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# Abstract

## Materiality, community and identity: The Iron Age of west central Scotland

Paul Joseph Murtagh

This research investigates the Iron Age of west central Scotland, an area that, compared with other parts of Scotland, has seen little archaeological research. Indeed, the region was described as a "black hole" in the influential research paper *Understanding the British Iron Age: An Agenda for Action* (Haselgrove et al 2001, 24-25). As such, this research greatly contributes to our knowledge of the Iron Age of this area, Scotland, and the British Isles as a whole. The detailed synthesis of Iron Age settlement that is created through this research demonstrates that this area is rich in well preserved and well excavated later prehistoric sites. By creating a new morphological framework, this thesis explores a number of important issues, particularly to do with the nature of settlement, regionality and identity. In addtion this allows us to investigate ideas to do with how communities are assembled and what this can tell us about how society was organised during the Iron Age in this part of Scotland.

# Materiality, community and identity: The Iron Age of west central Scotland

Paul Joseph Murtagh

Submited for the qualification of PhD in the Department of Archaeology, Durham University, January 2014.

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For my grandparents

# Chapter One: Introduction

## Introduction

This research is concerned with the Iron Age of west central Scotland (Fig1), an area that, compared with other parts of Scotland, has seen little archaeological research. Indeed, the wider Strathclyde region was described as a "black hole" in the influential research paper *Understanding the British Iron Age: An Agenda for Action* (Haselgrove et al 2001, 24-25). As such, this research greatly contributes to our knowledge of the Iron Age of this area, Scotland, and the British Isles as a whole. In the *Agenda*, "black hole" areas were defined as regions without a well-established regional framework or a synthesis of sites. In addition "most have few known Iron Age sites, with little or no coherent history of investigation, and no easily accessible sources" (ibid, 24-25). While this might appear to be the case for west central Scotland, especially compared to other parts of the country, such as the Lothians or the Northern Isles, the detailed synthesis that has been created through this research clearly demonstrates that this area is in fact rich in well-preserved and well-excavated later prehistoric sites. This thesis explores a number of important issues, particularly to do with the nature of settlement, regionality and identity, as well as ideas to do with how communities were assembled and what this can tell us about how society was organised during the Iron Age in this part of Scotland.

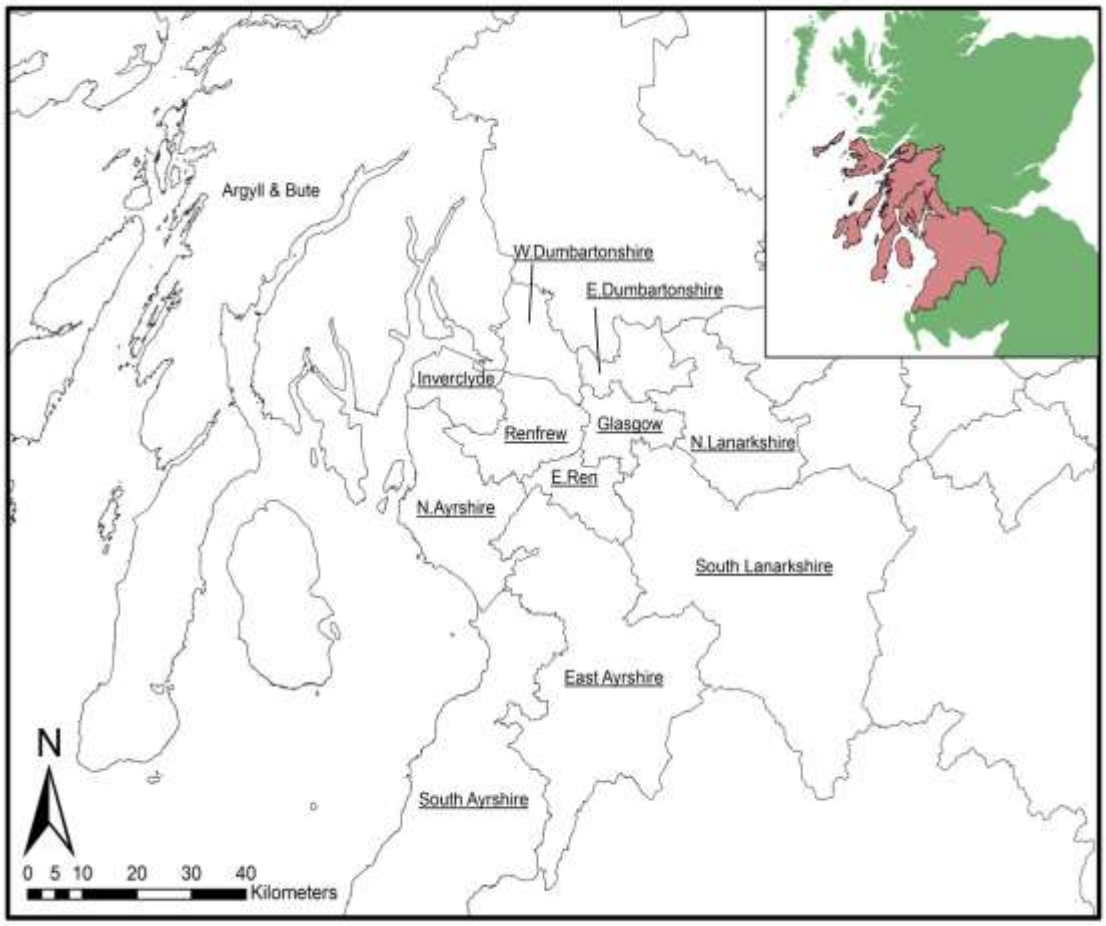



**Fig 1 The counties of west central scotland and the area which forms the focus of this study. In the inner map, the area highlighted in pink, is the wider strathclyde area.**

This chapter begins by examining the history of archaeological research in west central Scotland before going on to explore how this rich heritage of work still influences the ways in which the Iron Age archaeology of the area is understood. It shall be argued that while this research was extremely important in establishing a framework for the archaeology of the area, its interpretive legacy, which is still often uncritically accepted, means that the ways in which the Iron Age is interpreted in west central Scotland has not advanced compared to other parts of the country. It shall be argued that in order to progress our understanding of the Iron Age in this region a new morphological framework of settlement sites is required. This new morphological framework will allow us not only to critically reassess traditional interpretations of the period, but it to orientate the Iron Age

archaeology of this area in relation to other parts of the British Isles. Therefore the last part of this chapter will outline in detail the ways in which the settlement evidence of west central Scotland is interpreted, classed and analysed in this research.

## "Hallowed by Archaeological Tradition": The History of Archaeological Research in West Central Scotland

In the recent Scottish Archeological Research Framework (SCARF) report on the archaeology of the Iron Age (ScARF 2012) only eleven sites from the wider Strathclyde area were mentioned or referred to, while only seven fall within the area which forms the focus of this research. This is in comparison to areas such as the Western Isles where ten sites were considered, the thirteen sites of the Lothians or the nineteen sites of south-east Scotland. This demonstrates that there is a great deal of regional bias in the nature of archaeological research of the Iron Age in Scotland, with areas such as the south of Scotland, the Lothians, north east Scotland, the Northern and the Western Isles dominating debate and research. This disparity in research clearly has profound implications for how we as archaeologists understand the Iron Age, not just in Scotland, but the British Isles as a whole. West central Scotland has effectively been ignored or left out of general syntheses (for instance, apart from limited reference to important sites, west central Scotland is not covered in Harding's (2004) review of the Iron Age of the north of Britain), and has never been the subject of sustained research. This led Iain Banks (2002) to title a paper "*Always the Bridesmaid; The Iron Age of south-west Scotland*". While this paper is useful in highlighting the dearth of knowledge and the lack of focus on this area, even here little attention has been paid to west central Scotland. Indeed one of the few sources of information we have for the Iron Age archaeology of the area remains the synthesis of small scale excavations that were carried out in Renfrewshire by a number of amateur archaeologists, compiled by Derek Alexander in the mid 1990's (Alexander 1996).

Why west central Scotland has received such little recent archaeological attention is unclear, especially as it was the focus for a number of important surveys and excavations at the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century (see below). Banks (2002, 27-29) suggested the perceived unglamorous nature of the area compared to places such as the Western or Northern Isles may have played a part. This may also be related to the attention that has been paid to those iconic monuments and sites of the Scottish Iron Age, few of which are found in west central Scotland. For instance the brochs of the Atlantic areas as well as sites such as Traprain Law have received considerable attention over the years compared to the enclosed or hill top sites in this region. Banks (ibid) also suggested that the presence of the Romans in the area may mean that it is more difficult to understand the archaeology of the region compared to other parts of Scotland where they had less of a direct impact. However, the fact that areas such as the Lothians have seen significant research makes this argument more difficult to sustain. East Lothian is, of course, closer to Edinburgh, where institutions such as the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the National Museum, the Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments, Historic Scotland, the Department of Archaeology at Edinburgh University, and more recently a number of commercial archaeological units are based. This concentration of such large numbers of archaeologists may explain why the region around Edinburgh is perhaps better understood compared to places such as Ayrshire or Lanarkshire. These areas are not remote, but they are isolated from the modern archaeological institutions of Edinburgh, whilst there are fewer of the iconic Iron Age sites compared to places such as the Western Isles. This research bias reflects, in a number of ways, the phenomenon that can be seen in the concentration of archaeological research in places such as Wessex. This area is close to a number of prestigious archaeological institutions such as Oxford University, and to the homes of many of the most influential Iron Age archaeologists of the 20th century, such as Piggott, Hawkes and Cunliffe (Bevan 1999; Haselgrove et al 2001, 22-23; Sharples 2010, 9-10).

The lack of more recent archaeological attention on west central Scotland is somewhat surprising given the rich heritage of early archaeological work that was carried out in the region and the large number of well-preserved archaeological sites. For instance, as is explored below, the work carried out by David Christison (1889; 1890; 1898; 1904) at the end of the 19th century established an early inventory of the enclosed sites of the region. The excavations he carried out in Kintyre, at Ardifuir, Druim an Duin, Duntroon and Dunadd (Christison et al 1905) on behalf of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland remain a key source of information regarding life in the Iron Age of this area. Considerable work was also undertaken on the crannogs of the area, particularly by early archaeologists such as Munro (1880; 1882) and Bruce (1900; 1908). In addition to these sites, the work carried out by Derek Alexander (1996) highlights the rich history of amateur archaeology in the area, which is explored more fully below. West central Scotland has also been subject to a number of important developer-funded archaeological excavations, particularly since the early 1990s, which continue to provide us with new and important information regarding the ways in which people lived in this area during the period. In addition to these more recent developments, the work carried out by earlier archaeologists continues to inspire and indeed contribute to our knowledge of the archaeology of the area.

## The Influence of David Christison

One of the most important archaeologists to work in Scotland during the late 19th and early 20th centuries was David Christison, who single-handedly completed extensive surveys of the later prehistoric settlement sites found in much of lowland Scotland. In 1889 Christison published an extensive survey of the forts and duns of Lorn (Christison 1889) and in 1904 he extended this survey into Mid Argyll (Christison 1904). In 1889 he conducted and published a survey of the Forts, Camps, and Motes of Lanarkshire (Christison 1890), and in 1898 he completed a survey of the hillforts of Ayrshire (Christison 1898). As a result of this work and due to his

increasing influence within the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Christison was commissioned to undertake a series of excavations at four later prehistoric sites in Argyll (Christison et al 1905, 259-322). Each of the four sites excavated revealed evidence of occupation during the Iron Age and included the duns at Ardifuir (Christison 1905, 259-270) and Druim an Duin (Christison 1905, 285-292) which were still the only two duns in the region to have been examined in any detail by the time of the publication of the Commission surveys of Argyll (RCAHMS 1988, 29). The timber laced and partially vitrified fort of Duntroon (Christison 1905, 270-285) was also excavated, as well as Dunadd (Christison 1905, 292-322), which is more famous as the early medieval power centre of Dal Riata, but also provided evidence for earlier occupation (Lane & Campbell 2000). The importance of Christison's surveys and excavations have left a lasting legacy in terms of how we view the Iron Age of lowland Scotland and continue to provide "much of the information on which discussion of this [later prehistoric] period is still based" (RCAHMS 1988, 29), forming the "basis of our [RCAHMS] descriptive classifications today" (Ibid).

In his survey of Lorn, Christison (1889) conducted what must be one of the first desk based assessments ever carried out by any archaeologist, creating a methodology that is still used today. By consulting the 1-inch and 6-inch Ordnance Survey (OS) maps he was able to identify a number of forts, which had been depicted by the OS surveyors, which he was then able to visit and catalogue. Significantly, he also visited each site recorded by the OS surveyors as having the "Dún" place name attached as he was aware of the importance of the word in Gaelic as a descriptive term for a fortified place, which Christison recognised as being of "wide signification … which apparently may mean either a fort whether on a hill or not, or, unluckily for the investigator, a hill on which there is no fort" (Christison 1889, 368-369). As a result of this he was able to record a number of sites which had not been recorded by the OS surveyors, and thus increase the number of known later prehistoric sites in the county. Each site that Christison visited was described in detail and planned or sketched, and a number of these

were published. These sketches, plans and descriptions are remarkably similar to the plans in the Royal Commission volumes nearly 100 years later, clearly demonstrating the influence that Christison's surveys had.

In addition to Christison's contribution in increasing the number of known later prehistoric sites in Scotland he also recognised the value of creating a classification framework in order to compare and contrast the various different sites found across the country, thereby influencing the way in which subsequent archaeologists have approached the study of later prehistoric settlement. Christison recognised that "in order to understand the structure of the prehistoric forts, the first step is to reduce them by classification to some kind of order" (Christison 1889, 425), and while the system that he created was relatively pragmatic he was aware that it was "impossible to do this [create a useful framework] in a thoroughly satisfactory way" (Christison 1889, 425-426) as a result of the dilapidated nature of many of the sites as well as the lack of excavation and secure chronology.

Christison's framework divides the "Scottish forts … into four great classes" (Christison 1889, 426):

*(1) Works of earth. (2) Works of commingled earth and stone. (3) Works of un-built stone. (4) Works of dry masonry."* (Christison 1889, 426)

The majority of sites in Argyll belong in the fourth class, and Christison subdivided this class into a further three divisions:

*(a) Forts of regular figure; (b) forts whose figure follows the contour of the site; (c) forts only partially defended by art*." (Christison 1889, 426).

Again, however, we can see that Christison was a fairly pragmatic archaeologist, as he notes that "it is not always easy to determine to which of them [subdivisions] individual forts should be assigned. The remains of some are too fragmentary, and in others the plan is obscured by the mode in which the ramparts have fallen to ruin

or been tampered with" (Christison 1889, 426). In addition, it should be noted that Christison did not regard duns and forts as being different classes of site; instead it appears that he used these terms in fairly interchangeable ways in contrast to the ways later archaeologists approached this evidence. It appears that he described a site as a dun or fort based on the place name evidence associated with the site as it was recorded by the Ordnance Survey or through local knowledge, rather than using it as a descriptive or interpretive term. For instance for Christison (1889, 368-369) if a site was recorded on the OS map as a "Dùn" then it was a dun, and if it had no "Dùn" prefix then it was simply regarded as a fort. In his extended survey of mid Argyll, Christison (1904) reinforced this idea, noting that "not much more than half of the forts are known as duns" and that "likely enough the forts that are now nameless were once known as *Duns*" (Christison 1904, 251).

In his survey of Lanarkshire, published in 1890, Christison again conducted a basic desk based assessment, consulting the OS maps of the area as well as the Old and New Statistical Accounts of Scotland. Through this he was able to compile a list of 54 sites that were of interest. These sites were split into three classes of site: "Motes, Rectangular Camps or Forts, and Curvilinear Forts" (Christison 1890, 283). The motes represented medieval monuments and the rectangular camps or forts represented the Roman sites in the area, with the curvilinear forts representing the presumed later prehistoric sites, which he suggests could be regarded in two general forms; circular and oval. However, Christison recognised that many of the sites did not have neat curvilinear forms and therefore suggested that "any variations from these types are obviously due to the exigencies of site" (Ibid), that if the site was on level ground, on a gentle slope or on top of a hill, then it would be circular or oval but if it was on uneven ground then the site would be "deliberately distorted" in order to "take full advantage of the ground" (Christison 1890, 341). Christison concluded that "the variations from the normal circular and oval types being [was] thus due to the nature of the site, [and] no useful classification can be founded on [splitting] them" (Ibid). Christison was also interested in the ways in

which the sites were defined and recognised that, along with the shape of a site, the form of its enclosing works and the materials from which they were constructed (Christison 1890, 341) were also worthy of categorisation and indeed interpretation. Therefore he split the curvilinear sites into five categories: Stone forts; Forts defended by a single Mound; Forts defended by Mounds and Trenches; Terraced Forts and Complex Forms (Christison 1890, 341-343), though he argued that "the number and arrangement of the lines of defence…are also much regulated by the site and varying natural strength of the ground" (Christison 1890, 341)

In addition to creating a morphological framework, Christison was also keen to explore and begin to interpret what these sites could tell us about the people that constructed and used them. For example, Christison recognised that many of the forts were not confined to the hill tops and instead were located in low lying areas of the landscape, and therefore he wanted to stress "that they were no mere hill-refuges of a timid people, in constant fear of attack from a race more powerful than themselves" (Christison 1890, 349). This is an important idea, and one that was possibly forgotten by subsequent authors; that these settlements were perhaps not purely defensive in nature. Christison was also concerned with the distribution of the forts and what this might have meant in terms of social structure. He was aware of difficulties in relation to this and recognised that "we cannot tell whether the forts were all occupied simultaneously, nor whether forts may not have existed in areas which now show no trace of them" (Christison 1890, 251) and that many of the lowland sites especially, had been destroyed throughout the 19$^{th}$ century, and some in his "own day" (Christison 1890, 350). He was nevertheless keen to highlight the "remarkable" (Christison 1890, 251) distribution of the forts on the eastern side of the Clyde which are so closely grouped together that the "inhabitants of each group must have been on friendly terms with each other, if not also grouped for some special purpose" (Ibid).

In many ways our understandings of the upstanding later prehistoric settlements of Lanarkshire have not advanced significantly since Christison's day. There has been remarkably little excavation in this area in the last 120 years, and the following statement by Christison could almost have been taken from the *Agenda for action in the Iron Age* (Haselgrove et al 2001) or the recent SCARF (2012) report, both published at the beginning of the 21st century:

*"In concluding this review of the Forts of the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, it is to be regretted that the results should be in general so vague. In this respect the county is no worse off than the rest of Scotland. The only means of extending our information, and of building a better foundation for our deductions, is by excavation, so as to get below the mere surface of things. Efforts in this direction have been so few and desultory as to be useless, if not misleading"* (Christison 1890, 251).

## Archaeology in West Central Scotland in the Early 20th Century

The work carried out by Christison laid the foundations for much of the subsequent research that was carried out by archaeologists studying later prehistoric archaeology in the south and west of Scotland in the early 20th century. However, it should be noted that he was working within a period when there was considerable interest in the archaeology of later prehistoric period in west central Scotland, and in particular the crannogs that were found in the area. For instance, around the same time that Christison was carrying out his impressive research other archaeologists such as John Bruce, William Donnelly and Robert Munro were carrying out pioneering excavations of many of the crannogs of the area. One of the most significant of these early excavations was undertaken by Robert Munro in the 1880's at Buiston in Ayrshire (1882; Crone 2000). Munro was a prolific excavator, particularly of sites around the Kilmarnock area, where he also investigated the Lochlee crannog in 1878 (Munro 1879) and Hyndford crannog in 1898 (Munro 1899). Dumbuck crannog on the Clyde was excavated in 1898 by John Bruce and

William Donnelly (Bruce 1900, Hale 2004, 19-23), along with Langbank in 1901-2 (Bruce 1908; Alexander 2000, 157; Hale 2004, 23-24). The crannog at Old Kilpatrick (Hale 2004, 25-33) was also excavated, this time ahead of the construction of a shipyard in 1906, which is probably one of the first rescue excavations undertaken in Scotland, and although few records remain it too contributes to our understanding of life in the Iron Age on the Clyde.

Along with the small stone built sites investigated by Christison in Argyll mentioned above, a number of other early excavations took place on some of the enclosed sites of the region, the most significant of which was was conducted by Ludovic Mclean Mann at Dunagoil on the Isle of Bute (Mann 1915; 1925; Marshall 1915; Duffy 2012). This site, which has recently been reassessed by Harding (2004b), is significant for a number of reasons, not only because it gives its name to the crude, thick-walled pottery that is found on many later prehistoric sites throughout the region, but also because of the large number of other artefacts found at the site, along with evidence for craft activity including bone, antler, shale and metal working. Another important site to have been investigated is Cairngryfe Hill near Lanark which was partially excavated by Childe in 1939 (Childe 1940) ahead of its destruction by quarrying. Although the excavation took place in less than ideal conditions the results continue to be an important resource for the study of the enclosed sites in Lanarkshire as it remains one of the small number of sites in the area that has been investigated.

Although slightly outside the area of this study, Euan MacKie conducted an important excavation on an Atlantic roundhouse, Dun Mor Vaul on Tiree, in the 1960's (MacKie 1974, 1997), which still informs many of our ideas about the ways in which people occupied these Atlantic type settlements during the Iron Age. Although MacKie's ideas can be critiqued on the basis of their heavy reliance on diffusionist theories, he remains one of the most important archaeologists working

in Scotland, having carried out a number of important excavations on Iron Age sites throughout the country as well as conducting exhaustive surveys of the duns and brochs found across Scotland (MacKie 2002; 2007; 2008; 2010). One of the most important excavations that he carried out, especially relevant to this research, was the vitrified fort of Sheep Hill (MacKie 1976; forthcoming) located in the Kilpatrick Hills on the northern shore of the Clyde. This site shall be examined in more detail later, but it is worth noting that it remains one of the most extensively excavated hill top enclosed sites in west central Scotland. Significantly, the site has recently been earmarked for destruction through the expansion of the adjacent quarry, and the excavation carried out by MacKie remains the only record for the archaeology of the site (MacKie, *pers. comm*.).

In addition to these important excavations carried out by academic archaeologists there is an impressive tradition of amateur archaeology in west central Scotland, particularly since the 1950's. Marion Campbell and Mary Sandeman, for instance, conducted an extensive survey of all the known archaeological sites of mid-Argyll, publishing a detailed inventory of monuments of the area (Campbell & Sandeman 1962, 46-61) which clearly aided the Commission's work. This type of research subsequently inspired a number of other amateur archaeologists and local societies to conduct work in their local areas. Betty Rennie (1997) conducted extensive surveys and some small scale excavations on the recessed platform settlements of Cowal. Other important fieldwork was undertaken by Frank Newall who, between 1955 and 1978, contributed to over 170 entries in Discovery and Excavation of Scotland (Alexander 1996), concentrating mainly on prehistoric settlement in Renfrewshire (Newall 1964). In addition, he carried out excavations at a number of sites in the area including the partial excavation of one of the largest sites in the whole of west central Scotland, Walls Hill (Newall 1960; Alexander 1996; 2000), and the homestead at Knapps (Newall 1965; Alexander 1996; 2000). Other work carried out in Renfrewshire was undertaken by individuals and groups associated Paisley Museum including at Knockmade (Livens 1996) and the hilltop site of Craigmarloch

(Nisbet 1996). The Glasgow Archaeological Society also conducted some small-scale excavations, most notably of the Pollok enclosure in Glasgow (Johnson 1959) which has recently been re-examined and proved to date to the later part of the Iron Age (Driscoll and Mitchell 2008, 88-89). There are also a number of other amateur archaeologists that carried out small-scale investigations at sites across Ayrshire, including Hendry's work at Castle Hill at Darvel in Ayrshire (Hendry 1962; 1963). While the research carried out by these archaeologists and groups is useful in giving us a general sense of the later prehistoric settlement in the area, few of these excavations have ever been fully published other than in short descriptions in Discovery and Excavation Scotland or in local journals, and therefore the conclusions drawn from them remain limited.

These early archaeologists and the work that they carried out provided much of the information on which subsequent theories of the Scottish Iron Age were based. For instance they helped to reinforce Piggott's (1966) and Feachams' (1966) ideas concerning the different regions or provinces of Scotland. In addition, they influenced the ways in which the Royal Commission defined and created their classification schemes and morphological models, along with their associated interpretations. This is especially true of the excavations carried out by Christison (1905) on the stone built sites of Argyll (see below). Subsequently, as it shall be seen, it is the Royal Commissions morphological and classifications schemes, as well as Piggott's (1966) regional models, which have dominated interpretations of the archaeology of later prehistory in west central Scotland. Below I will explore how the Commission classification systems were created, adopted and used. However, it is important to first examine the influence of Piggott's (1966) regional framework, which has proved "remarkably resilient" (Harding 2004, 6) in the decades since its conception.

## Regionality and Scottish Iron Age Studies

Stuart Piggott's (1966) regional model of the Scottish Iron Age continues to influence the ways in which archaeologists interpret the Iron Age archaeology of Scotland (Harding 2004, 6; Hunter 2007, 286). Based on an earlier scheme devised by Hawkes (1959) for England and Wales, Piggott argued that the later prehistoric archaeology of Scotland could be understood in relation to "three main features: Geography, Chronology, and Culture" (Piggott 1966, 3). Thus he was able to divide Scotland into four areas or provinces: The Atlantic zone; The Solway-Clyde Zone; The Tyne-Forth Zone; and the North-Eastern Zone. This regional framework was used and developed further by Feachem (1966) who divided the four areas into a further 22 sub-regions based on his analysis of the settlement sites in each of the areas. As was noted by Hunter (2007, 286), Piggott's interpretations were based on Childe's (1935) diffusionist analysis of the major 'cultural groupings' of the Iron Age. These ideas saw the 'indigenous' Bronze Age groups or cultures mixing with regular influxes of migrants, particularly from England as well as from Europe, who stimulated development as well as influencing the ways in which people created and used particular types of material culture and forms of settlement. These ideas, which were also expanded on by MacKie (1969; 1971), see particular types of artefact and forms of settlement, for instance the broch, as representing key symbols of different cultural groups. The perhaps unintended results of this theory were that instead of representing convenient geographical areas in which to study the archaeology of Scotland, Piggott's regions became cultural zones.

A number of problems therefore exist with this framework and these kinds of interpretations, especially as they are based on diffusionist ideas. Firstly, as noted by Hunter (2007, 286), the regions themselves are extremely large and it is difficult to see how they would have worked in social terms, or how they related to the ways in which people in the past understood and organised their worlds. Secondly, they are chronologically static and in effect lump all the known later prehistoric

sites and artefacts into one long period of time, leaving little room to explore how society may have changed over almost a millennium. Thirdly, as Feachem (1966, 85) recognised, the models that were created were based on upstanding archaeological remains, of course problematic given the variable nature of archaeological survival and visibility across different parts of the country. In addition, the division of Scotland along geographical boundaries is problematic (Harding 2004, 6) as it can be argued that rivers such as the Clyde, Solway, Forth and Tyne, as well as the sea, would have been used as much for communication and movement as cultural or territorial boundaries (ibid, Cunliffe 2000; 2001; Henderson 2007a; 2007b; Moore & Armada 2011).

Moreover, while the idea that sites or artefacts acted as type fossils for past cultural regions or 'tribes' has been discredited, especially as archaeologists now recognise the complexities inherently caught up with material (as is explored in Chapter Eight), there has been little attempt to replace the broad narratives that Piggott's model has instilled in Scottish Iron Age studies (Hunter 2007, 286). This is problematic at a number of levels, not least because of the diffusionist principles on which they were based, but also because they have affected, and continue to affect the ways in which archaeologists interpret the Iron Age archaeology of Scotland, and by extension how this period is understood. For instance, it can be argued that the ways in which the Royal Commission defined and classified sites in the Lanarkshire and Argyll areas was defined by these regional zones; an Atlantic zone and a Solway Clyde/Lowland zone. Sites that may have been built using the same materials and are the same shape and size have been defined in different ways depending on which regional zone they are found. This can be most clearly seen in the small stone built *duns* in Argyll and the small stone built *homesteads* of Lanarkshire. Therefore, while these sites may be physically very similar, perhaps enclosing space in similar ways, they have traditionally been, and continue to be, interpreted as belonging to different cultural and social traditions.

This can be seen in Henderson's (2007) recent work on the Iron Age of Atlantic Europe, where the Atlantic zone of Scotland is treated completely differently compared to other parts of Scotland (Fig 3). This is particularly clear in his arguments based around the permanence and importance of stone defined sites of the west compared to the wood defined sites of the east (Henderson 2007, 154). Whilst these ideas can be critiqued on a number of levels, as is explored more fully in Chapter Eight, they highlight that the non-Atlantic zones of Scotland are perceived as having different architectural practices, and therefore social and cultural traditions, compared to other parts of the country. Whilst this might be the case for areas such as the Western Isles, where we do see genuine differences in settlement form and artefact type, the differences become much less clear in west central Scotland, as is demonstrated in this research.

With the increase in recent archaeological discoveries, particularly through the increased use of aerial photography and the expansion of developer funded archaeology (Bradley 2004), we can now begin to critically assess whether or not these broad regional divisions stand up to detailed scrutiny and if they can be sustained. By creating a new morphological framework, this research will be able to explore this issue in greater detail than has previously been attempted. Differences in settlement form and the use of material cultural do exist in the archaeological record, but it is not enough just to recognize these differences and accept them as defining different cultural or social identities in the past. Instead, we must explore what these differences mean in social terms, while recognising the variable nature of archaeological taphonomey. At the same time "we need to make more use of our theoretical understandings concerning the active use of material culture to create and express identity" (Hunter 2007; 286-287). These are issues that shall be returned to below, and explored in detail in Chapters Eight and Nine. However, it is important to first outline the ways in which these ideas have influenced the ways in which sites in west central Scotland have been classed, and in particular how the Royal Commission has defined these sites.

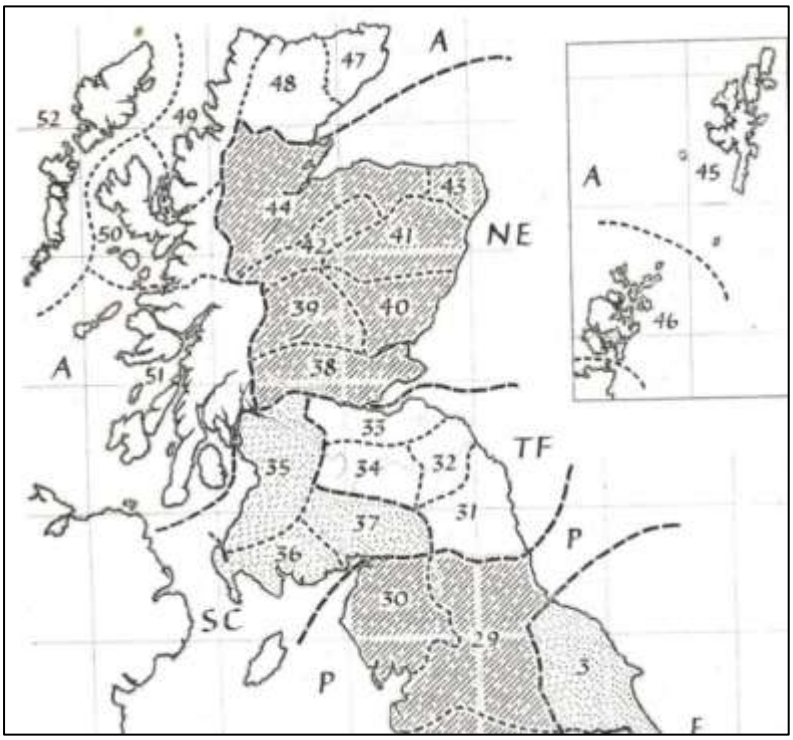



**Fig 2 Piggott's regional scheme (Piggott 1966)**

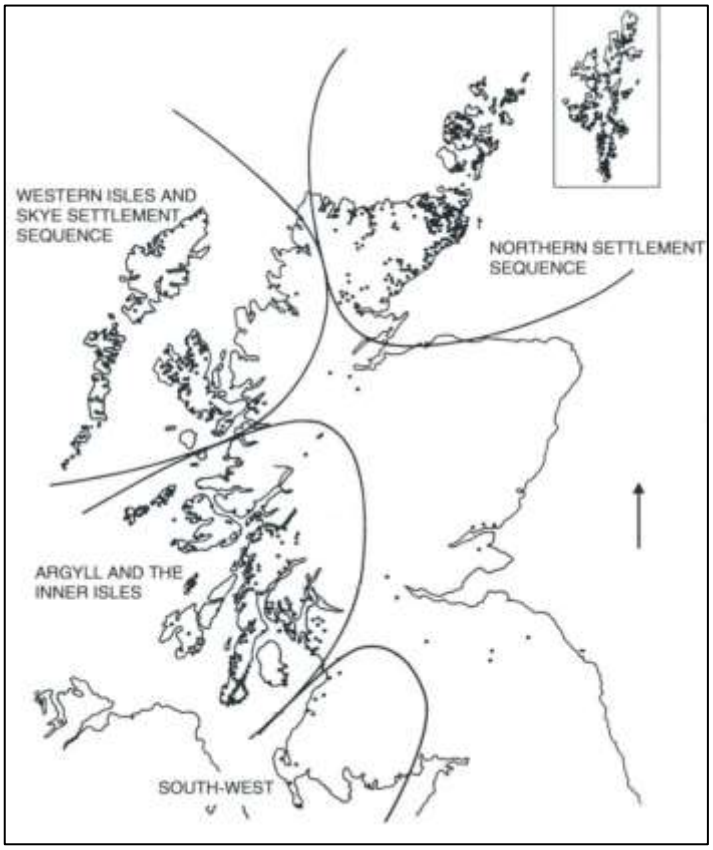



**Fig 3 Henderson's interpretation of the Atlantic zones of the Scottish Iron Age (Henderson 2007).**

## The Commission Surveys

In the 1970's and 1980's the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland (the Commission) surveyed all the known upstanding prehistoric sites in Argyll and Lanarkshire. It is clear that Piggott's (1966) regional interpretations, as along with the work carried out by the likes of Maxwell (1969) and MacKie (1965; 1969), had a great deal of influence in the ways in which the sites were interpreted and classified. Other areas in west central Scotland have not had the same level of survey or investigation by the Commission as Argyll and Lanarkshire, which means that the information we have for later prehistoric archaeology across the region is not as uniform as one would like. This has a number of implications in terms of how we compare settlement evidence across the region, and these are discussed below. The limited work that has been carried out in these areas, for instance in Ayrshire, was undertaken in the Marginal Land Surveys of the 1950's and the plane table plans, which are a product of archaeological knowledge and techniques of the time, provide us with a limited but useful account of many of the enclosed sites of the area. Indeed, in many cases these surveys remain the only records of some of these sites which have since been destroyed through the spread of the urban areas or extractive industries, such as Craigie fort discussed in Chapter Two. These surveys are, however, not published and can only be accessed through visiting the Commission archives, though some are now being made available digitally.

The commission surveys of Argyll and Lanarkshire are much more than records of sites; they have also greatly influenced the ways in which archaeologists have understood later prehistoric archaeology in these areas. While the Commission were keen to stress that the distinctions made between sites were not intended to imply any cultural or functional distinction (RCAHMS 1980, 17; 1984, 20), many archaeologists have subsequently used this system to form the basis on which to

build interpretations of the Iron Age in these parts of Scotland. For instance Cavers (2005, 2009), in his recent research on the crannogs of Scotland, based his analysis of the "terrestrial" sites in his different case study areas on the Commissions classifications, and interpreted the crannogs in relation to them. In addition to stressing that functional distinctions could not be applied to the different types of monument the Commission also acknowledged that due to the nature of the preservation of many of these monuments, their classification, which was based on their superficial surface appearance and differences in relative size, "that each category would contain a few examples which appear to differ only slightly from members of one of the other classes" (RCAHMS 1984, 20). This has a number implications regarding interpretations to do with the function and use of different classes of site, which may in fact be very similar to one another. This is especially relevant as so few of these sites had been excavated at the time of the publication of the Inventories and from those that had been excavated "the evidence which they have furnished cannot be applied unreservedly to the whole range of Iron Age structures. The present classification of these must, therefore, depend largely on surface appearances, and should be regarded as tentative" (RCAHMS 1971, 15). A point highlighted by Christison almost one hundred years earlier and one which many subsequent researchers have ignored in their use of this system.

## The Argyll Inventories

Looking at the way in which the Commission classified the stone walled Atlantic type sites of Argyll in more detail we can see that the majority of sites were classed as either forts or duns, while there were also a limited number of brochs as well as other miscellaneous earthworks or enclosures which do not necessarily fall into the Commission's strict classification scheme. According to the first volume of the inventory of Argyll, which covered the Kintyre area, the Commission described a dun as a "small defensive structure with disproportionately thick dry-stone wall, usually but not always sub-circular or oval in plan, and enclosing an area not exceeding about 375 Sq.m (4000sq.ft.); it would thus normally hold only a single family group" (RCAHMS 1971, 18). The walls of the duns would have consisted of a

"solid rubble core with inner and outer facings which are often neatly coursed and of massive proportions" (ibid, 18). Forts on the other hand were described as "relatively small structures defended by a single dry-stone wall. The dividing line between forts of this kind and duns is often difficult to draw and the distinction made…depends almost entirely on internal area-forts being large enough to have served the needs of small communities" (RACAHMS 1971, 16). The only other type of Iron Age settlement described in detail in the first Argyll volume was the crannog, and while problems of dating existed in the 1970's, the terminology used to describe such monuments has never really been changed, though Hale (2000; 2004) and Cavers (2005; 2006; 2008) have recently conducted extensive surveys of these monuments and noted considerable difference in form across the country.

The 1975 volume of the Inventory uses the same system of classification as before but with the addition of brochs as a distinct category, as well as the inclusion of miscellaneous earthworks and enclosures. However, compared to the forts and duns the classification of the brochs is not clearly defined and, apart from explaining that they were distinct from the other structures in having galleries, it was noted that "the typical features of the brochs are so well known … it is unnecessary to do more in this context than provide a brief description of their appearance … the broch is a dry-stone walled defensive structure, usually circular on plan" (RCAHMS 1975, 20). This highlights a number of issues with the Commission's approach to the classification of these particular monuments, and of all of later prehistoric sites in general, which can also be seen in the 1984 volume of the Inventory. Here it was noted that "the categories themselves are hallowed by archaeological tradition" (RCAHMS 1984, 20) which suggests that while the way sites were classed in earlier volumes of the Inventory appears to have been objective and consistent, there was a great deal of subjective bias inherent in the Commission's approach, which they perhaps felt needed to be highlighted. Indeed, it is not until the publication of the 1988 volume that the Commission clearly states that much of its classification system was based the excavations carried out by the

Society of Antiquaries of Scotland between 1904 and 1905 which form "much of the information on which discussion of this period is still based" (RCAHMS 1988, 29). Though it should also be noted that they did provide references in the footnotes, highlighting what their classification was based on. For example they reference Maxwell (1969) in relation to their discussion of the nature of the brochs (RCAHMS 1975, 20).

## The Lanarkshire Inventory

The Lanarkshire volume was published in 1978 (RCAHMS 1978) and very much reflects the Commission's classification system of the time, as developed in the Argyll volumes (RCHAMS 1971; 1975). Therefore there are a number of problems associated with the approach taken by the Commission to the classification of the sites found in this area, as well as how this classification system has since been utilised by archaeologists. Firstly, the problems inherent with such strict classification systems, as well as issues related to the functional and social interpretations attached to these classifications, were not explicitly addressed, as we have seen in the Argyll volumes, and they have often been taken at face value. In addition, the differences between the different forms of site, such as the forts, found in the Argyll area compared to those found in the Lanarkshire area were not necessarily made clear. When one uses the Commissions inventory database and searches for the term *fort,* for example, there is no distinction made between the small stone built sites of Argyll and the hill top sites of Lanarkshire, which raises a number of methodological and interpretive issues about how to interpret these different forms of site, as shall be explored below.

With these problems in mind it is worth exploring how the Commission approached the classification of the later prehistoric settlements in this area. The majority of forts in Lanarkshire are found in the southern portion of the county and are all situated within very close proximity to the river Clyde, suggesting that the river was a major focus for settlement during the period (RCAHMS 1978, 26). Like the

majority of forts in northern Britain, the Lanarkshire forts are relatively small in size, are generally enclosed by earth and stone walls or ramparts and usually do not have more than two entrances (Ibid). The majority of the forts are located on hill tops or high ground at heights between 275m and 335m OD, though the Commission also recorded the site of Double Dikes, Sodom Hill, as a fort even though it was located in a low lying ground because of "the formidable barrier provided by its triple ramparts and ditches" (RCAHMS 1978, 26).

In addition to the forts there were also a number of "lightly protected habitation sites" (RCAHMS 1978, 25) which were distinguished from forts in that they are "usually situated on lower ground than the hill-forts" (ibid) and usually defined by a single stone wall or by a bank, often with an external ditch. In the majority of cases there is only one entrance, though there a few that contained multiple entrances. Within the interior of all of these sites there are traces of timber built roundhouses, often surviving as shallow depressions, ring ditches or platforms. Again, as with the difference between fort and dun in the Argyll inventories, the size of each site is used to split the sites into different categories. The smaller sites, which could contain no more than three houses and were therefore probably occupied by a single family, were defined as 'Homesteads' (RCHAMS 1978, 25). The larger sites that could contain more than three houses and were thus presumably large enough to support larger communities were defined as 'Settlements' (Ibid). A number of "miscellaneous earthworks and enclosures" (RCAHMS 1978, 144-158) were also recorded in the Lanarkshire inventory, all of which appear in lowland areas and are either an unusual shape or in an unusual location, and were therefore not regarded as forts. A number of them are recorded solely as crop marks and could represent the ploughed out remains of homesteads or settlements, if one were to follow the Commission's classification of low-lying settlement site, compared to the higher forts.

## The Use and Reassessment of the Traditional Site Classifications

Compared to the considerable attention that has been paid to the ways in which the stone built Atlantic sites have been classed and understood (e.g. Armit 1990; 1997; 2003; 2005; Nieke 1990; Gilmour 2000; 2002; 2005; MacKie 2002; 2007; 2008; 2010; Sharples & Parker Pearson 1997; Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999; Romankiewicz 2011, see also Chapter 7) there has been little critical attention paid to the ways in which the non-Atlantic enclosed sites of Scotland, have been classed and interpreted. Why this might be the case is unclear, though the lack of extensive research in places like west central Scotland suggests that it has not been seen as an important research priority. However, recent work by Wigley (2007) in the Welsh Marches has demonstrated that we have to be more critically aware of how we interpret and class enclosed Iron Age sites, as is outlined in detail below. Recent work on the enclosed sites of Scotland and the north of England, and in particular the work of Haselgrove (2009), Kokeza (2008), Davis (2007), Cowley (2000; 2009), Wise (2000) and Ferrell (1995) are beginning to address these issues.

Nives Kokeza (2008) conducted extensive research in the south of Scotland, focusing on Peeblesshire, Berwickshire and East Dumfriesshire, and was concerned with analysing the enclosed sites of the region as "one single category … rather than using the subjective RCAHMS categories" (Kokeza 2008, 18). Instead she based her analysis on "descriptive categories" (ibid 18), and in particular the size of the enclosed sites, the form of their enclosing works and their defensive nature. By looking at sites in these ways, Kokeza was able to create a new morphological model which helped her explore the nature of settlement as well as social structure in these areas. While she is not particularly clear on why the "subjective" Commission categories should be challenged, and although some of her

interpretations have been criticised (e.g. Halliday 20009), her methodological approach marks an important contribution to understanding the enclosed sites of southern Scotland. In particular, by analysing the size of the enclosed sites her results allow us to orientate Iron Age settlement in the south of Scotland with other parts of Britain and, as is explored in Chapter Six, how they relate to the sites in west central Scotland. In addition, Kokeza was able to reassess the traditional settlement hierarchies which dominate interpretations of the Scottish Iron Age, as is explored in more detail below.

In many ways Kokeza's approach was influenced by the work of Gill Ferrell (1992; 1995) who was interested in the "organisation of social groups at the settlement level and their interaction with neighbouring groups" (Ferrell 1995, 129) in the north east of England. In order to explore these ideas Ferrell conducted rank size analysis on settlement evidence dating from the early Bronze Age through to the Romano British period. By examining sites in this way she was able to move beyond the traditional interpretations of settlement of the area, which had "been viewed as straightforward" (Ferrel 1995, 129) and therefore interpreted in 'common sense' ways, with little critical attention paid to the data or to archaeological assumptions. As a result, Ferrell was able to demonstrate that there was in fact a great deal of diversity in the settlement evidence in areas which were relatively close to each other, and that these patterns changed through time (Ferrell 1995, 133-134).

Kokeza's (2008) and Ferrell's (1997) approaches to classifying Iron Age settlement stand out in comparison to other methodologies that have been applied to the settlement evidence from Scotland. For example, Mairi Davis' (2007) work in eastern Scotland, north of the Forth, while important in reassessing the evidence for this area, reinforces the traditional Commission classification system and interprets the settlement evidence within this framework. Another example of the use of the traditional classification scheme can be seen in the work of Alicia Wise

(2000) in her assessment of Iron Age settlement patterns in the central Tweed valley. By using the Royal Commission classification scheme, Wise constructed a morphological model which effectively lumped all of the enclosed sites of her study area into two classes of site, curvilinear and rectilinear, and, while she noted that variation did occur in the curvilinear class, she argued that without closer dating of these sites it was not possible to refine the morphology any further (Wise 2000, 95). After identifying the morphology of the sites in the study area, Wise examined their landscape position and through this was able to identify three different categories of site. *Hillforts*, which occupy prominent hilltops and are curvilinear in shape, often characterised by impressive boundaries, *promontory forts*, defined by multiple boundaries, which are curvilinear and often located overlooking water ways in "convincingly defensive" (Wise 2000, 96) locations, and *homesteads*, which can be either curvilinear or rectangular and are located "between 100m-300m OD, on the slopes or shoulders of hills" (ibid).

While Wise's work helps orientate the Iron Age settlement evidence of the Tweed valley with the wider Scottish and British evidence, a number of criticisms can be leveled at her approach. Firstly, by 'lumping' all of the enclosed sites of the study area in this way, any chronological differences that may have existed between sites cannot be explored. Therefore, settlement patterns and by extension interpretations to do with issues such as social structure are based on a static and unchanging landscape, a criticism that has also been leveled at Kokeza's (2008) work (e.g. Halliday 2009). In addition, by classing sites in this way it is difficult to analyse or interpret social structure, especially as the differences between sites are largely based on landscape location rather than on size, shape or the form of the enclosing works. For instance, the 'hillforts' are classed as different forms of site, based on the fact that they are located on hilltops, compared to the promontory forts as well as the homesteads which are located in low-lying locations or the side of hills. This again reinforces the idea that 'forts' are somehow different and were used in different ways compared to other forms of site which may be just as large,

or enclosed by more elaborate enclosing works. For instance, those sites that are classed as homesteads are only classed as such because of their landscape positions on the shoulders of hills or on slopes and therefore, even if they were of comparable size to the forts, they are classed and therefore interpreted in different ways. By looking at sites in this way, rather than by the area enclosed or the nature of the enclosing works, Wise reinforces traditional interpretations of the Scottish Iron Age.

In south west Scotland, David Cowley (2000) outlined a relatively robust settlement morphology and classification scheme, heavily influenced and based around the work of the Royal Commission in East Dumfriesshire (1997), for whom he is employed. Cowley's scheme effectively identified three main forms of settlement; open settlements of roundhouses, enclosed settlements and forts. He argued that the enclosed sites could be more fully defined, depending on their size and shape. These included groups of small curvilinear stone walled sites, a group of larger curvilinear enclosures and a group of rectangular enclosures. The small, stone wall sites, usually no more than 30m in diameter, occasionally have ditches associated with them, and are often referred to as homesteads. These sites appear to form a distinct morphological group, and can be identified in particular parts of the landscape, with concentrations in central Galloway and on the west coast of the Machars (Cowley 2000, 172). This is in contrast to the larger curvilinear sites which display a range of enclosing works, internal features and size ranges, leading Cowley (ibid, 172) to recognise them as the "least satisfactory grouping". Again, we can see that these sites have effectively been lumped together, and that the lack of excavation and dating and their apparent variable nature means little can be "established with regard to these curvilinear enclosures beyond acknowledging their place in later prehistoric settlement of Galloway" (Cowley 2000, 172). The rectangular sites are again different from the curvilinear sites, in that they appear to form a distinct class, though Cowley (ibid) noted that they could be defined by either palisades or by bank and ditches.

The forts identified by Cowley also display a variety of forms, though they were primarily classed in this way because of a "common and overriding concern for defense" (Cowley 2000, 173). These sites are usually located on hilltops or promontories and are often defined by substantial ramparts, though Cowley (ibid) also noted that a number were identified from cropmarks. How these sites related to the larger enclosed sites is, however, not made clear by Cowley, and though he was keen to stress the "grey area in classification between defended settlements and forts" (Cowley 2000, 169), nevertheless the rather subjective and modern perception of what constitutes a defensive site again effects the way these sites are interpreted. In addition, the idea that these sites are primarily defensive in nature can be called into question and other issues to do with the nature of enclosure needs to be addressed. In particular, issues to do with social isolation and the definition of the household in contrast to nature, as explored by Hingley (1984; 1992), and the idea that they materialise notions of social relationships, as explored by Sharples (2007; 2010), need to be addressed, issues that are returned to in detail in chapters of eight and nine. Having identified these problems, however, Cowley's morphological scheme is useful as it allows us to identify distinct patterns in the settlement record of south west Scotland which in turn may allow us to explore issues to do with identity as well as social structure. In addition, it allows us to compare this region with other parts of Scotland and the British Isles as a whole, something that cannot be readily achieved with the scheme devised by Wise (2000).

Having highlighted these recent approaches to the classification of the enclosed sites in Scotland, it should be noted that there are still a number of problems in how archaeologists define sites and in particular those that rely on traditional classifications, such as those defined by the Commission, based on site morphologies. For instance, as was noted by Cowley (2000, 167), issues surrounding the variability of archaeological survival in different landscapes needs to be taken

into account. This issue was most recently addressed by Andy Wigley in relation to the enclosed sites of the central Welsh Marches (Wigley 2007). The landscape and archaeology of the central Welsh Marches has traditionally been understood in terms of lowland and highland zones (Wigley 2007, 174), and, although most researchers now accept this as an over-generalisation (Wigley 2007, 175), it can be seen that as with west central Scotland differences in agricultural production over the last 2000 years in these areas have resulted in variable levels of archaeological preservation. Wigley highlighted that the small well preserved enclosures on higher ground, often enclosed by substantial earthworks and sitting prominently in the landscape, have traditionally been regarded as small hillforts while the low-lying enclosures, often only known through aerial photography, which are morphologically similar in both size and shape to those sites situated on higher ground have been regarded as farmsteads and therefore distinct from the hillforts. This has led to different interpretations of the monuments and therefore how we understand how society was organised.

Wigley illustrates the problem with this way of interpreting archaeological monuments by comparing two sites (Wigley 2007, 175-176). Walton Camp in western Shropshire is located on a prominent hill and is defined by a double ditched enclosure and has traditionally been regarded as a small multivallate hillfort. Osbaston in north-western Shropshire is a complex multi ditched curvilinear enclosure that has been entirely flattened through ploughing and only survives as a crop mark. Despite the fact that it is much larger than Walton Camp it has been traditionally seen as a "small defended farmstead" (ibid). A similar problem can be seen in the enclosed sites of west central Scotland. For example, the site at Woodend in Lanarkshire (RCAHMS 1978, 157) measures 1.03Ha in extent and is defined by a pair of ditches with a single broad inner ditch and a thinner outer ditch, but is classed as a *settlement* as it sits in a relatively low lying position. This is in contrast to the *fort* of Langloch Knowe (RCAHMS 1978, 103-104) which is defined by two ramparts enclosing an area of roughly 0.05Ha in extent. This site is located

on a spur projecting to the north of Black Hill to the east of Nisbet in Lanarkshire at a height of 312m OD.

This clearly illustrates the problems with such simple classifications and there is a real danger therefore that our interpretations of these sites, and by extension of Iron Age society in general, is skewed by them. One way in which Wigley attempted to address this problem was influenced by Rowan Whimster's (1989) morphological scheme, whereby all of the enclosed sites of the region, be they upstanding earthworks or known through cropmark evidence, were defined by their "internal characteristic[s] of shape, size and method of construction" (Whimster 1989, 27). By applying a similar methodology, Wigley was able to demonstrate that although "a considerable degree of variability in both enclosure size and form existed … [there is a] ... continuum of enclosure size and form, which extends upwards [from small enclosures] to include the larger hillforts" (Wigley 2007, 178). By approaching the enclosed sites of west central Scotland in these ways, and by creating a new morphological system, this thesis aims to produce a more objective model of Iron Age society which is less reliant on predefined categories. This in turn has profound implications about how we understand issues surrounding the nature of regional identity, which will allow us to critically assess the regional zones that were defined by Piggott (1966). In addition, as is discussed in Chapters Eight and Nine, issues surrounding identity and community can be explored in new ways. As a result new ways of exploring issues surrounding Iron Age social structure can be addressed.

# Social Structure and the theoretical approach to understanding the Iron Age in west central Scotland

Traditional classifications have greatly influenced how we define and describe settlements, and this in turn has had a profound effect on the ways in which Iron Age communities have been interpreted and understood. Whilst there has been considerable debate over the nature of social structure in the Atlantic areas, particularly in relation to the brochs and Atlantic Roundhouses (e.g. Armit 1997; 1997; 2002; 2005; Sharples & Parker Pearson 1997; Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999) as well as a general reassessment of social models in places such as Wessex (e.g. Hill 1995; 1996; Sharples 2007; 2010), there has been little attempt to replace the hierarchical narratives which dominate interpretation of lowland Scotland. For instance in his paper on the Iron Age in south west Scotland, Banks (2002), regarded the forts of the area as being elite sites while the settlements and enclosures were of lower status. This kind of hierarchical central place social model was developed most fully by Barry Cunliffe (1983), who interpreted the hillforts of Wessex as elite centres whilst the settlements and enclosures were the residences of nobles or land owning farmers.

When the archaeological evidence is examined in detail, and in particular through the ways in which sites are defined in this research, it can be seen that traditional interpretations do not take into account the complexities which the archaeological record presents. Consequently, while we need to be aware of the fact that modern morphological frameworks do not necessarily reflect the ways in which people in the past understood themselves or the world around them (Moore 2006, 43), new ways of interpreting this complex evidence needs to be advanced. In this research these issues are explored in relation to ideas to do with Iron Age cosmology (Fitzpatrick 1994; Parker Pearson & Richards 1994; Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson 1999). If we accept that Iron Age settlements materialised people's and

communities' understandings of the world then it can be argued that the things from which the settlements were constructed also had significance. These things, be they the trees used to construct palisades or the stones used to construct ramparts, would have been taken from a landscape which would have had cosmological significance. This has profound implications for how we interpret how the landscape was organized and controlled, and in turn how society was structured. These issues shall be explored more fully in Chapters Eight and Nine, with particular reference to ritual (Brück 1999; Bradley 2005), materiality (DeMarrais et al 1996; DeMarrais et al 2004, Ingold 2000; 2007; Conneller 2011), agency and personhood (Gell 1998; Dobres & Robb 2000; Robb 2004; 2010; Fowler 2004), as well as new ideas to do with how communities are assembled (Harris 2012; 2013).

While ideas to do with Iron Age cosmologies have in general been accepted (though see Pope 2007), little critical attention has been paid to how cosmologies affected the ways in which Iron Age society was organised. As shall be explored, by more fully understanding ritual and the ways in which ritual was practiced (Brück 1999; Bradley 2005) we can begin to explore how cosmologies helped structure the lives of Iron Age people and informed the organization of their communities. In particular, it shall be argued that instead of seeing ritual as separate from daily concerns we should consider it as fundamental to successful social practice, helping people to negotiate their ways in the world. Cosmologically significant settlements did not just act as metaphors for Iron Age people's understandings of the world, they were in fact material expressions of very real and practical concerns, which helped to produce and reproduce social reality (DeMarrais et al 1996; DeMarrais 2004). By accepting this argument, this research shall demonstrate that the things from which these settlements were constructed would also have been important in helping to define social reality. It shall be argued that these things, be they organic or inorganic, would have exerted effective agency in the world (Robb 2004; 2010; Fowler 2004), as people imbued them with special properties, meaning that they

would have been required to help construct successful or legitimate settlements. Moreover, it shall be demonstrated that people, these architectural materials, the settlements which they helped to create and the landscapes from which they were from all helped to assemble Iron Age communities (Harris 2012). By thinking about communities as assemblages of people, things, places and settlements, as well as creating a new morphological framework, this research advances new ways of understanding the Iron Age in Scotland.

## New Approaches to Settlement Morphology and the Classification of enclosed sites in West Central Scotland

With these arguments in mind, it is clear that the ways in which enclosed sites are classified and interpreted in west central Scotland needs to be readdressed, so that a clearer picture of settlement during the Iron Age can be achieved and the regional interpretations which persist in accounts of the period can be critically assessed. To do this a new morphological framework shall be created for all of the enclosed sites of the region, one based primarily on the ideas advanced by Whimster (1989) to do with the size of the area that a site enclosed, the shape of the enclosure as well as the form of the enclosing works.

### Case Study Areas

In order to help construct this new morphological frame work the enclosed sites from four case study areas shall be examined in detail (Fig 4). The areas covered by each case study area represents four different parts of west central Scotland and allow us to explore the ways in which different landscapes may have affected the ways in which each area was occupied during the Iron Age. In addition, these areas cut across the modern political and geographical boundaries that were highlighted in the map above. This means that biases that may have arisen due to the history of research that has taken place in each county can be addressed. Perhaps more

importantly for this research however, is that these case study areas cover the different regional zones which were defined by Piggott in the 1960s (Piggott 1966). Therefore these areas allow us to critically assess these regional frameworks in more detail than if the region was examined as one contiguous area. The four areas that shall be examined are the Ayrshire area, the Lanarkshire area, the Clyde area and the Kintyre area.

The Ayrshire area is dominated by lush pastoral farmland around the Ayrshire coast, while there has also been considerable urban development and the industrial exploitation of the landscape. The Lanarkshire area is dominated by the upper ward of the River Clyde and the steep hills of the Southern Uplands. The area has seen little in the way of development, but as we have seen was subject to survey by the Royal Commission. The Clyde area, by contrast, is dominated by the large urban area of Glasgow, and therefore, as shall be seen, surviving archaeological remains are concentrated in the rural upland areas of Renfrew, while the River Clyde divides the area in two. The Kintyre area, which has traditionally been thought of as belonging to the Atlantic Iron Age, is dominated by a ridge of high moorland and settlement appears to have been restricted to the margins of the landscape. Each of the areas examined covers the same geographical area, apart from the Lanarkshire area, which is slightly smaller owing to the fact that it neighbored by West Lothian, and Peeblesshire, which do not form the focus of this research.

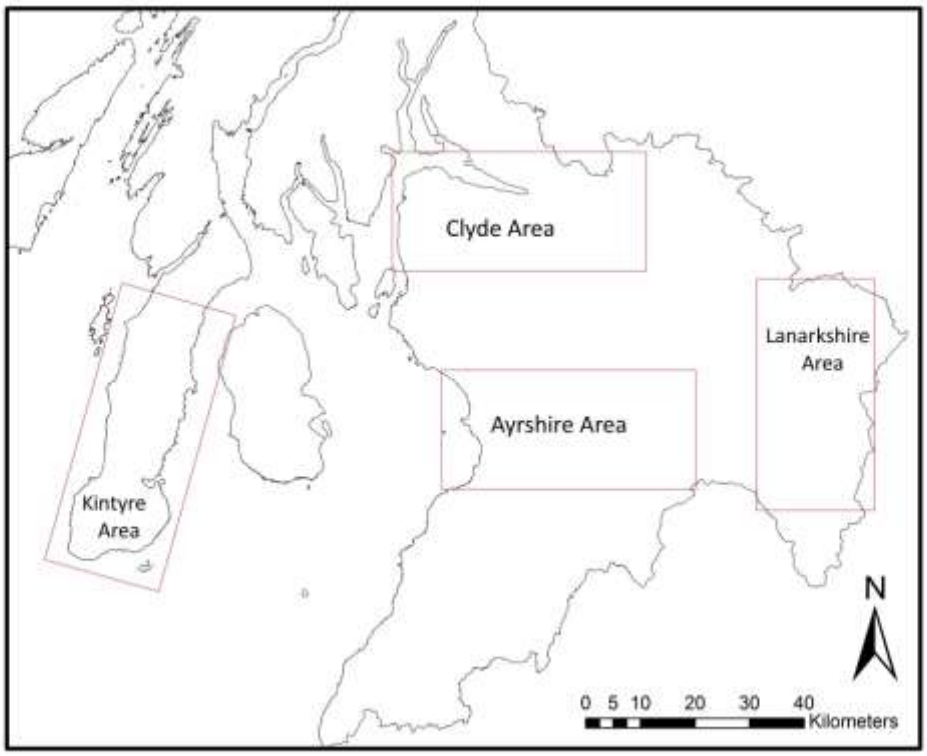



**Fig 4 The Case Study Areas**

## The Archaeological Resource

The sites examined in this research were all taken from the Royal Commission database. This involved examining the site records for every site held by the Commission as there are no chronological parameters with which to search the data. So, for instance, one cannot search for prehistoric enclosures or Iron Age forts; instead one must go through every entry and identify the relevant sites. This was relatively easy in most instances as the majority of sites, such as factories or World War Two defenses, could be easily dismissed. However, the task became much more difficult and time consuming when looking at the enclosures, for instance, as this is a term used to describe a wide range of sites from all periods of history. Having worked through the data a total of 1748 sites from the wider Strathclyde region were identified as belonging to the later prehistoric period which included; brochs, crannogs, duns, enclosures, earthworks, forts, palisaded

enclosures, settlements, various types of roundhouse, hut circles and unenclosed platform settlements.

## Excavated Sites

As can be seen from the diagram below (Fig 5), only 8% of the 1748 sites that have been identified in the wider Strathclyde region have been subject to excavation. While this may appear to be a relatively high proportion of sites, in reality this number includes sites that have seen minimal, small scale investigation, as well as those sites which were excavated before the advent of modern archaeological techniques. As a result of this the chronological framework, discussed in detail in Chapters Six and Seven, for the Iron Age in west central Scotland is rather tentative, and the differences we see in the changing nature of settlement or the adoption of certain technologies in other parts of the country are more difficult to assess in this region. In addition there have been different levels of archaeological research across the region. While some areas have been subject to intensive survey other areas lack much of the information we require to construct proper settlement histories and narratives of landscape use. For instance, even though the Lanarkshire and Kintyre areas have been subject to intensive survey they have seen very little excavation and the sites of these areas are less well understood compared to sites found in the Clyde or Ayrshire areas where a number of more recent excavations have taken place, mainly as a result of developer funded archaeology. These areas also benefit from a strong tradition of amateur archaeology than the other case study areas.

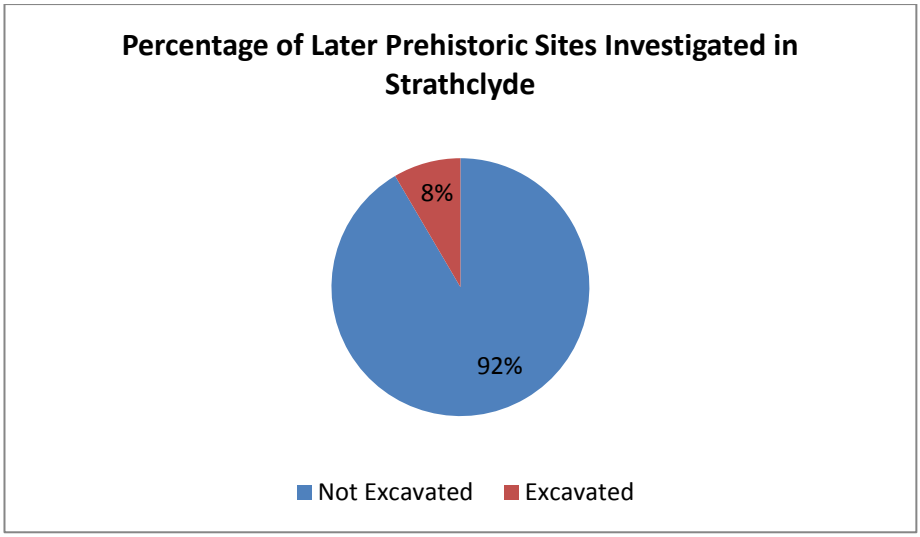



**Fig 5 Percentage of sites to have been investigated from the Strathclyde region.**

## Reassessment of the Enclosed Sites in west central Scotland

In order to break away from the subjective classifications of the past and provide a more accurate picture and clearer morphological framework, all of the forts, enclosures, earthworks, palisaded enclosures and settlements, as well as the larger duns, will be classed as enclosed sites. All of these enclosed sites shall then be examined in relation to their relative size. The sites will then be analysed and compared depending on their shape and the form of their enclosing works. The orientation of their entrances shall also be analysed where possible. This will allow a more affective comparison of the enclosed sites of west central Scotland by using a uniform set of parameters, allowing any similarities or differences across the wider region, in enclosure form, to be easily identified. This in turn will allow us to explore issues to do with social status, social organisation, cultural practices, cosmological ideas, regionality and identity, as well as allowing us to orientate the enclosed sites of west central Scotland in relation to similar sites found across the rest of the British Isles and beyond. Such an approach enables us to understand this part of the country in relation to the wider Iron Age world.

## The Size of the Enclosed Sites

The first step in creating this new morphological framework will be to calculate and define the size of each site. Instead of defining sites based on the number of houses that they could possibly enclose however, which has been shown to be an unreliable way of classifying sites, and to move away from the inconsistent and subjective interpretations associated with these ideas, this study will define and categorise sites based on the area that they enclose. It can be argued that this is not a new way of categorising and interpreting sites since it has been used by the Commission in order to define the duns and forts of Argyll. However, as has been demonstrated above, the ways in which sites have previously been defined and subsequently (mis-)used, needs to be properly addressed if we are to gain a clearer picture of the settlement history of west central Scotland.

To calculate the area enclosed by a site, dimensions were taken from site record descriptions held by the Royal Commission on line database CANMORE as well as from Argyll and Lanarkshire inventories and in some cases excavation reports. The dimensions used to calculate the area enclosed by each site were the maximum dimensions given in each case and includes the area enclosed by the surviving, outer, enclosing feature or work. While this technique is relatively straightforward in the majority of instances, a number of criticisms can be leveled at it. Specifically this type of survey data does not take into account the fact that some sites, for instance cropmark sites, may have had internal banks or ramparts which were once part of the site and that have subsequently been removed through erosion or ploughing. This means that these sites may once have enclosed smaller spaces than is calculated by using this technique. While this could result in a number of problems, for instance in the interpretation of the size range of enclosed sites in a given area, it does not greatly effect the interpretation of a particular individual site. In addition it is difficult to prove weather cropmark sites had internal banks especially given that so few sites of this nature have been investigated in this

region. Therefore, given the type of analysis that is carried out in this research it is argued here that the results and the interpretations which are reached, are not overly effected by this problem.

Using the dimensions given in each site recored and depending on the shape of the site, their area was calculated using relevant formulas in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. Once the size of each site was calculated they were subdivided into groups based on quarter of a hectare subdivisions, as demonstrated in the table below (

Table 1). Those sites that enclose an area up to 0.25Ha will be regarded as “Small Enclosures”, those that are between 0.25-0.5Ha will be regarded as medium or “Moderate Sized Enclosures” and those between 0.5-75Ha will be regarded as “Large Enclosures”. Those sites that enclose areas between 0.75Ha and 1Ha will be regarded as “Very Large Enclosures”, while those sites that enclose areas of over 1Ha in extent shall be regarded as “Massive Enclosures”. The division of sites based on quarter of a hectare divisions should only to be used as an interpretive guide and a convenient shorthand way of referring to sites, and should not necessarily be used as the basis to form cultural or social interpretations, as sometimes happened in relation to the ways in which the duns and forts were interpreted in Argyll. This is especially relevant when comparing sites that are similar size but are in different groups, for instance between a site that is 0.249Ha in size compared to a site that is 0.251Ha in size.

As shall be seen in the following sections, when each site is plotted onto a rank size graph it can be seen that there are a number of distinct clusters of sites depending on their size. This is especially true of three out of the four of the case study areas; Ayrshire, the Clyde area and Kintyre. Therefore these quarter of a hectare subdivisions do reveal genuine groupings of sites in some instances, and while it could be argued that the size interval of 0.25Ha be decreased or enlarged in order to define more distinct clusters of sites, it can be argued that to split the groups

further would create more interpretive problems, meaning that the analysis of sites becomes less clear and leading to a confused understanding of the settlement landscape. It could be argued that when we look at those sites that enclose areas of less than a quarter of a hectare in extent in the Ayrshire area, for example, where there are two clear clusters of sites, these could represent important differences in the ways sites were enclosed. However, for the range of sites across west central Scotland as a whole it appears that the quarter of a hectare division is the most distinctive and useful way to interpret these sites.

Table 1 The size of the enclosed sites in west central Scotland

| Enclosure Description | Size |
|---|---|
| Small Enclosures | Below 0.25Ha |
| Medium/Moderate Enclosures | Between 0.25Ha and 0.5Ha |
| Large Enclosures | Between 0.5Ha and 0.75Ha |
| Very Large Enclosures | Between 0.75Ha and 1Ha |
| Enclosure over 1Ha/Massive Enclosures | Over 1Ha |

## The Shape of the Enclosed Sites

The shape of the enclosed sites in west central Scotland also needs to be addressed, especially if we are to create a robust morphological framework. In this research the shapes of sites fall into a number of standard geometrical categories, each of which was determined in relation to the morphological plans of sites, they include; Circular; Oval; Rectangular; D-Shaped; Irregular; Irregular/Promontory. Defining an enclosure by its shape can be criticised as it is rare that a site can be placed neatly into a predefined shape range; most sites fall between several geometrical shapes such as Sub-Circular or Sub-Oval. However, it can be argued that further refinement of shape class would lead to over analysis, and would mean that comparison of enclosures by shape would become impossible. For the purposes of this research, the D-Shaped sites refer to those which are only partially

enclosed by artificial means, by ditches for instance, which also use river banks or cliff edges to form part of their enclosure. Irregular sites refer to those sites which do not form any standard geometric shape, and are often sites which are enclosed by ramparts following the lines of a natural feature. The Irregular/Promontory sites are those sites which, like the D-Shaped sites are only partially enclosed by artificial means, usually, cutting of a headland or promontory.

## The Form of Enclosing Works

The ways in which the sites of west central Scotland have been enclosed also forms a key element in the new morphology created in this research. There appear to have been a number of different ways sites were enclosed in west central Scotland, including Ditch defined sites, Ditch and Rampart or Ditch and Bank defined sites, Rampart or Bank defined sites, Stone Walled sites, and Palisaded defined sites. However, a number of issues need to be taken into account, in relation to the different forms of enclosure, the most important being the nature and extent of archaeological preservation. As has been discussed in detail above, the way sites have traditionally been described, classified and interpreted is often a result of their preservation and landscape location. For instance, the ditch defined enclosed sites found in west central Scotland tend to have been discovered through either aerial photography or excavation, and represent the remains of sites that have been ploughed flat, meaning they were often recoded as enclosures, rather than as settlements or even forts by the Commission. Those sites that are defined by ditches with either banks or ramparts tend to survive and are recoded as earthworks. They are usually found on higher ground or on prominent positions in the landscape where they have not been ploughed away or destroyed through development. Therefore it can be argued that it is inappropriate to draw distinctions between these different forms of site (Cowley 2009, 208-209) as it is possible that many of the ditch defined sites were also once enclosed by banks or ramparts that were subsequently ploughed away, and that the only real difference between them is to do with archaeological preservation. Therefore, although

represented in the diagrams below as different types of site, this study will argue that these ditch defined sites represent the same traditions of enclosure.

In addition to the problem of preservation, we need to address the nature of survey and the ways in which these sites have been recoded and described. It is not always clear from the record why a site has been described as having a bank rather than a rampart and in a number of cases it appears that these terms have been used interchangeably as well as being used to describe similar features. According to the Royal Commission Thesaurus of terms a 'bank' is a "linear or curvilinear construction of earth, turf and stone, often, but not always accompanied by a ditch" while a rampart is "an earth embankment built around a site for defensive purposes" (RCAHMS). This implies some form of distinction between the two forms of enclosure, and that ramparts are used to define "defensive" sites. However, precisely what constitutes a defensive site is open to interpretation, and, again, we are seeing in this rather strict terminology a subtle though highly subjective interpretation of a site from the very beginning. This interpretation may not be appropriate and could lead to a misinterpretation of the site and the settlement landscape, as well as effect the ways in which we understand social structure in the area. In this research, sites that are described as having a bank or a rampart are, for the sake of consistency and ease of comparison, regarded in the same way. More importantly, however, regarding them in the same way recognises them as belonging to the same tradition of enclosure. Distinctions are however made between these sites and sites that are additionaly defined by ditches.

## Multi-phase Sites

Another important factor that needs to be taken into account when analysing and comparing these sites is that many of them were occupied over a number of years by different generations of a community or a family group, and as such they were subject to a number of phases of construction and remodeling, as can be seen at sites such as Balloch Hill (Peltenburg 1982), the Leven (Atkinson 2000) and

Braehead (Ellis 2007). These different phases of construction may have occurred for a number of different reasons, such as changes in the social status of the occupants or changes in wider cultural phenomena related to ideas to do with enclosure and the use of space, which required that the site be reconstructed or redefined. These issues will be discussed in detail in a later chapters, but the issue of multiphase occupation of sites needs to be kept in mind at this stage in the analysis as the way we see the sites today represent the final stages of their occupation, and without excavation it is often difficult or indeed impossible to determine how a site developed and changed over the course of its life history.

## Entrance Orientation

The entrance orientation of the enclosed and unenclosed sites analysed in this research were taken from individual site records accessed through CANMORE as well as descriptions taken from the Argyll and Lanarkshire Inventories and in some cases, excavation reports. While this appears to be a fairly simple way of recording an important piece of information, in reality a number of issues and problems are associated with this data. The main problem is how to compare sites with single entrances compared to sites with multiple entrances. Were sites with multiple entrances perhaps used in different ways or were they associated with different cultural or social practices? Are the different entrances contemporary with each other? Were different entrances aligned to important parts of the landscape or particular solstice events? Or do we see different phases where a particular entrances were in use, as has been demonstrated at sites like Breahead (Ellis 2007). By relying, in the main, on survey data, and without detailed excavation evidence from the majority of sites, these questions are difficult to answer. This makes detailed comparison between sites with single and multiple entrances problematic. Therefore in this research, those sites with single entrances will be analysed separately from sites with multiple entrances. This is important for a number of reasons, firstly it means we do not bias results by using sites with multiple entrances. Secondly by analysing these sites separately, we can compare and contrast the results from each of the four cases studies in a systematic way, this will

allow us to explore a number of issues to do with the regionality of architectural traditions. This may also allow us to distinguish patterns that may have existed between single entrance sites compared to those sites with multiple entrances. The entrance orientations recorded in this research follow standard compass orientations: N, NNE, NE, ENE, E, ESE, SE, SSE, S, SSW, SW, WSW, W, WNW, NW, NNW.

## The Unenclosed Sites

It is also important to set out here what constitutes an un-enclosed site and the ways in which they shall be classed and analysed in this research. For the purposes of analysis in this research, sites which enclose areas of 180 Sq.m or less shall be regarded as monumental house-type structures rather than enclosed sites. These sites could have been easily roofed, as was demonstrated by Harding (1984) in his discussion of the "Dun House". Nieke (1990) was more generous in her assessment on the roof-ability of structures, and considered sites that enclosed areas of less than 200 Sq.m as being capable of being spanned by a conical or, more likely, a hipped roof (Nieke 1990, 137). However, the technology or construction techniques involved in spanning such large sites is considerably different to the conical roofs, and therefore different from the "classic Iron Age timber roundhouses" (Nieke 1990, 137) which it is argued in this research are a local or regional manifestation of the monumental house. This point has been highlighted by Hingley (1992) in relation to the stone built Atlantic sites. Therefore in this research those sites which are defined by areas greater than 180 Sq.m shall be regarded as enclosed sites, while those below 180 Sq.m shall be regarded as houses. This has a number of important implications about how we interpret these sites. For example, it lets us examine the differences in the larger duns of the area compared to the smaller duns, which were probably more akin to the Atlantic roundhouses, thus allowing us to orientate these *dun-houses* within the wider Atlantic architectural tradition. In addition, it lets us see the larger duns and the smaller *forts* of the area as part of a

continuum of enclosure. This means they can be interpreted in the same ways, allowing us to deconstruct the traditional, Commission inspired, interpretations. The Crannogs shall also be thought of as un-enclosed sites while the difference between Atlantic Roundhouses and dun-houses shall be explored in Chapter Seven.

## The Chronological Framework

Due to the lack of well-excavated and securely dated sites, as well as the relatively un-diagnostic material culture that is found in the area, it is difficult to orientate the archaeology of west central Scotland within the current chronological frameworks which are used to interpret the Iron Age in Scotland. Though as was recently highlighted in the Scarf report this problem is not unique to this part of Scotland and "there is no universally accepted chronological scheme for the Scottish Iron Age" (SCARF 2012). In particular it is in defining when the Iron Age comes to an end that causes the most debate. While a date of around 800BC for the start of the Iron Age is generally accepted, the end of the Iron Age is more difficult to define. This has lead to many authors thinking about *the long Iron Age*, which encompasses much of the first millennium AD up to around 900AD and the coming of the Vikings. This idea has allowed the perceived barriers that existed in studies of the late Bronze Age, the Iron Age and the early historic period to be broken down so that this longer period can be studied in a more holistic manner. There are a number of problems with this model however, particularly in relation to west central Scotland, where the Roman incursions, the coming of Christianity, and the development of the early medieval kingdoms and the associated ways in which society was structured, would have had profound impacts on the ways in which people understood themselves, their communities and the world around them.

As shall be demonstrated in later chapters, the Iron Age in west central Scotland does appear to have begun around the same time as in other parts of the country,

around 800BC. At this time we see an end to the use of hut circles in upland areas and the beginning of more intensive use of enclosure to define settlement. Though it should be noted that as can be seen at other sites across the country, hilltop sites appear to begin to be enclosed towards the end of the Late Bronze Age, such as at Sheep Hill in Dunbartonshire (MacKie pers. com). The use of distinctive shale jewelry, particularly bangles with a D-shaped profile, begins around this time while we also see the adoption of Dunagoil style pottery. As we move in to the middle part of the 1st millennium BC we see little change in the ways in which settlements are defined and spaced used. Though, as shall be seen in later chapters, the majority of settlements go through a number of different phases of enclosure, often defined in different ways, while the material culture remains fairly similar.

The ways in which settlements were defined starts to change around the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. We also see the development of new forms of settlement, such as the crannogs, which date to this period as well as the Atlantic style, unenclosed roundhouses. In addition, as shall be demonstrated, the majority of the last phases of occupation at the enclosed sites were unenclosed and defined by the construction of large roundhouses. It should be noted however, that many enclosed places in regions such as Aberdeenshire appear to date to the later part of he first millennium AD (Cook 2011; Noble et al 2013), and while this might also be the case in this area, due to the lack of excavation this is difficult to determine, though sites like Dumbarton Castle as well as the lake based crannogs were in use at this time.

The material culture also changes from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC, while the use and style of objects such as the shale bangles and the pottery remains the same, we see more personal objects such as brooches being adopted along with the intensification of metal working, and the use of rotary-querns. Therefore by the time the Romans arrive in the area, the ways in which society was organized was different compared to the earlier Iron Age. The impact of the Roman army on the

population of west central Scotland is difficult to determine, but given the fact that the Antonine Wall was constructed in the area in the middle of the 2nd century AD, it can be suggested that the by the time the Romans left the ways in which society was organized and the way in which people understood themselves and their world would have been completely different compared to earlier in the period. While settlement appears to have continued in much the same way from the 2nd or 3rd centuries BC until this time, with the emergence of the early medieval kingdoms we begin to see the development of nucleated, and overtly defensive, forts and the abandonment of many of the settlements that had been occupied over the course of the previous few centuries. We also see the adoption of very different forms of material culture. It is therefore argued in this thesis that the Iron Age in west central Scotland effectively comes to an end, or at least enters into a period of intense transition around the third or fourth centuries AD.

Therefore for the purposes of this research the early Iron Age shall be regarded as from around 800BC to around 500BC, the middle Iron Age from 500BC to 200BC and the late Iron Age from 200BC to 400AD (Table 2). Though, as it shall be seen in subsequent chapters, it could be argued that there is little change in the settlement record or the use of particular types of material culture between the early and middle Iron Ages in this area, so we could regard the Iron Age as being defined by two periods the earlier Iron Age, from 800BC-200BC, and the later Iron Age from 200BC-400AD.

**Table 2 The chronological framework for the Iron Age in west central Scotland**

| ***Date*** | ***Period*** |
|---|---|
| 800BC-500BC | Early Iron Age |
| 500BC-200BC | Middle Iron Age |
| 200BC-400AD | Late Iron Age |

# Thesis Structure

In the next four chapters the enclosed sites from the four case study areas that form the basis of the research in this thesis shall be discussed in detail. Chapter Two examines the Ayrshire area while Chapter Three examines the Lanarkshire area. Chapter Four is concerned with the Clyde area, while Chapter Five investigates the enclosed sites in the Kintyre area. In Chapter Six all of the enclosed sites from the four case study areas, as well as a number of important sites from the wider region, are discussed and compared in more detail, placing enclosed sites from across west central Scotland within their regional context. Chapter Seven is concerned with the unenclosed sites that are found in west central Scotland and will mainly focus on those sites found within the four case study areas, though other important sites from across the region are also examined. In Chapter Eight the ways in which the people of west central Scotland understood their world and defined their communities are explored with particular reference to ideas to do with cosmology, ritual and materiality, which in turn allows us to examine the ways in which the landscape was organized and used. In the Chapter Nine, the ways in which particular types of material culture, which are commonly found in west central Scotland, are examined. In addition, the ways in which the landscape was understood and used and the ways in which sites were constructed, as laid out in the previous chapters, are used to explore ideas to do with social structure, regionality, community and identity.

# Chapter Two: The Enclosed sites of Ayrshire

## Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the enclosed sites that are found in the Ayrshire case study area. As outlined in Chapter One the enclosed sites shall be analysed in relation to the areas that they enclosed, along with their shape, form of their enclosing works as well as their entrance orientations. Ayrshire has received the least archaeological attention compared to the other three case study areas that are examined in this research. Though, as was noted in the first chapter, and explored in detail in Chapter Seven, a number of the Crannogs in the area were the focus for archaeological research at the end of the 19th century (Munro 1882; 1879; 1899). One of these sites, at Buiston, which is just to the north of the study area, was recently re-investigated by Crone (2000). Christison also surveyed the "forts" of the area in the early 1890's (Christison 1893), while John Smith's account of *Prehistoric man in Ayrshire* (Smith 1895), remains an important source of information for the archaeology of the area. Apart from the limited surveys carried out by the Commission in relation to the marginal land surveys carried out in the 1950's, and the partial surveys carried out by the Ordinance Survey, no inventories have been produced of the archaeology of the area. In addition, compared to Renfrewshire to the north, the area has received less amateur archaeological interest, and only a handful of the non-crannog sites, such as Castle Hill, have been excavated (Hendry 1962; 1963). However in recent years, the area has seen a number of important discoveries made through developer funded archaeology, which continue to add to our understanding of the Iron Age archaeology of the region. One site in particular, at the Leven (Atkinson 2000), excavated in the early

1990s, is of particular relevance, and is discussed in detail below. In addition, recent aerial photography work carried out by the Royal Commission (Cowley *pers. com*) is also expanding our knowledge of the archaeology of the area. The area examined in this case study does not cover the whole of Ayrshire, instead it focuses on the coastal plain around Ayr and Prestwick as well as the major river valleys of the Rivers Irvine and Ayr, which extend into Lanarkshire. This region has been heavily industrialised in the past, and in particular many of the prehistoric sites of the area have been lost as a result of coalmining and quarrying. However it is also one of the most fertile parts of Scotland, and the landscape is dominated by lush pastoral farmland, though to the east of the study area, the landscape becomes more rugged.

## The Size of Enclosed Sites in Ayrshire

A total of 30 enclosed sites have been recorded in the in the Ayrshire area (Table 3) Fig 9). As can be seen in the graphs below (see Fig 6, Fig 7, Fig 8) the majority of enclosed sites in the Ayrshire area (60%) are relatively small in nature, enclosing areas of no more than a quarter of a hectare in extent. Therefore, as can be seen in other case study areas in west central Scotland, it appears that the Ayrshire landscape is dominated by small enclosed sites. There are also a number of moderately sized sites in the area (30%) enclosing areas of between a quarter and half a hectare in extent, which represent just over a quarter of the enclosed sites in the area. Additionally there are also a limited number of large sites (6.67%), enclosing areas of between half a hectare and three quarters of a hectare in extent. In addition to these relatively small sites, there is one massive site in the Ayrshire area, at Harpercroft, which encloses an area of up to 6.5Ha in extent, making it one of the largest sites in the whole of west central Scotland (Fig 15). Excavated evidence from the small sites such as Whitefield (Fairbairn 1926; 1927), Castle Hill (Hendry 1962; 1963) and The Leven (Atkinson 2000) suggest that the people who occupied these sites were involved with a number of craft activities, and had access to imported goods. For instance, at The Leven, there is evidence for pottery making and the production of cannel coal/shale bangles. There is also evidence for a wide

range of exotic materials, which may have been regarded as prestige items, such as the Samian Ware found at Castle Hill (Hendry 1962; 1963), and a unique set of Copper alloy tweezers found at The Leven (Atkinson 2000, 53-54). Excavations at the larger sites in the area have been much more limited and as such little can be said about the nature of occupation at these sites from the excavated evidence. That being said, pottery and shale bangles, similar to those found at The Leven (Atkinson 2000), were also found at the massive site of Harpercroft (Rideout et al 1992) (Fig 15), which suggests that there may have been a common form of domestic culture across this region, which is explored more fully in chapters Eight and Nine

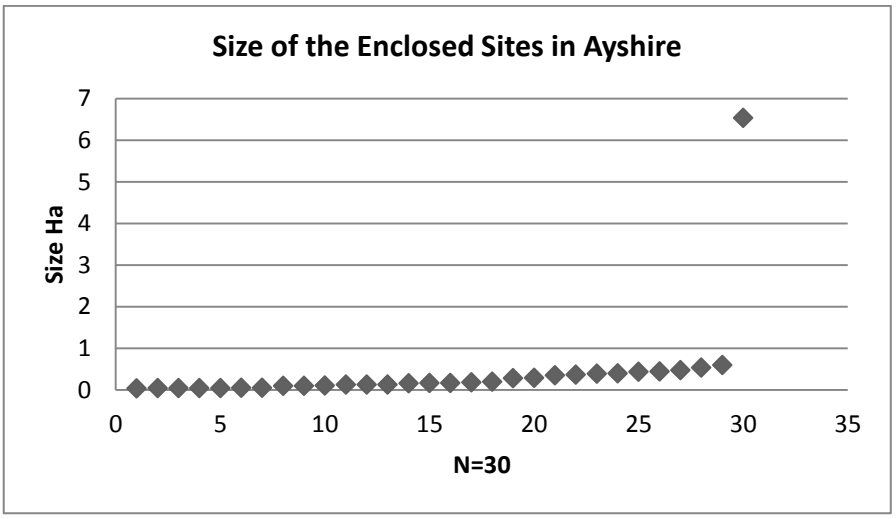



**Fig 6 Rank size plot of the areas enclosed by the enclosed site of Ayrshire.**

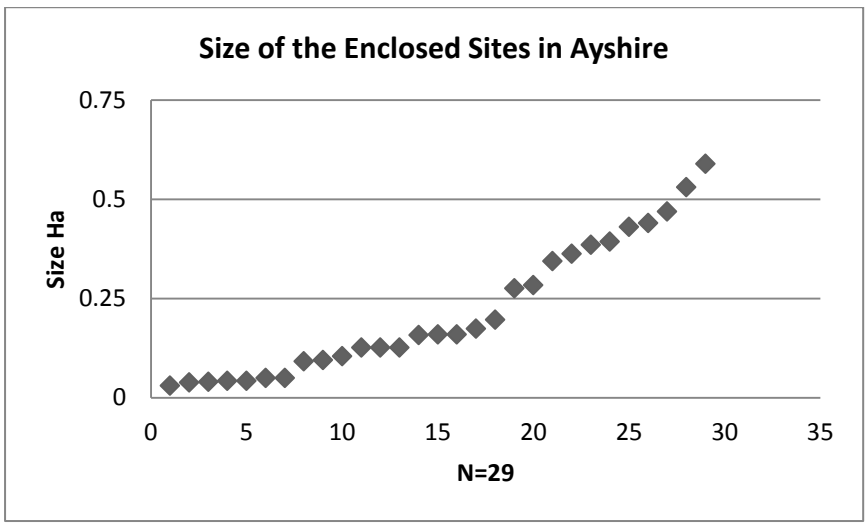



**Fig 7 Rank size plot of the areas enclosed by the enclosed site of Ayrshire, not including Harpercroft.**

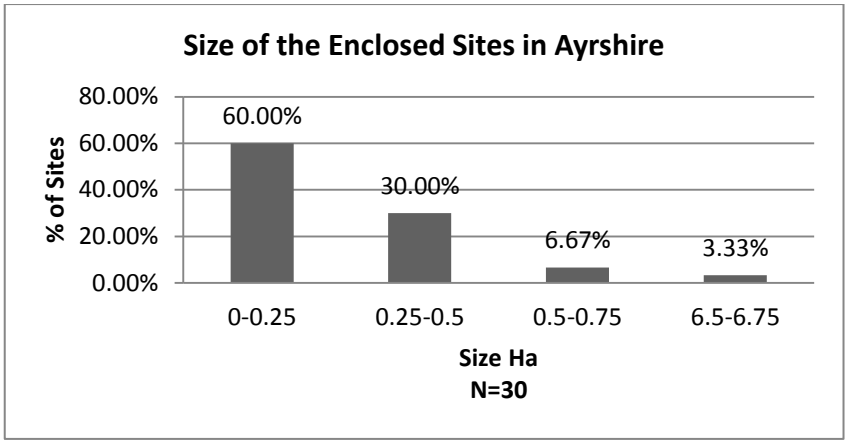



**Fig 8 Size of enclosed sites in Ayrshire.**

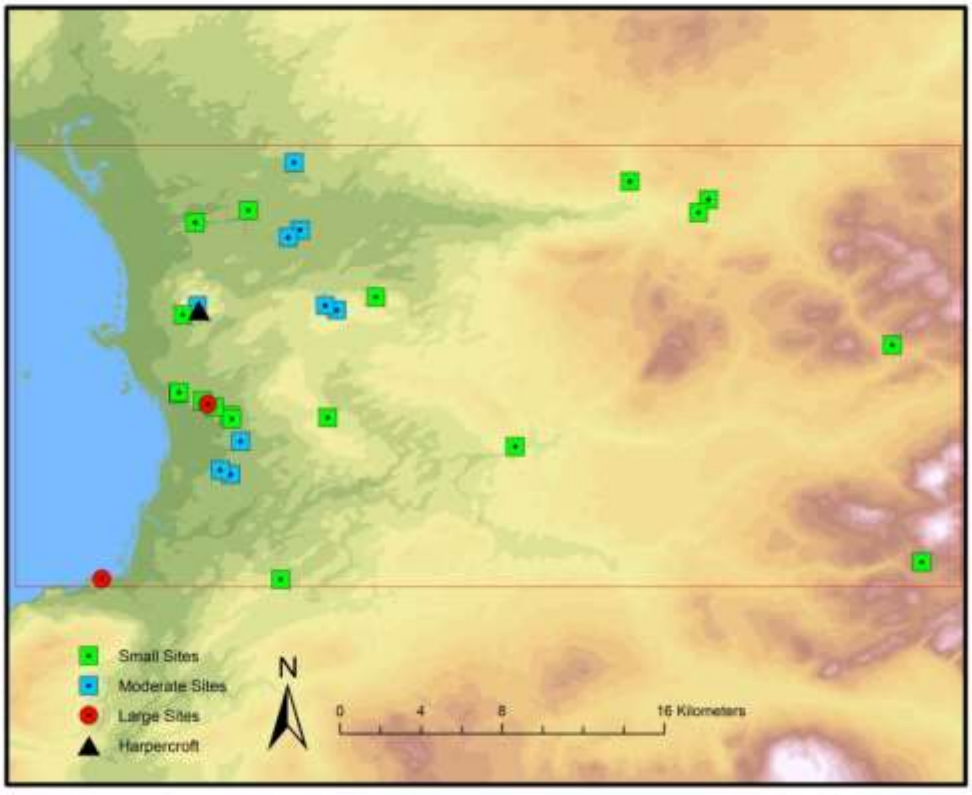



**Fig 9 The Size of the enclosed sites in Ayrshire**

## Site Type, Preservation and the Traditional Classification of the Enclosed sites of Ayrshire

When we examine the ways in which the enclosed sites of Ayrshire have traditionally been classed compared to the areas that they enclose, it appears that the size of a site had little bearing on whether it was classed as a fort, an enclosure,

or an earthwork (Fig 10). As such, it appears that it was the landscape position of a site, rather than the nature of its enclosing works or the area that it enclosed, that determined its classification, and therefore by extension how it has traditionally been interpreted. This observation is similar in many ways to issues that have been highlighted by Wigley (2007) in relation to the classification of sites in the central Welsh Marches, and especially how the large lowland sites have been classed and interpreted compared to the smaller, but perhaps better preserved, hilltop sites. As can be seen in the graph above, many of the enclosed sites in Ayrshire, which are of a similar size, have been classed in different ways. Importantly, I believe this has led to miss-interpretations of the settlement landscape, which in turn have effected the ways in which Iron Age society has been understood. As a result of the new classification scheme proposed in this research, these traditional categories, and interpretations can be have been critically reassessed.

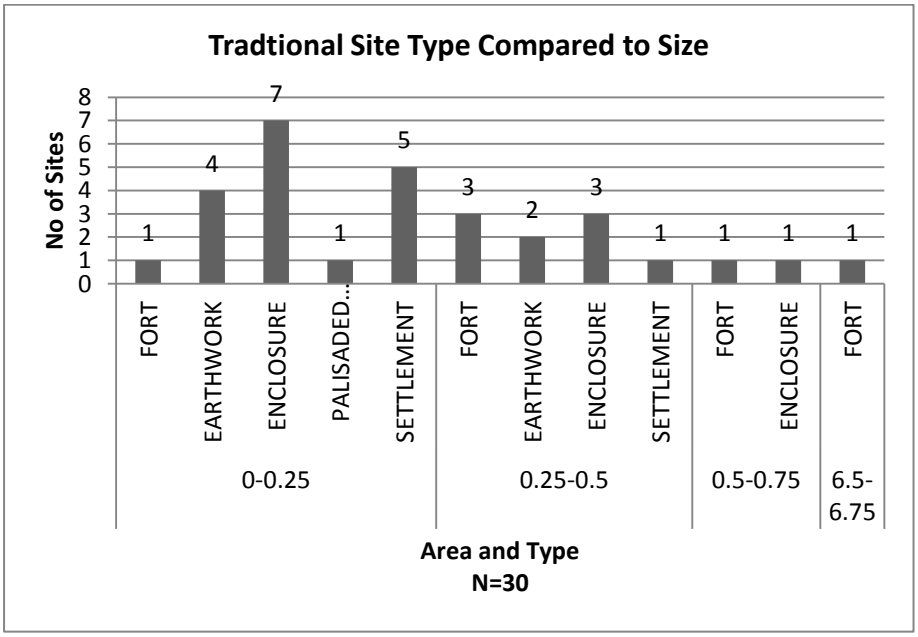



**Fig 10 Traditional classification of the enclosed sites of Ayrshire compared to area enclosed.**

As can be seen from the graph above (Fig 10), a number of the forts in Ayrshire are less than a half a hectare in extent, and one fort, at Windmill Hill in Monkton, stands out as being particularly small, enclosing an area only 0.17Ha in extent. This means that these small forts are of comparable size to some of the enclosures and

earthworks that are found in the area. This therefore raises a number of issues to do with how we interpret the larger earthwork and enclosure sites of the area and how they can be understood in relation to these smaller forts. For instance the earthwork site of Bailliehill Mount is 0.4Ha in extent and is enclosed by a large earthen rampart that survives to a height of 1.4m. Bailliehill is one of the largest enclosed sites in the area, but as it is located on a relatively low-lying slope rather than a commanding hilltop location, it has not been classed as a fort. When we look at the sites that are known only through cropmark evidence we can see that many of them are also larger than some of the forts of the area, but as they are located in lowland locations and have been completely ploughed away, they have traditionally been considered as settlements or homesteads. For instance the sub-oval enclosure of Carpington Mains, is defined by a 5m wide ditch which encloses an area of 0.44Ha in extent, and is larger than the majority of the forts in the area. Another example is the bivallate site at Cargieston, which is unique in the Ayrshire area. This site is defined by two concentric ditches that are both 5m wide and around 10m apart, which enclose an area 0.27Ha in extent. This site is of a comparable size to the fort at Wardlaw, which is only 0.28Ha in extent. These examples demonstrate that it is the landscape position of these sites, rather than their morphological nature, that has determined whether they have been regarded as forts. These sites have traditionally been regarded as belonging to a different social order compared to the forts (for instance as is explored by Banks (2002) in his study of south west Scotland), even though they are sometimes larger than the sites classed as forts and defined by more impressive enclosing works. As such, in the following section all of the enclosed sites in this area will be analysed in relation to their size, as well as how they have been defined in terms of their shape and enclosing works.

## The Shape of the Enclosed Sites in Ayrshire

When we look at the shape (Fig 14) of the enclosed sites of Ayrshire (Fig 11) we can see that all but one of the sites are curvilinear in nature. This way of enclosing space is similar to that seen in all of the other case study areas of the region, as is discussed further in Chapter Six, though as can be seen here there are a

comparatively large number of circular sites in this area. As can be seen from the graph below (Fig 12), 50% of the enclosed sites in Ayrshire are circular in nature, while there are a further 33% of sites which are oval in nature. There are also a small number of D-shaped site in the Ayrshire area, which along with the promontory site at Greenan Castle, represent a further 15% of the enclosed sites in the area. Finally there is also one rectangular site recorded.

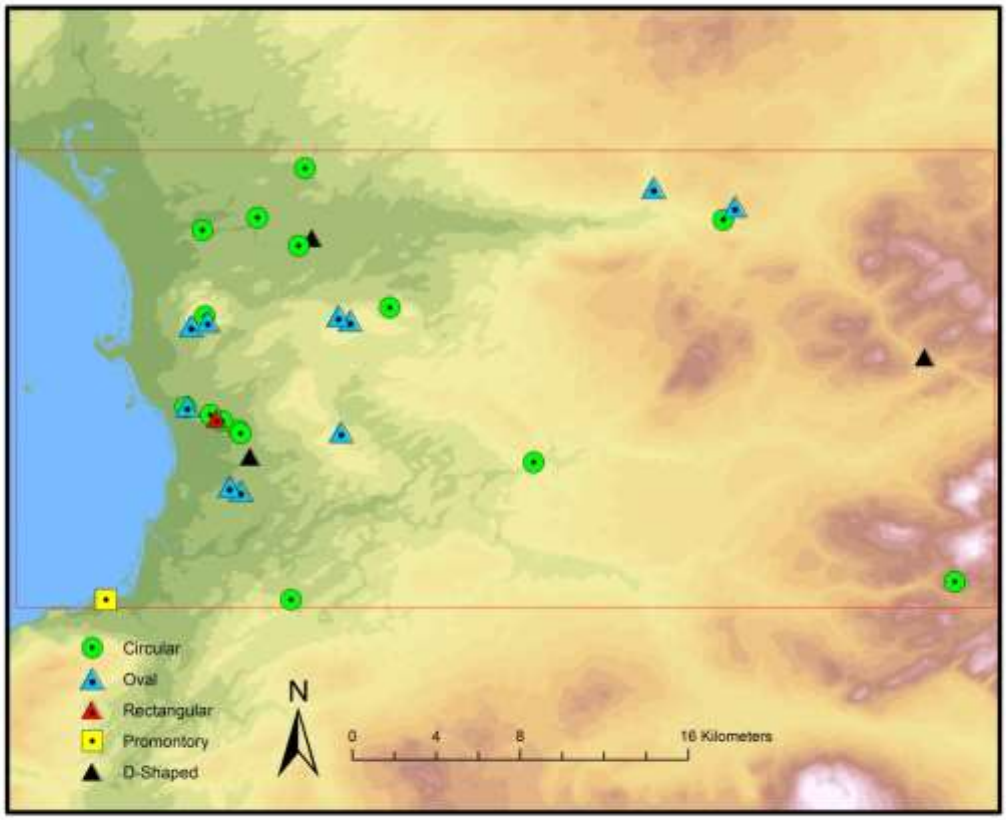



**Fig 11 The Shape of the Enclosed Sites in Ayrshire**

When we look at the shape of the enclosed sites in relation to the areas that they enclosed a number of observations can be made (Fig 13). Firstly, when we look at the small enclosed sites of the area, it can be seen that there are proportionally more circular sites compared to oval sites. This suggests that there may have been specific cultural or social factors that influenced the ways in which small enclosed sites were enclosed. In contrast, when we look at the more moderate and larger sites in the area, we can see that there are a similar numbers of oval and circular

sites. The landscape position and the form of the enclosing works may also have been important in determining the way enclosures were defined and, as can be seen from the maps above (Fig 11), the majority of the small circular ditch defined sites are mainly located in low lining areas. In contrast the oval defined sites appear to be concentrated more towards the upland areas. Therefore, issues associated with local topography may have been played an important factor, in determining the nature of these sites, though other socially and culturally important factors would also have played a role (e.g. Hingley 1984; Parker Pearson 1999), as is discussed in chapter Eight.

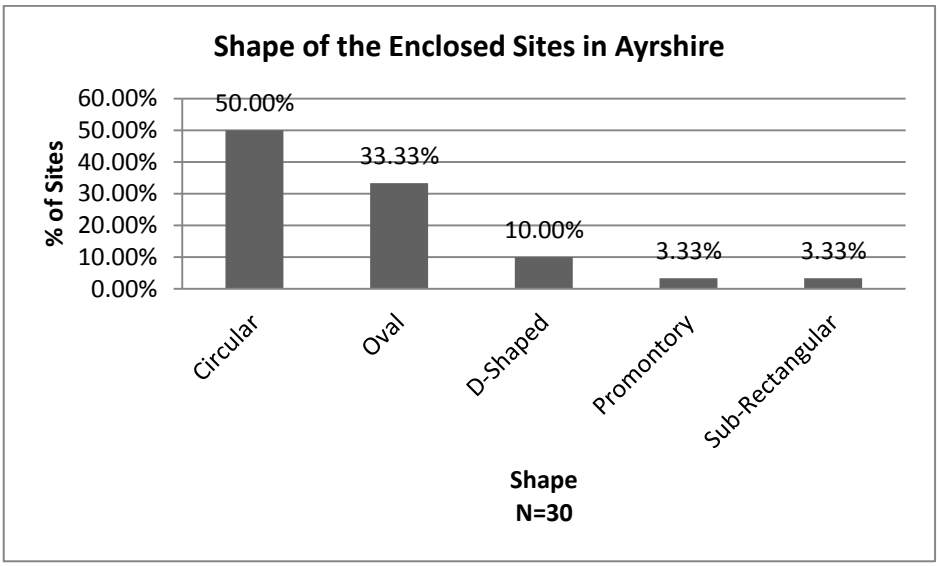



**Fig 12 Shape of the enclosed sites of Ayrshire.**

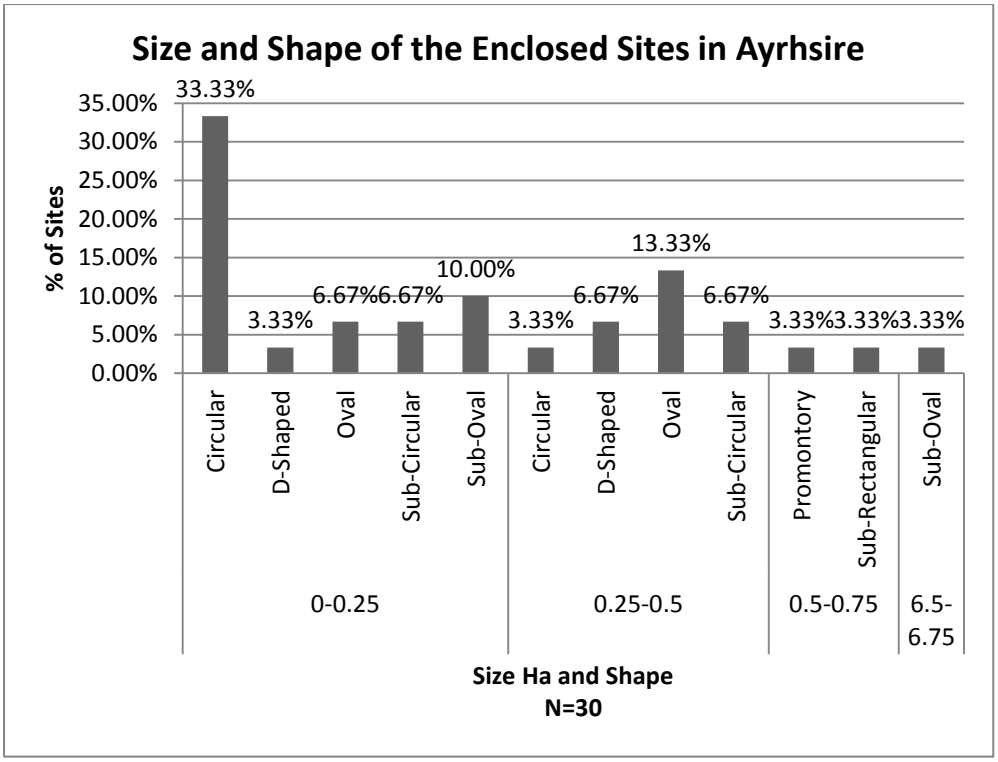



**Fig 13 Size and shape of the enclosed sites of Ayrshire**

Examples of the specific influence of the landscape and the use of space can be seen when we look at the D-Shaped and promontory enclosures of the area. These sites are generally located on the edge of escarpments or on top of steep slopes that lead down to water courses, which means the enclosing ditch or rampart does not form a complete circuit. Instead these sites are deliberately positioned in order to take advantage of the naturally sloping topography. This can be seen at the cropmark site at Cargieston where the two concentric ditches do not form a complete circuit and instead are deliberately positioned in order to take advantage of the steep sided slope that falls down to the Irvine River below. The promontory site at Greenan Castle is also defined by a series of ditches which cut off a large headland, which is exposed to sea. The ways these sites are enclosed and the social and cultural implications which may be attached to them shall be explored in later chapters. However, it should be noted that these forms of site are found throughout west central Scotland, though they are not as numerous compared to those found in other parts of Scotland (Harding 2004), especially in areas such as the Lothians, where 60 of these sites have been recorded (Cowley 2009, 209).

Although these sites have different morphological forms, which suggests that they do not form a homogenous class of site, a significant number exist to suggest that they have been deliberately positioned in these landscape locations. This use and incorporation of watercourses, or the sea, to form part of their enclosures may suggest special significance, though more prosaic explanations to do with ease of enclosure also need to be considered (Ibid). Therefore it can be argued that what we are seeing in these types of site is a different use of space and enclosure compared with the standard oval or circular sites of the area.

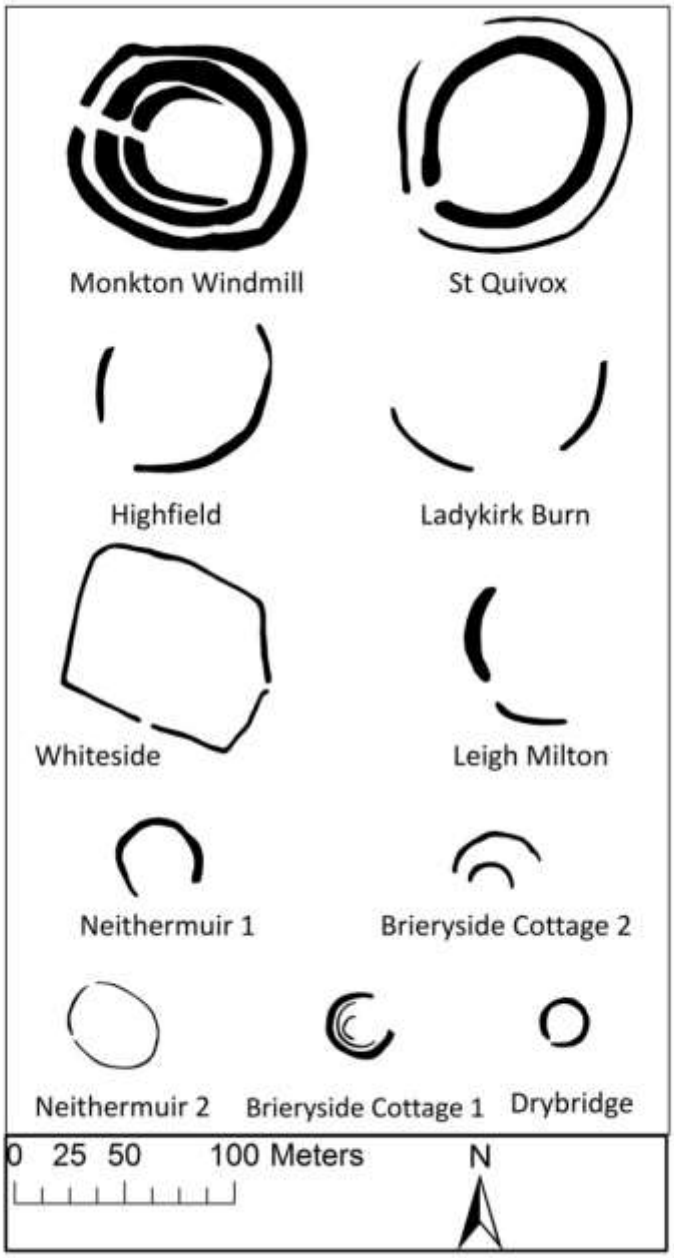



**Fig 14 The cropmark sites in Ayrshire**

It can be argued that this relationship, between specific landscape positions and the use of space can also be seen at the only rectangular enclosed sites in the region. The large rectangular site, found at Whiteside, to the east of Monkton, occupies a relatively low-lying position and is similar to the ditch defined rectangular sites of the Lothians, which occupy similar lowland locations (Cowley 2009, 212-217). These types of site are not common in west central Scotland, as can be seen from the other case study areas, but are found in larger numbers in other parts of the country, particularly in the Lothians (ibid) and in south-west Scotland (RCAHMS 1997, 154-5; Cowley 2000, 172-3). This suggests that space was used and defined in different ways in west central Scotland compared with other parts of the country. Excavations in northern England and south-west Scotland have established that these types of enclosed site date from the "middle centuries of the first millennium BC, with a floruit in the last two centuries BC-first two centuries AD" (Cowley 2009, 212). This suggests that, along with the Atlantic roundhouses and crannogs that are also found in the area, which date to this period, that by the late Iron Age people were beginning to occupy the landscape and define space in different ways compared to the earlier part of the period, which is discussed more fully in Chapters Six and Nine. These sites were perhaps being used or constructed by different groups of people from within society, or even by members of different groups coming into the region and bringing with them unique and different forms of architecture, though other issues to do with the changing nature of Iron Age social structure also need to be taken into account, which is explored more fully in Chapter Nine.

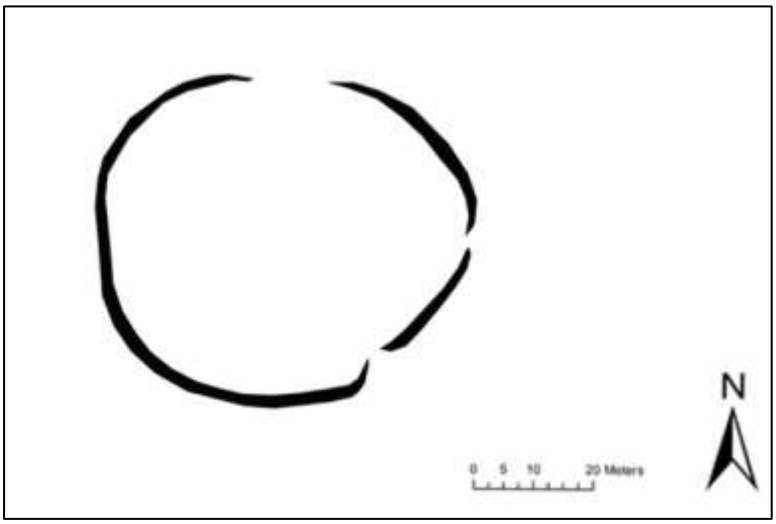



**Fig 15 The Inner rampart of Harpercroft**

## The Form of Enclosed Sites in Ayrshire

There are four different forms of enclosed site in the archaeological record of the Ayrshire area, including; palisaded enclosures, ditched enclosures, ditched enclosures with either banks or ramparts, and those sites that are enclosed only by ramparts. As discussed in Chapter One, in the morphological framework set out in this research, those sites that are defined by ditches that have either banks or ditches, and those that are not additionally defined by these elements, belong to the same tradition of enclosure and will therefore be regarded in the same way. These sites are only separately defined in these diagrams and throughout the text to aid interpretation and to differentiate between these differently preserved sites. These forms of enclosed site are found across west central Scotland, but as shall be seen from the other case study areas reported in this thesis, there appears to be some local differences in enclosure form across the region. For instance we do not see, in the archaeological record of the Ayrshire area, any of the small stone wall defined sites which are found in other parts of west central Scotland. The reasons why there may have been different local forms and traditions of enclosure in different parts of the wider region shall be discussed in later chapters, as this

section will specifically concentrate on establishing the morphological framework of the enclosed sites found in Ayrshire.

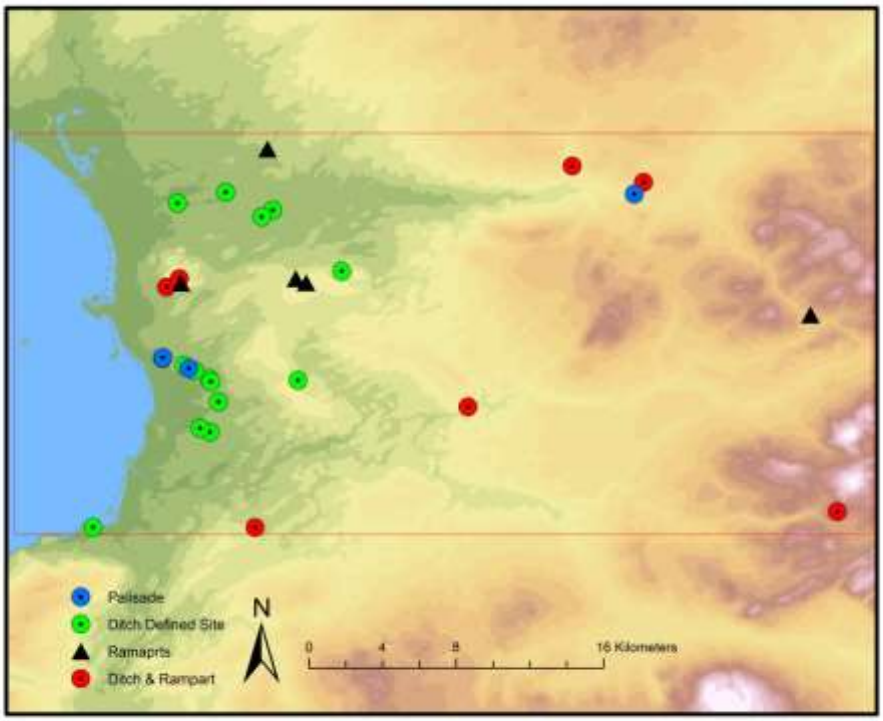



**Fig 16 The form of the enclosed sites in Ayrshire**

As can be seen from the graph below (Fig 17), the majority of the enclosed sites that are found in the Ayrshire area are ditch defined, representing 73% of the total number of enclosed sites. Of these ditch defined sites, it can be seen that the majority are solely ditch defined, representing 50% of the total number of sites in the area, the majority of which are located in low lying areas (Fig 16). A further 23% of the total number of sites survive to an extent whereby their enclosing ramparts or banks still survive. As can be seen from the graph below (Fig 19), the majority of these ditch defined sites are circular in nature, while only a limited number are oval in nature. All of the other ditch defined sites are represented by the D-Shaped and promontory sites. Compared to other case study areas in west central Scotland, there are a number of sites in Ayrshire which are solely defined by palisades, representing 10% of the total number of enclosed sites in the area. This form of

enclosure is relatively rare in the wider region, though it should be noted that many of the more elaborately enclosed sites of west central Scotland were initially enclosed by palisades, suggesting that this form of enclosure may represent the initial stages of occupation at many sites. These Ayrshire sites do not appear to have been more elaborately enclosed however, which may suggest that different social and cultural conditions influenced the way sites were enclosed in this area. Alternatively, it could be that these sites were abandoned before they were more fully developed, as is explored below. A further 16% of the total number of enclosed sites in the Ayrshire area are rampart defined, and as shall be seen below, these sites tend to represent the larger sites in the area and are located in more upland locations.

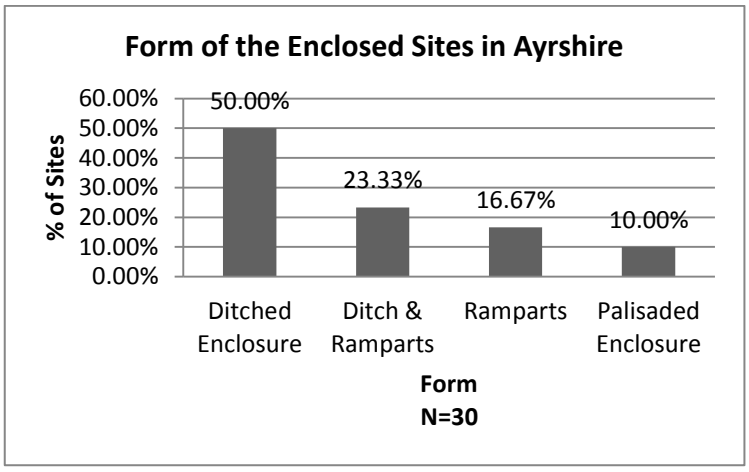



**Fig 17 Form of the enclosed sites of Ayrshire**

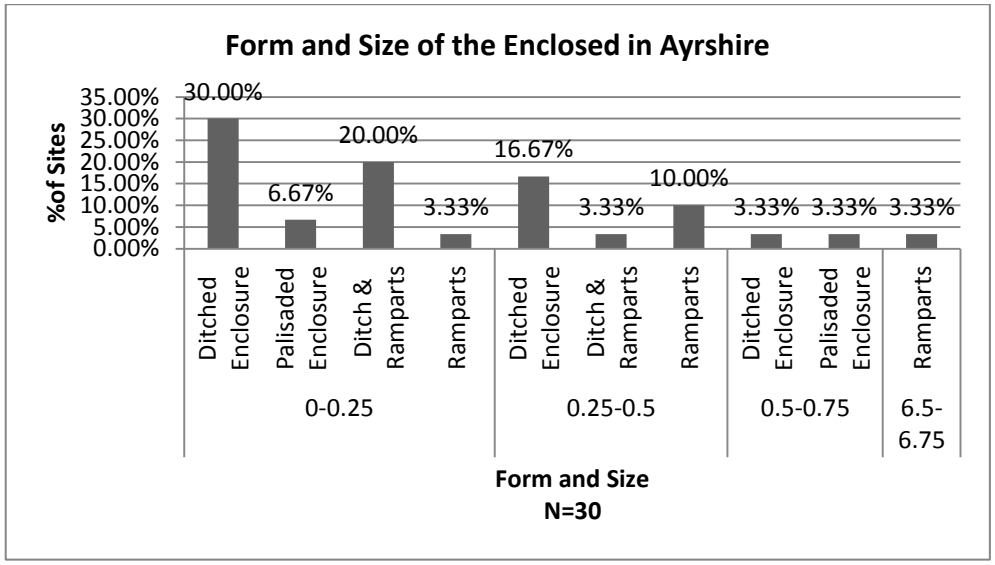



**Fig 18 Form and size of the enclosed sites in Ayrshire.**

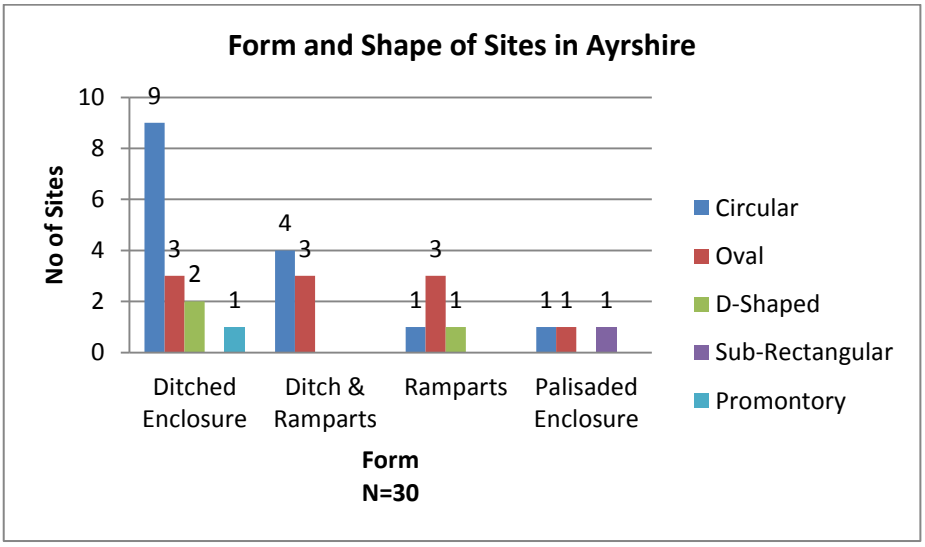



**Fig 19 The form and Shape of the enclosed sites in Ayrshire**

## Palisaded Defined Sites

There are four palisaded defined enclosed sites in the Ayrshire area. Little can be said about their morphological nature, though it does appear that there are at least two different traditions represented in the record. Two of these sites are small and curvilinear in nature; The Leven (Fig 134) which is located close to a number of other enclosed sites near Loudoun Hill in the upper reaches of the Irvine Valley, and Nethermuir, which is located in the area around Prestwick, a few hundred meters to the east of the large rectangular palisaded site of Whiteside. Although the small curvilinear enclosures are of a different nature to the small ditched enclosures of the area, it can be argued that they have more in common with these enclosures compared to the large rectangular palisaded enclosure at Whiteside. This site is probably of a later date compared to the other enclosed sites of the area, possibly dating between the last two centuries AD to first two centuries BC, and it can be argued that this site represents a very different architectural tradition and way of enclosing space, compared to the other sites of the area. The fourth palisaded site is at Dundonald Castle. This is the only secure Iron Age phase from the site, and while it is likely that this site was more fully developed, as it appears to have been

occupied throughout the first millennium BC and into the early medieval period, any evidence of further development at the site has been destroyed by later, medieval, activity (Ewart & Pringle 2004).

The Leven was excavated in the early 1990's ahead of quarrying, and is defined by three phases of late Bronze Age or early Iron Age occupation (Atkinson 2000). The first Iron Age phase was defined by the construction of a double palisade, which consisted of two concentric trenches which were 0.4m in width and 0.8m apart, curving across the site for 36m, before converging into a single trench at the western side of the terrace on which the site occupied. The second Iron Age phase was defined by the construction of an outer double palisade, after the inner palisade had gone out of use, which suggests an un-enclosed phase to the site. This outer palisade was larger than the earlier palisade and consisted of two concentric trenches which were 0.5m in width and 1.7m apart, curving across the site for 40m before again converging into a single trench at the western side of the terrace. A large and probably impressive entrance on the south east side of this palisade was defined by two large postholes on the outer side of the two trenches. This entrance led to a large timber built round house. This round house was associated with a number of artefacts, including fragments of pottery which appear to have been made at the site, all of which are thought to date to the early part of the Iron Age (Jones 2000, 46-49). There was also a small collection of cannel coal bangles which also appear to have been worked at the site (Hunter 2000, 52-53). In addition to these rather prosaic items, a set of impressive copper alloy tweezers was also recovered from the site, though these were from an un-stratified context. The final phase of enclosure at the Leven was defined by a much smaller shallow slot, and possibly represents a very different form of enclosure.

This arrangement of a converging double palisaded enclosure can be seen in a number of other sites in the south of Scotland and the north of England; instances can be seen at Hownam (Piggott 1948), while there are also examples from west central Scotland including Craigmarloch (Nisbet 1996) and a recently discovered site

at Mar Hall in Renfrew (Lynchehaun 2009; Alexander & MacRae 2012, 64). Unlike these sites however, the enclosing works at the Leven were not more fully developed. This is unusual given evidence for the multiphase use and remodeling of sites with ditches and/or ramparts, which appears to be a common feature of many Iron Age sites throughout Scotland and the north of England. For instance the famous site at Hownam excavated by Piggott in the 1940's revealed evidence for a number of phases of enclosure (Piggott 1948). The extensive remodelling and use of this site, the sequence of which has recently been reassesd by Armit (1999), and the associated long occupation of similar sites in the Borders, can also be seen in west central Scotland at sites like Braehead (Ellis 2007) and Craigmarloch (Nisbet 1996) and Sheep Hill (MacKie 1976; forthcoming).

Unfortunately as so few of the sites in the Ayrshire area have been excavated it is difficult to determine if any of the enclosed sites in the area had palisaded phases that were later more fully developed. The excavator of Castle Hill (Hendry 1962; 2963) for instance suggested that there may have been an earlier palisaded phase, although as this excavation has never been fully published this cannot be verified. There was also some limited evidence for a palisade trench at Wardlaw, below the rampart, but as the area excavated was so small the excavators could not "confirm this hypothesis" (Rideout et al 1992, 125). In addition, as has been noted, the palisaded Iron Age site at Dundonald (Ewart & Pringle 2004) appears to have been occupied for a long period of time and while there is no evidence for later redevelopment, it is likely that this site was also more elaborately enclosed in its later phases. In contrast, compared with these sites, it appears that The Leven and Nethermuir were not re-modelled to the same extent. One possibility is that these sites were abandoned before they could be more fully developed. Alternatively, these sites could have been used for specific purposes that meant that they did not need to be more elaborately re-modelled or enclosed. This therefore raises a number of interesting questions about how we should interpret these sites.

There have been a number of interpretations concerning the specific use of palisaded sites. For instance Topping (1989) suggested that the palisaded sites in Northumberland may have been used as temporary stock enclosures, while Jobey (1959) suggested that the space between double palisades, as seen at The Leven, may have been used for corralling animals, in particular cattle. However, because the majority of palisaded sites that have been excavated have produced settlement evidence, such as at sites at Glenachan Rig (Feachem 1959), West Brandon (Jobey 1962), High Knowes (Jobey and Tait 1966), Tower Knowe (Jobey 1973), Belling Law (Jobey 1977) and Kennel Hall Knowe (Jobey 1978), it is likely that animal husbandry was not their prime purpose. This suggestion is supported by the phosphate evidence gathered from the Leven; which indicates only a minimal cattle presence at the site (Atkinson 2000, 57-60). Other interpretations advanced for the use of the double palisaded type sites focuses on their defensive capabilities. For instance Harding (2004, 67-68) suggests that this double arrangement would have formed a much more effective barrier against both human and animal intruders compared to a single palisade, and that, rather fancifully, "guard dogs could be left unleashed to patrol the enclosed circuit" (Harding 2004, 67). Although others have suggested that the double palisaded features could represent the remains of a timber framed boxed rampart (Halliday 1995), evidence for which has since been ploughed away. Other interpretations to do with the ways sites were enclosed with specific reference to the importance of materials shall be explored in Chapter Eight.

If the Leven was not defined for some specific reason, it can be argued that it must have been abandoned, and as such, therefore, not more fully developed. There are a number of potential reasons for this abandonment, which are difficult to prove archaeologically. It could be suggested that social status of the people or group that lived at The Leven began to decline, perhaps due to the death of the head of the household. As a result of their changing social status they could no longer mobilise or call on enough social or communal obligations to allow them to gather or access the vast amount of resources (e.g., timber, rock, labour hours) required, to construct and maintain large and impressive enclosing works. This is perhaps

evidenced in the more ephemeral slot trench in the final phase of occupation. Therefore as the household went into decline it could not reciprocate its moral or social obligations to the wider community, ending in a downward spiral of social debt which meant that the extended household had to abandon the site that it had lived in for a number of generations. These ideas, associated with social obligations and the nature of Iron Age social structure shall be explored more fully in chapters eight and nine.

## The Ditched Defined Sites of Ayrshire

As we have seen (Fig 17), up to 73% of the total number of enclosed sites in the Ayrshire area are ditch defined, the majority of which are solely ditch defined. The majority of these ditched defined sites enclose areas of less than a quarter of a hectare in extent (Fig 18), with a further four sites of moderate size and one large site, at Greenan Castle, which encloses an area of 0.59Ha in extent. This suggests that it was appropriate for small enclosed sites in the Ayrshire area to be defined in this way more than any another way, though there are two small sites that are enclosed by palisades and one that is defined by ramparts. When we look at the shape of these ditched defined sites (Fig 20) it is clear that the majority tend to be circular in nature, while there are smaller numbers of oval and D-Shaped sites. Of those sites which have survived to an extent where a bank or rampart is also present, the majority appear to be located on higher ground (Fig 16). Furthermore, as can be seen from the figure (Fig 20), the majority of these sites are oval in nature. As can be seen in the map above (Fig 12), the majority of the circular sites (which tend to be solely ditch defined) appear to be commonly located in lowland locations, where they have been heavily plough truncated. This pattern can be observed more clearly when we look at these small ditched defined sites in more detail (Fig 20). A smaller number of the ditched sites are D-shaped. As discussed in the previous section all of these sites occupy prominent escarpments at the edge of rivers, which are incorporated into the enclosure of the site and therefore possibly represent a different way of occupying the landscape.

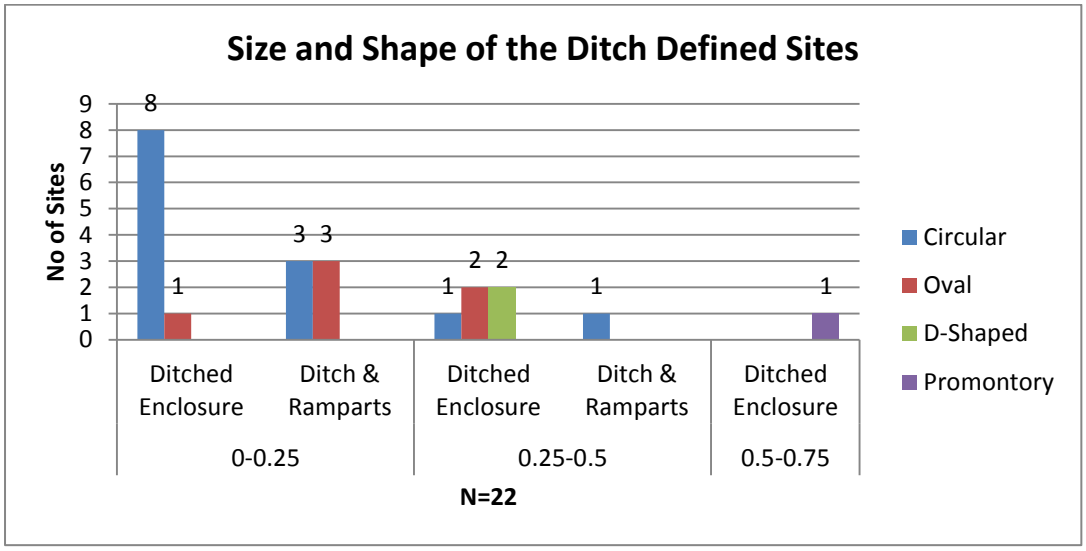



**Fig 20 Shape and size of the ditch defined sites of Ayrshire**

Interestingly, compared to the other areas of west central Scotland, it appears that only six of the ditch defined sites in this area are enclosed by more than one ditch (Fig 21). Of these sites the multivallate "fort" at Windmill Hill (Fig 14), which encloses an area of just 0.17Ha, is perhaps the most significant. This site is relatively small, but is clearly elaborately defined. This suggests that the occupants of this site may have been of high status, and able to "command" large amounts of labour in order to construct impressive and monumental enclosing works, an issue that shall be more fully explored in chapters eight and nine. Alternatively, another interpretation of this site might be that it was enclosed over a number of different phases, as occurred at Braehead (Ellis 2007) in the Clyde area. This is perhaps supported by the fact that the three ditches are all of different sizes, with the outer one measuring 7m in width, the middle one measuring 10m in width, while the inner one measures 8m in width. This suggests that each of these ditches may not have all been excavated at the same time. Rather, as has been suggested for the site at Braehead (Ellis 2007, 186-192), it is possible that each was excavated over a long period of time, in a number of different phases, using different groups of people. What this might mean in social terms is difficult to determine, and shall be explored more fully in the chapter nine. That being said, given the apparent

prolonged nature of occupation at many sites in the region, it is reasonable to suggest that this was probably an important site, or that its occupants were of high social status, for a sustained period of time.

The bivallate site at Cargieston is D-Shaped in nature and is partially defined by the River Irvine. This site is defined by two 5m wide ditches which are 10m apart, enclosing an area of around 0.27Ha in extent. This site is similar to many of the D-Shaped sites that can be seen in the upper part of the Clyde valley in the Lanarkshire case study area, as well as those sites which are found in the east (Davis 2008) and south of Scotland (Harding 2004, 62-64). The other bivallate site recorded is the circular site at Drybridge, which is one of the smallest enclosed sites in the area, measuring just 0.04Ha in extent. This provides a notable contrast to the large promontory site at Greenan Castle (discussed above), which is defined by four ditches.

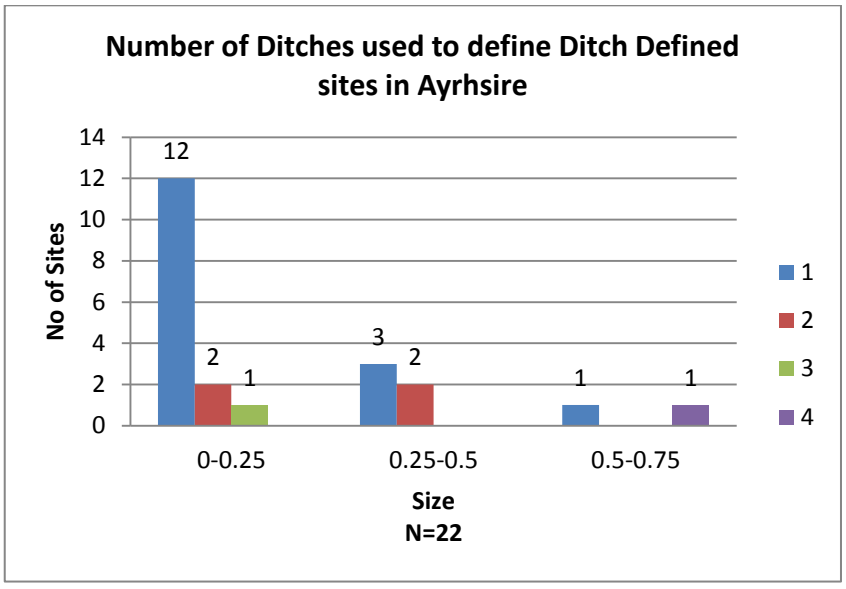



**Fig 21 Number of ditches used to defines sites in Ayrshire**

## Small Ditch Defined Sites

A number of observations can be made about the small ditch defined sites in Ayrshire. For instance, it can be seen (Fig 22) that all but four of the small ditch defined sites are circular in nature. Of these four oval sites all but one is additionally

defined by banks or ramparts. As has been noted, circular sites tend to be located in low-lying locations and have thus been heavily plough truncated, while the oval, ditch and rampart site tend to be located on higher ground and as such tend to survive as earthworks. Therefore, it appears a pattern across the Ayrshire area is emerging, in which space seems to have been enclosed in different ways depending on the landscape position of the site. What this might mean in social terms is difficult to determine, as so few of these sites have been excavated, and those that have reveal a fairly homogenous and prosaic artefactual assemblages. However, as is explored in chapters eight and nine, social status may not have been determined solely, on the area enclosed by a site, or in its landscape location.

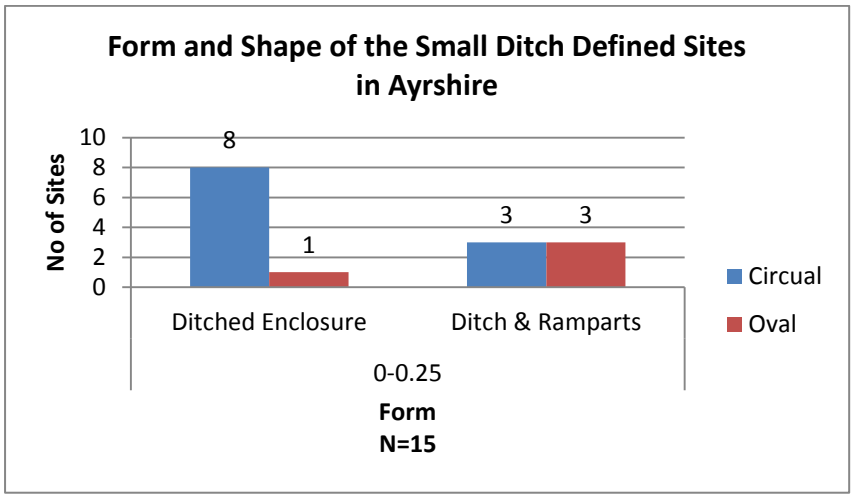



**Fig 22 The small ditch defined sites in Ayrshire**

Another interesting observation that can be made about the small ditch defined sites in the area is in relation to the width of the enclosing ditches compared to the areas that they enclosed. It can be seen from the figure below (Fig 23) that the majority of such sites have an enclosing ditch that measures between one and seven meters in width. However there is a distinct cluster of five sites, all of which enclose areas of less than 0.15Ha in extent, which have proportionally larger ditches compared to the area that they enclose. These are some of the smallest enclosed sites in the Ayrshire area, yet they have the largest enclosing features, with ditches measuring between 10m and 16m in width. In addition to their

unusually large ditches it can be seen that three out of the five of these sites are oval in nature (Fig 24). This is potentially important as they account for all but one of the small oval ditch defined sites in the area. In addition these three oval sites are located in prominent locations, and are additionally defined by banks or ramparts. This suggests that we are seeing a distinct form of site, in these small oval enclosures that are defined by disproportionately large ditches compared to the area that they enclose, which are relatively different from the other small sites of the area. What these sites represent in social terms is unclear but, given that they enclose relatively small areas it can be suggested that they were occupied by only one household. Therefore the monumental enclosing works at these sites suggests that these households or families had relatively high social status, as is explored in chapter nine. Indeed, this suggestion is supported by the relatively limited excavated evidence.

Castle Hill, found just north of Darvel, is the only one of these unusual sites to have been excavated. This site is perhaps slightly different from the other enclosed sites in the area as it is effectively cut off from the surrounding land on its eastern side by a ditch that Hendry (1962) recorded as being 16m in width and at least 2m in depth. This contrasts the other sites, which are totally enclosed by their large surrounding ditches. When the site was excavated by Hendry in the early 1960's (1962; 1963) a number of artefacts were discovered, including fragments of iron, pottery including a fragment of Samian Ware, and the upper part of a rotary quern. All of these indicate that the site was occupied in the last few centuries BC and the first few centuries AD. In addition to the artefacts that were recovered at the site, there was evidence for a large, timber built, post defined roundhouse. This was 12m in diameter and overlay an earlier house which was 9m in diameter.

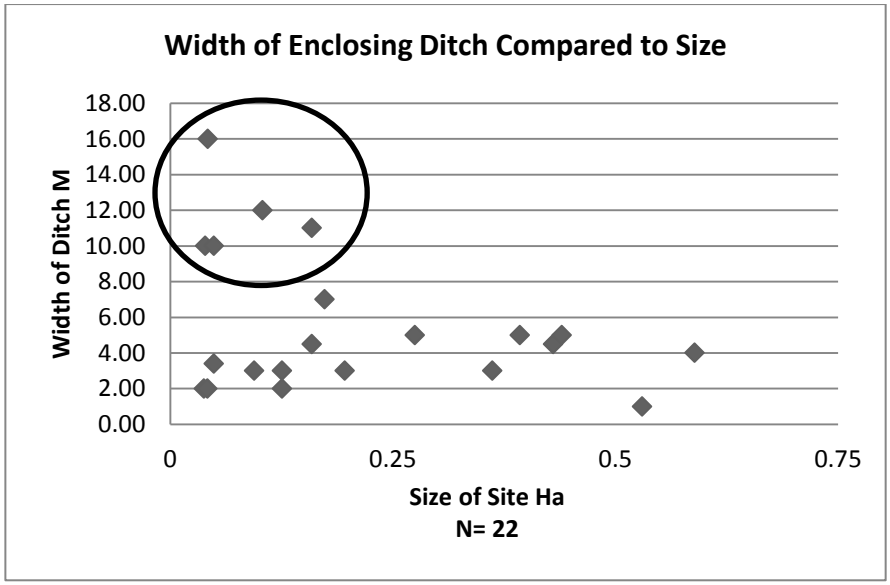



**Fig 23 The width of enclosing ditch compared to the area enclosed.**

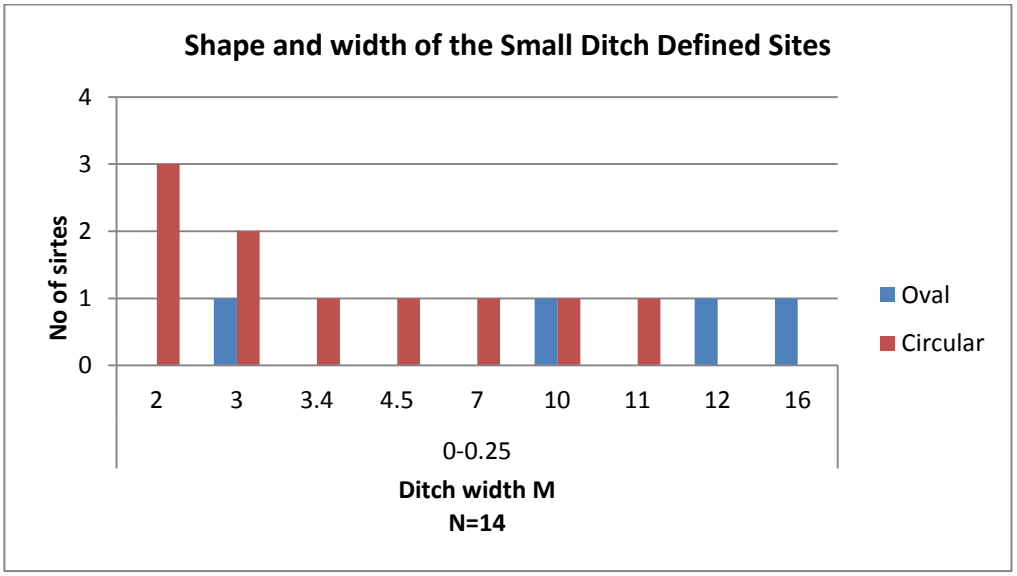



**Fig 24 Shape of enclosed sites compared to ditch width.**

## Moderately Sized Ditched Enclosures

Of the six moderate sized, ditch defined sites in the Ayrshire area, five are solely ditch defined. The sites at Cargieston and Ladykirk Burn are both D-Shaped in nature, and occupy the ends of prominent spurs on the edge of water courses. As such their enclosing ditches do not form complete circuits. Ladykirk is defined by a

single 5m wide ditch but Cargieston is more significant in that it is one of only two sites in the Ayrshire area that is defined by two concentric ditches, each of which are 5m wide and around 10m apart. Caprington Mains is the largest of the moderately sized ditch defined sites, at 0.44Ha in extent. As can be seen in Table 3, it is larger than many of the "forts" that are found in the area.

The moderately sized site that is defined by a ditch and rampart is the fort at Wardlaw Hill. This site is different from the other ditch defined sites in the area, as the ditch is not a main feature of its enclosure. Rather the site is defined by a large earth and stone rampart that survives to a maximum height of 1.2m and as much as 7m in width around its north western edge (Rideout et al 1992, 125). A short stretch of an external ditch was noted along the north west and south west sides of the fort, but as the site has been very badly damaged by cattle this is difficult to see this today. This is the only fort site in the area that has any evidence for an external ditch. While it is possible that this is due to preservation, it appears that the ditch is located around the part of the hilltop that is most easily assessable. Thus it is possible that it was excavated in order to provide additional defense, as well as providing extra material for the massive rampart (that is highest around the areas where the ditch is located). This is supported by the fact that the eastern side of the fort is positioned on top of a steep sided cliff edge and therefore a more robust artificial defense was not required on this side of the enclosure.

## Rampart Defined Sites

There are five rampart defined sites in the Ayrshire area, which account for just under 17% of the total number of enclosed sites in the area. These sites tend to be the largest enclosed sites in the area (Fig 18), and are mainly located on hilltop locations that command extensive views of the surrounding country (Fig 26). The majority of these sites have traditionally been classed as forts, though others such as Bailliehill Mount, which is located in a realtivly low lying position is classed as an earthwork. When we look at the shape of these rampart defined sites (Fig 19) it can be seen that the majority are oval in nature. This suggests that their landscape

locations and the form of their enclosing works meant that it was perhaps most practical to define such sites in these ways. This is, perhaps, also reflected in the oval ditch and rampart defined sites, which also tend to be located on higher ground or prominent positions. This is in comparison to the small circular ditch defined enclosed sites which tend to be located in low-lying positions. There may have been practical issues involved in creating these large sites, and their landscape location on top of prominent hills may have meant that an oval shape was the easiest and most practical way to enclose such locations. However, as can be seen in other case study areas in the region, in particular in the Lanarkshire area, a number of the larger hilltop rampart defined sites are circular in nature. It is possible therefore to suggest that in this region we are seeing a distinct way of enclosing space, which may have had some sort social or functional or social relevance (this idea is explored further in later chapters).

The smallest bank defined site in Ayrshire, which encloses an area of only 0.029Ha in extent, or 296Sq.m, is the D-shaped site at Whitefield in the east of the study area. This site is unusual in a number of ways compared to the other enclosed sites of the area and it is perhaps more akin to the small bank and rampart sites found in the upland areas of the Clyde and Lanarkshire areas, rather than those sites found in the lush pastoral landscape of Ayrshire. The site was excavated in 1913 and 1925 by Fairburn (1926; 1927). Fairburn discovered a large amount of evidence relating to the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age occupation of the site, including numerous fragments of handmade Bronze Age pottery, a saddle quern and a fragment of cannel coal or shale bangle that is of typical Iron Age design, and commonly found on sites in west central Scotland.

The largest rampart defined site in the area is the fort at Harpercroft (Fig 15) which is defined by two ramparts; an outer rampart that encloses an area of 6.5Ha and an inner and much more substantial rampart that encloses an area of 0.75Ha. The outer rampart measures 1m in width and survives to a height of 1.5m and was constructed along the natural brake of slope of the prominent hill on which the site

sits. It is not clear how this rampart relates to the smaller inner rampart (Fig 26), which occupies the summit of the hill and measures 3m in width and survives to a height of 1.6m. Even without the outer rampart, the fort at Harpercroft would be the largest enclosed site in the area. This site occupies the summit of a prominent hill, that commands extensive panoramic views of the surrounding landscape. The summit has clear views up Irvine Valley as far as Loudoun Hill, where The Leven is located, as well as over the coastal plain of the Ayrshire coast, and as such many of the enclosed sites of the area can be seen from the site. In addition to this is the fact that Wardlaw, which occupies the adjacent peak of the range, is just a few hundred meters to the north. Although this site (which has been discussed in more detail above) is smaller than Harpercroft (enclosing an area of 0.28Ha), it is defined by one of the tallest surviving ramparts in the area (Fig 25), and is a site of considerable dominance in its own right. These twinned set of sites clearly dominate the landscapes around them, and it is difficult to imagine that they did not form some sort of center or elite residence.

Both of these sites were excavated in 1984 ahead of the installation of radar masts on both hills and the results were published as part of the Hillforts of Southern Scotland project (Rideout et al 1992). A large area measuring 12m x 9m was excavated in the centre of the inner rampart at Harpercroft, which revealed a number of curvilinear features. These may represent the remains of roundhouses, and what could possibly be an occupation deposit. A number of artefacts were also recovered during the excavation including 77 shards of pottery, five pieces of at least three shale armlets and a number of worked flints (Rideout et al 1992, 123). The pottery that was discovered came from two different types of pot, which is similar to the pottery discovered at the Leven, and has been tentatively dated to the early Iron Age (Rideout et al 1992, 124). Whilst the excavation at Harpercroft concentrated on the interior of the fort, the excavation at Wardlaw was undertaken to “determine the form and mode of construction of the bank” (Rideout et al 1992, 125). The results of this excavation revealed that the rampart had two phases of construction. The first rampart was constructed through surface quarrying on either

side of the intended rampart with the material used to form the bank. This rampart was then clearly used for some time, as there was evidence that it eroded and spread down the slopes of the bank on either side, before a layer of turf topsoil accumulated over it. After an unknown period of time the rampart was rebuilt, on top of the original. However on this occasion, large stones were incorporated to form the new core of the rampart. Two narrow stone lined ditches were also dug around this time, into the original ramparts eroded material. These may represent evidence of a palisaded phase to the site, although as such a small area was excavated, measuring 2m x 22m, this could not be verified (*ibid*, 125). This is the only site in the area where the rampart has been excavated, and as such contributes a great deal to our knowledge of rampart construction in the region. However, we should be cautious about applying these results to the other rampart defined sites, as each site probably had very different life histories.

**Fig 25 The rampart on the west side of Wardlaw Hill (Murtagh)**

**Fig 26 The inner rampart of Harpercroft taken from the interior of Wardlaw Hill (Murtagh)**

## Entrance Orientation of the Enclosed Sites in Ayrshire

Of the thirty enclosed sites that are found in the Ayrshire area, twelve were not preserved enough to allow the entrance orientation to be determined. Of the sixteen sites where the entrance orientation could be determined, as can be seen above (Fig 27), there is a strong tendency for the enclosed sites of Ayrshire to be aligned in a general easterly direction. Six of these sites are aligned to the east (37%), while a further three (18%) are aligned to the north-east and two (12%) aligned to the south-east. There were also around 25% of sites are aligned in a general westerly direction. How the orientation of the enclosed sites in Ayrshire compare to the orientation of the enclosed sites in the other case study areas, shall be explored in Chapter Six.

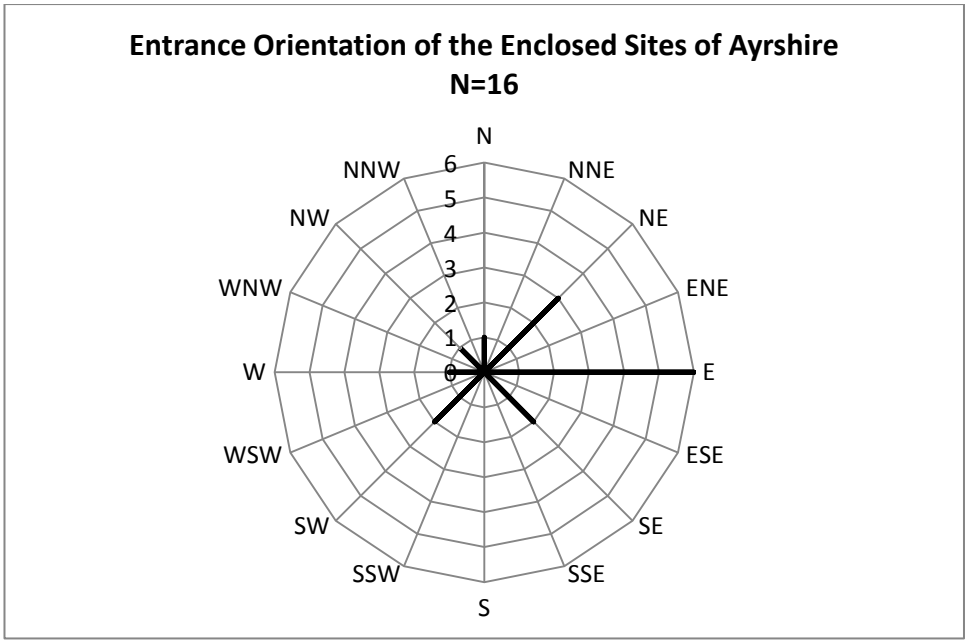



**Fig 27 Entrance Orientation of the enclosed sites in Ayrshire**

# Conclusion

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, even though there are only a small number of known enclosed sites in the area, a detailed morphological framework has been established which demonstrates a number of interesting patterns. First of all the area is dominated by small curvilinear enclosed sites. These sites are enclosed in variety of ways, though as the majority are found in low lying areas they tend to survive as ditch defined sites that have been ploughed flat. Of these sites it can be seen that the majority are enclosed by a single ditch, through there are a handful of bivallate and multivallate sites. Interestingly a large number of the small ditch defined sites are circular in nature, which as shall be demonstrated in more detail in Chapter Six, is unusual in the wider region. There are also a number of ditch defined sites that are relatively small in extent but are enclosed by ditches which are disproportionally wide compared to the areas that they enclose. Only one of these sites has been excavated, but it is possible to suggest that the inhabitants of these sites may have been of a different social status compared to those living in other forms of small enclosed site, as is discussed in detail in Chapter

Nine. In addition to these smaller sites, there are a number of relatively large sites found in the Ayrshire area, with the site of Harpercroft standing out as being of particular interest. Harpercroft is one of the largest sites in west central Scotland, and it can be suggested that, along with the adjacent Wardlaw Hill, it formed the focus for the wider community during the Iron Age, as is discussed in detail in chapter nine. How the enclosed sites of Ayrshire compere to those sites found in the other case study areas, and how they fit into the wider settlement record of Iron Age Britain, shall be explored in Chapter Six. In the next chapter the enclosed sites of the Lanarkshire area shall be examined, an area, which as we shall see, is very different compared to Ayrshire.

# Chapter Three: The Enclosed Sites of Lanarkshire

## Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the enclosed sites that are found in the Lanarkshire case study area. This area is dominated by the upper reaches of the River Clyde which runs through the Southern Uplands. It is a landscape of steep sided valleys, rolling hills and lush alluvial soils. However as Tipping (2005) noted in his survey of the environmental evidence from around the Antonine Wall, large parts of the county would have been very difficult to inhabit prior to the agricultural improvement of the 18th and 19th centuries. This can be most clearly seen in the lack of settlement evidence from the northern parts of the study area, as can be seen in the maps below and instead, Iron Age settlement tended to focus around the major river valleys. As has been discussed in detail in the first chapter, Lanarkshire formed the focus an extensive Royal Commission survey, which resulted in the publication of and Inventory of known sites in 1978 (RCAHMS 1978). This volume remains the most important sources of information regarding the prehistoric sites of this area. However since the publication of the Inventory, there has been very little work done on these sites, and our understanding of them remains similar to what it was in the late 1970's. One of the few enclosed sites to have been excavated in the area is Cairngryfe Hill, which was excavated by Gordon Childe in 1939 ahead of its destruction through quarrying (Childe 1940). While the information recovered from this site is useful in demonstrating that it was occupied during the Iron Age, due to the archaeological techniques used, information regarding the development of the site was not recorded, and the conclusions that we can draw form this site are difficult to apply to the other enclosed sites in the

area. More recent work was carried out by the short lived University of Glasgow Archaeology Department field school, though the results produced from their limited investigations remain inconclusive (Brophy et al 2005; 2006). In addition compared to the Ayrshire and Clyde areas, there has been relatively little developer funded work in the Lanarkshire area, and while the M74 upgrade project uncovered a number of important Bronze Age sites, such as Lintshie Gutter (Terry 1995), no sites of Iron Age date were excavated.

## Size of the Enclosed Sites of Lanarkshire

The landscape of the Lanarkshire case study area is similar to much of west central Scotland, in that it is dominated mostly by small enclosed sites of up to a quarter of a hectare in size, with a smaller number of the larger sites and only one site, Woodend, measuring over a hectare in extent (Table 4). The graph below (Fig 28) illustrates the size range of all 95 enclosed sites recorded in the area, split into quarter of a hectare subdivisions. From this it can be seen that, unlike the other case studies areas, there is much less differentiation or clustering of site size. Instead there appears to a continuum of enclosure size. This is particularly clear when we remove the largest sites in the area from the graph (Fig 29).

Almost 58% of the 95 enclosed sites of the area are less than a quarter of a hectare in extent (Fig 30), and as can be seen from the map below (Fig 31), sites of this size are found throughout the area. A particularly dense concentration of small sites can be seen around the Symington area in the north of the study area, and the Coulter area to in the center of the study area. These small sites were constructed in both upland and lowland areas and are often located in close proximity to one another. One of these small sites, at Cairngryffe Hill, was excavated by Gordon Childe (Childe 1941, 213-218) ahead of its destruction through quarrying. The site, which was regarded as a fort, was one of the smallest in the area and was defined by two different phases of enclosure; these consisted of an outer stone built rampart measuring 49m by 42m, and a later stone wall enclosing an oval area measuring 22.3m by 19.2m in extent, with entrances to the south. Finds from the excavation

included a number of bronze objects, as well as a lead object and fragments of shale bracelet (Childe 1941, 213-218, RCHAMS 1978, 95-96).

The moderate sized enclosed sites measuring between a quarter of a hectare and half a hectare in extent, account for 28% of the total number enclosed sites in the area, and appear to have a widespread distribution across the area (Fig 31). In addition, compared to the smaller enclosed sites, the moderately sized sites appear relatively isolated from one another rather than concentrated in discrete clusters, though they are located near to other sites of varying size. One of these moderately sized enclosed sites, that has been partially excavated, again by Childe (1939, 257), is at Berries Burn. Here several sherds of early Iron Age pottery were found, as well as fragments of iron and a shale ring. The site is defined by a grass-covered, stony bank or rampart that is on average 2.4m thick. This encloses an oval area measuring 108m by 34m, with a 4m wide entrance in the SSW side (RCHAMS 1978, 90-92). It is located just north of Crawford on the southern slopes of Castle Hill, close to a number of other enclosed sites including Richie Ferry.

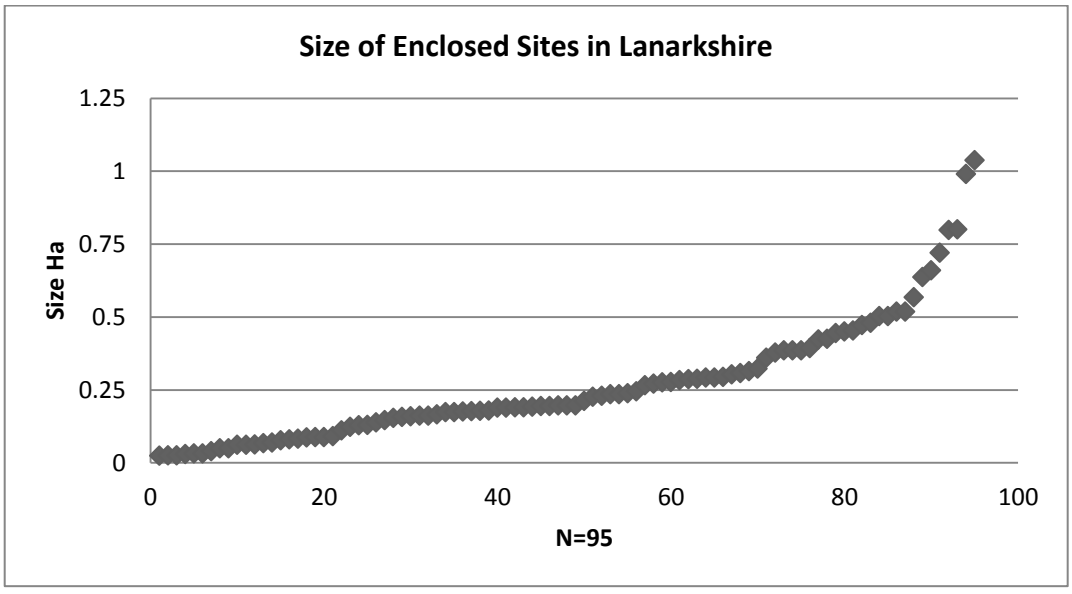



**Fig 28 The range of enclosed sites of Lanarkshire**

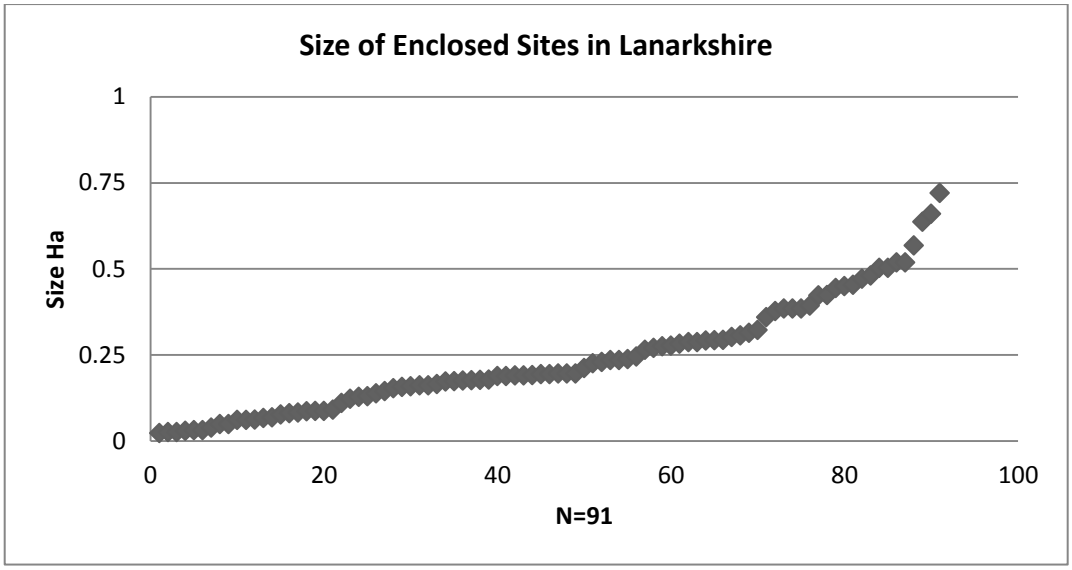



**Fig 29 The range of enclosed sites of Lanarkshire, below 0.75Ha**

The large sites in this area, of between half a hectare and three quarters of a hectare in size, account for 8% of the total number of enclosed sites in the area, and are located in two distinct clusters (Fig 31); one in the north of the study area and one in the centre of the area, while there is also an isolated outlier to the south of the study area. What the close spatial relationship between these large sites means in social terms is not clear. For instance if we believed that society in the Iron Age of Lanarkshire was hierarchical in nature, then it could be suggested that the larger the sites of the area were perhaps occupied by groups of higher status individuals. It could then be suggested that these large sites would perhaps be located in isolation from each other and possibly surrounded by smaller sites of presumed lower status. However, given that these sites are located in close proximity to each other, and given the fact that this landscape appears to have been so densely occupied during the period, by a range of enclosed sites, what we are perhaps seeing here is evidence of a different form of social structure. One that, if it was hierarchical, was not based on the size of the area that a site enclosed but was perhaps based on the form and number of a sites enclosing works or perhaps its landscape location. These issues shall be explored more fully in Chapters Eight and Nine.

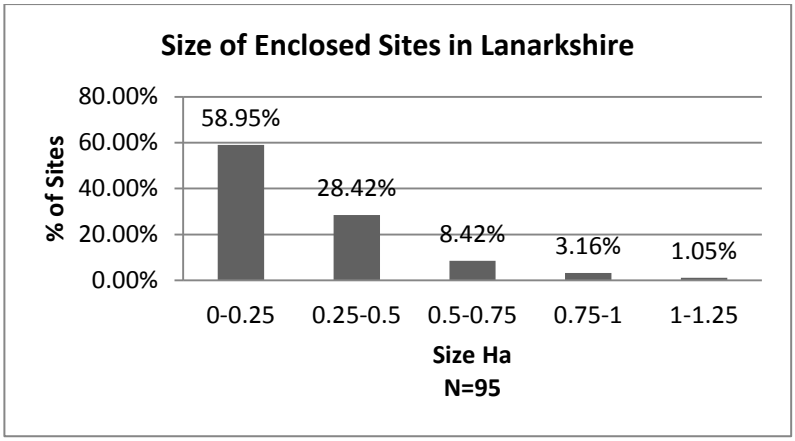



**Fig 30 Size of enclosed sites in Lanarkshire**

As with the other case study areas there is one site that is over a hectare in extent, while there is also three sites that enclose areas of just under a hectare. These sites are located in different parts of the study area, with the large site at Candybank in a relatively isolated upland location to the north, while the largest site, at Woodend (Fig 51) which is in the south of the study area, is surrounded by a range of moderate and small enclosed sites (Fig 31). Compared with the other sites in the other case study areas that are over 1Ha in extent, the site at Woodend is only 1.03Ha in extent. This is not overly disproportionate compared to the other enclosed sites of the area. It also appears to be a very different form of enclosure compared to the other massive sites of the region, as it is a ditch defined low-lying site, which is effectively over looked by smaller stone built sites. This is in contrast to sites such as Harpercroft or Walls Hill, that measure 6.5Ha and 7.3Ha respectively, which are located on prominent hilltops with significant views over the surrounding landscapes. This suggests that the way in which the landscape of the Lanarkshire area was occupied, and perhaps the way society was organised in this area was different from the rest of west central Scotland. This idea is explored in more detail in Chapter Six. It should be noted however that there are a number of large sites that measure over 1Ha in extent, just out-with this study area. This includes one unusual promontory type site to the north west of the study area at Stonemouth, known as Double Dykes, which encloses an area of 3.3Ha. This site is also discussed in more detail in Chapter Six. In addition there is also another large

site to the east of the study area, in Peeblesshire (Kokeza 2008). The presence of these sites highlight how densely occupied this area is, compared to other parts of west central Scotland.

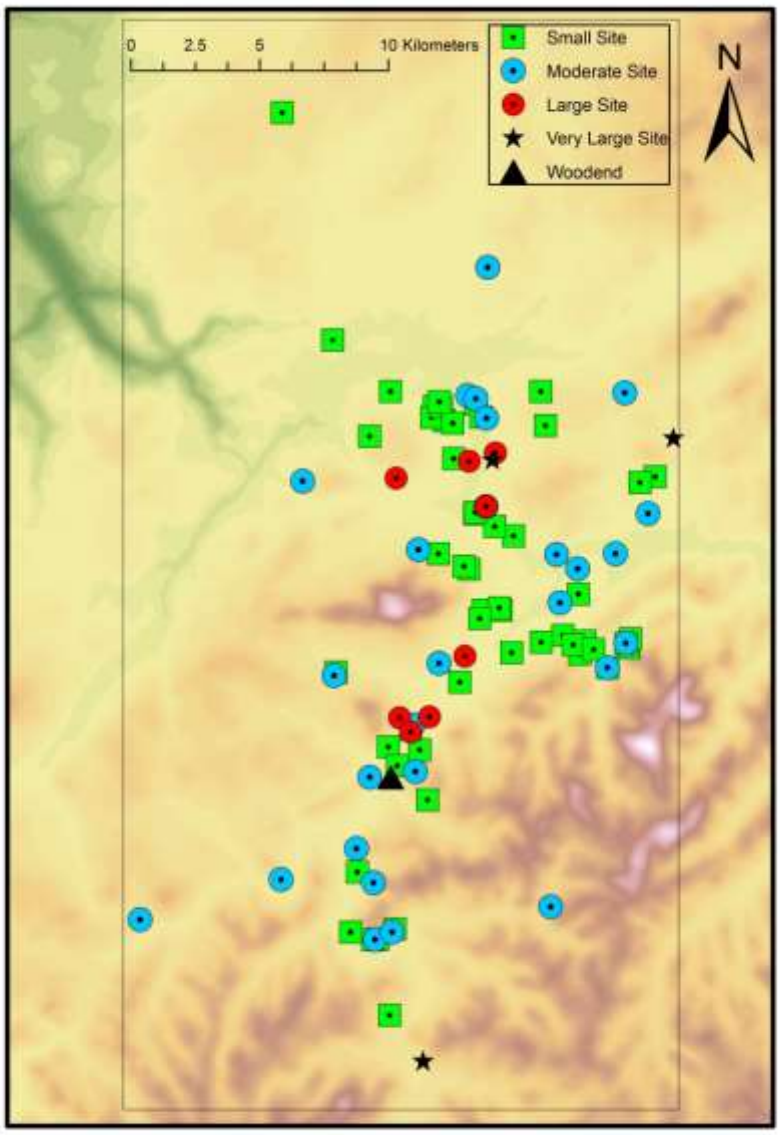



**Fig 31 Distribution of the different size of sites in Lanarkshire**

## Site Type, Preservation and the Traditional Classification of the Enclosed sites of Lanarkshire

When we look at the ways in which the enclosed sites of Lanarkshire have traditionally been classed and interpreted compared to their size (Fig 32), a number of interesting points emerge. These points challenge some of the traditional interpretations that have dominated Scottish Iron Age research. For instance it appears that the majority of sites traditionally classified as forts enclose relatively small areas, of below half a hectare in extent. There are only three forts which can be regarded as large sites, of between half a hectare and three quarters of a hectare in size. In addition when we look at the largest sites in the area it can be seen that the majority have been classed as earthworks, enclosures or settlements, and therefore are more likely to be located in low lying areas. This immediately raises issues to do with how we regard and interpret these large lowland sites compared to the smaller forts, again reflecting observations made by Wigley (2007, 173-189) in the Welsh Marches and as highlighted in Chapter One.

In addition to problems raised about we how we interpret these larger, sites we also have to reassess the ways in which we interpret the smaller enclosed sites of the area (such as the *homesteads* and *enclosures)* compared with the small rampart defined *forts*. Do they represent different forms of enclosed site? Were they occupied in different ways or by different groups of people? Or were they used in similar ways but are regarded differently because of their landscape locations and forms of preservation? These questions may be difficult to answer in this area given the lack of excavation. However by considering these possibilities we can begin to explore different interpretations of society in Iron Age Lanarkshire. One way that we can address these issues will be to examine how these sites have been enclosed. In the following sections of this chapter the ways in which these sites have been constructed in terms of their shape, form, landscape location and orientation will be examined in order to construct a more detailed morphological framework. This will help us to better understand the enclosed sites of the area,

which will in turn allow us to critically assess the traditional interpretations associated with the social structure of the area during the later prehistoric period.

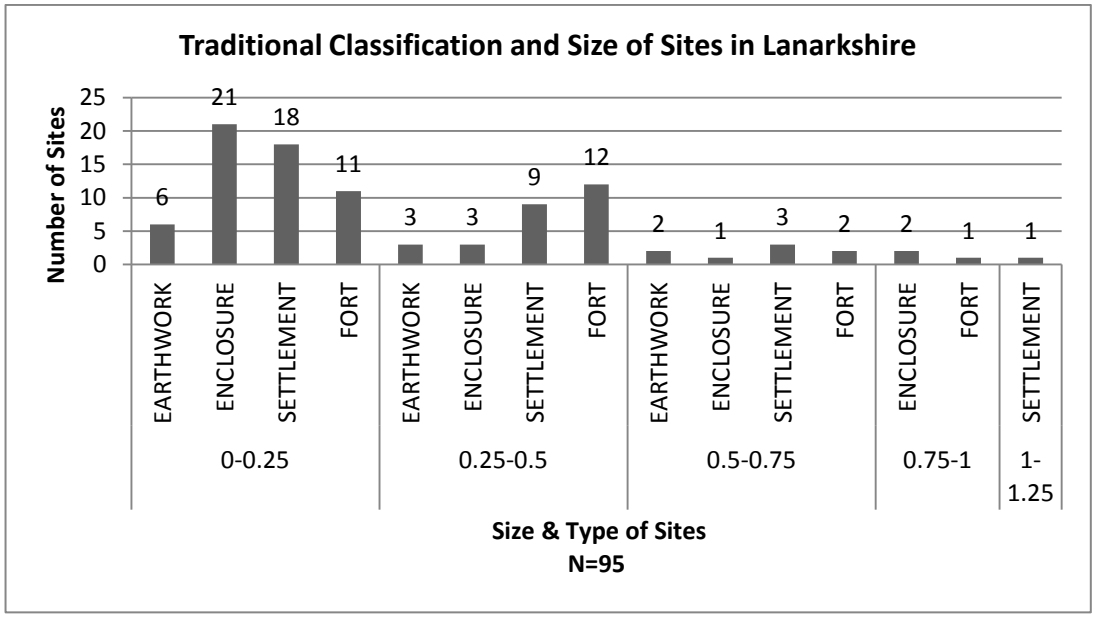



**Fig 32 Traditional site classification of the sites in Lanarkshire, compared to the area enclosed.**

## Shape of Enclosed Sites in Lanarkshire

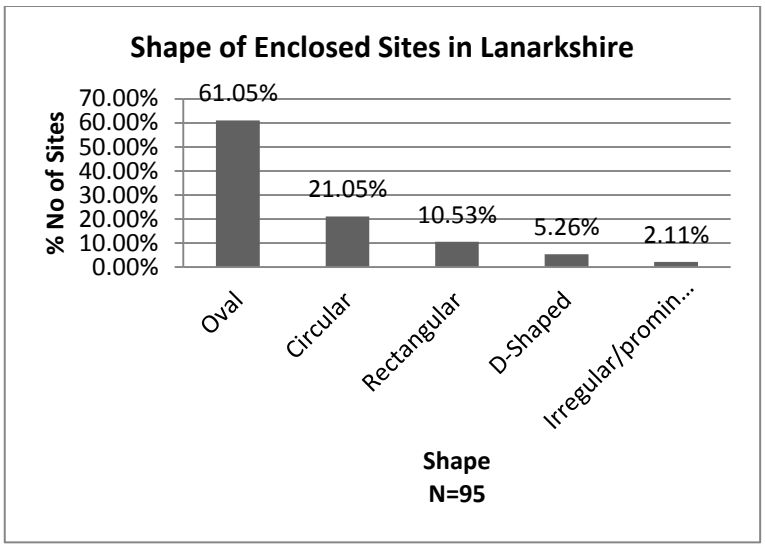



**Fig 33 Shape of enclosed Sites in Lanarkshire.**

When we look at the shape (Fig 37 & Fig 38) of the enclosed sites of Lanarkshire (Fig 33) we can see that, as with the rest of west central Scotland, this area is also

dominated by curvilinear enclosures. The majority of sites in Lanarkshire are oval in nature, accounting for 61% of the total number, while the circular defined sites account for 21% of the total number of sites in the area. There are also a relatively large number of rectangular sites in the area, which account for 10% of the total number of enclosed sites. This type of enclosed site is relatively common in other parts of Scotland, particularly the Lothians as well as in Dumfriesshire, but it appears that it is a form of enclosure that was not readily adopted in west central Scotland. Therefore given that a particularly large number of these sites were found in the Lanarkshire area, this again highlights differences seen that can be seen in this area compared to other parts of the region. One reason that more enclosed sites of this nature are located in this in this area could be that Lanarkshire is closer to other areas of Scotland where these sites are much more common. As such, the social and cultural influences from these areas may have been stronger compared with other parts of west central Scotland, and thus the adoption of these forms of enclosure was more common. Alternatively groups of people from these areas, such as Dumfriesshire, could have established settlements in this area. In addition to the rectangular enclosures there are a number of the D-Shaped and promontory type enclosures recorded in Lanarkshire, accounting for 5% of the enclosed sites in the area. These types of site are common in areas such as the Lothians (Cowley 2009), where it has been suggested that they fulfilled specific cultural or social roles where particular practices may have taken place. Unlike the rectangular sites however, the number of these sites in Lanarkshire is comparable to other parts of west central Scotland and it appears that there was a fairly limited uptake in this form of enclosure across the region more generally.

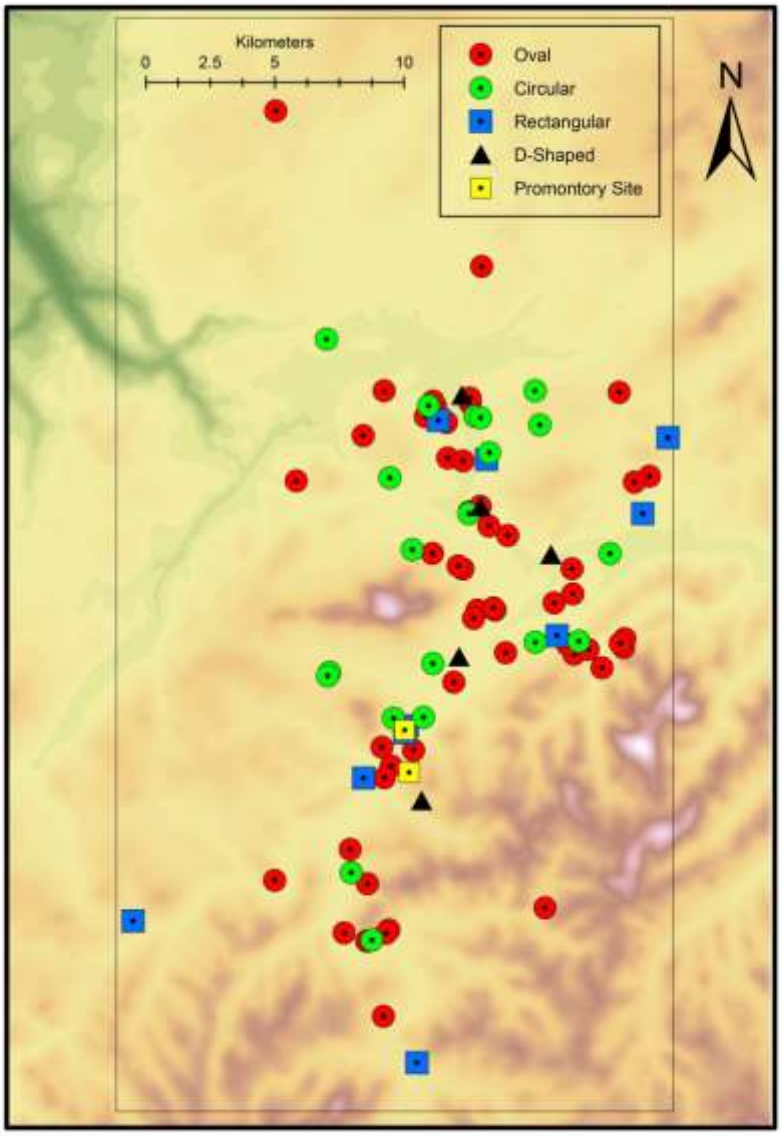



**Fig 34 Distribution of different shaped enclosed sites in Lanarkshire.**

When we look at the distribution of the different shaped enclosures (Fig 34) we can see, as would be expected, that the oval enclosures dominate the Lanarkshire landscape and are found throughout the study area. These oval sites are mainly concentrated in lowland locations close to the rivers but some are also found in more upland locations. There is a more limited distribution of other shapes of enclosure in the Lanarkshire area. For instance more circular sites appear to be located towards the north of the study area, particularly around the Symington area, while there is also a limited number spread further south. The rectangular

enclosures, apart from two that are located in close proximity to each other, appear in relative isolation from one another and are found throughout the study area, in both upland and lowland locations. Two of the these enclosures are located in isolation from all of the other enclosures, to the south and west of the study area. With these sites, which are thought to date to the last two centuries BC and the first two centuries AD (Cowley 2009, 212-217), what we are perhaps seeing is a colonisation or settlement in less densely occupied areas by different groups of people. The D-Shaped and promontory type enclosures are generally located close to water sources and utilise natural steep brakes of slope or banks of the rivers, and as such are all located along the river courses of the area, from north to south. These sites appear to be located in relative isolation from each other, perhaps highlighting their special nature.

## Shape and Size of Enclosed Sites in Lanarkshire

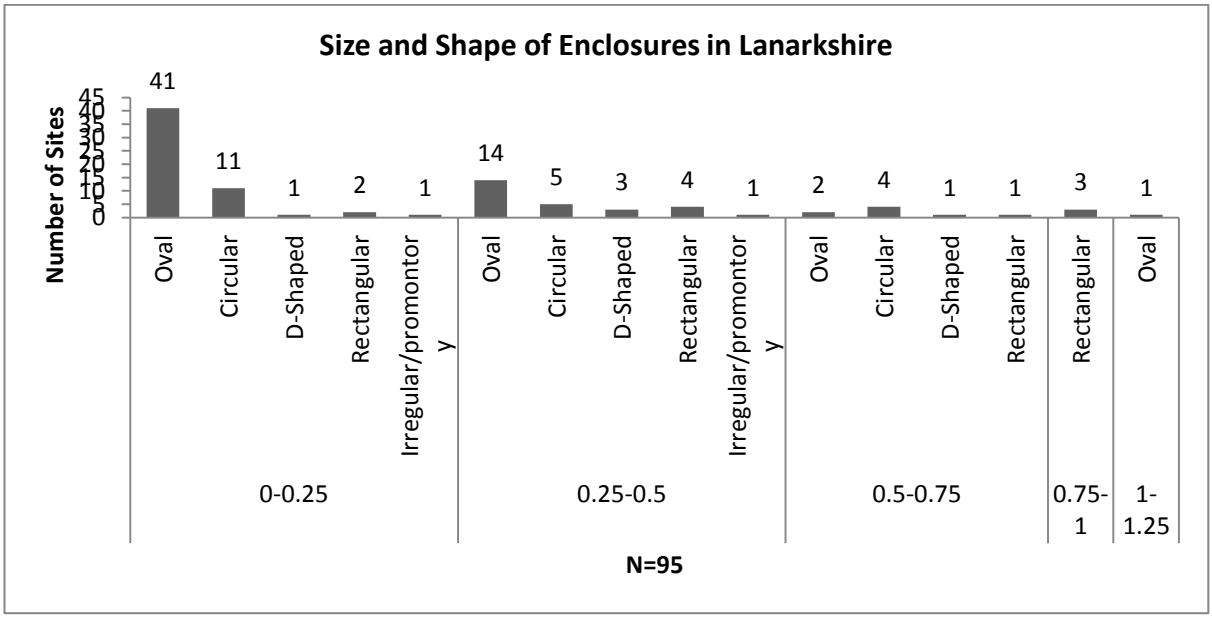



**Fig 35 Shape and size of the enclosed sites in Lanarkshire**

When we look at the shape of enclosed sites in relation to their size (Fig 35), we can further explore the diversity we see in the enclosed sites of the area, which traditional classifications would have masked. Looking at the small sites first it can be seen that the majority are oval in nature. Indeed there are over three times the number of oval sites compared with the other forms of enclosure, suggesting that it

was perhaps more appropriate for these small enclosures to be defined in this way. The small circular enclosures are some of the smallest enclosed sites found in the area. It has been suggested by the likes of Alcock (2003, 180-190) that many of these sites may have been roofed, and therefore they do not represent enclosed sites, but were in fact substantial houses. However when we look at the sites in more detail it is clear that they were in fact designed and used as enclosures rather than as houses (though what the purpose of these small sites remains unclear). This is particularly true when we look at one of the smallest circular site in the area, Richie Ferry, which encloses an area of only 0.025Ha/250Sq.m in extent. As discussed in Chapter One, this site is larger than the 180 Sq.m threshold set in this research to distinguish between enclosed sites and un-enclosed houses. With a diameter of 18m and an internal space of 250Sq.m it would have been unlikely, though not impossible if there was an internal ring of posts, that this site would have been roofed, and therefore act like a house. As this site, and others like it have not been excavated, however, it is not possible to be completely sure that they would have acted as enclosed sites, though for the purposes of this research and the creation of the morphological framework they shall be regarded in this way.

Richie Ferry is located on top of a prominent steep sided knoll and is defined by a single bank that is up to 3m in width which survives to a height of 0.4m. There are two possible entrances to the East and North West. If this site appeared in isolation then one could possibly interpret it as a small defended farmstead or homestead. However as the site is located only 200m away from a much larger enclosed site, also known as Richie Ferry, which encloses an area of around 0.28Ha, this interpretation may not be appropriate and alternative approach as to its social role of this site needs to found. The large site at Richie Ferry has traditionally been classed as a “settlement” site, and is defined by a large stone and earth bank or rampart. This is up to 6m wide, encloses an area measuring 85m by 43m, has four entrances and contains the remains of up to eight roundhouses. How these two sites relate to one another is problematic, and raises questions as to the nature of the social structure of the area, especially as they have not been excavated and

their chronology is unknown. Iain Banks (2002, 33-34) has explored a number of theories about these sites, noting that this arrangement of twinned large and small enclosures is common throughout the south west of Scotland. Another example of this arrangement of sites in the Lanarkshire area can be seen at Snap Hill and Cutler Hill, where two larger "forts" are located close to a number of smaller "Enclosures". This raises questions to do with the social status of the inhabitants of each of these sites, what they were built and used for, as well as the social structure of the wider area. For instance was one site used as an elite residence, and if so which one? The larger or the smaller of the two? Or was one site used to keep the servants or slaves? (*ibid, 33-44*). Issues to do with the chronology of these sites makes these interpretations difficult to explore and means that we are restricted to speculation in most instances. These issues will be explored in more detail in later chapters, as this section is concerned with the morphological nature of the enclosed sites of the area. However it is worth noting that the pairing and clustering of enclosures is a common element of the settlement landscape of the Iron Age across Britain. This is particularly true in the Cheviots (Frodsham et al 2007, 250-265) which in many ways reflects the settlement pattern we see in Lanarkshire, but also further south in Wessex (Davis 2008, 31-42) as well as in Dorset (Toase 2008, 21-30).

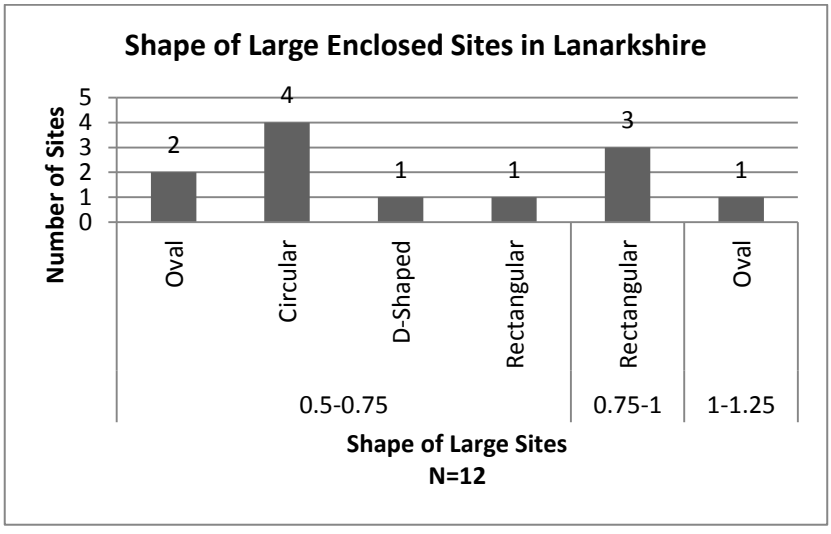



**Fig 36 Shape of the larger enclosed sites of Lanarkshire**

The moderately sized sites also tend to be oval in nature (Fig 35) with over twice the number compared with circular sites. However as can be seen in these moderately sized enclosures there is a much larger proportion of sites that are enclosed in different ways, including five that are rectangular (which represent 16% of this range of enclosed sites), as well as three D-Shaped sites and one promontory type enclosure. As stated above, the number of rectangular sites in the Strathclyde area is much smaller compared with other areas of Scotland, though it appears that the largest concentration of these sites is in Lanarkshire. This analysis suggests that these sites tend to be relatively large, the majority, enclosing areas of over 0.75Ha in extent. The dominance of oval sites only changes when we look at the larger enclosed sites of the area (Fig 36) more of which are circular or rectangular in nature. This is in contrast to the pattern we see in the Ayrshire and Clyde areas, where proportionately more of the larger sites are oval in nature. Therefore it can be argued that in the Lanarkshire area we are again seeing a possible difference in the use of space, where by the larger sites of the area were defined in different ways compared to other parts of the wider region.

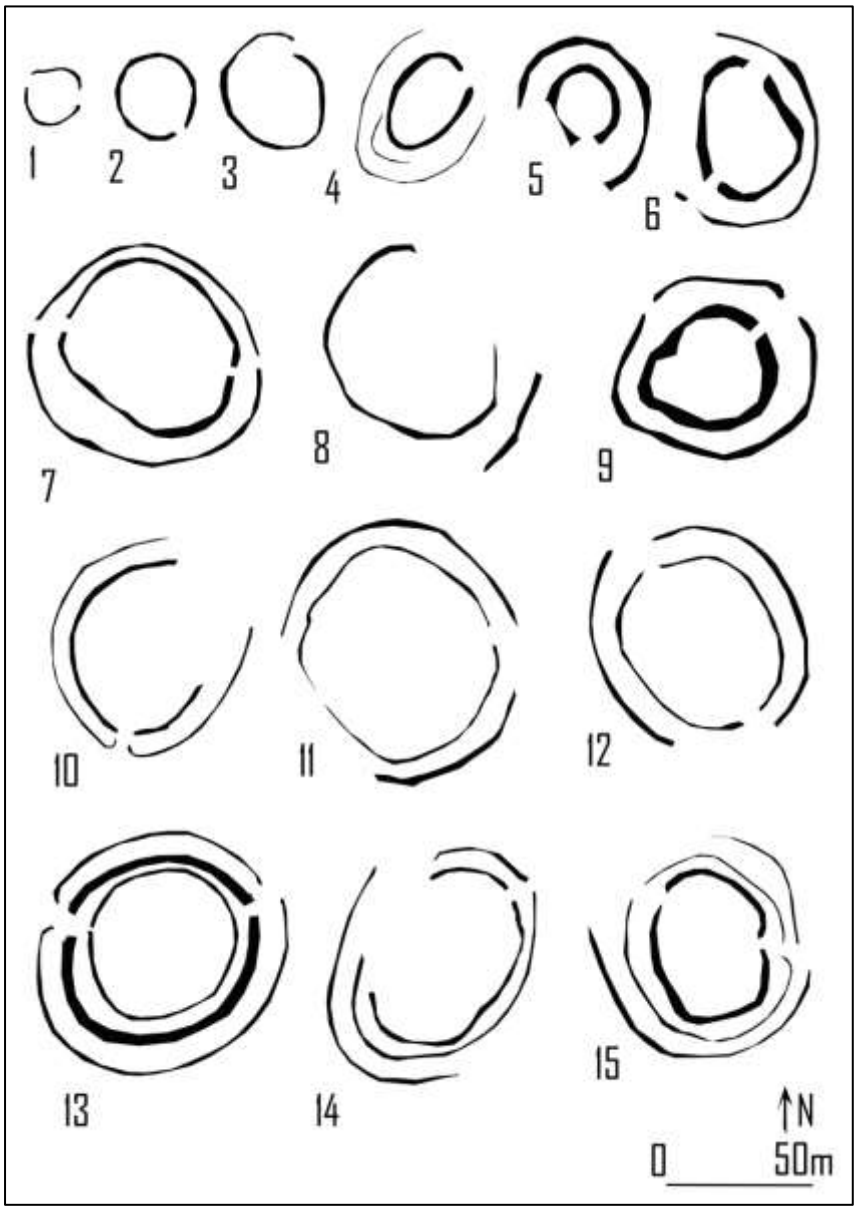



**Fig 37 The enclosed sites of Lanarkshire: 1 Richie Ferry; 2 Candybank; 3 Devonshaw Hill; 4 Langloch Knowe; 5 Cairngryfe; 6 Cowcastle; 7 Park Know; 8 St Johns Kirk; 9 Blackhill;10 Southholm; 11 Castlehill Strip; 12 Collins Burn; 13 Fallburn; 14 Nisbet; 15 Toft Combs (Drawings by author after RCHAMS 1978)**

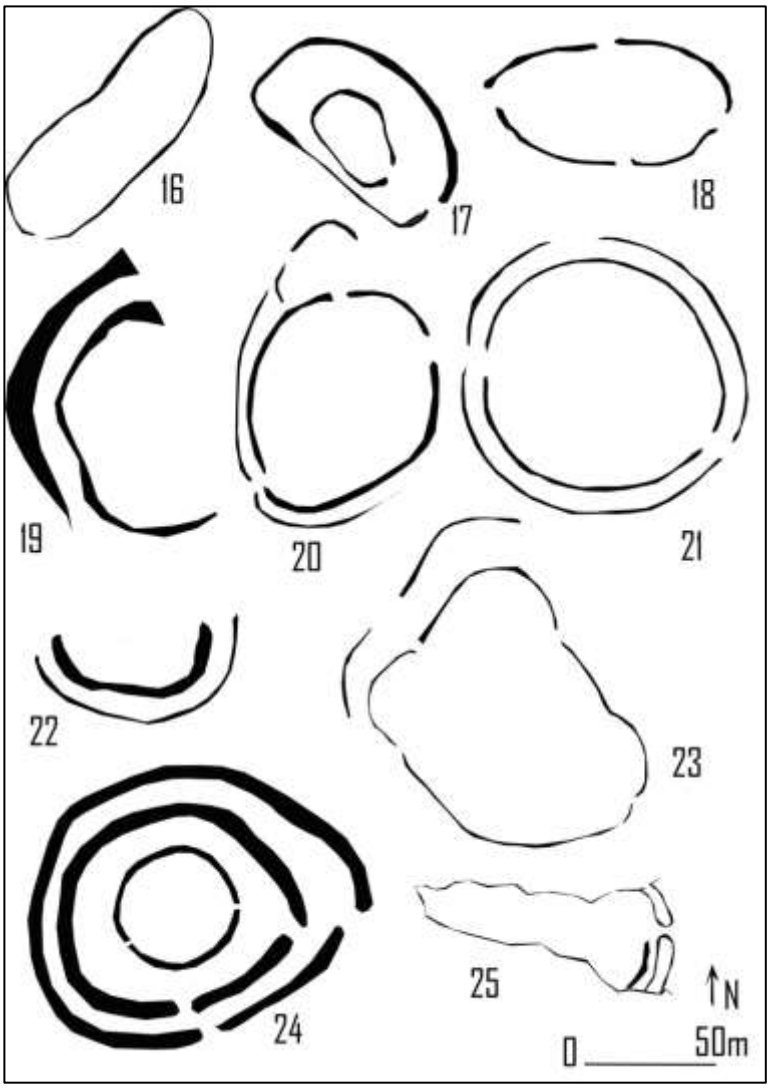



**Fig 38 The enclosed sites of Lanarkshire: 16 Berries Burn; 17 St Johns Kirk; 18 Richie Ferry; 19 Boghall; 20 Cocklaw Hill; 21Chester Hill; 22 Shiell Burn; 23 Bodsberry; 24 Arbory Hill; 25 Woodend Burn. (Drawings by author after RCHAMS 1978)**

## Form of Enclosed Sites in Lanarkshire

There are four different forms of enclosed site in the archaeological record of the Lanarkshire area (Fig 39 & Fig 40) including; ditch defined sites, ditch and rampart or ditch and bank defined sites, rampart defined sites and stone wall defined sites. As can be seen the Lanarkshire area is dominated by ditch defined enclosures, representing 71% of the total number of sites. Of these sites it can be seen that those sites which are solely ditch defined represent 40% of the total number of

enclosed sites, while those sites which are additionally defined by banks or ramparts represent 31% of the total number of enclosed sites found in the area. As was discussed in Chapter One, these sites shall be regarded as belonging to the same tradition of enclosure, as it is often not possible to determine if the ditch defined sites also once had banks or ramparts that have subsequently been ploughed away. Having said this, the difference between these two forms of enclosed site does suggest something about the landscape location of these sites, as can be seen in the map below (Fig 41). It does appear to be that those sites that are defined by ramparts or banks tend to be on higher ground where they have not been subject to the rigours of the plough, and therefore survive to a greater degree than the ditch defined sites that occupy the fertile low-lying areas of the region. While it can also be seen that the ditch defined sites do not extend to the upland areas in the south of the study area.

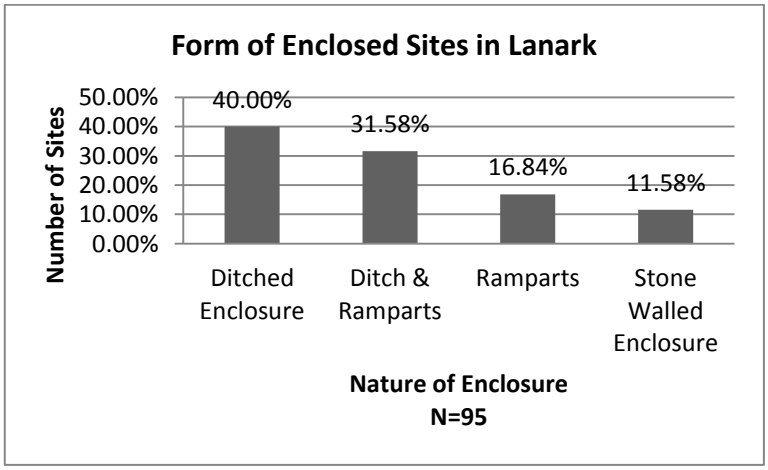



**Fig 39 Form of enclosed sites in Lanarkshire.**

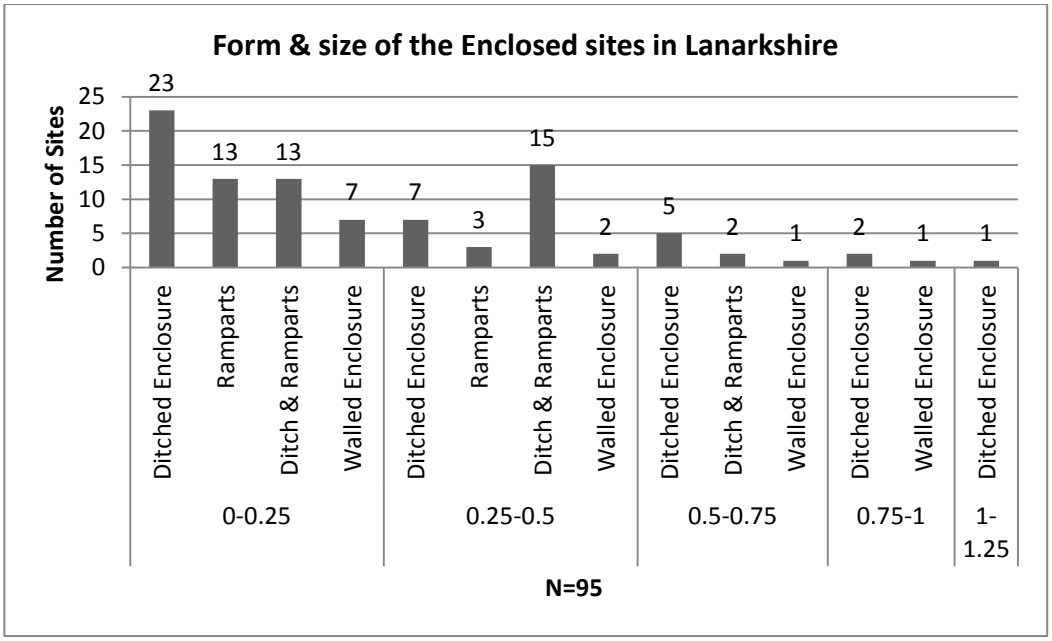



**Fig 40 Form and size of the enclosed sites of Lanarkshire.**

Rampart defined sites account for 17% of the enclosed sites of the area. These sites have tended to be regarded as forts and are generally located on prominent hilltop locations and upland environments, as can be seen in the map below (Fig 41). However, as has been noted above, it appears that the majority of these sites are relatively small, enclosing areas of less than a quarter of a hectare in size. These sites are similar in many ways to the stone walled sites that are found in the area, that account for the remaining 12% of enclosed sites. The difference between these sites is not always made clear in the records, though it can be seen that they occupy similar locations in the landscape. It could therefore be suggested that the stone built ramparts and the stone walled sites belong to the same tradition of enclosure. Though the Commission does state in its inventory of the Lanarkshire area that "walls consist of a core of earth or stone, faced on each side with boulders, while the ramparts are normally composed of material obtained from accompanying quarry ditches or from surface scraping" (RCHAMS 1978, 26), which indicates a different method of construction and therefore, arguably a different form of enclosure. These distinctions have a long tradition in the survey and recording of Iron Age sites in the area. For instance Christison described sites as being defined by "works of un-built stone" when referring to ramparts and "works of dry

masonry" when referring to stone walled enclosures (Christison 1889, 426). Therefore for the purposes of this research these sites shall be regarded as belonging to different traditions of enclosure.

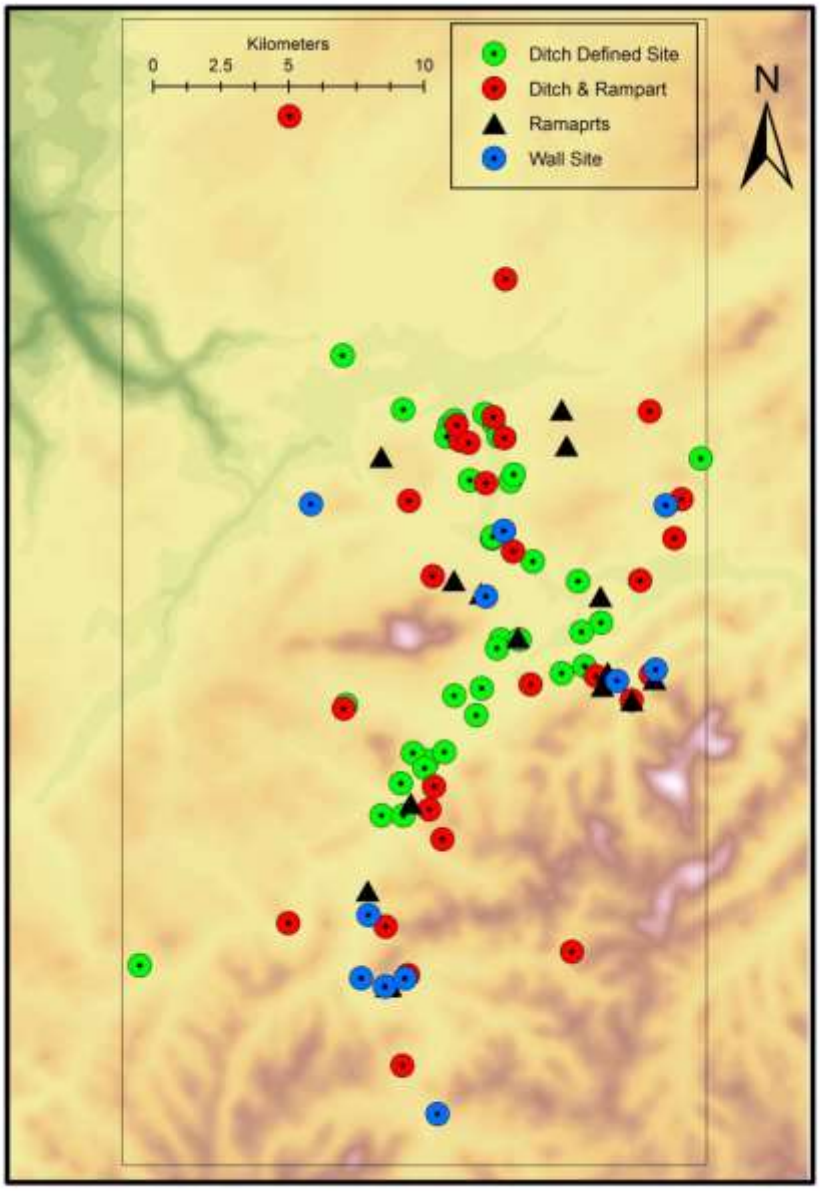



**Fig 41 Distribution of the different forms of enclosed site in Lanarkshire.**

# Ditched Defined Sites

## Small Ditched Defined Sites

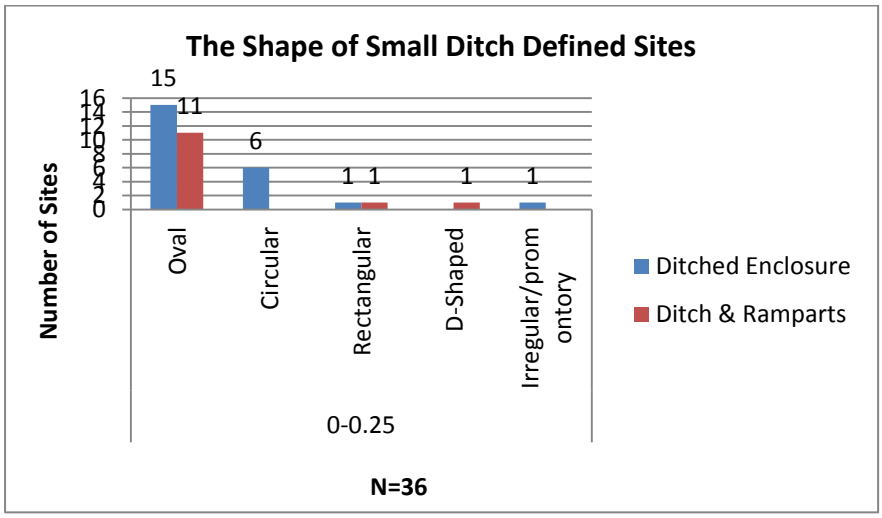



**Fig 42 Form and shape of the small ditch defined sites in Lanarkshire.**

Over half of the small enclosed sites in the Lanarkshire area are ditch defined (Fig 40 & Fig 42). When we look at the shape of these small ditch defined sites it can be seen that the vast majority, representing some 72%, are oval in nature. The majority of these oval sites are solely ditch defined, while a significant number also occupy more up land areas, represented by the ditch and rampart defined sites. Only six of the small ditch defined sites in the Lanarkshire area are circular in nature, and possibly significantly all are solely ditch defined, reflecting the low-lying nature of these sites. Two small ditch defined sites are rectangular, one of which is additionally defined by a rampart. There are a further two sites that utilise natural features to complete their circuits of enclosure, represented by the D-Shaped site and the promontory site, the former of which is ditch and rampart defined and the latter solely defined by ditches.

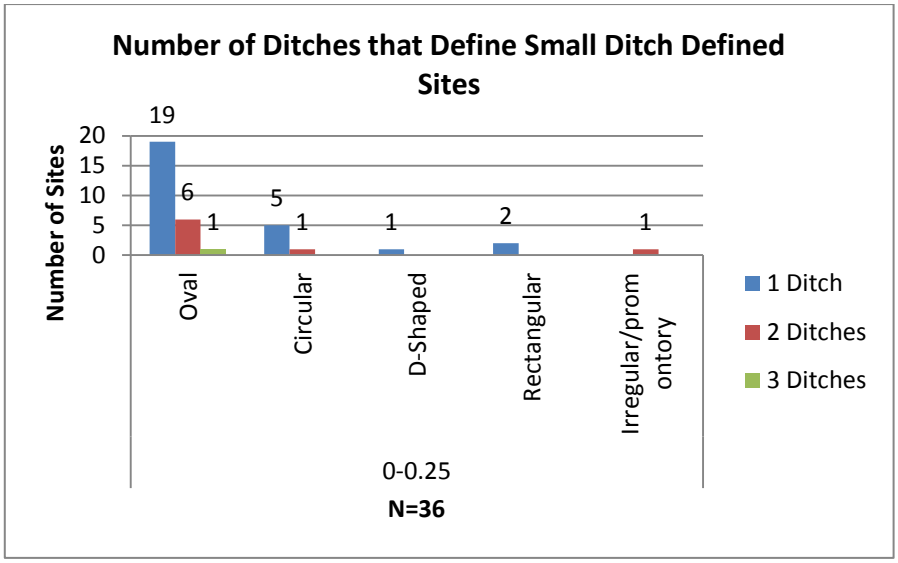



**Fig 43 Number of ditches used to define the small enclosed sites of Lanarkshire.**

When we look at the number of ditches that were used to define these small sites (Fig 43) it can be seen that the majority are enclosed by a single ditch, though there are a small number of sites that are also bivallate. Of these sites the majority are oval in nature but there is also one site that is circular and one promontory site. In addition to these double ditched sites there is also a site, at Cormiston Towers Farm, that is defined by three ditches which enclose an oval area of 0.15Ha in extent. This site is similar to the triple ditched, oval sites at Braehead and Barochan Cross in the Clyde area, but it is considerably smaller than these sites, which enclose areas of 0.35Ha and 0.72Ha in extent. When we look at the ditch and rampart defined sites it can be seen that the majority are defined by a single rampart (Fig 44), while there are three oval sites that have a double rampart arrangement. The elaborate nature of the multi-ditched and multi-rampart defined sites compared to the space that they enclosed is potentially important, possibly reflecting the high status of the groups that lived within and constructed these sites. Though other factors such as the practice of re-enclosure, seen in many excavated multi-phase sites such as at Braehead, also needs to be addressed.

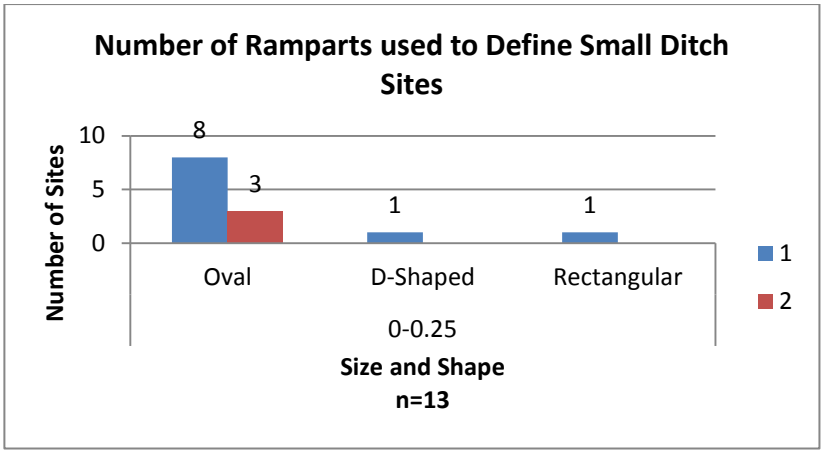



**Fig 44 Number of ramparts used to define the small enclosed site of Lanarkshire.**

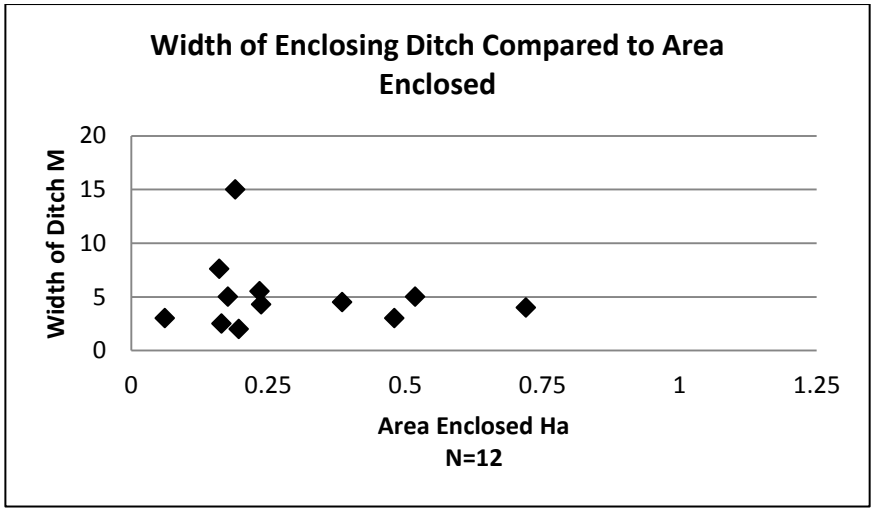



**Fig 45 Width of ditches used to define the enclosed sites of Lanarkshire**

Compared to the Ayrshire area, where there was evidence that a number of the small oval ditch defined sites were often enclosed by disproportionately wide ditches compared to the area that they enclosed, there does not appear to be a tradition of this phenomena in the Lanarkshire area (Fig 45). That being said, one small site at Westside, which has been classed as a settlement by the Commission (RCHAMS 1978; 155), lies within the northern group of sites at Symington, and is perhaps comparable to the sites that are found in the Ayrshire area. This site was subject to a geophysical survey (Sharpe & Hammer 1999) that revealed traces of potential internal features. This also revealed a large enclosing ditch that is 15m wide, along with the possible remains of a rampart, which define an oval area measuring 0.19Ha in extent, with opposing entrances to the East and West. The

other sites where the width of the enclosing ditches could be measured tend to cluster between 2m and 8.5 meters, with an average width of 4.5m.

## Moderately Sized Ditch Defined Sites

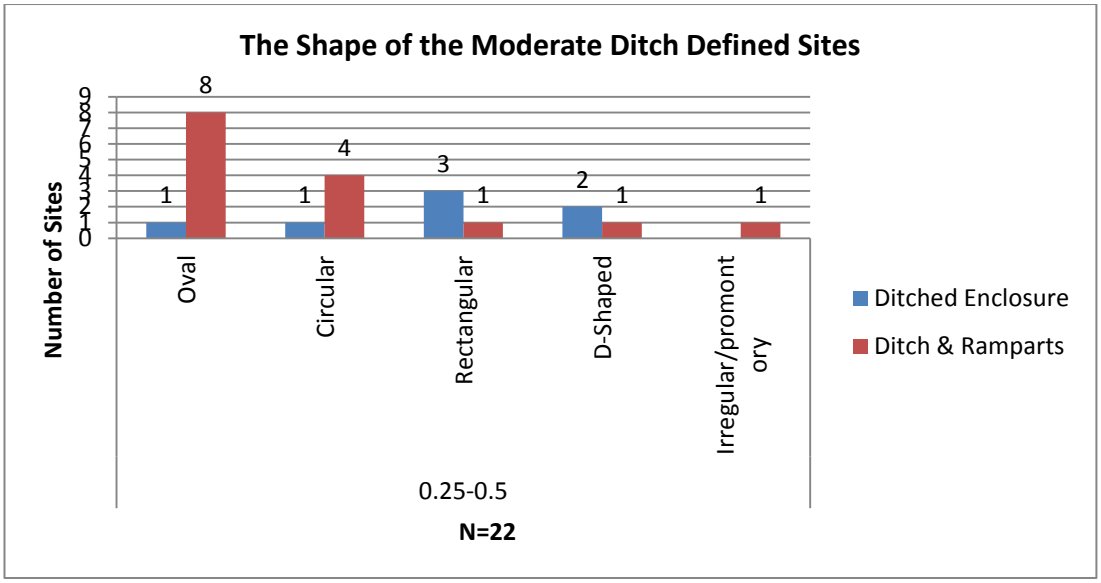



**Fig 46 Form and shape of moderately sized ditch defined sites in Lanarkshire**

In the moderately sized ditch defined sites in Lanarkshire (Fig 46) we see a reasonably different way of enclosing space compared to the small ditch defined sites, which perhaps suggests that we are seeing different social conditions being played out at these larger sites. Again like the small sites, the majority of the moderate sites are oval in nature, but unlike the small sites we see a larger degree of variability in shape, with proportionately more circular, rectangular and D-Shaped sites. The rectangular sites, all of which are located in low-lying locations, represent the largest number of these types of site in the area. This suggests that rectangular sites are more likely to fall between a quarter and half a Hectare in extent. Additionally, more of the moderately sized sites are ditch and rampart defined, representing 64% of the total number, compared with those sites that are solely ditch defined which represent a further 36% of sites. This is a reversal of what we see in the small ditch defined sites and it appears that the moderately sized ditch defined sites are located in different landscape positions, in more upland areas away from the low-lying plough levelled areas, which as can be seen (Fig 41) appear to be dominated by smaller sites. When we compare the moderately sized

oval and circular sites to the small sites then we can see that there is an almost complete reversal in the way these sites are defined and located within the landscape. For instance compared to the small circular sites, that are solely ditch defined and located in low lying areas. The majority of the moderately sized circular sites are ditch and rampart defined and tend to occupy upland locations. Additionally as can be seen in the figure below (Fig 48) all of these circular sites are defined by two ramparts.

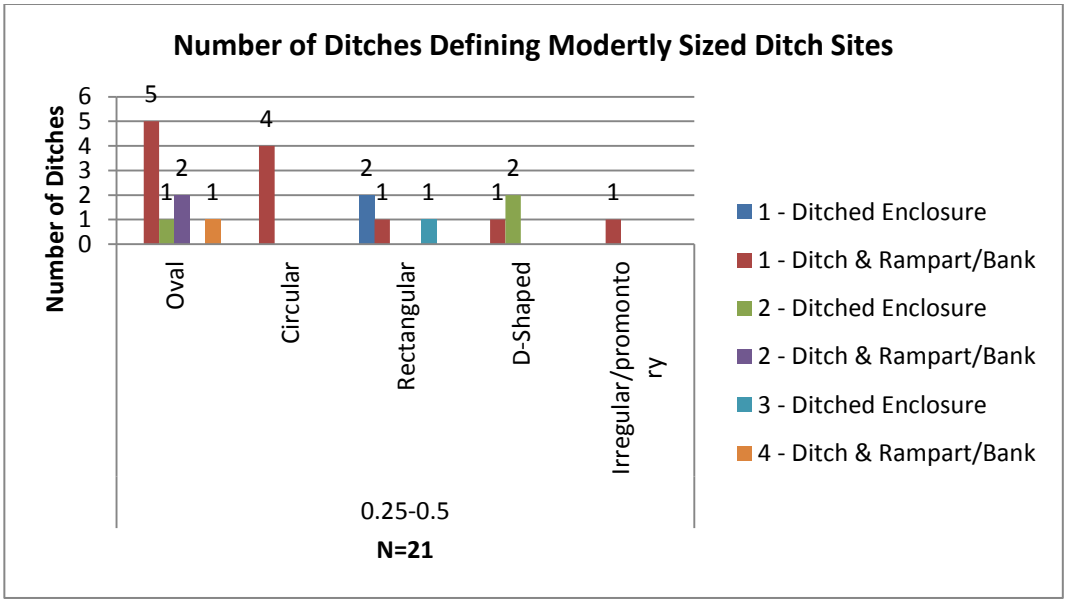



**Fig 47 Number of Ditches used to define the moderately sized enclosed sites in Lanarkshire.**

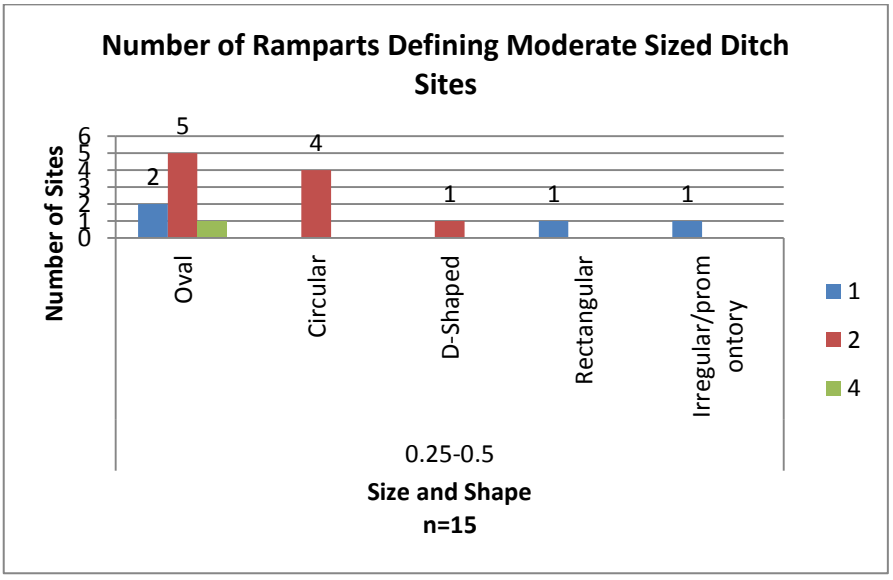



**Fig 48 Number of ramparts used to define the moderately sized enclosed sites in Lanarkshire.**

The number of ditches that were used to define these moderately sized sites reflects the trend we can see in the small enclosed sites, where the majority are enclosed by a single ditch, while a small number defined by two or more ditches (Fig 47). This similarity is not seen though in the number of ramparts used to define these sites (Fig 48), where the majority of sites are defined by two ramparts. Interestingly there is one oval site that is partially enclosed by four ditches and ramparts, again possibly indicating the status of the people that built and used the site, or possibly marking it out as a different form of place. The site at Camps Know Wood (Fig 49) overlooks a loch, measures 0.28Ha in extent and is defined on all sides by a series of ditches and ramparts. Along its south west side, where the approach to the site is more gentle and therefore possible required extra protection or more elaborate definition, it is also defined by four ditches and ramparts. In addition to this site there is an unusual rectangular site that is enclosed by three ditches at Mountherrick. The site was discovered through aerial photography, though some very faint traces of the site could still be seen on the ground when the Commission recorded the site (CANMORE 2013). The ditches measure between 3m and 4m across and are spaced approximately 6m apart, enclosing an area of around 0.37Ha in extent. The entrance is clearly defined by the ditch terminals on the east side. There are also the very faint traces of a timber built roundhouse on the oblique aerial photographs, indicating the probable later prehistoric nature of the site.

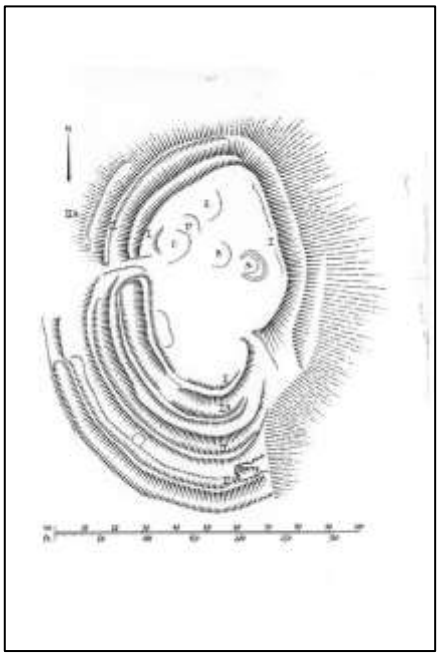


**Fig 49 Royal Commission survey of Camps Know Wood (RCHAMS 1978, 96-97)**

## Large Ditch Defined Sites

The dominance of the oval ditched sites declines when we look at the larger sites of the area where it can be seen that more are circular or rectangular in nature (Fig 50). In addition to this, the majority of these larger sites also appear to be located in more low-lying locations that have been ploughed flat and are therefore solely defined by ditches. This is in contrast to the more moderate sized sites of the area, which tend to be located in more upland locations. The number of ditches used to enclose the larger sites (Fig 52) is also different, compared to the smaller and moderate sized enclosures, in that none are defined by more than two ditches. The two sites that are ditch and rampart defined are defined by two ramparts.

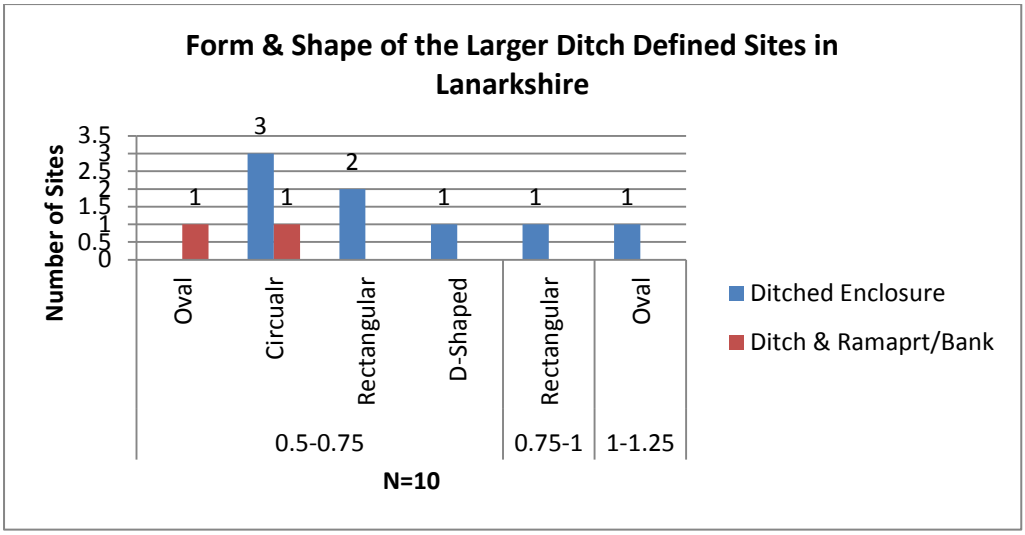



**Fig 50 Form and shape of the larger ditch defined sites in Lanarkshire**

The largest site in the area at Woodend measures 1.03Ha in size and is defined by a pair of ditches with a single broad inner ditch and a thinner outer ditch. This site is unusual in west central Scotland, as the other sites which enclose areas that are over 1Ha in size are usually additionally or solely defined by ramparts and tend to occupy more upland locations, or are located on top of large prominent hills, commanding extensive views of the surrounding countryside. Woodend is effectively overlooked by a smaller rampart defined site of Devonshaw Hill, which is 0.22Ha in extent. Woodend was recorded by the Commission as a settlement, while Devonshaw Hill was recorded as a fort. This demonstrates problems with this traditional classification scheme, as it would suggest that there are social differences between these sites, which may not adequately reflect the true nature of the evidence. This issue shall be returned to in later chapters.

**Fig 51 Plan of Woodend**

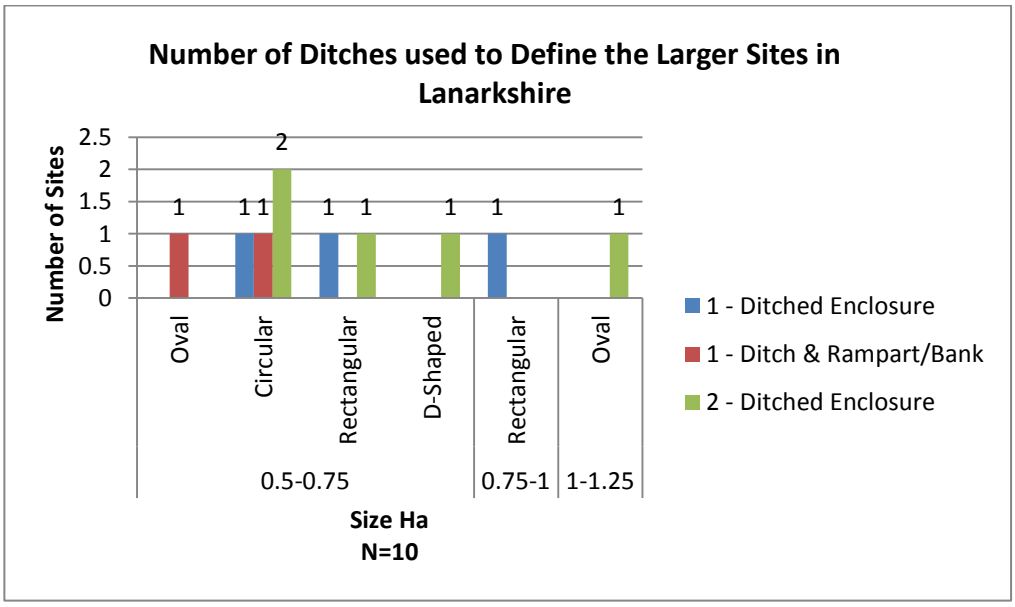



**Fig 52 Number of Ditches used to enclose the larger enclosed sites in Lanarkshire**

## Rampart Defined Enclosed Sites

All of the rampart defined sites, as can be seen in the map above (Fig 41), are found in the upland areas of the study area, as well as on prominent hill tops overlooking the low-lying areas of the river Clyde, which are dominated by the small ditch defined sites. The rampart defined sites of Lanarkshire account for 20% of the total number of enclosed sites in the area (Fig 39). The majority of sites, representing 77% of the total number, are small in nature, measuring less than a quarter of hectare in extent (Fig 40). A further 23% are of a moderate size of between a quarter of a hectare and half a hectare in extent. Of these sites it can be seen that the majority are oval in nature (Fig 53), while only a small percentage are circular. None of the moderate sized sites are circular, which is in contrast to the moderately sized ditch and rampart sites, of which a relatively large number are circular.

As can be seen from the diagram below (Fig 54) the majority of these sites, representing 72% of the total number, are defined by only one rampart, though there are a small number that are bivallate. Given that these sites are relatively small, it can be suggested that those sites that have been enclosed by multiple ramparts are an elaborate form of enclosure which again, like the multi-ditched enclosures, are possibly associated with the status of the inhabitants or users of the sites. Alternatively these multi-enclosed sites may be associated with a long history of use and occupation, with multiple phases of enclosure or enclosure events. Evidence for this has been seen at the excavated site at Cairndryffe, as well at other sites in the Clyde and Ayrshire areas. This pattern of enclosure is also reflected in the ditch and rampart defined sites, though in these sites, the moderately sized oval sites tend to be enclosed by two ramparts or banks (though there is one site, mentioned earlier, that is partially defined by four ramparts).

The only excavated example of a rampart defined site was at Cairngryffe, excavated by Gordon Childe in the early 1940's ahead of its destruction through quarrying (Childe 1941, 213-218). The "defences" as they were referred to, appeared to have

belonged to two phases, an earlier phase defined by a single rampart enclosing an oval area measuring around 49m from north to south by 42m transversely. Later, a stone wall was constructed within the area defined by the rampart, enclosing an oval area measuring 22.3m north to south by 19.2m. The entrance to the enclosure was in the south side in both phases. No definite traces of complete internal structures were found, but up to eight post holes were recorded close to the wall, which may have represented a lean-to structure. The artefacts recovered from the excavation included a number of bronze objects which included a "Donside terret", an object of lead, and two shale or cannel coal rings, suggesting the site was occupied in the later part of the 1st millennium BC or the beginning of the 1st millennium AD. The terret in particular is relatively diagnostic and MacGregor suggested a date of the 1st century BC through to the third century AD for it. (MacGregor 1976, 47-48), though Hunter (2007) limits their range to the first two centuries AD.

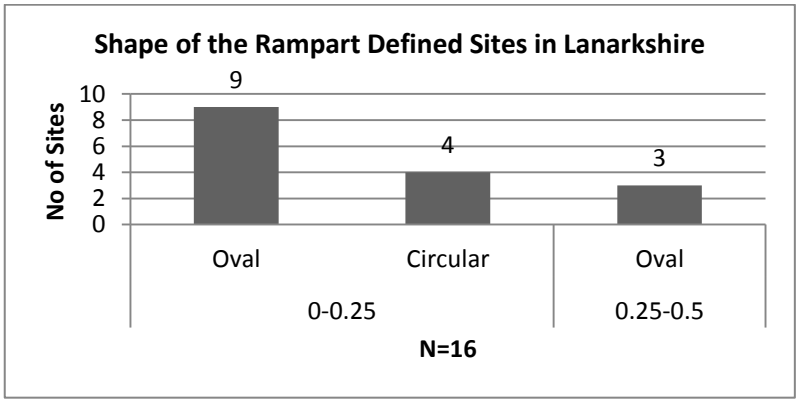



**Fig 53 The Shape and size range of rampart defined sites in Lanarkshire**

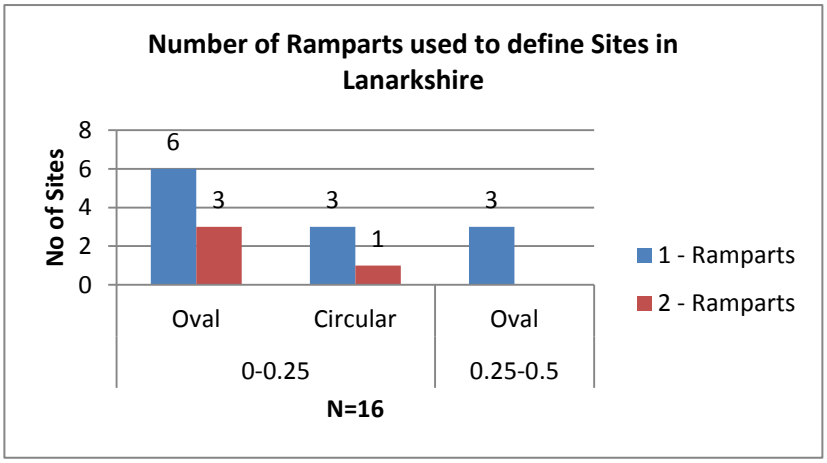



**Fig 54 Number of ramparts used to define rampart defined sites.**

## Walled Defined Sites

As with the rampart defined sites, it can be seen that the wall defined sites of Lanarkshire are located in upland locations and on prominent hilltops overlooking the low-lying valleys of the area (Fig 41). The wall defined sites account for 12% of the number of enclosed sites in the area. As with the rampart defined sites the majority generally enclose areas of up to a quarter of a hectare in size, while there are also a small number of more moderate and large sites (Fig 55). These sites, many of which have been regarded as forts, are in fact some of the smallest enclosed sites in the area. As a result of this we are forced to address how we regard these hilltop sites, compared to the larger low lying ditch defined sites as well as the larger rampart defined sites. In addition we also have to consider the differences which can be see between the smallest of these sites, such as Richie Ferry (which encloses an area of 0.03Ha) compared to the larger wall defined sites such as the site at Quothquan Law (which encloses an area of 0.6Ha in extent). It could be argued that what we are seeing in these sites is a different form of enclosure, which might have been associated with a range of different activities or functions. In addition issues to do with the relative social status of the builders also needs to be considered. How these sites relate to the other stone built enclosed sites found in the wider region also need to be addressed. For instance, it could be suggested that we are seeing a number of similarities with these sites and those small stone built sites of the Clyde area. Though, as is discussed in the Clyde chapter, these sites may have more in common with the Atlantic type sites of Kintyre. These questions will be explored more fully in the next section, but it is worth highlighting here that one of the few recorded brochs in the whole of west central Scotland, Calla, is located in the northern part of this study area, which suggests that Atlantic inspired architecture is not un-common in this area.

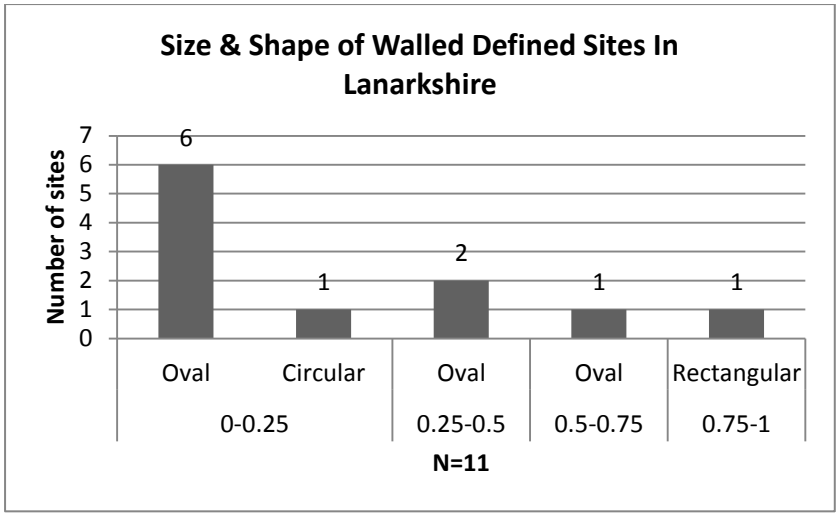



**Fig 55 Wall defined sites in Lnarkshire**

When we look at the shape of the wall built sites in this area it can be seen (Fig 55) that, like all of the enclosed sites of the area, the majority (85%) are oval in nature, while there is also one circular site, and one unusual rectangular site. This site is one of the largest stone walled enclosures in the area, and is the only (sub)rectangular site that is not ditch defined. The site is located at the summit of Bodsberry Hill overlooking the River Clyde just south of Crawford, and is defined by the remains of a stone wall, which enclose an area measuring 0.62Ha in extent. There are four gaps in the wall, in the North West, North East, South East, and South west, which the surveyors regarded as being original and the entrances to the enclosure. The site was additionally protected on the North West side with the inclusion of a slightly smaller stone bank or low wall. During excavations in the mid-19$^{th}$ century by Irving and Murray (1864), a well or cistern was recorded near the North West corner of the enclosure.

# Entrance Orientation of the Enclosed sites in Lanarkshire

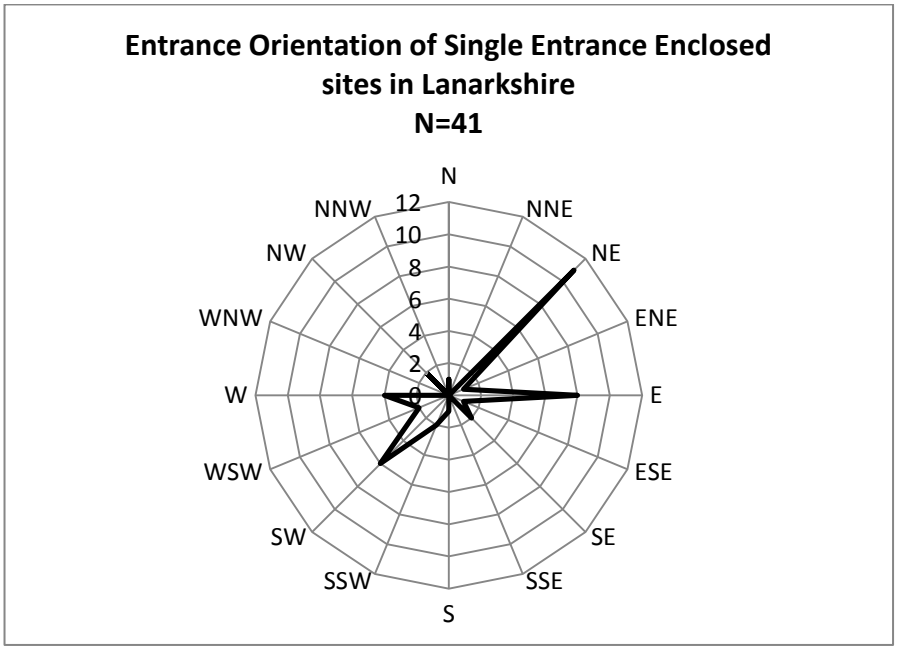



**Fig 56 Entrace orientation of single enteacne enclosed sites in Lanrkshire.**

As we have seen above, compared to the other case study areas, there are a larger number of sites Lanarkshire, and of these, 41 are defined by a single entrance (Fig 56). There are also 19 sites in the area that have double entraces while there are three sites that have three different entaces and two unusuals site, at Richie Ferry and BodsberryHill, that have four entraces. Of the single entrance sites we can see that there is a general north-east-south-west axis which dominates entrance orientation in the area. Eleven sites (27%) in the area are aligned towards the north-east while there are eight sites (20%) aligned to the east, there are also six sites (15%) aligned to the south-west and four sites (10%) which are aligned to the west. There are also smaller numbers of sites aligned in other directions, though these are represented in much smaller numbers. In particular it can be seen that there are only two sites orientated towards the south-east, which is unusually given that the majority of sites in other parts of the UK are aligned in this way. This evidence suggests that we are seeing a different way of defining space and enclosing sites, compared to other areas, and that that having sites aligned to the south-east was perhaps less important for the people that lived in the Lanrakhire

area, compared to those living in other parts of the country. At the same time it can be seen that the north-east, the direction of the rising sun at mid-summer, was much more important.

Given the large number of enclosed sites in this area compared to the other case study areas, we also see the largest number of sites which have multiple entrances. Though it could also be suggested that there may also be cultural and social conditions at play in this area which may have meant that it was more appropriate or common for sites to have more than one entrance. There are nineteen sites in this area which have double entrances. Of these sites only four have directly opposing entrances, while the remaining seventeen sites have entrances that are not aligned. The significance of this is not clear but it does suggest that as those sites that have directly opposing entrances were not common, that they were perhaps associated with different activates or were associated with different groups of people compared to other sites. Those sites with entrances orientated in different, seemingly random ways, may have been relate to different practices or the occupants may have been concerned with being orientated towards particular special places in the landscape or different solstice events.

The graph below (Fig 57) illustrates the entrance orientation of those sites that have double entrances in the Lanarkshire area. It is of course difficult to determine which of the entrances should be classed as the first entrance compared to the second entrance, though in most cases the first entrance was larger or more elaborately defined. It should be noted however, as was discussed in chapter one, there may be chronological issues related with these different entrances, as can be seen at Breahead (Ellis 2007) in the Clyde area, and that without excavation it is difficult to determine which of the entrances would have been the primary entrance and which would have been the secondary entrance. Therefore the graph below should be taken with a degree of caution and not necessarily be relied upon

as a true representation of the nature of enclosed sites in the area, but as an interpretive aid only.

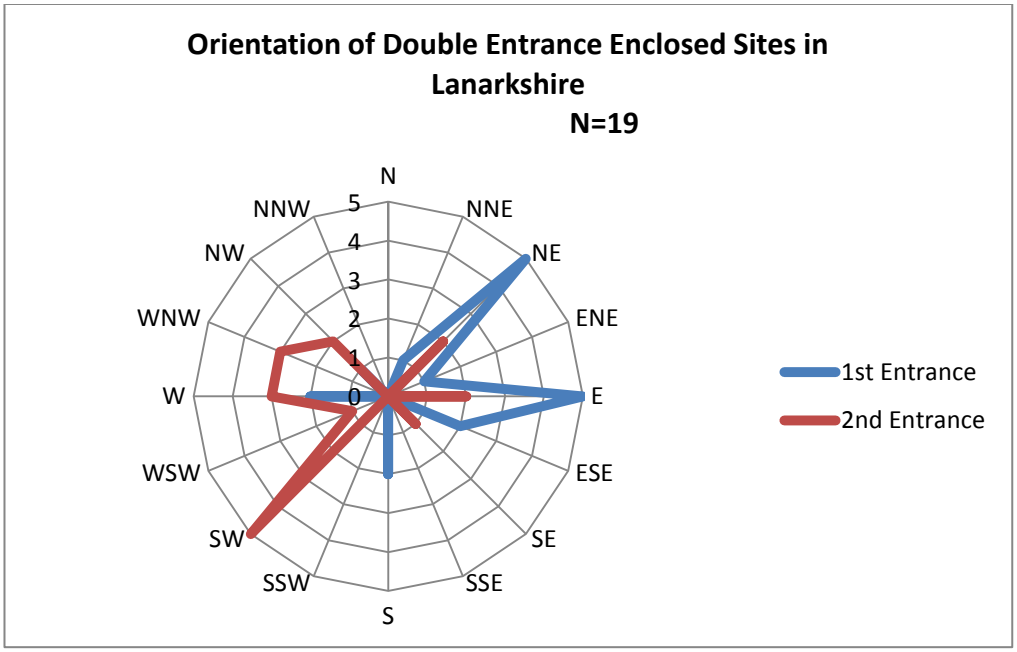



**Fig 57 The entrance orientaon of double entrance enclosed sites in the Lanarkshire area.**

## Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that traditional Royal Commission classification scheme masks a great deal of diversity and complexity that can be seen in the enclosed sites of Lanarkshire, and that many of the forts of the area are in fact smaller than the settlements, earthworks and enclosures. The landscape of Lanarkshire is dominated by small curvilinear sites, which are enclosed in a variety of ways. In general, as can be expected, those sites that are located in upland locations are defined by ditch and ramparts, stone built ramparts, or stone built walls, while those sites that are located in the more fertile areas of the valley bottoms survive as ditch defined sites. The enclosed sites of this area display a continuum of sizes, from the small to the relatively large, which is in contrast to the other study areas, which as shall be discussed in Chapter Six, display a much more diverse size range. This, along with dense clustering of sites in this area, may suggest that society was organised in different ways compared to other parts of the

region. This may also be suggested in the orientation of the enclosed sites, which display a much greater propensity to be aligned to the north east compared to other areas, perhaps indicating that the people of Lanarkshire had different cosmological concerns to the people from the wider region. In the next chapter the enclosed sites of the Clyde area shall be examined, which as shall be seen, is an area that is much more similar to Ayrshire.

# Chapter Four: The Enclosed Sites in the Clyde Area

## Introduction

The Clyde study area is dominated the River Clyde, which as can be seen form the maps below, flows from east to west, before joining the Firth of Clyde, which leads to the Irish Sea and the Atlantic. Like the Ayrshire area, this part of west central Scotland has not been the subject of intensive survey by the Commission and as such our knowledge of the archaeology of the area relies on Ordinance Survey data, as well as the long tradition of amateur investigation. The area has been heavily urbanised since the 19th century, and as a result many of the low lying sites of the region will have been destroyed. Though, as shall be seen, there are occasional survivors, even in Glasgow, at sites such as Camphill in Queenspark (Fairhurst & Scott 1953), as well as the Pollok earthwork (Johnson 1959; 1960; Driscoll & Mitchell 2008), both of which have been the subject of small scale investigation. To the west of the study area are the hills of Renfrewshire, where a number of small, but relatively well preserved sites area located, many of which, as was discussed in the first chapter, have been the subject of amateur investigation (Alexander 1996; Alexander & McCrae 2012). The crannogs that are found on the River Clyde (Hale 2000; 2004), which are discussed in detail in Chapter Eight, have also been the subject of investigation over the last two hundred years. In addition, this area has been the subject of intensive development over the last three decades, and as such the number of sites known through developer funded archaeology is much greater in this area compared to other parts of west central Scotland. It is here that important sites such as Braehead (Ellis 2007) and Mar Hall (Lynchehaun 2009) are located, which are discussed in detail below.

# Size of the Enclosed Sites in the Clyde Area

The majority of the 42 enclosed sites in the Clyde area are small in nature (Fig 58), measuring less than a quarter of a hectare in size (Table 5). There are also proportionality fewer larger sites in the Clyde area, compared to the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire areas we have previously looked at. We do however encounter the largest enclosed site in the whole of the west central Scotland, the "fort" of Walls Hill, which encloses a massive area of around 7.5 Ha in extent (Fig 61). The size of this site is dramatically larger than any of other sites found in the area, and commands extensive views across the entire region. Having been dated to the latter part of the 1st millennium BC, through a small scale excavation conducted by Newall in the 1970's (Alexander 1996; 2000), it can be suggested that this site would have formed a focus for the communities of the region during the latter prehistoric period.

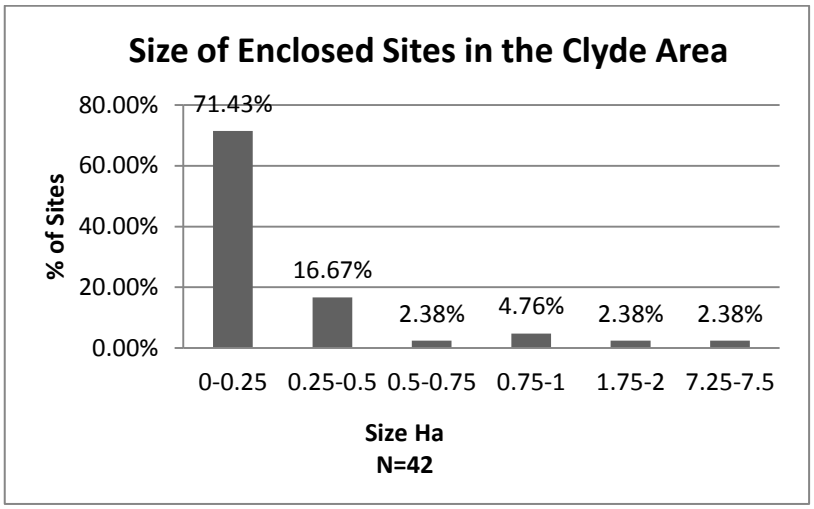



**Fig 58 Size of enclosed sites in the Clyde Area**

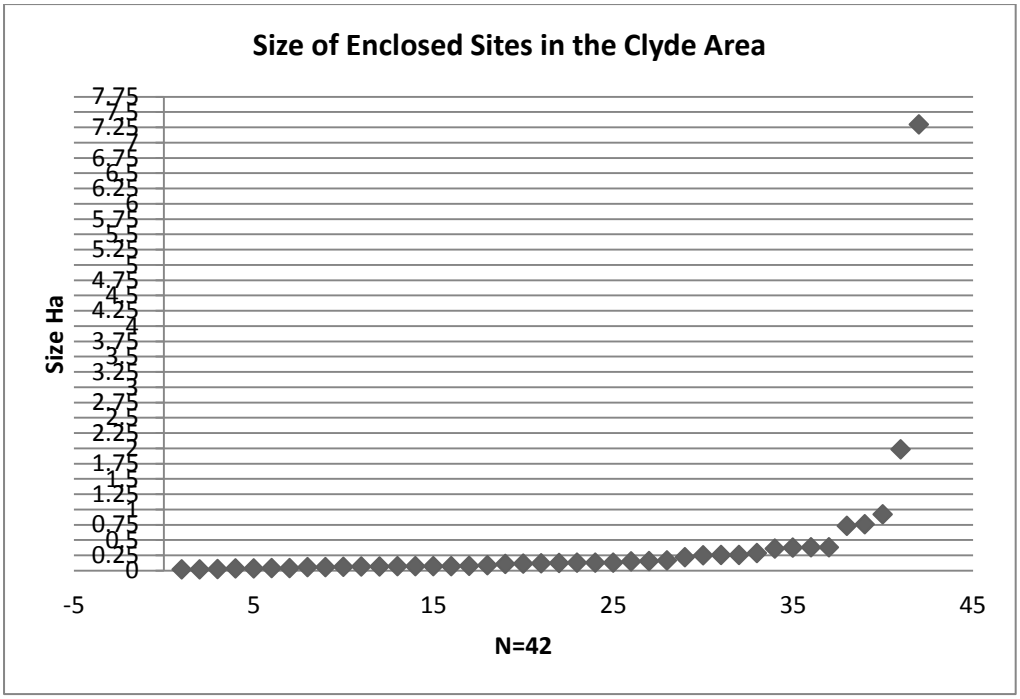



**Fig 59 Size range of sites in the Clyde Area**

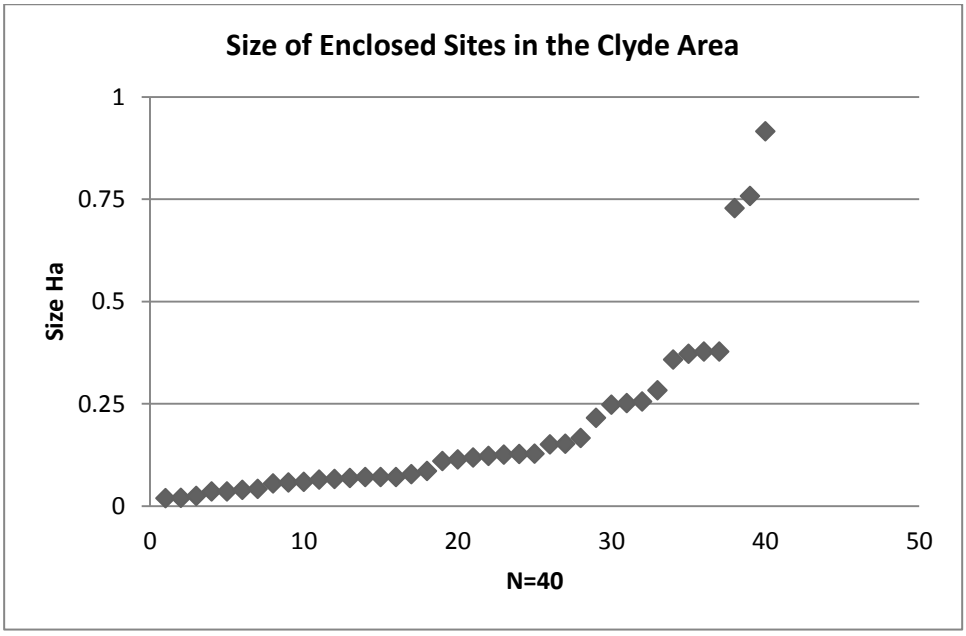



**Fig 60 Size range of enclosed sites in the Clyde area, apart from the two largest sites**

Over 70% of the enclosed sites of the Clyde area are of less than a quarter of a hectare in size, which is higher than in both the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire areas. We can also see that in the Clyde area only 16% of sites measure between a quarter and half a hectare in extent while there are five sites that are larger than half a hectare. This suggests that we are seeing a different way of occupying the landscape in this area compared with other areas south of the Clyde. This

dominance of small sites is demonstrated in the rank size plot (Fig 59), which illustrates the size range of all the enclosed sites in the Clyde area. This graph also demonstrates the difference in size between these smaller sites and the larger sites of the area, especially highlighting the scale of difference between all of these sites and the largest site in the area, at Walls Hill (which measures 7.5Ha in extent). By removing this site, and the site at Carman (which measures 1.9Ha and is the second largest site in the area) out of the graph, we can begin to see some of the more subtle differences in the size range of each of the remaining sites in the Clyde area (Fig 60).

As can be seen from the diagram (Fig 62), the Clyde area is dominated by small enclosed sites, with a particular concentration of them in the hills of Renfrewshire. A number are also located in the low lying areas around Glasgow as well as in the Kelvin Valley to the north. Interestingly a number of these small sites lie in close proximity to sites of a moderate size. The phenomenon of twinned sites can also be seen in other parts of the region, for instance as seen with Wardlaw and Harpercroft in Ayrshire. This phenomenon has also been noted in other parts of Scotland, as discussed by Banks (2002), and also in Wessex, as discussed by Davis (2008; 2010). The larger sites of the Clyde area are located in the lower lying areas of the region, on top of the prominent drumlins that dominate much of the landscape around Glasgow (MacFadyen & Gordon 2006). This is in contrast to the two largest sites in the area which are located in isolation from each other and from the other enclosed sites of the area. Carman is located on the north side of the Clyde on a prominent hilltop, commanding excellent views of the Clyde estuary as well as the Vale of Leven, which leads to fertile areas around Loch Lomond. Walls Hill is located in the high moorland in the south of the study area. The site, which effectively occupies an entire hill, commands extensive views over much of the central belt, from Dumbarton in the west and along the Campsie Fells to the north and east, with views over the fertile lowland leading to the Clyde. Additionally, from this site one can also see all the way out to the fort at Harpercroft in the south, as well as over much of the fertile plains of the Ayrshire coast. As such, this

suggests that this massive site, which is the second largest enclosed place in west central Scotland, would have been the focus for communities across much of the region. It can be argued that we are seeing at this site is a very different form of site, compared to the small enclosures that dominate the area. It is possible that the site would have played a different social and cultural role within society, compared to the other large enclosed sites of the area, and it could even be suggested that it would have a performed a similar role to that of Traprain Law in the Lothians.

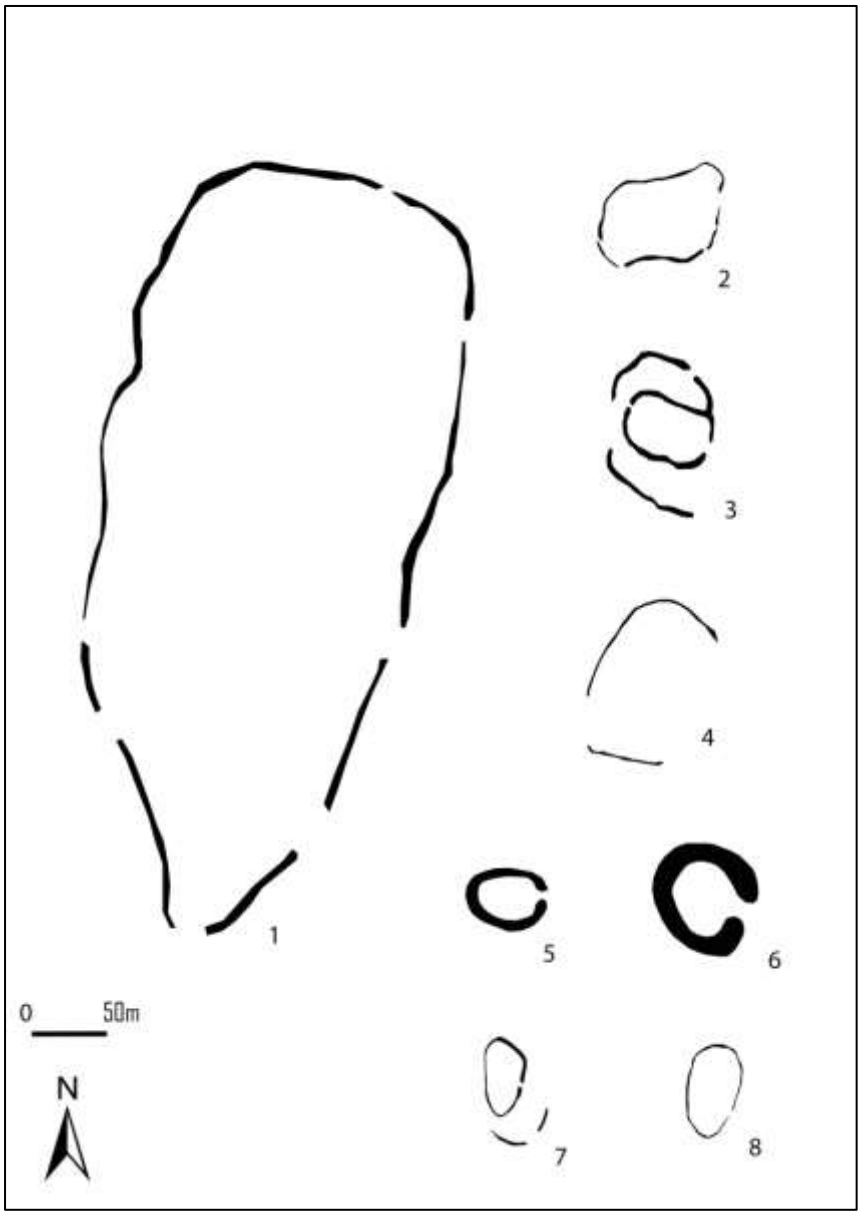



**Fig 61 The upstanding enclosed sites in the Clyde area. 1: Walls Hill; 2: Duncarnock; 3: Craigmarloch; 4: Marshell Moor; 5: Shiels; 6 Pollok; 7: Highcastle Hill; 8: Castle Hill.**

In addition to these sites, the site of Duncarnock, which is around 1.08Ha in extent, is located just to the south of the study area. This, in many ways, highlights a problem with interpreting the settlement of landscape using arbitrary case study areas. Dividing the land up using these boundaries would clearly have not been relevant in the past, and as such does not represent a genuine settlement pattern or social grouping. Therefore we should be cautious in using them to impose cultural or social interpretations onto the past. This massive site is enclosed by a large stone wall and is located on top of a dominant and visually striking volcanic plug, which commands extensive views of the surrounding countryside. This dominant landscape position, as well as its undoubtedly defensive nature, clearly indicates that it was a major and important site within the area and perhaps the wider region during the later prehistoric period. Another site, which is not included in this morphological study, but which should also be mentioned is Dumbarton Castle, which may also have been occupied during this period. However apart from some small scale excavations undertaken by Alcock (Alcock & Alcock 1991) which revealed evidence of early medieval activity at this important site, little is known about the extent to which this site was used or occupied during the Iron Age period. For this reason it is not included in this morphological discussion.

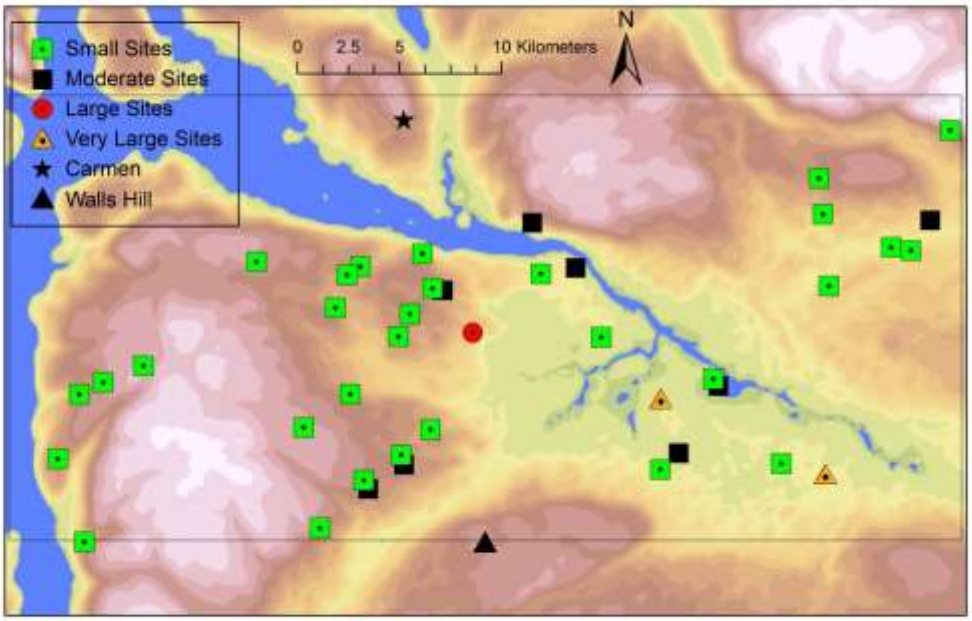



**Fig 62 Location of the different sized enclosed sites in the Clyde Area**

## Traditional Classification of the Enclosed Sites of Lanarkshire Compared with the area that they enclosed

When we look at the way in which the enclosed sites of the Clyde area have traditionally been classed and interpreted, compared to their size (Fig 63), a number of interesting patterns emerge. These again force us to reassess and challenge the traditional interpretations of the nature of settlement archaeology, settlement patterns and by extension our understanding of the social structure of the period which have dominated debate and interpretations of the Iron Age in Scotland. For instance it can be seen that the majority of sites traditionally classified as forts in the area are in fact relatively small, measuring less than a quarter of a hectare in size. This therefore raises questions to do with how we understand these sites and how they relate to the other small sites of the area, such as the ploughed out ditch defined enclosures. For instance, given that these different

"types" of site are of a similar size, can we conclude that there were similar levels of social statutes for the occupants and builders of these sites? If so how does this affect the way in which we understand the nature of the social structure of the area in relation to the settlement archaeology? Alternatively issues to with social status may have been played out in different ways, perhaps in relation to agricultural wealth. It can therefore be suggested that these different forms of enclosure performed different social roles within society, and that they are not directly related to social status. These questions and issues shall be explored in more detail in later chapters, once the morphological nature of these sites is worked through in the proceeding sections. However it can be suggested that it was often the landscape location of these sites that meant that they have been classed and interpreted in different ways.

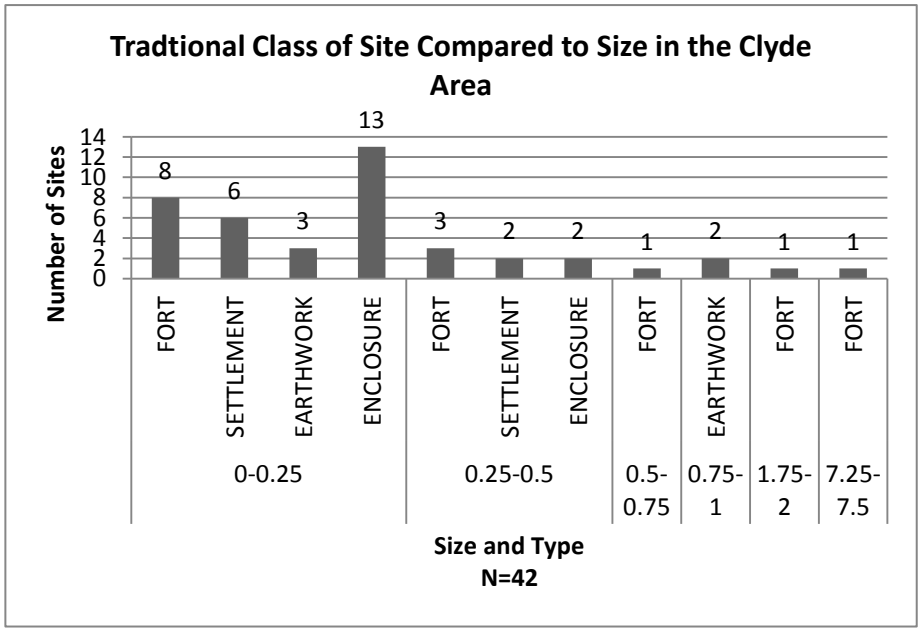



**Fig 63 Traditional class of enclosed sites in the Clyde area compared to the new size categories**

The nature of landscape location and the way sites have traditionally been regarded is perhaps best seen when we look at the larger sites of the area. For instance Camphill in Glasgow encloses an area of 0.9Ha in extent and is defined by a massive ditch and rampart. This site is the largest site in the area, apart from Carman and Walls Hill, yet despite its size, because it is not located in an upland location or on a

prominent hilltop it has been regarded as an earthwork and not as a fort. Conversely one of the largest sites in the area is the multivallate, ditch defined site of Barochan Cross (Alexander 2000), and despite it having no upstanding remains, as it sits on top of a prominent hill (which commands extensive views of the surrounding country) it has been classed as a fort. This issue is also reflected in a number of similar "earthwork" and ditch defined sites in the Ayrshire area. These issues have meant that traditional interpretations of these sites, and by extension interpretations to do with the nature of society and social structure associated with them, has led to some sites being interpreted in a way that does not truly reflect the nature of settlement or occupation in the area. This then highlights the need for a detailed reassessment of the morphological nature of the enclosed sites of the area, which will concentrate on issues to do with the shape, location and the form of these sites.

## Shape of Enclosed Sites in the Clyde Area

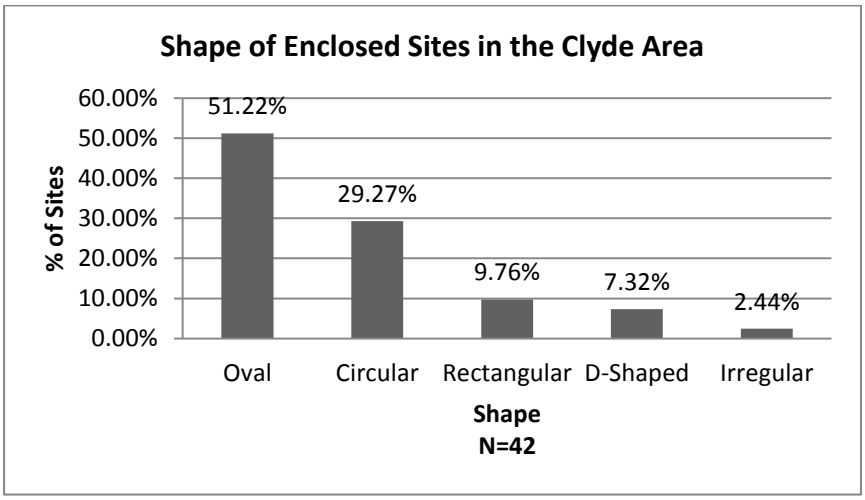



**Fig 64 Shape of enclosed sites of the Clyde area**

As has been demonstrated with the other case study areas, there is a relatively limited range in the shapes, and therefore the use of space, in the enclosed sites of the Clyde area (Fig 64). The landscape around the Clyde is dominated by oval enclosures, which represent around 50% of all enclosed sites. However compared to the Lanarkshire area there are proportionally more circular sites in the Clyde area, representing around 30% of all the enclosed sites in the area. Other forms of

enclosure shape found in the Clyde area reflect what we can see in the other case study areas to the south and east of the Clyde, in that there are proportionately few sites that are not curvilinear. For instance just four of the enclosed sites rectangular in nature, and although these represent around 10% of enclosed sites (which is a similar proportion to those recorded in the Lanarkshire area), we can see that there is a very limited uptake in this form of enclosure in the Clyde area. As with the other case study areas there are also a limited number of D-Shaped type sites, which account for just 7% of enclosed sites in the area. Compared to the other case study areas there are no promontory type enclosed sites in this area, while the irregular shaped site in the graph above refers to the site of high Castle Hill, where the rampart does not form a "standard" shape, but the site is instead an irregular, part-oval, part-hexagonal design.

When we look at the distribution of the different shaped enclosure sites in the Clyde area (Fig 66) we can see that, as would be expected, the oval sites dominate the landscape, with particular concentrations around the low lying fertile area close to the River Clyde at Glasgow, to the east of the Rivers Cart. Large concentrations are also found in the hills of Renfrew, though in this area there appears a relatively mixed distribution of shapes of enclosure. An interesting point to note about the twinned sites in the hills of Renfrew is that they appear to be of different shapes, as well as different sizes, which possible indicates that different activities were taking place within each of these sites. Alternatively, it may have been that people of different social status inhabited these sites, explaining why sites were different shape and size. That being said, chronological issues also need to be taken into account, before making firm conclusions about why these sites may be morphologically different. The circular sites of the area also tend to be located within this upland environment, which is similar to the pattern we see in the Lanarkshire area. This pattern is, however, markedly different from what we see in the Ayrshire area to the south, where these sort of sites tend to be found in low lying areas. In contrast, in the Clyde area only five circular sites are located in low lying areas. All of the rectangular sites in the Clyde area are located in the upland

areas of the region and appear to be a different form of enclosed site compared to the rectangular sites found in the Lanarkshire and Ayrshire areas. As shall be explored more fully below, the majority of these sites are small stone built or rampart defined sites, and it is possible that they have more in common with the dun-enclosures of Argyll rather than the large ditch defined sites found in areas such as the Lothians. The D-Shaped sites are located in isolation from each other and, as has been found elsewhere, are all located close to water courses, though none, somewhat surprisingly, are located close to the river Clyde.

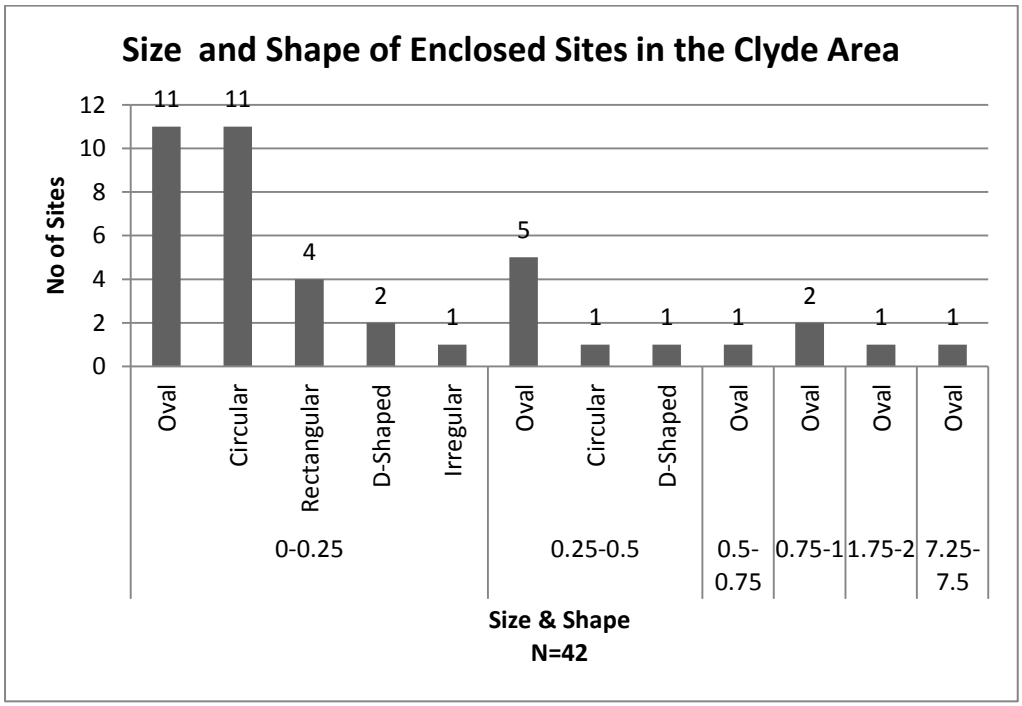



**Fig 65 Size and Shape of the enclosed sites of the Clyde area**

When we look at the shape of enclosed sites in relation to the areas that they enclosed (Fig 65), we can begin to explore the nature of these sites in more detail and start to break down the traditional classifications that, at times, mask the diversity we see in the enclosed sites of the area. Looking at the small sites first it can be seen that there are an equal number of oval sites compared to circular sites. This is perhaps surprising given the dominance of oval sites in the Clyde area. However when one compares the other size categories and shape it can be seen that there is only one other circular site in the area, and that is of moderate size. This then again highlights the regional differences we see across west central

Scotland; compared to the Lanarkshire area where there were many larger sites that were circular in shape, this does not appear to the case in the Clyde area. This pattern is however more common in the Ayrshire area, where there are an almost equal number of smaller oval and circular sites. These small sites also display the largest degree of variability in shape in that there are more rectangular, D-shaped and irregular sites compared to the other size categories. Indeed all of the rectangular sites found in this area are small, which again highlights the difference in enclosure in this area compared to the Lanarkshire and Ayrshire areas, where the rectangular sites are relatively large.

When we look at the moderately sized sites as well as the larger sites that enclose areas of more than half a hectare, it can be seen that all but two are oval in nature. However it should be noted that Walls Hill could perhaps be regarded as an irregular site, as although it is roughly oval in plan the ramparts which enclose the site effectively follow the ridge of the hill which it occupies in its entirety. This pattern is in contrast to the other case study areas south of the Clyde, where we see a much greater range of shapes of site in the larger enclosed sites. This evidence suggests that, although we see a fairly restricted use of space across the area, it appears that the non-oval sites of this area tend to be small in nature. This suggest that there was in fact a very definite use of space occurring at these sites, and in the way sites were enclosed in the Clyde area compared to other parts of the region. In this region it was perhaps seen as more desirable or more appropriate for larger sites to be oval in nature. If a site was small then it could be enclosed in a number of different ways, perhaps depending on the activities that took place within them, or the relative social status of the inhabitants. Alternatively issues to do with chronology may be at play here, which is an issue that will be explored in more detail below.

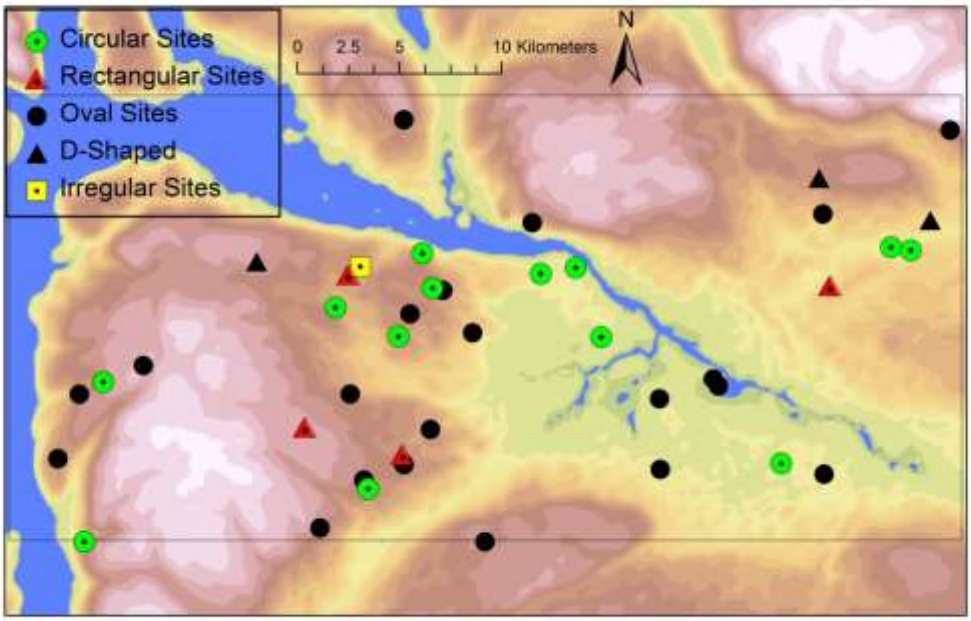



**Fig 66 Distribution of different shaped of Enclosed sites in the Clyde Area**

## Form of Enclosed Sites in Clyde

There are four types of enclosed site in the Clyde area (Fig 68) including ditch defined sites, ditch and rampart defined sites, rampart or bank defined sites, and stone walled sites, which reflects the same pattern as we see in the Lanarkshire area. Half of the enclosed sites of the Clyde area are ditch defined. As can be seen from the graph (Fig 68) those sites which are solely ditch defined represent 31.7% of the total number of enclosed sites in the area, while 19.5% are additionally defined by a rampart or bank. The ditch defined sites are mainly distributed in the low-lying areas around the Clyde and the Glasgow area but there are also a number of these sites found in the hills of Renfrew. The ditch and rampart defined sites are generally located in up-land locations or on the prominent drumlins around the Clyde, while there is also a number overlooking the Clyde estuary above Largs. It

can be seen that the majority of the ditch defined sites are small in nature (Fig 69), accounting for 62% of all the ditch defined sites in the area, while there are also a number of moderately sized sites as well as one large site, at Barochan Cross. The ditch and rampart defined sites are also generally small, representing 62% of this type of site, though there are also a number that are relatively large, compared to those sites which are solely ditch defined. Again it can be noted that there is a difference in form between the twinned sites found in the area, which is particularly clear in those sites found around Lochwinnoch. Here we can see that one of the twinned sites is ditch defined while the other is rampart defined. In addition to these sites, Carman which is over 1Ha in size, is also partially defined by a ditch. It could be argued that this should perhaps be thought of as more of a rampart defined site than a ditch and rampart site.

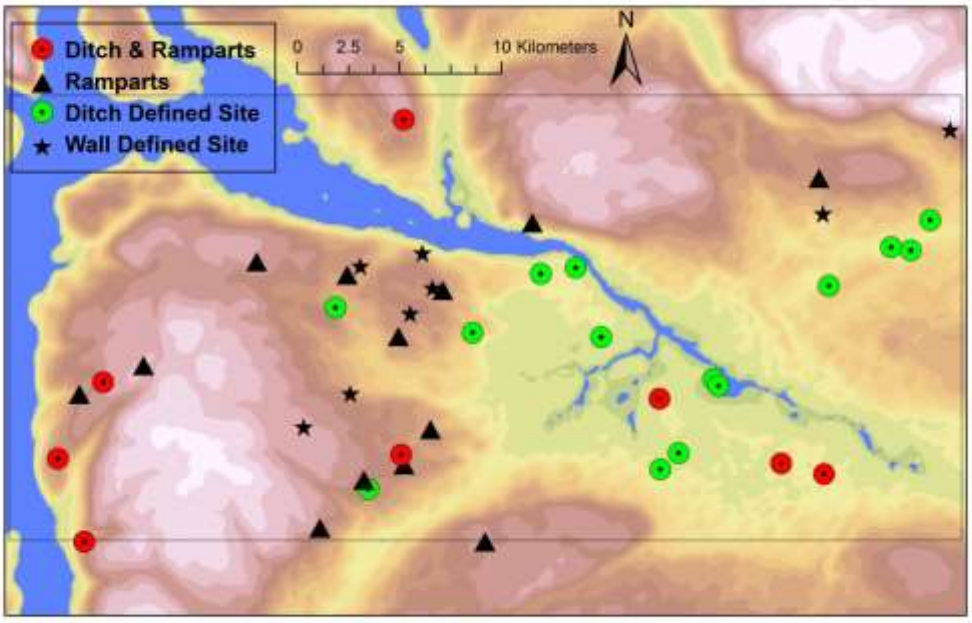



**Fig 67 Distribution of the differ forms of site in the Clyde area**

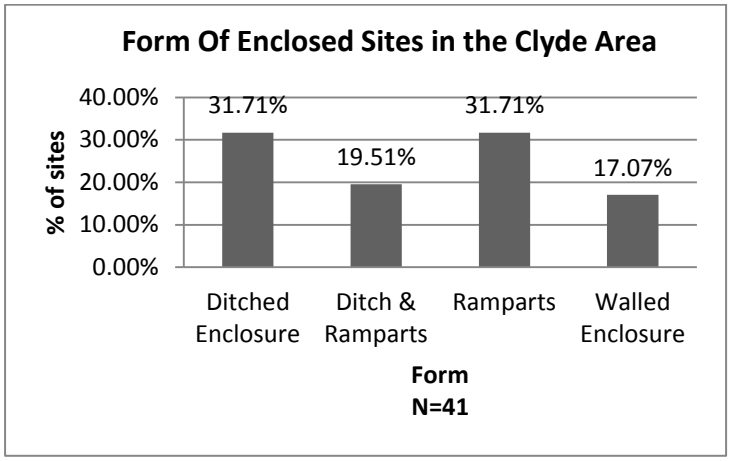



**Fig 68 Form of enclosed sites in the Clyde area**

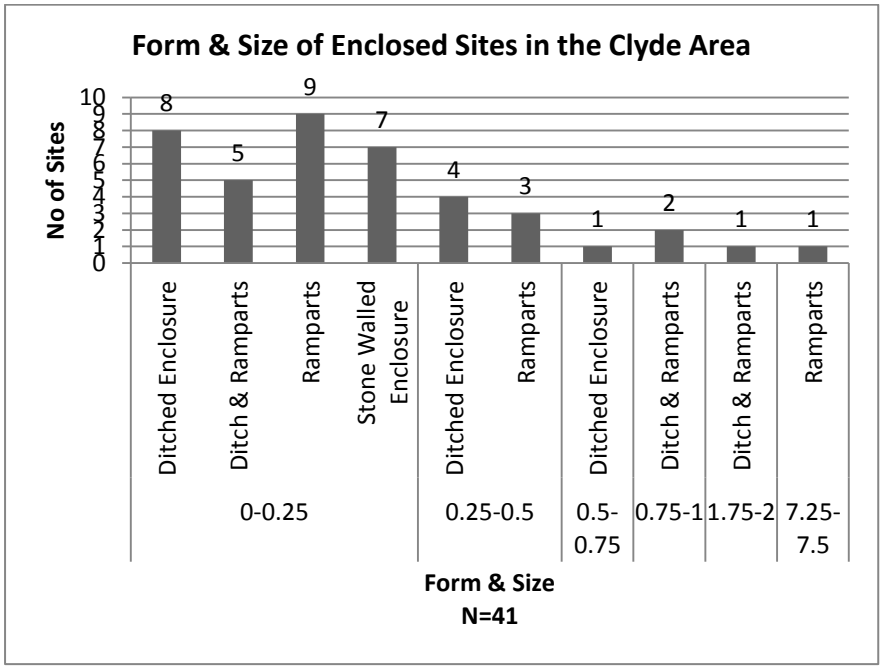



**Fig 69 Form and Size of enclosed sites of the Clyde area**

The difference between the walled enclosures and the rampart defined sites in this area, compared to those found in Lanarkshire, is not always clear, and as such some caution needs to be taken when dealing with these sites. As shall be explored below, the sites that are defined in this way in this area seem to reflect a different architectural tradition, compared to those sites located in the Lanarkshire area, where stone walled sites and stone rampart defined sites tend to display similar

characteristics. One reason for this may be that the stone walled sites in the Clyde area are perhaps more closely related to the stone defined sites of Argyll rather than the large hilltop defined sites of Lanarkshire and the Cheviots. A total of 30% of the enclosed sites of the Clyde area are rampart or bank defined sites, and as can be seen from the map below, all are located in upland areas, specifically in the hills of Renfrew. The majority of these sites measure less than a quarter of a hectare in size (Fig 69). Indeed they make up the largest number of the smaller sites of the area. There are also a number of moderately sized sites, while the largest site in the area, at Walls Hill, is also rampart defined. The fact that the majority of these small sites have traditionally been regarded as forts, again, highlights the need to reassess these sites in different ways to those traditionally used. Additionally we also have to consider how these different forms of small enclosure relate to each other, as well as how they relate to the larger ditch defined sites in low-lying areas of the region.

The stone walled enclosures in the area, which make up a total of 20% of the enclosed sites, are generally all small in nature. As can be seen from the map below their distribution is rather limited compared to the other types of site in the area, and they tend to be located in the hills of Renfrew, with one outlier to the north in the foothills of the Campsie's. Sheep Hill on the northern shore of the Clyde has two phases of occupation, a stone walled phase and a rampart phase. It is recorded here as a stone walled site. This raises another issue associated with creating a morphological framework based on enclosure form, especially for those sites that have clearly had multiple phases of development. The size and limited distribution of the stone walled sites is in contrast to the wall defined sites we see in Lanarkshire, which are relatively large and are spread throughout the study area. This suggests that these walled sites may represent a different form of enclosed tradition site, compared with the sites in Lanarkshire, perhaps resembling the stone defined Atlantic sites of the west.

# Ditch Defined Sites

Compared to the other case study areas south and east of the River Clyde it can be seen that the ditch defined sites in this area display a relatively limited range of sizes and shapes, as can be seen in detail below. The landscape in this area is similar in many ways to that of the Ayrshire area, and it includes more lowland areas compared to Lanarkshire. . This would imply that this area may well have lent itself to being a densely occupied settlement landscape in the past. However, given the fact that this area has also been heavily urbanised since the 19th century, as well as being subject to the rigours of industry and intensive agricultural regimes, the survival of many archaeological sites in the area is perhaps down to chance or luck. It is likely that the true nature of the settlement landscape of the Iron Age is probably lost to us, certainly compared to the Lanarkshire and Kintyre study areas. Therefore the following section does not follow the same template in relation to the examination of the ditch defined sites, as is laid out in the Ayrshire or Lanarkshire chapters.

## Small Ditch Defined Sites

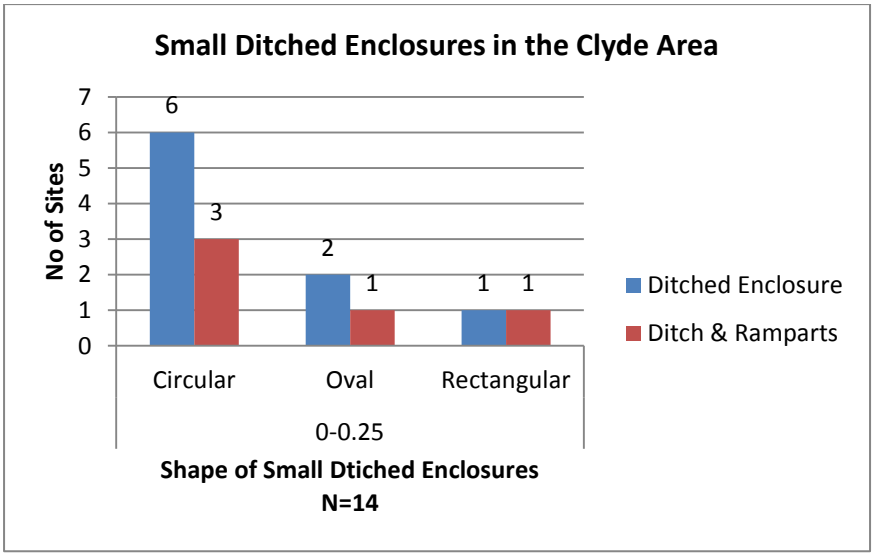



**Fig 70 Shape of small ditch sites in the Clyde area**

Half of the small enclosed sites of the Clyde area are ditch defined. Of these sites it can be seen that 64% are solely ditch defined while a further 36% are additionally defined by a rampart or bank which reflects a similar pattern to the one seen in the Lanarkshire area. When we look at the shape of these sites however it can be seen that there is a difference in the way these small ditch defined sites are enclosed compared to the Lanarkshire area (Fig 42). For instance in the Clyde area the majority of sites are circular in nature (64% of sites), while only a small percentage of sites (21%) are oval. This is in contrast to the Lanarkshire area where this trend is reversed. Of these sites it can be seen that, in the Clyde area, the majority of the circular and oval sites are solely ditch defined, while a small number are additionally defined by ramparts or banks. In addition to the curvilinear sites there are two rectangular ditch defined sites, one of which is solely ditch defined, and one that is additionally defined by a rampart.

When we look at the number of ditches and ramparts that have been used to define the small ditch defined sites of this area it can be seen that, compared to the other case study areas, all of the sites in the Clyde area are defined by a single ditch or single ditch and rampart (Fig 71 & Fig 72). This phenomenon is also seen in the larger ditch defined sites, where it can be seen that all but three are defined by a single ditch. Those that are defined by more than one ditch are defined by three ditches. Two of these sites, at Braehead and Barochan Cross, lie in relatively close proximity to each other on the south side of the Clyde. Both of these sites are oval in nature, relatively large, and are enclosed by three ditches. Braehead also had a number of palisaded phases associated with it, and it would be interesting to see if the much larger Barochan Cross also had such a complex a sequence of enclosure. The other site that is defined by more than one ditch is the D-shaped site at Carlston, to the north of the study area in the Kelvin Valley. This site is slightly different from the other two sites in that it utilises a small river as part of it enclosure, the Red Burn. Still, a number of parallels to this site can be seen in both the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire areas.

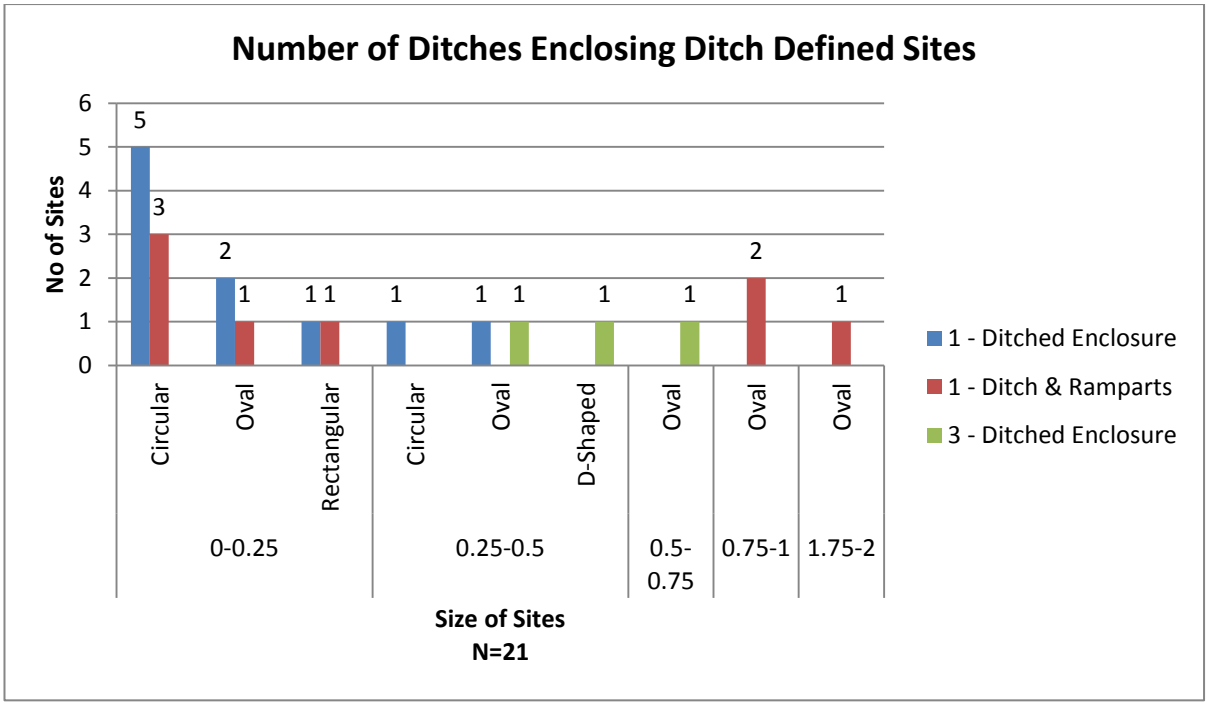



**Fig 71 Number of ditches used to enclose ditch defined sites in the Clyde area**

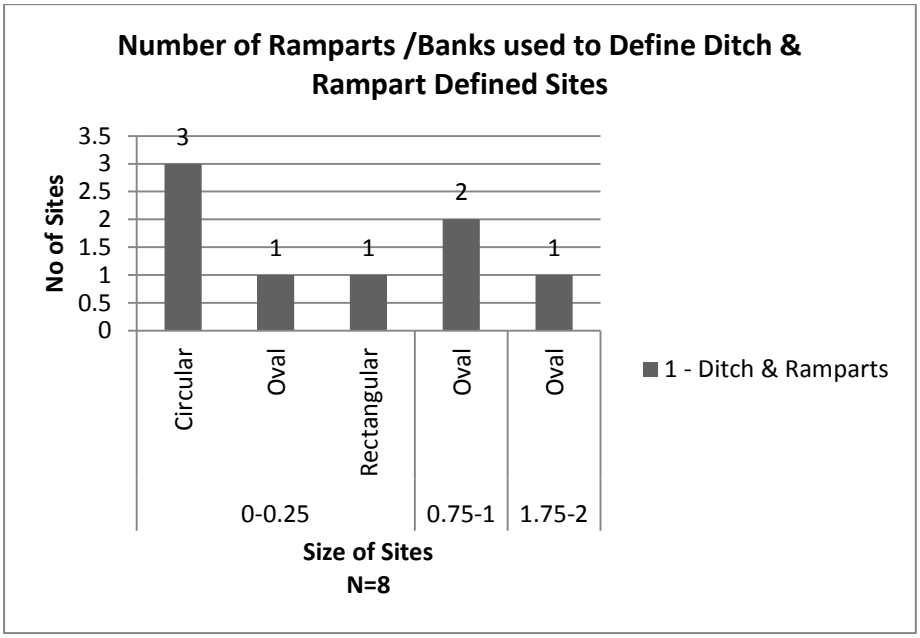



**Fig 72 Number of ramparts/banks used to define ditch and rampart defined sites in the Clyde area**

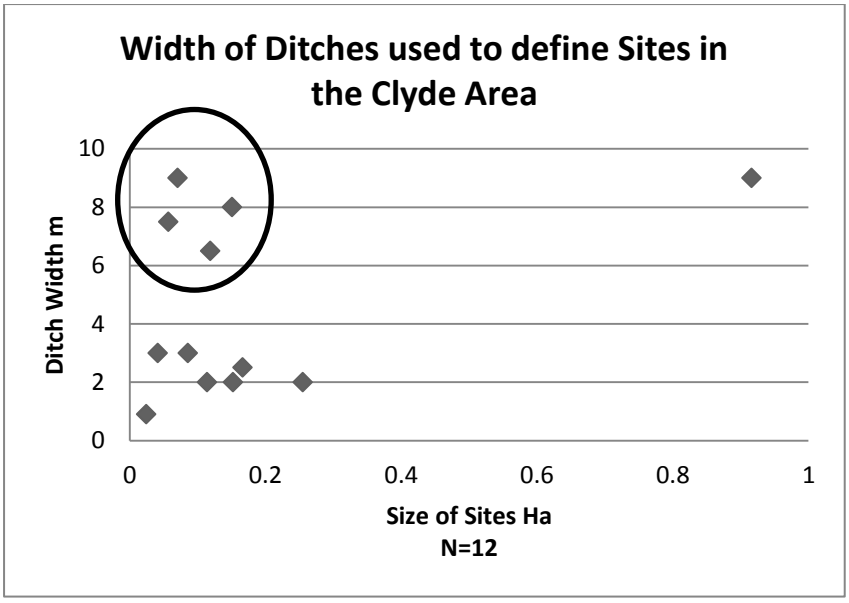



**Fig 73 Width of ditches used to define ditch defined sites in the Clyde area.**

When we look at the width of the ditches that were used to define these sites it can be seen that there are two distinct clusters of size range (Fig 73). For the majority of those sites where the width of the ditch is known, it appears that ditch size falls between 0.9 and 3m in width, with an average ditch width of 2m. The average ditch width of the three ditches that enclose the site at Braehead was just over three meters (Ellis 2007, 186-192). A second group of sites, that are around the same size in extent, were enclosed by ditches that were between 6.5 and 9m in width. This phenomenon can also be seen in the Ayrshire area, where there are four sites that are enclosed by disproportionately large ditches, compared to the size of the area that they enclose. It is not clear why these sites were defined in this way; issues to do with that the activities that took place at these sites or the status of the people that lived within them may have meant that it was important that they were enclosed by monumental ditches, compared to the other ditch defined sites. This issue shall be explored more fully in later chapters.

## Moderate and Large Ditch Defined Sites

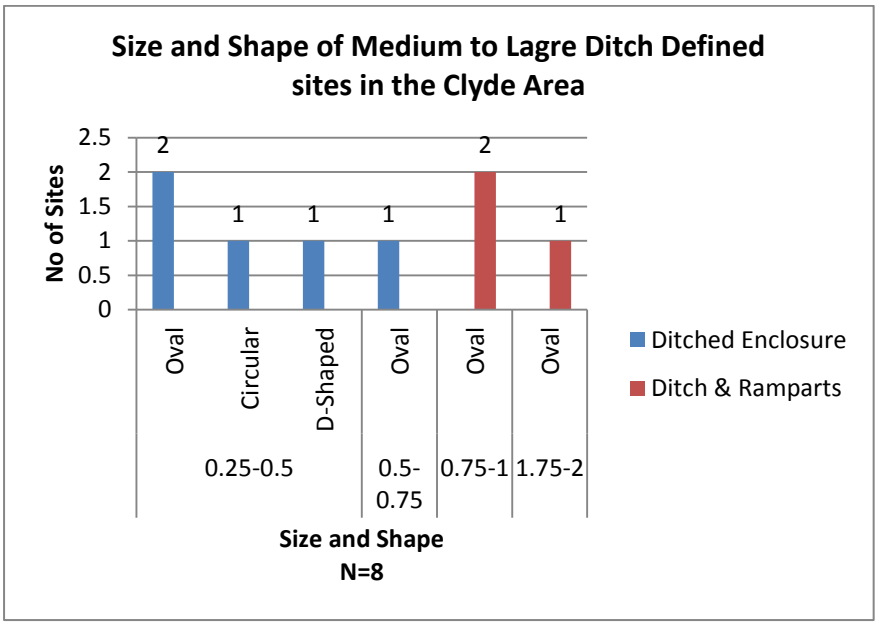



**Fig 74 Size and Shape of the medium and larger ditch defined sites of the Clyde area**

As has been discussed in detail above, when we compare the limited number of more moderate and larger ditch defined sites in the Clyde to the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire case studies areas, we can see potentially interesting regional differences within these areas in west central Scotland. An example of these differences can be seen when we look at the shape of enclosed sites in these areas (Fig 74). The majority of larger sites in the Clyde area are oval in nature, while there are two circular sites and one D-shaped site that are of moderate size. This again demonstrates the fairly homogenous use of space across the Clyde region, especially in these larger sites. This homogeneity is also demonstrated in the number of ditches and ramparts that are used to define these sites, as discussed above, where it can be seen that the majority of these sites are defined by single ditches or rampart. There are only four sites in the whole area that are more elaborately defined. The site of Mar Hall (Lynchehaun 2009) is unusual here in that while it is defined by a ditch it was also enclosed by up to three palisades, an outer palisade and two further inner palisades all of which converge to form an elaborate entrance way, orientated to the south west. This site was partially excavated ahead of development, and a large roundhouse measuring 16m in diameter was located at

the centre of the site. The entrance of this roundhouse was aligned with the enclosure entrance, and from the roundhouse a small number of plainly decorated coarse were pottery was discovered. This type of pottery is commonly found in the area, and indicates that it was occupied in the later part of the first millennium BC (Lynchehaun 2009; Alexander & MacCrae 2012).

## Rampart Defined Sites

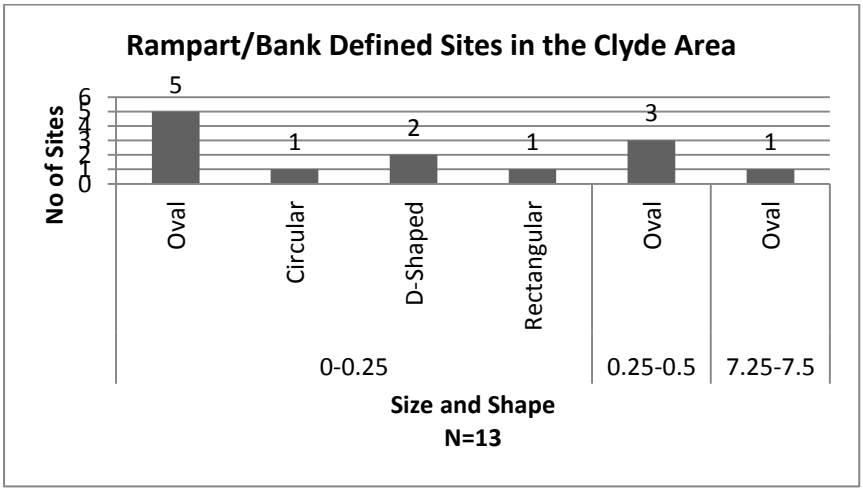



**Fig 75 Size and shape of the rampart or bank defined sites in the Clyde area.**

The rampart defined sites of the Clyde account for 30% of the enclosed sites in the area, and are all located in the upland areas of the region. A particular concentration of these sites can be found around the hills of Renfrewshire, with an interesting concentration overlooking the Lochwinnoch Gap, a fertile valley which may also have been an important rout way to the Ayrshire coast. The majority of the rampart defined sites in the area, representing 75% of the total number, are small in nature, measuring less than a quarter of a hectare in size. There are also a small number of moderately sized sites (Fig 75). The largest site in the area, at Walls Hill, is also rampart defined. When we look at the small sites in detail it can be seen that, compared to the rampart defined sites of the Lanarkshire area, there is a wider range in the type of shape these sites were. While the majority of sites, like in Lanarkshire, are oval in nature, there are also two D-shaped sites and a rectangular defined site. Notably though, there are less circular sites compared with Lanarkshire.

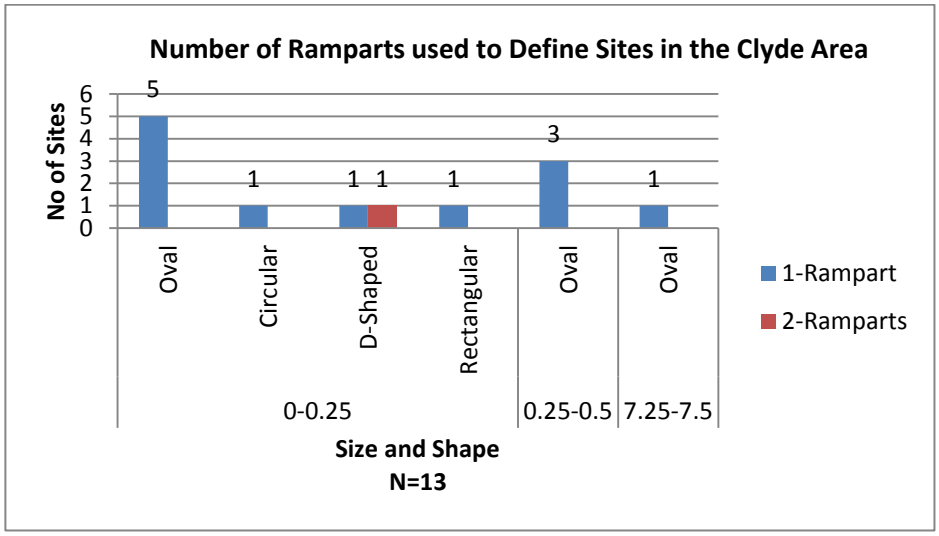



**Fig 76 Number of ramparts/banks used to define sites in the Clyde area**

As was seen when we looked at the number of ditches and ramparts that were used to define ditch defined sites, when we look at the number of ramparts used to define the rampart sites it can be seen that all but one site is enclosed by more than one rampart (Fig 76). The site defined by two ramparts, at Craigmaddie, is located in the north of the study area, at the foot of the Campsie Fells. The site measures 0.11Ha in extent and is situated on top of a rocky slope. The site of Sheep hill should also be mentioned here, as this site is also located on the north side of the Clyde. Although the first phase of enclosure at this site was defined by a stone wall, it was additionally defined by a rampart in a second phase of occupation or constriction (MacKie 1974; forthcoming). This evidence again reinforces the idea that, in general, the ways in which sites were enclosed in the Clyde area was relatively unelaborate compared with other parts of the wider region. This suggests that, perhaps, in the Clyde region social differences between the occupants of these sites was not played out through the architecture of enclosure, but through different means.

A number of the rampart or bank defined sites in the Clyde area have been excavated, including Sheep Hill (MacKie 1976; Fouthcoming), Walls Hill (Newall 1960; Alexander 1996; 2000), Craigmarloch (Nisbet 1996) and Knockmade (Alexander 1996; Livens 1996). This highlights the biased nature of previous

research in this part of Scotland, which has tended to focus on those sites that have traditionally been classed as forts, that enclose large areas and that are immediately obvious or dominant sites in the landscape. The largest site in this area, at Walls Hill (Fig 77), occupies a large Basaltic plateau and is defined along the north and south west sides of the hill by a low and much denuded rampart. This encloses an area of 7.5Ha, 469m north to south and 198m east to west. There are three possible entrances to the site, one at the north-west, one at the south-west and another in the north-east corner, which in 1956 was subject to a small scale excavation by Frank Newall (1960; Alexander 1996; 2000; Alexander & MacRae 2012). The rampart was found to be 3-3.5m thick and consisted of mixed clay and earth, and was revetted at its front and rear with stone. There was evidence for post holes along the face of the rampart, suggesting the wall face had timber uprights, a rare phenomena in the Scottish Iron Age (Alexander 2000, 160). Alternatively, this could equally be evidence for an earlier palisade phase (Ibid), which as has been seen in a number of other excavated sites and is a common feature on many sites in the Strathclyde area. It is also possible that this is evidence for a timber gateway (Alexander 1996, 18). Two possible roundhouses were also discovered (ibid) along with sherds of Dunagoil Ware, thought to date to the first or second centuries BC, as well as fragments of worked shale (Alexander 1996, 18; 2000, 160).

**Fig 77 Aerial photograph of Walls Hill Looking North West, with possible agricultural terracing in the background (RCHAMS)**

## Wall Defined Sites

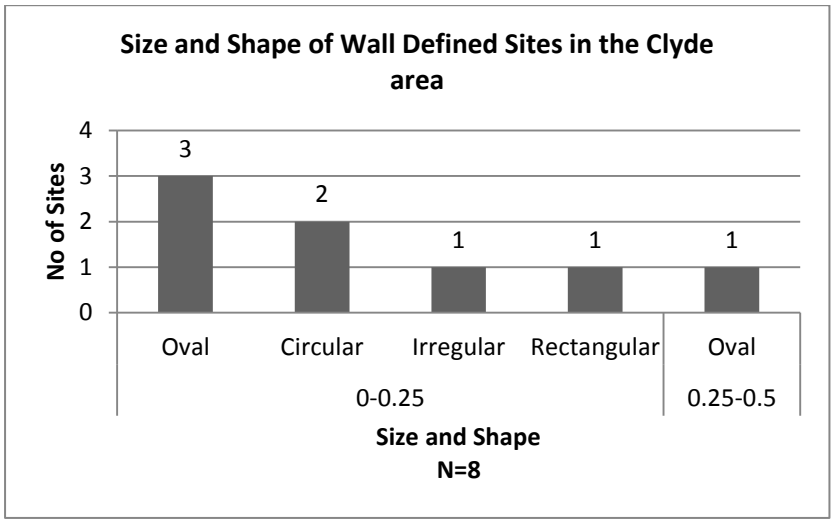



**Fig 78 Size and shape of the wall defined sites of the Clyde area**

The walled defined sites of the Clyde area account for 20% of the enclosed sites of the area. As can be seen from the map above, all of them are located in the upland

areas of the region with a particular concentration in the interior of the Renfrewshire hills, though there is a site that lies outwith this area at the foot of the Campsie Fells. As with the rampart defined sites the majority of the walled defined sites in the Clyde area are oval in nature, while there are also a number of circular, irregular and rectangular sites. Again this highlights the fairly limited range of site type in this area compared with other parts of the region (Fig 78). This is also highlighted by the fact that all of these sites, which have traditionally been thought of as forts, are small in nature, which contrast sites recorded in the Lanarkshire area, where a number of moderate and large sites are wall defined.

One of the problems with recognising and defining stone walled sites, compared to those sites that are defined by stone built ramparts, can be seen at the site of Sheep Hill. This site lies on the north side of the Clyde, and was excavated by MacKie in the 1970's (MacKie 1976, 211-214; *forthcoming*). This site also highlights the problem of creating a morphological framework of sites based on the form of enclosure, especially in multiphase sites that were of different forms of construction. For example the inner enclosure, or Dun as MacKie (1976, 214) refers to it as, is defined by the remains of a partially vitrified timber framed stone wall, which encloses an area 0.06Ha in extent (MacKie 1976, 212). This stone walled enclosure was later enclosed itself by a larger stone built rampart which is 0.3Ha in extent and therefore of moderate size. It appears the builders of this rampart utilised some of the vitrified fragments from the earlier enclosure to build it. A diverse range of artefacts were recovered from an occupation layer relating to the first phase of occupation, that was partially built upon by the second phase rampart. These artefacts included a large number of potsherds, including the almost complete remains of one pot, fragments of metal working moulds including one for a spearhead, and a number of hammer stones. Artefacts recovered from the second phase of occupation included a small blue glass bead as well as fragments of complete and unfinished shale bangles (MacKie 1976, 212-213). The site has recently been reassessed by MacKie (Forthcoming) and it appears to have been occupied from the early Iron Age, until the Roman occupation of the Clyde.

# Entrance Orientation of Enclosed sites in the Clyde Area

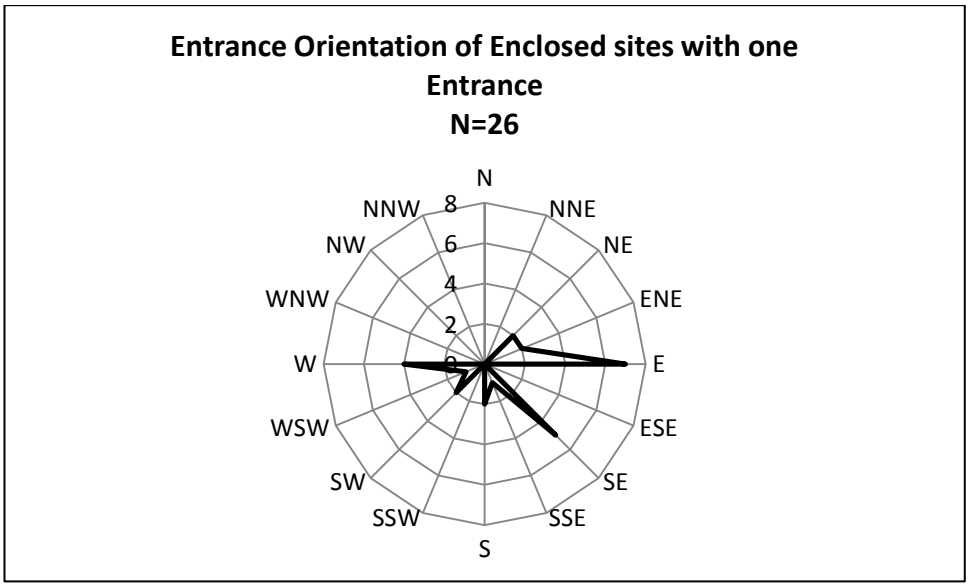



**Fig 79 Entrance oreirntaion of the single entrance enclosed sites in the Clyde area.**

There are 30 sites in the Clyde area whose entrance orientations are known. Of these sites four have double entrances while there are no known sites that have more than two entrances. Of these double entrance sites each has an entrance in an easterly direction and a westerly direction. At Miekle Reive there is an east facing entrance and an opposite west facing entrance. At Carman there is an entrance orientated to the south-east and one orientated to the west while Walls Hill has an entrance orientated to the north-east and one to the north-west. At Breahead there is an east facing entrance and a north-west facing entrance, but as is discussed in more detail in Chapter Six, this site went through a number of phases of enclosure and the entrance orientation changed in different phases. In the first two phases the entrance was to the north-west, while it changed to the east in the middle five phases, a period of several centuries, before the final enclosed phase at the site when the original north-west entrance was reused, indicating that this feature would have been known to the occupants of the site for several centuries. The only reason we know of this complex sequence of activity is due to the fact that

Breahead is one of the few fully excavated enclosed sites in west central Scotland, and it is possible that the other multi-entrance sites, and indeed even the single entrance sites known through survey, also had complex sequences of orientation. Future field work and in particular excavation would be required to investigate if this phenomenon can be seen on other sites. As can be seen from the diagram above (Fig 79) the majority of the 26 single entrance sites in the Clyde area are aligned in an easterly direction with seven sites (27%) aligned to the east and five sites (20%) aligned to the south-east while there are also a number of sites that are aligned in westerly directions, with four sites (15%) aligned in a due west direction.

## Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how the landscape around the River Clyde is dominated by small curvilinear enclosed sites. How these enclosed sites compare to those found in the other case study areas shall be discussed in more detail in Chapter Six, but it is worth noting here that they are more closely related in form to those sites found in the Ayrshire area compared to those sites found in Lanarkshire. While, as shall be demonstrated in the next chapter, there are also a number of similarities with the enclosed sites that are found in the Kintyre area, which can be seen most clearly in the small stone wall and rampart defined sites that are found in the hills of Renfrewshire. One of the largest sites in the whole of west central Scotland, Walls Hill, is also found in this area. As shall be seen in Chapter Six, this site is much larger than all of the other sites enclosed sites in this part of Scotland, and it can be suggested that it played a major role in the lives of the communities of the region, as is discussed in the Chapter Nine. In the next chapter, the enclosed sites in the last case study area shall be examined. The sites of Kintyre have traditionally been regarded as belonging to a different cultural tradition compared to those sites found to the south and east of the Clyde, but as shall be seen, by examining the enclosed sites of this area in the ways which have been proposed in this research, these interpretations can now be reassessed.

# Chapter Five: The Enclosed Sites in the Kintyre Area

## Introduction

Kintyre is dominated by a ridge of high moorland that runs from north to south along the peninsula (Fig 83). There are also areas of fertile land around the coastal fringes, as well as the Laggan, which covers a large fertile area between Machrihanish and Campbeltown. As has been discussed in detail in Chapter One, the Kintyre area has traditionally been thought of as belonging to an Atlantic archaeological tradition, ever since the publication of Piggott's (1966) regional scheme of the Iron Age. This has affected the ways in which the archaeology of this part of Scotland has been interpreted. However, it can be argued that, although the landscape of this area is similar in many ways to the rest of Lowland Scotland, the archaeology of this area has been treated differently. This can be seen in a number of recent volumes which investigate the Scottish Iron Age (e.g. Harding 2004; Henderson 2007). However, as shall be demonstrated in this chapter, by examining settlements through the ways in which are proposed in this research we can now challenge these traditional regional interpretations of the Iron Age. As highlighted in Chapter one, this area was subject to a Commission Inventory (RCAHMS 1971), though since its publication, there has been relatively little work done on the Iron Age archaeology of the area. One important excavation that has taken place was carried out by Peltenburg (1982), who conducted an excavation at the "fort" of Balloch Hill, in order to test the morphological and chronological theories proposed by the Commission. The area was also the focus of attention for a number of early archaeologists, and in particular Christison work at the start of the 20$^{th}$ Century, remains an important source of information (Christison et al 1905).

## Size of the Enclosed Sites in Kintyre

Of all the enclosed sites that are located in the Kintyre study area we can see that the majority, representing some 84%, enclose areas of less than 0.25Ha in extent (Table 6). There are also a smaller number of more moderate sized sites, enclosing areas of between 0.25Ha and 0.5Ha in extent, representing 13% of the total number (Fig 80). In addition to these sites, and as was seen found in the other case study areas, there is one massive site in the area, at Cnoc Araich, which encloses an area of 2.8Ha in extent. This site, which as shall be explored in more detail below, appears to represent a very different form of site compared to the more usual dry-stone walled sites that are found in this area.

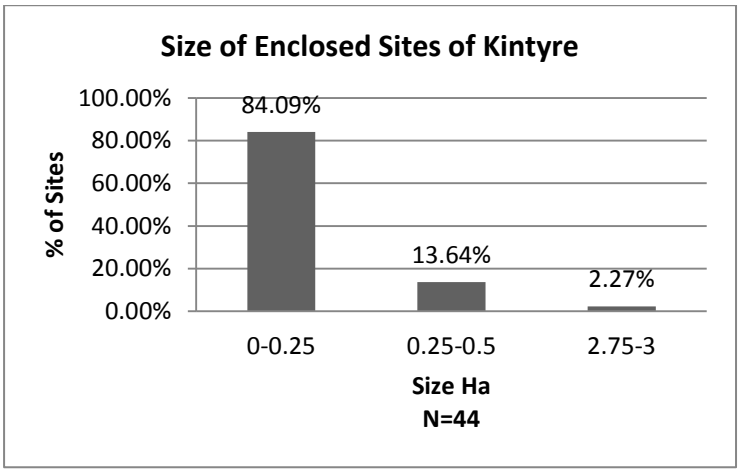



**Fig 80 Size of the enclosed sites in Kintyre**

As can be seen in the graph above (Fig 81) Kintyre is dominated by small enclosed sites. The graph also clearly highlights the difference in the size of the site at Cnoc Araich, which is the largest in the area, compared to most of the other sites in the area. With this site removed from the graph a clearer picture of the range of the different sizes of enclosed sites can be seen (Fig 82). Given the settlement landscape of Kintyre is dominated by small enclosed sites, this suggests, at first glance, that the way the landscape of Kintyre was occupied was different from other parts of the wider region. This could lead to suggestions that different social

and cultural traditions were adopted in this area compared, to other parts of west central Scotland. That being said, the Clyde area does display a similar range of sites, of the same size, to those in Kintyre. In both case study areas there are proportionally higher numbers of small enclosed sites compared to the more moderate and larger sized sites. As such, it could be suggested that the sites recorded in the Clyde area provide the closest parallels to the Kintyre region. In addition, as shall be explored in the Chapter Six, even though the Kintyre area has proportionality more small enclosed sites compared to other parts of the region, it appears that the way these sites were enclosed, the shapes in which they defined and their entrance orientations are in fact very similar to other regions, suggesting that there was a continuum of architectural and cultural traditions across the region.

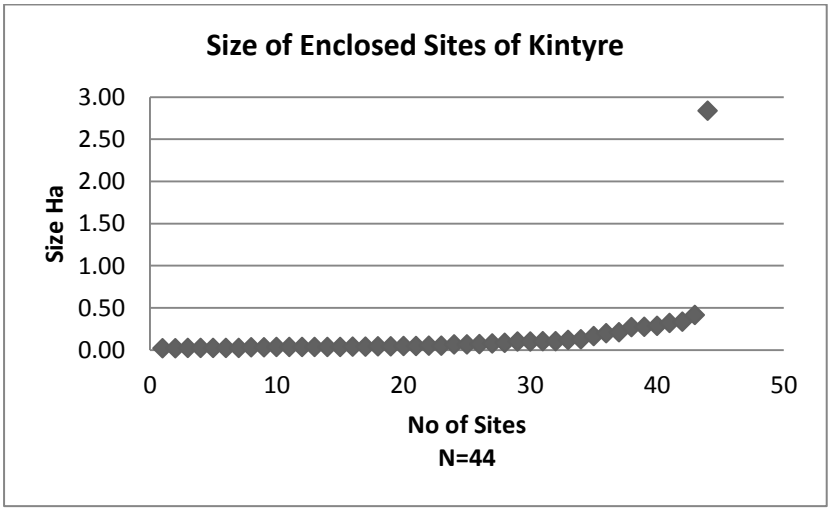



**Fig 81 Rank size plot of the enclosed sites in Kintyre**

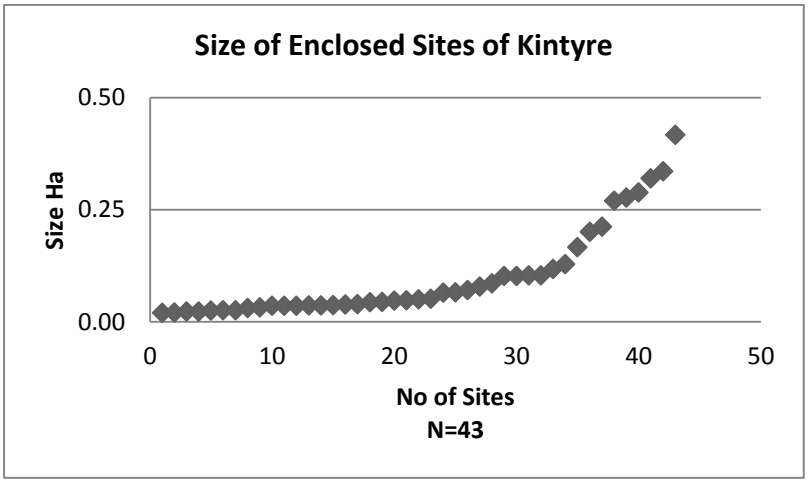



**Fig 82 Rank size plot of the enclosed sites in Kintyre not including Cnoc Araich**

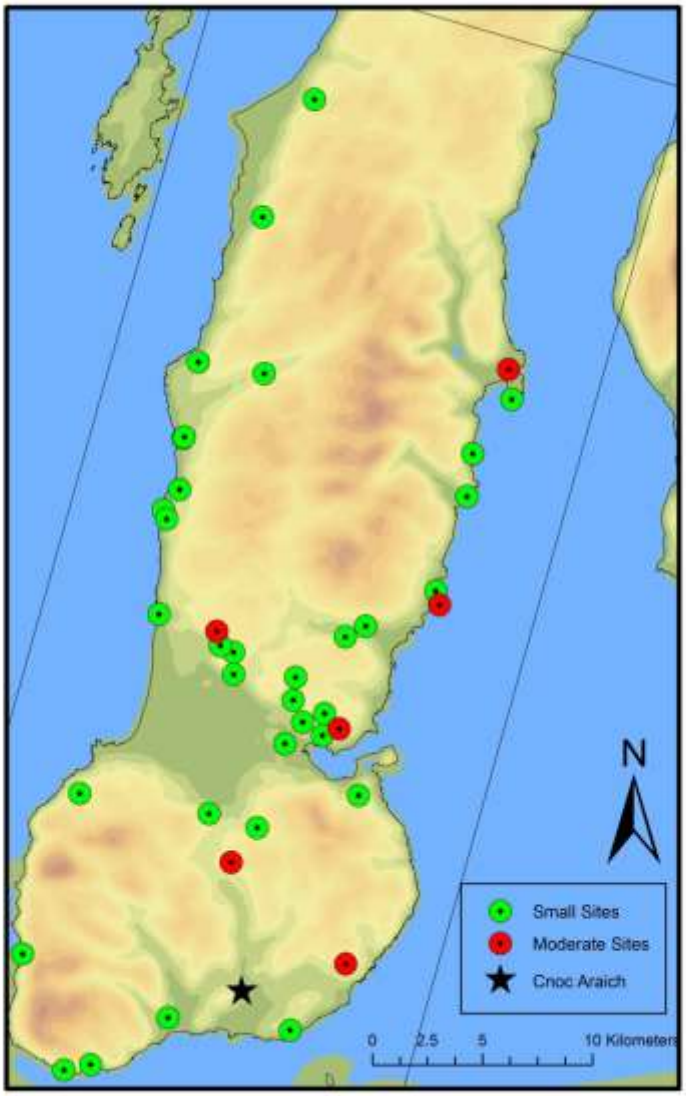



**Fig 83 Distrabution of different sized enclosed sites in Kintyre**

When we look at the distribution of sites in Kintyre (Fig 83) a number of interesting patterns emerge. The first to highlight is that the majority of these sites are located on higher ground overlooking the fertile low lying areas. This suggests that these sites have been deliberately constructed in these locations so that they can take full advantage of the limited amount of good arable land. This settlement pattern can be seen most clearly around the Laggan, the most fertile area of Kintyre. This area

appears to have supported a larger population and distribution of sites, all of which appear to have been positioned above this fertile plain, presumably in order to allow access to farmland without occupying this valuable resource. This pattern of settlement can also be seen along the east and west coasts of the peninsula, where sites are located on the hills above the fertile lowland fringes, which are sandwiched in a thin strip between the hills and the sea.

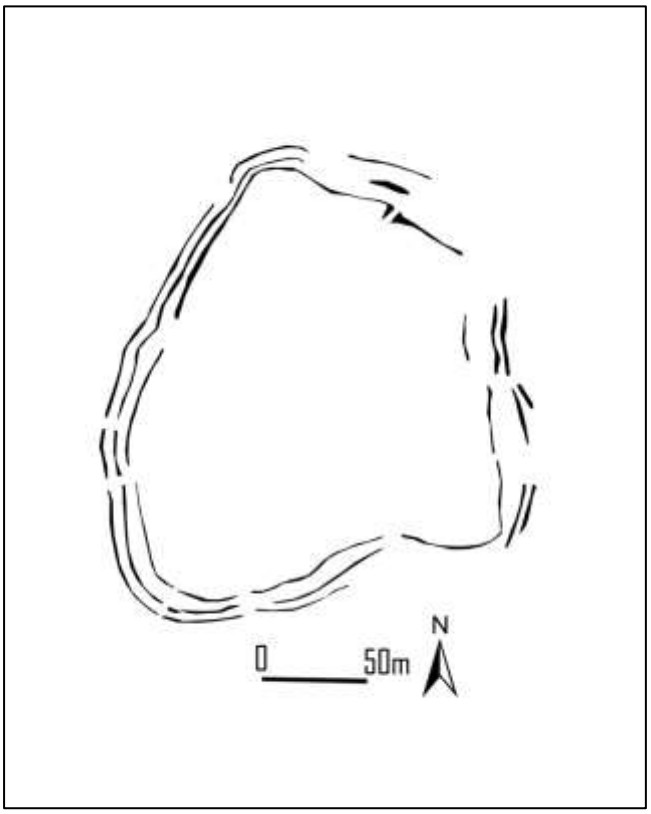



**Fig 84 Cnoc Araich (Drawn by Author after RCAHMS 1971)**

It can clearly be seen (Fig 83) that, as expected, the small enclosed sites dominate the landscape. The distribution of these sites are particularly concentrated along the east and west coast of the peninsula, as well as around the Mull of Kintyre, while the largest concentration of sites are found on the North side of the Laggan between Campbeltown Loch in the east and across the peninsula to Machrihanish in the west. There appears to be two distinct clusters of site in this area, each of which has a moderate sized site on its outer edge. The social and cultural implications of these distributions shall be explored in the next section, but it is

tempting to suggest that we are seeing a clear grouping or clustering of a community in these areas, with a series of small, possible family units, clustering around a larger, possible central place of a local elite or extended family head or chief. There is also a significant concentration of sites along the southern edge of the Laggan, including the site of Balloch Hill, which was excavated in the 1970's (Peltenburg 1983), which produced some of the most important and reliable evidence for Iron Age activity in the area. The distribution of the other small and moderately sized sites along the east and west coast of the peninsula, and around the coast of The Mull of Kintyre, does not follow this pattern and these sites appear to be much more isolated from each other.

The largest site in Kintyre, at Cnoc Araich (Fig 84), is located in relative isolation from the other sites in the area, close to the south coast of the peninsula. It sits at the southern end of the Conie Glen, which is the main communication route from the southern coast to the Laggan plain. The site dominates a large and prominent hill that commands extensive views of the sea as well as over the most fertile area of arable land in the Mull of Kintyre, known as Southend. The sites location, at the head of the valley as well as its dominance over the extensive area of good arable land suggests that it was an important place when it was constructed, though whether it deserves the title of an "minor oppidum" (RCAHMS 1971, 16), is debatable, and is an issue that shall be returned to in Chapter Nine.

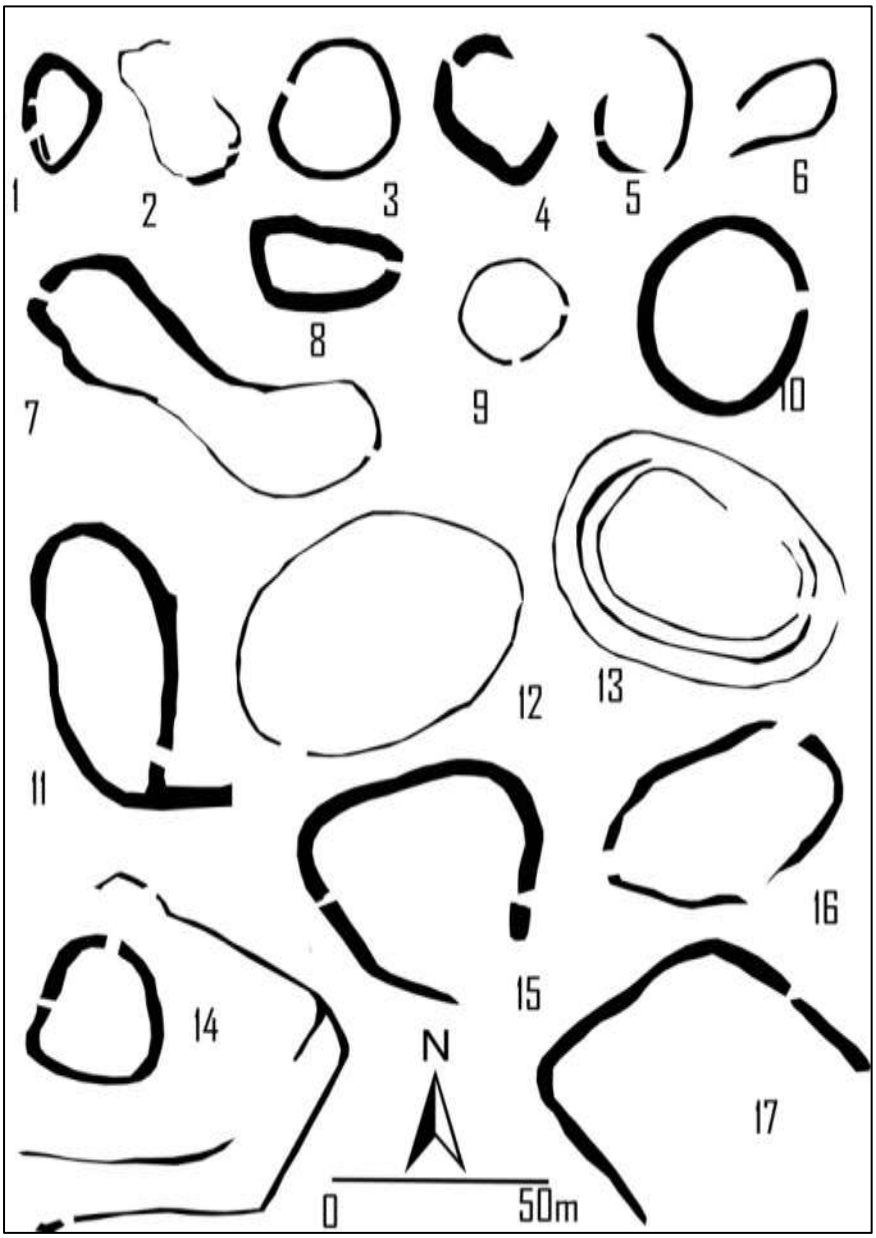



**Fig 85 Simplified plan of the Sites in Kintyre. 1: Kildonan 2: Dunan 3: North Craigs 4: Cullan Doon 5: Glenreggan 6: Cnoc Eibhleach 7: Achnaclach 8: Rubh nan Sgrarbh 9: Balnagleck 10: Largiemore 11: Carradale 12: Glenehervie 13: Kildalloig 14: Ranachan 15: Scalbart 16: Ballywilline 17: Kildonan Point. (Drawn by Author after RCAHMS 1971)**

## Traditional Classification Compared to Size in the Kintyre Area

When we look at the ways in which the enclosed sites of Kintyre have been traditionally classed, compared to the size of the area that they enclosed (Fig 86), then we can see that, as expected, the majority of the forts of the area are in fact

relatively small, measuring less than a quarter of a hectare in size. At the same time it is clear that a number of the duns in the area, which have traditionally been thought of as smaller structures than the forts, are in fact of comparable size to the smaller forts. As it can be seen from the graph below (Fig 86), these duns are still relatively small, but it can be argued that the larger duns are directly comparable in size to the smaller forts. As was outlined in Chapter One, it should be noted here that the smaller duns of the area, enclosing spaces of less than 180 Sq.m are regarded in this research as unenclosed houses, or *dun-houses*, rather than as enclosed sites. These types of sites are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. This therefore highlights issues to do with the ways in which the traditional classifications of sites have, at times, masked the similarities we see between the larger duns and smaller forts of the area. As such, this has meant that interpretations to do with the social structure of society and the ways in which individual sites have been understood has been affected. By looking at these larger dun sites in the same way as the forts we are able to challenge the ways in which society in this part of Scotland has been understood, especially notions to do with the types of communities or groups that were building and living within these enclosed sites, e.g. the small family unit of the duns, compared to the larger groups that were building the forts (RCAHMS 1971, 18-19).

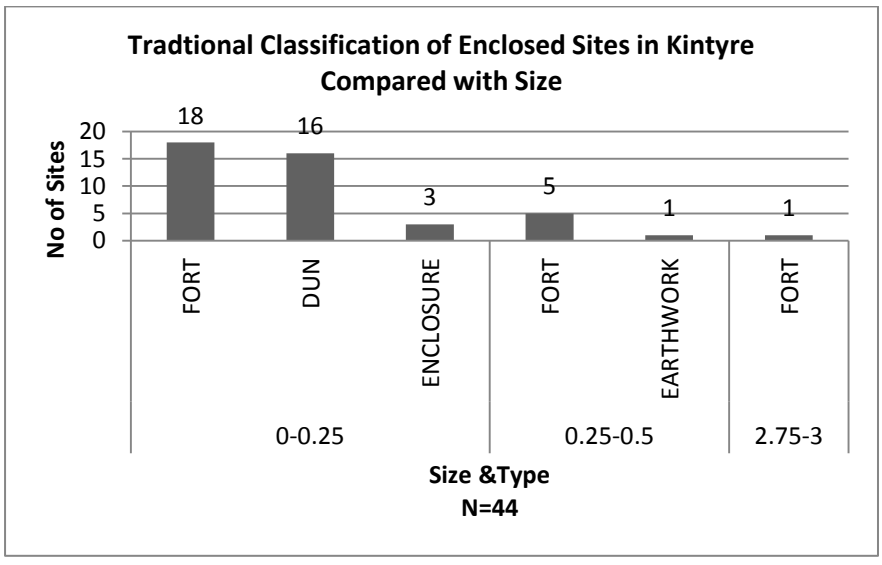



**Fig 86 Traditional classification of the enclosed sites of Kintyre compared to size**

Problems to do with the use of these traditional terminologies have been raised before (Harding 1997, 123; 2004, 137), but by analysing these sites in the ways outlined in this research, in relation to the nature of enclosure, we can move beyond these traditional arguments. One noticeable factor that stands out when looking at the ways in which the enclosed sites of Kintyre have been classed is that there are only five enclosed sites on the peninsula that are non-fort or dun sites. Four of these sites are enclosures and there is only one earthwork. How do these sites compare to the stone built sites of the area and why are they classed in this way? Are they different and why were they constructed, especially given that the majority of sites, as shall be seen below, are enclosed by dry stone walls? Many of these sites have been recorded as "Miscellaneous Earthworks and Enclosures" (RCAHMS 1971, 97-100) and it can be seen that Commission surveyors at the time could not fit these sites into the strict terminologies they had devised for the duns and forts of the area.

Another way in which these sites have been classed is associated with the way in which they were discovered, which is in turn related to the ways in which they have been preserved, and ultimately how they were originally constructed. For instance the *earthwork* classed site, of Portrigh Strip (which is one of the largest sites in Kintyre), consists of a rampart with an external ditch which encloses an oval area measuring 70m by 61m in extent, and was discovered through aerial photography. In addition to this site there has been a number of recent discoveries made through aerial photography survey carried out by the Commission over the last few years on the peninsula (Halliday and Ralston 2009, 464; Cowley Pers. Comm.). These sites have not yet been entered into the national monuments record or local SMR, and therefore have not been included in this study. In addition to those sites discovered through aerial photography there are sites discovered through commercial archaeology, such as the ditch defined *enclosure* at Gallowhill Farm which was excavated in 2007 (Ellis 2007, 35). These sites are all ditch defined enclosed sites

and are located in low-lying areas. As such, they have the potential for greatly enhancing our understanding of the settlement record of the area, which has traditionally relied on the survival of upstanding stone structures.

## Shape of Enclosed Sites in Kintyre

The shape of the enclosed sites of display a great deal of diversity and form and it is clear that the local topography had a greater influence on the shape of the enclosed sites of this area compared to any other (Fig 85). Harding for instance urges caution when dealing with the forts of Argyll as they are of a "heterogeneous character … in terms of areas enclosed, structural morphology and topographical location, [and] there are many variations which could reflect differences in date, or social and economic function" (Harding 1997, 120). Having said this, for the purposes of this research, the enclosed sites of the area will be placed within the standard shape ranges as outlined in previous chapters. This allows us to compare these sites with the other enclosed sites from across west central Scotland (Fig 87).

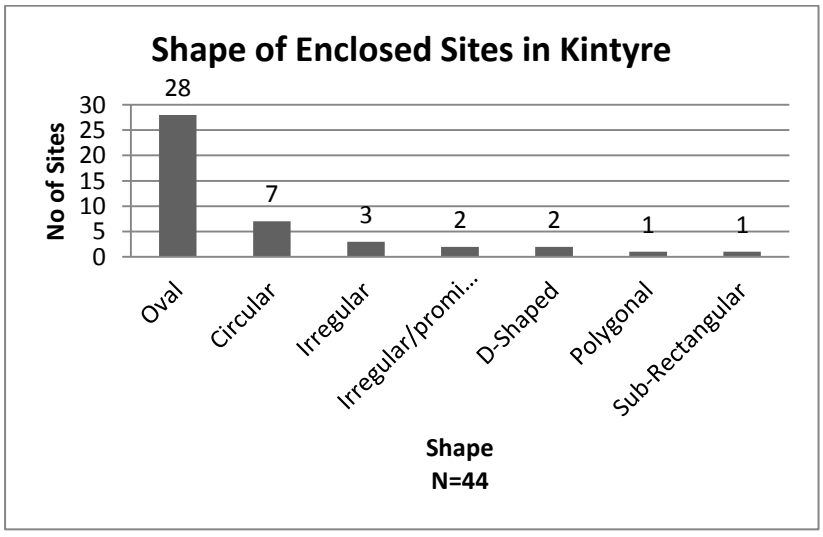



**Fig 87 Shape of the enclosed sites of Kintyre**

As with the other areas of the rest of central Scotland the majority of the enclosed sites in Kintyre are curvilinear in nature. The majority of sites in Kintyre are oval (or sub-oval) in nature, representing 64% of sites. This is a proportionally larger number

of oval sites compared to the other case study areas. Only 16% of the enclosed sites of Kintyre are circular in nature, which is proportionality a much smaller number compared to the other parts of the region. We can also see that there are a relatively large number of irregularly shaped sites, as well as promontory type sites, which reflects both the natural rugged topography of the region but also a stronger maritime and Atlantic tradition of architecture (Henderson 2007). For instance 7% of sites are of irregular design, while a further 4.5% are D-Shaped. Another 4.5% are promontory type sites located along the coast, and are therefore are only partially enclosed by artificial walls at their landward ends. There is also one sub-rectangular site, as well as one polygonal site, which is unusual in itself in west central Scotland. Given that this site at Cnoc Araich, is the largest in the area, which is enclosed by multiple ditches and ramparts then this site, it stands out even more from the other enclosed sites of the area.

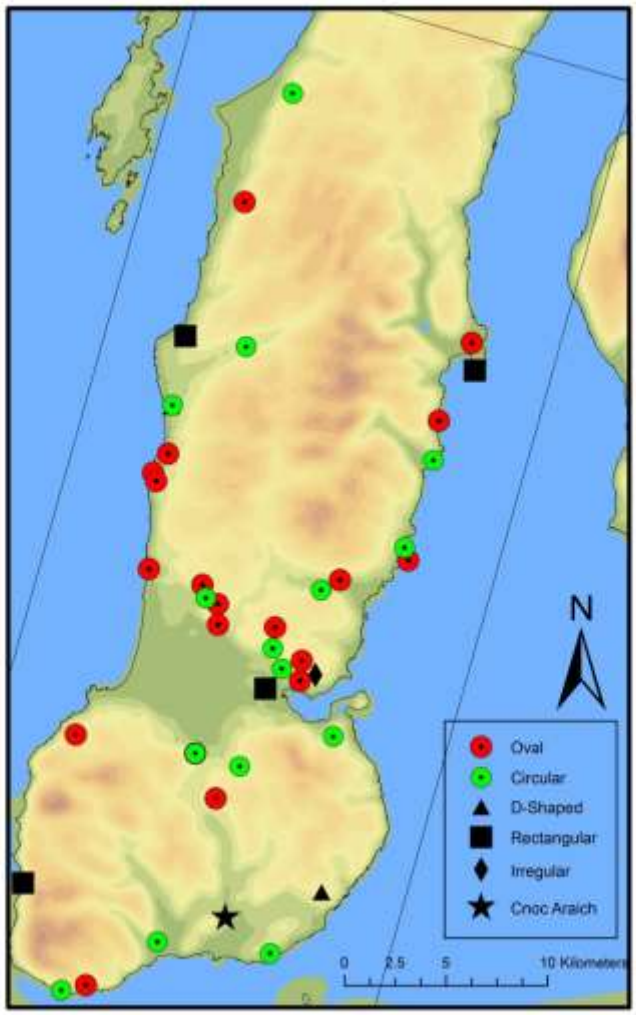



**Fig 88 Distribution of the different shaped sites in Kintyre**

The D-Shaped sites found in Kintyre are slightly different in nature to those found in other areas of the region. They are not ditch defined and are not located close to rivers, but are located on the edge of cliffs or on rocky promontories, and are partially enclosed by stone walls, as can be seen in the triple walled site of Sron Uamha. The cliff top position of this D-Shaped site is a common feature of such sites found throughout Argyll, and it is different from the ditch defined D-Shaped sites that are located on the edge of rivers, in other parts of west central Scotland. It could therefore be suggested that these site represent different a form of enclosure compared to the ditch defined D-Shaped sites, possibly fulfilling different

social or functional roles. However both these different forms of enclosure deliberately utilise natural features in their enclosure, and this does highlight similar conditions in terms of conceptions and ideas to do with enclosure and the use of space. What we are perhaps seeing is a local adaption of a regional tradition of enclosure, which in west central Scotland is never as common as in other areas of Scotland, particularly the Lothians.

The irregular and promontory sites of the area are similar in many ways to these D-Shaped sites, in that they too have been designed so as to take advantage of the natural topography of the landscape and their locations, to form part of their enclosure. These sites are often located on rocky promontories or knolls, and as such are only partially defined by walls or banks. It can be suggested that the location of the promontory sites in particular may have been deliberately chosen, in order to create a specific form of enclosed place. For instance Henderson (2007, 128-142) suggests three different possible interpretations for the promontory sites found along the Atlantic coast; these sites may have been fortified domestic locations, trading centres, or ritual places, though it could be argued that to define a site in such terms is misleading, especially given the significance of domestic space in the Iron Age, as is explored in chapter eight. In addition to these interpretations, to do with the significance of these sites on a local level, it has also been suggested, that the promontory sites in particular may act as key indicators of a wider Atlantic cultural and architectural tradition (Harding 2004, 144-151; Henderson 2007, 128-142). However given that we see the deliberate use of natural features in the partial enclosure of many types of site, such as the ditched defined D-Shaped sites along rivers, that are found throughout Scotland, it is possible that the promontory sites of Argyll are in fact a local manifestation of this wider practice.

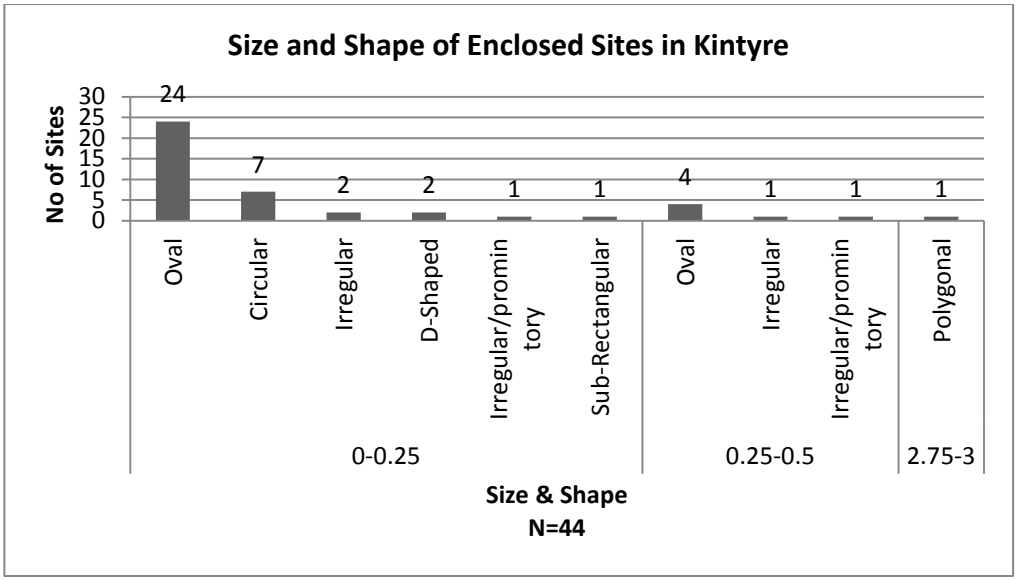



**Fig 89 Size and shape of the enclosed sites in Kintyre**

When we look at the shape of the enclosed sites in relation to the areas that they enclosed (Fig 89), we can see that it is the smaller sites that display the greatest degree of variability in shape, while the larger sites have a more restricted range of shapes. As can be expected, it is the small oval sites that dominate the Kintyre landscape, representing 54% of the total number of sites. We can also see that all of the circular enclosed sites are less than a quarter of a hectare in size, representing 16% of the total number of sites. The more moderately sized and larger sites of the area tend to be oval in nature, and as was noted above, the largest site at Cnoc Araich is polygonal in design. This trend in the range of size and shape of enclosures is similar to that seen in the other study areas of west central Scotland, as is discussed in the next Chapter. As can be seen in the map above (Fig 88) the oval enclosed sites of Kintyre dominate the landscape and are found throughout the peninsula. There also appears to be a distinct cluster of circular sites around the Campbeltown area. The promontory sites, as would be expected, are located on prominent coastal locations. The multivallate D-Shaped site of Sron Uamha is located at the southern type of The Mull of Kintyre, while the other D-Shaped site is located overlooking the Laggan. Again, it is clear from this distribution map that the large polygonal site of Cnoc Araich, at the southern end of the peninsula, lies in isolation from all the other enclosed sites of the area.

# Form of Enclosed Sites in Kintyre

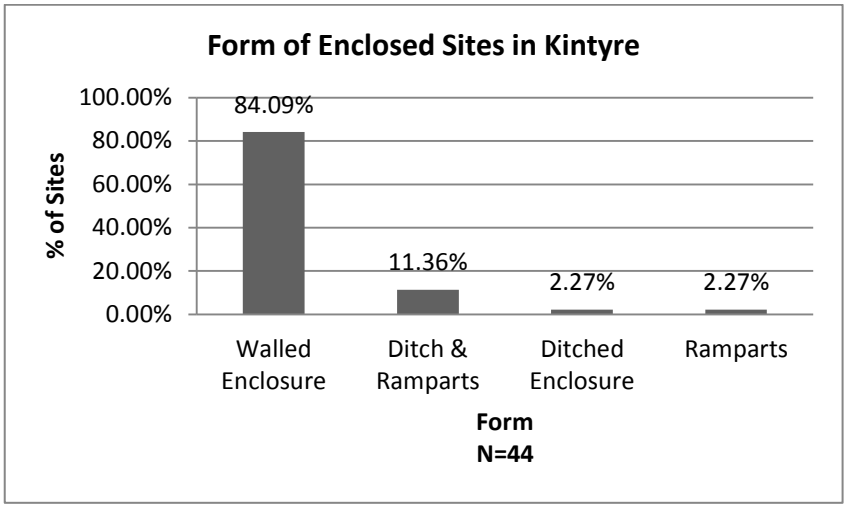



**Fig 90 Form of the enclosed sites in Kintyre**

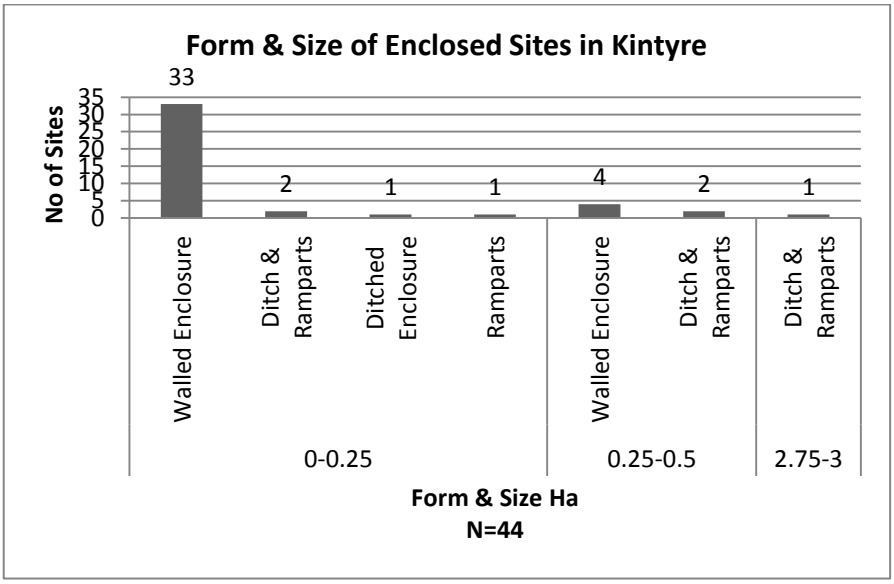



**Fig 91 Form and size of the enclosed sites of Kintyre**

The range of enclosed sites found in Kintyre reflects the form of the enclosed sites found in the other case study areas, though as can be seen, there is some considerable sub-regional variation in this area (Fig 90). For instance, compared to the other case study areas, there are significantly more stone walled enclosed sites in Kintyre. This is perhaps not a surprising given the strong Atlantic Iron Age tradition in this area, which has meant that there are also a number of Atlantic

roundhouses and dun-houses in the area. However the dominance of these types of site is significant, compared to the other case study areas of the region. This is particularly relevant given the fact that there are sites in this area that are enclosed in similar ways to those sites found in other areas of the region. This suggests that we are seeing a deliberate adoption of a particular form of enclosure in the Kintyre area, which may reflect different cultural or social traditions. Such traditions may be related to different ideas associated with the use of space and the practice of dwelling, as well as to do with how society was organised. However we should also bear in mind that environmental factors may have played a part in the ways in which people defined there settlements. For instance, there may have been less access to wood in this area (Tipping 1994), and given the abundant supply of good quality stones for building material, this may have played a role in the design of the enclosing works in this area. This is, of course, an over simplistic interpretation, especially given that many of these structures would have required large amounts of wood to construct, as explored by Fojut (2005; see also Church 2002). Other issues, especially to do with architectural materiality, also need to be explored further, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight.

There are three forms of enclosed site in the Kintyre area, including stone wall defined sites, rampart defined sites, and ditch defined sites. Only one of these ditch defined sites is not associated with any banks or ramparts, which is in sharp contrast to the other case study areas where these types of site are relatively common. However as highlighted above, as a result of the recent aerial photographic survey undertaken by the Royal Commission the proportion of these type of sites will likely increase (Halliday & Ralston 2010; Cowley *pers. comm).* As can be seen from the map below, the majority of enclosed sites in Kintyre are stone wall defined (Fig 90), and these sites dominate the settlement landscape, accounting for 84% of the total number of sites found in the area. The majority of these wall defined sites are small in nature (Fig 91), while there are also four sites that are of moderate size. The ditch defined sites of the area, which represent only 12% of enclosed sites, also tend to be small in nature (Fig 91), though there are a

limited number that are of moderate size, while the largest site at Cnoc Araich is ditch and rampart defined. The majority of these sites appear to be concentrated around the south eastern end of the peninsula (Fig 92), and it is possible that the distribution of these sites highlights a different way of enclosing space in this area, compared with other parts of Kintyre. That being said, the result of recent aerial photographic work may well change this pattern (Cowley *pers. comm*).

There is only one small rampart defined site found in Kintyre (Fig 91). The site at Westport on the west of the peninsula, encloses an area of 0.12Ha and is defined by a continuous, turf covered, stony rampart, that is up to 4.5m wide and 1.5m in height. This rampart is drawn around the summit of the prominent hill on which the site sits, and is additionally defined by a further two outer ramparts along its north-east side. The presence of only one rampart defined site in this area is perhaps surprising, especially given the fact that these type of sites are relatively common in the other case study areas. As such, it appears that this form of enclosure was, for whatever reason, not widely adopted in this part of west central Scotland. However, as was discussed in previous sections, the difference between these sites and stone walled sites is not always clear form the survey record, and it may be that these sites have simply been classed differently in this area, due to the dominance of the dry stone architecture.

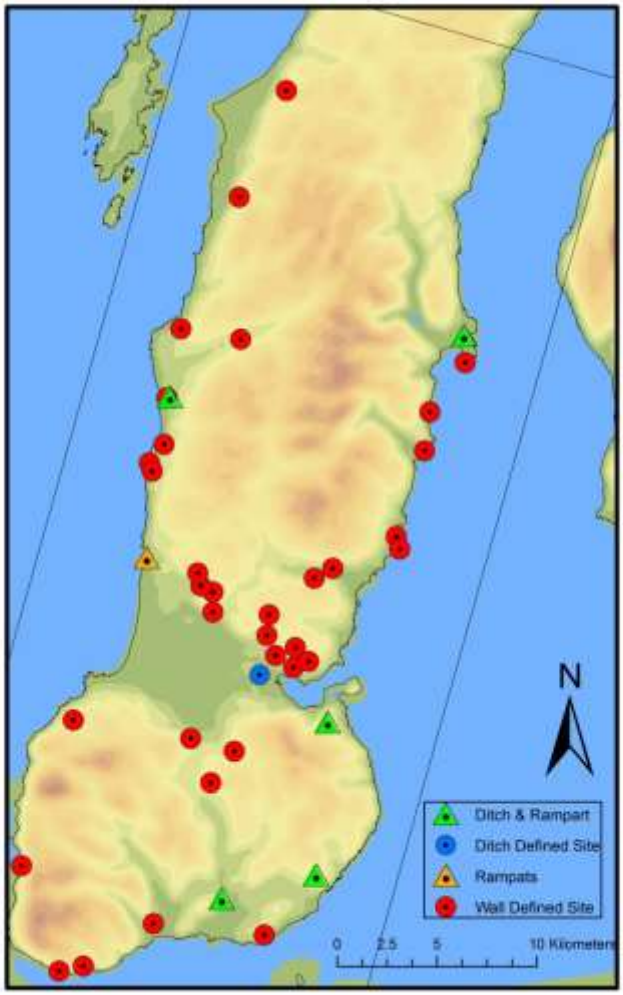



**Fig 92 Distribution of the different forms of enclosed site in Kintyre**

The results of this analysis are perhaps to be expected, given the strong Atlantic Iron Age tradition in this area. Importantly, when we use the traditional classification scheme to discuss the enclosed sites of the area, we are restricted by its terminology and it becomes difficult to compare this area with other parts of west central Scotland. However, by looking at the ways sites were enclosed and defined, as well as at their landscape locations and entrance orientations, we are able to compare enclosed sites across the wider region, without the interpretive baggage that has traditionally been attached to these, at first glance, different areas. We can see from this evidence that the enclosures of Kintyre are different in

many ways from other parts of the region, but it is also possible to see the shared cultural traditions that existed across the area. For instance there does seem to be similarities in the way the landscape of the Clyde area was occupied, particularly in relation to the small stone-walled sites. These similarities are not apparent, when sites are interpreted solely using traditional classifications. As such, by using this different method of comparing sites we are able to move beyond the traditional monolithic regional interpretations that tend to dominate Scottish Iron Age research.

## The Wall Defined Enclosed Sites of Kintyre

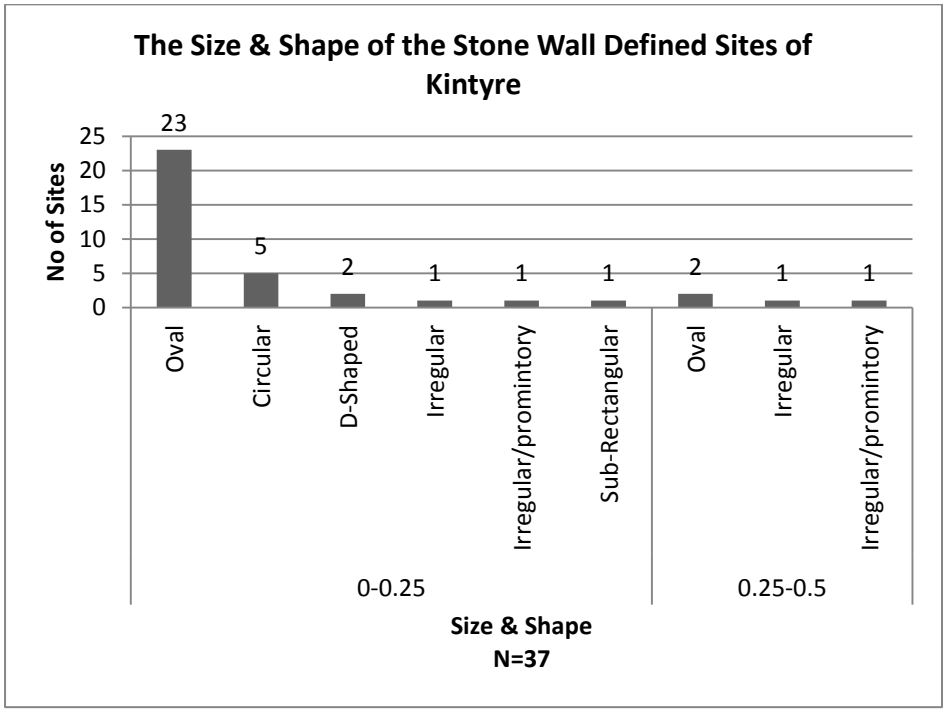



**Fig 93 The Size and shape of the enclosed sites in Kintyre**

As we have seen above, the wall defined sites of Kintyre dominate the peninsula (Fig 92), accounting for 86% (Fig 90) of the total number of enclosed sites that are found in this area. Particular concentrations of these sites can be seen on the hills overlooking the Laggan, from Campbeltown to Machrihanish, as well as up the western and eastern coasts and around the coastal edge of the Mull of Kintyre. The majority of the stone wall defined sites, representing 62% of the total number, are

small and oval in nature (Fig 93), while a further 5% are of moderate size. One of the small, sites that has been investigated, is Balloch Hill, which was excavated by Peltenburg (1983, 142-143) between 1973 and 1978. The complex morphological nature of this site, which was only revealed through the excavations, highlights many of the problems faced when relying on survey data alone when attempting to construct morphological frameworks of archaeological sites. For instance it was demonstrated that this complex site was subject to four phases of occupation and alteration starting with a 3rd millennium BC settlement, followed in the 2nd Millennium with a series of burials, before it was re-occupied by a later 1st millennium BC as an enclosed settlement, and finally in the first two centuries BC/AD, by an unenclosed *homestead* (Peltenburg 1983).

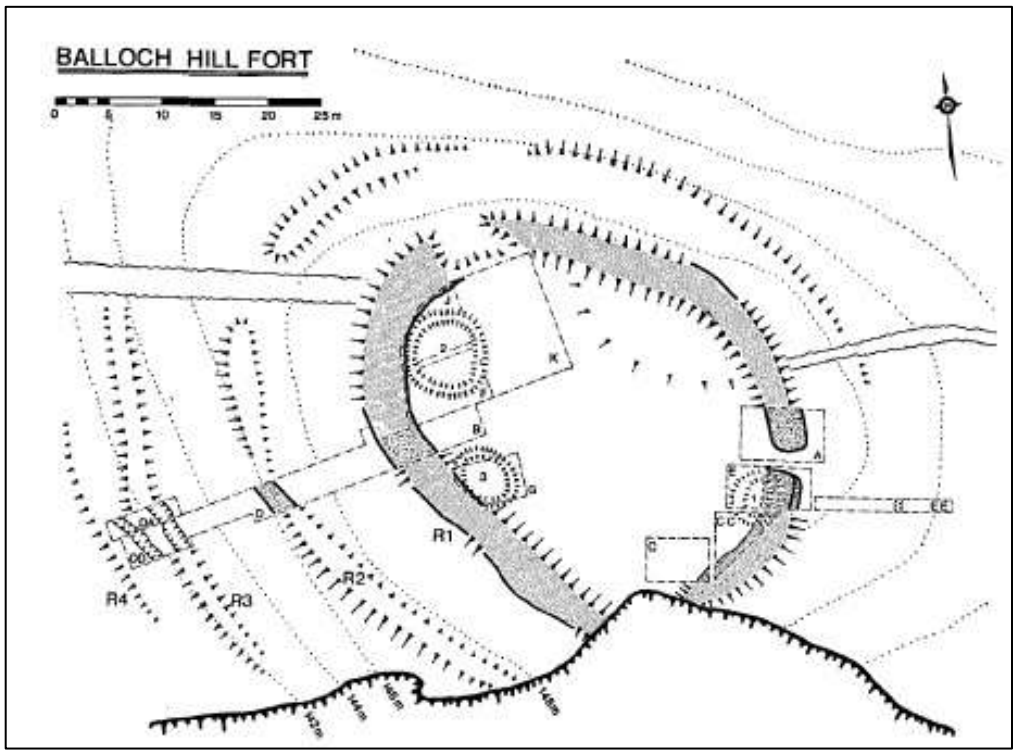



**Fig 94 Plan of the excavation at Balloch Hill. Peltenburg (1982)**

Activity on the site began in the early to middle Iron Age and ran through to the first centuries of the 1st millennium BC/AD, according to radiocarbon dates obtained through the excavation (Peltenburg 1982, 203-204; Ashmore 1997, 239). The site is defined by an irregular oval shaped stone wall, which is up to 3m thick which encloses an area 39.5m by 27.5m in extent and has an entrance in the East

side. In addition to this stone wall there are up to three badly preserved ramparts which additionally enclose and define the site, the inner of which is the best preserved, enclosing an area 58m by 44m in extent. Before the site was excavated it was thought that the stone walled enclosure represented a later phase of activity of the site and that it was constructed by robbing the badly preserved, and presumably earlier ramparts. However through excavation it was revealed that the inner, larger, rampart was in fact contemporary with the stone walled enclosure that crowns the hill. Therefore, this suggests that the traditional idea that the larger forts of Argyll were replaced by smaller dun or dun like structures (RCHAMS 1971) did not apply to this site (Peltenburg 1983). Though this sequence may not be applicable to other sites, excavation at Balloch Hill revealed that this generally held idea, to do with the larger family units of the forts being replaced by the single family units of the duns, is not universally applicable to sites in Kintyre. Therefore new ways of exploring architectural and social change needs to be addressed.

Of the other sites that are of defined by stone walls we can see the largest number are small and circular in nature, representing 13.5% of the total number of sites (Fig 93). If we were to look at the ways these circular sites were traditional classed then we can see that all but one of these sites has been regarded as a dun. This reflects the underlying idea that the circularity of sites, in this part of Scotland, is linked with the Atlantic tradition of architecture (Henderson 2007, 99-101), of which it has been argued the duns of Argyll form a local adaption of (Harding 2004). The only circular site that is not classed as a dun is Borgadel Water, which as was noted above, does not fit into the neat terminology of the duns and forts, and so has been compared to the Raths or ring forts, which are commonly found in Ireland and again reflect a strong Atlantic influence (Henderson 2007, 177-198).

Perhaps surprisingly there are only a small number of D-Shaped and promontory type sites found in Kintyre, which as has been noted above, have traditionally been taken to represent forms of Atlantic Iron Age Architecture (Henderson 2007, 128-142). These sites make up the remaining 19% of stone wall defined sites, and as was

discussed in detail above, use the natural topography of the landscape to enhance and enclose areas. Arguments could be made that such sites are a different form of site compared to the oval and circular sites. For instance Sron Uamha, which is located at the southernmost point of Kintyre, is defined by three stone walls along its northern side, while the southern side is open to the sea. The inner wall measures 3.7m in width, and follows the irregular shoulder of the knoll on which it sits, while the middle and outer walls measure 2.1m and 1.5m in thickness. The entrance is on the East side of the site. The walls enclose an area of 0.04 Ha, but it may have originally been slightly larger, as it is possible that the interior was reduced through erosion of the cliff on which it sits (RCAHMS 1971, 76-77). Henderson (2007) suggests that these sites may have performed different functions to the usual domestic, enclosed sites that dominate the area. It can also be argued that these sites represent a local adaption to a way of enclosing space, using the natural topography of the landscape that can be seen in the D-shaped sites that are found across the rest of west central Scotland.

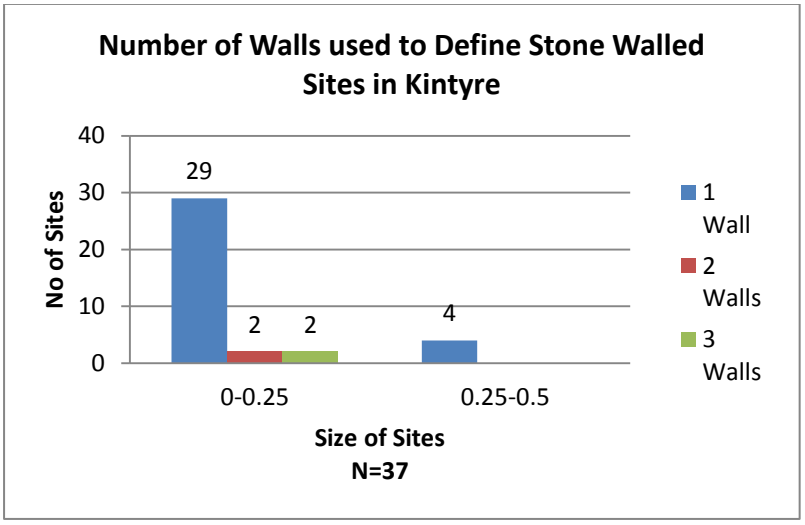



**Fig 95 Number of walls used to define the enclosed sites of Kintyre**

As can be seen from the graph above, all but four of the wall defined sites of Kintyre are defined by a single wall (Fig 95). Those sites that are enclosed by more than one wall include the site at Belfield (which is defined by two walls), the site at Balloch Hill (which is enclosed by a stone wall and up to three degraded ramparts), and the sites at Killean and Sron Uamha (which are defined by three walls each). Issues to

do with social structure shall be explored in Chapter Nine, but it can be suggested that the elaborate nature of these sites implies a degree of social status, which is not related to the size of the site. Killean and Sron Uamha are found in areas where there are no sites of moderate size, and it could be suggested that instead of the area that they enclose, it is the elaborate nature of these sites which mark them out as being of higher status. These sites may have acted as the elite site or as centers for the local group or an extended family. Belfield which is defined by two walls does lie in close proximity to larger sites, but this site is unusual in that it has been remodeled on at least one occasion. As it appears that a double walled fort was later replaced by a small, probably roofed, single walled dun, it is possible that here we are seeing the changing fortunes of a family or group at this site. For instance it might be suggested that the site was once the residence of a prosperous or important family, signified by an impressive double stone walled enclosure which was later replaced by a smaller roundhouse, of lesser social significance. Again, these ideas need to be considered alongside issues to do with chronology, which will be explored in Chapters Six and Seven.

## The Ditch Defined Sites of Kintyre

Compared with the other areas of west central Scotland, where ditch defined sites are prominent in the archaeological record, there are significantly fewer sites of this type in the Kintyre area. These sites represent just 13% of the total number of enclosed sites on Kintyre (Fig 91), though as has been stated above, until recently there has been little aerial photography in this area compared to other parts of the region. The stone walled sites continue to dominate the landscape and it can be suggested that in this area we can see a marked difference in cultural and social practices to do with the definition of space and the form of enclosure, in this part of west central Scotland compared to the other areas of the region. One of the main reasons cited for this difference, as was explored above in relation to the stone walled sites, is the idea of the strong Atlantic tradition of architecture in this area (Harding 1997, 2004; Henderson 2007), which is dominated by small stone built houses and enclosed sites. Whether this represents a genuinely different form of

cultural or social practice in the way sites were enclosed or whether it reflects local adaptions to wider forms of architecture and meaning shall be explored in the next section. Although, as it has already been noted for the stone walled sites, there are many similarities between these sites, and the enclosed sites found in the rest of west central Scotland, even though they have a different architectural materiality. Other factors of course have to be taken into account including geographical and environmental concerns. For instance the Kintyre area, is dominated by a ridge of high moorland and, and a mountainous spine, with numerous rocky promontories. This means that it might have been relatively impractical to construct ditch defined sites in much of the peninsula, though areas such as Lanarkshire are also dominated by upland landscapes and there are large numbers of ditch defined sites in this area.

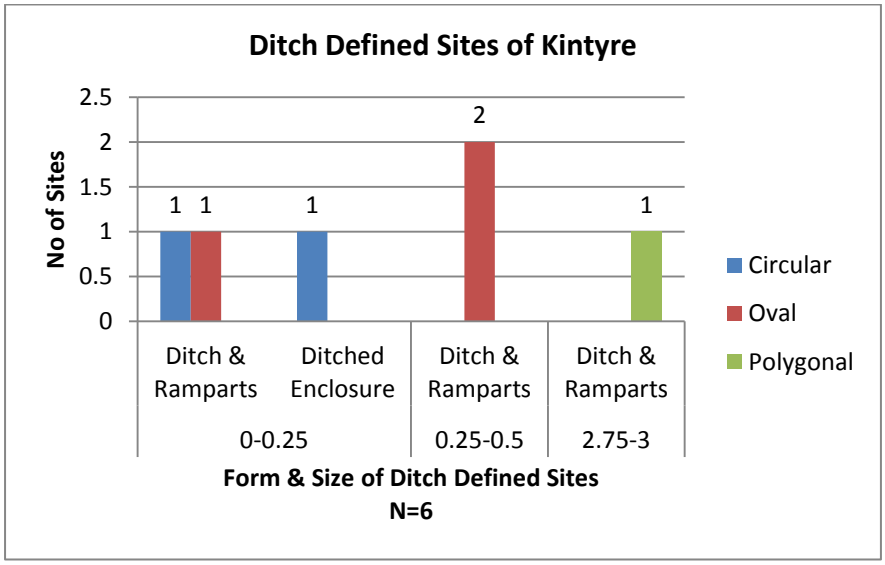



**Fig 96 The size and shape of the ditch defined sites of Kintyre**

When we look in detail at the limited number of ditch defined sites in this area, it can be seen that all but one is additionally defined by ramparts or banks (Fig 96). This small site, at Gallowhill Farm, is one of only two circular sites in the area. It was discovered through excavation, ahead of development, and is located in a low-lying area of heavily farmed land. The majority of ditch defined sites however are oval in nature, which reflects the wider picture we see in the way sites were defined in the Kintyre area. This may indicate that even though these ditch defined sites were

constructed in different ways to the stone walled sites, the ways in which space was defined and the practice of enclosure was in fact similar in many ways. This in turn may mean that the practice of living within these sites was the same. Further to this, the oval nature of the sites also reflects the pattern we see in the other areas of the region, again reflecting the wider nature of ideas associated with enclosure shape. These sites tend to be located on prominent hilltops or in upland locations and are all additionally defined by banks or ramparts. Three of these sites are defined by a single ditch and rampart but there are two sites Cnoc Araich and Kildalloig which are defined by triple ramparts of earth and stone.

Kildalloig is located on top of a flat toped hillock rising from the Laggan and commands extensive views over Campbeltown Loch. The site encloses an area of 0.1Ha and is defined by an internal rampart which runs around the top of the hill, while two outer ditch and ramparts are drawn around the flanks of the hill, and the entrance is located on the eastern side. This site is located in relative isolation from the other small sites in the area. Again, like the triple walled sites at Killean and Sron Uamha, it can be suggested that the elaborate nature of this site might suggest the relatively higher status of its builders and the people that occupied it. However, Cnoc Araich stands out from all of the other enclosed sites due to its massive size, polygonal shape and the fact that it is defined by a series of ditches and ramparts. All these aspects single Cnoc Araich out as a unique site in the area. The area enclosed by this site is around 2.8Ha in extent, and there are a series of openings within the circuit of its ditches. Although it is not immediately clear which acted as the original entrance, it is tempting to suggest that there was more than one entrance, perhaps reflecting the way the site was used. For instance the surveyors of the site suggested that gangs or groups of workers constructed the ditch and ramparts, as they appear to have been excavated in sections which are irregular, and of different angles and dimensions in places along their roots (RCAHMS 1971, 67-69). This raises the real possibility that this site was some sort of central communal place, built by the entire community of Kintyre, in a different way compared to their usual domestic dwellings. In addition to this it clearly shows that

the people of Kintyre were not only connected and influenced by the Atlantic tradition, but also had knowledge of the use of space in lowland areas of the region; the site displays many similarities with sites found in other parts of west central Scotland, as well as further afield in other areas of Scotland and the British Isles as a whole.

## The Rampart Defined Sites of Kintyre

Compared to the other areas in West Central Scotland there is only one rampart defined site in the Kintyre study area. This site, at Westport, on the west side of the peninsula, is defined by a continuous rampart drawn around the summit of the hill on which it sits. The site encloses an area of 0.12Ha in extent, while two outer ramparts additionally define the north-north east side of the hill. The inner rampart survives to 4.6m in width and 1.5m in height while the outer ramparts are less well preserved. This small enclosed site is of irregular design, as the ramparts used to define the site follow the natural contours of the hill on which the site sits. Why there should be only one rampart defined site in this area is open to debate. As was noted in the section to do with the stone wall defined sites, there are many sites in the area which are additionally defined by ramparts, and in some instances it can be suggested that many sites would have once been rampart defined, and were later re-developed to include a stone walled enclosures. This therefore might suggest that the use of ramparts to define sites perhaps fell out of favor in this part of west central Scotland as the period progressed, although issues to do with the specific architectural forms of the Atlantic regions may also have meant that it was seen as more appropriate to define sites in different ways.

# Entrance Orientation of Enclosed sites in Kintyre

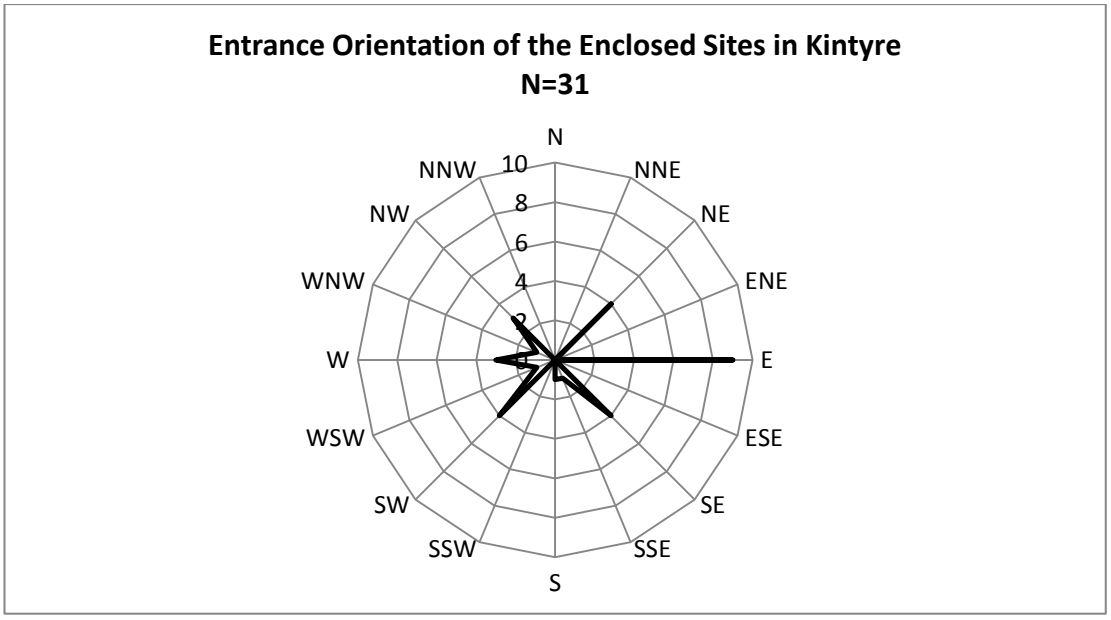



**Fig 97 Entrance orientation of the enclosed sites in Kintyre.**

There are 31 enclosed sites with single entrances in Kintyre where the orientation could be determined (Fig 97). All of these sites are defined by a single entrance apart from Cnoc Araich, which is defined by four entrances, each orientated to a different part of the landscape, again marking this site out as different form the other enclosed sites in the area. Of the single entrance sites it can be seen that the majority are aligned in a general easterly direction. Nine sites (29%) are orientated due east, there are four sites (12%) aligned to the north-east and south-east respectively while there is one site aligned to the south-south-east. Like the other case study areas there are a smaller number of sites aligned in a general westerly direction. As can be seen above there are four sites (12%) aligned to the the south-west while there are three sites (10%) aligned due west and north-west, there is also one site aligned to the west-south-west and one aligned to the west-north-west. From this evidence it can be seen that like the other case study areas, and indeed the majority of regions in the British Isles, the enclosed sites in Kintyre have a propensity to be aligned to the east, and while this is adhered to by most sites, we can also see that it was not a common practice across the area. This area is of

course much more rugged compared to the other case study areas and therefore the local geography may have played a more prominent role in determining entrance orientation. Other of factors determining entrance orientation may be to do with issues such as the status of the inhabitants of these sites or their function, as has been discussed in relation to western facing sites in Atlantic areas by Parker Pearson and Sharples (1999, 350-353).

## Conclusion

In this chapter it has been demonstrated that, like the other parts of west central Scotland that have been examined in this research, the Kintyre peninsula is dominated by small curvilinear enclosed sites. As is discussed in detail in the next chapter these sites display a number of similarities with the enclosed sites from other parts of the region, and in particular in their size, shape and entrance orientations. There are some differences however, not least in the fact that the majority of sites in Kintyre are stone wall defined, rather than ditch defined as is typical of the other areas. In addition as has been seen in the other case study areas, there is also one massive site in Kintyre, at Cnoc Araich. This site is unique in the area, but it suggests that society was organised in Kintyre in similar ways compared to other parts of west central Scotland. In the next chapter all of the evidence from the four case study areas shall be brought together, so that they can be compared more closely. This will allow us to begin to reassess the regional zones which have dominated interpretation of the Iron Age in this part of Scotland. Moreover, by assessing the enclosed sites of west central Scotland in these ways, they can now be compared with the enclosed sites that are found in the rest of the British Isles and beyond. What this reassessment means in social terms shall be explored in Chapters Eight and Nine.

# Chapter Six: The Enclosed Sites of West Central Scotland

## Introduction

In this chapter I shall bring together all of the evidence for the enclosed sites from the four case study areas in order to construct a detailed morphological framework. This will enable us to explore the ways in which communities across west central Scotland defined themselves and the world around them through the ways in which they defined space and occupied the landscape. This will in turn allow us to construct new narratives about the region and enable us to move away from the traditional understandings of the period that have dominated archaeological debate over the past half century. We will then be able to orientate the Iron Age of west central Scotland in relation to the rest of Scotland and the British Isles as a whole. This chapter will follow the framework set out in the previous four chapters, by looking at the size, shape and form and orientation of the enclosed sites, but will do so in a way that each of the areas can be compared and contrasted. Of the 483 enclosed sites identified in the wider Strathclyde region, a total of 211 were located in the four case study areas. As shown below, these sites were subject to extensive and detailed analysis allowing us to construct a detailed and comprehensive morphological account of the enclosed sites in this part of Scotland.

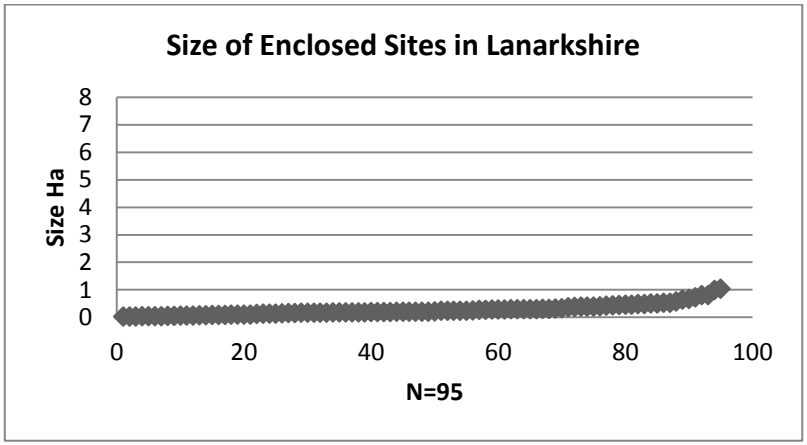



Fig 98 Rank size plot of the enclosed sites in Lanarkshire

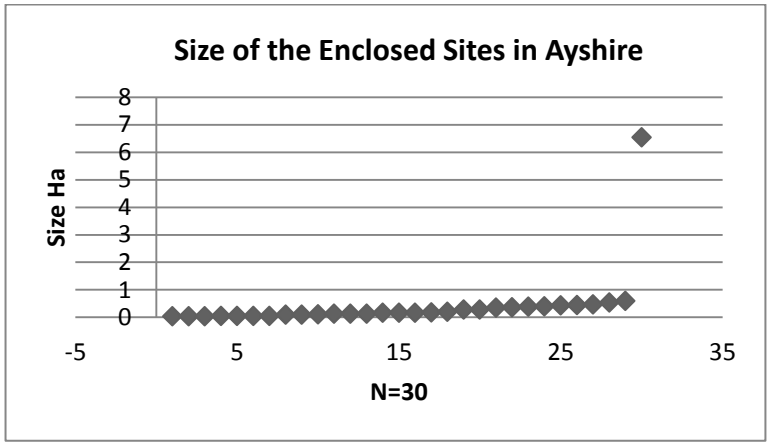



Fig 100 Rank size plot of the enclosed sites in Ayrshire

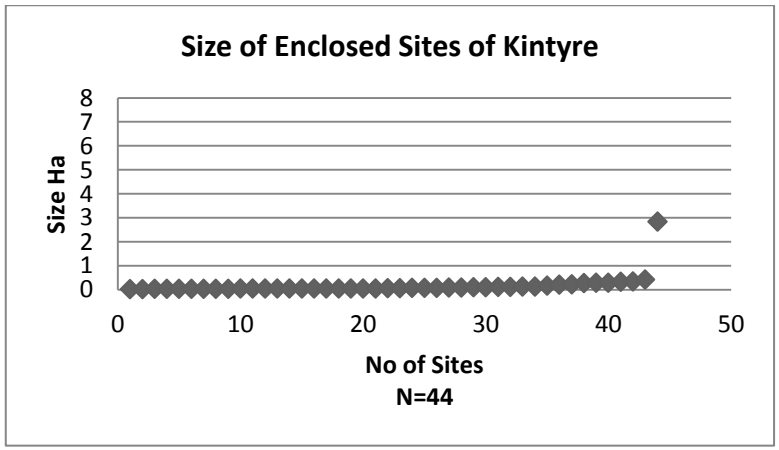



Fig 99 Rank size plot of the enclosed sites in Kintyre

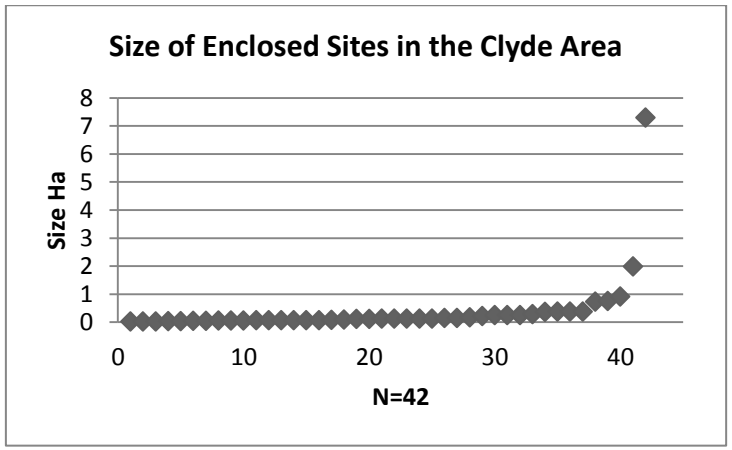



Fig 101 Rank size plot of the enclosed sites in the Clyde area

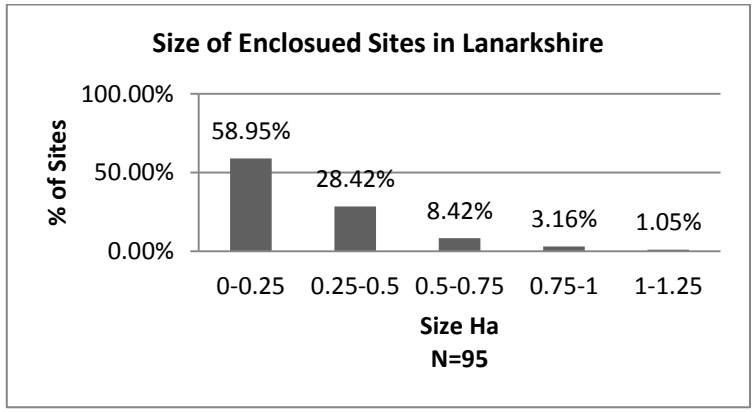



**Fig 102 Size of the enclosed sites in the Lanarkshire area**

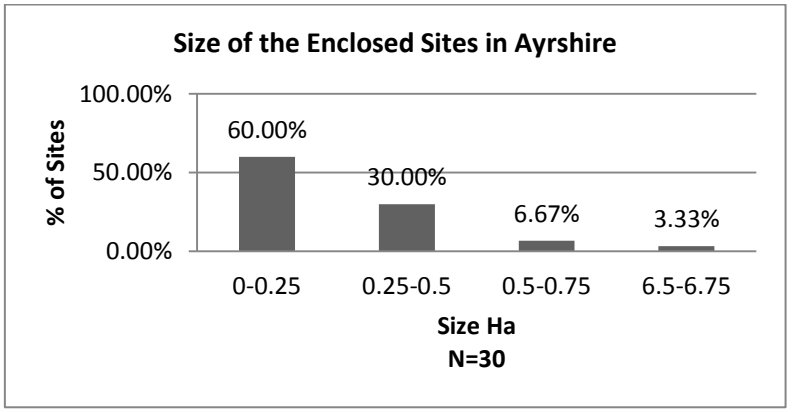



**Fig 104 Size of the enclosed sites in the Ayrshire area**

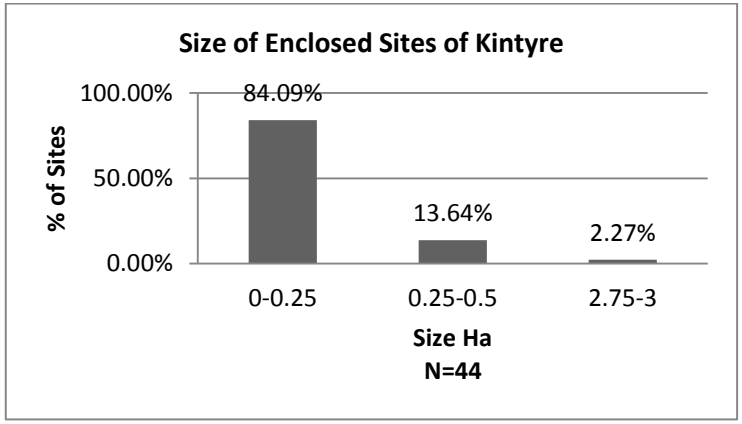



**Fig 103 Size of the enclosed sites in Kintyre**

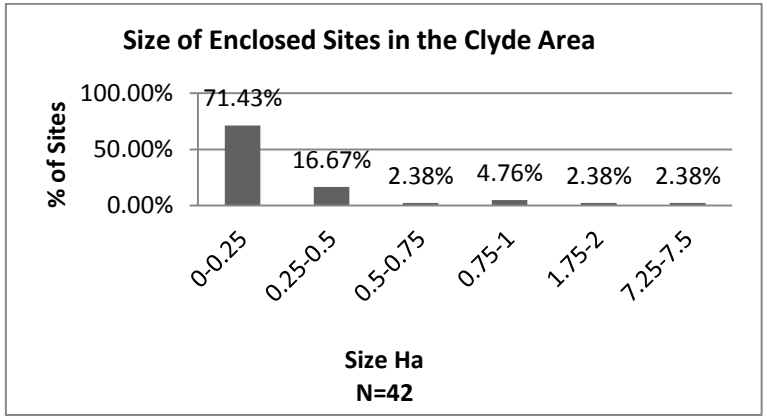



**Fig 105 Size of the enclosed sites in the Clyde area**

# Size of Enclosed Sites in West Central Scotland

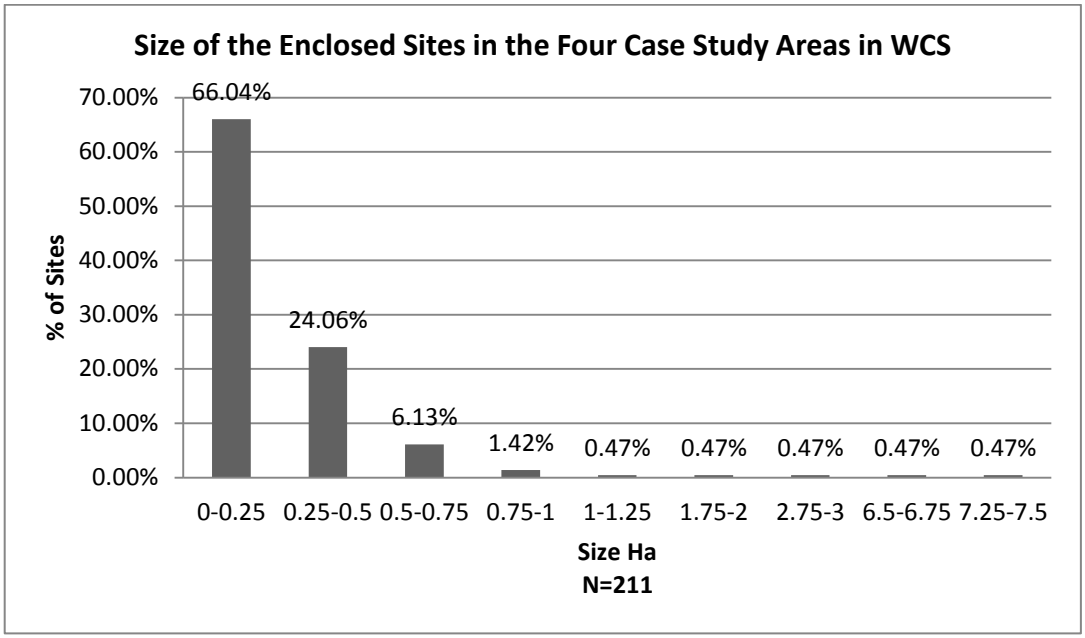



**Fig 106 The size of the enclosed sites from the four case study areas**

A total of 211 enclosed sites from four case study areas were examined in order to construct a new morphological framework on which to base interpretations of the settlement record of west central Scotland. It can be seen that the majority of sites, representing 66% of the total number, enclose areas of less than a quarter of a hectare in size (Fig 106). This represents the general trend we see in the wider Strathclyde area. These small sites dominate the landscape and are the main form of settlement in the later prehistoric period in this area. A further 24% of sites are of moderate size, enclosing areas of between a quarter and half a hectare in extent. There are also a number of large sites, representing 6% of the total number, measuring between half a hectare and three quarters of a hectare in size. Three sites, representing only 1.42% of the total number, enclose areas of between three quarters of a hectare and one hectare in extent. In addition to these relatively small sites there are five sites which enclose areas greater than one hectare in extent. These sites display a relatively large range of sizes and forms, but it can be seen that there are two sites which are proportionately larger compared to all the other enclosed sites in the region; Harpercroft, which encloses an area of 6.5Ha in extent,

and the largest at Walls Hill, which encloses an area of 7.3Ha in extent. There are a further eleven sites in the wider Strathclyde area which enclose areas of over one hectare in extent, which shall be explored further below.

When we compare the four case study areas we can see that the areas enclosed by sites is relatively similar across the region, though it could be argued that there are a number sub-regional differences. For instance when we look at the rank size plots of the four case study areas, we can see that the size range of the enclosed sites in the Ayrshire Clyde (Fig 101 & Fig 105) and the Kintyre areas (Fig 99 & Fig 103) are relatively similar, while the size of sites in the in the Lanarkshire area (Fig 98 & Fig 102) is much more restricted. These rank size plots represent the range of sizes of site, in hectares, of all the enclosed sites in each area, and they allow us to begin to explore a number of interpretive issues. For example, the social status of a group or household may have been linked with the relative size of the site that they inhabited. This kind of interpretation is of course very traditional, as is discussed more fully in Chapter Eight, reflecting the way in which the Commission (RCAHMS 1971; 1978) have interpreted these sites, and other interpretations need to be explored. However, by looking at the area that a site enclosed rather than the number of houses that could be accommodated by an enclosure, we can compare all of the enclosed sites of the region, be they located on hilltops or in low-lying areas, in the same ways, and we can begin to explore alternative interpretations.

As can be seen, it is the small enclosed sites which dominate each of the case study areas and while there are a number of differences in settlement distribution in these areas, it can be suggested that that the ways in which sites were defined was similar across the region. For example even though there are considerably more enclosed sites in the Lanarkshire area compared to the Ayrshire area, there are a number of observations that can be made which demonstrate the relative similarities; a point perhaps masked by the rank size plots. In the Ayrshire area where there are 30 enclosed sites, and Lanarkshire area (Fig 98 & Fig 102), where

there are 95 sites, the small enclosed sites account for a total of 58.33% and 60% of the total number of sites respectively. While we have to be aware that there are more sites in the Lanarkshire area, it could be suggested that that the way in which space was defined in these areas was similar. This is supported by the fact that the number of moderately sized sites in both areas is also proportionality similar, where 28% of sites in the Ayrshire area and 30.10% of sites in the Lanarkshire area are of a moderate size. In addition to this we can also see that there are proportionately similar numbers of large sites in each of the areas, with 6% and 8% in Ayrshire and Lanarkshire respectively, being sites of this size range.

When we look at the largest sites in these areas however, that are over a hectare in extent, it can be suggested that the way in which society was organised may have been different, and it can be suggested that the communities living in the Lanarkshire area were structured in different ways compared to those living in other parts of the region. This is demonstrated by the fact that the largest site in Lanarkshire, Woodend, is not disproportionately large compared to the other enclosed sites found in the area. Enclosing an area of only 1.04Ha in extent, it is much smaller than the other massive sites found in the region. This is in comparison to the site of Harpercroft, found in the Ayrshire area, which is one of the largest sites in the whole of west central Scotland, measuring 6.5Ha in extent. This site is located on a prominent hill overlooking the Ayrshire plain and is defined by two large and presumably once elaborate ramparts. This is in contrast to Woodend, which is ditch defined and is located in a low lying area meaning that it is overlooked by the smaller stone defined site of Devonshaw Hill. It could therefore be argued that this site is not comparable to the other massive sites in the region.

The presence of disproportionately large enclosed sites like Harpercroft can also be seen in the Kintyre (Fig 99 & Fig 103) and Clyde (Fig 101 & Fig 105) areas. There are a total of 44 sites in the Kintyre area and 42 sites in the Clyde area. In the Kintyre area, 84% of sites measure less than a quarter of a hectare in extent, while 71% measure less than a quarter of a hectare in extent in the Clyde area. While this

difference is perhaps relatively large, it does highlight that in each of these areas, the landscape is dominated by small enclosed sites. The Clyde area has slightly more sites of moderate size, representing 16% of the total number of sites, while 13% of the total number of sites in the Kintyre area are of this size. There are differences between these two areas however when we look at the larger sites that are found in each area. There is only one site that encloses an area greater than half a hectare in extent in Kintyre, and it can be seen that compared to all the other sites in this area, this site, Cnoc Araich, is significantly different in terms both size and form. This is in contrast to the Clyde area, where there are five sites, representing 12% of the total number, that are over half a hectare in extent, two of which, Carman and Walls Hill, enclose areas of over one hectare. When we look at the two largest sites in these areas, Cnoc Araich and Walls Hill, we can see that they are both proportionately much larger than any of the other sites found in their respective areas, and therefore it could be argued that they performed similar social roles, as is discussed in Chapter Eight.

## The Massive Sites of West Central Scotland

In addition to the five sites that enclose areas of over 1Ha in the four case study areas, there are a further eleven sites found across the wider Strathclyde region that enclose areas greater than 1Ha (Fig 107). These eleven sites represent just 3% of the 483 enclosed sites that are found in this part of Scotland. As can be seen from the graph below (Fig 107), instead of forming a coherent group that may indicate that they had similar social roles, their diversity in size and form might mean that they performed different roles within each of their respective areas. Though this issue shall be explored more fully in Chapter Nine. There appears to be three groups or clusters of sites of similar size. Those between 1Ha and 2Ha, those that are around 3Ha in extent and those representing the four largest sites in Strathclyde ranging from around 5Ha to just over 8Ha in extent. Indeed these sites; Drumadoon, Harpercroft, Walls Hill, and Sithean Buidhe are considerably larger than all of the other sites and it could be argued that these were significant sites in

the wider Strathclyde region, performing different social roles, compared to the other large sites, within each of their surrounding areas. As can be seen from the map below (Fig 108), these massive sites are spread throughout the Strathclyde region, with notable absences on the Isle of Mull and Jura as well as in South Ayrshire. The site of Dunagoil on Bute is regarded along with these larger sites, though it is not represented on the graph above as it could be suggested that this site is considerably different compared to the other massive sites in the area. Harding (2004, 141-144) suggested that the two sites at Dunagoil on the southern tip of Bute, Little Dunagoil and the "citadel fort" of Dunagoil, were in effect part of the same enclosure if one were to take the stretches of walling and the natural rocky outcrops that exist between them as evidence for complete enclosure and that the entire area therefore represented a "terrain enclosure" (Ibid).

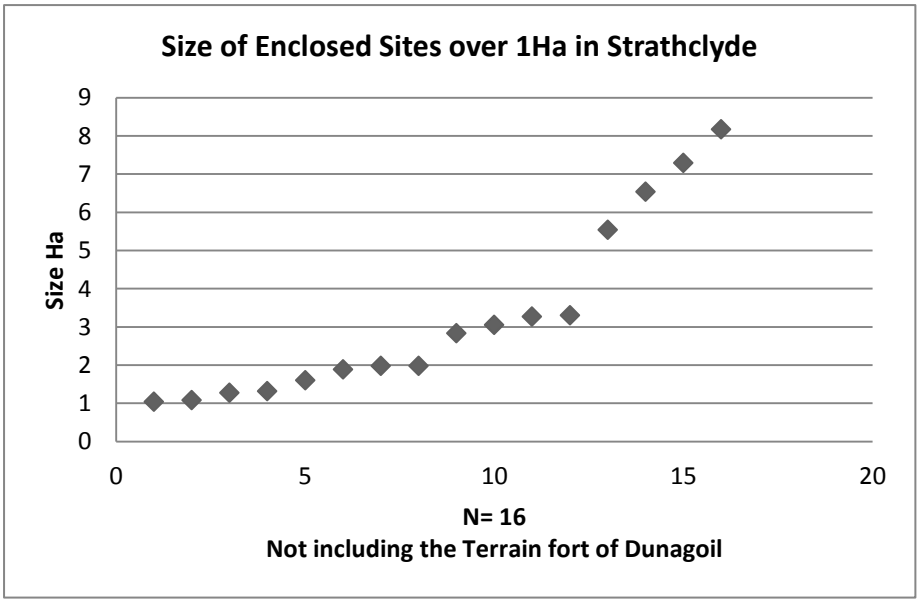



**Fig 107 Rank size plot of the site in west central Scotland that enclose areas of greater than 1Ha in extent, not including Dunagoil**

Harding (2004, 144) went on to suggest that these terrain enclosures are a common feature in the Atlantic regions of Scotland, a notable example of which is the largest enclosed site in Strathclyde; Sithean Buidhe. This site is particularly unusual compared to all of the other enclosed sites of west central Scotland. Located at the southern end of the Point of Knap, the site occupies a conspicuous rocky outcrop

that has commanding views over the adjacent Knapdale coast and Loch Caolisport. The site, which encloses an area of roughly 8.2Ha in extent, is only partially enclosed by artificial means. According to the Commission (RCAHMS 1988, 169) a roughly triangular area is enclosed by two lengths of wall which run between rocky outcrops and sheer cliff faces as well as, uniquely for any enclosed site in the region, a small Loch, known as “Lochan Sidhein Bhuidhe”. The walls each stretch for 85m and 65m, the latter of which survives to a height of 2.3m in ten courses. This site is unusual in a number of ways, not least because of the partial use of a body of water in the act of enclosure, but also because much of the site would have been uninhabitable, due to its low lying nature being liable to flooding and the fact that much of the interior was occupied by rocky outcrops. The commission (ibid) did note that there were several scoops that may have once been the setting for timber houses, but without excavation this remains speculation. This evidence suggests that compared to the other large sites in west central Scotland, Sithean Buidhe, may not have been the focus for settlement, but rather may have been used for other more specialised or ritual activates, an interpretation which can perhaps be supported through the use of the small lochan to partially enclose the site. The use of water has long been associated with ritual activity in the later prehistoric period, as can be seen in the presence of wells in numerous enclosed places such as at Mine Howe on Orkney.

Two similar promontory sites can be found on the west coast of Islay. These sites, which are similar in form, size and location, are what Henderson (2007, 128-142) would regard as a typical Atlantic Iron Age style promontory site. Both these sites, at Am Burg and Lossit Point, each measure around 1.9Ha in extent and are partially cut off from the mainland by deep gullies incised into the land by the sea, while the remaining piece of land that connects the promontories to the mainland are protected by large stone walls that effectively cut off the promontories from the surrounding landscape. These types of promontory site, which have been discussed in detail previously, have been interpreted in a number of ways, including as ritual sites, trading sites and domestic sites, though again it should be stressed that these

polar distinctions are perhaps unhelpful, particularly given the evidence for the cosmological importance of settlement and the apparent fluid nature of these concepts during the latter prehistoric period, as shall be more fully explored in Chapter Eight. However it is worth considering the liminal and unusual qualities of these sites, as well as Sithean Buidhe, as part of the wider trend in the use of natural features to enclose sites. For instance, it can be suggested that these sites represent a local manifestation of the use of natural features to form an enclosed space, which is a phenomenon that can be seen across west central Scotland, particularly in the D-Shaped sites of the region. These sites, which are positioned close to rivers or cliff edges, are often defined by multiple ditches and it can be argued that they enclose space and perhaps were thought of in similar ways to these promontory sites. The use of promontories and cliff edges to enclose space can be seen across Scotland. Harding (2004, 63-64, 93-95) notes that there are a number of multivallate promontory sites in central, southern and eastern Scotland, which are very similar to the ones found in west central Scotland, while Cowley (2009, 205-224), noted that the D-Shaped sites that are found in the Lothians may have had special significance, particularly as they used water to form part of their enclosures. One massive site which of this nature, at Double Dykes just south of Larkhall in Lanarkshire, encloses an area of 3.3Ha in extent and is located on a prominent promontory overlooking the confluence of the Avon Water and the Cander Water. The site is defined on three sides by the sheer cliffs, 30m in height, which run down to the rivers, while it is defined by three large ramparts on its landward side.

Apart from these relatively unusual sites the majority the massive sites south of the Clyde tend to be rampart or wall defined and are located on prominent hills, such as the sites at Duncarnock, Drumadoon, Walls Hill, Harpercroft, and Black Hill. These sites have traditionally been classed as forts or hillforts and as such they have been interpreted as being the most significant sites within the region, often being described as minor oppidum (RCAHMS 1971, 16; 1978, 26; Harding 2004), which is problematic in a number of ways as is discussed below. The site of Cnoc Araich is

also rampart defined, but in this case, this unusual site is additionally defined by a number of ditches. In addition to these earthwork sites there are also large ditch defined sites which belong to the more significant enclosed sites in the region. These sites, as has been discussed in previous chapters, have traditionally been thought of as settlements rather than as forts, as has been discussed in relation to the site at Woodend in the Lanarkshire case study area. Another massive ditch defined site, which encloses an area of 1.6Ha in extent, is found on Islay, at Bridgend. The traditional classification and associated interpretations of these sites would therefore suggest that the massive ditch defined sites did belonging to the same tradition of enclosure as the earthwork sites, which in turn would imply that they did not perform the same social roles within society. This is clearly problematic, and while it can be argued that the diversity we see in these massive sites in general means they may not have all been used or perceived in the same ways, by analysing these sites in relation to their size, we can re-orientate these sites into wider discussions on the importance of these massive sites, which are clearly very different, in terms of scale, compared to the other enclosed sites of the region.

How Iron Age society was organised and how and why these massive sites were used and constructed shall be explored more fully in the Chapter Nine, however it is important to note that in addition to the social roles that these sites may have performed at a local level, they are found across the region from Kintyre in the west to Lanarkshire in the east, and therefore it can be suggested that similar social conditions were in place across west central Scotland. These sites again highlight that people were defining space and using the landscape in very similar ways and therefore participating in shared social and cultural practices and identities suggesting that social structure was also similar across the region. These sites were clearly different from the smaller enclosed sites of the area on account of the massive areas that they enclosed, but in terms of the scale of their enclosing works, their landscape positions and the activates that took place within them then little difference can be seen between these sites and the smaller enclosed sites of the

region. For instance, as is explored more fully in Chapter Nine, the artefactual evidence recovered from the small number of excavations at the massive sites is not substantially different form the types of object that were being produced and used on the smaller sites and therefore it is difficult to sustain an argument that these sites would have been at the top of a social hierarchies or have acted as centres for elite power. It can therefore be suggested that they may have been important for other reasons, perhaps to do with their roles within the community. For instance, they may have been important for communal defence if there was a threat of outside violence, of which there is limited evidence in west central Scotland, or perhaps as communal centres which were used for specific purposes, such as at festival times or at times of ritual importance, as has been advanced by Hill (1995, 55), in relation to the hillforts of Wessex. These issues shall be explored more fully in Chapter Nine after issues to do with the cosmological nature of Iron Age society, the importance of architectural materials, and how communities were assembled are explored in Chapter Eight.

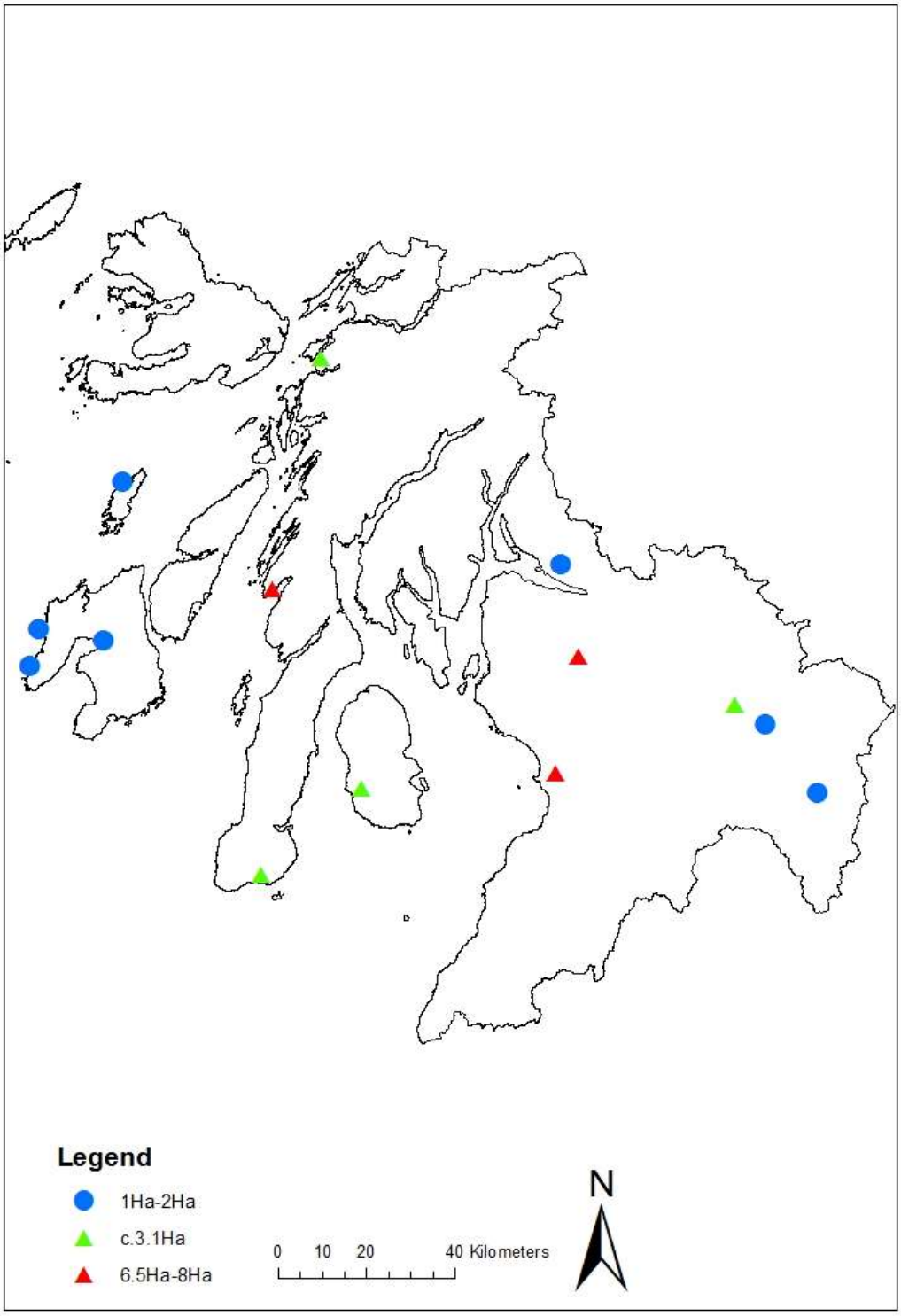



**Fig 108 The distribution of the sites that enclose areas of greater than 1Ha in extent, not including Dunagoil.**

# The size of Enclosed Sites across Scotland and Beyond

When we compare the enclosed sites of west central Scotland with other areas in Britain, we can see a number of interesting parallels which would not have been recognised if we were to use the traditional classifications that have so far dominated archaeological interpretation in this part of the country. By looking at the enclosed sites of west central Scotland in the ways proposed in this research, we are able to compare the sites found in this region with those found in other parts of the country and beyond. This therefore allows us to explore wider issues, such as the use of space and the occupation and use of the landscape across much wider areas of the country than has previously been possible. In addition we are also able to situate west central Scotland within the wider Iron Age world, which will in turn allow us to begin to explore further ideas to do with regionality, community and identity.

One area which is directly comparable with west central Scotland, which was examined by Nives Kokeza (2008), is southern Scotland. Kokeza examined the size of the enclosed sites in three different counties; Peeblesshire (Fig 109), Berwickshire (Fig 110) and Eastern Dumfriesshire (Fig 111). In Peeblesshire Kokeza (2008, 30-31) identified 225 enclosed sites of which 93% enclosed areas of less than 0.5Ha, the majority of which are smaller than 0.2ha in extent. Fifteen sites enclosed areas greater than half a hectare, of which six were larger than 1Ha, and three enclosed areas of more than 2Ha. The rank size graph of this area in particular (Fig 109), displays a strikingly similar range compared to the 211 sites analysed in detail from the four case study areas found in west central Scotland. There were 71 enclosed sites recorded in the Berwickshire area (Kokeza 2008, 40) which although larger than the individual case study areas examined in this research, may provide us with a more comparable data set compared to her other case study areas. In this area 66% of sites enclosed areas of less than 0.5Ha in extent, while 24% of sites enclosed areas of between half a hectare and one hectare in extent. There were four sites that enclosed areas of between 1Ha and 1.5Ha, two between 1.5Ha and

2Ha and one site, at Hirsel Hill, that enclosed an area of up to 4.1Ha. This area has a very similar range of sizes of site compared to west central Scotland, demonstrated by the fact that most sites are relatively small while there is one unique site, at Hirsel Hill, which is proportionally much larger than all the other enclosed sites in the area. The closest parallel however to the case study areas in west central Scotland can be seen in the East Dumfriesshire area (Kokeza 2008, 45-46). Here 119 enclosed sites were identified of which the vast majority, representing 97% of the total number of sites, enclosed areas of up to 0.5Ha in extent. Of these, there was proportionally more sites of less than 0.25Ha compared to the other areas that were studied. Only two sites in East Dumfriesshire enclose areas of between half a hectare and one hectare in extent and there are only two sites that enclose areas of more than 1Ha in extent, which, as with Berwickshire and west central Scotland, are proportionally much larger than any of the other enclosed sites found within this area. This therefore allows us to suggest that the communities in these areas were enclosing space and occupying the landscape in similar ways to the communities of west central Scotland which may suggest similar social and cultural conditions across the south of Scotland.

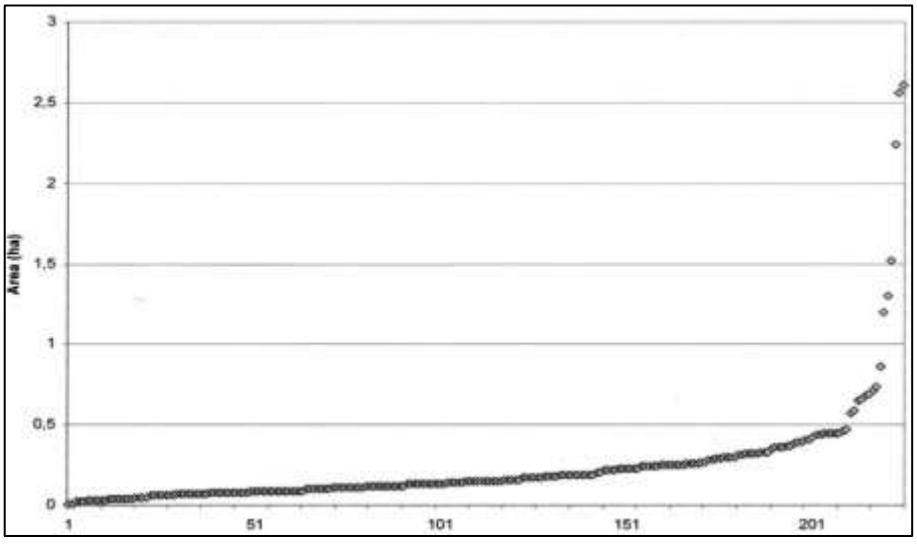



**Fig 109 Rank size plot of the enclosed sites in Peebleshire (Kokeza 2008, 31)**

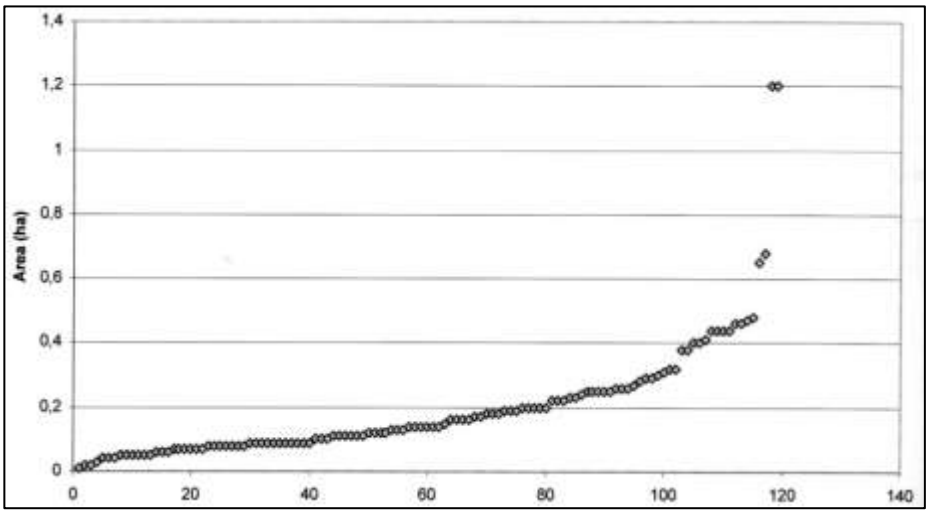



**Fig 110 Rank size plot of the enclosed sites in Berwickshire (Kokeza 2008, 40)**

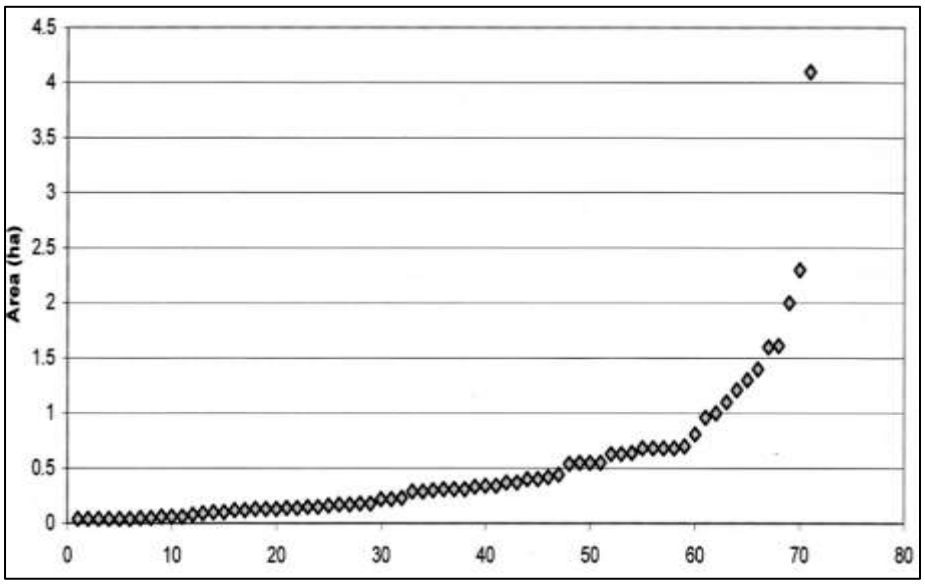



**Fig 111 Rank size plot of the enclosed sites in East Dumfrieshire (Kokeza 2008, 46)**

When we look at northern England, we can also see that there are a number of similarities in enclosure size compared to southern and west central Scotland. For instance of the 141 enclosed sites in Northumberland identified by Jobey (1965) only seven were greater than 1.2Ha in extent, while the vast majority, representing 80% of the total number occupied areas of less than 0.4Ha (Frodsham et al 2007, 258). Ferrell also highlights that "c.45% of 'hill fort' sites in Northumberland enclose less than 0.25Ha" (Ferrell 1997, 230), which tend to be circular or sub-circular in nature and are defined by stone walls or ditch and ramparts. This area in particular displays many of the same forms of enclosure, in terms of size, shape and form, as

well as distribution and density to the Lanarkshire case study area and the areas looked at by Kokeza (2008), and it can be seen that while the majority of sites are relatively small there are also only a handful of sites that enclose larger areas.

As with the massive sites of west central Scotland the largest sites in Northumberland and the Scottish Borders are disproportionally larger than all of the other enclosed sites in the surrounding area. For instance it could be argued that sites such as Walls Hill, or Harpercroft in west central Scotland, are similar in many ways to Yeavering Bell, which encloses an area of 5.6Ha, though of course this site has extensive evidence for occupation in the form of the 125 house platforms (Oswald et al 2006, 61). No site in west central Scotland has the same kind of density of houses as those found here and at other sites in the Scottish Borders such as Eildon Hill North, which encloses an area of around 15Ha and has evidence for around 296 house platforms (RCAHMS 1956, 306-310) and Hownam Law, which encloses an area of around 9Ha and has evidence for around 110 houses (RCAHMS 1956, 157-8). These sites, though considerably larger than sites found in west central Scotland are nevertheless similar in the fact that they are proportionally much larger than the other enclosed sites in the surrounding landscape. However given the lack of visible traces of house platforms at the massive sites of west central Scotland this may suggest that they performed different roles within society compared to the massive sites of the Scottish Borders and Northumberland, though this interpretation may change on excavation.

When we look at areas outwith the north of Britain we can again see a number of similarities in terms of the size of enclosed sites across much wider areas of the country than had previously been recognised. For instance Moore's (2006) work in the Severn Cotswolds illustrates that the majority of sites enclose areas of less than 1Ha in extent and that the "commonest size of enclosure ranges between 0.2Ha-0.3Ha but with significant numbers below 0.1Ha" (Moore 2006, 61). There are however, significantly more large sites and "hillfort" sites in this area compared to west central Scotland. This pattern is to some extent reflected in parts of the Welsh

Marches, particularly Jackson's (1999) zone two area, where the majority of sites enclose areas of less than 1.2Ha in extent. In the "Atlantic" regions of Wales we can see that, in common with the south west of England and the Atlantic coast of Scotland, the landscape is dominated by "small strongly defended homesteads, the vast majority of which are under 1.2Ha" (Henderson 2007, 241). In Cornwall, which has long been seen as being part of the wider Atlantic Iron Age tradition (Cunliffe 2005, Henderson 2007) there is also considerable evidence to indicate that the landscape was dominated by small enclosed settlements (e.g. Crips 2007). When we look further afield, for instance in Armorica, it has been noted that the most common type of site are small circular and rectangular enclosures with average sizes ranging from 0.2Ha to 1Ha in extent (Henderson 2007, 246). This evidence therefore suggests that, although we see local and regional differences across the country in the nature of enclosure in terms of both form and shape, there is a general trend for small enclosed settlements, which were occupied by relatively similar sized groups. This in turn may hint at similar social and cultural conditions, specifically at the household or extended household level, across large parts of the British Isles (and beyond) during the latter prehistoric period. By examining the enclosed sites of west central Scotland in the ways proposed in this research, through their size, shape and architectural form, rather than the number of houses that are visible on the surface or their relative landscape location, we are able to explore issues such as social structure, regionality and identity more fully, enabling us to orientate this region with the wider Iron Age traditions of the British Isles.

## The Shape of the Enclosed Sites of West Central Scotland

The majority of the 211 enclosed sites from the four case study areas that have been examined in this research are curvilinear in nature (Fig 112) This reflects the nature of the shape of the enclosed sites from across the Strathclyde region, where, as can be seen above (Fig 113), 470 out of the 483 enclosed sites of the area have survived to the extent whereby their form could be recorded. The discrepancies we see in the shape of the sites in the case study areas compared to those from the

wider region are down to a number of factors, particularly the geographical diversity we see across the region. For instance, it can be seen that many more promontory type and irregular sites are found in the wider Strathclyde region compared to the sites examined in the case study areas. This is due to the fact that large parts of the region are dominated by coastal areas, such as the islands off the west coast, where the majority of these sites are found and which did not form any of the case study areas.

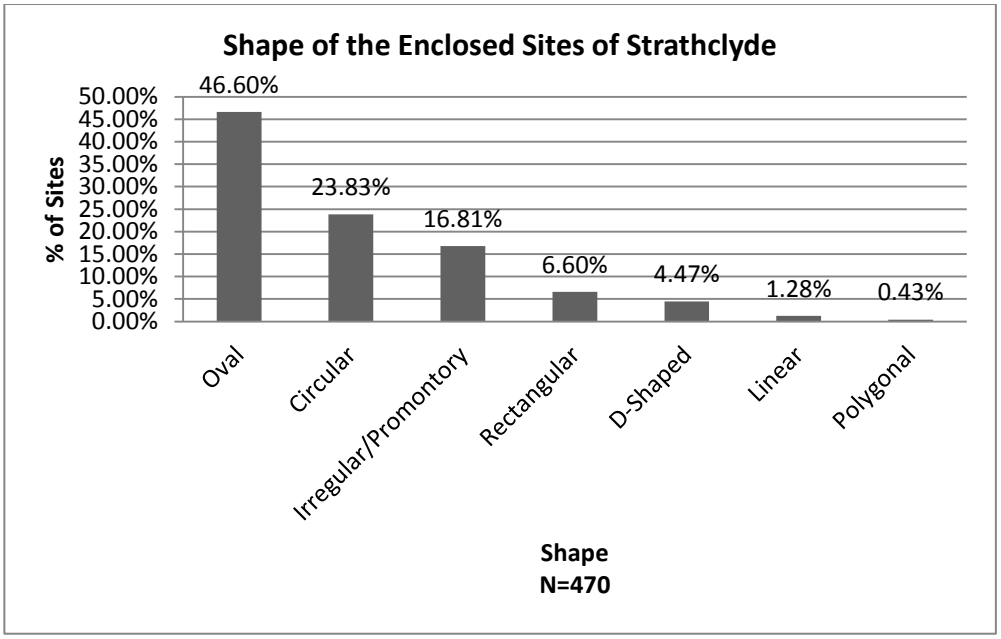



**Fig 112 Shape of the enclosed sites from the wider Strathclyde region**

Of the sites analysed in the four case study areas, it can be seen that 58% are oval or sub-oval while 23.5% are circular or sub-circular. There are also a number of D-Shaped sites, which represent 6% of the total number of sites, which are often partially oval or circular and are additionally defined by natural features, typically rivers. In addition to these dominant curvilinear forms of enclosure there are also a number of sites that have been deliberately located on promontories or irregular rocky outcrops which means that they have only been partially enclosed by artificial means. These sites, which represent a further 4% of enclosed sites found in the area, are perhaps not as numerous as one might expect, certainly compared to

other parts of Scotland such as in the Atlantic areas (Henderson 2007, 128-142) and in Galloway (Cavers 2009, 19) . It could be argued that these sites may have performed a similar social or functional role compared to the D-Shaped sites, in that they too are partially defined by artificial means using natural features to form part of their enclosure. A number of rectangular sites are also represented in the archaeological record, accounting for 8% of the total number of sites, though compared with other parts of Scotland and Britain as a whole, this small number of these sites stands out as being of particular relevance, as is discussed in detail below. There is also one site, Cnoc Araich, which, as has been discussed previously, is unusual for a number of reasons, including its form compared to the other enclosed sites in Kintyre and the fact that it is the only site in the four case study areas which is recognisably polygonal in nature.

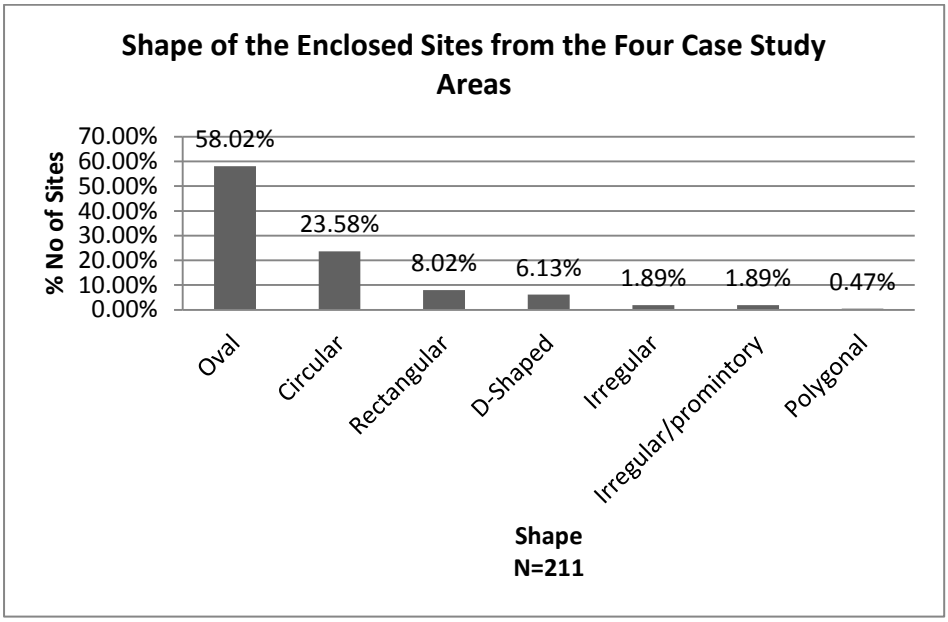



**Fig 113 The Shape of the enclosed sites from the four case study areas**

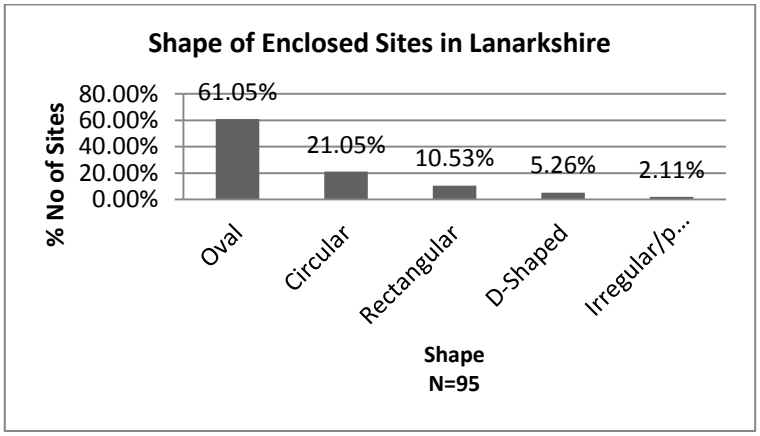



Fig 114 Shape of the enclosed Sites in Lanarkshire

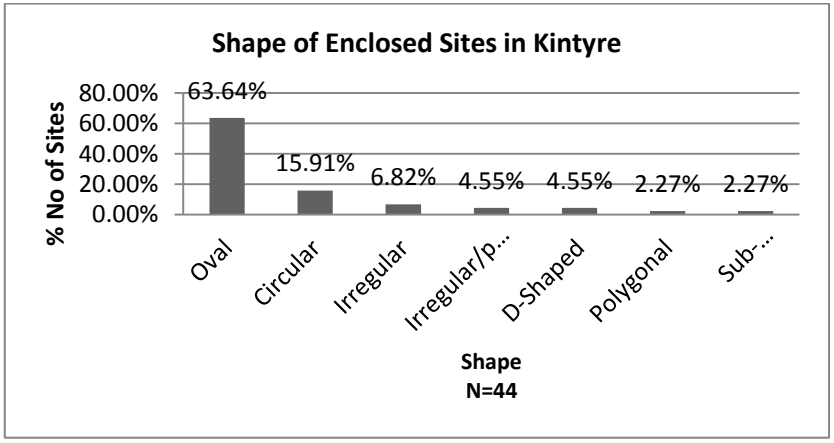



Fig 115 Shape of the enclosed Sites in Kintyre

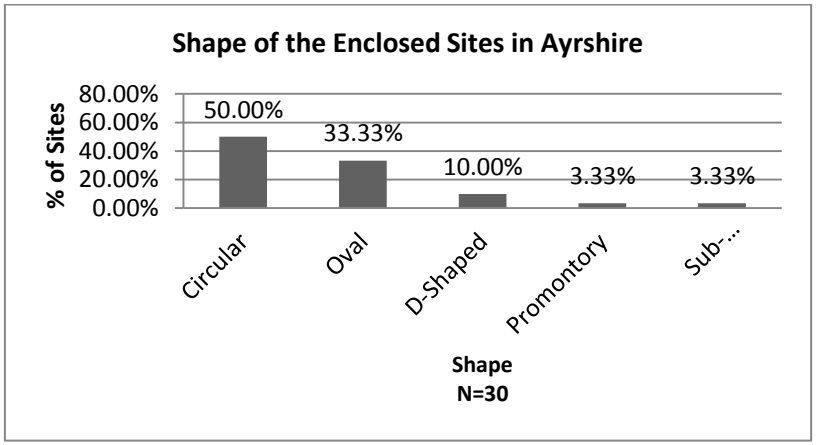



Fig 116 Shape of the enclosed site in Ayrshire

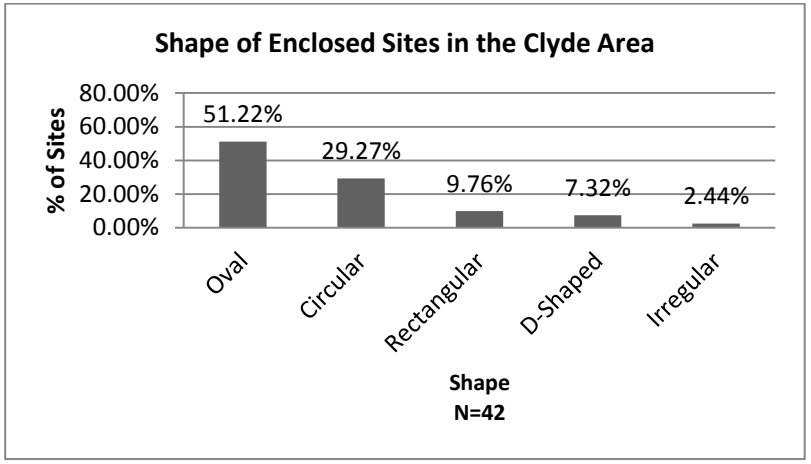



Fig 117 Shape of the enclosed sites in the Clyde area

The curvilinear nature of the majority of the enclosed sites in west central Scotland reflects the general trend we see in much of northern Britain (Cowley 2009, 208-209; RCHAMS 1997; 2007), which hints at similar social and cultural conditions over much of the country during the latter prehistoric period, albeit with some specific regional differences as highlighted by the lack of rectangular enclosures in this area. When we look at the case study areas in detail we can see that there are specific sub-regional variations in the ways in which sites were enclosed across the region, though it should be noted that it is the oval and sub-oval sites that dominate the record in each area. This suggests that this form of enclosure may represent a shared cultural and social tradition, across west central Scotland. This is significant at a number of levels, especially as it demonstrates that even though there are different architectural materialities across the region, the way that space was enclosed was in fact very similar, suggesting a shared social and cultural identity, materialised though similar architectural conventions. For instance, even in Kintyre, where the majority of sites are built from stone and have traditionally been thought of as belonging to a different cultural tradition compared to the rest of west central Scotland, the majority are oval in nature. Therefore we can see that this stone built architecture in fact shares many similarities with enclosed sites that are found in other parts of this wider region, again demonstrating that cultural and social distinctions between the Atlantic zone and the Solway Clyde zones were much more fluid during the period than previously thought.

The areas where we see the largest numbers of oval sites represented are the Lanarkshire (Fig 114) and Kintyre (Fig 115) areas, where 61% and 63% of the total number of sites are defined in this way, while around half of the sites in the Clyde area are oval in nature (Fig 117). Interestingly we can see that the majority of the enclosed sites in the Ayrshire area are circular in nature (Fig 116), representing 50% of the total number of sites in this area, which is in contrast to the other four case study areas in the region. This could possibly suggest that we are seeing a different way of enclosing space that is more dominant in the Ayrshire area compared to the

other parts of the region. The circular sites are the second most numerous form of enclosure in west central Scotland, but it can be seen that there is considerable variability in uptake of this form of enclosure across the four study areas. Almost 30% of sites in the Clyde area are circular in nature while in Lanarkshire only 21% of sites are defined in this way. The smallest percentage however, can be found in the Kintyre area (Fig 115), representing just 16% of the total number of enclosed sites. This may be somewhat surprising given the arguments made by many, including Henderson (2007, 87), who believe that the circular nature of a site is a strong indication of an Atlantic tradition of architecture, and it can be suggested that this is another piece of evidence that can be used to argue for a more fluid definition of the cultural boundaries across west central Scotland. Though, as is discussed in the next Chapter there are a number of Atlantic roundhouses in this area.

Rectangular defined sites are, in general, a common feature in the settlement record of later prehistoric Scotland and England. There are numerous examples found in the Lothians (Haselgrove 2009), north east Scotland (RCAHMS 2007, 96) eastern Dumfriesshire (RCAHMS 1997), and south west Galloway (Cowley 2000, 172), as well as further afield, in the Severn Cotswolds (Moore 2006) and the Welsh Marches (Whimster 1989). However, it can be seen that in west central Scotland this form of enclosure was not readily adopted, accounting for just 8% of the total number of enclosed sites found in this area. Of the four case study areas the majority are found in the Clyde and Lanarkshire areas, accounting for around 10% of the total number of sites in each area, while there is only one site found in the Ayrshire area and only one small (sub)rectangular site in the Kintyre area. It could be suggested however, that this site, at Carradale Point, does not represent the same form of enclosure as the large ditch defined sites found in the other case study areas, as it is small and stone defined, resembling the dun-enclosures of the area. It can therefore be argued that the tradition of rectangular enclosure was not adopted in Kintyre, perhaps for specific cultural or social reasons, though recent evidence from aerial photography in this area may begin to change this picture (Halliday & Ralston 2009, 464; Cowley *pers. comm*). The lack of rectangular sites

across the region more generally, hints at very different social and cultural conditions and a different use of space and the landscape in west central Scotland in comparison to the rest of the country. For instance, a number of authors (e.g. Moore 2003; Giles 2007) have commented that the rectangular sites may have been defined in such a way so that they could fit into existing field systems, such as those found in the Severn Cotswolds and Yorkshire. This therefore suggest that the way the landscape was divided and used was very different in west central Scotland compared to other parts of the country, as there are no examples of this type of land division in the region. This could therefore suggest that the landscape was controlled in a more communal way, rather than being controlled by individual households or groups, as is explored in Chapters Eight and Nine.

## Form of Enclosed Sites in West Central Scotland

The ways in which the enclosed sites of west central Scotland are defined are similar to those found in all other parts of the British Isles, though there are some regional and sub-regional differences. For instance, there are only a handful of palisaded enclosed sites in this region, which is contrast to the areas such as Dumfries and Galloway, where there are many more examples (Cavers 2009). It should be noted however that a number of palisaded sites have been discovered as a result of recent aerial survey carried out by the Commission in the west of Scotland (Cowley *pers. comm*). There may have been a number of reasons why there were differences in dominant enclosure form in different parts of Scotland, some of which may indicate chronological and cultural change over time, while others are due to the geological and environmental differences we see in different parts of the country.

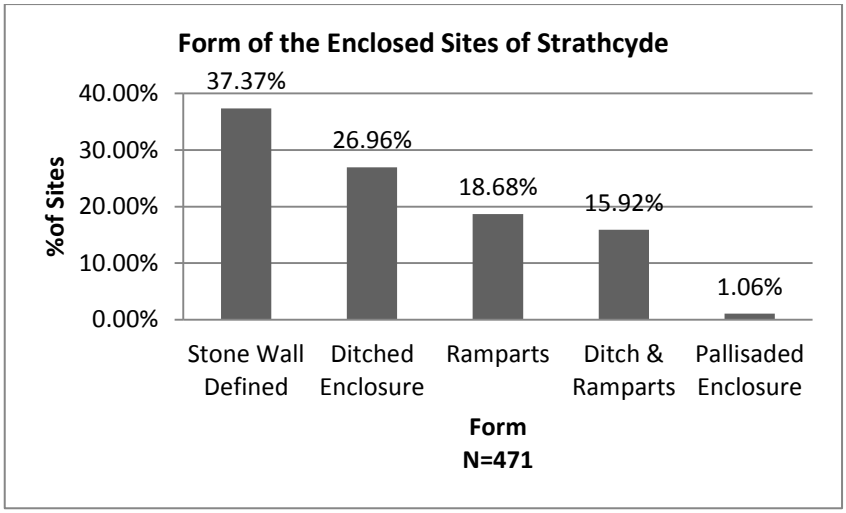



**Fig 118 Form of the enclosed sites of Strathclyde**

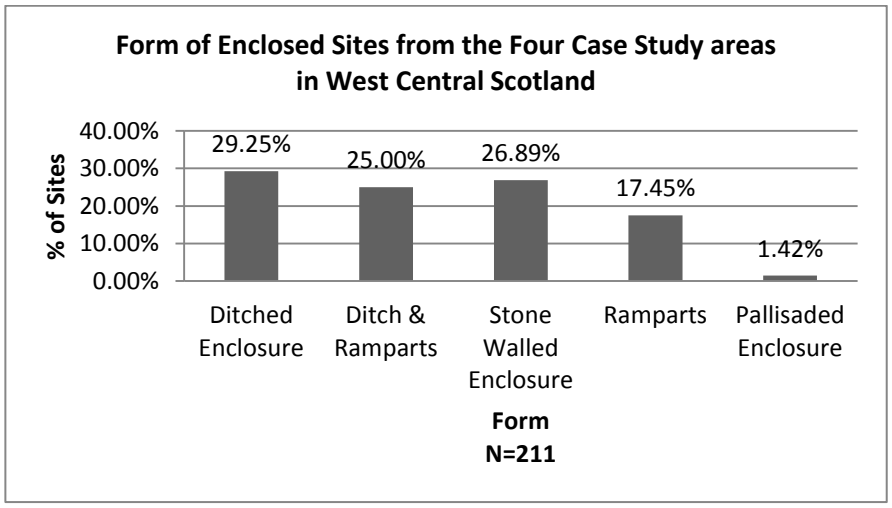



**Fig 119 The form of the enclosed sites from the four case study areas**

As can be seen from the diagram above (Fig 118) the majority of the enclosed sites that are found in the wider Strathclyde area are stone wall defined. This is in contrast to the pattern that we see in those sites identified in the four case study areas (Fig 119). Though again, as has been highlighted in relation to the shape of the enclosed sites of the region, these stone wall defined sites are mainly found in the Atlantic areas, such as on the islands of the west coast, where the majority of sites are defined in these ways, and as has been demonstrated in relation to the Kintyre area. Therefore these sites, which represent the majority of sites in this larger geographical area, skew the results. Interestingly however, even within the

larger region, we can see distinct patterns in the forms of enclosed sites in west central Scotland compared to other parts of the country, especially in relation to the small number of palisaded sites and the relatively small number of rampart defined sites.

Over half of the 211 enclosed sites from the four case study areas of west central Scotland are ditch defined (Fig 119). Of these we can see that the majority of sites, (29.25%), have no banks or ramparts associated with them, while a quarter of the total number of enclosed sites are additionally defined by banks or ramparts. A further 17% of the enclosed sites are solely defined by ramparts with no associated ditches. Just over a quarter of the enclosed sites in west central Scotland are stone wall defined, the majority of which are found in the Kintyre area (Fig 121), which somewhat biases the results. There are only four sites, from the four case study areas, representing just 1.42% of the total number of enclosed sites, which are uniquely defined by palisades. All three of these sites, as can be seen below, are found in the Ayrshire case study area.

In the Ayrshire (Fig 122) and Lanarkshire (Fig 120) areas we see a fairly homogenous range of enclosures albeit with two specific differences: in the Ayrshire area there are no stone wall defined sites but there are four palisaded sites. As has been noted throughout this research it appears that there is considerable evidence to suggest that most elaborately defined sites often had earlier palisaded phases, which has also been highlighted by Davis (2007, 274) for sites in eastern Scotland. There are many more enclosed sites in the Lanarkshire area compared to the Ayrshire area. It is possible however to suggest that in general, the ways in which groups defined their settlements was similar across these two areas. Though 50% of sites in the Ayrshire that are solely Ditch defied, the highest percentage of any area, possibly reflecting recent discoveries made by the Commission (Cowley *pers. comm*). In many ways this architectural tradition can also be seen in the Clyde area (Fig 123), where although there are proportionality less ditch and rampart defined sites, and proportionality more rampart defined sites compared to the other case study areas,

the ways in which sites were enclosed are generally comparable to the rest of the west central Scotland, south of the Clyde. The real difference in enclosure form, perhaps unsurprisingly, can be seen in the Kintyre area. This area contains proportionally more stone wall defined enclosed sites than any other part of west central Scotland. While it has traditionally been argued that this represents a different architectural tradition, which in turn may reflect differences in social and cultural conditions and the ways in which communities were organised, it has been demonstrated that the size and shape of the enclosed sites in this area were in fact very similar to the enclosed sites found across the region. It can therefore be suggested that while they may have been built using different materials, the ways in which communities lived during the later prehistoric period was in fact similar across the entire region.

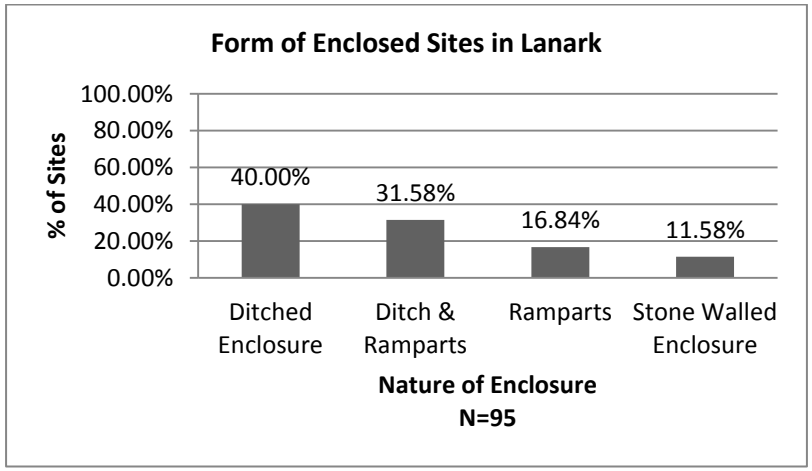



**Fig 120 The form of the enclosed sites of the Lanarkshire area**

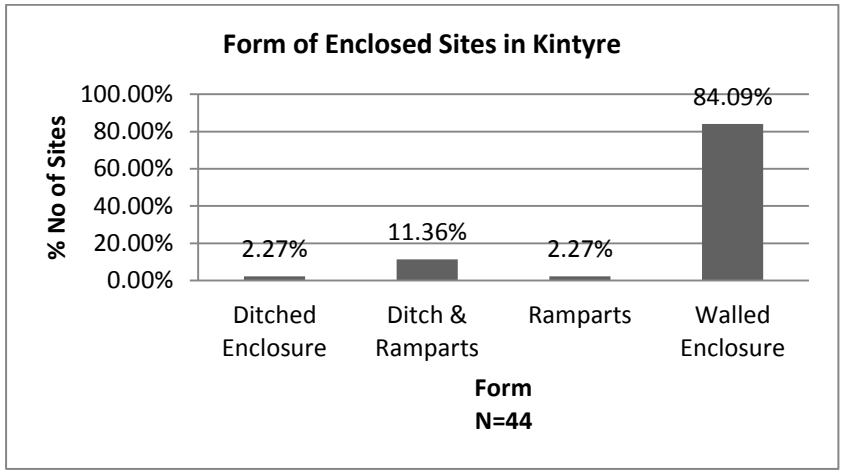



**Fig 121 The form of the enclosed sites of Kintyre**

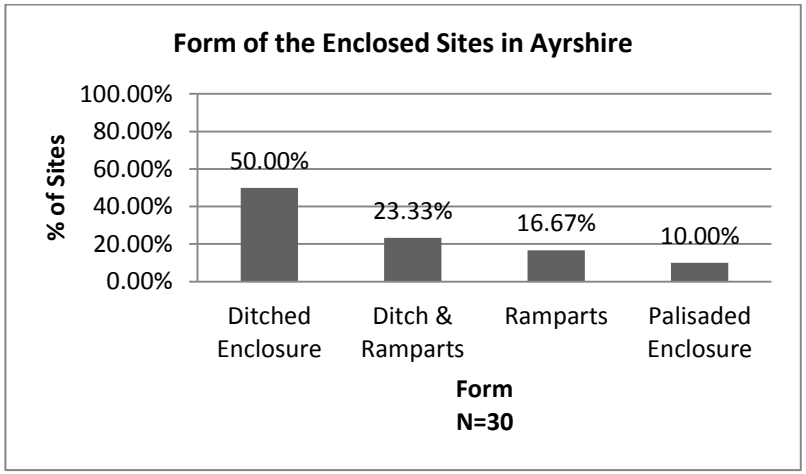



**Fig 122 The form of the enclosed sites of the Ayrshire area**

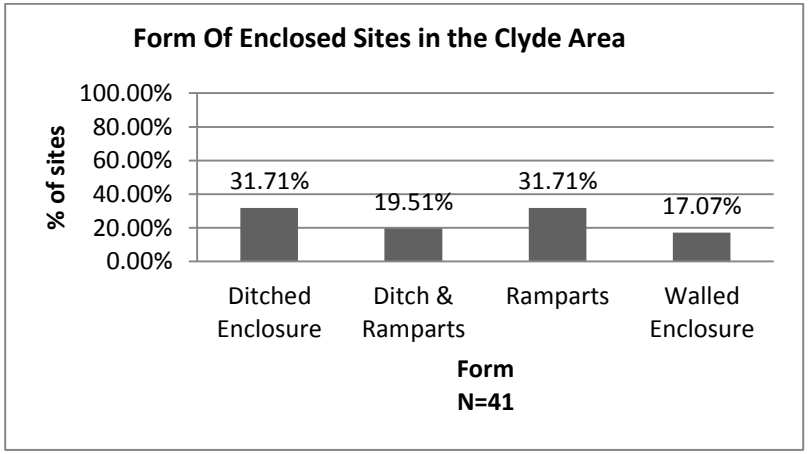



**Fig 123 The form of the enclosed sites of the Clyde area**

# Entrance Orientation of the Enclosed Sites of West Central Scotland

Compared with discussions on size, shape and form, the nature of archaeological preservation means that the conclusions drawn about the entrance orientation of the enclosed sites of west central Scotland have to be taken with a degree of caution as many sites do not survive to an extent where their orientation could be determined. A total of 169 sites from the 211 enclosed sites from the four case studies survived to an extent whereby their entrance orientation could be determined. The first observation that can be made about the orientation of the entrances is that there is a strong trend for them to be aligned to the north east or the east, with smaller numbers orientated in an opposite direction; to the south west and west (Fig 124). This reflects the general trend we see in the orientation of the enclosed sites from the wider Strathclyde region (Fig 118), where 306 sites out of the 483 enclosed sites survive to the extent that their entrance orientations could be recorded.

The general easterly trend we see in the enclosed sites of west central Scotland, is similar, though not the same, as observations made in other parts of the British Isles. For instance, in Wessex, Hill (1995) demonstrated that there is a propensity for enclosed sites to have entrances aligned to the east with a smaller percentage aligned to the west. In the Severn Cotswolds, Moore (2006) also demonstrated that the majority of sites were aligned to the east while there was also a significant number aligned to the south-east (Fig133). This evidence suggests that west central Scotland fits into this wider cultural phenomena of easterly orientation, with smaller numbers aligned to the west., There is a significant difference however in this part of the British Isles, in the propensity for a number of site entrances to be aligned to the north east. These variations across the country may indicate differences in cultural preferences or cosmological practices of the communities that occupied these different areas, which in west central Scotland appears to have

manifested itself in a strong north easterly orientation, towards sunrise at mid-summer. The cosmological significance of the orientation of enclosures and houses shall be explored in Chapter Eight.

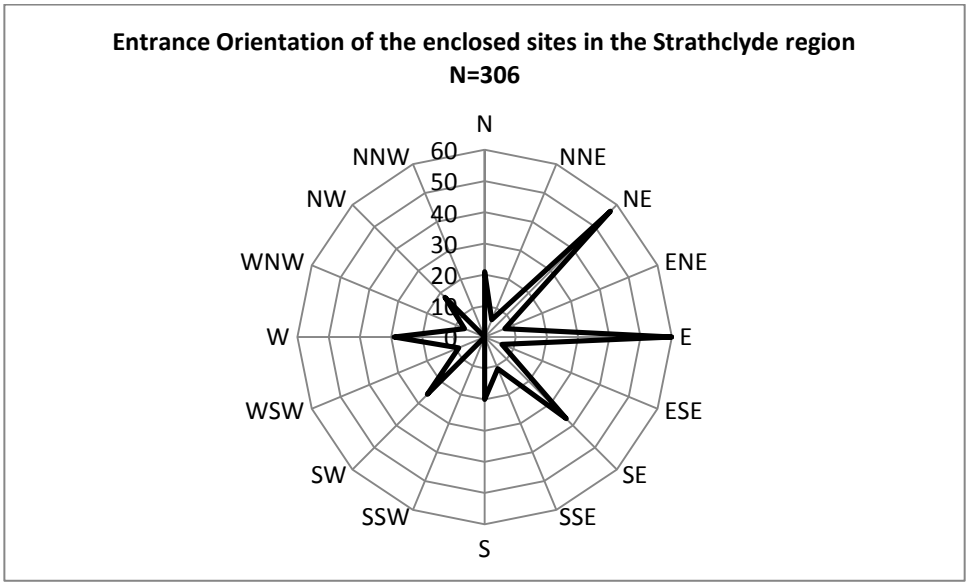



**Fig 124 Entrance orientation of the enclosed sites of Strathclyde (Including multi-entracne sites)**

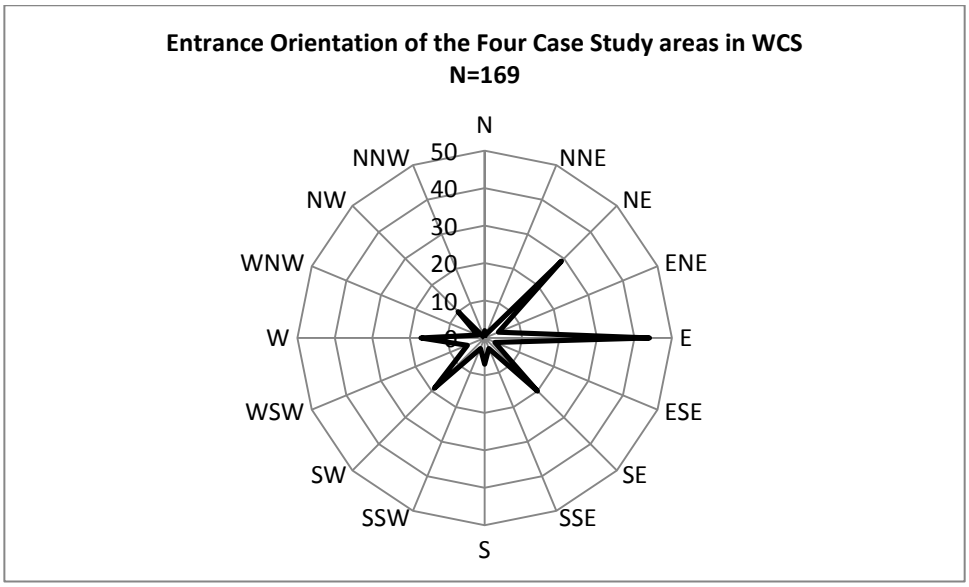



**Fig 125 The enctrance orientaion of the enclosed sites from the four case study areas. (Including multi-entracne sites)**

When we look at the case study areas in more detail, we can begin to examine the regional preferences in the way sites were orientated, allowing us to construct more complex narratives for society during the period. As can be seen from the

graphs below, there appears to be a strong easterly trend in the orientation of the single entrance enclosed sites from all four case study areas, with some notable sub-regional differences in each of the areas. Broadly speaking though, it appears that the entrance orientations in the Kintyre (Fig 127), Ayrshire (Fig 128) and Clyde (Fig 129) areas display relatively similar patterns, with a higher proportion entrances orientated to the east. In comparison, those sites found in the Lanarkshire area (Fig 126), show a stronger bias towards the north east and although we have to be aware that there were many more sites in this area which may effect the results, the evidence demonstrates that the Lanarkshire area is slightly different form the other parts of west central Scotland. It can also be seen that the Kintyre area again displays many more similarities with the Clyde and Ayrshire areas than has previously been recognised. This again demonstrates that although the majority of sites in the Kintyre area were constructed with different materials, they again broadly share the same layout, in both shape as well as entrance orientation, compared to the other parts of west central Scotland. This evidence therefore allows us to break down the traditional divisions that have been used to interpret the Iron Age of Scotland and demonstrates that during this period, people from across the region materialised their social and cultural identities in similar ways.

The monolithic interpretative barriers can be broken down further when we compare the entrance orientation of the single entrance enclosed sites of west central Scotland to those from other parts of Scotland, and across the British Isles, enabling us to explore wider ideas to do with identity, cosmological practice and the nature and use of enclosed space. For instance, Kokeza's (2008) work in the south of Scotland again provides us with an interesting comparison. In general we see a strong easterly bias in the entrance orientation from the three counties that Kokeza examines with some sub-regional differences. It appears that Berwickshire (Fig 131) and East Dumfriesshire (Fig 132) provide us with the closest parallels to the Kintyre, Clyde and Ayrshire areas, while the orientation of the enclosed sites in Peeblesshire (Fig 130) can be seen to resemble the orientation of sites in the

Lanarkshire area. This is a potentially significant observation, given the close proximity of these two areas, which have similar sized sites with similar architectural forms that occupy a similar environment and landscape. This suggests that across the central Sothern Uplands, between the upper reaches of the Rivers Tweed and Clyde, we see a common way of enclosing space, which is different from the east and west coasts of southern Scotland, along the North Sea coast from Berwickshire to the Lothians, and between the Solway Firth and the Clyde estuary. This therefore may lead us to suggest that the communities who built and lived within these sites, within this relatively restricted geographical area, deliberately enclosed space in a different way from the surrounding areas, perhaps as deliberate act of defining shared cultural and social conditions.

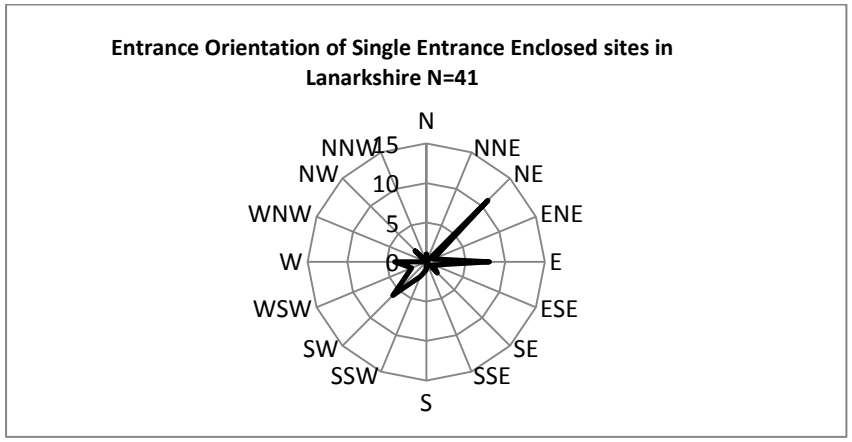



Fig 126 The entrance orientaion of the single entrance enclosed sites in Lanarkshire

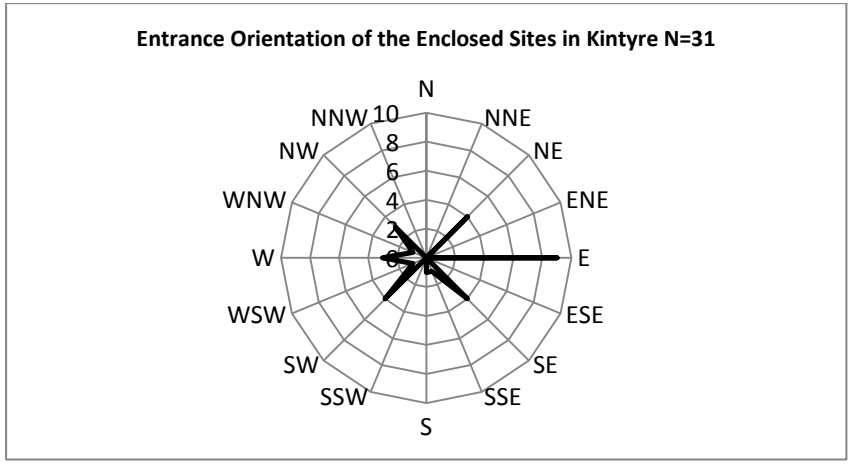



Fig 127 The entrance orientaion of the single entrance enclosed sites in Kintyre

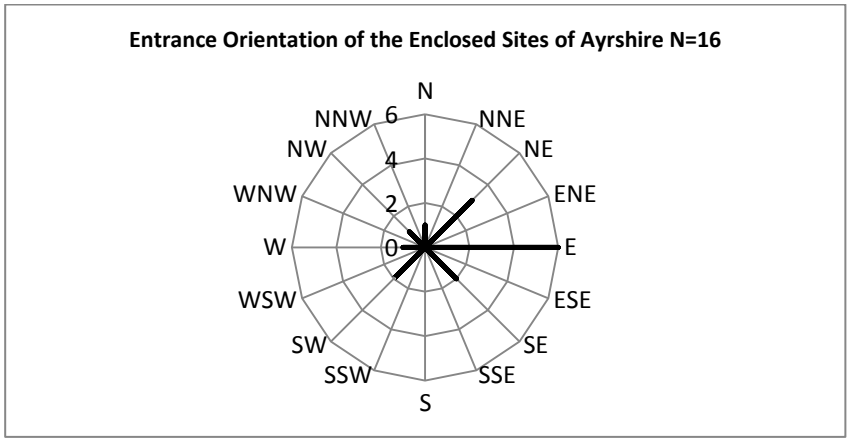



Fig 128 The entrance orientaion of the single entrance enclosed sites in Ayrshire

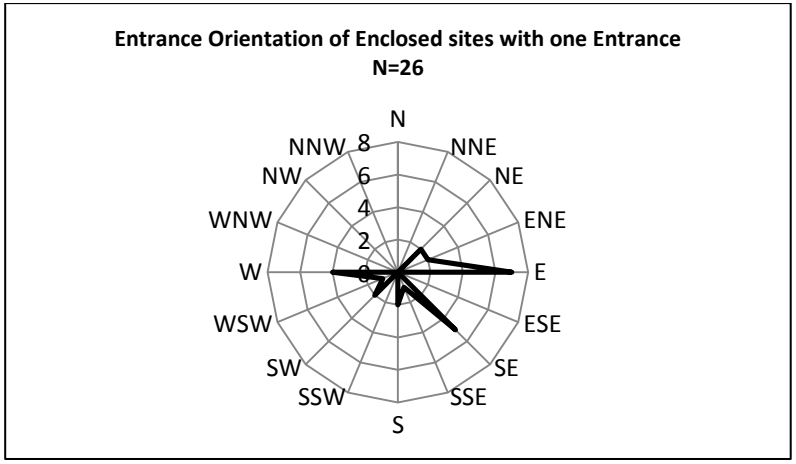



Fig 129 The entrance orientaion of the single entrance enclosed sites in the Clyde area

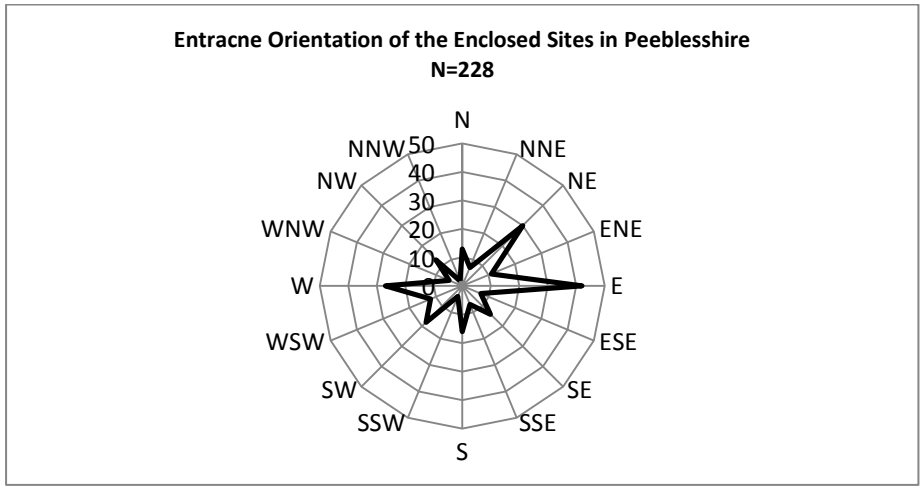



Fig 130 The entrance orientation of the enclosed sites of Peebleshire (after Kokeza 2008)

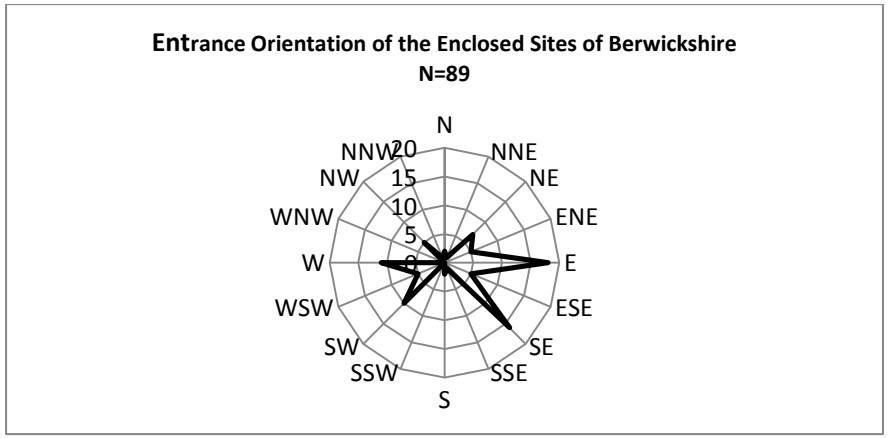



Fig 131 Entrance orientation of the enclosed sites of Berwickshire (after Kokeza 2008)

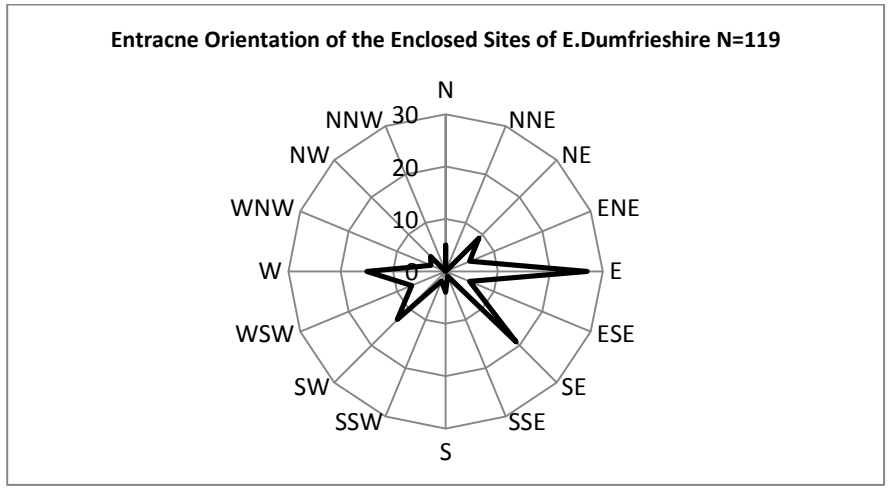



Fig 132 Entrance orientation of the enclosed sites of E.Dumfrieshire (after Kokeza 2008)

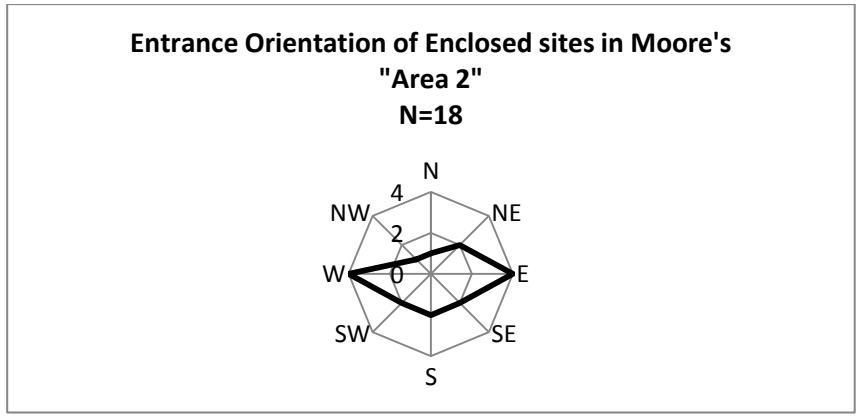



Fig133 Entrance orientaion of enclosed sites from Morre's Area 2 (After Moore 2006)

# The Chronology of the Enclosed Sites in West Central Scotland

The chronological framework of the enclosed sites of west central Scotland remains frustratingly vague and it is perhaps because of this reason more than any other that the area has in general received little attention by authors researching the later prehistoric period. Few enclosed sites in the area have been excavated and those that have, in general, suffer from a lack of precise dating. This is true of even some of those sites excavated in more recent decades but it is especially true of those sites that were excavated before the advent of modern excavation techniques. As a result we have to compare the enclosed sites of this area with those from areas where we have a clearer understanding of the chronological sequence, such as the Lothians, though even here we do not have a full picture of the chronological development of enclosed sites (ScARF 2012).

## Palisade Defined Sites

There have been a number of palisaded defined sites to have been excavated in west central Scotland. Bronze Age examples include the site at West Acres in Newton Mearns (Toolis et al, 2005), while an early medieval example was excavated at Mearnskirk in East Renfrewshire (Johnston et al 2003). The only exclusively palisaded defined site to have been excavated which produced definitive Iron Age dating evidence however, is the small oval site of the Leven (Atkinson 2000) in Ayrshire. As with the majority of the sites of west central Scotland the dating evidence for this site is frustratingly inconclusive as the radiocarbon dating failed to produce secure results as to the occupation of the site or the construction of the palisade, while the artefact assemblage was typically poor or at least consisted of fairly un-diagnostic assemblage. Nevertheless, the excavators assigned a pre-Roman Iron Age date to the site as no Roman artefacts were discovered during the excavation, which they argued was unusual given the close proximity to a Roman fort (Atkinson 2000, 62). However given that the site

was not more fully developed, and the fact that it appears that the use of palisades to solely define a site seems to have gone out of use in the middle Iron Age (ScARF 2012), as demonstrated at Braehead (Ellis 2007), Dundonald (Ewart & Pringle 2004) Craigmarloch (Alexander 1996; 2000; Nesbit 1996) and Knapps (Alexander 1996; 2000,165; Newall 1965), it can be argued that we can perhaps push back the use of the site to the early or middle Iron Age, rather than assign it to a later phase. In addition, as was briefly explored in Chapter Two, it could be expected that if the site was occupied over a longer period of time then it would have been more elaborately defined and enclosed. This early dating is supported by the pottery assemblage recovered from the site (Atkinson 2000, 46-49) which is similar to the material found at Harpercroft (Rideout et al 1992) as well as Ritchie's (1970) assessment of palisaded sites from other areas of the country.

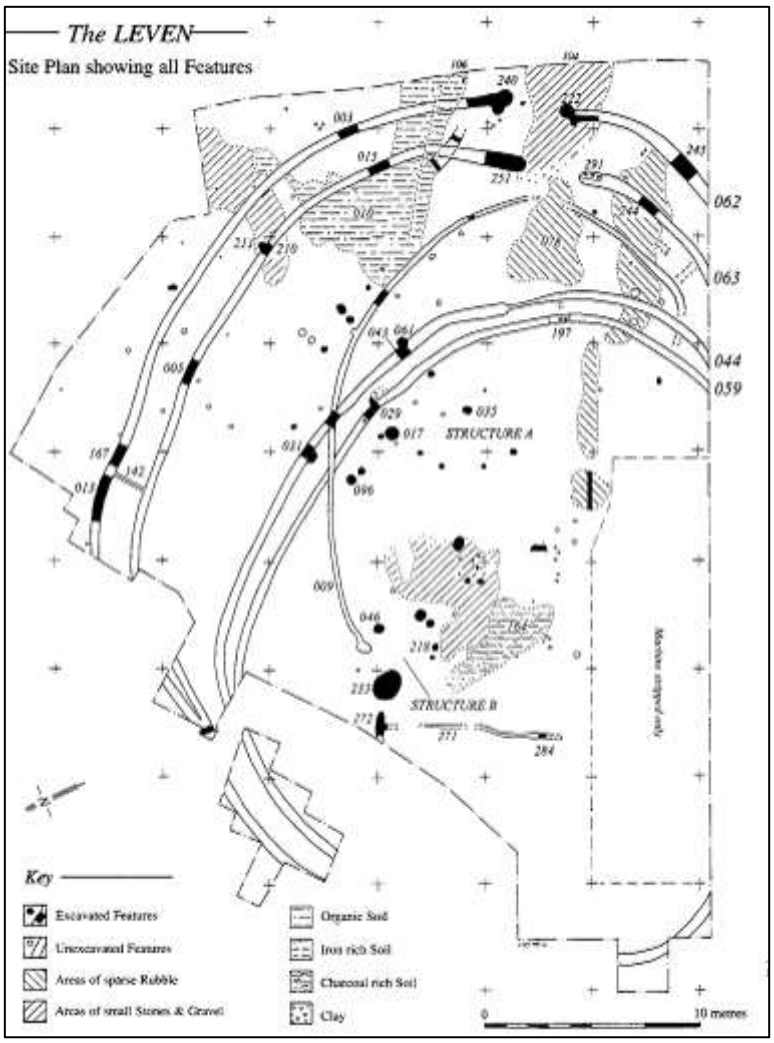



**Fig 134 The Leven (Atkinson 200, 34)**

## Ditch Defined Sites

There are a number of sites where we do have reasonable dating evidence that can be used to inform us about the date of enclosure in the part of the country. One of the most important excavated sites in west central Scotland is Braehead (Ellis 2007). The site is important in a number of ways, not least because of the dating of the site but also because it allows us to discuss the changing use of space and the nature of enclosure throughout the period. It also provides us with a rich artefact assemblage which will be briefly examined in the last chapter. This multi-phase site (Fig 135), which has evidence for at least six phases of development and occupation, was fully excavated ahead of development in 2002. A set of secure radiocarbon dates, as well as the detailed analysis of the artefact assemblage, allows us to date the use and occupation of the site from the middle of the first millennium BC through to the first century AD. The earliest phase of enclosure at the site consisted of a palisade of oak timbers which yielded a radiocarbon date of 800-480 BC (Ellis 2007, 247). After two further phases of occupation and modification of the site, which consisted of a second palisaded phase and an unenclosed phase, the site was enclosed by three large ditches. Dates obtained from waterlogged oak deposits from the base of the outer and inner ditch "date their construction to sometime after 770-400 BC and oak derived from the middle ditch dates to sometime after 810-520 BC" (Ellis 2007, 249). In the fifth phase of the site and after an "unenclosed period of episodic and/or seasonal activity at the end of [phase] block 4 … a third, post defined, oval palisaded enclosure [was constructed]" (Ellis 2007, 249)., This palisade was replaced a number of times, though the excavator assigned each of these to this single phase of occupation. Radiocarbon dates obtained from an oak plank dates activity during this period to between 400-200 BC. The final phase of occupation consisted of a period of roundhouse construction, which were all located within the silted up remains of the outer of three ditches. Analysis of the artefacts recovered from this phase indicates

that the roundhouses appear to have been occupied until the first century AD (Ellis 2007, 260).

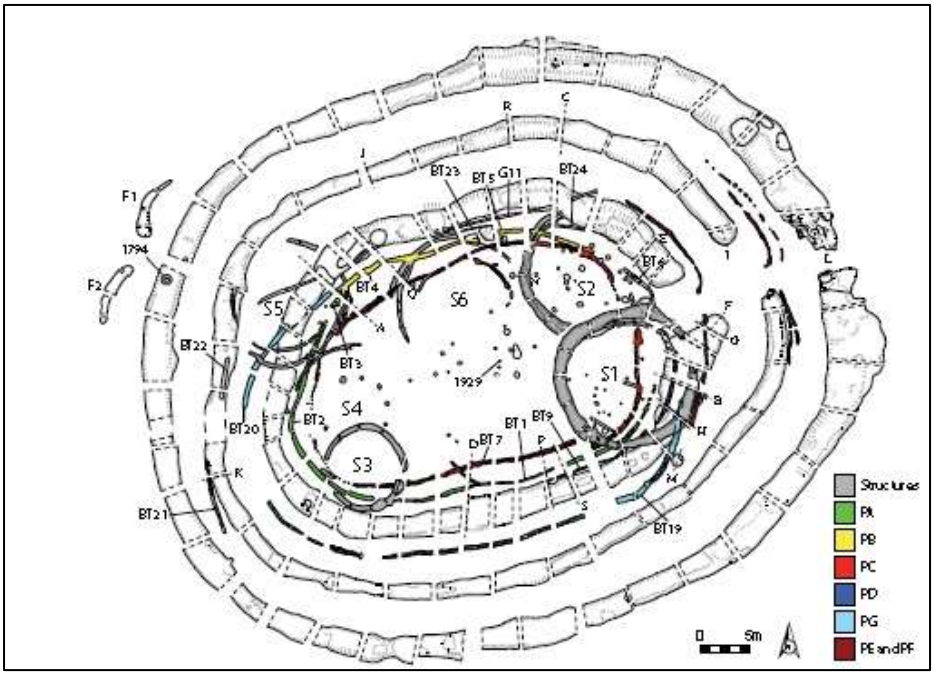



**Fig 135 The Plan of the excavated site at Braehead (Ellis 2007, 182)**

One of the problems in constructing a morphological framework is that it does not easily allow us to factor in issues related to such complex multi-phase sites such as Braehead. Indeed when we look at the excavated evidence, the majority of sites in west central Scotland have multiple phases of construction and occupation. In the morphological framework created through this research, Braehead is classed as a moderately sized, oval, ditch defined enclosed site, but it can clearly be seen that of the six phases of development and occupation at the site, only one was ditch defined, while there was also three separate palisaded phases and two unenclosed phases. How then can we justify defining this site as being ditch defined, or even as an enclosed site? And how can we orientate this site in any kind of meaningful morphological framework? This issue has been partially dealt with in the earlier chapters, but is important to highlight that even though the ditch phases only last for a short period of time, and that they are later replaced by a palisaded phase, they nevertheless still define the site by limiting the extent of occupation in later

phases. Therefore it could be argued that the ditch phases are the most important phase of enclosure on the site and that even long after they were created the occupants of the site continued to respect them and the space that they defined.

Another issue that is important to highlight is that it is only through excavation that this complex sequence of enclosure was recognised. Before excavation the site was known only through crop mark evidence – where the large silted up ditches were the most obvious features. This problem can also be seen at the nearby site of Mar Hall (Lynchehaun 2009; Alexander & MacRae 2012, 64). This site has not been fully published yet and the dating evidence is as yet inclusive, though an early Iron Age date could possibly be assigned to it (Alexander & MacRae 2012, 64). The site was defined by a ditch which enclosed a roughly circular area measuring 65m in diameter. There were also two inner palisades as well as an outer palisade, all of which met at the south-west part of the site to form an elaborate entrance which lead to a large post built roundhouse which measured 16m in diameter. How this site can be orientated into the morphological system outlined in this research is not immediate clear, as the site was clearly defined and enclosed in different ways, but it will be interesting to compare the sequence of enclosure at this site to Braehead once the dating evidence and the stratigraphic relationships are published.

Another ditch defined site that has been excavated in the Clyde area which lies in close proximity to Braehead, is the small, oval site of Shiels (Fig 61), excavated by Jack Scott in the early 1970's (Alexander 1996; 2000, 163-164; Scott 1996, 65-70). The site has never been fully published, but it appears that a large ditch enclosed an area that was occupied by a number of roundhouses, which appear to have been constructed in a number of phases of occupation. Organic remains from the water logged ditch produced radiocarbon dates of 20±140 AD (SRR-576) and 310±80 AD (SRR-576) (Scott 1996), 1930±140 BP (SRR-576) and 1640±80 BP (SRR-577) (Ellis 2007, 259) indicating occupation during the later part of Iron Age (Alexander 2000, 164). It should be noted however, that these dates may be somewhat unreliable and the artefact assemblage suggests that the site could have been occupied for a

much longer period of time, from the middle of the first millennium BC. Nevertheless the dates for the site suggest that the use of ditches to define sites continue to be used in this area into the first few centuries AD.

## Ditch and Rampart Defined Sites

A number of ditch and rampart sites, which have revealed later prehistoric dating evidence, have been excavated in the Clyde area, with the site at Pollok Park producing secure dating. The site was first excavated in the early 1960's by Johnson (1959, 25-26; 1960, 29-30), and like at the nearby site of Camphill (Fig 136, Fig 137), which has also been subject to a number of small-scale excavations (Fairhurst & Scott 1953), evidence for the date, form and function of the site remained unclear. The only finds were of two perforated shale discs and the upper part of a rotary quern, which are typical later prehistoric or early historic artefacts, while a single sherd of Roman pottery was recovered from Camphill. In 2007 however the old excavation trenches at Pollok were re-examined and partially extended in order to date the site (Driscoll & Mitchell 2008, 88-89). Dates obtained from charcoal remains of a timber post from within the rampart produced calibrated dates of 320-100BC, while a calibrated date of 55BC-40AD was recovered from a charcoal sample from a feature close to the inner side of the rampart (Mark Mitchell pers. Comm.). These dates clearly indicate that Pollok was occupied in the middle to later part of the Iron Age and therefore it can be argued that the other similar, large, curvilinear, ditch and rampart sites in this part of the Clyde study area, such as Camphill, also date to this period.

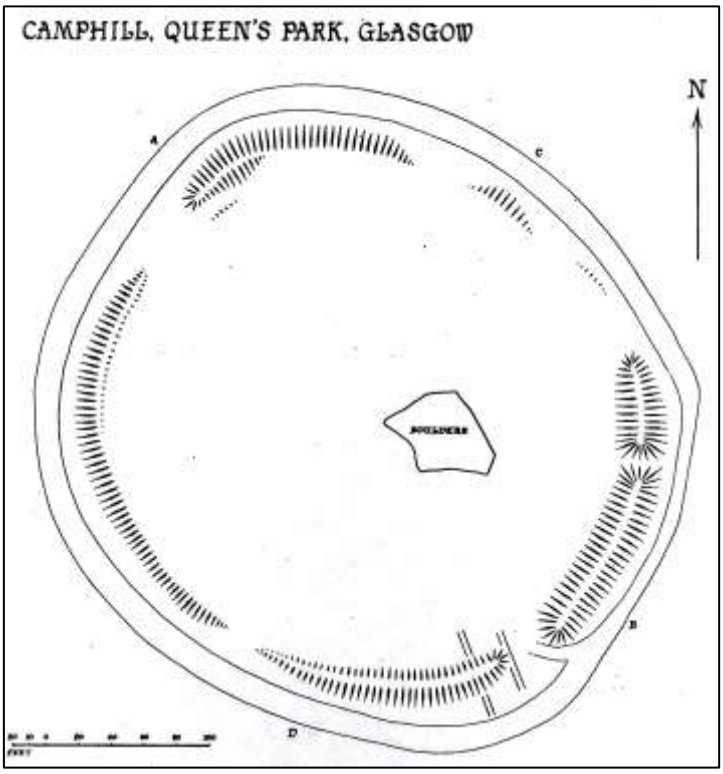



**Fig 136 Marginal Land Survey plan of Camphill (RCAHMS 1955)**

**Fig 137 The southern rampart of Camphill looking east (Murtagh 2013)**

These large curvilinear ditch and rampart defined sites, occupy a line of higher ground running east to west along the south side of the River Clyde. The sites of Camphill and Pollok in Glasgow are well preserved, but a number of other similar sites are known to have been destroyed through the spread of the urban environment. For instance sites at Barshaw Park (Fairhurst & Scott 1953, 156), Dykebar Hill (ibid) and Castlehead (Talbot 1973) in Paisley could all belong to this period, though unfortunately no proper record of them was ever produced. Yorkhill, on the north side of the Clyde in Glasgow, was excavated in 1867 when a number of Roman artefacts were discovered, which the early archaeologists (Buchanan 1878, 257) thought indicated Roman military activity, thought the site was later reassessed as a later prehistoric enclosed site by Scott (1966). This desire by early archaeologists to ascribe similar sites to the Romans can be seen in number of antiquarian references to enclosures, earthworks or camps, such as the possible Roman fort at Observatory Hill overlooking Paisley (WoSAS, 2012) which could equally have been a later prehistoric site. Unfortunately as this site has long since been destroyed, it and others like it, leave us with only a hint of what may have been lost to the spread of the urban environment in the 19$^{th}$ century. In addition to these sites it could also be suggested that a number of sites known mainly as a result of their medieval activity could also have their origins in the later prehistoric period. For instance it was argued by Talbot (1973) that, although the large ditch defined site at Crookston was used as the site of medieval castle, it was similar to the other "ring-work" sites in the area, such as Camphill, and therefore could belong to the later prehistoric period. This is partially supported by the fact that a geophysical survey carried out at the site revealed a circular structure 20m in diameter which may be the remains of a large roundhouse or small enclosed site enclosure, which is situated out with the ring-ditch, on the summit of the hill (Maguire 2000).

## Rampart Defined Sites

A number of small rampart or banked sites have been excavated in west central Scotland including the site of Knockmade (Alexander 1996; Livens 1996) in the

Clyde area, near Lochwinnoch. The site was excavated between 1959 and 1967. Again no radiocarbon dates have been obtained from the site but the artefacts recovered are consistent with an early to middle Iron Age date (Alexander 1996, 2000; Livens 1996). Like all of the excavated enclosed sites in west central Scotland, Knockmade demonstrates a complex series of enclosure phases and it is possible that the site was originally unenclosed due to the fact that a number of sherds of pottery were recovered from below the bank (Alexander 2000, 163). Another site which had a long and complex history of occupation and enclosure is the small, sub-rectangular, rampart defined site at Craigmarloch in Renfrewshire (Alexander, 1996; 2000; Nisbet 1996). As with many of the enclosed sites that have been excavated in west central Scotland it was demonstrated that the site was initially defined by a double palisade with a looped entrance at its north west side, which appear to have been reconstructed on at least one occasion (Nisbet 1996, 47). Radiocarbon dates obtained from the palisades as well as artefactual evidence appear to date this phase of activity to the middle Iron Age. The palisade was then replaced by a stone and timber built rampart which was later vitrified. It was dated through radiocarbon dating to the first century AD, though it should be noted that the radiocarbon dates obtained have unfortunately proven somewhat unreliable and should be treated with caution (Alexander 2000, 161). A large amount of artefacts were recovered from the site however, including 402 sherds of pottery (Nisbet 1996, 55), and it should be possible to reassess this material in order to gain a clearer date for the occupation and the use of the site.

Another partially vitrified site that has been excavated is the small rampart defined site at Auldhill at Portencross in Ayrshire (Caldwell et al 1998). This site in many ways resembles the sequence of occupation as seen at Dundonald (Ewart & Pringle 2004), though no palisaded sequence was observed at this site, in that it was first occupied as a small enclosed site before developing into a citadel fort in the early medieval period and then a seat of medieval power when a medieval castle was constructed. The initial occupation of this site was defined by a stone and timber built rampart which was at some point vitrified, before a smaller dun like dry-stone

structure was constructed at the eastern end of the promontory on which it sits. Artefactual evidence recovered from the site included evidence of shale bangle production, which is, as we have seen, commonly found on later prehistoric sites in west central Scotland, while there was also a copper alloy trumpet brooch, which was dated to the first few centuries AD, and was probably Roman in origin. There was also a distinctive antler cheek piece recovered from the site, which was dated on stylistic grounds to the eighth to seventh centuries BC, clearly indicating that this site was an important site and occupied throughout the first millennium BC and AD.

When we look at the dates for the largest rampart defined enclosed sites in the area we are once again left with only a general sense of the periods of their construction, use and occupation. Walls Hill was partially excavated by Frank Newall in the 1950's (Newall 1960), when he opened a small trench over one of the three possible entrances. Evidence recovered from this small excavation revealed a number of post holes along the face of the rampart, suggesting the wall face had timber uprights; a rare phenomenon in the Scottish Iron Age (Alexander 2000, 160) although this could equally be evidence for an earlier palisade phase (Ibid) or a timber gateway (Alexander 1996, 18). Two possible hut circles were also discovered (ibid) along with sherds of Dunagoil Ware thought to date to the last few centuries BC (Alexander 1996, 18; Alexander 2000, 160). Harpercroft has also been subject to a small scale excavation, this time ahead of the construction of radar station at its summit (Rideout et al 1992). Again however the results were somewhat inconclusive and no secure dating was obtained, though a number of artefacts were recovered from curvilinear features that may represent the remains of roundhouses. The artefacts recovered included 77 sherds of pottery, five pieces of shale armlets and a number of worked flints (Rideout et al 1992, 123). The pottery that was discovered came from two different types of pot which appear similar to those found at the Leven, and have tentatively been dated to the early Iron Age (Rideout et al 1992, 124). Another large site demonstrated to have been occupied in the early Iron Age, or possibly the late Bronze Age, is Dunagoil on the Isle of Bute and although the site was excavated before the advent of radiocarbon dating

(Marshall 1915) the artefactual evidence has been reassessed by a number of researches, most recently by Harding, who demonstrated activity at the site lasted throughout the 1st millennium BC (Harding 2004, 141-144).

## Wall Defined Sites

Balloch Hill, in Kintyre (Peltenburg 1982) is one of the few stone wall defined sites that have been excavated. Again like the majority of the enclosed sites that have been investigated in west central Scotland it had a complex history of occupation and development, which included a third millennium BC settlement, middle Bronze Age cremation burials, and a later first millennium BC enclosed settlement which appears to have been replaced at a later date, possibly in the last century BC or the early centuries AD, by an open settlement. Radiocarbon dates obtained from the site "provide a 6th-1st century BC range" (Peltenburg 1982, 204) for the wall which was used to define the site. The associated Dunagoil pottery which is thought to date to the last few centuries BC (Alexander 1996, 18; Alexander 2000, 160; Peltenburg 1982, 205) gives us a mid to late Iron Age date for the occupation of this site. This date range for the construction and occupation of the site ties in with other similar sites which have been excavated in the Argyll area, such as Duntroon (Christison et al. 1905), Eilean an Duin (Niecke & Boyd 1987) and the early phases at Dunadd (Lane & Campbell 2000), which have been used to support the general dating of these small stone walled enclosed sites to the second half of the 1st millennium BC. Whether this dating can be applied to the small stone wall defined sites in other parts of the region however, can be open to question, as so few of them have been excavated.

One site that has been excavated however is the moderately sized site at Sheep Hill (MacKie 1976, 211-214; *forthcoming*) in the Clyde area. Sheep Hill has recently been reassessed by MacKie (f*orthcoming*) and a series of new radiocarbon dates have been obtained which allow us to orientate this important site into wider discussions of later prehistory in west central Scotland. Initial occupation at the site appears to have started in the later Bronze Age when a possible palisade was

constructed which was later replaced by a stone wall, which appears to have been constructed at the end of the 9th or beginning of the 8th century BC. This stone wall defined site was vitrified at some point and possibly abandoned, before a larger rampart was constructed. A radiocarbon date obtained from organic residue recovered from a sherd of pottery recovered from the midden which was overlain by the later rampart, dates to around 800-600BC, indicating that the second phase of expanded activity at the site started in the early to middle Iron Age. Unfortunately there are no radiocarbon dates relating to the final phases of occupation at Sheep Hill. MacKie suggested that as a result of artefactual and stratigraphic evidence, the occupation of this larger enclosure appears to have lasted from the 6th century BC though to the first century AD. Interestingly the final phases at Sheep Hill appears to have been unenclosed and was associated with an intensive period of shale bangle making.

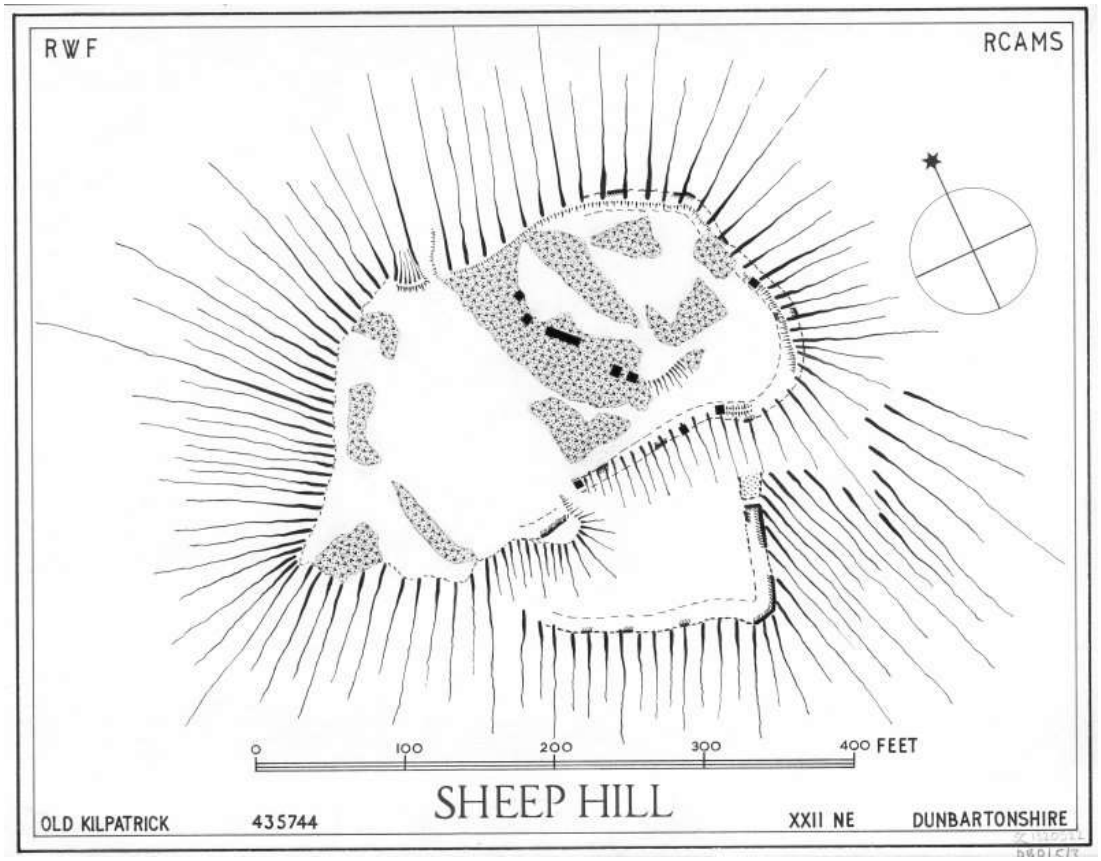



**Fig 138 Mrginal Land Survey plan of Sheep Hill (RCAHMS 1955)**

There have also been a number of excavations of the dun enclosures in Kintyre which provide us with a limited chronological understanding of these monuments. Early investigations between 1936 and 1938, at Kildonan Bay, led by Fairhurst (1939), indicated that this small stone wall defined site had been occupied and reused on a number of occasions from at least the first two centuries AD through to the medieval period. The remains of this small site consist of a 4.3m thick dry stone wall, which included a double staircase in its north west side, enclosing a roughly sub-oval area measuring 19.2m by 13.1m in extent. It had a paved entrance on its west side which is between 1.65m at its external end and 2.59m at its internal end and had evidence for door checks and bar-holes. A number of hearths were discovered during the excavation, one of which was re-examined in 1979 by Peltenburg (1983, 207-208), in order to recover a sample that could be radiocarbon dated, and produced dates of 7$^{th}$-9$^{th}$ century AD, corresponding closely to artefactual evidence, especially of a 9$^{th}$ century penannular brooch, recovered during the initial excavation. Another similar site which has been more recently excavated is Loch Glashan (Gilmour & Henderson 2012) in mid Argyll. This circular site is 19m in diameter and is just too big to be classed as a house in this research, even though the excavators describe it as an Atlantic Roundhouse. These small sites are only fractionally larger than many of the dun-houses and Atlantic Roundhouses found in the area, and it is perhaps an example of the ways in which regarding such sites in different ways can lead to false distinctions being made. This is especially relevant given the dating and artefactual evidence is so similar with these types of site across west central Scotland, as can be seen in the next chapter. Dates obtained from Dun Glashen indicate that it was occupied during the latter part of the first millennium BC (Gilmour & Henderson 2012, 92-99).

## Discussion

It is clear from this review of excavated enclosed sites that we only have a general picture of the chronology of the enclosures in west central Scotland. It has also been demonstrated that the majority of sites that have been excavated in this area

display long and complex sequences of development and occupation, meaning that in most cases it is difficult to adequately ascribe a date to many of these sites. In turn, it is difficult to construct a general or comprehensive sequence for the dating of enclosures in this part of Scotland as it is clear that each individual site had its own sequence of enclosure, which changed over the use of the site, and often included phases of un-enclosed settlement. The difficulty and danger of constructing such general dating sequences has been noted in other parts of Scotland. For instance Armit (1999) demonstrated that the Hownam sequence, which was based on the enclosed site in the borders excavated by Piggott (1950) in the 1940s which was for many years used as the basis for the dating of enclosed sites in the south of Scotland, was incorrect and that it could not be used as a template for the dating of other similar sites in the wider region.

Therefore if we are to even begin to understand the development of enclosed sites in later prehistoric Scotland, and by extension the nature of society, then the highest priority of research must be to adequately date more of these enclosed sites. A number of recent projects have been attempting to do this in other parts of Scotland. For instance Cook (2011; Noble et. al 2013) has been conducting a series of small key-hole investigations of enclosed hilltop sites in Strathdon. Though it should be noted that this approach does not allow us to construct a full picture of the chronological sequence of development at the sites targeted, but rather it gives us a snap shot of activity at each of the sites. This recent work in Aberdeenshire (Cook 2011; Noble et. al 2013) as well as work in the Lothians (Lelong & MacGregor 2007; Haselgrove 2009) have begun to provided us with a chronological framework for the sites of these areas, though even in these regions there is scope for further refinement (ScARF 2012). It could also be argued that there are considerable differences in the nature of enclosed places in these areas, as has been demonstrated throughout this research, which makes it difficult to make them directly comparable to west central Scotland. Another approach that might help us to better understand the chronology and nature of enclosure in west central Scotland is the reassessment of archived excavation material from older

excavations. This approach was carried out by Derek Alexander (1996) when he complied a volume of small scale excavations carried out in Renfrew in the later part of the 20th century which remains one of the most important sources of information we have for the later prehistoric period in west central Scotland. Site specific reassessment has also been carried out by Dennis Harding (2004b) at Dunagoil, as was noted above.

With these problems in mind it is possible to suggest a fairly general chronological sequence for the development of enclosed sites in west central Scotland. The first phase at many of the excavated sites appears to have been palisade defined which seems to have been an early Iron Age phenomenon. The first palisaded phases at Braehead, the Leven, Craigmarloch and Dundonald are dated to the early Iron Age. The palisades seem to be replaced at many of the long lived sites in the middle Iron Age by either ramparts and/ or ditches. There does not appear to be any chronological difference in these forms of enclosure, but rather it may reflect cultural or social conditions, and the local geological and environmental conditions. The wall defined sites of the west appear to have been developed in the latter Iron Age, as demonstrated by the excavation at Balloch Hill and Kildonan. There is however evidence of a longer tradition of rampart construction, as demonstrated at Sheep Hill, where initial occupation may date to the later Bronze Age (MacKie forthcoming). Indeed many of the larger sites found in the area, like Harpercroft and Walls Hill may have late Bronze Age or early Iron Age foundations, as demonstrated for sites such as Traprain Law (Armit & Ralston 2003; Haselgrove 2009, 226) and as is seen elsewhere in Britain in areas such as Wessex (Sharples 2010).

By the first few centuries BC we can begin to see a change in the way sites were defined. For instance there appears to be a general shift away from enclosure, as demonstrated though the excavations at Balloch Hill and Braehead, where in the final phases of occupation at each site consisted of an open settlement of roundhouses. In addition, as shall be demonstrated in the next chapter, we see in

this later period the development of the monumental houses, such as the crannogs and Atlantic roundhouses and dun-houses which are found throughout the area. This suggests that people were no longer living in small bounded communities and were no longer defined by small individual group identities but lived as part of larger networks, dominated by large and more complex enclosed sites, indicating a more hierarchical form of society. This is demonstrated through the emergence of the so called citadel forts from the middle of the first millennium AD (Alcock 2003; Harding 2004, 207-211), which can be seen as centres of elite power and control, a phenomenon which it can be argued is not seen in earlier centuries. Sites such as Dunadd (Lane & Campbell 2000) and Dumbarton Castle (Alcock & Alcock 1990), which have evidence of Iron Age activity and occupation, become major regional centres and the capitals of early medieval kingdoms. In Ayrshire, Harpercroft seems to go out of use but the nearby site at Dundonald Castle (Ewart & Pringle 2004), which again has been shown to have significant earlier Iron Age activity in the form of a palisaded enclosure and with associated prestige artefacts such as a La Tene style brooch (Hunter 2009, 149), is developed into a citadel fort and later a seat of mediaeval power. More than this changing nature in social structure however is the shift in social and cosmological ideas. Communities no longer defined their worlds and lives in bounded sites and were no longer defined by them. Ideas to do with the wider cultural landscape changed by the later Iron Age. The importance of culturally and cosmological imbued materials that were used to define enclosed places and houses had disappeared and instead it can be seen that the once ritually important landscape had become an economic landscape, used purely for its economic resources and the establishment of elite power and control, issues that shall be explored in detail in Chapters Eight and Nine.

# Chapter Seven: The Unenclosed sites of West Central Scotland

## Introduction

This chapter will be concerned with the unenclosed sites that are found in west central Scotland. The focus for this chapter will be the four case study areas which formed the basis for the analysis of the enclosed sites of the region, though some important examples of sites that are outwith the case study areas will also be included where appropriate. This will allow us to explore more fully the ways in which the landscape of west central Scotland was occupied and organised. In the next two chapters all of the evidence for later prehistoric settlement in west central Scotland will be brought together in order to explore issues to do with social structure and landscape organisation, which will in turn inform us about issues to do with architectural materiality, community and identity.

There has been a limited history of research of the unenclosed sites that are found in west central Scotland, which has left us with a legacy of contradicting definitions of what constitutes such a site. As with the enclosed sites that are found in west central Scotland, it is often the result of different levels of archaeological preservation as well as the history of research and survey in an area, which has led to this confused classification system. Further to this, the classification of these sites is often caught up with a degree of interpretive baggage and the notion of what constitutes such a site has changed over the years. This has meant that our understanding of the settlement record in this part of Scotland has been affected, which raises a number of interpretive, methodological and chronological problems. Having said this however there has been some progress in recent years on this

subject in other parts of the country. For instance, Rachel Pope's work on roundhouses (Pope 2003; forthcoming) greatly contributes to our understanding of the nature of these sites and of domestic life during the later prehistoric period. Similarly Graeme Cavers recent doctoral thesis on the crannogs of western Scotland (Cavers 2005, 2009), which builds on works by Hale (2000; 2004) and Crone (2000), allows us to orientate these sites within the broader narrative of the period. The stone built Atlantic structures of the west of Scotland have also received particular attention by researchers over a number of years, forming a huge body of literature, from the pioneering work of MacKie (1974; 2007; 2008) through to the redefinition of these sites by Armit (1990, 2005) and Harding (1984; 2004; 2009), and the continued emphasis on this evidence by the likes of Henderson (2000; 2007), Gilmour (2000a; 2000b; 2002; 2005) and Romankiewicz (2009; 2011). This research shall use these authors' work to inform us about the nature of settlement in this part of Scotland, which will in turn allow us to begin to explore issues to do with the nature of society during the later prehistoric period.

## The Hut Circles of west central Scotland

When we focus on the non-Atlantic type unenclosed structures of west central Scotland it is apparent that there is as much diversity and complexity in the description of these structures as can be seen in the Atlantic style houses explored below, as also found in the enclosed sites which have been examined in previous sections. For instance the Royal Commission defines a 'Hut Circle' as a "low, circular or oval bank of turf, earth or stone, which represents the remains of a roundhouse of later prehistoric date" while a 'Roundhouse' is described as a "circular or sub-circular dwelling, largely timber built, although it may have a stone or earth wall base" (RCAHMS 2013). These rather uncertain and ambiguous definitions have often been used interchangeably, which can lead to a number of problems to do with the interpretation of these sites, especially if the sites in question have not been excavated. In addition the chronologies of these sites have been shown to be quite diverse, ranging from the Bronze Age through to the early centuries AD, making it difficult to critically assess these sites, and orientate them

within a wider understanding of the settlement landscape of the later prehistoric period. In addition to this, as we have seen with the enclosed sites of west central Scotland, it is often the degree of archaeological preservation, which is tied in with the location of these sites, which has led to them being described and therefore interpreted in different ways.

As shall be explored below, it appears that the hut circles are located on marginal land, usually in upland locations, and as such have not been destroyed through agricultural practice and the spread of the urban environment. In contrast it appears that the roundhouses tend to be located in lowland locations and are usually known either through cropmark evidence, or have been discovered through excavation. According to Pope (2003; *forthcoming*) it appears that the upland sites tend to belong to the late Bronze Age, while the lowland sites tend to be of later date, as the upland locations seem to have been, in general, abandoned due to a deteriorating climate. This is of course only a general interpretation, and there are exceptions to the rule. For instance it appears that there is probably a return to the uplands in the middle Iron Age, as the climate improved before a further worsening of the climate after 400BC led to the occupation of lower-lying slopes by the later Iron Age (Pope 2003, 389-390). The upland distribution of unenclosed Bronze Age sites can be seen throughout Scotland (RCAHMS 1997;2007; Cavers 2005), where it appears that upland settlement was abandoned by around 1000 BC (Halliday 1999, 62; Pope 2003). For instance in the Galloway area, Cavers (2005, 152) has demonstrated that 89% of the hut circles, which are predominantly of Bronze Age date, are located above the 100m Ordnance datum, though it should also be noted that lowland Bronze Age roundhouses may also be discovered, such as the ones found ahead of development at Newton Mearns in North Lanarkshire (Toolis 2005, 501). Therefore it could be argued that we should perhaps regard these more marginal areas and landscapes as playing less of a role in our understanding of the settlement patterns of the Iron Age (Cavers 2005, 155).

In west central Scotland we can see that the hut circle is one of the most common forms of unenclosed site (Fig 139). Excavated examples, which have all been dated to the Bronze Age, include; Picketlaw in Renfrew excavated in the 1990s (Alexander 2000), Tormore on Arran which was excavated in the 1970s (Barber 1997) and Cul A'Bhaile on Jura which was also excavated in the late 1970s (Stevenson 1984). In addition to these sites, a Bronze Age platform settlement at Lintshie Gutter, which is located in the Lanarkshire case-study area, was also excavated, this time ahead of development in the early 1990s (Terry 1995). From this limited archaeological evidence it seems that these types of unenclosed site go out of use in this and in other parts of Scotland by the early Iron Age (Halliday 1999, 62). For instance although there has been relatively little excavation, it was noted in the recent Royal Commission survey of Aberdeenshire that evidence from excavated sites here reflects the general picture we see from across Scotland in that the dates for development and occupation of the hut-circles lie in the second millennium BC (RCAHMS 2007, 87). Further, in west central Scotland it is not until the later part of the first millennium BC and the early part of the first millennium AD that we see a re-emergence of unenclosed houses, at sites such as Glen Cloy on Arran (Mudie 2007), Gallow Hill at Girvan (Donnelly & MacGregor 2005), and Midross at Loch Lomond (Becket 2005). In addition to these unenclosed houses, it can also be seen that the enclosed sites of the area, such as at Braehead (Ellis 2007) and Balloch Hill (Peltenburg 1983), are represented in their final phases of occupation as conglomerations of unenclosed roundhouses. This phenomenon is again reflected in other parts of Scotland such as in Aberdeenshire (RCAHMS 2007, 87), the Lothians (Haselgrove 2009) as well as in areas of eastern Scotland north of the Forth (Davis 2007). The emergence, in the later part of the first millennium BC, of large unenclosed roundhouses is also reflected in the development of the Atlantic style roundhouses in southern Scotland as well as in Argyll, and it could be argued that this phenomenon is also seen in the emergence of the crannogs of the area, as is discussed below.

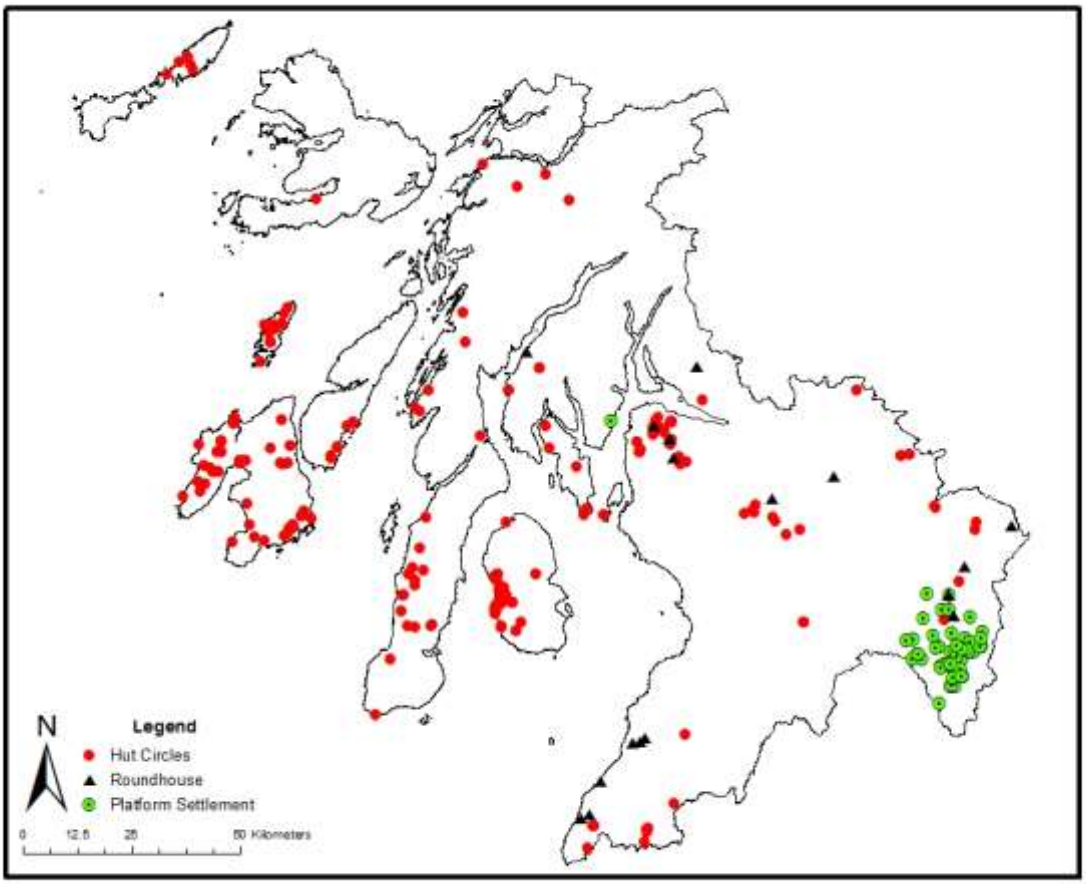



**Fig 139 Distribution of Unenclosed non-Atlantic type sites in west central Scotland**

Although the hut circles of west central Scotland are Bronze Age in date, this section will be concerned with the analyses of these earlier sites so that a clearer understanding of the development of the later unenclosed sites can be established. When we look at the size of the hut circles from across the whole of the Strathclyde area (Fig 140) we can see that they are 51 Sq.m in average extent and that the majority of sites, representing over 80% of the total number measure less than 80 Sq.m in extent. Of these sites we can see that there are comparatively few sites that measure between 40 Sq.m and 50 Sq.m in extent while there are large numbers of sites that measure between 10 Sq.m and 40 Sq.m in extent as well as 50 Sq.m and 80 Sq.m in extent. It can also be seen that the average diameter of the hut circles in Strathclyde is 8m, while it can be seen from the graph below (Fig 141)

that the majority of sites range in size from 6m to 10m in diameter and that the largest number of sites are between 6m and 7m in diameter. These dimensions reflect the range of sizes we see in the hut circles in other parts of the country. For instance in Galloway it has been demonstrated that hut circles measure between 5m and 12m in diameter and that the average diameter is around 8m to 9m (Cowley 2000, 169; Cavers 2005, 154).

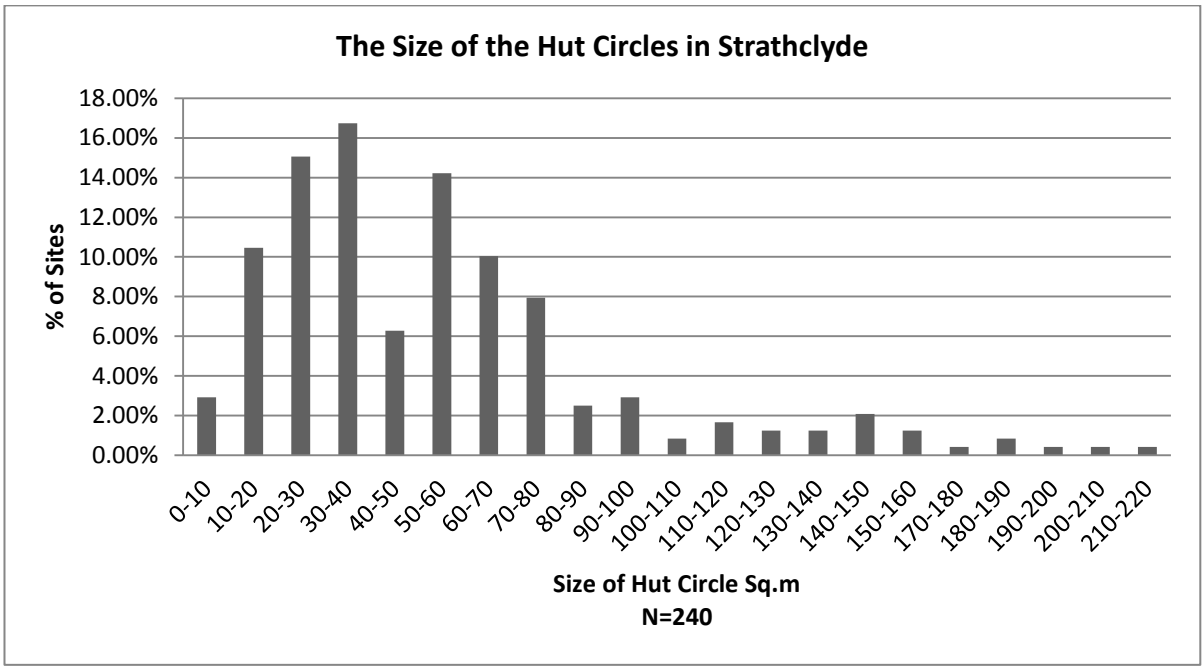



**Fig 140 The size of hut circles in the whole of Strathclyde.**

It should be noted that there are also a number of hut circles that are in fact relatively large, to the extent that they could be classed as small enclosed sites rather than as hut circles, an issue also noted in the Commission's survey of Aberdeenshire (RCHAMS 2007, 86). This reveals one of the main restrictions of defining sites based on size as it is inevitable that there are a number of sites that blur these boundaries. For instance if these hut circles were found on prominent locations then it could be easily expected that they would be regarded as small duns or as "homesteads" by the Commission, but as they are located in low-lying areas, outwith the traditional Atlantic zones, then they have been regarded as hut circles by the Commission. However given that there are only five sites, which

breach the 180 Sq.m boundary set in this research, as discussed above in relation to the dun houses and larger "duns" of the area, then this is not a major problem in relation to the interpretation of these sites, but it is an issue that must be kept in mind.

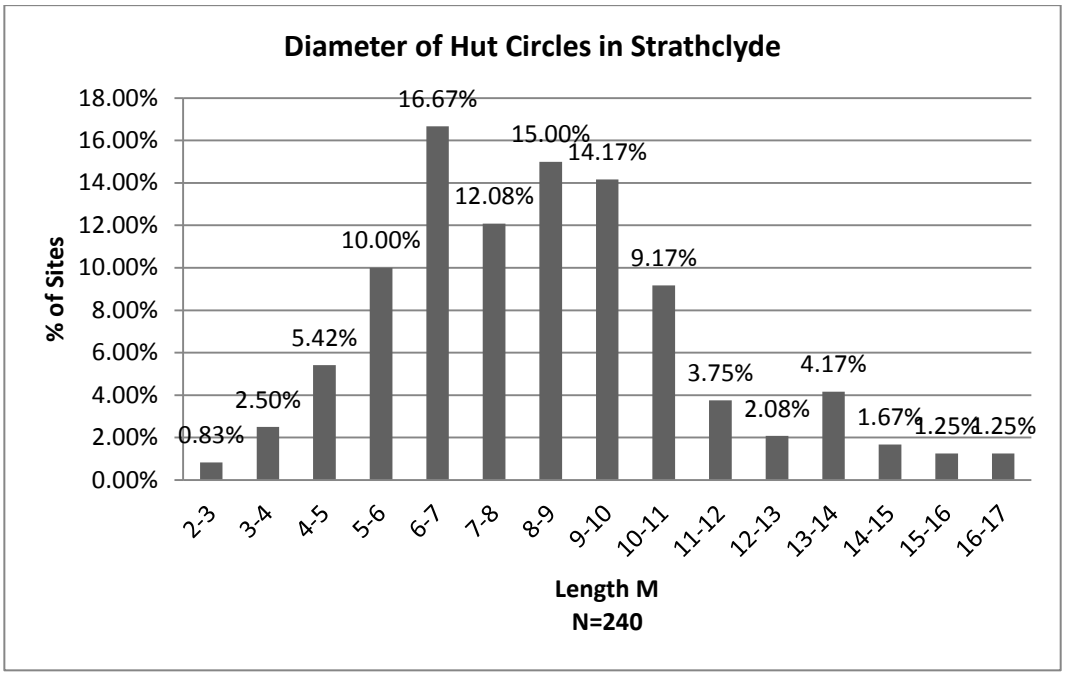



**Fig 141. Diameter of hut circles in Strathclyde**

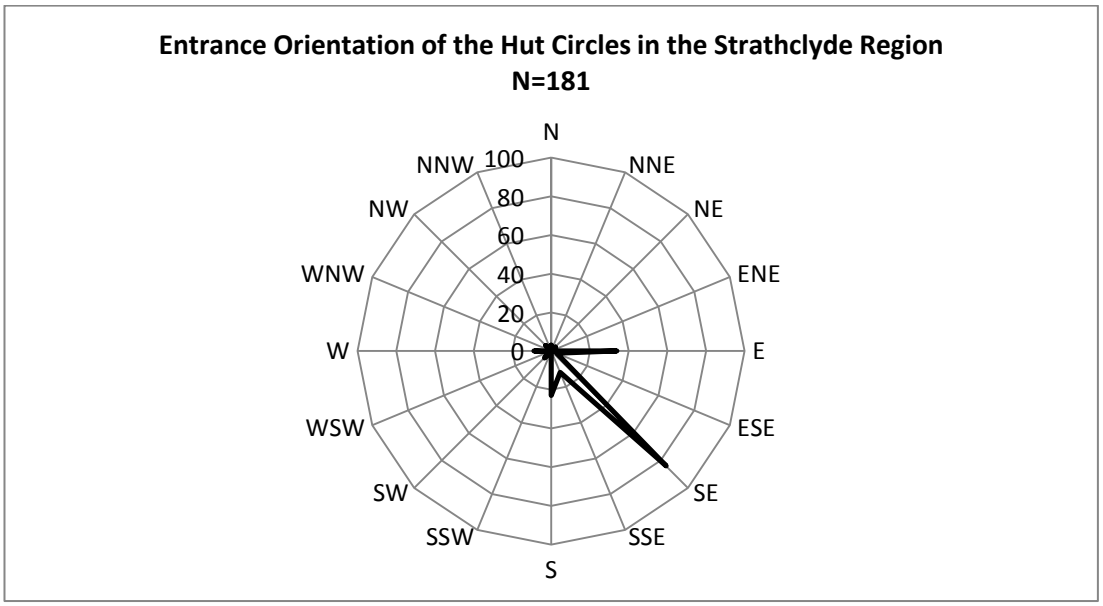



**Fig 142. Entrance orientation of hut circles in Strathclyde**

When we look at the entrance orientation of all of the hut circles from Strathclyde (Fig 142) a number of interesting points can be made. Of the 240 hut circle sites recorded from across the Strathclyde area, 181 survived to an extent whereby their entrance orientation could be recorded, and it can clearly be seen that the majority, representing 53% of the total number, are aligned towards the south-east, while smaller numbers are aligned to the south and east. What is interesting is that if we regarded these sites as belonging to the Bronze Age, as the dating evidence from the limited number that have been excavated suggests, and compare them to the entrance orientation of the enclosed sites, the dun-houses and the Atlantic roundhouses of the Iron Age period in west central Scotland, it is clear that there is a shift in orientation between these periods; away from the south-east towards the east or west, and in some cases the north-east. This may be significant for a number of reasons as it could be argued that this represents a significant shift in the cosmological ideals of the people and communities that were living in and constructing these houses and sites. However it should be noted that there are differences in entrance orientation in different parts of west central Scotland, as can be seen below, and that this general overview of all the hut circles may mask some of the heterogeneity we see across the region.

These sub-regional differences are also reflected in the variation in the alignment of the enclosed sites we see in west central Scotland, but it does seem that in general there is a significant change in entrance orientation in the later prehistoric period. This change in orientation is also borne out in the evidence in Wessex. For instance Sharples (2010, 197-201) has demonstrated that the in the middle Bronze Age period a large number of houses are aligned towards the south-east, south-south-east and east, while in the later Bronze Age there is a shift in an interest from the south and that more houses aligned to the east. This pattern is continued in the earlier Iron Age where the south-east is still important, but there are a substantial number of houses that are aligned to the east as well as the north-east. This indicates that similar shifting cosmological concerns were taking place across the British Isles at this time which again demonstrates that west central Scotland was

not as isolated as has previously been thought, but was tied in with wider changing social trends and cultural ideas.

## The Hut Circles in the Case Study Areas

When we look at the case-study areas in more detail it can be seen that there is in fact a range in the distribution of the Bronze Age hut circles, and the platform settlements, across west central Scotland. For instance there is only one group of sites known from the Ayrshire area, at Merkland Burn, consisting of four hut circles. In Lanarkshire there are only a small number of hut circles and instead this area contains the largest number of platform settlements in the region, which suggests that there may have been a different way of occupying the landscape in this area, compared with other parts of west central Scotland. The largest number of sites can be found in the Clyde (Fig 144) and Kintyre (Fig 147) areas. However, as with the enclosed sites, a number of issues need to be kept in mind in relation to the relative distribution of sites found in each area, notably the history of research and survey, but also the topographic conditions that may be suitable for the construction and occupation of such sites across the different landscapes of west central Scotland, as well as issues to do with farming practices and the extent of the urban environment.

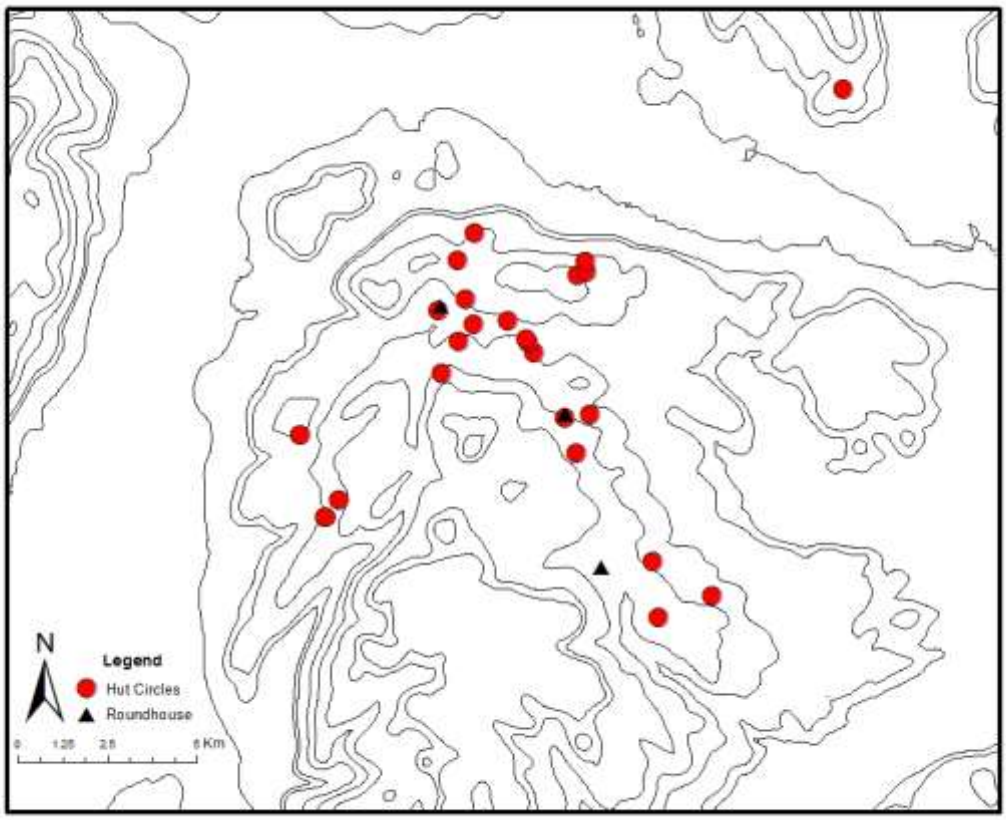



**Fig 143 Un-enclosed roundhouses and hut circles in Renfrew**

There are twenty two recorded hut circles in the Clyde area, and as can be seen from the graph below (Fig 144) the majority of them are in fact relatively large, with 30% of the total number measuring between 70 Sq.m and 80 Sq.m in extent, while the average size is 69 Sq.m. The diameters of the hut circles of the Clyde area vary quite considerably as can be seen from the graph below (Fig 145), ranging from 4.5m to 14.3m in extent, though it can be seen that that majority lie between 10m and 11m while the average is 9.3m. The smallest hut circle in the area is found at Lurg Moor in Renfrew which is 15 Sq.m in extent with a diameter of 4.5m, compared to the largest at Upper Green Water, also in Renfrew, which is 150 Sq.m in extent and 14.3m in maximum length. When we look at the orientation of the hut circles in the Clyde area (Fig 146) it can be seen that of the twenty-two recorded sites only fourteen have survived to an extent where their entrance orientation could be determined. Of these sites it can be seen that the majority are

aligned to the east and the south-east, while two are aligned to the north-east, with one each orientated to the north and south.

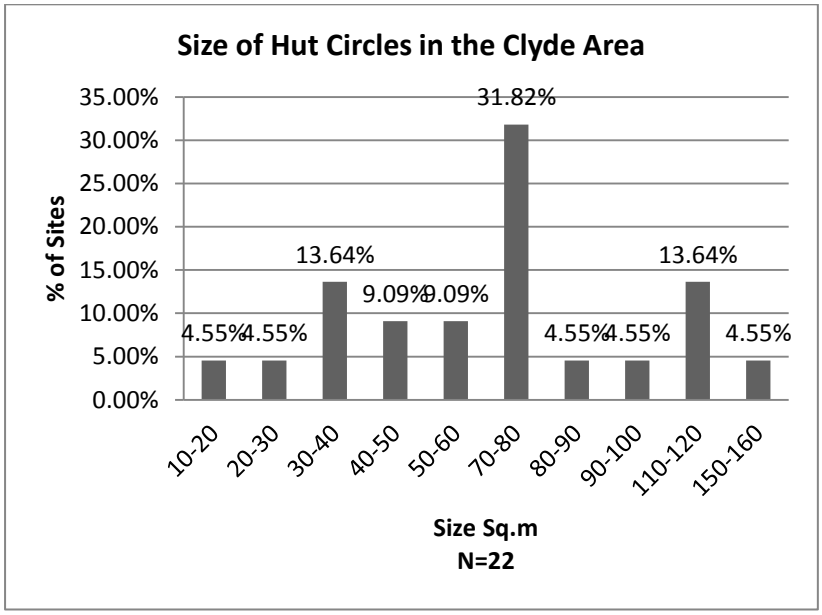



**Fig 144. Size of hut circles in the Clyde area**

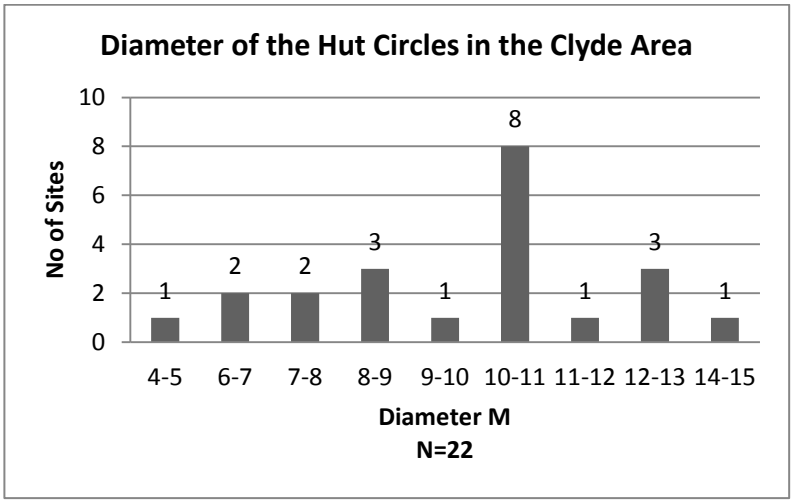



**Fig 145 Diameter of the hut circles in the Clyde area**

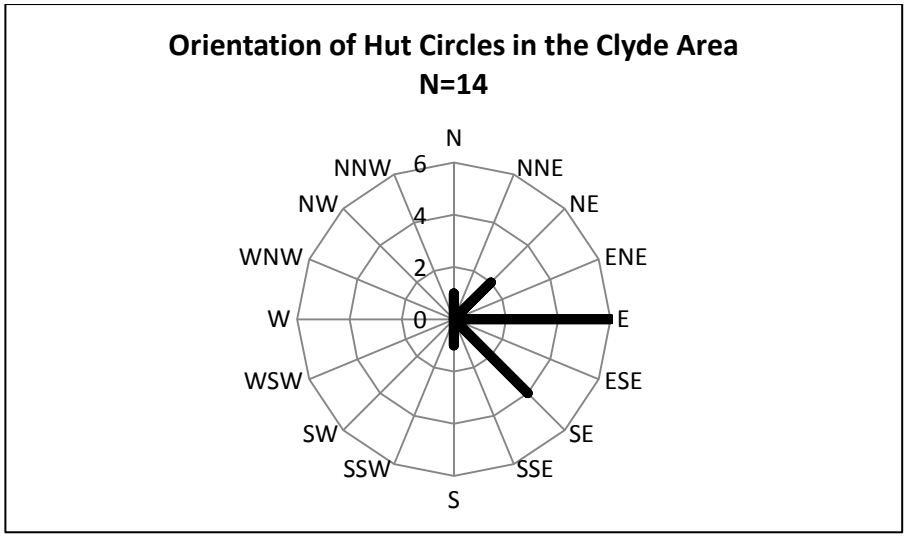



**Fig 146 Orientation of the hut circles in the Clyde area**

When we look at the size of the twenty-one hut circles in the Kintyre area (Fig 148) we can see that they are relatively small compared to the hut circles of the Clyde area, and that the largest number of sites, representing 23% of the total number, measure between 20 Sq.m and 30 Sq.m in extent. Though it should be noted that the majority of sites range in size from 20 Sq.m to 80 Sq.m in extent, the average size is 51.5 Sq.m in extent which is 18 Sq.m smaller than the average seen in the Clyde area. The diameter of the hut circles of Kintyre (Fig 149) also appear much more restricted compared to the Clyde area, ranging from 5m to 11m in extent, while the average is 7.9m, again significantly smaller than the average diameter seen in the Clyde area. The smallest site in the Kintyre area is at Glen Breackerie, which was recorded as an enclosure by the Commission, even though it has a diameter of only 5m within an earth and stone bank 1.5m in width and 0.7m tall, while the largest hut circle at Achnafad is 11m in diameter within a bank 2-3m wide enclosing an area 93 Sq.m in extent.

When we look at the orientation of the hut circles in Kintyre (Fig 150) we can see that of the twenty-one sites that are found in the area only sixteen survived to an extent whereby their entrance orientations could be determined. Of these it can be seen that the majority of sites, representing 56% of the total number, were aligned to the south-east, while 30% were aligned to the south. There were also two sites aligned to the east. This evidence therefore suggests that there may have been

significant differences in the cultural and social practices of the peoples who lived in these two different areas of west central Scotland during the Bronze Age as there is a considerable difference in the size of their houses and in their entrance alignments. This might indicate that the Clyde estuary acted as a significant cultural boundary during this period, one that becomes more fluid during the early and middle Iron Age as well as in the later part of the period, as has been demonstrated in the enclosed sites as well as in the later substantial Atlantic type structures discussed elsewhere in this thesis.

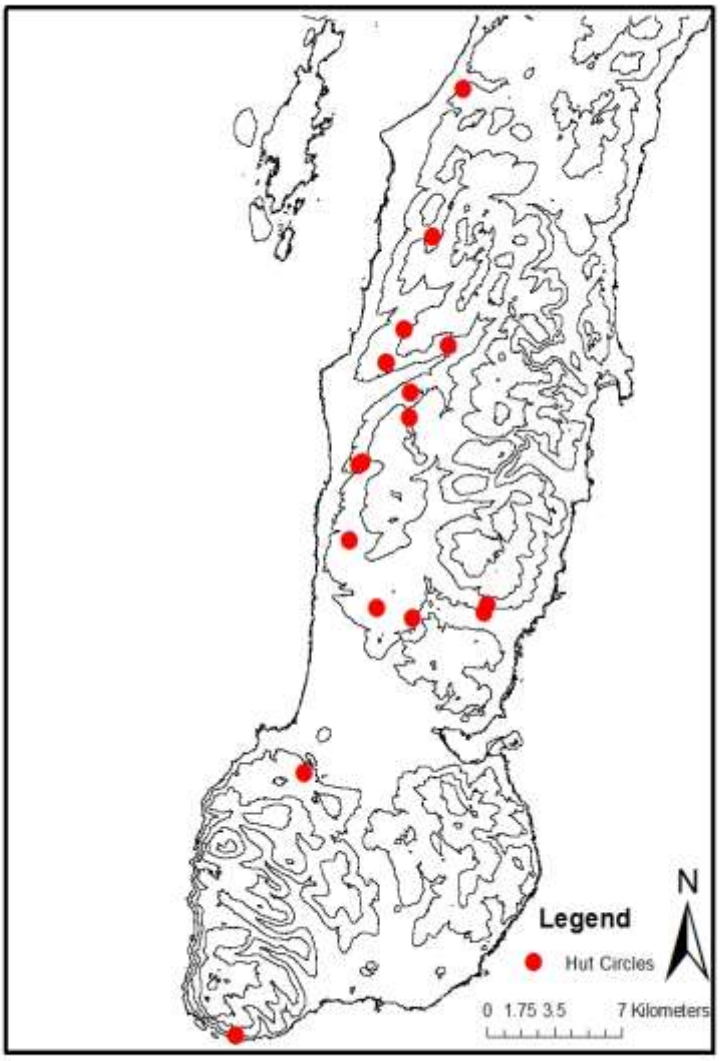



**Fig 147 The hut circles of Kintyre**

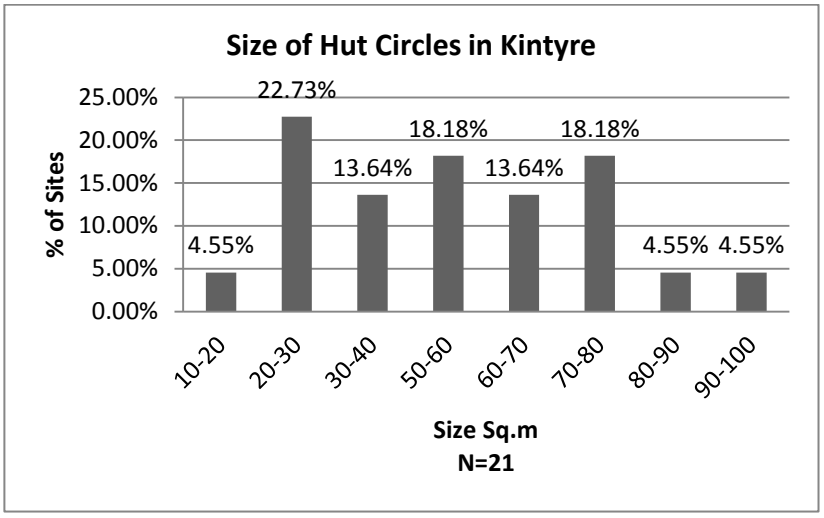



**Fig 148 Size of hut circles in Kintyre**

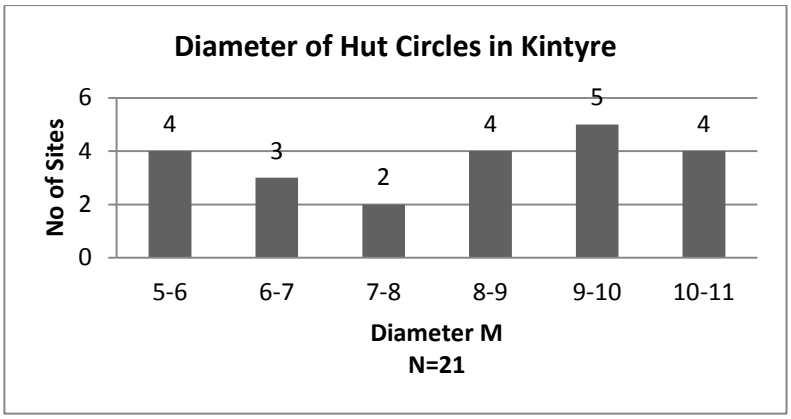



**Fig 149 Diameter of hut circles in Kintyre**

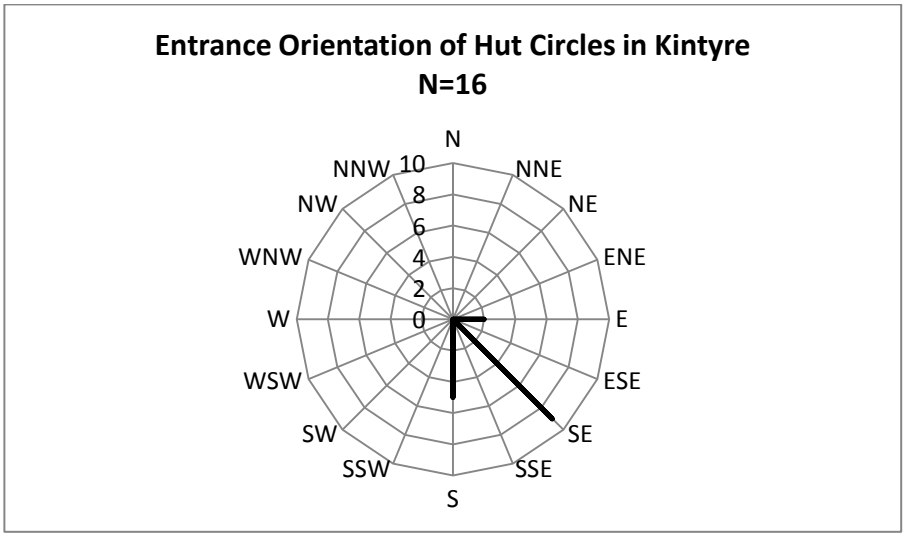



**Fig 150 Entrance orientation of hut circles in Kintyre**

## Un-enclosed Platform Settlements

As has been noted above, there are relatively few hut circles in the Lanarkshire area, and instead we can see that the landscape is populated by platform settlements. The small number of hut circles is perhaps unusual and it is possible to suggest that the landscape of much of this area, which is dominated by steep sided valleys, was better suited to the platform settlement. Platform settlements are sites that are located in upland locations and were designed by quarrying a semi-circle into the side of the hill, leaving a scarp edge and an area of flat ground, supported by the excavated material on the downslope, on which houses could be built. A number of these sites have been excavated in Scotland and it appears that they date from the Neolithic through to the late Bronze Age, and that they go out of use by the 8$^{th}$ century BC (Pope *forthcoming*). As noted, the majority of these sites are located in relatively upland locations, generally above the 400m contour, which again supports the evidence that suggests that occupation at higher levels was common in the Bronze Age compared to the low lying settlement of the Iron Age in this part of Scotland. This is also supported from the excavated evidence from Lanarkshire, for instance at the site of Lintshie Gutter, which produced a range of early dates indicating that it went out of use in the later Bronze Age (Terry 1995). Of the nine hut circles that are located in the Lanarkshire area it can be seen that they range in size from 19.6 Sq.m to 109 Sq.m and in diameter from 5m to 11.8m. Three out of the five hut circles, where their entrance orientation could be recorded, were orientated to the east, while one is located to the south-east and one to the south, which may indicate a similar pattern to what we see in the Clyde area, though as there are so few of these sites in the Lanarkshire area this may be difficult to prove.

# The Iron Age Roundhouses of west central Scotland

Those roundhouses that are thought of as being of typical Iron Age date and design are variously labelled as ring groove, post ring and ring ditch houses (Harding 2009, 71-81), and while these distinctions are helpful in describing the various sites discovered through excavation or aerial photography, and to a lesser extent field observation, it has been shown that many of their structural features are interchangeable. For instance buildings with a ring groove regularly have an internal ring of posts used as the main structural support (ScARF 2012). These sites tend to be located in lowland areas and have their greatest currency in the Lothians, the south-west and the north-east of the country (RCAHMS 1997; 2007; Harding 2004, 97-101; Davies 2007, 274-278). Only a small number of such sites are known from west central Scotland and less have been excavated. For instance a number of possible sites were discovered through aerial photography in the Lanarkshire case study area, including at Roberton where there are four possible ring ditch houses as well as at Covington Mains where there appears to be one possible ring ditch house, while a further possible five houses were identified on the southern slopes of Tinto Hill (Ward 1992). None of these sites have been excavated however and their precise form, nature and date remain unknown.

There are however a number of sites which have been excavated, which are found outwith the case study areas. These include the post defined house at Glen Cloy on Arran (Mudie 2007), which was discovered ahead of development, and has been dated to the last few centuries BC, while two roundhouses were excavated at Gallow Hill in Girvan in South Ayrshire (Donnelly & MacGregor 2005) which produced dating evidence relating to their occupation in the later Iron Age or Roman Iron Age period. A number of houses were excavated at Mid Ross at Loch Lomond (Becket 2005) ahead of golf course development, but they have not been fully analysed yet and there is only limited evidence as to their date, which suggests late Iron Age occupation. Another site that was discovered ahead of development is the ring ditch site found at Cambuslang, just outside Glasgow (O'Brien 2009), which

has been dated to the earlier Iron Age, though as shall be discussed below the excavators were reluctant to ascribe a purely domestic function to this site.

## The excavated Sites

One of the most important unenclosed roundhouses to have been excavated in west central Scotland is the 4th to 1st century BC site, at Glen Cloy on Arran. This site (Fig 151), which was discovered and excavated ahead of development in 2001, is located on a broad sand terrace at the mouth of Glen Cloy, and is defined by a series of five post holes that define an area 14.5m in diameter (Mudie 2007, 5). A ring of inner, but less substantial, posts defining an area 9m in diameter may have acted as additional support for the roof, though they do not seem to have been able to support significant loads (Mudie 2007, 7) and it could perhaps be suggested that they in fact represent the internal division of space within the houses, for instance an inner and outer zone. There was also evidence for intermediate and less substantial posts around the perimeter of the main post ring, which might suggest that the wall of the house was originally of wattle, which is indicated by the large quantity of culturally rich soil overburden, from which most of the artefacts were recovered (Mudie 2007, 24-25). A further group of five small postholes were located in an arc two to four metres to the north of the post circle, which may either form an outer wall to a much larger roundhouse (Mudie 2007, 14). Additional evidence for this has subsequently been lost, though an alternative interpretation may be that it formed part of a shelter, perhaps for craft activities such as metal working for which there is substantial evidence from the site.

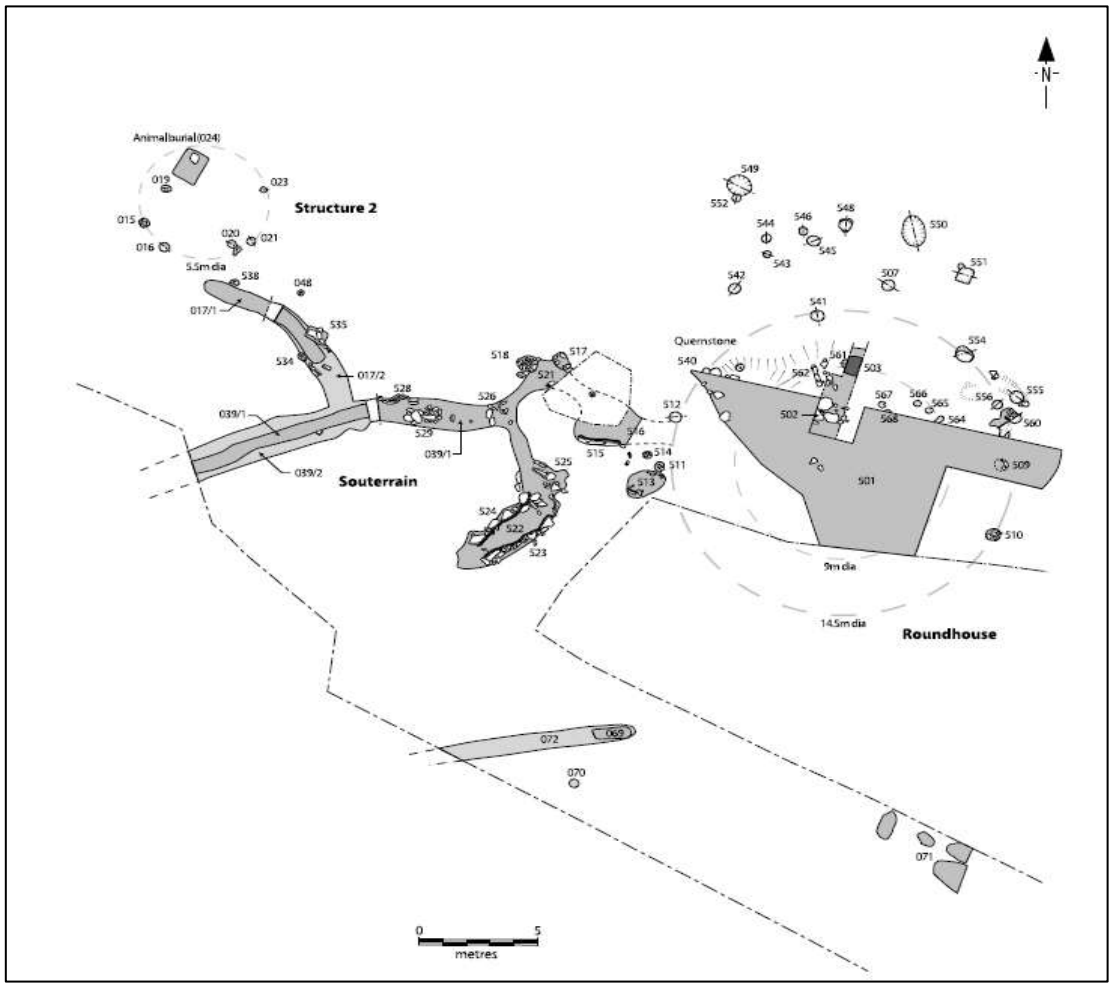



**Fig 151 Plan of the roundhouse and souterrain at Glen Cloy (Mudie 2007, 4)**

Significantly, the most important feature of the site, apart from the roundhouse, was a large and well-constructed souterrain. Souterrains are relatively rare in this part of Scotland (Armit 1999, 588; Mudie 2007, 26) and are instead mainly concentrated in the north-east of the country, particularly in Angus, though they have also been recognised as belonging to the Atlantic tradition of architecture (Henderson 2007, 142-147).The souterrain was located on the west side of the roundhouse and consisted of two unaligned passages and two partially stone lined cells (Mudie 2007, 7). The passages were each 1m wide and at least 1m deep, the longest of which was 13m in extent and was aligned east-northeast-west-southwest, with a slight curve to the south, along its length. This passage was accessed from one of two entrances. One, which was associated with one of the partially stone lined cells, was located within the roundhouse while there was also an external entrance on the north side of the main passage. This entrance was

defined by two postholes which were 1.4m apart and although these were not excavated a bronze spiral finger ring was discovered on top of one of them. The internal entrance was defined by three post holes which would have acted as support for the roundhouse but also provided an elaborate and well-defined entrance to the souterrain from inside the house (Mudie 2007, 10). Running off this main passage, at a north-western alignment, was the second passage, which was 9m in length and displayed a slight curve, this time to the west. The cell that was associated with the internal entrance was not fully excavated and its extent is unknown, but it was noted that three large stone blocks lined its southern side, two of which were of granite and one of sandstone (*ibid*). The second cell which was defined by small sandstone slabs was accessed via a narrow passage at the eastern end of the main passage, and was 3m long and 1m wide.

A number of artefacts were recovered from the site which indicates that the group that lived here were actively engaged in a diverse and regionally connected economy. For instance the copper alloy spiral finger ring is commonly found on sites dated to the last few centuries BC and the first few centuries AD from across Scotland (Clarke 1971; Mudie 2007, 19) and can be thought of as being of relative high status. Other artefacts from Glen Cloy include two unfinished cannel coal bangles which demonstrate clear evidence for onsite manufacture (Mudie 2007, 20). The analysis of the raw material from which these bangles were made appears to suggest that the most likely source may have been Ayrshire (Mudie 2007, 20). A number of coarse stone tools were also discovered from the site including a rotary quern, a saddle quern and a number of cobble tools (Mudie 2007, 22). Other evidence for craft activity comes in the form of the large amounts of slag discovered on the site, which it was suggested "provides limited evidence for ironworking, probably smithing" (Mudie 2007, 22) and the "everyday repair or manufacture of functional objects" (Mudie 2007, 23).

At another site, this time on the South Ayrshire coast at Gallow Hill (Fig 152) to the north of Girvan, two unenclosed ring groove houses dating to the Romano-British

period were discovered and excavated ahead of development in 1996 (Donnelly & MacGregor 2005). The first house (Donnelly & MacGregor 2005, 40-42) was 10m in diameter and was defined by a 0.2m wide ring groove that was up to 0.15m in depth. The entrance to the house was on the east side and was defined by a 4m wide curvilinear feature, at the base of which were impressions of large load-bearing structural posts. Internal features from this house included a pit which contained numerous carbonised cereal fragments as well as fragments of burnt animal bone, which suggest that it could have been used as a fire pit, as well as an unusual deposit of several flints stuck from the same core. A radiocarbon date obtained from this feature indicates that it was in use sometime in the first two centuries AD (Donnelly & MacGregor 2005, 42). The second house (Donnelly & MacGregor 2005, 42-43) lay 10m to the east of this first house and was defined by a penannular ring groove that was up to 0.6m wide and 0.24m deep, defining an area up to 11.5m in diameter. Radiocarbon dates that were obtained from charcoal fragments recovered from this groove date its construction to 50 BC-130 AD (GU-9799) (Donnelly & MacGregor 2005, 43). A hearth was located just off the centre of the house which included fragments of charcoal and burnt bone, radiocarbon dates from which range from 60 BC – 120 AD (GU-9798) (ibid). The entrance to this house was also on the east side.

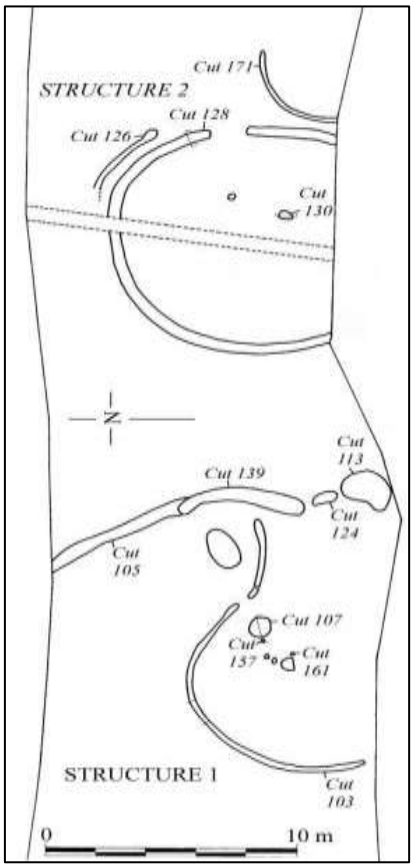



**Fig 152 Gallow Hill roundhouses (Donnelly & MacGregor 2005, 41).**

Another site, where there is evidence for a possible roundhouse was discovered at Cambuslang in North Lanarkshire (O'Brien 2009), again ahead of development. The site was defined by a ring ditch which was slightly oval in plan, with an external diameter of 6m, and although it was heavily plough truncated, survived to a maximum width of 0.65m and was up to 0.3m in depth (O'Brien 2009, 7-8). Initially the excavators thought that the ring ditch could represent the remains of a drip gully of a roundhouse. However given that it cuts through an earlier pit that contained the remains of a Bronze Age cremation burial, the feature was later interpreted as the ditch of a cairn or tumulus (O'Brien 2009, 25). In addition there was relatively little artefactual or environmental evidence discovered to suggest that it could have been occupied. The date for this ring ditch is also slightly unusual, especially if we were to interpret it as a house that was equivalent to those seen at both Glen Cloy and Gallow Hill. Radiocarbon dates taken from a fragment of alder charcoal indicate that this site dated to 800-530cal BC (GU-17334; O'Brien 2009, 8)

which puts the construction of this site at the very start of the Iron Age, and therefore significantly earlier in date compared to those houses discussed above.

There are a number of problems with the interpretation as this feature as a cairn or tumulus however. Firstly it should be noted that of the small number of artefacts that were discovered, there was a shale bangle rough out (O'Brien 2009, 8), which as we have seen is a typical object found on later prehistoric domestic sites throughout west central Scotland. More importantly however is the fact that the cremation burial which is cut by the ring ditch could date to the middle Bronze Age, rather than the later Bronze Age, which would mean that if the ditch did relate to a memorial cairn then the location must have been significant for a very long period of time, as O'Brien notes "perhaps as much as 45 generations" (O'Brien 2009, 25). Having said this however the early date obtained from this site is unusual, and does not fit with the general pattern where it can be seen that development of unenclosed roundhouses in lowland locations seems to have taken place towards the end of the first millennium BC and the start of the first millennium AD. Therefore it is possible that this site does represent an unusual form of monument not related to domestic occupation.

## Atlantic Roundhouses and Dun Houses in west central Scotland

The way in which Atlantic style house sites in west central Scotland have traditionally been classed by the Commission (RCHAMS 1971) has been discussed in Chapter One. As with the enclosed sites it can be argued that these classifications have restricted our interpretations and understandings of the settlement record of this area in the later prehistoric period. This in turn has meant that our interpretations and understandings of society and the communities that built and lived within these structures have been misinformed. Attempts have been made to readdress these issues. For instance, Gilmour (1994) applied Armit's (1990, 2005) Atlantic roundhouse terminology to the duns of Argyll, but in general

interpretations of these sites have remained stagnant, heavily relying on the Commission's classifications (e.g. Nieke 1990; Harding 1997; 2004). This issue is particularly clear when we look at the diagram (Fig 153) of the "duns" and "brochs", as classed in the Commission database, that are found within the broader Strathclyde area. As can be seen there are only nine broch sites in the whole of Strathclyde, while the rest of the area is dominated by the dun sites. This class of site, as shall be demonstrated below, contains a range of divergent forms of site, which are usually masked in the traditional interpretations of the settlement record. In the following section these traditional classifications shall be critiqued and a new way of classifying and understanding these sites shall be advanced, which will allow us to explore more fully the cultural and architectural complexity of the period. This will in turn allow us to create new, more meaningful interpretations of the settlement record, so that we can better understand the ways in which people in this area lived during the later prehistoric period.

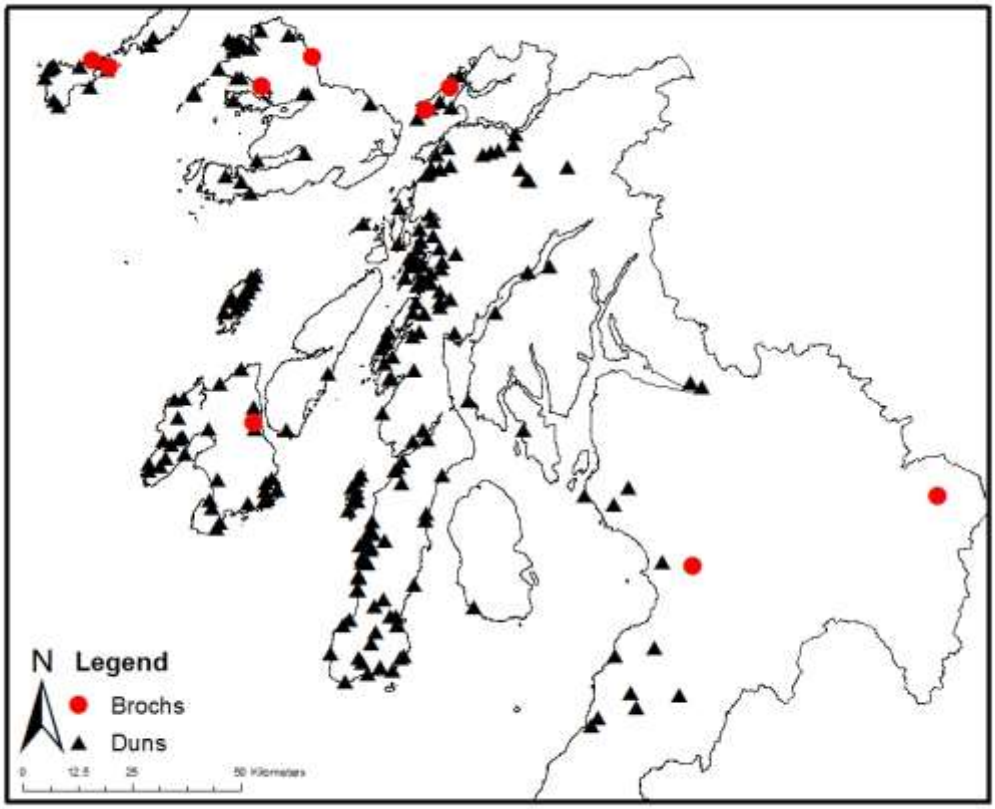



**Fig 153 Distribution of duns and brochs according to Commission classification**

## Brochs, Duns, Atlantic Rondhouses and Dun-Houses

There has been a whole host of terms used to describe the small dry-stone structures that dominate the Atlantic areas of Scotland. For instance researchers have at various times used terms such as broch, broch tower, semi-broch, dun, dun house, and galleried dun. This terminology was linked with the interpretive ideas of each author, or organisation, as has been demonstrated in relation to the Royal Commission in Chapter One, attempting to assert their own interpretation on these stone-walled sites. It should be noted that the effort dedicated to classification was due to the fact that it was thought that the more refined our definitions were, the clearer our understanding of the period would be (Armit 1990, 46). However, in 1990 an influential new approach was advanced by Armit (1990; 2005) when he argued that "all of the massive-walled dry-stone houses of Atlantic Scotland are classed as Atlantic roundhouses" (Armit 1990, 59), representing all those structures that were built of stone, circular or sub-circular shape, small in nature and therefore probably roofed. Further to this he proposed that "where surface traces or excavation can detect the presence of intra-mural galleries or cells" (Armit 1990, 59), in other words, architectural complexity, then the structures should be regarded as "complex Atlantic roundhouses" (*ibid*). Finally Armit proposed that roundhouses which clearly had one or more floors above ground level, such as at Dun Carloway on Lewis, should be regarded as "broch towers" (Armit 1990, 59-60). The main reason for Armit's reclassification was that he believed that there would have been a great deal more broch towers in the past and that due to the nature of archaeological survival and preservation many of the upper stories of these structures were lost and damaged. In addition it had been shown that on excavation many of the "duns" often showed signs of complex architecture (Armit 1990, 47), and therefore with this new classification, all of the different forms of stone-built site could in fact be seen as part of a continuum of a wider Atlantic Iron Age architectural tradition. With the adoption of this new classification Armit also argued that these structures were constructed and occupied over a much longer

period, from around 700 BC to the early centuries AD, with the more complex examples emerging from around 400 BC (Armit 2005, 8).

This reclassification had further implications however. Brochs had traditionally been regarded as the manifestations of an elite ruling class (Child 1935; MacKie 1965; Piggott 1966), displaying wealth, power and prestige through the construction and habitation of monumental houses. However using Armit's new classification, many more brochs and broch like structures can be found in the landscape, and an argument could therefore be made that they were not the special reserve of a ruling elite, but were the standard form of domestic settlement in Atlantic areas during the Iron Age, as has been demonstrated in North Uist and Barra (Armit 2002). This therefore meant that society in the Atlantic areas would have been more egalitarian than had previously been thought. The arguments advanced by Armit have been, in general, widely adopted by the majority of researchers working in this area (Harding 2004, 108). However Parker-Pearson and Sharples (Sharples & Parker Pearson 1997; Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999) remain two of the most outspoken opponents of the scheme, arguing that brochs were "involved in local power relations and were at least partially concerned with the establishment of local hierarchies" (Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999, 257), and that they were built exclusively by the elite in order to display their social status and prestige.

For the purposes of this research the terminology advanced by Armit (1990, 2005) shall be used in order to describe and analyse the circular stone-built structures that are found in west central Scotland. This immediately allows us to begin to construct new interpretations of the settlement record of this part of Scotland. As can be seen from the diagram below (Fig 154), the wide distribution of these types of site suggests that this form of architecture is much more common than the original classification system would suggest. However the ideas proposed by Armit (2002) in relation to the social structures that may have been in place in the likes of the Western Isles do not necessarily apply to west central Scotland. There are a whole host of un-enclosed structures as well as enclosed sites which are found

across the region, with the Atlantic roundhouses forming just one part of the settlement landscape. Therefore a more nuanced approach will be required in order to understand the social role of these sites in this area. In addition the chronology of these sites suggest that they appear around the last few centuries BC and first two centuries AD in this part of Scotland, and it can be suggested that they represent one part in a wider a shift, not just architecturally but culturaly and socially, in the way the landscape was occupied and society organised. It is in this context that the work of Richard Hingley (1992) is perhaps most relevant. Hingley (1992, 7-53) regards the monumental stone-built architecture of the Atlantic regions as a continuation or local manifestation of the tradition of building large-scale isolated households that can be seen throughout the north of Britain in the Iron Age. This can especially be seen in west central Scotland, where there is evidence for large timber-built roundhouses, irregular stone built structures, and Atlantic roundhouses.

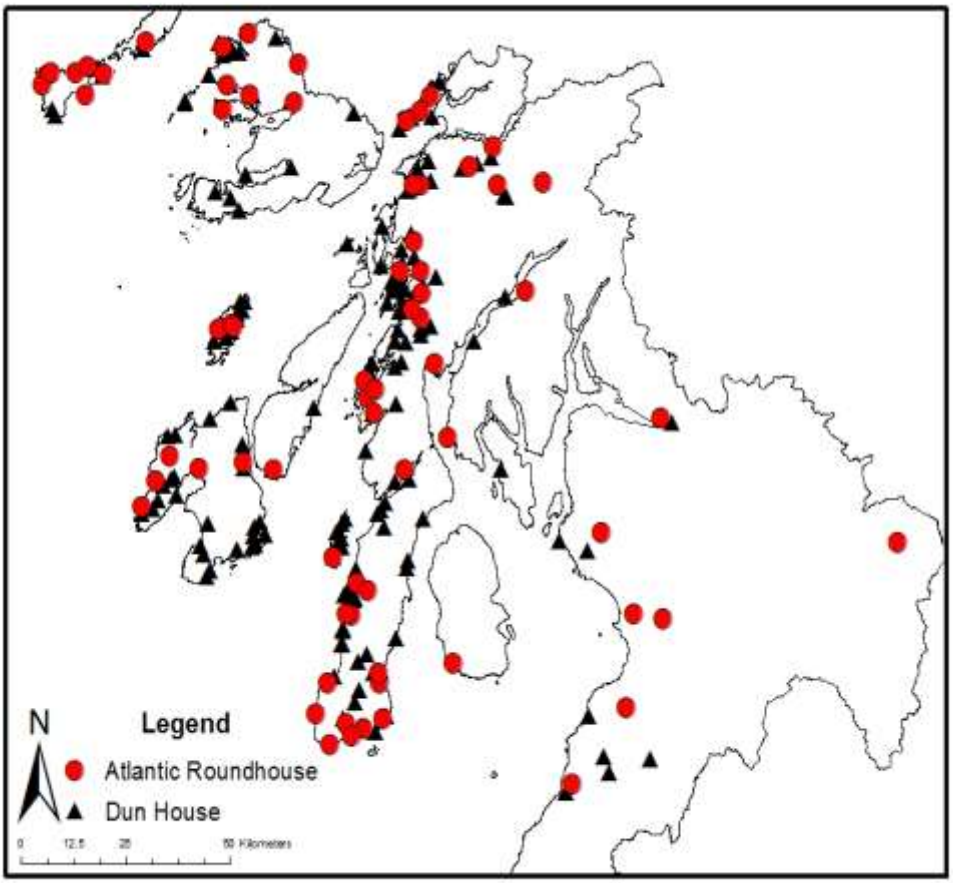


**Fig 154 The distribution of Atlantic roundhouses and Dun Houses in west central Scotland.**

These arguments are particularly relevant when we look at the different forms of site in west central Scotland, where we need to understand a range of divergent, yet contemporaneous forms of site. For instance, although many of the dun sites are circular and can be thought of as Atlantic roundhouses, as is demonstrated above, there are many more types of dun, which although are of similar size to the Atlantic roundhouses, are often of irregular or oval design. Armit highlights the difficulty in the interpretation of these dun sites himself when he notes that the dun class became a "reservoir for the sites which failed to fit the [traditional] criteria set for brochs" (Armit 1990, 47), and Harding points out that the inclusion of a diverse range of types of site into the dun class "has been the principle hindrance to progress in settlement studies in Argyll" (Harding 2004, 130). The complexity in the clasfficiation of these sites is perhaps best summed up in the following quote from Armit:

*"Atlantic roundhouses, despite their name, are not all strictly circular buildings. The builders often had to adapt their basic design to the eccentricities of the available site, which might be an irregular rocky knoll or a cramped islet which did not allow for a truly circular foundation … As a result, Atlantic roundhouses come in a variety of sub-circular, oval and even sub-triangular shapes, although circularity seems to have been the desired objective where it could be achieved. What seems to have been most important is that the buildings had to be sufficiently regular in shape to allow for roofing"* (Armit 2003, 56).

This quote from Armit highlights up a number of key points in the distinction and classification of Atlantic Roundhouses compared to duns and while this research agrees with the majority of the statement there are a number of problems which arise from it. Firstly given the relative availability of decent land, why did some builders choose sites that meant that they could not construct circular houses? Is there a reason for this and why did it happen? Were these sites built by different groups of people? People of different status? Or people from different areas

coming into a region? Did different practices take place within them? Or are there differences in chronology between these different sites? As shall be demonstrated below there does seem to be some genuine difference between the sites that are of irregular nature, termed dun-house in this research, and those sites that are circular and therefore true roundhouses.

As shall be demonstrated in the following section, given the limited amount of excavation of these sites in west central Scotland it is difficult to explore the status of the people that built and lived within the dun-houses and Atlantic roundhouses. Similar artifacts are found on each type of site and it appears that similar practices took place within them. Differences do occur however in the potential date of these sites. As is outlined in detail below, the circular sites appear to have been of earlier date compared to the irregular dun houses. Similar artefacts are found in the different types of house, but those found on the irregular dun house sites appear later in date, or at least there are more of these later objects found. Other differences can be seen in the size of these sites. The circular sites appear to have been larger in extent compared to the later irregular sites. In addition, as is outlined below there is a slight change in entrance orientation seen between these sites. More of the earlier, larger and more circular sites tend to be aligned to the west, while more of the smaller, later and irregular shaped sites tend to be aligned to the east. Therefore while Armit is right in saying that these types of site are similar, given that they were designed to be roofed structures and therefore act as houses, this research demonstrates that in west central Scotland there are some subtle differences in the nature of these sites.

Hingley's (1992) "monumental house" therefore allows us to move beyond these difficulties, through the interpretation of these sites as part of the continuum of the large scale houses. More specifically, and for the purposes of analysis in this research, those "dun" sites which enclose areas of 180 Sq.m or less that are oval or irregular in nature, shall be regarded as monumental house-type structures, and classed as "dun-houses", following Hardings classification (1984). Further to this, as

with the complex Atlantic roundhouses, those sites which have clear signs of architectural complexity, for instance in the form of intra-mural galleries or stairs, highlighting the similarities with the wider Atlantic tradition of architecture, shall be regarded as complex dun-houses (Fig 155) Those dun sites which are defined by areas greater than 180 Sq.m shall be regarded as enclosed sites.

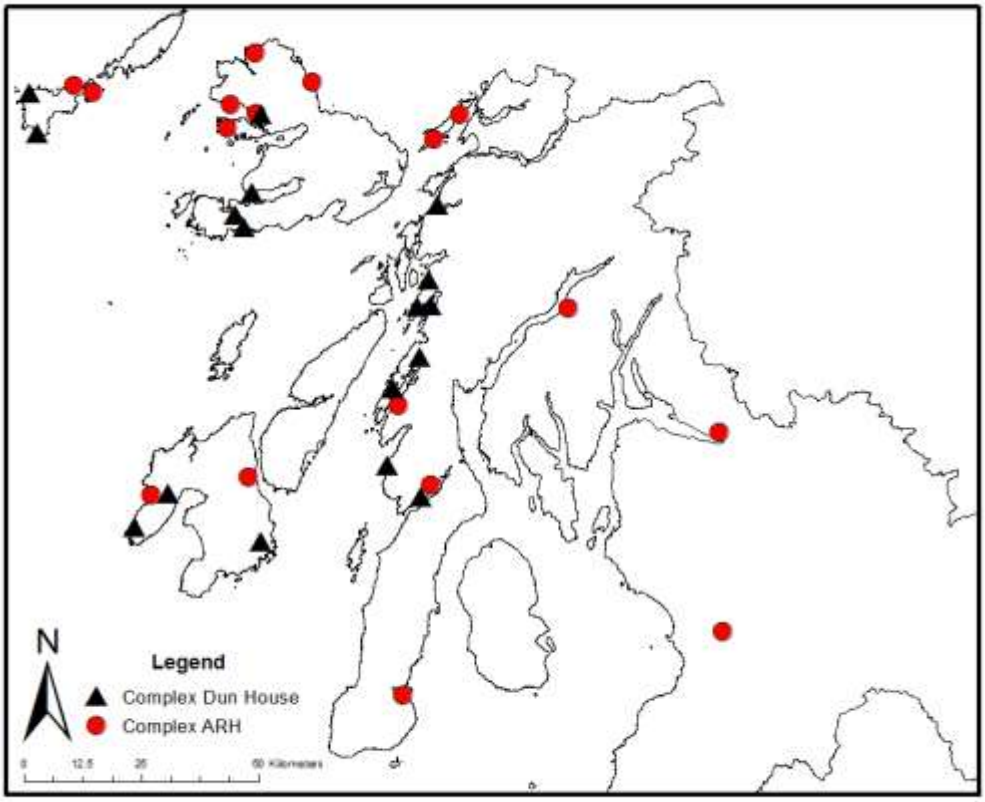



**Fig 155 Distribution of complex Atlantic roundhouses and Dun Houses in west central Scotland**

Their capacity for roofing, and therefore the interpretation of these small stone built structures as houses, has resulted in a considerable amount of debate over the years (Nieke 1990, 135-138; Alcock 2003, 180-190), which in many ways highlights the subjective nature of interpretation based on the relative size of a site (Harding 2004, 130). Nevertheless the size of a site and its ability to be roofed is one criterion which forms the basic interpretation of such structures and sites. For instance whether a dun was roofed and therefore acted as an un-enclosed house or was un-roofed and therefore acted as a small enclosed site, possibly enclosing a smaller

structure, fundamentally alters the way we interpret these sites, as this reflects the ways in which these structures were used and lived within. This therefore forms an important asspect of how we interpret these sites and wider society more generally during the period.

# The Atlantic Roundhouses and Dun-houses of Kintyre

Some of the most numerous forms of site found on the Kintyre peninsula during the later prehistoric period are the small stone built duns that are scattered across the peninsula. However, as has been highlighted above the ways in which these sites have been classed masks a great deal of architectural complexity, which in turn has meant that interpretations of the communities and people of this part of Scotland during the later prehistoric period have been limited at best. For instance, as can be seen from the diagram above (Fig 153), which is based on the classification of sites by the Commission, it appears that the Kintyre peninsula did not contain any Atlantic roundhouses or brochs. Nor did it have any site displaying architectural complexity and therefore was somehow not tied in to the same extent as other parts of the country with the wider Atlantic Iron Age traditions as displayed by its people through architecture. When one begins to examine the evidence in more detail however it can be seen that the dun class in fact masks a wide and heterogeneous range of sites; sites that display a range of forms and architectural traits that allow us to orientate Kintyre with wider Atlantic architectural tradition and society.

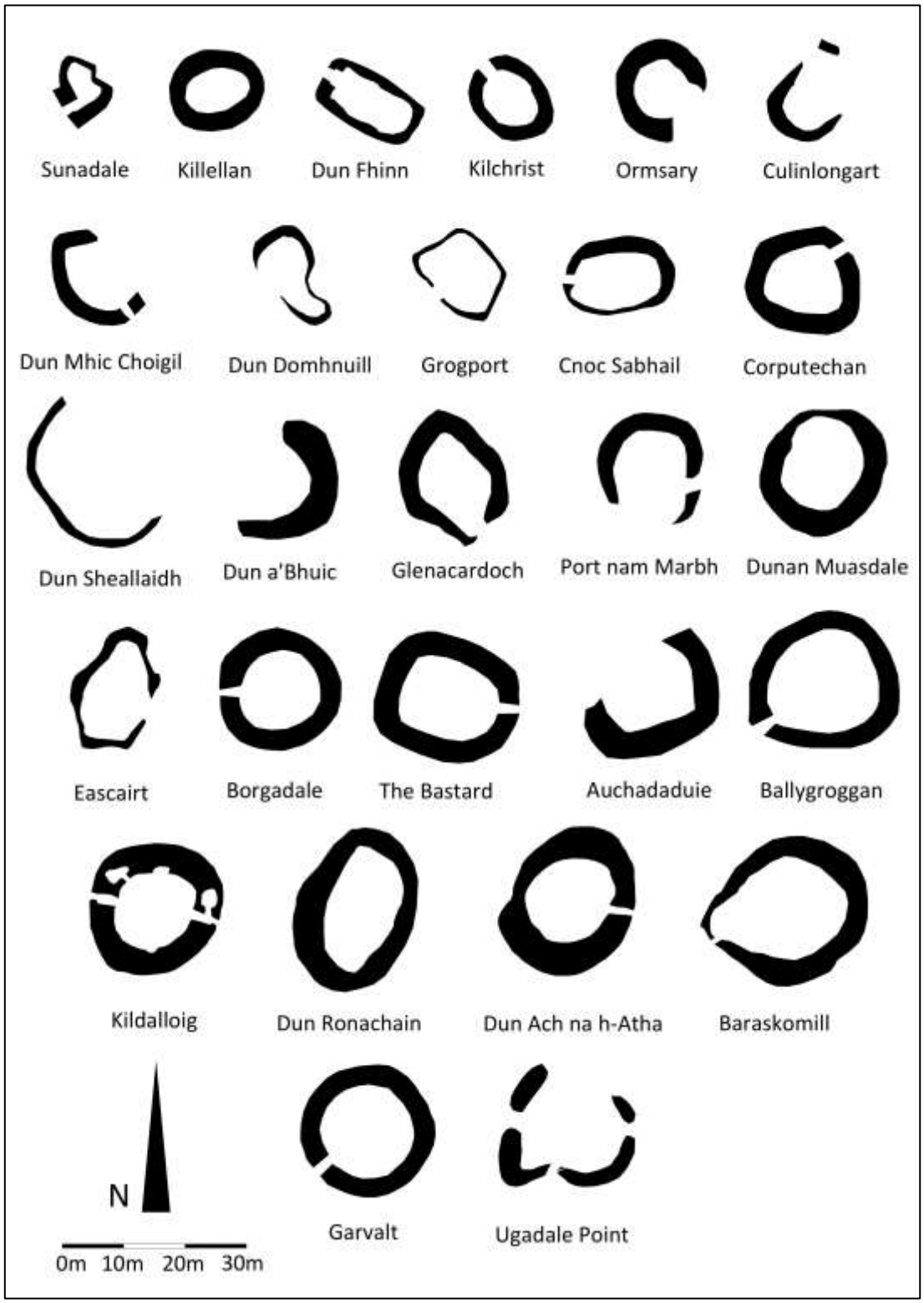



**Fig 156 The unenclosed Atlantic roundhouses and dun-houses of Kintyre (Drawn by the author after RCAHMS 1971)**

Firstly it should be noted, as was discussed above, that those sites which have been classed as duns display a range of sizes. For instance, some are larger than the threshold set by the Commission to define duns compared to forts, as has been discussed in previous chapters. In addition a number of sites are larger than 180 Sq.m in extent and therefore are unlikely to have acted as houses as they would be impractical to roof. Therefore these sites are regarded in this research as enclosed sites, and are discussed in previous chapters. The dun sites which are examined here are all smaller than 180 Sq.m and are therefore regarded as houses. This is an important point to reiterate, as the way in which we class these sites fundamentally affects the ways in which we interpret them as well as the people and communities that lived within them and built them, and in turn how we come to interpret how they relate to other settlement sites allowing us to build a clearer picture of society during the period.

Of the 40 dun sites in Kintyre which measure below 180 Sq.m in extent it can be seen that the majority are oval in nature (Fig 157, Fig 156), representing 52% of the total number of sites, while it can also be seen that there are in fact 13 circular defined sites amounting to 32% of the total number of "duns" on the peninsula, while there are also smaller numbers of rectangular and D-shaped defined sites. Therefore, following Armit's (1990) classification, these circular defined sites, it can be argued, should be regarded as Atlantic roundhouses, as they are of a similar design in terms of shape, size and form compared to those sites found in the wider Atlantic areas of Scotland. By extension, all those sites which are oval, irregular or rectangular in design shall be thought of as dun houses.

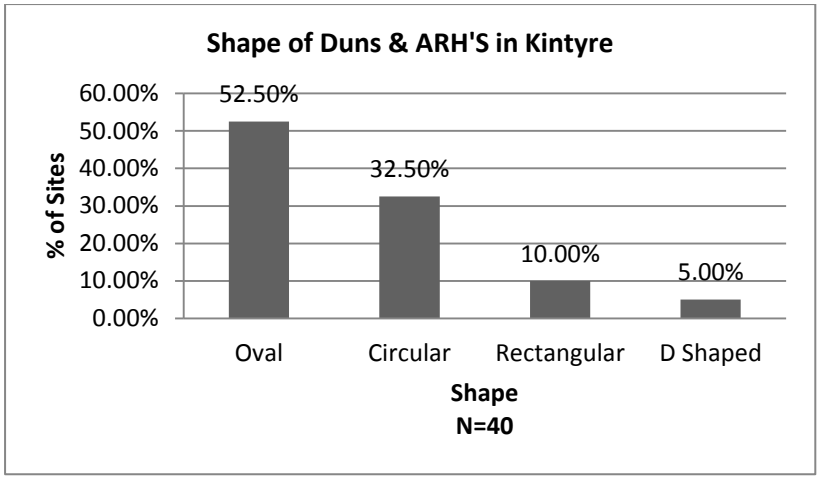



**Fig 157 Shape of dun houses in Kintyre**

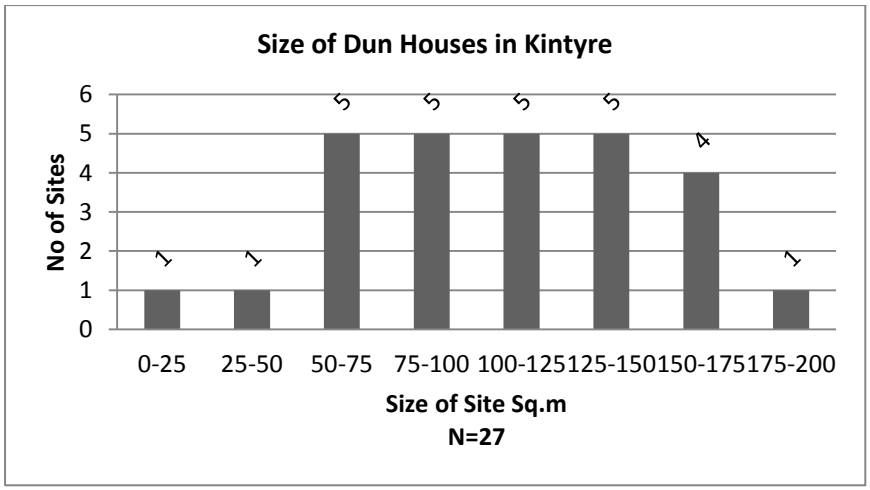



**Fig 158 Size of dun houses in Kintyre**

As can be seen from the diagrames above (Fig 158, Fig 158) the size range of the dun houses found in Kintyre is quite large, ranging from 21 Sq.m to 180 Sq.m in extent, while the average size is 108 Sq.m in extent. Of those sites that are circular in nature and can be classed as Atlantic roundhouses, we can see that their diameters range from 9m to 15m (Fig 159) and that they range in size from between 63 Sq.m and 176 Sq.m (Fig 160), while the average size of an Atlantic roundhouse in Kintyre is 136 Sq.m. However of these sites it can be seen that there is in fact a relatively restricted range of sizes, which is reflected by the range of diameters of each site. For instance there are four Atlantic roundhouses in the peninsula that are 15m in diameter, while there are four that are 13.5m in diameter. This suggests that we are seeing a standard way of building these sites,

which is in contrast to the dun houses which have a much more diverse range of sizes and shape. These differences are highlighted when we look at the shape of the dun houses compared with the Atlantic roundhouses in relation to their size. For instance it can clearly be seen in the graph below (Fig 161), that the circular Atlantic roundhouses are in general larger than the majority of the dun houses that are found in the area. The size range of many of these sites may reflect a number of factors, including chronology, as shall be explored below, though issues to do with the status as well as perhaps the social identity of the occupants of these sites must also be considered.

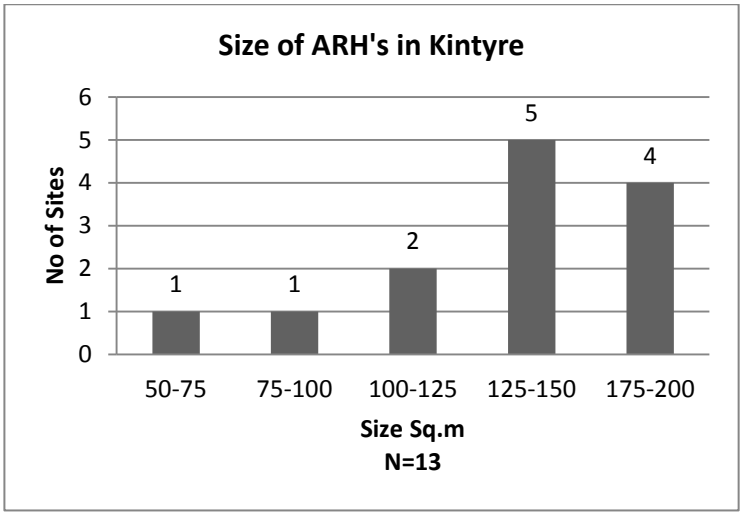



**Fig 159 Size of Atlantic roundhouses in Kintyre**

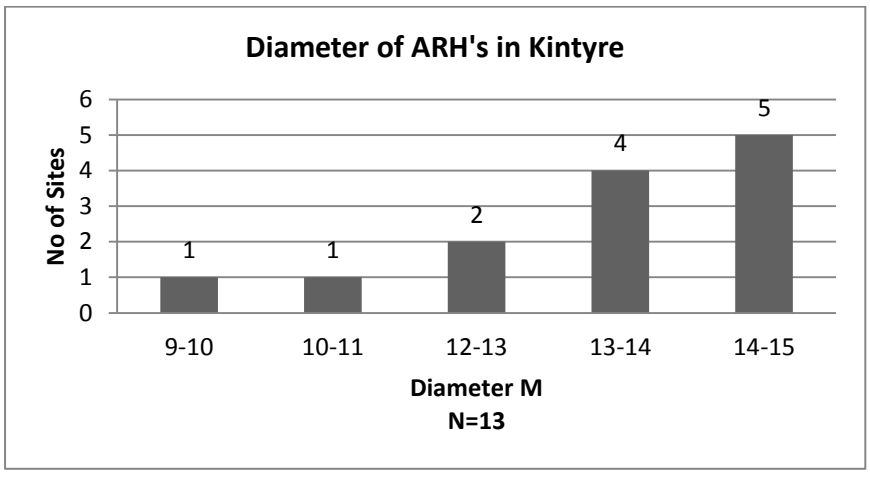



**Fig 160 Diameter of Atlantic roundhouses in Kintyre**

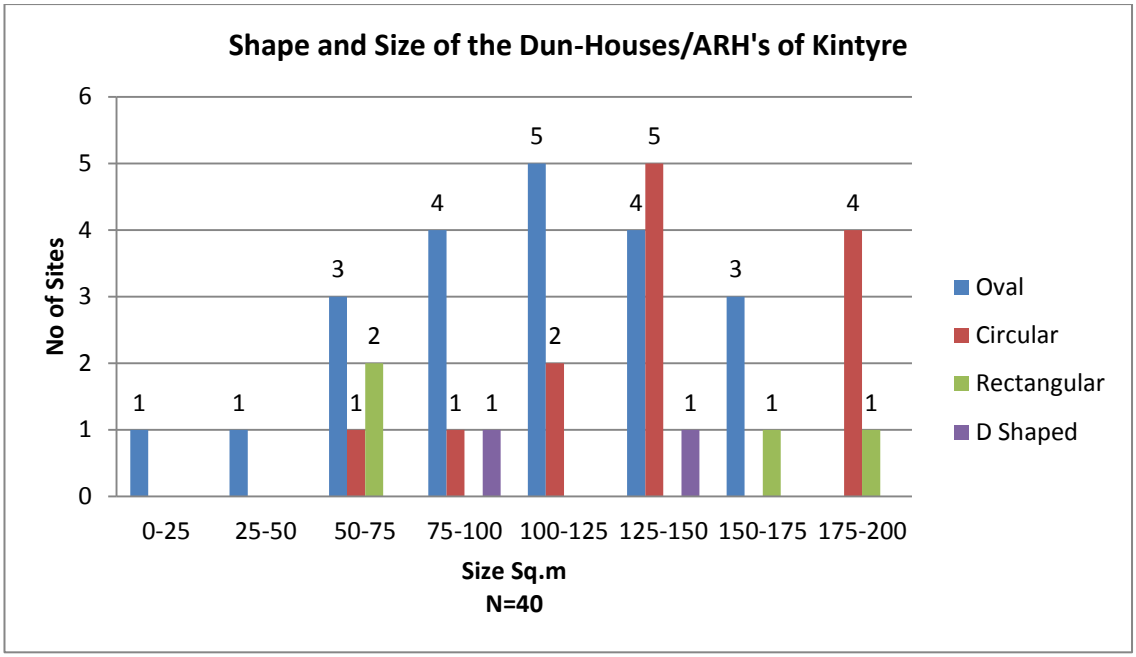



**Fig 161 Shape and size of dun-houses and Atlantic roundhouses in Kintyre**

The large Atlantic roundhouses, it can be argued, display an acute cultural and social connectedness to the wider Atlantic zone, which suggests that the builders of these sites were perhaps wanting to overtly display these connections through monumental architecture. Why this might have been important to these people or groups is open to debate. For instance, they may have been of higher status than those people or groups that were living within the oval or irregular shaped sites and that large-scale monumental architectural display was an overt symbol of the power that the inhabitants of these sites had, especially in terms of their ability to control resources and the effort required to build them. Other possible interpretations may be that these large circular sites were built by incomers from other parts of the Atlantic zone to the north, bringing with them their architectural traditions which were different from the local traditions, which although clearly linked in with the wider Atlantic cultural ideals, were nevertheless of local design. Another idea may be that they were local people perhaps wanting or indeed needing to assert the idea that they were in some way connected to the cultural traditions of the people in other parts of the Atlantic area, perhaps as a way to express a group identity, one that was in some way different from the local tradition. These arguments are perhaps not enough to explain the diversity we seen in the architecture in west central Scotland however, based as they are on

traditional understandings of these monuments from the wider Atlantic zone. As can be seen from the map above (Fig 155), many of the dun houses as well as the dun enclosures found in the area display a degree of architectural complexity which is more often associated with Atlantic forms of settlement. This suggests that even though they might not be Atlantic roundhouses, they display many of the same characteristics, indicating that the people that were building and living within these sites were also concerned with these wider cultural and social ideals as displayed through architectural forms.

However having highlighted these arguments it should be noted that it is difficult to prove them one way or the other as so few of these sites have been excavated in west central Scotland. A much more intensive research programme, looking not just at architectural style but also at the material culture found at these sites, needs to be undertaken before these questions can be resolved. Of the sites that have been excavated it appears that the range and diversity we see in these sites may in fact be down to chronological issues rather than purely social or cultural issues. For instance as is demonstrated below, and highlighted by Henderson and Gilmour (2012), from the limited excavated examples it can be suggested that the oval and irregular sites date to the later part of the period, in the early centuries AD, while the circular sites appear to date to the last few centuries BC. This suggests that there is a move away from the circular based architecture and perhaps a rejection of the wider Atlantic ideals towards a more locally based architectural tradition, perhaps one connected with wider social trends as seen in other parts of west central Scotland, south and east of the Clyde. As so few have been excavated this general dating hypothesis needs to be tested further and we should perhaps be cautious in applying it to all sites across the west of Scotland.

## Entrance Orientation of the Dun Houses and Atlantic roundhouses of Kintyre

There are forty dun houses and Atlantic roundhouses found in Kintyre. Of these sites, it can be seen (Fig 162) that that there is a strong tendency for sites to be aligned to the east, while there are also a number of sites which are aligned from the north-west through to the west and south-west. This in general reflects the orientation we see in entrances of the enclosed sites of Kintyre, as is demonstrated in Chapter Five, though it should be noted that there is a larger percentage of the house sites that are aligned in a westerly direction, compared to the enclosed sites. This is potentially quite interesting, as it suggests that even though families or groups were living in relatively different ways, in unenclosed houses or within houses which were defined by elaborate boundaries, they shared many of the same structuring principles, to do with entrance alignment, which would have structured the daily living practices of the people that lived within them. Therefore it can be suggested that people were in fact sharing and participating in common cultural practices, which may reflect wider cosmological ideas, perhaps within wider communities which shared strong cultural and social ideals. In addition, as was discussed above, compared to the entrance orientation of the earlier hut circles, which are generally aligned to the south-east, we can see that these social and cultural traditions changed in this area between the later Bronze Age and the Iron Age.

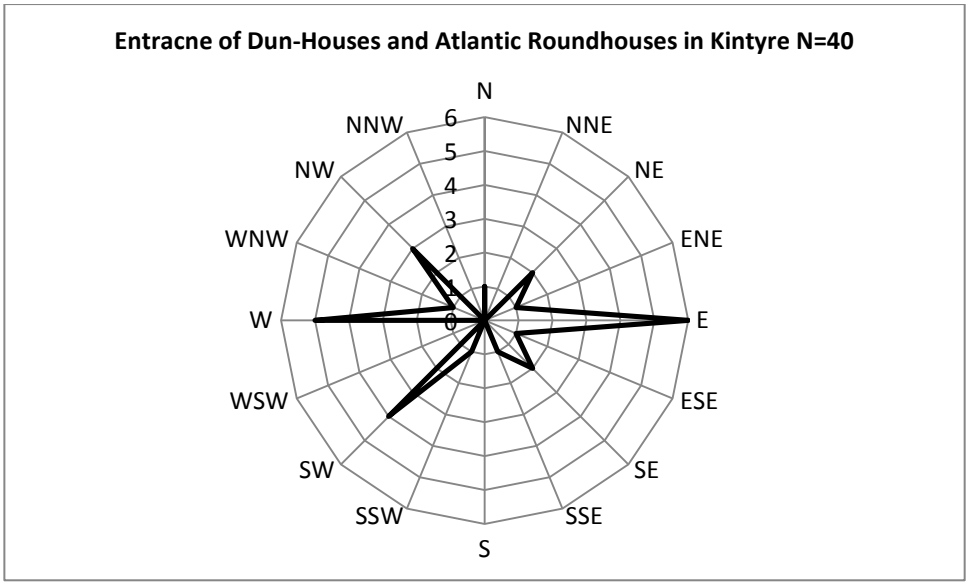



**Fig 162 Entrance orientation of dun houses and Atlantic roundhouses in Kintyre**

When we look at the orientation of the Atlantic roundhouses compared to the dun houses (Fig 163), we can see that although they are in general orientated in similar ways, there does seem to be less emphasis towards the east in the Atlantic roundhouses. This is potentially significant in a number of ways. For instance if we were to follow Parker Pearson and Sharples' (1999, 350-353) arguments, as are outlined below, in that the western orientated "brochs" are of higher status, then we can suggest that the inhabitants of these Atlantic roundhouses, which are in general larger than the dun houses, could be of different social status compared to the inhabitants of the dun houses. However another point to consider is the chronological differences between these sites. As is discussed below, the limited dating evidence suggests that the Atlantic roundhouses are perhaps earlier in date compared to the dun houses, and it could therefore be suggested that we are seeing a slight shift in the wider cosmological importance of different solstice events between the middle and later Iron Age in Kintyre.

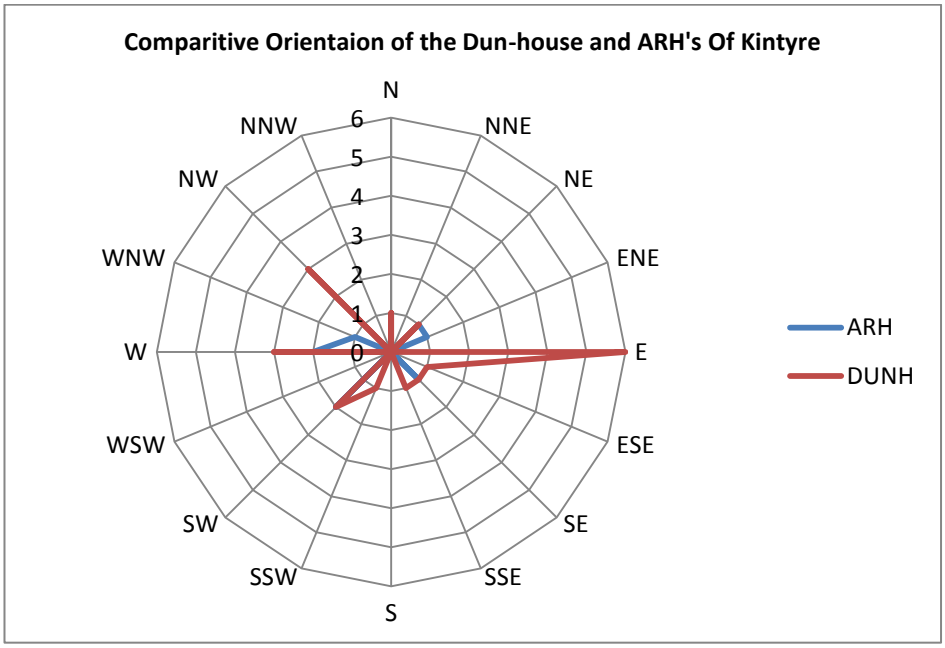



**Fig 163 Difference in orientation in Atlantic roundhouses and dun houses in Kintyre**

The orientation of Atlantic roundhouses, and the "central importance of the sun's path in determining orientation and activities inside the house" (Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999, 16) has formed one of the key points of debate to do with the ideas of Iron Age cosmologies for a number of years, as as is outlined in the next chapter. In a survey of 90 brochs from around Scotland, Parker Pearson and Sharples (1999, 352) demonstrated that the majority of sites were either east or west facing, which, as can be seen in the graph above, is reflected in the duns and Atlantic roundhouses of Kintyre. Parker Pearson and Sharples (*ibid*) argue that the east facing sites are of normal orientation, while the west facing sites are abnormal, which they argue is linked with the special status of the inhabitants, either as elites or as specialised craft people, and were thus "deliberately subverting the natural order of east/front, perhaps to demonstrate their control over nature and their social isolation and status in relation to other members of society (Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999, 353). The wheelhouse of Cnip, on Lewis, is used as an example of a subversive site. For instance they argue that the inhabitants of the Cnip Wheelhouse, which faces west, was different because of the specialist metal working that took place there (Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999, 17). However Armit, who excavated the site, does not support this argument, and points out that the interpretation of the

metalworking activity at Cnip as being of particular importance is perhaps misguided, even if it were of Iron Age date, of which there is limited evidence (Armit 2006, 250).

Armit argued (2006, 250) that the orientation of Atlantic roundhouses was more varied and not necessarily as strict as suggested by Parker-Pearson and Sharples (1999). He does however agree that the variation is not random, and that certain structuring principles must have played a part in the orientation of the Atlantic Roundhouses, stressing that, as Oswald (1997) pointed out, functionalist interpretations to do with wind direction and light limit our understanding of these sites (Armit 2006, 250). Indeed for many of the Atlantic roundhouses the idea that they were orientated to allow light to enter the structure is redundant, as many would have had upper floors, where no light could reach, and the entrances are often small and narrow, meaning that little light could enter. In addition many have evidence for bar holes and door checks illustrating that a door would have been in place, suggesting that the admittance of light was not as high a priority compared to secure shelter. In addition if they were orientated against prevailing wind direction, then all the houses would be aligned in the same way, and as can be seen from the Kintyre area, this is patently not the case, though local topographic conditions may have been a factor in wind direction. The density of dun houses, Atlantic roundhouses and enclosed sites in the Kintyre area, which in general share the same entrance orientations, does suggest that conscious decisions are being made by the people of the peninsula, and that purely functionalist interpretations cannot be supported. In Chapter Eight and Nine new interpretations based on wider cosmological ideas shall be explored.

## Chronology of the Atlantic Roundhouses of Kintyre

When the Commission first published its Inventories of Kintyre in the early 1970s (RCAHMS 1971), it was suggested that the duns of the area were later in date and therefore came to replace the presumed earlier forts. This had a number of

interpretive implications however, as they believed that the larger groups, and arguably a more egalitarian society who used the “forts”, made way for smaller family units of elite groups that lived in the smaller dun structures. Balloch Hill (Fig 94), which on the surface appeared to consist of a small “fort” situated within a larger “fort”, was deliberately chosen to be investigated by Peltenburg (1982) in order to address these dating issues, as when the Commission initially surveyed the site they believed that the small and better preserved “fort” was later while the larger fort was earlier in date. However as Peltenburg demonstrated the sequence of occupation at the site was much more complicated than the simple survey investigation suggested, as was discussed in the previous chapter. Crucially however, for the purposes of determining when in the sequence the smaller dun like fort replaced the larger “fort”, it was shown that these features were in fact contemporary. This lead Peltenburg to stress that the general sequence adopted by the Commission was not universally applicable, though it was also noted that we should be cautious in ascribing the sequence discovered at Balloch Hill to every dun or “fort” site in the area (Peltenburg 1982).

Our current chronological understanding of the dun houses and Atlantic roundhouses in Kintyre and the wider Argyll region remains limited as so few sites have been excavated, and those that have often lack secure dating. The majority of the dun houses that have been excavated appear to have been occupied in the early centuries AD through to the later part of the first millennium AD and thus the early historic period and the kingdom of Dál Riata, while the Atlantic roundhouses that have been excavated appear to date to the last few centuries BC. It should be noted that there is considerable evidence for the reuse of the Atlantic roundhouses and duns from across Atlantic Scotland and as so few of the investigated sites have been excavated to their full extent (Harding 1997, 122), we must remain cautious when assigning dates to these sites. As a result it can be suggested that much of the dating evidence used to support first millennium AD dates for the dun houses could come from later reuse activity, as it can be suggested that there is limited

artefactual evidence, implying that many sites had their foundations in the later part of the first millennium BC.

One dun house which has been excavated in Kintyre, is Dun Fhinn (Fig 156), investigated by Bigwood between 1966 and 1969 (RCAHMS 1971, 83-4). This small sub-rectangular site is located on a precarious rock stack on the west side of Kintyre, measuring 13.4m by 5.8m in extent, within a wall of 3m in average thickness. It has an entrance on the north-west side, which has a door check. Finds from the site including fragments of Samian ware, bronze penannular brooches and a glass bead which indicates activity at the site in the early centuries AD through to the later part of the first millennium AD. Another site which has evidence for occupation in the first few centuries AD, which was investigated by Bigwood between 1963 and 1964 is Kildalloig (Bigwood 1964). This Atlantic roundhouse is located overlooking Campbeltown Loch on the south side of Campbeltown bay. The site is one of the larger Atlantic roundhouse type sites found in the area, as can be seen in the diagram above (Fig 156) and is defined by a dry stone wall, up to 5.2m thick, enclosing a sub-circular area measuring 148 Sq.m in extent. Where the wall stands to its greatest height, on its north side, where it survives to a height of 1.5m, there are traces of an external revetment as well as up to three mural chambers. Unusually, this structure had two entrances, one on the west-northwest side and the other in the east-southeast side, the latter of which had a guard chamber. This is an uncommon feature in Kintyre, though one that has been noted elsewhere in the Atlantic zone, for instance at Stairhaven broch in Galloway (Cavers 2009, 16). Artefacts from the excavation included a 2$^{nd}$ century AD bronze stud-headed fibula of Roman origin, located beneath paving at the outer base of the west wall, possibly indicating a significant deposition. This evidence for early fist millennium AD activity is in contrast with the general pattern we see from other Atlantic roundhouses in the area, which tend to date from the last two centuries BC. However it should be noted that artefacts which could belong to the later part of the first millennium BC were also discovered, including a bronze spiral finger ring, an iron pin with a glass bead head, fragments of shale bracelets, a bone pin and fragments of pottery

(Bigwood 1964), which suggest that this site might have had foundations in this earlier period but was occupied until the early part of the first millennium AD.

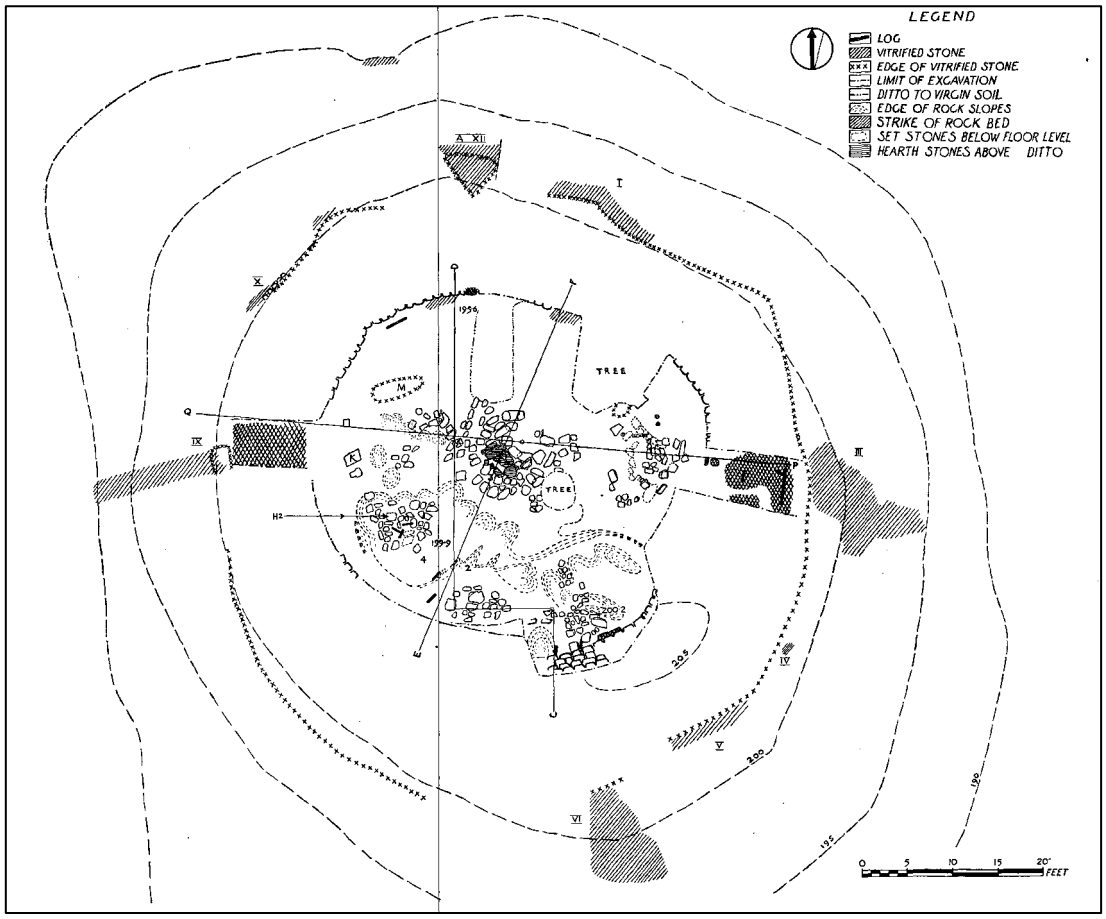
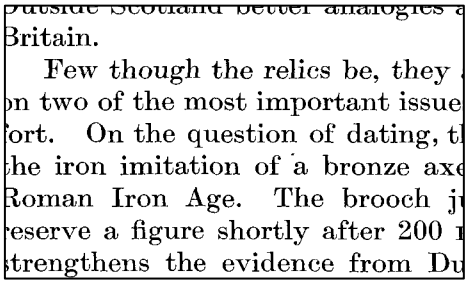



**Fig 164 Childe and Thorneycroft's excavation plan of Rahoy (Childe & Thorney Croft 1938, 25)**

There have been a number of other excavations of dun houses and Atlantic roundhouses within the wider Argyll region. For instance one Atlantic roundhouse site, which has produced definite evidence for later first millennium BC activity is at Rahoy, in Morvern, excavated by Childe in the 1930's (Fig 164) (Childe & Thorneycroft 1938). Artefacts recovered from the excavation included fragments of saddle querns and part of a La Tène style bronze brooch (Fig 165), which has been dated on stylistic grounds to the middle Iron Age (MacGregor 1976). Another impotant site which has produced evidence for late first millennium BC occupation is the Atlantic roundhouse of Dun Mor Vaul on Tiree which was excavated by MacKie in the early 1960s (MacKie 1974; 1997). More recent excavations have been carried out by Gilmour and Henderson at Loch Glashen (Henderson & Gilmour

2012). The excavators describe this site as a simple Atlantic roundhouse though, as has been noted in the previous chapter, the internal diameter of this circular site is 19m and as a result it is too large to be classed as house in the present study. Again it should be noted that the distinctions drawn between houses and enclosures help in creating a morphological framework so that we can investigate the nature of settlement in the region. They should not necessarily be adhered to so strictly, especially if sites are at the very limit of the dimensions that could conceivable mean that they would have been roofed, especially if there were internal posts which could have acted as a framework, though these were not observed during the excavation. Nevertheless the dating evidence recovered from the site fits in with the general pattern we see in much of Argyll in the fact that these circular stone-built Atlantic style sites tend to date to the later part of the first millennium BC rather than the 1st millennium AD as has been demonstrated for the smaller irregular and oval dun houses (Henderson & Gilmour 2012, 75; 92-99)


Britain.

Few though the relics be, they
on two of the most important issue
fort. On the question of dating, t
the iron imitation of a bronze axe
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**Fig 165 La Tène style bronze brooch from Rahoy (Childe & Thorneycroft 1938, 40)**

# The Atlantic Roundhouses and Dun Houses South of the Clyde

When we look at the spread of Atlantic type structures across the rest of west central Scotland it can be seen that they are most commonly found along the Ayrshire coast, while there are also two sites on the northern shore of the Clyde, and one site in Lanarkshire. The limited uptake in this form of architecture reflects the general pattern we see across much of the rest of lowland Scotland, which has caused considerable debate for a number of years, especially as they appear to date to the first two centuries AD and the Roman presence in Scotland, as evidenced by the large amounts of Roman material found in their domestic assemblages. Piggott (1953) suggested that the appearance of the southern brochs was a result of Roman military activity and that elites from the broch building north had moved south to fill power vacuums created by the Roman withdrawal in the late AD 80s (Armit 2003, 129). These elites and the "brochs" which they inhabited were then destroyed as the Romans re-advanced in the AD 140s. Evidence for destruction of some of the brochs can for instance be seen at Torwoodlee (Piggott 1953) and Leckie (MacKie 1982). MacKie (1982) however proposed a different scenario for the development of "brochs" of lowland Scotland, though one that was also tied up with the Roman frontier policy. He argued that that the builders of the "brochs" were elites from the north who were allied to the Romans that were invited into southern Scotland in order to help suppress the local groups after the withdrawal of Roman forces in the AD 80s. This argument is supported by the presence of large amounts of Roman material found at a number of the "broch" sites, as noted above, which MacKie (1982) argued indicates that the people living at these sites had a strong trading links with the Roman Army. The situation changed however, again in the AD 140s, as the Romans re-advanced from Hadrian's wall, and the "broch" dwellers were seen as a threat rather than as allies, and were thus destroyed.

These ideas have since been challenged, especially through the work of Macinnes (1984), Armit (2003) and Cavers (2009). For instance Macinnes (1984, 238-242) argued that these southern "brochs" can be seen as a local adaption and development of a different style of architecture, rather than as evidence of an incoming group of people. This, Macinnes argued, was tied up with issues to do with the social use of space. For instance when a group adopts an apparently new or novel form of architecture this is done so within a context where the "use of space…is compatible with that in existing structural forms….[as long as]…the use of space within a settlement and house both reflects and reinforces [the] social [conditions of that] particular group" (Macinnes 1984, 238-239). Therefore even if the external appearance of domestic structures changes, the use of space within the structures and thus the social dynamics and structure of the group are maintained. This meant that for Macinnes the adoption of "broch" architecture does not necessarily imply a radical cultural or social shift, and that it does not necessarily imply cultural imposition from the north but rather an adoption of architectural ideas that were in fact familiar to groups living within the area. Instead of being an alien form of architecture, their size, form and use of space can in fact be paralleled with many of the larger timber- and stone-built roundhouses that existed in the area. This is especially true in west central Scotland as for example can be seen in the use of dry stone architecture in a number of forms of settlement.

For Armit, building on Macinnes' (1984) work, the northern origin for the lowland "brochs" is also hard to sustain given the lack of associated artefactual material. For instance no fragments of the highly decorated pottery, which is commonly found within Atlantic roundhouses in the west, have been found in the southern "brochs" (Armit 2003, 131). Instead Armit suggests that the southern "brochs" represent the importation of architectural ideas, perhaps as a further stage in the deliberate monumentality of house construction linked with ideas to do with identity and status (*ibid*). This is perhaps supported by the fact that at both Torwoodlee (Piggott 1951) and Leckie (MacKie 1984) there is evidence for substantial timber-built roundhouses at the site prior to the construction of the "brochs". While at

Buchlyvie (Maine 1998; MacKie 2007, 1306-1311) there is evidence to suggest that the "broch" replaced a substantially built stone-walled roundhouse (Armit 2003, 131).

While these arguments stress that the adoption of this new form of architecture in southern Scotland should be seen as part of a tradition of monumental house building, which follows Hingley's (1992) arguments as discussed earlier, we should not lose sight of the fact that these sites do represent a genuine shift in settlement form, and other interpretations need to be explored. For instance, instead of linking the adoption of this form of architecture with direct Roman intervention another argument could be made relating to the deliberate adoption of this "native" form of architecture by local groups as a deliberate statement about native identity in the face of Roman imperialism. As Armit (2003, 132) points out the political and social structures of the period would have been under considerable stress, and many of the local elites would have experienced loss of authority as the Roman army commandeered land, food and timber in order to sustain massive, and never seen before, building projects. This therefore would have been a period when social structures would have been in considerable flux, where opportunities for advancement or indeed elimination would have been constant, and therefore it is perhaps "not surprising that new expressions of status and power began to emerge among indigenous communities" (Armit 2003, 132). These expressions would have highlighted the native and specifically non-Roman credentials of the elites for the purposes of legitimisation. These forms of "native" expression may also have been displayed through other means, for instance Hunter (2007) demonstrates that the adoption of certain forms of decorative metal work was intimately tied up with these issues, and therefore the adoption of the Atlantic style architecture can be seen as part of a milieu of native social and cultural identity, which gained particular importance in the face of external threats.

While these interpretations are valid it is important to note that there may have been a number of reasons why these new forms of domestic architecture were

adopted, especially in areas of the country where the Romans had less of a direct impact. We should therefore perhaps not rely too heavily on interpretations which over-emphasise Roman influence in these areas. For instance Cavers (2009) points out in his study of Galloway that there is little evidence for a Roman presence in this area, apart from one marching camp at Glenluce, and the adoption of Atlantic-style architecture would have been driven by other factors in this area compared to the upper Forth Valley for instance, where the majority of lowland Atlantic roundhouses are found. Cavers argues that, as has been suggested for other parts of lowland Scotland (Macinnes 1984), the adoption of Atlantic style architecture was a "natural, if particularly spectacular, expression of the local roundhouse building tradition" (Cavers 2009, 17), and that although the examples found in this area do not necessarily follow the "classic blueprint of this site type … they seem no more exceptional than variation within the traditional boundaries of Atlantic Scotland would allow" (Cavers 2009, 16). Further to this it can be seen that as there is a wide spectrum of settlement sites in the area, some of which are similar to the duns and the "homesteads" of the west, as well as the large number of crannogs which are found in the area, so that there would have been clear cultural and conceptual links with the "traditional heartland zones of Atlantic Scotland" (Cavers 2009, 19), and therefore the adoption of Atlantic style architecture in this area need not necessarily be seen as a reaction against the Roman advance.

However when we look at west central Scotland, south and west of the Clyde, we can see that the Romans did have a considerable impact on this area, and therefore it can be suggested that the ideas advanced by the likes of Armit, Macinnes and Hunter are perhaps more valid in this area than they are in Galloway. Nevertheless the ideas proposed by Cavers are also valid, as is demonstrated in the wide range of Atlantic-style structures which can be seen in the Clyde and Ayrshire areas in particular, which highlights that these areas would have clear cultural links with the wider Atlantic zone. This again allows us to suggest that cultural and social ideals as expressed through architecture were relatively fluid in west central Scotland during the period, and although there may appear to be superficial differences in the

materiality of the architecture in different parts of the region, there are considerable similarities, such as in the size of the sites, their orientation and in their morphology, as has been demonstrated throughout this thesis. It can therefore be argued that in west central Scotland the Atlantic-type structures represent another piece of evidence which highlights the interconnectedness we see in a variety of forms of architecture as well as in material culture, over much of the area, and that they do not represent a radical shift in the way the landscape was settled or the ways in which the people and groups lived. It should be noted, as is explored below, that the adoption of this form of architecture in the last few centuries BC and the first few centuries AD may be connected with a wider trend we see in a move away from enclosure to a period of more substantial unenclosed settlement, as also demonstrated by the crannogs found in the area, as is explored below, and through the final unenclosed phases at sites such as Braehead.

## The Clyde, Ayrshire and Lanarkshire Case-Study Areas

Focusing on the case study areas in more detail we can see that there is only one site in the Lanarkshire area which has been described as a broch. The site at Calla, to the north of Carnwarth, is defined by a large dry-stone wall, up to 5.8m in thickness, which encloses an area of 11.6m in diameter. A number of artefacts were recovered from the site when it was recorded by the Commission, including two rough shale discs which had perforated centres, as well as a circular piece of sandstone (RCAHMS 1978, 109-110; MacKie 2007, 1319-1320).

In the Clyde area there is an important site at the western end of the Kilpatrick Hills at Dumbuie, which can be thought of as an Atlantic roundhouse. The site is located on a prominent hill-top overlooking the firth of Clyde and Dumbarton Castle to the west and has extensive views over the Renfrew hills and towards Glasgow and Lanarkshire in the east. The site was partially excavated by the Helensburgh Natural Antiquities Society in 1895 (Millar 1896). The same society was responsible for the excavation of the Dumbuck crannog which, as shall be explored below, produced a number of artefacts which remain controversial. A number of similarly dubious

artefacts were recovered from Dumbuie, including a number of cup-and-ring marked stones and several slate “weapons”. Nevertheless, it should be stressed that these excavations produced a number of useful results from which we can partially construct a picture of the activities which took place at this site, the ways in which it was constructed, as well as its possible date.

The Atlantic roundhouse of Dumbuie (Fig 167) is defined by a wall 4.1m in width which encloses an area measuring 9.1m by 9.7m in extent and survives to a height of around 1m. This relatively small stone-walled structure had a 1m wide entrance in its eastern side, which, as has been demonstrated above, reflects the general trend we see in these types of structure from across Atlantic Scotland. To either side of the doorway, Millar described two guard chambers (Millar 1896, 293) highlighting the influences of the Atlantic style of architecture. Interestingly, Miller (*ibid*) was also keen to stress the type of stones that were used to construct the Dumbuie. He notes that the hill on which the site is found is of “igneous formation, but the wall is built of a laminated sandstone” (Miller 1896, 293). This specific use of a type of stone, not from the immediate location of the site, but from the wider landscape, may hint at more than just a practical use of stone, indicating the specific use of certain materials. This of course may reflect better quality building material, but other issues to do with control of resources and specific cultural choices related to the materiality of the resources used to construct the site, may also have been a factor. Below the structure, on the steep slope which defines the summit on which it sits, are what appears to be two terraces, which are 4m broad, which may indicate that activity at the site spread out further than the central structure, though these have never been investigated. The excavation of 1895 (Fig 166), instead concentrated on the interior of the structure, where a number of bone implements, stone pounders, whetstones, perforated stone discs and parts of two rotary querns were found (Millar 1896). The rotary querns are of particular importance, as they allow us to tentatively date activity at the site to the later part of the period, sometime after c. 200 BC, as they represent a later Iron Age technology (Armit 1991, 190-192).

**Fig 166 The excavation at Dumbuie in progress. The man in the top hat is William Donnelly, the artist whose water colours of the excavations at Dumbuck are so famous. Interestingly, apart from the apparent use of children to excavate the site, this picture shows the well preserved dry stone wall of the Atlantic Roundhouse (RCAHMS)**

**Fig 167 The summit of Dumbuie as it is today, with Glasgow in the background. (Murtagh)**

In the Ayrshire area there is evidence for the remains of a number of Atlantic-type structures, and while there are only two from the case study area it can be seen from the diagram above (Fig 154) that there is a particularly dense cluster of

Atlantic roundhouses and dun houses in the south of the country. The relatively large number of these types of site suggest that there may have been quite specific cultural or social conditions at play which encouraged the people and groups of this area to adopt this form of architecture. In the case-study area itself, we can see that one site, located at Craigie, can be thought of as an Atlantic roundhouse (Fig 168). The site which is very badly preserved, survives as the partial remains of the base of a large wall, which measured 4.5m in width internally, enclosing an area of around 9m in diameter. Part of a mural chamber was apparently exposed during small scale excavations in 1961 (MacKie 2007, 1306). The other site in the area is the dun house at Kemp Law, close to Dundonald, which is situated on top of a narrow spur at the head of a valley, and is relatively well preserved. This site is defined by the remains of dry stone wall which encloses an oval area measuring 17m by 10m. In the centre of the site there is a mass of vitrified stone, which is a relatively common feature of Iron Age sites in the west of Scotland. However, on field inspection, this feature looks more like a kiln, which would not be out of place in this heavily industrialised landscape, rather as part of the remains of a timber laced fort.

**Fig 168 Simplified plan of the Atlantic Roundhouse at Craigie (Drawn by author after RCHAMS Marginal Land Survey Plan 1952)**

Interestingly both of these sites lie in densely settled landscapes and are located close to a number of enclosed sites. The Atlantic roundhouse at Craigie lies in close proximity to the moderate sized, rampart-defined sites of Craigie and Craigie Hill, which enclose areas of 0.38Ha and 0.46Ha respectively. These sites are also poorly preserved, and have not been excavated, therefore it is difficult to construct a chronological narrative relating to the development of these sites. Kemp Law is located close to the largest site in the area, Harpercroft, as well as the moderate sized site of Wardlaw. Dundonald Castle, which also has limited evidence for a later prehistoric enclosure, lies at the head of the valley in which this dun house sits. As has been seen in the preceding chapters both Harpercroft and Wardlaw have been excavated and have been tentatively dated to the earlier part of the period, while Dundonald castle has also been investigated. Artefactual evidence in the form of a La Tène style brooch, which Hunter dates to the late fifth to early second century BC (Hunter 2009, 149), suggests a middle Iron Age date. Unfortunately Kemp Law has not been excavated though a shale pin was discovered at the site (Kay 1963, 23), which is similar to one found at Traprain Law, which indicates later prehistoric activity at the site. It could be argued that, in comparison to other similar sites in southern Scotland, this structure dates to the last few centuries BC or the first few centuries AD, suggesting that it perhaps replaced the larger enclosed sites of the area.

One Atlantic style site that has been excavated outwith the Ayrshire case study area, is the site of Aitnock in North Ayrshire, which was investigated between 1901 and 1902 by John Smith (Smith 1919). Artefactual evidence recovered from the site included a number of Roman objects, which have been used to date activity at the site to the first or second centuries AD, which reflects the general picture we have for the Atlantic-type sites from across lowland Scotland (Macinnes 1984; Armit 2003; Harding 2004). It is therefore possible to suggest that the site at Craigie and Kemp Law, as well as those other sites found along the Ayrshire coast, are probably later in date than the enclosed sites which dominate the area. These sites clearly represent a departure in architectural form compared to the enclosed sites in the

surrounding area and it can be suggested that the groups that built them were deliberately choosing new ways of expressing social and cultural ideals though their choice of architecture. As shall be seen below this is also reflected with the emergence of the crannogs in the last few centuries BC.

## The Crannogs of West Central Scotland

Another important element of the settlement record in west central Scotland are the crannogs, which are defined by artificial or sometimes partially modified natural islands located in the shallow waters of the rivers and lochs that are located throughout the region (Fig 169). Analysis by Cavers (2005; 2009) of the crannogs of Scotland has demonstrated that they are found in their greatest density in Galloway, Argyll and the Inner Hebrides (Cavers 2009, 19), and while this distribution may be down to the history of fieldwork in these areas, as well as the large numbers of lochs and rivers that are found in the region that are suitable for these forms of site, it nevertheless demonstrates that they are a characteristic form of settlement in these areas. However it should be noted that their distribution is not uniform across the western half of the country, and noticeable gaps in density can clearly be seen, particularly in west central Scotland, especially in the Kintyre area, and to a certain extent the Ayrshire and Lanarkshire areas, though there are significant sites in each of these areas, while the greatest density of sites is in the Clyde case-study area.

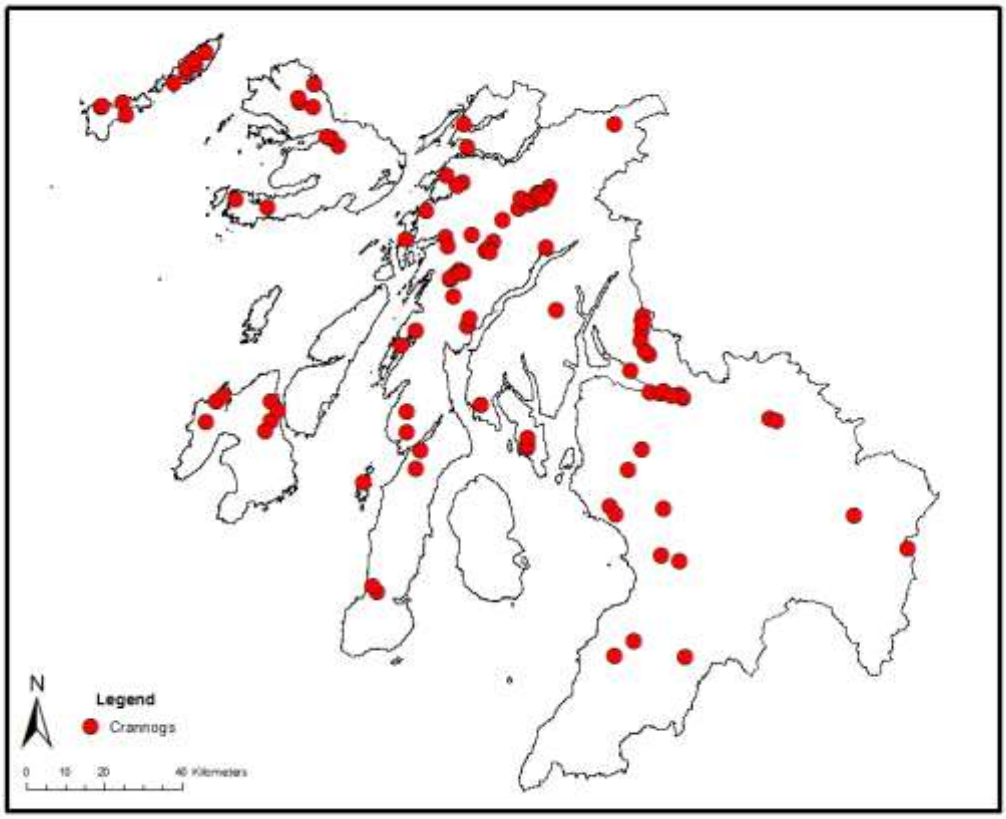


**Fig 169 Distribution of crannogs in west central Scotland**

## The Marine Crannogs of the Clyde

There are a number of crannogs within the Clyde study area, with a particular concentration in the upper reaches of the river Clyde (Fig 170), at Dumbuck, Erskine, Langbank, Langbank East, Langbank West, and Old Kilpatrick (Hale 2000; 2004). These "marine crannogs" (Hale 2000, 2004) have been the subject of a number of investigations over the years, the most significant of which was at Dumbuck in 1898 by John Bruce and William Donnelly (Bruce 1900, Hale 2004, 19-23), along with Langbank East which was also excavated by Bruce in 1901-2 (Bruce 1908; Alexander 2000, 157; Hale 2004, 23-24), as well as Erskine excavated by Hanson in the mid-1980s (Hanson & Macdonald 1985; Hale 2004, 33). The crannog at Old Kilpatrick (Hale 2004, 25-33) was excavated ahead of the construction of a shipyard in 1906, which can be considered as one of the first rescue excavations in Scotland, and although few records remain, it too contributes to our understanding of life in the Iron Age on the Clyde.

Radiocarbon dates and artefacts recovered from these investigations suggest that these marine crannogs were all built and occupied around the same time, from around 200BC to 100AD (Hale 2000, 2004). These dates reflect the general picture we have for these sites from across Scotland. Although it has been demonstrated that crannogs were a feature of the settlement record from the late Bronze Age through to the medieval period, the majority of radiocarbon dates we have fall in the later Iron Age (Crone 1993; Henderson 1998; Cavers 2005, 57). These Clyde crannogs do not appear to have continued to be occupied into the early historic period, unlike those fresh water, loch based sites, such as at Buiston in Ayrshire (Crone 2000), which have produced considerable evidence for later occupation and development.

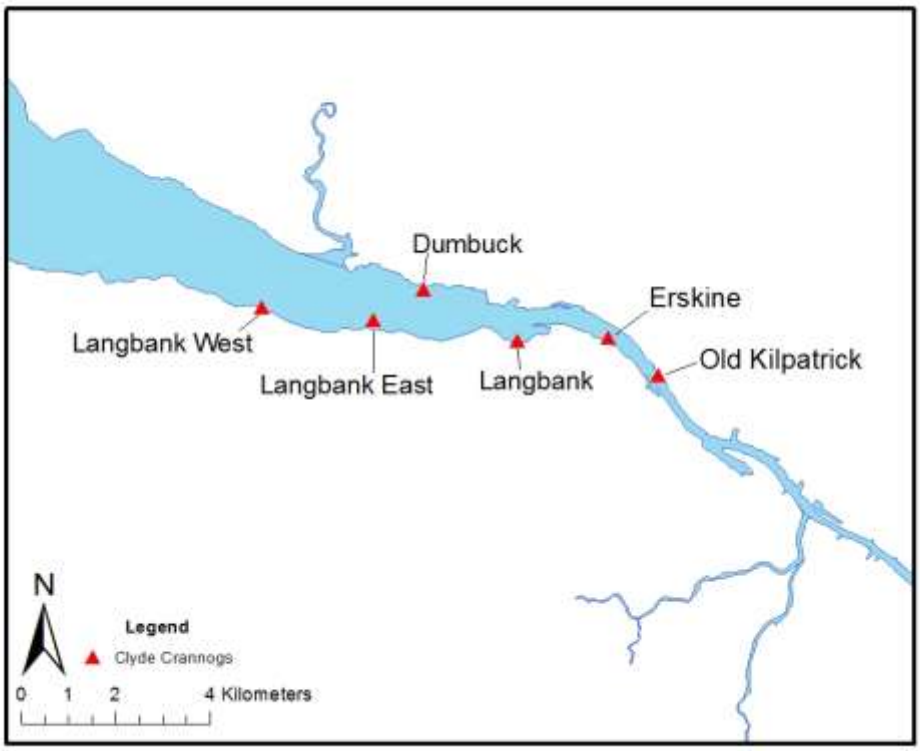


**Fig 170 The marine crannogs on the Clyde**

## Dumbuck

Despite the controversy surrounding the excavations at Dumbuck (Hale & Sands 2005), where it is thought that fabricated and stylised objects of stone and shell were placed by members of the excavation team in order to exaggerate the significance of the excavation (Hale 2004, 22) (Fig 172), the evidence recovered from the site provides us with a detailed insight as to the ways in which marine crannogs were constructed as well as the nature of some of the activities that took place at these sites during the later prehistoric period on the Clyde. The excavation (Fig 171), which was carried out in 1898 (Bruce 1900), demonstrated that the site, which is 38m east to west and 30m north to south in extent (Hale 2000, 549), was defined by a central circular platform that was approximately 15m in diameter. This was constructed using three layers of horizontal wood planking, with evidence for jointing and mortise holes, with the upper and lower layers radiating from a central

position, and the middle layer laid perpendicular to those above and below (Hale 2004, 19). Below this platform the remains of heather, bracken and brushwood were discovered (Munro 1905, 136). In the middle of the structure there was a large wattle-lined pit, 2m in diameter, which Hale (2004, 166) suggested could have been used for industrial processes, such as tanning, which is supported by the abundance of animal bones that were discovered during the excavation. This is a common feature on marine crannogs and has been found on other sites in both Scotland and Ireland (Hale 2004, 21-22). Defining the circular platform was a ring of twenty-seven oak piles spaced two and three metres apart, though in a recent re-survey of the site by Hale only twenty two of the piles were noted (Hale 2000, 549). Surrounding the timber structure, apart from on the north side where there was evidence for a possible causeway, there was a stone and timber breakwater up to 7m in width, which was comprised of horizontal timbers held in place by wooden piles, which were used to support a core of large stones (Bruce 1900, 438; Hale 2004, 19).

To the north-east of the site the remains of a dock was discovered, which was 15m long and 2m wide, open ended with piles and horizontal timbers forming shuttered sides (Hale 2004, 21). Within the dock was a 10.84m long log boat, one of 34 so far discovered on the Clyde (Hale 2000, 556). Other finds from the site, apart for the controversial decorated stones and shells bearing various abstract designs and figures (Fig 173), there was a large number of animal bones, some of which showed clear signs of having been worked. They included cattle, sheep/goat and pig bones as well as red or roe deer antlers (Hale 2004, 22-23). The survival of such a large amount of animal bone may of course be down to the waterlogged conditions which are favourable for survival of organic material, but the large quantity has led Hale to suggest that the site may have been used, and constructed, in order to process animals (Hale 2004, 165-166), explored further below. In addition to these organic remains a rotary quern was also found during the excavation, beneath which a number of whole and ground acorns and hazelnuts were discovered (Hale 2004, 23). The rotary quern suggests a late date for occupation of the site but a

saddle quern and rubber were also discovered suggesting that the site could have been in use for a longer period of time. (Hale 2004, 23). During a re-evaluation of Dumbuck undertaken by Hale in the late 1990s, a number of samples of wood wer taken for radiocarbon dating, where it was noted that the piles around the outer edge of the site were all of oak, while the central platform was constructed from horizontal timbers of alder (Hale 2000, 549). The alder flooring timbers produced dates of 1910±50 BP (GU-7471), and 2060±50 BP (GU-7473) while the oak piles produced un-calibrated dates of 2040±50 BP (GU-7472), and 2090±50 BP (GU-7470) (Hale 2000, 554). These dates show that the Dumbuck crannog was constructed around the first century BC, just before the Roman incursion into the area.

**Fig 171 One of the many water colour paintings of the excavations at Dumbuck, with the large central pit in the middle (RCAHMS).**

**Fig 172 Aerial Photograph of Dumbuck as it is today (RCAHMS)**

**Fig 173 One of the alleged fabricated shale objects from Dumbuck (RCAHMS)**

## Langbank West

Another crannog, which is similar to Dumbuck and also subject to an early investigation, is found at Langbank West on the southern shore of the Clyde, excavated by John Bruce in 1901-2 (Bruce 1908; Alexander 2000, 157; Hale 2004, 23-24). The site, which is situated on a mound of stones 30m in length and 20m in width (Hale 2000, 551), is defined by an oval structure of horizontal timbers 15m in

diameter and consolidated by a ring of oak piles 1-1.5m apart, between which tree trunks were placed to construct an oval surround (Hale 2004, 23). To the east of the platform a midden was discovered from which a large quantity of animal bones was recovered, consisting mainly of cattle, red deer, roe deer, pig, sheep/goat, including both burnt and un-burnt samples, as well as a number of shells (Hale 2004, 23). The cattle bones in particular suggest that the site was used for animal processing as at least 60 fragments of cattle mandible and broken long bones were discovered, as well as a number of skulls, some of which had horns while others were still very young when they were culled. This suggests that there was a significant range in the age of the cattle that were used on the site (Bruce 1908, 49-51), perhaps indicative of different craft processes taking place. The large amount of bone reflects the evidence we have for Dumbuck, which suggests that similar activities were taking place at both these sites.

While the excavations at Langbank did not prove as controversial as those at Dumbuck, two similar and questionable stone objects were recovered from the site, though these were discovered before a committee of eight archaeologists were appointed to oversee the project in its second season in 1902 (Hale 2004, 23). Despite these finds, two of the shale objects that were recovered from the site appear genuine, and it is possible that the controversial objects, found at both Dumbuck and Langbank, were once original shale objects, which were later modified. These shale rough-outs are similar to examples found at Dumbuck (Hale 2004, 23-24), which again suggests similar craft activities were taking place at both these sites. Two other objects recovered from the midden are diagnostic and therefore allow us to date activity at the site. These included a small penannular bronze brooch which is thought to date to the first or second century AD (MacGregor 1976; Alexander 2000, 157, Hale 2004, 24), as well as a very fine Le Tène style decorated bone comb (Fig 174), which is similar to a comb found at Chegan Rock near Seacliff in East Lothian, and has been dated on stylistic grounds to the first two centuries AD (Foster 1990, 159; Alexander 2000, 157; Hale 2004, 24).

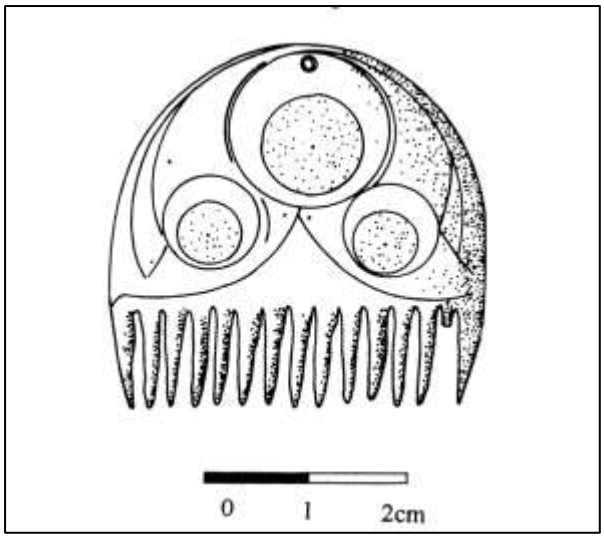


**Fig 174 The La Tène comb from Langbank (Alexander 1996, 19)**

## Old Kilpatrick

A third site that was subject to early investigation was at Old Kilpatrick, where excavation took place in 1906 ahead of the construction of Napier and Miller's ship yard (Hale 2004, 25). Although no written records survive a number of plans, section drawings and photographs of the site do exist. This evidence reveals that the site comprised an oval structure, approximately 25m long and 20m at its widest point (*ibid*), which was defined by a number of large horizontal wooden posts and vertical piles, photographs of which show that they had large mortise holes cut into them. Significantly, for an early excavation, a large number of plant microfossils recovered from the site have surprisingly survived, stored at the Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow, to the extent that they could be examined recently by Camilla Dickson of the University of Glasgow (Hale 2004, 185-189). Radiocarbon dates obtained from some of the samples date activity at the site to 2390±50BP (GU-2154) (Hale 2004, 31). Significantly, two fig seeds were identified from the re-analysis of the surviving environmental material (Hale 2004, 185-186), indicating that, along with the fragment of Samian ware recovered from the site, the occupants of Old Kilpatrick were in close contact with the Roman army and that the site was probably occupied up to at least the 2nd century AD (Hale 2004, 31-32).

Other artefacts recovered from the site included stone polishers, hammers and rubbers.

### Erskine

A more recently investigated crannog is the one found at Erskine on the southern shore of the Clyde (Hanson & MacDonald 1985; Hale 2004, 33). Excavation revealed that the site occupied a stone platform approximately 40m long and 27m wide, with the long axis parallel to the river. Among the large stones were horizontal timbers of alder and vertical timbers of oak, some of which showed signs of working. The only small find recovered from the site was a fragment of rotary quern (Hale 2004, 33). The wooden remains were sampled for both dendrochronology and radiocarbon dating, and while the dendrochronology failed to produce results the C-14 dating produced four dates that were: 1950±50 BP (GU-2328), 1970±50 BP (GU-2187), 2170±60 BP (GU-2383) and 2210±50 BP (GU-2186) (Hale 2004, 33), suggesting that the site was constructed at some point around the last few centuries BC or the first few centuries AD, which is in keeping with evidence we have for the other crannogs of the area.

## Discussion of the Marine Crannogs

The investigation of these sites, although perhaps not as rigorous as one would expect from modern excavations, reveals a great deal about life on the Clyde during the Iron Age. Structurally the remains at Dumbuck, Langbank, Old Kilpatrick and Erskine, are very similar. All the sites possess circumferential piling enclosing horizontal timber areas (Hale 2004, 33), suggesting that the same building techniques were used at all of the sites. Significantly the same type of wood was used for each of their structural components, alder for the platforms, and oak for the piles. The deliberate choice of specific types of wood for different parts of each crannog can also be seen in the freshwater sites, which are discussed below, and while there may be issues to do with the relative building properties seen in the various types of wood, it can also be argued that there were other, hidden qualities, related to these different trees, which may be tied in with wider cosmological ideas.

This issue shall be explored in more detail in Chapter Eight but it should be noted that the crannogs allow us to explore these issues in much more detail than perhaps can be seen on the terrestrial sites, as the quality of data, related to the preservation associated with these water logged deposits, is much more detailed.

The artefacts recovered from each site are also similar, and though some variation can be seen, this suggests that a similar economy was in place at each site and that they were used for the same kinds of activities, perhaps by people or groups of a similar social status. What these activities were and indeed what purpose these sites served remains a matter of debate. Hale (2004) argued that these marine crannogs were not primarily domestic in nature as there was a general lack of domestic artefactual material recovered from the excavations. However the range of artefacts that were recovered from the sites, including large quantities of animal bone, shells and other organic artefacts, quern stones, stone tools such as polishers and rubbers, worked shale fragments, along with the decorated bone comb and brooch from Langbank and the Samian ware from Old Kilpatrick, all combine to suggest a vibrant and diverse economy, with many different activities taking place at each site, which does not restrict these sites to either the domestic or industrial spheres (Cavers 2005, 138). The lack of "domestic" material may refer to the lack of pottery discovered from the sites, which is unusual given the relative frequency of this type of artefact from the terrestrial sites of the area. However, given the location and nature of marine crannogs, exposed to powerful tidal conditions which would have acted as a severe eroding agent (*ibid*), it would be very unusual for such fragile pottery, typical of the area and period, to survive.

The relatively unusual setting and nature of these sites, as well as the artefacts that have been recovered from them, suggests that they may be associated with wider practices linked to the use of liminal space and places seen at sites across the British Isles during the later prehistoric period, for instance at cave sites or enclosed promontories. For instance in the Atlantic areas, the promontory sites (Henderson 2007, 128-142), as have been discussed, are thought to have acted in a number of

ways including as ritual centres, trading centres as well as sites for specific industrial process such as metal working and it can be suggested that the marine crannogs of the Clyde share many of the same qualities as these sites. For instance Hale (2004, 159-168) suggests three possible interpretations for marine crannogs; as hubs for transport between the land, the sea and the river; as sites used for specific industrial processes, and as sites used for settlement. In relation to the "access point hypothesis" Hale (2004, 159-165) argues that the marine crannogs were constructed in locations that would have acted as good access points for both coastal as well as riverine exploitation, allowing easy access to the shore. It can therefore be suggested that they could have acted as excellent centres to conduct trade, perhaps controlled by different groups or families. These sites may also have been used for specific processing or craft production activities (Hale 2004, 165-166). For instance they could have been places used to treat animal skins, as evidenced by the large quantity of animal bones recovered from the excavations, as well as the wattle- and clay-lined pit at Dumbuck, which Hale has argued may be related to tanning (Hale 2004, 166). Despite the lack of evidence of specific domestic activity, Hale (2004, 166-167) does suggest that the circular stone and timber foundations and platforms could have been used to support roundhouses, though compared to the loch-based crannogs, such as Hyndford, where there is evidence for settlement activity, in the form of wooden posts and hearths, there is limited structural evidence to support the argument that the marine crannogs were used in this way. This is not to say that they were not occupied, as less substantial superstructures could have been built on the platforms. In addition the artefactual assemblage does suggest that domestic activities could have been taking place on these sites. For instance the rotary querns found at Dumbuck and Erskine could support the argument that they were occupied, even if only sporadically or seasonally throughout the year, though these objects may have been deliberately deposited at these sites for other less prosaic reasons.

Other interpretations must also be explored however and it could be suggested that the marine crannogs may be linked with specific religious or ceremonial

purposes. For instance it can be argued that these sites have been deliberately "exposed" rather than enclosed in these liminal and transitional locations between the land and the sea and that they were perhaps appropriate places for the sacrifice of animals related to their deposition in water. The concentration of votive deposition in watery places has a long tradition in prehistoric Britain and therefore it does not require that much of an interpretive jump to suggest that these unusual sites were used in this way. Indeed the use of islands for specific ritual activity can be seen at the recently excavated sit of An Dunan (Church *pers. com*; Burgess *et al* 1996; 1997; Gilmour 2002), where large quantities of ash in pottery vessels were taken to the partially artificial island to be deliberately deposited. Therefore the artefacts recovered from the marine crannogs may in fact represent the remains of votive deposits, supporting the idea that these sites could have been used for specific religious or ceremonial purposes. However, as is discussed in Chapter Eight, the distinction between domestic, industrial and ritual sites would have been fluid in the Iron Age of Britain, and we should therefore be resistant to assign "either-or" interpretations to these sites and be open to the idea that they may have acted and been used in a number of different and dynamic ways. How these ideas related to the fresh water crannogs is open to debate however, as it can be seen that there is strong evidence for a much more domestic component to these sites, though again with evidence for their use in multiple roles, as is discussed in Chapter Eight.

## Non-Marine Crannogs in West Central Scotland

There are also a number of other, non-marine, crannogs found in the lochs of west central Scotland. For instance significant concentrations can be seen in many of the lochs of Argyll (Cavers 2005). It is in the lowland areas of Ayrshire and Lanarkshire however where the majority of excavated examples can be found. Many of these sites were first investigated by Robert Munro in the late 19$^{th}$ century. For instance in Ayrshire there is the famous site of Buiston which was initially excavated by Munro in the 1880s (Munro 1882) and more recently investigated by Ann Crone (Crone 2000), as well as Lochlee (Munro 1879; 1882) while Hyndford (Munro 1899),

is found just south of Lanark in Lanarkshire. Another important excavation in Lanarkshire took place at Lochend Loch at Coatbridge (Montieth & Robb 1937).

Buiston

Buiston, which is located to the north of the Ayrshire study area, was first investigated by Munro in the 1880s (Munro 1882, 19-51) and then in 1989/1990 by Crone (2000) when it was the subject of a much more rigorous investigation. Six phases were recorded providing a "chronology … that [indicates] the crannog was constructed and occupied, on and off, during the first seven centuries of the first millennium AD" (Crone 2000, 4). The primary mound, which is of Roman Iron Age date, was constructed in a single event in the first or second centuries AD, when over 3m of deposits of brushwood, large timbers and stones were dumped in the loch mud, on top of which was a firmer layer of oak planks and alder trunks, over which were alternating layers of turf and brush wood. Small stakes may then have been inserted into the mound in order to define and consolidate it (Crone 2000, 74), demonstrating that, as at the other loch based crannogs, this crannog was of Packwerk construction (Crone 2000, 105; Cavers 2005, 110). Evidence associated with the initial phase of activity at the site includes a small amount of charcoal and burnt bone as well as carbonised barley and hazelnut shells (Crone 2000, 64). A limited number of artefacts can also be ascribed to this initial phase, including a sherd of Samian ware, some of the impressive collection of ironwork, three undecorated glass beads as well as fragments of glass and a glass counter recovered from Munro's excavation (Crone 2000, 151). Many of the other objects recovered from the earlier excavation are un-diagnostic and may relate to the first phases of occupation at the site, but as the work carried out by Munro lacked secure stratigraphic information it is not possible to confidently ascribe them to the Roman Iron Age period. These artefacts include a number of the coarse stone objects, antler handles and four jet armlet fragments (*ibid*).

## Lochlee

Lochlee crannog, to the south of Buiston, was also excavated by Munro in 1878 (Munro 1879; 1882), and while this site has not been re-investigated, the artefacts recovered from the site indicate that it was occupied over a similar time period to Buiston, from the Roman Iron Age through to the early historic period. From Munro's (1879) plan it can be seen that the site measured 33m east to west by 23m north to south, and the results from the excavation allow us to suggest that the structural details were similar to that found at Buiston, in that a foundation of brushwood, up to 3m thick, was initially laid in the loch before layers of wooden beams of birch and then oak, consisting of groups of parallel logs at right angles to each other, were laid on this secure foundation. This composite of material was then apparently stabilised by piles around its circumference, between which planks of oak were placed (Munro 1882, 99; Crone 2000, 105). This again is indicative of a Packwerk design. A number of objects were recovered from the site including a fragment of second century AD Samian ware as well as Romano-British metalwork that indicate that the site was occupied in the early part of the first millennium AD. In addition to these diagnostic artefacts a number of other artefacts that might belong to this period were also discovered but due to the lack of secure stratigraphic information their dating remains unclear. These objects include a spiral finger ring, shale armlets, fragments of metalwork as well as a number of coarse stone tools.

## Hyndford

Another crannog that was subject to excavations by Munro in 1898 (Munro 1899), was the site of Hyndford, which is located just south of Lanark in the Lanarkshire case study area. Again, as with the other loch-based crannogs in this part of Scotland there was evidence for Packwerk construction, in the form of large amounts of brushwood laid down on the loch bed, which created a circular mound 23m in diameter. Evidence from the excavation suggested that this mound supported a possible large house 10.4 m in diameter, defined by a series of wooden

posts, which appear to have been set in two or possibly three concentric rings. Within this central area there was evidence for at least three successive paved hearths. In addition to the refurbishment of the hearths there was also evidence that the floor of the structure was periodically consolidated in order to counteract the subsidence (Munro 1899, 377-379; RCAHMS 1978, 108-109). In addition to the large amount of midden material which was concentrated on the south east side of the site, a number of artefacts were also discovered (Munro 1899). These artefacts included a number of Roman Iron Age objects including 1st-2nd century metal work as well as up to forty fragments of Samian ware, dating activity at the site to the early centuries AD (Munro 1899; Crone 2000, 151). The Roman fort of Castledykes is not far from this site. Although the site was re-occupied during the 2nd century AD, none of the Roman objects from the site date to the Antonine period, from which it has been suggested means that the site was abandoned by the early 2nd century AD (Robertson 1970, 204), or that the relationship with the occupants of the site and the Roman army had changed by this time. Other objects allow us to build a clear picture of the status of the inhabitants of the site as well as the activities that were taking place there. For instance there was evidence for metal working as well as textile production, in the form of a crucible and fragments of slag as well as numerous spindle whorls. A number of personal decorative items were also discovered indicating the relative wealth of the occupants of the site, including an impressive torc (Macgregor 1976, 97-9) (Fig 175), bronze spiral finger rings, glass bracelets, and a number of glass beads as well as the ubiquitous shale objects (Munro 1899, 379-387). In addition a number of iron weapons including a spearhead and axe heads were also discovered indicating the martial status of the occupants (*ibid*).

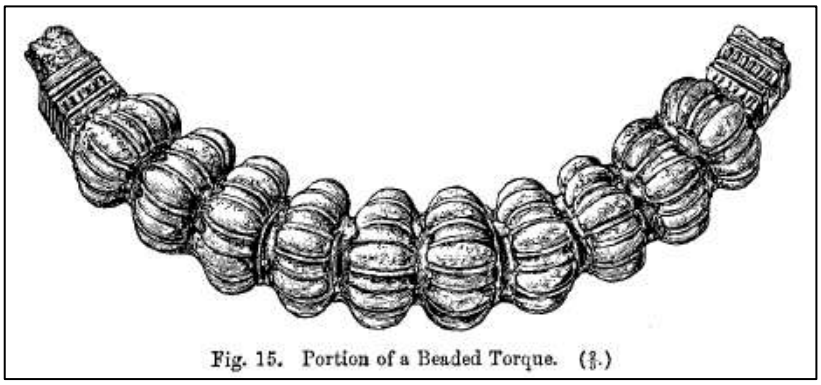


**Fig 175 Bronze torc from Hyndford (Munro 1899, 385)**

## Lochend

The site at Lochend was excavated in the 1930s (Montieth & Robb 1937) and could be seen to have been built and occupied over a number of phases. There were also two distinct forms of construction at Lochend; one consisting of at least eighty wooden piles which were exposed on the eastern side of the crannog, measuring around 37m east to west and 28m north to south, and a second which, like at the other non-marine crannogs, consisted of an artificial platform up to 1.5m thick built of layers of timbers laid transversely to one another and consolidated by stones, brushwood and clay, suggestive of both Packwerk and piled construction (Cavers 2005, 116). Limited excavation in the centre of the mound revealed evidence for two floor or surface layers, possibly representing two phases of construction and occupation. The first floor consisted of carefully laid timbers laid across large tree-trunks. The later floor was 0.6m above the level of the first and was constructed of beams, cut from oak and other hardwoods, possibly indicating a break in occupation between the phases at the site. In the south-west area of the second floor there was an area of stone paving where most of the artefacts were discovered, which included human bones belonging to possibly two individuals. Other artefacts included handmade undecorated pottery with plain rims and flat bases, animal bones mainly of cow, three perforated lignite discs, half a jet bracelet, two rotary quern stones and a large number of hazel nut shells (Montieth & Robb

1937, 27-43). Although the site was not dated, the artefacts recovered suggest activity in the late first millennia BC and early first millennium AD.

## Discussion of the Non-Marine Crannogs

Structurally it can be seen that these sites are distinct from the marine crannogs, having been constructed in the Packwerk design, and that compared to the crannogs of the Clyde, there is clear evidence for domestic occupation. Cavers has argued that Packwerk design represents the "archetypal lake settlement structure of the British Isles" (Cavers 2005, 108). This construction technique can be seen throughout Scotland, though Cavers (2005) identifies that it is most commonly found in the crannogs of the south-west. The amount of material that would have been required to construct these types of site would clearly have been vast. For instance at their greatest extent the crannogs at Buiston measured 286 Sq.m in extent while Lochlee was 375 Sq.m in extent (Crone 2000, 164), and at both of these sites the primary mound was up to 3m thick, constructed of brushwood, turfs, oak and alder planks and large wooden piles. This works out at approximately 858 cubic metres of organic material at Buiston and approximately 1125 cubic metres of organic material from Lochlee. These massive platforms were then built on. For instance there is evidence for roundhouse construction at Hyndford. This quantity of material therefore must represent a huge investment in resources, time and effort and Crone (2000, 164-165) argues that the residents of these crannogs must have been able to command labour, as well as the gathering of resources from a wide area, which suggests that they were of relatively high status. This is also supported by the material culture recovered from each of the sites, which includes fine metal work as well as imported goods, demonstrating that the inhabitants of these sites were bound up with wider cultural and social networks.

However given that these sites lie in relative close proximity to each other and the fact that they are surrounded by other forms of presumably contemporary settlement, such as the nearby Kemp Law and Craigie, it is difficult to compare the relative status of the inhabitants of each of these different sites. What is clear

however is that the stress on the landscape and its resources must have been immense. We can therefore suggest that there must have been a strong social and economic structure in place in these areas, which would have been linked into the careful control or exploitation of the surrounding landscape, which I would argue is tied in with wider notions to do with cosmological associations or understandings of the landscape which is reflected in the architectural materiality of the monumental architecture that we see.

As with the marine crannogs of the Clyde the investigations of these crannogs reveal that they were initially constructed and occupied in the last few centuries BC and the first two centuries AD (Crone 2000, 151), which, as has been discussed above, demonstrates that they, along with the un-enclosed roundhouses and Atlantic type sites, form part of a trend we see in the latter part of the Iron Age in the development of individual and unbounded family or group settlements. Moreover the monumentality of these sites also allows us to explore ideas to do with identity and regionality which are important if we are to move beyond the traditional interpretations of the Iron Age in Scotland. Cavers highlights this point in relation to the crannogs of Galloway. For Cavers (2009,20) the monumentality of the crannogs is comparable with the Atlantic roundhouses and that they therefore act as further evidence for the strong links that this part of Scotland had with the wider Atlantic zone. For instance Cavers argues that the crannogs can be seen to represent many of the same traditional themes which characterise Atlantic settlement such as: “the outward display of defence, the deliberate preference for settlement of marginal zones, the display of architectural prowess, and ... the deliberate display of domestic monumentality” (Cavers 2009, 20). Why this might have been important to the groups that built and lived within the crannogs is not clear, but it could be related with the need for overt displays of power, especially in advance of the Roman army, as has been discussed above in relation to the development of Atlantic style roundhouses found in southern Scotland (Macinnes 1984; Armit 2003; Hunter 2007).

# Discussion and Conclusion

The evidence presented here allows us to create a clear picture of the development of domestic settlement in the later prehistoric period in west central Scotland. It has been demonstrated that there were two clear phases of open settlement during the later prehistoric period in this part of Scotland. The first comes to an end in the later Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age when the landscape was dominated by unenclosed hut circles and platform settlements located in upland areas. This form of architecture was then abandoned, around 800BC, and the landscape was transformed when communities began to define settlements within enclosed areas. However, by the later part of the Iron Age, in the last two centuries BC we begin to see another shift in the settlement evidence, with the development of the monumental house. These sites came in a variety of forms and include marine and loch based crannogs and Atlantic-style houses. In addition, those enclosed sites which continue to be occupied into this period were often represented in their final phases by un-enclosed timber-built roundhouses, which are also found as individual sites across the region.

These changes in settlement form clearly represent significant shifts in the way society was organised, in the way the landscape was used and perceived, the ways in which communities defined themselves and the ways in which people lived their lives. Identities were thus formed and performed in new and changing ways. In the early and middle Iron Age, from around the 8$^{th}$ century BC to around the 2$^{nd}$ or 3$^{rd}$ centuries BC, people, identities and communities were defined at the corporate level, represented by large communally built enclosed sites, which materialised social relations. In the later Iron Age, from the 2$^{nd}$ or 3$^{rd}$ centuries BC to the 4rth century AD, we see the emergence of the monumental house. Instead of materialising social relations, which were based on mutual cooperation, these sites represent the development of the rise of the individual and the importance of small family groups. These issues and the changing nature of settlement architecture were, it shall be argued, tied up with wider cosmological concerns which

fundamentally shaped the way in which Iron Age societies were organised. These intrinsic aspects of daily life changed throughout the period, as has been demonstrated through the analysis of the orientation of the enclosed and un-enclosed sites found in west central Scotland. However, it shall be argued in the following chapters that the orientation of a house or enclosure formed just one part of a wider, deep seated cosmological understanding of the world, which underpinned all aspects of the materiality of Iron Age architecture and society.

In the following chapters issues to do with architectural materiality shall be explored in more detail with specific reference to excavated examples, which have been highlighted above. In addition the material culture used by groups and individuals shall be examined in more detail, which along with the material used to construct settlements formed a key component in the ways in which society was organised and the ways in which people lived their daily lives. This will in turn allow us to build a clear and rounded interpretation as to the changing ways society was organised in this part of Scotland during the later prehistoric period.

# Chapter Eight: Materiality, Identity and Community in West Central Scotland

## Introduction

This chapter is concerned with exploring issues to do with how people, households, communities and wider society were constituted in west central Scotland during the Iron Age. It will be argued that if we accept that houses and enclosures materialised Iron Age peoples cosmological understandings of the world, then the things from which these structures were made and the landscape from which these things were from, must also have been significant. It will therefore be demonstrated that households and communities were assemblages of people, places and things. The first part of this chapter will lay out the ways in which archaeologists have come to develop cosmological models of the Iron Age, with specific reference to the works of Oswald (1997), Fitzpatrick (1994; 1997) and Parker Pearson (1999). Secondly, issues raised by recent critiques of these models shall be examined, especially in relation to ideas to do with 'ritual' (e.g. Brück 1999b; Bradley 2005). Thirdly, a new approach shall be advanced, building on the work of these authors but focusing primarily on issues to do with agency, personhood and materiality. By approaching the archaeological evidence in these ways we can move beyond traditional interpretations of Iron Age social structure. This is especially relevant as the ways in which sites have been reinterpreted and classed in this research means that new models for Iron Age society are required. Moreover these new models shall be used to explore wider notions of the ways in which settlement architecture reflected aspects of social identity, which in turn

allows us to more fully examine and critique the traditional regional interpretations of the Iron Age of west central Scotland.

## The establishment of the Iron Age Cosmological Model

Parker Pearson (1999) outlined a model of British Iron Age cosmology in the late 1990s, which was based around the idea that there was an "enduring set of traditions involving the east-west axis of the suns path, [and] the sun wise progression of movement" (Parker Pearson 1999, 43). These traditions, it was suggested, could be seen in a number of archaeological contexts across the country, such as in temple sites and burials. However the most important pieces of evidence that were used to support these theories were house entrance orientation as well as internal features within the house, which directed movement and provided space for different, appropriate, activities within the structure (Fitzpatrick 1994; Parker Pearson & Richards 1994; Oswald 1997; Parker Pearson 1999). It was argued that these archaeologically visible elements could "provide us with a key to unlock aspects of the symbolism and practices of daily life" (Parker Pearson 1999, 43).

One of the most important pieces of research which informed and influenced many of ideas to do with sun based Iron Age cosmologies was the work carried out by Oswald (1997) in the early 1990s, where he demonstrated that the majority of roundhouses found in different parts of England and Wales were aligned between the east and south east; the direction of the rising sun. This pattern was, in the main, confirmed by subsequent studies of roundhouse orientation from across Britain. For instance Hill (1996) and more recently Sharples (2010) have demonstrated that roundhouses in the south of England were orientated in this way. Though in the Wessex area Sharples (2010, 199) was able to demonstrate that there were some differences or changes in dominant orientation between the middle Bronze Age and the middle Iron Age, which, as has been discussed in previous chapters, might indicate changing cosmological concerns. This was also

highlighted in Pope's (2003, 2007) work, where she demonstrated that the majority of Iron Age roundhouses in central and northern Britain were orientated "between the north-east and the south-east, with a clear preference for east, east-south-east and south east" (Pope 2007, 212). Though it should be noted that as Pope's work spanned a longer time period and covered a much larger area than seen in previous studies it was demonstrated that there was considerable regional and chronological differences in orientation across the country. Similarly consistent, though slightly different, entrance orientations were also noted in the "brochs", as defined by Parker Pearson and Sharples (1999), in the north and west of Scotland. Though here, as has been discussed in Chapter Seven, there was a stronger tendency for these sites to be aligned to the east, there was also a number which were aligned to the west. In addition to roundhouse entrance orientation, Hill (1996) demonstrated that enclosed sites in the south of England were also orientated towards the east or south east, as has been discussed in Chapter Six. These observations have since been supported by a number of other studies from other parts of the country, notably by Moore (2006) for the Severn Cotswolds, and Kokeza (2008) for south east Scotland. In addition through the analysis carried out in this research the orientation of the enclosed sites of west central Scotland, support these general trends, as has been outlined in Chapter Six. It can therefore be argued that the consistency in the ways in which enclosed sites were orientated supports arguments to do with the cosmological significance of orientation and the importance of the sun for Iron Age people.

These observations for sun wise orientation, with the apparent deliberate reference to specific equinox events and in particular mid-winter sunrise, seen in both roundhouses and enclosures, led to the suggestion that every aspect of daily life for Iron Age people and communities was based around this cosmological orientation. For instance it was suggested that as a person looked from the doorway of their house "the east was forwards, the north left, the south right and west behind" (Parker Pearson 1999, 44). This therefore meant that the entire way in which people moved, not just in their homes but across the landscape, was dictated by

this sun wise orientation. More than movement however, these structuring principles were fundamental to the ways in which people used space, or were required to use space, within houses and enclosures, and indeed the entire landscape. This was demonstrated though the analysis of artefact distribution within houses (e.g. Fitzpatrick 1994; Parker Pearson 1999, 47-51; Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999). Though, as is discussed in detail below, Rachel Pope (2007) has recently critiqued this analysis, stressing that more detailed observations of taphanomic process need to be taken into account, and that a larger data set needs to be analysed before these patterns are more fully understood.

This deliberate reference to the sun, in the orientation of houses and enclosed sites, as well as in the structuring of the use of space, suggests that the reference to the sun was the main guiding principle in Iron Age life, shaping the ways in which people lived there lives and understood the world. For Parker Pearson therefore, the house acted as the central metaphor of Iron Age life, 'symbolising' social, cultural, as well as perhaps religious institutions and practises (Fig 176). For instance Parker Pearson (1999, 50-51) suggested that social status within the house was played out in relation to the movement of the sun through the day, with the youngest to oldest positioned around the central fire, the central person, probable a middle age male, being of the highest status. The metaphor could be further extended in relation to the life cycle of the occupants of the house, with birth, maturity, old age and death, charted by sun wise movement, as reflected in the layout of the house. This could have been further emphasised with the deliberate deposition of human remains within particular portions of the house, as seen in many Atlantic structures (Tucker 2010), for instance at Cnip in the Western Isles (Armit 2006; Shapland & Armit 2011). At another level this idea of sun wise movement and the circular nature of time, can also be extended to the agricultural cycle, and the routines of the landscape and the passing of the seasons, which in itself acted as a metaphor for Iron Age life, as was explored by Hingley (1990) and Fitzpatrick (1994, 1997). Thus the arguments advanced by Oswald (1997), Fitzpatrick (1994, 1997) and Parker Pearson (1999), promote the house as the as

the central metaphor for life in the Iron Age which both reflected, structured and defined how people understood themselves, their families, their communities, the landscape, time, the agricultural cycle and so on. The house therefore was central to the way people lived and understood themselves and the world around them during the Iron Age. I

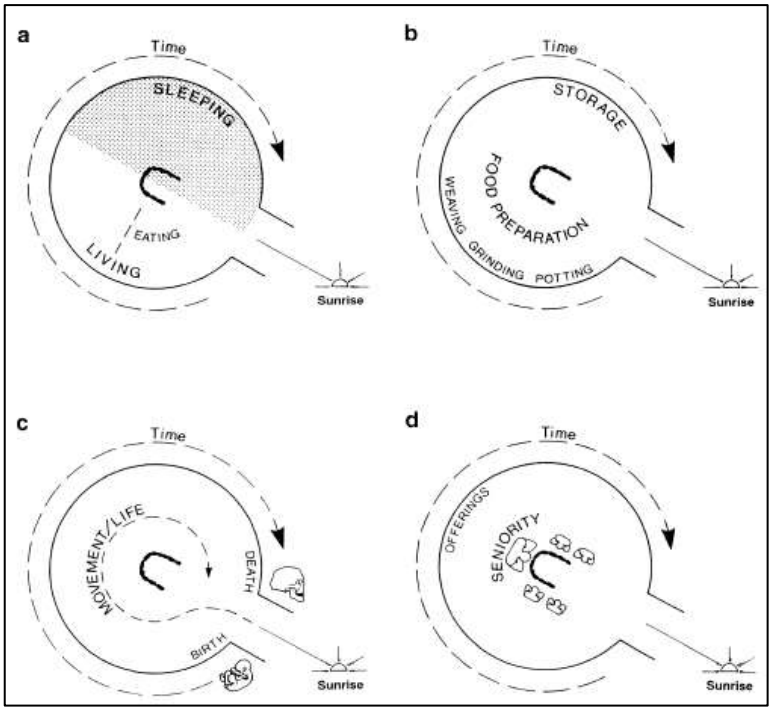


**Fig 176 Parker Pearson's cosmological model of the Iron Age house (Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999)**

## Critique of Iron Age Cosmological Models

Pope (2007) has been one of the most outspoken critics of these models, highlighting that many of the arguments made by the authors referenced above was based too heavily on "formal analogy and the narrative form" (Pope 2007, 210), and that as many of these interpretations were based on such a limited set of data, to argue that "the British Iron Age had and enduring set of sun based traditions which had been adopted across Britain for the best part of a millennium" (Pope 2007, 210) was wrong, especially as "rather than test[ing] ideas in the data, the main texts of the cosmological model continued to cite the work of one another as evidence for sun based traditions" (ibid). Pope was also keen to stress that many

of the cosmological models did not take into adequate account environmental concerns that people in the past may have had in relation to the construction of their houses (Pope 2007, 211-214), especially ones to do with shelter from the wind and the admittance of light into the structure. Pope argued that functionalist concerns were just as important as cosmological concerns in the past, and that the orientation of houses would therefore have been of functional relevance (Pope 2007, 212). However while it can be seen that there are some regional and chronological differences in orientation, Sharples (2010, 198) argued that if Iron Age people were overly concerned with environmental factors, especially to do with shelter from the wind, then we would see much more diversity in the archaeological record. Local factors to do with geography and landscape play a role in wind direction and therefore there would be much greater diversity in entrance orientation if shelter was the main structuring concern in Iron Age peoples' lives. Therefore it can be argued that orientation to the rising sun was the primary factor in determining entrance orientation for Iron Age people across the country.

## Ritual and Cosmology

There are a number of issues to do with these cosmological models, that go beyond Popes (2007) concerns, which need to be addressed. For instance to claim that the sum of Iron Age peoples cosmologies was that they built circular houses to act as metaphors for these cosmologies, which were based on sun based *traditions* is limited at best. To claim that this explains the entirety of the ways in which people structured their lives and understood themselves and the world around them and that this was the sum of these peoples' cosmological world views is perhaps disingenuous, and certainly restricts our understanding of the period. While these interpretations are important in moving beyond the simple functionalist models to do with the Iron Age, which dominated archaeological debate for many years, it can be argued that archaeologists ideas to do with prehistoric ritual have also perhaps been misguided. There is a danger with these models that they reduce all aspects of Iron Age life to symbol and metaphor, without addressing the very real, practical aspects that these cosmologies may have had (Brück 1999; Bradley 2005). For

instance, as Bradley highlights (2005, 34), is the fact that for many in the western world, ritual and religious belief has been relegated to the margins of daily life, therefore the ways in which many archaeologists have interpreted ritual in the past, is that it is seen as beyond the limits of daily practice, and consigned to special people, special places, special material culture and so on, it is therefore treated as separate from the concerns of daily life.

Bradley instead argued that there are two strands or conceptions of ritual which are important if we are to begin to better understand life in the past, which are worth quoting in full:

*"The first reflects the idea that rituals express fundamental propositions about the world and are associated with religious beliefs and are therefore ascribed to the supernatural. The second considers the outward characteristics of rituals and emphasises that they are really performances carried out according to convention"* (Bradley 2005, 32).

It is the second strand that is argued here as being the most important if we are to move beyond simply ascribing ideas of symbol and metaphor to Iron Age cosmologies. If we accept that "ritual is a kind of practice" (Bradley 2005, 33) which is defined and imbued by cultural and social conventions we can move beyond the idea that the only function of the Iron Age house is to communicate or act as a metaphor for how people in the Iron Age understood of their world. In addition if we begin to see ritual as a normal form of action in the daily lives of people in the Iron Age we are able to explore how it operates more fully as well as tracing how it changed and developed over time and in different areas.

These ideas have been explored in relation to the late Bronze Age by Brück (1999) where she argued that, in the past, people would have seen ritual and rituals in practical terms, and therefore cosmologies and their associated rituals were not just symbolic systems, they were in fact fundamental, practical actions of daily life,

which enabled people to understand their world as well as successfully *getting on in it*, providing a logic for action as well as providing an explanation of the universe. Brück noted that as ritual is not seen as fulfilling any practical role, as it "does not meet modern western criteria for practicality, [it therefore] … is frequently described [or interpreted by archaeologists] as non-functional irrational action" (Brück 1999, 318) it is therefore often interpreted as a metaphor or symbol, fulfilling or reflecting some other, non-functional, purpose. The practical and symbolic have traditionally been regarded by archaeologists as opposed concepts. This is a legacy of post enlightenment thought and rationalism in which "scientific knowledge is prioritised as the only way of knowing the world" (*ibid*) and that as a result of this the natural world became an object of study, legitimising its control and exploitation (Foucault 1973). These ideas still pervade many of our interpretations, which are often reduced to a series of dualisms that are used to describe and define the world, for instance as; culture – nature, mind – body, subject - object, male-female, light-dark, day-night, life-death, ritual-practical and so on. These are ways in which people in the past may have understood their worlds, but we have to be aware that for many cultures, these concepts may have been much more complex. Therefore, as is discussed in detail below, we need to be aware that Iron Age people may not have considered ritual practice as being different from the realities of daily practice.

Therefore, following Brück's and Bradley's arguments, it can be suggested that Iron Age houses were constructed and laid out in specific, appropriate ways, that materialised practical systems of cosmological value and meaning. They therefore did not just act as metaphors of Iron Age cosmological understanding of the world, they in fact emerged out of the peoples real and practical understandings of the world, producing and reproducing social reality (DeMarrais et al 1996; DeMarrais 2004). Houses were material embodiments of cosmological understandings, and not just models of them. This in many ways is where Pope's (2007) critique of the Iron Age cosmological models is flawed. While she recognises, and reinforces the need to consider the fact that there were functional concerns in relation to the

ways houses were orientated, she fails to understand that in the past, for many societies, cosmological or ritual concerns were also part of quite specific practical concerns, and that orientation of a house to the rising sun may have had quite specific practical outcomes, perhaps in very real, tangible ways for the people that built and lived within them. These may have fulfilled specific spiritual concerns but they would also have been important for the successful and prosperous life of the house and its members. Houses were thus shaped by these specific practical concerns and logics of the world, materialising culturally specific values, aims and rationales. Concerns which to us, as modern western observers, would appear to be metaphors tied up with ritual practices, were to Iron Age people aspects of successful social strategy (Bradley 2005, 33), fundamental to their understanding of the world, and their successful place within it.

This, therefore, has a number of important implications as to how we interpret and understand the Iron Age, at a number of levels, from the household through to wider society. For instance, if we accept that the house materialised ritual and cosmological understandings of the world, then it follows that the material, the things, from which the house was built also had quite specific qualities which would have been fundamental to their use within the construction of these houses. This also has implications to do with the nature of enclosure as well as the use of material culture, which shall be explored below and in the next chapter. This therefore raises a number of issues to do with how people understood and used the landscape, which in turn would have created quite specific social structures, ones that archaeologists have so far failed to recognise or consider. Social structure shall be explored in the next chapter, but first the ways in which Iron Age people may have understood and used the landscape and the things within it need to be explored in more detail.

# The Active Role of Things in Creating Communities

In recent years there has been increased understanding amongst archaeologists, particularly building on the work of Hodder (1982; 1986; 2012), that material or things, would have played an active role in constructing peoples worlds. While Iron Age cosmological models recognise the house in relation to this, they fail to take into account the things from which the house was built, taken from the wider cosmographical landscape, that would have played an active role in creating, structuring and helping people understand and negotiate their worlds. These things, the wood used to create the frame of a house, the reeds used to construct the roof, or the dung and clay used to daub the walls, would have been imbued with social and cosmological significance as they were "experienced, negotiated and defined" (Robb 2004, 133).

For many archaeologists, concepts such as agency and personhood have become increasingly important in exploring the active role of things (Gell 1998; Dobres & Robb 2000; Robb 2004;Fowler 2004). For Robb "virtually everything, animate or inanimate, can exert effective agency on humans … [though] the way in which some things act upon people depends ultimately upon the perceptions and beliefs of the people it affects" (Robb 2004, 132). Therefore it is not correct to say that objects or material things have the same kind of agency as people do, they instead have agency as they enter into an active relationships with people. Ways in which things may have had acted in the world has been explored by Fowler (2004). Building on anthropological evidence from India and Malaysia, Fowler suggests that as personhood is negotiated and practised in different ways, and is not just a bounded concept ascribed at birth, it follows that non-human agents, such as objects, animals and places, may also have been ascribed personhood (Fowler 2004). It should be noted however, that as with concepts of agency, things are not just given personhood by humans, they, as with humans, are entangled in a series of complex negotiations which result in people ascribing them with certain qualities, which would have been dependent on both their material qualities as well as the

historically constituted social and cultural conditions of the people and groups that interacted with them.

The ways in which humans interact with non-humans can be seen in animistic and totemic societies (Bruck 1999; Ingold 2000; Helms 2004; Fowler 2004, 122-126).For instance in totemic societies specific places are important as they contain or embody certain ancestral energies, and therefore the things from and within these specific places would also have these ancestral energies or substances. Animals, plants and objects from these places would share these energies with the community through connections which would have been maintained through careful custodianship which would have been reinforced through traditional cultural practices (Fowler 2004, 122-126). Animistic societies are slightly different than this in that instead of just certain places having special energies, all kinds of entities are important, and there is no fixed source for life energy. Therefore animals, plants, objects and places are part of the social world and can take many forms, including as persons or parts of persons depending on the particular kinds of relationships that they are engaged with at any particular time, though it should be noted that specialists like Shamans (or Druids, see below) are often needed to mediate between these relationships and interactions (Fowler 2004, 122-126). As a result it can be seen that the world and everything within it constitute all aspects animistic societies including human and non-human persons. This means that for many societies “no sharp distinction is drawn between the sacred and the profane, between organic and inorganic matter or between nature and culture” (Brück 1999, 319).

Although we do not have any direct evidence for these kind of animistic or totemic traditions in the Iron Age of west central Scotland it can be suggested that if we accept that the house materialised cosmological understanding of the world then the fabric of the house, the trees and other organic material, whether from animals or plants, as well as rocks from which foundations would have been built, would also have had cosmological properties or energies, which meant that they were

required in the building of a successful and proper house. This also has implications for how we interpret the things which were used in the creation of boundaries and enclosures, for instance the earth from which a bank is constructed, taken from the surrounding ditch, may have had specific characteristics suitable, or indeed required in the act of enclosure. Similarly different species of tree may have had certain cosmological qualities which would have meant that only a particular type of wood was suitable in the construction of palisades. In addition, personal objects such as shale bangles, apparently ubiquitous across west central Scotland in the Iron Age, may have had specific physical and spiritual qualities or energies, which were imparted to the wearer and thus became a fundamental part of the person (Fowler 2004) and therefore worn every day. Therefore, from this evidence, we can suggest that people in the Iron Age in west central Scotland may have had some form of animistic or totemic view of the world, which as Fowler (2004, 123) suggested need not be seen as being mutually exclusive concepts, as some groups in the past could have combined varying degrees of both of these ways of being in the world (Descola 1996, 88).

These ideas therefore have a number of implications about how we understand Iron Age society. However before exploring what these implications might mean in terms of how we interpret the archaeology from later prehistoric west central Scotland, a number of other issues relating to how people in the past might have created and understood their communities and societies needs to be addressed. While the arguments advanced above help us recognise that the things that were used in the construction of houses or enclosures were important, not just in a practical sense in relation to their physical materiality, but also in a cosmological or even ritual sense, we are still limited in our understanding of how this might have affected the ways in which society and communities were organised. It is not enough to recognise that things were important both for their physical and spiritual qualities, and therefore were used in the construction of a house, because this is just the same way as we have always interpreted these things, albeit with some added spiritual element. We are still trapped with post-enlightenment ideas, where

everything in the landscape can be known and exploited, and the ritual or cosmographical importance of these things is just another element to be categorised, leading to the same interpretive narratives we have always created for the Iron Age. We are in danger of just giving things spiritual qualities or agency or personhood without really exploring what this means in terms of how households, communities and societies in the past emerged and worked.

Therefore we need to recognise that, if things have agency and even personhood, they are much more than resources to be exploited and controlled, they would also have fundamentally formed and informed peoples identities, communities and societies. One way of approaching how things are important in terms of how communities emerge has been advanced by Harris (2012; 2013). For instance, building on concepts developed to do with symmetrical archaeology as recently summarised by Olsen (2012; see also Olsen 2007; Webmoor 2007; Witmore 2007; Webmoor & Witmore 2008), Harris describes a community as an assemblage made up of not just "humans but also of things, places, animals, plants, houses and monuments" (Harris 2012, 2). This idea of community as an assemblage, which is based on the work of Deleuze and Guattari (2004), is different than the idea of community as a network. Archaeologists using the concept of the network have drawn on Actor-Network-Theory and especially the work of Bruno Latour (e.g. 1993; 1999). The difficulty with this view of networks is that they are rigid and inflexible, where any change to that network would mean that either the network would cease to work or a completely new network would be created (Harman 2009). A point Ingold (2011) has also outlined in some detail. This of course is problematic when trying to understand communities (Harris 2012, 15). For instance if we thought of a community as a Latourian network, every time a member of that community, be they human or non-human, left, for whatever reason, then the network, the community, would change or break down. Whereas if we think of a community as an assemblage made up of a number of different autonomous parts, which do not lose their identity within the assemblage and are therefore detachable, they can be taken out of that assemblage and transferred into to other

assemblages. This means that the original assemblage, the community, still exists in an altered, yet functioning, state. Therefore an assemblage, or a community, is constantly emerging from the negotiations of its component parts, both human and non-human, and is not a fixed thing, idea or entity (DeLanda 2006). Assemblages here are always in process and in flow, rather than being simply a static network (Harris 2013). Furthermore, assemblages – or communities – can work simultaneously at different scales (DeLanda 2006). This idea therefore allows us to explore how communities operate and change over time at a number of different levels, from the individual through to the household and from the enclosure to the landscape, which is especially important if we are to move beyond the traditional static, anthropocentric (house/site-centric?), male dominated and hierarchical interpretations which dominate Scottish Iron Age studies.

## The Evidence for the Use of Different Architectural Materials in West Central Scotland

Examples of the way in which specific materials or things were used in the construction of houses and enclosures during the Iron Age in west central Scotland is limited, as so few sites have been excavated to modern standards, and it is perhaps in the artefacts, or portable material culture where the greatest potential lies for exploring the materiality of the Iron Age. Even when sites have been excavated, recorded and reported to adequate standards, the types of stone or wood used during the construction of any of the architectural features discovered on site have often not been recorded, as it has not often been seen as important. Taphanomic processes have also affected the identification of different organic elements that were used in construction of architectural features, for instance charcoal is not always well preserved, and identification can sometimes be difficult. Therefore it is often only in exceptional circumstances, for example from burnt deposits or in water logged sites where the best evidence comes from. For instance the crannogs which have been investigated in this part of the country offer us a rich data resource which is often lacking from the terrestrial sites. Nevertheless, the

limited amount of data that is available enables us to start to tease out some of the patterns in the use of certain materials for specific architectural features, dating to the later prehistoric period in this part of Scotland. What is clear, however, is that future archaeological investigations need to be aware that the materials used in the construction of houses and enclosures needs to be more adequately recorded, and reported, so that a more complete picture of the Iron Age can be achieved and we are able to understand how communities, societies and identities were created and developed. When attention has been paid to the use of specific materials and their use in architectural features in archaeological reports over recent years, it is often done so in a cursory and non-critical way and the social implications of these observations are rarely followed up in the report or in the general discussion of the site or in the interpretations of the people and communities that might have constructed and lived within these sites. In addition these observations are often not incorporated into wider narratives of the Iron Age. Two recent excavations which have drawn attention to these issues in west central Scotland were the ones carried out at Braehead and Glen Cloy, and it is these that form the platform from which to develop and explore the use of particular materials in more detail.

As was discussed in Chapter Four, Braehead (Ellis 2007), which is one of the few completely excavated enclosed sites in Scotland, is a complex multi period site, which consisted of at least six phases of occupation. The earliest phase at the site consisted of a timber palisade enclosure which has been radiocarbon dated to between 800-480 BC. This was followed by two further phases of occupation, represented by the construction of a second palisade and what appears to be an unenclosed phase. In the fourth phase the site was enclosed by three large ditches, which delimited any further activity at the site, even though they were effectively left to silt up. The fifth phase at the site was again defined by a series of up to three different palisades, and dated to between 400-200BC, before a final phase of roundhouse construction. From the waterlogged deposits recovered from Braehead we can see that oak was the main type of wood used in the construction of the different palisades, from all phases, which were used to enclose the site (Ellis 2007,

243-247). From a sample taken from BT11 of Palisade E, in the fifth phase of occupation, there was evidence for a squared oak post, 70mm x 60mm in extent, which was fashioned from a radially split timber, while a large split plank, 200mm in length was recovered from BT2 of the initial palisade, Palisade A. This plank came from a tree that was 0.4m in width and was at least 140 years old when it was felled, representing a substantial and mature tree. This evidence, of the split timbers and well-worked posts suggests that the palisades were constructed of post-and-plank fencing (Ellis 2007, 243). In addition to the well-preserved waterlogged wood deposits, a number of charcoal samples from bulk samples also produced evidence for the different types of wood that was used at the site. Alder was the most dominate species recognised from the site, representing 48% of the charcoal assemblage, while oak accounted for 26%. Other species, which are also represented in the charcoal assemblage and were probably used at the site include hazel, birch, willow, pomoideae (which could represent hawthorn, quince, apple or pear) and cherry (Ellis 2007, 243-247). It should be noted, however (Ellis 2007, 243), that it is important to be aware of the problems in trying to recognise wood use at a site on the basis of its charcoal assemblage. For instance the bulk charcoal samples examined at Braehead do not suggest that oak was used primarily in the construction of the palisades, and it is only because of the waterlogged deposits that we can construct such a detailed picture of wood use at this site. This is problem that needs to be taken into account when trying to build a picture of wood use across settlements in west central Scotland, as the taphanomic conditions do not always mean that this evidence can be securely tested in the detail that is required.

We can see then, from this evidence the specific use of certain types of tree was used for specific purposes at Braehead. The high percentage of alder recovered from the site suggests that this was the most commonly exploited species at Braehead. This tree grows in waterlogged environments, and as Braehead was located close to the river Clyde, it is possible to suggest that it was a readily assessable resource for the people that lived here. The alder appears to have been

used for a number of purposes, including in the construction of the roundhouses, which were recorded at the site, for internal house features, fencing and probably for fuel (Ellis 2007, 247). Though it should be noted that it appears that peat, gathered from the surrounding environment, was the most commonly used fuel source (Ellis 2007, 237-239) suggesting that even though alder was readily available, it did not form the main fuel supply. This therefore suggests that deliberate choices as to the use of specific resources was part of the everyday concerns for people at Braehead. It appears that oak was used exclusively in the construction of the enclosing palisades, rather than for the "domestic" structures. The posts and planks used to construct these enclosing features would have come from large mature trees, and would have provided a strong and durable material which would have produced a smooth, regular and distinct facade, and while other trees would have been able to create an effective barrier it appears as if no other tree was suitable for these features. This lead the excavator to suggest that, along with the aesthetic qualities of the oak timber, there may have been other factors associated with the use of oak which may have been to do with the display of social status and prestige, which was the main reason why it was used in the construction of the palisades (Ellis 2007, 247).

While it was noted that ascribing architectural use for different types of wood from charcoal remains taken from bulk samples should be done so with a degree of caution, a number of authors do tentatively highlight the some possible uses from limited charcoal assemblages for a small number of sites across Scotland. While these observations remain tentative, the charcoal assemblages from these sites do provide us with evidence of the general use of wood at each site, and as will be demonstrated below the consistency in the use of particular types of tree in domestic sites, even if we cannot ascribe it to particular architectural features, lets us build a general picture of wood use in the later prehistoric period in this part of Scotland. Samples taken from the excavated roundhouses at Gallow Hill, which are of late Iron Age date, provides us with a limited amount of information regarding the use an exploitation of different types of tree species during the occupation of

the site. Evidence as to the types of wood used at structure one (Donnelly & MacGregor 2005, 42) is tentative as it is derived from a sample taken from a circular pit from within the structure, which contained fragments of willow, birch and hazel charcoal. It is difficult to assign any relevant meaning to this evidence, only to note that this type of wood was being used within or around this structure. The evidence from structure two (ibid) is perhaps more helpful as the samples analysed were taken from the construction slots of the building. The fill from the north side of the construction slot of the structure contained fragments of birch and willow charcoal, while samples from the south side contained alder, oak, birch and willow charcoal. This evidence is of course tentative and little can be said about the structural use of different types of tree, but it does allow us to construct a general picture as to the exploitation of different timbers at this site. Other fairly conjectural evidence for the use of particular types of wood in construction can also be seen at the early Iron Age ring ditch at Newton Farm in Cambuslang to the south of Glasgow (Obrien et al 2009), which produced an exclusive assemblage of alder charcoal, suggesting that, as was demonstrated for at Braehead, this feature could represent the remains of a roundhouse.

The evidence for the use of wood at the palisade defined, early Iron Age site of the Leven is more convincing. From the bulk samples taken from internal and external palisade features it can be seen that the most prominent tree species identified was oak, with some individual features containing large quantities of oak charcoal, while there was smaller amounts of alder, hazel and birch (Atkinson 2000, 24). This evidence, along with the detailed environmental record of the area (Ramsey & Banks 1995), which suggested a decline in oak around the Loudoun Hill area post 5000 BP, led Atkinson to suggest that oak was being specifically selected for its use as structural timbers (Atkinson 2000, 57). This again demonstrates that oak was probably the preferred material from which to construct palisades, as was demonstrated in relation to the palisades at Braehead. Indeed the use of oak to construct palisades may have had a long tradition in west central Scotland, as there is evidence from the middle Bronze Age site at Newton Mearns, to the south of

Glasgow, that of the three phases of palisades as the site, two contained evidence to suggest that they were at least partially constructed from oak (Toolis 2005).

The consistency in the use of both alder and oak can be seen in other areas of Scotland. For instance at Knowes in East Lothian, a first or second century AD site, excavated as part of the Traprain Law environs project (Haselgrove 2009), we can see that charcoal samples taken from one of the circular structures, CS2, which formed part of a settlement defined by a by a rectangular ditched enclosure, consisted exclusively of oak and alder, and were interpreted as possibly representing building material (Haselgrove 2009, 178). In addition earlier work by Childe at Rahoy in Morvern identified two oak stumps, apparently in situ, in the western margin of the internal paving (Childe & Thorneycroft 1938, 30-34), and although it is not clear whether these would have acted as roof supports or as internal features, they provide us with tantalising evidence for the use of wood in an Atlantic structure. The use of wood in Atlantic areas of Scotland would have been slightly different than in west central Scotland due to the lack of tree cover in these areas, particularly the Western Isles, where there would have been considerable more exploitation of driftwood as a source for architectural material. For instance through the archaeobotanical remains examined at Dun Bharabhat on Lewis, Church (2002) was able to demonstrate that due to the presence of bore holes on the spruce fragments recovered from the site, which was not a native species in the British Isles during the Iron Age, then it seems likely that this wood was gathered as driftwood, which had probably have originated in North America or even Siberia (Church 2002, 69-70). In addition the pine recovered from the site, which did not contain evidence for bore holes, appeared to have been grown under stressful conditions, indicating possible local exploitation of this material. Therefore Church was able to demonstrate that at Dun Bharabhat that "the procurement strategies for timber were both opportunistic, in terms of the driftwood, and also potentially managed, in the case of the locally derived pine" (Church 2002, 72). In addition to the use of driftwood it can be suggested that other sources of organic building material were also possibly being exploited by the builders of Atlantic

structures in areas where there was less access to wood, for instance Mulville (2002) has explored the role of Cetacea in the architecture of Atlantic Scotland.

The unenclosed roundhouse at Glen Cloy on Arran provides us with another example of the ways in which specific materials were used for certain architectural elements in the construction of a house. There is a very poor charcoal assemblage from Glen Cloy and little can be said about the use of different types of tree used at the site, however, one aspect of the architecture which can be explored in more detail is the use of particular types of stone in the construction of the souterrain which was associated with the house. Arran is comprised of two broad geological, and indeed geographical zones, a mountainous northern region, dominated by white granite outcrops and a more fertile southern region comprised of red sandstone geology, and as was noted in Chapter Seven, the excavator of Glen Cloy was keen to stress that both Sandstone and Granite orthostats, from the two different parts of the island were used to construct the souterrain, and in particular the interior entrance cell (Mudie 2007, 7-11). These quite distinctive stones were therefore interpreted as being deliberately chosen to be used in the souterrain, however for Mudie as the stones were of different colours, but were placed below ground and therefore not meant to be seen, they were not used for their aesthetic qualities, and instead may have been used for symbolic reasons (Mudie 2007, 26).

While the information gathered from these terrestrial sites give us a general picture of the use and exploitation of particular types of wood and other organic resources in the domestic architecture of the period, the best information we have comes from the waterlogged environments of the crannogs. These sites provide use with the greatest amount of information regarding the exploitation of the natural environment and richness of domestic life, which rarely survive form terrestrial sites. The marine crannogs of the Clyde, for instance, are an excellent archaeological resource in which to explore these issues, though as was highlighted in Chapter Seven, the majority of these sites were investigated in the early years of archaeological enquiry and as a result the information we have from these sites is

perhaps not as detailed as compared to sites such as Buiston and Oakbank, which have been excavated more recently. Nevertheless, the excavators of these sites were as thorough as could be expected of the period and a great deal of information regarding the exploitation of the environment, and the use of certain materials in these enigmatic sites was recorded. In addition, large amounts of animal bones survived at most of the sites which give us a unique record and a great deal of information regarding the exploitation of both wild and domesticated animals during the later part of the Iron Age in this part of Scotland.

One of the most striking aspects of the Clyde crannogs however, is the constancy of the materials used in their construction and the similarity of their architecture. Each site was built by driving large oak piles into the soft muds of the Clyde on which solid platforms of wood, especially alder, and stone could be built. While there are some individual differences at each site, for instance large tree trunks were placed between the oak piles at Langbank West apparently to consolidate the platform, this architectural consistency suggests that we are perhaps seeing an adherence to particular architectural conventions which may relate to not just the practicality of building these sites, but also to wider social rules about building and using these sites, and the particular activities that they could be used for. This suggests that these sites were built and used by members of the same community and we should perhaps not see them as individual sites, used or occupied by individual households, but perhaps places which were used by larger communities or groups. This is especially relevant in terms of how we interpret what these sites were used for, which was explored in the last chapter. The extensive use of both alder and oak can also be seen in the construction of the fresh water crannogs found in west central Scotland such at Buiston (Crone 2000), Lochlee (Munro 1882), Hyndford (Munro 1899) and Lochend (Montieth & Robb 1937) as well as at sites outwith the study area including Oakbank (Miller 2002). Importantly due to the taphonomic conditions at these sites, which would not have been subject to the same intensity of erosion in contrast to the marine crannogs, they provide us with

an extremely rich assemblage of environmental data compared to almost any other type of site from Iron Age Scotland.

Buiston, which as has been discussed in Chapter Seven, is of Packwerk design, which as has been demonstrated by Cavers (2005) is the most common form of crannog construction in this part of Scotland. As has been discussed in Chapter Seven Packwerk construction involves the construction of a large mound of organic material, usually of brushwood and turfs, laid down in layers on a loch bed in order to construct a secure platform on which to construct structures. At Buiston up to 3m of anthropogenic deposits consisting of brushwood, large timbers and stones, were dumped on to the loch bed in order to construct the primary mound. On top of this mound of material a more substantial layer of oak planks and alder timbers was laid down which was then topped by alternating layers of turf and brushwood (Crone 2000, 74). There was evidence that stakes were driven through the mound in order to define and contain the mound, but there was no evidence for a palisaded perimeter, like in the later phases of the site. A similar form of construction could be seen at Lochlee (Munro 1882, 99) where an initial brushwood mound was constructed of at least 3m of deposits, which was then capped by a layer of birch logs before a more formal arrangement of oak logs laid at right angle to each other was placed on top (Crone 2000, 105). This Packwerk design can also be seen at Hyndford where a brushwood mound was secured by a ring of multiple oak piles defining an area 15m in diameter (Munro 1899). At Lochend crannog (Montieth & Robb 1937) in Coatbridge we see two different types of construction consisting of Packwerk design and a free standing pile design indicating that the site was constructed and occupied over a number of different phases. The Packwerk phase was similar to all of the other fresh water crannogs in that it consisted of an artificial platform up to 1.5m thick consisting of stones, brushwood and clay on top of which there was evidence for two different phases of floor surfaces, which were defined by oak timber beams.

The constancy in the form of construction and the materials which were used, particularly of oak and alder, at these sites indicates that these settlements, which are all roughly contemporary, clearly represent a similar social and cultural way of occupying the landscape, however only Buiston has been subject to modern environmental analyses, and therefore it is this site which forms the template for analyses of these types of site. The brushwood at Buiston (Crone 2000, 78) which was used to construct the primary mound consisted primarily of willow (54 per cent), with smaller amounts of hazel (20 per cent) and birch (16 per cent) and while it seems likely that it would have been gathered from the area surrounding the loch (ibid), the pollen evidence recovered from the turfs that were examined paints a slightly different picture (Crone 2000, 74). For instance birch and willow pollen was not well represented in the pollen samples and it is possible that these trees did not grow in the immediate vicinity of the loch and was perhaps gathered from further afield. This is especially true of the birch, which might have come from drier areas further upslope from the loch. Willow, however, produces relative little pollen, and it could have come from closer to the loch. One notable element of the brushwood in the primary mound was the lack of alder used. Alder is present in the pollen evidence from the first phase, and would have been growing close to the shore of the loch and would have been easily assessable, but it was not used, instead the large alder timbers were used exclusively for the major structural elements of the mound (ibid). In the third to fifth phases of the site, between the second and sixth century AD, we see a marked change in the composition of the brushwood, particularly in the use of alder brushwood, representing 55 per cent of the assemblage, with some birch (20 per cent) and willow (17 per cent), and while this evidence might suggest that we are seeing the changing nature of the local woodland, Crone notes that the palynological evidence does not support this and it is possible that different construction practices may have been in place in the post Roman period (Crone 2000, 78). The oak used in the foundation platform appears to be relict material, possibly gathered from the loch shallows, and does not appear to have been growing within the vicinity of the loch.

Interestingly, in addition to the evidence relating to the exploitation of the different types of wood, from different parts of the landscape, used in the construction of the crannog at Buiston, two of the turfs, used to construct the primary mound were subject to detailed analysis which demonstrated that they also came from different parts of the landscape (Crone 2000, 67-70). The first turf came from an area of damp grassland, possibly from an area of pasture or a meadow while the second turf was taken from a wet wooded location perhaps close to the loch shore, demonstrating that a large geographical area was utilised in the construction of the primary mound. The area from which the first turf was gathered is of particular interest, as it would have been taken from good quality pastoral land ideally suited for the grazing of domestic animals (Crone 2000, 74). Therefore, if substantial amounts of turf from this area were exploited, the builders of the mound were effectively putting this area out of commission for a period of time. Thus as the land would have been unsuitable for grazing for a period of time, the people that gathered these turfs were effectively demonstrating that they could "afford" to consume, or perhaps give away, vast resources in the construction of the site.

Another crannog which provides evidence for the specific use of different species of wood in its construction as well as an excellent environmental record is Oakbank crannog in Perthshire, which although out with west central Scotland, greatly contributes to our understanding of the materiality of the Iron Age. For instance, we again see that both alder and oak were the most common trees used in the construction of this site, while a limited number of other species including birch, rowan, willow, elm and ash was also exploited (Miller 2002, 37). Both the alder and the oak appears to have come from mature and un-coppiced woodland, large tracts of which would have been exploited in the construction of the site. This woodland, which had perhaps dominated the local landscape for a considerable period of time, was cleared to construct this crannog, drastically altering the character of the woodland coverage in the area (Miller 2002, 37). Oakbank is one of eighteen crannogs so far discovered on Loch Tay, and while all of these crannogs may not be contemporary we can again suggest that, as with the area around Buiston, there

would have been considerable pressure on the landscape and the environment through the construction of these resource rich sites, which clearly would have had implications for social structure in the area.

Miller (2002, 38) suggests that the use of alder, from which all of the piles at Oakbank were created, was the ideal material due to the fact that as a species it grows in wet conditions, and is therefore extremely durable, and is able to withstand alternate wetting and drying, which the crannog would have been exposed to. Alder is also a relatively soft wood, which makes it ideal for working and could have been easily finished into stakes to support the crannog as well as for making domestic artefacts, as demonstrated in the range of alder utensils which were recovered from the site. Oak, which is a very dense wood, is much harder to work than alder and while it is not as suitable for creating every day utensils it is suitable for construction and appears to have been used exclusively as platform timbers at Oakbank. There is also a limited amount of evidence for the utilisation of other wood species at Oakbank (Miller 2002, 39). For instance there was evidence for the use birch as well as coppiced hazel, which may have been used to make the hurdles that would have been used to construct the frame for the roof, partitions and walls for the structures at Oakbank, which appear to have been stuffed with moss, rather than plastered with daub. The evidence for the exploitation of mosses at Oakbank (Miller 2002, 42) again demonstrates the importance of these waterlogged sites in terms of our understanding of Iron Age peoples use of the wide and varied resources of the landscape.

The consistent use of particular types of wood, and in particular of alder and oak, in the construction of crannogs has been examined in detail by Cavers (2005), while Pope (2003) has extensively examined the ways in which particular types of wood were used in roundhouse construction. For Cavers (2005, 43) the main reason that oak and alder was used, which was also noted by Miller (2002, 38), was probably due to the tolerance of both these species to repeated waterlogging and drying out as well as their hard wearing properties. Alder in particular is a water loving species

and as has been highlighted, often grows in close proximity to loch shores, where it would have been easily assessed as a raw material and used for a number of purposes. Oak in contrast, as we have seen, is excellent for creating long straight piles and planks and is and extremely strong and durable material. Indeed the oak piles from many crannogs still survive and protrude from loch beds today. Cavers (2005, 43-46) also notes that hazel, which could have been coppiced as was indicated at Oakbank, was widely used as a structural material, especially for hurdling. The use of other species of tree as structural timbers was less common on the crannogs, though birch, willow and ash have been recorded at a number of sites (Cavers 2005, 46-48), and have been noted in the examples highlighted above. This evidence, for selective procurement of particular types of wood for construction, of both crannogs and timber built roundhouses, suggests that rather than random whole scale forest clearance, the management and exploitation of woodland must have been done so at a communal level (Cavers 2005, 43). This would have been particularly important in areas where we see the greatest density of crannogs such as on the Clyde as well as around Buiston, as has been noted in Chapter Seven, where there would have been particular demand on woodland resources. This therefore has a number of implications about how we interpret these sites and how this relates to the ways in which society and the landscape was organised during the Iron Age.

## Materiality of Things

Before exploring what the selective procurement and communal management of the landscape might mean in terms of how we interpret social structure of the Iron Age in west central Scotland, other issues, specifically to do with the materiality and social and cultural importance of trees and stone needs to be addressed. The idea that the specific qualities of different materials were important in the past has become an increasingly important area of study in recent years (e.g. Ingold 2007). For instance a number of archaeologists have explored the use of different coloured stones in prehistoric monuments, and in particular Neolithic chambered tombs (i.e. Bradley 2000a; 2000b; Jones 1999; Scarre 2004) as well as stone circles (MacGregor

2002), while Cummings (2002) has explored the use of the texture of stones in chambered tombs. In addition the use of trees in prehistoric architecture has become an increasingly important area of study (Noble 2006; Cummings 2012) while the significance of woodland in peoples understandings of the Neolithic landscapes and monuments has also recently been explored (Cummings & Whittle 2003). While these approaches have seen increasing adoption in earlier prehistoric studies interpretations based on the use of different materials in the Iron Age is still restricted to symbolic/practical or ritual/practical dualisms.

For instance, as was mentioned briefly above, for Ellis (2007) the exclusive use of oak in the palisades of Braehead may have been associated with the display of power and prestige, similarly it has been demonstrated that particular types of stone may have been important and used for their symbolic qualities in the construction of the souterrain at Glen Cloy on Arran (Mudie 2007), while Cavers (2005) and Miller (2002) and Pope (2003) noted that along with alder, oak can be seen as having particular structural qualities that meant that they were the most suited type of wood for construction. We see in these interpretations two distinct ways of approaching and understanding the selective use of particular types of material. The first is to do with the importance of things for display, be they for the display of power or prestige (based on the idea of the exploitation and control of the landscape), or the use of particular materials to display, as a metaphor or symbol, religious belief. The second approach is based on the utilitarian and functional qualities of the material. While both these approaches are useful to a certain extent they do not allow for the fact that, as has been explored above in relation to the idea of the practical aspects of ritual, these ideas may not necessarily have been thought of or practiced in different ways. In addition they do not allow for the idea that they too may had cosmological significance and therefore were required to be used in the construction of successful homes or enclosures. Therefore, in the following section each of these interpretations shall be examined and critiqued in turn which will then allow us to critically reassess why particular things were used in the construction of houses, and enclosures during the

Iron Age. This will then let us explore how people in the Iron Age of west central Scotland understood their world, how they thought of themselves and how their households and communities were constituted. This will in turn allow us to construct new models of the Iron Age.

## Utilitarian and Symbolic Materiality

Functionalist interpretations to do with the practical qualities and the suitability of certain materials in their use in architecture as advanced by the likes of Miller (2002) and Cavers (2005) and (Pope 2003), remain stubbornly common in archaeological interpretation and especially so in Iron Age studies. For instance Henderson (2007) recently suggested that as Atlantic type sites were built from stone, rather than wood, they were therefore much more durable. These sites would have been occupied and remained in the landscape for many generations and therefore as families were more likely to remain in the same houses and the same locations for long periods of time this would mean that these stone built structures would have become important and significant places which were thus "capable of communicating social meanings across generations" and therefore have "significance in defining Atlantic group identities" (Henderson 2007, 301). Henderson therefore suggested that this deliberate choice in the use of durable stone compared to degradable wood, would mean that "architectural traditions of building in stone were culturally mediated and thus indicate[ed] that a different social materiality was in existence in Atlantic areas" (Henderson 2007, 154).

There are a number of problems with these arguments however and there is a danger in utilitarian and functionalist interpretations that we are privileging just one aspect of the materiality of these things; in this case their durability. It should be recognised that by privileging this particular quality of stone's materiality our understandings and interpretations of this material is skewed by our modern western notions of what constitutes value: practicality or usefulness. While this aspect of materiality may have been important in the past, as is explored below,

other aspects of materiality may have been just as important for Iron Age people, and therefore the arguments advanced by Henderson (2007) need to be examined in more detail. For instance, as has been demonstrated throughout this thesis, many of the sites outwith the Atlantic areas which have been excavated can be seen to have been occupied over considerable lengths of time, sometimes for several centuries, and often incorporate many different phases of construction and forms of enclosure, using different materials. Therefore the durability of stone, which for us as archaeologists is an obvious measurable and knowable quality of its materiality, was clearly not solely significant in determining the durability or permanence of a settlement and has has been demonstrated sites built from or defined by wood also occupied the same location for several centuries. These timber-defined sites were also capable of communicating social meaning across generations as well as contributing and defining group identities. Therefore, whether houses were built from timber or stone, enclosed by ramparts or palisades, social and cultural meaning would have been communicated, forming "theatres of memory" (Watkins 2004, 97) where the history of the community, its inhabitants, former inhabitants, stories and myths were recorded, retained, transmitted and materialised. At the same time it can also be seen that wider social and cultural practices, to do with the cosmological significance of the house, were also being materialised. We can see that across west central Scotland the same cosmological concerns, as demonstrated in the orientation of different forms of enclosed site, were being materialised, indicating that even though houses or enclosures may have been built out of different materials, people and groups from across the area were sharing in wider social and cultural practices and therefore sharing in common social and cultural identities.

The ways in which materials are assigned symbolic value and meaning by archaeologists is also often caught up with these traditional functionalist interpretations. As with interpretations to do with the utilitarian materiality, the symbolic aspects of different materials are also often interpreted and assigned meaning by archaeologists in uncritical ways, which are again often caught up in

privileging just one aspect of their materiality. For instance the symbolic significance of objects or architectural materials is often caught up in the visual hegemony of western thought (Pallasmaa 2005), which promotes this aspect or qualities of architecture as being of primary importance. The privileging of the visual aesthetic over haptic and aural experiences for instance, is a particular modern western way of responding to architecture and therefore this affects how we as archaeologists evaluate what qualities of architecture were important in the past, and while there has been growing interest in a multi-sensory approach to archaeology (e.g. Skeates 2010), Iron Age studies have in general been slow to adopt these kind of interpretations. For instance as the stones that were used to construct the souterrain at Glen cloy were of different colours, and therefore had different but clearly important qualities, Mudie suggested that they must have been used to fulfil some sort of "symbolic purpose" (Mudie 2007, 26) because, as they were below ground "they were clearly not used for [their] obvious visual artistic effect" (ibid) and therefore they did not appear to have fulfilled any practical purpose. Similarly, as we have seen, the exclusive use of oak in the palisades at Braehead, instead of using other equally useful timber, led Ellis (2007, 247) to suggest that this was done so as oak would have produced a distinctive aesthetic effect, creating an impressive facade, which for Ellis was tied up with the deliberate display of power and prestige.

We are therefore seeing in both these utilitarian and symbolic interpretations a reinforcement of the ritual/practical dualisms which have dominated Iron Age studies, which restrict our understanding of the period. These interpretations limit our understanding of the ways in which people in the Iron Age defined themselves, negotiated their identities and understood and constructed their communities. We therefore need to approach the use of material in relation to the arguments outlined above in relation to practical aspects of ritual, agency and personhood, rather than one which privileges our modern western understandings of the world, that define things in relation to their practical or useful qualities, so that we can recognise the multiple, complex ways in which people engage with material. By

approaching the use of material in this way we are able to think about Iron Age communities as an assemblage, of not just people, but also of things, houses, enclosures and places. This will in turn allow us to develop more complex models which will help us to explore issues to do with Iron Age social structure, as is examined in the next chapter.

## Iron Age Peoples Engagement with Architectural Materials

New interpretations about how Iron Age people used different materials are especially relevant if we acknowledge the active role that architectural materials may have had, through their effective agency (Gell 1998; Dobres & Robb 2000; Robb 2004; 2010) and perhaps their associated personhood (Fowler 2004), in assembling both structures and their communities (Harris 2012; 2013), as was defined above. One way of approaching or understanding the active role that architectural materials may have had in assembling communities is to think about the ways in which Iron Age people interacted with the material. For instance instead of thinking about how Iron Age people would impose their plans or designs on to inanimate but suitable materials, it can be suggested that they instead entered into a dialogue and engaged in active partnerships with the material and their physical qualities and that through these dialogues, houses and enclosures would emerge (Ingold 2000). The physical materiality of the architectural materials themselves would therefore have played an active part in shaping the relationships of meaning that they embodied and therefore the monuments, houses or enclosures that they helped to create (Scarre 2004, 142). For instance, in the case of the use of the hard and durable oak and alder in the construction of crannogs or in the use of durable and long lasting stone in the construction of Atlantic roundhouses, this material was "not merely selected … for their [its] utilitarian [durable] suitability, but in a sense enter[ed] into [an] active partnership" (Scarre 2004, 142) with the architects and therefore helped to create these long lasting and durable sites. Partnerships which were reinforced by the specific physical qualities of the material, their hardness and durability or their softness and malleability but

also through their haptic, aural and visual qualities, in other words by their materiality (*ibid*).

Therefore, for example, it can be argued that the use of both alder and oak in the construction of the crannogs is tied up with their utilitarian qualities, their strength, their durability, and the ways in which they could be worked. It is these aspects of the materiality of oak and alder which meant that they became important trees, engaging in partnerships with the builders of the crannogs to construct and help materialize these structures but also create, through their engagement and partnerships with the builders connections with the wider cosmographical world from which the trees are derived (Scarre 2004, 142; Helms 2004). The engagement with these specific aspects of the materiality of alder and oak may have in turn imbued these materials with wider social and cultural significance which carried with it quite specific potency, perhaps related to the idea that by building houses or crannogs with this material, these sites, the builders of these sites, and the people that lived within them were also actively engaging with this potency which was related to their durability, strength and their distinctive aesthetic qualities, as well as the cosmologically significant properties of landscapes from which the trees were taken. The potency associated with these different aspects of the materiality of the timber would have been socially mediated as the people that worked with the material engaged with the timber, from its felling to its transport, to its manipulation and its incorporation into varies structures. This engagement with the material would have required communal action, representing shared experiences which in turn created communities; communities which as we have seen, can be thought of as assemblages of people, places, monuments as well as things, or in this case trees.

The ways in which different materials or architectural features have traditionally been assigned symbolic or metaphoric importance by archaeologists has not taken this approach, however. For instance although Ellis (2007) suggests that oak would have been used because it was associated with power, prestige and social status,

she is not suggesting that it is the oak itself that would have engendered these notions, but the ways in which Iron Age people could control access to these resources. However, by following the arguments advanced above we can suggest that as people engaged with and entered active partnerships with the oak, which would be used to create a distinctive and impressive façade, it can be suggested that it is this materiality of the oak that meant that it became important and was perhaps appropriated with associations to do with power and prestige. Therefore rather than simply reflecting or acting as a symbol of prestige or power, it is through the act of creating these impressive facades, that were constructed with potent and socially and culturally important material, that power and prestige was materialised.

While these arguments allow us to explore how certain materials can be processual and relational (Ingold 2007, 11-14), Conneller suggests that a critique that could be levelled at them is that they continue to force distinctions between the socially imbued material of culture, with the inanimate and exploitable material of nature (Conneller 2011, 14). This is of course problematic, given the arguments advanced above in relation to the practical aspects of ritual (Brück 1999; Bradley 2005) and the cosmological significance of active architectural material. Conneller (ibid) argues that a way of addressing this problem is to question the distinctions we create between concepts and things. Conneller suggests that we should understand that the concepts that we attach to material "are not in the mind, cultural representations that are layered onto things, but are identical with the things themselves" (Conneller 2011, 14). An example of a way in which we can approach the idea that material is not just socially and culturally imbued with potency but rather is in itself potent, has been explored by Holbraad in his anthropological account of the use of a particular powder, aché, used by Afro-Cuban diviners which was the source of their power (Holbraad 2007, 189). Holbraad demonstrates that the way in which we as modern observes would view the powder would be to see it or interpret it as a material to which the Afro-Cuban diviners would attach the idea or concept of power and use it as a symbol or metaphor for power. It would then

be our task as archaeologists to explore how or why the powder came to be associated with power and how this idea of power would then be materialised, i.e. how did power become associated this powdery substance. However, Holbraad demonstrated that the Afro-Cuban diviners did not think that the powder was powerful, because it was associated with a long tradition of being socially or culturally attributed with this concept, instead they understood that the *powde*r *was power* (Holbraad 2007, 189-225) For instance the powder would be used by the diviners by spreading it on special boards, and divination would then occur as the diviner marked the powder with their fingers. This would result in the invocation of particular gods or deities becoming immanent in the marks made in the powder by the diviners. The presence of the deities could only be achieved through the nature, or the materiality, of the powder, as it was and could be marked. As a result the "power of powder is part of [the] process that emerges through its physical properties … [its ability to be marked, and thus] renders deities immanent" (Conneller 2011, 15).

This kind of interpretation is extremely significant, and while we do not have the same kind of privilege that Holbraad had in being able to communicate with his subjects, and we have to be cautious in applying anthropological analogy to interpretations of the past, this idea offers us a new way of exploring the ways in which Iron Age people may have used and understood certain architectural materials, as it allows us to collapse the dichotomy traditionally imposed on the physical object and the mental representation (Conneller 2011, 15-16). So, in the case of oak for instance, instead of viewing it as a useful, durable and visually impressive material that may have had the symbolic idea of power attached, instead it can be understood that it is through these very qualities of the material that it may have been thought of as a powerful-wood by Iron Age people. If we accept that different materials could have been understood in these kinds of ways by people in the Iron Age, this would have profound implications as to the ways in which material would have constructed peoples identities and communities, the ways in which the landscape and the things within it were understood, controlled

and exploited and the ways in which Iron Age society was organised. This is especially relevant given the arguments advanced above in relation to the active role of things, the practical aspects of ritual and the cosmological significance of structures and the material that they are built from. Therefore, by thinking about material in this way we can move beyond understanding material as being made up of its mechanical properties and its imposed cultural meaning, and instead recognise that these concepts are utterly indivisible.

Of course the idea that certain trees, especially oak, had special significance for Iron Age peoples has had a long history of study. For instance by examining classical sources Piggott (1968) was able to demonstrate that the Romans for instance provide us with a glimpse of religious and ritual practice during the Iron Age in the form of the druids, and while there has been considerable debate as to the authenticity of their descriptions, which were of course inherently biased, they do provide us with some intriguing accounts of the period. For instance as Piggott (1968, 110) noted, Pliny the Elder described in his Natural History a ritual involving the cutting down of mistletoe from a sacred oak tree which was then used for a number of important rituals. Piggott (1968, 100-101) also explored in some detail the etymology of the name druid, agreeing with classical scholars such as Pliny that it related to the Greek word for oak-tree, *drus*, and that the second syllable was related to the Indo-European root *wid*, 'to know', thus for Pliny the druids were 'oak-seers' or 'oak-knowers'. This rather tentative evidence, suggests that for classical writers, oak was integral to the ritual world of the Celts and their druid priests (Joy 2011). The importance of the natural world for "Celtic" peoples was recorded by a number of other classical authors, for instance, in what is perhaps one of the most famous accounts of the druids in Britain, Tacitus's describes the advance of the Roman army and their assault on Anglesey where they destroyed the sacred groves of the island (Fitzpatrick 2007, 289). Caesar also described the druids in some detail (Piggott 1968), noting that they were concerned with the movement of the stars, the cosmos and the world of nature. This evidence should of course be taken with a degree of caution, but it nevertheless demonstrates that

for the Romans, it was important to record that the druids and Celtic people in general held the natural world as being important, and that it warranted recording.

Therefore, instead of an impressive oak built palisade representing symbolic *ideas* of power and prestige, it can be suggested that if Iron Age people understood that oak was powerful, this would mean that by building with and engaging with this material, the builders of sites such as Braehead were incorporating this power into the site and therefore creating a powerful place. Similarly instead of the stones in the souterrain at Glen Cloy *representing* different parts of the landscape, the stones may have been thought of *as* the landscape, taken and incorporated into the monument and thus imparting the essence or potency of the different parts of the landscape into the souterrain, perhaps legitimising its use and function. In the consistent use of particular types of material, such as in the use of alder and oak in the construction of the crannogs, we can see that people in the Iron Age were intimately aware and continually concerned with engagement with particular materials, which would impart particular potencies to a site, and indeed the entire community. The durable nature of oak and alder in particular suggest that they were used in the crannogs to perhaps insure the permanence of not just the site but also to ensure the continued permanence of the community or household that first built the site. So that long after individual human members of the community had died, the community continued to exist because its continued presence, materialised in the permanence of the structure. Of course, as has been discussed in Chapter Seven, and explored in more detail in Chapter Nine, by the time that crannogs were beginning to be built in large numbers, in the last few centuries BC, the ways in which society operated had begun to change, and it can be suggested that we start to see a shift in the way the landscape was perceived and controlled, and instead of the carful curation of the important landscape we see that there was an increased desire to control and exploit the landscape.

These ideas allow us to understand how and why certain materials were used in the construction of houses, crannogs, souterrains and enclosures during the Iron Age,

moreover these ideas challenge the anthropocentric interpretations which have dominated archaeological understanding of the ways in which people understood themselves and how identities were constituted and negotiated. They allow us to explore more fully the ways in which households and communities were created, so that they can be thought of as being assemblages of people, places, monuments, houses, enclosures, animals and things, be they trees or stones. As a result of this, we have to develop new models for the Iron Age, ones which challenge the dominate notions of hierarchy, and the functionalist exploitation of the landscape, which relegates ideas to do with ritual and cosmology to a secondary role in the lives of Iron Age peoples. In the next chapter these issues shall be brought together along with the new morphological framework which has been created in this research in order to explore what these issues mean in terms of how we understand social structure in the Iron Age of west central Scotland.

# Chapter Nine: Social Structure in the Iron Age of west central Scotland

## Introduction

We have seen in the last chapter how the landscape and the things within it would have been important for the people of the Iron Age in west central Scotland. The landscape would have been shaped and maintained through social practice, linked to cosmological understands of the world but also its physical materiality. These two, mutually inclusive, elements of the landscape, its cosmological significance and its physical reality, would have helped to define, maintain and reinforce particular forms of social relationships (Brück 2011; Kristiansen 2013). They would have affected the ways in which people assembled and defined their settlements, exploited and managed the resources of the landscape and organised and structured their lives and communities. Therefore, by exploring the nature of settlement, the ways in which they were constructed and the things that they were constructed from, we are able to explore and to better understand the role of settlement in relation to issues such as social structure. By building on the morphological framework which has been established in this research as well as the ideas developed in the previous chapter, this chapter will focus on issues to do with the ways in which Iron Age society in west central Scotland was organised. This will in turn allow us to explore issues to do with regional and social identity that allow us to examine and critically assess the broad regional interpretive traditions which have dominated understanding of Iron Age west central Scotland.

Before examining the role of settlement in relation to how social structure was defined in west central Scotland, issues to do with the use of particular types of material culture needs to be briefly addressed, specifically focusing on the shale

objects, the pottery and the iron working evidence. These particular objects are important as they can be used to explore ideas to do with the cosmological importance of the landscape and the things within it, which was developed in the previous chapter. This is particularly true for the shale objects, which have received the most attention by archaeologists. Many of these objects that have been found in west central Scotland have been subject to scientific analyses which allow us to identify the probable source of their raw material. As a result we can explore issues to do with long distance trade, as well as the use and exploitation of particular places the landscape. In addition the artefacts examined below allow us to explore issues to do with social structure and regional identity. The shale objects, the pottery and the iron working evidence are found throughout the region, on a variety of different sites, as a result these objects provide evidence to help critically reassess the broad regional frameworks which have dominated interpretations of the period. These issues have also recently been explored by Hunter (2007) in relation to the *Massive Metal Work* that is found throughout Scotland. In addition, these objects allow us to consider the relative social status of the occupants of the different sites of the area where they are found, this in turn, allows us to explore the ways in which social structure in west central Scotland were organised.

## The Material Culture of the Iron Age in West Central Scotland

The material culture associated with the Iron Age in west central Scotland is fairly typical of the material that is found across the rest of Scotland at this time, though there are some regionally specific traditions which mark this area out compared to other parts of the country. In general it can be seen, from the limited number of excavations, which have tended to focus on the crannogs and the small enclosed sites, that the archaeological record of sites dated to the early to middle Iron Age is dominated by a range of basic coarse stone tools, crude handmade pottery and shale bangles, while there are occasionally metal items as well as metal working evidence. As with the settlement evidence from this area, there has been relatively

little attention paid to this material culture. There have been no comprehensive synthesis of these artefacts, and it is, in general, difficult to draw any firm chronological, typological or indeed interpretive conclusions to do with the majority of this material, and we are often left to compare the material to better understood assemblages or material from other parts of the country. Having said this however some initial observations can be made relating to some of this material. For instance it can be seen that there appears to have been a relatively homogenous and fairly utilitarian range of artefacts found at all types of site throughout the region, from the small enclosed sites to the large hilltop defined sites. For example as McLaren and Hunter (in Ellis 2007, 223) note, there is a broadly similar range of cobble stone tools that are found at sites across the region, while as is demonstrated below, there is a common distribution of objects such as the shale bangles and the handmade pottery. This indicates that the people of west central Scotland were partaking in shared forms of social and cultural practice, possibly indicating common ways of dress as well as eating and preparing food, and therefore participating in and creating a shared social and cultural identity across the wider region.

## Shale, Cannel Coal, Jet and Lignite Jewellery

Some of the most common artefacts that are found at sites dating to the Iron Age in west central Scotland are the black, polished, bangles, beads and rings (Hunter 1998; 2007) (Table 11). These types of personal ornament are almost ubiquitous across the whole of west central Scotland, from Kintyre in the west to Lanarkshire in the east (Fig 177). In addition, as is demonstrated in the graph below, they are found on a range of early Iron Age sites (Fig 178) from the small enclosed sites such as the Leven (Atkinson 2000) to the massive hilltop sites such as Walls Hill (Alexander 1996), as well as on the later Iron Age crannogs and Atlantic roundhouses. All of these sites date to the first millennium BC and the first few centuries AD, and although there is considerable evidence for the use of jet jewellery in the early Bronze Age in Scotland (Sheridan & Davis 2002), examples of

these kinds of personal objects are of a different style compared to the Iron Age examples and tend to come from grave contexts. However, it should be noted that an apparently early example of the typical Iron Age, D-Shaped bangle, was recovered from an unenclosed platform settlement at Bodsberry Hill in Lanarkshire (Sheridan & Davis 2002, 819-820). Here, segments of two different bangles were discovered from the primary phase of the site (Terry 1993, 58-59), which is thought to date to the middle of the first half of the second millennium BC (Terry 1993, 61). Though there have been no similar artefacts recovered from any of the other Bronze Age settlements that have so far been excavated in west central Scotland. In addition, while there are examples from early medieval contexts, the majority of finds that we have from this area, come from Iron Age sites. Therefore it can be suggested that the tradition of making and wearing polished black bangles is a typical Iron Age practice in west central Scotland.

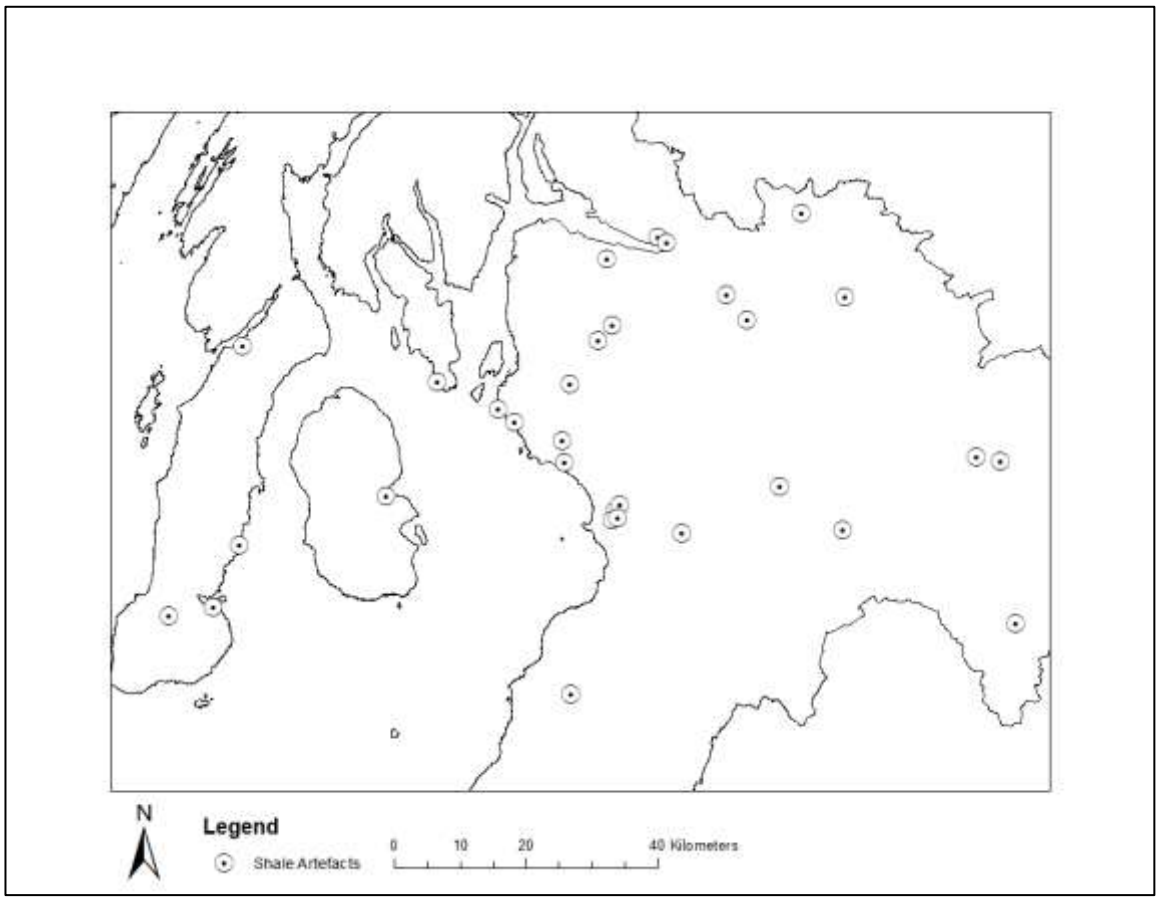


**Fig 177 Distribution of Shale objects in west central Scotland**

As Hunter (1998; 2007) has highlighted these objects have variously been described as jet, lignite, cannel coal, or shale in what appears to be fairly interchangeable ways. However through analysis using X-ray fluorescence (XRF) and X-ray, Hunter (1998; 2007) has been able to demonstrate the composition, and likely source, of many of these objects. For instance all but two of the many complete, broken and discarded, objects that were found at Auldhill in Ayrshire (Caldwell et al 1998) have been identified as a cannel coal, which appears to have been derived from a local source. This late Iron Age assemblage may have been derived from one of the many local and extensive Coal Measures in the area, deposits of which can be found 10km to the south east, around the Saltcoats area, and to the east, around Dalry, while there are also cannel coal and shale outcrops 20km to the north east, around Lochwinnoch (Cameron & Stephenson 1985, 48-91). The two objects at Auldhill, which did not come from a local source, had very different compositions, compared to the locally exploited materials, which suggest that they might have been traded items. One had characteristics which suggested that it was a lignite, sources for which have been identified on several islands off the west coast of Scotland, while the other was an oil shale, which is most commonly found in the Lothians (Hunter 1998, 48). Importantly, these objects appear to have been treated differently compared to the other objects found at the site. For instance it appears that the shale object was being reused to create beads while the lignite object, which was very finely made, was subject to careful repair and curation, suggesting that these were perhaps regarded as being different or important objects (Hunter 1998, 53).

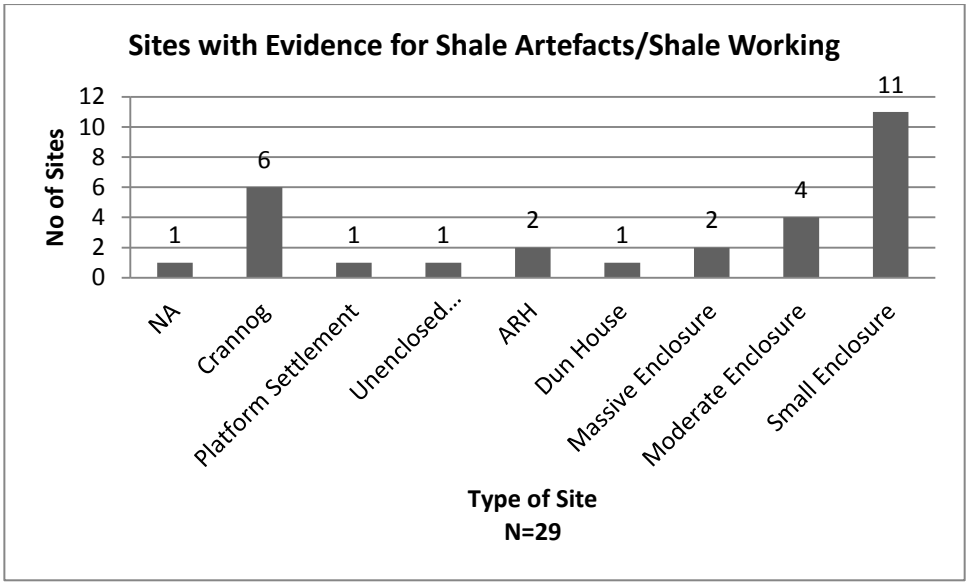


**Fig 178 The type of sites in west central Scotland that have evidence for shale objects or shale working evidence. Note the crannog and small enclosure bias, which reflects history of excavation.**

Interestingly the two bangle fragments which were recovered from the later Iron Age unenclosed roundhouse at Glen Cloy also demonstrate a very similar composition compared to the locally sourced material from Auldhill, which suggests they may have come from the same source (Hunter 2007, 20). These Glen Cloy bangles were un-finished and it appears that they were broken and abandoned just before they were complete, indicating evidence for craft working activity at this site, even though no other material, such as working debitage, was recovered during the excavation. There was also considerable evidence for bangle manufacture at Auldhill (Hunter 1998) where a number of broken or unfinished objects, as well as large amounts of material related to their manufacture, were recovered. Though this material was of a limited amount compared to the range of material that was found at Braehead.

The abundance of material recovered from Braehead, offers us the most important and comprehensive evidence regarding the manufacture of these objects compared to any other site in Scotland, suggest that this site was a major craft centre. The material recovered from Braehead was identified as representing three groups of material including cannel coal, canneloid shale and oil shale, which, given the similarities in their composition led Hunter (2007, 209) to suggest that they came

from a related, and probably relatively local, source. Braehead lies at the edge of the Central Coalfield ( Cameron & Stephenson 1985, 61, 64, 66–91) and as such there would probably have been readily accessible source from which to gather this material, though there is no direct evidence for any significant outcrops or exposures in the vicinity, which would probably have been removed in antiquity (Hunter 2007, 209). Having said this, given that Braehead is located close to the shore of the river Clyde, and as the exactor argued that the site may have been seasonally occupied (Ellis 2007), it is possible to suggest that people congregated at this site at particular times of year to gather material which may have been exposed and eroded from the soft estuarine sediments of the Clyde, after periods of heavier rainfall or higher tides.

The assemblage at Braehead included sixty-five items that were broken and abandoned during the course of their manufacture, along with fourteen blocks of raw material as well as a huge amount of working debris, including flakes and other fragments of debitage, weighing up to 920g. In addition to this material there was also one small segment of a complete bangle. This material provides us with detailed evidence as to the processes involved in this important craft activity, from the collection of the raw material, through to the various stages of manufacture, particularly of bangles, to the finished product, as is explored in comprehensive detail by Hunter (2007, 203-219). The fact that only one small fragment of a finished object was found at the site suggests that while Braehead was a major craft production centre, finished objects were perhaps not used at the site. Instead it can be suggested that the initial gathering and shaping of the material was undertaken at this site before the final working took place at different sites (Hunter 2007, 212). This might indicate the seasonal nature of occupation at the site, as was suggested by Ellis (2007). Where people form the wider community would congregate to gather material form this apparently important source, and begin to shape jewelry, or equally, the occupants of the site may have been engaged in manufacture and trade as part of a social network, as has been discussed by Moore (2007b).

As was explored in detail in the last chapter, particular forms of material and the places from which this material was from, would have been fundamentally important to how people in the Iron Age of west central Scotland would have structured their lives and understood the world. For example, it was demonstrated that oak trees and the landscape from which it was gathered was an important element in materialising and legitimising powerful enclosures. Oak trees would have not have just been important in helping to construct powerful sites however, through its important qualities it would have helped to assemble communities and identities (Harris 2012) as people engaged with it and worked with it. Similarly as we can see with the evidence presented above, the use of black and highly polished stone as personal jewellery was clearly important to the people of west central Scotland during the Iron Age. Whilst we might not be able to fully understand the social or cultural reasons why this might have been the case, it can be suggested that the places from which this material was gathered may have been an important factor in its use. For instance as has been discussed in the last chapter, certain parts of the landscape may have held special or important significance for the community and therefore the material gathered from these locations may had particular potencies (Holbradd 2007; Conneller 2011) which would have been associated with these places. Therefore it can be suggested that the un-finished objects found at Braehead, created from material gathered from the shores of the Clyde, perhaps at particular points in the year, which then appear to have been circulated within wider society, to be finished at other sites (Hunter 2007, 212), may have had some sort of special significance, perhaps related to the importance of the river. As the jewellery was finished and worn by a person, perhaps some distance from its original source, there was nevertheless a connection with the place from which it originated, which was perhaps potent or powerful or cosmologically significant, which was then imparted to the wearer.

Interestingly, as was highlighted by Sharples (2010, 131), there is evidence from Wessex, as seen at sites such as Danebury (Cunlife & Poole 1991, 368), South Cadberry (Barret et al. 2000, 262), and Meare (Coles 1987), that the circulation of unfinished bangles was a common practice across the country, which suggests that

even though this material was easily accessible across much of west central Scotland and Wessex, there appears to have been particular sources that may have been more important than others. The importance of specific places in the creation of particular objects appears to have been a common feature in the Iron Age of Britain. For instance Moore (2007b) demonstrated that in the later Iron Age in south west Britain a number of types of pottery made from particular fabrics found in specific places in the landscape, which perhaps had long histories of significance (Moore 2007b, 90-91), were distributed over wide areas and found on a range of different sites. For instance fabrics deriving from the Malvern Hills were exchanged up to 70Km from their source, while various forms of Glastonbury ware, which were made from material derived from the Mendip Hills, and in particular the Beacon Hill area, were also widely distributed (Moore 2007b, 80-85). Moore (2007b, 84-85) also highlighted that the manufacture of objects from particular places in the landscape, which were then distributed throughout the wider region could also be seen in objects such as the quern stones and currency bars as well as in salt briquetage.

As has been noted above, we can see examples of the importance of non-local material in the two imported examples found at Auldhill. These objects are visually near-identical to the objects made from the locally available material, but they were the only objects found at the site to have been repaired or reworked, suggesting that they were valued in different ways (Hunter 1998; 2007). These objects may have come from a culturally important source, or they may have been recognised as coming from a different area and therefore they were perhaps regarded as exotica. The importance of the source of these objects may have been given added significance if they were associated with trade or tribute, and therefore they were also socially important items which were material expressions of complex social relationships (Moore 2007b, 93-95). Though as discussed above they may also have been important because they had particular kinds of potency, perhaps related to specific places in the landscape.

## The significance of the shale objects

More work on the sourcing of the cannel coal and shale objects that are found at different sites across west central Scotland needs to be carried out before we can begin to construct more detailed narratives relating to the use of this material. However, from the limited evidence that is presented here, it can be suggested that particular places in the landscape and the material that was derived from these places, was culturally and socially important. This therefore lets us begin to explore the significance of this material and how this significance might have changed over the course of the Iron Age, and what this might mean in terms of how society was organised. For instance it can be suggested that the changing nature of enclosure at Braehead may have been related to the changing social importance of the black material that was recovered from around this site. It can be seen that rather than jewellery making being an important craft activity throughout the occupation of Braehead, which had many different phases of enclosure, there were in fact particular periods when it became more important. The majority of the material recovered from Braehead came from the ditch fills, which have been dated to 600-400BC, while there was only a limited amount of material recovered from the later structures, therefore indicating that the main phase of craft activity at the site was in the early to middle Iron Age. This therefore suggests that the importance of specific sources of material fluctuated over time depending on local, and perhaps regional, social and cultural circumstances, throughout the period. Another example of the fluctuating importance of a site can be seen at Sheep Hill (MacKie 1972; Forthcoming). Evidence for the use of shale bangles are found throughout the Iron Age occupation of this site, but it is in the final, late Iron Age phase, of occupation at the site, which appears to have been un-enclosed, that MacKie (Forthcoming) notes an intensive period of shale bangle manufacture.

If we accept that certain sources of material may have been important in the creation of these black, polished objects, how can we use the evidence to explore

issues such as social structure? This is clearly an issue as it can be seen that the procurement of material and the creation of these objects appears to have taken place on a wide range of sites across west central Scotland. For example we can see that in the early to middle Iron Age, craft activity relating to the production of these objects took place at small enclosed sites such as the Leven as well as Craigmarloch and Balloch Hill, while there was also evidence from the more moderate enclosed sites in the region, such as at Sheep Hill and Carwinnning, as well as at the massive sites of Dunagoil, Harpercroft and Walls Hill. This therefore suggests that while there may have been specific centres, such as Braehead and Auldhill that were associated with the curation and distribution of important specially imbued materials, the largest sites in the area did not control access to this material, or the creation and distribution of the objects made from them. Indeed it can be suggested that there was no direct or authoritative control over the procurement of this material, the craft process or the use of these objects.

This is a similar pattern to that which has been observed by Sharples (2010, 128-131) in his review of shale objects from Wessex, where he noted that, as there was large quantities of craft waste at a number of sites around Purbeck, the "production of the armlets was not tightly controlled" (Sharples 2010, 130-131). This suggests that the creation and use of these black objects, across British Isles during the early Iron Age, was not directly related to the idea of social difference or hierarchical power, and while sites such as Braehead may have been important or special places for the creation of these objects at particular times, they did not control, in an economic sense, the use of these objects. Therefore it can be suggested that this material and indeed the landscape from which it was gathered was organised and curated by the wider community, where specific resources perhaps were important depending on wider social and cultural circumstance. This is similar in many ways to the communal curation and exploitation of the woodland, as was discussed in the previous chapter.

While the distribution of these distinctive objects is important in letting us explore social structure in west central Scotland during the Iron Age they also allow us to

examine issues to do with regional and social identity. For instance it can be suggested that these bangles, beads and rings, along with the associated working evidence, materialize this craft activity, across the region, at both the household level as well as at a community level. This in turn means that, in a broader sense, we are seeing a shared social and cultural practice across west central Scotland, one that lasted for most of the first millennium BC and into the early centuries AD. This has a number of implications about how we interpret the Iron Age in west central Scotland, especially to do with issues such as regional identity. As can be seen from the diagrams above, the use of cannel coal objects was common across the entire region, from Kintyre in the west through to Lanarkshire in the east; this suggests that people across the region were sharing in common, social and cultural practices.

This is an important observation, and one that is masked by the traditional morphological classifications of settlement sites that have been used in the past to create the broad regional zones. These artefacts, along with the pottery which is discussed below, demonstrate that although people may have been constructing and enclosing their homes using different materials, they were in fact sharing in broad regional traditions of daily practice, as has also been seen in relation to the size and orientation of the enclosed sites, as discussed in Chapter Six. People across the region were involved in this craft activity that meant that they were participating and sharing in broad regional, social and cultural practices which would in turn have materialized shared notions of identity (Fowler 2004) and community (Harris 2012), as was discussed in detail in the last chapter. Indeed it can be seen that the use of shale bangles was in fact not a common practice across the whole of Scotland, for instance Hunter (2007, 212) highlights that "such jewellery is markedly rarer" in places such as the Western and Northern Isles as well as north-east Scotland. Therefore we are seeing in these objects a distinctive west central Scotland style.

# The Ceramic Tradition in West Central Scotland

Another distinctive west central Scotland phenomenon can be seen in the pottery that is found in the region (Table 12). This part of Scotland has traditionally been regarded as being A-Ceramic (e.g. Harding 2004, 107, 141; SCARF 2012), and while it is true that the area lacks the highly decorated and individual ceramics of the Western Isles, or the diversity of pottery styles that are found in north east England, as demonstrated by Anderson (2011), it can be seen in the map below (Fig 179) that pottery is found at sites dated to the Iron Age, throughout the region. However compared to the ceramic tradition of the Bronze Age in west central Scotland, where large amounts of pottery appear to have been routinely made and used, the quantity of material dated to the Iron Age is much smaller (Fig 180). For instance in the majority of the Bronze Age hut circles which have been excavated in the region, large amounts of pottery have been recovered. For example at Tormore on Arran "450 sherds representing an estimated 98 vessels" (Barber 1997, 21) of a handmade pottery were recovered, while at Picketlaw in Renfrew a large amount of course bucket shaped pottery was recovered from around the outside of the house (Alexander 1996, 31). This is contrast to the number of fragments of pottery that are found on sites dating to the Iron Age. For example even though up to 77 sherds of pottery were recovered from the small excavation carried out at Harpercroft, this material appears to have come from only two complete pots (Rideout et al 1992). While approximately 90 fragments of coarse, coil built pottery was recovered from Braehead which are thought to represent just twelve vessels (MacSween 2007, 219), a relatively small amount considering the length of time this site was occupied. This suggests that even though pottery was commonly used at Iron Age sites across the region, it may have been done so on a limited bases, suggesting that other types of vessel, perhaps made out of wood, wicker or leather, which do not often survive archaeologically, were more often used in this part of Scotland (MacSween 2007, 220).

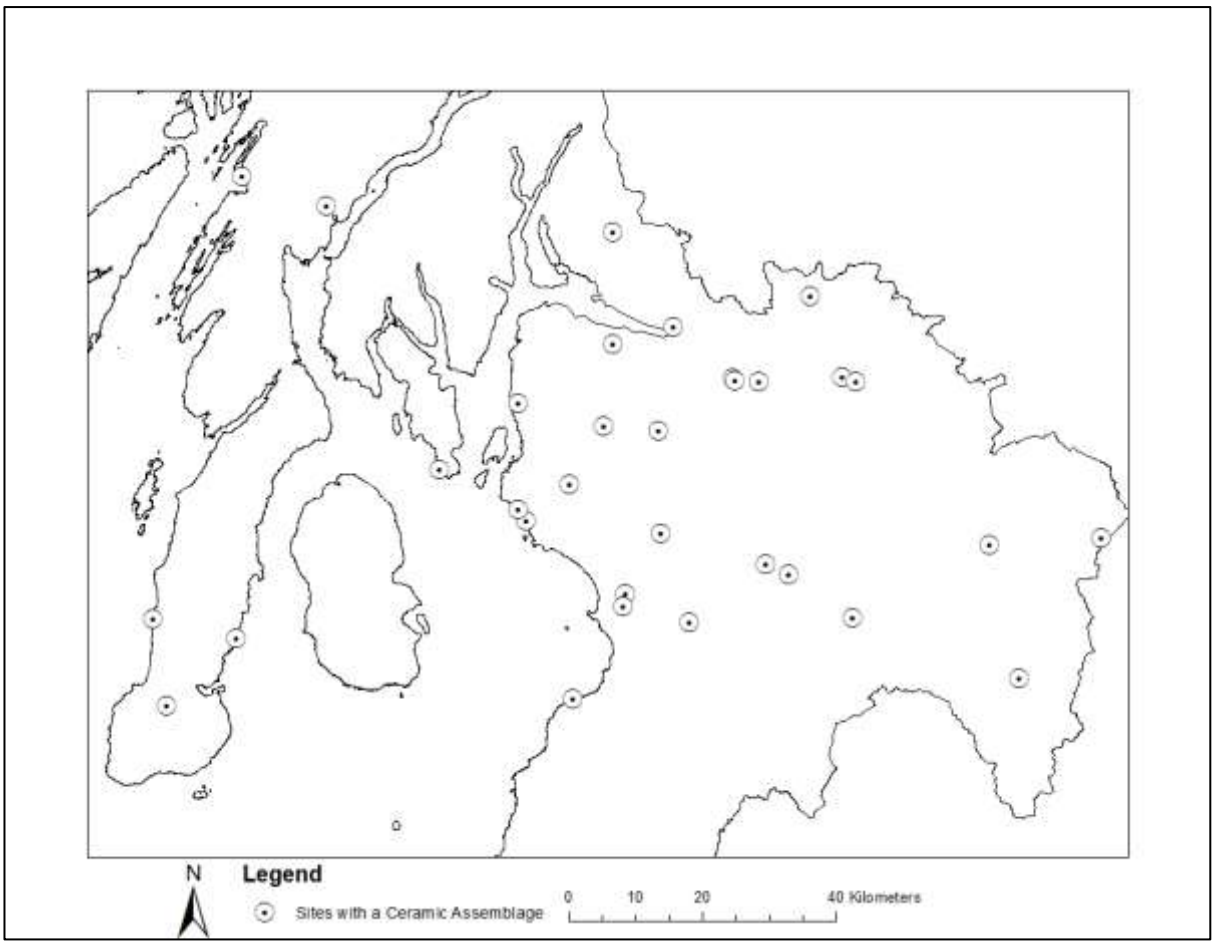


**Fig 179 Distribution of "Dunagoil" ware in west central Scotland**

The pottery recovered from sites in west central Scotland is often referred to as *Dunagoil ware* in the archaeological literature, which refers to the site on the Isle of Bute excavated by Ludovic McLellan Mann at the beginning of the 20th century, where this type of pottery was first identified (Mann 1915; 1925; Harding 2004b). In general this pottery is relatively crude, handmade and usually undecorated, often in a large bucket shaped form and usually with a simple plain, flat or in-turned rim. There has been limited work done on the pottery of this region, and there has never been a complete synthesis of the Dunagoil ware, though reports of assemblages recovered from a number of more recently excavated sites, such as Harpercroft (Rideout et al 2002), The Leven (Jones 2000) Braehead (MacSween 2007) and most recently Sheep Hill (MacKie *forthcoming*) are beginning to contribute to, and expand our general understanding of the form, distribution and

function of this material. Indeed from these reports it can be seen that the term *Dunagoil ware* encompasses a range of relative diverse styles of pottery. All of the pottery that is referred to as Dunagoil ware is relatively crude, and represents the same craft tradition, but it can be suggested that there was probably a range of styles of Dunagoil ware, each with their own functions and associated social meaning. For instance the most recent study of Dunagoil ware has been carried out by MacKie (*forthcoming*) in his reassessment of the material discovered from his 1960's excavation of Sheep Hill, a partially vitrified moderately sized stone built enclosed site, which sits on top of the Kilpatrick hills on the north side of the Clyde. Here, MacKie discovered a number of gritty, thick walled urns, one of which had finger impressions along the top of its slightly out-turned rim, while another had a series of nicks along its flat rim. There were also fragments of a barrel shaped urn which had a clear, ring built structure, while there was also a number of sherds of a carinated plain gritty ware which had slightly curving walls with a flat rim and sharp shoulder, which MacKie suggested was similar to a number of examples found at Traprain Law. One fragment of this pottery, which was found within a midden which sat below the second phase rampart, was recently radiocarbon dated to a round 780BC to 500BC. Interestingly, according to MacKie, this form of Dunagoil ware was very similar to fragments of pottery which were found at the small stone built site at Craigmarloch (Nisbet 1996), which is located just across the Clyde in Renfrewshire.

Whether these typological distinctions can be applied to all of the Dunagoil ware that has been found on the other excavated sites across the region is not clear, as so few assemblages have been published, and those that have lack detailed assessment of the material, or how it might relate to other assemblages. In addition to these excavation reports, there are also a number of instances where the only information we have about the presence of this material on a site is a brief note on the excavation which is reported in Discovery and Excavation Scotland. Many of these sites were excavated in the earlier part of the 20$^{th}$ century, when amateur archaeology in places like Renfrew and Ayrshire were at its height, and many of these excavations have never been fully published, their archives awaiting

reassessment. Therefore given the fact that there has never been a comprehensive review of the pottery that is found in the region, it is difficult to ascribe any typological, stylistic or chronological significance to much of this material.

Having identified these problems, however, some of the assemblages which have been analysed do provide us with limited information regarding the form of the ceramics discovered at these sites, which allow us to at least partially reconstruct a picture of the ceramic use in west central Scotland during the Iron Age. For example, at the Leven a number of fragments of crude handmade pottery, which were poorly fired and consisted of a soft, sandy fabric that had large sandstone inclusions, appear to have been made at the site (Jones 2000, 46-49). This was indicated by the number of fragments of fired clay, of a similar fabric to the pottery, which was found within the occupation deposit at the site. All of the pottery that was recovered was un-diagnostic, and little can be said about its date or its function, but given that it was found within the fill of the inner palisade, as well as within a post hole of the roundhouse and the associated occupation deposit, it was suggested that it came from phase three of activity at the site, which has been dated to the early Iron Age (Atkinson 2000). In addition, it was noted that given the abraded nature of the material, and the fact that so few fragments were found, it was suggested that he site was probably deliberately kept clean. Interestingly, it was also suggested that as the pottery, and the fired fragments, were made from a coarse untreated clay, it may have come from a local, and relatively poor, source (Jones 2000, 26-49), which suggests that it was accessed in an uncontrolled or opportunistic way.

Although the Leven assemblage is relatively poor, compared to sites such as Sheep Hill and Braehead, the evidence for the on-site manufacture of the pottery is potentially significant. This is important for a number of reasons; first it indicates that this craft activity was taking place at a local, household level. If this crude, handmade pottery, which is discovered on all types of site across the region, was being made by individual households, it can be suggested that, like the shale working, while we can see that people were actively engaged in this craft activity at

the household level, they were also engaged with it as part of a wider social practice at the community level. This suggests that we are again seeing a shared social and cultural identity, materialised through this craft activity (DeMarrais 2004). Furthermore, given that particular materials were important for people in the Iron Age of west central Scotland, as demonstrated in the last chapter, it can be suggested that as people crafted this pottery, they were engaging with what was potentially potent material. By making this pottery they were not just creating a practical vessel for cooking and storage, but also creating objects that contained the potency of the material (Conneller 2011), perhaps in order to legitimize its use, or materialize engagement with particular parts of the landscape from which the clay was derived. Furthermore, given that this pottery appears to have taken the form of large urns, which were probably used for cooking, or the storage and distribution of food, this suggests that we are seeing a shared and common way of preparing food and eating, across the region. In addition this evidence again also allows us to demonstrate that even though people and communities may have been constructing houses or enclosures using different architectural materials, it can be seen that, through the artefacts that they were creating and using, they were sharing and participating in common social and cultural practices, thus allowing us to challenge the traditional regional interpretations of the period.

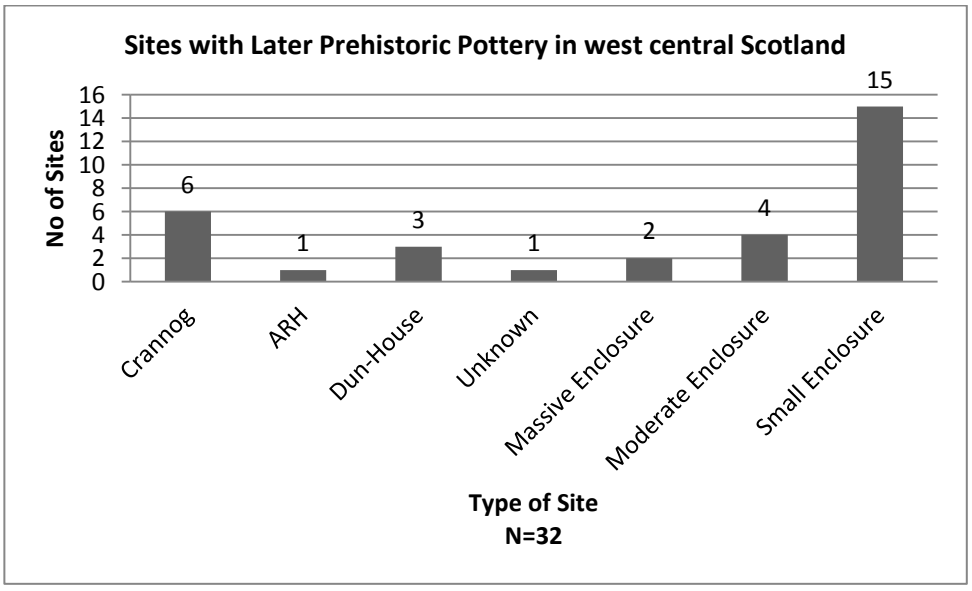


**Fig 180 Sites in west central Scotland with evidence for pottery**

Along with the social and cultural implications that are related to the use of this type of pottery across the region, given that it is found on all types of site, from small palisaded sites to the largest rampart defined hilltop sites, such as Harpercroft and of course Dunagoil, it can be suggested that it also allows us to explore issues to do with the way Iron Age society in west central Scotland was organised. For instance, if this type of pottery was being made at individual sites by individual households using locally sourced material then it can be suggested that there was no authoritative control or socially structured rules over the collection and use of raw materials or the manufacture and use of these pots. Therefore, as we have seen with the shale objects and indeed the trees and other building materials, as was explored in the previous chapter, the use and organisation of material from the cosmographical landscape was done so at the communal level. In addition given the fact that similar fabrics and forms of pottery are found at all types of site throughout the region, it can be suggested there were shared ideas about creating and using pottery in west central Scotland. This evidence therefore suggests that there was a limited social hierarchy, at least manifested or materialised, in the use of material culture in west central Scotland during the Iron Age.

## Iron and Iron working in west central Scotland

From the small number of excavations which have been undertaken in west central Scotland it can be seen that there is fairly widespread evidence for the use and production of iron objects in the region (Fig 182). As can be seen from the map below, and from Table 13, there are apparent concentrations in some of the dun-houses and Atlantic roundhouses of Argyll, while there is limited evidence in areas south and east of the Clyde (Fig 181). In addition it can be seen that the range of sites where there is iron working evidence or iron objects is also restricted, and much more so compared to the shale and ceramic objects of the area. For instance it can be seen that only Dunagoil has any evidence for Iron working out of all the massive sites in the area, and while this may be because this is the only massive site to have been examined in detail, the lack of evidence from, the admittedly small

excavations carried out, at Walls Hill and Harpercroft is worth highlighting. The majority of the enclosed sites to have produced iron working evidence or the use of iron objects are in general restricted to the small enclosed sites of the area, while only a handful of the more moderate sized enclosed sites have produced limited evidence.

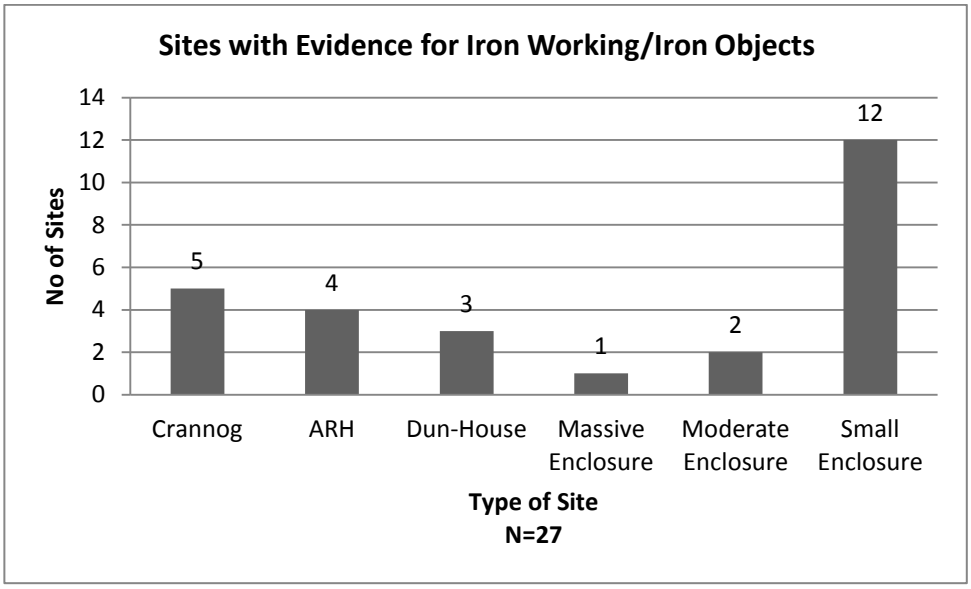


**Fig 181 Sites in west central Scotland with evidence of iron working or iron objects**

The majority of evidence we have for the use and production of iron objects comes from excavations that have never been fully published, or were undertaken before the advent of modern excavation techniques. Much of the evidence we have from the Dunagoil excavations (Mann 1915; 1925, Harding 2004b), for example, is difficult to interpret given the nature of the early excavations and the lack of chronological or stratigraphic control, but there does appear to have been a relatively large amount of metal working taking place at the site. For instance a number of spear moulds were discovered at the site, possibly indicating the martial, or possibly the craft working nature of the occupants. A number of small fragments of what appears to have been spear moulds have also been discovered at the hilltop, rampart defined site, at Sheep Hill (MacKie 1974; Forthcoming). Interestingly a number of the later Iron Age crannogs have also produced evidence for iron weapon making, though again problems exist in the stratigraphic and chronological evidence from these excavations, given that the majority were

undertaken at the end of the 19th century and in the early part of the 20th century, as discussed in Chapter Seven. At Hyndford (Munro 1899) there was considerable evidence for weapon moulds, again possibly indicating the war-like or craft working nature of the inhabitants at the site. Though it should be noted these artefacts may relate to the early medieval occupation of the site. Other later Iron Age evidence for iron working, or in this case low-key smithing can be seen at the unenclosed roundhouse at Glen Cloy on Arran (Mudie 2007). Along with the metal working evidence the other artefacts, which can be thought of as being prestige items, recovered from the excavation, including a bronze spiral finger rings, indicates the changing use of material culture, and by extension social structure in the last few centuries BC, as is explored below.

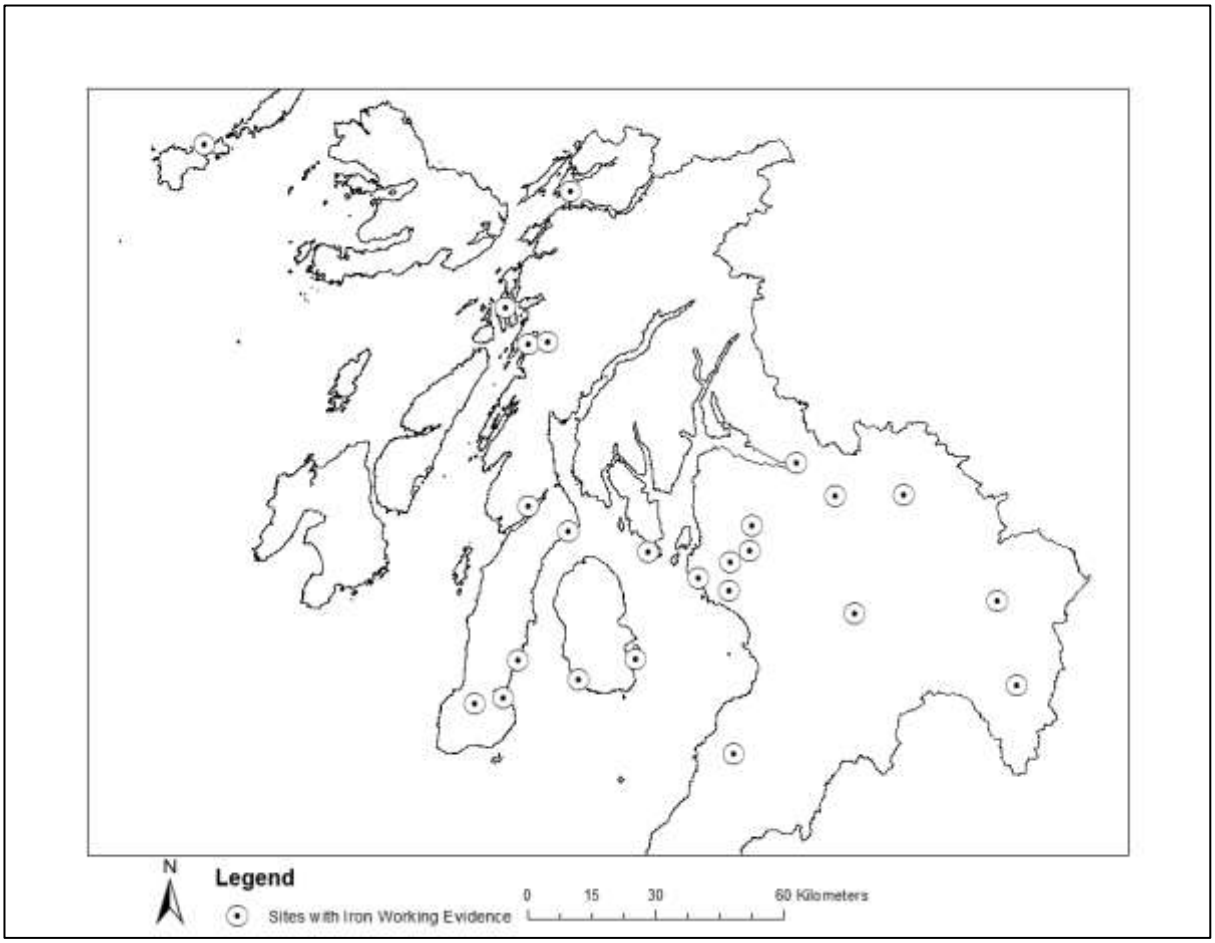


**Fig 182 Sites with evidence for iron working or with iron objects**

At Braehead, which as we have seen is one of the few extensive and recently excavated early to mid-Iron Age sites in the region, there was no evidence for iron

working on site and no fragments of slag were discovered. However, metal objects were found including a broken pin, a disc and fragment of iron bar. This pin is relatively unusual and not commonly found in the region, but unfortunately the head did not survive and little can be said about its type. Another iron pin, which in this incidence it head did survive, was discovered at the Atlantic roundhouse at Kildalloig, on the south side of Campbeltown Loch in Kintyre. This pin had an unusual glass head, perhaps indicating later Iron Age or early medieval date. The other two objects that were discovered at Braehead were much more utilitarian or prosaic in nature, for instance the bar was interpreted as a strengthening bar by Hunter (in Ellis 2007, 229) while function of the small, 5cm wide disc is unknown. Hunter (ibid) suggested that these items were relatively unusual given the fact that traditional interpretations regard iron as a "relatively rare and prized material" (Hunter in Ellis 2007, 229). Indeed Hunter (ibid) goes on to suggest that our interpretations are biased and perhaps influenced by the fact that so little iron survives in the archaeological record, which as can be seen in this very brief review of the material is extremely rare in the archaeological record of west central Scotland.

## Social Structure in West Central Scotland

Having outlined the evidence for the use of the important forms of material culture that are found in west central Scotland, we can now build on the detailed synthesis and new morphological framework that has been created in this research in order explore what these different forms of settlement and the ways in which the people built and lived within them, tells us about the ways in which Iron Age society in this part of Scotland was organised. Interpretations to do with social structure in this area have received little critical attention compared to other parts of the country, and it can be seen that, in general, the ways in which Iron Age society is understood in this area is still based on ideas developed by the likes of Cunliffe (1983), particularly to do with chiefdom societies and the "biggest is best" (Hill 1996, 46) model. Related to this is the fact that interpretations of the area continue to be

dominated by the traditional morphological classifications, which see the 'forts' of the area as being the most important sites (e.g. Banks 2002). However, and has been demonstrated throughout this research, those sites which area classed as "forts" are often of comparable in size, shape and form, to many of the "settlements", "enclosures" and "earthworks" of the area and therefore we need to explore new ways of understanding social structure in this part of Scotland.

These traditional hierarchical models have been most convincingly critiqued in the Atlantic areas of Scotland, as has been discussed in detail in Chapter Seven, with the work of Fojut (1982), Hingley (1992; 1995) and Armit (1992; 2002; 2003; 2005) being particularly influential. For instance Armit (1992; 2002; 2003; 2005) demonstrated that as the majority of sites in places like North Uist and Barra would have been Atlantic roundhouses, then it could be argued that these, broch like structures, were not the residences of a ruling elite, and therefore that they did not represent symbols of elite power as they were used by the majority of the population. Although these interpretations have not been universally accepted (e.g. Sharples & Parker Pearson 1997; Parker Pearson & Sharples 1999), these debates have orientated Atlantic Scotland within wider debates to do with Iron Age social structure, which has tended to focus on areas such as Wessex. In many ways, the ideas advanced by Fojut, Armit and Hingley could be applied to the settlement archaeology of west central Scotland, where it has been demonstrated, through the new morphological framework that has been created in this research, that, in the early and middle Iron Age especially, the region was characterised by small, and mainly curvilinear, enclosed sites, which are distributed throughout the landscape. Though there are a number of much larger sites, enclosing areas of more than 1Ha in extent, suggesting that social structure in this part of Scotland is not directly comparable to that found in the western Isles. Therefore, before we explore the nature of social structure in west central Scotland, the ways in which the largest sites of the area have been interpreted needs to be examined in more detail.

## Social Triangles and the Massive sites of west central Scotland

In attempting to explore new theories to do with social structure in the Iron Age of west central Scotland we first need to address the interpretation of the massive sites. These sites have traditionally been interpreted as *minor oppida* (Rivet 1966; RCAHMS 1971, 16; 1975, 16; Harding 2004). This issue has recently been addressed by Moore in his critique of these interpretations in relation to sites that are found in England (Moore 2012). These ideas are related to interpretations of the proto-urban settlement of the continent, and it is possible to suggest that the early archaeologist working in Scotland were deliberately trying to equate the Scottish evidence to wider debates to do with the Iron Age in Europe. None of the sites in west central Scotland are, in any way, large enough to be considered as oppidum, in addition, the idea that they represent proto-urban settlement can be dismissed, as the majority of these sites have only very limited evidence that they were ever occupied. Many of them have no evidence that there were any houses enclosed within them, as so few have been excavated, and there is only limited surface evidence, in the form of house stances. This is in contrast to the massive sites to the east and south of Scotland (Harding 2004, 64-65), for instance at Traprain Law, Eildon Hill and Yeavering, which enclose much larger areas and have evidence for large numbers of house stances. These sites can therefore be regarded as important and large settlements, though perhaps not the *major oppidum* as described by Harding (2004, 64-66). The idea that these sites were oppidum reflects the interpretive trends at the time the Commission was first surveying these sites, when diffusionist interpretations were still dominant. In addition, the idea that Ptolemy's geography of the British Isles represented genuine tribal distributions was still generally held and the larger sites of the region were often interpreted as representing tribal centres, as can be seen in the Commission Inventories (RCAHMS 1971, 16; 1975, 16; 1980, 17).

While interpretations have, in general, moved on from these ideas, it can be suggested that the larger sites, which have traditionally been classed as forts, are still often regarded as at the top of social triangles, which many still see as

representing the nature of Iron Age society, as was recently explored by Hill (2011). For instance Iain Banks suggested that because there was a range of different types of site in south west Scotland, that were of different sizes, then there must have been "some kind of hierarchy in the settlement types" (Banks 2002, 32) and that "it was possible to consider hillfort territories, where each large hillfort controlled an area with smaller hillforts and other settlement types" (ibid). These types of hierarchical models, which are heavily influenced by Cunliffe (1983), who argued that a "hillfort was the residence of king and retinue, the larger "farms" should be seen as the residences of the noble families, the smaller enclosures and open settlements being the homes of the lower ranks of the client farmers" (Cunliffe 1983, 168-9). Therefore if one were to apply these hierarchical models to west central Scotland, it could be suggested that the massive sites of the region, although considerably smaller compared to the hillforts of Wessex, would have been at the top of the social pyramid, and that they would have dominated the smaller enclosed sites of the area, while the larger enclosed sites, would have acted as the residences of nobles or land owning farmers.

There are of course a number of problems with these types of interpretation. Firstly they assume that all of the enclosed sites of the area would have been contemporary, and that they form part of a coherent and static settlement landscape. However, as we have seen in Chapters Six and Seven, this contradicts the limited excavated evidence we have for this area, where it can be seen that there was considerable variation in the dates that the sites of the region were occupied. In addition, as has been explored above, given that the limited excavated evidence suggests that the larger sites of the area did not control production and access to craft materials or the use of exotic or prestige items, it is difficult to sustain such chiefdom, top down, and central place models, as has been demonstrated in other parts of the British Isles (e.g. Hill 1996). For instance Hill (1996, 46) argued that these kind of interpretations of Iron Age social structure were tied up with the idea that the largest sites would have had the largest populations and therefore were the top of the economic ladder, which meant that they were at the peak of the settlement hierarchy and therefore at the top of the

social system. However as has been explored in the last chapter and discussed in more detail below, it has been recognised that the cosmological concerns of Iron Age people and the symbolic and social role of boundaries and different forms of enclosure suggests that Iron Age society and the way it was organised was much more diverse and complicated than has previously been accounted for (e.g. Hingley 1984; Hill 1995; 1996; 2011; Parker Pearson 1999; Bevan 1999; Moore 2007a; 2007b; Sharples 2007; 2010).

Part of the reason why many interpretations of the Scottish Iron Age still regard the enclosed sites within a hierarchical structure, may be down to the fact that so few have been excavated. For instance, apart from the limited excavations at Harpercroft (Rideout et al 1992) and Walls Hill (Alexander 1996; 2000; Alexander & MacRae 2012) which have provide us with only tentative evidence regarding the ways these sites were constructed and used, the only other massive site to have been excavated is Dunagoil, which was investigated at the beginning of the 20th century (Mann 1915; 1925; Harding 2004b). The information we have from Harpercroft and Walls Hill reveals preciously little about the ways in which people used these sites, the activities that took place within them and the relative status of the inhabitants. For instance at Harpercroft, there was only limited evidence to suggest that there were roundhouses at the site, while the artefact evidence was fairly utilitarian consisting of crude handmade pottery, which may be early Iron Age in date (Rideout et al 1992. 124), on account of its similarities to the ceramic assemblage found at the Leven (Atkinson 2000), while there was also a number of shale bangles and worked flints. While at Walls Hill, Newall (1960; Alexander 1996; 2000; Alexander & MacRae 2012) also recovered a utilitarian assemblage of material, again including crudely made pottery, which was identified as Dunagoil ware, along with shale bangles. Though there was evidence for the presence of a possible roundhouse in the very small trench that was excavated.

This rather limited evidence tells us that these sites were occupied in the first millennium BC, and that their occupants were tied in with the wider cultural and social networks of west central Scotland, as evidenced by the use of the crude

pottery and shale bangles. However, apart from these conclusions little else can be said about these sites, and there is certainly no evidence to suggest that the occupants were of high status. This evidence is in contrast to the rich assemblage of material that was recovered from the excavation at Dunagoil (Mann 1915; 1925; Harding 2004a, 141-144; Harding 2004b). At this site there was evidence for the manufacture of prestige goods, such as metal working, as well as the use of imported material, such as glass beads and bangles, while there also was evidence for more common craft activity such as shale, bone and antler working (Harding 2004, 141-144, Harding 2004b), which suggests that this site was probably the residence of an elite or special group, which had access to a wide range of materials. There are a number of issues however in relation to this evidence, not least because the excavations were carried out at the beginning of the 20$^{th}$ century, and the stratigraphic and chronological data is problematic. In addition it can be argued that it is not possible to apply the conclusions drawn from this site, regarding the high status of its occupants, to the other massive sites of the region. This "terrain enclosure" is very different compared to the hill top sites like Harpercroft and Walls Hill and the limited evidence that was recovered from the excavations at these sites suggest that they were perhaps used or occupied in different ways and at different times.

Until we begin to excavate more of these massive sites it is difficult to draw any firm or even general conclusions as to the ways in which these sites were occupied and the activities that took place within them, and by extension the status of their inhabitants and the ways in which society in west central Scotland was organised. What is clear from the limited evidence that we do have, however, especially in relation to their form and size, is that these sites did not form a coherent morphological group, and therefore, along with the limited excavated evidence it can be suggested that they did not play a coherent social or cultural role within Iron Age society in west central Scotland. Rather it can be suggested that they were probably used and occupied in a number of different ways, which may have changed over time. In addition to this it can be suggested that, as has been explored by Hill (1995; 1996; 2011) in Wessex, these massive sites may not have

been the centres of elite power, as it can be seen that they did not control access to prestige goods, or control access to raw materials that were used for craft activities. For instance in west central Scotland it can be seen that there is considerable evidence for the use of prestige goods, as well as evidence that specialised craft activity at a wide range of enclosed and unenclosed sites throughout the region.

For example, many of the prestige or imported goods that have been recovered in this region have come from the smaller scale sites, such as the copper alloy tweezers found at the Leven (Atkinson 2000), while copper alloy brooches have been found at small the rampart defined site at Auldhill (Caldwell et al 1998) and the palisaded site at Dundonald (Ewart & Pringle 2004; Hunter 2009). Other prestige items dating to the later part of the period include Bronze spiral finger rings and glass beads and bangles, which have been found on sites such as Glen Cloy on Arran (Mudie 2007), Sheep Hill (MacKie 1976; Forthcoming) in the Clyde area, Glenhead (Hendry 1968; 1969; 1972; MacKie 1971; Stevenson 1976) and Seamill (Munro 1982; 1899) in the Ayrshire area, as well as at a number of Dun-houses and Atlantic roundhouses in Kintyre, such as Kildalloig (Bigwood 1964; Clarke 1971; MacKie 1971; Gilmour 2000). In addition, as we have seen above, there is considerable evidence for craft activity, such as the manufacture of shale bangles, pottery making, and metal working at sites such as the Leven (Atkinson 2000), Braehead (Elis 2007), Sheep Hill (MacKie 1972; Forthcoming), Auldhill (Caldwell et al 1998) and Carwinning (Cowie in prep). While there is also considerable evidence from those sites dated to the later Iron Age such as the unenclosed roundhouse at Glen Cloy (Mudie 2007) as well as the numerous loch based crannogs (Crone 2000). Therefore it can be seen from this rather limited evidence that the larger sites were not the exclusive centres for economic activity or for craft production, which suggests that they may not have all been elite power centres. It can therefore be argued that the ways in which Iron Age society was organised meant that power was negotiated and materialised in a number of different and complex ways, and that control of resources, craft production and access to prestige goods appears to have been decentralised. It can be argued that the area that a site enclosed may not have been the exclusive indicator of the social

status of its inhabitants. Other elements of the site, such as its landscape location, its entrance orientation or the nature and form of its enclosing works, as well as the material that they were constructed from, which may have been socially important, as discussed in the last chapter, may also have been important elements which signified status, while the activities that people practiced, such as craft specialization, may have played an important role, all of which we can explore archaeologically.

One way of thinking about these large sites was proposed by Hill (1995; 1996) in his reassessment of the large hill forts of Wessex. Hill (1995; 1996) suggested that society in Wessex was based on automatous farmsteads, which in west central Scotland would be the small enclosed sites which dominate the landscape, and that the hillforts of the area, were "locales for corporate gatherings and rituals, activates outside the normal bounds of culture, economics and social interaction" (Hill 1995, 53). Therefore if we were to follow Hill's argument, it could be suggested that the massive sites of west central Scotland, would have acted as corporate centres, perhaps as places for communal defence, or for places to gather at particular times of the year, perhaps at times of religious significance, to reinforce and negotiate social bonds between different and autonomous farming households and groups. These autonomous households, which populate Hill's interpretations of the settlement landscape, reflect Hingley's (1984) interpretive model, whereby the enclosing boundaries that define settlements would have represented, and materialised, the identity and the independence, of the group that constructed and lived within the site. These models, which promote the independence of the household, are based on the Germanic mode of production, which, see these households as forming the fundamental building blocks of society. Whilst, the GMP models are more complex than often recognised, as explored by Hingley (1999, 244), the concept of small, independent and isolated enclosed communities, which were centres of production, distinct from the wider community, remains strong and continues to inform many interpretations of the period (e.g. Hingley 1992; 1995; Ferrell 1995; Hill 1995; 1996; Cruck & Goodman 1999). However as has recently been explored by Moore (2007, 91-93), this model of independent enclosed

communities can be challenged, as in “many areas enclosure communities cluster together … represent[ing] the loci of social groups larger than the household” (Moore 2007, 91). Therefore these individual, enclosed family units, would have formed part of a loosely structured cooperate group, which is indicated archaeologically by the dense distribution of small enclosed settlements (Sharples 2010, 77), which can be seen in certain parts of west central Scotland. In particular, the nature of settlement in areas such as Lanarkshire, where we see a densely occupied landscape, dominated by small enclosed sites as well as in areas such as the Renfrewshire hills and perhaps the Kintyre peninsula reflect this model.

Therefore, if we see Iron Age society in west central Scotland as being defined in this way, it can be suggested that Hill’s (1995) arguments to do with the special, corporate and communal nature of the larger sites makes more sense. These sites would have been places where individual households from the wider settlement landscape and corporate community group would come together to renew social bonds, take part in festivals and probably negotiate marriages. They may also have been used at times of violence, where the entire community could be protected at the one site. However we still need to explore the social conventions which allowed these processes to take place and these sites to take shape, and how the settlement landscape around places such as Walls Hill were socially constituted. One way of approaching this problem has recently been explored by Sharples (2007, 2010), who, building on the work of Mauss (1954; see also Fowler 2004), has stressed the complex and socially important nature of gift giving and exchange as well as the idea that labour would have been used or seen as a form of potlatch. Sharples (2010, 116) highlighted that the creation of even small enclosing works would have required the labour of a substantial number of people. For instance at the Leven, which was enclosed by a relatively small timber palisade, enclosing an area of only 0.09Ha, a substantial number of prime timbers, which appear to have been of oak, would have been required. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, these trees may have had special imbued properties, which meant that they were required for the construction of a successful enclosure and their incorporation into this palisade represents the consumption of an important and

limited resource, which would have been taken from a carefully, and probably, communally curated and managed woodland. The small group that was going to live within the Leven would not have had access to the large amount of resources, as well as the labour to complete this project by themselves, and must have required the help of neighbouring groups in order to complete the enclosure. These neighbouring households, from the wider community, would have brought with them trees from their local areas, which would in itself have required considerable labour in their felling, preparation and transport, which may also have entailed ritual practices, especially if these trees were seen as being cosmologically significant. Once at the site, people would set about preparing the ground and excavating the slots within which the timbers were to be erected. Therefore we can see that even in this relatively simple enclosure, the resources that would have been required and the labour that would have been expended would have been very large. But why would the neighbouring groups participate in these activates and how was access to the communal and cosmologically significant timber resources negotiated? One way of exploring this issue may be to explore the social role of the larger sites in the area.

The massive sites in west central Scotland such as Harpercroft, Walls Hill and Cnoc Araich would have been constructed using large amounts of communal labour, when households from wider community would come together and participate in defining these important corporate places. This is perhaps seen most clearly at Cnoc Araich in Kintyre (Fig 84). As we have seen this site is very different from the other enclosed sites of the peninsula, in that it incorporates a much larger area, is polygonal in shape, and is defined by a series of ditch and ramparts. When the Commission surveyed the site (RCHAMS 1971; 67-69) they suggested that the ditches were excavated in segments, probably by different work gangs, and perhaps at different times. This suggests that instead of the site being constructed in one event or phase, it was continually, or at least periodically, constructed and maintained over a long period of time. Interestingly, given that the site has multiple entrances, which are orientated towards different parts of the landscape, it is possible to suggest that different groups, from different parts of the wider

landscape, would come together at different points in the year to help construct and maintain the enclosing works of their corporate site. This may have been done at particular times of the year, for instance after harvest time or at times of specific cosmological significance or religious importance, and would have been associated with feasting and ritual events. At these festivals, these communal places would have become important places for individual households to renew and affirm social bonds with the wider community group. At the same time, these gatherings would have been a time to reinforce social and communal bonds between households, where marriages were negotiated and social debts would be created and defined. A similar phenomenon has been noted in sites found in the Welsh Marches. Wigley (2007, 184-186) demonstrated that a number of the small enclosed sites in the area had been constructed in this way, which demonstrated "just how interdependent different households would have been" (Wigley 2007, 185). By examining the evidence in this way, Wigley was able to explore Iron Age social structure in relation to the *practices* involved in the creation of enclosed sites rather than just examining what their different *forms* can 'tell' us about society (Wigley 2007, 184).

In many ways then, we can see the smaller enclosed sites of west central Scotland as being the local, household versions of these larger corporate places and that their construction would have been similar to the processes we see in the construction and maintenance of the larger sites. Neighbouring groups would come together to help construct enclosing works, giving their labour and resources as a form of tribute as part of a social debt, which was perhaps negotiated and defined seasonally at the regional centres. Therefore, the boundaries which define these enclosed sites, rather than acting as symbols of social isolation and the autonomy of a household, as suggested by Hingley (1984), in fact materialise the social and communal relationships that existed between different households, within the wider corporate community. They also materialise and act as indicators of a paid social debt, which would in turn be required to be reciprocated, creating and defining social obligations, which would be repaid by the household, though their labour in the construction of neighbouring household enclosures. At the heart of all these interactions would be socialising, feasting and the conspicuous consumption

of resources. The construction of the enclosing works of the sites of west central Scotland materialise the process of giving (or perhaps the sharing) of resources, as a form of gift giving, where we see the construction of ever more elaborate enclosing works as the conspicuous consumption of the these resources, both in terms of the construction materials themselves but also in the idea of labour as a resource, to be manipulated and curated. In addition, as was explored in the last chapter, by creating these enclosing works, out of important materials, communities, of not just humans but also of things would be assembled and that while ideas to do with social competition were important to Iron Age households, of equal importance was the significance of engaging with this material in order to create legitimate and successful places to live.

It is through this process, in the mobilisation of labour and the gathering of resources to construct legitimate and potent enclosing works, that Sharples suggests we see the "principle medium for elite competition" (Sharples 2010, 120) where households would compete for pre-eminence within a community, but where "power always remained within the community" (Hill 2011, 256). Through the gathering of agricultural surplus, which would in itself have probably required mutual cooperation within the larger community, as well as being intimately associated with cosmological concerns as explored in the last chapter, households would be able to facilitate feasting and gift giving, which would in turn form a key part of the recompense of social debts and the gift of labour. Success in this "competition" would be dependent on the constant maintenance of as large a support base as possible. This would have been achieved in the distribution of food, which in itself would be a materialisation of the connections of the host household and the exchange networks which it would have been engaged with, but also possibly in the distribution of important raw materials used to create important personal objects such as the shale bangles, as seen at places like Braehead and Auldhill. By creating and maintaining these relationships, households would in turn be able to legitimise or engage with leadership roles, facilitate the organisation and use labour, and be able to control or appropriate the communal and cosmologically important resources such as oak trees, which would have been important for the

successful construction and legitimisation of enclosures. Therefore power within the wider corporate community would be distributed and constantly negotiated between households. This highly competitive, segmentary society, would be prone to factionalism which may have led to intense fission (Hill 2011, 256), and possibly periods of violence. This is perhaps demonstrated in the inclusion of human remains, from out with the local area, at sites such as Broxmouth (Armit et al 2013). Therefore individual households would periodically rise to dominance, depending on a number of complex and fluid conditions. Although, as we have seen in the case of Braehead, the changing nature of enclosure, clearly demonstrates that the dominate position of household groups was not always maintained throughout the life of the site, and that individual agency, which would have determined political and social skill, would have plaid a vital part in the success of a household (Sharples 2007, 181; Hill 2011, 255-257).

By following these ideas, and by building on the morphological framework of the enclosed sites that has been created in this research, we can begin to explore the ways in which society was organised in west central Scotland. First of all it appears that the area that a site enclosed was not necessarily the most important factor in determining the relative social status of a household. It can be argued that as the majority of the enclosed sites of west central Scotland are relatively small, it can be suggested that the more elaborately defined sites were of higher status, as the occupants could command greater access to labour and resources. For instance, as we have seen, the amount of effort, labour and resources required to construct even a small palisaded site such as at The Leven, which would not have required as much effort compared to those sites that were enclosed by multiple ramparts and ditches, such as Windmill Hill in Ayrshire. In addition to the number of enclosing works around a site, it could be suggested that those sites which are found in Ayrshire and the Clyde areas, which have disproportionately large ditches compared to the areas that they enclosed may also indicate the higher statues of the occupants, as these enclosing works would have required considerable labour to excavate, and much more so than could be achieved by the single household, that they often enclose. Though again it should be noted, that as has been seen at

the majority of excavated site in the region, such as Braehead, The Leven and Dundonald, sites appear to have gone through multiple phases of enclosure, which suggests that the status of the inhabitants of these sites varied throughout the history of their occupation. Therefore it can be suggested that although individuals or individual households may have risen to prominence at particular times, this status may have been difficult to sustain over the long term.

# Conclusion

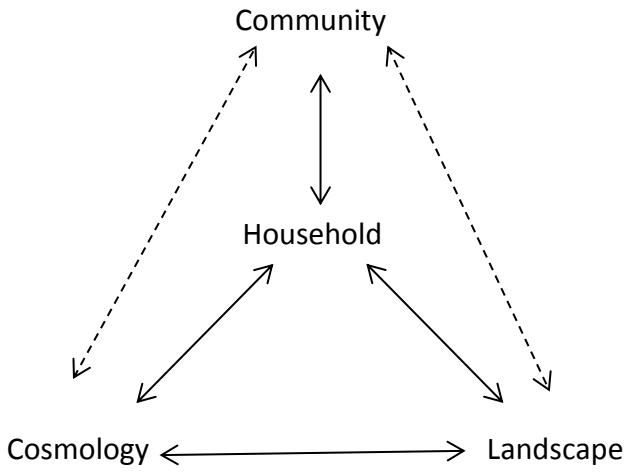


**Fig 183 An alternative Iron Age triangle of the early and middle Iron Age in west central Scotland**

In the early and middle Iron Age in west central Scotland (Fig 183), the community (which was assembled out of people, places, and things) was made up of individual autonomous households, which were defined and orientated within a cosmologically significant landscape. This corporate community was bound together by common cultural principles built on social obligations which are negotiated and reciprocated within a political and social economy which fostered competition based on social debt. This led to a dynamic and ever changing social stratigraphy, where individual households gained ascendancy at different times. However as this constant competition continued throughout the period, social debts mounted-up to the extent that they could not be repaid, leading to servitude for the debtors and increased social power for the indebted. This relentless and

iterative process inevitably led to an ever-increasing social hierarchy, where the control, rather than the careful curation of the cosmologically significant landscape and the things within it became increasingly important. Through this process individuals and households were able to create and gather increasing agricultural surplus and therefore were able to command and control increasing amounts of labour, allowing them to legitimise and consolidate their positions within a social hierarchy. This deliberate and increasingly more intensive use of the landscape, and in particular in the use of timber, from which houses, ramparts and palisades were built, led to damaging environmental strain. This environmental stress is particularly clear in the archaeological record when we look at the evidence from the later part of the Iron Age, where we see the adoption of the resource rich crannogs. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that by this time, that the landscape of west central Scotland is all but deforested (Tipping & Tisdall 2005). This therefore in turn led to an ultimately unsustainable pressure on the landscape, which meant that the social structure of the early and middle part of the Iron Age, which was built on networks of social debt and communal obligation as well as on principles that were dictated by cosmological concerns with the world, and orientated within the cosmologically important landscape, could not be sustained, leading to its ultimate collapse. As a result, we see in the last few centuries BC and the first few centuries AD the rise of new forms of elite power structure and kingship, not previously seen in the region. This led to new forms of elite competition and display, such as the curation and distribution of prestige artefacts as well as in the construction of elaborate, and quite clearly defensive, enclosed sites, such as the nucleated forts, and ultimately the mechanisms by which the Early Mediaeval Kingdoms began to emerge.

# Chapter 10: Conclusion

This research has demonstrated that the archaeology of an area that has previously been thought of as a "black hole" (Haselgrove et al 2001), in fact, allows us to explore key themes relating to our understanding and interpretation of the Iron Age of the British Isles. By creating a new morphological framework for sites that have previously been considered in monothematic and static ways, a clearer chronological narrative has been created. This has meant that this research has been able to examine the ways in which Iron Age society in west central Scotland changed over time as well as how households and communities were assembled, and what this tells us about the ways in which society was structured. In addition, issues to do with identity and regionality have been able to be explored. By creating the new morphological framework with which to analyse and interpret the enclosed sites of west central Scotland one of the most important research outcomes that has been achieved is the reassessment of the broad regional zones that have dominated archaeological debate of the Iron Age in Scotland. Differences do exist in the archaeological record, but by examining sites in these ways we are able to explore these differences in new ways. While it can be seen that people were constructing sites using different architectural materials, the enclosed sites that are found across west central Scotland share many of the same characteristics, most notably in size, shape and orientation. This suggests that rather than living in different ways, the people of west central Scotland were sharing common architectural practices, which it has been argued demonstrates a broad regional identity. This research has also orientated the settlement evidence form this part of Scotland with that found in the rest of the country and the British Isles as a whole.

By examining the enclosed sites of west central Scotland in these ways a number of new questions have emerged out of this research. For example, the role of the massive sites of the region requires considerable attention. While theories have been advanced as to how these sites emerged and how they worked within society,

as so few of them have been excavated, the practices that took place within them and the ways in which people used them remains unclear. This is therefore a key research question for the future. The form of the enclosed sites that are found in west central Scotland also raise a number of questions, most notably why there is a lack of rectangular sites in this region compared to other parts of the country. None of these sites have been excavated, and it is unclear as to what practices took place within them or how they relate to the other enclosed sites of the area, and questions remain as to why they were not more widely adopted in this region. Other questions include how the D-Shaped sites and the promontory sites relate to each other. It has been demonstrated in this research that the nature of the ways in which sites were constructed does not necessarily relate to chronological or cultural differences. However, it has also been demonstrated that people in the Iron Age used particular types of material to construct their settlements. Therefore more extensive work exploring this issue is required if we are to begin to better understand how Iron Age people understood and used the *things* of the landscape, and what this tells us about the ways in which society was organised. While issues surrounding the nature of architecture have dominated this research, other issues to do with the use of material culture need to be addressed. In particular, a detailed reassessment of the pottery found on the later prehistoric sites of the region needs to be attempted. In addition, it has been demonstrated that the use of shale like material to create bangles was an important part of Iron Age life in this part of Scotland. Therefore more work on the sourcing, and use of this material needs to be undertaken, as this will allow us to understand the use of these objects in more detail, which will in turn inform us about the nature of identity and the ways in which communities were created in this part of Scotland during the Iron Age.

While these questions wait to be explored in more detail, this research has presented a number of conclusions about the Iron Age in west central Scotland. It has been demonstrated that the Iron Age in west central Scotland began around 800BC as people began to enclose their settlements with a variety of enclosing works. This is a very different practice, and way of defining settlement, compared to what had occurred in the later Bronze Age. While we do see enclosed sites at this

time, these sites tend to be located on hilltop locations, such as at Sheep Hill, while the rest of the landscape was dominated by unenclosed hut circles and platform settlements. As was demonstrated in Chapter Seven, these sites tend to be orientated to the south-east, a phenomenon seen in much of the rest of the British Isles at this time. However, in the Iron Age period, sites in west central Scotland appear to have been aligned more to words the east and north-east. This demonstrates a significant shift in the ways in which sites were constructed, but more fundamentally it also demonstrates the changing ways in which people lived their lives, defined their households and understood their worlds, which it has been argued was intimately tied with wider, practical, ritual concerns that were related to the use of the broader, cosmographical landscape and the movement of the sun. In addition to this different way of defining space and occupying the landscape, it has been demonstrated that at the start of the Iron Age we see a change in the way in which people dressed, specifically in relation to the use of personal jewellery. At almost every excavated site in west central Scotland there is evidence for the manufacture and use of the distinctive, D-shaped, black and highly polished, shale or cannel coal bangles. This personal jewellery displays remarkable similarity across the region, suggesting that people were engaged in a widespread and communal practice during the Iron Age in this part of Scotland, one that was associated with wider regional identity.

By creating a new morphological framework this research has also been able to explore issues to do with Iron Age social structure. From around 800 BC until the second or third centuries BC, the main form of social competition was based around the mobilisation of labour and the gathering of resources. Individual households would compete for dominance against each other, but they would have done so in a way in which power would have been appropriated by the wider community. This meant that individual households would rise to pre-eminence at different times, depending on specific, successful, social practice, such as in the management of a successful harvest. By being able to feast other households as they helped in the construction of enclosing works, particular groups would have been able to assemble increasing resources, both in terms of labour and material, to create ever

more elaborate enclosing works. This process would have relied on an economy based on negotiated social debt as well as mutual participation and cooperation, which would see individual households rise in status at particular times. Status would have been in a constant state of flux, evidence for which has been demonstrated at the majority of excavated sites throughout the region, where it has been seen that the form of the enclosing works changed at particular times, across the life of the settlement. This indicates that power or prestige was not a fixed thing, but that it changed over time, as it was negotiated and practiced, often depending on individual agency. Underpinning all of these practices was the common adherence to the importance of things taken from the cosmographical landscape. This iterative process continued until the second or third century BC when it has been demonstrated that we begin to see the emergence of the crannogs, the Atlantic type houses, as well as in the fact that in the final phases of occupation, many sites were occupied by unenclosed roundhouses. This suggests that the social conventions that lead to the creation of enclosures had begun to break down at this time, and that different forms of social completion began to emerge, most notably in the adoption of decorative personal items and the construction of resource rich and overtly defensive settlements. It is into this increasingly turbulent social world and ravaged landscape that the Romans arrived.

# Appendix 1

## Table 3: The Enclosed Sites in the Ayrshire Area

| Site name | X | Y | Site type | Form | Shape | Diameter m | Length m | Width m | Area Sq.m | Area HA | Size | Entrance OR | Number of Ditches | Number of Ramparts | Ditch Width |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Whitefield | 270 200 | 630 800 | Enclosure | Rampart | D-Shaped | - | 27.00 | 14.00 | 296.9 | 0.0297 | Small Enclosed Site | NE | - | - | - |
| Drybridge | 235 820 | 636 850 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 22.00 | | | 380.1 | 0.0380 | Small Enclosed Site | - | 2 | - | 2.00 |
| Wallace's Knowe | 261 140 | 637 980 | Earthwork | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 25.00 | 20.00 | 392.7 | 0.0393 | Small Enclosed Site | - | 1 | 1 | 10.00 |
| Auchinleck, Connor hill | 271 670 | 620 110 | Enclosure | Bank and Ditch | Sub-Circular | - | 23.30 | 22.90 | 419.1 | 0.0419 | Small Enclosed Site | W | 1 | 1 | 2.00 |
| Castle Hill, Glen Water | 257 260 | 638 870 | Settlement | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 25.00 | 21.50 | 422.2 | 0.0422 | Small Enclosed Site | - | 1 | 1 | 16.00 |
| Riccarton | 244 740 | 633 170 | Earthwork | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 25.00 | | | 490.9 | 0.0491 | Small Enclosed Site | E | 1 | - | 10.00 |
| Brieryside cottage 1 | 237 518 | 627 332 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 25 | | | 490.9 | 0.0491 | Small Enclosed Site | NE | 1 | - | 3.40 |
| The Leven | 260 640 | 637 340 | Palisaded enclosure | Palisaded Enclosure | Sub-Circular | 34.00 | | | 907.9 | 0.0908 | Small Enclosed Site | SE | - | - | - |
| Hallrig | 242 360 | 627 240 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Oval | - | 40.00 | 30.00 | 942.5 | 0.0942 | Small Enclosed Site | - | 1 | | 3 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Loans | 235 220 | 632 300 | Earthwork | Bank and Ditch | Sub-Oval | - | 44.00 | 30.00 | 1036.7 | 0.1037 | Small Enclosed Site | SW | 1 | 1 | 12.00 |
| Brieryside Cottage 2 | 237 630 | 627 177 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 40 | | | 1256.6 | 0.1257 | Small Enclosed Site | - | 2 | - | - |
| Laigh Milton | 238 440 | 637 450 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 40.00 | | | 1256.6 | | Small Enclosed Site | - | 1 | - | 2.00 |
| Nethermuir | 235 000 | 628 430 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 40.00 | | | 1256.6 | 0.1257 | Small Enclosed Site | - | 1 | | 3.00 |
| Nethermuir | 235 030 | 628 480 | Enclosure | Palisaded Enclosure | Oval | - | 50.00 | 40.00 | 1570.8 | 0.1571 | Small Enclosed Site | - | - | - | - |
| Whiteside | 236 760 | 627 760 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 45 | | | 1590.4 | 0.1590 | Small Enclosed Site | - | 1 | - | 4.5 |
| Laighpark | 240 040 | 619 260 | Earthwork | Ditch & Ramparts | Circular | 45.00 | | | 1590.4 | 0.1590 | Small Enclosed Site | E | 1 | 1 | 11.00 |
| Monkton Windmill | 236 193 | 628 060 | Fort | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 47.00 | | | 1734.9 | 0.1735 | Small Enclosed Site | NW | 3 | - | 7.00 |
| Ballochmyle golf course | 251 600 | 625 800 | Enclosure | Bank and Ditch | Circular | 50 | | | 1963.5 | 0.1963 | Small Enclosed Site | - | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Gargieston | 241 000 | 636 480 | Earthwork | Ditched Enclosure | D-Shaped | - | 70.00 | 50.00 | 2748.9 | 0.2749 | Moderate Enclosed Site | - | 2 | - | 5.00 |
| Wardlaw Hill | 235 920 | 632 760 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Circular | 60.00 | | | 2827.4 | 0.2827 | Moderate Enclosed Site | E | - | 1 | - |
| Craigie | 242 800 | 632 540 | Fort | Ramparts | Oval | - | 70.50 | 62.00 | 3433.0 | 0.3433 | Moderate Enclosed Site | SSW | - | 1 | - |
| St Quivox | 237 578 | 624 441 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 72.00 | 64.00 | 3619.1 | 0.3619 | Moderate Enclosed Site | SW | 2 | - | 3 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bailliehill Mount | 240 700 | 639 800 | Earthwork | Ramparts | Sub-Circular | 70.00 | | | 3848.5 | 0.3848 | Moderate Enclosed Site | - | - | 1 | - |
| Ladykirk Burn | 238 050 | 626 060 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | D-Shaped | - | 100.00 | 50.00 | 3927.0 | 0.3927 | Moderate Enclosed Site | - | 1 | - | 5.00 |
| Highfield | 237 050 | 624 645 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 83.00 | 66.00 | 4302.4 | 0.4302 | Moderate Enclosed Site | SW | 1 | - | 4.5 |
| Caprington Mains | 240 400 | 636 110 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Circular | - | 80.00 | 70.00 | 4398.2 | 0.4398 | Moderate Enclosed Site | - | 1 | - | 5.00 |
| Craigie Hill | 242 240 | 632 760 | Fort | Ramparts | Oval | - | 84.00 | 71.00 | 4684.1 | 0.4684 | Moderate Enclosed Site | - | - | 1 | - |
| Whiteside | 236 440 | 627 880 | Enclosure | Palisaded Enclosure | Sub-Rectangular | - | 90.00 | 75.00 | 5301.4 | 0.5301 | Large Enclosed Site | E | 1 | - | 1.00 |
| Greenan Castle | 231 220 | 619 270 | Fort | Ditched Enclosure | Promontory | - | 100.00 | 75.00 | 5890.5 | 0.5890 | Large Enclosed Site | NE | 4 | - | 4.00 |
| Harpercroft | 236 000 | 632 520 | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 320.00 | 260.00 | 65345.1 | 6.5345 | Massive Site | N | - | 1 | - |

# Table 4: The Enclosed sites in the Lanarkshire Area

| Site Name | X | Y | Traditional Site Type | Form | Shape | Diameter m | Length m | Width m | Area Sq.m | HA | Size | # of Ditches | # of Ramparts | Orientation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Corbie hall | 292860 | 644900 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 20.00 | 15.00 | 235.6194 | 0.023562 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | E |
| Richie Ferry | 294620 | 621610 | Settlement | Rampart | Circular | 18.00 | - | - | 254.469 | 0.025447 | Small Enclosure | - | 1 | E |
| Quothquan Law Farm | 298380 | 638140 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 18.00 | - | - | 254.469 | 0.025447 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lamington Mains | 297800 | 631600 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 25.00 | 15.00 | 294.5243 | 0.029452 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| Corbie hall | 292860 | 644900 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 20.00 | - | - | 314.1593 | 0.031416 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| Grange hall | 296810 | 642320 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 20.00 | - | - | 314.1593 | 0.031416 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | W |
| Bowmuir | 300950 | 642900 | Enclosure | Rampart | Sub-Circular | - | 25.00 | 20.00 | 392.6991 | 0.03927 | Small Enclosure | - | 1 | - |
| Westside | 298700 | 634400 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | 25.00 | - | - | 490.8739 | 0.049087 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| Richie Ferry | 294420 | 621570 | Settlement | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 30.00 | 21.00 | 494.8008 | 0.04948 | Small Enclosure | - | - | SSW |
| Langloch Knowe | 304380 | 632940 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 32.00 | 20.00 | 502.6548 | 0.050265 | Small Enclosure | - | - | NE |
| Castle hill, Crawford | 293550 | 621880 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Oval | - | 39.00 | 20.00 | 612.6106 | 0.061261 | Small Enclosure | - | - | W |
| Nether Hangingshaw | 300960 | 633150 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 28.00 | - | - | 615.7522 | 0.061575 | Small Enclosure | 2 | - | ESE |
| Culter Park | 301800 | 633420 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Rectangular | - | 25.00 | 25.00 | 625 | 0.0625 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| St John's Kirk | 298160 | 635990 | Settlement | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 37.00 | 23.00 | 668.3738 | 0.066837 | Small Enclosure | - | - | SE |
| Quothquan Law Farm | 298400 | 638200 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 35.00 | 25.00 | 687.2234 | 0.068722 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| Snaip | 302660 | 633040 | Enclosure | Rampart | Oval | - | 35.00 | 28.00 | 769.6902 | 0.076969 | Small Enclosure | - | 1 | - |
| Birniehall | 290900 | 653750 | Enclosure | Bank and Ditch | Oval | 32.00 | - | - | 804.2477 | 0.080425 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | N |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cornhill | 302410 | 635030 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 35.00 | 30.00 | 824.6681 | 0.082467 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| Langloch Knowe | 304380 | 632940 | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 46.00 | 24.00 | 867.0796 | 0.086708 | Small Enclosure | - | 2 | NE |
| Devonshaw Hill | 296240 | 628960 | Enclosure | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 37.00 | 30.00 | 871.792 | 0.087179 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | NE |
| Nisbet | 304430 | 633290 | Settlement | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 37.00 | 30.00 | 871.792 | 0.087179 | Small Enclosure | - | - | SE |
| Cow Castle | 304250 | 633110 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 43.00 | 27.00 | 911.8473 | 0.091185 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 2 | WSW |
| Shiel Burn | 296550 | 627020 | Earthwork | Bank and Ditch | D-Shaped | - | 52.00 | 27.00 | 1102.699 | 0.11027 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | NE |
| Snaip Hill | 302460 | 632690 | Fort | Ramparts | Oval | - | 58.00 | 27.00 | 1229.934 | 0.122993 | Small Enclosure | - | 1 | NE |
| Toftcombs | 305390 | 639590 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 48.00 | 34.00 | 1281.77 | 0.128177 | Small Enclosure | 2 | 2 | E |
| Castle Hill | 299400 | 634400 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 55.00 | 30.00 | 1295.907 | 0.129591 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| Snaip | 302650 | 633190 | Enclosure | Rampart | Circular | 42.00 | - | - | 1385.442 | 0.138544 | Small Enclosure | - | 1 | E |
| Berries Burn | 295280 | 622000 | Settlement | Bank and Ditch | Oval | 43.00 | - | - | 1452.201 | 0.14522 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | - |
| Yett | 298430 | 642420 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 65.00 | 30.00 | 1531.526 | 0.153153 | Small Enclosure | 2 | - | - |
| Cormiston Towers Farm | 299890 | 637290 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 80.00 | 25.00 | 1570.796 | 0.15708 | Small Enclosure | 3 | - | - |
| Castlehill Strip | 292990 | 631990 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Circular | 45.00 | - | - | 1590.431 | 0.159043 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| White Hill | 299810 | 632740 | Earthwork | Bank and Ditch | Sub-Oval | - | 76.00 | 27.00 | 1611.637 | 0.161164 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cairngryffe Hill | 294290 | 641160 | Fort | Ramparts | Oval | - | 49.00 | 42.00 | 1616.349 | 0.161635 | Small Enclosure | - | 1 | S |
| Bizzyberry Hill | 304800 | 639360 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Oval | - | 55.00 | 40.00 | 1727.876 | 0.172788 | Small Enclosure | - | - | S |
| Culterpark Hill | 302210 | 633050 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 67.00 | 33.00 | 1736.515 | 0.173652 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | SW |
| Castle Hill | 299330 | 634490 | Earthwork | Rampart | Sub-Oval | - | 52.00 | 43.00 | 1756.15 | 0.175615 | Small Enclosure | - | 1 | E |
| Quothquan Law Farm | 299160 | 637650 | Settlement | Bank and Ditch | Oval | - | 50.00 | 45.00 | 1767.146 | 0.176715 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | - |
| Nisbet | 303540 | 632160 | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 61.00 | 37.00 | 1772.644 | 0.177264 | Small Enclosure | - | 1 | NE |
| Swaites | 296700 | 641900 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 65.00 | 35.00 | 1786.781 | 0.178678 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | |
| Quothquan Law Farm | 298400 | 638200 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 60.00 | 40.00 | 1884.956 | 0.188496 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | W |
| Grangehall | 297080 | 642320 | Settlement | Bank and Ditch | Oval | - | 60.00 | 40.00 | 1884.956 | 0.188496 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | NE |
| Heatheryhall | 297200 | 641760 | Settlement | Bank and Ditch | Sub-Rectangular | - | 55.00 | 30.00 | 1815 | 0.1815 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | ENE |
| Southholm | 297520 | 641670 | Earthwork | Bank and Ditch | Oval | - | 55.00 | 44.00 | 1900.664 | 0.190066 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 1 | SW |
| Westside | 298570 | 634080 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 55.00 | 44.00 | 1900.664 | 0.190066 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | E |
| Snaip Hill | 303000 | 632870 | Settlement | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 53.00 | 46.00 | 1914.801 | 0.19148 | Small Enclosure | - | - | NW |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Covington Mains | 297560 | 640290 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 55.00 | 45.00 | 1943.86 | 0.194386 | Small Enclosure | 2 | - | W |
| Roberton | 295020 | 629080 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 55.00 | 45.00 | 1943.86 | 0.194386 | Small Enclosure | 2 | - | - |
| Hecklebirnie | 293820 | 624220 | Enclosure | Wall Defined Site | Circular | 50.00 | - | - | 1963.495 | 0.19635 | Small Enclosure | - | - | - |
| Westraw | 295100 | 642900 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | 50.00 | - | - | 1963.495 | 0.19635 | Small Enclosure | 2 | - | |
| Townhead | 298620 | 641910 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 50.00 | - | - | 1963.495 | 0.19635 | Small Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| Longwell | 295890 | 629760 | Earthwork | Ditched Enclosure | Irregular/promintory | - | 60.00 | 45.00 | 2120.575 | 0.212058 | Small Enclosure | 2 | - | |
| Devonshaw Hill | 295370 | 628350 | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 64.00 | 45.00 | 2261.947 | 0.226195 | Small Enclosure | - | 2 | S |
| Grangehall | 297000 | 642500 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 65.00 | 45.00 | 2297.29 | 0.229729 | Small Enclosure | 2 | - | - |
| Collins Burn | 295070 | 618650 | Earthwork | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 61.00 | 49.00 | 2347.555 | 0.234756 | Small Enclosure | 1 | 2 | NE |
| Park Knowe | 296970 | 636600 | Enclosure | Rampart | Oval | - | 61.00 | 49.00 | 2347.555 | 0.234756 | Small Enclosure | - | 2 | ESE |
| West Whitecastle | 301130 | 641580 | Fort | Ramparts | Circular | 55.00 | - | - | 2375.829 | 0.237583 | Small Enclosure | - | 2 | WSW |
| St John's Kirk | 297960 | 636110 | Settlement | Ramparts | Oval | - | 60.00 | 52.00 | 2450.442 | 0.245044 | Small Enclosure | - | 1 | NE |
| Greenaton | 298880 | 647720 | Settlement | Bank and Ditch | Oval | - | 75.00 | 45.00 | 2650.719 | 0.265072 | Moderate Enclosure | 2 | 2 | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Castle Plantation | 302380 | 636000 | Enclosure | Rampart | Oval | - | 65.00 | 53.00 | 2705.697 | 0.27057 | Moderate Enclosure | - | 1 | SW |
| Yett | 298110 | 642740 | Fort | Ditched Enclosure | D-Shaped | - | 70.00 | 50.00 | 2748.894 | 0.274889 | Moderate Enclosure | 2 | - | - |
| Fallburn | 296190 | 636740 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Circular | - | 64.00 | 55.00 | 2764.602 | 0.27646 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 2 | ENE |
| Woodend Burn | 296070 | 628120 | Earthwork | Bank and Ditch | Irregular/promontory | - | 90.00 | 40.00 | 2827.433 | 0.282743 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 1 | E |
| Camps Knowe Wood | 301330 | 622860 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 73.00 | 50.00 | 2866.703 | 0.28667 | Moderate Enclosure | 4 | 4 | W |
| Richie Ferry | 294500 | 621580 | Settlement | Rampart | Oval | - | 85.00 | 43.00 | 2870.63 | 0.287063 | Moderate Enclosure | - | 1 | SE |
| Black Hill, Crawford John | 290850 | 623920 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 64.00 | 58.00 | 2915.398 | 0.29154 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 1 | NE |
| Castlehill Strip | 292910 | 631850 | Settlement | Bank and Ditch | Circular | 61.00 | - | - | 2922.467 | 0.292247 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 2 | E |
| Devonside | 291690 | 639410 | Settlement | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 72.00 | 52.00 | 2940.531 | 0.294053 | Moderate Enclosure | - | - | NE |
| Nisbet | 303540 | 632160 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 77.00 | 50.00 | 3023.783 | 0.302378 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 2 | NE |
| Cow Castle | 304250 | 633110 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 85.00 | 46.00 | 3070.907 | 0.307091 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 2 | NNE |
| Quothquan Law | 298820 | 638420 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | D-Shaped | - | 100.00 | 40.00 | 3141.593 | 0.314159 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 2 | SW |
| Berries Burn | 295170 | 621870 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 108.00 | 38.00 | 3223.274 | 0.322327 | Moderate Enclosure | - | - | SSW |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dingle Burn | 295990 | 629920 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Rectangular | - | 60.00 | 60.00 | 3600 | 0.36 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | - | SE |
| Yett | 298430 | 642620 | Settlement | Bank and Ditch | Oval | - | 80.00 | 60.00 | 3769.911 | 0.376991 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 1 | - |
| Chesterhall | 296990 | 632320 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Circular | 70.00 | - | - | 3848.451 | 0.384845 | Moderate Enclosure | - | - | NE |
| Craigie Burn | 298840 | 641850 | Settlement | Bank and Ditch | Circular | 70.00 | - | - | 3848.451 | 0.384845 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 2 | E |
| Hillend | 294300 | 627900 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Rectangular | - | 70.00 | 55.00 | 3850 | 0.3850 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | - | E |
| West Lindsaylands | 301560 | 636560 | Fort | Ditched Enclosure | D-Shaped | - | 100.00 | 50.00 | 3926.991 | 0.392699 | Moderate Enclosure | 2 | - | NE |
| Cold Chapel | 293780 | 625120 | Settlement | Rampart | Oval | - | 78.00 | 69.00 | 4227.013 | 0.422701 | Moderate Enclosure | - | 1 | SE |
| Coulter Mains | 301690 | 634680 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 90.00 | 60.00 | 4241.15 | 0.424115 | Moderate Enclosure | 2 | - | - |
| Arbory Hill | 294450 | 623790 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 82.00 | 69.00 | 4443.783 | 0.444378 | Moderate Enclosure | 2 | 2 | E |
| Burghmuir | 305120 | 638150 | Earthwork | Bank and Ditch | Sub-Rectangular | - | 75.00 | 60.00 | 4500 | 0.45 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 1 | NW |
| Cocklaw Hill | 304210 | 642840 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 87.00 | 69.00 | 4714.745 | 0.471475 | Moderate Enclosure | 1 | 2 | NE |
| Mountherrick | 285370 | 622360 | Fort | Ditched Enclosure | Rectangular | - | 80.00 | 60.00 | 4800 | 0.48 | Moderate Enclosure | 3 | - | E |
| Shillowhead | 295460 | 630210 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Circular | 80.00 | - | - | 5026.548 | 0.502655 | Large Enclosure | 1 | - | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Wyndales Farm | 298000 | 632600 | Earthwork | Ditched Enclosure | D-Shaped | - | 110.00 | 60.00 | 5183.628 | 0.518363 | Large Enclosure | 2 | - | SW |
| Hillhead | 298160 | 640180 | Settlement | Bank and Ditch | Oval | - | 110.00 | 60.00 | 5183.628 | 0.518363 | Large Enclosure | 1 | 2 | W |
| Chester Hill | 295320 | 639530 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Circular | 85.00 | - | - | 5674.502 | 0.56745 | Large Enclosure | 1 | 2 | ESE |
| Burnfoot | 299070 | 640250 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Rectangular | - | 80.00 | 100 | 6283.185 | 0.628319 | Large Enclosure | 2 | - | - |
| Burnfoot | 299180 | 640500 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 90.00 | - | - | 6361.725 | 0.636173 | Large Enclosure | 2 | - | E |
| Quothquan Law | 298820 | 638420 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Oval | - | 120.00 | 70.00 | 6597.345 | 0.659734 | Large Enclosure | - | - | NE |
| Clydeside Farm | 295890 | 629650 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Rectangular | - | 90.00 | 80.00 | 7200 | 0.72 | Large Enclosure | 1 | - | NE |
| Candybank | 306100 | 641100 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Rectangular | - | 110.00 | 90.00 | 7775.442 | 0.777544 | Very large Enclosure | 1 | - | - |
| Bodsberry Hill | 296370 | 616860 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Rectangular | - | 105.00 | 76.00 | 7980 | 0.7980 | Large Enclosure | - | - | NW |
| Woodend | 295110 | 627900 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 120.00 | 110.00 | 10367.26 | 1.036726 | Massive Enclosure | 2 | - | SW |

# Table 5: The Enclosed Sites in the Clyde Area

| Site Name | X | Y | Site Type | Form | Shape | Diameter m | Length m | Width m | Area Sq.m | Area Ha | Size | Entrance Orientation | Ditch Width |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burnhead Moor | 229990 | 672500 | Enclosure | Rampart | D-Shaped | - | 20.00 | 12.00 | 188.50 | 0.0188 | Small Enclosure | SW | - |
| Dunconnel Hill | 233100 | 659480 | Enclosure | Rampart | Oval | - | 18.00 | 14.00 | 197.92 | 0.019 | Small Enclosure | W | - |
| Wester Balmuildy | 257990 | 671320 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Rectangular | - | 26.00 | 12.00 | 312 | 0.0312 | Small Enclosure | - | 0.9 |
| Knockencorsan | 224460 | 667420 | Enclosure | Rampart | Oval | - | 28.00 | 16.00 | 351.86 | 0.0351 | Small Enclosure | - | - |
| Kettlehill | 257690 | 674830 | Dun | Wall Defined Site | Oval | 21.5 | - | - | 363.0503 | 0.036 | Small Enclosure | S | - |
| Barscube Hill | 238600 | 671200 | Enclosure | Wall Defined Site | Circular | 22.50 | - | - | 397.60782 | 0.0397 | Small Enclosure | - | - |
| Skelmorlie Water | 222500 | 666600 | Enclosure | Bank and Ditch | Sub-Circular | 23.00 | - | - | 415.47563 | 0.0415 | Small Enclosure | - | 3 |
| Cat Craig | 232300 | 664400 | Settlement | Stone Wall Defined Site | Rectangular | - | 24.00 | 19.00 | 456 | 0.0456 | Small Enclosure | SE | - |
| Knapps | 236930 | 668840 | Settlement | Rampart | Circular | 26.50 | - | - | 551.54586 | 0.0551 | Small Enclosure | NE | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Strathgryfe | 233860 | 670250 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Circular | - | 28.40 | 25.60 | 571.02 | 0.0571 | Small Enclosure | - | 7.5 |
| Skelmorlie Water | 221330 | 666020 | Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval | - | 30.00 | 25.00 | 589.05 | 0.0589 | Small Enclosure | - | - |
| High Castlehill | 235070 | 672270 | Enclosure | Wall Defined Site | Irregular | - | 34.00 | 24.00 | 640.88 | 0.0645 | Small Enclosure | E | - |
| Middlepenny | 238100 | 672900 | Settlement | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Circular | 29.00 | - | - | 660.51986 | 0.066 | Small Enclosure | E | - |
| Knockmade Hill | 235240 | 661820 | Settlement | Rampart | Oval | - | 38.00 | 23.00 | 686.44 | 0.0686 | Small Enclosure | SE | - |
| Bogton | 262000 | 673050 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 30.00 | - | - | 706.85835 | 0.0706 | Small Enclosure | - | - |
| Pollok | 255660 | 662630 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Circular | 30.00 | - | - | 706.85835 | 0.0706 | Small Enclosure | E | 9 |
| Carslaverock Hill | 238500 | 664300 | Enclosure | Rampart | Sub-Oval | - | 45.00 | 22.00 | 777.54 | 0.0777 | Small Enclosure | - | - |
| Ritchieston | 243900 | 671900 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 33 | - | - | 855.2986 | 0.0855 | Small Enclosure | W | 3 |
| Craigmaddie | 257500 | 676580 | Fort | Ramparts | D-Shaped | - | 41.00 | 34.00 | 1094.85 | 0.1094 | Small Enclosure | E | - |
| The knock | 220280 | 662860 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 50.00 | 29.00 | 1138.83 | 0.1138 | Small Enclosure | SE | 2 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Shiels | 252330 | 666760 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 42.00 | 36.00 | 1187.52 | 0.1187 | Small Enclosure | E | 6.5 |
| Bogside | 261030 | 673200 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Circular | 40.00 | - | - | 1256.6371 | 0.1256 | Small Enclosure | - | - |
| Elphinstone Wood | 237500 | 669950 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 60.00 | 27.00 | 1272.35 | 0.1272 | Small Enclosure | SSE | - |
| Meikle Reive | 263920 | 678930 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Oval | | 44.50 | 36.50 | 1275.68 | 0.1275 | Small Enclosure | E | - |
| Broom Hill | 246850 | 668800 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Circular | 44 | - | - | 1520.5308 | 0.1520 | Small Enclosure | SE | 2 |
| Largs, Castle Hill | 221565 | 658800 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Circular | - | 58.00 | 36.50 | 1662.69 | 0.1662 | Small Enclosure | NE | 2.5 |
| Craigmarloch Wood | 234430 | 671850 | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Rectangular | - | 52.00 | 30.00 | 1560 | 0.156 | Small Enclosure | W | - |
| Dykebar hill | 249740 | 662340 | Earthwork | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Oval | - | 56.00 | 49.00 | 2155.13 | 0.2155 | Small Enclosure | W | - |
| Castle Hill | 237070 | 663060 | Earthwork | Bank and Ditch | Sub-Rectangular | - | 48.00 | 40.00 | 1920 | 0.192 | Small Enclosure | ENE | 8 |
| Castle Hill | 234580 | 666030 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 67.00 | 47.00 | 2473.22 | 0.2473 | Small Enclosure | E | - |
| Rosshall | 250645 | 663140 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | 57 | - | - | 2551.7586 | 0.2551 | Moderate Enclosure | WSW | 2 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kaim Bridge | 235450 | 661380 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Circular | 60.00 | - | - | 2827.4334 | 0.2827 | Moderate Enclosure | - | - |
| Sheep Hill | 243480 | 674400 | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 80.00 | 48.00 | 3015.93 | 0.3015 | Moderate Enclosure | E | - |
| Braehead | 252590 | 666420 | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 76.00 | 60.00 | 3581.42 | 0.3581 | Moderate Enclosure | E | - |
| Carlston | 262940 | 674520 | Fort | Ditched Enclosure | D-Shaped | - | 91.00 | 52.00 | 3716.50 | 0.3716 | Moderate Enclosure | ENE | - |
| Barscube hill | 239100 | 671100 | Settlement | Rampart | Oval | - | 75.00 | 64.00 | 3769.91 | 0.3711 | Moderate Enclosure | - | - |
| Marshall moor | 237210 | 662570 | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 100.00 | 48.00 | 3769.91 | 0.3761 | Moderate Enclosure | S | - |
| Mar Hall | 245599 | 672200 | Palisaded enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Circular | 70.00 | - | - | 3848.451 | 0.3848 | Moderate Enclosure | SW | - |
| Barochan Cross | 240560 | 669020 | Fort | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | - | 109 | 85 | 7276.714 | 0.7276 | Large Enclosure | - | - |
| Cockles Hill | 249700 | 665800 | Earthwork | Bank and Ditch | Oval | - | 106 | 91 | 7575.95 | 0.7575 | Very Large Enclosure | - | - |
| Camphill | 257760 | 662110 | Earthwork | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 119.00 | 98.00 | 9159.31 | 0.9159 | Very Large Enclosure | SE | 9 |
| Carman | 237200 | 679440 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 180.00 | 140.00 | 19792.03 | 1.9792 | Enclosure over 1Ha | SE | 2 |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Walls Hill | 241170 | 658800 | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Oval | - | 469.00 | 198.00 | 72933.64 | 7.2933 | Enclosure over 1Ha | NE | - |

# Table 6: The Enclosed Sites in Kintyre

| Site Name | X | Y | Traditional Site Type | Type | Shape | Diameter m | Length m | Width m | Area Sq.m | Area HA | Size | Entrance Orientation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kildonan Bay | 178060 | 627780 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Circular | - | 19.50 | 13.10 | 200.63 | 0.0201 | Small Enclosure | SW |
| Cnoc Eibhleach | 171450 | 607830 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Circular | - | 21.50 | 12.00 | 202.6327 | 0.0203 | Small Enclosure | W |
| Rubha nan Sgarbh | 179750 | 634020 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Oval | - | 27.50 | 10.50 | 226.7837 | 0.0227 | Small Enclosure | E |
| Lephenstrath | 165910 | 608400 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Circular | - | 21.50 | 13.50 | 227.9618 | 0.0228 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Ballygroggan | 161900 | 618590 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 18.50 | 17.00 | 247.0077 | 0.0247 | Small Enclosure | SW |
| Blary | 170270 | 637660 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Circular | - | 21.50 | 15.00 | 253.2909 | 0.0253 | Small Enclosure | W |
| Bellochantuy | 166440 | 632390 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | 18 | - | - | 254.469 | 0.0254 | Small Enclosure | S |
| Glencreggan | 167290 | 638180 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Rectangular | - | 26.00 | 15.00 | 306.3053 | 0.0306 | Small Enclosure | SW |
| Kilkeddan | 174890 | 626190 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 19.00 | 21.50 | 320.8351 | 0.0321 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Cullan Doon | 169950 | 617030 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Circular | - | 24.50 | 18.50 | 355.9817 | 0.0356 | Small Enclosure | NW |
| Trench Knowe | 173960 | 625690 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Circular | 21.50 | - | - | 363.0503 | 0.0363 | Small Enclosure | SE |
| Balegreggen Hill | 172020 | 621820 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Circular | 21.50 | - | - | 363.0503 | 0.0363 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Putechantuy | 165700 | 631460 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 27.50 | 17.00 | 367.17 | 0.0367 | Small Enclosure | E |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ranachan Hill | 168890 | 625000 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 35.00 | 14.00 | 384.85 | 0.0385 | Small Enclosure | W |
| Sron Uamha | 161190 | 606030 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Circular | - | 32.00 | 15.50 | 389.56 | 0.0390 | Small Enclosure | E |
| Borgadel Water | 162400 | 606270 | Enclosure | Wall Defined Site | Oval | 23.50 | - | - | 433.7361 | 0.0434 | Small Enclosure | SE |
| Balnagleck | 168290 | 625300 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Circular | - | 21.50 | 26.00 | 439 | 0.0439 | Small Enclosure | E |
| Dunan | 159300 | 611300 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Rectangular | - | 33.50 | 13.50 | 452.00 | 0.0452 | Small Enclosure | SE |
| Ballywilline | 171590 | 622830 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Circular | 24.50 | - | - | 471 | 0.0471 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Killean | 170200 | 644770 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Oval | - | 30.50 | 20.00 | 479.09 | 0.0479 | Small Enclosure | NE |
| Saddell house | 179480 | 632070 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Circular | - | 27.50 | 23.00 | 496.76 | 0.0497 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Dun Sheallaidh | 166580 | 634720 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | D-Shaped | 25.50 | - | - | 511 | 0.0511 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Killocraw | 165850 | 631050 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Oval | - | 33.50 | 24.50 | 644.62 | 0.0645 | Small Enclosure | E |
| North Craigs | 168890 | 624000 | Enclosure | Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 33.50 | 25.00 | 657.77 | 0.0658 | Small Enclosure | WNW |
| Gallowhill Farm | 171217 | 620848 | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Sub-Rectangular | 30.00 | - | - | 706.8583 | 0.0707 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Coalashee | 172560 | 650100 | Dun | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Circular | - | 40.00 | 25.00 | 785 | 0.0785 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Balloch Hill | 167770 | 617670 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 39.50 | 27.50 | 853.14 | 0.0853 | Small Enclosure | E |
| Belfield | 172920 | 621230 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 42.50 | 30.50 | 1018.07 | 0.1018 | Small Enclosure | - |

| | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Carradale Point | 181510 | 636490 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Rectangular | - | 56.50 | 23.00 | 1020.62 | 0.1021 | Small Enclosure | SE |
| Kildalloig | 174560 | 618490 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Circular | - | 45.50 | 29.00 | 1036.33 | 0.1036 | Small Enclosure | E |
| Largiemore | 168120 | 625950 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 40.00 | 33.00 | 1036.73 | 0.1037 | Small Enclosure | E |
| Westport | 165500 | 626730 | Fort | Ramparts | Oval | - | 61.00 | 24.50 | 1173.78 | 0.1174 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Ballywilline Hill | 171700 | 623860 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Sub-Oval | - | 53.50 | 30.50 | 1281.57 | 0.1282 | Small Enclosure | NE |
| Barr Mains | 166660 | 634780 | Fort | Bank and Ditch | Circular | 46.00 | - | - | 1661.903 | 0.1662 | Small Enclosure | - |
| Balloch Hill | 167770 | 617670 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Circular | - | 58.00 | 44.00 | 2004.34 | 0.2004 | Small Enclosure | E |
| Knock Scalbart | 173020 | 622220 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 55.00 | 49.00 | 2116.65 | 0.2117 | Small Enclosure | WSW |
| Glenehervie | 173980 | 610840 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | D-Shaped | - | 70.00 | 49.00 | 2693.92 | 0.2694 | Medium Enclosure | SW |
| Kildonan Point | 178240 | 627150 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Oval | - | 64.00 | 55.00 | 2764.60 | 0.2765 | Medium Enclosure | NE |
| Achnaclach | 168780 | 615454 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Sub-Oval | - | 100.50 | 36.50 | 2881.04 | 0.2881 | Medium Enclosure | NW |
| Largiemore | 168120 | 625950 | Fort | Stone Wall Defined Site | Sub-Oval | - | 83.00 | 49.00 | 3194.21 | 0.3194 | Medium Enclosure | NE |
| Portrigh Strip, Carradale | 181370 | 637840 | Earthwork | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | - | 70.00 | 61.00 | 3353.65 | 0.3354 | Medium Enclosure | - |
| Baraskomill | 173680 | 621520 | Fort | Wall Defined Site | Irregular | - | 87.00 | 61.00 | 4168.11 | 0.4168 | Medium Enclosure | SSE |
| Cnoc Araich | 169250 | 609650 | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Polygonal | - | 204.00 | 177.00 | 28359.16 | 2.8359 | Massive Enclosure | - |

## Table 7: The Unenclosed sites in the Ayrshire Area

| Site Name | Site Type | X | Y |
|---|---|---|---|
| CRAIGIE | Broch | 242790 | 632720 |
| LOCHLEA | Crannog | 245750 | 630270 |
| CRAIGIE MAINS | Crannog | 240800 | 631600 |
| BUISTON | Crannog | 241550 | 643520 |
| tableMERKLAND BURN | Hut circle | 260480 | 627390 |
| MERKLAND BURN | Hut circle | 260480 | 627390 |
| MERKLAND BURN | Hut circle | 260480 | 627390 |
| MERKLAND BURN | Hut circle | 260480 | 627390 |
| KEMP LAW | Dun | 235577 | 633633 |

## Table 8: The Unenclosed Sites in the Lanarkshire area

| Site Name | Site Type | X | Y |
|---|---|---|---|
| CALLA | Broch | 299110 | 648840 |
| HYNDFORD | Crannog | 290610 | 641870 |
| GREEN KNOWE | Crannog | 304270 | 633540 |
| GREEN HILL, TINTO | Roundhouse | 293600 | 633600 |
| HARE HILL | Hut circle | 290590 | 653910 |
| WINDY GATE | Hut circle | 300000 | 648600 |
| HARE HILL | Hut circle | 290900 | 653800 |
| WESTER YARDHOUSES | Hut circle | 300290 | 650380 |
| LITTLE LAW | Hut circle | 292890 | 628030 |
| LITTLE LAW | Hut circle | 292700 | 627800 |
| ROBERTON | Ring ditch house | 294900 | 628700 |
| COVINGTON MAINS | Roundhouse | 297390 | 640220 |
| CAMPSHEAD | Unenclosed platform settlement | 301500 | 621800 |
| LODGE HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 296800 | 618800 |
| CROOKEDSTANE | Unenclosed platform settlement | 296900 | 615000 |
| SNAR | Unenclosed platform settlement | 286500 | 620000 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| STAR BURN | Unenclosed platform settlement | 292350 | 630100 |
| CAMPSHEAD | Unenclosed platform settlement | 300900 | 622000 |
| BROWN DOD | Unenclosed platform settlement | 287600 | 618700 |
| DUN LAW | Unenclosed platform settlement | 301700 | 625000 |
| EARNS GILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 298800 | 621790 |
| WHELPHILL HOPE | Unenclosed platform settlement | 299700 | 620530 |
| NORMANGILL RIG | Unenclosed platform settlement | 297300 | 621700 |
| COUPLAND HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 297500 | 619900 |
| SCAPCLEUCH BURN | Unenclosed platform settlement | 291880 | 617110 |
| GASTONEND WOOD | Unenclosed platform settlement | 291700 | 621700 |
| SNAR | Unenclosed platform settlement | 286800 | 619900 |
| MOUNTHERRICK HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 285800 | 623400 |
| WINDY DOD | Unenclosed platform settlement | 285300 | 618800 |
| DRAKE LAW | Unenclosed platform settlement | 290900 | 621300 |
| BLACK HILL, CRAWFORDJOHN | Unenclosed platform settlement | 290300 | 624100 |
| SNAR | Unenclosed platform settlement | 286800 | 620000 |
| CROOKEDSTANE | Unenclosed platform settlement | 296800 | 614900 |
| ELVANFOOT | Unenclosed platform settlement | 293800 | 617400 |
| NORTH SHORTCLEUCH | Unenclosed platform settlement | 292900 | 617500 |
| ROME HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 297600 | 623500 |
| CROOKEDSTANE | Unenclosed platform settlement | 296800 | 615100 |
| LODGE HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 296800 | 618700 |
| DUNGAVEL HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 293900 | 630100 |
| PEAT RIG | Unenclosed platform settlement | 301400 | 621500 |
| CROOKEDSTANE | Unenclosed platform settlement | 297100 | 614830 |
| ANNANSHAW BRAE | Unenclosed platform settlement | 295200 | 615100 |
| SCAPCLEUCH BURN | Unenclosed platform settlement | 291900 | 616800 |
| TROLOSS | Unenclosed platform settlement | 291800 | 608500 |
| WATERMEETINGS | Unenclosed platform settlement | 295320 | 612580 |
| NORMANGILL RIG | Unenclosed platform settlement | 296300 | 621700 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| WHELPHILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 298500 | 620500 |
| COLDCHAPEL BURN | Unenclosed platform settlement | 294500 | 624700 |
| WEDDER LAW | Unenclosed platform settlement | 288000 | 628200 |
| PONFEIGH BURN | Unenclosed platform settlement | 288900 | 633800 |
| HURL BURN/Lintshie Gutter | Unenclosed platform settlement | 294400 | 620300 |
| REED GILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 298800 | 622600 |
| CRAWFORD | Unenclosed platform settlement | 295400 | 620400 |
| WHELPHILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 298400 | 620400 |
| ELLERSHIE HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 295600 | 619200 |
| BODSBERRY HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 296600 | 616500 |
| MIDGE HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 301000 | 621600 |
| MOSSY DOD | Unenclosed platform settlement | 298000 | 620900 |
| DODDIN | Unenclosed platform settlement | 294600 | 612800 |
| COLLINS BURN | Unenclosed platform settlement | 294000 | 618000 |
| GLENOCHAR | Unenclosed platform settlement | 294700 | 614100 |
| TINTO HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 294000 | 633500 |
| CORBURY HILL | Unenclosed platform settlement | 296730 | 621020 |
| GLENOCHAR | Unenclosed platform settlement | 294900 | 614400 |
| ELVANFOOT | Unenclosed platform settlement | 294300 | 617500 |
| GRAINS | Unenclosed platform settlement | 301300 | 623600 |
| CAMPSIDE WOOD | Unenclosed platform settlement | 295700 | 622000 |
| CROOKEDSTANE | Unenclosed platform settlement | 296720 | 614710 |
| CHESTER LAW | Unenclosed settlement | 301130 | 645480 |
| WEST LINDSAYLANDS | Unenclosed settlement | 301670 | 636520 |
| BIGGAR COMMON | Unenclosed settlement | 300250 | 638850 |
| FALL KNEESEND | Unenclosed settlement | 297800 | 616300 |
| BROADFIELD | Unenclosed settlement | 298900 | 633600 |

## Table 9: The Unenclosed Sites in the Clyde Area

| Site Name | Site Type | X | Y | Structure Form | Structure Shape | Diameter of Structure m | Length of Structure | Width of structure | Area Sq.m | Entrance Orientation |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| LURG MOOR | HUT CIRCLE | 229550 | 673380 | Stone Walled | Circular | 4.50 | - | - | 15.904 | S |
| GRYFE RESERVOIR | HUT CIRCLE | 226630 | 672000 | Stone Walled | Circular | 6.00 | - | - | 28.274 | NE |
| LADYMUIR | HUT CIRCLE | 233300 | 664400 | Stone Walled | Circular | 6.50 | - | - | 33.183 | E |
| GOTTER BURN | HUT CIRCLE | 231660 | 665380 | Stone Walled | Circular | 7.00 | - | - | 38.484 | E |
| UPPER GRYFE RESERVOIR | HUT CIRCLE | 228100 | 671600 | Stone Walled | Circular | 7.00 | - | - | 38.484 | E |
| BURNBANK WATER | HUT CIRCLE | 229500 | 668400 | Stone Walled | Oval | | 8 | 6.5 | 40.840 | - |
| BURNBANK WATER | HUT CIRCLE | 229500 | 668400 | Stone Walled | Oval | | 9 | 6.5 | 45.945 | - |
| LURG MOOR | HUT CIRCLE | 229810 | 673480 | Stone Walled | Circular | 8.00 | - | - | 50.265 | SE |
| UPPER GREEN WATER | HUT CIRCLE | 229200 | 669400 | Stone Walled | Circular | 8.60 | - | - | 58.088 | E |
| GREEN | HUT | 229200 | 669500 | Stone | Oval | | 10.00 | 9.00 | 70.685 | NE |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| WATER | CIRCLE | | | Walled | | | | | | |
| GREEN WATER | HUT CIRCLE | 229200 | 669500 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 10.00 | 9.00 | 70.685 | - |
| GREEN WATER | HUT CIRCLE | 229200 | 669500 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 10.00 | 9.00 | 70.685 | - |
| WINDY HILL | HUT CIRCLE | 231800 | 663800 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 10.00 | 9.00 | 70.685 | - |
| BURNBANK WATER | HUT CIRCLE | 229500 | 668400 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 10 | 9 | 70.685 | - |
| BURNBANK WATER | HUT CIRCLE | 229500 | 668400 | Stone Walled | Circular | 10 | - | - | 78.539 | - |
| ALUM DAM | HUT CIRCLE | 226670 | 674570 | Turf Walled | Circular | 10.00 | - | - | 78.539 | E |
| LURG MOOR | HUT CIRCLE | 229780 | 673760 | Stone Walled | Circular | 10.20 | - | - | 81.712 | E |
| MARTIN GLEN | HUT CIRCLE | 222870 | 667100 | Earth and Stone wall | Circular | 11.00 | - | - | 95.033 | SE |
| NEW YETTS RESERVOIR NO 7 | HUT CIRCLE | 226200 | 673800 | Stone Walled | Circular | 12.00 | - | - | 113.09 | - |
| CAT CRAIG | HUT CIRCLE | 232300 | 664400 | Stone Walled | Circular | 12.00 | - | - | 113.097 | SE |
| LOCH THOM | HUT CIRCLE | 226400 | 672700 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 12.19 | 11.89 | 113.834 | SE |
| UPPER GREEN WATER | HUT CIRCLE | 229900 | 669500 | Banked Structure | Oval | - | 14.3 | 13.5 | 151.621 | N |

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| HILL OF DUN | DUN | 244700 | 674100 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 18.00 | 7.00 | 98.9601 | - |
| DUMBUIE | DUN | 242180 | 675170 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | | 9.10 | 9.70 | 69.3270 | E |
| CASTLE SEMPLE LOCH | CRANNOG | 236000 | 659000 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| LANGBANK WEST, RIVER CLYDE | CRANNOG | 238130 | 673550 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| LANGBANK EAST, RIVER CLYDE | CRANNOG | 240500 | 673280 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| CLYDEBANK, ERSKINE FERRY | CRANNOG | 246560 | 672110 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| ERSKINE BRIDGE, RIVER CLYDE | CRANNOG | 245482 | 672901 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| ERSKINE BRIDGE | CRANNOG | 246160 | 672270 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| DUMBUCK | CRANNOG | 241570 | 673920 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| LANGBANK | CRANNOG | 243550 | 672830 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| DRUMHEAD | CRANNOG | 233000 | 679000 | - | - | - | - | - | - | - |

## Table 10: The Unenclosed Sites in the Kintyre Area

| Site Name | Site Type | X | Y | Structure Type | Structure Shape | Diameter of Structure m | Length of Structure m | Width of structure m | Area Sq.m |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| SUNADALE | DUN | 181440 | 645020 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 6.00 | 4.50 | 21.20575 |
| HIGH CLACHAIG | HUT CIRCLE | 170240 | 639900 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 5.50 | 5.00 | 21.59845 |
| CORPUTECHAN | HUT CIRCLE | 167910 | 633420 | Stone Walled | Circular | 5.50 | - | - | 23.76 |
| KILKEDDAN | HUT CIRCLE | 174410 | 626360 | Stone Walled | Circular | 5.50 | - | - | 23.76 |
| HIGH TIRFERGUS | HUT CIRCLE | 165060 | 618650 | Stone Walled | Circular | 6.00 | - | - | 28.27 |
| KILLMALUAG, KINTYRE | HUT CIRCLE | 169350 | 638350 | Stone Walled | Circular | 6.00 | - | - | 28.27 |
| HIGH CLACHAIG | HUT CIRCLE | 170240 | 639900 | Stone Walled | Circular | 6.50 | - | - | 33.18 |
| ACHAGLAS | HUT CIRCLE | 171270 | 641670 | Stone Walled | Rectangular | | 8.90 | 5.30 | 37.04723 |
| KILLMALUAG, KINTYRE | HUT CIRCLE | 169350 | 638350 | Stone Walled | Circular | 7.00 | - | - | 38.48 |
| KILLELLAN | DUN | 168580 | 615030 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 10.50 | 6.00 | 49.48008 |
| CORPUTECHAN | HUT CIRCLE | 167910 | 633420 | Stone Walled | Circular | 8.00 | - | - | 50.27 |
| BLARY | HUT CIRCLE | 170610 | 636880 | Stone Walled | Circular | 8.00 | - | - | 50.27 |
| PORT A' CHAISTEIL | DUN | 165490 | 627380 | Stone Walled | Rectangular | | 12.00 | 6.00 | 56.54867 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CORPUTECHAN | HUT CIRCLE | 168050 | 633550 | Stone Walled | Circular | 8.50 | - | - | 56.75 |
| DUN FHINN | DUN | 165720 | 630640 | Stone Walled | Sub-Rectangular | - | 13.40 | 5.80 | 61.04115 |
| KILCHRIST | DUN | 169710 | 617660 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 10.50 | 7.50 | 61.85011 |
| MOTE HILL, GLENCRAIGS | DUN | 169330 | 623450 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 10.00 | 8.00 | 62.83185 |
| ORMSARY | DUN | 166400 | 610670 | Stone Walled | Circular | 9.00 | - | - | 63.62 |
| KILKEDDAN, KINTYRE | HUT CIRCLE | 174620 | 626710 | Stone Walled | Circular | 9.00 | - | - | 63.62 |
| BRAIDS | HUT CIRCLE | 171740 | 644350 | Stone Walled | Circular | 9.00 | - | - | 63.62 |
| LARGIEMORE | HUT CIRCLE | 168840 | 626550 | Stone Walled | Circular | 9.00 | - | - | 63.62 |
| CULINLONGART | DUN | 165640 | 611580 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | | 12.00 | 7.50 | 70.68583 |
| ALLT NAN CREAMH | HUT CIRCLE | 167420 | 629820 | Stone Walled | Circular | 9.50 | - | - | 70.88 |
| KILLMALUAG, KINTYRE | HUT CIRCLE | 169350 | 638350 | Stone Walled | Circular | 9.50 | - | - | 70.88 |
| DUN GLAS | DUN | 170530 | 609590 | Stone Walled | Circular | 10.00 | - | - | 78.54 |
| SKEROBLINERA DE | HUT CIRCLE | 170670 | 626060 | Turf Walled | Circular | 10.00 | - | - | 78.54 |
| ALLT CRICHE, KINTYRE | HUT CIRCLE | 172550 | 639140 | Stone Walled | Circular | 10.00 | - | - | 78.54 |
| MACHARIOCH | DUN | 173480 | 608790 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 12.00 | 9.00 | 84.823 |
| DUN MHIC CHOIGIL | DUN | 165610 | 630160 | Stone Walled | D Shaped | - | 12.00 | 9.00 | 84.823 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| FORT BURN | HUT CIRCLE | 161480 | 606050 | Stone Walled | Circular | 10.50 | - | - | 86.59 |
| DUN DOMHNUILL | DUN | 168150 | 640860 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 15.00 | 7.50 | 88.35729 |
| GROGPORT OLD MANSE | DUN | 181180 | 643440 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 12.00 | 9.50 | 89.53539 |
| ACHNAFAD | HUT CIRCLE | 173350 | 651450 | Banked Structure | Circular | 11.00 | - | - | 95.03 |
| CNOC SABHAIL | DUN | 163620 | 620470 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 13.50 | 9.00 | 95.42588 |
| CORPUTECHAN | DUN | 167850 | 633520 | Stone Walled | Sub-Circular | - | 12.00 | 10.50 | 98.96017 |
| DUN SHEALLAIDH | DUN | 166580 | 634720 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 15.00 | 9.00 | 106.0288 |
| RED COVE | DUN | 168840 | 642960 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 15.00 | 9.00 | 106.0288 |
| DUN A' BHUIC | DUN | 166580 | 633700 | Stone Walled | Circular | 12.00 | | | 113.10 |
| GLENACARDOCH | DUN | 165950 | 637560 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 15.00 | 10.50 | 123.7002 |
| PORT NAM MARBH | DUN | 165510 | 627200 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 15.00 | 10.50 | 123.7002 |
| RONACHAN BAY | DUN | 174070 | 654790 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 17.50 | 9.00 | 123.7002 |
| MINEN, AN DUNAN | DUN | 175620 | 652040 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 13.50 | 12.00 | 127.2345 |
| DUNAN MUASDALE | DUN | 169030 | 640290 | Stone Walled | Sub-Circular | - | 13.50 | 12.00 | 127.2345 |
| EASCAIRT | DUN | 184870 | 653660 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 17.00 | 10.00 | 133.5177 |
| BORGADEL WATER | DUN | 162540 | 606140 | Stone Walled | Sub-Circular | - | 13.50 | 13.00 | 137.8374 |
| THE BASTARD | DUN | 176120 | 612200 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 15.00 | 12.00 | 141.3717 |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AUCHADADUIE | DUN | 168300 | 636650 | Stone Walled | D Shaped | - | 15.00 | 12.00 | 141.3717 |
| RUBH A'MHARAICHE | DUN | 159290 | 612550 | Stone Walled | Sub-Circular | - | | | 143.14 |
| BALLYGROGGAN | DUN | 162120 | 619080 | Stone Walled | Sub-Circular | - | | | 143.14 |
| KILDALLOIG | DUN | 174530 | 619040 | Stone Walled | Sub-Circular | - | 14.60 | 12.80 | 146.7752 |
| DUN RONACHAIN | DUN | 174730 | 655520 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 18.00 | 10.50 | 148.4403 |
| DUN ACH'NA H-ATHA | DUN | 167380 | 638670 | Stone Walled | Oval | - | 15.00 | 13.50 | 159.0431 |
| DUN BARR UACHDARAICH | DUN | 168460 | 636990 | Stone Walled | Sub-Oval | - | 15.00 | 13.50 | 159.0431 |
| CULLIBURN | DUN | 171540 | 625210 | Stone Walled | Sub-Rectangular | - | 17.50 | 12.50 | 171.8058 |
| THE DOUNE | DUN | 175410 | 611530 | Stone Walled | Circular | 15.00 | - | - | 176.71 |
| HIGH KEIL | DUN | 167890 | 608020 | Stone Walled | Circular | 15.00 | - | - | 176.71 |
| BARASKOMILL | DUN | 174240 | 621300 | Stone Walled | Sub-Circular | 15.00 | - | - | 176.71 |
| GARVALT | DUN | 171580 | 638660 | Stone Walled | Circular | 15.00 | - | - | 176.71 |
| UGADALE POINT, KINTYRE | DUN | 178510 | 628510 | Stone Walled | Sub-Rectangular | - | 17.00 | 13.50 | 180.2489 |
| DURRY LOCH | CRANNOG | 167810 | 622360 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| CLOCHKEIL | CRANNOG | 166720 | 623750 | - | - | - | - | - | - |
| LOCH CIARAN | CRANNOG | 177780 | 654030 | - | - | - | - | - | - |

## Table 11: Shale Artefacts

| Site Name | Traditional Site Type | Enclosure/ Un-Enclosed Site | Enclosure Form | Enclosure Shape | Excavation/ Surface | Shale |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stevenston Sands | Unknown/surface area/beach area | NA | NA | NA | Surface | Numerous shale bangles and rings |
| Bodsberry Hill | Unenclosed platform settlement | Platform Settlement | NA | NA | Excavation | Two bangle segments |
| Glen cloy | Unenclosed roundhouse | Unenclosed Roundhouse | NA | NA | Excavation | Two bangle segments |
| Dumbuie | Dun | ARH | NA | NA | Excavation | Dubious artefacts |
| Kildalloig | Dun | Complex ARH | NA | NA | Excavation | Bangle fragments |
| Kemp Law | Dun | Dun-House | NA | NA | Surface | Shale bangle fragments |
| Ugadale Point | Dun | Dun-House | NA | NA | Excavation | Shale |
| Dumbuck | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA | Excavation | Dubious stylised objects |
| Lanbank | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA | Excavation | Dubious stylised objects, Working Debris |
| Lochspouts | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA | Excavation | Shale fragments |
| Hyndford | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA | Excavation | Two Whorls, Ring |
| Lochend Loch | Crannog | Crannog | NA | Na | Excavation | Half a Bangle, Three perforated discs |
| Ashgrove Loch | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA | Excavation | Perforated disc |
| Lochlea | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA | Excavation | Three segments of bangles, Button, Ring |
| Lochan Dughaill | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA | Excavation | Segment of bangle |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Seamill | Fort | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval | Excavation | Worked fragments |
| Pollok | Earthwork | Small Enclosure | Ditch & Rampart | Circular | Excavation | Two perforated discs/Loom weight? |
| Loans | Earthwork | Small Enclosure | Ditch & Rampart | Sub-Oval | Surface | Fragment of circular object |
| Whitefield | Enclosure | Small Enclosure | Ditch & Rampart | D-Shaped | Excavation | Segment of Bangle |
| Dunconnel Hill | Enclosure | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval | Surface | Fragments of bangles & rings |
| Meikle Reive | Fort | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval | Excavation | Segments of bangle |
| Duntroon | Fort | Small Enclosure | Wall Defined Site | Oval | Excavation | Segment of bangle |
| Craigmarloch | Fort | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Sub-Rectangular | Excavation | Bangle, Bead, Finger Ring, Counter, Unfinished pieces |
| Cairngryffe Hill | Fort | Small Enclosure | Stone Wall | Oval | Excavation | Ring |
| The Leven | Palisaded enclosure | Small Enclosure | Palisade | Oval | Excavation | Bangle working evidence |
| Knockmade Hill | Settlement | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval | Excavation | Segment of bangle |
| Balloch Hill | Fort | Small Enclosure | Wall Defined Site | Oval | Excavation | Bangles, Counters, Rings, Working evidence |
| Dundonald | Fort | NA | Palisaded Enclosure | Sub-Oval | Excavation | Bangle, Ring, Pendant, Gaming piece |
| Sheep Hill | Fort | Moderate Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval | Excavation | Bangle, Ring pendant, Bead, Working debris |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Braehead | Settlement | Moderate Enclosure | Ditch Defined | Oval | Excavation | Bangle working evidence, bangle, Bead, Finger Ring? Pendant?, Working evidence |
| Carwinning | Fort | Moderate Enclosure | Ramparts | Sub-Circular | Excavation | Bangle, Bead, Pendant, Working evidence |
| Auldhill | Fort | Moderate Enclosure | Ramparts | Irregular | Excavation | Bangle, Bead, Disc, Working evidence |
| Dunagoil | Fort | Massive Enclosure | Ramparts | Irregular | Excavation | Bangle, Ring, Bead, Whorl, Working evidence |
| Harpercroft | Fort | Massive Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval | Excavation | Three segments of at least five bangles |
| Walls Hill | Fort | Massive Enclosure | Ramparts | Irregular | Excavation | Bangle fragments |

# Table 12: Sites with later prehistoric ceramic evidence

| Site Name | Traditional Site Type | Enclosure Form | Enclosure Shape | Enclosure Size |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hyndford | Crannog | - | - | Crannog |
| Loch Glashan | Crannog | - | - | Crannog |
| Glasgow, Bishop Loch | Crannog | - | - | Crannog |
| Lochend Loch | Crannog | - | - | Crannog |
| Buiston | Crannog | - | - | Crannog |
| Lochlea | Crannog | - | - | Crannog |
| Aitnock | Dun | - | - | ARH |
| Dun Fhinn | Dun | - | - | Dun-House |
| Ardifuir | Dun | - | - | Small Enclosure |
| Glenhead | Settlement | - | - | Dun-House |
| Glasgow, Yorkhill | Earthwork | - | - | NA |
| Dundonald | Fort | Palisaded Enclosure | Sub-Oval | NA |
| Dunconnel Hill | Enclosure | Banked Enclosure | Oval | Small Enclosure |
| Kildonan Bay | Dun | | Sub-oval | Small Enclosure |
| Brownsbank | Enclosure | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | Small Enclosure |
| Whitefield | Enclosure | Bank and Ditch | D-Shaped | Small Enclosure |
| West Kilbride, Seamill | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Oval | Small Enclosure |
| Castle Hill, Glen Water | Settlement | Ditch & Ramparts | Oval | Small Enclosure |
| Shemore | Dun | | Oval | Small Enclosure |
| The Leven | Palisaded enclosure | Palisaded Enclosure | Sub-Circular | Small Enclosure |
| The Knock | Fort | Ditch & Ramparts | Sub-Oval | Small Enclosure |
| Shiels | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | Small Enclosure |
| Craigmarloch | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Rectangular | Small Enclosure |
| Meikle Reive | Fort | Ramparts | Oval | Small Enclosure |
| Dunagoil | Fort | Stone Walled Enclosure | Irregular | Small Enclosure |
| Balloch Hill | Fort | Walled Enclosure | Oval | Small Enclosure |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sheep Hill | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Oval | Moderate Enclosure |
| Berries Burn | Fort | Stone Walled Enclosure | Oval | Moderate Enclosure |
| Braehead | Settlement | Ditched Enclosure | Oval | Moderate Enclosure |
| Bower Hill | Fort | Ditched Enclosure | Irregular/promontory | Moderate Enclosure |
| Harpercroft | Fort | Ramparts | Sub-Oval | Massive Enclosure |
| Walls Hill | Fort | Ramparts | Irregular | Massive Enclosure |

## Table 13: Sites with evidence of iron artefacts or iron working

| Site Name | Traditional Site Type | Enclosure/ Un-Enclosed Site | Enclosure Form | Enclosure Shape |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stevenston Sands | Unknown/surface area/beach area | NA | NA | NA |
| Bodsberry Hill | Unenclosed platform settlement | Platform Settlement | NA | NA |
| Glen Cloy | Unenclosed roundhouse | Unenclosed Roundhouse | NA | NA |
| Dumbuie | Dun | ARH | NA | NA |
| Kildalloig | Dun | Complex ARH | NA | NA |
| Kemp Law | Dun | Dun-House | NA | NA |
| Ugadale Point | Dun | Dun-House | NA | NA |
| Dumbuck | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA |
| Lanbank | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA |
| Lochspouts | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA |
| Hyndford | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA |
| Lochend Loch | Crannog | Crannog | NA | Na |
| Ashgrove Loch | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lochlea | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA |
| Lochan Dughaill | Crannog | Crannog | NA | NA |
| Seamill | Fort | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval |
| Pollok | Earthwork | Small Enclosure | Ditch & Rampart | Circular |
| Loans | Earthwork | Small Enclosure | Ditch & Rampart | Sub-Oval |
| Whitefield | Enclosure | Small Enclosure | Ditch & Rampart | D-Shaped |
| Dunconnel Hill | Enclosure | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval |
| Meikle Reive | Fort | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval |
| Duntroon | Fort | Small Enclosure | Wall Defined Site | Oval |
| Craigmarloch | Fort | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Sub-Rectangular |
| Cairngryffe Hill | Fort | Small Enclosure | Stone Wall | Oval |
| The Leven | Palisaded enclosure | Small Enclosure | Palisade | Oval |
| Knockmade Hill | Settlement | Small Enclosure | Ramparts | Oval |
| Balloch Hill | Fort | Small Enclosure | Wall Defined Site | Oval |

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