3.57	0	0	1	3.57	7.14
NW	0	0	1	3.57	0	0	3.57

Table 4.4- Break down of data for orientation of roundhouse doorways for the Early Iron Age in the study region by site type, excluding Moel y Gaer data.

As has been noted, the data presented above is for the Early Iron Age in the study region, which broadly corresponds to the period that saw the most consistency in household orientation. Pope (2003) suggests that for the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition approximately 52% of excavated houses faced south-east or east in northern and central Britain as a whole. In the study region, this figure is broadly comparable to houses with a south-easterly orientation (55.9%), though if houses that faced east as well as south-east are included in the figure the number rises to 89.7%, which is far more in line with the figure given by Parker Pearson (1999b). It would seem then that the trend during the Early Iron Age in the study region is for a prevalent south-easterly or easterly orientation. Pope (2007) has discussed the role of roundhouse orientation during the Iron Age, rather than accepting the purely cosmological model advocated by Oswald (1991), Pope (2003; 2007) discusses the practical implications of roundhouse doorway orientation with regards to both available light levels and shelter from the prevailing winds. Oswald (1991) states that the prevailing wind direction in Britain is west-south-west, whilst the optimum direction for maximising sunlight is south. In combination this provides a year-round optimum for shelter and light of an east to south-easterly doorway orientation. During the summer months this range is extended to north-east to south-easterly orientation. Pope (2007) considers a range of east to south-east to be indicative of building for longer duration occupation as it makes use of the year-round optimum rather than displaying seasonality towards the summer months. If we accept Pope (2007), this might suggest that the preference for east and south-easterly orientations is due to a concern for designing for the environmental optimum and year-round occupation. It may be that we have a low degree of seasonal occupation in this region during the Early Iron Age. A note of caution should be voiced however, as the structures that this evaluation is based on for the Early Iron Age in the region are few in number and (as discussed) may represent more permanent long duration sites amidst a number of temporary or short duration sites which have not been identified. So it may be that these permanent sites were occupied all year-round whilst the short duration sites had a higher degree of seasonality as part of a transhumance subsistence regime. Pope (2007:213) also points out the limitations of

the model, which assumes consistency in the prevailing wind direction and which also fails to account for variations in local topography and environment.

However, several Early Iron Age sites from the study region including Erw Wen (Kelly 1988), Moel y Gerddi (*ibid.*), and Bryn Eryr (Longley 1998) had double entrances, orientated opposite each other east-west. These sites pose some difficulties for the analysis of orientation. In the case of Erw Wen (Kelly 1988), the enclosure entrance for the site was never identified and during subsequent phases of the site the eastern entrance to the round house was blocked up leaving only the western entrance available. At the neighbouring site of Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988), both the enclosure and the house had opposing entrances, but in subsequent phases the western entrance to the enclosure and the roundhouse were blocked, as was the eastern entrance to the enclosure and a new south eastern enclosure entrance was created. At Bryn Eryr (Longley 1998), the roundhouse had opposing entrances, but the enclosure only had an east-facing entrance. The opposing entrances to the roundhouse were maintained even through subsequent reconstruction of the enclosure, though this may be a product of the longevity of the building.

These examples belong to the concentric circular type of enclosed site (even though Bryn Eryr (Longley 1998) was subsequently rebuilt with a rectilinear boundary) and it is possible that the evidence they provide for multiple entrances is indicative of a particular purpose or local cultural tradition, that was absent from other parts of the study region. Other roundhouses with double entrances are known from the study region, but they are Middle Iron Age to Late Iron Age in date and do not conform with the particular morphology of the Early Iron Age examples (they are usually unenclosed, post-built structures and are most common in the east of the study region). Pope (2007) has suggested that entrance orientation is a function of site seasonality and usage. Both Bryn Eryr (Longley 1998) and Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988) have produced higher than expected organic phosphate levels within the outer enclosure bank, which has led investigators to conclude that they were being used for pastoral activities and to house cattle and given the proximity and similarity of form of Erw Wen to Moel y Gerddi the same has been postulated for that site (Kelly 1988:141). So, it is possible that these unusual examples represent a form associated

with seasonal pastoral activities. However, given the very limited number of these sites and the lack of direct evidence for seasonality, it would be premature to make any determinations at this time. All that can be reasonably inferred from this small number of sites is that whatever the original purpose of the double entrance, during the later phases of occupation they became redundant. There is no evidence to suggest a significant change in the subsistence activities taking place at these sites. Consequently, the move away from double entrances probably reflects a social or cultural change coinciding with the broad period of remodelling at these locations at the end of the Early Iron Age or the beginning of the Middle Iron Age.

Hillforts

Hillforts in the study region begin to occur from the Late Bronze Age onwards and in many respects follow similar traditions as many non-hillfort settlements (see fig. 4.7, also table 4.5). Many of the region's hillforts are constructed in locations which had seen earlier activity in the Bronze Age and a number of them incorporate or at least closely respect Bronze Age monuments, such as at Penycloddiau (R. Pope *pers comm.*), where the line of the ramparts respects a Bronze Age cairn. This association with Bronze Age monuments is consistent with the evidence from other regions of Britain such as Wessex, where many of the region's hillforts are closely associated with earlier monuments (Sharples 2010). The function of hillforts in the study region is a matter of debate. Whilst a purely martial or defensive explanation for hillforts is no longer considered sufficient (Hill 1995; Harding 2012), the actual function of hillforts within a particular Iron Age society is still debated (Bowden and McOmish 1989; Harding 2012). It has been suggested that hillforts may have functioned as group aggregation sites or centres for the redistribution of agricultural produce, alternatively they may have functioned as part of a system of transhumance associated with pastoral activities. Alcock (1965) suggests that the hillforts of the Vale of Clwyd seem ideally situated on the interface between arable land and upland pasture and that they may have functioned as part of a transhumance regime. In this system the herds would have been moved to upland pasture in the summer accompanied by increased occupation at the hillfort sites, which may have also

served as centres for group activities, as have been postulated in Northumberland (Oswald *et al.* 2006:88).

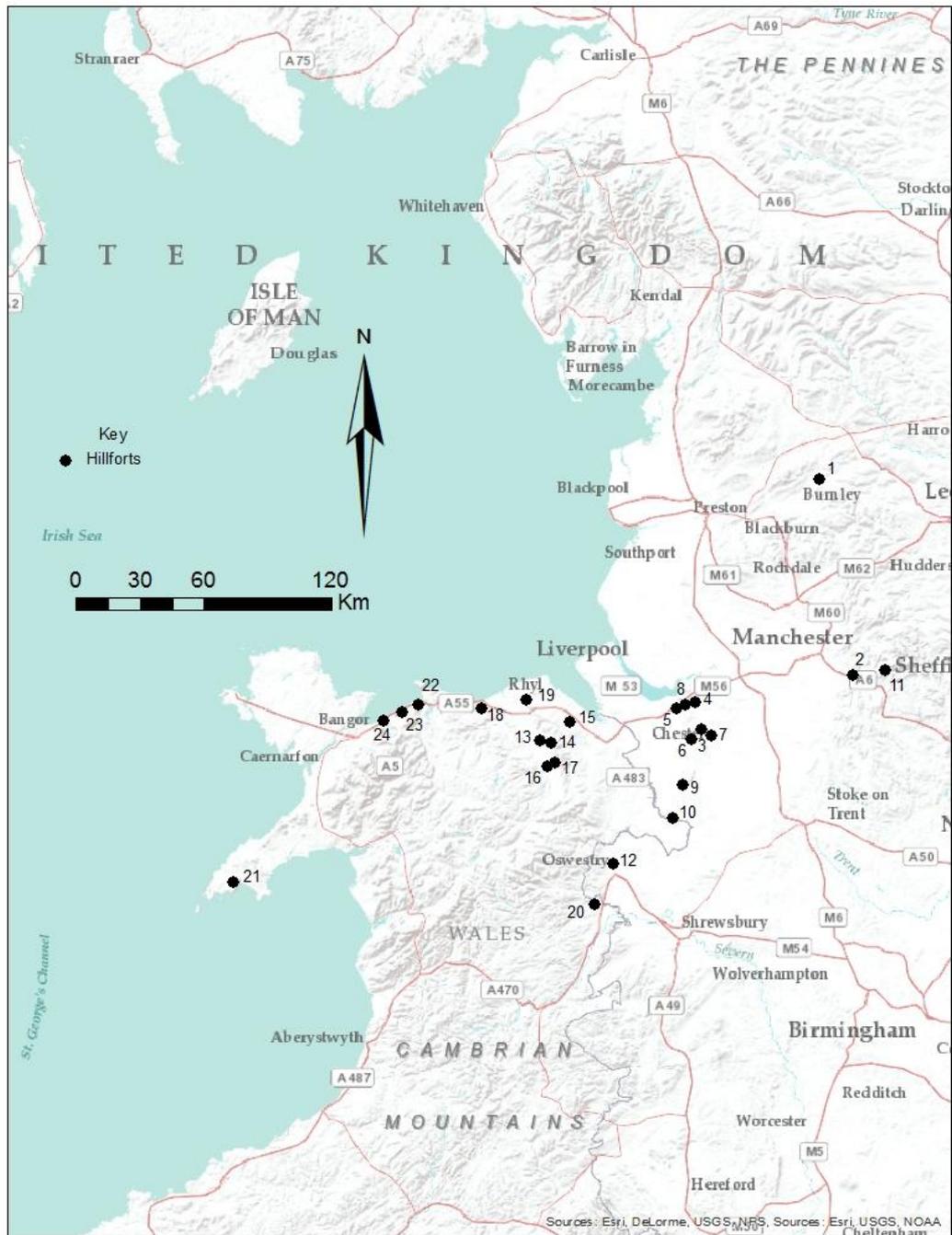


Figure 4.7 Early Iron Age hillfort sites mentioned in the text for the study region (underlying map © 1995-2016 Esri).

Name	ID no. for fig. 4.7	Region	Period	Elevation (metres AOD)	Reference
Castercliffe	1	Lancashire	EIA	259	Coombs 1982
Mellor	2	Greater Manchester	EIA-LIA	220	Nevell and Redhead 2005
Eddisbury	3	Cheshire	LBA-LIA	158	Forde-Johnston 1965
Bradley	4	Cheshire	EIA-LIA	100	Forde-Johnston 1965
Helsby	5	Cheshire	EIA-LIA	141	Forde-Johnston 1965
Kellsborrow	6	Cheshire	EIA-LIA	120	Forde-Johnston 1965
Oakmere	7	Cheshire	EIA-LIA	-	Forde-Johnston 1965
Woodhouses	8	Cheshire	LBA-LIA	137	Forde-Johnston 1965
Beeston Castle	9	Cheshire	LBA-LIA	160	Ellis 1993
Maiden Castle, Bickerton	10	Cheshire	LBA-LIA	212	Cheshire HER 341/1
Mam Tor	11	Derbyshire	MBA-EIA	517	Coombs and Thompson 1979
Old Oswestry	12	Shropshire	LBA-LIA	164	Hughes 1996
Penycloddiu	13	Flintshire	LBA-IA	440	Mason and Pope 2012
Moel Arthur	14	Flintshire	EIA	455	Wynne-Ffoulkes 1850
Moel y Gaer, Rhosesmor	15	Denbighshire	LBA-IA	-	Guilbert 1975
Moel y Gaer, Llanbedr	16	Denbighshire	LBA-IA	320	Wynne-Ffoulkes 1850
Moel Fenlli	17	Denbighshire	LBA-IA	511	Wynne-Ffoulkes 1850
Dinorben	18	Denbighshire	LBA-LIA	170	Gardner and Savory 1964
Moel Hiraddug	19	Denbighshire	LBA-IA	265	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Breiddin	20	Powys	LBA-LIA	300	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Meillionydd	21	Gwynedd	LBA-MIA	190	Waddington and Karl 2010

Caer Lleion	22	Conway	LBA-IA	180	Griffiths and Hogg 1956
Braich y Dinas	23	Conway	LBA-IA	350	Hughes 1912
Dinas	24	Conway	EIA	315	Hughes and Lowe 1925

Table 4.5-Early Iron Age hillfort sites in the study region mentioned in the text.

The hillforts in the region during the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age appear to mostly be constructed using simple dump-rampart techniques. Several of the regions oldest hillforts show evidence for earlier timber palisades underlying the rampart phases, as at Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Meillionydd (Waddington and Karl 2010; Karl and Waddington 2011) Eddisbury (R. Pope *pers. comm.*) and the Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991). This is similar to the sequence at several of the region's enclosed settlement sites where palisade walls were employed prior to the construction of more substantial earthen banks, as discussed above. The occurrence of timber palisades seems to be a mostly Late Bronze Age factor of hillfort enclosure in the region, with many of the region's hillforts switching to more substantial earthen banks by the beginning of the Early Iron Age, as shown in table 4.6. Although the construction techniques may appear to be comparatively simple, they would nevertheless have required a huge amount of labour, both to construct in the first place and to maintain. If the hillforts were functioning both as a group *locus* and a functional part of the subsistence cycle, then it would be in the interests of the group to ensure that the site remained in good repair- a system which does not require the imposition of a social elite or 'overseer caste.' The construction of the earthwork banks themselves would have certainly needed some level of social co-ordination and social investment to acquire the necessary resources (Harding 2012: 22-7). The construction of earthwork ramparts was likely undertaken by teams representing different family groups or social affinities working individually, as may be evidenced by the piecemeal construction of the unfinished Castercliffe hillfort in Lancashire (Coombs 1982: 124) as well as the evidence from the Breiddin for the 'wandering line' of the earliest ramparts, which Musson believes to be evidence for small work gangs operating in tandem (Musson *et al.* 1991:176).

Name	Region	Rampart construction (Cal)	Reference
Beeston	Cheshire	1260-830	Ellis 1993
Maiden Castle,	Cheshire	1000-400	Cheshire SMR 341/1
Breiddin	Powys	820-670	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Dinorben	Denbighshire	975	Savory 1971
Caer Lleion	Conway	750-400	G.H Smith 2009
Castell Odo	Gwynedd	808-234	Alcock 1975

Table 4.6-Calibrated radiocarbon determinations for the construction phases of some of the earliest hillfort ramparts in the study region.

The reason for the early adoption of hillforts in the study region is unknown. Table 4.7 shows the dating evidence for the earliest occupation phases at some of the region's oldest hillforts, which often predate the construction of the earliest rampart phases at these sites. It is possible that they represent the development of a local tradition; it is similarly possible that they are an indigenous response to a tradition that developed elsewhere and was adopted and modified by the communities living in central western Britain. Indeed, there is good evidence for contact along the Atlantic coast during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, from Ireland to northern France and Iberia (Henderson 2007; Savory 1970) and it is conceivable that the initial construction of hillforts in central western Britain may have been part of a wider network of contact and development of traditions from these regions, such as the *Cultura Castreja* from northern Iberia. The castro tradition of northern Iberia has many similarities with hillfort development in central western Britain, such as the location of castro sites overlooking estuaries and waterways, the use of elaborate defensive ditches, the continuity of occupation from the Late Bronze Age into the Iron Age (at some sites) and the development of smaller regional centers in the area of the larger castros (Lemos *et al.* 2011: 192). Of course, if contact along the Atlantic seaways are accepted as being a factor in hillfort development then it is also necessary to accept the possibility that the development of castros may have been influenced by developments in Britain, particularly given the prevalence of circular architectural forms in Britain (R. Pope, *pers comm.*). However, it should be noted, that the connection between hillfort traditions in Britain and the castro tradition of

northern Iberia is tenuous and at this type there is no solid evidence for a commonality of function or origin. Though further work in this area may provide more evidence.

Name	County	Date bp	Date (Cal BC)	Reference
Beeston Castle (period 2A rampart)	Cheshire	2860+/- 80	1260-830	Ellis 1993:85
Maiden Castle, Bickerton (north inner)	Cheshire	2620+/- 95	1000-400	Cheshire HER 341/1
Maiden Castle, Bickerton (south)	Cheshire	2435+/- 70	770-400	Cheshire HER 341/1
Mam Tor	Derbyshire	3130+/- 132	1700-1000	Coombs and Thompson 1979:44
Mam Tor	Derbyshire	3080+/- 115	1650-950	Coombs and Thompson 1979:44
Breiddin	Powys	-	975	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991:
Moel y Gaer: Rhosesmor	Flintshire	-	975	Guilbert 1975
Dinorben	Denbighshire	-	1170	Stanford 1980

Table 4.7-Dating of several of the study region's oldest hillforts

This last point is particularly interesting from a social organization point of view, as it has been suggested that smaller castro sites provided specialist activity centres for the larger more central castro locations (Lemos *et al.* 2011: 192) and as a number of the hillforts in central western Britain appear to occur in pairs or small clusters, the same may be true in the study region. The hillforts of the Cheshire sandstone ridge show some evidence of grouping. Six of the hillforts seem to be arranged in two groups of three, based on close proximity (see figure 4.7 and table 4.5). The three most northerly of the Cheshire hillforts are Helsby, Bradley and Woodhouses. The southerly cluster of three hillforts in Cheshire is comprised of Eddisbury, Kelsborrow Castle and Oakmere. The hillforts in this group (see table 4.8) have a variety of sizes and forms and it is unclear whether these pertain to different functions or are simply the result of topographic factors and perhaps of social and cultural factors impacting construction of such monuments. It should be remembered that the construction

and use of these hillforts spanned a considerable period and they may not have all been in use at the same time. Indeed, Forde-Johnston (1965) noted that the structure of Oakmere, Woodhouses and Kellsborrow Castle suggest that they may not even have been finished. They may also have had different durations of use, Forde-Johnston (1965) noted that Kellsborrow probably only represented one phase of use, whilst the redevelopment of the ramparts at Eddisbury and Helsby certainly represent several different phases of activity.

Name	Region	Area (Ha)	Type	Elevation (metres AOD)	Rampart type
Helsby	Cheshire	1670	Multivallate	141	Box rampart with dry stone revetting
Bradley	Cheshire	810	Univallate	100	-
Woodhouses	Cheshire	1820	Univallate	137	Box rampart with dry stone revetting
Eddisbury	Cheshire	6270	Multivallate	158	Rebuilt as a box type with dry stone revetting
Kellsborrow	Cheshire	3640	Univallate	120	-
Oakmere	Cheshire	1420	Univallate	-	-

Table 4.8-Size and form of the ‘grouped’ hillforts in Cheshire

Of the hillforts of the region, Bradley (810 ha) represents the smallest and the hillfort with the most restricted view, Eddisbury (6270 ha) represents the largest (though the area actually enclosed by the defences is less than half of the total area of the site at approximately 2830 ha). Kellsborrow is the next largest, but as has been noted, may not have been in use for very long. The others are of broadly comparable size between about 1420 and 1820 ha. The role of Bradley is difficult to explain, but it may have been serving a different function to the other hillforts in the region. Similarly, Kellsborrow may represent a different function within the wider landscape context, though without more extensive excavation at these sites it may prove

impossible to determine if this is the case. It has been suggested that Eddisbury is of a slightly different construction to other hillforts in Cheshire, having more in common with the hillforts of central southern England, than with the hillforts of central western Britain (Forde-Johnston 1965). This assertion is based on the form of the revetting and box work construction, particularly around the entrance to the enclosure, which Forde-Johnston (1965) suggested is closer to a derivative form of the *murus gallicus*. This may be a later development, due to the re-building of the ramparts at Eddisbury during the 5th century, but it does present the possibility that the construction and use of Eddisbury may have been down to a different social or cultural group than the other hillforts in the region or, at least that the subsequent reconstruction of the ramparts at Eddisbury was influenced by techniques from other parts of Britain, which may not be unreasonable, given the imports of goods into this part of the study region from southern Britain (Lynch 1991:206-8; Cromarty *et al.* 2006; Waddington 2013:11).

Although these goods are better attested from the Middle and Late Iron Age, this type of construction technique may suggest that contact with these other regions were well established by the end of the Early Iron Age. The northern Welsh hillforts (particularly around the Vale of Clwyd) paint a slightly different picture, showing a paired relationship (see fig. 4.8), but in this case often with clear disparity in terms of size (see fig. 4.8). Harding (2012: 202) suggests a divergence of function, identifying the larger hillforts of the Clwydian range, such as Moel Hiraddug, Penycloddiau and Moel Fenlli, as possibly being used to protect cattle from seasonal raiding, whilst the smaller hillforts would have served as seasonal aggregation sites. Others suggest that the disparity in size may be due to a chronological divide between the constructions of these hillforts (Mason and Pope 2012:4), unfortunately without better dating evidence for the construction of hillforts within the study region it is impossible to say at this juncture. Nevertheless, the chronological position of these hillforts is something that should be borne in mind when considering such associations, both for north Wales and Cheshire. Exactly what form the division of roles of these sites would be is unclear. In central western Britain there is only limited evidence for specialist activity from the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age at some sites, such as some

evidence for metalworking at the Breiddin (Tylecote and Bierck 1991:149), Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Old Oswestry (Hughes 1996) and Mellor (Nevell and Redhead 2005); and evidence for bone and antler working at Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982) and Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964). Many of the other hillfort sites in the region show little or no evidence for specialized or unusual activity during the Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age, although modern large-scale excavation of hillfort sites in the region has been limited. It may be that the evidence has not yet been discovered or that such specialist practices were only undertaken at a few specific sites. The reason that these sites exhibited these specialist production activities is unclear. There is no obvious commonality in the size or site morphology of these specific hillfort sites, nor is there any evidence for unusual structures or architectural features on these sites dating from the Early Iron Age period. However, most of these sites have Bronze Age origins and it may be that that these locations-maintained traditions or associations with production from the Bronze Age and into the Early Iron Age. More research into this area and the occupation and inhabitation of such production sites is needed in order to determine their role within Early Iron Age site organization.

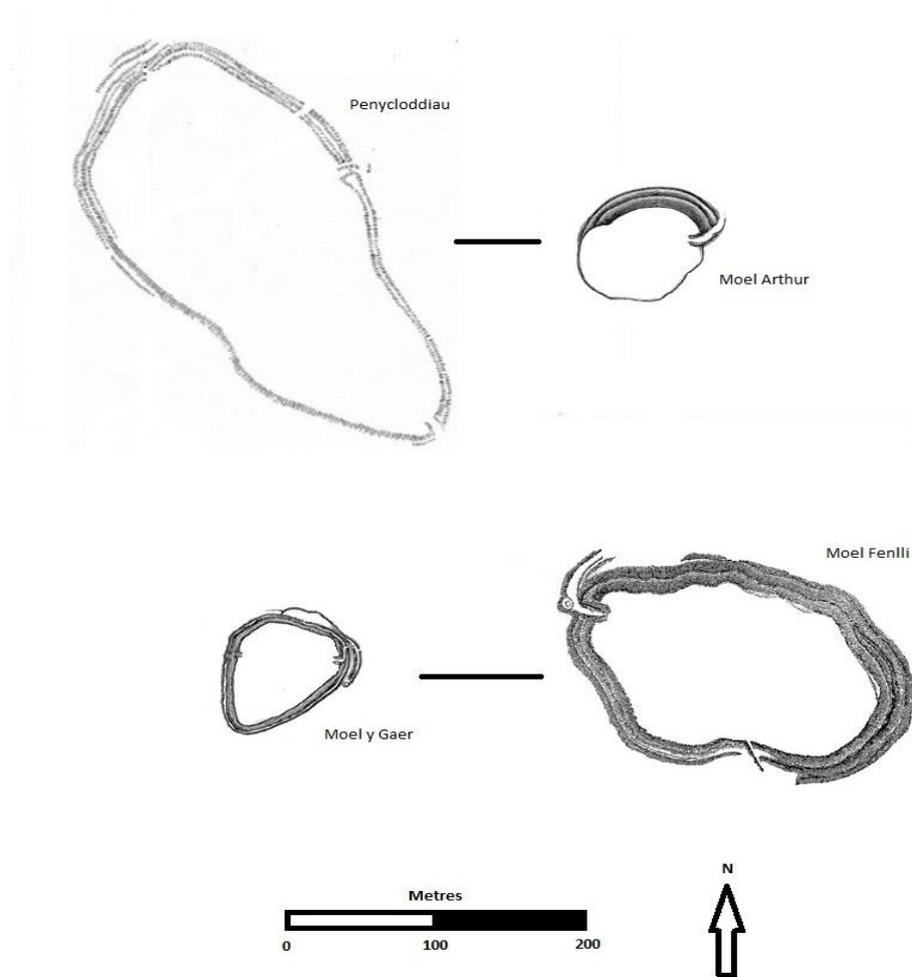


Figure 4.8-The ‘paired relationship’ (Penycloddiau/Moel Arthur and Moel y Gaer/Moel Fenlli) and size disparity between hillforts in the Vale of Clwyd (after Wynne-Ffoulkes 1850 and Davies 1929).

It is worth commenting on the division of space within hillforts at this time. Although many of the region’s hillforts are lacking evidence for internal division, this may again be due to a lack of detailed modern investigation. At sites where more detailed or extensive investigation has taken place, several of the region’s hillforts show evidence for internal division such as at Caer Lleion, Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1912, 1923), Dinas (Hughes and Lowe 1925) and possibly Mellor (Nevell and Redhead 2005:29) (see fig. 4.9). The purpose of these internal divisions is unknown, though they appear to divide the hillforts up into distinct areas. It may be initially thought that they separated the hillfort up into different activity areas, though there is no direct evidence to support this. However, based on the occurrence of metalworking

waste and partially completed objects, many of the traces of craftworking activity at hillfort sites in the region are associated with boundary constructions, particularly the ramparts themselves as at Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964), Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982), Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993) and Mellor (Nevell and Redhead 2005) and it may be that the deposition of such material within these boundary contexts was a way of defining the activity areas within the hillfort, but also of creating a deeper connection with the location. Hingley (1990; 2006a) has discussed the role of the deposition of ironwork at settlement boundaries for southern England and particularly notes that the depositions are associated with the 'whole of the boundary,' rather than one specific area (Hingley 2006b:123), which suggests that the deposition of craftworking material at boundaries was tied to the boundary itself either reinforcing it or reinforcing the ties of a particular social group to it. Given the association with craft production the deposition of this material may even have been seen as a way to continually reproduce the boundary or the social group that the boundary represented.

The dating of these internal divisions has been contentious. It was originally thought that they represented later modification to the hillfort's structure, possibly in the Early Medieval period (Longley 1997), though this has been challenged by G. Smith (2009). Sadly, many of the sites where such internal divisions have been observed have since been destroyed by quarrying. However, a review of the original investigations of Caer Lleion (Griffiths and Hogg 1956) and Garn Boduan (Hogg 1960) strongly suggest an Iron Age date for these divisions based on the structural sequence of the hillfort banks, construction techniques and the stratigraphic relationship of these divisions to other structures within these hillforts. At Caer Lleion, Griffiths and Hogg (1956) believed that the construction of the internal division occurred within a century or so of the re-modelling of the rampart phases (Griffiths and Hogg 1956:73). However, even if this estimate falls short of the time that elapsed between the construction of the ramparts and the internal division an Early Iron Age-Middle Iron Age date can still be confidently attributed.

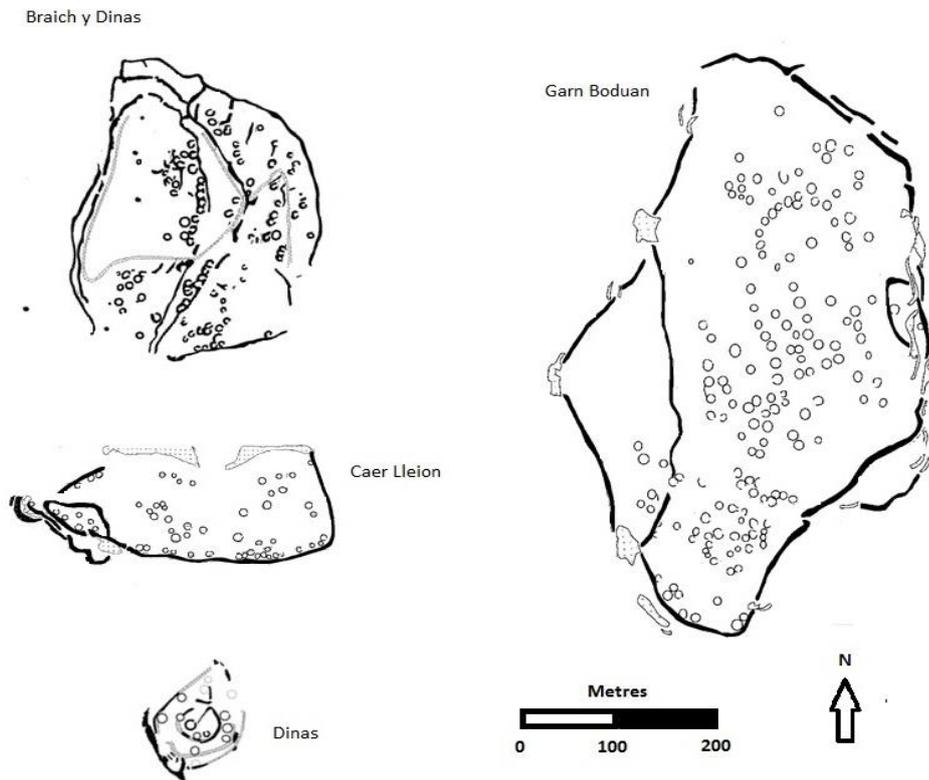


Figure 4.9-Early-Middle Iron Age internal division within several of the region’s hillforts (after Hughes 1912; Hughes and Lowe 1925; Griffiths and Hogg 1956; Hogg 1960).

It is also possible that the internal division of hillforts was a factor of Early Iron Age social organization. The division of the hillfort may have represented different social groups, or functioned for livestock control. There is very little evidence for social structuring within hillforts during the Early Iron Age in the study region. Although there are a variety of house sizes evident from the region’s hillforts during the Early Iron Age, only a very few of them are substantially smaller or larger than the others (see fig. 4.10) and the limited material culture evidence that they have provided is consistent with other houses in the region and does not show any particular disparity in quality or quantity compared with other structures. This suggests that if these divisions are defining social groups then these groups are unlikely to be part of a ranked society and may simply represent extended kin units which are part of the larger social network of people who make use of the hillfort. This would also tie in

with the idea of hillforts being constructed by multiple groups acting in tandem as discussed for Castercliffe and the Breiddin above.

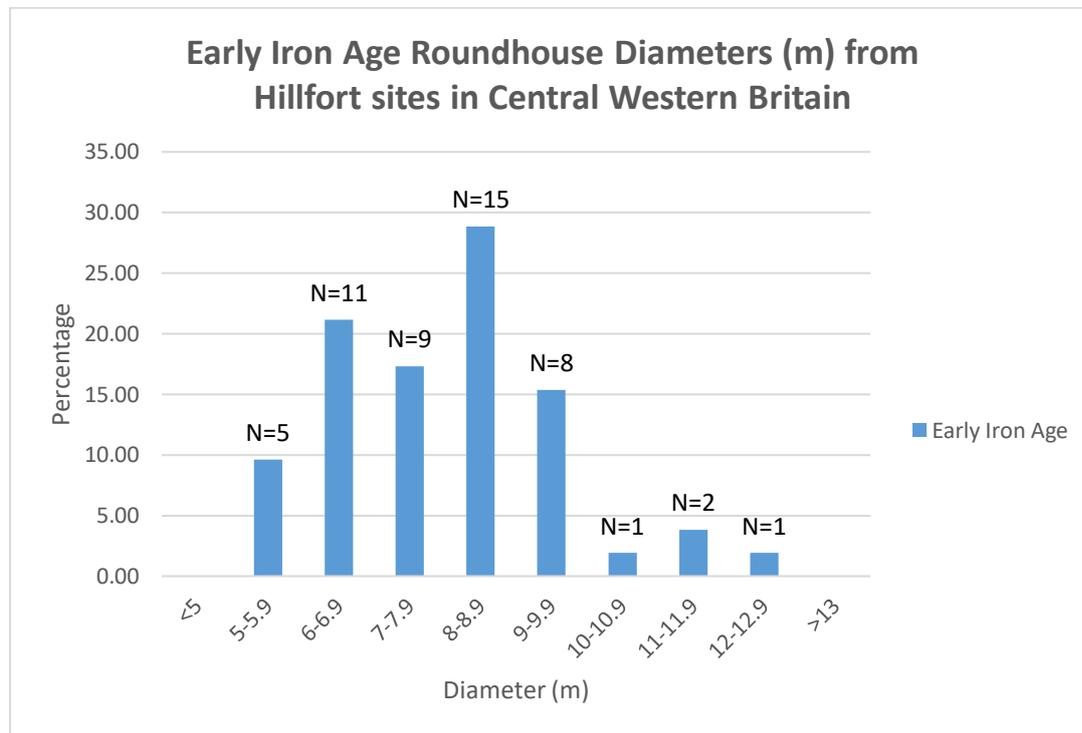


Figure 4.10-Early Iron Age roundhouse diameters (m) from hillfort sites in the study region. N=52.

As has been noted above, from the 7th century BC, many of the region’s hillforts were rebuilt with more complex ramparts and elaborated entrances. This practice of rebuilding particularly increased during the 5th century BC and continued into the Middle Iron Age, as can be seen in table 4.9. The rebuilding of hillfort ramparts often included the addition of stone revetments and extra ramparts and also coincides with increased deposition of material culture at many hillfort sites such as Dinorben, Beeston Castle and Moel Hiraddug. The purpose of this restructuring is difficult to positively identify. It may be argued that the redevelopment of hillforts during this period was an attempt to emphasise the permanence of the locations, as has been suggested for other enclosed sites in the region. Alternatively, perhaps more realistically, the redevelopment of hillforts was the result of several different factors emerging from the social and cultural changes which become evident in the region from the 7th century BC onwards. As has been discussed above the 7th century BC saw the final deposition of Ewart Park metalwork in the study region, as well as the

beginnings of changes in the form of both enclosed settlement and hillforts, a reduction in roundhouse size and a move to new construction techniques and the appearance of the first iron objects in the archaeological record. With this in mind it seems that the 7th century BC may have marked the final move away from Late Bronze Age traditions in the study region and a change in the existing social structure. Although it is difficult to characterize the social setting that these changes occurred in, it is reasonable to state that there is no evidence for deep social stratification during the opening centuries of the Early Iron Age. So, whilst it can equally be argued that the 8th and 7th centuries of the Early Iron Age were socially egalitarian or exhibited a level of social inequality, any inequalities that did exist were likely to be only locally reproduced. As the Early Iron Age progressed the case for social differentiation can be more convincingly made with the development of increasing numbers of enclosed settlements and new forms of material expression coming into play, which likely led to increased focus on settlement form and elaboration as social display became progressively more important in negotiating social position connection with the landscape.

Name	Region	Period	Date (cal BC)	Reference
Castercliffe	Lancashire	EIA-MIA	570-450	Coombs 1982
Beeston Castle	Cheshire	EIA-MIA	480-340	Ellis 1993
Eddisbury	Cheshire	EIA-MIA	428-378	R. Pope <i>pers. comm</i>
Moel y Gaer: Rhosemor	Flintshire	EIA-MIA	450	Stanford 1980
Dinorben	Denbighshire	EIA	500	Savory 1971
Caer Lleion	Conway	EIA-MIA	410-360	G.H. Smith 2009

Table 4.9-Dating of rampart reconstruction for hillforts in the study region

It is clear that hillfort sites played a significant role in the social organization of groups during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. This role appears to have revolved around the structuring of tasks and activities. It has been noted that several of the hillfort sites in the region had evidence for specialist production activities, such as

Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Old Oswestry (Hughes 1996), Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982). Although it is not necessarily possible in all cases to identify where on the site production took place for the Early Iron Age, the waste from production activities, including metalworking waste and unfinished objects is found associated with the exterior boundary of these sites. At Beeston Castle, a metalworking hearth was discovered associated with the rampart of the site (Ellis 1993) and given this association it seems likely that the exterior boundary of these sites was significant for production related activities (discussed more fully in chapter 6 and 7). Similarly, the internal division of some hillfort sites, such as Caer Lleion (Griffiths and Hogg 1956), Garn Boduan (Hogg 1960), Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1912) and Mellor (Nevell and Redhead 2005), serves to create smaller structured spaces. It is possible that these spaces represented defined activity zones where specific tasks would be carried out, or they could have segregated specific kin groups or family units. Both defining social space and reinforcing the idea that whilst everyone on the hillfort was connected within the boundedness of the hillfort's enclosure, they also maintained their independence and social distance. More generally, the location of the hillforts themselves, within the wider landscape context could also have informed social organization.

The role of mobility amongst Early Iron Age communities as part of a transhumance subsistence regime has been discussed. In this system central locations in the landscape would play an important role both in aggregation events and consequently in structural seasonal activities and cycles of movement. Social groups would become associated with specific sites and seasonal patterns of movement, which would inform both social identity and wider social interactions with other groups. This may also lead to a distinction of places, with certain hillforts being occupied at specific times of the year by different social groups. A similar hypothesis has been suggested for some sites dating to the Middle Iron Age in other regions, such as the 4th century site of Sutton Common in Humberside (van der Noort 2007:175). The situation is suggestive of a social hierarchy not of people but of places. Lemos *et al.* (2011:191) suggests that the reason some of the castro sites were abandoned, whilst others remained in use was due to the role of some of these locations as "places of memory

and tradition” if this was the case then the idea may easily be extended to the hillforts of western central Britain. In which case, the association of sites with earlier occupation and with particular activities could have represented both a measure of group identity and of social position within the wider community. Unfortunately, there is not sufficient evidence from hillfort sites in the study region to determine their seasonality, which makes it difficult to firmly ascribe the role that hillforts may have played in seasonal mobility patterns. Nevertheless, the longevity of hillfort sites in the study region, in combination with their evidence for occupation, deposition of material culture and continued modification, certainly indicates that these sites were important in defining group identity and social affiliation. Whilst the evidence for long duration of use and modification also strongly points to these sites being reinvented in line with evolving ideas of social organization and group identity.

Settlement and Society

The implications of developing settlement forms for social organization and the construction of social identity during the Early Iron Age in the study region will now be considered. As has been discussed, the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age show a decrease in the number of identified settlements both in the region and more widely across northern and central Britain (Haselgrove and Pope 2007). The few identified non-hillfort sites in the region that date to the 9th-8th centuries BC represent larger house structures, with an internal diameter in excess of 12 metres, such as at Brook House Farm; Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002), Llandegai A (Houlder 1968) and Bush Farm (Longley *et al.* 1998). Although these were large and impressive structures, occupying prominent landscape positions, they have yielded little evidence for any sort of marked social disparity with other sites in the region. It was noted in chapter 3 that the utilization of the landscape during the Iron Age would have depended on factors such as soil type, drainage and fertility. Whilst the evidence seems to suggest a move towards a transhumant pastoral mode of subsistence at many sites in the region, several locations continue to provide limited evidence for arable cultivation, including Bush Farm (Longley *et al.* 1998) in the form of a terraced field and Brook House Farm, Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002) in the form of charred cereal grains and palynological records from the site. It may be

that these sites were functioning as arable production centres. If the decline in the number of recorded settlements was due to a greater degree of seasonality associated with a mobile pastoral subsistence strategy, then these larger more permanent sites may have represented more sedentary groups engaged in mixed arable/pastoral production. However, care must be taken as the direct evidence for arable production is limited.

Sharples (2010) has instead suggested that these structures represent an attempt to communicate status by groups still clinging-on to Late Bronze Age traditions. It is true that sites such as Llandegai A (Houlder 1968) would have been impressive, situated inside an existing henge monument, which as well as providing a physical demarcation of space also conjured up ties with ancient, possibly mythical ancestors and longevity in the landscape (Barrett 1999; Gosden and Lock 1998). However, apart from the size of these roundhouses, there is little evidence for any other differences in traditions, depositions or practices on these sites and a more practical explanation of the size disparity, such as social aggregation, seems to be indicated. Social aggregation may also be evidenced at the region's hillforts. Many of the region's hillforts, such as Dinorben (Gardner and Savory (1964), Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Eddisbury (R. Pope *pers. comm.*), Moel y Gaer (Guilbert 1975) and Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982), show periods of reconstruction of the enclosure boundaries and ramparts during this time. This suggests an increasing interest in displaying permanence in the landscape. The evidence from Castercliffe (Coombs 1982) and the Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991) indicates that these enclosures were constructed by groups each working in concert on a small section and then 'linking-up.' Again, this may suggest increasing social aggregation, as smaller social groups begin to band together into larger social networks. The effort to stress continuity is strongly suggestive of a desire to convey power and meaning through architecture. It is possibly also intended to impress and even intimidate those approaching these sites by demonstrating both the longevity of the group in occupation and their capacity to mobilise resources and labour in a conspicuous display of consumption (Sharples 2010).

From the 6th century BC and into the Middle Iron Age there is a renewed focus on remodelling hillfort boundaries, often in stone. This suggests that the creation of social space was still an important factor in the social organization of the landscape and that there was still a strong interest in conveying concepts of group power and heritage through the creation of monumental architecture. It may also relate to a desire to convey inherited rights of access to particular landscape contexts, which may pertain to transhumance patterns and pasturing rights, if Alcock (1960) is correct in his hypothesis that hillforts represented aggregation centres associated with seasonal patterns of cattle movement.

But, this period also sees the development of new settlement forms in the west of the region. There is an increasing focus on the control of space at non-hillfort sites. Enclosed concentric circular settlements become common, as at Bryn Eryr (Longley 1998), Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988) and Erw Wen (Kelly 1988), these sites have a central roundhouse surrounded by a concentric enclosure and often have opposed double entrances. This suggests a focus on the site as a means of structuring social interactions, with the layout of the site designed to convey a sense of passage, from the unbounded, outside world into the bounded enclosure and finally into the restricted and private social space of the roundhouse. In this regard it closely ties in with cosmological models of roundhouse architecture and concepts of social inclusion/exclusion and public and private spaces (*cf.* Parker Pearson 1994). It is particularly interesting that the entrances to these sites and the central roundhouses on them are often orientated east-west in contrast to the more usual south-east orientation seen in roundhouses at other sites in the region, particularly at hillforts such as Moel y Gaer (Guilbert 1975). These new architectural forms are also built in stone and may be representative of smaller social units beginning to articulate their own group identities. This period also coincides with an improvement in the climate; temperatures begin to increase and precipitation rates begin to decrease. With this stabilisation of the climate groups may begin to experiment, albeit at a small scale, with new subsistence practices, which may have gradually led to more permanent occupation at lowland sites and a decline in the significance of seasonal patterns of movement. Although this is only a hypothesis, such a change would explain a growing

interest in demonstrating continuity of occupation and inherited rights of landscape access.

The changes in non-hillfort sites are only evidenced in the west of the region. In the east unenclosed, timber-built roundhouses continue to dominate the record; as they continue to do for the rest of the Iron Age. However, around this time the east also starts to evidence the first articles of material culture that are directly relatable to the body and personal image; in the form of razors and pins from Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993). Although there are only a comparatively small number of these articles known from the region, prior to the Middle Iron Age, this may not reflect their full extent. Alternatively, there may have been other items of personal ornamentation that are archaeologically less visible and that were supplementing the small number of early iron objects in circulation. Small items of decorated bone and antler have been evidenced at Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982) and these may have been part of the emerging material culture 'package.' Consequently, it may have been that both regions were beginning to demonstrate some social fragmentation and to experiment with new forms of personal and social identity, just in differing ways.

So, what are the implications for the social organization of Early Iron Age societies in the region? Sharples (2011; after Douglas 1970) has proposed a method for characterizing the social structuring of societies based on the relationship between concepts of group identity and self (see figure 4.11). In this model, which has been termed 'grid and group,' the relationship between societal concepts of group identity and boundedness and individual concepts of self, relate a society to a position on a diagram. The closer an individual is to the 'grid' position, the greater their sense of self and consequently the greater the social constraints on behaviour and interaction. Whilst the closer an individual is to the 'group' position the more they will define themselves in relation to wider group or collective membership. In section A, people possess a sense of ego-centrism, but little sense of group or collective identity. There is very little group cohesion or boundedness, though there are social constraints on behaviour and personal interaction. In section B, there is little sense of group identity and no strong societal controls on behaviour or personal interactions. In section C,

there is both a strong sense of group identity and strong societal constraints on interaction and social relationships, but people still retain a developed sense of self and personal identity-this is the traditional stratified society. In section D there is little sense of self, but a strong sense of society and group boundedness, the position of the individual is entirely defined in relation to group membership.

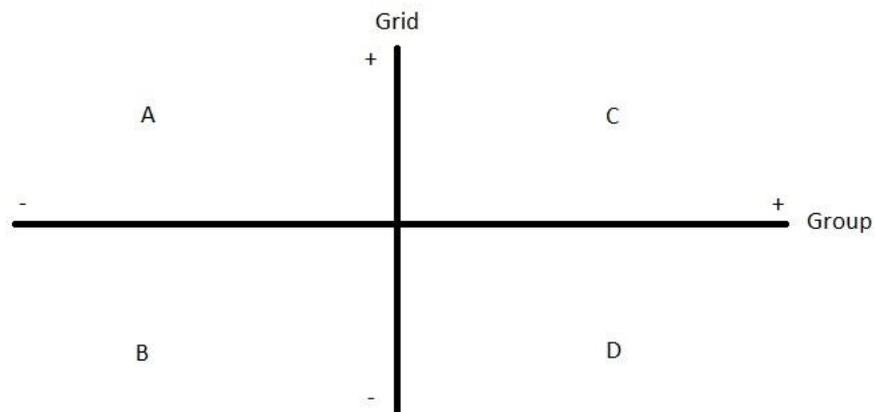


Figure 4.11-Illustration of 'grid' and 'group' concepts of identity (after Douglas 1970; Sharples 2011).

If this model is applied to the situation in the study region for the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, then it may be suggested that Late Bronze Age society, with its emphasis on feasting, reciprocal exchange relationships, personal identity and conspicuous consumption of material culture (Waddington 2013) may have represented a society within section C of the diagram; a developed society with some social stratification and a strong sense of individual personal and social identity. However, the increasing social aggregation during the Early Iron Age, in conjunction with the abandonment of indicators of personal identity and bodily relationships, such as the disappearance of personal ornamentation, individual ceramic traditions and evidence for funerary traditions, suggests that societies in the region were moving to a more bounded group-based social organization, equivalent to section D. The shifts in the evidence from the 6th century BC may indicate the beginnings of another change, as societies in the region begin to adopt new forms of personal and

social expression, perhaps at the expense of group unity. This may be viewed as a move back towards section C, although this appears to be more pronounced amongst groups in the east, at least with regards to individual personal identity. Though it is likely that the changes that were occurring in the region at this time were still subtle and were also undoubtedly more complex and variable than the resolution of archaeological data will show.

Summary

The settlement evidence for the Iron Age in central western Britain varies both through time and space. During the opening centuries of the Early Iron Age there appears to be a trend to construct larger houses, hillforts and circular enclosures as well as unenclosed settlement. These structures are usually timber-built and many may have had earlier enclosing palisades, embankments were usually earthen constructions. This probably represents the final flourishing of Late Bronze Age architectural traditions in the region, as the distinctive settlement forms all have Late Bronze Age antecedents and often occur on sites with evidence of Bronze Age activity. These architectural traditions also coincide with the final deposition of Ewart Park metalwork in the study region. At some time during the 7th century these traditions begin to change. Roundhouses switch from post-built structures in the west of the study region first to plank-built roundhouses and subsequently to stone-walled architectural forms, whilst in the east structures continue to be post-built. Overall, house sizes decrease and this probably represents the collapse or, at least, redirection of Late Bronze Age social networks, as existing systems of social obligation and organization change. These trends continue until the beginning of the Middle Iron Age, with structures in the west continuing to be built in stone and structures in the east continuing to be post-built. New forms of material culture begin to enter the archaeological record from the 6th century BC, including the first iron objects and around the same time many hillforts, across the study region are redeveloped with new rampart construction, often incorporating stone architecture. This probably represents the development of a new social organization around this time and the evidence for communal construction activity at hillfort sites as well as group crafting centres may be an expression of efforts to formulate new social

continuums and reproduce new group identities. Older enclosed settlements are rebuilt and at some sites there is a change in site orientation which may correspond to new cultural forms or to a preference for site orientation with regards to contact and social connection.

Chapter 5- Settlement and Society in Iron Age Central Western Britain 2

Middle Iron Age

This chapter continues the discussion of settlement and architecture for the Middle Iron Age and Late Iron Age in the study region, as began in the previous chapter for the Early Iron Age. The structure and layout of this chapter is the same as for the previous chapter to facilitate synthesis of the data presented. As with the previous chapter, this chapter will examine the structure, form and architectural traditions of Middle and Late Iron Age sites in the study region and then conclude with a summary section.

Enclosed and Unenclosed Settlement

As has been noted above there was a trend starting in the 7th century BC to rebuild settlements with more substantial earth and stone elements replacing wooden elements in the construction of walls and enclosing structures. This trend continued into the Middle Iron Age at a number of sites, particularly in the west of the study region and was certainly ongoing at hillfort sites in the region into the 5th and 4th centuries BC. However, the overall picture begins to change in the region in the Middle Iron Age. Unfortunately, there is an absence of non-hillfort settlements in the region with securely dated occupation from the 4th century BC and whilst this is almost certainly the product of archaeological bias it does leave a gap in the settlement record at what may be a critical juncture in the development of the Iron Age culture of the region. All that can be said about non-hillfort settlements in the study region during the start of the Middle Iron Age is that they continued the same traditions of occupying earlier Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age sites and that at least some Early Iron Age sites, particularly in the west of the study region, probably saw continuing occupation into the 5th and 4th centuries BC such as Moel y Gerddi and Bryn Eryr (Kelly 1988 and Longley 1998 respectively). This determination is based on the continuity of occupation at these sites and lack of evidence for prolonged breaks in the occupation deposits between the Early Iron Age and the Middle Iron Age occupation deposits dating to the 3rd century BC. Figure 5.1 (see also table 5.1) shows the location of Middle Iron Age sites mentioned in the text.

Both enclosed and unenclosed settlement continued into the Middle Iron Age period, though the construction of concentric circular enclosures appears to have ceased around the beginning of the Middle Iron Age. Whilst construction of this settlement form seems to cease at the beginning of the Middle Iron Age, several existing concentric circular settlements likely continued in use into the 4th century, most probably at Bryn Eryr (Longley 1998) and Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988), which was the last known concentric circular settlement to be built in the study region. After the hiatus in the settlement record for the 4th century BC, new forms of enclosed settlement begin to be visible from the 3rd century BC onwards. Some of these new forms appear to be a modification of concentric circular types, but with rectilinear or sub-rectilinear enclosure boundaries as at Gors y Brithdir and the later phases of Bryn Eryr, both dated to the 3rd to 2nd century BC (Kelly 1979: 515 and Longley 1998: 188 respectively). Whilst others utilise circular or curvilinear enclosure boundaries, such as Foel Dduarth (Lowe 1912) and Bodafon Mountain B (Griffiths 1955:16), but with the roundhouses built against the enclosure walls or to one side of the enclosure, rather than being centrally located as in earlier concentric circular settlements. It is unclear why the form of settlement changed in the Middle Iron Age in the study region. Given the changes which were happening in the region from the 7th century BC until the start of the Middle Iron Age (discussed above), it is possible that the adoption of new forms represented the continuation of changes in social organization and cultural systems in the region at this time. These changes may have been the result of differing ways of expressing social position or of developing cosmological views, but they may also have been a more pragmatic response to evolving environmental conditions or changes in subsistence practices. Pope (2003; 2007:212) makes the point, in regard to household orientation, that environmental and practical considerations must be taken into account in conjunction with symbolic and cosmological explanations and the same may reasonably be said for settlement form.

Name	ID No. for fig. 5.1	Region	Period	Elevation (metres)	Reference
Dutton's Farm: Lathom	1	Lancashire	MIA- LIA	17	Cowell 2003
Brook House Farm: Halewood	2	Merseyside	MIA- LIA	10	Cowell 2000a
Mill Hill Road: Irby	3	Merseyside	MIA- LIA	60	Philpott and Adams 2010
Chester Amphitheatre	4	Cheshire	MIA- LIA	-	Cheshire HER 6994
Chester Business Park	5	Cheshire	MIA- LIA	15	Network 2004
Brook House Farm: Bruen	6	Cheshire	LBA- LIA	41	Fairburn <i>et al.</i> 2002
Tatton Park	7	Cheshire	MIA	50	Nevell 1999
Prestatyn	8	Flintshire	MIA- LIA	-	Blockley 1989
Foel Dduarth	9	Conway	MIA- LIA	90	Lowe 1912
Coed Uchaf	10	Gwynedd	MIA- LIA	140	Owen 1872
Crawcwellt West	11	Gwynedd	EIA- LIA	300	Crew 1998
Parc Bryn Cegin F and G	12	Gwynedd	MIA- LIA	40	Kenney 2008
Parc Bryn Cegin N	13	Gwynedd	MIA- LIA	41	Kenney 2008
Gors y Brithdir	14	Gwynedd	MIA- LIA	75	Kelly 1979
Bryn Eryr	15	Anglesey	MIA- LIA	70	Longley 1998
Ty Mawr	16	Anglesey	MIA- LIA	91	C.A. Smith 1985
Bodafon Mountain	17	Anglesey	MIA- LIA	110	Griffiths 1955
Cefn Du	18	Anglesey	MIA- LIA	70	Cuttler 2004
Cefn Cwmwd	19	Anglesey	MIA- LIA	70	Cuttler <i>et al.</i> 2011
Melin y Plas	20	Anglesey	MIA- LIA	20	Cuttler <i>et al.</i> 2011

Table 5.1-Non-hillfort sites for the Middle Iron Age in the study region.

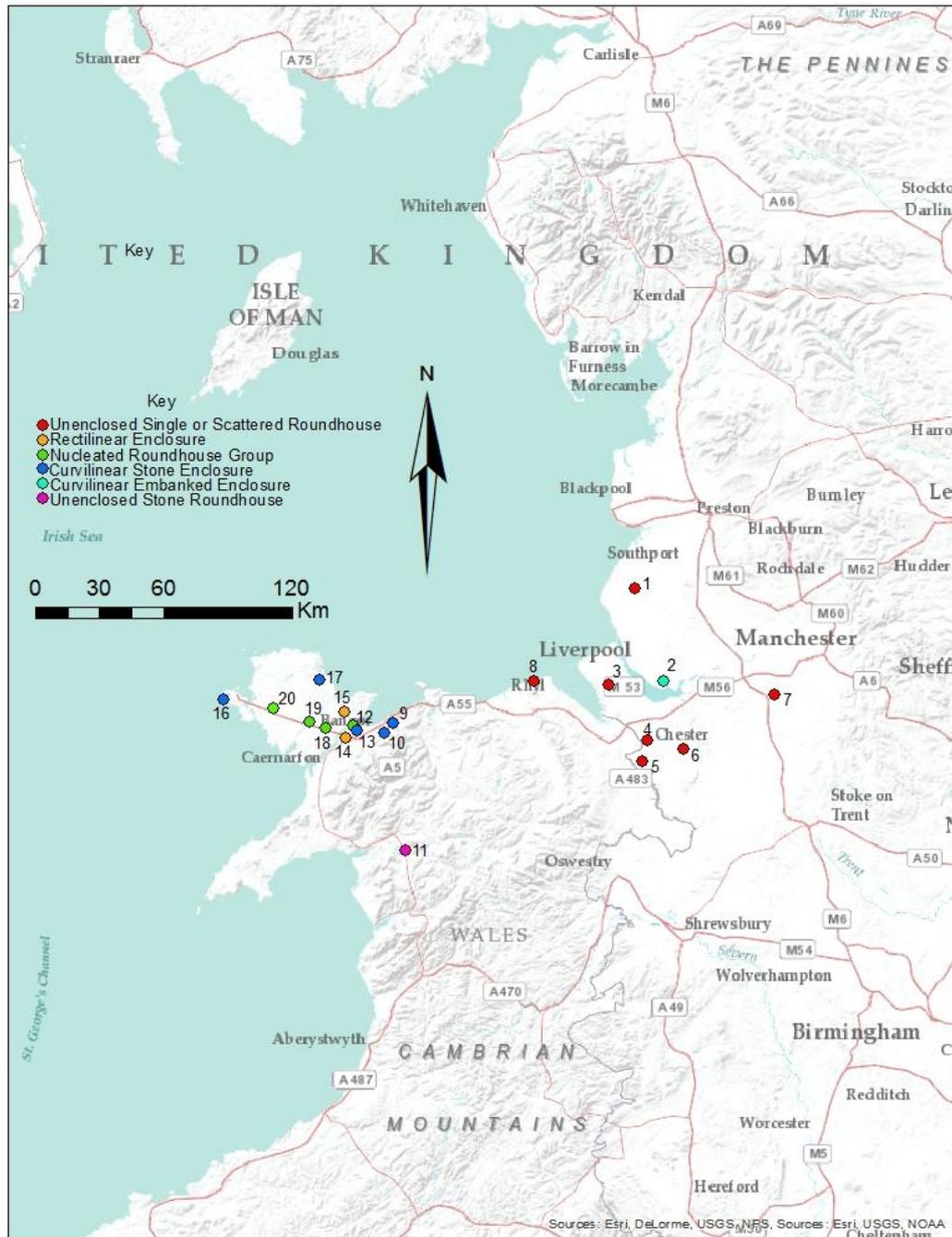


Figure 5.1-Enclosed and unenclosed non-hillfort sites mentioned in the text for the Middle Iron Age in the study region (underlying map ©1995-2016 Esri)

The different forms of enclosure that occur in the study region from the 3rd century BC onwards are varied, but mostly fall into the categories of rectilinear or sub-rectilinear enclosures and curvilinear enclosures (see figure 5.2). Whilst the rectilinear and sub-rectilinear enclosures follow the circular concentric enclosure

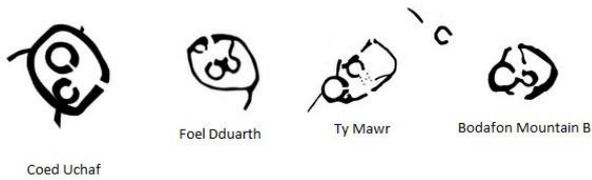
form in having a small number of centrally located structures within an enclosure, the curvilinear form usually have the structures located around the periphery, often, as in the case of Foel Dduarth (Lowe 1912), built against the enclosure itself. The difference in enclosure form may reflect different uses for the site. The location of roundhouses centrally in rectilinear and sub-rectilinear enclosures places them in a prominent position within the enclosure and may be intended to signify the importance of the roundhouse and its inhabitants. It also draws attention to the separation of space on the site, with the enclosed living spaces inside the roundhouse separated from the external empty areas around it, which were in turn isolated from the world outside the enclosure, by the enclosure boundary (Waddington 2013: 92). If this were the case, then the positioning of roundhouses more peripherally in curvilinear enclosures may represent a greater emphasis on the enclosure boundary itself and the boundedness of the whole settlement. The differences between these two types of sites may represent emerging differences in social organization and the perception of space. As has been noted, the rectilinear and sub-rectilinear enclosure form is similar to the circular concentric form demonstrated for the Early Iron Age (see chapter 4). It may be that the rectilinear and sub-rectilinear enclosure form is the development of this tradition, whilst the curvilinear enclosure form represents an emerging tradition which places less emphasis on display through the visual impact of entering an enclosure and more emphasis on the social connections between the inhabitants.

Alternatively, the reasons for the differing forms of enclosure and structuring of space maybe more pragmatic. Enclosures from the study region such as Mellteyrn Uchaf and Moel y Gerddi may have been used to livestock corral, based on enhanced phosphate levels taken from these enclosures (Ward and Smith 2001:36). It may be that this difference in layout reflects different roles within the subsistence practices of the region. Middle Iron Age field enclosures have been identified associated with the curvilinear enclosures at the sites of Coed Uchaf (Owen 1872; Waddington 2013) and Ty Mawr (C.A Smith 1985), suggesting evidence for limited arable agriculture at these sites. Although rectilinear enclosure sites, such as Bryn Eryr, have evidence for the storage and processing of arable crops (through the occurrence on site of

structures interpreted as granaries and the presence of pounders and quern-stones), the evidence for arable production at these sites is limited (Longley 1998). It may be that enclosures with centrally located roundhouses were intended for corralling livestock and smaller, curvilinear enclosures were intended for habitation and other subsistence activities such as small scale arable production, and resource processing. Unfortunately, given the limited number of well dated sites and detailed environmental analyses at sites in the study region at this time it is unwise to draw attempt to draw any firm conclusions. However, future work on this issue may help to clarify the development of these sites in relation to subsistence practices. It is clear that the changes in enclosure form during the Middle Iron Age were significant, as evidenced by the fact that the Early Iron Age site of Moel y Gerddi was modified in later phases to bring the site more into line with emerging Middle Iron Age site forms. This included having several of the entrances to the site blocked up and a new entrance created, though even after this reconstruction work the site of Moel y Gerddi was probably only occupied for a short time, which suggests that even these efforts may not have been wholly acceptable to the Middle Iron Age communities in the region (Kelly 1988:188). The site of Bryn Eyr was also modified from its original Early Iron Age layout, in this case by having the enclosure rebuilt in a rectilinear form, so it may be that the change in the shape of the enclosing boundary to a rectilinear form represented an evolving preference in settlement form in the Middle Iron Age.

Middle Iron Age Enclosure Forms

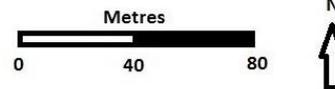
Curvilinear Stone Enclosure



Curvilinear Embanked Enclosure

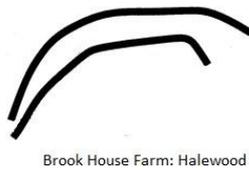


Rectilinear Enclosure



Late Iron Age Enclosure Forms

Curvilinear Embanked Enclosure



Curvilinear Stone Enclosure



Figure 5.2-Enclosure forms for the Middle and Late Iron Age in the study region (after Philips 1934; O’Neil 1936; Longley 1998a; Cowell 2000a; Waddington 2013).

In the 3rd century BC, around the time that enclosed settlements began to be reconstructed in different forms, there appears to be an increase in the occurrence of unenclosed settlement in the study region, particularly in the east of the region. It is interesting to note the increase in unenclosed settlement at a time when enclosed settlement in the region was also changing. This seems to suggest a move away from traditional enclosure forms and is possibly indicative of changing social expression through settlement design. The different forms of settlement, which were emerging at this time in the study region, may reflect different attitudes towards enclosing space. The number of unenclosed sites compared to enclosed ones shows a slight preference for unenclosed sites (see figure 5.3), but as with the Early Iron Age closer examination of the number of structures on sites show a marked preference for unenclosed sites (see figure 5.4), which would seem to suggest that these sites saw longer periods of occupation and greater density of occupation than enclosed sites. It may be that unenclosed settlement represented the normal occupation form

during the Middle Iron Age in the study region. Given that roundhouses on unenclosed settlement sites outnumber roundhouses on enclosed sites, the occupation of enclosed sites may reflect a different social identity. If, as Sharples (2007:178-80) and Waddington (2013:18) have suggested, labour and raw materials were negotiated for site construction through the exchange of social obligations, then it may be that only a small number of people were able to facilitate the social obligations to acquire what was needed to create enclosed settlement and thus may be indications of social disparity within the settlement record of the Middle Iron Age in the study region. There are other indicators of increasing social distinction during the Middle Iron Age, such as the re-emergence of individual burial traditions with grave goods, as at Cerrig y Drudion, usually dated to around 400BC (Jope 2000), as well as the occurrence of items of personal ornamentation and the decline in the use of hillforts in the region from the 3rd century BC (Nevell 2004:5). It should also be noted, however, that the majority of enclosed settlements occur in the west of the study region, whilst in the east of the study region unenclosed sites predominate (see figure 5.1). This may indicate that the different forms of settlement evidenced from the region during the Middle Iron Age actually reflect different sub-regional preferences. These different preferences may relate to different systems of social organization.

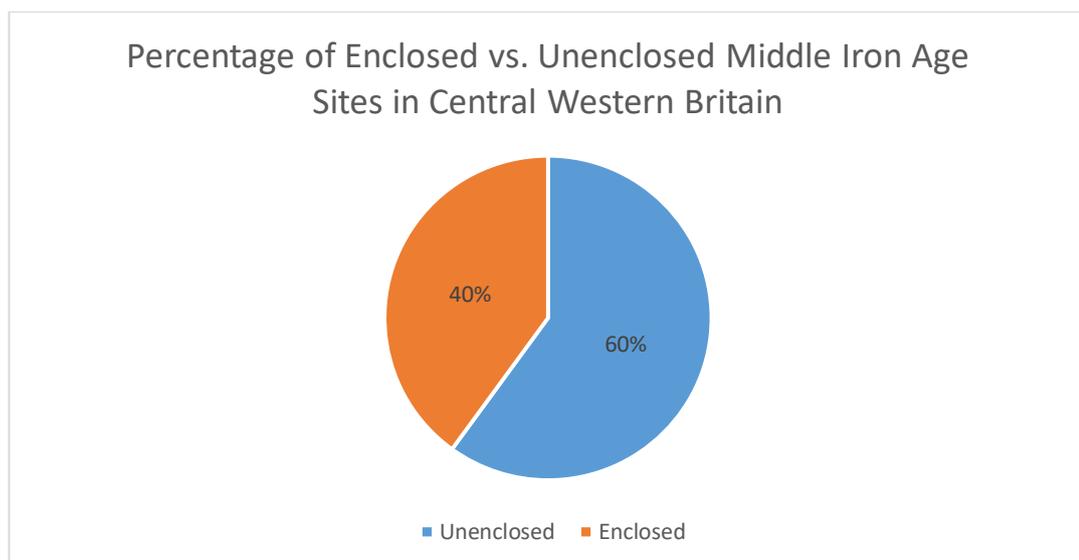


Figure 5.3-Percentage of enclosed and unenclosed sites dating from the Middle Iron Age in the study region. N=15

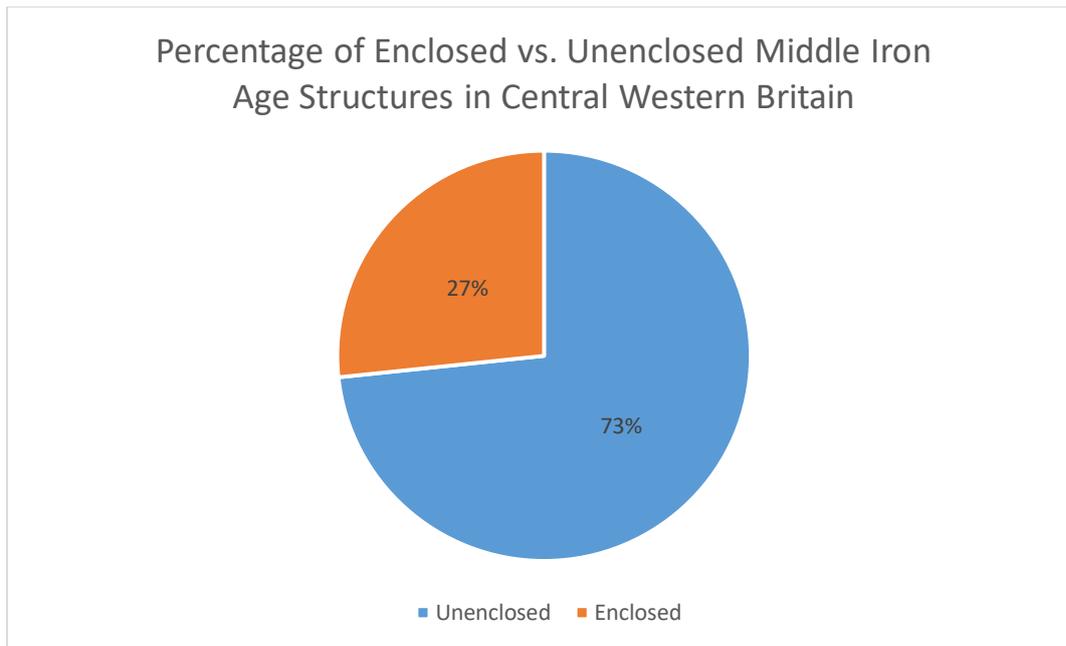


Figure 5.4-Percentage of enclosed and unenclosed structures dating from the Middle Iron Age in the study region. N=30

Unenclosed settlement in the region during the Middle Iron Age usually consists of either a single or a small number of houses; the ‘open villages’ described by Haselgrove and Cunliffe (Haselgrove 1999; Cunliffe 2005). Unenclosed settlements in the study region for the Middle Iron Age are most often classified as single, scattered, or nucleated roundhouse settlement (Waddington 2013:45). Single and scattered roundhouse settlement are structures which may not be isolated from other structures but display no evidence of settlement nucleation (2013:44). They are sometimes associated with field systems and occur across the study area and throughout the period in question. They are often interpreted as single settlements, though as Waddington points out (2013:45) they may represent multiple periods of occupation over time within the same area. Nucleated settlement are small numbers of roundhouses (more than three) which show evidence for nucleation, typically by being orientated or aligned in respect of each other or adjacent to a ditched boundary or trackway. Although many of these types of nucleated settlement are usually dated to the Late Iron Age, several examples in the region have produced Middle Iron Age dates (see table 5.2) and consequently settlement nucleation may have been a Middle Iron Age development. So far, the majority of nucleated settlement in the region has been discovered in Anglesey, but this may be a result of

archaeological bias as the bulk of these settlements were excavated in response to large infrastructure projects (Kenney 2008; Cuttler *et al.* 2011), which has led Waddington (2013:76) to speculate that they may have a wider distribution across Anglesey and Gwynedd. The occurrence of nucleated settlement in this part of the study region is interesting however, as it begins to hint towards regional architectural traditions emerging in the Middle Iron Age.

Name	Region	Date (Cal BC/AD)	Reference
Cefn Cwmwd	Anglesey	380BC-40BC	Roberts <i>et al.</i> 2004
Cefn Du	Anglesey	410BC-110BC	Cuttler <i>et al.</i> 2011
Melin y Plas	Anglesey	360BC-AD60	G.H. Smith 2004
Parc Bryn Cegin F and G	Gwynedd	370BC-40BC	Kenney 2008

Table 5.2-Nucleated settlement from the region with potential Middle Iron Age origins.

In other parts of Britain between 300-200 BC there were dense settlement clusters along the river valleys in Lincolnshire, south east Essex and the Yorkshire Wolds, as well as potentially in west Norfolk (Hill 2007). However, other areas of eastern and south eastern England have little evidence for dense settlement, including south Anglia, the Fens and lower reaches of the Thames valley and south Yorkshire (Hill 2007: 21-2). The character of the evidence from these less densely settled regions is similar to the evidence for parts of the western central region, particularly north Merseyside, Greater Manchester and south Lancashire. In particular, Hill (2007: 22) notes that these regions often have isolated findspots of metal artefacts, small amounts of pottery, individual features and occasional enclosed and unenclosed small settlements, as well as some ‘specialist resource procurement sites.’ It has been suggested that these areas were less intensively exploited but may have been areas which were used for the procurement of specialist resources (Evans and Serjeantson 1988) and that they may also have played an important role in transhumance activities. It has been hypothesized that salt production played a major role in the economy of central western Britain during the Iron Age (Morris 1985; Matthews 2002; Kinory 2012), which would suggest an ideal candidate for the ‘specialist

resources' postulated by Evans and Serjeantson (1988). This would have a profound impact on the organization of access and rights to these areas of land, in addition to the scope and scale of travel during the first millennium BC. The evidence for the production of salt in the study region (principally the distribution of salt making briquetage) has been extensively discussed by both Morris (1985) and Kinory (2012). Sadly, although it is believed that the location for salt production was probably in the Nantwich area of Cheshire, the production site has not been located (Matthews 2002; Kinory 2012). Although VCP may provide evidence for salt being 'on site,' VCP itself is ubiquitous in the region for the Iron Age, largely undiagnostic and often poorly recorded. Consequently, it provides little contextual information on the production or exchange of this resource in the period.

House Size

There was a slight increase in house size during the Middle Iron Age. The average house size on enclosed settlement increased the most, but unenclosed settlement house sizes also increased and do not represent a significantly lower average value. Figure 5.5 shows average house diameters for the Middle Iron Age with houses having a mean diameter of 8.6 metres and a median diameter of 9 metres, if this data is further broken down then it can be seen that the majority of structures for enclosed and unenclosed settlement fall around 8-9 metres in diameter for unenclosed structures (see fig. 5.6) and around 10 metres in diameter for enclosed structures, with a mean diameter for unenclosed structures of about 9 metres and for enclosed structures of about 8.3 metres. The majority of very small (<6 metres) structures in the dataset are therefore representative of hillfort sites, whilst the largest structures are representative of both hillfort sites and a small number of unenclosed settlements. Figure 5.7 shows the data for hillfort sites in the region during the Middle Iron Age. As can be seen there appears to be a preference for certain sizes of structure at hillforts from this data, but care must be taken, particularly with a comparatively small dataset. Although the data appears at first sight to represent a strong preference for certain sizes of structure, the structures within these groupings are representative of structures at specific hillfort sites in the region. Structures in the 7-8 metre range are representative of hillfort sites in

Gwynedd and Powys, notably Bryn y Castell, Meillionydd and Colfryn. Whilst structures in the 11 metre range are exclusively confined to the site of Mellor in the east of the study region.

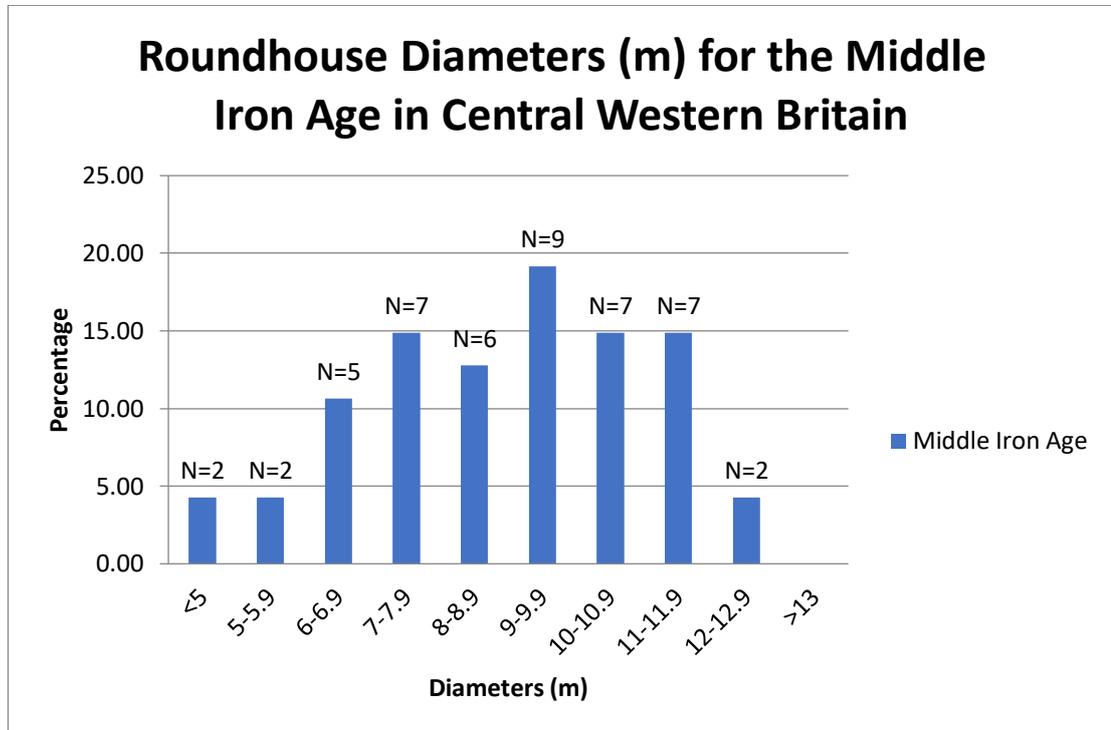


Figure 5.5- Roundhouse diameters (m) for roundhouses from the Middle Iron Age in the study region. N= 47

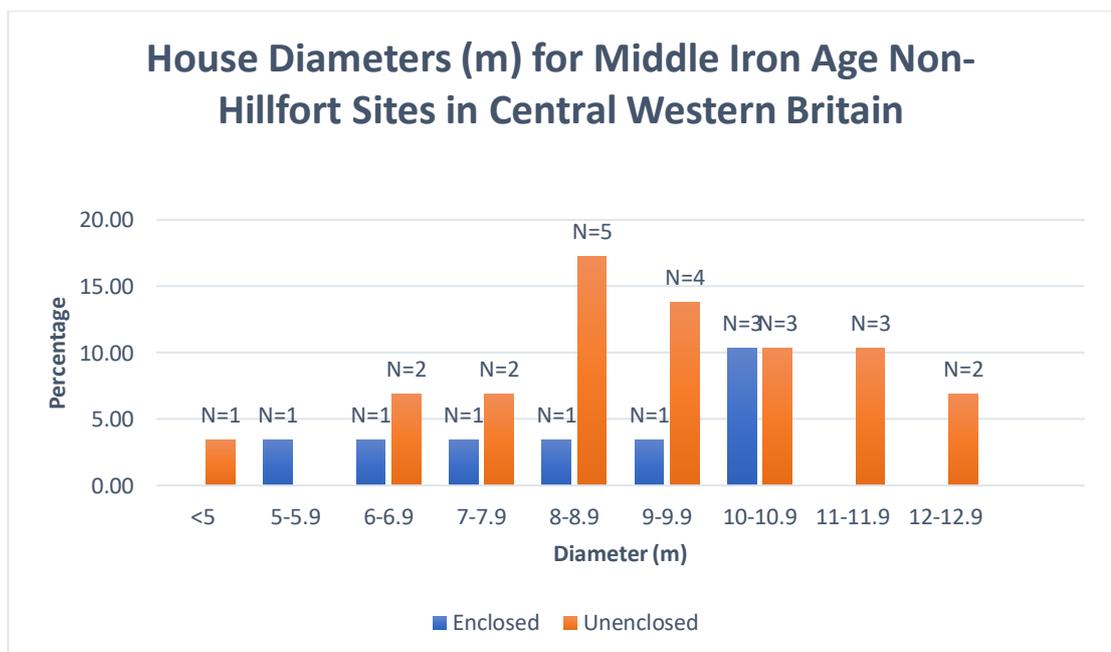


Figure 5.6- Roundhouse diameters (m) for enclosed and unenclosed sites from the Middle Iron Age in the study region. N=30

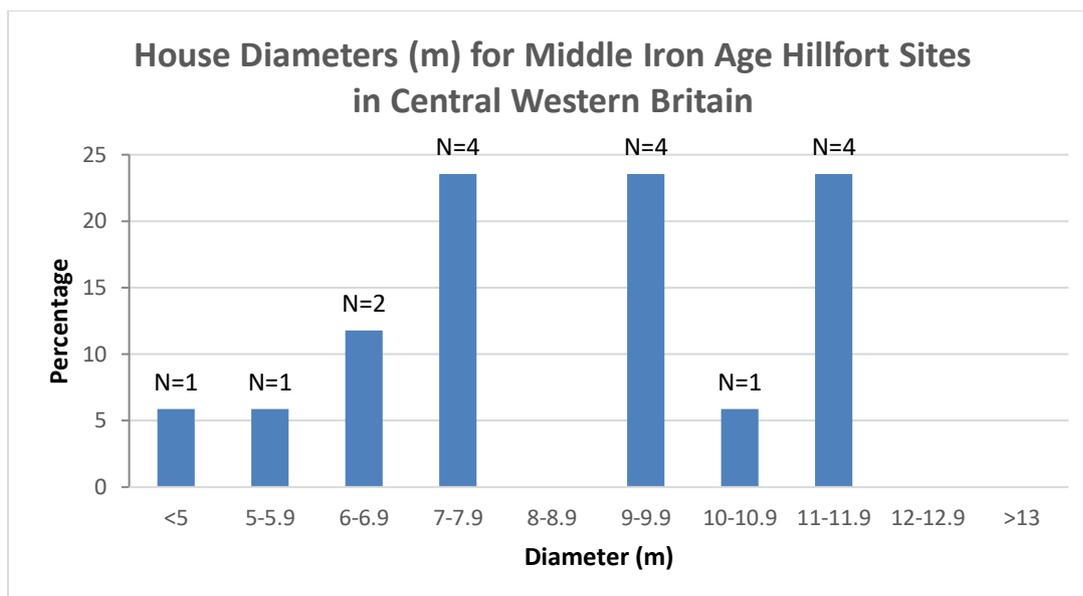


Figure 5.7-Roundhouse diameters (m) from hillfort sites in the Middle Iron Age in the study region. N=17

Temporal factors also need to be considered. If the date ranges of structures on hillfort sites are considered, then the majority of structures appeared to have their floruit during the 4th and 3rd centuries BC, whilst the principal construction and activity period of many of the unenclosed settlements in the region date from the 3rd and 2nd century BC at sites such as Mill Hill Road: Irby, Dutton’s Farm: Lathom, Parc Bryn Cegin F and G, Cefn Du and Chester Business Park (shown in figure 5.8). This chronology is particularly interesting in respect to the decline of hillforts and rise of other settlement forms in the region and may even suggest that there was a conscious move away from hillfort sites and onto unenclosed lowland settlement from the 3rd century BC onwards. What implications this has for the development of social systems in the region is open for debate and at this time there is not sufficient evidence to establish a firm causal link between the decline of hillforts in the region from the 3rd century BC and the increase in unenclosed settlement. However, the fact that articles of material culture which had previously seen distribution on hillfort sites begin to appear on lowland settlement sites from the 3rd century BC onwards (see chapter 6 and 7) suggests that certain cultural practices were shifting from hillfort sites to newer activity zones and that there may have been at least some form of cultural continuity between the activity at hillfort sites and lowland settlement sites in the 3rd century BC, particularly with regard to deposition of material culture.

Unfortunately, whilst this shift in settlement practices is certainly significant, it does not provide much contextual information on the nature of the social organization of settlement during the Middle Iron Age.

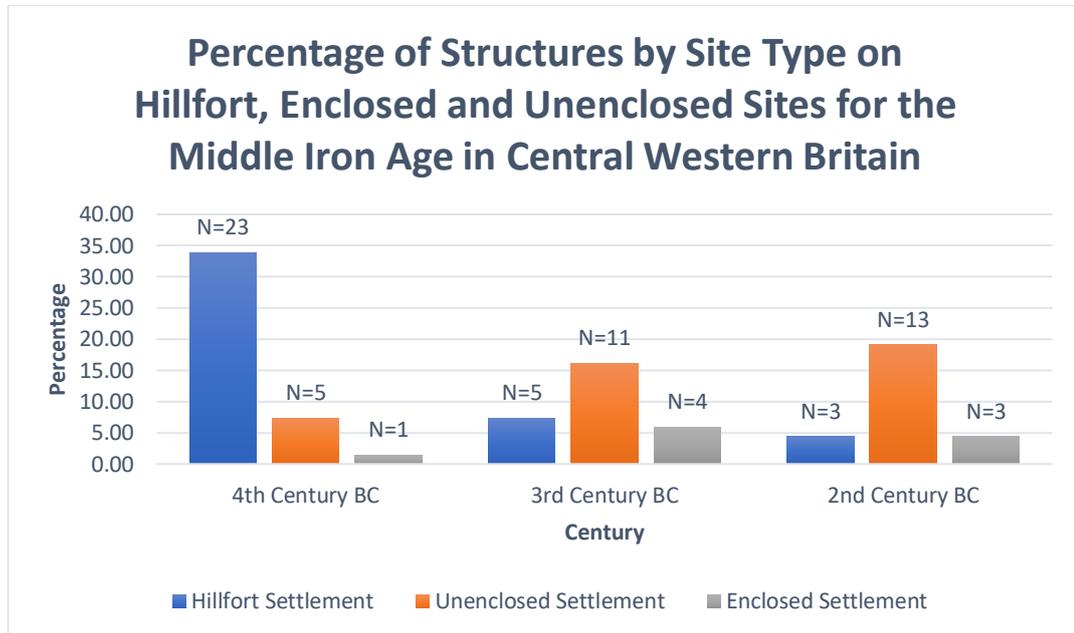


Figure 5.8-Percentage occurrence of structures by site type on hillfort, enclosed and unenclosed sites in the study region for the Middle Iron Age. N=68

Household Architecture and Form

Structures in the west of the study region continue to be built in stone into the Middle Iron Age, which continues to be a factor of architectural construction in the west of the study region throughout the Iron Age and beyond, particularly for enclosed and hillfort settlement. Several explanations have been suggested for this. Waddington (2013: 58) has suggested that the move from wood to stone construction represented an increase of interest in settlement permanence and monumentality, but has also conceded that such a move might have had practical considerations such as the availability of timber particularly at sites such as Crawcwellt West and Bryn y Castell where local woodland may have been being consumed to fuel the ironworking activity at these sites, the move may have been motivated by wishing to conserve wood for fuel or through a desire to build more durable and less flammable structures. It is also conceivable that the utilization of building materials was simply a factor of what was locally available. The west of the study region, where stone architecture is more prevalent, is considerably more

mountainous than the east of the study region, where timber roundhouses are more common (see chapter 3, figure 3.1). In more mountainous terrain, locally sourced stone will be more readily available as a building material. It is also interesting to note that the occurrence of stone-built structures may be a factor of settlement elevation. Table 5.3 shows the occurrence of timber- and stone-built structures by elevation for non-hillfort sites; as can be seen, stone-built architecture is absent from below 70 metres AOD for well dated Middle Iron Age sites from the region. This again may be a factor of the availability of timber for construction, but it may also represent a social or cultural preference if there was a social or cultural distinction between those groups living at higher altitude and those resident in lowland environments, particularly if this impacted on the construction and maintenance of social or cultural networks. Many lowland settlements in the region, including both nucleated and single/scattered roundhouse settlements continued to be constructed out of timber, which is particularly true of the east of the study region where stone architecture is only known from hillfort sites. This may be a form of local architectural tradition or may again simply reflect the availability of stone as a building material in upland environments.

Name	Region	Construction	Elevation (metres AOD)	Reference
Duttons Farm: Lathom	Lancashire	Timber	17	Cowell 2003
Brook House Farm: Halewood	Merseyside	Timber	10	Cowell 2000a
Mill Hill Road: Irby	Merseyside	Timber	60	Philpott 2010
Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford	Cheshire	Timber	41	Fairburn <i>et al.</i> 2002
Chester Business Park	Cheshire	Timber	15	Network 2004
Tatton Park	Cheshire	Timber	50	Nevell 1999
Prestatyn	Flintshire	Timber	-	Blockley 1989

Foel Dduarth	Conway	Stone	90	Lowe 1912
Coed Uchaf	Conway	Stone	140	Owen 1972
Parc Bryn Cegin F and G	Gwynedd	Timber	40	Kenney 2008
Crawcwellt West	Gwynedd	Timber	300	Crew 1998
Gors y Brithdir	Gwynedd	Stone	75	Kelly 1979
Braich y Gornel	Gwynedd	Stone	280	Gresham 1972
Ty Mawr	Anglesey	Stone	91	Smith 1987
Bryn Eryr	Anglesey	Stone	70	Longley 1998
Bodafon Mountain	Anglesey	Stone	110	Griffiths 1955

Table 5.3-Non-hillfort site elevation and preferred construction material for the Middle Iron Age in the study region.

The change in the form of enclosed settlement at the beginning of the Middle Iron Age and into the 3rd century BC is particularly significant in the way it relates to the division of space at these locations. At earlier circular concentric enclosures, roundhouses were centrally located which emphasized the importance of the central structure and defined the progress of an individual from the exterior of the settlement into the central area, representing the movement from what Harding (2006:112) refers to as ‘unmodified land,’ land without meaning or ascribed purpose, to land within the enclosure, with greater meaning and attached significance and finally into the central structures, which have the greatest meaning and significance. However, the curvilinear and circular enclosed settlements that appear in the region from the 3rd century onwards such as Foel Dduarth (Lowe 1912), Bodafon Mountain B (Griffiths 1955:16) and Parc Bryn Cegin N (Kenney 2008) are often planned to have the structures around the periphery of the enclosure; this creates a central space in the enclosure, which in practice is often divided up by low walls or boundaries, possibly to create specific activity areas, corrals for livestock or to delineate space around individual households. Figure 5.9 shows the layouts of several of this type of enclosed site. The form of these settlements is reminiscent of Cornish courtyard

settlements (Waddington 2013: 103) which mostly date from after the 2nd century BC, but which may have had their origins in the 4th or 3rd century BC (Henderson 2007:238).

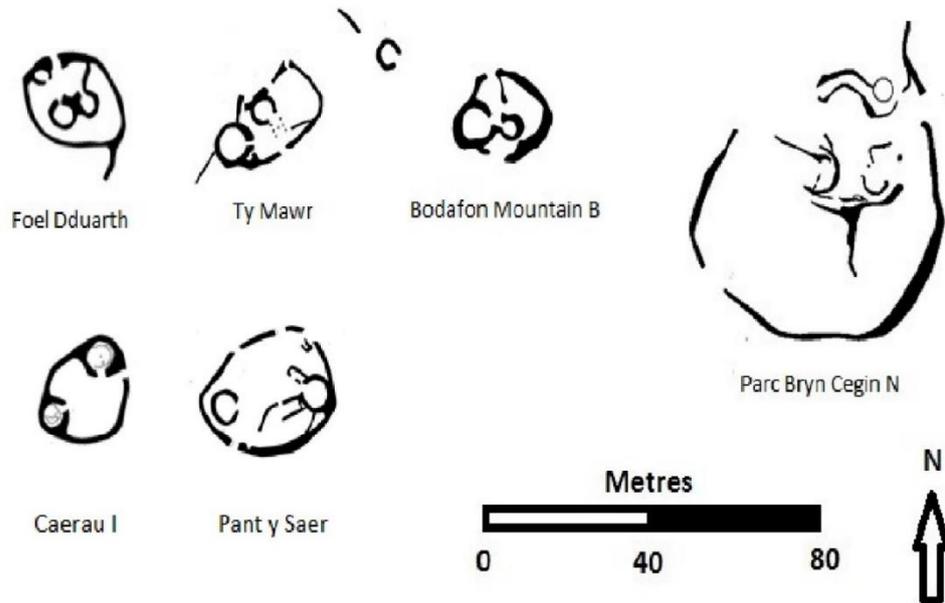


Figure 5.9-Layout of curvilinear enclosed settlements in the study region (after Philips 1934; O’Neil 1936; Waddington 2013).

The similarity between enclosed settlement in the study region and courtyard settlement in Cornwall has led Waddington (2013:103) to suggest that there may have been some level of contact between these two regions at the time. However, Waddington refutes Henderson’s (2007:238) suggestion that curvilinear enclosed settlements were arranged hierarchically and instead suggests an emphasis on restricting access to personal internal space, so that the roundhouse was no longer the venue for gatherings or meetings, but a private area reserved for certain people and that instead public gatherings would have been conducted in the central area (Waddington 2013:103-4). It should be noted however, that there is some debate as to the chronology of construction and regional variation of these types of enclosed settlement. Whilst curvilinear enclosed settlements, both embanked and with stone walls are generally considered to be contemporaneous (Waddington 2013:50), curvilinear embanked settlements have timber-built structures rather than stone-

built and may represent a regional variation of the same tradition. Curvilinear embanked settlements have a westerly distribution in Anglesey and the western side of the Llyn peninsula in Gwynedd, broadly corresponding with the distribution of nucleated settlements. Whilst curvilinear settlements with stone walls share this distribution they are also more widely distributed throughout Gwynedd and the fringes of Conway. Some of the earliest examples of curvilinear settlement, such as Ty Mawr (C.A. Smith 1985), seem to have been built in sections and it is conceivable that the construction of the earliest curvilinear enclosures was piecemeal, as a function of a desire to aggregate settlement around a communal space and that the outer boundary was only joined up as a complete enclosure later on as an afterthought or possibly to symbolize the completed formation of the community, though, of course, more pragmatic considerations may also have been a factor.

The division of space at unenclosed sites is more difficult to classify, given the lack of enclosing boundaries or similar monumental forms. Many unenclosed sites have associated field systems and yards, as at Crawcwellt West (Crew 1998) and scattered settlements are often associated with boundaries or trackways, such as at Chester Amphitheatre (Cheshire HER 6994). These factors clearly indicate that there was some control on space at these sites, even if this was simply for the purposes of division of activity. The fact that these locations do not appear to have a defined social or communal space, as enclosed settlement does in the region may suggest that group aggregation or activities took place elsewhere. Alternatively, the communities living on these sites did not have the same cultural restrictions regarding access to roundhouses for non-residents that has been proposed for communities on enclosed sites. This would be particularly significant as it may explain the larger sizes of houses on unenclosed sites, compared to enclosed sites in the region, particularly during the 2nd century BC, as discussed above. If group meetings were being held within the roundhouses on unenclosed sites it may explain the increase in size and the associated changes in depositional practice from the 3rd century BC onwards; with the occupants at unenclosed sites now assuming the functions previously held on hillfort sites, including group aggregation and special deposition of objects. This may explain the decline in the use of a number of the region's hillforts, as well as the rise

in feasting equipment entering the record from the 3rd century BC onwards (see chapters 6 and 7). This may point towards changes in social organization at this time, with the development of new social networks outside of those that had previously been associated with hillforts in the region. Interestingly this does not appear to have been the case in southern Gwynedd, where in addition to lower numbers of nucleated settlements, non-hillfort enclosures all but disappear and small hillforts take over as centres of group aggregation activities for the last two centuries of the Middle Iron Age, as at Castell Odo (Alcock 1960).

In terms of roundhouse doorway orientation, the situation is similar to the Early Iron Age, in that east and south easterly orientations dominate the data (see figure 5.10). However, there was a slight change in that in the Middle Iron Age easterly orientations are as common on sites as south easterly ones. The data is not sufficient to be able to determine if there is a particular preference for certain orientations by site type or by time, though the increase in easterly preference during the Middle Iron Age when there were other significant changes in settlement organization occurring is noteworthy. The figures for the Middle Iron Age are again broadly consistent with the figures for other regions of Britain (Ghey *et al.* 2007; Pope 2007) and it has been suggested that this may be due to an increasing interest in the rising sun during the equinoxes and at the midwinter solstice during the Middle Iron Age period (Fitzpatrick 1994; Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson 1999b). It should also be noted that the data for Middle Iron Age does not include data from Moel y Gaer. Although, as was seen for the data for the Early Iron Age (see figures 4.5, and 4.6 and tables 4.3 and 4.4), the lack of this data should not have caused any significant change in the outcome of this analysis.

It is also worth noting that there was a greater number of non-easterly or south easterly orientations evidenced in the settlement record for this period, though they still represent only a small percentage of the total, with easterly and south easterly orientations each accounting for 32.6% and north east amounting to about 9.3% of the total and all other directions for the remaining 25.6% (see table 5.4). Nevertheless, this increase in other orientations may be a factor of the changing social and cultural organization at the time and hint at experimentation with other

cultural ideas. This might also represent more diverse land-use and greater seasonality. On an environmental level, the Middle Iron Age did also see the beginning of improvements in the climate (see chapter 3) and the change in orientation of the entranceway to structures may represent this or other environmental factors; for example, at Crawcwellt West, Crew (1998:29) has suggested that the orientation of some of the structures is to provide cover from the prevailing wind and to manipulate the breeze to assist with the production of iron.

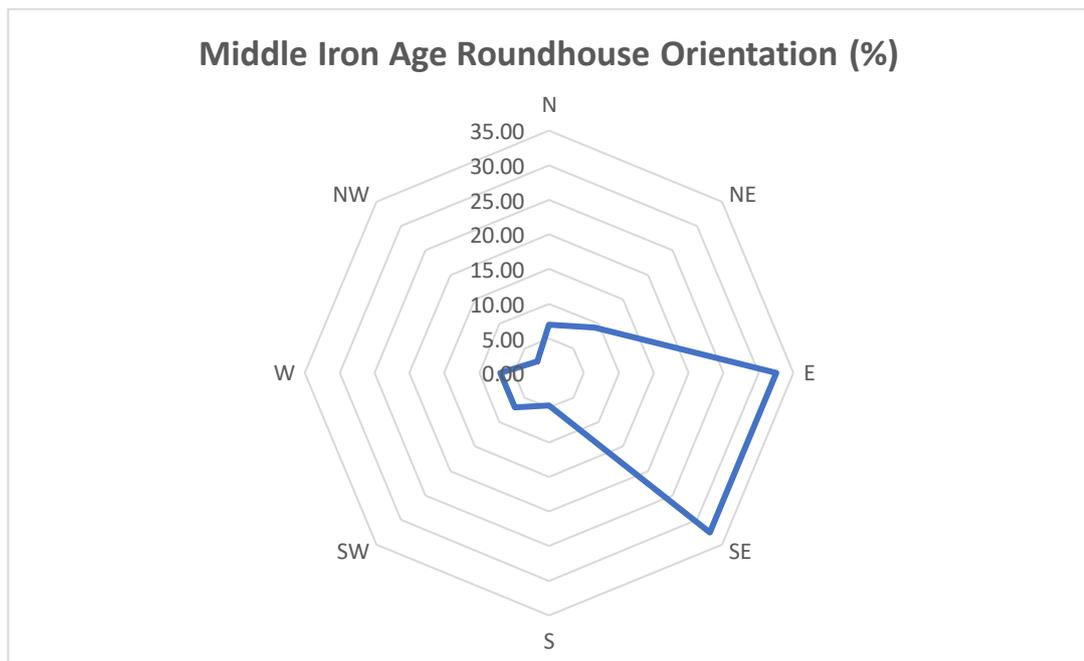


Figure 5.10-Orientation (%) of roundhouse doorways for the Middle Iron Age in the study region. N=44

Doorway Orientation	Number of Roundhouses	Percentage of Roundhouses
North	3	7
North East	4	9.3
East	14	32.6
South East	14	32.6
South	2	4.7
South West	3	7

West	3	7
North West	1	2.3

Table 5.4- Orientation of Roundhouse doorways for the Middle Iron Age in the study region

Hillforts

The use of hill forts in the study region continued, at least to some degree, through the Middle Iron Age period. Figure 5.11 shows the location of hillforts in use in the Middle Iron Age, which are mentioned in the text (see also table 5.5). However, as noted above, it appears that the construction of new hillforts in the region had mostly ceased by the 3rd century BC (Waddington 2013:97) and that many hillforts in the region had entered a hiatus of their usage by the second century BC (Nevell 2004: 5), coinciding with the increase in lowland settlement. Although hillforts were never completely abandoned in the study region the evidence for their periodic remodeling and periods of disuse does suggest that they were undergoing changes in usage and meaning during the Middle Iron Age. Hillforts were still in consistent use during the start of the Middle Iron Age, as evidenced by the occurrence of articles of La Tène metalwork associated with hillfort sites such as Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982), Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1923) and Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), in conjunction with the limited number of radiocarbon determinations available from several of the region's hillforts. The presence of these articles suggests that at least some of the region's hillforts were still in use into the 3rd century BC, however by this point many other hillforts had probably already gone out of regular use such as Castercliffe (Coombs 1982).

It does appear that during the 3rd century BC there was a shift in settlement organization, there was a rise in lowland settlement as discussed above and by the 2nd century BC many hillfort sites in the region had gone out of regular use (Nevell 2004:5; Waddington 2013: 106). This may be observed by the hiatus in occupation at Beeston Castle dated to the 3rd-2nd century BC (Ellis 1993:89), at Castercliffe (Coombs 1982) and in the break in occupation sequence observed at Collfryn (Britnell *et al.* 1989: 119). Similar abandonment phases may also be seen at Breiddin (Musson *et al.*

1991:180) and Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982:86), although the chronology at these sites is less well defined and they may show continued use into the 2nd century BC. It has been suggested (see above), that there was a change in the way communities were organizing themselves, possibly evidenced by the change in settlement patterns. With increasing numbers of lowland and unenclosed settlement being seen and settlement nucleation in the west of the study region. Material culture also begins to change during the Middle Iron Age period (discussed in chapter 6 and 7) and greater numbers of items of personal ornamentation enter the archaeological record from this period as well as feasting equipment and more elaborately decorated objects. There may have been increasing social differentiation in this period, leading to groups or individuals seeking to express their power or authority, to begin moving activity away from hillfort sites in the region.

Name	ID No. for fig. 5.11	Region	Period	Elevation (metres AOD)	Reference
Castercliffe	1	Lancashire	EIA-MIA	259	Coombs 1982
Mellor	2	Greater Manchester	EIA-LIA	220	Nevell and Redhead 2005
Eddisbury	3	Cheshire	EIA-LIA	158	Forde-Johnston 1965
Beeston Castle	4	Cheshire	EIA-LIA	160	Ellis 1993
Moel Hiraddug	5	Denbighshire	LBA-MIA	265	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Collfryn	6	Powys	MIA	100	Britnell <i>et al.</i> 1989
Breiddin	7	Powys	LBA-LIA	300	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Bryn Castell	8	Gwynedd	MIA-LIA	370	Crew 1987
Garn Boduan	9	Gwynedd	EIA-LIA	260	Hogg 1960
Meillionydd	10	Gwynedd	EIA-MIA	190	Waddington and Karl 2010

Castell Odo	11	Gwynedd	EIA-MIA	146	Alcock 1960
Caer Lleion	12	Conway	LBA-LIA	180	Griffiths and Hogg 1956
Braich y Dinas	13	Conway	LBA-LIA	350	Hughes 1912
Dinas	14	Conway	LBA-MIA	315	Hughes and Lowe 1925

Table 5.5-Middle Iron Age hillfort sites mentioned in the text for the study region.



Figure 5.11-Middle Iron Age hillfort sites mentioned in the text for the study region (underlying map © 1995-2016 Esri)

However, as many hillforts were changing their function in the social order, some smaller hillforts, particularly in the south of Gwynedd may still have been serving a role as group aggregation sites in lieu of enclosed or unenclosed settlement until the end of the Middle Iron Age and yet more hillfort sites were beginning to be

repurposed for other functions. The Middle Iron Age sees an increase in so-called snail-shaped roundhouses at a number of hillfort sites particularly at Garn Boduan (Crew 1984), Bryn y Castell (Crew 1998) and possibly Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1912). These structures have a distinctive snail shape which is interpreted as being for the control of air flow in iron production and their occurrence at hillfort sites, along with the evidence for iron production at these locations and the evidence for copper smelting at sites such as Mellor (Nevell and Redhead 2005) suggests that these locations were still maintaining their role in the production of metalwork, possibly due to their continuing position as socially liminal locations (Hingley 1990; 1997; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006; Hingley 2006b). In their continued role in the production of metalwork they may also have been serving to reproduce group identity, by expressing the identity of the group through the production of material culture. The metalwork that was produced would then incorporate both the location of its production and the identity of its producers within its object biography and would then convey these meanings as people interacted with the object and remembered its origins and history (Joy 2009a). This continuity of association with metalwork may explain why these locations continued to be associated with metalwork production, even when the focus of other activity was shifting to lowland sites.

During the 2nd century BC, some hillforts, particularly in the west of the study region, see the construction of enclosure, which is stratigraphically later than the primary hillfort ramparts, and which separates a smaller area within the hillfort ramparts – interpreted as the creation of smaller sites possibly controlled by an emerging social elite who were attempting to connect with the cultural tradition and history of these sites, as at Garn Boduan (Crew 1984), Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1912), Caer Lleion (Griffiths and Hogg 1956:68; G.H. Smith 2009) and possibly Dinas (Hughes and Lowe 1925) and Eddisbury (Forde-Johnston 1965).

Late Iron Age

Enclosed and Unenclosed Settlement

During the Late Iron Age there is an increase in the number of well-dated enclosed settlements, particularly in the west of the study region. These settlements are of the curvilinear enclosed form and usually incorporate a small number of structures around a central area, as at Pen y Coed (Hughes and Lowe 1925), Pant y Saer (Philips 1934) and Caerau I (Johnstone 1989) (see also fig. 5.12 and table 5.6). The origin of this form is in the Middle Iron Age, but there is an increase in their number during the Late Iron Age and into the Roman period, though determining the exact chronology of these sites can sometimes be difficult due to continuity of occupation and subsequent modification of these sites, in conjunction with the lack of modern excavation to provide absolute dates. Nevertheless, the increasing popularity of enclosed settlement in the west of the study region during the final two centuries of the Iron Age may be considered a genuine product of the settlement record at this time. It has been suggested that the increase in the numbers of several settlement types during the Late Iron Age is a response to increasing population (Hill 1995; Hill 2007:23), however this need not be the case. Population and settlement expansion is perhaps one of the key underlying factors in changes in social organization but increasing numbers of people can no longer be seen as the principal causal factor in such expansions, as recent studies have demonstrated that different societies have different ideas as to what constitutes too many people. Additionally, many societies have been shown to already have social strategies in place to deal with increasing population numbers (Hill 2007: 23). The expansion of settlement during the Late Iron Age may instead be viewed as a dispersal of population across the landscape. This may indicate a move towards increasing utilization of the landscape and greater emphasis on arable production (see chapter 3), as well as a desire to increase social space between groups. The expansion of settlement may represent a separation of populations and an increased desire to define boundaries between different groups. The Late Iron Age trend for settlement expansion away from areas of denser Middle Iron Age settlement is also evidenced in the Severn-Cotswold region (Moore 2007:

45) and around sites such as Mingies Ditch in Oxfordshire (Allen and Robinson 1993) and Haddenham in Cambridgeshire (Evans 1997).

Name	ID No. for fig. 5.12	Region	Period	Elevation (metres AOD)	Reference
Dutton's Farm: Lathom	1	Lancashire	Middle-Late Iron Age	17	Cowell 2003
Brook House Farm: Halewood	2	Merseyside	Middle-Late Iron Age	10	Cowell 2000a
Great Woollen Hall	3	Greater Manchester	Late Iron Age	16	Nevell 1999
Barn Farm	4	Cheshire	Late Iron Age	-	Cheshire HER 2879
Chester Amphitheatre	5	Cheshire	Middle-Late Iron Age	-	Cheshire HER 6994
Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford	6	Cheshire	Late Iron Age	41	Fairburn <i>et al.</i> 2002
Poulton	7	Cheshire	Middle-Late Iron Age	-	K. Cootes <i>pers. comm.</i>
Pen y Coed	8	Conway	Late Iron Age	90	Darbishire 1899
Foel Lwyd W	9	Conway	Late Iron Age	420	Lowe 1912
Caerau I	10	Gwynedd	Late Iron Age	170	O'Neil 1936
Ceunant Egryn	11	Gwynedd	Late Iron Age	190	Crawford 1920
Brithdir S	12	Gwynedd	Late Iron Age	165	White 1978
Coed y Brain	13	Gwynedd	Late Iron Age	150	Williams 1923
Braich y Gornel	14	Gwynedd	Late Iron Age	280	Gresham 1972

Parc Dinmor	15	Anglesey	Late Iron Age	45	Phillips 1932
Cefn Cwmwd	16	Anglesey	Late Iron Age	70	Roberts <i>et al.</i> 2004
Bryn Eyr	17	Anglesey	Late Iron Age	70	Longley 1998
Pant y Saer	18	Anglesey	Late Iron Age	80	Phillips 1934

Table 5.6 Late Iron Age non-hillfort sites mentioned in the text in the study region

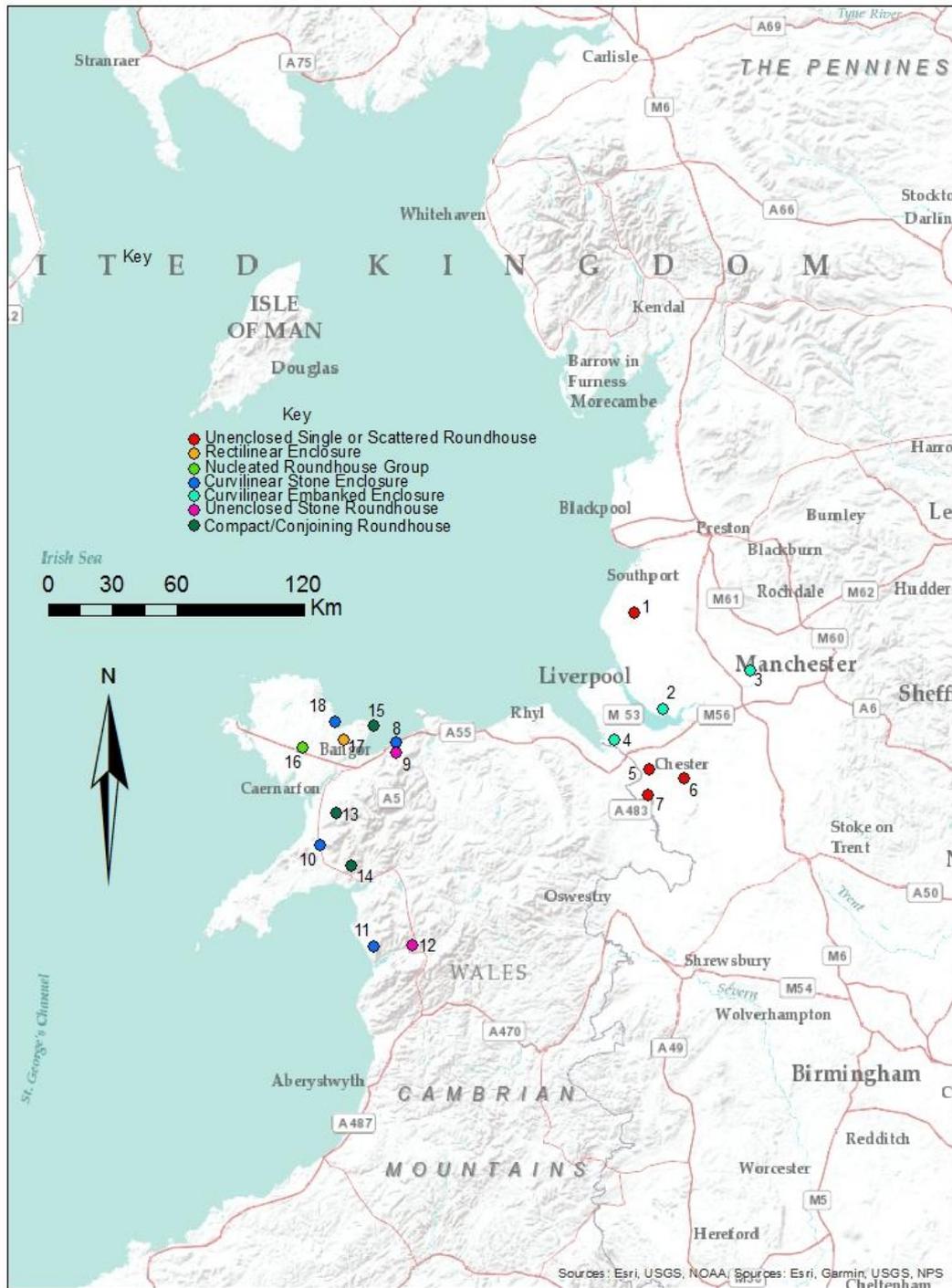


Figure 5.12-Enclosed and unenclosed non-hillfort sites mentioned in the text for the Late Iron Age in the study region (underlying map ©1995-2016 Esri)

However, the increase in enclosed settlement in the west of the study region is not representative of the study region as a whole and unenclosed settlement continues to dominate the settlement record in the east and the north of the region, though it

should also be noted that many of the enclosed and unenclosed settlements in the region have their origins in the Middle Iron Age and simply continue in usage into the Late Iron Age and Roman periods, such as at the enclosed sites of Bryn Eyr (Longley 1998) and Brook House Farm: Halewood (Cowell 2000a) and the unenclosed sites at Chester Amphitheatre (Cheshire HER 6994), Poulton (K. Cootes *pers. comm.*) and Duttons Farm: Lathom (Cowell 2003). The increased focus on enclosure in the west of the study region may be the continuing development of the trends which were emerging in the region during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Yet they also coincide with a hiatus in the use of hillforts and also with the appearance at non-hillfort enclosed settlement sites in this area of metalwork and personal ornamentation which was previously evidenced from hillfort contexts, such as at Caerau I (O'Neil 1936), Ceunant Egryn (Crawford 1920) and possibly Brithdir S (White 1978). However, whilst the deposition of these articles of material culture seems to shift from hillfort sites to non-hillfort sites, deposition at non-hillfort sites is not at the same scale as at hillfort sites (see chapter 7). This suggests that whilst these depositional traditions continue they may have been declining. Alternatively, the smaller number of objects deposited at non-hillfort sites may simply be a product of fewer people occupying or having access to these locations. It seems likely that they were also beginning to subsume the social role of hillforts in this part of the study region, much as has been postulated for unenclosed sites in the east of the study region from the 2nd century BC. The move to non-hillfort sites for social aggregation and certain group activities may in fact have been contemporary in both the east and west of the study region, but the resolution of the data is not sufficient to be able to demonstrate this, at this time.

Unenclosed settlement in the region also exhibits new development, with the introduction of compact and conjoining roundhouse groups. Compact or conjoining roundhouse settlement are groups of roundhouses built next to each other or joined together by short stretches of walling. They are always constructed in stone and appear to have a distribution confined to parts of northern Gwynedd and Anglesey (Waddington 2013:76). The distribution of unenclosed settlement in the region does appear to point to a regional tradition in Gwynedd and Anglesey with regard to

compact/conjoining settlement, whilst single and scattered roundhouses are more evenly distributed across the study region generally and comprise most unenclosed settlement from the east of the study region. The emergence of compact and conjoining roundhouse settlement appears to point to continuing settlement nucleation, at least with regard to unenclosed settlement in the west of the study region. In the east of the study region, the evidence for settlement nucleation is more tenuous. In the past the reasons for this absence in the east of the study region has been attributed to sparsity of settlement (Shotter 1997; Nevell 1999), but given the evidence for well-established settlement in the region discovered over the past decade as shown in fig. 5.12 and table 5.5 and the evidence for imported material culture, particularly high quality metalwork such as coinage, Nauheim derivative brooches and other aspects of personal ornamentation and feasting equipment (see chapter 6 and 7), there was evidently an established and socially complex community in the region. The population living in the study region during the Late Iron Age period had long-term settlements displaying a variety of architectural forms indicating a longevity of settlement and architectural traditions. Whilst the evidence for the utilization and deposition of preferred items of material culture (see chapter 7) indicate both inter-group relations and wider exchange relationships with other regions. Explanations that revolve around sparsity of population or social fragmentation for the lack of settlement nucleation in this area are insufficient to account for the nature of the settlement evidence.

House Size

The size of roundhouses during the Late Iron Age does not show a significant divergence from the size of structures during the Middle Iron Age. The mean for all roundhouses drops to 8 metres and the median for all roundhouses in the dataset similarly decreases to 7.6 metres, but these decreases are the result of greater variability in the data and a greater distribution of structural sizes generally (see fig. 5.13). The mean for unenclosed roundhouses is 7.9 metres and the mean for enclosed roundhouses is 8.4 metres, both comparable to the Middle Iron Age values. In fact, the settlement evidence for the Late Iron Age in the region is fairly consistent with the Middle Iron Age generally, in terms of size, form and morphology and

construction techniques. This may suggest that whatever changes in social organization or cultural development were taking place from the 3rd century BC had come to full fruition by the Late Iron Age and had led to the establishment of architectural traditions within the study region which were generally standardized in individual parts of the study region, though they appear to have varied across the study region as a whole. However, the variability evident in the Later Iron Age evidence is perhaps worthy of comment. The data from the Late Iron Age represents a greater range of sizes than the data from the Early or Middle Iron Ages and whilst this may be an accident of the data, it is worth noting that the number of Late Iron Age sites examined is comparable to the number of Middle Iron Age sites and is less than the number of Early Iron Age sites included in this analysis, which may point to this greater variability being a factor of the Late Iron Age settlement record. This may point to increasing social differentiation in the Late Iron Age, however there are other explanations.

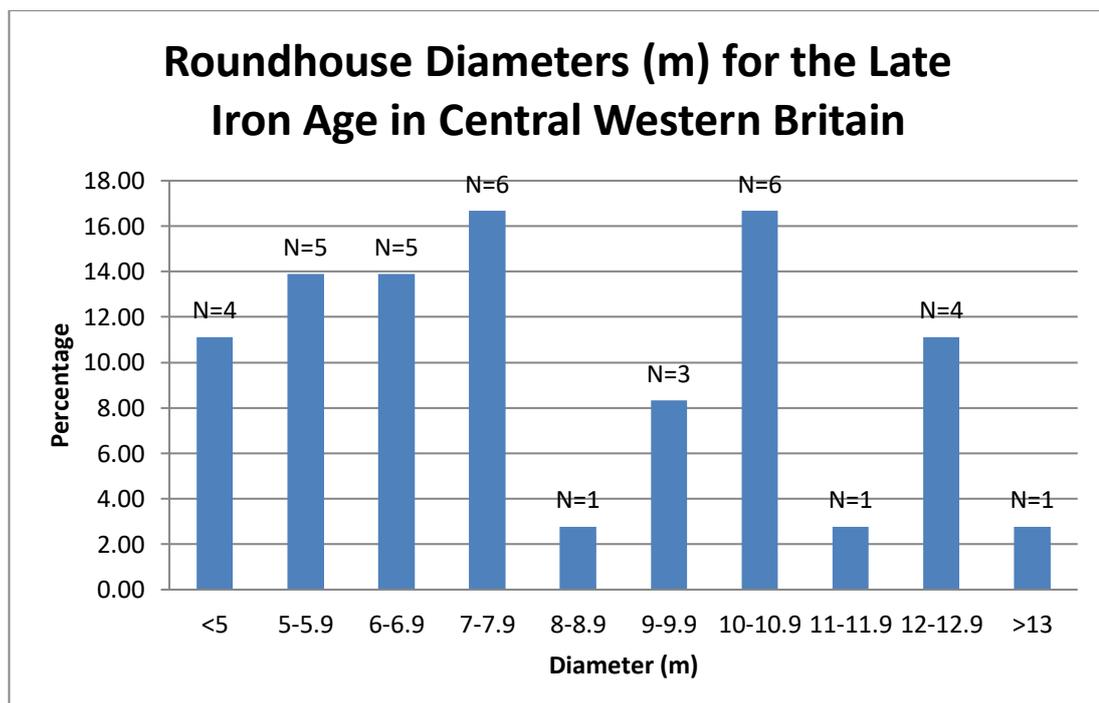


Figure 5.13- Late Iron Age roundhouse diameters (m) in the study region. N=36

A closer look at the data, shows two interesting things. Firstly, the Late Iron Age roundhouses which represent the largest examples in the Late Iron Age dataset for both enclosed and unenclosed roundhouses are located in the east of the study

region and secondly the roundhouses which represent the smallest roundhouses in the dataset (<6 metres) are located in Anglesey, Gwynedd and Conway in the region which sees increasing settlement nucleation. The larger sites in the east of the study region, representing the enclosed settlement of Great Woolden Hall (Nevell 1989) and the unenclosed settlement of Brook House Farm: Bruen Stapleford were almost certainly designed to impress and probably emerged out of the developing social stratification of the Late Iron Age (*cf.* Evans 2003). Poulton could probably also be included in this category, though at the time of writing the information is not available to include in this analysis (K. Cootes *pers. comm.*). The role of such large roundhouses in the social and cultural system is harder to identify. They may have been intended as central places or aggregation sites controlled by social groups in the context of the changes in settlement function and organization that are observable in this part of the study region from the 2nd century BC. This has been postulated for Great Woolden Hall (Nevell 1989), based on the position in the landscape of this site, the occurrence of imported ceramics and the limited evidence for continuous occupation. How representative this is of the wider region is open to debate. There are only a small number of well dated large (>12 metres) roundhouses in the study region and the evidence they have produced relating to their occupation, deposition of material culture and usage during the Late Iron Age is inconclusive. It may be that these roundhouses represented aggregation centres or these larger structures may simply be to accommodate larger social groups or extended families, at this time there is insufficient evidence to make a determination. It is hoped that the upcoming publication of the prehistoric phases at Poulton will provide more evidence. The situation for the smaller roundhouses is even more complex. Given the increasing degree of settlement nucleation that was occurring in this region (especially in the west of the region), particularly with the development from the 3rd century BC onwards of nucleated sites, these smaller dwellings may represent additional accommodation for extended families, though again the evidence for this is currently inconclusive.

They may represent housing for extended family members or members of extended kin or social networks, who otherwise would have occupied their own larger dwelling

in the wider landscape but were now concentrated at one location. The site of Foel Lwyd W (Lowe 1912) may give particular evidence for this as the central roundhouse has two other roundhouses joined to it which are only accessible through the central structure, presenting the appearance of a house with an annex, extension or (possibly) granny flat and there are many other examples of connected and conjoining structures in this period such as Coed y Brain (Williams 1923), Parc Dinmor (Philips 1932) and Braich y Gornel (Gresham 1972). In fact, it may be, given that the settlement type referred to as compact and conjoined roundhouses show their principle distribution in this part of the study area (see figure 5.12 and table 5.5) from the Late Iron Age that this type of structure evolved as a response to social factors in this area at this time. The location of these smaller structures is in the same region that sees both enclosed and unenclosed settlement of various forms, both timber and stone construction techniques and varying degrees of settlement nucleation. It is possible that this region of the study area was populated by communities expressing different social and cultural conventions of occupation, which may have led to the development of different, even hybridized, forms of settlement structure.

Household Architecture and Form

As has been noted above, there is little change in the construction materials and methodologies used in the region from the Middle Iron Age to the Late Iron Age. Stone-built forms continue to dominate in the south and west of the region, whilst timber construction predominates in the north and east of the region. There is some cross over in Anglesey, north-west Gwynedd and Conway, where both timber and stone walled constructions are evident. In this part of the study region, stone-walled constructions are mostly seen as part of enclosed settlement and compact and conjoining unenclosed settlement, whilst timber seems to be the preferred material for other unenclosed settlement forms and it may be that this preference represents differing social or cultural traditions amongst these groups. At some sites it has been postulated that roundhouses were constructed with clay or turf walls, which may not have survived (Waddington 2013:58). One of these proposed sites is particularly interesting as it lies in that part of the study region, discussed above, which sees the greatest local variation in settlement practices: Anglesey, north-west Gwynedd and

Conway. The site of Cefn Cwmwd (Cuttler *et al.* 2011) has roundhouse walls built of timber, stone and clay. This has been interpreted as an attempt by occupants to differentiate the house from those of their neighbours as a way of expressing identity (Waddington 2013:59), given the different house building styles being expressed in this part of the region it may also represent groups with different heritage or social or cultural affiliation coming together, or perhaps even as an attempt to signify the communities' connection to the different social and cultural groups of this area, a way to claim membership and possibly protection from the different socio-political entities in this part of north west Wales.

The orientation of roundhouse doorways in the Late Iron Age maintains the same preference for east and south east entrance orientations that were observed in the Early and Middle Iron Age (see figure 5.14). In the Late Iron Age, the south-easterly orientation had again become the most commonly observed at 46% of the sites in the dataset. Easterly orientations comprise about half of this number again at about 23% of sites. Other orientations continue to be evidenced in smaller numbers, most notably westerly orientations. Westerly orientations represent approximately 15% of the sample for the Late Iron Age. The roundhouses which exhibit westerly orientation are all in the Anglesey, Conway and Gwynedd regions and again these may represent a local cultural preference, perhaps an interest in orientating structures towards the setting sun though, again, there may be an environmental explanation for the orientation. The structural and physical layout of sites in this part of the study region is certainly curious and it seems reasonable to conclude that there were different cultural and probably social conditions at work here. Whether these were a factor of an acculturation zone between the north and east of the region and the south and west of the region or an independent local development is a matter for further enquiry, though if they did represent a local tradition it may also go some way towards explaining local depositional practices during the Late Iron Age, which included an apparently greater emphasis on deposition in wetland contexts than in other parts of the study region, as famously evidenced at Llyn Cerrig Bach (Macdonald 2007).

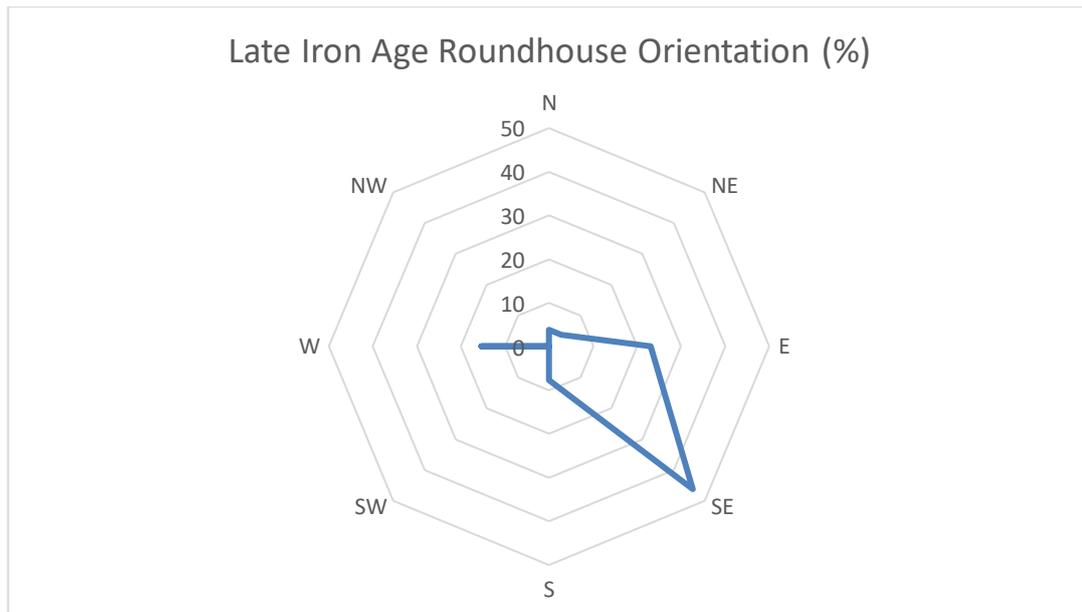


Fig. 5.14-Orientation (%) of Late Iron Age roundhouse doorways in the study region. N=26

Hillforts

As discussed above many hillforts entered a hiatus in their use in the 2nd century BC. Hillforts in the study region then seem to enjoy resurgence during the Late Iron Age. Figure 5.15 and table 5.7 show the hillforts that are mentioned in the text for the Late Iron Age in the region. Several hillforts show signs of re-occupation and of changes or developments to the earthworks and entrances such as Eddisbury (R. Pope *pers comm.*) and Castercliffe (Coombs 1982). The trend towards the creation of smaller enclosure at some hillfort sites during the end of the Middle Iron Age may have continued at sites during the Late Iron Age. These may have been functioning as enclosed settlement during this period, though the limited number of sites that show this kind of modification suggests that this practice may have had limited application, which may indicate that there was some social or cultural control of which groups were permitted to occupy hillfort sites in this way. In the west of the study region, some hillfort sites see a continuation of depositional practices in the Late Iron Age, such as at Tre'r Ceiri (Hogg 1960) and Bryn y Castell (Crew 1998), which was associated with the occupation or re-occupation of these sites in the Late Iron Age period. But how widespread these depositional traditions were is difficult to judge. It should be noted that the evidence for such depositions is at a smaller scale

than for previous hillfort depositional practices (see chapter 7). Although many hillforts went out of use or at least experienced a hiatus in their use going into the 2nd century BC, some were modified during the 2nd century BC and into the Late Iron Age and show continued occupation, though possibly of a more limited form than in previous periods, such as at Eddisbury (Forde-Johnston 1965) and Tre'r Ceiri (Hogg 1960). Other hillfort sites such as Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991), Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964), Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1912) and possibly Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982) may also have had Late Iron Age occupation. Sadly, at these locations subsequent Romano-British occupation has obscured these phases and made it difficult to tell which, if any, features on site are Late Iron Age or Romano-British. Thus, making it impossible to get an accurate picture of these sites during the Late Iron Age. Even on those sites where a clearer picture of Late Iron Age occupation exists, there are still difficulties in interpretation due to the absence of accurate chronologies for the roundhouses and features on these sites. The reasons why some hillforts saw occupation into the Late Iron Age and others did not are difficult to identify. The continued occupation of Bryn y Castell may be due to its role as a specialist production center for iron and glass (Crew 1987) and the same may be true for Mellor and its role in the production of copper alloy objects (Nevell and Redhead 2005). The re-occupation of other sites may be opportunistic or connected to subsistence practices, such as the pasturing of livestock. Without a more detailed re-evaluation of the latest phases of hillfort occupation in the study region such interpretations remain speculative.

Name	ID. No. for fig. 5.15	Region	Period	Elevation (metres AOD)	Reference
Castercliffe	1	Lancashire	Late Iron Age	259	Coombs 1982
Eddisbury	2	Cheshire	Late Iron Age	158	R. Pope <i>pers.comm.</i>
Bryn y Castell	3	Gwynedd	Late Iron Age	370	Crew 1987

Tre'r Ceiri	4	Gwynedd	Late Iron Age	480	Hogg 1960
Garn Boduan	5	Gwynedd	Late Iron Age	260	Hogg 1960

Table 5.7 Late Iron Age hillfort sites mentioned in the text for the study region

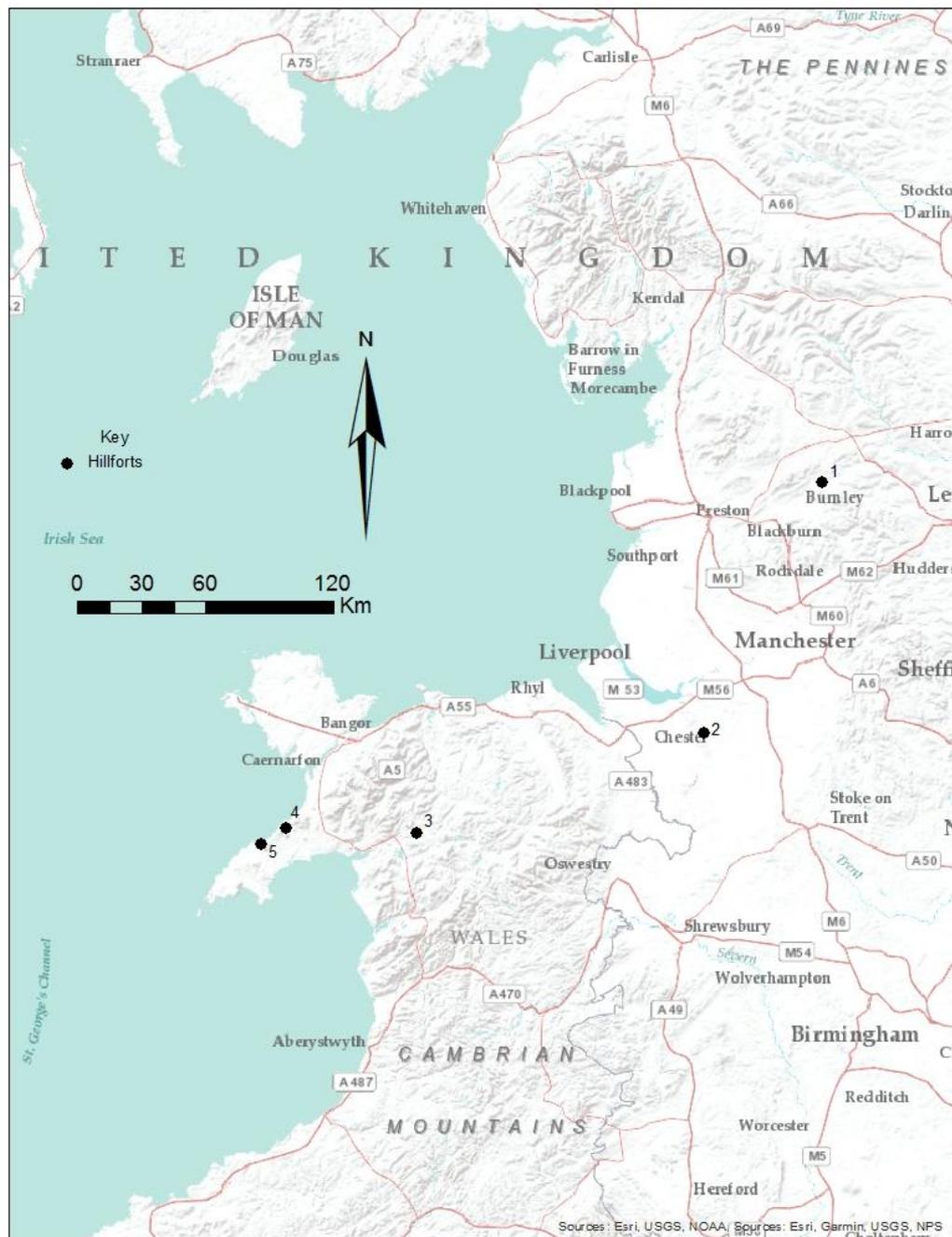


Fig. 5.15-Late Iron Age hillfort sites mentioned in the text for the study region (underlying map © 1995-2016 Esri)

Settlement and Society

From the 4th-3rd centuries BC new forms of enclosed settlement began to appear in the west of the region. This new settlement type takes the form of curvilinear stone enclosures. Unlike previous enclosures in the west, these structures often have the roundhouses situated around the periphery of the enclosure. This creates a social space in the centre of the enclosure and also serves to remove the roundhouse as the focus of activity on site, perhaps reflecting an increasing interest in maintaining the roundhouse as a private area, to which access was restricted. This is in contrast to earlier settlement forms, which appear to have been designed to convey a sense of transition from one state (external) to another (bounded). The division of space at sites also begins to occur at hillforts from this period and suggests that there was a growing interest in partitioning social space and defining public and private zones. It is possible that this is indicative of a growing sense of personal identity and an associated desire to demarcate the space of the individual or family unit. This can be related to cosmological models of space (*cf.* Parker Pearson 1994) and the concept of public activity areas and private spaces. At some sites in the region, such as Crawcwellt West (Crew 1998), there is evidence for external activity areas between the structures. This again may link to the concept of public/private space and is particularly interesting on this site due to the extent of iron-smelting that was being carried out in some of the structures, which possibly suggests that smelting could be viewed as a private or taboo practice (*cf.* Hingley 1997; 2006a).

By the 3rd century BC, the first nucleated settlement had begun to appear in the west of the region at sites such as Cefn Du (Cutler *et al.* 2011), Cefn Cwmwd (Roberts *et al.* 2004) and Melin y Plas (G. Smith 2004). This development may represent the beginning of the end of older concepts of group identity, as individuals and family groups begin to express their independence and form new social relationships. It is also around this time that the use of hillforts in the study region begins to decline, which again may reflect the abandonment of older concepts of group identity, as well as increasingly static settlement patterns. Personal ornamentation also increases significantly in the archaeological record of the study region from the 3rd century BC (discussed in chapter 6 and 7), along with new material culture forms with La Tène

decoration. This is particularly interesting due to the 'reflective' nature of La Tène art styles, which may have been designed to be deliberately ambiguous and open to different interpretation (Spratling 2008). These factors all suggest a growing sense of individuality and personal identity, as well as a break-down of existing social groupings. Although these events are broadly consistent across the study region, there are local variations and adaptations. For example, hillforts continued in use on the Llyn peninsula and even supplanted other enclosed settlement, even as their use was declining elsewhere (Waddington 2013). Similarly, the artefacts of material culture from the study region show regional patterning, with brooches, pins and coins having a predominantly eastern distribution, whilst bracelets/armlets were favoured in the west (discussed in chapter 6 and 7). These changes in the region seem to have culminated during the 2nd century BC. At this time there is a break in the depositional record from some sites, such as Llyn Cerrig Bach (Macdonald 2007), the majority of the region's hillforts cease producing evidence for activity and there are changes evident in the material culture record, such as the occurrence of coins, the introduction of new artefact types and ultimately the appearance of La Tène III artistic styles. This 2nd century BC horizon corresponds with the date Creighton (1995) has suggested for a widespread social transformation in southern Britain.

The settlement evidence for the Late Iron Age is consistent with the settlement seen during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Unenclosed roundhouses continue to dominate the record in the east of the region, whilst single roundhouses, curvilinear stone enclosures and nucleated settlement continue in the west. Some of the region's hillforts see re-occupation during this period, though the extent and duration of this is open to question and it may represent opportunistic use or occasional utilization for special activities, such as deliberate deposition or smelting, as may be evidenced at Bryn y Castell (Crew 1987). A reduction in average roundhouse diameters, along with an increase in the number of sites, may reflect the continuing dispersal of people and groups within the landscape, though there is not sufficient evidence to be able to fully substantiate this at this time.

In relation to the 'grid and group' model discussed in the previous chapter, the Middle and Late Iron Age generally see the continued development of personal

identity and a move towards a more 'grid-based' society, comparable to section C. It could be argued that the west of the study region is slightly more 'group-based' than the east. The east has more variable forms of personal ornamentation and material culture, which may be indicative of a greater degree of individualism and personal identity. The west also retains some older settlement forms into the Late Iron Age, including nucleated settlement and curvilinear stone enclosures which, it could be speculated, reflect a degree of social integration and group identity, though one which was not tightly defined. This is not to suggest that there was no social identity or organization in the Middle and Late Iron Age period, rather that they were negotiated through social and personal relationships and obligation instead of group allegiance alone.

Summary

During the start of the Middle Iron Age the evidence suggests a break in the settlement record for the 4th century BC, though this may be a product of the dataset rather than a real event. By the 3rd century BC, concentric circular forms of settlement have gone out of use, there is a greater emphasis on unenclosed settlement in the east of the study region and a trend towards settlement nucleation in the west of the study region. Regional differences in settlement form become more pronounced, with stone-built enclosed and unenclosed settlement dominating in the west and south of the region and timber-built architecture unenclosed settlement dominating in the east. The area around Anglesey, north western Gwynedd and Conway sees a variety of these traditions and may represent a transition zone between these emerging sub-regional trajectories. There is a likelihood of increasing social differentiation during this period and it is probable that some groups began to exert greater control on the prevailing social networks. Hillfort sites decline in usage across most of the region, with the exception of the south-west of the region where a number of smaller hillfort sites continue in use, probably acting as sites for social aggregation in much the same way that unenclosed settlement may have been doing in the east and north of the region.

By the 2nd century BC, many hillfort sites had gone out of use completely. Those that show evidence for continued operation into the Late Iron Age period usually show

signs of modification, such as the reconstruction of the line of enclosure banks or the redevelopment of the entrances and it is probable that these locations had been repurposed by individual social groups to function as group loci and central places, possibly as part of an emerging social order. Some of these hillfort sites show evidence for metalworking activity, such as Bryn y Castell (Crew 1987) and Mellor (Nevell and Redhead 2005), which may by this point have been controlled by specific groups as part of the social organization of areas. The architectural traditions across most parts of the region continue in a similar fashion to the Middle Iron Age, though there may be some limited evidence to the slight elaboration of enclosed settlement, perhaps suggesting that enclosed settlement was becoming increasingly important to the prevailing socio-cultural order. In the west of the study region, settlement nucleation continues as at Cefn Du (Cuttler 2004), Cefn Cwmwd and Melin y Plas (Cuttler *et al.* 2011) and probably at Parc Bryn Cegin F and G (Kenney 2008), again probably as a response to increasing social pressure and the desire of communities to bond together for support and social authority. The situation across Anglesey, north-west Gwynedd and Conway continues to show evidence for a mix of settlement forms and construction techniques. It may be that this continued to be a contested transitional area between the east and north and the south and west, but the situation may also be evidence of a different regional tradition, which had developed aspects of both the neighbouring areas, but otherwise had its own social networks and cultural traditions. In any case, by the Late Iron Age, it seems evident that the west of the study region was following architectural and structural traditions evidenced in other regions along the Atlantic coast, whilst the east of the study region has more in common with architectural and settlement traditions in southern England, such as in Cambridgeshire and East Anglia (Hill 2007). These similarities are likely the result of cultural contact between these regions, the origins of which almost certainly date back to at least the Middle Iron Age and possibly further.

Chapter 6- Material Culture: Overview and Chronology

This chapter intends to provide a brief overview of the material culture of the study region and some of the broader trends of its development and distribution. Given that this chapter intends to focus on geography, chronology and developmental trends, it is principally concerned with the more common and diagnostic material of the study region. This means that the majority of the material discussed in this chapter is the evidence for the region’s metalwork, as this material offers the best evidence for typological development and chronology in the region. Individual and unusual items will not be discussed in detail. Establishing the chronology of material culture in the region is problematic. Items of material culture analysed have been dated through multiple means; by absolute dating of material culture from the study region, by relative dating of material culture based on stratigraphic relationships from sites in the study region, by comparison with well dated objects from other regions and by reference to established typologies. There will be a brief discussion of the material culture trends evident in the region during the 8th-6th centuries BC, followed by a more detailed discussion of individual types of material culture when these become more common in the record from the study region during the 6th century BC. As this chapter is dealing with the development of material it will occasionally make use of Reinecke’s chronological system when discussing objects or developments with continental parallels. It will also make use of Dechelette’s chronology for the development of La Tène artistic styles. The relationship between the chronological systems used in the text are expressed in figure 6.1.

<i>Chronology Used in this Thesis</i>		Late Bronze Age		Early Iron Age		Middle Iron Age			Late Iron Age
<i>Period</i>		Late Bronze Age		Earliest Iron Age	Early Iron Age	Middle Iron Age			Late Iron Age
<i>Reinecke</i>				Hallstatt C	Hallstatt D	La Tene A	La Tene B	La Tene C	La Tene D
<i>Dechelette</i>						La Tene I		La Tene II	La Tene III
<i>Metalworking Phase</i>		Ewart-Blackmoor	Ewart Park	Llyn Fawr					
<i>Date</i>		800BC		600BC	400BC	200BC		AD1	

Figure 6.1- Chronological systems referenced in the text (after Déchelette 1910; Reinecke 1965; Needham 2007)

Early Trends in the Evidence (8th-6th centuries BC)

Evidence of the social and cultural role of material culture from the study region during the Early Iron Age is scarce. Ewart Park metalwork declines sharply in the archaeological record of the region during the 9th century BC and whilst articles of Ewart Park metalwork may have continued to be used into the 8th century BC in the region there are no securely dated examples from 8th century BC contexts. Examples of Llyn Fawr metalwork have a limited occurrence in the study region. The earliest known example from the study region is a possible hoard from Brogyntyn in Shropshire containing a Gundlingen type sword (Cowen 1967:444) which may be associated with a socketed gouge and chisel (Savory 1976:55), though Chitty (1940:151-4) and Colquhoun and Burgess (1988:119) believe that they are not associated. Another Gundlingen sword was discovered in the River Severn at Jackfield in Shropshire (Bell and Watson 1993:104-6). The only other known article of Llyn Fawr material culture is a Cardiff II variant Sompting type socketed axe from Wrenbury (PAS WMID B87DC3) of probable 7th century date. During the Ewart Park metalworking phase, at the end of the Late Bronze Age there was a substantial increase in the deposition of articles of material culture, particularly copper alloy objects, both in the study region and more widely across Britain. Needham (2007:53) has suggested that deposition of copper alloy objects during the Ewart Park Phase increased to five times what it had been during the preceding Penard and Wilburton phases. Yet during the Llyn Fawr phase the deposition of copper alloy material culture declined again to levels comparable to the Wilburton phase, or possibly less (*ibid*). Similarly, there is a greater occurrence of the deposition of gold objects in the study region during the Ewart Park phase, but during the Llyn Fawr phase gold disappears completely from the archaeological record both in the study region and across Britain (O'Connor 2007:74).

The decline in the evidence for material culture at the end of the Late Bronze Age makes it difficult to establish the role that it played in expressing social identity. Several authors (Burgess 1979; Bradley 1988; Thomas 1989; Cunliffe 2005; Kristiansen 1998; Needham 2007) have commented upon the apparent abandonment of copper alloy and although they attribute different causal factors to this shift, it is generally agreed that copper alloy had been socially devalued as a

material for social expression. This trend was probably the result of a gradual reorganization of social networks and methods of maintaining social identity, which likely began in the Middle Bronze Age. Several writers (e.g. Mulville 2008; Brück 2008; Sharples 2010) have commented on the increasing interest in the creation of landscape division and monumental settlement architecture, as well as an increased focus on the maintenance and division of space associated with settlement. It seems likely that existing social networks and methods of creating and maintaining social obligation were shifting from the conspicuous consumption of material culture to access to land or resources, which may be either natural resources or labour (Thomas 1997; Sharples 2010). This would also explain the disappearance of ceramic traditions, personal ornaments and visible funerary traditions at the start of the Early Iron Age. These factors would all have been instrumental in conveying social identity and social connections, their absence from the record from the start of the Early Iron Age onwards is indicative that in their existing forms they no longer served this purpose, whilst the lack of uptake of new forms or practices may indicate that there was either sufficient uncertainty surrounding the social relations to preclude new forms developing or else that the significance or ability of these mechanisms for signifying social identity and obligation had been devalued and replaced.

It is difficult to establish what the impact of these changes was. As Brück (2008:262) has suggested for Britain as a whole, it seems likely that in the study region the focus of social display shifted to settlement and architectural expression, which may explain the occurrence of large roundhouse forms in the study region around the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition (see chapter 4). Only in the east of the study region is there any evidence for the continued use and deposition of metalwork between the start of the Early Iron Age and the 6th century BC, in the form of the Llyn Fawr metalwork discussed above and in the occurrence of crucible fragments from Beeston Castle, associated with the Early Iron Age ramparts (Ellis 1993). This may be representing a local preference or the late survival of some Late Bronze Age traditions in this part of the study region. The presence of Llyn Fawr traditions in the east of the study region, but not in the west, would seem to indicate individual local strategies were being employed in the creation of new social conventions.

Interestingly, the articles of Llyn Fawr metalwork from the east of the study region were all found as isolated finds in lowland contexts, whereas earlier depositional traditions had often centred on hillforts in the study region as at Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964; Savory 1976), Whalley (Blundell and Longworth 1967) and the Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991). It may be that by the Early Iron Age, the role of hillfort sites as social aggregation centres (Hill 1995) within the emerging social system, precluded them from deposition of copper alloy metalworking objects associated with older social practices, though a greater amount of evidence for the occurrence and deposition of Llyn Fawr metalwork in the study region would be needed before this can be verified.

From the start of the Early Iron Age until the 6th century BC, the only securely dated material culture forms (except for the Llyn Fawr metalwork and VCP) are items produced in locally available material (mostly stone) and mostly lacking in decoration. Spindle-whorls from this period are undecorated pebbles and quern-stones are saddle querns or slug-shaped variants made from widely available local stone sources or glacial erratics. There are no known examples of personal ornamentation or non-VCP ceramics. This strongly implies that material culture was not playing a significant role in the production and maintenance of social identity or social relationships at this time, though it is possible that articles of material culture, which have not survived in the archaeological record were fulfilling this role, such as leatherwork or clothing. The items of material culture that do occur seem to be functional in nature, though this does not preclude them having social properties. The occurrence of VCP is anomalous in this regard, in that it represents the only ceramic from the study region in the Early Iron Age period and appears to have been widely exchanged (Morris 1985; Matthews 2002; Kinory 2012). However, if, as has been postulated above, the communities living in the study region during the Early Iron Age had switched to a system of social display centred on settlements and of social networks and obligation focussed on resource or land access, then the presence of VCP is more understandable. VCP represents salt production containers (Morris 1985; Kinory 2012) and has been identified by its fabric as having a source near to Nantwich or Droitwich (depending on type). Salt was an important resource,

and if social networks and obligation in this period were concerned with access to resources then it would make sense for an exchange network to survive to supply this resource which was not available elsewhere. Interestingly, the distribution of VCP prior to 300BC (Matthews 2002:22 fig. 12 after Morris 1985) suggest the exchange of VCP with south Wales and Wessex (see figure 6.2), which represent the principal depositional regions of Llyn Fawr hoards (O'Connor 2007:64).

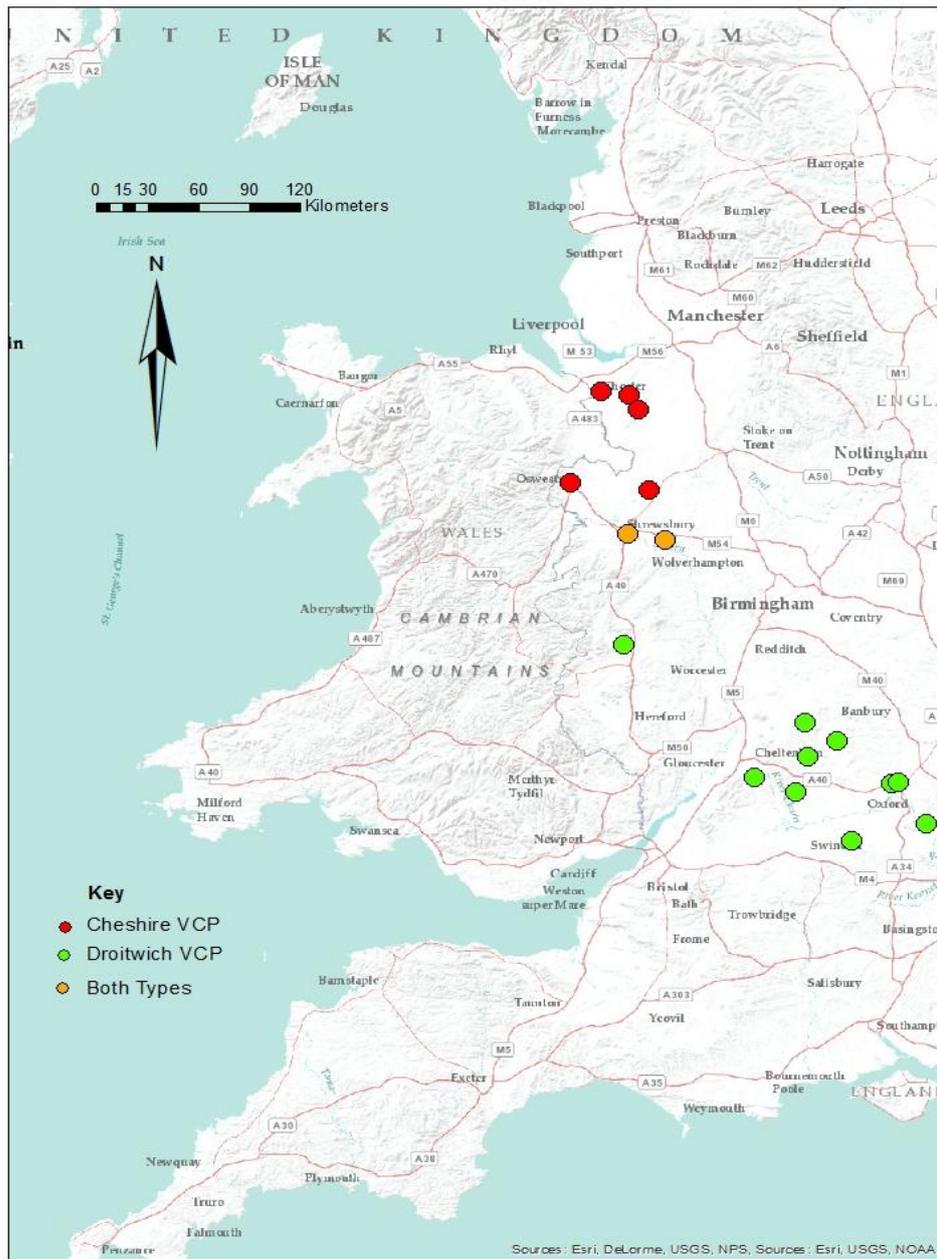


Figure 6.2- Distribution of Early Iron Age VCP ceramics (after Kinory 2012 underlying map © 1995-2016 Esri)

This may explain the occurrence of Llyn Fawr metalwork in the east of the study region and its absence from the west. If there was an established exchange network between the east of the study region and south Wales and Wessex, the exchange between the two regions may have facilitated the persistence of earlier social structures, at least during the 8th and 7th centuries BC, which may still have been partly based on the circulation of copper alloy objects. The form of these copper alloy objects is interesting; the examples of Gundlingen swords from Brogyntyn (Cowen 1967:444) and Jackfield (Bell and Watson 1993:104-6) probably represent the earliest examples of Llyn Fawr metalwork in the region and were likely non-functional display objects (Kristiansen 2004: 324-5), whilst the other evidence for Llyn Fawr copper alloy objects is represented by objects associated with production activities and the creation of finished objects out of raw materials, such as the socketed gouge and chisel from Brogyntyn (Cowen 1967:444) and the socket axe from Wrenbury (PAS WMID B87DC3), which perhaps reflects a trend of conveying social status and identity by objects associated with production. However, it should be noted that just because the form of these objects represents tools that can be used in production, it does not mean that they were functional, especially in the case of the socketed axe from Wrenbury (PAS WMID B87DC3) which is of a non-functional type (Huth 2000). If the deposition of tools associated with production does reflect an emerging sense of identity, then it would reflect a wider trend in the study region of displaying social identity and position through the deposition of objects associated with production. The increase in hillfort rampart construction around the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition (as discussed in chapter 4) may reflect a display of group social power and prestige by the consumption of labour whilst the occurrence of spindle-whorls, quern-stones and animal bones at sites reflect the production of textiles and agricultural produce, in this context even the occurrence of VCP (associated with salt production) would be significant. If this is the case then it may not have mattered that these objects were locally produced and un-adorned, as it would be what the object represented, the production and maintenance of the community, that was of significance.

During the 6th century BC, the situation in the study region changes. The first iron objects are represented, in the form of a swan-necked pin from Beeston Castle (Stead 1993:53-4) and iron razors from Beeston Castle (Stead 1993:53) and Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964:153-4). As well as representing the first iron objects in the region, these objects also represent the first occurrence of material culture with direct connotations to the individual since the end of the Late Bronze Age. Their occurrence at a time when many of the hillforts and settlement sites in the region saw re-development can hardly be considered coincidental and it is likely that they may represent the emergence of a new social system following the social changes of the previous centuries, evidenced by changes in depositional practice, material culture and the settlement record. The fact that these new material culture forms are represented in iron is also significant. Several authors (Hingley 1997; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006; Hingley 2006b; Giles 2007b) have commented on the relationship between iron and agricultural production and fertility. It is believed that the symbolic associations of iron production methods may have imbued it with connotations of rebirth and regeneration, which could then be reproduced through the objects that the iron was made into. Production, either of food, materials, textiles or tools, were essential for the survival and maintenance of the community. During the Early Iron Age, the association of the tools used in the production of these essentials appear to have taken on a role in expressing social identity and consequently in the regeneration and continuity of the community. Given that items associated with production were likely being used in the creation and maintenance of social identity and position during the Early Iron Age period, the association of iron with fertility and agricultural production may have made it a suitable material to produce these new items of material culture. Although the new object forms (razors and pins) are not tools used in the production of resources for the community, their production in iron may have allowed them to carry similar cultural connotations. As iron would have expressed a similar symbolic value to that expressed by existing material culture items in the social and cultural system of the study region.

Unfortunately, there is no evidence for iron smelting in the study region that can be dated to the Early Iron Age period. However, given the occurrence of these items

within the east of the study region it is possible that they may have been imported into the region along the same route as that proposed above for Llyn Fawr metalwork, particularly as the iron razor from Beeston Castle has parallels with examples from All Cannings Cross (Cunnington 1923:126, plate 21.11) and Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979:104, fig. 80.1104). It is also possible that the iron was imported into the region in an unfinished form and then completed. In any case the distance that these objects were sourced from would add to their social significance as it encompassed, not only the significance of the object in terms of the symbolic association of the material it was produced from, but also signified the social relations necessary to acquire it. In this sense the object biography would come to express the social networks and obligations inherent in its transmission as well as the history and attributes of that exchange network (*cf.* Thomas 1996; Tilly 1996; Marshall and Gosden 1999; Peers 1999; Joy 2009a). The object would then function as a mnemonic device or tangible expression of wider contacts and social relations and of the people involved in their creation and maintenance (*cf.* Hodder 1982). The role of these items is particularly interesting given their association with the individual. Hill (1997:103) has suggested that during the Middle Iron Age there was a change in the way that the body was conceptualised and that new ways of adorning or preparing the body were being developed as ways of displaying personal identity and social position. Perhaps the incorporation of the cultural context of these items into personal identity represented the transference of the properties of production from the community to the individual and in this way elevated the individual as a producer, rather than stressing the significance of the act of production.

Sadly, determining whether these early iron objects are imports into the study region is difficult. Although there is no archaeological evidence of Early Iron Age iron smelting in the study region, that is not sufficient to rule it out entirely. Similarly, source determination through minor and trace element analysis on prehistoric ironwork is fraught with difficulties and often inconclusive (*cf.* Hedges and Salter 1979; Tylecote 1986; Paynter 2006). The only indication that these objects may be imports into the region comes from their typological similarity to objects from other regions of Britain (see figure 6.3), such as Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979) and

All Cannings Cross (Cunnington 1923). Although this does not irrefutably demonstrate that these objects had a common origin, it does at least strongly suggest that the pattern for these objects had a common origin. If the earliest examples of ironwork from the region were produced in the region, then the similarity in form strongly suggests contact between the study region and southern England. Given the early dates for iron smelting activity from southern England at sites such as Trevalgue (Ehrenreich 1994) and Gussage All Saints (Wainwright 1979), it is probable that the early ironwork from the study region either originated there or else was based on examples of ironwork from southern England.

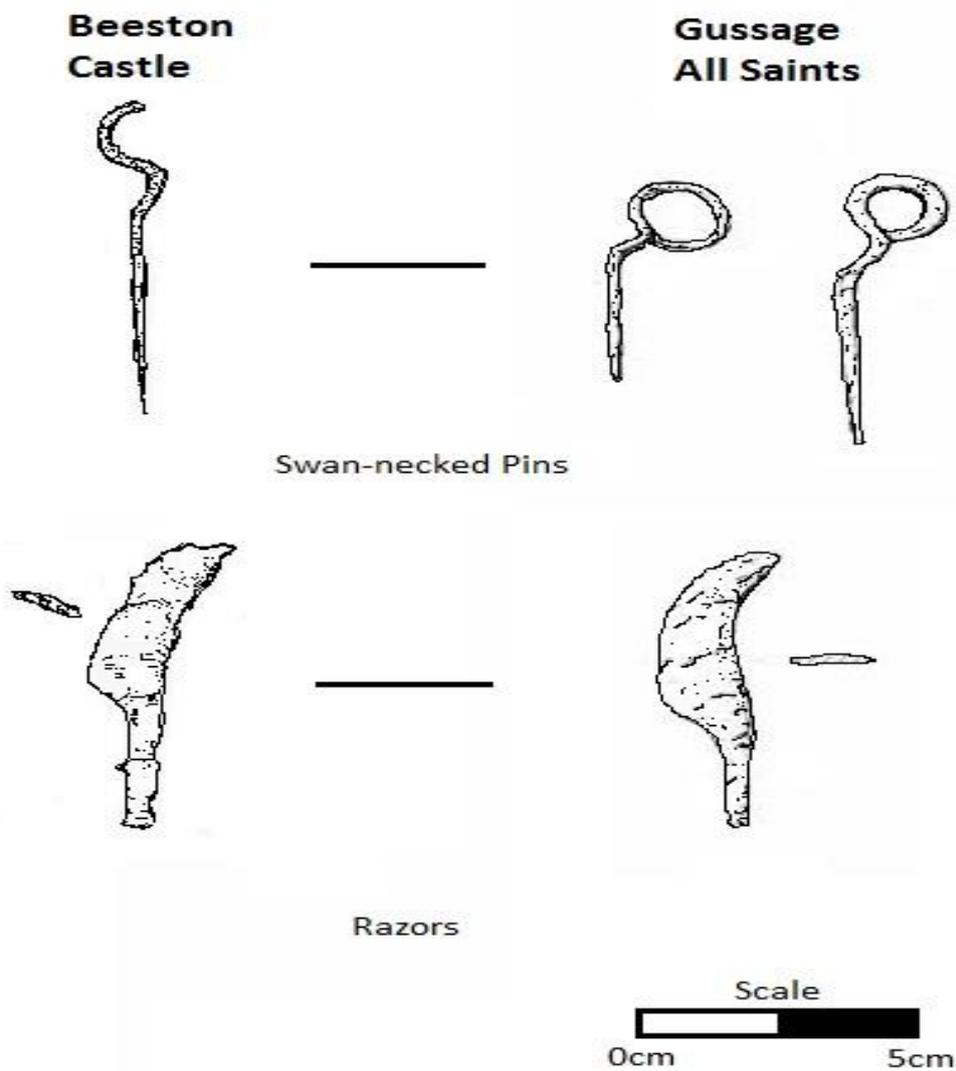


Figure 6.3- Comparison of Early Iron Age iron razor and swan-necked pin from Beeston Castle with razor and swan-necked pins from Gussage All Saints (after Wainwright 1979 and Ellis 1993).

Material Culture by Group (the 6th century BC-1st century AD)

Brooches

Brooches occur in the region from the Early Iron Age/Middle Iron Age transition onwards. The earliest securely dated Iron Age example is an arched bow brooch of La Tène I design from Moel Hirradug hillfort dated to 450-400BC (Brassil *et al.* 1982:41). This example is of a type often referred to as a Marzabotto type on the Continent and displays some incised ring and dot decoration on the bow. Interestingly the decoration shows signs of wear as though by rubbing, which is an element common to other brooches in the study region, such as on the bow brooch example from Lancaster (PAS LANCUM 685EF5). The piece has a cup at the end of the bow which may have been designed to take a stud of coral, enamel or of locally sourced tufa (Brassil *et al.* 1982:39). According to the available information, the brooch was found immediately behind the inner rampart, overlying the pre-rampart layers, in a depositional context which is not unusual for this type of material culture in the study region, as evidenced at Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Old Oswestry (Hughes 1996), Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991). Other examples of Hull's type 1A brooches are attested from Meols (Griffiths *et al.* 2007), which is of comparable date to the Moel Hirradug example and by an insular La Tène I variant from Lancaster (PAS LANCUM-685EF5). The Lancaster example also shows evidence of wear on the top of the bow, which is part of the brooch that would not have come into contact with the cloth and suggests that the wearer may have been deliberately rubbing the brooch by hand, perhaps as a talisman (*cf.* Mack 2008). Sadly, the original depositional context of these other early brooches, are not known. These three examples are the only known fibulae examples from the study region for the 5th-4th centuries BC, though they may be contemporary with two iron penannular brooches from Dinorben, which have slightly expanded disc shaped terminals, characteristic of these early insular penannular brooches (Fowler 1960; Gardner and Savory 1964:132).

The occurrence of these early penannular brooches in the study region is interesting. They are believed to be a native development out of the ring-headed type of pin. The two examples from Dinorben are paralleled in iron examples from Breedon-on-the-

Hill in Leicestershire (Kenyon 1946:40, fig. 7) and more locally at the Breiddin (O'Neil 1937:114, fig. 5) on a pre-rampart hut floor, giving it a likely 6th-5th century BC date (Musson *et al.* 1991). Copper alloy examples are known from Breedon-on-the-Hill (Kenyon 1946:39, fig. 7) and from All Cannings Cross (Cunnington 1926, plate 19), though the iron examples may be an earlier form, if they follow the same developmental pattern of pins from the region (discussed below). Stylistically both the iron and copper alloy examples have similarities, in terms of their expanded disc shaped terminals and flattened pin head. The origins of these early brooches in the study region is open to conjecture. The predominantly coastal distribution of the early bow brooches may suggest that they were imported. Savory (1971; 1976) is inclined towards long distance contact as the source for these objects. However, the occurrence of the penannular brooches at Dinorben and the Breiddin, both associated with metalworking in the period (and at the Breiddin probably subsequently associated with brooch production, discussed below), suggests that these objects may be assigned a more local point of origin. Typologically the arched bow brooches correspond to Hull's type 1a (Hull and Hawkes 1987), whilst the penannular examples are Fowler's type 1a (Fowler 1960)

Of the other brooches from the study region, there are eleven more Middle Iron Age examples. These include an unidentified La Tène II iron example from a post hole fill at the excavated site of Mill Hill Road, Irby, which has been tentatively dated to the third century BC (Philpott and Adams 2010:20; Cool 2010:154); a copper alloy brooch bearing a four spoke wheel design from Ashley, Cheshire (PAS LVPL-132), which corresponds to Hull's type 2b and which has stylistic parallels with examples from Staffordshire and Cumbria, as well as Newnham Croft Cambridgeshire (Hattatt 1982; 1985; 1988; Hull and Hawkes 1987) and Ludlow in Shropshire (PAS HESH B7DED5). This design is unusual but may have developmental parallels with wheel headed pins, such as the example from Driffield East Yorkshire (PAS LANCUM 2D85A8). The third specimen is an unidentified insular variant from near Macclesfield in copper alloy, which may be stylistically comparable to a 5th century example from Bledlow Buckinghamshire (Hattatt 1982; 1985; 1988; Hull and Hawkes 1987), but which otherwise lacks direct parallels at this time. The remaining six examples are iron

brooches of involuted bow type and correspond to La Tène II traditions. These examples are all from the Breiddin hillfort; given the evidence for metalworking at this site during the Middle Iron Age (Musson *et al.* 1991) it is possible that they were produced there. There is a significant increase in iron brooches from the 3rd-2nd centuries BC, corresponding stylistically to La Tène II, which is in line with developments across Britain, particularly in the west. (Adams 2014:174-5). Adams (*ibid.*) sees this as a product of Continental developments, as the increase in the number of iron brooches in the British record corresponds with a shift to iron brooches in continental inhumation cemeteries, of La Tène B1/B2 to La Tène B2/C1.

The Late Iron Age examples are represented by six Nauheim derivatives corresponding to Hull's type 4, whilst of the remainder, five are of the Birdlip type (with one additional possible Birdlip example), two are of the Colchester type (PAS LVPL-1FD141 and Mackreth 1989:88) and two are of the Langton Down type (PAS LVPL-FB07C7 and Mackreth 1989:97). There is also another penannular brooch from Coedpoeth, possibly of early Romano-British date (PAS LVPL-B3EB08) and an example of the 1st century BC Gorica type, which is a continental Nauheim derivative otherwise highly unusual in Britain (Hull and Hawkes 1987). Three of the late brooch examples from the study region are from Prestatyn. These include a Colchester type, a Langton Down type and an unidentified insular derivative. Although they date to the first half of the first century AD, they have been classified with the Romano-British finds from this site due to the lack of parallels from the region at the time the site was excavated (Mackreth 1989:87). However, since then other examples of these types have been discovered in the study region and in light of this they may now be considered as having a Late Iron Age provenance. The dating of these late types is uncertain; the Colchester and Langton Down types are likely early 1st century AD, but the Nauheim derivatives as well as the Birdlip examples may have had a period of usage from the mid-1st century BC (Hull and Hawkes 1987). These late types are all represented in copper alloy, which is a factor of Late Iron Age brooches across Britain (Adams 2014:174). A selection of the brooches from the study region are illustrated in figure 6.4, all are copper alloy except number 6 and 7, which are iron.

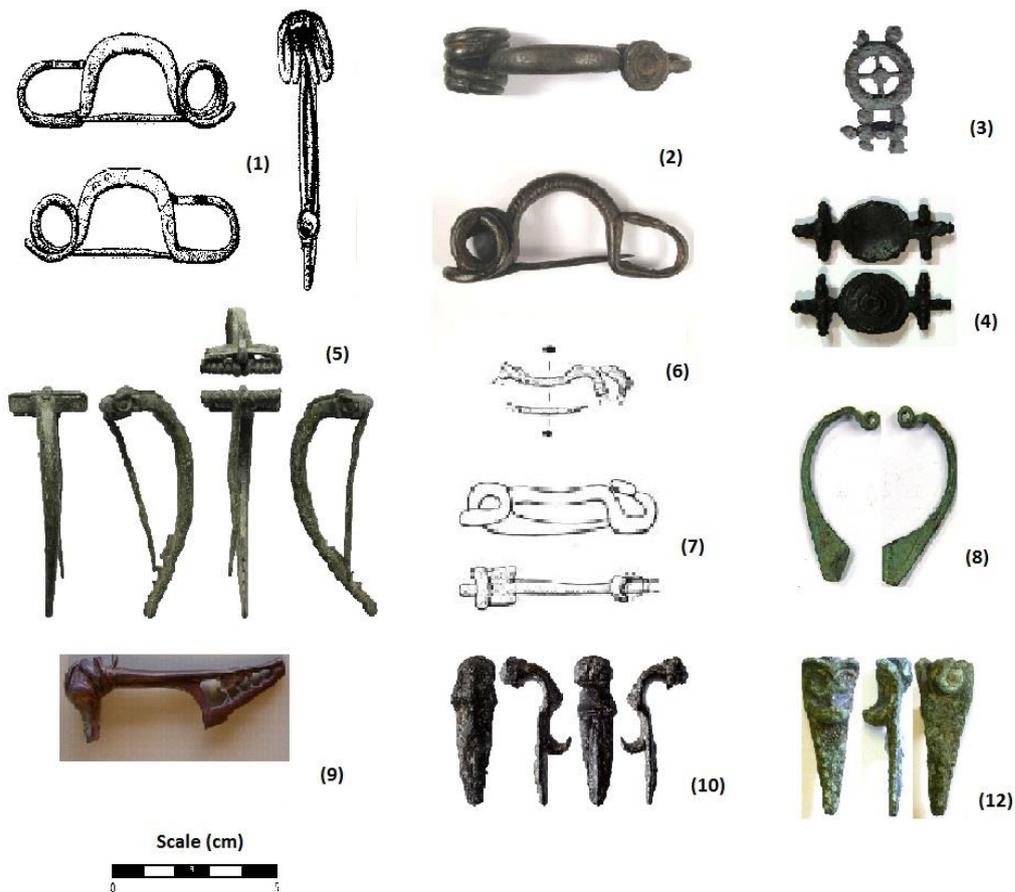


Figure 6.4- Examples of brooches from the study region. (1) Moel Hiraddug Arched Bow Brooch (Brassil *et al.* 1982), (2) Lancaster Arched Bow Brooch (PAS LANCUM 685EF5), (3) Ashley La Tène II Brooch (PAS LVPL 132), (4) Marbury La Tène II Brooch (PAS LVPL A1E8A8), (5) Bickley Colchester Type (PAS LVPL 1FD141), (6) Breiddin Long Involuted Bow Brooch (Musson *et al.* 1991), (7) Breiddin Long Involuted Bow Brooch (Musson *et al.* 1991), (8) Ashton Nauheim Derivative (PAS LVPL CD8AD8), (9) Rossett Birdlip Type (PAS LVPL 2228), (10) Barrow Birdlip Type (PAS LVPL 18C980), (11) Chester Birdlip Type (PAS LVPL 971828). (Number 1 after Brassil *et al.* 1982, Number 6 and 7 after Musson *et al.* 1991, Number 2,3,4,5,8,9,10 and 11 © The Portable Antiquities Scheme/The Trustees of the British Museum).

In the study region, copper alloy dominates the brooch assemblage, but there are clear chronological trends evidenced by the selection of material for individual brooch types (see figure 6.5). Adams (2014:177-8) regards the move from copper alloy to iron during La Tène C as a function of the availability of raw materials, which was mitigated in Wales by the adoption of iron for brooches. In Adams' view (*ibid.*)

the shortage of copper alloy during this period was caused by interruption of the Continental exchange network. There are a number of copper sources in the study region such as at the Great Orme, Alderley Edge and Beeston Castle and the Peckforton Hills, which were exploited in the Bronze Age, Early Iron Age and Romano-British period. However, there is no evidence at these locations for widespread exploitation during the Middle and Late Iron Age. Yet, if there was a shortage in copper alloy corresponding to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC in the study region, this does not seem to be evidenced in the production of other articles of material culture. It is perhaps more likely the result of cultural factors influencing the selection of the material and it has been suggested that the aesthetic qualities of a material had significant connotations within the cultural context of Iron Age societies (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1984:183; Creighton 2000:31; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006; Rule 2010). Contact may also have played a role in the selection of material for brooches. The occurrence of iron involuted forms of La Tène II stylistic traditions at the Breiddin may represent contact with south Wales, where these forms were more common, whilst the continued dominance of copper alloy forms in the east of the study region may represent contact or exchange with other regions of Britain, particularly south and south west England, where copper alloy examples were more prevalent (Adams 2014:177). Figure 6.6 (see also table 6.1) shows the occurrence of brooches in the study region. As can be seen they have a predominantly eastern distribution in central western Britain, which is maintained throughout the Middle and Late Iron Age and is strongly suggestive of a cultural preference for these articles in this part of the region, particularly when compared with the virtual absence of evidence for brooches from the west of the study region either as excavated examples or chance finds.

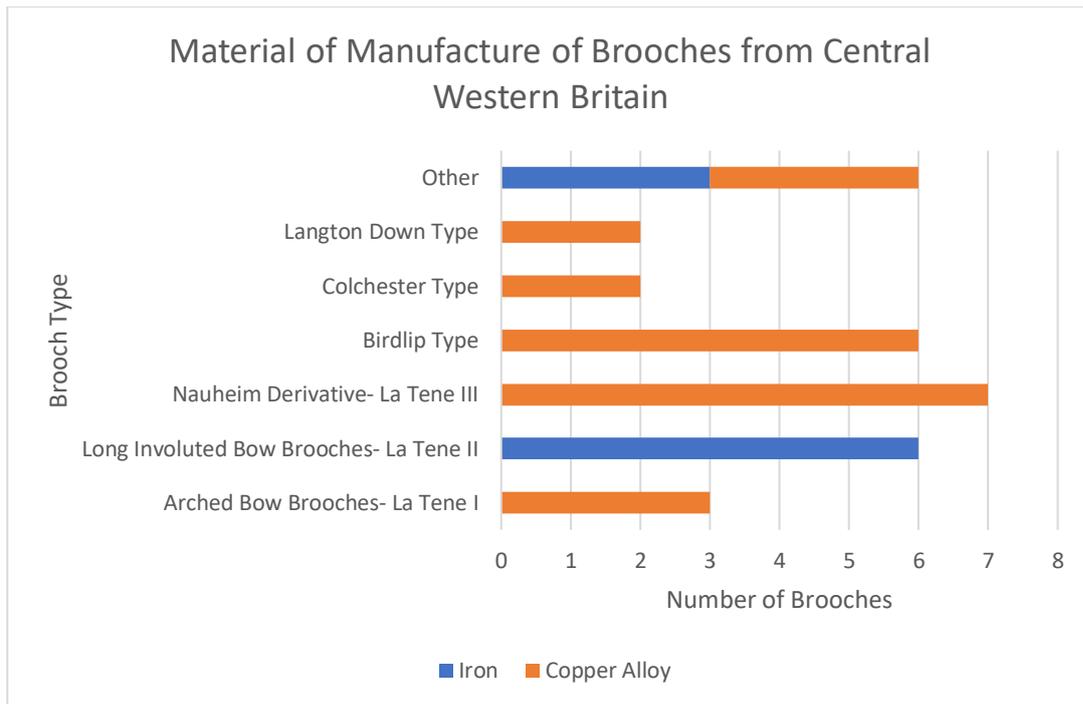


Figure 6.5- Brooches by type and material of manufacture from central western Britain. N=32

It is difficult, in the absence of brooches associated with human remains, to determine if there was any distinction in the association of brooches with individuals. Without the evidence from human remains, it is simply not possible to make any clear determinations as to whether certain brooch types were more often associated with male or females or certain age groups or social roles. However, there may be some indications available through analogy with the evidence from Middle-Late Iron Age inhumation cemeteries from Yorkshire. Giles (2012:136-7, fig. 5.6) has identified the occurrence of several brooch types from Wetwang and Garton Slack cemeteries and Great Wolds Valley cemeteries which show a strong preference for either male or female burials. Of the brooch types that Giles identified from these cemeteries several them are similarly represented in the study region. Interestingly, the brooches that occur in the study region all have strong associations in the Yorkshire cemeteries with males, except for penannular brooches and long involuted bow brooches, which are also the brooches that are most often produced in iron in central western Britain (see Figure 6.7). This may point to a social or cultural association between the sexes and specific material types, copper alloy for men and iron for women. However, great care must be taken as, there is a strong chronological

element in the materials used for brooch manufacture in the study region (discussed above) and given that the involuted form are only represented at one site in the study region, it is equally possible that the selection of material for manufacture was constrained by availability of resources or wider cultural factors at work within the region.

Name	ID No.for fig. 6.6	Region	Type	Period	Reference
Moel Hiraddug	1	Denbighshire	High arched bow brooch	5 th -4 th century BC	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Meols	2	Merseyside	High arched bow brooch	5 th -4 th century BC	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Lancaster	3	Lancashire	High arched bow brooch	5 th -4 th century BC	PAS LANCUM
Dinorben	4	Denbighshire	Penannular brooch	5 th -4 th century BC	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	4	Denbighshire	Penannular brooch	5 th -4 th century BC	Gardner and Savory 1964
Breiddin	5	Powys	Penannular brooch	5 th -4 th century BC	O'Neill 1937
Marbury	6	Cheshire	Unknown	4 th -3 rd century BC	PAS LVPL A1E8A8
Ashley	7	Cheshire	Unknown	4 th -3 rd century BC	PAS LVPL 132
Breiddin	5	Powys	Long involuted bow brooches	3 rd -2 nd century BC	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Breiddin	5	Powys	Long involuted bow brooches	3 rd -2 nd century BC	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Breiddin	5	Powys	Long involuted bow brooches	3 rd -2 nd century BC	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Breiddin	5	Powys	Long involuted bow brooches	3 rd -2 nd century BC	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Breiddin	5	Powys	Long involuted bow brooches	3 rd -2 nd century BC	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Mill Hill Road, Irby	8	Merseyside	Unknown	3 rd -2 nd century BC	Philpott and Adams 2010
Crewe	9	Cheshire	Nauheim derivative	1 st century BC-1 st century AD	PAS LVPL-CD8AD8
Chester	10	Cheshire	Nauheim derivative	1 st century BC-1 st century AD	Newstead 1928

Name	ID No. for fig. 6.6	Region	Type	Period	Reference
Meols	2	Merseyside	Nauheim derivative	1 st century BC-1 st century AD	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Congleton	11	Cheshire	Nauheim derivative	1 st century BC-1 st century AD	PAS LVPL-EBFE94
Braich y Dinas	12	Conway	Nauheim derivative	1 st century AD	Savory 1976
Stockport	13	Greater Manchester	Nauheim derivative-Gorica type	1 st century BC	Hattatt 1988
Kelbrook	14	Lancashire	Birdlip type	1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	PAS LANCUM-ABBDE8
Chester	10	Cheshire	Birdlip type	1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	PAS LVPL-971828
Barnoldswick	15	Lancashire	Birdlip type	1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	PAS LANCUM-61EFA0
Barrow	16	Cheshire	Birdlip type	1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	PAS LVPL-18C980
Church Lawton	17	Cheshire	Birdlip type	1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	PAS LVPL-E2BBB1
Rossett	18	Wrexham	Birdlip type	1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	PAS LVPL-2228
Prestatyn	19	Denbighshire	Colchester type	Early 1 st century AD	Blockley 1989
Bickley	20	Cheshire	Colchester type	Early 1 st century AD	PAS LVPL-1FD141
Nateby	21	Lancashire	Langton Down	Early 1 st century AD	PAS LVPL-FB07C7
Prestatyn	19	Denbighshire	Langton Down	Early 1 st century AD	Blockley 1989
Prestatyn	19	Denbighshire	Unknown	1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	Blockley 1989
Coedpoeth	22	Wrexham	Penannular brooch	1 st century AD	PAS LVPL-B3EBO8

Table 6.1- Occurrence of brooches in the study region by type.

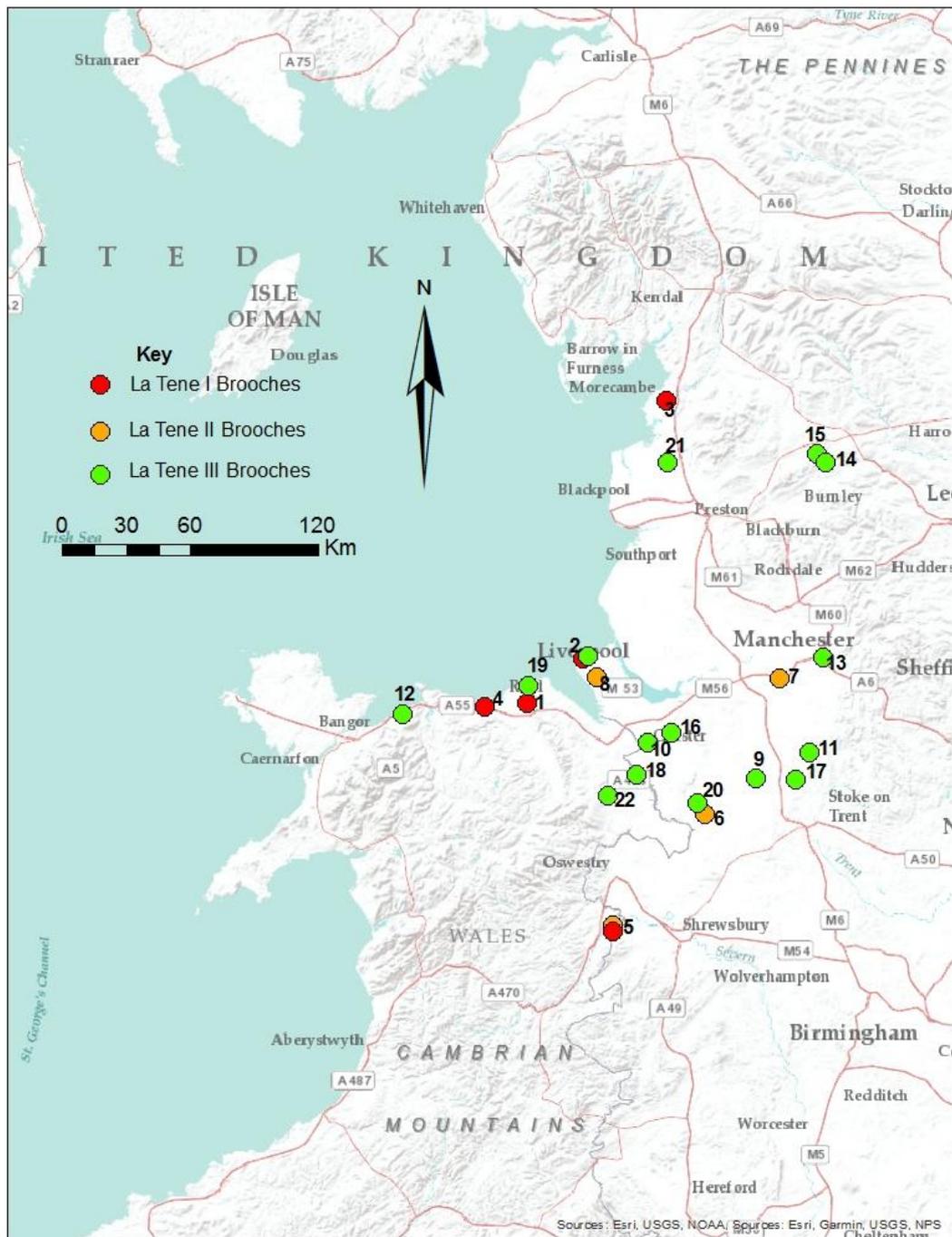


Figure 6.6- Distribution of brooches in central western Britain by period (underlying map © 1995-2016 Esri)

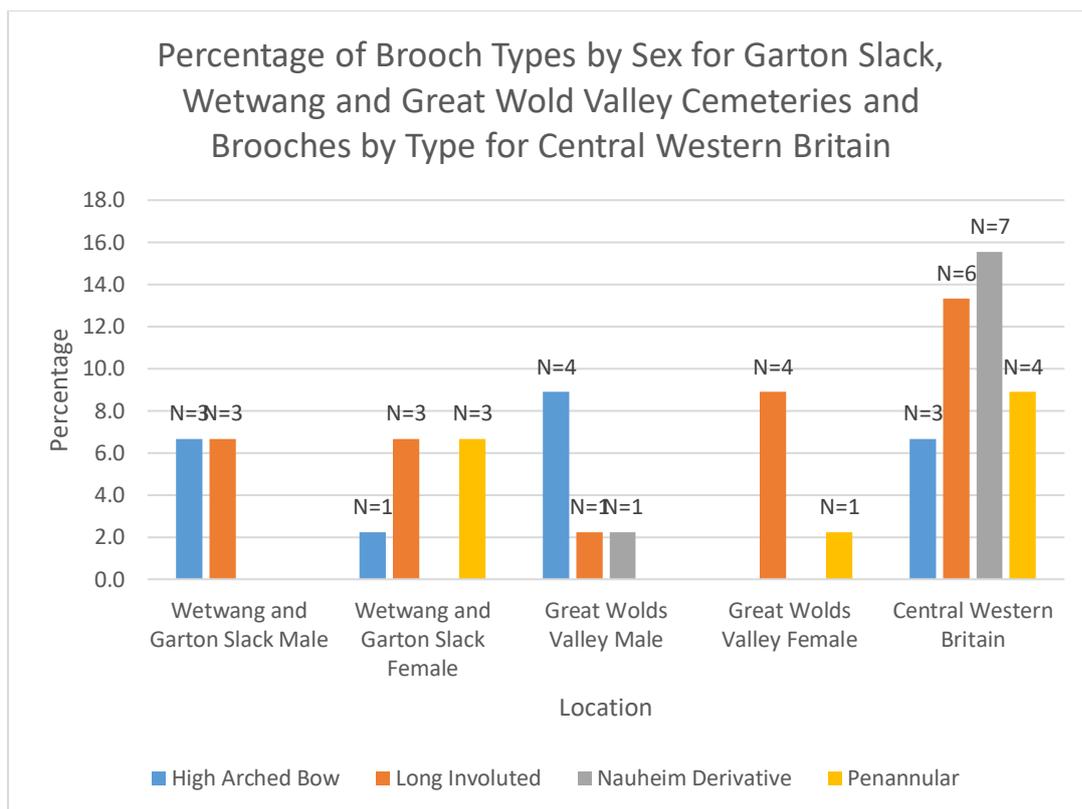


Figure 6.7- Brooch types by sex from Garton Slack, Wetwang and Great Wolds Valley cemeteries in Yorkshire (after Giles 2012) compared with the occurrence of the same brooch types from Central Western Britain. N=44

Pins

Several pin types occur in the study region. These comprise three forms; the swan-necked pin, the ring-headed pin and the cup-headed pin, illustrated in figure 6.8. These forms developed out of continental Halstatt C swan-necked dress pins, but whilst this form ended on the continent by the Early Iron Age, derivatives continued in use in Britain and Ireland until the Roman Period (Becker and Channing 2007:44). The British examples were used either as dress pins or hair pins (Stead 1979: 77; Giles 2012: 140). Most swan-necked pins in Britain are considered to be indicative of the Early Iron Age, with the ring-headed pins developing out of this type and superseding it, corresponding with the adoption of La Tène metalwork (Raftery 1983; Becker and Channing 2007:45), but in central western Britain, examples of swan-necked types are evidenced from the Middle Iron Age alongside ring-headed and cup headed variants. The distribution of pins in the study region is again largely confined to the east and would seem to suggest a source for the artefacts within this area or a local social or cultural preference. The distribution of pins closely matches the distribution

of brooches (see figure 6.9, also table 6.2) and it is likely that the occurrence of these objects is interdependent, as has been suggested by Raftery (1983:135) for the Irish examples. Raftery (1983:135) notes that the occurrence of pins in the Irish record is usually in regions which exhibit a corresponding decrease in the number of brooches, such as in north eastern Ulster. Within the study region the occurrence of pins decreases markedly during the Late Iron Age corresponding with the increase in brooches in the region during the 1st century BC (see figure 6.10).

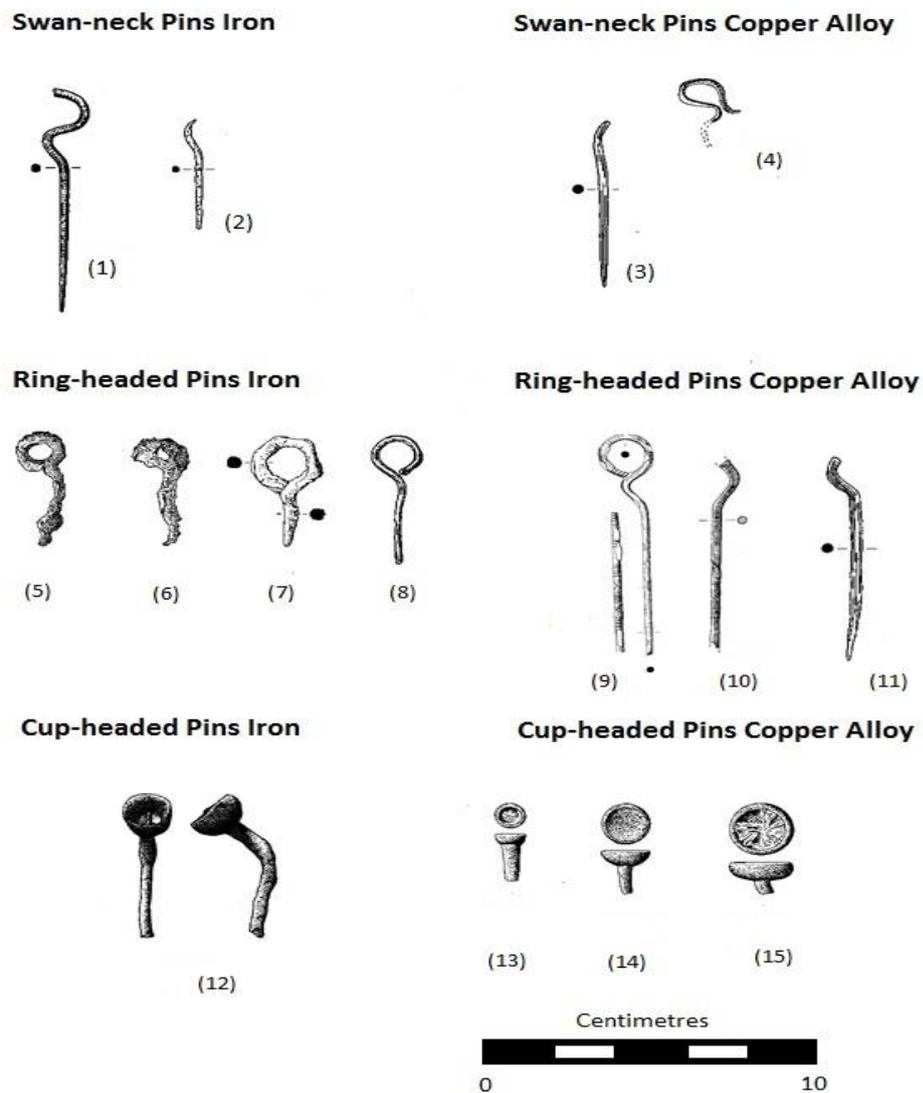


Figure 6.8- Pins from the study region. (1) Beeston Castle, (2-3, 8, 11) Meols, (4-7, 13-15) Dinorben, (9) Rhuddlan, (10) Prestatyn, (12) Moel Hiraddug (after Gardner and

Name	ID No. for fig. 6.9	Region	Material	Type	Period	Reference
Beeston Castle	1	Cheshire	Iron	Swan-necked	6 th century	Ellis 1993
Meols	2	Merseyside	Iron	Swan-necked	6 th -4 th century	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Meols	2	Merseyside	Copper alloy	Swan-necked	4 th -3 rd century	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Dinorben	3	Denbighshire	Copper alloy	Swan-necked	5 th -3 rd century	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	3	Denbighshire	Iron	Ring-headed	5 th -4 th century	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	3	Denbighshire	Iron	Ring-headed	5 th -4 th century	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	3	Denbighshire	Iron	Ring-headed	4 th -3 rd century	Gardner and Savory 1964
Meols	2	Merseyside	Iron	Ring-headed	4 th -2 nd century	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Rhuddlan	4	Denbighshire	Copper alloy	Ring-headed	4 th -2 nd century	Quinell and Blockley 1994
Moel Hiraddug	5	Denbighshire	Iron	Cup-headed	4 th century	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Prestatyn	6	Denbighshire	Copper alloy	Ring-headed	4 th -2 nd century	Blockley 1989
Meols	2	Merseyside	Copper alloy	Ring-headed	4 th -2 nd century	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Dinorben	3	Denbighshire	Copper alloy	Cup-headed	4 th -3 rd century	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	3	Denbighshire	Copper alloy	Cup-headed	4 th -3 rd century BC	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	3	Denbighshire	Copper alloy	Cup-headed	4 th -3 rd century BC	Gardner and Savory 1964
Poulton	7	Cheshire	Copper alloy	Ring-headed	3 rd -2 nd century	K. Cootes pers. comm
Llwyn Bryn Dinas	8	Powys	Copper alloy	Ring-headed	4 th -2 nd century BC	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1992
Llwyn Bryn Dinas	8	Powys	Iron	Unknown	1 st century BC-1 st century	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1992
Chester	9	Cheshire	Iron	Unknown	1 st century	PAS HSEH-E00294
Lindow Moss	10	Cheshire	Iron	Unknown	1 st century AD	Turner 1999

Name	ID No. for fig. 6.9	Region	Material	Type	Period	Reference
Leasowe	11	Merseyside	Iron	Unknown	1 st century BC-1 st century	Matthews 2002
Braich y Dinas	12	Conway	Iron	Unknown	1 st century BC-1 st century	Hughes 1909

Table 6.2- Identification of pins illustrated in figure 6.9

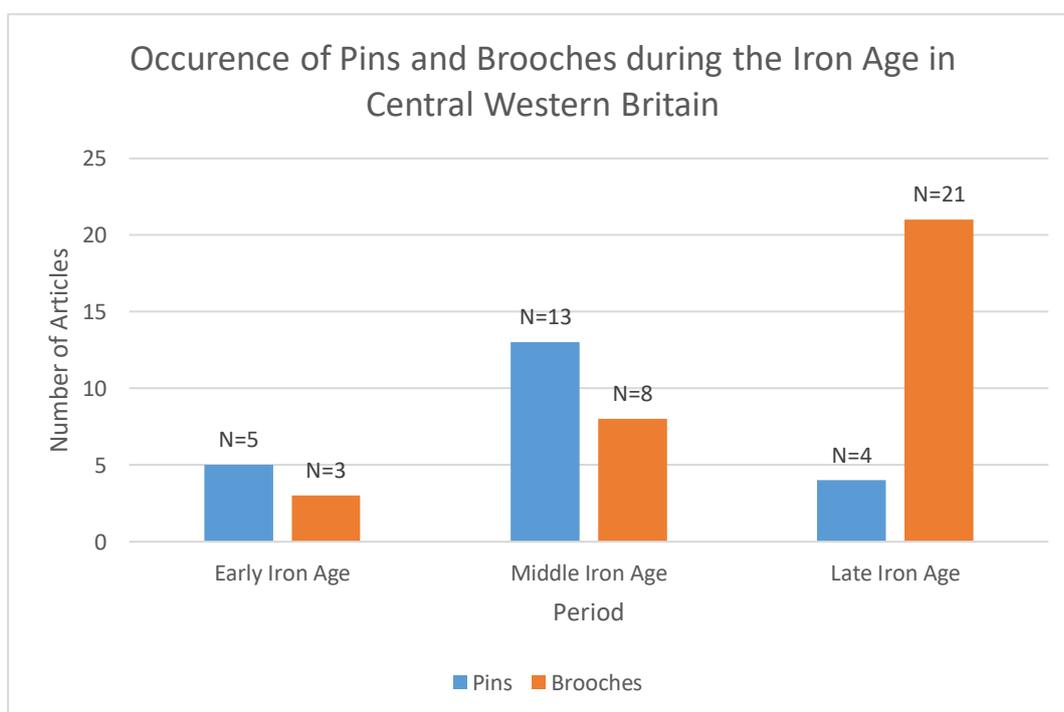


Figure 6.10- Incidence of pins and brooches in the study region for the Iron Age. N=54

The swan-necked, ring-headed and cup-headed pins are fairly evenly split between iron and copper alloy (see figure 6.11). Iron appears to be more commonly used for pins during the 6th to 5th century BC, but during the 4th century BC copper alloy becomes more common for the construction of pins. Few of the pins have been securely dated, but the iron swan-necked pin from Beeston Castle has a secure date of 6th to 5th century BC, whilst the cup-headed and ring-headed pin from Moel Hiraddug are dated to the 5th to 4th century BC, as is the ring-headed example from Rhuddlan (Quinell and Blockley 1994:140). The Rhuddlan example is also the only

example from the study region with decoration on the shank of the pin. The decoration is similar in form to the incised cross and line decoration from some of the decorated antler work from Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982:48: fig. 12; see figure 6.12) and may indicate a comparable date of production as well as a prevailing aesthetic for personal ornament in the region during the 4th century BC. In the case of pins in the study region, the earliest examples of each type are produced in iron, whilst later examples are produced in copper alloy. It is unknown if this change in material is a cultural factor or represents changing availability of raw materials. Certainly, copper alloy objects are scarce from the archaeological record of the 6th-5th centuries BC, whilst iron (mostly small personal items such as pins, razors and penannular brooches) is represented, which may indicate that access to copper alloy was restricted during this period. However, it is also conceivable that the introduction of iron into the region caused copper alloy to lose some of the social or cultural value that it had previously held, leading iron to supersede it as the material of choice for prestige or display items. Several late examples of pins in iron from the region have been reported; unfortunately information on them is limited. The example from Leasowe has only been reported anecdotally (Matthews 2002). The pin from Lindow Moss is damaged at the head, but the shaft is comparable in form to the pin from Llwyn Bryn Dinas (Turner 1999 and Musson *et al.* 1992 respectively). The pins from Lindow Moss and Llwyn Bryn Dinas are both made of iron with square sectioned shafts. They appear to be a 1st century BC to first century AD development, the Llwyn Bryn Dinas pin was an excavated example and has been dated to the Late Iron Age (Musson *et al.* 1992), whilst the Lindow Moss pin was found in close proximity to the Lindow II bog body. Although no direct stratigraphic association could be demonstrated between the pin and the bog body, the stratigraphic position of the pin does suggest a comparable date. This gives this object a probable early 1st century AD date (Turner 1999; Joy 2009b). As they have either been heavily damaged or only been reported anecdotally, it is not possible to further comment on their form or distribution.

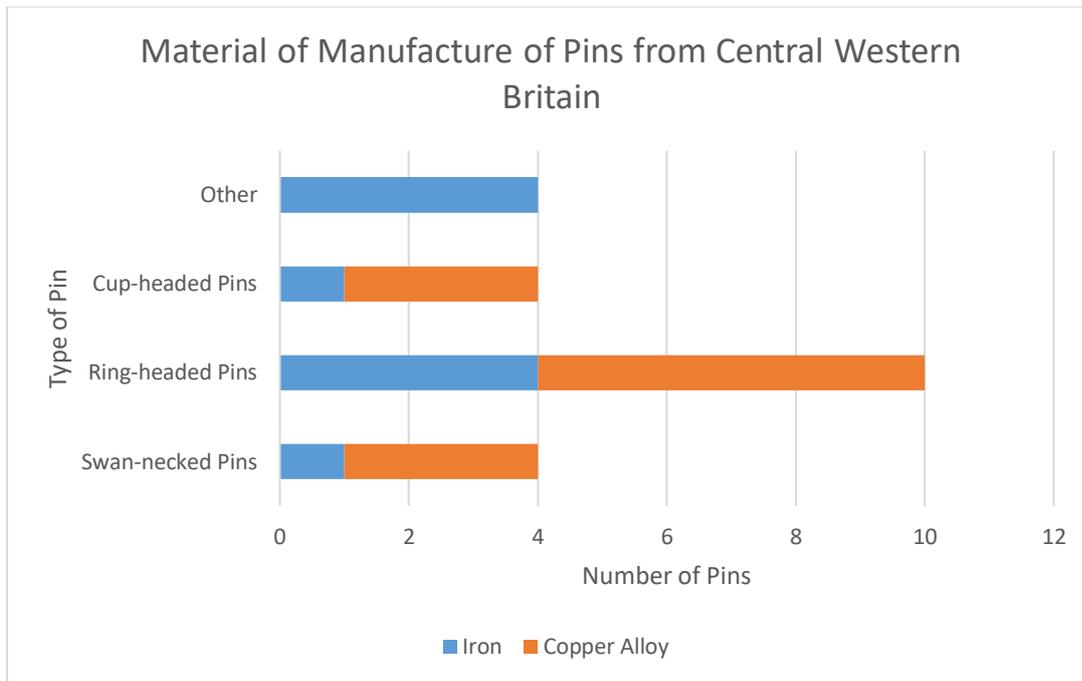


Figure 6.11- Material of manufacture of pins in the study region by type. N=22

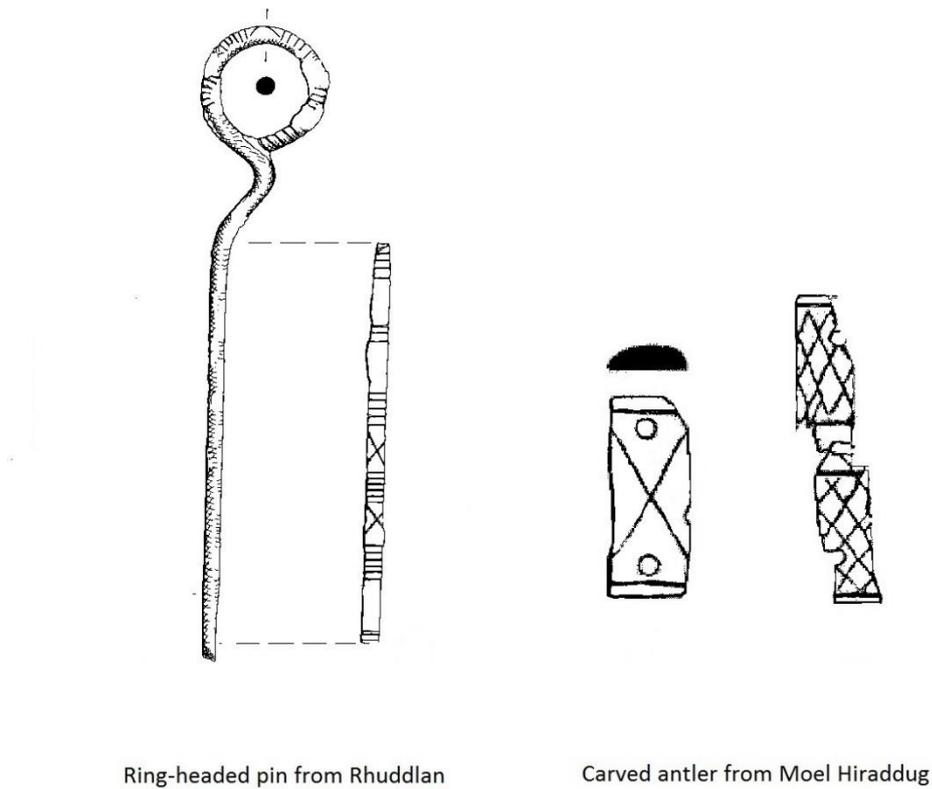


Figure 6.12- Decoration on pin from Rhuddlan and antler objects from Moel Hiraddug (after Quinell *et al.* 1994 and Brassil *et al.* 1982. Not to scale)

Finger Rings

The second most common item of personal ornamentation in metal, after the brooches and pins, are finger rings. These are usually single or double looped or spiral and otherwise are usually undecorated, although a probable 1st century BC example from the Breiddin has an intricate curvilinear design cast into it (Coombs 1991:138). They do show a preference towards North Wales and this may have been the source of production. At Dinorben hillfort in Flintshire, several pieces of wire, from which these objects were made, have been discovered along with a number of complete examples (Savory 1971; Savory 1976). Some of the examples of rings at Dinorben appear to have been ritually destroyed, by being unwound, prior to deposition (Savory 1976:73). The rings are mostly simple and are made out of copper alloy wire of differing thickness and cross section, often with tapered ends (Coombs 1991:139). Although the majority of the rings are simple coils of wire or spirals and are undecorated there is one example from Warrington (PAS LVPL1008), dating to the Late Iron Age, which contains cells with traces of enamel and with the possible remains of a gold coating. There is also a Middle Iron Age example of a finger ring with some transverse furrows on the upper-side from Dinorben hillfort as well as a carved soapstone ring of a similar date (Savory 1976:75). The depositional context of finger rings in the region appears to follow the same parameters as brooches and pins. They are initially associated with ramparts in hillforts during the Early Iron Age and the beginning of the Middle Iron Age, often occurring in the same depositional horizons as pins and brooches, then towards the end of the Middle Iron Age around the third century BC they start to be deposited in lowland contexts (discussed in chapter 7). This suggests that rings were part of the same package of personal ornamentation and personal and social identity as brooches and pins, though this does not mean that that package was static and unchanging, simply that as it changed it continued to incorporate and redefine familiar elements.

Torcs, Collars and Bracelets

From around the 6th century BC onwards armlets and bracelets are produced in copper alloy or stone (usually cannel coal or shale, although one early example from Dinorben is soapstone) and this continues into the Romano-British period. This material is principally concentrated at hillfort sites in the study region, particularly

Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993) and Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964; Savory 1971). From the Middle Iron Age onwards there is a decline in the deposition of this material at hillfort sites and it becomes increasingly common at lowland sites in the region. The torcs from the region are of a Late Iron Age type. The specimens are copper alloy beaded torcs, although one of them, from Tre'r Ceiri in Wales, has been coated in gold (CAD 2536; Hogg 1960), possibly suggesting a particular interest in the colour or the object. Several authors (Creighton 2000; Aldhouse-Green 2004; Giles 2008b) have discussed the role of bright yellow-gold coloured metal in negotiating social relationships and as social display, though it is not clear as to exactly how this functioned in practice or why this was necessary for the one gold coated torc from the study region when it clearly wasn't necessary for the other examples from the region. It is possible that the Tre'r Ceiri example is simply anomalous and represents an import into the region or a late flourishing of the tradition, particularly as it is also one of the latest examples of this type of artefact to have so far been discovered, dating to the mid first century AD. There is also an example of a Middle Iron Age bipartite collar in copper alloy from Hendre Bach Clynnog. The decoration on this has been used to provide a date on stylistic grounds of La Tène IB-IC (c. 400BC), although Jope (2000:148) suggests that these collars may be a Late Iron Age form with parallels from Wraxhall in Somerset, Portland in Dorset and Llandyssul in Cardigan.

Coins

The occurrence of coins is an interesting factor of the central western British Iron Age due to the fact that coins were never struck here in the period. The oldest examples are 3rd to 2nd century BC. The majority of the early evidence is of coins of Mediterranean origins including types from Greece and Carthage. Assertions that these examples were the result of salting during the antiquarian period (Chitty and Warhurst 1979:35) cannot be seriously supported due to the wide distribution of these objects across the region and the occurrence of other coins of interesting provenance in other parts of Britain (e.g. Allen 1960:273; Laing and Laing 1983:6; Cunliffe 1984:9-11; Fitzpatrick 2007). The earlier non-British coins follow a predominantly coastal distribution, whilst later Gaulish, Belgic and British examples have a more diffuse distribution spread across the Cheshire basin as well as along the

north Welsh coast. Following Haselgrove’s regional classification (Haselgrove 1987), the most common coin type of British issue is British North Eastern issue coinage (attributed to the Corieltauvi, originating in the east Midlands. This is followed by British Western (Dobunnic) coinage from the Severn area and then British South Western (Durotrigan) coinage from further south (see figure 6.13). The most common material for the coins to be made of is gold, but silver and copper alloy are also well attested (see figure 6.14). The fact that all coins in the region are the result of imports may provide some insight into the culture of societies living in the region during the first century BC and into the first century AD. The fact that they were imported suggests that they were prized in the study region. There are not enough coins in the study region for them to have functioned as a monetary system and in any case the occurrence of such systems has been effectively debunked for Iron Age Britain due to the lack of a regulated economy that could set exchange rates (Creighton 2000). It has been proposed that instead coins functioned as tokens of social obligations and political authority (Creighton 1995; 2000) and that they were distributed as a way of reinforcing ties of social obligation and political allegiance to those individuals or groups controlling local polities, under the client/patron system.

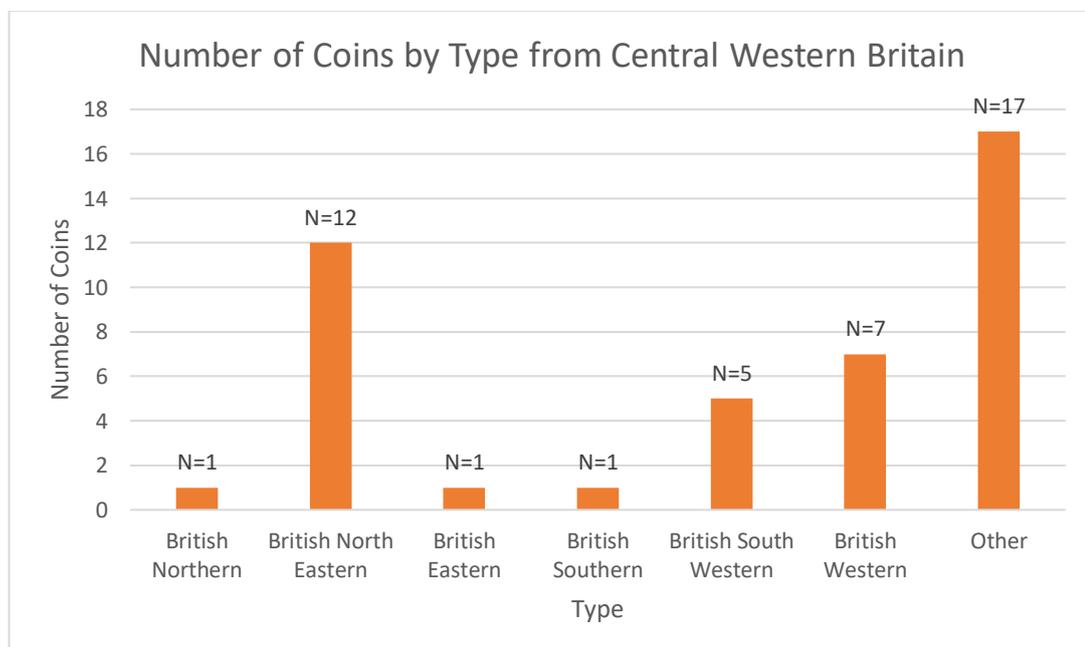


Figure 6.13- Occurrence of coins by type in central western Britain following Haselgrove’s (1987) regional classification. N=44

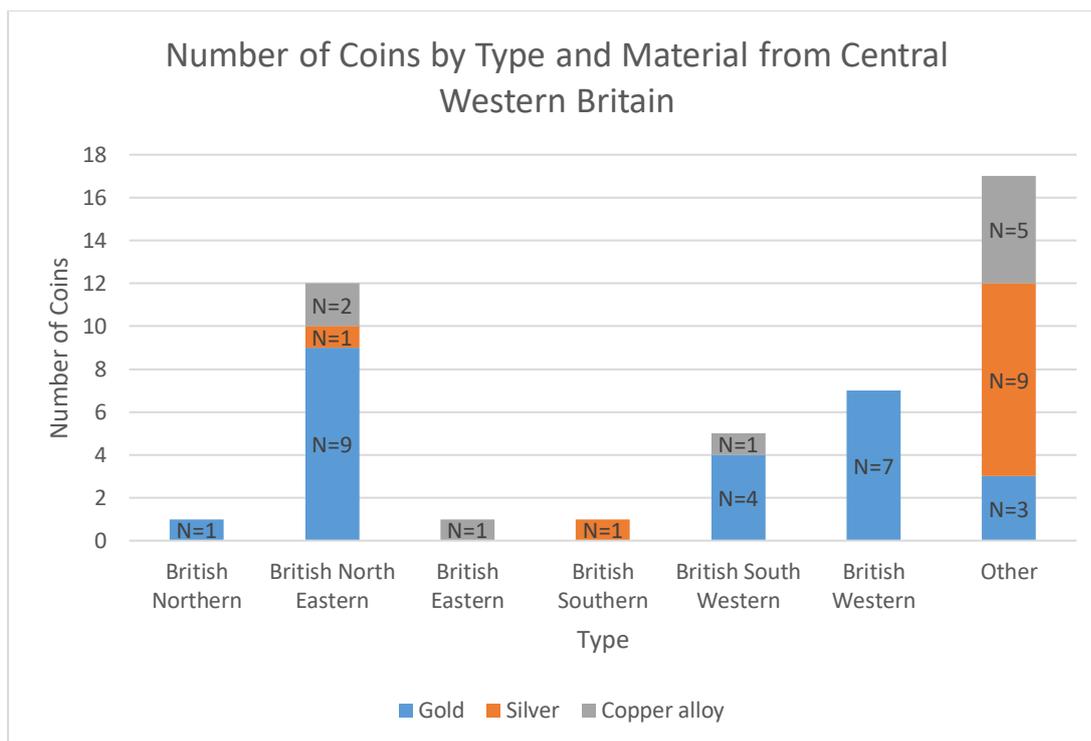


Figure 6.14- Occurrence of coins by type and material in central western Britain following Haselgrove’s (1987) regional classification. N=44

As objects involved in an exchange relationship, the coins being exchanged must have had some value to the recipients. The original social and cultural meaning of these coins is unlikely to have travelled with them so these items must have been ascribed a meaning by peoples living in central western Britain. In closer examination of these objects, it is clear that there was both a preference for material and for particular issues. As was seen in figure 6.13, the most common types of coins are of the British North Eastern series, followed by the British Western series. These coins both show depictions of horses (see figure 6.15). Whilst horse imagery is common on British Iron Age coinage it is not always represented and is sometimes represented by abstract depictions which show little resemblance to the animal. The preference for coin types with non-abstracted depictions of horses in the study region may be suggestive that horse symbology was important to the people in the region. There is an increase of deposition of items of horse gear during the Late Iron Age in the region, as well as an increase in horse related imagery. Both these factors, particularly in relation to the coin evidence point to the importance of horses and concepts of horse-personship as part of the social and cultural traditions of Late Iron Age society

in central western Britain. The other factor to consider is the material preferred for coinage in the region. The majority of British issue coins in the study region are in gold as shown in figure 6.14, which is common for coin issues north of the Loire and Danube delta (Creighton 1995:289), but the preference for gold in the region may extend further than simple commonality. Creighton (2000:31) has suggested that gold may have had a specific meaning associating it with power and authority and in this case the colour of gold was far more important than the actual composition.



Figure 6.15-Depictions of horses on coins from the study region. (1) Find-spot unknown-British North Eastern Issue (PAS CCI42518), (2) Warmingham- British North Eastern Issue (PASCCI991301), (3) Macclesfield British Western Issue (PASLVPL80), (4) St. Asaph- British North Eastern Issue (PASLVPLD303A8). © The Portable Antiquities Scheme/The Trustees of the British Museum

Feasting Equipment

Articles of feasting equipment encompass items connected with display and conspicuous consumption, either through occasions designed to reinforce social obligation and power relationships or ritual and symbolic activity designed to illicit connections with consumption and feasting. This includes eating and drinking vessels, food preparation vessels and equipment and potentially articles associated

with entertaining guests, such as musical instruments. In the study region one of the earliest articles of feasting equipment from a secure context is the Beeston cup from Beeston Castle in Cheshire (see figure 6.16), dated to the 3rd to 2nd century BC (Ellis 1993:31-2), making it broadly contemporary with the Trawsfynydd tankard from Gwynedd. The Beeston cup is a copper alloy and leather article and is a complex piece of craft-working, incorporating several different technical and stylistic techniques, such as the use of different copper alloys, to achieve the finished product. The spherical devices at the end of the two projections from the rim were cast in leaded bronze which, whilst softer than tin bronze, is more suited to producing fine detail and high definition casting, whilst the rim is cast in a tin bronze which is more robust (Foster 1993:52). The high level of technical skill invested into the creation of this vessel suggests that it was an object of some significance to the people of the study region during this time and reinforces its use in the creation of social bonds and reinforcing of social position. The depositional context of the Beeston cup was also noteworthy in that it was very carefully deposited within a pit dug into the ramparts at Beeston Castle. The cup had seen some use prior to deposition as evidenced by a repaired crack in the rim of the vessel (Foster 1993:53), so it was not an object created specifically for deposition. The special depositional context of this item is not unusual for items of feasting equipment in the study region. Feasting equipment in central western Britain is often deliberately deposited in contexts away from settlement or in liminal locations, such as the cauldrons deposited in the wetland context of Llyn Cerrig Bach, which saw large-scale deposition of material from the Middle to Late Iron Age. Other examples of deliberate deposition of feasting equipment include the Snowdon bow (see figure 6.17), which was buried part way up Mount Snowdon and the platter from Llechwedd du Bach, which was deposited in a river along with a mirror.

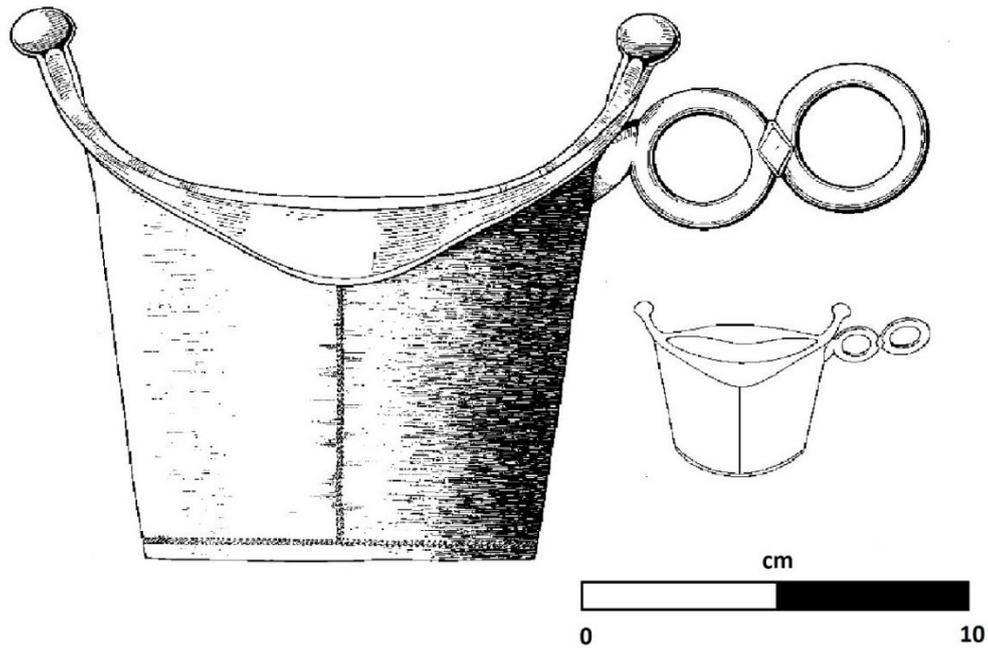


Figure 6.16- The Beeston Cup (after Ellis 1993).



Figure 6.17- Snowdon Bowl. Profile (left) and detail of the handle (right). (image © National Museum Wales).

Later feasting equipment in the study region incorporates bowls, buckets and tankards, dating from the 2nd century BC to the first century AD. The timing in the rise in the number of objects as well as their depositional context and decoration suggests that they were significant items in the social and cultural milieu of Iron Age society in the study region. The increase in their frequency from the 2nd century BC

onwards, at a time when other aspects of the material culture assemblage from the region was changing, implies a connection to these developments and to wider changes in the culture and social structure of the region at this time. This period in the study region sees the introduction and uptake of coins (particularly bearing horse imagery), increasing use of brooches and items of personal ornamentation and a seemingly greater emphasis on horse equipment. Feasting equipment may also reflect some of these developments in the decoration evident on some of the examples. The decorative 'head' on the Capel Garmon firedog for example is sometimes described as a horse/ox chimera. The decoration on the Beeston Cup is reminiscent of a pair of horns and given the likely shape of the drinking vessel could be seen as a highly stylized ox head (see figure 6.18). Interestingly the body of the Beeston vessel was made of hide, which mostly has not survived, but this does mean it is possible that the hide may have been evoking the connection between the vessel and the animal. The hide itself may have had additional decoration to emphasise this effect (such as embossed or inscribed eyes or nostrils), though this is pure speculation. The Beeston cup is also usually reconstructed with a flat base, though this is also purely speculative and a rounded base may have been used which would further suggest an ox muzzle. A number of the buckets from the region have handles with clear ox head designs, such as from Lancaster (CAD 1949) and Holyhead Island (CAD 934). There are also a number of other ox-head escutcheons from the region, which may have been part of bucket decoration or which may have been part of other decorative metalwork, such as the escutcheons from Brereton in Cheshire (Cheshire HER 2502), Dinorben hillfort (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Hulme in Greater Manchester (Matthews 2002).

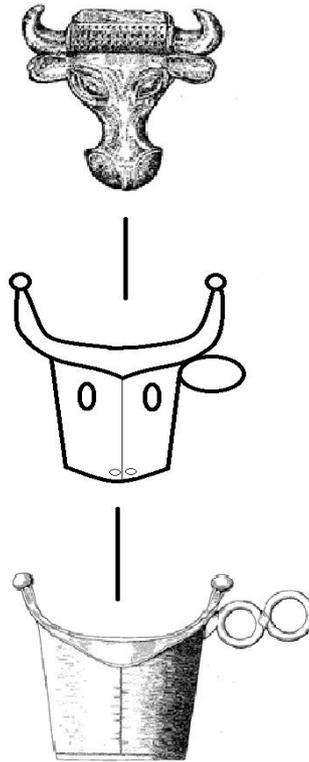


Figure 6.18- Stylistic similarities between ox head escutcheon from Dinorben and the Beeston cup (after Ellis 1993 and Gardner and Savory 1964. Not to scale).

Horse Gear

Horse gear and chariot equipment occurs in the study region in relatively large quantities. There are several problems in dating much of the horse gear and chariot equipment from the study region, particularly the terrets, however with eight exceptions most of the terrets correspond to Spratling's (1972: 25-53) type 1 and 2 (simple terrets). Given that there are no secure earlier examples and that almost all of the terrets from the region are of a similar type, it seems likely that the occurrence of much of the horse gear in the region is likely to date from the 4th century BC onwards and probably becomes more common during the 3rd century BC. Of the examples of terrets which do not conform to type 1 or 2, four are miniature terrets, which Spratling (Spratling 1972:52) believes were probably decorative or votive objects, though they may have had a more functional purpose and are now usually interpreted as the tie-offs for chariot or cart lynch-pins (Stead 1991:46-7). The

miniature terrets are probably of a 3rd century BC to 1st century AD date (Macdonald 2007:47-9). There are also two knobbed terrets from Tattenhall (PAS LVPL 2100 and PAS LVPL 2101), corresponding to Spratling's type 9 and two skirted terrets (PAS LANCUM BB3051 and PAS LVPL 42B4F8) corresponding to Spratling's type 7. Most terrets in the study region are cast in copper alloy, but three examples from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Macdonald 2007) and Dinas Emrys (Savory 1976:71) are composite objects, with the ring in copper alloy and iron yoke attachments. The development of composite terrets is probably a late development in the region. Many of the region's terrets have simple incised or embossed lines running around the foot of the terret or around the outside of the ring, though unfortunately there does not appear to be any typological distinction in this decoration.

Two of the terrets in the study region have more complex designs. An example from Llyn Cerrig Bach has a punched dot design running along the ring, a type of decoration sometimes called pseudo-stitching intended to imitate leatherwork (Macdonald 2007:10). This example may be comparable to an example from Gussage All Saints (Foster 1980:10). The other example worth noting is from Kelbrook near Pendle and has a sinuous tendril around its ring (PAS LANCUM AB8D01). The other terret worthy of note in the study region is from Manley (PAS LVPL 8D4CE1) and has a tinned surface. It is the only terret known from the region which has a tinned surface and the only object apart from the shields known in the region and a platter from Llechwedd du Bach near Harlech (Jope 2000:145) which are tinned. Iron tyres from the study region are likely to have a similar date range to the terrets in the region. The evidence that iron tyres were in more widespread usage comes from the preserved remains of wheel ruts in the land surface associated with a 2nd century BC settlement at Chester (Cheshire HER 6994). Horse bits in the study region are more identifiable and are represented mostly by three-linked types and by two linked examples belonging to the Polden Hill sub-type, along with several miscellaneous unidentified forms and three which are of three-linked Irish derivation. The horse bits are represented in both iron and copper alloy, though the iron examples are exclusively representative of the three-linked type, whilst the Polden Hills type are in copper alloy, as shown in figure 6.19. Interestingly, several of the iron examples are

copper alloy coated, which may reflect a cultural preference for metal or possibly for a certain colour to be displayed on horse gear.

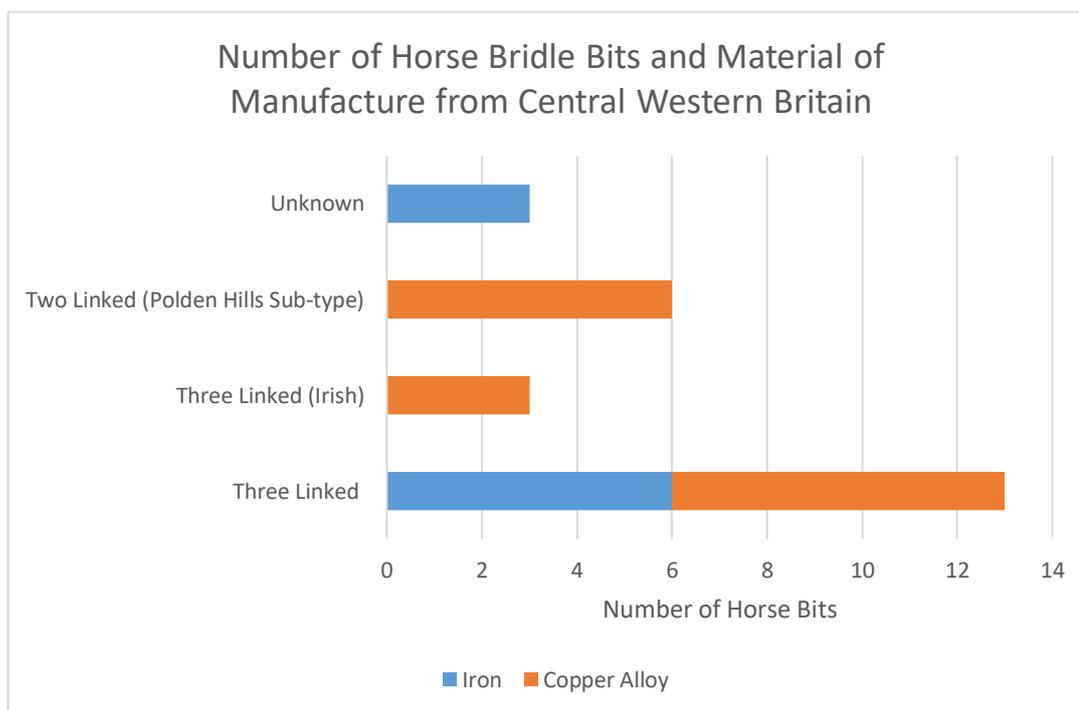


Figure 6.19- Horse bridle bits from the study region by type and material of manufacture. N=29

Weapons and Shields

The earliest weapon recovered from an Iron Age context in the study region is a La Tène I dagger from Beeston Castle (Stead 1993:53). This item is probably 4th century BC in date and is broadly comparable to the La Tène I dagger sheath recovered from Pilling Moss (Stead 2006:72). A number of knife handles, in various stages of production, have been discovered at Dinorben dating to about the same period (Gardner and Savory 1964; Savory 1971; 1976), but it is not possible to know if the knives the handles were intended for were tools or weapons. Giles (2012:160) reports a similar problem in identifying the function of knives placed in graves in Yorkshire. One example of a weapon which is well represented throughout the Middle and Late Iron Age is spears. The first occurrence of spearheads is from Beeston Castle, probably dated to the 3rd century BC. It is a La Tène II style socketed spearhead (Stead 1993:53), which most closely parallels examples from Roodstown,

Co. Louth (Raftery 1983). The Beeston example has a pronounced mid-rib, which is similar to the example from Denshaw (Davey and Forester 1975) of similar date and also with a perforated blade. The other examples from the study region during the Middle and Late Iron Age maintain an easterly distribution apart from the spearhead finds from the Llyn Cerrig Bach hoard, dated to the 3rd to 1st century BC (Macdonald 2007:168-170). The Llyn Cerrig Bach finds constitute over 50% of the examples from the region, which is curious given the absence of other examples from the western part of the study region. It has been noted that the assemblage from Llyn Cerrig Bach and other votive deposits often contain material which is not well represented elsewhere in the record, which is most likely a product of depositional practices rather than distribution or functionality of the material in question (Macdonald 2007:64). It may reflect the specialness of this site, that it attracted unusual or exotic items of material culture for deposition in this context. This fact must be borne in mind when considering the apparent distribution of this material.

Swords and related equipment (chapes, scabbards, mounts) occur in the region from the 3rd century BC onwards. These objects are of comparable La Tène II-III stylistic traditions and correspond to Stead's (2006) group C, D, F and H swords. Group C and D swords are known from Anglesey at Llyn Cerrig Bach (Stead 2006; Macdonald 2007) and Gelliniog Wen (Hughes 1909; Stead 2006), whilst a group F sword is evidenced from Warton (Jope 2000; Stead 2006) in Lancashire and pommel covers and hilt ends of group H (mixed tradition) are known from Manchester and Llyn Cerrig Bach (Stead 2006). This is interesting as group C and D swords are more common in southern Britain, particularly in the south east, whilst group F swords are more usually found in the north, particularly in Yorkshire (Stead 2006: 6, fig. 1). Again, this may indicate different areas of contact and influence in the study region. However, only one example is known from Lancashire and it may represent an isolated example, especially given the absence of other examples of swords from the east of the study region as a whole. Still, as discussed above, the evidence of material culture may be representative of depositional practices rather than ancient usage and the occurrence of a group H hilt end (Stead 2006: 202) and type C heart shaped copper alloy chape from Congleton (PAS LVPL 172), dating to the 3rd to 2nd century BC, may

indicate a wider distribution of this material in the study region during the Middle and Late Iron Age. The Congleton chape (see figure 6.20) also has evidence of originally being set with red enamel, in which it mimics the linch pin from Lancaster (PAS LANCUM E78098) and possibly the asymmetrical three-linked bridle bit from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Savory 1976:32), which may suggest that the incorporation of red enamel work was a feature of certain types of material culture in the study region during the Middle and Late Iron Age as part of social display, as has been postulated by Giles (2008) for Yorkshire.



Figure 6.20- Congleton Chape. © The Portable Antiquities Scheme/The Trustees of the British Museum

There are several examples of shields in the region, the earliest typologically is from Moel Hirradug. This is a type of La Tène II shield with a pelta and spindle boss (Jope 2000:69) as shown in figure 6.21. Of perhaps greater interest than the shield

however, is the associated decorative plaque. It is not known if the Moel Hiraddug example was intended to be fitted to the shield and given Savory's (1971:1976) hypothesis that the Moel Hiraddug shield and decorative plaque were a late metalworkers (scrap) hoard, they may not have been originally associated. However, similar embossed plaques also occur in association with the shields attested from Tal y Llyn which, although another scrap hoard, are believed to be decorative plates from the pelta of those shields. These plaques often exhibit triskele or wheel patterns, which are sometime mirrored on the shield boss', (shown in figure 6.21) suggesting that these objects shared a cultural association, possibly associated with wheeled or triskele type representations. These type of representations are part of a wider scheme or imagery related to 'rotational movement.' The remaining shields from the region comprise an example from Llyn Cerrig Bach and two from Tal y Llyn. There are also a number of openwork roundels and plaques from Tal y Llyn, which may represent parts of other shields and shield mounts. The examples from Llyn Cerrig Bach and Tal y Llyn are missing their pelta but are otherwise similar in form and have the same spindle boss design. The Tal y Llyn specimens are slightly anomalous as they likely represent a scrap hoard rather than a votive deposit and come from the mid-late 1st century AD.

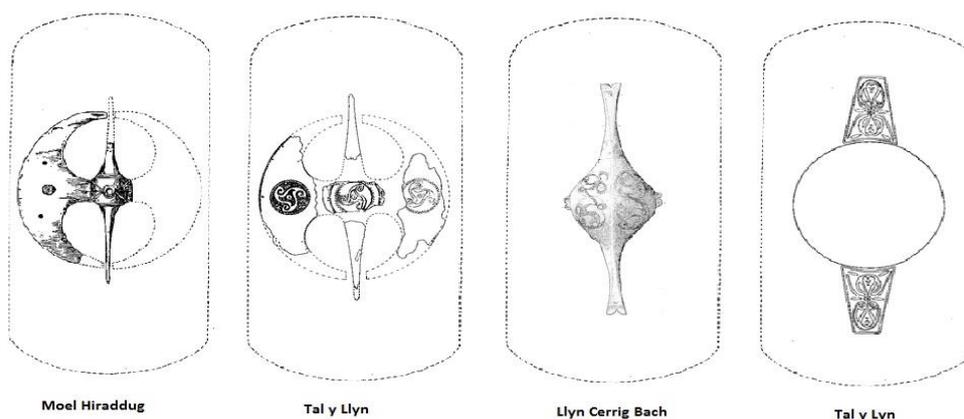


Figure 6.21- Shield types from central western Britain showing the typological development from the earliest known form on the left to the latest on the right (after Jope 2000 and Macdonald 2007)

Tools and Craft-related Artefacts

A small number of metal craft-related artefacts have been discovered from the study region. These are usually isolated finds and for the most part appear to be individually made tools designed for a specific craft-related function. Consequently, many of these examples defy regular typological identification beyond the most basic determination of function and they may not necessarily be considered diagnostic of a particular period, though they do provide some insight into the craft related activity in the region during the Iron Age. The earliest metal tools identified from the region are an iron axe from Dinorben of probable 5th-4th century BC date (Gardner and Savory 1964:155), and a socketed tool in iron, possibly an adze or a chisel, dated to the 3rd to 2nd century BC (Stead 1993:53). The most easily identifiable pieces of craft-related equipment come from Llyn Cerrig Bach and dates to the Middle to Late Iron Age (Macdonald 2007). These are a pair of iron tongs intended to be used in blacksmithing. Other craft-related tools from the region are a tool point in iron from Ossiferous Cave and an iron glass working tool from Bryn y Castell, both probably Late Iron Age in date (Davies 1949 and Crew 1979:49). There is also an awl in iron from Llyn Bryn Dinas and a small collection of knives from the Breiddin, likely Middle Iron Age in date (Musson *et al.* 1992 and Musson *et al.* 1991 respectively). The presence of other metal tools in the study region may be inferred by the occurrence of whetstones for sharpening metal blades. These have been discovered at several sites in the region and span the Early to Late Iron Age. Other supporting evidence for the existence of metal tools in the region comes from the occurrence of handles, often crafted out of antler and designed to be hafted to iron tools. Again Dinorben has evidence for this (Savory 1976:75).

One of the reasons for the lack of direct evidence for metal tools, may be that craft-workers in the region were making use of tools made out of material that has not survived, such as the piercer made of bone from Moel y Gaer, Rhosesmor (Davies 1949) and the gouge made of sheep bone from Dinorben (Savory 1976:75). Other, naturally occurring substitutes were also often used in place of purpose made tools, such as the anvil stone at Bryn y Castell (Crew 1987) and the hammer stones from Pen Dinas and Dinorben (Savory 1976), Eddisbury (Cheshire HER 866/1), Bryn y

Castell (Crew 1987) and possibly Mill Hill Road: Irby (Philpott and Adams 2010:110). Similarly, rubbing stones are well known from the area from Castell Odo and Dinorben (Savory 1976) and Mill Hill Road, Irby (Adams 2010:110). Poor quality lithics are also found on Iron Age sites in the region. The utilized unmodified natural objects, as well as being more numerous, span the Iron Age period in the region, whilst the metal tools have a predominantly Middle and Late Iron Age date. This suggests that either metal tools became more readily available during the Middle and Late Iron Age period or else that the development of craft-working and possibly of craft specialists, led some people to develop their own specific tool sets, possibly as a means of social identification as much as out of practicality. The concept of a craft person identity has been discussed by several authors (Ehrenreich 1984; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006 and Giles 2007b; 2012) and given the special depositional context of many of the purpose made metal tools in the region, at hillfort sites, caves and in votive wetland deposits, the cultural importance of these items is significant.

Other metal tools not associated with crafting are known from the region. These are a sickle and reaping hook from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Macdonald 2007) and a bill hook type tool from an unknown location in Cheshire (Varley and Jackson 1949), all produced in iron. The occurrence of these items at the site of Llyn Cerrig Bach may provide support for the association of iron and agricultural production, as has been suggested by several authors (Hingley 1997; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006; Giles 2007b, Rule 2010), through a cultural mode in which the production and deposition of iron was equated with regeneration and fertility cycles and by extension, agricultural cycles of production (discussed in chapter 7). Although these objects relate to agricultural production rather than craft production, it is possible that to the Iron Age communities in the region there may not have been a tangible difference. As both of these activities involve a process with transformative properties, either of raw materials into a finished product or of seeds into foodstuffs. The connection between iron production and agricultural activities suggests a cultural equivalency, in which the fundamental processes underlying these methods could be considered the same. Of course, just because these objects had a primarily agricultural role does not mean that they were not also used in craft production.

Evidence from several sites in the region, from which antler and wooden artefacts have been recovered show evidence for craft-working using axes, knives and saws, which may not otherwise be attributed a craft-working association if they are not recovered in association with other craft-working material or debris. Collfryn has evidence of worked antler tines, showing marks left by saw blades and pock marks probably caused by a knife, as well as worked wood which was cut by an axe (Britnell *et al.* 1989:133), whilst the wooden plinth from Brook House Farm: Halewood, has stop marks from being hewn with an adze or axe (Darrah 2000:46).

Non-metal objects associated with craft-working (and agricultural production) are more common in the region than metal craft-working artefacts. The occurrence of hammer stones, rubbing stones and anvil stones has already been noted, as well as bone gouges and piercers, there are also a number of antler picks from Dinorben as well as an antler hammer (Gardner and Savory 1964; Savory 1971; 1976:74), whilst a wooden mallet dating to the 3rd-2nd centuries BC was recovered from the Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991). Spindle-whorls and loom weights are also well known. The spindle-whorls range from very simple forms made from pebbles with drilled holes during the Early Iron Age, as at Dinorben (Savory 1976: 74) to the very ornate 3rd to 2nd century BC steatite spindle-whorl from Mill Hill Road: Irby with incised plastic decoration (Philpott and Adams 2010). Whilst the Early Iron Age examples are mostly drilled stones, from the Middle Iron Age onwards worked disc shaped forms dominate the assemblage. Stone continues to be the preferred material (Foster 2010:104), though some ceramic forms are known, for example from Llandwrog (PAS GAT C913E7) and Hendre Gadredd, Pentrefelin (Savory 1976:65). The spindle-whorls in the region are a mixture of decorated and undecorated types. Decorated spindle-whorls become more common in the region from the Middle Iron Age, and display a variety of decoration, most commonly dot designs or inscribed transverse lines running around their edge, though radial lines and spiral decoration are also known, as shown in figure 6.22. The purpose of decoration on spindle-whorls is interesting and may have been more than simple aesthetics.

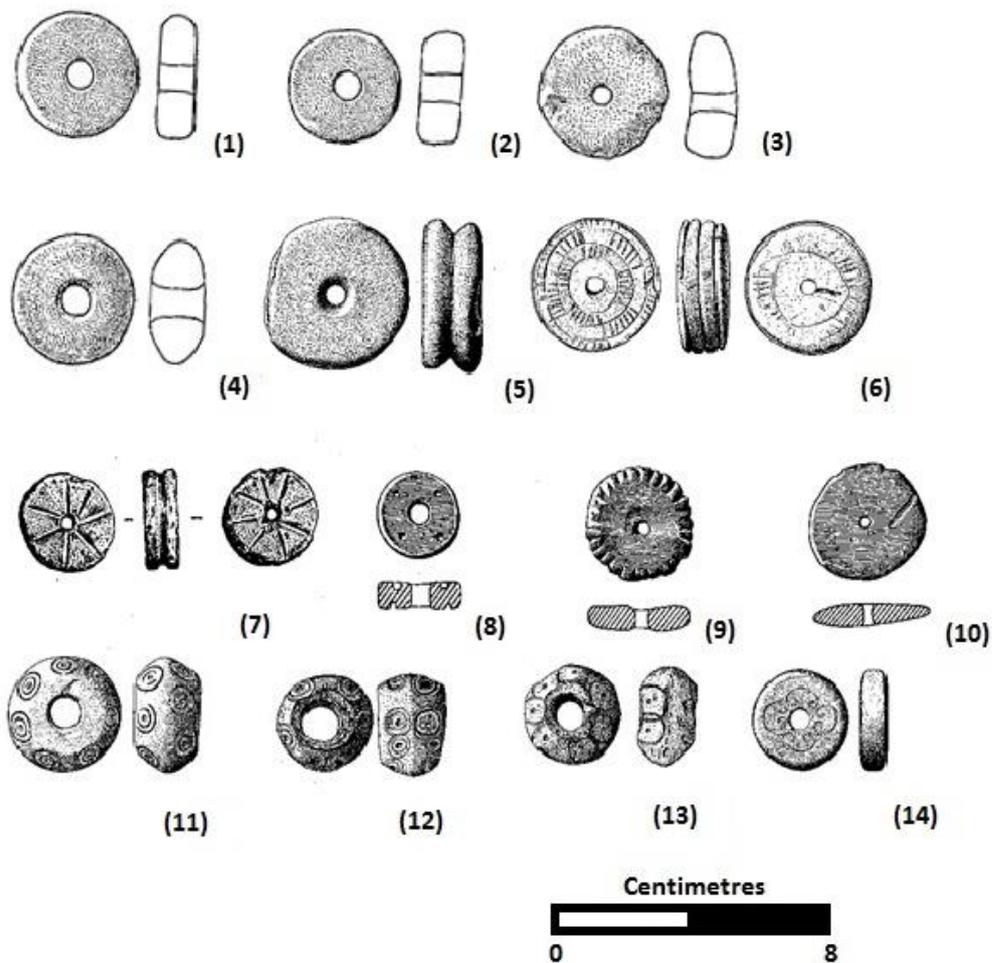


Figure 6.22- Examples of spindle-whorls from the study region. (1-4) Collfryn, (5, 11) Llandderfel, (6) Conway, (7-10) Dinorben, (12) Whitford, (13) Treflys, (14) Llanfair Waterdine (after Britnell *et al.* 1989, Gardner and Savory 1964, Savory 1976)

Evidence of spindle-whorls from graves at Rudston in Yorkshire show spindle-whorls occurring behind the right shoulder or near the waist, which Giles (2012:162) suggests may indicate that they were being used as 'pendant tools.' The steatite spindle-whorl from Mill Hill Road: Irby shows signs of specific wear patterns indicative of it being brushed against cloth (Foster 2010:104-5) and likely reflects a similar practice of these objects being used as pendants as well as functional tools for the production of fibres. This again shows an interest in the conveyance of production and craft-working as part of social identity. The Mill Hill Road example is especially pertinent to this discussion as it has been very carefully kept and may only have been used on special occasions or in the production of certain fabrics (Foster

2010:105). The steatite that this object is made from was probably sourced on Anglesey (Highley 1974:6) and the artistic affinities of this object are from Wales and Ireland (Foster 2010:106), thus this object supports the existence of connections between the east and west of the study region, even though there were some differences in the expression of culture between these areas. Identifying loom weights in the study region is more difficult. Ceramic cylindrical loom weights have been recovered from Beeston Castle and Mill Hill Road: Irby (Henson and Hurcombe 1993:60 and Poole 2010:144 respectively), but these are generally considered to be a Late Bronze Age form and residual on site (Royle and Woodward 1993:78; Poole 2010:144; *cf.* Elsdon 1979), they occur alongside ceramic bun-shaped loom weights of Late Bronze Age form. The only loom-weights from a secure context in the region are a small collection of Middle Iron Age rectangular examples from the Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991), which have parallels with the loom-weights recovered from Meare in Somerset (Coles and Minnit 1995).

This absence is intriguing, particularly given the large number of spindle-whorls that have been recovered from the region and particularly the evidence for the production of spindle-whorls at several sites in the region such as Caer Lleion (Griffiths and Hogg 1956: 56-62). It is possible that the loom weights in the region have simply escaped identification; Iron Age communities may have been using unmodified stones or some other natural material as loom weights. Alternatively, weaving may have been carried out at specific specialist centers which have not been detected. Little direct information is available on the users of tools (both metal and otherwise) in the region due to the lack of information on inhumations in the region. The identified cist burials in the region, dating from the 4th to 1st century BC at Cerrigy Druddion (R.A. Smith 1926: 276-9), Billington (Luck 1895: 34) and Gelliniog Wen (Hughes 1909), were unfortunately too degraded to identify and in any case were not associated with tools. There have been some human remains recovered from rampart ditches at Dinorben and Moel Hiraddug. The Moel Hiraddug evidence provided three teeth, probably from an adult male, from the inner rampart ditch (Brassil *et al.* 1982:79), whilst at Dinorben partial skeletons were found in association with the rampart ditches, the entrance and a hut floor. Although these remains were

badly damaged they were mostly identified as mature males, with the exception of a mature female and immature male, who were found on the bank of the outer ditch, as though they had been fleeing the hillfort (Gardner and Savory 1964:221-2). The position of these remains is possibly significant given the association of hillfort ramparts with the deposition of craft material and craft related equipment during the Early and Middle Iron Age and with the association of hillforts generally (discussed in chapter 7).

Beads

Beads are known from the study region from the 6th to 5th century BC. The earliest examples are in antler from Dinorben (Savory 1976:75). Middle Iron Age examples include two jet or cannel coal beads from Beeston Castle (Henson and Hurcombe 1993:60), a soapstone ring and a shale ring from Crawcwellt West, probably of 2nd century BC date and worn as pendants (Crew 1998:32). There is also a ceramic bead from Meols (Griffiths *et al.* 2007) and a ceramic bead from Chester Business Park (Network 2004), which may be a spindle-whorl, as well as an amber bead from Beeston Castle which is of probable 1st century BC date (Ellis 1993:63). Another sandstone bead from Beeston Castle of unknown date, may be a bead or a spindle-whorl (Henson and Hurcombe 1993:60). A copper alloy bead from Kirkby, may be from a beaded torc and is probably of 1st century BC date (PAS LVPL C006C5). This object is paralleled by other copper alloy beads of similar form from Yorkshire (PAS LVPL D5AFB2) and Mansfield (PAS DENO CC9C4E). If they do represent beads from beaded torcs it may indicate that these objects were sometimes broken down, either to provide an object for deposition or to provide a bead that could be used as a token or object for gift or exchange. Far more common in the region from the 2nd century BC onwards are glass beads. These mostly correspond to Guido's class 5 and 6 (Guido 1978) Beads are found in multiple different contexts in the study region. The earlier examples come from hillforts, as does the majority of material in the study region prior to the 4th century BC. Later examples come from lowland settlement, hillforts and as stray finds. The continued occurrence of these objects at hillfort sites in the region during the Late Iron Age is curious, given that much other depositional activity had moved away from these sites by the 1st century BC and it is possible that glass

beads had a particular association which made hillfort sites appropriate for their deposition. Given that there is evidence for glass working at the hillfort of Bryn y Castell, it may be that the deposition of glass beads was associated with their production at hillfort sites.

Quern-stones

Saddle querns and slug shaped variants are known throughout the region for the entire Iron Age, usually made out of locally sourced stone or glacial erratics, but during the Late Iron Age rotary querns and beehive querns occur in the record of the region. Beehive querns date from the 2nd century BC onwards (Cunliffe 2005:309; M. Adams 2010:113) and rotary querns from the 1st century AD, whilst the rotary querns continue to be made in a variety of different stone types, the beehive examples show a preference towards being made of Millstone Grit, originating in the Pennines. It is conceivable that the Millstone Grit used to make these examples of beehive querns was also glacial erratic material deposited in the study region, however the predominantly easterly distribution of these examples in the study region (see figure 6.23 and table 6.3) may also point towards contact and exchange with communities in the Pennine region during the Late Iron Age, given the occurrence of beehive querns in the eastern Pennine region and the beehive quern production site at Wharnccliffe, South Yorkshire (Bevan 2000:148). Most of the region's querns are undecorated, but there is an example of a beehive quern from Blochty in Anglesey (Wheeler 1925:203) with an incised spiral design, which is stylistically comparable to a steatite spindle-whorl recovered from Irby and dated to the 3rd century BC (Foster 2010:105). Although new forms of quern came into usage during the closing centuries of the Iron Age, older forms also continued and saddle querns are well represented on Late Iron Age and early Roman sites.

Name	ID No. for fig. 6.23	Region	Reference
Duttons Farm, Lathom	1	Lancashire	Cowell 2003
Crawford, St. Helens	2	Merseyside	PAS LVPL-0E44E5
Warburton, Trafford	3	Greater Manchester	PAS LVPL-1824
Nether Peover	4	Cheshire	PAS LVPL-0A8382

Congleton Edge	5	Cheshire	Matthews 2002
Congleton Edge	5	Cheshire	Matthews 2002
Congleton Edge	5	Cheshire	Matthews 2002
Prestatyn	6	Denbighshire	Blockley 1989
Hope	7	Flintshire	Davies 1949
Rossett	8	Wrexham	Matthews 2002
Collfryn	9	Powys	Britnell <i>et al.</i> 1989
Collfryn	9	Powys	Britnell <i>et al.</i> 1989
Collfryn	9	Powys	Britnell <i>et al.</i> 1989
Blochty	10	Anglesey	Wheeler 1925

Table 6.3- Bee-hive querns in Millstone Grit from the study region.



Figure 6.23- Distribution of bee-hive querns in Millstone Grit in the study region (underlying map ©1995-2016 Esri)

Summary

The above review of several of the material culture types from the study region highlights several trends in the development and use of material culture in the study region. During the Early Iron Age period, the evidence for the use of material culture in the study region suggests that most material culture was being produced from

locally available material sources in the study region. There is very little evidence for material culture being elaborated upon or decorated at this time, which suggests that the meaning of these objects was internalised, which is to say that the meaning that they conveyed was intrinsically tied to their role in the production and maintenance of society rather than dependent upon decoration or form. Most of these objects are tied into production or craft related activities, such as spindle-whorls, whetstones, querns, tools or salt making briquetage and it seems likely that this association with production was a significant factor in social and cultural organization in the Early Iron Age in the study region. This may be a response to the reorientation of social networks and cultural systems evidenced from the Late Bronze Age onwards and in this context production and production related activities would have taken on a significance both in the maintenance of society and the articulation of new social networks. Considering the hypothesis that there was an increased focus on access to resources, land tenure and labour at this time as the measures of social value, superseding earlier systems based on the consumption of copper alloy, then the ability to produce essential products, would have been an important factor in social identity and group and inter-group relationships.

The Early Iron Age material has been mostly recovered from settlement and hillfort sites, which would seem to support Brück's (2008) hypothesis that the focus of social identity and relationships shifted to habitation sites and structural elements at this time. Although these objects lack decoration and are made of locally available materials, it does not mean that they were not significant within the social and cultural systems of the Early Iron Age. If the basis of social relations and social identity in the Early Iron Age was concerned with industriousness rather than display, then even the most plain and functional object would have carried hidden meaning and in fact the more utilitarian the object appeared to be may have even enhanced its significance. These objects may still have been curated and exchanged and the associated object biography of a spindle-whorl that had been producing good quality yarn for a group for decades may have given it added meaning and value. It is also important to recognise that in the context of increased interest in rights of access and of establishing rights to landscape through occupation and history (see chapter

4), the use of locally sourced material for the production of material culture may have functioned as an additional physical connection to that area and landscape, reinforcing the ties between the people living there and the available resources. In turn, then producing additional material using the object made from the local environmental resources further re-produces the people's ties to that landscape whilst also invoking the landscape's generative powers in the reproduction of society. The situation in the study region begins to change from the 6th century BC onwards. There is a steady increase in the amount of material culture entering the archaeological record as well as the reappearance of items of personal ornamentation. These developments begin in the east of the study region and are not well evidenced in the west until the 4th century BC, probably corresponding to the beginning of deposition at Llyn Cerrig Bach (Macdonald 2007). The deposition of locally produced items of material culture associated with production activities continues across the study region, though in the west these articles continue to be largely undecorated until the 4th century BC. This change in the material culture of the region, which begins in the 6th century BC, increases significantly from the mid 5th century BC onwards, as new material culture forms and the beginning of La Tène artistic styles become evident in the archaeological record. This likely reflects the emergence of a new stabilised social and cultural system following the social and cultural changes at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age and there is evidence for an increased interest in personal display and personal and identity (*cf.* Hill 1997). Within this new system iron appears to have initially been used as the preferred material for personal display, though by the 4th century copper alloy was used for most personal ornaments and the use of iron switched to more functional items, particularly weapons and horse gear. The period from the 4th century BC also sees a change in depositional practices. Whilst depositions associated with settlements and structures continue, deposition of material culture in wetland contexts increases sharply during the Middle Iron Age, often associated with the deposition of faunal remains, such as at Llyn Cerrig Bach (Fox 1945; 1947; Macdonald 2007) and Warrington Docks (Cheshire HER 477/1), discussed more fully in chapter 7.

The reasons for this shift in depositional practices have been examined in chapter 6, however the association with faunal remains is particularly striking given the increase in animal related imagery on articles of material culture from the 3rd century BC onwards. Cattle are particularly well represented either directly, such as on the bull head escutcheons from Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964: 144-8, fig. 20), or indirectly, as in the 'horns' of the Beeston Cup (Foster 1993:51-3). After cattle, horses are most represented, particularly if the coin evidence is included. Unlike cattle however, horses are very seldom represented directly. The occurrence of horse imagery is usually abstracted as on the decorative plaque from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Macdonald 2007:233, plate 2; Spratling 2008) and the Capel Garmon firedog (Jope 2000). Even the presence of horse imagery on coins may have been discrete, when it is borne in mind that the coins would not ordinarily have been on display. This suggests that there may have been cultural taboos regarding certain imagery and animal forms. Alternatively, as the coins and most of the escutcheons come from the east of the study region, it is possible that there was a cultural difference in displaying animals in the east and the west of the study region. Also around this time there is an increase in evidence for contact between the east of the study region and communities in the Pennines and Yorkshire, such as the occurrence of Kirkburn type linch pins (PAS LANCUM-E78098) and Stead's (2001) group F swords in Lancashire, as well as the occurrence of examples of shale or cannel coal armlets. This contact with communities across the Pennines may explain the occurrence of beaded torcs in the study region, which are well evidenced from north of the River Mersey, but (except for a very late example from Tre'r Ceiri) are otherwise absent from the study region. This contact likely continued until the Romano-British period as evidenced by the occurrence of Millstone Grit bee-hive querns from the east of the study region from the 2nd century BC onwards.

A general increase in feasting equipment is also notable from the 3rd-2nd century BC onwards which is probably representative of a move towards creating and maintaining social relationships and social obligations through feasting and consumption. It may be that this is an indicator of emerging social distinctions in the region, which might account for the corresponding increase in weapons and shields

at this time, as well as the (admittedly limited) evidence for funerary traditions in the region. Although many items of material culture are evidenced from the west of the study region by this time, the evidence for personal ornamentation continues to be very limited in the west. Prior to the 1st century AD the evidence for personal ornamentation in the west of the study region is confined entirely to bracelets/armlets, collars and beads. Many of the early examples of these are made from natural materials such as stone and antler, with copper alloy personal ornamentation only being in evidence from the 3rd century BC onwards. Given that there is good evidence for wider contacts between the west of the region and other regions of Britain, where brooches, rings and pins were fairly common, this restriction in personal ornamentation must be indicative of a social or cultural preference in the west of the study region, which may stem from the survival of earlier factors of display and deposition. If there was a social or cultural restriction on acceptable items of personal display in the west of the study region then it would explain why glass beads were considered acceptable and adopted in the west from the 2nd century BC onwards even when the people in the west seemingly eschewed brooches, pins, rings and coins.

Chapter 7- Material Culture in Context; Production, Aesthetics and Deposition

This chapter will look at some of the facets of the production, design and deposition of material culture in the study region to examine some of the broader themes of material culture studies and put the material of central western Britain into context. The themes of production, artistic designs, aesthetics and depositional practice are very broad and a complete treatment is beyond the available space. Consequently, this chapter will examine some of the more cogent aspects of these themes as they relate to the central western British material and will try to outline a social and cultural framework for material culture in the study region. It is hoped that this examination will illuminate themes and recurring evidence for common depositional practices and artistic forms. Additionally, this analysis may reveal chronological or sub-regional patterning in depositional activity and in the selection and treatment of articles of material culture and archaeological material. This information may provide evidence for commonalities and differences in the activity of people in the Iron Age in the study region. Studying the occurrence and deposition of material culture, as well as the artistic and aesthetic qualities of the material, could also highlight factors of material culture production, use and exchange within the study region. This analysis can inform the discussion of lifeways and interactions between people and material culture and how use and deposition of material helped to construct social and personal identity. The nature of archaeological investigation is such that the evidence available for the region heavily favours studies of the deposition of material and inevitably, this accounts for the majority of the evidence presented here.

Evidence for production in the study region is extensive, but variable and tends to favour metalworking, whilst the study of aesthetics and materiality is somewhat more interpretive and open to debate, due to the cultural separation between Iron Age societies and the modern age. Similarly, care must be taken to distinguish between production, use and deposition. Evidence at a site of production must not be taken as a clear indication that the material being produced was then subsequently in use by the people inhabiting that site, as the material may have been exchanged or intended solely for deposition. Evidence at a site of the deposition of articles of material culture should also not be taken as evidence for the production

or use of that material at the site, as the objects deposited may have been brought to the site specifically for deposition. Finally, it must be acknowledged that there are some instances of depositional practices and contexts, which do not provide a sufficient evidential basis for spatial and chronological analysis, such as the two occurrences of deposition at cave sites in the study region and the limited and highly variable character of the evidence for the treatment of human remains. Although these sources of evidence may be introduced in discussing wider developments in the region, they will not receive a detailed separate treatment due to these restrictions. After examining the production, aesthetics and deposition of material culture in the study region there will be a brief summary.

Production

Early Iron Age

Several interesting trends can be observed in the production of material culture in the study region. The evidence suggests that production of certain articles of material culture during the Early Iron Age was centred on hillfort sites, particularly metalwork (table 7.1). This is not particularly unusual as metalwork has a long association with communal aggregation sites in other regions of Britain during the Early Iron Age, such as ringworks and midden sites (e.g. Northover 1995; Brück 2007), though it does indicate a link between the production of articles of material culture and social aggregation events. Several authors have drawn attention to the association between ironworking and death/regeneration and agriculture and fertility (Hingley 1990; 1997; Haselgrove and Hingley 2006, Giles 2007b). This is based on ethnographic parallels between prehistoric iron production and iron production in modern African communities (e.g. Haaland 1985; de Meret 1985; Herbert 1993). Although great care must be taken when making any inferences based on cultural analogy, nevertheless the available evidence for the deposition of ironworking in Britain, does seem to imply a connection between iron and liminality (Hingley 1995; 1997; 2006b; Giles 2007b) from the Middle Iron Age onwards and it is not unreasonable to infer comparable associations for the 6th-5th century BC context of iron. The connection between iron working and regeneration and fertility, as well as the principle occurrence of evidence for ironworking at aggregation sites in the Early

Iron Age suggests that the production of iron objects may have been used as a way of regenerating or perpetuating group identity (*cf.* Garrow and Gosden 2012). This is particularly interesting given that it has been suggested that hillfort sites in the study region, may have been functioning as aggregation sites associated with the movement of herds from lowland to upland pasture (Alcock 1965).

Name	Region	Period	Date (cal BC/AD)	Notes	Reference
The Breiddin	Powys	LBA-LIA	500BC-320BC	Hillfort associated with iron production	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Braich y Dinas	Conway	LBA-LIA	-	Hillfort associated with iron production-snail shaped	Hughes 1912
Garn Boduan	Gwynedd	EIA-LIA	-	Hillfort associated with iron production-two snail shaped roundhouses	Hogg 1960
Crawcwellt West	Gwynedd	EIA-LIA	800BC-AD50 (centred on 300BC-AD50)	Unenclosed scattered settlement with curvilinear field enclosures- two snail shaped roundhouses	Crew 1998
Bryn y Castell	Gwynedd	MIA-LIA	370BC-AD200	Hillfort associated with iron and glass production- snail shaped roundhouse	Crew 1987

Table 7.1- Iron production centres in central western Britain.

Metalworking in the study region during the Early Iron Age period is represented by evidence of the production of artefacts in both iron and copper alloy (bronze). Although there is evidence of copper alloy smelting at several sites in the region through the occurrence of crucibles and moulds, refractory furnace lining and smelting hearths, such as Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Old Oswestry (Hughes 1996) and Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991), there is no Early Iron Age evidence of iron smelting. There is early evidence for iron smithing from the site of Beeston Castle, in the form of a hearth and smithing debris (Ellis 1993:26) dated to the Early Iron Age-Middle Iron Age. Beeston Castle has also produced some of the earliest iron artefacts in the study region of a similar date, specifically an iron razor and swan-necked pin dated to the 6th-5th century BC and the 5th-4th century BC respectively. These artefacts have been dated by typology, stratigraphy and with reference to radiocarbon

determinations obtained from their associated deposits. The swan-necked pin was also found in the same context which produced both the smithing hearth and an early La Tène 1 iron dagger (*ibid.*). The earliest evidence for iron smelting in the region comes from the Middle Iron Age. Iron smelting slag and evidence for smelting furnaces and smithing hearths occur at the Middle Iron Age sites of Crawcwellt West (Crew 1998), Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1923:261), Bryn y Castell (Crew 1987), Llwyn Bryn Dinas (Musson *et al.* 1992) and Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991), whilst Brook House Farm in Halewood (Cowell 2000a) also produced iron smelting slag, although no evidence of iron smelting was discovered on site. The lack of evidence for ironwork in the study region prior to the 6th century BC suggests that iron may have been a late introduction (however, see Needham 2007), which may explain the lack of evidence for iron smelting prior to the Middle Iron Age.

Given the presence of metalworking evidence at hillfort sites and the absence of evidence for metalworking at lowland sites during the Early Iron Age (figure 7.1), it seems likely that the production of metal objects in the study region was a seasonal activity associated with group aggregation events at hillfort sites. In which case, it is probable, that there were no 'dedicated' metalworkers operating in the study region during the Early Iron Age and that metalwork was a part-time activity. This would suggest that there was not a particularly well-defined metalworker identity during this time and that there were no full-time smiths. However, association with metalworking (even small-scale, seasonal metalworking), may still have contributed to a person's broader personal and social identity. Other objects in antler, bone, stone and wood are known from Early Iron Age contexts in the study region, though evidence for the production of these articles is limited as waste material from their production processes is more likely to go unidentified. The dataset for material culture in the Early Iron Age of the study region collected for this analysis, shows that 72% of the material has been recovered from hillfort sites (discussed below). This suggests that hillfort sites were centres for the deposition of objects. Interestingly, the articles of Early Iron Age material culture recovered from non-hillfort contexts (see figure 7.1) are those which are most often recovered from depositional contexts associated with roundhouses in the Early Iron Age (discussed below). This perhaps

suggests that there were spheres of deposition, with certain articles being deposited at communal sites and others being deposited by individual households and may also point to different factors affecting the selection of material for deposition at different sites. However, it should be noted that this is based on only 71 securely dated objects from the region. Consequently, great care should be taken when using this data to infer wider patterns.

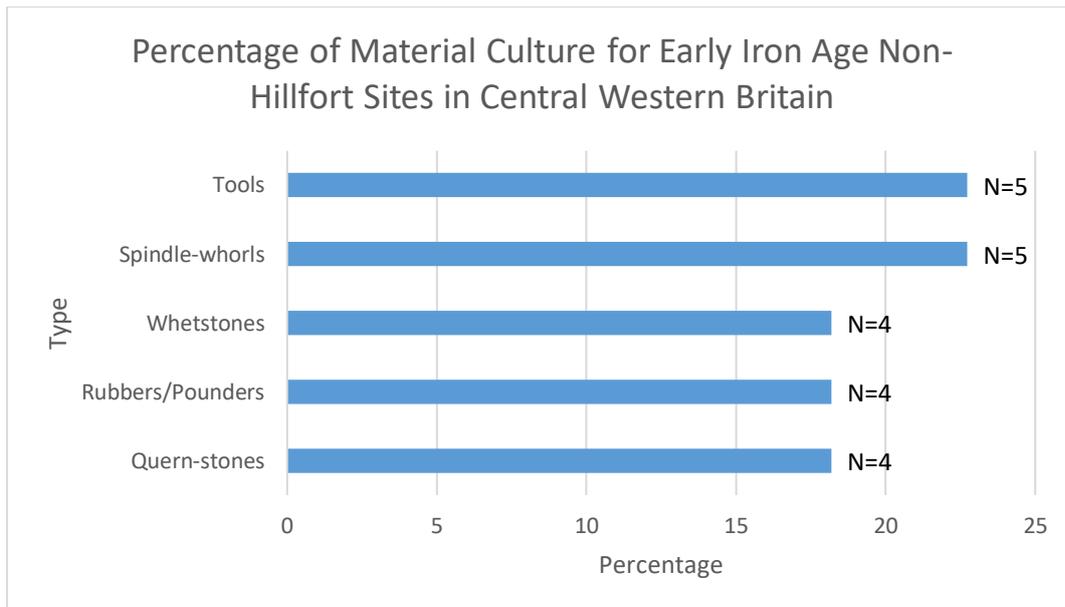


Figure 7.1- Percentage of material culture by type for Early Iron Age, non-hillfort sites in central western Britain. N=22.

The material culture from the Early Iron Age in the study region is undecorated and (with the possible exception of the metalwork) made of locally available raw materials. The absence of decoration suggests that this was not a significant factor in the production and meaning of objects of material culture in the Early Iron Age. Instead the meaning of these objects may have been internalised and conveyed by their object biographies, though this remains speculative for the study region. The production of these objects in locally available materials, may have been a deliberate strategy on behalf of the communities in Early Iron Age central western Britain. It has been suggested (Henderson 1991: 123; Tilley 1994: 18) that location, and by extension, raw material sources, are socially constrained by the meaning attached to those places. Consequently, raw materials may be selected due to the biographies and associated meaning of their location. By selecting locally available raw materials

to produce material culture in the Early Iron Age, the communities in central western Britain may have been further emphasising their connection to the landscape and consequently their rights of access to its raw materials. The production of material culture from locally sourced raw materials would then reproduce that connection and make it inherent in any other produce that was created or processed by those articles of material culture. A possible example of this practice is evidenced from Beeston Castle, which saw bronze production activities in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. The hillfort is situated on a rocky promontory, which contains deposits of copper ore and it has been speculated that this was being exploited during the occupation of the hillfort by the inhabitants for use in the production of objects (Tylecote 1987:28; Needham 1993:48).

The connection between local materials and identity may have made the incorporation of additional decoration redundant, as the principle agency of meaning and social identity was conveyed through the material the object was made of and its role in the reproduction of social identity through production. All of which would have served to connect social groups to the wider landscape context and would factor into the object biographies of articles of material culture as they referred to places in the landscape where the raw materials originated and the connections between groups and that location. Demonstrating this for the Early Iron Age in the region is difficult. One way of demonstrating this connection between social identity and landscape might be for the specific selection of locally available materials for artefacts connected with the display of personal or social identity. Unfortunately, with the absence of objects of personal ornamentation or display for much of the Early Iron Age in the region, identifying such indications is problematic. Two possible examples may be the 5th-4th century BC arched bow brooch and cup-headed pin from Moel Hirradug, which are thought to have contained insets of locally sourced tufa, from only 4km north of the hillfort (Brassil *et al.* 1982). Another possible example may be the Lancaster arched bow brooch (PAS LANCUM 685EF5), which also contains a recess for an inset (now missing). However, as there are only a small number of these objects and as they reflect new material culture forms which occurred across

the Early-Middle Iron Age transition, they are not enough to substantiate the hypothesis, at this time.

Middle-Late Iron Age

During the Middle Iron Age, there is an increase in the evidence for production in central western Britain, particularly in metalwork. The nature of the evidence also changes. Several Middle Iron Age production sites for iron production have been identified in the region, principally in the west of the study region (table 7.1). These sites show evidence for iron production on a much larger scale than in the preceding Early Iron Age period, as well as the development of production specific architectural strategies. These occur in the form of 'snail-shaped' roundhouses (figure 7.2). Snail-shaped roundhouses at Braich y Dinas, Crawcwellt West and Bryn y Castell all share similar features, including cobbled entrance ways and angled entrances. The example from Crawcwellt West produced evidence of four iron smelting furnaces, bog iron ore, smelting slag, charcoal and smithing hearths (Crew 1998). The snail-shaped roundhouse from Bryn y Castell also produced evidence for bog iron ore, charcoal, iron smelting slag, hammerscale and a central hearth, though the smelting furnaces associated with this structure were located in another part of the site (Crew 1987). At Braich y Dinas, the snail-shaped roundhouse was associated with smelting slag, fire-cracked stones and charcoal (Hughes 1923). These structures have been interpreted as a development of architecture designed to aid the control of light levels and air flow in iron production processes (Crew 1998: 23). The development of these structures is highly suggestive of a greater level of organization in iron production strategies in the study region. This is borne out in the estimates of the level of production taking place at these sites, as calculated from the bulk quantities of slag that have been recovered. It has been estimated that Crawcwellt West alone would have produced the equivalent of half a tonne of refined bar iron during its operational life, which is the equivalent of approximately one thousand currency bars (Crew 1998:34) or (in terms of bulk slag deposits) over six times the total amount of slag known from southern Britain (excluding the Weald) from prehistoric contexts (Salter and Ehrenreich 1984:151-2). The increased level of organization evident in iron production from the Middle Iron Age onwards is also suggestive of the

emergence of a more dedicated group of iron producers and whilst many of the iron production sites in the region continue to be located at hillfort sites, Crawwellt West is an unenclosed scattered roundhouse settlement associated with field systems, which suggests long-term occupation and perhaps a dedicated iron production community.

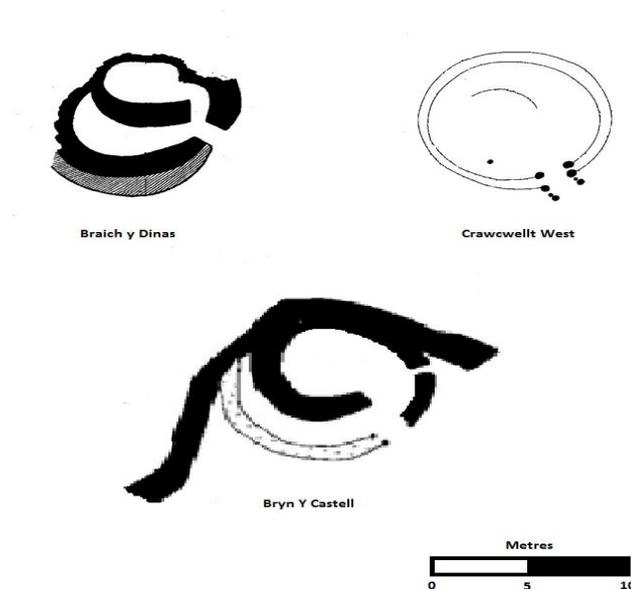


Figure 7.2-Snail shaped roundhouses in central western Britain (after Crew 1987; 1998; Hughes 1912).

These changes suggest an increased focus on ironworking and perhaps craft-working generally as an identity in the study region from the Middle Iron Age onwards (*cf.* Haselgrove and Moore 2007), which may be supported by the increased occurrence of iron tools in depositional contexts from the Middle and Late Iron Age, as shown in table 7.2. The tool types evidenced denote the importance of three main practices: woodworking, agriculture (the production of food), and craftworking. The presence of tools in depositional environments points towards a focus on the role of the producer, as well as on production itself. By drawing attention to the tools of a particular craft, connections between those tools, the people who used them and the forces inherent in production are invoked. If it is accepted that there was no formal crafts-person identity in the Early Iron Age and that crafting only represented one facet of social identity, then the development of a more encompassing concept of personal identity negotiated through craft-working must have represented a change in attitudes to social identity in the Middle Iron Age. The development of a

greater sense of individual identity from the Middle Iron Age onwards has been discussed elsewhere in this thesis (see chapter 6) and it has been noted that the role of production (more so than the role of the producer) was considered a significant factor in the creation of social identity during the Early Iron Age. Because of this, with the increased focus on personal identity during the Middle Iron Age, it might be expected that craft production would develop a stronger relationship with personal identity. However, it is worth discussing how this identity was constructed in practice. It has been suggested that there was a connection between ironworkers, particularly blacksmiths, and leadership roles in the Iron Age period (Helms 1993; Giles 2007b), this is believed to be the result of the metaphorical relationship that can be drawn between the production of iron and leadership roles in Iron Age communities.

Name	Region	Period	Description	Context	Reference
Alderley Edge	Cheshire	Unknown	Tools	Isolated find-	Shone 1911
Unknown	Cheshire	Unknown	Bill Hook	Unknown	Matthews 2002
Beeston Castle	Cheshire	4 th -3 rd century BC	Adze	Hillfort	Stead 1993
Dinorben	Denbighshire	3 rd century BC	Axe	Hillfort	Gardner and Savory 1964
Breiddin	Powys	MIA	Reaping hook	Hillfort	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Breiddin	Powys	MIA	Knife	Hillfort	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Breiddin	Powys	MIA	Knife	Hillfort	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Breiddin	Powys	MIA	Knife	Hillfort	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Llwyn Bryn Dinas	Powys	MIA-LIA	Awl	Hillfort	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1992
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Tongs	Wetland	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Tongs	Wetland	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Reaping Hook	Wetland	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Sickle	Wetland	Macdonald 1997
Bryn y Castell	Gwynedd	LIA	Glass working tool	Hillfort	Crew 1980

Ossiferous Cave, Nant y Graig	Denbighshire	LIA	Chisel	Cave	Davies 1949
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Table 7.2- Iron tools in the Middle-Late Iron Age in central western Britain.

The process of working iron is metaphorically linked to the qualities of a successful leader in that the ironworker is required to heat, cool and shape the metal and be able to improvise in its design, in the same way that a leader is required to tend to the personalities of the people they are responsible for, shape and direct their purpose and improvise solutions to problems facing the group (Giles 2007b: 407). In addition to which, the role of metalworkers as people capable of negotiating with external and liminal forces (during production of an object) and the requirement for them to negotiate or win materials from distant sources, could have led ironworkers to be regarded as people who could act as brokers between different groups, which is certainly a useful leadership quality. Unfortunately, the evidence for ironworkers acting in this role in central western Britain is very limited, due to the limited evidence for funerary traditions in the study region. The only examples of ironworking tools deposited in the region come from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Macdonald 2007) and whilst there may be an association between deposition at this site and funerary rituals (see below), the lack of association between the ironworking tools and human remains mean that it is not possible to hypothesize on the role or status of ironworkers within the larger community. The existence of dedicated production sites, such as Crawcwellt West (Crew 1998) and possibly Bryn y Castell (Crew 1987) certainly suggest that ironworking represented a distinct social function and group identity in the region, but how this identity was expressed is a question that will require more research to answer, though given that there is little evidence for deep social stratification in the study region, it may be suggested that this simply represented a different form of group identity, which was included in the wider social landscape through an inter-dependent system of obligations and exchange.

Apart from the sites associated with larger scale production of iron, ironworking waste (associated with iron smithing) occurs on a number of other sites in the study region from the Middle Iron Age onwards such as Brook House Farm, Halewood (Cowell 2000b), Pen Dinas (Savory 1976) and Barn Farm (Cheshire HER 2879). This evidence may suggest that small scale ironworking was a regular or, at least, semi-

regular activity on sites in the study region. It may be that the larger production centres were entirely dedicated to the production of bar iron, which they then exchanged with other communities or groups and which consequently meant that the process of producing articles of other material culture was carried out at these other sites in the study region. Several examples of bar iron have been found in central western Britain as well as currency bars (see table 7.3). Ehrenreich (1994: 18) suggested that smelting was a more organized industry during the Iron Age. Recent research into the compositional ranges of slags from sites in Lusatia in Germany have shown that although the compositional ranges of slag from different furnaces on the same site differ, the compositional ranges of slag from within each furnace are broadly consistent suggesting that individual furnaces were being operated by different (possibly kinship) groups with their own recipes (Heimann *et al.* 2001: 230). Following on from this, the communities at Bryn y Castell (Crew 1987) and Crawcwellt West (Crew 1998) may represent dedicated or semi-dedicated iron smelters, whilst blacksmithing was a less centralised activity. This model may better fit with the role of blacksmiths as proposed by Helms (1993) and Giles (2007), as it allows for blacksmiths to exist as a separate class within society and away from centralised iron production sites, though corroborating evidence for blacksmiths enjoying a leadership or socially distinct role in Iron Age society would still be required before any definite conclusions are reached.

Name	Region	Period	Description	Reference
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	3 rd -1 st century BC	Currency Bar	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	3 rd -1 st century BC	Currency Bar	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	3 rd -1 st century BC	Currency Bar	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	3 rd -1 st century BC	Currency Bar	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	3 rd -1 st century BC	Currency Bar	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	3 rd -1 st century BC	Currency Bar	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	3 rd -1 st century BC	Currency Bar	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Bar Fragment	Macdonald 2007

Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Bar Fragment	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Bent and looped bar	Macdonald 2007
Crawcwellt West	Gwynedd	MIA-LIA	Bar	Crew 1998
Crawcwellt West	Gwynedd	MIA-LIA	Bar	Crew 1998
Pen Dinas	Gwynedd	MIA-LIA	Twisted Rod	Savory 1976
Breiddin	Powys	MIA-LIA	Bar	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Llwyn Bryn Dinas	Powys	MIA-LIA	Thin bar	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1992
Ossiferous Cave Nant y	Denbighshire	LIA	Iron rod	Davies 1949

Table 7.3- Currency bars and stock iron from central western Britain.

Production evidence for non-ferrous material culture in the Middle and Late Iron Age is more limited. Antler and bone working continued at hillfort sites such as Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982), Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Collfryn (Britnell *et al.* 1989) until at least the 4th-3rd century BC and there is evidence of glass production at Bryn y Castell from the Late Iron Age in the form of twenty-six fragments from at least seven glass bangles and a glass working tool (Crew 1980: 30). The occurrence of glass bangles in an Iron Age context in the region is striking and may represent Roman imports. There is also evidence for recycling of copper alloy from Collfryn from the 2nd century BC-1st century AD in the form of a partially melted terret and linch pin (Britnell *et al.* 1989:126) and the occurrence of the Tal y Llyn deposit from the 1st century AD, which Savory (1976:47) believes is a metalworker's hoard. From the 2nd century BC, the evidence for production of material at hillfort sites declines (except for iron production at Bryn y Castell (Crew 1987)); this may be related to the decline in hillfort usage from the 2nd century BC (see chapter 5) and even when several hillfort sites show evidence for increased activity from the 1st century BC onwards, this does not seem to coincide with the resumption of production related activity at these sites. This would seem to indicate that the context of production for articles of material culture had changed. As the only evidence for dedicated production of material culture in the region amongst groups pertains to ironworking and salt, it would seem likely that the majority of material

culture was being produced at a group level and consequently the move away from hillfort sites as production centres may simply reflect changing occupational traditions. There is still the question of the role of production within these groups: were craft-specialists accorded additional status, did they have a discrete social identity, were they in permanent residence within a community or were they itinerant or semi itinerant within an area?

The shift of production in conjunction with changing settlement patterns would certainly point to crafts-workers being based within the community, though that does not preclude them being itinerant or semi-itinerant or maintaining a separate identity. Unlike iron or salt production and possibly quern production in the Late Iron Age as at Wharnccliffe (Bevan 2000: 148) where there are clear advantages to being based near resource sources, other crafts-persons may have been more mobile. Ehrenreich (1984: 18) has suggested that ironworkers had a heterarchical organization during the Iron Age, which is to say that they would not be ranked in relation to each other or that they may be ranked in a number of different ways. This system may be extended to other craft-workers as well and it is conceivable that there were many different levels to craft organization in the study region during the Middle-Late Iron Age (*cf.* Costin 1991; DeRoche 1997). Rule (2010:21) has argued that in southern Britain, there were a small number of dedicated semi-itinerant craft specialists, who travelled between communities in the area and who, as well as producing high quality metalwork, also played a social role in the dissemination of news and information and spreading social and cultural traditions through their oversight of material culture production. These specialists would travel between different communities and thus would achieve a degree of recognition and personal status both from their role in dealing with the external and mystical forces inherent in material culture production and from their knowledge of the wider region and 'external forces.' In addition to which, there would be local, part-time craft-workers, who would act to accommodate more general, day to day, requirements, such as making repairs on existing objects or producing more functional items of material culture. Finally, each household would likely have members who were skilled, or at least, highly practised in producing those items that may be necessary for the

functioning of the household on a more day to day basis, such as sharpening tools, hewing and shaping wood and making cord.

Aesthetics

In examining the role of Iron Age material culture in the negotiation of identity and culture, it is useful to examine the aesthetic qualities of the material. These can be broadly broken down into decoration and the sensory qualities of the material in question. During the Early Iron Age, the raw materials selected to produce material culture were from locally available sources (with the possible exception of the limited amount of metalwork for which there is no available data). The selection of locally available materials was likely instrumental in the negotiation of identity as part of a group with ties to an area, especially as access to land and resources appear to have been a significant factor in the creation and maintenance of social networks during the Early Iron Age in the study region (see chapter 4). The use of locally sourced materials would also draw parallels with the natural world, continuity, fertility and regeneration, as has been suggested for the inclusion of natural material in some of the Middle Iron Age brooches from Yorkshire (Giles 2012: 139). The stressing of connections with a landscape and the rights of access that this implies seem to have been the principal defining factor in the use of material culture in the Early Iron Age, even with the introduction of iron and the re-emergence of objects of personal identity during the 6th-5th centuries BC, these objects are undecorated and maintain a functionality in association if not in practice. From the 6th century BC onwards, different materials begin to be evidenced in the record in the study region and increasingly more of the material culture in the region began to be produced in iron and copper alloy, which supplanted more locally available natural materials for use in a number of object types particularly tools and personal ornamentation. This change can be seen in the move from antler beads at Dinorben in the Early Iron Age (Gardner and Savory 1964) to the use of copper alloy and glass beads in the Middle and Late Iron Age, evidenced from Kirkby (PAS LVPL C006C5), Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991), Abersoch (Savory 1976) and Caerwys (Davies 1949). Further examples include the move from bone and antler pins at Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982) to iron and copper alloy swan-necked pins at

Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Llyn Bryn Dinas (Musson *et al.* 1992). There were similarly moves from bone and antler decorative plaques to alloy at Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982). The same pattern is mirrored in the evidence for rings, bracelets/armlets and tools.

This shift to different materials for production likely marks several different factors in the nature of social organization in central western Britain at this time, including the stabilisation of social networks and a greater interest in the expression of individual identity and conceptualisation of the individual. During the 6th-4th centuries BC, iron was the favoured material for personal ornamentation (figure 7.3), which may have reflected its status as a new material but may also pertain to its properties as a material. The use of copper alloy and gold for personal ornamentation was well attested in the study region during the Late Bronze Age, from finds such as the Maesmynan hoard, Moel y Gaer Bodfari, Bryn Sion, Ffridd Gilfachwydd (Davies 1949) and Egerton (Shone 1911), but ceased at the end of the Late Bronze Age to be replaced with a material culture tradition which emphasised natural materials and no decoration or elaboration. Even when iron starts to be used to produce items of personal ornamentation and personal grooming, these items are functional and undecorated and it may be that the dullness and functionality of iron made it attractive for the production of personal ornamentation and display. However, if this was the case then it did not continue, by the 4th century BC copper alloy had superseded iron in personal ornament production (figure 7.3) and iron was instead being used for the production of tools, weapons and horse gear. The predominance of copper alloy for personal ornamentation and decorative metalwork then continues until the end of the Iron Age period in the study region, even after the re-introduction of gold and the introduction of glass during the Late Iron Age (see figure 7.3).

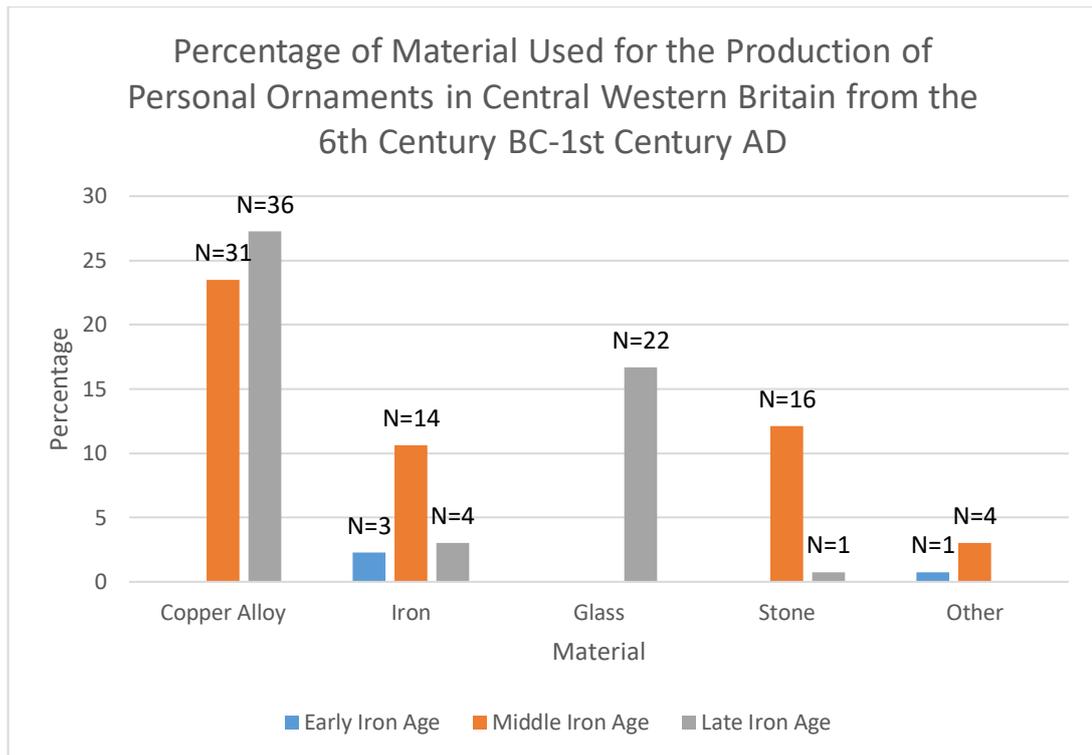


Figure 7.3-Objects of personal ornamentation by material in central western Britain from the 6th century BC-1st century AD. N=132

The selection of material for production of an artefact is an important one as materials have a number of different aesthetic qualities which appeal to people in different ways and as there may also be associated social and cultural meanings with selecting a certain material or material from a specific source. Approaching an understanding of these meanings for Iron Age communities is difficult given the temporal and cultural separation of modern society from those of the Iron Age, but Hurcombe (2007: 539) has argued that it is still possible to appreciate what aspects of materials would most draw the attention and to think through the different sensory experiences of an article of material culture. Inevitably, some of the most obvious and striking aspects of material culture are colour and the extent to which it reflects light. Several authors (Creighton 2000; Giles 2008b; Garrow and Gosden 2012) have commented on the role of colour and reflection in material culture. Creighton (2000) has discussed the role of the golden-yellow colour of the gold torcs and coinage from Britain. In Creighton's (2000) view there was a connection between torcs and coinage through their association with this colour, so that this colour became linked with the articulation of power and authority in Late Iron Age southern

Britain. It is suggested that the colour of coinage in Late Iron Age Britain was tied to its imagery, particularly to depictions of horses, and that the golden-yellow colour of coins was maintained only while the serial imagery of horses was maintained. When new imagery began to be displayed, the colour of the coins changed with them. Only in the coins of the British North Eastern series, were the images of horses maintained after the colour of the coinage shifted (Creighton 2000:40). Interestingly, the British North Eastern coins are the most common in central western Britain (see chapter 6).

Whilst this may be the case for southern Britain, there is very little evidence for a link between this type of golden-yellow metal and the negotiation of power in the study region. With the exception of the Late Iron Age gold coins from the region, the only other golden objects of Iron Age date are a gold-plated La Tène III Nauheim derivative brooch from Tre'r Ceiri (Jope 2000) and a gold-plated beaded torc from Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1923), both probably of 1st century AD date and a gold-plated ring from Warrington (PAS LVPL 1008), which is probably 1st century BC-1st century AD. The limited occurrence of gold in the study region during the Middle-Late Iron Age may have limited its effectiveness in displaying power or social authority, or the social structure of society in central western Britain may simply not have supported this type of expression of authority. Other colours may have been used in the negotiation of social identity in the study region. Items of material culture from the study region have been found to contain or have contained insets of red, white and blue 'enamel' (hot glass work), or white tufa and from the Middle and Late Iron Age glass beads in a variety of colours are attested. Figure 7.4 shows the occurrence of coloured insets by type of material culture and figure 7.5 shows the body colour of glass beads from the study region. As can be seen, red predominates in its association with weapons, horse gear, personal ornaments and feasting equipment, whilst red and white are evenly split between personal ornaments and feasting equipment and the majority of the glass beads from the study region are blue. Giles (2008: 72) has noted a broadly similar trend in the material from East Yorkshire and in particular has noted that blue beads are most often found in association with female remains in funerary contexts. This, of course, is not to imply that colour can be directly related to sex in central

western Britain, but it does suggest that colour played a significant role in the expression of identity in the study region.

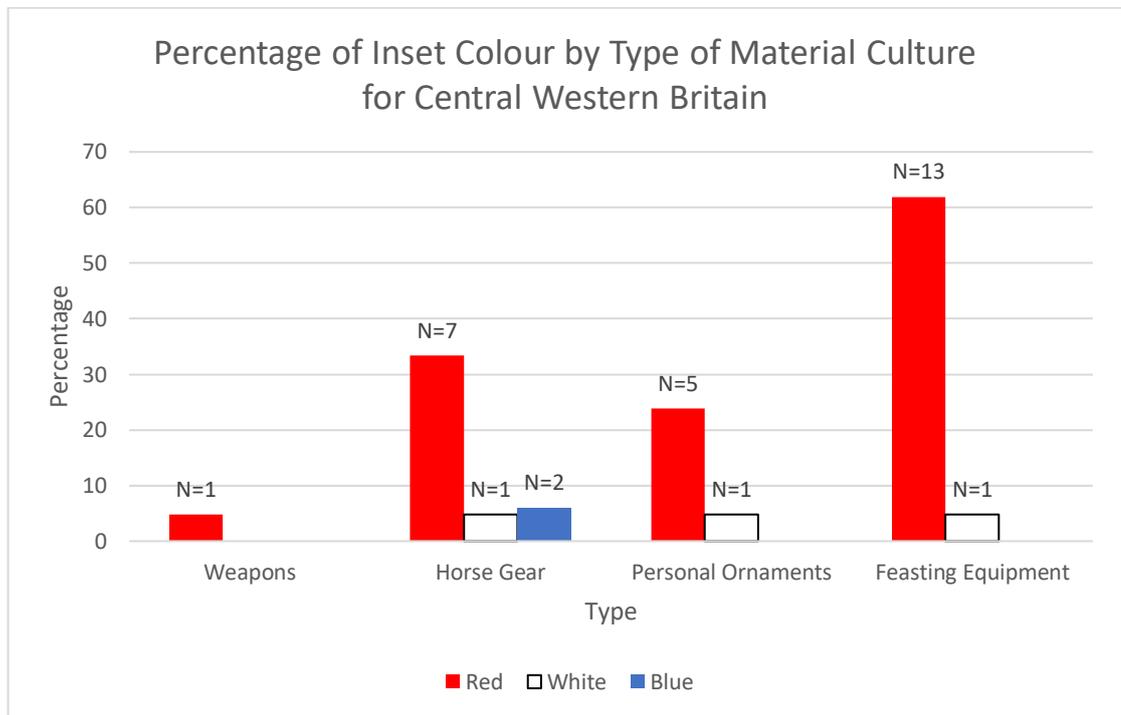


Figure 7.4- Inset colour by type of material culture for central western Britain. N=31

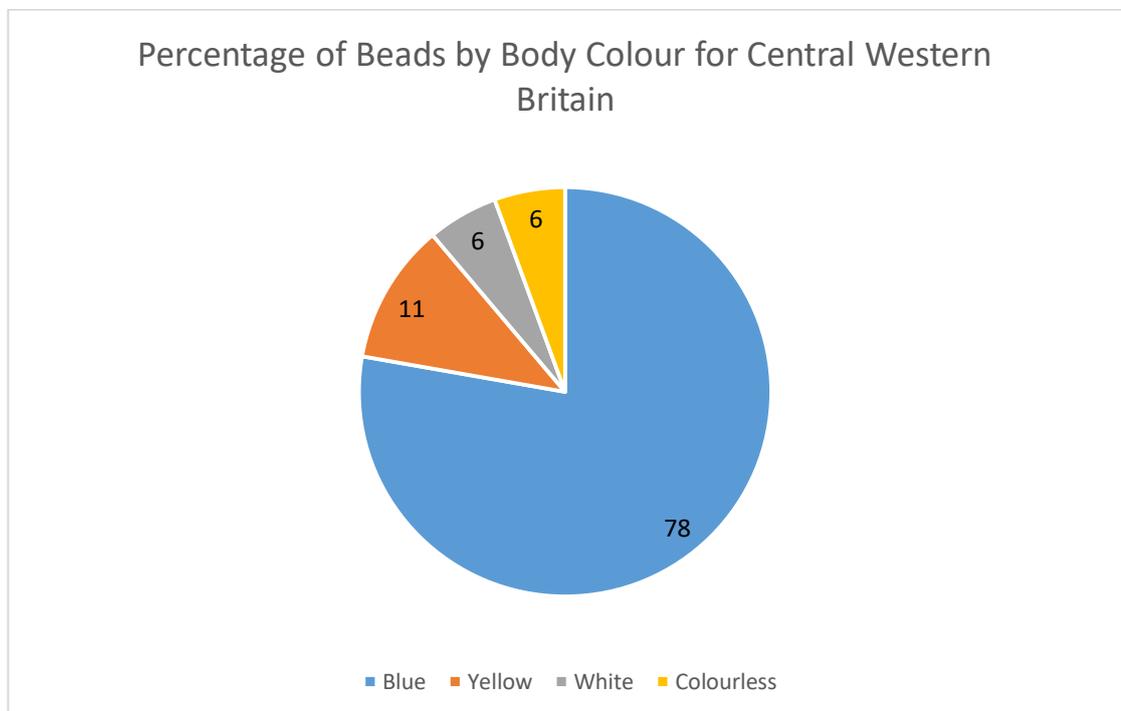


Figure 7.5- Body colour of glass beads from central western Britain. N=18.

The role of the colour of materials is particularly interesting as there are several examples of objects in the study region which have been deliberately modified to change their colour, as shown in table 7.4. Yet, the extent to which these changes reflected a social or cultural idiom in the study region is unclear. Although there are several articles of iron horse bridle bits that were plated with copper-alloy to give the appearance of bronze, other examples of iron horse bridle bits from the same site are unmodified. Several of the shield bosses have been tinned, which would have certainly produced a striking effect as the light caught the silver and gold colour of the tinned and un-tinned copper-alloy, but other shield bosses, such as the shield boss from Llyn Cerrig Bach are un-tinned. A terret ring and a plate in copper-alloy with tinning have also been recovered, but these objects lack parallels in the study region. It is possible that the experimentation with tinning to achieve a silvered colour, simply represented an attempt to create unique or different objects as has been postulated for many decorative forms on Iron Age material culture (Gosden and Hill 2008; Spratling 2008). It is interesting to note, however, that the earliest dated artefacts with evidence of tinning are the La Tène II shields recovered from Moel Hiraddug (Savory 1976; Jope 2000) and Tal y Llyn (Savory 1971; 1976), which coincide with the dates for the occurrence of Carthaginian silver coins in the region at the River Irk, Cheetham Hill (Nevell 1993) and Meols (Griffiths *et al.* 2010). It is possible that the attempt to replicate the silver colour was an attempt to create a link with these objects, due to their rarity and the prestige and long-distance relationships that they represented.

Name	Region	Period	Description	Reference
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Iron horse bridle bit with copper alloy coating	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Iron horse bridle bit with copper alloy coating	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Iron horse bridle bit with copper alloy coating	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	MIA-LIA	Iron horse bridle bit with copper alloy coating	Macdonald 2007
Braich y Dinas	Gwynedd	LIA 1 st century BC-1 st century AD	Copper alloy beaded torc with gold coating	Hughes 1923

Name	Region	Period	Description	Reference
Tre'r Ceiri	Gwynedd	LIA 1 st century AD	Copper alloy Nauheim derivative brooch with gold coating	Jope 2000
Tal y llyn	Gwynedd	2 nd century BC	Copper alloy spindle boss from a shield, with tinned surface	Savory 1976
Tal y llyn	Gwynedd	2 nd century BC	Copper alloy spindle boss from a shield, with tinned surface	Savory 1976
Moel Hiraddug	Denbighshire	3 rd -2 nd century BC	Copper alloy boss mount with tinned surface	Savory 1976
Llechwedd du Bach	Gwynedd	LIA 1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	Copper alloy platter with tinned coating	Jope 2000
Manley	Cheshire	MIA-LIA	Copper alloy terret with tinned coating	PAS LVPL 8D4CE1
Warrington	Cheshire	LIA 1 st century BC- 1 st century AD	Copper alloy ring with gold coating and traces of red enamel in the cells	PAS LVPL 1008

Table 7.4-Metal objects from the study region which have been coated with another metal.

This silver colour may also have invoked a sense of otherness; silver and silvered metal is not known in the study region prior to the occurrence of silver coins, the closest that would have been achievable is highly polished iron, but even when polished iron gives a dull reflection in comparison to silver, which is why modern iron and steel for display is chromed to make it shinier and more aesthetically pleasing. The characteristics of silvery metal may have appealed to a sense of mystical or extra-normal forces in the Iron Age in central western Britain, possibly drawing symbolic connections with the moon, as copper alloy drew associations with the sun. Although there are no overt examples of 'lunar' imagery on the tinned objects, tinning is most common on shields, particularly shields from Tal y llyn and Moel Hiraddug (see table 7.4). These shields display lunate pelta, and tinned circular discs with mounted copper alloy triskele patterns, either of which may be representative of the moon. Unfortunately, given the subjective nature of Iron Age decoration, it may be impossible to ever establish if this was a deliberate attempt to convey lunar imagery or if it is simply coincidental (*cf.* Spratling 2008). These associations may have imbued this colour with mystical properties which were then incorporated into objects,

which may explain the high incidence of tinning on shields. By placing this colour on the shield (which would have caught the light and reflected distorted images and colours), the crafts-person may have been drawing on this power for protection, or to intimidate opponents by this power as has been suggested for Iron Age mirrors (Morphy 1989; Giles 2008a:71). The selection of material may not solely be about visual factors. In the Early Iron Age, as discussed, materials seem to be selected because of the sense of place that they represent and even in the Middle Iron Age, this seems to be a recurring theme, though one which is subtler. The Moel Hiraddug iron cup headed pin had an inset of tufa (Brassil *et al.* 1982: 42-4); the nearest source of tufa is from near Prestatyn (Neaverson 1942), whilst the steatite spindle-whorl from Mill Hill Road, Irby was made from talc (Foster 2010:104-6) which was probably sourced on Anglesey (Highley 1974:6), which also has parallels for the decoration on this object. The presence of these materials in these items may reflect a desire to link the wearer/user with a place, perhaps they may even be seen as a memento of home and a present connection to that place and its associations.

The spindle-whorl from Mill Hill Road, Irby shows signs of wear, consistent with being repeatedly brushed against cloth (Foster 2010: 105). This has been interpreted as evidence for use but may also be evidence that this object was used as a pendant, as has been suggested for spindle-whorls in Yorkshire (Giles 2012: 162). Alternatively, the brushing of this object may have been the action of the owner gently rubbing the object, perhaps for reassurance or as a reminder of the place they came from, or perhaps to invoke the power of this object. Examples of such practice are not unknown in the region, the arched bow brooches from Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982: 39-41) and Lancaster (PAS LANCUM 685EF5) both show signs of being repeated rubbed along the top of the bow, which is an area which would not have come into contact with cloth. The purpose of rubbing or stroking these objects may have been to invoke their power as talismans (Mack 2008), though it should be considered that it may have had a more prosaic reason, such as polishing the bow to make it shine. Whilst this explanation does not necessarily capture the mysticism of personal talismans, it would have facilitated the visual impact of these objects in drawing attention and admiration and perhaps in inspiring fear. The connection between red

enamel and weapons and horse gear has been mentioned and it is interesting to note that both the Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982: 39-41) and Lancaster (PAS LANCUM 685EF5) brooches have insets which may have originally contained coral or red enamel or tufa. This may suggest that the wearing of brooches was designed to intimidate as much as impress. It should be remembered however, that both of these brooches date from the 5th-4th century BC and that red enamel does not become common on items of weaponry or horse gear until the 4th-3rd century BC. These items may have represented the transition to the use of red enamel in the study region but, perhaps more likely is that they contained insets of local tufa and represented the development of Early Iron Age traditions of including locally sourced material into objects of personal ornamentation.

Many authors (Jacobsthal 1944; Megaw and Megaw 1986; 1989; Stead 1996; Jope 2000) have attempted to categorise Iron Age artistic styles, but problems occur because many artistic traditions in the Iron Age seem to overlap with each other. This has led Gosden and Hill (2008:9) to suggest approaching artistic and decorative traditions in terms of how people and communities within the Iron Age related to them. A detailed analysis of artistic and decorative traditions on Iron Age material culture in central western Britain is beyond the scope of this thesis, but several aspects of decoration and art are worth considering in the investigation of the role that these traditions played in the negotiation of personal and social identity and culture during the Iron Age in the study region. The most significant aspects of decoration and design to examine for the purposes of this work are those connected with distance and personal space and the construction of social identity. Evidence of decoration on material culture is almost completely absent from the Early Iron Age in the study region. There is only one securely dated example of an object from the Early Iron Age with any form of decoration or embellishment, this is the Cardiff II variant Sompting type socketed axe from Wrenbury (PAS WMID B87DC3), which dates to the 7th century BC and carries the three-pellet decoration (see figure 7.6) common to axes of this type (Huth 2000). As this object is a likely import into the region and as it represents the singular example of decorated material culture with a secure Early Iron Age date, the significance of this decoration remains unclear. From

the Middle Iron Age onwards the situation improves somewhat. The earliest form of decoration appears in the region from the mid-5th century BC onwards.



Figure 7.6- Cardiff II variant Sompting Type socketed axe from Wrenbury. © The Portable Antiquities Scheme/The Trustees of the British Museum.

This early form is usually represented by simple geometric designs, usually straight, zig-zag or wavy lines, cross hatching and dots, examples of which can be seen on several objects in the study region (see figure 7.7). From the 4th-3rd centuries BC, more complex designs are evidenced including curvilinear designs and other forms associated with rotational movement (wheels, triskele) and both abstract and non-abstract depictions of zoomorphic and anthropomorphic subjects (see figure 7.7). However, many of these later objects still incorporate geometric patterning, as on the decorative plates from the Tal y Llyn shield. One of the more significant changes in design in the study region is the move to incorporate animal imagery on objects. This begins around the 3rd century BC and continues until the end of the Iron Age. Although several different animals are represented, cattle and horse (if the coin evidence is included) are by far the most common motifs (see figure 7.8), which may suggest a strong link between these animals and social identity in the region. There may be even more representations than are currently thought, if some of the abstract imagery is seen to represent horses and cattle. Much of this abstract imagery can be read in a variety of ways which, it has been suggested, was the point (Spratling

2008). Spratling (2008: 189) believes that Iron Age art and design often incorporated abstract elements that could be viewed in a variety of ways depending on the observer's cultural background and depth of knowledge and that ambiguity was seen as a means of intercourse between the observer and the object. This is particularly interesting as it pertains to cattle imagery in the study region as several objects make ambiguous (or not so ambiguous) references to horns, such as the Beeston cup (Ellis 1993), the escutcheons from Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and the Capel Garmon firedog (Jope 2000). Interestingly this trend is arguably paralleled on sword design in Yorkshire, particularly the Wetwang Slack and Kirkburn swords (see figure 7.8). It may be that horns were a symbol of power or strength (*cf.* Green 1996: 94) or that they were associated with certain activities or social identity, presumably involving cattle.

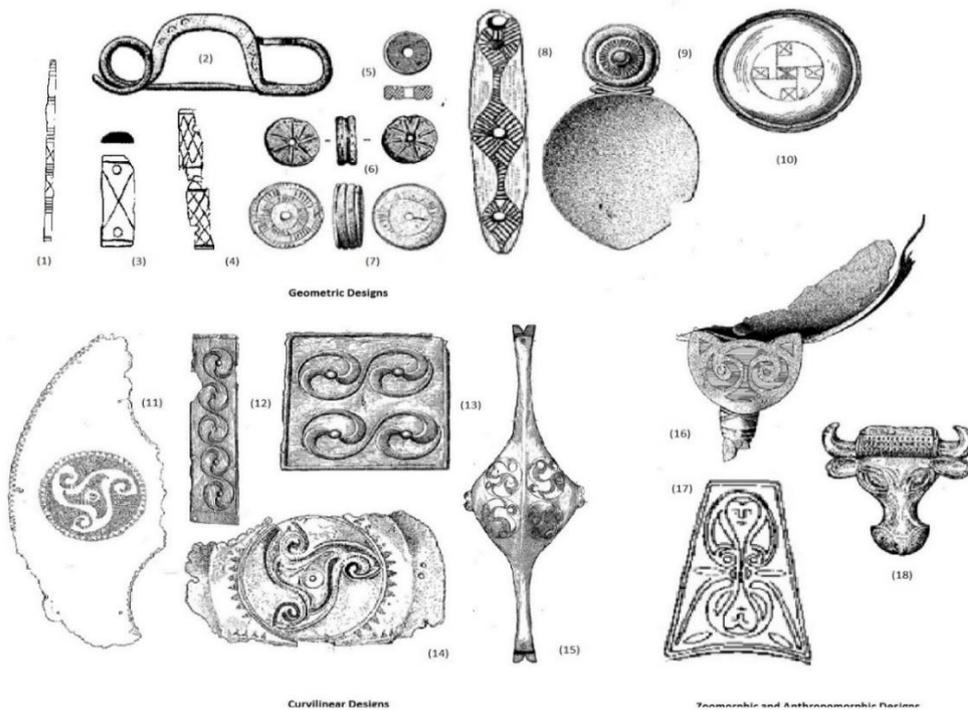


Figure 7.7-Objects of material culture from central western Britain showing a variety of artistic styles. (1) Rhuddlan Pin, (2) Moel Hiraddug Arched Bow Brooch, (3) Moel Hiraddug Carved Antler Plate, (4) Moel Hiraddug Carved Antler Plate, (5) Dinorben Spindle-whorl, (6) Dinorben Spindle-whorl, (7) Llandderfel Spindle-whorl, (8) Llyn Cerrig Bach Trumpet Plate, (9) Ffynnogion Divination Spoons, (10) Llyn Cerrig Bach Wheel Cap, (11) Tal y Llyn Shield Pelta, (12) Llyn Cerrig Bach Decorative Plate, (13) Llyn Cerrig Bach Decorative Plate, (14) Tal y Llyn Shield Boss, (15) Llyn Cerrig Bach Shield Mount, (16) Snowdon Bowl, (17) Tal y Llyn Decorative Shield Plate, (18) Dinorben Bull-head Escutcheon. (after Gardner and Savory 1964; Savory 1976; Brassil *et al.* 1982. Not to scale).

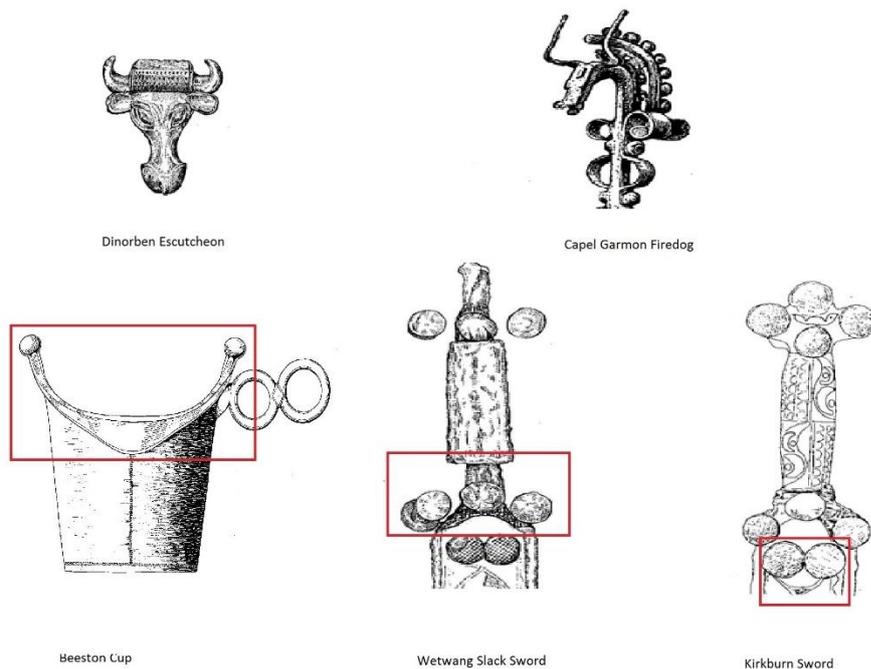


Figure 7.8-Occurrence of horn motifs on objects from central western Britain and on swords from Yorkshire (after Gardner and Savory 1964; Ellis 1993; Stead 2006. Not to scale).

The move towards animal imagery in the study region occurs alongside an increase in material culture forms generally and particularly objects associated with personal identity (see chapter 6). They also seem to occur most often in association with feasting equipment (see figure 7.9) which would seem to suggest that the visual impact of these objects was significant in negotiating social relations during feasting activities. The data presented in figure 7.9 represents only a comparatively small number of objects and great care must be taken when extrapolating to the larger region. This contrasts with other forms of decoration and imagery on artefacts within the study region, which would have been almost impossible to see. The visual distance inherent in approaching decoration on items of material culture is a factor of many of the objects in the record of the study region and prompts the question as to who this decoration was intended for? Spratling (2008: 151-4) believes that decoration on many objects was intended to be a contemplative device, for the consumption of those people who would come in close contact with the object, which may in turn have defined those who knew the decoration and those who did

not, separating the world into insiders and outsiders. This may have played into social interactions, whereby the approach to someone to appreciate the decoration on a piece of personal ornamentation marked a transition to a more intimate and personable interaction. So, art would have become more personalised and important in the construction of the body and personal identity, within a localised inter-personal context. In the context of Iron Age public display and theatre it is not hard to conceive of this approach being highly ritualised or played out in some formalised fashion. The part that these objects played in the creation of personal space and concepts of inclusivity, both socially, culturally and spatially is intriguing and it is perhaps no accident that items of material culture bearing such decoration become common in the study region at a time when there was increasing emphasis of the division and control of space, as evidence by the settlement record (see chapter 5).

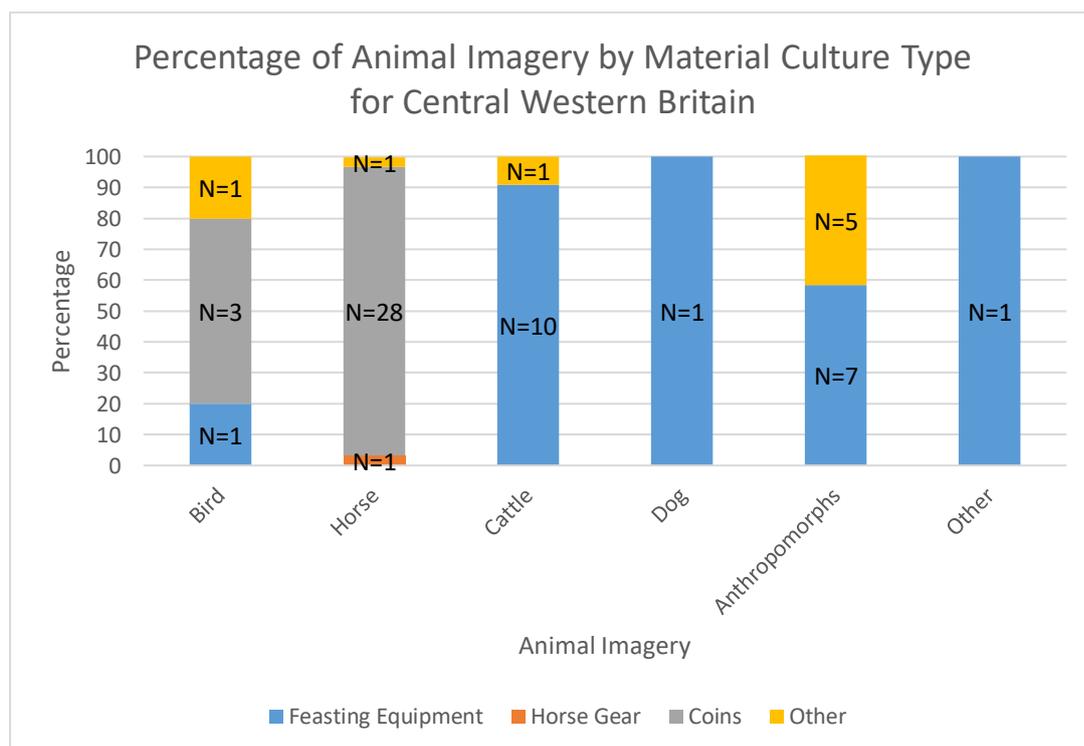


Figure 7.9-Occurrence of animal imagery by object type. N=60.

Creighton (1995), in examining the role of imagery on southern British coinage, has seen the movement to more representative imagery as being an indicator of a fundamental shift in cultural systems during the Middle-Late Iron Age. In his view, older more abstract forms of artistic expression represented entoptic phenomenon associated with religious visions, whilst the development of more representative

forms was the result of a move away from this cultural-religious paradigm to the expression of emerging power relationships through art (*ibid.*). Whilst it is true that there is a decline in the occurrence of geometric forms on objects in central western Britain during the Late Iron Age (see figure 7.10), there are other explanations which may also be offered for this change. Much of the geometric design on objects in the Middle Iron Age period occurs on decorative plaques and shields, both of which decline in number during the Late Iron Age. Nevertheless, there is some evidence of a shift in socio-cultural practices during the 2nd century BC in the study region, as evidenced in the settlement record (see chapter 5) and the occurrence of material culture (see chapter 6) and a change in the socio-political system is possible.

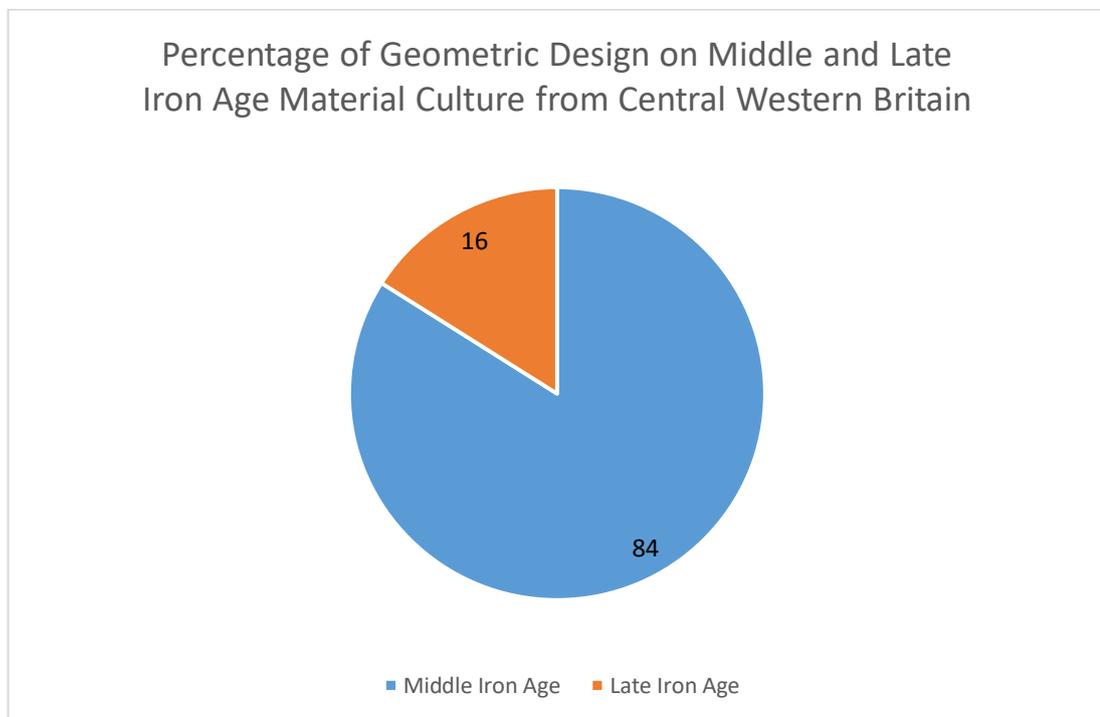


Figure 7.10-Percentage of geometric design on material culture from central western Britain for the Middle and Late Iron Age. N=22

Deposition

Early Iron Age: group identity

The deposition of material in the study region encompasses a number of different contexts and traditions across the Iron Age period. The depositional context of objects in the Early Iron Age is almost entirely confined to settlement sites and on site structural elements, particularly roundhouses and boundaries (figure 7.11). The

exception to this practice is the limited occurrence of Llyn Fawr period metalwork from the study region. There are several articles of Llyn Fawr metalwork from the study region in copper-alloy (see table 7.5); these occur in lowland deposits away from known settlement sites in the region. The Gündlingen type sword from Jackfield in Shropshire (Bell and Watson 1993: 104-6), was recovered from the River Severn, whilst the other examples are from contexts on land. It is conceivable that the land used for the depositions of other items of Llyn Fawr metalwork may have been marginal land during the Early Iron Age and prone to seasonal flooding, which would also indicate a wetland depositional context for these items. Unfortunately, without detailed environmental analysis, this is impossible to verify and in any case the small number of articles of Llyn Fawr metalwork in the region preclude drawing detailed conclusions from this dataset on the depositional practices associated with copper alloy metalwork in the region. It can be observed, however, that the depositional practices associated with these articles is a divergence from the deposition of other articles of material culture in central western Britain at this time (see figure 7.11). The data presented in figure 7.11 is representative of the current state of knowledge, but the biases in excavation and archaeological investigation in the study region may have skewed this picture in favour of hillfort and settlement sites. Hillfort sites, as prominent visible landmarks, have received the most archaeological attention in the region, whilst there has been very little targeted archaeological excavation of Early Iron Age sites in wetland contexts in the region. Although projects such as the North West Wetland Survey (e.g. Cowell and Innes 1994; Middleton *et al.* 1994; Leah *et al.* 1997) have addressed the role of wetland within the archaeological context, the project was principally concerned with the environmental and ecological situation of wetlands within the region, rather than the occurrence of material culture or the detailed investigation of archaeological remains. It may be that items of Llyn Fawr metalwork in the region were ascribed a particular depositional context due to their material of manufacture or form or possibly their depositional context is a late survival of Late Bronze Age traditions. It is interesting to note that the depositional context of these articles is more in keeping with the context of items of metalwork from the Middle Iron Age onwards in the study region (discussed below), which may suggest an established cultural tradition.

Name	Region	Item	Context	Period	Notes	Reference
Brogyntyn	Shropshire	Gundlingen sword	Dry land deposition, possible hoard	8 th century BC	Possibly associated with a socketed chisel and gouge	Cowen 1967
Jackfield	Shropshire	Gundlingen sword	River	8 th century BC	Recovered from the River Severn	Bell and Watson 1993
Wrenbury	Cheshire	Sompting type socketed axe (Cardiff II variant)	Dry land deposition	7 th century BC	Isolated find	PAS WMID B87DC3

Table 7.5-Occurrence of articles of Llyn Fawr metalwork from central Western Britain.

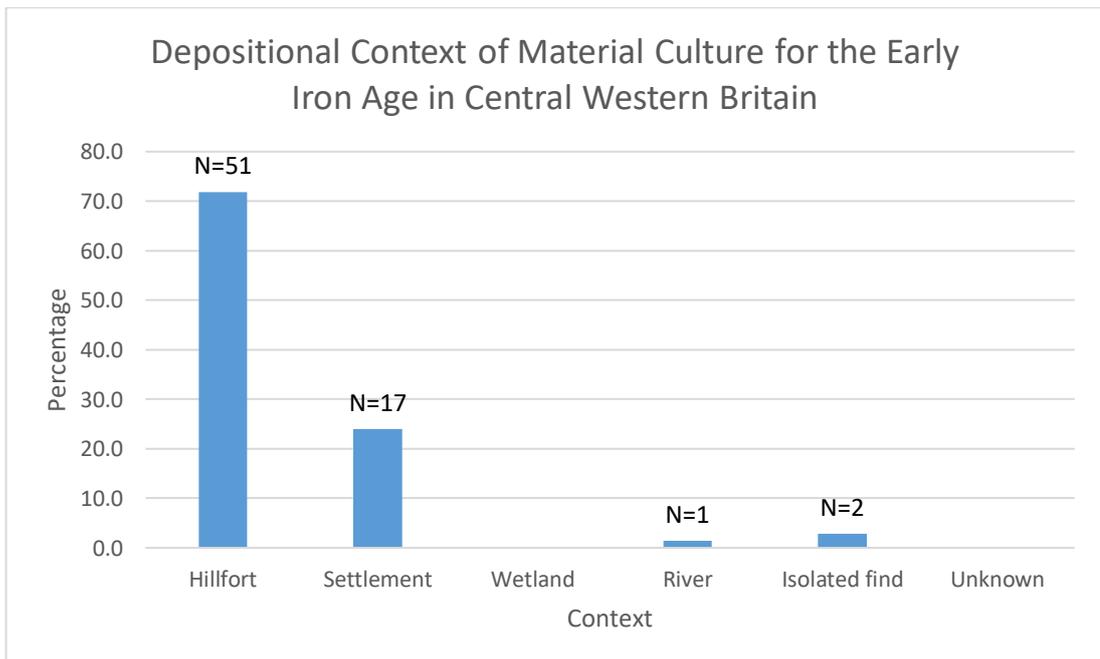


Figure 7.11-Depositional context of material culture for the Early Iron Age in central Western Britain. N=71.

The depositional context of articles of Llyn Fawr metalwork is consistent with the depositional context of articles of Late Bronze Age material culture in the study region (e.g. PAS LVPL B713DE; PAS LVPL 5BD134; PAS LANCUM D6D081; PAS LVPL 719FB3), except for its absence at hillfort sites. The Late Bronze Age hillfort sites in

the study region have a long association with the deposition of metalwork until the end of the mature Ewart Park phase (c. 800 BC) as at Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964), the Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991) and Whalley (Blundell and Longworth 1967). Consequently, the absence of Llyn Fawr metalwork from the deposits on these sites is noteworthy. It may represent a changing cultural attitude as to what material was appropriate for deposition at hillfort and settlement sites. Following the end of the Ewart Park phase copper alloy objects may have lost the social value and cultural properties to be associated with the construction of social and cultural identity for the wider community (*cf.* Needham 2007). Alternatively, it is possible that this change represents individual depositional practices associated with achieving a specific objective. It has been noted (Pollard 2001) that deposition amongst prehistoric communities operated with very different categories of cultural classification and according to a symbolic knowledge base, which was dependent on the aims of the deposition in question as well as the meanings of the objects deposited depending on their production and association (2001: 316). The deposition of material at settlement and group aggregation sites in the Early Iron Age may have been specifically associated with the reinforcement of group identity and with activity designed to strengthen the community. Whilst individual depositions away from group centres may have been intended to evoke different meanings or invoke different powers, perhaps associated with separation from the group, negotiating with exterior forces or death. Alternatively, they may represent continuing respect for ancestral traditions and in this way be another way of establishing an 'occupational antiquity,' by the communities in central western Britain.

As has been noted the other articles of material culture deposited during the Early Iron Age in the study region were concentrated at hillfort and settlement sites (see figure 7.11) and were usually associated with structural features such as roundhouses, enclosure banks and post holes (see figure 7.12). Brück (2008:262) has suggested that during the Early Iron Age period there was a move towards expressing social and cultural identity through settlement and architectural forms and has further suggested that within this system roundhouses and sites themselves may be

seen to have taken on a life-cycle of their own, representing a symbolic relationship between their occupants and the structures and wider landscape (Brück 1999; 2006). This may go some way to explaining the deposition of material at these locations. Much of the material which is deposited at these sites is produced from locally sourced material and is associated with production related activities, either of material culture (spindle-whorls, gouges, piercers), structures and monuments (picks) or agricultural produce (quern-stones, faunal remains), as shown in figure 7.12. By depositing this material at these sites the inhabitants were linking their productivity and the reproduction of their social identity to the site and the wider landscape context. This activity also serves to link the people, through their occupation, to the local area and particularly to the locally available resources represented by articles of material culture. So, by turning local resources into articles of material culture the communities in the Early Iron Age of central western Britain were stressing both their ties to the area and their access to those resources, as well as the reproduction of their social identity through production. The utilisation of local resources may even be thought of in regards to fragmentation, in which part of the resource is collected and transformed and then conceptually represents regeneration and new life for the community in the form of production (*cf* Brück 2006:302).

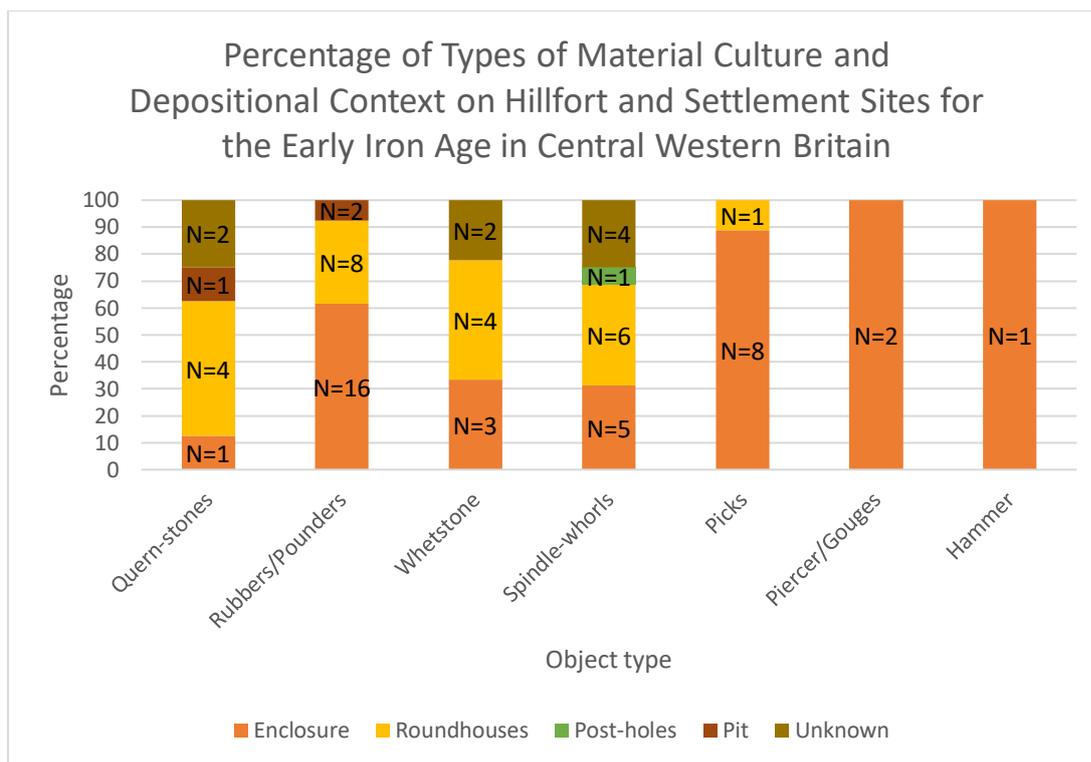


Figure 7.12- The percentage occurrence of different articles of securely dated Early Iron Age material culture in relation to depositional contexts at hillfort and settlement sites in the study region. N=71.

As can be seen in figure 7.12, there is a preference for tools to be deposited in contexts associated with enclosures during the Early Iron Age in the study region, primarily associated with hillfort ramparts. Whilst quern-stones and rubbers/pounders have a greater incidence in associations with roundhouses and whetstones and spindle-whorls are more equally associated with both contexts. This may represent a cultural choice in the deposition of material on site. Tools which may have had a greater association with the visible modification of the environment by the creation and maintenance of boundaries, enclosures and structures may have been selected for deposition in association with these constructions, whilst smaller objects of material culture, particularly associated with the processing of food may have had greater currency as deposits associated with individual houses. Whilst spindle-whorls and whetstones, which were associated with the reproduction of social identity through the production of material and the maintenance of tools, may have been considered appropriate for either context. This division in the deposition of material may be indicative of the division of space within site organization and tied

into activity areas, with food processing being an activity associated with households, spinning and craft-production being undertaken within households and at other areas on site and digging and building with outside the household. In which case the deposition of these objects would represent a reinforcement of the production and processing associated with those areas, strengthening the connection between those parts of site and the activities conducted there, as well as the people conducting them.

During the 6th century BC, the first evidence of iron is represented in the record of the study region. This is in the form of a swan-necked pin from Beeston Castle (Stead 1993). This object was associated with the Early Iron Age rampart at this site. The other objects of early iron in the region comprise two razors, one from Beeston Castle (Stead 1993) and one from Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and both associated with roundhouses. In the case of the Beeston castle example, from a posthole fill associated with building 6 (Stead 1993:53) and in the case of the Dinorben example, from a deposit immediately underlying the hearth and to the east of that hearth in hut 12 (Gardner and Savory 1964:154). The three iron penannular brooches from the study region may also be of this period, though the dating of these examples is uncertain and they may be 5th century BC. Given that they are probably a stylistic development out of the ring-headed type of pin and that these objects have a period of currency in the study region from the 5th century BC, a later date for the penannular brooches seems likely. However, Stead (1993:53) does not preclude the possibility that the swan-necked pin from Beeston may have been a ring-headed pin, so an earlier (6th century BC) date for the penannular brooches is still possible. The two iron penannular brooches from Dinorben and the iron penannular penannular brooch from the Breiddin have the same depositional context. They were deposited in the pre-rampart floor levels within roundhouses (Gardner and Savory 1964: 133-4 and O'Neil 1937: 114 respectively). The occurrence of iron objects in 6th century BC contexts (and continuing into the 5th century BC) in the region is particularly interesting, as they represent not only new types of artefact, but a new material, and are associated with a specific context.

Both the razors and the penannular brooches come from the floor levels of structures and it is only the swan-necked pin from Beeston Castle which is associated with a rampart. However, the layer that the swan-necked pin was recovered from was a layer of packed stones near the presumptive entrance to Beeston Castle hillfort and it has been suggested that it may, in fact, represent the floor level of a guard-house structure (Ellis 1993: 26). If this is the case, then all the earliest iron artefacts in the region from the 6th-5th centuries BC were associated with the interiors of structures. All these objects are also objects associated with individual identity, either as personal ornamentation or personal grooming equipment. Hill (1997: 103) has suggested that there was a change in the way that the body was conceptualised from the Middle-Late Iron Age (which may explain why the evidence for the treatment of human remains in the study region is of Middle-Late Iron Age date, discussed below) and it may be that these early articles represent the first flourish of that trend in the study region. This may go some way to explaining their occurrence within structures. If the interior of structures represented private or personal space, with restricted access for people who were not part of that social group (e.g. Hingley 1990; Brück 2008), then the personal nature of these items of personal ornamentation may have meant that a private, restricted depositional context was required to maintain their power and significance as objects.

The deposition of material associated with structures and enclosures during the Early Iron Age can be considered as foundation and closing deposits tied into the life-cycle of those constructions. There does not appear to be a preferred positioning of these objects associated with structures and enclosures. The razor from Beeston Castle was incorporated within a posthole, which formed the central ring of postholes supporting building 6 (Ellis 1993:36) and likely representing a foundation deposit as the posthole still contained the packing stones and post-pipe and had, therefore, probably still been filled at the point that the structure was abandoned. The swan-necked pin from Beeston Castle was incorporated in a packed stone floor (Ellis 1993:26), whilst the penannular brooches and razor from Dinorben and the Breiddin (Gardner and Savory 1964 and Musson *et al.* 1991 respectively) came from deposits within the floor level of roundhouses, but did not show any clear association with

other features or any preferred orientation within the structure and without these associations it is unclear if these objects represented foundation or closing deposits. The purpose of these type of deposits is believed to be to mark significant events in the life-cycle of the structures which, if these structures were representative of the inhabitants (as discussed above) may also have commemorated major events within the lives of the inhabitants. In this light it is interesting that the objects deposited within these roundhouses are items of personal ornamentation and personal grooming and it may be that these objects represent a link with a specific individual and possibly tie the construction or abandonment of these structures to important events in their lives.

5th-4th centuries BC: growing individualism

The Early Iron Age depositional traditions continue into the 5th-4th centuries BC. However, new articles of material culture begin to be evidenced, such as the La Tène arched bow brooch from Moel Hiraddug, dated to 450-400 BC and found deposited immediately behind the inner rampart construction on top of the natural rock surface (Brassil et al. 1982: 39), probably representing a deposit associated with the rampart construction. Iron ring-headed pins continue to be deposited in the region during this period, particularly at Dinorben where they occur in the same depositional context as the earlier examples of ironwork, within roundhouses. The only exception is an example which was found between the postholes at the entrance to a house (Gardner and Savory 1964: 132). Examples of ring-headed pins in copper alloy also begin to occur; the earliest example is again from Dinorben and likely to be 4th century BC (*ibid.*). These share the same depositional environments as the iron pins from Dinorben and it is interesting that the change in material of production does not seem to have impacted the depositional context of these items, particularly when it is considered that the deposition of copper alloy objects had been absent from hillfort sites in the region since the end of the Bronze Age. This may suggest that there was an increased importance on the form of depositional objects and that the criteria used in the selection of objects for deposition were changing at this time. It may be that selecting material associated with production and the local landscape was no longer necessary and that the emphasis of on-site deposition had shifted

towards material which expressed social identity and inter-personal and inter-group relationships.

There are several ways that this change may have manifested itself within the archaeological record of central western Britain at this time. Figure 7.13 shows the occurrence of securely dated objects from hillfort and lowland settlement sites in the region during the 5th-4th century BC. As can be seen items of personal ornamentation are well represented, alongside more traditional depositional forms such as quern-stones and spindle-whorls. This rise in the occurrence of depositions of personal ornamentation alongside more traditional objects associated with production may point to both a new way of conceptualising the individual and an increased desire amongst groups to express their own sense of personal identity. However, the continued occurrence of more traditional forms of material associated with production activities does indicate that this was not a rapid transition and it is more likely that this shift represents a gradual change in depositional practices as new material culture forms become more readily available. This gradual shift may be further evidenced by the increasing commonality of decorated spindle-whorls from the Middle Iron Age onwards, as these older forms are modified to more overtly reflect social identity and the individual (see figure 7.14). However, care must be taken when interpreting this trend due to the uneven distribution of the data. All that might reasonably be said at this time is that decorated spindle-whorls begin to occur from the Middle Iron Age onwards and seem to become a medium for conveying personal identity. The depositional context of items of personal ornamentation in the 5th-4th centuries BC at hillfort and settlement locations continues to be focused on the roundhouse, as shown in figure 7.15. Interestingly, the occurrence of the brooches, weapons and horse gear represent the first flourishing of La Tène metalwork in the study region and these objects are all from contexts associated with ramparts, which may indicate that these new forms were not yet fully integrated into the socio-cultural systems of societies in the study region and were consequently not seen as suitable for deposition in private and restricted contexts.

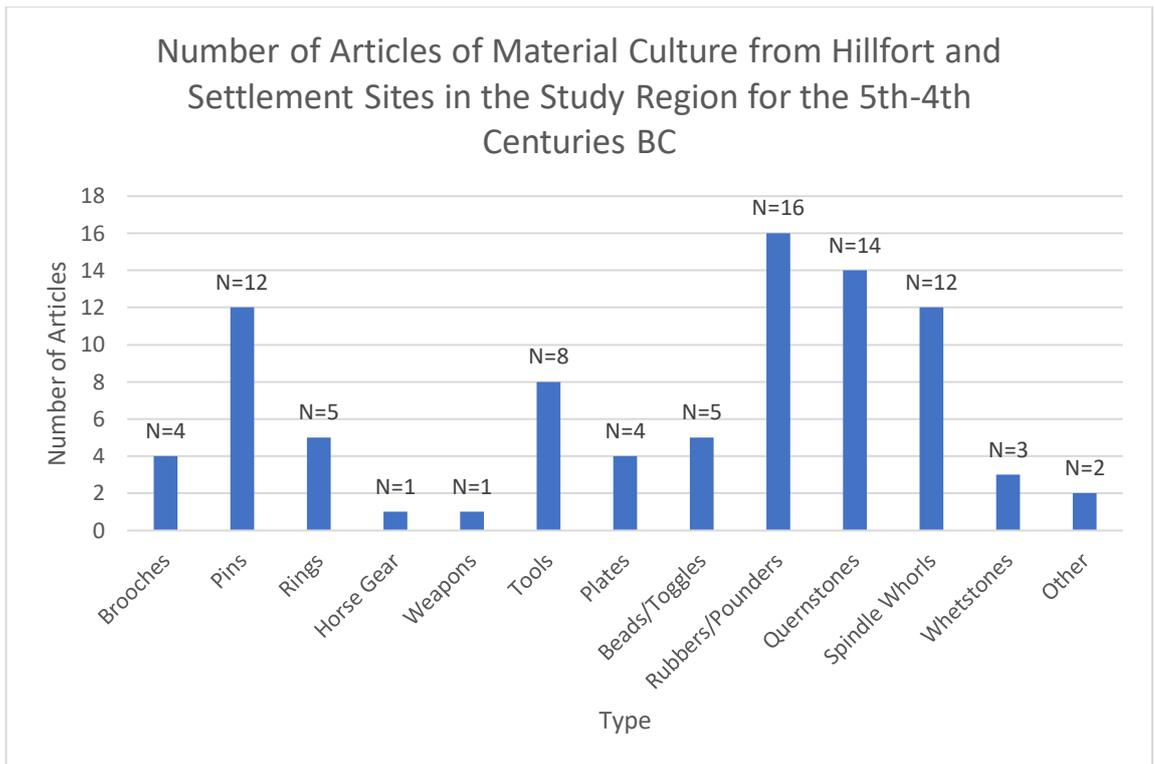


Figure 7.13-Number of articles of securely dated material culture from hillfort and settlement sites in central western Britain for the 5th-4th centuries BC. N=87

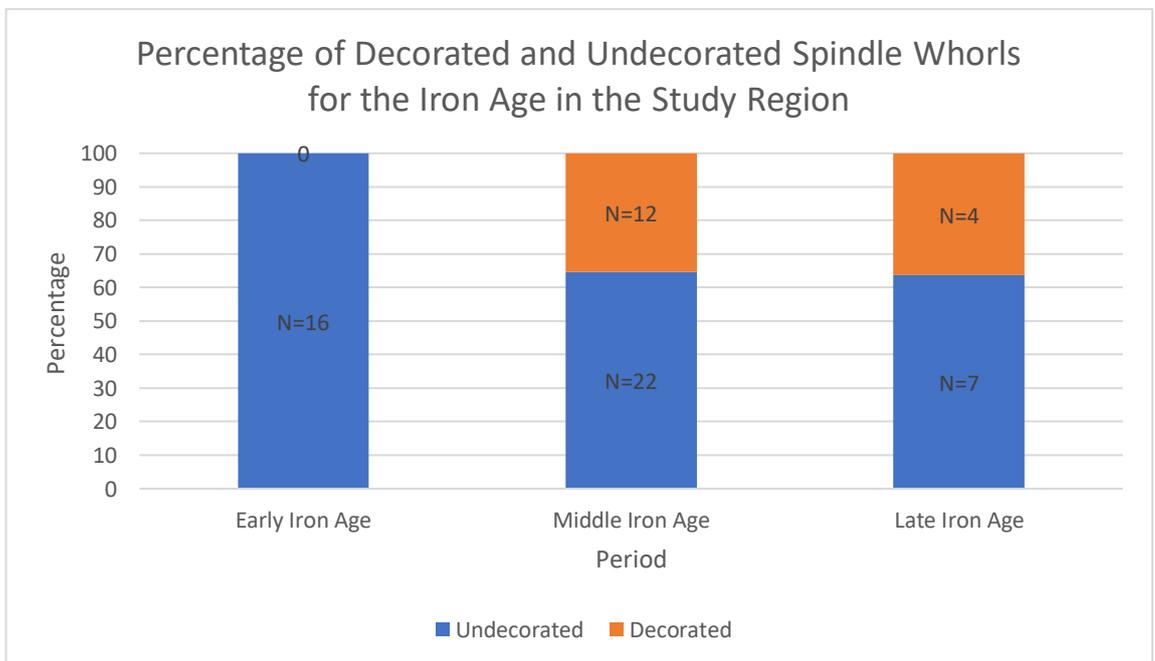


Figure 7.14-Percentage of decorated and undecorated spindle-whorls in the study region during the Iron Age. N=61

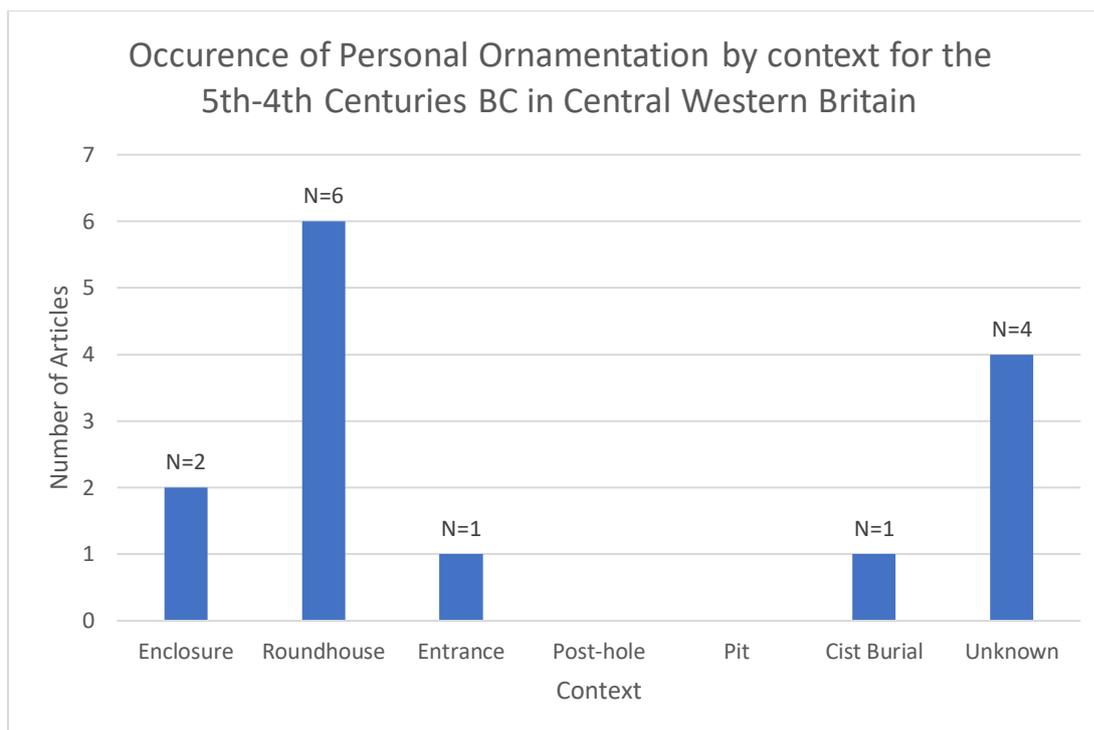


Figure 7.15-Occurrence of personal ornamentation by context in the 5th-4th centuries BC from central western Britain. N=14

Middle-Late Iron Age: mortuary practices

Another possible manifestation of the change in the way that personal identity and the individual were conceptualised in the study region from the 4th century BC onwards is the reoccurrence of evidence for funerary practices within the study region. The first evidence for the treatment of human remains during the Iron Age in central western Britain comes from Cerrig y Drudion. A cist burial was discovered here containing both human remains and a casque headpiece (R.A. Smith 1926), unfortunately the human remains were too badly degraded to permit any examination or determination of age or sex, but the copper alloy casque headpiece has been dated to the 4th century BC on stylistic grounds (Jope 2000:23-5). This piece of personal ornamentation is both elaborate and distinctive (see figure 7.16) and its inclusion within a burial (which is itself a rare occurrence in the archaeological record of the study region) demonstrates the increasing concern with the personal identity and the individual. Of course, as has been noted (Leach 1979; Parker Pearson 1999a; Giles 2012), there is not necessarily any reason to assume that the casque headpiece found in this cist was the personal property of the interred individual. Funerary rites

are a way for the living to express social identity, wealth, position and connectedness and to negotiate social relationships. It is possible that the casque headpiece was chosen by one of the mourners to include in the grave as a demonstration of their own generosity and power. Though this does not diminish its importance as an indicator of the increasing desire to demonstrate the social position of the individual, rather it may even represent a more extreme form of this trend as it is indicative of the creation of social obligations and negotiation of personal status through the 'gifting' of material culture.



Figure 7.16-Detail of the Cerrig y Drudion casque headpiece (after Savory 1976).

Of the other examples of human remains from the study region, only two others have any associated grave goods. These examples, also both cist burials, are from Gelliniog Wen and Billington. The Billington example is a cist burial, which contained iron spearhead(s) (Luck 1895). Unfortunately, as with all the cist burials from the region, the human remains were too badly degraded to be examined. It should also be noted that there is some contention over the dating of this example and whilst it may be Middle Iron Age, as Matthews (2002:41) believes, there is a possibility that it may be

post-Roman. If this example does prove to be Iron Age, then a likely date of 3rd-2nd century BC is applicable, based on the occurrence of spears in the study region and the date range of the cist burial tradition. The other cist burial from the region is from Gelliniog Wen and contained an iron sword, which is of Stead's (2006) type D and scabbard of type T (*ibid.*), associated with an extended skeleton (Hughes 1909). The dating of this cist is probable 2nd century BC, though a date in the 1st century BC is possible if the sword was curated for a time prior to deposition. The Gelliniog Wen example also marks the latest example of this tradition in the study region. With only three examples of this practice spread over three centuries, it is not clear how widespread this tradition was and it may be representative of a practice brought into the region from elsewhere, maybe by people engaged in exchange or through marriage.

The other examples of the treatment of human remains in the study region are represented by the occurrence of fragmentary human remains at hillfort sites, bog bodies (*cf.* Turner 1999) and two possible inhumation burials (as shown in table 7.6). The remains from Dinorben comprise three fragmentary male skeletons deposited in the north ditch, as well as the remains of an older woman and possibly a child from the outward face of the outer ditch, also in the north. Fragments of jawbone and teeth from another male were found in the south-eastern entranceway overlying the rock surface, whilst fragments of human skull have been recovered from three of the roundhouses on site (Gardner and Savory 1964: 221). At Moel Hiraddug, three teeth thought to belong to a male were recovered from the scree deposits overlying the inner ditch and also in the northern sector of the ramparts (Brassil *et al.* 1982: 56). Unfortunately, the examples of teeth from Moel Hiraddug have not been closely dated, but the bones from the ditch at Dinorben have a probable 4th century BC date, corresponding with the earliest evidence for Iron Age funerary practices in the study region. It is particularly interesting to note the preference for deposition in the northern sector of ramparts for human remains from these sites and it may be that this direction had some cultural significance for the deposition of human remains. The occurrence of fragmentary human remains both associated with the ramparts and with the roundhouses on these sites is curious, although well attested on other

Iron Age sites, particularly Danebury (Cunliffe 1992), where fragmentary remains occur in the secondary fill of a number of pits (1992: 75).

Site	Region	Period	Context	Notes	Reference
Cerrigy Drudion	Conway	4 th -3 rd centuries BC	Cist burial	Found with a copper alloy casque	R.A. Smith 1926
Billington	Lancashire	Probable 3 rd -2 nd centuries	Cist burial	Found with iron spearhead(s)	Luck 1895
Gelliniog Wen	Anglesey	2 nd -1 st centuries BC	Cist burial	Found with a sword and iron	Hughes 1909
Dinorben	Denbighshire	4 th -3 rd centuries BC	Hillfort rampart ditch	Mature male	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Denbighshire	4 th -3 rd centuries BC	Hillfort rampart ditch	Mature male	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Denbighshire	4 th -3 rd centuries	Hillfort rampart	Mature male	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Denbighshire	MIA	Hillfort rampart ditch-outer	Older female	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Denbighshire	MIA	Hillfort rampart ditch-outer	Immature male	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Denbighshire	MIA-LIA	Hillfort entrance	Male- jaw	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Denbighshire	MIA-LIA	Hillfort- hut floor	-	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Denbighshire	MIA-LIA	Hillfort- hut floor	-	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Denbighshire	MIA-LIA	Hillfort roundhouse	-	Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Denbighshire	MIA-LIA	Hillfort guard house	Immature person	Gardner and Savory 1964
Moel Hiraddug	Denbighshire	MIA-LIA	Hillfort rampart ditch	Three teeth, probably from a male	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Prestatyn	Denbighshire	1 st -2 nd century BC	Inhumation burial	Infant burial- 3-6 months old at death.	Blockley 1989
Brook House Farm,	Cheshire	260-50 cal BC	Possible inhumation grave	Possible grave cut	Fairburn <i>et al.</i> 2002
Lindow Moss	Cheshire	2BC-AD 119	Bog body	-	Joy 2009b

Lindow Moss	Cheshire	1 st century AD	Bog body	Possibly found with an iron pin	Turner 1999
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Table 7.6-Human remains from Iron Age central western Britain.

The meaning associated with the deposition of human remains at these sites is difficult to attribute. Several hypotheses have been proposed, including that they represent trophies taken during conflict, as part of the ‘head cult’ or representing human sacrifices (Gardner and Savory 1964: 221; Cunliffe 1992). More recent interpretations have tended to focus on the role of human remains as divisible indicators of social identity and social relationships (Hingley 1992: 16-7; Parker Pearson 1999a; Brück 2006), or when deposited within houses as a means of invoking the power of the ancestors in the protection and aid of the inhabitants (Bradley 2007:52). It is possible that the human remains from the study region may be representative of more than one of these possible explanations and the difficulty in ascribing meaning to these human remains is in determining whether they represent group members or outsiders (see Armit and Ginn 2007; Tucker 2010: 204). It may be tempting to draw parallels between the deposition of human remains in rampart ditches with outsiders, whilst human remains found in roundhouse context might be thought of as insiders or ancestors/family members and the limited evidence for inhumation burials suggests that human remains found in burial contexts in the study region are more usually associated with roundhouse settlement, possibly indicating a closer relationship. However, care should be taken not to over-simplify what was clearly an issue governed by complex social and cultural rules. Brück (1995) has stressed the importance of concepts of liminality associated with human remains and the inhumation burial of an infant at Prestatyn reinforces this due to the presence of a fence around the inhumation (Blockley 1989: 20). So, in this light, the association of human remains with rampart ditches may simply be an extension of this concept of liminality, whilst the human remains from within roundhouse structures may have been remains collected from liminal contexts and ‘made safe’ by their incorporation and deposition within the domestic sphere.

Middle-Late Iron Age deposition: landscape and settlement

If this is the case then it may represent a shift in the conceptualisation of boundaries associated with sites, in which the liminality of boundaries is of increasing importance as part of a system of negotiating social space as well as expressing social identity. This may explain the increased focus on the redevelopment and elaboration of hillfort enclosure during the 6th-4th centuries BC, as well as the development of new forms of enclosed settlement (particularly in the west of the study region) and greater evidence for the division of space on Middle Iron Age sites (see chapter 4 and 5). This may parallel developments in southern Britain during the Middle Iron Age, where iron objects, particularly currency bars, are often associated with settlement boundaries (Hingley 2006a; 2006b: 119). It has been suggested (Hingley 1997; 2006a; 2006b) that the cultural context of iron and its symbolic connection with death/regeneration and the agricultural cycle may have imbued iron objects with liminal properties which made them suitable for reinforcing social boundaries and divisions.

Although associations with enclosure predominate in the assemblage from the region during the Early Iron Age, particularly at hillfort sites, by the 3rd century BC this trend had dramatically declined for all types of material culture (see figure 7.17). It may be that this was a function of the decline of hillforts in the study region (discussed in chapter 5), which may account for the development of other depositional contexts such as natural sites (e.g. Llyn Cerrig Bach), particularly wetland and rivers and the deposition of isolated objects in lowland contexts. The large number of depositions in contexts other than those specified is the result of finds of isolated objects in lowland contexts and is due, in part, to the success of the Portable Antiquities Scheme in collecting records of finds made by the general public. Even so, such a high incidence of isolated finds must represent a trend in the study region, from the Middle Iron Age onwards, of making depositions of isolated objects away from settlement sites. It has been briefly discussed that finds that are thought to be from dry lowland environments, may have actually represented marginal or seasonally flooded land during the Iron Age, in which case some of these objects may have a 'wetland' context. Unfortunately, without more extensive environmental survey across the study region this cannot be proven at present. The high incidence

of finds from settlement sites, natural sites and as isolated finds is particularly striking when the data is more closely examined, as there is a clear distinction between the types of objects deposited in these contexts (see figure 7.18), which is indicative of a prevailing cultural tradition in the study region from the 3rd century BC onwards.

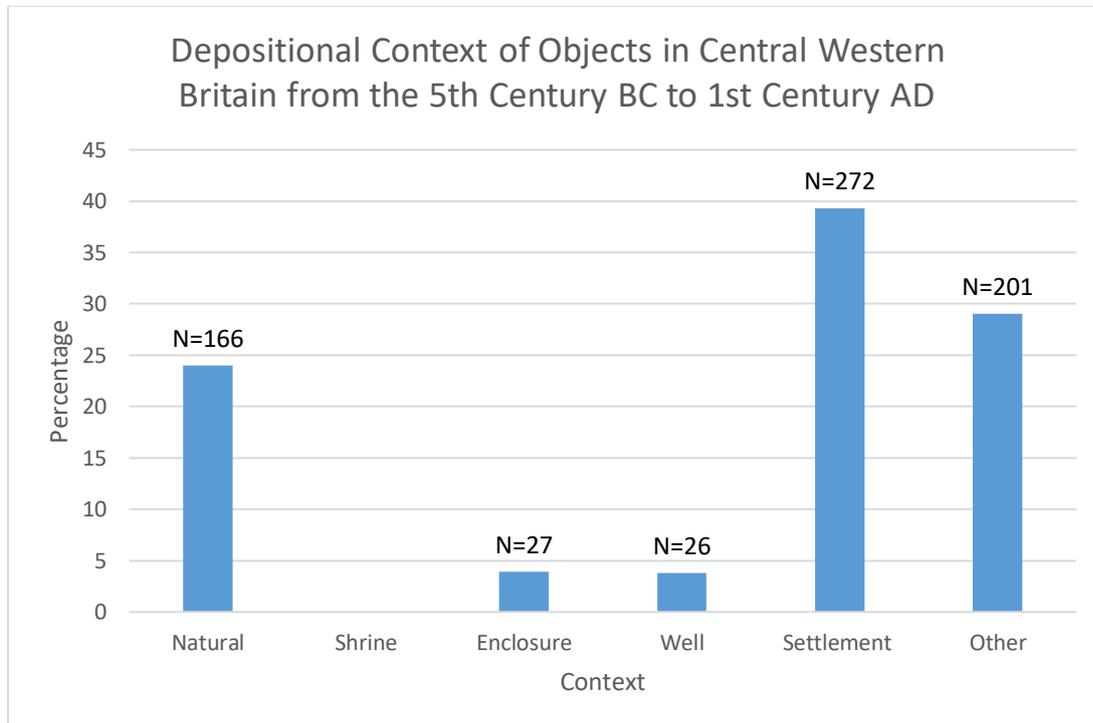


Figure 7.17-Depositional contexts of articles of material culture in central western Britain from the 5th century BC-1st century AD. N=692.

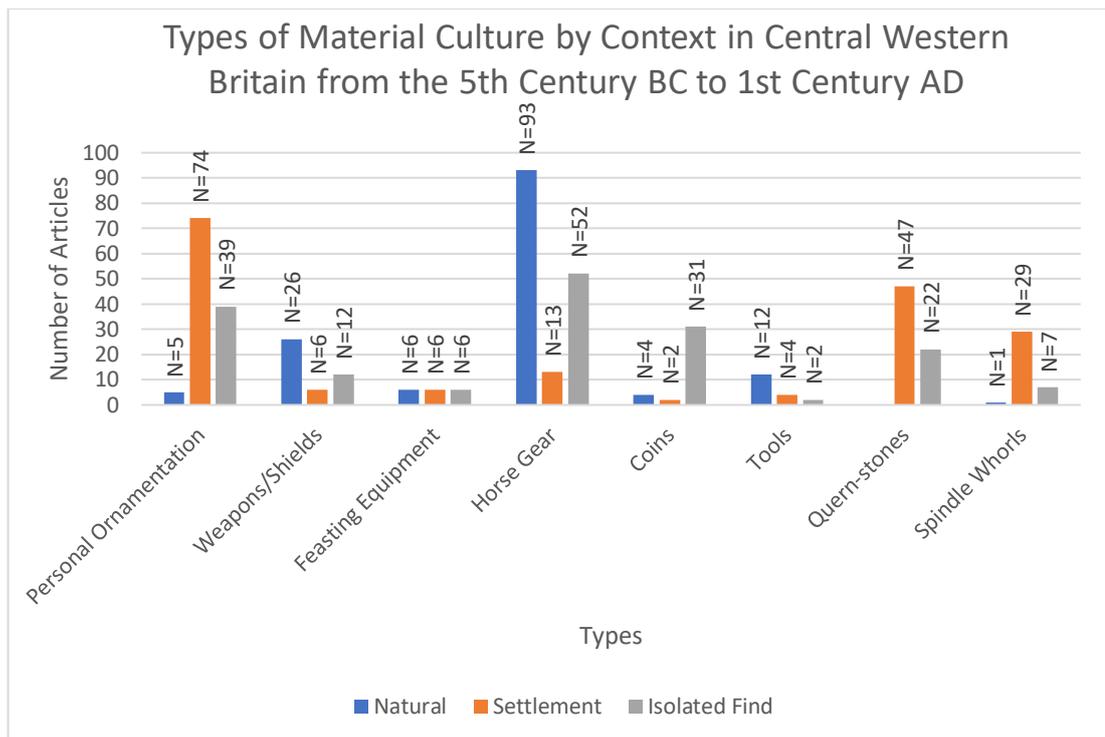


Figure 7.18-Types of material culture and occurrence in depositional contexts in central western Britain from the 3rd century BC-1st century AD. N=399.

As can be seen in figure 7.18, there is a strong preference for deliberate deposition of items of personal ornamentation, as well as quern-stones and spindle-whorls at settlement locations from the 3rd century BC onwards. In contrast, weapons and shields, tools and horse gear have a strong association with deliberate deposition at natural liminal locations such as wetlands, rivers and caves. Coins are most often discovered as isolated finds and feasting equipment is represented evenly across the three categories. These associations are likely representative of theatres of agency. Those items associated with personhood and activity at settlement sites are deposited in association with settlement sites because those locations represent the strongest and most powerful associations with that material. The context of the material is suitable and ‘safe’ for deposition at those sites. Material that is more strongly associated with transformative properties, such as weapons (with the power of life and death), tools (with the power to transform materials into socially and culturally embedded objects) and horse gear (with its associations of movement, travelling and progress) in this scheme is not ‘safe’ or appropriate to be deposited in association with habitation and must be deposited off-site at liminal locations, where

the transformative power of the object can be controlled and negotiated. The fairly even distribution of feasting equipment across these contexts could then be seen as representative of the dual purpose of these objects, both as objects associated with activity at settlement and feasting and as objects involved in the transformative creation of social relationships. Coins may represent an intermediary object as they are likely both indicators of personal and social identity (*cf.* Creighton 1995; 2000) and associated with horse gear through the depictions of horse imagery common to Late Iron Age coinage in the study region, which may account for their occurrence as isolated finds in intermediary contexts.

The deposition of material in wetland and watery contexts from the 4th century BC onwards also corresponds to deposition of faunal remains at these sites. The deposition of faunal remains at wetland sites and in watery contexts appears to begin early in the Middle Iron Age and to continue until the Late Iron Age period, when the evidence for this practice declines. Table 7.7 shows the occurrence of faunal remains at wetland sites and in watery contexts for the Iron Age in the study region. As can be seen these deposits represent a variety of species, predominantly sheep and cattle. Of interest is the occurrence of a horse mandible at Bryn Eyr within the waterlogged northern enclosure terminal (Longley 1998:234). This has been dated to the 3rd century BC (*ibid.*) and is significant as it reflects several different depositional attitudes; the deposition of material at enclosures, which was common to the Early Iron Age period but declined in the 4th century BC, the deposition of disarticulated remains at the northern side of enclosure, deposition of faunal remains in wetland or water-logged contexts and deposition of horse-related articles in liminal locations. It may be that this deposition represents an intermediate stage between earlier depositional practices and the depositional practices that were developing in the 3rd century BC, particularly given the fact that Bryn Eyr shows continuity of use across the period when these changes were occurring. Although there is greater evidence for deposition of faunal remains at wetland and water-logged contexts from the Middle Iron Age onwards, faunal remains occur at settlement sites throughout the Iron Age period in central western Britain. The majority of the examples of faunal remains at settlement sites reflect fragmentary pieces of bone material and are

usually unclassifiable and without direct associations. The proportional occurrence of faunal remains (based on minimum number of individual animals) from identifiable contexts are shown in figure 7.19.

Name	Region	Description	Period	Date (cal BC)	Context	Reference
Chester Business Park	Cheshire	Unidentified faunal remains	MIA	340 +/-40	Deposit in a well within a settlement	Network 2004
Chester Business Park	Cheshire	Sheep or goat bones	MIA-LIA	140 +/-60	Deposited in a waterhole within a	Network 2004
Lindow Moss	Cheshire	Ox mandible	Iron Age?	-	Possible deposit of ox humerus in wetland	Matthews 2002
Warrington Docks	Cheshire	Red deer antlers	MIA-LIA	-	Deposit of red deer antler near a wooden platform built into the River	Cheshire HER 477/1
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	Ox or sheep horncore	MIA	395 +/-50	Wetland votive	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	Ox or sheep horncore	MIA	-	Wetland votive	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	Ox radius	MIA	295 +/-50	Wetland votive	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	Sheep or goat mandible	MIA	-	Wetland votive deposit	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	Sheep or goat radius	MIA	-	Wetland votive	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	Dog mandible	MIA-LIA	125 +/-50	Wetland votive deposit	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	Ox metatarsal	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland votive deposit	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Anglesey	Sheep or goat metatarsal	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland votive deposit	Macdonald 2007

Bryn Eryr	Anglesey	Horse mandible	MIA, probable 3 rd century BC	-	Deposited in northern enclosure terminal	Longley 1998
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Table 7.7-Depositions of faunal remains in wetland or watery contexts in central western Britain during the Iron Age.

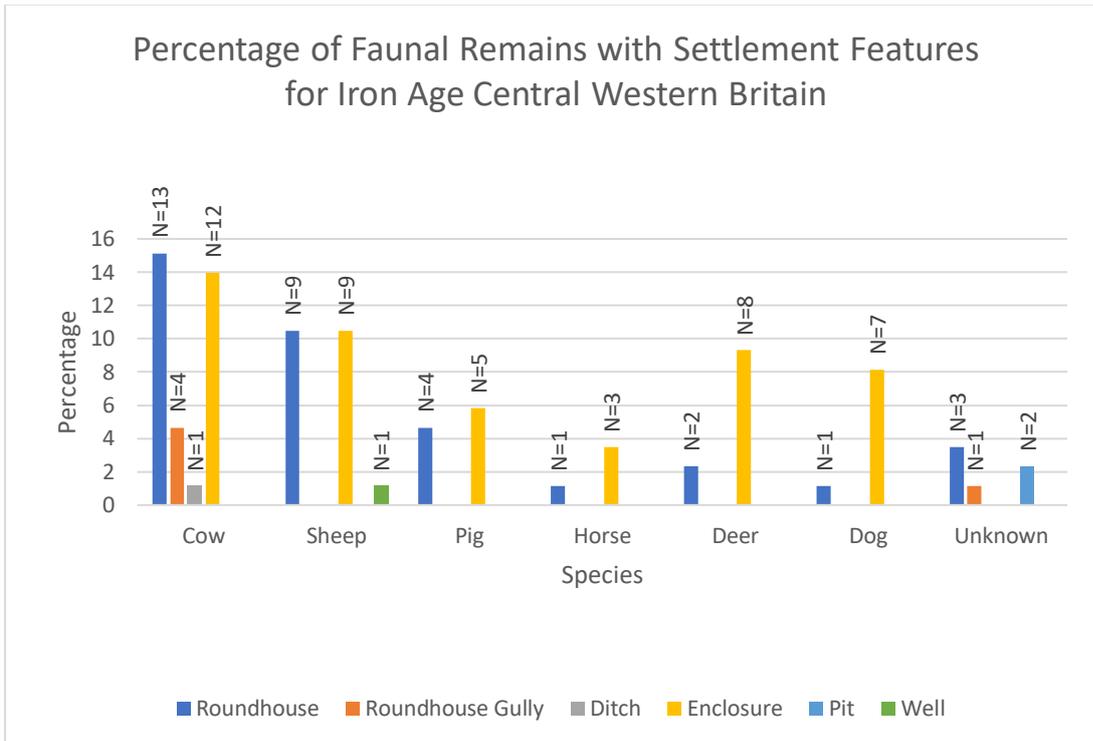


Figure 7.19-Percentage of faunal remains by species (based on minimum number of individuals) associated with settlement features for the Iron Age in central western Britain. N=86.

The occurrence of faunal remains in a variety of depositional contexts in the study region may indicate that, unlike articles of material culture in the region, faunal remains did not have restricted depositional contexts. Instead they may have functioned as multi-purpose articles capable of being used to negotiate cultural exchanges in a variety of different ways. However, the data presented in figure 7.20 suggests that although faunal remains may have been deposited in a variety of different depositional environments, there were some cultural factors influencing the selection of faunal remains for deposition. As can be seen in figure 7.20, cows, sheep and pigs (animals eaten) are represented about evenly in deposits associated

with roundhouses and enclosure during the Iron Age period in the study region, whilst horses, dogs and deer (animals trained/hunted) are considerably more likely to occur at enclosure than in other contexts on site. It may be that there was a preference for certain faunal remains for deposition, particularly it is conceivable that animals that were more likely to be eaten were preferred for deposition associated with roundhouses which, in their association with production and processing of food resources and consumption, may mirror the preference for quernstones in roundhouse contexts. Interestingly, the occurrence of faunal remains in wetland contexts has a very similar distribution in terms of species to faunal depositions in roundhouse contexts (see figure 7.20). This may indicate that depositions at wetland sites, although representing different deposition traditions, were still associated with roundhouses and the household, perhaps as an offering on behalf of a particular household or as a deposition which carried a similar socio-cultural context as those at roundhouses.

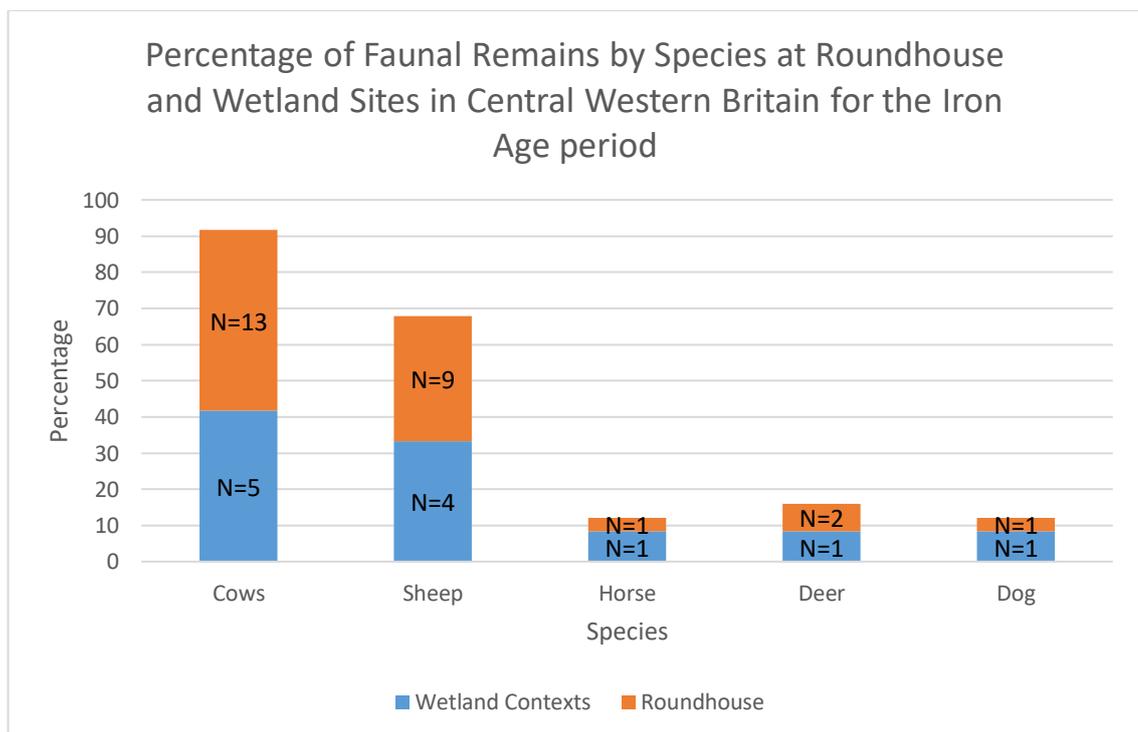


Figure 7.20-Percentage of faunal remains (based on minimum number of individuals) by species at roundhouse and wetland sites in central western Britain for the Iron Age. N=38.

One possibility is the association with feasting. It is possible that just as feasting was used to negotiate social relationships between individuals and groups at household and settlement sites, so the deposition of faunal remains in wetland, liminal contexts was a way of negotiating relationships between individuals or groups and other forces or powers. This may also go some way towards explaining the occurrence of feasting related material culture at wetland sites such as Llyn Cerrig Bach. Interestingly, several articles of feasting equipment at Llyn Cerrig Bach may have been ritually killed prior to deposition. The three cauldron fragments from Llyn Cerrig Bach all have evidence of the edge of the rim having been cut, prior to deposition (Macdonald 2007: 225-7). It is believed that the ritual killing of an object is intended to put it beyond use and end that objects life-cycle, causing it to enter a liminal state suitable for deposition (e.g. Manning 1972: 243, Green 1986: 129; James 1993: 93; Green 1995: 471). The practice of ritual destruction of objects is not well attested in the study region, although a number of examples are known from Llyn Cerrig Bach, the only other definite examples are a copper alloy finger ring from Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964: 137), which was deliberately unrolled prior to deposition in a roundhouse floor, two unrolled copper alloy finger rings from Dyserth (Glenn 1915) and a cast copper alloy finger ring from the Breiddin (Coombs 1991: 138) with a notch cut into it. It is not clear why ritual destruction should be necessary for finger rings and cauldrons, but not other items of deposited material, though it is certainly intriguing.

One other possible reason for the occurrence of faunal remains of similar character to roundhouse depositions at wetland sites may be an association with funerary rites. Depositions of meat are well attested in funerary contexts from around Britain during the Iron Age, as in Yorkshire (Giles 2012: 181) and south-eastern Britain (Hamilton 2007: 90-2), but there is a lack of visible funerary traditions in central western Britain, possibly indicative of excarnation or cremation rites (*cf.* Carr 2007; Tucker 2010). However, it is possible that the traditions and practices associated with death are simply going unrecognised in the study region and that faunal remains at wetland sites are food offerings or a 'last meal' for the dead. This may also explain the ritual destruction of cauldrons prior to deposition at Llyn Cerrig Bach, if they were used to

prepare the meat (either actually or symbolically) and were then ritually destroyed and deposited to end their associations and mark the death of an individual. Green (1986: 124) has noted that ritual killing of objects is sometimes associated with funerary contexts and given that Llyn Cerrig Bach represents the majority of evidence for the tradition of deliberated destruction in the study region, a connection with death or funerary rites is possible. The case for the deposition at Llyn Cerrig Bach being associated with death or funerary rites may be further strengthened by the possibility that human remains may have been found in association with the deposition of the metalwork and faunal remains, when the site was first investigated. Sadly, the evidence for this is largely inconclusive (Macdonald 2007: 173).

Summary

During the Early Iron Age, material culture was mostly undecorated and produced out of locally available materials. There appears to have been very little direct organization in the production of material culture at this time. Instead, production was probably carried out at a household level by semi-skilled part-time producers. The focus appears to have been on utilising raw-materials that stressed the connection of the group or individual to landscape contexts, possibly as a way of re-affirming belonging, connection to the landscape and the demonstration of rights of access to that area. In this sense the material that was being produced could be an index (Hodder 1982: 2), in that these objects maintain a continuous link with the landscape. In addition to which, the material that was being produced during the Early Iron Age, is almost universally connected with production in one form or another. This could be an indicator that the role of production activities was central to the construction of group and personal identity during this period, signifying both the value of the individual to the group as a producer and the part played in the reproduction of that group by the power inherent in the landscape that the group occupied, as conveyed through the material culture. It seems likely that most group material culture production was being carried out at seasonal aggregation events associated with hillforts, as this is the principal depositional context of much of the Early Iron Age material, but there is some spatial patterning even within this context, with certain items being much more strongly linked to deposition within structures

and others being linked to deposition at enclosure. This may possibly suggest that some material was connected to the re-production of the household and its members whilst other material was seen as being more significant to the re-production of the group as a whole. Alternatively, it may represent different activity areas, spheres of production or groups of producers.

From the 6th century BC onwards, the situation began to change. Whilst there was still a focus on the production of undecorated artefacts from locally sourced materials, new materials and object types begin to be evidenced, particularly in iron. This probably represents a transitional phase, marking a change in conceptualisation of the body and negotiation of personal identity. From the Middle Iron Age onwards, this becomes more pronounced. Personal ornamentation continues to be produced, though the material of production switches to copper-alloy, likely due to its aesthetic qualities as well as its working properties. There is an increase in decoration on material culture and a shift in depositional practices. This period marks the beginning of a new focus on display and personal identity, with new forms of social and cultural expression becoming evident. The organization of production becomes more apparent, with several sites being engaged in dedicated production activities, particularly of iron. Although several older practices survive, particularly relating to deposition in household contexts, there is an increase in deposition at wetland and natural sites, both of faunal remains and of material culture. These activities seem to be connected to an emerging sense of social identity, particularly one connected with horse-personship, personal display and feasting activities. There is also an increased focus on the treatment of human remains at this time, though the limited data is insufficient to draw any firm conclusions as to how this may tie in to the other developments in the study region. It is clear from the depositional evidence as well as the evidence for aesthetics and decoration, that there are both different sets of identity evidenced in the archaeological record for central western Britain as well as changing social and cultural identities across the Iron Age period.

Chapter 8-Discussion and Conclusion: Society and Culture

Discussion

Early Iron Age

During the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition there are several notable changes in the character of archaeological evidence from within the study region and more widely across Britain. These changes are symptomatic of a shift in existing social and cultural systems and a great deal of work has been done to attempt to understand both the underlying causes of these changes and the wider implications of them on prehistoric societies. It has been suggested that changes in the availability or social value of copper alloy objects was a causal factor in this change (e.g. Burgess 1979; Bradley 1988; Thomas 1989; Kristiansen 1998). However, none of the published work is able to adequately explain the mechanism inherent in this process or why copper alloy objects lost their social value. It seems more likely that the social devaluation of Bronze Age methods of social display was the result of instability in the existing social networks, which then led to the failure of the practices which those networks had used to maintain and reproduce their social identity, relationships and power. The most probable cause for this disruption was a change in subsistence practices and consequently social organization and human relationships with the landscape. There was a shift in the climate from the Middle Bronze Age and into the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age and whilst simplistic and environmental deterministic models (e.g. Burgess 1985; 1989; Barber 1998; Cowley 1998) of the effect that this change had on communities can now be discounted, it cannot be denied that such a change in climate would have had an impact on a number of factors of everyday life. Previously viable agricultural land would have been marginalized, the growing season reduced and long-distance travel made more difficult. As discussed in chapter 3, this change in the environment may not simply have been a straight forward decline in temperature but may also have led to a period of climatic instability with episodes of variable rainfall, leading to episodic flooding and to periods of drought.

It is probable that these changes in climate and the resulting changes in the environment in Britain at the start of the first millennium BC led to the development of adaptive strategies amongst the peoples in Britain, to mitigate the effects and limit the impact on subsistence (*cf.* Dark 1999; 2006; Tipping *et al.* 2008). This likely led to the development of new models of land-use as well as new subsistence strategies. It is around this time in the study region that hillforts begin to be built. This development represents increased collectivism as well as a desire to establish rights of access to landscape resources through the establishment of tenure of social groups within the landscape and was achieved through the creation of highly visible monumental forms and the stressing of continuity of occupation by association of settlement with existing earlier monuments and occupation sites. The increasing emphasis on rights of access (Hill 2007; Karl 2011) to land and resources would have had a profound impact on the existing modes of social organization. Whilst Late Bronze Age systems of social organization seem to be based around a complex system of social obligations mitigated and negotiated through the exchange and deposition of copper alloy objects (e.g. Needham 2008), in a prevailing climate where labour and resources were at an increasing premium and where existing land-use strategies were shifting, existing social systems would have started to be undermined. This may have led to a form of run-away 'inflation,' whereby the devaluation of long-term vehicles of social and cultural expression, including copper alloy metalwork, led to increasingly excessive consumption in an effort to maintain the social currency of these items.

To put it another way, as these systems destabilised, the value of older markers of social obligation reduced, requiring more of them to be needed to facilitate the same obligations and functions. This may, in part, explain the large increase in the deposition of copper alloy objects during the Ewart Park phase. As has been discussed (chapter 6 and 7), the deposition of this material increased significantly during the Ewart Park phase across Britain (Needham 2007), before declining to levels which may be even lower than in the preceding Wilburton phase of Bronze Age metalwork. Climatic determinism is no longer a viable explanation for the changes that were occurring in this period, but climate may have been a catalyst for the

adoption of new practices amongst communities in the study region during the Early Iron Age. The role of indigenous responses to the worsening climate as part of an adaptive strategy have been discussed (chapter 3) and within this framework, the changes in social organization and the prevailing modes of social identity can be seen as part of this response. The nature of the evidence from the study region points towards a transitional period between the end of the Late Bronze Age (c. 800BC) and the 6th century BC, which as was shown in chapter 3 (fig. 3.3) corresponds with the period of increasing wetness in the region (c. 950-650BC). The increase in precipitation would likely lead to the flooding of low-lying land and the seasonal waterlogging of land on the margins, which in concert with the marginalisation of upland areas and alluviation of the soils would have meant that populations in the study region would have had to significantly change their subsistence practices and land-use strategies.

The evidence from the region would seem to support this. From the 9th century BC onwards there are significant changes in depositional practice, material culture and settlement architecture. The evidence suggests that this period saw a move towards the re-orientation of social networks and changes in the way that social identity, personal identity and culture were negotiated and conveyed. The evidence for material culture is for 'elaborate' forms of copper alloy material culture to be abandoned in favour of locally produced, undecorated objects connected with concepts of production. The move towards objects made from locally sourced raw materials can be viewed in a purely functionalist light, as the inevitable result of collapsing long distance exchange networks in a period of climatic instability, but it also serves a broader purpose in the establishment of connections to the landscape (chapter 6 and 7). There is an increased focus on landscape and a greater emphasis on ties to landscape evident in the 8th-7th centuries in the study region. In addition to forms of material culture which both embodied the landscape and its power and acted as mnemonic devices to reinforce connections to specific places in the landscape. These items also, as has been discussed, (chapter 7), have strong connections to concepts of production and so they could be seen as actively reproducing group identity through use and incorporating part of the power of the

landscape into pieces of material culture, creating a further connection to a place. There is also a greater emphasis placed on continuity of occupation at this time. Many of the sites occupied in the Early Iron Age had Bronze Age or Neolithic antecedents, such as Llandegai A (Lynch and Musson 2001), Brook House Farm, Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2001), Oversley Farm (Garner 2007), Meols (Griffiths *et al.* 2007) and many of the region's hillfort sites including Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), the Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991), Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964) and Penycloddiau (Mason and Pope 2012). The concern with settlement continuity and the association with earlier visible monument types could be seen as a further way of stressing connections to the landscape and rights of access, through the legitimisation of ancestral claims to that landscape.

These claims to ancestral control of areas not only relate to concepts of identity and group history, they also function to reinforce social relations between groups in a shared area, through ties to common ancestors or to joint histories (whether factual or mythological) displayed through ancient monumental architectural forms. The development of hillfort sites in the study region at this point may even reflect a desire to reproduce monumental architecture in emulation of these ancestral sites. Rees (2008) has discussed the role of enclosure and the construction of field monuments in terms of providing a reference point in the landscape, by which groups and societies can mark both their place in the landscape and cycles of time through construction and maintenance related activities. In many ways, this is an extension of the schema of representing identity and position within the sphere of the Iron Age concept of the cosmos by using ancient monuments. This may explain the location of many of the sites within the region near, inside or around earlier monuments, such as at Llandegai A (Houlder 1968), Braich y Dinas (Hughes 1912) and Castell Bryn Gwyn (Wainwright 1962). It could also explain the continuity of Middle and Late Bronze Age hillfort sites, such as Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991), Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993), Maiden Castle (Cheshire HER 341/1) and Mam Tor (Coombs and Thompson 1979). By elaborating on these monuments or putting them within a wider landscape of community architecture the people in the Iron Age in the study region were continuing the traditions of their ancestors and thus making themselves worthy

inheritors of their legacy. It has been suggested that labour began to take the place of other forms of conspicuous consumption during the Early Iron Age (Sharples 2010) and that it may have begun to serve in the construction and maintenance of social relations through the reciprocal exchange of labour obligations. There is some evidence for this in the interpretation of the 'gang-work' construction of the earliest phase of ramparts at the Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991: 176). This may be evidence for individual households, kin-groups or social groups coming together to work on communal projects.

The communal construction of hillforts would have functioned both as an expression of social identity of the social group and as way of building relationships between the members of that group (Sharples 2010) and it may be no accident that the increase in the creation of monumental earthen banks around these monuments occurs from the Late Bronze Age and into the Early Iron Age (see chapter 4), at a time when methods of expressing social identity (and perhaps by extension social relationships) begin to evidence change, such as the disappearance of visible funerary systems, the common usage of ceramic traditions and the end of the occurrence of items of personal ornamentation in the archaeological record. These all represent different forms of social and cultural expression, whether of the individual and their place in the social order or of wider social networks and cultural traditions and the sharp decline in evidence for them from the 8th century BC onwards in the study region may suggest that Late Bronze Age social networks were being reorganized and social identity was being renegotiated. The creation of hillfort monuments by social groups co-operating together can also be viewed as a form of communal depositional practice. In the same way that midden deposits are built to stress periods of occupation and activities associated with group aggregation and consumption (*cf.* Tullet 2010), so the construction and maintenance of the enclosure around hillforts could mark the activity phases on the site. It is not clear whether hillforts were seasonally occupied or had longer period of occupation. Alcock (1965) has suggested that the hillforts in the Vale of Clwyd were seasonally occupied as part of a pastoral subsistence strategy and the moving of herds between lowland and upland pasture. The design of several of these hillforts suggests that there was a common purpose

behind their construction, but whether this was to assist in pastoral practices or for some other ceremonial or cosmological reason is unclear.

It is certainly curious that the hillforts along the Vale of Clwyd occur in the paired relationship described in chapter 4. Especially given the disparity in size and the standardised entrance orientation of paired north/south entrances at the larger sites and single eastern entrances at the smaller ones. Pope (pers. comm.) has suggested that this may simply be a function of the topography, but the commonality in form and the fact that these hillforts are not directly aligned and do not retain the same relative position between the larger and smaller hillforts suggests that there may be more than functionality at work. It may be germane to draw attention to the other structural form which is known to have two entrances and Early Iron Age origins in the study region, that of the double entrance roundhouse. Although these sites are only represented by a few Early Iron Age examples, such as Erw Wen and Moel y Gerddi (Kelly 1988) and although they are concentrated in the west of the study region, the similarity in form between these structures and the Clwydian hillforts is notable. Both represent enclosure with paired opposing entranceways. Kelly (1988) has drawn attention to the application such a site arrangement would have for pastoral activities and has provided evidence for pastoralism at Moel y Gerddi in the form of soil phosphate analysis (Kelly 1988: 119). It is also interesting to note that the later Middle-Late Iron Age examples of double entrance roundhouses in the east of the study region also have a strong association with pastoralism. It may be that these roundhouses and the Clwydian hillforts were serving similar purposes, albeit on a different scale. Perhaps the hillforts represented communal pastoral activities whilst the roundhouse sites represent individual groups. This may suggest different social organization or sub-regional trajectories, though further research and a larger dataset would be needed to establish this.

If the interpretation that these hillfort sites were built by individual groups working together to create a communal aggregation centre is correct, then the role of these sites would have become increasingly important, not necessarily as central places (*contra* Cunliffe 2005), but as the location for seasonal aggregation to reinforce social bonds and reaffirm group ties to the landscape. It could even be argued that these

monuments would better function in this purpose if they were not in central locations, but instead occupied marginal or liminal ground. They could then mark the transition between one social order and another, though there is no reason to suppose that this other social order had to be another social group, it could just as easily represent some external force or supernatural order. This functions on two different levels. On the first, it may represent an extension of Rees' (2008) hypothesis regarding the marking of time and space with regard to boundaries, in this case time and space are being marked with regard to supernatural boundaries. The other aspect ties into the idea of the divisible person. If a person can be constructed of many parts of other beings and so in some way be considered to be a partible entity, then there is no reason why that construction cannot include perceived contributions from supernatural entities, be they ancestors, spirits or gods. Giles (2008a) has discussed the way that birth marks and congenital malformations may have been interpreted in Iron Age society, with reference to the burial evidence from East Yorkshire, as marks from ancestors or gods. If accepted, this would indicate that Iron Age societies, at least from the Middle Iron Age, had an understanding of other-worldly entities interacting with this one. Perhaps, seasonal aggregation events at hillfort sites were not just intended for the physical community but were also to build social relations with supernatural powers, which would certainly throw an interesting light on the associated craft-production and depositional activities evidenced at these sites in the Early Iron Age.

The evidence points towards a re-organization of social networks and access to resources during the 8th-7th centuries BC, which suggests growing interdependence between the communities in the region. But, as with many aspects of Iron Age society, the evidence does not point to a clean transition from Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age society. The evidence for the construction of larger roundhouses being constructed either side of the transition between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age is curious. The disappearance of personal ornamentation, high status metalwork, visible funerary rights and items traditionally believed to convey social and cultural identity such as pottery would seem to point to a growing egalitarianism, or at least to a society without a strongly defined social hierarchy. The evidence for

communal projects such as earthwork construction and clearance activity supports Sharples' (2010) hypothesis of labour exchange, as well as an increasing focus on resource access. Whilst the depositional evidence does stress the growing importance of households as a focus for deposition, particularly of a certain suite of material connected with the continuity and re-production of the household and its members, the construction of large households, sometimes with elaborate entrances, as at Brook House Farm, Bruen Stapleford (Fairburn *et al.* 2002) does not seem to obviously fit the pattern. Pope (2015) has interpreted larger structures in the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age of Scotland as a mark of aggregation of groups, possibly extended kin-groups, which is certainly one possibility and would fit in well with the overall trends suggested by the evidence.

Another possibility is that these larger structures may represent the last of the old social hierarchy, attempting to preserve their standing by co-opting the new methods of social display to emphasise their own position, which may also explain the survival in some places of older depositional practices, evidenced by the Llyn Fawr metalwork from the east of the study region. It may also explain the demise of the tradition of building larger roundhouses by the 7th century BC, as these older models of social position finally failed (as suggested by Sharples (2010) for Wessex)), coinciding with the final deposition of Llyn Fawr metalwork in the study region. This period also sees the beginning of differing trajectories within the region. In the east of the study region the evidence for exchange of non-local produce and ceramic production continues in the form of the exchange of VCP, associated with salt production. As has been noted, salt is a vital resource, (Kinory 2010) and is not readily available everywhere. It may be that the exchange of salt provided a softer landing for the communities in the east of the study region, so that when the existing Late Bronze Age systems of production and consumption began to fail, they had another industry to fall back on, though this is purely speculative. Nevertheless, the east of the study region is where changes in material culture start to be first evidenced from the 7th and 6th centuries BC and is also where the first re-occurrence of personal ornamentation and iron occurs in the study region. So perhaps, the investment in salt production facilitated contact relationships with other groups and encouraged social

and cultural exchange. Whatever the reason, the split between the east and the west of the study region in terms of social and cultural traditions, is one which continues until the Roman conquest.

The earliest evidence for new types of material culture is in the form of small objects of iron, all of which are in some way connected with personal display or grooming (razors, brooches, pins). These items are, much like the material culture in the study region during the 8th and 7th centuries BC, undecorated and utilitarian. They also seem to have been fairly well incorporated into the existing social and cultural system. They occur in similar depositional contexts as existing material culture and show a remarkable homogeneity in depositional context across the region (see chapter 7), which suggests that they were assigned a role in an already established cultural tradition. It should be remembered that they represent a very small sample size and may not be indicative of wider trends or attitudes. Yet the occurrence of iron in the region marks a water-shed moment, also coinciding with the stabilisation of the climate after a period of increasing precipitation since the 9th century BC (see chapter 3, figure 3.3.). Why were iron objects so readily accepted, when other examples of personal ornamentation and metalwork had been so sparse in the region in the previous centuries? The fact that iron was seemingly folded into the existing socio-cultural system may provide a clue. For iron to be integrated into the cultural understanding of the region, it must have shared some properties with already accepted material. It may be that the un-ostentatiousness and un-decorated nature of these objects facilitated their acceptance. Alternatively, it may be that they were seen as an extension of existing practices. Whilst there is only limited evidence for ironworking in the region prior to the Middle Iron Age, there is a small amount, which could point to these objects being locally produced.

If they were then they were likely produced from locally sourced bog ore, paralleling the production of other objects of material culture in the study region at this time. Unlike copper alloy or gold, bog iron ore is fairly common and would have been readily accessible across the region, at least in small amounts. So, the process of producing iron objects could be viewed as a natural extension of the process of producing tools out of local raw materials. The difference being, that whilst these

iron objects were functional, unlike other objects of material culture they did not directly produce anything except personal identity. It would be highly simplistic to state that the occurrence of iron sparked a renewed interest in personal identity and concepts of individualisation. Such concepts must have been developing for some time and had probably been growing slowly as social networks became more established between different groups, but with the stabilisation in the climate and the occurrence of new forms of material culture expression these changes begin to become increasingly visible in the archaeological record from this point. Hill (1997) has commented on the increasing individualism and growing conceptualisation of self from the Middle Iron Age onwards, however, in the study region, it seems that these trends have their ultimate origins in the Early Iron Age. Changes in settlement form also become evident from the 6th century BC onwards. A new phase of rampart construction projects begins at several hillfort sites, but unlike the previous phase, this effort is directed towards enlarging and elaborating on the ramparts and the entranceways, probably as a display of social position and to delineate between those with access and those without. Concepts involving division of space seem to become increasingly prominent from this period and depositions associated with the interior of dwellings increase and incorporate some of the new articles of material culture.

This shows an increasing concern with concepts of personal space and public/private areas, which also points towards growing individualism and identification of self. New forms of lowland settlement also start to become more apparent, particularly in the west of the study region. These forms, as discussed above, are two entrance-way enclosed roundhouse settlements. This further emphasises the nature of control of space and access as now, rather than a hillfort enclosure containing an extended social group, there is a separate enclosure containing perhaps one extended family. The picture in the study region around this time seems to be one of emerging personal identity and perhaps the beginnings of social inequality. It is also interesting to note that the building traditions in the west of the study region around this time begin to make increasing use of stone architecture, which may suggest a greater interest in displaying permanence within the landscape. The origin of stone built

architectural forms may mark the beginnings of the development of 'lineages' within the region, not in the sense that there is a move towards a hereditarily based system of inheritance, but in the sense that there is a desire to create a tradition and an inheritance for smaller social units, perhaps extended kin-systems or local, small-scale social networks. At a time when there is a move towards creating larger cultural identities, it is perhaps to be expected that smaller traditions will also begin to arise, which may be evidenced by the continuing diversity of settlement forms across the region from the Middle Iron Age.

In considering the prevailing social organization during the Early Iron Age; the evidence suggests a strong sense of group identity. This would correspond with a strong positive sense of 'group' in terms of a 'grid and group' societal model (Douglas 1970; Sharples 2011). There is less evidence for a strong sense of 'grid' identity. Evidence of individual expression of identity, either through material culture, settlement form or deposition, is completely lacking before the 6th century BC and when it does begin to reappear it remains at comparatively low-levels. Yet, from the 6th century BC onwards it does begin to feature in the archaeological record of the region, which may point to societies in the region beginning to shift towards a 'grid' identity, albeit slowly. Group identity remains strong and it is likely that the absence of indications for individual activity, personal ornamentation and identification of the individual was due to social identity being expressed as a function of group membership. There is no evidence for a social hierarchy during the Early Iron Age in the region and it is likely that instead of 'triangular' hierarchical models of organization, the social organization of the region was largely egalitarian (Hill 2011).

Middle Iron Age

Adaptations of settlement form do not continue directly from the changes that were happening in the study region during the 6th and 5th centuries BC, at least not in the west of the study region. Many settlements go out of use in the west during the 5th century, then there is a hiatus in the evidence for settlement in the record from the west of the study region for much of the 4th century BC, with only hillforts showing signs of continual occupation. This may represent a move towards hillfort occupation around this time. With many of the hillforts in the region showing evidence for

reconstruction and elaboration, the focus of social display and consequently the best place to negotiate social identity and position may have been at these sites. At this time there is also the first evidence for La Tène material culture in the study region, in the form of arched bow brooches from the east of the region and the Cerrig y Drudion casque headpiece from the west. These articles continue to stress concepts of personal space, by the incorporation of personal designs and motifs, which would only have been observable at very close range, but they also represent more visually striking objects and serve more than a functional role. These objects were intended to impress, to captivate and possibly to intimidate. Whilst several of the earlier trends observable in material culture in the region continue, such as the incorporation of local materials into objects of personal ornamentation, either in the form of insets in the east or in the production of whole objects such as beads, bangles and rings in the west, a new material vocabulary is emerging at this time and new materials, forms and colours are increasingly being used to construct personal and social identity.

Many of these new forms have been recovered from hillfort sites and this may ultimately explain the decline in the evidence for development of lowland settlement forms in the 4th century BC. If hillfort sites had become a vehicle for establishing new social relationships and networks, then they would also have functioned as the primary arena for the exchange of goods and services either as part of a system of social obligation or within the framework of reciprocal exchange. Indeed, many of the new types of material culture evidenced from the depositional contexts within hillforts stress this connection. Although many of the articles of personal ornamentation recovered continue to be deposited within roundhouses, some are deliberately deposited in more public areas associated with the ramparts. The depositional context, which used to be associated with the display of the reproduction of society through production activities, had instead become associated with the reproduction of society through the deposition of exotic material culture, such as the Moel Hiraddug brooch (Brassil *et al.* 1982). Given the personal context of this item and the evidence from the wear patterns that it had clearly been in use by someone prior to deposition (see chapter 6), this may even have been a personal offering on the part of an individual or family unit, perhaps heralding the

return (on a small scale) to conspicuous consumption of material culture. Iron-working sites develop at hillfort locations and the evidence is for a larger network of organized iron (and copper alloy) production throughout the region, reflecting a greater desire to control and access metalwork. Similarly, there is increasing evidence for the occurrence of VCP from this time. This is not to suggest that there was a purely economic motivator to changes in social and cultural understanding from the Middle Iron Age onwards, rather the development of increasing production of material culture is a by-product of the development of new concepts of personal and social identity and a desire to express them.

It is particularly appropriate that hillfort sites should be the principal focus of this activity, especially given their previous associations with creating social bonds between groups and stressing the commonality of ties to a landscape. Yet by the 4th century BC, they had become a way for establishing and negotiating individual identity and for ultimately creating the social disparity that would undermine the egalitarian ideal. The function of hillforts in the negotiation of new personal and social identities in the study region is one which should be explored in more detail in future research, particularly in light of the creation of internal enclosure division that is evidenced at several hillfort sites in the study region from the Middle Iron Age onwards, such as Garn Boduan, Braich y Dinas and Caer Lleion. As part of the development of new personal and social identity and new modes of expressing this identity, there were several interesting developments in depositional practice and in regional preferences for material culture. The deposition of material culture resumed at wetland sites within the region and also incorporated the deposition of faunal remains. As discussed in chapter 7, the depositional similarities in material of some of these wetland deposits and deposits at households is striking and it may be that there was a connection between these two spheres of activity or that they represented different aspects of depositional activity associated with the same sphere, such as living and dying.

As part of the scheme of negotiating social relationships and obligations there was an increase in the archaeological occurrence of feasting equipment. This starts to become more common in the archaeological record from the 4th century BC in

concert with several other types of material culture, particularly weapons and horse gear. The rise of these forms is particularly interesting, as is their association with cattle and horse imagery, which seem to suggest either an animistic element to the Iron Age understanding of these articles or else point, somewhat more prosaically, to the occurrence of this package of material culture in association with pastoral activity. From the 2nd century BC hillforts seem to decline in use in the region, though there is evidence for several of them being re-occupied, at least periodically during the Late Iron Age. Yet the occurrence of this assemblage of horse-person material culture continues and is added to, north of the River Mersey. Beaded torcs start to occur in conjunction with Millstone Grit bee-hive querns, which likely point to contacts across the Pennines with Yorkshire. In the west of the region, glass beads become popular and their manufacture may be evidenced from Bryn Y Castell. These sub-regional variations reflect the different cultural affinities and contacts of these parts of the study region and whilst they may suggest very different socio-cultural systems, there is ample evidence for continual contact and exchange between these parts of the study region. The decline in the hillforts from the 2nd century BC and the rise of new settlement forms represent different social strategies and probably an increasing level of social stratification. This level of stratification is unlikely to be deep or particularly explicit (to us), but the occurrence of common types of material culture and the evidence for settlement utilisation points to a social system which was articulating social identity in a number of ways. It is unlikely that the region had a rigid social organization during the Iron Age, but it certainly had a complex one.

Although there is very little evidence for the treatment of human remains during the Iron Age in the study region, the Middle Iron Age represents the re-occurrence of visible funerary traditions in central western Britain. The occurrence of the cist burials from Gelliniog Wen (Hughes 1909), Cerrig y Drudion (R. Smith 1926) and Billington (Luck 1895), along with grave goods, point to an increase in concepts of personal identity and personhood and may point to increasing interest in conceptualizing the body. Sadly, with so few examples known, it is not possible to draw firm conclusions. The social organization of the Middle Iron Age is characterized by the move away from the existing, Early Iron Age, practices of defining identity by

group membership and towards increasing individualism. This corresponds to a shift towards a 'grid' based mode of social organization in the 'grid and group' model (Douglas 1970; Sharples 2011). This move increases in pace from the 4th century BC. By the 3rd century BC several new forms of material culture become evident in the archaeological record of the region (see chapter 6), as well as new settlement types. There is a disparity between the east and the west of the study region, which becomes increasingly apparent at this time. In the east of the region, settlement forms remain broadly consistent throughout the Iron Age. However, the east of the study region shows early adoption of new material culture forms and increased focus on personal ornamentation and non-functional display objects, such as coins. Whilst the west of the region shows a much greater diversity in settlement forms. This could represent different regional approaches to displaying individuality and personal and social identity, with communities in the east adopting a personal body-centric approach, through ornamentation and adornment, whilst the people in west were expressing their identity in connection to the landscape, by modification of settlement forms.

Late Iron Age

The 2nd century BC marks another significant point in the development of social and cultural practices within the region (in common with areas of southern Britain- see Sharples 1995). The use of hillforts decline and new lowland settlement appears, there is also the introduction of new forms of material culture into the region, in the form of beaded torcs, beehive querns, new brooch types and coins which become increasingly common in the east. The cist burial 'tradition' also ceases to be evident, though the limited occurrence of examples of this practice make it hard to gauge how extensive it was during the Middle Iron Age. This period probably represents the consolidation of social identity and authority. If the Middle Iron Age was something of a melting pot of different social and cultural traditions, then the Late Iron Age may be seen as the ascendancy of a more defined social system. Although social identity is not a fixed or rigid concept, by the Late Iron Age the evidence suggests that there was a move away from communal activity and an increase in local strategies for exploring social and cultural roles. The introduction of new material culture, as well

as the experimentation with existing material forms would indicate that people were engaging with new ideas of display and new methods of negotiating power and authority. This may be seen in the substantial increase in the number of brooches evidenced from the east of the study region and the experimentation with tinning on several articles of material culture from the 2nd century BC, particularly shields.

There are also increasing sub-regional differences. North of the River Mersey, beaded torcs occur in the archaeological record along with beehive querns in Millstone Grit, limited non-VCP ceramics and a tradition of deposition of coins in rivers. South of the River Mersey, there is a general increase in brooches and coins, particularly British issues with non-abstract horse depictions, such as the British North Eastern series. The west of the study region sees a rise in the occurrence of personal ornamentation generally, particularly, in glass beads and bracelets. This is not to suggest that these developments all represent the same identity and indeed it is entirely possible that these different packages of material culture represent different social identities, genders, age groups and cultural affinities. The nature of social and cultural traditions in the study region, as elsewhere, is one of constant change and the importance of individual agency and deliberate and non-deliberate modification of traditions, even at a generational level should not be overlooked. Still it is striking that these changes should all occur around the same time and it seems probable that this represents a wider change in social and cultural understanding at this point. Particularly, it is perhaps significant that the evidence for expressions of ties to landscape also decreases sharply around this time and it may be that there was a shift in the social organization of the region, whereby negotiation of position changed from older forms to emerging ones. The likely candidate, given the transformative nature of much of the material culture, was the ability to negotiate with external powers and forces and to play a role in the mitigation of liminal concepts, which may explain the increase in depositions at wetland and river sites in the region and the increased phase of depositional activity at Llyn Cerrig Bach (Macdonald 2007).

It appears that the Late Iron Age saw the rise of new social identities, which shared some basic characteristics and were geared towards fulfilling a particular set of social and cultural obligations. These identities varied on a sub-regional level but were likely

all local responses to the same social and cultural factors. This probably also represented a period of increasing social organization, although there is no evidence for stratified society in the region, there may be the suggestion of some social inequality and in any case, deep stratification is not required for the creation of specific societal socio-cultural roles, particularly if these roles are seen as being outside the normal structure of society due to the nature of their activity and obligations. Still it is important to remember that individual traditions still persisted and that attempting to define a rigid social and cultural order for the region during the Iron Age is not only impossible but also short sighted and overly simplistic. Whilst this section has discussed some of the broader trends in social and cultural activity during the Iron Age in central western Britain, the true nature of the situation is certain to be far more complex, especially when the evidence for contact and personal mobility is taken in to account.

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research set out to examine the evidence for the nature of social and cultural identity in central western Britain during the Iron Age and to determine what, if any, trends could be identified through contextual analysis of the evidence for settlement and material culture. In approaching this issue several research questions were framed, to provide a system for addressing wider regional patterns and determining the success of this project. This section will now examine these questions and consider the relative success (or otherwise) of this project. Firstly, in considering whether it is possible within the current state of knowledge to identify social and cultural trends within the study region, it is proposed that there is. There is significant evidence for changes in settlement architecture and morphology, changing depositional practices, material culture assemblages and systems of expressing personal and social identity. In examining this evidence, it is possible to see a move from an apparently co-operative, inter-dependent and largely egalitarian social order, with little evidence of social stratification during the 8th and 7th centuries, to increasing individualism and focus on the conceptualisation of the person during the Middle Iron Age and into the Later Iron Age. The transitions between these different forms of personal and social identity are marked by periods

of apparent re-articulation in the social and cultural systems of the study region and the overall situation appears to be one of constant re-adjustment and re-interpretation of forms social and cultural expression, albeit within a broader social and cultural paradigm.

This trend stresses the significance of both human agency and interaction in the understanding of dynamic social structures, as well as the need to constantly reinforce and perpetuate understanding of these social and cultural mores through display and social theatres of understanding, as a way of embedding these concepts. Many of the Early Iron Age forms of expression seem to survive, in modified form into Middle and Late Iron Age practices, divorced of their original meaning but reinvented within the new socio-cultural milieu, they act both as part of contemporary practices and as a link with older ancestral forces of expression, through their history. This is broadly evident within sub-regional differences in the study region. Although the east and west of the study region have different settlement evidence and different preferences for the expression of personal identity through material culture practices, they also share similarities in depositional traditions and in social identity. These similarities are likely the result of older traditions, established in both regions, whilst the differences are the result of subsequent divergence, different spheres of influence and outside contact and different internalised trajectories. In particular, the west of the study region shows a greater affinity with the Atlantic coast from the Middle Iron Age onwards, whilst the east of the study region provides evidence which is more in-keeping with developments in southern Britain and (especially north of the River Mersey) with Yorkshire.

The connections with these regions and different parts of the study region are, of course, by no means exclusive and there was clearly a good deal of contact between different parts of the study region and other communities both within the study region and Britain generally, as is evidenced by the distribution of VCP in the study region and more widely across western Britain and also by the evidence for several smaller articles of material culture that have clear origins in different parts of the study region to those in which they were recovered, such as the beaded torc from

Tre'r Ceiri, which is a type otherwise exclusive to the area north of the River Mersey, or the spindle-whorl from Mill Hill Road, Irby which has close ties to Anglesey. Identifying the impact that contact may have had on the study region is more complicated. Although it is possible to trace articles of material culture into and out of the region, ascertaining the impact of this material culture, let alone of ideas and philosophies which do not leave tangible archaeological traces, is almost impossible. It seems likely that the incorporation of new material culture and ideas into the region was conducted in relation to existing social and cultural frameworks. Although there are several new articles of material culture and settlement form which occur in the region, these seem to be co-opted into already existing patterns of settlement, deposition and use, which would indicate that the currency of these new forms was inherently dependent both on their perceived value amongst communities in the study region and on the level of social and cultural contact between the region and other parts of Iron Age Europe.

The identification of distinct social and cultural traditions within the region is also somewhat tricky. There is good evidence for a social identity from the Early Iron Age across the region which seems to be based on production and connection to landscape. The practices of this identity are expressed through the utilisation of local material sources and deposition associated with the household and at aggregation sites of the larger local social networks. There is little evidence for individuality, though, of course, that does not mean that it did not exist. Instead it seems that the emphasis was on the reproduction of the group and that identity was expressed through being seen as an active part of that process. From the 6th century BC and particularly increasing during the Middle Iron Age there is substantially more evidence for the construction of individual personal identity, which gives rise during the 4th century BC to a package of social identity connected with horse-personship and possibly pastoral activities. It is difficult to judge how extensive or inclusive this identity was and whether it encompass the whole community or was restricted to a small sub-group, but even though some of the components of this identity seem to vary spatially across the region, such as the inclusion of brooches in the east of the

region, there is still commonality in the occurrence of feasting equipment, horse gear and weapons.

Identifiable cultural practices in the region are centred around the evidence for deposition, with certain traditions associated with deposition at household contexts surviving throughout the period and with the occurrence from the Middle Iron Age onwards of depositions associated with wetland and liminal natural locations. The similarity in some of these wetland depositions with depositions at settlement sites may suggest a link between these depositions and the individual, possibly hinting at an association with funerary rites, though that cannot be substantively proven at this point. Other social and cultural traditions are evidenced to a greater or lesser degree, within the study region, there is a suggestion of a craftsman identity, particularly associated with iron-production, which may develop from the Middle Iron Age. There is also some limited evidence for specific funerary traditions, such as the Middle Iron Age cist inhumations and the inhumation of humans at settlement sites in the east of the study region from the Middle and Late Iron Age, though the number of these examples is too small to infer a tradition from. Clearly, a greater amount of work is required in examining the role of identity within the study region and whilst it is hoped that this work has contributed to that field, it is acknowledged that it has by no means exhausted it.

Research Review

Several research questions were identified at the beginning of this work (see chapters 1 and 2) based on the objectives outlined by the '*Archaeological Research Framework for North West England*' (Brennand 2007) and the '*Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales*' (Longley 2003; Gale 2003; Briggs *et al.* 2003). It is now necessary to reconsider these questions in light of the work undertaken. Chapter 2 outlines the research aims and objective for this project;

Aim 1: To re-evaluate the evidence for material culture (including PAS data), settlement and deposition in the study region and integrate the evidence into a synthesis of the region.

This research aim has been partially achieved. Objective 1.1 was to collect and examine the available evidence for material culture and to compile it into a dataset for analysis. The material culture data was collected and has now been analysed. However, some aspects of material culture are better represented in the dataset than others. This is a product of recording bias in the study region. Examples of faunal remains, lithics and stone tools and VCP ceramics are often poorly recorded or unreported, due to the fragmentary and undiagnostic nature of much of this material. Consequently, the dataset is more representative of the evidence for metalwork in the region than for other forms of material culture (see appendix 1). Comprehensive re-assessment of the material culture evidence from the region has not been possible, due to problems of access and in many cases dispersal or loss of the material in question. As a result, the dataset is biased towards metalwork, glass and decorated stone objects, which may exclude a significant body of evidence from the region, particularly for the Early and Middle Iron Age. It was initially decided to exclude certain articles of material culture, such as the VCP and lithics, from the analysis due to the problems associated with the recording of the data. In retrospect, even a partial analysis of this material may have helped to shed additional light on the role of material culture in central western Britain and future research should strive to include this material. Inclusion of the PAS data has allowed for a wider analysis of stylistic trends in the material culture assemblage and the PAS data is certainly a useful tool for addressing gaps in the archaeological record (*cf.* Worrell 2007). However, the lack of contextual data for PAS material makes situating these objects within the wider understanding of the region difficult. The recorded information for some of the PAS objects is also incomplete, several of the objects from the region, recorded in the PAS, are un-photographed and the data presented is sometimes imprecise or contradictory. This is particularly true of the dating evidence for much of the PAS material, which often only gives an object's date as 'Iron Age.'

The second objective was to compile a dataset of well dated and well contextualised sites in the region and to evaluate the sites in terms of chronology and completeness of the available data. This objective was accomplished (see appendix B). The selection

of well dated sites limited the total number of sites available for the region, which meant that the dataset that was examined was comparatively small. This may have impacted the validity of the analysis, but it was necessary to only include well dated and well contextualized sites to achieve the resolution necessary for an analysis of social space and site utilization. The records for sites are of a variable character across the region. There is a greater number of excavated settlements in the west of the study region due to increased site visibility, as a result of the use of stone architecture and the landscape situation of settlement. This disparity also means that there is a longer tradition of excavating non-hillfort settlement in the west of the region. Consequently, several of the sites excavated in the west are older excavations and do not have detailed environmental or stratigraphic records available. Although several of these sites have subsequently been reinvestigated, such as at Ty Mawr (C. Smith 1985) and Caer Lleion (G. Smith 2009), it is clear that a more comprehensive re-excavation of these sites is needed with a focus on environmental sampling and obtaining additional radiocarbon determinations. The situation in the east of the study region is a little different. Excavation of non-hillfort settlement in the east is a relatively recent development, with the majority of sites only excavated within the last three decades of this thesis. As a result of this the standard of excavation and recording is very high, but the limited numbers of non-hillfort sites make it difficult to draw conclusions. Early and Middle Iron Age sites from the east of the region are particularly poorly represented and without further excavation it is not possible to determine if this is a factor of the archaeology of the region or a bias in the data.

However, it has been possible to investigate the chronology of the sites selected and to define some broad trends in the construction and utilization of sites in the region. It is possible to say that many of the region's hillforts had Bronze Age origins and saw subsequent phases of reconstruction during the Early Iron Age (c. 9th-8th centuries BC) and subsequently in the Middle Iron Age (c. 6th-4th centuries BC). This may represent a move towards increasing emphasis on display and a desire to demonstrate permanence within the landscape, as well as signalling the power and position of the group utilising the site through conspicuous consumption of labour (Sharples 2010; Waddington 2013). Many of the region's hillforts then enter a hiatus

in the use during the 3rd-2nd centuries BC (Nevell 2004:5), though some see reuse during the Late Iron Age, such as at Bryn y Castell (Crew 1987). Non-hillfort settlement in the region during the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age is dominated by un-enclosed settlement in the east of the study region, a trend which continues throughout the Iron Age. In the west of the region enclosed settlement is adopted during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, and several of these enclosed sites were located within the bounds of earlier monuments, again possibly stressing continuity of groups within the landscape. During the Middle Iron Age unenclosed and nucleated settlement start to become more common in the west of the study region, particularly in Gwynedd and Anglesey, whilst enclosed settlement starts to appear in the east of the region, north of the river Mersey.

Objective 1.3 was to collect data on depositional practices in the region and to assess this data in terms of chronological and spatial patterns, context and patterns in the material selected. Again, this objective has been partially achieved. Hillforts were the primary focus for deposition during the Early Iron Age and into the Middle Iron Age and it is clear that much of this deposition was deliberate and structured, as evidenced by the deliberate deposition of articles in association with hillfort ramparts, such as at Beeston Castle (Ellis 1993) Moel Hiraddug (Brassil *et al.* 1982) and Dinorben (Gardner and Savory 1964). During the Middle Iron Age activity seems to have shifted to lowland contexts and with this move deposition begins to be more evidenced at lowland sites. There is also an increasing association of deliberate deposition and water from the Middle Iron Age onwards. Metalwork and faunal remains continue to be deposited in association with boundaries, water and wetland environments, whilst quern-stones, spindle-whorls and pounders are deposited at settlements and roundhouses. However, fully assessing the context of this material is difficult in the absence of a larger dataset and more complete records for faunal remains. The lack of secure dating evidence for some of the recovered depositional contexts in the region also limits the analysis of chronological trends in deposition. A more detailed review of the depositional evidence from selected 'type-sites' may have yielded a more refined analysis, though the nature of evidence for deposition

in central western Britain means that such an analysis would largely be confined to deposition at hillfort sites.

In addressing Aim 1, a detailed synthesis of the current evidence from the study region has been produced. The extension of the study region across county and national boundaries has demonstrated that archaeological regions cannot be defined by modern administrative divisions. The evidence demonstrates that there are strong similarities in the character of the evidence from Cheshire, Flintshire, Denbighshire and Wrexham, which also encompass parts of Conway, Powys and Shropshire. Whilst there are substantial contrasts between this eastern part of the study region and the situation in Gwynedd, Anglesey and the remainder of Conway. This division would not have been visible if the study had confined itself to national borders. Secondly, this thesis has shown that a holistic, contextual approach to the evidence can provide significantly more insight into the archaeology of a region than an approach based solely on settlement, material culture or deposition alone. However, there are still limitations in the understanding of the region during the Iron Age. More excavation, particularly of lowland sites is needed to address the short-comings and biases of the current dataset. Investigating a region this size for the entirety of the Iron Age is also a significant undertaking and, in some cases, it has been necessary to sacrifice depth of analysis to accommodate the limitations of this work. In retrospect, a reduction in the size of the area or of the time-span being investigated may have allowed for a more detailed discussion of the evidence. Adopting a more site-specific approach, where several sites are selected and utilised as case studies may have also yielded a fuller contextual analysis.

***Aim 2:** To analyse whether there were significant changes in the character of settlement between the Early Iron Age and Late Iron Age in the study region.*

The analysis of the evidence for settlement in the region has demonstrated a significant difference in the settlement evidence between the Early and Late Iron Age in the region and between different parts of the region (discussed above-for a more detailed review see chapter 4 and 5). This aim sought to examine the role of changing settlement structure in investigating the transformation of social organization and, along with evidence for depositional practices, constructions of concepts of personal

and social identity (Objective 2.1 and 2.3). This has been a qualified success. There is now a sufficient case for changing settlement layout reflecting changing attitudes towards space and social organization. However, fully relating this to concepts of personal and social identity is more difficult. The limited evidence for the treatment of the dead in the study region, as well as the paucity of archaeological remains on many sites in the region, makes inferring information about personal and social identity problematic and sometimes speculative. Without more evidence for the treatment of human remains and structured deposition in the region, the extent to which the evidence available can be related to Iron Age populations in the region is open to debate. There is, sadly, little that can be done to address this without the discovery of more evidence for regional funerary traditions. It is possible that new examples of human remains may be found in some of the less acidic, limestone regions, or as preserved bodies in some of the region's wetlands and future work should focus on locating these as well as re-examining the evidence already available.

Objective 2.2 sought to investigate roundhouse doorway orientation and to assess the implications for cosmological approaches to settlement in the study region. An analysis of roundhouse doorway orientations for the region during the Early, Middle and Late Iron Age was conducted and has demonstrated that the region shows a strong preference for eastern and south-eastern orientations. This confirms earlier analysis conducted by Guilbert (1975) at Moel y Gaer, but also demonstrates that the same is true for the wider region. The investigation that was undertaken was unable to unequivocally state that this was a factor of cosmological approaches to the household and it may be that it represented a practical concern with prevailing wind direction and maximising light levels (Pope 2003; 2007). A more detailed analysis of the structuring of activity areas within roundhouses in the region may have provided additional evidence. Unfortunately, this information is not available for all of the roundhouses in the region and such a study was considered to be beyond the scope of this work. If, as has been discussed above, a more site-specific approach had been adopted it may have allowed for a more thorough investigation. If this study was to be repeated, a site-specific approach, providing more detailed analysis of a smaller number of 'key' sites, may be more productive.

***Aim 3:** To thoroughly analyse the material culture in the region, particularly metalwork and evaluate this evidence in terms of the changing construction of personal and social identity.*

The analysis of the material culture from the region demonstrated that there were identifiable spatial patterns to the assemblage (discussed in chapter 6, 7 and 8). Some objects such as brooches and pins are confined almost exclusively to the east of the study region, whilst others, such as feasting equipment and horse gear are more evenly distributed. However, there is some distortion in the evidence. Whilst material culture is more widely represented in the east of the region, the inclusion of the assemblage from Llyn Cerrig Bach (Macdonald 2007) skews the data in favour of that site. This is misleading, particularly as Llyn Cerrig Bach is a site which was the focus for specialist deposition during the Middle and Late Iron Age. The contextual data of the material culture assemblage is also of variable quality. The majority of material culture from the west of the study region was recovered during excavation and, as a result, has more complete context data, whilst much of the material from the east of the study region has been recorded under the Portable Antiquities Scheme and is un-associated. This disparity has made it difficult to assess the full extent of the material culture record across the region, whilst the lack of context of the finds recorded by the PAS makes it impossible to hypothesize on the nature of their deposition. It should be noted that the PAS has been operating in the east of the study region for longer than it has in the west (Hodgson and Brennand 2006; Worrell 2007) and it is possible that, with time and increased excavation of lowland sites in the east, the disparities in the record may be reduced.

This study has evaluated the role that the production, use and deposition of personal ornaments played in constructing identity (Objective 3.1). In the absence of more complete evidence for the treatment of human remains, it was thought that such an analysis may provide information on the construction of personal identity. It was also hoped that by identifying changes in the way that personal ornaments were produced and deposited, it may be possible to establish changing patterns in the way that personal identity was constructed in the Iron Age. It has been possible to identify sub-regional and chronological patterns in the production and deposition of personal

ornaments but relating this to personal identity is more problematic. It can be reasonably stated that the re-appearance of objects of personal ornamentation and the increase in their number during the Middle Iron Age period represented an increased interest in personal identity and display. However, relating the material to particular concepts of personal identity is more tenuous due to the comparatively small size of the dataset and the lack of direct associations to individual human remains. It can be argued that there were different, sub-regional approaches to personal identity (Objective 3.2) during the Middle and Late Iron Age, evidenced by the occurrence of specific types of personal ornamentation (discussed above- see chapter 6,7 and 8). However, the resolution of the available data is not sufficient, at this time, to support more detail conclusions. As has been noted above, an improved understanding of funerary practices in the region would aid in understanding the context of the individual. It was initially hoped that this work would support the analysis of articles of metalwork from the study region, but sadly many of the artefacts preferred for analysis were unavailable, having either been lost, passed into private collections or being refused for analysis. If minor and trace elemental composition analysis had been run on these items, it may have provided additional insight into the production location of some of these artefacts. This would have allowed for a discussion on their origin and the role they played in exchange relationships. It would have also lent further evidence to these objects being locally produced, which would then support the view that there was a specific preference for these objects in the study region and that they were being actively created. This, in turn, would lend weight to the existence of a defined concept of personal display in central western Britain during the Middle and Late Iron Age.

***Aim 4:** To correlate the analysis and all available data to produce an integrated and holistic view of life-ways in Iron Age central western Britain.*

The investigation into the evidence for indications of the transformation of social organization and concepts of identity (Objective 4.1) has produced clear indications of such changes both chronologically and spatially. However, integrating the evidence from material culture, settlement and deposition has proved problematic due to the lack of contextual information available for some of this material. This has

highlighted the need for research driven investigation and accurate contextual recording of finds. There were some areas of evidence that this thesis did not consider, including the evidence for midden deposits, which occur in some parts of the study region. Although these sources of information were originally examined they were then subsequently omitted for reasons of space and the variable quality of records. In retrospect they may have provided considerable light on depositional practices, particularly during the Early and Middle Iron Age when other sources of depositional information are scarce. It was hoped that this work would include a broader discussion of concepts of self, personhood and agency (Objective 4.2). Although these themes have been touched upon and drawn into the discussion, the comparatively small dataset has meant that it has not been possible to fully integrate these concepts into the analysis of material culture and deposition. A broader investigation of the material culture, drawing in additional material may provide more evidence. It may be productive to draw more heavily on the evidence for the use of organic materials in the study region, especially in light of the comparatively good preservation of organic material at sites such as Breiddin (Musson *et al.* 1991). However, it has been possible after examination of the evidence to suggest a model for the social organization of the region. Hierarchical models of Iron Age society cannot be supported by the evidence from the study region. Instead it is necessary to evaluate the social organization of central western Britain based on a broader holistic approach to the material. This allows for the evidence from the region to be put into context and a pattern of social organization to be derived from changing settlement, subsistence and material culture evidence.

Value of this Research

This research has created a detailed synthesis of the available evidence for the study region and in so doing has provided a resource for future investigation in central western Britain. By taking a holistic, contextual approach to the material, it has been possible to establish a more complete understanding for this region based on social organization and concepts of identity and personhood, instead of on economic criteria (e.g. Matthews 2002). It has also addressed some of the principle research aims established by the *'Archaeological Research Framework for North West*

England' (Brennand 2007) and the '*Research Framework for the Archaeology of Wales*' (Longley 2003; Gale 2003). In particular, this work has reassessed the site and material culture data for the region and produced a synthesis and it has collated and analysed the current PAS data and investigated its value in terms of informing archaeological understanding. The approach taken by this study has been demonstrated to be effective, particularly in a region without an extensive history of research or detailed regional synthesis. Whilst it is true that some aspects of this project have not developed as fully as initially hoped, these issues have now been identified and steps can be taken to eliminate them from similar projects in the future. In addressing a comparatively little understood region, this work has helped to fill a gap in the understanding of the Iron Age in Britain, which will also help to inform understanding of neighbouring study regions. Finally, by undertaking a research project across administrative and national boundaries it has demonstrated the need for archaeology to reject modern administrative constraints to research, which have no validity in studies of past peoples or societies.

Future Research

This thesis has highlighted several interesting avenues of future research in the study region. Landscape and soil quality had a profound impact on Iron Age society in the study region, particularly in light of settlement type and distribution. A more complete and comprehensive analysis of landscape usage, soil quality, drainage and settlement is needed for the region. Such an investigation, would not only provide valuable insight into Iron Age land-use practices, but could potentially provide information allowing for predictive patterns of land-use and settlement to be devised for the region. In particular, such a study should examine the evidence for landscape and subsistence, to further understanding of how different subsistence strategies were integrated during the Iron Age. This would provide considerable data on seasonality, interactions between communities and suggest how communities in the Iron Age structured their movements.

A more detailed investigation of deposition and the structuring of space on Iron Age sites in the region is required. This investigation should pay particular attention to the evidence for internal division of space and the conceptual construction of 'inside'

and 'outside' especially with regards to deposition of domestic waste and midden material. Additional research in this area will not only provide additional information of depositional practices within the region and on how communities in the region structured their space, but it can also provide information on how understanding of social space may have changed during the Iron Age. A re-investigation of the evidence for the region's midden deposits will also allow for this evidence to be situated within the wider discussion of midden sites and allow for comparisons and contrasts to be made.

A principle aim for future work should be to investigate the relationship between hillfort and lowland sites in the region and attempt to determine if these locations were inter-dependent or if they represent distinct activity zones. This investigation should assess whether there is an identifiable chronological or social juxtaposition between these two site types and what role these sites were playing in the structuring of Iron Age life-ways. Ideally this study should be situated within the wider study of land-use and settlement, as discussed above. It should also attempt to identify new lowland sites in the region and if possible investigate them to provide additional contextual information on the nature of settlement in central western Britain.

In addressing the role that material culture played in the construction of personal and social identity in the region during the Iron Age, it may be productive to widen the scope of the investigation to draw in more evidence. This could be achieved by extending the study to include Cumbria. Cumbria was initially excluded from this thesis due to the differing nature of the evidence it provided. However, following the completion of this thesis, it may make an interesting region with which to contrast the study region. As part of this development of the study efforts should be made to integrate data on the material culture not included in this analysis, particularly VCP and lithics. A re-evaluation of all evidence of human remains found in central western Britain should also be conducted to see if it is possible to identify any human remains which may have been mis-identified to another period.

Summary

Finally, in evaluating the relative success of this project, it is believed that it has made a substantive contribution to the state of knowledge of the prevailing social and cultural mode of life in the Iron Age of central western Britain. In a region, such as the study area, where the limits of the evidence have in the past hampered more traditional forms of archaeological analysis a contextual approach has proved to be extremely useful for interpreting the evidence and providing a meaningful insight into Iron Age society. There is still a great deal of work to be done and it is hoped that in future continuing work in the study region will produce additional valuable information to help fill in some more of the picture, but for now, it is clear, that a complex and culturally rich society thrived in central western Britain during the Iron Age and that the region may no longer be dismissed in archaeological overviews of Britain as 'Here be Dragons!'

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Appendix A-Iron Age Metalwork from the Study Region

Appendix A.1-Lancashire

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Lancaster	Copper alloy	Brooch	High arched bow brooch	Worn smooth on top of bow	MIA	5th-4th century BC	?	PAS LANCUM-685EF5
Kelsbrook	Copper alloy	Brooch	Birdlip?	Heavily damaged	LIA	50BC-AD50	?	PAS LANCUM-ABBDE8
Nateby	Copper alloy	Brooch	Langton Down	-	LIA	1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL-FB07C7
Barnoldswick	Copper alloy	Brooch	Birdlip	Pin missing but otherwise complete	LIA	50BC-AD50	?	PAS LANCUM-61EFA0
Over Kellet	Copper alloy	Strap Mount	-	Part of horse harness	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LANCUM-DC3370
Clitheroe	Copper alloy	Strap Mount	-	Openwork strap mount with triskele design	LIA	1st century AD	?	PAS LANCUM-EFB275
Lancaster	Copper alloy	Bridle Bit	Three linked	Fragment	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LANCUM-A0DFC6
Ribble Valley	Copper alloy	Terret	Miniature	Miniature terret	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LANCUM-EFE5C5
Fylde	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 7	Skirted terret	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LANCUM-BB3051
Clitheroe	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Simple terret	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LANCUM-EF9EF8
Silverdale	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Simple terret	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LANCUM-701EE1

Kelsbrook	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Simple terret	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LANCUM AB8D01
?	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Simple terret	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LANCUM EF9EF8
Sabden Fold	Copper alloy	Linch Pin	-	Linch pin from vehicle wheel	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LANCUM FBB2A4
Lancaster	Copper alloy	Linch Pin	-	Triskele design on head	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LANCUM-D91806
Clitheroe	Copper alloy	Linch Pin	Kirkburn	Originally inlaid with red 'enamel'	MIA-LIA	Probably 1st century BC	?	PAS LANCUM-E78098
River Ribble	Copper alloy	Bucket Mount	-	Bird/ox/human bucket mount	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	River	Jope 2000
Garstang	Copper alloy	Coin	-	Possible Greek influenced coin from Asia Minor	MIA-LIA	300BC-100BC	?	PAS LANCUM 8B6756
Pilling Moss	Copper alloy	Dagger Sheath	Stead's type 3a	Dagger or dirk sheath with plain decoration	MIA	Probable 3rd century	Wetland	Jope 2000
Ribble Valley	Copper alloy	Tankard handle	-	Drop handle tankard handle	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LANCUM-A6AE93
Ormskirk	Copper alloy	Toggle	-	Dumb-bell shaped toggle	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LANCUM FBFCE3
Holton	Copper alloy	Vessel	-	Small vessel in the shape of a bird	LIA	1st century AD	?	PAS LANCUM-F4F5D6
Billington	Iron	Spear-heads	-	Iron Spear-heads from cist burial	MIA	Probably 3rd century BC	Inhumation	Luck 1895
Warton	Iron	Sword	Stead's group F	Iron sword and scabbard with copper alloy hilt	LIA	2nd century BC-1st century AD	?	Stead 2006
Dog Holes	Iron	Horse bit	Three linked	-	MIA-LIA	-	Cave	Macdonald 2007
Longton Marshes	Iron	Pin	Unidentified	Unidentified iron pin	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	Wetland	Matthews 2002

Appendix A.2-Merseyside

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Liverpool	Copper alloy	Torc	Beaded	-	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	Philpott and Adams 2010
Meols	Copper alloy	Brooch	High arched bow brooch	-	MIA	4th century BC	Settlement	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Meols	Copper alloy	Pin	Swan-necked	Possibly ring-headed, head missing	MIA	4th-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Meols	Copper alloy	Pin	Swan-necked	Possibly ring-headed, head missing	MIA	4th-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Meols	Copper alloy	Pin	Swan-necked	Possibly ring-headed, head missing	MIA	4th-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Meols	Copper alloy	Pin	Ring-headed	Wire ring-headed pin	MIA	3rd-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Meols	Copper alloy	Finger ring	Twisted spiral ring	-	MIA	4th century BC-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Meols	Copper alloy	Finger ring	Twisted spiral ring	-	MIA	4th century BC-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Meols	Copper alloy	Finger ring	Twisted spiral ring	-	MIA	4th century BC-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Kirkby	Copper alloy	Bead	Assymetrical	Cast bead, probably from a beaded torc	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL C006C5
Simons-wood	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	-	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS KENT 674

Liverpool River Mersey	Copper alloy	Coin	Gallo-Belgic	Coin hoard containing at least 1 Gallo-Belgic coin, other coins unidentified	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	River	Allen 1961
Leasowe	Iron	Pin	Unidentified type	Unidentified iron pin, reported from Leasowe Moss	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	Wetland	?
Mill Hill Rd., Irby	Iron	Brooch	-	Unidentified La Tène II/III brooch, badly damaged	MIA	3rd-2nd century BC	Settlement	Philpott and Adams 2010
Meols	Gold	Coin	British L or M type	-	LIA	1st century BC	Settlement	Griffiths et al. 2007
Meols	Silver	Coin	Billon	Coriosolite (African) coins from n. Brittany	LIA	1st century BC	Settlement	Griffiths et al. 2007
Meols	Silver	Coin	Billon	Coriosolite (African) coins from n. Brittany	LIA	1st century BC	Settlement	Griffiths et al. 2007
Meols	?	Coin	?	Syrian	LIA	1st century BC	Settlement	Griffiths et al. 2007
Meols	Silver	Coin	Tetradrachm	Tetradrachm of Tigranes II of Armenia	LIA	20BC-AD 6	?	Matthews 2002
Meols	Silver	Coin	Half shekel	Carthaginian	MIA	3rd-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths et al. 2007
Meols	Silver	Coin	Half shekel	Carthaginian	MIA	3rd-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths et al. 2007
Leasowe Moss	Silver	Coin	Half shekel	Carthaginian	MIA	3rd-2nd century BC	Settlement	Griffiths et al. 2007

Appendix A.3-Greater Manchester

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Mow Road, Rochdale	Copper alloy	Torc	Beaded	11 melon shaped beads	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	Matthews 2002
Calderbrook	Copper alloy	Torc	Beaded	-	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	Matthews 2002
Littleborough	Copper alloy	Torc	Beaded	-	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	Matthews 2002
Stockport	Copper alloy	Brooch	Gorica	Continental type, Nauheim derivative, bow is decorated with two rows of punched dots	LIA	1st century BC	?	Hattatt 1988
Warburton	Copper alloy	Terret	Miniature	Cast miniature terret	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-1365
Warburton	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Simple terret, heavily corroded	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL 1374
Hazel Grove, Stockport	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Simple terret, heavily corroded	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-553944
Barhill Close, Hulme	Copper alloy	Escutcheon	-	Small ox Head	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	Nevell 1992
Stockport	Copper alloy	Vessel mount	-	Cast bull, possibly vessel mount, parallels an object found at Colchester and dated to 15BC-10BC	LIA	1st century BC	?	PAS LVPL-904BD3

Ringway	Copper alloy	Stud	-	Cast copper alloy stud with spiralling enamel decoration in blue and white, possibly from a vehicle	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL-316F38
Castlefield	Copper alloy	Handle?	-	Cast ox, possible a knife handle	LIA-RB	1st century AD	?	CAD-418
Castlefield	Copper alloy	Sword hilt	-	Hilt of a sword	LIA	1st century AD	?	CAD-419
Denshaw/Newhay, Rochdale	Iron	Spear head	-	Lunate opening in the blade	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-2nd century BC	?	Greater Manchester SMR-5017
Blackstone Edge	Iron	Spear head	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	?	Matthews 2002
Cheetham Hill, River Irk	Silver?	Coin	Epirote	Coin of Pyrrhus of Epiros	MIA-LIA	297BC-275BC	River	Matthews 2002
Cheetham Hill, River Irk	Silver?	Coin	Epirote	Coin of Pyrrhus of Epiros	MIA-LIA	297BC-275BC	River	Matthews 2002
Cheetham Hill, River Irk	Silver	Coin	Drachm	Cartaginian drachm/half-shekel	MIA	3rd century BC-2nd century BC	River	Matthews 2002

Appendix A.4-Cheshire

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Marbury	Copper alloy	Brooch	Unidentified	Cast brooch, similarities to an example from Bledlow, Bucks.	MIA	3rd century BC-2nd century BC	?	PAS LVPL-A1E8A8

Cheshire Ashley	Copper alloy	Brooch	Hull's type 2b	Four spoked wheel. La Tène II	MIA	3rd century BC-2nd century BC	?	PAS LVPL-132
Crewe	Copper alloy	Brooch	Nauheim derivative	Incomplete cast brooch	LIA	50BC-AD50	?	PAS LVPL-CD8AD8
Hunter street	Copper alloy	Brooch	Unidentified La Tene III	From early Roman context	LIA	1st century AD	Settlement	Newstead 1928
Chester	Copper alloy	Brooch	Birdlip type	Cast brooch, Birdlip type, spring and back plate missing	LIA	50BC-AD50	?	PAS LVPL-971828
Barrow	Copper alloy	Brooch	Birdlip type	Cast copper alloy brooch	LIA	55BC-AD50	?	PAS LVPL 18C980
Church Lawton	Copper alloy	Brooch	Birdlip type	Cast copper alloy birdlip brooch (fragments)	LIA	50 BC-AD50	?	PAS LVPL E2BBB1
Congleton	Copper alloy	Brooch	Nauheim derivative	Cast brooch	LIA-RB	50BC-AD50	?	PAS LVPL-EBFE94
Bickley	Copper alloy	Brooch	Colchester type	Almost complete	LIA	AD20-65	?	PAS LVPL-1FD141
Poulton	Copper alloy	Pin	Ring headed pin	-	MIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Settlement (roundhouse gully)	K. Cootes <i>pers comm.</i>
Beeston Castle	Copper alloy	Bracelet	-	Bracelet broken at both ends, at one end with force (ritual destruction?)	MIA	3rd century BC-2nd century BC	Hillfort	Foster 1993
Beeston Castle	Copper alloy	Armlet	Knobbed	Section of knobbed arm ring/bracelet	MIA	3rd century BC	Hillfort	Foster 1993
Beeston Castle	Copper alloy	Armlet	-	Undecorated- broken at both ends	MIA	3rd century BC-2nd century BC	Hillfort	Foster 1993
Malpas	Copper alloy	Finger ring	-	Twisted spiral finger ring	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS CPAT CB6BES

Warrington	Copper alloy	Finger ring	-	Twisted ring with traces of red 'enamel' in cells	LIA	1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL 1008
Tarvin	Copper alloy	Harness fitting	Strap Union	Three circular rings in a triangular shape with a horse head projecting from the upper surface	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL 271241
Delamere	Copper alloy	Harness	Strap distributor	Cast copper alloy strap distributor, with cast bosses decoration	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL 7E6602
Beeston Castle	Copper alloy	Harness link	-	Cast horse harness link, broken at collar	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Foster 1993
Congleton	Copper alloy	?	-	Sub-lozenge shaped object with a rounded raised head and an open triangle shaped centre	LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-48AB06
Marbury cum Quoisley	Copper alloy	Harness fitting	-	Cast harness fitting with open work triskele design	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-F98596
Huxley, Chester	Copper alloy	Horse bit	Polden Hill	Cast bridle bit	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL-34BA37
Delamere, Vale Royal	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 7	Cast terret ring	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL DC2465
Tattenhall	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 9	Cast terret ring	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-2100
Tattenhall	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 9	Cast terret ring with v shaped attachment bar	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL- 2101
Vale Royal (Northwich?)	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Cast terret ring	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-A32F35
Brereton	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Incomplete	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPLAF2873

Brereton	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Narrow ridge running around the entire outer face of the hoop	MIA-LIA	-	?	HER 2748
Middlewich	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Decorated, part missing	MIA-LIA	-	?	HER 1080/0/32
Stamford Bridge	Copper alloy?	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	-	MIA-LIA	-	?	Robinson and Lloyd-Morgan (1985)
Tushingham cum Grindley	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Fragmentary	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS NMGW 1DE726
Broxton	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Cast terret ring, poor preservation only half remains	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-213410
Manley	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Cast copper alloy terret ring, incomplete, tinned surface	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-8D4CE1
Vale Royal (Northwich?)	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	Cast terret ring	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-A722D8
Brereton	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 1/2	-	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPLAF480A
Mollington	Copper alloy	Terret	Spratling's type 7	Skirted and collared terret	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL42B4F8
Marbury cum Quoisleay	Copper alloy	Linch pin	-	Cast copper alloy lynch pin fragment	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL-35C336
Clitheroe	Copper alloy	Linch pin	-	Copper head remains and shows a crude triskele design	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LANCUM-D91806
Brereton	Copper alloy	Escutcheon	La Tene	Bull's head escutcheon	MIA-LIA	2nd century BC-1st century AD	?	Cheshire SMR 2502

Crewe	Copper alloy	Escutcheon	La Tène	Bulls head escutcheon	MIA-LIA	2nd century BC-1st century AD	?	Hodgson and Brenndand (2006)
?	Copper alloy	Vessel mount	-	Mount with a circular design and red 'enamel' inlay	LIA	-	?	PAS LANCUM-844933
Bickley	Copper alloy	Cosmetic mortar	End Looped	Cast copper alloy end looped mortar	LIA-RB	1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL-370F42
Crewe and Nantwich	Copper alloy	Cosmetic pestle	End looped	End looped pestle from a cosmetic set	LIA-RB	1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL-BA1293
Rostherne	Copper alloy	Cosmetic pestle	-	End looped cosmetic pestle	LIA-RB	1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL46BFEB
Barrow	Copper alloy	Cosmetic pestle	-		LIA-RB	1st century AD	?	PAS LVPLEA9B63
Vale Royal	Copper alloy	Toggle	-	Cast toggle	LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-BDC594
Deanery Field, Chester	Copper alloy	Cauldron	-	La Tene type, hemispherical bronze cauldron	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century AD	?	Newstead and Droop (1931)
Beeston Castle	Copper alloy	Tankard	-	Leather tankard with copper alloy 'horned' rim	MIA	3rd century BC	Hillfort	Foster (1993)
Chester	Copper alloy	Tankard	-	-	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL-CF65F2
Chester	Copper alloy	Tankard handle	-	Drop handle for a tankard, still retains traces of black enamel	LIA	1st century BC	?	PAS LVPL-7C0B25
Halton	Copper alloy	Tankard	-	Moulded spiral with a central concentric circle, two small perforations	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-6180E5

Saighton	Copper alloy	Strap fitting	-	Cast copper alloy strap fitting, with a raised solid circular boss as central decoration	LIA	2nd century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPLDE49CE
Beeston Castle	Copper alloy	U shaped section binding strip	Possible scabbard binding	U shaped section binding strip with splayed terminal, other end broken	LIA	-	Hillfort	Foster (1993)
Congleton	Copper alloy	Chape	Stead's type H	Heart shaped chape, red enamel survives around the circular opening	MIA	3rd century BC-2nd century BC	?	PAS LVPL-172
Michael's Street, Chester	Copper alloy	Sword guard	-	Sword guard from Roman context	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	Newstead (1928)
Wrenbury Cum Frith	Copper alloy	Socketed axe	Sompting, Cardiff II variant	Socketed axe	EIA	7th century BC	?	PAS WMID B87DC3
Holmes Chapel, Congleton	Copper alloy	Coin	Remi	Continental Belgic	LIA	1st century BC	?	PAS CCI-961699
Beeston	Copper alloy	Coin	Stater	Durotriges, British South Western	LIA		Hillfort	PAS CPAT-9D6332
Crewe and Nantwich	Copper alloy	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern issue, core of gold plated stater, contemporary copy	LIA	30BC-1BC	?	PAS LVPL-C781C1
Beeston Castle	Iron	Pin	Swan-necked	Possibly a ring-headed pin, head missing	EIA	6th century BC	Hillfort	Stead 1993
Lindow Moss	Iron	Pin	Unidentified	Unidentified type	LIA	1st century AD	Wetland	Turner 1999

Hunter Street, Chester	Iron	Spear Head	-	Spear head from Roman context	LIA	1st century BC- 1st century AD	Settlement	Newstead 1928
Chester Amphitheatre	Iron	Spear Head	-	Spear head with no mid-rib from roundhouse floor	MIA	Probable 2nd century BC	Settlement	D. Garner <i>pers comm.</i>
Beeston Castle	Iron	Spear Head	-	Spear head with midrib and lunate openings in the blade	MIA	3rd century BC- 2nd century BC	Hillfort	Stead 1993
Alderley Edge	Iron	Tools?	-	Possible hoard	MIA-LIA	-	?	Shone 1911
Beeston Castle	Iron	Adze	-	Probably an adze rather than a chisel	MIA	3rd century BC- 2nd century BC	Hillfort	Stead 1993
?	Iron	Reaping hook	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	?	Matthews 2002
Beeston Castle	Iron	Dagger	-	La Tène I, upper part of the blade and lower part of the tang	MIA	4th century BC	Hillfort	Stead 1993
Beeston Castle	Iron	Razor	-	Iron razor with curved blade	EIA	6th century BC- 5th century BC	Hillfort	Stead 1993
Beeston Castle	Iron	Strip	-	Broken strip, possibly a repair strip	EIA-MIA	6th century BC- 5th century BC	Hillfort	Stead 1993
Eddisbury Maiden Castle, Bickerton	Iron	Gate pivot	-	Gate pivot, comparable to Cadbury Castle	LIA	1st century BC?	Hillfort	R. Pope <i>pers comm.</i>
Beeston Castle	Iron	Fragment	-	Fragment of iron object	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Cheshire HER 341/1
Beeston Castle	Iron	Strip	-	Repair strip with rounded ends	MIA	-	Hillfort	Stead 1993
Halton Castle, Runcorn	Gold	Coin	-	British North Eastern issue	LIA	-	?	Allen 1961
Warmingham	Gold	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern issue	LIA	-	?	PAS CCI-991301

?	Gold	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern issue	LIA	-	?	PAS CCI-42518
Cholmondeley	Gold	Coin	Quater stater	Quarter stater of debased British South Western issue	LIA	1st century BC	?	PAS LVPL-60A968
Beeston Castle	Gold	Coin	Stater	British Western issue, inscribed BODVOC	LIA	1st century BC	Hillfort	Herepath 2004
Knutsford, Macclesfield	Gold	Coin	Stater	British Western issue, inscribed BODVOC	LIA	1st century AD	?	PAS CCI-981364
Macclesfield	Gold	Coin	Stater	British Western issue, inscribed BODVOC	LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-80
Halton Castle, Runcorn	Gold?	Coin	Stater	British Northern issue inscribed ISIOS [LI SIO]/ DVMNOCOVEROS	LIA	-	?	HER 117
Warrington	Gold	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern issue, inscribed VEP CORF	LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL-A184F2
Malpas	Gold	Coin	-	Hoard, four British Western Issues and three British North Eastern issues with Roman denarii	LIA	1st century AD	Hoard	Garner pers com.
Warmingham	Gold	Coin	Stater	Unscribed	LIA	10BC-AD10	?	PAS LVPL-1121
Lymm	Gold	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern issue, inscribed VEP CORF	LIA	1st century BC	?	Herepath 2004
Brindley, nr. Nantwich	Silver	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern issue	LIA	-	?	PAS CCI-930481

Appendix A.5-Shropshire

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Brogyntyn	Copper alloy	Sword	Gundlingen		EIA	7th century BC	?	Cowen 1967
Jackfield, River Severn	Copper alloy	Sword	Gundlingen		EIA	7th century BC	River	Bell and Watson 1993
Jackfield, River Severn	Copper alloy	Sword	Gundlingen		EIA	7th century BC	River	Bell and Watson 1993

Appendix A.6- Wrexham

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Rossett	Copper alloy	Brooch	Birdlip type	Birdlip type brooch, near complete, in good condition	LIA	50BC-AD50	?	PAS LVPL 2228
Coedpoeth	Copper alloy	Brooch	Penannular	Fowler type 1A	LIA-RB	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL-B3EBO8
Rossett	Copper alloy	Harness fitting		Possibly harness fitting	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS HESH 496AD7
Rossett	Copper alloy	Mount		Hanging bowl mount, with two opposed crescent shaped decorations, repaired in antiquity	LIA	50BC-AD100	?	PAS NMGW 72FDFO
Bronington	Copper alloy	Toggle		Two adjoined capstan shapes	LIA	Probably 1st century AD	?	PAS CPAT-6BF207
Rossett	Copper alloy	Vessel fitting		Vessel fitting from hanging bowl decorated with two raised semi-circles in relief	LIA	-	?	PAS NMGW-72FDFO

Appendix A.7-Flintshire

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Llanasa	Copper alloy	Fob		Openwork triskele design	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS NMGW6368D 1
Northop	Copper alloy	Terret		Incomplete terret	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	CPAT 7BF0E1
Llansa	Copper alloy	Terret		Incomplete terret ring	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL 3F7290
Northop Hall	Copper alloy	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern series, plated with a silver appearance, but more likely to be a base gold	LIA	60BC-50BC	?	PAS DEN 3811D1

Appendix A.8-Denbighshire

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Brooch	High arched bow brooch	Dot and ring design on bow	EIA-MIA	450-400BC	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Prestatyn	Copper alloy	Brooch	Langton Down type	-	LIA	1st century AD	Settlement	Quinnell and Blockley 1987
Prestatyn	Copper alloy	Brooch	Colchester type	-	LIA	1st century AD	Settlement	Quinnell and Blockley 1987
Prestatyn	Copper alloy	Brooch	Unknown type	-	LIA	-	Settlement	Quinnell and Blockley 1987
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Pin	Cup headed	Cup headed pin	MIA	4th century BC-2nd century BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976

Dinorben	Copper alloy	Pin	Cup headed	Head of a cup headed pin	MIA	4th century BC-2nd century BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Pin	Cup headed	Cup headed pin, remnants of red 'enamel' inset	MIA	4th century BC-2nd century BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Prestatyn	Copper alloy	Pin	Ring Headed	-	MIA	-	Settlement	Blockley 1989
Rhuddlan	Copper alloy	Pin	Ring Headed	Decorated shank	MIA	4th century BC-3rd century BC	Settlement	Quinnell and Blockley 1994
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Pin	Ring Headed	-	MIA	4th century BC-2nd century BC	Hillfort	Gardner and Savory 1964
Llanrwst	Copper alloy	Bracelet	-	Bracelet in three pieces bearing repousse curvilinear designs	LIA	La Tène III	?	Savory 1976
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Finger ring	-	Partly unrolled	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Finger ring	Spiral ring	Spiral ring of fine wire, partly unwound	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Finger ring	Spiral ring	Spiral ring of wire, with transverse furrowing on the upper side of the central coil	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Finger ring	Spiral ring	Spiral ring	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Finger ring	Spiral ring	Spiral ring in 4 fragments, all ends are breaks	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Dyserth	Copper alloy	Fob	-	Cast copper alloy openwork fob with triskele design, small perforation in the centre	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS LVPL AAD3D1
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Harness fitting	Plaque	Nearly circular with oblong central opening and recessed	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976

				pattern of red and orange inlay				
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Fitting	Harness fitting	Inset for red 'enamel'	MIA	-	Hillfort	Gardner and Savory 1964
Prestatyn	Copper alloy	Rein ring	-	-	LIA	1st century BC	?	Davies (1949)
Coed Pwll-y-Blawd, River Alun	Copper alloy	Nave hoop	-	Nave hoop, v. similar to Llyn Cerrig Bach nave hoops	MIA-LIA	-	River	Davies (1949)
Waen	Copper alloy	Terret	Miniature	Miniature terret	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century AD	?	PAS LVPL 3214A3
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Plaque	-	Three- armed plaque with central piercing, originally tinned	MIA	2nd century BC	Hillfort	Jope 2000
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Plaque	-	Triskele plaque with a central hole punched through it, probably tinned originally	MIA	2nd century BC	Hillfort	CAD 1325
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Plaque	-	Small square plaques	MIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Dinorben	Copper alloy	Bucket mount	-	Ox head escutcheon	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Gardner and Savory 1964
Cwm	Copper alloy	Vessel mount	-	Zoomorphic mount of a dog or possibly a pig, may have come from the rim of a large iron vessel	LIA	-	?	PAS NMGW 35AEB8
Ffynnogion	Copper alloy	Divination spoons	-	Shallow pointed oval bowl, small disc handles with many rayed wheel in low relief	LIA	-	?	Savory 1976

Ffynnogion	Copper alloy	Divination spoons	-	Shallow pointed oval bowl, small disc handles with many rayed wheel in low relief,	LIA	-	?	Savory 1976
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Strip	Binding strip	U section bronze binding, with rivet hole	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Thin sheet bronze	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Domed object	-	6 fragments of a domed object, possibly a shield boss cover	MIA	-	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
St. Asaph	Copper alloy	Coin	-	British Eastern series-inscribed Cunob/elini and Tasc F	LIA	AD10-40	?	PAS LVPL EFA49A

Moel Hiraddug	Copper alloy	Shield Boss	-	La Tène II	MIA	La Tène II (2nd century BC)	Hillfort	Jope 2000 Gardner and Savory 1964
Dinorben	Iron	Axe	-	-	MIA	C.500BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Ossiferous Cave, Nant y Graig	Iron	Probably a chisel	-	Maybe a toolpoint for metalwork	MIA-LIA	2 century BC-1st century AD	Cave	Davies (1949)
Moel Hiraddug	Iron	Horse caparison	-	Open worked caparison	MIA	4th century BC	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Dinorben	Iron	Razor	-	Iron razor, sub rectangular with lateral tang	EIA	6th century BC-5th century BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Ossiferous Cave, Nant y Graig	Iron	Iron rod	-	With another piece broken off it	MIA-LIA	2 century BC-1st century AD	Cave deposit	Davies (1949)
Ossiferous Cave, Nant y Graig	Iron	rod	-	-	MIA-LIA	2 century BC-1st century AD	Cave deposit	Davies (1949)
Moel Hiraddug	Iron	Sword fragment	-	-	LIA	-	?	Brown (2004)
Dinorben	Iron	Pin	Ring headed	Involuted ring headed pin	EIA	5th century BC-4th century BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Dinorben	Iron	Pin	Ring headed	Iron ring headed pin	EIA	5th century BC-4th century BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Dinorben	Iron	Pin	Ring Headed	Ring headed pin made of thick wire with a cylindrical section	EIA-MIA	5th century BC-4th century BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Moel Hiraddug	Iron	Pin	Cup headed	-	MIA	4th century BC	Hillfort	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982

Dinorben	Iron	Brooch	Penannular	Iron penannular brooch with flat and slightly expanded terminals and arched pin	EIA	5th century BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Dinorben	Iron	Brooch	Penannular	Iron strip from a penannular brooch	EIA	5th century BC	Hillfort	Savory 1976
St Asaph	Gold	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern series	LIA	60BC-50BC	?	PAS LVPL D303A8

Appendix A.9-Powys

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Breiddin	Copper alloy	Ring	-	Cast copper alloy ring possibly a pot hanger?	LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al 1991
Breiddin	Copper alloy	Ring	-	Cast copper alloy ring possibly a pot hanger?	LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al 1991
Breiddin	Copper alloy	Ring	-	Cast copper alloy ring possibly a pot hanger?	LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al 1991
Collfryn	Copper alloy	Linch pin	Vase headed linch pin	Attached to Terret	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Britnell 1987
Collfryn	Copper alloy	Terret	Miniature	Attached to a vase headed linch pin	MIA	-	Hillfort	Britnell 1987
Breiddin	Copper alloy	Finger ring	-	Cast copper alloy ring with v-shaped notch cut in the bottom and curvilinear design cast around the band	LIA?	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al 1991
Llwyn Bryn Dinas	Copper alloy	Pin	Ring headed pin	-	MIA	3rd century	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1992
Breiddin	Iron	Brooch	Long Involuted	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991

Breiddin	Iron	Brooch	Long Involuted	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Brooch	Long Involuted	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Brooch	Long Involuted	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Brooch	Long Involuted	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Brooch	Long Involuted	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Llwyn Bryn Dinas	Iron	Pin	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1992
Breiddin	Iron	Dagger	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Llwyn Bryn Dinas	Iron	Awl	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1992
Breiddin	Iron	Knife	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Knife	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Knife	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Reaping hook	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Llwyn Bryn Dinas	Iron	Bar	-	Thin iron bar	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1992
Llwyn Bryn Dinas	Iron	Fragment	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1992
Breiddin	Iron	Strip of iron	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC- 1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991

Breiddin	Iron	Strip of iron	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Rod	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Strip of iron	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Bar	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Linch pin	-	Ring headed linch pin	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Tang	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Ring	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Ring	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991
Breiddin	Iron	Torc/Arm ring	-	-	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Hillfort	Musson et al. 1991

Appendix A.10-Conway

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Braich-y-Dinas	Copper alloy	Brooch	-	-	LIA	50 BC-AD50	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Braich-y-Dinas	Copper alloy	Armlet	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	?	CAD 262
Conwy	Copper alloy	Horse bit	3 linked	-	MIA-LIA	1st century AD	?	CAD1554

Conwy	Copper alloy	Horse bit	3 linked	-	MIA-LIA	-	River	CAD1948
Dinas Emrys	Copper alloy	Terret ring	Spratling's type 1/2	Concealed iron bar in the base	LIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Dinas Emrys	Copper alloy	Terret ring	Spratling's type 1/2	Concealed iron bar in the base	LIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Cerrig-y-Drudion	Copper alloy	Casque headpiece	-	Large fragment of an elaborate headpiece	MIA	510-250BC, probable 4th century BC	Inhumation	CAD431
Braich y Dinas	Iron	Boss?	-	Possible iron boss or rivet head	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Hughes 1923
Capel Garmon	Iron	Firedog	-	Firedogs, possibly horse/bull chimera	LIA	1st century BC	Wetland	CAD400
Braich y Dinas	Iron	Pin	Probable ring headed pin	-	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Hughes 1923
Great Orme	Gold	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern issue	LIA	1st century BC	?	PAS CCI 690114
Llandudno	Gold	Coin	Stater	British North Eastern issue	LIA	50BC-1BC	?	PAS IARCW 63DAFB9DA

Appendix A.11-Gwynedd

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Hendre Bach	Copper alloy	Collar	-	Bronze bi-partite collar with hinge and dowel catch	MIA	3rd century BC-1st century AD	?	Savory (1976)
Clynnog Fawr	Copper alloy	Armlet	Beaded	Beaded arm ring	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-2nd century BC	?	CAD 489

Tre'r Ceiri	Copper alloy	Hanger	-	Triskele design	LIA	-	Hillfort	CAD 2532
Pwllheli	Copper alloy	Harness union	-	Cast copper alloy harness union, formed of two crescents	LIA	1st century BC	?	PAS LVPL F273D4
Carneddau Hengwm	Copper alloy	Horse bit	Polden Hills	-	LIA	1st century AD	?	CAD413
Llanaber	Copper alloy	Horse bit	2 linked	Fragment from two 2 linked bits	LIA	1st century AD	Hillfort	CAD1117
Llanaber	Copper alloy	Horse bit	2 linked	Fragment from two 2 linked bits	LIA	1st century AD	Hillfort	CAD1117
Dolgellau	Copper alloy	Horse bit	3 linked	Irish horse bit	MIA-LIA	-	?	CAD606
Llechwedd du Bach	Copper alloy	Mirror	-	Three looped handle	LIA	1st century AD	River	CAD1126
Snowdon	Copper alloy	Bowl	-	Fragment of bowl with feline head design and red 'enamel' inlay	MIA-LIA	Probable 1st century BC-1st century AD	?	CAD 2252
Llechwedd du Bach	Copper alloy	Platter	-	Tin plated platter, found associated with mirror	LIA	1st century BC- 1st century AD	River	CAD1126
Trawsfynydd	Copper alloy	Tankard	-	Elaborate openwork handle	MIA	400-200BC, 3rd century BC- 2nd century BC	Wetland	CAD 2532
Barmouth	Copper alloy	Miniature Shield	-	Miniature shield almost complete, undecorated	LIA	1st century BC-1st century AD	?	CAD175
Tal-y-Llyn	Copper alloy	Shield Boss	-	Shield boss and spine, repousse and engraved whirligig decoration	MIA	2nd century BC	Hoard	CAD2471
Tal-y-Llyn	Copper alloy	Shield mount	-	human figure emerging from palmette	MIA	2nd century BC	Hoard	CAD2472
Tal-y-Llyn	Copper alloy	Shield mount	-	human figure emerging from palmette	MIA	2nd century BC	Hoard	CAD2473

Tal-y-Llyn	Copper alloy	Shield boss	-	Shield boss and spine, repousse and engraved whirligig decoration	MIA	2nd century BC	Hoard	Jope 2000
Llanaber	Iron	Harness ring	-	Round section, slightly flattened	LIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Bryn y Castell	Iron	Glass working tool	-	-	LIA	1st century BC	Hillfort	Crew 1989
Pen Dinas	Iron	Rod	-	Twisted iron rod	MIA-LIA	-	Hillfort	Savory 1976
Crawcwellt West	Iron	Bloom	-	Several fragments of iron bloom	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Settlement	Crew 1998
Crawcwellt West	Iron	Bar	-	Stock iron bar	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Settlement	Crew 1998
Crawcwellt West	Iron	Bar	-	Stock iron bar	MIA-LIA	3rd century BC-1st century BC	Settlement	Crew 1998
Minffordd	Silver	Coin	-	British Southern issue CARA(TACUS), with an eagle on the reverse	LIA	1st century AD	?	PAS IARCW 63DAFE8C9

Appendix A.12-Anglesey

Site	Material	Object	Type	Notes	Period	Date	Context	Reference
Moelfre	Copper alloy	Bracelet	Beaded	Bracelet fragment	MIA-LIA	-	?	PAS NMGW FD9FA1
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Rein ring	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Rein ring	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)

Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Rein ring	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Rein ring	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Rein ring	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Horse bit	Assymetrical 3 linked	One of the bulb sockets has a separately cast decorative mount,	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Bridle bit	3-linked	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Bridle bit	3-linked	Irish type	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Bridle bit	2-linked	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Terret	-	Tang plate is of iron	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Terret	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Terret	-	Pseudo-stiching using punched dot design	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Trumpet	-	Copper alloy trumpet or flute	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)

Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Sheet fragment	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Sheet fragment	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Sheet fragment	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Sheet	-	Sheet fragment	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Coiled decorative strip	-	Coiled decorative strip	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Coiled decorative strip	-	Coiled decorative strip	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Coiled decorative strip	-	Coiled decorative strip	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Coiled decorative strip	-	Coiled decorative strip	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Coiled decorative strip	-	Coiled decorative strip	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Coiled decorative strip	-	Coiled decorative strip	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Coiled decorative strip	-	Coiled decorative strip	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)

Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Coiled decorative strip	-	Coiled decorative strip	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Coiled decorative strip	-	Coiled decorative strip	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Bean shaped plaque	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Bean shaped plaque	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Square plaque	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Square plaque	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Square plaque	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Rectangular plaque	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Rectangular plaque	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Tri-disc plaque	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Decorated curved plate	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Crescentic decorative mount	-	Crescentic mount bearing a complex repousse, assymetrical triskele design	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)

Holyhead Island	Copper alloy	Bucket mount	-	Ox head handle fitting, with a bit of the handle	MIA-LIA	-	?	CAD934
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Cauldron	-	Globular cauldron fragment	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Cauldron	-	Hemispherical cauldron fragment	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Cauldron	-	Globular cauldron fragment	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Scabbard mouth	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Probable scabbard binding	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Cylindrical mount	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Pommel	-	Copper and iron pommel	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llanfaes	Copper alloy	Coin	-	Coin of the Carnutes (Continental Gaulish West Central issue), eagle on reverse	LIA	1st century BC	?	PAS IARCW 63DAFF47C
Beaumaris	Copper alloy	Coin	-	Coin of the Carnutes (Continental Gaulish West Central issue)	LIA	1st century BC	?	PAS CCI 991047
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Copper alloy	Shield boss mount	-	Bearing four incised triskele roundels connected with an s line	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Linch pin	Ring-headed	Ring headed linch pin	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald 2007
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Gang Chain	-	Iron gang or slave chain	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)

Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Gang Chain	-	Iron gang or slave chain	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Hook fragment	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Iron ring	-	Iron ring with attached links	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Looped fitting	-	Iron gang or slave chain	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Bar	-	Bent and looped bar	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Currency Bar	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Currency Bar	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Currency Bar	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Currency Bar	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Currency Bar	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Bar fragment	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Bar fragment	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron-Wood	Draught pole sheath	-	Draught pole sheath	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Tongs	-	Iron blacksmiths tongs	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Tongs	-	Iron blacksmiths tongs	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)

Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Reaping hook	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sickle	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Tyre	-	53 iron tyre fragments, representing c. 20 vehicles	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Horse bit	3 linked	Iron with copper alloy plating-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Horse bit	3 linked	Iron with copper alloy plating-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Horse bit	3 linked	Iron with copper alloy plating- two incised parallel line decoration and the remnants of a decorative device on the bulb socket	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Horse bit	3 linked	Iron with copper alloy plating- wavy pseudo-seam/stitching pattern	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Nave Hoop	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)

Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Scabbard	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Scabbard	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Dagger	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Gelliniog Wen, Llangeinwenn	Iron	Sword fragment	Stead's group D	Sword with iron scabbard (Stead's type T)	LIA	150 BC- AD50	Wetland	Stead 2006
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)

Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Sword	Stead's group C/D	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Spearhead	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Spearhead	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Spearhead	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Spearhead	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Spearhead	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Spearhead	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)
Llyn Cerrig Bach	Iron	Spearhead	-	-	MIA-LIA	-	Wetland	Macdonald (2007)

Appendix B- Sites and Settlement Discussed in the Text

Hillforts

Site	Region	Site ID	Settlement Type	Period	Date (cal BC/AD)	Height AOD (m)	Landscape Context	Notes	Ref
Castercliffe	Lancashire	HFL01	Hillfort	EIA-MIA	570-450	259	Upland	Evidence of 'gang-construction' of the ramparts	Coombs 1982
Mellor	Greater Manchester	HFGM02	Hillfort	EIA-LIA	570-450BC/ 520-380 BC/ 410-360 BC/ 280-240 BC	220	Upland	Evidence for copper alloy production	Nevell and Redhead 2005
Mam Tor	Derbyshire	HFD03	Hillfort	MBA-EIA	1650-950BC	517	Upland		Coombs and Thompson 1979
Eddisbury	Cheshire	HFC04	Hillfort	LBA-LIA	428-378	158	Upland	Earliest phase 9th century BC, 5th-4th century reconstruction of the ramparts	Forde-Johnston 1965
Bradley	Cheshire	HFC05	Hillfort	EIA-LIA	-	100	Upland		Forde-Johnston 1965
Helsby	Cheshire	HFC06	Hillfort	EIA-LIA	-	141	Upland		Forde-Johnston 1965
Kellsborrow	Cheshire	HFC07	Hillfort	EIA-LIA	-	120	Upland		Forde-Johnston 1965
Oakmere	Cheshire	HFC08	Hillfort	EIA-LIA	-	-	Promontory		Forde-Johnston 1965

Woodhouses	Cheshire	HFC09	Hillfort	LBA-MIA	-	137	Upland		Forde-Johnston 1965
Beeston Castle	Cheshire	HFC10	Hillfort	LBA-LIA	1260-830BC/ 480-340BC	160	Upland	Earliest evidence for iron artefacts in the study region	Ellis 1993
Maiden Castle	Cheshire	HFC11	Hillfort	LBA-MIA	1000-400BC/ 770-400BC	212	Upland		Cheshire HER 341/1
Old Oswestry	Shropshire	HFS12	Hillfort	LBA-LIA	-	164	Upland	Evidence of copper alloy production	Hughes 1996
Penycloddiau	Flintshire	HFF13	Hillfort	LBA-IA	-	450	Upland		Mason and Pope 2012
Moel Arthur	Flintshire	HFF14	Hillfort	EIA	-	455	Upland		Wynne-Ffoulkes 1850
Moel y Gaer, Rhosesmor	Denbighshire	HFDB15	Hillfort	LBA-IA	975BC/ 450BC	-	Upland		Guilbert 1975
Moel y Gaer, Llanbedr	Denbighshire	HFDB16	Hillfort	LBA-IA	840-410BC/ 840-200BC	320	Upland		Wynne-Ffoulkes 1850
Moel Fenlli	Denbighshire	HFDB17	Hillfort	LBA-IA	-	511	Upland		Wynne-Ffoulkes 1850
Dinorben	Denbighshire	HFDB18	Hillfort	LBA-LIA	1170BC/ 500BC/ 550-150BC	170	Upland	Extensive material culture assemblage and human remains	Gardner and Savory 1964
Moel Hiraddug	Denbighshire	HFDB19	Hillfort	LBA-MIA	-	265	Upland	Findspot of the Moel Hiraddug Arched Bow Brooch, also the Moel Hiraddug Shields	Brassil <i>et al.</i> 1982
Collfryn	Powys	HFP20	Hillfort	MIA-LIA	380-50BC/ 360-10BC		Upland		Britnell <i>et al.</i> 1989

Breiddin	Powys	HFP21	Hillfort	LBA-LIA	975BC/ 820-670BC/ 770-390BC	300	Upland	Evidence of iron-working, also preservation of wooden artefacts	Musson <i>et al.</i> 1991
Penycoed	Powys	HFP22	Hillfort	MIA-LIA	360-30BC		Upland		Darbishire 1899
Castell Odo	Gwynedd	HFG23	Hillfort	EIA-MIA	808-234BC	146	Upland		Alcock 1960
Tre'r Ceiri	Gwynedd	HFG24	Hillfort	MIA-LIA	-	480	Upland		Hogg 1960
Garn Boduan	Gwynedd	HFG25	Hillfort	EIA-LIA	-	260	Upland	Evidence of Iron Smelting on site	Hogg 1960
Bryn y Castell	Gwynedd	HFG26	Hillfort	EIA-LIA	500BC-AD300/ 370BC-AD220	370	Upland	Evidence of Iron Smelting on site	Crew 1987
Meillionydd	Gwynedd	HFG27	Hillfort	LBA-MIA	753-410BC/ 384-203BC	190	Upland		Waddington and Karl 2010
Caer Lleion	Conway	HFCN28	Hillfort	LBA-MIA	750-400BC/ 410-360BC	180	Upland		Griffiths and Hogg 1956
Braich y Dinas	Conway	HFCN29	Hillfort	LBA-MIA	-	350	Upland	Evidence of Iron Smelting on site	Hughes 1912
Dinas	Conway	HFCN30	Hillfort	EIA	-	315	Upland		Hughes and Lowe 1925

Non-Hillfort Sites

Site	Region	Grid Ref	Settlement Type	Period	Date (cal BC/AD)	Height AOD (m)	Landscape Context	Notes	Ref
Dutton's Farm; Lathom	Lancashire	NHL01	Unenclosed	MIA-LIA	195-5BC/ 170BC-490BC	17	Low-land		Cowell 2003
Meols	Merseyside	NHM02	-	LBA-Emed	-	-	Coastal	Possible trade port?	Griffiths <i>et al.</i> 2007
Brook House Farm; Halewood	Merseyside	NHM03	Curvilinear Embanked Enclosure	MIA	400-180 BC/ 390-10 BC/ 360-40 BC	10	Low-land		Cowell 2000
Mill Hill Rd.; Irby	Merseyside	NHM04	Unenclosed	MIA-LIA	410-290BC	60	Lowland		Philpott and Adams 2010
Great Woollen Hall	Greater Manchester	NHGM05	Curvilinear Embanked Enclosure	LIA	-		Low-land		Nevell 1999
Chester Amphitheatre	Cheshire	NHC06	Unenclosed	MIA-LIA	-	-	Low-land	2 nd century spear as a possible 'closing deposit on roundhouse abandonment	Cheshire HER 6994
Chester Business Park	Cheshire	NHC07	Unenclosed	MIA-LIA	-	15	Low-land	2nd century BC-1st century AD	Network 2004

Brook House Farm; Bruen Stapleford	Cheshire	NHC08	Unenclosed	LBA-LIA	1320-1010BC/ 1050-800BC/ 1000-800BC/ 920-780BC/ 800-350BC/ 390-160BC/ 390-90BC/ 200BC-AD200	41	Low-land	V. large LBA-EIA roundhouse, in excess of 12m.	Fairburn <i>et al.</i> 2002
Tatton Park	Cheshire	NHC09	Unenclosed	MIA	510-270BC	50	Low-land	Possible stake-built roundhouses	Nevell 1999
Barn Farm	Cheshire	NHC10	Unenclosed	MIA-LIA	-	-	Low-land		Cheshire HER 2879
Poulton	Cheshire	NHC11	Unenclosed	MIA-LIA	-	-	Low-land	3rd century BC- 1st century AD	K. Cootes <i>pers. comm</i>
Oversley Farm	Cheshire	NHC12	Unenclosed	LBA-EIA	-	73	Low-land		Garner 2007
Prestatyn	Flintshire	NHF13	Unenclosed	MIA-LIA	-		Coastal	2nd century BC-1st century AD	Blockley 1989
Parc Bryn Cegin E	Gwynedd	NHG14	Unenclosed	EIA-MIA	780-410BC	60	Low-land		Kenney 2008
Llwyn du Bach	Gwynedd	NHG15	Circular Concentric Embanked Enclosure	EIA-MIA	-	150	Upland		Bersu and Griffiths 1949
Llandegai A	Gwynedd	NHG16	Circular Embanked Enclosure	LBA-EIA	830-660BC	40	Low-land		Lynch and Musson 2001

Erw Wen	Gwynedd	NHG17	Circular Concentric Enclosure	EIA-MIA	980-590BC/ 790-400BC	255	Upland	Double entrance roundhouse	Kelly 1988
Moel y Gerddi	Gwynedd	NHG18	Circular Concentric Enclosure	EIA-MIA	-	300	Upland	Possible double entrance roundhouse	Kelly 1988
Mellteryn Uchaf	Gwynedd	NHG19	Circular Concentric Embanked Enclosure	LBA-EIA	1020-780BC	95	Hill-slope		Ward and Smith 2001
Crawcwellt West	Gwynedd	NHG20	Unenclosed	EIA-LIA	800-200BC	300	Upland	Evidence of Iron Smelting on site	Crew 1998
Pwll Parc	Gwynedd	NHG22	Circular Embanked Enclosure	LBA-EIA		40	Low-land		Ward and Smith 2001
Parc Bryn Cegin F and G	Gwynedd	NHG23	Nucleated Settlement	MIA-LIA	370-40BC	40	Low-land		Kenney 2008
Parc Bryn Cegin N	Gwynedd	NHG24	Curvilinear Embanked Enclosure	MIA-LIA	390BC-AD320	41	Low-land		Kenney 2008
Coed Uchaf	Gwynedd	NHG25	Curvilinear Stone Enclosure	MIA-LIA		140	Low-land		Owen 1872
Braich y Gornel	Gwynedd	NHG26	Compact-Conjoining Roundhouse	LIA		280	Hillslope		Gresham 1972

Ceunant Egrn	Gwynedd	NHG27	Compact-Conjoining Roundhouse	LIA		190	Hillslope		Crawford 1920
Brithdir S	Gwynedd	NHG28	-	LIA		165	Upland		White 1978
Coed y Brain	Gwynedd	NHG29	Compact-Conjoining Roundhouse	LIA		150	Hillslope		Williams 1923
Caerau I	Gwynedd	NHG30	Curvilinear Stone Enclosure	LIA		170	Hillslope		O'Neil 1936
Gors y Brithdir	Gwynedd	NHG31	Rectilinear Enclosure	MIA-LIA		75	Low-land		Kelly 1979
Bush Farm	Gwynedd	NHG32	Unenclosed	LBA-LIA		91	Hillslope	Late Bronze Age- Early Iron Age roundhouse with Late Iron Age reuse	Longley 1998b
Foel Dduarth	Conway	NHCN33	Curvilinear Stone Enclosure	MIA-LIA		90	Hillslope		Lowe 1912
Foel Lwyd W	Conway	NHCN34	Scattered Roundhouses	LIA		420	Hillslope		Lowe 1912
Pen y Coed	Conway	NHCN35	Curvilinear Stone Enclosure	LIA		90	Low-land		Darbishire 1899
Bryn Eryr	Anglesey	NHA36	Rectilinear Enclosure	EIA-LIA	390-40BC	70	Low-land	Multiple-phase site	Longley 1998a
Castell Bryn Gwyn	Anglesey	NHA37	Circular Embanked Enclosure	EIA		10	Low-land		Lynch 1991

Ty Mawr	Anglesey	NHA38	Curvilinear Stone Enclosure	MIA-LIA	285-15BC	91	Coastal	C. Smith 1985
Bodafon Mountain	Anglesey	NHA39	Curvilinear Stone Enclosure	MIA-LIA		110	Hillslope	Griffiths 1955
Cefn Du	Anglesey	NHA40	Nucleated Settlement	MIA-LIA	410-110BC	70	Low-land	Cuttler 2004
Cefn Cwmwd	Anglesey	NHA41	Nucleated Settlement	MIA-LIA	380-40BC	70	Low-land	Roberts <i>et al.</i> 2004
Melin y Plas	Anglesey	NHA42	Nucleated Settlement	MIA-LIA	360BC-AD60/ 20BC-AD130	20	Low-land	G. Smith 2004
Parc Dinmor	Anglesey	NHA43	Compact-Conjoining Roundhouse	LIA		45	Coastal	Phillips 1932
Pant y Saer	Anglesey	NHA44	Curvilinear Stone Enclosure	LIA		80	Low-land	Phillips 1934

