

STONES, BONES AND HOMES:
An Examination of Regionality in the Iron Age
Settlements and Landscape of West Wales



Submitted by: Geraldine Louise Mate

Student Number 31144980

Submitted on the 3rd of November 2003,
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of a
Bachelor of Arts with Honours Degree

School of Social Science, University of Queensland

This thesis represents original research undertaken for a Bachelor of Arts Honours Degree at the University of Queensland, and was completed during 2003. The interpretations presented in this thesis are my own and do not represent the view of any other individual or group

Geraldine Louise Mate

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Title Page	i
Declaration	ii
Table of Contents	iii
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Abstract	ix
Acknowledgements	x
1. <u>The Iron Age in West Wales</u>	1
1.1 Research Question	1
1.2 Area of Investigation	2
1.3 An Approach to the Iron Age	2
1.4 Rationale of Thesis	5
1.5 Thesis Content and Organisation	6
2. <u>Perspectives on Iron Age Britain</u>	7
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 Perspectives on the Iron Age	7
2.2.1 Progression of Interpretations	8
2.2.2 General Picture of Iron Age Society	11
2.2.3 Iron Age Settlements and Structures, and Their Part in Ritual	13
2.2.4 Pre-existing Landscape	20
2.3 Interpretive Approaches to the Iron Age	20
2.3.1 Landscape	21
2.3.2 Material Culture	27
2.4 Methodology	33
2.4.1 Assessment of Methods Available	33
2.4.2 Methodology Selected	35
2.4.3 Rationale and Underlying Assumptions for the Methodology Chosen	36
2.5 Summary	37

<u>3. Data Collection and Analysis</u>	38
3.1 Introduction	38
3.2 Method	38
3.2.1 Method of Analysis	39
3.2.2 Levels of Analysis	41
3.3 The Data and its Limitations	43
3.3.1 Sites Selected	43
3.3.2 Potential Bias in the Data	44
3.3.3 Temporal Boundaries and Chronology of the Iron Age	45
3.4 Settlements, Artefacts and Landscapes	47
3.4.1 Distribution Maps – Settlements and Monuments across the Area	47
3.4.2 Spatial Patterning – Settlements in the Landscape	58
3.4.3 Classification Tables – Structure and Spatial Patterning within Settlements	73
3.5 Summary	78
<u>4. Social and Symbolic Meaning in the Iron Age Settlements of West Wales</u>	79
4.1 Introduction	79
4.2 Settlements	80
4.2.1 Morphology	80
4.2.2 Size Distinction by Type	82
4.2.3 Chronology	84
4.3 Settlements in the Landscape	89
4.3.1 Boundaries	89
4.3.2 Location in the Landscape	91
4.3.3 Pre-Existing Monuments	94
4.4 Spatial Patterning within Settlements	100
4.4.1 Aspect and Orientation	100
4.4.2 Internal Spatial Patterning	101
4.4.3 Artefacts	102
4.5 Comparison with Other Iron Age Areas	104
4.5.1 Wessex	104
4.5.2 Other Regions	105
4.5.3 Is there a Case for Regional Distinctiveness in West Wales?	107

4.5.4 Method for Interpreting Domestic Settlements	108
4.6 Summary	108
5. <u>Conclusions and Recommendations</u>	110
5.1 Principle Findings	110
5.2 Implications of Results	111
5.3 Recommendations for Future Research	113
6. <u>Appendices</u>	115
6.1 Appendix 1: Iron Age Sites in the Study Area	115
6.2 Appendix 2: Bronze Age Sites in the Study Area	119
6.3 Appendix 3: Neolithic Sites in the Study Area	124
6.4 Appendix 4: References Related to Individual Sites (includes RCAHMW database record references)	126
6.5 Appendix 5: Orientation of Enclosure Entrances	131
7. <u>References Cited</u>	133

List of Tables

Table 3.1	Morphology of Settlement / Enclosure Types	40
Table 3.2	Proportion of Settlement Types Through the Study Area	51
Table 3.3	Distribution of Settlement Elevation	57
Table 3.4	Elevation Relative to Site Type	57
Table 3.5	Average Size for Each Morphological Type	63
Table 3.6	Distribution of Orientation of Enclosure Entrances	67
Table 3.7	Distribution of Aspect of Iron Age Sites	68
Table 3.8	Landscape Analysis for Sub-Areas A, B and C	72
Table 3.9	Spatial Analysis of Features for Sub-Areas A, B and C	74
Table 3.10	Spatial Analysis of Artefacts for Sub-Areas A, B, and C	75

List of Figures

Cover Illustration (clockwise from top left):

Pentre Ifan (Gathering the Jewels [online]: CADW 6(1));

Pendinas Lochtyn (Gathering the Jewels [online]: RCAHMW 99-CS-2283);

Moel Drygarn (Gathering the Jewels [online]: RCAHMW 89-CS-0662)

Figure 1.1	Location of Area of Research	3
Figure 1.2	Area of Research	3
Figure 2.1	Pen Dinas Hillfort, Aberystwyth	15
Figure 2.2	Roundhouse Reconstruction at Castell Henllys	18
Figure 2.3	Typical Roundhouse Plan	18
Figure 3.1	Changes in Site Morphology over Time	48
Figure 3.2	Distribution and Identification of Iron Age Sites across the Study Area	49
Figure 3.3	Distribution of Iron Age Sites in Study Area by Morphology	52
Figure 3.4	Distribution of Bronze Age Barrows, Burnt Mounds and Settlements in the Study Area	53
Figure 3.5	Distribution of Bronze Age Standing Stones and Stone Circles across the Study Area	54
Figure 3.6	Distribution of Neolithic Monuments in the Study Area	55
Figure 3.7	Distribution of Settlement Elevation	57
Figure 3.8	Site Drawing of Pengelli Fach	59
Figure 3.9	Site Drawing of Castell Nadolig	59
Figure 3.10	Photo of crop mark of Waunlle	59
Figure 3.11	Site Drawing of Carn Ingli	60
Figure 3.12	Site Drawing of Carn Alw	60
Figure 3.13	Site Drawing of Moel Drygarn	61
Figure 3.14	Site Drawing of Cwm Gloyne Camp	61
Figure 3.15	Size Distribution for Iron Age Settlements in the Study Area	63
Figure 3.16a	Size Distribution for Hillforts	64
Figure 3.16b	Size Distribution for Univallate Defended Enclosures	64

Figure 3.16c	Size Distribution for Univallate Inland Promontory Forts	64
Figure 3.16d	Size Distribution for Bivallate Inland Promontory Forts	65
Figure 3.16e	Size Distribution for Coastal Promontory Forts	65
Figure 3.17	Distribution of Orientation of Enclosure Entrances	67
Figure 3.18	Distribution of Aspect of Iron Age Sites	68
Figure 3.19	Detailed Map of Sub-Area A	69
Figure 3.20	Detailed Map of Sub-Area B	70
Figure 3.21	Detailed Map of Sub-Area C	71
Figure 3.22	Site Drawing of Castell Henllys	77
Figure 3.23	Site Drawing of Henllan Promontory Fort	77
Figure 3.24	Site Drawing of Henllys Top Field Enclosure	77
Figure 4.1	Diagram Showing Possible Progression of Morphology, Enclosure and Social Needs and Organisation for the Iron Age	83
Figure 4.2	Other Sites in Wales Mentioned in the Text	85
Figure 4.3	Aerial Photo of Pendinas Lochtyrn	87
Figure 4.4	Aerial Photo of Castell Henllys	87
Figure 4.5	Aerial Photo of Moel Drygarn, showing details	87
Figure 4.6	Standing Stone Typical of the Type Found in the Study Area	96
Figure 4.7	Aerial Photo of Moel Drygarn Showing Prominence in the Area	96
Figure 4.8	Aerial Photo of Carn Ingli Showing Prominence in the Area	98
Figure 4.9	Pentre Ifan Neolithic Burial Chamber	98
Figure 4.10	Framework for Assessment of Landscape Incorporating Landscape and Material Culture	109

ABSTRACT

West Wales in the Iron Age contained a diverse range of settlement types, from hill-forts to unenclosed farmsteads, with the dominant type of settlement the enclosed farmstead. However, a recent review of information available for the British Iron Age identified a relative lack of systematised information for Wales and consequently there is a pressing need to re-examine the settlement record for this area, as the belief in a single Iron Age “culture” gives way to recognition of regional difference in material cultures, social institutions and life-ways. This thesis examines the settlements and landscape of West Wales in an attempt to contribute to our understanding of this region in the Iron Age.

In order to make a regionally synthesised investigation of the social, I conducted a survey of excavation and survey information for Iron Age settlements in West Wales. Analysis centred on examining the spatial patterning of settlements by considering the morphology, distribution, placement and structure of settlements, their place in the landscape and regional trends in the structuring of space and artefacts. The investigation was contextualised within the wider body of material for the Iron Age in Britain.

The use of landscape theory as an interpretive framework in examining the spatial patterning of the material culture in the Iron Age proved an effective method for interpreting domestic settlements within the lived landscape. Social and cosmological relations within settlements and within the referential structuring of a landscape, particularly with respect to pre-existing monuments, were suggested by the analysis. By comparing these trends in the structuring of settlements within the landscape to settlements elsewhere in Britain, a distinct and regional culture for the Iron Age of West Wales was identified.

Acknowledgements

I would like to take this opportunity to thank my supervisor, Dr. Leonn Satterthwait, for his assistance, patience and support (not to mention the wide-ranging discussions) during the preparation of this thesis. He has made the process positive and instructive while encouraging me towards a confidence in my topic and beyond. I have enjoyed the opportunity of working with him immensely.

I would also like to thank family and friends for their encouragement and support throughout this year. Most particularly, I would like to thank Lyn and Marilyn Ridge for the sourcing of maps, without which this study would not have been possible, and Margaret Warren for continual help and support (especially proof-reading!?). Last, but by no means least, I would like to thank my immediate family – my parents, Betty and Barry Ridge, for their enthusiastic encouragement (still), for all their help, particularly with babysitting, and for the gift of *that* book about Celtic Ireland; my children, Rachel and Rohan, for their patience, and for the very real effort of not drawing on anything that had typing on it; and most especially my husband Michael, without whose continual encouragement, support and Herculean effort I would never have realised this personal journey.

Chapter 1

The Iron Age in West Wales

1.1 RESEARCH QUESTION

The prehistoric features that abound in Wales have long fascinated me. It was the draw of the “Celtic” past that brought me to archaeology, yet when I came to learn about this part of British prehistory, it became apparent that the accepted wisdom with respect to the place of Wales in the overall society of the Iron Age is one of a “back-water”. This has been based partly on the type of evidence, including the relative lack of dateable evidence, available for much of Wales (Davies and Hogg 1994: 229). It is also partly due to periphery-core theories – with Wales considered peripheral to the more “advanced” central and southern areas of Britain (Cunliffe 1991: 369). I do not wish to investigate the cause of this conceptualisation of “backward” Wales in my thesis; rather I wish to examine the settlements of West Wales in order to identify whether the area represented a distinctive region of Iron Age culture.

The remains of Iron Age settlements in West Wales add another layer to a landscape that resonates with the past – Neolithic tombs and Bronze Age cairns, standing stones, and stone circles occupy the land alongside the enclosures and hillforts of the Iron Age. Consideration of this highly nuanced landscape is an integral part of understanding the culture of the Iron Age. How do we read this past landscape? Is it possible to identify differences in social relations and the referential nature of structures through the remains of Iron Age settlements? I believe that this is possible and it is this goal that has framed the question that I wish to address in my thesis, namely – *by examining the morphology, distribution and placement of settlements, using landscape theory as an interpretive framework, is it possible to identify a distinct regional culture for the Iron Age of West Wales?*

1.2 AREA OF INVESTIGATION

The area selected for investigation is situated in the county of Dyfed, straddling the boundaries of the old counties of Pembrokeshire and Cardiganshire (refer Figure 1.1). This area is bounded by the Preseli Mountains in the south, bisected and then bounded by the River Teifi to the west and bounded in the north by the uplands running south from New Quay – the commencement of the Cambrian Mountains (refer Figure 1.2). This circumscribes an area comprised of uplands and coastal plains, divided and primarily drained by the River Teifi, with the coastal plains naturally contained by higher ground. Much of the study area is higher than 100m above sea level and peaks in the Preseli mountains range from 400 – 550m above sea level, falling away towards Cardigan Bay in the west (Davies and Kirby 1994: 10-12). Land in the area generally consists of well-drained brown soils, providing good pasture to support livestock, with areas of peat in the uplands creating constant drainage to the rivers (Davies and Kirby 1994: 25). It is also highly populated with both Iron Age settlements and earlier remains such as burial chambers, barrows and cairns, ideal for consideration of continuity of settlements and their spatial patterning. I feel this is a naturally well-bounded area for study, in contrast to the modern boundaries of counties like Dyfed or Cardigan. It seems appropriate that when considering an area for study, the geographical features of an area are more likely to define boundaries in tradition than modern territorial counties. This is supported by Thurston's (1999:662) argument that a landscape approach reacts against modern boundaries.

1.3 AN APPROACH TO THE IRON AGE

Two particular theoretical perspectives have helped in establishing my interpretive approach. The first is that the act of living in a landscape draws on the actual landscape in framing the experiences of Iron Age people. Many writers have discussed the lived space of landscape, defining it variously as “a dynamic interaction between the individual, the socio-cultural environment and the land” (Strang 1999: 206), “a network of related places”

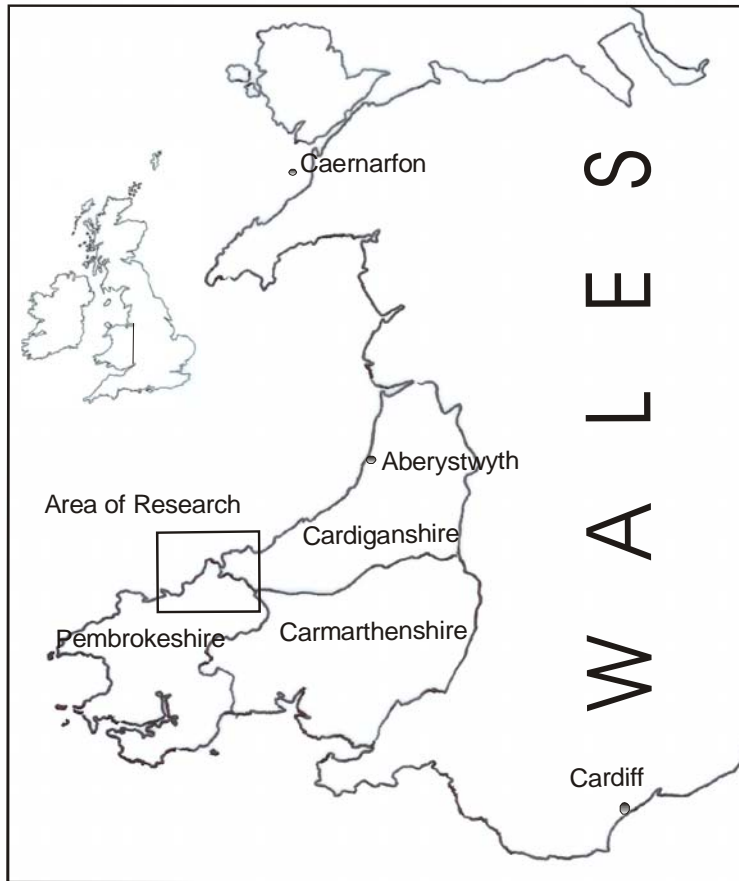


Figure 1.1 Location of Area of research

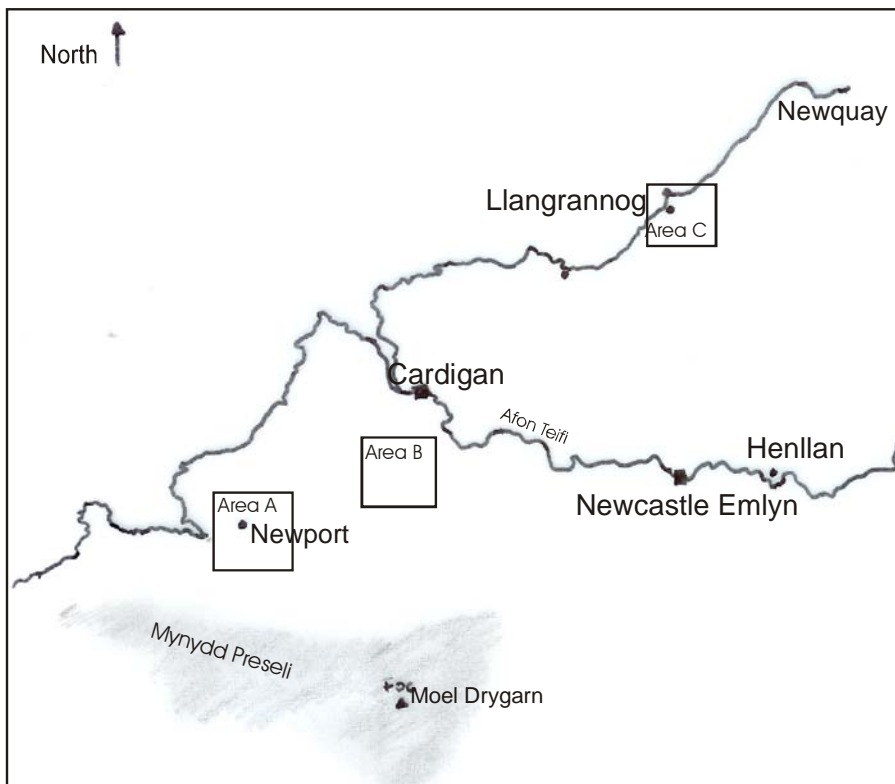


Figure 1.2: Area of Research; with Sub-Areas for detailed analysis marked

(Thomas 2001: 172), and “engaged social space” (Tilley 1994: 12). It has also been recognised that reflexively, humans influence landscape and landscape influences humans (Tilley 1994:17-19; See also Bevan 1997:18; Ingold 2000:520; Thomas 2001: 173). If it is accepted that a social act within a landscape leaves some discernable evidence, such as in the form of an enclosure or a ritual deposition, then landscape theory can be considered a suitable interpretive framework for archaeological investigation of the social (Thomas 2001: 174). This is particularly true of the British Iron Age, where many aspects of constructed landscape are found in the archaeological record (Davies 1995: 676-682; Lynch, Aldhouse-Green and Davies 2000: 162-3).

However, reading the landscape is seen by many as a highly subjective process – that any interpretation is just one of many in a range of multiple possible readings (Ucko and Layton 1999:11; Bender 1993b: 2; Gosden 1999: 486). Hodder (1988:68) addresses this criticism by arguing that contextualisation can help limit the range of possible readings (see also Thomas 2001: 180-1; Strang 1999:207) and can be used in characterising the role played by material features in structuring locales across the landscape (Hodder 1988: 67).

This leads to the second concept that frames my work, that material culture can signify the social on many different levels in the relationship between the material, the symbolic and the social (Tilley 1989: 188; see also Thomas 2001: 172; Hodder 1988: 68). The repetition of social acts based on tradition will leave traces represented in the form taken by items of material culture. Drawing on the ideas of Hodder and Thomas, I believe that examining material culture and how it reflects and directs relational networks in the landscape can give meaningful suggestions about social practices in the Iron Age. Material culture remains and their distribution, particularly settlement structures, can also be used to identify symbolic and social meaning within a settlement and through a lived landscape.

Part of selecting an approach involves identifying the methods used for analysis. Rather than seeking an overarching theory to explain social organisation, I wish to identify

whether there are similarities or differences in the settlement patterns that suggest what that social organisation may have been. In addition, the bearing of pre-existing settlements and monuments on the location of Iron Age settlements will be considered. The socio-cultural landscape and cultural engagement with landscape will be examined, using a referential and relational interpretive approach to reading the data. I believe that a qualitative analysis of the material culture in the landscape is a fitting approach for my goal. As a result, qualitative methods for examining material culture are required. I therefore examine spatial patterning of settlements on several scales – regionally, between settlements and within the settlements themselves. An interpretation based on social practice will be contextualised within the body of study of Iron Age culture, and comparisons will be made to other areas of Britain, allowing an assessment with respect to regional diversity.

1.4 RATIONALE OF THESIS

Hill (1995a: 74) and Haselgrove (2000: 21-2) highlight the lack of regional syntheses for many parts of Britain, including Wales, and emphasise the importance of considering regional variation in furthering any understanding of the Iron Age. West Wales in particular is identified as having a great deal of unsorted information which would benefit from the development of a regional synthesis (Haselgrove 2000: 22). An examination of the regional pattern of settlements in the study area may therefore contribute to our understanding of prehistoric West Wales. Haselgrove (2000: 12) suggests that research on regional differences in Iron Age house organisation and ritual deposition is an important step to furthering our understanding of the Iron Age, together with a need to consider how Iron Age people understood and perceived their landscapes, including relationships with earlier monuments and “off-site” ritual activities. In my study, I also hope to contribute to the understanding of relationships within the landscape, including the role of pre-existing monuments.

By gaining a better understanding of relational networks identified through spatial patterning of material culture, I hope to demonstrate an effective method for interpreting

domestic settlements within the lived landscape. The utilisation of the landscape framework I have proposed recognises changes in interpretative approaches to the Iron Age at the same time as allowing a regional synthesis. This approach can evaluate elements of culture and aid comparisons to other regions. Any identification of regionality may help dispel the theme of peripheral Wales that ignores regional diversity by making value judgements biased towards the more “civilised” areas of England.

1.5 THESIS CONTENT AND ORGANISATION

In summary, this study will examine the morphology, distribution and placement of settlements, using landscape theory as an interpretive framework. It is carried out in order to determine if a distinct and regional culture for the Iron Age of West Wales can be found. I will conduct an examination of spatial patterning using a qualitative and relational approach, considering the relationship between settlement enclosures and their location in landscape. An examination in finer detail of structuring within enclosures will also be conducted. In Chapter 2, a review of the current body of knowledge of the Iron Age in Britain is presented, followed by an examination of interpretive approaches. The method for research is then presented in Chapter 3 together with the data and its analysis. Utilising the concept of landscape as an interpretive framework, the spatial patterning of settlements in West Wales is discussed and interpreted in Chapter 4, and comparisons made to other areas. Finally, as the core of my thesis, the regional diversity of West Wales is evaluated and presented.

So, let the fun begin!

Croeso i Gymru (Welcome to Wales)

Chapter 2

Perspectives on Iron Age Britain

2.1 INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to begin to look at traces of human presence without seeing them from the first as bound up with human social action and subjectivity (Thomas 1993: 28).

As suggested in the introduction, by looking for trends in the landscape, it is possible that a distinct regional pattern will be revealed for Iron Age settlements in West Wales, which differs from settlements elsewhere. In order to understand any such pattern, it is important to contextualise the investigation within the wider body of material explaining the Iron Age in Britain. Therefore, in this chapter, I summarise currently accepted perspectives on Iron Age society, examining the progression of interpretations including the current treatise on settlements in West Wales. I examine the general picture of Iron Age society, including the environment, social organisation, settlements, ritual and cosmology of the Iron Age. I then situate my approach within the range of frameworks utilised to investigate the Iron Age, considering elements of landscape and spatial patterning of material culture, and including studies of the Iron Age. Finally, I consider a methodology for interpreting domestic settlements within the lived landscape of the study area.

2.2 PERSPECTIVES ON THE IRON AGE

The Iron Age in Britain is recognised as a distinct cultural period that extends in late prehistory from around 700BC to the time of the Roman occupation. The precursor of the Iron Age was the Bronze Age with the transition between the two occurring around 800 – 700 BC. Hill (1995a: 76-8) suggests that there is no distinctive transitional marker in the settlement pattern from the Bronze to the Iron Age. There is, in fact, a continuity of settlement types with some evidence of hillforts (traditionally ascribed to the Iron Age) in the Late Bronze Age (Hill 1995a: 77). Similarly, Darvill (1996: 115) identifies many of the elements of Iron Age society such as round houses, enclosure of fields and the advent of salt

trade as also occurring in the Bronze Age. The main indicators of the transition to the Iron Age are in fact the cessation of certain culturally attributable features of the Bronze Age, such as the hoarding and deposition of bronze objects, and the cessation of burial traditions such as the building of monumental burial places. These, together with a gradual increase in the defensive nature of sites, and the onset of larger hillforts and agglomerated settlements, typify the Iron Age (Hill 1995a: 76; Cunliffe 1991: 58-9; Darvill 1996: 133 Lynch *et al.* 2000:150). The enclosed, defended settlement is in fact one of the most enduring features of the Iron Age, rather than the use of iron instead of bronze (Darvill 1996: 128). Nevertheless, the widespread use of iron for tools does relate to the Iron Age and the occurrence of artefacts, such as decorative metalwork and pottery exhibiting Iron Age features, represent the accepted material culture of the Iron Age and serve to date settlements (Darvill 1996: 155). It is, however, important to recognise a continuing and gradual change in settlements, and in social and ritual organisation throughout the Iron Age. These changes are reflected in the division of the Iron Age in Britain into the Early, Middle and Late Iron Age periods (Hill 1995a: 74).

In the latter part of the Iron Age there were distinctive shifts in culture associated with increased contact with the Mediterranean (from approx 100 BC onwards) and then with the invasion of the Romans, including a move towards rectilinear settlements and the increasing use of objects such as Roman pottery (Hill 1995a: 87-8). The later part of the Iron Age was also marked by “the expansion of settlements and population, and its social causes and consequences” (Hill 1995a: 90). It is generally recognised that this effect was less evident in many areas including Wales, and that in West Wales local traditions continued well into the period of Roman presence (Williams 1988: 41).

2.2.1 Progression of Interpretations

Interpretations of the Iron Age have changed significantly in the last 50 years; in particular, they have especially moved away from theories of historical chronology that focus on waves of invasion. These earlier approaches, using chronological frameworks and hypotheses about “invasions”, can be seen in many excavation reports published in the earlier part of the

twentieth century. Specifically, emphasis was placed on the classification of Iron Age into cultures A, B and C based on typology and chronology of pottery, believed to have resulted from successive invasions from the continent (Hawkes 1959). These interpretations were based on inferences of contact and diffusion (e.g., Savoury 1976).

In the 1970s, this culture-historical approach was largely rejected as a result of recognition of continuity of occupation in sites from the Bronze Age onwards, and “internal social evolutionary” models were adopted (Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997: 1-2; Hill 1995a: 52, 76-7). Models for explanation then turned to theories of overall cultural change including environmental, political and population changes. These elements were seen as creating conditions of stress, leading to territoriality and a military/aggressive society, and resulting in socio-cultural changes to status, settlement patterns and local environs (Cunliffe 1991: 523-533; Darvill 1996: 133; Davies 1995: 672). In addition, economic models, such as the core-periphery model, were used to analyse cultural change and to account for regional differences (Cunliffe 1991: 537; see also Collis 1996a: 2; Darvill 1996: 133). More recently, core-periphery models, such as Cunliffe’s, have been argued against by Hill (1995a: 89), who has questioned the identification of core areas based only on the occurrence of “Mediterranean objects, quasi-urban sites and richly furnished graves”, suggesting that we may be missing many areas of concentration of activity that do not conform to this construct of a “core”.

Warfare has also featured strongly as a putative trait of Iron Age society, and in models for change to that society. Militarism is seen as central to social relations throughout the Iron Age, with economic pressures towards the end of the Middle Iron Age leading to an increasingly aggressive society focusing on territorial defence (Cunliffe 1991: 533; Darvill 1996: 133). Accordingly, there has been a tendency to emphasise conflict in both terminology and analysis, e.g., there is a preference for such terms as “defended” rather than enclosed settlements, and “hillforts” rather than homesteads, and a preoccupation with defensive siting. With respect to the settlements themselves, analyses over the last three decades have employed several approaches, including the use of central place theory (Cunliffe

1984), settlement ranking analysis (Ferrell 1997) and morphological analysis (Smith 1974). Morphological analyses have generally been related to function, or are seen in terms of environmental conditions (subsistence, social organisation or warfare).

These explanatory frameworks have recently been challenged, with the criticism that they fail to consider wider aspects of sociality and the role of the individual (Parker Pearson and Richards 1996b: 7), while also ignoring evidence for the types of activities taking place in settlements (Hill 1995a: 70). Interpretations of Iron Age society have now moved towards the consideration of social elements of cultures, together with a wider recognition of regional variation and complexity (Hill 1995a: 51-3; Carr and Stoddart 2002: 5-10; see also Cunliffe 1991:14-20; and Collis 1996a:1-3). Recent work has included discussions of the ritual practices of the Iron Age including burials, symbolic layouts of settlements, and deposits (Hill 1995b; Fitzpatrick 1997; Parker Pearson 1999). New work also gives consideration to spatial organisation of settlements and round-houses, with some authors suggesting that ritual display and spatial orientations in Iron Age houses reflect the social relationships and cosmologies of the Iron Age (Armit 1997; Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson 1996; Foster 1989). A shift toward utilising the concept of landscape has also occurred in studies of the Iron Age. For example, an analysis of the spatial patterning of settlement layouts, enclosures and boundaries was produced by Bevan (1997), using a landscape approach (see also Gwilt 1997; and Parker Pearson, Sharples and Mulville 1996).

In parallel with these shifts in theoretical perspective, is the move away from the “inherited chronological boundaries” of the Bronze Age, Iron Age, and Roman period, towards an outlook that recognises the continuity of tradition throughout the first millennium BC and well into the first millennium AD (Haselgrove 2000: 4). However, in discussing the potential of such analyses, Haselgrove (2000: 8) makes the important point that not everything can be explained as ritual and that any such interpretation must be well argued and supported with detailed evidence. Criticisms have also arisen that the micro-examination of elements of ritual or social organisation ignores wider questions about society, and the

mechanisms and reasons for social change (Haselgrove 2000:2; see also Gosden 1999:485). Finally, the emphasis in analysis has been on larger settlements, with relatively few regional syntheses or area comparisons made (Haselgrove 2000: 20-21).

2.2.2 General Picture of Iron Age Society

Having examined the progression of interpretations of the Iron Age that appeared during the twentieth century, it is now appropriate to examine the body of knowledge about Iron Age society that has arisen out of these interpretations. In this general picture, I will examine social organisation, settlements and structures, and ritual in the Iron Age. However, I first wish to consider the environment that provided the foundation for subsistence and the operation of farmsteads, and that led, as some would have it, to the implied social structure of the Iron Age.

Subsistence and Environment in the Iron Age

The subsistence round in the Iron Age was one of farming for sustenance and surplus. The farming carried out included arable farming and pastoralism, with use of the iron ploughshare facilitating the growing of wheat and barley, and woodland clearance and expansion of pasture (a feature of the Iron Age and Bronze Age environments) allowing the husbandry of sheep, cattle and pigs (Cunliffe 1991: 372-382). Davies and Kirby (1994: 40-41) cite extensive evidence for deforestation and clearing of lowlands in the Iron Age, following on from clearance in the Bronze Age.

An important part of the changes in subsistence during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age was related to environment. The climate deteriorated during this transition, with the weather becoming cooler and wetter in the first half of the first millennium BC (Bell 1996b). This led to the formation and growth of bogs in upland tracts, reducing the amount of productive land in Britain, including Wales, and is cited as the reason for abandonment of upland settlements (Davies and Hogg 1994: 220; Davies 1995: 672; Burgess 1985: 200-202). Following the deterioration, a climatic amelioration was experienced in the

second half of the first millennium BC (around 600 BC – 450 BC), resulting in warmer and drier conditions. This led to increasing population, an expansion of lowland settlements and repopulation of more marginal upland areas (Cunliffe 1991: 524; Davies and Hogg 1994: 220). My study area is a combination of an uplands environment and coastal plains. It is most likely that the climate was similar to that of today, and would have been ideal for pastoral activity given current farming in the area (Darvill 1996: 133; Williams 1988: 32).

Social Organisation

Environment is often identified as a cause, or at least a factor in the increase in territorial behaviour in the Iron Age, particularly in Wales (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 150). Cunliffe (1991: 537) suggests a model of Iron Age society showing a social hierarchy that developed after 400 BC when the climate had improved, with increasing population and complexity of social patterns after this time. The size of hillforts, enclosures and boundaries are used as evidence to support this inference of a highly differentiated society, with power and status differences enabling the concerted effort required to build and control these structures, either through coercion or communal activity (Cunliffe 1991: 529). Particularly in the later parts of the Iron Age and in the southeast of Britain, the presence of an elite has been inferred, with evidence for this found in the relative size and status of hillforts, the richness of some deposits and burials, and the use of coinage depicting dominant “tribes”, together with evidence for increasing importance of luxury goods traded or exchanged from France (Cunliffe 1991:543-5; Hill 1995a: 81-2). Manufacturing in this period included iron, bronze and gold working, weaving, and pottery. The economy of the Iron Age appears to have been based on trade (both locally and more widely distributed) in metal work, pottery, salt and iron (Cunliffe 1991: 444-168).

This view is complemented by a picture of a largely tribal social structure for the “peripheral” areas of Iron Age Britain, with the agglomeration of social groups in the East and petty lords in the West (Cunliffe 1991: 541). For the south-west of Britain, including Wales, Cunliffe (1991: 539) believes that after the establishment of its characteristic social, economic

and religious systems, there was little subsequent change during the Iron Age. However, the idea of a tribal society is argued against by Hill (1996: 104-7) who suggests that, in Wessex for example, there was a considerable degree of household independence, with differing degrees of wealth and status occurring among households, arguing against the existence of a permanent elite. Distinct differences between regions are now being recognised in the way Iron Age societies were organised (Hill 1995a: 73).

2.2.3 Iron Age Settlements and Structures, and their Part in Ritual

One way in which Iron Age social organisation is manifested is in the settlements of the time. Settlements in Iron Age studies are regarded as the individual residence or cluster of residences that made up the area in which a domestic group or close community lived. These range from hillforts, through a variety of defended or enclosed settlements, to open settlements. Enclosed settlements are the most common site found in the archaeological record and often feature extended bounded areas for farming and marking of territory outside the immediate enclosure of the settlement (Collis 1996b: 88-9). Enclosures can be rectilinear or circular, ditched or palisaded, with single (univallate), double (bivallate) or more complex arrangements of ditches and banks (multivallate). The most defensively enclosed, often with ramparts, are the hillforts. In addition, areas of prehistoric fields are often found around settlements (Benson, Evans, Williams, Darvill and David 1990; Murphy 2001).

Settlements

Hillforts have been the focus of the majority of settlement studies upon which models of Iron Age society have been based. From the sixth to fifth century BC there was a proliferation of hillfort building as part of the trend to more fortified settlements (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 152).

Hillforts were widespread across southern Britain, with a “hillfort dominated zone” running south to north-west through Dorset, the Welsh Marches and into North Wales (Cunliffe 1991: 369, 533). Hillforts can be considered as large sites enclosed by earthen or stone walls, often defensively situated on hilltops. However, the use of the term “hillfort” is problematic, concealing regional, morphological, chronological and functional variations in such

settlements (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 146; Hill 1995a: 68-9). For example, Cunliffe (1991: 264) excludes such settlements as Castell Henllys, Henllan and Pen Dinas (Figure 2.1), all in West Wales, from his hillfort category by virtue of their size, and instead designates them as defended enclosures, although they appear to be smaller hillforts (Darvill 1996: 133-6). It is therefore important to understand the variety of morphologies in Iron Age settlements.

The trend for the Early Iron Age in Wales is for the location of settlements in strong, naturally defensive positions such as promontories or spurs (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 152). Cunliffe (1991: 215) points out that promontory forts are a distinctive settlement type, found particularly in Wales and the south west counties. However, the single household, defended enclosure was the most dominant settlement type throughout the Iron Age, although the size, composition, and architecture of these settlements varied through time and space (Hill 1995a: 54). In the area around West Wales these farmsteads are prevalent. They are typified by a fence or light earthwork enclosure, are usually approximately ½ a hectare or less in area, and contain a small number of roundhouses and perhaps some four post structures (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 162-172). It has been noted that not all enclosures are continuous and some were highly elaborate for such mundane purposes (Fitzpatrick 1997: 78). In addition, not all settlements were enclosed, and open settlements are also found in the Iron Age settlement pattern (Fitzpatrick 1997: 78; Darvill 1996:144; Hill 1995a: 58).

Nevertheless, defensive measures – the make up of walls, multi-vallation (multiple ditches and ramparts), defensive position, protection from attack, and the fortification of gateways – were an integral part of early interpretations of hillforts. The focus on defence has continued in the underlying discourse of hillforts as defensive enclosures for people, for grain storage, and as means of power declaration (Darvill 1996: 135-6; Cunliffe 1991: 312). The past emphasis on defensive elements coincides with the assignment of enclosed settlements to the category of “hillforts”. Yet many “hillforts” occur on slopes or are overlooked by hilltops and are not defensively situated at all. This focus is changing and it is now believed that in many cases the enclosures were as much for display as defence (Fitzpatrick 1997: 78).



Figure 2.1. Pen Dinas Hillfort, Aberystwyth (Gathering the Jewels [online]: RCAHMW 89-CS-0079)

Hill (1995a: 68; 1996:108-112) argues against the interpretation of hillforts as being an elite residence with a central role in production, and questions their apparent military function, stressing instead their role as “communal, ritual foci”. He points out that some areas successfully operated without hillforts, and therefore they cannot be considered the be all and end all of Iron Age settlements. Different, smaller settlement types are now being included in the picture, and factors such as the interaction of people in systems of power relations, and the place of ritual and the reflection of cosmology in settlement layout are now being emphasised.

Many authors have attempted to identify trends in settlement layout through time, although caution is needed here. Firstly, as Hill (1995a: 68) points out, during the Iron Age hillforts appeared at different times in different locations. Secondly, by assigning a chronological development in morphology, we may neglect real regional differences. However, there do appear to be some instances where a chronology may be applied to the morphological changes in settlements, particularly at a local level. In the south-west of Wales, a comprehensive synthesis of settlement morphology through time has been carried out by Williams (1988) in his investigation of the Llawhaden group of Iron Age sites. Williams (1988) identifies a sequence of changes in settlement patterns and morphologies through time for the Llawhaden area and with reference to several Iron Age settlements in Dyfed. The settlement pattern in this area appears to have changed from undefended enclosures, to a small univallate (single ditch and rampart) hillfort in the Early Iron Age. In the Middle Iron Age, defensively situated bivallate (double ditch and rampart) hillforts were in use. By the end of the Iron Age, the settlement pattern had further changed to a proliferation of smaller, less defended “ring-forts”. Williams’ model is based on differences in the environment of the three areas he defined in Dyfed and he draws conclusions about differences in settlement size based on the ability of communities to support their members, arguing that the larger hillforts occupied zones of more amenable climate. However, in his environmental explanation, Williams fails to adequately address the reasons for changing settlement morphologies and location through time. Nevertheless, Williams’ study presents some interesting possibilities for establishing a chronology based on the type of enclosure.

Structures

Within settlements, round houses were the predominant house structure for much of the Iron Age (Parker Pearson 1996: 119; Hill 1995a: 54). Roundhouses were a circular structure built with wooden or stone walls and roofed with thatch or turf (see Figure 2.2) and had specific features and layouts including single or double rings of supports (with standardised ratios between the outer and inner rings – see Figure 2.3), division into areas of specific use, and elaborate doorways (Hill 1995a: 59, 1996: 103; Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 48-9). In addition to roundhouses, four and six post structures, generally interpreted as granaries, are often found within the enclosures, and some enclosures also contain pits, along with areas for craftwork and animal husbandry (Parker Pearson 1996: 119-120).

Ritual and Cosmology

Ritual and cosmology in the Iron Age centred on and around the settlements (Hill 1995a:54; Barrett 1999: 254). Some authors suggest that many depositions within Iron Age enclosures represent not refuse but the result of ritual activity. Hill (1995a: 64, 66, 77; 1995b) argues that deposition of both human remains and other domestic and farming related objects, such as pottery and food, was the dominant ritual practice in the Iron Age. He also contends that these depositions occurred not just in settlements but at boundary earthworks and ditches, wells, and natural places such as caves, springs, lakes and rivers. Depositions of human remains and artefacts in enclosing ditches and at their termini, point to the significance of these ditches and banks in Iron Age belief systems (Fitzpatrick 1997: 79-82). Deposition of metal objects in particular is seen as being of some importance in the Late Iron Age (Hill 1995a: 85; Webster 1995: 449-452). Some examples have been found of iron “currency” bars (triangular shaped iron bars) being deliberately deposited in ditches and of iron slag being “discarded” (Fitzpatrick 1997: 79; Collis 1996b:90). It may be possible that the “discarded” slag was also formally deposited. It is, however, in the deposition of bones (animal and human) that the element of ritual is most clear, particularly with respect to burials (Bristow 1998; Parker Pearson 1999: 58-60; Wait 1985; Whimster 1981).

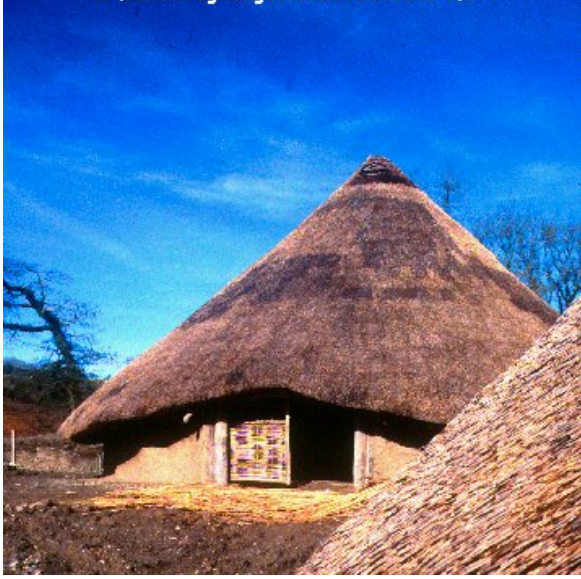


Figure 2.2 Roundhouse Reconstruction at Castell Henllys (Castell Henllys [Online])

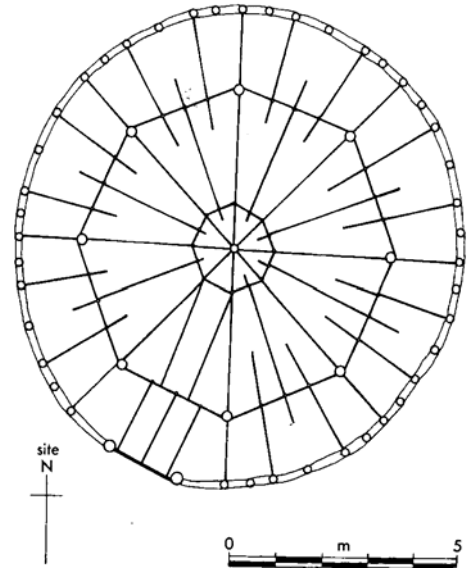


Figure 2.3. Typical Roundhouse Plan (Mytum 1986: 286)

In a reflection of the domestic focus of ritual, organisation of settlement space is now considered not just a result of functional needs but also as the embodiment of Iron Age cosmology, with the use of cosmological referents proposed in the social constitution of space (Fitzpatrick 1997: 74; Parker Pearson 1999; Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 54; Hill 1995a: 53). Structuring of space in Iron Age settlements is observable on three levels – within roundhouses, within enclosures, and across the landscape. Within round houses, structuring and reflection of cosmologies can be seen in a north/south (day/night) orientation of features in space (Parker Pearson 1999: 47-50). For example, spatial patterning suggests that daytime activities such as craft and eating were concentrated in the south, while sleeping areas appear to have been in the north (Parker Pearson 1999: 49-50). Another example is found in the orientation of roundhouse doorways, which predominantly opened to the east, perhaps reflecting a cosmological emphasis on sunrise (Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 48; Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson 1999: 43-6).

Divisions of north and south areas are found in the structuring of space within settlement enclosures as a whole (Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 52; Parker Pearson 1999: 50-51; Williams 1988: 46; Fitzpatrick 1997: 78-80). Structuring principles are also found in the orientation of enclosure entrances, again exhibiting a predominance of east/west entrances (Fitzpatrick 1997: 78; Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 49). Particularly in the Early Iron Age, there may also have been some spatial segregation of food storage, preparation and craft activities from areas of food consumption within the enclosures (Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 52; Fitzpatrick 1997: 80-82). Structuring may also be seen in the landscape, in the orientation and location of settlements with respect to boundaries and field systems, and in the placement of these boundaries (Fitzpatrick 1997: 78; Collis 1996b). Hill (1995a: 85) also suggests that in the late Iron Age the landscape may have been compartmentalised with different areas set aside for ritual, burial, and occupation by elites. Finally, there appears to be structuring in relation to important places such as wells and springs, and pre-existing monuments and settlements (Bevan 1997).

2.2.4 Pre-existing Landscape

An integral part of the landscape in which the Iron Age people lived would have been the settlements and monuments of the Bronze Age and the Neolithic. Monumental constructions of standing stones, stone circles, burial chambers (including the large stone-framed portal dolmens), barrows and cairns dominated the local landscape (Briggs 1994). The construction of these monuments had ceased by the end of the Bronze Age (Barrett 1999: 254; Hill 1995a: 64; Briggs: 1994: 125). The focus of monumental building then effectively shifted to the domestic front with the elaboration of enclosure gateways and round-house entrances, as well as to the act of enclosure, particularly enhanced in hillforts. However, principally in the north and west of Britain, the monumental architecture of the Bronze Age and Neolithic continued to represent places of significance into the Iron Age, even having a continuing role in ritual activities such as burial (Hill 1995a: 65; see also Benson *et al.* 1990: 242; Murphy 1992: 22).

2.3 INTERPRETIVE APPROACHES TO THE IRON AGE

With the prominence of hillforts, and the landscape of the Bronze Age all around Iron Age settlements, it seems logical to consider the impact of landscape on the settlements of Iron Age Wales. I therefore now wish to discuss the theoretical framework and interpretive approach I plan to use, beginning with a discussion of landscape. Although it is people, not structures, who construct cultures, the landscape they live in frames their experiences. Landscape theory, as an interpretive framework, allows consideration not only of a settlement's chronology, location and morphology, but also of the relations and everyday experience of people in the landscape. In my introductory chapter, I explained that in an attempt to identify regional patterns in Iron Age settlements, it seemed appropriate to use a landscape framework in an analysis of the material culture remains. I now wish to expand on the theoretical orientations of landscape and material culture approaches and to consider the best methodological approach for this examination. This discussion can then be related to the Iron Age of West Wales, in order to address the question of whether regionality of Iron Age culture is observable in the morphology, distribution and placement of settlements.

2.3.1 Landscape

The concept of landscape is founded on the assumption that human landscapes are culturally constructed (Strang 1999: 206).

Recognition that more than just the built elements of a past settlement were of archaeological significance began with the analysis by Aston (1985: 11) of such factors as settlement patterns, communication links, focal points and land use (See also Wagstaff 1987:79). This was later broadened to the concept of “off-site” landscape archaeology and applied to hunter-gatherer sites where surveys were expanded to cover entire landscapes (Schlanger 1992: 105; Rossignol and Wandsnider 1992: 194). However, using a landscape *scale* does not reflect the sentient aspect of landscape (unless, through interpretation, specific contrasts can be found within and between landscapes that may then be attributed to cultural factors). These early approaches were considered by many researchers to be simplistic and deterministic – treating the people in prehistory as “ghost-like figures” (Thomas 1993: 26; Brown 1999: 255). The landscape approach can, nevertheless, be considered as moving away from a heavy emphasis on individual site excavations towards a more integrative approach, incorporating a range of attributes of an area (Thurston 1999: 662; Knapp and Ashmore 1999: 2; see also Dunnell 1992) and giving consideration to sentiency.

In order to reveal the sentiency attached to prehistoric landscapes, writers such as Tilley, Thomas, Ingold and Bender emphasise the need to consider the reflexive nature of people’s relationship to landscape. These relationships are complex, multilayered, symbolic and highly contextualised. In fact, the term ‘landscape’ itself has become a complex, multilayered and highly contested idea (Olwig 1993; Thomas 2001; Ucko and Layton 2000:1-18). In laying the foundation for the concept of landscape, Tilley (1994: 11) examines ideas of place and space, concluding that space is contextually composed, creating settings for involvement and meaning. This defining of space can be translated into a picture of the archaeological record as made up of a variety of socially produced spaces, changing with the activities occurring in them. These places in the landscape, together with the activities that occurred there, become imbued with meaning (Tilley 1994:18-19). Tilley (1994: 34)

therefore defines landscape as “a series of named locales, a set of relational places linked by paths, movements and narratives”.

Others have produced similar definitions of landscape incorporating physical and phenomenological facets in an attempt to clarify its use. Ingold (2000:520) uses the notion of “task-scape” to explain the contextualisation of space in the landscape, with tasks and the repetition of actions creating a meaningful context for the landscape. Any single act, intelligible in the archaeological record, is but one in a series of acts creating networks that operate within a landscape. Therefore, according to Thomas (2001: 174), examination of the archaeological remnants of these acts connects us into this network of relationships. Similarly, Strang (1999: 206) observes that the human-environmental relationship involves a dynamic interaction between the individual, the socio-cultural environment and the land. Bevan stresses that “Landscape, as the geographical time-space context of human activities, *influences, and itself is influenced by social interaction and structure*” (Bevan 1997:181, emphasis added). Bevan (1997: 181) further remarks on the importance of these meanings:

In reflexive relationships with economic, environmental and climatic factors, these cultural meanings influence how the landscape is perceived and understood and how human actions within it are structured.

The post-processual approach recognises the dialectical nature of human-landscape relationships – humans influence landscapes and landscapes influence humans, and in a reflexive manner humans give and re-inscribe meaning to a place through their actions and the act of living in it (Bevan 1997: 181; see also Tilley 1994: 17-19, Thomas 1993: 28). Landscape therefore can be considered both a product of human action and a medium of socialisation (Jordan 2003:18; see also Thomas 2001: 173; Tilley 1994:17-19).

As a result of this “dynamic interaction” between people and their surrounds, the landscape perspective appears to provide a suitable interpretive framework for archaeological investigation of the social, particularly for the British Iron Age, where many aspects of constructed landscape are found in the archaeological record. As Barrett (2000a: 22) points

out, excavations in the past have focused on periods of building and structural modifications, without considering the lives going on within. This is especially noticeable in the excavation strategies for Iron Age settlements where investigations and interpretations frequently centre on the construction phases of enclosures. In contrast, Bevan (1997) demonstrates the efficacy of a landscape perspective in his examination of archaeological survey and excavation information from settlements, and burials at Iron Age sites in the Yorkshire Wolds. He draws a picture of a social and symbolic landscape, altered through the construction of boundaries, route ways, settlements, and focal places. He interprets the symbolism of these features as the bounding of spaces signifying land division and community identity (Bevan 1997: 181-189). In this regard, it is necessary to understand that landscape is an integral part of human consciousness – people are immersed in landscape, it does not impinge on them – it is part of what they are and what they understand of their world.

Living-in-the-world

I regard the Iron Age landscape as a landscape of the kind defined by Thomas (2001:172-3) – a lived landscape, a network of related places and interactions contextually composed through experience. Focussing on a phenomenological approach to landscape, Thomas (1993: 30; 2001: 170-2), and Tilley (1993b:196-8), have dissected the hermeneutics of place allowing recognition of a critical part of the landscape approach – “being-in-the-world”. This is framed both by a person’s experience of living in the landscape, what they saw and did everyday as they moved through the landscape, and by their own experiences in life. This experience was dependent on their “culturally created view of the world” (Gosden 1999: 486) and on their position in social, political and economic networks of power and knowledge (Jordan 2003: 21; See also Thomas 1993: 30; Bender 1999: 633) – what Bender (1993a: 246-8) calls “‘living-in-the-world’ – the interlocking *habitus* of action, belief, experience, engagement”. Hence, a people’s interaction in the landscape can also be considered a *result* of cultural conditions. If people are aware of the part their actions and interactions have in reproducing social practice (Jordan 2003: 14), then consideration of the relationships they establish between larger and smaller settlements, monuments and other elements in the

landscape of the Iron Age is warranted. We would otherwise be assuming living-in-the-world to be limited to the immediate surroundings of an enclosure.

Power and Pre-existing Landscapes

Places and monuments can both be considered important in constituting society (Hodder 1996: 74). Hillforts are both a symbol of status and an example of the power relations involved in mobilising a workforce to build monumental structures. This is demonstrated by the monumentality of the walls and the elaborateness of gateways, and in the communal or coercive labour invested in building and maintaining enclosures. A symbolic statement can also be inferred from the creation of defences (Fitzpatrick 1997: 77; Cunliffe 1991: 533). Hence, monumentality in landscape and peoples' experience of living in that same landscape are of great importance.

Several writers (Ingold 2000; Bender 1993a; Tilley 1994; and Richards 1995) have pointed to the power manifested in relationships with pre-existing landscapes. Pre-existing landscapes may be manipulated, with power resting in the ability to control access to places within the landscape and to translate or interpret the meanings of places to others. Bender (1993a: 249-52), in particular, discusses the requisition of prior landscapes and appropriation of tradition to sanctify and empower current ways. Examining the landscape of Stonehenge, she cites the "referencing back to earlier forms, to places long associated with the ancestors and the gods" (Bender 1993a: 249). The re-appropriation of monuments after a period of abandonment may translate into power through rights to territory, through claims to ancestral connections, or through the "ownership" of ritual (Barrett 2000a: 26). Bender (1993a: 252) also examines Stonehenge and its pre-existing landscape during the late Bronze Age and Iron Age, suggesting the area came to be regarded as a "dangerous place", to be avoided.

One final area for consideration is the potential use of features in the natural landscape as places of importance. Natural features can be significant in creating boundaries in the landscape (Tilley 1994:17) and Bradley (2000) cites several examples from British prehistory

where the natural landscape of an area has special ritual significance (also see Barrett 1999: 254; Tilley 2001). Watery places may have particular importance in the Iron Age, as evidenced by “ritual” deposition (Webster 1995; Barrett 1999: 254). Consequently, any consideration of a pre-existing landscape should also reflect on the role of natural features.

The pre-existing landscape that the Iron Age people found themselves in can therefore be considered as highly contextualised, with networks of relationships influencing the creation of cultural meaning. If evidence can be found of the framing of settlements within the broader landscape, and in relation to larger, more monumental hillforts, and to special places, such as pre-existing monuments and natural features, then it may be possible to draw conclusions about the power relationships, ritual involvements, and meaningful landscapes that made up part of the way in which Iron Age people experienced the world.

Experiential Reading

Many considerations of the phenomenology of landscape heavily emphasise the experiential reading of a place. Application of this approach can be seen in studies such as Tilley’s (1994: 154-197) analysis of the monumental architecture of prehistoric Cranborne Chase in which patterns of inter-visibility, orientation and location between barrows are considered. He points out that the Neolithic people “created a series of visual pathways and nodal points in the landscape” and that “originally the majority of these mounds may have been located along track-ways or natural paths of movement through the landscape”. He further argues that “the experience of walking along [the Cursus] was an essential ingredient in its meaning” (Tilley 1994: 197). In another study, Tilley (1993a: 80) discusses how Megaliths in Sweden frame peoples’ relation to the monuments themselves and to the landscape, suggesting that topography and architecture interact with each other, and that the presence of an architectural form activates “what is otherwise socially neutral space”. He goes on to say:

Form and setting mediate each other, creating a focus for social activity and for the channelling of a visual code providing an architectural apparatus by means of which people become actively involved in the natural and social environment surrounding them (Tilley 1993a: 80).

Similarly, in his experiential analysis of Avebury, Thomas (1993: 30) emphasises the point that the relational networks of the monumental complex “cannot be understood entirely from plans and distribution maps, but requires a considering of the positioning of persons in relation to the monuments” (see also Bender 1999: 633).

Bradley (2000: 41) sees prehistoric monumental architecture as the most successful focus of a phenomenological approach, believing that this approach is more difficult to apply to the general landscape, and can also be highly subjective (Bradley 2000: 42). Nevertheless, it is important to be conscious of the phenomenological perspective when interpreting settlements in the landscape. There are difficulties in applying the phenomenological approach, using data without visiting a site, but the impact of architecture in framing peoples’ relationships to the landscape must be considered, even if one is not operating within an “experiential” framework.

The Issue of Multiple Readings and Subjectivity

The assertions of Thomas and Tilley that they are able to interpret true meaning by experiential means begs the question of whether their readings of monumentality can be the same as those of past people. Reading the landscape can be seen as personal and highly subjective with no two readings the same. Bringing one’s own experience and situation to the interpretation, or reading, may merely create another in a series of “multiple and contested readings” (Ucko and Layton 1999:11; Barrett 1996:89; see also Barrett 1999:29; Bender 1993a: 246-8; Gosden 1999: 486; Cosgrove 1993). Interpretation of their external world by the people of the past could also be multi-faceted and dependant on individual experience, position, and social and political place in society. In attempting any reading of symbolism in the landscape, we may be creating a “surrogate discourse”, attributing our own values (or our own ideas of Iron Age values) to the landscape, in an attempt to find the implied meaning (Ucko and Layton 1999: 12-14; see also Bender 1993a: 246; and Gosden 1999:488). The meanings we, as interpreting archaeologists, might create are also culturally created and often contested! However, contextualisation is a means of reducing the range of potential readings

to a level where the expectation of reasonable interpretation is possible. As Thurston (1999:667) comments, “while we cannot recover the path of a single individual, we can reconstruct typical paths and projects in late prehistory”.

2.3.2 Material Culture

Having examined landscape theory as an approach, a means of examining settlements and their position in the landscape is required. The study of material culture seems appropriate for these needs. In particular, I wish to explore those principles of material culture that mirror the approach of landscape, namely the importance of material culture in the creation of meaning, and the realisation of that meaning through social practice. I then wish to examine Giddens’ Theory of Structuration, and on the basis of this, connect material culture to landscape. Finally, I will consider how these theoretical approaches relate to the Iron Age.

Signification in Material Culture

At its most basic level, material culture, as found in the archaeological record, is a reflection of human actions in the past. David Clarke (1977: 5) provided one of the earlier considerations of the spatial patterning of material culture, stating “there is archaeological information in the spatial relationships between things as well as in the things themselves”. These ideas have been expanded to reveal the relationship between material culture and signification, that the material world is a “potentially powerful system of signification” (Barrett 2000b: 27). This consideration of signification includes ideas on the textual nature of material culture and the reflection of social meaning in the structure of material culture (Hodder 1988: 68, 1993; Hodder, Isaac and Hammond 1981).

Material culture can be considered as a cognitive system, in that it has a role as a structured framework for communication, knowledge and information, acting both as a communication medium and as a symbolic medium (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 96; Barrett 2000b: 17). Tilley (1989: 188-9) suggests that features and artefacts signify the social on many different levels. He also asserts that the use of material culture “has to be regarded as a

contextualised social act” (Tilley 1989: 189, emphasis added). Context is manifested in the activity, the manner of use and in the knowledge or understanding of meaning attributed to the item. An item of material culture can be considered part of a recursive relationship between the material form, the symbolic, and social behaviour, where it both reflects and directs social relationships (Thomas 2001: 172; Tilley 1989: 188; Jordan 2003: 16). Material culture is, therefore, meaningfully constituted, and can be situated in relation to the social, within frameworks of conceptual meaning (Hodder 2000: 87; Tilley 1989: 188).

Spatial Structuring of Architecture and Artefacts

Spatial patterning is part of the context of material culture. Therefore, in the structuring of material culture, a correspondence can be found between social activity and spatial patterning (Fletcher 1995: 17-21). Whitelaw (1996: 226-7) notes that three specific elements of social symbolism can be found in spatial layout. The first is symbolism found in the divisions within a social unit, such as gender division and age/experience divisions (Whitelaw 1996: 226). Divisions between social units can also be symbolic, with distinctions in status relationships expressed through the layout, for example, of camps and locations within communal areas (Whitelaw 1996: 226-7). Thirdly, elements of cosmology can be observed in spatial layouts such as the location and orientation of camps and structures (Whitelaw, 1996: 222-3). Therefore, structure can be invested with meaning by human action or, conversely, meaning can be said to be realised through social practice (Barrett 2000b: 27; Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 41).

Glassie (1975) investigated the relationship between form and social organisation by identifying changes in spatial layouts of architecture that reflected social changes. He also examined the inter-relationships between function, meaning and context. He observed that house design related to more than just function, exploring concepts of an “intellectual model” of design (1975: 119) that followed cultural traditions in spite of any shortcomings. Parker Pearson and Richards (1996a: 40) defined architecture as a “constructed cultural space ... a defined context where people undertake particular activities at particular times”, and further

developed ideas on potential signification in architecture by examining aspects of social and cosmological referents reflected in architectural layouts (Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 38-72). Hodder (1996) illustrated social and cosmological referents in a comparative study of spatial arrangements in Neolithic houses and tombs in the Orkneys (also see Barrett 1996 and Richards 1996). Further, by examining architectural elements and how they direct movement in domestic space, the house can be perceived as a framework for symbolic organisation (Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 43). In particular, it can be said that, as well as representing cosmological themes, by framing peoples' movement through space, architecture allows human action and environment to form part of a symbolic structure – humans, architecture, space and symbolism affecting and reflecting each other (Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 44; See also Tilley 1993: 80).

Giddens (1984: 36) asserts that “all social systems, no matter how grand or far flung, both express and are expressed in the routines of daily social life”. If the repetition of individual acts and replication of social structures are reflected in the spatial patterning of material, then it should be possible to recognise some of these patterns and relate them to a specific act or structure which is part of and reflects the social structure. Elements of daily life that can be seen in the archaeological record include the structuring of architecture and settlement layouts and the deposition of material culture (both intentional and natural deposition). Social structure and practice may also be reflected in the positioning of settlements in the landscape.

Social Practice

Giddens proposed the “agency/practice” approach to social theory – a combination of structural and human agency approaches (Barrett 2000b: 26; Jordan 2003: 11). This theoretical approach considers that all human action is carried out by agents who construct the social world through their action, yet their actions are also constrained by structures existing in this very social world (Giddens 1991: 204; Barrett 2000b: 29; Jordan 2003: 12). In other words, the daily structure of actions operates within the wider organisational

structure of a society. However, there is a recursive element in Giddens' Theory of Structuration, in that social activities regularly reconstitute themselves (Giddens 1991:204). Gauntlett (2002: 1) explains Giddens outlook:

Human agency and social structure are in a relationship with each other, and it is the repetition of the acts of individual agents which reproduces the structures. This means that there is a social structure – traditions, institutions, moral codes and established ways of doing things; but it also means that these can be changed when people start to ignore them, replace them or reproduce them differently.

A society is both perpetuated and changed through human actions, especially in the daily routine practices identified by Bourdieu (Bourdieu 2000; Hill 1995b: 6). Barrett (2000b: 27) argues that Giddens' Theory of Structuration neglects theories of material culture and suggests that Bourdieu's demonstration of the material culture of a society as a "potentially powerful system of signification" addresses this shortcoming (also see Jordan 2003: 15).

Relating Landscape to Material Culture

If material culture is defined as any matter "upon which human action has been imprinted, or which is transformed by social practice" (Jordan 2003: 16), then landscape can be included in this definition. In both landscape and material culture approaches, repetition of social action is considered as defining space (Tilley 1994: 27-30), with material culture (or its remnants) reflecting these actions. In another approach, Ingold (1993) uses task-scape to allow conceptualisation of the integration of material culture and landscape. This can again be related to the Theory of Structuration, where the repetition of tasks (actions) constitutes the landscape of the social world. The location of "traditional" elements of material culture – artefacts and architecture - within the landscape can signify relational networks and these may be identified by spatial analysis. Further, Fletcher (1995: 17-21) contends that material culture mediates or restricts action not only in the landscape but also in community life.

One example demonstrating the use of material culture in a landscape study is Bradley's (2000) interpretative analyses of the Neolithic in Britain. He discusses how recurrent patterns of associations and exclusion of material culture, seen in depositions in pits,

ditches and postholes through the landscape, are linked to social practice (2000:118). The importance of material culture to a landscape approach is also emphasised by Thomas (2001). In examining Bronze Age settlements in Cornwall, Thomas (2001: 176) felt that domestic spaces were not surrounded by “separate ‘ritual landscapes’ of ceremonial monuments”, rather settlements and their surroundings were filled with numerous shrines, projecting ritual activity throughout the landscape.

It is fitting, then, that the theories of material culture be part of the framework of a landscape approach and it therefore seems possible to interpret social practices and meanings in the layout of settlements and in their placement in the landscape (Hitchcock and Bartram 1998:13, 30; Ucko and Layton 1999: 13; Tilley 1989: 188-9). Material culture, as a medium for structuring action, has similarities with the concept of landscape representing a reflexive /dialectical relationship between people and their environment, where humans influence landscape and landscape influences humans. However, there are problems in assigning meaning to spatial layout, as spaces and things can be polysemic, and ambiguities can be created by changes in meaning through time that do not alter either the space or the structure (Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 38-40; Whitelaw 1996: 226). Additionally, in a similar manner as for landscape, any interpretation of material culture could be considered as subjective, with a person’s economic, social and political position determining what, or how much is understood of any meaning signified in spatial layout, and how it is interpreted. Nevertheless, the use of material culture in examining the landscape has been successfully demonstrated in the investigations of Thomas (2000a), Bevan (1997) and Bradley (2000), amongst others, where the study of material culture contributes to a picture of the social landscape.

How this all relates to the Iron Age

The social landscape of the Iron Age had visible elements such as hillforts and enclosures that directed and restricted movement and supported negotiations of power and community relations (Bevan 1997: 181; Willis 1997: 210; see also Tilley 1994; and Richards 1995). If

examination of material culture is considered an integral part of the analysis of landscape, and signification of meanings can be inferred in the structuring of architecture and space, then examination of spatial structuring of artefacts and architecture seems particularly relevant given the apparent importance of cosmological representation in the Iron Age. As discussed earlier, examples include the symbolism of enclosure, and the cosmological principles believed to be expressed in the layout of round houses and in patterns of deposition (Parker Pearson 1996; Webster 1995:445-461; Hill 1995b: 65-6).

In one example of an examination of signification, Parker Pearson's (1999) case study on Iron Age ritual attempts to identify the underlying rules structuring human experience during the British Iron Age –

The act of decoding prehistoric material remains relies to a large extent on the accessibility of different forms of material expression; in this case, architecture and settlement layout, human burials, animal burials, artistic depictions, portable artefacts and their spatial, contextual and topographical inter-relationships (Parker Pearson 1999: 43).

This reflects very closely the approach I wish to take, exploring the inter-relationships of settlements, boundaries and monuments in the landscape. In examining material culture, I hope to recognise patterns in the structuring of settlements that reflect not only the individuals' actions, but also the structural framework of the larger society in which they lived. Any observable differences in patterns may reflect regional variations of social practice. Elements of the social practice interpreted through the patterning of material culture have particularly included ritual and cosmologies in the Iron Age. If this focus can be widened to include other facets of social practice reflected in settlements in the landscape, these interpretations may lead to a broader and more in-depth picture of Iron Age society as a whole, including the bigger picture of social organisation and belief systems.

2.4 METHODOLOGY

If we are to read the text of the archaeological record, a methodology is required. It is therefore necessary to consider how examination of material culture for small scale spatial and temporal patterning of social life (Fletcher 1995: xviii) would proceed. The examples examined in Section 2.3 give a picture of the sort of analysis that might be used for an investigation that examines both the form of material remains and how they constitute a socio-cultural pattern for an area. As indicated above, using the archaeological record, it should be possible to analyse the data and interpret how people interact symbolically and socially within, and move through, the landscape of an area as a whole.

2.4.1 Assessment of Methods Available

In Sections 2.2.1 and 2.3 3, I examined the application of chronological and morphological analysis to the Iron Age, the use of contextualisation in landscape studies, and the use of spatial patterning in the study of material culture. I now wish to assess these methods of analysis for their suitability as a method for this particular study, and expand the discussion to include cross cultural generalisations, classification and distribution mapping.

Spatial Patterning and Classification

Kleppe (1989: 197) points out that in any study based on material culture, classification is an important tool in the analytical process, with the capacity to provide unambiguous categories (as long as there has been careful evaluation of the source material). He further points out the importance of a theoretical framework in establishing relationships between the social and the material. As discussed earlier, analysis of the patterning of architecture, spaces, and artefacts is a useful approach for interpreting social practices. The analysis by Bradley (2000: 118-9) of the deposition of bones across the island of Orkney demonstrates the need to study patterns at different levels, from the position of deposits and features in the landscape, to the organisation of varying types of deposit. For example, Bradley notes contrasts in the type of

deposition in high versus low and coastal versus promontory locations and draws conclusions about the symbolism suggested by these deposits.

Visual analysis of distribution mapping also provides an appropriate method for examining spatial patterning. Parker Pearson and Richards (1996a: 52-3) look at the distribution of different types of artefacts such as animal bones, loom weights, pits and fine wares throughout enclosures. In another example, interpretations of observable patterns for prehistoric settlements can be seen in the approaches of Bevan (1997), Vyner (1994) and Hill (1995b), who all examine the distribution of settlements and the features therein.

Chronological and Morphological Sequencing

The use of chronological and morphological sequencing for Iron Age studies were outlined in Section 2.2.3. As discussed there, one of the shortcomings of these methods, when used on their own, is that they do not take into account relevant socio-cultural aspects of life.

However, because of the range of settlement types present in the Iron Age, and the possible changes in them through time, it is necessary to understand the morphology and chronology of settlements. The difficulties in determining these changes are expanded upon in Chapter 3; however, morphological analysis will be carried out as only one of several analyses, and will be done under the umbrella of an interpretive framework that addresses these shortcomings.

Cross-cultural and Intergenerational Generalisations

Cross-cultural generalisation and contextualisation are two methods identified by Hodder (1988: 67) for use in the characterising the role played by material features across the landscape in structuring experience. However, cross-cultural generalisations are criticised by Gosden (1999:490), who argues that comparisons cannot be made between unconnected cultures from recent history and those of the past (see also Thomas 2000b: 155). This is equally true for intergenerational generalisations. The legitimacy of using ethnographic information from a modern culture to draw conclusions about an unconnected past culture is questionable, especially when there is insufficient evidence of points of similarity between

the two to be comfortable in making any comparison. Further, as Gosden (1999: 488-490) points out, every society has its own history, and its path of change is affected by that history. Another argument against the use of cross-cultural generalisations is that the personal biographies of people living within local structures are an integral part of the cultural meanings they attribute to their surroundings and this cannot be defined cross-culturally (Tilley 1994: 27; Bevan 1997: 181). The use of ethnographic studies to draw inferences about prehistoric life can be seen as highly subjective and is therefore fraught with the dangers of generalisation.

Contextualisation

It is in contextualisation that the best option for limiting the subjectivity of landscape interpretations can be found. Bender (1993a: 248) believes that “one can only understand the contestations and appropriations of a landscape by careful historical contextualisation”. Similarly, Hodder (1988: 68) has argued that with careful contextualisation, a grounded interpretation should be possible (also see Fletcher 1995:17; Strang 1999:207; Jordan 2003: 19). Subjectivity is still present in any interpretation of a set of social relations and of actions. It is not possible to reach back in history to an individual’s understanding of an action, but, in some cases, it is possible to see what the results of those actions were. If patterns in the location of places are identified across a landscape, it may then be feasible to identify a set of social relations and actions, using the body of knowledge for the Iron Age to contextualise any observations. An attempt can then be made to interpret these with respect to beliefs and social organisation. If these actions, reflected in the archaeological record of a region, are distinct from actions and relations in similar circumstances in another area, then a case for regional variation in social practices can be made.

2.4.2 Methodology Selected

This study of the settlements of West Wales will be situated within the landscape approach, with research emphasising the location of settlements in relation to each other and the surrounding landscape, including pre-existing monuments. A qualitative analysis of the data

will be used, with settlement plans and settlement location in the wider landscape being examined for observable patterns. The analysis will include morphological analysis of settlements, the examination of material culture for spatial patterning (utilising distribution mapping and classification), and a distribution of settlements in the landscape. In addition, contextualisation will be utilised in the collation and articulation of the data to provide a basis for interpretation. As pointed out by Fletcher (1995: 17), emphasis on regional investigation can lead to a lack of coherence in our understanding of a society. This also leads me to re-emphasise the point that in the past, research focus has been on fitting Iron Age Wales into the accepted overall picture, rather than looking for regional differences (due in part to the limited analysis available). Therefore, comparisons to findings from comparative studies of the Iron Age from other areas will be made.

2.4.3 Rational and Underlying Assumptions for the Methodology Chosen

In my study, I wish to examine the socio-cultural landscape and cultural engagement with landscape, by identifying referents found in the spatial layout of settlements in the landscape and in the patterning of artefacts and space within settlements, within a particular area.

Traditional methods of settlement analysis such as catchment analysis, and rank size analysis have been rejected in favour of the relations of “finer grained aspects of social life” (Gosden 1999:485; see also Tilley 1989: 188). Further, functional approaches have often attempted to separate method and interpretation. I am, however, attempting to identify patterns in the study area using an approach sensitive to the intrinsic link between interpretation and method (Barrett 2000b: 26; also see Johnson 1999: 341).

Three assumptions underlie the approach chosen. The first is that we have the ability to identify meaning in the structuring of deposits and architectural remains in the archaeological record. This follows the approaches of structuration and theories of material culture, in accepting that referents can be found in the spatial patterning of artefacts and features. The second assumption is that landscape itself is of significance in peoples’ understanding and experience of their world. Traditional approaches neglect pre-existing

features and ignore the wider landscape in favour of settlements alone. I believe that elements of social practice are reflected in both landscape and settlements, as has been demonstrated by several of the studies considered here. This allows analysis to move beyond the limits of a settlement enclosure to look at not only archaeological remains of fields and boundaries, but also how settlements are located in their landscape with respect to these features, each other, and pre-existing structures. The final assumption underlying selection of methods is that there is sufficient information available to allow interpretations to be made. It must be remembered that what is found in the material record is only a portion of what made up this record in the past (Barrett 2000a: 28). As a result of the proposed analysis, it is hoped that an assessment with respect to regional diversity can be identified.

2.5 SUMMARY

In this review of theoretical approaches, I presented the progression of interpretations for the Iron Age and a summary of current knowledge about Iron Age society in Britain. I emphasised the importance of landscape in understanding the settlements of the Iron Age, as landscape as a whole influences the lived experience of a person. I have also linked the landscape to material culture, suggesting that the analysis of spatial patterning of settlements may allow interpretation of social and ritual actions and symbolism. The theoretical and methodological stance I am proposing has been used in work of people such as Bevan and Parker Pearson who have arrived at interpretations about social and cosmological practices by examining the patterning of landscape, settlements and houses in the Iron Age. The referents and cosmological symbolism suggested in these examples show that this interpretive approach can give meaningful insight into Iron Age life. By examining the material culture, it is possible to marry landscape to the archaeological data, allowing an understanding of everyday living in the landscape. The theoretical framework and methodology proposed will be used to identify whether a regionally distinct trend can be found in the Iron Age landscape, settlements and society of West Wales. It is now fitting to identify the steps to be taken in data collection and analysis, and introduce the specific data for the area of study.

Chapter 3

Data Collection and Analysis

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The proposed method for this study has been established to complement the interpretive framework explained in the last chapter. In order to identify the nature of the settlement record in West Wales, a contextual regional case study involving the cataloguing and comparison of settlement types and their relationship to the landscape was conducted. Due to limited excavation information, in this first step I focused on the location of settlements in the landscape. This was supplemented by an examination of three smaller regions within the study area for the possible presence of relational networks between sites. Finally, using data from the best documented sites, I made a closer examination of spatial patterning both inside and outside of enclosures. This was done in order to assess whether the data provided evidence for either an overall Iron Age culture *or* a regionally distinct culture for West Wales.

In this chapter, I discuss in detail the methods used, the data collected and the analysis conducted in relation to Iron Age settlements in Wales. I will explain the sources of data used and outline the typology used to classify settlement morphology. In order to conduct the analysis, it is necessary to identify the elements requiring investigation, and this is detailed in Section 3.2. I then outline the analytical procedure in detail. The problems of data collation are discussed in Section 3.3 and the data and its analysis are presented in Section 3.4.

3.2 METHOD

The elements of methodology identified in Chapter 2 require a detailed explanation of how they will be applied in practice. A major consideration in applying any method lies in establishing what information is available. For West Wales, there is a plethora of sites but a relative dearth of detailed information. To cope with the variation in detail in the available

data, a multi-faceted analysis was used, effectively combining analysis at three levels of detail. These levels consist of a blanket assessment of all sites, followed by an examination of three sub-areas, and a focused desk-top survey of the better-documented sites and their surrounds. These steps will be explained in more detail shortly, but to begin, I wish to expand on the morphological site typology used and how the data were analysed.

3.2.1 Method of Analysis

A preliminary review of data was conducted in order to assess the information available and the type of sites found in the study area. The morphological types to be used in classifying settlements were then established. The morphological types I have settled on are based on a combination of site types identified in Crossley (1963), Hogg and Davies (1994), Lynch, Aldhouse-Green and Davies (2000) and Williams (1988). These can be roughly divided into four categories:

- Univallate (circular and sub-rectangular) Enclosures
- Multivallate Hillforts (including free form)
- Promontory Forts
- Open Settlements

These categories are further expanded, and their attributes listed, in Table 3.1. The table shows the criteria used in establishing the morphological types. A broad range of categories are utilised for ease of analysis. However, as can be seen from Table 3.1, there are no truly discrete morphological types. There is, more accurately, a continuum moving from small to larger univallate circular enclosures. These in turn overlap in morphology with univallate defended promontory forts. The spectrum then moves to multi-vallate promontory forts and to larger hilltop forts with multiple vallations. There are also instances of variations in enclosure shape and degree of vallation, demonstrating both the difficulties in categorisation and the frailty of broadly defined categories. There are some difficulties in separating morphologies where differences could be attributable to size differences or site location alone. A further difficulty in employing broad categories of settlement types is the risk of neglecting distinct but rare morphological variants, such as concentric antennae enclosures – a type of “banjo”

Table 3.1. Morphology of Settlement / Enclosure Types.

Site Type	Vallation	Shape	Defensive	Topographical Location
Univallate Enclosure (a) Circular (b) Sub-rectangular	Single	Oval/Circular Rectangular	No. Varies from defended ramparts and ditches to ditches alone	Hill slope
Circular Enclosure	Ditch only	Circular		
Promontory Forts (a) Inland (b) Coastal	Single and double	Various, depending on location	Yes	On river valley escarpment, or on spur Isolated promontories, with sea surrounding
Multi-vallate Hillforts	2 – 3	Circular	Yes	Hill top or sub-peak
Open Settlements	None – some have hut enclosures with no ditch	Circular Huts	No	High ground, hill slope*
Free Form Hill Forts	1 – 3	Free form, with several enclosures joined	Yes	Hill top or sub-peak
Concentric Antennae (and tangentially bivallate) Enclosures	2, widely spaced	Circular	No	Hill slope

* Preference for high ground may be due to differential survival of remnants on high ground

enclosure which has two ditches, the outer ditch being more widely separated from the inner ditch than is usual (James 1990). However, having established broad categories, the next step is consideration of the specific methods of analysis.

3.2.2 Levels of Analysis

There are no specific methods implicit in the interpretive framework I use. Nevertheless, methods of analysis used in similar studies can be applied: for example, the distribution mapping used by Bevan (1997) to identify settlement patterns, and the classification and distribution mapping used by Parker Pearson (1999) to identify spatial patterning of artefacts in enclosures. The specific methods utilised in my analysis were distribution mapping, classification of site type, stratification of data with respect to morphology and location, and statistical comparisons using frequency plots. These were used in order to detect any spatial patterning in the archaeological record. They were applied to the data as follows.

Analysis took place at three levels in order to overcome deficiencies in the available data. At the highest level, the overall distribution of sites in the study area was assessed, looking for the presence or absence of Iron Age sites. Land above 200m was incorporated into this mapping to allow stratification of sites by relative topography. The sites in the study area were classified and then stratified by morphology. In order to establish any trends in the location of settlements in the landscape, the distribution was plotted and similarities or differences in the location, relative to morphology of settlements were noted. The distribution of Bronze Age and Neolithic sites was also mapped, in order to examine any trends in relation to the presence or absence of Iron Age sites. The distribution of sites (in terms of frequency) was plotted in relation to elevation and site size (where available – see section 3.4.2). The frequency plots for settlement size and elevation were also broken down and stratified by morphological type. In subsidiary analyses of the data, proximity to water, aspect, and vista were recorded for all identified Iron Age sites. In a limited number of sites, the orientation of the enclosure entrance was gauged.

At the next level, contextual studies using distribution mapping, and involving a comparison of settlement types and their relationship to the landscape were carried out within smaller regions of the larger study area. These sub-areas were selected because of the presence of a discrete collection of settlements within each area. Each of these three groups of sites was examined more closely for proximity of location, presence of natural and constructed boundaries (for example river boundaries or dykes), inter-visibility between sites, proximity to larger hillforts and other Iron Age sites, defensiveness of position, proximity to Bronze Age and Neolithic monuments (standing stones, stone circles, burial monuments, cairns, burial chambers, and burnt mounds) and the presence of field systems. These features were identified in the literature review as important elements in framing people's experience of the landscape.

At the lowest level of analysis, an attempt was made to assess spatial patterning inside and outside enclosures at sites where more detailed excavations had been conducted. Classification tables documenting the presence / absence of artefacts and features were used to assess the form of enclosures and the deposition of artefacts. Descriptions of site structures were examined for information about the number and type of gates; the presence and number of roundhouses and granaries; the orientation of doorways; the location of hearths; and internal divisions either within the settlement enclosure or within roundhouses. The occurrence and location of artefacts such as pottery, beads, metalwork, spindle whorls and loom-weights, querns, slag and pebbles was examined to establish any spatial patterning. Deposits in ditches and pits (e.g., iron, broken pottery, tools) and the presence of articulated and disarticulated skeletons (human and animal) from burial, cremation or ritual deposition was also recorded. At this stage, the excavation information on ditches and annexes was examined for evidence of multiple phases of construction and occupation, including earliest occupation, continuity of occupation and reoccupation. These features and artefacts were all identified in the literature survey as items of interest: in some cases, a study on particular features (such as burials) may have been carried out, or certain items (such as metal objects) may have been identified as being of possible relevance to Iron Age ideology.

3.3 THE DATA AND ITS LIMITATIONS

As previously mentioned, it was necessary to examine the existing data in order to assess the best approach to gaining information. There are difficulties in the data available for West Wales. These limitations relate to the identification and selection of Iron Age sites, the need to adapt the breadth of analysis to the quantity of information available, potential biases in data, and finally, issues surrounding the relative chronologies of sites.

3.3.1 Sites Selected

A desk-top survey of Iron Age sites was conducted, using previous surveys conducted by Hogg (1994) for Cardiganshire, and Crossley (1963) for Pembrokeshire. This information was cross referenced and augmented by use of the CARN (Core Archaeological Record iNdex) database on the Royal Commission of Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW) website (www.rcahmw.org.uk). In order to ensure blanket coverage across the study area, the database was searched for site locations and descriptions using target grid references of 2km centres and 2km radii. Sites were selected if they had been identified as Iron Age by at least one of the database entries. This included sites more recently added to the database as a result of aerial surveys. If sites were nominated as both Iron Age and Medieval, they were included where there was some suggestion of the reuse of prehistoric sites. Where possible the location was verified on Ordnance Survey maps of Britain, Explorer Series (maps 198 and OL35 Scale 1: 25000) supplemented by the Ordnance Survey Online facility (www.ordsvy.gov.uk). In a limited number of cases such verification was not possible. For example, crop marks are not marked on Ordnance Survey maps; however, crop marks (differences in crop colours or ripening, observable with aerial reconnaissance, in this case representing ditched enclosures) *have* been included, using grid references provided on the database. Journal searches were conducted in order to find supplementary and more detailed information. The sites were recorded and a morphological type assigned. This was listed in a spreadsheet, together with information on grid reference and topographical information from the Ordnance Survey maps. This information is presented in Appendix 1.

A survey was also conducted of Bronze Age remains – round barrows and barrow cemeteries, ring barrows, standing stones, stone circles and burnt mounds – and Neolithic remains – primarily long barrows and burial chambers (including portal dolmens). A gazetteer of Bronze Age and Stone Age sites (Briggs 1994: 172-211; Davies and Kirby 1994: 115-119) were used for this purpose, again supplemented by the RCAHMW online database and verified on the Ordnance Survey Explorer Series maps. The complete lists of Bronze Age and Neolithic monuments for the study area are presented in Appendices 2 and 3 respectively.

3.3.2 Potential Bias in the Data

For Iron Age Wales in particular there are several potential biases in the data available. These include post-depositional forces, bias in the sites still extant, bias in the published data, bias in sites targeted for excavation, and the bias of the original excavator. Post-depositional factors are particularly important in the wet and heavily used agricultural areas of West Wales. Some sites have been lost after having been built over, particularly in the areas of higher population density. In addition, as mentioned in several excavation reports, the sites may have been partly destroyed due to either erosion from water run off or, as at Cwm Gloyne for example, from extensive animal activity (Mytum and Webster 2001:100-102). Further, in many cases stonework has been robbed for use in later field boundaries, and there has been extensive plough damage of entire enclosures. This affects not only the artefactual remains, but has all but obliterated entire sites in many cases, leaving only crop-marks. Having said this, Mytum and Webster (2001:97) point out that careful excavation of crop-marks can still yield a great deal of information.

In general, larger sites are more likely to have been excavated thoroughly. This may bias the data sample towards larger sites, despite small enclosures being the predominant settlement type of the region (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 46). The approach of the original excavators – some of whom carried out excavations in the early 1900s – would also introduce bias in terms of what they examined and / or ignored. The interpretive framework employed by the initial excavator can also introduce bias. This could lead to gaps in assigning meaning and

priority in reports. For example, skeletal remains of animals may have been documented in the past without a provenance, having been interpreted only in terms of subsistence and otherwise disregarded as rubbish. However, within the context of more recent interpretive approaches, such finds would be assessed for possible ritual deposition associated either with construction, or seasonal events. Finally, due in part to the nature of older archaeological data, there are also gaps in the data obtained. For example, the now ubiquitous radiocarbon dating was unavailable for excavations carried out in the first half of the twentieth century. This is of obvious significance in the determination of settlement chronology.

3.3.3 Temporal Boundaries and Chronology of the Iron Age

The first step in establishing a chronology is identifying the temporal boundaries. A time for the beginning of the Iron Age is extremely unclear as, according to Hill (1995a: 77), Savoury (1976: 240) and Brück (1999:145), no specific changes in settlement morphology are observable. Settlements in many areas are attributed to the Iron Age as a result of (sometimes incorrect) parallels drawn between site types (Haselgrove 2000: 3). This lack of clarity in the identification of the temporal boundary between the Bronze Age and Iron Age as a result of similarities in the settlement record could lead to errors in assigning period (Darvill 1996: 115). A similar difficulty is faced in demarking the transition from the Iron Age to Roman Britain. Utilising settlement typology to determine the transition to the Romano-British period relies on the presence of rectilinear layouts for settlement. The underlying assumption for this approach is that changes in settlement layout reflect changes in culture, influenced by the Romans. However, as Williams (1988: 42) points out, this is problematic as in the Llawhaden area (among others) continuity of occupation of round enclosures continued during and even past the time of Roman occupation in Britain. In addition, Lynch *et al.* (2000: 167) point out that there are examples of rectilinear settlements dating from well before Roman times. In fact, Haselgrove (2000: 4) argues that in some respects it would be more fitting to integrate interpretations across “inherited chronological boundaries”.

However, for the purposes of this study, I wish to limit my investigation to defended enclosures where, as explained in Chapter 2, evidence ascribes these sites to the Iron Age. The disadvantage of this approach lies in the risk of including undated settlements on the basis of morphological type. These may subsequently be proven to be outside the accepted temporal boundaries of the Iron Age; for example, they may actually lie within the late Bronze Age / Iron Age transition, or in the case of the univallate circular enclosures, they may actually date to the Romano-British period. Nevertheless, with the careful selection of sites outlined in Section 3.3.1, this risk should be minimised.

Within the accepted Iron Age period, there are issues centering on contemporaneity and the criteria used to identify Iron Age sites and their relative chronology. It is therefore necessary to outline the currently-proposed chronology of Iron Age sites. Chronologies based on ceramics are fairly irrelevant for this study as the Iron Age in Wales was basically aceramic, as is demonstrated by the dearth of pottery finds (Davies and Hogg 1994: 229). The limited number of excavations and finds of culturally specific material, and the relative scarcity of absolute dating, makes this particularly difficult for West Wales. One further complication for dating lies in the relatively wide range in the calibration curves for radiocarbon dating for the period 800 – 400 BC (Haselgrove 2000:4). Nevertheless, the main issue to be resolved with respect to temporality (and contemporaneity) is how to solve issues of unclear or non-existent dating. Is it appropriate to utilise site typology for this purpose? As my aim is to establish the distribution of sites and their relative place in the landscape through time, consideration of contemporaneity, replacement, and occupation /desertion is critical. Chronology therefore must be taken into account, and some characterization of the temporal distribution of changing settlement morphology must be accepted.

There are problems in achieving even a basic understanding of the chronology of the Iron Age in many parts of Britain. Typological assessment of settlements can be a poor basis for chronology as sites may change morphology over extended periods of occupation, giving an apparently later date due to the final morphology. For example, a Late Bronze Age / Early

Iron Age transitional settlement may have begun as a palisaded settlement but developed through stages of single defence and multi-vallation. Morphology alone would place this settlement in the Middle Iron Age. However, Williams (1988) demonstrates the existence of distinct differences in the types of settlements in a relatively small area over the period of the Iron Age. The implication of this is that, if there is a vast change through time in the layout and structure of settlements, then temporal distribution of morphology is an important factor in understanding social organisation. If this can further be shown to be distinct for a particular area, it may point to cultural regionality. Figure 3.1 shows an approximate chronological progression of settlement morphology, as put forward by Williams (1988).

3.4 SETTLEMENTS, ARTEFACTS AND LANDSCAPES

I now wish to examine the results of the data analysis, dealing in turn with each level of analysis. Consequently, the results of data collection are presented in this section, together with the results of all analyses, including distribution maps of Iron Age settlements and pre-existing monuments, analysis of spatial patterning at all three levels of detail, tabulated data from documented observations of settlements in the landscape, and the collation of information on features and artefacts from a selection of settlements. I will also highlight any trends in the analysis, but will reserve interpretive discussions for the next chapter.

3.4.1 Distribution Mapping – Settlements and Monuments across the Area

The Iron Age sites identified within the entire target area (utilising reference numbers as allocated in Appendix 1) have been plotted in Figure 3.2¹. There were 125 sites identified, with a variety of morphologies as discussed in 3.2.1 and shown in Table 3.1.

The most proliferate morphological type was univallate enclosures or ring-forts, followed by inland promontory forts (refer Table 3.2). Twelve hillforts, of varying sizes,

¹ Where sites are discussed in the text, their Map Reference numbers will be included in parenthesis to aid in locating them on the map presented in Figure 3.2.

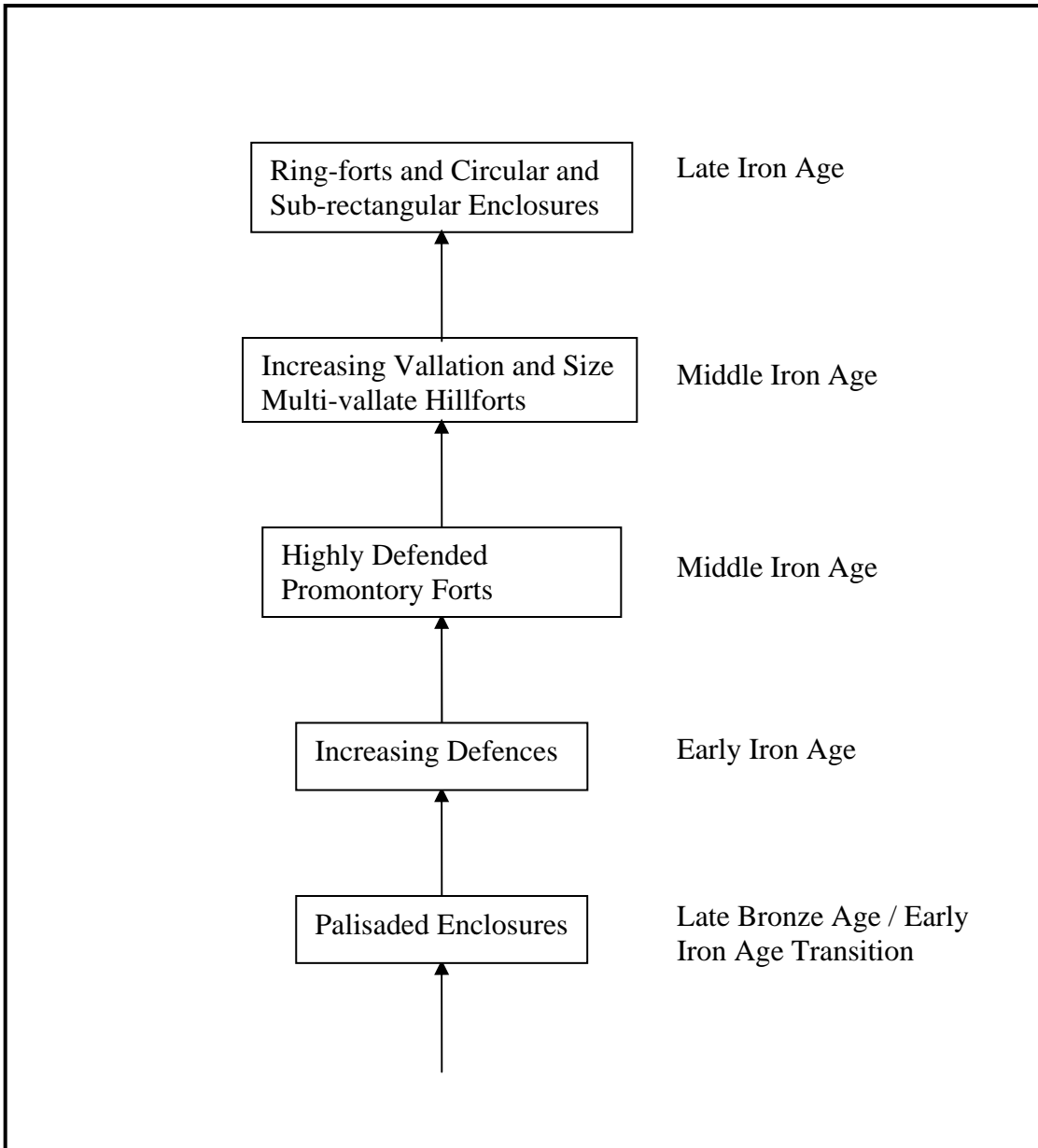
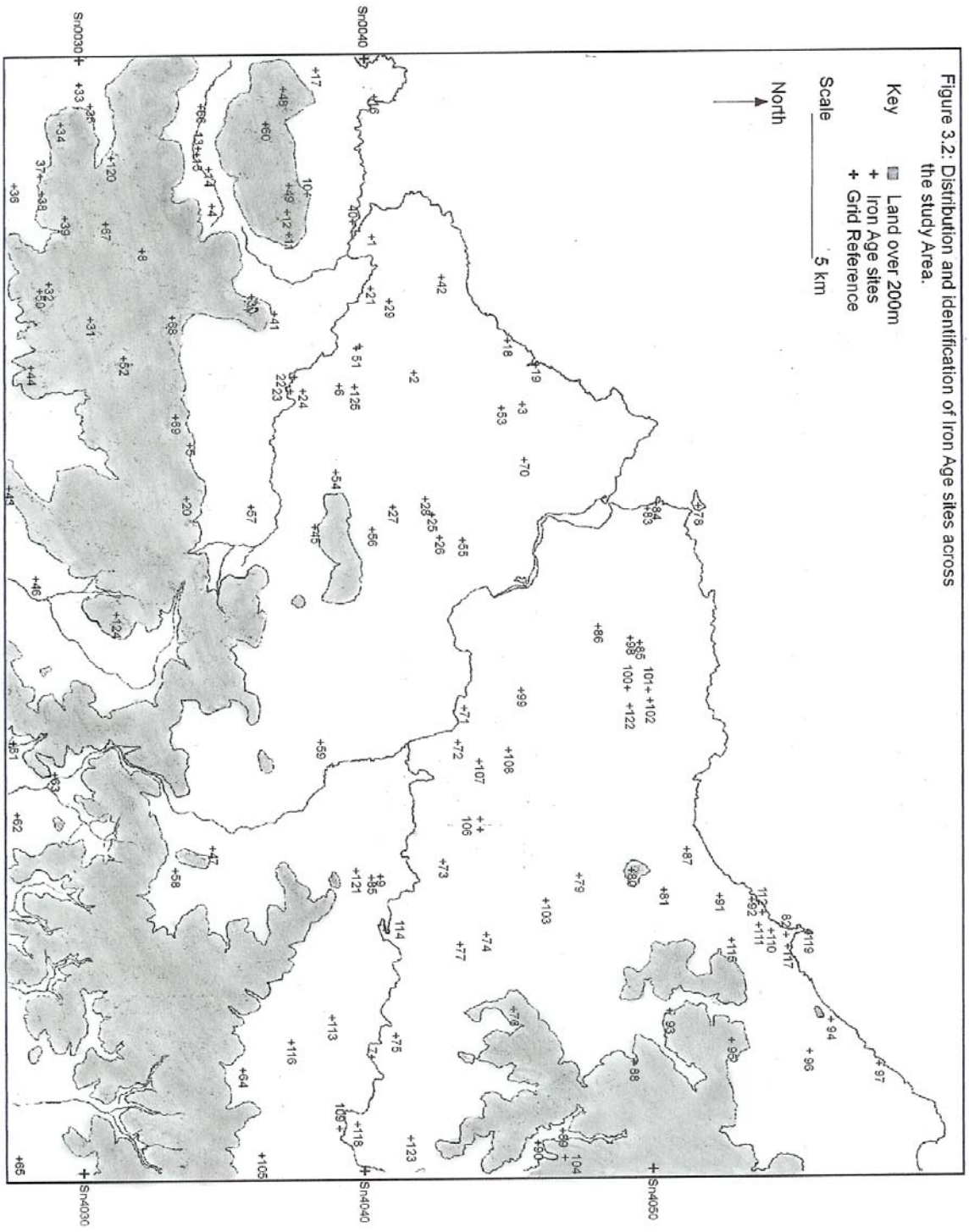


Figure 3.1. Changes in Site Morphology over Time

Figure 3.2: Distribution and Identification of Iron Age sites across the study Area.



were found in the study area, including Moel Drygarn. As mentioned in Section 3.3.1 there are settlements that do not fit neatly into a particular category. There are two examples of what appear, from their size, location and the shape of modern field boundaries, to be hillforts, despite evidence for them having only one vallation (an outer defence was possibly ploughed out). These are Crug-y Balog (76) and Allt y Ddinas (77). There are also examples of the newly identified morphological type recognised by James (1990) – concentric antennae enclosures. The target area has one such site identified by James, Pengelli Fach [9] (refer Fig 3.8), and two other potential ones, Castell Mawr Trelech (62) and Y Gaer Wen (105). Interestingly, Castell Nadolig, identified as a hillfort, also displays some of the attributes of antennae enclosures with a sealed, parallel approach (refer Fig 3.9). However, it also has an annexe at the “entrance” point, possibly suggesting a complex gateway. Obviously, further excavation is required. Waunlle (100) is another morphologically different site, being tangentially bi-vallate (refer Fig 3.10). Finally, particularly in the north of the study area, there are examples of paired enclosures – both circular and sub-rectangular. Examples include Bailey enclosures (107), Blaentwrog (106), and Pengawsai (44). Lynch *et al.* (2000: 167) suggest this could be related to a sequence of occupation or to family relationships (also see Williams 1988: 43; Cunliffe 1991: 537).

The next step in analysis was to stratify the distribution with respect to different morphologies, and establish the elevation and size distribution for each morphological type including hill-forts, promontory forts, enclosed settlements, and open settlements. The resulting distribution by morphological type can be seen in Fig 3.3. The distribution of Bronze Age monuments across the study area can be seen in Figures 3.4 and 3.5 and the distribution of Neolithic monuments is shown in Figure 3.6. An initial analysis of the distribution of settlements in relation to elevation shows that the sites range in elevation from 0 – 350m above sea level, with a median elevation of 175m (refer Table 3.3 and Figure 3.7). However, the distribution map in Figure 3.3 also demonstrates a clear distinction between the location of freeform and open sites (exclusively above 200m) and the location of other sites

Table 3.2. Proportion of Settlement Types Through the Study Area

Morphological Type	No. of Sites
Univallate Enclosures	48
Inland Promontory Forts – Univallate	17
– Bivallate	8
Hillforts	12
Freeform Hillforts	3
Coastal Promontory Forts	7
Open Settlements and Huts/Enclosures	10
Bivallate Circular Enclosures, Concentric Antennae Enclosures etc	5
Circular Enclosures	16

Figure 3.3: Distribution of Iron Age sites in study area by Morphology

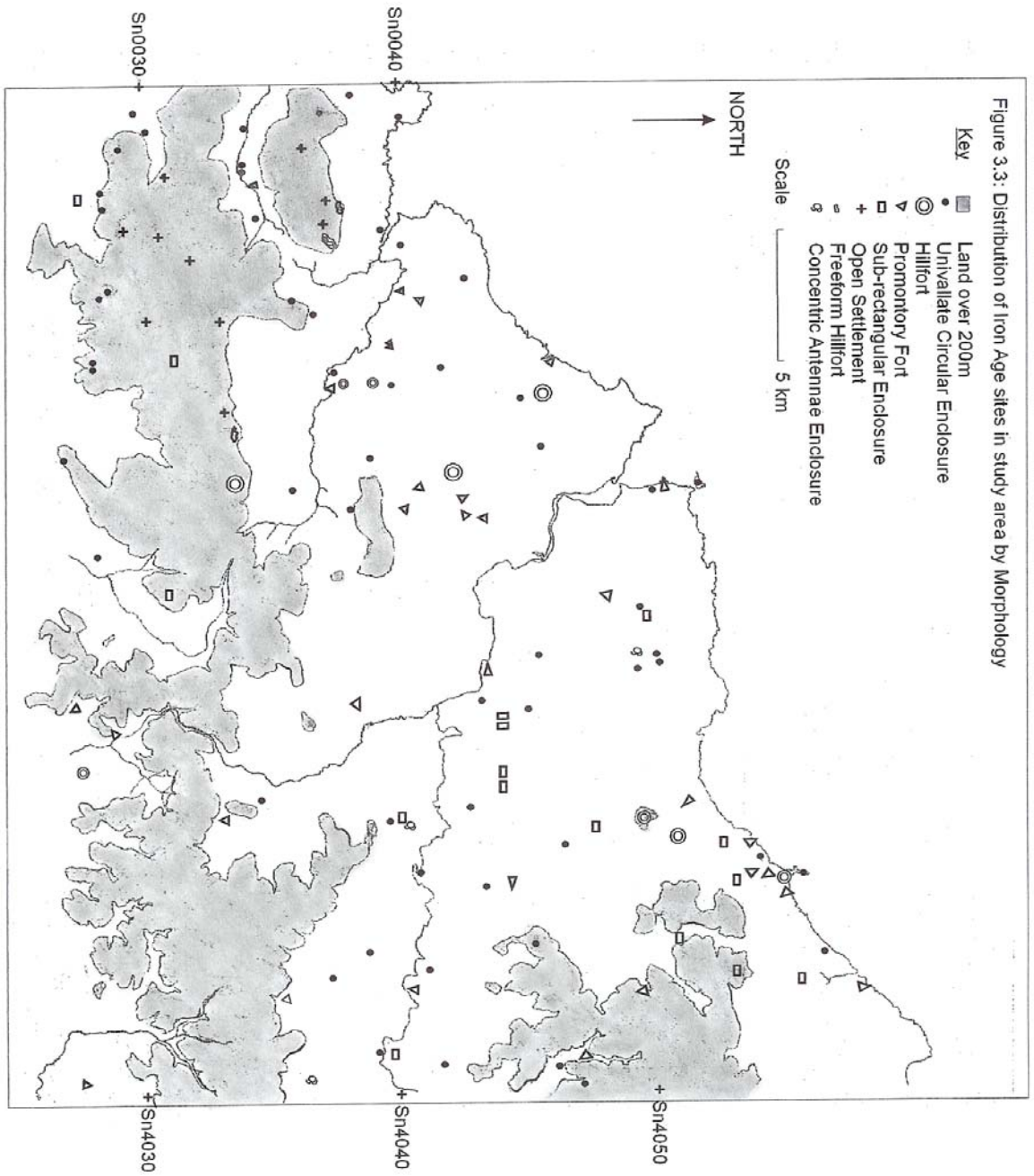
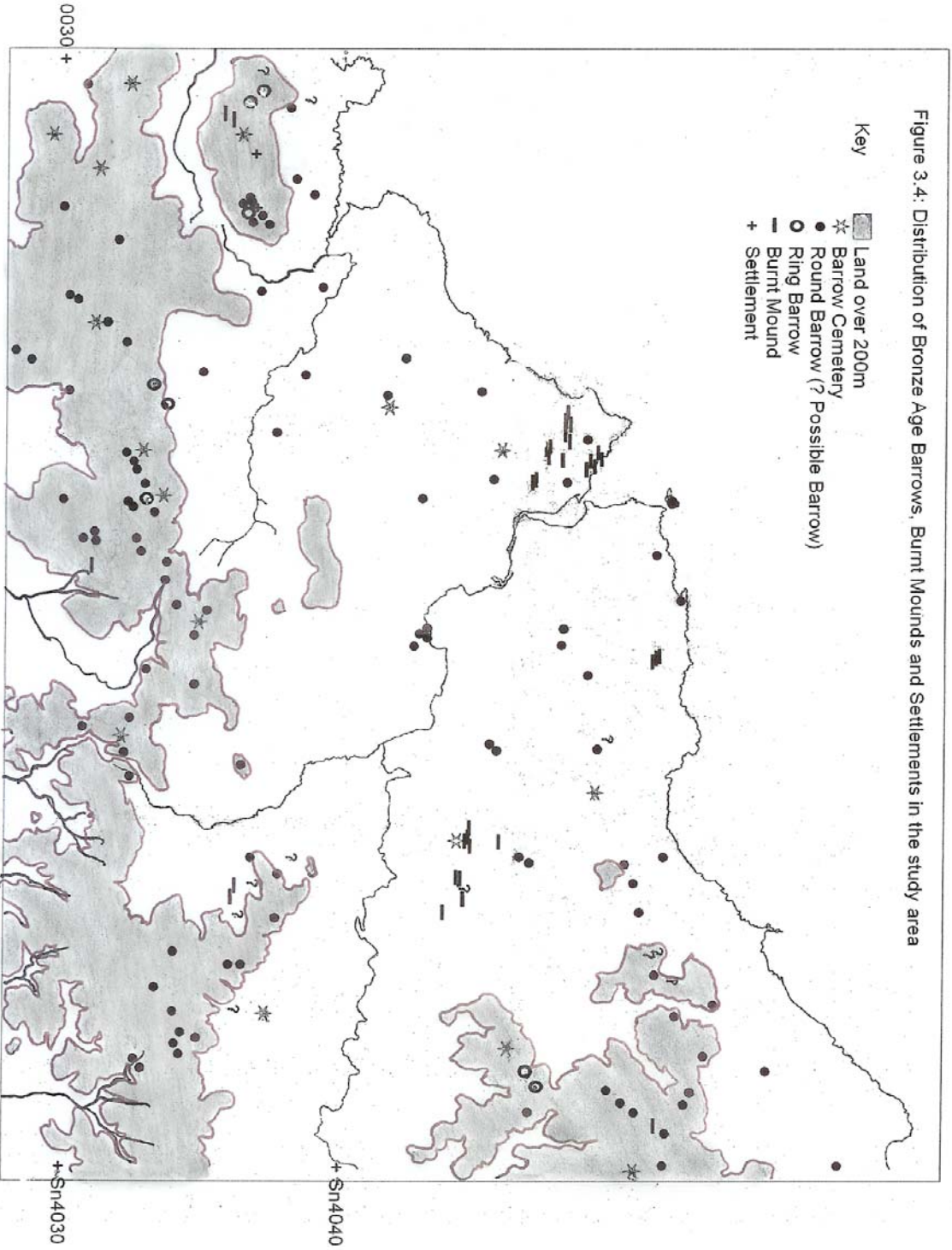


Figure 3.4: Distribution of Bronze Age Barrows, Burnt Mounds and Settlements in the study area



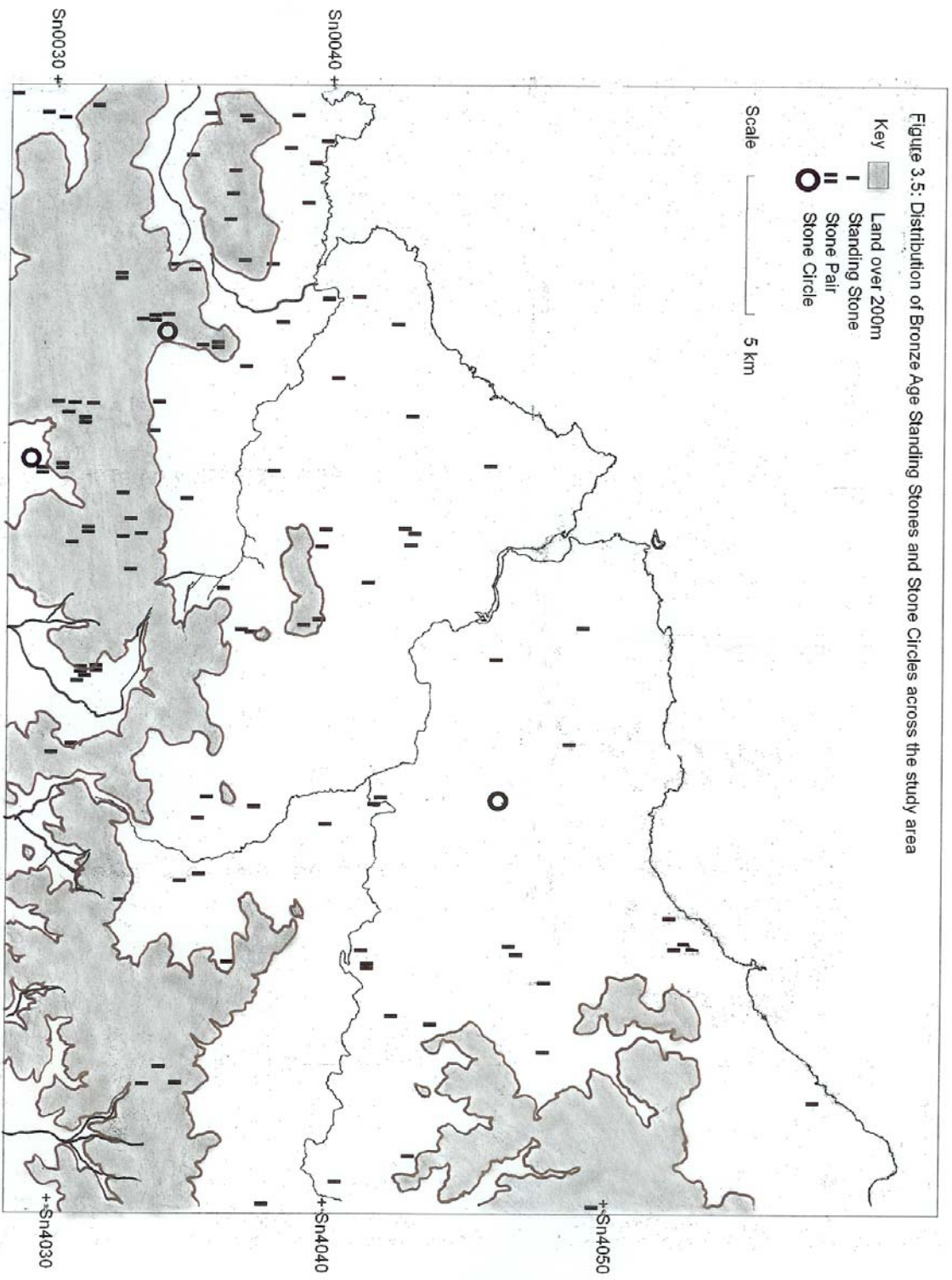
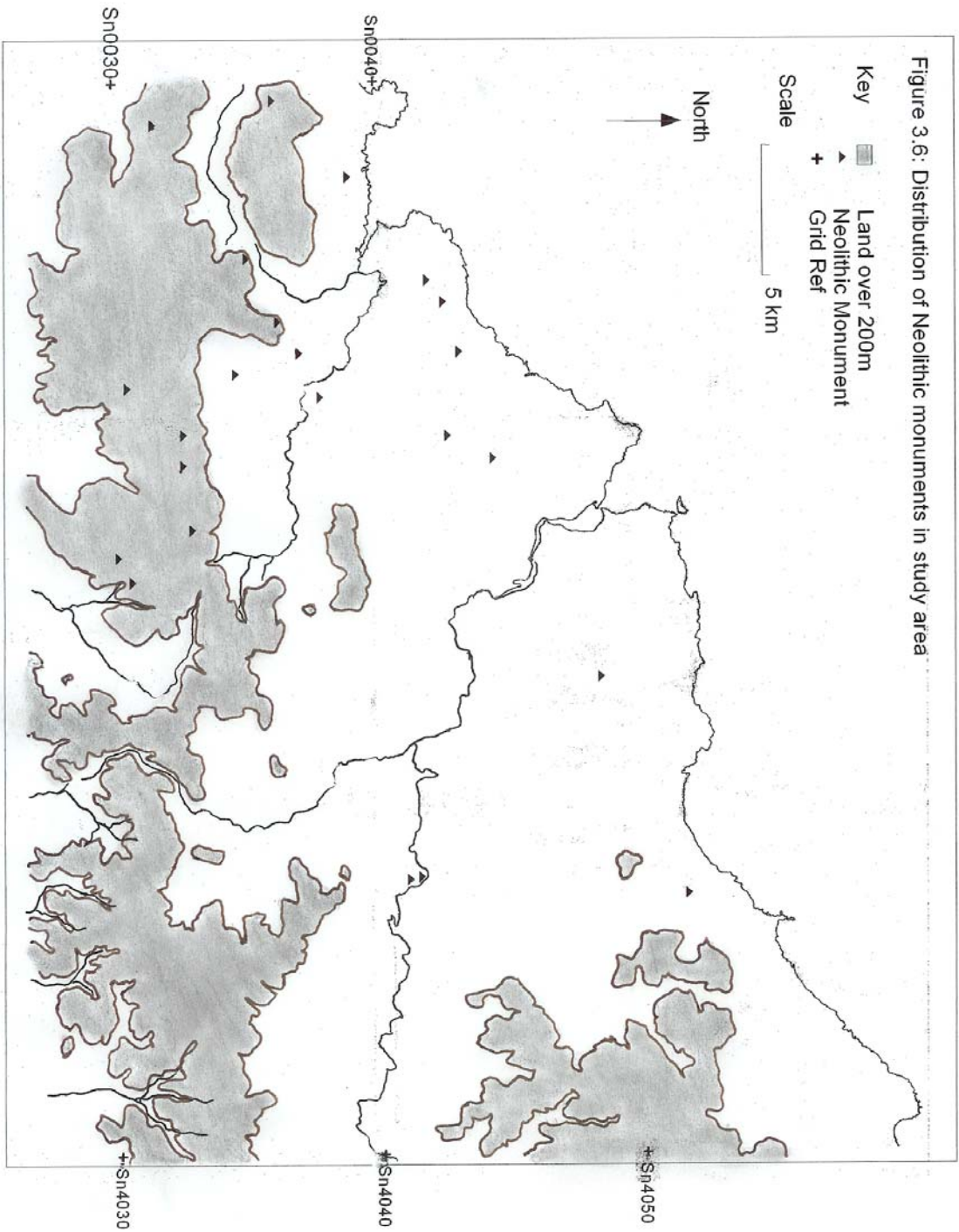


Figure 3.6: Distribution of Neolithic monuments in study area



(predominantly below 200m). As shown in Table 3.4, the occurrence of univallate enclosures, promontory forts and multivallate enclosures below 200m (approximately 89% overall) is also proportionally greater than the amount of land below 200m in elevation (72%), pointing to a preference for location at lower elevations for this type of settlements. In contrast to most other small types, several rectilinear and/or paired sites occur at higher levels.

Further examination of the sites occurring above 200m shows some sites may have other factors contributing to their location. In areas over 200m in elevation, the main settlements identified are freeform hillforts, such as Carn Ingli and Carn Alw (refer Figs 3.11 and 12), and open settlements. These are not clearly attributable to the Iron Age as morphological attribution is problematic and as no clear dating evidence is available. In particular, open settlements could be of any age starting from the Early Bronze Age. Moel Drygarn [20] (refer Figure 3.13), classified as a hillfort, could equally be described as a free-form hillfort, and further is suspected of being earlier than Iron Age in chronology. Both of these factors would explain its high elevation. Gaer Pwntan (80) and Crug y Balog (76), are both hilltop located “Hillforts” that are on the highest point of a lower area, just above 200m, rather than an uplands area. Whilst not conclusive, there does appear to be a definite preference for location at lower elevations for the majority of Iron Age sites. This appears to be in contrast to the Bronze Age and Neolithic.

The Bronze Age and Neolithic monuments are distributed across the whole landscape, at both high and low elevations, although there appears to be a preference for high ground (refer Table 3.4), particularly for barrow cemeteries in the Bronze Age. By overlaying Bronze Age, Neolithic and Iron Age distributions, it was possible to search for patterns of concurrence of Iron Age settlements and pre-existing monuments. This was done in order to analyse whether Iron Age settlements were built on or near pre-existing monuments, or if there was evidence for a tradition governing settlement location with respect to pre-existing monuments, or even traditions of avoidance of monuments.

Table 3.3. Distribution of Settlement Elevation

Elevation		Number of Sites
From	To	
0	25	5
26	50	10
51	75	9
76	100	12
101	125	9
126	150	14
151	175	17
176	200	12
201	225	7
226	250	8
251	275	5
276	300	1
301	325	3
326	350	0
> 350		3

Figure 3.7. Distribution of Settlement Elevation

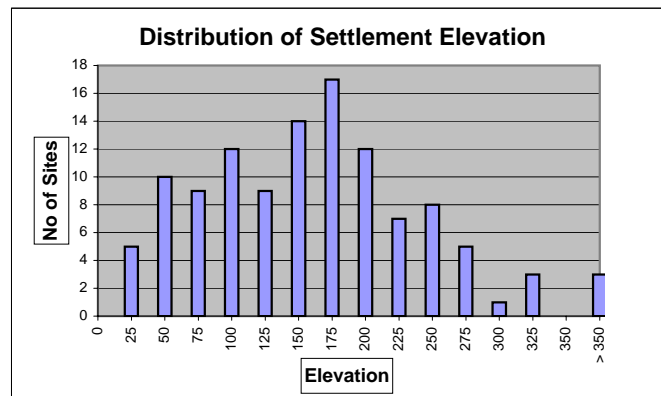


Table 3.4. Elevation Relative to Site Type

Sample	Elevation > 200m	Elevation ≤ 200m	Sample Size
Land Area	28 %	72%	820sq km
All Iron Age Sites	23 %	77 %	125
Uni-vallate Circular Enclosures	15 %	85 %	69
Multi-vallate Hill Forts	20 %	80 %	12
Free Form Hill Forts	100 %	0 %	2
Promontory Forts	0 %	100 %	32
Open Settlements	100 %	0 %	10
Standing Stones (Bronze Age)	42 %	58 %	104
Barrows (Bronze Age)	59 %	41 %	128
Barrow Cemeteries (Bronze Age)	67 %	33 %	15

There are two instances where a pattern is observable. Firstly, there are very few Iron Age settlements located in close proximity to barrow cemeteries. Secondly, areas containing burnt mounds do not appear to have been occupied in the Iron Age. As archaeological surveys have been sufficiently exhaustive to allow identification of burnt mounds, it is unlikely that this pattern is a result of unrecognised sites. For example, around Crugiau Cemmaes (SN1242), which has a high density of burnt mounds, there appear to be no Iron Age sites. Similarly, in the region between Gaer Pwntan (80) and Blaentpant NW (108) there is a general lack of Iron Age sites, but burnt mounds are frequent. It therefore appears possible that there is some pattern in settlement location with respect to areas where burnt mounds are found.

3.4.2 Spatial Patterning – Settlements in the Landscape

The next step of analysis was the investigation of the location of settlements in the landscape. Distribution maps were assessed for spatial patterning in relation to morphology and for location with respect to topography, including aspect and outlook. The data were examined for relative sizes of settlement types, and also for differences in location according to type. A more finely detailed analysis of settlement locations in relation to each other and pre-existing monuments was also undertaken.

Analysis began with an assessment of location. The trend for the Early Iron Age in Wales is for location in strong, naturally defensive positions such as promontories or spurs (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 152). Defensiveness is more difficult to assess in other cases. Inland promontory forts, positioned generally with scarps on at least two sides, can be considered as defensively situated (for example at Cwm Gloyne, refer Figure 3.14). However, in many cases, the sites face upstream, and have hills behind them which would be less advantageous for seeing approaching attackers. Larger multivallate hillforts are more defensively situated, being on hilltops or subsidiary peaks. For example, Pendinas Lochtyan (82) could be considered defensively sited. Finally, as mentioned earlier, univallate circular enclosures, appearing in the late Iron Age, do not appear to be defensively located.

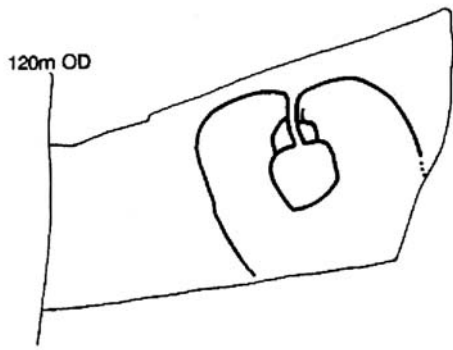


Figure 3.8. Pengelli Fach, Cenarth (James 1990: 296).



Figure 3.10. Crop mark of Waunlle enclosure (Davies and Hogg 1994 Plate VI a)

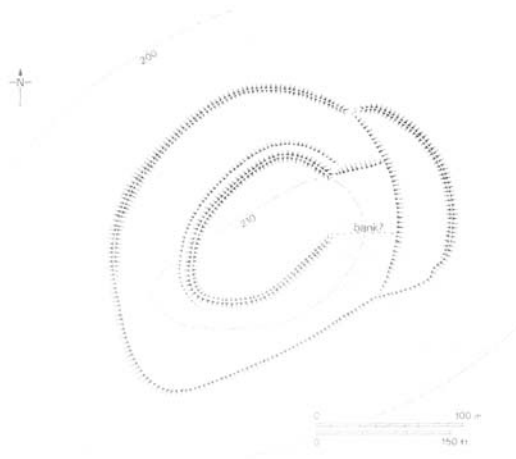


Figure 3.9. Castell Nadolig (Hogg and Davies 1994: 244; Plate V c)



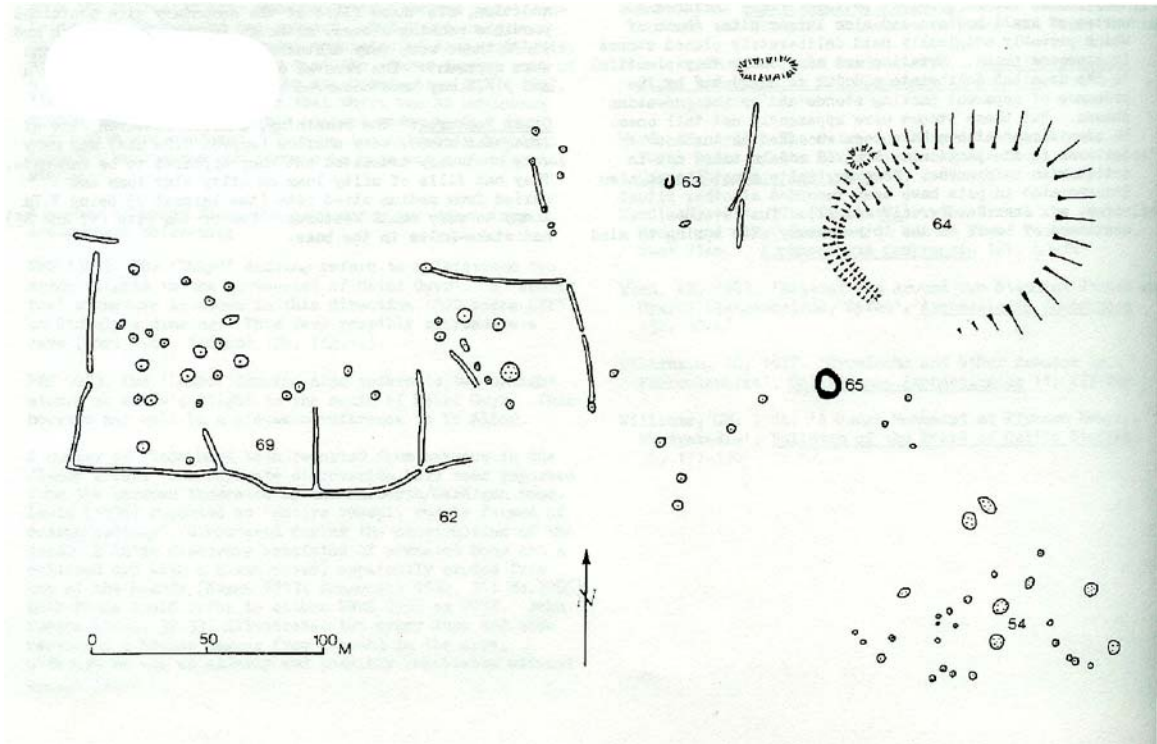


Figure 3.11. Carn Ingli Freeform Hillfort
(Drewett 1987: 14)

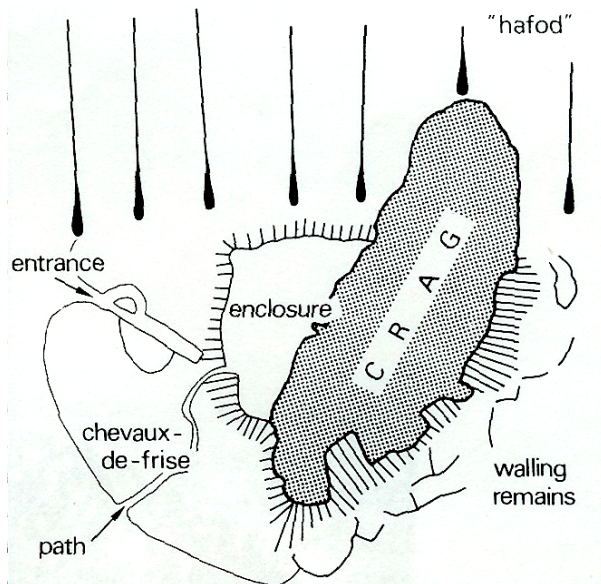


Figure 3.12. Carn Alw Freeform Hillfort
(Mytum and Webster 1989: 264)

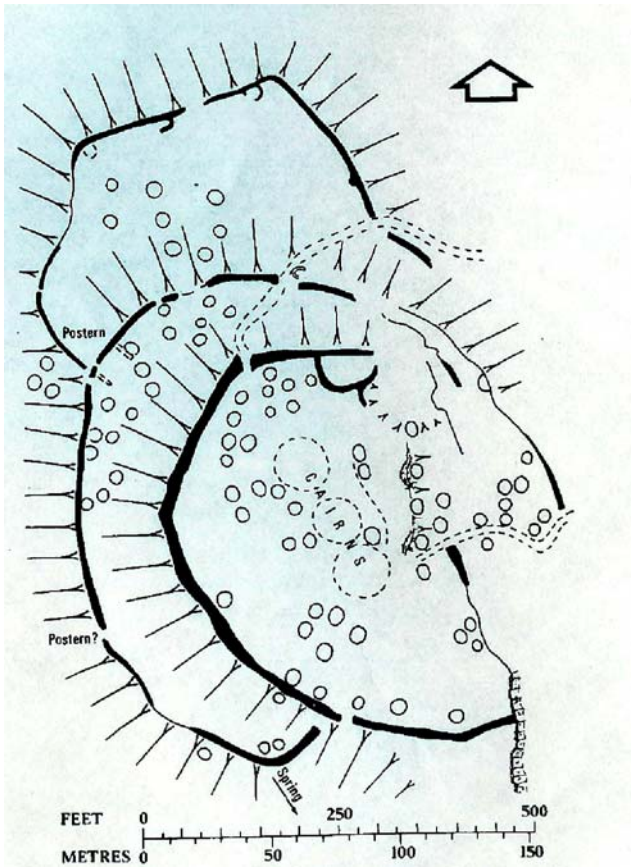


Figure 3.13. Moel Drygarn (Hogg 1975: 250)

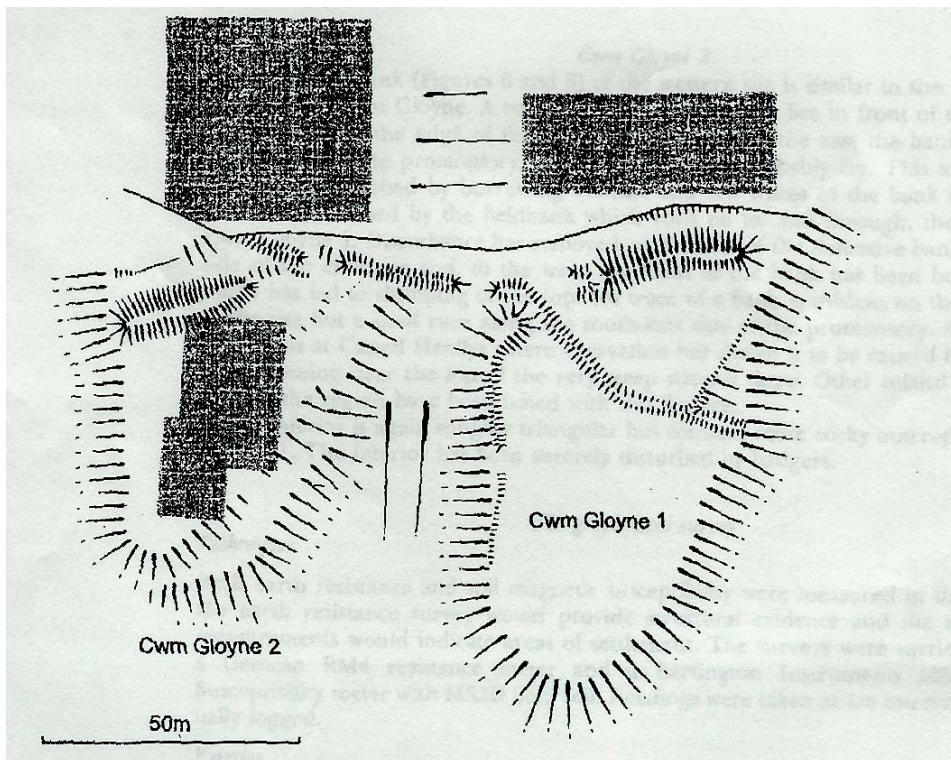


Figure 3.14. Cwm Gloyne Camp 1 and 2 (Mytum and Webster 2001: 99)

The location of enclosures also appears to be inter-related with the degree of enclosure. Multi-vallation appears to occur in hilltop and promontory sites, whilst univallate enclosures appear to be sited almost exclusively on hill slopes. Hence, both the defensive nature of siting and the degree of defensiveness exhibited by enclosure appear to be diminishing through time. This matches the proposed chronological progression that shows less defensive settlements towards the Late Iron Age. An exception to this appears to be the concentric antennae enclosures such as Pengelli Fach (9), and the tangentially bivallate enclosure of Waunlle (100). However, despite increased vallation, the nature of the enclosures and the position of these sites make it unlikely that they were defensive.

The size of settlement enclosures was determined from two sources. The primary source was from documentation in published material, particularly as cited in Davies and Hogg (1994). Further to this, if a clear impression of a settlement enclosure was seen on an Ordnance Survey map, O/S Online (with facilities for pinpointing exact co-ordinates of extremities of enclosures) was used to calculate the area (in hectares). Calculations were completed for several sites where the area was also published, and then cross-matched to check the relative accuracy of calculated areas. The areas for individual sites are included in Appendix 1.

An initial examination of the sizes of Iron Age settlements shows a range from 0.1 – 6.2 ha. The distribution seen in Figure 3.15 appears to show more than one peak in the graph, e.g., peaks exist at ~ 0.3, ~1.1, and ~2.5-3.0 ha, suggesting more than one statistical population. Bearing in mind the range of morphological types, it seemed reasonable to stratify size in terms of morphological type, the results of which are shown in Figure 3.16 a-e. Examining these distributions, it is apparent that there are at least four separate size groupings characteristic of the different morphological types (shown in Table 3.5). The published arbitrary size division for hillforts is > 1.2 ha (Williams 1988:31; Cunliffe 1991) and is possibly related to the custom of nominating larger hillforts at the cut off of 3 acres (Hogg 1975: 23).

Table 3.5. Average Size for Each Morphological Site Type

Site Type	Average Size	Distribution Range	Sample Size
Multi-vallate Hill Forts	2.8 ha	1.0 – 6.2	8
Coastal Promontory Forts	1.2 ha	0.3* – 2.9	4
Inland Promontory Forts – Uni-vallate	0.5 ha	0.2 – 0.8	13
Inland Promontory Forts – Bi-vallate	0.85 ha	0.3 – 1.1	9
Uni-vallate Enclosures	0.3 ha	0.05 – 0.7	43

* Subject to erosion

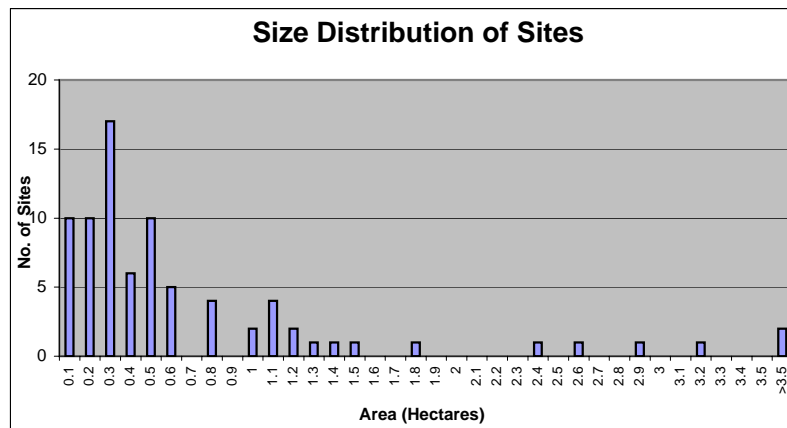


Figure 3.15. Size Distribution for Iron Age Settlements in the Study Area

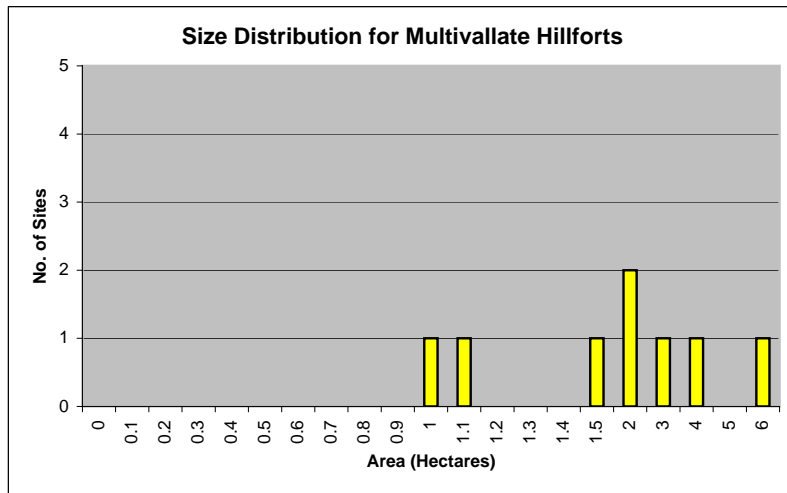


Figure 3.16 (a). Size Distribution for Hillforts

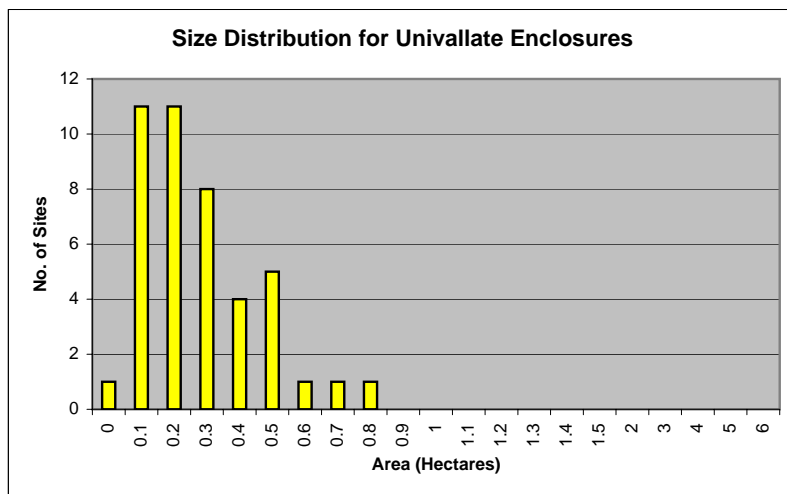


Figure 3.16 (b). Size Distribution for Univallate and Defended Enclosures

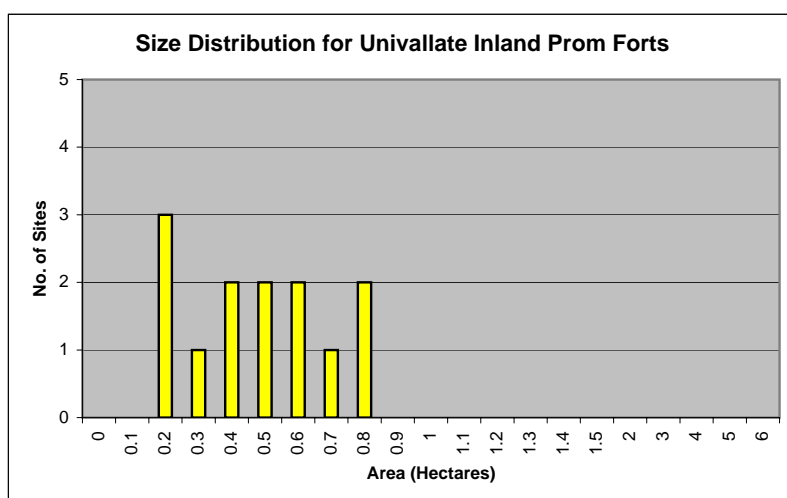


Figure 3.16 (c). Size Distribution for Inland Promontory Forts

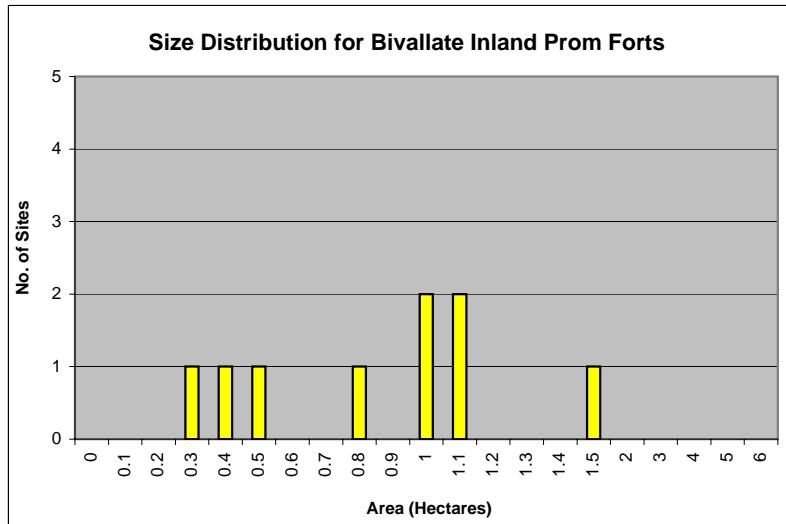


Figure 3.16 (d). Size Distribution for Bivallate Inland Promontory Forts

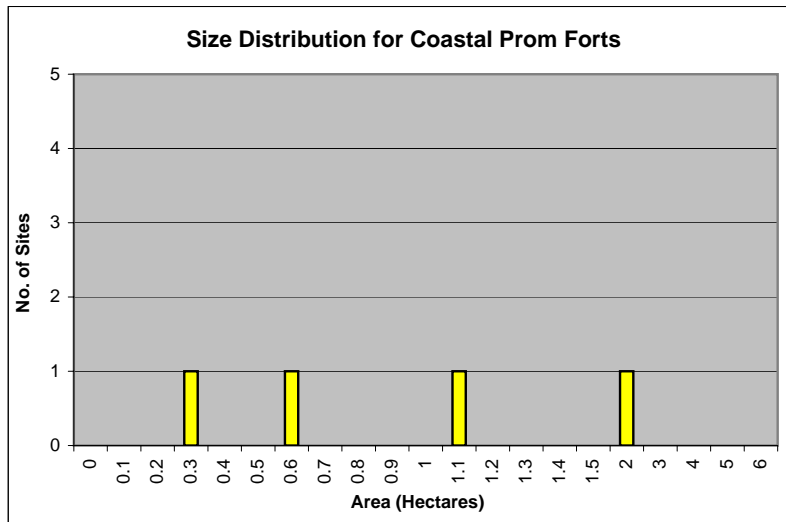


Figure 3.16 (e). Size Distribution for Coastal Promontory Forts

Investigation of the last element of location, outlook, was prompted by comments on the sweeping or commanding views from sites, found in many articles. It is worthy of note that in over 70% of sites, no matter what the morphology, the situation of enclosures, as identified on the contour map, allow views of either river valleys, the sea or, occasionally, to older ritual places (such as Tyganol [41] with views to Pentre Ifan and Waun Clyn Coch [52] with views to the Gors Fawr complex). The proportion could be even higher as in some cases distance might be overcome by clever siting. Although it is not possible to be certain that these outlooks were visible in the Iron Age, due to possible vegetation, the preference for locations with an outlook does seem remarkable.

At the next level of spatial patterning, examining a settlement's position in the landscape more closely, the orientation of enclosure entrances was assessed. As can be seen in Figure 3.17, there is a distinct East/West preference for orientation of enclosure entrances (also see Table 3.6). This is in line with the findings of Hill (1996: 109), Parker Pearson (1999: 49), and Oswald (1997), for other parts of Britain. The aspect (or general facing direction) of enclosures was also examined for any preferences in orientation. Looking at Figure 3.18 and Table 3.7, it is apparent that the preferred aspect was South-Southwest-West. This could be expected, as in the northern hemisphere, the best orientation to face the sun is South to Southwest.

For three sub-areas, A, B, and C, a more detailed examination was carried out for spatial patterning in the landscape (refer to Figure 1.2 for location of areas). Figures 3.19-21 show the contour maps of the sub-areas and the location of settlements. Table 3.8 shows inter-visibility, relational networks in the landscape between sites and between pre-existing monuments, any fields or boundaries identified, and the proximity of Iron Age settlements to one another and to pre-existing monuments within the landscape. Circulation networks were also considered.

In assessing comparisons between various settlements with respect to inter-visibility, Table 3.8 reveals a reasonably high degree of inter-visibility between the larger or more

Table 3.6. Distribution of Orientation of Enclosure Entrances

Orientation	Documented	Ordnance Survey On Line	Conflicting or doubtful
East	11	5	3
East northeast	2	–	–
Northeast	3	2	2
North Northeast	–	–	–
North	2	2	–
North Northwest	–	–	–
Northwest	3	–	–
West Northwest	–	–	–
West	10	2	3
West Southwest	–	–	1
Southwest	2	–	1
South Southwest	–	–	–
South	1	–	–
South Southeast	–	–	–
Southeast	3	–	1
East Southeast	–	–	–

- Entrance Orientation for Documented Sites
- Entrance Orientation for Additional Sites (determined from maps and drawings)

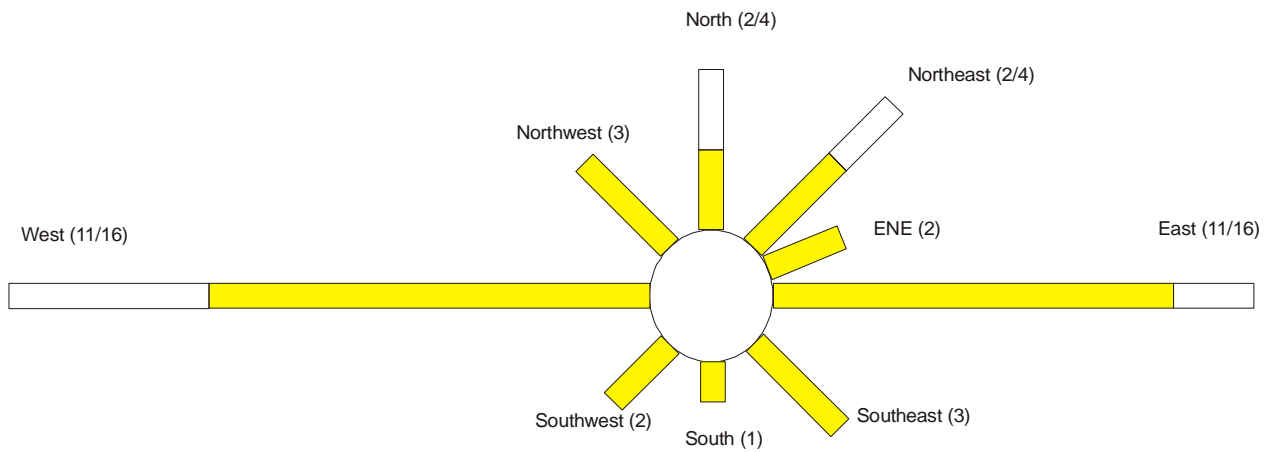


Figure 3.17. Distribution of Orientation of Enclosure Entrances

Table 3.7. Distribution of Aspect of Iron Age sites

Aspect	No of sites
East	2
East northeast	1
Northeast	8
North Northeast	3
North	4
North Northwest	1
Northwest	9
West Northwest	–
West	15
West Southwest	1
Southwest	13
South Southwest	2
South	17
South Southeast	2
Southeast	17
East Southeast	–

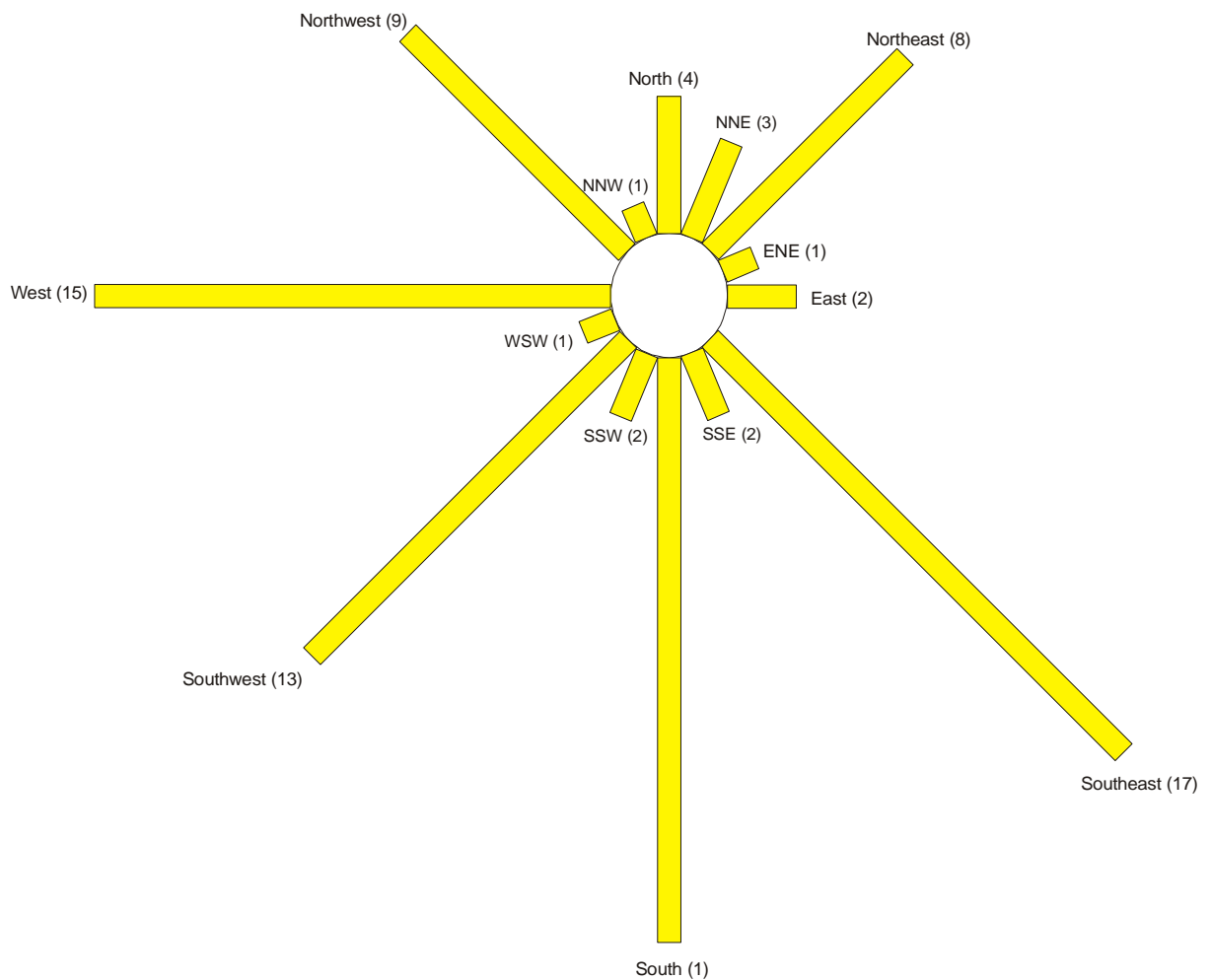
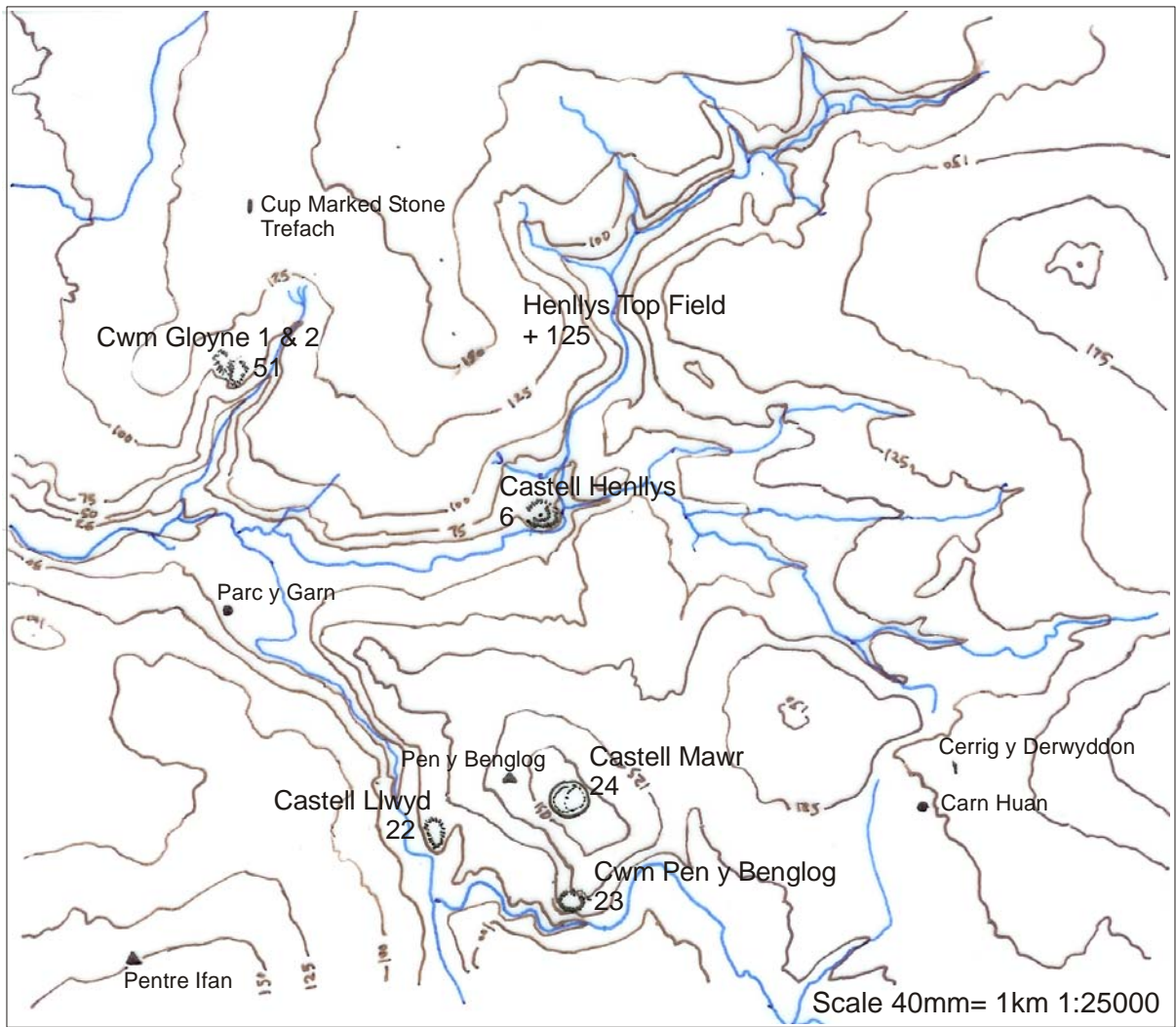


Figure 3.18. Distribution of Aspect of Iron Age sites



LEGEND	
	110 Iron Age Settlement
	Neolithic Monument
	Standing Stone
	Round Barrow

Figure 3.19. Detailed Map of Sub Area A

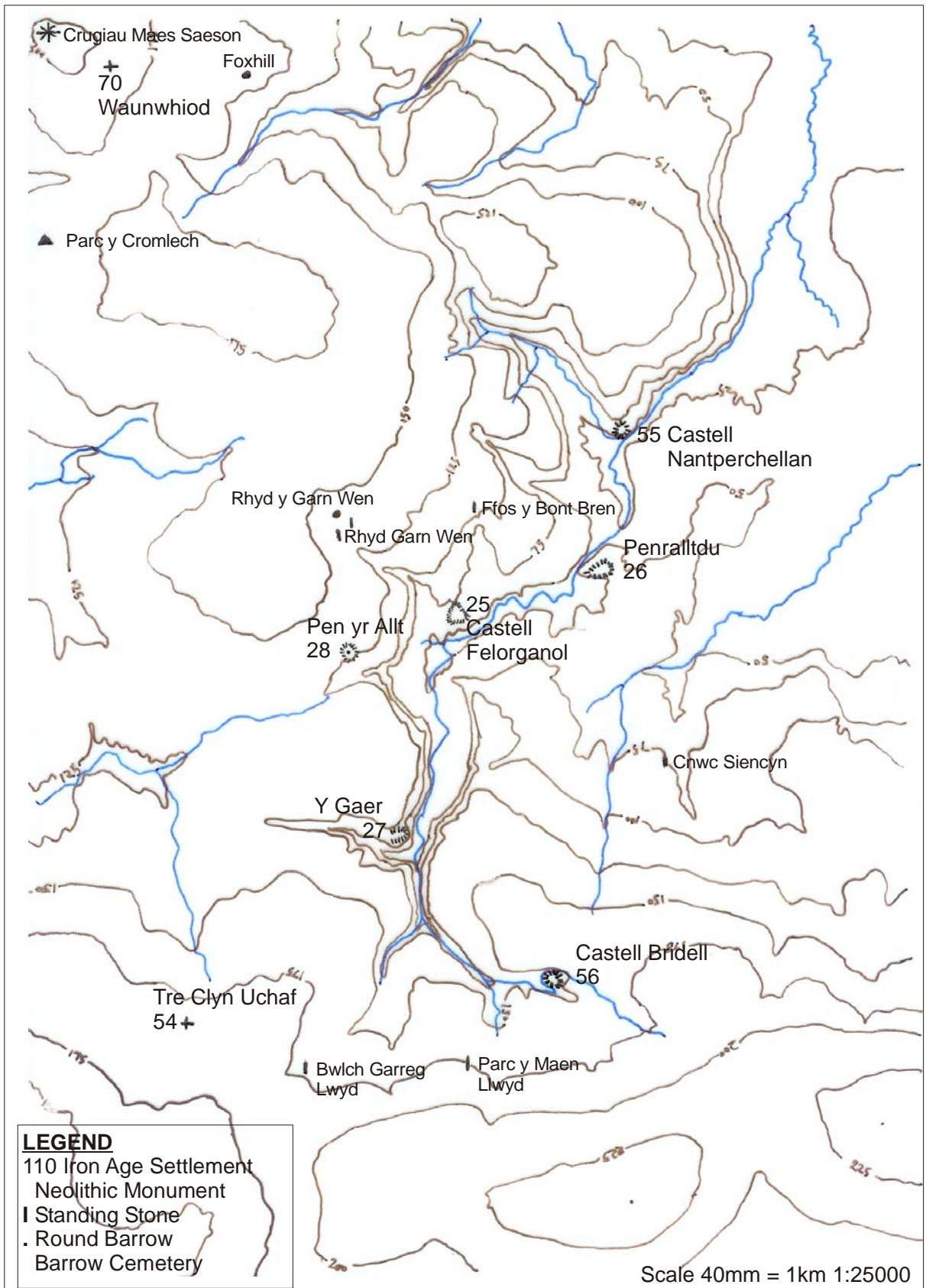


Figure 3.20. Detailed Map of Sub-Area B

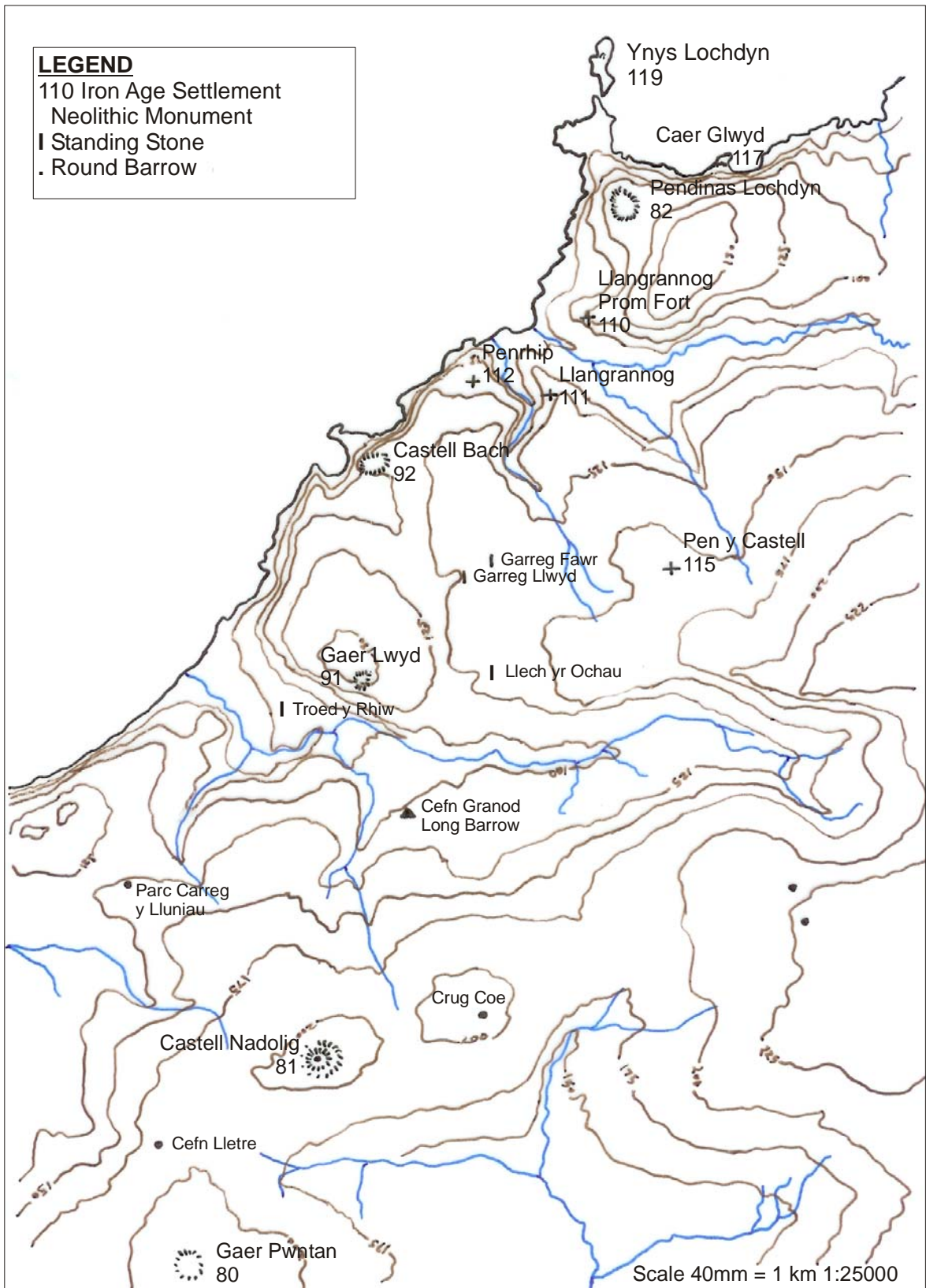


Figure 3.21: Detailed Map of Area C

Table 3.8a : Landscape Analysis for Area A detail

SITE	Grid Reference	Map Ref	Proximity to Hillfort (m)		Bronze Age Monuments (m)	Neolithic Monuments (m)	Proximity to nearest Settlement (m)	Defensively Sited	Position	Field system			
			Castell Nadolig	Pendinas Lochtyn							Castell Nadolig	Pendinas Lochtyn	
Area A													
Gaer Pwntarh	SN292494	80	1250	6000	✓	?	Standing Stone	875	2500	1250	✓	Hilltop	
Castell Nadolig	SN298504	81	✓	4750	N/A	✓		875	1400	1250	✓	Hilltop	
Pendinaslochtyn	SN315549	82	4750	✓	✓	✓		2500	3400	500	✓	Prom	✓
Caer Lwyd	SN301524	91	2000	2750	✓	✓		450	750	1175	✓ ?	Close to Hilltop, scarp edge	
Castell Bach - Penbryn	SN303536	92	3000	2000	x	✓		750	1900	675	x	Slope	
Llangrannog Prom Fort	SN314512 (?SN)	110	4100	600	?	✓		1375	2750	425	?	Prom	
Llangrannog Hillfort - Craig Pentre	SN311538	111	3600	1000	?	✓		875	2250	425	?	Prom	
Penrhif	SN30815400	112	3600	1200	x	✓		875	2250	425	x	Slope	
Groes Pen Y Castell	SN317529	115	3000	2000	?	✓		875	1900	1125	x	Slope	
Caer Glwyd	SN32005490	117	5000	500	x	✓		2750	3750	500	✓	Coastal prom	
Ynys Lochdin	SN31435533	119	5500	750	x	✓		2750	4000	500	✓	Island	

Table 3.8b : Landscape Analysis for Area B detail

SITE	Grid Reference	Map Ref	Proximity to Hillfort (m)		Bronze Age Monuments (m)	Neolithic Monuments (m)	Proximity to nearest Settlement (m)	Defensively Sited	Position	Field system
			Pen.yr. Allt	Intervisibility Pen.yr Allt						
Area B										
Castell Felor-ganol	SN16414226	25	600	?	625	3200	600	?	Spur	
Y Gaer Penralltdu	SN17194253	26	1500	✓	750	3700	800	✓	Spur	
Y Gaer Cwmfrwdd	SN16034097	27	1100	x	1375	4000	1100	✓	Scarp Edge	
Pen Yr Allt	SN15784203	28	✓	N/A	650	2950	600	✓	Scarp Edge	
Tre Clyn Uchaf	SN14803890	54	2300	? Borderline	750	4500	1625	x	Slope	
Castell Nant Perchellan	SN17304333	55	2000	? Standing Stone	900	3650	800	✓	Spur	
Castell Bridell	SN16934013	56	2250	? Peak	675	5125	1200	?	Spur	
Waunwhiod	SN144455	70	3600	? Standing Stone	400	1050	3550	x	Hillslope near Top	

Table 3.8c : Landscape Analysis for Area C detail

SITE	Grid Reference	Map Ref	Proximity to Hillfort (m)		Bronze Age Monuments (m)	Neolithic Monuments (m)	Proximity to nearest Settlement (m)	Defensively Sited	Position	Field system
			Castell Mawr	Intervisibility Castell Mawr						
Area C										
Castell Henllys	SN11723905	6	1250	✓	1450	1150	1250	✓	Spur	?
Castell Llwyd	SN11263762	22	625	? Neolithic Struct.	1350	425	625	✓	Spur	
Cwm Pen y Benglog	SN11883728	23	500	✓	1675	650	500	✓	Spur	
Castell Mawr	SN11883778	24	✓	N/A	1550	250	500	✓	Hilltop	
Cwm Gloyn Camp + Cwm Gloyn II	SN10343967	51	2425	✓	700	2200	1500	✓	Spur/ Scarp Edge	

heavily defended settlements and other settlement sites in each area. Further to this, Bronze Age and Neolithic monuments were found at a variety of distances from the settlements. At this scale it is evident that pre-existing monuments would certainly have been a part of the everyday landscape, if not dominating them. For example, in several cases, the siting of settlements appears to be in direct line with pre-existing monuments. Earliest occupation, reuse and continuity of occupation of a settlement throughout the Iron Age have implications for relations to the landscape and monuments. Due to the lack of definite dates, it is difficult to assess the development of networks through time; however, if the broad chronology is accepted and used, it appears that multivallate hillforts and promontory forts in particular had relationships of inter-visibility. What this means will be discussed in the next chapter.

As can be observed in the overall distribution of sites (Figure 3.2), most sites are in reasonable proximity to one another. This is borne out by the relative proximities of sites in the more detailed analysis. The proximity of hillforts to other settlements was identified, showing distances ranging between 425m to up to 1250m (see Table 3.8). There were two exceptions to this – Tre Clyn Uchaf and Waunwhiod (in Area B, Figure 3.20), at distances from other settlements of 1625m and 3550m, respectively, may not be part of the same local network, or alternatively may be of a later date. In order to analyse inter-site proximity, it is again necessary to consider chronology. Contemporaneity is implicit in the identification of relational networks, making this analysis difficult. Finally, field boundaries were not clearly identified in any area, due to lack of either data or clear dating. In several locations throughout the study area, undated field systems are identified; however, as they may have dated from any period from Early Bronze Age to Late Medieval, it was impossible to include them in the analysis.

3.4.3 Classification Tables – Structure and Spatial Patterning within Settlements

As can be seen in Tables 3.9 and 3.10, finely detailed analysis was carried out for 13 sites where in depth information was available. This was the lowest level of analysis. Classification tables were used to identify and demonstrate the presence / absence of features. Each site

Table 3.9: Spatial Analysis of Features for Detailed Sub-areas A, B, and C

SITE	Enclosure Vallations	Phases of Construction	Annexes	Gates	Gate Orientation	Granaries	Pits	Internal Divisions	Field Systems	Round Houses	Doorway Orientation	Hearths	Radiocarbon Dates
Pendinas Lochtyn	Univallate	-	No	Extra Ditch/Bank?	East	1 (+?)	-	-	✓	1 In Centre + 3 Potential sites	-	-	AD 85-420; 1210 - 810 BC
Castell Henllys	Bivallate and Chevaux de-frise	Multiple	Outer Rampart/Annex	Complex, highly defensive, incl. guard chambers, towers & gates	West	Several in S of encl & annex	Clay Lined; Wicker lined	-	✓	7 Roundhouses + 4 Scoops + 1 external	SSW; E	Internal and External	From 5th Century BC
Carn Ingli	Univallate. Several Cells	Multiple	Several cells	Simple with thickened ramparts	Up to 12 gates	-	-	No huts in enclosure D	✓ ?	20 - 25 Dwellings	-	-	-
Castell Nadolig	Bivallate	-	Yes - East	Parallel Ditch & Bank + Annex	East	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Morl Trigran	Bivallate	Multiple	Yes, Northern defence	4 gates - simple? Oblique	East (NE) Main; South; West; West	-	-	-	✓ ?	> 100 Hut sites	-	Charcoal found in most huts	-
Carn Aiw	Univallate and Chevaux de-frise	Single *	No	entrance and guard hut?	West / Northwest	-	-	-	? Survey identified Clearance walls	-	-	-	-
Cardigan Island	Univallate	-	Yes - Enclosure A	Simple	East	-	-	-	✓	4 in enclosure A + 3 in enclosure B	-	-	-
Henllan Prom Fort	Bivallate	Multiple	No	2 Gates offset, funnel shaped	West	7 Four Post structures	Several clay lined	? East/ west = ?	-	3 Roundhouses in west of enclosure	S, S, S	Internal - back and centre. External	-
Berry Hill	Univallate	-	No	Simple	East ? Or S W ?	-	-	? East/ west = ?	? Noted on aerial Survey	? 'Several buildings'	-	-	-
Caer Bayvil	Univallate	Multiple beginning with simple palisade	? Wall Perpendicular to bank	Rampart Terminals	Southwest	-	1 Stonelined	-	-	2 or more	-	-	-
Caurau	Multiple (3)	-	No	-	East ?	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cwm Gloyyn Camp	Univallate	-	No	Simple?	West, North	1 or more	1	? East/ West = Features / less	-	1 or more	-	?	AD 320-600
Henllys Top Field	Univallate	3 Phases?	-	-	-	1 or more	2 or 4	? Boundary noted	-	1 or more	-	-	360-30 BC; AD 70-390

* Carn Aiw has actually been identified as having several sites with multiple enclosures and some cell like structures similar to Carn Ingli. This Site is identified as "Small Hillfort (Site 41)" in Drewett 1987:15

- No information available

Table 3.10: Spatial Analysis of Artefacts for Detailed Sub-areas A, B, and C

SITE	Human Remains	Animal Remains	Slag	Pottery	Metal Work	Spindle Whorls & Loom Weights	Pebbles	Querns
Pendinas Lochdyn	-	-	-	-	-	-	Yes	-
Castell Henllys	-	-	Bank/Ditch	Several Sherds	Copper alloy objects; Iron sickleblade and spearhead	Yes - Predominantly in northwest of Enclosure	Yes - Slingshot nr Defences	Whole rotary quern in Granary post-hole
Carn Ingli	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Castell Nadolig	Re-use of BA Barrow? Spoon Pair - Usually indicative of burial	-	-	-	La Tene Bronze Spoon Pair	-	-	-
Mael Trigam	? Bronze Age Barrows Not investigated with respect to reuse	Ox Teeth and Bones in hut ??	Hut No. 9	Bead and Fragments	Iron nails and bridle fragments	Yes - Several found in huts	Yes - In Huts	"Pounder" -
Carn Alw	-	-	-	-	-	Spindle Whorl found nearby	-	-
Cardigan Island	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Henllan Prom Fort	-	Lamb fragments - Inner ditch	Post hole	Beads in Posthole	Nails in Posthole	Yes - In ditch	Yes - Lining Entrance	-
Berry Hill	-	-	-	3 pcs in Posthole	-	-	-	-
Caer Bayvil	Medieval Burial	-	-	1 pce	-	-	-	-
Caurau	Urns (Bronze Age?); Medieval Burial	-	Yes? In graves, James (1987: 73) attributes to Iron Age	-	-	-	Yes? In graves, James (1987: 73) attributes to Iron Age	Quern - spot find nearby
Cwm Gloyn Camp	-	-	-	-	-	Spindle Whorl in posthole	-	-
Henllys Top Field	-	-	-	2 Fragments	-	Loom weight and spindle whorl in postholes	-	-

- No information available

structure was examined for central areas within an enclosure, the location (and any spatial patterning) of areas and buildings within it and internal divisions for activities (refer to Table 3.9). Due to the relative lack of excavations at this detail and the brevity of information for sites that have been subjected to careful excavation, very little patterning was observable. In some locations, possible round houses and granary structures were identified. Because most excavation strategies have focused on defences, it is possible that some structures within an enclosure were not identified or excavated. However, from my analysis, it appears that a possible east-west division between areas of housing and areas of other activities (such as stock husbandry) can be identified at three sites – Castell Henllys (refer Figure 3.22), Henllan (refer Figure 3.23), and Berry Hill. Curiously, Henllys Top Field (refer Figure 3.24) showed a west-east division, diametrically opposite to other sites, including the nearby Castell Henllys.

It was not possible to identify any spatial patterning within the few examples of roundhouses. The presence of pits was identified in four settlements, although none contained evidence of deposits. Orientation of doorways proved difficult to assess due to partial excavation and incomplete reporting – again I was unable to obtain sufficient data to analyse. Finally, a similar difficulty was met in locating fireplaces, with insufficient evidence to analyse positioning as east/west, front/back or central (Refer Table 3.9).

Artefact distribution is detailed in Table 3.10. Again, due to the relative dearth of information, only limited assessment of spatial patterning was possible. In considering possible deposits in ditches and pits the following observations were made. Iron slag was found in three ditches. No human remains, and only limited examples of animal remains, were found in either enclosures or ditches. No evidence of burials or cremations was found, although some form of burial has been suspected at Castell Nadolig based on the evidence of a La Tène spoon pair (Hogg and Davies 1994: 272, unverified by excavation). Artefactual material was found in roundhouse and granary postholes in a number of examples.

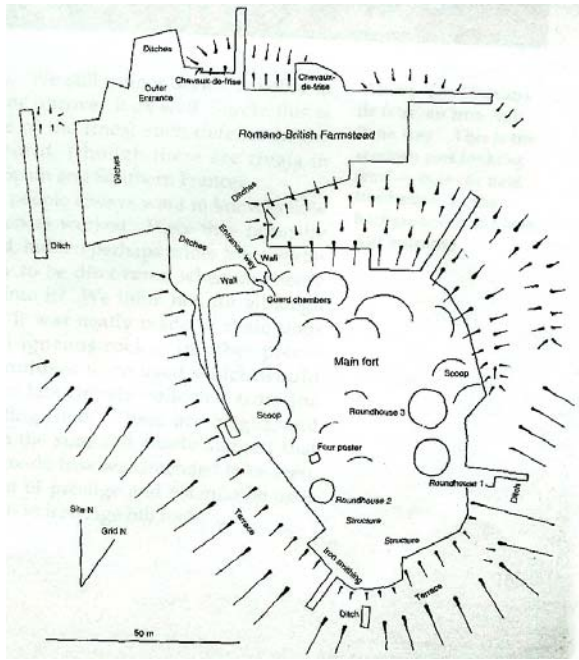


Figure 3.22. Castell Henllys Promontory Fort (Mytum 1999: 164)

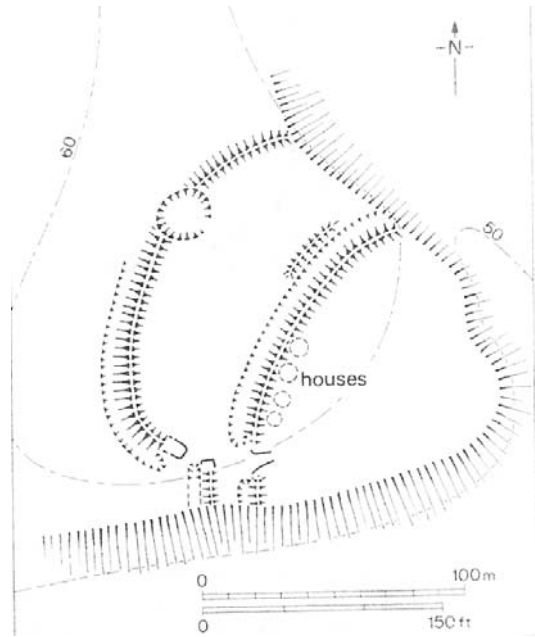


Figure 3.23. Henllan Promontory Fort (Hogg and Davies 1994: 245)

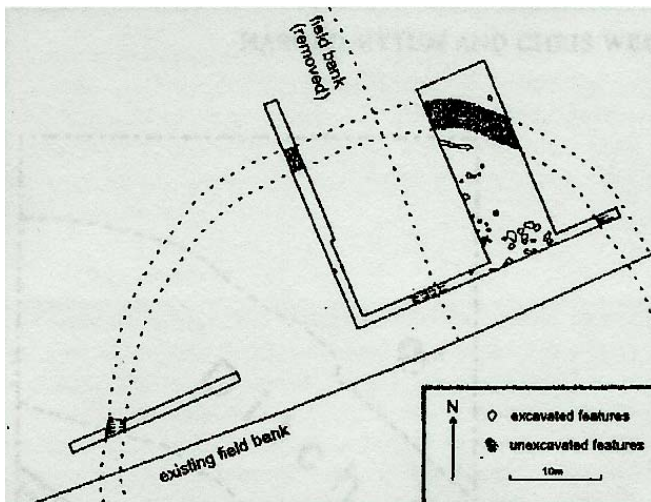


Figure 3.24. Henllys Top Field Enclosure. (Mytum and Webster 2001: 91)

3.5 SUMMARY

To summarize, I have introduced the data collated for Iron Age settlements across the study area. The data were then analysed in an effort to identify patterns in the distribution of settlements and pre-existing monuments within the landscape. I have also analysed spatial patterning within settlements, considering the presence and absence of features and artefacts. Having examined the settlement record and also considered trends in the spatial use of areas, in the next chapter I wish to consider how this information can be interpreted.

Chapter 4

Social and Symbolic Meaning in the Iron Age

Settlements of West Wales

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The data from my study, analysed in the previous chapter, now requires interpretation in terms of what it can tell us about Iron Age society and living in the landscape. Is there a distinct regional Iron Age culture for West Wales, identifiable by examining Iron Age settlements in the landscape? Williams (1988: 42) attributed differences in settlement morphologies in West Wales to the suitability of the area to agricultural activities and the provision of surpluses. In contrast, I wish to move away from the environmentally deterministic approaches that have abounded in interpretations of West Wales, towards an interpretation based on social practice.

The material world can be used as a powerful system of signification (Barrett 2000b: 27). Material culture in the Iron Age is represented by the enclosures themselves, the spatial patterning in the layout of enclosures, and by portable artefacts and their spatial patterning. Patterns may also be observed in boundaries (natural and built), in the location of settlements in the landscape, and in the orientation of enclosures. I will be looking at the patterning within and around settlements for evidence of representation of the social order, together with any potential reflections of cosmological and ritual representation.

In interpreting the settlements in the study area, I will first examine trends in morphology, size, and chronology. On the basis of this, I will broaden the discussion to include boundaries, with respect to both enclosure of settlements and boundaries in the landscape. The location of settlements in the landscape and with respect to pre-existing monuments will also be evaluated. I then wish to assess directionality perceived in the aspect of enclosures and orientation of enclosure entrances. This leads to consideration of the

orientation of roundhouse doorways and other evidence for spatial patterning within enclosures. I then wish to examine how all this fits together to constitute a regional cultural pattern for settlements in West Wales. Finally, I compare the Iron Age settlements of West Wales with the settlement record for other areas of Britain.

4.2 SETTLEMENTS

In the first stage of my analysis, the inter-related elements of settlement morphology, size and chronology were examined in order to assess how the settlement pattern in the study area changed during the Iron Age. I now wish to consider whether changes in social relations can be inferred from the changes identified in the settlement pattern.

4.2.1 Morphology

The typical morphology of settlements in West Wales, as discussed in Chapter Three, include promontory forts, multivallate hillforts and circular enclosures such as univallate “ringforts”. The relative proportion of these sites remaining in the archaeological record is important, as there are potential differences in the preservation of Iron Age sites through the study area. There may have been better preservation in the uplands because this area is poorly suited to farming. In addition, sites in pastoral areas are often better preserved than those in agricultural and built-up areas (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 162). However, as Figure 3.2 shows, the distribution of Iron Age settlements in the study area indicates sites at both high and low elevations. In contrast, a greater density of Bronze Age monuments can be seen in the upland areas, with over half of them situated above 200m (refer Table 3.4). If many lowland sites have, in fact, been destroyed by agriculture and urban development, it is possible that there may have been an even greater density of sites in the lowlands, which already appears to have proportionally more sites than the upland areas.

There is a sequence of changes in enclosure of settlements, beginning with defensive univallate sites, changing to multiple vallations with a final transition to less defensive

univallate enclosures and “ring-forts”. This occurs in concert with changes in typical location. Sites were initially located on promontories. This changed to a preference for hilltops, and then in the later Iron Age, sites were typically located on hill slopes. This may represent an alteration of settlement morphology and location in response to social changes. Changes in settlement morphology, particularly in the transition from heavily defended to more open, less defensively sited settlements, are suggestive of socio-political change (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 172). Castell Henllys occupied from the 5th century BC, for example, is more defensively sited and had more complex defences than the nearby (but later) enclosure of Henllys Top Field. This appears to demonstrate a lessening of defensive needs through time. The gradual lessening of the defensiveness of enclosures may indicate a gradual reduction of broader social oppositions, moving away from an emphasis on aggression and territoriality. The shift in siting towards the more open hill slopes also suggests a lessening of territoriality and a gradual coalescence into a more group-oriented social network. This can be inferred from the move towards less defensive enclosures and less defensive locations, suggesting improved group relations, and (as will be discussed in Section 4.2.2), in the transition to smaller individual settlements with settlements field systems. A shift towards a more group oriented social network seems especially likely, considering the necessary group cooperation envisaged in the Middle Iron Age to facilitate the construction of larger hillforts like Castell Nadolig (81) or the more elaborate defences seen at Castell Henllys (6) (Mytum 1999: 3). The reduction in defensiveness after this time suggests that social oppositions remained less. The progression of enclosures and relative siting are illustrated in Figure 4.1.

The morphology of Iron Age settlements in the lower areas corresponds to the archetypal settlement types of “ubiquitous” promontory forts and the dominant “farmstead” (Lynch *et al.* 2000: 148,162). However, as discussed in Section 3.4.1, the range of morphological types found in the study area extends beyond these broad categories. It is possible that morphological differences across the spectrum may be related to socio-cultural changes, reflected in the types of settlements and their change through time. The Theory of Structuration suggests the perpetuation of social rules through compliance to those rules,

cementing the overall organisation of a society. However, small but incremental changes in the actions of groups or individuals can lead to radical transformations (Jordan 2003: 12). These changes may be observed in the Iron Age in the variations in basically equivalent morphological types. For example, promontory forts occur in both univallate and bi-vallate forms. There are also variations in the area, exact shape, and size of ditch-and-bank between various “univallate” circular enclosures. These differences in morphology may be a reflection of incremental human actions. Multiplied across the categories of morphological site types, these incremental changes could account for the spectrum of settlement morphologies.

In West Wales, we may be seeing a dually motivated change in morphology, reflecting both changes in social relations (seen in the lessening need for defence), along with a gradual transformation in response to this change, as a result of individual actions. This is demonstrated in the continuum of morphological types (as discussed above). The lessening of social oppositions is suggested by the move towards symbolic rather than functional defences seen in the move from multivallate hillforts to univallate enclosures for example. In the later part of the Iron Age, the reduction in the degree of enclosure reflects a social organisation based on a cohesive group of individual households. However, despite a lessening of defensive needs, the occurrence of enclosures into the Late Iron Age may represent the continuation of a tradition of delimiting space. Nevertheless, some similarities with Iron Age culture as a whole are observable, particularly in the Early Iron Age, in the occurrence of enclosed sites, including hillforts, and these can be related to the overall structuring of society.

4.2.2 Size Distinction by Type

In addition to the degree of enclosure, another distinction between the different morphological types is the size or area of the enclosure. Historically, a size of 1.2 ha (3 acres) has been taken arbitrarily as the point of division between “hill-forts” and “farmsteads”; however, the size distribution in Figure 3.7 appears to show more than one population. As shown in the analysis in 3.4.2, there are distinct size distributions for different morphological types and these do not conform to a 1.2 ha division. The range of size distribution for each

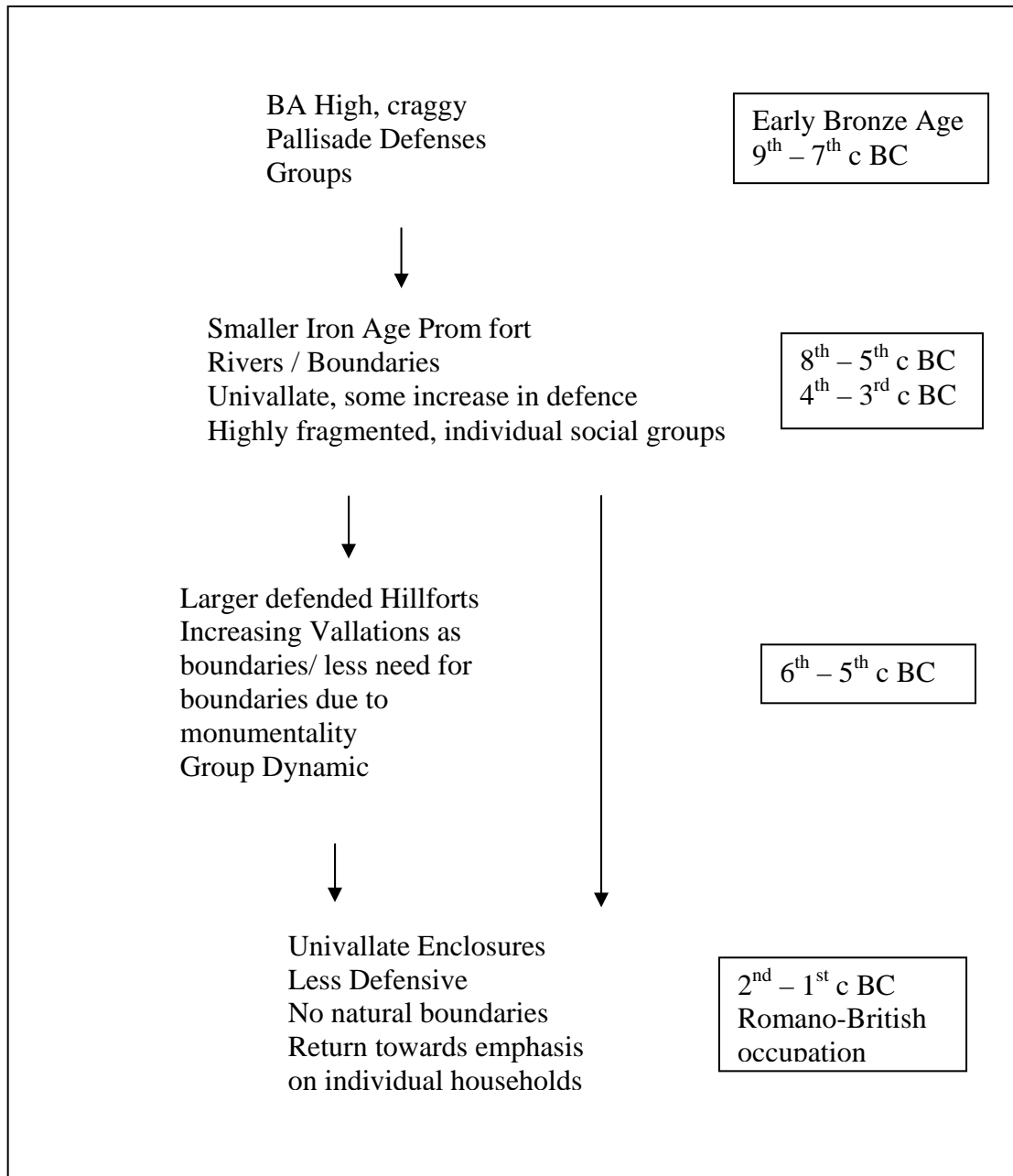


Figure 4.1: Diagram showing possible progression of morphology, enclosure, and social needs and organisation for the Iron Age in West Wales.

morphological type suggests that there are “outliers” in the samples that may be related to problems in classification of type, where certain settlement types, such as antennae enclosures, could be placed in more than one category. One example is Castell Henllys (6), bigger and with more complex defences than originally thought (Crossley 1963:185-6). This site could be classified as a promontory fort, or a circular enclosure.

Nevertheless, a trend can be discerned in the relative size of different morphological types (refer Table 3.5). The changes in size correspond with the proposed changes in morphology through time. These differences can again be related to the chronology of types and changes in the social organisation. Pendinas Lochtyn (1.1 ha), and Castell Henllys (0.5ha) are both forts of moderate size, dated to the first half of the Iron Age. The larger sized hillforts in the study area, such as Caerau (2.4 ha) and Castell Nadolig (3.2 ha), may have been built in the Middle Iron Age. Settlement size then appears to reduce with the change to univallate circular enclosures (average size 0.3 ha) in the Late Iron Age. Lynch *et al.* (2000:148) suggest the smaller hillforts of southwest Wales are “plausibly the residence of a family or extended family group”, based on relative size. Certainly, smaller settlements such as Berry Hill (0.25 ha) and Henllys Top Field (0.3 ha) would appear only big enough to support a family group. The change to smaller settlements in the Late Iron Age supports the previous suggestion of a move towards a more fragmented society of independent households.

4.2.3 Chronology

In order to support the proposed chronological progression of settlements outlined in Figures 3.1 and 4.1, it is necessary to examine the available evidence for dating, comparing information from sites in the study area with dated sites from elsewhere in West Wales (refer to Figure 4.2 for the location of relevant sites outside the study area). The chronology used is based on Williams’ (1988) work at Llawhaden, and expanded upon by Lynch *et al.* (2000: 147-172). The development of a loose chronology based on morphology is fraught with danger, as discussed in Sections 2.2.3 and 3.3.3. However, whilst the dating evidence is very sparse, what little there is matches the proposed chronologies.

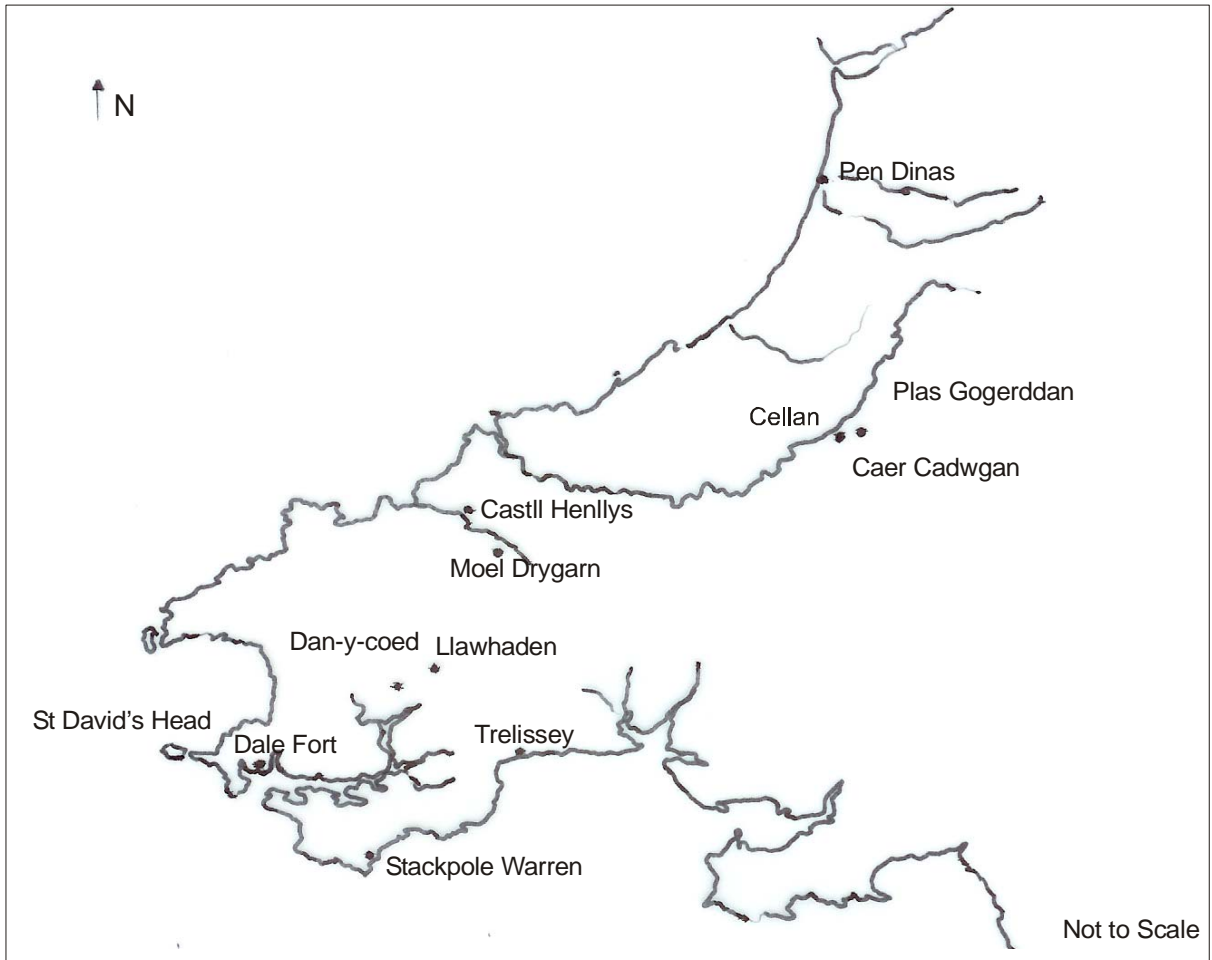


Figure 4.2. Other Welsh Sites Mentioned in the Text (note Llawhaden Group includes Drim Camp, Bodringallt, Woodside Camp, Dan y Coed, Pilcornswell Camp, Holgan Camp and Broadway Enclosure). Based on a map by Williams (1988, Fig 3).

Defensively sited, univallate hillforts and promontory forts are generally attributed to the Early to Middle Iron Age. Pendinas Lochtyn (82) has one radiocarbon date (1210 – 810BC) that can be attributed to the earliest defensive hillforts of the Bronze Age - Iron Age transition period (Scott and Murphy 1992: 9-10). As can be seen from Figure 4.3, this hillfort is defensively situated. A second date for Pendinas Lochtyn of AD 85 – 420 (Romano-British) is indicative of the reuse of this site. A second site in the study area, Castell Garw (43), is also dated to the transition period (830 – 530 BC) (Kirk and Williams 2000: 265); however, as it is situated within the Neolithic and Bronze Age ritual complex of Glandy Cross and its function is unclear, morphological comparisons are difficult. There are several examples of hillforts near the study area that have their naissance in the Bronze Age. Bryn Maen Caerau, Cellan has a pre-rampart occupation date in the Early Bronze Age (2870 BC), with occupation also in the Late Bronze Age – Early Iron Age (810 – 410 BC) (Williams 2001:17). There is also evidence of use in the Early and Late Bronze Age, prior to occupation during the Iron Age, at Stackpole Warren (Benson *et al.* 1990: 239); at Llawhaden in Holgan, Pilcornswell and Woodside camps (Williams 1988:33); at Dale Fort (Benson and Williams 1987: 43); and possibly at Woodbarn Rath (Benson *et al.* 1990: 238; Williams 1988:41).

The inland promontory fort of Castell Henllys (6) (Figure 4.4) is dated to the 5th century BC, within the Middle Iron Age, and in reasonable agreement with dates of the 4th to 3rd century BC for the promontory forts of Pilcornswell and Holgan Camp. In contrast, Cwm Gloyne camp (51) has only one date available, AD 320 – 600, although Mytum and Webster (2001: 106) suggest this may be from a period of re-use, as the presence of an Iron Age spindle whorl suggests an earlier occupation. At Castell Henllys (see Figure 3.22), several phases of elaboration of defences and gateways occurred in the Middle Iron Age (Mytum 1999: 3). This is in keeping with the increasing vallation seen in other sites of this period.



Figure 4.3. Aerial photo of Pendinas Lochtyn (Gathering the Jewels [online]: RCAHMW 99-CS-2283).



Figure 4.5. Aerial photo of Moel Drygarn showing detail of cairns, defences and evidence of hut platforms (Gathering the Jewels [online]: RCAHMW 99-CS-2321)



Figure 4.4. Aerial photo of Castell Henllys (Gathering the Jewels [online]: RCAHMW 91-CS-0437).

In my study area, the only settlement with its earliest dates in the Late Iron Age was Henllys Top Field (125). Having a morphology typical of the latter part of the Iron Age, it is a univallate circular enclosure, dated to 360 – 30 BC. This is in reasonable agreement with the dates for the morphologically similar Woodside Camp and Dan-y-Coed enclosure at Llawhaden (Williams 1988: 34-40). Sub-rectangular enclosures, which predominantly occur north of the River Teifi, have been assigned to a similar period, 2nd century BC to 1st century AD, based on excavations of an enclosure at Pen y Coed (Hogg and Davies 1994: 227). It should, however, also be pointed out that Castell Henllys continued to be occupied into the Romano-British period (Mytum 2001: 4) in a manner similar to that observed at Dan-y-Coed (Williams 1988: 41-43). Reuse or continuation of occupation is indicated by the presence of multiple stages of building of defences. For example, at Castell Henllys, there was a progression from palisades to univallate to bi-vallate defences. Similarly, at Caer Bayvil, enclosure began with palisades, moving to an enclosure with banks, revetments and ditching. These examples of continuation of occupation highlight the vagaries of using morphological typology for chronological purposes.

Another difficulty in assigning sites to a particular period on the basis of morphological differences can be seen at Moel Drygarn (Figure 4.5 and Figure 3.13) and Carn Ingli (Figure 4.8 and Figure 3.11) (amongst others). It is possible that these sites precede the Iron Age. They have been assigned to the Iron Age partly as a result of the presence of defences (and the presence of typed artefacts in the case of Moel Drygarn). The building of fortifications is now recognised as part of the Bronze Age transition, and the morphological differences in layout observed at these two sites, including the presence of multiple enclosures, could be indicative of different social constraints, from an earlier time. In particular, the large quantity of hut platforms within the different enclosures is not repeated at any other sites in the study area. In addition to differences in defensive morphology, Carn Ingli, Moel Drygarn and Carn Alw, along with other free-form hillforts and open settlements, all occur at higher elevations, in close proximity to, or inter-related with, Bronze Age monuments. This is unusual among the Iron Age sites in the study area and highlights the

importance of other considerations in assigning periods. If assignation to the Iron Age has been based only on the presence of defence, there is a need to re-examine these sites, giving consideration to the possibility a progression of phases at these sites, such as Late Bronze Age fortification followed by Iron Age occupation. (The dating of open settlements is also controversial as they may have been present at any time from the Early Bronze Age, and their location at higher elevations in the study area, primarily in areas populated with Bronze Age monuments, makes assigning a period even more perilous.) A tradition of re-occupation or of locating settlements in a pre-existing landscape may be related to the importance of place. This has implications for the relationships between place, landscape and monuments.

4.3 SETTLEMENTS IN THE LANDSCAPE

It is possible to consider the importance of place by examining how settlements relate to the landscape through the use of boundaries, the location and distribution of settlements in the landscape, and the location of settlements with respect to pre-existing monuments. According to Tilley (1994:11) “spaces are always created, reproduced and transformed in relation to previously constructed spaces provided and established from the past. Spaces are ultimately related to the formation of biographies and social relationships”. In examining settlements in the landscape, the use of landscape and reuse of older places may represent the possible perpetuation of such established social relationships. Commonality of patterns observed in an immediate landscape and how this reflects social acts can be linked to Structuration. The consideration of the distribution and placement of settlements in the landscape and whether this changes through time may therefore allow social interpretations.

4.3.1 Boundaries

Symbolic and social meanings can be found in the presence of boundaries in enclosures, in field boundaries and in the location of settlements near rivers. Expressions of social integration, or differentiation, can be seen in boundaries. Both signify distinctiveness, with boundaries defining a particular social entity (Hitchcock and Bartram 1998: 13) or mapping

social and cultural differences (Tilley 1994: 17). Relationships and networks can also be understood in terms of boundaries between the “inside world” and the “outside world” (Johnson 1999: 335). Boundaries can structure and grade space, influencing and directing (or curtailing) movement and access within enclosures and between places (Bradley 2000:104-5; Johnson 1993: 337-343).

An important aspect of boundaries is that they need not consist of built structures, but may be construed in natural features. According to Tilley (1994: 17), the presence of natural boundaries – including river courses, mountain chains and rock outcrops – may be of major significance in delimiting territories and in the networking of paths through a landscape. Consideration of the use of rivers as boundaries in the study area is interesting, particularly in the Early Iron Age, where a proliferation of promontory forts bounded by rivers is observable. Examples include the promontory forts of Castell Llwyd (22) and Cwm Pen y Benglog (23) (refer to Figure 3.19) on the River Nyfer and Henllan (7) and Felin Cwrrws (75) located on the River Teifi (refer to Figure 3.2). Rivers appear to be utilised less in the later part of the Iron Age, when settlements are located first on hilltops and then on slopes, with no obvious natural boundaries. As mentioned previously, this is accompanied by a reduction in the degree of enclosure. This suggests that boundary marking was more important earlier than later in the Iron Age. However, consideration should be given to a possible change in boundary marking towards field boundaries (perhaps no longer extant) in the period of circular enclosures and “ring-forts”. The lack of evidence of boundary ditches makes it difficult to say whether there is a specific alteration in the demarcation of boundaries, or if the lack of wider boundaries is a function of lack of targeted investigation. From the RCAHMW database, there appear to be a number of boundaries and remnant fields. This is an area that warrants further investigation.

Effective boundaries and segregation of space are also created by Iron Age settlement enclosure. Such boundaries have been variously attributed to defence, monumentality, symbolism and livestock management, but enclosures persist long after defensive needs abated. As discussed in Section 4.2.1, despite morphological changes, a degree of enclosure

persisted in the study area into the Late Iron Age and even beyond. An element of monumentality is observed in hillfort enclosures of the Middle Iron Age, where revetment and enlargement of banks contribute to the appearance of size. Later enclosures appear to exhibit less defensiveness and monumentality in ditch and bank arrangements, but a formal boundary is still observable. For example, the concentric antennae enclosure of Pengelli Fach and the circular enclosure of Berry Hill cannot be considered defensive due to their position on hill slopes. Enclosure may therefore be a symbolic representation of boundaries.

4.3.2 Location in the Landscape

Whilst examining significant trends in the locations of settlements, in addition to situation, I considered elevation, outlook, the areas surrounding settlements, defensiveness of location, and inter-visibility. Beginning with the elevation of settlements, an apparent distinction was observed between the elevation of open and freeform settlements above 200m, and that of circular defended enclosures and promontory forts (including most multivallate forts) generally below 200m (refer Table 3.4). There may have been some occupation of higher elevations in the Iron Age, such as at Moel Drygarn (365m). This may have been a result of exploitation of pre-existing settlements. As discussed earlier, the higher elevation freeform hillforts and open settlements may have been present before the Iron Age. In addition, some sub-rectangular enclosures were situated at higher elevations e.g., Waun Clyn Coch (52) and Castell Crugiau (95). The location of these settlements will be more closely examined in Section 4.3.3; however, the move away from lower elevations, may indicate a lessening of concern about location in particular areas.

The possibility of differential preservation at higher elevations, discussed in Chapter 3, suggests that higher elevations are *more* likely to have preserved remains, yet show proportionally fewer settlements. It therefore appears that there is a definite preference for situation of Iron Age settlements at or below 200m, particularly for inland promontory forts. (A tendency to locate open settlements only at higher elevations cannot, however, be inferred. As Lynch *et al.* (2000: 162) point out, there is a greater chance that open settlements have not

survived in the more fully utilised lower elevations.) Most interpretations attribute the preference for site location at lower elevations to environmental factors in the Iron Age. I suggest that other factors, especially separation from the sacred places of the Bronze Age (sited in greater proportion above 200m) play a part in the location of settlements. The relation of settlements to pre-existing monuments will be discussed later.

In examining the area surrounding settlements, I have taken my perspective from Ingold's (1993) discussion of task-scape, living in the landscape, and people's experience of landscape. If route-ways, boundaries, and evidence of tasks completed in the landscape are considered a product of human action and a medium of socialisation, then the presence of these features can give further information about living in the landscape. In the study area, the relative lack of evidence of fields and boundaries (previously mentioned) limits this analysis. Possible field systems exist on the flatish ground southeast of Pendinas Lochtyn hillfort (82a) and on ground just west of Gaer Pwntan (80a) although no details are available. Elsewhere in the study area, evidence of possible prehistoric field systems is found in the upland area, in proximity to undated settlements such as Waun Fawr (49a) and Parc y Dinas (17a) (refer to Appendix 1 for possible examples). A medieval date has been suggested for some of these field systems, but in view of the density of prehistoric remains, they could feasibly be Iron Age or older. In order to form a picture of field systems and land use in this area during the Iron Age, a survey of potential fields and boundaries is required, preferably conducted at sites where there is a clear association with a well excavated settlement. Nevertheless, some aspects of landscape are observable in the detailed analysis.

In sub-areas A and B particularly, settlements were found in the enclosed area of a *cwm* (little wooded valley) until possibly the Late Iron Age. This appears to show a preference for location in a specific landscape. This may be attributable to social relations (related to defining boundaries), as well as to environmental and subsistence needs, as a *cwm* is topographically quite enveloping. Sub-area C seems, in contrast, to have a more open outlook; for example, Pendinas Lochtyn, Castell Nadolig and Gaer Pwntan all appear to have

sweeping views. It is possible that outlook – sweeping views, views to coast, views down little valleys – may have had some importance in the Iron Age, as over 70% of sites were situated with a vista. In the past, outlook has been interpreted in terms of defence, although settlements are often not in the most defensible locations. For example, Iron Age “hillforts” occur in places such as spurs adjacent to the crests of hills, with, in some cases, nearby higher ground occupied by Bronze Age monuments (e.g., Castell Mawr, sub-area A). There is no escaping the fact that many sites were situated in a good position to see the view. However, care is required in drawing conclusions about outlook, as this may be emphasising a modern, western construct of “landscape”, the attraction of a view being highly subjective. This could be further explored using the phenomenological approach of Tilley and others – an in situ reading of how landscape and architecture framed the experience of an area.

In addition to outlook, inter-visibility between sites was examined, in an attempt to identify relational networks in the landscape. Inter-visibility between existing settlements, with pre-existing Iron Age settlements, and with pre-existing monuments was assessed. Table 3.8 shows a high degree of inter-visibility in sub-area C in particular, where all sites were inter-visible with Pendinas Lochdyn. In all areas, there were examples where sites with marginal inter-visibility between them appeared to have pre-existing monuments in direct line of sight. For example, Garreg Fawr Standing Stone is situated on the highest point between Pendinas Lochdyn and Castell Nadolig in sub-area C, and Ffos y Bont Bren Standing Stone is located between Castell Nant Perchellan and Pen yr Allt in sub-area B. The degree of inter-visibility can be affected by the amount of clearing, however this is difficult to assess for Iron Age Wales as the degree of clearing at that time is not well understood (Bell 1995: 151; 1996a; Chapman and Geary 2000). Nevertheless, the high incidence of inter-visibility between sites suggests that relational networks did exist between settlements, and the apparent role of pre-existing monuments in facilitating these networks is shown by their location in the line of visibility between sites.

Although inter-visible sites may not have been contemporary, it can be argued that banks and ditches would have been prominent in the landscape long after occupation had ceased; after all, many are still visible today. If this is the case, it is reasonable to suppose that deserted settlements would still have been “places in the landscape” despite temporal differences in occupancy. Inferences of the perpetuation of the importance of a place are further strengthened by evidence of reoccupation through time. The appearance of a site may have also contributed to its (inter)visibility. The appearance of settlements may have been enhanced by the presence of the ditch and bank enclosures, making them more “monumental”. For example, at Castell Henllys, massive walls, together with judicious scarping of natural slopes, produced an imposing appearance (Mytum 1996: 8-9). Similarly at both Caer Bayvil and Henllan, stone revetments are believed to have contributed to the appearance of the settlement (James 1987; Williams 1944). Revetment is often found on the approach side of enclosures, contributing to the long distance view of a settlement (Mytum 1996: 9). At Carn Ingli and Moel Drygarn, (both with multiple enclosures and at high elevations), drystone walls rather than revetment are used; however both are prominent, even from a distance. According to Bender (1993a: 246), socialisation processes take place within particular relations of power and knowledge. In the Iron Age, power can be demonstrated by the monumentality of a settlement, in terms of the appearance of status and in the power implicit in possessing the means to build an imposing structure.

4.3.3 Pre-Existing Monuments

Power can also be implied in relationships with pre-existing monuments. According to Barrett (1999: 256), most general approaches to Iron Age settlements neglect or fail to take into account pre-existing features in the landscape. There are several examples where it can be seen that pre-existing monuments did play a role in what we can infer of Iron Age society. For example, Neolithic monuments were reused in Iron Age Scotland (Hingley 1996); in Yorkshire, Bronze Age boundaries such as dykes were further enhanced (Bevan 1997); and (in an interesting parallel with Glandy Cross in the study area) it has been suggested that the Neolithic and Bronze Age ritual monuments at Maxey continued as focal places in the Iron

Age (Taylor 1997). As discussed in Chapter 2, power relations can be manifested in the ability to translate meaning, control access to, or claim relationships with pre-existing monuments. Through the Bronze Age, there was a gradual decrease and then complete cessation of the construction of monuments, with monumentality transferred to domestic structures (Hingley 1996, Barrett 1999:254). However, as will be discussed shortly, in West Wales there appeared to be some reuse of Bronze Age monuments in the Iron Age, and possibly some tradition of settlement location in relation to pre-existing monuments. I therefore wish to examine these potential relationships, first considering the possible avoidance of some types of Bronze Age sites.

Burnt mounds and barrow cemeteries from the Bronze Age appear to have been avoided in the location of Iron Age settlements. Burnt mounds have been dated to the Early Bronze Age; however their purpose remains elusive (Caseldine and Murphy 1989: 4-5; Lynch *et al.* 2000: 90). As discussed in Section 3.4.2, a large number of burnt mounds occur around Cemmaes Head (SN1349) and Bryngwrog (SN2844), and Bronze Age barrow cemeteries are located at Crugiau Cemmaes (SN1241), Blaenporth (SN2649) and Bryngwrog (SN2844). The areas around these places are remarkable for the absence of Iron Age settlements, suggesting an avoidance of these types of Bronze Age sites. A lack of access to water can be dismissed as a cause of this absence, as water is available in these areas. An examination of all 13 barrow cemeteries shows only Moel Drygarn built in direct association with a barrow cemetery. The apparent tradition of avoidance of barrow cemeteries is not as marked for individual barrows, although, for the most part, barrows do appear to occupy hilltop positions, while Iron Age remains are located somewhat removed on nearby spurs. The patterns of avoidance of barrow cemeteries and the apparent limits to settling in the areas around individual barrows may be seen as signifying cultural values associated with these monuments and burial places.

There are examples of sites built in proximity to standing stones (Figure 4.6 illustrates a standing stone) and barrows (Figures 4.5 and 4.7 shows the barrows on Moel Drygarn). In examining the detailed maps of sub-areas A,B, and C, as seen in Figures 3.19, 3.20, and 3.21,



Figure 4.6. Standing Stone typical of the type found in West Wales (This stone is Maen Madog, in the Black Mountains – east of the study area).



Figure 4.7. Aerial photo of Moel Drygarn showing prominence in the area (Gathering the Jewels [online]: RCAHMW 99-CS-2324)

it seems likely that pre-existing monuments, including Bronze Age barrows and standing stones and Neolithic burial monuments, featured strongly in day-to-day experience of the landscape. In sub-area C, Garreg Fawr, Garreg Llwyd and Cefn Granod long barrow appear to be located on the most direct route between the Iron Age settlements of Pendinas Lochtyn and Castell Nadolig (see Figure 3.21). Bronze Age and Neolithic monuments are also highly visible from many Iron Age forts, as has been observed in several papers, where the view to Moel Drygarn, Carn Ingli and Pentre Ifan are all commented upon (Baring-Gould *et al.* 1900: 189; Hogg 1973: 76) (see figures 4.7-4.9). Pre-existing monuments would therefore have been an integral part of the landscape. As noted in Chapter 2, material culture (and landscape) is a “structured and structuring resource” (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 132). Relationships with pre-existing monuments could therefore be considered as structured, determined by pre-existing rules, and structuring in terms of how the monuments directed movement and activity.

Barrett (1999:261-4) asserts that the past, as represented by pre-existing monuments, “was linked to the present by a trajectory of legitimate inheritance” where knowledge of, and relations to, this past bestowed political authority. If some Iron Age sites have their origins in the Bronze Age, it suggests a perpetuation of long established relationships with these monuments. Barrett (1999: 263) also proposes that monuments were not only representative of the authority of the social order and the “larger symbolic order” – but also had a part in the routine of people’s lives – as an integral part of the landscape in which they moved, as part of their experience of life, and in their practices around these places. This could be manifested in the relationship of Iron Age people to pre-existing monuments, such as in the use of monuments for distinguishing places (e.g., as special places or as places to avoid) and in the reuse of monuments for ritual purposes.

Reuse of Bronze Age monuments for Iron Age burials is seen at several places in West Wales, possibly reinforcing an “inherited” link with the past. In my study area, there has been limited evidence for the reuse of barrows. As seen in Figure 4.6, Moel Drygarn was built

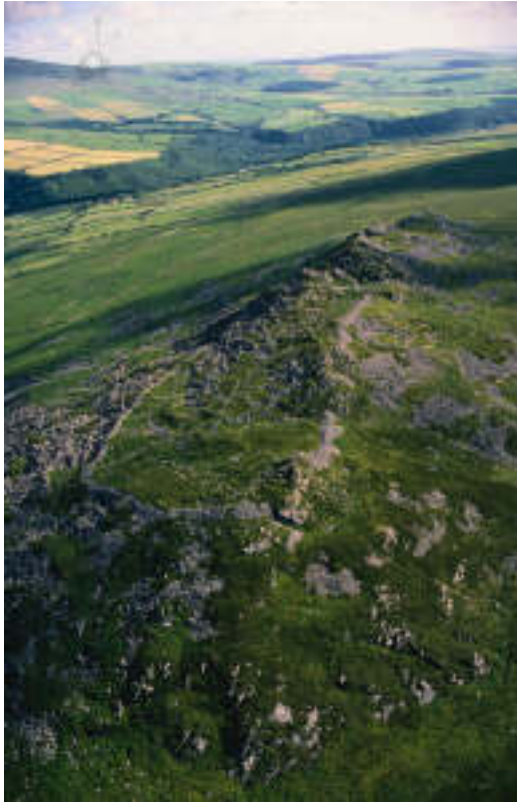


Figure 4.8. Aerial photo of Carn Ingli showing prominence in the area (Gathering the Jewels [online]: RCAHMW 91-CS-0437)



Figure 4.9. Pentre Ifan Neolithic Burial Chamber (Gathering the Jewels [online]: CADW 6(1))

around Bronze Age cairns (although the three barrows were not actually excavated [Baring-Gould, Burnard and Anderson 1900: 208]), and at Castell Nadolig there was some evidence of both an Iron Age burial due to the presence a La Tene spoon pair (generally associated with funerary rites) and of a Bronze Age cremation indicated by three urns (Anon 1905: 164; Hogg and Davies 1994: 272). Outside the study area, there are examples at Plas Gogerddan, where crouched inhumations dated to the late Iron Age/ Romano British period are in close proximity to a Bronze Age standing stone (Savoury, Caseldine, Dresser, Williams, Wilkinson and Crowther 1992:28), and at Stackpole Warren where Iron Age burials and a possible roundhouse are in close proximity to both a Bronze Age roundhouse and The Devil's Quoit standing stone (Benson *et al.* 1990: 185).

It is possible that these examples are special cases, as these are the only places where barrows and settlements coincide. Alternatively, this could suggest the reappropriation of, or control of access to the barrows or standing stones in order to intimate an association with “ancestors” (similar to the re-appropriation of Neolithic burial chambers suggested by Hingley [1996: 238]). Returning to the perceived avoidance of barrow cemeteries in the Iron Age, it seems possible that this represents a distinction between domestic and ritual activity (where knowledge or power within the wider community provided access to knowledge) (Barrett 1999: 261; also see Hill 1995b: 6). These suggested taboos appear to have relaxed by the Late Iron Age, when Late Iron Age enclosures are found relatively close to barrow cemeteries, for example at Waun Clyn Coch and the Blaentwrog I and II enclosures.

This relaxing of taboos in associations with pre-existing monuments through time suggest there was a lessening in the need to appropriate power through associations with the past. I propose that the place of pre-existing monuments in the landscape and how they fitted into relational networks was tied to the everyday, but their use for rituals such as burials may have marked them as an important facet in the adoption of power and in statements of territoriality. If this is considered along with an apparent lessening of the need for definitive boundaries and monumentality, and the decrease in size of settlements as discussed earlier, it

further supports inferences of a change in the social organisation of the Late Iron Age towards a less differentiated social structure featuring more separate, independent farmsteads.

In summary, in the landscape of settlements, relationships can be found in the presence of boundaries; in relation to natural features such as rivers; in the outlook and inter-visibility of settlements; and in their relationship with pre-existing monuments. Overall, these elements made up the experience of living-in-the-landscape of the people of the Iron Age. In particular, relational networks can be inferred from the inter-visibility of sites, and from the use of pre-existing monuments, providing networks of communication and movement. Relations of power and status can be identified in the presence of boundaries, monumentality of sites and also in the re-appropriation of pre-existing monuments. Finally, it is also possible that cultural values and elements of ritual may be identifiable in access to and relationships with focal places (including natural places and pre-existing monuments).

4.4 SPATIAL PATTERNING WITHIN SETTLEMENTS

Elements of social practice may also be demonstrated by the orientation of, and within, the enclosures themselves, which I now wish to examine. Praxis – day to day practical activity (Tilley 1994: 10) – can allow the reproduction or alteration of space. Spaces are meaningfully constituted in relation to human activity, so the meanings of space can be found in activity. Space forms a medium of action – constraining and enabling - *and* is an outcome of action. In order to examine spatial patterning within settlements, several factors were assessed:– aspect of the settlement; orientation of settlement enclosure entrances; orientation of doorways; internal divisions of space within enclosures; and patterning of artefacts. I now wish to consider what can be inferred from patterns observed in these data.

4.4.1 Aspect and Orientation

The aspect, or general direction in which an enclosure faces, was initially examined with reference to their location in the landscape. Figure 3.8 indicates that the preferred aspect for

the majority of settlements in the study area was south to southwest to west, which in the northern hemisphere is the best orientation for exposure to the sun. In contrast, as Figure 3.9 shows, there is a marked preference for the entrances of settlement enclosures to exhibit an east-west orientation (entrances on 66% of sites opened to the east or west). This finding matches similar studies for entrance orientation in other parts of Britain (Hill 1996: 108-9; Parker Pearson and Richards 1996a: 45-7; Parker Pearson 1996: 120, 1999: 44-5; and Oswald 1997). Differences between an enclosure's aspect and the orientation of an enclosure's entrance suggest why climate did not need to be taken into account in the orientation of entrance. In general, aspect appeared to accommodate practical needs, whilst the preference for east-west orientation of entrances may be interpreted as a result of ritual or cosmological requirements, rather than practical reasons, supporting Parker Pearson's (1999: 44) explanations for cosmological influences in the orientation of entrances and doorways.

Interestingly, in the study area, the few roundhouse doorways where entrance orientation is apparent show a preference for south. This is in contrast to findings elsewhere (Hill 1996: 108; Parker Pearson 1999: 44; Oswald 1997: 89) where an east-west alignment is the norm (although a preference for roundhouse entrances to be orientated in a southerly direction in the Bronze Age has been observed [Parker Pearson 1999: 44; Oswald 1997: 91]). However, the very small sample size (6 huts from 2 sites) precludes a firm finding. This would be an interesting question to pursue, as enlarging the study area may provide a larger sample, allowing this finding to be further tested.

4.4.2 Internal Spatial Patterning

Doorway orientation appears to be one aspect of a broader concern with cosmological referents in the layout of enclosures and roundhouses. In an attempt to find cosmological referents within settlements, my intention was to examine internal divisions, patterns of space use, central areas, and circulation paths. As a result of the paucity of excavation detail, this proved very difficult; however there was one potential apparent pattern observed in the layout

of the enclosures. A possible

east : west :: stock : houses

binary opposition was observed in the excavations at Henllan, Berry Hill and Castell Henllys. It appears that at Castell Henllys, the most easterly part or back of the enclosure housed granaries and a smithing area, whilst roundhouses occupied the remainder of the enclosure. Castell Mawr also seems to show evidence of an east/west division in the earthworks. An interesting variation is found at Henllys Top Field where domestic features are located in the east (opposite to the other sites). These instances are an interesting echo of the east/west orientations of enclosure entrances and is different to internal north / south divisions, shown by Parker Pearson (1996:123-5; 1999: 52-4), in Iron Age settlements elsewhere. It should be pointed out, however, that a lack of features inside enclosures is not necessarily conclusive evidence for an absence of features. The necessary excavations may not have been undertaken, or features once present may have been destroyed by ploughing. In addition, many past excavations focussed on enclosure defenses, to the relative neglect of internal features such as roundhouses. Fortunately, the focus of interest has since changed, so that today not only the defences but also the internal features are considered important.

4.4.3 Artefacts

As evidenced by the cosmological referents seen within enclosures, the Iron Age saw a general shift in the focus of ritual from the landscape to the domestic arena. Bradley (2000: 152) notes that ritual depositions changed from metal votives deposited in bogs and watery places in earlier prehistory to deposits associated with fertility and agriculture in the more domestic setting of settlements. (One aspect of deposition worthy of investigation (but not within the scope of this study) is the examination of multiple find spots not associated with settlements, particularly those found in rivers. These may represent deposits in special places.) Patterns in the use of space may be seen in the depositions of particular types of artefacts in certain areas of enclosures and roundhouses. The spatial patterning of artefacts was examined to determine whether particular activities took place and if there were specific areas for those activities, including the presence and pattern of artefacts associated with ritual.

There were no specific results derived, due to the scarcity of artefacts recovered from excavations; however, some observations are worthy of note. There were several instances of deposits (and even piles) of pebbles, attributed for the most part to sling shot hoards. The presence of pits was noted at several sites; however there is little documentary evidence of the type of pits or of any deposits in them. There was one instance of a possible ritual deposition in the placement of a quern in the posthole of a granary building. However, one isolated instance does not suggest a common practice.

Burial rites are often associated with pits, but there was no evidence in the study area of any inhumations and no direct evidence for cremations, with the exception perhaps of the associations mentioned earlier at Castell Nadolig, and at Caerau, where several (undated) urns were apparently found (Vincent 1864: 300). The lack of human remains associated with settlements appears to contrast with areas of southern Britain, where, during the Iron Age, the settlements are believed to have been the foci of ritual associated with death (Bristow 1998: 107-8). However, caution is needed here as a lack of evidence may be attributable to either poor survival of remains in the soils of the area (Murphy 1992: 28), or a different focus in the limited excavation of the area.

Other possible deposits included iron slag, a rotary quern and some examples of spindle whorls and beads. However, due to the paucity of information, no case can be made for ritual deposition evidenced by patterning in the deposits. One particular type of deposit that I feel has been overlooked is that of slag deposited in ditches and postholes. This could merely be detritus from smithing or opportune use of rubbish for packing a posthole; however, I feel it bears further scrutiny. Smithing is recognised as a specialised activity, imbued with ritual, the presence of a residual material such as slag reflecting a remembered importance of place (rather than a monument) (Bradley 2000: 156-7). Iron-working often took place on the flank of burial mounds and at the location of Bronze Age cremation sites (Hingley 1997: 12). It is therefore possible that the remnants of the “transformation” of iron were also of some significance and were treated ritually. Further, Parker Pearson (1999: 51)

suggests that there were some examples of an association between entranceways and roundhouse doorways and deposition of metalworking residues and “currency” bars. At Henllan, slag was found in posthole 12 (Williams 1944: 235), possibly an inner posthole for an entrance porch. There are two more instances where slag has been found in excavations, and several finds of iron, but the locations were not clearly documented (refer Table 3.10). Yet again, due to the lack of detail in excavation reports, this avenue could not be explored.

Due to the scarcity of information, it was difficult to make interpretations of social meaning in the spatial layout within settlements. There was only one specific example of a documented concentration of artefacts, the concentration of spindle whorls found in the north-western part of Castell Henllys (Mytum 2001: 2). However, until the applicable excavation reports are published, this avenue is difficult to pursue.

4.5 COMPARISON WITH OTHER IRON AGE REGIONS

Having examined in detail the evidence collated, it is now appropriate to distil this into a picture of regional trends for the study area. I therefore wish to re-examine spatial patterning within the settlements, the settlements themselves and their place in the landscape, comparing the results from the study area to results from other, more intensively examined areas in the Iron Age, in order to determine if West Wales could be considered as culturally distinct.

4.5.1 Wessex

Wessex – Hampshire, Wiltshire and Dorset – in southern England has been the traditional focus of English prehistory (Hill 1995b: 7-8). Among the sites it includes are Little Woodbury, Maiden Castle and Danebury. These sites were extensively excavated and, with other sites, have been used to establish chronological sequences and the dominant interpretive schemes for the British Iron Age (Hill 1995b: 8). The most striking features are the major hillforts of Danebury and Maiden Castle, larger and more elaborate than the promontory forts (0.2-0.8ha), and hillforts (1-6ha) of West Wales. The majority of the population lived in

smaller settlements, although at > 1 ha (e.g. Little Woodbury 1.6 ha [Cunliffe 1991: 217]) these were still larger than the univallate enclosures of West Wales (0.1-0.8 ha).

In Wessex, linear earthworks were constructed in the Early Iron Age (Hill 1995b :8). and the hillforts were constructed around 6th – 5th century BC, broadly in line with the small hillfort, Broadway, at Llawhaden in Wales (Williams 1988:41). The Middle Iron Age had well developed hillforts with elaborate defences and gateways, and saw continued expansion of settled areas (Hill 1995b: 8). This is paralleled in West Wales by the elaborations of defences seen at Castell Henllys in the Middle Iron Age (Mytum 2001). In the Late Iron Age, the development of “oppida” (large enclosed areas of high concentrations of settlements) was seen in West Sussex and East Hampshire, in concert with a gradual abandonment of hillforts. Dorset, in contrast, moved towards agglomeration into smaller, multiple enclosure “ladder” settlements (Hill 1995b: 10; Collis 1996b: 91). Ritual was most obvious in the mortuary practices of the Late Iron Age, particularly in pit deposition, as seen at Danebury (Cunliffe 1991:505) and Winnage Downs (Hill 1995b). (The deposition of slag in pits at Danebury, Gussage and Rucstalls Hall (Hill 1996: 99) is worthy of note.) Finally, the cosmological symbolism of the Iron Age, noted elsewhere, is also evident in Wessex, in the orientation of enclosure entrances and roundhouse doorways to the east (Hill 1996: 103).

4.5.2 Other Regions

The settlements of the Yorkshire Wolds were examined by Bevan (1997: 184-7). Enclosed and open settlements both occurred in the Early Iron Age, together with linear earthworks and pits aligned across the landscape. At this time, enclosure entrances were oriented towards the south. Many sites were situated at the boundary between the uplands and lowlands, or on chalk spurs, with hills behind and with extensive views (similar to many site locations in West Wales). The Iron Age sites in this area are rich in artefacts such as pottery, jet, and imported bronze. Deposits of animal bones have been found, but no burials. By the Middle Iron Age, the settlement of Wetwang Slack had developed. This was an open settlement, linearly arranged with roundhouses and square barrows. At this time in the Yorkshire area, there was

an increased emphasis on funerary rites, including distinctive “two-wheeled” burials (Bevan 1997: 186-7). By the Late Iron Age there was further enclosure with the development of ladder settlements such as Wetwang and Garton Slack, and a move away from the dominant rituals associated with death (Bevan 1997: 188-9).

In Northamptonshire, Gwilt (1997) investigated a single Iron Age site at Wakerley. The site began between the 3rd and 2nd century BC as an open settlement with discontinuous boundaries, becoming fully enclosed in the Late Iron Age. Depositions of funerary pottery and animal bones were found in ditches, and the presence of pits, more prolific in the later stages of occupation, is noted (Gwilt 1997:159). Burials are also found in the enclosure ditches (in contrast to the dedicated burial enclosures in Yorkshire), with the possible associated deposition of pottery. Gwilt (1997: 97-8) also notes a front-back distinction within the enclosure, along with east facing entrances to the roundhouses and occupied enclosure. Many of these features differ from observations in the study area.

In Northumberland, settlements are smaller and show less size differentiation than other areas – 45% of settlements being less than 0.25ha (Ferrell 1997: 230). In comparison, in West Wales 53% of smaller, univallate circular enclosures are less than 0.3ha in area. Ferrell (1997: 231) notes the exception of one large (5.2ha) “hillfort” – the Yeavinger Bell settlement. This settlement, a stone walled site with approx 130 buildings, has interesting parallels with Carn Ingli and Moel Drygarn in the study area. Overall, Ferrell (1997: 233) interprets the settlement pattern of this area as demonstrating a highly autonomous population with “low levels of interdependence and interaction”. There appear to be some similarities with West Wales, particularly in settlement size and distribution, but lack of detail about the types of settlements and relative chronology makes comparison difficult.

Finally, in examining the location of Iron Age settlements in the landscape of Maxey in Lincolnshire, Taylor (1997: 202) documented pre-existing monuments that appeared to still be considered as “significant focal places” in the Iron Age. In the Middle Iron Age, there

appeared to be systematic boundary definition. This may have parallels in the increasing vallation of sites in West Wales through time. However, the enclosed settlements at Maxey gradually became more complex, with defined paths and boundaries (Taylor 1997: 203). This is distinctly different from the defined and separate settlements of Late Iron Age in West Wales.

4.5.3 Is there a Case for Regional Distinctiveness in West Wales?

Although the comparative studies just examined have a range of different foci and scale, some conclusions may be drawn with respect to West Wales. Contrasts with other parts of Britain were identified in settlement distribution, settlement morphology, and in the changes to morphology through time. There is a prevalence of distinctive settlement types such as promontory forts (coastal and inland) in the study area, as in West Wales in general. Further, the chronology of enclosure and changes in settlement morphology differ from those of areas such as Wessex and Yorkshire, where agglomeration of settlements occurred in the Late Iron Age. In comparison, smaller univallate enclosures and ring-forts were widespread in the study area in the later part of the Iron Age. The relationship of settlements to pre-existing monuments was heavily emphasised in this study, and although no specific studies with which to make comparisons were found, this appears to be a striking feature of the location of settlements in the landscape of West Wales. Finally, in some cases, there appear to be differences in the structuring of space within enclosures, as evidenced by trends found in Wessex for example. All of these differences suggest substantial variation in social, cosmological and ritual emphases, which can be interpreted in terms of differences in social organisation and practice through space and time.

At the same time, however, there are also certain similarities with other parts of Britain. These are seen in the east - west orientation of enclosure entrances, reflecting apparent widespread adherence to east - west cosmologies; in compliance with the “standard” roundhouse structure; and in the general trends of enclosure. The enhancement of enclosures through the use of multi-vallation, revetment of banks and elaboration of gateways, is seen in

the construction of hillforts both in the study area and elsewhere. This is indicative of a general trend in domestic monumentality, albeit on different scales. These similarities can be considered in the light of overall social practices governing the culture of the Iron Age. In contrast, the regional differences observed may be indicative of the role of individual groups in producing changes in social practice. It therefore appears that there is a strong case for regional distinctiveness for the Iron Age in West Wales.

4.5.4 Method for Interpreting Domestic Settlements

Finally, I briefly wish to examine the effectiveness of the method used in providing a framework for the assessment of settlements and comparisons with other regions. Figure 4.10 shows how the approaches of material culture and landscape could be incorporated through the examination of settlement morphology and locations, boundaries and spatial patterning within enclosures and across the landscape, to allow some inference of social and cultural rules, and of symbolism. This examination would allow comparisons between areas to be made, and distinct regional differences could then be assessed. Two difficulties were encountered in the study. The first was the limited availability of complete excavation data. This is equally as difficult for other areas as it is for West Wales and is the constant catchcry of researchers. The second problem encountered was differences in the specific foci and interpretive approaches of other studies. This made inter-regional comparisons less straightforward. Nevertheless, by examining settlements with respect to type, location, distribution, size and chronology it was possible to assess changes in settlements as a reflection of changing social practices and on each level of investigation, potential was found for examining regionality in the archaeological record.

4.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the results of the analysis of the settlements record were discussed and interpreted. This interpretation of the Iron Age settlement record for West Wales provides a picture of a society that has specific features that can be seen as different to Iron Age societies

elsewhere in Britain. These differences include the presence of distinct morphological types and the relative fragmentation of settlements in the late Iron Age. The perceived emphasis on pre-existing monuments in this area and the apparent lack of burial ritual associated with domestic sites also contribute to the distinctiveness of West Wales.

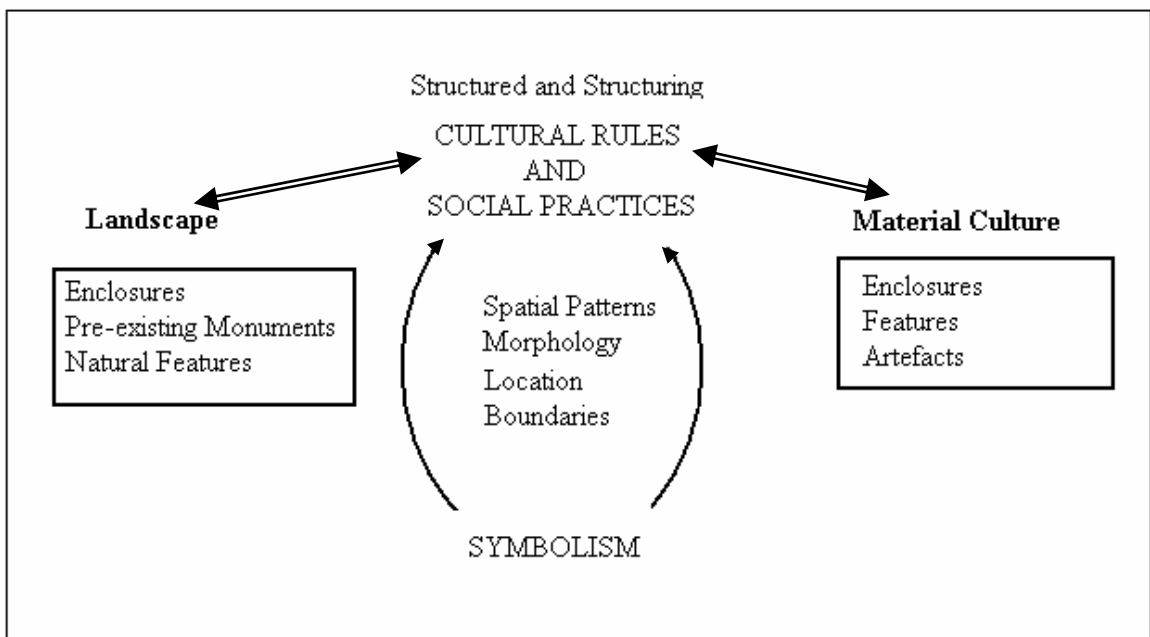


Figure 4.10. The relationship between features in the landscape, and features within settlements, showing the similarities between Landscape and Material Culture as used in the interpretive framework to examine cultural rules and social practices.

Chapter 5

Conclusions and Recommendations

To conclude this study, I would like to summarize and consider the implications of the principle findings, and examine how these results draw a picture of regionality for West Wales. I will also consider the effectiveness of the approach used, and will suggest some opportunities for further research.

5.1 PRINCIPLE FINDINGS

The principle findings of this study showed evidence of various patterns in the location of settlements in the landscape and some indications of spatial patterning within settlement enclosures. In the placement of settlements in the landscape, several patterns are observable.

- Changes in morphology through time were identified, from smaller hillforts and promontory forts, to larger hillforts and finally to univallate enclosures. The scale of enclosure lessened towards the end of the Iron Age, but enclosures did persist.
- Further to this, changes in topographical locations, moving from inland promontories, to hilltops, to hill-slopes were marked.
- There appeared to be some use of natural features such as rivers for boundaries, early in the Iron Age.
- Inter-visibility between sites was apparent.
- There appeared to be some importance placed on pre-existing monuments, seen in traditions of settlement location and in instances of re-use of monuments for burials.
- Possible cosmological representations are seen in the East-West orientation of enclosure entrances.

In the spatial patterning within settlements it was again possible to identify some patterns in the southerly orientation of roundhouse doorways, and possible East-West internal

divisions. The presence of pits is also suggested and there was possible deposition of slag, (although no definitive finding was made for these elements).

5.2 IMPLICATIONS OF RESULTS

There is a dialectic relationship between landscape and humans. Landscape frames an individual's experience; from the perspective of an individual's position and life-history, from the phenomenological perspective of experiencing a landscape as one moves through it, and in how the use of space is structured and structures action. Further, actions and traditions, whilst creating, perpetuating or transforming the landscape, are directed to some extent by overall social and cosmological practices. In the morphology of settlements a range of types is seen, possibly reflecting incremental changes in settlements by individuals. However, that settlements are still situated within the overall structures governing society across Britain in the late Iron Age, can be seen in the lessening degree of defensiveness of enclosure. Social organisation is indicated by the changing arrangements of settlements, decreasing in size and defense. Nevertheless, a continuation of the marking of boundaries is seen in the univallate circular enclosures spread across the region. In this there is a continuation of the practice of expressing differentiation by the marking of those boundaries, pointing to a relatively fragmented social picture with independent "farmsteads", in contrast to the agglomerated communities seen elsewhere in Britain. This marks a distinct reaction to widespread social changes in the Iron Age.

These patterns also point to the presence of relational networks in the landscape, suggested in the use of boundaries, natural features, outlook and inter-visibility of settlements, and in relationships with pre-existing monuments. Cosmological referents are seen in the orientation of entrances and echoed in the organisation of space within enclosures. In the ritual associated with deposition, and also in the remnants of rituals associated with death, highly-marked differences to traditions elsewhere have also been noticed. From the spatial patterning observed, distinctive differences could be identified between West Wales and other

parts of Britain in the Iron Age. Finally, it was more difficult to make assessments about regionality in the placement of settlements in the landscape, as little comparative data was available. Nevertheless, there are possible differences in practices that may become apparent with further investigation, yielding valuable information about location in the landscape.

A distinctly regional culture was found for West Wales, with people responding in their own manner to the overall social changes seen through the Iron Age. The settlement record is seen to be distinct in location, in morphology and in the relations with the landscape that frame peoples experience. In particular, relationships appear to have been negotiated through structured relationships with pre-existing monuments, in what may be another distinct regional tradition. Overall, this finding supports Haselgrove's assertion for regionality, and argues against the theme of "peripheral" Wales.

The theoretical framework used, marrying landscape and material culture perspectives has allowed an examination of data that could then be interpreted with respect to social practice. Particularly, the incorporation of landscape as a whole into ideas about Iron Age settlements, and consideration of material culture beyond just artefacts has proven a fitting approach. The method of assessment used in this study provided a framework of elements to be examined in any approach to Iron Age settlements. In the studies from elsewhere in Britain that were examined for comparison to West Wales, there was a wide range in the scale of analysis, in the approach to settlements, and in the degree of detail in the information used. This highlights the importance of having a broad framework to address research, allowing a thorough comparison in relation to other areas. This is particularly important for the Iron Age, where there is an increasing recognition of regional variation. The method used in this study offers a framework or checklist of comparisons that could be utilised in assessing a particular area or region for synthesis.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Many potential avenues for further research have emerged during this study. These can be divided into recommendations for excavations and surveys to fill the gaps in the substantive material, and recommendations based on further or more focussed research. The following would improve our knowledge of the settlement record of West Wales.

- Clarify the ages of the settlements at Moel Drygarn and Carn Ingli. This may include the re-examination of excavation information, the dating of wooden artefacts from Moel Drygarn, if they can be located, or a strategic excavation aimed specifically at examining the origins and chronological sequences of these sites.
- The excavation of an open settlement in the area, examining settlement layout as well as, again, addressing potential age.
- There is an obvious need to excavate a larger multivallate hillfort such as Castell Nadolig or Castell Mawr, to verify the chronologies proposed by Williams (1988).
- In order to further analyse spatial patterning within settlements, particularly with respect to internal divisions, excavations should be across the entire enclosure, rather than focussing solely on the side of the enclosure closest to the entrance.

Several possibilities exist for further research and more focussed studies.

- Conduct surveys of boundaries and field systems across the study area. This should include, if possible, the excavation of a boundary where a relationship with a dated settlement can be established. This will allow further assessment of changes in the degree of enclosure from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The area around the Preseli Mountains with a dense archaeological record would be a fertile source of such data.
- Carry out an in situ phenomenological / physical examination of the landscape around a group of settlements. This could include assessments of the potential inter-visibility of settlements in the landscape, and the visibility of Bronze Age monuments and how they frame movement through the landscape. Together with the boundary and field system work discussed above, this may give a more detailed picture of living in the landscape.

- Examine other areas in Britain for evidence of inter-relationships between pre-existing monuments and Iron Age settlements.
- It is possible that a re-examination of raw excavation information may yield more information about burials and ritual depositions of skeletal material on boundaries. This would improve the understanding of mortuary practices in this region.

Finally, other areas of interest that would benefit from investigation include:-

- The analysis of the multiple find spots and hoards in the study area that may represent deposits in special places, including natural features such as rivers. This would further contribute to the understanding of this facet of landscape in the Iron Age.
- An examination of the deposition of slag across a wider area, even throughout Iron Age Britain. This will allow assessment of whether slag (largely dismissed as production waste) has in fact been deposited deliberately, suggesting an element of ritual. In addition, some pattern may be observable in the locations used for ironworking.

In conclusion, in this study, an interpretive framework that married material culture and landscape perspectives was used to examine the settlement record. A diverse and distinctive settlement record existed for West Wales in the Iron Age. The occurrence of the evocative Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments, together with other elements in the landscape, would have framed the lived experience and relationships of everyday people in this area. I have shown that the Iron Age of West Wales appears to have had a truly distinct and regional culture. Collectively, the elements of the settlement record emphasise the importance of Wales in widening our understanding of the diverse range of Iron Age cultures, and this understanding can only improve with additional research. To neglect Wales is to neglect an integral facet of the widespread patchwork that made up the Iron Age culture of Britain.

Appendices

- 6.1 APPENDIX 1:** Iron Age Sites in the Study Area (includes information on grid references, elevation, proximity to water, settlement type, enclosure size, orientation, aspect, situation, outlook and any dating information).

SITE NO.	SITE	LOCATION	GRID REFERENCE	ELEVATION	PROXIMITY TO WATER	SETTLEMENT TYPE	SIZE (ha)	ORIENTATION	SITUATION	OUTLOOK	AGE
1	Berry Hill, Nevein	Cardigan	SN06364022/06883952	40	200 Unvallate		0.25 SE		Hill slope	Estuary Views	
2	Caer Bayvil	Dyfed	SN113417	165	300 Unvallate Defended enclosure		0.14 W		Hill slope	Extensive Views	Possible late BA for palisade
3	Caerau	Mylor, Cardigan	SN1242645	160	250 Unvallate (3)		1.224 WSW		Hill slope/Spur	Extensive Views	
4	Castell Cynon	Tregynon, Cardigan	SN052345	170	20 Unvallate Defended enclosure		ENE		Hill slope/Spur	River Views	
5	Carn Alw	Nevein	SN13903370	260	375 Unvallate Free form Enclosure		0.1 NE		Hill slope/Spur	Sea Views ?	
6	Castell Henlys	Nevein	SN11723905	75	40 Bivalent Inland Prom Fort		0.5 SE		Hill slope/Spur	River Views	Possible Late BA for palisade
7	Henllan Promontory Fort	Henllan	SN035804020	60	100 Inland Prom Fort		1.5 E		River Spur	View to burial chamber	Bronze Age??
8	Foel Eryr	Maenclochog	SN068320	450	250 Open settlements, hut circles, enclosures		SE		Slope close to hilltop	Views to Sea	Bronze Age??
9	Pengelli Fach, Cenarth	Cardigan	SN29324059	115	150 Concentric circular enclosure		1.15 NE		Hill slope	Views to Sea	Bronze Age??
10	Carn Fibi	Newport	SN048379	215	250 Unvallate, Free form Hillfort		0.5 W		Hill slope	Highly visible, commands extensive views to the sea	Bronze Age??
11	Carn Ingli	Newport	SN062372	325	375 Bivalent Free Form Hillfort		3.616, 2.270°		Spur close to hilltop	Views to sea	Bronze Age??
12	Carn Llywd	Newport	SN054369	320	200 Circular enclosure and hut circle		NW		Hill slope	Views to sea	Bronze Age??
13	All Pen-rhw, Llanychlydod	Llanychlydod	SN03033405	125	200 Circular enclosure		0.3 SSW		Hill slope/edge of scarp	River Views	
14	Castell Pengegin	Llanychlydod	SN039344	170	250 Inland Promontory Fort		0.5 SE		Hill slope/Spur	River Views	
15	All Pengegin Isaf	Llanychlydod	SN03133403	125	200 Unvallate defended enclosure		S		Hill slope/edge of scarp	River Views	
16	Dinas Island Castle	Dinas	SN01344019	40	200 Single bank, unvallate		0.3 E		Hill slope	Views to sea	
17	Bwlch Mawr, Castell Dinas	Dinas	? SN00453815	105	100 Unvallate, Oval		270°		Spur	Views to Sea	
18	Castell Treiffith (sic)	Mylor	SN10044486	60	150 Coastal Promontory Fort		1.1 NW		Coastal Promontory	Spectacular Coastal views	
19	Pen Castell	St Dogmaels	SN11024594	60	100 Coastal Promontory Fort		0.3 NW		Coastal Promontory	Spectacular Coastal views	
20	Moel Dygarn	Mynachlog	SN158337	365	250 Bivalent Circular Hillfort		2.44, 360°		Hilltop	Highly visible, commands extensive views to the sea	Also Bronze Age stuff here
21	Castell Nanholer	Nevein	SN08214015	50	50 Bivalent Inland Prom Fort		1.1 SE		River Spur	River Views	
22	Castell Llywd	Melne	SN11263762	75	50 Unvallate Oval end on spur		0.8 S		Hill slope/Spur	River Views	
23	Owm Pen y Benglog (All y Castell)	Melne	SN11883728	110	20 Bivalent Inland Prom Fort		0.8 SW		Hill slope/Spur	River Views	
24	Castell Mawr, Parc Castell	Melne	SN11883778	150	375 Bivalent Circular Hillfort		1.75, 360°		Hilltop	River Views	
25	Castell Febr-ganol (Falloganol)	Llantood	SN16414226	75	100 Unvallate Inland Promontory Fort		0.6 S		Hill slope/Spur	River Views	
26	Y Gaer Penralltu / Pen y Bryn	Bridell	SN17194253	170	50 Unvallate Inland Prom Fort		0.6 NW		Hill slope/Spur	River Views	
27	Y Gaer Owfnhwdd	Llantood/Bridell	SN16034097	125	125 Inland Promontory Fort		0.5 S		Hill slope/edge of scarp	River Views ?	
28	Pen Yr Allt	Llantood	SN15784203	135	50 Bivalent circ end on spur		0.3 SE		Hill slope/edge of scarp	Extensive Views, Monumental appearance	
29	Castell Trelach	Nevein	SN08674082	75	50 Inland Prom Fort		0.3 S		Spur	River Views	
30	Cl-gwyn Mawr	Newport	SN08515689	195	100 Unvallate circular enclosure		0.3 W		Hill slope	River Views	
31	Carn Af	Maenclochog	SN09253012	375	375 Open settlement		S		Hill slope	Close proximity to Burial	BA ?? Iron Age??
32	Erbod C	Puncheston	SN08052871	255	375 Circular Defended enclosure		0.3 SE		Hill slope		
33	Castell Maei	Puncheston	SN00972975	150	50 Unvallate Circ Enclosure		W		Hill slope		
34	Parc Castell - Cas Fuwch	Castlebythe	SN024291	250	0 Unvallate Circ Enclosure		0.3 SW		Hill slope		
35	Castlebythe Quarry, Parc Castell enclosure, Wern Camp	Castlebythe	SN018302	185	50 Unvallate Circular Enclosure		0.2 NW		Hill slope	River Views	
36	Castell Hendre, Henry's Moat	Henry's Moat	SN04472740	155	20 Unvallate subrectangular enclosure		0.4 SE		Hill slope	River Views	
37	Tullon Castle 1	Henry's Moat	SN042283	200	250 Unvallate circular enclosure		0.1 SW		Hill slope		
38	Tullon Castle 2 - Tavern Farm	Henry's Moat	SN04792842	210	125 Unvallate circular enclosure		0.128 S		Hill slope		
39	Bernards Well Mountain	Henry's Moat	SN05672940	265	375 Open hut circle settlement		NE		Hill slope close to hilltop	River Views	Bronze Age??
40	'Old Castle' Intranchemnt	Newport	SN05833950	5?	?		0.2-0.3 NE		Hill slope	Views to Sea	
41	Llyganol	Newport	SN09103676	175	250 Unvallate oval enclosure		0.3 NE		Hill slope	View to Penrre Ifan ?	
42	Castell y Garn	Nevein	SN07804264	145	50 Unvallate circular enclosure		0.3 S		Hill slope	View to Burial Chamber	
43	Castell Gann	Clmaenllwyd	SN148269	220	125 Unvallate circular enclosure		0.6 SE		Hill slope	View to burial complex	
44	Ponwsal 1 & 2	Llanglaman	SN110283, 111281	220	125 Unvallate circular enclosure		0.1 SE		Hill slope		
45	Castell Coch	Llanfair, Nant Gwyn	SN16763824	195	500 Unvallate circular enclosure		0.4 S		Hill slope		
46	Glanawr Caer	Llanfrynach	SN18542825	130	50 Unvallate circular enclosure		0.4 S		Hill slope		
47	Hen Caerau	West Clifedryn	SN2837457	190	400 Unvallate circular enclosure		0.25 NW		Hill slope		
48	Mynydd Dinas	Dinas	SN01552750	230	375 Open hut circle enclosure		NW		Hill slope close to hilltop	Views to Sea	Bronze Age??
49	Wano Fawr	Newport	SN04673744 / SN046937	200	200 Enclosure		SE		Hill slope	Views to Sea	Bronze Age??
50	Westland	Maenclochog	SN082284	195	100 Hillfort??		SE		Hill slope	View to Burial Chamber	
51	Owm Glyn Camp + Cwm Glynllni	Nevein	SN10345967	110	125 Inland Prom Fort - double		0.4 SW		Hill slope	River Views	
52	Wano Clyn Coch enclosure	Ollwyn Telli	SN10673134	280	125 Unvallate Subrectangular enclosure		0.3 NE		Spur/edge of scarp	View to Gos Fawr complex	
53	Castell Isaf, Glanawr Isaf	Mylor	SN125447	75	50 Unvallate Triangular enclosure		0.5 SW		Hill slope	River Views?	
54	The Clyn Uchaf	Eglwysrhif	SN14803989	150	375 Enclosure		S		Hill slope		
55	Castell Nant Penrhellan	Bridell	SN17304333	35	50 Inland Promontory Fort?		0.6 S		River Spur	River Views	
56	Castell Brelan	Bridell	SN16934013	150	125 Inland Promontory Fort		W		Hill slope		
57	Tredin Enclosure	Whitchurch	SN16113685	145	50 Circular enclosure		0.15 W		Hill slope	River View	
58	Castell Gllgan Gan	Clifedryn	SN292333	180	50 Bivalent Inland Promontory Fort		NE		Hill slope	River View	
59	Ffones Wroga	Llanymyrdid	SN245897	90	120 Unvallate Inland Prom Fort		0.4 SE		Spur		
60	Mynydd Mawr	Llanymyrdid	SN0213555	275	275 Unvalated Hut circles + Hillfort		S		Hill slope		Possible Bronze Age - Re-examine
61	Castell Mawr Llanwinio	Llanwinio	SN24582784	170	50 Bivalent Inland Prom Fort		0.3 SE		River Spur	River Views	

SITE NO.	SITE	LOCATION	GRID REFERENCE	ELEVATION	PROXIMITY TO WATER	SETTLEMENT TYPE	SIZE (ha)	ORIENTATION	SITUATION	OUTLOOK	AGE
62	Castell Mawr Trelech ar Betws	Llanwrilo	SN271276	180	200	Bivalent Circular enclosure	1.19 S		Hill slope	River Views	
63	Pen Castell	Llanwrilo	SN257290	160	50	Inland Prom Fort	N		River Spur	River Views ?	
64	Caer Blaen Mmog Hillfort	Henllan	SN362357	100	50	Multivallate Inland Prom Fort	1 NNE		River Spur	River Views	
65	Pen y Gaer Hillfort	Cynwyl Elfed	SN395277	100	50	Univallate Inland Prom Fort	0.28 SW		Spur/edge of scarp	River Views	
66	Castell Caer Wen (Kiliffath)	Llanychaer	SN01733416	100	50	Univallate oval enclosure on spur	0.7 NNE		Spur/edge of scarp	River Views	Bronze Age??
67	Banc Du	Puncheston	SN057209	320	500	Open settlement enclosures			Steep slope	View to Burial Chamber	Bronze Age??
68	Banc Lwides	Newport	SN093331	245	150	Enclosed Hut Circle, Open Settlement	SSW		Steep slope	Sea Views?	Bronze Age??
69	Caer Goeog	Mynachlog	SN125337	200-250	300	Open Settlement	S		Hill slope	Sea Views?	
70	Waurwhod	St Dogmells	SN144455	190	0	Defended Enclosure	W		Hill slope close to hilltop	Sea Views	
71	Omen-Deg	Llanfynydd	SN23354344	100	100	Inland Prom Fort	0.28 SW		Low river spur	River Views	
72	Caer Landygywdd	Llanfynydd	SN24584327	100	100	Circular enclosure	0.05 NNW		Hill slope	River Views	
73	Caer	Llanfynydd	SN288428	55	50	Univallate circular enclosure	0.1 NE		Hill slope	River Views	
74	Y Gaer, Pant y Bwla	Betws Ifan	SN31654435	100	250	Single bank	NE		Slope/edge of scarp	River View	
75	Felin Cwrws Hillfort	Llanfynydd	SN35154112	80	50	Univallate Inland Prom Fort	0.2 E		Hill slope/Spur	Commanding views	
76	Crug y Balog	Troed-yr-aur	SN317432	245	600	Oval Enclosure - hillfort?	1 360°		Hilltop	Commanding views	
77	Allt y Dolinas Hillfort	Betws Ifan	SN160515	40	200	Univallate circular enclosure	SW		Spur close to hilltop		
78	Cardigan Island, Y Fawc	Cardigan	SN294475	140	50	Bivalent Subrectangular hillfort / enclosure	0.4 - 0.15 SW		Island		
79	Pontdaniel hillfort/Enclosure	Betws Ifan	SN292494	225	500	Multivallate Hillfort	0.5 SE		Hill slope	Sea Views	
80	Caer Pwntan	Penryn	SN298504	210	400	Multivallate Hillfort	0.8/3.2 360°		Hilltop	Sea Views	
81	Castell Nadolig	Penryn	SN315549	180	800	Multivallate Hillfort	1.1 270°		Hilltop	Sea Views	BA to late IA (9th C BC radiocarbon date)
82	Pendinaslochyn	Llangrannog	SN1161499	25	300	Defended Enclosure	W		Coastal Promontory	Sea Views	
83	Gwbert Hotel Enclosure	Y Fenwig	SN159502	15	500	Coastal prom Fort	2.9 SW		Coastal Promontory	Sea Views	
84	Crug-y-Gwbert	Aberporrh	SN21064941	100	100	Defended Subrectangular Enclosure	SW		Hill Slope	Sea Views	
86	Crug Llwyn Lwyd	Cardigan	SN202484	100	300	Univallate Inland Prom Fort	0.8 SW		Spur	River Views	
87	Dyffryn Saith Farm	Penryn	SN284512	105	150	Inland Prom Fort	SW		River Spur	River Views	
88	Caerau Blaen Barre (Pen y Gar)	Dyffryn Saith Farm	SN36044941	185	50	Bivalent Inland Prom Fort	0.4 N		River Spur	River Views	
89	Dinas Cardin	Llanfynydd	SN386470	200	100	Bivalent Inland Prom Fort	0.5 S		River Spur	River Views	
90	Caer Troed y Rhw	Llanfynydd	SN39004610	175	200	Oval enclosure on spur	0.2 SSE		Hill slope/Spur	River Views	
91	Caer Lwyd	Penryn	SN301524	150	200	Univallate Subrectangular enclosure	0.5 SE		Spur close to hilltop	Sea Views?	
92	Castell Bach - Penryn	Penryn/Llangrannog	SN303536	100	150	Univallate Subrectangular enclosure	0.6 180°		Coastal Promontory	River Views	
93	Castell Blaen-Igau	Penryn	SN34155060	100	150	Univallate Coastal prom fort	0.3 W		Coastal Promontory	River Views	
94	Caer Wen	Llandillogoppo	SN34635630	175	200	Circular enclosure	0.5 SE/NNW		Hill slope	River Views	
95	Castell Cwpluag	Penryn	SN35395285	230	500	Univallate Subrectangular enclosure	0.2 W		Coastal Saddle	Sea Views?	
96	Castell Aberdeudwr	Llandillogoppo	SN33955549	150	500	Univallate Rectangular enclosure	0.2 W		Slope close to Hilltop	Excellent Views	
97	Castell Bach Cwmudu	Llandillogoppo	SN36045809	25	500	Univallate Rectangular enclosure	0.2 180°		Slope to Coast	Spectacular views	
98	Llany-Cwm	Y Fenwig	SN208493	105	200	Multivallate Coastal Prom Fort	1.1 SE		Slope to Coast	Spectacular views	
99	Cawrence	Llangoedmor	SN226456	100	400	Cromark of enclosure	W		Hill slope	Sea Views	
100	Wauille	Y Fenwig	SN22574912	170	700	Circular Enclosure tangentially bivalent *	SE		Hill slope	Sea Views	
101	Trefnedd Uchaf	Y Fenwig	SN227489	165	600	Cromark of Enclosure	W		Slope close to Hilltop	Sea Views	
102	Rhos y Gardem Uchaf	Y Fenwig	SN230489	160	600	Defended Enclosure	SE		Saddle	Sea Views	
103	Esgart Graig	Betws Ifan	SN30284633	155	200	Circular enclosure	0.125 WNW		Hill slope/Spur	Sea Views	
104	Caer Wen (Garn Wen, Pen y Graig)	Llanfynydd	SN396471	245	150-200	Univallate circular enclosure	0.5 E		Hill slope/ edge of scarp	River Views?	
105	Y Gaer Wen	Henllan	SN39533636	175	250	Circular enclosure, concentric antenna?	0.4 E		Spur/edge of scarp	River Views?	
106	Blaenrwn I & II	Llanfynydd	SN27654395/27174395	150	200-500	Cromark of Rectangular Enclosures	NNE/W		Slope close to Hilltop		
107	Bailey A & B	Llanfynydd	SN25204390/ SN252345	115	350	Cromark of Rectangular Enclosures	W		Hill slope		
108	Blaenpant NW	Llanfynydd	SN24914493	165	500	Cromark of enclosure	SSE		Hill slope		
109	Castell Henllan	Henllan	SN38483913	95	100	Univallate circular enclosure	0.2 NE		Hill slope/ edge of scarp	River Views	
110	Llangrannog Prom Fort	Llangrannog	SN314512 (SN314542)	100	250	Univallate Coastal prom fort	W		Coastal Promontory	Spectacular Views	
111	Llangrannog Hillfort - Craig Penrhir	Llangrannog	SN311538	90	100	Univallate circular enclosure	NW		Coastal Promontory	Spectacular views	
112	Penrhir	Llangrannog	SN30815400	75	200	Enclosure	N		Coastal Slope	Spectacular views	
113	Dinas Fawr	Henllan	SN34523879	140	100	Circular enclosure on spur	0.1 NE		Hill slope/Spur	River Views	
114	Newcastle Emlyn Castle	Newcastle Emlyn	SN3134072	50	50	Inland Prom Fort	E		Low River spur	River views	
115	Castell Ffynnon, Gress Pen Y Castell	Penrhir	SN317529	155	300	Univallate Subrectangular Enclosure	270°		Saddle close to hilltop	Sea Views?	Iron Age
116	Caer Llwyn Beck, Gaer y Castell	Henllan	SN34503744	140	250	Hillfort?	NE		Hill slope	River Views	
117	Caer Gwyl	Llangrannog	SN32005490	135	600	Circular prom Fort	N		Coastal Promontory	River Views	
118	Pen Telf Farm	Onllwyn Telf	SN39363980	135	400	Univallate subrectangular enclosure	0.2 SW		Coastal Promontory	River Views	Iron Age; Roman?
119	Vryn Lochlan	Llangrannog	SN31456533	40	?	Hillfort	360°		Hill slope	Spectacular views	
120	Mynydd Fawr	Llangrannog	SN395308	235	150	Open settlement circular enclosure	SSW		Hill slope	Spectacular views	? Bronze Age
121	Pengelli Fawr	Newcastle Emlyn	SN32953955	140	200	Defended Enclosure	E NE		Hill slope	Hill slope	Iron Age; Roman?
122	Ffynnon wen	Aberporrh	SN23084929	125	250	Univallate Enclosure	0.2 E		Slope		
123	Risar Gors	Onllwyn Telf	SN33684929	125	500	Univallate Enclosure	0.125 SE		Hill slope		
124	Blyth	Llanfynydd	SN199311	265	600	Hillfort Reclaiming Enclosure?	360°		Hilltop		
125	Penrhys Top Field	Newem	SN116397	125	300	Univallate Circular enclosure	SE		Hilltop		

SITE NO.	SITE	LOCATION	GRID REFERENCE	ELEVATION	PROXIMITY TO WATER	SETTLEMENT TYPE	SIZE (ha)	ORIENTATION	SITUATION	OUTLOOK	AGE
	Field Systems										
39a	Bernards Well Mountain	Henry's Moat	SN05672940			Field system					
49a	Wain Fawr	Newport	SN049375			Field System					
5a	Cairn Aiw	Myrachlog	SN141337			Open Settlement					
80a	Gaer Pwntan	Penbryn	SN292494			Field System					
10a	Cairn Ffci	Newport	SN046378			Field System					
17a	Parc y Dinas	Newport (Nr. Cairn Iff)	SN023367			Field system					
82a	Pendinaslechdyr Field system	Llangrannog	SN317547			Field system					

6.2 APPENDIX 2: Bronze Age Sites in the Study Area (includes information on grid references, monument type, assigned period, and RCAHMW database reference).

SITE	GRID REFERENCE	SITE TYPE	AGE	RCAHMW REFERENCE
Bryngwrog	SN28284423	Cairn Cemetery / Round Barrows	BA/ Medieval	2090
Ffynnon Oer	SN3040	Cist Grave Cemetery	BA/ Medieval	11918
Mwnt	SN19545200	Round Barrow?	BA/ Medieval	31489; 31490
Penllech yr Ast; Fire Beds	SN2248	Round Barrow; Cist Grave?	BA/ Medieval	12291; 12292
Disgwifa	SN37415236/37315254	Round Barrow / Beacon	BA/ Post Med	1387; 1388
Fagwr Fron	SN00393167	Stone Row / Field Boundary	BA/ Post Med	1529
Gilfach	SN20404591	Standing Stone	BA/ Post Med	8068
Llyndu	SN37855226	Round Barrow / Beacon	BA/ Post Med	1389
Carn Edward	SN05493681	Ring Barrow? Enclosed Settlement	BA/IA	1495
Carn Goedog	SN125337	Ring Barrow? Enclosed Settlement	BA/IA	9944
Carn Llwyd	SN054369	Open Settlement	BA/IA	1496
Unknown	SN118333	Ring Barrow? Enclosed Settlement	BA/IA	13243
Aberfforest Beach	SN02513940	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	31955
Afon Mamog	SN30253629	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	14970
Allt Pencraig N	SN24874537	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5217; 304124
Allt Pencraig S	SN24934547	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	8355; 304125
Allt y Maen	SN403499	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	10644
Arch Farm Cairn	SN17233072	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	961
Banc Barrow, Llangoedmor	SN24964898	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	8065; 304126
Banc-y-felin	SN29963633	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	14954; 114607
Bedd Morus	SN03823650	Standing Stone / Boundary Stone	Bronze Age	PE361; 1435
Berllan-Dawel	SN17173279	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	42514
Blaen Bwch Isaf	SN36584659	Ring Barrow	Bronze Age	5754
Blaen hoffnant Uchaf	SN33215183	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	1369
Blaen Porth	SN2649	Round Barrow? Cremation Cemetery	Bronze Age	5223
Blaen-cil-fraen	SN30774666	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	4975
Blaenffynnon	SN29984433	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	2089
Blaenglowon Fawr	SN3550	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	5298
Blaenglowon Fawr	SN399514	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	CD088; 303787; 1391
Blaun Plwf	SN21505116/SN21565107/S N21515121	Burnt Mounds	Bronze Age	10565; 10566; 10567
Bron y scawen, Pant Glas	SN21194261	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	42511
Bryn Eneidd Tyllocoed	SN33105119	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1370
Bryn Hyfryd	SN37124698	Ring Barrow?	Bronze Age	5755
Bryngwrog	SN28034456/27984462/2808 4456/28224450	Burnt Mounds	Bronze Age	102865; 2887; 2888; 2889; 102866
Bwlch Garreg-Llwyd	SN15613972	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	4981
Cae Garreg wed	SN29073256	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	5204
Cae Garrer Fawr	SN31393641	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	7314
Capel Bach	SN11253123	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	1018
Cardigan Island	SN16055169	Round Barrow; Ring Barrow	Bronze Age	1049
Carn Briw	SN05633076	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1461; 304304
Carn Edward	SN05333663	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	260
Carn Enoch	SN01263705	Ring Barrow? Enclosed Settlement	Bronze Age	304337; 1443
Carn Fach	SN00503772	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	5704
Carn Ferched	SN15273299	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1016; 304055
Carn Fron	SN01683811	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	4469
Carn Gaseg	SN15973304	Ring Barrow	Bronze Age	5627
Carn Goedog	SN12183373?	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	11527
Carn Gwiber, Parc y Garn	SN01503870	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	12097
Carn Gwr Cairns	SN14093288	Cairn Cemetery / Round Barrows	Bronze Age	931; 932; 304067
Carn Huan	SN13403771	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	5722
Carn Ingli	SN05783669	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	1521
Carn Ingli; Crn Llwyd Stone	SN06173785	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1488; 304315
Carn Owen	SN34135466	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5774
Carn Wen, Rhos Wlgain	SN37304938	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	303767; 3981
Carn y Bwch	SN11933035	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5728
Carnau-Isaf	SN28993825	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	7706
Carngyfrwy	SN14453260	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	13189
Carreg Maen Du	SN16193321	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	4989
Carreg Quoitan	SN00953025	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1531; 304361
Carreg Wen	SN255418	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	12112
Castell Crugiau	SN360528	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1380
Castell Nadolig	SN29855040	Cremation	Bronze Age	2012
Castell y Blaidd	SN24073079	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	304117; PE207; 1102
Cefn Garth Tumuli	SN20804294/SN20864284	Round Barrow Pair	Bronze Age	2080; 2081; 304130
Cefn Hiraeth	SN3437	Barrow Cemetery	Bronze Age	10594
Cefn Lletre	SN29005000	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5287
Cefn y Carnau	SN36575666	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	1226
Cerrig Lladron	SN06673229	Stone Pair ?	Bronze Age	11129

SITE	GRID REFERENCE	SITE TYPE	AGE	RCAHMW REFERENCE
Cerrig Meibion Arthur	SN11813102	Stone Pair	Bronze Age	304065; 1014; PE121
Cerrig y Derwyddon	SN13593790	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	974; 304049
Cilfod Fach Maenhir	SN26433996	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1067
Cnwc II	SN08563027	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1583; PE343
Cnwc III	SN08763046	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1584; 304354; PE343
Cnwc Siencyn	SN17584142	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	13028
Cnwc y Crogwydd	SN04903898	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1430
Croesfihangel	SN16453323	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	936
Crug Bach	SN18703182	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5731
Crug Bach	SN37554996	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	CD086; 303768; 3980
Crug Bach, Crymmych	SN18133377	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	PE325; 966; 304059
Crug Bach, Rhos y llyn	SN25073227	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	PE206; 304099; 1115
Crug Bychan	SN17855111	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	304094; 1040; CD105
Crug Coe	SN30775057	Round Barrow; Cist Grave; Cremation	Bronze Age	303788; 1364; 1365; 1366
Crug Cou	SN40975284	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1851; 303840; CD063
Crug Du	SN38075038	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	303783; 1385
Crug Du Uchaf / Isaf; Crug Efa	SN207478	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	12147; 5831
Crug Gwyn	SN24564934	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	5834
Crug Las	SN385511	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	14213
Crug Las	SN38805154	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1383; 303784; 1384
Crug Mawr	SN20684275	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5837
Crug Mawr	SN28934661	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5522
Crug Waun Merch	SN40693678	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1773
Crug Waun Merch W	SN40283687	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	10206
Crug y Hwch	SN17323249	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	945
Crug y Llyn	SN23833243	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1103; 304116
Crug y Mynach	SN22053307	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1100
Crugiau Cemmaes	SN12334144	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1233
Crugiau Cemmaes	SN12504154	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	PE197; 1231
Crugiau Cemmaes	SN12534160	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1142
Crugiau Cemmaes	SN12574173	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1143
Crugiau Cemmaes	SN12634173	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1144
Crugiau Cemmaes	SN12654175	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1234
Crugiau Cemmaes	SN12724156	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1232
Crugiau Cemmaes, Carnau Pencrugiau	SN12554164	Barrow Cemetery	Bronze Age	304090; 1141
Crugiau Maen Saeson	SN14144568	Cairn Cemetery / Round Barrows	Bronze Age	304074; 1044; 1045; PE168
Crugiau-Dwy	SN17143118/SN17133117	Round Barrow Pair	Bronze Age	955; 956; 304058
Crug-Llwyd	SN28853675	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	12130
Crugynfarch	SN34243615	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	7729
Cwm Sylltyn	SN30704362	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	2331
Cwm y Esgur	SN13224800/13224798/13324786	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	14222; 114054; 114055; PE477
Cwm y Esgur	SN13614799	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	114057; 14223; PE478
Cwnc y Gwarthg	SN03283610	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	9807; 109678
Cwnc y Gwarthg II	SN03273588	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	9808; 109679
Dinas Island	SN00184046	Stone Pair ?	Bronze Age	31973
Dolau-Newydd	SN16223063	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1035
Dolmaen Gwyn	SN28113551	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	5090
Dyffryn Saith	SN28595125	Cremation	Bronze Age	7461
Esgryn Fach	SN14094731/14034731/14084729	Burnt Mounds	Bronze Age	114058; 14226; 14225; 14224
Fagwr Fron	SN00483145	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1528; 304302; PE340
Ffynon Ddeudir	SN32064784	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	8073
Foel Cwn Cerwyn	SN09433118	Cairn Cemetery / Round Barrows	Bronze Age	1573; 304359; 1574; PE300; 1575
Foel Cwn Cerwyn I	SN09493148	Round Barrow / Cairn	Bronze Age	1572; 304358
Foel Drych	SN15943004	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	1037; 304053
Foel Drygarn	SN15753358	Cairn Cemetery / Round Barrows	Bronze Age	1206; 1009; 304056; 1207
Foel Eryr	SN06583208	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	PE298; 304351; 1561
Foel Feddau	SN10223236	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1006; 304062; PE301
Foxhill Round Barrow	SN15144536	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1108; PE326
Frenni Fach	SN22593486	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	PE204; 1096; 304115
Frenni Fawr	SN20243500	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1091; PE291
Frenni Fawr	SN20273494	Round Barrow / Cairn Cemetery	Bronze Age	1092; 304096
Frenni Fawr	SN20293490	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1093
Frenni Fawr	SN20643474	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1094; PE290; 304119
Frenni Fawr West Slope	SN19943516	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	PE292; 304043; 1001
Fron Felen Uchaf	SN32315123	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	1379
Fron Garn	SN10832889	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	4948

SITE	GRID REFERENCE	SITE TYPE	AGE	RCAHMW REFERENCE
Gareg Wen	SN30934127	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	12170
Gareg wen	SN33264238	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	12168
Garn	SN08243934	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	4475
Garn Isaf Garn	SN04303825	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	5706
Garn-wen	SN112351	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	12050
Garreg Fawr	SN30805300	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	5294
Garreg Hir Hendre	SN03963925	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1436; 304345
Garreg Llwyd	SN30705290	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	5293
Garreg Lwyd	SN40023786	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	303799; 1775
Garreg wen	SN39294052	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	12179
Gate; Maen y Parc	SN11173022	Standing Stone; Stone Row?	Bronze Age	1004; 1005; PE288; 304064; 1003
Gelli Fawr	SN06153444	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1580
Gernos Burnt Mounds	SN12864790/12854789/12874789	Burnt Mounds	Bronze Age	14219;114052; 114053; 14218
Gilfach Wen Isaf	SN405407	Cremation	Bronze Age	5650
Glym Saith Maen	SN11543053	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	304068; 1026
Glyn Gath	SN01673662	Ring Cairn	Bronze Age	PE312; 1446; 304336
Gors Fawr St Stones	SN13512950	Stone Pair	Bronze Age	304281; 928
Gurnos Mountain Cairns	SN35604580	Cairn Cemetery / Round Barrows	Bronze Age	10569; 303765; 5750; 6354; 5273
Gwstad Bach	SN12002865	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	9823
Gwylah Mound	SN28824625	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	11451; 11315
Hendre	SN1035	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	992
Hendre Cymru	SN255365	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	9704
Llain y College	SN25634148	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	3094
Llaingarreg wen	SN33494367	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	5763
Llanfyrnach	SN2131	Round Barrow? Pair?	Bronze Age	12795; 12796
Llanfyrnach Standing Stones A	SN20753141	Stone Pair	Bronze Age	304107; PE351; 1072
Llanfyrnach Standing Stones B	SN20793121	Stone Pair	Bronze Age	304108; 1073
Llanfyrnach Standing Stones C (Parc y Maen)	SN21163105	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	304109; 1074
Llanychwchof	SN02413493	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1550
Llech yr Ochau	SN308524	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1374
Llethr Ganol	SN160326	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	9763
Llwynhwyaid	SN30194434	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	2330
Llwyn-on-fach	SN40905975	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	30916
Maen Coch	SN19313720	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	4980
Maen Gwyn	SN19283701	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	4979
Maen Gwyn	SN383431	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	9708
Maen Gwyn Hir	SN23923015	Standing Stone / Boundary Stone	Bronze Age	1070; CM094
Maen Llwyd	SN09212925	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1328
Maen Llwyd Rhos	SN15443286	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	4988
Maen Offeiriad	SN14523478	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	4985
Maen Saeson	SN13494560	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	4991
Maenhir	SN11203074	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	12940
Maes y Garn	SN17713267	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5732
Maes yr Haf	SN37954669	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5272; 12277
Marsh Parc lan Cairn	SN006309	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	PE341; 1549
Meini Ty-Rhon	SN31534141	Stone Pair	Bronze Age	42527
Morvil	SN053308	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1563
Mydroilin	SN4050	Barrow Cemetery	Bronze Age	8199
Mynydd Caregog	SN04713631	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1453
Mynydd Castlebyth	SN02842963	Barrow Cemetery	Bronze Age	1289; 1290; 304473
Mynydd Cilciffeth	SN00873244/00933241/01003239	Barrow Cemetery / Round Barrows	Bronze Age	1540; 304363; 11359; 1541; PE293; 1542
Mynydd Crogwy	SN19323916/SN19003942	Standing Stone / Boundary Stone (2)	Bronze Age	13026; 13027
Mynydd Melyn Cairns	SN02853638	Round Barrow? Clearnace Cairns	Bronze Age	1440; 304338; 1456; 1457;1458
Mynydd Melyn Cairns	SN02873637	Standing Stones ?	Bronze Age	1423
Mynydd Morvil Barrow Cemetery	SN039313	Barrow Cemetery	Bronze Age	260033
North Fechan, Blaen Hoffnant	SN32345105	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	1371
Pant Einon Burnt Mounds	SN29814411/29714409	Burnt Mounds	Bronze Age	2088; 2886; 102863; 102066
Pant y Garn	SN29553787	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5094
Pant y Groes	SN10854218	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1146; 304085; PE198
Pant y Maen	SN235308	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	5098
Pant y Maen Barrow and Hoard	SN25773259	Round Barrow and Hoard	Bronze Age	1117; 1229
Pantgwy	SN245321	Cremation Cemetery/ Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5099

SITE	GRID REFERENCE	SITE TYPE	AGE	RCAHMW REFERENCE
Pant-Ilech Clawdd	SN28244560	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	8236; 304121
Parc Carreg y Lluniau	SN28905136	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	2098
Parc Cerrig Hirion	SN00813875	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	304335; 1422; PE199
Parc Crug Mawr	SN29753693	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	5093
Parc Enoch	SN3449	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	8656
Parc Garn	SN11372876	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	4945; 11733
Parc Garn Wen	SN08303708	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	4475
Parc Maen	SN11362844/11342833	Cremation / Round Barrow/ Standing St	Bronze Age	12031; 12030; 4939
Parc Maen	SN25303559	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	5088
Parc Maen	SN26223540	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	5089
Parc Maen Gwyn	SN07394098	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	4482
Parc Maen Gwyn Issa/Ucha	SN17853604	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	4978
Parc Maen hir	SN00723560	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	304334; 1445
Parc Maen Hir	SN08293832	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	4472
Parc Maen Llwyd	SN07363996	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	4470
Parc Maen Llwyd	SN25753734	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	5087
Parc Maen llwyd	SN284347	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	5202
Parc Maen Llwyd - Trefael	SN10294028	Standing Stone / Cup Marked Stone	Bronze Age	5307; 1120; 304084; PE313
Parc Maen Llwyd Puncteston	SN00622979	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1287; 304466
Parc Mawr Hut Circle	SN03503680	Hut Circle	Bronze Age	90547; 86816
Parc Pen y Garn	SN30953633	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	5259
Parc Pwdwr	SN345478	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	5269
Parc y Garn	SN11413859	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	4986
Parc y Garreg	SN019386	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	1427
Parc y Garreg Trefaes Maenhir	SN11674295	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1118; 304089
Parc y Maen Llwyd	SN164397	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	12121
Pen Garn Fawr Farm	SN13604871	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	4993
Pen Goilan	SN39945907	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	30912
Pen Rhiw	SN01783988	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	31950
Pen y Garn	SN310376	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	7315
Pen y Graig Farm	SN11424684	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	11345
Penlan Stones	SN09003570	Stone Pair	Bronze Age	304325; PE371; 1516
Penlan Trehaidd	SN09043543	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	304324; 1515; PE372
Penrallt-yr-escob	SN12024483	Round Barrow / Cairn	Bronze Age	1159; 30492; PE386
Penrhyn	SN14224907	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	14229
Pen-y-Banc	SN311468	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	5747
Rhos Fach St Stones	SN13433048/13383045	Stone Pair ? Stone Row?	Bronze Age	304066;1022
Rhos Goch	SN19753406	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1030;PE324
Rhyd Garn Wen	SN15724273/15804290	Standing Stone/ Rubbing Stone?	Bronze Age	13031; 13030
Rhyd Y Garn Wen	SN15694286	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	5320
Rhyd Y Gath	SN21043118	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	7702
Rocking Stone	SN00653685	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	4466
St Tyssilios	SN36335749	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	5290
Tafarn Y Bwlch	SN08193329	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1576
Tafarn Y Bwlch Standing Stones	SN08133370	Stone Pair	Bronze Age	1569; PE352; 304356
Tre Cwm	SN14594782	Burnt Mound	Bronze Age	14235
Trefach Standing Stone	SN06403505	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1474; 304309; PE202
Trellyffaint Standing Stone	SN08294230	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1611; PE041
Tremain	SN23534853	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	8062
Troed y Rhiw	SN297523	Standing Stone ?	Bronze Age	14805
Twmpath Tylwith Teg	SN212479	Round Barrow?	Bronze Age	8061
Ty Hen	SN19384909	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	4994
Ty Hir	SN15264676/15244683/15324618	Burnt Mounds	Bronze Age	14231; 14232; 14230
Tyllicoed	SN345519	Round Barrow	Bronze Age	1372
Waun Lwyd Stones, Carn Meini	SN15773126	Stone Pair	Bronze Age	942; PE116; 304054
Waun Mawn	SN08033394	Standing Stone	Bronze Age	1568; PE124; 304355
Carn Ingli	SN05183679	Round Barrow / Cairn	Bronze Age/Unknown	1510
Carn Ingli	SN05273677	Round Barrow / Cairn	Bronze Age/Unknown	1511
Ffos Y Bont Bren	SN16474287	Standing Stone/ Rubbing Stone?	Bronze Age/Unknown	13029
Bedd Arthur	SN13053250	Henge?	Bronze Age ?	1025

6.3 APPENDIX 3: Neolithic Sites in the Study Area (includes information on grid references, monument type, assigned period, and RCAHMW database reference).

SITE	GRID REFERENCE	SITE TYPE	AGE	RCAHMW REFERENCE
Bedd yr Afanc	SN10893459	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	1032; PE122; 304063
Carn Meini	SN143325	Stone Axe Factory	Neolithic	1186
Carreg Coetan; Coetan Arthur	SN06023935	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	304320; PE056; 1442
Cefn Granod	SN303517	Long Barrow	Neolithic	9710
Cerrig y Gof	SN03563892	Standing Stone/Cup Marked Stone	Neolithic	30902; 1434
Cerrig y Gof Burial Chamber	SN036389	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	PE050; 304344; 1433
Coitan Arthur	SN00683617	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	1424
Cromlechau Meibion Arthur	SN08713626	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	1472; 1473;
Crud yr Hwch Mountain	SN16573286	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	PE039; 947; 304057
Foelfeddau	SN102320	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	1015
Gelli Gath	SN29454164	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	2085
Glyn y Fron	SN185307	Ritual Complex	Neolithic	10239; 10228; 10240; 10230; 10231
Glyn y Fron	SN185308	Stone Axe Factory	Neolithic	13399; 28336
Llach y Fleiddast	SN1535	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	11701
Llangoedr Mor, Pennllech yr Ast	SN222484	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	5212; 5213
Llech y Gawres	SN2145	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	5214
Llech y Trybedd	SN10054319	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	1121; PE049; 304086
Parc y Cromlech	SN14004444	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	5310
Parke Cromlech	SN13164274	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	1155
Pentre Ifan	SN09943701	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	1471; 101450; PE008
Tredissi	SN074419	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	12190; 1291
Trefach	SN06393505	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	1475
Trellyffaint Burial Chamber	SN08224252	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	304397; PE041; 1593
Ty Gwynn Group	SN0540	Chambered Tomb	Neolithic	1594
Ffynnon Delyn	SN17763033	Henge?	Neolithic/Bronze Age	9774
Glyn Saith Maen	SN11253058	Megalithic Structure ?	Neolithic/Bronze Age	11665
Gors Fawr Stone Circle	SN13462936	Stone Circle	Neolithic/Bronze Age	922; PE117; 300422
Neuodd	SN2144	Stone Circle	Neolithic/Bronze Age	5228
Noyadd Trefawr; Meini Kyrivol	SN258453	Stone Circle	Neolithic/Bronze Age	12278; 5840
Parc y Maen Liwyd	SN29704110	Chambered Tomb/Stone Pair?	Neolithic/Bronze Age	2092
Pen Mynydd Bach	SN01663155	Chambered Tomb/Stone Pair?	Neolithic/Bronze Age	1527
Pen y Benlog	SN11593789	Megalithic Structure ?	Neolithic/Bronze Age	951
Penfeidr Coedan	SN09923688	Chambered Tomb/Stone Row/St Stones?	Neolithic/Bronze Age	2892; 1517; 1518; 2891
Waun Mawn	SN08393403	Stone Circle/Megalithic Structure	Neolithic/Bronze Age	1567; 300423
Carn Menyn	SN14043262	Chambered Tomb; Cairns	Neolithic/Prehistoric	929; 96008; 96015

6.4 APPENDIX 4: References Related to Individual Iron Age Sites (includes RCAHMW database references).

APPENDIX 4: REFERENCES RELATED TO INDIVIDUAL SITES FOR THE STUDY AREA

SITE	GRID REFERENCE	SITE NO./AUTHOR	YEAR	JOURNAL REFERENCE	RCAMMW REFERENCE
Alii Pengegin Isaf	SN03133403	15			1555; PE486; 304385
Alii Pen-rhiw, Llanychlydyog	SN03033405	13	1987	Arch Cambrensis 136: 77-93	1554; 304384; PE487
Alii y Ddinas Hillfort	SN317432	77	1994	p 244	5764
Bailey A & B	SN25204390/25234395	107			86811; 86812
Banc Du	SN057309	67			11328; 308204; 14380; 14383
Banc Llwloes	SN093331	68			PE370; 2904; 14373; 1565
Bernards Well Mountain	SN05672940	39			1323; 1324; 304444; PE399
Berry Hill, Nevern	SN06364022/06883952	1	1993	Bulletin of Board of Celtic Studies 40: 198-212; AW	1612; 14342; 304388
Bignl	SN199311	124	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 189; 205	1019
Blaenpant NW	SN24914493	108			8613
Blaenwrog I & II	SN27654395/27174395	106	1989	Archaeology in Wales 29: 31-34	14319; 14320; 307150
Bryn Telfi Farm	SN38383980	118	1994	p 243	7718
Bwlch Mawr, Castell Dinas	SN00453815	17	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 195	1431
Caer Blaen Minog Hillfort	SN362357	64			303731; 2280
Caer Glwyd	SN32005490	117	1994	p 242	32168
Caer Llánygwydd	SN24584327	72			2084; 304134
Caer llwyn Bedwr, Gaer y	SN35403744	116			2822
Caer Lwyd	SN301524	91	1994	p 246	1375; 303789
Caer, Bayvil	SN113417	2	1987; 1963	Archaeologia Cambrensis 136: 51-76; BBCS	PE419; 304088; 1149
Caerou	SN12424545	3	1864; 1956,	Arch Cambrensis 3rd S x 299-376 (or 299-314),	
Caerou Blaen Barre (Pen y Gar)	SN36044941	88	1963	Arch Cambrensis 105: 160; BBCS 20(2): 189	1052; 304072
Cardigan Island, Y Fenwic	SN160515	78	1994	p 245	CD054; 303766; 5274
Carn Afr	SN09253012	31	1994	Archaeology in Wales 34: 3-6	31501; 31502; 87
Carn Alw	SN13903370	5	1989; 1987	Proceedings of the prehistoric society 55: 263-7;	1582; 304357
Carn Ffci Settlement and Field System	SN046378/ SN049379	10	1963	Archaeology in Wales 27: 14-16	1036; PE375; 94240; 8404 (Open Settlement - SN141337)
Carn Goedog	SN125337	69		BBCS (20) 2: 189	1454; 9945; 1437; PE051; 304346; PE052
Carn Lwyd	SN054369	12			8403; 9944
Castell Aberdeuddwr	SN33685549	96	?	An Introduction to the History of Wales : 122; P	303781; CD073; 1357
Castell Bach Cwmtdud	SN36045809	97	1994	p 248	CD068; 1355; 93914
Castell Bach Penbryn	SN303536	92	1994	p 246	1368; CD091; 92279
Castell Blaen-Igau	SN34155060	93	1994	p 247	1367; CD089; 303790
Castell Bridell	SN16934013	96			1173; 304076
Castell Caer Wen (Kliffeth)	SN01733416	66	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 185	1538; 304365
Castell Coch	SN16783824	45	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 205	998; 304041
Castell Crugiau	SN35395285	95	1994	p 247	303780; 1386; CD090
Castell Cymon, Treghyon	SN052345	4	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 202	PE308; 1564; 304360; 1036
Castell Felor-ganol (Feilganol)	SN16414226	25	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 182	1169; PE170; 304078
Castell Flynnon; Groes Pen Y Castell	SN317529	115	1994	p 247	14806
Castell Garw, Glandy Cross	SN148269	43	2000	Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society 66: 257-	
Castell Gilfach Gan	SN292333	58	1963	295; Archaeology in Wales 27: 9-13	304283; 1024; CM245
Castell Hendre, Henry's Moat	SN04472740	36	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 182	1106
Castell Henfryn	SN38483913	109	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 201	304478; 1300
Castell Henlllys	SN11723905	6	1986; 1987,	Archaeology in Wales 29: 6-10; Archaeology in	
Castell Joan, Glandwr Isaf	SN125447	53	1989	Wales 24: 46; Archaeology in Wales 32: 69,	
Castell Lwyd	SN11263762	22	1963	Current Archaeology 1999: 164-172; Bulletin of the	952; 94889; PE175; 13837; 9812
Castell Mael	SN00972975	33	1963	board of celtic studies 33: 283-90	PE213; 304093; 1160
Castell Mawr Llanwinio	SN24582784	61	1963; 1961	BBCS (20) 2: 181; Antiquity, Vol 35 : 274	981; PE174; 304048; 991?
Castell Mawr Trelech at Betws	SN271276	62	1963	BBCS (20) 2	1276; 304467
					304212; 5072
					304196; 3940; CM126

Crossley 1963 "List of Hillforts and other Earthworks in Pembrokeshire" in Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 20(2): 171-205.
Hogg Davies 1994 "Gazetteer of Hillforts and Enclosures" in Cardiganshire County History Vol 1.

APPENDIX 4: REFERENCES RELATED TO INDIVIDUAL SITES FOR THE STUDY AREA

SITE	GRID REFERENCE	SITE NO./AUTHOR	YEAR	JOURNAL REFERENCE	RCAHMW REFERENCE
Castell Mawr, Parc Castell	SN11883778	24 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 189	983; PE172; 304047
Castell Nadolig	SN298504	81 Hogg, A.H.A.; Hogg & Davies	1975; 1994	Hillforts; p 243	304136; 2101; GD053
Castell Nanhof	SN08214015	21 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 181, 203	1600; 1601; 304392
Castell Nant Perchellhan	SN17304333	55 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 181, 203	1183; 304082; CD074
Castell Pengegin	SN0393344	14 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 181	304386; PE201; 1537
Castell Trefach	SN08674082	29 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 185	PE353; 1595; 304395
Castell Trefrith (sic)	SN10044486	18 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 179	1157; 304087; PE214
Castelli Garn	SN07804264	42 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 196	1610; 304391; 1597; 11934/19934
Castlebythe Quarry Parc Castell enclosure, Wern Camp	SN018302	35 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 200	304364; 1530; PE237
Cawrence	SN226456	99 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242	11267
Cil-gwyn Mawr	SN08513589	30 Crossley	1994	p 242	1478; 304321
Craig-y-Gwbert	SN159502	84 Hogg & Williams; Hogg & Davies	1977; 1994	Archaeology in Wales 17: 15; p 241	7735; 31940
Crug Llwyn Llwyd	SN202484	86 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242	5215; 9820?
Crug y Balog	SN341452	76 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 244	303771; 3979
Cwm Gloyrn Camp + Cwm Gloyrnll	SN10343967	51 Mytum & Webster	2001	Studia Celtica 35: 89-108	PE306; 304045; 963; 964
Cwm Pen y Benglog (Allt y Castell)	SN11883728	23 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 182	986; 304046; PE 173
Dinas Ceidin	SN386470	89 Hogg & Davies	1930; 1994	Transaction of the Cardigan Antiquarian Society 1930: 112; p 246	CD016; 303769; 3982
Dinas Fawr	SN34523879	113 Hogg & Davies	1930; 1994	p 246	303738; 2277
Dinas Island Castle	SN003401; SN01344019	16 Crossley	1963	BBCS 20(2): 179	1587; 11364; 304399
Dyffryn Saith Farm	SN284512	87 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 243	14820; 7461
Eihbed C	SN08052871	32 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 243	2878; PE119; 304451
Esgair Graig	SN30284633	103 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 244	12118
Felin Cwrws Hillfort	SN35154112	75 Williams, A.; Hogg & Davies	1944-45;		CD039; 303773; 2343
Ffynnon Wen	SN23084929	122 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242	8388
Ffryne Wood	SN24533837	59 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242	1061
Foel Elyr	SN068320	8 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 243	11580; 11556; 14385; PE368; 300427; 1577
Gaer Parc-y-Castell	SN288428	73 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 243	9620
Gaer Pwntan	SN292494	80 Hogg & Davies; Fox, A.	1994; 1961	p 243; In S. Freere	304123; 5221; 32027
Gaer Troed y Rhw	SN39004610	90 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 246	303770; 5275
Gaer Wen	SN34635630	94 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 247	1029; 303782; CD072
Gaer Wen (Garn Wen, Pen y Graig)	SN396471	104 Davies, Rev. J.; Hogg & Davies	??; 1994	Archaeologia Cambrensis 6th S v.62-9; p 246	7671
Glandwr Caer	SN16542825	46 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 205	PE089; 1095; 304272
Gwbert Hotel Enclosure	SN161499	83 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 241	8899
Hen Caerau	SN28373457	47 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 205	304104; 1112
Henllan Promontary Fort	SN35804020	7 Williams, A.; Hogg & Davies	1944-45;		
Henllys Top Field	SN118397	125 Mytum & Webster	1994	Archaeologia Cambrensis 98: 226-40; p 245	303772; 2341;
Llangrannog Hillfort - Craig Pentre	SN311538	111 Hogg & Davies	1992; 1994	"Ceredigion hillforts: recent survey evidence"; p 247	1373
Llangrannog Prom Fort	SN314542	110 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 246-7	11584; 11585
Llan-y-Cwm	SN208493	98 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242	8384
Moel Drygarn (Trigarn)	SN158337	20 Baring-Gould, Burnard & Anderson;	1900; 1963;	Archaeologia Cambrensis 17 (1900): 189-211;	
Morvil	SN036308	20 Crossley, St Joseph, K.J.S.	1961	BBCS 20(2): 189; Antiquity, Vol 35; 264-6,	1011; PE010; 1010; 94948;
Mynydd Dinas	SN01553750	48 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 201	11394; 1133
Mynydd Iwyllyn	SN021355	60 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 246	304340; 300003; 1448; PE360; 300002; 1447; 1449; 1450;
Near Gors	SN388414	123 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 246	1451; 304342
Newcastle Emlyn Castle	SN31134072	114 Crossley	1994	p 246	2236
"Old Castle" Intrenchment	SN05833950	40 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 202	304308
Onnen-Deg	SN23354344	71 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242	2083; 304132; CD162
Parc Castell - Cas Fwuch	SN024291	34 Crossley, St Joseph, K.J.S.	1963; 1961	BBCS (20) 2: 196; Antiquity 1961: 274	304471; 1291; PE239
Pen Castell, St Dogmaels	SN11024594	19 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 179	PE212; 1043; 92845
Pen Castell	SN257290	63 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 246	304194; 3941
Pen y Gaer Hillfort	SN395277	65 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 246	2238; 303715

Crossley 1963 "List of Hillforts and other Earthworks in Pembrokeshire" in Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 20(2): 171-205.
Hogg Davies 1994 "Gazetteer of Hillforts and Enclosures" in Cardiganshire County History Vol 1.

APPENDIX 4: REFERENCES RELATED TO INDIVIDUAL SITES FOR THE STUDY AREA

SITE	GRID REFERENCE	SITE NO./AUTHOR	YEAR	JOURNAL REFERENCE	ICAHMW REFERENCE
Pen Yr Allt	SN15784203	28 Crossley, Vincent, H.J.	1963; 1864	BBCS 20(2): 186; Arch Cambrensis 3rd Seris Vol 10: 299-314	304075; 1170
Pendinasiochlytn Settlement and Field System	SN315549/SN317547	82 Scott, N. & Murphy, K.; Hogg & Davies	1992; 1994	Archaeology in Wales 32: 9-10; B. and H. Burnham, Hillfort Study Group Meeting 1988; Ray and Thornburn "Ceredigion Hillforts - Recent survey evidence"; Archaeology in Wales 31: 17; p 247	CD071; 92284; 1363; 7670
Pengawael 1 & 2	SN110283/111281	44 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 204 Proc. of Prehistoric Soc 56: 295-8; Archaeology in Wales 29: 31-34	982; PE289; 7533; 304276
Pengelli Fach, Cennarth	SN29324059	9 James, T.	1990		2094
Pengelli Fawr	SN29253955	121			14318; 114152
Pennilp	SN30815400	112			1377
Pondaniel hillfort/Enclosure	SN294475	79 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 243	304122; 5848
Rhos y Gardam Uchaf	SN230499	102 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242	8387
Tre Cefn Isaf	SN21064941	85 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242	12135
Tre Clyn Uchaf	SN14803890	54			307399
Treferedd Uchaf	SN227499	101 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242	8386; 268147
Tufton Castle 1	SN042283	37 Crossley	1963	304480; 1293	304480; 1293
Tufton Castle 2 - Tavern Farm	SN04792842	38			304481; 1294
Ty Hen Camp	SN286517	126 ?	1859; 1862	Arch Cambrensis 14: 328; 17: 215-216	2104
Tyddin Enclosure	SN16113585	57			1002; 304040
Tygarol	SN09103676	41 Crossley	1963	BBCS (20) 2: 204	1491; 304326; PE481
Waun Clyn Coch enclosure	SN10673134	52			1008; 304061; PE369
Waun Fawr Settlement and Field System	SN04673744/SN049375	49			11399; 11340; 111204; 11205; 11340
Waunlle	SN22574912	100 Hogg & Davies	1994	p 242, Pl Via	5838
Waunwhod	SN144455	70 James	1989	Archaeology in Wales 29: 31-34	14321
Westland	SN082284	50			4448
Y Gaer Cwmfrwdd	SN16034097	27 Crossley	1963	BBCS 20 (2): 182	304077; 1172
Y Gaer Penrallid/Pen y Bryn	SN17194253	26 Crossley; ??	1963; 1872	BBCS 20(2): 197; Archaeologia Cambrensis 1872: 358	1175; 304081
Y Gaer Wen	SN39533636	105			2283; 303735
Y Gaer, Pant y Bwla	SN31654435	74			2339
Ynys Lochdih	SN31435533	119			1101; 1104; 7531
Area Surrounding the Study Area					
Aber Camddwr, Ponterwyd	SN750808				
Blaiddwll	SN205294				
Bryn Golmaen Gaer	SN118264				
Bryn Maen Caerau, Cellan					
Caer Cadwgan, Cellan					
Castell Pant Wen	SN461401				
Castell Pyr	SN469400				
Castell Yrdan (sic)	SN192266				
Cefn Gwernfrwd					
Collfryn					
Copa Hill, Cwmystwyth					
Dan y Coed, Llawhaden					
Disgwylfa Fawr					
Felin Fubrook, Tregaton					

Crossley 1963 "List of Hillforts and other Earthworks in Pembrokeshire" in Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 20(2): 171-205.
Hogg Davies 1994 "Gazetteer of Hillforts and Enclosures" in Cardiganshire County History Vol 1.

APPENDIX 4: REFERENCES RELATED TO INDIVIDUAL SITES FOR THE STUDY AREA

SITE	GRID REFERENCE	SITE NO./AUTHOR	YEAR	JOURNAL REFERENCE	RCAP/IMW REFERENCE
Gaer Fawr/ Garn Fawr	Nr. Carn Ingli	Hogg	1973	Arch Camb 112: 69-84; Arch Cambrensis 1905,162, 1950	
Gwaer Ffynnon	SN44834093				
Lamborough	SN028198	RC 1191, Crossley			
Llanfair Farm	SN43154090				
Mynachlog-uchaf	SN408521				
Pen Dinas, Aberystwyth		Forde, Griffiths, Hogg & Houlder	1963; 1995	Archaeologia Cambrensis 112: 125-153; Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 39: 159-66	
Pencoed-y-foel	SN425428		1929; 1931	Transaction of the Cardigan Antiquarian Society 1929; fig 5; 1931:24	
Pen-y-Gaer Llanbydder	SN523434	Savoury	1954	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 16: 61	
Pias Gogerddan		Murphy, K.	1992	Archaeological Journal 149: 1-38; AW 27: 36	
Trelissey		Thomas & Walker	1959	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 18: 295-303	
Velindre	SN043258				
Yr Hen Castell Dol-lan	SN421409	Savoury	1954	Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 16: 64	

Crossley 1963 "List of Hillforts and other Earthworks in Pembrokeshire" in Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies 20(2): 171-205.
 Hogg Davies 1954 "Gazetteer of Hillforts and Enclosures" in Cardiganshire County History Vol 1.

6.5 APPENDIX 5: Orientation of Enclosure Entrances.

SITE	Grid Reference	Map Ref	Orientation of enclosure entrance
Allt Pengegin Isaf	SN03133403	15	West ?
Berry Hill, Nevern	SN06364022/06883952	1	East or NE
Caer Blaen Minog Hillfort	SN362357	64	West/
Caer, Bayvil	SN113417	2	WSW ?
Caerau	SN12424545	3	SW
Caerau Blaen Barre (Pen y Gar)	SN36044941	3	East ?
Cardigan Island, Y Ferwic	SN160515	88	East
Carn Alw	SN13903370	78	East
Carn Ingli		5	West / NW
Castell Bach - Penbryn	SN062372	11	West,
Castell Bach Cwmtudu	SN303536	92	West, NW,
Castell Blaen-Igau			NE, SE
Castell Felor-ganol (Felinganol)	SN36045809	97	East
Castell Henfryn	SN34155060	93	ENE
Castell Henllys	SN16414226	25	SW
Castell Joan; Glandwr Isaf	SN38483913	109	East or
Castell Llwyd	SN11723905	6	NE?
Castell Mawr Trelech a'r Betws	SN125447	53	East ?
Castell Mawr; Parc Castell	SN11263762	22	West
Castell Nadolig	SN271276	62	East ?
Castell Pengegin	SN11883778	24	NE ?
Castell Trefach	SN298504	81	West?
Castell Treriffith (sic)	SN039344	14	SE
Castlebythe Quarry Parc Castell enclosure,	SN08674082	29	East
Wern Camp	SN10044486	18	NE
Craig-y-Gwbert	SN018302	35	SE
Cwm Gloyn Camp + Cwm Gloyn II	SN10343967	51	East ?
Cwm Pen y Benglog (Allt y Castell)	SN11883728	23	East
Dinas Cerdin	SN386470	89	West;
Dinas Island Castle	SN001344019	16	West;
Dyffryn Saith Farm	SN284512	87	North
Felin Cwrrws Hillfort	SN35154112	75	North ?
Gaer Troed y Rhiw	SN39004610	90	East or SE
Gaer Wen (Garn Wen, Pen y Graig)	SN396471	104	East
Hen Caerau	SN28373457	47	NE ?
Henllan Promontary Fort	SN35804020	7	West
Moel Trigarn	SN158337	20	East / NE
Onnen-Deg	SN23354344	71	Main;
Parc Castell - Cas Fuwch	SN024291	34	West;
Pen Castell	SN11024594	19	West;
Pen Yr Allt	SN15784203	28	South
Pendinaslochtyrn	SN315549	82	ENE
Pengelli Fach, Cenarth *	SN29324059	9	West or
Y Gaer Wen	SN39533636	105	SW

* Contra James 1990

REFERENCES CITED

Anonymous

- 1905 Cardiganshire: Notes on objects of interest visited during the excursions.
Archaeologia Cambrensis (6th Series) 5: 161-168.

Armit, I.

- 1997 Cultural landscapes and identities: a case study in the Scottish Iron Age. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp. 248-253. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.

Aston, M.

- 1985 *Interpreting the Landscape: Landscape Archaeology and Local History*. London: Routledge

Austin, D., M.G. Bell, B.C. Burnham, and R. Young

- 1987 *The Caer Cadwgan Project: Interim Report 1987*. Lampeter: Lampeter Archaeological Unit.

Austin, D.

- 1987 Caer Cadwgan, Cellan. *Archaeology in Wales* 27: 35-6.

Baring-Gould, S., R. Burnard, and I.K. Anderson

- 1900 Exploration of Moel Trigarn. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (5th Series) 17: 189-211.

Barrett, J.C.

- 1996 Defining domestic space in the Bronze Age of southern Britain. In M. Parker Pearson, and C. Richards (eds) *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*, pp. 87-97. London: Routledge.

- 1999 The mythical landscapes of the British Iron Age. In W. Ashmore and A.B. Knapp (eds) *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, pp. 253-265. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Barrett, J.C.

2000a Chronologies of landscape. In P.J. Ucko and R. Layton (eds) *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping your Landscape*, pp. 21-30. London: Routledge.

2000b Fields of discourse: reconstituting a social archaeology. In J. Thomas (ed.) *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*, pp. 23-32. London: Leicester University Press.

Bell, M.

1995 People and nature in the Celtic world. In M. Green (ed.) *The Celtic World*, pp.145-158. London: Routledge.

1996a Fields of view in landscape archaeology. *Antiquity* 70(267): 212-5.

1996b Environment in the first millennium BC. In T.C. Champion, and J.R. Collis (eds) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, pp. 5-16. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications.

Bender, B.

1993a Stonehenge – contested landscapes (medieval to present-day). In B. Bender (ed.) *Landscape: Politics and perspective*, pp. 245-279. Oxford: Berg.

1993b *Landscape: Politics and Perspective*. Oxford: Berg.

1999 Introductory Comments. *Antiquity* 73(281): 632-4.

Benson, D.G., J.G. Evans, G.H. Williams, T. Darvill and A. David

1990 Excavations at Stackpole Warren, Dyfed. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 56: 179-245.

Benson, D.G. and G.H. Williams

1987 Dale Promontory Fort. *Archaeology in Wales* 27: 43.

Bevan, B.

1997 Bounding the landscape: place and identity during the Yorkshire Wolds Iron Age. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp. 181-91. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.

Bewers, P.

1994 Cardigan Island, Y Ferwig. *Archaeology in Wales* 34: 3-6.

Bourdieu, P.

2000 The Berber house or the world reversed. In J. Thomas (ed.) *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*, pp. 493-509. London: Leicester University Press.

Bradley, R.

2000 *An Archaeology of Natural Places*. London: Routledge

Briggs, C.S.

1994 The Bronze Age. In J.L. Davies and D.P. Kirby (eds) *Cardiganshire County history Volume 1: From the earliest times to the coming of the Normans*, pp. 124- 218. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Bristow, P.H.W.

1998 *Attitudes to disposal of the dead in Southern Britain 3500bc to AD43*. BAR British Series 274. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Britnell, J.

1989 The Collfryn Hillslope Enclosure, Llansantffraid Deuddwr, Powys: Excavations 1980-1982. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 55: 89-134.

Brown, T.

1999 Reconstructing the environment and natural landscapes. In G. Barker (ed.) *Companion Encyclopedia of Archaeology: Vol 1*, pp. 222-65. London: Routledge.

Brück, J.

1999 Houses, lifecycles and deposition on middle Bronze Age settlements in southern England. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 65: 145-166

Burgess, C

1985 Population, climate and upland settlement. In D. Spratt and C. Burgess (eds) *Upland Settlement in Britain: the second millennium BC and after*, pp. 195-216. BAR British Series 143. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Carr, G. and S. Stoddart

2002 *Celts from Antiquity*. Cambridge: Antiquity Publications.

Caseldine, A.E. and K. Murphy

1989 A Bronze Age burnt mound on Troedrhiw-Gwinau Farm, near Aberystwyth, Dyfed. *Archaeology in Wales* 29: 1-5.

Chambers, F.M.

1983 Paleo-ecological setting of Cefn Gwernffrwd. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 49: 303-316.

Chapman, H.P. and B.R. Geary

2000 Paleoecology and the perception of prehistoric landscapes: some comments on visual approaches to phenomenology. *Antiquity* 74(284): 316-21.

Clarke, D.L.

1977 *Spatial Archaeology*. London: Academic Press.

Collis, J.R.

1996a Across the great divide. In T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, pp. 1-4. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications.

1996b Hill-forts, enclosures and boundaries. In T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, pp. 87-94. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications.

Cosgrove, D.

1993 Landscapes and myths, gods and humans. In B. Bender (ed.) *Landscape: Politics and Perspective*, pp. 281-305. Oxford: Berg.

Crossley, D.W.

1963 List of hill-forts and other earthworks in Pembrokeshire. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 20(2): 171-205.

Cunliffe, B.

1984 Iron Age Wessex: continuity and change. In B. Cunliffe and D. Miles (eds) *Aspects of the Iron Age in central southern Britain*. Oxford Monograph No 2.

1991 *Iron Age Communities in Britain*. London: Routledge.

Darvill, T.

1996 *Prehistoric Britain*. London: Routledge

Davies, J.L.

1995 The early Celts in Wales. In M. Green (ed.) *The Celtic World*, pp. 671-700. London: Routledge.

Davies, J.L. and A.H.A. Hogg

1994 The Iron Age. In J.L. Davies and D.P. Kirby *Cardiganshire County history Volume 1: From the earliest times to the coming of the Normans*, pp. 219-274. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Davies, J.L. and D.P. Kirby

1994 *Cardiganshire County history Volume 1: From the earliest times to the coming of the Normans*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Drewett, P.L.

1987 An archaeological survey of Mynydd Preseli, Dyfed. *Archaeology in Wales* 27:14-16.

Dunnell, R.C.

1992 The notion site. In G. Rossignol and L. Wandsnider (eds) *Space, Time and Archaeological Landscapes*, pp. 21-41. New York: Plenum Press.

Ferrell, G.

1997 Space and society in the Iron Age of north-east England. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp. 228- 238. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.

Fitzpatrick, A.

1997 Everyday life in Iron Age Wessex. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp. 73-86. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.

Fletcher, R.

1995 *The Limits of Settlement Growth*. Cambridge: University Press.

Forde, C.D., W.E. Griffiths, A.H.A. Hogg and C.H. Houlder

1963 Excavations at Pen Dinas, Aberystwyth. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 112: 125-153.

Foster, S.

1989 Analysis of spatial patterns in buildings (gamma analysis) as an insight into social structure: Examples from the Scottish Atlantic Iron Age. *Antiquity* 63: 40-50.

Fox, A.

1961 South Western Hillforts. In S.S. Frere (ed.) *The Problems of the Iron Age in southern Britain*. London: Council for British Archaeology.

Giddens, A.

1984 *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Cambridge: Polity.

1991 Structuration Theory: past, present and future. In C.G.A. Bryant and D. Jary (eds) *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: A Critical Appreciation*, pp. 201- 221. London: Routledge.

Glassie, H.H.

1975 *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia: a Structural Analysis of Historic Artefacts*.
Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Gosden, C.

1999 The organisation of societies. In G. Barker (ed.) *The Companion Encyclopedia of Archaeology: Vol 1*, pp. 470-504. London: Routledge.

Gwilt, A.

1997 Popular practices from material culture: a case study of the Iron Age settlement at Wakerley, Northamptonshire. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp. 153-166. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.

Gwilt, A. and C. Haselgrove

1997 *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*. Oxford: Oxford Monograph 71.

Hawkes, C.

1959 The A B C of the British Iron Age. *Antiquity* 33 (131): 170-182.

Hill, J.D.

1995a The pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain and Ireland (ca 800B.C. to A.D. 100): an overview. *Journal of World Prehistory* 9(1): 47-98.

1995b *Ritual and Rubbish in the Iron Age of Wessex*. BAR, British Series 242. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

1996 Hill-forts and the Iron Age of Wessex. In T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, pp. 95-116. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications.

Hingley, R.

1996 Ancestors and identity in the later prehistory of Atlantic Scotland: The reuse and reinvention of Neolithic monuments and material culture. *World Archaeology* 28(2): 231-243.

Hitchcock, R.K. and L.E. Bartram

- 1998 Social boundaries, technical systems and the use of space and technology in the Kalahari. In M. Stark (ed.) *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, pp. 12-49. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Hodder, I.

- 1988 Material culture texts and social change: a theoretical discussion and some archaeological examples. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 54:67-75.
- 1996 Architecture and meaning: the Neolithic houses and tombs. In M. Parker Pearson and C. Richards (eds) *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*, pp. 73-86. London: Routledge.
- 2000 Symbolism, meaning and context. In J. Thomas (ed.) *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*, pp. 86-96. London: Leicester University Press.

Hodder, I., G. Isaac and N. Hammond

- 1981 *Pattern of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hogg, A.H.A.

- 1973 Gaer Fawr and Carn Ingli: Two major Pembrokeshire hillforts. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 122: 69-84.
- 1975 *Hillforts of Britain*. London: Hart-Davis, MacGibbon.
- 1994 The hillforts and later prehistoric settlements. In J.L. Davies and A.H.A. Hogg (eds) *Cardiganshire County history Volume 1: From the earliest times to the coming of the Normans*, pp. 234 - 238. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Hogg, A.H.A. and J.L. Davies

- 1994 The Iron Age. Appendix 1: Gazetteer of hillforts and enclosures. In J.L. Davies and A.H.A. Hogg (eds) *Cardiganshire County history Volume 1: From the earliest times to the coming of the Normans*, pp. 239-74. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Ingold, T.

1993 The temporality of the landscape. *World Archaeology* 25: 152-74

2000 The temporality of the landscape. In J. Thomas (ed.) *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*, pp. 510-530. London: Leicester University Press.

James, H.

1987 Excavations at Caer, Bayvil, 1979. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 136: 51-76.

James, T.

1984 Aerial reconnaissance in Dyfed, 1984. *Archaeology in Wales* 24: 12-24.

1989 Air photography by the Dyfed Archaeological Trust. *Archaeology in Wales* 29: 31-34.

1990 Concentric antenna enclosures – a new defended enclosure type in West Wales. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 56:295-8.

Johnson, M.

1993 Notes towards an archaeology of capitalism. In C. Tilley (ed.) *Interpretative Archaeology*, pp. 327-356. Oxford: Berg.

1999 Studying Structures. In G. Barker (ed.) *Companion Encyclopedia of Archaeology*, pp. 310-343. London: Routledge.

Jordan, P.

2003 *Material Culture and Sacred Landscape: The Anthropology of the Siberian Khanty*. Altamira Press: Walnut Creek.

Kirk, T. and G. Williams

2000 Glandy Cross: A Later Prehistoric Monumental Complex in Carmarthenshire, Wales. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 66: 257-295.

Kleppe, E.J.

- 1989 Divine kingdoms in northern Africa: material manifestations of social institution. In I. Hodder (ed.) *The Meaning of Things*, pp. 195-201. London: Unwin Hyman.

Knapp, A.B. and W. Ashmore

- 1999 Archaeological landscapes: Constructed, conceptualized, ideational. In W. Ashmore and A.B. Knapp (eds) *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, pp. 1-30. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Lynch, F., S. Aldhouse-Green, and J.L.Davies

- 2000 *Prehistoric Wales*. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.

Mighall, T. and F.M. Chambers

- 1993 The environmental impact of prehistoric mining at Copa Hill, Cwmystwyth, Wales. *Holocene* 3(3): 260-4.

Murphy, K.

- 1987 Excavations at Llanychlwydog Church, Dyfed. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 136: 77-93.

- 1992 Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed: a multi-period burial and ritual site. *Archaeological Journal* 149: 1-38.

- 2001 A prehistoric field system and related monuments on St David's Head and Carn Llidi, Pembrokeshire. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 67: 85 – 99.

Mytum, H.

- 1986 The reconstruction of an Iron Age Roundhouse at Castell Henllys, Dyfed. *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 33: 283-90.

- 1989 Excavation at Castell Henllys, 1981-89: The Iron Age fort. *Archaeology in Wales* 29: 6-10.

Mytum, H.

1996 Hillfort siting and monumentality: Castell Henllys and Geographical Information Systems. *Archaeology in Wales* 36: 3-10.

1999 Castell Henllys. *Current Archaeology* 14 (161):164-172

Mytum, H.C. and C.J. Webster

1989 A survey of the Iron Age enclosure and *Chevaux-de-Frise* at Carn Alw, Dyfed. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 55:263-7

1993 Survey and Excavation at Berry Hill Camp, Nevern, Dyfed. *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 40: 198-211.

2001 Survey and excavation at Henllys Top Field and Cwm Gloyne Enclosures. *Studia Celtica* 35: 89-108.

Olwig K.R.

1993 Sexual cosmology: Nation and landscape at the conceptual interstices of nature and culture; or What does landscape really mean? In B. Bender (ed.) *Landscape: Politics and Perspective*, pp. 307-343. Oxford: Berg.

Oswald, A.

1997 A doorway on the past: practical and mystic concerns in the orientation of roundhouse doorways. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp. 87-95. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.

Parker Pearson, M.

1996 Food, fertility and front doors in the first millennium BC. In T.C. Champion and J.R. Collis (eds) *The Iron Age in Britain and Ireland: Recent Trends*, pp. 117-132. Sheffield: J.R. Collis Publications.

1999 Food, sex and death: Cosmologies in the British Iron Age with particular reference to East Yorkshire. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 9(1): 43-69.

Parker Pearson, M. and C. Richards

1996a Architecture and Order: spatial representation and archaeology. In M. Parker Pearson, and C. Richards (eds) *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*, pp. 38- 72. London: Routledge.

1996b *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*. London: Routledge

Parker Pearson, M., N. Sharples, and J. Mulville

1996 Brochs and Iron Age society: a reappraisal. *Antiquity* 70(267): 57-67.

Richards, C.

1996 Monuments as landscape: creating the centre of the world in late Neolithic Orkney. *World Archaeology* 28(2): 190-208.

Richards, J.E.

1995 Conceptual landscapes in the Egyptian Nile Valley. In W. Ashmore and A.B. Knapp (eds) *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, pp. 83-100. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.

Rosignol, J. and L. Wandsnider

1992 *Space, Time and Archaeological Landscapes*. New York: Plenum Press

Savoury, H.N.

1976 Welsh hillforts: A reappraisal of recent research. In D.W. Harding (ed.) *Hillforts: Later Prehistoric Earthworks in Britain and Ireland*, pp. 237-284. London: Academic Press.

Savoury, H.N., A.E. Caseldine, Q. Dresser, G. Williams, J.L. Wilkinson and J. Crowther

1992 Plas Gogerddan, Dyfed: A multi-period burial and ritual site. *Archaeological Journal* 149: 1-38.

Schlanger, S.H.

1992 Recognising persistent places in Anasazi settlement systems. In J. Rossignol and L. Wandsnider (eds) *Space, Time and Archaeological Landscapes*, pp. 91-112. New York: Plenum Press.

Scott, N. and K. Murphy

1992 Excavations at Pendinas Lochdyn, Llangrannog, Dyfed, 1990-91. *Archaeology in Wales* 32: 9-10.

Shanks, M. and C. Tilley

1987 *Social Theory and Archaeology*. Polity Press: Cambridge.

Smith, C.A.

1974 A morphological analysis of late prehistoric and Romano-British settlements in north-west Wales. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 40: 157-69

St. Joseph, J.K.S.

1961 Aerial reconnaissance in Wales. *Antiquity* 35: 263-275, Plates XXXVI, XXXVIII, and XLII.

Strang, V.

1999 Competing perceptions of landscape in Kowanyama, North Queensland. In P.J. Ucko and R. Layton (eds) *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping your Landscape*, pp. 206-218. London: Routledge.

Taylor, J.

1997 Space and place: some thoughts on Iron Age and Romano-British landscapes. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp192-204. Oxbow Monograph 71.

Thomas, J.

1993 The politics of vision and the archaeologies of Landscape. In B. Bender (ed.) *Landscape: Politics and Perspective*, pp19-48. Oxford: Berg.

Thomas, J.

2000a *Interpretive Archaeology: A Reader*. London: Leicester University Press.

2000b Reconfiguring the social, reconfiguring the material. In M.B. Schiffer (ed.) *Social Theory in Archaeology*, pp 143-55. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

2001 Archaeologies of place and landscape. In Hodder, I., (ed.) *Archaeological Theory Today*, pp165-186. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Thomas, W. and R. Walker

1959 Excavations at Trelissey, Pembrokeshire, 1950-1. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 18: 295-300.

Thurston, T.L.

1999 The knowable, the doable and the undiscussed: tradition, submission, and the 'becoming' of rural landscapes in Denmark's Iron Age. *Antiquity* 73(21):661-71.

Tilley, C.

1989 Interpreting Material Culture. In I. Hodder (ed.) *The Meaning of Things*, pp. 185-194. London: Unwin Hyman.

1993a Art, architecture and landscape [Neolithic Sweden]. In B. Bender (ed.) *Landscape: Politics and Perspective*, pp. 49-84. Oxford: Berg.

1993b *Interpretative Archaeology*. Oxford: Berg.

1994 *A Phenomenology of Landscape : Places, Paths and Monuments*. Oxford: Berg.

2001 An Archaeology of Supernatural Places: The Case of West Penwith. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 7(2): 335-356.

Timberlake, S. and T. Mighall

1992 Historic and prehistoric mining on Copa Hill, Cwmystwyth. *Archaeology in Wales* 32: 38-44.

Timberlake, S. and R. Switsur

1988 An archaeological investigation of mine workings on Copa Hill, Cwmystwyth: new evidence for prehistoric mining. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 54: 329-33.

Ucko, P.J. and R. Layton

1999 *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping your Landscape*. London: Routledge.

Vincent, H.J.

1864 Caerau. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* (3rd Series) 10: 299-314

Vyner, B.E.

1994 The territory of ritual: Cross-ridge boundaries and the prehistoric landscape of the Cleveland Hills, northeast England. *Antiquity* 68(258): 27-39.

Wagstaff J.M.

1987 *Landscape and Culture*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Wait, G.A.

1985 *Ritual and Religion in Iron Age Britain*, BAR, British Series 149. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Ward, P.A., G.H. Williams, E.C. Marshall, and I.M. Darke

1987 The Glandy Cross Complex. *Archaeology in Wales* 27: 9-13.

Webster, J.

1995 Sanctuaries and sacred places. In M. Green (ed.) *The Celtic World*, pp. 445-464. London: Routledge.

Whimster, R.

1981 *Burial Practices in Iron Age Britain: A discussion and Gazetteer of evidence, c. 700 BC – AD 43*, BAR, British Series 90. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Whitlaw, T.

- 1996 Order without architecture: Functional, social and symbolic dimensions in hunter gatherer settlement organisation. In M. Parker Pearson and C. Richards (eds) *Architecture and Order: Approaches to social space*, pp. 217-243. London: Routledge.

Williams, A.

- 1944 A promontory fort at Henllan, Cardiganshire. *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 98: 226-240.

Williams, G.

- 1988 Recent work on rural settlements in later prehistoric and early historic Dyfed. *Antiquaries Journal* 68: 30-54.

- 2001 Excavations at Bryn Maen Caerau, Cellan, Ceredigion. *Archaeology in Wales* 41:10-20.

Williams, G., J. Taylor, C. Hunt, A. Hepworth and D Benson

- 1987 A burnt mound at Felin Fulbrook. *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 34: 228-243.

Willis, S.

- 1997 Settlement, materiality and landscape in the Iron Age of the East Midlands: evidence, interpretation and wider resonance. In A. Gwilt and C. Haselgrove (eds) *Reconstructing Iron Age Societies*, pp. 203- 215. Oxford: Oxbow Monograph 71.

ON-LINE REFERENCES CITED

Castell Henllys

2003 Available from <http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/arch/castellhenllys/web/> [Accessed 19 October 2003]

Gauntlett, D.

2002 Extract from *Media, Gender and Identity: An Introduction* [online]. Available from. <http://www.theory.org.uk/giddens2.htm> Accessed 15/6/03

Gathering the Jewels

2003 Available from <http://www.gtj.org.uk/gtj/app> Last accessed 26/9/03

Haselgrove, C.

2000 *Understanding the British Iron Age: An agenda for action* [online]. Available from <http://www.personal.rdg.ac.uk/~lascrtn/IAAgenda.htm>. Last accessed 20/9/03

Mytum, H.

2001 *Castell Henllys: Iron Age Fort and Native Settlements of the Roman Period* [online]. Available from <http://www.york.ac.uk/depts/arch/castellhenllys/web/> . Last accessed 03/08/2003.

Ordnance Survey Online

2003 Available from <http://www.ordsvy.gov.uk> . Last accessed 24/9/03

Royal Commission of Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales (RCAHMW)

2003 Available from <http://www.rcahmw.org.uk/>. Last accessed 24/9/03