TABLE I

A SCHEDULE OF THE EXCAVATED HILL-FORTS OF THE WELSH MARCHES

SITE NUMBER	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
NAME	CASTLE HILL, ALMONDBURY	PEN Y CORDDYN	DINORBEN	CASTLE DITCH, EDDISBURY	MAIDEN CASTLE, BICKERTON	OLD OSWESTRY	THE BREIDDIN	THE WREKIN	FFRIDD FALDWYN	TITTERSTONE CLEE	BREDON HILL	LLANMELIN
O.S. Map Ref. (Six-inch)	Yorks	Denbigh, IV S.W.	Denbigh, IV S.E.	Cheshire, XL N.W.	Cheshire, LIV S.E.	Shropshire, XII S.W.	Montgomery, XVI N.W.	Shropshire, XLII N.E.	Montgomery, XXXVII N.E.	Shropshire, LXXII S.E.	Worcs., XLVIII	Monmouth, XXX N.W.
Altitude. Ft. above O.D.	900	568	550	500	698	540	1,000	1,316	800	1,700	1,000	300
Geology	Lower Coal Measures Sandstone, Drift-covered	Carboniferous Limestone, Drift-covered	Carboniferous Landstone, Drift-covered	Keuper Sandstone. Drift-covered	Keuper Sandstone, Drift-covered	Fluvio-glacial esker	Intrusive	Intrusive	Wenlock Shale	Basalt	Inferior Oolite	Carboniferous Limestone
Excavator(s)	W. J. Varley	W. Gardner	W. Gardner	W. J. Varley	W. J. Varley	W. J. Varley and B. H. St. J. O'Neil	B. H. St. J. O'Neil	Miss K. M. Kenyon	B. H. St. J. O'Neil	B. H. St. J. O'Neil	Mrs. Thalassa Cruso Hencken	V. E. Nash-Williams
When excavated	1939, '46, 47	1905	1912-14, '19-22	1936-8	1934-5	1939-40	1933-5	1939	1937-9	1932	1935-6	1930-32
Excavation Report(s)	Pending	*Arch. Camb.,* 1910, p. 79	Unpublished ; summary in Ellis Davies, *Pr. & R. Rem. Denbighshire,* p. 399	Awaiting publication; see Varley & Jackson, *Prehistoric Cheshire* (1940), pp. 64 ff.	*Liverpool Ann. Arch. Anthr.,* xxii, p. 97 ; xxiii, p. 101	Awaiting publication	*Arch. Camb.,* 1937, p. 86	*Arch. Journ.,* xcix, p. 99	*Arch. Camb.,* 1942, p. 1	*Antiq. J.,* xiv, p. 12 ; *Arch. Camb.,* 1934, p. 83	*Arch. Journ.,* xcv, p. 1	*Arch. Camb.,* 1933, p. 237

THE HILL-FORTS OF THE WELSH MARCHES

By PROFESSOR W. J. VARLEY, M.A., D.PHIL., F.S.A.

I. INTRODUCTION

The hill-forts of England and Wales mostly lie to the west of a line ruled from the source of the Yorkshire Calder to the estuary of the Thames (fig. 1). For convenience, the area to the west of that line will be referred to as the 'Hill-fort Province', as distinct from the area to the east.[1] The distinction between the two areas clearly relates to differences of historical experience, a matter to which I shall return later in this paper as being fundamental to any discussion of hill-forts.

Within the 'Hill-fort Province', as thus defined, the chief concentration is to be found within a belt shaped like an inverted 'Y'. The stem extends from the Denbighshire plateau in the north to the mouth of the Wye in the south. The western limb extends from Lands End to the Severn Estuary; the eastern from the Mendips to Beachy Head[2] (fig. 1). The main purpose of this paper is to consider the information yielded by excavation of hill-forts within the stem of this major distributional pattern and its associated ancillary areas. The object is to arrive at a consensus of facts, attested by competent excavation and applicable either to the whole series or to a substantial part of it. Having arrived at the facts, I shall then venture upon such explanations as have occurred to me, mainly in the hope that my colleagues will be stimulated to provide more satisfactory explanations, or impelled to further work. The emphasis throughout is on series, not on individual sites, however interesting or important in themselves.

The first points which have to be considered in any series of observations are :

(i) how far are the data comparable ; that is to say, how far have they been obtained by comparable methods ;

(ii) how adequate are they, considered as a sample of the whole field to which they are presumed to belong ?

The excavations included within this survey have been carried out at a limited number of sites (see Table I overleaf, with fig. 1A). They have been conducted at different times by different workers[3] ; to that extent, they are not strictly comparable. On the other hand, perusal of the published reports, and discussion with my colleagues in the field, has led me to conclude that there has been considerable uniformity both of purpose and technique. No one has yet attempted a *complete* excavation of any hill-fort in the Welsh Marches ; the cost in money, time and labour would be prohibitive. All of us, therefore, have had recourse to the method of selective sectioning, with the principal object of discovering the stratigraphical succession or structural sequence in the development of the earthworks themselves. In two of the more important sites, Old Oswestry and Ffridd Faldwyn, Mr. O'Neil and I are only too painfully aware of the fact that our work has not yet been completed, and that our present conclusions are tentative in the extreme, and would not

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[1] See Miss Lily Chitty's distribution-maps of Iron Age A (fig. 5) and B (fig. 11a) material in Sir Cyril Fox's *Personality of Britain* (4th edition, 1943).

[2] See the same two maps, supplemented most notably by Ward Perkins, *Archaeologia*, xc, 127 ff., pl. XXIV.

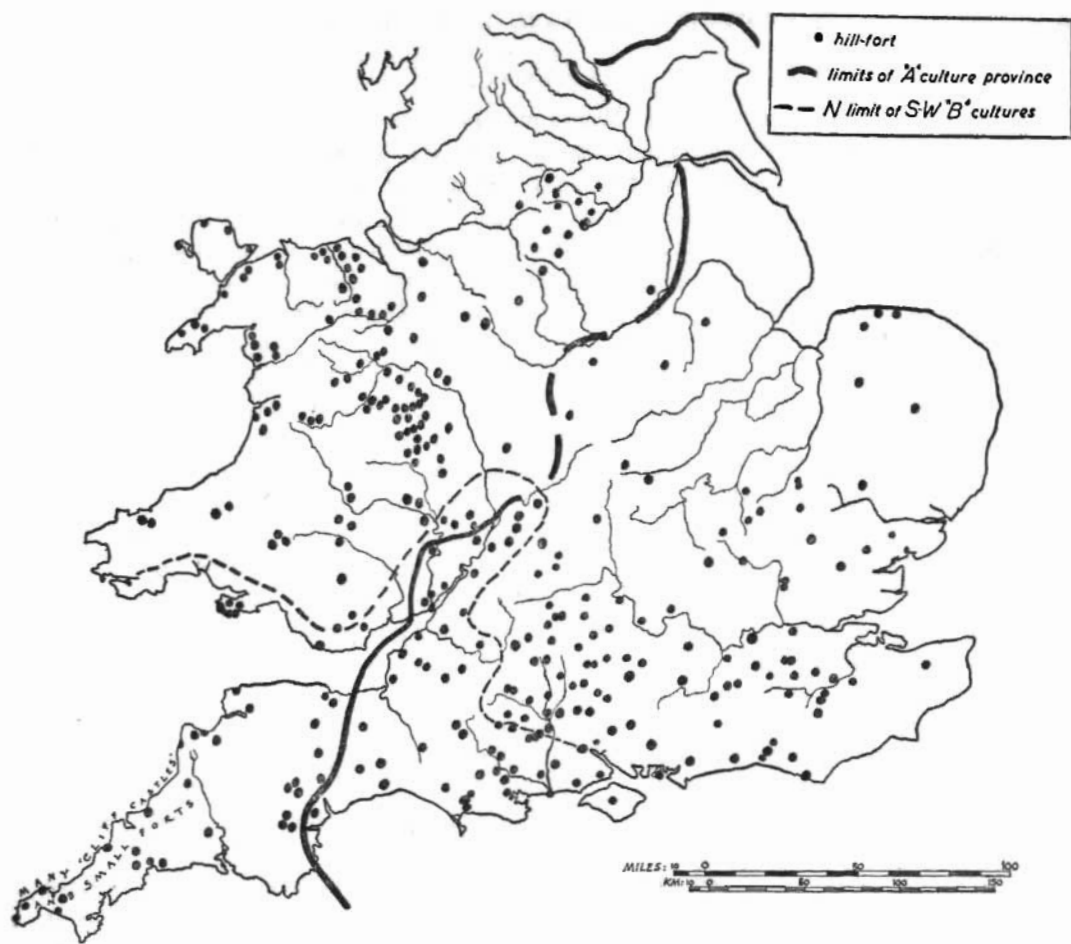[3] See Table, opposite this page.

FIG. I.   MAP TO SHOW THE PRINCIPAL IRON-AGE HILL-FORTS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, AND
THE LIMITS OF THE PRIMARY ‘ A ’ CULTURE-PROVINCE AND OF THE SOUTH-WESTERN ‘ B ’
CULTURES

By W. J. Varley and C. F. C. Hawkes,
August-December 1949

KEY TO THE SITES BY NUMBERS :

1. Almondbury (Castle Hill).

2. Pen y Corddyn.

3. Dinorben.

4. Eddisbury (Castle Ditch).

5. Maiden Castle, Bickerton.

6. Old Oswestry.

7. The Breiddin.

8. The Wrekin.

9. Ffridd Faldwyn.

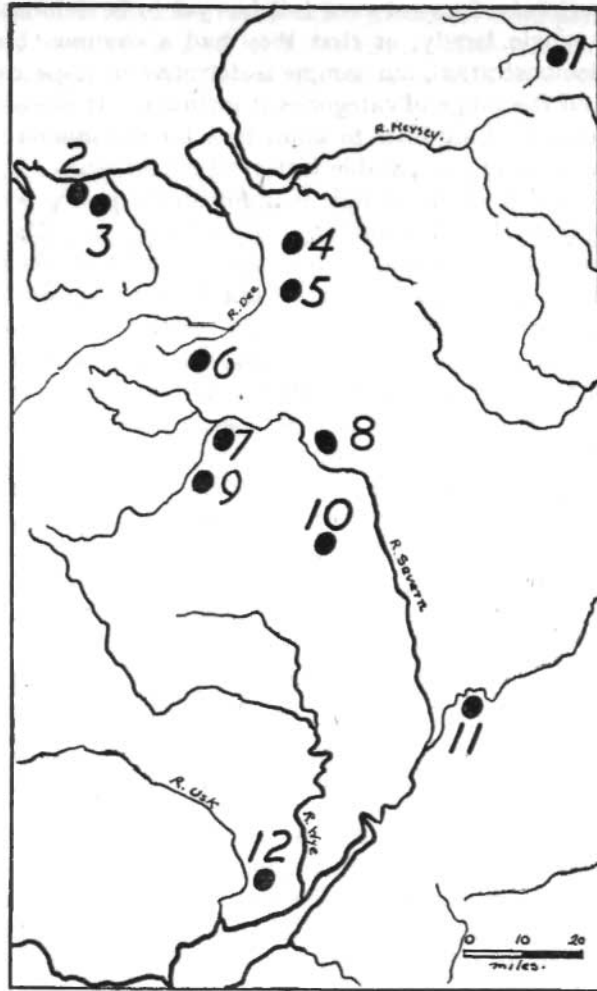10. Titterstone Clee.

11. Bredon Hill.

12. Llanmelin.

FIG. IA.   MAP OF THE EXCAVATED HILL-FORTS TO BE DISCUSSED

be offered here if they were not essential to such limited understanding as we now possess.   The principal result of the methods adopted, of necessity, is that we now possess a very considerable body of information on the structural history of hill-forts in purely relative terms.   Unfortunately, the luck of sampling has been such that we do not possess equally adequate information on such important matters as the chronology of structural changes or the cultural context of the people who carried them out.   These deficiencies in the data are only too well known to fellow field-workers ; they deserve to be equally well known to others who seek to use the results of their labours.

The second question, relating to the adequacy of the sample, cannot be answered precisely.   If it were certain that so-called ' hill-forts ' belonged to a single class or family with a common history, then the sample excavated in the Welsh Marches, more than 10 per cent., would be statistically significant.   But that

certainty does not exist ; it has yet to be demonstrated that hill-forts do belong to a single family, or that they had a common history. For the purposes of that demonstration, our sample is defective in respect of both its geographical incidence and the range of categories it includes. It is essential to any understanding of the history of hill-forts to know how far the different parts of the main concentration underwent comparable historical experiences. In that connexion the geographical incidence of our sample is unfortunate, partly because three members of the series (Castle Hill, Almondbury ; Eddisbury ; and Maiden Castle, Bickerton) are not in the main area and their connexion with it has to be argued, but much more so because there have been no published excavations in such key-areas as Herefordshire, and not enough in Shropshire. If the conclusions from Dinorben, Old Oswestry, the Wrekin, and Ffridd Faldwyn found confirmation in some of the complex sites of the Wye valley, then they would be enormously strengthened ; as it is, the two ends of a supposed bridge lack an essential connexion. In the matter of range, it is true that the excavated sample contains a high proportion of sites of great intricacy, and with a very extended history, such as Castle Hill, Almondbury ; Eddisbury ; Dinorben ; the Wrekin ; Old Oswestry ; Ffridd Faldwyn, and Llanmelin. To that extent, therefore, our sample may well provide a skeleton framework which further work on other sites will some day clothe. But, alas, it has likewise provided us with a whole series of questions to which we do not yet know the answers. A more intensive examination of the supposedly simpler sites might possibly have yielded fewer problems, and more decisive answers.

II. The Data relating to the structural history of Marcher hill-forts

It follows from the methods adopted by field-workers that the data, which their efforts have provided, mostly relate to the structural history of the sites they have excavated. The data themselves have a validity independent of any explanations which can yet be offered ; none the less they are what has to be explained.

The really fundamental questions may be stated thus : does the structural history of hill-forts reveal any general pattern ? if so, what is it, and what is its historical significance ? None of these questions can be answered simply, and, although they are inter-related, they are best dealt with separately.

What precisely do we mean by a general pattern, as applied to the structural history of hill-forts ? If we mean that all the members of a given series had a common original form and passed through a uniform series of structural changes to reach a common ultimate form, then nothing of the kind ever happened in the Welsh Marches. Judged by any structural criteria, such as lay-out of the defences in relation to the terrain, the form of entrances, or the structure of ramparts, the series of hill-forts under consideration neither starts from a common original form, nor proceeds through uniform structural changes, nor attains a common ultimate form. Table II, which is a brief analysis of the original forms of our series of hill-forts, will suffice to refute any such simplicity, although I hasten to add that I know of no serious student who has held such naive views.

On the other hand, some of us, at least, have entertained the hope that the structural differences between the original forms of different hill-forts could be accounted for simply in terms of the time-difference between them. In other words,

we have envisaged a common process of development into which particular examples could be fitted ; the simpler forms being associated with the earlier stages of the process, the more complex with the later.   I shall argue for the retention of some

TABLE II

THE ORIGINAL FORMS OF THE EXCAVATED HILL-FORTS OF THE WELSH MARCHES
CLASSIFIED BY THEIR LAY-OUT IN RELATION TO THE TERRAIN

GROUP	TYPE	SITES	SITE NO.	CHARACTERISTICS
ONE	' Proto-Contour ' works	Almondbury Eddisbury	1 4	Univallate enclosure of part only of a flat plateau.
TWO	Contour works	Old Oswestry Ffridd Faldwyn The Wrekin	6 9 8	Bivallate Contour works with dominant inner rampart at top of surrounding slopes.
THREE	' Quasi-contour ' works	Dinorben Titterstone Clee Breiddin Pen y Corddyn	3 10 7 2	Discontinuous artificial defences combined with natural scarps to complete irregular enclosures.
FOUR	Promontory works	Bredon Hill Maiden Castle, Bickerton	11 5	Univallate or bivallate defences cutting off the neck of a promontory.
FIVE	Multivallate citadel	Llanmelin	12	Initially multivallate defences around small enclosure.

part of that idea, but it fails to account for the facts in all their complexity.   An example will suffice to make it clear that we cannot retain any such notion.   The first form of the Bredon Hill Camp was a relatively simple affair of a single bank and ditch with a simple overlapping entrance ; typologically early, one would think. Yet the date of Bredon Hill Camp, one of the best attested in the whole series, c. 100 B.C., appears to place it later than the original camp at Old Oswestry, which was a bivallate structure with well-developed inturned entrances at opposite ends of the major axis.   And even if it is argued that the date of Old Oswestry is not very securely based, the fact remains that hill-forts of almost identical form, e.g. Cissbury, existed in the Chalklands a century or so before Bredon Hill Camp. The facts cannot be reconciled by any juggling with dates ; it has to be admitted that Bredon Hill and Old Oswestry do not belong to one and the same family of hill-forts.   In other words, there is not one process of development, or one family of hill-forts, but at least two.   Over Britain as a whole there may be more than two. I am merely seeking to establish that the pattern we are looking for is not so simple as once it seemed ; but neither are the facts.   Granted the possibility of two or more independent, yet interlocking, processes of development, small wonder is it that the structural diversity of Marcher hill-forts is somewhat bewildering.

If we now try to disentangle the various skeins, we can begin with what I believe to be the oldest, most widespread, and most abiding element in the structural history of Marcher hill-forts, which I propose to label the ' contour-work family Within its members we can detect some evidence of certain general trends of development for which it is not difficult to find parallels elsewhere in Britain.

The sequence as a whole is not to be found in its entirety on any single site, nor must we expect to be able to establish any very exact synchronizations, but the pattern is clear enough, I feel, to rule out the possibility that it is mere coincidence.

The earliest and simplest representatives of the family are to be found in the original forms of the camps on Castle Hill, Almondbury (fig. 2 : one of the few complex hill-forts in the territory of the Brigantes), and on Eddisbury Hill. Each was a simple univallate earthwork, the outstanding feature of which in each case was that although throughout most of its extent the rampart clung to the top of a very steep slope, on one side it cut straight across the top of a perfectly flat plateau (fig. 2, A). Each camp had a box-shaped rampart, revetted front and rear by dry stone walling containing an earthen core, outside which lay a V-shaped rock-cut ditch separated from its rampart by a flat or gently sloping berm. In each case there was but a single entrance, of the kind I call an ' incipient inturn ', that is to say, a gap in which the adjacent ramparts have been made rather wider than elsewhere so as to increase the depth of the passage way (fig. 4, no. 2, p. 51). In each case, there were rectangular guardrooms placed inside the passage-way; at Eddisbury they were of wood, at Almondbury they had a foundation of cobbles laid in puddled clay (fig. 5, A, p. 55). Eddisbury had a magnificent ' hollow way ', an approach path cut out of the solid rock, too narrow and too steep for any but pedestrians. The obvious structural analogies are with the simple univallate camps of the Chalklands, for example those of Sussex east of the Adur.[4]

The obvious weak feature of such camps lay in their partial neglect of the advantage gained by siting the rampart around the summit plateau at the top of whatever slopes the terrain provided. Such was evidently the opinion of those who later came to reconstruct both camps, for in each case, the principal feature of their reconstruction consisted of the extension of the ramparts to include the whole of the summit plateau, and, in each such extension, the inner rampart was made dominant by siting it at the very edge of the flat ground.

These, however, were not the only changes at Almondbury—which, for reasons to be discussed later, was the first of the two camps to be reconstructed. Almondbury II was not merely a larger camp ; it was given a counterscarp bank parallel and subordinate to the dominant inner rampart, and a new entrance which can best be described as an overlapping entrance without guardrooms, but further protected by a short length of a third bank, parallel and subordinate to the counterscarp (fig. 2, B; fig. 4, no. 10, p. 51). This entrance was approached by a long, deeply sunk hollow way, winding its way up and into the camp from a quarter of a mile away. The reconstruction was otherwise built in precisely the same style as its predecessor, with no alteration in the shape, size or style of construction in the ramparts. By the time Almondbury II was built, clearly the current notion of a hill-fort was a bivallate contour work with dominant inner rampart sited at the point of maximum vision. Such elaboration of the defences as there was beyond this relatively simple plan, consisted of protection to the entrance, either in the form of an inner passage, or of outworks outside it such as the flanking hornwork of Maiden Castle II, or of the short third bank outside as at Almondbury.

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4 E. Cecil Curwen, ' The Iron Age in Sussex ', *Sussex Arch. Colls.* lxxx (1939), 214 ff., particularly fig. xi, p. 214 ; Hawkes, ibid., 217 ff. ;

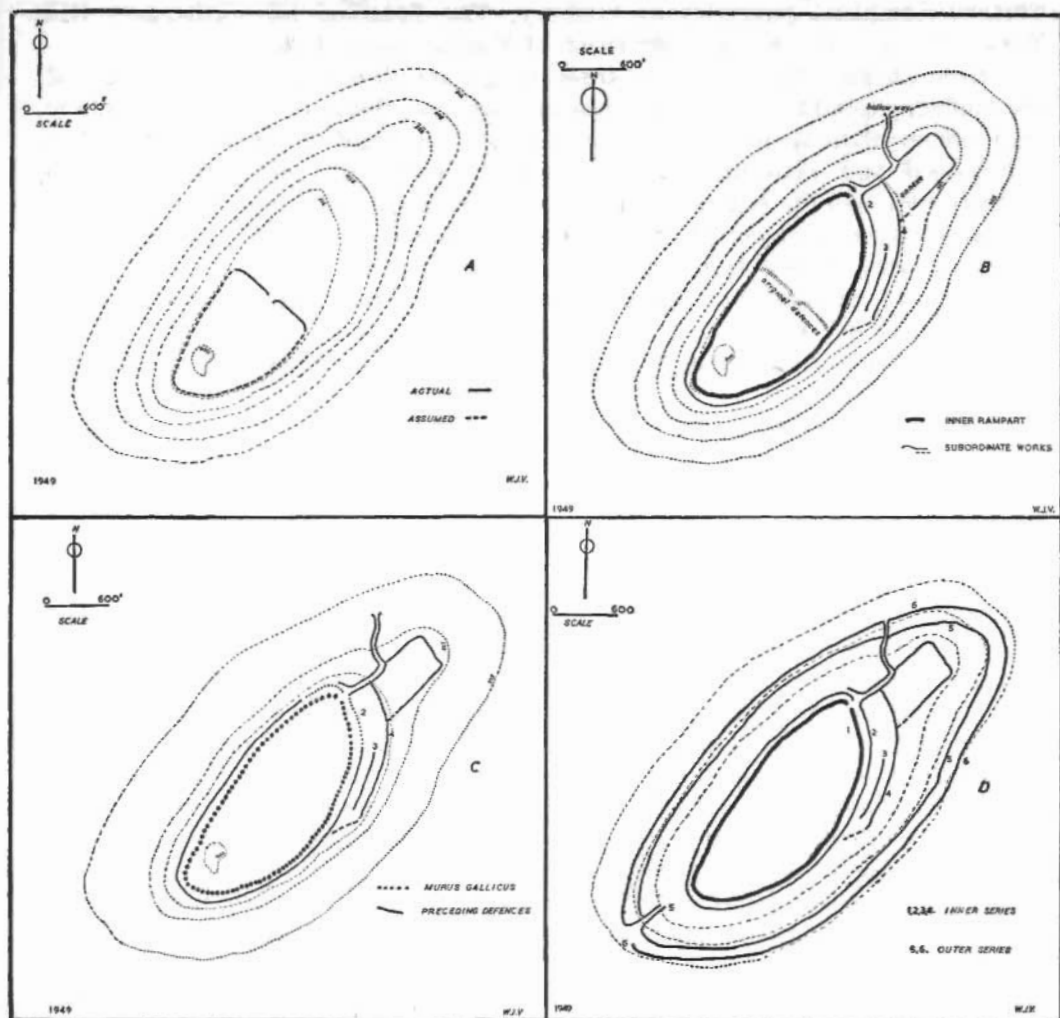A. E. Wilson and G. P. Burstow, ibid., lxxxvii (1948), 77 ff.

FIG. 2.   CASTLE HILL, ALMONDBURY (YORKSHIRE):

THE FOUR STAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE IRON-AGE DEFENCES

A.   Almondbury   I : univallate.

B.   Almondbury   II : bivallate, with multiple banks (2-4) and simple annexe at entrance.

C.   Almondbury III : the same, with inner rampart reconstructed in murus gallicus.

D.   Almondbury IV : the same, with the addition of outer circumvallations (5, 6).

It is to this stage of development that Old Oswestry, Ffridd Faldwyn and the Wrekin belonged at their inception. They 'are almost exactly analogous to such classical Chalkland examples as Cissbury, The Trundle,[5] St. Catharine's Hill, Winchester[6] and the first reconstruction of Maiden Castle, Dorset.[7]

Even at this stage, however, three trends are clearly discernible : the first, the tendency to add whole or part circumvallations, the second to subordinate all such circumvallations to the inner rampart, and the third to canalize approach to well-defined and extra-protected entrances. Up to this stage, the prevailing rampart style was the box rampart with external flat berm. In stone country the ramparts were stone-revetted, though even so, timbering was still used for guard-rooms, or gates, or even as external bracing to stone walls.

The next developments take the process to its logical conclusion (see Table III opposite). They are :

(i) the barbican entrance (to adopt the term used by Mr. O'Neil in his report on the Breiddin forts) ;

(ii) the looped rampart ;

(iii) annexes ;

(iv) the enclosure of all preceding works within complete additional circum-vallations, that is to say, the achievement of what Dr. Wheeler means by a multivallate fort.[8]

It may serve to clarify the issues involved if we first consider what these developments were, before we discuss what they are held to mean.

The *barbican entrance* is clearly an extension of the logic of the inturned entrance. In the normal bivallate fort with inturned entrance, e.g. Old Oswestry in its first form, the defended passage-way is obtained by recurving the ends of the inner rampart only. In fact, there are many variants (fig. 4, nos. 4-9, p. 51); but in all the defended passage-way is confined to the inner rampart only. The remaining banks and ditches end without lateral protection athwart the approach-road, though very often, as we have noted, this was sunk, either by wear or by deliberate hollowing. The weakness of this arrangement would appear to lie in the circum-stance that it would permit of infiltration along the outer ditches, which had no lateral protection. In the simpler bivallate forts this may be no more than a hypothetical weakness, for, in fact, all the banks and ditches were close together and commanded by the inner rampart. But once the defences athwart the entrance begin to multiply, the outermost may be at a considerable distance from the inner, and may also be in dead ground from the point of view of watchers on the inner rampart. This would appear to me to be the weakness which the barbican entrance was designed to remove. A barbican entrance is one in which the passage-way through the entire defensive system is protected by lateral ramparts. The most magnificent example is the western entrance of Old Oswestry in its final form (fig. 4, no. 11), but the Almondbury west entrance, though simpler (fig. 2, D), illustrates the same tendencies, as do those of the Breiddin and Pen y Corddyn. It is true

[5] Cissbury, The Trundle, ibid., 86 ff., 89 ff., 93 ff., with references to the original publications and to Curwen's and Hawkes's papers (n. 4).

[6] C. F. C. Hawkes, J. N. L. Myres and C. G. Stevens, *Saint Catharine's Hill, Winchester* (Proc. Hants Fields Club, xi, 1930), Pt. I.

[7] R. E. M. Wheeler, *Maiden Castle, Dorset* (Rep. Res. C'ttee Soc. Antiq. Lond., no. XII, 1943), 36 ff.

[8] Ibid., 39 ff.

TABLE III.

STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE CONTOUR-WORK FAMILY IN THE WELSH MARCHES

LAY-OUT	ONE		TWO			THREE				ASSOCIATED ENTRANCES	ASSOCIATED RAMPARTS
SITE	I	4	6	9	8	3	10	7	2		
Univallate	I					I	I			Simple or Incipient inturn	Box : stone and timber
Do. plus part counterscarp		I				I					
Bivallate initially			I		I					Inturn	Box : stone
Bivallate by reconstruction						II	II				
Do. plus part third bank			II	I							
Do. plus multiple banks at entrance	II			III?		II				Barbican	
Do. do. plus simple annexe	II										
Do. do. plus complex do.			III	III							Glacis
Reconstruction in murus gallicus	III	II								Rectangular inturn	Murus gallicus
Outer circumvallations added	IV		IV	IV	II					Barbican	Glacis
Multivallate initially								I	I		

Sites represented :
GROUP ONE : 1. Almondbury
(Castle Hill).
4. Eddisbury
(Castle Ditch).

GROUP TWO : 6. Old Oswestry.
9. Ffridd Faldwyn.
8. The Wrekin.

GROUP THREE : 3. Dinorben.
10. Titterstone Clee.
7. The Breiddin.
2. Pen y Corddyn.

Roman numerals stand for each site's successive structural stages.

that, of necessity, the barbican entrance reaches a climax in association with multivallate camps, but the seeds of it seem to me to be contained in the concepts previously existing in the simpler inturned entrance. And whereas it is true that the best developed barbicans are found in multivallate camps, not all the latter have barbicans, and not all barbicans are found in what is usually meant by a multivallate camp.

Similarly, it can be argued that the *looped rampart* was designed to remove yet another weakness of earlier hill-fort design. At Old Oswestry, for instance, the first reconstruction (fig. 3, B), of the original bivallate fort involved adding a third bank and ditch, parallel and subordinate to the original counterscarp, round the westerly sides only, presumably to add to the defences of the easier approach. That third bank and ditch ended summarily and openly, that is, without closing upon the counterscarp. This arrangement was even weaker than at the entrance, for, unless the whole perimeter was manned continuously, infiltration would have been simple. The principle of the looped rampart is to avoid such open ends by enclosing them within lateral ramparts. Again, the most magnificent example occurs at Old Oswestry, in the final reconstruction (fig. 3, D; cf. fig. 4, no. 11).

The purpose and intention seem clear : the effect was to compel all incoming traffic, and certainly wheeled traffic, to enter by way of the defended entrance-way. Putting the point another way, looped ramparts seem to me to be the natural complement to barbican entrances. Certainly they occur together at Old Oswestry, Almondbury and Pen y Corddyn.

Annexes are by no means a universal feature, any more than barbicans or looped ramparts, and as yet I can offer no explanation of their purpose. None the less they occur at several sites in much the same structural context. An annexe may be defined as an area outside the hill-fort proper, yet included within the outermost defences. In such cases as are known to me, the annexes lay adjacent to an entrance. Perhaps the simplest example is provided by Almondbury (fig. 2). Here the annexe consists of an area, enclosed by a single bank and ditch, on the south side of the eastern entrance. The boundaries were provided by the original third bank, the south side of the hollow way approaching the eastern entrance, and the bank and ditch of the annexe itself. The area thus enclosed was a small plateau at a much lower level than the interior of the bivallate camp, but as yet it has yielded nothing which gives a clue to its original purpose or use. Structurally, it is built in the same way as the original univallate and the reconstructed bivallate camps, with earthen-cored ramparts resting between revetments of stone. I suspect, but am unable to prove as the actual junctions have been destroyed by builders of walls, that the annexe was tacked on to the bivallate camp before the latter was reconstructed in the Murus Gallicus technique (hence fig. 2, B, followed by C).

Old Oswestry provides a much more complex example athwart the western entrance (fig. 3, C). The basic idea is clearly much the same, namely, that an area outside the entrance is enclosed within ramparts; but in this instance the latter are merged with the reconstructed entrance itself. In short, annexe and barbican appear to be integrated into one vast design. In this instance, however, the annexe is by no means a flat plateau, even though the slope is gentler than anywhere else except the summit plateau. The really distinctive feature of the Old Oswestry annexe is the way in which it is divided up into deep rectangular hollows by transverse
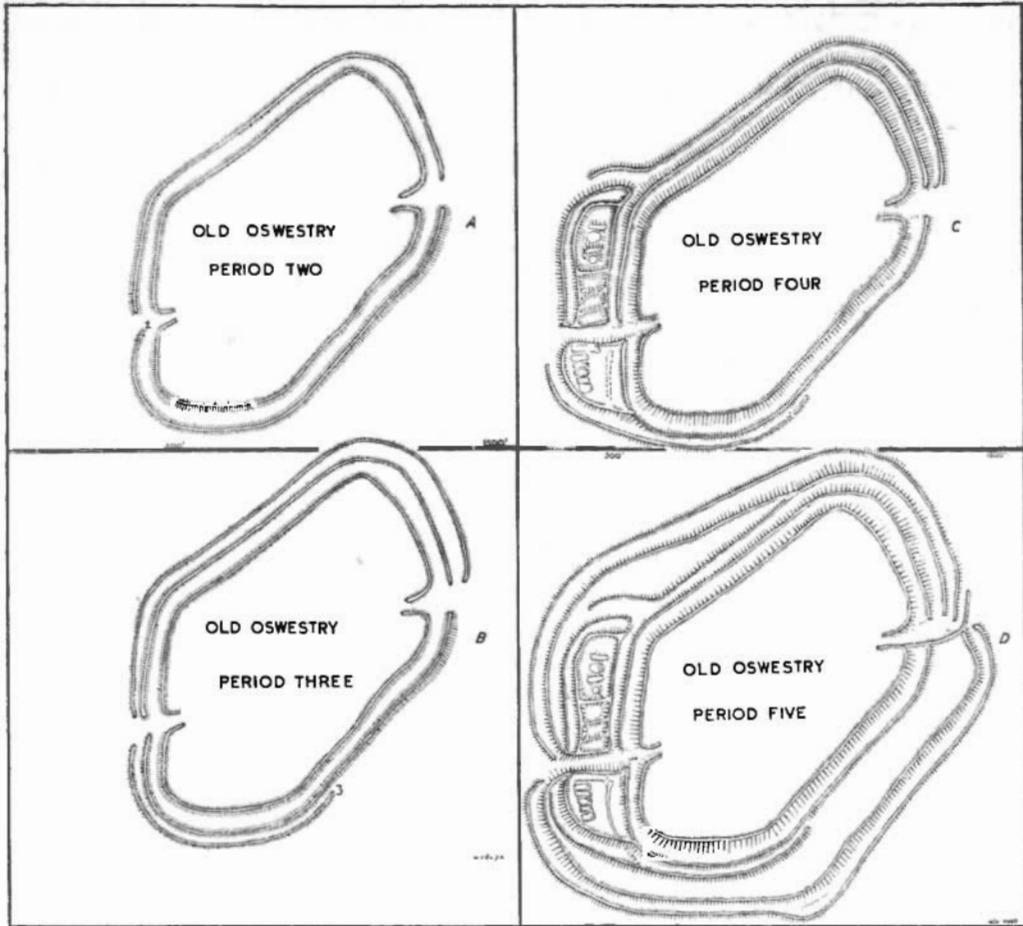
FIG. 3.   OLD OSWESTRY (SHROPSHIRE):

THE FOUR STAGES IN THE HISTORY OF THE IRON-AGE DEFENCES

A.   Stage   I : bivallate.   In the period-sequence of occupations, this is Period Two.

B.   Stage   II : bivallate by reconstruction, }
     plus part third bank   Period Three.

C.   Stage III : the same, plus multiple banks
     and complex annexe at   Period Four.
     entrance

D.   Stage IV : the same, with outer   }
     circumvallations added   Period Five.

ramparts. My preliminary excavation of one of these hollows yielded no clue to their purpose. Being made of clay, they could have held water, I suppose, though they do so no longer. Again, I suspect, but am unable to prove, that the pits and the transverse banks were an afterthought, an attempt to use a space which already existed. The only other such compartmented annexe known to me occurs at Llanmelin, and I gather that Dr. Nash-Williams is no wiser than I am as to its purpose. Of the annexe at Ffridd Faldwyn it would be wisest to say nothing except to agree with Mr. O'Neil that the superficial indications are that its history was long and complex.

Within the family of contour works, annexes, where they occur, seem to follow the bivallate stage and to precede the *final circumvallation* (see Table III). This latter seems to consist of enclosing everything that had gone before, no matter what, within an outer series of banks and ditches. These latter are usually bivallate, a ditch separating two ramparts, the inner being dominant. Wherever the previous structural history permitted, the final enclosure was concentric and subordinate to the original innermost line of defence. But circumstances sometimes compelled departure from the normal rule. At Old Oswestry and Almondbury, for instance (figs. 2 and 3), the final circumvallations (D) make vast sweeps round their respective annexes, a fact which caused considerable realignment of a portion of the defences at Old Oswestry. Here, the scale, depth and alignment of the annexe defences adjacent to the entrance were such, taken in conjunction with the relatively gentle slope, that the new defences blocked the view from the original inner rampart. The height of the latter was accordingly raised ; but even that appears not to have sufficed, for at this point only, what was originally the second counterscarp, a very puny third bank, was rebuilt as a vast new rampart which clearly commanded all the lower ground, including the outermost defences. Something of the same kind happened at Ffridd Faldwyn, for what appear to have been similar reasons.

It should also be noted that these additions to the repertory of hill-fort architects were accompanied by changes in the size and method of construction of ramparts. At Old Oswestry and Almondbury, the final circumvallation was carried out in glacis construction, not the box style of rampart which had hitherto prevailed. The association was by no means inevitable, however, for whereas at Old Oswestry the annexe, barbicans and looped ramparts were all of glacis construction, at Almondbury the annexe was built in the older box style ; while at Ffridd Faldwyn, too, the box style persisted until the very last reconstruction of the outermost defences.

Before proceeding to consider what this sequence of changes within the contour-work family means, I must dispose of the claims of some hill-forts to be included within it. It may have been noted that I have referred to the Breiddin and Pen y Corddyn as if in fact they were true contour works, whereas they are not. In a true contour work, the defences form continuous enclosures, except, of course, for the entrances. The Breiddin, Dinorben, Pen y Corddyn and Titterstone Clee are, in fact, what used to be called 'promontory' camps ; that is to say, the defences are not continuous, but they come to an end against natural scarps. My reason for including these particular examples within the contour-work family (and there are many more as yet unexcavated) is that if we examine the history of the structural content of these sites, it conforms to that which I have traced
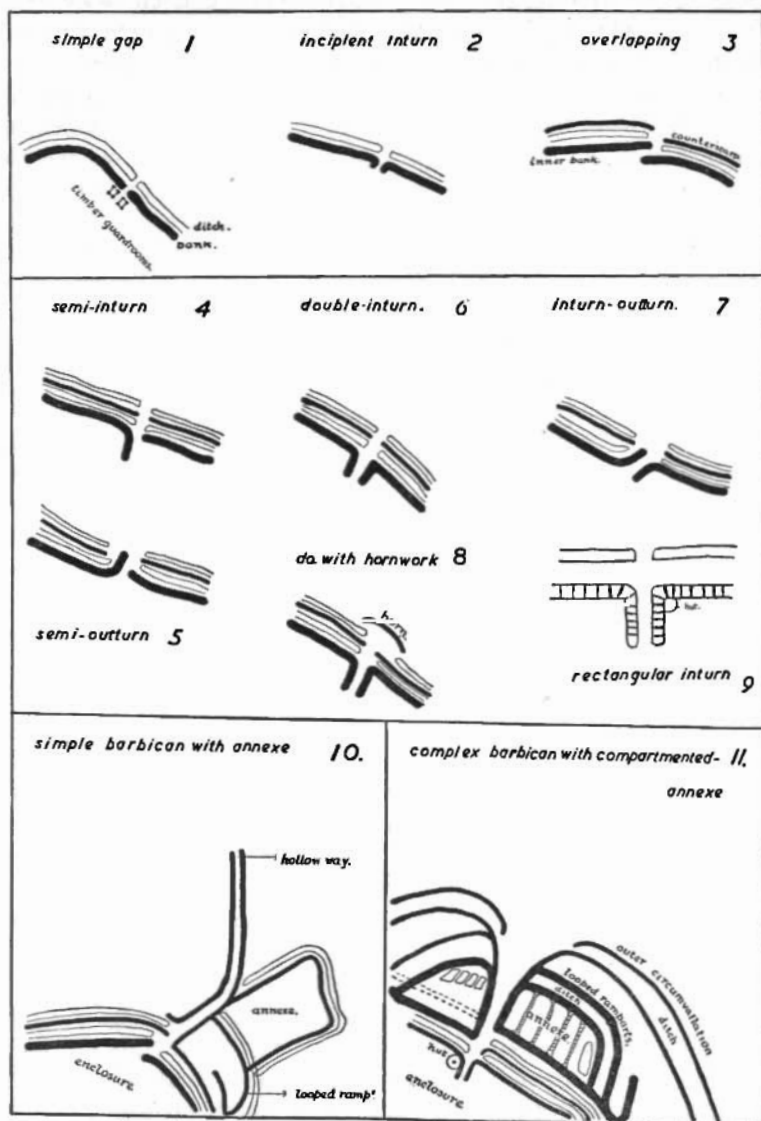
FIG. 4. SUCCESSIVE TYPES OF ENTRANCE-PLAN IN HILL-FORTS :
I-3, SIMPLER TYPES ; 4-9, INTURN TYPES ; IO-II, BARBICAN TYPES
Exterior of fort shown uppermost ; ditches in outline ; ramparts black or hatched.

2, Almondbury I   9, Maiden Castle Bickerton I
6, Old Oswestry I   10, Almondbury II
8, Ffridd Faldwyn II   11, Old Oswestry IV

for the true contour-works. At Dinorben we see the succession from univallate defences with simple entrance to a bivallate fort with a kind of inturned entrance, flanked by stone guard-chambers. The bivallate fort was itself twice reconstructed. At Pen y Corddyn, which, we are assured, belonged to a single structural phase, we see barbicans, looped ramparts, and annexe with outer defences. The Breiddin, which again may have possessed these features originally, had a barbican entrance and three ramparts, the outermost of which appears to be the equivalent of a partial circumvallation in a true contour-work. At Titterstone Clee we see the familiar succession : earth and timber univallate fort, followed by a reconstruction in stone with inturned entrance, bridge and guardrooms. The only real distinction between these forts and the true contour-work lies in their relation to the terrain. This, I submit, may well be due to the difference in terrain itself. Your true contour-work requires an isolated knoll with flattish top and steepish slopes all the way round, such as are found naturally in chalklands, the gravel eskers and sandstone plateaux of Cheshire and the Pennines, or Devonshire, or the granite bosses of Cornwall. At the kind of site obtaining in the four cases named, natural scarps of great steepness provide adequate defences where they exist ; where they do not, artificial defences take their place. If scarps and artificial defences be combined, the effect is of continuous enclosure comparable in shape, or at least size (for shapes are sometimes necessarily irregular), to those defined by continuous ramparts. Nor were the builders of true contour-works, such as Eddisbury, averse to scarping a rock face to simulate a stone revetment at suitable places along the perimeter of the defences.

Admittedly if one pushed this argument too far, one might be tempted to suppose, as Mr. O'Neil has occasionally hinted,[9] that the form of a hill-fort is entirely dictated by the nature of the terrain. Obviously it must be a large factor in the lay-out of any system of defences which makes use of natural slopes, as all hill-forts do of their very nature ; but it is not the only factor. The distinction between Bredon Hill Camp and the final form of Almondbury is not just a matter of difference in terrain. That this is so is most clearly proved by considering two examples in Cheshire: Eddisbury and Maiden Castle, Bickerton. The two hills are identical in geological composition and general shape, but the one houses a complex contour-work, the other a very distinctively different kind of promontory fort, and they are not half a day's journey apart.

The pattern which I have been endeavouring to trace can now be briefly summarized.[10] In lay-out we see a succession of changes from univallate to multi-vallate, normally by the process of adding whole or partial circumvallations arranged in parallel subordination to the innermost rampart. In entrances we see a succession from simple gaps, with or without guardrooms, through inturns of various kinds, to barbicans of varying degrees of complexity. In rampart construction we have every known style from box and berm to glacis without berm (to name what seems to be the two extremes of the range).

In this sense, the pattern is a trend of hill-fort design : it is not a series of specific events which can be pinned down to specific dates or causes, applicable to the whole series. That is not to say that events, dates and causes have not been

[9] E.g. at the discussion on this paper when it was first read before the Institute in London, on 5 March, 1947.

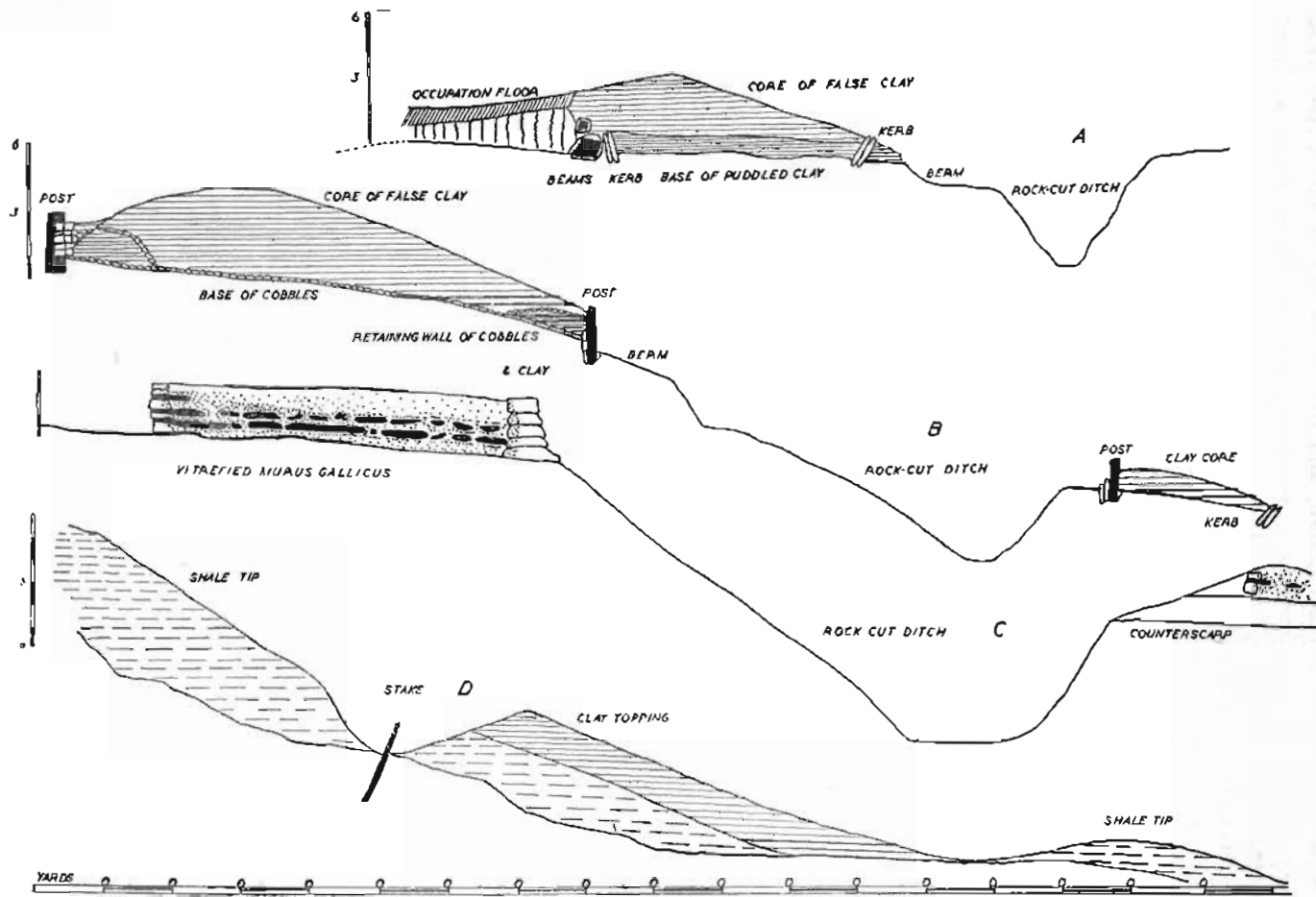[10] The data are set out in Table III, p. 49.

FIG. 5. SUCCESSIVE TYPES OF HILL-FORT DEFENCES

A, Almondbury I   C, Almondbury III and Maiden Castle Bickerton I
B, Almondbury II   D, Almondbury IV

considered in their bearing on this question. All I am suggesting is that the con-nexion between trends in hill-fort design, and the events out of which they arose somewhere, may not be so immediate as we should like, and by no means as direct as some of us have thought in the past.

The certainties in the chronology of this matter are lamentably few, and such as they are, are better disposed of immediately. They are summarized in fig. 6. The most positive of them all relates to the end of the process. The pattern of hill-fort development, as I have tried to define it, had been completed by the time the Roman legionaries completed their conquest of Wales and Brigantian Yorkshire, with one possible exception, viz. the resurrected forts of North Wales, notably the fourth reconstruction of Dinorben. Castle Hill, Almondbury, became an overgrown ruin after the building of the Roman fort at Slack :[11] Eddisbury was deliberately dismantled in part at least by legionaries from Chester. The entrance at Old Oswestry had silted up, by the early second century A.D. In all these cases, and they will suffice for this argument, these hill-forts had by then undergone all the changes I have described, and some I have yet to mention. The process of develop-ment, as a process of general or widespread applicability, ceased with the Roman conquest in the third quarter of the first century A.D. I am referring, of course, to structural development, not to occupation, which is an entirely different story.

The beginning of the process cannot be dated with any kind of certainty, or, I almost wrote, confidence. The first univallate enclosure on Eddisbury Hill was preceded by a palisade structure, the most likely occupants of which were the folk who made a fragment of encrusted urn found here ; these urns, as Mrs. Piggott has indicated, are not likely here to be before 600 B.C.[12] The best guess we can make for the beginning of the process rests on its analogy with what happened in the Chalklands, reinforced, as indeed it is, by a few crumbs of direct evidence.

The succession from univallate forts with simple gap entrances to bivallate forts with true inturns is well attested in Sussex and Wessex. It begins during the period when the Iron Age A culture-complex was forming in the fourth and third centuries B.C. ; and the classical bivallate contour-work, e.g. Cissbury, had emerged by about the middle of the third century B.C. (c. 250) on the basis of the evidence which Hawkes[13] and Curwen have discussed. So much is generally agreed.

It now seems fairly clear that a similar association exists in the Marches between early hill-forts and the diffusion of Iron Age A culture. The central hearth of a circular hut with a stone kerb, structurally integrated with the rear revetment of the southern inturn of the western entrance to the original bivallate fort at Old Oswestry, yielded a fragment of a furrowed carinated bowl which is clearly an intrusive import from the A province, probably Wessex. What that implies in terms of date I do not know ; we have to allow an unknown margin for diffusion, but it is a clue to origins at least. That the clue is not misleading is borne out by the locally-made pottery of the Wrekin and Eddisbury, which resembles the round- and high-shouldered coarse ware of Oxfordshire, typical of an area dominated by ' Iron Age A 2 ' ceramic influences. The evidence is scanty

[11] Usually attributed to Agricola : see A. M. Woodward and P. W. Dodd, ' Excavations at Slack'. in *Yorks Arch. Journ.*, xxvi (1921), 1 ff ; also I. A. Richmond, *Huddersfield in Roman Times* (1925), 29 ff.

[12] C. M. Piggott, *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1946, 125-6 (cf. 129).
[13] Curwen, *Suss. Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 214 ff ; Hawkes, ' The Caburn Pottery and its Implica-tions ', ibid., 217 ff ; cf. note 4 above.
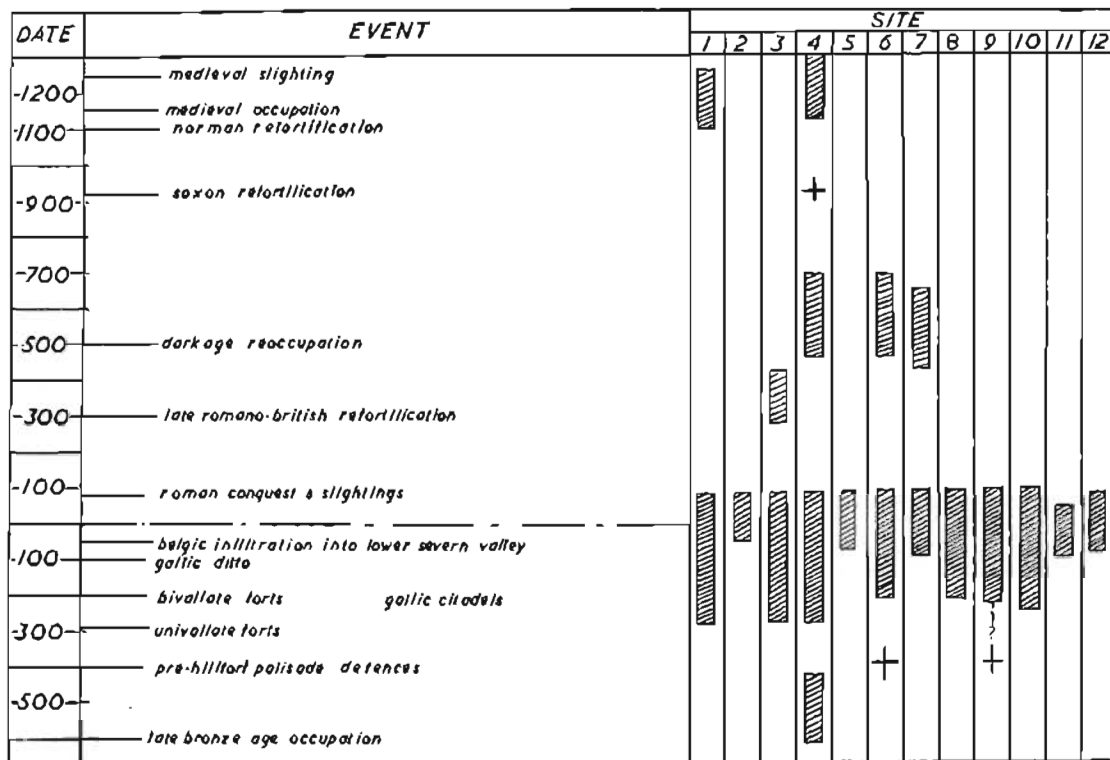
FIG. 6. CHRONOLOGICAL CHART OF THE HILL-FORT OCCUPATIONS

SITES : 1. Almondbury (Castle Hill).   5. Maiden Castle, Bickerton.   9. Ffridd Faldwyn.
2. Pen y Corddyn.   6. Old Oswestry.   10. Titterstone Clee.
3. Dinorben.   7. The Breiddin.   11. Bredon Hill.
4. Eddisbury (Castle Ditch).   8. The Wrekin.   12. Llanmelin.

but consistent. Nor is the historical process it implies in the least difficult to accept. The Iron Age A culture-complex, in spite of its exotic elements, contains much, even in Sussex, which hints at absorption and fusion, rather than replacement,[14] which may explain why, in general terms, it came near to attaining a culture-continuum over much of Britain, which later events greatly disturbed.

There is one vital point which needs to be noted for future reference. Whereas it is true that hill-forts up to and including the bivallate form of contour-work appear to have been associated with Iron Age A culture-elements all the way from Sussex to North Wales, yet, away from that particular direction, the association was not inevitable or universal. The Eastern counties do not lack Iron Age A culture, but they do not possess many hill-forts of this, nor any other kind. This divergence between what became the territory of the Parisii, Coritani and Iceni (East Yorkshire, Lincs-Leics, and Norfolk) and that of the Ordovices, Degeangli and Cornovii (North Wales and Shropshire) is a fact of history, which persists, and calls for more explanation than it has received.

The point at which we have arrived, therefore, is that contour-works of the earlier, simpler types, analogous to their structural counterparts in Wessex (fig. 7, a), were established in the Marches before, probably, the end of the second century B.C., and some of them had run the full course of a most bewildering structural development by the third quarter of the first century A.D. And there, I am afraid, we say good-bye to tangible evidence. The intermediate events cannot be dated, simply because none of the relevant contexts have provided datable evidence. It would be literally true to say that I have picked up more prehistoric pottery from a single afternoon's walk on the South Downs than I have recovered in nine seasons on four separate hill-forts in the Welsh Marches, during which I have removed and examined many hundreds of tons of soil ; nor have my colleagues been any more fortunate. I put the point that way deliberately, because it illustrates precisely the difficulties under which we labour in trying to interpret structural developments in terms of more intelligible historical events. That the structural developments and the historical events really occurred, no one could doubt ; it is the connexion between them which is obscure, so far as the contour-works are concerned.

There is indeed one indirect clue, the possibility of hybridization between the contour-works and the true promontory forts ; and to this I shall return after discussing the latter in their own right.

It is, I think, clear that at the beginning of the first century B.C., Brittany settlers, coming via Cornwall (fig. 7, b), established themselves near the Severn Estuary. Their most distinctive known settlement[14a] was Bredon Hill Camp, which in its first form was a simple univallate promontory fort with overlapping entrance. The cultural material, pottery and metalwork, is distinctly of the South-West, apart from some horse-trappings which appear to be the contribution of the Marne charioteers of East Yorkshire. There is abundant evidence that these settlers came into an area previously dominated by Iron Age A culture, and Mrs. Hencken has convinced me that they ended by being absorbed by the earlier folk. The

[14] Hawkes, 'The Caburn Pottery and its Implications', *Suss. Arch. Colls.*, lxxx, 230-5.
[14a] Miss Kenyon's results at Sutton Walls (Herefordshire) are as yet unknown to me in detail; recognition of them, however, has been made on the map fig. 7 (opposite).

SKETCH MAP
OF SUGGESTED
DIFFUSIONS:
FROM (a):— — →
FROM (b):——→

o 'Marnian' chariot-
or related burial.

Primary area
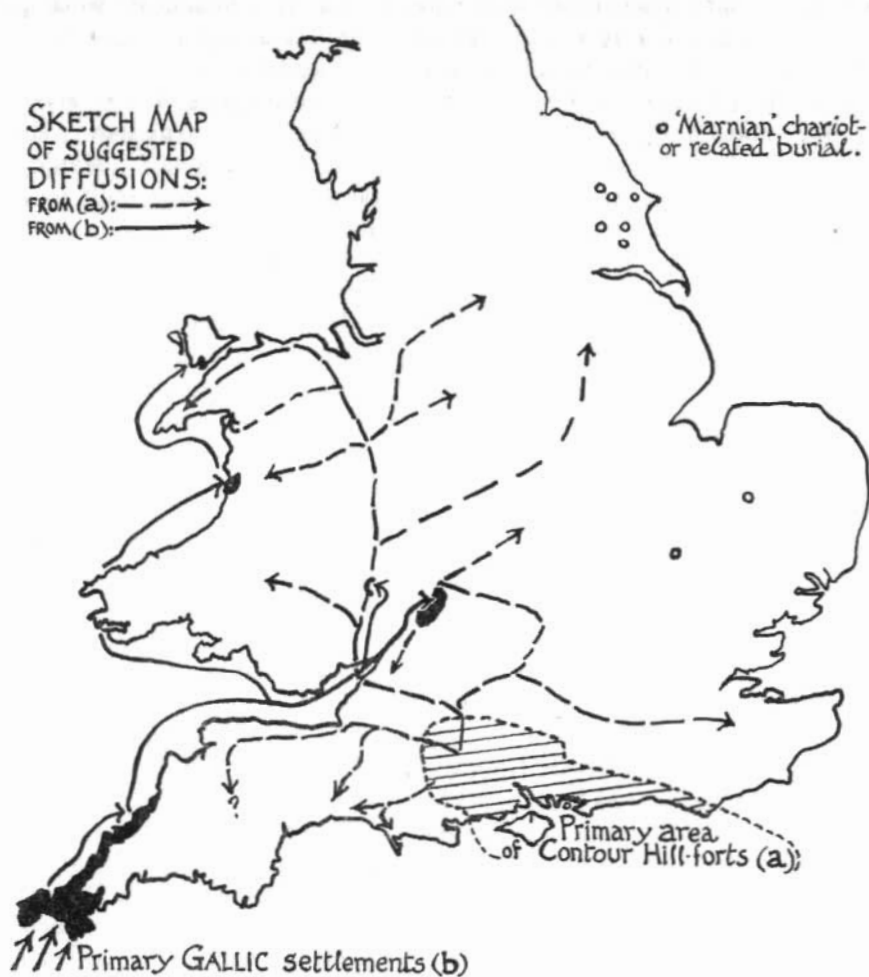of Contour Hill-forts (a).

Primary GALLIC settlements (b)

FIG. 7. SKETCH-MAP TO SHOW THE DIFFUSIONS, IN AND ADJOINING THE WELSH
MARCHES, OF HILL-FORT BUILDING SUGGESTED TO BE DERIVED (a), BEFORE
100 B.C., FROM THE SOUTHERN CHALK-LANDS, AND (b), ABOUT OR SOON AFTER
100 B.C., FROM THE SOUTH-WESTERN PENINSULA

By W. J. Varley and C. F. C. Hawkes,
August-December 1949:
compare fig. 1. p. 42

reconstructed Bredon Camp yielded pottery which reverts to older traditions and sheds its La Tène Breton decoration. Similarly, the rampart style of the second Bredon seems to be a reversion, too, this time from glacis construction to box construction. But the second Bredon camp, a bivallate promontory work, possesses a very special kind of inturned entrance : long, set at right angles to the inner rampart, and ending symmetrically with rounded apsidal ends.

Bredon Hill Camp has two almost exact counterparts to its reconstructed form ; one, Maiden Castle, Bickerton, which has been excavated ; the other, Fin Cop, overlooking Monsal Dale in Derbyshire, which has not. Maiden Castle, Bickerton, entrance (fig, 4, no. 9) and inner rampart alike, was built in the most distinctive of all rampart styles, the Murus Gallicus.

An almost identical entrance was added in the major reconstruction of Eddisbury which converted that fort into a bivallate contour-work, and that entrance, too, though not the associated rampart, was built in Murus Gallicus style.

Finally, the third version of the fort at Almondbury, a replacement of the second or bivallate fort previously described, was likewise built in Murus Gallicus style (fig. 2, C). This reconstruction was interposed between the bivallate fort with annexe (B) and the final multivallate fort with barbican entrance (D).

Here, therefore, we seem to have an interlocking of the two processes of structural development. The occurrence of Murus Gallicus links Eddisbury II and Almondbury III with Bickerton I ; the rectangular symmetrical inturn with apsidal ends links Eddisbury II with Bickerton I and Bredon Hill II. The matter is even more complex than that, for Murus Gallicus provides us with a link with the forts of the Abernethy complex of Scotland and similar Gallic or vitrified forts of Argyllshire.[15] Here indeed is a veritable tangle, the resolution of which seems at first sight to present some violent contradictions.

On the evidence of La Tène I c fibulae and equally early-looking pins, the Abernethy citadels built in Murus Gallicus style have been regarded as contemporary with the Iron Age A forts of Sussex, those of the Cissbury complex. Childe himself has regarded them as the work of Celtic immigrants coming direct from the Continent across the North Sea.[16] Piggott and Hawkes are disposed to regard them as evidence of a migration from the A province of England through the Welsh Marches and thence to the west coast of Scotland.[17] The date of this movement would presumably be later than that advanced by Childe, as befits a secondary diffusion compared with a primary settlement, but it would have to be very late indeed to fit in with that suggested by the link with Bredon Hill II. Mrs. Hencken's date for the latter was the first half of the first century A.D., immediately prior, that is, to the Belgic infiltration towards the lower Severn. Admittedly the date of the second Bredon camp does not appear to me to be very firmly based, but the gap between the two estimates is too large to be solved by quibbling about dates. On the one hand we appear to be dealing with a process of diffusion which began shortly after the events which followed the landing of Celtic elements in Sussex in the middle of the third century ; on the other, with a process of diffusion which

[15] Professor V. G. Childe some time ago suggested to me that these latter may enter into the ancestry of the brochs : on which see now Sir Lindsay Scott, in *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, 1947, I ff., and 1948, 46 ff.

[16] Childe, *The Prehistory of Scotland*, 195 ff.

[17] See the Council for British Archaeology's *Survey and Policy of Field Research in the Archaeology of Great Britain* (1947), 46, 47.

followed the absorption of those same elements in the Iron Age A population of the lower Severn.

At the risk of adding to the confusion, I am disposed to offer a slightly different hypothesis, based not on any new facts, but on opinions slowly impelled by the weight of all the accumulated evidence. I agree with Hawkes in thinking that what I have called the contour-works developed in Sussex and Wessex from the impact of freshly landed Celtic peoples from areas with a La Tène culture. I agree with Childe in regarding the Abernethy forts as the citadels built by the invaders themselves, rather than against them, and to them I would add, the Cornish citadels such as Chun Castle, and the cliff castles of North Cornwall. These particular invaders came from the Atlantic coast, not across the North Sea, and that is how and why we find citadels and Hallstatt-derived Gallic forts scattered around the Atlantic coast in much the same way as megaliths before them. On this hypothesis, I can accept the apparent contemporaneity of Cissbury, Chun Castle, and Abernethy, despite the differences in structure which are very considerable. Cissbury is a development of something which existed previously built against the invaders ; Chun Castle, the cliff castles and the Gallic forts embody the ideas of the sea-borne immigrants themselves, which explains Leeds' feeling that Chun had a distinctly Iberian look, as well it might have.[18] Chun and Abernethy are tiny enclosures, strongly defended by double walls with curious entrances, quite unlike the classical bivallate Downland forts such as the majestic Cissbury itself.

In Scotland, there were no widespread previous traditions of hill-fort building ; the citadels form the beginning of a new tradition, leading to the brochs and duns. In England, there were ; which explains why apart from isolated instances of secondary landings such as Bredon I, the immigrant types of fort are not found far from the initial landing-places.

Inland, immigrant contributions to hill-fort architecture such as Murus Gallicus are not found in forts which wear the new look. On the contrary, they are found either in orthodox contour-works, such as Eddisbury and Almondbury, or in copies of hybrids, one parent of which may well be the cliff castles, but the other, on the evidence from Bredon, is derived from the established Iron Age A tradition.

Our inland examples are not, therefore, primary Gallic forts of the Abernethy type ; they are hybrids. As such, they must be later, and considerably later, than the primary examples.

It is the continued impulse of this process of absorption which, I suspect, lies behind the continued development of the contour-work itself. In east Sussex the process seems to stop with the bivallate camp, but in west Wessex and beyond, it did not. In East Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and west Wessex, there are great multivallate earthworks which, as Dr. Wheeler urged for Maiden Castle, Dorchester, represent the impact of Iron Age B immigrants on the earlier tradition. In that special case, the impact may have come late, but we are dealing with a process and not an event, and the process may have begun earlier and the fruits of it be much more widespread. Maiden Castle seems to me to be revolutionary only in the drastic nature of that impact ; but what was revolutionized was something with roots in the soil.

So it may be in the Welsh Marches, with one apparently vital distinction.

[18] E. Thurlow Leeds, ' Excavations at Chun Castle ', in *Archaeologia*, lxxvi (1927), 205-40.

In Somerset and Wessex and even the lower Severn, Iron Age B culture, measured by pottery and metalwork, was thoroughly established. There are signs of it in the Celtic metalwork and derived-duck-motive pottery along the coast of Wales ; but along the great inland route from the Severn to the Dee estuaries, and further inland amongst the Brigantes, the older material culture persisted. As Allen showed in connexion with the Brigantian coinage,[19] the contacts of that people were with the Belgic south-east. In Cheshire and Shropshire there is not a trace of South-western influence on pottery. That influence is felt, possibly (I would say probably), in the continued development of hill-forts, including borrowings from immigrant notions of rampart construction; but the consequence, for the most part, is an integration of all that went before. Almondbury and Old Oswestry are not to be regarded as complex in the sense of the replacement of older designs by newer. They are complex in the sense that new is added to old in the making of a more intricate pattern of earthworks than had ever existed before. The final pattern makes sense, as did the earlier, but it is a richer and fuller sense, fed from many sources. Nor have I any doubt that the people who lived in such hill-forts, particularly the Brigantes who rejected their Belgic (?) princess and defied the Romans for almost a quarter of a century, were mainly the ultimate descendants of the great Middle Bronze Age colonization of the Central Pennines, of which I wrote in my *Prehistoric Cheshire*. Absorption and integration seem to me to be the keynotes of such explanation as is now possible of the events which gave birth to the development of the hill-forts of the Welsh Marches.

Two major points remain to be discussed. Why was it that the Marches played such an important role in the hill-fort period, and how was it that their experience differed so much from the lowlands of Eastern England ?

The answer to the first question has been suggested more than once by Miss Chitty[20] and Sir Cyril Fox. The hill-forts of the Marches line a trail from the Southern Chalkland around the massif of Wales to the shores of the Irish sea. That trail had seen the trade in felsite axes from Wales, flint from the Chalklands to the Clun Forest area, bronzes and gold from Ireland. In the Iron Age the traffic continued in objects of bronze and iron. The Severn estuary was one gathering-point in that traffic, Anglesey possibly another, with the added attraction, perhaps, of piracy in the Irish Sea. The route itself is both old and important in British prehistory ; the hill-forts are merely another expression and consequence of that importance.

The answer to the second question is to be found, as I have suggested earlier in this paper, in a difference of historical experience. The east came to be dominated by the Marnian charioteers who seemed to have no need of hill-forts ; the south-east by the Belgae, who likewise were not characteristically hill-fort builders.

The people of the buffer states, particularly in the South Pennines and the East Midlands, were betwixt and between. They had some hill-forts but not very many. In particular the Peak District, which since megalithic times had been a notable centre of population, much more so than the greater part of the Marcher hill-fort zone, had few hill-forts (fig. I) ; and few of them are notable in size, position

[19] Derek Allen, ' The Belgic Dynasties of Britain and their Coins ', in *Archaeologia*, xc (1944), 1-46.

[20] Most notably in her paper, ' How did the Hill-fort Builders reach the Breiddin ? ' in *Arch. Cambr.*, xcii (June 1937), 129-50.

or complexity. We must not, therefore, suppose that there were no changes in culture or social organization. Hill-forts are one important index of change, and very drastic it must have seemed to the survivors of the Barrow folk whose chieftains demanded such vast labours in the name of security ; but it was only one such index. The chariots and their rich trappings, pottery, fine metal-work, coins, are no less tangible, if somewhat less grandiose, memorials to the transmutation of the Bronze Age society which had pervaded most of Britain.

And, ironically enough, it all amounted to the same in the end. The Silures and the Ordovices, desperately though they fought, succumbed to the Romans ; so did the Brigantes, who fared better with fewer hill-forts, which proved no real obstacle to trained troops. The cultural differentiations of the several provinces of Late Pre-Roman Celtic Britain were mostly caught up in the new continuum evolved in the Pax Romana. To the inhabitants of Deva and Eboracum, and still more, perhaps, to those of Isurium Brigantum, the ruins of Eddisbury and Almondbury, which could have been seen from the roads of their new masters, were a memory of a past which had vanished, and which, in some ways, might be better forgotten.

Ill

It would be wrong to conclude this general survey without some reference to the ultimate fate of some of our Marcher forts, which, though they lost their original *raison d'être* at the Roman Conquest, figured no less decisively in many important subsequent historical episodes (fig. 6). It is perhaps all the more necessary to make such reference, inasmuch as most of the material for this kind of history has been provided by the archaeologist, even though he was probably looking for something much more ancient. Hill-forts in the Welsh Marches are no place for the exclusive Iron Age specialist ; he is liable to some very rude shocks.

It will perhaps be convenient to deal with these episodes in chronological sequence ; they provide a commentary on the simple truism that once a site becomes important for any reason, the importance often survives or is revived.

The first of these episodes is well known and there is nothing to add. Dr. Willoughby Gardner[21] and Dr. Wheeler[22] have provided and commented upon the fact that in the later stages of the Roman occupation, certain hill-forts, notably Dinorben, were refortified. It is interesting to note that the refortification owed most to its prehistoric prototypes, for, as we have seen, the barbican with guard-rooms which is the chief feature of Dinorben IV is not derived from Roman influences. I have only one further comment to make upon this episode, namely, that it was local in its incidence. Neither in Cheshire, Shropshire nor the South Pennines is there any evidence of late Roman refortification of hill-forts.

In Cheshire and Shropshire, however, there was a sub-Roman reoccupation of Eddisbury, Old Oswestry, and the Breiddin, which is of the very greatest interest.

At Eddisbury, settlers built stone-based huts over the ruins of the prehistoric rampart. Therein they carried out some kind of iron-smelting, which produced much slag but no recognizable implements. They also made vast quantities of

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[21] In his Presidential Address to the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1925 : *Arch. Cambr.*, lxxxi (Dec. 1926), 259 ff.

[22] Particularly in his *Roman and Native in Wales* (Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion, 1921).

some of the crudest pottery it has been my misfortune to have to refuse to throw away, but which, curiously enough, has the most exact counterparts.

At Old Oswestry, almost identical stone-based huts were dug into the decayed ruins of the prehistoric rampart.   Their inhabitants likewise produced vast quantities of pottery which for the most part is quite as revolting, and indeed is virtually indistinguishable from the Eddisbury material.   The other part is harder, finer, and even bears, at times, some resemblance to a carinated form which might have survived from earlier Romano-British coarse ware.

Almost identical coarse ware came from an occupation deposit lying over the decayed rampart of the Breiddin, this time in association with pottery of the late fourth century, which, I feel sure, lay far beyond the imitative powers of the people who used it, or at least had kept it.

The whole assemblage (huts and pottery on an open site) is repeated at Pant y Saer, Anglesey, where, fortunately, it was found in association with a silver penannular brooch of the sixth century A.D.[23]   This date fits in well enough with the stratigraphical evidence from Eddisbury, where the huts of these primitive potters lay between the sealed ruins of the fort dismantled in Agricolan times and the rebuilt ramparts of the Aethelflaedan burh, datable to the early tenth century.

It has been suggested that these squatters were the miserable survivors of those Cornovii whose fathers had once known Viroconium or Deva.   If that be so, then the Dark Ages have been aptly named.   But it now seems to me incredible that the people who lived so near to Chester, where good pottery could be picked up by the cartload, could have forgotten, in less than a century, what good pottery was.   In point of fact, they need not have gone so far, for along the Cheshire Ridge and even in Delamere Forest there are sites which could have yielded what they needed.   It seems to me much more probable that we are dealing not with people who had forgotten arts they had once practised, but with people who made that kind of thing because that was the kind of thing they liked and were accustomed to make.   In short, they were not Romano-Britons who had lost their way, but barbarians who had never known that way.   In this context, that will mean the Scots—those colonists from Ireland whom Stilicho is alleged to have sent Cunedda and his sons from the territory of the Votadini to deal with.[24]   Having seen the pottery from Larriban and similar Ulster Dark Ages sites, I am prepared to accept North-East Ireland as the place from which these people came.

This episode was naturally concluded by the Mercian expansion and the consequent stabilization of a frontier new in the history of this region, the boundary between Celt and Anglian.   This again brings Old Oswestry into the picture ; for Wat's Dyke, the frontier in question, halted at the outer ditch of that ruined earthwork and was resumed on a new alignment on the other side.[25]   Thereafter, Old Oswestry became a deserted landmark.

[23] C. W. Phillips, *Arch. Cambr.*, lxxix (June 1934), 1-36.

[24] R. G. Collingwood (and J. N. L. Myres), *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, chap. XVII : Cunedda transferred from the North to Wales by Stilicho, in 395-9. An alternative context for his transfer, half a century later, has been made by Mr. P. Hunter Blair, in his paper ' The Origins of Northumbria '. first read before the Institute in London on 3 April 1946, and published in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4 ser., xxv (1947) ; against him, see A. H. A. Hogg, in *Antiquity*, xxii, Dec. 1948, 201-5, but also his reply, ibid., 205.

[25] Sir Cyril Fox, ' Wat's Dyke : A Survey ', in *Arch. Cambr.*, lxxxix (Dec. 1934), 205-78.

The occupation of Eddisbury, however, was far from over. It began again with the struggles of English against the Northmen. Aethelflaeda as part of her notable contribution to that struggle built many burhs, and, according to the documentary sources, caused the defences of Chester to be rebuilt. Amongst the burhs accredited to her, Eddisbury has always been accepted as one on the documentary and place-name evidence.[26] I am happy to be able to report archaeological corroboration, for, in fact, two long stretches of rampart were rebuilt at this time, and between them, high up in the silting of a ditch which the Romans had partly filled and sealed off, was the floor of a typical wattle and daub hut, which yielded a Saxon loom-weight.

Once the Northmen had become the Normans, Eddisbury entered upon the last phase of its long history. It became the home of the provider of the sport of the rulers of the County Palatine of Chester, who transformed what had once been the home of Bronze Age peasantry into a Deer Forest. On the southern tip of Eddisbury Hill there was built the ranger's lodge, the ' Chamber in the Forest ', which figures so often in medieval records.[27] The Chamber was in fact a small house, much altered from time to time, which continued in occupation from the thirteenth until the seventeenth century. In less than a yard of tightly-packed soil on Eddisbury one can run the archaeological gamut from a Late Bronze Age palisade to the kitchen-debris of a survivor of the last stages of feudalism.

But of all the curious vicissitudes which befell an ancient hill-fort, the strangest of all, perhaps, comes from Castle Hill, Almondbury. Here, as the medievalists have always stoutly maintained, we have a Norman motte and bailey. So indeed we have, and much more beside, superimposed on the ruins of that prehistoric earthwork. The transformation was achieved with great ingenuity. A vast ditch was dug across the neck of the inner enclosure, the resulting earth was piled up over the turf-covered ruins of the vitrified Murus Gallicus, and there you have your motte and bailey. Around the motte and actually dug into the hollow behind the Murus Gallicus, the henchmen of Stephen, to whom the work is attributed, erected a shell keep of fine masonry, which was no less deliberately dismantled in the reign of Henry III. Finally, in the fifteenth century, somebody, as yet unknown, appears to have built himself a house, or farm, which presently followed all else into ruin and oblivion.

[26] Notably Sir Frank Stenton, in his *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1941), and Dr. E. Ekwall in his *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*.

[27] Notably ' The Black Prince's Register '.

Miss Lily Chitty, on whose unique knowledge of the archaeology of the Welsh border I have frequently called, and never in vain ; and to my many friends and helpers over the years.   I am indebted in other ways to the Leverhulme Trustees and the University of Liverpool, who gave me facilities for such study as I have been able to make.

<div align="right">W. J. V.</div>

University College of the Gold Coast, Achimota.
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