THE EXCAVATION OF THE IRON AGE CAMP ON
BREDON HILL, GLOUCESTERSHIRE, 1935–1937

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Before dealing with the actual excavations at Bredon Hill, it is necessary to acknowledge the very great assistance which was received both in the course of the fieldwork, and in the subsequent preparation of the material for publication. Without this help it would have been quite impossible to carry out the work, and adequate appreciation is therefore difficult to express.

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I. General Account

The site (25 in. O.S. Worcs. 46, 12; 6 in. O.S. Worcs.; xlviii SE. Drift 1 in., No. 217)

The towering heights of Bredon Hill in the Parish of Overbury in Gloucestershire are a familiar landmark to all travellers up the Warwickshire Avon (Pl. i A) and along the Western Cotswold edge. The massive isolated hill lies upon the Worcestershire-Gloucestershire border midway between Tewkesbury and Evesham, and rises abruptly from the surrounding plain to a height of some 1,000 ft. (Pl. i B). The hill, which geologically speaking is an outlier of the main Cotswold range, is composed of an outcrop of ‘inferior oolite,’ or limestone, with a capping of gravel and sand, and in prehistoric times must have carried a light scrub, while the encircling valleylands below, through which pass the R. Avon and numerous small tributary streams, are of clay or lias, and must originally have been thickly wooded and liable to constant floods.

These valley lands are bounded roughly five miles to the East by the Western edge of the main Cotswold range (Pl. ii A). This not only forms a barrier between
A. VIEW OF BREDON HILL FROM THE RIVER AVON

B. VIEW OF BREDON HILL FROM THE NE.
PLATE II.

A. WESTERN EDGE OF THE COTSWOLDS FROM BREDON HILL.

B. THE MALVERNS FROM BREDON HILL.
the valley and SE. England, but in the past served as part of the ‘jurassic zone’ passageway for traffic moving into and from the NE. midlands along its open limestone ridges at a time when the upper Avon valley was almost impassable with dense forests. Ten miles to the West, the plain is edged by the Malvern Hills (Pl. ii b), beyond which lie the high hills of Herefordshire. To the SW. it lies open to the sea down the Severn valley and estuary.

Bredon Hill was thus in ancient times in an enviable position. In itself it was isolated, yet from it there were on three sides extensive views. Strategically it commanded the passage by land or water through the lower Severn and Warwickshire Avon Valleys, and it must also have been in touch both with traffic passing along the Jurassic zone north-eastwards (Pl. iv), and with that moving north-westwards up the Severn valley into the Herefordshire hills. Furthermore, from its position it served as a connecting link between the areas East of the Cotswolds and the more inaccessible highland zones lying to the West. Bredon Hill was thus particularly suited to prehistoric occupation, and on the NW. edge of the hill, jutting over the valley below, there exists the remains of a promontory camp sometimes known as Kemmerton Camp, but more generally called after the hill (Pl. iii).

The intermediate position of the hill between the highland and lowland zones stressed above, is particularly well demonstrated by the view from the interior of the camp. From here it is possible on an average day to see the Iron Age forts along the Eastern edge of the Malverns, and a great many of the camps which form part of the intense concentration that lie along the Western edge of the Cotswolds. On a fine day the range can sometimes be extended as far as the Herefordshire camps and the Wrekin in Shropshire.

But in spite of the tremendous number of Iron Age sites in the neighbourhood, little is known of the Iron Age generally in this area. Indeed with one or two exceptions any general Iron Age survey of SW. Britain finds itself up against an unproductive blank where knowledge of the northerly region between the
Malverns and the Eastern Cotswolds is concerned. Thus it is not known how far the Western Cotswold settlements had any cultural continuity or unity within themselves, or how far they are related to the other Iron Age cultures of SW. Britain. Local Iron Age material, specifically recorded, is rare, and chance finds almost useless. It was in the hope of establishing some type-sequence, and if possible relating this both to the little knowledge that has been obtained recently, and to the general Iron Age investigations of SW. England, that work was begun at Bredon Hill.

The actual camp lies on the promontory head at the NW. corner of the hill and occupies a roughly square area of 22 acres. It is defined upon the N. and W. by the sides of the hill, which here fall very steeply to the valley below (Pl. i b), and being mainly composed of loose scree and scrub offer adequate protection without additional defences. To the E. and S. the hill slopes more gently to the valley, and here the camp is protected by a double line of ditch and rampart running from edge to edge of the promontory head (Pls. iii and v). The site is very much exposed and suffers from considerable extremes of temperature. The ground, however, is fairly porous and dries quickly after rain.

In regard to the water problem, the camp, in times of emergency, would probably be dependent upon a stored water supply; and in this connection the excavations revealed careful preparations to conserve the rainfall (p. 9). There was, however, a constant source of water, which could be brought up in skins, from springs lying further down the hillside on the NW. side of the camp. There is also a well in the NW. valley, now known as St. Catherine’s well, where a good supply is always available. The medieval name which was given in connection with St. Catherine’s chapel

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1 Work has not been very extensive on the neighbouring camps. The most important has been at Leckhampton (Trans. Bristol and Glos. 1925, pp. 91 ff.), Salmonsbury (in course of publication. For interim reports see Antiquity 1931, p. 489 and Proc. Cong. Prehist. Studies, London 1932, p. 273), and Shenbarrow (unpublished). Bury Hill, Glos.; B.U.S.S. I, iii (1926), pp. 8–24. Trial excavations which have not yet been published, have also been carried out on the Midsummer Camp, Herefordshire, see Antiquity v (1931), pp.83, 96.
nearby has, of course, no bearing upon the possible antiquity of this particular source of supply.

Incidentally it is perhaps of some interest to note in passing the aptness of the trackway which runs across the promontory head of Bredon Hill, in relation to the camp: particularly in view of the propinquity of this trackway both to the water supply mentioned above, and also to the line of two side entrances whose position had been completely forgotten and which were only rediscovered during the course of excavation. This track, which is now represented by a fairly well-marked bridleway and footpath, climbs up the southerly slope of the hill by fairly easy stages from the village of Kemmerton which lies below in the valley on the SW. side. This path reaches the edge of the hill at a point now called Well Gate, about a quarter of a mile from the camp. From here a branch swings steeply over the brow of the hill, down into the valley on the NW. side, skirting St. Catherine’s well en route. The main line of the path turns, however, eastwards at the Well Gate and continues along the edge of the hill to pass into the camp between the cliff edge and the end of the outer rampart. It may further be stated in anticipation of the more detailed account elsewhere (p. 58) that this point of entry into the camp would have brought the traveller, in the period when the town was in use, straight into the funnel entrance which lay along the NW. edge of the outer rampart. The track then crosses the interior of the camp and re-emerges on the NE. side between the cliff and rampart-ends, on a line which would have been equally apt for the NE. side entrance. It continues in an easterly direction along the edge of the hill and down over the Eastern end where it is joined by a footpath, running from N. to S. and climbing up from the NE. valley over the brow of the hill and down again into the valley on the SE. side. The S. continuation of this latter track is of secondary importance, but the main line up from the NE. side of the hill would appear to have been fused with the previous cross-camp route. Too much reliance cannot, of course, be placed upon the antiquity of the line
of such footpaths, but part of these tracks, namely the stretch running up from the NE. valley and turning along the edge of the hill through the camp and down into the S. valley by Kemmerton, has been identified as a portion of the ridgeway connecting Evesham and Tewkesbury. Furthermore the NE. length of this track, from the edge of the hill to the valley below, is referred to in the Henley Charter of A.D. 1042 (p. 764) as a Hrycgweg or 'through' road, though not in the made or metalled sense. It may therefore be suggested that this route, which from the steepness of the ascent would only be in use while the more direct valley ways were impassable, represents a pre-Roman ridgeway, and as such, the position of Bredon Hill straddling across it, takes on an added significance, particularly in view of the coincidence of the side entrances with the line of the route.

THE CAMP

The commanding position of the hill and the impressive size of the earthworks have always made it a place of note. The earliest record of the camp occurs in A.D. 779 in the Habene Homme (Kemmerton) Charter (Codex Diplomaticus 148), where it is apparently referred to as Baenintes Burh: 'ascending to the summit of the aforesaid hill Broedun, on top of which is a city with the ancient name of Baenintesburg,' and the hill top is again mentioned in the Pershore Survey of A.D. 972 (K.570), where it is described as an "urbs." There appear to be no other references, although the hill-top is reputed to have served as one of the chain beacon sites, until the eighteenth century. The Banbury stone, a huge mass of limestone clinging to the NW. slope of the hill within the limits of the camp, has associated with it a certain amount of folklore, and has itself been the

2 Codex Diplomaticus. For a detailed account of this survey in relation to the local topography, see G. B. Grundy, Saxon Charters of Worcestershire, reprinted from the Transactions Birmingham Arch. Society, Vol. lii, 1927, pp. 80-85, also liii (1928).
BREDON HILL CAMP
subject of investigation. Records of chance finds within the camp are not illuminating. An eighteenth-century record concerns a hoard of so-called 'currency bars' now untraceable. Here it may not be inappropriate to recall that the excavations turned up a very great quantity of unidentifiable pieces of iron rods, and the record might well apply to others such as these. In 1804 a landslide took place along the NE. edge of the hill and carried away several acres. This fall revealed a considerable number of dark patches in the exposed section, most of them containing wheat grains, and it seems likely that there was thus exposed a considerable number of storage pits. In 1904 Mr. Henry Balfour and Professor Bertram Windle cut a section through the SW. rampart and worked part of the upper stages of the ditch. The evidence they obtained was not, however, sufficiently detailed or in large enough quantity to be of very much use.

Period I

Surface examination of the site showed that the two ramparts had very different profiles, suggesting that they had been built upon different structural principles and represented two separate phases of defence. Excavation proved this surmise to be correct, and it can now be shown that during the first phase of Bredon Hill the earthworks consisted only of a single rampart and ditch; the bank which is now the inner rampart.

1 Bristol and Glos. 1882–3 (vii), 38, Man. 1910, 96.
2 In Remains of a Prehistoric Age, p. 213, by Bertram Windle, there is a sketch plan of Bredon Camp together with the statement that Roman coins had been found within the area. No further record of this find can be traced, nor are the coins to be found to-day. Coins are referred to in Rudder's History of Gloucestershire, 1779 and in Birmingham and Midlands Trans. liv. 289–291, where they are described as coming from 'the area adjacent to Bredon Hill.' There is no evidence that any of these coins were found in or around the actual camp.

3 "It was ploughed two or three years ago and several iron weapons found of so rude and bad workmanship as bespeak them rather Danish or Saxon than Roman. T. Nash, History of Worcestershire, 1782, ii, 234.

4 Information from Mr. Holland-Martin.

5 Man. July, 1905, 74. See also Remains of a Prehistoric Age, quoted above. The account of this work is not very full and no plans or sections are available. The figured sherds appear, however, to resemble some of those found in the Hut Site in 1935.
This Inner or original rampart in its present form consists of two arms, running roughly at right angles to each other from edge to edge of the hillside and enclosing a promontory head of some 12 acres. The only entrance lies at their junction at the SE. angle (pp. 38-42). The bank is exceedingly well preserved throughout and still stands at a height of 8–11 ft. with a sharp, clean profile (Pl. vi A). It was built in a 'glacis' technique,¹ that is an earthen technique whereby loose mounds of earth and stone are mixed haphazardly and piled upon each other to reach the maximum angle of tilt which will stand without revetting (Pls. xii, xiv B, xv and xvi). The front of the bank faces immediately upon the sloping edge of the ditch without any intermediate berm, and, as might be expected in this particular constructional form, there was no revetment in front either of wood or of walling, and no signs of internal turf revetting. It is possible that the line of the rampart may have been first marked by a row of stakes, for traces of these markers were found in the front of two of the cuttings.

The ditch has an average depth of 8 ft. below the present ground level, with an overall measurement of 30 ft. It was rock cut and the material from it used in the construction of the bank. In one instance the rock-cut sides of the ditch, which would have formed an easy staircase, had been plastered with clay. Along the furthest line of the NE. arm of the Inner rampart, a constructional slip appears to have taken place which completely filled in the newly made ditch with material from the bank (Pl. xii, 1). No attempt was made to clear this collapse, instead the rampart was patched and a new line of ditch cut beyond the damaged one. No stratified material came from any ditch section.

Dating evidence for the construction of this line of defence came from pottery which was found sealed in the turf-line underlying the bank, and also in the actual make-up of the bank. These sherds were of a well-fired clay, dark coloured and burnished.

VIEW TO THE NE. FROM BREDON HILL.
Many of them were impressed with a stamped pattern around the lip: a few bead rims were also present (Fig. 14). A more detailed account of the implications of these pottery types, discovered in association with the foundation of the Inner rampart, will be found in the subsequent pottery section (p. 95). Here it will suffice to state that some of the decorative motives appear to link the material with a cultural complex traced at present only in the Cornish Peninsula, where it was intrusive from the Continent in and around 150 B.C., although the exact date of this style of pottery in Cornwall itself has not yet been finally determined. On the Bredon and other local evidence, it seems probable that members of this Cornish settlement moved into the Western Cotswold area around 100–50 B.C., where they were responsible, probably among many other works, for the foundation of Bredon Hill Camp. The purely earthen technique of the Inner rampart serves as confirmatory evidence for this movement, for this method of bank construction is completely alien in, and unsuited to, the stone working areas of the Cotswolds. Thus it must have been deliberately introduced from outside, not as a normal development in technique, but by some actual migratory movement whereby workmen used to working in earth were set to apply the same technique to totally unsuitable material. On the whole the experiment was successful, for the bank has stood extremely well.

Evidence concerning the method of life of the first inhabitants of Bredon Camp was obtained from stratified occupation sites lying immediately behind the tail of the rampart, and taking advantage of the shelter thus provided. These occupied areas consisted mainly of traces of huts and hearths. At one area (Site I, pp. 26–30, Pls. xvi A, xix A and xx B). The ground plan of a circular hut, about 12 ft. across, was uncovered, the limits being marked by six large post-holes. This hut, which had been walled with wattle and daub, contained a storage pit and a water-sump connected by a small drainage gulley with a water-catchment outside. Elsewhere (Sites A. and
H., pp. 30–33), other drainage-gulleys, associated with post-holes and large hearths, were found. The connection between these occupied areas and the Inner rampart builders was demonstrated by the pottery, for there was found in stratified association within the hut, and also in the other sites stamped pottery similar in character to the material found in and under the rampart (Fig. 15). The evidence thus shows that the builders of the Inner rampart were also the inhabitants of the huts immediately behind it, and though the bank was the first to be put up, the occupation of the area behind must have soon followed in the late first century B.C. Mixed with this distinctively stamped ware there was a heavy proportion of sherds of a simpler character (Fig. 15, Nos. 9, 13, 14). These recalled the more unspecialised local forms of Iron Age “A” ware, and may well represent the material used by the native Iron Age inhabitants of the Bredon area prior to the arrival of the pioneers from the Cornish peninsula. Indeed the presence of this material, intermingled with the stamped wares, suggests that even though the original foundation of Bredon Camp may have been undertaken by a group of people intrusive into the neighbourhood, the first inhabitants were composed of a mixture of the newcomers and the native Iron Age population.

The possibility that the choice of Bredon Hill as the site for a camp may have been affected by its propinquity to the great NE. trade route nearby, and its influence over the cross-country ridgeways, is reinforced by the evidence of the small finds from these first occupation areas. Among them were objects both of NE. Yorkshire type (p. 72), of distinctive SW. styles (p. 65), and of Continental types (p. 74). The intermediate position of Bredon Hill on the trade routes is thus clearly demonstrated.

Access to the occupied area of the original camp was gained by a gateway set at much the same place as the present Inner entrance (Pl. vi b). This was the only gateway through the original rampart, and lay at the SE. corner of the camp where the two projecting arms of the bank met approximately at
a right angle. The rampart itself was set upon the watershed of the ground at this point, and the gateway thus took full advantage of the sloping lie of the land, for in front of the entrance the ground falls away to the SE., while in the area immediately
behind the gate, it sank to a natural hollow. From the site of the gate it was therefore possible, before the construction of the outer rampart, to command the convergence of all traffic moving towards the entrance from the trackways along the edge of the hill. The gate also dominated the only easy ascent to the hill, namely the fairly steady slope southwards to the valley below. From surface examination this entrance, which is now of an inturned type and still serves as the only means of access into the interior of the camp, appeared fairly intact (Fig. 1). The outer approach and any possible outworks had been badly damaged by nineteenth-century stone and gravel quarrying carried out extensively in the intervallum immediately in front of the entrance. The line of the original approach had been still further obscured by an artificial causeway made by filling in the end of the S. ditch, in order to provide a means of entry into the camp after quarrying had removed the original approach.

The original gateway belonging to the first period of the camp was found to have been of the overlapping type (Pl. xvii). The end of the N. ditch and rampart overlapped that of the S. in such a manner as to create a small diagonal passageway 12 ft. wide, which passed between the ditch and overhanging rampart-ends into the interior of the camp. The actual gate, which was not discovered, probably stood back between the two ramparts.

Behind this entrance, but contemporary with its use, lying in the natural hollow in the shelter of the high ramparts, a hut and a bronze smelting floor, where green oak and alder had been burnt, were found. Only the base of the furnace, composed of heavily fired limestone, remained (Pl. xix A), but around this circular base there was a wide spread of ash and charcoal from which quantities of brittle bronze slag was obtained. The furnace itself appeared to have been sheltered on the SE. side by some form of wind-break. Later, but still during the first phase of occupation at Bredon Hill, this metal-working floor was abandoned, the furnace destroyed down to the base, the shelter
PLATE VI.

A. THE INNER RAMPART

B. THE INNER ENTRANCE BEFORE EXCAVATION
1. IRON SPEAR HEAD OF FLAMBOYANT TYPE (See p. 13.)
2-4. IRON SWORD SCABBARD (See p. 24.)
removed, and the whole floor covered with a rough cobbling of stones.

There were no small finds associated with this floor, but a certain amount of stamped ware, mixed with simpler forms, was recovered both from the cobbling level and from the ash below it (Fig. 16, nos. 1-8). This stamped pottery, which is identical in texture and decorative motifs to the material found in and under the Inner rampart, demonstrates the connection in date between the original rampart, the first entrance and the contemporary occupation behind them both. The foundation of the whole complex—bank, gate and occupation—can therefore be assigned to a period around 100-50 B.C.

The evidence of the small finds belonging to this initial period at Bredon Hill are generally speaking of little use for exact dating purposes. There is, however, one exception, a spearhead of flamboyant type (Pl. vii, 1; Fig. 7) found high in the filling of the original ditch-end of the overlapping entrance (p. 42). This particular form of spear has been certainly identified up to the present only upon the Continent, where it is rare. Examples have, however, been found at the Swiss site of La Tene in deposits which cannot be later than 100 B.C. The occurrence of such a rare form at Bredon Hill, associated with a late period in the history of the overlapping gateway, may serve perhaps as some confirmation of the date suggested above for the foundation of the camp.

The first phase of Bredon Hill can therefore be summarised as follows. The town was founded around the end of the second century B.C. by a people intrusive into the neighbourhood, which was very probably already occupied by local Iron Age ‘A’ inhabitants. The newcomers brought with them contacts from the SW. ‘B’ culture of Cornwall. They built a camp with a single rampart and ditch in an earthen technique, and provided it with an entrance of the overlapping type. Behind their defences they set up a considerable permanent occupation (where the native ‘A’ tradition mingled with the intrusive ‘B’), and acted as intermediaries in the trade movements passing across and
along the Severn valley. This, however, is not the complete story of Bredon Hill. The next phase can perhaps be best explained by continuing the history of the Inner entrance.

**Periods II–III**

Subsequent to the use of the first overlapping entrance drastic remodelling took place. The changes were designed in order that a stone-walled passage might be driven straight between the ramparts and ditches to form a long, narrow corridor-entrance into the camp (Pls. viii and xxi). The alterations involved filling in the ditch-ends and cutting back the original butt of the S. rampart. The actual passageway was 124 ft. in length and averaged 28 ft. in width, and the walling, which was drystone, served as a revetment to the ends of the rampart (Pl. ix A). Towards the interior of the camp the walls were rounded off into semicircular bastions with rubble banks behind the facing. Across the filled-in ditch-ends they appear to have stood free, but to have curved around the remodelled lips as a flank defence (Pl. ix B). Towards the interior, the corridor was closed a few feet in front of the bastion ends by a gate placed diagonally across the passage and supported upon double central posts; the side-posts rested against the walling and were sunk into deep pits. To create this diagonal effect the N. wall was considerably longer than the S. A light bridge or sentry-walk was thrown across the passageway from crest to crest of the rampart. This was carried upon side timbers sunk into slots in the wall-face and supported by two central piers, bedded into the corridor (Pls. xxii and xxv). The actual roadway through the passage was of large flat stones laid on the natural ground-level at the outer end of the corridor, but set upon a foundation of heavy stone blocks towards the gate, where attempts had been made to counteract the natural hollow of the ground.

Subsequently, there was a slight reconstruction of this plan, due possibly to heavy subsidence over the filled-in ditches. The final changes involved the erection of a straight gate, in place of the former
A. SOUTH WALL OF THE CORRIDOR OF THE INNER GATE, SHOWING THE FILLED-IN DITCH

B. OUTER BASTION OF THE S. WALL, SHOWING THE TURN AROUND THE EDGE OF THE DITCH
diagonal example, with the consequent lengthening of the S. wall to match that of the N. (Pl. x A), and the reconstruction of the side gateposts, which were now sunk in sockets in the wall face. In order to counteract the weakness in the road above the filled-in gate post-holes, an additional foundation level was laid over the first paved roadway, and a new paving laid on top of that. Stratified evidence of date for these phases of reconstruction comes from two small finds found on the paving level of the first diagonal gateway, and belonging therefore to the earlier phases of the corridor gate. These consisted of a spiral iron ring and a bronze finger ring with overlapping terminal ends and a punched decoration (Fig. 10, no. 12 and Fig. 4, no. 7). The iron ring is not in itself valuable for dating purposes, but the bronze ring with overlapping terminal ends is a type found at the Glastonbury Lake Village, where it is ascribed to the first century A.D. This particular type of bronze ring is common on other SW. Iron Age sites (p. 84), and in all cases the associated objects or stratified evidence has broadly coincided with this date. On this evidence it is possible to suggest a date somewhere around the early years of the first century A.D. for the main reconstruction of this gateway. This dating would fit, as will be subsequently shown, both with the general external state of affairs at this time, which may well have led to a reorganisation of defences, and also with the date at which the occupation of the town was finally abandoned under tremendous external pressure.

Now the particular form of corridor passageway found at the Inner entrance was also reproduced in the two side entrances of the Outer rampart, where fragmentary remains of stone-walled corridor passages backed with earthen banks were found. These are now represented upon the ground by two pairs of low parallel banks (Pl. x B), which run in a crescent-shaped curve across the intervallum on the NW. and NE. cliff-edges, and guard the route of the NE.-SW. ridgeway previously mentioned (p. 5). These banks, though clearly visible upon the ground, are not recorded in
the 25 in. or 6 in. survey maps, and seem to have passed from local knowledge. They are, however, recorded in all the old surveys of Bredon Hill up to the early nineteenth century, and may be presumed to have suffered severely during this century, both from falls along the cliff-edge and possibly from stone robbing in connection with the building of the modern boundary wall.

Even in their present mutilated state, however, they are clearly recognisable as the remains of exaggeratedly inturned entrances over 130 ft. in length (Pls. xxxiii and xxxvi), formed by the inward prolongation of the outer rampart, with the addition of a second parallel bank to form the passageway (Pl. iii). This passageway, as at the Inner gate, was revetted with dry-stone walling. Thus in their original form the banks must have extended over the now fallen cliff-edges in such a manner that the inner of each of the pair of banks impinged upon the end of the outer rampart, while the outer bank swung slightly outwards to rest upon the promontory edge. Traffic coming along the trackways (p. 58), up the hill-sides thus passed automatically into a funnel-like mouth and down the narrow, curving, walled passageways. The length of the corridor allowed of an adequate inspection of any intending visitor, while an enemy force, trapped within it, could be easily destroyed.

Stratified evidence for the date of these entrances was not abundant, but pottery was found in contexts which provided a limiting early and late date for the erection of the banks. This ware was largely local in character and different from any material found associated with the early phases of Bredon. There were among it, however, a few sherds of stamped character (Fig. 19). The construction and use of these structures is therefore tied down between phases in which this particular local form of pottery was in use on Bredon. The details of the sherds are discussed elsewhere (p. 105). Here it will be sufficient to point out, first the predominantly local character of this ware which is quite unlike any material as yet identified, and secondly the very scanty proportion of the stamped
A. PERIOD III OF THE INNER ENTRANCE, SHOWING THE MATCHING BASTION ENDS FOR THE STRAIGHT GATE

B. THE NE. SIDE-ENTRANCE
A. THE OUTER RAMPART
B. DETAIL OF THE DRYSTONE WALLING OF THE OUTER RAMPART
ON BREDON HILL, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

sherds. From this it is perhaps fair to assume that the intrusive pottery technique represented by the stamped pattern, had by this period been largely swamped by a predominantly local ware: the implication is obvious. The cross-banks at Bredon must have been built at a period during which the native tradition had almost overwhelmed the Cornish influence, and they cannot therefore have belonged to the early phases of the camp. In this sequence they correspond with the evidence obtained from the Inner entrance. The striking structural resemblances between the reconstructed Inner entrance and the side entrances, which suggested an identical period of reconstruction, is thus strongly reinforced by the pottery evidence, and the combination of these two aspects may be deemed of sufficient strength to enable a date early in the first century A.D. to be set also as the period during which the side entrances were built.

Now these side entrances could not have stood alone, they must have formed an integral and essential aspect of the outer rampart system. It stands to reason that had the corridor gates not been linked with the outer rampart, they would have been quite useless, as the traffic coming along the ridgeway could have easily avoided them by swinging inwards. Nor is there any evidence that the entrances are secondary additions to the outer rampart system, for in this case other earlier entrances must have existed, and of these there are absolutely no traces. The only other break through the outer bank which might possibly have been mistaken for an entrance proved on excavation to be a late, probably modern, work (see below). The possibility that the side entrances may have gone out of use before the end of the history of the camp was not confirmed by the excavations, and in any case this suggestion has no bearing upon the initial relationship of the side entrances and the outer bank and ditch, which being a single defensive unit, must therefore be considered as having been erected simultaneously.

The bank and ditch which form the outer rampart run parallel to the line of the inner in two similar arms which stretch from edge to edge of the hill and increase
the size of the enclosed promontory head to 22 acres. The line of this rampart is set back an average distance of 225 ft. (maximum 300 ft., minimum 150 ft.) from the Inner bank, and the intervallum does not exceed therefore the possible range for slinger defending the camp from the Inner bank.

The outer line of defence, together with the ditch, had an overall measurement of 114 ft. and still stands in many places to a height of 6–8 ft. (Pls. xii and xvi). On the whole it is well preserved, but at the SE. corner, opposite the Inner entrance, at the point which must originally have been the junction between the two arms, nineteenth-century stone and gravel quarrying has severely mutilated the rampart and ditch, as well as entirely destroying the ground surface of the intervallum from the outer to the inner rampart. Evidence for a possible gateway here was disproved by excavation; the ditch was found underlying the present causeway across it, and the latter was of exceedingly rough construction, with no evidence to imply that it was a secondary Iron Age work. The battered condition of the rampart at this point, together with the intensive filling of the ditch suggested rather that this causeway was a temporary nineteenth-century expedient roughly built to enable the quarried material to be carried out of the camp. Further damage had been done to the SW. arm of the outer rampart at its S. point, where a modern break has been made in order to gain access into the camp.

The profile of the bank shows a greater spread and rougher curve than that of the Inner, and excavation proved that this rampart, unlike the other, had been built upon the wall and berm principle, in a stone-using technique common to the Cotswold areas (Pl. xi, A and B).

The ditch has an average overall width of 27 ft. and a depth of 6 ft. No evidence of a counterscarp bank was found. Excavation showed it to be steeply rock-cut with a U-shaped section. Very little natural silt had accumulated at the base and the filling was almost entirely composed of huge stone boulders thrown, or fallen from the bank. This fact suggests
that it was not open for any appreciable period.

No evidence of permanent occupation was found associated with the outer rampart nor was there any such stratified material in the make-up. A pit dug in the back of the bank, and some scatter occupation around the tail of the rampart, yielded pottery (Fig. 20), but the unstratified position of the latter sherds made them useless for exact dating purposes. It was, however, noticeable both in this and the pit material, and in the pottery found on the higher levels of the Inner rampart, that the wares were less excellent in character than those from the early period of the Inner rampart, and, as at the side entrances, stamped sherds were rare. The pottery evidence, as far as it goes, therefore, confirms the chronology suggested above for the construction of the side entrances and outer rampart, and this is further emphasised by the discovery of a late form of Iron Age saw (Fig. 9, no. 1, pp. 78–79), of a type found also at the Glastonbury Lake Village, lying upon the back of the outer rampart and sealed below the subsequent earthen spread.

Thus, both from the evidence from the side entrances and from the material found in association with the outer rampart itself, a date in the first century A.D. can be reasonably suggested for the reorganisation of the defences of the camp, which involved both the building of the outer line of defence, and the formation of the inturned side entrances upon a corridor pattern which was also used and elaborated upon for the remodelling of the Inner entrance.

The conclusion thus established that the construction of the Outer rampart is subsequent to that of the Inner is of particular interest in view of the two building principles in use. It has been recently pointed out that the wall and berm technique, which has its origin in the Continental Hallstatt tradition, reached Wessex in advance of the ‘glacis’ or earthen tip technique, and that the latter work is therefore there somewhat later in date. It is not possible to say at present how far the principle of this Wessex sequence is applic-

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able to the rest of the country, but there can be no
doubt that at Bredon the order is reversed, and the
‘glacis’ bank preceded the wall and berm. This should
not, however, be taken merely as a rebuttal of the
Wessex sequence for the Cotswolds. The implications
are rather different. At Bredon the reversal of the
process may well represent a deliberate return to a
building tradition native to the neighbourhood, which
had been temporarily abandoned owing to the external
influences affecting the foundation of the camp
(pp. 92–93). The pottery evidence (p. 96) suggests
that with the maturing of the settlement, the intrusive
trading element responsible for the foundation of the
town, and the introduction of the ‘glacis’ type of
bank, had been almost entirely assimilated by the
native Iron Age population, and the previous outside
influences had greatly diminished. The camp had, in
fact, passed into the control of a local group, and it is
therefore hardly surprising to find that traditional
local stone working methods were used in preference
to the foreign constructional methods introduced by
a people who now represented a negligible minority
of the population. The addition of this outer line of
defence possibly suggests troubled local conditions
and a threat of danger; a suggestion which is perhaps
reinforced by the short life of the outer ditch system.

In this connection it may be appropriate to recall
a recent paper by Miss L. M. Chitty, in which the
arrival in Herefordshire and the N. Welsh districts of
a particular form of Iron Age culture, identified as
being connected with the use of the long inturned
entrance is discussed. Camps of this type which have
been recently excavated in these areas, seem to have
arisen initially under conditions of stress, and under
the influence of refugee groups which were on the
move at a period not earlier than the first century A.D.
Miss Chitty furthermore suggests the possibility that
the pressure of the Belgic peoples fighting their way
into SW. Britain was the immediate cause for these
new settlements. It is tempting to equate this

1 Arch. Camb., June 1937, ‘How did the Hill Fort Builders reach Breidden?’
by L. M. Chitty.
particular series of events with the refortification of Bredon. Bredon lay near the route by which the refugee groups must have passed into Herefordshire, and there can be no doubt that the reconditioning structural method was the same as that used by the newcomers into the more distant areas. At present, it is not possible to stress the matter more heavily than by citing the possibility; but as additional evidence there may be mentioned the well-known camp of Leckhampton in Gloucestershire excavated in 1925. Here very much the same sequence of events is traceable. An original Iron Age ‘A’ camp was suddenly refortified, the bank with drystone walling and a deepened rock-cut ditch; a most distinctive inturned entrance was also added, which is of a more elaborate type than that at Bredon and recalls Welsh examples. The associated material for these alterations is ‘B,’ and date just pre-Roman has been suggested. There for the moment the matter must be left, but it is possible that the sequence of events which were responsible for the founding of the Western Hill towns around 1 A.D. were also the cause of the great refortification of the Gloucestershire camps.

And where Bredon is concerned the date at which these migrations and changes were appearing, namely in and around the first century A.D., would well accord with the dating evidence obtained at the Inner and Outer entrances for the period of this rebuilding.

This suggestion that the camp was refortified as a protection against outside danger is of particular importance in view of the character of the finds made in connection with the final roadway at the Inner entrance. On the last paving level the remains of over fifty individuals were found, consisting mainly, as far as could be determined, of young adult males (Pls. xiii A, xxix B, xxx and xxxi A). From the position of the bodies it was clear that the men had

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2 For all the information concerning the skeletal remains, I am deeply indebted to Dr. A. J. Cave who furnished us with a very full report despite the exceedingly unsatisfactory condition of the material.
fallen during a desperate struggle around the entrance, for the bones were concentrated immediately outside the actual gateway and spread out about 12 ft. down the corridor towards the exterior. The fact that no one ever removed the bodies from their position on the main roadway suggests furthermore that, following upon this battle, the town was immediately completely deserted, never to be again occupied. The position of the skeletons upon the roadway makes it quite impossible to consider them in any way as burials, for the bodies lay exactly where they had fallen or been thrown. Any further occupation of the camp under such circumstances would have been thus quite impossible. The skeletons were in an extremely fragmentary condition, due partly to the collapse of the walling upon them, and also to extensive disturbances by animals, particularly upon the N. side, where the soil was looser. Enough remained, however, to show that the bodies had undergone extensive mutilation, possibly as some ritual observance, but also possible merely as a barbarous outrage. This mutilation must have taken place immediately after the capture of the camp. Several trunks were found for instance with the ribs and vertebrae in position, indicating that the flesh must have been there when the remains were thrown down, but in no case were these trunks associated with hands, legs or feet. In some cases the dismembered legs had been thrown on one side of the trunk, but a considerable number of them were found alongside the walling some 6 ft. away from the actual bodies (Pl. xxx). A considerable number of lower jaws were discovered: two of them incidentally bearing witness to the successful extraction of back teeth prior to the death of the owner, but very few skulls. Thus there seems a strong basis for the presumption that the heads may have been carried away as trophies.

1 In this connection it is of particular interest to recall the very hasty, but none the less careful, ritual burials found after somewhat similar entrance battles at Maiden Castle. Here, however, the town remained in occupation for some time after the conquest ('Excavations at Maiden Castle, Dorset,' 4th Interim Report, Ant. J., xvii 278).

2 A certain amount of information concerning the physical condition of the final inhabitants of Bredon Hill was obtained from a microscopic investigation of the structure of the teeth. For this information I am very
A certain number appear to have been set up on the actual gate, which was then fired. In support of this suggestion there may be cited a line of broken skull-tops which were found lying on and in the debris of the paving level exactly across the line of the gate (Pl. xxxi A).

The weapons used in this battle can be determined to a certain extent. A small cache of ammunition in the form of slingstones was found on the back of the Inner rampart, at a position where the marksman could command a full length view of the entrance. Slings and pebble sling-stones were obviously the primary weapon of defence at Bredon, but for the most part this weapon would have been used for long distance defensive work. At the side entrances contemporary with the corridor gate, no trace of intensive fighting was found, and it may be suggested therefore that the defenders of the camp made no attempt to hold the outer gate, but depended instead upon long-distance slinging from the Inner rampart across the intervallum. In the hand-to-hand fight round the intervallum I am greatly indebted to Professor H. F. Humphreys of the Dept. of Dental Surgery at Birmingham University, who writes as follows:

'The marked attrition shown in practically all the skulls is good evidence that their main diet was of cereals of a coarse kind. This means that the outer portion of the grain was conserved in milling and not removed as in modern methods, and that there was some admixture of grit. There was also evidence that the diet of most of them was somewhat deficient in Vitamin D. Gross deficiency of Vitamin D is the cause of rickets. I do not know if Dr. Cave's report gave any evidence of rickets, but even if it did not this would not contradict the evidence of the teeth. The reason for this is a technical one. Rachitic changes in the structure of bone are repaired if Vitamin D is subsequently administered and if the damage has not been great. Teeth only show defects if the lack of Vitamin D occurs while they are actually being calcified, that is, in childhood, but the stigma, having once appeared is not, as far as our present knowledge goes, removed by the subsequent addition of Vitamin D to the diet. The teeth are thus a very sensitive index of quite small and temporary changes not only of diet but of other upsets in the biochemical balance, due, for example, to the ductless glands.

'Of the teeth I examined in section a large number had the structure partly obliterated by post mortem changes due presumably to some chemical action of the soil. Of the thirteen individuals of which I was able to get good sections two were normal, six showed marked and five slight changes indicative of Vitamin D deficiency.

'A view which has been widely promulgated during the last fifteen years is that the teeth of the modern Englishman have a less perfect structure than those of his medieval and earlier ancestors, and this accounts for the increased prevalence of caries. The evidence of the Bredon teeth is all the other way as the structure is distinctly less good than that of the average modern individual.'
gate, slings would not have been of much use, and here were found javelin heads (Fig. 8), spear heads, an iron sword scabbard (Pls. vii, 2–4, and xiii B), and the remains of several bronze dagger shapes (Fig. 3). The small iron hammers (Fig. 6) found also upon this level may have had some fighting purpose in a hand-to-hand struggle. These weapons are considered in detail elsewhere (p. 73), but generally speaking many of the forms are late in type and can be associated to a period around the early decades of the first century A.D. This date is furthermore confirmed by the small finds other than weapons. The massacre at Bredon may therefore on the evidence of the associated finds be set at a date somewhere in the early years of the first century A.D.

Finally there arises the question as to whether it is in any way possible to identify the tribes or units responsible for the disaster. The possibilities are threefold. (i) Was it the work of purely local enemies? (ii) Did it follow upon the main upheavals consequent upon the Belgic pressure to the East, or (iii) did it follow as a direct result of the Roman Conquest? All supposition upon this thesis must at the present stage be entirely conjectural, but it may not come amiss to deal very briefly with the probabilities.

To take the possibility of Roman influences first. Here it must be emphasised that nowhere in the camp was there any Roman or Romanised material, and Bredon Hill must therefore have gone entirely out of use before the effective Roman settlement of the district. This would appear from the evidence obtained in the Beckford valley below to have been around A.D. 60–70, and the evidence for the desertion of the camp prior to this date, suggested on other grounds, is thus substantiated. The battle around the gateway showed no traces of Roman influence, nor does the treatment of the dead correspond with the usual Roman attitude.¹ The active participation of Roman

¹ Once again the conditions which prevailed on the Roman conquest of Maiden Castle may be cited for comparison. Here the native defenders of the camp were apparently given the opportunity to bury their dead according to the tribal custom. Mutilation of the bodies of their enemies was not a Roman custom.
soldiers can probably therefore be discounted. It is, however, possible that the conquest might have been undertaken by tribal allies of the Romans, working in association with them. The methods of slaughter seem more suitable to such an occasion, and the indirect Roman aid may have been effective in producing the conquest of so strong a place. Against this theory there must, however, be set the complete desertion of the town. This was not a Roman practice. Recent excavations have tended increasingly to show that Roman re-settlement from ancient hilltop strongholds was usually delayed for a considerable period subsequent to the immediate conquest, mainly in order that the displaced inhabitants might have somewhere to go, and this again is not in accordance with the known facts at Bredon. Unless further evidence should become available therefore, the probabilities are against the suggestion that the sack of Bredon was incidental to the Roman Conquest.

The evidence for and against a purely local battle has already been indirectly stated above. There is undoubtedly a possibility of this being the case, but the great strength of Bredon Hill must be set against an attack by a mere marauding band of unfriendly neighbours, and the wholesale eviction of the population seems equally unlikely in such circumstances.

Finally the possibility must be considered that Bredon was stormed and sacked either on account of the wholesale upheavals induced by the Belgic depredations further to the East, or even by Belgic raiders themselves. Here again there is at present no direct evidence. The strength of attackers necessary for such work might well be obtainable under these conditions, and the barbaric treatment of the dead is perhaps more likely under such circumstances. In either case, however, there must have been another camp or town which took the place of Bredon Hill, and until this settlement is identified in the neighbourhood, no definite statement can be made.

To sum up therefore. Direct or even indirect Roman intervention can probably be disregarded.
The camp, which had been refortified, fell therefore either to local marauders, which seems unlikely in view of the wholesale desertion, or more probably either as a result of the heavy migrations westwards as a result of Belgic pressure, or from the Belgae themselves. In a subsequent excavation in the neighbourhood it is hoped that it will be possible to establish further evidence of the character of the next prehistoric settlement in the Bredon district, and thus in turn clarify the problem of the authors of the sack of this town.

II. The Excavations

The Inner Rampart (Sites I (1935), A (1936), H (1937), and Associated Occupation Sites, Hut I and D)

Site I. The Inner Rampart and Ditch (Pl. xii)

A trench 86 ft. in length was cut through the Inner rampart and ditch at a point near the cliff edge of the intervallum and as nearly associated as possible with the NE. side entrance (p. 30). The rampart was of 'glacis' type, and consisted of large angular stones loosely piled upon two small banks of earth and clay which lay at the front and back and served as guides. These smaller banks which had an overall measurement of 29 ft., marked the width of the rampart. The tail of the hinder bank rested against a slight natural rise in the ground towards the interior of the camp, and the material for the construction of these low banks was obtained from the upper levels of the ditch and by scarping the ground immediately behind the intended limits of the rampart. In front of the bank the ground had been heavily scarped for about 4 ft. and then cut into for the ditch. The ditch itself was rock-cut and about 20 ft. wide, the greatest depth in the centre being 7 1/2 ft. below the present ground level. The material from the lower levels of the ditch had been used for constructing the loose stone bank.

At some period either during the building or immediately afterwards, as is shown by the very small accumulation of silt in the ditch, a slip took place on the rampart, and the ditch was completely filled with
ON BREDON HILL, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

FIG. 2

BREDON HILL CAMP
HUT SITE 1

TALL DYNES RAMPART
FLAT STONES

PITCHED STONES
BURNED STONES
WATER CATCHMENT

SCALE OF
0 10 20 30
FEET
clay and rocks from the bank, and with a clay fall from the original counterscarp. In the rebuild the rampart was covered with a uniform layer of whitish earth about 2 ft. in depth, and this material was used also for finally sealing the collapsed ditch. After the rampart and ditch had been thus covered, a new ditch was dug, and in part, as far as safety would allow, re-cut through the filling of the original ditch. No dating evidence was obtained from either ditch, but in the old turf-line, sealed by the original rampart, some pottery including two well-marked bead rims (Fig. 14, nos. 6, 7), and several fragments stamped with a degenerate 'duck' pattern below the rim (pp. 88–94) were discovered (Fig. 14, nos. 1–5). Some fragments of similar pottery came also from the rear clay bank at a depth of 2 to 3 ft. This distinctive form of pot serves to date the construction of the rampart to a period around 100–50 B.C.

Behind the line of the rampart, where shelter was obtainable from the wind which blows very strongly across the site, evidence of occupation was found. A hut (Pl. xiv A and Fig. 2) was uncovered 8 ft. behind the tail of the rampart, built upon the ground which had been scraped of material for the rampart tail. The hut must therefore be later in date, though not necessarily far removed in period from the construction of the rampart. The floor was circular and about 12 ft. in diameter. The limits were marked by six large post-holes 1 ft. 10 in. across and 1 ft. deep, set in pairs. No central post existed. On the W. side of the hut an additional pair of post-holes marked a protecting porch, while on the S. side three shallow post-holes were found which may have formed part of a lean-to shed. The hut post-holes had been constructed by digging a pit 5 ft. across, which sloped gradually to the required depth, one side being perpendicular. The post was then set upright against the straight face, and the sloping space between the post and side carefully rammed with small stones. Stones were also packed all round the post until it stood upright. The remainder

1 A similar hut was discovered at Frilford, Oxon.
BREDON HILL CAMP
I AND II
The Outer Rampart

The Inner Rampart

PLATE XII
of the pit was then filled with earth and rubble.  

The hut contained two pits, one 3 ft. 6 in. × 3 ft. connected with a shallow water catchment on the N. side of the hut with a small drain or gulley 11 ft. in length, and the second 3 ft. 6 in. × 2 ft. 6 in. forming an enlargement of a posthole. The latter may possibly have been a storage pit. In the centre of the floor, which was mainly of beaten earth, was a filling of pitched stones 6 ft. 6 in. × 3 ft. 4 in. These may possibly have served as the base of a bed. To the N. the hut was encircled by a small drainage ditch 2 ft. 6 in. across from edge to edge and 44 ft. in length, intended to carry away the rain water from the back of the rampart. The area between the hut wall and rampart tail, which in wet weather would become exceedingly muddy, was paved with flat stones. No hearth was found, but the loose paving outside the hut on the NE. side showed considerable traces of burning. Finds of wattle and daub suggested that the walling was made in that fashion.

The outer edge of the hut floor was surrounded by a ring of broken-up animal bones, many of them split to obtain the marrow. Dr. Wilfrid Jackson, for whose help in the identification of the animal bones I am very much indebted, reports that these include the small Celtic sheep and ox, pigs, dogs, a hare, a fox and the small Celtic horse and that 'the remains are very similar to those from other sites of the Early Iron Age, as Glastonbury, all Cannings Cross, etc.' Scattered human remains were also found in the hut. In Pit D, that is the sump pit, portions of an infant's skull were found, and the upper jaw of a child 4–5 years was found in the top filling of another post-hole. An adult mandible and part of an adult skull were also found in the loose filling immediately above the original floor level. The small finds from

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1 For a detailed account of similarly built postholes see 'Norwich Wood-henge,' *Antiquity*, Dec. 1935.

2 Such encircling ditches are not uncommon on early Iron Age sites. A rather similar example was found at Salmorsbury nearby (*Antiquity*, Dec. 1931, 489).

3 A similar paving of stones immediately behind the rampart was also observed by Mr. Thurlow Leeds at Chastleton Camp, in Oxfordshire, (*Ant. Journ. xi*, 1931, 286).
within the hut included a bronze ring-headed pin (Fig. 4, no. 1), part of an iron horse-bit (Fig. 5, no. 3), a bevelled iron pin, clamps and harness hammers (Fig. 6, no. 3, and Fig. 9, nos. 3, 10, 11). There was also a miniature stone axe (Fig. 12, no. 9). The finds are all discussed in their individual contexts (pp. 64–88), and it will be sufficient here to state that the bit, which is of NE. Yorkshire type, and the pin, which is of a SW. type, bear eloquent testimony to the position of Bredon Hill as an intermediary station on a trade route. The evidence of date was, however, provided by the associated pottery which contained a high percentage of stamped wares, identical in character to the material found in and under the rampart (Fig. 15).

Site A (Pl. xv)

A section 120 ft. long was cut through the NE. arm of the inner rampart, 150 ft. from the inner entrance. Although work on this site was intended primarily as a ditch excavation, a section was also partially cut through the rampart itself as a cross-check to the results found in 1935. Limitation of time made it necessary to confine this work to the front and back of the bank—the central core being left unexcavated. Sufficient work was done, however, to show that the basic structural design of the rampart appeared to be similar throughout the NE. arm and involved a building style based upon an earthen rampart technique.

The outer tail of the rampart was composed of a stony earthen bank thickly laced with turves: over this lay a heavy pile of loose stones. This heavy stone bank formed the core of the rampart, and it reappeared in the front of the rampart at rather a higher level. Above the loose stone core was piled a bank of earth, and above that again a bank of mixed earth, clay and small stones. Slightly forward of the crest of the rampart a pair of post-holes measuring 6 in. x 6 in. and set some 5 ft. apart, were found. In front of the post-holes the stony bank was continued to form the nose of the rampart, and lay upon a flattened ground
A. SCATTER OF HUMAN MANDIBLES AND BONES ON Floor I OF INNER ENTRANCE

B. IRON SCABBARD ON Floor I OF INNER ENTRANCE
A. HUT BEHIND THE INNER RAMPART

B. SECTION THROUGH INNER RAMPART AT SITE H
surface. The evidence for the deliberate flattening of the ground surface at this point was provided by the absence of an original turf level.

At first sight these two post-holes, together with the flattened ground in front, might be taken as indicating the presence of an original revetting wall to the rampart which faced upon a wide berm. Against this suggestion there must first be placed the fact that in such a case the posts would have been intended to act as additional buttresses to a carefully built wall. No evidence of such a wall-face was discovered, and the stone core behind the post-holes appeared to be entirely homogeneous with the stone nose to the rampart lying on the flattened ground in front of the posts.

Instead therefore of a revetment and berm, it may be suggested that the evidence of the postholes suggests the presence of some form of breastwork, probably taking the form of a lightly built stone wall supported by wooden posts. These posts were built into the strong central core of the rampart and may have extended several feet above the crest of the bank. In such a case the upper layers of the bank may be presumed to have run up to this breastwork and to have created a flat observation platform from the crest of the bank up to the wall. Possible evidence of the existence of this wall was provided by a collection of flattened stones, which bore the appearance of having been trimmed, and which lay upon a constructional platform in the ditch where in the case of the collapse of a breastwork the debris would tumble first. In front of the post-holes the bank was continued down to the point where the ground was scarped for the start of the ditch, and the explanation of the deliberately flattened ground surface may perhaps be sought in the efforts of the builders to provide a secure foundation on which to build this vital front stretch of rampart, and counteract the natural disadvantage of the sloping ground which had previously led to disaster.

The ditch was revealed as a single rock-cut example which fell steeply to a maximum depth of 9 ft. and had an overall width of roughly 31 ft. The filling was mainly composed of loose stone blocks, large and
irregular at the bottom and grading up to quite small stones. No stratification was observable in the ditch, and the only finds consisted of a few animal bones. A structural feature was, however, observed in the presence of a small flat step, half way up the inner face of the ditch and doubtless intended to serve as a working platform and facilitate the excavation of the lowest part of the ditch. On this platform rested the fall of flat stones referred to above. No evidence was found of any recutting or double ditch at this point, and the collapse noticed in Section I thus did not extend the full length of the rampart.

Lying at the back of the rampart and sealed by the tail of the bank, an occupation layer containing material similar in character to the finds from the hut site was discovered.

Sealed again by this occupation layer, and also lying below the tail of the rampart, a posthole 1 ft. 6 in. × 2 ft. 2 in. was uncovered. This proved to be one of a pair, for another similar in character was found 6 ft. towards the interior of the camp and lying just beyond the limits of the rampart. Both post-holes were carefully made and tapered slightly towards the base. Both contained a little stone packing and a few fragments of pottery of a black shiny ware similar to the material found stratified in the rampart and in the hut site (pp. 96-7). The close proximity of the two post-holes to each other suggested that they might represent a pair of post-holes from a hut site which had existed prior to the construction of the inner rampart. Further search failed to reveal any more, but the possibility of a two-posted tent shelter used by the rampart-builders can be suggested.

On the original ground surface, which had been scraped to provide material for the back of the inner rampart an iron horse-bit, complete save for the side rings, was revealed (Fig. 5, no. 1). This bit (pp. 71–2) is therefore unstratified, but its position upon the scarped ground surface behind the Inner rampart corresponds to the position of the hut site (p. 28) in which a fragmentary bit similar in type was discovered. It may therefore be suggested that the
TURF LACING.
CLAY, EARTH & STONES
EARTH & STONES
CHARCOAL

FEBBLE SILT
POSTHOLE
POSTHOLE
TURF & STONES
CHARCOAL

SCALE OF 1:100
BREDON HILL CAMP
SECTION THROUGH INNER RAMPART
SITE A, 1936
second bit comes from the same cultural context as the material from the hut (pp. 64–88). This suggestion is substantiated by other finds from this occupation area, which included more pottery similar in type to the stamped hut material.

**Site H (Pls. xiv b and xvi)**

This cutting lay across the SW. arm of the inner rampart at 40 ft. from the inner entrance. It was designed to serve as a check on the work done in previous seasons on the NE. arm, and also link the rampart line with the occupation known to exist behind it at this point (Site D). It was furthermore hoped that its proximity to the inner entrance (Site E) might prove of interest. The rampart here stands to a height of 8 ft., and the cutting, which was confined to the rampart, consisted of a trench 10 ft. wide and 75 ft. in length.

The rampart core, as at the two other sites, consisted of a loose stone central bank with piled-up tips of earth over it. Over this was piled earth and a top bank of small stones. There was no fronting berm, nor any signs of a revetment. In front of the nose of the bank a single roughly triangular post or stake hole was found, measuring 5 in. across at its base and with a right-angle length of 7 in. This stake had been driven into the solid ground and may well have served as one of a series of markers tracing the line of the bank. No evidence of a breastwork was found. The rear of the bank consisted of a layer of mixed earth and stones which stretched up the back as a final capping, and thickened out into the earthen tail of the rampart. Immediately behind the tail of the rampart, and contemporary with its initial use, an occupation layer was found in which there was a hearth running from N. to S. (Pl. xx b). This hearth (H.I.), lay in the centre of the cutting at 7 ft. from the tail of the bank and at a depth of 2 ft. 6 in. It was carefully made with a double line of pitched and burnt stones upon the E. side protecting an area 5 ft. × 3 ft. 4 in. The central portion, which was burnt a very deep red, proved on analysis to be a
fired clay and lime compound with a very large hydrated ferric oxide content,\textsuperscript{1} while the surround showed up a bright yellow (oolitic limestone). The hearth was surrounded with a rough paving of flat stones, and there was a considerable deposit of black ash thrown out beyond the pitched stones. There was no evidence that this line of pitched stones had ever existed on the W. side. Remains of the small ox and a pair of dog mandibles were found in the hearth, together with some sherds of decorated and plain ware (Fig. 16, nos. 9–18, p. 100). In this material also was found a decorated spindle-whorl (Fig. 11, no. 6, p. 85).

This first occupied area had been subsequently abandoned and a filling of 2 ft. of greenish earth thrown in. On top of this at a max. depth of 1 ft. 6 in. and stretching up the back of the bank almost to the summit, more scatter occupation-debris was found. Another hearth, of a less elaborate character rested upon the back of the Inner rampart at 15 ft. from the crest or 38 ft. to 40 ft. from the end of the cutting. The top lay at a depth of 1 ft. 10 in. from the modern turf line and extended from the W. side of the trench 1 ft. 7 in. into the cutting. Structurally this hearth consisted of a hollow, carefully paved with flat stones, and containing a great deal of wood ash. It had gone out of use during the period of occupation on this level, as the earth containing occupation-debris surrounded and covered it. This scatter debris included the remains of the small horse, ox and pig, and some human remains, including portion of a skull and mandible.

The pottery from this area consisted of well-fired plain sherds with flat or curved rims, largely of a local character, and the period of this secondary occupation can be assessed to the final period (p. 58) in the history of the camp. A small hoard of sling stones, some 107 in all, was found at 22 ft. 6 in. in the upper occupation area of the rampart. The position of this hoard, piled up in a loose heap and never removed, suggests that it may have been used in the unsuccessful final defence of the camp (p. 21), which would be in

\textsuperscript{1} For all the identifications of wood, ash and soil I am indebted to the work of Mr. J. Cecil Mabey.
accordance with the attribution of the secondary occupation of the rampart to the final phase at Bredon Hill. The ditch at this site was not excavated.

In 1936 an area 15 ft. by 25 ft. (Site D) had been stripped in the hope of finding further structural evidence. The site thus exposed proved to contain pottery of a very mixed character (Figs. 17 and 18), and must be considered as unstratified where exact dating is concerned, though it is probably intermediate in period between the initial foundation of the camp and its ultimate reconstruction. In the exposed area at 'D,' which lay immediately behind the tail of the SW. rampart, two drainage gulleys were discovered in association with four post-holes, but further attempts to find any additional post-holes, and thus produce a ground plan of some structure, proved unsuccessful. One of the gulleys, which ran from the back of the rampart into the interior of the camp, was traced to its limit. This gulley was U-shaped in section with an average width of 1 ft. 7 in. and a depth of 10 in.; the sides were sharp and the filling contained a certain amount of pottery and a great deal of loose stone. To the NE. it ended in a well-made semicircular end, but without any suggestion of a drainage sump. To the SW. the gulley was found to contain a very deep well-made post-hole which had contained no stone and appeared unlike the other post-holes discovered on the site. A second shallow gulley ran into the first from the back of the rampart. Three other post-holes were set fairly close together on the N. side of the clearing. They averaged 1 ft. 2 in. across and reached a depth of about 1 ft. 10 in.; they had been roughly lined with stone and still contained a good deal of the original wood of the posts, all mature oak (*Quercus Sp*). A fairly complete pot was discovered in one of them as at Site I.

The limited size of the structure thus exposed led to the conclusion that the three posts might have formed a wind-break to an undiscovered hut associated with the hearth H.I in the immediate vicinity. The three post-holes of a somewhat similar character discovered outside the hut at Site I will be recalled in
this connection. The deep post-hole in the gulley may in this case have formed part of the hut structure, but it was found too late in the excavations to be explored further. The presence of the two gulleys bear witness, as in Site I, to the necessity of draining the surrounding surface, and the conservation of water supplies.

The material discovered on the ground surface on this site substantiates the suggestion of a 'back yard.' Many animal bones, similar to those from Hut I, were found, mainly in a broken condition, together with numerous broken indeterminate pieces of iron. Indeed the amount of scrap-iron present throughout the site is a very striking characteristic of the camp. Of the more distinguishable types of iron, this site yielded a further example of a clamp or box-binding, this time with a rivet in position on one of the side-arms (Fig. 9, no. 8), and another small iron hammer (Fig. 6, no. 4). The pottery associated with this unstratified site was of a mixed character but contained material of the stamped type, together with rolled rims and simpler forms of sherds (Figs. 17 and 18, pp. 101-105).

**Site II. The Outer Rampart and Ditch.** (Sites II (1935) (Pls. xi A and xii) and G (Pls. xi B and xvi)

A trench 114 ft. long was cut through the outer rampart and ditch on the NE. arm of the bank in a line with the cutting through the inner bank at Site I, and also in close association with the NE. side entrance. The ground behind the bank had been heavily scraped, and this material, together with the upper layers from the ditch, used to build a high bank which formed the entire back of the rampart. In front of this, the mass of rock, excavated from the ditch, had been loosely piled and faced with a well-built dry-stone wall revetment, still preserved to a height of 3 ft. 6 in. A berm projected 9 ft. in front of the wall, and beyond this the ground had been heavily scarped for 11 ft. to form a steep slope above the ditch. The ditch itself had an overall measurement of 27 ft. and was rock-cut at a steep angle: it had been largely filled with huge boulders fallen from the rampart.
BREDON HILL CAMP

SECTIONS THROUGH OUTER AND INNER RAMPARTS

SITES G AND H 1937
and no signs of a counter-scarp bank remained. There
was, however, a facing of mud upon the inner side
covering the jagged edges of the rock-cut sides and thus
minimising the ease with which the sides could be
scaled. In its construction, the well-built wall and wide
berm, the loose stone bank and rock-cut ditch more
nearly resemble the stone fort at Titterstone in N.
Shropshire than any neighbouring camp.¹

In the back of the outer rampart a pit was found
containing considerable quantities of pottery. Some
of this was of a very rough, unspecialised flower-pot
type. There were also present some better made,
cloth-turned types and a very few small decorated
fragments similar in type to some of the material
discovered in the sites behind the Inner rampart
(Fig. 20, no. 2). The evidence on type alone would thus
suggest a later localised culture which contained only
slight traces of the previous settlement. No small
objects were discovered in the pit, and the ditch and
rampart were entirely barren.

Site G

A further section was made through the outer
rampart on the cliff edge of the SW. arm, in as close
association as possible with the NW. side entrance
(p. 58). The purpose was to discover how far the
outer bank was constant in its construction, and it
was also hoped to obtain some stratified material.

A section 107 ft. in length was cut through the
bank, and identical structural evidence to that found
on Site II (1935) obtained. No occupation material
was found in or under the bank. Scatter remains
were, however, found behind and on the tail of the
rampart. This included pottery similar to that found
in the pit in Site II, and to material found behind the
NW. side entrance (pp. 105–108). An unsuccessful
extension was made to the original cutting, and a right-

¹See Mr. B. H. St. J. O'Neil's
Report in Ant. Journ., xiv, 1934,
p. 13 ff. The dry-stone walling and
construction of Leckhampton Camp
in the more southerly Cotswold area
does not appear to have been built
upon the same principles. Here the
wall was backed with rubble and the
ditch cut with an almost perpendicular
fall immediately at the edge of the
berm (Trans. Bris. and Glos. 1925,
Figs. 6 and 7).
angle trench to the W. was also dug in the hope of finding the occupation site. Unfortunately nothing was found, but the extension produced more pottery, together with a bone handled saw (Fig. 9, no. 1) and a decorated spindlewhorl (Fig. 11, no. 5).

The scatter material can only be assessed to a period later than the building of the outer rampart, and the saw, which is of a type found at Glastonbury and elsewhere (p. 78) may be taken in this connection as confirmatory evidence for setting the construction of the rampart at a date early in the first century A.D., which has already been suggested on other grounds (p. 19).

THE INNER ENTRANCE AND THE ASSOCIATED OCCUPATION (Site E, 1937).

The excavation at the entrance was effected by stripping in successive squares 12 ft. x 12 ft. along the full length of the passageway between the ramparts and leaving three feet partitions between each square and down a central spine. Towards the interior of the camp the squares were extended as necessary. Two main structural periods were discovered, corresponding to the two phases in the history of the camp, together with a final slight alteration.

Period I (Pl. xvii). (Excavation Floor III)

The original entrance through the inner rampart was found to have been completely obliterated by the subsequent reconstructions. This first entrance had been of a simple overlapping type, set forward at a rather more SE. angle than the subsequent entrance, with the N. ditch overlapping the S. To produce this type of gateway the S. rampart, which lacked its present E. extension, had turned slightly inwards and continued to the N. with a 20 ft. crest and a 30 ft. spread. Subsequently this final stretch of the rampart had been almost entirely razed, but it was possible to identify the line by the outermost spread of the stony gravel tail of the bank which had been left for levelling purposes, and underlay all the sub-
(Note:—The line A-Z, along which the longitudinal section was taken (Pl. xviii), and across which the cross-sections passed (Pl. xxii), ran down the centre of the entrance, roughly midway between the modern rampart butts)
sequent make-up fills. The extent to which this destroyed bank was still visible is shown in the longitudinal section (Pl. xviii) taken down the central key the entire length of the passageway. At this same initial period the N. bank was almost certainly set back at least 10 ft. from its present end: surface indications show a break in the crest which may well mark the junction of a later addition, but the conditions of excavation made this point impossible to verify. The N. bank lacked its present NW. flank-extension into the interior of the camp.

Alongside the S. rampart the S. ditch continued in a greatly diminished width to end about 8 ft. short of the extended S. rampart, in a lip 13 ft. overall and with a depth of 4 ft. 10 in. (Pl. xix b). On the N. side the full-width ditch, 43 ft. overall, projected 18 ft. beyond the present rampart-end, and 60 ft. beyond its present termination. It finished within 10 ft. of the lip of the S. ditch. Thus there was created a small diagonal passageway running slightly uphill between the ditch and rampart-ends, which was easily defended and may well have had some simple form of outwork. The actual gate probably stood well back between the ramparts at the highest point in the ground level, and the post-holes are now buried below 18 ft. of bank. The original road-surfacing between the ditch-ends had been entirely removed during the subsequent alterations.

Immediately behind the line of the extended S. rampart, an occupied area (Floor III) was uncovered. This extended 30 ft. into the interior of the camp, which was as far as the stripping was carried, and across the full width of the passageway. The occupation area lay immediately upon the natural ground level, which here is a mixture of oolite clay and rock surface, with a considerable slope from S. to N. The evidence for the priority of this occupation over the later structural phases of the gateway is proved by the fact that the walls of the later gateway are actually built upon the debris of this Period I occupation which continued underneath and beyond them, and the pits and post-holes of the later periods are
similarly cut through this floor. The association of this Period I occupation with the overlapping entrance and not with any pre-gate occupation is vouched for structurally by the fact that the occupied material runs up to and slightly onto the tail of the original rampart, and there is absolutely no evidence of any of this occupation underlying the bank (Pl.xviii). This conclusion was reinforced by the evidence of the pottery, which will be referred to subsequently (p. 95).

The attraction of this particular area behind the gateway was due no doubt to the excellent shelter produced by the high rampart ends, and the admirable drainage conditions provided by the sloping ground level. A certain amount of structural remains were uncovered. On the NE. side of the site, within 5 ft. of the rampart tail, there were traces of a hut, some 8 ft. in diameter. The remains consisted of a roughly semicircular double line of stones, possibly the base of a wall, still in position on the N. and E. sides though missing elsewhere. No post-holes were found in association with this wall. On both sides of this line of stones, a rough paving had been thrown down, varying in width from 1 ft. to 1½ ft. On the outside of the hut, the surrounds of three hearths, a bright yellow oolite, and considerable quantities of wood-ash were found. The central burnt portion had been destroyed. The analysis of the ash showed that the wood in use included branches of Hazel (Corylus avellana) and Holly (Ilex aquifolium). Beside the hearth on the SE. side, but lying outside the area of burning, a small square stake-hole 6 in. × 6 in. was uncovered. This had been driven obliquely into the ground and may have carried a leaning stake to support a cooking pot over the fire. Among the animal bones found inside the hut wall were remains of the small pony, dog, small sheep, oxen and pig. The hearths and hut walls may be presumed to belong to a single occupation complex.

At the W. end of the exposed occupied area, 25 ft. from the tail of the destroyed rampart, a circular hearth was found, the core measuring 5 ft. 6 in. ×
BREDON HILL CAMP
LONGITUDINAL SECTION THROUGH INNER ENTRANCE
SITE E 1937
5 ft. 8 in. This hearth (Pl. xix A) which was built on mud, had a cup-shaped centre running to a depth of 8 in. The core was composed of ferruginous clay and unfired limestone bright yellow in colour, but on the N. side there was a circular patch of heavily fired material, which had turned a bright red. The hearth was surrounded by a semicircle of charcoal and wood-ash varying in width from 4–6 ft., and running to a depth of 6 in. The wood-ash and charcoal was identified as Alder (Alnus glutinosa) and common Oak (Quercus sp.), both of fairly rapid growth and brittle quality. On part of the S. side of the hearth and on all the W. side there was a spread of mud 6 ft. wide between the fire and the encircling ash. Included in the wood and ash layer was a very heavy deposit of brittle bronze slag. This slag was most noticeable in the encircling layer immediately on the N. and E. of the hearth, although it was present in small quantities throughout. On analysis it proved to be a fused silica with a little free iron, zinc and copper compounds. The central hearth and the ash surround may therefore be presumed to have been connected with some process of metal working, possibly bronze smelting. Five small stakeholes (P.H. 14, 7, 8, 9, 15) which may have been the supports of some structure associated with the metal working, were set in the encircling ash at an average distance apart of 5 feet. Behind this line of stakes, on the outer edge of the ash, a small semicircular gulley, or sleeper-beam trench, was found. This was 14 ft. in length and encircled the SW. side of the fire: it contained one large post-hole, 1 ft. 9 in. × 1 ft. 6 in., and two others. There were two more post-holes of much the same size lying at each end of the gulley and these had clearly belonged also to the same structure, and one, which lay at the NW. end, contained the complete skeleton of a year-old child, together with grains of wheat identified as Triticum vulgare, and traces of a very large post formed from mature oak. One other post-hole was found close to this example, but outside the line of the gulley. It is possible that this complex formed some kind of wind-break to
protect the fire from the prevailing SW. wind, which blows very strongly across the site.

The whole of this occupation and working complex was dismantled and the floor levelled while the first period gateway was in use. The furnace was reduced to its present condition, and the hut walls thrown down. At the same time the ash of the hearths, which had possibly accumulated to a considerable height, was removed. Over the floor, which retained about 2 ft. of debris, a cobbled floor, a single stone thick, was roughly laid. The purpose of this alteration is unknown and there was no means of determining the date. It had had, however, a certain amount of use as the cobbles were worn.

Sherds of pottery of the plain and stamped types were found stratified throughout the occupation material below the stones and on the cobbling itself. Several of the pieces of pot were ornamented with good duck-motifs (Fig. 16, nos. 1–3), and the pottery was similar in character to the material found in and behind the Inner rampart (p. 95). The implications of this particular form of ware are fully discussed in the pottery section (p. 88). Here it will suffice to state that the pottery evidence from the Period I gate reinforces the structural presumptions that the overlapping gate and the Inner rampart were built at the same period, namely, during the first century B.C., when the primary occupation was also established.

There were no small finds associated with this Period I gateway, but in the filling of the N. ditch there was found an iron spearhead of flamboyant type, familiar hitherto only on the Continent (Pl. vii and Fig. 7). This particular form of spearhead has been found in dating association at the site of La Tène in Switzerland, where it is assigned to the second century B.C. The find of such a spear belonging to the first period at Bredon serves as confirmatory evidence of a date, suggested on other grounds (p. 13), somewhere from 100 to 50 B.C. for the foundation of the camp.

**Period II. Phases I (Pl. xxi) and II (Pl. xxvi)**

Subsequent to the use of this first overlapping
A. BASE OF FURNACE BEHIND THE INNER RAMPART: THE PARTI-COLOURED MATERIAL BEYOND THE CIRCULAR FURNACE-BASE IS THE ASH WHICH CONTAINED THE BRONZE SLAG

B. FILLED IN SOUTH DITCH OF ORIGINAL INNER ENTRANCE: ONLY HALF THE DITCH HAS BEEN CLEARED, BUT THE EDGE OF THE LIP HAS BEEN EXPOSED
A. PART OF THE FILLING OF THE NORTH DITCH OF THE ORIGINAL INNER ENTRANCE
B. HEARTH BEHIND THE INNER RAMPART (SITE H)
entrance, drastic remodelling took place. The changes were of a fundamental character in which the gateway was altered from the simple overlapping form into an elaborate inturned example of a type particularly popular in S.W. Britain. In order to effect these changes by which the diagonal passageway between ditch and rampart was replaced by a straight stone-walled corridor into the camp (Pl. viii), elaborate structural alterations were necessary. These fundamental changes were ultimately followed by yet further alterations. The latter represented, however, merely a slight modification of the plan of the inturned entrance, not a third rebuilding, and this final phase will therefore be considered as a part of the main rebuilding operations.

Before dealing with the actual changes in the gateway, it may be appropriate to recall that the evidence of the Outer and Inner ramparts suggested different periods of reconstruction, and that, as will be hereafter shown, the rebuilding of the Inner entrance, here to be described, was part of a phase of reconstruction throughout the camp, involving the addition of the outer line of defence, together with two entrances through it.

The order of the work at the entrance seems to have been as follows. The ditch-ends were first filled (Pl. xxiii), the S. (Pl. xix B) to the full extent of its diminished width (p. 39), and the N. (Pl. xx A) some 19 ft. The re-modelled ditch-ends now finished opposite each other, and each ended in an overall width of about 40 ft. The S. rampart was then cut back 20 ft., and a rubble bank 38 ft. in extent added to its truncated E. face. This additional bank ran over the line of the filled-in ditch (Pl. ix A), and together with the cut-back S. bank, produced a splayed-out rampart-butt 55 ft. across. The N. rampart had

1 A section, incomplete owing to lack of time; was cut through the back of this truncated S. rampart and revealed the original ditch lying underneath the subsequent rubble addition. The junction between the old rampart-face and the later level was very clearly marked in the section, and it was noticeable that the builders had experienced considerable difficulty in getting stability over the filled ditch. To achieve this, huge blocks of loose stone had been used for the filling of the ditch and for the base of the rubble extension bank.
meantime been brought forward until it aligned with the end of the N. ditch. A similar rubble bank about 48 ft. in length was then added to its inner or W. face, where it served the purpose of a flank defence. There was thus created a straight passageway into the camp which passed between the ditch-ends and rampart-butts: the new roadway being driven over the ends of the filled-in ditches and across the line of the cut-back S. rampart.

The sides of this passageway were lined by dry-stone walling which served as a revetment for the ends of the ramparts and for the rubble bank extensions, though across the remodelled ditch-ends the walls appear to have stood free. The N. wall measured about 114 ft. before it was rounded off towards the interior, and for the last 34 ft. curved southwards towards the opposite wall: it was finished off in the interior by a semicircular bastion end (Pl. xxiv B). The facing thus curved around the tail of the additional rubble bank and petered away into the rubble. The S. wall was not, at its initial building, so long. It measured 95 ft. in straight length, and finished therefore 24 ft. short of its opposite number. It was not possible to discover the original end of this wall, on the interior side of the camp, but the line of the contour of the bank behind suggests a similar bastion end. At the outer end of the entrance the S. wall curved round in a bastion to flank the lip of the truncated S. ditch (P. ix B).

The ground-level along the line of the passageway presented considerable engineering problems, for the surface fell into a natural cup-shaped hollow which had originally served as a shelter for the furnace (p. 40). The level ran fairly steeply downwards from E. to W. along the line of the corridor from immediately behind the original crest of the rampart into the interior of the camp (Pl. xviii), and there was an equally sharp slope from S. to N. across the width of the corridor. To counteract this latter tilt, it was necessary in the construction of the corridor gate, to sink the foundations of the N. wall to a much lower level for the last 20 ft. of passageway, and thus achieve
equal height of walling with the S. side at the cost of an extra 1 ft. 3 in. of foundation (Pl. xxii).

The wall was well made with small carefully trimmed stones, and was built upon a foundation of thicker blocks. On the N. side it was preserved towards the interior to a height of 3 ft.–3 ft. 6 in., and the walling was still in a good condition where it served as a revetment to the rampart and rubble bank. Across the ditch-end, where it stood free, it had been reduced to the lowest foundation courses. This may have been due to a collapse following a rather heavy subsidence into the filled ditch (Pis. xxiii and xxiv A).

On the S. side the walling was again well preserved in front of the rampart and rubble extension. It had, however, been deliberately broken through for the formation of the artificial entrance where it crossed the end of the ditch. Beyond this break, 1 ft. 9 in.–2 ft. of wall face still stood for a straight length of 26 ft., but without any rubble backing. This stretch curved outwards and southwards across the ditch-end and tailed away from good facing to rather poor stones. On the N. side, the final stretch had been completely destroyed by quarrying.

In both walls, immediately below the crest of the ramparts, breaks in the walling suggested slots for the insertion of flat timbers (Pl. xxv A). These breaks measured 2 ft. 6 in. across, and were set back 1 ft. 3 in. into the rubble backing of the bank. The edges of the slots were flush on the E. side and much rougher on the W., showing that the walling must have been started from the outer side of the camp and built inwards. The facing had been carefully ended on the E. side of the slots, and heavy foundation blocks inserted. The timbers, probably two, were then inserted and packed in with small stones, and the facing continued from the other edge of the wood, thus bonding the timbers firmly into place. This was a very necessary precaution as no post-holes were found within the slots, and the side timbers had clearly not been sunk into the ground. 6 ft. and 3 ft. in front of these slots on the N. and S. sides respectively, two rock-cut post-holes were found, 2 ft. 9 in. and 2 ft. 3 in.
across and 2 ft. deep, with stone paving at the base of each post. These had clearly belonged to the same complex as the walling slots, and it can be plausibly suggested that the slots and post-holes are evidence of a light bridge or sentry-walk which ran across the entrance corridor from crest to crest of the abutting ends of the rampart\(^1\) (Pl. xxv B). From this bridge it would have been possible to command very extensive views outside the camp, particularly across the vulnerable SE. approach. An overhead walk in this position would also be of great use for inspection or even defensive purposes at the entrance.

Such a bridge would have consisted of upright timbers bonded firmly into the walling at each side; these posts would have been of sufficient height to carry a line of planks which rested on or were bedded into the rampart crests on each side. The planks were supported across the passageway by a pair of upright posts set into the post-holes, and they furthermore served as the tie-beams for the structure. Additional strength was probably also provided by diagonal crossbars fitted between the walling-timbers and the passage posts, which acted as a buttress at the base of the walling planks, and forced them into position, while the other end probably rested against the inside of the upright posts immediately below the bridge planking. A passageway 11 ft. in width was thus left for travellers passing up the entrance under the bridge (Pl. xxii).

The possibility that this complex represents evidence of an outer gate can be discounted. In such a case the side walling posts would have had to be sunk into deep post-holes to enable them to carry the weight of the gate timbers. Furthermore, had the gate been swung only between the two upright passage posts, some structural ground blocking would have

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\(^1\) Evidence for entrance bridges among the SW. Iron Age camps is occurring with increasing frequency. Such bridges are by no means constant in their method of construction, but are usually designed to cross from crest to crest of the rampart, either over the gateway itself or in advance of the actual gate. Entrance bridge so far have been indentified at Titterstone (Arch. Cam. 89, p. 99). Eddisbury, Hembury (Proc. Devon. Exp. Soc. Vol. i, Pt. ii, iii and iv, Vols. ii and iii), the bridge reference is particularly in the last volume and Salmonsbury (unpublished).
BREDON HILL CAMP

SECTIONS THROUGH INNER ENTRANCE

SITE E, 1937

(CROSS-SECTION B-L5-Y)

(CROSS-SECTION C-J5-X)

(CROSS-SECTION D-L5-W)

(CROSS SECTION AT BRIDGE)

(Scale: 0-50 Feet)

(Note: The pit in section B-L5-Y is the central post-hole pit of the diagonal gateway)
been necessary between these posts and the walling, and this was entirely absent.

The actual roadway down the entrance was composed of a well-made cobble floor in which a great number of sling-stones were embedded. At the bridge, where the ground was comparatively level, this roadway was marked only by a very light scatter of round stones set into the natural ground without any foundation level. A very light flooring of single cobble stones, hardly identifiable as a paved level, also reappeared beyond the bridge towards the outer end of the passageway—the intermediate stretch over the filled-in ditches having sunk into the filling. Towards the interior of the camp, the paved level and its foundation increased steadily in solidity. The paving improved markedly towards the interior, and was at its best from 20 ft. beyond the gateway to the actual crossing of the gate: here it stretched across the corridor from wall to wall.

At 35 ft. from the gateway (Pl. xxv, D-45-W), this roadway, called Floor II in all the stratigraphical accounts and on the plans, was still marked on the S. side of the corridor merely by a single row of cobble. On the N. side, however, owing to the slant of the ground from S. to N. there was a 6 in. filling of small stone blocks to bring the flooring level. Another 10 ft. (Pl. xxii, C-30-X) down the corridor towards the interior, the paving took on a very much more marked foundation level. Here for the first time the ground level falls both from E. to W., that is down the corridor towards the gate, as well as from S. to N. across the passage. No attempt was made to deal with this E. to W. slope, and the cobbling follows the natural lie of the ground along the length of the passageway (Pl. xviii); great care had, however, been taken to rectify the marked S. to N. slope. Thus on the S. side the flooring was exceedingly well made, with rounded, shaped and fitted cobbles lying on the natural ground. Towards the centre of the causeway this cobbling was imbedded on a foundation level of 6 in. of loose stone blocks which ran right across the corridor to the N. wall. Above this stone bedding on the N. side of the
passage there was an additional 8 in. filling of loose stone and earth forming a patch (Floor IIa), which brought the flooring level on both sides of the corridor. It may be remarked, however, that the good cobbling underneath this patch, mentioned above, suggests that initially Floor II may not have been levelled on the S. to N. slope either, but for some reason this arrangement was found unsatisfactory and changed. The earth and stone patch showed no signs of ever having carried a floor. It ran all down the N. side of the corridor increasing in depth as the ground-level fell, and always serving to bring Floor II to an even height on both sides of the corridor. It extended to a width of 16 ft. from the N. wall at the gate end, and curved to a width of less than 8 ft. up the passageway. The constructional purpose of this patch is unknown. The loose material may have been intended to act as a drain on the N. side of the gateway, where water could sink away, and it may also have been designed to force the traffic to enter only along the S. side of the corridor.

Across the actual gateway Floor II was set upon a very considerable heavy stone foundation reaching a depth of 9 in. on the S. side and 1 ft. 3 in. on the N. (Pl. xxii, B–15–Y). The earth and stone patch on the N. side was absent around the actual gateway and had been replaced by solid stones. All this area carried good paved flooring. On the S. side at the gateway, the floor had been heavily patched with thick red clay, possibly to give greater consistency between the actual gate posts. Immediately behind the gateway (as far as the area was exposed) Floor II was set upon a 2 ft. depth of very large stone blocks, some of them more than 2 ft. by 1 ft. 6 in. These would have given stability at the point of the heaviest convergence of traffic. It has already been stated (p. 44), that towards the interior, the last 34 ft. of the N. wall was inclined towards the S. The span of the corridor across which the actual gate was set had by this means been reduced to 22 ft. The extension of the N. wall beyond that of the S., forced the gate itself to be set diagonally across the passageway. This arrangement, combined with the
BREDON HILL CAMP
SITE E 1937

DITCH BENEATH SOUTH WALL

DITCH BENEATH NORTH WALL
inclined wall and the patched surface on the N. side, not only provided a gateway which was protected to a certain extent against the full force of the wind rushing down the corridor, but also served the additional defensive purpose of compelling any traveller to turn slightly to the left as the gate was approached, and thus expose the right unprotected flank (Pl. xxiv A).

The site of the actual gate was marked in the excavations by post-holes set against the walls on each side, and a very large central example. On the N. side the pit for the post, measured 4 ft. × 2 ft. 6 in., and had been set immediately in front of the wall some 4 ft. before the bastion turn began. The socket for the actual post lay against the wall on the east side of the pit at a depth of 3 ft., and measured 1 ft. 6 in. × 1 ft. 9 in. The base and lower sides of the pit were paved with flat stones, and the filling immediately beside the lowest levels of the socket of the post consisted of a tightly rammed collection of large flat stones and clean clay. The upper level of the pit had been packed with loose stone blocks which formed a flat surface and may easily have carried a paving on top. The face of the walling behind this post-hole was disturbed in its upper levels where the post may have rested against it (Pl. xxiv b).

The edge of the central post for the gate lay 6 ft. 6 in. south-eastwards of the post-hole socket just described. This pit measured 6 ft. 6 in. × 4 ft. 9 in. and may well have carried double posts. From the Floor II level, with which it had been associated, it reached a depth of 3 ft. 10 in., cutting well into the underlying occupation area. The sockets of the posts were not found during excavation, but the base was carefully lined with large flat stones, some of them over 1 ft. in length. The pit had been filled for 3 ft. with a loose pack of large stones, and above this again an early filling of broken-up limestone containing some fragments of wood and charcoal. The cobbling of Floor II (p. 47), associated with this gate, had been carefully run up to the edge of the pit and then faced off. There was no evidence therefore that any flooring had ever been laid across the open earthen filling of this great
central post-hole pit while the diagonal gateway was in use. The lower stone filling of the pit contained fragmentary human remains of two skeletons, and three mandibles, one of an adult, one of a child 4½–5 years of age and of one elderly individual over 40. The fragmentary condition of the bones and the number of jaws suggest that these did not represent a burial but that a parcel of bones had been inserted.

The pit for the third gate-post belonging to this complex lay against the present S. wall where it had been overlaid by subsequent alterations (Pl. xxvii A). The edge of the pit which under-ran the walling for 5 ft. 6 in. extended 2 ft. 6 in. to 3 ft. into the corridor, leaving a passageway 4 ft. 6 in. between itself and the edge of the central pit. This side pit which reached a depth of 3 ft. 6 in. contained the socket of the post-hole, but conditions of excavation made it impossible to obtain full particulars. The filling which supported the post was again of heavy blocks mixed with considerable quantities of earth, and contained a human leg bone. This pit cut into Floor III, but the paving for the associated Floor II ran only up to the edge, where it had been carefully finished off. The original walling beside this pit, which probably curved round in a bastion-end similar to the N. side, had been entirely obliterated by subsequent alterations.

Over Floor II throughout, there was a 3 in. layer of brown earth representing the accumulation of the road mud from the period of its use. The mud was, however, almost completely sterile, suggesting that it had been carefully raked over before the ultimate reconstruction. It contained a few animal bones and, as has been already mentioned, a considerable quantity of embedded sling-stones. The only finds consisted of a bronze ring (Fig. 4, no. 7) of overlapping terminal ends with a punched decoration of a type found in the Glastonbury Lake village and dated to a period around 1 A.D. This was found in the very light Floor II level 30 ft. from the gateway on the S. side. An iron ring with overlapping terminal ends (Fig. 10, no. 12) was also found in Floor II. The indication of the date of the reconstruction of the entrance implied by these
A. DIAGONAL GATEWAY OF INNER ENTRANCE, SHOWING THE SUBSIDENCE OVER THE FILLED-IN N. DITCH

A. SOCKET FOR THE SIDE BRIDGE TIMBERS IN THE N. WALL

B. VIEW FROM ABOVE THE BRIDGE TIMBER SOCKET ON THE S. RAMPART SHOWING THE POST-HOLES FOR CARRYING THE PIERs
finds has been discussed elsewhere, (p. 15). Here therefore it will suffice to state that the possibility of a period around the first half of the first century A.D. suggested for the reconstruction by these finds, is in accordance both with the cultural history of the district at this period, and also with the date of the final destruction of the camp (p. 58).

**Period II. Phase II**

The structural history of this gateway was still, however, not quite complete, and further slight alterations were embarked upon. These changes involved abolishing the old diagonal gateway and replacing it with a straight one across the passageway. In order to produce this straight gateway it was necessary that the walling on both sides of the corridors should be of equal length. The alteration, therefore, involved adding an additional length of 18 ft. to the gate end of the S. walling and rounding off the new length into a bastion to end opposite the northern side (Pls. x A and xxvi).

To enable this work to be carried out, the south post-hole of the diagonal gate was filled in (Pl. xxvii A). The sealing was done by means of a homogenous mass of heavy blocks of loose stone, over which was laid a coping of flat stones to carry the additional length of drystone walling to be built over the pit. This walling had necessarily to be set at a higher level than the original line in order to secure stability across the filled-in gate-post (Pl. xxvii B). The addition to the walling was started 3 ft. 6 in. eastwards of the edge of the pit, and it may be presumed that the original bastion end (p. 44) was then destroyed. The rebuild is identifiable partly by the rather larger and coarser stones which were used for the work, but mainly by the very clear point of junction, for though the additional line of walling was carefully bonded in, the rebuilding was set 7 in. forward from the original line of wall (Pl. xxviii A). Beyond the filled-in post-hole the walling was set upon 1 ft. 3 in. of loose stone blocks which rested upon *Floor II*, and at the new bastion end, the paving for *Floor II* ran underneath
the stone foundation of the walling. An additional rubble extension behind this walling, which was built at the same time, ran as a flanking bank from the back of the S. rampart and spread over the tail of the original line of the Inner rampart. With the abolition of the original S. gate-post there also went the destruction of the huge central post (p. 50), which was filled by setting a coping of large flat stones across the mouth of the pit and piling more loose stones above them.

In order to secure absolute stability for the road over the filled-in gateway, and also to accord with the high level of the additional line of walling, a new paved roadway, called Floor I in the stratigraphical accounts and on the plans (Pl. xxviii B), was laid down which covered the foundation courses of the rebuilt wall. The road level at the gate-end was thus raised by 1 ft. 10 in.

The basis of this final floor above the filled gate was very heavy blocks of loose stone carefully laid down the centre of the causeway in fairly flat lines. On the S. side the stones were heavily mixed with clay, and in the N. there was the same loose conglomeration of earth and stone blocks observed at this point in the foundation levels of Floor II. Behind the gate, towards the interior of the camp, there was an even central filling of 1 ft. 6 in. The depth of this stone base diminished along the length of the corridor, but unlike Floor II, it had been laid down in such a manner that the E-W. slope had been counteracted and there was a level roadway along the entire length of the passageway (Pl. xviii). Thus 20 ft. from the gate (Pl. xxii, B–15–Y), the Floor I foundation level still sank to a depth of nearly 1 ft. in the centre of the corridor, though the size of the foundation blocks had decreased. At 35 ft. from the gate (Pl. xxii, C–30–X), at the point where Floor II had run up-hill, the foundation level for Floor I still had 9 in. depth in the centre of the corridor and nearly 1 ft. upon the N. side. From this point the foundation blocks continued along the centre of the passageway for the entire length of the entrance with a depth of two thicknesses of stone (Pl. xxii, D–45–W). Over the
Floor I foundation there was set a well-made paving of rather large flat stones which decreased in size towards the outer end of the camp, and was not so well made over the filling of the pits of the diagonal gate. This good paving did not extend to the walling on each side, but was concentrated down the centre of the passage. Behind the gateway it measured 14 ft. in width and the bastion ends were surrounded by a flooring consisting mainly of earth (Pl. xxix a). Outside the gate there was a 12 ft. width which diminished down the corridor to reach a spread of 6 ft. between the bridge. There was no flooring save natural soil between this paving and the walls on the S. side, but on the N. for a distance of 28 ft. from the gateway, the area between the wall and paving was roughly surfaced with an exceedingly soft filling of earth and loose stones.

This ultimate gateway would, from the line of the paving, appear to have been designed to keep travellers in the centre of the corridor, and with the re-aligned passageway there existed a straight gate across the passageway set 6 ft. 6 in. before the turn of the bastion walling on each side. The side posts for this were set in slots 1 6 in. x 1 ft. in the wall-faces on either side of the corridor. Stability had been given to the uprights set in these slots, by means of vertical packing between the walling and the posts.

The pits for the posts were cut through the paving of Floor I, suggesting that the construction of the actual gate was the last job done. On the S. side, at the rebuilt bastion, the post had been bedded onto Floor II, and a fill of yellow clay thrown in around the base of the post. On the N. side, flat stones had been laid on Floor II for a foundation, and the base of the pit then carefully packed with reddish clay. Pitched stones had been rammed in between the slot and post to keep the latter upright. Three feet back from the slot along the passageway, the wall had been patched. This may have been due to a collapse of the walling into the filled-in pit of the diagonal gate. This patching had occurred before, or at the time

1 The gateway at Titterstone Camp, (Arch. Camb. 1934, p. 99), was set into very similar walling slots.
of, the final alterations, as the fresh walling which formed an edge to the slot ran over the collapsed portion (Pl. xxiv B). In the passageway, midway between the two wall slots, but set slightly forward towards the interior of the camp, the central post of the straight gate complex was found. This contained a heavy wood fill, identified as Oak (*Quercus* sp.) of mature wood, as if from a single timber of a large tree. This post-hole had been cut through *Floors II and III* and appeared to have been set onto a clay flooring. It contained pitched stone backing which reached up to the level of *Floor I*. There was strong evidence of burning in the slot on the S. side, where the stone showed a red tinge, and it may be suggested therefore that the gate was ultimately fired.

The final story of Bredon Hill must be sought in the battered human remains found lying upon the roadway, and representing a large number of people who had been killed in a struggle around the gateway. An exact determination of the number of individuals concerned is almost impossible both on account of the fragmentary condition of the bones, and also because a certain number of heads may have been carried off by the victors. The difficulty of making any exact guess as to the numbers concerned, is demonstrated by the discrepancies in the count as assessed on cranial, mandibular or osteological grounds. As trophy-taking may be responsible for the problem, the pure osteological basis of determining the numbers is probably the most accurate. The total number of persons represented at the gate was 27 as judged by cranial evidence, 46 on mandibular evidence, and 64 as assessed by non-cranial osteological evidence. What did remain was, generally speaking, of little use, for the material was exceedingly battered and fragmentary, having suffered great comminution. Their condition, furthermore, precluded all hope of sex determination by skulls or pelves. In the few cases where the mandibles were reasonably complete they appeared to be those of males, but in most cases there was not enough left to determine sex. The remains seemed, as far as was identifiable, to belong to adults 25–35
A. FILLED-IN S. POST-HOLE OF THE DIAGONAL GATE

B. ADDITIONAL STRETCH OF S. WALLING BUILT FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FINAL STRAIGHT GATE
A. JUNCTION OF ORIGINAL END OF S. WALL WITH THE LATER ADDITION. NOTE ALSO THE PAVINGS OF Floor II ON THE LEFT, AND Floor I ON THE RIGHT ABOVE IT

B. PAVING OF Floor I ACROSS THE LINE OF THE FILLED-IN DIAGONAL GATE. NOTE ON THE RIGHT THE DEPTH OF THE FOUNDATION LEVEL FOR THIS PAVING OVER Floor II
ON BREDON HILL, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

years of age, and a round number of about 50 individuals may be suggested as being almost certainly represented.

The condition in which the bones were found made exact excavation and identification quite impossible (Pl. xiii A). At best it was only feasible to clear the soil and expose the groups of bones, which in many cases were lying in a terrible disorder, and, by combining these remains as far as possible into the units in which they were uncovered, extract their history. No burials, or complete and intact skeletons remained. Wind, exposure, the weight of the fallen stones, and the ravages of animals had all played their part in the disturbance, but these natural explanations could not alone suffice. The wild confusion of the position of the bones and the noticeable lack of certain parts of the skeleton, forced upon the excavators the presumption that even apart from the removal of parts of the bodies, there must have been extensive mutilation of the dead, possibly on ritualistic grounds.

To particularise, on the S. side of the corridor, at a depth of 1 ft. to 1 ft. 6 in. from the modern turf-line, and from 18 ft. to 50 ft. beyond the gate, the fragmentary scattered remains of 13 skeletons, on mandibular evidence, were recovered together with a great deal of osteological material. Skulls, however, even in the most fragmentary state, were noticeably lacking in this complex, there being four fragmentary pieces in all. The scattered style of the bones may possibly be attributed in part to animal disturbance, but this explanation seems insufficient in cases where intact trunks were found which lacked legs and heads, or where legs and hands were found lying together with the small bones in exact position, but everything else missing. Thus at 18 ft. from the gate, two human trunks were found with but one arm and forearm between them, and neither legs nor head. The vertebrae and ribs, though crushed by the walls lay however in position (Pl. xxix B), testifying to the fact that the bodies must have been deposited there while there was still flesh upon them, and not thrown in as a bundle of bones. At 41 ft. from the gate there was
a pair of legs and a lower jaw (Pl. xxx); 5 ft. from these legs was a hand with all the small bones intact and in position. In between the isolated hand and legs lay another headless and legless human trunk, but with both arms and hands intact. This trunk had no less than three lower jaws associated with it, one inverted, where the head should have been, and two below the pelvis. The remains of two other skeletons were found nearby, one too much broken for adequate examination and the other intact, save for the inevitable missing legs and the lack of head.

On the N. side of the corridor from 30 ft. to 50 ft. from the gate the same state of affairs prevailed. The remains had been much more heavily disturbed, due possibly to the looseness of the ground level below them, which had made access of burrowing animals easier. The remains of at least 23 individuals were traced, and here the percentage of skulls was higher, there being traces of 7, including one of a child. Here also were 7 lower jaws all within 11 ft. of each other, 36 ft. to 41 ft. from the gate and 5 ft. to 7 ft. in from the centre of the corridor. Within 3 ft. of this complex in a very confined space 3 ft. × 5 ft., there were the remains of no less than 12 skeletons, of which 11 damaged mandibles were present and the fragments of three skulls.

Around the bridge there were no massed human remains, though some scattered fragments, possibly representing the very much dispersed remains of five skeletons, together with one skull-top, were found another 20 ft. down the passageway towards the exterior of the camp.

The other heavy concentration lay, as might be expected, around the actual gate, though the bodies were for the most part concentrated upon the S. side. Outside the gate on the S. side were found the remains of 9 individuals with traces of skulls. The bones here were exceedingly fragmentary, largely owing to the collapse of the gate upon them. Two bodies, fairly complete, seemed to have fallen immediately outside the gate in an extended position, and two lower jaws had been thrown down into the muddy roadway.
A. THE REBUILT BASTION-END OF THE S. WALL TOWARDS THE INTERIOR OF THE CAMP

B. PART OF A HUMAN TRUNK AND TWO LOWER JAWS, FOUND ON THE FINAL PAVING OF INNER ENTRANCE
HUMAN LEG BONES AND A LOWER JAW, FOUND ON THE FINAL PAVING OF THE INNER ENTRANCE
3-4 ft. away from the extended bodies. Six feet towards the interior of the camp, again on the S. side, there was a further heavy spread of human remains. These amounted to six skeletons with three fairly intact skulls and six mandibles. The crushed remains of the skulls and jaws lay in a straight line, surrounded by burnt material (Pl. xxxiA). From their position it may be suggested that they had come down with the burning gate, and it may be tentatively put forward as a suggestion that some severed heads had been set up on the gate, which had then been fired. These skulls lay incidentally on top of the paving covering the filled-up central gate-post of the diagonal gate. The remains of another human skeleton were found around the area of the central post of the straight gate. On the N. side of the corridor the remains of four skeletons were found, with the skull and mandibular remains of two. Here, however, the leg bones of four examples were found, one of the few instances of an abundance of legs. The presumption from such conditions cannot be other than that the bodies were tossed down upon the roadway after a barbarous mutilation by the victors.

Intermingled with these remains were a certain number of small finds which had been overlooked in the subsequent pillaging, or in the case of weapons, ignored as being too much broken for further use. The latter, as has been summarised above (p. 24) included iron spears (Fig. 8), and bronze dagger chapes in a broken condition (Fig. 3), javelin heads and small hammers (Fig. 6). These weapons are considered in detail elsewhere (pp. 65 ff.).

Generally speaking the forms presented by some of the spearheads and dagger chapes are late in type. This refers particularly to the flat spearhead with folded socket (Fig. 8, no. 7), found here, and in abundance at the battlefield at Maiden Castle, where it is associated with a period around A.D. 45. The bronze dagger chapes, of which no less than four were found among the Bredon remains, together with large quantities of the associated bronze binding, are of a SW. type, which is in itself derived from
Roman prototypes, and are found at Glastonbury, Hod Hill and Hunsbury. Thus the association of both spearheads and dagger chapes found at Bredon relate in other excavated sites to a period around the middle of the first century A.D. This date can be further substantiated by the evidence of small finds, other than weapons, found among the bodies. These include bronze rings (Fig. 4, nos. 6 and 8), with overlapping terminal ends of a type common on Iron Age sites dating from the first century A.D., and in one case identical with an example from the Glastonbury Lake village. A bone cheek-piece (Fig. 12, no. 8) also of Glastonbury type, and some bronze hinge pieces and belt studs and bracelets were also found here (Fig. 4).

Thus there is fairly close dating for assessing the end of the occupation of Bredon Hill Camp to a period around the early part of the first century A.D. This evidence, combined with the somewhat similar dating obtained for the construction of the outer rampart and the corridor gate, serves to emphasise the early years of this century as the period in which Bredon Hill Camp, threatened possibly by danger from the outside, strengthened its defences and remodelled the gateways in an unsuccessful attempt to stave off the destruction which was hard upon it.

THE OUTER ENTRANCES AND ASSOCIATED OCCUPATION
(Site B. 1936 and Site III, 1935)

Excavation was carried out by sections 6 ft. wide and over 80 ft. in length cut across both pairs of banks at the point of maximum preservations. An extensive area was also stripped around the actual gateways.

The NW. and NE. Side Entrances (Pls. xxxiii and xxxvi)

The NW. side entrance is now represented upon the ground by a pair of low banks which curve parallel to each other from the cliff edge of the intervallum into the interior of the camp. They rest on the cliff edge, 95 ft. from the back of the outer rampart, and extend for over 133 ft. in length. Towards the interior they
A. CRUSHED SKULL TOPS LYING ACROSS THE LINE OF THE STRAIGHT GATE AT THE INNER ENTRANCE

B. PITCHED STONES FORMING A DOORSTOP ACROSS THE GATEWAY OF THE NW. SIDE-ENTRANCE
increase in size and finish roughly midway between the two ramparts in butt-shaped ends which are inclined slightly towards each other.

On excavation the banks were found to form a corridor passageway averaging 30 ft. in width, and forming part of an exaggerated inturned entrance used in connection with the outer rampart. In plan this entrance resembled the later corridor-gate phases of the Inner entrance, although greatly modified structural principles had been used. Each bank was made of a heavy core of loose stones 13 ft. × 3 ft. 6 in., revetted in front, that is towards the passageway, with carefully made drystone walling, which still stood in place to a height of 2 ft. 4 in. (Pl. xxxii). The stone core was carefully built up behind with heavy blocks of stone, which acted as a rough revetment (Pls. xxxiv and xxxvii). On each side, behind this backing and over the loose stone core, small ramps of clean earth had been thrown which extended the limits of the banks to 26 ft. overall.

Towards the camp end, the walling and banks had been inclined towards each other. The actual turn had been effected in the drystone walling by a straight joint in the facing, but no attempt had been made to bond the point of junction (Pl. xxxv A). The walling then continued for another 10 ft. until the width of the passageway had been reduced to 16 ft. The banks were rounded off into semicircular butts and the walling continued around the outer edge until it linked up with the more heavily constructed back.

Within the narrowest point of the gateway, set below slots in the wall-face and opposite to each other, two posthole pits were discovered. The side slots were identical in character to the slots discovered associated with the final gate complex of the inner entrance (p. 53), and, as at the inner gate, contained remnants of the vertical packing. The pits for the posts were sunk to a depth of 2 ft. 3 in. and had a base diameter of 1 ft. 6 in. and 1 ft. 5 in. The posts had been levered into position by being slid down a small ramp, and the outer edge of the post-hole pits measured 5 ft. 5 in. across. In the centre of the gateway there
were found three or four pitched limestone blocks (Pl. xxxi b), with wheel tracks on the S. side. During this phase of the entrance there existed a heavy single gate, lashed to or swung upon the massive upright side posts. The central limestone blocks served the purpose of a door-stop and acted as an additional support for the central portion of the actual gate against the pressure from the prevailing SW. wind, which blows particularly fiercely across the intervallum and must have come down the narrow passageway in extremely violent gusts.

This single gate was not, however, the first upon the site. Ten feet back from these side post-holes, just at the point where the walls had been inclined inwards with the straight joint, subsidence had occurred in the wall-face on both sides (Pl. xxxv). This collapse may be attributed to the presence of underlying pits on each side of the corridor over which the inclined stretch of the wall-face had been subsequently built. These pits probably represented the side post-holes of an earlier gate, and an arrangement similar to the diagonal gateway of the Inner entrance may well have obtained. During subsequent rebuilding, the pits were filled in and the wall built over them. The hazardous condition of the walling over-riding the filled-in pits did not permit of their excavation, but behind the broken N. stretch it was possible to observe a well-made wall-face, probably part of the walling of the original gateway, continuing in a straight line behind the subsequent rubble filling and incurved drystone facing. In the centre of the passageway, and mid-way between the two filled-in post-holes, a third post-hole 3 ft. 6 in. × 3 ft. and 3 ft. 10 in. in depth was found. This may be presumed to have formed part of the first gate complex and to have carried a central gate-post. The evidence thus goes to show that in the first phase the passageway originally terminated in a much wider double gate set across the full width of the entrance, with the original walling probably continuing a little way beyond the limits of the gate, and possibly ending in semicircular butts. Subsequently this double gate was abandoned and the
BREDON HILL CAMP
NORTH-WESTERN CROSS-BANKS
passageway narrowed by means of the additional inclined wall-faces. In this narrowed passage the second single gate was built. The sequence of gates is thus very reminiscent of the changes at the Inner entrance. There was no lower level of paving, or even stones associated in any way with the first gate, but a rough paving of stones (Pl. xxxi B) associated with the second gate, had been laid across the entrance and down the centre of the passageway for about 12 ft. This paving covered the abandoned and filled-in structural pits of the first gateway as well as the outer edges of those carrying the post-holes for the second gate.

No evidence was discovered to suggest that any length of time had elapsed between the changeover of the form of gateway; the only structural difference which could be seen was the fact that somewhat larger stones had been used for the later inclined wall-faces.

On the NE. cliff-edge another inturned corridor-entrance was found. Here the banks had suffered severely from landslides as well as extensive nineteenth-century plantations, and the complex was in consequence far less well preserved. The parallel banks ran 30 ft. apart in a crescent shape, the hollow side outwards, from the cliff edge of the intervallum, 10 ft. from the back of the outer rampart, and ended within 30 ft. of the counterscarp of the inner ditch, 80 ft. from the present cliff edge.

In this NE. entrance the construction of the banks differed in detail from that on the NW. Here, too, the core of the banks was a mass of loose stones, revetted on the passage-side by drystone walling, but on the outer of the banks there was no backing to the core, which instead tailed out into a small spread, and no back bank of soil, while behind the inner bank the stone core was piled against loose mounds of earth. The general effect was that of a structure far less carefully and elaborately built, and one which gives the impression of having served as a somewhat similar entrance to that on the NW. side, but of a less pretentious nature (Pl. xxxvii).

The actual gateway into the NE. entrance could only be partially examined owing to the extensive
destruction which had followed upon the tree planting of the previous century. Sufficient was done, however, to show that the entrance gateway here was of one build only and represented the second or single gateway period of the NW. entrance. No trace of a double gate could be found and the walls had been so constructed that they inclined towards each other at the gateway without any subsequent patching to achieve this effect. The walls at the actual gateway had been destroyed almost to the footings, but on both sides there were traces that they had curved slightly outwards after the gate. It may perhaps be therefore assumed that they too had originally terminated in semicircular buttress ends. Traces were found of the side post-holes set against the narrowest part of the walls. The ground surface between the posts was too badly mutilated to allow for any examination of the original road-surface.

On structural grounds it may be suggested that the entrance here was built in one piece after the first period at the NW. gateway was over. It thus represents a gateway and side entrance built on the improved pattern which was found most successful on the NW. side and also at the Inner Gate, but it also would appear to be of a far more hasty, slipshod construction. It may furthermore be suggested that initially the builders of the outer rampart system intended to have only one entrance into the camp, but owing to the cross-country ridgeway (see p. 5), this was found unsatisfactory and a second outer gate built.

Towards the cliff edges both the side entrances had suffered severely. The line of the corridor could, however, be traced on the NW. side through the remnants of the earthen back bank, and in spite of the falls it was possible to establish clearly the fact that the more southerly of the pair of corridor banks, that is the bank on the outer rampart side, was turning along the final stretch towards the line of the outer rampart, while the N. bank opposite this stretch was swinging slightly towards the inner rampart, presumably to rest upon the actual cliff-edge of the hill (Pl. iii).

On the NE. side, where exactly similar conditions
BUILT-UP BACK OF THE DRYSTONE WALLING OF THE NW. SIDE-ENTRANCE
PLATE XXXV.

A. SUBSIDENCE OF THE S. WALL OF THE NW. SIDE-ENTRANCE INTO THE FILLED IN POST-HOLE OF A PREVIOUS GATE. NOTE THE STRAIGHT JOINT WHERE ADDITIONAL WALLING WAS ADDED

B. JOINT AT SUBSIDENCE OF THE N. WALL. NOTE HERE ALSO THE ROUGHER STONES USED FOR THE LATER WALLING
were observable upon the ground, this theory was further substantiated by the discovery that the facing of the N. bank (again the bank on the outer rampart side), which was here preserved along the final stretch on the cliff face, had turned eastwards towards the outer rampart at almost a right angle to the main line of the corridor wall. Here also the outer stretch of the other bank appeared to have inclined slightly towards the inner rampart and rested upon the cliff-edge.

Thus although the actual links have on both sides vanished there are very strong grounds for supposing that, to create the inturned entrance effectively, there must originally have been a structural connection between the revetting wall of the outer rampart (see p. 36) and the walling of the inner bank of the corridor gate on each side. From this it is reasonable to suggest that the outer rampart and the side entrances belong to the same structural scheme, and were therefore built at the same period. The date of these side entrances represented, therefore, the date of the erection of the outer rampart.

Little detailed stratified evidence was found within the structures themselves. On the NW. pair, some scatter material of sherds were found upon the actual floor of the entrance, but these were too small and fragmentary in character to be recognisable: more scatter occupation was also found around the terminal ends of the ramparts, but produced very indeterminate sherds of local material.

Occupation pits were, however, found dug into the earthen ramps behind the walls. These contained a certain amount of local ware with rolled rims and linear ornamental patterns, and a very few poor examples of sherds with stamped patterns. Small finds were entirely lacking, but a number of iron rods in a highly corroded condition were found in the material on the floor of the entrance.

At some period after the abandonment of the entrance, remains of an infant were thrown down upon the stone paving at the N. side of the door-stop. These bones, which consisted of the remains of the skull, upper vertebrae and femur of a six year old
child, were thrown in haphazardly and may well have originally consisted of the entire skeleton but not necessarily of a prehistoric infant.

On the NE. side entrance no material was found in or around the actual gateway. Pottery was, however, recovered in considerable quantities from a sifted grey earth which lay on top of the stone core of the N. of the pair of banks. The character of the grey earth suggested that it might have been brought from some abandoned hut site. This sifted earth bank ended behind the bank with a single large stone, and overlying the tail of the grey earth was a small cap of clay. This grey material must therefore be taken as part of the structural building of the bank, and the material which it contained can be used as a limiting early date for the erection of the structure. The pottery (Fig. 19), was, however, similar to the material from the NW. bank. It was hard, well-baked ware, the majority of examples with rolled rim and decorated with incised linear ornament and a certain amount of burnishing. There was also found among it a few sherds with patterns of a stamped character. A spearhead, with a simple socket, was also found with this material (Fig. 8, no. 1). The evidence provided by the pottery has been discussed elsewhere (p. 105). It suggests that the side entrances were constructed at a late period in the history of the camp, and this fact, combined with the similarity in structural method between them and the second phase of the Inner Gateway, would appear to confirm the possibility of a period around the early part of the first century A.D.

III. The Small Objects

The sites in which the various small finds were discovered can be related to the main periods of occupation in the camp thus:—

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<th>Site Description</th>
<th>Date Range</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hut, First Period</td>
<td>First period occupation at Bredon, starting c. 100 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From behind Inner Rampart</td>
<td>ditto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unstratified behind Inner Rampart</td>
<td>Uncertain date, probably late in the first period occupation, around the end of the first century B.C.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BREDON HILL CAMP

NORTH-EASTERN CROSS-BANKS

Scale or 0 10 20 30 50 100 Feet

To face page 54.
Reconstruction period  . . . . . Rebuilding in the camp around A.D. 1.

Floor II, Inner Entrance . . . . . ditto.
Grey Soil, NE. Side Entrance . . . . . ditto.
Last Period, Inner Entrance . . . . . End of Camp, mid first century A.D.
Massacre Level, Inner Entrance . . . . . ditto, but associated with human remains.

The abbreviations used in this section are:—

Bris. and Glos. . . The Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society.
S.A.C . . Sussex Archaeological Collections.
W.A.M. . . Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine.

FIG. 3. BRONZE SCABBARD CHAPES AND SCABBARD BINDING OF SW. TYPE.

Massacre level, Inner Entrance.

Four bronze dagger chapes each consisting of two arms of bronze binding of semicircular section. These approach each other from a fairly wide angle and end in a circular hollow terminal button, with slight moulding at the point of junction. In every case one of the arms appears to curve outwards at a less marked angle than the other. As this feature is constant in all examples, not only those from Bredon which might possibly be thought to have suffered distortion, it must be considered part of the design. The button is hammered, not cast. The binding presumably enclosed the edges of the leather sheath of the scabbard. A great deal of tubular bronze binding was found throughout the gateway.

These chapes are mainly SW. in type, though an example occurs as far into the Midlands as Hunsbury. In this instance the trade route of the Jurassic zone may well have been the method by which the type moved NE.-wards. This form of chape is a derivative from Roman prototypes, and not in the La Tene development; for that reason the type is presumably late. The suggestion of a late date
offered on typological grounds would seem to be confirmed on stratigraphical grounds in the other examples traced so far.

**Other Examples:**

Ham Hill, burial with pseudo-anthropoid dagger. This chape though not identical in type belongs to the same general series. 
*Glastonbury*, Vol. i, p. 232, Fig. 43; p. 190, Pl. xliv, E. 107.
*Hunsbury*, *Arch. J.* xciii, pt. ii, Pl. xii, No. 4.
Hod Hill (in British Museum).

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**FIG. 3. BRONZE SCABBARD CHAPES.**

*Scabbard Binding.*

Caburn, *S.A.C.*, vol. 68, Pl. v, opposite p. 15, No. 33.
Meare Lake Village, Taunton Museum.

**FIG. 4. MISCELLANEOUS SMALL OBJECTS OF BRONZE.**

Hut Site, Period I.

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1 The other examples of small objects given in this section are not intended as an indication of the comparative frequency in other districts of similar small finds.
BREDON HILL CAMP

SECTIONS THROUGH CROSS-BANKS

Section across the NE. entrance

Section across the NW. entrance

SCALE OF FEET
Ring-headed, made of bronze wire, circular in section, tapering to a point.
Length 3.5 in., width of ring .5 in., thickness .1 in.
The pins of this type known up to 1924 have been exhaustively described by Mr. G. C. Dunning in the *Arch. Journal*, xci (1934), ii. He described this particular style of pin as a SW. La Tene type,
for typologically it is a simple and early form, and gives an initial fourth-century date for the type. This dating is, however, by no means a limit for its lasting power, and one of the examples at Meare, which is of a simple early form similar to the Bredon example, shows that this particular form of pin remained in use in SW. Britain into the first century A.D. In itself, therefore, the pin cannot be taken as a criterion of date.

Other Examples (found subsequent to Mr. Dunning's list).

Maiden Castle, where such examples are of iron and are always associated with the 'B' invasion.

Meare Lake Village, Roman period. In the Taunton Museum.

An example of the simple form.

No. 2. Bronze Stud (p. 58).

From natural ground level down corridor of Inner Gate, last period.

A shaped piece of bronze decorated with grooving, tubular end and fish-tail expanded face; pierced at the top with a bronze rivet with large flat head. The rivet goes through both arms. Possibly some kind of ornamental stud for a leather belt.

Length .6 in., width at base .5 in., width of rivet head .2 in.

Other Examples.


Glastonbury, vol. i, p. 234, Pls. xliii and xlv.

No. 3. Another.

Massacre level, Inner Gate.

Height .7 in., width at base .6 in., head of rivet .2 in.

No. 4. Another.

Massacre level, Inner Gate.

Plain, much smaller rivet head.

Height .55 in., width at base .5 in.

No. 5. Bronze Hinge.

Last period Inner Gateway.

Hinge of bronze, or possibly strap-end, with small projecting flanges and central hole. Circular in shape, ornamented with alternate grooves and cordons.

Length .8 in., diameter .25 in., flange .15 in.

Other Examples.

Glastonbury, vol. i, No. 145, Pl. xlii, pp. 224 and 218. This example had a circular bronze plate attached.

No. 6. Finger-Ring (Bronze).

Massacre level of Inner Entrance.

Overlapping terminal ends, flattened and expanded in front, with light punching along the two edges.

Length of decorated front .75 in., overlap .75 in., width in front .3 in.

See below, No. 7.

No. 7. Finger-Ring (p. 50).
Floor II of Inner Entrance on reconstruction level below roadway and immediately above the natural.

Overlapping terminal ends, the ring flattened and expanded in front, with a triple row of punched marks along the edges and down the centre on the front portion.

Length of front .75 in., of overlaps .6 in., width in front .3 in.

Other Examples.

Glastonbury, vol. i, p. 209 ff. A full list of examples then identified is given in this account. Subsequent additions are:

Caburn, S.A.C. 68, 1927, Pl. v, No. 31, La Tène iii and iv.

Salmonsbury (unpublished), undecorated example Belgic period, e.g. A.D. 20-50.

Hunsbury, Arch. J., vol. xciii, pt. ii, p. 62, Fig. 3, No. 6.

Maiden Castle. Belgic period, with four rows of punched decoration.

No. 8. Finger-Ring.

Massacre level, Inner Entrance.

Now slightly distorted, overlapping terminal ends, flattened and expanded in front, notched around the edges at the sides and decorated with a double groove. The front ornamented with a dot and circle pattern in low relief and a slightly raised cross pattern between each circle.

Length of decorated front .65 in., overlap .65 in., width of decorated front .6 in.

This example is identical with one figured in the Glastonbury report, of which it is stated ‘Only one ring, flattened and expanded in front, is treated with a typical late Celtic motif.’ Vol. i, Pl. xli, No. E. iii, p. 210.

Other Examples.

See above, Nos. 6 and 7.

No. 9. Ring.

Hut, first period.

Portion of circular ring with a flat under section and two horizontal lines of grooving as decoration.

No. 10. Piece of Bronze Binding (possibly decorative unit of leatherwork).

Last period Inner Gateway.

Flat piece of bronze decorated with three deep grooves running longitudinally, rivet still in position at one end.

Length 1.2 in., width of base .25 in., at top .2 in., grooves .5 in. in length, starting .4 in. from the top.

No. 11. Bronze Bracelet (two pieces, only one illustrated).

Massacre level, Inner Gateway.

Slightly curved section, ornamented with a central row of small raised knobs and a grooved line on each side, one end having a thinner plate perforated to take the hook of the corresponding end. The bracelet has been broken and mended with a rivet.

Width .27 in., within the curve .17 in. Distance apart of knobs .1 in.
Other Examples.

No. 12. Tubular Piece of Bronze.
Massacre level, Inner Gateway.
Incomplete, decorated with two raised bands, the edges do not quite meet to form a cylinder. Possibly part of a belt ornament.
Length 1.2 in., width .35 in.

No. 13. Ornament.
Massacre level, Inner Gateway.
Piece of bronze of tubular bolster shape, the overlap being kept in position with a small side knob on the edge of the underpiece which slid into similar perforations on the edge of the upper piece. Probably intended to go over leather thong.
Length 1.05 in., width .5 in., diameter .25 in., overlap .1 in.

Other Examples.
Salmonsbury (unpublished), Belgic period.

Massacre level, Inner Entrance.
Bronze stud with domed head and central perforation for nail. Probably part of the decorative and protective element on leatherwork.
Width at top .3 in., at base .4 in., height .15 in.

Other Examples.
Ham Hill, Arch. j. lxx, p. 114, No. E.11.

No. 15. Piece of Flat Bronze.
Last period Inner Gateway.
Flat strip of bronze with punch decoration along edges, curved in a sickle shape, narrow at one end and broadening out considerably the other. Possibly part of central plates from a shield.
Maximum length 3.5 in., width 1.5 in., narrow end .5 in.
See Archaeologia Cambrensis, December 1928, vol. 83, Part ii. Article by W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., on ‘A La Tène Shield from Moel Hiraddug, Flintshire.’

Other Examples.
Charleston Brow, La Tène III and Belgic, S.A.C. vol. 74 (1933), Fig. 4, p. 177. Identified as possibly part of a helmet.
Casterley, W.A.M. vol. 38, Pl. i, No. 8, p. 98. Belgic-Roman.

No. 16. Bronze Tankard Handle.
Reconstruction period.
Bronze tankard handle with notched ends to fit in the plates of the cup sides. Front view has grooved edges, and openwork zig-zag pattern of bronze pellets. Handle narrows at the ends and widens in centre.
Length of handle 1.5 in., maximum spread 1.9 in., length of notches .05 in., maximum width of face .8 in., width of open front .5 in.
Other Examples.
Other tankard handles, though not exactly of this type come (i) from Port Dafarch, Holyhead, where it is La Tene in type, though used in the Roman occupation; (ii and iii) from Aylesford and Hod Hill, B.M. E.I.A. Guide, p. 127, Figs. 140 and 146.

No. 17. Plain Bronze Handle.
Last period Inner Gateway.
Plain bronze handle. No decoration or end notches.
Maximum spread 2.1 in., length of handle 1.6 in.

No. 18. Pieces of Bronze (broken).
Floor II, Inner Gate. Sec. No. 15.

IRON
The finds at Bredon, particularly during the early period, included a great many miscellaneous iron objects, not all illustrated. These included iron wedges, nails, rods and flat bars of iron, and flat pieces with pierced holes, broken knife blades, etc.
Generally speaking there is an unexpected amount of this junk iron, and it may possibly have been collected at Bredon as part of tinkers’ hoards, etc., with a view to being ultimately disposed of for re-smelting purposes. This suggestion emphasises the possible situation of Bredon Camp as an intermediate stage in trade impulses. Possibly the hill served as the collecting place for iron refuse, from whence it would be re-traded. In this connection Mr. Leeds’ original suggestion that the Cornish ‘B’ folk may have penetrated inland for the sake of the metal trade¹ would seem to be reinforced (see p. 93).

Iron spits, or rods, were also found in the roadway of the NW. outer entrance. From their situation it was impossible to say whether they were stratified or not, but they may possibly have been used in connection with a wheeled vehicle.

FIG. 5. IRON HORSE BITS. ²
No. 1. From behind the Inner Rampart, First Period.
The mouthpiece of a horse’s bit of three-link type. The side links are moulded and were perhaps originally tinned (cf. No. 2). The central figure-of-eight link is of considerably rougher workmanship and is probably a later repair. When complete the bit would have had two side rings, which may or may not have been furnished with stop-knobs.
Most of the metal horses’ bits of the early Iron Age found in this country are of this three-link type. The only exception would seem to be the two-link bits of the Lake Village B. culture (best represented by those from the Polden Hills hoard, B.M. E.I.A. Guide, Fig. 162), of which a few isolated late examples are found elsewhere. No metal bits can as yet be specifically associated with the Wessex ‘B’ culture. The three-link bits are on the other hand

¹ Archaeologia lxxvi, 237. ² For the information on horse-bits I am indebted to Mr. Ward Perkins.
widespread in England, though rare abroad, and there can be little question that all derive ultimately from a common source, the bits of the Northern 'B' invaders, who were responsible for the Yorkshire chariot-burials, e.g. those from Arras, *Archaeol. LX*, pp. 280, 285, Figs. 22 and 29. Like other metal-work types they were widely diffused, and examples are recorded from as far afield as Bigbury (Kent), Walthamstow (Essex), Otterbourne (Hants.) and Hagbourne Hill (Berks.). The decoration upon the specimens from Walthamstow and Ulceby (Lincs.) cannot be dated much before the close of the first century B.C., and the type was in fact probably in use down to the Roman conquest.

No. 2. *Another* (fragmentary).
   Inner Entrance, unstratified.
   This example bears traces of having been tinned.

No. 3. *Another* (fragmentary).
   Hut, First Period.
FIG. 6. IRON HAMMER-HEADS.
No. 1. Heavy Iron Hammer-Head.
Massacre level, Inner Gateway.

Flat, thick, iron hammer-head, both ends blunted with use.
A central rectangular perforation, hammer thickest in centre.
Maximum length 2.5 in., width at ends, .45 in., maximum
The excavation of the iron age camp

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thickness .45 in., length at ends after perforation .75 in. and 1.1 in., length of perforation 1 in., width .5 in.

These heads could very well have served for fairly heavy hammering.

No. 2. Another.

Same site.

Thick iron hammer-head, slightly curved ends, convex surface; battered with use. Hammer thickens in centre and has rectangular perforation.

Maximum length 3.1 in., maximum thickness .75 in., width at ends .6 in., length hammer ends after perforation .9 in., length of perforation 1.1 in., width .4 in.

No. 3. Long, Narrow, Iron ‘Hammer-Head’.

Hut, First Period.

Iron ‘hammer head’ (with one end square and the other chisel shaped), slightly convex surface. Central rectangular perforation with thickening of the hammer at this point.

Length 3.55 in., breadth at perforation .6 in., width at square end .45 in., thickness of square end .23 in., length of perforation .5 in., width of perforation .15 in.

No. 4. Another.

From unstratified occupation area behind the Inner Rampart.

Long and thin ‘hammer-head’ with rounded and chiselled ends. Under-side markedly concave; small, narrow perforation not in centre of hammer.

Length 5.3 in., width of perforation .5 in., width of chisel end .4 in., width of square end .4 in., length of perforation .6 in.

No. 5. Another (not illustrated).

Unstratified occupation area behind Inner Rampart.

These long, narrow ‘hammer-heads’ are so called for reasons of convenience, as it is difficult to imagine they could be used for very heavy work. They are found in considerable quantities in the Marne and are dated by Dechelette, to La Tène III. He considers them absolutely uniform in type. Often described as ‘Marteau de Bourrelier.’

French Examples.


Tumulus de Celles (Dechelette vol. ii pt. iii, Fig. 607, No. 8, p. 1373).

English Examples.

Ham Hill, in Taunton Museum.

Oare, W.A.M., vol. 36, Pl. iiir, with Belgic associations.

Caburn, S.A.C. 68 (1927), Pl. iv, No. 16, La Tène III and IV.


Glastonbury, where it is described as ‘perhaps the guard of a dagger,’ vol. i, Fig. 48, No. 90, p. 246.
FIG. 7 AND PL. VII i. FLAMBOYANT SPEARHEAD (pp. 13, 42). Top filling of ditch of Inner Entrance, First Period. Wide, flat spearhead of 'flamboyant' type with a pronounced midrif and the junction of the haft and blade well defined. The socket is hollow and still has a bronze rivet in position at the mouth. The characteristic flamboyant form is shown by the wavy irregular
outline of the blade on both sides of the midrib, which has been
curved to form two loops. The diagonal quarters of the blade have
been decorated with a crimped pattern forged into the iron, which
reaches from the edges almost to the midrib.

Length of spearhead 10.7 in., length of socket 2 in., width of
socket mouth .7 in., maximum width of blade 2.5 in.

No other example of a flamboyant spearhead has yet been
recorded in England, and the presence of an example at Bredon
bespeaks therefore direct contact with the Continent. Even here
there are not many examples, the majority coming from France.
The La Tène station itself has produced two.

An example was also found stratified in the La Tène Lake
Dwelling at Neuchatel, where it was accorded a date not later than
mid-second century B.C. This would fit with the dating suggested
for the First Entrance and primary foundation of Bredon Camp on
other grounds, and this perhaps provides confirmatory evidence for
setting the foundation of the hill town around 100–50 B.C.

Other Examples.

Dechelette, *Age de Fer* vol. ii, pt. iii, Fig. 479 and p. 1144 f, and
two from Nimes.

J. de Saint-Venaut, *Arecomiques*, p. 17, Fig. 5.

Gros, *La Tène*, pl. v, Fig. 8; Pl. vi, Fig. 1.

**FIG. 8. IRON SPEARHEADS.**

Iron spearheads are all associated with the latter phases of the
occupation. Seven of them came from the massacre level of the
Inner Entrance, and the other from the NE. outer entrance.

These spearheads are rather smaller than the usual Iron Age
types, but they all, save for one entirely distinctive example (No. 7),
have the characteristic ‘closed’ socket. The majority show a
pronounced midrib, though this seems lacking in the two examples.
Nos. 3 and 4 with their short, rather blunt heads, suggest javelins
rather than spears.

The distinctive example No. 7 with the bent-over haft occurs in
a well-documented first century A.D. association on another Iron
Age Site (Maiden Castle), and has not apparently been found in
earlier association anywhere else. This late dating serves as con-
firmation for the suggestion that the end of Bredon Hill may be set
somewhere in the first half of the first century A.D. (pp. 57–8).

Six of the seven spearheads from the entrance occurred around
the bridge-end of the entrance. This position suggests that they
were used by the defenders of the camp who were concentrated upon
the highest points of the rampart butts and also up on the bridge,
probably during the initial stages of the fight.

No. 1. Grey soil at the NE. side entrance.

Blade with very slight midrib and slightly wavy outline,
marked junction of socket and blade and shoulder. Rivet in
position at mouth of socket.
FIG. 8. IRON SPEARHEADS. NO. 1, 3; THE REST, 1/4

Length 5.1 in., length of blade 3.65 in., maximum width of blade 1.15 in., diameter of socket .7 in.
No. 2. Massacre level, Inner Entrance.
Long, thin blade, slightly wavy outline, marked junction of socket and blade, well-marked midrib and pronounced shoulder.
Length 6.5 in., length of blade 4.2 in., maximum width .7 in., diameter socket .5 in.

Another (not illustrated). The tip of another long thin spearhead, with a marked midrib.

Nos. 3 and 4. Massacre level, Inner Entrance.
Two small javelin heads, with blunt ends, marked midrib.
Lengths 3.9 in. and 3.6 in., maximum width of blade 1 in. and .6 in., length of blades 2 in. and 1.5 in., diameter of socket .6 in. and .5 in.

No. 5. Massacre level, Inner Entrance.
Long, thin blade, without a marked midrib or shoulder. Two rivets in position at base of socket.
Length 6.5 in., length of blade 3.5 in., maximum width of blade .9 in., diameter of socket .6 in.

No. 6. Massacre level, Inner Entrance.
Broken; has probably been another long, thin example.
Pronounced midrib, but no shoulder.
Length of haft 2 in., diameter of socket .6 in.

No. 7. Massacre level, Inner Entrance.
Flat-bladed spearhead, with no midrib, blunt end roughly leaf-shaped. Haft formed by overlapping ends at base of blade.
The bent-over form of shaft is a late characteristic. It occurs in spearheads found in the battle area at the Eastern entrance at Maiden Castle and there dated to c. A.D. 45.

There is another example from Ham Hill (Taunton Museum), where the blade runs to a more normal spearlike point, and at Casterley Camp (W.A.M. 38, and Devizes Cat. ii, p. 108, Pl. xxxi, No. 15), where the associations are Belgic-Roman. In this example the bent-over haft projects on both sides of the blade, and the curious shape of the blade had led to the suggestion that the weapon may have been intended as ‘the point at the end of a lance . . . ’

FIG. 9. MISCELLANEOUS IRON OBJECTS.

No. 1. Saw.
From tail of Outer rampart, therefore post reconstruction period (p. 38).
Iron saw with teeth running inwards, and intended to be used by dragging. Blade broken at tip, flat top, bone handle. Saw attached by splitting the handle and inserting the tang, and then riveting it home with two iron rivets. Handle, a curved piece of bone decorated along the top with a double groove, which continues the line of the top of the saw.
Length of blade 6.7 in., width at handle 1.15 in., insertion in handle 1.5 in., length of handle 3.8 in.

Other Examples:
For a general account see Glastonbury, vol. ii, 371 ff.
Battlesbury, Devizes Cat. II, p. 92, Pl. xxiv, No. 7. Association Belgic to Roman.
Maiden Castle (2).
ON BREDON HILL, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

No. 2. Iron Knife.
Massacre level at Inner Gate, associated with skulls and pots.
Iron knife with curved haft. Handle missing. The back of the knife is also slightly curved and the cutting edge shaped rather like shears.

Overall length 8.8 in., maximum blade 1.25 in., length of blade .5 in.
Such knives are common on E.I.A. sites, and somewhat
similar examples come from Hunbury, *Arch. J.* lxiii, 2, Pl. ivA, p. 65.

No. 3. *Pin.*
Hut, First Period.
Iron pin with double bevelled head and three deep grooves around the head: flat top. Possibly modelled upon a bone prototype.
Length 3.1 in., head .6 in., length of bevels .25 in., thickness .15 in.

No. 4. Massacre level, Inner Entrance.
Piece of Iron of unknown use, possibly part of an iron sword scabbard.

No. 5. From behind Inner Rampart, First Period.
Iron object of unknown use. Circular haft with flattened end and turn-over tip.

No. 6. *Awl.*
From grey soil, NE. side entrance.
Iron awl with tapering haft of rounded section and angular end of square section.
Length 3.15 in., length of head .8 in.

*Other Examples:*
A bronze example comes from Glastonbury vol. i, Pl. xliii, E.109.

No. 7. From unstratified area behind Inner Rampart.
Square iron ingot, possibly some kind of weight or else an ingot of pig iron.

No. 8. *Iron Box Binding or Cleat.*
From occupation area. Unstratified.
Only two sides remaining, rivet in position on the broken short arm.
Length of longest arm remaining .75 in. Maximum width .45 in. Length of rivet .5 in.
See No. 14742 from the Marne in the St. Germain Museum.

No. 9. From unstratified area behind Inner Rampart.
Iron object of unknown use, possibly also some kind of clamp.

No. 10. *Iron Box Binding or Cleat.*
Hut, First Period.
Three sides of a square object, broken.
Uniform width throughout. Length of longest side 2.5 in., width of longest side .4 in.
Another (not illustrated).
With expanding bottom plate and two small side clamps.
Another (not illustrated).
From occupation area. Unstratified.
Only two sides remaining. Longest side 1.8 in.
Another (not illustrated).
From side entrance. Unstratified.
With a rivet hole at one end.
Longest side 2 in., width .5 in.
Other Examples:
Also from the Somme, *loc cit.*, Pl. 40, 5–9.
Battlesbury, *W.A.M.* xlii, pp. 370, 372; and *Devises Catalogue*, Pl. ii, p. 90, and Pl. xxiv (c), No. 4, Belgic-Roman period.
Casterley, *W.A.M.* 38, Pl. 3, No. 26, p. 100. Rivet holes at each end. Belgic-Roman.
Salmonsbury (unpublished), Belgic period.
Maiden Castle.

No. 11. Hut, First Period.
Curved tubular piece of iron, partly hollow at the broad end, broken. Possibly part of a handle.
Length 2.3 in., diameter at mouth .3 in.

**FIG. 10. MISCELLANEOUS PIECES OF IRON.**

No. 1. *Billhook.*
From behind Inner Rampart, unstratified.
Iron billhook, the haft broken and the point missing.
Maximum length 4.2 in., width 1.5 in.

*Other Examples:*
Hunsbury, *Arch. J.* xciii (2).
Bigberry, *Arch. J.* lix, p. 214, Pl. i, Fig. 3.

No. 2. *Belt-end.*
From grey soil at NE. Side Entrance.
Iron belt hook, the plate expanding towards the end, two rivets supporting a flat upper plate, the belt tongue being originally inserted between the two plates.
Length of flat base 1.7 in., width at end .75 in., space between plates .1 in.

No. 3. *Light Ring.*
Hut, First Period.
Light iron ring, broken, rounded section.
Diameter .9 in., thickness .15 in.

No. 4. *Another.*
From grey soil outer NE. Entrance.
Light ring, broken, with rounded section, and originally slight spiral overlap.
Diameter .9 in., thickness .1 in.

No. 5. *Ring.*
From *Floor III*, Inner Entrance.
Half solid iron ring, or possibly handle, rounded section, slightly grooved one end at break.
Thickness .2 in.
No. 6. Another.
Final Period, Inner Entrance.
Heavy solid iron ring, with join one side, rounded section.
Diameter 2.9 in., thickness .2 in.

FIG. 10. MISCELLANEOUS IRON OBJECTS. NOS. 6 AND 11, 1/8; REMAINDER, 3/8
No. 7. Another.
Final Period, Inner Entrance.
Iron ring, with grooved cross decoration upon the outer face, flat underneath.
Diameter 1.6 in., thickness .15 in.

Another (not illustrated).
Unstratified hut behind Inner Rampart.
Iron ring, with overlapping ends, oval in shape and thickening on one side. Possibly a finger ring. Distorted.
Diameter 1.8 in. approx.

No. 8. Another.
Unstratified behind Inner Rampart.
Heavy circular iron ring, square in section, with hammered overlapping ends. Probably some kind of pole ring.
Diameter 1.6 in. by 1.5 in. Width of ribbon.

No. 9. Washer.
Hut, First Period.
Iron washer with slightly convex surface, rectangular in shape with circular central perforation.
Length of sides .8 in., diameter of perforation .4 in.

Other Examples:
Found in considerable quantities in the Marne, described as 'Iron bolts or nail heads.'
Glastonbury, vol. ii, 390, Pl. lxii.

No. 10. File.
From behind Inner Rampart, First Period.
Broken iron file with transversely grooved face on rounded surface, serrated edges; rectangular in shape, but expanding towards the far end. Rivet hole at top.
Length 3.6 in., end width .75 in., thickness .15 in.

No. 11. Sickle.
In Final Period, Inner entrance.
Small curved iron sickle with haft containing a rivet hole. Unpolished edge.
Overall length 2.4 in.

Another.
Unstratified.

Other Examples:
Three examples from Hunsbury, Arch. J., lxiii (2).
Bigberry, Arch. J. lix, p. 214, Pl. i, Fig. 3.
Maiden Castle.

No. 12. Iron Spiral Ring.
From Floor II, Inner Entrance (pp. 15, 50).
Iron spiral ring in three loops, broken at the ends. Possibly a finger ring.
THE EXCAVATION OF THE IRON AGE CAMP

Depth of ring .55 in. Thickness of individual strand .2 in.

*Other Examples:*
These are common at Glastonbury, but are usually bronze, though a few iron examples exist.
- Casterley, *W.A.M.* 38, p. 98, Pl. i, No. 12. Belgic association, one of many.

**FIG. XI. SPINDLEWHORLS.**

No. 1. Final Period, Inner Entrance.
- Stone spindlewhorl with domed surface and rectangular sides, flattened base, waisted central perforation, very heavy.
- Diameter 1.9 in., thickness 1 in.
  *Another* (not illustrated).
  - Unstratified.
  - Half stone spindlewhorl of similar type.
  - Diameter (approximately) 1.9 in., thickness .8 in.

No. 2. Hut, First Period.
- Circular domed spindlewhorl of sandstone with waisted central perforation.
  - Diameter 1.5 in., maximum thickness .5 in.

No. 3. Hut, First Period.
- Broken spindlewhorl, flat under-surface and slightly convex upper. Waisted central perforation.

No. 4. Unstratified.
- Part of a clay ring, possibly a spindlewhorl.

No. 5. Unstratified.
- Broken stone spindlewhorl with raised groove around the outer edge.

No. 6. First Period, from hearth behind Inner Ramparts, Site H.
- Half stone spindlewhorl decorated around the sides with four evenly spaced deep grooves. One face dome shaped, the other flat and decorated with two grooves, one around the edge and the other around the central waisted perforation, the space between ornamented with criss-cross decorative motifs.
  - Diameter (approximately) 1.5 in., thickness .85 in.

*Other Examples:*
- Hunsbury, *Arch. J.* xciii, Fig. 5, E.X. p. 70, interlocking circles.
- Caburn, *S.A.C.* 68 (1927), Pl. vi, No. 41. Incised lines in simple pattern.
- Camerton, Som., *Arch. J.* xv, 199.
- Milber Down, Devon (unpublished).
- Kents Cavern (Torquay Museum).
The two latter sites have produced flat whorls with a very distinctive similar form of decoration.\(^1\)

FIG. 11. SPINDLEWHORLS. \(\frac{2}{3}\)

\(^1\) For the information concerning the spindlewhorls from Kent's Cavern and Milber Down, I am indebted to Mr. F. Cottrill, who excavated the latter site, 1937-1938.
No. 7. Sea urchin, with central perforation, possibly used as a 
spindle whorl.
This fossil has kindly been identified by Mr. W. D. Lang, 
of the Department of Geology of the British Museum, as a sea  
urchin of a type commonly found in the inferior oolite of the  
Cotswold district and known as *Pygaster semisulcatu* (Phillips).

FIG. 12. MISCELLANEOUS BONE AND OTHER SMALL OBJECTS.
No. 1. Bone Hammer Head.
Hut, First Period.
Hammer shaped piece of bone with one end hollow and 
circular central perforation to contain a small iron wedge.
Maximum length 2.3 in., depth of central hole 1.15 in., radius of  
hole .4 in., thickness of hammer 1 in.
No. 2. Boar's Tusk Pendant.
Last period Inner Gateway.
Circular perforations at top.
Overall measurement 3 in.
Another (not illustrated), from top filling of South Ditch at 
entrance, broken.

Other Examples:
Salmonsbury, Belgic period, but with a central perforation.
Trundle, *S.A.C.*, 72, 1931, Pl. xiv, Nos. 39 and 42. Period  
Hallstatt-La Tene I.
Lidbury, *W.A.M.*, 40, p. 34, Pl. ix, No. 17.
These objects are very common upon Iron Age Sites.

No. 3. Flint (triangular).
From Hut, First Period.
Only flint discovered on site.
Maximum length .75 in., width .5 in.

No. 4. Bead.
Last period Inner Entrance.
Plain amber head, translucent, with small central perforation.
Diameter .6 in., thickness .3 in.

No. 5. Another.
On natural at wall face, probably last period Inner Entrance.
Dark blue opaque glass bead, globular.
Maximum diameter .8 in., thickness .7 in.
For general account of the occurrence of these beads references  
see Hunsbury, *Arch. J.* lxiii, pp. 68, 69.

No. 6. Bone Bead.
Hut, First Period.
Part of a bone bead with double grooving around each edge and  
a central circular perforation.
Diameter of bead .75 in.

Other Examples:
A somewhat similar object, in this case of iron coated with
bronze, was found at Salmonsbury belonging to the Belgic period.
No. 7. *Decorated Bone Object* (possibly part of a handle).
Last period Inner Gateway. Associated with skeleton.
Bone object, curved in shape, decoration three grooves, deep

FIG. 12. MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS OF BONE, ETC.
and side central one and two smaller grooves each side. These do not run the entire length of the object.

Maximum length 1.6 in., maximum width .5 in., width of widest groove .25 in., distance apart of ends of object .8 in.

No. 8. Bone Cheek Piece.
Last period Inner Gateway.
Slightly curved with three circular perforations, the widest in approximately the centre, and the other two grouped together at wider end.
Maximum length 4.4 in., wide end .95 in., narrow end .5 in.

Other Examples:
For a general account see Glastonbury, vol. ii, p. 440 ff., Pl.lxiv.
Salmonsbury, not published. Stated to be Belgic period.
Maiden Castle.

No. 9. Small Polished Stone Axe.
Hut, First Period.
This object would appear to be a vestigial relic and may possibly have served as some kind of amulet or charm.
Length 2 in., width at base 1 in., at top .55 in.

No. 10. Bone Needle.
Hut Site, First Period.
Bone needle with broken eyelet hole.
Length 3 in., width of eyelet .2 in.
This needle occurs at Glastonbury, where it is classified into the 'A' type. Glastonbury ii, p. 410, Fig. 147, B.210. Needles are common upon Iron Age sites.

No. 11. Dog's Tooth Charm.
Occupation area behind rampart, unstratified.
Perforated dog's tooth with a circular hole in the centre.
Probably either part of an amulet or a necklace.
Maximum length 1.5 in., width at perforation .4 in.

Other Examples:
Lidbury, W.A.M. xl, p. 33, Pl. ix, No. 9.
Casterley, W.A.M. 38, Pl. ix, No. 7, p. 104.
This decoration or charm appears to be universal among primitive peoples. It is, for instance, also found in South America among the Cocle peoples.

IV. THE POTTERY

THE DUCK MOTIF ON STAMPED POTTERY FROM BREDON HILL (Figs. 13, 14)

During the course of work on Bredon Hill, it was found that a certain proportion of the pottery associated with the first period of occupation of the town, was remarkable for a stamped decoration impressed immedi-
ately below the rim. This stamped pattern had in some instances degenerated into a simple punch mark (Fig. 14, no. 1), but in other cases the decoration, which formed the basis of the pattern, had quite clearly been derived from the motif of a row of ducks (Fig. 14, no. 2), and this motif may reasonably be assumed to be the prototype from which all the various pottery stamps used at Bredon had been ultimately derived. Apart from the Bredon material, other examples of this stamped ‘duck-pattern’ ware have been found in the Western Cotswold area,¹}

¹ See G. C. Dunning and Helen E. Donovan, ‘Iron Age Pottery and Saxon Burials at Foxcote Manor, Andoversford, Glos.’ Transac-

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FIG. 13. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF SITES WHERE ‘DUCK’ PATTERNS HAVE OCCURRED ON POTSHERDS
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it is now apparent that this particular district is remarkable for a concentration in it of wares with this unusual decorative style. In view of the highly distinctive character of this pattern it may be appropriate to summarise here the information which is available concerning the prevalence, affinities and possible date in this country of pottery bearing the duck motif as a decoration; and furthermore to try to suggest the reason for the appearance of this style as far inland as the Western Cotswolds.

The duck motif came originally to Italy from the Aegean, and was prominent all through the Italian Iron Age. Patterns of stamped ducks on pottery occur frequently in the Arnoaldi Cemetery, which lasted until the latter part of the sixth century B.C. Similar stamped patterns occur in the Iron Age of North-western Spain and Northern Portugal, at Kerviltro in the Commune of St. Jean-Trolimin in Western Brittany, and in Western Cornwall. Déchelette presumed that the example from Kerviltro belonged to his La Tène I (500–300 B.C.) and that it was derived from Spain. Mr. Leeds, following this idea, derived the Cornish examples, and other features in the Western Cornish culture, from the Iberian Peninsula, by coastwise traffic via Brittany during the third century B.C. Mr. Leeds may, however, have rather exaggerated the Spanish connection in Western Cornwall, and in the absence of further detailed knowledge of the Iron Age of France, it would be unwise to assume that the 'duck' pattern could not have reached the Atlantic coast from Italy via France, as easily as coastwise from Spain. In any case there can be little doubt that the 'duck' pattern in Britain reached this country via Brittany.

1 Nils Åberg, Bronzezeitliche und fruheisenzeitliche chronologie, Pt. i (Stockholm, 1930), p. 215. He dates Arnoaldi period from 625–525 B.C. The higher dating of Montelius is 750–550 B.C.
2 Thurlow Leeds, Archaeologia lxxvi, 230 ff.
3 J. Dechelette, Manuel d'Archeologie (Vol. ii, Pt. 3, p. 1472, fig. 667(i).)
4 Archaeologia, loc. cit.
5 It has hitherto been stated that a sherd with duck pattern was also found at Hengistbury Head. I am, however, indebted to Mr. Dunning for the information that this sherd has no stamped decoration, but a series of short strokes made with a blunt point, and should not therefore be included.
6 H. O’N. Hencken, Cornwall and Scilly (The County Archaeologies) 1932, pp. 155–156.
It has recently been shown that the duck motifs on the Iron Age wares from the Western Cotswolds are derived from those of Cornwall.\(^1\) The map (Fig. 13) shows them to be more frequent in the Cotswolds than in Cornwall, but the priority of the arrival of the style in the latter area probably holds good.

Five sites in Western Cornwall are said to have produced duck patterns. Of these one from Harlyn Bay seems likely to have been wrongly so described,\(^2\) and the one said to be from Treveneague, while probably from somewhere in Western Cornwall, is not necessarily from this site.\(^3\) Only three certain Cornish sites therefore have produced duck patterns. Of these single sherds were found at Porthmeor,\(^4\) and Chysauster\(^5\) and though the bulk of the material from these sites was Romano-British, the presence of such sherds may perhaps represent traces of an earlier culture and should therefore be included in this account. The only definite pre-Roman site in Western Cornwall to produce duck patterns is Chun Castle.\(^6\) Here Mr. Leeds, following Dechelette's date for the duck pattern on the Kervitire sherd, used this pottery for dating the Chun complex to the first half of the third century B.C.

Recent archaeological work has, however, tended to show that the date of the introduction of Iron Age 'B' culture (of which Chun forms a part) into SW. Britain must be considerably later than the early third century. It has however been suggested that while the Iron Age 'B' culture of Wessex and Somerset reached this country around 100–50 B.C., the Cornish culture, of which the 'duck' pattern is an essential part, may well be a little earlier.\(^7\)

Furthermore since the Cornish 'duck' pottery is all in the tin-working areas of the extreme West of the peninsula,\(^8\) the suggestion that the Cornish 'B' is earlier than that of Somerset and Wessex gains

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\(^1\) G. C. Dunning, loc. cit. 162.
\(^2\) Archaeologia, loc. cit. 231.
\(^3\) Hencken, loc. cit., p. 127.
\(^5\) Archaeologia lxxxiii, pp. 261–266, fig. 7 (2).
\(^6\) Archaeologia lxxvi, 230 ff.
\(^7\) Hencken, loc. cit., 167.
possible confirmation. For the particular area with which this stamped pottery was associated had been in touch with Brittany over a long period and may thus have received Continental influences at a rather earlier date than the rest of the SW. Britain. But in the old turf line, sealed below the Inner rampart at Bredon, there were found sherds stamped with 'duck' patterns (Fig. 14, nos. 1–5) together with sherds of Wessex bead-rim type (Fig. 14, nos. 6 and 7). These sherds all belong to the foundation of the camp and on the dating of the Wessex 'B' culture indicated above, the presence of bead-rim pots in the primary occupation of the town suggest, together with the evidence of the small finds, a date around 100–50 B.C. for the initial establishment of the settlement.

Now these first period stamped sherds at Bredon are as good examples of their kind as any in Cornwall and therefore unlikely to be much later in date. If therefore the foundation of Bredon cannot be earlier than 100 B.C., the date for the arrival of the stamped pottery in Cornwall itself, and with it the Cornish 'B' culture, cannot be in turn set much earlier than the latter part of the second century B.C. There, until more substantial evidence is obtained both from Cornwall and from the Continent, the matter of exact dating must rest.

The next question concerns the possible reason for the transference of part of this Cornish culture into the Cotswold area, and the method by which it was effected. To take the latter first.

Examination of the map leaves little room for doubt: the route must have been coastwise up the Bristol channel and Severn estuary, and ultimately up the Severn valley itself. The Cotswold sites in which this particular form of pottery has so far been found, are all concentrated in the swampy Severn plain or along the rivers, and all of them were accessible to river traffic. The lack of intermediate land sites between Cornwall and the Cotswolds is thus explained, and the apparent difficulties of a cross-country route abolished. Incidentally it is of interest to note that the only outlying site, the very degenerate duck-
pattern sherd from Pen Dinas in Aberystwyth, was equally accessible to coastwise traffic, and it may well be that yet other examples will turn up around the Welsh coast and on the Eastern side of the Bristol channel, representing other intermediate ports of call and trade. The exact purpose of this coast and river traffic is not certain but it seems most likely that trade, and possibly the metal trade, was the basis of the organisation. In discussing the occurrence of some of the stamped sherds in the Cotswold area Mr. Leeds originally remarked that it was possible that the camps along the Western edge aimed at securing a command of the iron deposits of the Forest of Dean. Work at Bredon Hill has done nothing to upset that suggestion. The site of the camp was almost certainly chosen to command both the trunk route up the Severn valley from the sea, and also the numerous cross-country trading lanes. The small finds from the camp show the town to have been a centre through which or to which numerous trading lines converged. Furthermore the quantities of broken scrap-iron upon the site would appear to bear witness to some kind of concern with metal distribution. The association of the Cornish 'duck' sites with the tin trade, the presence at Bredon Hill of purely Continental objects, together with a wide diversity of local metal types, and quantities of scrap-iron, all give weight to the possibility of the camp having served as a great trading centre. When further work is done in the area it may well be shown that the foundation of some of the Western Cotswold camps was originally undertaken at the instigation of the metal trading prospectors from the Western peninsula.

'Duck' Pattern

List of sites in France and Britain where sherds with this motif have occurred:—

Brittany

.. KERVILTRÉ, St. Jean-Trolimin (Finistère).

(J. Déchelette, Manuel d'Arché-

1 Archaeologia lxxvi, 237.

2 It is stated that sherds of this type are to be found in the St. Brieuc Museum, but it has not been possible to verify this assertion.
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Cardiganshire

PEN DINAS, ABERYSTWYTH.


Cornwall

CHUN CASTLE.

(Archaeologia lxxvi, 230 ff., Hencken, Cornwall and Scilly, 127).

CHYSAUSTER.

(Archaeologia lxxxiii, p. 261.)

PORTHEMOR.

(Journal Royal Institution of Cornwall, xxiv, p. 80).

TREVENAEGUE.

(Hencken, loc. cit. 127.)

Gloucestershire

ANDOVERSFORD.

(Bristol and Gloucestershire Arch. Soc., vol. 58 (1936), 160.)

BECKBURY CAMP, near Winchcombe.

(Unpublished.)

BREDON HILL CAMP.

CLEEVE HILL CAMP.

(Cotswold N.F.C., xv, 41, and Bristol and Glos., loc. cit. 162.)

CHELTENHAM, near.

(Bristol and Glos., loc. cit. 162, 163.)

OXENTON HILL CAMP.

(Bristol and Glos. 55 (1933), 383, and 58 (1936), 162.)

Worcestershire

BADSEY.

(Bristol and Glos. 58 (1936), 162.)

FIG. 14. Group of pottery from the old Turf Line below the Inner Rampart (p. 28).

FIG. 15. First Period Occupation behind the Inner Rampart on the NE. side, Hut Site (pp. 30, 40–2).
FIG. 16. Group of pottery from the First Period Inner Entrance, nos. 1-8 (pp. 13, 40, 42), and from the First Period Occupation behind the Inner Rampart on the SW. side, nos. 9-18 (pp. 34, 42).

The sites grouped above all belong to the initial foundation and occupation of Bredon Hill around 100-50 B.C., the ware is mainly coarse and gritty, but not very thick nor heavy: it is quite well fired. Soft, smooth and slightly soapy sherds are also present, and these have mainly a black, slightly burnished surface. The material is all hand-made, and the forms, which are very simple, consist for the most part of small globular and bag-shaped vessels. The rims are in many instances quite plain, though some examples of flat rims, thickened inside and with a central groove, were found. The presence of marked thumbing upon some of the examples, together with the unspecialised shapes suggest that basically the material represents a rather devolved Iron Age 'A' tradition which, by reason of the bead-rims found in the old turf line (Fig. 14, nos. 6 and 7) must be assumed to have lingered on well into the Iron Age 'B'.

Both plain and decorated sherds were found, the decoration consisting largely of stamped or stabbed patterns impressed immediately below the rims. As is discussed above (pp. 88-94) this particular style of decoration appears to have been introduced into the Western Cotswold area from the Cornish peninsula around 100-50 B.C., and in the present state of knowledge of the Western Cotswold Iron Age sites it is not possible to say whether the simple Iron Age 'A' forms with the stamped pattern impressed upon them, represent the traditional local wares which had lingered long in the neighbourhood and upon which the intrusive decorative styles were imposed, or whether both the simple Iron Age 'A' forms and the stamped styles were introduced into the area from elsewhere. The predominance of the stamped sherds in all the First period occupation sites suggests

1 For comparison the case of the Crayford (Proc. Prehistoric Society, Jan.-July, 1938) may be cited where devolved Iron Age 'A' forms continued in use well into the Iron Age 'B'.
strongly that the intrusive SW. element responsible for its introduction was in the ascendancy during the early phases of the camp.

The decorated sherds were found in a great variety of patterns, some as in Fig. 15, nos. 5 and 8, Fig. 16, no. 11, showing a lightly impressed row of double stabs, while other examples impressed with deep single half-moon pattern were found (Fig. 14, no. 5, Fig. 16, no. 9). All the patterns are ultimately derived from the ornamental motif of a row of ducks (p. 88) and this prototype can be clearly traced in many of the examples, particularly Fig. 14, nos. 2 and 3, Fig. 16, no. 2.

Fig. 15, no. 10, and Fig. 16, no. 18, with a lightly tooled linear ornament, are also of interest. This style of decoration with the cross-hatched motifs is only very slightly represented in the early phases of the camp. Nevertheless it increased steadily in popularity during the life-time of the settlement, and around the final reconstruction in the first century A.D. (p. 42) had become the dominant decorative style.

The possibility then cannot be ignored that this rather simple linear decorative motif, which occurs also for instance at the Caburn, represents the underlying native ornamental style which remained in use, though to a very limited extent, during the main intrusive stamped ware period. With the gradual absorption of the alien element, the native style increased in popularity, and by the end of the occupation at Bredon Hill, the return to the native technique, noticeable in other respects (p. 20), is also reflected in the pottery by the very strong preponderance of the local ware over any other style.

**Fig. 14**

(1) Sherd of fairly coarse, soft brown-black ware, with some angular grit particles, burnished black surface with shallow stabbed pattern.

(2) Sherd of fairly coarse, soft brown-black ware, smoothed, burnished black surface with deeply impressed stamped pattern.

(3) Sherd of soft brown-black ware, smoothed black surface, deeply impressed stamped pattern.
(4) Sherd of fairly coarse, gritty brown-black ware with a smoothed surface. Well-impressed stamped pattern.

(5) Sherd of very soft, gritty brownish-black ware, rough surface, lightly impressed stamped pattern. Cf. the pot from Pen Dinas, Fig. 22, No. 8, and Fig. 20, No. 2 (pp. 110, 107).

(6) Bead-rim sherd of smooth brown-black paste, with slightly burnished outer surface.

(7) Bead-rim sherd of smooth black paste and slightly burnished outer surface. Soft and not well fired.

FIG. 14. POTTERY SEALED IN THE TURF-LINE BELOW THE INNER RAMPART.

(1) Sherd of soft, gritty coarse ware, black soapy surface, red inside, deeply impressed stamped pattern.

(2) Sherd of soft light-brown ware, containing very little grit, smoothed and slightly burnished surface. Well-impressed stamped pattern.

(3) Sherd of hard, well-fired, gritty black ware, roughly smoothed surface. Well-impressed stamped pattern.

(4) Badly fired sherd of soft, gritty ware, black soapy surface, slightly burnished.

(5) Sherd of soft, gritty black ware, ledged rim, rough surface, double punch pattern, lightly impressed.

(6) Sherd of soft brownish ware containing very little grit, rough surface, very lightly impressed stamped pattern.

(7) Sherd of soft black ware, with little or no grit, slightly smoothed surface. Stab and drag pattern very lightly impressed.

(8) Sherd of hard, well-fired ware, with black soapy surface slightly smoothed, double row of light stabbed decoration.

(9) Most of a bag-shaped pot of hard, well-fired biscuit-coloured ware, with marked ‘thumbing’ throughout the pot.

(10) Well-fired sherd of hard gritty ware, black surface, red inside, lightly incised linear decoration.
FIG. 15. POTTERY FROM THE FIRST-PERIOD HUT-SITE BEHIND THE INNER RAMPART.
Note.—A similar sherd, not illustrated, was found in the old Turf line.

(11) Portions of a small globular bowl of a hard well-fired gritty ware of an uneven red and black. Very rough surface, shallow stab and drag decoration.

(12) Sherd of soft black ware, with little or no grit, smoothed surface. Fairly well-impressed stab and drag pattern.

(13) Sherd of hard, well-fired, very gritty brown-black ware.

(14) Several portions of a large open-mouthed bowl of a soft, coarse brown-black ware with a heavy grit content, very uneven surface.

FIG. 16

(1) Sherd of very soft, gritty, badly-fired black ware, with well-impressed stabbed pattern below the rim.

(2) Sherd of thick, coarse, soft black ware, uneven surface, heavy grit layer at the back, well-impressed stamped pattern.

(3) Sherd of fairly hard black ware, very uneven surface, deeply impressed stab pattern below rim.

(4) Sherd of very gritty, hard, well-fired black ware, burnished surface.

(5) Sherd of gritty, rather soft black ware, soapy feel to surface, lightly tooled linear ornament.

(6) Sherd of coarse, soft brown-black ware, burnished surface.

(7) Sherd of soft, brown-black, rather gritty ware, with a black, uneven, slightly burnished surface.

(8) Sherd of very gritty soft, coarse black ware, uneven surface, badly fired.

(9) Sherd of hard, well-fired coarse gritty ware, reddish inside, black outside, uneven surface, well impressed stamped pattern immediately below rim.

(10) Sherd of a hard, coarse, well-fired brown-black ware, deeply impressed stab and drag pattern.

(11) Sherd of a well-fired, coarse brown-black ware, slightly smoothed on the outside, deeply impressed stab pattern.

(12) Sherd of coarse, soft, brown-black rather gritty ware, surface slightly burnished, lightly impressed stamped pattern, with a slight scoring immediately above.

(13) Sherd of very soft, coarse, gritty black ware, slightly burnedished on the outside.

(14) Sherd of soft, gritty, coarse ware, red on inside, uneven black surface, lightly impressed stabbed pattern.

(15) Sherd of soft black ware, very uneven surface.

(16) Sherd of thick, very soft, badly fired, coarse brown ware, with a good deal of small stone grit.

(17) Sherd of well-fired hard ware, with a smooth, soapy surface.

(18) Sherd of soft, coarse, very gritty black ware, uneven surface, slight smoothing around rim, linear pattern.
FIG. 16. NOS. 1–8 FROM FIRST PERIOD OCCUPATION BEHIND INNER ENTRANCE, NOS. 9–18 FROM FIRST PERIOD OCCUPATION BEHIND S.W. INNER RAMPART, SITE H.
FIG. 17. Group of decorated pots from an unstratified site behind the Inner Rampart.

FIG. 18. Group of undecorated pots from the same site.

The exact dating of this area is unknown, but among the decorative wares from it, the increased proportion of examples of a hard, reddish paste with linear ornament and a burnished surface make it a possibility that the site represents an intermediate stage in the history of the camp, and must be set between the purely local second phase (p. 34), and the original occupation (p. 28). This suggestion is perhaps reinforced by the fact that no very good 'duck' motifs were found among the stamped sherds; indeed this style of decoration has for the most part degenerated into rather crude punching or stabbing. No heavy ledged rims are present.

The forms continue simple, though a rather heavier rim form (Fig. 17, no. 1, Fig. 18, no. 2) can be traced alongside the more usual flat rims.

The ware is rather heavier than that of the earlier site, this applying particularly to the examples with linear ornament, though in one example (Fig. 17, no. 5) this coarse ware has been used in connection with a stab or punched ornamental pattern, testifying again to the presence at this site of a certain amount of fusion of the two pottery techniques.

FIG. 17

(1) Sherd of coarse, hard, well-fired, gritty red and black ware smoothed surface, lightly tooled linear ornament.
(2) Sherd of hard, well-fired black ware, burnished surface, lightly tooled linear ornament.
(3) Sherd of very hard, well-fired ware, burnished surface, red, with a black rim, slight groove below the rim.
(4) Sherd of hard, well-fired, coarse, gritty brown-black ware, uneven surface, lightly tooled linear ornament.
(5) Part of a large vessel of hard, coarse brown-black ware, containing numerous small stone grits, smoothed surface, very lightly impressed stamped pattern.
(6) Sherd of hard, well-fired, gritty brown ware, lightly tooled linear ornament.
FIG. 17. DECORATED POTTERY FROM UNSTRATIFIED SITE BEHIND THE INNER RAMPART. \( \frac{1}{4} \)
(7) Sherd of fairly coarse black ware, containing very little grit, rather soapy, smoothed surface, lightly impressed drag pattern.

(8) Sherd of soft, coarse, rather gritty black ware, smoothed, rather soapy surface, well impressed stab and drag pattern.

(9) Sherd of very heavy coarse, soft black ware, containing a large amount of small stone grits. Uneven surface, stamped pattern so lightly impressed as to be identifiable with difficulty.

(10) Sherd of soft black ware, containing unusually large stone grits. Smoothed surface, very lightly impressed stab pattern.

(11) Sherd of hard, well-fired black ware, smoothed surface, well-impressed usual 'Star' stamped pattern.

(12) Sherd of very soft, gritty black ware. Smoothed surface, well-impressed punched pattern.

(13) Sherd of hard, well-fired, brown-black ware, smoothed but rather uneven soapy black surface, lightly impressed drag pattern.

(14) Sherd of soft, gritty reddish-brown ware, uneven surface, lightly impressed stamped decoration.

**FIG. 18**

(1) Sherd of hard, well-fired, rather gritty reddish-black ware, rough surface, decorated below rim with a fairly deep grooving.

(2) Sherd of soft, coarse, very gritty brownish ware, rough, uneven surface.

(3) Sherd of fairly soft brown-black ware, with a good deal of grit, black burnished surface.

(4) Sherd of hard, well-fired black ware, very little grit, black burnished surface.

(5) Sherd of rather soft, coarse black ware, rather gritty, with a smoothed surface.

(6) Sherd of very hard, well-fired brown-black ware, very gritty, rough surface.

(7) Sherd of hard, well-fired red ware, numerous small grits forming a very rough surface.

(8) Sherd of soft, badly-fired reddish-brown ware, containing numerous small stone grits. Very rough inside, smoothed surface.

(9) Sherd of hard, well-fired brown-black ware, no grit, dark, smoothed surface.

(10) Sherd of very soft brown-black ware, rather gritty, burnished black surface.

(11) Sherd of soft, rather sandy feeling, yellow-black ware, with no grit. Inner side heavily pitted, as though much grass or straw had been used in the composition, surface smoothed, decorated along the top of the rim.

(12) Sherd of soft brown-black ware, with pounded shell grit. Smoothed inner and outer surface.
FIG. 18. SHERDS FROM UNSTRATIFIED SITE BEHIND THE INNER RAMPART.
(13) Sherd of light, rather 'corky,' well-fired black ware. Pitted uneven surface as though straw, etc., had been mixed with the paste and burnt out during the firing.

(14) Sherd of coarse, gritty, well-fired brown-black ware, very rough gritty surface.

**Fig. 19.** Pottery from the Side Entrances (pp. 63-4).

**Fig. 20.** Pottery from the back of the Outer Rampart, no. 1 from Site G, nos. 2-5 from the pit dug in the back of the rampart at Site II.

Here the almost complete predominance of the local linear ornamental style can be observed. The pots have become very much heavier and much larger, with a thick, flattened rim. Much of the ornament is incised, mainly in the form of light tooling associated with deep grooving. No substantial fresh intrusive influences can be recognised in this material, which represents a purely localised phase of development out of the early simple form observable even in the first period occupation groups.

The grit content in the ware is rather low and the paste well fired to a reddish colour, and very hard. Most of the forms are simple and unspecialised, but almost all the examples show a marked flattening of the rim. **Fig. 20, nos. 4 and 5,** which have a cut-back rim inside, are of a soft paste, brown, rather different in character, and would seem to be a less pretentious cooking-pot style.

**Fig. 19, nos. 2, 6, 8 and 9,** and **Fig. 20, no. 2** show the final stage of the stamped, and stab and drag pattern, which in the latter case should be particularly compared with the pot from Pen Dinas (**Fig. 22, no. 8**). In this style of pot the paste, though softer, has a higher grit content than in the linear ornamented pots, and has a blacker, rather more burnished surface. The ware generally much less well fired than the other material from the site. This would appear to indicate that in the final phase in the history of the camp when stamped decoration was used a totally different paste and method of firing was used. This suggestion underlines the possibility that the stamped and linear wares originated in different places.
FIG. 19. POTTERY FROM THE SIDE ENTRANCES. 1/4
(See pp. 16, 64)
FIG. 19

(1) Sherd of hard, rather coarse, reddish ware, uneven surface, linear decoration produced with a pointed stick-end.
(2) Sherd of hard, well-fired grey-black ware, smoothed black surface, slight burnishing around the rim, very lightly impressed stamped decoration.
(3) Sherd of very hard, well-fired reddish ware, smoothed and slightly burnished surface, linear decoration in the form of a deep groove and rather light striations.
(4) Sherd of thin, well-fired, hard reddish-brown ware, smoothed surface, fairly lightly tooled linear decoration.
(5) Sherd of gritty, very soft reddish ware, uneven much-weathered surface, lightly tooled curve, linear decoration.
(6) Sherd of soft, gritty black ware, smoothed and slightly burnished surface, lightly impressed drag pattern.
(7) Sherd of hard, rather coarse, slightly gritty reddish ware. Decoration consists of a deep groove and other light striations.
(8) Sherd of hard, well-fired, gritty grey ware, uneven surface, deeply impressed and stamped pattern.
(9) Sherd of fairly hard, well-fired grey-black ware, smoothed surface, deeply impressed, stamped ware.
(10) Sherd of hard grey-black ware, smoothed surface.
(12) Sherd of soft, ill-fired brownish ware, rough surface, very lightly tooled decoration.
(13) Sherd of very thick and coarse brownish ware, with a small amount of grit, lightly tooled linear decoration, surface smoothed and slightly burnished.
(14) Sherd of rather soft, ill-fired, grey-black ware, deeply incised cross-hatching decoration, smoothed surface.
(15) Sherd of hard, coarse, reddish-brown ware, smoothed surface, fairly deeply incised and linear decoration.

FIG. 20

(1) Sherd of well-fired brown-black ware, slightly burnished surface, fairly deeply tooled linear decoration.
(2) Sherd of smooth, very soft, ill-fired black ware, smoothed and slightly burnished surface, well-impressed stamped pattern.
(3) Sherd of hard brown-black ware, with a smoothed surface, very light striation as decoration.
(4) Bag-shaped pot of soft, ill-fired brown ware. The surface shows considerable marks of fingering.
(5) Large vessel of soft, ill-fired brown ware, with a markedly moulded rim. Roughly smoothed surface.
FIG. 20. POTTERY FROM BEHIND THE OUTER RAMPART.
A group of pottery belonging to the final phases of the Camp. Nos. 1, 2, 5, 7 and 8 from the massacre level of the Inner Gate, associated with the crushed skulls nos. 3, 4, and 6 from the top filling of the North Ditch.

All this pottery, which belongs to the end of the history of the camp, has a rather less localised and more sophisticated trend. The forms with the rather everted rims, are not unlike some of the late material from other Easterly Cotswold camps, particularly No. 8,\(^1\) which bears a marked resemblance to some of the material from Salmonsbury. The ware generally is made with a smoother, better paste, and has a more markedly burnished surface. The appearance of this

\(^1\) I am indebted to Mr. G. C. Dunning, who pointed out this likeness.
style of pottery just before the final collapse, may imply that during the last year of the occupation of the town Bredon Hill was in more active touch with the other neighbouring camps.

FIG. 21
(1) Sherd of hard, well-fired brown-black ware, with very little grit, smoothed and burnished surface.
(2) Sherd of soft, well-fired brown-black ware, with very little grit, smoothed and burnished surface.
(3) Sherd of very gritty, hard brown-black ware, slightly smoothed on the surface.
(4) Sherd of good, smooth, well-fired brown-black ware, very little grit, burnished on the outside.
(5) Sherd of gritty black ware with a well-fired good paste, smoothed and slightly burnished on the outside.
(6) Inside view of sherd of good, smooth, very soft brown-black ware, burnished on the outside, with well-marked internal ledge below the rim.
(7) Sherd of well-fired, gritty red ware, ornamented with small cordons, smoothed and slightly burnished surface, very rough inside.
(8) Sherd of thick reddish-black ware, with very heavy small stone grits. Surface smoothed and burnished.

FIG. 22. POTTERY FROM OXENTON (1-7) AND PEN DINAS (8).
Group of duck-stamped ware from Oxenton in Gloucestershire, and Pen Dinas in Cardiganshire, for comparison with the Bredon material.