

**Brawdy
Hill-fort
Excavation
Interim Report
1990**



1990 INTERIM REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS
AT BRAVDY HILL-FORT, DYFED, WALES

Introduction

The Brawdwy hill-fort excavation has as its aims the elucidation of the internal plan and sequence of the pre-Roman and Roman-period occupation of the site, and the testing of a method of pre-excavation identification of early mediaeval hill-fort sites. The latter has now been tested and shown to be effective, as was discussed in the 1989 interim report.' The 1990 excavation was primarily concerned with the Roman-period and pre-Roman deposits in the interior of the hill-fort.

Previous seasons' work at Brawdwy had shown that the site had a very long stratified pre-Roman sequence and substantial Roman-period use. This pre-Roman occupation is of significance in that few stratified hill-fort interiors have been excavated 'in plan' and by modern methods. It is also of wide interest that iron-working, certainly of fifth-century B.C. date, and perhaps earlier, was shown to have taken place at the site. The Romano-British use of the site is also of broad interest in that two consecutive and contrasting timber-built, romanised, homesteads occupied the hill-fort interior, the second involving a building without exact parallel in Romano-British Wales. It is interesting too that this building, although timber, may have incorporated elements to promote the appearance of Romanised mortared stone structures, and may be classified as a timber 'aisled building'.

The 1990 Excavation

The 1990 excavation began by completing excavation of the Phase 7 deposits and proceeded to remove the six underlying stratified phases of activity until reaching undisturbed natural deposits, which at Brawdwy

comprise the weathered surface of Cambrian red sandstone. This interim report will concentrate on the Roman and pre-Roman sequence (Phases 1-5) occupation in accordance with the aims stated in the 1989 interim. However, the 1990 work showed the Phase 7 structures to have been rebuilt and produced a few more Phase 7 finds.

Before describing the prehistoric- and Roman-period sequence at the site, we may begin with a short description of the hill-fort itself, and of the results of post-excavation work during 1989-90. This work has itself contributed further detail to the analysis of the areas already excavated.

The Hill-fort Site

Brandy hill-fort stands at approximately 275' O.D. on the tip of an approximately triangular inland promontory, whose steep wooded slopes fall on two sides to the valleys of small rivers, tributaries of the well-known Brandy Brook. Today the interior of the hill-fort is covered by grass and scrub and its banks are heavily overgrown. The earthen banks cut off the tip of the promontory where it might be most easily approached from a slight rise to the north-west. The area immediately outside the hill-fort is today a pastoral field, used for cattle grazing, the hill-fort itself has been a Scheduled Ancient Monument since 1985.

The hill-fort banks are well-preserved and the interior has probably not been ploughed since before the establishment of the hill-fort, if at all, as internal deposits (even those of a 'fragile' nature) are well preserved. Most post-depositional disturbance has been by roots and small mammals, but the intensity of long-term occupation has, unsurprisingly, led to considerable inter-cutting of features. The

field immediately outside the hill-fort, however, has been ploughed and no surface traces remain which might indicate any extramural settlement. However, a flint flake, and a pebble (probably from the beach at least one mile away), found outside the scheduled area, may hint at extramural settlement.

Returning to the hill-fort, it is immediately clear that not all the banks are equally large. The first bank (working outward from the interior) is preserved to about 3m. high, which excavation has shown to have most likely been its original height in its final phase of use, contemporary with interior Phase 7b. There is an external steep-sided ditch, the rock-cut sides of which are partially exposed today. The ditch is the inside limit of a flat inter-bank space, now under grass and scrub, to the west. The inter-bank space is bounded to the north by another bank, much smaller than the first, about 1.5m. high. This again has an external ditch, which is, in this case, seemingly much shallower, and survives today only as a long linear dip in the ground surface. External to this ditch, to the East, is another inter-bank space, similar to the first. Today this is somewhat clearer of vegetation, mostly covered with grass. Last there is the third and outer bank. This is much smaller than the inner bank and even lower than the second, at about 1.3m. high. It has no visible ditch.

Access to the hill-fort is today by a choice of routes. The path leading along the east bank terminals dates from after the occupation of the hill-fort. Its construction involved the flattening either by erosion or by human action of the first bank, which continues beyond the line. This route cannot date from before Phase 7a, and is unlikely to be of the same date or earlier than Phase 7b, on present evidence.

Another, and almost certainly the only ancient route known, is along the top of the hill-slope to the west of the bank terminals on the west of the hill-fort site. This forms a narrow pathway (described in the 1989 interim) which does not seem to involve any destruction of the bank terminals.

This path leads to the gateway, the excavation of which will be described below. Within the hill-fort enclosure no other features merit notice. Along its perimeter a drystone wall runs from immediately outside the western bank-terminal of the entrance gap in the first bank, along the perimeter of the site to the eastern terminal of the first bank, surviving beyond the point where the bank has been destroyed for the modern pathway. This drystone wall is undated, but it overlies the first bank — suggesting that it post-dates Phase 7a, and probably Phase 7b. In style of construction, in so far as this is of any value in dating such a feature,² it would seem consistent with the probably eighteenth-century drystone walls elsewhere on Brawdy Farm.³ These factors suggest that it is a modern field boundary, especially needed at this point, close to the limit of the farm. There seems no reason to assign it a pre-modern date.

Post-excavation work

Post-excavation work continues throughout the year, cleaning and cataloguing excavated material and specialist study. Post-excavation analytical work on finds has, aside from distributional studies, so far principally served to show how little information the flint artefacts, botanical, and zoological material from the site can, in fact, yield.⁴ Post-excavation studies have also recognised the absence of late mediaeval (twelfth- to sixteenth-century) pottery, the presence of

(post-hill-fort) post-mediaeval (seventeenth to twentieth-century) material,⁵ and of (Phase 7) early mediaeval finds. Metalworking evidence has been isolated from among the large amount of burnt stone, the most numerous category of material recovered. Radiocarbon dating has been undertaken (see below) although the acid soil and the location of so few hearths has made it difficult to acquire acceptably sealed samples of suitable material to date by this means. Specialist studies planned for 1991 include examination of the Prehistoric and Romano-British pottery, of the excavated glass and of the, albeit scarce, metalwork from the site.

Some categories of finds: charcoal, burnt sandstone, and utilised non-local and local stones, are associated with most — perhaps all — of these phases, some with only one or two. Thus roofing slate occurs in Phases 5a and 5b, local pottery in Phases 1-5 and ironwork in Phases 4-10. The 1990 season happily produced further finds of probable early mediaeval date, as already mentioned. These included two probable inlays or gaming pieces (one probably bungled in production), associated with Phase 7 deposits,⁶ to add to the ceramic and metalwork finds of probable or certain fifth- to seventh-century date recognised in previous excavation and post-excavation work. Much more Romano-British pottery, mostly local wares, was found associated with Phase 5, and some Iron-Age pottery was also recovered. A few additional pieces of possible Roman-period glass were found, and, from Phase 4b, a fragmentary iron object, probably a horse bit.

An Outline of the Excavated Sequence

Having described the monument itself, and the results of post-excavation analysis, the overall sequence as modified by the 1990

excavation will now be outlined. There are ten phases distinguishable on stratigraphic grounds. Many phases show stratigraphic indications of a sequence of sub-phases. Work in 1990 classified these subdivisions and confirmed the relationships proposed in 1985-89. This sequence may conveniently be expressed in the following table.

BRAWDY HILL-FORT, DYFED, WALES
SUMMARY OF DEVELOPMENT

	<u>Interior</u>	<u>Bank and Gateway</u>
<u>Period 0. Early Bronze-Age?</u>		
	3 hut scoops containing stake-built 'roundhouses'	unenclosed
	— erosion—	
<u>Period 1. Early- and/or Mid-Iron-Age</u>		
2	3 post-and gully-built 'roundhouses'	first hill-fort bank with post-built gate, and then drystone-based gate
3a	1 post-built 'roundhouse' and worn pathway	
4a-c	extensive 3-phase middens 3 hearths, pit and postholes	
	— Bank erosion—	
<u>Period 2. Romano-British</u>		
5a	3 rectilinear post-built structures	hill-fort bank refurbished, and new entrance features built
5b	1 large rectilinear post-built structure	new post-built gate
	— Bank erosion—	

InteriorBank and GatewayPeriod 3. Early Mediaeval

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 6 | large pit containing burnt material, and post-holes | |
| 7a | 4? timber-framed and post-built rectilinear structures and other features | new hill-fort bank with internal and external drystone revetments |
| 7b | 4 timber-framed and post-built rectilinear structures and other features | refurbished hill-fort bank with summit palisade |

— Bank erosion—

Period 4. Undated Post-Hill-fort Activity

- | | |
|---|--|
| 8 | 1 small rectilinear post-built structure |
|---|--|

— Bank erosion—

Period 5. Post-Mediaeval?

- | | |
|------|--|
| 9a-b | large intercutting pits and gullies |
| 10 | 1 (timber-framed?) and post-hole structure |

— Bank erosion—

Period 6. Modern

- | | |
|----|---|
| 11 | successive topsoil deposits until present excavation. |
|----|---|

Rather than discuss the later aspects of the site (an account of the Phase 7 occupation was given in the 1989 interim report) the remainder of this report will attempt to give some more detail about Phases 1-5 and their interpretation. Excavation of these phases in the interior of the site was completed in 1990.

Prehistoric and Roman Brawdy: Some General Points

The Prehistoric and Roman sequence is one of the longest stratified sequences of this date in Wales. Post-excavation analysis will certainly reveal more details and clarify chronology, but the outline below is entirely based upon stratigraphical relationships and dated contexts.

In using the plans of Phases 2, 3, and 5, two observations must be noted. For simplicity only major contemporary features have been shown and associated layer boundaries have been omitted. Minor topographical details — slopes or undulations — have also been omitted. These have all, of course, been recorded and will appear in the final report.

Phase 1: Pre-hill-fort Settlement

Phase 1 was represented in the excavated area by three hut-scoops. These were roughly D-shaped platforms cut into the gently sloping hillside, with stake-holes forming a line around the approximately flat base of the platform. Dark deposits of soil — 'occupation deposits' — were found on the base of each of these platforms inside the area of the stake-holes. Pottery, perhaps of Bronze-Age date, was found in the 'occupation deposit' of one of these hut-scoops, and another hut-scoop underlay the first hill-fort enclosure bank. There were no associated features definable elsewhere in the now-enclosed area, and the hut-scoops are widely spaced. One was found in the extreme south-west corner of the 1985-8 area, one in the south end of the trench cut through the inner bank from the north-east corner of that area, and another, during the 1990 season, in the entranceway where it was cut by the Phase 3 gully, described below.

Although one cannot be sure, this group of huts may be interpreted as part of an unenclosed cluster of buildings standing on the site prior to the building of the hill-fort. It is unlikely, however, that this occupation immediately preceded the hill-fort construction and comparison may be made with evidence of pre-hill-fort, early Bronze-Age occupation at Pilcornswell, Holgan, and Woodside, enclosures.⁷

At Woodside this occupation was associated with a barbed and tanged arrowhead,⁸ and at Brawdy the Bronze-Age dating of these huts is supported, but not confirmed, by a barbed and tanged arrowhead from a residual context in the interior of the site, found in 1990. If some of the flint assemblage from Brawdy, including both flakes and cores, dates from this period (specialist opinion has been unhelpful on this matter), then this would provide the lithic element which might be expected at an early Bronze-Age settlement site.

The pre-hill-fort, Phase 1 occupation, thus probably belongs to the early Bronze-Age. It seems to comprise a settlement of stake-built roundhouses, which may have been unenclosed. This occupation was apparently discontinuous with Phase 2, when the hill-fort was constructed.

Phase 2: The Iron-Age Hill-fort

In Phase 2 the hill-fort bank was built. This was a simple 'dump rampart' of sandstone rubble, revetted at its rear with a post-in-trench wooden wall. Only one gateway is known, that to the west of the site, within the 1988-90 excavation area. The gate structure did not stand in the gateway, however, but immediately to its south. This, at first sight, seems an indefensible arrangement, in a period in which warfare involving hill-forts is strongly attested in Wales and the West of

Britain,² but this is a misleading impression. The gate tower would have dominated the approach through the two bank terminals, while, if the revetment wall was carried into the east of the entrance passage, movement onto the bank itself would have been prevented. However as this area was not excavated this cannot at present be confirmed. The western bank terminal is part of a smaller bank extending to the west down the steep scarp of the valley side bordering the site, sufficient to prevent movement around the entrance on that side also.

The gateway tower itself was of two phases. In the first, massive postholes containing post-packing stones up to half a metre across seem to form the west side of a gateway structure, extending out of the excavated area to the north-east. Although only part of this gateway structure was excavated it was plainly a very large construction. It is hard to imagine that this was less than two storeys high, and given the size of the postholes and their packing, a three storied structure must be a possibility.

This post-built gateway was replaced by a much smaller stone-based one. This was constructed by laying a rough drystone, rectilinear frame of unshaped blocks and filling it with rubble and soil. Although cut by the Phase 3 gully, described below, and erosion-damaged when found, it is unlikely to have held a structure over 2 m. square, presumably it is the base for a wooden superstructure. This is in contrast to the much larger earlier gateway. Moreover, this gate structure was set in relation to the bank terminal so as to make passage into the hill-fort only possible by moving past it to the west, after passing through the bank terminals. Nevertheless, it may be that its raised drystone base made this structure resilient to the weather and

prolonged its use. It may, therefore, represent a technical advance on the earlier gate, but this cannot be certain, as we are unaware of how sophisticated the superstructure of each gateway-building was.

The most important aspect of these gate structures is that they represent one of the few instances of a sequence of gateway buildings from one type to another, within a stratified Iron-Age hill-fort in Wales. The second gateway phase, at least, is not paralleled at other West Welsh sites.¹⁰ They both contrast with the Iron-Age gateways found at Coygan Camp and the Llawhaden sites, both in the use of stone, and in the size of packing employed in the earliest gateway, but current work at Castell Henllys may reveal analogous entrance works.¹¹

Within these strong defences three roundhouses have been excavated. Two, found in the 1985-8 area are very similar: the northern part of each is post-in-gully built, with the southern part comprised of a semi-circle of posts. It must be stressed that the gullies to the north of both structures were not 'drip-gullies' — they contained postholes. The northernmost of these two buildings stood immediately to the north of a slight but abrupt rise in the ground surface, and to the south of this building, along the crest of this rise, three small, upright stones were found, placed as if to mark this.¹²

Within the 1988-90 area a single much larger roundhouse was found. This had five differences from the two roundhouses within the 1985-8 area. There was a possible 'drip-gully' to the north-east, the post-gully comprising its north wall was set in a small, but deep, terrace, or scoop, presumably to level the structure, it had no postholes at the terminals of the post-gully, a centre-post 'c', and outside its wall-line to the north-west (between the structure and gateway), and to the

south-west at the point marked 'g', areas of very well laid, compacted and worn gravel paving were found. This paving suggests a porch-area rather than a path running around the structure, and the line of such a feature would be continued by a small, single, outlying posthole 'd' to the south-east of the roundhouse, perhaps a prop for an overhanging roof. The post-gully of this structure was much deeper than those of the other two buildings.

The building represented by the Phase 2 features in the 1988-90 area was, therefore, much larger and more sturdily built than those in the 1985-8 area, although it was more severely damaged by erosion and the inter-cutting of later features. Its position, close to the gateway, recalls the largest structure in the second hill-fort at Crickley Hill, possibly a chieftain's house.¹² This would be supported by the work of Reynolds on the resource-expenditure involved in building such a large roundhouse.¹⁴ This straightforward interpretation may well be correct, but the possibility that this was a communal structure must also be taken into account, although clearly both functions are not exclusive. Interestingly, in a local context, it is approximately the same size as the largest building so far known from Castell Henllys.¹⁵

More detailed analysis of finds may permit more resolution on questions of function and, as Guilbert points out, we must not assign function too swiftly to roundhouses,¹⁶ but a domestic use for all these buildings seems probable on initial assessment. If so, the hill-fort in Phase 2 would seem to be a defended domestic settlement.

Phase 3: Post Hill-fort Iron-Age Domestic Occupation

The hill-fort bank fell into disuse and began to erode. After the second Phase 2 gateway had decayed, no new gateway structure was built, and a narrow pathway was cut across the site running towards the east. This followed the line of the inner bank, roughly parallel with its rear, but within the hill-fort interior, and went around the western bank terminal at the entrance, to leave the excavated area to the north-west. The base of this pathway was used long enough for it to become worn.

Neither end of the path was found, but it may indicate that the focus of Phase 3 occupation was on the east side of the hill-fort, where a possible spring is located at the base of the east end of the inner bank. However, this area was not excavated, so this is uncertain.

Only one Phase 3 structure was found, a post-built roundhouse with a porch to its north-west. Porched roundhouses of early Iron-Age date are known from elsewhere in Wales, for example, at Moel y Gaer.¹⁷ The Brawdy Phase 3 building may, as at Moel y Gaer Phase 1, have had slight outer walls, but if so these must have eroded away. As excavated the Phase 3 building comprised only medium-sized postholes, some stone-packed, and there is no reason, on on-site grounds alone, to necessitate slight outer walls. Interestingly, two packing stones from adjacent postholes could be refitted to make a single larger stone, apparently confirming their contemporaneity. The porch was orientated towards the hill-fort entrance. As for the Phase 2 buildings, functional interpretation must, at present, rest on initial analysis, but a domestic interpretation seems the most plausible for this structure.

Phase 3 contrasts with Phase 2 in that it post-dates the hill-fort defences and included no defensive enclosure. Possibly it represents disuse of the hill-fort due to changed social, economic, political or military circumstances, but with population continuity. Alternatively, it may represent reuse of a disused fort by another group, to take advantage of the ready-made enclosure, or for ideological reasons. The former possibility, continuity in changed circumstances, seems the simplest explanation and is to be favoured in default of any strong evidence against it.

Phase 4: Iron-Age Ironworking and Middens

Phase 4 comprises three hearths and extensive middens. The middens are of three sub-phases and were tipped, at least mostly, from the south against the slight, but abrupt slope, already mentioned when discussing Phase 2. All three hearths were within the 1985-88 area, each was a bowl-shaped cut containing lenses of charcoal and soil, probably representing multiple short-lived episodes of use. Not all of these hearths were in use at the same time, as, of the two in the centre of the east side of the 1985-8 area, one inter-cut the other, and so was later than it.

Around these hearths few contemporary features were found. A large pit, associated with two pieces of iron-slag, was found in the south-east of the 1988-90 area. Next to one of the hearths, that in the centre of the north of the 1985-8 area, there were three small stake-holes set in a triangle. Perhaps this was for a wooden tripod for use in cooking, as the hearths contain calcined bone and carbonised botanical material, possibly food remains. Apart from these, no contemporary features were found in the 1985-8 area, but in the 1988-90

area stake- and postholes cut midden deposits of the second and third sub-phases in the north-east corner. These may have been for a slight, perhaps temporary, structure.

The midden deposits themselves contained large amounts of burnt stone, some vitrified, iron-slag, and charcoal. The evidence for iron-working is of especial interest because of the early date established by two radiocarbon dates obtained for the Phase 4 hearths. These fall close together and are: 2430 ± 50 BP and 2390 ± 60 BP. This, therefore, attests unusually early iron-working for a Welsh site.

The Phase 4 activity seems not to have involved any refurbishment of the defences and no gateway structure was built. It need not represent permanent occupation of the site, although this could be indicated, and an alternative is that the hill-fort was used only on specific occasions, or during certain seasons. Provisionally an interpretation of Phase 4 as representing an open-air activity area, including multi-purpose hearths and adjacent rubbish tips deriving from activity within the enclosure, may be proposed.

Phase 5a: Romano-British Enclosed Homestead

The site was disused after Phase 4 and the interior covered by erosion deposits washed from the inner bank. This clearly took centuries, for when the hill-fort was next used it was in the Roman period. The character of the occupation had once again drastically changed.

The enclosure bank was refurbished by dumping clay and gravel against its rear, and a new passage-way at the entrance, but seemingly no gateway structure, was built. The west bank terminal, but seemingly not the bank to the east, was topped with a light wooden fence. These

entrance works, and the lack of a palisade on the summit of the main bank, may suggest that this was not intended as a defensive line, but an enclosure either to demarcate the settlement area, or for social, economic, or security reasons.

Within this refurbished enclosure three rectilinear timber buildings were erected. All had post-built walls and slate roofs. All used coal for their fires, and simple square-section iron nails may have been used in their construction.

The main structure was apparently that excavated during 1990. This was a complex building comparable in size with the principal Romano-British buildings found in excavation at Coygan or Dan-y-Coed, although it was structurally more sophisticated.¹⁹ Another large building, although of much simpler construction, was found in the south of the 1985-8 area, and another rectilinear structure in the north of that area. The group as a whole seems to represent an enclosed domestic complex.

The Phase 5a buildings would then seem to be a moderately wealthy homestead, if assessed on structural grounds, but lack the artefactual richness of Romano-British Coygan or Castell Henllys.¹⁹ The contrast between buildings and structures might be explained by the differential deployment of wealth.²⁰ Some local landowners may have chosen to buy artefacts with surplus wealth, other, perhaps, to feast and to construct grander buildings. Clearly there are other alternatives, but such arguments mean that we cannot use the number of 'expensive' romanised artefacts as a sure index of the wealth and status of such settlements. The continuation of pre-Roman structural traditions and site-location in Romano-British Dyfed might suggest that native Celtic displays of

wealth and status are possible within the Roman period in this area.²¹ It is, therefore, difficult to assign these buildings a status relative to those known from other Romano-British sites in Dyfed, but they are plainly not impoverished.

Phase 5b: A Romano-British Aisled Building

Phase 5b was distinguished from Phase 5a as it cut a thin soil deposit overlying almost the whole of the 1988-90 area, and stopping shortly before the 1985-8 area to the east. Consequently, it is unclear whether the two Phase 5a buildings found in the 1985-8 area remained in use in Phase 5b, although there is no evidence that they did. The accumulation of a soil layer over part of the site may suggest a period of discontinuity, and it is probable that Phase 5b was represented only, within the excavated area, on the 1988-90 part of the site.

This phase contrasted with Phase 5a in that the bank was not refurbished, although erosion deposits from the bank were revetted in the entranceway. A rectilinear gatetower was built, another contrast with Phase 5a. The area between the bank terminals, within this gateway, and into the north-western part of the interior was apparently trampled.

The structure closest to the gateway was a small rectilinear building of large posts. It is possible that this structure was raised, a granary or tower, but the former interpretation is arguably weakened by its apparent 'attachment' to the main Phase 5b structure by a line of posts comprising part of a wall of that building.

The principal structure of this phase is, so far as I am aware, unique in Roman-period Wales.²² It comprises an aisled, rectilinear,

post-built house, with small flecks of pottery crushed into its floor. There is a substantial rectilinear projection to its west, with centre posts approximately along the axis of the projecting area. A cluster of postholes, where the projection joins the main body of the structure, may represent an entrance, and the trampled area, already mentioned, turned towards this part of the structure before terminating.

This building is unlikely to have been for animals with its evidence of coal fires, and as pottery is crushed into the floors. Like the Phase 5a structures it was slate-roofed and coal-fired and Romano-British pottery, glass, and the rim of a pewter vessel, may all belong to this phase. It would seem a sophisticated timber building on the basis of ground-plan alone.

This structure may be classified as an 'aisled building', a type of structure well known from Roman Britain. Although usually built in stone, and without L-shaped ground-plans, both timber and L-shaped 'aisled buildings' are known elsewhere, and timber 'aisled buildings' may be under-represented in the archaeological record at present.²³ Aisled buildings characteristically have small rectilinear structures at their corners, and perhaps this accounts for the small rectilinear structure (R) in Phase 5b at Brawdy.

The main Phase 5b structure is perhaps most readily interpreted as a large, high-status, 'aisled building' set within an enclosure provided with a gate tower. This impression of display is enhanced by the discovery of three worked-stone fittings, probably window elements. These each resemble part of one of the semi-circular curved heads of the small windows found in Roman stone 'aisled buildings'. If set as window heads in the daub-covered walls of a rectilinear timber building,

then they could have conveyed the impression of a stone structure, or made an association in peoples' minds between the structure and stone buildings they had seen. The slate roof might, perhaps, have helped to give this impression, and the tile and brick found in residual contexts in 1989 might have been used in the structure in such a way as to reinforce this display. These are, of course, all only tentative suggestions, but the structure may well have been intended to convey *romanitas* in a little romanised area and, west of the 'villa-belt' in South Wales, an 'aisled building' may be considered potentially the local equivalent of a villa.

It would, therefore, seem that the arguably middle- to upper-rank homestead of Phase 5a was replaced after an intervening period by an upper-rank complex in Phase 5b. Such sequences are, at least, rare in Roman Wales and the apparent elaboration of the Phase 5b building compared to those from Coygan and Castell Henllys, for example, supports the interpretation, made for Phase 5a, of surplus being expended on impressive structures rather than on expensive artefacts. It is, perhaps, easier to impress the surrounding population by the outward appearance of one's home, than by the private consumption of luxury items.

Following Phase 5b the site was again disused. There was more erosion, washing soil from the bank to cover the Phase 5b deposits prior to the clearance activities of Phase 6, but these belong to the post-Roman history of Brawdy.

Conclusion

The contrasting phases of occupation of Brawdy hill-fort demonstrate the danger of assuming a unitary function for the site throughout its use. In the Prehistoric and Roman periods it was only a hill-fort in the conventional sense relatively briefly, compared to a long period of activity after the disuse of its defences.

The interest of the Prehistoric and Romano-British activity discovered at the site extends far beyond the confines of Dyfed, but this again is different for different phases. The pre-hill-fort settlement of Phase 1 may add to our understanding both of early Bronze-Age settlement in the west of Britain, and of hill-fort origins. The Phase 2-3 occupation gives us an unusually clear picture of the construction, use, and disuse of an early Iron-Age hill-fort. The elaborate two-phase gate and the large roundhouse are interesting in themselves. Phase 4 contributes an unusually early instance of ironworking and a period of activity without major structures, of broad relevance to hill-fort studies, where the assumption has been that major periods of activity included structures or modifications to the enclosure. Phases 5a and 5b present us with both an unusual sequence and a unique and intrinsically interesting building of relevance to current archaeological debates about the nature of romanisation and of Romano-British rural settlement.

Yet more questions remain to be answered at Brawdy, for example, when did the hill-fort become multivallate, and was there an extramural settlement? The 1991 excavation, outside the inner bank, aims to provide answers for these questions and set this valuable sequence in context.

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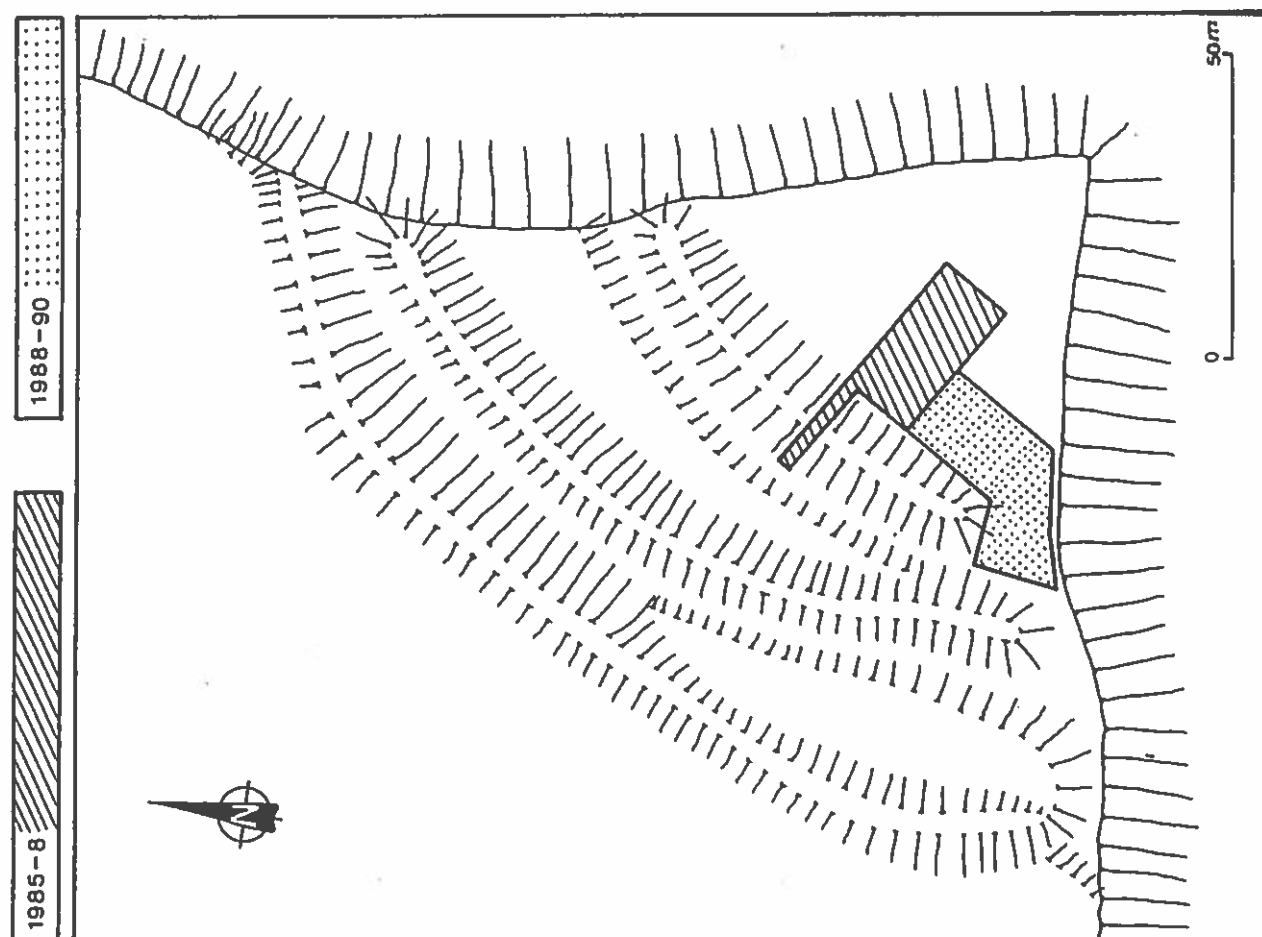
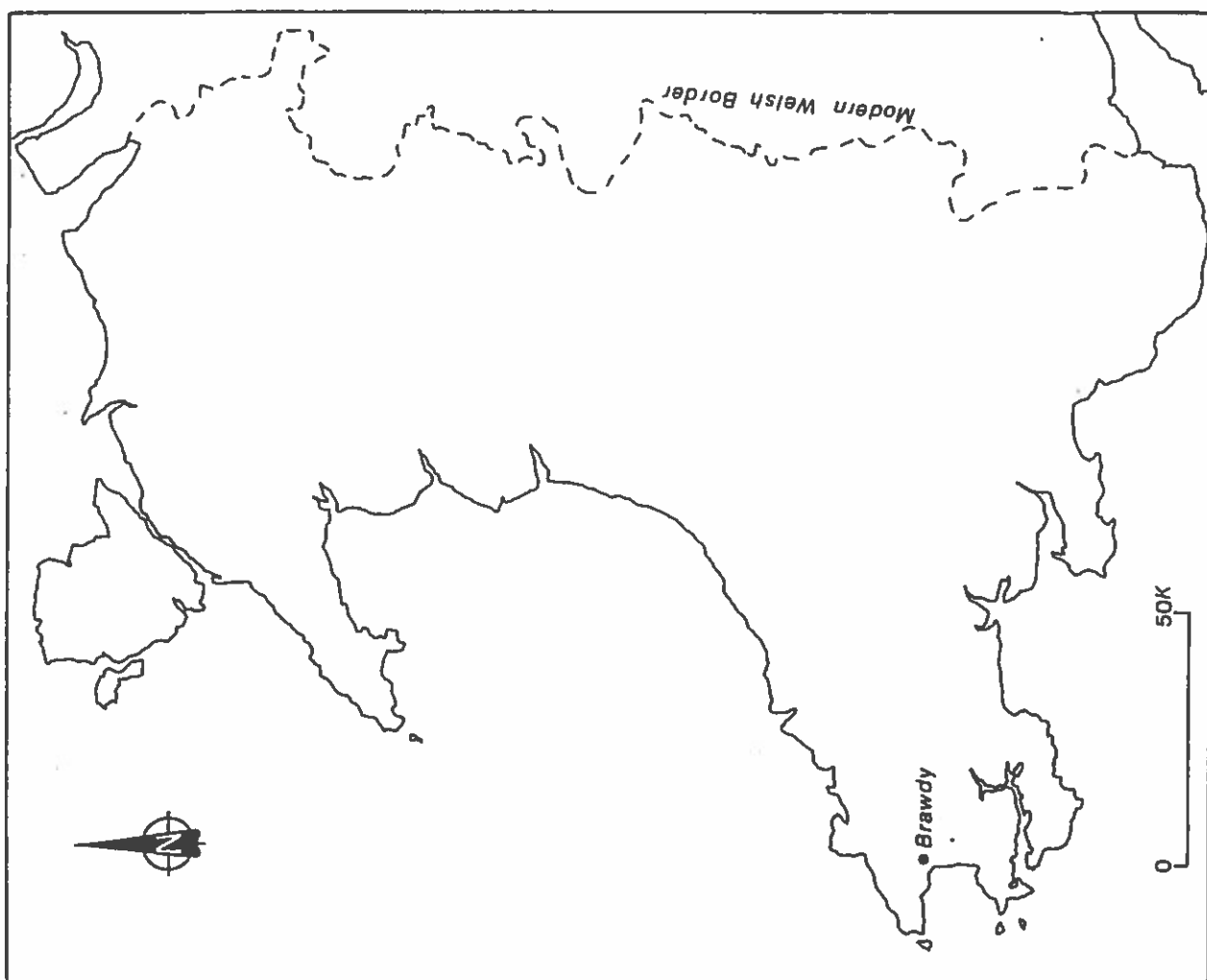
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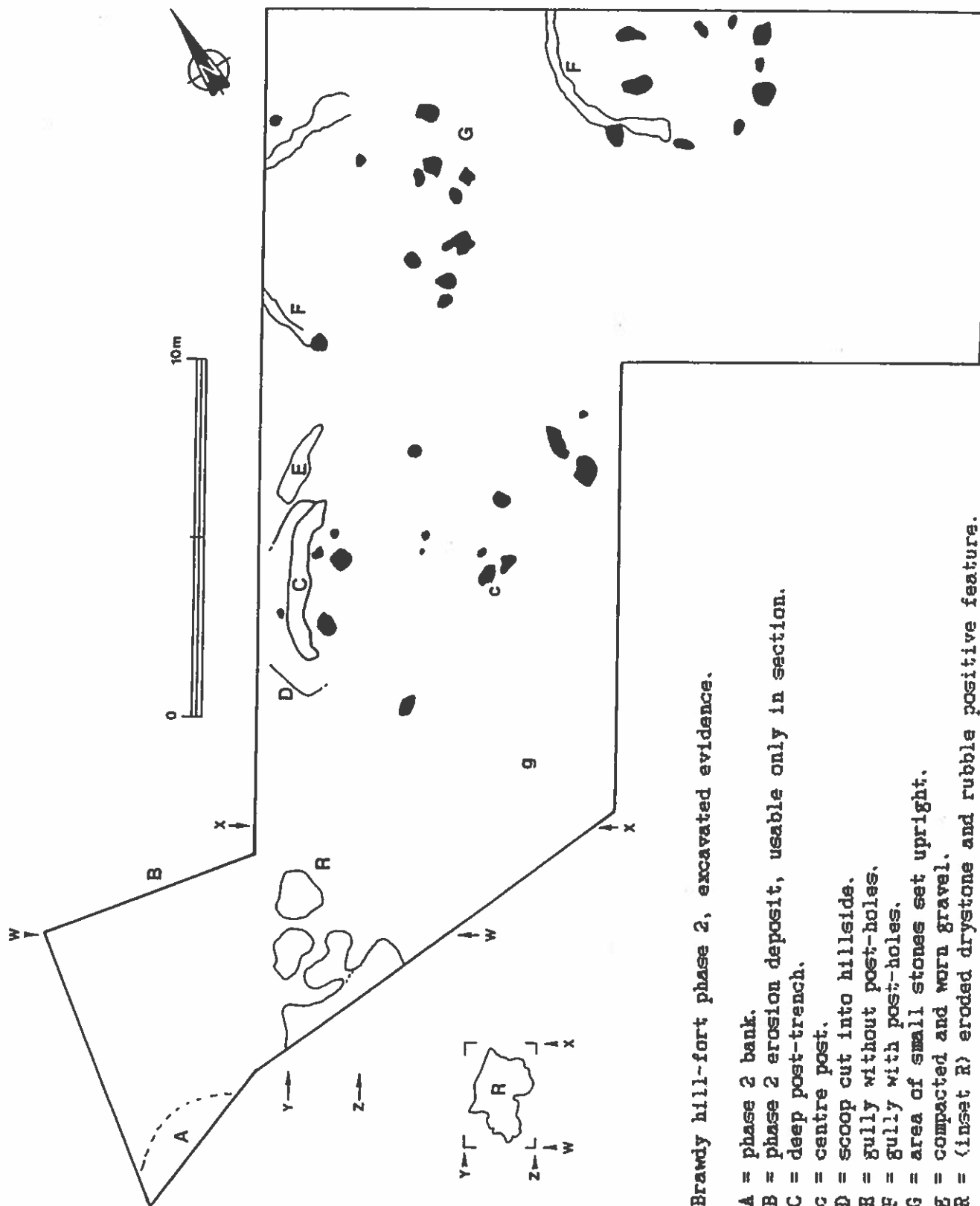
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4. Botanical, zoological, and lithic assessments completed by 1990. Flint: T. Reynolds and others (University of Cambridge). Botanical and zoological data: S. P. Day (University of Cambridge).
5. Analysis by P. Courtney completed 1990.
6. Gaming pieces of this date, similar in appearance, have been found at Hartlepool: R. Daniels, 'The Anglo-Saxon Monastery at Church Close, Hartlepool, Cleveland', *The Archaeological Journal* 145 (1988), 158-210 (p. 196, no. 4.). For inlays see: Paul T. Craddock, 'Metalworking Techniques', in *The Work of Angels*, edited by Susan M. Youngs (London, 1989), pp. 170-213 (pp. 173 and 208, no. 215).
7. George Williams, *Fighting and Farming in Iron Age West Wales*, (Carmarthen, 1985), p. 2; and 'Recent Work on Rural Settlement in Later Prehistoric and Early Historic Dyfed', *The Antiquaries Journal* 68 (1988), 30-54 (p. 33, and fig. 5. p. 36).
8. Williams, *Fighting and Farming*, p. 2.
9. Richard Bradley, *The social foundations of prehistoric Britain* (Harlow 1984), pp. 134-35, and fig. 6.3 p. 136).
10. A. H. A. Hogg et. al., 'Hill-fort Abstracts for Welsh Archaeological Periodicals', *The Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 33 (1986), 291-386. See also Williams, works cited in n. 7.
11. G. J. Wainwright, *Coygan Camp* (Cardiff, 1967), fig. 3 facing p. 8, and pp. 29-35; Williams, 'Recent Work', pp. 38-39, figs. 7-8, but note that there was a substantial gateway at Walesland Bath, p. 47. Castell Henllys: site visit by K. R. Dark 1990, and R. Turner, personal communication, 1990.
12. These stones were not post-packing, but simply set in the ground in an upright position.
13. J. V. S. Megaw and D. D. A. Simpson, (eds.), *Introduction to British Prehistory* (Leicester, 1981), fig. 717 p. 362, and p. 367.
14. Peter Reynolds, 'Substructure to superstructure', in *Structural Reconstruction. Approaches to the interpretation of the excavated remains of buildings*, edited by P. J. Drury (Oxford, 1982), pp. 173-98.
15. Harold Mytum, *Excavations at the Iron Age Fort of Castell Henllys in North Pembrokeshire. An Interim Report 1980-86* (York, 1987), p. 5.
16. Graeme Guilbert, 'Hill-fort functions and populations: a sceptical viewpoint', in *Hill-fort Studies*, edited by Graeme Guilbert (Leicester, 1981), pp. 104-21.
17. Graeme Guilbert, 'The Northern Welsh Marches: Some Recent Developments', in *The Iron Age in Britain — a review*, edited by John Collis (Sheffield, 1977), pp. 41-50 (42-3).

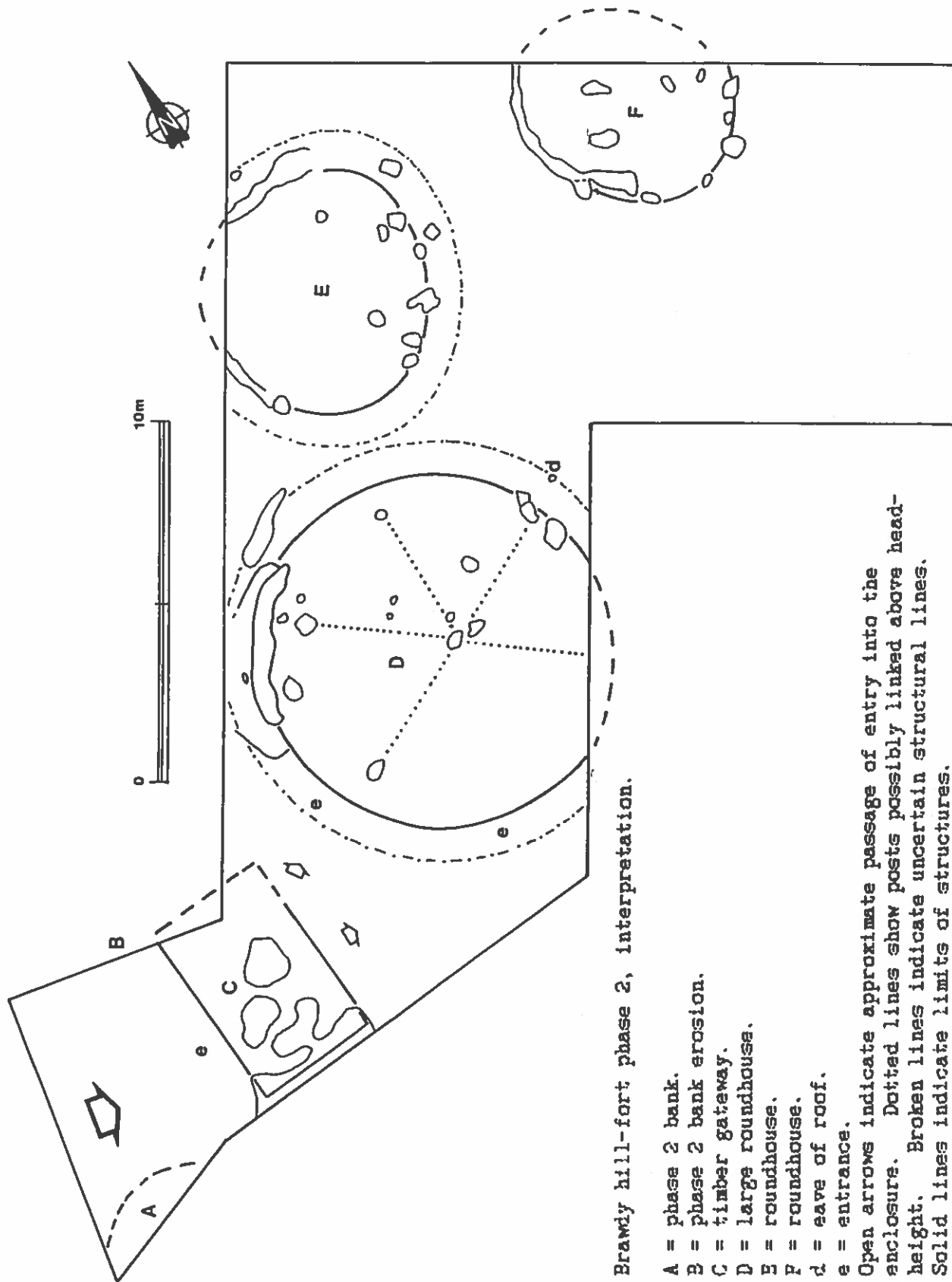
18. Wainwright, *Coygan Camp*, pp. 48-50 and 52; Williams, *Fighting and Farming*, pp. 10-11; Williams, 'Recent Work', p. 40.
19. Wainwright, *Coygan Camp*, pp. 48-50; Harold Mytum, *Castell Henllys: A Visitors Guide* (York, 1988), p. 15; Harold Mytum, personal communication, 1987; and site visits by K. R. Dark, 1983-90.
20. Richard Hingley, *Rural Settlement in Roman Britain* (London, 1989), p. 11; Richard Reece, *My Roman Britain* (Cirencester, 1988), p. 74.
21. George Williams, 'Recent Work On Rural Settlement in South-West Wales', in *Conquest, Co-Existence And Change*, edited by Barry C. Burnham and Jeffrey L. Davies (Lampeter, 1990), pp. 112-22; H. James and G. Williams, 'Rural Settlement in Roman Dyfed', in *The Romano-British Countryside. Studies in Rural Settlement and Economy*, edited by D. Miles, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 289-312.
22. See Burnham and Davies, *Conquest*; J. L. Davies, *Aspects of Native Settlement in Roman Wales and the Marches*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wales, 1980.
23. John Hadman, 'Aisled buildings in Roman Britain', in *Studies in the Romano-British Villa*, edited by Malcolm Todd (Leicester, 1978), pp. 187-95 (190-93); Hingley, *Rural Settlement*, pp. 39-41.





Brawdy hill-fort phase 2, excavated evidence.

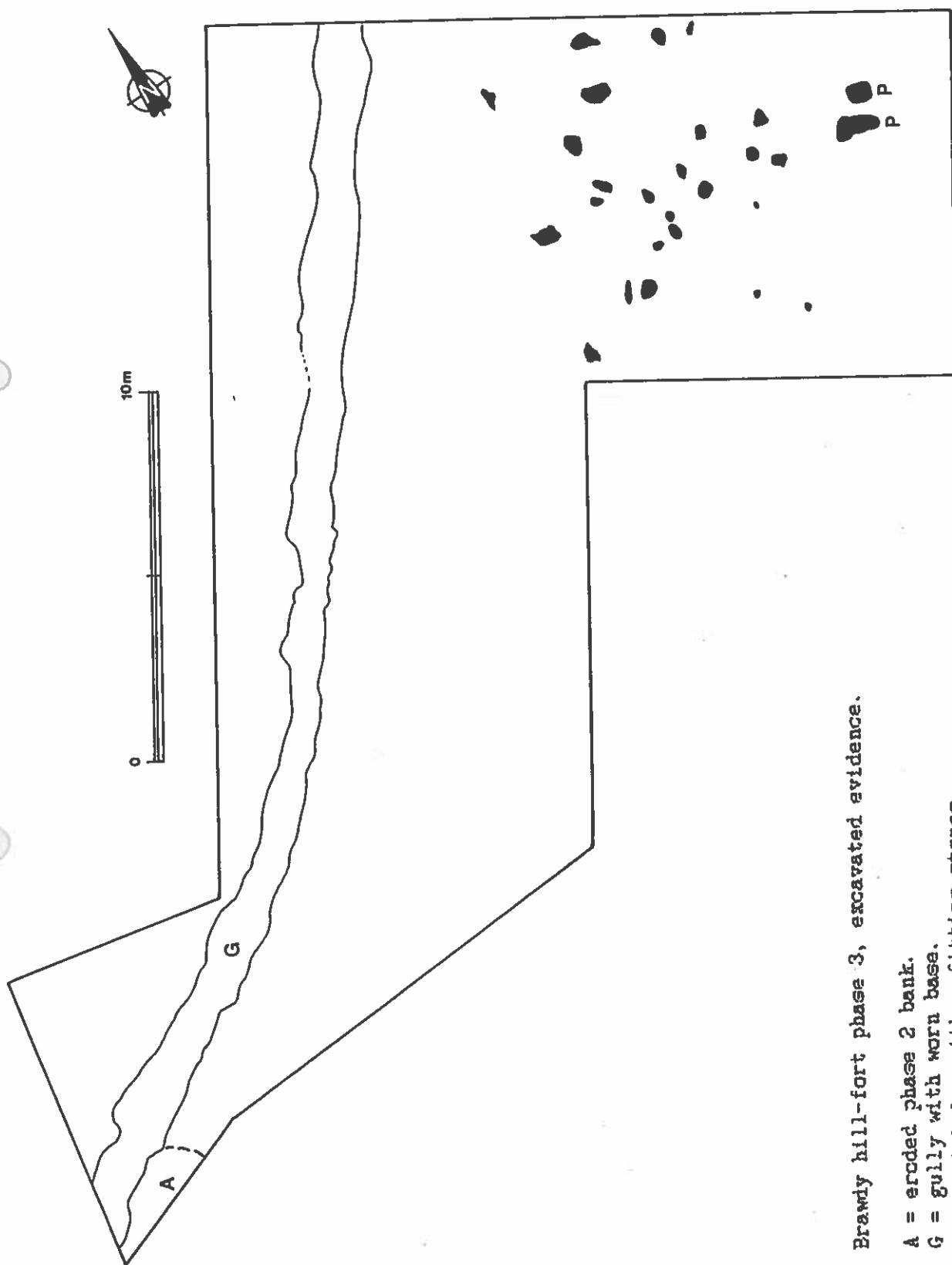
- A = phase 2 bank.
- B = phase 2 erosion deposit, usable only in section.
- C = deep post-trench.
- c = centre post.
- D = scoop cut into hillside.
- E = gully without post-holes.
- F = gully with post-holes.
- G = area of small stones set upright.
- g = compacted and worn gravel.
- R = (inset R) eroded drystone and rubble positive feature.



Brawdy hill-fort phase 2, interpretation.

- A = phase 2 bank.
- B = phase 2 bank erosion.
- C = timber gateway.
- D = large roundhouse.
- E = roundhouse.
- F = roundhouse.
- d = eave of roof.
- e = entrance.

Open arrows indicate approximate passage of entry into the enclosure. Dotted lines show possibly linked posts above head-height. Broken lines indicate uncertain structural limits. Solid lines indicate limits of structures.

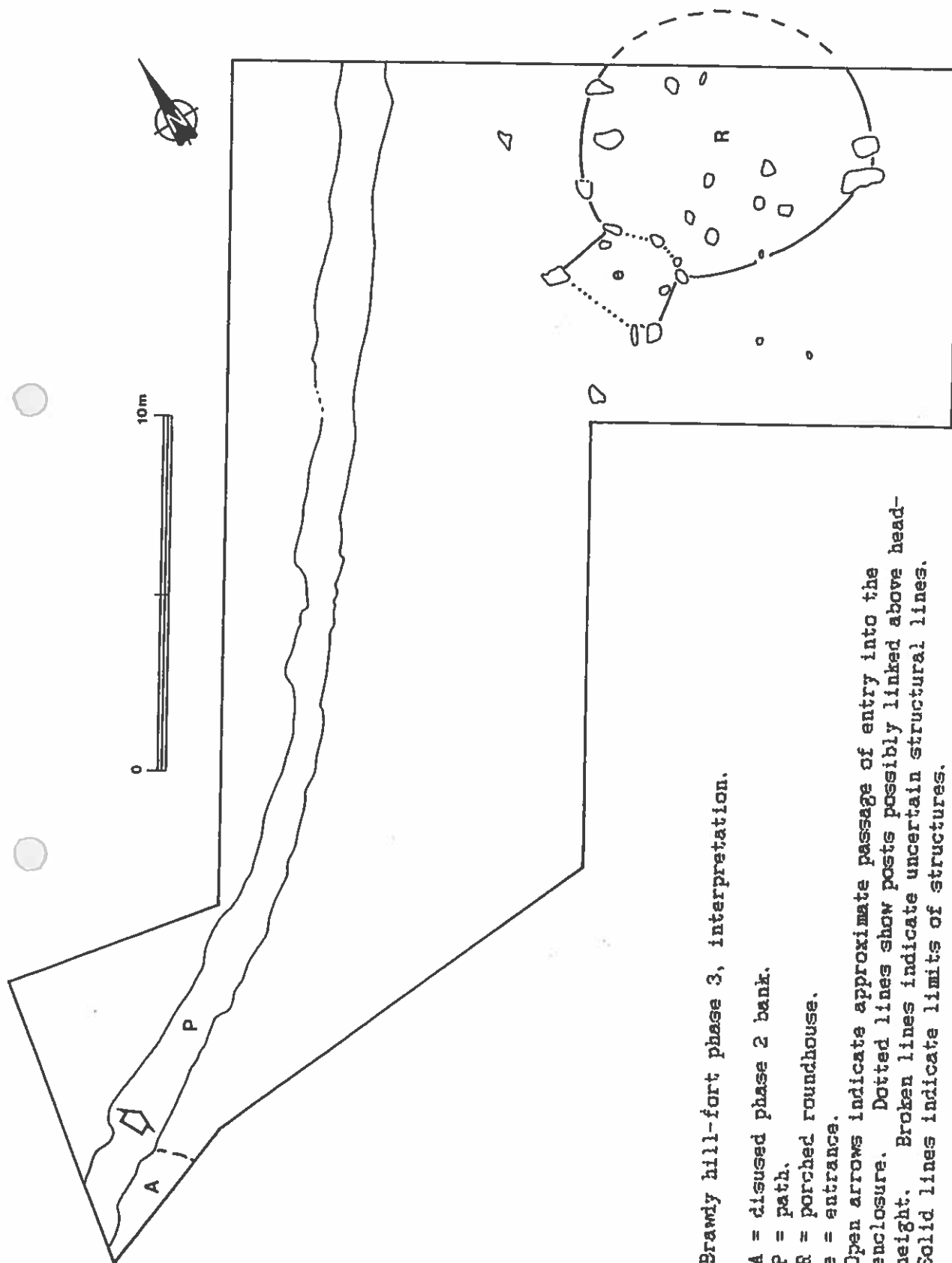


Brawdy hill-fort phase 3, excavated evidence.

A = eroded phase 2 bank.

G = gully with worn base.

P = post-holes with refitting stones.



Brawdy hill-fort phase 3, interpretation.

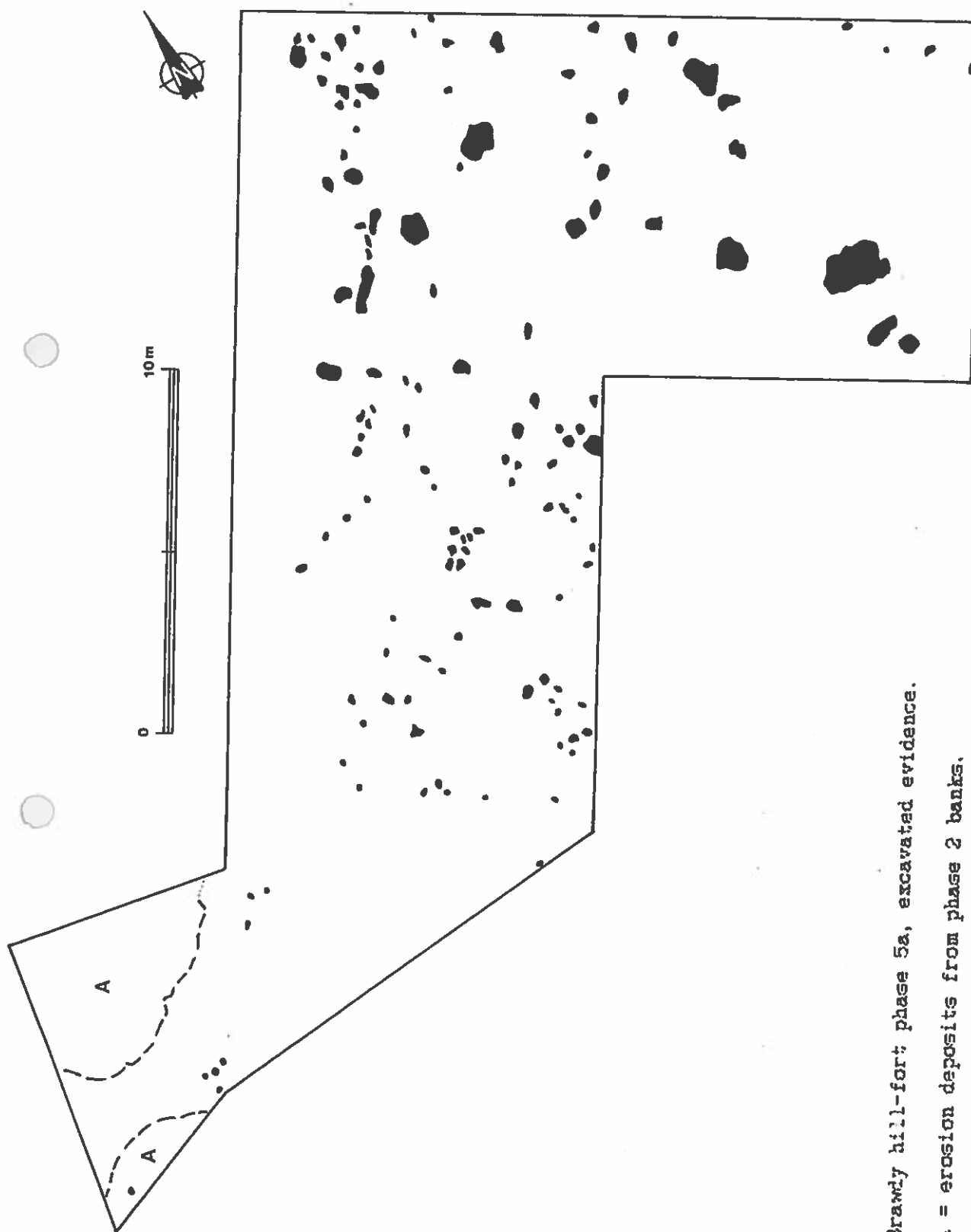
A = disused phase 2 bank.

P = path.

R = porched roundhouse.

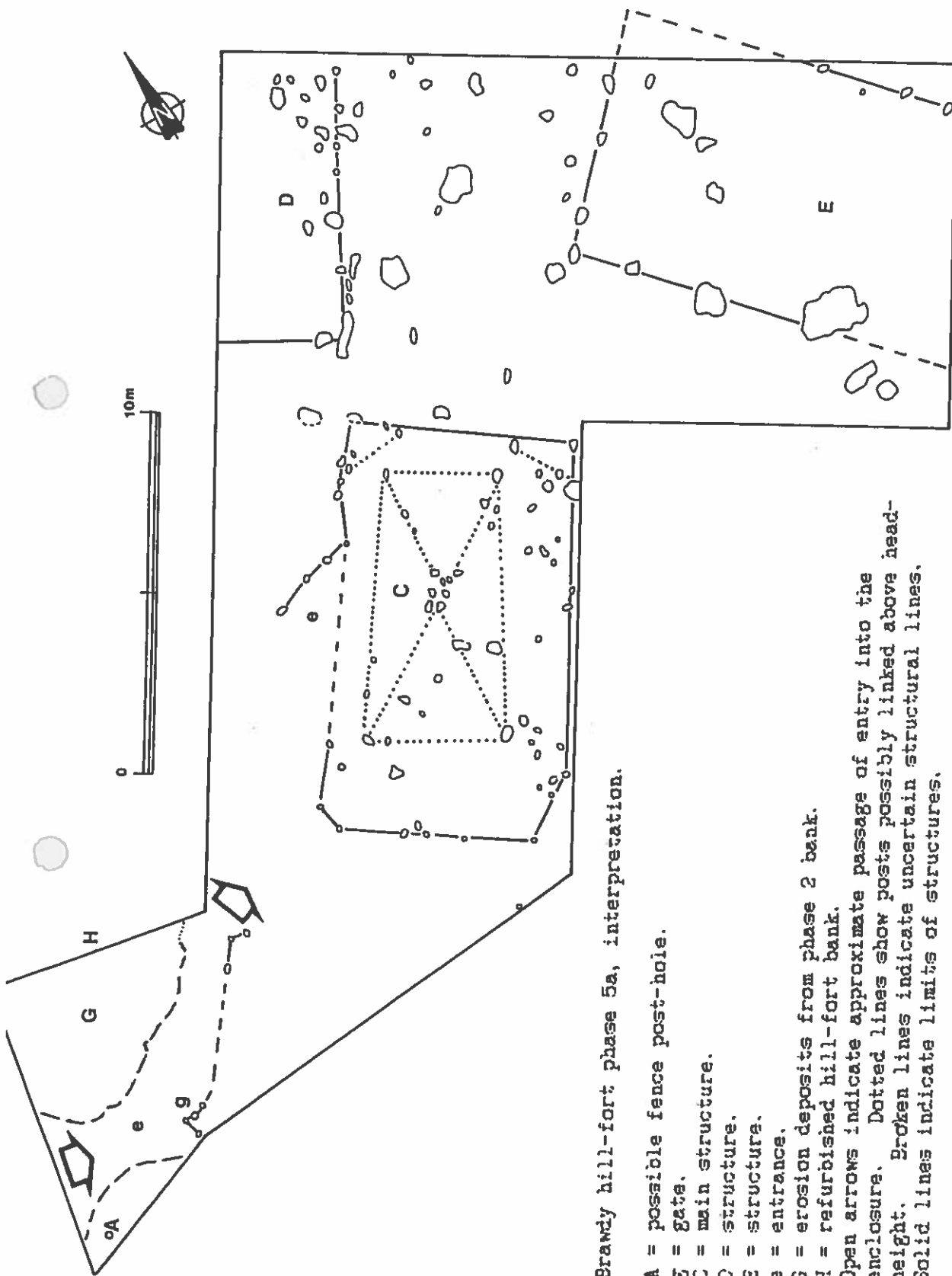
e = entrance.

Open arrows indicate approximate passage of entry into the enclosure. Dotted lines show posts possibly linked above head-height. Broken lines indicate uncertain structural limits. Solid lines indicate limits of structures.



Brawdy hill-fort: phase 5a, excavated evidence.

A = erosion deposits from phase 2 banks.



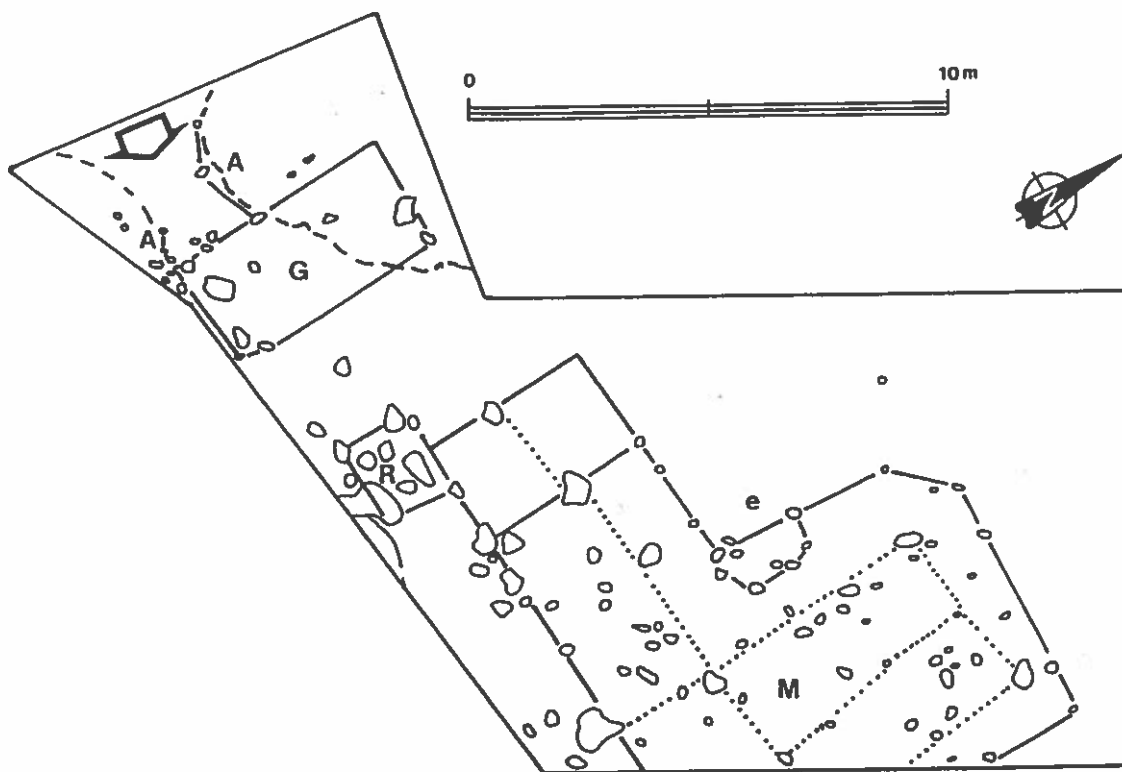
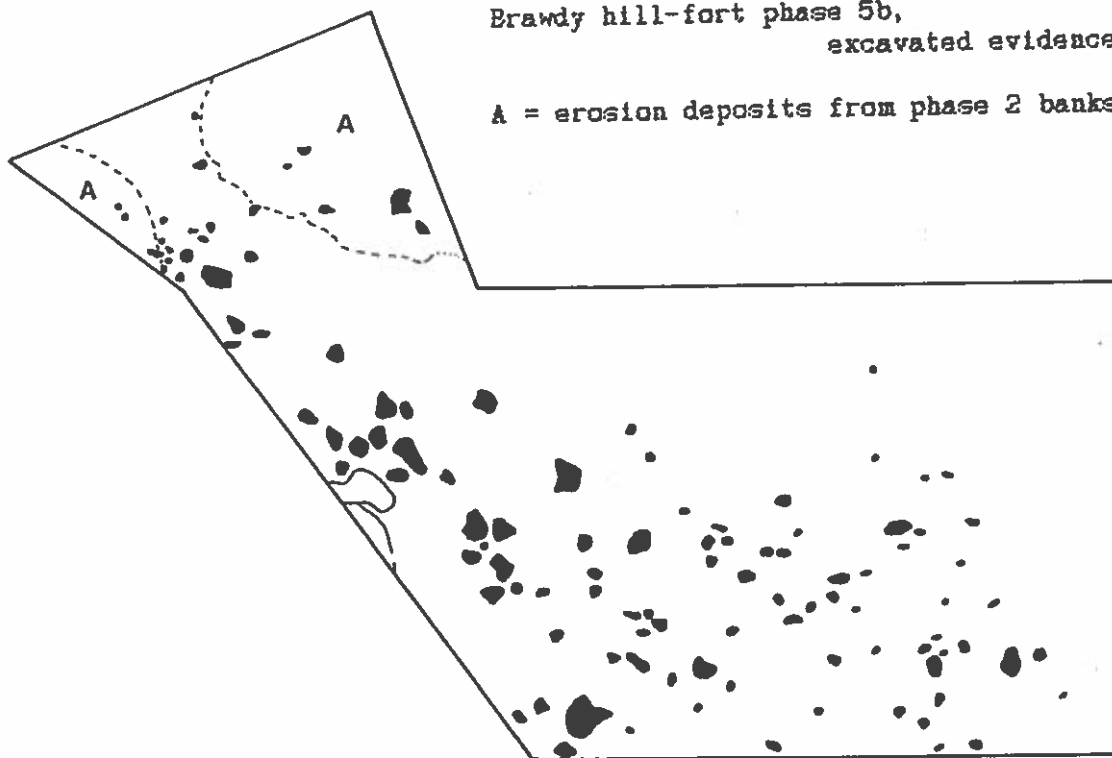
Brandy hill-fort phase 5a, interpretation.

- A = possible fence post-hole.
- e = gate.
- C = main structure.
- D = structure.
- E = structure.
- e = entrance.
- G = erosion deposits from phase 2 bank.
- H = refurbished hill-fort bank.

Open arrows indicate approximate passage of entry into the enclosure. Dotted lines show posts possibly linked above head-height. Broken lines indicate uncertain structural limits. Solid lines indicate limits of structures.

Brawdy hill-fort phase 5b,
excavated evidence.

A = erosion deposits from phase 2 banks.



Brawdy hill-fort phase 5b, interpretation.

A = revetments for bank erosion.

G = gateway structure.

R = raised structure.

X = main building.

e = possible entrance.

Open arrows indicate approximate passage of entry into the enclosure. Dotted lines show posts possibly linked above head-height. Broken lines indicate uncertain structural lines. Solid lines indicate limits of structures.