Warfare and Practice at Maiden Castle


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# Abstract

I examine the changing place of war, peace, and chronic insecurity in the lives of Iron Age people at Maiden Castle in Dorset England. Using GIS software, I examine the changing location of artifacts in the daily lives of people as well as the spatial relationships between these artifacts. Using ideas from Practice Theory I demonstrate how warfare went from a communal activity which was used to promote the idea of the community over the individual to an activity connected with prestige and individuality.

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**Introduction**

When this project was initially conceived the goal was to reexamine the evidence of warfare during the Iron Age at Maiden Castle, a hillfort in southern England, by examining the weapons recovered as well as their location within the site. While examining the report it became apparent that this would be quite difficult given the published material as Niall Sharples, the principal investigator of the most recent excavations, had not included the sword hilt guard or spearheads from the excavation on any maps. Additionally, although some slingstone hoards appear on house plans, most only appear on a single map, figure 193, which included all the hoards from the site but lacked any other artifacts or features to contextualize the information. Furthermore, although there were numerous maps, the information most pertinent to my interest was spread across multiple maps while some of it was not mapped anywhere. The abundance of maps led to the realization that with GIS software it would be possible to create a map with all of the desired information pulled from the available maps and data. With that in mind one of the goals of this project became seeing the feasibility of digitizing the original data and reanalyzing it in ways that were not possible when the excavation took place. It is likely that most, or even all, of the initial goals of this project could have been done by comparing the various maps and generating new ones by hand with graph paper and a ruler, however this would have been difficult and likely susceptible to error, additionally it is possible that the time required for such an undertaking would have been prohibitive. It is worth noting that it was, and still is, impossible to present all the data from an excavation in a way that will suit the needs of every future researcher and answer every question. This project is only possible because of the high quality of the original excavation, my issues with the original report are not a critique of the excavation but are the result of the different goals of the excavators and myself. The goal here is to answer questions not originally addressed by the excavators while utilizing their original data, not to suggest that the original excavators should have done thing differently in the first place.

Warfare has been a subject of interest to archaeologist essentially from the start of the discipline in Britain. One of the earliest paradigms for understanding the Iron Age was pioneered by Christopher Hawkes (1931) and placed warfare at the center of Iron Age life. Often called the Invasion Hypothesis or ABC Iron Age Chronology, see the introduction of Iron Age Communities in Britain by Barry Cunliffe (2005) for more details on its history, Hawkes model posits that successive waves of violent invasions came from the continent, replacing indigenous

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people and bringing more advanced technology, this was seen as an explanation of virtually all societal change at the time. Building on work by others in the 1960's Graham Clarke (1966) essentially put to rest the notion of a series of invasions, as well as the ABC Chronology. Although there has been some continued interest in warfare since that time there has been no consensus on the role of warfare in the Iron Age of Britain. There are those who see the Iron Age as a time filled with violence and warfare (for example Avery 1986 and Cunliffe 2005) while others see it as a time of peace and even argue that the weapons found should not be seen as tools of war but simply symbols of authority (for example Bowden and McOmish 1987 and Hill 1996). Simon James (2007) suggests that this stems from historically specific reasons with two main camps, one willing to accept there may have been some kind of warrior elite behind changes in the Iron Age, while the other views this idea as being based on data from the Continent, not Britain. Additionally, James suggests that a contemporary disdain for violence has found its way into the conversation, with the latter group looking for explanations behind culture change in the Iron Age that do not invoke violence. While simplistic this can be conceived of as a split between hawks and doves, the hawks seeing violence and warfare as an integral part of Iron Age society while the doves see the violence as being added by modern interpretation, not necessarily by the evidence. Both sides tend to construct grand narratives of change in society with or without warfare, much of the discussion focuses on the presence and numbers of weapons and defenses, concentrating on how effective they would, or would not, have been in combat. The doves often giving alternative explanations of the same material used by the hawks as evidence of warfare, such as the use of ramparts as part of rituals of bounding or weapons as symbols of authority (Bowden and McOmish 1987, Collis 1996, Haselgrove 1999, and Hill 1996). Missing in much of this is a critical examination and discussion of how individuals experienced the world that created the remains that we are left to work with.

Much of the problem stems from the use of a classical Western dichotomy in the examination of war, in this case the unexamined idea that there is war or peace. This approach, used by virtually every researcher discussing the subject, doesn't treat the topic with the kind of nuance that is likely needed. Erik Johannesson and Michelle Machicek (2010) point out that a lack of evidence of war does not mean peace, they demonstrate how material often associated with war, such as weapons and fortifications, may have played a role in the maintenance of peace as deterrents against violence. To them peace is not just the absence of war or conflict, but the active

avoidance of violence and the maintenance of economic, political, and social relations to preserve stability (Johannesson and Machicek 2010 pp. 17-18). Timothy Pauketat has also addressed this false dichotomy and has pointed out how hegemonic peace can be more violent than states of open warfare, with violence being displaced to other areas of society as individuals of lower status are exploited (Pauketat 2009). Although largely unheeded by researchers studying the Iron Age in Britain, James has suggested a third alternative to the classic war and peace split, one of insecurity and unease, a place between war and peace. He sees this condition as the most common or default state, that of "endemic/chronic insecurity, in which individuals, small groups, or sectors of the polity face constant risk of violence." (James 2007 pp. 168).

Addressing the complexities of war and peace and utilizing James' chronic insecurity is difficult in an archaeological setting since it acknowledges the ambiguity of the material remains. It becomes difficult if not impossible to say if weapons or fortifications were being used to inflict or stop violence in war, if they were being used as a deterrent and mechanism to actively maintain peace, or as a way of dealing with the uncertainty of their situation. It may be impossible to disentangle the complex way these ideas interact and overlap; however, this does not mean that we can not learn how past peoples relationship with war, peace, and chronic insecurity changed. Utilizing Practice Theory and looking at material associated with war, peace, and everything in between we can see how individuals and groups chose to construct and interact with their environment, and how this demonstrates changes in their approach to war. This approach may not give a definitive answer to all questions regarding war, for example if or how much combat was actually taking place at any given time, but it avoids the false dichotomy of war and peace while rendering mute the notion that weapons and fortifications are simply symbolic since even if they were symbolic and unused they still represent violence and their increase or decrease, as well as their location within the site, shows us that there was an increased need for these symbols of violence. Individuals still chose to include these objects in their constructed world, changes in this are still telling, even if they do not necessarily indicate episodes of violence.

This project adds to the conversation by incorporating James' third state into the discussion of warfare by utilizing ideas from Practice Theory. Rather than looking solely at the number of weapons the focus here is on the location of weapons and how they relate to the location of other artifacts and features on site. The goal being to see how individuals would have related to and experienced weapons and what this says about how they experienced James' Chronic Insecurity

in their daily lives, as well as how that would have changed over time. Rather than seeing the data as just part of large-scale societal processes these changes will be viewed as the result of individuals making individuals decisions about their lives. This is not to say that larger processes and trends did not exist but rather to recognize that these larger processes arise from the decisions and choices that are made at the individual level. Throughout this work the terms war and warfare will be used for the sake of conciseness, however it is important to keep in mind that what is being examined is the complex interaction of war, peace, and chronic insecurity. The choice to use these terms has been made to ensure the potentially violent nature of the past is not ignored or euphemized away, something that has been noted in past archaeological work.

**Background**

Rather than being a single and cohesive theoretical approach, Practice Theory is better thought of as a large and diverse set of approaches that seek to incorporate the cultural understandings of those being studied to explain and understand human action while allowing for individual agency. This can be difficult for archaeologist to implement since we usually lack complete remains, however, there are a number of examples of Practice Theory being applied in Archaeology (Nielsen and Walker 2009). Often the goal of these approaches is to understand and reconstruct "Practice", which has been defined in various ways. Following Nielsen and Walker I will define Practice as "… culturally informed and historically contextualized action." (Nielsen and Walker 2009 pp 4). While this is a broad definition, in many ways this is the point, it includes the simple and everyday kinds of activities, such as the proper use of eating utensils, as well as rare and occasional activities, such as the proper circumstances in which to put a tree up in one's house. Previous work incorporating Practice Theory into discussions of warfare in archaeology have largely utilized ethnographic or ethnohistoric information to gain the more culturally and historically situated understanding of the society being examined needed to understand Practice, this is then used to help guide discussion and interpret archaeological remains (see Nielsen and Walker 2009). However, this is not possible for Iron Age Britain, although Britain is mentioned by some Classical sources, attempting to use this material clouds our view more than it aids our understanding. Most references are simply too brief to provide the detail needed to reconstruct practice, while in others, for example Pytheas, the original sources have been lost with their work

only surviving within the writings of others. This makes it hard to know which elements are firsthand information and which were included by secondary sources. Even the best preserved and most detailed works, such as those by Caesar, were not written as ethnographic accounts, which can be problematic in their own right, but were written with their own set of goals and with their own audiences in mind. Caesar's work specifically largely served as propaganda for consumption in Rome (see Schadee, Hester 2008, Stevens C. E. 1952, and others), severely limiting its usefulness here. The lack of ethnographic or ethnohistoric information complicates any attempt to utilize Practice Theory as it has been applied previously. However, by moving our focus from Practice to *habitus* we can still realize the main aims of Practice Theory, understanding human actions in a way that acknowledges individual agency while also recognizing the importance of contextualizing this action in its social environment. In short *habitus* is the social, ecological, and material circumstances of one's existence from birth on. It is both individual and collective, individuals will share elements of their material, social, and natural environment with those around them while having unique specific interactions and experiences within that environment. *Habitus* is constructed and reconstructed through practice while shaping future practice. It shapes the way individual's construction themselves while influencing how new situations are handled. The physical, material, and social world in which one exists, their *habitus*, shapes their expectations of the world, influencing how an individual exists and act in it, in turn these expectations and actions reshape the physical, material, and social world, their *habitus*, going forward. It is important to keep in mind that this does not deny individuals agency by assuming individuals simply reconstruct what they are familiar with, but rather acknowledges that the material and social reality of existence shapes action, this is true when reconstructing or intentionally modifying the familiar but can be crucial when actively rejecting it as well. While no two individuals will have the exact same *habitus*, since they will not have the exact same experiences, there are many elements of the social and natural environment that will be shared, this will drive similarities in *habitus*, and ultimately in practice. Although often altered by taphonomic processes material remains recovered archaeologically represent actions taken by individuals expressing their agency in a situation. While in some cases these actions stem from practices based on the idiosyncrasies of an individual's *habitus*, repeated expressions of this demonstrate practices performed by multiple members of a society and a certain amount of shared *habitus* regarding the action. That is to say that while an individuals' actions and practices can leave archaeological traces, broader and more widespread patterns in

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practices likely indicate that these practices stem from elements of *habitus* shared by the community, or at least some segment of the community. By looking at changes in these broader practices we can see changes in this shared *habitus* through time, while this will not allow us to completely reconstruct past practice, we can better contextualize the social environment that created these remains.

When trying to understand the *habitus* of war at Maiden Castle it is important to keep in mind that changes in practices around warfare did not happen in a vacuum and that other changes taking place at the time are also relevant. However, there is no reason to prioritize changes in other aspects of society as the cause of the changes in warfare, rather both are indicative of how individuals are reacting to broader changes in their collective *habitus*, individuals are choosing to construct these changing elements in multiple aspects of their lived experience. There is a back and forth relationship between changes in warfare and other aspects of society, with the changes in warfare as much a part of the broader changes in society as those changes are responsible for the changes in warfare. Both demonstrate that changes in *habitus* is changing how individuals choose to construct themselves in their everyday lives, changes that seem to mirror each other may say something about how these ideas are connected while other elements of life show how these ideas are separate or connected in different ways with fundamentally different understandings governing their expression.

Maiden Castle in Dorset England has seen activity from the Neolithic through to the 17th century AD. Habitation at the site has been intermittent and it has been uninhabited since the 4th century AD with the area being used for agriculture after that time. The site has been the subject of two major excavations using more or less modern techniques. The first excavation was done by R.E.M. Wheeler from 1934-1937 with the results not being published until 1943 largely due to World War II. For the most part Wheeler's work will not be included here, his work was done before the discover of radiocarbon dating and much of his interpretation and dating hinges on the flawed ABC Iron Age Chronology, this makes understanding his data in relation to later work difficult. The more recent excavation was done by Niall Sharples who worked from 1985-1986, publishing in 1991. Sharples discusses Wheelers work at length and has attempted to incorporate it into his interpretation of the site, unfortunately, Sharples was not able to correlate his Iron Age sub-phases with Wheelers, though in some cases he can make an argument for material being more or less contemporary. Most of the discussion of Wheelers work will be done based on what

Sharples has said about it. Sharples had access to many of Wheelers original site notebooks and other material, and although it was not possible to directly compare all of Wheeler's work with his own, Sharples was able to provide some insights into Wheeler's work that will be relevant here.

The Iron Age can be said to begin around 600 BC and end around AD 43, it is often split into an early period running roughly from 600-300 BC, a middle period from 300-100 BC, and the late period running from 100 BC- AD 43. Some researchers also include the time from 800-600 BC calling it the earliest Iron Age or Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age transition. This range is somewhat arbitrary and different date ranges are sometimes used since iron was not adopted across all of Britain at the same time, additionally there is no clear development in ceramics or other material that clearly marks a transition from the preceding Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Maiden Castle is in a region of southern England that is often referred to as Wessex (see figure 1). During the Iron Age this region was characterized by large settlements enclosed by ramparts that were often on hill tops called hillforts, though these were not the only settlement types in the area. After their initial construction many of these hillforts would later be expanded, with the ramparts including a larger area. Exactly how these hillforts related to other settlements is a matter of contention, some arguing that they should be seen as centers of activity and production, where the elite lived, with these individuals acquiring agricultural surplus and commodities which they would redistribute (Cunliffe 1993). This view is problematic, not only do we not find the kinds of markers of status associated with an elite at



**Figure 1: Wessex as defined by Cunliffe and Sharples as well as the approximate location of Maiden Castle**

hillforts in this area, but there is no indication that hillforts were centers for production, all

settlements appear to be self-sufficient with commodities possibly being more common on "peripheral" sites (Bowden and McOmish 1987 and Hill 1995 and 1996). While this debate is not over, the evidence from Maiden Castle seems to refute the idea that hillforts served as centers of production and elite life.

Sharples excavated six trenches, see figure 2, and found evidence for 9 phases of activity at the Maiden Castle with phases 5, 6, and 7 being from the Iron Age. The Hillfort was initially constructed in phase 5 and enclosed an area of almost 6.5 ha. He found material from this phase in five trenches. This allowed for a basic understanding of the sequence of construction, with much evidence coming from ditches, ramparts, and other features. However, there is no clear understanding of the occupation in this phase, largely due to later activity and cultivation destroying evidence from the earlier phase. In some cases, it has been possible to gain broad insights into the activity on site from phase 5, but it is not possible to examine specifics. Phase 6 is the period after the expansion of the hillfort, when it would be enlarged to almost 17.25 ha. Evidence from this phase was found in all six trenches opened by Sharples. This phase has the most evidence of occupation associated with it and Sharples found evidence of occupation, as opposed to just activity such as rampart construction, in several trenches. Trench IV is the only trench that provided enough evidence to allow a detailed study of occupation, it includes evidence



**Figure 2: Maiden Castle showing the location of the trenches excavated by Sharples**

of multiple houses from multiple sub-phases. Additional trenches provided detailed evidence for the construction of the ramparts and entrances. Phase 7 comes from the Late Iron Age and material from this phase was only found in a single trench, Trench VI. While occupational debris was found, it only consisted of four levels, the lowest included a house excavated by Wheeler that Sharples did not reexamine. The remains above the house indicate the area was used for much, if intermittent, metalworking. This is also the phase of the "War Cemetery" excavated by Wheeler which included many burials of individuals that seem to have been involved in violent conflicts and many contain weapons, though Sharples did not excavate more such burials. This project will focus on material from phase 6 in Trench IV. Phases 5 and 7 do not provide enough material from the occupation of the site to include in this project, nor do the other trenches from phase 6.

Trench IV is located near western end of the southern rampart. Sharples was able to identify four sub-phases in this trench which he labels sub-phase 6E, sub-phase 6F, sub-phase 6G, and sub-phase 6H with sub-phase 6E being the earliest and a hiatus of occupation between sub-phase 6F and sub-phase 6G. Establishing a date for phase 6 is difficult, Sharples does not give an exact date for this period or its sub-phases and little datable material was recovered from the excavation. Despite this he does review the datable evidence available and suggests that phase 6 began in approximately 300 BC and ended in the final part of the first century BC or early in the first century AD. Sharples presents a summary of the dating material on pages 241 and 242, specifically addressing each of the sub-phases in Trench IV. Using this as a basis I have given each sub-phase a date range with sub-phase 6E running from 300 BC to 200 BC, sub-phase 6F beginning in 200 BC and ending around 150 BC, while sub-phase 6G doesn't begin until 125 BC and ends in 70 BC, and sub-phase 6H beginning in 70 BC and ending at the close of the first century BC. It is important to note that this dating is approximate at best, although based off the finds recovered and discussed by Sharples, they are imprecise and designed to give context. It is also worth noting that these sub-phases run across both the middle and late Iron Age, despite Sharples referring to phase 7 as the Late Iron Age occupation, it is possible that some activity and finds from sub-phase 6H may have been contemporary with early activity and finds from phase 7, however this can not be demonstrated with the available data and phase 7 continues sometime after sub-phase 6H ends.

Magnetic susceptibility and phosphate survey at Maiden Castle revealed that the site had been divided into zones with different occupation types. Additionally, there were dense concentration

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of pits to the north with less evidence of occupation to the south until reaching the ramparts at which point there is an increase in the amount of occupation. While over all the amount of activity goes up through time this division seems to be in place from the earliest parts of phase 6 and may go back to the construction of the hillfort in phase 5, though the lack pf evidence from this phase makes this hard to demonstrate. The northern and southern area of the hillfort appear to have been used in different ways, this is similar to Danebury, another hillfort in Wessex just over 80 km from Maiden Castle. At Danebury, which has been more fully excavated than Maiden Castle, this pattern is more obvious, and it is clear that there are more storage pits in the north and granaries in the south (Cunliffe 1984 and 1995), this appears to be the case at Maiden Castle. While the evidence is not as clear as at Danebury Sharples concluded "The overall distribution of features suggests that the hillfort interior was divided into occupation zones." (Sharples 1991 p. 74) and would go on to state that the patterning at Maiden Castle is what you would expect to see if the pattern at Danebury was typical of these kinds of hillforts (Sharples 1991 p. 74). Additionally, Danebury may show differential use of space between the core and periphery of the site with the central area being a more communal space, with communal storage while peripheral areas, near the rampart, were used for personal or household use and storage (Whittle 1984). Sharples stops short of stating that Maiden Castle shares feature with Danebury but does note that it seems to be at least partially true in that at Maiden Castle the peripheral areas seem to have been used for household storage (Sharples 1991 p.93). The lack of well stratified remains and little surviving evidence of occupation from the central area makes it difficult to confirm or reject the idea that the central area was used for communal storage based on the evidence. Given the other similarities with Danebury it seems likely that the central area at Maiden Castle would also have functioned as a place for communal storage as at Danebury. It is possible if not likely that there is significantly more nuance and detail to the division of space at Maiden Castle than we currently have evidence for and additional excavation would potentially provide more clarity on the use of space, though it does appear that both the distinction between north and south as well as core and periphery were important.

Others have noted the importance of divisions and bounding in Iron Age society across Britain, including Wessex, and have argued that these ideas were gaining importance as communities were becoming increasingly sedentary and justifying the use of land for agriculture became more important (Bowden and McOmish 1987, Sharples 2010, and Williams 2003). Mike Williams has

argued that beginning in the Late Bronze Age, continuing into the Iron Age, agriculture, and the agricultural cycle, became a metaphor for life across Europe (Williams 2003). He argues that people at this time conceptualized their world in reference to the agricultural cycle with ideas of permanence and the transcendence of death being vital to justifying the communities and individuals continued and continuing place in and on the landscape, a permanence without precedence before this period. Artifacts, he suggests, deriving their meaning from the way in which they connect to the agricultural cycle. Williams' ideas are not completely new, previously Richard Hingley (1990) suggested that houses served as this kind of metaphor in Iron Age society while Mike Parker Pearson (1996 and Parker Pearson and Sharples 1999) as well as Andrew Fitzpatrick (1997) have all made cases for the division and orientation of the house being an important part of Iron Age life, giving importance to the direction of the entrance and the movement of the sun through the year and the day. Parker Pearson has even argued that the movement of people would have matched the movement of the sun in the sky with people spending time in the southern part of the house while the sun was to the south, during the day in the summer, and slept in the northern part of the house when the sun was to the north, at night (Parker Pearson 1999 pp. 49-50). Although we can not be certain how accurate any of these specific ideas are, there is a growing body of research that demonstrates the importance of bounding and location in Wessex during the Iron Age.

Based on his excavation at Maiden Castle as well as what is known about other local sites, Sharples constructs a regional model for the development and eventual abandonment of hillforts. He suggests that Maiden Castle, and other hillforts, initially developed through competition for agricultural resources that ultimately resulted in the construction of massive ramparts for defense at more successful communities. In addition to their defensive roles these ramparts served as a status symbol for the community, it demonstrated an abundance of resources necessitating such defenses, while also demonstrating access to the labor necessary to construct the ramparts (Sharples 1991 pp. 257-259). These communities, including Maiden Castle, grew, becoming dominant over large areas with access to increasingly more land, resources, and labor (Sharples 1991 p. 259). The status of these sites continued to be displayed through the creation, maintenance, and elaboration of increasingly massive ramparts, requiring more labor than the hillfort alone could provide. Ultimately, this resulted in settlements near hillforts being brought, possibly forcibly, into a relationship with the hillfort in which the smaller settlement would send

grain and labor for rampart construction to the hillfort with the grain being stored and some being used to feed the individuals that had come to work on the ramparts, once these communities had become a part of this relationship it may not have been possible to get out (Sharples 1991 pp. 259- 260). Sharples notes that at this time the pottery is increasingly plain, suggesting that this is an intentional attempt to downplay individual status and emphasize the community (Sharples 1991 p. 260). All of this likely took place during sub-phase 6E and situation was probably more or less the same as sub-phase 6F began.

As the expansion of hillfort communities ceases Sharples notes several other changes at Maiden Castle, the almost continual maintenance and rebuilding of the ramparts halts, the occupation gets denser and more organized, and the ceramic assemblage changes with more decoration being used as a regional style developed (Sharples 1991 p. 260). Sharples suggests that this evidence points to the development of regional territories with several hillforts, in this case Maiden Castle, South Cadbury, and Hod Hill, coming to some agreement about areas of influence and regional goals, with the result being that these communities quit competing through the display and elaboration of ramparts (Sharples 191 pp. 260-1). This would have changed the relationship between hillforts and smaller settlements, where previously grain and labor had been provided by smaller communities this would have been replaced by trade for more specialized products (Sharples 191 p. 261). The reorganization of the site at this time is likely to have been multicausal but Sharples suggests that one goal of this may have been to subvert the familial connections that were so important previously while deepening the reliance on other institutions and the community at large, more fully integrating individuals identities into that of the community (Sharples 1991 pp. 262-3). Individual communities were now integrated into the broader community through the trade relationships based on specialization rather than grain and rampart construction, which characterized the previous period. It is likely that this process began in sub-phase 6F and continued in sub-phase 6G with the associated reorganization being responsible for the hiatus of occupation between the sub-phases.

Towards the end of the Iron Age many hillforts were abandoned while others, like Maiden Castle, underwent additional reorganization. Sharples has suggested that the increase in specialization and trade gave individuals the ability to circumvent the traditional power structures, allowing individuals control over wealth (Sharples 1991, and 2010). This likely occurs in sub-phase 6H. Sharples based much of this on the changes in ceramics and an increase in

objects of personal adornment at Maiden Castle. Although he references some details, Sharples never explicitly relates all sub-phases to the changes at Maiden Castle, rather choosing to discuss these changes in terms of the classic Early, Middle, and Late Iron Age. While not stated it is likely that this is because not only would these changes have been gradual at a site that was continually occupied, but these changes are unlikely to leave the kind of evidence that would be easily and definitively identifiable as well as dateable. That said, it is possible to look at the evidence he provides in his discussion and get an idea of where the sub-phases fit into Sharples model as has been done here. Doing so helps contextualize the social environment of these periods to help understand changes in *habitus* that we see over time.

**Purpose and Methods**

As stated above the primary purpose of this project is to gain an understanding of how the people of Maiden Castle constructed their *habitus* regarding ideas of peace, war, and chronic insecurity. By looking at the changing place of weapons in their daily lives we can see how attitudes around these ideas changed as well as how these ideas may have connected to other aspects of life. Additionally, this project seeks to demonstrate the value of using GIS software on data recovered before the widespread use of such software and how this allows old material to be evaluate in new ways.

To examine the spatial relationships of artifacts and features at Maiden Castle GIS software, specifically ArcMap by esri, was used to digitize and georeference site maps and other material from Niall Sharples' monograph 'Maiden Castle Excavations and field survey 1985-6' published in 1991. From this a File Geodatabase was created with the locations of all artifacts and features as well as other information about these artifacts and features, for example the sub-phase they are from. This allowed maps from the original excavation with different information on them to be combined in novel ways enabling the creation of new maps not published in the original report but based the published data. This enabled the examination and interpretation of spatial relationships previously not presented. Faunal remains and ceramics were not recorded as small finds during the excavation of Maiden Castle, as a result most are lacking spatial data, eliminating these materials from this study.

Artifact locations largely come from figures 193, 194, and 195 of the monograph, which show the distribution of various artifact types in trench IV by sub-phase. Locations of features, such as pits and houses, primarily come from figures 65, 69, 71, and 73 which show the location of houses, pits and other features in trench IV by sub-phase. Additionally, detailed plans of features, such as houses, and smaller areas of trench IV were also included to add details not on the other maps while increasing the precision of the locations of artifacts and features, figures 66, 70, 74, 75, 79, 81, 84, and 93 were utilized this way. Artifact locations in the database were assigned based on the center of the symbol used for them on the original map, while features were drawn in around the features as they appeared on the maps, post holes were not included to aid the clarity of the map though some of the structures they formed, the four-post structures, are included. Slingstones were not mapped individually in the original excavation, however a number of slingstone hoards were uncovered and were mapped, these were recorded as single points in the center of where the hoard appeared on the original maps, this was done largely to make the map less confusing but also because the published material does not show the extent of all slingstone hoards making it impossible to treat them like other features, though some do appear on the more detailed maps. The same process used for slingstones hoards was used for hearths.

The smallest scale maps, those showing the entirety of trench IV, were digitized first and then larger scale maps, those showing more detail of a smaller area, were digitized. When artifacts or features appeared on maps of different scales, they were moved to the location based on the more detailed, larger scale, maps when those were digitized. This ensured that locations were as accurate as possible while allowing detail to be added to feature like houses which were represented in less detail, as circles, on smaller scale maps but are given a higher amount of detail on larger scale maps. The small-scale maps showed a high level of accuracy with few adjustments being necessitated when the large-scale maps were added.

Grid coordinates from the micro fiche were used to input materials that did not appear on any of the maps but were recorded and discussed elsewhere in the report. To make sure no artifacts were missing the total number of each artifact type in the database was compared to tables published in the monograph, discrepancies were addressed and remedied utilizing the micro fiche, which often included grid coordinates as well as context numbers and descriptions of artifacts and features. This allowed artifacts that lacked grid coordinates but were mapped to be accounted for, confirming that the database was complete, additionally in rare cases this allowed artifacts to be

included that lacked coordinates but where listed as being from discrete contexts, such as pits, allowing a general location to be given for these artifacts. For example, artifact number 7681, a comb of antler, is listed as coming from pit 5050 but is not given coordinates, since pit 5050 appears on the maps the location of the object could be added to the map. This was only done after exhausting all other options for discovering the objects location, these objects were given a location at the center of the feature they were listed as being within, this was not done in the case of large or irregular features, furthermore this was exceedingly rare with only a few artifacts requiring this process. As a final measure to ensure the completeness of the database the micro fiche was examined to ensure there were no additional finds unaccounted for from the sub-phase under examination.

While the database is largely complete there were a number of artifacts from the excavation which have no spatial data available. This is not unexpected as it is difficult to identify all artifacts in the field, a fact Sharples acknowledges on page 153 of the monograph, accordingly objects that were not identified *in situ* may not have spatial data associated with them. Furthermore, some artifacts come from contexts that lack secure stratigraphic relationships, preventing them from being attributed to a sub-phase. This has resulted in discrepancies in the database and published material for the total number of artifacts recovered at the site as well in some sub-phases. That said the number of such instances is small and should not impact the results of this study, this does not affect most artifact types and for the classes it does, it only results in one or two additional artifacts belonging to a sub-phase. To make sure this would not significantly affect the results of this study special attention was paid to Sharples discussion of the artifacts to see if the database, with these omissions, still showed the same pattern Sharples found using all stratified material. The database was found to concur with Sharples analysis for all but two artifact types. Bone plaques were found in all sub-phases, however only one has spatial data in the published material, while that one will be included on the maps these will be excluded from discussion as there is simply not enough information to say anything about them. Likewise, all material that Sharples considers metalworking debris will also be excluded. While there is metalworking debris from all periods under consideration a large proportion of these finds lack spatial data, especially for the earlier periods. Utilizing this missing material gives the misleading impression that sub-phase 6H saw an increase, or at least little change, in the amount of metalworking while Sharples states there is a decrease at this time (Sharples 1991 pp. 170).

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Despite having been included in the database metalworking debris will not be included on the maps, though Sharples discussion of this will be briefly summarized as needed since metalworking took place in trench IV. The database accurately reflects all the published material with spatial data, it is important to note that while the numbers of artifacts are discussed here the focus is on the relative locations, especially of material relating to warfare, rather than absolute numbers.

Separate from the issue of completeness is that of the accuracy of the spatial data. The largest potential source of error in the locations comes from the size of symbols used on the original maps showing the spatial distribution of various classes of material. On Sharples maps, figures 194 and 195, the largest symbols used for any artifact type measure just under a meter in length according to the scale of the map. While it is likely that the actual location of the artifacts is in the center of the symbols, without confirming this through a detailed discussion with those who created the map almost thirty years ago it is perhaps better to assume that the actual location could be anywhere within the symbol on the original maps. The shapes and sizes of the symbols used varies and it is likely that as a result so does the accuracy, however as previously stated the largest symbols are under a meter, given that the center of each symbol was used in the creation of this database all the actual locations should be within 50 cm of the location used here. The small amount of adjustment needed when features which appear on multiple maps, sometimes represented as a point and others as a feature with dimension, such as slingstone hoards and hearths, suggest that the accuracy is higher, however during discussion and analysis here the assumption will be that all artifacts are only accurate to within 50 cm.

Coordinates in the micro fiche are given down to the centimeter for artifact locations, there is an argument to be made that accuracy would have been increased if all artifact locations had been input based on these coordinates instead of the maps. This was not done because of a number of problems with the micro fiche. Not only had the micro fiche deteriorated before being copied to a different format (Sue Davies Chief Executive Wessex Archaeology personal communication) making some sections difficult if not impossible to read, but there are a handful of discrepancies between the fiche and the published material. For example, according to figure 195 sub-phase 6H has six spindle whorls while the catalogue in the micro fiche list one spindle whorl of chalk with coordinates, the five of daub lack any coordinates and were found in contexts that prohibited placing them on the map, unlike comb 7681 above, making it impossible to give those objects a

location based on the micro fiche. These objects do appear on figure 195 allowing their location to be included here, however it is impossible to get a more accurate location from the micro fiche. In other cases, the deterioration of the micro fiche has rendered coordinates of objects illegible, for example artifact 7642, a ring harness from sub-phase 6H, cannot confidently be read and has been left out of this analysis. Additionally, there are some artifacts that appear on the maps that cannot be found in the micro fiche, though it is not clear if these have been accidently omitted or if their absence has been the result of damage to the micro fiche. Furthermore, some objects, like artifact number 8124, listed as iron tweezers, are listed in the micro fiche as belonging to one phase, 6G, but are discussed in the monograph as part of other phases, a Roman context in this case on page 165. In situations like this it is assumed that the monograph is accurate, and that the micro fiche is simply incomplete or was not updated when objects were re-phased in the post excavation process, or that simple typographic errors were made. Ultimately it was decided that the coordinates from the micro fiche would be used if the artifacts location did not appear on any map, in these situations ever attempt was made to confirm that the information about phase and context matched that in the text of the monograph.

A small number of errors have been found within the monograph, specifically the artifact counts given in figure 94 often contradicts other tables and counts given in text. Niall Sharples (personal communication) indicated figure 83 was correct and figure 94 was incorrect for the slingstone counts, it is likely that figure 94 has a number of errors and that the tables for specific artifact types or materials are correct. This severely complicated attempts to verify the completeness of the database, however it ultimately had little impact on the results, nevertheless since artifact totals in this database do not match some of the published material, specifically figure 94, it is worth mentioning.

Despite the issues discussed above the data from the site is of high quality and the issues will not have any significant impact on the analysis, not only are they few in number but, assuming they are random, they are more likely to affect sub-phases with more material and represent a small fraction of the material from those sub-phases. That said the limitations and concerns will be kept in mind during analysis. Most, if not all, of the issues with the data could be resolved by going through the original reports and site notebooks from the excavation, which are still available at the Dorset County Museum (Sharples personal communication) however that is beyond the scope of this project.

After all data from the site had been added to the database an additional feature was created called the 'houses axis'. The house axis was constructed by putting two points at the entrance to the round houses and then drawing a line to connect these points across the entrance, this end line was treated as the short side of a rectangle, lines were extended from the original points at a 90 degree angle from the end line and projected across the house with a final side being added where the long sides hit the back wall of the house creating a rectangle. The rectangle formed in this fashion acts as a central axis for the house, dividing the house in to a right and left half, from the entrance. This was done for all completely excavated houses with enough evidence preserved to identify the entrance. This house axis divides the houses into a left and right half, based on the entrance, allowing the spatial distribution of artifacts within the houses to be compared. A line could have been used but this would have required making decisions about exactly where to place the point of the line and exactly where along the back to connect this line with it being possible to justify multiple lines through the same entrance. Conceptually the use of the rectangle can be thought of as error bars on the placement of the central axis since almost any line drawn from the side at the entrance to the side at the back of the house could be considered "the" house axis. Using just a line brings in to question what side of the line an artifact close to the line should be on, a rectangle, while not necessarily more accurate, makes the ambiguity more obvious with objects within the rectangle not clearly falling on either half, which would not be the case if a line were used. Additionally, all houses were divided into quarters based on the cardinal directions and the houses were also divided into central and peripheral zones. Although created and analyzed, the data from the division into central and peripheral zones as well as the cardinal directions are not presented here. Not only are these divisions, and the patterns, or lack thereof, of artifact distribution based on them easy to see without the aid of the visuals created, but the distinction between central and peripheral was determined to be too subjective to include, especially since preservation or construction techniques often leave no evidence to guide where to make these distinctions. The house axis and other divisions of space were created to capture and visualize the use of space that has been argued to be significant in understanding Iron Age practices. As previously mentioned by looking at the changing place of artifact classes, especially weapons, in relation to these important divisions of space we can better understand the practices and relationships Iron Age people had with these objects and the place these objects had in the lives of Iron Age people.

Once the database was completed and verified maps were made of each sub-phase including all artifacts and features from that sub-phase. Patterns of artifact distribution were examined to see what they tell us about past practices.



**Figure 3: All artifacts and features from Trench IV**

## Results

Figure 3 shows all artifacts and features from trench IV in Sharples excavation that are in the database. The map shows that the amount of 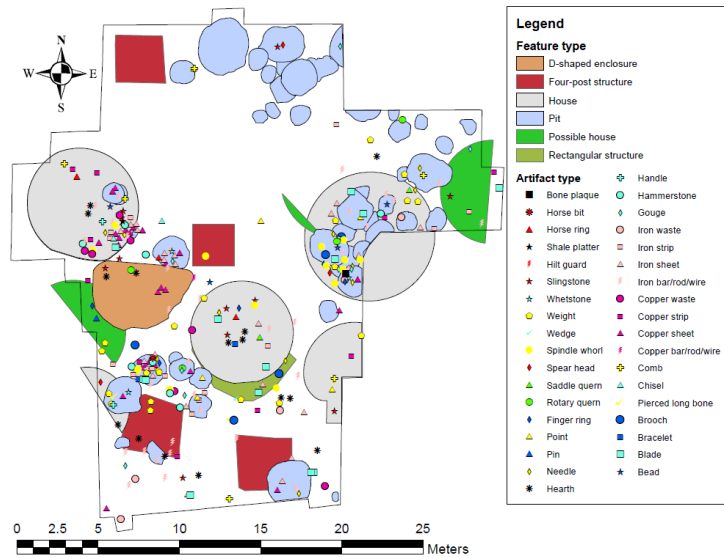activity across the trench varies with areas of high and low artifact density, in general there is quite a bit of activity across the trench. It is important to note that a small portion of the western most section of the trench was previously excavated by Wheeler as part of his trench D, this includes part of the house in that corner. Table 1, all tables are in the appendix, shows the number and diversity of artifacts located in trench IV from all sub-phases under consideration. The artifacts per year is given here just as a crude measure of activity from the period, as will be seen, this varies quite a bit by sub-phase, this has been included to compare relative activity from one sub-phase to the next, as stated above this is not exact and this number should only be used as a broad indicator of activity.

The finds from sub-phase 6E, see figure 4, are sparse, despite the presence of a potential house there is little to suggest that this area saw much domestic activity. A total of four artifacts come from this sub-phase, see table 2, all but one, the brooch, are associated with textile work. On average there is one artifact entering the archaeological record every 25 years indicating this area saw little activity during this sub-phase. There are few pits that can be definitively dated to this sub-phase, those that can be identified are found to the north and east of the feature that may be a house. Neither the potential house nor the rectangular structure is discussed in much detail by Sharples, both seem to have been damaged by later activity leaving little to be said about them here. The potential house extends out of trench IV and evidence confirming or refuting its

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identification may be found in the unexcavated area. It is possible that the rectangular structure was the center of what little activity took place since most of the artifacts from this sub-phase are found close to or within the bounds of this structure, this may have served as a surface for working textile or other activities. Potentially more noteworthy is the location of the four post structures, it is possible that that these structures may have been visible from outside the

ramparts, serving as grain storage but also as a form of display. A small amount of metalworking debris comes from this sub-phase, though fewer remains of this type come from 6E than any other sub-phase. None of the metal working material is conclusively from primary depositions and much is definitively from secondary deposits, suggesting metalworking was not done in trench IV at this time.
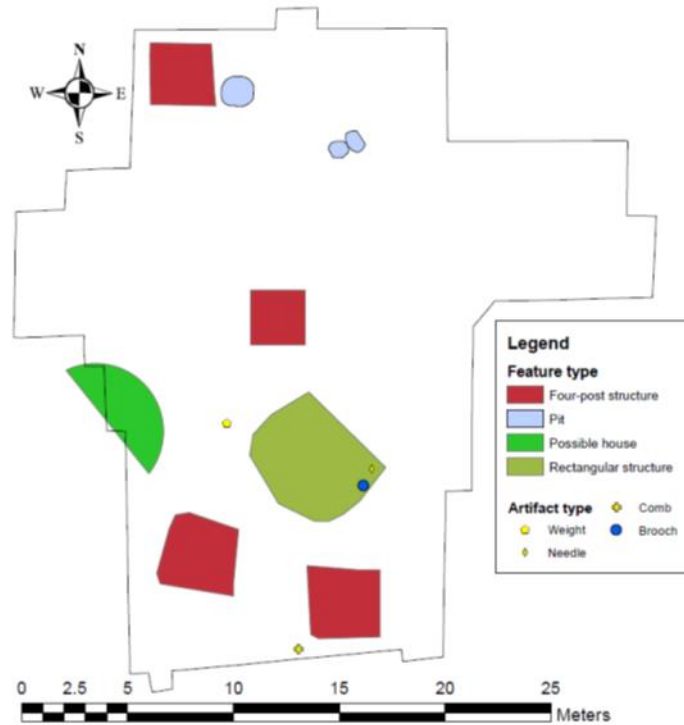


**Figure 4: Sub-phase 6E artifacts and features**

The activity in sub-phase 6F is quite different than the previous period, see figure 5. Not only does this period have a fair number of pits and at least three houses but it also has significantly more artifacts, as well as a more diverse set of artifact types than the previous sub-phase, see table 3. The area saw a dramatic increase in activity at this time with roughly one artifact for every two years of activity, this period marks the first definitive use of this area as a domestic space. There is an increase in metalworking debris in this sub-phase and the evidence suggest that small scale metalworking was done on site, though the absolute number of objects is low.

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The distribution of houses and pits is interesting as it conforms to the same pattern as the previous period, with houses generally located to the south and west of the pits, separated by a small amount of space. A single unconfirmed house may be the exception to this pattern though it is possible that when this house was constructed the only pits in the area were to the northeast of it, though this is not certain. This possible house is evidenced by a couple of gullies with additional
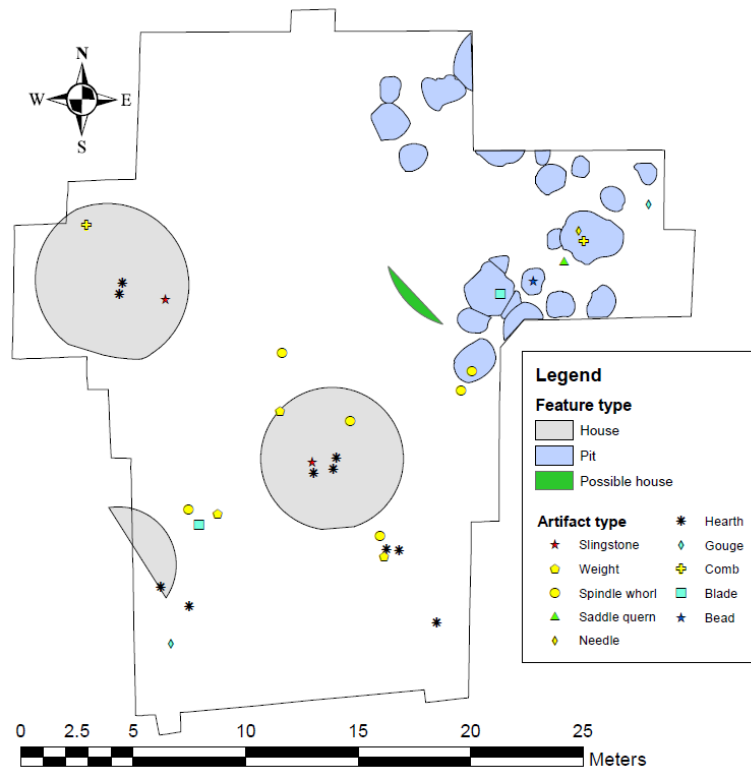


**Figure 5: Sub-phase 6F artifacts and features**

remains likely having been removed by later activity. Such gullies are often found around houses from this period, however, since these gullies are incomplete, they may belong to some other feature. The gullies that do remain belong to a set of features that lack a strong stratigraphic relationship to a sub-phase but precede sub-phase 6G and Sharples states "It is, therefore, not possible to separate them into either phase 6E or 6F." (Sharples 1991 p 70). While acknowledging the uncertainty he discusses these features along with the rest of the sub-phase 6F as is done here.

The potential house from sub-phase 6F will largely be left out of further discussion due to the ambiguity of this features phasing and function. However, there is no reason to see it as a break from the tendency of pits located to northeast of houses. The distinction between sub-phase 6E and 6F is stratigraphic with continuity between them, activity does not cease between these periods. We should see the differences between these sub-phases as slowly arising from previous patterns, and the practice of pits to the northeast of houses was already begun in the previous sub-

phase. In sub-phase 6F this area becomes dominated by domestic structures, a shift that began in the previous sub-phase when we have the earliest house. As mentioned above it is possible that the potential house from 6F actually belongs to the previous sub-phase, even if not it, and its associated pits, could have been built before the rest of the houses and pits from this sub-phase, some of which could have been constructed after the initial house of the sub-phase was gone. Not only would this preserve the relationship between pits and houses, but it would also explain why the potential house from 6F is the only house on the site, at this point, that had pits dug within it as they postdate the house, being dug in relation to one of the other houses. This seems likely given that some of the pits that would be within the house would have cut the walls of the house, assuming it was roughly the size of the other houses from the sub-phase. Although this cannot be confirmed based on the present evidence, the available evidence is not strong enough to reject the idea that pits were dug to the north and east of houses.

The remains of three structures confidently identified as houses were found dating to this period. The western house, number 6851 and built on a terraced area, was partially excavated by R.E.M. Wheeler during his excavations, Sharples noted the flooring material varied across the house potentially indicating internal differences in the use of space (Sharples 1991 p. 76), these were not included in the maps as they were tenuous and not well enough defined to be of use. Almost due south of house 6851 was another house, number 6855, which largely lay outside of the excavated area of trench IV. Its entrance way was partially within the excavated area, though it was damaged by later activity. The central house, number 5959, was the only house from this sub-phase which was fully excavated by Sharples during the 1980's. The central house had some form of internal division based on two features which may have formed a wall (Sharples 1991 p. 82), this has not been included in the map as it is unclear exactly how far across the house the wall may have run and Sharples does not definitively identify it as a wall. None of these houses were rebuilt during this sub-phase, though the site of the western house was reused in a subsequent sub-phase.

While the number of artifacts is not particularly large there are still several interesting observations to be made. Most material comes from outside the houses, this is unlikely to be an artifact of excavation since it holds true for all houses, including the central house which was fully excavated and one of the best-preserved houses from the site (Sharples 1991 p 88). The most common artifacts within the houses are hearths, other material from inside the house includes slingstone hoards, a comb associated with textile work, a spindle whorl and a weight that could originally have been inside or outside the house given the error discussed above. More interesting is that the only artifact found only within houses are slingstone hoards. It is likely that isolated slingstones were recovered outside of the houses since the total given for the sub-phase exceeds the amount indicated in the hoards, Sharples lists 301 slingstones from this sub-phase on table 83 while figure 193 indicates the hoards associated with this sub-phase had more than 10 but less than 100 stones in them. While this can only be confirmed by examining the site notebooks, it seems reasonable that the extra stones are from multiple contexts from this phase, some of which are likely to have been outside the house. Hearths within houses seem to be located more centrally, the hearth near the entrance of house 6855 was constructed after the house had gone out of use, while slingstone hoards do not seem to show a preference for the central area or a more peripheral one. All other material within the house seems to be more concentrated towards the edge of the house, or at least away from the center. A wider range of material is found only outside the houses including blades, gouges, a needle, a quern stone, and a bead. Looking at this sub-phase with the house axis added, figure 6, does not reveal any additional pattern of artifact distribution. This does not mean that this division did not exist or was not important but simply
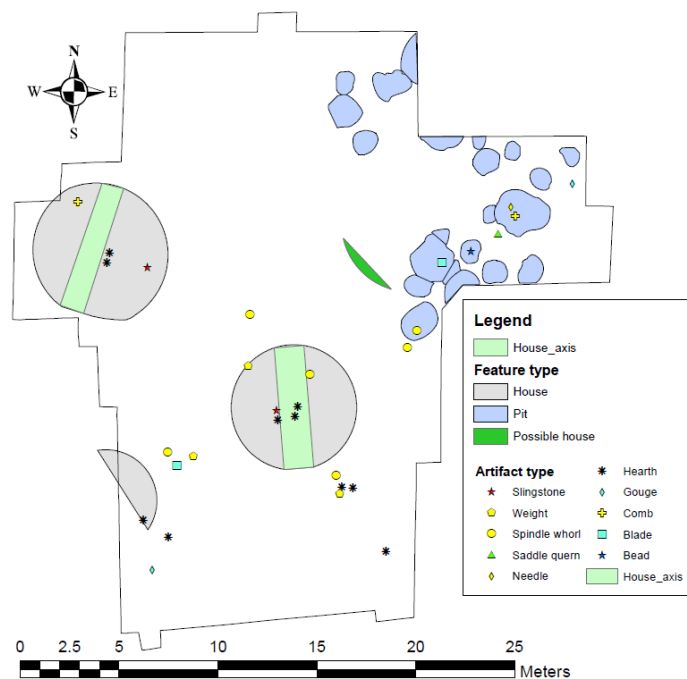


**Figure 6: Sub-phase 6F artifacts and features with House Axes**

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these divisions to not appear to impact the distribution of artifact, as mentioned above house 5959 and 6851, the western and central houses, do show other evidence of internal divisions of space.

Sub-phase 6G sees another increase in activity with almost one object a year being deposited, see table 4. In addition to an overall increase in artifact numbers there is an increase in the diversity of artifact types as well. This period saw a sharp increase in the amount of metalworking done on site with a massive increase in the number of artifacts associated with metalworking as well as an increase in slag quantities (Sharples 1991 p. 166, 170, and table 94). It is important to note that the increase in domestic activity is independent of the metalwork activity as the increase in artifacts per years does not include metalworking debris.

Two houses date to this sub-phase, each being rebuilt at least once for a total of four houses from this period. During his excavations Sharples only gave three of these houses numbers as only three house floors were recoverable. The eastern house, number 6854, was partially outside the area of excavation and seems to have been a plank-built house with a drainage gully, similar to houses at Danebury. This house had two entrances, one in the northeast the other in the southwest, the southwestern house will be considered the main entrance and will be used to orient the house axis. This entrance has been chosen as the main entrance due to the overwhelming tendency of house entrances from Wessex during the iron Age to be oriented towards the south (Sharples 2010 p. 199), furthermore none of the other houses excavated by Sharples from this or previous sub-phases have their entrances facing north suggesting that the houses axis should be viewed from the southern entrance and the norther entrance is a secondary entrance, though the presence of a second entrance is interesting in its own right. This house was rebuilt at least one time, (Sharples 1991 p. 79) however there is no preserved floor from the rebuilt house. House number 6852, the western house, was built on the same terrace as and over the western house from sub-phase 6F. Here conditions allowed the preservation not only of the floor of houses 6852 but also the floor of house 6853, the subsequent house on this spot from sub-phase 6G. Outside of trench IV, to the west of house 6852, Wheeler found another house, house DB2, which had a partial stone wall, and had been rebuilt at least once (Wheeler 1943 p 96). House DB2 was likely contemporary with sub-phase 6G, meaning that at this time these three houses formed a row about 18m from the rampart though none of the houses had been constructed using the same construction techniques (Sharples 1991p.86). Sharples notes that this is in stark contrast to the situation at Danebury where most of the houses use virtually identical construction techniques

(Sharples 1991 p. 87). In the southern part of trench IV, between the line of house and the rampart, the area seems to have been divided by a bank of chalk and clay splitting the area into two zones, one associated with each of the houses and may have functioned as yards for the houses.

Although uncertain, it is possible that the relationship of pits and houses seen in earlier sub-phases has been preserved as the western houses have a group of pits located to the northeast. The eastern house seems to lack pits in this direction but if pits were located the same distance away as those potentially associated with the western house then the pits would be outside of the excavated area. This potential pattern is interesting as it would mean this practice continued even after the hiatus
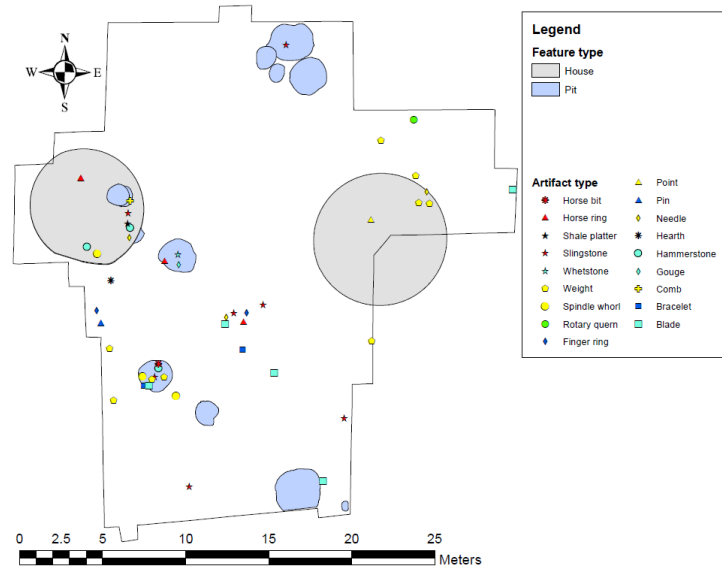


**Figure 7: Sub-phase 6G artifacts and features**

between sub-phase 6F and 6G, though it is important to note that this tendency did not mean pits were only located to the northeast as may have been the case in the previous period.

The abundance of metalworking debris is one of the most notable changes that takes place in this sub-phase. Metalworking seems to have been fairly common in trench IV at this time, while the scale of metalworking was still relatively small, potentially only meeting the needs of the immediate households, it represents an increase from the previous period and seems to have been done in and around the domestic spaces with some metalworking waste and sheet being found within the houses. Figure 7 shows the material and features from sub-phase 6G. In his evaluation of the non-metalworking artifacts from this period Sharples noted a lack of material in the southern part of the trench, near the rampart, and suggested that the houses seemed to have little influence on the pattern of material from the period (Sharples 1991 p. 244). While there may not be a strong connection between absolute artifact frequency within or without the house, there are

interesting observations to be made regarding the kinds of artifacts inside and outside the houses that Sharples did not discuss. There are few artifact types that are found exclusively within the houses, consisting only of a point for working textile, a comb also for textile work, and a shale platter that is unique on this site.

However, there are several found only outside the houses, including a bead, bracelets, blades, a quern stone, a pin, and finger rings. As in the previous period, there seems to be fewer artifacts located towards the center of the houses, only a single artifact in each house even close to the center, a horse ring in the western house and a point in the eastern house, notably hearths in this sub-phase seem to have given away
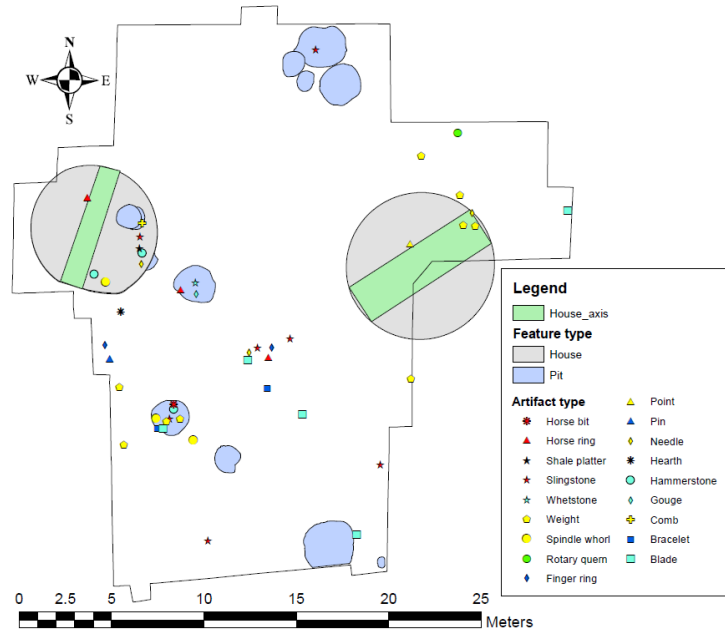


**Figure 8: Sub-phase 6G artifacts and features with House Axes**

to ovens which are not always as well preserved but are evidenced by ceramic oven plates, these are not mapped as they would have been collected in bulk as most ceramics and later identified, leaving a general idea of the location but not specific coordinates. Adding the house axis to this, see figure 8, and we can see that the majority of artifacts come from the right half of the western house with one artifact, a horse ring, being in the left half or potentially on the house axis with another, a hammerstone, being less than 50 cm. from the edge of the house axis. The eastern house seems to show a similar pattern as most artifacts fall within the house axis while one, a point, being within 50 cm. of the house axis. The eastern house makes a compelling case for little activity on the left side of the axis as this seems to hold true despite much of that area being unexcavated. While it is not possible to look at the location of the artifacts recovered associated with house DB2 excavated by Wheeler the way it has been done with Sharples excavation, it is worthwhile to compare the plan of DB2 to the material presented here. Figure 9 shows a rough

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plan of house DB2 excavated by Wheeler, while this figure is based on figure 18 from Wheeler's excavation it is important to note that this is a rough sketch, the location and relationships between features is correct, however the size and shape of many features is approximate as is the scale bar. Although the orientation of the house is quite different this figure shows that there is a slingstone hoard in house DB2 in the right half of the house, in a very similar fashion to the western house excavated by Sharples, and it is worth pointing out that if the eastern house also had a hoard of slingstones in the same area it would be in the unexcavated portion of the house.
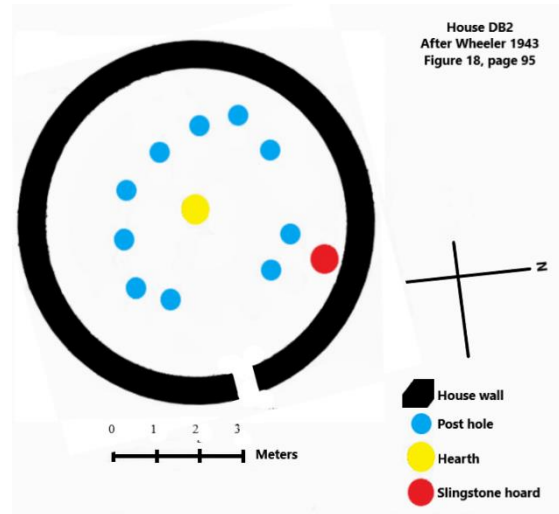


**Figure 9: House DB2 Excavated by Wheeler**

In some ways sub-phase 6H is quite similar to the pervious sub-phase, with the diversity and number of artifacts being quite similar. The number of artifacts per year is slightly higher than in the previous sub-phase, see table 5, with 1.10 artifacts per year from sub-phase 6H. This equates to an average of one additional artifact entering the record every four years, while we should see the amount of activity as broadly similar this difference may indicate an increase in activity in the area, though only a slight increase. The general increase in activity runs counter to the evidence of metalworking. While there continues to be evidence of metalworking from this period there is an overall decrease in the amount. This drop in the amount of metalworking seems to have affected bronze working more than iron working however there is a drop in both.

Although there are broad similarities in the types quantities of material found in this and the previous sub-phase, there are substantial differences. There were five brooches found from sub-phase 6H and only one from 6G, table 5 and table 4 list different numbers for brooches since not all had spatial data. Additionally, weapons show dramatic differences between sub-phase 6G and 6H. The only evidence of weapons from sub-phase 6G, and in-fact all prior sub-phases, are slingstones, while in sub-phase 6H there are spearheads as well as the hilt of a sword in addition to slingstones. The situation is more complicated than even this shows. As previously discussed, individual slingstones are not included here since their locations were not individually recorded

during excavation and only aggregate data is available in the published material. Sharples states that sub-phase 6H has a slightly higher number of total slingstones than 6G while 6G has more slingstone hoards than 6H (Sharples 1991 p. 244). However, there is discrepancy between tables 83 and 94, table 83 indicates that sub-phase 6G had more slingstones than 6H, 2124 compared to 2053 while table 94 shows 2098 in 6H and 2066 in 6G. In both cases it is important to note that the difference is slight, less than 2 percent of the total number of slingstones from the two periods. Table 83 shows foreign stone objects while table 94 is supposed to show all slingstones and this may appear to explain the discrepancy, however the total for sub-phase 6G is higher on table 83 than on table 94 meaning the total number of slingstones is less than the number of slingstones of foreign stone. As mentioned above Sharples said that table 83 was more reliable on this note than table 94 though this brings in to question his statement about which sub-phase had more stones. It is likely that these issues are a result of the difficulty in accounting for a large number of relatively small artifacts that are often not considered of much importance individually and not always accurately recorded in the field. Since it may not be possible to establish which period had more slingstones it is probably best to consider the number of slingstones found in each period to be essentially the same. Especially since these issues do not affect the number of slingstone hoards as these were well recorded with no discrepancies in the published material.

The decrease in the number of hoards from sub-phase 6G to 6H is likely of more interest than a slightly higher total number of stones from one sub-phase or another. It seems unlikely that this decrease in the number of slingstone hoards as new weapon types appear is a coincidence.

While most of the artifacts, excluding weapons, are the same this is not true of the structures of this period.
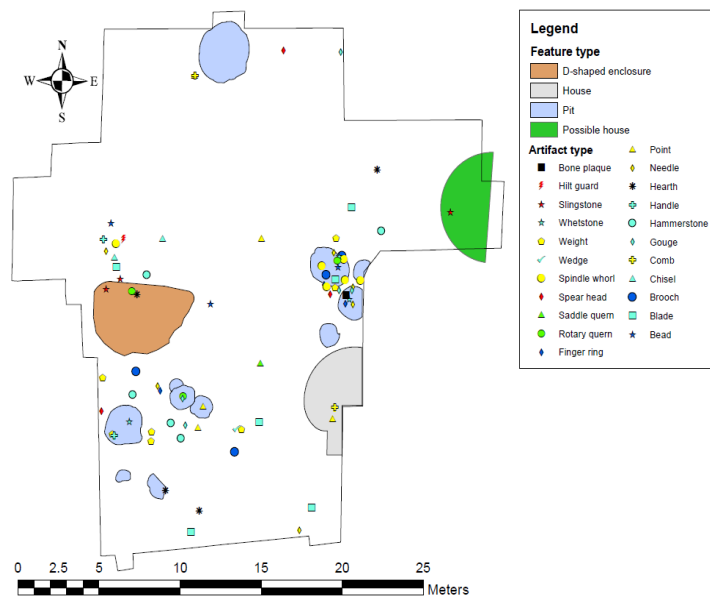


**Figure 10 Sub-phase 6G artifacts and features**

Despite the increase in activity there are fewer houses from sub-phase 6H and the organization present in the previous sub-phase seems to have disappeared entirely, though it is likely that the rubble from the houses from sub-phase 6G was still visible in 6H. The only definitive house from sub-phase 6H is house 6856, see figure 10, located in the southeast of the trench with much of the structure being outside the excavated area. This house had blocks of chalk around the edge of the structure indicating where the wall had been with an internal ring of posts and an entrance opening to the south facing the rampart. Although still a roundhouse the entrance of this house has a bit more structure than other examples and almost appears to be a round house with a patio or small hall at the entrance. This house may be one of the latest features in the trench as its construction cuts other features from this sub-phase. A potential second house was located in the northeast portion of the trench, while alternative explanations of this feature are lacking it was not possible to definitively identify this structure as a house. Possible evidence to confirm or reject this identification may exist as much of this potential house also lays outside the area of excavation and it could be examined with future excavation. The evidence for this possible house consists of large pieces chalk, similar to those outlining the other house from this period, arranged in an arc and enclosing an area of chalk metalling. In addition to these two structures there is another structure from this period that Sharples calls the D-shaped structure. This structure consists of flint, chalk, and limestone with a hearth in one area and what Sharples calls "occupation-rich soil" (Sharples 1991 p. 77) in another. Sharples discusses little and never conjectures as to the structures function. It seems to have been the center of some activity and may have been a domestic space, its D-shape being just a modification on the classic Iron Age roundhouse, though Sharples does not posit this interpretation and does not discuss this structure in his discussion of the houses and this identification is far from certain. There do not seem to be any comparable structures from the region. The lack of complete houses precludes in-depth discussion of the house axis in this sub-phase and they have not been included. The house in the southeast does have a point and a comb both associated with textile work located in the left side of the house, it is possible that there is a slingstone hoard in the unexcavated area or that the house did not contain a slingstone hoard. If the feature in the northeast is a house then this house may have contained a slingstone hoard, furthermore if we assume this house had its entrance to the south or east as virtually all houses from Maiden Castle then the slingstone hoard would have been in the left side of the house.

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**Interpretation**

The evidence here supports the assertion that bounding and dividing of space was quite important during Iron Age at Maiden Castle. This project provides evidence that this concern may have become more entrenched and personal through time. In the earliest periods we see divisions in the landscape and on the site level, over time this can be seen at smaller and smaller scales.

 As noted above during the earliest period of the extended hillfort, sub-phase 6E, there is already evidence for the importance of the division of space at the site level, the granaries from this sub-phase, located in the south, being a part of the evidence. When the granaries are removed the north south division does not disappear, although the potential house is lacking evidence of internal divisions of space, we see the north south division of the site in the location of the pits relative to the potential house. In the following sub-phase, 6F, trench IV is definitively a domestic space with more activity than the previous sub-phase. The site level northern and southern division continues after the granaries are removed and pits are being placed to the north and east of houses, recreating the site wide pattern at the household level. This suggests that the distinction of north and south was in some way meaningful. Additionally, there is a tendency for artifacts to be located away from the hearths at the center of the structure and towards the periphery of the house, though this is not absolute, as slingstone hoards are found both centrally and peripherally. This could reflect the differential use of space between the site center and periphery that is seen at Danebury and may be present at Maiden Castle. During this phase the material remains do not seem to respect the house axis suggesting that this was not an important division of space. Within the houses there is potential evidence for the differential use of space, however this does not seem to have had any impact on the distribution of artifacts. The lack of a definitive house from sub-phase 6E makes it hard to say exactly how new these developments were. That said, there seems to be an increasing concern for dividing up space and using it accordingly in this period and this seems to be the case both inside and outside the house.

Sub-phase 6G appears to be a continuation of practices in sub-phase 6F with pits to the northeast of houses and material tending towards the periphery of the house. While not absolute, as the point in the eastern house clearly demonstrates, this trend is much more pronounced than in the previous period and likely reflects differential use of these spaces. Furthermore, material seems to

be concentrated on the right-hand side of the house axis. It appears that there is some importance given to dividing the house into right and left halves, though this appears to be a strong tendency rather than an absolute rule. The practices associated with this new internal division of space are pervasive enough as to create similar distributions of artifacts inside of two houses built using different construction techniques. These two houses would have looked quite different on the outside, however their occupants were structuring their internal spaces in the same way, resulting in more deposition of material in the periphery and mostly to the right of the entrance. Ways of dividing and using space differently, which once existed only at the level of the settlement, now manifest within the house, and within houses built using fundamentally different techniques.

The changing nature of the occupation evidence from sub-phase 6H makes it difficult to understand this period but suggests similarities as well as differences. Problematically there is no complete house from this period. While there is at least one partially excavated and a second unconfirmed house, it is hard to draw conclusions from the limited evidence. In both cases it is possible that there are pits located to the northeast, or at least north, of the houses, this would demonstrate some continuity with the previous period. In other ways both houses could represent breaks from the previous period's patterns of material deposition. The conclusive but partial house in the south of trench IV seems to have at least one object, a comb, recovered from closer to the center than most material from the previous period. Additionally, both of the objects within the house were likely located either within the house axis or to the left of it while no material comes from the right of any potential house axis.[1] While not fully excavated it is likely that some portion of the excavated area in the north of the house would have been to the right of any potential house axis, this suggests that whatever practice previously resulted in more material accumulating on the right of the hose axis had ceased. If we assume the potential house in the northeast had an entrance orientation to the south, like the rest of the houses on site, then the only potential material associated with this house would have been located to the left of any potential house axis. Furthermore, if we view the D-shaped enclosure as a house, again assuming the most common orientation for the entrance, then it too would have most of its material to the left of or within almost any house axis that could be drawn. Although the evidence from these three structures is not strong, the D-shaped structure and the structure in the northeast may not be

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[1] As mentioned above the house axis was not created for this house, this was not possible without the other side of the entrance being excavated, any house axis would have been largely speculative and flawed.

houses while the southern house may have a plethora of artifacts in the unexcavated area, the limited evidence we do have does suggest a change in the distribution of artifact compared to the previous sub-phase. There are several other changes in the use of space in Trench IV at this time. One change is the disappearance of the structure of the site, specifically the line of houses and yards that once existed long the rampart is gone and there seems to be no real organization to the structures from this sub-phase. Additionally, while the amount of activity is likely to have increased, or at least have stayed constant, the number of houses has gone down. If we see the D-shaped structure as a house and consider the structure in the northeast a house, then sub-phase 6H has fewer houses but more activity then the previous sub-phase. If we reject this identification for either of these structures, then this additional activity with less houses is even more striking. Furthermore, there is a shift in the kinds of artifacts being recovered with an increase in brooches and a change in the types of weapons.

Material for working textiles is found even in the earliest sub-phase, 6E, and is the most common material from this period suggesting an importance to this kind of material. Although the low number of artifacts from this sub-phase means we need to be skeptical of just how meaningful this is, this trend continues into the next sub-phase suggesting the numbers from 6E are not just the result of a low artifact count. In the subsequent sub-phase, 6F, material to work textiles make up 40% of all material and are one of the few artifact types found inside and outside the house. This is largely the same in sub-phase 6G, though textile material only makes up 36.96% of all material. Despite the previously mentioned changes that take place in sub-phase 6H there is little change in the textile material remains as it makes up 33.77% of the artifacts and is found in the only definitive house from the period.[2] Although it decreases as a percentage of the total artifacts over time, material for working textiles is the most common class of artifact from all sub-phases and is the only class that is found both inside and outside the house in all sub-phases.

Object of personal adornment show an entirely different pattern of deposition compared to textile material, not a single brooch, pin, bead, bracelet, or finger ring has been found within any of the houses from any sub-phase. The closest thing to an exception to this is the brooch from sub-phase 6E found on the rectangular structure from that period, though there is no indication the structure is a house. While it may not be a surprise that objects of personal adornment may be more

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[2] Though they are not present in the potential house in the northeast and interestingly absent from the D-shaped structure, potentially hinting that this structure was not a house.

common in the public sphere, outside the house, the complete lack of material within suggests some practice that prohibited this kind of display to within the home. Objects of personal adornment increase as a percent of total artifacts through time, in sub-phase 6F objects of personal adornment make up 3.33% of all artifacts, in sub-phase 6G this goes up dramatically to 10.87%, finally increasing to 12.99% in 6H, suggesting an increase in concern for personal display through time. Interestingly the most dramatic increase, as a percentage, occurred when the row of houses in front of the rampart was created. This suggests a dramatic increase in personal adornment at the exact moment we see an increase in the amount of institutional control.

Hearths also display an interesting pattern of distribution. In sub-phase 6F each complete house has multiple hearths while additional hearths have been constructed outside of houses. While they are not all contemporaneous there is an abundance of hearths at this time. Contrastingly in sub-phase 6G the only hearth comes from outside the western house and was less a built hearth and more of a discolored area of soil which clearly had been used for *in situ* burning of material (Sharples 1991 p.89), it has been included in this project for completeness as it appears as a hearth on figure 71 in the monograph. Sharples suggests that this change is cause by changes in food preparation since oven plates are virtually absent from 6F but common in 6G (Sharples 1991 p.244). Sub-phase 6H sees an increase in the number of hearths, however none of these are inside of a house and they may have been used for metalworking or other tasks as oven plates continue in abundance at this time, though it is possible that this is due to the incomplete nature of the only confirmed house and ambiguous nature of the other structures.

Other than the material discussed above there is little material that comes from the inside of the houses. In sub-phase 6G there are two hammerstones, a horse ring, and a shale platter, unique on this site, from inside the houses and all other periods have a lack of other material. The diversity of artifacts found outside the house is much greater than within with quern stones, bone plaques, and a variety of general use tools exclusively being found outside of the houses. It's hard to say exactly what to make of this data but it seems clear that only certain material has its final deposition within the confines of the house while others are only found outside. This seems to be yet another division of the use of space at Maiden Castle. While we may not understand the practices that lead to some material being allowed within the house while other material was not this does appear to be an important distinction at this time.

Slingstones make up the most numerous weapons found at Maiden Castle and they are one of the most common artifacts from the excavation. While the absolute number of slingstones from sub-phase 6E is relatively small compared to other periods, the total number, 120 according to table 94 of the monograph, they are numerous given there were only four other artifacts from the sub-phase. The number of stones almost triples in the following sub-phase, 6F, with 334 slingstones according to table 94 of the monograph. The number then increases even more dramatically with around 2,000 from each of the next two sub-phases. Slingstone hoards show a different pattern than the slingstone counts. Although slingstones show up in all periods there are no slingstone hoards from sub-phase 6E and when they appear, in sub-phase 6F, they are only found within houses. In the subsequent period, 6G, there are more slingstone hoards than at any other period and they are found both outside and inside of houses. At this time hoards within a house seem to have a proscribed position, being near the periphery and to the right of the house axis. In sub-phase 6H slingstone hoards decrease in numbers and they continue to be found outside of houses. It is hard to be sure if they continue to be found within the houses as there is only one definitive house and it is only half excavated, though this partial excavation and the presence of a hoard in the potential house means it is at least possible that they continue to be located inside houses. Interestingly sub-phase 6H has essentially the same number of slingstones as sub-phase 6G but significantly fewer slingstone hoards. Slingstones and material to work textiles show many similarities in distribution, both being found in generally large numbers through the entire period. Both are also found inside of the houses in most, if not all, sub-phases, though in contrast to textile material slingstone hoards are only found within houses at one point, though isolated stones are found outside. Slingstones and material to work textiles seem to share a lot of the same spatial distributions and may have been seen as related in some way or potentially related to a third idea such as the house which structured their distribution. These artifacts may in some ways have defined, or been defined by, the house since both have been found in all completely excavated houses, additionally there is a strong case to be made that they are present in areas unexcavated areas of houses, such as in sub-phase 6G.

**Discussion**

Sharples model for understanding the development of hillforts allows the data presented here to be contextualized as we look into the changing *habitus* at Maiden Castle. It is important to keep in mind that the changes discussed by Sharples do not necessarily transition as we go from one sub-phase to another nor as one subdivision of the Iron Age transitions to another, i.e. early, middle, and late. This does not mean that we cannot place these changes within the broader context, but we need to keep in mind that these changes were likely gradual and continuous.

During sub-phase 6E communities like Maiden Castle were in the early stages of incorporating other settlements in to their sphere of influence. Sharples found evidence for several episodes of maintenance and rebuilding of the ramparts in the southern end of trench IV. At this time several divisions of space would have been present in individuals lives with the division between inside and outside the hillfort community being the most obvious while the interior space also had structure with the northern and southern areas of the settlement being different in their use. Slingstones were plentiful despite the general lack of activity in this area, at minimum this suggest there was a perceived need for defense. Given the occupants may actively have been coercing smaller settlements into a cycle of dependence on the hillfort it is likely that the concern for raids on the hillfort was well founded and it is also likely that slingstones were used by the hillfort community offensively against those that resisted less aggressive means of incorporation into the cycle of dependency discussed by Sharples. Despite the potential for violent confrontation the only weapons found at this time are slingstones. The lack of spears, arrows, and swords, present in much of Britain from this period, may have been a way of suppressing status differences between people in much the same way Sharples suggests plain pottery did. Some kind of social prohibition against these weapons would not only deny individuals a mechanism to display their greater access to the resources needed for such weapons but also reinforce the idea of community with every individual having the same equipment as every other member of the community who engaged in combat. The prevalence of slingstones in an area that saw little evidence of activity and occupation suggests that every community member was personally responsible for the safety and security of the community at large and may have kept slingstones, and likely a sling, with them at all times, even within areas of the hillfort they seldom came to. Although individuals made decisions to carry slingstones and maintain the rampart, war seems to have reinforced the idea and importance of the community.

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Communal displays dominated the visible landscape both within the hillfort as well as from outside. Granaries and ramparts would have been ever present elements of *habitus*, serving as displays of communal prestige visible from outside the hillfort. The construction and maintenance of the ramparts would have brought individuals together, literally constructing the structures, community, and shared *habitus*. The ramparts, constantly in one's visual field within the settlement and visible for some distance outside, would have to be passed to leave for many of the tasks associated with daily living such as working the fields, this, along with the slingstones constantly at ones side, would have been daily reminders of violence and warfare, as well as the community. Daily life would have included objects associated with textile working and personal adornment, however, the number and prominence of objects and features associated with warfare and community suggest that this was an important part of how individuals constructed themselves. As the community was expanding its influence the individuals constructed themselves in such a way that put an emphasis on warfare and violence. This emphasis was made not with swords, spears, and bows, but rather slingstones and earthworks, putting the emphasis on the community rather than the individual and their ability to gain access to the specialized tools of war. While we may not be able to reconstruct the exact practices involved in maintaining this situation, we can say that warfare was an important part of the construction and reconstruction of *habitus* at this time.

The situation is largely the same in sub-phase 6F as in the previous sub-phase, with the substantial increase in the number of slingstones and the emergence of slingstone hoards indicating a continued and likely increased, concern for warfare. As this sub-phase begins Maiden Castle is still forcing other settlements into dependent relationships with violence likely playing a role in this process. What is going on at the end of this sub-phase is less clear, though the hiatus that follows indicates that this area was abandoned as the next stage of development at Maiden Castle took place, as regional territories began to develop, and the site was reorganized. It is likely that this sub-phase saw both the beginning of the period of regionalization as well as the end of the kind of incorporation that characterized the previous sub-phase. The location of slingstone hoards also suggests that the responsibility for defense was a carried out at the household level, with every house being expected to contribute to the community's defense. As in the previous sub-phase warfare seems to be communal, the practice of which likely reflected and reinforced the role of the individual as being subordinate to the community with all households

expected to be ready to fight and potentially die for the community. This continued as regional territories developed and this may have caused some of the increase in concern for warfare in this and the subsequent sub-phase. An increase in concern for war as the community is creating a regional network of presumed allies may seem paradoxical, however, this may represent an uneasiness over whether or not they could trust their regional allies. Additionally, this increase could be the result of the new fear that attack would come not from their allies but from groups in other nearby regional territories which now had access to more individuals of their own and could muster larger groups to attack.

Shared *habitus* of the site changes little at this time, suggesting that this situation is largely unchanged. While we cannot tell if the presence of slingstone hoards within houses represents change or continuity from the previous sub-phase their presence shows that warfare was constructed as a part of *habitus* within the home. This element of warfare brought into the house is interesting as it may also references the community and the idea of the community over the individual, as everyone would have had access to the same equipment. The removal of the granaries left ramparts as the only communal structures visible from outside as well as within the hillfort. This removed an element of community and agriculture from daily *habitus* while leaving a reminder of communal defense in place. Though the maintenance of these ramparts lessened at this time, potentially indicating less emphasis on the kind of community building of the previous sub-phase, this represents a significant change in daily experience as now the only display of community status is also an expression of the community's martial potential. Defenses and tools of war made up a significant part of the *habitus* at Maiden Castle and this militarization seems to have been increasing. Individuals were focusing more and more on martial aspect in their construction of themselves as indicted by the increasingly militarized nature of their *habitus*. This increased militarism occurs as the inhabitant of Maiden Castle continued to coerce other settlements into a dependent relationship, suggesting that individuals are embracing the potentially violent aspect of this process while keeping the focus on the community. It is likely that this community focus was shifted to include the dependent settlements, eventually becoming a mechanism for inclusion of the communities that would make up the regional territory. While it is possible, if not likely, that there was still some amount of competition and conflict between the major regional players, Hod Hill, South Cadbury, and Maiden Castle, we do not see any clear evidence that one came to dominate other others, instead acting as part of a wider community.

The focus on warfare and community that we see in this sub-phase may explain why at Maiden Castle we do not see any indication of a hierarchy or individual differences in status. Additionally, if this focus on war and community was widespread, across the developing territory, it may partially explain why none of the other settlements came to dominate the region.

Activity in Trench IV halts after sub-phase 6F making it difficult to understand exactly what changes take place on-site between sub-phase 6F and 6G. However, this lack of activity still informs us about potential changes in *habitus*. At minimum this change in activity shows that division and distinctions in the use of space was still an important component of *habitus*. Sharples clearly states that there is a break in activity but does not discuss the hiatus in any detail making it hard to determine just how absolute this lack of activity was. He also states that the silt soils separating these sub-phases developed from eroding occupation and midden layers (Sharples 1991 pp. 97). The only context he mentions in the published material as having formed during this hiatus, context 5789[3], is assigned to sub-phase 6F. This context appears to cover quite a large area of the trench and is likely to be the largest, in terms of area covered, of the silts associated with the hiatus. Despite its size this context only has three artifacts associated with it, a spindle whorl, disc, and weight, all of chalk, and all likely eroded out of previous layers rather than being the result of new activity. This implies that people living at Maiden Castle knew what activities were appropriate for this space at this time and that there was significant social pressure to ensure this was followed completely. Although there is not enough evidence to say much with certainty this demonstrates that change in use could happen rather quickly, an assertion that may be supported by the sudden reversion of this situation in the following sub-phase. Additionally, this change of activity may indicate that while divisions of space may have been important, use was somewhat fluid, potentially with the division of space being more important than exactly how a space was used, at least in some cases. While we may not know exactly what practices lead to this it is likely that there was some aspect of *habitus* that indicated to individuals the appropriate use of space in such areas. It is important to keep in mind that there is no reason to posit a complex social mechanism for this and it may have been as prosaic as individuals not having a compelling reason to be in an area with no houses or simply knowing that an area was currently off limits.

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[3] It is not possible from the published material to establish how many and which contexts are associated with the hiatus nor how many artifacts are associated with those contexts. It is clear that there is more than one such erosional silt layer, an examination of the site notebooks would likely provide that information but is beyond the scope of this project.

The reorganization that accompanied the development of regional territories had conclusively begun by the beginning of sub-phase 6G. This is likely indicated by the hiatus before this sub-phase but certainly by the construction of the row of houses at this time, this level of organization is not seen in any of the previous periods. While competition between hillforts may have moved away from focusing on agricultural resources there is no reason to presume that hillfort communities were completely unconcerned with maintaining control over surrounding settlements, possibly with an explicit threat of violence towards smaller communities. Additionally, there is no reason to assume that clashes between hillforts and smaller settlements could not have resulted in occasional violent episodes between larger hillfort communities. The perceived threat of war may still have been an important factor in creating group cohesion even if no violence occurred. Warfare, or the perception of chronic insecurity, had been a mechanism that promoted communal unity in previous sub-phases, there is no reason to believe that this would stop simply because some amount of stability had been reached in the relationships with nearby settlements. It is possible that this mechanism was now used to create unity not only at the community level but at the regional level. The increase in slingstone hoards may have played a role in creating cohesion through the material of war with individuals showing their commitment to the community through their willingness to invest time and effort into gathering slingstones for these hoards. This would explain why there is so much variation in hoard size, with some having well over 500 stones while others have less than 100, this may also explain why hoards are eventually constructed outside, as a form of competition. As in the previous sub-phases warfare seems to largely be the responsibility of the individual for the benefit of the community, again warfare seems to be an ever-increasing part of life with the tools of warfare proliferating as never before.

In many ways sub-phase 6G shows an intensification of ideas already deeply embedded in place from the previous period. Previously houses and domestic activity had a general area in which it was contained, in sub-phase 6G this has been replaced by explicit rows of houses, suggesting that houses now had a standardized configuration, not just a general place but in the shared *habitus*. Although the domestic space had an explicit structure this did not come at the expense of previous practices as pits are still located to the north and east of the houses. This suggests that order and organization are becoming more important parts of shared *habitus*. Additionally, it suggests a growing importance of the community over the individual, with individuals having less

control and agency over their own lives, being increasingly bound by social structures in place. The appearance of slingstone hoards outside the house, as well as the dramatic increase in the number of slingstones, suggests an increasing concern for warfare with warfare an even bigger part of *habitus*. Weapons were everywhere on site, seen in large quantities in public spaces and likely still being carried by individuals. The appearance of slingstone hoards in public spaces also reflects the increasing importance of the community in the shared *habitus*. The importance of the community at the expense of the individual has been displayed in *habitus* from the earliest period of the hillfort, however this may have become a source of conflict in sub-phase 6G. There are several changes to *habitus* that suggest that community members were increasingly asserting their own identities. Perhaps the most dramatic change here is the increase in objects of personal adornment. Although this material is a relatively small percentage of all recovered material it increases dramatically in sub-phase 6G. Additionally, there is a greater diversity of artifacts associated with personal adornment in this sub-phase indicating that not only are more individuals choosing to express some aspect of their identity but that they are also choosing more ways to do so. It may be tempting to see this increased focus on identity as an active rejection of attempts to suppress individuality and promote the community, and indeed this is a possibility, however, there simply is not enough evidence to support this assertion at the expense of alternatives. While it is possible that these expressions of identity were individual, it is just as likely that they instead represent familial connections, ethnic or regional identity, gender, or some other aspect of individual or group identity. It is even possible that the objects of personal adornment were being used to demonstrate that individuals were members of the broader Maiden Castle community with an increasing number of individuals choosing to wear such items. Exactly what is being indicated by these objects is less important than there was a fundamental shift in *habitus* allowing for increased expression of identity. We may not know what they were communicating but we know that more individuals chose to include objects of personal adornment in their constructed world, and we know they had the ability to do so. While the increase in personal adornment may be more related to an increase in displays of identity rather than individuality there are some indications that individuals, or at least individual households, were also becoming more visible in *habitus* at Maiden Castle. The use of different construction techniques shows that individuals had a certain amount of agency in their house construction methods, this seems to be is in stark contrast to their house location. This could indicate that most individuals were aware of multiple construction techniques and intentionally chose a technique

not in use by one of their close neighbors, potentially as a way of expressing some individuality, or that the individuals built in a style they were familiar with, potentially indicating that they were all from different areas of the developing regional territory. At minimum it shows that there was no community standard type of house and that individuals could build in methods that were different from those around them. It is likely that house construction was an expression of identity and individuality at Maiden Castle at this time, though as with the objects of personal adornment exactly what is being expressed is impossible to say. It is possible that this occurred because some individuals simply did not know how to build in the style of their neighbors, however in that case it shows that other individuals chose not to intervene in some way, allowing for this kind of individual expression. Outside the houses the divisions of space were created to mark areas off for individual use, again indicating an increase in the idea of individuality. Low banks of earth and stone were constructed in areas that previously were open and possibly communal, this divided areas near the houses into yards and appears to have been for household use. It is possible that the areas outside had always been for use by the local household however, explicitly marking this out would still be a new development and suggests an increased concern for the individual. Identity and individuality were becoming increasingly important parts of *habitus*, at the same time we see continued focus on the community and increased concern for war all while life is becoming increasingly structured. Many of these themes manifest themselves in the nature of the ubiquitous and structured nature of the slingstone hoards found within houses. These hoards were constructed in houses that were clearly different, by individuals for individual and community defense. However, these were constructed in the exact same place within the house. This practice shows that this location in the house was the preferred place for slingstones and demonstrates just how important the proper use of space had become. Shared *habitus* meant that everyone knew the 'proper' place for these tools of war. All of this was going on as Maiden Castle was integrating into a broader regional community and while individuals were becoming more reliant on institutional structures with specialization becoming more important. It is likely that the population of Maiden Castle increased and that it became a more cosmopolitan place with people from other areas in the region coming to meet and even live at Maiden Castle. This increased regionalism may have been tied to many of the changes we see as individuals negotiated their way in a new and broader social environment. Questions about who the community was and wasn't were becoming more important, individuals chose to demonstrate who they were as well

as their commitment to the community through the use of a variety of objects, at the same time concern for defense was everywhere.

In sub-phase 6H the number of slingstones remains the same as the previous period with few houses and none of the structure of the previous period. Slingstone hoards are still present but the lack of a definitive and completely excavated house from this period makes it hard to understand if they are found in the same place within the house proscribed in the previous period. The potential house from this period suggests this is not the case, the positively identified, but only partially excavated, house from this period could demonstrate the continuation of this practice, if not its ubiquity. There are fewer slingstone hoards from this sub-phase and those that are present show less variation in the number of stones in the hoard with no hoard being recorded as having more than 100 slingstones. The decrease in the number and size of slingstone hoards suggests that there are some significant changes to the nature of warfare at this time. The clearest sign of changes to the practice of warfare at this time comes from the presence of new tools for war being found on site. Not only are there several spearheads but also the hilt guard of a sword, these are the first weapons of this type from the Iron Age at Maiden Castle. Although Maiden Castle was not abandoned, unlike other hillforts, it did undergo additional reorganization at this time as trade and specialization were becoming more important, allowing individuals more access to wealth and status independent of the community. While clearly growing out of the previous periods focus on warfare for the needs of the community the emergence of individual weapons indicates that some individuals may have used warfare as another means of acquiring status. In many ways this may have been just another form of specialization that gave individuals access to wealth and status. Sling warfare was still clearly being practiced but this was form of warfare used by everyone while only some had the ability to acquire iron weapons as well as the skill to use them.

Sub-phase 6H is different than the previous periods in many ways. The number of objects of personal adornment goes up indicating that identity, and potentially the individual, continued to be an important aspect of *habitus*. Although the increase is slight, making up about 13% of material, at minimum it shows a continued concern for the ideas being expressed in the previous period and likely indicates an increase in the importance of these ideas. Simultaneously the importance of the community seems to diminish, this is suggested by the decrease in the number of slingstone hoards, as well as a decrease in the size of the hoards, and disappearance of the structure and organization from previous period. This is not to say that there was no concern for

the community at large, but individuals do not seem to seem to be constructing the community in their *habitus* as they did in previous periods. The presence of spears and a sword show that the *habitus* of war was also becoming more personal. This may seem a small change, but it may be one of the most meaningful changes that takes place. Spears and swords represent a large investment of material and time, indicating the owner had access to the resources needed to acquire such objects, we do not see individuals displaying this kind of wealth and status before at Maiden Castle. While objects of personal adornment could potentially have served a similar function the material requirements for these objects is significantly less than that of weapons. The acceptability of individuals acquiring such weapons may have grown out of the growing acceptance of objects of personal adornment being used in such ways, the ideas and changes to *habitus* that made displaying personal adornment acceptable may have allowed for the same to occur with weapons. Over time objects of personal adornment may have shifted from demonstrating something about the identity of the individual and became more a personal statement of individuality, indicating things like wealth and status, as these became more common more and more individuals chose to construct themselves in ways that demonstrated these ideas, with weapons eventually being used in this fashion. This again attests to the importance of warfare in the *habitus* of those at Maiden Castle.

At Maiden Castle warfare was tied to the protection and defense of the community, forming an important part of *habitus* from the earliest period. Through time concern for defense and war, again in the service of the community, increased. Warfare and defense were an important part of how individuals chose to create themselves in the world, this was done through practices like the communal maintenance of ramparts, the construction of slingstone hoards, as well as keeping slingstones with individuals at most, if not all, times. At times it may have been impossible to find a place that did not have the tools for war as a part of the immediate environment, with slingstone hoards within the home and the public sphere and massive ramparts dominating the view even from outside the hillfort. Individuals were exposed to a highly militarized environment and these individuals, in aggregate, chose to continue to recreate this increasing militarization generation after generation in slightly varied forms. Eventually this focus on militarism continued while the focus on the community did not, resulting in changes for society. Sharples has argued that displays of wealth or status differences were suppressed at Maiden Castle (1991 pp. 260) and this examination of *habitus* has shown that often individuals constructed themselves in such a

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way as to promote the community at the expense of the individual. This subordination of the individual would change, as it did the way individuals interacted with their militarized environment also changed. There is an increase in the concern for identity and possibly individuality. This is followed by the emergence of weapons of an individual nature which would have indicated the individuals who carried such weapons had access to the resources needed to acquire such tools, likely giving them some amount of status. Individuals were able to use their willingness to fight on behalf of the community in this fashion due to the connection between warfare and communal defense that was so deeply entrenched in the communal *habitus* of the community. Communal security, previously an activity for all members of the community, had become a path to social status for some individuals. The ubiquity of weapons on site through time made weapons a more acceptable means of display than other material. Warfare emerges as a path for social status because of its place in the collective *habitus*, this was aided by the growing importance of specialization and trade, warfare became a path that individuals could specialize in, this path was already deeply embedded in the community potentially making it easier for individuals to use warfare as a way of acquiring status and prestige. This is a trend that would continue even after the period under investigation, as is evidenced by the large number of prestigious burials from phase 7 that include weapons.

It is important to keep in mind that the changes we see were not inevitable, just a continuation of trends already happening in society. *Habitus* is created by individuals making individual choices about how they choose to be in the world. It is shaped by both the shared environment and experiences but also by individual experience and choice. Individuals could have chosen to reject attempts by others to gain status through the display of weapons and potential participation combat and warfare. Likewise, the rise in objects of personal adornment to mark distinctions, which ultimately allowed spears and swords to be used in a similar fashion, was not simply part of some larger process, but itself was the result of individuals making choices and actively constructing their *habitus*. By acknowledging individual agency, we gain a better understanding of action and practice in the past, however this limits what we can say about exactly how society will react to changes and situations as individuals making specific choices is what is ultimately responsible for changes in society.

Although there is much we can say about the lives and *habitus* of those that lived at Maiden Castle there is still much we do not know. Specifically, it is not possible to reconstruct practice in

as much detail using *habitus* alone as could be done with ethnographic or ethnohistorical data. We know that there was some practice that involved the construction of slingstone hoards both in public and within houses, but we can only speculate as to how this would have been done or what meaning it may have had. If we had ethnographic or ethnohistoric data, it might be possible to determine if households or individuals used these public hoards as a way of publicly demonstrating a commitment to the community or possibly as some form of competition. Likewise, we may be able to better understand why slingstone hoards within the house were located to the right of the entrance in sub-phase 6G. Given the importance of organization and the use of space at this time it is likely understanding this would give us important insight into how warfare was conceived of and how it articulated with the rest of society. This could be done by building on the work of Parker Pearson, Fitzpatrick, Williams, and others, it may be possible to see slingstones and warfare in general as being connected to ideas of death or rebirth or understand the potential connection between material to work textiles and slingstone hoards. There are many questions that may be answered by incorporating these ideas into our understanding, is the meaning and association derived from the orientation of the house or from its association with the cardinal directions? Are slingstones and warfare associated with the death brought by combat or the life this activity gives to the community at large? Do the differences in placement of the early slingstone hoards reflect differential house orientation or are they the result of individuals specifically making a statement about how they view warfare? Utilizing *habitus* allows us to get closer to these answers but these details of practice can still not be answered at this time.


**Problems and Future Work**

As with any project there are issues and limitation to what can be learned. The largest issue here is the uncertainty of the spatial data and nature of the contexts in which artifacts have been found. While the former has largely been addressed above the later has not. It has been assumed that all artifacts were found in their primary context unless the published material specifically stated otherwise. As a result, it is possible that some of these objects may not be in the location that they were used in. It is important to note that there is no compelling reason to think that this is the case from Sharples work. Even if many of objects were in secondary deposits many of the most useful

features, such as the slingstone hoards and houses, are not subject to this kind of process and the results are likely to be unchanged. This issue could be resolved by a careful examination of the site notebooks and other material with the results being reinterpreted. If many of these objects are not in their primary context then this would shift our framework from looking at how these objects were interacted with on a daily basis to how they were disposed of, while perhaps less interesting this still would provide interesting insights into the practices of those that lived at Maiden Castle as the patterns remain even if we need to reexamine the practice that resulted in these patterns.

There are several assumptions made in this work about the nature of material located in unexcavated areas. The goal has been to work with the material that is available, operating under the assumption that it is representative of the site at large. While this may open this work up for criticism it paves the way for future work at Maiden Castle. The houses that have not been fully excavated could be located and the remainder of these structures could be the subject of new investigations testing the assumptions that have been made. Nearby domestic spaces could be examined to see if the evidence from Trench IV is representative of the site as a whole, additionally, comparing different areas would add detail to how we should understand the occupational divisions of the site. There are many testable hypotheses generated by this study should the site ever be subject to largescale excavation again; this would allow many of the conclusions reached could be reexamined rejecting what is incorrect while adding nuance to our understanding of the site.


**Conclusion**

Using the idea of *habitus,* it has been possible to demonstrate how warfare changed through time at Maiden Castle from an activity that everyone was expected to partake in, to a path to status for those who had access to the proper resources. It has been possible to understand these changes not as the result of large scale and ambiguous social pressures but as the result of individuals making decisions in their unique circumstances. Additionally, it has been possible to break free from the false dichotomy of war and peace and see the relation between these ideas as expressed in James' idea of chronic insecurity. By utilizing GIS and looking at the location of these materials it has been possible to gain new insights from an older excavation, revealing

relationships and information not previously noted. When Maiden Castle was excavated it was not possible to present all the information obtained in a format that would suit the needs of all future researchers, this is still true today. While much can be learned from new excavations at these sites, it is worth the effort to revisit older site reports using techniques and technology unavailable when the reports were written. Success will largely depend on the quality of the initial investigation and it is likely that some excavations may provide a more limited scope of information, especially those that took place at a time when excavations were less systematic and recording methods were less formalized, though even these sites may provide new information. Digital data is an increasingly important part of archaeology. It is important that as our analysis becomes more based on digital data, we continue to incorporate data recovered before the widespread utilization of computers. While well-known sites like Maiden Castle are unlikely to get overlooked as we digitalize more and more data, it is important that smaller sites not get overlooked in the process or we will slowly lose more and more data. This has the potential to undermine conclusions that we reach using only this more limited data, especially if we do not realize how limited it is.

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# Appendix

| Artifact type | Artifact count |
|---|---|
| Bead | 4 |
| Blade | 13 |
| Bone plaque | 1 |
| Bracelet | 2 |
| Brooch | 5 |
| Pierced long bone | 2 |
| Chisel | 2 |
| Comb | 6 |
| Copper bar/rod/wire | 2 |
| Gouge | 8 |
| Hammerstone | 8 |
| Handle | 2 |
| Hearth | 15 |
| Hilt guard | 1 |
| Hore bit | 1 |
| Horse ring | 3 |
| Needle | 11 |
| Pin | 1 |
| Shale platter | 1 |
| Point | 6 |
| Finger ring | 5 |
| Rotary quern | 4 |
| Saddle quern | 2 |
| Slingstone | 12 |
| Spear head | 3 |
| Spindle whorl | 15 |
| Wedge | 1 |
| Weight | 20 |
| Whetstone | 4 |
| | |
| Total Artifacts | 160 |
| Artifacts per year | 0.533333333 |

**Table 1: All Artifacts from Trench IV**

| Artifact type | Artifact count |
|---|---|
| Brooch | 1 |
| Comb | 1 |
| Needle | 1 |
| Weight | 1 |
| | |
| Total Artifacts | 4 |
| Artifacts per year | 0.04 |

**Table 2: Artifacts from Sub-phase 6E**

| Artifact type | Artifact count |
|---|---|
| Bead | 1 |
| Blade | 2 |
| Comb | 2 |
| Gouge | 2 |
| Hearth | 10 |
| Needle | 1 |
| Saddle quern | 1 |
| Slingstone | 2 |
| Spindle whorl | 6 |
| Weight | 3 |
| | |
| Total Artifacts | 30 |
| Artifacts per year | 0.6 |

**Table 3: Artifacts from Sub-phase 6F**

| Artifact type | Artifact count |
|---|---|
| Blade | 5 |
| Bracelet | 2 |
| Pierced long bone | 1 |
| Comb | 1 |
| Gouge | 1 |
| Hammerstone | 3 |
| Hearth | 1 |
| Horse bit | 1 |
| Horse ring | 3 |
| Needle | 3 |
| Pin | 1 |
| Shale platter | 1 |
| Point | 1 |
| Ring | 2 |
| Rotary quern | 1 |
| Slingstone | 6 |
| Spindle whorl | 3 |
| Weight | 9 |
| Whetstone | 1 |
| | |
| Total Artifacts | 46 |
| Artifacts per year | 0.836363636 |

**Table 4: Artifacts from Sub-phase 6G**

| Artifact type | Artifact count |
|---|---|
| Bead | 3 |
| Blade | 6 |
| Bone plaque | 1 |
| Brooch | 4 |
| Piereced long bon | 1 |
| Chisel | 2 |
| Comb | 2 |
| Gouge | 5 |
| Hammerstone | 5 |
| Handle | 2 |
| Hearth | 4 |
| Hilt guard | 1 |
| Needle | 6 |
| Point | 5 |
| Ring | 3 |
| Rotary quern | 3 |
| Saddle quern | 1 |
| Slingstone | 3 |
| Spear head | 3 |
| Spindle whorl | 6 |
| Wedge | 1 |
| Weight | 7 |
| Whetstone | 3 |
| | |
| Total Artifacts | 77 |
| Artifacts per year | 1.1 |

**Table 5: Artifacts from Sub-phase 6H**